

STORIES  
OF THE  
HIGH PRIESTS OF MEMPHIS

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PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



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STORIES  
OF THE  
HIGH PRIESTS OF MEMPHIS

THE SETHON OF HERODOTUS  
AND  
THE DEMOTIC TALES OF KHAMUAS

BY

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## PREFACE

IN editing these demotic stories I have endeavoured to advance by a step that not insignificant branch of Egyptology which counts an Englishman, Thomas Young, among the chief founders of its study, but which since his time has been neglected entirely in this country. The decipherment of demotic, inaugurated by Akerblad's famous letter to De Sacy in 1802, and continued by Young and Champollion in 1820-1830, was most successfully cultivated by Heinrich Brugsch in the first half of his brilliant career, from 1847 to 1868, when he finished his dictionary of hieroglyphic and demotic. With such completeness did he triumph over the crabbed script that it remains for his successors only to perfect his work, at least for the later periods. Brugsch had for long been practically the sole reader of demotic when Revillout attacked the subject as a student of Coptic. By his multitudinous works the latter has certainly thrown light on the interpretation of the legal documents—some of which belong to the early period—and on the metrology. Demotic is, however, a subject which requires above all things care and accuracy if satisfactory results are to be obtained by the student. The recent work of W. Max Müller commencing in 1886, but unfortunately never extending

beyond brilliant discussions of single words and groups), of Krall, Hess, and Spiegelberg, augur well for the future of the study, and it is certain that it will progress rapidly as the results of Coptic and hieroglyphic research are brought to bear in a scientific manner upon this intermediate stage of the Egyptian language.

In spite of all that has been accomplished in demotic, there is much to be done that is almost of a pioneer character, and much that has been conjectured or contested must be either established or overthrown by positive proofs. This is the main apology for the voluminousness of the philological notes in Part II; though many of them are due chiefly to the bad writing or bad preservation of the second tale.

I may here be allowed to express my great obligations to the authorities of the department of MSS. in the British Museum for permission to publish the demotic text of the second story, and to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the serious expense of printing this book. My thanks are also especially due to the Rev. E. M. Walker, of Queen's College, for encouragement and advice; the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, for introducing and supporting my application to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press; Mr. Cannan, the Secretary of the Delegates; Mr. Horace Hart, the Controller of the Press; and last, but not least, Mr. F. G. Kenyon of the British Museum, by whose kindness I was amongst the first to see the newly unrolled 'Papyrus DCIV,' and enjoyed every facility for studying it. The particulars furnished by him in regard to the history of the papyrus and to the Greek text upon the *recto* will be found in a subsequent page.

A glossary of the two demotic stories has been pre-

pared, and it is intended to publish it later, when the work may have had the benefit of the criticism of fellow-students. A photographic facsimile and a hand-copy of the new tale are issued herewith. The first tale has long been accessible in a good facsimile, but negatives of the original papyrus in the Gizeh Museum have been taken at my request by Émile Brugsch-Bey, brother of the great demotist, and are now deposited with Mr. R. C. Murray, 8 Garrick Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C., to whom applications for prints should be addressed.

This volume must not go to press without a word acknowledging its special indebtedness to the great work of Professor Sethe on the Egyptian Verb, which appeared last autumn at the moment when I was engaged in the final shaping of the materials for the book. By his masterly historical treatment of the verbal forms in Hieroglyphic and in Coptic, Sethe has made it possible here to begin classification, on the lines laid down by him, of the remarkable forms which the verb assumes in demotic.

*May, 1900.*

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# PART I

## HISTORICAL AND LITERARY

### CHAPTER I

#### THE STORY OF SETHON

§ 1. Introductory: Stories in later Egypt. § 2. Khamuas in history. § 3. Khamuas in tradition. § 4. His title Sem-Setne, high priest of Ptah. § 5. The story of Sethon. § 6. Historical features. § 7. Name Sethos or Zêt? § 8. or title Sethon-Setne? § 9. Attempt to identify the priest-king. § 10. Foreign elements in the story.

§ 1. THIS is not the place to enter upon the general subject of Egyptian tales, of which demotic is now beginning to yield a rich variety dating from the Graeco-Roman age. But we must note the fact that while a considerable number of stories are extant in hieratic of the Middle and New Kingdoms, ten centuries follow between the end of the New Kingdom and the middle of the Ptolemaic rule (*circa* 1200-150 B.C.), during which this class of literature is entirely unrepresented by native documents. From two external sources, however, we gather that the art of the story-teller was by no means in abeyance, though it would seem that his tales were not often committed to writing by Egyptian scribes. The Biblical story of Joseph, charged as it is with Egyptian ideas and marked by Egyptian names of the late period, may very well be a product of Hebrew

intercourse with the Egyptians after 1000 B.C.<sup>1</sup>; and in his history Herodotus collected multitudes of imaginative traditions current in Egypt of the fifth century. How far the stories in Herodotus are genuinely Egyptian it would be difficult at present to say. Often they have a strong Greek tinge, while the demotic stories of the Graeco-Roman epoch are thoroughly native and bear few distinct traces of external influence.

§ 2. Two of these stories—later by several centuries than Herodotus—relate to a famous high priest of Ptah who flourished about 1250 B.C. His name Kha-m-uas (*H<sup>c</sup>-m-<sup>W</sup>s-t*)<sup>2</sup>, meaning 'manifestation in Thebes,' indicates that he was born in the southern capital; but he lived and died a Memphite. He was head of the whole hierarchy of his time, and the most notable of the innumerable progeny of the great King Rameses II. From contemporary documents we learn that his mother was the queen Isit-nefert. In his youth he would seem to have taken part in the wars, but his recorded acts are principally of a sacerdotal nature, and he appears conspicuously in the celebration of national festivals from the thirtieth year of Rameses onwards. Apparently Khamuas died in the fifty-fifth year of his father's long reign of sixty-seven years; otherwise he might perhaps have succeeded to the kingdom which eventually fell to Merenptah, the thirteenth son of Rameses. His tomb is near the Great Pyramid<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The dates assigned by Biblical critics to various portions of this story extend from the middle of the ninth century to the end of the sixth. One of the Egyptian names (Asenath) points to a period not earlier than the end of the ninth century. The others could be somewhat older, but on the whole the impression left is that these details belong rather to the age of the Saïtes, beginning as late as 680.

<sup>2</sup> As MASPERO pointed out (*Ä. Z.*, 1877, p. 143, note 41) *Χαμοῖς*, occurring in the fanciful list of kings of Syncellus (ed. DINDORF, p. 179), is probably the Greek form of his name.

<sup>3</sup> For the historical Khamuas see MASPERO, *Hist.*, II, pp. 424-6, and references there.

§ 3. In the demotic stories Khamuas is not presented in a very heroic light: they relate his misfortunes and seem rather to scoff at his learning, which availed so little against the gods, or even the sages and magicians of less degenerate times. The discovery of certain late funerary texts<sup>1</sup> is attributed to his indefatigable research. They are entitled 'The writings of the vase which Khamuas the chief son of the king found under (or at?) the head of a divine one (mummy) in the west of Memphis: it was more divine than any vase in the treasury. It makes itself as a gate of flame between the divine (*y'ḥ-w*) who are (?) dead (*mt-w*) and that which attacketh them: it is very excellent, a million times.' The first of them is further said to have been previously discovered or invented for his own protection by the chief royal scribe Amenhetep, son of Hepu<sup>2</sup>, a famous Theban priest in the reign Amenhetep III. Thus the supposed history of this spell is not unlike that of the book which Khamuas found in the grave of the learned scribe Neneferkaptah<sup>3</sup>.

§ 4. The title that most usually precedes the name of Khamuas on the monuments is *sm*<sup>4</sup>. This is a sacerdotal title, not indeed confined to the high priest of Memphis, but constantly borne by him and assigned to his office in the Ptolemaic list of Egyptian priesthoods at Edfu<sup>5</sup>, where the high priest of Ptah has the double title *sm, wr ḥrḫ ḥmww* 'Sem and Chief Artificer (?).' 'Sem of Ptah' is a fuller form of the title<sup>6</sup>. Certainly Khamuas was *wr ḥrḫ ḥmww*<sup>7</sup>, as well as *sem*, and, for

<sup>1</sup> PLEYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, ch. 167-174; see especially Pl. 126-7.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀμένωφης τοῦ Παπίου of Josephus, deified at Thebes in Ptolemaic times: see SETNE in Ebers' *Aegyptiaca*, p. 106 et seqq., and the graffiti published by PEERS, *Hellenic Journal*, 1899, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 16, 30 (*J Kh.* iv. 26).

<sup>4</sup> e.g. BR., *Thes.*, 957-9.

<sup>5</sup> BR., *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1368.

<sup>6</sup> *Piankhy Stele*, l. 20.

<sup>7</sup> BR., *Thes.*, 957.

instance, presided over the burial of the Apis bull, which was sacred to the same god. Thus his title *sm* is doubtless to be taken in its special application, i.e. as 'high priest of Ptah at Memphis.'

In the demotic tales Khamuas is entitled '*Stne* (in the second story *Stme*)  $H^c-m-ws$ , the son of Pharaoh,  $Wsr-m^c-r^c$ '<sup>1</sup>, the last name corresponding to the hieroglyphic  $Wsr-m^c-t-R^c$ , the short form of the prenomen of Rameses II<sup>2</sup>. In the New Kingdom and later the title *sm* is often written *stm*, and though in hieroglyphics the ancient form was frequently adhered to, demotic bilinguals of the Ptolemaic period give the form *stm*, *stme*<sup>3</sup>. Thus *stne*<sup>4</sup> or *stme*  $H^c-m-ws$  in the tales would seem to correspond exactly to *sm*  $H^c-m-ws^c-t$  in inscriptions of his own time<sup>5</sup>.

It must be noted also that Khamuas when referred

<sup>1</sup> *I Kh.* v. 4, 7; cf. *II Kh.* ii. 28 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently *Ὀδομαρῆς* in the royal list of Syncellus (ed. DINDORF, p. 189). The list is the same that in the preceding group of kings gives *Χαμοῦς*.

<sup>3</sup> BR., *Wib.*, 1221; *Theb.*, 890, 906, 912, 915. The change from *sm* to *stm* was probably at first purely graphic; cf. Old Eg. *sm*, 'herbage,' spelt *stymu* in Ramesside hieratic, but *sm*, *sym* in dem., and C122 in Coptic. In the case of the title, the Ramesside writing *stm* for *sm* may have given rise to a new pronunciation *stm*, *stne* (helped possibly by the title *s'-stny* 'king's son,' which accompanied it in the case of Khamuas).

<sup>4</sup> In the Ptolemaic period we meet with proper names compounded with *Stne*, viz.:—*P'šre-(n) Stne*, and *T'šre-(n) Stne* in *Pap. Berl.* Ax. 2 (BR., *Samml. dem.-Gr. Eigennamen*, pp. 21, 23). These may some day be found written in Greek, perhaps as \**σενσεθων* and \**σερεθων*. Note that here, as in the story, we have the form *stne*, while the priestly title at the same period is always *smt* or *stm(t)*. Clearly the equations *sm* = *stm(t)* = *stne* = (later) *stme* represent no normal development (p. 142). I should suggest that *Stne* was the popular form of the title *sm* or *stm-t*—the form in which it occurred in the tales, and, by transference thence, in proper names. The final *t* in *stm-t* may represent a vowel ending, so that the word was probably identical in pronunciation with *stne*. The change from early *m* to *n* is not uncommon in Coptic, and the form *stme* in the later tale may indicate an attempt to revert to the classical pronunciation.

<sup>5</sup> L., D., III, 174 e, 175 h, &c.

to more briefly in the tales appears by this title 'Stne,' 'Stme' alone, not 'the Stne,' or 'the Stme,' and never once by his name. Thus, unless 'Stne' was misinterpreted by the later scribes as a proper name, we must conclude that this title of the high priest was used as an appellative for its holder, just as 'Pharaoh' was used for the king<sup>1</sup>.

§ 5. We will now turn to the Greek record. Herodotus, whose travels in Egypt date from the reign of Artaxerxes, about 460 B. C., reports amongst the information he obtained from the natives regarding the kings of Egypt a miraculous story of a Pharaoh, who was also priest of Hephaestus, i. e. high priest of Ptah at Memphis:—

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. ἔλεγον) βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ ὄννομα εἶναι Σεθῶν, τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἑξαίρετους ἐκάστῳ δωδέκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὐκ ὄντων δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν τὸν δὲ ἱερέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷ γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι, οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν· ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν, ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν· αὐτὸς γὰρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροὺς. τοῦτοισι δὴ μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Ἀἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαι στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ (ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰς αἰ ἐσβολαί). ἐπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν,

<sup>1</sup> In ancient Egyptian the article did not exist, and though it was in general use as early as 1500 B. C., apparently the ancient titles 'Pharaoh,' and 'Setme' like many other religious and ceremonial terms, remained *arikellos* almost to the end. Before Coptic times, however, the initial letter of *Pr-<sup>o</sup>*, 'Pharaoh,' was falsely interpreted as the definite article *p*, and was so declined—with fem. *i*, pl. *n*—the word for 'Pharaoh' being reduced to *epo*.

καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένους, τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμῶν ὄπλων πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· ἐς ἐμέ τις ὀρέων εὐσεβῆς ἔστω<sup>1</sup>.

‘After him (i. e. Anysis, they told me) that there reigned the priest of Hephaestus whose name was Sethon (?). He treated the Egyptian soldiery with contempt, and held them of no account as considering that he would not have need of them. He did them dishonour in various ways, and in particular deprived them of their allotments of land, they having been given twelve arouras<sup>2</sup> apiece of choice land under the previous kings. But afterwards Sanacharib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, led a great army against Egypt. So the warriors of the Egyptians refused to help, and the priest being driven into desperate straits entered the temple and bewailed before the image the misfortune that hung over him. And while he lamented sleep came upon him, and it seemed to him in the vision that the god stood by him bidding him be of good cheer, for he would suffer no harm marching against the army of the Arabians, for he himself would send him some who would aid. And relying on this dream, he collected those of the Egyptians who were willing to follow him, and pitched his camp at Pelusium; for by that way is the entrance to Egypt. And not one of the warriors followed him, but (only) traders and artisans and market people. And when he had arrived there, field mice streamed into the camp of his opponents themselves and devoured all their quivers and all their bows and the handle-thongs of their shields besides, so that the next day they fled destitute of arms with great loss. And now this king stands in stone in the temple of Hephaestus, having a mouse on his hand, speaking thus by means of an inscription, ‘Let any one looking upon me, (learn to) be pious!’

<sup>1</sup> WIEDEMANN, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, cap. cxli.

<sup>2</sup> Twelve arouras would be eight or nine acres.

This is the last item in Herodotus' Early History of Egypt—that dealing with the ages before the Dodecarchy and the advent of the Greeks. The materials for this part of his work he professes to have derived from statements made to him by the Egyptians and especially by the priests<sup>1</sup>, and from innumerable touches it is evident that Memphite priests or guides were his principal sources of information. The story quoted above is obviously Memphite: let us examine it in detail.

§ 6. The name of Sennacherib (B. C. 705–680) accords sufficiently well with the period of Egyptian history to which Herodotus assigns the events of the story, namely that which followed the Ethiopian conquest by Sabaco (twenty-fifth dynasty) and preceded the rise of Psammetichus (B. C. 663). In that interval Egypt was invaded time after time from Assyria, by Esarhaddon (B. C. 680–669), and by Assurbanipal (B. C. 668–625). Sennacherib apparently suffered no serious reverse in his great Syrian and Palestinian expedition of B. C. 701; but the story in Herodotus so remarkably resembles the Biblical account of the disaster which befell the army of Sennacherib in the reign of King Hezekiah<sup>2</sup>, that one can hardly doubt that both narratives had a common origin. In the Bible, Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia and conqueror of Egypt, figures as about to attack Sennacherib<sup>3</sup>. Tirhakah was the opponent of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. His date is not exactly known: he can hardly, however, have begun to reign earlier than B. C. 686, though he may have commanded an army before that date.

§ 7. Who then was Σεθών, high priest of Hephaestus and king of Egypt? At first sight his name would seem to be Σεθός in the accusative, and Σέθως is the equivalent of the Egyptian name *Sety*, which occurs

<sup>1</sup> cc. xcix, cxlii.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. verse 9.



twice amongst the kings of the nineteenth dynasty<sup>1</sup>, but is not known later. A name compounded with that of the god *Set* is not likely to be found in the twenty-fifth dynasty, at a time when Osiris worship of a fanatical kind was rapidly gaining the ascendancy, and the name of *Set* was probably being erased from the monuments. Africanus gives a king Ζήτ at the end of the twenty-third dynasty; he may have been introduced into the list to represent the original of the supposed Σεθῶς. If Ζήτ really existed, he was probably an Egyptian contemporary of the Ethiopian conquerors, like some other kings of the twenty-third dynasty. It is hardly necessary to say that a faint correspondence to facts is all we need look to find in the story of Herodotus; and the obscurer kings' names in Africanus are probably derived in many cases from the popular tales, so that the mere occurrence in his list of the name of a king Ζήτ is no guarantee that there was ever any such person.

§ 8. But it is also possible to read the name Σεθῶν as indeclinable, and as such it is regarded by WIEDEMANN in his admirable commentary<sup>2</sup>. KRALL has had the boldness to identify Σεθῶν with the Setne of the demotic story here published as the first tale of Khamuas<sup>3</sup>. As yet he has given no reasons for the identification, but evidently he abides by it, and now calls the tale in question 'The Story of Sethon.' The form *stme* furnished by the new story strongly suggests that *stne* is the priestly title *stm*, and confirms in part Krall's brilliant guess. The vocalization of words is not shown

<sup>1</sup> Each of these Setys was also named Merenptah, 'beloved of Ptah,' i. e. of Hephaestus. The first of them waged war successfully in Syria, and with him 'Sethos (?) priest of Hephaestus' has hitherto generally been identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> Footnote to p. 1 of *Ein neuer historischer Roman*, in *Mith. aus den Sammlungen der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Bd. VI.

by demotic, which can render little more than their consonantal skeleton.  $\text{CTWN}$  is found as a decan-name in a half Greek, half Egyptian horoscope<sup>1</sup>.  $\Sigma\theta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  might be for  $*\text{c}\theta\omega\upsilon$ , the Northern form of  $\text{CTWN}$ , and *Stne* might well be its demotic spelling, like *tne* for  $\text{TWN}$ :  $\theta\omega\upsilon$  'whither?'

Hence the sentence  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \textit{Ἡφαίστου}$ , &c., may perhaps be rendered, 'that priest of Hephaestus that was called (the) Sethon'; or Herodotus may be supposed to have omitted to note the name of the priest-king, and to have designated him confusedly by his title only, being misled by its use as an appellative. In the section immediately preceding (cap. cxxxvii), he has probably made a blunder of a similar though less excusable kind, assigning the name Anysis to a king whose birthplace he says was Anysis, while to all appearance it is Bocchoris of whom he speaks under this false designation. But in cap. cxi an exact parallel can be found. Here  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$  is given as the name of a king, and  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$  can only be 'Pharaoh,' *Pr- $\epsilon$ o*,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron$ ; the appellative title by which the king was addressed and referred to in the original of the tale retold by Herodotus.

§ 9. If then, as seems probable, 'Sethon' is merely 'Setne,' the popular form<sup>2</sup> of the high-priest's title, who was the king intended by it in Herodotus? It may appear useless to attempt to identify the hero of such a tale, but the occurrence in it of the historical name Sennacherib, and the resemblance of the story to the Biblical narrative, encourage one to make the endeavour.

No Egyptian king except Ay in the eighteenth dynasty, and the anomalous priest-kings of Thebes contemporary with the twenty-first dynasty, is known

<sup>1</sup> Greek Pap. in the Brit. Mus. I, Pl. 73, col. iii, l. 11; cf. p. 142 below.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 4, 5.

to have displayed a priestly title. The nomarch, however, was generally high-priest in his nome-capital; Tefnekht, a chieftain who had succeeded in uniting most of the princes of Lower Egypt against Piankhy, assumed the titles of priest of Neith in Sais, and of *sem* of Ptah in Memphis<sup>1</sup>. And if, to gratify the people of Memphis, Tirhakah chose to perform the functions of high-priest of Ptah, local tradition might celebrate him in this character as a 'Sethon' when commemorating a victory or success gained by him against the Assyrians. The kings of the Ethiopian dynasty showed themselves exceedingly devout worshippers of Amen, the god of their own capital and kingdom, as well as of Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, which they at first counted as their principal Egyptian residence. But the later members of the dynasty recognized the importance of Lower Egypt as a source of wealth and as a barrier against the aggressive forces ever looming in the north-east. The first Ethiopian conqueror, Piankhy, attributes all success in war to Amen. Tirhakah, however, may have erected a monument at Memphis in which he similarly extolled the divine power of Ptah, while nevertheless offending the Egyptian soldiery by relying on the sturdy warriors of the Sudan<sup>2</sup>.

An attractive modification of this hypothesis, agreeing with the chronology and with nearly all the data from every source, would be to place the event before Tirhakah's accession to the throne, supposing that he was then governor of Lower Egypt and high-priest of Ptah, and that in his office of governor he prepared to move on the defensive against a threatened attack by

<sup>1</sup> *Piankhy Stele*, l. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Krall thought that in Σεθών there might be seen a distorted reminiscence of the priestly son of Rameses II, the hero of the Egyptian tales. The characteristics of neglect of the soldiers and faith in God might perhaps have such an origin.

Sennacherib. While Tirhakah was still in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, some unexpected disaster may have befallen the Assyrian host on the borders of Palestine and arrested their march on Egypt.

That previous Egyptian kings had made grants of land to their soldiery is quite probable, and it is not at all unlikely that in the twenty-fifth dynasty these grants were revoked or modified in favour perhaps of Ethiopian or foreign mercenaries; but, actually, we know nothing of these things.

§ 10. Some features in the story are thoroughly Egyptian, but others are foreign. The prayer to the god and the dream in the temple are exactly paralleled in the second story of Khamuas<sup>1</sup>, while the idea of divine command or guidance being given by the god himself speaking in a dream occurs as early as the days of Thothmes IV, who records that he was thus incited to clear the great Sphinx of the encumbering sands<sup>2</sup>.

The incident of rescue by means of mice may perhaps have been suggested by the Greek myth of Apollo Smintheus. The shrew-mouse, as well as the large ichneumon, and other creatures of similar appearance, was sacred in Egypt to one or another of the gods, though apparently none of them was sacred to Ptah. A person holding a mouse is thus a conceivable subject in Egyptian sacred iconography, though it is difficult to quote any parallel instance. It is true that in a sculpture upon the walls of the temple of Kummeh in Nubia, Thothmes III is represented as dancing or running forward while carrying a crested ibis as an offering to Hathor<sup>3</sup>; but this is part of a scene, not a statue or isolated figure. It is the last sentence, however, which is the least Egyptian part of the tale. The form of the inscription (ἐς ἐμέ) and the pointing of the moral are

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *L., D.*, III, 68.

<sup>3</sup> *L., D.*, III, 57 b.

both Greek and entirely un-Egyptian. No Egyptian statue 'speaks by means of letters' in the direct way that the productions of the old Greek artists were made to speak. The words said to be engraved on the statue might none the less represent the gist of part of an Egyptian inscription.

The story of Sethon, whether it have an historical basis or no, resembling as it does that of the destruction of the Assyrian army in the Book of Kings, might very well be accounted for as the product of Jewish intercourse with Egypt in the Saite dynasty, finally shaped by the pen of Herodotus after passing through the mouths of Greek interpreters. Unfortunately it cannot yet be determined with certainty whether *Σεθων* represents the name of Sety Merenptah—i. e. 'Sety, beloved of Hephaestus—,' or is the Memphite sacerdotal title of some later king; but the second of these alternatives appears by far the most probable.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TALE OF KHAMUAS AND NENEFERKAPTAH

THE translation of the story of Setne Khamuas made by Brugsch in 1865-7 was one of the greatest triumphs of that brilliant and laborious Egyptologist, who thereby displayed the astonishing degree of perfection to which he had, almost single-handed, carried the decipherment of the obscure demotic script, and at the same time proved to the world that this script contained a literature more lively than the legal documents and religious texts which down to that date had alone been recognized in it. For many years little advance was made on Brugsch's first reading, though the way to a better understanding of demotic was prepared by the general progress which Egyptology made in the interval, and the translations and remarks of Maspero and Revillout contained some useful suggestions. In 1888 appeared the edition of Hess, a very promising pupil of Brugsch<sup>1</sup>. This edition comprised a commentary and a glossary, and showed in many ways an advance on the original rendering. For the first time also the text was now effectively edited, though long before published in an admirable facsimile prepared by Emile Brugsch. So good is this facsimile—though sometimes a little obscure—of the

<sup>1</sup> Down to the time of his last illness in 1893, Brugsch occasionally wrote and lectured on demotic.

minute and complicated writing, that in carefully collating it with Hess's copy some years ago for my own translation not once did I convict it of a mistake: the merest traces of signs proved to be rendered in agreement with the true sense, even where the papyrus was much worn and injured and the meaning had been previously misunderstood<sup>1</sup>.

The manuscript is said to have been found in Thebes. As to its age it bears no external evidence, for the regnal date at the end is of little value, since so many of the Ptolemaic kings and Roman emperors reigned for fifteen years and more. The evidence of Egyptian palaeography and language has hitherto received scant attention, and the present editor has probably less right even than his predecessors to attempt any decisive attribution. It would, of course, be impossible to place the MS. before the beginning of the Ptolemaic age or after the fourth century A.D. In demotic of the Ptolemaic age the preposition *r* is constantly omitted, but in this MS. it is omitted only before the suffix of the first person, as in later texts. The full yet free spelling, and the style of writing, seem clearly to point to the period comprising the last century of Ptolemaic rule and the first century of the Roman empire.

The text of the second tale, which is probably to be dated a little later than the middle of the first century A.D., has a very different and debased appearance. But this may be due to local and individual peculiarities, for graffiti and inscriptions on ostraca of the second century, even of the time of the Antonines, are written in a much purer style.

The first tale of Khamuas is remarkable from every point of view. It is one of the finest works of imagination that Egypt has bequeathed to us; it belongs to

<sup>1</sup> Revillout's copy of the text was too erratic to be of any service.

the best period of demotic writing, when the script was at once full and expressive yet free from corruptions and superfluities, and the existing copy contains very few mistakes<sup>1</sup>. The writing is small, but wonderfully uniform, and the orthography is correct. Altogether the text must be pronounced exceedingly good.

The title of the story is virtually found in the colophon: 'A complete writing is this, relating of Setne Khamuas and of Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah and Ahure his wife, and Mer-ab her son.' The numbering of the pages is a very unusual feature in Egyptian MSS.<sup>2</sup> The first two are gone, and the third page is injured at the beginning of each line. Happily the remainder is in almost perfect condition, the beginning of the papyrus having been torn off clean. Where it now commences, on the third of the large and closely written pages, we find Khamuas in the tomb of a certain Neneferkaptah, the only son of an ancient Pharaoh. This prince is represented to have married his only sister, and to have perished miserably with his wife and child, thus extinguishing the king's hopes of being succeeded by his own descendants. The ghosts of Neneferkaptah, of his sister-wife Ahure, and of their child Merab, are present in the tomb, and at the beginning of our text Ahure is recounting to Khamuas the story of the disaster. All their calamities she attributes to Neneferkaptah's determination to possess a certain book of magic, which Khamuas is now eager to take from him. With this clue the general argument of the lost part of the tale may be confidently restored. It must be remembered,

<sup>1</sup> Two indubitable mistakes are a curious inversion of the sense throughout a long passage in iii. 17-19, and a very venial omission of a few words at the end of vi. 12. Besides these, there are several small points that are at least suspicious.

<sup>2</sup> The only other instance of this known to the editor is the famous *Ebers Papyrus*, a medical work written in the eighteenth dynasty.



however, that what is missing exceeded the half of what remains, and must have contained episodes of considerable length now hopelessly lost.

The main points in the beginning of the story may have been to this effect:—Setne Khamuas, the son of Pharaoh Usermara, being a diligent seeker after divine and ancient writings, was informed of the existence of a book which Thoth, the god of letters, science, and magic, had 'written with his own hand,' and learned that this book was to be found in the cemetery of Memphis, in the tomb of Neneferkaptah, the son of a Pharaoh named apparently Mer-neb-Ptah. Having succeeded in identifying and entering the tomb, accompanied by his brother Anherru, he finds there the ghosts of the owner, his wife and his child, and lying by them the coveted book. But they refuse to give it up to him. Theirs it was, for they had 'paid for it with their earthly lives,' and its magic power availed them in good stead even within the tomb. To dissuade Setne from taking the book Ahure tells him their own sad story.

*Ahure's Story.*

The missing part of this may perhaps be restored somewhat as follows:—[And she said, 'It happened in the time of Pharaoh Mernebtah (?) that the king grew old and he had no child but myself, whose name is Ahure, and Neneferkaptah, my elder brother, who is beside me<sup>1</sup>. And the king desired that there should be

<sup>1</sup> The name Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah means 'Beautiful is the Bull of Ptah,' doubtless referring to the Apis bull, which was entitled 'Renewal of Life of Ptah.' *Ne-nefer* is the demotic verb from *nfr*; in older Egyptian it would be *nfr* alone, and Neneferkaptah would have been Neferkaptah. *Ka* means both 'bull' and '*ka*,' or 'double.' The old royal name Nefer-ka-Ra, which is common at the end of the Old Kingdom, and reappears in the twenty-fifth dynasty, probably means 'Beautiful is the *ka* of Ra:' Neneferkaptah is evidently a name of the same form.

Ahure, or Ahhere (?), is a name otherwise unknown, and the name of the king Mer-neb (?) -Ptah (?), father of Neneferkaptah (iv. 6), cannot yet

a child to his children, and he commanded that a feast should be made before Pharaoh after three (?) days, and that the sons of the generals and the daughters of the generals should be bidden. But my elder brother Neneferkaptah and I loved each other exceedingly, and I feared that the king would take me and give me in marriage to the son of a general and would marry Neneferkaptah to the daughter of another general in order that the family might be enlarged, and that so we should be separated. Now the king had a steward, an aged man, who loved Neneferkaptah and me exceedingly, and when he saw that we loved each other he spake to me on the second (?) day and said, "Dost thou not love thy brother Neneferkaptah?" and I said, "Speak to the king that he may marry me with Neneferkaptah, and that he do not separate us." And he said, "I will go and speak to the king, for it is right that the son of the king should marry the daughter of the king": and my heart was glad exceedingly. And he went to the king and returned. And he said, "I went to the king and spake with him, saying, 'My great lord the king, may he accomplish the duration of Ra! Is it not meet that the king should follow the law of Egypt and that he should marry Neneferkaptah with Ahure that a son may be born in the family of the king?' And the king was silent, and his heart was troubled exceedingly. And I said unto him, 'What is it that troubleth the king?' (*Here the papyrus begins with the third page of the original MS.*)

"And he said to me] 'Thou art he that wrongeth (?) me. If III. 1

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be read with certainty. A very old man tells Setne (vi. 12-13) that his great-grandfather had said that his own great-grandfather had said that the tomb of Ahure and Merab was in a certain place. Supposing the old man to have been ninety years old, and allowing 156 years to the six preceding generations of narrators, the first telling would have taken place some 250 years before the date of Setne's inquiries. This would take one back from the time of Rameses II to the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty. At that time, however, the tomb is said to have been already built over, and probably it is meant to be considered as far older, perhaps even as belonging to the Old Kingdom. We must not look for history here. No king's name compounded with 'Ptah' occurs earlier than the nineteenth dynasty, and presumably all the names in Ahure's story are fictitious.

I. 1. This is usually taken to be a speech of the queen to the king. But the queen is never referred to in the rest of Ahure's story, which would

III. it be that I have not a child beside two children, doth custom make one marry with the other of them? I will make  
 2 Neneferkaptah marry with the daughter of a general, [I will make Ahure marry] with the son of another general. May it be for the abounding of our family!'"

'The hour came, the *éoprή* was set before Pharaoh; I was sent  
 3 for and taken to the *éoprή* [named, and it came to pass that] my [heart was] sad exceedingly, my demeanour not being as the day before.

'Said Pharaoh to me, "Ahure, didst *thou* send to me in these  
 4 anxious (?) affairs, saying, 'Marry me with [Neneferkaptah, my] elder [brother]?''" I said to him, "Let me marry with the son of a general, let him marry with the daughter of another general: may it be for the abounding of our family!" I laughed, Pharaoh laughed.

5 '..... Pharaoh [said], "O steward of the king's house! let Ahure be taken to the house of Neneferkaptah to-night, and let all beautiful things be taken with her." So I was taken as wife to the house of Neneferkaptah.

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hardly have been the case if she were permitted to use such authoritative language in regard to the disposal of the children. Not only in the age of the Ptolemies, but long before, marriage of brother and sister was unquestionably frequent in the royal house, where it was desirable to keep pure the strain of the descendants of Ra: whether the practice was admitted in private families is less certain (see W. M. MÜLLER, *Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter, Einleitung*, esp. p. 9). In the present instance the king fears to marry his only children together lest progeny should fail.

1. 2. Brugsch, &c., translate, 'It hath happened thus often in our family,' but the construction seems against this meaning.

*hrwt-t* = *éoprή*, as SPIEGELBERG has pointed out, apparently with the signification 'banquet': see also the philological note.

1. 3. The restoration is of course uncertain.

1. 4. For the restoration note that Neneferkaptah is called her 'elder brother' also in iv. 3. Ahure's reply, quoting the king's own words to the messenger, must be intended as an indirect admission that the envoy was from her, and the king gives way to her evident wishes.

1. 5. If the *éoprή* took place early in the day the marriage might have been celebrated the same evening; but we have no knowledge of the marriage customs to guide us in attempting the restoration. We might restore, ['Came the morning of the next day, said Pharaoh'], or ['His heart was exceeding glad, said Pharaoh'], or ['Pharaoh sent for the

[There came the morning of the next day (?), and Pharaoh III. 6 caused] to be brought to me a present of silver and of gold, and all the household of Pharaoh caused themselves to be brought to me; and Neneferkaptah made a good day with me, and he entertained all the household of Pharaoh. And in that same night he slept with me, and lo! he found me [pleasing (?). And 7 it came to pass that he did not (?). . . . .] with me, ever, ever; and lo! each of us loved his fellow.

'And when there came my time of making purification, I made not purification again: report of it was made to Pharaoh; his heart was glad exceedingly, and he caused much stuff to be taken [immediately (?) to me]; he caused to be carried to me 8 a present of silver and gold and royal linen, beautiful exceedingly. And when my time of bearing came, I bore this child that is before thee, who is named Merab; and they caused it (or him) to be recorded in the House of Life.

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steward of the king's house, and said unto him']. The third alternative seems preferable, since it is unusual for a person to be addressed in a story without first being specifically introduced on the scene, though perhaps one instance occurs in *Hist. Rom.* G [15].

W. MAX MÜLLER has collected a variety of evidence on Egyptian marriage customs and kindred subjects from the available documents of all periods, in the Introduction to his *Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*. In demotic there exists a great number of documents bearing on the subject which require careful study, and which unfortunately were accessible to him only in imperfect copies. In regard to his interpretation of the account of Ahure's marriage (*ib.*, p. 4) there are several points in which I differ from him.

1. 6. If 'made a good day' can apply to an evening entertainment, this again might be on the same day as the *ἐορτή*. But such extreme haste in a royal marriage seems very improbable.

The last words of the line may mean 'and behold the marriage was consummated.'

1. 7. Whatever the restoration may be, some negative is probable: see the philological note.

1. 8. 'Royal linen' or 'royal thread' was the name of the fine material called *βύσσος* by the Greeks.

The 'House of Life' is apparently the name—Saite and later—of the college of sacred scribes, *ιερογραμματεῖς* (in demotic, 'scribes of the House of Life'), who practised hieroglyphic and hieratic writing (whence hieroglyphic is called 'writing of the House of Life,' *Can.*, ll. 18-37), and were learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, including medicine (?)

III. 9 ' [It came to pass that my brother Nenefer]kaptah had no pursuit on earth but to walk on the necropolis hill of Memphis reading the writings that were in the tombs of the Pharaohs and on the tablets of the scribes of the House of Life, and the  
10 writings that were on [the temples (?), and his zeal] concerning writings was great.

'After these things it befell that there was a procession in honour of Ptah, and Neneferkaptah went unto the temple to worship; and it chanced that he was walking behind the procession reading the writings that were upon the shrines of  
11 the gods. [But a certain priest perceived him, greater (?) in age] than he, and laughed. And Neneferkaptah said unto him, "Wherefore laughest thou at me?"

'And he said, "I laugh not at thee, but laugh thou and read  
12 that of which no [man upon earth] hath [the like (?). If it be that] thou seekest to pronounce a spell, come to me that I may cause thee to be taken to the place wherein is the book which Thoth wrote with his own hand when he went down following the gods. (There are) two formulae in writing that are upon it,  
13 and when thou [readest the first formula thou wilt] enchant the heaven, the earth, the underworld, the mountains, the seas; thou wilt discover all that the birds of heaven and the creeping things shall say; thou wilt see the fish of the deep, there being  
14 [power of God resting in water] over [them]. If thou read the second formula, though thou be in Amenti, thou shalt take again thy form upon earth; thou wilt see Ra shining forth in

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(SCHÄFER, *Ä. Z.*, 1899, 72), and magic (*II Kh.* vi. 7). The meaning of the present context is probably that the birth of the king's grandson was formally entered in the sacred register.

l. 11. The passage evidently implies 'You will laugh at yourself and your inscriptions when you read the spells of Thoth, which reveal all the secrets of the universe.'

l. 12. The allusion is obscure; possibly it means 'it (the book) fetcheth the gods.'

l. 13. With the following passage compare ll. 36 et seqq., where the spells are divided more clearly as follows: the first gives magic power to know all that is going on in earth, sky, and water among the creatures that inhabit them; the second gives power to see the celestial gods themselves in their courses, and the divine government of the depths of the sea.

l. 14. 'Amenti,' the Egyptian Hades.

heaven with all the gods of his company, and the moon rising III. [in] its wise . . . . .”

‘[And Neneferkaptah said unto him], “O king, live for 15 ever! let there be told unto me some good thing that thou seekest, and I will cause it to be done unto thee, that thou mayest direct me to the place in which this book is.”

‘And the priest said unto Neneferkaptah, “If it be that [thou] seekest to be directed to [the place where this book is], thou 16 shalt give unto me a hundred *teben* of silver for my burial, and thou shalt cause to be given to me two priestly offices (?) without fee (?)”

‘Neneferkaptah called a youth, and caused to be given unto the priest the hundred *teben* of silver; he caused . . . . . two . . . . . to be made, he caused them to be given [to him 17 without fee (?).

‘And the priest said unto] Neneferkaptah, “The book named, it is in the midst of the Sea of Coptos, in a box of iron, the box of iron being [in] a box [of bronze, the box of bronze] in 18

l. 15. Lit. ‘O king, may he live!’ an address of humorously exaggerated respect.

l. 16. *teben*. The name of the weight formerly read *uten* is really to be read *teben* (*dbn*, *tbn*), (SPIEGELBERG, *P. S. B. A.*, xv. 315). 1 *tbn* = 10 ΚΙΤΕ = 5 staters or (Attic) tetradrachms of 270 grains. 100 *tbn* = 500 staters = 2000 drachmae =  $\frac{1}{3}$  talent (300 oz. approximately), and thus corresponds precisely to the *μῦās εἰκοσι* (20 minae), which Diodorus (i. 91) states to be the cost of the medium style of embalment, the best style costing a whole talent. The last item of the bargain is very obscure, owing to lacunae and unknown words in the text.

l. 17. ‘The Sea of Coptos.’ It takes three days and three nights to row from the shore to the middle of the ‘Sea of Coptos’ (l. 30), and the ‘sea’ comprised one schoenus (six miles?) of ground swarming with reptiles surrounding the Book of Thoth. Its name and apparent size suggest the Red Sea, which was generally approached from Egypt by the Coptos road; but the identification seems impossible, since it is evident from the narrative that its shore was close to the city of Coptos, and that a ship could easily be brought to it from the Nile. More probably the ‘Sea of Coptos’ was a sacred lake, perhaps that of the temple of Coptos, or part of the Nile near Coptos, magically extended when the safety of the Book of Thoth was in question.

In the description of the nesting of the boxes it is evident that the scribe has reversed the order of things. He should have written, ‘in

III. a box of *kete*-wood, the box [of] *kete*-wood in a box of ivory and  
 19 ebony, the box of ivory and ebony in a [box of silver, and the  
 box] of silver in a box of gold, wherein is the book: there  
 [being a schoenus] of every kind of serpent, scorpion, and  
 20 reptile around the box wherein is the book, there being [an  
 endless snake about] the box named."

'Now when the priest told these things [unto] Neneferkaptah,  
 Neneferkaptah knew not in what place on earth he was. He  
 21 came forth from the temple, he told [unto me all] that had  
 befallen him, all. He [said] unto me, "I will go to Coptos,  
 I will bring this box and return without delay to the north."

'It came to pass that I reproached (?) the priest, saying, "May  
 Amen (?) curse (?) thee in that thou hast related unto him these  
 22 [ill-omened things! Thou hast prepared (?) for me the] battle,

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the box of iron is a box of bronze, in the box of bronze is a box of silver,' &c. For the restoration compare ll. 34 et seq. This elaborate packing of the book by Thoth suggests 'Hermetic sealing'! and the apparent connexion may not be wholly accidental.

l. 19. 'Schoenus.' Compare *P. S. B. A.* xviii. 104, and the references there given. The length of this measure is very uncertain: some reckon it at 12,000 cubits, at any rate it appears to exceed a mile.

l. 20. 'Endless snake.' Lit. snake of *zt*, which may mean 'of eternity,' referring to its supposed partial immunity from death (l. 32); or it may indicate that it was of the species *zt*, apparently the viper (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 24). Or it may be some serpent known only in mythology. It is perhaps worth noting that Horapollo says that of the three sorts of snakes the uraeus alone is immortal (i. 1). The expression also suggests a snake forming a complete ring round the box; and the idea of a snake with its tail in its mouth was probably not unfamiliar to the Egyptians (*Piankhy Stele*, l. 5), though it is not known to have been connected by them with eternity.

l. 21 ad fin. l. 22. The passage is difficult and imperfect. The priest may have figured already in the lost pages. 'The battle' and 'the quarrel' can hardly mean the strife to prevent Neneferkaptah from going to Coptos; it might rather refer to some warfare with the divine powers of Upper Egypt to which Ahure or her family had been doomed in the missing part of Ahure's tale. Or the priest may have had earlier dealings with Neneferkaptah, and the sense may be, 'I blamed the priest saying (to Neneferkaptah), "Amen is against thee in that thou didst relate to him (the priest) these [affairs of ours],"' &c. For 'cruel' restore perhaps 'fatal,' i. e. the fulfilment of her doom is to take place there; or there may be a reference here to some past misfortune.

thou hast brought to me the quarrel. (As for) the Thebaid, III. I have found it [cruel (?)."

'I did all] in my power with Neneferkaptah that he should not go to Coptos, but he hearkened [not] unto me. He went into the presence of [Pharaoh, and told before] Pharaoh <sup>23</sup> of everything that the priest had told him, all; and Pharaoh said unto him, "What is it that [thou desirest]?" He said unto him, "Let the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh be given unto me with its equipment, and I will take Ahure [with Merab, her ch]ild, <sup>24</sup> with me to the south and bring the book straightway."

'There was given unto him the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh with its equipment; we went up on board thereof, we made sail, we reached [Coptos. Report] of it [was made] unto the priests of <sup>25</sup> Isis of Coptos and the chief priest of Isis: they came down to meet us; they came forthwith to meet Neneferkaptah; and their women also came down to meet me. [We went up from the <sup>26</sup> shore, we went into] the temple of Isis and Harpochrates. And Neneferkaptah caused to be brought ox, goose, wine, and made offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpochrates. They took us to a house beautiful exceedingly . . . . . and <sup>27</sup> Neneferkaptah spent four days making holiday with the priests of Isis of Coptos, the women also of the priests of Isis making holiday with me.

'And when the morning of our next day came, Neneferkaptah

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l. 22. *š n Ne*, 'nome' or 'province of the City (i. e. Thebes)' is the demotic name of the Thebaid, which, according to Strabo and the Revenue Papyrus, commenced at the Hermopolite nome (xv-xvi) and included all Egypt above it, as far back, at least, as the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (MAHAFFY in GRENFELL, *Revenue Laws*, p. xlvi).

Amen is here introduced apparently as the representative god of the Thebaid.

ll. 25, 26. It is noteworthy that the ithyphallic god Min, the local god of Coptos in Pharaonic times, is not mentioned here, or in the corresponding passage (vi. 7), though he was of importance even in Roman times (see the inscriptions in PETRIE, *Koptos*, and those of the Hammamat road, L., *D.*, vi. 69). Already in the New Kingdom, however, Isis was a leading figure at Coptos. The Coptic Min is, by his titles, a form of Horus. Isis and Harpochrates are both mentioned in a Ptolemaic inscription (see *Koptos*, Pl. XX, right-hand columns, also BR., *Dict. Geog.*, 831), and Harpochrates was perhaps the young and respectable form of Min.



III. 28 caused [to be brought] unto him [much wax] and pure, and (thereof) he made a boat manned with its rowers and its navigators (?). He read a spell to them and made them to live; he gave them breath and launched (?) them upon the sea. And having filled (?) the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh with sand, 29 [and made it fast to the magic vessel (?)], he went on board. As for me, I sat over against the Sea of Coptos, saying, "I will find what shall become of him."

'And he said, "Row on, O rowers! with me to the place 30 where[in] is this book." [And they rowed on with him, at night] as at midday. And lo! on the third day he reached it. He cast sand before him, and the waters were divided. And lo! he found a schoenus of every kind of serpent, scorpion, and 31 reptile around [the place] wherein [the book was]; and lo! he found an endless snake around the box named. He pronounced a spell against the schoenus of every kind of snake, scorpion, and reptile that was around the box; he suffered them not to 32 rise up. [He came to the place] in which was the endless [snake]. He fought with it, he slew it; it lived, it made its form again. He fought with it again a second time; he slew it, it lived 33 again. He [fought with it again] a third [time]; he cut it in twain and put sand between the one piece and its fellow; [it] died, it became not itself again, ever.

'Neneferkaptah came unto the place wherein the box was, 34 [and found that it was a box of] iron. He opened it and found a box of bronze. He opened it and found a box of *kete*-wood. 35 He opened it and found a box of ivory and ebony. [He opened it and found a box of] silver. He opened it and found a box of gold. He opened it and found the book in it. He took up

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l. 28. For the restoration compare *II Kh.* v. 19. Magic images were regularly made of wax in the Middle (*Westcar Papyrus*) and New Kingdom (*Pap. Judiciaire*); strange to say there seem to be no such references in the demotic magical papyri.

l. 29. It is not clear what happened to the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. As Setne threw out sand when he arrived at his destination, probably he had taken the royal dahabiyeh with him laden with sand and towed by the magic boat. Possibly the 'filling with sand' was intended to sink the dahabiyeh, and the voyage may have been submarine.

l. 30. 'The waters were divided,' lit. 'there became a gap (or absence) of stream.'

the book out of the box of gold ; he read from it a formula of III. writing; [he enchanted heaven, earth, the underworld, the] moun- 36  
tains and the seas ; he became aware of all that the birds of the heaven, the fishes [of] the deep, and the beasts of the mountains spake of. He read another formula of writing ; he saw [Ra 37  
shining forth in heaven with all his divine cycle, and the moon rising and the stars in their forms]; he saw the fishes of the deep, there being divine power resting in water over them.

'And Neneferkaptah read a spell to the [water ; he caused it to 38  
become as it had been (?). He went on] board ; he said to the rowers, "Row on with me to the place which . . . . ." And they rowed on with him at night as at midday. And lo ! he arrived at the place wherein I was ; [he found me sitting] over against 39  
the Sea of Coptos, not having eaten nor drunk, nor had I done anything on earth, but I was as one who has reached the Good House.

'I said unto Neneferkaptah . . . . . "let me see this book for 40  
which we have thus . . . . . toiled." He put the book in my hand. I read in it a written formula ; I enchanted the heaven, the IV. 1  
earth, the underworld, the mountains, and the seas ; I discovered the things that the birds of the heaven, the fishes of the deep, and the animals say, all. And when I read another formula of 2  
writing, I saw Ra shining in heaven with all his divine cycle ; I saw the moon rising with all the stars in heaven, and their procedure ; I saw the fishes in the deep, there being power of 3  
God resting in water over them.

'But I was no scribe—I mean as compared to my elder brother Neneferkaptah, who was a good scribe and a learned man exceedingly. He caused to be brought unto him a piece of new papyrus ; he wrote (thereon) every word that was before 4  
him on the roll, all. Having caused it to be soaked with beer,

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l. 37. There is not space for all this restoration, which is here supplied from different corresponding passages, iii. 14, iv. 1.

l. 39. Ahure had been starving for a week, besides enduring sleepless anxiety, and was, naturally, in an exhausted condition. The 'Good House' is the place of embalmment, not the grave itself (compare iv, l. 25): when taken to the 'Good House' the corpse was far more ghastly than when carried to the grave as a mummy.

IV. he dissolved it in water, he made certain that it was dissolved, he drank it, he knew according to that in which it was.

5 'We returned to Coptos that same day. We made a good day before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. We embarked, we travelled down stream, we reached (a place) one schoenus to the north of Coptos.

6 'But behold! Thoth had learned all that had become of Neneferkaptah concerning the book. Thoth tarried not; he pleaded before Ra, saying, "Know my right and my cause with Neneferkaptah the son of Pharaoh Mer-neb(?) -Ptah(?)!

7 He went to my chamber and plundered it, he took my box containing my book(?), he slew my guard that kept it." It was said unto him, "He is before thee, with every person that belongeth to him, all."

8 'There was sent down a Power of God from heaven, with the command, "Suffer not Neneferkaptah to come safe to Memphis, him and every person belonging to him, all."

'At a certain moment Merab the child came out from beneath  
9 the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh; he fell into the river, he fulfilled the will of Ra. All who were on board, all

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l. 4. The last phrase is difficult: and I do not know how to render it. It can hardly be 'according to (the circumstances) in which he was.' The general meaning is clear. In Muhammedan countries medical patients are often made to absorb the virtues of a magic formula by drinking: sometimes the formula is inscribed on the inside of a drinking bowl, sometimes it is washed off into the potion from the paper on which it has been written for the purpose. Of course beer, the national drink of the Egyptians, is presumably not allowed by Muhammedan doctors.

l. 7. 'It was said unto him.' This impersonal form is usual in reference to acts of the divine courts of justice, cf. *II Kz.* ii. 11, 13; vii. 1.

Collectively or singly, 'Divine Powers' are often referred to in demotic; they seem to correspond to 'angels,' and are evidently to be connected with the Gnostic *δυνάμεις*. The non-personified 'power of God' upon the water, several times referred to in the story, is a different form of the word 'power.' It is remarkable that throughout this story the 'powers of God' work in the rivers and seas, as if the writer was especially impressed with the mysteriousness of water.

l. 8. The command given to the power just reverses a prayer for a safe return commonly found in demotic graffiti.

'The awning,' lit. 'the shade.'

l. 9. The word here used for 'will' or 'pleasure' of Ra is archaic; the expression probably refers to the decree of Ra pronounced in l. 7.

uttered a cry. Neneferkaptah came forth from under his IV. awning; he spake a written spell to him, he made him rise up, there being power of God in water, resting over him. He 10 spake a written spell to him, he caused him to relate all that had become of him, all, together with the accusation that Thoth had made before Ra.

'We returned to Coptos with him, we caused him to be taken 11 to the Good House, we caused them to wait (?) about him, we caused him to be embalmed after the manner of a prince and a noble, we caused him to rest in his sarcophagus in the necropolis-hill of Coptos.

'And Neneferkaptah, my brother, said "Let us go down stream, 12 let us not tarry; lest Pharaoh hear the things that have befallen us, and his heart be grieved because of it."

'We went up on board, we travelled down stream, we went without delay one schoenus to the north of Coptos, the place 13 where Merab the child fell into the water. I came out from under the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh, I fell into the river, I accomplished the will of Ra. All they who were 14 on board uttered a cry, all.

'It was told unto Neneferkaptah, and he came forth from under the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. He spake a spell to me, he caused me to rise up, there being power of God resting in water above me. He caused me to be taken up, he spake 15 a spell to me, he caused me to tell before him all that had become of me, all, together with the accusation that Thoth had made before Ra.

'He returned with me to Coptos, he caused me to be taken to 16 the Good House, he caused them to wait about me, he caused me to be embalmed according to the embalmment of a prince and a great noble, he caused me to rest in the tomb in which Merab the child rested.

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l. 10. The working of this 'power of God' described as 'resting on the water,' and repeatedly mentioned in this story in connexion with the fishes and the raising of the bodies of the drowned, is not very intelligible: apparently the divine 'power' was in both cases constrained by magic.

l. 11. 'To wait (?) about him;' perhaps a reference to the unpleasant operations carried out by the embalmers (cf. DIOD. i. 91), or to watchers by the dead.

IV. 17 'He went on board, he travelled down stream, he went without delay one schoenus to the north of Coptos, to the place where we fell into the river.

'(And there) he spake with his heart saying, "Can I go to  
18 Coptos and there abide? Otherwise, if I shall have gone unto Memphis, when Pharaoh shall ask me of his children, what is it that I shall say to him? (How) can I say unto him, 'I took  
19 thy children to the Thebaid and, living, let them die; and I came to Memphis still alive?'"

'He caused to be brought unto him a strip of royal linen and made it as a bandage. He bound the book, he put it  
20 on his body and made it firm. And coming forth from under the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh, he fell into the river, he accomplished the will of Ra. All they who were on  
21 board uttered a cry, all, saying, "Great woe! Grievous woe! hath he returned, the good scribe and learned man whose equal there hath not been?"

'The pleasure-boat of Pharaoh travelled down stream, none on earth knowing the place where Neferkaptah was.

22 'And when they reached Memphis report of it was made before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh came down to meet the royal pleasure-boat wearing mourning apparel, the people of Memphis wearing mourning apparel, all; together with the priests of Ptah, the  
23 high priest of Ptah, and the council and the household of Pharaoh, all.

'And lo! they perceived Neferkaptah grasping the rudders of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh by his art of a good scribe.

