

HIERATIC PAPYRI  
IN THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM

# HIERATIC PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

*THIRD SERIES*  
CHESTER BEATTY GIFT

Edited by  
ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT., F.B.A.

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## PREFACE

WHEN Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty presented to the British Museum a series of Egyptian papyri, written in hieratic script of the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties, roughly 1250–1100 B.C., Dr. Alan Gardiner had already studied the texts, and had himself provided for the skilled assistance of Dr. Ibscher in arranging and mounting the papyri. The publication of these documents was then entrusted to him by order of the Trustees, and the present volumes embody the result of his labour on these texts. The hieroglyphic transcriptions have been prepared under Dr. Gardiner's direction by Mr. H. W. Fairman.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the gift of this very important series of papyri, which materially increases the indebtedness of the Trustees to Mr. Chester Beatty for generous benefactions on more than one occasion in the past.

*December 1934*

GEORGE HILL

## INTRODUCTION

THE hieratic papyri published for the first time in this volume are all literary texts in the widest sense of the term, *i.e.* in contradistinction to business documents and letters, and all belong to the Ramesside period. They were one and all presented to the British Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty, and emanate from a single find which included, besides a number of fragments of letters, inventories, &c., another magnificent papyrus (No. I) retained by Mr. Chester Beatty for his own collection.<sup>1</sup> The find in question, when it came into the hands of the present Editor for study, consisted of eleven fragmentary rolls and an altogether bewildering mass of fragments jumbled together in apparently hopeless confusion. The more complete manuscripts were unrolled by Mr. Lamacraft of the British Museum, and the first task that lay before my assistant Mr. Faulkner and myself was to segregate and, if possible, to join together any fragments which belonged to these. Many months of labour brought a large measure of success, but a still larger measure of despondency, since the multitude of fragments still unplaced remained overwhelmingly great, and we realized that we possessed neither the necessary routine nor the technical proficiency required for the accomplishment of such an undertaking. Fortunately it became possible to secure the help of Dr. Hugo Ibscher, of the Berlin Museum, whose skill in the reconstruction of damaged papyri is world-famous. During the past five years he has visited London a number of times to lend us his assistance, and little by little the mass of recalcitrant fragments has diminished and the size of our completed manuscripts increased, until at last we could consider ourselves to have done all that was humanly possible, and the work of editing was able to proceed on its way untrammelled by the thought that decisive fragments might still remain to be allocated. The result of this experience has been to show that neither the mender of papyri nor yet the scholar can claim ability to work single-handed. Again and again it was proved that only close co-operation between the two could solve the problems that confronted us. Sometimes the fibres seemed to dictate a reconstruction contradicted by the reading, and sometimes, on the other hand, I would seek to juxtapose fragments in a way that Dr. Ibscher declared to be impossible. Above all, the ambition of us both, not to establish a personal superiority, but to vindicate the importance of our divergent methods, led to a sharpening of our wits which had the most satisfactory results. Now it was I who believed that no further search would be profitable, and Dr. Ibscher forthwith proceeded to discover half a dozen more fits. Now it was he who declared a manuscript to be finished, and I would succeed, on the basis of the readings, in making three or four more joins. I have dwelt upon our common labours with the greater insistence, because I believe that a lesson of much importance can thence be learnt.

<sup>1</sup> The gift was announced by the late Dr. H. R. Hall in the *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. V (1930), pp. 46-7.

## INTRODUCTION

No museum or individual who becomes possessed of a great collection of papyrus fragments should underestimate the possibilities connected with them. With patience extended over months, or over years if need be, the fragments can gradually be conjured together, but for a full measure of success the co-operation of at least two persons is required, each approaching the task from a different angle. In the present instance manipulative skill was perhaps less essential than it would be elsewhere, since the material was seldom brittle, and obstinately adherent layers rarely occurred. But the power to observe and base deductions on the fibres and on the joins (*Klebung*) proved just as necessary as the power to decipher the script. One slightly disappointing issue of our exertions is due to the very efficiency of Dr. Ibscher's mending; this is so little visible that future students of the papyri will be unable to realize how great were the difficulties actually overcome.

It has already been noted that not all the find has come into the possession of the British Museum, but only the literary texts (with some exceptions), which were its most important constituents. The letters and the like are for the most part fragmentary, and have nearly all been reconstructed out of fragments of small size. At least thirty different manuscripts once existed, but we have definite evidence that the majority of them were already damaged in antiquity. We shall see that in some cases (Nos. III, IV, VII, VIII, IX) the end or beginning of a literary papyrus had been deliberately cut away. The probable reason is that the owner required writing-material for his correspondence, and found that the most practical mode of obtaining this was to sacrifice part of his library. Papyrus was evidently rare at this period, and nearly all the examples here studied (No. VI is an exception) are opisthographic. Some of the letters are obvious palimpsests, and in various instances the cleaning has been very carelessly executed. As regards the provenance, the notes on the personal names in a colophon, &c. which Dr. Černý has provided (see pp. 24, 26) would suffice to indicate Dêr el-Medîneh, where excavations have been in progress for a considerable number of years. If, as I incline to believe, the Dream-book (III) and the Amenophis Ritual (IX) both date from the reign of Ramesses II, the probable range of time covered by the library may have been from about 1280 to 1160 B.C., the latter date being that of the Encomium on Ramesses V on the *verso* of No. I (not in this volume). This statement may, however, perhaps require later revision.

With regard to the present publication some details require comment. Ramesside hieratic is now so familiar, particularly that of the literary varieties, that to publish photographic facsimiles of every manuscript in its entirety has become a needlessly expensive luxury. Plates of transcription accompanied by occasional photographs to illustrate the types of handwriting seemed all that was necessary. An exception has, however, been made in the case of the Dream-book in view both of its unusual importance and also of the very difficult cursive writing found on the *verso*. The method of transcription employed is that advocated by me in *JEA*. XV, 48. The critical notes

## INTRODUCTION

contained in the Plates need some explanation and apology. Being necessarily written before the text-volume was completed, they not seldom require amplification or correction in the light of the latter. It is hoped, however, that the inconsistencies are not too frequent and that some of them may even have their use as indicating possibilities later rejected. As regards the translations, I would beg my critics to bear in mind that the compilation of an *editio princeps* is a far more difficult task than the subsequent correction of its mistakes.

My deep gratitude is due both to Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty and to the Trustees of the British Museum for entrusting me with this absorbing task, in the execution of which, thanks to the liberality of the Director of the Museum and of the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department, I have been allowed a very free hand. The merits of Dr. Ibscher with regard to the papyri themselves have already been sufficiently emphasized. My assistant, Mr. R. O. Faulkner, has been of the greatest possible help at all stages of the work, and has compiled the Indexes. As regards the Plates of transcription, I was fortunate enough to enlist the services of Mr. H. W. Fairman, the verdict upon whose efforts can safely be left to others. Dr. de Buck and Dr. Černý have read parts of my manuscript, and I have to acknowledge to them many valuable suggestions. Even greater, however, is my debt to Professor Gunn, who has revised the translations from beginning to end, and has saved me from a considerable number of slips and a few serious errors of judgement. Lastly, I desire to express my cordial thanks for their infinite patience and attention both to Messrs. Whittingham and Griggs, the makers of the Plates, and to my old friends of the Oxford University Press, those tireless champions of research and scientific endeavour.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

Egyptological literature is cited in the usual manner. Note especially the following:  
*ÄZ.* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*  
*JEA.* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*  
*OLZ.* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*  
*PSBA.* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*  
*Wb.* Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.*

In the Plates of transcription or in the translations the following symbols are used:  
<sup>pr</sup> above or below a hieroglyph indicates that the reading may be regarded as probable.  
<sup>tr</sup> above or below a hieroglyph indicates that the corresponding hieratic sign exists only in traces.  
If these traces agree with, but are insufficient to suggest, the sign used in transcription, the latter is enclosed within square brackets [ ].  
[ ] is used to enclose signs now lost in the original, but restored by the Editor.  
< > indicates a faulty omission on the part of the original scribe.  
( ) indicates English words not represented in the Egyptian.  
*rt.* = *recto*, i.e. that side of the papyrus in which the horizontal fibres lie above the vertical, and at right angles to the joins between the sheets.  
*vs.* = *verso*, i.e. that side of the papyrus in which the vertical fibres, those parallel to the joins, lie uppermost.  
Writing in red is indicated in the translations by SMALL CAPS., except in No. II, where the marking of the frequent rubrics would have disturbed the flow of the narrative. Elsewhere the practice of the originals has been faithfully copied, and it may be well to observe that most of their eccentricities are due to one or other of two causes: (1) names of gods, priests, &c., were written in black for superstitious reasons; (2) black ink was often employed instead of red to separate from one another two consecutive rubrics.

No. I

AS already noted in the Introduction, this papyrus, the largest and most complete specimen in the entire find, has been retained by Mr. Chester Beatty for his private collection. The greater part of the *recto* is occupied by a mythological story to which the title *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* has been given. The last page and a quarter of the *recto* contain some corrupt love-songs; others of the same kind, but more intelligible, are found upon the *verso*. The *verso* also comprises an incomplete hymn in praise of Ramesses V, the record of the sale of an ox, and some miscellaneous jottings. Full publication in the volume entitled *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-songs, and other miscellaneous texts*, by Alan H. Gardiner, F.B.A. Privately printed by John Johnson at the Oxford University Press and published by Emery Walker, Limited, 16 Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, London, 1931. The text of the story, with critical notes and a few trifling ameliorations, also in Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Brussels, 1932, pp. 37-60, being vol. I of the *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* of the Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.





THE STORY OF THE BLINDING AND SUBSEQUENT  
VINDICATION OF TRUTH

At the moment of acquisition, this papyrus consisted of a small roll 10 cm. in height and unrolling to a length of 66 cm. The outer layers, containing the beginning of the tale, had fallen away and were only gradually reconstituted out of the small fragments that had become mixed up with those belonging to the other papyri of the collection. The total length of the book, as now mounted in two sections between glass, is 139 cm., but to this from 20 to 50 cm. must be added to obtain the original extent of the manuscript when intact. Joins are found at the following distances, measured from the outer margin: 1, 22, 24 (estimated), 26, 23.5, 23.5, and 19 cm. The texture of the papyrus is rather coarse, and the joins are clumsily executed. The colour is a medium brown, neither very light nor very dark.

The text started on the inner face of the roll as discovered, and must have originally consisted of eleven or twelve pages of from 6 to 9 lines apiece. The last four pages are upon the *verso*, and after concluding with a much damaged colophon, are divided off from a nearly blank strip containing a few figures and journal-entries by a vertical line surmounted with what appears to be the rough drawing of a head (see Pl. 4, below left). The pages of the *recto* measure  $x+2$ , 21.5, 24 (estimated), 26, 21, 22.5, and 18 cm. respectively, the seventh and last (originally eighth?) running close up to the inner margin of the roll. Arrived at this point, the scribe turned his roll laterally, and let his writing double back towards the outer margin. The pages of the *verso* are longer than those on the *recto*, measuring 28, 26, 32, and 29 (estimated) cm. The writing is a large, crude, and careless Ramesside uncial, probably of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The lines are written for the most part too close together. Rubrics occur throughout, and red verse-points down to *vs.* 1, 3. Here and there corrections in red above the line are seen, but are sometimes so faint as to be nearly illegible. The transcription in the Plates contains one or two slight improvements upon the *editio princeps* in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Brussels, 1932, pp. 30-6, to which the reader must be referred for a greater abundance of critical notes. A paper giving a general account of the papyrus, together with a full translation, was read by the present editor at the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden on Sept. 8th, 1931. Soon after the publication of the text a German translation by A. Erman appeared in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, eighth year, nr. 4 (Feb. 1, 1932), pp. 43-4, and evoked some interesting comments from J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 1931, Band III, Heft 2, pp. 172-3,

various European and Asiatic parallels being quoted. Further parallels from modern Greek folk-stories are given by Pieper in *ÄZ.* LXX, 92 foll. A less complete translation is to be found also in J. Capart, *Les aventures de Horus et de Seth* in the *Bulletins de la classe des lettres* of the *Académie royale de Belgique*, 5th series, vol. XVII, no. 11, pp. 414-16.

The beginning of the story is lost, but its general tenor can be conjectured with a high degree of probability. Towards the end of the tale the son of  'Truth', seeking to avenge his father, traps his wicked uncle  'Falsehood' into a situation whereby the absurdity of Falsehood's earlier accusation against Truth is made manifest. The logic of the situation indicates that the son turned the tables upon his uncle by means of a *tu quoque*, and this fact enables us to reconstruct the charge which Falsehood brought against Truth, and which eventuated in the blinding of the latter, an act in which the tribunal of the Divine Ennead<sup>1</sup> strangely concurred. It would appear that Falsehood had entrusted his virtuous brother with a knife, and that this was mislaid or damaged through some accident. When Truth proposed to replace it with another, Falsehood refused this fair offer by making ridiculous claims with regard to the unique size and value of the lost weapon:<sup>2</sup> '*The mountain of El is in it as blade, the trees(?) of Koptos are in it as a haft, the tomb of the god is in it as a sheath, and the cattle of Kar are in it (as its) binding.*'<sup>3</sup> These words have in part to be restored from their later quotation in 10, 3-4, but what follows is complete enough to be intelligible in translation without paraphrasing. The pedestrian and monotonous style of the original has been retained in my English version.

Thereupon Falsehood said to the Ennead: Let Truth [be brought] and blinded of his two eyes, and let him be made the door-keeper of my house.

Thereupon the Ennead did according to all that he had said.

And after many days had passed over these things, Falsehood raised his eye to look, and he saw (2, 5) the virtue of Truth, his elder brother.

Thereupon Falsehood said to two slaves of Truth: Take [ye] your lord, and [throw] him to an evil lion with many lionesses<sup>4</sup> [as] his [mates?], and let them(?) [devour him?].

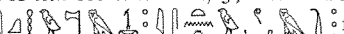
[Thereupon they twain] took him. And as they were ascending<sup>5</sup> with him, Truth [said to his servants]: Do not take me, so as to put another (3, 1) . . . . .

An accident for which it is not easy to account has deprived us of the greater part of the next page. A few phrases are left, but it is difficult to combine them so as to yield a coherent meaning. Perhaps the first three and a half lines related how the

<sup>1</sup> For this tribunal see the comments after the translation.

<sup>2</sup> The actual first words of the story, separated by a sentence or two from the description of the knife, are: (1, 6) ' . . . . . went (1, 7) . . . . . [the] Divine Ennead . . . . . '

<sup>3</sup> The location of the mountain of El is unknown; Koptos is the famous city in Upper Egypt; Kar is an often

named Nubian province. The passage contains several rare or unique words, the sense of which has to be guessed. For *istn* see *Westc.* 12, 5; Dr. de Buck also quotes to me  from a stela in Boston.

<sup>4</sup> Rby, Coptic *Λαβοῖ*.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. to the high desert.

servants acceded to Truth's entreaties, and how they evaded the questions asked by Falsehood upon their return.<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph likewise presents great problems, but it seems to tell how a handmaid of the lady who subsequently became the mother of Truth's son—her name is everywhere destroyed—came across him lying beneath a hillock and, marvelling at his beauty, went to report the matter to her mistress. The actual wording of this passage and of the narration which succeeds it is as follows:

[And after many days had] passed over these things, (the lady) . . . (3, 5) went forth [from] her house . . . beheld him [lying beneath a hillock and she marked his beauty(?), that] there was not the like [of him in the] entire land. And they(?)<sup>2</sup> went [to the place where the . . . of . . . (the lady)] was, [saying]: Come [with?] us and see (4, 1) . . . lying under the hillock, and let them take him and make him the door-keeper of our house.

[Thereupon] . . . (the lady) said to her:<sup>3</sup> Go and fetch him<sup>4</sup> that I may see him. And she went and brought him. [And when] . . . (the lady) saw him, she desired him exceedingly, because she saw he was [beautiful] in all his [body?]. And he lay with her in the night, and knew her with the knowledge of a (4, 5) male. And forthwith she became pregnant in that night of a little boy.

And after many days had passed over these things, she gave birth to a male child, and there was not his like in the [entire] land, [he] being larg[er than?] a . . . , and like unto a youthful god.<sup>5</sup> And they put him into (5, 1) the school, and he learned to write excellently, and practised all the arts of war, and surpassed<sup>6</sup> his older comrades who were in the school with him.

Thereupon his comrades said to him: Whose son art thou? Thou hast no father. And they reviled and plagued him,<sup>7</sup> (saying): Of a sooth thou hast no father.<sup>8</sup>

Thereupon the (5, 5) boy said to his mother: What is the name of my father, that I may tell it to my comrades, for indeed they dispute with me (saying): Where is thy father? So say they to me, and plague me.

Thereupon his mother said to him: Thou seest yon blind man who is sitting beside the door. That is thy father. (6, 1) So spake she to him.

Thereupon he said to her: It were meet to assemble thy kinsfolk that they should summon a crocodile (to deal with thee). And the boy took his father, and made him sit (with) a chair beneath him, and he placed a footstool under his feet, and he set bread before him, and he made him eat, and he made him (6, 5) drink.

Thereupon the boy said to his father: Who blinded thee, that I may avenge thee? And he said to him: My younger brother blinded me. And he told him all that had happened to him, and the boy<sup>9</sup> departed to avenge (7, 1) his father. And he took ten loaves, a staff, a pair of sandals, a waterskin, and a sword. And he procured an ox very beautiful in appearance, and he went to the place where Falsehood's herdsman was. And he said to him: Take thou these ten loaves, this

<sup>1</sup> The fragments may perhaps be rendered: '. . . find for me a trifle of bread(?) . . . went, Falsehood said to him(?): When [ye?] threw . . . went forth from the house, he called (read 's for 'c?) him in the . . .'. It is just possible that some of the fragments have not been mounted in their right places. Two tiny fragments remain which have not been placed at all.

<sup>2</sup> A plurality of persons appears to be mentioned, see the suffix 1st plur. -n in 3, 7; 4, 1. It is difficult to see who can be meant.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently the handmaid.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'go for him'. Cf. the idioms *tw r-f*, *hwb r-f* discussed by de Buck in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ms ntr*. For other expressions of this type see Blackman's note in *JEA*. XIX, 203.

<sup>6</sup> For *ḥry m* 'prevail over', 'surpass', see the note on *Horus and Seth*, 1, 10 in my *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 38a.

<sup>7</sup> The MS. has wrongly 'thee'.

<sup>8</sup> For a close parallel to this passage see E. O. Winstedt, *Coptic Texts on Saint Theodore*, London, 1910, pp. 93-4.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'he'.

staff, this (7, 5) waterskin, this sword, and this pair of sandals, and tend this ox for me until<sup>1</sup> I be returned from the town.

And after many days had passed over these things, his ox accomplished many months with the ox-herd of Falsehood.

Thereupon Falsehood (8, 1) went to the country to see his cattle. Thereupon he saw this ox of the boy, and it was exceeding beautiful in appearance.

Thereupon he said to his herdsman: Let this ox be given to me to eat. And the herdsman said to him: It is not mine, . . . , I shall not be able to give it to you.

Thereupon Falsehood said to him: Behold, my cattle are with you, all of them. Give one of them to its owner.

Thereupon the boy (8, 5) heard that Falsehood had taken his ox, and he came to the place where Falsehood's herdsman was, and said to him: Where is my ox? I see it not among thy cattle. Thereupon the herdsman said to him: The cattle are (here) with thee, all of them. Take thee (9, 1) whichever thou wilt.

Thereupon the boy said to him: Is there any ox as large as my own ox? If it should stand in Payeamūn,<sup>2</sup> the tuft<sup>3</sup> of its tail would rest upon the Papyrus-reeds,<sup>4</sup> its one horn being on the mountain of the west, and its other one on the mountain of the east, and the Great River<sup>5</sup> as its place of repose; and there are born to it sixty calves (9, 5) each day.

Thereupon the herdsman said to him: Is there any ox as large as thou hast said? And the boy laid hold on him, and took him to the place where Falsehood was, and he took (10, 1) Falsehood to the tribunal in the presence of the Ennead.

Thereupon <they> said to the boy: [Thou art] in the wrong. Never have we seen an ox as large as thou hast said.

Thereupon the boy [said to the Ennead]: And is there a knife as large as ye have said, wherein is the mountain of El as blade, and the trees(?) of Koptos as a haft, the tomb of the god is in it as sheath, and the cattle of Kar are in it as (its) binding?<sup>6</sup>

(10, 5) Thereupon <he> said to the Ennead: Judge betwixt Truth and Falsehood, for I am Truth's<sup>7</sup> son and I am come to avenge him.

Thereupon Falsehood swore an oath by the Sovereign, saying: As Amūn endures and as the Prince endures, if Truth be found alive, may I be blinded of my two eyes, and made the door-keeper in the [house of Tru]th.<sup>8</sup>

Thereupon (11, 1) the boy [swore an oath by the Sovereign, saying: As Amūn endures and as the Prince endures,] if he be found alive, they shall [punish Falsehood . . . and shall] beat him with an hundred blows and five open wounds,<sup>9</sup> and shall blind him of his [two eyes and shall make

<sup>1</sup> For this idiom see *JEA*. XVI, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Diospolis parva in the extreme northern centre of the Delta, the modern Balamūn.

<sup>3</sup> A new word.

<sup>4</sup> A common name for the reedy marshes of the northernmost Delta, see *JEA*. V, 186, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> This was the usual designation of the main stream of the Nile in the Delta, see *JEA*. V, 130; X, 92. However, in Coptic *ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲟ* i.e. 'great river', is the ordinary name for the entire river, and the picture here evoked seems to be that of an ox facing southward and occupying the entire river-valley.

<sup>6</sup> For this passage and the words contained in it, see above p. 3, with note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'his'.


<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'may he be blinded of his' &c. If this referred to



Truth, as it appears to do, 'the house of Falsehood' or 'my house' (cf. 2, 3) would be expected. But as Faulkner has rightly seen, Falsehood is here declaring his willingness to be blinded and degraded to the position of a door-keeper, since he believes Truth to be dead. It is not essential to emend the suffix 1st pers. for the 3rd masc. of the papyrus, for such judicial oaths display a strange mixture of *oratio recta* and *oratio obliqua*.


<sup>9</sup> This punishment is precisely that which is mentioned in some juristic documents of the Ramesside period, e.g. in a fragmentary account of a trial belonging to the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo; so too in the decree of Haremhab, l. 28, and in the stela of Nauri (*JEA*. XIII, 193), l. 53, cf. also ll. 46, 49; so to be read also, according to Černý, in *Pap. Berl.* 10496, vs. 13, though the papyrus actually has '50' in place of '5'.

him the door-keeper in] the house of Truth, and he . . . . . [Thus did the] boy avenge(?) [his father so as to?] settle (the dispute of) Truth and Falsehood (II, 5) . . . . . the . . .

IT HAS COME TO A [GOOD] END . . . . . temple, pure of hands(?), Amūn . . . . .  
 . . . . . Amūn, the scribe . . . . . *rn* . . . . .

The story above translated belongs to a class of Egyptian tales of which we have only one other specimen, namely the Story of the Two Brothers. Both are undoubtedly of Ramesside date, a fact to which the intelligibility of the main drift, the simplicity and monotony of the style, and the poor and specifically Late-Egyptian vocabulary all bear witness. The differentiating character of the class is that, while the actors have names which are either divine or at all events non-human, the incidents narrated are of the homeliest description, and indeed present a vivid picture of contemporary peasant life. The new story introduces the miraculous only in the exaggerated claims in respect of the ox and the knife, claims which would not have been possible in a terrestrial court of justice. The employment of blind men as door-keepers, the glimpse of school-life so similar to that of modern days, and the custom of putting a single ox in charge of the herdsman of a large estate against a small payment—these details shed fresh and welcome light upon the conditions of country life in the Ramesside age. The really surprising features of the tale are, however, the names 'Truth' and 'Falsehood' given to the hostile brothers—all the less expected because  'truth' is in Egyptian a feminine noun.<sup>1</sup> The characters of these two brothers correspond to their names, and the entire plot turns upon the antithesis of right and wrong. Personification of abstract concepts was familiar to the Egyptians from the earliest times—one need only recall the goddess Mēret 'Truth'—but surely this must be the earliest example of allegory in the manner of John Bunyan. Looking closer, we see that the theme is a but thinly disguised version of the legend of Osiris. The virtuous elder brother and the plot to slay him on the part of the villainous younger brother, are traits obviously borrowed from Osiris and Seth respectively. The avenging son, here never named, is equally obviously an imitation of Horus.<sup>2</sup> The mother of that son alone deviates, through her lack of consideration for her spouse, from the mythical counterpart. Confirmation of the view that the plot is a distorted reflexion of the Osirian legend is afforded by the fact that the Divine Ennead, *i.e.* the cycle of nine great Heliopolitan gods seated in conclave, is here mentioned as the tribunal before which Falsehood and the son of Truth in turn bring their complaints. A naïve detail is the employment of the very oath '*As Amūn endures and as the Prince endures*' which was invariably used in Egyptian law courts from the Eighteenth Dynasty until the close of the Twentieth.

<sup>1</sup> There is no ground for thinking that  can have been interpreted as *mṣṣy* 'the truthful one'. The adjective *mṣṣy* is not uncommon in Ramesside texts, but is always written differently—usually with the termination .

<sup>2</sup> De Buck makes the interesting observation that the writer of the satirical letter contained in Anastasi I, who in 2, 1 calls himself '*Horus, son of Onmophris*', in a later passage (8, 5) declares  '*I am the son of truth*'.

## No. III (BRIT. MUS. 10683)

PLATES 5-12a

## Recto. THE DREAM-BOOK

Verso. EXTRACTS FROM THE PANEGYRIC ON THE BATTLE OF  
KADESH AND COPY OF A LETTER TO THE VIZIER PANEḤSY

THIS papyrus, the most imposing of those here published alike in format and in calligraphy, is also that which has been built up out of the least promising beginnings. The only portion intact when the manuscript came into my hands was a small roll now represented by the first twelve lines of pages 6-11 of the *recto*. The bottom halves of these pages had become detached and were broken into fragments, some large and some very small, scattered in different boxes, where they were mixed with the fragments of the various other manuscripts of the collection. Naturally the most arduous part of our task was the reconstruction of the leaves which lay outermost when the papyrus was buried, and which consequently had suffered the greatest damage. One curious fact which emerged was that the manuscript had been torn in antiquity. The inner margin of the roll as found was about midway across *recto* 11, and the scanty pieces which we were subsequently able to add left of that point (they are the darker fragments seen in Pl. 8a, top left) must already have been separated when the last owner died. Some fifty tiny scraps still remain unplaced. The quality of the papyrus is good, and the jet-black writing of the *recto* stands forth boldly upon the warm brown background. The height was 35 cm., a figure seldom exceeded except in official documents. The present length from end to end is 172 cm., and neat joins, with only small overlap, occur first at 22 cm. from the existing extreme left edge of the *recto* and thereafter at regular intervals of 27 cm. or a trifle over.

The present outer margin of the papyrus, in the lower part of *rt.* p. 1, is about 11.5 cm. away from the first join. The remainder of the sheet might perhaps leave just enough room for the completion of the first existing page of the *verso*, but this was almost certainly preceded by another page, which may be estimated to have had a breadth of approximately 30 cm.<sup>1</sup> One further sheet would not be sufficient to take the said page, but all the *data* would be satisfied if we assume to the right of the first join two sheets ( $2 \times 27 = 54$  cm.) *plus* a protecting strip of 8-10 cm. We may thus

<sup>1</sup> Roughly speaking, pp. 1 and 3 of the *verso* are duplicates. One line of *vs.* 1 possessed only three-quarters of the content of one line of *vs.* 3, but this inequality is nearly compensated for by the fact that *vs.* 1 has seventeen lines against the fifteen of p. 3. In a text where the sizes of the signs and other factors are as variable as here any exact

computation is impossible, but we can say with great probability that one more page of the same kind as *vs.* 1 would amply suffice for a duplicate of the text of *vs.* 2, taking us back, as is needed, to the beginning of the Kadesh text.

conjecture that a clear 50 cm. of papyrus once existed beyond the outermost margin of the papyrus in its present condition.

An interesting problem arises with regard to the date of this papyrus. Dr. Černý, whose familiarity with Late-Egyptian hieratic is unsurpassed, has pointed out that the texts on the *verso* are in the actual autograph of the scribe Kēnhikhopshef from whom we have a letter to the vizier in *vs.* 4, 1. This personage is well known, and many other examples of his handwriting are extant.<sup>1</sup> He lived from the reign of Ramesses II possibly until after the close of that of Sethos II, but the letter in our papyrus is shown by internal evidence to belong under Menephtah. Supposing it to be a copy made by the author at the time of the dispatch of the original, the *verso* of the papyrus would have to be assigned to the same reign. But the Amennakhte mentioned in the colophon of the *recto* (10, 20, 23) is also extremely well known, and his father Kha'nūn (*rt.* 10, 20) was still alive in the reign of Ramesses IV. Accordingly it is improbable that the colophon was written much before the middle of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> At first sight, therefore, we might seem driven to the conclusion that the *verso* is anterior to the *recto*, which would be contrary to all previous experience of Egyptian papyri. The side where the horizontal fibres lie uppermost is regularly found to be the side first inscribed, whence we give the name *recto* to the side so constituted. Happily, a closer examination makes it certain that the colophon of the *recto* is a secondary addition. A space chanced to have been left under 10, 19 by the original scribe, and this gave to Amennakhte, who was doubtless a later owner of the papyrus, the opportunity to claim the *recto* as his own.<sup>3</sup> Comparison of the signs  $\text{𓂏}$  (10, 20 and 11, 11),  $\text{𓂐}$  (10, 21 and 11, 18), and  $\text{𓂑}$  (10, 20, 23 and 6, 4, 6) in and outside the colophon leaves no doubt that they were the work of different hands. A careful study of the main text of the *recto* in the light of the palaeographical criteria set up by Möller in *ÄZ.* LVI, pp. 34-43 shows that it must be assigned to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II. Among the papyri cited by Möller, *Harris 500* is the one which possesses forms most closely similar to those of the Dream-book; particularly significant are  $\text{𓂒}$  9, 7;  $\text{𓂓}$  7, 10;  $\text{𓂔}$  2, 24;  $\text{𓂕}$  9, 16;  $\text{𓂖}$  10, 14;  $\text{𓂗}$  7, 12;  $\text{𓂘}$  4, 17; 6, 23. Among signs not quoted by Möller from *Harris 500* the forms of  $\text{𓂙}$  11, 11;  $\text{𓂚}$  7, 13;  $\text{𓂛}$  6, 4;  $\text{𓂜}$  4, 19, have their connexions with earlier rather than later documents. On the other hand, the forms of  $\text{𓂝}$  10, 18;  $\text{𓂞}$  5, 20 and occasional variants of  $\text{𓂟}$ , e.g. 2, 6; 7, 28, and of  $\text{𓂠}$ , e.g. 4, 10; 6, 2, belong to types found in manuscripts later than *Harris 500*. Since Möller assigns the latter to the end of the reign of Sethos I or to the first years of Ramesses II, we shall not go far wrong in dating the Dream-book to the period immediately following. To attribute it to the Twentieth Dynasty is entirely impossible. Signs having exceptional shapes are  $\text{𓂡}$ , e.g. 9, 28; 11, 20, and the determinative of  $\text{𓂢}$  4, 23; 5, 13; 9, 17. An unusual feature is the ruling of a thin black line along the top of every page of the *recto*.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 24, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 26, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar usurpation see *Pap. Chester Beatty I*, 16, 8, with the remarks on p. 1 of my text.

## A. THE DREAM-BOOK

PLATES 5-8 a, 12-12 a

Papyrus No. III, as we have seen, is in its present condition incomplete at both ends, and since there are no means of ascertaining the extent of the loss in either direction, it might seem rash to choose a comprehensive title for the principal work to which it was consecrated. On a first reading the fragmentary eleventh page of the *recto* seems irrelevant to its surroundings, and arouses the suspicion that both at start and finish there may have been other sections of a general divinatory character. Closer study, however, points in the opposite direction, bringing to light reasons for thinking that the whole composition was constructed on a consistent and homogeneous plan, and that it truly deserves the name of Dream-book which I have given to it. It is, indeed, the earliest Dream-book in existence and may well date back to the Twelfth Dynasty (approx. 2000-1790 B.C.), though this cannot be proved with certainty. The core of the work consists of a long enumeration of dreams in clear tabular form, accompanied by their interpretations. A vertical column of large hieratic signs occupies the entire height of the page, and yields the sense 'If a man see himself in a dream . . . .'. This clause has to be read before each separate horizontal line to the left of the column, only one horizontal line being allowed for each dream.<sup>1</sup> The descriptions of the dreams are necessarily very terse, and are divided off from the interpreter's equally terse judgments upon them by a small space. The general scheme is thus as follows: 'If a man see himself in a dream [doing so-and-so,] [good (or bad); it means such-and-such a thing will happen.' Occasionally there are slight deviations, a circumstantial clause replacing the words 'doing so-and-so', or else 'it means' being omitted. From twenty-five to twenty-eight dreams go to the page, after which the scribe starts afresh from the top with a new vertical column. The good dreams form a solid block, like the less numerous bad dreams that follow.<sup>2</sup> The word for 'bad', being a word of ill omen, is written in red, the colour of blood. Otherwise there are no rubrics until page 10 is reached, where they are used in the customary way for ceremonial directions. The eleventh page has some rubricated paragraph-headings.

It seems legitimate to suppose that the work opened with some such general title as 'The book of the interpretation of dreams', to which may even have been appended the name of the reputed author. In order to form a reasonable conjecture as to what came next we must consult *rt.* 10 and 11. Thence it emerges that, in the eyes of the compiler of the Dream-book, a dichotomy existed among human beings, of whom some were counterparts or, as they are termed, 'followers' of Horus,<sup>3</sup> while others were Typhonians

<sup>1</sup> A similar disposition of vertical and horizontal lines is found in certain hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Good examples are the stelae in Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, Pl. 1; Davies











and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. 25.

<sup>2</sup> There is but one exception, namely in 7, 5, where a 'good' dream interrupts the sequence of 'bad' ones.

<sup>3</sup> The expression 'followers (imyw-ht) of Horus' does not, however, actually occur in our papyrus.



or 'followers of Seth'. The description of the latter in p. 11, though exceedingly fragmentary, confirms the accounts given by Plutarch<sup>1</sup> and Diodorus<sup>2</sup> of the dislike felt by the Egyptians for those men who, either because they had red hair or for some other reason, were believed to be adherents of Seth-Typhon. Apparently the destinies of such men were subject to other laws than those of the normal Egyptian, and the extremely curious passage in our papyrus seems to have contained generalities, not only as to how Typhonians can be recognized, but also as to their probable length of life. All this, however, would appear to have been merely introductory and incidental to the resumed list of dreams that follows and is entitled 'Beginning of the dreams of the followers of Seth' (11, 19). Only four dreams are preserved under this head, and they were apparently of the auspicious kind. If the analogy of the first half of the book held, the enumeration of good Sethian dreams would have been succeeded by an enumeration of bad ones, and with these the work might well have ended. From the scanty traces on the *verso* (Pl. 12, *vs.* x+1, 1-12) it is impossible to see whether the dreams there recorded were good or bad ones, but there is a single doubtful indication that the book terminated with good dreams. Be this as it may, the separation of the two long lists of dreams, one list before *rt.* 10, 10 and the other after *rt.* 11, 18, justifies the inference that the earlier list was specifically described as '[the dreams of the followers of Horus]', and it may very possibly have been preceded by a section describing the characteristics and probable fate of that nobler part of the population.<sup>3</sup>

Such a beginning of the book, if ever it existed, is completely lost, and in the first preserved page we find ourselves in the midst of the good Horian dreams. Before embarking upon our translation it is perhaps advisable to proffer a word of warning with regard to it. The dream-lists appear to be free from serious textual errors, although such are found in the incantation of *rt.* 10, 10-19 and in the badly damaged passage following it. Also rare or unknown words, though they occur from time to time, are not particularly common. Nevertheless, the translator's task is not nearly so easy as it looks. The very brevity of the clauses makes for ambiguity, and some of the simplest words employed, e.g. , , and , are deplorably equivocal to the modern philologist. The language employed appears to have been Middle Egyptian vernacular, and the Egyptian reader will doubtless have experienced but few of the hesitations which our own lack of knowledge makes inevitable. There is hardly a trace of the Late-Egyptian idiom, either in vocabulary or grammar. 'To see' is still , not , 'to kill' still  and not . The definite article  occurs only once (9, 14), and the possessive adjective  also only once (4, 16). The compound  for 'woman' (Coptic *egraue*) is found in 7, 17; 9, 9, but is noted by

<sup>1</sup> See especially the passage *de Iside*, 33: *Διὸ καὶ πυρρόχρων* (scil. τὸν Τυφῶνα) γεγενῆσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ πόρωχρον νομίζοντες, οὐ πάντων προθύμως ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδὲ ἡδέως ὁμιλοῦσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ὄψιν ἀνθρώποις. Cf. also *ibid.* 30. 73.

<sup>2</sup> I, 88. See too Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, vol. III, p. 128.


<sup>3</sup> One of the questions to the oracle (no. 11) which Dr. Černý has so brilliantly treated in an article to appear in *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. du Caire*, XXXV, 48, reads as follows: 'Has Horus manifested himself (lit. become) in him? Send the truth.' It is possible that this is a further example of the conception here discussed.

the Berlin dictionary (III, 407) as going back as early as the Middle Kingdom. If thus the language is pure Middle Egyptian, the spelling throughout is that of early Ramesside times. In this respect the Leyden papyrus containing the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* presents a good analogy. In the following rendering of the dream-lists an attempt has been made to preserve something of the outer arrangement of the original.

## [IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM]

.....,	[good]; .....
.....,	[good]; .....
(The number of dreams lost is unknown.)	
(1, 13) .....,	good; it means putting ..... in his hand.
.....,	[good]; it means .....
(1, 15) .....,	[good]; .....
.....,	[good]; ..... which come into his possession. <sup>1</sup>
.....,	[good]; it means [the fulfilment of] his [dream?]. <sup>2</sup>
.....,	[good]; it means ..... [by] his god.
.....,	[good]; it means he(?) ..... something.
(1, 20) .....,	good; it means riches.
.....,	good; it means his possessions <sup>3</sup> will prosper.
.....,	good; it means food.
.....,	good; it means something [with which] he will fill (his) mouth. <sup>4</sup>
.....,	good; [it means] the removal of distress from him.
(1, 25) .....,	[good]; .....
.....,	[good]; .....
(2, 1) with his mouth split open ( <i>sd</i> ),	good; it means something he was afraid of will be opened up ( <i>sd</i> ) by the god. <sup>5</sup>
eating the fruit(?) of the carob,	good; gaining authority over his townsfolk.
..... a crane ( <i>dst</i> ),	good; it means prosperity ( <i>wds</i> ). <sup>6</sup>
honey with its top covered, <sup>7</sup>	good; it means the ..... ing of something to him by his god.
(2, 5) his [townsfolk] circulating [around him],	[good]; it means .....
munching lotus leaves(?), <sup>8</sup>	[good]; it means something he will enjoy.
shooting at a mark, <sup>9</sup>	[good]; it means something good will happen to him.
being given a blade <sup>10</sup> in .....,	[good]; something with which he will be elated. <sup>11</sup>


<sup>1</sup> Or 'have happened to him'.

<sup>2</sup> A mere guess based on the determinative , which would suit 'dream'.




<sup>3</sup> Or 'his affairs'? This would, however, more probably be *shrw.f*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2, 20 a.

<sup>5</sup> Paronomasia. Lit. 'something being a fear in his heart, the god splits it up'.

<sup>6</sup> Paronomasia again; in the first half the sign before *dst* might possibly be .

<sup>7</sup> In reading this dream we must doubtless eliminate 'himself' from the initial formula. See too p. 13, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> 'Inhs', see *Wb.* I, 99. An early example is written    (Admonitions, 15, 12), and perhaps the same determinatives should have been restored here.

<sup>9</sup> For this word and topic see Schäfer's articles in *OLZ.* XXXII, 236; XXXIV, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Or 'copper'? For the passive sense see p. 13, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. 'high'(?).

## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- [mentioning?]<sup>1</sup> his wife (*hmt:f*) to a husband,  
 (2, 10) . . . . . his . . . . . ,  
 his penis becoming large,  
 . . . . . a bow in [his] hand,  
 dying violently(?),<sup>3</sup>  
 seeing the god who is above,  
 (2, 15) seeing a serpent . . . . . ,  
 . . . . . has entered [into] his . . . . . ,  
 [drinking] . . . . . beer,  
 . . . . . ,  
 reducing (*hbt*) . . . . . ,  
 (2, 20) his mouth full of earth,  
 eating donkey-flesh (*iwf n ʿ*),  
 eating crocodile-flesh,  
 up a growing tree (*nht*),  
 looking out of a window,  
 (2, 25) rushes being given to him,  
 seeing himself on a roof,  
 (3, 1) . . . . . a pond,  
 seeing himself [in]<sup>9</sup> mourning,  
 his hair becoming long,  
 white (*hḏ*) bread being given to him,  
 (3, 5) drinking wine,  
 sailing downstream,  
 copulating with his mother . . . . . ,  
 copulating with his sister,  
 up a dūm-palm,
- good; it means the retirement (*hm-ht*)<sup>2</sup> of ills that were besetting [him].  
 good; . . . . . great . . . . .  
 good; it means his possessions will multiply. [good]; his important office will be given to him.  
 good; it means living after his father [dies?].  
 good; it means much food.  
 good; it means food.  
 good; it means annihilation of words.<sup>4</sup>  
 good; it means his heart overflows(?).<sup>5</sup>  
 good; much food will come to him.  
 good; it means the reduction (*hbt*) of his(?) desires(?) will endure(?).<sup>2</sup>  
 good; eating (the possessions of) his townsfolk.<sup>6</sup>  
 good; it means his promotion (*sr:f*).<sup>2</sup>  
 good; [it means] eating the possessions of an official.<sup>7</sup>  
 good; it means his loss (*nhy*)<sup>2</sup> of . . . . .  
 good; the hearing of his cry by his god.  
 good; it means the hearing of his cry.  
 good; it means finding something.  
 good; it means a road (?) will collapse (?) for him.  
 good; the increase of his possessions.<sup>10</sup>  
 good; it means something at which his face will brighten up (*hḏ*).  
 good; it means something at which his face will brighten up (*hḏ*).<sup>2</sup>  
 good; it means living in righteousness.  
 good; tying his . . . . .  
 good; [his?] clansmen will cleave fast to him.  
 good; it means the bequeathing of something to him.  
 good; it means joy at what his inclination has prompted(?).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] But scanty room for this.

<sup>2</sup> Paronomasia.

<sup>3</sup> Very uncertain; perhaps akin to *dy* 'enemy'.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. a dispute? *Mdt* appears to have this pregnant sense ('accusation' seems less probable) below in 4, 1. 6. 15; 6, 5; 7, 6. 7. 19. 20; 8, 24; 9, 7. 8. 25; 10, 1. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Nḏdy*, a verb of unknown meaning, refers to a malady of the liver, *Ebers*, 36, 17; apparently also of the lung, *ib.* 12, 2 = 35, 20. In the latter passages beer that is *nḏdyt* is among the medicaments employed. Hence it is possible that in the first half of this line [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] should be restored, yielding a paronomasia. The contracted writing would be due to lack of space.

<sup>6</sup> *Wnm* here and 2, 22; 5, 5. 15. 20 perhaps in the sense of 'living upon'; Černý quotes also *Pap. Berl.* 3047, ll. 16. 32, see *AZ.* XVII, 71 foll. With personal object only here.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 5, 11. 17. A dig at the rapacity of officials, the crocodile being for the Egyptians symbolic of greed, see Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> Scarcely room for *hrp* <*m*> as in 5, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Probably insert [𓂏] before *gys*.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps 3, 1 *b* and 3, 2 *b* have by some accident been moved up from the following lines. If so, there would be paronomasia of *gys* in 3, 2 and of *ʿ* in 3, 3. The repetition of 3, 4 *b* in 3, 3 *b* seems to confirm this suggestion.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. perhaps 'what his ka has done'.

## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- (3, 10) . . . . . ing the . . . . . of long fingers, good; it means the entrusting<sup>1</sup> of something to him by his god.  
 people (?)<sup>2</sup> beating him with blows, good; it means something . . . . . to him(?).  
 seeing a . . . . .<sup>3</sup> with him, good; establishing his . . . . . in his heart.  
 seeing (*mꜣ*) a dead ox, good; it means seeing (*mꜣ*) [the death?] of his enemies.<sup>4</sup>  
 seeing . . . . .<sup>5</sup> good; . . . . . his . . . . . overthrown.  
 (3, 15) a man [having been sent to him?] . . . . . good; great . . . . . his . . . . .  
 . . a great mission,  
 a woman . . . . . , good; . . . . . against a woman by [her?] husband.  
 a head being given<sup>6</sup> to him, good; opening his mouth to speak.  
 . . . . . being purified,<sup>7</sup> [good]; . . . . .  
 binding fast<sup>8</sup> a donkey, [good]; . . . . .  
 (3, 20) upon a large pedestal(?),<sup>9</sup> [good]; . . . . .  
 going forth [upon] earth<sup>10</sup> with a leg [good]; . . . . .  
 . . . . . ,  
 being given a magic flail(?),<sup>11</sup> [good]; . . . . . him.  
 . . . . . , [good]; . . . . .  
 copulating with . . . . . , [good]; . . . . .  
 (3, 25) . . . . . , [good]; . . . . .  
 (4, 1) killing (*smꜣm*) a snake, good; killing (*smꜣm*) words.<sup>12</sup>  
 seeing his face as (that of) a leopard, good; acting as a chief.  
 seeing a large (*my ʿ*) cat, good; it means a large (*šmw ʿ*) harvest will come to [him].<sup>4</sup>  
 drinking wine (*irp*),<sup>13</sup> good; opening (*wꜣ*) his mouth to speak.  
 (4, 5) binding fast baleful men by night, good; taking away his enemies' utterance.  
 crossing in a ferry-boat, good; it means an issue from all words.<sup>14</sup>  
 seating himself upon a tree, good; the destruction of all his ills.  
 killing (*smꜣm*) an ox, good; killing (*smꜣm*) his enemies.<sup>4</sup>  
 (sight-)seeing in Busiris, good; having a great old age.  
 (4, 10) fermenting(?) dates, good; it means finding victuals.  
 climbing up a mast, good; his being suspended aloft<sup>15</sup> by his god.  
 destroying<sup>16</sup> his clothes, good; his release from all ills.  
 seeing himself dead, good; a long life [in] front of him.  
 binding fast his own legs, good; it means sitting among his townsfolk.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly in the sense of 'commanding'.

<sup>2</sup> In 2, 8; 3, 17. 22; 4, 22; 6, 20. 22; 8, 4. 15; 9, 2; 11, 20, *sw* of the vertical column must be replaced in thought by *rmṯ* or the like, i.e. the sense is virtually passive. Only here does *rmṯ* actually occur, and it is inserted in the wrong place.

<sup>3</sup> *Ssr*, as Dr. de Buck has shown me, occurs also in the Coffin Texts (I, 239, g, of his forthcoming edition). The determinative suggests a quadruped, perhaps a monkey.

<sup>4</sup> Paronomasia.

<sup>5</sup> Here name of a goddess?

<sup>6</sup> See above n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> [𓂏𓂏] [𓂏𓂏].

<sup>8</sup> Doubtless [𓂏𓂏] as in 4, 5. 14; 6, 13.

<sup>9</sup> *Kfyt*, not in *Wb.*; meaning merely guessed.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. 'being born' as elsewhere.

<sup>11</sup> Before *ʿ* is seen, high up, trace of a longish sign, more like *⌞* than *⌞*; possibly restore [𓂏] *ʿ*.

<sup>12</sup> Paronomasia. 'Words' doubtless in the sense of a 'dispute', see above, p. 12, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> The same dream with a different interpretation above, 3, 5. This play on words also *Pyr.* 92.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 4.

<sup>15</sup> As a star in the firmament? Or something less poetic?

<sup>16</sup> Apparently not so specific a verb as 'tearing'.

PAPYRUS No. III

PLATE 6

IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- (4, 15) falling from a wall,<sup>1</sup>  
carving up an ox with his (own) hand,  
fetching vessels (*in hnw*) out of the water,  
  
writing on a [palette?],  
seeing herbs of the field,  
(4, 20) [pick]ing dates,  
  
cultivating spelt in the field,  
being given<sup>4</sup> victuals (*nḥw*) belonging to a  
temple,  
sailing in a boat,  
[. . . ing] bones,  
(4, 25) . . . . . ,  
(5, 1) [. . . . ing] flax in the field,  
. . . . . river,  
he [drinking?] blood,  
[drinking] milk,  
(5, 5) drink[ing] his (own) urine,  
he . . . . silver and gold,  
[knocking(?) a st]one against his finger,  
[hewing?]<sup>7</sup> stone,  
  
reading aloud from a papyrus,  
(5, 10) carving up a female hippopotamus,  
. . . . . crocodile[s],  
. . . . . donkey,  
sitting in an orchard in the sun,  
dislodging(?)<sup>9</sup> a wall,  
(5, 15) [eating] excrement,  
having connexion with a cow,  
eating crocodile [flesh],  
directing (a jet of) water(?),  
plunging in the river,  
(5, 20) spending the night upon the ground,  
seeing carobs,  
[seeing] the moon shining,  
veiling himself . . . . . ,
- good; it means an issue from words.<sup>2</sup>  
good; killing his (own) adversary.  
[good]; finding increased life (*n hzw*) in his  
house.<sup>3</sup>  
[good]; the establishment of a man in his office.  
[good]; finding meals for his father.  
good; it means finding victuals given by his  
god.  
good; . . . . ing something to him (?) in . . . . .  
good; the bestowing of life (*nḥ*) upon him by  
his god.<sup>3</sup>  
good; it means sitting among his townfolk.  
good; finding a meal [from]<sup>5</sup> the royal palace.  
good; a bequest to him by his [father?].  
good; giving to him . . . . .  
good; the hearing of his cry by his god.  
good; putting an end to his enemies.  
good; a large meal will come to him.  
good; eating<sup>6</sup> his son's possessions.  
good; a large meal from<sup>5</sup> the royal palace.  
good; it means the giving to him of his cattle.  
good; it means the giving of something to  
him.  
good; the establishment of a man in his house.  
good; a large meal from<sup>5</sup> the royal palace.  
good; it means acting as an official.<sup>8</sup>  
good; eating a meal [from]<sup>5</sup> the royal palace.  
good; it means pleasure.  
good; it means absolution . . . . .<sup>10</sup> from ills.  
good; eating his possessions in his house.  
good; passing a happy day in his house.  
good; [acting as] an official among his people.<sup>8</sup>  
good; it means prosperity.  
good; it means absolution from all ills.  
good; eating<sup>6</sup> his possessions.  
[good]; finding a good life.  
good; the pardoning of him by his god.  
good; the removal of his enemies from his  
presence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 121, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 12, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Paronomasia.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 13, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The direct genitive here and 5, 12; *n* in 5, 6, 10; 'from' seems more probable as the sense than 'at'.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> The missing verb is perhaps [eḥ *h* *h*].

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Not quite certainly identical with the verb in *Wb.* V, 297 bottom, which would more probably be written *ḥḥ* at this date.

<sup>10</sup> What can the missing word be?

<sup>11</sup> Lit. 'in front of him'.

PLATE 6

PAPYRUS No. III

IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- falling(?) . . . . . ,  
(5, 25) sawing wood,  
(6, 1) burying an old man,  
cultivating herbs,  
bringing in the cattle,  
  
working stone in his house,  
(6, 5) throwing his clothes upon the ground,  
towing a boat,  
threshing grain upon the threshing floor,  
eating grapes,  
planting gourds,<sup>2</sup>  
  
(6, 10) writing on a col[umn?],  
burying a . . . . . alive,  
breaking into(?)<sup>4</sup> [a boat] that has  
foundered,  
binding fast . . . . . ,  
seeing a princely blossom(?),<sup>5</sup>  
(6, 15) capturing [a female slave?],  
  
eating . . . . . ,  
munching . . . . . ,<sup>6</sup>  
  
seeing barley and spelt [given?] to those  
yonder,<sup>7</sup>  
seeing himself weak (*gn*),  
  
(6, 20) there being(?)<sup>9</sup> given to him beads(? *wḏw*)  
and . . . . . ,  
praising [Rē?],  
  
there being(?)<sup>9</sup> given to him . . . . . ,  
  
a living tomb(?) upon earth,  
  
seeing Beduins,
- good; it means prosperity.  
[good]; his enemies are dead.  
good; it means prosperity.  
good; it means finding victuals.  
good; the assembling of people for him by his  
god.  
good; the establishment of a man in his house.  
good; it means the issue from words.<sup>1</sup>  
good; his landing happily in his house.  
good; the giving of life to him in his house.  
good; the giving to him of his own things.  
good; the giving to him of a good life through  
the gift of his god.  
good; seeing his life to be good.<sup>3</sup>  
good; it means prosperity (and?) life.  
good; the giving to him of his wife.  
  
good; the giving to him of his house later on.  
good; it means prosperity.  
good; it means something from [which] he will  
have satisfaction.  
good; it means food will come to him.  
good; it means something will come <into> his  
possession.  
good; it means the protection of him by his  
god.  
good; it means a man's finding (*gm*) his enemies  
[dead?].<sup>8</sup>  
good; [it means] prosperity (*wḏ*).  
  
good; his being found innocent before his  
god.  
good; it means equipping his house with some-  
thing.  
good; it means his possessions will become  
large.  
good; the love of his father when he dies will  
come into his presence.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bndt*, doubtless the Coptic *ḥontē*. See too *Pap. Chester Beatty*, V, vs. 2, 9, and the note thereon below, p. 50, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'his life as good'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *phd* of opening up a swelling or the like, *Wb.* I, 542.

<sup>5</sup> *Hkwy*, a new word; the determinative seems to have been a lotus blossom.