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ll. 17-18. These questions imply that neither in Coptos nor in Memphis was life any longer bearable for him.

l. 21. 'Returned,' i.e. probably 'gone home,' 'died.'

By his magic Neferkaptah had recovered the drowned bodies of his wife and child, but when he himself was dead his companions could do no better than return to Memphis.

l. 22. Cf. Diod. i. 91 οὔτε ἐσθῆτας λαμπρὰς περιβάλλονται, of the Egyptians during the mourning before burial: and i. 72 συνδόνες ὑποκάτω τῶν μαστῶν are the garments of the public mourning for kings.

l. 23. He guided the ship safely to Memphis holding the rudder-paddles under the water (?). 'The art of a good scribe,' is of course the practice of magic: cf. vi, l. 4.

They took him up, they saw the book on his body. And IV. Pharaoh said, "Let this book which is on his body be hidden<sup>24</sup> away." And the council of Pharaoh, together with the priests of Ptah and the high priest of Ptah spake before Pharaoh saying, "O our great lord, the king, may he accomplish the duration of Ra! Neneferkaptah was a good scribe and a learned man exceedingly."

'And Pharaoh caused to be given to him entry to the Good<sup>25</sup> House of (?) sixteen days, wrapping of (?) thirty-five, coffining in seventy days, and he was laid to rest in his sarcophagus, in his house of rest.'

(Here ends Ahure's tale.)

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l. 24. 'Hidden away' as the cause of all the trouble: it was, in fact, buried with Neneferkaptah.

l. 25. Apparently the '70 days' included the '16' and the '35.' Throughout the Ptolemaic period the standard interval from death, or perhaps, rather, from the beginning of the undertaker's work, to interment was 70 days, during which time the mourning lasted. This is proved by the records for Apis bulls and for priests in the stelae of the Serapeum. In practice the time was often extended by one or two days. For priests, see BR., *Thes.* 912-3, cf. 931, 939, and for a layman in high local position, *Rh. Bil. Pap.* v; in PIEHL, *Insc.* i. 36, a certain priest has 80 (?) days of embalming. DION. i. 72 gives 72 days as the total duration of mourning for a king. For Apis bulls see *Ä. Z.*, 1884, 104 and 125, *insc.* No. 6; *Rev. Ég.* iv. 113. Some of these references are indicated in WIEDEMANN'S note to HDT. ii. 86.

For earlier times we have to rely chiefly on foreign accounts. Hdt. in the passage just mentioned, says that in all cases the body was salted in natron for 70 days, but he seems to be in error in saying that in the case of the rich this was exclusive of the time needed for the previous elaborate preparation of the body, and for the subsequent wrapping; it would rather be inclusive. A much earlier authority, the Yahvist in *Gen.* i. 3 (c. B.C. 850?), assigns 40 days for the embalming of Jacob, but 70 days for the mourning in Egypt. For the Apis bull also the 70 days before entombment seem implied for Pharaonic times by an inscription in the reign of Rameses II (nineteenth dynasty, *Rec. de Trav.* xxi. 73), and another in the reign of Aahmes II (twenty-sixth dynasty, *ibid.* 63).

There may also be some sort of rule in the times assigned to the different operations upon the corpse; but it is not very clear. The 35 days in the case of Neneferkaptah, and the 36 of *Rh. Bil. Pap.* v, must correspond to the '40 days' of Genesis, and the 'more than 30' of DION. i. 91. But 35 days do not correspond to any period mentioned in the inscription of Anemher (BR., *Thes.* 893, correcting *Ä. Z.*, 1886, 36),

IV. 'I have told them, the evils that befell us because of this book  
26 whereof thou hast said "Let it be given unto me!" Thou hast  
no lot in it, whereas our term of life on earth was taken for it.'

But Setne said, 'Ahure, let there be given unto me this book  
that I saw between thee and Neneferkaptah, else will I take it  
by force.'

27 Neneferkaptah raised himself on the couch, he said, 'Art thou  
Setne unto whom this woman hath spoken these vain words,  
and thou hast not hearkened unto her words? The book named

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which runs as follows: 'They made for him a burying from the 28th  
Pharmuti, which was his 4th day (he died on the 24th), according to that  
that comes in writing, unto the 9th Epiphi, his 71st day, making for him  
every necessary and suitable thing that is customary therein according to  
that that comes in writing. The 20th Payni to the 29th (?) they cooked  
unguents; they bound on him the bandages and cloths of byssus, and the  
amulets that are proper for the nobles of Egypt. They made for him  
every purification, every cleansing (?); they made for him a great and fine  
coffin according to that that comes in writing, from the 6th Epiphi to the  
end of the mourning, he having entered his house of rest in which his  
father lay.' Comparing these details with the numbers in the Setne story  
they seem to show a different division of the time elapsing between death  
and burial:—

## AN-EM-HER.

		<i>days from death.</i>	<i>days of embalming.</i>
death	24 Pharmouti		
embalming, &c.	28 Pharmouti	4	0
	(Pachons)		
wrapping, &c.	{ 20 Payni	56	52
	{ 29 Payni		
coffining ( <i>qs.t</i> )	{ 6 Epiphi	72	68
	{ 9 Epiphi		
burial	9 Epiphi	75	71

## NENEFERKAPTAH.

	<i>days from death at Coptos or</i>
	<i>from arrival at Memphis (?).</i>
enters Per-nefer	16 (?)
wrapping begins	35 (?)
	(16 + 35 = 51, cf. 52 above)
coffining	70

1. 27. Possible reading, 'to whom this woman hath told these  
misfortunes none of which thou hast suffered at all.' Neneferkaptah

wilt thou be able to take it by power of a good scribe or by IV. prevailing over me in playing draughts? Let us play for it at 28 the game of fifty-two points.'

And Setne said, 'I am ready.'

They set before them the gameboard with its pieces, they played at the game of fifty-two and Neneferkaptah won one game from Setne. He pronounced a spell to him, he supple- 29 mented (?) it with the draftboard that was before him, he caused him to sink into the floor to his feet. He did the like by the second game, he won it from Setne; he caused him to sink into 30 the floor as far as his middle. He did the like by the third game; he caused him to sink into the floor as far as his ears.

After these things Setne was in great straits at the hand of Neneferkaptah. Setne called to Anherru, his brother by (?) 31 Menkh (?) -art, saying, 'Delay not to go up on earth and relate

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challenges Setne Khamuas to a contest of magic, or of draught-playing, to settle the fate of the book.

l. 28. 'Fifty-two points.' For the little that is known of Egyptian games of draughts see WIEDEMANN, *Actes du X Congrès des Orientalistes, Genève, 1894*. In the present instance the number fifty-two, hitherto unexplained, taken in conjunction with the events that follow, points to four games of thirteen points each (compare, perhaps, the fact that modern packs of cards contain fifty-two in four packs of thirteen each). Neneferkaptah wins from Setne three games in succession, and after each game drives him by magic into the ground. Obviously, if Setne had lost the fourth game he would have been completely buried: he avoids playing it and saves himself by counter-magic. The battle of the clans in Krall's fragmentary *Hist. Rom.*, p. 36, is also arranged 'at fifty-two; see also below, iv. 39. Prof. Petrie suggests a connexion with the number of weeks in a year. Perhaps we may trace here the effect of a foreign (Jewish?) calendar on Egyptian type-numbers.

'Pieces,' lit. 'dogs': compare *latrunculi*. No dog-shaped Egyptian draughtsmen are known; in old Egyptian the pieces were called 'dancers.'

l. 29. 'Supplemented (?) it'—possibly Neneferkaptah pressed or struck Setne down with the board, but the meaning is very doubtful. Brugsch and Hess translate 'he protected himself with the box for the draughts,' the expression translated 'box for the draughts' being literally 'the fort (or enclosure) of playing draughts.'

l. 30. i. e. his upturned face only would be free.

l. 31. No such name as Anherru is yet known among the sons of Rameses II. The first part of the mother's (?) name is doubtful, so also is the previous phrase to some extent. Menkh-art might be a reminiscence of Nefert-ari, the second (?) principal wife of Rameses II, *menkh* being



IV. before Pharaoh all that is befalling me, and bring thou the  
32 amulets of Ptah my father, and my books of magic.'

Anherru delayed not to go up on earth and to relate before Pharaoh that which was befalling Setne. And Pharaoh said, 'Take unto him the amulets of Ptah and his books of magic.'

33 Anherru delayed not to go down to the tomb; he put the amulets on the body of Setne, and immediately Setne sprang up high, and reaching forth his hand for the book he took it.

34 It came to pass that as Setne came up out of the tomb the light walked before him and the darkness walked behind him. And Ahure wept for (?) it, saying, 'Hail King Darkness! Farewell (?) King Light! Every power hath gone that was in the tomb, all!'

But Nenerfaptah said unto Ahure, 'Be not grieved in heart, I will cause him to bring this book hither, a forked stick (?)  
36 in his hand, and a censer (?) of fire upon his head.'

Setne came up from the tomb, and fastened it behind him as it had been. He went into the presence of Pharaoh, he related before him what had befallen him concerning the book.

37 And Pharaoh said unto Setne, 'Take this book to the tomb of Nenerfaptah like a learned (?) man, otherwise he will cause thee to take it, a forked stick (?) in thy hand, and a censer of fire upon thy head.'

38 But Setne hearkened not to him. It came to pass that Setne did no other thing on earth but unroll the book that he might read from it before every one.

After these things, it fell on a day as Setne was walking on

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equivalent in meaning to *nefert*. Khamuast was son of the first (?) principal wife, Ast-nefert.

l. 32. 'Books of magic,' lit. 'of taking pledge.' 'Pledge' seems to imply either protective magic (as Hess) or magic that constrains the gods to appear under pain of some kind of forfeiture.

l. 34. With regard to this light and darkness cf. note to vi. 2.

'Wept for it,' or perhaps 'cried out' weeping after him.'

l. 35. Or translate, 'a fork and staff.' The fork might be for holding a criminal by the neck, or by the feet for the bastinado, and the staff and brazier (?) would be the instruments of torture by beating and burning. This curious penance (?) may have been a recognized one, but no other instance of it is recorded.

l. 37. 'Like a learned (?) man;' or 'in prudence,' 'in politeness.'

the dromos of the temple of Ptah that behold! he saw a woman IV. beautiful exceedingly, no woman having been like unto her for 39 beauty (?). She was beautiful (*sic*), and many ornaments of gold were upon her, damsels walked after her, and fifty-two household (?) persons belonged to her. And when he beheld her V. 1 Setne knew not where on earth he was. Setne called to his attendant slave saying, 'Delay not to go to the place where this woman is and learn what hath come under (?) her command.' 2

The attendant slave delayed not to go to the place in which the woman was; he called to the slave handmaid who was walking behind her, he questioned her saying, 'What person is this?'

She said to him, 'She is Ta-bubue, the daughter of the 3 prophet of Bast, mistress of Ankh-tai; and behold! she hath come hither to pray before Ptah the great God.'

The slave returned to Setne, he related to him everything that she had said to him, all.

And Setne said to the slave, 'Go and speak to the slave girl 4 saying, "Setne Khamuas, the son of Pharaoh Usermara, he it is that sent me saying, I will give thee ten pieces of gold: pass

1. 39. In the light of the sequel it would seem that the whole of the Tabubue episode was an hallucination produced by the magic of Neneferkaptah.

The number fifty-two seems here independent of the game played by Setne, above, l. 28.

1. 2. 'Under her command,' possibly 'what is her mission' or 'business.'

1. 3. Ta-bubue, 'she of splendour (?);' but *bubue* looks much like a demotic transcript of *Βαυβώ* the nurse (?) of Demeter, in imitation of whom the women made indecent gestures at the festival of Demeter at Eleusis. According to HERODOTUS (ii. 59, 60) the festivals of Bast—whom he identifies with Artemis—at Bubastis were accompanied by much licentiousness, and it would be not unreasonable that a name associated with the Eleusinian mysteries should be found in connexion with Bast. Tabubue occurs as a woman's name on a Roman ostrakon from Thebes (BR., *Thes.* 1055).

'Mistress of Ankh-tai,' 'mistress of the Life of the Two Lands.' This is a title especially attached to Bast at Memphis; cf. BR., *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 127, 1151; 'Per-Bast' (below, l. 9.) is therefore not Bubastis, as usually, but a suburb of Memphis sacred to the goddess, as REVILLIOUT first observed. Probably 'Bast,' the Cat goddess, is here identical with the feline-headed Sekhmet, wife of Ptah.

1. 4. 'Ten pieces of gold.' The Egyptian gold unit is difficult to determine. The weights marked as standards for gold from the twelfth

V. 5 an hour with me; or, hast thou a complaint of wrong which I shall cause to be settled for thee. I will cause thee to be taken to a place well concealed, and no one on earth shall find thee.”

The slave returned to the place in which Tabubue was, he 6 called to her slave handmaid and spoke with her, but she answered him with railing (?) as though it were blasphemy (?) that he had spoken. And Tabubue said to the slave, ‘Cease 7 arguing (?) with this foolish slave, come [hither] and make speech with me.’

The slave hastened to the place where Tabubue was, and said to her, ‘I will give ten pieces of gold: pass an hour with Setne 8 Khamuas, the son of Pharaoh Usermara. Hast thou complaint of wrong? He will settle it besides. He will cause thee to be taken to a place well concealed, and no one on earth shall find thee.’

9 Said Tabubue, ‘Go speak to Setne saying, “I am a priestess (?), no mean person am I. If it be that thou seekest to do that which thou desirest with me, thou shalt come to Per-Bast to my house. Therein are all things made ready, while thou doest that which thou desirest with me, and none on earth shall find 10 me, while moreover I shall not do as doth a mean woman in the face (?) of the street.”’

The slave returned to Setne, and related before him everything that she had said to him, all. Said he, ‘That is well.’

Scandalized (?) was every man that was about Setne.

11 Setne caused a boat to be brought to him; he went up on board it, he delayed not going to Per-Bast, he came to the west 12 of the Qemy. And lo! he found a house exceeding high, an

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to the eighteenth dynasty vary much, but they seem to be multiples or sub-divisions of 190 to 210 grs. (*P. S. B. A.* xv. 313).

l. 5. ‘Or hast thou a complaint of wrong,’ &c. This, which seems to be in reality a corrupt offer to help her in the law-courts, has been understood to be a threat of violence if she does not comply, followed by imprisonment in an inaccessible place; Setne asks rather for an assignation.

l. 10. ‘Scandalized (?)’ Although Setne’s reckless manner of approach was doubtless scandalous even in Egypt, it was probably more in conformity with the marriage customs of the time than we might suppose. Setne was already married, and had children, below, l. 21.

l. 11. Qemy was the name of part of the necropolis of Memphis, near the Serapeum (*Br., Dict. Géog.* 836), but it seems improbable that the

enclosure wall being round about it and a garden on the north, V. a *diwân* (?) being in front thereof. Setne asked, saying, 'This house, whose house is it?' They said unto him, 'It is the house [of] Tabubue.'

Setne went inside the enclosure wall, and lo! he directed his attention (in wonder?) to the garden kiosque. Report of it was made to Tabubue; she came down, she took the hand of Setne, 13 she said unto him, 'By the prosperity of the house of the prophet of Bast, mistress of Ankh-tauî, at which thou hast arrived, I am exceeding glad (?). Come up from where thou art with me.'

Setne ascended the steps of the house with Tabubue. And 15 lo! he found the upper story of the house swept and garnished, the floor (?) thereof being adorned with true lapis lazuli and true turquoise. Many couches were there, furnished with royal 16 linen, and upon the dresser cups of gold in large number.

A cup of gold was filled with wine and given into the hand of Setne. She said unto him, 'Let it be that thou eat.' He 17 said unto her, 'There is no (eating) that I could do.'

They put fragrant gums on the censer, and unguents of the kind that Pharaoh useth were brought before him. Setne made 18 holiday with Tabubue, he had not seen her like ever before, ever.

Setne said unto her, 'Let us accomplish that for which we came hither.'

She said to him, 'Thou shalt come to thine house, that in 19 which thou art. I am a priestess, I am no mean person; if it be that thou seekest to do that which thou desirest with me, thou shalt make a writing of maintenance and a compensation 20

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priest's house should lie out in the desert west of this. 'The Qemy' would seem to be some other locality.

l. 15. 'True lapis lazuli,' &c., i.e. not the coloured glass or pottery called by the same name. 'Turquoise' was really a green felspar, or perhaps malachite.

l. 17. Or perhaps, 'Be it that thou shalt make thy choice of food.'

l. 19. Evidently a proverbial expression meaning, 'Thou shalt indeed have that which is thine already,' or translate, 'wilt thou invade thine own house, that in which thou art (already)?'

'A writing of maintenance and a compensation in money.' Ptolemaic marriage-contracts contain provisions for maintenance and a making over of all possessions, present or acquired, to the children, besides

v. in money with regard to everything and all goods that belong to thee, all.'

He said unto her, 'Let the scribe of the school be brought.' He was brought forthwith, and Setne caused to be made for her a writing of maintenance and a compensation in money, for everything and all goods belonging to him, all.

21 And at a certain hour it befell that announcement was made before Setne saying, 'Thy children are below.' He said, 'Let them be brought up.'

Tabubue arose, she put a garment of royal linen upon her, 22 Setne saw every part of her in it, while lo! his desire increased beyond what it was before. Setne said, 'Tabubue, let me 23 accomplish that for which I came hither.' She said to him, 'Thou shalt reach thine house, that in which thou art. I am a priestess, I am no mean person; if it be that thou seekest to do that which thou desirest with me thou shalt cause thy 24 children to write under my deed. Do not allow them to quarrel with my children concerning thy goods.'

He caused his children to be brought, he caused them to write under the deed. He said unto Tabubue, 'Let me accom- 25 plish that for which I have come hither.' She said unto him, 'Thou shalt reach thine house, that in which thou art. I am a priestess, I am not a mean person; if it be that thou seekest to do that which thou desirest with me thou shalt cause thy 26 children to be slain; allow them not to make quarrel with my children concerning thy goods.'

Setne said, 'Let there be done unto them the abomination that hath come to thy heart.'

27 She caused his children to be slain before him, she caused them to be cast down from the window unto the dogs and the cats. They ate their flesh, he hearing them, while he drank with Tabubue.

28 Setne said, 'Tabubue, let us accomplish that for which we

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a reference to a payment of money. The reference here is to a valuation of property and agreement to compensate for the dowry, &c., in case the parties separated; vid. note, p. 128.

l. 20. The *figy*, or schoolmaster, is usually employed in modern Egypt to write the marriage-contract.

l. 27. 'The dogs and the cats;' the cats may be a touch of local colour having reference to the sacred animal of Bast.

came hither. Everything that thou hast said I have done for v. thee, all.'

Tabubue said unto him, 'Come up from where thou art to this chamber.' And Setne went unto the chamber, he lay down upon a couch of ivory and ebony, his desire receiving <sup>29</sup> gold.

Tabubue lay down by the side of Setne; he put forth his hand to touch her, but she opened her mouth wide in a great cry. <sup>30</sup> And lo! Setne awaked (?) being in a burning heat (?), his phallus being in a . . . . ., nor were there any clothes on earth upon him.

At a certain time it came to pass that Setne perceived <sup>31</sup> a noble person riding in a litter (?), many men running at his feet, he being like a Pharaoh. And Setne was about to rise, but <sup>32</sup> for shame he could not rise because there was no clothing upon him.

(The) Pharaoh said, 'Setne, what makest thou in this guise in which thou art?' He said, 'Neneferkaptah is he who hath done these things to me, all.'

(The) Pharaoh said, 'Go thou to Memphis; as for thy children <sup>33</sup> they are seeking thee, they are standing before Pharaoh in their due order.'

Setne said before (the) Pharaoh, 'My great lord the King, may he accomplish the duration of Ra! In what wise can I go <sup>34</sup> to Memphis, there being no clothing on earth upon me?'

(The) Pharaoh called to a slave who was standing by and caused him to give clothing to Setne. (The) Pharaoh said, 'Setne, go thou to Memphis. Thy children, they are alive, <sup>35</sup> they are standing in their due order before Pharaoh.'

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l. 29. 'Receiving gold'; evidently an idiom to express that expectation is on the point of being realized.

l. 30. Lit. 'opened her mouth downward,' &c., i.e. let the lower jaw fall.

l. 31. The timely comfort brought to Setne is something in the nature of a vision; perhaps Neneferkaptah, having successfully broken his spirit, himself now came to the rescue (compare vi. ll. 2 note, 10, 11). It would almost seem that Setne, far from being in the house of Tabubue as he had imagined, was lying in the open. Instead of 'awakened' we may read 'started up.'

Litter (?) or chariot (?). It is curious that no word for chariot has yet been recognized in demotic.

V. Setne came to Memphis, he embraced his children, he found them alive.

36 Pharaoh said, 'Is it drunken that thou hast been?' And Setne related everything that had befallen him with Tabubue and with Neneferkaptah, all. Pharaoh said, 'Setne, I did what  
37 I could for thee before, saying, "They will slay thee if thou take not this book to the place whence thou broughtest it," and until this time thou gavest no heed. Let this book be taken to  
38 Neneferkaptah, a fork and stick in thine hand, and a censer of fire on thine head.'

Setne came out from the presence of Pharaoh, a fork and  
39 stick in his hand, a censer of fire on his head.

He went down to the tomb in which was Neneferkaptah.  
VI. 1 Ahure said to him, 'Setne, the great god Ptah is he that hath brought thee safe.'

2 '(But) Neneferkaptah laughed, saying, "This is that which I said to thee before."

Setne made salutation (?) to Neneferkaptah: he found it to be as though it were (?) the Sun that was in the whole tomb.  
3 And Ahure and Neneferkaptah made salutation (?) to Setne exceedingly.

Said Setne, 'Neneferkaptah, is there anything that is disgraceful?' Neneferkaptah said, 'Setne, thou knowest that  
4 Ahure with Merab her child, they are in Coptos, (albeit, they are) also here in this tomb by the craft of a good scribe. Let it be laid upon thee to undertake the task that thou go to Coptos and that thou bring them hither.'

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1. 2. Neneferkaptah's laughter probably implies that Ahure's pious explanation of Setne's safety is not the correct one, and that he himself had planned the whole course of the episode.

'As though it were the sun' may refer to the return of light to the tomb along with the book; cf. iv. 34, but the whole of this paragraph is difficult.

1. 3. 'Disgraceful(?)' Though Setne seems to be apprehending the imposition of a further penalty and asking whether it is to be dishonourable, perhaps he is inquiring whether Neneferkaptah has any complaint to make of unsuitable burial disturbing to his ghostly rest.

1. 4. The Book of the Dead is a collection of magic formulae, some of which were intended to enable the deceased to travel whither he would. It was by the use of such formulae that Neneferkaptah, the exceptionally skilful scribe, i. e. magician trained in the use of formulae, succeeded in

Setne came up from the tomb, he went into the presence of VI. 5 Pharaoh, he related before Pharaoh everything that Neneferkaptah said to him, all.

Pharaoh said, 'Setne, go to Coptos, bring Ahure with Merab 6 her son.'

He said before Pharaoh, 'Let there be given to me the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh with its equipment.' The pleasure-boat of Pharaoh was given him with its equipment.

He went on board, he made sail, he delayed not, he reached 7 Coptos. Announcement of it was made before the priests of Isis [of] Coptos and the high priest of Isis. They came down to meet him, they handed him to the shore. He went up from thence, he went into the temple of Isis of Coptos and 8 Harpocrates, he caused ox, goose, wine to be brought, he made offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates.

He went to the necropolis hill of Coptos with the priests of Isis and the high priest of Isis. They spent three days and 9 three nights seeking in all the tombs which were on the necropolis hill of Coptos, turning over the stelae of the scribes of the House of Life, and reading the writings that were upon them. But they found 10 not the resting-places in which were Ahure with Merab her son.

Neneferkaptah found that they had not found the resting-place of Ahure with Merab her son. He arose (from the dead) as an old man, a priest great of age exceedingly, and came to meet 11 Setne.

Setne saw him; Setne said to the old man, 'Thou art in the likeness of a man that is great of age; knowest thou the resting-place in which are Ahure with Merab her child?' 12

The old man said to Setne, 'The father of the father of my father told it unto the father of my father, saying, "the father (of the father) of my father told it unto the father of my father, 13 saying, The resting-place of Ahure and Merab her son is by the southern corner of the house of the . . . priest (?). . . ."'

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bringing the ghosts (?) of his wife and child to his own tomb in Memphis, while their bodies remained at Coptos.

'Let it be laid upon thee'; i. e. by the king, or as a duty?

l. 9. 'Turning over the stelae'; presumably because a large number of the tomb-stones would be found fallen down on their faces.

l. 13. 'Of the father' was omitted in passing from the last line. See the note on the date of King Merneb (?) Ptah (?), pp. 16-17.



VI. 14 Said Setne to the old man, 'Perchance 'tis on account of cheating (?) that the . . . . priest did to thee, that thou goest about to cause his house to be pulled down.'

The old man said to Setne, 'Let a watch be placed over me, 15 and let the house of the . . . . . priest be destroyed, and if it be that they find not Ahure with Merab her son under the south corner of his house, let abomination be done to me.'

16 They set a watch over the old man, they found the resting-place of Ahure with Merab her son under the south corner [of the] house of the . . . . . priest. And Setne had them bring those great people on board the pleasure-boat of 17 Pharaoh, and caused the house of the . . . . . priest to be built according as it was at first.

And Neneferkaptah caused Setne to discover the fact that it was he that had come to Coptos to cause them to find the 18 resting-place in which was Ahure with Merab her son.

Setne went up on board the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh, he went down-stream, he delayed not, he reached Memphis with the people that were with him, all.

19 Announcement of it was made before Pharaoh, he came down to meet the royal pleasure-boat. He had these great people brought to the tomb in which was Neneferkaptah, and 20 caused a filling (?) to be made above them, in one manner.

#### *Colophon.*

A complete writing is this relating of Setne Khamuas and Neneferkaptah, and Ahure his wife, and Merab her child. This 21 copy (?) was written . . . . . year 15, first month of winter (Tybi) . . . . .

l. 15. 'Let abomination be done' seems a periphrasis for 'put to death'; compare *II Kh.* iv, l. 4; vi, l. 24.

ll. 19-20. The last clause of the story is very doubtful: emphasis is probably to be laid on 'one.' Or the meaning might be 'he caused a covering building to be erected over them of a certain kind' (?).

l. 20. KRALL, *Ét. d'éd. à Leemans*, p. 63, read at the end the name of the scribe Ze-Her-pa-ta, but this is probably incorrect.

l. 21. 'Year 15'; hitherto wrongly read as 'year 35,' and opinions as to the age of the MS. have been founded on this exceptionally high regnal year.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TALE OF KHAMUAS AND HIS SON SI-OSIRI.

THE demotic text of our second story would appear to be considerably later than that of the first: this is indicated by the debased hand and spelling, which are far removed from all that we know as Ptolemaic, and would lead one to suspect a very late date for it. But I do not know any second or third century text of this style. On the other hand the bilingual sale-contracts of the time of Tiberius and Claudius show strange varieties of hand which may be compared with it. Moreover, the date of the Greek accounts on the *recto*<sup>1</sup>, which fixes the earlier limit of age at the middle of the first century, is strong evidence for attributing the demotic text to some time within thirty years from that date.

The writing is poor and incorrect<sup>2</sup>; careless omissions make gaps in the narrative<sup>3</sup>: there are iterations, also, and substitutions of false words, besides endless mis-

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 67-8.

<sup>2</sup> In place of the regular hand and uniform spelling of *I Kh.*, here, all is at random, much as in the 'Historical Tale' of Vienna. The sign for *p'*, 'the,' serves also for strong final *t* and for *hr*, and often it cannot be distinguished from *e*. Meaningless variation in spelling is the rule.

<sup>3</sup> Instances of such omissions are in iv. 4-8, 14; v. 37-vi. 1.

spellings. Probably many of the difficulties found by the translator are due in reality to mistakes of the scribe, whose lack of skill has throughout produced so strong a contrast to the neatness of the previous text. In the tale of Khamuas and Neneferkaptah, especially in the speeches, there are marked instances of a kind of inversion in which the subject, object, or other noun is taken out of its sentence and then resumed in the sentence itself by a pronoun. In the present tale these grammatical figures are piled up unendurably to a reader, though, accompanied by proper emphasis and gesture, these blemishes of writing may have appeared as beauties of rhetoric to an audience.

Since the pages of the papyrus are not numbered it is impossible to say how many are lost from the beginning. One whole page at least must have disappeared, for no reasonable opening of the story could have been contained in the missing portion of the line that heads the first fragmentary page. On this page about two-thirds of the upper lines exist, but of the lower part of the page scarcely anything is left. The main thread of the story in the last leaf or leaves may be restored in a few words :—

[Setme Khamuas, the son of Pharaoh Usermara, took to wife his sister (?) Meh-wesekht<sup>1</sup>, whom he loved extremely; but they had no child and their hearts were grieved because of it. It befell that one night as she slept she dreamed a] dream, they

<sup>1</sup> The name Meh-wesekht, as that of the wife of Khamuas, is not found in the first story nor in history. It occurs, however, as the name of a princess who was grandmother of Sheshonq, founder of the twenty-second dynasty. In conversation Khamuas and Meh-wesekht call each other 'brother and sister' (iii. 9, 10), but perhaps the words are used merely as common terms of endearment between lovers or between husband and wife, and without reference to previous relationship (cf. MÜLLER, *Liebespoesie*, pp. 8, 9 for their use).

The restorations throughout this page of the papyrus are largely without clear warrant.

speaking with her [saying, 'Art] thou Meh-wesekht [the wife] 1.  
of Setme, who lieth [in vain seeking] to obtain healing [for  
thysself and thine husband (?). When the morning of to-morrow 2  
hath] come, go to the entrance of the lavatory (?) of Setme thine  
husband; thou shalt find a melon-vine that groweth there . . . . . 3  
and its gourds, and thou shalt put it back (?). [It shall be to  
thee (?)] for medicine, and thou shalt give [of it to Setme thine  
husband (?)] Thou shalt lie with him and thou shalt conceive 4  
seed] of him the same [night].'

Meh-wesekht awoke [from] the dream, this being what she  
had seen; she did according to all things [that had been told 5  
her by dream. She lay down by] the side of [Setme] her  
husband, and she conceived seed of him.

There came her [time of making purification, she made] the  
sign [of women who are pregnant. Setme made announcement 6  
of it before Pharaoh, his] heart [being glad] because of [it]  
exceedingly. He bound [on her] amulets, he read to her magic  
writing.

Setme laid [him] down one night [and dreamed a dream, 7  
they speaking] with him saying, 'Meh-wesekht thy wife hath  
con[ceived seed in the night (?)]. The child that shall be born,  
he [shall be named] Si-Osiri; many [are the marvels that he 8  
shall do in the land of Egypt (?)].'

Setme awoke] from the [dream], having seen these things.  
[His heart was glad] exceedingly.

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1. 1. For another dream beginning with the question, 'art thou . . . ?'  
see below, v. 10.

ll. 5-6. For the general sense cf. *I Kh.* iii. 7.

1. 7. Si-Osiri, 'Son of Osiris,' a title occasionally given to Horus, though  
usually he was called 'Son of Isis.' A neat restoration of these dreams  
would be to make Isis nursing Harpocrates appear to Meh-wesekht,  
and Osiris to Setme,—note the plural in ll. 1, 7, 'they speaking,' which  
may, however, be only the indefinite form=' words being spoken.' The  
fragments would quite well admit of this restoration which would also  
agree with the style of Egyptian tales; but there is no certainty. The  
end of the story in which it is shown that Si-Osiri is really Hor son  
of Paneshe, who had obtained from Osiris leave to revisit earth, suffi-  
ciently accounts for the name given to the child. As for the words  
heard in the vision, they may have been an inspiration from Hor son  
of Paneshe, himself, and need not have been communicated by any  
definite personage.

1. [She (?)] made [her months (?) of] pregnancy, she divided (?)  
9.....

[There came her time of bearing], she bore a male child. It  
was made known to (?) Setme, [and he named him] Si-Osiri,  
according to that which was said by dream .....

10..... and they nursed him.

It came to pass that when the child [Si-Osiri was in his first  
year, one] would have said, 'he is two years old,' and when he  
was in his second [year] one would have said, 'he is three years  
11 old.' ..... [And it came to pass that Setme never passed an  
hour] without looking at the child Si-Osiri, great being the love  
[that he had for him] exceedingly.

The child grew big, he grew strong, he was sent to the  
12 school (?). ..... He rivalled the scribe that had been appointed  
to teach him. The child [Si-Osiri] began to speak ..... with  
13 the scribes of the House of Life, in [the temple of Ptah (?); all  
who heard him were] lost in wonder at him.

And it was Setme's delight to have him made ready and  
14 taken to the *éoprḥ* before Pharaoh, that [the nobles might see his  
cleverness and their hearts be pleased thereat;] and that he  
should make for himself honour (?) with them all.

[And on a certain day it happened that] Setme [was]  
made ready for *éoprḥ* according to (?) [his custom (?) in] his  
15 [own (?)] dwellings ..... the child [Si-Osiri was brought for  
the] *éoprḥ* (to be held) in [his] presence.

[At a] certain moment behold! Setme heard the voice of  
16 a wailing, ..... and he looked [from the upper chambers]  
of his dwelling [and behold! he saw a rich man] whom they  
were carrying out to the desert-necropolis, the wailing being  
17 [loud exceedingly]. ..... [his condition] being more (?)  
glorious than his own (?). He gazed [again] he [looked] at his  
18 feet (?), behold! he saw [a poor man being carried out from

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i. 13. 'Made ready,' lit. 'purified,' including the whole process of  
bathing, anointing, and clothing for the banquet.

i. 14. Or, 'and that he should surpass (?) them (schoolfellows or  
disputants?) all.'

ii. 17, 18. The evil lot of this rich man in Hades is shown in ii. 13-14,  
and the happy lot of the poor man, *ibid.*, ll. 10-12.

Memphis to the cemetery] . . . . . he being wrapped [in] a mat, I there being . . . . . and [none] walking [after him.

Said] Setme, 'By [Ptah, the great god, how much better it 19 shall be in Amenti for great men (?)] for whom [they make glory (?) with] the voice of [wailing] than for poor men whom they take to the desert-necropolis [without glory of funeral]!'

[But Si-Osiri said, 'There shall be done unto thee in Amenti] 20 like [that which] shall be done to this poor man in Amenti; [there shall not be done unto thee that which shall be done to 21 this rich man in Amenti]. Thou shalt [go (?)] into Amenti [and thou shalt see . . . . .

(The scraps of the thirteen succeeding lines seem to show that Setme was much troubled at the prediction; some dialogue follows, Setme asking a question. Probably the banquet was set aside; at any rate we must suppose that in course of time Setme and his son go to the necropolis, where Si-Osiri leads his father to the mystic entrance of Tê<sup>1</sup>. Here they pass through three halls in succession. As to what they saw in them nothing can be discovered from these fragmentary lines, and subsequent parts of the tale contain no clear allusions to the lost paragraphs.)

[They entered the fourth hall] . . . . . [And Setme saw some 34 men that were scattered and apart, they being also ravenous (?)]; there being others whose food, water, and bread, were hung over II. 1 them, and they were hastening to take it down, but others dug pits at their feet to prevent their reaching it.

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1. 20. Cf. ii. 15 for reference to this speech.

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<sup>1</sup> How Si-Osiri and Khamuas entered the Tê (Eg. *D'î*) nothing is left to tell us; ii. 24 seems to imply that there was some mystery about it. Here the *Dat* or *Tê* is the mystic scene of the judgement of the dead before Osiris as set forth in the Book of the Dead, and, like Vergil's underworld, it is also apparently the final dwelling-place of the dead. ii. 22-3 may imply that every nome was supposed to have its own place of judgement in the underworld. This idea is paralleled by the local *zazats* or tribunals in the Book of the Dead (chap. xx).

II.2 They entered the fifth hall and behold! Setme saw the noble spirits standing in their places, and those who had charges of violence standing at the entrance praying; [and] one man in whose right eye the bolt of the door of the fifth hall was fixed, he praying, he uttering great lamentation.

They entered the sixth hall, and behold! Setme saw the gods of the [council (?)] of the dwellers in Amenti, standing in their places, the attendants (?) of Amenti standing and making proclamation.

They entered the seventh hall, and behold! Setme saw the figure of Osiris the great god, seated upon his throne of fine gold, and crowned with the *atef* crown, Anubis the great god being on his left and the great god Thoth on his right; and the gods of the council of the dwellers in Amenti were standing to left and right of him. The balance was set in the midst before them, and they were weighing the evil deeds against the good deeds, the great god Thoth recording, and Anubis giving the

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1. 2. 'Those who had charges of violence,' or injustice; whether as accusers or accused may be doubted.

1. 3. The gods of the council correspond to the Eg. *zaza.t* of Osiris, of Kherneret in the book of the Dead.

The word translated 'bolt' is quite uncertain: it might be 'pivot.' The man thus punished is the rich man of i. 16. In a very ancient sculpture found by QUIBELL at Hieraconpolis, a door-socket is in the form of a man on whose chest (?) the door was pivoted.

1. 5. This account of Hades is founded on the idea of the judgement so commonly depicted in the vignette of ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead. There we see Osiris enthroned at the inner end of a hall, crowned with the *atef* crown, the scales before him, Anubis telling the balance and Thoth recording; while the Amat monster waits open-mouthed, apparently to devour the wicked. At the side are the forty-two assessor gods (cf. l. 22) to each of whom the dead man addresses the disavowal of a sin.

1. 6. The balancing of the heart against the feather of Maat (ch. 125 in the Book of the Dead) seems to be for ascertaining the *absence* of wickedness; and the accompanying 'Negative Confession' consists of a denial of having committed the sins which it enumerates. The impossibility of such ideal innocence was obvious, but the belief in the magic power of words seems to have come to the aid even of the worst culprit. By denial of sin in correct terms, and by magic adjuration of the heart not to betray him in the scales, the deceased outwitted the gods in the formalities of the divine judgement, and obtained the rewards offered to those found innocent. In the present text a more reasonable

word to his colleague. For he of whom it shall be found that II. his evil deeds are more numerous than his good deeds is delivered (?) to Ama of the Lord of Amenti; his soul and 7 his body are destroyed and she (?) does not permit him to live again for ever. But as for him of whom it shall be found that his good deeds are more numerous than his evil deeds, he is taken among the gods of the council of the Lord of Amenti, his soul going to heaven with the noble spirits. And he of 8 whom it shall be found that his good deeds are equal to his

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and moral process of weighing a man's virtuous (?) acts against his vicious (?) acts is indicated.

In other words the Egyptian moral ideal was high. The Book of the Dead, with its reliance on magic, embodies the attempts of the priests to provide with advantage to themselves a way of escape for sinners. On the one hand, the ideas of the influence of a man's life on earth upon his future after death were allowed to develop until it seemed that no salvation was possible for any; on the other, purely mechanical means were provided, which, as it would seem, the greatest sinner could embrace with full assurance of bliss. The present text with its much higher, though still arbitrary and confused, view shows the mark of influences such as those of Christianity.

The words rendered 'evil deeds' and 'good deeds' may perhaps mean 'virtues' and 'vices,' or perhaps rather 'beneficent deeds' and 'malicious deeds.'

'Am-t, mistress of Amenti,' is the title in LEPS., *Tdtb.* of the monster sitting open-mouthed by the scales. It is usually represented in vignettes to ch. 125 with a crocodile's head, a lion's body, and the hind quarters of a hippopotamus. Its name probably means 'devourer,' but apparently its functions are nowhere described, and it is unfortunate that the present reference is also vague. In the tombs of the kings (Rameses VI, &c.) there is a curious variant of the scene of the judgement in which the monster has the form of a pig (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti del Cullo*, cxvi; WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptians* (third ed. by BIRCH), p. 466).

l. 7. 'She does not allow him to breathe ever'; 'breathe' here means to live after death; 'The Book of Breathings' is the title of a late text intended to ensure life beyond the grave, and to enable the deceased to assume any form at pleasure, as a powerful god might do. Thus, according to the version of the Judgement of the Dead contained in our text, the wicked were utterly annihilated, soul and body, while the good man became a god in the Underworld, of the rank of the counsellors of Osiris, his soul going to heaven along with the noble spirits. In the Book of the Dead there is a chapter for becoming a *sr n 2'2'1*, "noble of the council (of Osiris)." It is numbered 79, and is found as early as the eighteenth dynasty.



11. evil deeds, he is taken amongst the excellent (?) spirits that serve Sokari-Osiris.

And Setme saw (there) a great man clothed in raiment of 9 byssus, near to the place in which Osiris was, he being of exceeding high position (?).

Setme marvelled at those things which he saw in Amenti. And Si-Osiri walked out in front of (?) him; and he said to him, 10 'My father Setme, dost thou not see this great man who is clothed in raiment of royal linen, standing near to the place in which Osiris is? He is that poor man whom thou sawest being carried out from Memphis, with no man following him, and 11 wrapped in a mat. He was brought to the Tê and his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds that he did upon earth; and it was found that his good deeds were more numerous than his evil deeds, considering (?) the life destiny which Thoth had written for him . . . . . considering his magnanimity (?) upon

1. 8. In ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead we find a different doctrine—that the chief hope of the justified was to become a follower or servant of Osiris; but throughout the texts of that multifarious collection the fates of the good and the evil—or rather of those successful and those unsuccessful in conciliating the gods—are very variously described or hinted at. Moreover, in the present text the division is made on a different principle and into three classes, viz. the actively virtuous, the actively vicious, and those whose good and evil acts balanced each other. Another and contemptible class is described below, ll. 18-21.

1. 9. The seventh hall is apparently the last, it is at any rate the last into which Si-Osiri conducts his father. In the Book of the Dead there is no such series of halls leading to the place of judgement, but the idea may have been derived from the seven *arreryt* or *aryt* (halls or entrances?) of ch. 144, which are connected with Osiris (vid. LEPS., *Tdtb.*, pl. lx, lxi).

11. 10 et seqq. To the poor virtuous man is given the funerary outfit that was buried with the rich wicked man, and he is promoted to close attendance on Osiris, apparelled in the fine raiment thus provided from the rich man's wardrobe.

1. 11. 'His duration of life that Thoth wrote for him.' In the *Rh. Bil. Pap.*, ii. 2 (BR., *Theo.* 898), we have, in the demotic, mention of 'the end of his life that Thoth had written for him upon his brick of birth,' and in the hieratic 'the end of his life that Asdenu (Ὀσράνης, vid. MASPERO, *P. S. B. A.* xx. 140) had engraved for him upon his *meskhent*.' The

earth. And it was commanded before Osiris that the burial II. outfit of that rich man, whom thou sawest carried forth from 12 Memphis with great laudation, should be given to this same poor man, and that he should be taken among the noble spirits as a man of God that follows Sokaris Osiris, his place being near to the person of Osiris. (But) that great man whom thou 13 didst see, he was taken to the Tê, his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds, and his evil deeds were found more numerous than his good deeds that he did upon earth. It was commanded that he should be requited in Amenti, and he [is that man] whom [thou didst see], in whose right eye the 14 pivot (?) of the gate of Amenti was fixed, shutting and opening upon it, and whose mouth was open in great lamentation. By Osiris the great god, Lord of Amenti, behold! I spake to thee on earth [saying, "There shall be done] to thee even as is done 15 to this poor man; there shall not be done unto thee that which is done to that great man," for I knew that which would become of him.'

Said Setme, 'My son Si-Osiri, many are the marvels that I have seen in Amenti. In due time let me learn [what hath 16 happened] to these men which are scattered (?) and apart (?), they being also gluttonous; there being others whose food, water, and bread is hung above them, they hastening to take it down while others are digging pits at their feet to prevent 17 their reaching it.'

Said Si-Osiri, 'It is just, my father Setme. These men that thou sawest scattered (?) and apart (?), they being also ravenous (?), they are the kind of men on earth who are under 18 the curse of God, and do work night and day for their living, while moreover their women rob them and they find not bread to eat. They came to Amenti: their evil deeds were found to be more numerous than their good deeds; and they found that that 19 which happened to them on earth happened to them in Amenti—both to them and to those other men whom thou sawest, whose food, water, and bread is hung over them, they running to take it down while others dig a pit at their feet to prevent them 20

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birth-brick of Meskhent is usually figured near the balance in the judgement scene; cf. also ERM., *West. Comm.*, p. 63, and *Kufi*, v. 14.

11. reaching it: they are the kind of men on earth whose life is before them, but God diggeth a pit at their feet to prevent them  
 21 finding it. They came to Amenti and they found (?) that that which befell them on earth befell them again [in Amenti]; behold! their souls were taken into the Tê. Find it at thy heart, my father Setme, that he who is good upon the earth  
 22 they are good to him in Amenti, while he that is evil, they are evil to him. These things are established (?), [they shall not be changed] for ever. The things that thou sawest in the Tê in  
 23 Memphis, they happen in the forty-two nomes in which [are the assessors (?)] of Osiris the great god, [whose seat is in] Abydos, the place of Oracle (?), the dwellings of princes, . . . . . Philae.'

Si-Osiri ended these words which he spake before Setme  
 24 [his father]; he [returned] up from the desert of Memphis, [his father Setme] embracing him, his hand being in his hand. Setme asked [him, saying, 'My] son Si-Osiri, is the place by  
 25 which we descended different from the place whence we came up?' But Si-[Osiri made] answer to Setme never a word. And Setme marvelled at the experience in which he was, saying, 'He will be able to become (?) even as the noble spirits and as  
 26 a man of God, and I shall walk with him saying, "he is my son."' Setme pronounced a [writing from his] book of exorcising demons, being lost in wonder at [that which] he had seen  
 27 in Amenti. And these things weighed [upon] him, for to [none on earth] could he reveal them.

Now when the boy Si-Osiri had attained twelve years it came to pass that there was no [good scribe or learned man (?)] that rivalled him in Memphis in reading writing that compels.

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l. 21. The wicked appear to be annihilated after the judgement, but we are now shown the fate of the outcasts and ill-starred wretches who have lived a contemptible or merely bestial life. In ll. 20, 21, the doctrine of predestination, already indicated in l. 11, is further developed.

l. 22. 'Tê in Memphis,' or 'Tê of Memphis.'

Forty-two is the number of the nomes, of which twenty-two were in Upper Egypt and twenty in Lower Egypt. According to the Book of the Dead the assessors at the judgement were forty-two in number, one representing each nome.

l. 27. 'Writing that compels' is the phrase translated 'books of magic' in *IKh.* iv. 32.

After these things] on a certain day Pharaoh Usermara II. 28 went unto the court of the palace (?) in Memphis, and [the council] of the princes, of the generals, and of the great men of Egypt [stood] according to their places of standing in the court. 29 One came [to the palace saying], 'This is a communication that an *ate* of Ethiopia maketh, on whose body a letter [is sealed].'

Announcement of it was made [before] Pharaoh. He was 30 brought to the court, he made prayer (?) [saying, 'Is there any to] read before Pharaoh this writing that I have brought to Egypt without spoiling its seal; to read in the writings that are on it without opening it? If it be that there [be no good scribe 31 and learned man in] Egypt who is able to read it without opening it, I will take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes, my country.'

At hearing these words Pharaoh [with his princes knew not 32 the place on] earth in which they were, saying, 'By Ptah, the great god, it is a feat for a good scribe and learned man to read writings of which he shall see [their] country! Verily (?) 33 exalted (?) is it to read a letter [without opening it]!'

Said] Pharaoh, 'Let there be summoned to me Setme - Khamuas, my son.'

They ran, they brought him that instant. He bowed him- III. 1 self to the ground, he saluted [Pharaoh]; he [raised] himself, he stood on his feet making the blessings of the salutation of Pharaoh.

Said to him Pharaoh, 'My [son], Setme, hast thou heard the 2 words that this *ate* of Ethiopia hath spoken before me, saying, "Is there a good scribe and learned man in Egypt who shall be able to read this letter that is in my hand without breaking 3

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l. 28. It is difficult to decide whether the 'court' was an open courtyard or a hall of assembly. The word is ancient, and in origin seems to mean 'verdant,' as if it might be a cool place of green trees, or, perhaps better, a shaded pillared court, painted green.

l. 29. 'Man (?) of Ethiopia'; the meaning of *ate* can only be guessed from the context:—'foreigner,' 'magician,' 'rascal,' 'slave,' 'captive'?

'On whose body a letter was sealed.' Uncertain and obscure; but it may mean that the letter was fastened to his body and there sealed.

ll. 32, 33. 'It is a feat,' &c. Very uncertain reading and meaning.

III. its seal, and shall know what is written upon it without opening it?"

4 At hearing these words Setme knew not where on earth he was, saying, 'My great lord, who is he that shall be able to read a writing without opening it? After a time let there be granted unto me ten days of delay that I may see what I shall  
5 be able to do to prevent the humiliation of Egypt being taken to the land of Nehes, the country of eaters of gum.'

Said Pharaoh, 'They are (granted) to my son Setme.'

6 Apartments for residence (?) were given to the Ethiopian; there was made for him every wickedness (?) after the manner of an Ethiopian. And Pharaoh arose from the court, his heart being  
7 grieved exceedingly; he lay down without drinking or eating.

Setme went to his apartments, not knowing whither on earth he was going. He gathered himself in his clothes from his  
8 head to his feet: he lay down without knowing where on earth he was. They informed Meh-wesekht, his wife, of it; she came to the place in which Setme was, she put her hand within his  
9 clothes and found no warmth; he lay still (?) in his clothes.

She said to him, 'My brother, Setme, there is no warmth in the lap; *shebay* in the flesh, illness (?), sadness of heart.'

10 Said he to her, 'Cease from me, my sister Meh-wesekht; the matter on account of which my heart is grieved is not a thing that it is right to reveal to a woman.'

11 The child Si-Osiri came in, he stood over Setme, his father; he said to him, 'My father Setme, wherefore liest thou in grief  
12 of heart? The things that are (?) in thine heart, tell them to me that I may cause them to cease.'

Said he, 'Cease from me my son Si-Osiri. As for the things that are in my heart, thou art little of age, thou art not  
13 great; take heed to thyself.'

Said Si-Osiri, 'Tell it unto me that I may cause thy heart to be refreshed concerning them.'

Said Setme, 'My son Si-Osiri, it is an *ate* of Ethiopia who

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l. 5. Egypt was always proud of the abundance of her food products; here the poverty of Ethiopia is emphasized by calling its inhabitants 'eaters of gum.'

l. 9. This is probably in the form of a professional diagnosis, a mere list without construction.

hath come up to Egypt with a letter sealed on his body, and he III. saith, "Is there he that will read it without opening it? If it 14 be that there be no good scribe and learned man in Egypt who shall be able to read it, I will take the humiliation of Egypt to 15 the land of Nehes, my country." Behold I lay down, my heart being grieved thereat, O my son Si-Osiri.'

When Si-Osiri heard these words he laughed long. Said to 16 him Setme, 'Wherefore laughest thou?' Said he, 'I laugh because thou art lying thy heart grieved because of such a thing 17 as this small matter. Arise, my father Setme; I shall be able to read the letter that was brought to Egypt without opening it, and to find what is written upon it without breaking its seal.' 18

At hearing these words Setme arose suddenly, saying, 'What is the sign of the things that thou sayest, my son Si-Osiri?' 19

Said he to him, 'My father Setme, go to the cellars of thy house: every book that thou takest out of the case I will tell 20 thee what book it is, I will read it without seeing it, standing above thee in thy cellars.'

Arose Setme, he stood on his feet, he did according to all 21 that Si-Osiri had said to him, all. Setme (Si-Osiri) read every book that Setme his father brought up to him, without opening 22 them. Setme came up from the cellars of his house in all gladness. He delayed not to come to the place in which Pharaoh 23 was, he related before him all the things that the child Si-Osiri had said to him, all; his heart was glad of it exceedingly.

Pharaoh washed himself for *ἐορτή* with Setme; he caused 24 Si-Osiri to be brought to the *ἐορτή* before him. They drank, they made a good day.

Came the morning of its morrow; Pharaoh came forth to 25 the court between his great men. Pharaoh caused the *ate* of Ethiopia to be fetched; he was brought to the court, the letter sealed on his body, and he stood in the midst of the court. The 26 child Si-Osiri came into the midst and stood with the *ate* of Ethiopia; he cried against him, saying, 'Woe! thou wicked one 27 of Ethiopia: may Amon, his god, smite him. Thou that hast

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1. 19. 'Cellars'; at Tanis, Professor Petrie found the hoards of Roman papyri in the cellars; apparently documents were kept in underground chambers for security against fire, the later ones being generally found in baskets, though the finest papyri were probably kept in jars.

- III. come up to Egypt, the beautiful pool of Osiris, the throne of  
 28 Ra-Harakht, the beautiful horizon of the Spirit, saying, "I will  
 take its humiliation to the land of Nehes": by the inspiration (?)  
 of Amon, thy god, which is cast upon thee, the words which  
 29 I shall narrate—which are those that are written in this letter  
 —speak not falsehood of them before Pharaoh thy sovereign.'  
 30 When the *ate* of Ethiopia saw the child Si-Osiri standing in  
 the court, he held down his head, he spake, saying, 'Every word  
 31 that thou shalt say I will not speak falsehood of them.'

*The Reading of the Letter.*

- The beginning of the narrative made by Si-Osiri, which he  
 related before Pharaoh and his nobles, the people of Egypt  
 32 attending to his voice. He said, 'This is what is written on the  
 letter of the *ate* of Ethiopia who standeth in the midst :
- IV. 1 "It came to pass in the days of Pharaoh Menkh-pa-Ra Si-  
 Amon, he being the beneficent king of the whole land, that  
 Egypt overflowed with all things in his time; he was lavish in  
 2 giving expenditure and labour in the great temples of Egypt.  
 "It befel on a day that the *Kwr* of the land of Nehes was  
 3 . . . . . the fields of the land of Amon. Behold! he heard the  
 voices of three *ate* of Ethiopia [in the] prison-house (?), one

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1. 28. 'The Spirit' or 'Αγαθοδαίμων, Ψαι, *Pshay*. Osiris, Ra, and the Agathodaemon are evidently here the chief deities, but the last is the Supreme Deity in *Kufi*. The name occurs frequently in demotic (see Hess, *London Gnost. Gloss. s.v.*). Shay is properly 'Fate,' a god of no great importance in earlier times. One might here translate 'fate,' but the word in demotic corresponds also to *Ka* in hieroglyphic, and so is better rendered 'Spirit.' Cf. vii. 11.