<sup>6</sup> A herb.

<sup>7</sup> A common periphrasis for the dead; again below, 7, 10; 9, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Restore [ *h* ]? Paronomasia of *gn* and *gm*.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 13, n. 2. Paronomasia of *wḏ* and *wḏ*.

<sup>10</sup> Is there an allusion to telepathy? But Černý wonders whether *h* 'he dies' is not to be emended to *h* 'his mother'.

## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- (6, 25) seeing himself with one greater (r) than he,  
 (7, 1) entering into the temple of a female divinity,  
 eating notched sycomore figs,<sup>2</sup>  
 copulating with a female jerboa,<sup>3</sup>  
 drinking warm beer,<sup>4</sup>  
 (7, 5) eating ox-flesh,  
 munching a cucumber,  
 walking on a . . . . . ,<sup>6</sup>  
 eating a *na'r*-fish<sup>8</sup> that has been split open,  
 munching . . . . . (*d'is*),  
 (7, 10) removing one of his legs,  
 seeing his face in a mirror,  
 the god making his tears cease for him,  
 he seeing himself with a pain in one side of him,  
 eating hot meat,  
 (7, 15) shod with white sandals,  
 eating what he detests,  
 copulating with a woman,  
 he being bitten by a dog,  
 he being bitten by a snake,  
 (7, 20) measuring barley,  
 writing on a papyrus,  
 stirring up his house,  
 having a spell put upon his mouth by another(?),<sup>14</sup>



good; it means his promotion (*sr*) by his (own) agency.<sup>1</sup>  
 BAD; . . . . . him . . . . .


BAD; it means pangs.  
 BAD; the passing of a judgement against him.  
 BAD; it means suffering will come upon him.  
 good; it means something will accrue to him.  
 BAD; it means words<sup>5</sup> will arise with him on his being met.  
 BAD; it means the starting upon words<sup>7</sup> with him.  
 BAD; his being caught by a crocodile.

BAD; it means hostility (*d'is*).<sup>9</sup>  
 BAD; judgement upon him (?) by those yonder.<sup>10</sup>  
 BAD; it means another wife.  
 BAD; it means fighting.  
 BAD; the exaction of something from him.

BAD; it means his not being found innocent.  
 BAD; it means roaming the earth.<sup>11</sup>  
 BAD; it means a man's eating what he detests unwittingly.  
 BAD; it means mourning.<sup>12</sup>  
 BAD; a cleaving fast to him of magic.  
 BAD; it means the arising of words with him.<sup>13</sup>  
 BAD; it means the arising of words with him.<sup>13</sup>  
 BAD; the reckoning up of his misdeeds by his god.  
 BAD; [it means] his falling ill.  
 BAD; it means mourning.

<sup>9</sup> Paronomasia. In the dream-portion *d'is* is a herb not infrequently mentioned.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. the dead, see above, p. 15, n. 7. Emend  ?  
<sup>11</sup> *Hw-ts*, lit. 'striking the earth', i.e. doubtless 'treading' it. The det.  in 8, 20 is significant and confirms the suggestion in Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 61, that the word refers to exile. Passages quoted *loc. cit.* show two uses: (1) with *m* actively, 'to drive into exile'; (2) intrans. or passively, 'to be exiled'.

<sup>12</sup> Doubtless  is meant; perhaps wrongly written also below, 7, 23; 8, 15. 17 (*pr*).

<sup>13</sup> Dr. de Buck conjectures that these two interpretations, since they resemble one another so closely, probably originally belonged to 7, 18-19, which show no less conspicuous correspondences in the dream portion.

<sup>14</sup> The word-order is very exceptional.

## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM


- acting as steersman in a ship,  
 (7, 25) his bed catching fire,<sup>1</sup>  
 waving a rag(?),  
 he pricking<sup>2</sup> himself through a thorn,  
 seeing<sup>3</sup> the catching (*h'm*) of birds,  
 (8, 1) . . . . . ,  
 seeing his penis stiff (*nhtw*),  
 sailing downstream,  
 being given<sup>6</sup> a harp (*bnt*),  
 (8, 5) looking into a deep well,<sup>8</sup>  
 he catching fire,<sup>9</sup>  
 removing (*itt*) the nails of his fingers,  
 filling pots(?),<sup>10</sup>  
 folding wings<sup>11</sup> around himself(?),  
 (8, 10) copulating with a kite,  
 seeing an ostrich,  
 his teeth falling out,<sup>12</sup>  
 seeing a dwarf,  
 fallen a prey to(?) the Council,<sup>13</sup>  
 (8, 15) being beaten<sup>6</sup> <with> a <stick of?> willow,  
 entering into a room with his clothes wet  
 (*iwh*),  
 shaving his lower parts,  
 splitting stone,  
 melting down copper,  
 (8, 20) feeding cattle,  
 shutting up his house,  
 snaring birds,  
 notching a tree,<sup>16</sup>

building his house,

<sup>1</sup> *Pr ht r*, cf. below 8, 6; 10, 12; *Admonitions*, 7, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Dbs*, not in *Wb.*, Coptic *rwēc*.

<sup>3</sup> <?> omitted? Paronomasia of *h'm* and *n'm*.

<sup>4</sup>  perhaps only for the last syllable of the infinitive *na'wte*. Paronomasia.


<sup>5</sup> Perhaps connected with Coptic *cupe*. Or 'of flight'?


<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 13, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Paronomasia.

<sup>8</sup> *Šdt wwtē* 'well'. For *mš m* see above 4, 9.

<sup>9</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Hwt*, an unknown verb with  as determinative. Hardly 'make pots', which is *nhp*.

<sup>11</sup> *Hyt*, probably the same verb as , *Wb.* III,

BAD; in any judgement of him he will not be found innocent.

BAD; it means driving away his wife.

BAD; it means his being mocked(?).

BAD; it means telling lies.

BAD; it means the taking (*n'm*) of his possessions.

BAD; . . . . .

BAD; victory (*nhtw*)<sup>4</sup> to his enemies.

BAD; it means a life of bitterness(?).<sup>5</sup>

BAD; it means something through which he fares ill (*bin*).<sup>7</sup>

BAD; his being put in prison.

BAD; he will be massacred.

BAD; removal (*itt*) of the work of his hands.<sup>7</sup>

BAD; it means his having pangs.

BAD; he will not be found innocent with his god.

BAD; it means robbing him of something.

BAD; harm befalling him.

BAD; it means a man's dying through(?) his dependents.<sup>12</sup>

BAD; the taking away of half of his life.

BAD; his being driven from his office.

BAD; it means the absence(?) of mourning when he dies.

BAD; it means fighting (*ch*).<sup>7</sup>

BAD; it means mourning.

BAD; it means his god is discontented<sup>14</sup> with him.

BAD; it means roaming the earth.<sup>15</sup>

BAD; it means roaming the earth.

BAD; it means a rebuff.


BAD; [it means?] being deprived of his possessions.


BAD; it means depressing(?) ailments attacking him.

BAD; the fomenting of words<sup>17</sup> with him.

<sup>13</sup> However, for 'around' the text has *m* 'with'.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. 'below him' (*hrf*). Paronomasia with *hrw* 'dependents'. Or less probably: 'it means the dying of a man among his dependents'.

<sup>13</sup> *Hr hr*, meaning guessed.  is here superfluous, see the critical note *a* on *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, rt. 1, 1. Does *šd't* here refer to a divine or a secular board of magistrates?

<sup>14</sup> Doubtless a miswriting of ; so too below, 11, 6.

<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 16, n. 11.

<sup>16</sup> i.e. the fruit of a sycomore-fig. See above, p. 16, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 12, n. 4.



## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- (8, 25) carrying off property belonging to a temple,  
 putting incense [upon] the fire to a god,  
 throwing wood into the water,  
 (9, 1) [putting?]<sup>1</sup> a seat in his boat,  
 being made<sup>2</sup> into an official,  
 an Asiatic garment upon him,  
 seeing people afar off,  
 (9, 5) eating an egg,  
 smearing himself with fat,  
 attaching a chariot,  
 seeing the heavens raining,  
 seeing a woman's —, <sup>3</sup>  
 (9, 10) uncovering his own backside (*phwy*),  
 eating figs and grapes,  
 pressing out (*hm*) wine,  
 plastering his house with Nubian  
 ochre(?), <sup>5</sup>  
 putting his face to the ground,  
 (9, 15) seeing a burning fire,  
 copulating with a pig,  
 sitting in the hull<sup>7</sup> of a boat,  
 drinking blood,  
 cutting his hair,  
 (9, 20) seeing his face in the water,  
 weaving the thread(?) of a . . . . [loin-  
 cloth?],  
 copulating with his wife in daylight,<sup>10</sup>  
 brewing beer in his house,  
 pounding barley and spelt,  
 (9, 25) building himself a house,<sup>11</sup>  
 seizing wood belonging to the god in his  
 hand,  
 looking after monkeys,<sup>12</sup>
- BAD; the removal of his possessions in his (own)  
 presence.  
 BAD; the might of a god against him.  
 BAD; the bringing of pain into his house.  
 BAD; it means putting away his wife.  
 BAD; death is close at hand.  
 BAD; his removal from his office.  
 BAD; his death is at hand.  
 BAD; the seizure of his possessions beyond repair.  
 BAD; the taking away of his people from him.  
 BAD; words have suddenly arisen against his  
 person.  
 BAD; words have come up against him.  
 BAD; the last extremity of misery upon him.  
 BAD; he will be an orphan later (*hr phwy*),<sup>4</sup>  
 BAD; it means illness.  
 BAD; the taking away (*nhm*) of his possessions.<sup>4</sup>  
 BAD; it means the removal of his people.  
 BAD; the requirement of something from him by  
 those yonder.<sup>6</sup>  
 BAD; the removal of his son or his brother.  
 BAD; being deprived of his possessions.  
 BAD; the dragging(?) of his own heart.<sup>8</sup>  
 BAD; a fight awaits him.<sup>9</sup>  
 BAD; the removal of something from his house.  
 BAD; making free(?) with another life.  
 BAD; the taking away of his possessions.  
 BAD; the seeing of his misdeeds by his god.  
 BAD; it means being turned away from his house.  
 BAD; the requirement of what he has . . . . .  
 BAD; harassing words await him.<sup>9</sup>  
 BAD; finding misdeeds in him by his god.  
 BAD; a change awaits him.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [ ]?<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 13, n. 2.<sup>3</sup> The untranslated word struck the Egyptians as more mirth-raising than indecent, see *Horus and Seth*, 4, 2-3.<sup>4</sup> Paronomasia.<sup>5</sup> 'A good quality ochre of a deep-red shade is found . . . near Aswân and in the Oases of the western desert', Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, p. 137. For the connexion of the name *sty* with Lower Nubia see Dévaud in *Rec. de Trav.* XXXIX, 24. He thinks that *sty* may have been white; so too Černý in *Archiv Orientální*, III, 396. This view does not suit *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 3, 9.*Urk. IV* 1099, 11, records white jars containing *sty*, but that is no proof that *sty* itself was white.<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 15, n. 7.<sup>7</sup> *Wdwt*, Coptic ⲟⲩⲩⲧ, see *Wb.* I, 326.<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV*, vs. 4, 12-5, 1.<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'in front of him'.<sup>10</sup> Lit. 'in the sun', the expression used above in 5, 13 a.<sup>11</sup> Practically the same dream with a similar interpretation in 8, 24.<sup>12</sup> Cf. the writing ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ in the *Decree of Haremhab*, 35 = *Wb.* V, 116.

## IF A MAN SEE HIMSELF IN A DREAM

- fetching mice from the field,  
 (10, 1) sailing downstream,  
 eating faience,  
 making a festal chamber,<sup>2</sup>  
 tending small kids,  
 (10, 5) measuring barley with the corn-measure,  
 eating ox-flesh (*iwf n ih*),  
 quenching (fire) <with> water,  
 putting beer into a vessel,  
 breaking a vessel with his feet,
- BAD; a sore heart.<sup>1</sup>  
 BAD; violent words.  
 BAD; strong words.  
 BAD; the bringing to light of his misdeeds.  
 BAD; the perishing of his possessions.  
 BAD; his victuals overflow.  
 BAD; a fight (*ch*) awaits him.<sup>3</sup>  
 BAD; the end of his possessions.  
 BAD; the removal of something from his house.  
 BAD; it means fighting.

At this point the catalogue of dreams gives place to an incantation for the protection of the dreamer, and here for the first time we receive a hint that Horus was regarded as the prototype of the normal Egyptian man whose nocturnal visions were interpreted in the first half of the book. The text of the spells is unhappily rather corrupt, though not to the extent of rendering it wholly unintelligible. The form of a dialogue is adopted, Horus calling upon his mother Isis to shield him from the baneful consequences portended by his dreams. These consequences are of course ascribed to the machinations of Seth.

(10, 10) TO BE RECITED BY A MAN WHEN HE WAKES IN HIS (OWN) PLACE. 'Come to me, come to me, my mother Isis. Behold, I am seeing what is(?) far from me in my(?)<sup>4</sup> city.' 'Here am I, my son Horus,<sup>5</sup> come out with<sup>6</sup> what thou hast seen, in order that thy afflictions(?) throughout thy dreams may vanish, and fire go forth against him that frighteneth thee. Behold, I am come that I may see thee and drive forth thy ills and extirpate all that is filthy.'<sup>7</sup> 'Hail to thee, thou(?)<sup>8</sup> good dream which art seen <by><sup>9</sup> night (10, 15) or by day. Driven forth are all evil filthy things which Seth, the son of Nut, has made. (Even as) Rē is vindicated against his enemies, (so) I am vindicated against my enemies.'

THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN by a man when he wakes in his (own) place, there having been given to him *pesen*-bread in (his) presence and some fresh<sup>10</sup> herbs moistened with beer and myrrh. A man's face is to be rubbed therewith, and all evil dreams that [he] has seen are driven away.

The scribe appears to have felt that the section which follows was sufficiently independent of the foregoing to require the broader expanse of line offered by a new page. This is probably the explanation of the blank space originally left beneath the above-

<sup>1</sup> Metaphorically. ? Paronomasia of *pnw* and *bin*?<sup>2</sup> *Hbyt*, perhaps a bridal chamber. This seems the more probable both on account of the interpretation and because the Coptic ⲩⲟⲛ, Eg. *hb*, means 'wedding'. However, Spiegelberg equated *hbyt* with ⲩⲏⲧⲱ 'tent'.<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'in front of him'. Paronomasia.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps emend ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ. It is, however, equally possible that ⲙⲓⲛⲓ has been written twice for ⲙⲓ and that we should render 'seeing (visions) far from thee in thy city'.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless ⲙⲓⲛⲓ is corrupt for ⲙⲓⲛⲓ. After

the name of Horus ⲙⲓ is possibly to be deleted. If not, we should have to render: 'do not divulge . . .'

<sup>6</sup> i.e. 'divulge'. See *Wb.* I, 520.<sup>7</sup> *Tms*, a word not uncommon in magical texts, apparently meaning literally what is soiled or smeared with dirt, cf. Coptic ⲧⲱⲙⲓ 'bury'.<sup>8</sup> The sign transcribed ⲙⲓ is probably a corruption of ⲙⲓ.<sup>9</sup> Emend ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ?<sup>10</sup> Understand as ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.

translated spell, and subsequently filled by the colophon. Passing over this for the moment, we come to a characterization of Seth-like men unique in Egyptian literature. Unhappily only scanty remnants are left, and these are not free from corruption. In view of the great interest of this section, an attempt will be made to reproduce in English every word that is not completely unknown, in the hope that, where I have failed to seize the connexion, others may be more successful.


(11, 1) THE MARKS<sup>1</sup> [OF THE FOLLOWERS OF SETH?] . . . . . in its(?) height.<sup>2</sup> His lifetime is . . . . . years . . . . . AS FOR A MAN . . . . . His lifetime is eighty-four years. The g[od in him is] Seth. AS FOR A LONE<sup>3</sup> MAN . . . . . [His lifetime is] sixty years. The god in him is Seth. AS [FOR A MAN] . . . . ., he is a man of the plebs.<sup>4</sup> The hair of arm-pit and(?) . . . . . with blood. He dies by a death(?)<sup>5</sup> of . . . . . THE FALLING(?) . . . . . sinews(?)<sup>6</sup> bent(?). The hair . . . . . (11, 5) desert(?). AS FOR A MAN RED . . . . . the covering(?) of his chin(?),<sup>7</sup> the hair-covering of his eyebrows . . . . . He is one dissolute(?) of heart on the day of judge[ment] . . . . . discontent<sup>8</sup> in his heart. If he drinks beer, he drinks [it so as to engender strife and?] turmoil.<sup>9</sup> The redness of the(?) white eye arising in his body is(?) this god.<sup>10</sup> He is one who drinks what he detests(?). He is beloved of women through the greatness . . . . . the greatness<sup>11</sup> of his loving them. (Though) he be(?) a real Royal Kinsman,<sup>12</sup> (yet) he has the personality of(?) a man of the plebs. His lifetime is (that of) Seth . . . . . royal palace. He will not descend into the West, but is placed [on the desert as a prey to?] rapacious birds(?). AS FOR A MAN WHO IS DRUNKEN, broils(?) . . . . . (11, 10) . . . . ., calumnies(?),<sup>13</sup> ills and mischiefs. [He] drinks [beer?] so as to engender turmoil and disputes . . . . . give to him himself. He will take up weapons of warfare . . . . . before him, a hippopotamus . . . . . when he perceives<sup>14</sup> on the second day. He will become . . . . . so as to do it, broken through impurity(?) . . . . . one. He will not distinguish the married woman from<sup>15</sup> . . . . .<sup>16</sup> As to any man(?)<sup>17</sup> who opposes him, forthwith he pushes . . . . . (11, 15) Massacre arises in him, and he is placed in the Netherworld . . . . . SEEN like Beduins. His tears(?) are like . . . . . [He will engender(?) dis]putes<sup>18</sup> so as to break vessels, destruction(?) . . . . . He will . . . . . whilst evacuating(?). [He is?] said . . . . . lord of peace(?) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Properly marks branded (*sb*) upon the skin. This was perhaps a general heading to the whole section.


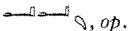
<sup>2</sup> Or 'his' and 'length'?

<sup>3</sup> i.e. unmarried? Hardly 'a man (whose) . . . is alone'.

<sup>4</sup> The exact meaning of *rhyt* remains to be determined, in spite of the valuable contribution by J. Pirenne, *Le sens des mots rekhit, pat, et henmemet*, etc., in *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* [Brussels], vol. II (1933-4), pp. 689 foll. It is curious that Loret had previously, though with insufficient evidence, declared the *rhyt* to be the partisans of Seth.

<sup>5</sup> ?

<sup>6</sup> *Smy*, perhaps the same word as in Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, 2114 b.

<sup>7</sup> Cf.  in *Wb.* I, 210. Can this be another writing of , *op. cit.* 191, which is *im* of the Pyramids? *Nms* elsewhere only of a particular type of head-gear.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 17, n. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the same construction as in 11, 10. Restore

, cf. *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Possibly an allusion to the white of the eye becoming red and inflamed through drink and passion, this being ascribed to Seth. But the language is very obscure.

<sup>11</sup> Dittography?


<sup>12</sup> Perhaps emend .

<sup>13</sup> *Wsw*, see *Wb.* I, 370.

<sup>14</sup> i.e. perhaps, when he comes to his senses after a bout of drinking.

<sup>15</sup> Lit. 'in front of'. That *hmt* *hy*, discussed in Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 158, means 'married woman' and not 'woman and man', is definitely proved by Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 47, 8.

<sup>16</sup> *ckk* is an unknown word.

<sup>17</sup> Emend .

<sup>18</sup> *Hmw*, see above, 11, 10.

However uncertain the details of the above translation may be, no doubt is possible as to the general drift. Various types of men are described who were regarded as permanently or temporarily possessed by Seth. Several of the rubrics which would have supplied precise information as to their distinguishing marks have unfortunately suffered badly. One can ask, without being able to answer the question, whether the characterization of the 'lone man' as Typhonian (11, 2-3) reflects the dislike and suspicion of bachelorhood which existed in Egypt down to the days of Lane.<sup>1</sup> It is in 11, 5 that the reference to red-haired men occurs. Some words are lost at the critical point, but in view of the Greek evidence already quoted,<sup>2</sup> the interpretation is barely disputable. From 11, 9 foll. it may perhaps be concluded that the drunken man *ipso facto* acquired Typhonian traits, though possibly only whilst intoxication lasted. Coupled with the descriptions are prognostications as to how long such persons would live, what rank they would attain, and what would happen to them when they died. It seems strange that the author of the Dream-book should have been disposed to cater for men of so unpopular a category, but the heading of the next section shows that the dreams of Typhonians both demanded and received separate treatment and consideration.

#### BEGINNING OF THE DREAMS of the followers of Seth.

*If a man see himself in a dream*

(11, 20) being given<sup>3</sup> a goat carved up into [its] good; . . . . .  
members  
standing on a height of the earth (with) a [good]; . . . . .  
sceptre in his hand,  
walking in a pen for goats, [good]; . . . . .  
throwing rushes into the water, [good]; . . . . .  
. . . . .

Among the scanty fragments of the *verso* (Pl. 12, *x*+1, 1-12) only one half-line can be restored with sufficient certainty to merit translation. It is a dream-interpretation closely similar to *rt.* 2, 8, and may be rendered: '[good; it means something] with which he will be elated'.

No one can study the Chester Beatty Dream-book without calling to mind Joseph's interpretation of the dreams of the chief butler and baker of Pharaoh, and it is interesting to note that the methods employed in the two cases are not far different. Between dream and interpretation there was necessarily a certain correspondence of idea, and it was this correspondence which enabled the interpreter to declare that the former portended the latter. Often the resemblance was restricted simply to the occurrence of the same word in the verbal descriptions, and paronomasia of this nature has frequently been indicated in the notes. Elsewhere the correspondence is more symbolical. For

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed., London, 1860), p. 155. man for begetting no children, *AZ.* XLII, 100.

See too the Late-Egyptian ostrakon reproaching a rich

<sup>2</sup> See p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 13, n. 2.

example, to see one's face in a mirror is to discover a second self, which second self must naturally have a wife; hence the interpretation 'it means another wife' (7, 11). Again, to dream you are bringing in the cattle means that your people will be assembled to you (6, 3), or if you see a large cat this signifies that your harvest will be a big one (4, 3). Sometimes the interpretation is no more than an elaboration of the dream, as in 7, 16, where for a man to see himself eating what he detests is explained as meaning that he will do so unwittingly. A rarer form of correspondence is that manifesting itself in contraries. Thus to see oneself dead is to have a long life in prospect (4, 13). Very often, no doubt, the interpretation depended upon some superstitious association of ideas to which the clue is lost. And last of all there is much likelihood that in a number of cases the interpretation rested, not on any traditional ground or application of pseudo-logic, but solely on the caprice of the interpreter. Beyond the dichotomy of good and bad dreams, no attempt at classification is visible. Indeed, the author or compiler has been guilty of undeniable carelessnesses. To dream that you are eating ox-flesh is described once as good (7, 5) and once as bad (10, 6). To dream that you are sailing downstream is a good dream in 3, 6, but a bad dream in 8, 3 and 10, 1, in which latter places, moreover, the consequences to be expected are quite different.<sup>1</sup> The dreams to be enumerated appear to have been chosen pretty much at haphazard. It lies in the nature of the subject that a certain percentage of indecent ones should occur, but these should not mislead us into attributing to the Egyptians a greater lubricity than is found elsewhere. A point of special interest is the frequent reference to a man's dependence upon 'his god', which probably refers, not to the good god (Horus) or bad god (Seth) represented by the man himself, but rather to the 'city-god' (𓆎𓅓) so often mentioned in the texts of the Middle Kingdom.

With the new evidence afforded by the Chester Beatty papyrus, Egypt's claim to be the place of origination of all later dream-books is considerably enhanced. These are popular throughout the less educated classes in the Western world, and are also particularly common in those countries where Arabic is spoken and read. What little was hitherto known about Egyptian dreams will be found in the article in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, but a more recent accession to our knowledge is a demotic papyrus of which the fragments have been published by Spiegelberg and which may, though the fact is doubtful, have been a dream-book not unlike our own.<sup>2</sup> In some ways Babylonia has perhaps a stronger claim to the dubiously enviable privilege of being the original home of dream-books. It is true that the only work of the kind yet discovered in Mesopotamia is that included in Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh,<sup>3</sup> but Mr. C. J. Gadd, to whom my information is due, is convinced that this

<sup>1</sup> A similar instance, if I have restored rightly, occurs in 5, 2 as compared with 9, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Pap. Cairo 50139* in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*, vol. III, p. 101, in the series *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Kouyunjik collection at the British Museum. As much as has thus far been collected is published in A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la Divination Assyro-Babylonienne*, part II. A discussion also in M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. II, pp. 958 foll.

is of earlier date than the seventh-century copy now extant in fragments, particularly in view of the great frequency of texts relating to omens in the cuneiform literature.

## B. THE BATTLE OF KADESH

PLATES 9-10 a

With the exception of the scrap of the Dream-book in Pl. 12 a, all the texts of the *verso* were the handiwork of the scribe 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏, whose personality will be described when the mention of his name in *vs.* 4, 1 is reached. The papyrus came into his possession at a time when the *verso* was still unoccupied, save for the remainder of the Dream-book starting back from the inner margin in the opposite direction to that of the *recto*. 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 rolled up his manuscript afresh, and then turning it vertically so that the bottom lines of the *recto* were at the top of the *verso*, embarked upon his own contributions. In such conditions it is obvious that the work of the scribes of *recto* and *verso* would ultimately meet, and that the writing of the one would be upside down from the standpoint of the other. This is what is seen on Pl. 12 a. The writing of 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 is undoubtedly the most cursive and least legible of all the scripts that have survived from the Nineteenth Dynasty. It makes a fine flourish, but whole words are rendered with mere sequences of strokes. My attempt to render the hieratic in hieroglyphs has involved more interpretation than adherence to the principles of transcription here accepted would strictly sanction, but those principles scarcely apply to writing of so exceptional a kind. Where duplicate texts fail and lacunae become frequent, as in *vs.* 5, complete decipherment becomes impossible.

𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 utilized the available space in order to copy out certain texts of interest to himself. In *vs.* 2-3 we find a welcome duplicate of the earlier portions of the well-known poem on Ramesses II's victory over the Hittite confederacy at Kadesh on the Orontes. More or less fragmentary examples of this text are found sculptured on the walls of the temples of Luxor, Karnak, Abydos, Abu Simbel, and at the Ramesseum; the British Museum also already possessed a copy in the papyrus *Sallier III*. Comprehensive editions have recently been published by Sélim Hassan<sup>1</sup> and by M. Ch. Kuentz.<sup>2</sup> It is to the latter that reference is made in the notes on our Plates.

Curiously enough, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 was not concerned to reproduce the text complete. His interest seems to have lain only in the earlier portions, and of these he made two separate copies. Of the first copy only the second page is now extant, and that only very fragmentarily (*vs.* 1, Pl. 9). Possibly the scribe was discontented with the somewhat finicking characters he had used hitherto, for in *vs.* 2 (Pl. 9, left) he starts afresh in a bolder style, and pursues his task until the end of p. 3 (Pl. 10), where a point was reached only a sentence or two ahead of the last words of the earlier attempt. Here his ardour again flagged, and now he finally abandoned Ramesses II and his martial exploits in favour of a composition of his own.


<sup>1</sup> *Le poème dit de Pentaour*, Cairo, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *La bataille de Kadech*, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, vol. 55, Cairo, 1928- (not yet complete).

The execrable writing (from our modern point of view) detracts considerably from the value of these two copies for textual purposes. In particular, the names of the foreign peoples mentioned were rendered in a way which makes them barely identifiable, even with a duplicate text before us. Nevertheless, the papyrus has several phrases which are lost in lacunae in all the monumental versions. These will be found noted in the third fascicule of M. Kuentz's work.

## C. A LETTER TO THE VIZIER PANEḤSY


PLATES 11-12 a



What little space still remained available on the *verso* for Kenhikhopshef's own use he devoted to a copy—less probably the original draft—of a letter addressed by himself to the Vizier Paneḥsy. The latter is a well-known personage who appears to have enjoyed the special favour of the Pharaoh Menepthah, being more than once depicted with him at Western Silsilis.<sup>1</sup> His correspondent Kenhikhopshef, though of far lower rank, is even better known, not only from ostraca in his own hand-writing, but also from other documents and monuments discovered in the Theban Necropolis. He was a  'scribe of the Tomb',<sup>2</sup> i.e. a clerk of the works in charge of correspondence connected with the Tomb of Menepthah at Bibân el-Molûk and with the maintenance of the workmen employed in its excavation. Dr. Černý has supplied me with a most valuable list of places where his name is found, and has permitted me to reproduce it below in a footnote.<sup>3</sup> To turn to the letter itself, translation is pretty plain sailing so long as this is concerned with greetings to the Vizier and indirect compliments to the Pharaoh. Difficulties present themselves first in l. 9, when the practical requests of the workmen or of their spokesman begin to be discussed. Here a number of words remain undecipherable, despite the help afforded by Dr. Černý, and when lacunae supervene, as they do in the last line but one of the first page (*vs.* 4, 14),

<sup>1</sup> See A. Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> The usual rendering 'necropolis' is somewhat misleading. The *hr* alluded to in this and similar titles is the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh, presumably still in course of preparation.

<sup>3</sup> The scribe Kenhikhopshef is a very well-known person. He figures largely in Spiegelberg's *Graffiti* (Index, Nos. 396-7). Graffito No. 850 dates him to year 1 of Menepthah. He is twice named in *Pap. Salt 124* (*rt.* 1, 14, 18) written under Sethos II or somewhat later, but before the reign of Setnakht. The first dated mention of Kenhikhopshef is Ostr. Brit. Mus. 5634, *vs.* 11, dated year 42 (+x?), which can only be of Ramesses II. He is several times mentioned in a group of Cairo ostraca formed by Nos. 25779, 25780, 25783, 25784, 25785 (formerly Ostr. Carnarvon 404, 400, 401, 403, 405) dated in the years 1, 3, and 4 of a reign between Menepthah and Sethos II (incl.), but he never occurs in another (later) group, represented for example by No. 25521, which are certainly to be dated after Sethos II.

<sup>4</sup> Ostr. Cairo 25832 *rt.* contains a letter of .

 to the Vizier , who is himself attested for the years 42 and 44 of Ramesses II (cf. Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 102). He also occurs in the tomb Dêr el-Medîneh 216 (epoch of Ramesses II). His tomb must have been situated in Dêr el-Medîneh, but is now either completely destroyed or else is one of those the owner of which is unknown. The tomb is mentioned under the XXth Dynasty in Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 3, bottom line.

A few monuments bearing his name, undoubtedly from his tomb, have been found by Bruyère: an offering-table (*Rapport* 1923-34, Pl. XII); an offering-basin (*Rapport* 1924-5, p. 49); a door-jamb (*op. cit.*, p. 195) and another offering-basin (*Rapport* 1929, p. 67).

There are several ostraca in Cairo which seem to show the same highly cursive hand as the *verso* of the Dreams: Ostr. Cairo 25524, 25539, 25540, 25552, 25581, 25677-80, 25816, 25818, 25819. I believe that they have all been written by Kenhikhopshef himself, as well as the *verso* of the Dreams. J. Č.

interpretation becomes hopeless. The following version gives all that it has been found possible to elicit from the text:

The scribe Kenhikhopshef of the great Tomb of Banerē-beloved-of-Amūn, the son of Rē, Menepthah-satisfied-with-Truth in the house of Amūn,<sup>1</sup> sends good tidings to his lord the fan-bearer upon the king's right hand, the city-prefect and vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt, Paneḥsy. In life, prosperity, and health! This is a letter for the information of my lord. Further good tidings to my lord to the effect that the great place<sup>2</sup> of Pharaoh which is under the authority of my lord is in good order, its(?) walls are in peace, and no damage has occurred therein. Moreover, we(?) are working in the great place of Pharaoh in strict good order, and one is doing the will of Pharaoh, one's(?) good lord, (4, 5) having made (it) in good efficient work of eternal construction. May Pharaoh our lord spend his life as the lord of every land and may he exercise<sup>3</sup> the kingship exercised by Prē his father as king, being the ruler of all that the sun's disk encircles, whilst<sup>4</sup> the true scribe of the king beloved of him, the fan-bearer upon the king's right hand, the mouth which gives contentment in the entire land, the chief favourite of His Majesty, the great curtain of the entire land, the great gate screening His Majesty,<sup>5</sup> all whose commands are obeyed, and concerning all whose projects none is remiss, the city-prefect and vizier Paneḥsy is in his favour every day.

Further good tidings to my lord to the effect that we(?) are not . . . . .<sup>6</sup> with chisels<sup>7</sup> and gypsum.<sup>8</sup> The workpeople of Pharaoh have finished(?)<sup>9</sup> . . . . . chisels (4, 10) which were in their hands. May my lord tell it likewise to the overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh, and may he write to Pyay, the deputy-officer of the Treasury of Pharaoh, and may he supply<sup>10</sup> chisels and baskets(?), and may he write to the two deputy-officers of the works to cause them to provide us with gypsum, and may he write to the two scribes of the Tomb<sup>11</sup> to cause them to supply us with chisels, and may he write to the scribes to cause them to give (us) our rations, for the superintendent of (the scribes of) the Offering-table Pay has been here until to-day and we do not see them . . . . ., in consequence(?) of the distance from them at which Pharaoh, our good lord, is. . . . . (4, 15) . . . . . (5, 1) . . . . . finest smooth cloth<sup>12</sup>, . . . loin-cloth(s); finest smooth cloth, 1 *rwḏ*-garment; finest smooth cloth, . . . *sd*-garment(s)<sup>13</sup>; . . . . . thread . . . . .; 5 baskets for the lady Heret(?), thy sister . . . . . He . . . . . 1 small carver(?) of bronze for . . . . . (5, 5) And when the boat shall go, I will bring to thee thy produce of the carpenter(?). [I have heard?] what thou hast spoken,<sup>14</sup> (that) the bed which was in course of being worked . . . . .<sup>15</sup> [Let] it be finished. I will give it to a brother of mine. And as for . . . . . everything there. And I will cause them to make the . . . . . again, for . . . . . (5, 10) again, and I will cause thee to make it for me(?) again. And mayst thou send . . . . . cause

<sup>1</sup> See the note on the text.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the royal tomb. For this and the next sentence cf. Gardiner, Milne, and Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, p. 16 g.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'make' and, immediately after, 'made'.

<sup>4</sup> Here begins a long circumstantial clause, of which the skeleton is 'whilst the . . . vizier Paneḥsy is in his favour every day'. For the form, cf. *Anast. V*, 24, 2; 25, 6.

<sup>5</sup> For epithets of the Vizier similar to these, though not identical with them, see Weil, *Veziere*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>6</sup> ['well-supplied?']. The word one would expect is *sdh*, for which see *Wb.* IV, 369, and below, ll. 11, 12.

<sup>7</sup> For *hm*, elsewhere written *h*, see *Ann. du Service*, XXVII, 194. *Hihwt* in l. 12 is a faulty writing.



<sup>8</sup> For *kw* see *ÄZ.* LVIII, 51. Gypsum was the material regularly used for plastering the stone walls of Egyptian




tombs.

<sup>9</sup> The use of the *sdm.f* form in the middle of a paragraph is very strange, and it is very possible that the sentence has not been rightly divided.

<sup>10</sup> *Sdbh* is below in l. 12 and usually construed with direct object of the person and *m*, but this is a quite natural extension.

<sup>11</sup> Of whom Kenhikhopshef himself was one.

<sup>12</sup> For , i.e. , see below, p. 49, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Read  [e ḥ], a variant of  e ḥ or  e ḥ, for which Černý quotes his *Ostraca hiératiques . . . de Deir el Médineh*, Nos. 85 and 86.

<sup>14</sup> i.e. the words thou hast written.

<sup>15</sup> ['is unsatisfactory?']



them to do (it?), for . . . . . downstream. They shall make thee take us(?) also . . . . .  
Mayst thou be brought to thy city again together with thy brothers . . . . . soldiers.  
And Pharaoh . . . . . (5, 15) . . . . .

The few lines which deal with the needs of the workmen engaged upon the tomb of Meneptah are of considerable importance, since although through the recent labours of a few scholars<sup>1</sup> much is now known about the lives and even the personalities of these people, little information was hitherto forthcoming with regard to the higher officials ultimately responsible for their supplies. In the latter part of the letter private commissions on the part of the Vizier appear to be discussed, but the text is too fragmentary to be certain about even as much as this.

## D. THE COLOPHON

PLATES 8, 8 a

There now remain to be translated only the four lines inserted under *rt.* 10, 19 by the latest owner of the papyrus. The three first lines yield considerable information about this man's family, but the last line seems to be merely a repetition of the beginning of the colophon.

Made by the scribe Amennakhte, the son of Kha'nūn and brother of the craftsman Neferhotpe, of the<sup>2</sup> craftsman Kenkhopshef, and of the<sup>2</sup> scribe Pama . . . . . Made by the scribe Amennakhte.

I am once again indebted to Dr. Černý for information with regard to these five persons.<sup>3</sup> The father Kha'nūn is the best-attested of them, and is mentioned as one

<sup>1</sup> Particularly M. Bruyère, Dr. Černý, and the late Prof. Peet. For a good general summary see Peet, *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 9 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The original repeats the word 'brother' before each of the two additional names.


<sup>3</sup> They were all connected with the corps of workmen living at Dêr el-Medîneh and engaged in the construction of the Royal tomb at Bibân el-Molûk.

1. The scribe Amennakhte is named as brother of Neferhotpe and Manakhtef (see No. 5 below) in Spiegelberg, *Thebanische Graffiti*, Nos. 284 b, 782, 852; in the first instance he bears no title, in the two latter he is entitled 'craftsman' (*hmtw*).

2. Kha'nūn is well-known. His usual title is 'servitor in the Place of Truth' (*sdm-c š n st mwt*), Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, Index, Nos. 355, 356; Bruyère, *Deir el Medîneh*, 1928, 135; Brit. Mus. Stela No. 278; but in Gardiner Ostrakon No. 53, *rt.* 3 he is called simply a 'workman' (*rmt n ist*). His career can be traced with certainty from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the reign of Ramesses IV. The dated records of him are as follows:

Years 1 and 2 of a Nineteenth Dynasty king later than Sethos II, Cairo Ostr. Nos. 25521 ff.  
Year 21 of Ramesses III, Berlin Pap. No. 10496, 4. 11;  
Brit. Mus. Ostr. No. 5624, *vs.* 1. 7.  
Year 22, Gardiner Ostr. No. 53, *rt.* 3.  
Year 23, Turin (Bibân el-Harîm) Ostr. No. 5649, *rt.* 4;  
*vs.* 3. 9.

of the workmen of the Royal Tomb already in the twenty-first year of Ramesses III. His latest certain date is the second year of Ramesses IV. Of Amennakhte himself no actual date occurs, but we may suppose that he wrote his colophon somewhere about the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, perhaps in the reign of Ramesses V or VI.

 Pnbroeik (cf. Daressy, *Ostraca*, No. 25340), is probably identical with the workman of the same name in Berl. Pap. 10494, 11 (published by Gardiner

in *PSBA.* XXXI, 5 foll.), so that the family can be traced down to the very end of the Twentieth or even into the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

NO. IV (BRIT. MUS. 10684)

PLATES 13-22

*Recto.* MONOTHEISTIC HYMNS

*Verso.* A STUDENT'S MISCELLANY

IF we ignore the very considerable lacunae which disfigure the outer sheets of this papyrus, what still remains of it represents a total length of some 240 cm., by a height of 20.7 cm. A strip measuring 126 cm. was intact when the manuscript first came into our hands, and the second half has been reconstructed out of a few loose folds and a multitude of small fragments. Of the latter some forty cannot be allocated. Upon the unrolling of the well-preserved portion, this was found to be incomplete at the inner end, an irregular cut bisecting a page both of the *recto* (rt. 12) and of the *verso* (vs. 1). Accordingly we possess only the middle of the original book, the former extent of which there is no means of estimating. Joins occur at uniform distances of 29 cm., the first of them 8 cm. from the cut inner margin. Each sheet overlaps its neighbour to the left. The papyrus is of fairly good quality and has now a warm brown colour. Both sides are inscribed with literary texts interspersed with rubrics, and there is some ground for thinking that the text of the *recto* did not encroach on the *verso* at all. Had it done so, the scribe of the *verso* would probably have started his work at the opposite end, as was done by the scribe of Papyrus No. III, see above p. 23. In actual fact, the *verso* began near the finish of the *recto*, and thus runs backwards towards the beginning of the same. For this reason the top of the *recto* is also the top of the *verso*. The scribe has sometimes left so little space between the pages of the *recto* that he found it necessary to separate them with an irregular dividing line, though this never occupies the full height of the page. Examples may be seen on Plate 15A. The texts of *recto* and *verso* are two distinct books, each homogeneous throughout, but the *recto* shows in 7, 1 a colophon the less comprehensible because the subject-matter and treatment are of exactly the same nature before and after it. The scribe of the *recto* wrote a stiff crabbed hand with a strong leaning towards hieroglyphic forms. Just for that reason its date is difficult to fix, but the impression gained is that it cannot be earlier than the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The writing of the *verso* is necessarily later. This is unusually rapid, small, and irregular for a literary hand, though its author was obviously a scribe of great experience.

A. MONOTHEISTIC HYMNS

PLATES 13-17

The *recto* of the papyrus is inscribed with a religious book of uncommon character. Were it not roughly divided into two halves by the enigmatic colophon previously

PLATES 13-17

PAPYRUS No. IV

alluded to we might be tempted to characterize the contents rather as a single hymn or psalm than as a collection of hymns, since the frequent rubrics by which the text is intersected seldom mark a real change of topic. The beginning is lost, and of the opening pages the first five teem with lacunae. In addition to these defects the text is very corrupt throughout. It has nevertheless been thought desirable to translate all except the most fragmentary passages.

Of *rt.* 1 only the words '*how efficient is he*' and '*. . . . . youth . . . . .*' are left, and it is not until 2, 8 that any adequate notion of the theme can be obtained. Here a rubric introduces the sentence '*I praise Rē-Harakhti*', and the scanty remains of the next lines appear to refer to the creation of fields and vegetation. Later on, in 3, 2 and the following lines there are references to the beneficence of the sun-god extending even to the '*desert-dwellers*'; there occur the phrases '*. . . . . responding to everyone*', '*. . . . . in thy form as a good herdsman*', and '*thine eye is in every body*'.

In 3, 6 we find the first of those rhetorical questions which are so frequent in this text. They are regularly couched in affirmative form, but being equivalent to exclamatory statements require the insertion of a negative in English to make their force intelligible. The paragraph, which rather oddly contains other rubrics only two and three lines later, probably emphasized the necessity of sunlight and the misery caused by darkness or eclipse:

[ART] THOU (NOT) GREAT? . . . . . thou knowest him. Does one (not) lead(?) upon the way? . . . . . DOST THOU (NOT) GO TO REST IN Manu?<sup>1</sup> Thy beauty . . . . . life . . . . .  
. . . . . How fares THE ENTIRE EARTH (afflicted) with<sup>2</sup> evils, (when) Horus . . . . . (3, 10)  
mysterious . . . . . [Thou passest?] eternity in exercising governance. They live  
by the beauty of His<sup>3</sup> Majesty . . . . . at the moment of raging (storm). [They] see  
not . . . . . Everyone has been seized with faintness (?)<sup>4</sup> . . . . .  
THE WIND . . . . . How beautiful is thy rising in the Nūn.<sup>5</sup> The [earth  
grows lig]ht,<sup>6</sup> (5, 1) and the regions blossom with . . . . . Everyone . . . . . Heliopolis the  
king in it. Heaven . . . . . the city of Concealed-is-his-name.

In the final words above translated we have the first allusion to Thebes and to its god. The verb 'to conceal' is *imn*; the epithet is no uncommon one and contains a pun upon the name of Amūn.<sup>7</sup>

The remainder of *rt.* 4 is so fragmentary that it must suffice to quote from it some of the more striking phrases.

'THE GOD . . . . . who creates all wonderful products, the untiring herdsman whose love(?) is dead of night<sup>8</sup> . . . . . as the moon.' (4, 5) '*. . . . . gives birth to thee every day. Ipet-Esut<sup>9</sup> is [in] jubilation . . . . . [at] thy splendour, the Nine Bows . . . . .*' 'Water and wind are . . . . . in thy grasp.' (4, 10) 'WELCOME THOU as valiant herdsman, vigilant . . . . .';


<sup>1</sup> The mountains of the west.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'from', 'by reason of'.

<sup>3</sup> Emend 'Thy'?

<sup>4</sup> *Sipw*, apparently unknown elsewhere in this phrase. The approximate sense seems to emerge from 11, 7-8 below.

<sup>5</sup> The primeval waters.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps restore .

<sup>7</sup> See Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1929), pp. 87-90.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'beauty of night'. The same expression Mar. Karn., 54, 41; *Destr.* (S.I), 22. *Beautiful of night* is an epithet of the moon-god Thoth on a Dyn. XVIII stela, see Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. the temple of Amen-Rē at Karnak.

' . . . . . judging all men, inclining<sup>1</sup> the heart in accordance with Truth.' 'THE WORLD . . . . . Atūm, making all mankind into gods . . . . .'<sup>2</sup>

Page 5 yields almost as little:

(5, 1) ' . . . . . he who maketh all of you, your Ptaḥ who fashions [you?], who [makes] provision for you, the pleasant cool Nile, the north wind which is in . . . . . [THEY?] SEE THEIR [LORD?] as lord of the gods, Amūn lord of eternity, great of splendour, [great of] love . . . . . ' 'Valiant warrior(?). [O protector?], thou hast protected the regions, and the Nine Bows are gripped . . . . . ' (5, 5) ' . . . . . He [created] heaven, earth, water, and mountains, there is nothing made(?)<sup>3</sup> without him,' ' . . . . . his hands upon the potter's wheel . . . . , ' 'loving the silent man more than him who is loud of voice,' ' . . . . his mother Mut.'

The sixth page of the *recto* starts with the concluding phrases of a paragraph:

. . . . . [launching] (6, 1) a flame against those who attack him, destroying the Rebel-serpent after its . . . . . Those abhorred of him are non-existent.

The reference is to the sun-god's triumph over the dragon Apopis,<sup>4</sup> as the following epithets show:

COMPANIONABLE to his followers, filling his heart with joy, giving fair passage<sup>5</sup> to those who are in the Bark, regulating the ropes of the crew, guiding the rudder, leading the way, calming the flood as master of the Coiled one<sup>6</sup> who surrounds the sun's disk and protects the limbs of him who accompanies her.


The mention of the serpent-goddess leads to a very elaborate description of her, ending only in 7, 1 and divided into sections by several rubrics:
































The beautiful GUIDE of the Lord of the Universe, the life of the entire land, (6, 5) by whose gift the noses of mankind are . . . . . , whose excellence is in every eye. Her protection is unto him who is in the castle,<sup>7</sup> and she makes (him) victorious over those disaffected towards him—the baleful one who makes retreat (?) the Ḥa-nebu;<sup>8</sup> there is not a body free from the fear of her.

POWERFUL IN HER FORMS, [the daughter(?) of] the Double Crown(?),<sup>9</sup> subduing unto herself the froward-hearted, consuming the enemies of her father, and she is not repulsed; stretcher of bows<sup>10</sup> and drawer of arrows, destroying masses of the ill-disposed, a burning one(?) great of flame, a fire . . . . . CLEAVING THE GREAT ENCIRCLER<sup>11</sup>; . . . . . at her shining forth, one made prominent (6, 10) as dwelling upon the head of Rēḥ, at the sight of whom the gods bow down; appearing gloriously [as] Buto, the female figure which illuminates the regions with her beauty, the noble lady great [in] the house of Ptaḥ, Ernūtet lady of food,<sup>12</sup> Iusraas in the House of the Prince,<sup>13</sup> more prominent than the gods.

<sup>1</sup> *Phr*, lit. 'turning'. Cf. below 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> A series of puns on the verb *tm*.

<sup>3</sup> One would expect .

<sup>4</sup>                                 

harp. I make known to the children of singers (how) to praise the beauty of thy face. Reward thou me with a good burial, (even) unto the singer who gives song to thee, that he may go forth (7, 5) on earth as a good spirit<sup>1</sup> to see the lord of the gods.

What precedes has been mere exordium. The new composition opens with an invocation to Amen-Rē, here fused into one deity with Atūm and Ḥarakhti.

PRaise TO THEE, Amen-Rē-Atūm-Ḥarakhti, who spoke with his mouth and there came into being men, gods, cattle, and all goats in their totality,<sup>2</sup> (yea and) all that flieth and alighteth.

THOU DIDST CREATE the regions and the Ḥa-nebu,<sup>3</sup> they being settled in their towns; (also) the fertile meads made pregnant by the Nūn<sup>4</sup> and later giving birth; (yea, also) good things without limit of their number to be sustenance for the living.

VALIANT ART THOU as a herdsman tending them for ever and ever. (Thus) are bodies (7, 10) filled with thy beauty, and eyes behold through <thee>,<sup>5</sup> and thy fear is upon everyone. Their hearts are turned unto thee. Good [art thou] at all times. All mankind live by the sight of thee.

EVERYONE SAITH, (WE ARE) THINE, valiant and timorous [in] one company, the rich like the poor with one voice; and everything (speaketh) likewise. Thy sweetness is in all their [hearts]. No body lacketh of thy beauty.

DO (NOT) THE WIDOWS say (8, 1) 'Our husband art thou',<sup>6</sup> and the babes 'Our father and mother'? The rich boast concerning thy beauty, and the poor <adore> thy face. The prisoner turneth towards thee, and he that hath a malady calleth unto thee.

THY NAME WILL BE PROTECTION for every lonely one; safety and health for him<sup>7</sup> that (sails) upon the waters, rescuing from the crocodile;<sup>8</sup> a memory good<sup>9</sup> at the moment of turmoil,<sup>10</sup> rescuing from the mouth of fever.<sup>11</sup> Everyone (8, 5) hath resort to thy presence that they may make supplication to thee.

THINE EARS are open to hear it and to do their will. Our Ptaḥ who loves his craft.<sup>12</sup> Herdsman that loves his herds. Verily his prize<sup>13</sup> is a good burial to the heart content with truth.

HIS LOVE (it is to be) the moon as a youth to whom all mankind dance. Suppliants are collected in his presence, and he shall search out hearts. Growing things turn in his direction that they may be fair. The lilies are glad because of him.

HIS LOVE (it is to be) king of the gods in Ipet-esut.<sup>14</sup> The face (8, 10) of his foremost part(?) is splendour, and life comes therefrom(?). To him belongeth the sanctuary of the north wind, and Nile is beneath his fingers coming from heaven according as(?)<sup>15</sup> it is said to him, (even) unto the mountains. Valiant is his strength. Whatever is baneful(?) is under his seal. <His> might will be against the wicked <for> the destruction of rebellion.

ONE DRINKETH according as he hath commanded. One eateth bread at his good pleasure. Hearts

<sup>1</sup> B: nfr.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'according to its (entire) circuit'.

<sup>3</sup> The Mediterranean islands.

<sup>4</sup> The primeval waters.

<sup>5</sup> Emend .

<sup>6</sup> Im-k contains the m of equivalence (de Buck).

<sup>7</sup> So Gunn, incorporating de Buck's view that wḏ snb are to be taken as nouns, not as adjectival predicates, as implied in my critical note. So too thḥwt in 8, 13-9, 1, according to de Buck.

<sup>8</sup> To be 'upon the waters' of a superior was a nautical image for 'loyalty', and the 'crocodile' is a metaphor for whatever is voracious and dangerous. Hence my restoration mṯ<k> in the critical note, the whole being taken figura-

tively. This is, however, hardly warranted by the context, and it is better, with Gunn, to interpret literally.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. which it is useful to remember.



<sup>10</sup> See AZ. LXVIII, 56.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. 'heat', but for the more specialized sense see Pap. Ch. Beatty IX, vs. B 18, 1.

<sup>12</sup> As artificer. Similarly above 5, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Twn, a rare word for 'reward', Wb. V, 360. It probably owes its presence in this passage to its association with twn 'to gore' with the horn, of bulls.

<sup>14</sup> i.e. to be Amen-Rē in Karnak.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps emend  for . The next clauses are difficult, and my renderings are only tentative.

and bodies are within <his> grasp. There is no gladness without him. To him belongeth rejoicing. Exultation (9, 1) is unto (the man) who<sup>1</sup> is in his favour.

HIS LOVE (it is to be) Ḥarakhti shining in the horizon of heaven. Everyone is (engaged) in praise to him. Hearts exult because of him. He is a remedy for all eyes, a real <cure> which taketh effect immediately; a cosmetic without rival destroying rain and storm.<sup>2</sup>

HAST THOU (NOT) COME FROM GOVERNING the netherworld, youthful Horus, sceptre-bearer(?)<sup>3</sup>? Hast thou (not) been conceived in the night <by> Nut and born as<sup>4</sup> a young (9, 5) bull? Thou hast illumined the two regions with thine eyes,<sup>5</sup> and the Great Encircler<sup>6</sup> is full of thy beauty.

DOST THOU (NOT) SPEND THE DAY as herdsman of all mankind, until thou hast rested in life? Let us make acclamation unto thee in the West, when thou hast handed us over to night. Come thou to us in life, stability, and power, that thou mayst hear our petitions.<sup>7</sup>

THY MOTHER is Truth, O Amūn. Thine is she, the unique one(?).<sup>8</sup> She came forth from thee<sup>9</sup> fallen into rage so as to consume them that attack thee. Truth is unique(?), O Amūn, above everyone that has (ever) been.

From this point onward almost all stanzas begin with an exclamatory adjective, often thrice repeated with an intervening vocative.

HOW CONTENT ART THOU, HOW CONTENT ART THOU! O Amūn, how content (9, 10) art thou! It contented thee to populate the two regions. Thou didst set the patricians in order, and the lands were established through that which thou didst well ordain. Thou art one content.