1. 1. 'Menkh-pa-Ra' looks like an unetymological version of Menkheper-Ra, the prenomen of Thothmes III, which must have been well remembered, and would be pronounced something like Menekhprê. In the cuneiform letters of Tell el Amarna the name is transcribed Manakhbiria. Si-Amon, 'son of Amon,' is a name readily invented for a Theban king, and actually borne by Her-hor, the first priest-king at Thebes, in the twenty-first dynasty. Menkhpara is once called simply Si-Amon (iv. 25), and by the statement in vi. 35 he is put 1500 years (!) before Rameses II:

1. 2. *Kwr* is evidently the title of the ruler of Ethiopia, but whether as an independent king is not clear. In ll. 3, 4, the Ethiopians speak of the '*Kwr* of Egypt' apparently as distinct from Pharaoh, who is mentioned

of them saying in a loud voice, after other words, May Amon IV. 4 not find for me failure(?) nor the *Kwr* of (?) Egypt cause abomination to be done to me; for I would cast my magic up to Egypt and I would cause the people of Egypt to pass three 5 days and three nights without seeing other light than that of *kiki-oil* (?).”

‘Another said, after other words, “May Amon not find for 6 me failure nor the *Kwr* of Egypt cause abomination to be done to me; for I would cast my magic up to Egypt and cause 7 Pharaoh of Egypt to be brought to the land of Nehes, and I would cause him to be beaten with five hundred blows of the stick (?) in the midst before the Viceroy, and I would 8 cause him to be brought back to Egypt in six hours thither precisely.”

‘When the Viceroy heard these words from the voices of the 9 three men of Ethiopia, he caused them to be brought before him; he said to them, “Which of you is he that said, ‘I will cast my magic up to Egypt, I will not allow them to see the 10 light for three days and three nights’?”

‘They said, “It is Hor, the son of the Sow.”

‘Said he, “Which is he that said, I will cast my magic up to 11 Egypt, I will bring Pharaoh to the land of Nehes, I will cause him to be beaten with five hundred blows of the stick (?) in the 12 midst before the Viceroy, I will cause him to be taken back to Egypt in six hours thither precisely?”

‘Said they, “It is Hor, son of the Negress.” 13

‘Said he, “Which is he that said, I will cast my magic up to Egypt, I will not allow the land to be fertile for three 14 years?”

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at the same time. This would imply that the *Kwr* of Egypt was either a ‘governor of Egypt,’ or else a ‘governor from Egypt’ in Ethiopia, i. e. perhaps Pharaoh’s *wakil*, and the same as the ‘*Kwr* of Ethiopia.’

ll. 2 et seqq. Possibly these Ethiopians were condemned prisoners.

l. 5. ‘Three days and three nights.’ Three is a favourite number, e. g. below, l. 14, and v. 33, &c.; *I. Kh.* iii. 30, 33; also in older stories both of the Middle and New Kingdoms: *Pap. d’Orbiney*, xiii. 5, *Pap. Westcar* (three sons of Ra), *Pap. Harris*, 500 verso (three fates).

l. 10. Note that all the magicians—the three Ethiopians and the Egyptian alike (v. 3)—are named Hor, Horus.



IV. 'Said they, "It is Hor, son of the Princess (?)."

'Said the Viceroy (to Hor son of the Negress), "Perform this  
15 thy feat of magic-writing. By the life of Amon the bull of  
Meroe, my god, if the work of thy hand succeed, I will do for  
thee abundance of good things."

16 'Hor, the son of the Negress, made a litter of wax for four  
runners; he read a writing to them, he gave them breath of  
17 respiration (?), he made them live. He commanded them saying,  
"Ye shall go up to Egypt, ye shall bring Pharaoh of Egypt up  
to the place in which the Viceroy is, and he being beaten with  
18 five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before the Viceroy,  
ye shall take him back up to Egypt, all in six hours."

19 'Said they, "Yea verily; nor will we allow aught to fail."

The sorceries of the Ethiopian proceeded up to Egypt by  
20 night, they seized Pharaoh Menkh-pa-Ra Si-Amon, they took  
him to the land of Nehes, to the place in which the Viceroy was.  
He was beaten with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst  
21 before the Viceroy, and they returned him up to Egypt in six  
hours thither precisely (?).

22 Now when Si-Osiri had related these things in the midst  
before Pharaoh and his princes, the people of Egypt hearing  
23 his voice he said, 'The inspiration of Amon, thy god, is cast  
upon thee; the words which I am saying, are they those that  
are written according to the letter that is in thy hand?'

24 Said the *ate* of Ethiopia, 'Read on as thou hast read; every  
word that thou sayest is truth, all.'

Said Si-Osiri before Pharaoh: 'When these things had  
25 happened they returned Pharaoh Si-Amon up to Egypt, his

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l. 14. The carelessness of the scribe is shown again by this passage. Three Ethiopians are mentioned, but in ll. 4-8 two only of their speeches are recorded, though here a third speech is referred to, perhaps only as an after-thought. There is nothing except the sequel to show which of the three plans found favour with the *Kwr*; the deficiency has been supplied by the Editor between brackets.

l. 15. Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia. There and elsewhere Amon was worshipped in the ram form, but his title in *II Kh.* would seem to imply that Amon of Meroe had also a sacred bull, though the term used may be only figurative of strength and virility.

hinder parts having been beaten with a very great beating. IV. He lay down in the shrine of Per-Hor, his hinder parts having been beaten exceedingly. 26

'Came the morning of its morrow; said Pharaoh to the courtiers, "What is it that hath come upon Egypt until I am made to depart from it? Shame on the thoughts of the hearts 27 of the courtiers saying, 'Belike the thought of the heart of Pharaoh hath gone.'"

'Said they, "Thou art in health, thou art in health, O 28 Pharaoh our great lord! Isis the great goddess will cause thy troubles to cease. What manner of words are these which thou hast spoken before [us O Pharaoh] our great lord? Thou (art) 29 lying down in the shrine of Per-Hor and the gods protect thee."

'Pharaoh arose, he caused the courtiers to see his back, it 30 having been beaten with a great beating exceedingly. He said, v. 1 "By the life of Ptah the great god, some one took me to the land of Nehes in the night, some one beat me with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before the Viceroy. They took me back to Egypt all within the space of six hours hither." 2

'At seeing the hinder parts of Pharaoh that they had been beaten with a great beating exceedingly, they opened their mouths with great clamour.

'Now Menkh-pa-Ra Si-Amon had a librarian (?) who was 3 called Hor son of Pa-neshe by name, a learned man exceedingly. He came to the place in which he (Pharaoh) was, he uttered a great cry saying, "My great lord, these are the 4 sorceries of the Ethiopians. By the life of thy . . . . . I will cause them to enter thy house of torment (?) and execution (?)."

'Said to him Pharaoh, "Hasten unto me; let me not be taken 5 to the land of Nehes another night."

'The librarian (?), Hor son of Pa-neshe, straightway came forth; he brought his books and his amulets to the place in which Pharaoh was. He read to him writing, he bound amulets

l. 25. 'Shrine of Per-Hor.' This 'shrine' evidently was not the ordinary bed-chamber of Pharaoh. He must have fled to it for refuge from the suffering and terrors of the night.

l. 26. Does Pharaoh's exclamation mean 'I am persecuted until I must run away'?

l. 27. 'The thought of the heart of Pharaoh hath gone'; i.e., probably, 'he has lost his wits.'

V. 6 on him to prevent the sorceries of the Ethiopians from getting power over him.

'He came out from before Pharaoh, he took with him offerings and libations, he went on board a boat, he went 7 straight to Khmûn. He entered the temple of Khmûn; he made his offerings and libations before Thoth, the eight times great, Lord of Khmûn, the great god; he made prayer before 8 him, saying, "Give heed to me, my lord Thoth. Let not the Ethiopians take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes. Thou art he that made(?) magic in writing, thou art he that 9 hanged up the heaven, that establisheth the earth, the underworld, that placeth the gods with the . . . . . Cause me to know how to save Pharaoh from the sorceries of the Ethiopians."

10 'Hor son of Pa-neshe lay down in the temple. And in that same night he dreamed a dream that the figure of the great god Thoth spake with him, saying, "Art thou Hor son of 11 Pa-neshe (?), the librarian of Pharaoh Menkh-pa-Ra Si-Amon? When the morning of to-morrow hath come, go into the library of the temple of Khmûn. Thou shalt find (there) a shrine 12 closed and sealed: open it. Thou shalt find a box in the shrine named, and in it a roll of papyrus written with mine 13 own hand. Bring it up, take a copy thereof, and let it rest in its place again. The Book of Magic is its name; it made 14 protection for me from the enemies, and this it is that shall

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1. 7. Khmûn (*Khemem-nw*) meant 'the eighth' city, i.e. the eighth in Upper Egypt going up the river. See *P. S. B. A.*, 1899, p. 279.

'Thoth, eight times great'; the remains of the signs indicate this reading. The title which here appears for the first time in Egyptian literature is the equivalent of *τριμέγιστος*, a late epithet first used about the date of this MS. (see PIETSCHMANN, *Hermes Trismegistus*, pp. 34 et seqq.).  $\epsilon\theta$  is *μέγας*, which we may represent algebraically by  $a$ ;  $\epsilon\theta\ \epsilon\theta$  ( $2a$ ), a common title of Thoth in late hieroglyphic, is *μέγας καὶ μέγας* on the Rosetta stone, but probably represents *μέγιστος*, and 8  $\epsilon\theta$  is therefore *τριμέγιστος*, i.e. ( $2a$ )<sup>3</sup>. The famous epithet of Hermes which has puzzled commentators thus displays its mathematical formation. 6  $\epsilon\theta = 3(2a)$  would not fill the lacuna on the papyrus, nor would it give the obviously intended reference to the name of Thoth's city, 'the Eighth,' and the mythological interpretation of that name. *P. S. B. A.*, loc. cit.

1. 10. For the prayer and dream cf. above p. 11, § 10, and the graffiti of the Abydos oracle, published by SAYCE, *P. S. B. A.* x. 379.

make protection to Pharaoh that it may save him from the v. sorceries of the Ethiopians."

'Hor son of Pa-neshe awoke from the dream, these being the things which he had seen; he recognized that the 15 thing that had befallen was divine. He did according to every word that had been said to him in the dream, he went straight to the place in which Pharaoh was, he made for him amulets against sorceries in writing.

'Came the second day. The sorceries of Hor the son of the 16 Negress returned up to Egypt by night, to the place in which Pharaoh was; (but) they returned to the place in which the Viceroy was immediately, (for) they could not get power over 17 Pharaoh because of the amulets and sorceries that the librarian, Hor son of Pa-neshe, had bound (?) upon him.

'Came the morning of its morrow. Pharaoh told before the 18 librarian, Hor son of Pa-neshe, of everything that he had seen by night, and of how the sorceries of the Ethiopians had returned, for that they were not able to get power over him. 19

'Hor son of Pa-neshe caused to be brought unto him much wax and pure, he made a litter for four bearers, he pronounced writing upon them, he gave them breath of respiration, he made 20 them live. He commanded them, saying, "Ye shall go to the land of Nehes this night; ye shall bring the Viceroy up to 21 Egypt, to the place in which Pharaoh is, he shall be beaten with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh, and ye shall return him to the land of Nehes again, all in six hours thither." 22

'They said, "Yea verily, nor will we allow aught to fail."

'The sorceries of Hor son of Pa-neshe travelled under (?) the clouds of heaven, they went straight to the land of Nehes by 23 night. They mastered the Viceroy, they brought him up to Egypt, he was beaten with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh, and they returned him to the land 24 of Nehes, all in six hours thither.'

These things are what Si-Osiri related in the midst before Pharaoh and his nobles, the people of Egypt hearing his voice. 25

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1. 22. 'Under the clouds of heaven' is probably a phrase for 'high in the air.'

v. He said, 'By the inspiration of Amon thy god which is cast upon thee, O enemy of Ethiopia, the words that I am speaking, 26 are they what are written in this letter?'

Spake the Ethiopian, his head being held toward the ground, saying, 'Read on that as thou hast read; every word that thou sayest is written in this letter.'

27 Said Si-Osiri, 'All these things having happened, they having brought back the Viceroy to the land of Nehes, all in six hours thither, they put him in his place and he lay down.

28 'He arose at morn, having been beaten exceedingly with blows that had been given him up in Egypt.

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"beat me with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh of Egypt, and returned to the land of 29 Nehes again."

'He turned his back to the princes; they opened their mouths with great clamour. The Viceroy sent for Hor the son 30 of the Negress. Said he (unto him), "May Amon, the bull of Meroe, my god, curse thee! Thou who didst go to the men of Egypt hasten to my help to see what thou shalt do 31 to save me from the hand of Hor son of Pa-neshe!"

'He (Hor the son of the Negress) made his sorceries; he bound them on the Viceroy to save him from the sorceries of Hor son of Pa-neshe.

'Came the night of the second day. The sorceries of Hor 32 son of Pa-neshe travelled to the land of Nehes; they carried the Viceroy up to Egypt, he was beaten with five hundred blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh, he was taken back to the 33 land of Nehes all in six hours thither.

'It happened on this wise to the Viceroy for three days; the sorceries of the Ethiopians were not able to save the Viceroy 34 from the hand of Hor son of Pa-neshe. The Viceroy was in

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\* \* \* The scribe has omitted a part of the story which, on the analogy of iv. 26-v. 1, must have described the condition in which the Viceroy was found by the princes of Ethiopia, and have contained the beginning of his account of what had happened.

l. 30. 'Thou who didst go to the men of Egypt' (to learn magic), or perhaps better 'Thou (emphatic) hast gone over to the men of Egypt.'

anguish exceedingly. He caused Hor the son of the Negress v. to be brought unto him, he said unto him, "Woe thou wicked one of Ethiopia! Thou didst cause me to be humiliated by the hand of the men of Egypt; thou couldst not save me from 35 their hands. By the life of Amon, the bull of Meroe, my god, if it be that thou shalt not be able to cause me to be saved from the aerial cars of the men of Egypt, I will cause thee to suffer 36 an evil death exceedingly."

'Said Hor the son of the Negress, "My master the Viceroy! let me be sent up to Egypt that I may see him that makes sorcery there, that I may strive against him, that I may cause 37 him to find the scorn for his hand that is at my heart."

'Hor the son of the Negress was despatched from before the Viceroy. He came to the place where his mother the Negress was.

\* \* \* \* \*

"If thou goest up to Egypt to do sorcery therein, take VI. 1 heed for thyself with the men of Egypt. Thou wilt not be able to contend with them. Be not caught in their hands so that thou wilt not return to the land of Nehes for ever." 2

'Said he, "There is nought of them, these things that thou sayest. I cannot avoid going up to Egypt and (instead) cast my sorceries up into it (from Ethiopia)."

'Said to him the Negress his mother, "Whereas it hath come 3 to pass that thou art going up to Egypt, set some signs between me and thee: be it that thou failest, I will come to thee that I may see whether I shall be able to save thee." 4

'Said he to her, "If it be that I am overcome, when thou shalt drink [and eat], any kind of (?) liquid shall turn colour

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1. 35. 'Aerial cars.' The demotic word is the same as that used for the barks in which the sun (Ra) and the other gods (as stars?) were supposed to traverse the sky.

\* \* \* There must have been a great omission from the copy at the end of p. v: probably the scribe dropped a section terminating with *n-m-f* 'in it,' and began again in the middle of a speech of the Negress. It would indeed give a picturesque effect of quick action to break off the narration suddenly and resume with the speech; such a device is not unknown to Arab story-tellers of to-day. But this explanation could hardly be applied to the parallel case in v. 28, and we must regard both as mere blunders.

VI. of blood before thee, the foods that are before thee shall turn  
5 the colour of flesh (?), the heaven shall turn the colour of blood  
before thee.”

‘Hor the son of the Negress set signs between himself and his  
mother. He went up to Egypt, being crammed with sorcery; he  
6 traversed (?) from that which Amon made (?) as far as Memphis,  
to the place in which Pharaoh was, hunting for him who was  
making sorcery in Egypt.

7 ‘He came to the court before Pharaoh, he spake, his voice  
being loud, saying, “Ho thou that makest sorcery against me in  
the court in the place in which Pharaoh is, in the sight of the  
people of Egypt! ye two scribes of the House of Life, (or) thou  
8 scribe of the House of Life that doest sorcery unto the Viceroy,  
bringing him up to Egypt in spite of me!”

‘As he spake these words Hor son of Pa-neshe stood in the  
9 court before Pharaoh saying, “Ho thou impious Ethiopian, art  
thou not Hor the son of the Negress whom I saved in the  
10 reeds (?) of Ra, as well as thy companion of Ethiopia that was  
with thee, when ye were drowning in the water, being cast down  
from upon the hill on the east of On? Didst thou not consider  
11 the freeing (?) of Pharaoh thy sovereign, thou causing his hinder  
parts to be beaten in the place where the Viceroy was, thou  
coming up to Egypt saying, ‘Is there he that doeth sorcery  
12 against me?’ By the life of Atum, lord of On, the gods of  
Egypt have put thee on thy back (?) to requite thee in their  
13 country! Entertain thyself (?); I have (?) come unto thee.”

‘At what time Hor the son of Pa-neshe said these words,

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l. 6. ‘That which Amon made’; cf. iv. 3. Ethiopia (together perhaps with the Thebaid) seems to be considered the domain of Amon.

l. 9. ‘Whom I saved (?) out of the reeds’ or ‘(by hiding him) in the reeds.’ One need hardly illustrate this by a reference to the episode in the babyhood of Moses, the great magician of the Hebrews. The following description of a contest between magicians, dating from the first century, reminds us that in 2 Tim. ii. 8-9 (Jannes and Jambres), the writer may refer to some similar detailed story of Moses, current among the Jews at this very time.

l. 10. The hill must be Gebel Ahmar, the ‘Red Mountain’ of the Egyptians, near the edge of the desert, south-east of Heliopolis. Its name is due to the hard red quartzite rock of which it is composed, and it has always been an important quarry—in ancient days for the sculptor, now only for mill-stones. It is referred to in the ‘Gnostic’ magical papyri as the ‘hill of On.’

Hor the son of the Negress answered him saying, "Is it he to VI. whom I taught jackal language(?) that doeth sorcery against me?"

'The man of Ethiopia made an effort of written magic, he caused fire to come out in the court. Pharaoh and the princes 14 of Egypt uttered a great cry, saying, "Hasten to us thou librarian, Hor son of Pa-neshe."

'Hor son of Pa-neshe made a formula of writing, he caused 15 the sky to make a southern (?) rain upon the top of the flame: it was extinguished on the instant.

'The Ethiopian made another effort of magic in writing, he 16 made a great darkness (?) over the court, none saw his brother nor his companion.

'Hor son of Pa-neshe read a writing to the sky, he caused it 17 to desist and to be calm from the evil wind which possessed it.

'Hor the son of the Negress made another effort of written magic. He created a great vault of stone 200 cubits in length 18 by fifty cubits in width above Pharaoh and his princes, which threatened to make Egypt without a king, the world without a sovereign.

'Pharaoh looked at the sky, he saw the vault of stone above 19 him, he opened his mouth with a great cry together with the people that were in the court. Hor the son of Pa-neshe pro- 20 nounced a formula of writing. He created an aerial boat of papyrus, he caused it to carry away the vault of stone. Behold! it flew with it towards (?) the Mighty Pool, the Great Water of Egypt. (Then) the man of Ethiopia knew that he was not able 21 to contend with (the Egyptian); he made an effort in written magic to prevent his seeing him in the court, that he might transport himself to the land of Nehes, his city. 22

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l. 13. The jackal (*C. aureus*), not the fox of Anubis (apparently *C. niloticus*), is the animal here referred to, if one may judge from the use of the name by the early Egyptians. 'Jackal language' would seem here to be an expression for magic of an inferior sort.

l. 15. 'Southern rain': probably referring to the rains of Abyssinia, or to the occasional storms that visit Upper Egypt.

l. 18. Or 'Egypt, the land without a superior, to lose its king.'

l. 20. 'The Mighty Pool' is one name of the lake in the Faiyûm, Lake Moeris; *v. BR., Dict. Géog.* 769.

l. 22. 'The land of Nehes' seems used as another name for Meroe, the capital of the country. See also l. 32.



VI. 'Hor son of Pa-neshe pronounced a writing at him, he caused the sorceries of the Ethiopian to be revealed, he made him  
 23 visible to Pharaoh and the people of Egypt that were standing in the court, he being in the form of an evil fox-goose and about to flee away. Hor son of Pa-neshe pronounced a writing at him,  
 24 he caused him to fall on his back (?), a fowler standing over him, the knife in his hand ready to pierce, he being about to do abomination unto it.

'All these things having happened, the signs which Hor the  
 25 son of the Negress had set between himself and his mother happened before her—all. She delayed not to go up to Egypt she being in the form of the female goose; she stopped over  
 26 the palace of Pharaoh, she wailing with her voice unto her son, he being in the form of an evil fox-goose, the fowler standing over him.

'Hor son of Pa-neshe looked at the sky, he saw the Negress  
 27 in the guise in which she was, he knew her to be the Negress, the Ethiopian. He pronounced a writing to her, he caused her to fall on her back, there being a fowler standing over her, his  
 28 knife being about to put her to death.

'She changed from the form in which she was, she made her (proper) guise as an Ethiopian woman, she praying, saying,  
 29 "Make not an end (?) of us, Hor son of Pa-neshe. Forgive us this evil attempt. If it be that thou givest to us an aerial boat we will not return to Egypt ever again."

'Hor son of Pa-neshe made an oath by Pharaoh and the gods  
 30 of Egypt saying, "I will not [let go?] my effort of sorcery until ye have made to me oath not to return up to Egypt for any kind of purpose (?)."

31 'The Negress raised her hand (in oath) not to come up to Egypt for ever eternally. Hor the son of the Negress made oath saying, "I will not come up to Egypt until fifteen hundred years."

32 'Hor son of Pa-neshe withdrew his hand from his feat of written magic, he gave an aerial boat to Hor the son of the

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l. 23. 'Evil.' The fox goose, or Egyptian goose (*Chenalopex aegyptiaca*), may have had this epithet owing to its rusty colour, which would certainly offend the prejudices of the Egyptians. See *Hieroglyphs*, p. 31.

Negress and the Negress his mother. They proceeded to the VI. land of Nehes, their city.'

This was the story told by Si-Osiri before Pharaoh, the 33 people of Egypt attending to his voice, Setme his father seeing everything, the head of the man of Ethiopia being held towards the ground. And he said, 'By the life of thy face, my great lord, 34 that man that standeth before thee is Hor the son of the Negress whose words I have been relating and who hath not repented concerning those things which he did at first; for he hath come up to Egypt at the end of fifteen hundred years to 35 cast sorceries therein. By the life of Osiris, great god Lord of Amenti, in whose kingdom I repose, I am Hor son of Pa-neshe—this man—I who stand before Pharaoh; and I that was (?) 36 in Amenti found that the Ethiopian enemy would fling his sorceries up into Egypt, there being no good scribe or learned man in Egypt at the time that would be able to contend with him. I prayed before Osiris in Amenti to let me come forth to VII. 1 the world again, to prevent his taking the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes. It was commanded before Osiris to let 2 me forth into the world. I awoke, I flew right up (?) to find Setme the son of Pharaoh upon the *gebel* of On and the *gebel* of Memphis. I grew as that melon-vine with the intent of return- 3 ing to the body again that I might be born to the world to make sorcery against this enemy of Ethiopia that stands in the court.'

Hor son of Pa-neshe, he being in the shape of Si-Osiri, made 4 an effort of written magic against the man of Ethiopia. He caused the fire to surround him, it consumed him in the midst of the court, Pharaoh beholding him with the nobles and the 5 people of Egypt.

(But) Si-Osiri passed away as a shade out from the hand of Pharaoh and Setme his father, nor did they see him.

Pharaoh and his great men marvelled exceedingly at the 6 things they saw upon the court, saying, 'There is not a good

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l. 2. 'The *gebel*,' i. e. the necropolis in the desert. In this story also Khamuas was apparently represented as frequenting the cemeteries in search of writings: cf. *I Kh.* iii. 9.

l. 3. 'That melon-vine,' see i. l. 3.

VII. 7 scribe and learned man like Hor son of Pa-neshe, there will not be his like after him again, ever.'

Setme opened his mouth with a great cry when Si-Osiri had passed away as a shade, he not having seen him.

8 Pharaoh rose from the court in trouble of heart at these things that he had seen. Pharaoh commanded that preparation 9 should be made for Setme, to lodge him, because of Si-Osiri his son, to refresh his heart.

Came evening, Setme went to his apartments, his heart being 10 sad exceedingly. Meh-wesekht lay at his side, she conceived seed of him in the night named. In due time she bore a male child, he was called by name Usy-ment-Hor (?).

11 It came to pass that Setme ceased not from making (?) burnt offerings and libations before the genius of Hor son of Pa-neshe on every occasion.

This is the end of this book, written . . . . (blank).

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l. 10. With Usy-ment-(Hor?), cf. the name of the great king *'Oouμανδύας* in DIODORUS i. 47. The classical historians drew their information about Egypt from the popular extravagant tales, and so in turn reflect light on the demotic stories.

l. 11. 'Genius,' *shay*, see note on iii. 28. It may be doubted whether it would be in accord with Egyptian notions, even of a later date, to translate 'made sacrifice before the Deity for Hor son of Pa-neshe.' The Egyptian *ka*, symbolized by the human arms, appears to mean the 'working' life principle, informing the body and directed by the soul or will, *ba* (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 15). As demotic replaces the obsolete word *ka* by that for 'ordainer,' 'fate,' *shay*, the conception of it had probably changed in some degree, so as to include perhaps all that was immortal in the man. But the connexion between *ka*, 'vital principle,' 'energy,' and *sha*, 'fate,' may have been close even in high antiquity.

## PART II

### PHILOLOGICAL

#### CHAPTER IV

##### INTRODUCTORY

§ 1. Description of the papyri. § 2. Bibliography. § 3. Method of transliteration. § 4. Language, spelling, and pronunciation of the texts. § 5. Specimen of a phonetic rendering. § 6. Hints for studying demotic. § 7. List of abbreviations used in the references.

§ 1. THE papyrus on which the first tale is written now measures 41 in. = 1.04 m. in length by 11½ in. = 29.5 cm. in breadth. The part lost at the beginning contained two whole pages and part of the third page, in all amounting probably to a length of about 24 in. or 60 cm. The MS. was purchased by Mariette for the Boulaq Museum in or before the year 1865, along with two late hieratic and several Coptic papyri. They were said to have been found together in a Christian tomb at Thebes, and the statement is given by Mariette for what it is worth<sup>1</sup>.

The second tale of Khamuas is written on the *verso* of two Greek documents, which have been joined together into a single roll for the purpose of receiving the

<sup>1</sup> MARIETTE, *Pap. de Boulaq*, tome i, p. 9, No. 5.

demotic text (Pap. DCIV. in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum). It is imperfect at one end, an uncertain amount having been torn away from the beginning of the *verso*, which is the end of the *recto*. Mr. Kenyon informs me that the Greek texts on the *recto*<sup>1</sup> contain official registers of land dated in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius (A. D. 46-47), and relate to the neighbourhood of 'Crocodilopolis.' As the papyrus was purchased at Aswân (in 1895) it is presumably from the upper country, and 'Crocodilopolis' must be the city of that name near Gebelên, rather than Arsinoe in the Faiyûm, which indeed is never called Crocodilopolis after the middle of the Ptolemaic period.

§ 2. The story in the British Museum is here edited for the first time; but the Boulaq roll was put into the hands of Heinrich Brugsch as long ago as 1865, and in September, 1867, he printed his famous translation<sup>2</sup>. The text has been facsimiled in MARIETTE, *Les Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, tome i, Pl. 29-32, and more recently by KRALL in his *Demotische Lesestücke*. The latter copy is very clear, but not so accurate as the former, which is of extraordinary exactitude. It was made in 1870 by Émile Brugsch, the present curator of the Gizeh Museum, and in it the minute and delicate writing is mechanically reproduced with marvellous skill.

Editions of the text with translation and commentary were issued by REVILLOUT, *Le Roman de Setna*, 1877-1880, and by HESS, *Der demotische Roman von Setna Ham-us*, 1888. The former, though giving some new

<sup>1</sup> The *verso* also shows some remains of Greek writing which have escaped the sponge of the cleaner. They are visible in the photograph of the sixth page, at the end of ll. 11, 12, and 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, II<sup>me</sup> Série, tome xvi, pp. 161-179.

light, especially from Coptic analogies, shows no independent understanding of the script; also the text is very incorrect, and the reading is not at the level of Brugsch's first translation. The edition of Hess, which has a glossary at the end, represents Brugsch's reading with many improvements by his pupil, the author, and is very valuable; its text, however, which is from the master's hand-copy, contains some serious errors that can be detected by the aid of the facsimile. Another translation is by Maspero<sup>1</sup>, who in 1877-1880 attempted the difficult task of rendering a page of the story in hieroglyphs. The present edition of the tale will be found to contain many rectifications of my own earlier version printed in America<sup>2</sup>.

§ 3. The method of transliteration for demotic adopted in this volume is explained in *P.S.B.A.* 1899, pp. 273-276<sup>3</sup>. The alphabet is e, y, w, ʔ, ʕ, b, p, f, m, n, r, l, h, ḥ, ḥ, s, š, k, g, q, t, θ, z. In such words as mhwe-t, &c., the dot marks off the flexional consonant, while a hyphen is placed between compounded words and before suffixes: Pr-ʕ, stm-f. Italicized letters are those which in Coptic are much modified or entirely lost, *r* = e, *rm*t = pw~~ee~~e; and superfluous letters which have been added by false analogy are generally placed between ( ), e.g. *w*n(nʔy) = nē. This transliteration is of necessity very conventional and does not aim at uniformity, but rather at facilitating the reading of a difficult script; it is, I hope, sufficiently intelligible to all hieroglyphic students. In the transliteration of

<sup>1</sup> His latest version, with a full bibliography, is in *Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd ed., 1889, pp. 163 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> In the Egyptian section of *The World's Best Literature*, New York, 1898, pp. 5262 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> For *y* I have since substituted ʔ as the equivalent of |, and generally of Eg. *l* (false *y*) at the beginning of words. I also now write *I Kh.*, *II Kh.*, instead of *I S.*, *II S.*, in referring to the two stories.

*II Kk.* the *ʿ* is omitted, except where it is of special importance, as at the beginning of a word<sup>1</sup>.

§ 4. The language of these stories may be said to lie about half way between New Egyptian and Coptic, the differences from each being considerable. The second story having been written not earlier than the middle of the first century A.D., at the utmost only four centuries before the Coptic translations of the Bible, it is curious to find that linguistically it is related about as closely to New Egyptian of the twelfth century B.C. as to the Biblical Coptic of the fourth or fifth century A.D. The fact is that though progress towards Coptic is observable in late demotic, it was hopelessly fettered by the writing and traditions of the pagan scribes. The Christians, on the other hand, starting with a simple alphabet based upon the Greek, cast aside the old conventions which were due largely to the clumsy spelling of demotic. When freed from these trammels, the written language came abreast of the living language at a single bound, and rendered the speech of the people so faithfully as to distinguish clearly between no less than four dialects.

Demotic was a conventional mode of literary expression, and in one important detail it seems to be actually less advanced than New Egyptian, namely, in its abundant use of the narrative tense *stm-f* (for *sdm-n-f*)<sup>2</sup>. This was probably an artificial reversion to the old style in order to avoid troublesome periphrases, rather than a real development on the old lines.

Multitudes of words occur in demotic that have never yet been found in Coptic; on the other hand, words

<sup>1</sup> The philological notes added to the transliteration are confined to what seem most necessary. Further illustration is reserved for the glossary, and it is proposed to print some notes on words and constructions in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SETHE, *Verbum* ii, § 153.

alphabetically spelled in their Coptic forms, and differing completely from the Egyptian forms of the same, are very numerous in late demotic. Many of the common verbal forms of demotic are obsolete in Coptic; many others agree with the Coptic precisely, when allowance has been made for the degeneration of the written consonants. Transliterated according to the analogy of New Egyptian writing, the demotic negative perfect may give *bw-pw-f stm*, but this is really the precise equivalent of ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲛ; so also *ty šm-w* is apparently the equivalent of ⲭⲟⲟⲩ, and *ty n'y-w* of ⲧⲈⲚⲚⲟⲟⲩ.

The spelling of words is often entirely regardless of their etymology, largely owing to false traditions dating as far back as New Egyptian. But in a careless late text such as *II Kh.* the confusion is very great, two spellings of one word often occurring side by side, of which one is more or less etymological, while in the other the origin of the word is wholly lost sight of. Thus ⲉⲧⲉ, 'which it is,' is often rendered properly *nt e*, but also *m te* (*II Kh.* iv. 20). Again ⲛⲛⲉⲥ, 'he did not,' usually *b-p-f*, is once spelled as if it were the homophonous ⲛⲛⲉⲥ, 'of his' (vi. 34). So also in the Historical Romance of Vienna ⲛⲛⲛⲛⲛⲛ, 'in the presence of,' is sometimes spelled correctly *m-bh*, 'in front of'; at other times *mh*, as if it were from ⲛⲟⲟⲩ, 'fill,' by the false analogy of ordinal numbers, ⲛⲛⲛⲛⲛⲛ Ⲓ, 'second,' being correctly spelled in demotic as *mh II*.

§ 5. The old Coptic magical texts transcribed in Greek characters, and others in later Coptic writing, preserve several usages of demotic that are generally obsolete, but very great differences remain both in grammar and vocabulary between the most lively forms of demotic<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. the Gnostic magical papyri, or some of the latest inscriptions of Philae. Certain religious texts are little more than transcripts of Old Egyptian in demotic spelling.



and any patchwork of archaisms that one might construct to compare with it from Coptic dialects.

Endeavouring to recover the actual pronunciation of demotic is, however, a very interesting branch of Egyptological research. Here Coptic is of the greatest assistance. The admirable study of Sethe on the Egyptian verb, as well as the penetrating remarks of Erman and Steindorff in their Grammars and scattered articles; throw much light on the pronunciation of Egyptian generally; and altogether we now seem to be in possession of means whereby the greater part of demotic sentences may be rendered approximately according to the original sound. Much more will doubtless be done when the full bearing of Greek transcriptions, of the scanty remains of archaic pagan Coptic, and of the evidence of all the Coptic dialects, has been studied in regard to demotic in particular.

§ 5. The following rough attempt to transcribe phonetically the first page of the first story will give at least a general idea of the sounds of the words. In the main I have followed Sahidic for the vowels, but I have preserved the *h* as in Achmimic (corresponding to S. and B. *ay*), and have borrowed freely from Boheiric wherever that seemed helpful to the rendering, the original consonants *k, g, θ, z* are also retained in place of *σ* and *χ*. By variations of spelling I have aimed at suggesting probabilities or doubts<sup>1</sup>.

III. I. ' . . . . ntok pet howš eroy (?): e-f hōpe (?) e mn ntey šēre nsa šere snaw, an phap themse wa?y nem

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I. I. e-f hōpe εϣωπε : εϣωπ. The Boh. form is still followed by attributive ε (Str., § 626).

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<sup>1</sup> Words of which the pronunciation is very uncertain, or which are left in simple transliteration, are preceded by °.

wa'y mmow? eye tħmse Ne<sup>o</sup>nfrekePtaħ nem t. še're  
n u leme'se,

2. eye tħmse Ah.] nem pšêre n ke leme'se .  
ħpof (?) eten<sup>o</sup>mhwe e'ašay (?)' . ħpe pnaw, semnew  
°thrwte mmaħ Pero (?) . se'êw nsôy, θyow tí (θowt?)  
et<sup>o</sup>hrwte

3. nrens . ħpof eħtêy] taħr emaso, entí oy (tre)  
mpaginsaf an . zo nay Pero 'Ah., an nto or (?) tawow  
nay n ney metleħ (?) ze "mathemsoy nem

4. Nen. pasen]o?"' zoy naf 'maħemsoy nem pšêre n  
uleme'se, maħemsof nem tšeere nkelemê'se ħôf; ħpof  
eten<sup>o</sup>mhwe eašay (?)' . sebyoy, sebye Pero

1. 2. For the vocalization of *stm-f*, which is the principal verbal form in demotic narrative, we depend almost entirely on the analogy of the causatives in Coptic, formed of *stm-f* dependent on *ty*. See *SETHE*, *Verbum*, II, § 207 et seqq. It would seem that pronouns and suffixes did not affect the final O; cf. for the subject suffix,  $\Theta\rho\sigma\upsilon$ , 1st sing.  $\Theta\rho\sigma\iota$ , 3rd pl.  $\Theta\rho\sigma\omega\tau$  from  $\Theta\rho\sigma\circ$ . Further  $\Upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\eta\circ\text{-}\omega\tau\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon$  *ty n'y-w(+st!)*,  $\chi\circ\text{-}\omega\tau\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon$  *ty šm-w(+st!)*, (cf. I Kh. i. 12; II Kh. iii. 25) seem to imply that the object pronoun added to the subject suffix did not alter the vowel; but, being late formations on false analogy, neither of these verbs is a very good witness. On the other hand, a nominal subject shortens the vowel, witness  $\Theta\rho\epsilon\text{-}$ ,  $\Upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\text{-}$ , &c., &c., and so does a direct object—nominal or infinitive—following the subject suffix  $\Theta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\Theta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}$ , 1st sing.  $\Theta\rho\iota\text{-}$ , 3rd pl.  $\Theta\rho\epsilon\omega\text{-}$ :  $\Upsilon\rho\omega\text{-}$ , also Sah.  $\Upsilon\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega\text{-}$  (for which last see *SETHE*, addendum to § 247 on p. 461).

Thus we obtain the following table:—*setmof*, 'he heard': *setmof eħprow*, 'he heard the voice': *setmofse*, 'he heard them'; but *setme pnûte*, 'god heard': *setmef psazi*, 'he heard the tale.' In the remaining case *setmose (setmese?) pnûte*, 'god heard them,' the vowel is uncertain.

It is of course possible that these particular modifications of the vowels date only from a very late period, when demotic was nearly extinct: and moreover *stm-f*, when it replaces *stm-n-f*, may have a vocalization distinct from other cases.

*Pero*. It is difficult to say whether *Pero* or *Ero* ( $\epsilon\rho\sigma\circ$ ) should be read. Old Copt. Par. transcribes *p' Pr.* in Gnostic by  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\circ$  alone (*Hess*, p. 82; cf. *STEINDORFF*, *Ä. Z.*, 1889, 107).

1. 3. *or*. So in the Greek transcripts of proper names, but the true pronunciation was perhaps with some other short vowel.

5. . . . . ze] Pero 'plepis (?), maθew Ah. epêy n Nen. mpgorh, maθyew °entnib etnanow 'nemas têrw'. θyow ti (?) nhime epêy n Nen.

6. . . . . te Pero] now nay šap (?) n hat nub : te napi-Pero enw nay têrw . re Nen. how nûfe nemay . špef he'n (?) napi-Pero têrw . qtof nemay mpgôrĥ nrenf . af ginti (?)

7. . . . . ne]may 'on 'on . re rôme mere pefere mmon . ĥpe pa susu (?) n erĥosm, empi erĥosm 'on : rew 'ansemme mmos emmah Pero, ne'nfre ĥtêf emaso . te Pero θyow enka 'aşay (?)

8. nahray tey ĥot]e, tef 'now nay šap (?) n hat nub šens enanuw emaso . ĥpe pa susu mmise mesyey pey ĥemĥal et nahrak, et ewzô naf °Mr-êb n ran . tew saĥf n °š'e m (?) P-°nĥ

9. ĥpof e mn nte Nen.] pa son yope ĥi pto, nsa mo'se ĥi t °ĥse m Membe, ef 'ôš nnešay (?) et ĥen n °ĥô(?)n mPero (?), nem nwite nnsaĥ P-°nĥ, nem nšay (?) eθi

10. . . . . etbe šay emaso . nsa nay ĥpe uĥa' esPtaĥ . še Nen. ĥn ĥene'te ewošte . ĥpof ef mo'se nsa pha' ef'ôš n neshay et ĥi n °g' n nentêr .

11. gmes uwê'b ef aye (?) m]misi erof : sebyof . zo naf Nen. 'erek (ek ?) sôbe (κωβε) etbe aĥ ?' . zof 'nti sôbe mmok an ; arisôbe, ĥôpe (ĥpo ?) ek (erek) ôš n han šay emnte

12. rome mpto . . . . ef ĥôpe] ek (erek) wôĥ eš šay, amu nay, tey θyowtk (θyowk ?) epma ete pey zo'me mmof, e Tĥôwt por (?) šĥef (seĥf ?) nto't-f ĥô'f, ef na'y eĥrey n sa nentêr . ĥp snaw n šay nethi'ôtf, erek

13. eš phap n ĥorp (?) ereke] peĥre tpe pto ttê ntuyê

1. 5. *lepis* (?). *stn* at the end of a compound word seems generally reduced to *s*, see note to **ϣϣC** in l. 8 below, p. 89.

namayu, erekegem nete n'ôpt ntpē nem nzatfe ezotw tērw, erekenaw e nrami mpemto ewn

14. naš n nute wêh mmow n tew rî (?) ] hray (?) :  
erek 'eš phap mmaḥ snaw, ef ḥope (?) erek ḥn Amente  
erek mpekgay ḥi pto (ginḥipto?) 'on, ereke naw epRêc  
ef 'ḥ' ntpē nem tef 'p' ntēr nem po'ḥ [m]pef gy n 'wbn'

15. zo naf Nen.] 'stn-ʿanḥof! (šḥof?) mazow nay  
umetnofre (?) erek waḥs, tey rows nak, ntak (nek)  
hoby epma ete pey zo'me mmof'. ze pwê'b n Nen. 'ef  
ḥôpe [erek] wôḥ hobk

16. epma ete pei zo'me mmo]f, erek e tî nay ḥat  
'tbn še úbe ta qayse, erek e trow nay. . . . snaw n wê'b  
at 'tne'. 'âše Nen. e uḥal, tef tew phat še mpwê'b, tef  
wḥe n le . . . . (?) snaw, tef rowse

17. . . . . ze pwê'b n] Nen. 'p zo'me nrenf  
ef (q?) ntmête mpyom n Qebtô ḥen u tēbe mbenipe,  
e ttēbe mbenipe ḥen utēbe

18. n ḥomt e ttēbe n ḥomt] ḥen u tēbe n ḥen°qty  
e ttēbe n ḥen°qty ḥen u tēbe n yeb (?) 'hbyn ettēbe  
n yeb 'hbyn ḥen u

19. tēbe n ḥat e ttēbe] n ḥat ḥen u tēbe n nub e  
pzo'me ḥuns (?): ewn (ewen) u°r n ḥof wo'ḥe zatfe  
nib mpqôte enttēbe ete p zo'me ḥuns (?) ewn

20. u ḥof n°ze mpqôte]n ttēbe nrens'. tewnu n saze  
ea (?) pwê'b naḥre n Nen., mpef gem ma nib mpto etef  
emmo. ef (q) 'êw ebol ḥen ḥeneete, sezyof

21. naḥray n mute (?) nib are (?) ḥôpe mmof] tērw :  
zof nay 'eyeše e Qebtô, eye em pei zô'me, [empî]ḥrur  
epemḥit 'on'. ḥpof eykô (kê?) 'on mpwê'b ze 'ḥra (?)  
nak Amun eḥak (?) saze naḥraf ney

22. . . . . 'ḥe 'nok nay pemlah. ptoš n Nê (?)  
gemyoys . . . 'rey 'a(n)to't nem Nen. e tem tšof e  
Qebtô. [mpe]f sôtem nay. šof mmaḥ

23. Per'o sezyof mmaḥ] Per'o n mute nim eza naf pwe'b têrw . zo naf Per'o 'aḥ pet[ekwôḥ mmof]?' zof naf 'matow ney t'shre Per'o nem pes sobte . [e]ye θi Ah.

24. nem M. pes ḥe]mḥal e rês (?) nemay, eye mpey zo'me, empî ḥrur' . tow naf t'shre Pero nem pes sobte, 'alon emêr eros, 'ren sgêr, pḥon

25. e Qebtô . rew 'ansemme] mmos naḥren nwe'b n Êse n Qebtô, plašane (?) n Êse: se'ew eḥray eḥêtn, mpu ḥrur ethê n Nen., new ḥyome 'ew eḥray eḥêḥ ḥô' .

26. 'alyon eḥray n neqrôw, šon ḥen] ḥene'te n Êse Ḥarpeḥrat . te Nen. now eḥe ôpt êrp, ref glîl wôten mmaḥ Êse n Qebtô Ḥarpeḥrat . θowtn (θown?) e uêi enanef emašo

27. . . . . re Nen. hów ftow ef er how nûfe nem nwe'b n Êse n Qebtô e ne ḥyome n nwe'b n Êse er how nûfe nemay ḥô' . ḥpe towe mpen how (m)maḥ snaw, te Nen.

28. new mulḥ ef'oš ef]wa'b naḥraf, ref u °rms efmêḥ nnef °ḥny nem nef hwêt (?) : 'ašef šḥay erow tef 'anḥow tof naw (now) têw, ḥwof (?) se epyom; mḥef t'shre Pero nšô

29. . . . . 'a]lof e mêr . ḥemsoy ḥi ze mpyom n Qebtô ḥô' ze 'eye gem petefe ḥôpe mmof.' zof ' n °ḥny ḥnos (?) ḥaroy ša' pma ete pei zô'me

30. mmof . ḥnows ḥarof ngôrh] n°qty mere . af (?) pôḥ erof n how ḥomt, ḥewyef (?) šô ḥêtf, ḥpe u weš n yor . af (?) gem u °r n ḥof wo'ḥe zatfe nim empqôte

31. emppey (?) ete pzo'me] ḥunf (?) : af (?) gem u ḥof n °ze mpqôte nttebe n rens 'ašef šḥay e p°r n ḥof wo'ḥe zatfe nim etempqôte enttêbe . mpef te pyow

32. šof (?) e p ma ete p ḥo]f n°ze mmof ref qonqen nemaf, ḥetbofs 'anḥof: ref pef gay (?) on . ref qonqen nemaf 'on emah sopsnaw, ḥetbofs 'anḥof 'on . ref

33. qonqen nemaf 'on emeh sop] ḥomt, rofs n °š'te

sente tef šo ʔute ʔšʔte nem tesere . mwof (?) mpef er pef gay (?) e ʔšwe . še Nen. epma ete ttêbe mmof,

34. gmofs utêbe m]benipe te . wnof eros, gmef utêbe n homt : wnof eros, gmef utêbe n henʔqte : wnof eros gmef utêbe n yeb ʔhbyn :

35. wnof eros gmef u têbe n]hat : wnof eros gmef u têbe n nub : wnof eros gmef p zôʔme huns (?) . ʔnef p zôʔme eħray hen ttêbe n nub ʔašef u hap n šhay mmof,

36. peħref tpe pto ttêy n] tuye namayu, gmef nete nôpt ntpe nem nrami mpemto n ʔy mptow zô mmow terw . aʔšef keħap n šhay, nwof (?)

37. e pRêc ef ħaʔy (?) n tpe nem tef ʔpʔ ntêr], nem p ʔoʔħ ef ʔwbn nem n sîw mpew gay : nwof (?) e nrami mpemto ewn naš nuti wêħ mmow ħizow . aʔšef šhay e p

38. mow tef ref pef gy ʔon . ʔalof e m]êr, zof nnʔħny 'ħenyo ħaroy ša' p ma et . . . . . ' ħanyow (?) ħarof ngôrħ ʔnqty mere . af pôħ epma etey

39. mmof, gmof t(yʔ)ey ħmoʔs] ħize n pyom n Qebtô, empî sô wôm, empî er mûte nim mpto, ey nsmot n rôme e pħof e Pinufe (?) . zoy n Nen.

40. ' . . . . . m]anwoy e pei zôʔme ešpen ney ʔħyyt 'aoy etbêtf' . tef pzôʔme ntoʔt, ʔašey u hap n šhay mmof, peħrey

41. tpe

§ 6. A few words may perhaps be allowed as to the course to pursue in commencing the study of demotic. A certain degree of acquaintance with Coptic and Hieroglyphic is, of course, a necessary preliminary; no satisfactory progress can indeed be made without a fair knowledge of the latter and of texts in hieratic<sup>1</sup>. For Coptic the words and forms have been so conveniently classified in grammars and dictionaries that practice in

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to name Erman's *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* and Sethe's *Verbum* as indispensable works of reference in this department.

handling the books of reference will supply most needs in that direction.

Hess's *Roman von Stne Ham-us* contains a good list of signs and a glossary, and affords throughout, by its clear copy of the text, admirable practice in reading. The publication is, however, nearly twelve years old, and great alterations would now be necessary for a new edition; but by keeping an eye on the transliteration, translation, and notes in the present edition of the 'first tale,' the student of Hess's publication can correct it for himself. The facsimiles of the text issued by Mariette and Krall (*Lesestücke*) should also be diligently consulted,—probably with most profit after a certain familiarity has been acquired with the somewhat conventionalized transcripts of demotic generally used by scholars<sup>1</sup>. After this, the London Gnostic Papyrus published in photographic facsimile by Hess, with glossary, can be read as an example of the latest form of demotic; and the inscriptions of Rosetta and Canopus as examples of lapidary writing. Brugsch's *Wörterbuch*—and to a less degree his Supplement to it (vols. v–vii)—is full of demotic words excellently explained, and the word-lists in Brugsch's *Zwei bilingue Papyri* and Krall's *Historischer Roman* are very good for consultation.

For Coptic, Peyron's *Lexicon* (with the useful though ill-made *Auctarium* recently issued) and the additions to the *Lexicon* in his *Grammatica*, are of course the main source of words; but Tattam's *Lexicon* (hitherto it would seem neglected) is full of excellent references for special meanings, and contains words that are not found elsewhere. The Latin-Coptic portion of Parthey's *Vocabularium* is an especially valuable aid in the study of demotic, suggesting the right Coptic equivalent in

<sup>1</sup> Printing with demotic type is very unsatisfactory. Texts so published cannot be recommended for study.

countless cases where the meaning of the demotic word can already be guessed approximately. Stern's Grammar is invaluable, and Steindorff's small Grammar of Sahidic is very useful, the explanations contained in it marking a distinct advance on the great treatise of Stern. All the above works on Coptic should be constantly in the hands of the student of demotic.

§ 7. The following is a list of the abbreviations here used in references:—

- Ä. Z. . . . *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin).
- BR., *dem.-gr.* } H. BRUGSCH, *Sammlung demotisch-griechischer Eigen-*  
*Eigennamen* } *namen*, 1851.
- BR., *dem. Urk.* H. BRUGSCH, *Sammlung demotischer Urkunden.*
- BR., *Dict. Géog.* H. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne*  
*Égypte.* 2 vols.
- BR., *Geog. Insc.* H. BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften altaegyptischer*  
*Denkmäler.* 3 vols.
- BR., *Thes.* . . . H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum.*  
6 vols. (The fifth volume contains a large collection of demotic texts on papyrus and stone from the Serapeum, Philae, &c.)
- BR., *Wib.* and } H. BRUGSCH, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch,*  
*Suppl.* } 4 vols., and *Supplement*, vols. 5-7.
- Can. . . . . Tablet of Canopus; for the demotic text see BR., *Thes.*,  
1554 et seqq., W. N. GROFF, *Les deux versions*  
*démotiques du décret de Canope.*
- Dem. Provs.* . . Demotic Proverbs in the Louvré, published in facsimile  
by PIERRET in *Rec. de Trav.* I; cf. REVILLOUT in  
*Rev. Ég.* I, Pl. 8.
- ERM., *Gr.* . . . AD. ERMAN, *Aegyptische Grammatik.*
- ERM., *N.A.Gr.* AD. ERMAN, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik.*
- ERM., *West.* } AD. ERMAN, *Papyrus Westcar, Commentar* (in *Mitthei-*  
*Comm.* } *lungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, Heft  
V, VI).
- Gnost.* . . . . Demotic magical texts with Greek transcriptions, in the  
British Museum (see HESS), Leyden (published in  
LEEMANS, *Monuments Ég. d. Musée des Pays-Bas*, II),  
and the Louvre (published in MASPERO, *Quelques*  
*Papyrus du Louvre*).
- HESS . . . . J. J. HESS, *Der demotische Roman von Stne Ha-m-us*,  
1888.
- HESS, *London* } J. J. HESS, *Der gnostische Papyrus von London* (with  
*Gnos.* } *Glossary*), 1892.



- Hieroglyphs* . F. LL. GRIFFITH, *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* (sixth memoir of the Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund).
- Hist. Rom.* . J. KRALL, *Ein neuer historischer Roman in demotischer Schrift* (with Glossary), in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Bd. VI. ('No. . . . ' refers to the index of demotic groups.) One page facsimiled in KRALL's *Demotische Lesestücke*.
- Kopt. Urk.* . . *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Koptische und Arabische Urkunden*.
- Kufi.* . . . Long fable of a monkey (Kufi) and a cat, in demotic: Pap. I. 384 of Leyden, published by LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, II, Taf. CCXV-CCXXV, and by J. KRALL, *Demotische Lesestücke*, Wien, 1897.
- L., D.* . . . LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. 12 vols.
- LEPS., Tdtb.* . LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1842.
- Leyden Gnos.* . The demotic gnostic papyrus of Leyden, published by LEEMANS, *Monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, II.
- Leyden Mor.* . Papyrus of Moral Sayings published by PLEYTE and BOESER, *Monuments Égyptiens*, 34<sup>e</sup> livraison (*Papyrus démotique Insinger*).
- O. C. Horosc.* . Old Coptic Horoscope on a Greek MS. in the British Museum. KENYON, *Cat. of Gk. MSS. in B. M.*, I; Pl. 73-4, cols. 4-6.
- O. C. Par.* . . Old Coptic texts in a Greek papyrus-codex at Paris, fos. 1-3, with facsimiles, ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 1883, 89.
- Pamonth* . . The demotic Book of the Dead in the Louvre, published by H. BRUGSCH in *Sammlung demotischer Urkunden*, Taf. VI, VII.
- Pap. An.* . . Anastasi papyri published in *Select Papyri of the British Museum*.
- Pap. Dodgson* . Facsimiled in *Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch.* VIII, 9.
- Pap. judiciaire* T. DEVÉRIA, *Le papyrus judiciaire de Turin* (XXth dynasty).
- Pap. Sall.* . . Sallier papyri published in *Select Papyri of the British Museum*.
- Pap. Unuamon* *Papyrus hiératique de la collection W. Golénischeff*, in *Rec. de Trav.*, XXI (XXIst dynasty).
- PEYRON . . . A. PEYRON, *Lexicon Copticum*, 1835.
- PEYRON, *Auct.* *Auctarium ad Peyronis Lexicon Copticum*, Berlin, 1896.
- PEYRON, *Gr.* . A. PEYRON, *Grammatica Linguae Copticae* (with additions to the *Lexicon*).
- PIEHL, *Insc.* } K. PIEHL, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en*  
*hiérog.* } *Europe et en Égypte*.