HOW WARM<sup>10</sup> ART THOU, HOW WARM ART THOU! O Amūn, how warm art thou! Thou art one patient, on account of whom life comes into being. Heedlessness<sup>11</sup> is far from Thy Majesty, and there shall be heirs upon the earth.



HOW GOOD ART THOU, HOW GOOD ART THOU! O Amūn, how good art thou! Thou art good to everyone, thou herdsman that understandest compassion(?)<sup>12</sup>, hearer of the cry of (10, 1) everyone that calleth. Inclining the heart, and causing breath<sup>13</sup> to come.




HOW FAIR ART THOU! Thou art at peace, (for?) thou hast brought into being all mankind. The earth is thy beautiful isle(?). Evil and violence are fallen.<sup>14</sup>

HOW BEAUTIFUL ART THOU AS A GOD! Amūn is Ḥarakhti, wondrous, sailing in heaven, governing the secrets of the netherworld. The gods arrive before thy face(?) and extol the transformations which thou hast undergone. Shine thou forth anew upon the hands of the Nūn, secret in the form of (10, 5) Khopri, reaching the gates of Nut, beautiful in thy body. Thy rays herald thee in the eyes of the regions and of the Ḥa-nebu.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 32, n. 7, and correct the critical note accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> The last words suggest that 'remedy', 'cure', and 'cosmetic' are all intended figuratively, and that the real reference is to the sun-god as prevailing over bad weather.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming this corrupt word to be a derivative of  'sceptre'. Or do these signs conceal nothing but a corruption of the 2nd pers. sing. ending  of the old perfective (de Buck)?

<sup>4</sup> B<k>-ti seems demanded by the determinative, but the sense is elsewhere 'pregnant'. Perhaps emend  for  and omit  at the beginning of 9, 5.

<sup>5</sup> As sun and moon respectively, cf. 'His right eye is day, and his left eye is night' in the Leyden hymn to Amūn, 5, 20.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 30, n. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Emend     .

<sup>8</sup> In the next line wṣw, perhaps misspelt for wṣ-ti,

evidently refers to Truth, and hence I conjecture that it refers to the same goddess also here.



<sup>9</sup> The author felt no compunction at making Mēret at once the mother and (as she usually is) the daughter of Amen-Rē.

<sup>10</sup> Doubtless the physical warmth of the sun is intended, as a direct cause of fertility and procreation. In this line srf-wy tw is repeated once too often.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. 'speed of heart', the opposite of wḥ-ib.

<sup>12</sup> This sense of nmw is not improbably derived from the phrase nm sw n . . . m ḥtpw 'turning oneself to (some one) with mercy', see Erman, *Denksteine aus der theban. Gräberstadt* (Sitzb. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1911), p. 1100, n. 1. For the same epithet see *Anast. II*, 9, 6; *Inscr. dedic.* 110. The last reference I owe to Mr. Fairman.

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the breath of life, or relief to the sufferer.

<sup>14</sup> My rendering skates lightly over difficulties of vocabulary and grammar. For  emend .

<sup>15</sup> See p. 30, n. 8.



THE DWELLERS in the netherworld make adoration around thee. The living prostrate themselves at thy shining forth. The sun-folk<sup>1</sup> dance before (?) thy face. The common folk and the patricians praise thee. Goats and cattle turn to thee. Flying things spring aloft unto thee. All growing plants turn (to thee) because of thy beauty. There is no life for him that sees thee not.

HOW VALIANT ART THOU, HOW VALIANT ART THOU! O Rē̄r of ours, how valiant art thou! Thou hast governed the netherworld, and hast made live (10, 10) the dwellers in it,<sup>2</sup> having performed the petitions of the weary ones<sup>3</sup> within it.

HOW VALIANT ART THOU, HOW VALIANT ART THOU! O Rē̄r of ours, how valiant art thou! Shining in the morning, thou hast illuminated the Great Surrounders.<sup>4</sup> Thou hast awakened all things that have come into being. Thou hast opened their ways (acting as) their herdsman. Thou hast revived them, having been their protection.

HOW VALIANT ART THOU, our Rē̄r! Thou lord of heaven, thou herdsman who knowest how to be a herdsman. Are (not) thine ears inclined (to?) their hearts? (Thy?) guidance (?) is in every body. Thy might (11, 1) is alert against the ill-disposed. There is nought of which thou art ignorant on the earth.

HOW HOLY<sup>5</sup> ART THOU in the West, O Rē̄r, lord of peace! Thou hast opened the gates of the Mesket,<sup>6</sup> and Horus is triumphant. Onnōphris is filled with joy. The lords of the netherworld are in festival. The Silent Land is in exultation at thy beautiful beams.

HOW HOLY ART THOU in the West, thou who spendest eternity, and the petitions gather unto thee! Thou adjudger of truth, thou great god governor of the gate, who inclinest (11, 5) to him who crieth to thee. Day dawns, and he hath annihilated the rapacious enemies, (making them) non-existent. He commands governance of truth unto the land of the necropolis.

HOW HOLY ART THOU in the West, thou herdsman who knowest how to be a herdsman! Thou hast made governance for every eye, and hast restored their secret chambers (?).<sup>7</sup> Thy might is become their protection. Act of his never faileth. All men who have been seized with faintness (?),<sup>8</sup> when thou shinest, they live (again).

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY SHINING FORTH in the horizon! We are in renewal of life. We have entered (into) the Nūn,<sup>9</sup> and it hath renovated (a man even) as when he first was young. [The one] has been stripped off, the other put on.<sup>10</sup> We praise the beauty of thy face. Search (11, 10) out the way, and lead (us upon?) it, that we may count (?) [every?] day.

[HOW BEAUTIFUL IS] THY SHINING FORTH, O Rē̄r, thou who art a doer (?), who createst governance, who turneth at (the voice of) him who crieth! Rescue thou from the . . . . . the herdsman is placed (?) before him until he (?) has reached the (?) fane.<sup>11</sup>

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY SHINING FORTH, O Rē̄r, my lord, who actest as a herdsman in his meads! One drinks from his water. Behold, I breathe of the air which he gives. To him belongs life to go together with his protection (?) unto everyone that encompasseth thee (?).<sup>12</sup>

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY SHINING FORTH, thou great herdsman! [Come ye (?)], the totality of you, all ye cattle. Behold, ye spend the day in the pastures under his charge,<sup>13</sup> and he hath warded off (11, 15) all ill. He (departs) in peace to his horizon, and your lands are . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Hmmt*, see now the article quoted above, p. 20, n. 4. These people were somehow specially connected with Heliopolis, but in spite of Pirenne's researches their exact nature still remains to be determined.

<sup>2</sup> Emend  $\overline{\Delta}$  for  $\overline{\Delta}$ .

<sup>3</sup> The dead.

<sup>4</sup> The semi-mythical waters corresponding to the Greek  $\omegaκεανός$ .

<sup>5</sup> The stem *ḡsr* appears to indicate what is 'set apart', 'holy', 'mysterious', cf. the Arabic *ḥaram*. It is difficult to find a satisfactory English equivalent.

<sup>6</sup> A region in the sky which, to judge from the occasional determinative  $\overline{\Delta}$ , may well designate the horizon.

<sup>7</sup> *Ikntw*, unknown and perhaps a side-form of *itnw* (*Wb.* I, 146).

<sup>8</sup> The same expression as in 3, 12.

<sup>9</sup> The idea seems to be that the fortunes of man follow those of the sun, who enters the Nūn at night-time and is born afresh as a vigorous child in the morning.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. the old man is cast off and the new man put on.

<sup>11</sup> I owe this excellent rendering to Dr. de Buck.

<sup>12</sup> This stanza is utterly obscure and doubtless corrupt.

<sup>13</sup> Again an utterly obscure sentence.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. 'in front of him'.

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY SHINING FORTH, O Rē̄r! Thou causest the robber to retreat. (12, 1) Those two eyes behold, and weep (?) . . . . . night and day in the lands. The Silent land . . . . ., maker of beauty. Dost thou (not) shine and life come into being? . . . . .

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS THY SHINING FORTH, O Rē̄r, beloved herdsman! . . . . . (12, 5) goats, cattle, and birds cry [unto him] . . . . . Egypt. His beautiful light is come into being (?).

Chance or deliberate intention has docked the last page of the greater part of its content. Only one more paragraph seems to have started with the exclamatory formula used in the six that precede, and the remaining lines afford only an inkling of their general trend. In 12, 7 is a sentence which may possibly signify '*Is there (aught) like the fear of the ignorant?*' and in 12, 9 occurs another reference to '*Horus crossing the horizons*'. Amen-Rē̄r is praised in the following line, and there is a reference to his journey '*in the midst of the flood*', whereupon '*the crocodiles retreat*'. Next, he is equated with '*Shu, the moon in the eyes of the Nūn*'. In 12, 13 a more personal note suggests that the book is nearing its close. The author confesses '*I am one timorous, without . . .*', and perhaps may have pleaded his humility as a reason for receiving the god's favour. A plea of this kind might form a suitable conclusion to the work.

Although the hymns above translated contribute little that is positively new to our knowledge of Egyptian religion, they are not without a certain importance as enabling us to form a better estimate of the Ramesside tendencies towards syncretism and monotheism. In general outlook, though not in phraseology nor yet in other externals, the new hymns present a close analogy to those of the well-known Leyden papyrus No. 350.<sup>1</sup> In that papyrus Amen-Rē̄r is mentioned under this his most usual name only once, but he is none the less clearly the deity whom the author was alone concerned to celebrate. Not infrequently he is called simply Amūn, or simply Rē̄r. Owing to the identification with the sun-god it is little wonder that the Amūn of the Leyden hymns is sometimes addressed as Ḥarakhti and Atūm, but more significant is the fact that on two occasions he is definitely equated with Ptaḥ. These traits all reappear in the Chester Beatty papyrus. The name Amen-Rē̄r occurs only in 7, 5 and 12, 10, but the two deities united in that composite name are often separately mentioned.<sup>2</sup> In 7, 5 the complex designation Amen-Rē̄r-Atūm-Ḥarakhti is shown by the context to represent only a single god, and the other references to Atūm (4, 12; 6, 12), Horus (7, 1; 12, 9), and Ḥarakhti (2, 8; 9, 1) are equally clearly mere alternative appellations of a unique supreme being. It is only in his role as an artificer that this supreme being is envisaged as Ptaḥ (5, 1; 8, 6), just as elsewhere on account of other attributes he is described as either identical with (5, 2) or in control of (8, 10) the Nile-god Ḥap̄y. But it is the solar aspect that predominates. In the absence of light human beings

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus* in *AZ.* XLII, 12 foll.; Erman, *Der Leidener Amonshymnus* in *Sitzb. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1923.

faint and perish (3, 12), whereas all creation exults at the sun's rising (10, 7). Indeed, without the sight of the sun life is impossible (10, 8-9). The old mythical conceptions of the sun-god still persist. He sails across the heavens in his ship (6, 2; 7, 1), and launches his flame against the rebel-serpent (6, 1). The heaven-goddess Nut conceives him in the night, and he is born every morning as a young bull (9, 4-5). But if he has a visible celestial body by day, in the night he rules the netherworld (9, 3; 10, 6.9). He is also the moon (4, 4; 8, 7; 12, 12), and takes particular pleasure in manifesting himself as the youthful moon (8, 7), perhaps an allusion to the Theban god Khons. In 5, 9 there is a reference to Mut, the third member of the Theban triad. She is the mother of this chameleon-like deity, though in another passage the goddess of Truth is named as at once his mother and his daughter (9, 7-8), and we have already referred to his conception by the sky-goddess Nut. Various other deities are mentioned, but they play subsidiary parts and are evidently introduced only for the glorification of the central figure. The casual mention of Osiris-Onnōphris, as also of his son Horus (11, 2), are traits not found in the Leyden hymns, which also lack the elaborate eulogy of the serpent-goddess found in 6, 3 foll.

It is as a pre-eminently beneficent deity that Amen-Rē here comes before us. The metaphor of the good herdsman is applied to him with tedious frequency. He is the nearest kinsman of all mankind (7, 11 foll.). Even the animals (7, 6) and the plants (2, 12) are his creation. He maintains life and provides sustenance (8, 12; 11, 6), and consequently all nature adores him (10, 7-8). A ruthless enemy to the rebellious and wicked (6, 1. 8; 11, 1), he gives joy and gladness to all that are loyal to him (6, 2; 8, 3 foll.). A just and omniscient judge (4, 11; 6, 12; 11, 1), his ears are always open to hear petitions (8, 5; 10, 13). The most remarkable feature in these hymns is, however, the emphasis laid upon the universality of the god. No reader can fail to be struck by the frequency with which expressions for 'everyone', 'everybody', 'all mankind' occur. And just as he makes no distinction of rank (8, 1-2), so too his sway extends to the barbarians outside the frontiers of Egypt. The peoples of the Mediterranean are mentioned no less than three times (6, 6; 7, 7; 10, 6).

This sketch of the nature of the god eulogized alike in the Chester Beatty and in the Leyden hymns might easily be amplified, but enough has been said to show that they reflect a genuinely monotheistic outlook conditioned by and, as far as might be, reconciled with the traditional polytheism of Egypt. For this strange mixture of what to the Western mind cannot fail to appear as contradictories the Ramesside imperialism is no sufficient explanation, since no such views manifest themselves under the Tuthmosides, when the foreign empire of the Pharaohs was far more real, far less a mere aspiration. Here no doubt the influence of El-Amarna is still at work. The Aten-heresy had been banned, but its spirit persisted in the more thoughtful minds. Erman seems to think<sup>1</sup> that the Leyden hymns were definitely heretical, but if it be remembered

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

that the Chester Beatty hymns really imply two distinct authors, one of whom was a draughtsman of Amūn, the cumulative evidence will be seen to point in the opposite direction. No religion is completely uniform or self-consistent, but must necessarily vary with the varying dispositions and shifting moods of its adepts. In the laudations of Amūn of which we have some fragments in another papyrus of the Chester Beatty collection (No. XI, *vs.* 2) the form chosen demands exclusive attention to him, and an elimination of those identifications with other gods which here are completely in place. So too in the stelae from Dêr el-Medîneh translated by Erman<sup>1</sup> and Gunn,<sup>2</sup> where a more intimate and less speculative tone is adopted. But the same wide outlook describing the deity as both omnipotent and well-disposed is discernible in all these texts, and no reason exists for thinking that they do otherwise than display different facets of the orthodox Theban religion of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Two hundred years later an equally fervent monotheism of Amūn, but one far more theological and exclusive, will have developed under the high-priest Hērīhor and his successors.<sup>3</sup>

## B. A STUDENT'S MISCELLANY

PLATES 18-22

Whereas the text of the *recto* is purely religious, that of the *verso* is wholly secular, at all events in the sense that it turns exclusively on earthly affairs. We have here, in fact, one of those miscellanies or collections of edifying writings which formed the staple of a Ramesside scribe's education. A more normal specimen will encounter us in Papyrus No. V. The present example differs from all known miscellanies of the kind through the unique interest of several of its passages. No epistolary formula occurs until 7, 3, where the scribes Ptaḥemuia and Amenher are indicated as respectively writer and recipient of a model letter. These may possibly have been the persons, perhaps a master and his pupil or subordinate, actually responsible for the present manuscript. They are hardly likely to have been the authors of any of its contents, for textual errors abound, and more than one passage has a duplicate in other papyri. The preserved portion unexpectedly begins with moral maxims. Half of the first page has been cut away, but what remains is not unworthy of translation.

(1, 1) ..... Do not encroach on another in respect of his boundary.  
Make ..... Hand over thy property to thy children before (?)<sup>4</sup> thou hast reached [old age?]  
.....'

The maxim recorded in the next lines (1, 3-4) finds a parallel in the large Bologna papyrus (No. 1094, 11, 7-9), where it is strangely set within the framework of a model letter.

<sup>1</sup> *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*, in *Sitzb. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt*, in *JEA*. III, 81 foll.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Meyer, *Götterstaat, Militärherrschaft, und Ständewesen in Ägypten*, pp. 11 foll., in *Sitzb. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> *amem* is doubtless for *amem*.

[DO NOT FIND FAULT?],<sup>1</sup> BUT HAVE A CARE concerning words. Act (the part of) one who is silent as passenger [in the ferry-boat. Pay unto it the fare.] Reward the craftsman, that <he> may serve thee.<sup>2</sup>

ACCORDING AS THE HEART INVITE THEE, thy name shall be (1, 5) . . . . . thy deeds. Be not slothful, but make perfect all thy dealings. . . . . Be not light in thy character, so that <thou> mayst be respected as a man . . . . . [Better is?] perseverance<sup>3</sup> than sloth. He who is persevering after sloth (?) . . . . .

ACT THOU WITH RIGHTEOUS DEEDS. Be straight, be not crooked . . . . . thy excellent deeds. So shall thy superiors respect thee, and the commander [of] . . . . . hearken unto thee. (1, 10) . . . . . people. Persevere in thine office, and make perfect thy dealings, so that [all?] things may hearken unto thee . . . . .

[ATTACH?] THYSELF TO A MAGISTRATE, that he may love thee on account of thy character, and may send thee (on missions), his heart confident . . . . . excellent. Be (?) profitable to him even as the mistress of his house, and become to him like his son. Be not absent from him a moment.<sup>4</sup> Beware . . . . . Fight against drawing nigh to a woman,<sup>5</sup> lest thy name stink.

From this point onwards the text is almost free from lacunae, and at first continues in the same vein:

IF THOU ART WEALTHY, AND STRENGTH HATH COME (2, 1) to thee, thy god having built thee up, play not the ignorant with a man whom thou knowest. Greet everyone. Release another when thou hast found him bound. Be a protector to the miserable. He is called good who does not play the ignorant.

IF AN ORPHAN PETITION THEE, one who is weak and persecuted by another who would ruin him, fly to him and give him something. Constitute thyself his rescuer (?).<sup>6</sup> It will be good in the heart of god, and men will (?) praise thee (?).<sup>7</sup> A man whom his god hath built up should foster (2, 5) many.<sup>8</sup>

These somewhat disconnected injunctions are written in language differing but little from Middle Egyptian, but probably not earlier than the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Note, for example, the use of  $\text{𓂏}$  to give subordinate force to a clause (1, 11; 2, 1, *bis*), the construction  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  in 2, 2, and the use of  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  instead of  $\text{𓂏}$  for 'many' (2, 4-5). The same conclusion probably applies to the remarkable series of paragraphs beginning in 2, 5, which all treat the hackneyed theme of the superior advantages of the scribe's profession, but do so in an unusually interesting and original way.

NAY BUT IF THOU DOEST THESE THINGS, thou art versed in the writings.<sup>9</sup> Those learned scribes from the time of the successors of the gods, (even) those who foretold the future, it hath befallen<sup>10</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> See the note on the text.

<sup>2</sup> Emend  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  with Bol. Perhaps the entire maxim is to be taken metaphorically, in the sense that people ought to give everyone his due.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'make hard', below in 1, 10 with 'thy office' as its object.

<sup>4</sup> Or 'at the moment of . . . .'

<sup>5</sup> De Buck quotes *Ptahh*. 281; *Book of Dead*, ed. Budge, p. 146, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. perhaps 'replace on account of it (?) a rescuer'. But the word-order would be abnormal, and this interpretation is very far from certain.

<sup>7</sup> Read  $\text{𓂏}$  for  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏}$  for  $\text{𓂏}$ ? But the third person is also possible, referring to the good deed.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps emend  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ .

<sup>9</sup> As the text stands, 'thou art versed in the writings' must be taken as the apodosis, and must apparently be understood as meaning 'this will show that thou art versed in the writings'. This interpretation is sufficiently difficult, however, to make us suspect some corruption. 'If thou doest this' can certainly not be taken to mean 'if thou writest these maxims'.

<sup>10</sup> Lit. 'they have become their names enduring for ever'.

their names endure for all eternity, (though) they be gone, having completed their lives, and (though) all their kindred be forgotten.

THEY MADE NOT UNTO THEMSELVES pyramids of brass, with tombstones of iron.<sup>1</sup> They knew not how to leave heirs that were children [who should?] pronounce their names, but they made heirs unto themselves of the writings and the books of instruction which they made.

THEY APPOINTED FOR THEMSELVES [the papyrus-roll] as a lector-priest, the writing-board as a loving-son.<sup>2</sup> Books of instruction (became) their (2, 10) pyramids, and the reed-pen was their child. The stone-surface was (their) woman. (Persons) both great and small were made into their children, for the scribe, he is chief of them (all).<sup>3</sup>

THERE WERE MADE FOR <THEM> DOORS AND HALLS, but these are fallen to pieces. Their *ka*-servants are [gone], their tombstones covered<sup>4</sup> with dirt, their chambers forgotten. (But) their names are pronounced because of these books of theirs which they made, inasmuch as they were good, and the memory of him who made them (?)<sup>5</sup> is for evermore.

BE A SCRIBE, PUT IT IN THY HEART, that thy name may fare (3, 1) similarly. More profitable is a book than a graven tombstone, than a chapel-wall (?)<sup>6</sup> firmly established. This serves as chapels and pyramids to the end that a man's name may be pronounced.<sup>7</sup> Assuredly profitable in the necropolis is a name on the lips<sup>8</sup> of mankind!

A MAN HATH PERISHED and his corpse is become dirt. All his kindred have crumbled to dust.<sup>9</sup> But writings cause him to be remembered in the mouth of the reciter. More profitable is a book than the house of the builder, than chapels in the West. Better is it than a stablished castle and than a memorial-stone (3, 5) in a temple.

IS (ANY) HERE LIKE Harededef? Is there another like Imhōtep? There have been none among our kindred like Nofri and Akhthoy, that chief among them. I recall to thee the names of Ptaḥ-emdjedḥuty and Kharkheperra'sonb. Is there another one like Ptaḥhotpe or like Kairos?

THOSE SAGES WHO FORETOLD THE FUTURE, that which came forth from their mouths happened. It is found as a pronouncement, it was written in their<sup>10</sup> books. The children of other folk are given to them as heirs, as (though it had been) their own children. They concealed their magic (3, 10) from all the world, (but it is) read in a book of instruction. They are gone, their name is forgotten. (But) writings cause them to be remembered.

This remarkable passage, harping so insistently upon the immortality of the great writer, and contrasting so unfavourably the children of a man's loins with those whom he begets through authorship, is unique in Egyptian literature. None the less, the sources of its inspiration are not far to seek. The glorification of the scribe's profession is a constantly recurring topic in Ramesside Miscellanies, and a favourite specimen of the effusions devoted to it will come before our notice in 3, 11. All such effusions are doubtless based on the much-copied book preserved complete, though in very

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the pyramids they built were not of brass, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Sr-mr-f* 'a-son-who-loves' was the technical name given to anyone who took upon himself the burden of a funerary cult.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'starting from great to small were made into his children; as for the scribe, he is their first'. The sudden change from the plural to the singular and the un-English phraseology make it necessary to paraphrase. The 'great and small' are the readers of the masterpieces alluded to.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *gwc* 'bedecken', 'aufschütten' in Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch*, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> The suffix  $\text{𓂏}$  is possibly original, see note 3 above. But this would be an extreme case of the proleptic use of the pronouns, for *ir st* would then have to be taken as a participle (with object) explaining the suffix.


<sup>6</sup> *Inht*, an unknown word.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'these make halls and pyramids for the sake of pronouncing their name'.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'in the mouth of'.

<sup>9</sup> *Sb-n-ts*, a hitherto unknown expression parallel to *sb-n-sdt* 'burnt-offering', lit. 'gone-to-fire', which has survived in Akhmimic *chncete*.

<sup>10</sup> Lit. 'his'.



corrupt condition, in the second Sallier papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, the subject is given a new turn and blended with another familiar theme. Elsewhere it is not authorship, but the ordinary routine of the scribe, which is chosen for eulogy. The present passage is concerned only with the nobler task, and the occasion is seized to praise the celebrated men of ancient times, eight of whom are mentioned by name. First and foremost comes the famous Ḥardedef,<sup>2</sup> who lived under Khufu, together with the yet more famous Imḥōtep,<sup>3</sup> the contemporary of Djoser of the Third Dynasty. Nofri<sup>4</sup> is unknown, but Akhthoy<sup>5</sup> may well be the author of the much-read composition alluded to above. That composition characterizes a number of occupations turn by turn and concludes that of all callings that of the scribe is alone deserving of envy. Beside the two papyri *Sallier II* and *Anastasi VII*, which contain the whole or considerable portions, a large number of Ramesside ostraca give fragments of the text, and recently an earlier and more correct excerpt, dating from about the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has come to light.<sup>6</sup> Some biographical details with regard to this Akhthoy are given below in 6, 12–14, and in commenting on that passage the question of his identity will be further discussed. The next name has so strange an appearance that it can hardly be the original reading. The reading of our papyrus has not improbably arisen from the combination of *two* names, the first of which was a compound beginning with the name of Ptaḥ. As regards the second, there are some chances that we may possess it in another papyrus. In the literary satire of the papyrus *Anastasi I*, the scribe whose competence is impugned is represented as saying that he had written a new letter composed from start to finish by himself alone;  'By the soul of Djeddjehūti, I made it by myself'.<sup>7</sup> That this Djeddjehūti must be an ancient author of repute had not previously been recognized, but becomes extremely probable in the light of the present list of writers. It is not without astonishment that we encounter in that list the name of Kharkheperarsonb, the naïve poetaster who, on a writing-board in the British Museum, bemoans the difficulty of finding new things to say.<sup>8</sup> Ptaḥhotpe is evidently the moralist of the *Prisse* papyrus, the vizier of Pharaoh Asosi of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> Kairos is again an unknown name.<sup>10</sup>



The mention of Ḥardedef and of Imḥōtep gives us the clue to the text which inspired

<sup>1</sup> See Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated by A. M. Blackman, pp. 67–72. The present writer has pointed out in an article to appear in the *Mélanges Maspero* of the French Institute in Cairo that this composition has been wrongly attributed to a man called Duauf. The correct translation is 'Instruction which a passenger in the cabin named Duauf's son Akhthoy made for his son Piopi, when he voyaged upstream to the Residence in order to put him to school among the children of the magistrates'. See too below in the text.

<sup>2</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 133.

<sup>3</sup> See the monograph upon him in Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, vol. II, part 4; also J. B. Hurry, *Imhotep*, 2nd ed., 1928.

<sup>4</sup> The first  in this name looks rather more like 

than like , but has not really the correct form for . In any case, *Nfry* is probably to be read, since it is a familiar man's name while *Nfriti* is unknown.


<sup>5</sup> See above n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A. Piankoff, *Quelques passages des Instructions de Douaf sur une tablette du Musée du Louvre*, in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, vol. I, pp. 51 foll.

<sup>7</sup> *Anast. I*, 7, 6.

<sup>8</sup> See the Appendix in Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, pp. 95 foll. A limestone ostrakon in the Cairo Museum gives a small fragment of the same text.

<sup>9</sup> See Erman, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 foll.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., however, the name  in Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 45.

this enumeration. Both these wise men are mentioned together in the well-known *Song of the Harper*,<sup>1</sup> which professes to have been inscribed in the pyramid of one of the Antef kings. And what confirms the hypothesis that this Eleventh-Dynasty song was the source of our scribe's inspiration is the fact that both compositions enlarge upon the transitory nature of the tomb, a topic touched on also in the *Dialogue of the Pessimist with his Soul*.<sup>2</sup> The Chester Beatty papyrus has woven its material together in none too skilful a way. The sudden shiftings of pronoun from plural to singular and the loose constructions, for which textual corruption can scarcely be solely responsible, render the translator's task a hard one, and in some places a paraphrase has been found more appropriate than a strictly literal version.

We now come to a series of three sections which eulogize the scribe's profession in more conventional manner. The first of the three was known from other papyri.<sup>3</sup>

BE A SCRIBE. IT WILL SAVE THEE from taxation, and will protect thee from all labours. It will stop thee from bearing hoe and mattock, so that thou (need) not carry a basket. It sundereth thee from plying the oar, and stoppeth thee from hardships, that thou mayst not be under many lords and numerous masters. Of all that (4, 1) exercise a profession the scribe is the chief.

IT IS THE SCRIBE WHO ASSESSES both Upper and Lower Egypt. It is he who receives (the dues) from them. It is he who accounts for everything. All soldiers are dependent upon <him>. It is he who conducts officials into the Presence, and sets the pace for every man.<sup>4</sup> It is he who commands the entire land. All business is under his control.

BE A SCRIBE, THAT THY LIMBS MAY BE SLEEK, and thy hands become soft,<sup>5</sup> that thou mayst go forth in white attire, honour done to thee,<sup>6</sup> and that the courtiers may salute thee. A man of value is sought and thou art found. One does not recognize a little one (?), (4, 5) but one finds (?) the man that is skilled,<sup>7</sup> and he rises step by step until he has reached (the position of) magistrate, in praise corresponding to his good character.

In 4, 6 we return to the moral precepts temporarily abandoned in 2, 5. These are possibly excerpts from some well-known didactic treatise, clumsily fitted into their present surroundings by the aid of introductory words resembling those there used.

NAY BUT THOU ART EXPERIENCED<sup>8</sup> IN THE WRITINGS, thou hast penetrated<sup>9</sup> into (moral) teachings. Sit not in the presence of one greater than thyself. Respect another, that thou (thyself) mayst be respected.<sup>10</sup> Love men, that men may love thee. Speak no words in excess. Walk not upon the road (over-)ostentatiously when thy name has been recognized.<sup>11</sup> Keep side by side (with others) (?),<sup>12</sup> relax not attention until thou hast attained a way for thy feet.

<sup>1</sup> Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Anastasi II*, 6, 7, foll.; *Sallier I*, 6, 10, foll. Also again below *Pap. Ch. Beatty V*, rt. 7, 9, foll.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'putting every man to his foot', an apparently unknown phrase. It remains doubtful whether the pronoun refers to the scribe, as assumed in my translation, or whether it refers to the officials, in which case it will mean 'shows each man his appointed task'.

<sup>5</sup> These phrases occur also in *Lansing*, 7, 7. The true meaning of the stem *nrc* (acc. gen.) is 'to be smooth', not 'bunt sein' as *Wb.* II, 208 supposes. Cf. especially the causative *snrc* 'to polish', and see below, p. 49, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> A tiny scrap of these two clauses will be found below in *Pap. Ch. Beatty XVIII*, fr. A, rt. 3.

<sup>7</sup> This might mean that only the man of talent attracts


notice, lesser men being overlooked. But the *m* after *gm-tw* is a difficulty, and there may well be other possibilities.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'thy experience is in'.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'entered'.

<sup>10</sup> Emend .

<sup>11</sup> Lit. 'found', i.e. perhaps, when you have begun to count as a competent scribe. So again 4, 4–5; 6, 5; *Anast. V*, 17, 7, also below p. 47, n. 1. The entire sentence is doubtless to be construed metaphorically.

<sup>12</sup> Emend , perhaps lit. 'thou shalt set <thyself> at the sides'. The expression appears to be unknown, but the interpretation here suggested yields a good contrast to the previous clause. The scribe is to keep in the background until his superiority is proved.



NAY BUT THOU ART EXPERIENCED IN THE WRITINGS, thou hast penetrated into (moral) teachings. (4, 10) Praise thy god incessantly, that he may favour thee every day, and that he may ordain thy bones, which are in thy body, into the godsacre.<sup>1</sup> Offer unto him with loving heart, that he may give thee food of his giving. A man loves him who serves him, and this god (doth) likewise.

PURIFY THYSELF WITH LOVING HEART, cleanse thee every day. Stretch not out thy hands towards anything in his presence. Beware of presumption(?).<sup>2</sup> (5, 1) Look not at a place thou shouldst not know. Question not God.<sup>3</sup> God loves not a man who approaches him (too closely), being one into whose dealings he should(?) not pry.<sup>4</sup> Beware of loudness of voice in his house. God loveth quiet.

STRETCH NOT OUT THY HANDS TOWARDS CORN FROM HIS GRANARY, (OR TOWARDS) ANYTHING FROM <HIS> MAGAZINE. Beware of tasting any of his property. His rights are [kept with] in his sight. Be not covetous in any concern of his. He detests his property to be taken. Pilfer not date-cakes or bread or beer-jug from the daily offerings.

PAY REGARD TO THE SERVANT(S) OF HIS HOUSE. He loves (5, 5) it (more) than that his name should be pronounced. Take heed to them, to make flourish those to whom <God's> ear is (given). To make flourish him who serveth God is like the wailing of a cat.<sup>5</sup> If thou persevere in following his predilections<sup>6</sup> thou shalt put to harbour<sup>7</sup> in possession of his favour.

There follows a passage describing the miseries of a soldier's life, closely modelled upon the well-known characterization in *Anastasi III*, 5, 7 = *IV*, 9, 6. Difficulties of vocabulary and grammar abound—so much so that it has been deemed appropriate to render freely, and for once to dispense with disfiguring brackets and query-marks.

I WILL INSTRUCT THEE concerning the condition of the soldier in all duties that he performs. He is taken to be a soldier as a child of two cubits.<sup>8</sup> He is imprisoned in the barracks, and put into a regiment with officers over it. He is confined and goes not abroad until he comes to be a soldier, struck down with (5, 10) torments.

HE RISES IN THE MORNING ONLY TO receive castigation, and will be wounded with bloody wounds. He is accoutred with weapons in his hand, and stands on the battle-field every day. A lacerating blow is dealt his body, a double blow descends on his skull. A blow that knocks him head over heels is dealt his eyes, and a shattering<sup>9</sup> blow falls on his nose.

HE LEAVES OFF WORK BEATEN LIKE A PAPYRUS<sup>10</sup> and (6, 1) battered with castigations. Bread is given to him weighed in the scales, and [his] meal [consists of] . . . . . HE GOES FORTH COMPLETE WITH<sup>11</sup> hoe and mattock, straps, carrying-pole and basket. Be a scribe and save thyself from labours, protect thyself from all this.

The remainder of the page is devoted to general reflections on education and character,

<sup>1</sup> This Germanism, admired by Longfellow, is here demanded by the context for the Egyptian *hrt-ntr* 'cemetery', 'necropolis'.

<sup>2</sup> *Itḥw n ib* is mentioned as something bad in the Dream-book, 9, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Of the two possible English translations, 'God' and 'the god', neither does justice to the Egyptian original, which here simply ignores the issues of monotheism or polytheism.

<sup>4</sup> The rare verb *hfy* here probably conveys a notion of presumptuous or illicit 'seeing', just as *hnhn* implies a similar nuance as compared with simple 'approaching'. The *n* of the relative form is possibly faulty.


<sup>5</sup> *Rmw*, lit. 'weeping(s)'. The sense is very obscure. Can it be meant that to cultivate the welfare of God's servants

is, or should be, as natural to a man as is mewing to a cat?

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'disposition', 'nature'.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'moor', elsewhere a metaphor for 'to die'. So perhaps here, unless the less compromising sense 'to end' was intended.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'of a reed's length.' So according to the attractive suggestion of Gunn in Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti II*, text, p. 94, where *nbi* is equated with the measure rendered in Greek as *ναύβιον*.

<sup>9</sup> Emend  suggested by *Anast. III*, 5, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Sheets of papyrus were made by beating together strips of pith from the plant.

<sup>11</sup> These last words are wrongly rubricized. The sense seems to be: when the soldier is given a rest from fighting, he is put to agricultural work in the fields.

ending with an encomium of the scribe Akhthoy, very probably the same as was mentioned in 3, 6. Particularly striking is the protest against fatalism in the second paragraph.

I SPREAD OUT<sup>1</sup> instruction before thee, [I] testify [to thee] concerning the way of life. I set thee upon a path that is painless, a palisade<sup>2</sup> protecting <against?> the crocodile, a (6, 5) good and comfortable glow, shade without heat. Act accordingly, that thy name may be recognized,<sup>3</sup> and that thou mayst attain the West.


BEWARE LEST THOU SAY: 'Every man is according to his (own) character; ignorant and learned are all alike; fate and upbringing are graven upon the character in the writing of God himself; every man passes his life within an hour.'<sup>4</sup> Good is instruction without wearying of it, and that a son should make answer with the utterances of his father. I cause thee to know rectitude in thy heart. (But) do what is just in thy sight. (END.)

The breath of welcome, anointing with myrrh, and the north wind of hairdressers [be thine?]<sup>5</sup> May they(?) exalt (6, 10) their moment of life when their names are pronounced. May they follow Sokaris in the Shetjit-shrine,<sup>6</sup> and Osiris in Busiris! They all have blessed my name on reaching the conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

[REPETITION OF?]<sup>8</sup> LIFE, and the sight of the sun to the scribe Akhthoy, and invocation-offerings of bread and beer before Onnōphris, libations and wine and linen to his *ka* and to his company—the excellent one, whose utterances are choice! I proclaim his name to eternity. It was he who made a book as the(?) Instruction of King Shētepebrēr, when he had gone to rest, joining heaven and entering among the lords of the necropolis, (7, 1) the . . . . ., and causing to endure . . . . . beside Shētepebrēr . . . . . content . . . . . the generations which shall be. So let a man speak with instruction . . . . . [Akh]thoy(?), the deceased.

It is indeed unfortunate that lacunae should have robbed us of the latter part of this intriguing passage. The Akhthoy here singled out for eulogy can barely be anyone else than the author whose pre-eminence was proclaimed in 3, 6. But if so, and if credence be given to my conjecture that this was that son of Duauf to whom the second Sallier papyrus assigned the famous *Satire des métiers*, then it is difficult to resist the further conjecture that Akhthoy is here alleged to be the compiler of the no less famous *Instruction of Amenemmes I*. Both compositions are found together in the said papyrus, and seem, together with the *Hymn to the Nile*, to have constituted a group of classical texts intimately associated together in the minds of the Egyptians. If such be the right interpretation of the present passage, we shall do well to attach to it no historical importance. From the mere association of these texts in a number of manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> an ignorant scribe of Ramesside times might easily conclude that the writer of the *Satire*

<sup>1</sup> The original inserts a superfluous 'to thee'.


<sup>2</sup> *Hryt*, an unknown word the meaning of which emerges partly from the context and partly from the determinatives. It might well be a collective of the word  in *Lebensmüde*, 148.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 41, n. 11.


<sup>4</sup> Dr. de Buck rightly takes this as belonging to the quotation, the meaning being that life is too short for a man to change his innate character.

<sup>5</sup> The sense of this flowery paragraph is very obscure. Is Akhthoy of 6, 12 already addressed? The 'north wind of hairdressers' may be a euphuistic term for 'perfumes', but to whom does the pronoun 'they' in the next sentence refer? Can it hark back to the great writers whose names

were enumerated in 3, 5-7?

<sup>6</sup> The old  or sanctuary of Rostaw (Gizeh?).

<sup>7</sup> *R-gswy*, lit. 'beside', 'near'. *Kmyt* must surely be connected with *km* 'to complete', and designate either the last page of a papyrus or the actual colophon. The word occurs also *Sall. II*, 4, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Restore ?

<sup>9</sup> This, however, is pure hypothesis, since though the *Satire* and the *Hymn to the Nile* are again found together in *Anastasi VII* and the Louvre writing-board, the like does not hold good of the *Instruction*, which is united to the other two only in *Sall. II*. But the *Instruction* vies with the *Satire* in its frequency upon ostraca.

*des métiers* was also the writer of the *Instruction of Amenemmes I.* Naturally he would have to assume that Amenemmes was already dead when the *Instruction* was written, for so puissant a monarch could hardly have allowed it to be known that the advice bearing his name was really the work of another hand. Our Ramesside scribe may have thought of the *Instruction* as a memorial inscribed in the pyramid-temple of Amenemmes for the use of posterity; in that case the story of Sinuhe would provide an analogy.<sup>1</sup> For my own part, I am more inclined to take the statements of the *Instruction* itself at their face value. What more likely than that the old king, on surrendering his actual powers to his son, should have composed a book which would serve both as a memorial to his mighty deeds and as an apologia for his retirement from the kingly office?

In 7, 3 begins one of those letters, not uncommon in Late-Egyptian miscellanies, the purpose of which is to familiarize the writer or reader with a number of rare words and names of things. But with an inanity hard to equal even in this turgid class of composition the author here clumsily subordinates his real theme to the hackneyed phrases of reproach usually addressed to pupils who have been neglecting their literary studies. The two names at the beginning may well be those of real persons, see the introductory remarks above, p. 37.

The scribe Ptaḥemuia speaks to the scribe Amenher. This letter is brought to thee to say that I have heard thou turnest thy back to literature,<sup>2</sup> thou commander of the world, thou accountant of tribute in the king's palace, consisting of silver, gold, (7, 5) lapis lazuli of . . . . .<sup>3</sup> combined with green stone of Upper Egypt . . . . .

The catalogue that follows, even in its present mutilated condition, is of great lexicographical importance, just as it is also of great length—extending indeed over the remains of four whole pages. To discuss the separate items would transcend the purpose of this book, and it must suffice to mention the classes of tribute included. From 7, 4-8, 6 we appear to have nothing but minerals, often with indications of their provenance or of the form in which they were delivered. In 8, 3 the words '*Behold, thou hast not accounted for . . . . .*' suggest that the scribe felt the need for apologizing for further additions to so long a list. In 8, 6 various qualities of linen or cloth are mentioned, but already in 8, 7 a transition has taken place to such commodities as moringa-oil and incense. The last lines of the page were devoted to animals and birds, but only few names are preserved. Extremely varied are the items enumerated in 9, 1-9, but in 9, 10 the author starts a new group with the words '*Come (let me tell thee) concerning the things of the Oasis, which are numberless*'. From 9, 14 to 10, 3 different kinds of sea-fish appear to be named. In 10, 7 or earlier the enumeration seems to have given place to a description of the tribute-bringers, these coming from '*every land*', including the '*lands of Retenu*' (Syria), and paying '*adoring*' homage to His Majesty. At the bottom of the tenth page, the last to be preserved, the tribute of Nubia is dealt with, and here we note some names found also in the Koller Papyrus.

<sup>1</sup> This possibility was suggested by Dr. de Buck, who has discussed the whole problem with me to my great profit.





<sup>2</sup> Lit. '*divine words*'.

<sup>3</sup> The locality here mentioned occurs again in *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, vs. B 18, 9.

*Recto.* HYMN TO THE NILE, FOLLOWED BY VARIOUS SHORT TEXTS IN LETTER FORM





*Verso.* CONCLUSION OF THE SHORT TEXTS. JOTTINGS. MAGICAL TEXTS

LIKE most other papyri of this collection, No. V is heterogeneous in content. If its character must be summed up in a single formula, it might be described as a miscellany similar to that already studied in the *verso* of No. IV, and this description would derive some justification from the fact that, as we shall see, all the writing emanates from a single hand. A strip of rather more than one metre was found intact in roll-form, but many layers had fallen away from the outside and had in some cases crumbled into tiny fragments. These were reassembled by degrees, and the reconstructed whole has a length of 1.85 m., by a height of 20.5 cm. The inner margin is preserved, and consists of an uninscribed protecting strip 5 cm. in width. How much has perished at the outer end of the roll cannot be ascertained. The joins are at regular distances of 25-6 cm. apart, and if we ignore the protecting strip and the minute remains of a sheet at the beginning, seven complete sheets remain in all, each occupied back and front by a complete page, since the scribe was at pains, not only to utilize his material to the utmost, but also to avoid writing over the joins. Every sheet overlaps its successor to the left. The papyrus is rather thick in texture, and its colour is now a deepish brown.

For the literary and magical texts the scribe employed a squat, rather heavy handwriting giving an unusual, but not wholly unpleasing, impression. He had a marked preference for elaborate hieroglyphic forms, examples of which, to be seen in *rt.* 6 (Pl. 25A), are , , , and . The magical texts on the *verso* are accorded more generous spacing than those on the *recto*, and the page of odd jottings (*vs.* 3) shows that the scribe could at will command a fine cursive style. Corrections at the top of the page are very frequent on the *recto*, and consist almost entirely of efforts to improve the shapes of the rarer signs, some of which are repeated over and over. The peculiar character of the hand enables us to affirm with certainty that these corrections are all due to the same scribe as the texts themselves. The fact has considerable importance, as it has been assumed that such corrections are always added by the teacher, and various conclusions based on that assumption will now require serious reconsideration.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in particular A. Erman, *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften* in *Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Jhrg. 1925, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, No. 2, p. 6: 'Die Korrekture, die so oft die Ränder dieses Papyrus bedecken, rühren natür-

lich von einem Lehrer her.' The illustrative facsimiles *ibid.*, p. 7, by no means prove this thesis, though I would not go so far as to say that they prove the opposite.

It is not easy to date the papyrus with precision. That it belongs to the Ramesside age is apparent at the first glance, and all things considered, the reign of Meneptah or that of Sethos II seems the likeliest attribution. The scribe had a leaning towards dotted signs, e.g. , , , a trait which recalls the scribe Pentwēre (see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II). No specifically late forms, such as the oblique and bulging , have been noted.

A considerable number of small fragments remain unplaced.

### A. THE HYMN TO THE NILE



PLATES 23-24

No more is left of the first page of the *recto* than a few signs at the ends of the lines, and the text to which they belong cannot be identified. In *rt.* 1, 12 begins, however, a duplicate of the well-known *Hymn to the Nile*, and the lacunae gradually decrease in number as the end of the text (*rt.* 5, 5) is approached. This is not the place to estimate the value of the new readings, but a cursory examination shows frequent divergences from the version of *Sallier II* and *Anastasi VII*, support being sometimes given to the variants of the Golénischeff ostrakon.

It would be over-sanguine to expect that the Chester Beatty papyrus will dispose of all the difficulties of this exceptionally obscure and corrupt Middle Kingdom composition.<sup>1</sup>

### B. SHORT TEXTS IN LETTER FORM

PLATES 24-27

A series of short compositions follows, separated from the Hymn and from one another by the usual terminal rubric . The first five are eulogies of the scribe's profession, more conventional in character than those of *Pap. Chester Beatty IV*, verso. Three of the five, indeed, occur either wholly or in part in other papyri. The usual fiction of a letter passing between teacher and pupil is adopted, but the names are omitted except in *vs.* 2, 1-2, where the isolation of their occurrence makes it doubtful whether they are real personages. In this same passage elaborate epistolary greetings of the usual type are found, and in fact constitute the whole of the section. Elsewhere they are dispensed with, and the scribe hurries on to the gist of his communication with the help of the usual formula of transition, , an Egyptian equivalent of our own 'To proceed'.

(1) *Rt.* 5, 5-9. Advice to the scribe. The same text in *Anast. V*, 10, 3-8, *Sall. I*, 3, 6-9, and some ostraca. A recent rendering in A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated by A. M. Blackman, London, 1927, p. 195.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Rt.* 5, 9-14. The callings of scribe and soldier are compared. A new text on an old theme.

<sup>1</sup> See for this G. Maspero, *Hymne au Nil* in the *Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, vol. V, Cairo, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> The clause beginning with *shrw:f* (5, 6) should be rendered 'All his purposes are hard (or stern)'.

Be a scribe. (5, 10) Apply thy heart. It is more profitable than any office. [Every] man is esteemed on account of his office. Try it for thyself. Lay up [my] words within thine ear, that thou mayst become a man and mayst be found (of account).<sup>1</sup> For painful it is to serve as a soldier. He is driven<sup>2</sup> like a donkey. If <he> is sent to the army of Syria, or it may be<sup>3</sup> (to that) of Kush, having left his wife, his children, and his clothes at home, his food<sup>4</sup> consists of grass of the field like any head of cattle. Take cognizance thereof.

(3) *Rt.* 5, 14-6, 7. The scribe is more happily situated than the field-labourer, domestic servant, laundryman, or sailor. Another new text in which the author seeks to imitate the famous *Satire des métiers*, but falls far short of his original. The imagery is poverty-stricken and in part barely intelligible.

Be a scribe, set it in thy heart, that thou (6, 1) mayst save thyself from many masters<sup>5</sup> and mayst be found (competent)<sup>6</sup> on the morrow. Every profession is assessed for contributions, and likewise all underlings. Those who are in the field plough, reap, garner, and thresh on the threshing-floor. The serving-men boil figs. The laundrymen are on the river-bank and go down into the water. The sailor<sup>7</sup>—as they say—the crocodiles stand (there), while the boat, its city is (6, 5) afloat (?). For the sailor is worn out, the oar in his hand, the lash<sup>8</sup> upon his back, and his belly empty of food. But the scribe sits in the cabin,<sup>9</sup> while the children of the great row him,<sup>10</sup> and there is no reckoning of dues (against him). The scribe has no contributions (to pay). Take cognizance thereof.

(4) *Rt.* 6, 7-12. An extremely obscure section of which a duplicate with considerable variations exists in *Anast. V*, 7, 5-8, 1. The language is highly figurative, and even the nature of the theme is doubtful. Possibly allusion is made to the unhappy plight of the soldier during the summer-time, when he is sent on furlough to the country. Even then he is not free, as he may be called up for service at any moment. Nor can he look forward to personal profit from the harvest and inundation, like the peasant working in his own fields. The Pharaoh appears to be addressed. No previous translation has been published.

Hail to <thee>! Lotuses unfold, and *wrd*-birds are caught by the wing. Thy<sup>11</sup> army is dismissed to the country, and their offspring<sup>12</sup> are branded. Thy heat is like the might of Amūn, it is (6, 10) a man's abomination. The sun arises not in his presence, the Nile flows not<sup>13</sup> for him. He is like a mouse of the High<sup>14</sup> Nile that finds no place of retreat; prostration(?)<sup>15</sup> comes to take hold of him, and the crocodile is on the alert to scent him.<sup>16</sup> Take cognizance thereof.

<sup>1</sup> For similar pregnant uses of *gmi* see above p. 41, n. 11, and Gardiner, *Hieratic Texts*, I, p. 17\*, n. 3. Also below, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Emend   .

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'with another Kush', apparently an early anticipation of the idiomatic use seen in Coptic *ⲧⲕⲉⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ*, 'Mary also'.

<sup>4</sup> De Buck points out that *wmmw* here is a noun.

<sup>5</sup> For this phrase see above *Pap. Chester Beatty IV*, *vs.* 3, 13, and below, 7, 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Wrw* is the term describing any 'recruit', whether for military or for naval service. The very obscure sentence that follows may well be a proverb.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'leather'. This specialized use apparently only here.

<sup>9</sup> *Tirt*, see Glanville's excellent discussion in *ÄZ.*

LXVIII, 20-2.



<sup>10</sup> The influence of the *Satire des métiers* is here particularly apparent. Cf. *Sallier II*, 3, 9-4, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Var. 'the'.

<sup>12</sup> Var. 'followers'.

<sup>13</sup> *Anast. V* omits 'not'.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. 'great', i.e. the culminating point of the inundation.

<sup>15</sup> In the critical note it was suggested that the corrupt word ought perhaps to be emended as *hḏrt*, the name of an animal which from the determinative in Cairo 20105 (Schäfer-Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, Pl. xi) may mean 'weasel'; see too *ÄZ.* LX, 80. However, *Anast. III*, 6, 1 suggests that   should be read.

<sup>16</sup> For these clauses *Anast. V*, 7, 8-8, 1 substitutes 'He is like a bird which is caught by the wing in a man's hand and cannot fly.'


(5) *Rt.* 6, 12-7, 9. All Egypt is in festival, while the Egyptian soldier abroad has to force his way through a jungle. How much better it is to be a scribe! The first sentence is found in *Anast.* III, 5, 6 = *IV*, 9, 4-5, but the following description, though reminiscent of other texts, appears not to occur elsewhere. At the end of 7, 4 begins a series of clauses nearly identical with *Anast.* III, 5, 9-11 = *IV*, 9, 7-10, and the end of the section is a corrupt version of *Anast.* V, 10, 7-11, 1. The passage as a whole is a clumsy bit of patchwork, as the following rendering will show.

Come, let me describe to thee the state of the soldier, that much tormented one, on the day when Thebes is commanded to make festival in the cool winds of the second month of winter. A man is in sore straits as he (7, 1) [pushes] on sandalless and impeded(?) by the rushes, while the undergrowth(?)<sup>1</sup> is abundant and thick,<sup>2</sup> and the weeds(?) troublesome. Officers are behind them with rods, and smite and smite.<sup>3</sup> He<sup>4</sup> is thirsty, and drinking overcomes not the heat and the sweat. Whereas Pharaoh has appeared gloriously at the beginning of this festal day of coronation, the date on which Heliopolis is commanded to make festival. Come, <let me tell> (7, 5) thee about<sup>5</sup> his ascent <into> Syria and his marching upon the hill-tops. His bread and water are upon his shoulders like the load of an ass. He drinks of stinking water and halts (only for) the (night-)watch. Art thou an ass which one shall drive? Is there no sense<sup>6</sup> in thy body? Exercise this office of magistrates.<sup>7</sup> Agreeable and wealth-giving are thy palette and thy writing materials, and thy heart is merry every day. Take cognizance thereof.


(6) *Rt.* 7, 9-12. Further praise of the scribe's profession. We have met with this section already in *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV*, vs. 3, 11-13, in dealing with which it was noted that the same text occurs also in *Anast.* II, 6, 7-7, 3, and *Sall.* I, 6, 10-11.

(7) *Rt.* 7, 12-8, 6. The first of a sequence of model letters exhibiting the style of correspondence adopted in the ordinary routine of official life. The names and titles of writer and recipient are omitted, except in the last letter of the series. The point of the first two, as of others already studied in connexion with *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV*, lies in the enumeration of different articles and products with which any competent scribe ought to be familiar. The present letter deals with taxes due to the Treasury of Amūn to be exacted from the 'herdsmen of the Altar of Amūn', a designation known from *Pap. Mallet* in the Louvre (2, 4), but as yet unexplained.

When my letter reaches thee, thou shalt proceed to the South (8, 1) to the company of tax-gatherers,<sup>8</sup> together with Ani, the attendant belonging to the house of Amen-Rē, king of the gods,

<sup>1</sup> *Šfnw* determined with  is unknown to the Berlin dictionary, but occurs *Anast.* I, 25, 1 and on an ostrakon in Chicago, in both passages in a context similar to the present one.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'heavy'.