- Poème Sat.* . . . Facsimile in REVILLOUT, *Un Poème satyrique . . .*; cf. BRUGSCH in *Ä. Z.*, 1888, 4 et seqq. (*das Gedicht vom Harfenspieler*).
- P. S: B. A.* . . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).
- Rec. de Trav.* . . . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris).
- Rev. Ég.* . . . *Revue Égyptologique* (Paris).
- REVILLOUT . . . REVILLOUT, *Le Roman de Setna*, Paris, 1877.
- Rh. bil. pap.* . . . BRUGSCH, *Rhind's zwei bilingue Papyri, hieratisch und demotisch* ('No. . . . ' refers to the index of demotic groups at the end); facsimiled in BIRCH, *Facsimiles of two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes*.
- Ros.* . . . . The demotic inscription of the Rosetta stone, published in KRALL, *Demotische Lesestücke* (and elsewhere).
- Sign papyrus* . . . List of hieroglyphic signs with explanations in hieratic (Roman), facsimiled in GRIFFITH and PETRIE, *Two hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.
- SPIEG., *Corresp.* . . . W. SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres* (XXIst dynasty), in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome XXXIV.
- ST. . . . . L. STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, 1880.
- STD. . . . . G. STEINDORFF, *Koptische Grammatik*.
- STD., *Elias* . . . G. STEINDORFF, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* (Achmimic dialect, &c.) in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.
- TATTAM . . . . H. TATTAM, *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum*, 1835 (Coptic).
- Verbum* . . . . K. SETHE, *Das aegyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen*. 2 vols. 1899.
- Z. . . . . ZOEGA, *Catalogus codicum copticorum qui in museo Borghiano Velitris asservantur*.

N.B.—*I Kh.*, *II Kh.*, denote the first and second tale of Khamuas respectively: the five dialects of Coptic—Achmimic, Faiyumic, Memphitic, Sahidic, and Boheiric—are also referred to by contractions, S., Sah., B., Boh., &c. The Sahidic form takes the first place when Boheiric is quoted with it without specification, e.g. O : OI.

Eg. = Egyptian. Late Eg. = Late Egyptian (Neuaegyptisch).  
dem. = demotic. inf. = infinitive. part. = participle. qual. = qualitative (pseudo-participle). det. = determinative.

## CHAPTER V

### TRANSLITERATION

#### mh III

I. . . . . (m)nte-k p' nt hws r-*hr*-y 'e-f *hpr*  
 'e mn mte-y šre m-s' šre snw 'n p' hp ty hmse w'  
 'erme w' n-'m-w 'e-y ty hmse N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth 'erme  
 t' šre-t n w' mr-mš'e

2. 'e-y ty hmse 'H]wre-t 'erme p' šre n ky mr-mš'e

N.B.—A vocalized rendering of page iii is given above, pp. 72-7.

1. i. *hws*. This spelling would be abnormal for *ϩωϣϣ* 'to trouble,' 'vex,' 'endanger.' It would rather represent the origin of *ϩοοϣϣ* : *ϩωοϣϣ* *λοιδορεῖν* (constructed with *ε*), but it is possible that the same group was used for *ϩωϣϣ*; cf. *ϩωλ* used for *ϩληι*, l. 24. The precise meaning of *hws* is uncertain. See examples, BR., Wtb. 893, and HESS, p. 1, viz. Pamonth, i. 37, *ty hws*, and *m 'r h' hws . . . hry*, Dem. provs. ii. 7, 8; iii. 2.

This sentence may, of course, be incomplete at the beginning, e. g. 'Art thou he that *hws* to me?'

*r-hr-y*, 1st sing., corresponds to *r-r-f* *εροϣ*, 3rd sing.; cf. iv. 10 with iv. 14. So also *hr-r-hr-y* *ϩεροι* to *hr-r-r-f* *ϩεροϣ*, both in iii. 38. In the Gnostic papyri *r-r-y* is 1st sing., and in II Kh. *r-hr-k* is 2nd sing., but in I Kh. *r-r-k*, v. 32, 36. Probably *εροι*, *εροκ* simply are intended by these spellings. The Late Eg. forms are normal like the Coptic. One might have expected *r-hr-y* to represent something like \**εϩει*.

*ef hpr*. O. C. Horosc. v. 21 *εδωπ* (*εοϣπ*); O. C. Par. *εδωπε* (*ε . . .*), *Ä. Z.*, 83, 106; *εϣωπε* : *εϣωπ* (*ε . . .*). Note that the impersonal subj. is masc. in *ef hpr*, *hpr-f*. Contrast normal Coptic, St., § 487, but see v. 1 note *p' 'r hpr*.

*ty*. In this verb a special mode of writing is used for the form *stm-f*, i. e. *te-f* (l. 6). The commonest form, here transcribed *ty*, more properly *te-t*, is the infinitive, and stands also for the qualitative *το* : *τοι* (II Kh. vi. 33). As the latter form in almost every line of demotic spells

# THE FIRST TALE OF KHAMUAS

## TRANSLATION

### Third

1. . . . . 'thou art (?) he that abuseth (?) me.  
If it be that I have not a child beside two children, does  
the law make one marry with the other of them? I will  
make Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah marry with the daughter of  
a general,

2. I will make Ah]jure [marry] with the son of another

---

simply *ti*, the Coptic ⲧ 'give,' it must be the origin of the peculiarly  
Coptic letter ⲧ, to which it bears so close an outward resemblance  
(*STB.*, § 4 Anm.). I have not yet observed an instance of ⲧⲗⲗⲗ : ⲧⲏⲏⲏ.

*hmse.* The sign, 'woman,' *s-t* (*s-hm-t*) Ⲙⲉⲏⲏⲏ seems to represent  
the syllable *se*, though it originated in the det. of the sitting figure; see  
the note to *hm-t* l. 5.

*ty hmse* is here probably predicative rather than dependent on *p' hp*,  
'is it the law to marry,' as Hess, &c., take it.

*erme.* This is merely the approximate pronunciation of the Late  
Egyptian *yrme<sup>w</sup>*, suggested by *ERM.*, N. A. Gr., § 104. ⲗⲗⲏ : ⲏⲗⲗⲗ  
seems formed from it by the addition of ⲏ. *n* is very commonly added  
to adverbs, prepositions, &c., and is often suppressed in demotic writing  
even where it occurs in Late Eg., e. g. in *tt* for ⲏⲧⲟⲟⲧⲗ, *e<sup>r</sup>r hr* for  
ⲏⲗⲉⲣⲏ, &c., &c.

*e-y ty.* *r* is not written in fut. 1st sing. ⲈⲏⲈ, owing to preceding  
semivowel *y*: in other persons we have *e-k r*, *e-f r*, &c.

*N<sup>y</sup>-nfr-k<sup>s</sup>-Pt<sup>h</sup>.* The god's name, according to a common usage  
in hieroglyphs, though written first is doubtless to be read at the end  
of the name.

*w<sup>c</sup>.* The indef. article in dem. always distinguishes gender, thus  
affording valuable aid to the lexicographer where Coptic Ⲑⲓ is valueless.

*mr-m<sup>s</sup>e = λⲈⲗⲗⲏⲏⲏⲏⲉ* στρατηγός: cf. P. S. B. A., Nov. 1899, p. 270.

l. 2. *Hwre-t*, or possibly *Hhre-t*, as the syllabic is sometimes *hr*, see  
*hrr*, l. 21.

ḥpr-f r? t'e-n mhwe-t r? 'šy ḥpr p' nwe s-mne-w t'  
hrwt-t m-bḥ Pr-<sup>o</sup> st 'w m-s-y θ-w t-y r t' hrwt-t

3. n rn-s ḥpr-f? 'e ḥt-]y thr m šs 'e bn te-y 'r n

*ḥpr-f* might be 'it happened,' but more probably is an old optative (ERM., Gr., § 182; Verbum, ii, § 158) in a formal wish for good fortune after talk of marriage.

*r* and *n* are frequently confused by demotic scholars. In this and the parallel l. 4 *r* rather than *n* is fairly certain. *ḥpr n*, Eg. *ḥpr m*, is 'to become of,' 'happen to'; cf. ΔCΨΩΠΕ ΔΔΔΔΟϚ. ΔCΨΩΠΕ ΕΡΩΔΔΕ means, 'He became a man,' not 'it happened to a man.'

*r* 'šy. I find no parallel by which to fix the meaning, unless in O. C. Horosc. v. 17 ΔΔCΨΗΕΙ.

*s-mne-w*. It seems undesirable to take this as conjunctive depending on the substantive *nwe* ('the hour that they should set,' as Brugsch, &c.) until clear parallels can be quoted.

*hrwt-t*. BR., Thes. 1012 seems to give εοπή, spelt *hewrte* in an inscription of about the third cent. A.D. at Philae. All other known instances (probably none much earlier than I Kh.) are spelt as here. SPIEGELBERG, Rec. de Trav., xvi. 25, has collected examples and recognized the Greek origin, but wrongly quotes *hwrte* from I Kh. The word being foreign, *w* is used to represent the vowel *o*. The misplacement of Greek vowels is frequent in demotic renderings of proper names, e. g. *Pllwmys* = Πολυμαῖος. This is probably not caused by any Greek dialectic peculiarity, but by the phonetic laws governing Egyptian, which do not permit an accented syllable before the penultimate. The pronunciation was therefore approximately \**herôte*, \**Pellōmyos*. Thus the form εροπή given by Hesychius as Cyprioté may really be Egyptian.

*m-bḥ*, Eg. *m b'ḥ* = ΔΔΔΔΔϚ, see above p. 71. ΔΔΠΕΔΔΤΟ occurs, always with the article and with no restriction to exalted persons, Kufi, xi. 26; Leyden Gnos. xxii. 21, &c.

Hess and Krall wrongly give a superfluous stroke before *st*. The facsimile shows that it is simply the last stroke of *Pr-<sup>o</sup>*.

*st 'w*. The past narrative tense formed with the pseudo-participle (uneigentlicher Nominalsatz, ERM., Gr., §§ 240, 241. 2) appears to survive in dem. only in this verb, in which, however, it is common (l. 20, iv. 22, II Kh. iii. 8, &c., &c.), cf. P. S. B. A., 1896, 104. The verb is presumably in the pseudo-participle, and in fact the inf. of *yw* ('*w*) is not used in Late Eg. (Verbum, ii, § 719, 4), but the form *tw-f yw* is found in it as past narrative, e. g. Pap. Sall. iii. 7, 10; Pap. An. iii. 6, 10. Thus the O. C. transcriptions ΕϚ, ΔϚ (HESS, Lond. Gnost. Gloss., p. 2) probably represent the pseudo-participle \**HϚ*: \**HOϚ* (see ΠHϚ). For ΤΔϚΟ see v. 4, 27, II Kh. iii. 29, and for the past relative (?) form, I Kh. v. 18. For ΠHϚ see II Kh. ii. 8, and note thereon.

general. 'May it be for our family for abounding!' The hour came, the *éoprhé* was set before Pharaoh. They came after me and took me to the *éoprhé*

3. named. It came to pass that] my [heart] was sad

*tw m s<sup>3</sup>*. Cf. the caus. **ἮἸἸἸ ἸἸἸ** *arcessere*, ST., § 561. **ΕΙ (y)** **ἸἸἸ**, on the other hand, means 'follow.'

*θ-w t-y*. In Late Eg. the object-pronouns are normal; Verbum, ii, § 494. In dem. only those of the 3rd pers. are normal; the rest, *t-y*, *t-k* (II Kh. iii. 17; vi. 12), *t-t* (in contracts passim), *t-n* (below, l. 26), are a new formation of *t* followed by the possessive suffixes. They are found also in contemporary archaistic inscriptions and papyri. In Late Eg. of the twenty-first dynasty we have *y-rwy<sup>3</sup> tw-k* (Pap. Unuamon, i, x + 2-3) = S. **ΔΛΟΚ**. This example raises the question whether the *t* was ever really pronounced. A genuine loss of *t*, however, took place early before the suffixes in *tw-f*, *tw-k* = **ἸἸ-**, **ἸἸ-**; later also in *mt-k* = **ἸἸΚ** : **ἸἸἸΚ**, and in the case of many feminine infinitives, esp. in Sah., so that *tw-k* = S. -K is not surprising. The **Ἦ** added to the inf. for the suffix of the 1st pers. **ἸἸἸἸἸἸ**, ST., § 176, may be taken from the *t-y* of this object-pronoun by false analogy, and the Boh. imperatives **ΔΛΙἸἸ**, **ΔἸἸἸ**, **ΔἸἸἸ**, may possibly show other survivals. The origin of the series of the demotic object-pronouns may be analogy with (1) the above *tw-f* series, the use of which resembles 'that of absolute pronouns; (2) suffixes added to fem. infinitives; (3) the old passive form *sdm.tw-f*. It is noticeable that Coptic retains no causatives of transitive verbs requiring object-pronouns, the uses of **ἸἸἸ** 'cause to make,' **ἸἸἸἸἸ** 'cause to open' being strictly limited. This makes the false formations **ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ**, **ἸἸἸἸἸἸἸ** (which verbs seem to be from intransitives, *ny*, *sm*), all the more interesting.

1. 3. [*hpr-f e*]. In demotic the attributive construction follows *hpr*, in Coptic the indicative follows **ἸἸἸἸἸ**; cf. l. 10.

*e h<sup>3</sup>t-y thr*; cf. the same words II Kh. iii. 6; vii. 9. *thr* is apparently qual., while *the*, likewise always with *h<sup>3</sup>t*, is infinitive, iv. 12, 35; II Kh. iii. 9. But in Hist. Rom. Gloss., No. 340, *thr* seems to cover both usages, cf. S. **ἸἸἸἸἸ** and **ἸἸἸἸἸ** : **ἸἸἸἸἸ** (Verbum, i, p. 144), Eg. *dhr*, Pap. Prisse, xii. 1, and perhaps B. **ἸἸἸἸ**, qual. **ἸἸἸἸ**. The rare **ἸἸἸἸἸ** (Z., 624) is 'aemulari' in PEYRON, but 'ressentir vivement' according to REVILLOUT, Setna, 1880, p. 9.

*m šs*, Eg. *m šs m<sup>3</sup>s*, *m šs*, B. **ἸἸἸἸἸἸ**. Cf. the form **ἸἸἸἸἸἸ**, II Kh. i. 6 note, and for *šs* = **ἸἸἸ** cf. *šs (n) stn* = **ἸἸἸἸἸ**, below, l. 8.

*bn . . . n*; negative of the present **ἸἸ . . . ΔἸἸ**.

*r n*. Probably **ἸἸ ἸἸ** : **ἸἸ ἸἸ**, ST., § 496 and § 491, p. 315 (cf. l. 14), unless it means 'acted in the manner.'

p'e gy n sf 'n zt n(?)y Pr-<sup>c</sup> 'Hwre-t 'n (m)nte-t 'r ty  
 'w-w n(?)y n n'y(y) mt-wt l'he zt my ty hmse-y 'erme

4. N(?)y)-nfr-k'-Pth p'e sn] 'z t-y n-f my hmse-y  
 'erme p' šre n w' mr-mš'e my hmse-f 'erme t' šre-t  
 n ky mr-mš'e h'-f h'pr-f r? t'e-n mhwe-t r 'šy sby-y  
 sby Pr-<sup>c</sup>

5. [p' mr-pr-stn 'w zt n-f] Pr-<sup>c</sup> p' mr-pr-stn my θ-w  
 'Hwre-t r p' 'y n N(?)y)-nfr-k'-Pth n p' grh my θ-w nt  
 nb-t nt n(?)y)-ne-w 'erme-s tr-w θ-w t-y n hm-t r p'  
 'y n N(?)y)-nfr-k'-Pth

6. . . . . te Pr-<sup>c</sup> ?] 'n-w n(?)y) špe n ht nb te n'y-w

*gy*. It is curious that while  $\overline{\text{G}}\Delta$  : (\* $\chi\Delta\text{I}$  ?), and B.  $\chi\text{IT}$ - are masc.  
 like *gy*, the S. compounds with  $\overline{\text{G}}\text{IT}$ - are generally fem.

*mnt-t 'r ty*. 'r *stm* is the regular form of the past active participle  
 in dem., cf. *mt nb 'r h'pr*, iv. 5, &c. After the article or copula (?) the  
 form is *e'r*; l. 12 p' *e'r sh*, iv. 8 p' *e'r h'pr*. For the beginnings of this  
 periphrastic participle in Late Egyptian see Verbum, ii, § 876. In Pap.  
 Unuamon, ii. 13, we already find it with the article p' *yr wd-k*. It  
 appears to correspond to the old imperfect participle (Verbum, l. c.),  
 hardly to the past participle (ibid., § 839). Cf. also *Topoyous* = *T'-e.'r-g'*,  
 'Αμύραος = Eg. *Ymn-yr-dy-s*, &c., HESS, Ä. Z., 90, 1; MÜLLER, Rec. de  
 Trav., xiii. 152, note 1; STEINDORFF, Keilinsch.-Wiedergabe in Beitr.  
 f. Assyriologie, i. 352; Verbum, i, § 3. The *op*, *up*, and Assyrian *ar*  
 transcripts show that the 'r was pronounced with a short vowel pre-  
 ceding *r*. Often predicative as here, cf. use of  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}$ -,  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}$ -, ST., § 306.

*l'he*. Cf. *l'h*, Poème Sat. iii. 8; Leyden Mor. v. 6; viii. 22, &c.

*my ty* ( $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{T}}$ -), not *my* ( $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{I}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}$ -) alone, is the  
 imperative of the causative, vid. ST., § 385.

l. 4. For the restoration see iv. 3.

*zt-y*. Note that  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}$  (ERM., Ä. Z., 93, 102 note) is no guide to  
 the form *zt-y*,  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}$  being apparently formed with the relative verb  
 (Verbum, ii, p. 434). Cf. l. 20 note.

*my hms-y*. Cf.  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{J}}$ -, from *my 'r-f*, Verbum, ii, §§ 202, 539.

l. 5. Or restore *n'y-nfr h't-f m šs zt] Pr-<sup>c</sup>*, exactly filling the space at  
 the beginning implied by the necessary restorations in ll. 2, 4, 9, 13, 14, &c.  
 p' after the gap, of course, marks the vocative.

*mr-pr-stn*. This title seems rare in hieroglyphs: pronounced perhaps  
*le-pi-ns* (?).

*pr*; for the phonology of this word see STEINDORFF, Ä. Z., 1889,  
 107, No. 6. As a separate word, *pr* (\**péy*) is written in I Kh. with a line  
 above the group and its det., iv. 6, &c. In composition before a consonant  
*pr-nfr*, l. 39, *pr-Bst*, &c.—as *pí*—it retains this line, but before a vowel,

exceedingly, I not being in my guise (?) of the previous day. Said Pharaoh to me, 'Ahure, didst *thou* send to me in this fool's-counsel (?), saying, "Marry me with

4. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah my] elder [brother]?" I said to him, 'Let me marry with the son of a general, let him marry with the daughter of another general likewise. May it come to pass for our family for abounding!' I laughed, Pharaoh laughed.

5. The steward of the king's house came; said to him] Pharaoh, 'O steward of the king's house, let Ahure be taken to the house of Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah in the night, let every beautiful thing be taken with her, all.' I was taken as wife to the house of Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah.

6. . . . . caused] to be brought to me a

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as in *Pr-nh*, l. 8 (from which the *•* has gone) it loses the line, being reduced to Π-, as witness Πάρουμος ΠΕΘΩΛ = *pr-Im*, Busiris ΠΟΥΡΙΠΕ = *pr-Sr*. Hence its use in the same form by false analogy for the article in geographical expressions where it precedes a vowel ΠΕΛΛΙΤ, &c., l. 21. See also the next note, and *ny-w pr* in l. 6.

*y (y)*, ΗΙ, tonlos I, vid. iv. 25; for the reading see SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 1899, 28: derived from *pr*, STEINDORFF, *Ä. Z.*, 1889, 107, No. 6.

S. *ḡi* always means 'wife': and is written as here in most dem. texts. Another group (the seated woman), below, iv. 27, represents *ḡi* 'woman' (*s-hm-t*), but its pl. reads *hm-wt ḡi* 'women,' iii. 25. For brevity in lists, *hm-t*, 'wife,' is sometimes rendered by the sign for 'woman' alone, Br., Dem. Urk. X; and on the other hand in Rh. Bil., No. 316, *ḡi* 'women' is written by exception with the plural of the group for *hm-t*. In Old Eg. *hm-t*, 'female,' means generally 'wife,' and *s-t* (fem. of *s* 'person') always 'woman'; but *hm-wt* is 'women.' This rule remains in Late Eg. (and in part survives in Coptic), only that in Late Eg. while *hm-t* is 'wife,' *s-t*, having lost its ending in pronunciation, is now defined by the addition of the adj. *hm-t, s-t-hm-t*. There is some indication that the seated woman in dem. in part retains the value of the old *s-t*, \**se*, e. g. in the group for *hm-se*, 'sit.'

l. 6. 'They caused themselves to be carried.' A passive meaning in a verb following *ty* is not uncommon, e. g. l. 8 *te-w sh-f*, iv. 4 *te-f mh-f*, II Kh. iii. 13 *te-y s-hpr h-t-k*. Evidently in these cases we have the infinitive (STD., § 171) of the dependent verb as in *†w*, &c., ST., p. 316, not a passive subjunctive; and it must here be B. *enot* not S. *ntot*.



*pr* Pr.<sup>o</sup> ʾn-w n(?)y tr-w ʾr N(?)nfr-k<sup>o</sup>-Pth hrw nfr  
 ʾerme-y šp-f hē nʾy-w *pr* Pr.<sup>o</sup> tr-w qt-f ʾerme-y n p<sup>o</sup>  
 grh n rn-f rʾr-f gm-t-y

7. . . . ʾer]me-y ʿn sp sn ʾr rmt mr p<sup>o</sup>-f ʾr nʾm-n  
 hpr p<sup>o</sup>e ss n ʾr hsmn b-p-y ʾr hsmn ʿn ʾr-w ʿn-smy  
 nʾm-s m-ḏh Pr.<sup>o</sup> n(?)y-nfr hē-t-f m šs te Pr.<sup>o</sup> θ-w  
 nka ʿsʾy

8. eʾr-hr-y tʾy hte]t? te-f ʾn-w n(?)y špe n ht nb šs-  
 stn e n(?)y-ʿne-w m šs hpr p<sup>o</sup>e ss n ms ms-y pʾy hm  
 hl nt eʾr-hr-k nt ʾe-w zt n-f Mr<sup>o</sup>b n rn te-w sh-f n š<sup>o</sup>  
 n(?) Pr-ʿnh

*nʾy-w-pr* ⲛⲗ\*ⲛⲏⲓ (?) 'household,' occurs by itself, iv. 39. Note that *pr* is without det. in this expression, suggesting that it is a different word from *pr* in iv. 6. For the possess. art. pl. in dem., cf. Σναχομεις, BR., Dem.-gr. Eigennamen, p. 14; also Poème Sat. iv. 2.

šp hē, with suffixes II Kh. vi. 12 (?), vii. 8, lit. perhaps 'receive the person of,' and so 'lodge' or 'entertain as visitor.' In Coptic simply ⲩⲱⲛ.

*qt-f*. The fem. noun *qte-t* (Kufi, iii. 33)=Eg. *qd-t*=(ⲧ)ⲕⲓⲧⲈ (ERM., A. Z., 1895, 50; Kopt. Urk., No. 22) makes the reading quite certain. It is curious, however, that ⲛⲕⲟⲧ ʾn-*qty* for *n-qt* is written with quite a different group for *qt*.

p<sup>o</sup> *grh* n *rn-f*; cf. O. C. Horosc., v. 20 ⲛⲣⲗⲗⲓⲛⲣⲓⲛⲟⲩ 'the years named,' (ⲛ̄ = -p = ⲛⲣ) and Pap. Unuamon, i. 20.

*rʾr-f gm*. This emphatic form—which occurs in Late Eg. (Verbum, ii, §§ 205, 276, 348 et seqq.), and eventually quite displaced the ordinary past narrative forms, appearing in Coptic as ⲗ, ⲗⲘ (ibid., §§ 206, 350)—is often used in dem. to mark a notable occurrence or development in the narrative, especially with *gm*, 'find,' *mw*, 'perceive.' In such cases I have generally pointed the translation with 'behold!' *eʾr-f* seems to vary with *rʾr-f* even in this text, cf. iv. 38, v. 3.

*gm* may perhaps mean 'knew sexually,' though there is no sexual det.

l. 7. ʿn *sp-sn*, i. e. ʿn ʿn, seems always to strengthen a negative (with past or future); v. 18; II Kh. vi. 29; vii. 7; Poème Sat., ii. 40.

ʾr *rmt mr*; this is the form with nominal subject corresponding to *rʾr-f mr*; cf. Verbum, ii, § 203.

*p<sup>o</sup>-f ʾr*, incorrectly copied in HESS, p. 23; cf. the reciprocal use of the plur. Ⲉⲣⲏⲩ.

*hsmn*; cf. Pap. Ebers, xcvi. 21, and HESS, p. 24.



9. [ḥpr-f 'e mn mte N(?)nfr-]k'-Pth p'e sn yp-t ḥr  
p' t' m-s' mš' ḥr t ḥse-t n Mn-nfr 'e-f 'š n n' šh-w nt  
ḥn n' ḥwt n n' Pr-<sup>o</sup>-w 'erme n' wyt-w n n' šh-w  
Pr-<sup>n</sup>ḥ 'erme n' šh-w nt ḥr

10. . . . . ] tb' šh m šs m-s' n'y(y) ḥpr w'  
ḥ'y ns Pth, šm N(?)nfr-k'-Pth ḥn ḥ-ntr r wšte ḥpr-f  
e-f mš' m-s' p' ḥ'y e-f 'š n n' šh-w nt ḥr n' g'-wt n n'  
ntr-w

11. gm-se? w' w'b e-f 'y n ms] r-r-f sby-f zt n-f  
N(?)nfr-k'-Pth e-r-k sby n-m-y tb' ḥ' zt-f bn te-y sby  
n-m-k 'n r-ry sby ḥpr r-k 'š n hyn-w šh-w e mn mte

12. rmt n p' t' . . . . e-f ḥpr] r-k wḥ 'š šh 'm n(?)y

'write.' It is, however, written *sš* even in N. K. Is not  $\text{C}\mathfrak{Z}\Delta\text{I} : \text{C}\mathfrak{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  due to fusion of *sš* with Eg. *šḥ* 'remember'? Here we have the sense 'be enrolled,' 'be registered,' as in  $\text{C}\mathfrak{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ , ROBINSON, Copt. Apocr. Gosp., 197.

*š' t* seems in Late Egyptian applicable to any kind of document. Note the absence of the article, which may imply a phrase *šḥ n š' t* for 'be registered.' The *t* is doubtful. If *n* is to be read, translate 'in the House of Life'; otherwise *š' t Pr-nḥ* must mean 'the register of P.'

l. 9. For the restoration cf. iv. 38.

*yp-t*,  $\epsilon\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\text{I}\epsilon\text{N}$ -; cf. HESS, *Ä. Z.*, 1890, pp. 6-7 for the derivation from Eg. *wp-t*, *yp-t*.

*ḥse-t*. Alphabetically spelled in BR., Thes. 931, in the same phrase, 'the necropolis of Memphis'; cf. Rh. bil. pap., No. 369, and BR., Wtb. Suppl. 897.

*ḥwt*. *ḥ-t*, 'grave,' and *ḥ-t*, 'fortress,' 'residence' (= \* $\mathfrak{Z}\omega$ , \* $\mathfrak{Z}\Delta$ -, ERM., *Ä. Z.* 83, 101, Anm. 2), are written alike in late hieroglyphic, and in demotic.

*Pr-<sup>o</sup>-w*, Achm.  $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{p}}\Delta\overline{\text{i}}$ .

l. 10. *ḥ'y*, in Eg. 'manifestation (of a god or king),' =  $\mathfrak{Y}\Delta : \mathfrak{Y}\Delta\text{I}$ , 'feast,' so here 'procession.'

*ns-Pth*. Compounds of *ns* with a divine name are very common in proper names, but the form seems almost obsolete in the language. *ns* occurs, however, several times in Pap. Unuamon, ii. 24, 25, and it is used here probably on account of the god's name.

*šm*, vid. HESS, p. 149, *Ä. Z.*, 1890, 5 for the reading, =  $\mathfrak{Y}\epsilon\text{I} : \mathfrak{Y}\epsilon$ . The spelling in Pap. Unuamon, i. 12, &c. indicates the loss of the *m*.

*ḥ-ntr*, S.  $\mathfrak{Z}\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon\text{E}\text{T}\epsilon$ , T. 'monastery.' In dem. always without the article; cf. *s' Pr-nḥ* in l. 8, *Pr-<sup>o</sup>*, and the title *stme* itself.

*ntr-w*,  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\text{H}\overline{\text{P}}$ , ERM., *Ä. Z.* 95, 47.

9. It came to pass that Ne-nefer]ka-Ptah my brother [had no] occupation on the earth except to walk on the gebel of Memphis, reading in the writings that were in the tombs of the Pharaohs and the tablets of the scribes of the House of Life and the writings that were on

10. . . . . and great was his zeal] about writings exceedingly. After these things, there happened a procession in honour of Ptah, Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah went into the temple to worship. He happened to be walking behind (?) the procession reading in the writings that were upon the shrines of the gods.

11. . . . . it happened that there came (?) a priest greater in age] than he; he laughed. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah said to him, 'Wherefore dost thou laugh at me?' Said he, 'I am not laughing at thee.' Make thou sport and be reading in writings (of a sort) that belongs to no

12. man on the earth their like (?). If] thou seekest

l. 11. The det. of *ms* is unmistakable, and it is, therefore, difficult to restore the line differently. Cf. *e-f y n ms* in vi. 11.

*e-r-k*. This might represent the past  $\Delta\text{K}\omega\text{R}\epsilon$ , cf. above, l. 6; or  $\epsilon\text{K}(*\text{epek})\omega\text{R}\epsilon$  (cf. fem.  $\epsilon\text{pe}$ , Boh. pl.  $\epsilon\text{pe}\text{ten}$ ); or simply  $\text{K}\omega\text{R}\epsilon$ . The last seems here the best, and  $\epsilon(\text{pe})\text{K}$  is spelt *r-k* after *hpr*, at the end of this line; cf. iv. 25.

*ib* for  $\epsilon\text{T}\text{R}\epsilon$ , the *e* (*r*) being omitted in writing; cf. v. 20, note.

*r-ry sby* can hardly here be of the form *r-r-f stm*; read it therefore as  $\Delta\text{PI}$ -. The *hpr* following can only be imperative; cf. St., § 385 ad fin. Others translate 'If I laughed, it was that,' but so bold a rendering requires parallels to support it.

*lyn-w*. The meaning 'pair,' referring to the two spells, suggested by BRUGSCH and HESS, p. 30, is not yet authenticated, though here, as often, appropriate.

l. 12. *wh* (not *abi*); for variants vid. HESS, p. 31 (read *abi* in Gnost. Gloss., confused also with *qly*). Old Eg. *w<sup>h</sup>*, Late Eg. *w(<sup>h</sup>)<sup>h</sup>* (Verbum, i, § 87), 'seek' =  $\text{O}\text{T}\omega\text{WY}$  'desire.' In II Kh. (vid. ii. 29) the group spells *w<sup>h</sup>*, 'letter.'

$\epsilon^{\text{S}}$ , with direct obj. means 'pronounce,' 'read aloud';  $\epsilon^{\text{S}} n$  seems to mean 'read in,' 'peruse,' cf.  $\epsilon^{\text{S}} n-m-f$ , l. 35, iv. 38.

te-y θ-w t-k r p' m'(c) nt e p'y zm' n'm-f e Thwt p'  
e'r sh-f n t-t-f h'c-f e-f n'cy r hry m s' n' ntr-w hp snw  
n sh n' nt hr ʾt(t)-f ʾr-k

13. ʿs p' hp mh I (?) ʾr-k r] phre t' p p' t' t' t't n'  
tw.w n' ym-w ʾr-k r gm n' nt e n' ʾpt-w n t' p erme  
n' zfe-w r zt-t-w tr-w ʾr-k r nw r n' rym-w n p mty  
e wn

14. nh't n ntr wh n mw t'e-w ry]t? hry't ʾr-k ʿs p'  
hp mh snw e-f h'pr ʾr-k hn ʾMnt ʾr-k n p'e-k gy hr p'  
t' ʿn ʾr-k r nw r p' R' ʾe-f h'c n t' p ʾerme t'e-f p' ntr-w  
ʾerme p' ʾch [n] p'e-f gy n wbn

15. zt n-f N(ʾy)-nfr-kʾ-Pth] stn ʿnh-f my zt-w n(ʾ)-y  
w'c-t mt nfr't ʾr-k wh-se te-y ʾr-w se n-k nte-k hb-y r

*te-y.* Old conjunctive (final) *sdm-f*, especially common in the 1st pers. of this verb (l. 15, &c.). Cf. Verbum, ii, § 160 for Late Eg.

*n'm-f.* This locative use remains in **𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏**, St., § 298, 2.

*e Thwt*; so also **ⲉ** not **ⲉⲣⲉ** before **ⲡⲈⲦ-**, St., § 407.

*Thwt*=O. C. Par. **ⲐⲐⲐⲦⲦ**, Ä. Z. 83, 94.

*p' e'r sh-f*; see note on (*m*)*nt-t ʾr ty* in l. 3; cf. **ⲡⲈⲦⲁⲘ-** in St., § 306.

*e-f*, which can spell both **ⲉⲘ**, Eg. *yw-f*, and **Ⲙ-** (late Eg. *tw-f*); here apparently stands for the latter (1st pres.).

*ny*=Eg. *n'c-t, ny*, 'go,' **ⲡⲐⲦ:ⲡⲐⲦⲓ** *μελλειν*, so in vi. 14; here qual. **ⲡⲁ** 'go' (which is used as qual. of **ⲙⲉ**, St., § 348). In II Kh. and Gnost. it is falsely spelled *n-ny*, except in the causative; see the examples in Hess, pp. 32-6. **ⲦⲈⲡⲡⲐⲐⲐⲐ** 'send,' seems a new formation from its caus., **ⲦⲈⲡⲡⲐⲐⲐⲐ**.

*hp* is here probably 'law,' i. e. 'formula.'

*hp II*, &c.: complex examples of emphasis are common in dem. Here the two formulae are named and described together by a separate phrase in apposition; the sentence is never properly finished, a new sentence dealing with each separately.

l. 13. The restoration is from l. 14, helped by l. 40.

*phre*, B. **ϕⲁⲉⲣⲓ**, for the sense cf. **ϕⲁⲉⲣ** 'incantator,' and O. C. **ⲡⲈⲈⲣ-** 'enchant,' Ä. Z., 1883, 106=S. \***ⲡⲁⲉⲣ-**.

*ʾpt.* *s'* is an impossible reading being only a phonetic value in hieroglyphic, vid. Hieroglyphs, pp. 22-3. For the reading *ʾpt*—founded on the hieroglyphic *ʾpd-w*, which this group renders in Pamonth, i. 35—cf. *ʾpt-w*, along with *rym-w* as here, spelt out in Kufi, iii. 29.

There seems a superfluous line before *n' ʾpt-w*, omitted in the parallels, iii. 36; iv. 1.

to pronounce a spell, come to me, that I may cause thee to be taken to the place in which is that book that it was Thoth that wrote it with his own hand, when he went down following (?) the gods. Two formulae of writing, namely what are upon it—thou

13. reading the first formula, thou wilt] charm the heaven, the earth, the underworld, the mountains, the seas. Thou wilt discern what the birds of heaven, and the creeping things shall say, all. Thou shalt see the fish of the deep, there being

14. power of god resting upon water] over [them]. Reading the second formula, if it be that thou art in Amenti, thou art again on earth in thy (usual) form; thou wilt see the Sun rising in heaven with his cycle of deities, and the Moon [in] his form of shining.

15. Said to him Nenefter-ka-Ptah], 'O king, may he live! may I be told a good thing that thou desirest that I should cause it to be done to thee, that thou mayest

*e wn* = ⲈⲚⲏ : ⲈⲚⲏⲏ.

l. 14. For the restoration see l. 37, and the other parallel passages, which vary in detail.

*ry.t*. Late Eg. *rw-y.t*, 'side,' apparently from Eg. *r-w.t*, 'edge of the way.' It also means 'niche,' and *pi* 'cell' seems derived from it.

*r-k n* ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲁ; cf. l. 3, contrast *r-f p'e-f gy* without *n* in ll. 32 et seqq. The construction may rather point to the rendering 'whether thou art in Amenti, (or) again on earth.'

*'h* ⲟⲟⲟ. This rather than *P'h* (cf. Boh. Ⲓⲱⲟ) seems the best transcription. See the rendering of Ⲓⲱⲟ in London Gnos. viii. 2.

l. 15. The restoration is perhaps incomplete.

*sn 'nh-f*. A common ejaculation, or rather lively mode of address, in Kufi (xvii. 26), where when a female is addressed (ibid. v. 11; xix. 31), *sn 'nh-s*, 'may she live,' is used: so equivalent to 'My good sir!' 'My good lady!' It is evidently modelled on the full address to the king, as seen below in iv. 24. *'nh-f* is optative, 'may he live!' rather than indicative 'as he liveth.' Contrast *'nh = ⲏⲉ*, v. 14.

*hb-y*. For ⲟⲱⲏ as a verb in Pagan Coptic (Eg. *hb*) see ERM., Ä. Z., 1895, 50; Kopt. Urk., No. 22. Note that *y* is still used, as in Eg., for the suffix of the 1st sing. to the inf., instead of Coptic Ⲛ.



despatch me to the place in which this book is.' Said the priest to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. 'If it be that thou desirest to be directed (?)

16. to the place in which this book is] thou shalt give me a hundred teben of silver for my burial, thou shalt cause two [salaries (?)] of a priest to be made for me without deduction (?).' Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah called to a youth, he caused the hundred (teben) of silver to be given to the priest, he caused the superintendents (?) of the treasury (?) to add (?) two . . . . . he caused them to be made

17. for the priest without fee (?). Said the priest to] Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah 'the book named it is in the midst of the sea of Coptos, in a box of iron, the box of iron being in a box

18. of bronze, the box of bronze] in a box of qete-wood, the box of qete-wood in a box of ivory and ebony, the box of ivory and ebony in a

19. box of silver, (and) the box of] silver in a box of gold in which is the book: there being a schoenus of every kind of serpent, scorpion, and reptile around the box in which the book is, there being

20. an endless (?) snake around] the box named. The time of relating that the priest did before Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah, he found not any place of earth in which he was. He came out of the temple and related

21. of everything that had become of him], all. He

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ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲓⲥⲓⲥ-ⲛⲓⲗⲗ 'N whom N bore' (ERM., Ä. Z. 93, 103), and in Coptic in ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲉ-, lit. 'that which . . . said,' ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲁ-Ⲓ, ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲱ-ⲟⲩ: ⲛ-ⲉⲗⲁⲩ; cf. also ⲗⲗ-ⲉⲗⲓⲥ-, ⲗⲗ-ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲕ, ERM., Ä. Z. 94, 128.

*p wne-t n szy r.rr*, cf. ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ, *hora qua, quando* (PEYRON).

*b-p-f gm*, &c. A regular phrase, with some varieties, for amazement or excitement.

I. 21. For the restoration at the beginning see iv. 15, and for *e bp-y hrr* below, l. 24.



n(?)y e-y šm r Qbt e-y 'n p'y zm' [e b̄p-y] hrr r p(r)  
mht 'n h̄pr-f e-y h̄' (?) 'n n? p' w' b̄ zt hr? n-k 'Mn?  
e? hr-k szy e-r-h̄r-f n'y(y)

22. . . . . ] h̄e 'n-k n'y p' mlh̄e p' tš n  
Ne gm-y se . . . . [r-y 'y ?] t-t-y 'erme N(γ)-nfr-k'-Pth  
r tm ty šm-f r Qbt [b̄p]-f stm n'y šm-f mb'h̄

23. Pr-<sup>c</sup> s-zy-f mb'h̄] Pr-<sup>c</sup> n mt nb:t r:zt n-f p' w' b̄  
tr-w zt n-f Pr-<sup>c</sup> 'h̄ p' nt [e-r-k w'h̄ n-'m-f?] zt-f n-f my  
te-w n'y t' shre:t Pr-<sup>c</sup> erme p'e-s sbte [e]-y θ 'Hwre:t

*hrr*; for the reading cf. 'N-h̄r, Eg. *Yn-h̄r-t* "Ovovuis, rightly read by LEGRAIN in Miss. Arch. Franç. viii. 374; BR., dem. Urk. iv. c. a. This group is therefore 𐤂𐤓𐤐𐤓, as BRUGSCH long ago suggested. Eg. *hr(y)r* = 'depart from,' 'avoid'; so *hrr* r with negative may mean 'not avoid,' 'go straight to,' and *hrr* alone with neg. 'not delay.' Verbum, i, § 426, makes 𐤂𐤓𐤐𐤓 a V<sup>ae</sup>. inf. reduplication of Eg. *hr(y)*, 'be satisfied,' and that it exceeds three radicals seems proved by the periphrastic 'r-f *hrr*, iv. 12, cf. Verbum, ii, § 195. But it seems to have *h̄*, not *h*, for its occurrence in 'N-h̄r is as early as Nekhtnebef.

*pr mht*, 𐤐𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓; we have also 𐤐𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓, 𐤐𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓 similarly written, v. 11, II Kh. vi. 10. So also 𐤐𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓 𐤑𐤏𐤗 'the island Lak' is spelt *pr-y-Lk*, and this rendering of the article is common in geographical names.

*h̄'*, 𐤏𐤗: 𐤏𐤗; for the reading see HESS, Ä. Z., 1890, 4; with it is either the det. of evil indicating a special meaning in this passage, or better (as HESS) the word 'n. Following this is the preposition *n* rather than *r*. *h̄'* 'n n probably means 'opposed,' 'blamed,' or 'reproached'; but there seems to be no such use in Coptic, and *h̄'* may here be either inf., or better qual.

*hr n-k 'Mn(?)* (the *hr* as in 𐤂𐤐, 𐤂𐤓𐤏: 'face,' but with det. of evil) occurs II Kh. v. 29: 'Amon curse thee,' or 'stop it for thee,' or 'prevent thee' (cf. 𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓), or 'beware of Amon for thyself' (𐤂𐤐𐤐𐤓, PEYRON, *Auct.*); hardly 'may Amon attend to thee' with implied bad sense, for *my hr* (II Kh. v. 8) is constructed with *r*. In the present passage 'Mn is uncertain.

[e] *hr-k szy*, 'thou having related,' \*𐤂𐤏𐤓𐤓(?)𐤏𐤗𐤓. This is a regular form in texts of Ptolemaic and early Roman period for the past verbal attribute where the relative is the subject of its sentence (Sr., § 423, p. 260); cf. iv. 4 and Ros., l. 6, r *hr-f ty*, and contrast e 'r-f *slm*, iv. 26. It is essentially the emphatic form in dependent sentences, perhaps also emphasizing the subject (here the pronoun). See notes to iv. 5 and 26. In II Kh. *hr n-k 'Mn* is followed by emphatic *mte-k*, 𐤓𐤓𐤏𐤓.

said to me 'I will go to Coptos, I will bring this book, having come straight back to the North.' It came to pass that I reproached (?) the priest saying, 'May Amon curse thee (?) in that thou hast related to him these

22. ill-omened things! Thou hast prepared (?) for me the] battle, thou hast brought to me the quarrel. The Thebais, I have found it [cruel (?).] I did the extent of] my hand with Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah to prevent him from going to Coptos. He did not hearken to me. He went before

23. Pharaoh, he related before] Pharaoh of everything that the priest had told him, all. Said to him Pharaoh, 'What is it that [thou desirest]?' He said to him, 'Let the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh be given me with its equipment. I will take Ahure

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l. 22. *'he . . . mlhe*. The same association of words in Hist. Rom. Gloss., Nos. 11, 129, as pointed out by KRALL, l. c.; *'he* = Eg. *'p*, later *y<sup>h</sup>*, 'fight' (Hieroglyphs, p. 15).

*p' tš*; Hess and Krall read *n p' tš*, 'strife of the Thebaid,' but the facsimile and photograph show this to be wrong and due to an accidental split in the sign *p'*: otherwise the line might continue 'I found him [deaf to me].'

*Ne*, Late Eg. *N-t*, Pap. Unuamon, ii. 78, &c. = *ns*, Ass. *Ni*<sup>3</sup>; see HESS, p. 81. Originally fem., it is so in Kufi, v. 33, *p<sup>e</sup>-f ne-t*, 'his city.' But in BR., Thes. 897 quoting from Rh. bil. pap., *p<sup>e</sup>-f ne* is read where HESS (l. c.) reads *ne-t-f*; the writing of the passage is here confused in the original (vid. the facsimile published by Birch), *p<sup>e</sup>-f(?)* being an addition, so it is not a good authority. In O. C. Par., *ne* probably = Thebes (ERM., Ä. Z., 93, 103, note to l. 46).

[*'r-y' y'*] *t-t-y*; cf. v. 36. If this is the correct restoration, *y* had here the exceptional det. of speech as in II Kh. ii. 11.

Coptic, in *ETETPECYE*, uses the periphrasis *'r-f šm* for *šm-f* on the same principle as in the past *'r-f sm* = *ΔQCWTEE* for *sm-f*. *sm n*, 'hearken to'; cf. *sm r*, 'hear' (a voice or sound), v. 27, *sm mt-t*, 'hear' (a thing), iv. 12.

l. 23. For the restoration vid. vi. 5.

*shre-t*, probably to be connected with Eg. *hr*, caus. *s-hr*, 'please'; so 'pleasing' or 'pleasure-boat.'

24. ʿerme Mr-ʿb pʿe-s h]m hl r rs? ʿerme-y e-y ʿn  
pʿy zmʿ e ʿp-y? hrr te[-w n-f tʿ] shre-t Pr-ʿ erme pʿe-s  
sbte ʿl-n r mr-t r-r-s ʿr-n s[.g]r pḥ-n

25. r Qbt ʿr-w ʿn s-my] n-ʿm-s e-ʿr-hr nʿ wʿb-w n ʿS  
n Qbt pʿ mr šn n ʿS st ʿ[w] r ḥry r ḥʿ-t-n ʿp-w hrr  
r tʿ ḥʿ-t n N(ʿy)-nfr-kʿ-Pth nʿe-w ḥm-wt ʿw r ḥry r  
ḥʿ-t-y ḥʿ-y

26. ʿl-n r ḥry n nʿ qr-w šm-n hñ] ḥ-ntr n ʿS Hr-pʿ-ḥrt  
te N(ʿy)-nfr-kʿ-Pth ʿn-w ʿḥ ʿpt ʿrp ʿr-f glyl wtne m-bʿḥ  
ʿS n Qbt Hr-pʿ-ḥrt θ-w t-n r wʿ ʿy e n(ʿy)-ʿne-f m šs

27. . . . . ʿr N(ʿy)-nfr-kʿ-Pth hrw ftw e-f ʿr  
hrw nfr ʿerme nʿ wʿb-w n ʿS n Qbt e nʿ ḥm-wt n nʿ  
wʿb-w n ʿS ʿr hrw nfr erme-y ḥʿ-y ḥpr twe n pʿe-n hrw  
mḥ snw te N(ʿy)-nfr-kʿ-Pth

l. 24. In Eg. *rs* seems only adj., the subst. being *qmʿ*. N. B. *rs* without article; so also in O. C. Par. ερχε . . . . επεεεεεεεε (cf. l. 21) Ä. Z. 93, 100, l. 46.

It will be observed that the edges of the lacuna in ll. 24-26 are brought too close together on the facsimile. For the restorations see the parallel vi. 7, 8.

*e ʿp-y hrr* (εεεεεεεεεε). Although it is quite possible to translate (εεεεεε, St., § 435) 'I not having delayed,' i. e. 'without delay,' *e ʿp* occurs so constantly in I Kh. after a future that it may perhaps be interpreted as a negative conjunctive to the future, just as *mte*, ΠΤΕ, is the positive conjunctive; cf. v. 9, 10. But in v. 5, 8 we seem to have *e nm e* for the negative future conjunctive. *e ʿp-f* in such instances seems exactly parallel to Late Eg. *nn n-f* in Verbum, ii. § 563, and this suggests that the Late Eg. past neg. *bw pw-f*, εεεεεε may also be an un-etymological spelling of *nm n-f*, 'not (was there) to him' followed by the infinitive.

ʿl (from Eg. ʿr) probably allied to ωλ 'lift up,' 'take away,' but the sense is absolutely that of the intransitive ελε : ελην (to which S. ελην is probably the qual. and Τελο the caus.) 'go on board' a ship, 'mount' a horse, 'climb' a rock (Z. 15). In vi. 7 we have 'he went up thence' (from the shore to the town). Cf. Hist. Rom. Gloss., No. 7, where the spelling ʿle, ʿlʿ shows more clearly its identity with ελε. In Kufi, xvii. 27 the same group ʿl spells ωλ.

*r mr-t*, 'to ship-board,' 'on board' (so also II Kh. v. 6, Hist. Rom., No. 124); cf. ḥr *mr-t*, 'on board,' iv. 9, 14, 20. The change of meaning of *mr-t* in these nautical terms from 'board-ship' to 'far shore,' 'other side,' in εεεεεε, εεεεεε is curious.

24. with Mer-ab, her child] to the South with me. I will bring this book not having delayed.' The pleasure-boat of Pharaoh was given him with its equipment, we went aboard upon it, we made sail, we reached

25. Coptos, report] of it [was made] unto the priests of Isis of Coptos, and the chief priest of Isis. They came down to meet us, they went straight to meet Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah, their women came down to meet me myself.

26. We went up from the shore, we went into] the temple of Isis and Harpocrates. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah caused to be brought ox, goose, wine; he made offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. They took us to a house beautiful exceedingly.

27. . . . . Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah spent four days making holiday with the priests of Isis of Coptos, the women of the priests of Isis making holiday with me myself. There came the morning of our next day, Nenefer-ka-Ptah caused

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*sgr*, ⲪⲚⲞⲣ, from I Kh. might seem to be used specifically of 'going up stream,' Eg. *hnt*; but in Hist. Rom. (No. 275) it does not specify direction, cf. ⲪⲚⲞⲣ ⲉϩⲏⲧ (Z. 23, ll. 32-3).

l. 25. For the restoration vid. vi. 7.

*mr sn ἀρχιερέως*, Ros., l. 4 and Can. = ⲗⲁϨⲁⲛⲉ (?), cf. P. S. B. A., Nov. 1899, p. 271.

*r h'-t-n*, S. ⲉϩⲏⲧⲏ (rare), St., § 565 ad fin.; *r t' h'-t n N.* = ⲉⲧⲑⲞⲏ N., but with different meaning, St., §§ 516, 575.

*hm-wt ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ*; cf. note to *hm-t*, l. 5.

l. 26. *ꜥt*; see the plur. in l. 13. The singular, 'bird' or 'goose,' occurs in hieroglyphs as the name of a star, L., D. iii. 227 a, b; = ⲱϩⲧ, PEYRON, and KRALL, Rainer, Kopt. Urk. i, p. 187.

*gyl wtne*, θυσίας καὶ σπονδίας, Ros., l. 29. *gyl* (II Kh. *klyl*) with det. of fire, Ⲫⲗⲓⲁ. The Heb. *ḥyl* 'burnt-offering,' is borrowed from the Eg. according to GROFF, Les deux stèles de Canope, p. 6. It may be derived from an old hieroglyphic word *qrr*, 'burn' (pottery), in very late times = 'offering.' As 'burnt-offerings' were almost unknown in Egypt, probably the word refers to the burning of incense which always accompanied sacrifices from the earliest times.

l. 27. *mḥ smw* = ⲙⲙⲙⲙⲑ Ⲫ; St., § 284.

28. ʾn-w mnh ʾe-f ʿšʾ ʾe-f] wʿb ʾe-ʾr-ḥr-f ʾr-f wʿ rms ʾe-f mh n nʾe-f ḥn-w ʾerme nʾe-f hyt-w ʿš-f sh ʾr-r-w te-f ʿnh-w te-f n-w tʾw ḥwy-f (s)st ʾr pʾ ym mh-f tʾ shr[e-t] Pr-ʿ n šʿ

29. . . . . ʿ]f ʾ mr.t ḥms-y ḥr zʾzʾ pʾ ym n Qbt ḥ-y zt e-y gm pʾ nt e-f ʾ ḥpr nʾm-f zt-f nʾ ḥn-w (?) ḥn-se ḥrrḥr-y šʿ pʾ mʾ(ʿ) nt e pʾy zmʿ

30. nʾm-f ḥn-w se ḥr(rr)-f n grḥ] m qty mre ʾʾr-f ph ʾr-r-f n ḥrw ḥmt ḥwy-f šʿ ḥ-t-f ḥpr wʿ wš n yr ʾʾr-f gm wʿ ʾr n ḥf whē-t zft-t nb-t n p qte

31. n pʾ prʾ nt e pʾ zmʿ] ḥn-f ʾʾr-f gm wʿ ḥf n z-t n pʾ qte n tʾ tbe-t n rn-se ʿš-f sh ʾr pʾ ʾr n ḥf whē-t zft-t nb-t nt n pʾ qte n tʾ tbe-t ḥp-f ty pʾy-w

32. šm-f ʾr pʾ mʾ(ʿ) nt e pʾ ḥ]f n z-t nʾm-f ʾr-f qnqne ʾerme-f ḥtb-f se ʿnh-f ʾr-f pʾe-f gy ʿn ʾr-f qnqne ʾerme-f ʿn ʾr mh sp II ḥtb-f se ʿnh-f ʿn ʾr-f

l. 28. For the restoration cf. II Kh. v. 19.