<sup>3</sup> Assuming that  is to be understood.














































<sup>4</sup> The changes of pronoun are awkward in the extreme.

<sup>5</sup> See the critical note, and cf. above, *Pap. Chester Beatty IV*, vs. 9, 10; 10, 4 for a very similar phrase.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'heart', i.e. 'understanding'.

<sup>7</sup> *Scil.*, the scribe's profession.

<sup>8</sup> That *št* is a collective noun for a body of persons is clear from      , *Anast.* V, 27, 6, and

from the present passage it emerges that the word means a body of tax-gatherers. This agrees well with the title   , for which we may now compare                                            





ANOTHER incantation against < . . . . . > Flow out, Š[*t?*]wn which . . . . . (7, 1) sacred eye . . . . . in it. When Horus was a child in the arms of Isis, lady [of Khemmis?, seven] portions (?) [were?] given to him, one in Imu,<sup>1</sup> one in Nedjef,<sup>2</sup> one in . . . . ., one in Shesti (?),<sup>3</sup> one in Abydos, one in . . . . . and one in Herakleopolis. TO BE RECITED . . . . . [over?] seven roasts of goat's liver, the names of the districts, each [one?] of them, being given . . . . . in smoke (7, 5) of . . . . . placed upon his [head?] by a man . . . . . his eye with . . . . . and thou shalt approach him . . . . . without his knowing, and thou shalt . . . . . bandage (?) . . . . .

[ANOTHER?] PRESCRIPTION made for it. Incense . . . . . for Gēb, Osiris, . . . . . Abydos . . . . . and Busiris. Hail to thee, right eye of Rēr, . . . . . (7, 10) Hail to thee, Sakhmet-Bast . . . . . Welcome, welcome in peace to N, born [of M, even as] Rēr [found peace] descending<sup>4</sup> to [heaven, even as] Rēr found peace descending to [earth], even as the lords of Heliopolis found peace through . . . . . and even as the spirits found peace through incense. [O yonder dead man, O?] adversary male and female who is in [the face (?) of N, born of M,] . . . . .

Written against this page are the traces of a large ꝥ, a diacritical mark possibly marking approval of what has been written (cf. Coptic ⲉⲓⲉ, ⲁⲓⲁ 'yes'). Near the bottom margin are traces of an eighth page of the *verso*, but only two signs remain.

<sup>1</sup> The modern Kôm el-Hisn in the north-western Delta. Upper Egypt. The capital here mentioned must have been near the present el-Kûšiyeh, the ancient Koussai.  
<sup>2</sup> According to Sethe (*Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, § 57) the earlier form of the name of the *stf*-tree which was the symbol of the 13th and 14th nomes of  
<sup>3</sup> An unknown locality.  
<sup>4</sup> Emend to *pr* 'mounting'?

## No. VI (BRIT. MUS. 10686)

PLATES 30-32 A

*Recto*. MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS*Verso*. FRAGMENTS OF A MAGICAL TEXT

NO fragments belonging to this papyrus were found, so that probably we possess as much of it as the library of its ancient owner ever contained. Like several other documents of the collection it is incomplete at both ends; also a single fold is missing near the beginning. If the necessary space for this be allowed, the papyrus will measure 1.35 metres in length, by a height of 21 cm. Joins occur at regular intervals of 25 cm. or thereabouts, the last being 9.5 cm. from the inner margin. At the beginning there is no trace of a join until 7 cm. after the lost fold, whence we must suppose that the preceding one was in close proximity to the present outer margin. The right-hand sheets overlie those to their left, and the scribe has paid no attention to the joins in mapping out his pages. The *recto*, written in a good literary hand which may well be as early as Ramesses II, started with four narrow columns or pages, of which the fourth alone is quite complete. Then follow three entire pages and a fourth incomplete one of normal breadth. Page 6 of the *recto* is conspicuous for elaborate corrections, which are explained in the notes to the transcription. The *verso*, written in a somewhat later hand closely resembling that of the *verso* of Papyrus No. VIII, occupies only the back of the last pages of the *recto*, the top of the *recto* corresponding to the top of the *verso*. The text is magico-medical, and breaks off in the midst of a line. The rest of the *verso* is blank.

The subject of the *recto* is too technical to be profitably dealt with here, and Mr. W. R. Dawson, who has provided valuable elucidations, will discuss it in detail elsewhere. The prescriptions are concerned almost entirely with disorders of the anus and rectum. Similar prescriptions occur in both the Ebers and the Berlin medical papyri, but there are no exact duplicates.

The *verso* contains spells directed against unidentifiable maladies. At the beginning reference is made to a speech of 'King Osiris to the vizier Khentamente', a mythological allusion which would have been acceptable in more complete form; we have few references to the officials and lieutenants of Osiris during his terrestrial reign beyond the narrative in Diodorus (I, 15 foll.). Below, there is the elaborate vignette of a prostrate human figure being speared by a deity standing on his back, while four crocodiles bite his lower members. A squatting image of Rēr, apparently ram-headed, is connected in some obscure way with the scene above described; beneath, we see the king or Osiris, in a boat, near which is another crocodile showing no signs of ferocity.

The accompanying spell, declared to be 'very good' (𓄿𓄿), ends with the words '.....and thou shalt take hold of it with thy left hand ..... nsyt'<sup>1</sup> (name of the malady). The next item (vs. 1, 5-7) is a 'remedy for dispelling mhꜣ from the limbs [of a man?]', and apparently consists only of a manual rite, the description of which is destroyed but for the words '..... his face, and thou shalt put ox-dung, and shall turn (it) upside down(?) ..... until it is hot'. A 'remedy for dispelling injury from any limb' consists of an ointment to be used for four days, and this again is qualified as 'very good' (vs. 1, 7-2, 2). The remainder of the *verso* is occupied by a 'charm for dispelling nsy male and female'. This reads as follows (vs. 2, 2-9):

Back! Fall <upon> thy face! Thou shalt not exist in heaven. Thou shalt not exist on earth. Thou art not in the netherworld. Thou art not in the waters. Thou art not in existing forms(?). Thou art not in any god or goddess. Thou comest not to fetch N, born of M, or (?) thou fallest not upon him. Thou shalt not work (2, 5) thy will upon him. Beware of feeding (?) upon N, born of M.

ANOTHER SPELL. O ye four spirits which are they who kept watch over Osiris. As to the watch which ye kept over Osiris, may ye keep the like over N, born of M, so as not to allow him to be killed by any dead person male or female, any enemy male or female, who is in any limb of N, born of M. NAMES OF THE SEVEN—

Here the text breaks off abruptly.

<sup>1</sup> Ebbell adduces evidence to show that *nsyt* was the Egyptian term for 'epilepsy', *ÄZ.* LXII, 13.

## No. VII (BRIT. MUS. 10687)

PLATES 33-38 A

## Recto. MAGICAL SPELLS FOR PROTECTION AGAINST SCORPIONS

## Verso. CONTINUATION OF THE SAME. SPELLS AGAINST FEVER, ETC.

IN this papyrus we have the central portions of an elegant book of magical incantations in small format. As with other manuscripts of the collection, the inner end had been deliberately cut off by one of its owners, and the outer pages have suffered greatly by mishandling or lapse of time. Most pages are disfigured by lacunae of greater or less size. The height is only 14 cm. and the length, as at present mounted, about 1.9 metres. Joins occur at intervals of 26-7 cm., and are well executed. Of the innermost sheet only 14 cm. remain before the cut. The larger part of the writing of the papyrus emanates from one and the same scribe, who, on reaching the inner margin, followed the usual practice of turning his manuscript horizontally, and worked backward in the direction of the beginning. For one reason or another he never finished his book, and the sixth page of the *verso* ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. A certain amount of room was thus left unoccupied on the *verso*, and this a clumsy scribe of the Twentieth Dynasty has utilized for magical spells of a different kind, embellished with vignettes (Pl. 38A).

The main book was doubtless written in the reign of Ramesses II, and shows the same correct orthography and absence of corruptions that were conspicuous in the Dream-book. The writing is literary hieratic of the most normal type, extremely neatly executed. On the *recto* rubrics and small verse-points are plentiful. On the *verso*, where the writing is somewhat smaller,<sup>1</sup> verse-points are altogether lacking. In mapping out the pages of the *recto* the scribe has evidently tried to avoid the joins, but has seldom quite succeeded. This effort on his part has made the pages very long in proportion to their height. In a few places (e.g. *rt.* 4, 5, 6, 8) corrections have been added, apparently in another hand.


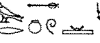
## A. MAGICAL SPELLS AGAINST SCORPIONS

PLATES 33-37

(1) *Rt.* 1, 1-4. Only a few words are preserved at the ends of the lines.

..... Come thou(?) forth from the narrow place(?), thou scorpion. .... [Ye] gods, seat yourselves in your places. Behold, Horus .....  
..... N, born of M. TO BE RECITED .....

<sup>1</sup> It has proved impossible to maintain a single scale of reduction in our Plates. The student must not be misled into thinking that the texts of Pl. 35 are in a smaller hand than those of Pl. 34, or the texts of Pl. 34 in a larger hand than those of Pl. 33. The writing of the *recto* is of uniform size throughout.

(2) *Rt.* 1, 4-2, 5. This spell contains a recurring formula which has made it possible to put many fragments in their right positions and to estimate the length of the lines. The scorpion is charged to eject its poison, the magician identifying himself with the physician Horus, who utters the command in the name of one or other of his wives. For Horus as a physician see, besides Diodorus, I, 25, a Strassburg ostracon published by Spiegelberg, *ÄZ.* LVII, 70, and Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 124, 5, where the Horus of  Letopolis receives the title  'chief physician in the house of Rē'. This suggests a legend relating how Horus healed the sun-god Rē, after the latter had been stung by a scorpion. There are some indications that such a story was told in the damaged introduction of our spell. It is not impossible that the various wives of Horus mentioned here are merely appellations of the scorpion-goddess Serket, who is known from the Metternich stela (l. 203) to have mourned for Horus when he was bitten, and who is indirectly declared below in 4, 8 to have been a wife of Horus.<sup>1</sup> For various names of goddesses identical with, or analogous to, those mentioned here, see the footnotes. Some phrases of the present spell occur also in a corrupt magical text found on a limestone ostracon (E 3209) in Brussels.

ANOTHER (spell). Flow forth,<sup>2</sup> thou scorpion . . . . . thou of the long back and the many joints, (1, 5) . . . . . of Speret-<sup>3</sup> . . . . . [Come hither at my utterance(?) according as] I say.<sup>4</sup> I am the god who came into being of himself<sup>5</sup> . . . . . Isis. The poison . . . . . Rē, which(?) Nut, who bare [the gods?] said . . . . . [N, born of] M.

Come, [issue forth. So saith . . . . .<sup>6</sup> wife of] Horus. [Behold, I am] Horus, the physician soothing the god.<sup>7</sup> [Flow forth from the limbs.]

[Come, issue forth. So saith . . . . . wife of] Horus. Behold, [I am Horus, the physician soothing the god]. Flow [forth from the limbs].



Come, issue forth. So saith . . . . . (2, 1) -ifdet, [wife of Horus]. Behold, I am Horus, the physician [soothing the god. Flow] forth from the limbs.

Come, issue forth. So saith Wep-sepu,<sup>8</sup> wife of Horus. Behold, I am Horus, [the physician soothing the god]. Flow forth [from the limbs].

[Come, issue forth. So] saith Sefed-sepu, wife of Horus. Behold, I am Horus, the physician [soothing] the god. [Flow forth from the limbs.]


<sup>1</sup> This relationship is not mentioned in Roeder's admirable article *Selket* in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der . . . Mythologie*. That the wife of Horus was a scorpion is implied by the words 'on the night that the wife of Horus bites thee', *Pap. Tur.* 137, 1-2. Note that *psh* 'bite' is used of scorpions no less than of snakes.






<sup>2</sup> This imperative, elsewhere addressed to the scorpion's poison (*Ostr. Strassb.*, 10; *Pap. Turin*, 131, 6) is here and often below transferred to the scorpion itself.


<sup>3</sup> Perhaps part of a name of a wife of Horus, since we have named as such  *Pap. Leyd.* 348, (vs.) 12, 4, who is probably identical with  below 4, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Restored from 3, 1; a slightly different possibility in 8, 6.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Rē-Atūm.

<sup>6</sup> *M dd*, lit. 'at the saying of'. Among the names that may originally have stood here and in the lacunae below 1, 8; 2, 3, 4 are the following, elsewhere directly or implicitly given as wives of Horus:  and var.

without  *Brussels E 3209*; below 3, 4; vs. 6, 5;  *Pap. Leyd.* 345, vs. I, ii, 3;  *Pap. Turin*, 77, 12;  below 4, 5, 6; and possibly  8, 5.

<sup>7</sup> The rendering of these words, which is not quite certain, is based on  *Lebensmüde*, 23-4, where *hṭp* appears to be an active participle with transitive meaning.

<sup>8</sup> Again below 4, 7, there apparently identified with Serket.

[Come,] issue forth. [So saith Metemet(?)]<sup>1</sup> Nofret-iyas, wife of Horus. Behold, I am Horus, the physician [soothing] the god. Flow forth from the limbs.

Come, issue [forth. So saith . . . . . wife of Horus]. Behold, I am Horus, the physician soothing the god. Flow forth from the limbs.

(2, 5) . . . . . Horus<sup>2</sup> . . . . . Semy . . . . . Flow forth from the limbs.

(3) *Rt.* 2, 5-3, 1. A short spell in the form of a dialogue between Rē and Isis, closely connected both in phraseology and in intent with the well-known legend of which we shall find a fragmentary text below in *Pap. Chester Beatty XI*, recto.

ANOTHER. 'O Rē my lord, Rē my lord! What is it thou art suffering? Is (not)<sup>3</sup> thy face inert? . . . . . Between thine eyebrows is sweat.'

'Yea, O Isis my sister. [Something] has bitten me in the night. [Behold, it is] hotter [than] fire, it is more blazing than a flame, it is sharper [than] a thorn.'

Then said Isis the divine: 'Can one (not) work magic for [a man when] his name [is pronounced]?'<sup>4</sup>

'I am Rē, [I] am Rē himself. I am Rē when he rises. I have appeared amidst (3, 1) [those in] whose [following(?) is flame(?)] and in whose mouth is fire.'<sup>5</sup>

'Flow forth, thou scorpion. Come hither at my utterance according as I say. Behold, the god has asseverated(?) seven times without proclaiming(?)<sup>6</sup> his name.'

(4) *Rt.* 3, 2-5. Lacunae and other defects render the interpretation of the next spell very difficult, and my rendering is only tentative. It is clear, however, that the general trend is similar to that of the preceding passage, though the sufferer may here be at once Rē and Horus.

ANOTHER. 'I [went forth?]<sup>7</sup> by night shod and girt(?),<sup>8</sup> the Prince having been bitten upon the tips(?) of the shoulders. Behold, . . . . . ascending to . . . . . 'Come(?), lay a spell upon me, my mother Isis. My mother [Isis] will lay no spell upon [a son of hers?], if his name be not known. I am [yesterday, I am] to-day.<sup>10</sup> I am Rē who went out concealed at the bidding of Tabitjet.'<sup>11</sup> 'Flow forth, thou scorpion. Behold, I have caused [him(?) to reveal(?)] his name. Come hither, O poison, (3, 5) according to the utterance(?) of . . . . .'



(5) *Rt.* 3, 5-7. There is a parallel text, though very much mutilated, in *Pap. Leyd.* 349, vs. 3, 7-10, where the variants lead us to suspect corruptions here.

[ANOTHER].<sup>12</sup> Hail to thee, O thou upon whose head are seven serpents! O thou to whom the seventy-seven hearts are entrusted in the evening and in the night, if(?) N, born of M, be not [cured?]. . . , Rē will not show himself(?), Thoth will not show himself(?), Horus will not show


<sup>1</sup> Restored from vs. 6, 4, where several double names occur, as seems to be the case here. See too p. 58, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The spell ends with a sentence differing from the preceding seven times repeated formula.



<sup>3</sup> The negation appears to be required in English. For similar cases see above, p. 29.


<sup>4</sup> If the negation is to be supplied in the English translation the right restoration may be  as in *Pap. Turin*, 133, 11. Otherwise one might render: 'Can one work magic for  a man whose name is unknown?'

<sup>5</sup> For a phrase of the same form see below *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 1, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps  should be emended; for *mt*

cf. *Pap. Turin*, 132, 10. For place of *sp* 7 see p. 49, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps restore  cf.  *Pap. Leyd.* 349, vs. 2, 1.

<sup>8</sup> An unknown verb? But more probably to be emended into  as *Pap. Leyd.* 349, vs. 2, 2, a closely similar passage, suggests.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'falcons'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Pap. Turin*, 134, 7   

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 56, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Leyd.* has the heading '[Another] spell against (lit. for) a scorpion'. It is a female deity that is addressed.

himself(?).<sup>1</sup> The sun shall rise, the disk shall shine, and services [shall be performed] in every temple, [if?]<sup>2</sup> he be better than he was (heretofore) for his mother, (even) N, born of M.

TO BE RECITED FOUR TIMES. End.

(6) *Rt.* 3, 7-4, 4. The next spell, which is extremely obscure, starts with a reference to the manual gesture performed by the magician. What follows is very disjointed, and all that can be done is to render the phrases mechanically.

ANOTHER. I have enclosed in my right hand, I have enclosed in my left hand, [I have?] enclosed . . . . . Horus, [I] have enclosed it in seven knots.<sup>3</sup> Horus looked behind him, and found Seth following him (and *vice versa*). That phoenix which (4, 1) sat, two ends(?)<sup>4</sup> of a sinew were drawn from its brow and made into seven knots.<sup>5</sup> It was reported to Rē, the box which came forth from Heliopolis and none knew what was in it.<sup>6</sup> A seal of black stone was in it. Come . . . . .; so saith Spertu-eros<sup>7</sup> Sep-nas-to, the first body of Prēr. She tells her name to Horus every(?) three years, the hidden blood being on her thighs since Horus opened<sup>8</sup> her. Come to me, and draw forth these malignant <humours><sup>9</sup> which are in the limbs of N, born of M, even as Horus went to his mother Isis on the night when he was bitten.<sup>10</sup>



(7) *Rt.* 4, 4-7. A mythical episode is recalled, when Sefet-sefekh, probably yet another wife of Horus, recited a spell for him behind a wall.


ANOTHER. (It) is recited<sup>11</sup> for (4, 5) N, born of M, even as (it) was recited by(?)<sup>12</sup> Sefet-sefekh behind a wall. The malignant humours<sup>13</sup> of the scorpion which are in the limbs of N, born of M, are moved, even as (they have been) moved for Horus (ever) since he saw his enemy fallen at his feet. Behold, it is not I who recite for thee, it is Sefet-sefekh who shall recite for thee, even as she recited for Horus, saying: 'The son of a prince is(?) come forth from the earth.'

(8) *Rt.* 4, 7-8. As in the last spell, the magician disclaims having himself worked the cure, and attributes it to a wife of Horus. Perhaps we have here alternating utterances of poison, magician, and scorpion-goddess.


ANOTHER. 'Some one approaches me.' 'It is not I who approach thee(?),<sup>14</sup> it is Wepet-sepu,<sup>15</sup> wife of Horus, who approaches thee(?).' 'Ye poison(s?), come forth to me. I am Serket.'

(9) *Rt.* 4, 8-5, 2. An unnamed deity announces that he has arrived into the conclave

<sup>1</sup> Leyd. inverts Thoth and Horus, and reads  'will not stop(?) him' for  e.

<sup>2</sup> [] is certainly not sufficient to fill the gap. Leyd. has '[if?] N, born of M, be healthy and more beautiful than the day his mother bore him'. For a like conditional promise, see below, 8, 1; vs. 6, 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Here and in spell no. 20 below we appear to have a conception of the imprisonment of the poison in magical knots. Elsewhere (e.g. *Pap. Tur.* 135, 8) magical knots are rather obstacles or barriers which the poison cannot 'pass'.

<sup>4</sup>  an unknown word.

<sup>5</sup> The same incident is alluded to in *Pap. Tur.* 118, 6, where we read: 'N, born of M, is like the sinew of the phoenix (or heron) that came into being of itself, which these gods gave as an amulet of his [limbs?] in the House of Re'.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the same box as is alluded to *Pap. Tur.* 119, 12.


<sup>7</sup> For the name see above, p. 56, n. 3. The following



name, determined with the sign of the god, not of a goddess, is either an apposition or a genitive, since a singular suffix-pronoun follows.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. 'deflowered'. Cf. below vs. 2, 2; *Brussels E* 3209, 1.



<sup>9</sup> Insert ; cf. 4, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Grh n pshf*, cf. *Pap. Tur.* 135, 5; 136, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Though spelt in the same way, *šdi* with dative here and below is not to be understood like *šdi* 'to draw forth' with direct object found above in 4, 3. The det.  in 4, 7, as well as the context there and analogies in many other magical texts, shows that the correct translation is here 'recite', i.e. read aloud from a papyrus or quote from memory.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps emend  for .


<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Pap. Turin*, 135, 7; *Brussels E* 3209, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Very possibly  here and in the next sentence is to be understood as , suffix 2nd fem. sing.

<sup>15</sup> See above 2, 1.

of the gods, and hints that he has found them prepared to aid him in dispelling the poison.

ANOTHER. I have come to-day from the house of the Hidden One amid the hidden crew. Lo, I have found the great ones (5, 1) <upon> [their] mats, and the little ones<sup>1</sup> with their mooring-posts driven in; and their hands are equipped with knives because of it(?). Issue forth, thou poison of the scorpion which is in the limbs of N, born of M.

(10) *Rt.* 5, 2-5. A new version of the legend dealt with above in spell no. 3. At the beginning there is a small red  above the line, as also below *rt.* 6, 2. 4. 7; 7, 2. 5. 7. This may be rendered 'done' or 'used', and indicates that the magician had made practical use of this incantation.

ANOTHER. The sound of groaning is met by lamentations. Rē has swooned.<sup>2</sup> He says: 'I have trodden upon something of which [the] . . . . . [is] hot. <My> heart is afraid, my flesh creeps. The useful member<sup>3</sup> in me obeys me not.' 'Tell me [thy name? of?] thy mother, and let me lay a spell on it for thee.' 'I am the Lion, I am the Lion-pair. I am the Phoenix which came into being of itself, the man of millions<sup>4</sup> whose name is unknown. For, if the poison (5, 5) go up on high, the Bark of Rē will founder<sup>5</sup> on that spine of APOPI which coils up(?) when it meets(?) the dew(?).' 'Flow forth, thou scorpion.'

(11) *Rt.* 5, 5-6, 2. Here a friend of Rē is apparently the victim. A number of rare words and probable corruptions obscure the text.

ANOTHER. Rē is afraid within the shrine on account of his friend the ox-herd,<sup>6</sup> who has been smitten(?) through his bread and beaten through his fresh(?) water.<sup>7</sup> He says: 'The road is [distant?], and the Bark is moored on a great mud-flat(?) on which are no reeds(?).<sup>8</sup> Bring me that shoot(?)<sup>9</sup> of a rush, that I may repel the poison which is in thy limbs, the . . . . .<sup>10</sup> of it which is in thy members, until comes the son of a man who knows his name. He will conjure it(?)<sup>11</sup> for thee.' (6, 1) THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN OVER A SHOOT(?)<sup>9</sup> OF A RUSH SOAKED IN A FERMENTED SOP, TWISTED(?) OVER THE LEFT HAND, MADE INTO SEVEN KNOTS, AND LAID AT THE MOUTH OF THE WOUND. THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN EVERY . . . . .

(12) *Rt.* 6, 2-3.





Another SPELL. O Corn-god, a throat—stretch thy arm forth against it. Scratch, destroy, and carry off for thyself. THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN [OVER . . . . .] TO BE DRUNK BY THE MAN WHO HAS THE WOUND.

(13) *Rt.* 6, 4-7. Horus is the speaker, and evidently also the sufferer. Is the orphan girl who has bitten him simply a designation of the scorpion-goddess?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Astarte Pap.* 3y-1, 3y for the antithesis, and Naville, *Totenbuch*, ch. 181 (1a), 1 for the first phrase.

<sup>2</sup> For the phrase cf. *Pyr.* 2083; *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, *rt.* 3, 2. The sense seems to be the same as that of *hm-n(i) wi* in *Sinuhe*, B 253; *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn makes the attractive conjecture that 'the useful member in me' means the heart.




<sup>4</sup> i.e. probably 'of millions (of years)'. Cf. the name of the ship of the sun-god     'the Bark of Millions'. However, in *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 14, 2 a god is named 'lord of millions' and in the next line there

is a reference to 'millions of cubits'.

<sup>5</sup> *Ši*, see *Wb.* IV, 401.

<sup>6</sup> For *nrw* 'oxen' or the like, see *Pyr.* 244. 280.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps a metaphorical way of saying that poison had been put into his food and drink. For *hjd* 'dough' see *Wb.* III, 237.

<sup>8</sup> Emend    ?

<sup>9</sup> *Bkt*, an unknown word.

<sup>10</sup> *Swt*, not in the Berlin dictionary.

<sup>11</sup> The addition of a direct object to the idiomatic *šdi n* 'recite for' (see above, p. 58, n. 11) is unusual.



ANOTHER. Come, O my mother Isis and my sister Nephthys. All my limbs are ill. [My?] voice . . . . . spoken(?) in the night, the twenty-two noble ladies (6, 5) making vigil. Bite of(?) an orphan girl, bite of(?) an orphan girl. Behold, bite of(?) an orphan girl. Words(?) . . . . . since night. Speak against(?) the bite of(?) the orphan girl. (Whether) the bitten(?)<sup>1</sup> die (or) the bitten(?) live, it is Thoth(?)<sup>2</sup> who replies. Flow out, scorpion. TO BE RECITED <OVER> A PELLET(?)<sup>3</sup> OF BARLEY BREAD, ONIONS, AND OCHRE, HEATED AND PUT ON THE PLACE OF THE BITE. IT WILL NOT SPREAD. End.

(14) *Rt.* 6, 7-7, 1.

ANOTHER. A sound of wind, and there is no wind in it. A sound of water, and Nile has not been born. Have a care concerning<sup>4</sup> the rising of the sun and the shining of the disk, and concerning that said by him who is in his cavern. O poison, come forth upon the earth from the limbs of (7, 1) N, born of M.

(15) *Rt.* 7, 1-2.

ANOTHER. Woe, woe, I repeat, I say three times, over a thing that came forth in secret. See thou . . . . . of N, born of M, until the sun rise over the soil.

(16) *Rt.* 7, 2-3. Too defective to be intelligible.

ANOTHER. I came forth from(?) . . . . . faience. I trod upon Seth . . . . . my feet against(?) a god whom I leave(?). I am the mother of Min. TO BE SAID FOUR TIMES. End.

(17) *Rt.* 7, 3-5. This spell is even more defective, and I make no attempt to translate it.

(18) *Rt.* 7, 5-7. It looks as though the magician had fashioned a scorpion of clay to contend with the actual scorpion, and as if these may be the words with which he accompanied the manual rite.



ANOTHER. A mouth against a mouth. A tooth against a tooth. Rē, beware of the poison of the scorpion I have made of clay, and the base of turquoise I have placed on . . . . . of the *hḏn*-plant, to be secret fisher of the body(?).<sup>5</sup> Come hither at my utterance according as [I] say.<sup>6</sup> I am Horus who made thee. Flow forth, thou scorpion.

(19) *Rt.* 7, 7-8, 1. Once again it is the sun-god Rē who has been stung by the scorpion.

ANOTHER. Woe! Woe! The heavens have been penetrated(?), the earth is in darkness because of Rē. O Ennead,<sup>7</sup> come ye and see the poison which has arrived veiled. It has flowed like the Nile over the bank(s). The sun shall (8, 1) rise, and the disk shall shine, and services shall be performed in the temple of Heliopolis, if N, born of M, be [in health for his mother].<sup>8</sup>

(20) *Rt.* 8, 1-7. Though the ends of all lines on this page are lost, there can be little doubt that no new beginning occurred until near the end of 8, 7. The magical method here employed is direct assertion; the scorpion is declared to be blinded, confined in seven knots, and so forth.


<sup>1</sup> The words for 'bite' and 'bitten' are identical in appearance and without visible inflexion. My conjectural rendering is very precarious.

<sup>2</sup>  'bread' seems to be written. But perhaps we have here a Late-Egyptian form of the cryptic writing  for 'Thoth', on which see Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Iwbt*, see *Wb.* I, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Szw r* can hardly here have its usual meaning 'beware of'. The writer clearly alludes to the threat found elsewhere in this papyrus that the sun shall not shine if the poison prevail; see above 3, 6, and below 7, 8-8, 1.

<sup>5</sup> A highly speculative rendering.

<sup>6</sup>  seems superfluous; see 3, 1; *vs.* 6, 2.

<sup>7</sup> The verse-point is misplaced.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 58, n. 2.

[ANOTHER.] . . . . . A knot is tied in a rag, and his forepart is bound, the enemy of Rē. I will speak. . . . . through(?) me. I have blinded thine eyes, thou shalt not open them.<sup>1</sup> I have lamed thy fingers, [thou shalt] not . . . . . [them]. . . . . [is] thy tail,<sup>2</sup> thou shalt not tuck it together(?)<sup>3</sup>—so as to cause thee to be black like Horus, and red [like Seth]. . . . . (8, 5) . . . . ., thy nose, so saith Sky-farer, the daughter of Rē, and so saith Tamenet, wife [of Horus?]. . . . . Issue forth upon the ground according as I say. I will bind his forepart, the enemy of Rē. I will say . . . . . Thou hast been confined. Thou hast been confined in the seven knots<sup>4</sup> which are within . . . . .

(21) *Rt.* 8, 7—end of recto. The fragment which is left of this spell, which was probably very short, recalls in its expressions the passages from the Ebers and London medical papyri discussed by H. Schäfer in *ÄZ.* XXXVI, 129-31.

[ANOTHER. Fire] is in thy mouth and water is in my mouth. Water shall come forth from my mouth to quench the fire which is in thy mouth, even as . . . . .


There are no certain means of discovering how much is missing at the inner end of the roll, but since it would have been purposeless to cut off for re-use merely the 12 cm. or 13 cm. necessary to complete p. 8 of the *recto* and to yield a sheet of the normal length, we may assume that at least one page of the *recto* and one page of the continuation on the *verso* have entirely perished. Some words are lost at the beginnings of all lines in *verso*, p. 1.

(22) *Vs.* 1, 1-4. Very obscure.


. . . . . [A cry goes forth?] from the mouth of Horus: 'Who<sup>5</sup> art thou?' 'I am the ewe that came forth from heaven, she who came forth in front of the stars.' The poison . . . . . [N, born] of M, he being better than he was (heretofore) for his mother. If ye do not cause N, born of M, to depart better [than he] was [for his mother], [I will] . . . . . for(?) the 160 Hathors so as to put them face to face, and eye to eye, and so that they may strengthen his heart. . . . . [It is Horus, son of] Isis who pronounces thy name, standing within the circuit of his house. Flow forth, thou scorpion.

(23) *Vs.* 1, 4-6, 7, where the book breaks off suddenly. This long section narrated in its early lines a mythical incident centring round the Palestinian goddess 'Anat. Unhappily the lacunae of the first page do not admit of certain restoration, and the tentative suggestions made below yield only a partly coherent story. As a background for this we may recall the passage in the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth' where Neith awards the throne of Osiris to Horus, but proposes that Seth shall be compensated by the doubling of his possessions and by the presentation to him of 'Anat and Astarte, the two daughters of the sun-god Rē.<sup>6</sup> That 'Anat became the consort of Seth is



<sup>1</sup> For a similar series of assertions, alternately affirmative and negative, see *Pap. Tur.* 131, 2 foll. = *Metternich stela*, 3 foll.

<sup>2</sup> For the tail of the scorpion the Egyptian said 'horn'. So here, and also *Pap. Tur.* 31, ii, 1; 135, 11. However, the normal word for 'tail', i.e. , is also used, e.g. *Pap.*

*Tur.* 134, 5.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *mk* is unknown, but cf. *vs.* 1, 6. It seems difficult to identify it with  'consume', 'devour'.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, 3, 8.


<sup>5</sup> Understand  as , indep. pron. 2nd fem. sing.

<sup>6</sup> *Pap. Ch. Beatty I*, *rt.* 3, 4-5.



also implied by the obelisk of Tanis.<sup>1</sup> The legend here recorded seems to tell how Seth raped 'Anat whilst she was bathing and how 'the poison'<sup>2</sup>—the same Egyptian word was often used for 'seed', 'semen', and both senses are here intended together—flew to his forehead and made him ill.<sup>3</sup> 'Anat then comes to her father Rē<sup>c</sup> to beg that Seth may be released from the poison. Rē<sup>c</sup> replies cryptically, the upshot of his remarks being possibly that 'Anat, having been previously his own wife as well as his daughter, will be very leniently punished for her infidelity by the painful nature of Seth's copulation. In the end Isis rather inconsequently intervenes as a negress and heals Seth by 'uncovering' the poison that is in his limbs.<sup>4</sup>

This free interpretation of the episode may be faulty, since the text is both defective and allusive. The remainder of the spell is a patchwork of heterogeneous elements. The line 2, 4 closely resembles 1, 2 above and 6, 6 below, and the mention of Horus comes in extremely awkwardly after the preceding narrative, in which he plays no part. The long specification of members in which the poison might lurk unless banished by the deity presiding over each member belongs to the commonplaces of Egyptian magic, and here possesses a form identical with that found in the Vatican papyrus.<sup>5</sup> Vs. 6 is a hotch-potch of phrases and notions already encountered.

AN INCANTATION FOR A MAN WHO . . . . . (1, 5) [The goddess 'Anat was disporting?] herself in the (stream of?) Khap<sup>6</sup> and bathing in the (stream of) Hemket.<sup>6</sup> Now the great god<sup>7</sup> had gone forth to walk, and he [beheld Seth as he mounted?] upon her back, leaping (her)<sup>8</sup> even as a ram leaps, and covering<sup>9</sup> her even as a . . . . . covers [a] . . . . . [Then some of the seed-poison (?) flew] to his forehead to the parts of the brows of his eyes.<sup>10</sup> Thereupon he lay down upon<sup>11</sup> his bed in his house [being ill. Then] came 'Anat the divine, she the victorious, a woman acting as a warrior,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Montet, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tanis*, Pl. XXIX. Cf. further *Pap. Leyd.* 343, rt. 6, 11, where 'Anat is called 'the great  cow (?) of Seth'.

<sup>2</sup> To be restored in 1, 7 from 2, 2, 3 below.

<sup>3</sup> There is no room in the lacuna of 1, 7 for the name of a new person, so that 'his' here can refer only to the 'great god', i.e. Rē<sup>c</sup> or to the author of the assault. Rē<sup>c</sup> is excluded by the fact that, so far from lying ill, he is stated in 2, 1 to have returned home in the evening. That the aggressor was Seth and that his name should be restored in 1, 6 seems proved (1) by the mention in 2, 2, (2) by the character of the action involved, and (3) by the reference to the sick god's 'house'. In *Pap. Ch. Beatty I* Seth has a  'house' (11, 2), but Rē<sup>c</sup>, who is a sailor with a ship for his home, only a  'harbour' where he rests from time to time (4, 1; 6, 3).

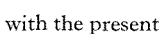
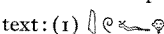
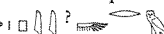
<sup>4</sup> In point of fact Seth seems not to have been mentioned. If my restoration is correct, the text speaks of 'the poison which is in the limbs [of N, born of M]', confounding the myth recalled with the purpose it was now intended to serve.

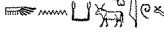





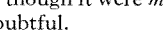
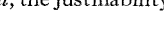
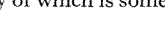
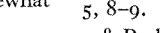





<sup>5</sup> No. 36, in Marucchi, *Monumenta papyracea Aegyptia*, Pls. II-III; see too Erman's art. in *ÄZ.* XXXI, 119 foll.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown locality.

<sup>7</sup> So too independently in reference to the sun-god

Prē<sup>c</sup>, *Pap. Tur.* 132, 8; 133, 14.

<sup>8</sup> It can be no mere coincidence that a large but indistinct hieratic potsherd published by Spiegelberg (*Hieratic Ostraka . . . found . . . in the Ramesseum*, 1-2) starts with almost identical sentences. In quoting these I make some modifications based on a comparison of Sp.'s facsimile with the present text: (1)  (2)  (sic?) 




 (3)  (4)  (5)  (6)  (7)  (8)  (9)  (10)  (11)  (12)  (13)  (14)  (15)  (16)  (17)  (18)  (19)  (20)  (21)  (22)  (23)  (24)  (25)  (26)  (27)  (28)  (29)  (30)  (31)  (32)  (33)  (34)  (35)  (36)  (37)  (38)  (39)  (40)  (41)  (42)  (43)  (44)  (45)  (46)  (47)  (48)  (49)  (50)  (51)  (52)  (53)  (54)  (55)  (56)  (57)  (58)  (59)  (60)  (61)  (62)  (63)  (64)  (65)  (66)  (67)  (68)  (69)  (70)  (71)  (72)  (73)  (74)  (75)  (76)  (77)  (78)  (79)  (80)  (81)  (82)  (83)  (84)  (85)  (86)  (87)  (88)  (89)  (90)  (91)  (92)  (93)  (94)  (95)  (96)  (97)  (98)  (99)  (100)  (101)  (102)  (103)  (104)  (105)  (106)  (107)  (108)  (109)  (110)  (111)  (112)  (113)  (114)  (115)  (116)  (117)  (118)  (119)  (120)  (121)  (122)  (123)  (124)  (125)  (126)  (127)  (128)  (129)  (130)  (131)  (132)  (133)  (134)  (135)  (136)  (137)  (138)  (139)  (140)  (141)  (142)  (143)  (144)  (145)  (146)  (147)  (148)  (149)  (150)  (151)  (152)  (153)  (154)  (155)  (156)  (157)  (158)  (159)  (160)  (161)  (162)  (163)  (164)  (165)  (166)  (167)  (168)  (169)  (170)  (171)  (172)  (173)  (174)  (175)  (176)  (177)  (178)  (179)  (180)  (181)  (182)  (183)  (184)  (185)  (186)  (187)  (188)  (189)  (190)  (191)  (192)  (193)  (194)  (195)  (196)  (197)  (198)  (199)  (200)  (201)  (202)  (203)  (204)  (205)  (206)  (207)  (208)  (209)  (210)  (211)  (212)  (213)  (214)  (215)  (216)  (217)  (218)  (219)  (220)  (221)  (222)  (223)  (224)  (225)  (226)  (227)  (228)  (229)  (230)  (231)  (232)  (233)  (234)  (235)  (236)  (237)  (238)  (239)  (240)  (241)  (242)  (243)  (244)  (245)  (246)  (247)  (248)  (249)  (250)  (251)  (252)  (253)  (254)  (255)  (256)  (257)  (258)  (259)  (260)  (261)  (262)  (263)  (264)  (265)  (266)  (267)  (268)  (269)  (270)  (271)  (272)  (273)  (274)  (275)  (276)  (277)

- Thou shalt not take thy stand in his back;  
Rē is against thee, lord of the vertebrae.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his side;  
Seth is against thee, lord of the side.
- (4, 5) Thou shalt not take thy stand in his liver, in his lung, in his heart, in his kidneys(?),<sup>1</sup>  
in his spleen, in his intestines, in his rib,<sup>2</sup> or in any flesh of his body; Imseti, Hapy,  
Duamūtef, and Kēbhsnēwef, the gods who are in his body, are against thee.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his hindquarters;  
Hathor is against thee, lady of the hindquarters.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his phallus;  
Horus is against thee, lord of the phallus.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his marrow(?);<sup>3</sup>  
Reshpu is against thee, lord of the marrow(?).
- (5, 1) Thou shalt not take thy stand in his thighs;  
Horus is against thee, lord of the thighs, [who?] walked on the desert alone.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his knee;  
Sia is against thee, lord of the knee.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his shin;  
Nefertem is against thee, lord of the shins.  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in his soles;  
Nebet-Debwet<sup>4</sup> is against thee, lady of the soles.
- (5, 5) Thou shalt not take thy stand in his (toe)-nails;  
Anūkis is against thee, lady of (toe)-nails.<sup>5</sup>  
Thou shalt not take thy stand in a bite;  
Serket is against thee, lady of the bite.

Thou shalt not take thy stand, thou shalt not find refreshment<sup>6</sup> there. There is no dwelling-place (there). Fall to the ground.<sup>7</sup> Behold, [I] have laid a spell upon, I have spat upon, I have drunk,<sup>8</sup> thee. (As) Horus is to his mother, (so) N, born of M, is to his mother. (As) Horus lives, (so) lives (also) he. Fall to the ground. Behold, I have laid a spell upon thee, I have spat upon thee. (As) Horus is for (5, 10) his mother, (so) N, born of M, is for his mother. Be spewed out . . . . .<sup>9</sup> (6, 1) I have [diminished?] thee.<sup>10</sup> I know thee, I know thy name. Come from the right hand, come from the left hand.<sup>11</sup> Come in water,<sup>12</sup> come in vomit, come in urine. Come hither at my utterance according as I say. Behold, Rē is before <thee>. Grant a path to N, born of M. The sun shall rise, the Nile shall flow, and services shall be performed in Heliopolis, (if) N, born of M, be better than he was (heretofore). So saith Sepet-Sētekh, so saith . . . . . hedj, so saith Hetjay-nebet-ḥike, so saith Wet(?) -neb-wam, so saith Nebet-rarawet, so saith Nebet-pesesh, so saith Metemet Nofret-iyes,<sup>13</sup> so

<sup>1</sup> Ggt, not yet identified, see *Wb.* V, 208.

<sup>2</sup> Written like *spt* 'lip', but *spr* 'rib(s)' must surely be meant.

<sup>3</sup> . For words of this appearance see *Wb.* I, 20. *Vat.* omits, but has , i.e.  between *phwy* and *hmn*. It is possible our word might be a corruption of this, for which see the note on *Pap. Ch. Beatty*, XII, 3.


<sup>4</sup> Unidentified. There seems to be paronomasia between the names of goddess and of part of the body.


<sup>5</sup> Probably again paronomasia.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. 'become cool'.

<sup>7</sup> These two sentences also *Vat.* B 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Vat.* B 3.

<sup>9</sup> Half a line is left blank in the papyrus, perhaps indicating a lacuna in the MS. used by our scribe. *Tpt* is evidently the intrans. verb written  and addressed to Apopis in *Bremner-Rhind*, 23, 2. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The page opens with half a word; see the last note. Perhaps restore .

<sup>11</sup> So too together with *bš* of the next line, in *Vat.* C 1-2. A possible alternative is 'in <my> right hand', &c.

<sup>12</sup> Is the saliva here meant?

<sup>13</sup> See above, *rt.* 2, 3.

saith (6, 5) Nebet-bitjet-nebet-Tjamet, so saith Bitjet,<sup>1</sup> wife of Horus, so saith Her-en-soshni,<sup>2</sup> son of Mer. Cause to issue forth the poison which is in the limbs of N, born of M, so as to cause him to depart in health for his mother, even as Horus departed in health for his mother Isis. The protection of Horus is a protection (indeed).<sup>3</sup> THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN FOUR TIMES. EXAMINE THE WOUND MADE BY A SCORPION. If thou examine the wound made by a scorpion, and painful is thy finding. . . . .

The text breaks off suddenly towards the close of the last line of the page. Probably the manuscript from which the scribe of our papyrus was copying came to an end at this point.

## B. SPELLS AGAINST FEVER, ETC.

PLATES 38, 38 A

The two magical formulae which, with the relevant vignettes, occupy the remainder of the *verso* are too riddled with lacunae and too corrupt to detain us for long. The first (*vs.* 7, 1-7) is a 'charm against any evil fever'<sup>4</sup> invoking 'the lords of eternity', who are urged to allow 'him who is in the West', i.e. Osiris, or perhaps alternatively some dead man or dead woman, to go forth to hearken to the magician's words. Should this not be conceded, the whole order of nature is to be reversed and the gods subjected to penalties: 'If he hear not [my words], I will [not] allow the sun to rise, [I will not] allow the Nile to flow, I will not allow to be performed services for the great gods who are in Memphis, I will not allow to receive libations the Enneads which . . . . . dead man or woman who is . . . in the face of N, born of M.' A rubric then gives instructions for this spell to be read over the pictures shown below, and the amulet thus made is to be placed on the neck of the sufferer.


The second incantation is still more defective, and we cannot even be sure against what malady it was directed.<sup>5</sup> In one line mention is made of seventy-seven gods, and in another of seventy-seven children, with the mystic number often found in magical papyri.<sup>6</sup> The terms *nsy nsy(t)* 'epilepsy(?) male and female' found in *vs.* 8, 5 have been encountered already in *Pap. Ch. Beatty VI, vs.* 2, 2.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 56, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Lotus-face'.

<sup>3</sup> For this phrase see *Pap. Tur.* 134, 1. 3; 135, 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> This title is found also in a single-page magical papyrus at Strassburg.

<sup>5</sup> Gunn guesses the meaning to have been 'a remedy for the same', taking  to be the word which occurs

in the phrase *m t: y mnt* 'in this fashion', Coptic *ⲙⲧⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉ*. The suggestion is attractive, but a demonstrative 'this', 'the same' is urgently needed.

<sup>6</sup> See Sethe, *Zahlen und Zahlworte*, p. 36. Cf. above, *rt.* 3, 5.



NO. VIII (BRIT. MUS. 10688).





PLATES 39-49

*Recto*. MAGICO-RELIGIOUS TEXTS

*Verso*. SIMILAR TEXTS ADDED BY LATER SCRIBES. A BOOK OF INVOCATIONS

THIS, the least interesting papyrus of the collection, has cost uncommonly much trouble to put in order. The quantity of small fragments to be reassembled was very great, and in the end a full hundred still remained unplaced. The manuscript had been deliberately mutilated by one of its ancient owners, who cut away a strip in the middle of the roll and other strips near and at the inner end, probably intending to clean these and re-use them for correspondence. In calculating the probable length of the papyrus we must allow 28 cm. for p. 6 of the *recto*, which has been removed entire. The cut near the beginning of the penultimate page will have had a breadth of 15 cm., to judge from the average distance between the joins and the average size of the written page. We appear to possess part of the last page of the *recto*, and for the missing portion of this we may conjecture a loss of 15 to 20 cm. Putting end to end the three pieces which constitute the main mass of the roll, we obtain a length of 196 cm., to which must be added, as aforesaid,  $15 + 15 + 28 = 58$  cm. for the lost strips. This makes 254 cm., to which, however, we must again add 98 cm. for the pages built out of fragments. Thus the total length of the roll was just over 3.50 metres *plus* whatever may have been the length of the initial pages now completely lost. The whole papyrus was made up of sheets 24.5 to 25.5 cm. in breadth and 21 cm. in height. The joins are of good workmanship. A strip 2.5 cm. in width has been pasted on to the *verso* in the middle of its tenth page, doubtless to strengthen a weak place, and other similar repairs are visible amid the fragmentary pages.

The scribe of the *recto* wrote a bold literary hand, showing a tendency to angularity in the forms of the signs. The date may have been the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Rubrics and red verse-points are used, and these, combined with the imposing page-length of 30 cm. or more, gives the papyrus an attractive appearance which is belied by the dullness of the contents. The *verso*, where the pages are narrower, started in a rather large and rapid hand abounding in ligatures, and closely resembling the hand of the *verso* of Papyrus No. XI. In *vs.* 4 a new book begins and appears to have been written by a different scribe, probably of the Twentieth Dynasty, to judge from his liking for dotted signs and other criteria.<sup>1</sup> Here and down to the end of the papyrus the writing is smaller than that of the *recto*, and though evidently executed with speed,

<sup>1</sup> Late forms visible in the collotype Plate 46 A are  *vs.* 7, 4;  *vs.* 6, 6, 7;  *vs.* 6, 1;  *vs.* 6, 1.

PLATES 39-41

PAPYRUS No. VIII

gives a great impression of neatness and efficiency. The *verso* started from the end of the roll where the *recto* ends, so that the writing of the latter is the same way up as that of the *verso*, in accordance with the custom of books continued on the back.

A. MAGICO-RELIGIOUS TEXTS

PLATES 39-43

So far as can be seen, the spells of the *recto* were not directed against any specific danger or malady, but were designed to be of general prophylactic character. For such a purpose any sacred writing would suffice, provided that it was utilized in the manner prescribed by the author of the rubrics.

(1) *Rt.* 1, 1-2, 9. A much modified version of Chapter XVIII of the Book of the Dead. The introduction and part of the first section are completely lost. The uniform expression of the parallel sections has made it possible to restore many of the lacunae. As an example it will suffice to translate the section relating to Nayeref, the necropolis of the Herakleopolite nome, here corrupted into Tayertef (2, 2-4):

[GIVE PRAISE TO Thoth. Let me make] exultation [to] him every day. Breath<sup>1</sup> has been given to the Weary one.<sup>2</sup> The heart [of Onnōphris]<sup>2</sup> has been set at peace [in the great Court] which is in Tayertef.

(GLOSS). The great court [which is in] Tayertef, that is Shu, that is Babay, that is Rēr.

Of the ten sections contained in the normal Book of the Dead version the second, that relating to Busiris, the sixth, that relating to Abydos, and the seventh, that relating to Way-of-the-Dead, are here omitted. In the final invocation the wording has been somehow altered in order to be made serviceable to 'N, *born of M*' (2, 8). This utilization of Chapter XVIII for a magical purpose follows naturally from its usual concluding words, namely, '*that he may destroy his enemies, and destroy all evils that cling to him*'.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Rt.* 2, 9-3, 5. There follows a long rubric interrupted and ended by some words in black. The lacunae are too abundant to make translation profitable. We note the common rigmarole concerning lurking evil spirits, '*dead man and dead woman, enemy male and female, . . . .*' in 2, 10, and this and the next line contain an unusual phrase, '*Therefore be far from saying (?) thou hast uncovered the limb . . .*' or '*thou hast removed four limbs of . . . .*'. In 3, 3-5 we learn that the spell is to be recited by a man with something or other in his mouth, apparently with dirty (?) limbs but in new clothes, who is to have his arms bent. At the same time, '*incense is to be placed upon the fire after the reading aloud of the writing*'.

(3) *Rt.* 3, 5-5, 3. Many lacunae disfigure this lengthy passage, especially in its early portion, and these together with various undoubted corruptions prevent us from obtaining more than a hazy impression of the whole. The words translated above are followed without transition by a series of addresses to Thoth, the formula '*To thy ka, O Thoth*' being succeeded by some epithet of the god. The only complete epithets

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* life and liberty.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Osiris.

<sup>3</sup> See Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, 135, 4-5.

are 'reviving the heart of Rē<sup>1</sup>' and 'beloved of the gods'.<sup>2</sup> The 'lord of the gods' is said to give Thoth 'every goodly thing', and (after a lacuna) 'holiday is in heaven and on earth, (because?) he banishes<sup>3</sup> the darkness . . . . .'. Next comes 'praise to the Bull in the Ennead' (Osiris), whose kingly estate is marked by the 'Great one (i.e. the crown of Upper Egypt) on the head of her lord'. Magical writings quell 'the raging one' and 'cut in pieces (?) the enemies'. Then Osiris, if it be still he who is addressed (4, 1), is bidden to 'be merciful to N, born of M, and may every god and goddess be merciful to him'; Osiris is to 'prolong<sup>4</sup> his period of year(s) of life, love of him, his charm and his sweetness being in the bodies of all men, all patricians, all plebs and all sun-folk, and so forth'.



A rubric now follows. We are told (4, 3) that 'THIS WRITING WAS FOUND IN THE LIBRARY, (IN A) ROOM OF the temple', and that this spell is to be spoken over a considerable number of loaves, men made out of bread, cups of wine, and so on. Elaborate instructions are added (4, 5-5, 3):


And make the image of a man out of a loaf of white bread, 1; [image?] of wax, 1; Lower Egyptian goose(?), 1; . . . . . of a live . . . . . (animal), 1; cat of wax, 1; two *šbd*-fish just born(?),<sup>5</sup> [2]; live *šbd*-fish of the river, 1; goats, 4; live . . . . ., 1; . . . . . down, (so that) all its harmfulness dies(?). And make this writing upon a new papyrus, to be put upon the neck of a live cat with the beautifying . . . . ., live *šby*-bird, and 4 live *šbd*-fish of the river. Place [it] at time of morning in front of Rē. AND MAKE a burial . . . . . Osiris, Atūm, Shu and Tefēnet. Seven in your faces, ye snakes! . . . . . belonging to the netherworld, who has no property, who acts with his hands . . . . . (4, 10) . . . . . in his body, and his name upside down. Behead a living design(?) . . . . ., of head(?) living on what his brethren detest. There are to be carved (images? of) Imseti, Hapy, Duamūtef, and Kēbhsnēwef. An image . . . . . of Ophois, thou having made these gods each according to [his] (proper) design. (5, 1) AFTER THIS thou shalt make the (regular) offerings to the gods, and shalt make a prescription for searching out<sup>6</sup> a god's poison in the body of a man or woman, and for(?) searching out the god in the body, so as to [destroy?] every dead man and woman, and every disease, according as there is made for him honey,  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{64}$ ;<sup>7</sup> incense,  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{64}$ ; fresh moringa oil,  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{64}$ ; wine,  $[\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{64}]$ . To be drunk by a man or a woman.

(4) *Rt.* 5, 4-[6, . . .]. The short line 5, 3 is followed in 5, 4 by a rubricized title 'BOOK OF THE DAYTIME(?)'<sup>8</sup> ushering in a new composition. This book, if it can be honoured with such a name, consists solely of a list of the principal gods, apostrophized under various characteristic epithets. The same work is found more completely in



<sup>1</sup> For a similar epithet, merely substituting 'propitiating' (*šhṭp*) for 'reviving' (*š'nh*) see below 7, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently only here.

<sup>3</sup> At the end of 3, 8 emend  to .









<sup>4</sup> The critical note on *rt.* 4, 2 is in error; the existing reading is to be emended to .

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'as come-forth-from-the-body'.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtless Coptic  $\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ :  $\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ :  $\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ . In the first of the two examples  is probably a corruption of .

<sup>7</sup> i.e.  $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{64}$  *hekat*, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ro, about quarter of a gill.

<sup>8</sup> *Hrw wrš* probably means 'daytime', emphasizing the

contrast between this and 'night' more emphatically than *hrw* alone would have done. The Berlin dictionary (I, 336) gives *wrš* as the name of a particular festival, but the evidence (kindly furnished by Prof. Grapow) hardly bears out this view. In *Dachel stela*, 8 (see *JEA.* XIX, Pl. 6) I should now prefer to interpret 'in his beautiful day-festival', with  miswritten for . The other passage is Champ. *Not. Descr.* I, 512, in a summing up of 59 festival days, described as       'festival(s) of daytime and house-day(s)', which does not at all suit the idea that *hrw wrš* refers to a single particular festival. On the other hand, *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, vs. B 13, 9 might with more reason be adduced as evidence for such a view.

*Pap. Chester Beatty IX*, vs. B 1, 6-11, 3, and translation is best postponed until we reach that point; see below, pp. 106-9.

As previously stated, the whole of the sixth page of the *recto* has been cut away by some ancient owner of the papyrus. This page contained the second half of the composition just described, and the beginning of another effusion to be discussed immediately.

(5) *Rt.* [6, . . .]-8, 9. Somewhere in the large gap began an extensive series of spells for protecting the various parts of a man's body. The same series of sentences is repeated at length over and over again, varied only by an epithet of Thoth, by the differing member, and by the different divine name connected therewith. The patient is addressed, and the magician poses as Thoth. It is needless to imitate the tedious prolixity displayed by the scribe of our papyrus, and only one sample (7, 6-10) will be translated in full:

O N, born of M, I have rescued and protected thee from all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against thee. They shall not happen against thee. They shall not fasten themselves to<sup>1</sup> thee. They shall have no power over thy body. They shall not enter into thy limbs. For I have purified thee; I am Thoth *who exercises governance after the device of his heart*. I give<sup>2</sup> thee thy *arm(s)* to accompany thee, for thy *arm(s)* are the *arms*<sup>3</sup> of Horus upon the oar in the sacred bark, (7, 10) *they that travel in the ship of the god*. No power shall be exercised over thy *arm* by men, gods, or nobles.<sup>4</sup>

In this translation the variable words and phrases are printed in italics, and it is proposed now to enumerate in tabular form the equivalents appearing in the various parallel sections. Any further deviations or peculiarities will be relegated to footnotes.

<i>Epithet of Thoth</i>	<i>Part of body</i>	<i>Identification</i>
lost	[head]	lost
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
propitiating the heart of Rē (7, 1)	neck	a cervical vertebra of Nehebka. <sup>5</sup>
? (7, 5)	nipple	the claw of Thoth, the scribe of Hekayet
who exercises governance after the device of his heart (7, 8-9) <sup>6</sup>	arm(s)	the arms of Horus upon the oar in the sacred bark, they that travel in the ship of the god
exact of heart (7, 12)	heart	the heart of Khopri
who makes truth mount up to Rē (8, 2)	liver	the liver of Atūm
who judges truth (8, 5)	spleen <sup>7</sup>	the spleen of Rē

<sup>1</sup> Lit. 'taste'; for this sense cf. *Pap. Ch. Beatty I*, 9, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The *n*-form here exemplifies the use called by Gunn the 'synchronous present', i.e. the use in which an action is simultaneously named and performed.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.* Here the older word *wy* is employed. Previously we had *gbi*, which is commoner in Late Egyptian and alone survived in Coptic.

<sup>4</sup> Is *špsyw* here a substitute for *šhw* 'spirits' used else-

where in like collocations?

<sup>5</sup> In this case there is a long addition at the end of the spell: 'all men, all plebs, and all sun-folk, all males and all females who are in heaven or on earth, who are living or who are dead. They shall not put thy neck awry. They shall not (sic) be repulsed by any god, any goddess, &c.'

<sup>6</sup> The passage translated above in full.

<sup>7</sup> Coptic  $\rho\alpha\epsilon\tau\tau$ , see the critical note.

<i>Epithet of Thoth</i>	<i>Part of body</i>	<i>Identification</i>
propitiating the two brother and companion gods (8, 8)	lung	the lung of him whose shrine is great
bringing Nile from the place where he is (8, 11)	belly	the belly of Nut, who bare the gods, .....
who brought the Sacred Eye full and duly tested (9, 1)	navel	the navel of the Sole star in front of the bark of Rē
exulting in truth (9, 4)	omitted <sup>1</sup>	omitted
free from stealing and carrying off <sup>2</sup> (9, 6)	backside	the backside of Isis

The last section ends rather differently from its predecessors:

..... No power shall be exercised over thy backside by men, &c. There shall not enter against thee any magic performed by magicians male or female. What they have done shall not happen. What they have said shall not be heard. Their magic shall be cut off and driven away from their mouth(s) by Rē himself, since N, born of M, is purified even as Rē is pure every day.

IT HAS COME TO AN END.

(6) *Rt.* 9, 10–11, 5. The final section of the *recto*, for the most part sadly damaged by the excisions explained on p. 66 above, has a separate title of its own, and consists of a number of parallel verses introduced by the formula ‘*Hail to thee*’ (or ‘*you*’). The identity of form shown by the first five verses does not appear to have been completely maintained throughout. Fragmentary as is the text, it contains some unusual phrases and ideas, for which reason a translation is here given:

(9, 10) THE BOOK OF propitiating all the gods.

Hail to thee, O Amūn! Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ! I have come to thee, I have brought thee bread to litigate with thee before Rē-Ḥarakhti.

Hail to thee, O Amūn! Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ! I have come to thee, I have brought to thee beer  
 <to> litigate with thee before Onnōphris in the necropolis.

Hail to thee, O Amūn! Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ! I have come to thee, I have brought to thee incense upon the fire <to> litigate with thee before the Majesty of the Lord of the Universe.

(10, 1) Hail [to thee, O Amūn! Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ! I have come to thee, I have brought to thee geese] <to> litigate with thee [before] the Disk, as (before) Rē every day.

Hail [to thee, O Amūn! Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ! I have come to thee, I have brought to thee . . . .]  
 <to> litigate with thee before the gods possessors of shrines, inasmuch as . . . . .  
 my supplication to thee.

Hail to thee, Rē-Ḥarakhti-Atūm . . . . . [the Great Ennead and the] Little [Ennead], the gods that are in the sky and the gods that are in the earth, who (10, 5) are . . . . ., [the gods of the south,] the gods of the north, the gods of the west, and the gods of the east, who are . . . . . by his rays.

Hail to thee, thou Disk of night . . . . .

Hail to thee, Nūn . . . . . the flood, who gavest birth to all lands . . . . .

Hail to thee, Ptaḥ, lord of . . . . ., who dost illuminate the plebs with thine eyes.

Hail to [thee] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> It is at this point that we should expect to find *hnn* 'the phallus'. The omission was, however, probably due to homoioteleuton rather than to any sense of decency.

<sup>2</sup> An idiom for disorderly conduct of various kinds, see *JEA*. I, 104, n. 3; another ex. Bergmann, *Hierogl. Inschr.*, 61, 3 right.

Hail to you, gods and goddesses. I pronounce (10, 10) [your] names .....  
 from every crime he has done, from every oath he has made, from every act of violence he has done  
 ..... of the god, that he may hack up (?) all words of his mouth, all deeds (11, 1)  
 of his hands, both falsehood and truth, upon earth like the ..... the Majesty  
 of Seth, release N, born of M, from ..... from every bow (?)<sup>1</sup> and from every arrow.

TO BE RECITED OVER A BRAZIER . . . . . MEN OF BREAD,<sup>2</sup> 7; HEARTS, 7;  
GEESE, 7; . . . . . (11, 5) AND SET FIRE TO THEM TOGETHER WITH AN IMAGE OF  
. . . . . [LET] A MAN [SPRINKLE?] HIMSELF WITH RIVER-WATER AND CAUSE  
TO BE TAKEN OFF [HIS CLOTHES?] . . . . .

The most curious phrase in this composition is the reiterated '*to litigate with thee*' of the opening lines. The magician is evidently bringing pressure to bear upon the gods addressed, and this pressure is conceived of as of a judicial kind. But the exact conception underlying these passages is obscure.

### B. SIMILAR TEXTS ADDED BY LATER SCRIBES

PLATES 44-47

The texts of the *verso* are of the same general character as those of the *recto*, though emanating from two distinct later scribes. The sole difference is the absence of extracts from what we usually consider religious, rather than magical, literature, *i.e.* Chapters of the Book of the Dead and mere invocations. The purpose is again general prophylaxis. Unhappily the later passages are riddled by lacunae and well-nigh incomprehensible.

(1) *Vs.* 1, 1-2, 4. After probably only a single lost page, the *verso* opens in the middle of an interesting passage in which the magician represents the person to be protected as pronouncing his own spell, and laying a charm upon the different parts of his dwelling-place.

..... (Vs. 1, 1) N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the window.  
He is a cat.

N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the chink (in the wall).<sup>3</sup> He is a female falcon.

N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the bolts. He is Ptah.

N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the hole.<sup>4</sup> He is Nehebka.<sup>5</sup>

(*Vs.* 1, 5) N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the hiding-place. He is Hidden-is-his name.<sup>6</sup>

N, born of M, has laid enchantment upon the leaves of the door.<sup>7</sup> He is a Master of Secrets.

He has laid enchantment upon his seat, his room, and his bed.

He has laid enchantment upon the four Noble Ladies in whose mouth(s) is their flame and accompanying whom is their blaze,<sup>8</sup> in order to banish every enemy male and female and every




<sup>1</sup> For *cb* in this sense see my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 105. <sup>2</sup> See above *rt.* 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See above *rt.* 4, 3.

*Rhind*, no. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps any hole in the wall or floor.

<sup>5</sup> A serpent-god.

<sup>3</sup>  here following *sšd* as in *Gloss. Gol.* 5, 16, doubtless means a small window, as in Lacau, *Textes religieux*, 20, 10; Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, I, 47, 7; *ÄZ.* XIX, 102. There are indications, however, that the word signifies properly a crack admitting the light, and particularly that under a door. This meaning would account (1) for the det.  often attached to the word, and (2) for , perhaps lit. 'what rises from the door-chink', the mathematical term for the 'vertical height' of a pyramid in

<sup>6</sup> Paronomasia. For this name of Amūn see p. 29, n. 7.

<sup>7</sup> The plural *hptw* appears strictly to mean the cross-pieces of the leaves of the door, Coptic ⲭⲡⲏⲧ; see *Bull. Inst. fr. d'Arch. orient.* XXVI, 18. Here the determinatives seem to demand a more general translation.

<sup>8</sup> By 'the four Noble Ladies' must somehow be intended the four walls of a room. In *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, vs. B 14, 9-10 mention is made of 'the four Noble Ladies of the house of Ptah'.

dead person male and female who is in the limbs of N, born of M. They shall not (1, 10) come to fetch<sup>1</sup> him by night or by day or at any time. They shall not fall (vs. 2, 1) upon the four Noble Ladies [accompanying whom is their blaze and] in [whose] mouth(s) is their flame . . . . . rushes, *drt* . . . . .

(2) Vs. 2, 4-3, 3. The scanty fragments of what is labelled 'Another spell'. The 'Sound Eye' of Horus is twice mentioned, and a rare phrase occurs in 2, 10 'spreading a bed for a man'.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Vs. 3, 4-9. Parts of another spell relating to the Wedja'et or 'Sound Eye', here attributed to Rē<sup>3</sup> and apparently stated to be 'complete every day'. In 3, 7 comes a statement 'I have found Horus with his eyes [safe and sound?]', and in the next line reference is made to 'what is in thy pupil'. Mention is thrice made of 'N, born of M'. At the end it seems necessary to read or emend: 'To be recited (over) a Wedja'et-eye drawn in ochre (?)'.<sup>4</sup>

(4) Vs. 4, 1-7, 5. It seems likely that the remaining pages of the *verso* are the work of a different scribe, but there is just a possibility that the writer of vs. 1-3, having decided to put on record a number of more extensive magical incantations, came to the conclusion that a less cursive style of writing was more appropriate. The question is left open.

The composition now to be studied has a long introductory rubric, followed by six similarly constructed paragraphs each culminating in a threat to Osiris. The black magic which sought to claim for its prey the utilizer of the spell is to be defeated by the discovery of its name, to be divulged apparently by Osiris in revenge for revelations made about himself. Some rather irrelevant supplementary lines form the conclusion of the book.

(Vs. 4, 1). BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF BANISHING AN ENEMY.<sup>5</sup> O THOU WHOSE MOUTH COUNTETH UP THE DWELLER(S) IN THE EAST, TO WIT<sup>6</sup> EVERY DEAD MAN, EVERY DEAD WOMAN, EVERY MALE ENEMY, EVERY FEMALE ENEMY, EVERY MALE ADVERSARY, EVERY FEMALE ADVERSARY, EVERY MALE SPIRIT, EVERY FEMALE SPIRIT, EVERYONE WHO ENTERS, EVERY PASSER-BY (?), EVERY TREMBLER (?), WHETHER IN A SPOT (?) OR BEHELD FROM AFAR OR IN THE MOVEMENT (?) OF ANY LIMB from among the living ones, the Followers of Horus who are under the authority of Osiris, those who grow old but do not die: let there be made known to me the name of this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M.

As for<sup>7</sup> that box of acacia-wood<sup>8</sup> (concerning) which they (vs. 4, 5) know not how to pronounce

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *r* after a verb of motion see *Studies* . . . Griffith, p. 57, and above p. 4, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 73.



<sup>3</sup> As below *Pap. Ch. Beatty XI*, vs. 1, 1.

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 18, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> The actual title appears to end here. What follows is the beginning of the book, and consists of an address to the deity who is to discover the name of the enemy to be combated. From the words 'Should Osiris not know this name' in 4, 7. 12; 5, 5, &c.—the grammar is a little difficult, but the meaning can hardly be in doubt—that

deity can be none other than Osiris himself, though the epithet used to describe him here does not seem to occur elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> Here begins, as part of the epithet of Osiris, a long catalogue of possible enemies 'dwellers in the East'. The list starts in the usual manner, but ends with a number of obscure expressions.

<sup>7</sup> Emend  into  as below l. 9.

<sup>8</sup> To judge from the other parallel paragraphs some local qualification has here been overlooked by the scribe.

the name of what is in it, the forearm and the liver and the Hapy (?)<sup>1</sup> of Osiris—it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M,<sup>2</sup> said it and repeats it. He has told the secrets of Osiris and the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is at his call<sup>3</sup> in the Great Place. Should Osiris not know his<sup>4</sup> name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will tear out his soul and annihilate his corpse, and I will set fire to every tomb of his.

As for that box of acacia-wood which carries (?) Kēmet of the necropolis,<sup>5</sup> (concerning) which they know not how to pronounce the name of what is (vs. 4, 10) in it, the heart and the liver and the spleen and the . . .<sup>6</sup> and the Hapy of Osiris, yea the middle of Osiris—it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M, said it and repeats it. He has told the secrets of Osiris and the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is at his call in the Great Place. Should Osiris not know his name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, (vs. 5, 1) I will annihilate his corpse at the festival of Sokaris, I will tear out his soul in the five epagomenal days, and I will set fire to him at the beginning of the great season.

As for that box of acacia-wood which (carries) him who is in Kher-*ra*,<sup>7</sup> (concerning) which they know not how to pronounce the name of what is in it, the arm and the lips and the hair of Osiris—it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M, said it and repeats it. He has told the secrets of Osiris, and the nature of the gods, (vs. 5, 5) and the Ennead is at his call in the Great Place. Should Osiris not know his name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will annihilate his corpse at the festival of Sokaris, I will tear out his soul in the five epagomenal days, and I will set fire to him at the beginning of the great season.

As for that box of acacia-wood which carries Horus, lord of Letopolis, (concerning) which they know not how to pronounce the name of what is in it, the tongue and the eyes and the wind-pipe departing from the cavern<sup>8</sup> and the Hapy of Osiris—it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M, said it and repeats it. (Vs. 5, 10) He has told the secrets of Osiris and the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is at his call in the Great Place. Should Osiris not know his name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will annihilate his corpse at the festival of Sokaris, I will tear out his soul in the five epagomenal days, and I will set fire to him at the beginning of the great season.

As for the name(s) of those<sup>9</sup> (vs. 6, 1) souls in Mendes, the four heads upon one neck<sup>10</sup> to whom one offers . . . . . ,<sup>11</sup> and one does not know the secrets which are in the Castle,<sup>12</sup> it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M, said it and repeats it. He has told the secrets of Osiris and the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is at his call in the Great Place. Should Osiris not know his name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will annihilate his corpse (vs. 6, 5) at the festival of Sokaris, I


<sup>1</sup> Possibly the name of one of the four sons of Horus here used for the inner organ which he protected in his Canopic jar. But Gunn suggests it may be a much more general term used in apposition to the special organs preceding.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as often at this period, written as 'mountain, born of sky'.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'reverts to him'.



<sup>4</sup> i.e. of the magic. The following 'him' is Osiris.




<sup>5</sup> Sic. 'Carries' is lit. 'under', and Kēmet is one of the names of Athribis or the nome of which it was the capital.

<sup>6</sup> *Mnd* here, as Mr. Faulkner points out, is probably not the word for 'cheek', but rather the old  'intestine (?)' or the like.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Babylon of Egypt.

<sup>8</sup> Is 'the cavern' here a term for the cavity of the mouth? Or the oesophagus, cf. *Wb.* V, 366?

<sup>9</sup>  here and below 6, 6, 7 is certainly only an abnormal variant of the demonstrative .

<sup>10</sup> The four-headed ram depicted on the Mendes stela and elsewhere.  here is a writing of  and not to be confounded with the same writing in 6, 4, &c., where it stands for  'Busiris'.

<sup>11</sup> The two words found here may be rendered literally 'of a stopper', which makes no sense.

<sup>12</sup> Hardly here that in Heliopolis, as below, p. 110, n. 9.



will tear out his soul in the five epagomenal days, and I will set fire to him at the beginning of the great season.

As for those things which are found in Herakleopolis, the buttock and the phallus and the legs and the backside and the Hapy of Osiris, behold, as for those things which are found in the great box of acacia-wood which is in Herakleopolis, it is not I who said it, nor I who repeat it; this magic which comes to fetch N, born of M, said it and repeats it. He has told the secrets of Osiris, he has told the nature of the gods, and the Ennead is at his call in the Great Place. Should Osiris (vs. 6, 10) not know his name, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris, I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will annihilate his corpse at the <festival> of Sokaris, I will tear out his soul in the five epagomenal days, and I will set fire to him at the beginning of the great season.

If he come as a dead man or a dead woman, and N, born of M, say 'I . . . . .', one shall cut up Kaytuensopen,<sup>1</sup> (vs. 7, 1) when Kaytuensop casts fire against him. Khnūm, the lord of the four great children who are depicted (?), who are born in the night, conceived yesterday and [born] to-day, who are indeed the four Perception-deities who overthrow APOPI, THE ENEMY of Rē, when he arises, behold, I have fought for thee against thy APOPI. Come, let <me> fight for thee against him who [comes] (vs. 7, 5) to fetch N, born of M.

(5) Vs. 7, 5-[8, . . .]. A similar composition.

A BOOK FOR BANISHING THE MALE ENEMY, FEMALE ENEMY, DEAD MAN, DEAD WOMAN, MALE ADVERSARY, AND FEMALE ADVERSARY, (NAMELY) THE ENEMIES of [the Ennead] whose name is 'Flourishing-again', which was spoken by the god who made<sup>2</sup> himself.



SPELL FOR IGNORING HIS STAFF AND . . . HIS LIMBS. TAKE CARE OF THIS BOOK. . .<sup>3</sup> LET NO ONE ELSE ENCOMPASS IT. TO BE RECITED BY the chief <lector-priest> IN FRONT OF . . . . .

Turn back! Thy arm to the ground, thou rebel, thou enemy that hast no arms! Thou hast come on the mission of B(?) . . . . ., thou thief(?), rebel who overthrowest the resting-place, recreant of Khnūm, thou evil soul that hast come forth from the tomb. (Vs. 7, 10) Gēb will not accept thee, thou *mehy*-fish, thou abomination of the gods, thou evil-doer who art not. . . . . Behold, I will destroy thee, will cut thee off, will remove thee from sky and earth, will destroy thy name, will annihilate [thy corpse?], and will defile thee in the midst of the Ennead. I am < . . . (?)> who comes into being in darkness; my head is like Rē, my feet . . . . .

The rest of the book is lost, page 8 of the *verso* having been completely cut away.

(6) Vs. [8, . . .]-10, 8.<sup>4</sup> Somewhere in the missing eighth page of the *verso* will have begun a new text, or rather a new pair of texts, of which the nature is revealed only in vs. 10, 1-8. We have here the remains of two hymns to the royal uraeus similar to those in a papyrus of the Golénischeff collection dating from the end of the Hyksos period or the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As Erman showed in his publication,<sup>5</sup> these were originally intended for the benefit of the reigning Pharaoh. The Pharaoh here in question is proved by his cartouche to have been Ramesses II (vs. 9, 10; 10, 6). But just as the Golénischeff hymns were secondarily wrested from their proper purpose and destined for use in the cult of the god Suchos of Crocodilopolis,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a name of Apopis, on the second occurrence written with a syllable less. The meaning of the reader's direction 'four times' here is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup>  is doubtless for .

<sup>3</sup> After 'BOOK' a sentence or phrase may be omitted.

<sup>4</sup> The writing of pages 9-10 of the *verso* is no smaller than that of the preceding and following pages, but for practical purposes it has been found necessary in Pl. 47 to reduce them to a smaller scale.

<sup>5</sup> A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, in *Abhandlungen der Kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1911.

so here the two hymns have been adopted as magical spells for the protection of private individuals.

Of the first hymn only ends of lines remain (vs. 9, 1-10), showing an abundance of feminine divine names with which the uraeus was doubtless identified. One may even conjecture from the triple occurrence of the words *Tmt pw* . . . . . ' . . . . . is Temet' that the entire hymn consisted of a series of identifications with that rarely named goddess.<sup>1</sup> The towns of Denderah and Nefrusy (north of Eshmûnên) are incidentally mentioned; both were famous cult-centres of Hathor.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion reads: ' . . . . . [to be written on a strip of fine lin]en, and placed on a man's neck. And (vs. 10, 1) INCENSE IS to be placed UPON THE FLAME WHEN THIS SPELL IS BEING SPOKEN.'

The second hymn (vs. 10, 1-8) is marred by lacunae and corruptions, but it seems worth while to attempt a translation:

Another ADORATION [OF THE] URAEUS. O Great one . . . . . who avertest mischief from the lords of the sanctuaries, Mistress of the Universe unto the gods, who destroyest their (?) . . . . . and repellst their rage, lady of terror throughout the world. I give praise to the plume<sup>3</sup> of Rē, the queen<sup>4</sup> who . . . . . for him his horizon and his throne in heaven and on earth in order to appease herself thereby in this her name of Nebet-hōtep. 'Welcome (?)<sup>5</sup> in peace', saith Rē, 'O great Eye! Welcome in (vs. 10, 5) peace! Come (hither) upon my head, protect . . . . . in which thou hast . . . . ., that my heart may be content <in> its (?) breast, and my (?)<sup>6</sup> heart rest in its place. Come to him, (even) to Ramesses II in peace, that he may(?) embellish the Ennead, that I(?) may [drive the?] arrows far from him, and that [I?] may cleanse away(?) mischief from him. Protect him and guard his body, Horus [being a talisman?] behind his (?) flesh, (preserved) whole unto life.



(7) Vs. 10, 8-13, 6 (?). A long title, accompanied by ritual instructions, now ushers in a book of invocations to Horus, likewise to be used for magical purposes.

THE TWELVE NAMES OF HORUS TO BE SPOKEN IN THE EARLY MORNING when [Rē?] arises in the horizon. A GREAT PROTECTION OF THE LIMBS . . . . . ALL ENEMIES. THEY SHALL NOT DRAW NIGH IN HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD. . . . . HIM WITH 5 AROURAE (vs. 10, 10) OF FIRE IN <HIS> NEIGHBOURHOOD. THIS SPELL IS [TO BE SPOKEN] WHILST THOU ART PURE AND CLEAN. THOU SHALT NOT TASTE MEHYT-FISH, . . . . ., GOAT, NOR THE ABOMINATION OF any god or any goddess, [WHILST THOU ART] PURE AND THY LIMBS PURE.

O thou noble falcon, who [hidest?] thyself from (vs. 11, 1) what thou<sup>7</sup> hast created by the skill of the god's beneficent eye(?), who art a divine phoenix that sits upon the top of a willow.<sup>8</sup> Jubilation to thee! Atūm is thy name.



[O] Horus, thou noble one, wonderful(?), in whose grasp is eternity, eldest of the gods, whose beneficent eye makes for thee thy protection; the flame<sup>9</sup> in thine eye guardeth thee. Thou art Rē, thou art Rē-Harakhti.



<sup>1</sup> Said in *Wb.* I, 144 to be known only from Greek times. See, however, also *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, vs. 3, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The geographical name  in vs. 9, 5 recalls the equivalent of Cyprus  in the Decree of Canopus, l. 9, but this is possibly mere coincidence.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps emend  'the two plumes'.


<sup>4</sup> See Erman, *op. cit.*, 7, 1 (p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> The traces are obscure. Perhaps, after all, read , though  is doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> Emend  into .

<sup>7</sup> The original has 'himself' and 'he'. So often later.

<sup>8</sup> For this sentence see the interesting passages quoted by Keimer, *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or.* XXXI, 190.

<sup>9</sup> Read .



O thou that risest and shinest . . . . ., who art in thy disk, who makest bright the rays (?) of which (?) the place where the sun is (?) tasteth. (Vs. 11, 5) Jubilation to thee! Thou art Rē̄r.

O thou that camest into existence of thyself, who fliest aloft (?)<sup>1</sup> in flame, who joinest thyself to High-of-hands,<sup>2</sup> who risest in the east in the morning to set [in] the west, chief of the west as [Four-heads]-on-one-neck.<sup>3</sup> Jubilation to thee! Banebdjedet, the [living] soul of Rē̄r is thy name.

O aged one who rejuvenatest thyself [upon] earth, who settest the sunshine in its place of yesterday, thou [falcon?] begetting young, thou scarabaeus that hast become a falcon. Come to me, O Rē̄r, that thou mayst travel . . . . . Tenen. Jubilation to thee! Iun-Rē̄r is thy name.

O (vs. 11, 10) thou that rejoicest, who art amidst the charm (?) of Shu and Tefēnet . . . . . Thou hast [come forth?] justified. Jubilation to thee! Ptaḥ is thy name.

O disk that art on thy sceptre, who sittest . . . . . bush. Jubilation to thee! Khopri is thy name.

(Vs. 12, 1) O . . . . . in the midst of the faces(?), great of awe, in whom . . . . ., thou who . . . . . of four faces, noble one that possessest millions of ears and millions of eyes. Jubilation to thee! He who made<sup>4</sup> the earth is thy name.

O Great-of-magic, who pronouncest (?) [names?], conceived [yesterday] and born to-day, thou great lion that art in . . . . . Come to me, O Rē̄r . . . . . thine eyes. [Jubilation] (vs. 12, 5) [to thee?]<sup>5</sup> Falcon of (?) created beings (?) is thy name.

O thou who risest and settest in the Nūn, . . . . . who wentest forth as a red fish . . . . . great and noble when he . . . . . [Jubilation to thee!]<sup>6</sup> Neḥebka is thy name.

O secret soul who risest [in the Nūn], who associatest not . . . . ., thou in whom the disk . . . . ., who glidest (?)<sup>5</sup> unto Nut in peace. Jubilation to thee! . . . . . of the sun-folk is thy name.

O Horus the elder, old . . . . . (vs. 12, 10) . . . . . his [coming?] throughout his eyes . . . . . who catchest Seth. . . . . Isis . . . . . Isis. Jubilation to thee! He-is-hidden is thy name.

[THIS] SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN [OVER] (13, 1) THE<sup>6</sup> GREAT NOBLE NAMES [OF HORUS] . . . . .


The rest is far too fragmentary to translate. It is clear, however, that in line 2 began an invocation to a solar deity, inexplicably written in red. The book probably ended in 13, 6, since this is a short line.



(8) Vs. 13, 7-15, 10 (end). The remainder of the *verso* is so fragmentary that it had better be dealt with under a single heading. The bottom of p. 13 exhibits words and phrases clearly addressed to a solar deity, and this is confirmed by the conclusion of the paragraph in 14, 2: 'She bows down (at) thy might, O Amen-Rē̄r-Ḥarakhti'. Then follows a new address: 'O thou god lord of millions,<sup>7</sup> who . . . . . his . . . . . millions of cubits in the darkness every . . . . ., come to me at thine hour . . . . ., rescue and save . . . . .'. In 14, 4 occurs a clause 'It is I who pour water to those who are in the sarcophagus', which cannot easily be connected with the foregoing, and in vs. 14, 5


<sup>1</sup> An unknown word of which the meaning has been conjectured from the determinative.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly a name of the air-god Shu.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 73, n. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Emend .



<sup>5</sup> Is  a writing of the old   $\Delta$ , the sign  $\Xi$  receiving the value *ft* from the Late-Egyptian pronunciation of old *ifdw*?

<sup>6</sup> Read or emend .

<sup>7</sup> See above p. 59, n. 4.

we find a reference to the 'phoenix' in the 'Obelisk-house' of Heliopolis.<sup>1</sup> This is a short line and consequently the end of a section. The rubric in the following line seems to have given instructions for the use of the foregoing spell. Apparently it was to be '[recited . . . . .] when Rē̄r goes to rest in life'. Then 'enter and shut [thy door? against those who come from?] the tombs'. The rest of 14, 7 is unintelligible,<sup>2</sup> but in the next line we learn the result to be gained from following out these instructions: 'No [snake] shall go abroad, nor scorpion rise up, but the abomination [of the gods shall . . . . .] fallen into the place of execution.' After a number of nearly completely destroyed clauses the text continues (vs. 15, 1): '[Thou shalt not enter into?] any limbs of N, born of M. No trouble of thine shall arise in him. . . . . Rē̄r, thy end is made, thy soul is annihilated . . . . . thy stroke. O (?) dead man or dead woman, be annihilated. Thou art annihilated . . . . . Thou shalt not have power over any members of N, born of M.' Later on (vs. 15, 6): 'Thou art fallen into this slaughter-house. Thy soul is cut off, thy corpse is annihilated. Thou shalt not arise gloriously, thou shalt not enter in, [thou shalt not cast (?) thy] seed (?) into the body of N, born of M, thou shalt [not] annihilate . . . . ., thou shalt [not] pervert his tongue . . . . .'. Similar phrases seem to have followed, and with 'Thou shalt not go forth . . . . .'. (vs. 15, 10) the last preserved page of the *verso* comes to an end.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 58, n. 5; also *AZ.* XVI, 92-3; XLV, 84.

<sup>2</sup> In the Plate correct  to ; the first sign is nearly certain.

NO. IX (BRIT. MUS. 10689).

PLATES 50-61

*Recto.* THE RITUAL OF AMENOPHIS I



*Verso.* CONCLUSION OF THE RITUAL. A BOOK OF INVOCATIONS. A BOOK OF PROTECTION

**A** PART from the papyrus No. I retained by Mr. Chester Beatty for his own collection, No. IX is the longest of the entire series. The present length is almost exactly 4 metres, but as we shall see, several pages have been lost at the beginning and a small amount at the end. The height is 18.5 cm. The manuscript came into our hands in the form of three separate rolls, the first comprising *rt.* 1-4, the second *rt.* 5-7, and the third *rt.* 8-16. The first and third rolls were rolled up with the beginnings of their *recto* within, whence the damaged portions, occurring of course on the outside of the rolls, are found in pp. 4 and 16 respectively. The second roll was rolled with p. 7 on the inside, so that its defective portion met that of the first roll in pp. 4-5. Fragments have been found which go some way towards completing *rt.* 4, 5, and 16, besides adding to the *recto* a small portion of a seventeenth page. The contents of *vs.* 1 suggest that this was the first page on that side of the papyrus, and that accordingly *rt.* 17 was the last page of the *recto*. At the beginning of the *recto* of the entire manuscript (*rt.* 1) some ancient owner had cut, or rather torn away, an unknown length, doubtless for re-use. The reason for the separation of the second and the third rolls was the presence of a join between *rt.* 7 and 8, which had occasioned a break. In another place where a break had arisen at the join between two sheets (at the beginning of *rt.* 12) someone had mended it by a narrow strip gummed upon the *verso*. That the three rolls originally formed a single one emerges from several considerations. Not only are the pages of the *recto* consecutive, but also the text of the *verso* ran on from the first roll into the second, and from the second into the third. Another indication is the fact that the whole of the *verso*, from end to end, was covered with dirt-marks for the upper two-thirds of its height. How exactly this state of affairs came about is hard to guess. One possibility is that the upper part of the rolled up papyrus having become wet, it was then unrolled by its possessor and laid out to dry in a dirty place, thence gathering up the fragments of dirt which were very conspicuous until Dr. Ibscher cleaned them away. The gritty specks adhered very firmly, so that they did not affect the *recto* when the papyrus was rolled up afresh. Joins occur at regular intervals of 30 cm., and the scribe responsible for the writing of the *recto* planned most of his pages in such a way as to avoid them. Except at the points above-mentioned, the papyrus is admirably preserved, and the excellent handwriting gives it a most imposing appearance.

We can hardly doubt that the *recto* was written in the reign of Ramesses II, the

PLATES 50-61

PAPYRUS No. IX

latest king named in it. There are but few points of palaeographical interest in this excellent specimen of Ramesside literary writing. The *recto* being insufficient to contain the whole ritual inscribed upon it, the scribe, on reaching the end of this, turned his manuscript lengthwise, and continued to work backwards until, after a few pages, he reached the conclusion. Pages 10 to 13 of the *recto* are blank on the *verso*, a distance of 92 cm. Some later scribe, starting from the opposite end, *i.e.* that corresponding to the beginning of the *recto*, added a magical text of which only five damaged lines are left (*vs.* B 1, 1-5 on Pl. 58), besides two books that are nearly complete. He wrote a rather taller, thinner script, with a greater flourish in the terminal strokes—note in particular his  and his . There seems no good reason for thinking that this scribe was much posterior to that of the *recto*. Owing to the dirt-stained condition of the *verso* it is difficult to photograph, and no collotype has been included. The two books are separated from one another by a vertical line, see Pl. 60, top. On both *recto* and *verso* occasional use is made of rubrics. In one or two places of the *recto* (3, 7; 4, 13) the scribe had first written the name of an officiating priest in red—a practice which he usually avoided for superstitious reasons—and subsequently, recognizing his mistake, altered these names to black.

A. THE RITUAL OF AMENOPHIS I

PLATES 50-58

The title here given to the main text of *Pap. Ch. Beatty No. IX* is roughly accurate to the extent that the cartouches of Amenophis I recur constantly throughout the entire work. In point of fact, however, a very complex situation is presupposed, discussion of which had best be postponed until the translations have been presented. A duplicate MS., far less complete, but with important deviations and additions, exists in the Cairo Museum and has been elaborately edited by M. Golénischeff.<sup>1</sup> This scholar, having no contradictory evidence to guide him, conjectured that the pages of the Cairo papyrus originally contained from 11 to 13 lines apiece, but the testimony of the Chester Beatty papyrus shows that the Cairo example must have had 27 or 28 lines to the page, and that the manuscript must have been an exceedingly fine one, with a height of not less than 35 cm. The beginning of C, as the Cairo papyrus will henceforth be designated, is lost like that of B (the Chester Beatty papyrus), but portions of several pages remain before B starts. The end of the book is, on the other hand, preserved in B, while lost in C. A third papyrus of similar content was found at Dêr el-Medîneh by the late Professor Schiaparelli in 1908, and is now in the Turin Museum. Some details concerning this are given in an article by G. Botti,<sup>2</sup> and it seems clear that a number of its sections must be identical with those of B and C. But many of the rubrics quoted

<sup>1</sup> W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, pp. 134-56, in *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*. An earlier account, G. Daressy, *Rituel des offrandes à Amenhotep I<sup>er</sup>*, in *Annales du Service*, XVII, 97-122.

<sup>2</sup> G. Botti, *Il culto divino dei Faraoni*, in *Reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei* (anno CCCXX, 1923), ser. 5, vol. XVII, pt. 4, pp. 161 foll. = pp. 23 foll. of the offprint.

by Botti do not occur in the other two papyri, so that the differences between B and C on the one hand, and Tur. on the other, must be at least as great as the similarities.

The following table shows the correspondences between the Chester Beatty and the Cairo papyri:

Chester Beatty No. IX	Cairo., Cat. gén. 58030
Beginning lost	Beginning lost
lost	1, 1-1, 4
"	[1, 5-1, 27? lost]
"	2, 1-2, 9
"	[2, 10-2, 27? lost]
"	3, 1-3, 11
"	[3, 12-3, 27? lost]
"	4, 1-4, 12
"	[4, 13-4, 27? lost]
1, 1-1, 11	[4, 27?]-5, 11
1, 11-2, 11	lost
2, 11-3, 6	6, 1-6, 10
3, 6-4, 6	lost
4, 6-4, 13	7, 1-7, 11
4, 13-5, 12	lost
5, 12-6, 5	8, 1-8, 10
6, 5-7, 2	lost
7, 2-7, 8	9, 1-9, 10
7, 8-8, 5	lost
8, 5-8, 21	10, 1-10, 11
8, 21-9, 6	lost
9, 6-10, 1	11, 1-11, 11
10, 2-10, 13	lost
10, 14-11, 10	12, 1-12, 11
11, 11-12, 4	lost
12, 4-12, 9	13, 1-13, 11
12, 9-13, 2	lost
13, 2-13, 8	14, 1-14, 11 (end)
13, 8-16, 13	
17, 1-17, 14 (fragments only)	
no entire page lost on recto?	
no entire page lost on verso?	
vs. 1, 1-1, 13 (fragments only)	
vs. 2, 1-3, 3 (end of book)	
vs. 3, 3-3, 4 colophon.	

It seems desirable to present to students unacquainted with Egyptian as complete a translation of the Amenophis ritual as possible, so that I shall begin with those spells which are lost in the Chester Beatty papyrus, but preserved, though with very extensive gaps, in the Cairo duplicate.

(1) The first page of C is too much injured to yield anything of importance. In C 2, 2 begins a 'SPELL FOR THE PRESENTATION of wine'<sup>1</sup> consisting of words 'TO BE SPOKEN . . . . . whilst planting vines (?) for king Djeserkarē'.<sup>2</sup> Only the following fragments are left: 'How joyful is Hapy,<sup>3</sup> flowing over through his eating. . . . . of the Eye of Horus with wine! [It is pure?]. Thou obtainest power over me. O king Djeserkarē, it is pure (four times).'

(2) A new spell, of which the heading is lost,<sup>4</sup> begins in C 2, 5:

The doors of heaven are opened, [the doors of earth] are flung open with libations for king Djeserkarē, Thoth being upon the hands of Hapy.<sup>3</sup> . . . . . King Djeserkarē drinks . . . . .

The rest of the page is lost, save for a few words.



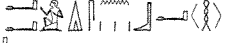
(3) The third page of C starts with the conclusion of a spell which, but for the large intervening space, might have well been the continuation of that of which the beginning was translated above under (2):

. . . . . that thou mayst be endowed with soul through them, that thou mayst have honour through them, that thou mayst have power through them, that thou mayst be alert through them, at the feast of the Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis. O king Djeserkarē, son of Rē, Amenophis, beloved of Truth, take to thyself these libations which are<sup>5</sup> the Eye of Horus.

(4) Then follows without interruption (C 3, 2):

SPELL FOR THE SECOND LIBATION of king Djeserkarē. <I have> come and have brought to thee these libations which the milch-cow(?)<sup>6</sup> lifts up(?) under(?) the Great Seat, the libations which came forth from Elephantine, that thy heart may be refreshed through them in this thy name of Come-forth-from-the-Place-of-Refreshment(?).<sup>7</sup> Come-forth-from-the- (C 3, 5) Nūn propitiates thee. <I have> come and have brought to thee <these libations>, that thy heart may be refreshed with the Great one, with Hapy, (carried) upon the hands of Rē. He grants the inundation in purifying himself(?), Thoth making offering to him.<sup>8</sup> The libations of king Djeserkarē are unto him.

(5) C 3, 6-9. Next follows a rite which recurs in the funerary liturgy<sup>9</sup> and in the Abydos ritual,<sup>10</sup> but is there accompanied by a rather different spell. The ceremonial action, here not described, was probably the same as in the rituals just mentioned, where it consists in the Sem-priest moving four times around the head of the being

<sup>1</sup> Tur. has a 'SPELL FOR THE PRESENTATION OF BEER' at a fairly early stage, Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 25 of the offprint.  
<sup>2</sup> It is not certain that *šw* can bear the sense of 'vines', though it appears to do so in Greek times, see *Wb.* IV, 400.  
<sup>3</sup> The Nile-god.  
<sup>4</sup> The spell may well have been entitled 'SPELL FOR THE FIRST LIBATION', see below C 3, 3 for the second libation. See for the required heading Tur., *op. cit.*, p. 25.  
<sup>5</sup>  here is doubtless, as Dr. de Buck points out, the adjectival form of the *m* of equivalence.  
<sup>6</sup> This phrase must be somehow connected with, and possibly even a corruption of, the phrase  'the milk from the milch-cow' which stands in apposition to *kḥw* 'libations' on late tables of offerings, see *Ahmed Bey Kamal, Tables d'offrandes*, 23169, cf. 23119, 23127.  
<sup>7</sup> The *Ḳebḥu* or 'Place of Refreshment' was a name of the region of the First Cataract, see Sethe in Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurē*, vol. II, p. 127.  
<sup>8</sup> These words are a well-nigh meaningless reinterpretation of a rather rare Middle Kingdom termination to the formula of offering, which reads  'my hands grant the Inundation-god purifying, and Anubis making offering', e.g. Blackman, *Meir*, vol. II, Pl. 7. See too *Wb.* I, 448.  
<sup>9</sup> Schiaparelli, *Il libro dei funerali*, vol. I, pp. 30-1.  
<sup>10</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. I, p. 80, tableau 10; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. III, Pl. 132, 1.

worshipped with a *nemset*-bowl in his hand. This contained water with which the head was sprinkled and thereby endowed with new life.


SPELL FOR RENDERING HOMAGE WITH THE *NEMSET*-BOWL FOR king Djoserkarē, [the son of] Rē, Amenophis, beloved of Truth. Take to [thyself] thy head, join (to thyself) thine eyes. I have brought to thee what came forth from Nūn, the beginning (?) which came forth from Atūm in this its name of *Nemset*-bowl. O king Djoserkarē, take to thyself thy head, join to thyself thy bone(s), fasten to thee thine [eyes]<sup>1</sup> in their place.

(6) C 3, 9-[12+x]. The words accompanying the rite of censuring are familiar from other sources.<sup>2</sup> The present translation goes down only to the point where the Cairo papyrus breaks off.

THE MAKING of the incense(-rite). The incense comes, (C 3, 10) the incense comes. The perfume is over thee, the perfume of the eye [of Horus] is over thee. The perfume of Nekhbet which came forth from Nekheb [washes thee] and adorns [thee, and makes its place] upon [thy hands]. Hail to thee, O incense! [Hail] to thee, O god! Hail [to thee, thou marrow] which art in [the limbs] . . . . .


(7) C 4, 1-[13+x]. At this point occurs the first of the three offering-lists or, more accurately speaking, the three menus contained in this ritual. In all of them Amūn is expressly named as the recipient. Here we have probably the normal meal of every day.<sup>3</sup> As each course or item was presented, the priest recited a verse usually containing a play of words upon that item. This first list as a whole is not found elsewhere, but several of the verses are found in, or are reminiscent of, the Pyramid Texts.

Bill of fare of Nūn <sup>4</sup>	1 dish	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, the bill of fare at which thou art pleased.
Water, <i>menza</i> -vases	2 dishes	O Amūn, take to thyself what flows from the breast of thy mother Isis. <sup>5</sup>
Water, <i>metjat</i> -vase <sup>6</sup>	2 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he captured. <sup>7</sup>
Water, a red vase	2 „	O Amūn, take to thyself what is in the Eye of Horus, being red. <sup>8</sup>
(C 4, 5) Natron of . . . . . (?)	2 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye (of Horus) which cleanses (?) his mouth. <sup>9</sup>
Great bread	1 dish	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of that Great one. <sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gol. suggests this, but prefers to insert  'feet' in his text.

<sup>2</sup> See Moret, *Rituel du culte divin*, pp. 77 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Explicitly stated to be so in the corresponding first menu of Tur., see Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 25, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> The words 'of Nūn' are perhaps due to a misunderstanding, the table with three vases upon it  being mistaken for the name of the Ocean-god Nūn; cf. on the altar at Turin, *TSBA.*, vol. III, Pl. 3 following p. 112.



<sup>5</sup> Cf. below B 9, 10 and Pyr. 1873 a, b. Paronomasia of *mnz* and *mnj*.

<sup>6</sup> *Mjt*, as below C 4, 8, a later form of *mnt*, for which see the Turin altar, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Paronomasia through the verb *iti*, cf. Pyr. 107 a.

<sup>8</sup> Not in Pyr.; perhaps restore similarly below B 16, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Paronomasia, cf. Pyr. 72 c.

<sup>10</sup> So again below B 10, 4 and Pyr. 103 a. B 10, 4 wrongly inserts  after .

Cakes <sup>1</sup>	20 dishes	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, it shall not trickle away (?) from thee. <sup>2</sup>
Water, <i>metjat</i> -vase	10 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he captured and thwarted(?). <sup>3</sup>
Water, a red vase	10 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, being red in its illness(?). <sup>4</sup>
(C 4, 10) Wine of Lower Egypt, Red vase	. . . . .	O Amūn, take to thyself; thou hast completed the Eye of Horus, (with which) thy mouth has been opened. <sup>5</sup>
<i>Nemset</i> -bowl(?) <sup>6</sup>	. . . . .	O Amūn, take to thyself Thoth . . . . .
Foreleg	. . . . .	(O Amūn, take to thyself the foreleg which is(?) the Eye of Horus). <sup>7</sup>




The rest of the list is lost.

(8) *Rt.* 1, 1-6. The Chester Beatty papyrus opens a few words before the beginning of the fifth page of the Cairo version, but since only the left-hand portion of each line has survived we must still base our translation on C, though enclosing the words derived thence in square brackets.

(1, 1) . . . . . [Thoth] making offering<sup>8</sup> to him, (even) to Amūn of Opet, to . . . . . [Come to] these [divine offerings] consisting of this thy bread that is warm, to [thy beer that is warm, to the choice parts of the foreleg in front of the offering-table. I know what<sup>9</sup> is in heaven,] I [know] what is in earth, I know [what is in Horus, I know what is in Seth. Horus propitiates thee on account of his eyes, and Seth propitiates thee on account of] his [testicles. I am] Thoth, who propitiates the gods [and (1, 5) who puts things in their places] . . . . . [for Amen-Rē,] lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and for Amen-Rē, [Bull of his Mother, who is on his great seat. Come unto this thy bread.]<sup>10</sup>

(9) *Rt.* 1, 6-2, 5. What was said by way of preface to the last section holds good until the end of the first page of B is reached.

[SPELL FOR BINDING THINGS UPON THE ALTAR.] A boon which the [king] gives (to) Gēb, (to) the [Great] Ennead [and the Little Ennead, the palace of Upper Egypt and the palace of Lower Egypt. O Amūn of Opet], king Djoserkarē gives to thee<sup>11</sup> [thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, thy thousand of gazelles, thy thousand of oryxes, thy thousand of *r*-geese], thy thousand of *trp*-geese, thy thousand of pigeons, [thy thousand of roasts, food from the divine slaughter-house, bread that has come from the Broad-hall, thy thousand of alabaster, thy thousand of cloth, thy thousand of incense,] thy thousand of ointment, thy thousand





<sup>1</sup> Gol. has wrongly substituted  for  in .

<sup>2</sup> The same item and paronomasia below B 9, 15, cf. Pyr. 87 a.

<sup>3</sup> Identical with C 4, 3 above, except for the additional verb *hri*, for which see *Wb.*, III, 361.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, C 4, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pyr. 92 b, 93 a, but 'thou hast completed' has been awkwardly inserted to provide a paronomasia with *Tj-mhzw*.

<sup>6</sup> Gol. and Daressy both read  , but the photograph seems to show  .

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below B 11, 1.

<sup>8</sup> See above p. 81, n. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Or else 'who' throughout.

<sup>10</sup> C ends differently (5, 3-5): *A boon which the king gives, I am pure for the Osiris, the king Djoserkarē, the son of Rē, Amenophis, beloved of Truth, the Great Wife of the king, Ahmose-Nofretari, the Sister of the king, Sitamūn beloved (of Amūn), and for the numerous family. Come unto this thy bread.*

<sup>11</sup> C 5, 7 changes the names: 'O Osiris Djoserkarē, the king and lord of the two lands Usimarē-setpenrē gives to thee. . . .' For a similar variation see below B 4, 7-10 = C 7, 3-7, where, however, Djoserkarē is coupled with Amūn.

(1, 10) [of vegetable offerings, thy thousand of food-offerings] . . . . . [thy thousand] of all things good and pure . . . . .<sup>1</sup> [on the hands of] <thy?> father Rē, he purifying(?) and Thoth making [offering to him]<sup>2</sup> . . . . . A great . . . . . to Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands (2, 1) and to Amūn of Opet. Thy sweat be unto thee,<sup>3</sup> <thy> natron be unto thee, O Amen-Rē, lord of Southern Opet. Be purified, O Amūn. Receive thou thy bread, receive thou thy incense, receive thou thy divine offerings which are the Eye of Horus. We have chanced upon this, <we> have searched out this for thee,<sup>4</sup> (even) for Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands and for Amūn of Opet. Thy bread be unto thee, <thy> beer be unto thee. Live thou upon that whereon Rē lives. It is the priest<sup>5</sup> who has brought it to thee within thy temple. It is I who glorify thee, O Amūn of Opet. <I> give for thee water to Thoth, that he may propitiate Amūn of Opet, and he shall be there as Rē. I give to thee thy bread, and it shall not grow sour, thy beer and (2, 5) it shall not grow stale,<sup>6</sup> that thou mayst have pleasure of the Boon-which-the-king-gives. Come thou on thine own behalf. To thee belongeth <. . . . .> O that the Eye of Horus may flourish(?)<sup>7</sup> for thee before thee!

(9 a) *Rt.* 2, 5-9. No mark of separation occurs at this point, but both the wording of the following passage and its title 'Giving libations' in the less developed early version found in the Pyramids<sup>8</sup> suggest that it should be regarded as a separate spell.

Thy water be unto thee, thine inundation be unto thee, thy natron be unto thee, which came forth from thee. <Wash> thy hands, open thy mouth, unstop thy ears. See thou with thine eyes, speak thou with thy mouth, and hear thou with thine ears, through the new libation-water that is come forth from thy father Osiris. <Come> to this thy bread that is warm, and <to> this <thy> beer that is warm.<sup>9</sup> Be and stay honoured, be and stay endowed with soul,<sup>10</sup> be and stay powerful, <be and> stay alert. Smite thou with thy staff, govern thou with thy disk. Raise thee, O Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and Amūn of Opet. Enter in <to> this thy bread and to these thy divine offerings in thy place and in thy temple, unwavering for ever.<sup>11</sup>

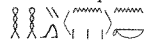
(10) *Rt.* 2, 9-12. The rite of libation is followed by one of burning myrrh. The same title occurs in the Turin papyrus,<sup>12</sup> but amongst rubrics differing from those found here.

SPELL FOR placing myrrh upon the fire. O Amen-Rē, (2, 10) lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, O Amūn of Opet, come <to> this thy bread. O Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, come <to> this thy bread which the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarē, the Horus, the strong bull curbing the two lands, gives unto thee. All life is with you,<sup>13</sup> all stability is with you, all health is with you, all joy is with you, (for)<sup>14</sup> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the

<sup>1</sup> C 5, 11 has here '[to Djoserkarē, son of Rē,] Ameno-phs, but in B we must probably restore 'to Amūn of Opet' in agreement with the variation of the two texts in C 5, 7 = B 1, 7 above.

<sup>2</sup> On these corrupt formulae see above p. 81, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See Blackman's important article *ÄZ.* L, 69 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Probably  should be read. The critical note gives a less probable suggestion.

<sup>5</sup> The plural determinative is certainly wrong, since below 3, 11; 4, 13 only one priest is mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> The two verbs appear to be interchanged, see *Pyr.* 859 a, b.

<sup>7</sup> For this very ancient formula see *Pyr.* 115 b. The exact meaning of *nhh* is unknown.

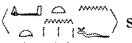


<sup>8</sup> *Pyr.* 788-9.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* 870 b, and above 1, 2-3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* 833 c.

<sup>12</sup> Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> In the first sentence of this section Amūn is regarded as a single person, sometimes qualified as lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and sometimes as belonging to Opet; and in the second sentence Amūn, Bull of his Mother, is doubtless taken as identical with the previous two. But later there is a change of standpoint, the plural suffix presupposing three separate Amūns.

<sup>14</sup> See below 12, 3 for the absence of the preposition *nmw*. The sense is made clear by 5, 5, and one possibility is that  should here be emended before , leaving the king's name to be taken in apposition to the suffix of . However, this would involve emendation of 12, 3 as well. Perhaps the omission is due to the fact that *n-sw-bit* begins with an *n*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* 789 c.



lord of the Two Lands, Usimarē-setpenrē, the Horus, the strong bull, beloved of Truth, living for ever and ever.<sup>1</sup>

(11) *Rt.* 2, 13-3, 7. The next section is preserved almost complete in C, and a text closely similar to it and with the same title exists also in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.<sup>2</sup> In the vignette accompanying the latter the king is represented in the act of censuring.