Can *e-ʾr-ḥr-f* be in origin a participle, or an inf. dependent on *r* 'to': 'to make (or making) his face'? Note that prepositional phrases usually follow the direct object; hence the long separation from the verb in the present instance; cf. iv. 4, and *e ʾr n-f*, II Kh. vi. 35.

*rms*, in Hist. Rom., No. 177, is a vessel used for transport of soldiers. In Lond. Gnost. vi. 31 the *rms* of Osiris with Isis and Nephthys is mentioned. In Late Eg. Spiegelberg finds *rsmw* (Corresp., p. 230); *rms* occurs in the Roman Sign Papyrus, p. xix, l. 5.

*hn-w*. This dem. group corresponds to *hn*, 'row,' Br., Wtb. 1104, esp. Rh. bil. pap. xxvi. 5. Another dem. form of *hn* (see Br., Wtb. l. c.) is used in spelling *hnt*, 'be near,' in II Kh. ii. 8; and in Kufi, ix. 19 *hney-w*, 'rowers,' seems clearly spelt with that group, thus confirming the value here.

*hyt-w*. The *h* is read in all the hand copies, but is imperfect and not quite certain. PEYRON, Gr., gives S.  $\Sigma\text{OYHT}$  'sailor,' perhaps 'pilot': Ezech. xxvii. 29. Cf.  $\text{EP}\Sigma\text{WT}$  *navigare*, and in Eg. there is *ḥw-tiw* (with *ḥ*), Br., Wtb. Suppl. 800; PLEYTE, Pap. de Turin, Pl. 44. *ḥy-w*, Rec. de trav. xvii. 158 leaves the *t* unexplained.

*tʾw*; see MÜLLER, Ä. Z., 1886, 86.

*ḥwy*  $\Sigma\text{IOWI}$ ; in Pap. Unuamon, ii. 74 already spelt *ḥwʾ*; see Verbum, i. § 397, 10 for various forms; here 'launch'?

l. 29. *ḥr zʾzʾ*; for  $\Pi$  to be supplied in  $\Sigma\text{IXEN}$ , cf. note to *erme*, l. 1;  $\Sigma\text{IXEN}$   $\Phi\text{IOWE}$ , St., § 553, 2.

28. to be brought wax much and] pure unto him, he made a boat, filled with its rowers and its navigators (?). He read a spell to them, he made them live, he gave to them breath, he cast them into the sea. He filled the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh with sand.

29. . . . . he went] on board. I sat over the sea of Coptos myself, saying, 'I will find out what will become of him.' He said, 'Rowers, row it, carrying me to the place which this book is

30. in it.' They rowed it carrying him by night] as midday. And lo! he reached it in three days, he cast sand before him, there became a gap of river. And lo! he found a schoenus of every kind of serpent, scorpion, and reptile around

31. [the place (?)] in which [was this book], and lo! he found an endless snake around the box named. He pronounced a spell against the schoenus of every kind of snake, scorpion, and reptile that was around the box, he allowed them not to leap up.

32. He went to the place] in which [was the] endless [snake]. He fought with it, he slew it—it lived, it made its form again. He fought with it again a second time. He slew it, it lived again. He

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ⲃⲁ is regularly used of the freight of a vessel; cf. Pap. Unuamon, i. x + 22-3.

l. 30. For the restoration see l. 38.

*m qly*; before a suffix this word ends with *t*, see iv. 21. ⲄⲐⲧ differs in fem. gender and in its use with the article, but may perhaps be derived from *qly*.

*mre*, lit. 'mid-day,' but in Coptic ⲡⲭⲱⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲗⲗ ⲙⲉⲣⲓ = 'night and day'; cf. II Kh. ii. 18.

ⲕⲉⲧⲏⲩ; cf. iv. 34, as S. Ⲭⲏⲧⲩ, Sr., § 565. Contrast *r* ⲕⲉⲧ, l. 25.

*wš*, *wšr* Ⲑⲩⲱⲩⲩ, ⲡ.

l. 31. Restored from l. 19 with *pr* (cf. iv. 6) instead of *the.t*. *hn-f* seems to require *pr* since *m*<sup>s</sup>, 'place' takes *n.m-f*. The form ⲡⲬⲏⲧⲩ is found in Gnost., but apparently not earlier.

l. 32. *r-f p'e-f gy n*; cf. Ros., l. 20, *te-f r kh-t p'e-w gy*.

*r-f quque*. *sdm-f* is not admitted in quadriliteral verbs in Late

33. qnqne ? ʔerme-f ʿn r mḥ sp] III ʔr-f se n šʿt-t II-t te-f šʿ ʔwt šʿt-t ʔerme tʿe-se ʔr-t mt[-f] ḏp-f ʔr pʿe-f gy r šwe šm N(ʔy)-nfr-kʷ-Pth r pʷ mʷ(ʿ) nt e tʷ tbe-t nʷm-f

34. gm-f se wʿt tbe-t n] bnpy tʷy wn-f r-r-se gm-f wʿt tbe-t n ḥmt wn-f r-r-se gm-f wʿt tbe-t n ḥt n qte-t wn-f r-r-se gm-f wʿt tbe-t n yb hbyn

35. wn-f r-r-se gm-f wʿt tbe-t n] ḥt wn-f r-r-se gm-f wʿt tbe-t n nb wn-f r-r-se gm-f pʷ zm[ʿ] ḥn-se ʔn-f pʷ zmʿ r ḥry ḥn tʷ tbe-t n nb ʿš-f wʿ hp n šḥ nʷm-f

36. pḥre-f tʷ p pʷ tʷ tʷ tʷt n] tw-w nʷ ym-w gm-f nʷ nt e nʷ ʔpt-w n tʷ p ʔerme nʷ rym-[w n] pʷ mty nʷ ʔy-wt (?) n pʷ tw zt nʷm-w tr-w ʿš-f ky hpe n šḥ nwe-f

37. r pʷ Rʿ e-f ḥʿ n tʷ p erme tʿe-f pʷ ntr-w] ʔerme pʷ ʔḥ e-f wbn ʔerme nʷ syw-w n pʷe-w gy nwe-f r n rym-w n pʷ mty e wn nḥt-ntr wʰḥ n mw ḥr zz-w ʿš-f šḥ r pʷ (?)

Eg.; cf. Verbum ii, § 194, and II Kh. i. 10 *s-ḥḥ*; ii. 7 *snsn*. ʔr-f is quite distinct from *rʔr-f* noticed in l. 6.

*ḥtḥ*, fully spelled out in Hist. Rom. Gloss., No. 245.

l. 33. ʔr-f se n šʿt-t, a good instance of this use of ʔr showing that the common marriage formula is to be read ʔr-y t-t n ḥm-t, 'I have made thee wife.'

šʿt (written with knife and arm), Late Eg. šʿd, probably confused with ḥt, 'engrave.' In dem. the group means both 'cut' and 'engrave.'

*mt-f*. The remains suit the group *mt* (Br., Wtb. 730), which is required by the context to oppose to *nḥ-f* after the previous contests.

*r šwe* only after negative, II Kh. ii. 7, 22, vi. 2 seems to have det. of time 'again': connect perhaps with *šw-t*, 'shadow' or *šw*, 'empty,' so lit. 'to a shadow,' cf. Fr. *pas*.

l. 34. Perhaps *ḥḥp-f*, 'he looked,' cf. II Kh. i. 16, may have preceded the words in the text, cf. Ach. ΔΙΘΗΤΟ ΟΥΘΑΛΑΚΚΑ ΠΚΩΩΤ ΤΕ 'I found it a sea of fire,' Str., Elias, A. vii. 8-9.

l. 35. *r ḥry ḥn*; Str., § 556, ad fin., p. 372.

ʿš-f wʿ hp . . . nʷm-f illustrates the use of ʿš with and without *n*; cf. above, note to l. 12.

l. 36. **ΣΩ ΔΕΛΛΩΟΥ**, so also iv. 1; but in iii. 13, B. **ΕΥΕΧΟΤΟΥ**.

l. 37. The restoration from parallel passages must be shortened, probably by leaving out the last phrase.

*e wn nḥt-ntr*, &c.; cf. iv. 3, 10, 14.

33. fought with it again a] third [time]. He made it in two pieces, he put sand between a piece and its fellow. It died, it did not make its form ever again. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah went to the place in which the box was

34. he found that it] was [a box of] iron. He opened it, he found a box of bronze. He opened it, he found a box of qete-wood. He opened it, he found a box of ivory and ebony.

35. He opened it, he found a box of] silver. He opened it, he found a box of gold. He opened it, he found the book in it, he took the book up from the box of gold. He read a formula of writing in it,

36. he enchanted heaven, earth, the underworld, the] mountains, the seas; he found of what the birds of the heaven with the fishes of the deep, the animals of the mountain spake, all. He read another formula of writing he saw

37. the Sun rising in heaven, with his cycle of gods,] and the Moon rising, and the stars in their form; he saw the fishes of the deep, there being divine power resting in water over them. He read a writing to the

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*nht-ntr*; in the parallels *nht n ntr*, 'divine power.' Here we seem to have *nht(t)* written with weak *t*, as opposed to *nht* in iv. 7 with the final *t* repeated. It is perhaps the same word that in Gnost. is spelt out *nš*, 'power' = S. *ⲛⲉⲩⲱ*, *ⲛⲉⲩⲱ posse* (PEYRON). In Gnost., Lond. and Leyd., there is mention of *p nš n p ntr*, 'the power of the god,' vid. Hess, London Gnost., s.v. *nš*. In I Kh. there is never any article with this word: on the other hand, the *Nht* of iv. 7, q. v., is a definite entity or personality, a Power, *δύναμις*, or angel, and has the article.

*wḥ*; to read this *r-w* is impossible as it does not change with the object which would be 1st pers. sing. in iv. 14, 3rd pers. sing. in iv. 10. The reading *wḥ*, which seems probable in itself (cf. the form in Lond. Gnost. Gloss.), is proved by vi. 4. Apparently it is here the qual. *ⲟⲩⲏⲩⲉ*, 'dwelling,' 'resting.' In iv. 10 this word is slightly misplaced.

*n mw*. No article in any of the parallels. Probably *wḥ-n-mw* is simply an expression for 'floating.'

*hr z'z'-w*. The parallel passages have *pe-w (pe-f, pe) ry' t hry-t*, 'their (his, my) upper side.'

The line apparently ends with a superfluous stroke.



38. mw te-f ʾr-f pʾe-f gy ʿn? ʿl-f r m]r-t zt-f n nʾ  
 hn·w hn hr r hr-y šʿ pʾ mʾ(ʿ) nt (?) [e-f hn se (?) r·]r-w  
 hn-w hr(rr)-f n grh m qty mre r·ʾr-f ph-y (sic) r pʾ  
 mʾ(ʿ) nt e-y

39. n·m-f gm-f t-y e-y hms] hr zz n pʾ ym n Qbt  
 e bp-y swr wm e bp-y ʾr mt nb-t n pʾ tʾ e-y n smte n  
 rmt e ph-f r Pr-nfr zt-y n N(ʾy)-nfr-kʾ-Pth

40. . . . . m]y nwe-y r pʾy zmʿ r·šp-n nʾy(y)  
 hyyt·w [ʿy·w?] tb-t-f te-f pʾ zmʿ n t-t-y ʿš-y wʿ hpe n  
 sh n·m-f phr-y

41. tʾ p

#### mḥ IV

1. phr-y tʾ p pʾ tʾ tʾ (tʾ-t nʾ tw·w nʾ ym·w gm-y nʾ nt  
 e nʾ ʾpt·w n tʾ p nʾ rym·w n pʾ mty ʾerme nʾ ʾy·wt(?) zt  
 n·m·w tr-w ʿš-y ky

2. hpe n sh nwe-y r pʾ Rʿ e-f hʿy n tʾ p erme tʾe-f pʾ  
 ntr·w nwe-y r pʾ ʿh e-f wbn erme nʾ syw·w n tʾ p  
 tr-w erme pʾe-w gy nwe-y r nʾ

3. rym·w n pʾ mty e wn nht n ntr wʾh n mw tʾe-w  
 ryʾt hryt e be ʾr-y sh wn(nʾy) e-y zt r N(ʾy)-nfr-kʾ-Pth

1. 38. There is no authority for the first part of the restoration at the beginning, but it seems probable,

The gap in the middle of the line is difficult to fill. The change of person suggested in the restoration is not usual.

*ph-y* can hardly have been intended for 'reach me'; it is certainly a mistake.

1. 39. *swr wm* (for *wm* see v. 17, 27) with only one negative is quite correct, see II Kh. iii. 6-7. For *wm* in Eg. see Hieroglyphs, pp. 37, 67.

*smte*. In many texts both early and late, e. g. Ros. and Hist. Rom. **Ⲫⲟⲟⲧ** is regularly spelled out, and by its use its identity with this group is quite clear.

*e ph-f* relative past with indef. antecedent forming the subject of the relative sentence, **ⲈⲗⲘⲘⲟⲩⲧⲈⲗⲗ**. Not found with this use in Late Eg. Cf. ERM., N. A. G., §§ 195 et seqq. for similar forms.

1. 40. *r·šp-n* = **ⲈⲧⲁⲛⲘⲘⲟⲩⲛ**; relative with definite antecedent, not the subject of the sentence.

*hyyt·w*. *šp hyyt*, cf. vi. 4, seems to mean 'undertake labour.' *hyyt* (fem.) appears to have no Coptic derivative.

38. water (?), he caused it to take its form again (?). He went on board, he said to the rowers, 'Row carrying me to the place which [he commanded] them (?).' They rowed carrying him by night as midday. And lo! he arrived at the place which I was

39. in it, he found me sitting] over the sea of Coptos, not having drank nor eaten, not having done anything on earth, being in the form of a man that has reached the Good House. I said to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah

40. . . . . let (?) me see this book for which we have taken these pains . . . . . He put the book in my hand, I read a formula of writing in it, I enchanted

41. the heaven.

#### Fourth

1. I enchanted the heaven, the earth, the underworld, the mountains, the seas; I discovered the things that the birds of the heaven, the fishes of the sea and the animals say, all. I read another

2. formula of writing; I saw the Sun rising in heaven, with his cycle of gods; I saw the Moon rising with all the stars in heaven with their nature; I saw the

3. fishes in the deep, there being power of god resting in water over them. I not doing writing,—I

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The mark above the plural sign following *hyt* must be the end of a thick stroke, such as occurs in *n<sup>2</sup>iy*, 'these,' &c. It may possibly stand for *n p<sup>2</sup> t<sup>2</sup>*, 'of the world,' which occurs in II Kh. ii. 9; iii. 22 in the phrases *myh n p<sup>2</sup> t<sup>2</sup>*, 'wonder of the world,' *p<sup>2</sup> r<sup>2</sup>y n p<sup>2</sup> t<sup>2</sup>*, 'joy of the world.'

1. 1. *y-wt(?)*. Eg. *w-t*, Late Eg. *y(w)-t*, Pap. D'Orb. x. 1.

1. 3. *be r*; aorist **ⲉⲉⲣⲉ : ⲉⲉⲡⲁⲣⲉ**, Str., § 396. See Verbum, ii, §§ 989 et seqq. for origin of negative aorist. Apparently **ⲉⲉⲣⲉ** is in Coptic used only as attribute to a noun (Str., § 433), not absolutely as here. Cf. also note to l. 12.

*wnn<sup>2</sup>y e-f* seems to represent Late Eg. *wn-f*, *wmw-f* (et sim., Verbum, ii, 256) = **ⲉⲡⲉⲘⲉⲥ**, **ⲡⲉⲘⲉⲥ : ⲡⲁⲘⲉⲥ**, Str., § 373; Str., § 272; the **ⲡⲉ** which often follows is a Coptic addition. The Boh. **ⲡⲁⲘⲉⲥ** seems

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1. 1. *y-wt(?)*. Eg. *w-t*, Late Eg. *y<sup>2</sup>(w)-t*, Pap. D'Orb. x. 1.

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mean (in comparison) to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah my elder brother, who was a good scribe and learned man exceedingly—he caused to be brought a piece

4. of new papyrus unto him. He wrote every word that was on the roll (before him), all. He caused it to be soaked with beer (?), he melted it in (?) water, he ascertained that it was melted, he drank it, he knew according to that in which it was contained (?).

5. We returned to Coptos on the day named. We made a good day before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. We embarked on board, we travelled down, we reached the north of Coptos by one schoenus. Behold Thoth had (?) learned everything that had become of

*r* may be due to the common *bw r-f* =  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , in which *r* has lost all sound (unless it be  $\epsilon$ ). The question remains whether *r* is silent in the other forms, and merely a means of distinguishing 'know' from 'be able,' or does *r* + *r*h =  $\bar{p}$  +  $\bar{w}$ , indicating the preservation of the *r*? cf.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'judge';  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  :  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ ;  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'measure' (unfortunately none of these occur in Achmimic by which the question whether the  $\bar{w}$  =  $\bar{s}$  or  $\bar{h}$  could be decided). See notes to ll. 6, 37.

*e hr-f wyt*, verbal attribute  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  . . . ; cf. iii. 21, note ad fin. For a close parallel see Kufi, xviii. 7, *rh-f s r hr-y zt hr tt-y snh*, 'he recognized with regard to(?) me, that my paw was entangled': note *e hr* before suffixes, *hr* before nouns (?).

*rh-f r*. The *r* is difficult; cf. the last quotation.

*py wnm-y e-f n-m-f*, something like  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , St., § 428, 'this that it consisted of,' or 'this (book) in which it was.' Cf. l. 21.

l. 5. *st*, 'return,' Eg. *sθ*, *st*?, 'drag,' 'draw'; in dem. usually intrans. as here, but with reflexive pronoun in v. 5; II Kh. vi. 1, 29; transitive also ib. vi. 31. Cf. caus.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ .  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  *redimere* is derived from it, being similarly written in dem. contracts, e. g. HESS, p. 98.

*hty* from Eg. *hd* (III<sup>ae</sup> inf., Verbum, i, p. 238), 'descend river,' 'go north,'  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'flow down' (of river); cf.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'north.'

*s* must be interjectional, and can hardly be anything else than Eg. *ys*,  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  'lo!' For an investigation of the word see SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.* 99, 39-43.

*s hr Thwt gm*. Here the form is evidently influenced by *s. gm Thwt, gm-f* would be the ordinary narrative form, *r Thwt gm, r-r-f gm*

6. (n) (*sic*) N(?)y)-nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth tb p' zm<sup>c</sup> bp Thwt hrr  
s-my-f m-b<sup>h</sup> p' R<sup>c</sup> zt r<sup>h</sup> p'e hp t'e wpy<sup>t</sup> erme  
N(?)y)-nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth p' šre n Pr-<sup>c</sup> Mr-... Pth? šm-f r  
p'e pr

7. hl-f se θ-f t'e tbe-t hr t-e 'net? htb-f p'-e mnet  
r-wn(n'y) hrh r-r-f zt-w n-f e-f e-r hr-k erme rmt nb  
nt mte-f tr-w wt-w w<sup>c</sup> Nht n ntr r hry

8. n t' p zt m r ty šm N(?)y)-nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth r Mn-nfr  
e-f wz<sup>2</sup> erme rmt nb nt mte-f tr-w w<sup>c</sup>t wne-t t' e-r  
hpr Mr-b p' hm hl w r bl hr t' hyb-t n t' shre-t

9. Pr-<sup>c</sup> hy-f r p' yr r-f hst p' R<sup>c</sup> š rmt nb r-wn

the emphatic form (iii. 6, 7), and here in the emphatic form *hr* replaces *r* on account of the interjection 's: so also in II Kh. vi. 13, probably on account of the relative *nt* in an emphatic past relative sentence (in II Kh. iv. 28, probably faulty). For *e hr-f stm*, *hr N. stm*, past verbal attributive, see iii. 21; iv. 4 note. In the very late inscriptions of Philae, BR., Thes. 1009, &c., the narrative is regularly *hr-f stm*, *hr N. stm*: either this is for emphasis in the boastful style of the inscriptions, like *r-r-f stm*, or indicates that *šm* (CRUM, *Ä. Z.*, 1898, 139), *šm* was now to be considered the ordinary narrative form. Some connexion between *hr-f stm*, and the Late Eg. *yw-f hr stm* may be suspected, but the *hr* may be quite unetymological.

*r hpr*; cf. *r ty*, iii. 3 note.

l. 6. *s-my-f* *CEEEEE*: *CEEEI* means 'appear before a person to intercede for,' or 'accuse': 'intercede before,' 'accuse to'; cf. l. 10 'accusation.'

*r h*, 'ascertain,' as in iv. 4; v. 1. Another instance, mutilated, of the technical legal usage occurs in the complaint of the Cat to Ra, Kufi, iii. 2. So also *pwye*: *pwyi* judicially *ἰκτεσθαι*; see Acts xviii. 15; Matt. xxvii. 4 (TATTAM).

*wpy-t*; for its judicial sense see BR., Wtb. Suppl. 57.

*Mr-... Pth*. Brugsch and Hess read the middle group *nb*, i.e. presumably 'gold.' The sign read *Pth* may be only the det. of the preceding group.

*pr* cf. [iii. 31?]. It here would mean a small separate building, so also in v. 13 'kiosque' (?). In v. 28 it is rather a chamber in the house.

l. 7. *'ne-t* (?) is the reading suggested in HESS, pp. 144-5. *wpy-t*, *Ä. Z.* 97, 148 is certainly wrong. The word is very common in contracts, but the meaning is not quite clear.

*mnet* = *RENOT* (as REVILLOUT and HESS), curiously written with the complete group for *mne*, 'remain,' followed by *t* and det.

6. (of) Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah about the book. Thoht did not delay. He pleaded before the Sun saying, 'Know my right and my judgement (?) with Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah the son of Pharaoh Mer-neb(?) -Ptah (?). He went to my chamber

7. he plundered it, he took my box with my document (?). He slew my custodian that was guarding it.' They said to him, 'He is before thee with every person belonging to him, all.' A Power of God was sent down

8. from heaven, saying, 'Do not allow Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah to go to Memphis, he prospering with every person belonging to him, all.' At a moment, that which happened, Mer-ab the child came out from under the shade of the pleasure-boat

9. of Pharaoh. He fell into the river, he did the will of Ra. Every person that was on board uttered

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ⲥⲏⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ 1st pres. Late Eg. *tw-f*, ERM. N. A. G. § 209. Cf. *st* (CE) r *p<sup>re</sup> šre*, II Kh. iii. 5.

*wt*, Late Eg. *wd*, e.g. Pap. Unuamon, i. x + 5.

*Nht* \**vecharis*, vid. HESS, note on p. 73, with det. prefix of divinity like *spd-t*, 'Sothis' in hieroglyphs, BR., Thes. 1564. For instances of *Nht* cf. HESS, Lond. Gnost. Gloss., s.v.; Kufi, viii. 33—ix. 5 (cf. iii. 37).

l. 8. *m r*; ERM. N. A. G., § 279 ⲙⲣ; but *m r ty* would be *m dyt* in Late Eg.

*p e r hpr* seems in apposition to *w<sup>t</sup>.t wne.t*, which as an expression of time may not require a preposition. Thus the phrase would perhaps mean 'at a certain moment.' But from the instances v. 31, II Kh. i. 15, one would suspect it to mean 'at that moment.' Hess translates 'Eine Stunde dauerte dies.' Apparently there is a somewhat similar construction in II Kh. iv. 21, *ny szy S<sup>o</sup>.S<sup>r</sup>*, &c. The meaning in the two cases may be approximately 'a moment having passed,' and 'these words having been said,' lit. 'a moment, being that which had happened,' and 'these words, Si-Osiri being he that had been (engaged) in them.' These expressions always introduce a sudden development or interruption in the narrative. [*t e r*, *p nt r* are perhaps rather predicative, like ΠΕΤ-, ST., § 306; STD., §§ 508-12, 'a time (?) it was that passed.']

l. 9. *hs-t*, evidently the old expression for what is 'praised by' or 'pleasing to' god, king, &c.

(n'y) hr mr-t sgp tr-w N(y)-nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth w r bl hr t'e-f  
hbe-t š-f sh r-r-f te-f p'y-f e wn

10. nht n ntr n mw w<sup>h</sup> t'e-f ry<sup>2</sup>t hry.t š-f sh r-r-f  
te-f szy-f e r hr-f n mt nb-t r-hpr n'm-f tr-w erme  
p<sup>2</sup> gy n s-my r-r. Thwt m-ðh p<sup>2</sup> R<sup>c</sup> st-n r Qbte  
erme-f

11. te-n θ-w se r Pr-nfr te-n t<sup>h</sup>c-w wbe-f te-n qs-w  
se r h-t hry rmt c<sup>2</sup> te-n htp-f hn t'e-f tyb-t hr t<sup>2</sup> hse-t  
n Qbte zt N(y)-nfr-k<sup>2</sup>-Pth p<sup>2</sup>e sn

12. my hty-n m r ty r-n hrr ðe r Pr-c stm n<sup>2</sup> mt-wt  
r-hpr n'm-n mte h<sup>c</sup>t-f the tb-t-s t-n r mr-t hty-n  
ðp-n hrr p(r) mht n

13. Qbt n r I p<sup>2</sup> m<sup>(c)</sup> n hy r-r Mr-b p<sup>2</sup> hm hl r  
p<sup>2</sup> yr n'm-f te-y w r bl hr t<sup>2</sup> hyb-t n t<sup>2</sup> shre-t Pr-c<sup>2</sup>  
hy-y r p<sup>2</sup> yr r-y

hr mr-t, cf. note on iii. 24.

sgp, B.  $\Psi\kappa\lambda\pi$ ; <sup>c</sup>sgp, Achm.  $\Delta\Psi\sigma\lambda\pi$ ; Ä. Z. 86, 117; STD.,  
Elias, p. 37, note 4; cf. Pap. Unuamon, ii. 13, <sup>c</sup>sgp.

hbe-t, Eg. hby-t, 'festal tent,' S.  $\rho\lambda\omega$  σκητή; PEYRON, Gr. 191.

l. 10. n mw w<sup>h</sup>, 'a power of god of (?) water.' The n is evidently added  
after an accidental omission. Probably the passage should be corrected  
to w<sup>h</sup> n mw to agree with the parallels; cf. iii. 37.

gy n s-my, S.  $\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma(\tau)$  accusatio; BSCIAI, Ä. Z. 87, 68.

l. 11.  $\Delta\rho\epsilon$  οτθε is 'resist,' PEYRON, p. 16; but here the meaning  
must be different.

h-t, perhaps from Eg. h-t, 'body,' takes suffixes in r h-t, 'like.' It  
literally means 'copy,' cf. II Kh. v. 13, also with suffixes, whence S.  $\rho\epsilon$ ,  
Achm.  $\rho\epsilon$  (fem.) 'style,' which however takes the article. Cf. the  
probable history of  $\sigma\tau$ , iii. 30.

hry; cf. II Kh. iii. 29, &c.

rmt c<sup>2</sup>= $\rho\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\sigma$  'rich man.'

tyb-t, 'sarcophagus,' with det. of stone= $\tau\lambda\theta\epsilon(\tau)$ ; distinct from  
tbe-t, 'box,' iii. 17  $\tau\theta\epsilon(\tau)$ .

l. 12. my hty-n, m r ty r-n; note the optative and its negative  
 $\lambda\lambda\pi\rho$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\eta$ -, ST., § 398.

b r in dem. often=neg. praes. consuet.  $\lambda\lambda\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ -, Achm.  $\lambda\lambda\lambda$ -,  
Late Eg. bw yr; Verbum, ii, § 989, above l. 3. But in proverbs, &c.  
e.g. Dem. Provs. i. 3, 14; ii. 1, the negative of the final is often b r-f stm,  
as here; and in II Kh. iv. 4 the same form seems rather negative optative.  
In Late Eg. bw is a usual negative before sdm-f, but I do not find it in



a cry, all. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah came out from under his tent, he spake a writing to him, he made him leap up, there being

10. power of god as (?) water resting upon (?) him. He spake a writing to him, he caused him to relate before him everything that had become of him, all, with the accusation that Thoth made before Ra. We returned to Coptos with him.

11. We caused him to be taken to the Good House, we caused them to stand opposite (?) him, we caused him to be embalmed in the style of a Prince and nobleman. We caused him to rest in his sarcophagus on the gebel of Coptos. Said Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah my brother

12. 'Let us voyage down, cause us not to delay; lest Pharaoh hear the things that have become of us, and his heart be grieved because of it.' We went up on board, we voyaged down, we did not delay (going) to the north of

13. Coptos by one schoenus, the place of falling that Mer-ab the child made into the river therein. I came out from under the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. I fell into the river, I did

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optative or final clauses; nor is **ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛⲉⲩⲓ** used in Coptic with such a meaning. On the other hand *b' r-f* bears a singular resemblance to the rare *m sdm-f* of the Pyramid Texts. The instances of the latter (Verbum, ii, § 1014, second half) can be fairly interpreted as final and perhaps optative. *ym-f sdm* (ib. § 1010) also had these meanings and has left a trace in the formal 'school literature' of New Egyptian. Thus *b' r-f stm* as a final or optative (?) is apparently an artificial periphrasis formed upon the Old Eg. *m sdm-f* and with the same uses. The further question whether it is really identical in form with the praes. cons. *b' r-f stm* needs investigation.

l. 13. *p' m' n hy r.r*; cf. v. 37, and note the variant, l. 17 below, which shows that its meaning is different from **Ⲫⲉⲉⲛ-**, St., § 181. Apart from etymology **Ⲫⲉⲉⲛ-** seems more closely rendered in dem. with *y* (HI) than with *m'*; see note to l. 25 below.

*hy r.r*; cf. Verbum, ii, § 585, 2 for this form in Late Eg.

14. ḥs·t p' R<sup>c</sup> š rmt nb·t r·wn(n'y) ḥr mr·t sgpe tr-w zt-w se n N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth e-f 'w r bl ḥr t' ḥyb·t n t' shre·t Pr-<sup>c</sup> š-f sh r ḥr-y te-f p'y-y e wn nḥt n ntr w'h

15. n mw t'-e ry·t ḥry·t te-f 'n-w t-y r ḥry š-f sh r ḥr-y te-f s·zy-y e'r ḥr-f n mt nb·t 'r-ḥpr n'm-y tr-w erme p' gy n s'my r'r Thwt m ḏ'h p' R<sup>c</sup> st-f r Qbt erme-y

16. te-f ḏe-w t-y r Pr-nfr te-f ḥ'-w wbe-y te-f qs-w t-y n qs·t n ḥry rmt <sup>c</sup> m šs te-f ḥtp-y ḥn t' ḥ·t nt e Mr·b p' ḥm ḥl ḥtp ḥn-se

17. ḥ-f r mr·t ḥty-f ḏp-f ḥrr p(r)-mḥt n Qbt n 'r I r p' m'(c) r·hy-n r p' yr n'm-f mt-f erme ḥ't-f zt 'n e-y rḥ šm r Qbt mte-y

18. ḥms n'm-w ge e-f ḥpr e šm-y r Mn-nfr t' wne·t mte Pr-<sup>c</sup> šn-t-y r n'e-f ḥm ḥl-w 'ḥ p' nt e-y zt(t)-se n-f 'n e-y rḥ zt(t)-s n-f zt ḏe-y n'e-k ḥrt-w r p' tš

19. n Ne ḥtb-y s(st) e-y 'nḥ te-y 'w r Mn-nfr e-y 'nḥ 'n te-f 'n-w w' ḥrt n šs-stn mte-f (sic) e'r ḥr-f 'r-f se n sbn 's·t ḥbs? mre-f p' zm<sup>c</sup> te-f s r ḥe-t-f

20. te-f zr-f N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth 'w r bl ḥr t' ḥyb·t n t'

l. 17. *ḥrr pr-mḥt*: r 'to' is omitted here in the writing, perhaps only because of its insignificant sound; so also v. 19.

*e-y rḥ*, probably \**eiey* (future), see above note to *rḥ*, l. 4; but possibly 2nd pres.

l. 18. *n'm-w*, apparently *𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎* 'there,' not *𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎*; cf. II Kh. i. 2.

*ge*, MÜLLER, Rec. de Trav. xiii. 149. Gnost., *nge*; O. C. Horosc. v. 7 et passim — *KE* (i. e. *𐎎𐎎𐎎*), S. *XE* (cf. *𐎎𐎎*, *𐎎𐎎*) 'or' (Str., § 593); cf. iv. 26 (written *ge-t*), 37; v. 4. It is probably derived from the Late Eg. interjection *k* (ERMAN, N. A. G., § 137) as *IE* 'or' perhaps from *y*, (ib. 140).

*t' wne·t*; cf. *𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎* 'immediately,' PEYRON.

*ḥm ḥl-w*. This seems more tender than the usual *ḥrt-w*.

l. 19. *mte-f*; either this should be omitted or some verb has been omitted after it.

*'s·t ḥbs?* cf. *'s·t ḥr·t*, v. 30. The *ḥbs* sign may be only det. *sbn*

14. the will of Ra. Every person that was on board uttered a cry, all. They told it to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. He came out from under the awning of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. He spake a writing to me, he caused me to leap up, there being power of god resting

15. in water upon me. He caused me to be taken up, he spake a writing to me, he caused me to relate before him everything that had become of me, all, with the manner of accusing that Thoth did before Ra. He returned to Coptos with me.

16. He caused me to be taken to the Good House, he caused them to stand (busy) for me, he caused them to embalm me according to the embalmment of a Prince and very noble person, he caused me to rest in the tomb in which Merab the child rested.

17. He went up on board, he voyaged down, he did not delay to the north of Coptos by one schoenus, to the place in which we fell into the river. He spake with his heart saying, 'Shall I be able to go to Coptos and

18. settle there? Otherwise, if I shall have gone to Memphis at once and Pharaoh asks me about his children, what is it that I shall say to him? Shall I be able to say it to him saying, "I took thy children to the nome

19. of Thebes, I slew them, I being alive; I came to Memphis also being alive." He caused a strip of royal linen to be brought before him, he made it as a bandage (?). He bound the book, he put it on his body,

20. he caused it to be strong. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah came out from under the awning of the pleasure-boat

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ἴσ-ι might perhaps mean 'a belt to hold in place,' or *sbn ἴσ-ι ἴβς*, 'a belt instead of clothing,' cf. εφραειν.

l. 20. *te-f zr-f*, ΤΑΧΡΟ; cf. l. 36.

shre:t Pr.<sup>c</sup> hy-f r p' yr 'r-f ḥs:t p' R<sup>c</sup> š rmt nb  
r-wn(n'y) ḥr mr:t sgpe tr-w zt wy <sup>c</sup>

21. wy g' n st-f p' sh nfr p' rmt rḥ nt e ḏp ky  
ḥpr m qty-(t)-f ḥty t' shre:t Pr.<sup>c</sup> e b(r)rḥ rmt nb n  
p' t' p' m'(c) r-wn(n'y) N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth n'm-f ph-w r  
Mn-nfr

22. 'r-w 'n s-my n'm-se m-ḏḥ Pr.<sup>c</sup> Pr.<sup>c</sup> 'w n (sic)  
ḥry r t' ḥc:t n t' shre:t Pr.<sup>c</sup> e-f ḥr pke:t e p' mš'e n  
Mn-nfr ḥe pke:t tr-w erme n' w'b-w n Pth p' mr-šn

23. n Pth erme t' qnb n'e-w-pr Pr.<sup>c</sup> tr-w r'r-w nw  
r N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth e-f mḥt n n' ḥny:w n t' shre:t Pr.<sup>c</sup>  
tb t'e-f yp:t n sh nfr 'n-w se r ḥry nw-w r p' zm<sup>c</sup> n  
ḥe:t-f

24. zt Pr.<sup>c</sup> my lg-w p'y zm<sup>c</sup> nt n ḥe:t-f zt t' qnbe  
n Pr.<sup>c</sup> erme n' w'b-w n Pth p' mr-šn n Pth (n)mḏḥ  
Pr.<sup>c</sup> p'e-n nb <sup>c</sup> stn 'r-f p' ḥc n p' R<sup>c</sup> N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth  
sh nfr rmt rḥ m šs p'y te Pr.<sup>c</sup>

l. 21. *g'*, perhaps from Eg. root *g'*, 'oppress.'

*m qty.t-f*. Does the *t* before the suffix imply that this is fem.? More probably it is a repetition of the radical *t* in writing on account of its pronunciation immediately before the suffix, \**nqḏt-f* (?). *qty* being, at least in Eg., a verb III<sup>rd</sup> inf., dem. marks the radical *y* in its derivatives or supposed derivatives; cf. *'n-qty* = ΠΚΟΤ, and note to iii. 30.

*e b 'r-rḥ*, attributive. So also II Kh. iii. 7; the corresponding past indicative is always expressed by *bp-f gm* (not *rḥ*). See note to l. 4.

*r-wnn'y*. Relative form of *sdm-f*; in Late Eg. *wmw-f*, without prosthetic alif (Verbum, ii, § 790); cf. iii. 20 note, and iv. 4 *p'y wnn'ye-f*, where the prosthetic alif is not needed after the semi-vowel or vowel of *p'y*; also cf. the participle in iv. 4.

l. 22. *n ḥry*. Coptic would have Ⲭϣⲏⲏⲓ, not ⲏϣⲏⲏⲓ (St., § 574), and so usually dem., cf. iii. 25.

*pke:t*, fem., Leyd. Gnost. xx. 12; cf. HESS, Lond. Gnost., Gloss., p. 6. In Gnost. it is made of palm-fibre, suggesting 'sack cloth' here; but Eg. *pq-t* is rather a fine linen, and Diod. i. 72 gives *συδδους* as the garb of public mourning. ΦΩΚ *pallium*, ΤΑΤΤΑΜ, p. 873, is perhaps only a mistake for ΦΩΡΚ: the present word would be with Ⲭ: Ⲭ, as is shown by the spelling *pq'e-t*, Pap. Dodgson, *recto*, l. 15.

*mš'e*, 'people,' Ⲙⲏⲏⲏⲏⲉ δῆμος; cf. P. S. B. A., J899, 271.

l. 23. *qnb*, hardly *z'z't* (?) though it sometimes corresponds in Eg., vid.

of Pharaoh, he fell into the river, he did the will of Ra, every person that was on board uttered a cry, all, saying, 'Great woe!

21. grievous woe! hath he returned, the good scribe and learned man, whose equal there hath not been?' The pleasure-boat of Pharaoh voyaged down, no person on earth knowing the place where Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah was. They reached Memphis;

22. they made report of it before Pharaoh. Pharaoh came down to meet the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh wearing mourning linen, the people of Memphis taking mourning linen, all, with the priests of Ptah, the high priest

23. of Ptah, with the council and the household of Pharaoh, all. And lo! they perceived Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah grasping the rudders of the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh by his art of a good scribe; they took him up, they saw the book on his body.

24. Said Pharaoh, 'Let this book which is on his body be hidden.' Said the council of Pharaoh with the priests of Ptah, the high priest of Ptah, before Pharaoh, 'O our great lord, the King, may he accomplish the duration of Ra! Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah was a great scribe and learned man exceedingly.' Caused Pharaoh

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p. 46. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, Rec. de Tr. xvi. 24; BR., Thes. 1036, 156, l. 2 *p' qnb.t* <sup>es.t</sup>, which shows that the word is still fem. sing. in dem. It is probably not accidental that the symbol for *qnb(?)*, II Kh. iv. 26, and that for *qmc* (ib. vi. 15) are alike.

*mht*. The Sahidic ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲏⲓⲧⲉ preserves the qualitative form which we have here. B. ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲏⲓ is properly infinitive. In v. 13 the *sdm-f* form is written *mh-f*.

*hny-w*, S. Ⲓⲏⲏⲉ (? pl. Ⲓⲏⲏⲉⲏⲉ) 'anchor,' or else 'rudder.' In Eg. *hmv* is the rudder-paddle of which there was often more than one.

*n he-t-f*, 'on his body'; so also l. 33. In Gnost. this is used with suffixes in the Coptic sense of ⲏⲥⲏⲧⲏⲓ.

l. 24. *p' e-n nb* <sup>es</sup> *stn* <sup>r-f</sup>, &c.; so also v. 33; cf. the derived exclamation, iii. 15.

25.  $\theta?$ -w n-f  $\epsilon$ q r Pr-nfr n hrw XVI tbe-t n XXXV qs-t n hrw LXX te-w htp-f hn t'e-f tyb-t n n'e-f 'y-w n htp te-y se n' mt-wt b'n 'r-hpr n'm-n tb p'y zm' nt e-r-k zt my te-w se n(?)y

26. mn mte-k mt-t mte-f e-r-w  $\theta$  p'e-n  $\epsilon$ h' hr p' t' tb-t-f zt Stne 'Hwre-t my te-w n(?)y p'y zm' r-nw-y r-r-f 'wt-t erme N(?)y-nfr-k'-Pth ge-t e-y  $\theta$ -t-f n gnse tw-n-se

27. N(?)y-nfr-k'-Pth hr p' glge zt-f 'n (m)nte-k Stne nt e t'y s-hm-t zt n n'y(y) mt-wt 'yt e-r hr-f e bp-k šp-w tr-w p' zm' n rn-f 'n e 'r-k r r'k'  $\theta$ e-t-f tb zr n sh nfr hne

28. qpne? n 'r hb' t r hr-y my 'r-n p' gy n hb' r-r-f n p' LII zt Stne te-y  $\epsilon$ h' te-w t' hb'[z] e 'r hr-w erme n'e-s 'w'w-w hb'-w n p' LII  $\theta$ e N(?)y-nfr-k'-Pth w' t

l. 25.  $\theta?$ -w n-f  $\epsilon$ q: in vi. 16, 19 the verb before  $\epsilon$ q is *te*; here it is indistinct but preferably  $\theta$ .  $\epsilon$ q is subst. (see the plur.  $\epsilon$ q-w, vi. 16) of solemn religious 'entry,' cf.  $\Delta\epsilon\text{IK} : \Delta\text{IK}$  *dedicatio*, of church, &c.

*te-f tyb-t*; cf. l. 11. Not *h-t*, 'grave,' as in l. 16, as read by former editors. The latter is here inappropriate and contrary to the remains of the word in the facsimile.

*'y-w n htp*, often in the plur. There are several such compounds of *'y-n*- in dem.=Eg. *pr-*, corresponding more or less to  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{N}$  in Coptic. VON LEMM has found  $\Pi\text{IT}$ - parallel with  $\Pi\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{N}$ - in S.  $\Pi\text{IT}\tau\omega\text{K} = \Pi\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{N}\tau\omega\text{K}$  'furnace' = Eg. *pr-ik'* (Ä. Z. 87, 115, note 1), thus giving the 'tonlos' form I-. For this *'y* see notes to iii. 5 (p. 87) and iv. 13.

*te-y se*. † is used of 'handing down' the faith by tradition in Luke i. 2, so this might mean 'I have given (related) it, namely the misfortunes': or possibly, like Eg. *m-k*, 'receive thou' (Hieroglyphs, p. 16), *te-y se* 'I have given it' may mean 'behold,' 'such are,' cf. Pamonth, i. 28.

*b'n*, in II Kh. written simply *bn*, but here the peculiar form may be rendered *b'n* (Eg. *byn*,  $\beta\omega\omega\text{N}$ ).

*e-r-k zt*. The same form, iii. 11,  $\Delta\text{KXW} ? \epsilon\text{KXW} ?$

l. 26. *e-r-w  $\theta$* . Past verbal attributive (emphatic, for simple *r- $\theta$ -w*) in which the relative is the object of its sentence. Contrast *e hr-f stm*, iii. 21, where the relative is the subject.

25. to be taken (?) for him entry to the Good House of (?) sixteen days; wrapping of (?) thirty-five; confining of (?) seventy days; they caused him to rest in his sarcophagus in his resting places. I have given it, the evil things that have become of us on account of this book that thou hast said, 'Let it be given to me.'

26. Thou hast no affair with it, whereas they took our term of life on earth for it. Said Setne, 'Ahure, let this book be given me that I saw between thee and Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah; otherwise I will take it by force.' Raised himself

27. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah upon the couch. He said, 'Art thou Setne before whom this woman is speaking these vain words (?) while thou hast not received them at all? The book named wilt thou be able to take it by power of a good scribe, or

28. superiority (?) in playing draughts over me. Let us make the style of draughts for it at the fifty-two.' Said Setne, 'I am ready.' They put the game-board before them with its pieces. They played in the fifty-two. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah took one

*Stne*, vid. above, pp. 4, 9, 141.

εΙΕ ΟΙΤΥ Ν ΧΟΝC; cf. v. 8. For the dem. spelling of ΧΟΝC cf. II Kh. ii. 2 and (*kns*), Lond. Gnost., Gloss., p. 15, but its origin and precise reading *gs* (?) are not clear.

l. 27. *yt*, 'misfortune,' or 'want,' Can., l. 17; so here 'misfortunes' or 'vain words.'

*e bp-k*, or 'and thou dost not receive them at all;' cf. note to iii. 24.

*n e yr-k*. The *e* here might be explained as belonging to ενε(: Δπ) or for εκ\*(εϣ), εκπΔϣ-.

The *n* read by HESS (p. 92) after *ib* seems more than doubtful.

*hne* seems to be (Χπ): ϣΔπ as introducing alternative—whether word or sentence—in a question, ST., § 594.

l. 28. *q pne*. The reading of the first two signs is not quite certain, the meaning is also unknown; perhaps 'champion,' 'victor.'

*r hr-y*, as usual εποι, here of comparison.

29. ḥb<sup>c</sup>.t n Stne 'š-f šḥ r-r-f te-f r z-z-f n t' ḥ.t n 'r ḥb<sup>c</sup>.t r-wn(n'y) e 'r ḥr-f te-f šm-f r p' 'tne š' rt-f 'r-f p'e-s smte n t' ḥb<sup>c</sup>.t mḥ II.t ḥe-f se

30. n Stne te-f šm-f r p' 'tne š' ḥnn-f 'r-f p'e-s smte n t' ḥb<sup>c</sup>.t mḥ III.t te-f šm-f r p' 'tne š' n'e-f msze-w m-s' n'y(y) 'r Stne gwe.t 't n t Pth-

31. N(y)-nfr-k(-Pth) 'š Stne r 'Nḥ-Hr-rw p'e-f sn n 'R-t-mnh? zt m 'r ḥrr r ḥry r p' t' mte-k szy n mt nb.t 'r-ḥpr n-m-y m-b'ḥ Pr-' mte-k 'n n' s'w n Pth p'e yt erme n'e zm<sup>c</sup>.w

32. n θ 'we.t ḥp-f ḥrr r ḥry r p' t' szy-f m-b'ḥ Pr-' n mt nb.t 'r-ḥpr n Stne zt Pr-' ḥe n-f n' s'w n Pth p'e-f yt erme n'e-f zm<sup>c</sup>.w n ḥe 'we.t ḥp 'Nḥ-Hr-r-w ḥrr

33. r ḥry r t' ḥ.t te-f n' s'w n ḥe.t n Stne py-f r' t' p n p' nw n rn-f te Stne šm t-t-f m s' p' zm<sup>c</sup>. ḥe-f se ḥpr-f e Stne 'w r ḥry ḥn t'

34. ḥ.t e p' wyn mš' ḥ<sup>c</sup>.t-f e p' qqy mš' m-s'-f e 'Hwre.t rym m-s'-f e-s zt 'wt?-k stn p' qqy 'sw' ?-k stn p' wyn šm nmte nb nt

l. 29. *te-f r* (or *n?*) *z-z-f*: so also apparently Poème Sat. v. 7, cf. † **ΕΧΕΙΝ** *beschützen*, ST., § 538; but from the passages quoted in PEYRON 231 and TATTAM 801, the meaning here given, 'guarded himself with the draught box' (as HESS), seems not very probable. It rather in Coptic means 'aid,' 'fight for,' and here 'fought for himself with the box,' or 'supplemented it (the spell) with the draught box.' *ty z-z*, in Hist. Rom., No. 329, may be quite different.

*mḥ II.t*. This is the only possible reading and the form of II is not unusual.

l. 30. 'r *gwe.t n t*, 'suffer straits at the hands of'; cf. Hist. Rom., Gloss., Nos. 305-6. **ἸΟΟΤ** and **ἸΗΤ**: **ΧΗΤ** 'narrow,' Eg. *gw*.

l. 31. 'Nḥ-Hr-rw. The sign here transcribed *rw* (as in **ερωωτ**) seems to serve for λ, λω in Leyd. Gnost. ix, 5; xviii. 34. This λω however might be the absolute form of *mr-* = λε- of iii. 1.

'his brother by Art-menkh(?)'; reading and rendering alike tentative.

l. 32. θ 'we.t; cf. HESS, p. 98, II Kh. ii. 27.

l. 33. r p' p, S. **ΕΤΠΕ**, ST., § 516; cf. r p' 'm, v. 29-30, and note on II Kh. iii. 19.

*te šm t-t-f m s'*; cf. v. 29; Hist. Rom., No. 287.

*t-t-f*; note how carefully **ΤΟΟΤ**; **ΠΤΟΟΤ**, iii. 12, &c.; **ΠΤΕ(Π)**



29. game from Setne. He pronounced a spell to him, he supplemented (?) it with the draught-box that was before him; he caused him to go into the ground as far as his feet. He did its like in the second game, he took it

30. from Setne, he caused him to go into the ground as far as his phallus. He did its like with the third game, he made him go into the ground as far as his ears. After these things Setne suffered great strait at the hand of

31. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. Setne called to Anh-herru his brother by Menkh (?) - Art, saying, 'Do not delay (to go) up on the earth, and relate everything that is becoming of me before Pharaoh: and do thou bring the amulets of Ptah my father and my books

32. of taking pledge.' He delayed not (to go) up on earth; he related before Pharaoh everything that was becoming of Setne. Said Pharaoh, 'Take to him the amulets of Ptah his father and his books of taking pledge.' Anh-herru did not delay

33. (to go) down to the tomb; he put the amulets on the body of Setne; he leaped up to heaven in the moment named. Setne put out his hand after the book, he took it. It came to pass that Setne came up out of the

34. tomb, the light walking before him, the darkness walking behind him, Ahure weeping after it saying, 'Welcome king Darkness, farewell king Light! Every power (?) that was

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iv. 30, &c. are distinguished in the orthography of I Kh. In II Kh. these are all much confused.

1. 34. *swt*-, O. C. Paris, <sup>sic</sup>  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\epsilon$ , Ä.Z. 83, 94; BRUGSCH, ib. 84, 18 (one text in HESS, p. 82). 'Welcome' for this and 'farewell' for the imperfect word . . *sw* . . (?) with det. of evil seem appropriate.

*umte*,  $\pi\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau$  may be either 'strength' or 'consolation,' and the det. here seems in favour of the latter meaning, Hist. Rom., No. 163.





## mḥ V

1. t' wne-t n nwe r-r Stne r-r-s (n)ḅp-f gm m'(c) n  
p' t' e-f n-m-f šš Stne r p'e-f ḥl stm-šš zt m-r ḥrr  
r p m'(c) nt e t'y s-ḥm-t n-m-f rḥ p' r ḥpr

2. ḥr p'e-s šš-šḥne ḅp p' ḥl stm-šš ḥrr r p' m'(c) nt  
e t' s-ḥm-t n-m-f šš-f wbe t' ḥl-t šmset r-wn(n'y) mšc  
m-s-s šn-f s zt ḥ n rmt t'y zt-s n-f Ty-bwbwe

3. t' šre-t n p' ḥn-ntr n Bste nb-t 'Nḥ-t-wi t'y e-r-s  
'y r ḅn'y(y) r wšte m-b'ḥ Pḥ p' ntr ' st p' ḥl r Stne  
s-zy-f e-r-ḥr-f n mt nb-t r-zt-s n-f tr-w zt Stne n p' ḥl

4. m-šm r-zty-s n t' ḥl-t zt Stne Ḥ-m-ws p' šre n  
Pr-c' Wsr-m-t-R' p' e r t'y 'w-y zt e-y ty n-t nb-  
X r-ry w-t wne-t erme-y ge 'n?

5. wn mte-t s-my n θ qnse e-y t'y 'r-w se n-t e-y t'y  
θe-w t-t r w' m'(c) e-f ḥp e nn e? rmt nb n p' t'  
gm-t-t st-se p' ḥl r p' m'(c) nt e Ty-bwbwe n-m-f šš-f

1. 1. t' wne-t n nwe r-r; cf. note to iv. 13.

(n)ḅp-f. The additional *n* (for *m* or *n*) is very common in II Kh. in words beginning with **ḥ**, **ḥ**.

ḥl stm šš; cf. HESS, p. 106.

p' r ḥpr, 'that which hath become' would probably be t' e-r ḥpr ('rty, iii. 3 note), the neuter in such cases being feminine; see I. 18 t' e-w-n . . . ḥl-t-s, &c. The form here rather shows that r is infin. so that the expression may be \*περγωνι 'the doing-becoming,' i. e. probably 'the method of becoming,' 'how to become.' It can hardly be (nearly as HESS), 'what hath been put under her authority,' i. e. what her rank and position is. Possibly 'who hath obtained authority over her,' or 'who hath obtained her authority (as trusted servant).'

1. 2. šš-šḥne, lit. 'pronouncing command'; for the reading cf. HESS ad loc., p. 106. The expression is fully spelled out Hist. Rom., No. 50.

šš r is 'call to,' 'summon'; šš wbe, apparently to 'call to,' 'signal to.'

Ty-bwbwe, vid. above, p. 33, note; cf. ḥorḥor splendor.

1. 3. ḥn-ntr, B. **ḤONT**, used of the pagan priest of On, Gen. xli. 45, &c. 'y, 'come.' In I Kh, this occurs only in the inf, viz. in periphrastic stm-f with r, v. 22 as here; past participle p' e-r 'y, vi. 17; future e'qeei, v. 9. In II Kh, it is commoner, and true stm-f may occur in ii. 29. In Late Eg, the emphatic periphrasis (with ḥ-ḥ-) is common (Verbum, ii, § 205 ad fin.), but its sdm-f still is found. Apparently it affects the emphatic form, and this is what we have here.