[SPELL FOR BRINGING THE GOD TO HIS MEAL. Come, O Amen]-Rē, lord of Southern Opet. Come, O Amen-[Rē, lord of] the thrones of the Two Lands. Come, O (3, 1) Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, the god long <of stride?>.<sup>3</sup> Come [to] thy body. Come <at> the summons of thee. Come to this thy servant, the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarē, who is not unconscious of his part<sup>4</sup> at thy festival and in all thy banquets. Bring thou thy soul,<sup>5</sup> thy magic, and thy honour to this thy bread that is warm, (to) this thy beer that is warm, (to) this thy roast that is warm, (even) the hearts of the disaffected.<sup>6</sup> Enter thou into this thy sanctuary <to> this thy bread that is warm, <this> thy beer that is warm. Thy temple is(?) divine with millions, with hundreds of thousands, with tens of thousands, <thousands and> hundreds. The king, the lord of the Two Lands,<sup>7</sup> Djoserkarē has filled for thee thy house with all good things. Thoth propitiates thee with the Eye of Horus, the white one with which thy face is enlightened in this its name of white bread, with which thy heart points aloft(?) (3, 5) in this its name of pyramidion-bread, with which thou art *hw* in this its name of *hw*-ox bread;<sup>8</sup> thy thousand of [bread], thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of [geese], thy [thousand of alabaster, thy] thousand [of] cloth, thy thousand of incense, thy thousand of ointment, thy thousand of vegetable-offerings, thy thousand of food-offerings, thy thousand of all things good and pure, thy thousand of all things sweet. [I] am Thoth who propitiates the gods, and who puts things in their places before the Souls of Heliopolis in Heliopolis (four times). . . . .

(12) *Rt.* B 3, 7-11. The corresponding passage in C is lost, and B has a number of lacunae. Some of these have been filled from duplicate texts in the tomb of Rekhmerē and elsewhere,<sup>9</sup> but the sense is very obscure, and the following version remains merely tentative. Horus appeals to his father Osiris to rescue him from the pederastic attempts of Seth.

TO BE RECITED BY the lector-priest . . . . . [I] am Horus, O my father Osiris. Catch hold of the phallus of Seth in thy hand, that Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and Amūn of Opet<sup>10</sup> may rest in [his] palace, and [that Horus may rest within] the hands of his father Osiris. Thy beauty <be unto thee>, O Amūn of Opet, faring well. Thy father Osiris has placed thee in [his] arms in this his name of the horizon<sup>11</sup> (3, 10) whence Rē goeth forth. Thou art refreshed and art comely with thy father Osiris. Thoth comes to thee, he has brought thee the Eye

<sup>1</sup> C, doubtless puzzled by the absence of  commented on in the last note, has added  '(is) with you' meaninglessly at the end. There was apparently not room for it here.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. I, Pl. 37, b.

<sup>3</sup> See the critical note.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'his body'. Gunn quotes Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>5</sup> Abyd. supports 'thy soul' of B as against 'thy son' of C 6, 5.

<sup>6</sup> An allusion to the fact that the animals slaughtered to the gods were symbolically identified with slaughtered enemies. See *ÄZ.*, XLVIII, 69.

<sup>7</sup> If 'the son of Rē' really stood at the end of this line, it must be a mistake, as this title never precedes the pre-nomen of the king elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> A series of plays of words, involving two verbs of doubtful meaning, *bnbn* and *hw*. In B the *k* of *hw-k* is superfluous. Loaves of these kinds, see *Wb.*, I, 49, 459.

<sup>9</sup> Virey, *Le tombeau de Rekhmara*, Pl. 36, corrected from a copy by Mr. Davies; Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 219.

<sup>10</sup> Rekh. simply 'the god', i.e. Horus.

<sup>11</sup> The dual writing, if correctly restored, is fort he sing. If Osiris be the 'horizon', his placing Horus in his arms will make the latter into *Hr-ihy* 'Horus of the horizon'.



of Horus, that thou mayest have power through it, [that thou mayst have] honour [through it, and that] thou [mayst be] living [as a god] throughout eternity.

(13) *Rt.* 3, 11-4, 7. The next spell corresponds in part to one in the tomb of Rekhmerē, a few phrases from it being also found in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> But the parallelisms cease after *rt.* 4, 2, and C does not resume until 4, 6. The intervening text presents serious lacunae.

TO BE RECITED BY the priest. BRINGING THE HEART OF the god to him. Hail to thee, Amūn, lord of Opet! The king, the lord of the Two Lands Djoserkarē, has brought to thee thy heart to [set it in its place], even as Isis brought the heart of her [son] Horus to him and set <it> in its place, and even as Horus brought the heart of his mother Isis to her and set <it> in [its place]. Keep [silence], ye gods, [and hearken, ye Ennead, (4, 1) listen ye to] the good [words] which Horus spoke to his father Osiris, [that he might have greatness thereby, glory thereby, and power] thereby, that he might be there with him thereby (?), and that he might be there <as> Chief of the Westerners: which (also?) king Djoserkarē spoke to his father Amūn of Opet. [A way] is given to thee [. . . like Rē] in his horizons, and thou hast honour therein as Rē. . . . which Gēb, hereditary prince of the gods, made [for] thy father Amen-Rē, [lord] of the thrones of [the Two Lands, and for] <thy> father Amūn of Opet. A way is given to thee like Rē in his horizons. Thou being in heaven, come in thy glory. Thou being upon earth, [come in thy triumph?] . . . thou . . . est the Majesty of Shu. Khnūm has established for thee his inner parts. (4, 5) . . . Come thou, thy mother Nut opens for thee [the gates] of heaven . . . Come thou, thy father Gēb has opened for thee the gates of . . . ,<sup>3</sup> south, north, west, and east. [Come, let me come (?) to thee, that thou mayst have pleasure of me, and mayst have power through me (?)] over thy body. Ascend, glorious as Rē, powerful and equipped [as a god].

(14) *Rt.* 4, 7-5, 1. Most of this section is preserved in C, though there are certain divergences.

[TO BE RECITED] BY the lector-priest. Hail [to thee, O] Amen-Rē, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands in Ipet-esut], and Amūn of Opet.<sup>4</sup> (Whether?) thou art in heaven with Rē, (or whether?) thou art on earth with Sekhet-ḥōtep and the Unwearying Ones,<sup>5</sup> [arise, raise thee up], O Amūn of Opet,<sup>6</sup> proclaimed <as> king of Lower Egypt. The Majesty of Shu purifies thee <with> thy food, with the divine offerings made [unto thee at thy new-moon festival like Ptaḥ in thy month-festival] and in the month-festival of Ḥu-nūter(?). Thy bread be unto thee. One dedicates to thee (4, 10) all good and pure victuals. The king, the lord of the Two Lands Djoserkarē,<sup>7</sup> gives to thee [thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer], thy thousand [of oxen, thy thousand of geese], thy thousand of alabaster, thy thousand of cloth, thy thousand of water-fowl, [thy thousand of] pigeons, food from the divine offerings, thy bread . . .<sup>8</sup> thy thousand of incense, [thy thousand of ointment], thy thousand [of vegetable-offerings], thy thousand of food-offerings, thy thousand of all things good and pure, [thy thousand] of all things good and sweet. They are pure. [A boon which the] king

<sup>1</sup> Virey, *op. cit.*, p. 110, corrected from a copy by Mr. Davies.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62, tabl. 25; Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> A word for 'earth' is required (de Buck).

<sup>4</sup> Here C substitutes 'and king Djoserkarē, Son of Rē, Amenophis, beloved of Truth'.

<sup>5</sup> According to Sethe (*Altäg. Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*, 26 in *Sitzb. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1928) *ihmw-wrd* designates the ordinary stars in opposition to the circumpolar stars, the *ihmw-sk*.

<sup>6</sup> C has 'O Amen-Rē, king of the gods, and king Djoserkarē'.

<sup>7</sup> C has 'The king, the lord of the two lands Usimarē-setpenrē' in agreement with the coupling of Djoserkarē with Amūn in the previous lines. See for a similar variation above p. 83, n. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Emend from C 5, 9 as restored in 1, 9 above: *food from the divine slaughter-house, thy bread that has come from the Broad-hall, thy thousand of alabaster, thy thousand of cloth*.

[gives] . . . . . [TO BE RECITED?]<sup>1</sup> AFTER CALLING OUT 'HAIL TO THEE' beside the . . . . . [of the?] door, WHILST, AS THEY SAY,<sup>2</sup> THE PRIEST IS WITHIN, calling . . . . . this earth . . . . . [to] south, north, west, and east [of] (5, 1) this sanctuary.

(15) *Rt.* 5, 1-8. A section completely lost in C.

TO BE RECITED BY the priest to Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, to Amūn [of] Opet, and to Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, Amaunet, Min, Month, Atūm, Shu, Tefēnet, Gēb, Nut, Osiris, [Isis], Seth, Nephthys, Horus, Mut, Ptaḥ, Thoth, Khons, Suchos, Hathor, Banebdjedet, Tinenet, and Inyt. Come ye <to> your banquet in this sanctuary, <to> your banquet in it. Come ye to Heliopolis, whence ye came, (even) to this sanctuary, from Heliopolis whence ye [came].<sup>3</sup> Take ye (?) your shining (?), take ye (?) your food, which the king, (5, 5) the lord of the Two Lands Usimarē-setpenrē, the Horus, the strong bull, [beloved of] Truth, gives to you. And give ye unto him all life with you, all stability with you, all wealth with you, all joy with you, all health with [you]. Give ye to him very many *sed*-festivals, that he may partake of (?) you, your soul(s), and your power, in the name of Atūm in front of his Ennead. [King] Djoserkarē in front of his plebs giv[es it to him?]<sup>4</sup> . . . Shu and Tefēnet, that the king, the lord of the Two Lands Djoserkarē, may have power [throughout eternity].

(16 and 17) *Rt.* 5, 8-10. The formulae accompanying the two *rites de sortie* which closed the divine service are found in much less corrupt form in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.<sup>5</sup> For the sake of completeness I translate them in the form in which they occur there.

SPELL FOR REMOVING THE FOOT WITH (THE BROOM OF) HEDEN.<sup>6</sup> Thoth has come, he has rescued the eye of Horus from his enemies. No adversary male or female shall enter into this sanctuary.

(SPELL FOR) CLOSING<sup>7</sup> THE DOOR. Ptaḥ<sup>8</sup> fastens the door and Thoth<sup>9</sup> closes the door. The door is made fast with a bolt.<sup>10</sup>


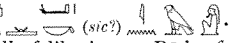
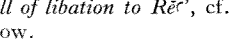
(18) *Rt.* 5, 10-6, 3. The two preceding spells are those which accompany terminal rites in the temple of Abydos, and consequently here there might be a new beginning. Confirmation of this may be found in the fact that the ritual of offerings regularly opened with libations and with the burning of incense.<sup>11</sup> What we here appear to have is a pair of alternative spells to be employed when the recipient of the cult was the sun-god Rē of Heliopolis. The duplicate in C starts only with the word *ḏr* in 5, 12 of B, but possibly the Turin text would on inspection prove to contain the whole.<sup>12</sup> We could

<sup>1</sup> The restoration [𓂏𓂏] is far from certain.


<sup>2</sup> *Hr-tw* must be parenthetical, but its exact intention is hard to guess.

<sup>3</sup> If the text is correct the probable sense would have been much clearer if the words had been arranged differently thus: 'Come ye from Heliopolis, whence ye (originally) came, to this sanctuary, (even) to Heliopolis whence ye (once) came.' The Heliopolitan Ennead are invited to leave their Heliopolitan home and come to the temple of Amūn at Thebes because this is in fact none other than Heliopolis their home.

<sup>4</sup> Restoration very doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> Mariette, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 56, tabl. 20. The Turin papyrus (Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 26) has two consecutive rubrics closely resembling those here, viz.  and  (sic?) . These two are followed by a 'Spell of libation to Rē', cf. here 5, 10, on which see n. 12 below.

<sup>6</sup> Ab. adds 'in the great place of Horus' or 'of Ḥarakhti'. The rite of removing the footprints was executed with a broom made of leaves of the *hdu*-plant, see Gardiner and Davies, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pp. 93-4.

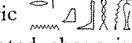


<sup>7</sup> , lit. 'fetching' must have approximately this sense here. B has simply 'ANOTHER SPELL'.

<sup>8</sup> B has 'Horus'.

<sup>9</sup> B adds 'the deputy of Rē'.

<sup>10</sup> B quite different and very corrupt.

<sup>11</sup> *Pyr.* 23. So too regularly in both the shorter and the longer lists of offerings in temples and tombs.

<sup>12</sup> Botti (*op. cit.*, p. 26) gives the rubric  immediately after those quoted above in n. 5, and hence we learn that the word following *ḥbh* in 5, 10 must have been, not , but . The trace suits, and the Plate should be altered accordingly. Cf., moreover, 6, 3, end, 'A spell for the incense of Rē'.


well do with a less corrupt version, since there appear to be interesting mythological allusions, a novel account being given of the birth, life, and old age of the sun-god Horus-Rē̄r.

SPELL FOR THE LIBATION [OF] Rē̄r. Receive happiness, O Atūm, lord of Heliopolis. O Rē̄r-Harakhti, take to thyself these libations which (?) emerge thence. Take (?) . . . in Heliopolis, which are in the horizon on the eastern side of the Great-green.<sup>1</sup> Horus became (?) the oldest of the old (?)<sup>2</sup> (ever) since he was ill, and went forth after (?) his eye alive, when Seth had seized it; and he received<sup>3</sup> it from Isis in Djebart-r̄aryt (?).<sup>4</sup> Come thou forth whole between the loins of [thy] mother [Isis], that she may bear thee and thou become a stripling having been (?) born; that thou mayst become Rē̄r and (6, 1) mayst suck the milk which is in the breast of thy mother Isis. Let her cry (?) be raised in She-r̄adi,<sup>5</sup> and mayst thou go forth from the arms of thy father Osiris. Make thy life from it, and be thou whole from it—from the sweet libation which comes forth (from) thy father Osiris on the eastern side of the Great-green. (Mayst thou) circle about the Ḥa-nebu,<sup>6</sup> and live (on) the east wind (which comes forth from) the eastern side of the Great-green. Mayst thou live being small, and become a stripling, grow warm and be vigorous (?). (And (so) mayst thou grow old) of this thy old age and (this) thy wholeness (?).

(19) Rt. 6, 3–10. The beginning of this spell is preserved in C,<sup>7</sup> and utilizes the traditional form of the songs with which, as Erman has most plausibly conjectured, the Pharaoh used to be awakened in the earliest historic times.<sup>8</sup> So popular did this type of song become, that it was later employed, not merely in addresses to various gods, but also for invocation of the royal crowns, and most fantastically of all, in order to stimulate the vivifying efficacy of the incense.<sup>9</sup> Here the incense seems to be directly addressed at first, but in 6, 5 the address appears to shift to the sun-god Rē̄r in whose honour the incense is offered, and now the incense somehow symbolizes the crown of Upper Egypt assumed by the heavenly king in the course of his morning toilet.


SPELL FOR the incense of Rē̄r. Thou awakest in peace; (if) Rē̄r-Harakhti awake (in) peace, thy awakening is peaceful. Thou awakest in peace; (if) Horus, prominent in the eastern holy (place?), awake in peace, (6, 5) thy awakening is peaceful. O Horus, take to thee thine eye, join unto thee him (?) who is prominent in the eastern holy (place?). Thy awakening is peaceful. O Horus, take to thyself thy Upper Egyptian crown, which the Great Ennead gave to thee as a helper to thee. This thine eye, O Horus great of magic, equip (thyself) with it. O Horus who hast power over thine eye, equip (thyself) with it. O Horus great of magic, it does thee homage before Gēb, it gives thee joy before the Great Ennead. Equip (thyself) with it, O Rē̄r-Harakhti. O incense of Rē̄r, sing (?) to


<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Red Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the reading of the archetype was  'it is (a fact that) Horus grew old of old age'.

<sup>3</sup> Gunn points out that 'he' must here be Horus.

<sup>4</sup> A locality? C 'as a Nubian woman of Aryt(?)'.

<sup>5</sup> A name of the territory of the XXIIInd nome of Lower Egypt, that of , which lay somewhere near the eastern desert; see Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 1390.

The metropolis of the said nome was called  'the House of the Nurse' in striking agreement with the present passage; and in the passage from Edfu quoted by Brugsch

it is said of the deity of this metropolis: 'Thou art the (god) variegated of feather (i.e. the Horus of Behdet) that stands upon the banner as Horus in Ḥat-khenemet.'


<sup>6</sup> i.e. the Mediterranean islands.

<sup>7</sup> The rubric being parallel to that of the libation-spell in 5, 10, which occurs in the Turin papyrus, one would expect to find this spell also in Tur. It is, however, not mentioned by Botti.

<sup>8</sup> A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, pp. 17, foll., in *Abhandl. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1911. The present opening conforms to type B, discussed *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Erman cites Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. I, p. 64, tabl. 26; Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. IV, Pls. 46 a, 56 a.

Rē̄r, to his disk, to Atūm, to his eye of (?) his body, to his eye of (?) Khopri, to Khopri, to the Lion, to the Double-lion, to Shu and Tefēnet, to Mēret at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, to Isis at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, to Hathor at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, to Ḥu<sup>1</sup> at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, to Sia<sup>1</sup> at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, to Khons and Thoth at the front of the bark of Rē̄r, and to the primaeval (?) gods and goddesses who (6, 10) accompany the bark of Rē̄r, to the crew of Rē̄r, to the evening bark, to the morning bark, to heaven, and to the gods and goddesses who are in it.<sup>2</sup>

(20) Rt. 6, 10–7, 2. In two later passages are enumerated a number of kings 'who had made monuments to Amen-Rē̄r, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and to Amūn, lord of Southern Opet in Ipet-esut' (7, 11–13 and 12, 11–13). Since the offerings placed before a god could not be really consumed by him, there was in theory no limit to the amount of re-use or 'reversion' (, as it was called, which they could undergo before being finally disposed of by the priests. Here and in the next spell we have descriptions of the rites performed 'upon the altars of the kings', presumably in the temples of Thebes, in connexion with such re-use of offerings. In the long heading (6, 10–12), besides much else that is problematical, Amūn himself in his three forms is mentioned—a seemingly very illogical proceeding. In 6, 13 the words spoken by the priest over each particular altar may possibly begin.

TO BE PERFORMED upon the altar(s) of the kings for Amen-Rē̄r, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, for Amūn of Opet, and for Amūn, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, for his *ka*, for the Great Ennead which is in Ipet-esut, for their *kas*, for the *ka* of the king which is in the Toilet-chamber and in the House of the Morning,<sup>3</sup> for the diadems, for his White Crown, for his birth (?), for the altar(s) of the kings and for the gods and goddesses in them (?).

Enter<sup>4</sup> for the reversionary offerings of Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and of Amūn of Opet. Thy enemy (is fallen). Return thou, (Horus?) has turned himself (?) back to the Eye of Horus in this its name (?) of (maker of) (7, 1) offerings.<sup>5</sup> Your odour be unto you, ye gods; your sweat be unto you, ye gods.<sup>6</sup> I am the priest, and I have come to make the offerings which are made for Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands and for Amūn of Opet. Thy divine offerings revert to thee. Receive thou them, O<sup>7</sup> king, thou lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarē̄r, given life.

(21) Rt. 7, 2–5. Preserved in C. The heading seems to imply that this spell was recited before that given above in 6, 3–10, but after the actual offerings had been deposited upon the altar of the particular beneficiary.



SPELL FOR THE FIRST LIBATION which is before THE MAKING of the incense(-rite), (but) after the reversion of the offerings.


TO BE RECITED. This is that White Crown of Rē̄r which brings thy power, the incense which purifies thee. The flood places itself upon<sup>8</sup> thy head, it purifies thee. Hail to thee, O Ptaḥ, O Thoth,

<sup>1</sup> Ḥu is 'creative utterance', Sia 'perception', personified.

<sup>2</sup> For a similar list of gods see Schiaparelli, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 97 foll., particularly p. 99 and pp. 104–6.

<sup>3</sup> See Blackman's article, *JEA*, V, 148.

<sup>4</sup> Or is  here infinitive, and part of a misunderstood rubric? In Tur. (Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 26) the rubric next before that of section 23 below is 

 'A spell for entering to make offerings'.

<sup>5</sup> See the critical notes on this very corrupt passage.

<sup>6</sup> See above 2, 1, with the note.

<sup>7</sup> Probably omit *n* and take what follows as a vocative.

Amenophis I is mentioned as representative of the kings intended to benefit by the offerings.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'in' as often.

deputy of Rē! Pure be thou, pure be thou! Praised be thou, praised be thou! Thy son, the king, lord of the Two Lands, Djeserkarē, given life, has brought to thee this White and Red Crown, that which is in Pe (7, 5) and that which is in Nekheb. It washes (?) thee,<sup>1</sup> it adorns thee. It makes its place upon thy head, for ever and ever.

(22) *Rt.* 7, 5–8, 1. The meal to be offered needs a light to be eaten by, and the next spell gives the words to be spoken when the candle was re-kindled. These are a version of Ch. CXXXVII A of the Book of the Dead. An evidently less corrupt text is found in the tomb of Petamenope,<sup>2</sup> and much of this is incorporated in the translation below.

SPELL FOR renewing the candle of every day. The candle has come to thy *ka*, O Amūn, lord of Opet. There has come one who proclaims night after day. The second (self) of Rē has come,<sup>3</sup> it has appeared gloriously in this sanctuary. He has caused it to come, he has brought it, even the eye of Horus, arisen upon thy forehead, hale upon thy brow.<sup>4</sup> To thy *ka*, O Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, O Amūn, lord of Opet! The Eye of Horus is thy protection, she spreads (her protection) over thee, and overthrows thy enemies. Pure, pure is the beautiful one! She has come, the Eye of Horus, the beautiful one, the proclaimer (?), the candle of new fat and of cloth of the launderers,<sup>5</sup> a candle (for) Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, for Amūn, lord of Opet in Ipet-esut, for Amūn, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, for Amaunet in the midst of Ipet-esut, for Month, for Atūm, for Shu, for Tefēnet, for Gēb, (7, 10) for Nut, for Osiris, for Isis, for Seth, for Nephthys, for Horus,<sup>6</sup> for Tinenet and Inyt, for the great bark Displayer-of-his-Beauty, Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and Amūn, lord of Opet,<sup>7</sup> and for the gods and goddesses who are in Ipet-esut, for the *ka* of king Usimarē-setpenrē,<sup>8</sup> for (king) Menmarē, for king Menpehtirē, for the king, lord of the Two Lands, Djeserkheprurē-setpenrē, for king Nebmarē, for king Menkheprurē, for king 'Okheprurē, (for king Menkheperrē, for king 'Okheper)enrē, for (king) 'Okheperkarē, for king Djeserkarē, for king Nebpehtirē, for king Wadjkheperrē, for king Kheperkarē, for king Nebhepetrē, and for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt who have made monuments for Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and (8, 1) for Amūn, lord of Southern Opet in Ipet-esut.

(23) *Rt.* 8, 1–3. The logical counterpart of the preceding spell. The same heading occurs in the Turin manuscript, which indeed about this point appears to agree closely with our text, since its next two rubrics are identical with those of the Chester Beatty papyrus. The obscure words to be recited appear to identify the candle with the sun, and to express the thought that its temporary extinguishing does not matter, since it will return on the morrow.

SPELL FOR EXTINGUISHING IT.<sup>9</sup> To be recited. This is that Eye of Horus by which(?)<sup>10</sup> thou didst become great, by which thou livest, and by which<sup>11</sup> thou hast power, O Amen-Rē, lord of

<sup>1</sup> See Golénisheff's note 6 on C 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Dümichen, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, vol. III, Pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> So Pet.; B corruptly 'O eye of Horus'; C 'O eye of Rē'.

<sup>4</sup> Here the gleaming light is identified with the crown on the king's head.


<sup>5</sup> The reference is to the wick.




<sup>6</sup> See the critical note.

<sup>7</sup> A meaningless repetition, unless (as seems less likely) these names of Amūn are in apposition to the suffix of *nfrw*.

<sup>8</sup> The same list occurs in less corrupt form (see the note

a on 7, 12) in another passage below, 12, 11–13. Moreover, both passages occur, with slight variations, in the Turin papyrus, see Botti, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30. The kings mentioned are the entire series from Ramesses II backwards to Kamose, last Pharaoh of Dyn. XVII, excluding the Atenistic rulers before Haremhab, and adding Sesostri I of Dyn. XII and the last Mentjhotpe of Dyn. XI.

<sup>9</sup> Tur. , see Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Emend  or  for .

<sup>11</sup> So here probably, rather than 'over which'.

the thrones of the Two Lands, and Amūn, lord of Opet. This is that Eye of Horus which thou eatest and through which thou enchantest thy body. What is it to thee (that) the Wedjat-eye is entered (into) Manu,<sup>1</sup> and (that) the god has pleasure of his possessions? It returns, it returns, the Eye of Horus, in peace!

(24) *Rt.* 8, 3–21. This section, of which the beginning is closely parallel to one found in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos,<sup>2</sup> is the outcome of a fusion of several adjacent passages of the Pyramid Texts,<sup>3</sup> and parts of it survive in the book, very popular in Graeco-Roman times, which Lieblein edited under the title *Le livre Que mon nom fleurisse*.

SPELL FOR RENEWING the divine offerings.<sup>4</sup> TO BE RECITED. Hail to thee, O Atūm! Hail to thee, O Khopri! Thou climbest on high by the High Stairway, thou shinest forth (*wbn-k*) on the pyramidion (*bnn*) in Hat-benben in Heliopolis,<sup>5</sup> thou spittest forth (*šš-k*) as Shu and Tefēnet, thou placest thine arms around the king, lord of the Two Lands, Djeserkarē, and causest that his *ka* may be flourishing there for eternity.

IT FLOURISHES, FLOURISHES, (8, 5) the name of Atūm, the lord-of-the-Two-Lands of Heliopolis in Heliopolis, even as flourish the divine offerings given by king Usimarē-setpenrē to his father Amūn, lord of Opet, together with his Ennead, flourishing eternally;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Shu, lord of the Upper Menset<sup>6</sup> in Heliopolis, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Tefēnet, lady of the Lower Menset in Heliopolis, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Gēb, the . . . . . of the earth in Heliopolis, flourishing for ever;

(8, 10) EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Nut in Hat-shenyt in Heliopolis, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Osiris Khentamente in Abydos, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Isis in Neteru, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Horus in Pe, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Seth in Ombos, flourishing for ever;

(8, 15) EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Nephthys in Hat-( . . . in) Heliopolis, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Banebdjedet in Mendes, flourishing for ever;

EVEN AS FLOURISHES the name of Thoth in Hermopolis, flourishing for ever.

A boon which the king GIVES (to) Gēb, choice joints (for) these gods. They shall be endowed with soul, they shall have honour, they shall be alert, they shall have power, to them shall be given bread (8, 20) and beer, incense and ointment, by the gift of the king, lord of the Two Lands, Usimarē-setpenrē, to his father Amūn, lord of Opet, and Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, together with his Ennead, flourishing eternally.

(25) *Rt.* 8, 22–9, 7. A 'Song of the Two Regions', to be sung in the evening, follows and is divided into two stanzas, like the morning song below in 13, 1 foll. The same heading is found in the Turin papyrus,<sup>7</sup> and appears to have been its last. The formulation seems to hint that these hymns were chanted by the general public congregated in the outer halls of the temple. One might be inclined to conjecture that such chanting was confined to the greater feast-days, but in 14, 4 reference is made to the 'two stanzas

<sup>1</sup> The mountains of the West.

<sup>2</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. I, p. 51, Tabl. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Pyramidentexte*, ed. Sethe, §§ 1650–1, 1652–3, 1660 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Also in Tur., see Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Paronomasia. Hat-benben was a name of the temple of Heliopolis.

<sup>6</sup> Here and below the better readings of the Pyramid-texts are incorporated in my translation.

<sup>7</sup> Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

of every day', which can surely only allude to the morning hymn of 13, 1-11. And since the present evening hymn is clearly parallel to the morning hymn in question, we must apparently conclude that we here have part of the daily ritual.

WORDS OF the song of the Two Regions to be uttered in the evening. TO BE RECITED. Amūn unites himself to the horizon (9, 1) of heaven, having appeared gloriously on the western side. Atūm who is in the eventide has come in his power; there are none disaffected towards him. He hath assumed rulership of the sky as Rē, he hath illumined the earth as (. . . .). His heart becomes joyful, for he hath dispersed the gloom (?)<sup>1</sup> and the rain-storm, having descended from the body of his mother Nut, his father Nūn doing obeisance; and the gods, they make jubilation to him. The dwellers in the netherworld are in joy, when they see their lord long of stride,<sup>2</sup> Amen-Rē, the lord of the world, the goodly stripling, happy in his shrine. Thy son Horus is on thy throne upon earth, the strong Bull, beloved of Truth, Usimarē-setpenrē—mayst thou love him, and place him (there) everlastingly.

SECOND STANZA. The gods (9, 5) partake of (?)<sup>3</sup> thy beauty, their hearts revive when they see thee, Sia following thee and Hū in front of him.<sup>4</sup> Great is thy might, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, who camest into being aforetime in Ipet-esut. Every god and every goddess propitiate thee, and thy beautiful face is pleased (at)<sup>5</sup> thy son, the king, lord of the Two Lands Djeserkarē, given life. Jubilating (crowds) make thy beauty.<sup>6</sup> O Djeserkarē, mayst thou be a favoured one (?).<sup>7</sup> May Amūn favour him, love him, perpetuate him, and overthrow his enemies whether dead or alive.

(26) *Rt.* 9, 7-11, 14. We now reach a section described as the 'Bill of fare for the Festival of Amen-rē' which, with its long list of thirty-nine items, contrasts strongly with the shorter *menu* dealt with above in section (7). The latter may, accordingly, be regarded as the simpler repast enjoyed by the god on ordinary days. Of the festival of Amen-rē, we know from the month-name Phaophi and from other sources that it started in the middle of the second month of the Egyptian year, and continued well into the third. The description of the processions by land and water which belonged to this festival forms no part of the present book, which is concerned only with the ritual centring around the banquet offered to the god. In 12, 1 we have the introductory invitation addressed by the lector-priest to his colleague the *sem*-priest exhorting him to present the royal offerings. Then comes the longer invocation supposed to be addressed to the attendants carrying the separate dishes. Only after this came the recitation of the short verses punning, as in the previously studied *menu*, on the names of the individual items. These verses are in many cases a heritage from the Pyramid Texts, references to which will be found in the critical notes.

BILL OF FARE FOR the Festival of Amen-Rē, lord of Opet, and Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. TO BE RECITED:

Wine	2 dishes	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, with which thy mouth is opened.
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<sup>1</sup> Connected with the adjective *ht* 'dirty'? The substantive thus determined elsewhere means 'sails'.

<sup>2</sup> See above 3, 1, with the note.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps connected with the stem *itb* 'to join (in)' rather than with *wb* 'to be pure'.

<sup>4</sup> Emend 'thee'? For Hū and Sia see p. 89, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Restore <mw> as below 13, 9.

<sup>6</sup> See C 11, 1 and below 13, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Translation very doubtful. In the next sentences 'him' must refer to Djeserkarē, so that there is a transition from second to third person. The parallel passages below 13, 10; 14, 10 have the second person throughout.

(9, 10) Water

*Šns*-cake

*Ht*-loaf

*Psn*-bread

Figs<sup>2</sup>

(9, 15) *Šryt*-cakes

Honey

Onions, single

Figs

Grapes

(10, 1) *Wḥ*-fruit

*Nbs*-fruit

Beer

Great-bread

(10, 5) Sides (? of meat)

*Šwt*-joint

*Zhnw*-meat

*Mid*-meat<sup>5</sup>

*Knkn*-meat

(10, 10) Roast meat

Liver

Spleen

2 dishes

1 dish

1 „

1 „

1 „

20

1 dish

5

2 dishes

2 „

2 „

2 „

2 jars

1 dish

1 „

1 „

1 „

1 „

1 „

1 „

1 „

1 „

O Amūn, take to thyself the water which flows from the breast of thy mother Isis.<sup>1</sup>

O Amūn, receive unto thyself thy head.

O Amūn, seize for thyself thy face.

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus; prevent (him) from stumbling (?) upon it.

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he tasted (*sic*).

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus; it shall not trickle away (?) from thee.<sup>3</sup>

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which is sweet in thy heart.

O Amūn, take to thyself the teeth of Horus, the onions by which thy mouth is hale.

O Amūn, take to thyself the breast of Isis of which the gods taste.

O Amūn, take to thyself the eye of Horus, which . . . . .

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which he ensnared.

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which they relish (?).

O Amūn, take to thyself the juice (?) which came forth from Osiris.

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, that Great one.<sup>4</sup>

O Amūn, take to thyself those who rebelled against thee; stop (?) them for thyself.

O Amūn, take to thyself the two fleshy parts (?) of the Eye of Horus.

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, which thou lightest upon (?).

O Amūn, take to thyself those whom thy words (*sic*).


O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, beat it.

O Amūn, take to thyself thy roast.<sup>6</sup>

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, to which (he) carried (*sic*).<sup>7</sup>

O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus to which he went.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above C 4, 2.

<sup>2</sup> A wrong entry; *Pyr.* 74 d has  'dpt-cake'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above C 4, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above C 4, 6, with the note.

<sup>5</sup> *Wb.* II, 45.

<sup>6</sup> The old version contained a different word, 'thy . . . ones'.

<sup>7</sup> The text here is corrupt, but was doubtless intended to be identical with that attached to the *sr*-goose in 11, 4. *M* here is an easy corruption of *n*-f there.





Meat of the breast <sup>1</sup>	1 dish	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which is in front of Seth.
Haunch	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself <that> wherewith he trod.
(11, 1) Foreleg	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the foreleg which is (?) the Eye of Horus. <sup>2</sup>
R-goose	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the heads which are after Seth.
Trp-goose <sup>3</sup>	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the end of this heart.
Śr-goose <sup>4</sup>	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus to which he carried ( <i>sic</i> ). <sup>5</sup>
(11, 5) Pigeon	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, prevent him from suffering in it.
White śšt-fruit <sup>6</sup>	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the white Eye of Horus, prevent him from . . . ing it.
Green śšt-fruit	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the green Eye of Horus, prevent him from . . . ing it.
Bḥst-fruit	1 „	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus when it . . . s from thee.
Flame	1 flame	O Amūn, take to thyself the flame, the Eye of Horus.
(11, 10) Brazier	1 brazier	O Amūn, offer every living head.
Mkḥ	1 dish	O Amūn, thou hast spitted (?) it with thy finger. <sup>7</sup>
Fan	1	Ha Amūn, thy heart is given to thee in thy body.
All manner of sweet wood	4	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus; thou hast made it strong. <sup>8</sup>
ʾIšd-fruit <sup>9</sup>	1 basket	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, which he removed from him. <sup>10</sup>

(27) *Rt.* 12, 1-13, 1. Whereas in the last section the phrases to be recited were the specifically relevant allusions to the various items of the divine *menu*, here we have the comprehensive initial formulae with which the lector-priest announced the beginning of the banquet. These formulae appear to have differed slightly according to the particular divine or royal person concerned, and according to the occasion envisaged. The first paragraph pretty evidently refers to the festival of Amen-rē, of which the full *menu* was given in section (26). This follows from the expressions used in 12, 5.

<sup>1</sup> See *Wb.*, III, 19, under A, ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyr.* 79 c has a different and untranslatable text.

<sup>3</sup> *Pyr.* 85 b writes .

<sup>4</sup> I doubt the existence of the Ś-goose assumed *Wörterb.* IV, 1; the play on words *Pyr.* 86 a and the reading here alike suggest that  is to be read śr. See the last note.

<sup>5</sup> See the textual note and above p. 93, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Spelt śšt as below in 16, 2. 3. I have restored the Old Kingdom spelling.

<sup>7</sup> Botti (*op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 1) quotes this entire phrase as existing in the Turin papyrus.

<sup>8</sup> *Pyr.* 100 a, 111 a 'take to thyself the sweet Eye of Horus, take it up (to eat)'. For śšt see *Wb.*, IV, 265.

<sup>9</sup> According to Keimer (*Kēmi*, vol. II, p. 92, n. 1) *išd* was used to designate several species of edible fruit.

<sup>10</sup> *Pyr.* 95 c writes 'from Seth'.

(12, 1) TO BE RECITED by the lector-priest who makes the invocation. O *sem*-priest, make the <Boon>-which-the-king-gives<sup>1</sup> (to) Amūn, lord of Opet, to Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and to Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat. Come to this thy bread.

CARRYING OF OFFERINGS by the lector-priest <to> this god.

TO BE RECITED. Come, ye servants. Carry offerings that are for the Presence. Carry offerings <to> Amūn, lord of Opet, and Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. All life is with him, all stability is with him, all wealth is with him, all health is with him, all joy is with him, <for><sup>2</sup> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeserkarē, son of Rē, Amenophis, given life, Horus the <strong> bull, curbing the lands on the throne of Horus and on the seat of Seth as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt in front of the living eternally. He has given them,<sup>3</sup> whilst the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimarē-setpenrē, Horus the strong bull, (12, 5) beloved of Truth, is making for him his festival and making the procession by boat of his father Amūn, lord of Opet, and Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, that he may have pleasure <of> what the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeserkarē, curbing the Two Lands, does—life, stability, wealth, and joy be with his *ka* eternally.

COME, ye servants. Carry offerings that are for the Presence. Carry offerings to Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is on his great seat in Ipet-esut, and likewise <to> those <gods, the lords of everlasting and eternity>.

COME, ye servants. Carry offerings that are for the Presence. <Carry> offerings to Amūn, to Amaunet, to Month, to Atūm, to Iusraas,<sup>4</sup> to Sep, to Sekhem, to ʾAryt, to Tinenet, to Inyt, to the Great Ennead which is in Ipet-esut, and likewise <to> those <gods and goddesses>.

COME, ye servants. Carry offerings that are for the Presence. Carry offerings to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeserkarē, son of Rē, Amenophis, given life in Ipet-esut,<sup>5</sup> that he may receive the White Crown and assume the Red Crown, that they may be established upon his head and may shine forth upon his brow, that he may (12, 10) adore Rē in life, and <may give> thanksgivings <to> his Ennead <in> joy, that he may follow the Great one in his love, after he has taken the rudder in the divine bark, and that they may give food to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeserkarē, in life, stability, wealth, and joy with his *ka* eternally.

COME, ye servants. Carry offerings that are for the Presence. Carry offerings to the king, lord of the Two Lands Usimarē-setpenrē, to king Menmarē, to king Menpehtirē, to king Djeserkheprurē-setpenrē, to king Nebmarē, to king Menkheprurē, to king ʾOkheprurē, to king Menkheperre, to <king> ʾOkheperenrē, to king ʾOkheperkarē, to <king> Djeserkarē, to king Nebpehtirē, to king Wadjkheperre, to king Kheperkarē, to king Nebhepetrē, and to the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, (13, 1) that <they><sup>6</sup> may receive the White Crown and assume the Red Crown, that these may be established upon their heads and may shine forth upon their brows, and that they may adore <Rē> in life.<sup>7</sup>

(28) *Rt.* 13, 1-11. A song in two stanzas to be sung by the entire congregation of the 'Two Regions' in the morning, closely parallel in tone and even in actual phraseology to the evening-song of 8, 22-9, 7. A considerable portion of the text is preserved in C.

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this beginning is found in the Turin papyrus, see Botti, *op. cit.*, p. 26, top.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 84, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Amūn has given life, &c.

<sup>4</sup> So C; B simply 'O', *i.e.* 'the Great one'.

<sup>5</sup> C adds here 'and to the king, lord of the Two Lands, Usimarē-setpenrē, son of Rē, [Ra'messe-mi-Amūn]', after

which it breaks off.

<sup>6</sup> Restore <sn> with both verbs after the model of 12, 9?

<sup>7</sup> It is remarkable that the presentation of offerings to all these dead kings seems intended, not merely to call them back to a temporary renewal of life, but also to reinvest them with their royal power. Unless, indeed, n. 6 be wrong.



WHAT IS SAID AS THE SONG OF THE TWO REGIONS to Amūn at time of morning. The doors are opened at the great place, the shrine is thrown open in the Castle. Thebes is in festival, Heliopolis in joy, and Ipet-esut in gladness. Jubilation is in heaven and on earth. Leap, ye people,<sup>1</sup> to the gods. Exultation is come to pass throughout the Two Regions. Everyone has taken to rejoicing, and song is made <to> this noble god Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and to Amūn, lord of Opet. He is revealed within his temple, and his roarings attain the bounds of the earth. His festival has occurred in this sanctuary, and (13, 5) his fragrance has compassed the circuit of the Great-green, (of him) the lord of diadems within Thebes, whose splendour is throughout all foreign countries. Sky and earth are (full) of his beauty, he flooding (them) with the gold of his rays and with life and wealth unto the nose of the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarēr—mayst thou love him <above any (other) king>.

SECOND (stanza). The doors are opened in Iput-eset to Amūn, he having arisen in his great festival like this Power, the sovereign whose might <is great>. Justification hath been given to him corresponding to his beauty in the horizon, he having destroyed those secret of voice, according as he is (?) the lord of the rudder(?), seizer of the Great crown, justified, wearing his beauty, great of might and powerful of acclamation. They see thee shining forth in honour, power having been delivered unto thee. Thy voice is beneficent up to the limit(?) of its might, and thy beautiful face is pleased at thy son Usimarēr-setpenrēr—mayst thou love him <above any (other) king>.<sup>2</sup> Jubilating (crowds) make thy beauty.<sup>3</sup> (13, 10) O Djoserkarēr, welcome be thou whencesoever(?)! Mayst thou be a favoured one(?). May Amūn favour thee for all <thy> deeds; may he favour thee, love thee, perpetuate thee, and overthrow thy enemies whether dead or alive.<sup>4</sup>

(29) *Rt.* 13, 11-14, 3. Three short verses or strophes apparently likewise addressed to Amen-Rē by the assembled multitude. The occasion is here explicitly stated to be the Great Festival of Amūn. That the words '*this god*' in the title refer to him rather than to king Amenophis seems clear, not only from their repetition in 14, 4, but also from 14, 2, where the 2nd pers. pronoun evidently refers to Rē, i.e. Amen-Rē, while the king is referred to as '*he*'.

WHAT IS SAID TO this god in acclamation. Amūn ascends on high in his great festival, lord of diadems(?) upon his breast(?),<sup>5</sup> and the gods are in (attitude of) praise at the sight of thee, when they see thee justified, and thou hast seized the Great crown, and hast(?) subjected the palace, and the . . . . . is full of thy(?) wrath. END.

The lord shines forth, the noble god, Amūn, lord of Opet, and Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, at the sight of whose beauty sky and earth become bright. The storm-cloud is overthrown through fear of thee,<sup>6</sup> thou who(?) hangest up the heaven and makest content (14, 1) the Two Lands. He shines forth<sup>7</sup> when thou shinest forth, that thou mayst have honour through(?) the Truth of the Ennead. Meḥ(?) comes to thee, <to> thy body. END.

Rē shines forth within his chapel to cause to live the king, lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarēr, given life. Mayst thou cause him to be king of everlasting, seated upon the thrones of Horus and Seth, the White and the Red crowns established upon his head. Thou hast given to him the western horizon, and he has assumed rulership over the eastern horizon, that Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and Amūn, lord of Opet, may take pleasure of his banquet, his Ennead having appeared in glory at the sight of him.

<sup>1</sup> See the note on the text.

<sup>2</sup> Probably to be completed, like the previous passage 13, 6, with the words there added by C.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above 9, 6, and see below p. 105, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> For parallel passages see above 9, 6-7 and below 14, 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> Obscure.

<sup>6</sup> Transition from the 3rd pers. to the 2nd.

<sup>7</sup> '*He*' is doubtless Djoserkarēr.




(30) *Rt.* 14, 3-8. Though it is not expressly so stated, the following section appears to have contained a hymn especially reserved for particular festivals, where it was sung after the daily hymn of two stanzas given above in 13, 1-11. This conjecture is supported by the rubrics of the two following sections.

WHAT IS SAID to this god after the two stanzas of every day.

Rē is made manifest in Hat-benben, Amūn-Atūm lord of Thebes, the lord of the festival of the sixth day, the sovereign of the (14, 5) quarter-month,<sup>1</sup> Khopri who illumines the Two Lands with his beauty, Horus and Thoth having come to see <him> in the Castle. They purify thee with water of the flood, and with the pellets<sup>2</sup> that are from Nekheb. They give unguent to thy face, and linen to all thy limbs, and present to thee green and black eye-paint, myrrh and incense enveloping thy(?) shrine. Thy soul is powerful in Iun of Upper Egypt,<sup>3</sup> thy splendour surpasses (that of) the king, thy name is holy in Iun of Upper Egypt. The north is under the dread of thy influence.<sup>4</sup> Offerings are made to thee in thousands upon thy golden altars, pure upon his hands, (the hands of) the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Usimarēr-setpenrēr. It is thy might that curbs the Two Lands, and <thy> roaring is throughout every foreign country.

(31) *Rt.* 14, 8-11. At the feast of the sixth day of the month, bouquets of flowers were evidently presented to the various kings enumerated above in sections (22) and (27). Here we find the words spoken by the priest on that occasion.

PRESENTING THE BOUQUET ON THE DAY OF THE SIXTH-DAY FESTIVAL. To be recited <by> the priest. O *sem*-priest, give a bouquet to the king, the royal children, and the courtiers in the house <of Amūn>?. Khons(?) causes Amūn to be thy protection, thou living eternally. May (14, 10) Amūn do as thou desirest, O beloved in Ipet-esut, Usimarēr-setpenrēr.<sup>5</sup> Mayst <thou> be a favoured one(?). May Amūn favour thee for all thy deeds; may he favour thee, love thee, perpetuate thee, and overthrow thy enemies whether dead or alive.<sup>6</sup> To be recited four times in the name of every king.

(32) *Rt.* 14, 11-16, 11. The special *menu* to be employed on the occasion of the sixth-day festival, while resembling the other *menus* of this papyrus in general outward form, differs from them in important particulars. Each item, not even excluding the numeral attaching to it, is specified twice, a short formula of introduction being followed in the first case by the normal punning allusion to a mythological precedent, and in the second by an epithet of Amūn.<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the introductory formulae the first member of each pair starts with , which was evidently similar in sense to the initial word of the second member, viz.  '*presentation*'. One may even hazard the conjecture that  is a mere graphic variant of the latter word, only in the dual, and that it was adopted by the writer in order to emphasize the division of the text into pairs of entries. Possibly we have to think of the officiant as twice holding up the same offering before the deity, the gesture being accompanied each time by the recitation of the ritually fixed words. If, as the concluding phrases of the foregoing section

<sup>1</sup> For the special connexion of Amūn with these festivals see *Pap. Boulaq XVII*, 5, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Of natron, which is often mentioned as coming from El-Kâb.

<sup>3</sup> Hermonthis, the modern Ermant.

<sup>4</sup> '*Idt-k*', lit. 'thy dew', the word rendered '*fragrance*' above 13, 5.

<sup>5</sup> From the last words of this section it may be inferred that the name of Ramesses II is here inserted only as that of one representative king among many.


<sup>6</sup> For these last sentences see above p. 92, n. 7.

<sup>7</sup> There are a few divergences from this scheme, partly no doubt due to the carelessness of the scribe.

suggest, the present *menu* refers to offerings made to Amūn on behalf of a number of different Pharaohs, it seems not unlikely that the double presentation has some connexion with the double title of the Pharaoh as king of Upper Egypt and king of Lower Egypt. The inclusion of several unusual items remains to be noted, and there is at least one unknown word. The entries are not entirely confined to food and drink, since in 15, 7–8 there is a reference to ‘a stick for fire-boring’,<sup>1</sup> just as in another *menu* (11, 12) mention is made of a ‘fan’. The section ends with the usual comprehensive formula, addressed by the priest to the colleague bearing the title of *sem*-priest; and this was probably used to usher in the ceremony.

## BILL OF FARE FOR THE DAY OF THE SIXTH-DAY FESTIVAL.

⟨Double⟩ presentation of two red vases of water	2	O Amūn, take to thyself the water which is in thy two red eyes.
Presentation of water, two red vases	2	O Amūn, thou Power, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, child of these(?) thirty which are(?) these(?). <sup>2</sup>
(15, 1) Double presentation of the beer-jug	1	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus distinguished(?) from thee. <sup>3</sup>
Presentation of the beer-jug	1	O Amūn, thou Power, ⟨lord⟩ of the thrones of the Two Lands.
⟨Double⟩ presentation of the foreleg	1	O Amūn, take to thyself that wherewith(?) he trod.
Presentation of the foreleg	1	⟨O Amūn, . . . . .⟩ <sup>4</sup>
(15, 5) Double presentation of a side (of beef)	1	O Amūn, take to thyself those who rebelled against thee, that thou mayst end them. <sup>5</sup>
Presentation of a side	1	O Amūn, [thou Power,] lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.
Double presentation of a stick for fire-boring	1	O Amūn, take [to thyself those smitten?] with thy stick. <sup>6</sup>
Presentation of a stick for fire-boring	1	O Amūn, lord [of the thrones] of the Two Lands.
Double presentation of wine	1	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus, with which thy mouth was opened.
(15, 10) Presentation of wine	1	O Amūn, lord of Southern Opet.
Double presentation of milk	1	O Amūn, thou Power, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. <sup>7</sup>
Presentation of milk	1	O Amūn, thou Power, lord of Southern Opet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the word  in *Shipwrecked Sailor* 54.

<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly corrupt, but the number 30 possibly refers to the number of the verses, which are only two short of that amount. <sup>3</sup> Paronomasia of *tnmwt* and *tnw*.

<sup>4</sup> The scribe has omitted the words which ought to constitute 15, 4 *b* and has replaced them with the words belonging to 15, 5 *b*. This error has brought about a dislocation of the next five half-lines, which are restored in my translation to the places where they belong.

<sup>5</sup> Paronomasia of *grw* ‘side’ and the verb *gr* ‘end’.

<sup>6</sup> Paronomasia.

<sup>7</sup> The punning half-lines belonging to 15, 11, 13 and 16, 2 were doubtless lost in some ancestor of the present MS., and had been mechanically replaced by an epithet of Amūn. This doubtless took place before the dislocation mentioned above in n. 4, as is shown by the alternation of the epithets down to the bottom of the page, as contrasted with the identity of 15, 13 *b* and 16, 1 *b*. We must consequently continue in translating to transfer the half-lines one place downwards. ‘The thrones of the Two Lands’ belongs to the first member of each pair, as is shown by 16, 2, and ‘Southern Opet’ to the second member.

Double presentation of . . . . .	1	O Amūn, thou Power, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.
(16, 1) Presentation of . . . . .	1	O Amūn, [thou Power, lord of Southern] Opet.
⟨Double presentation of white ššt-fruit⟩	⟨3⟩	O Amūn, thou Power, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. <sup>1</sup>
Presentation of white ššt-fruit <sup>2</sup>	3	⟨O Amūn, thou Power, lord of Southern Opet.⟩
⟨Double presentation of green ššt-fruit⟩	⟨3⟩	⟨O Amūn, take to thyself the green Eye of Horus, prevent him from . . . ing it⟩. <sup>3</sup>
Presentation of green ššt-fruit	3	O Amūn, thou Power, [lord of] Southern Opet.
⟨Double presentation of figs⟩	⟨3⟩	O Amūn, take to thyself the breast of Horus ( <i>sic</i> ) [of which the gods] taste. <sup>4</sup>
Presentation of figs	3	⟨O Amūn, thou Power, lord of Southern Opet.⟩
(16, 5) Double presentation of grapes	3	O Amūn, take to thyself the Eye of Horus which [they] . . . . . <sup>5</sup>
Presentation of grapes	3	O Amūn, thou Power, [lord of the thrones] of the Two Lands.
⟨Double presentation of⟩ dates	3	O Amūn, . . . . .
⟨Presentation of dates⟩	⟨3⟩	⟨O Amūn, . . . . .⟩
Double presentation of a red vase	. . .	[O Amūn, take to thyself what is in the Eye of Horus, being red?] <sup>6</sup>
Presentation of a red vase	. . .	[O Amūn,] . . . . .
(16, 10). O <i>sem</i> -priest, make the [Boon]-which-the-King-gives to Amūn, lord [of the thrones of the Two Lands, to Amūn of Opet, and to] Amūn, Bull of his mother, who is upon his great seat. Come to that which I have(?) given to thee . . . . .		

(33) *Rt.* 16, 12–17, 14. There is not much room for a rubric in the lacuna of the second half of 16, 11, but it seems clear that a hymn to be sung on New Year’s day followed. Of this only a few words remain, and it would be useless to translate the sparse fragments of page 17.

[TO BE SAID?] on the morning of the New Year. Hail to thee, O Amen-Rē, appearing gloriously as Ḥarakhti . . . . . as king of the gods. Homage is paid to thee as him who renews (his) youth . . . . . the two [goddesses are?] propitiated (17, 1) . . . . .

(34) *Vs.* 1, 1–10. In what may be presumed to be the last line of this section we read the words ‘that he may open a good year like Thoth’, and hence we may conclude that the section deals with ritual observances belonging to New Year’s Day, like the section beginning in *rt.* 16, 11. A further probable deduction is that *vs.* 1 was the first page of the *verso*, and *rt.* 17 the last page of the *recto*. A large part of *vs.* 1 has been restored

<sup>1</sup> The punning half-verse which originally stood here is probably that of 11, 6 *b*, above.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 94, n. 6.


<sup>3</sup> Restored from 11, 7 *b*.

<sup>4</sup> This half-verse was doubtless identical with 9, 18 *b*.

<sup>5</sup> See above the critical note on 9, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from C 4, 4.

on the basis of *rt.* 8, 5 foll., that version of *Le livre Que mon nom fleurisse* which was translated in full in section (24). There are not enough variations or points of interest to warrant re-translation here.