## Fifth

1. The moment of seeing her that Setne did, he found not place of earth in which he was. Setne called his servant-page, saying, 'Delay not (to go) to the place where this woman is; ascertain what hath taken place

2. about (?) her command (?).' The slave-page delayed not (to go) to the place in which the woman was. He called to the slave-girl attendant that was walking after her; he asked her saying, 'What person is this?' She said to him, 'She is Ta-bubue,

3. the daughter of the prophet of Bast mistress of Ankh-tau, she, behold! having come hither to pray before Ptah, the great god.' The slave returned to Setne; he related before him everything that she had said to him, all. Setne said to the slave,

4. 'Go and tell it to the slave-girl saying, "Setne Kha-m-uas, the son of Pharaoh Usir-ma-Ra, (is) he that sent me saying, 'I will give thee ten pieces of gold; pass an hour with me. Or hast

5. thou an accusation of violence? I will cause it to be done for thee. I will cause them to take thee to a hidden place; no man on the earth shall (?) find thee.'" The slave returned to the place in which Ta-bubue was. He called

l. 4. For the imperatives vid, HESS, p. 109.

*Ht-m-ws*, Χαμοῖς, vid, above p. 2; it occurs in l. 7 and vi, 20, also II Kh. ii. 33.

*Wsr-m<sup>st</sup>.t-R<sup>t</sup>*, vid, above, p. 4; cf, l. 7; II Kh, ii, 28. In the last the *r* of *Wsr* has apparently gone, as in *Ὀδομάρης*, but in l. 7 it is spelled with *ʿSr* like *Ὀσείρις*, as if with strong *r*.

*nḏ* . . . *X*. The sign before the numeral is probably that which in hieratic accounts of all periods replaces a unit of any kind in weight or measure,

*ʿn* is not clearly written. In the parallel passage (II, 7-8) there is no *ge*, but *ʿn* is clear, and this seems the better reading.

l. 5, *wḥ mte-t s-my n θ quse*; cf, II Kh, ii, 2, and p. 34, note.

6. *r tʰe-s hl̥t šmse-t mt-f ermes r-s gʰgʰ mt r h̥  
h̥pr e wʰ pʰy zt-f zt Ty-bwbwe n pʰ hl̥ r-lk-k r-k mt  
wbe tʰy hn̥še-t? n hl̥ m*

7. *nʰ-y] mte-k r mt-t erme-y tkr pʰ hl̥ r pʰ mʰ(ʰ)  
nt e Ty-bwbwe nʰm-f zt-f n-s(st) e-y ty nb . . . X  
rʰr-y wʰt wne-t erme Stne H̥m-ws pʰ šre Pr-ʰ Sʰr-  
mʰt-Rʰ*

8. *ʰn wn mte-t s-my n θe qnse e-f r ty r-w s ʰn e-f  
r θ-t-t r wʰ mʰ(ʰ) e-f h̥p [e nn] e(?) rmt nb n pʰ tʰ gm-t-t  
zt Ty-bwbwe m-šm r-zty-s n Stne zt ʰnwk*

9. *wʰb b̥n ʰnwk rmt h̥m (?) ʰn e-f h̥pr [r]-k w[hʰ] n  
r pʰ nt mr-k s erme-y r-k r ʰy r Pr-Bst r pʰ-[e] ʰy  
wn sbte nb hn̥-f e-r-k r pʰ nt mr-k s erme-y e b̥p  
rmt nb n pʰ tʰ*

10. *gm-t-y e b̥p-y r mt-t nzse-t h̥[t]? pʰ h̥y ʰn st  
pʰ hl̥ r Stne szy-[f] e-r-h̥r-f n mt nb-t r-zt-s n-f tr-w  
zt-f pʰ nt mty pʰy wʰy rmt nb r-wn(nʰy)*

*e nn e* seems the reading indicated by the remains, but it may be *e b̥p* as elsewhere in I Kh. in similar cases; cf. note to iii. 24.

1. 6. *gʰgʰ*, perhaps onomatopoeic, 'to say tut tut'; cf. Eg. *gʰgʰ*, 'cackle.' But in Hist. Rom., No. 315, *gʰg* seems a cry of trouble.

*r h̥ h̥pr e*, 'like a becoming that.'

*wʰ OʰΔ*; cf. Hist. Rom. Gloss., Nos. 62, 350, ΣI-OʰΔ.

*pʰy zt-f*, evidently for *pʰy r-zt-f* (i.e. ΠΕΧΔϚ, though the Coptic word is never used as a predicate), *r*, for prosthetic alif, being omitted on account of the vowel preceding.

*r-lk-k*. *lk* = λO : λΩΣI 'be healed,' with refl. pron. 'cease': imper. S. ΔΛOK (cf. P. S. B. A., 1896, 105); caus. TΔλO, cf. Hist. Rom. 184.

*hn̥še-t?* or *hn̥št-t?*; vid. Hess, p. 111.

*m*; differently written in iii. 12.

1. 7. *r mt-t*, 'bargain (?)'

*tkr*, 'hasten,' or 'approach' (?); cf. Eg. *tkn*, 'approach.'

*Sʰr* is transcribed Oʰcipe in O. C. Par., Ä. Z. 83, 94 = Hess, p. 82.

There is no sign of *ge* at the end of the line; cf. l. 4.

1. 8. Note the avoidance of *n-t*, 'to thee,' by the youth twice after 'giving' and 'doing'—perhaps for politeness or from embarrassment.

1. 9. *wʰb*, 'pure,' or perhaps 'priestly.'

*rmt h̥m*. The ordinary reading *h̥m* (S. ϘH̥E, Achm. ϘH̥E), is

6. to her slave-girl attendant, he spake with her. She made clatter (?) of speech as it were that it were blasphemy (?) to say it. Said Ta-bubue to the slave, 'Cease arguing with (?) this fool (?) of a slave. Come

7. [to me] and do thou make speech with me.' The slave hastened to the place in which Ta-bubue was. He said to her, 'I will give ten pieces of gold; pass an hour with Setne Khamuas, the son of Pharaoh Osirmara.

8. Hast thou accusation of injury? he will do it also. He will take thee to a place concealed; no man on earth shall (?) find thee.' Said Ta-bubue, 'Go say it to Setne saying, "I

9. am pure, not am I a mean person. If it be that thou seekest to do that which thou didst (?) desire with me, thou shalt come to Per-Bast to my house. There is every preparation in it, while thou doest that which thou hast desired with me without any man on earth

10. finding me, without my doing thing of a humble-woman in the face (?) of the street." The slave returned to Setne, he related before him everything that she said to him, all. He said, 'This is what is satisfactory.' Shocked (?) was every man that was

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supported by the dem. equivalent for Σμηρχημ in the late Philae inscriptions: BR., Thes. 1005.

*wn* O<sup>3</sup>ON, ST., § 308. *wn*, and its negative *mn*, **wn**: **mm**ON (cf. SPIEGELBERG, Rec. de Trav., 1899, 41; STD., § 248) seem to be verbs used absolutely, followed generally by a nominal sentence.

*e-r-k r*. Is this an emphatic form 'lo! thou shalt do'?

*mr-k*; is this really a past form here, or is *stm-f* used sometimes of the present in relative sentences as in Late Eg. *sdmf*?

l. 10. *nzse-t*, with det. of woman. In Eg. *nzs* is a 'commoner,' as opposed to *sr*, a person of the official classes.

*h<sup>c</sup>-t p<sup>3</sup> h<sup>3</sup>yr*. The remains point to this reading; for *h<sup>c</sup>-t* cf. iii. 30 note.

*p<sup>3</sup> nt mty p<sup>3</sup>y* must be equivalent to our 'very good!' *mty*=**mm**Δ<sup>3</sup>TE= *convenire*, nearly as in the contracts.

*w<sup>3</sup>y*, probably the verb from which O<sup>3</sup>Δ (l. 6) is derived. Eg. *w<sup>c</sup>'*, 'blaspheme,' 'curse.'

11. [n] p' qte n Stne te Stne ʾn-w tks hr(rr)-f ʾl-f r  
mr-t r-r-f ʾp-f hrr r Pr-Bst e-f ʾw p(r) ʾmnt n p'  
Qmy r-r-f gm w' ʾy e-f s

12. m šs e wn w' sbte m qte-f e wn w' k'm ʾr n-f  
mht e wn w' t nse-t h r-f šn Stne zt p'y ʾy p' ʾy n  
nme p'y zt-w n-f p' ʾy

13. [n] Ty-bwbwe p'y šm Stne p' hn n p' sbte r-r-f  
ty hr-f r p' pr n p' k'm ʾr-w ʾn s-my n-m-s e'rhr  
Ty-bwbwe e-s ʾw r hry mh-s

14. n t Stne zt-s n-f ʾnh p' wt n p' ʾy n p' hn-ntr  
n Bst nb-t ʾNḥ-t-wi r-ph-k r-r-f e-f r ʾne-y m šs sgr  
n-m-k r hry erme-y mš' Stne r hry

15. hr p' trt n p' ʾy erme Ty-bwbwe r-r-f gm t'  
ry-t hry-t n p' ʾy e-s šhr e-s nzḥ e p'e-s šhre nzḥe  
n ḥstb n m' t n

16. mfke n m' t e wn glg ʾšy hn-s e-w nm'e n  
šs-stn e hyn-w ʾpt n nb e-w ʾš hr t' w'b-t mh-w w'  
ʾpt n nb n ʾrp te-w s n t Stne.

l. 11. *tks*, an ordinary travelling boat, perhaps to be connected with *tks*,  
'pierce,' so 'swift'; Pamonth, ii. 26; II Kh. v. 6.

*qmy*, not as Maspero, *tmy*, 'city,' which moreover would be written  
*tme* in I Kh.

l. 12. *m qte-f* **ⲙⲛⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲈ**; so also in dem. with noun, *n p' qte n*,  
l. 11.

ʾr *n-f mht*; observe the idiom.

*h* for *hr*; cf. l. 38.

l. 13. *p' hn* **ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲛ**: ST., § 572; cf. *šm-w n p' hn*, II Kh. ii. 3, 4.

*ty hr-f r*, 'give attention to,' 'turn face to,' not uncommon in Eg.  
and dem.; cf. II Kh. v. 8. **ⲧⲉⲣⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** *prospicere* seems very rare  
and not quite the same thing: PEYRON, 360. HESS corrects his translation  
on p. 169.

l. 14. *ʾnh*, S. **Ⲙⲉ-** 'in oaths,' ST., § 528; cf. *ʾnh p' hrt* **Ⲭⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲛⲥ**, BR.,  
dem.-gr. Eigennamen, p. 17; Thes. 882; Verbum, i, § 3. Usually  
followed by the name of a god, II Kh. ii. 14; iv. 15; vi. 34. The *ʾnh*  
being here abbreviated, the demotic ʾ is not written at the beginning as  
in other forms of the word (l. 35, &c.).

*wt*, the spelling identical with that in iv. 7, but here probably  
'flourish' from Eg. *wʾz* = **ⲟⲩⲱⲧ** 'be green,' 'prosper,' as HESS, p. 116,  
points out.



11. around Setne. Setne caused a boat to be brought to him, he went up on board upon it, he delayed not (going) to Per-Bast, he came to the west of the Qemy. And lo! he found a house lofty

12. exceedingly, there being a wall around it, there being a garden making north for it, there being a mastaba (?) in front of it (?). Setne asked saying, 'This house is the house of whom?' They said to him, 'The house

13. of Ta-bubue it is.' Setne went inside the wall; he having turned his attention to the chamber of the garden, they made report of it before Ta-bubue. She came down, she took

14. the hand of Setne. She said to him, 'By the prosperity of the house of the prophet of Bast mistress of Ankh-tai, at which thou hast arrived, it will please (?) me exceedingly. Come along up from thyself with me.' Setne walked up

15. on the staircase of the house with Ta-bubue. Lo! he found the upper story of the house swept and decorated, its floor (?) being decorated with real lapis lazuli and with

16. real turquoise, there being many couches in it upholstered with royal linen, there being some cups of gold, numerous, upon the dresser. A cup of gold was filled with wine; it was given into the hand of Setne.

<sup>e</sup>ne-y or <sup>e</sup>ney, \*ΔΠΗΙ or ΔΠΔΙ, must be =  $\bar{p}$ ΔΠΗΙ or  $\bar{p}$ ΔΠΔΙ 'will please me,' or 'will be pleasant'; cf. ST., § 190. The *r* preceding must however be future  $\bar{e}$ , not  $\bar{p}$ .

*sgr n·m-k*; cf. note on iii. 24.

l. 15. *trt* ΤΩΡΤ 'stairs'; GOODWIN, *Ä. Z.*, 1870, 135.

*shr nzh*, see ΠΥСОЗР ΠΥΠΔΧΚ with which this is compared by REVILLOUT, *Rev. Ég.* ii. 83. The det. of *shre*, later in the line, is that of 'ground,' 'dust,' as in *'me*, so presumably it means the 'floor that is swept.'

l. 16. *'pl* in the first case has no plural sign, probably because it has no distinctive plural form.

*e-w* <sup>š</sup>ετωϣ; N. B. not written <sup>š</sup>y: cf. iv. 39.

17. *zt-s n-f my ḥpr-f ʾr-k r ʾr pʾe-k gy n wm zt-f n-s(st) mn pʾ nt e-y rḥ ʾr-f te-w ḥwe r pʾ ḥ ʾn-w sgne n tʾ mne-t n tʾ ḥr-t Pr-ʿ e ʾr ḥr-f*

18. ʾr Stne ḥrw nfr erme Ty-bwbwe e ḥp-f nw r pʾe-s smte ʿn sp-sn zt Stne n Ty-bwbwe my mnq-n tʾ e ʾw-n r ḥnʾy(y) tbʾt-s

19. . . . *zt-s n-f ʾr-k r pḥ pʾe-k ʿy pʾ nt e-ʾr-k nʾm-f ʾnwk wʿb ḥn ʾnwk rmt ḥm ʾn e-f ḥpr ʾr-k wḥ-s n ʾr pʾ nt mr-k s erme-y e-ʾr-k r ʾr wʿ ḥ n s-ʿnḥ erme wʿ*

20. *tb ḥt r nt nb-t nka nb-t nt mte-k tr-w zt-f n-s(st) my ʾn-w pʾ ḥ n ʿt sbʾ ʾn-w s tʾy ḥte te-f ʾr-w n-s wʿ ḥ n s-ʿnḥ wʿ tb ḥt r nt nb-t nka nb-t nt mte-f tr-w*

21. *wʿ-t wne-t tʾ e-ʾr ḥpr ʾr-w ʿn s-my nʾm-s e ʾr ḥr Stne zt nʾe-k ḥrt-w ḥry zt-f my-ʾn-w st r ḥry tw-n-s Ty-bwbwe te-s wʿ ḥt n ḥs-stn ḥr*

22. ʾt(t)-s nw Stne r ʿe-t nb-t nt nʾm-s ḥn-f e-ʾr

l. 17. ʾr-k r, fut. attributive. A good instance of ʾr-k=EK as well as K. *ḥwe* (cf. Eg. *ḥrw*, with det. of wood; T.  $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃}$  'ointment' for the head),  $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀}$  'incense,' Z., p. 422.

ʾn-w not clear, perhaps *ḥe-w*.

*mne-t*  $\text{𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀}$  species.

*tʾ ḥr-t*, or *nʾ ḥr-wt*.

l. 18. ʿn sp-sn; cf. above note to iii. 7.

*e ʾw-n*: it is curious that ʾw-f should be admissible in attributive or conjunctive (with *ty*), but apparently not in indicative sentences. The relative form of *stm-f* seems not to occur in Late Eg. with this verb (*Verbum*, ii, § 803, cf. above iii. 20, note; iii. 2, note ʾw), and this form with *e* is apparently substituted for it.

l. 19. A small space before *zt-s*, but the parallels ll. 23, 25, 28 give nothing here.

$\text{𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀}$ .

*s-ʿnḥ*  $\text{𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀}$ ,  $\text{𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀}$ :  $\text{𐤀𐤎𐤁𐤀}$  'nurture,' 'educate.'

l. 20. *wʿ tb ḥt*. This has been considered to represent  $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀}$  \* $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀}$ - $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀}$  'a (writing) for money,' but  $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀𐤀}$  seems a more probable equivalent, since the same group or ligature *tb* spells  $\text{𐤀𐤃𐤐𐤃𐤀}$  'requite,' 'punish,' in Kufi and Leyden Mor.; cf. II Kh. ii. 13. (*sh*) *tb ḥt* are referred to in REVILLOUT, *Chrestomathie Démonotique*, 215, 216, 228, &c. In 216 it is a distinct document from the *sh n s-ʿnḥ*.

17. She said to him, 'Let it be that thou wilt make thy manner of eating.' He said to her, 'There is not that that I shall be able to make.' They put scented gums on the censer, they brought unguents of the sort of the provisions of Pharaoh, before him.

18. Setne spent a good day with Ta-bubue, he not having seen her like ever, ever. Said Setne to Tabubue, 'Let us complete that on account of which we came here.'

19. . . . said she to him, 'Thou wilt reach thy house, that in which thou art. I am pure, I am not a vulgar person. If it be that thou seekest to do what thou didst desire with me, thou shalt make a writing of maintenance with a

20. recompense (?) in money with regard to everything and all goods that belong to thee, all.' Said he to her, 'Let the scribe of the school be brought.' He was brought instantly. He caused to be made for her a writing of maintenance and a recompense (?) in money for everything and all goods belonging to him, all.

21. At an hour, that which happened, they made announcement of it before Setne, saying, 'Thy children are below.' Said he, 'Let them be brought up.' Ta-bubue arose, she put a dress of royal linen upon

22. her. Setne saw every part of her in it, his desire

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\**et sb'* = S.  $\Delta\text{ΠΧΗΒΕ}$  (LEMM, Sah. Leg. v. Cyprian v. Antiochien, p. 71),  $\Delta\text{ΠΖΗΒΕ} : \Delta\text{ΠΖΗΒ}(\tau)$  'school.' A *sh n et sbe* occurs REV., Chrest. Dem. 284.

l. 21. *hi*, Eg. *hri* probably = S:  $\text{ΖΟΕΙΤΕ}$  *vestis*. STD., Elias, 27, 7 gives the Achm.  $\text{ΖΑΪΤΕ}$ , but is this certain? BOURIANT, Pap. d' Akhmim, Gloss. reads  $\text{ΖΑΪΤΕ}$ , which seems better though he misunderstood the passage.

l. 22. \**et* (written with the old group \**t* followed by *e-t*) = O. C. Par., pl.  $\text{HO}\tau$ ; ERM., Ä. Z., 1883, 104. The sing. perhaps  $\text{HI}$ , *ibid.*; but see *y*, v. 36.

p'e-f mr 'y n 'w n h'w r p'y wn(n'y) e-f n'm-f t' h'c-t  
zt Stne Ty-bwbwe my mnq-y

23. t' e 'w-y r b n'y(y) tb't-s zt-s n-f 'r-k r ph p'e-k  
'y p' nt e-r-k n'm-f 'nwk w'c bn 'nwk rmt hm 'n  
e-f h'pr 'r-k w'h' n 'r p' nt mr-k s erme-y 'r-k r ty  
sh n'e-k

24. hrt-w h'r p'e sh m-r h'c-w r 'r mlhe erme n'e  
hrt-w h'r n'e-k nk'w te-f 'n-w n'e-f hrt-w te-f sh-w h'r  
p' sh zt Stne n Ty-bwbwe my mnq-y

25. t' e 'w-y r bn'y(y) tb't-s zt-s n-f 'r-k r ph p'e-k  
'y p' nt e-r-k n'm-f 'nwk w'c bn 'nwk rmt hm 'n e-f  
h'pr e-r-k w'h'-s n 'r p' nt mr-k s erme-y 'r-k r ty

26. htb-w n'e-k hrt-w m-r h'c-w r 'r mlhe erme n'e  
hrt-w h'r p'e-k nk' zt Stne my 'r-w n-w p' btw nt ph  
r h'c-t te-s htb-w n'e-f hrt-w

27. e-r-h'r-f te-s ty 'w-w r h'ry n p' ššte e-r-h'r n'  
'w'w-w erme n' 'me-wt wm-w n'e-w 'ef-w e-f stm r-r-w  
e-f swr erme Ty-bwbwe zt Stne Ty-bwbwe

28. my mnq-n t' e 'w-n r bn'y(y) tb't-s mt nb't r-zt-t  
h'r-y 'r-w n-t tr-w zt-s n-f sgr 'm-k r p'y pr šm Stne  
r p' pr qt-f h'r w' glge n

29. yb hbyn e t'e-f mr-t šp nb qt n-s Ty-bwbwe

'y n 'w. So also in Coptic with words of increase and decrease,  
e. g. **ⲓ ⲛ ⲣⲱⲧ** ἀναέλλειν, Lev. xiv. 43, and **ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲃⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ**  
ἠλαττονόδο, Gen. viii. 3.

'w. This subst. (cf. Br., Thes. 933) seems to be **ⲟⲩⲱ** in **ⲓⲟⲩⲱ**  
'grow, flourish'; **ⲕⲓⲟⲩⲱ**; **Ⲗⲓⲟⲩⲱ** 'grow.'

l. 23. w'h' n; N. B. not w'h'-s n as in ll. 19, 25.

ty sh, perhaps 'cause them (their names) to be written': cf. iii. 8.

l. 26. btw, masc.; S. **ⲕⲱⲧⲈ**, **ⲛ** abominatio.

nt ph **Ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ**.

l. 27. Exactly **ⲧⲁⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲣⲏ**.

l. 28. h'r-y 'r-w, almost **ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ**. One might suspect h'r-y to be for  
**ⲉⲓⲱⲱ** 'myself,' St., § 256, but apparently it is the emphatic form (cf.  
iv. 5), used here on account of the object of the sentence having gone  
before for emphasis.

'm-k. The only instance of this spelling in the story; cf. the  
parallel, l. 14.

lo! coming in quantity beyond that in which it was before. Said Setne, 'Ta-bubue, let me complete

23. that for which I came here.' Said she to him, 'Thou wilt reach thy house, that in which thou art. I am pure, I am not a common person. If it be that thou seekest to do that which thou didst desire with me, thou shalt cause thy

24. children to write under my writing. Do not allow them to make quarrel with my children with thy goods.' He caused his children to be brought. He caused them to write under the writing. Setne said to Ta-bubue, 'Let me complete

25. that for which I have come hither.' Said she to him, 'Thou shalt reach thy house, that in which thou art. I am pure, I am not a common person. If it be that thou seekest to do that which thou didst desire with me, thou shalt cause

26. thy children to be slain. Do not allow them to make quarrel with my children with thy goods.' Said Setne, 'Let be done to them the abomination that is arrived at thy heart.' She caused his children to be slain

27. before him, she caused them to be cast down from the window before the dogs with the cats. They ate their flesh, he hearing them, he drinking with Ta-bubue. Said Setne, 'Ta-bubue,

28. let us complete that for which we came here. Everything that thou hast said, I have done them for thee, all.' Said she to him, 'Come up from where thou art to this chamber.' Went Setne to the chamber. He lay down upon a couch of

29. ivory and ebony, his desire receiving gold.

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l. 29. *mr-t*, the Eg. word does not survive in Coptic: cf. l. 22, *p'e-f mr* (i. e. 22E).

*qt n-s*. This reflexive form is usual in II Kh. In Pap. Unuamon,

hr twn Stne te-f šm t-t-f r zhe r-r-s wn-s r-s  
r p'

30. p' (*sic*) 'tne n w' sgpe ' r-r Stne nhse e-f hn  
w't 'st hr't e hnn-f hr hn n w't šhye e mn hbs n p'  
t' hr 't(t)-f.

31. w't wne-t t' e-r hpr r-r Stne nwe r w' rmt ' '  
e-f θs r w't mkwe-t e wn rmt 'šy zze hr rt(t)-f e-f m  
qty Pr- Stne 'w

32. r twn-f bp-f rh twn-f tb' p' šyp zt mn hbs hr  
't(t)-f zt Pr- Stne 'h r-r-k n p'y gy nt e-r-k n'm-f  
zt-f N(y)-nfr-k'-Pth p' e-r 'r-w n'y tr-w

33. zt Pr- m-šm r Mn-nfr n'e-k hrt-w st w' n'm-k  
st 'h' r p'e-w rt(t) m-b'h Pr- zt Stne mb'h Pr- p'e  
nb ' stn 'r-f p' 'h' n p' R' 'h p' gy

ii. 83 we have the imperative *sdryw n-k*, 'lie down!' suggesting that  
*qt* (?) may sometimes be read *str*; but cf. iii. 6, note.

hr twn **ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲏ**; apparently for *hr tw n*, the form with suffixes  
being *r twe*, II Kh. vii. 9, corresponding to [r?] *twn*, *ibid.* i. 5: cf.  
**ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲓ** and **ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲏ** 'upon,' 'near,' *St.*, §§ 198 (p. 96), 549.  
The det. in dem. is of flesh, agreeing with the meaning of **ⲑⲟⲩⲱⲓ** =  
*κόλπος*, 'bosom' (*St.*, § 198), but it seems possible that the meaning  
'bosom' was derived from the present use, and that the original meaning  
is shown in **ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ** 'sandals': cf. **ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲓ** **ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲧⲓ** and the use  
of 'between the feet' euphemistically in Hebrew. The inclusion of the  
*n* in the word *twn* shows that the origin of the word was already  
uncertain. It may perhaps mean 'under' in dem.; cf. vi. 13 where it  
corresponds to *hr* in vi. 15.

*wn-s r-s r p' 'tne*, &c. The whole phrase recurs *Hist. Rom.*,  
No. 37, of a loud cry of horror. *r p' 'tne*, 'downward,' 'right down,'  
cf. vi. 14 and **ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏ**, II Kh. iii. 19.

l. 30. *nhse*; though **ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲥⲉ** means only 'awake,' *nhse* in Eg. and  
dem. seldom has merely this meaning; see below, vi. 10 note, so here it  
may mean 'started up' rather than 'awoke' from the trance.

's-t *hr't*, 'place of censer,' i.e. 'a warm place' ? or 's-t may, like  
Eg. *ys-t*, mean here 'condition,' 'state.'

hr hn **ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲏ** 'inside': *St.*, § 572.

šhye, fem. with det. of water and ground: it can hardly be con-  
nected with **ⲱⲉⲓⲟ** 'dust.'

l. 31. *θs r*, 'mounted on': cf. B. **Ⲅⲁⲓⲉⲟ** 'horseman.'

*mkwe-t*, so also *Hist. Rom.*, No. 139: cf. II Kh. iv. 16; v. 19 (*mgye*).  
A very ancient word occurring in Horhotep, l. 411, *wθs θw hr mkw-t-k*,

Ta-bubue lay down by the side of Setne, he caused his hand to go to touch her. She opened her mouth down-

30. ward in a great cry. And lo! Setne awoke, he being in a place of furnace, his phallus being inside a *shye*, there not being any clothes on earth upon him.

31. At an hour, that which happened, lo! Setne perceived a noble person, mounted on a litter (?), there being many men running at his feet, he being like a Pharaoh. Setne was about

32. to rise; he was not able to rise on account of the shame; that is to say there was no clothing on him. Said (the) Pharaoh, 'Setne, what (hath happened) to thee in this guise in which thou art?' Said he, 'Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah is he that hath done all these things to me.'

33. Said (the) Pharaoh, 'Go to Memphis, thy children they are seeking for thee, they are standing according to their style before Pharaoh.' Said Setne before Pharaoh, 'My great lord the king, may he accomplish the duration of Ra! what is the manner

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'mount upon thy *mkwt*.' The det. in Horhotep probably represents an object carried on a pole, and so a 'litter.'

*zze*=B.  $\text{C}\text{O}\text{X}\text{I}$  'run,' by differentiation of consonants: cf. Hist. Rom., No. 361; II. Kh. ii. 33, *'r-w zze* showing that it is of late formation, having no proper *stm-f*. In twenty-sixth dynasty hieroglyphic *ggy-f*: Ä. Z., 1868, 85.

*'w r twm-f*, 'attempted to rise,' 'was going to rise.' The sense  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  is not uncommon in dem, both in  $\text{*}\text{C}\text{E}\text{C}$ —here and II Kh. vi. 18—and in the qual.  $\text{N}\text{H}\text{C}$  (vid. note II Kh. ii. 8), II Kh. ii. 15; vi. 28. In Coptic this meaning is rare, but  $\text{E}\text{O}\text{N}\text{H}\text{O}\text{C}$  'future,' can be exactly paralleled from Can., l. 42 (Br., Thes., 1566), *n n' ss-w nt 'ne-'w*=*én tois metà taúta kairóis*, where the second stela (ed. Groff., p. 28) gives for the same passage  $\text{E}\text{T}\text{N}\text{C}\text{W}\text{O}\text{C}$  'that follow after them.' Note the closely parallel use of  $\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$  :  $\text{N}\text{O}\text{T}\text{I}$  *ny*, II Kh. vi. 23.

l. 32. *zt*, a good instance of  $\text{X}\text{E}$  'because.'

$\text{h r}'\text{r-k}$ ,  $\Delta\text{Z}\text{P}\text{OK}$  :  $\Delta\text{Z}\text{OK}$ , St., § 263; cf. Hist. Rom., No. 34.  $\Delta\text{Z}$  is of course the same word as  $\Delta\text{C}$ .

l. 33. *r p'e-w rtt*. The *r* is clearer in l. 35, and quite clear in II Kh. ii. 2, 4. But this is not  $\text{OZ}\text{I ep}\Delta\text{T}\text{O}\text{C}$ . The word 'feet,'  $\text{p}\Delta\text{T}$ :

34. n šm r Mn-nfr nt e-y r<sup>h</sup> r-f e mn ḥbs n p' t' ḥr ḏt(t)y š Pr-<sup>c</sup> r w' ḥl e-f ḥy te-f te-f ḥbs n Stne zt Pr-<sup>c</sup> Stne m-šm r Mn-nfr

35. n'e-k ḥrt-w st 'nh st ḥ' r p'e-w rt(t) m-b'ḥ Pr-<sup>c</sup> Stne ḡw r Mn-nfr ḥlg-f n n'e-f ḥrt-w n t (sic) gm-f s(st) e-w 'nh zt Pr-<sup>c</sup> 'n ḥy

36. p' nt e-r-k . . . . t' ḥ' t? s'zy Stne n mt nb r-ḥpr n'm-f erme Ty-bwbwe erme N(ḡy)-nfr-k'-Pth tr-w zt Pr-<sup>c</sup> Stne r-y 'y t-t-y r-r-k t' ḥ' t

37. zt e-w r ḥtb-k r-k tm θ p'y zm' r p' m'(c) n 'n-t-f r-r-k ḏp-k stm n(ḡy) š' t' wne-t 'n my ḥe-w p'y zm' n N(ḡy)-nfr-k'-Pth e wn w' t šlte-t

38. šbte n t-t-k e wn w' ḥ' n ste-t ḥr zz-k Stne ḡw r bl m-b'ḥ Pr-<sup>c</sup> e wn w' t šlte-t šbte-t n t-t-f e wn w' ḥ' ste-t ḥ

39. zz-f šm-f r ḥry r t' ḥ' t r-wn(n'y) N'y-nfr-k'-Pth ḥn-s zt n-f ḡwre-t Stne Pth p' ntr ' p' e'r 'n-t-k r-r-k wz' sby N(ḡy)-nfr-k'-Pth

never has the article; that the present phrase corresponds to B. **ἄπορρητ** is clear from II Kh. ii. 9 *p r t t* **πρητε**. The origin of **ρητε** : **ρητ**, π may be sought in **ρωτ** 'grow firm,' like **ῥινη**, τ 'species,' perhaps from **ῥοιη** 'remain'; or **ρητ** 'style' may mean literally 'feet,' 'position' (?): cf. Piankhi Stele, ll. 149-50, 'their feet? (*rdwi-sn*) were as the feet? of women.'

l. 34. ḥ'y; here the I of O<sub>2</sub>I is by exception written out.

l. 35. ḥlg-f; N.B. the suffix is written before the det.

*n t gm-f* : t, 'hand,' is without its det. and the two words seem to have been accidentally fused together in the writing, leaving *n t[.t-f?]* incomplete. This *n t gm-f* can hardly be intended for **πτερερῥινη**, for which see II Kh. vi. 3.

l. 36. The beginning is difficult to restore; e'r-k [*n'm-f*] t' ḥ' t(?) seems meaningless, as a past tense is required.

ḡ; cf. iii. 22. For the reading of this important group, giving the key to many words, see SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 1899, 24 et seqq. ḡ t' is 'extent of hand,' i. e. 'power,' so = *ἐξείνα* in Ros. 31 apud SPIEGELBERG, *ibid.*, p. 30. Note the derivative **πΔ-** = *n ḡ* in **πΔπΔρητ** = *ὄς ἐμέ*, St., § 583, as well as examples quoted by SPIEGELBERG. Is **πῆι** (in O. C. Par., ERM., *Ä. Z.* 83, 100) *n' ḡ*, 'the two hands,' rather than 'the limbs,' since the true plural of the latter **πῆοτ** occurs in the next line but one?



34. of going to Memphis that I can do, there not being any clothing on earth upon me?' Called Pharaoh to a slave who was standing by, he caused him to give clothing to Setne. Said Pharaoh, 'Setne, go to Memphis.

35. Thy children, they are alive, they are standing according to their style before Pharaoh.' Setne came to Memphis, he embraced his children with hand (?), he found them alive. Said Pharaoh, 'Is it drunkenness

36. that in (?) which thou [wast ?] before?' Setne related everything that had become of him with Ta-bubue with Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah, all. Said Pharaoh, 'Setne, I did the extent of my hand to thee before,

37. saying, "They will slay thee, thou not taking this book to the place of carrying it (away) that thou didst. Thou didst not hearken to me until this moment again. Let this book be taken to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah, there being a fork

38. stick in thy hand, there being a censer of fire on thy head.'" Setne came out from before Pharaoh, there being a fork stick in his hand, there being a censer of fire upon

39. his head. He went down to the tomb, in which was Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. Ahure said to him, 'Setne, Ptah the great god is he that hath brought thee, thou being well.' Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah laughed.

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l. 37. *r-r-k*, not *epok* 'to thee,' but \**ep&k* 'that thou didst'; cf. iii. l. 20; iv. l. 13.

*n* seems vaguely used in dem. (cf. l. 8 above), and here it would almost seem an adversative particle. But perhaps the king is complaining that Setne has 'again' neglected his advice, implying that he had done so before.

l. 38. That *h* stands here for *hr* is certified by the parallel earlier in the line. This demotic sign, which so often renders Eg. *h*<sup>c</sup> is perhaps in origin the 'syllabic' hieroglyph *h*<sup>c</sup> and would be better so transcribed throughout instead of *h*<sup>c</sup>, *h*.

## mh VI

1. Pth p' ntr ʕ p' e-r ʔn-t-k ʔr-k wzʔ
2. sby N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth zt mt e zt-y s n-k tʔ hʕt tʔy  
ʔr Stne sme r N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth gm-f s e hr-w zt pʔ Rʕ  
pʔy wn(nʔy) hn tʔ hʕt tr-s
3. ʔr ʔHwre-t erme N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth sme r Stne m šs  
zt Stne N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth ʔn wn mt e-s šlf zt N(ʔy)-nfr-  
kʔ-Pth Stne ʔkʔ (ʔ)rḥ-s zt ʔHwre-t
4. erme Mr-ʔb pʔe-s šre st n Qbt r-wʔh ty hn tʔy  
hʕt n yp-t n sh nfr my hn-w s e-r hr-k mte-k šp wʕt  
hyyt-t mte-k šm r Qbte mte-k ʔn-t-wʔ
5. r bnʔy(y) Stne ʔw r hry hn tʔ hʕt šm-f m-bʔh Pr-ʕ  
s-zy-f m-bʔh Pr-ʕ n mt nb-t r-zt n-f N(ʔy)-nfr-kʔ-Pth  
tr-w zt Pr-ʕ Stne m-šm r Qbt r-ʔny
6. ʔHwre-t erme Mr-ʔb pʔe-s šre zt-f m-bʔh Pr-ʕ my  
te-w nʔ-y tʔ shre-t Pr-ʕ erme pʔe-s sbte te-w n-f tʔ  
shre-t Pr-ʕ erme pʔe-s sbte ʕ-f r mr-t
7. ʔr-f [s]gr ʔp-f hrr ph-f r Qbt ʔr-w ʕn s-my nʔm-s  
e-ʔr-hr nʔ wʕb-w n ʔS [n] Qbt pʔ mr-šn n ʔS st ʔw r (?)  
hry r hʕt-f šp-w t-t-f r nʔ qr-w ʕ-f r hry nʔm-w šm-f
8. hn h-ntʔ n ʔS n Qbt Hr-pʔ-hrt te-f ʔn-w ʔh ʔpt ʔrp

1. 2. *e zt-y s*; perhaps not *r-zt-y s* because *mt* is indefinite.

*sme*, 'blessing,' 'giving of thanks,' **𐎎𐎏𐎍**, as REVILLOUT, rather than **𐎎𐎏𐎐** 'voice.' Cf. II Kh. iii. 1.

*e hr-w zt*: cf. II Kh. i. 10. Is this use derived from Eg. *hr-f stm-f* (ERM., Gr. 229) 'he hears' (frequentative), cf. **𐎎𐎏𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎍**; or is it perhaps from *rḥ-f stm*, 'he could (?) hear'? *rḥ* and *hr* might easily be confused (see Verbum, i. § 245). In the present instance, at any rate, a potential meaning seems required.

1. 3. *ʔk*, perhaps some unusual word, or is it a fault of writing for *ʔr-k* as in l. 11? = Late Eg. *tw-k*.

1. 4. *r-wʔh* **𐎎𐎏𐎍** : **𐎎𐎏𐎍** : **𐎎𐎏𐎍** 'and,' really an imperative from *wʔh*; cf. MÜLLER, Ä. Z., 1888, 94, for the hieroglyphic form. It seems to occur in Pamonth, ii. 33, *tw r-wʔh (?) mw*, 'bread, also water.'

*ty*, B. **𐎎𐎏𐎍**; vid. HESS, pp. 59, 132. SPIEGELBERG has recognized

## Sixth

1. 'Ptah the great god is he that hath brought thee, thou being well.'

2. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah laughed saying, 'This is a thing that I said to thee at first.' Setne made salutation (?) to Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. He found it that people would have said (?) it was Ra that was in the whole tomb.

3. Ahure with Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah made salutation (?) to Setne exceedingly. Said Setne, 'Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah, is there a thing that is disgraceful?' Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah said, 'Thou knowest (?) it, that Ahure

4. with Mer-ab her child, they are in Coptos and also here in this tomb by the craft of a good scribe. Let it be commanded unto thee that thou take a labour, and that thou go to Coptos, and that thou bring them

5. hither.' Setne came up (from) in the tomb, he went before Pharaoh, he related before Pharaoh everything that Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah said to him, all. Said Pharaoh, 'Setne, go to Coptos, bring

6. Ahure with Mer-ab her son.' He said before Pharaoh, 'Let there be given to me the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh with its equipment.' The pleasure-boat of Pharaoh was given to him with its equipment, he went up on board,

7. he made sail. He delayed not, he reached Coptos. They made announcement of it before the priests of Isis of Coptos, and the high priest of Isis. They came down to meet him, they took his hand to the shore. He went up from it, he went

8. into the temple of Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. He caused ox, fowl, wine to be brought, he made

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its Late Egyptian form in the common group *dy* (Rec. de Trav., 1899, 46).

*hn*, 'command,' generally takes the vague object *s*.

ʾr-f glyl wtne m-bʰ ʾS n Qbt Hr-pʰ-ḥrt šm-f r tʰ ḥse-t  
n Qbte erme nʰ wʰb-w nʰ ʾS pʰ *mr-šn* nʰ ʾS

9. ʾr-w hrw III grḥ III e-w wḥʰ ḥn nʰ ḥ-wt nt hr tʰ  
ḥse-t n Qbt tr-w e-w pnʰ nʰ wyt-w nʰ sh-w Pr-ʿnh  
e-w ʿš nʰ sh-w nt hr ʾt(t)-w ḥp-w gm nʰ ʿy-w

10. n ḥtp nt e ʾHwre-t erme Mr-ʾb pʰe-s šre nʰm-w  
gm-s N(y)-nfr-kʰ-Pth e ḥp-w gm nʰ ʿy-w n ḥtp n ʾHwre-t  
erme Mr-ʾb pʰe-s šre nhse-f

11. n wʰ ḥl ʿ wʰbʰ? e-f ʿy n ms m šs e-f ʾw r tʰ  
ḥʰ-t n Stne nwe Stne r-r-f zt Stne n pʰ ḥl ʿ ʾr-k n  
smte n rmt e-f ʿy n ms ʾn ʾr-k (r)rḥ nʰ ʿy-w

12. n ḥtp nt e ʾHwre-t erme Mr-ʾb pʰe-s šre ḥn-w  
zt pʰ ḥl ʿ n Stne zt-s pʰ yt n pʰ yt n pʰe yt e-ʾr-ḥr  
pʰ yt n pʰe yt zt zt-s pʰ yt (*siu*)

13. n pʰe yt e-ʾr-ḥr pʰ yt n pʰe yt zt e ʾr n ʿy-w n  
ḥtp n ʾHwre-t erme Mr-ʾb pʰe-s šre ḥr tw n pʰ qḥ rs  
n pʰ ʿy n pʰ h-m-šs-V? . . . . . zt

14. Stne n pʰ ḥl ʿ ʿrw e gmʰe pʰ e-ʾr pʰ hmšs-V?  
r-ʾr-k ʾr-k nʿy r ty ʾn-w pʰe-f ʿy r pʰ ʾtne tb-t-s zt pʰ  
ḥl ʿ n Stne my ʾr-w hrḥ r-ḥr-y my ʾr-w

l. 10. *gm* does not take explanatory *zt*, but *rḥ* often does (l. 3).

*nhse*, of rising from the dead, also in II Kh. vii. 2; a still more remarkable use occurs in Hist. Rom., No. 167, apparently for boarding a ship in war.

l. 11. *n wʰ ḥl ʿ*, an interesting use of *n*, so common in Eg. as *m*.

*ḥl ʿ wʰbʰ (?)*. The last word is fairly certain, and its position as a title paralleled in *ḥl stm ʿš*, v. 1.

*e-f ʿy n ms*: cf. II Kh. iii. 12 *sbq n ms*.

l. 12. The facsimile shows clear traces of *zt zt* instead of one *zt* alone, as read in other editions.

*n pʰ yt* has evidently dropped out at the end of the line.

l. 13. *e ʾr = epe = &pe*, St., § 372. *e* alone is required in dem. in subordinate or relative sentences; but this is indicative and emphatic.

*pʰ h-m-šs-V?*. *m šs* is very clear in ll. 16, 17; in the other instances it is doubtful. The last three signs are the same as in the group *hr . . . .*, equivalent to *hr-hb*, 'lector' in Rh. bil., No. 367.

l. 14. *ʿrw &prʰ* 'perhaps,' as REVILLEOUT pointed out; cf. II Kh. iv. 27; Kufi, v. 35, with the same construction as here.

burnt-offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. He went to the gebel of Coptos with the priests of Isis and the high priest of Isis.

9. They spent three days three nights, seeking in the tombs which were on the gebel of Coptos, all, turning over the stelae of the scribes of the House of Life, reading the writings that were upon them. They found not the houses

10. of rest in which were Ahure with Mer-ab her son. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah found it that they found not the houses of rest of Ahure with Mer-ab her son. He rose up

11. as an old man, a priest great of age exceedingly. He came to meet Setne. Setne saw him. Said Setne to the old man, 'Thou art in the appearance of a man that is great of age; dost thou know the houses

12. of rest in which are Ahure with Mer-ab her child?' The old man said to Setne, 'The father of the father of my father said it before the father of my father, saying "The father (of the father)

13. of my father said it before the father of my father saying, The houses of rest of Ahure with Mer-ab her son are by the southern corner of the house of the *hemshes* . . . priest (?) . . . ."' Said

14. Setne to the old man, 'Perhaps there is cheating (?), that which the *hemshes* . . . (?) did to thee, on account of which thou goest to cause his house to be brought to the ground.' Said the old man to Setne, 'Let a watch be set over me, let them

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*gm*<sup>c</sup>, S. Ⲫⲱⲱⲉ 'distort,' 'pervert'; in dem. 'injure,' 'rob' = ἀδικεῖν, Ros., l. 18, written *km*<sup>c</sup> in Kufi.

*n'y*; see note to iii. 12.

*'n-w r p' tne*: cf. ⲙⲏ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲏⲧ *deicere*.

*hrh* (cf. l. 15) . . . *hrhr*. The uninflected ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲉ and the quadriliteral *hrhr* require the periphrasis with 'r in dem. A general extension of this use led to Coptic ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲉ.

15. *hrhr* p' 'y n p' hmšs-V? e-f *hpr* e *bp-w* gm  
 'Hwre:t erme Mr-'b p'e-s šre *hr* p' qh rs n p'e-f 'y  
 my 'r-w n'y btw 'r-w hrh r p' hl 'c

16. gm-w p' 'y n htp n 'Hwre:t erme Mr-'b p'e-s  
 šre *hr* p' qh n rs [n p'] 'y n p' h-m-šs-V? te Stne 'q.w  
 n n' rmt-w-'y r t' shre:t Pr-'c te-f

17. qt-w p' 'y n p' h-m-šs-V? r h p'e-f gy t' h'c:t  
 te N('y)-nfr-k'-Pth gm Stne p' *hpr* e nte-f p' e'r 'y r  
 Qbt r ty gm-w p' 'y n htp nt e 'Hwr[e:t]

18. erme Mr-'b p'e-s šre n'm-f 'l Stne r mr:t r t'  
 shre:t Pr-'c hty-f bp-f hrr p'f r Mn-nfr. erme p' mš'e  
 r'wn(n'y) erme-f tr-w 'r-w 'n s'my

19. n'm-s m-b'h Pr-'c e-f 'w? r hry *hr* t' h'c:t n t'  
 shre:t Pr-'c te-f 'q.w n n' rmt-w-'y r t' h't nt e  
 N('y)-nfr-k'-Pth n'm-s te-f 'r-w hsys t'e-w ry't

20. hry:t n w' gy sh mnq p'y s'zy n Stne H'c-m-ws  
 erme N('y)-nfr-k'-Pth erme 'Hwre:t t'e-f rmt:t Mr-'b  
 p'e-s šre sh-w p'y the . . . . .

21. rnp XV ('bt) tpy pr . . . . .

l. 15. *e bp-w*: a clear and remarkable instance with future-perfect meaning.

l. 16. n' *rmt-w-'y* are the 'noble' (dead), i.e. Ahure and Merab, not 'the nobles' of Coptos; see l. 19 and cf. BR., Thes., 939.

l. 17. *gm p' hpr e*; cf. II Kh. v. 15.

*nte-f*: dem. makes no distinction between abs. pron.  $\text{NTOC}$  and subjunctive *nte-f*  $\text{NTAC}$ .

l. 19. The facsimile favours *n hry* rather than *r hry*.

*hr t' h'c:t n*,  $\text{D} \& \text{T} \text{Q} \text{H} \text{N}$ ; ST., § 575.

*hsys*. Hess' interpretation of this difficult word is clever. The word occurs again (masc.) II Kh. vi. 16.

l. 20. The unusual form of *w'* may indicate that the word is to be read with emphasis as a numeral, not as the indef. article  $\text{O} \text{C}$ .

*s'zy*. A substantive, 'tale,' in apposition to *sh*; or perhaps an active or passive participle 'telling (of),' 'told (of)': cf. *zt*, II Kh. ii. 23.

*rmt-t*, for 'wife'; also in Denderah xxv B. A., xxvi A. 29. The

15. raze the house of the *hemshes* . . . (?); if it be that they have not found Ahure with Mer-ab her son under the south corner of his house, let abomination be done to me.' They set a watch over the old man.

16. They found the house of rest of Ahure with Mer-ab her son under the south corner of the house of the *hemshes* . . . (?). Setne gave entries to the great personages to the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh, he caused

17. the house of the *hemshes* . . . . (?) to be built according to its manner at first. Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah caused Setne to discover the event, that it was he that had come to Coptos to cause them to find the house of rest in which was Ahure

18. with Mer-ab her son. Setne went up on board the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. He went down stream, he did not delay; he reached Memphis with the people that were with him, all. They made announcement

19. of it before Pharaoh; he came down to meet the pleasure-boat of Pharaoh. He gave entries to the great people unto the tomb in which was Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah. He caused to be made a filling (?) above them

20. in one manner. A complete writing is this, a story of Setne Khamuas with Ne-nefer-ka-Ptah with Ahure his wife, Mer-ab her son. This copy (?) was written . . . . .

21. Year 15, first month of winter (Tybi) . . . . .

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reading *rmt-t* rather than *hm-t* seems certified by the O. C.  $\tau\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau$  transcribing  $\tau^s rmt-t n$  in a bilingual label: STEINDORFF, *Ä. Z.*, 1890, 52.

*te* . . . is perhaps some word for 'a copy': cf.  $\theta h\epsilon y-s$  (?), 'copy it,' in II Kh. v. 13. Krall's reading, above, p. 40, note, seems hardly possible even in his published copy.

l. 21.  $\iota\delta\iota\ \tau\eta\gamma\ \rho\epsilon$  would doubtless be read  $\iota\delta$  (?) =  $\tau\omega\delta\epsilon$ .

## CHAPTER VI

### TRANSLITERATION

(page I)

1. . . . . [rs]w(e) e-w mt(*t*) erme-s(*t*) [zt 'n m]t-*t*  
 (N)Mḥ-wsḥt [t ḥm]t n Stme nt qt(*t*) . . . . e θ phre  
 2. . . . . e 'r twe n rsty]t ḥpr m-šm ḥr r . . . .  
 n θ mw n Stme p[e-t hy] e'yr-t gm w't b'e-t n šw [e-f?]  
 rt(*t*) n·m-w

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1. 1. For the restoration see v. 10.

(N)Mḥ-. The insertions of superfluous *m*, *n*, as *n*, or as *n'* abound in this text: cf. one instance also in I Kh. v. 1.

ḥm·t; for the complete group see iii. 8.

*Stme*, *Stne*, Σεθών, Στων (?), Eg. *sm*. The capricious changes of form in this title can be abundantly paralleled out of the history of Egyptian star-names, and even names of persons and places. Cf. above, pp. 4, 9. There is unfortunately some doubt about the reading Στων for the decan name in the Greek text of the Greek and Old Coptic Horoscope referred to on p. 9. In his Catalogue, p. 129, l. 50, Mr. Kenyon read στωμα. Στων is Goodwin's reading. Mr. Kenyon, in reply to my enquiry, remarks: 'The supposed *a* may be only a mark to fill the line, though it is not of the same shape as elsewhere in this papyrus; and the preceding letter may be *ν* as well as *μ*. The two letters are formed very similarly, almost the only difference being that **ν** generally has a curve in its final stroke, while **μ** has it straight. But here the end of the final stroke has disappeared. However, I should be rather inclined to read it στων.' As the form *Stme* is found in II Kh. either στων or στωμ would be equally easy to identify with the title. On the other hand στωμα is not a good Egyptian formation. It seems possible that Στων or Στωμ is an erratic representative of the name of the nineteenth decan, Eg. *Smd-t*, *Smt*—in Hephaestion's list Σμδτ—produced by the influence of the well-known title of Khamuas.

nt qt·t. Does the relative refer to Setme or to Meh-wesekht?





3. . . . . ʀ]·r-w hke (?) s erme ne-st qmqmy?·wt  
mt-t ty nʕy-st ʕn? . . . . . n phry·w mt-t ty

4. . . . . t·t-f n [p grh(ʔ) n] rn-f tny? (N)Mh-  
[w]s[ʔ] t hn] t rswe·t e ny ne nw(e)-[s(t)] r·r-w ʀ-s(t) r h mt

5. nō r·zt-w n-s(st) n rswe·t qt(·t)-s(t) n-f? ʀ] twne  
[Stme] pe-s(t) hy šp-s hn [wʕ mw n ʀ]wr t·t-f hpr p[e-s(t)]  
ss? . . . . . ʀ-s(ʔ)t p nhte

6. . . . . e] hʕt[-f nfr?] tb·t[-s n p] m šs (n)m[r-f  
n-s(st)] sʔ ʕs-f n-s(st) sh qt(·t)-f [n-f S]tm[e n wʕ grh(·t)]

7. . . . . mt](·t) erme-f zt Mh-ws[ʔ] t [t]e-k hm·t  
šp[-s] . . . . . t p hm hl nt e-w r ms[-t-f e-w r ty rn]-f  
r SʔSʀ ne-ʕš

8. . . . . tny? se Stm]e hn t rswe·t e ny ne  
nw(e)-f r·r-w ne-[nfr hʕt-f n] p m šs ʀr pe-s? ʀn? n?  
. . [ʔ]wr . . pš? . . s(t) n

9. . . . . ms-s(t) wʕ hm hl [ʔh·w]t t-w (ʀ)r[ʔ] st Stme

1. 3. *hke, hkte* (?); cf. S.  $\gamma\omega\omega\sigma\epsilon$  *damno officere, vulnerare*: hardly  
 $\zeta\omega\kappa$ :  $\zeta\omega\omega\kappa$  'shave.'

*qmqmy* is a mere guess from the sign for *qnb*, ii. 5, and *qmʕ*, vi. 15;  
cf.  $\sigma\omega\kappa\sigma\omega\kappa\epsilon$  'melon'; *cucum-is*. On the etymology of *cucumis*  
see HEHN, *Kulturpflanzen*, 1894, p. 309.

*mt-t*: note the free use of the conjunctive in this text as compared  
with I Kh.

1. 4. For the first part cf. vii. 10, and for the waking v. 14.

*tny*; in v. 14 *tny-s* with reflexive pronoun; or *qy?* or *poic?*

*e ny ne*, &c. Difficult to analyze; one might suspect it to be an  
absurd writing for *e-wenne nw-s r·r-s*  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\tau$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron(c)$  'which she  
was beholding,' but it recurs in l. 8 and v. 14, still with  $\epsilon\pi\omega\tau$ .

1. 5. For the restoration at beginning cf. l. 9 and v. 15; later,  
vii. 9, 10.

*šp-s hn wʕ mw*. So also in the parallel. *šp* must be absolute,  
'she conceived,' and the rest is to emphasize the virility of the  
husband.

*nhte*; cf. iii. 18.

1. 6. Or [*ne-nfr*] *hʕt* [*n Stme*] *the-t[-s]*; cf. iii. 23.

*n p m šs*, Achm.  $\sigma\sigma\pi\gamma\zeta$ , the usual form here, but cf. iv. 18.

(*n*)*mr-f*, &c.: cf. v. 5.

*qt-f n-f*, &c.: cf. v. 9-10.

*qt-f n-f Stme*. This curious resumption of the subject is frequent

3. . . . . wound (?) it with its gourds (?), and thou shalt put it back (?), [and thou shalt make it (?)] into medicine, and thou shalt cause (?)