(35) *Vs.* 1, 11-2, 9. A change from masculine to feminine in the pronominal suffixes proves that a new section must have begun at the end of 1, 10 or the beginning of 1, 11. That this new section was a 'Spell for Libations' in honour of the goddess Mut of Eshru is indicated by later passages. Mut was a close neighbour of Amūn at Karnak, her temple of Eshru lying at the extreme south of his territory. Possibly this particular spell was recited only at her annual festival by water, which is described in other papyri<sup>1</sup> as the 'water-festival of Mut', cf. the sign  in 2, 9. There are some grounds for thinking that what is here treated as a single section may really have constituted two; the words 'for ever' in 1, 13 look like an ending, and the next words 'Take to thyself' look like a beginning. However, there is no rubric or other mark of division. The list of divinities and sacred insignia with which the text terminates is obscure in the extreme, and may contain a certain number of corrupt readings.

..... her goodly festival like these ..... in her goodly festival .....  
 ..... Djeserkarēr, filling ..... thy ..... , O Amūn. Test thou (?) .....  
 the (goddess) ..... at the Court to the *ka* of ..... , she is for ever.

Take to thyself (*vs.* 2, 1) these libation-waters which issued (from) Atūm. Rule thou over them, that thou mayst be<sup>2</sup> glorious through them, that thou mayst have honour through them, and that thou mayst have power (through them) eternally. Appear thou gloriously as Nesret in the interior of the Nūn. Stand up, O Sakhmet, at the back of Elephantine, in order that thy spirit may inundate (with) these libation-waters which came forth from Atūm, and which came into being (out of) Khopri, inundate (?) with the efflux which came forth from Atūm. Equip thy face therewith. They<sup>3</sup> are pure unto Mut the great, the lady of Eshru, to Mut in all her names, to Sakhmet the great, beloved of Ptaḥ, to Bastet, the lady of 'Onkh-tawi, to Mēret, the daughter of Rēr, to Ernūtet of the House of Amūn, whose seat is in front of (all) the gods, to Khons Neferḥōtep in (*vs.* 2, 5) Thebes, to Mut, the lady of *inst*-cloth, to Mut ..... , to Mut, lady of the soil, to the courtiers of Sakhmet, to Thoth beneath his moringa-tree, to Thoth bearing the Sound Eye, to Horus who is upon the great seat, to ..... , [to] the Discerner of judgement (?), to Khnūm, to Iumer, to the great seat, to Afen, to Dja-yeb, to the two Benet-Apes, to Skhay, to Skha ..... , to her bow, to the crown of Upper Egypt, to the crown of Lower Egypt, to Nekhbet and Buto, to the Wenut-goddess of Upper Egypt, to the Wenut-goddess of Lower Egypt, to Watiu (?), (to?) Mut of (?) ..... , to her bow, to the arrows which are upon her hands, to her followers, ..... TO BE RECITED; Mut, four times, her (procession by?) boat.

(36) *Vs.* 2, 9-3, 3. The final section of the book is the spell for the offering of incense which normally accompanied the giving of libation-waters and ushered in the divine banquet. The spell here given is probably that specially used on the feast-day of Mut and is the logical sequel of the preceding section. The text seems more than usually corrupt, and my rendering is merely tentative.

<sup>1</sup> See *ÄZ.* XLIII, 140.

<sup>2</sup> In the critical note it was suggested that *ⲟ* is superfluous, it being proposed to regard *ḥ*, *wsḥ*, and *shṃ* as imperatives. It now seems to me more probable that *ḥ*-*t*

*im*, *wsḥ-t im*, *shṃ-t* (<*im*>) was the reading of the archetype.

Cf. 3, 1 of the Cairo text.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* these libation-waters.

SPELL FOR incense. Thou arisest gloriously (when?) Buto appears, pleased at going forth (on?) high. The (*vs.* 2, 10) Great Ennead and the Little Ennead are pleased (at) the perfume of (her) fragrance, propitiated (with) the Eye of Horus. Great is the love of the Ennead (when?) she weeps. Vivified ..... The life of Atūm is in her flesh, and (?) of Temet,<sup>1</sup> the lady of 'Onkh-tawi. The festival-perfume of all the gods is made from the perfume which comes forth from her, and efficacious (?) become the heart(s) of the dwellers of the netherworld through the great efficacy of the perfume which ..... the fragrance of (?) the perfume of the flesh with which<sup>2</sup> thy *ka* is propitiated; the perfume of linen (?) (*vs.* 3, 1) ..... of might among (?) the gods, Sakhmet, Nesret, Buto the lady of Per-wēr and the mistress of Per-neser. The perfume which is pure came forth from thee, Great of Magic, Temet, lady of 'Onkh-tawi. Take to thyself the Eye of Horus. Its perfume cometh over thee.

(37) *Vs.* 3, 3-4. The colophon concluding the book has unfortunately had deleted from it the name of the scribe who wrote the book, possibly with a view to replacement by the name of a later usurper.

IT HAS COME TO AN END happily. Made by the draughtsman of Amūn in the Place of Truth, the lector-priest of Amūn in all his festivals, .....

The suggestion in the critical note to read the name of the writer of the text as 'Pesiūr' had better be abandoned, in view of the facts (1) that the traces are too scanty to admit of more than a conjecture, and (2) that among the numerous draughtsmen of Dêr el-Medīneh known to Dr. Černý this particular name does not occur.

The Amenophis ritual is not one of those texts which surrender their secrets at a single reading. Indeed, so many are its obscurities and so elusive the problems which it raises that a first commentator can barely hope to do more than clear away some of the most obvious difficulties. For an Egyptian reader these difficulties doubtless existed only to a limited extent, since not only will he have been thoroughly conversant with the allusive mode of diction employed, but he will also have been quite familiar with the outward routine of the temple services. A necessary step towards the comprehension of the whole is, I think, the recognition that the Cairo papyrus has seriously distorted the meaning of the ritual by altering many of the divine and royal names occurring in it. The first seven sections into which I have divided the text are preserved in C alone, and six of them read for all the world like a ritual composed on behalf of king Djeserkarēr, *i.e.* Amenophis I.<sup>3</sup> Except in one single passage (C 1, 2) the god Amūn is not mentioned. In the seventh section (C 4, 1-12) there is a puzzling change. Throughout the recitations belonging to the banquet the recipient addressed is not Djeserkarēr, but Amūn. Soon after this point B begins, and henceforth opportunity is afforded of comparing the readings of C with those of B. In a number of cases where B names three forms of Amūn (see below), usually treating them as a single person, C adds the name of Djeserkarēr to that of Amen-Rēr, and refers to both with a singular

<sup>1</sup> For this goddess see *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, *vs.* 9, 2, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The fem. suffix *ḥ* apparently refers to *ḥdt* 'fragrance', and the 2nd pers. fem. suffix here and below presumably

refers to Mut, though she is not actually named in this section.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably to be used daily in his mortuary temple on the west bank. See too p. 106, with n. 2.

pronoun. This modification entails the further one of substituting in C the name of Usimarē-setpenrē Ramesses II for that of Djoserkarē, who in B usually appears as the fictive officiant. A good example occurs in C 6, 3-4, where we read: 'Come, O Amen-Rē, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. Come, O king Djoserkarē. Come to thy body. Come at the summons of thee. Come to thy servant, king Usimarē-setpenrē, &c.', whereas B 2, 13-3, 1 has '[Come, O Amen-Rē, lord of Southern Opet. Come, O Amen-Rē, lord of] the thrones of the Two Lands. Come, O Amen-Rē, Bull of his Mother, who is upon his great seat, the god long (of stride). Come [to] thy body! Come (at) the summons of thee. Come to this thy servant, the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Djoserkarē, &c.' A similar coupling of Amen-Rē and Djoserkarē occurs in C 7, 2-3 and 9, 6-8, in the first of these cases involving the subsequent change of B's Djoserkarē into Usimarē-setpenrē. It is impossible to enumerate all the modifications of the kind which appear in C as compared with B, but they may be summed up by saying that in C greater prominence is given to Djoserkarē as the person addressed in the ritual, the names of Amūn tending thereby to be pushed into the background. It is only in C that the names of Queen Aḥmose-Nofretari and other members of his family occur (1, 1; 5, 5); nothing of the kind is found in B. If we now ask which of the two texts has the stronger claim to priority, there can be no hesitation whatever as to the answer. Just conceivable as it is that Amen-Rē and Djoserkarē could have been blended into a single personage in the Egyptian imagination, such an identification has not hitherto been recorded, nor is it intrinsically probable. But if not, the passage above translated from C becomes barely comprehensible. For whom has the banquet been prepared, for Amen-Rē or for Djoserkarē? And if for both, then why is Usimarē-setpenrē not described as 'your servant', rather than as 'thy servant'? Again, the sudden change from Djoserkarē to Amūn in the offering-list of C 4, 1-12 is well-nigh inexplicable without the hypothesis that in the first six sections the name Djoserkarē has been substituted for the name of Amūn in one or more of his forms. In fine, C may be regarded as an adaptation of the text of B for either the temple or the festival of Djoserkarē. Or if students should be unwilling to accept so positive an inference, at least they must admit that the evidence renders it unsafe, in estimating the scope and purpose of the Amenophis ritual, to repose any great confidence in the data of C.




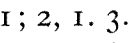
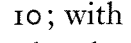
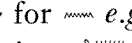
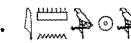

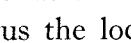

If, accordingly, we concentrate our attention exclusively on the text of B, a fairly plausible view of the nature of the entire ritual can be obtained without great difficulty. The nucleus consists of the regular ritual of offerings, or possibly one of several such rituals, daily<sup>1</sup> performed in the temple of Amen-Rē at Karnak. This ritual differs from that of the Berlin papyrus first studied by von Lemm<sup>2</sup> in that, whereas the Berlin ritual is concerned mainly with the opening of the shrine and the toilette of Amūn,

<sup>1</sup> There is no explicit statement in the existing parts of the ritual that it was that employed every day. But the conclusion is probable in itself, and there is at least a hint of it in 14, 4 where reference is made to the 'two stanzas

(doubtless those of 13, 1. 6) of every day'. In the Turin manuscript the fact is definitely stated, see p. 82, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> O. von Lemm, *Das Ritualbuch des Amondienstes*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1882.

the Amenophis ritual centres around the meals partaken by the god. There is perhaps only one spell in B which is entirely alien to this purpose, namely that accompanying the rite of giving Amūn his heart (13). The rites of libation (4, 5, 9 a) and censuring (6, 10) were regular preliminaries of every divine or funerary feast, and the terminal ceremonies of 'removing the foot' (16) and 'closing the door' (17) are quite legitimate additions to the banquet proper. The nucleus of the book may be regarded as ending with section 17, and for the moment we will look no farther ahead. A close examination of all this early part of the ritual reveals that it was addressed to Amen-Rē, and in particular to that Amen-Rē who was resident in Karnak. The god is sometimes apostrophized simply in the name of Amūn (B 2, 1 near end; cf. C 4, 1 foll., as also in the later *menus*, B 9, 9 foll.; 14, 12 foll.), but far more often he is referred to under one of three forms, namely

-  e.g. B 1, 1; 2, 1. 3. 4. 10; with  for  e.g. B 3, 11; 7, 6. This was the Amūn of Luxor, as is shown by the variant  in B 2, 1. 13. A further addition  'in Ipet-esut', B 8, 1, var.  B 7, 9, shows, however, that it was the Amūn of Luxor at Karnak who was specially envisaged, or in other words that the ritual was not composed for the temple of Luxor, but (at least in the first instance) for that of Karnak.
-  e.g. B 2, 8. 9-10; 3, 8; 4, 3; 6, 10-11; occasionally  is omitted, e.g. B 1, 12; 2, 2; 6, 13. Sethe is certainly right in combating the old view that 'Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands' was a name of Karnak; 'lord of the thrones, &c.' was indeed the title of the composite god Amen-Rē of Karnak, but it represented him, not as belonging to that place, but as king in all the capitals of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> In our papyrus the local designation is added in the words  B 4, 7 restored from the duplicate C 7, 2, cf. also C 1, 2 (partly restored).
-  e.g. B 2, 10; 3, 1; 5, 1. In this form Amen-Rē was envisaged as identical with Min of Coptos, to whom the epithets apply well.<sup>2</sup>

These forms of Amen-Rē appear in various orders and combinations, e.g. *a* + *b*, B 8, 21; *b* + *a*, B 2, 2-3. 8-9; 4, 7; 6, 13; *a* + *b* + *c*, B 12, 1; *b* + *a* + *c*, B 5, 1; 6, 10-11; 7, 8-9; but 'Amūn of Opet' (*a*) is the only form of the three which appears in isolation, e.g. B 3, 11; 7, 5-6. It is curious, but not out of keeping with the habits of early religious thought, that two or three of these forms of Amūn in combination should in the subsequent text be treated as a single person, e.g. B 2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 7; nor indeed is the conception of a triune deity confined to Egypt. But peculiar to that country, doubtless, is so rapid a transition of thought from this conception to one of three distinct persons, as attested (e.g.) in B 2, 11.<sup>3</sup>

There is only one fact which makes us hesitate to regard the present ritual of offerings

<sup>1</sup> See K. Sethe, *Ammun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 11-12, in *Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, § 25.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 84, n. 13.



as that normally employed in the temple of Karnak under the Ramesside rulers. This is the extraordinary prominence of Amenophis I, the second king of the Eighteenth Dynasty. There are very few sections of our papyrus in which his name does not appear,<sup>1</sup> either represented by the prenomen Djeserkarē alone, or else, very much more rarely, by both cartouches, see B 12, 3 and a number of times in C. It is well known that Amenophis I was regarded as a specifically Theban god throughout the Ramesside period.<sup>2</sup> He may perhaps have owed his deification to an exceptional devotion to Amen-Rē of Karnak, where important monuments of his have been found. Indeed, it is not unlikely that he may have taken active steps to secure his perpetual commemoration in the temple services. But such an undertaking would obviously cut clean across the established theory according to which the donor of all offerings and the presumed officiant was the reigning sovereign, the relation of king and god being deemed to be that of Horus and his father Osiris. Happily, Egyptian religious feeling had no repugnance to building fiction upon fiction, or to harbouring inconsistent beliefs. Accordingly, we need not be surprised to find in the Amenophis ritual a constant fluctuation as to the monarch really concerned. Egyptian ritual proceeded upon the basis of strict reciprocity. The Pharaoh gave to the god in order that the latter might confer his blessings upon his royal son. Hence we find Djeserkarē and Ramesses II each mentioned alike as donor and as beneficiary. Of the two kings, Djeserkarē is the more frequently mentioned, but Ramesses II also occurs a number of times in both capacities. The following details exhibit the actual position:

## Amenophis I

as donor, B 1, 7; 2, 11; 3, 1. 4. 11; 4, 2 (?). 10; 5, 7 (?); 7, 4; 12, 5; *vs.* 1, 12 (?).

as beneficiary, 7, 2; 8, 4; 12, 3; 13, 6. 10; 14, 1-2.

## Ramesses II

as donor, B 5, 4-5; 8, 5. 20; 12, 4; 14, 8.

as beneficiary, 2, 12; 5, 5; 13, 9; 14, 10.

It will be noted that the two kings are sometimes mentioned in the closest possible proximity, see particularly 2, 11-12; 5, 4-7. In one case, 12, 3-5 the respective roles of each are envisaged with a certain degree of clearness: Amen-Rē has given life, health and wealth to Djeserkarē, because he is pleased at what the latter is doing, though it is Ramesses II who is actually conducting the festival ceremonies.

In point of fact, however much theory might indicate Amenophis and Ramesses as the *dramatis personae* of the ritual, the real performers were priests, and their ranks are several times indicated. In B 2, 3; 3, 11; 4, 13; 5, 1; 7, 1; 14, 9 the  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'priest' (προφήτης) is mentioned, and he doubtless was the leading officiant. The spells or 'responses' were chiefly recited by the  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  or 'lector-priest' 3, 7; 4, 7. A third

<sup>1</sup> Conspicuous are only the rites of removing the foot and shutting the shrine (see above), which are of too wide a generality to mention the Theban ruler, and the rites which I conclude to be Heliopolitan (nos. 18, 19, see

p. 87), where he would have been out of place.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Černý, *Le Culte d'Amenophis I<sup>er</sup> chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine* in *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'archéol. orientale*, XXVII, 159 foll.

priest that is mentioned 12, 1; 14, 9 is the  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'sem-priest', but his role seems to have been a silent one, that of actually presenting the offerings or holding up his arms in the prescribed gesture. Besides these, reference is made in 12, 2 foll. to  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'servants', who were supposed to carry before the god the offerings in question; but whether these were actually presented, or were merely offered in imagination, is not determinable with our present evidence. Lastly, under the name of  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'the Two Regions' (8, 22; 13, 1) or  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'jubilating crowds'<sup>1</sup> (9, 6; 13, 9) allusion appears to be made to the general public thronging the outer courts, who at given moments were expected to join in intoning a hymn of praise to the deity.

The temple in which the ritual was to be employed is always referred to in uninformative general terms, namely  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'temple' 2, 3; 3, 3, and the almost synonymous  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'sanctuary', 3, 3; 5, 1. 3. 9. That, nevertheless, Karnak was primarily in the compiler's mind, seems evident from the local epithets which we have found (p. 103) appended to the names of Amen-Rē. It is not unlikely, however, that the use of the Amenophis ritual was extended to the other temples of Thebes, such as Luxor, the Ramesseum, Medînet Habu and Dêr el-Medîneh. If the explanation given above (p. 102) for the changes of proper names in the Cairo copy be accepted as plausible, this will have to be regarded as testimony to the more general use. On the other hand, it is extremely unlikely that the same ritual could have been used (*e.g.*) at Memphis without considerable changes, and in particular without eliminating the mention of Amenophis I. We have, indeed, a little positive evidence that an extra-Theban use was already envisaged by the compiler. In B 5, 10 foll., 6, 3 foll. we have spells entitled '*Spell for the libation of Rē*' and '*Spell for the incense of Rē*', and there is a high probability that these gave the alternative forms to be used in the temple of Heliopolis.<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that in neither case is Amenophis I mentioned.

On the hypothesis which I am inclined to adopt the ordinary daily ritual of offering comes to an end with the terminal ceremonies mentioned in 5, 8-9, and the remainder of the book, at least a full half of it, was devoted to supplementary matter, namely the spells used on special occasions and the incidental hymns and further rites which, without belonging to the central part of the ritual, nevertheless were more or less intimately connected with it. Reference has already been made to the spells conjectured to belong to Heliopolis. Immediately following them in 6, 10 are ceremonies connected with a number of different kings and to be performed over their altars, whether at Karnak itself or in their private sanctuaries on the West bank. In 7, 5 and 8, 1 we have spells for renewing and extinguishing the temple candles followed by a section connected with the '*renewing of the divine offerings*', 8, 3 foll.<sup>3</sup> Then come the evening hymns of the entire congregation, 8, 22 foll., succeeded, but only after an interval, by

<sup>1</sup> For this sense, unknown to the Berlin *Wb.*, see the determinative  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  in C 11, 1; cf. also Abbott 5, 15 and above all *Anast. V*, 7, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The reference in 5, 4 is to a purely fictive identification of Karnak and Heliopolis.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion for this may have been given by the verb '*renewing*' in 7, 5.



those for the morning, 13, 1 foll. Strangely sandwiched in between these are firstly the elaborate *menu* for the feast of Amen-Rē, 9, 7 foll. and then a collection of invocations to the offering-bringers varying according as the occasion was (a) the festival of Amen-Rē, 12, 2-6, (b) the daily (?) service of Amūn, 12, 6-7, (c) the services in honour of the Ennead of Amen-Rē of Karnak<sup>1</sup> mentioned elsewhere in this ritual, 12, 7-8, (d) the particular service addressed to Amenophis I, 12, 8-11 (*cf.* 7, 12),<sup>2</sup> and (e) the services addressed to other kings who had deserved well of Amūn, including Ramesses II, 12, 11-13, 1, *cf.* 7, 11-8, 1. The rest of the work is consecrated to the feast of the sixth day of the month, 14, 9 foll., to New Year's day, 16, 11 to *vs.* 1, 10, and lastly to the festival of Mut in her Theban temple of Eshru, *vs.* 1, 11 to 3, 3 (end).

It is wholly impossible, in the present volume, to deal more in detail with the individual spells. The problem of Egyptian temple ritual needs to be dealt with in a far wider perspective, special account being taken of the temples of the Graeco-Roman period.

## B. END OF A MAGICAL TEXT

## PLATE 58

The remaining texts of this papyrus started at the outer end of the roll, on the *verso* of the opening spells of the Ritual. First comes the conclusion of a magical text:

..... (*vs.* B 1, 1) ..... all that thou didst ..... , they are no more. Thy blows<sup>3</sup> ..... Rē, lord of the gods, what came forth from his own mouth. Flow forth, thou enemy, fallen ..... all the limbs of Amūn of Opet, born of his mother,<sup>4</sup> all blows of ..... the thrusting forth of arm done by Rē himself, that he might destroy injury in tru[th?] (*vs.* B 1, 5) ..... INCENSE, LET A MAN FUMIGATE THY<sup>5</sup> LIMBS WITH WOOD OF MORINGA.<sup>6</sup>

## C. A BOOK OF INVOCATIONS

## PLATES 58-60

The next book (*vs.* B 1, 6-11, 3) is apparently complete, and may well have been so also in *Pap. Chester Beatty VIII*, *rt.* 5, 4-[6, . . . ],<sup>7</sup> where the excision of an entire page has robbed us of the conclusion. The heading is given only in the latter text, henceforth referred to in my notes by the word 'var.' = variant. The substance of the book is nothing more than a series of invocations to some of the more prominent gods, their names being followed by descriptive titles. Somewhat similar enumerations of divine attributes are found in the Turin papyri<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> Externally, the two texts vary inasmuch as in *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII* the names run on consecutively, whereas

<sup>1</sup> See Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 41; here, 5, 1-3; 7, 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the service specially provided for in the Cairo papyrus, see above pp. 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> The fibres have completely disappeared at this point.

<sup>4</sup> This may mean, in effect, 'whose mother's name is unknown'; for the same expression in filiations, see Gunn's note *JEA.* XVI, 155, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Emend 'HIS'?

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 49, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Plate 41.

<sup>8</sup> Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Pls. 11-13; 24-5.

<sup>9</sup> *e.g.* an extensive papyrus of the Graeco-Roman period presented some years ago by myself to the British Museum, where it bears the no. 10569.

in No. IX each name has a line to itself. The text starts abruptly, omitting the very obscure heading, and the first four lines have to be completed from the variants.

[BOOK OF THE DAYTIME?]<sup>1</sup>

[O Rē in] his [horizon?]<sup>2</sup>!

[O Rē] .....!<sup>3</sup>

[O Rē, who came into being of him]self!

[O Rē, lord of Ekhn]ūn!<sup>4</sup>

(*Vs.* B 2, 1) O Rē, who created existing things!<sup>5</sup>

O Rē, who overthrew [his] enemies!<sup>6</sup>

O Rē, lord of the gods!

O Rē, who causes the gods to live!

(*Vs.* B 3, 1) O Atūm,<sup>7</sup> who is over the gods!

O Atūm, in the midst of<sup>8</sup> Heliopolis!

O Atūm, father of the gods!

O Atūm, lord of the sky!

(*Vs.* B 3, 5) O Ptaḥ, south of his wall!<sup>9</sup>

O Ptaḥ, lord of Truth!<sup>10</sup>

O Ptaḥ, who causes the gods to live!<sup>11</sup>

O Ptaḥ, who is upon the great [seat]!<sup>12</sup>

O Ptaḥ, who made the gods!

(*Vs.* B 4, 1) O Ptaḥ, who fashioned the gods!<sup>13</sup>

O Ptaḥ, prominent in Tanenet!<sup>14</sup>

O Ptaḥ under his moringa!<sup>15</sup>

O Thoth, lord of divine words!<sup>16</sup>

(*Vs.* B 4, 5) O Thoth, lord of Ekhnūn!

O Thoth, who made his hands!<sup>17</sup>

O Thoth, who discerned Truth!

O Thoth, who judged the divine twain!<sup>18</sup>

O Thoth, who came forth from the forehead!<sup>19</sup>

(*Vs.* B 5, 1) [O] Thoth, moon in the sky!

O Thoth, who arbitrates (among) the Divine Ennead!

O Thoth, taking pleasure in Truth!<sup>20</sup>

O Thoth, who loves Truth!<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 68, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'horizons'. But probably the dual appearance here and elsewhere is due to mere confusion with the adjective *ḥty* found in the very frequent name Ḥarakhti.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in var.

<sup>4</sup> *Hmnw*, Coptic *ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲛ*, Hermopolis magna, the present Eshmūnēn.

<sup>5</sup> The var. substitutes 'Pwēnet', a better conjectural vocalization of the land-name familiar to Egyptologists as 'Punt'.

<sup>6</sup> Var. (*rt.* 5, 5) 'O Rē-Khopri'.

<sup>7</sup> Var. 'Rē'. After this invocation the var. inserts 'O Atūm, lord of the gods!'.

<sup>8</sup> Var. 'over the head of' i.e. 'chief of'.

<sup>9</sup> For the last three invocations the var. has only one, namely 'O Ptaḥ, kindly of face!', for which see *ÄZ.* LIII, 115.

<sup>10</sup> Again below *vs.* B 15, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Var. 'to come into being'.

<sup>12</sup> Completed from var.

<sup>13</sup> Omitted in var.

<sup>14</sup> Var. 'O Ptaḥ-Tanen!' For the present version see below *vs.* B 15, 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 49, 3.

<sup>16</sup> A not uncommon epithet; see *Pap. Ch. Beatty XVI*, *rt.* 1 for a spell attributed to him.

<sup>17</sup> The misspelt writing of the var. points to 'O Thoth, who made his fingers!' It is probable, however, that <m> has been omitted in both cases: 'who achieves <with> his hands' or 'his fingers'.

<sup>18</sup> The var. text has telescoped this and the last epithet together.

<sup>19</sup> See Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, p. 22, n. 1; p. 23, n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> A temple of this form of Thoth existed in Memphis, see Pleyte-Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 19, 2-3, *cf.* *Pap. Bologna* 1086, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Var. omits.

- (Vs. B 5, 5) O Thoth, prominent in Ḥesret!<sup>1</sup>  
 O Thoth in 'Ibn(?)!<sup>2</sup>  
 O Thoth, who pacified the Sound Eye!<sup>3</sup>  
 O Thoth in <the libr>ary!<sup>4</sup>  
 O Osiris Onnōphris!<sup>5</sup>
- (Vs. B 6, 1) O Osiris, ruler of the West!  
 O Osiris in the midst of Busiris!  
 O Osiris, lord of Abydos!<sup>6</sup>  
 O Osiris, who is in Ḥet-ka-Ptah!<sup>7</sup>
- (Vs. B 6, 5) O Osiris, whose abomination is wickedness!  
 O Osiris in Ḥet-nebui!<sup>8</sup>  
 O Osiris, prominent upon his seat!<sup>9</sup>  
 O Osiris, [lord? of] eternity!<sup>10</sup>  
 O Horus, son of Isis!
- (Vs. B 7, 1) [O Horus, aven]ger of his father!  
 [O Horus Mekhant]enirti!<sup>11</sup>  
 [O Horus, prominent in] Sekhem!  
 [O Horus, who is] over his lake!<sup>12</sup>
- (Vs. B 7, 5) [O Horus,] who is in Ekhmūn!  
 O [Horus,]<sup>13</sup> . . . . .!  
 O [Horus,] avenger . . . . .!  
 O Horus, . . . . . boat!  
 O Horus, prominent in Opet!  
 O Horus of Lower Egypt!
- (Vs. B 8, 1) O Horus, prominent in . . . . .!  
 O Horus in Field of . . . . .!  
 O Horus, <. . . . .>!  
 O Horus in the midst of . . . . .!
- (Vs. B 8, 5) O Horus of Behdet!<sup>14</sup>  
 O Horus, lord of 'Onkh . . . . .!  
 O Seth, [son of N]ut!  
 O Seth, [great of] strength!  
 O Seth . . . . .!
- (Vs. B 8, 10) O Seth . . . . .!  
 O Seth [in Ḥet-nebui?]<sup>15</sup>!  
 O Seth of Ombos!<sup>16</sup>  
 O Seth, prominent in . . . . .!

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the name of the necropolis of Ekhmūn, for which see p. 107, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> An apparently unknown locality.

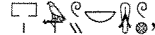
<sup>3</sup> This and the last are omitted in the var.

<sup>4</sup> Completed from the var. Cf. below vs. B 14, 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> Var. inverts the order of this and the next.

<sup>6</sup> Var. omits.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Memphis.

<sup>8</sup> Probably a variant of the place-name , the modern Abutig, see Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, § 51.

<sup>9</sup> Var. 'prominent in his house'.

<sup>10</sup> Var. omits this and the next.

<sup>11</sup> The form of Horus worshipped at Letopolis, the old *Hm*, later written *Shm*, as in the next line; see Sethe, *op. cit.*, Index s.v. Letopolis.

<sup>12</sup> The god of Herakleopolis magna, the modern Ehnâs-yeh. In the var. the later form *hry-šfy* is written. The identification with Horus confirms Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, cap. 37, where Ἀρσάφης is given as the son of Isis.

<sup>13</sup> Var. is lost after this point.

<sup>14</sup> Damanhûr in the Delta, see Sethe, *op. cit.*, Index s.v. *Bhdt.* Cf. too below B 15, 1.

<sup>15</sup> See above, n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Between Ballās and Naḳādeh in Upper Egypt.

- (Vs. B 9, 1) O [Seth,] who is in (the nome of) Wadjet!<sup>1</sup>  
 [O] Seth in the midst of Wensi!<sup>2</sup>  
 O Seth, beloved of Rē!<sup>3</sup>  
 [O] Seth, lord of the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Oasis!<sup>4</sup>
- (Vs. B 9, 5) [O] Isis, who bare the god!  
 [O] Isis, daughter of Nut!  
 O Isis in the midst of Opet!  
 O Isis at the front of the Bark of Rē!<sup>5</sup>  
 [O] Isis, mistress of the gods!
- (Vs. B 9, 10) [O] Isis, lady of the sky!  
 O Isis, lady of Behbît!<sup>6</sup>  
 O Nephthys, sister(?) of Seth!  
 O Hathor in the midst of Wensi!<sup>7</sup>
- (Vs. B 10, 1) [O] Nūn, father of the gods in Ḥet-ka-Ptah!<sup>8</sup>  
 O Nūn, who fashioned the gods!  
 O Gēb, hereditary prince of the gods!<sup>9</sup>  
 O Onūris-Horus in Thinis!
- (Vs. B 10, 5) O Gēb-Horus, powerful in Thinis!  
 O Nekhbet,<sup>10</sup> white one of Nekhen!  
 O Nekhbet-Mehyt of the East!<sup>11</sup>  
 O Hathor-Mut in Denderah!  
 O Sakhmet-Mut <in> Eshru!<sup>12</sup>
- (Vs. B 10, 10) O Sakhmet-Bastet!<sup>13</sup>  
 O Sakhmet, . . . . . in Pe!  
 O Sakhmet, . . . . . !<sup>14</sup>
- (Vs. B 11, 1) O Sakhmet, beloved of Ptaḥ!<sup>15</sup>  
 O Month in the midst of Thebes!<sup>16</sup>  
 [O Mon]th-Seth, son of Rē!<sup>17</sup>

The book ends as abruptly as it began, leaving a blank space in which a scribe has written '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*', perhaps a mere trial of his reed-pen. A new book starts to the left of a vertical line ruled from top to bottom of the papyrus.

<sup>1</sup> The 10th nome of Upper Egypt, of which the capital was Tjebu, the modern Abutig. See above p. 108, nn. 8 and 15 for the connexion with Seth.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a name of Oxyrhynchus, the modern el-Behnesa; see Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géographiques*, I, 198. See too below n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See on this epithet Roeder, art. *Set* in Roscher, *Lexikon*, IV, 756.

<sup>4</sup> *Scil.* the Oasis of Farāfra, which is known to have belonged to the 19th nome of Upper Egypt, see *ÄZ.* LVI, 50.

<sup>5</sup> See in this same papyrus, *rt.* 6, 8.


<sup>6</sup> The Roman Iseum, in the very centre of the Delta.

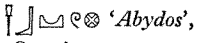
<sup>7</sup> See above n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Memphis, where Nūn was identified with Ptaḥ, see Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> See Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, § 74.

<sup>10</sup> The writing, which is quite regular in the New Kingdom for both the town and the goddess, is due to

mistaken interpretation of  in this word as phonetic; for similar writings see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., § 17.

<sup>11</sup> Just possibly to be emended to  'Abydos', since Mehyt was there associated with Onūris.

<sup>12</sup> South of Karnak, where Mut had her temple. For the identification with Sakhmet in Eshru see *Annales du Service*, XIX, 203.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. below vs. B 14, 10.  
<sup>14</sup> Neither this nor the preceding epithet is to be found in the lists *PSBA*, XXV, 218; *Annales du Service*, XIX, 177; *ÄZ.* LVIII, 43.

<sup>15</sup> The usual epithet of Sakhmet as consort of Ptaḥ in Memphis.

<sup>16</sup> The original god of Thebes, or rather of Hermonthis, the earlier capital of the Theban nome.

<sup>17</sup> The fusion of these two war-gods is natural; for example the Ethiopian king Piankhi is in one and the same sentence identified with both, *Piankhi stele*, 128.

## D. A BOOK OF PROTECTION

PLATES 60-61

A very uninspired composition occupying seven pages of unusually short lines concludes the writings of this papyrus. It is in effect a single long spell with two alternative introductions, a conclusion, and a rubric giving instructions for its use; and the purpose was to afford general protection by placing a man under the tutelage of a large variety of gods. The central portion, covering thirty-six lines, consists of a single monotonous formula '*X purifies thee, and Y protects thee*', with different deities in each case. The text is rather corrupt, but there is no particular reason for attributing to it any great age. A number of phrases and divine epithets are shared by this book and the Book of Invocations preceding it, and may point to a common authorship for the two.

(Vs. B 12, 1). O Lord of Millions whose name is not known!<sup>1</sup> O ye gods, lords of heaven, come ye, in order that N, born of M, may be purified from everything done against him on this day, in this night, in this month, <in> this hour, and in this year, and that evil may be<sup>2</sup> driven from him, and there shall not take effect aught that is done against him by any (Egyptian) men, any patricians, any plebeians, any sun-folk, or by<sup>3</sup> foreigners of a southern, [northern,] western, or eastern country, (vs. B 12, 5) (by) males or females (?),<sup>4</sup> (or by) any male magicians or female magicians, whose [hearts] are ill-disposed towards N, born of M, and who wreak vengeance (?) upon him by handing him over to god or goddess to make him eat what he abominates and to bewitch his heart in his body. They shall be serfs of the Flame-goddess,<sup>5</sup> of this (?) eye of Rē, the cat who will (?) gain power over them <to> burn their limbs, [while?]<sup>6</sup> N, born of M, is protected and safeguarded . . . . . against all things mischievous and evil (done) against him by night or by day or at any time in the year [in?] its course. Lo, it has been commanded by (vs. B 12, 10) Rē, who is over the gods, even Atūm-Harakhti.



ANOTHER. A good day! Open thy mouth!<sup>7</sup> Every enemy of thine is overthrown whether dead or alive. Horus has . . . ed thy fingers, Gēb has handed over to thee what is in him. <Thy> face is washed by thy father Nūn, and thy face is wiped by Shetep (?). Ptaḥ makes a change of linen for thee, even as he did for Rē. Thy mouth is opened (so as to be) full of good utterances and (vs. B 13, 1) choice expressions. Remembered for thee is a good day, and forgotten for thee is evil on a good day.<sup>8</sup> Heaven and earth are in festival, the gods in joy. Jubilation is within the Castle,<sup>9</sup> and acclamation in Ḥat-benben.<sup>10</sup> Mayst thou exact food in presence of the protection (?) of the Great Ennead(?), everyone praying for health for thee, and (vs. B 13, 5) thy heart full of rejoicing. Nothing dirty that thou hast done shall besmirch (?) thee. There shall be no evil attaching to thy limbs. . . . . shall hearken to thee in presence of the Lords of Truth.




O N, born of M, Rē purifies thee at his going forth, and Thoth at his shining forth, speaking to


<sup>1</sup> For a very similar epithet see *Pap. Ch. Beatty VII*, rt. 5, 4. Here Rē is doubtless meant.

<sup>2</sup> Emend  into .

<sup>3</sup> To interpret *m* as a writing of a repeated *in* seems difficult, but *in* appears to be written thus below B 12, 12.


<sup>4</sup> Emending  'all' to  'females'.

<sup>5</sup> Renewed examination with a lens makes it probable that the reading is, after all, . In that case  must be an abbreviated writing of .

<sup>6</sup> Restore ?

<sup>7</sup> The patient is addressed as though he were dead and had to be resuscitated by the ceremony of 'opening the mouth' and by ablutions.

<sup>8</sup> The grammatical construction is difficult and the sense not quite clear.

<sup>9</sup>  lit. 'great house' is a very ancient word for 'castle', but is also specially employed in reference to the temple of Atūm in Heliopolis, see *Wb.* III, 4. So too below B 15, 9.

<sup>10</sup> In Heliopolis, see above p. 91, n. 5.

thee the utterance<sup>1</sup> which Isis spoke to her son Horus, and thou art purified on the day of the sixth-day festival, and protected in the daytime (?).<sup>2</sup>

(Vs. B 13, 10) Rē at his shining forth purifies thee,  
the lords of Ekhmūn<sup>3</sup> protect thee.  
Atūm himself purifies thee,  
the lords of Ḥet-ka-Ptaḥ<sup>4</sup> protect thee.  
Rē in his horizon purifies thee,  
the lords of Nen-nesu<sup>5</sup> protect thee.  
Amūn in Wēset<sup>6</sup> purifies thee,  
the lords of (vs. B 14, 1) Wenu<sup>7</sup> protect thee.  
Neith in Sais purifies thee,  
the lords of Pe and Dep<sup>8</sup> protect thee.  
Nekhet purifies thee,  
Satis and Anūkis<sup>9</sup> protect thee.  
Shu and Tefēnet purify thee,  
Gēb and Nut<sup>10</sup> protect thee.  
The sky and stars purify thee,  
the earth of Gēb protects thee.  
Rē in the sky purifies thee,  
(Vs. B 14, 5) the lords of the Sacred Land protect thee.  
Horus, son of Isis, purifies thee,  
Horus, lord of Sekhem,<sup>11</sup> protects thee.  
Seth in Ombos<sup>12</sup> purifies thee,  
Seth, lord of (the nome of) Wadjet,<sup>13</sup> protects thee.  
Horus, lord of the West, purifies thee,  
'Anti, lord of Atfet,<sup>14</sup> protects thee.  
Banebdjedet purifies thee,  
the soul of Rē protects thee.  
Thoth in the Library purifies thee,  
Thoth, who is over < . . . . . > protects thee.  
The four Noble Ladies<sup>15</sup> of the house of (vs. B 14, 10) Ptaḥ purify thee,  
Sakhmet-Bastet<sup>16</sup> protects thee.  
Nebet-ḥōtep<sup>17</sup> purifies thee,  
Nebet-wadjti<sup>18</sup> protects thee.  
Suchos of Shedet<sup>19</sup> purifies thee,  
Arsaphes protects thee.

<sup>1</sup> For *sm* in the sense of 'utterance' cf. *Doomed Prince*, 6, 14(?); *Two Brothers*, 3, 8; 4, 6; 5, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 68, n. 8.



<sup>3</sup> Hermopolis magna, see p. 107, n. 4.


<sup>4</sup> Memphis.

<sup>5</sup> Herakleopolis magna.

<sup>6</sup> Thebes.

<sup>7</sup> Another name of Hermopolis magna.

<sup>8</sup> The two names of Buto.  is doubtless for .

<sup>9</sup> Delete  'lords of' which may well have been repeated mechanically from the preceding lines, and has no sense before the names of the two goddesses.

<sup>10</sup> For Nut the papyrus has Nūn, an obvious mistake.

<sup>11</sup> Letopolis, see p. 108, n. 11. <sup>12</sup> See p. 108, n. 16.


<sup>13</sup> See above vs. B 9, 1, with p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> For this town, according to late texts the capital of the 12th nome of Upper Egypt, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 13. For its god see Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 53.

<sup>15</sup> See above p. 71, n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> See above vs. B 10, 10.

<sup>17</sup> One of the goddesses of Heliopolis, see Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1409, no. 51; *Pap. Harris I*, 1, 4.

<sup>18</sup> No such goddess appears to be known, and perhaps  should be deleted. The two Wadjti would then be the goddesses Buto and Nekhet.

<sup>19</sup> Crocodilopolis.

The Mnevis-bull in Heliopolis purifies thee,  
 the Apis bull in the house of Ptaḥ (protects thee).  
 South and (*vs.* B 15, 1) North purify thee,  
 (West and East protect thee.<sup>1</sup>)  
 Horus of Behdet<sup>2</sup> purifies thee,  
 Horus, avenger of his father, protects thee.  
 Ptaḥ, lord of Truth,<sup>3</sup> purifies thee,  
 Prominent-in-Tanenet<sup>4</sup> protects thee.  
 Horus Khentekhthai<sup>5</sup> purifies thee,  
 Rē̄r at his rising protects thee.  
 Hathor purifies thee,  
 Isis the goddess protects thee.  
 (*Vs.* B 15, 5) Min-Amūn purifies thee,  
 the lords of Abydos protect thee.  
 The Great Ennead purifies thee,  
 the Little Ennead protects thee.  
 Nūn purifies thee,  
 Nut protects thee.  
 Every god purifies thee,  
 every goddess protects thee.  
 Amen-Rē̄r purifies thee,  
 Amaunet<sup>6</sup> protects thee.  
 The Lord of the Universe himself purifies thee,  
 the lords of the Castle<sup>7</sup> protect thee.  
 Ius'raas<sup>8</sup> purifies thee,  
 Sekhet-ealu<sup>9</sup> protects thee.  
 (*Vs.* B 16, 1) Khons in Wēset<sup>10</sup> purifies thee,  
 Shu, son of Rē̄r, protects thee.  
 The lords of the Nether Region purify thee,  
 the lords of Kher-ṣaḥa<sup>11</sup> protect thee.  
 The Unwearying Ones purify thee,  
 the Imperishables protect thee.<sup>12</sup>  
 The lords of the Evening Bark purify thee,  
 the lords of the Morning Bark protect thee.<sup>13</sup>  
 (*Vs.* B 16, 5) Medwa-Rē̄r<sup>14</sup> purifies thee,  
 Sothis, lady of the Head of the Year, protects thee.  
 South and North purify thee,  
 West and East protect thee.  
 Sakhmet in the year of Pestilence<sup>15</sup> purifies thee,  
 Wadjet and Mesnet(?) protect thee.

<sup>1</sup> Emended from B 16, 6 below. The scribe has omitted a half-verse in passing from one page to another.

<sup>2</sup> Damanhūr in the Delta, see p. 108, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See above *vs.* B 3, 6. <sup>4</sup> See above *vs.* B 4, 2.

<sup>5</sup> The god of Athribis in the Delta; see *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient.*, XXIII, 169 foll.

<sup>6</sup> The fem. counterpart of Amūn, cf. *rt.* 5, 1; 12, 7.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 110, n. 9.

<sup>8</sup> A goddess of Heliopolis.

<sup>9</sup> A region of the dead.

<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* Thebes.

<sup>11</sup> Babylon of Egypt, near Old Cairo.

<sup>12</sup> *i.e.* the ordinary and circumpolar stars, see p. 86, n. 5.

<sup>13</sup> 'The lords of' perhaps twice superfluous, cf. p. 111, n. 9.


<sup>14</sup> If not corrupt, the unknown name of a star.

<sup>15</sup> See Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 32.

Khnūm, lord of the Hall of the Thirty, purifies thee,  
 Ḥarakhti who is in Three-hundred town<sup>1</sup> protects thee.  
 Sopd, lord of the East, purifies thee,  
 Onūris protects thee.  
 (*Vs.* B 17, 1) The (god) Great-of-Magic purifies thee,  
 the Phoenix, which came into being of itself, protects thee.

O ye gods and goddesses, come, join ye and purify N, born of M, drive ye away all evil from him, even as Rē̄r is purified every day, even as the lords of Primaeval times were protected, and even as Isis protected her son Horus from his brother Seth. O ye (*vs.* B 17, 5) gods and goddesses whose names have been pronounced, who dwell in the sky, but eat upon earth, whose uraei are on their heads, whose soul(s) are in Busiris and their mummies in the godsacre,<sup>2</sup> and whose name is not known—though thou knowest (their) names and knowest their occupations—come and rest upon(?) your(?) souls, that they may be peaceful. Rest ye upon(?) him, and safeguard him and loose (*vs.* B 17, 10) him and release him from all things bad and evil, from every god and every goddess, every spirit male and female, every adversary male and female, every passer-by(?)<sup>3</sup> male (*vs.* B 18, 1) and female, everything bitter, everything hot, every deafness, every blindness, every flinching(?), every thirst, from every conspiracy, every raging, every weakness, every hostility, every . . . . ., and (every) wrath which is in the land of the Lords of Concealment in the course of each day, thou<sup>4</sup> being protected like<sup>5</sup> Rē̄r every day, and overthrowing thine enemies in the course (*vs.* B 18, 5) of each day. N, born of M, he is Rē̄r, the disk on his head, the gods (spreading) protection (around) him(?),<sup>6</sup> the Ennead (as) his safeguards. Thou art(?) N, born of M, thou art(?) these gods whose names have been pronounced. Thou wast born(?)<sup>7</sup> in front of the *kas* of the living.


THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN OVER REAL LAPIS LAZULI, TURQUOISE, CARNELIAN, SHRT-STONE,<sup>8</sup> MALACHITE,<sup>9</sup> FELSPAR,<sup>10</sup> GRANITE, P<sub>3</sub>G<sub>3</sub>W(?),<sup>11</sup> IRON, AND ALL PRECIOUS STONES, WASHED WITH MILK. LET A (*vs.* B 18, 10) MAN PURIFY HIMSELF WITH THEM AND FUMIGATE HIMSELF WITH CHAFF(?)<sup>12</sup> OF CORN.

<sup>1</sup> An unknown locality mentioned on one of the Karnak statues of Sakhmet, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, 176; a god  'Horus who is in Three-hundred town' occurs *Pap. Leyden* 347, 3, 1. 11.

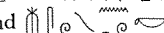
<sup>2</sup> See above p. 42, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For this obscure term see *Pap. Ch. Beatty* VIII, *vs.* 4, 2.

<sup>4</sup> An illogical change of person from second to third.


<sup>5</sup> Emend .

<sup>6</sup> Emend .

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps emend .

<sup>8</sup> For references to this stone see *JEA.* IV, 37, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Šsmt*, see *Wb.* IV, 539. For the identification with malachite see *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 320.

<sup>10</sup> On the Martyn Kennard board a  stated to be of this stone is made of green felspar according to Möller, *Musterbrett eines Amulettfabrikanten in Amtliche Berichte aus d. kgl. Kunstsamml. zu Berlin*, XXXIV (1912), 24.

<sup>11</sup> A mineral of unknown kind and uncertain reading mentioned apparently only here and above, *Pap. Ch. Beatty* IV, *vs.* 7, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Šhk*, an unknown word, unless it be identical with the untranslatable feminine substantive in *Anast.* I, 10, 2. I am indebted to Prof. Grapow for this reference.

# No. X (BRIT. MUS. 10690)

PLATES 62-63

*Recto.* FROM A BOOK OF APHRODISIACS

*Verso.* FURTHER PORTIONS OF THE SAME

THE very imperfect papyrus here designated as No. X has been reconstructed entirely out of fragments. These yielded, with a residue that could not be placed, the major portion of a large page both on *recto* and *verso*. One unplaced fragment rather larger than the rest is taken on either side as belonging to a second page. The height may have been about 19.5 cm., and the breadth as at present mounted is a fraction short of 30 cm. A join occurs 9 cm. from the left-hand margin. The writing is small and neat, and may possibly belong to the middle of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Rubrics abound.

The subject is a novelty among Egyptian texts, and is scarcely open to doubt, though its technical nature combines with our inability to identify most of the medicaments employed, together with the many lacunae, to make full translation impossible. The principal purpose of the prescriptions was to increase sexual powers, though none of the preserved headings explicitly state this aim.<sup>1</sup> One prescription is 'for bringing seed' (*vs.* 1, 9), but another has the more intriguing heading 'Another prescription for revivifying<sup>2</sup> the limbs of one dead' (*vs.* 1, 4). Perhaps 'dead' here means 'impotent', since the compound recommended is to be used as an ointment to be applied to the man's member. But real resuscitation is another possibility. The same mode of treatment is of common occurrence, see *rt.* 1, 2. 6. 7. 10; *vs.* 1, 3. 6. 13. Potions were also used, see *rt.* 1, 3. 4. 7.<sup>3</sup> (10?). 11. 14; 2, x + 3; *vs.* 1, 7. 9, and once, apparently, the drug was to be 'eaten' (*vs.* 1, 10). The efficacy of the prescriptions was to be eked out by magical spells. The first of these (*rt.* 1, 4-5) runs thus:

WORDS TO BE RECITED WHILST DRINKING THIS REMEDY. Raise<sup>4</sup> thyself (*rt.* 1, 5) . . . . . in the limbs of a woman (?) slipping (?)<sup>5</sup> in a field of corn. Horus ties himself upon . . . . . that the seed may be powerful [on?] a member by night (?). TO BE RECITED FOUR TIMES.

A few lines further down is another spell with the same heading, followed by a third and alternative spell (*rt.* 1, 7-10).

. . . . . Seth, son of Nut, greater of strength than any god, phallus [in?] the *snty*-herbs . . . .  
. . . . . TO BE RECITED FOUR TIMES.

<sup>1</sup> The least doubtful is *vs.* 1, 5, but even here the crucial word *snhp* (see *Wb.* IV, 168) has to be completed. Hitherto this causative has been known only from Graeco-Roman texts, like the word *mnhp* 'a specific(?) aphrodisiac' (see *op. cit.* II, 82), which here occurs several times, *rt.* 1, 12; *vs.* 1, 1; and on a fragment. See too *nhp*, *vs.* 1, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Snh*, see too *vs.* 1, 13.

PLATES 62-63

## PAPYRUS No. X





Another SPELL. Hail to thee, thou [great?] god, who created the patricians, thou Khnūm<sup>1</sup> who established the plebs, mayst thou test (?) the mouth of every vulva . . . . . his cavern. Be stiff, be not soft. Be strong, be not weak. . . . . Thou . . . . . est <thy> testicles (?), thou strengthenest (thy) testicles (?)<sup>2</sup> together with Seth, son of Nut. TO BE RECITED OVER (*rt.* 1, 10) . . . . . SWEET . . . . . THE MEMBER IS TO BE ANOINTED THEREWITH.

These damaged sentences appeared worthy of translation, despite all uncertainties, since here again there are allusions to the well-known sexual proclivities of Seth, and perhaps even to corresponding tendencies on the part of Horus.

It will be seen below (p. 123) that *Pap. Chester Beatty XIII* is another fragment dealing with the same theme.

<sup>1</sup> The ram-headed creator-god.

<sup>2</sup> Two synonymous unknown words? For the second

of them Dr. Černý would prefer to read  or , and in fact  is more probable than .



No. XI (BRIT. MUS. 10691)

PLATES 64-68

*Recto.* THE STORY OF ISIS AND RĒ AND OTHER MAGICAL TEXTS

*Verso.* MISCELLANEOUS: MAGICAL SPELL; HYMN TO AMŪN; MORE MAGIC

IN dealing with the fragments belonging to this papyrus our success has been only partial. The recognition that a number of them contained, on the *recto*, a parallel text to an incomplete magical book preserved in the Turin collection enabled us to reconstruct portions of four consecutive pages, which have been numbered *rt.* 1-4. When, however, this nucleus had been completed, there still remained a number of fragments, or rather blocks of fragments, the connexion between which it proved impossible to establish. It was not even clear whether they were to be placed before or after *rt.* 1-4. These floating sections were lettered from A to L, and their *rectos* are shown on Pl. 66. The arrangement of our Plates left but little space for the *versos*, which indeed are too fragmentary to be of interest. Accordingly the *versos* of A, B, C, and D have alone been included, and these will be found at the bottom of Pl. 68. The height of the papyrus was 19.5 cm., and is given by fragments A and C, which in places are complete from top to bottom. No other dimensions can be profitably stated. On Pl. 66 the transcriptions have been reduced to a smaller scale than those of *rt.* 1-4, but in the actual papyrus the writing of the *recto*, a good Nineteenth Dynasty literary hand, is uniform in size throughout. The hand of the *verso* is different, in general appearance somewhat resembling that of *Pap. Chester Beatty VIII*, verso.

A. THE STORY OF ISIS AND RĒ, WITH OTHER MAGICAL SPELLS

PLATES 64-65 A

Pages 1 to 4 of the *recto* are from a duplicate of the text published in Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 131, 10 to 133, 14 followed by *op. cit.* 77+31, 1 to 31, II. 3. The two manuscripts cover, on their *rectos*, very much the same ground, the Turin text having in excess of the Chester Beatty papyrus only nine whole lines at the beginning and eleven quarter-lines at the end; but the Turin papyrus contains, on its *verso*, what is probably a later portion of the same magical book, whereas the *versos* of the Chester Beatty pages have totally different texts, and no parallels have been detected between Turin *verso* and the *rectos* of the unplaced Chester Beatty fragments. Unhappily, even in the area common to B and T, as they will henceforth be designated respectively, B has lost far more than is preserved, so that the bulk of the text shown in the Plates is restoration derived from T. Though the latter is somewhat corrupt in places, and

PLATES 64-65 a

PAPYRUS No. XI

orthographically much less correct than B, the only practical course seemed to be to reproduce it faithfully with all errors. Only a few deviations from the actual text of T have been admitted, these consisting mostly of slight differences of spelling where the words restored have been conformed to the orthography favoured elsewhere by B. For completeness' sake a list of these deviations is here given, supplementary to those mentioned already in the critical notes. It remains to be added that an old collation of my own with the original at Turin has been used, and that no attention is here paid to the rubrics, the verse-points, and the paragraph mark 𐀀 occurring in T at intervals.