4. . . . . [thou wilt conceive in a liquid of conception] from him in [the night] named.' Meh-wesekht awoke [from in] the dream, these being (?) the things that she saw, she did according to thing

5. [every that they had told (?) her by dream; she lay down by] the side of [Setme] her husband; she conceived in [a liquid of] conception from him. There came her [time, behold! she made] the sign

6. [of women that are pregnant. Setme made announcement of it before Pharaoh] his heart [being glad] because of [it] exceedingly. He [bound on her] amulet, he read to her writing. Setme laid [him] down one night

7. [and dreamed to himself (?) dream, they (?) speaking] with him saying, 'Meh-wesekht thy wife, she hath received [conception in the night (?)]. The child that shall be born, he [shall be named] Si-Osiri, numerous

8. [are the marvels that he shall do in the land of Egypt (?).] Awoke Setm]e from the [dream], these being (?) what he saw, [his heart was glad] exceedingly. [She ?] made [her months (?) of] pregnancy, she divided (?)

9. . . . . [came her time of bearing], she bore a

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in II Kh. (iii. 7; v. 9; vii. 9), but only after the *dativus ethicus* (with *qt* and *šm*): cf. Kufi, x. 29, 30. Coptic dialects generally insert **ⲚⲪⲓ**: **ⲚⲪⲎ** before a resumed subject, but in Achm. we constantly find the construction without **ⲚⲪⲓ**, as here, STERN, *Ä. Z.*, 1886, 133.

l. 7. Cf. i. 1 and v. 10 for the beginning.

*p hm hl*: brought forward for emphasis like *Mh-wshl* in the last sentence. This is a very common trick in II Kh.

*nt e-w r ms-t-f*. There is the same inappropriate use of the plural in Coptic, e. g. **ⲪⲎ ⲈⲦ ⲁⲧⲗⲗⲗⲗⲥⲚ** (S. **ⲗⲗⲗⲗⲥⲦⲚ**); ST., § 478 ad fin.

*ty rn-fr*: cf. l. 9 and vii. 10.

l. 9. *ms-st*, &c.: cf. vii. 10.

*'r rh*: cf. iii. 8 and note to I Kh. iv. 4.

[t-f rn-f] r S<sup>o</sup>S<sup>r</sup>r r h ty zt-w s(t) n rswe-t r . . . . . s(t)  
r qne?

10. . . . . n hl<sup>l</sup> r[-w?] s<sup>o</sup>n<sup>h</sup>-f hpr-f e r p hm  
h[<sup>l</sup> S<sup>o</sup>S<sup>r</sup> rnp:t I-t e] hr-[w] zt r-f rnp:t II-t e-f n [rnp]-t  
II-t e hr-w zt r-f rnp:t III-t

11. . . . . n] wš n nw(e) r p hm hl S<sup>o</sup>S<sup>r</sup> e ne<sup>o</sup>  
p mr? . . . . . n p m šs y[-f?] zr-f t-[w] s(t) (sic) r  
t e-t?

12. [sbe-t?] . . . . . n-f r p sh r-t-w ty n-f sbe-t  
hpr p h[m hl S<sup>o</sup>S<sup>r</sup> e-f] y? n zt . . . bs? . . . erme  
n sh-w Pr-nh hn

13. . . . . myh [n] p t t-t-f wn(n)e mr-se Stme  
[ty Pr-<sup>o</sup>] n-w se r t hrwt m<sup>o</sup>h Pr-<sup>o</sup> mt

14. [Pr-<sup>o</sup>] . . . . . mt?-f r n-f hr? r r-w tr-w  
. . . . . r p w<sup>o</sup>b? . . . . . [e? S]tme w<sup>o</sup>b r hrwt  
r h? . . . . . ne-f y-w(t)

15. . . . . e p hm [hl] S-[S<sup>r</sup>] . . . . . hrwt e-r  
[hr-f h<sup>o</sup>-f? w<sup>o</sup>-t wne-t] t e-r hpr e r [S]tme stm r p  
hrw n w<sup>o</sup> h

r h ty, &c.: cf. v. 15.

ty zt-w s; probably for <sup>p</sup> e-zt-w s.

The last words are very doubtful in meaning. Perhaps 'lo, [they put him] to the breast.'

1. 10. hl<sup>l</sup>: cf. S. ἑλθοῦλε 'be pregnant.' The previous word seems to have the sexual det.

r-w s<sup>o</sup>nh; so also with this quadrilateral in Late Eg.: Verbum, ii, § 194, p. 86.

e hr-w zt; potential 'they might have said'; or frequentative 'they used to say': see I Kh. vi. 2.

1. 11. πορευῖτ, rarely πορευῖ: ST., § 569. Generally no second n is written, but here it seems to appear, though perhaps it only represents the n of nw.

y = ΔΙΑΙ *crescere*: for examples see Br., Wtb. 1549, s. v. *tnw*.

zr-f ζωωρε: ζωρε *fortis esse*: cf. the causative ΤΑΧΡΟ- in I Kh. iv. 20.

t<sup>o</sup>-t. A mere guess at the reading: cf. I Kh. v. 20. It can hardly be (n)mr-pr(-t).

1. 12. . . . n-f r: cf. ii. 27.

y n zt: such a construction seems possible, cf. I Kh. v. 22.

[ma]le child. They caused Setme to know of it, [he named him] Si-Osiri, according to that that was said in [the] dream that [he kept (?)] in (his) bosom (?).

10. . . . . of pregnancy (?), [they] nurtured him. It came to pass that the child [Si-Osiri was in year one, it being that people] might have (?) said he made two years. He being in two [years] it being that they might have (?) said he made three years.

11. . . . . [And it came to pass that Setme never passed an hour] without looking at the child Si-Osiri, great being the love [that he had for him] exceedingly. He grew big, he grew strong, he was put to the school (?)

12. . . . . he rivalled the scribe that they had caused to give instruction to him. The ch[ild Si-Osiri] became [he] beginning (?) to say magic (?) with the scribes of the House of Life in

13. [the temple of Ptah (?)] . . . [made] wonder [of] the world at him, and Setme used to love [that Pharaoh should cause] him to be taken to the *έορτή* before Pharaoh, and that

14. . . . ] and that he should make for himself face (?) to them, all. [And on a certain day it happened that] Setme (was) purified for *έορτή* according to (?) . . . . his dwellings

15. . . . . the child Si-[Osiri was going to the] *έορτή* before [him, also. At a time] that which happened, behold! Setme heard the voice of a wailing

l. 13. *myh n p t*, 'amazement,' lit. 'forgetfulness (Br., Wtb. Suppl. 561) of the world,' 'of the world' giving a superlative sense, cf. iii. 22 'the joy of the world.'

l. 14. *hr?*: the same group v. i, q. v. Here it can hardly be *ḡoro*.  
*w<sup>a</sup>b r hrwt*: cf. iii. 23-4.

l. 15. *w<sup>a</sup>-t wne-t t*, &c.; for the restoration see I Kh. iv. 8.  
*'h*, Eg. *'h*, 'distress.'

16. . . . . -f gšp . . . . . ne-f ʿy.w(t) . . . . .  
*nt* e-w fy [nʾm-f?] *r* bl t ḥse:t e p ʾh
17. . . . . e ne-š [p] ššš . . . . . ḥʿ?-f gšp . . . . .  
 . . . -f n? *rt* . . . . . ʾr-f nw . . . . .
18. . . . . nḥt? . . . . . [e]-f glʿ [n] wʿ tm e wn  
 . . . . . [e] mn nfr? [n p t] mšʿ [m-s-f zt] *Stme*  
 ʿnḥ . . . . .
19. . . . . r-r-w n p ḥrw n? . . . . . *r rmt ḥm*  
*nt* e-w fy ʾm-w *r* t ḥse[t] . . . . .
20. . . . . qt[y p *nt*] e-w ʾr-f n py *rmt ḥm ḥn*  
 ʾMnt . . . . .
21. . . . . p m . . . . . e-ʾr-k *r* . . . . . ḥn  
 ʾMnt
22. . . . . ḥʿt . . . . . [St]me [tb·t]s n p *m šs*
23. . . . . stm p ḥrw . . . . . zt p ḥm
24. [ḥl S-ʾSʾr] . . . . . *r* pe-f . . . . . ʾh? šn
25. [Stme] . . . . . m-s? ny . . . . . gm?
26. . . . . šm *Stme* [ʾ] wʿ m(ʿ)
27. . . . . ḥn-w . . . . . [nwe]-k

l. 16. *gšp*, 'look,' vi. 19, 26; *kšp* in Lond. Gnost., Gloss., very like  
 Ⲫⲟⲩⲱⲡⲧ : ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲡⲧ. The meaning already recognized by REVILLOUT  
 in Kufi, xi. 17. Ⲫ : ⲭ is generally rendered by *g* in II Kh.

*fy nʾm-f*: cf. l. 19 = ʾn *nʾm-f*, ii. 10, 12 only of carrying the corpse,  
 otherwise *fy-t-f*, *n-t-f*, ii. 7, 12.

*r bl t ḥse:t*; probably *r* is accidentally omitted.

l. 17. *ššš* cf. ii. 12; ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲡⲟⲩ (cf. Eg. *s-wšš?*), not uncommon.  
 London Gnost., Gloss., p. 14; Ros., l. 18 *e-w ššš* = ἐνδόξως, and Br.,  
 Thes. 1016 *n ššš.w*.

*ḥʿ-f*, or *ḥʿ-t-f*?

l. 18. The first word resembles ⲡⲉⲒⲠⲓ, iii. 18.

*e-f glʿ*, &c.; cf. ii. 10.

*glʿ* = B. *χωλ*, S. qual. Ⲫⲟⲟⲗⲉ.

*tm* ⲧⲉⲘ, ⲧⲟⲗⲉ 'mat,' such as monks slept on. Is it from *tm*,  
 'wrap,' ii. 8?

*nfr*? The parallel has *rmt*, 'man.'

l. 19. *rmt ḥm*. There are many instances in this MS. of omission of  
 the plur. det.

l. 20. Cf. ii. 15.

16. . . . . looked . . . . of his dwellings . . . . [a rich man] whom they were carrying out (to ?) the desert, the wailing being [loud

17. exceedingly] . . . . . much being [the] glory [in which he was compared to that in which (?)] he himself [was]. He gazed [again], he [looked (?)] at his feet (?); behold! he saw [a poor man

18. being carried out from Memphis to the cemetery] . . . . he being wrapped [with] a mat, there being . . . . there not be[ing any man (?)] on earth] walking [after him. Said] Setme, 'By

19. [Ptah, the great God, how much better it shall be in Amenti for great men (?)] for wh[om they make glory (?)] with the voice of [wailing ?] compared (?) to poor men (?) whom they take to the desert [without glory of funeral (?)]'

20. But Si-Osiri said, 'There shall be done to thee in Amenti] like [that which] they will (?) do to this poor man in Amenti, [there shall not be done

21. to thee that which shall be done to this rich man in Amenti] . . . . . thou shalt [go (?)] into Amenti

22. . . . . . grieved was the] heart [of] Set]me [on account of] it, exceedingly

23. . . . . . hear (?) the voice . . . . . said the child . . . . .

24. Si-Osiri] . . . . . to his . . . . . wailing (?), asked

25. [Setme] . . . . . after these things . . . . . find

26. . . . . . went Setme [to] a place

27. . . . . . in them . . . . . thou [seest (?)]

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l. 21 et seq. The precise relative positions of these fragments as copied on the plate of transcription are open to some doubt. (The two fragments marked A and B cannot be placed, the other small fragments of pp. i. and ii. were put in position in 1895.)

l. 25. *m-s ny*; cf. I Kh. iv. 38.

28. . . . . n ne-f h<sup>c</sup>t-w  
 29. . . . . hr? n . . . . .  
 30. . . . . nt hr t [hse-t?]  
 31. . . . . ḥh? . . . . . m qty-w?  
 32. . . . . pe-f . . . . . n·m? (sic) n  
 33. . . . . ty (n)m . . . . . 'r-w . . . .  
 34. . . . . [e] wn hyn[w] ky·w e te-w

(page II)

1. e wn hyn·w ky·w e te-w hre·t mw t [ç]y·w n te-w ry·t hry·t e-w pte r 'n·t-w r hry e [hy]n·w ky·w šty h[y]t·wt hr rt(t)-w r tm ty šm·w r r-s(st)

2. šm·w r t wsh·t mh V·t e·r Stme nw r n 'hy šps e-w ḥ<sup>c</sup> r pe-w rt(t) n ḥ<sup>c</sup> ne-t wn-t-w smy θ qns? e-w ḥ<sup>c</sup> r p r e-w šll e p k? n

3. p sbe n t wsh·t mh V·t s·mne hr t-ef (sic) yr·t n 'mn (sic) n w<sup>c</sup> rmt e-f šll e-f š sgp ḥ šm (sic) n p hn n t wsh·t mh VI e·r Stme nw r n ntr·w n t? [qnbe] n rmt (sic) 'Mnt

4. e-w ḥ<sup>c</sup> r pe-w rt(t) n ḥ<sup>c</sup> e n? šmše? n 'Mnt ḥ<sup>c</sup>

1. 31. ḥh, written as in ii. 11.

1. 1. te-w; so written also in l. 16, but normally in l. 19.

hre·t is not merely *cibus*, *Ḥpe*, but provisions of all sorts, as Eg. *hr·t*; cf. I Kh. v. 17.

For forms of *t*, 'bread,' see Rh. bil. pap., No. 255, and Lond. Gnost., Gloss.

*mw t*, 'drink and food.' *mw* for 'drink' in general is common in marriage contracts.

*šty hyt*; cf. Kufi, xviii. 23. *šty* is Eg. *š'd* (ϣΙΚΙ), *hyt* εϞΕΙΤΕ(Τ).

*šm·w*? I do not see how to distinguish *pḥ* from *šm* in II Kh. Possibly *pḥ* does not occur in it.

1. 2. ne-t *wnt-w*; unetymological spelling for *NETO'NTOT*, *n nt wn mte-w*: cf. *nn wnw dw-f* for *NET ΔCJ*, Pap. Unuamon, i. x + 23.

*sm y θ qns* (?); cf. I Kh. v. 5.

*k?* (for *k'* in II Kh. see *mkḥ*, v. 34; also *kky*, iv. 5; *km*, vi. 9). Can it be s=Eg. s, 'bolt.' It corresponds to *gure* in l. 14, *KEΛI* (?).

1. 3. One might read *hr t w·t yr·t*, 'the one eye, that is the right,' but apparently the flesh sign is here e-f ΔCJ, and used fancifully in writing *te-f* on account of the peculiar anticipatory use of the pronoun of which



28. . . . . his nobles . . . .  
 29. . . . .  
 30. . . . . that is upon the [desert? . . . .  
 31. . . . . life  
 32. . . . . his . . . . . in them (?)  
 33. . . . . they did . . . . .  
 34. [They entered the fourth hall . . . . . Behold!  
 Setme saw some men that were scattered and separated (?), being great at eating besides (?), there] being some others, their . . . .

II. 1. There being some others, their provision, water, and bread, being hung over them, they running to take them down, some others digging pits at their feet to prevent their reaching it.

2. They entered the fifth hall and behold! Setme saw the noble spirits, standing at their places (?) of standing, (and ?) those who had complaints of violence, standing at the entrance praying, the bolt (?) of

3. the door of the fifth hall being fixed in his right eye, of a man, he praying, he uttering great lamentation. They went inside of the sixth hall, and behold! Setme saw the gods of the [council] of the inhabitants of Amenti

4. standing in their order of standing, the attend-

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this is the only example in the papyrus. It seems somewhat like \*εἰς τὴν πόρτῶν; STD., § 142. But the occurrence of the possessive article with this pronoun is remarkable.

*yr-t*; cf. Hess., Lond. Gnost., Gloss, p. 3; SPIEGELBERG, Rec. de Trav., xvii. 93.

*'mn* as in *'Mnt*, mistakenly for *wmn* (l. 14). ΟΥΝΔΕΕ.

*šm*; the plural suffix omitted as often in II Kh.

*n p hn n*, so also in l. 4.

*t [qnbe] n rmt 'Mnt*; cf. l. 5, or for *rmt* read *nb* as in l. 7.

l. 4. *šmse*, *šmšt*?, a very doubtful word, perhaps fem., but more probably pl., with following *e-w*. The det. of air suggests *ϣϣϣϣϣϣ* 'whistling.' Can it be for *šmse*, 'servants'? cf. *ϣϣϣϣϣϣ* : *ϣϣϣϣϣϣ*.

e-w ty 'n sm(ʿ)y šm-w n p ḥn n t wsḥt mḥ VII e-r  
Stme nw r p sst n 'S'r p ntr ' e-f

5. ḥms ḥr pe-f bḥt n nb nfr e-f ḥw? n p 'tf [e] 'Np  
p ntr ' n p-e-f yby? e p ntr ' Tḥwt n te-f wnm e n  
ntr-w n t qnbe rmt 'Mnt 'ḥ' r yby? wnm n·m-f e t  
mty·t?

6. s-mne n t mty·t e-r-ḥr-w e-w ḥy (n)n why·w wbe  
(n)n mnḥ·w e Tḥwt p ntr ' sḥ e 'Np ty mt·t r p-e-f 'r  
e p nt e-w r gm·t-f e ne-f why·w 'š r ne-f mnḥ·w r  
. . . . . n 'M n nb 'mnt e-w ḥtm?

7. pe-f by ḥr te-f ḥ(ʿ)e-t ḏ 'r-s(t) ty 'r-f snsn r šw  
e p nt e-w r gm·t-f e ne-f mnḥ·w 'š r ne-f why·w e-w  
'n·t-f ḥn n ntr-w n t qnbe n nb 'Mnt e pe-f by šm r  
t p·t erme n 'ḥy·w

8. šps e p nt e-w r gm·t-f e ne-f mnḥ·w 'n·w wbe

*smʿy*: cf. the form in l. 2, which easily leads to this.

*ss̄t* '(sacred?) form'; cf. the clear spelling *ss̄t n p' R'*, Kufi, v. 27  
*ss̄t Kwfy*, *ibid.* xii. 32; *ss̄-t nry-t*, *ibid.* xxi. 4. It occurs also below, v. 10.  
Apparently from Eg. *ss̄t*, 'mystery.'

l. 5. *bḥt*, Eg. *bḥd*; cf. HESS, Gnost., Gloss., s. v. *brt* (*lege bḥt*).

*ḥw?* does the sign of the plural indicate an old qual. \*ϣϩⲟⲩ  
from ϣⲁⲓ?

'*tf*. The ' is of peculiar form, resembling the group for ϩⲛⲉ : ⲁⲛ, but doubtless corresponds to the form found not rarely elsewhere, e. g. in the name 'Hwre in I Kh.

*yby?* so Eg., but S. ϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ, ⲛ; B. ⲭⲁⲪⲎ, ⲭⲁϣⲉ, ⲧ. HESS reads *ḥmr* (?), Lond. Gnost., Gloss.

*mty·t* (?), if this is the reading, should be corrected to *mḥy·t*: Pamonth, i. 18, 34 ϩⲁϣⲉ, ⲧ.

l. 6. ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧ, *in medio*.

*ḥy* . . . *wbe* . . . also in Hist. Rom., No. 225, of opposing armies.

*wḥy·w* . . . *mnḥ·w*, apparently both are properly adjectives. The former in Eg. *wh*: cf. Coptic ϩⲱⲟⲩ? BR., Wtb., Suppl. 324 quotes an Eg. text in which Set is called the *wh*, 'bane,' 'injurer' of his brother Osiris. Eg. *wh* also means 'escape' and so 'fail'? Is the adj. here 'cruel'? *why* occurs also in Leyden Mor. xvi. 17.

*mnḥ* or *mnš*: the apparent *nš* may be a contraction of *ḥt*, as BRUGSCH suggests, Thes. 857. The contracted and uncontracted forms are used simultaneously in Ptolemaic texts; e. g. in Canopus, ed. GROFF. The adj. *mnḥ* = εὐεργετής and εὐεργετών: so here 'kindnesses,' 'good deeds,' as opposed to *wḥy·w*, 'cruelties,' 'injuries,' or 'evil deeds.'

ants (?) of Amenti standing, giving proclamation. They went inside the seventh hall, and behold! Setme saw the figure of Osiris the great god, he

5. seated upon his throne of good gold, he crowned with the *Atef*, Anubis the great god being on his left, the great god Thoth being on his right, the gods of the council (of the ?) inhabitants of Amenti standing to left and right of him, the balance being

6. set in the midst before them, they weighing the evil deeds against the good deeds, Thoth the great god writing, Anubis giving word to his colleague. It being that he who shall be found that his evil deeds are more numerous than his good deeds shall be thrown (?) to Ama of the Lord of Amenti, they destroy

7. his soul on his body, she does not allow him to breathe ever again. It being that he whom they shall find that his good deeds are more numerous than his evil deeds, they take him among the gods of the council of the Lord of Amenti, his soul going to heaven with the spirits

8. noble. It being that he whom they shall find his

The illegible group preceded by *r* and followed by *n* recurs similarly in l. 11. I have thought of reading it *r ty-f n*, B.  $\epsilon\tau\eta\iota\zeta\ \Pi$ .

'*m*'; cf. '*me-t*, Pamonth, i. 20. The det. here resembles the lizard  $\epsilon\zeta$ , and evidently represents the monster (as a crocodile?).

The construction is difficult. It may be *e p nt . . . r . . .* 'he who shall be found . . . shall be given (?) to the Devourer'; but the parallel sentences following are against this view.

*e-w htm* and other verbs apparently not attributive but indicative (2nd pres.); an uncommon use in demotic.

*htm*, Eg. *htm*, seems almost certain, though the first sign closely resembles *s*.

l. 7. '*r-s(t)* apparently refers to the '*m*'.

*snsn*, lit. 'breathe.' B.  $\text{CENCEN}$  *sonare* is perhaps a foreign word, vid. TATTAM.

l. 8. '*n-w*'; for '*w*' cf. I Kh. iii. 2 note. In II Kh., besides the forms \* $\text{ϣϵϣ}$  and  $\text{ϣ}\Delta\text{ϣ}\text{O}$ , '*n-w*' occurs =  $\text{NH}\text{ϣ} : \text{NH}\text{O}\text{ϣ}$ , ii. 15; vi. 11, 28. It has been doubted whether  $\text{NH}\text{ϣ}$  is really derived from '*w*'

ne-f why·w e-w ʾn·t-f ḥn n ʾhy·w ʿkry·w? nt šms n Skr ʾSʾr e·r Stme nw r wʿ rmt ʿ e-f tm n mnḥy·t n šs(š)-stn e-f ḥnt(e)

9. r p m(ʿ) nt e ʾSʾr n·m-f e ne-ʿ p rt(t) nt e-f n·m-f n p m šs ʾr Stme myhe n p t n ny nw-f r·r-w ḥn ʾMnt mšʿ S·ʾSʾr r bl ḥr? ḥ·t-f? zt-f n-f p-e yt(t) Stme bn(e) e ʾr-k nw ʾn

10. r py rmt ʿ nt tm n mnḥy·t n šs(š)-stn e-f ḥnte r p m(ʿ) nt e ʾSʾr n·m-f py rmt ḥm r nw-k r r-f e-w ʾn n·m-f r bl ḥn Mn-nfr e mn rmt mšʿ m-s-f e-f glʿ n wʿ tmw py ʾn-w se r t T·t ḥy-w

11. ne-f why·w wbe ne-f mnḥ·w e·r-f ḥr p t gm-w ne-f why·w (sic) e-w ʿš r ne-f why·w e ʿy p-e-f ḥʿ n ʿnḥ r·sh Tḥwt r·r-f r . . . . . n-f r ʿy p-e-f ʿw n yr·t ḥr p t ḥn (sic) se (n)m-bḥ ʾSʾr

12. r ty ḥwy-w t qse·t n py rmt ʿ r·nw-k r·r-f e-w

(Verbum, ii, § 69); but in Pap. Unuamon we find strong evidence for that derivation. Here two verbs of motion in the predicate of a sentence are preceded by *n*, viz. in ii. 63 *yw-w n yw*, **ΕΥΠΗΥ** 'they having come,' and ii. 76 *yw-st n-ʿqw* **ΕCΠ** . . . . 'she having entered.' *n-yw* is practically the qualitative of *yw*, just as *n-ʿq* is of *ʿq*. The *n* is no doubt the predicative **Π** (STD., § 350, 4; ERM., Gr., § 307, 6), and *yw*, *ʿq* are probably pseudo-participles \***HY**, . . . used by a stretch as nouns. Thus **Ϣ-Π-HY** means 'he is as one-who-hath-come.' In dem. *n* prefixed to a verb is written ʾn- (**ΕΠΕ**, **Π-**), hence ʾn·w = **Π-HY**: cf. ʾn-qly = **Π-KOT**, Dem. Chron. (Rev. Eg., I Pl. 2, l. 6), Leyden Gnos. xx. 29, and the false ʾn- for really initial *n* in verbs, below iii. 7 note. A further instance of **Π** prefixed to the qual. of a verb of motion is ʾn-sny, 'past,' Pap. Dodgson, l. 18.

I do not find \***ΠHOY OYHE** in the sense of 'equal to,' but the idiom is easily understood.

ʿkry·w from Eg. *ygr*? or is it to be read *škry·w*? It seems at any rate to denote a lower order than *šps*.

*tm*, Eg. *db* (?), 'wrapped' as a mummy, or 'clothed.' *db mnḥ·t n šs stn*, to 'wrap linen of byssus' on a statue, &c., is a regular expression: BR., Wtb. 663, 1626; Suppl. 610.

*ḥnt* **ΔΩΠΤ**, Eg. *ḥnti*: cf. note on *ḥn*, I Kh. iii. 28.

1. 9. **PHTE**, **Π** *modus*: cf. note to I Kh. v. 33.

*ḥr ḥ·t-f* (?) looks like *mt-f*, 'he spake.'

*bn e ʾr-k*: a formidable way of spelling **ΠV**.

good deeds being equal to his evil deeds, they carry him amongst the excellent (?) spirits that serve Sokari-Osiris. And behold Setme saw a great man clothed in raiment of byssus, he being near

9. to the place in which Osiris was, the position (?) in which he was being great exceedingly. Setme made wonder of the world at those things that he saw in Amenti. Si-Osiri walked out in front of (?) him, said he to him, 'My father Setme, dost thou not see

10. this great man, who is clothed in garment of byssus, he being near to the place in which is Osiris? That poor man whom thou sawest he being carried out from Memphis, there not being a man walking after him, he being wrapped in a mat, (is) he. They brought him to the Tê, they weighed

11. his evil deeds against his good deeds that he did upon earth: they found his evil deeds (*sic*) being more numerous than his evil deeds, according to the measure (?) of his term of life that Thoth wrote for him to be given (?) to him, according to the measure of his greatness of eye (*sic*) upon earth. It was commanded before Osiris

12. to cause to be thrown the burial outfit of that

l. 10. *tmw*; better *tm* as in i. 18.

*t T.t.* In O. C. Par. (HESS, p. 82)  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}$  (Eg. *d'.t.*, also spelt  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}$ , vid. Lond. Gnost., Gloss., p. 16) corresponds to *t t.t.* Is the article false?

l. 11. *y*. Two puzzling groups in this line are evidently intended for the word *y* which SPIEGELBERG has just deciphered and explained (vid. note to I Kh. v. 36). In the first case it seems to have been assimilated by the scribe to the negative *bp* (so also perhaps I Kh. iii. 22). In the second the usual vertical line has been omitted. These may be genuine spellings, but they look like mistakes. *e y*, *r y* must mean 'according to the measure of.'

*w n yr.t.* Leyden Mor. xviii. 21; xx. 19; cf. *hm yr.t.*, ibid. xix. 19, and cf. 'width of view'; 'magnanimity' (?) Or does it mean 'respect,' 'glory,' and does *p'e-f* refer to the rich man?

l. 12.  $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{I}}$ , like *qrs.t.*, 'funerary outfit,' is used of 'sepulchral wrappings.'

ᾰn . . . .? n·m-f r bl ḥn Mn-nfr e ne-š p šš<sup>c</sup> nt ḥpr  
n·m-f r py rmt ḥm n rn-f mt-w ᾰn-t-f ḥn (n)n ḥy-w šps  
n rmt p? ntr nt šms Skr-Šr e-f ḥnte

13. r p m<sup>(c)</sup> nt e ᾰŠr ᾰm-f py rmt <sup>c</sup> r·nw-k r r-f ᾰn-w  
se r t T·t ḥy-w [ne-f] wyh·w wbe ne-f mnḥ·w gm-w se  
e ne-š ne-f why·w [r n]e-f mnḥ r·r-f ḥr p t ḥn (*sic*)  
se r tb-f ḥn ᾰMnt mt-f

14. py rmt py? e ᾰr-k n]w r·r-f e p gwre n p sb<sup>(c)</sup>e  
n ᾰMnt s·mne ḥr te-f yr·t [n?] wnm e-w ḥtme wn<sup>(e)</sup> r  
bl ḥr yr·t-f e r-f wny? n sgp <sup>c</sup> nḥ ᾰŠr p ntr <sup>c</sup> nb ᾰMnt  
e·r-y zt n-k ḥr p t

15. [e-w r ᾰr?] n-k r ḥ p nt e-w ᾰr-f n py rmt ḥm  
nne e-w ᾰr n-k r ḥ p nt e-w ᾰr-f [n] py rmt <sup>c</sup> e-y (ᾰ)rḥ  
(n)n (ᾰ)n·w r ḥpr ᾰm-f zt Stme pe (yt·t) šre S-Šr ne-š  
n myhe·t r·nw-y r·r-w ḥn ᾰMnt m-s ḥpr my gm-y

16. t? e·r ḥpr?] ḥr? ny rmt nt šš nwḥ? e ne-šy-w  
[wm] m s-w? e hyn·w ky·w nt e te-w? ḥr<sup>(c)</sup>·t mw t  
ḥye(t) n te-w ry·t ḥry·t e-w pte r ᾰn-t-w? r ḥry e  
hyn·w ky·w šty

17. hyt·w ḥr rt(t)-w r tm ty šm-w r·r-w zt S-Šr mt·t  
m<sup>c</sup>·t ty pe yt(t) Stme ny rmt·w nt e·r-k nwe r·r-w nt

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*rmt p ntr*; cf. ϩⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲈ: one may read *rmt ḥr ntr*, also in  
l. 25. *n* = 'as'?

l. 13. *tb* also in vi. 12; cf. the spelling of *tb* ⲈⲧⲖⲈ, v. 17.  
ⲧⲱⲁⲖⲈ: ⲧⲱⲁⲖ *retribuere*. Cf. Kufi, xv. 2; Leyden Mor. x 17.

l. 15. (*n*)*n* ᾰn·w. I do not know how to analyze this expression, but it  
would seem to be for ⲛⲈⲧⲛⲟⲩ, and with *r ḥpr* scarcely more than  
ⲛⲈⲧⲛⲁⲩⲱⲛⲈ. Probably the relative *nt* has dropped out.

*m-s ḥpr*, 'after happening,' followed by optative or imperative seems  
to mark a polite request: 'after the happening of events,' 'at your con-  
venience, cf. iii. 4; Dem. Chron. (Rev. Ég. i, Pl. 2, l. 11). It might  
perhaps mean 'after what has happened.'

l. 16. *t? e·r ḥpr*. In ll. 19, 21 we have the masculine used as neuter  
with *ḥpr*: perhaps it should be so here; cf. I Kh. v. 1.

*rmt* should be plural, see the next line.

šš ⲩⲱⲱ 'scatter'; cf. Poème Sat. ii. 13. One might expect here  
ⲩⲱⲱ; ⲩⲱⲱ 'despise.'

*nwḥ*; cf. ⲛⲟⲩⲉ 'thrust out,' 'separate.'

rich man whom thou sawest, he being carried out from Memphis, the praise that was made of him being great, unto this poor man named, and that they should take him amongst the noble spirits as a man of God that follows Sokaris Osiris, he being near

13. to the place in which is Osiris. That great man whom thou didst see, they took him to the Tê, they weighed his evil deeds against his good deeds, they found him his evil deeds being more numerous than his good deeds that he did upon earth. It was commanded to imprison (?) him in Amenti. He

14. is that man] that [behold! thou didst see], the bolt (?) of the gate of Amenti being fixed on his right eye, they shutting and opening out on his eye, his mouth being opened in great lamentation. By Osiris the great god Lord of Amenti, behold I said to thee upon earth

15. "there shall be done] to thee even as that which is being done to this poor man, there shall not be done to thee according to that which is being done to that great man," I knowing the things that will become of him.' Said Setme, 'My (father) son Si-Osiri, many are the marvels that I have seen in Amenti. After a time let me learn

16. what hath happened] with these men which are scattered (?) apart (?), it being that they are great at eating in addition, it being that some others, whose provision, water, and bread is hung above them, were running to bring them down, some others digging

17. pits at their feet to prevent them reaching them.' Said Si-Osiri, 'It is a just word, my father Setme; these

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*m s'-w*; cf. l. 18. Can this be adverbial like *ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ* 'after that,' or 'in addition to that'? Or is the word to be read differently, e. g. *ⲛⲓⲕⲁ* 'possessions,' 'food'? The subject of *\*ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ* may of course be impersonal.

l. 17. *mt-t mt-t ty*. So also before an explanation in reply to a question, Kufi, xiv. 11.

šš nwh? e ne-<sup>cy</sup>-w wm m s-w? p smt n n rmt-w nt  
hr p t

18. ne nt e-w hr shwe n p ntr e-w 'r yp n grh(·t)  
mre hr p g(<sup>cy</sup>)y n 'nh e ne-w hm-wt hl n·m-w m s-w?  
e b 'r-w gm t-w r wm s·t 'w r 'Mnt 'n gm-w ne-w  
wyh-w e-w 'š r ne-w mnh-w

19. gm-w [py] wn-ne hpr 'm-w hr p t e-f hpr 'm-w  
hn 'Mnt n·m-w erme ny ky-w rmt-w nt e-r-k nwe  
r-r-w nt e te-w hre·t mw t 'hye n te-w ry·t hry·t e-w  
pte r 'n-t-w r hry e hyn-w

20. ky-w šty hyt hr rt(t)-w r tm ty šm-w r-r-w p  
smt n n rmt-w nt hr p t nt e pe-w 'nh e-r-hr-w e p  
ntr šty hyt hr rt(t)-w r tm ty gm-w se st 'w

21. r 'M[nt 'n?] h<sup>c</sup>-w (sic) py wn-ne hpr 'm-w hr p  
t e-f hpr n·m-w [hn 'Mnt] 'n? r·[r]-w? šp? pe-w by  
r t T·t gm st? r h<sup>c</sup>(t)-k pe yt(t) Stme zt p nt mnš hr  
p t e-w mnš n-f hn

22. 'Mn[t e] p nt wyhe e-w whye n-f ny st s·mn[e?  
. . . . . r šw (n)n mt-wt nt e-r-k nwe r-r-w hn t  
T·t n Mn-ntr st hpr hn ty XLII n spy

23. [nt e] . . . . . n 'S'r p ntr ' hn-w šsmý? . . . . .

l. 18. *shwe*  $\text{C}\Delta\text{Z}\text{O}\text{V}:\text{C}\Delta\text{Z}\text{O}\text{V}\text{I}$ .

$\text{H}\text{X}\text{W}\text{P}\text{Z}\text{H}\text{E}\text{E}\text{E}\text{E}\text{E}\text{P}\text{I}$ , cf. I Kh. iii. 30.

*hr p g<sup>cy</sup>* usually has the meaning of B.  $\text{E}\text{H}\text{X}\text{H}\text{H}$ - 'with the intention of': St., § 470; see also vi. 21; vii. 3; so here 'for the sake of' a livelihood.

Or 'their women also being robbed from them.'

'n. A vague use of this word, as often in dem.

l. 19. *n·m-w* repeated in order to join with the next group (*erme*, &c.).

l. 21. *h<sup>c</sup>-w* is unintelligible: *gm-w* must be intended.

*r·[r]-w šp*. This reading seems almost unavoidable, though *e*, not *r*, is usual with 'r in II Kh.

*gm st r h<sup>c</sup>t-k*. I do not know any parallel to this. *gm-y h<sup>c</sup>t-k*, Pap. Dodgson l. 8, verso l. 4, is probably different.

l. 22. *r šw*; probably following a negative as usual.

*špy*, Eg. *sp'·t*, 'nome.'



men that thou sawest, who are scattered (?) and apart (?), it being that they are great at eating in addition (?), the likeness of the men that are on earth

18. are they who are under the curse of the god, they doing work in night and day for their livelihood, their women robbing (?) them in addition (?), they find not bread to eat. They came to Amenti again, they found their evil deeds more numerous than their good deeds,

19. they found that [that thing that] became of them on the earth, became of them in Amenti, of them, with those other men whom behold! thou sawest, whose food water and bread is hung over them, they running to bring them down, some

20. others digging a pit at their feet to prevent their reaching them : the kind of the men that are on the earth, whose life is before them, the god digging a pit at their feet to prevent them finding it. They came

21. to Amenti. They allowed (*sic*) that which was becoming of them on the earth, it becometh of them [in Amenti] again (?); behold! they received their soul to the Tê. Find it at thy heart, my father Setme, namely, that he who is good upon the earth, they are good to him in

22. Amenti, [while] he that is evil, they are evil to him. These things, they are established (?) [they shall not be changed] for ever. The things that thou seest in the Tê in Memphis, they happen in those XLII nomes

23. [which the assessors?] of Osiris the great god are in them . . . . . Abydos, the place of oracle (?)

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l. 23. [nt e t qnb] n 'S'r . . . hn-w?  
šsmy, \*smy? recurs Poème Sat. iii. 1.

[?]Bt t 's:t n s·ntr(t)? n 'y·w n rp·'y [Y-]k? e·r 'S'r (sic)  
mnq ny mt:t zt e·r·hr Stme

24. pe-f yt(t)] wt? -f r hry hr t hse:t n Mn[-nfr . . .  
. . . h]pt? n·m-f e t·t-f hn t·t-f šn Stme n[?m-f zt? p]e  
šre S·S'r wt p m(°) n šm r hry n·m-[f

25. wt p] m(°) r·w-n r hry n·m-f (n)bp S-[S'r w]šb  
n Stme n mt:t n p t 'r Stme p trye [n n] mt:t  
nt e-f hn-w e-f zt e-f r rh . . . . n 'hy šps n rmt  
p? ntr

26. e-y m]š<sup>°</sup> erme-f e-y zt pe šre py 'š Stme [sh n  
. . . . .] mzy n s·hr 'hy e-f n myh n p t n [ny?] nwe-f  
r·r-w hn 'Mnt e n mt·wt n rn-w 'tp n

27. [m?]f n p m šs e bp-f rh wne r rmt [nb n p t  
e·r p h]m-hl S·S'r rnp·t XII hpr-f e mn [sh nb] . . . .  
n-f r·r-f hn Mn-nfr n 'š sh m θ 'we

28. m-s ny] hpr w' hzw e Pr-° Wsy-e-[M°-t-R°? šm]

*s·ntr*; very doubtful; *swt?* *swht?* in HESS, Gnost. Gloss., p. 12, has a curious resemblance to this.

For the name of Philae in dem. see BR., Dict. Géog. 465; and for that of Abydos, *ibid.* 16.

*zt*, hardly  $\Sigma E$ ; rather perfect passive participle, Verbum, ii. §§ 903, 927, 4; cf. *s·zy*, iii. 31, and I Kh. vi. 20.

l. 24. *wt-f* seems the most probable restoration, hardly *st-f*, or *rt-f*, 'his feet.'

*hpt* is found in Eg. for 'embrace.'

*n·m-f* after *šn*, if correct, must be the thing asked about, not the person questioned: cf. *šn-f s zt*, Kufi, xvii. 25.

*wt* must be  $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{E}^{\circ}\text{T}$ - followed by a second  $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{E}^{\circ}\text{T}$  at the beginning of the next line; cf. ST., § 309, where it is said to be a nominal verb.  $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{E}^{\circ}\text{T}$ - would appear however to be literally the inf. of  $\text{O}^{\circ}\text{W}^{\circ}\text{T}$  'separate,' used as the imperative, cf. ST., § 359, p. 186. *wt* . . . *wt* in Leyden Mor. xx. 14.

l. 25. *try*. Is this from Eg. *tr*, 'supplicate'? But from the context the meaning seems rather 'was amazed,' or 'was proud.'

*e-f r rh hpr? hr? n 'hy*, 'he will be able to become amongst the noble spirits,' or perhaps *hpr e n 'hy* 'become as ( $\text{C}\text{P}\text{A}\text{N}\text{E}\ \text{N}$ ) a spirit.'

l. 26. *mzy*: cf. P. S. B. A., 1899, 269. It occurs also below, v. 11-13.

*s·hr*, Eg. *s·hr*, 'overthrow'; cf. perhaps  $\text{C}\text{P}\text{A}\text{P}\text{E}$ :  $\text{C}\text{P}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}$ .

*'hy*; a good instance of  $\text{I}^{\circ}\text{D}$  'demon.'

the dwellings of Princes . . . . . and in Phil]ae (?)  
Behold! (Si-)Osiri ended these words spoken before  
Setme

24. his father] he went up upon the desert of  
Mem[phis, his father Setme em]bracing him, his hand  
being in his hand. Setme asked [it saying, 'My] son  
Si-Osiri, separate is the place of going down there,

25. separate is the place from which we have come  
up?' Not did Si-[Osiri make] answer to Setme by  
a word on earth. Setme made the marvel (?) [at the]  
words that he was in, saying, 'He will (?) be able to  
become (?) even as (?) the noble spirits as a man of  
God'

26. [I walking] with him, I saying 'This is my son.'  
Setme pronounced [writing of . . . . from the] book of  
exorcising demons, he being in wonder of the world  
at [those things that] he had seen in Amenti, the things  
named weighing

27. [upon] him exceedingly, since he was not able  
to reveal to [any man on earth. Behold! the b]oy  
Si-Osiri passed twelve years and it came to pass that  
there was no [good scribe or learned man (?)] that  
rivalled (?) him in Memphis in reading, writing of taking  
pledge.

28. After these things], a day came Pharaoh Osir[mare

<sup>27</sup>φ ωτπ 'carry,' also means 'shut up,' φυλακίσειν; or is it 'loaded'?  
Eg. <sup>27</sup>φ, 'load'; cf. Leyden Mor. xxx. 22.

l. 27. ων, 'reveal,' cf. iii. 10.

XII. For the form of X cf. iii. 4. It occurs regularly in Leyden  
Mor., and in a papyrus of the first century A. D. of the Crawford collection.

. . . n-fr; cf. i. 12, possibly [~~h~~n should be restored, ζων 'come  
near,' so to 'rival.'

m θ we for n θ we, as in I Kh. iv. 32, written as m θ in vi. 6. It  
is not likely to be nt θ, 'that takes.'

l. 28. For the restoration cf. I Kh. iv. 38.

$r$  p wrh n pr? Pr-<sup>c</sup> n Mn-(n)nfr [e t qnbe] n n h<sup>c</sup>t·w  
n n mr-mš<sup>c</sup>·w n n rmt·w·y·w n Kmy [h<sup>c</sup>h]

29. [r pe-w] rt n? h<sup>c</sup> n p wrh y? . . . . . [zt 'n?  
s.]my py e·r w<sup>c</sup> 'te n 'Gš [e-f? tb<sup>c</sup>?] r h<sup>c</sup>(e)t·f n w<sup>c</sup> w<sup>h</sup>e  
'r-w pe-f 'n s·my (n)

30. m ðh] Pr-<sup>c</sup> 'n-w s r p wrh 'r-f šl[? zt 'n wn p  
nt e-]f 'š py w<sup>h</sup>e r . . . -y r Km[y] (n)mðh Pr-<sup>c</sup> n  
wš hl te-f hte nte 'š n n sh·w nt hr.

31. [?]·t(t-f n wš wn(e) r·r-f e-f h<sup>c</sup>pr e [mn sh nfr rmt  
rh hn] Kmy e-f rh<sup>c</sup> 'š-f n wš wn(e) r·r-f e-y θ p zlh n  
Kmy r p t (N)Nhs pe tš

32. t wne:]t n stm (n)n mt·wt e·r Pr-<sup>c</sup> e[rme ne-f  
h<sup>c</sup>t·w ðp-w gm m<sup>(c)</sup> n p t] e-w n·m-f e-w zt 'nh Pth  
[n? e]-s? nht t:t p sh nfr rmt rh<sup>c</sup> r 'š sh·w nt e-f  
r nw(e)

*wrh* in Hist. Rom., No. 72, *wlh* (text, p. 28). The *f*-like sign in II Kh. must be det. Eg. *w<sup>r</sup>rh*, a place of meeting in the king's presence, earlier, *w<sup>h</sup>hy* (Westcar and Sanehat, 251).

*pr Pr-<sup>c</sup>*, cf. I Kh. iii. 6; the first group, closely resembling *h<sup>c</sup>* (l. 5, iii. 25), recurs iv. 25 and v. 11, leaving little doubt as to its meaning.

*n n* is perhaps only the plural art. (*n*)*n*.

l. 29. *y*, if the correct reading, is probably the old form of recording arrivals (Papyrus de Bulaq, No. xviii passim; Pap. An. iii. 6, verso 1).

*'te*, from the det. may mean 'foreigner' or 'negro,' unless it be an expression for sorcerer or an abusive term: cf. Eg. *'d*, 'greedy'; *'te*, Kufi, x. 29.

[*e-f? tb<sup>c</sup>?*] r *h<sup>c</sup>e·t·f*; cf. iii. 14, *e-f? tb<sup>c</sup>*; 25, *e p? tb<sup>c</sup>*. The *f* is doubtful. *tb<sup>c</sup>* is fairly certain (cf. v. 12), **ἘΩΩΒΕ** *signare*. Can it mean 'who was wrapped up,' or can *h<sup>c</sup>et* be here in the sense 'copy' (v. 13), and the *f* be anticipatory—'being sealed (?) with (?) the copy of a letter'?

*w<sup>h</sup>e*; cf. I Kh. iii. 12. Late Eg. *w<sup>h</sup>*, 'letter.' Note esp. Hist. Rom., No. 366; the title *by* . . . , which KRALL rightly interprets as 'despatch-carrier,' comparing **ΒΔΙΥΠΝΕ**, is really *by-w<sup>h</sup>e* = Late Eg. *f·y-w<sup>h</sup>y*, Pap. An. v., xii. 7.

l. 30. *šl*[*l*. One would expect *šlf*, 'a shameful act,' but the remains rather indicate *šll*. For the following restorations cf. iii. 2-3. Perhaps one may correct to *e-f* (*r rh<sup>c</sup>*) *'š*.

Read *r*·[*n*]-*y*?

*hte*. Apparently this is the reading, not *h<sup>c</sup>tm*, **ϣΩΤΕΩ**, which is the verb 'close,' ii. 14; v. 11. Does it mean 'seal,' or 'fastening'?

going] to the court (?) of Pharaoh's house in Memphis, [the council], the princes, the generals, the great men of Egypt [standing]

29. according to their] style (?) of standing in the court. Came (?) . . . . . [saying (?)] 'This is a communication that an *ate* of Ethiopia maketh, [who is sealed?] on his body with a letter. The announcement of it was made

30. before Pharaoh, he was brought to the court, he made prayer (?) [saying, 'Is there he who] readeth this letter that I have brought (?) to Egypt before Pharaoh without spoiling its seal (?), that will read in the writings that are on

31. it without opening it. If it be that there [be no good scribe and learned man in] Egypt who is able to read it without opening it, I will take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes, my country.'

32. The time of hearing the words that Pharaoh did [with his princes they knew not place of the] earth in which they were, saying, 'By Ptah [the great god (?) is there (?)] strength in the hand of the good scribe and learned man to read writings of which he shall see

*nt e* for *nt r*, fut. **ETNA-**.

‡ *n n*, not (*n*)*n*; cf. I Kh. iii. 12, note.

l. 31. *zlh*; cf. S. **ΧΩΛΘ** *amputare*, **ΧΟΛΘ** *minimus esse*, also Hist. Rom., No. 358, and references there; but none quite illustrates this instance. The general meaning of the passage from the context clearly is 'humiliate Egypt before Ethiopia.'

*t Nhs*, 'Ethiopia'; so also Br., Thes. 1024; Pamonth, ii. 18 (translating *Wdn.t*).

l. 32. *stm nn*. N. B.—direct government; cf. I Kh. iii. 22, note.

*bp-w gm* restored as in iii. 3.

In the gap before *nht* (?) one suspects a question, followed by *hn* **WZ.N** in the next line, but one would also expect *p ntr* ' to follow the name of Ptah. The restoration suggested may prove grammatically impossible. For the form of *e-s* cf. iii. 8. *s* seems to be anticipatory of *t t* and *nht* apparently means *sufficiens*.

33. *r* pe-w] tš hn rm *r* š wħe [n wš wn(e) *r*-*r*-f zt] Pr-<sup>c</sup> my š-w ny *r* Stm[e [H<sup>c</sup>-n]-Wsy pe šre ‘*r*-w zze ‘n-w se n ty hty-t ħb-f se

(page III)

1. ‘n-w se n ty hty-t ħb-f se *r* p ‘tne wšt-f [Pr-<sup>c</sup> twm]-f se ‘h<sup>c</sup>-f *r* (t *sic*) rt(t)-f e-f ‘*r* (n)n sm(<sup>c</sup>)-w n t wšt n Pr-<sup>c</sup> zt n-f Pr-<sup>c</sup>

2. p[e šre] Stme ‘n stm-k (n)n mt-wt *r*-zt py ‘te [n ‘Gš e-<sup>r</sup>]-ħr-y zt ‘n wn šħ nfr rmt *r*ħ hn Kmy e-f *r* *r*ħ š py wħe

3. nt [t:]t? n wš ħl te-f hte:t? mt-f gm n nt šħ ħr ‘[t:]t)-f n wš wne *r*-*r*-f t wne-t n stm (n)n mt-wt e-<sup>r</sup> Stme (n)ħp-f gm

4. m(<sup>c</sup>) [n p t] e-f n-<sup>m</sup>-f e-f zt pe nb ‘ nm p nt e-f *r* *r*ħ š šħ n wš wne *r*-*r*-f m s ħpr my t-w n-y ħrw X n ħry? nwe-y *r* p nt e-y . . *r*ħ

5. ‘r-f *r* tm ty θ-w p zlh n Kmy *r* p t Nħs p tš n wm-w qmy zt Pr-<sup>c</sup> st *r* pe šre Stme t-w ‘y[.w] n

6. st? ħr n p ‘Gš ‘r-w n-f nb(<sup>c</sup>)y *r* ħ ‘Gš twne se Pr-<sup>c</sup> ħr p wrħ e ħ<sup>c</sup>-f thr n p m šs qt-f n-f e-f wš n swr

1. 33. *hn*, I Kh. iv. 27, or perhaps *ħr*, i. 10.

*rm*, possibly for *nm*, **𐎠𐎢𐎡** (iii. 4); or cf. B. **𐎠𐎢𐎡** *sublimis esse*, **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠** *sublimitas*; cf. Kufi, xi. 31, for the same ? word.

1. 1. *sm<sup>c</sup>-w*, **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠** (?), as in I Kh. vi. 2.

*wšt*, **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎠** (?) *adoratio*.

1. 3. *tš*, i. e. 1st sing. **𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠** ?

*gm*, this verb seems to supply the future to *rħ*, ‘know,’ ‘ascertain,’ see note to l. 7.

1. 4. *ħry* (?); cf. B. **𐎠𐎢𐎡** ‘rest.’ The group somewhat resembles the common sign for *ħry* with perhaps the determinative of time beneath.

*nwe-y*. Apparently an instance of the final *stm-f*, perhaps always in the first person, and commonest with the verb *te*, ‘cause’; e. g. l. 12.

*e-y . . rħ*. The space appears to be blank in the original.

1. 6. *st?-ħr* can hardly be the Eg. *s-ḥr* ‘entertainment.’ Is it ‘retirement,’ lit. ‘returning of face’?

33. their] country, or is it possible (?) to read a letter [without opening it?] said] Pharaoh, 'Let there be summoned to me Setme [Kham]wesy my son.' They ran, they brought him at that instant. He bowed himself

III. 1. They brought him at that instant. He bowed himself to the ground, he saluted [Pharaoh], he [raised] himself, he stood on his feet, making the blessings of the salutations of Pharaoh. Said to him Pharaoh

2. 'My [son] Setme, hast thou heard the words that this *ate* [of Ethiopia] hath said before me saying, "Is there a good scribe and learned man in Egypt who shall be able to read this letter

3. that is in my hand without breaking its seal, and shall know what is written upon it without opening it?"' The time of hearing these words that Setme did, he found not

4. place [of the earth] in which he was, he saying, 'My great lord, who is he that shall be able to read writing without opening it? After happening, let there be given to me ten days of delay (?), that I may see what I shall be able

5. to do, to prevent the humiliation of Egypt being taken to the land of Nehes, the country of eaters of gum.' Said Pharaoh, 'They are for my son Setme.' Apartments were given of

6. turning (?) the face to the Ethiopian, there was made for him wickedness (?) like an Ethiopian. Pharaoh arose from the court, his heart being grieved exceedingly. He lay down without drinking

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*nby* may be **ⲛⲟⲃⲓ: ⲛⲟⲃⲉ** 'sin,' 'error,' *nby* in Poème Sat. ii. 17; iv. 7. Or is it to be connected with *e-f* 'r *nby nb φρονιζων*, Ros., l. 11?

7. *wm šm-f (sic) n-f Stme r ne-f ʿy-w e b (ʔr)rḥ-f m(ʿ)*  
*n p t e-f (ʔn)nʿy r r-f swḥ-f se n ne-f ḥbs-w n zz-f r*  
*rt-f qt-f n-f e b (ʔr)rḥ-f*

8. *m(ʿ) n p t e-f nʾm-f t-w (ʔr)rḥ st Mḥ-wsh-t te-f ḥm-t*  
*e-s ʾw r p m(ʿ) nt e Stme nʾm-f t-s(t) šm t-t-s n p ḥn*  
*n ne-f ḥbs-w (n)ḏp-s*

9. *gm ḥmm srf-f? ḥn ne-f ḥbs-w zte-s (sic) n-f pe sn*  
*Stme mn ḥmm ḥn p qne šbʿy? ḥn ne-f ef-w y(ʿ)b th*  
*n ḥʿt*

10. *zt-f n-s(st) qne r-ḥr-y te sn-t Mḥ-wsh-t t mt-t ut*  
*e ḥʿt-y thre tb-t-s bn(e) (n)mt-t e šw wn(e)-s(t) r s-ḥm-t*  
*ʾn ty p ḥm-ḥl S>Sʾr*

11. *ʾw r ḥn ḥʿt-f n t ry-t ḥry-t n Stme pe-f yt zt-f*  
*n-f pe yt Stme eʾr-k qt e ḥʿt-k thʾr tb ʾḥ n mt-wt*  
*nt qny?*

12. *ḥn ḥʿt-k r-ḥy-s (sic) e-[ʔr]-ḥr-y te-y lk-w se zt-f*

1. 7. *šm-f n-f Stme*; cf. i. 6. *šm-f n-f* generally means 'went away,' e. g. Poème Sat. iv. 15; but not in v. 7 below.