*Rt.* 1, 1. T 𐀀𐀁𐀂. 1, 3. T. The rubric is 𐀀𐀁 only, in place of B's [ky] r. At end, T *rmt* with 𐀀, and so again in 1, 4. 6. 1, 4. T 𐀀𐀁𐀂. 1, 5. T 𐀀𐀁 twice; 𐀀𐀁 of *srt* is in lacuna. 1, 6. T 𐀀𐀁𐀂; further on T 𐀀𐀁 without 𐀀. 1, 9. *Nmmi*, T 𐀀 twice undotted, i.e. properly 𐀀. 1, 11. T wrongly adds 𐀀 after *ntrw*, influenced by *psdt-f* preceding. 1, 12. T *rt* 𐀀; later T *iwf* without suffix 𐀀. 2, 1. T *imy-ht* 𐀀. 2, 2. T *hpri* without 𐀀. Further on, T *rh* 𐀀 twice. 2, 3. T 𐀀𐀁 as later in the same line, and also 2, 11; 3, 2, &c. Further on, T 𐀀 twice for 𐀀. 2, 4. T 𐀀𐀁 twice, except that no 𐀀 is written the second time. Near end, T 𐀀𐀁. 2, 5. Beg., T 𐀀. T omits 𐀀 before *pr-kwy*. 2, 11. T *dsr* 𐀀. 3, 3. T 𐀀 without 𐀀. 3, 5. T *wnwt* 𐀀. 3, 10. T *whst* 𐀀. 3, 11. T 𐀀𐀁; also T [𐀀𐀁] 𐀀. 4, 3. T 𐀀𐀁. 4, 6. T 𐀀 for *m dd*. 4, 7. T omits 𐀀 before *rpyt*. 4, 9. T *sh* 𐀀.

The discovery of a new copy, however fragmentary, of the story of Isis and Rē could not fail to be of interest.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, B has some interesting new readings. In *rt.* 1, 4-5 we obtain confirmation that an entire sentence has been omitted by T. This may have recounted how, by reason of his countless activities, the sun-god every day accumulated new names. *Rt.* 1, 9 yields 'she threw it down at the cross-roads by which the great god was wont to pass', bringing to light a rare word, known hitherto only from texts of the Graeco-Roman period. In *rt.* 1, 10 *hwn* is undoubtedly a better reading than *wnh* of T; but the sense remains obscure, unless 𐀀 in both texts is to be emended to 𐀀 — 'the noble serpent bit him'. The following lines give the words wrung from the sun-god in his pain, and these, as we have seen (p. 57, no. 3), have a close parallel in *Pap. Ch. Beatty VII*, *rt.* 2, 5 foll. In *rt.* 2, 3 the twice-repeated *wrrt* of B seems inferior to *wr* of T, which is confirmed by the Pyramid Texts;<sup>2</sup> in 2, 4 both *nīs-tw* of T and *nīs-i* of B are obscure. In *rt.* 2, 5 [𐀀]𐀁 seems superfluous, whereas 𐀀 'against me' is necessary, and seems aimed at in T's 𐀀, doubtless for 𐀀. The unknown word *icbw-f* of B in *rt.* 2, 8 is not necessarily better than *ikb-f* of T, since the latter provides a suitable antithesis: 'the children of the gods came every man with his mourning, but Isis came with her skill'. Two lines later (2, 10), *hty-f* of B may be as good a reading as *htht-f* of T; both would have the same meaning. At the beginning of 2, 12 I have restored as in T (133, 4), though, as we saw above, B 1, 10 has a different construction

<sup>1</sup> The most recent English translation is in Budge, *Religion des alten Ägypten*, pp. 138 foll.; H. O. Lange, *From Fetish to God*, pp. 459 foll. See also O. Roeder, *Religiöse Tekster*, pp. 18 foll. <sup>2</sup> Ed. Sethe, § 852 a.

for *hwn*, and one more in keeping with the accepted meaning of that verb.<sup>1</sup> In 3, 1 *hi-s* of B seems better explicable grammatically ('when it . . .') than *hi* of T, but *hrhr-i* of T is superior to *hr-i* of B, unless we alter the spelling to *hrhr*. Note that in 3, 5 B had a longer text. In 3, 6 *hrhr* of B is clearly inferior to *hrhr* of T. At the end of 3, 6 it was suggested in the critical note that an epithet of Isis may have completed the line, but it is perhaps better to restore [ⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ] 'and she replied'. In 3, 7 B corrects the meaningless *hrhr* of T. The variations at the end of the same line and the beginning of the next are too unintelligible to be discussed here. With the help of the new reading *hrhr* in B, I render *imm st* and the following: 'The most divine among the gods concealed it, that my seat might be easeful (lit. "broad") in the Bark of Millions.' The next words are elucidated by B: 'If once it has gone forth (lit. "if there has happened a first time of going forth") from my heart, (then) tell it to (thy) son Horus, after thou hast cautioned (?)<sup>2</sup> him with an oath by God and hast placed (?) God in his eyes.' R̄r gives Isis permission to pass the name on to her son Horus, but the latter is to be bound by an oath not to divulge it to others. In 4, 2 B omits after 'scorpion' some words contained in T.

The following spell is of less interest, and scholars must be left to compare the texts of B and T for themselves.

#### B. THE RECTOS OF THE UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

##### PLATE 66

Of the unplaced fragments only A deserves translation *in extenso*. Its incomplete lines are entirely in keeping with the more complete parts of the papyrus studied in the last section, and doubtless belong to the same book. The expressions used belong to the commonplaces of magic.

(A, rt. 1) . . . . . it. Behold, snakes are filled with fire, living limbs full of fire, without . . . . . Isis, the goddess, with the beneficial powers of my mouth and with the cunning of my heart which my father, the god, gave to me. Flow forth(?) . . . . . [Come out, come out], thou poison. Turn back thy feet, reverse thy path, stay [thy] going . . . . . N, born of M. I am Isis wise of mouth, whom the gods taught . . . . . (A, rt. 5) . . . . . the divine, he of the disk who envelops all lands in himself, earth and desert . . . . . valleys. Nūn, great of flood, is his name. It is he who quenches . . . . . snake, whose tail is turned to its neck, face as a falcon on the top of . . . . . WRITTEN WITH MALE(?) CLAY<sup>3</sup> ON A NEW SAUCER WASHED . . . . . Come to me, ye gods, and drive it away. It is I who rescue(?), I quench for thee(?) . . . . . (A, rt. 10) . . . . . [I] put enchantment upon thee, (I) take away (thy) strength, (I) destroy thy moment, [I] turn back . . . . . in the words of him who created rays, who made . . . . . and who illuminates the earth . . . . . in the words of him who made the heavens and clad in mystery [the horizon?]<sup>4</sup> . . . . . his hands . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> See *Wb.* III, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. perhaps 'imperilled'.

<sup>3</sup> In the medical papyri *ty* occurs as an epithet(?) of certain medicaments (*Wb.* V, 345), and this tends to confirm its restoration here. But it is difficult to see what the word could mean. Mr. Dawson thinks there

may be an allusion to the modelling of mankind out of clay by Khnum, and he compares the metaphorical use of *πηλός* in Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Restored from rt. 3, 3 above, see *Wb.* IV, 297, top under II.

In the remaining fragments there is little to which attention needs to be drawn. Clearly all the spells are directed against scorpions (J, rt. 5) or similar creatures. An early reference for *intš*,<sup>1</sup> possibly a tarantula or centipede, is welcome: 'I use enchantment to repulse the poison of the sting of an *intš* or [scorpion?] . . . . .' (E, rt. 1). In the next line reference is made to 'him who is prominent in Sekhem'; the Horus of Letopolis is mentioned elsewhere<sup>2</sup> as a healer. In C, rt. 9 occurs part of the familiar tag, 'Horus is well for his mother, if N, born of M, [is well for his mother]'.<sup>3</sup> E, rt. 3 gives a reference to the god 'Horus the saviour',<sup>4</sup> and the following rubric orders that 'THIS SPELL SHALL BE SPOKEN over rushes made into seven knots with thy left hand'.<sup>5</sup> . . . . . In E, rt. 6 and H, rt. x+2 we find the expressions 'in the words of Mn-mrt' and 'in the words of Mn-phṯy'; are they allusions to the kings Sethos I and Ramesses I, whose respective prenomen contain these elements? In F, rt. x+5, instructions are given for a spell to be recited 'over four millstones'. Lastly, in J 6 foll. we have fragments of one of those passages to which reference was made above p. 62, and in which members of the body are identified with deities.

#### C. END OF A MAGICAL TEXT

##### PLATE 67, top

At the top of p. 1 of the *verso* are the remains of the concluding lines of a magical text. The following phrases may be read:

(Vs. 1, 1) . . . . . who tied the Sound Eye<sup>6</sup> to the neck of R̄r. It is I who came forth from the solar disk, [to?] tie the Sound Eye . . . . . himself by N, born of M, in front of . . . . . that his heart may be whole(?) unto(?) . . . . . for N, born of M, [is?] the sole son . . . . . of(?) his mother . . . . . (end).

#### D. FRAGMENTS OF ACCOUNTS

##### PLATE 67, top

These fragments yield in vs. 1, 4 a dating in the reign of Setnakht. It is hardly likely that the damaged and obscure cartouche in l. 8 belongs to the same king, and probably it is Ramesses III whose sixth year is there mentioned. The account referred to cereals and perhaps to incense (l. 10).

#### E. A HYMN TO AMŪN

##### PLATES 67, bottom; 68, top

Pages 2 and 3 of the *verso* contain, in very defective condition, the latter portions of a hymn to Amūn of which some other fragments are extant. These are the equally defective portions of a papyrus discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie at Kôm Medînet

<sup>1</sup> Metternich stela 73. Wrongly given in *Wb.* I, 102 Tur. 135, 13. without ⲁ, though rightly transliterated as *intš*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pap. Tur.* 124, 5, see above p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above *Pap. Ch. Beatty VII*, vs. 2, 4; 6, 6; *Pap.*

<sup>4</sup> Metternich stela 125. See too Erman, *Ägyptische Religion* (1934), pp. 309-10; *ÄZ.* XLIX, 125.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Pap. Tur.* 135, 8.

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 72.

Ghurab (Gurob) in the early part of 1888.<sup>1</sup> The Gurob fragments consist (1), of some openings of lines at the top of a page (A and B) and (2), of the middle and ends of other lines at the bottom of a page (C). Since *vs.* 2, 1 of the Chester Beatty papyrus was the first line of this hymn preserved in that papyrus, and yet corresponds to the second line of C in the Gurob papyrus, it is obvious that the scribe of the Chester Beatty manuscript contented himself with setting down a mere excerpt, and this is confirmed by the fact that the beginnings on fragment A of 'Gurob' cannot have found a place in *Pap. Ch. Beatty XI*, and therefore belong to an earlier part of the hymn. It seems desirable to translate as much of the entire composition as is left, and I begin accordingly with *Gurob*, A 1.

Come to me, O Amūn, thou who art active<sup>2</sup> in keeping alive, making the sustenance of the gods,  
 . . . . .

Come to me, O Amūn, thou with the many faces, who art <full?> of ears . . . . .

Come to me, O Amūn, most greatly revered of all gods, . . . . .

Come to me, O Amūn, thou active smiter . . . . .

[Come] to me, O Amūn, thou that art active . . . . .

(x lines lost)

(*Vs.* 2, 1)<sup>3</sup> <Come to me,><sup>4</sup> [O Amūn,] . . . . . [whom the winds do not . . . . . and the waves do not approach].

<Come to me,> [O Amūn, thou . . . . . who smitest(?) hundreds of thousands like one man, and who decreest victory unto him who is in thy favour].<sup>5</sup>

<Come to me,> [O Amūn, thou . . . . . who . . . . . to him] who is in thy favour, thou that art fortune and abundance unto [him who extols] thy name.

<Come to me,> [O Amūn, thou that comest rapidly(?),] long of stride when it has been said to one who has no fare-money, 'Come forth from my ferry-boat'.

(*Vs.* 2, 5) <Come to me,> O Amūn, [thou] pilot(?) of him who comes(?) . . . . ., thou path-finder for the eyeless, thou foot of him who is lame.

<Come to me,> O Amūn, [thou] who hearest the prayer of him who . . . . . [He rejoices,] (even) the one who is in thy favour, and [no] ill assails him.

<Come to me,> O Amūn, thou pleasant breeze for the man who is a prisoner.<sup>6</sup> [He cries?], 'Come to me, O Amūn'. Day dawns, and thou hast released him . . . . .

<Come to me,> O Amūn, thou good saviour of him who follows thee . . . . .  
 . . . . . counsels, after [he?] has seen(?) . . . . .

<Come to me,> O Amūn, thou who dost kind service to him who pronounces thy name . . . . .  
 . . . . . all . . . . . owing to events. He whom thou lovest rejoices.


<Come to me,> O Amūn, thou divine god, . . . . ., whose counsel it is that comes to pass.

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 36; *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, pp. 47, foll. A number of these fragments left unpublished by Prof. Griffith were entrusted to me to be unrolled and mounted by Dr. Ibscher, and are now temporarily in the keeping of the Egyptian Department of the British Museum.


<sup>2</sup> *Kn*, lit. 'brave', 'valiant'.

<sup>3</sup> Of *Pap. Ch. Beatty XI*, corresponding to *Gurob* C 2. The traces of *Gurob* C 1 are too slight to translate. Words enclosed in brackets are either self-evident restorations or

else drawn from *Gurob*. In point of fact, the actual overlap consists only of four lines, *Gurob* C 3 differing entirely from *vs.* 2, 2, and *Gurob* C 7 being the last line of that text.

<sup>4</sup> *Ch. Beatty XI* omits  of *Gurob* at the beginnings of lines.

<sup>5</sup> The text of *Gurob* is here rendered, see the critical note.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps read . For *nti* see *Wb.* II, 351. [*Nty m*] does not seem very probable, but the trace does not suit *f* of [*iw.f*].

The remains of *vs.* 3 are even scantier, and only lines 3 and 4 contain anything like a complete sentence.

<Come to me,> O Amūn, thou goodly . . . . . who [banishest?] all [evil?] in making answer for [him who] keeps silence. He makes himself<sup>1</sup> the path-finder of . . . . .

<Come to me,> O Amūn, who art manifold of . . . . . in the counsels . . . . . keeping alive him whom thou lovest.



In *vs.* 3, 5 and 6 all that is left is part of the epithets immediately following the name of Amūn. They are 'great of forms' and 'thou that art manifold of . . . . .'



## F. SPELLS FOR SAFETY UPON THE RIVER, ETC.

PLATE 68, bottom

As already stated, the *versos* of only a few of the larger fragments are shown in the Plate. That the subject is as indicated seems probable, but even thus much is uncertain. Some phrases do not suit this interpretation, unless (*e.g.*) the title in *vs.* A 3 means 'A SPELL for fish eating fish', i.e. rather than fish eating human beings. This seems forced, however, and it is perhaps better to cancel one of the repeated words, and to render 'A SPELL for eating fish or turtles'.<sup>2</sup> In l. 4 we find the phrases 'going down into the water by night, Horus . . . . . Seth after the crocodiles', and in l. 5 similarly 'a man goes down into the water of(?) Abydos of(?) Onnōphris'. In l. 6 we read of a 'ship's sailor', and in l. 8 occur the unusual expressions 'as to every path of thine which thy heart forgets and of which thy body recks not'. In l. 10 a demon is apostrophized: 'Back, thou messenger of the great god! Back, empty! Depart thou empty! . . . . .'. In ll. 11-12 the surviving words stimulate our curiosity: 'Lo, Rē is on(?) eighty cubits of water, after thou hast disturbed . . . . . columns are felled(?), many of them are broken.' Clearly we have here the remains of a text of unusual import.

It is superfluous to comment upon the remaining fragments, except to say that the phrase 'coming forth from the lotus' in D, *vs.* x + 3, looks like an allusion to the birth of the sun-god, and that two lines lower down the sacred number 7 appears in 'the 7 falcons'.

<sup>1</sup> Substitute  for .

<sup>2</sup>  must be read as, or emended to, .

No. XII (BRIT. MUS. 10692).


PLATE 69, *top*

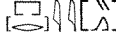
FROM A MAGICAL TEXT WITH MYTHOLOGICAL  
ALLUSIONS

THE left-hand portion of a single page of text, written on the *recto* of a sheet of coarse papyrus only 16.5 cm. in height. This sheet appears to have been the last, as it is reinforced to the left by a narrow strip running from top to bottom. The writing, only on the one side of the papyrus, is in a careless Ramesside literary hand. Red verse-points are used, and the text ends with a rubric of which all but the first word was perhaps intentionally erased. The purport is obscure, but the words can be translated for the most part:

(1) . . . . . he . . . . . him killed, and he sprang upon the back-side<sup>1</sup> of . . . . . the shank(?)<sup>2</sup> of Seth. Behold, he seizes the neck of Min . . . . . he having come forth(?)<sup>3</sup> from the vagina<sup>4</sup> of Isis. Behold, he seizes . . . . . [N, born of?] M. Behold, he seizes the fishes which are in the water. (5) [When he seizes? . . . . ., (then) . . . . .] is said concerning him. When he seizes the shank(?) of Seth, . . . . . of Isis, 'disease of a woman' is said concerning him . . . . . is said of him. THOU HAST BECOME BLIND(?) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pap. Ch. Beatty VII*, vs. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of — in  perhaps points to this word being a mere corruption of *sdh*, as the Berlin dictionary (II, 336) supposes.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Černý proposes to read the traces as .

<sup>4</sup> For *kns* see *ÄZ.* LXII, 22, where a slightly more general sense is given to the word. But I doubt whether as much importance as Mr. Dawson supposes is to be attached to the masc. suffix *f* appended to the word in the Vatican and Berlin papyri. In a long list of parts of

the body in a magical papyrus the same suffix is naturally kept throughout, and it seems to me characteristically Egyptian to have passed lightly over this *contresens*. After all, these magical texts were doubtless meant to be used by persons of both sexes, and the female organ therefore needed inclusion. Cf., moreover, *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, 4, 7, where the masc. suffix also occurs, but where the context points unmistakably to the connexion with parturition: 'Fall not upon his *kns*; beware lest the gods abhor birth'.

No. XIII (BRIT. MUS. 10693).

PLATE 69, *middle*

MAGICAL TEXT

PART of a single sheet of papyrus complete at top and bottom, 21.5 cm. in height, and inscribed on the *recto* only in a good Ramesside literary hand. Magical spells of some kind are the topic, and the insistence on certain words makes it nearly certain that the purpose was the same as that of *Pap. Chester Beatty X*. The phrases are too much broken to be translatable with any great degree of accuracy.



(1) . . . . . this is that seed of Rē. They fall on the day of the great(?) massacre . . . . . Rē his lord. [He(?)] enters into the phallus of Rē at the place whence he went forth. . . . . raise my head and strengthen my gullet(?) . . . . . his phallus. . . . . received is my flesh. Thy living soul be(?) unto thee . . . . . in this thy name [of] . . . . . (5) . . . . . thy serpent . . . . .<sup>1</sup> Elated is thy heart, O Rē, . . . . . in this thy name of . . . . . among the serpents which enter into the interior [of] Nehebka<sup>2</sup> . . . . . I am the bull in the Ennead, and none thwarts(?) . . . . . in the earth(?) . . . . . for the day when his heart approaches him,<sup>3</sup> pounded together with *hsw*, and the phallus [is to be rub]bed<sup>4</sup> [therewith] . . . . . this phallus on . . . . . temple . . . . . in it on . . . . . (10) . . . . . which fly and alight<sup>5</sup> upon it in front of . . . . . ON THE WAY TO WATER.

Another SPELL. Raise thee up, thou bull . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> An unknown word.

<sup>2</sup> See above *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, rt. 7, 1.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. perhaps 'when his desire comes over him'.

<sup>4</sup> Probably read ; the trace suits .

very well.

<sup>5</sup> A comprehensive descriptive phrase for all birds, see *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV*, rt. 7, 6.

## RELIGIOUS TEXT OF OBSCURE NATURE

THE top part of a page containing a considerable part of five lines in a rather crabbed literary hand (A), together with two other unplaced fragments (B and C), of which the former once gave some epithets of Thoth. The dimensions of the larger piece, which I attempt to translate, are 9.5 by 18 cm. The *verso* is blank.

(1) ..... (king) ..... see ye (?) the weakness of the Lord of Quietude who enters into the gates, young (?) ..... praise to the height of heaven to Khons, (even) Thoth,<sup>1</sup> lord of Ekhnūn, who (?) judges the courtiers ..... like (?) Gēb and his children, saying to thee 'Praise, praise!' Oblations are given, and offering-loaves made ready ..... temples ..... gate ..... as one powerful of heart .....

The epithets of Thoth in fragment B are too much damaged to be translated. C contains the word '*praises*', and may have belonged to the page seen in fragment A.

<sup>1</sup> For this identification of the two gods, see Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, p. 206, n. 1.




## MAGICO-MEDICAL TEXT

THE one moderately well-preserved page of this papyrus is reproduced to full scale in Plate 70 A, top. A number of isolated fragments are shown on a much smaller scale at the bottom of the same Plate, and besides these are some twenty more too small to be of interest. The writing is Ramesside, but not to be dated with greater precision. The *verso* is uninscribed.

(1) SPELL FOR NOT ALLOWING DEATH TO COME TO FETCH<sup>1</sup> A MAN. O [yonder]<sup>2</sup> enemy, [dead man] or dead woman (elaborate the formula!),<sup>3</sup> hast thou come to tell me that [thou hast?] prepared ..... the urine of a bull or of a he-goat, .....<sup>4</sup> ..... Seth, the Eye of Horus, decay (?) ..... Seth, opened (?) a second time. Nay, but the head of Isis ..... evil against thee, yonder enemy, dead man [or dead woman (elaborate the formula!)] .....<sup>5</sup> against N, born of M., TO BE RECITED OVER a disk of day and a Horus-falcon ..... DRAWN ON ..... (5) TO BE PLACED ON THE NECK OF A MAN, AND THIS [SPELL] IS TO BE RECITED SEVEN TIMES<sup>6</sup> IN FRONT OF Rēc .....<sup>7</sup>

PRESCRIPTION FOR DESTROYING THIRST<sup>8</sup> IN THE MOUTH OF [A MAN?] ..... COMPANION OF (?) A LECTOR-PRIEST. Leaves of acacia, 1; leaves of the *crw*-tree, 1; leopard-skin, [1]; *ink*, 1; ..... mandrake (?),<sup>9</sup> 1; *mymy*, 1; *dr-nkn*, 1; contents of a mollusc (?),<sup>10</sup> [1]; seed ..... ; milk ..... ; milk of an ass, 1; to be compounded into [one] and drunk by a man.

ANOTHER. Wheat, [1]; contents of a mollusc (?), [1]; ..... human milk, 1; leaves of the *crw*-tree, 1; *ššš*, 1. To be boiled ..... and drunk for [4?] days.


Fragmentary as is this text, it presents several points of interest. The heading is unusual or unique. At first sight it might seem as though '*death*' were here personified, but the spell itself shows that this is not so, but that the source of death was sought in some evil spirit or dead person. The expressions of the heading will, therefore, be mere metaphor. Secondly, one or two examples of enigmatic writing<sup>11</sup> are here employed. An explanation of  (see again fragm. I, 5)<sup>12</sup> has been offered in the critical note. In l. 2  and  are well-known signs for Seth and Horus respectively.<sup>13</sup>

The unplaced fragments are too defective to detain us long. In B2 is another<sup>14</sup>



<sup>1</sup> See above p. 4, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For this curious formula, in which *pfy* seems strangely substituted for the feminine *hftt*, see *Pap. Tur.* 122, 1-2; *Pap. Leyden* 348, rt. 4, 3; 6, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 12 below; for a good example of the formula unshortened see *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 4, 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Can this possibly be an exceptional writing of the god's name  ?

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the missing words said '[if thy coming be] against N, born of M' or something of that kind.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps read  rather than .




<sup>7</sup> The tiny trace here does not suit [*wbn*].f.

<sup>8</sup> For *ibbw* cf. *Pap. Ch. Beatty IX*, vs. B 18, 2.

<sup>9</sup> So Dawson conjectures, see *JEA.* XIX, 133.

<sup>10</sup> See Dawson in *JEA.* XVIII, 153.

<sup>11</sup> See now the important article by Drioton in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Also in the writing  , *Pap. Turin* 120, 7; 122, 2. 5. In an unpublished part of the same text (*Wb. Zettel* 904),  occurs immediately after *hft(y) pfy*, in such a way as to make it highly probable that the former spelling is an enigmatic equivalent of the latter.

<sup>13</sup> See Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> See above *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 6, 1.



reference to the god with 'four heads on a [single] neck'. Part of the text was devoted to toothache or decay of the teeth, since in C 6 we read of the 'enemy who is in the tooth of N, [born of M], or in a molar [of his]', see too F 2 and I 3; the latter passage uses the very strange expression 'no funerary offerings shall be made to thee out of teeth of mine', which one is tempted to interpret as a jocular way of saying that the patient does not intend to sacrifice a single tooth for the benefit of any malignant spirit.

No. XVI (BRIT. MUS. 10696).

PLATE 71

Recto. MAGICAL TEXT

Verso. ACCOUNTS

THE scanty remains of a single sheet of rather thin papyrus, inscribed on both recto and verso. The margins at top and bottom are preserved, so that it is possible to give the height of the sheet, which was 20.5 cm. Despite the diversity of topics on recto and verso, it seems likely that the scribe was the same in both cases. He wrote in a rather nervous rapid hand, spacing his groups unusually widely apart. The verso, having a business text, is naturally more cursive than the recto. The date is Dyn. XX.

A. THE MAGICAL TEXT

PLATE 71, top

(Rt. 1) [A SPELL FOR] MAKING THE PURIFICATIONS which Thoth, the lord of divine words,<sup>1</sup> made for the Ennead, . . . . . EVERY DAY IN WHAT IS SAID: O N, born of M, I have come to thee. I am Thoth, beloved (?) . . . . . god . . . . . [Atū]m as his own<sup>2</sup> son. I open thy mouth, I unstop thy lips, I [remove] all evils . . . . . His purifications are (those of) Seth, and the purifications of Seth are his purifications. Thoth gives incense unto him . . . . . (rt. 5) . . . . . Seth gives incense to him, and he is pure with the water of that . . . . . [on?] the horizon of [heaven?] . . . . . the . . . . . bark (?).<sup>3</sup> He is pure with that water which came forth from Elephantine, and came forth from the mouth of . . . . . he is pure with the divine water which came forth from the two great caverns . . . . .

The remains of the five lines to the bottom of the page are too scanty to be translated, but note that in rt. 11 we have 'I have purified myself with the water . . . . '

It is not clear to what purifications this spell refers, but one must suppose from the general contents of this collection of papyri that they were purifications which ordinary individual men might desire to undergo. The association of Thoth and Seth with purificatory ceremonies is known from other sources, but apparently only in connexion with the purification of the Pharaoh before officiating in a temple.<sup>4</sup>

B. THE ACCOUNTS

PLATE 71, bottom

The fragment of accounts on the verso, incomplete and enigmatic as it is, possesses some value as a contribution to our knowledge of the workmen living at Dêr el-Medîneh,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII, rt. 5, 7 = IX, vs. B 4, 4. <sup>2</sup>  $\phi$ 1 is superfluous. <sup>3</sup> Or perhaps *mhnty* 'the Ferryman'. <sup>4</sup> See Blackman's art. *Purification* in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, X, 478, under *d*.

i.e. as Dr. Černý has shown, the corps (lit. 'crew') of artisans and others employed in the preparation of the Pharaoh's tomb.<sup>1</sup> This corps was divided into two halves called the 'right side' and the 'left side' respectively, each half being in charge of a chief workman, lit. 'great one of the crew' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏). Attached to each division were its own masons, water-carriers, fishermen, &c., as well as a scribe. Sometimes the entire corps comprised as many as a hundred and twenty members all told, i.e. sixty on each side, but often there were fewer actively engaged. It occasionally happened that their rations, which were supplied by the Pharaoh, were not delivered to them punctually, and in such cases there was apt to be trouble.

The present jottings<sup>2</sup> are evidently due to the scribe of the 'right side' in the fifth year of one of the later Ramessides. The external arrangement is curious, and points to the existing text as having been conceived as three separate memoranda, ll. 1-3 projecting<sup>3</sup> nearly four centimetres to the right of the probable beginnings of ll. 4-6, and ll. 7-8 being a note in slightly smaller writing starting immediately after the half-line called l. 6.

The first entry refers to the activities of the 'gardeners' of the 'right side'. According to a Turin papyrus from the end of the reign of Ramesses III there were then six gardeners on each side,<sup>4</sup> and if I read aright,<sup>5</sup> that number is here confirmed:

(Vs. 1) [Brought by the] six (?) gardeners of the right side, veg[etables], 6,100 bundles, each one 140, down to [the . . . th month] of summer, because (?) there had not been given to them the rations which [Pharaoh?] gives [to them?].

These lines must be studied in connexion with *Pap. Tur.* 38, 12-18, where a single gardener is said to have brought 600 bundles, the distribution of which among the corps is detailed. Unfortunately the period of time covered by the delivery is specified neither here nor there. If the figure 140 gave the daily delivery of each gardener, the total of 6,100 would represent the produce of all six gardeners in about seven days.<sup>6</sup> However, it is not even quite certain that 'each one' refers to the gardeners, since, as Dr. Černý points out, 'them' in l. 3 must be the necropolis workmen, for the gardeners did not actually belong to the corps, and were not directly supplied like the latter with rations of grain given by Pharaoh. These were in arrears, and Dr. Černý conjectures the point of the memorandum to be that an extra amount of vegetables had been supplied by the gardeners to make up for the deficit of grain.

As compared with the second entry (ll. 4-6), the first is crystal-clear. In the second, the sense hinges on the lost beginning of l. 4<sup>7</sup> and the doubtful word after *r-šr* in l. 5.

<sup>1</sup> For a good account in English, see Peet, *The Great Tomb-robberies of the XXth Dynasty*, pp. 9 foll.

<sup>2</sup> I am deeply indebted to Dr. Černý for valuable new readings, and also for placing a vital fragment in its right position.

<sup>3</sup> In point of fact the beginning of l. 1 is lost, and it is strange that the first sign of l. 3 is appreciably to the left of the first sign of l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Pap. Tur.* 36, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Černý is sceptical, and indeed the form would be abnormal. However, abnormal forms abound in this short document, and there are serious grounds for interpreting the sign as a numeral. Were it not so, the definite article *n* would doubtless have stood before *krw*.

<sup>6</sup> The total 6,100 divided by 140 does not yield a whole number, but a whole number and a fraction ( $43\frac{2}{7}$ ).

<sup>7</sup> The available space is very small, barely more than 1.5 cm.

The latter is certainly not a date, and <sup>Ⓢ</sup> 'the City', i.e. Thebes, seems possible, though no more than that. If this surmise be correct, it becomes almost inevitable to render:

[Those brought by?] the workman Nekhemmut (5) to the City (?): 150 bearing their testimony.

The reference would in that case be to a hundred and fifty *persons*, and one obtains the picture of a large deputation headed by a common workman proceeding to the City on the right bank, and bringing evidence of their grievances to lay before the Vizier or the Mayor of Thebes. It need hardly be said how precarious so imaginative an interpretation must necessarily be.

One indisputable piece of information does, however, emerge from these lines, and that is the name of the workman Nekhemmut. Dr. Černý informs me that there was a workman of this name on the 'left side' about the reign of Siptah II,<sup>1</sup> and another of the same name on the 'right side' under one of the later Ramessides.<sup>2</sup> The latter may well be our man.

The memorandum constituting ll. 7-8 seems to have given the delivery of a single 'gardener' in a specified month.

Year 5, second month of inundation, by the hand of . . . . . [Veget]ables, . . . . bun[dles].

<sup>1</sup> Ostr. Cairo 25521, rt. 7. 18, see *Annales du Service*, XXVII, 197; see too Ostr. Cairo 25522, rt. ii, 12; vs. i, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ostr. Cairo 25599, 4.

No. XVII (BRIT. MUS. 10697).

PLATE 72, *top*

EXTRACTS FROM THE SATIRICAL LETTER OF HŌRI

THREE fragments, inscribed in a practised Ramesside literary hand on the *recto* only, containing portions of *Anastasi I*.<sup>1</sup> All presumably belonged to the same page, and the two combined under the letter A correspond to 3, 2-4 of that papyrus, while B corresponds to 3, 5-8. Both A and B show traces of additional phrases.

<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Series I, Part I, Leipzig, 1911.

No. XVIII (BRIT. MUS. 10698).

PLATE 72, *middle*

*Recto*. EXTRACTS FROM A MISCELLANY

*Verso*. FROM A MEDICAL TEXT

SEVEN fragments of a papyrus inscribed on the *recto* in a curiously rigid and angular Ramesside literary hand, and on the *verso* in a different, but equally rigid, hand with very little space between the signs. Four of the seven fragments are omitted from the Plate as too small and of too little interest to be worth recording. The others are here lettered A, B, and C.

The first two lines on the *recto* of A are from the concluding words of a well-known passage describing the woes of the agriculturalist and the superiority of the scribe's profession.<sup>1</sup> The tag '*he (the scribe) has no taxes (to pay)*' occurs also elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In the third line began another similar passage encountered already in this volume,<sup>3</sup> though the words preserved in l. 4 do not occur there.

Fragments B and C may well have contained a passage in which industry was enjoined upon the youthful scribe. The phrases '*..... [Do not] turn thy back upon divine words (i.e. literary writings) ..... [or one shall] beat thee thoroughly*' have a familiar ring, but no exact parallel has been found.<sup>4</sup>

The medical phrases on the *verso* contain nothing out of the common, and need no comment here.

<sup>1</sup> *Anast. V. 17, 1-3 = Sall. I, 6, 8-9 = Bodleian, Eg. Inscr. 254.*

<sup>2</sup> *Pap. Ch. Beatty V, rt. 6, 7.*

<sup>3</sup> *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV, vs. 4, 3-4.*

<sup>4</sup> For the first phrase cf. *Anast. V, 6, 1-2 = 15, 7 = Sall. I, 6, 2.*

No. XIX (BRIT. MUS. 10699).

PLATE 72, *bottom*

EXTRACT FROM THE SATIRE ON THE TRADES

FIVE fragments in a good Ramesside literary hand yield words and phrases from that most popular of all the Egyptian classics, the satire on the trades and the glorification of the scribe's calling. The fragments, which are inscribed on one side only, all belong to the passage preserved entire in *Sallier II*, 6, 7-7, 2.

CONCLUSION

COMPRISED in the gift made to the British Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Chester Beatty are a number of small fragments from magical, medical and other works out of which no coherent context has been won. Some of these doubtless belong to the papyri treated in this volume (particularly perhaps to No. XI), but are here ignored in the conviction that time is better employed than in puzzling over *disjecta membra* promising so trifling a result.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 5, bottom. Gunn points out that my restoration of the end of the story is not nearly as certain as the translation seems to imply. He suggests as an alternative: *Thereupon the boy [took the Ennead to the place where Truth was,] and they found him alive, they . . . . . [Falsehood,] they beat him with a hundred blows and five open wounds, they blinded him in [his eyes, they made him door-keeper in] the house of Truth. . . . .* This suggestion has the advantages that it takes the tense-forms *iw-tw hr* . . . . in *Pap. Ch. Beatty II*, vs. 4, 2. 3 in their normal sense of past narrative, and also avoids the crowding of the actual *dénouement* into the short space of a single line, vs. 4-5. There is the additional objection to my view, as Černý points out, that in Egyptian oaths it is always the swearer that is threatened with a penalty, and not someone else. Whilst my faith in my own restorations has been considerably shaken, I cannot feel that they have been definitely disproved. The cardinal fact on which they hinged was the reading [𓂏]𓂏𓂏𓂏 vs. 4, 1. If this be correct, then the restoration of an oath becomes practically inevitable, since *iw-tw hr* . . . cannot well alternate with the conjunctive in past narrative, and it is legitimate to interpret *iw-tw hr* . . ., as I in fact did, as an erroneous writing of *iw-tw r* . . ., see my *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Index, p. 99 a, fourth line from bottom. Another point in my favour is that a rubric would be badly needed at the point (on Gunn's hypothesis, in vs. 4, 2) where the punishment of Falsehood began to be recounted. A re-examination of the original confirms my view that the first 𓂏 of [𓂏]𓂏𓂏𓂏 is probable. The sign is damaged, however, and 𓂏 is perhaps not absolutely impossible. It is on this point that the decision must turn.

p. 40. I have become sceptical as to my identification of the end part of 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in *Pap. Ch. Beatty IV*, vs. 3, 6 with the name 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in *Anast. I*, 7, 6. Not only is the latter name determined with 𓂏, rather than with the 𓂏 or 𓂏 which is expected if the name be that of a human being, but also an ostrakon containing a duplicate of the *Anastasi* passage (shortly to be published by M. Posener) gives simply the divine name 𓂏𓂏 Thoth. The matter seems clinched by *Wb.* V, 606, which quotes 𓂏𓂏𓂏 as a late writing of this god. Accordingly we must reconstruct the name of the ancient author as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Pth-m-Dhwti*, i.e. Ptaḥ-is-Thoth, unless indeed we assume a corruption and emend 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Pth-dd*, or *Dd-Pth* as Ranke prefers to read it. The name *Pth-m-Dhwti* is unknown to Ranke, who gives, however, 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Pth-m-'Imn*, which displays the same model.

p. 57, with n. 9. The suggestion 'tips (?) of the shoulders' or possibly 'shoulder-blades' for 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in *Pap. Ch. Beatty VII*, rt. 3, 2 receives confirmation from *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, rt. 4, 3, where we read: 'Do not fall upon 𓂏𓂏𓂏 his shoulders; they are living 𓂏𓂏𓂏 falcons.' One is reminded, moreover, of the familiar *wsh*-collars with falcon shoulder-pieces, for which see H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, vol. II, Pl. lxxix, B; G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, pp. 64 foll.

p. 75, l. 17, translation of *Pap. Ch. Beatty VIII*, vs. 10, 4. It seems obvious that we must emend *r irt shṭp-st* into *r irt shṭp-f* 'in order to appease him', i.e. Rēc.



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


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
- scrt*, fly aloft(?), 76 n. 1.  
*sbwt*, marks, 20 n. 1.  
*st*, marrow(?), 64 n. 3.  
*sty* (det. ) , have a care, *n* for, be heedful of, 49 n. 7.  
*sty* (det. ) , lack (vb.), 49 n. 7.
- idt*, fragrance, influence, 97 n. 4.  
*iw r f*, come for him, 4 n. 4.  
*iw*, verb of unknown meaning, 85 n. 8.  
*iw*, a kind of loaf, 85 n. 8.  
*iwf-hsty*, meat of the breast, 94 n. 1.  
*ibbw*, thirst, 125 n. 8.  
*Ibn*(?), a locality, 108 n. 2.  
*imy*, which is, 81 n. 5.  
*int*, close (lit. fetch) a door, 87 n. 7.  
*inhst*, chapel-wall(?), 39 n. 6.  
*inhys*, lotus leaves(?), 11 n. 8.  
*intš*, tarantula or centipede, 119 n. 1.  
*irt*: *i-irt*(*i*) *iyt*, until I be returned, 5 n. 1; *ir n*, made by, 31; var. *irw in*, 31 n. 5.  
*irt nt mst*, milk from the milch-cow, 81 n. 6.  
*ihmw-wrd*, the ordinary stars, 86 n. 5.  
*ihmw-sk*, the circumpolar stars, 86 n. 5.  
*istn*, binding (of a knife), 3 n. 3.  
*isdt*, fruit, 94 n. 9.  
*iknw*, secret chambers(?), 34 n. 7.  
*ithw n ib*, presumption(?), 42 n. 2.  
*itt int*, be disorderly, 70 n. 2.
- r*, arm, 69 n. 3.  
*cpp*, Apopis, 30 n. 4.  
*cwty*, sceptre-bearer(?), 33 n. 3.  
*cb*, horn, 61 n. 2.  
*cb*, bow, 71 n. 1.  
*cb*, partake(?), *m* of, 92 n. 3.
- cmryt*, cow(?), 62 n. 1.  
*cmk*, tuck together(?), 61 n. 3.  
*cmk*, cover (an animal), 62 n. 9.  
*cnmw*, compassion(?), 33 n. 12.  
*crrr*, chin, 20 n. 7.  
*chwty*, (1) warrior; (2) male, 62 n. 12.  
*chr*, diacritical mark , 52.  
*ckk*, meaning unknown, 20 n. 16.
- wr*, lone, 20 n. 3.  
*wcrw*, recruit, 47 n. 7.  
*wbs*, deflower (a woman), 58 n. 8; 63 n. 6.  
*wmm*, live upon, 12 n. 6.  
*wndwt*, hull, 18 n. 7.  
*ws*, crack, chink, 71 n. 3.  
*wšrw*, calumnies(?), 20 n. 13.  
*wds*, safety, 32 n. 7.  
*wdr*, mollusc, 125 n. 10.
- bš nfr*, good spirit, 32 n. 1.  
*bšr* (fem.), tuft, 5 n. 3.  
*bšk*, not olive but *moringa arabica*, 49 n. 3.  
*bis*, copper, 11 n. 10.  
*bist*, disposition, 42 n. 6.  
*bikt*, tip(?) of the shoulder, 57 n. 9, and Add., 135.  
*Bitt*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 6.  
*bnbu*, point aloft(?), 85 n. 8.  
*bnbu*, a kind of loaf, 85 n. 8.  
*bnš*, gird oneself(?), 57 n. 8.  
*bnd*, gird oneself(?), 57 n. 8.  
*bndt*, gourd, cucumber, 15 n. 2, 50 n. 5.  
*bhnw*, a castle-shaped receptacle, 49 n. 4.  
*bks*, be born, 33 n. 4.  
*bkst*, shoot(?) of a plant, 59 n. 9.  
*Bth*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 6.  
*bdy*, better read *šnty*, 115 n. 2.




- Wenu, Hermopolis magna, 111.  
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Wset, Thebes, 111, 112.  
Wet(?) -neb-wam, goddess, 64.  
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- ..... ifdet, wife of Horus, 56.  
..... hedj, goddess, 64.

- pšrw*, a mineral, 113 n. 11.  
*pwy lny*, they which fly and alight, 123 n. 5.  
*prr* (det. ) *hr*, catch fire, 17 n. 1; *prr hr*, divulge, 19 n. 6.  
*pr-m-ws*, vertical height, 71 n. 3.  
*prr* (det. ) , mourning, 16 n. 12.  
*Pr-ntywy-nb-Tbt*, modern Abutig, 108 n. 8.  
*phd*, to break into(?), 15 n. 4.  
*phd*, to open up (a swelling), 15 n. 4.  
*phr*, turn, 30 n. 1; *phr n*, be at the call of (lit. revert to), 73 n. 3.  
*phr-wr*, Euphrates, 30 n. 11.  
*psh*, bite, 56 n. 1.  
*Pth-m-Dhwty*, name, Add., 135.

- m* (*my*) as enclitic particle, 114 n. 4.  
*mš m*, look into, 17 n. 8.  
*mšty*, who is in the right, 6 n. 1.  
*mst*, proclaim, 57 n. 6.  
*mitt*, mandrake(?), 125 n. 9.  
*msty*, ends(?) of a sinew, 58 n. 4.  
*mw: hr mw n*, loyal to, 32 n. 8.  
*mnt: m try mnt*, in this fashion, 65 n. 5.  
*mni*, put to harbour, 42 n. 7.  
*mnhp*, aphrodisiac, 114 n. 1.  
*mntyt*, a kind of vase, 82 n. 6.  
*mnd*, intestine(?), 73 n. 6.  
*mrt šm*, musician-goddess, 63 n. 12.  
*Mhnyt*, serpent-goddess, 30 n. 6.  
*ms n mwt-f*, born of his mother, 106 n. 4.  
*ms ntr*, youthful god, 4 n. 5.  
*mslr*, meaning unknown, 16 n. 6.  
*Mskt*, a region of the sky, 34 n. 6.  
*mgs*, crate, 49 n. 9.  
*mtt*, a kind of vase, 82 n. 6.  
*mdt*, dispute, 12 n. 4, 13 n. 12.  
*mdt-ntr*, literature, 44 n. 2.

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- nšwy*, abnormal var. of demonstr. *nm*, 73 n. 9.  
*nšr*, smooth, 25 n. 12, 41 n. 5, 49 n. 1.  
*nšwt* (det. ) , meaning unknown, 123 n. 1.  
*Nbt-šh-bit*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 6.  
*nbi*, measure of 2 cubits, 42 n. 8.  
*nšrw grh*, dead of night, 29 n. 8.  
*nšfti*(?), glide(?), 76 n. 5.  
*nms*, covering, 20 n. 7.  
*nrrw*, oxen, 59 n. 6.  
*nsh*, flourish(?), 84 n. 7.  
*nsyt*, queen, 75 n. 4.  
*nsyt*, epilepsy, 54 n. 1.  
*nšt*, spleen, 69 n. 7.  
*nšmt*, felspar, 113 n. 10.  
*ngš*, destroy, 13 n. 16.  
*ntyw im*, the dead, 15 n. 7, 16 n. 10.  
*ntr hry*, the god above, epithet of the sun-god, 63 n. 4. 5.  
*ndšdš*, overflow(?), 12 n. 5.  
*ndšdyt*, kind of beer, 12 n. 5.
- rby*, lioness, 3 n. 4.  
*rmw n my*, wailings of a cat, 42 n. 5.  
*rmš*, man, 13 n. 2; *irt rmš*, to be (i.e. act as) a woman, 50 n. 2.  
*rhyt*, plebs, 20 n. 4.
- hšb r f*, send for him, 4 n. 4.  
*hrw wrš*, daytime, 68 n. 8.  
*hk*, an affection of the forehead, 51.
- ht st*, castle, 110 n. 9.  
*hst: r-hst-f*, from his presence, 14 n. 11; awaiting him, 18 n. 9; 19 n. 3; under his charge, 34 n. 13.  
*hst*, to fold wings, 17 n. 11.  
*hsty*, understanding, sense, 48 n. 6.  
*hwt š*, (1) roam the earth; (2) exile, be exiled, 16 n. 11.  
*hbyr*, festal chamber, 19 n. 2.  
*hptw*, leaves of a door, 71 n. 7.  
*hmt try*, married woman, 20 n. 15.  
*hmt-r*, elaborate the formula, 125 n. 12.  
*Hmn*, god, 125 n. 4.  
*hn*, entrust, 13 n. 1.  
*hn r f*, go for him, 4 n. 4.  
*hmmnt*, sun-folk, 34 n. 1.  
*hnr*, be lacking(?) (of voice), 63 n. 13.
- hh*, million, 59 n. 4, 76 n. 7.  
*hsr*, cover, *m* with, 39 n. 4.  
*hkxyt*, princely blossom(?), 15 n. 5.  
*htš*, gloom(?), 92 n. 1.  
*htp*, soothe, 56 n. 7.  
*hdt*, weasel, 47 n. 15.  
*hdri*, jerboa, 16 n. 3.
- ht*, possessions, 11 n. 3.  
*hnr*, chisel, 25 n. 7.  
*hsh-ib*, impatience, 33 n. 11.  
*hshwt*, faulty writing for *hnr*, chisel, 25 n. 7.  
*hd*, dough, 59 n. 7.  
*hcr*, lash, 47 n. 8.  
*hwt*, fill pots(?), 17 n. 10.  
*hpr n*, come into one's possession, 11 n. 1.  
*hfy*, pry, 42 n. 4.  
*hfty pfy*, yonder enemy, 125 n. 2.  
*hm dt*, swoon (vb.), 59 n. 2; be unconscious of one's part, 85 n. 4.  
*Hmnw*, Eshmûnên, 107 n. 4.  
*hnr*, be hoarse, 63 n. 13.  
*hr hr*, fall a prey to(?), 17 n. 13.
- hš*, thwart(?), 83 n. 3.  
*hst*, palisade, 43 n. 2.  
*hnhn*, approach, 42 n. 4.  
*hrt-ntr*, godsacre, 42 n. 1.  
*hdhd*, search out, 68 n. 6.
- š*, merely a writing of *šr*, goose, 94 n. 4.  
*šrw r*, have a care concerning, 60 n. 4.  
*š-mr-f*, maintainer of funerary cult, 39 n. 2.  
*špew*, faintness(?), 29 n. 4, 34 n. 8.  
*šnh*, revivify, 114 n. 2.  
*šwt*, meaning unknown, 59 n. 10.  
*sb-n-tš*, crumbled to dust, 39 n. 9.  
*Šbnw*, a geographical name, 75 n. 2.  
*sbht*, a pylon-shaped receptacle, 49 n. 4.  
*Spr-tw-rš*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 3.  
*Spr-tw-snt*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 3.  
*Sft-sfh*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 6.  
*smty*, cross-roads, 117.  
*smv*, utterance, 111 n. 1.  
*snb*, health, 32 n. 7.  
*snhp*, promote sexual activity, 114 n. 1.  
*snh*, bind, 13 n. 8.

- snty*(?), testicles(?), 115 n. 2.  
*sr*, a kind of goose, 94 n. 4.  
*shrt*-stone, 113 n. 8.  
*shmt*, the Double Crown, 30 n. 9.  
*sh*, take up, 94 n. 8.  
*šš: m šš*, in the writing of, 31 n. 5.  
*šš*(?)   : *dš šš n*, give fair passage to, 30 n. 5; *šš hrti*, spread a bed, 72 n. 2.  
*šst*, a kind of fruit, 94 n. 6.  
*sty*, ochre(?), 18 n. 5.  
*sd*, tail, 61 n. 2.  
*sdbh*, supply (vb.), 25 n. 6. 10.  
*sd*, a kind of garment, 25 n. 13.  
*sdri*, persevere, 38 n. 3.  
*sdh*, shank(?), 122 n. 2.
- št*, company of tax-gatherers, 48 n. 8.  
*šš*, founder (of a ship), 59 n. 5.  
*šrw*, vines, 81 n. 2.  
*ššš*, a kind of fruit(?), 49 n. 2.  
*šw: m šw*, in daylight, 18 n. 10.  
*špsyw*, nobles, 69 n. 4.  
*šfnw*, undergrowth, 48 n. 1.  
*šmw*, fever, 32 n. 11.  
*šn-wr*, ocean, 34 n. 4.  
*šhk*, chaff(?), 113 n. 12.  
*šsm*, malachite, 113 n. 9.  
*šsmv*, sinews(?), 20 n. 6.  
*šsr*, a kind of quadruped(?), 13 n. 3.  
*šdt*, well, 17 n. 8.  
*šdi*, recite, 58 n. 11, 59 n. 11.
- hšdš*, gypsum, 25 n. 8.  
*kh*, find refreshment, 64 n. 6.  
*Khbw*, a name for the region of the First Cataract, 81 n. 7.  
*kn*, active, 120 n. 1.
- kš*  : *in kš n*, varr. *n kš n*, *kš n*, for the benefit of, 31.  
*kst*, vulva, 18 n. 3.  
*kyy*, monkey, 18 n. 12.  
*kfst*, pedestal(?), 13 n. 9.  
*kmyt*, conclusion, 43 n. 7.  
*kns*, vagina, 64 n. 3, 122 n. 4.
- gbs*, arm, 69 n. 3.  
*gmi*, find, 41 n. 11, 47 n. 1.  
*gs: r-gswy*, beside, near, 43 n. 7.  
*gs-mš*, headache, 51.  
*gs-tp*, headache, 50.  
*ggt*, kidneys(?), 64 n. 1.

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- t*, bread, 60 n. 2.  
*Ti-bitt*, wife of Horus, 56 n. 6.  
*Ti-mnt*, wife of Horus(?), 56 n. 6.  
*twon*, prize, reward, 32 n. 13.  
*twot m rmt*, people around one 50 n. 4.  
*tpi*, be spewed out, 64 n. 9.  
*tpht*, mouth-cavity(?), oesophagus(?), 73 n. 8.  
*tf*, dislodge(?), 14 n. 9.  
*tri*, willow, 75 n. 8.  
*try m*, prevail over, surpass, 4 n. 6.  
*try*, male(?), used of medicaments, 118 n. 3.  
*trt*, cabin, 47 n. 9.  
*twfy*, Delta marshes, 5 n. 4.  
*tms*, filthy, 19 n. 7.  
*thwt-ib*, exultation, 32 n. 7.  
*di s nb r rd-f*, set the pace for every man, 41 n. 4.  
*dbt*, shooting-mark, target, 11 n. 9.  
*Dbwt*, an unidentified locality(?), 64 n. 4.  
*dbt*, prick (vb.), 17 n. 2.  
*dp m*, fasten to, 69 n. 1.  
*dmst pdwt*, stretcher of bows, epithet of Nekhbet, 30 n. 10.  
*dht*, testicles(?), 115 n. 2.  
*di*, fire-boring, 98 n. 1.  
*dy*, violently(?), 12 n. 3.  
*dir*, a kind of fruit(?), 49 n. 2.  
*dis*, a herb, 16 n. 9.  
*dmw*, descendants, 50 n. 3.  
*dst*, council, 17 n. 13.  
*dw ms n pt*, 'mountain, born of sky', 73 n. 2.  
*dsr*, holy, 34 n. 5.  
*dd: m dd*, so saith, 56 n. 6.  
*d(d)t*, olive, 49 n. 3.

## III. COPTIC

- ⲁⲟⲛⲧⲉ, cucumber, 15 n. 2, 50 n. 5.  
ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, the Nile, 5 n. 5.  
ⲉⲣⲉ, ⲁⲣⲁ, yes, 52.  
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