*e b ʾrrḥ-f; rḥ*, 'know,' 'ascertain,' is used in the imperative, the form *šdm-f*, and the qualitative, but not in the infinitive (see note to I Kh. iv. 4). The missing infinitive is supplied by the group which spells *gm*, 'find.' This group in the inf. often represents *gm*, **𐎗𐎎𐎎** in the ordinary sense of 'find,' e. g. in II Kh. vii. 2, but 'learn' or 'know' is the most appropriate meaning in other cases, especially in the common phrase *ḏp-f gm* which is parallel to this *e b ʾr-rḥ-f* in iii. 3, &c. May not the group *gm* also represent the inf. **𐎗𐎎𐎎**: **𐎗𐎎𐎎** in these cases? Though **𐎗𐎎𐎎** is perhaps from Eg. *ʿm*, 'perceive,' the Egyptians may even have considered it a shortened form of **𐎗𐎎𐎎**.

(ʾn)nʿy, **𐎎𐎎**, cf. I Kh. iii. 12, seems to be on the false analogy of ʾnw, **𐎎-𐎎𐎎** (see note to ii. 8): cf. (ʾn)mt perhaps for *mt*, **𐎎𐎎𐎎**, v. 36, and in Kufi, ʾmw for **𐎎𐎎**. ʾn is never added in the causative (**𐎎𐎎𐎎** in **𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎**?) i. 3, and Gnost. (Hess, Setne, p. 36).

1. 9. **𐎎𐎎𐎎** 'heat.'

*srf-f*. The det. seems falsely repeated after the suffix. S. **𐎎𐎎𐎎** *vacare*; or *qrff*, B. **𐎎𐎎𐎎** *aboleri, otium*, &c., or better a confused writing for S. **𐎎𐎎𐎎** 'fall down,' of leaves, so perhaps 'shrink,' 'wither.'

*zte-s*. This spelling might indicate a pronunciation \***𐎎𐎎** rather than \***𐎎𐎎**.



7. eating. Setme went to his apartments, not knowing place of the world to which he was going. He gathered himself in his clothes from his head to his feet, he lay down, he not knowing

8. place of the earth in which he was. They caused Meh-wesekht his wife to know it. She came to the place in which Setme was. She caused her hand to go in the inside of his clothes, she did not

9. find warmth, he lay quiet (?) in his clothes. She said to him, 'My brother Setme, there is not warmth in the lap, *sheby*? in its flesh; illness, sadness of heart.

10. Said he to her, 'Cease from me, my sister Meh-wesekht, the matter on account of which my heart is grieved is not a thing that it is right to reveal to a woman.' The child Si-Osiri

11. came in, he stood over Setme his father; he said to him, 'My father Setme, thou liest thy heart grieved for what? the things that are embosomed (?)

12. in thy heart tell them to me, that I may cause them to cease.' Said he, 'Cease from me my son

*p*<sup>o</sup> *qne* ΚΟΥΝ- : ΚΕΝ- is fem. acc. to PEYRON, but masc. in TATTAM, p. 164. In Eg. *qny* is masc.

*šby*? or *šty*, with det. of serpent, 'demon' or 'magic': cf. C1T *basiliscus*.

*y<sup>o</sup>b*: cf. *y<sup>o</sup>b*, fem., Chronique dém. (Rev. Ég. i. Pl. 2, l. 18); *y<sup>o</sup>b*, Kufi, xii. 30: S. εΙΔΔΡΕ, T, TATTAM, p. 826, *ixáp*, *saries* (Job ii. 8; vii. 5); B. ΙΔΡΙ, T 'disease,' νόσος, ἀσθένεια. This is a mere enumeration of symptoms or diagnosis, without construction.

l. 10. *qne*; cf. B. ΚΗΗ *cessare, satis*, properly imperative 'cease!' with sense of 'it is enough,' and constructed with Ε . . . . Ε . . . . of person and thing, St., § 487. It occurs again, l. 12, and Kufi, xix. 31.

*e šw* ΕΤΕΥΥΕ : ΕΤΕΥΥΕ, St., § 409.

l. 11. *qny*, Eg. *qny*, 'embrace,' 'hold'?

l. 12. *r-by-s* = ΔΧΙC = *r-zly-s* in the next line: cf. v. 15 *r-θ-w* for *r-zl-w*, 'which they said.'

ΤΑΤΑΛΩΟΥ.

que *r*-hr-y pe šre S→S'r n mt-wt nt hn-w (*sic*) h̄t-y  
e-r-k sbq n ms e b ne-<sup>c</sup>-k

13. . . . . *r*-hr-k zt S→S'r *r*-zty-se e-r-hr-y te-y  
s-h̄pr̄e h̄t-k n-m-w zt Stme pe šre S→S'r w<sup>c</sup> te n ᵛGš  
p e-r ph? *r* hry

14. *r* Kmy e-f? tb<sup>c</sup>e *r* h̄(<sup>c</sup>)e-t-f n w<sup>c</sup> w̄he zt ᵛn wn  
p nt e-f [*r*?]š-f n wš wne *r*-r-f e-f h̄pr̄ e mn sh̄ nfr rmt  
*r*h̄ hn Kmy

15. e-f *r* *r*h̄ š-f e-y θ p zlh̄ n Kmy *r* p t Nhs  
pe tš e-r-y qt e h̄t-y th̄r tb-t-s(t) pe šre S→S'r t  
wne:t

16. n stm ny mt-wt e-r S→S'r sby-f š<sup>c</sup> wne:t šy zt  
n-f Stme e-r-k sby tb ᵛh̄ zt-f e-y sby zt e-r-k qt

17. e h̄t-k th̄r tb p smt n ty mt-t hm-t twne t-k pe  
yt Stme e-y *r*h̄ š p w̄he r-ᵛn-w *r* Kmy n wš wne

18. [*r*]r-f nte-y (*sic*) gm n nt sh̄ hr ᵛt(t)-f n wš n hl̄  
te-f h̄te:t? t wne:t n stm ny mt-t e-r Stme tw-n-f se  
n h̄p e-f zt ᵛh̄ p nh̄(r)t

19. n [n] mt-wt nt e-r-k zt n-m-w pe šre S→S'r zt-f  
n-f pe yt Stme *m*-šm *r* n ᵛy (*sic*) n p ᵛtne n ne-k ᵛy-w  
z<sup>c</sup>m nb nt-e e-r-k fy-t-f

*e bw ne-c-k.* The neg. of this nominal verb, which according to the Coptic should be **ⲛ . . . . ⲁⲛ**, is possibly affected by the similarity of **ⲉⲗⲛⲁⲓ** (*e bw ne-y*) in the writing. *bw* is not used with *wn* in late Eg., Verbum, ii. § 989, yet the nominal verbs are supposed to be compounded with *wn*, STR., § 248 *Anim.*

l. 13. The first word is very doubtful (*n*)*m*h̄ (*ᵛ*).

*s-h̄pr̄ h̄t*, 'comfort the heart,' cf. vii. 9. In Kufi, xi. 26, *s-h̄pr̄* without *h̄t* means 'comfort.' *s-h̄pr̄* is here infinitive, cf. I Kh. iii. 6.

*ph?* this seems the likely reading from the form and the absence of det.

l. 15. *e-r-y qt*; this is the lively or emphatic form.

l. 17. *mt-t hm-t*, cf. I Kh. v. 9 for the reading. In Late Eg. we have *md-t šryw* = \*ⲉⲗⲉⲧⲱⲓⲣⲓ; cf. ST., § 194.

*twne t-k*; cf. note to I Kh. iii. 2 *θ-w t-y*.

*e-y r̄h̄* future, cf. I Kh. iv. 4 note. In Copt. ⲧⲛⲁⲱ, ST., § 145.

l. 18. *nte-y*, observe the unetymological spelling.

Si-Osiri, the things that are in my heart; thou art little of age, thou art not great (?),

13. take heed (?) to thyself.' Said Si-Osiri, 'Tell it unto me that I may cause thy heart to be refreshed in them.' Said Setme, 'My son Si-Osiri, an *ate* of Ethiopia is he who hath come up

14. to Egypt, being (?) sealed (?) upon his body with a letter, saying, 'Is there he that will (?) read it without opening it? If it be that there be no good scribe and learned man in Egypt

15. who shall be able to read it, I will take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes my country. Behold! I lay down, my heart grieved on its account, my son Si-Osiri. The time

16. of hearing these words that Si-Osiri did, he laughed for much time. Said to him Setme, 'Thou laughest for what?' Said he, 'I laugh because thou art lying,

17. thy heart being grieved because of the likeness of this small matter. Raise thyself, my father Setme, I shall be able to read the letter that was brought to Egypt without opening

18. it and to know what is written upon it without breaking its seal.' The time of hearing these words that Setme did, he arose suddenly, saying, 'What is the pledge

19. of [the] things that thou sayest, my son Si-Osiri?' Said he to him, 'My father Setme, go to the apartments of the ground of thy apartments. Every book that thou bringest

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*n* *hp.* BR., Wtb. 1069 = S.  $\text{ⲛⲩⲱⲛ}$  in  $\text{ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲩⲛⲛⲩⲱⲛ}$  'suddenly.'

l. 19. *n p' me.* CRUM (P. S. B. A. xxi. 250) shows that in Coptic deeds of Djême land or houses are described respectively as  $\text{ⲛⲧⲛⲉ ⲛ}$  'above,' and  $\text{ⲉⲛⲛⲧⲛ ⲛ}$  'below,' another house.

20. ḥn p ḥn e-y zt n-k ḥ n z<sup>c</sup>m py e-y ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f n wš nwe r-r-f e-y ḥ<sup>c</sup> n te-k ry-t ḥry-t ḥn ne-k ḥy-w n p ḥtne tw-n-se

21. Stme ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f r rt-f mt-t nb r-zt n-f S-ḥSḥ r-r-f r ḥt-w tr-w ḥš. Stme (*sic*) z<sup>c</sup>m nb r-fy Stme pe-f yt

22. r ḥry wbe-f n wš wne r-r-w Stme ḥw r ḥry ḥn n ḥy-w n p ḥtne n ne-f ḥy-w e-f n p ršy n p t (n)ḥp-f ḥrr r p m(ḥ)

23. nt e Pr-ḥ n-ḥm-f s-zy-f e-ḥr-ḥr-f n (*sic*) mt-wt nb r-zt n-f p ḥm ḥl S-ḥSḥ ne-nfr ḥt-f tb-t-s n p m šš wḥb-sw Pr-ḥ

24. r hrwte n p nw(e) n rn-f eḥme Stme t-f ḥn-w S-ḥSḥ r t hrwt e-ḥr-ḥr-f swr-w ḥr-w ḥr-w nfr ḥpr twe r te-f rste-t

25. ḥy Pr-ḥ r p wrḥ ḥwt ne-f rmt-ḥy-w te Pr-ḥ šm-w m-s p ḥte n ḥGš ḥn-w se r p wrḥ e-f? tbḥ? r ḥ(ḥ)e-t-f

26. n p wḥe ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f n t mty-t n p wrḥ p ḥm ḥl S-ḥSḥ ḥw r t mty-t ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f eḥme p ḥte n ḥGš mt-f wbe-f

27. zt ḥhw p sḥb(ḥ) n ḥGš ḥr ḥMn r-r-f pe-f ntr (n)nt-k nt (ḥ)n-ḥw r ḥry r Kmy p šy nfr ḥSḥ p htm n R-ḥr-ḥt

l. 20. *hn*; vid. HESS, Gnost., Gloss., s.v. Usually a jar, though S. **ϩNO**, **ϩNΔΔϩ** means 'vessel,' 'case,' also 'thing'; probably from (1) Eg. *hn*, 'vessel,' 'box,' and (2) *hnw*, 'goods,' 'vessels,' fused together.

l. 21. r *ḥt-w*; vid. note I Kh. iv. 11.

l. 23. *n mt-wt* is here falsely written *n mt-wt* as if *n* were the article instead of the preposition: cf. I Kh. iv. 32, &c.

l. 24. *e-ḥr-ḥr-f* seem here used in reference to the king; *m-bḥ* would be more correct.

*te-f rste-t*. Is *f* Pharaoh, or the 'good day'? From I Kh. iii. 27 the former interpretation would seem probable.

**pΔCTE** is masc. in Coptic, but here fem.

l. 25. *te P. šm-w m s*. *ty šm-w m s* seems to be the origin of **ϫOOϩ** **NCΔ**, *arcessere*; it occurs again v. 29. *ty θ-w* and *ty šm-w* are perhaps fused together in **ϫOOϩ**; so also *ty n-y-w* and *ty n-w* 'cause to be taken,' in **TEHKOOT** 'send.'

l. 26. *mt wbe*; cf. I Kh. v. 6.

l. 27. *ḥhw*. The usual interjection of angry address in II Kh.

*sḥ*; Eg. *sḥy*, Rh. bil. pap. xxiii. 9.



28. n? t ʿhyt nfr·t n p Šy zt e-y θ [pe-f] zlh r p  
t Nhs p hyt n ʿMn pe-k ntr hwy r hr-k n mt-wt nt  
e-y ty

29. ʿw (sic) e t? [n?] nt? sh r p wħe m ʿr zt mt·t  
n ʿz n·m-w (n)m·ðh Pr-ʿ pe-k hry t wne·t n nwe e·r  
p ʿte

30. n ʿGš r p hm·hl S·S·r e-f ʿhʿ n p wrh te-f zz-f  
r p ʿtne mt-f zt mt·t nb nt e·r-k r zt·t-w nn e-y zt  
mt·t n ʿz

31. n·m-w t hʿ·t n n s·zy-w r·wne e·r S·S·r [zt]  
n·m-w s·zy (n)m·ðh Pr-ʿ erme ne-f hʿ·t-w e p mšʿ n  
Kmy stm n hrw-f e-f zt

32. nt e n nt? sh r p wħe n p ʿte n ʿGš nt ʿhʿ [n?]  
t mty·t zt hpr n? wʿ ss·w (sic) n p he n Pr-ʿ Mnḥ-p-Rʿ  
S·Mn e-f

(page IV)

1. (N)Mnḥ-p-Rʿ S·Mn e-f n stn (n)mnḥ n p t tr-f  
[e Km]y wbn n ḥʿ·nfr nb n pe-f he e ne-ʿš-f n ty

perhaps putting forward the personal pronoun, the grammatical position of which in the sentence is marked by r hr-k in the next line.

htm, מִתְּנָה, Eg. *hdmw*, see BR., Wtb. 912; a 'stool,' 'throne,' not 'footstool,' see Kufi, x. 28.

l. 28. The scribe seems to have begun *n n ʿhy*, 'of the spirits,' and, finding his mistake, wrote a large *t* above the line as a clumsy correction of *n n* to *t ʿhy·t*.

Šy, see also vii. 11: cf. the proper names Ψαῖς, ΠΥΔΙ, STEINDORFF, Ä. Z. 90, 51. From Eg. š, 'fate,' often personified.

hyt in the same expression, iv. 22; v. 25; Lond. Gnost. vi. 35 (Gloss., p. 11). The reading is assured by the spelling in Gnost., where it occurs in various adjectives. Evidently connected with ὕοις ἐμμανῆς, ἐρῳοειτ φοιβάω, φοιβάζω, *numine plenus furo* (PEYRON, Gr. 189).

hwy is here constructed in 1st pres., but whether inf. or qual. is not clear. It is used commonly with *hyt*, also with *hyq*, 'magic,' e.g. iv. 4. The meaning altogether must be 'I adjure thee by the power of Amon.'

l. 29. *ty ʿw* טא·ו. A good instance of the sense *narrare*. Correct to *ty ʿw-w*.

*e te n nt sh*, perhaps for ΕΤΝΕΤΧΘ, 'which are those that are written'; but see note to iv. 23.

l. 30. *r p ʿtne* perhaps only means 'held his head down': cf. I Kh. v. 29.

28. n? t ʿhyt nfr·t n p Šy zt e-y θ [pe-f] zlh r p  
t Nhs p hyt n ʿMn pe-k ntr hwy r hr-k n mt-wt nt  
e-y ty

29. ʿw (sic) e t? [n?] nt? sh r p wħe m ʿr zt mt·t  
n ʿz n·m-w (n)m·ðh Pr·c pe-k hry t wne·t n nwe e·r  
p ʿte

30. n ʿGš r p hm·hl S·S·r e-f ʿh·c n p wrh te-f zz-f  
r p ʿtne mt-f zt mt·t nb nt e·r-k r zt·t-w nn e-y zt  
mt·t n ʿz

31. n·m-w t h·c·t n n s·zy-w r·wne e·r S·S·r [zt]  
n·m-w s·zy (n)m·ðh Pr·c erme ne-f h·c·t-w e p mš·c n  
Kmy stm n hrw-f e-f zt

32. nt e n nt? sh r p wħe n p ʿte n ʿGš nt ʿh·c [n?]  
t mty·t zt hpr n? w·c ss·w (sic) n p he n Pr·c Mn·p-R·c  
S·Mn e-f

(page IV)

1. (N)Mn·p-R·c S·Mn e-f n stn (n)mn·h n p t tr-f  
[e Km]y wbn n h·p·nfr nb n pe-f he e ne·š·f n ty

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l. 30. *r p ʿtne* perhaps only means 'held his head down': cf. I Kh. v. 29.

28. the beautiful horizon of the Spirit, saying, "I will take [its] humiliation to the land of Nehes"; the inspiration (?) of Amen thy god is cast upon thee, the words that I shall nar-

29. -rate that are written in this letter; do not say falsehood of them before Pharaoh thy sovereign.' The time of seeing that made the *ate*

30. of Ethiopia at the child Si-Osiri, he standing in the court, he put his head to the ground. He spake saying, 'Every word that thou shalt say, I will not speak falsehood

31. of them.' The beginning of the relations that Si-Osiri was making, told before Pharaoh with his nobles, the people of Egypt being attentive to his voice, he saying,

32. 'They (?) that are written on the letter of the *ate* of Ethiopia who standeth in the midst, saying: There happened on a time in the days of Pharaoh Menkpa-Ra Si-Amon, he being

IV. 1. Menkh-p<sup>2</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> Si-Amon, he being as beneficent king of the whole land, Egypt overflowing with all things in his time, he was abundant in giving

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l. 31. *r.wmne e.r enere*. There seems to be a trace of *zt* at the lacuna.

*s.zy*, passive participle, cf. *zt*, ii. 23; in the parallel passages, iv. 22, *n szy* 'as a relation,' v. 24, *n n' szy*, i. e. (*n*)*n szy*.

*stm n hrw-f*, 'listening to his voice,' as opposed to *stm r hrw-f*, 'hearing his voice.'

l. 32. *nt e*, &c. The construction is very obscure, see iv. 23. *nt e* can hardly be any word for 'behold!'

*hpr n*. The *n* seems unlikely.

*he*, Eg. *h'w*, BR., Wtb. 888; cf. Hist. Rom., No. 189.

*S-Mn*. The reading *S*, 'son,' can scarcely be doubted: it has the det. of child in iv. 25, but it is curiously written in every case, v. 3, &c.

l. 1. *wbn*, Eg. *wbn*, BR. Wtb. Suppl. 309-10.

*h?nfr*, cf.  $\text{ϩ}\epsilon\text{N}\text{O}\text{Υ}\text{ϩ}\epsilon$  *abundantia*, but the reading of the first element is uncertain.



2. *hy wp hn n ʾrpy ʿy n Kmy hpr [wʿ] hrw e p K-wr? n p t Nhs ʾr šs . . . .? hn n štwe-w?*

3. *n hwr n ʾMn e-ʾr-f stm r p hrw n III ʾte n ʾGš [hn p?] ʿy n hft e p wʿ ʾm-w mt(t) e hrw-f qy zt m-s*

4. *zt b ʾr ʾMn gm n-y bw mte p K-wr? n Kmy ty [ʾr-w n-y btw?] w(n)e e-y hwy ne hqy-w r hry r Kmy*

5. *nte-y ty ʾr p mšʿ n Kmy hrw III grh(t) III e [bʾp-w?] nw r p wyn m-s p? kky zt*

6. *p ky n-ʾm-w m-s zt b ʾr ʾMn gm n-y lwh mte p K-wr? n Kmy ty ʾr-w n-y btw w(n)e e-y hwy ne hqy-w?*

7. *r hry r Kmy mte-y ty ʾr-w ʾn Pr-ʿ n K[my] r p t Nhs nte-y ty mhy-w se n šh šwe? CCCCC*

1. 2. *hy = he, δαπάνη, Can., l. 11; cf. 𐤅𐤏𐤅 : 𐤅𐤏𐤅, 𐤏 commodium, lucrum. The det. here is false.*

*ʿy* plural of ʿ ‘great,’ spelt as in ii. 28, unless it here stands for the plural ending in 𐤀𐤏𐤏𐤅𐤏𐤏 preceding.

*K-wr?* The reading is very doubtful, as the signs may have special values, 𐤏𐤀𐤏? but ‘viceroy’ might be expressed by *k-wr*, ‘other chief.’ *wr* is used for ‘chief,’ Hist. Rom., No. 68; cf. *wry* (?), Br., Thes. 1018, last line.

*šs? šʿs? ʿs. .?*

*n ʾštwe-w n hwr*; cf. Kufi, xii. 23 *n ʾšte-w n hwry*, both nouns with det. of land (?), and xi. 2 *šte-w*; cf. Eg. *šdw*, ‘field,’ *šd-t*, ‘canal.’

1. 3. *hft* in l. 25 is clearly Eg. *hpd-w, nates*, so also in Kufi, xviii. 23 *šft pʾ mʿe*, ‘hind quarters of the lion.’ Hence *ʿy n hft* may be *latrina*. Eg. *hfty*, ‘enemy’ 𐤅𐤏𐤏𐤅 (?), sometimes loses *t* in dem. (Br., Wtb. 1082), but in London Gnost., Gloss., p. 11, the *t* is preserved. It may therefore be the ‘house of the enemy,’ either ‘prison for rebels’ or ‘war office’? Cf. B. 𐤅𐤏𐤏𐤅 *nates?*, KABIS, Ä. Z. 76, 87, and 𐤅𐤏𐤏𐤅 *puḡillus?*

*qy*, ‘high’; cf. Rh. bil. pap., No. 372; Br., Wtb. 1435; and of voice, *e ne-qy hrw-f*, Poème Sat. i. 7.

*zt m-s? zt*, ‘saying, after saying (other matters).’ So Late Eg. *zd hnʿ zd*, ‘saith along with saying various matters,’ i. e. ‘saith after the usual greeting.’ Cf. *m s hpr* in ii. 15.

1. 4. *b ʾr . . . . mte*. See note to I Kh. iv. 12. In each case *b ʾr* has a nominal subject.

*bw*, Poème Sat. iii. 1; *pʾ nt e-w gm n-f bwe*, Pap. Dodgson, l. 4, cf. verso, l. 17.

*hqy*, generally *hyq*, Eg. *hkʾw*, ‘magic’: 𐤅𐤏𐤏 ‘devil,’ 𐤏𐤅𐤏𐤏 (cf. vii. 3) ‘practise magic.’

2. expenditure, work in the great temples of Egypt. There happened a day, the *Kwr* (?) of the land of Nehes making . . . . in the fields . . .

3. of the land (?) of Amon, behold! he heard the voice of three *ate* of Ethiopia [in the (?)] draught-house (?), the one of them speaking, his voice being loud, saying after

4. saying, 'That Amen may not find for me evil nor the *Kwr* of (?) Egypt cause [abomination to be done to me], I would ? cast my magic up to Egypt

5. that I might cause the people of Egypt to pass three days three nights without having seen the light except the *κίκι* (?). Said

6. the other of them after saying, 'Let (?) Amen not find for me misfortune nor the *Kwr* of Egypt cause abomination to be done to me: I would (?) cast my magic

7. up to Egypt that I might cause to be made a bringing of Pharaoh of Egypt to the land of Nehes, and cause him to be beaten with a scourging, 500 blows of the stick (?)

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[*btw*], or probably some other word of similar meaning; cf. l. 6.

*wmne e-y hwy*. Perhaps **NEIΩI-** or (if future **EIE**) **NEIN&ΩI** 'I used to cast,' or 'I was about to cast,' 'I should have cast': or more probably *wmne* is attributive, Eg. *wmw*, 'it being that I shall cast.' The quotation in ll. 9-10 implies that the magician's speech was a threat in the future tense.

l. 5. *kky*; cf. **K&KE : Χ&KI** 'darkness' (I Kh. iv. 34; Lond. Gnost. Gloss., p. 15), but perhaps the scribe intended *κίκι*, the lamp oil of Egypt. The origin of this Greek term, said to be the Egyptian name of the oil, is probably *k'k'*, *kk*, 'herbs,' 'plants,' because it was an oil derived from plants.

l. 6. *p' ky*, probably used only in regard to the second of two persons, not of three: the speech or existence of the third is quite forgotten, though the mistake is clumsily repaired in l. 13.

*lwħ*, again vi. 29; Kufi, xii. 1. *gm n-k lwħ*, Pap. Dodgson, verso, l. 16.

l. 7. *mle-y ty 'r-w 'n NT&TPEY EINE*. The 'r of **TPE-** is seldom written in dem. Perhaps this speech is in a more vulgar dialect, or the



8. in the midst before the Viceroy, and cause him to be brought back up to Egypt in six (?) hours thither precisely (?). The time

9. of hearing the word that the Viceroy did, from the voice of the three men of Ethiopia, he caused them to be brought before him. He said to them, 'Who of you is he that said, "I will cast

10. my magic up to Egypt, I will not allow them to see the light in three days, three nights"?' They said, 'It is Hor the son of the Sow.'

11. Said he, 'Who is he that said, "I will cast my magic up to Egypt, I will bring Pharaoh to the land of Nehes, I will cause him to be beaten

12. with a scourging, 500 blows of the stick (?) in the midst before the Viceroy, I will cause him to be taken back to Egypt in six (?) hours thither

13. precisely"?' Said [they], 'It is Hor the son of the Negress.' Said he, 'Who is he that said, "I will cast my magic up in Egypt

14. I will not allow the land to be fertile until three years"?' Said they, 'It is Hor the son of the Princess (?).' Said the Viceroy (to Hor the son of the Negress), 'Do it, thy feat of magic

15. (in) writing. By the life of Amon the bull of Meroe my god, if thy hand do satisfaction, I will do for thee abundance of good things.' Hor the son of the Negress made

l. 14. *shē*, Eg. *sh-t*, 'field.' The group was so read by REVILLOUT, Rev. Égypt., vi. 10, No. 9 (wrongly by BR., Thes. 1047); cf. Kufi, xi. 12; BERGER, Nouveau Contrat bilingue, 39 (= *āyḥw*?).

*ʾr* . . . *šw* *ḫw* *ḫw* *ḫw*, of land 'being fertile,' vid. PEYRON.

*ΔΠΙΟΤΙ* *ḫḫḫḫ* *OC*. *nʾm-f* may refer to Pharaoh, 'make of him,' i. e. 'do to him'? cf. *ḫḫr nʾm-f* 'become of him.'

*ḫyq sh* is very common in this story: once *ḫyq n sh* in vi. 16.

l. 15. *Mrwe* *Μερών*, BR., Dict. Géog. 280; cf. 196, 247, and Thes. 1020.

*e ʾr*. Here *ʾr* must be the verb, not the auxiliary in *ερε*. *mty-l* =

*ḫḫḫḫ*.

16. w<sup>l</sup>t mgwe:t n mnhe n sr-rt(t) IV š-f sh r-r-w te-f  
n-w tw n hbl<sup>l</sup> te-f ʿnh-w hn-f szw n-w

17. zt e-r-tn šm r hry r Kmy e-r-tn ʾn Pr-<sup>l</sup> n Kmy  
r hry r p m(<sup>l</sup>) nt e p K-wr? n-ʾm-f e-w mhye-t-f

18. n sh swe? CCCCC n t mty:t e-r-hr p K-wr?  
e-r-tn st-f r hry r Kmy hn wne:t VI zt-w (n)m-šs  
nn e-n

19. ty wyn mt:t fy (n)n hqye-w n p ʾGš r hry r Kmy  
r-w nb (sic) n grh(t) r-w nb n Pr-<sup>l</sup>

20. Mnḥ-p-R<sup>l</sup> S-(t) ʾMn θ-w se r p t Nḥs r p m(<sup>l</sup>)  
mte (sic) p K-wr? n-ʾm-f mhye-w se n sh šwe CCCCC  
n t mty:t

21. e-r-hr p K-wr? st-w szw r hry r Kmy hn wne:t  
VI ebne(<sup>l</sup>) mnq ny szy S-ʾS<sup>r</sup> p nt

22. ʾr n-ʾm-w n szy n t mty:t (n)m-ḏḥ Pr-<sup>l</sup> erme  
ne-f h<sup>l</sup>t-w e p mš<sup>l</sup> n Kmy stm r hrw-f e-f zt p hyt  
n ʾMn

23. pe-k ntr hwy r-hr-k n mt-wt nt e-y nb? n-ʾm-w

1. 16. *sr-rt*: cf. the parallel v. 19. Eg. *sr*, 'arrange,' 'stretch,' *σωπ* 'spread'; perhaps refers to the rapid running with the palanquin; the 'bearers' (hardly horses of chariot). Or better, 'feet stretchers,' as a term for those who administer the bastinado: 'lictors.'

*hbl<sup>l</sup>*, possibly a form of *ελξωδ* 'steam,' 'breath,' 'burning,' Br., Wtb. 868; Kufi, xi. 10: but the det. is against it.

1. 17. *e-r-tn šm* emphatic form of command.

*e-w mhye-t-f*; so also v. 21, apparently for *ερε\*εεεεεεεεεε*, the *r* being omitted after the semivowel, as in *ειε*.

1. 18. (*n*)*m šs*, v. 22 *m šs*; cf. i. 6. There are a few instances of this spelling in II Kh., this being the first. For another instance of its use as an interjection of assent, cf. Hist. Rom., No. 365. It may be the origin of *ωο* 'yes!' *šs* = *ωω*, *ωο*, *ωε*-, Achm. *ωΔ*, for *šso*.

1. 19. *wyn*; cf. v. 22. S. *ορεινε* 'pass away,' cf. Eg. *wm*, 'run.'

*fy* *ϕΔI* is occasionally used intransitively, *proficisci*; but *fy*, of the progress of sorcerers and magicians through the air (so also Kufi, xxi. 3 of a vulture-goddess), would seem to be derived from Eg. *p*, 'fly'; cf. *hft* from *hpd*. On the other hand *py*, Kufi, xxi. 13, and I Kh., is 'leap up.'

16. a litter of wax of four runners (?), he read a writing to them, he gave them breath of respiration, he made them live. He commanded them,

17. saying, 'Ye shall go up to Egypt, ye shall bring Pharaoh of Egypt up to the place in which is the Viceroy; he shall be (?) beaten

18. with a scourging, 500 blows of the stick in the midst before the Viceroy, ye shall take him back up to Egypt in six (?) hours.' Said they, 'Certainly. We will not

19. allow a thing to pass away.' The sorceries of the Ethiopian proceeded up to Egypt (they mastered) by night, they mastered Pharaoh

20. Menkh-pa-Ra Si-Amon, they took him to the land of Nehes, to the place in which the Viceroy was. He was beaten with scourging, 500 blows of the stick, in the midst

21. before the Viceroy, they returned him up to Egypt in six hours thither precisely (?). These relations Si-Osiri, he that

22. made them, in relating in the midst before Pharaoh with his princes, the people of Egypt hearing his voice, he saying, 'The inspiration of Amon

23. thy god is cast upon thee, the words of which I am master (?), are they those that are written accord-

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<sup>r</sup>-w nb in the first instance is to be omitted. В. ερνικε dominus esse.

l. 20. mte for nt e. This perhaps indicates that the n of nt (ετ) was still pronounced: cf. iii. 18 (nt e-y for mte-y); also vi. 34 (n pe-f for bp-f) and iv. 26.

l. 21. ny szy, &c. An extraordinary example of double inversion. The sentence itself begins with e-f zt in l. 22, S<sup>3</sup>S<sup>3</sup>r with the long appositional phrase p nt <sup>r</sup> . . . hrw-f being taken out of it and put forward absolutely, and ny szy (resumed in n<sup>3</sup>m-w) in its turn taken out of the appositional phrase and put at the head of all.

l. 23. nb would seem to be a mistake for zt which stands in the parallel v. 25-6.

ʾn nt e nt? sh r he p whe nt n t-t-k zt p ʾte  
n(n) ʾGš

24. š m-s ne-k š mt-t nb nt e-r-k zt n-m-w mt-t  
m-t tr-w ny zt S-ʾSʾr (n)mḃh Pr-<sup>c</sup> e-r ny ḃpr st-w Pr-<sup>c</sup>

25. S(·t)? ʾMn r ḃry r Kmy e ḃft-f mḃye n sh ʿt  
(n)m-šs qt-f n-f n [t] qnh-t n Pr?-Hr e ḃft[-f]

26. mḃye n-m-šs ḃpr twe r te-f rst[e]-t zt Pr-<sup>c</sup> n t  
qnbe ḃh p e-r gm K[my] š<sup>c</sup> n ty wy-y n-m[-f?]

27. šlf n n mt-wt n ḃt qnbe e-w zt ʿrw e šm-se  
n-s(st) mt-t n ḃt [n] Pr-<sup>c</sup> zt-w e-r-k wz

28. e-r-k wz p? Pr-<sup>c</sup> pe-n nb ʿ r ʾS-t ntr-t ʿt r  
wsf? n ne-k ḃygw-w ḃh p tne n mt-wt e ḃr-k

29. zt ʾm-w e-r-ḃr[-n p Pr-<sup>c</sup>] pe-n nb ʿ e-r-k qt [n] t  
qnḃ[t n Pr?] Hr (n)n ntr-w ḃrḃ r-ḃr-k tw-n-sw Pr-<sup>c</sup>

30. te-f nwe [t qnb]e r te-f ʾt(t) e-s(t) mḃye [n sh] ʿt  
nm šs e-f zt ʿnḃ Pth p ntr

ʾn nt e nt? sh. In v. 26 we have *nt e n ʾ sh*, but in iii. 32 *nt e n nt? sh*, in iii. 29 *e te [n?] nt? sh*. From all these, especially v. 26, I am inclined to read the supposed *nt* as *m* = Eg. *m* 'in,' 'as,' usually changed to *n*. The form *m* survives occasionally, e.g. in the text of Pamonth, and, in certain groups, regularly in all texts, e.g. in *m qty*, 'like,' *m šs*, 'exceedingly,' *m-s*, 'after.' Even then the construction *ʾn nt e m sh . . .*, without *ne* at the end seems unusual for 'are they what are in writing . . .?'

*he* is omitted in the parallel.

l. 24. 'read on.' *m-s* cannot mean 'according to' thy readings.

l. 25. *ḃft*, cf. note on l. 3.

*qnḃ-t*, ΚΠΘΕ, Τ; BSCIAL, Ä. Z., 1886, 91.

l. 26. *p' e-r gm*; masc. implying person rather than neuter?, cf. I Kh. v. 1.

*š<sup>c</sup> n ty*, unetymological for *š<sup>c</sup> nte-y*  $\omega\lambda\tau$ :  $\omega\lambda\pi\tau\Delta$ ; St., § 449, Hist. Rom., No. 286.

*wy-y*, ΟΥΕ: ΟΥΕΙ, 'depart,' intransitive. The appended *y* seems meaningless, but perhaps the causative verb has been omitted, *š<sup>c</sup> mte(-w ty) wy-y*.

*n-m[-f?]*. In Coptic ΚΗΛΕ is masc., St., § 200.

l. 27. *šlf*,  $\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau$ , is not a verb in Coptic: 'shame to the thoughts'? *ʿrw*; for the construction see I Kh. vi. 14.

*šm-s n-s mt-t*; cf. *qt-f n-f Stme*, i. 6, note.

l. 28. *p' Pr-<sup>c</sup>*, apparently the article with the vocative.

*r*. Probably for *e*.

*ntr-t*, written nearly as in Rh. bil. pap., No. 182:

ing to the letter that is in thy hand?' Said the *ate* of Ethiopia,

24. 'Read after thy readings. Every word that thou sayest is truth, all.' Said Si-Osiri before Pharaoh, 'When these things had happened, they returned Pharaoh

25. Si-Amon up to Egypt, his hinder parts being beaten with a very great beating. He lay down in [the] shrine of Per-Hor (?), his hinder parts being

26. beaten exceedingly. Came the morning to his (?) morrow. Said Pharaoh to the courtiers, 'What is it that hath found Egypt until I (be made to ?) depart from [it] ?

27. Shame on (?) the words of the heart of the courtiers, they saying, "Probably the word of the heart of Pharaoh hath gone away." Said they, 'Thou art well,

28. thou art well, O Pharaoh, our great lord. Isis, the great goddess, will make to cease . . . thy troubles (?). What is the meaning of the words that thou hast

29. said before [us, O Pharaoh] our great lord? Thou lying down [in] the shrine [of Pi]-Hor, the gods protect thee.' Pharaoh raised himself,

30. he caused the courtiers to see his back, it being beaten with a great beating exceedingly, he saying, 'By the life of Ptah the (great) god'

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*wsf?* The *s* and *f* seem both peculiar: cf.  $\text{orwscy}$  'make to cease,' 'destroy.'

*hygw*; cf. S.  $\text{ywwce}$ ,  $\text{ywwce}$  'afflict'?

*ine*, so Kufi, xii. 28 *p' ine n we-s mt-wt*, '(when he saw) the direction (drift, meaning) of her words.'  $\text{twan}$  'whither' is spelt in the same way, so here probably 'the whither,' i. e. 'the direction,' and  $\text{tonwn}$  may be a reduplication of it. But 'vehemence,' cf.  $\text{tonow}$  *valde*, would be a very appropriate meaning.

*e hr-k zi*. The reading is fairly certain: cf. I Kh. iv. 5, note. Here *e 'r-k zi* would probably be more correct: the form in the 2nd sing. is often peculiar.

l. 30. *pe-f 't*. Very probably *'t*, the 'back' ( $\text{ww} : \text{wt}$ ) was pronounced \* $\omega$ , since the sign of the spine stands for  $\omega$  in the Greek transcriptions of the dem. Gnostic papyri. See also the curious spelling below, vi. 27. For *h' 't* in Late Eg. cf. Pap. Unuamon, i. x + 13.



(page V)

1. [e-f]zt [nh] Pth p ntr ' hr? thy-t r p t Nhs n p grh(t) hr? mhy-t n [sh] šwt? CCCCC n t mtye e-r-hr p K-wr? st-w r hry r Kmy

2. [hn] wne-t VI-t ebne(c) mnq t wne-t n nw(e) r hft Pr-c e-f mhy(e) (n)n sh 't [(n)]m šs wne-w r-w (n)n sgp ' wne wnte

3. Mnḥ-p-R' S(t)? 'Mn w' hr- . . . . . e-w zt n-f Hr [py P-]Nše? n rn wne rmt [rḥ] (n)m šs py e-f 'w r p m(c) nt e-f n-m-f 'š-f sgp ' e-f zt pe

4. [nb ' h]yq-w n n 'Gš-w ne 'nh te-k . . . . . e-y ty šm-w? n ne-k w . . . š? š'y-t zt [n-f Pr-c] gtgte r hr-y m-r ty θ-w t-y r p t Nhs

5. n ky grh(t) p hr . . . . . [Hr py] P-nš[e]? 'w [n ty? ht]y-wt θ-f ne-f z'n-w erme ne-f s-w r [p m(c) nt] e [Pr-c] n-m-f 'š-f n-f sh mr?-f n-f s r tm

V. The original of this page is much worn in places. The restored signs in the lithographed copy (Pl. V a) are generally faintly traceable, but still very uncertain: vid. the photograph.

1. 1. hr? vid. i. 14; vi. 20. In the last it may stand for  $\text{ϩ}\lambda$  'fly.' Here one would expect an indefinite pronoun; cf. B.  $\text{ϩ}\lambda\text{I}$  which, however, is used only with negatives. And such a phrase as hr thy-t as it were \* $\text{ϩ}\lambda\text{I}\ \text{ϩ}\text{IT}$  for the past tense—'one took me'—is very unusual, being paralleled only by the tense ef 'w \* $\text{ϩ}\text{HT}$ . Have some previous words been omitted? thy-t . . . mhy-t are evidently  $\text{ϩ}\text{IT}$  . . .  $\text{ϩ}\text{HT}$  with 1st sing. obj. suffix.

1. 2. NE OHTTE.

1. 3. hrb? hr-ḥb? ḥrb? The title of Hor Pa-pneshe (cf. l. 10 ad fin.) is difficult to read. In l. 17 it has clearly the det. of writings. Can it be Eg. hr-ḥb (a dem. form of it in Rh. bil., No. 367), the usual title of learned men in the old tales of the Westcar papyrus? hrb might stand for Eg. ḥb. The top stroke stands for t in ty, 'this,' &c., and is obscure in iii. 28.

Hr py p' nšy, the oblique stroke of filiation sometimes reads s' (in Hr-s-S, &c.), at other times py, ΠΔ-. The variant in v. 10 settles the reading in this case.

nše, nšy not quite certain.

wne. N. B. here relative, I Kh. writes it less correctly with r for prosthetic alif. See I Kh. iv. 4, note r.wmny.

V. 1. he saying, 'By the life of Ptah the great god, some one (?) took me to the land of Nehes in the night, some one (?) beat me with 500 blows of the stick in the midst before the Viceroy, and they returned up to Egypt

2. in six hours, hither, completely.' The time of seeing the hinder parts of Pharaoh, they being beaten with a great beating exceedingly, they opened their mouths with great clamour. There was belonging to

3. Menkh-p-Ra Si-Amon a librarian (?) who was called Hor son of Pa-neshe by name, being a [learned] man exceedingly. He came to the place in which he was, he exclaimed a great cry, he saying, 'My

4. [great lord], they are the sorceries of the Ethiopians. By the life of thy . . . . . I will cause them to enter thy house of torment (?) and execution (?).' Said [to him Pharaoh] 'Hasten unto me, let me not be taken to the land of Nehes

5. another night.' The librarian (?) Hor son of Pa-neshe came in these moments, he took his books with his amulets [to the place] in [which Pharaoh] was. He read to him writing, he bound (?) to him amulet to prevent

1. 4. *te-k* or *ne-k*.

*šm-w*, or *p<sub>h</sub>-w* as there is no det.; but see the next note. *ty p<sub>h</sub>* would be ΘΠΟ : ΤΦΟ.

*šy-t*, spelt with the group for the verb *šy* 'come,' recurs, in a similar context with *šm*, in Poème Sat. iii. 2.

*gtg*; cf. vi. 14 'hasten' = *gtg*, Pamonth, ii. 10, *n<sup>2</sup>-gtg* [*n*]<sup>*e-f*</sup> *mš<sup>c</sup>* = Eg. *l' rd-f* 'hasty, swift (burning) of foot,' and Lond. Gnost. iii. 20. *tkk*, with same meaning, Lond. Gnost. iii. 33; Hist. Rom., No. 345 and *zze*, B. ΣΟΧΙ (see I Kh. v. 31, note) are probably allied with it, all being onomatopoeic.

1. 5. [*n ny hi*]*y.wt*, 'at these moments,' is probably a better restoration than that in Pl. V a, which assumes a false plural ending.

*mr*. The group is usually to be read *m<sub>h</sub>*, even in this papyrus (in

6. *ty* ὄr n ḥyq·w n n ὄGš-[w] e·r-syḥ n·m-f e-f [ḡw] r-bl mōḥ Pr·c θ-f ne-f gll·w ne-f wtne[·w ḡ]l-f r mry·t r w·c tks ḥp-f ḥrr.

7. r Ḥmne šm-f n-f ḥn ḥ-ntr n Ḥmne [r-f ne-f] gll·w ne-f wtne·w mōḥ Ṭḥwt ««««[««] nb Ḥmne p ntr c ὄr-f šlle n(m)-ḥḥ-f

8. *zt* my-w (*sic*) ḥr·k r ḥr-y pe nb Ṭḥwt m·r ty ḥe (n)[n ὄGš·w p zḥ n Kmy r p t Nḥs mt-k e . . . . . ḥyq [sh] mt-k e·r ḥye t p·t

9. e-f s·mne p t t ty·t e-f ty n ntr·w erme n . . . . . w my rḥ-y p g(ḡ)y nḥm Pr·c [r n ḥyq·]w [n n ὄ]Gš·w qt(t)-f n-f Ḥr py P-nše?

10. ḥn ḥ-ntr e·r-f pre r·r-f rswe n p [gr]ḥ(·t) n rn-f e p sst? n p ntr·c Ṭḥwt mt erme-f *zt* ὄn(n)e nt-k Ḥr py P-nše? p ḥr . . . . . n

11. Pr·c Mnḥ-p-R·c S(·t)·Mn e ὄr twe n rsty ḥpr m-šm ḥn pr·?mzy n ḥ-ntr n Ḥmne e·r-k r gm w·t qnḥ·t e-s ḥtme·t

12. e-s tb·e·t r·wn r·r-s(st) e·r-k r gm w·t tbte·t?

the name *Mḥ-wsh·t*, i. 1, &c.), but either *mr* ⲙⲟⲣⲡ 'bind,' or *ḥs*? Br. Thes. 893, l. 10, is clearly the word required here, and both are used in this connexion, Lond. Gnost. iii. 33; Br., Thes., l. c.; Wtb. 1598-9. Other signs for *mr* occur in l. 6 and (apparently) in i. 11, 13.

l. 6. *ty* ὄr, not simply auxiliary Ṭpe-, as iv. 7.

e·r-syḥ, B. ⲉⲣⲱⲓⲱⲓ *potestas*, probably Eg. ὄr·t *shy·w*, 'make arrangements,' 'organize,' 'administer.' A common expression in dem., generally spelt ὄr-sḥy, Ros., ll. 15, 16; Kufi, xv. 5, 25, and in all contracts. ḡl-f r mry·t; cf. I Kh. iii. 24, &c.

l. 7. *šm-f n-f*; not, as often, in the sense 'he went away,' 'departed.'

l. 8. *my-w*, &c. \*ⲙⲉⲉⲉⲣⲡⲁⲔ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ; cf. *ty* ḥr, I Kh. v. 13. The sign of the pl. seems merely superfluous as in ḥ·w, ii. 5.

*mt-k*, of course ⲡṬⲐⲔ.

l. 9. *ty*, 'set,' 'place,' as in iii. 30. After *erme* the det. suggests [*syw*]-w, 'stars'; but the remains hardly admit the reading.

*my rḥ-y*: N. B. without ὄr.

Or ὄ ὄGš·l. Could this mean 'Ethiopia,' Eg. *Kḡ* (sem.)? In the parallel, l. 14, n ὄGš·w, = 'the Ethiopians.'

l. 10. *pre* ⲡⲱⲱⲣⲉ : ⲫⲱⲣ with the dream as direct object, *somniare*;

6. the sorceries of the Ethiopians from getting power on him. He came out from before Pharaoh, he took his offerings and libations, he went on board a boat, he delayed not

7. to Khmun. He went into the temple of Khmun, [he made his] offerings, his libations before Thoth the great great great great great [great great great], the lord of Khmun, the great god. He made prayer before him

8. saying, 'Give thy face to me, my lord Thoth. Let not the Ethiopians take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes. Thou art he that . . . . . magic in writing, thou art he that hanged up the heaven,

9. establishing the earth, the underworld, and placing the gods with the stars (?). Let me know the manner of saving Pharaoh [from the sorceries of the] Ethiopians.' Hor son of Pa-neshe (?) lay down

10. in the temple; behold he dreamed to himself dream in the night named, the figure of the great god Thoth speaking with him, saying, 'Art thou Hor son of Pa-neshe (?), the librarian of

11. Pharaoh Menkh-p-Ra Si-Amon? The morning of to-morrow having come, go into the library of the temple of Khmun, thou shalt find a shrine closed and

12. sealed. Open it. Thou shalt find a box in the

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apparently a derivative of Eg. *ptr*, BR., Wtb. 484. The det. of motion is perhaps a reminiscence of *pr* **𓆎𓆏𓆑**.

*pre r-r-f*, 'dreamed to himself' seems a construction that may well be genuine, but I have no parallel by which to support it.

*'nne* **𓆎𓆏𓆑**: **𓆎𓆏**.

l. 11. *pr mzy*. Eg. *pr mꜣꜣ*, 'library.' The group *pr* curiously resembles *'t*, 'great,' suggesting *'t*, 'chamber,' which however is differently written, I Kh. v. 20, and perhaps above, l. 11 and *'t* is not appropriate in ii. 28, which shows almost the same form.

l. 12. *tblt* must be a mistake for *tbl*, 'box.'

hn t qnh·t n rn-s e wn w<sup>c</sup>·t mzy·t [z]<sup>c</sup>m hn-s(st) e-sh·y  
t·t·y

13. h<sup>c</sup>·y r<sup>o</sup>nt<sup>?</sup>-s r hry θ h<sup>(c)</sup>y<sup>?</sup>-s(st) mt-k ty htp-s(st) n  
pe-s(st) m<sup>(c)</sup> n t mzy n hyq rne-s(st) ty r-s(st) s r hr-y  
n-t·t n s<sup>b</sup>(<sup>c</sup>)e·w

14. mte-s nt e-s r s r Pr-<sup>c</sup> mte-s nḥme-f r n hyq·w  
n n Ḡš·w qy<sup>?</sup>-se Hr py P-nše hn t rswe·t e ny ne  
nw-f r·r-w

15. gm-f p ḥpr e mt·t ntr ne<sup>?</sup> r-f r h mt·t nb r  
θ-w (*sic*) n-f n rswe·t (n)ḥp-f ḥrr r p m<sup>(c)</sup> nt e Pr-<sup>c</sup> n-ḡm-f  
r-f n-f s n n hyq n n sh ḥpr p hrw n mḥ II

16. st n hyq·w n Hr-p-šre-t-Nḥs r hry r Kmy n grḥ  
r p m<sup>(c)</sup> nt e Pr-<sup>c</sup> n-ḡm-f st-w r p m<sup>(c)</sup> nt e p K-wr<sup>?</sup>  
n-ḡm-f t wne·t

17. n rn-s (n)ḥp-w rḥ r-syḥ n Pr-<sup>c</sup> tb n s·w erme n  
hyq·w r·mr<sup>?</sup> n-f p ḥr-tb<sup>?</sup> Hr py P-nše ḥpr twe r  
te-f rste·t

18. s·zy Pr-<sup>c</sup> e-ḡr-ḥr p ḥr-tb<sup>?</sup> Hr py P-nše n(n) mt·t  
nb r·nwef r·r-w n grḥ(·t) n p g<sup>(c)</sup>y n(n) st r bl e·r  
n hyq·w

19. n n Ḡš·w (n)ḥp-w rḥ r-syḥ n-ḡm-f te Hr[py]  
P-nše n-w mnḥe e-f š e-f w<sup>c</sup>b e-ḡr-ḥr-f r-f w<sup>c</sup>·t mgye  
[n] sr-rt IV š-f

20. sh r·r-w te-f n-w (*sic*) tw n hbl<sup>c</sup> te-f nḥ-w ḥn-f

*mzy·t z<sup>c</sup>m* seems possible, like *šlt·t šbte*, I Kh. iv. 35.

*e·sh·y*. *e*, usually written *r*, is here rendered by a sign which stands for it especially in proper names, resembling *t<sup>2</sup>*, *n<sup>2</sup>*.

l. 13. *r·nt* (?)·s = **ΔΝΙC** : **ΔΝΙTC**, Str., § 340.

*ḥy·s*. One would expect *ḥ<sup>c</sup>e·t·s*. Cf. *ḥ sh ḥ<sup>c</sup>·t·f*, 'copy of original writing,' BR., Thes. 88a, *ḥ p<sup>2</sup> wyt*, 974, l. 9.

l. 15. *r·θ-w* for *r·zt-w*, i. e. **(Π)ΕΧΩΟΥ**. The two words *θ* and *zt* would be much alike if the former were pronounced with Sah. or Achm. **Χ**. Cf. iii. 12.

*n n hyq n n sh*: notice the separation of *hyq* and *sh*.

l. 19. Note the *f*-like det. of *sr rt*, resembling that of *wrḥ*, and not occurring in iv. 16.

l. 20. *n-w* seems simply an unetymological writing for *n-w* **ΠΔΥ** :

shrine named, there being a roll of papyrus (?) in it, which I wrote with my own hand,

13. bring it up, take its copy, and do thou cause it to repose in its place again. The book of magic is its name. It made protection for me from the impious,

14. it is what shall make protection to Pharaoh, that it may save him from the sorceries of the Ethiopians.' Hor son of Pa-neshe awoke from the dream, these things being what he had seen,

15. he found the event that it was matter (?) of god. He did according to every word that had been said to him in dream. He delayed not to the place in which Pharaoh was. He made for him amulet against sorceries in writing (?). Came the second day.

16. The sorceries of Hor the son of the Negress returned up to Egypt by night, to the place in which Pharaoh was. They returned to the place in which the Viceroy was (at) the time

17. named. They could not get power over Pharaoh because of the amulets with the sorceries that the librarian Hor son of Pa-neshe had bound (?) upon him. Came morning to his (?) morrow.

18. Pharaoh told before the librarian Hor son of Pa-neshe of everything that he had seen by night, and of the manner of returning away that the sorceries had done

19. of the Ethiopians, they not having been able to get power over him. Horus son of Pa-neshe caused them to bring wax abundant and pure unto him, he made a litter [of] four bearers, he pronounced

20. writing upon them, he gave them breath of respiration, he made them live. He commanded them

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𓂏𓂏𓂏: cf. iv. 16. B. \*𓂏𓂏𓂏, S. \*𓂏𓂏𓂏 is probably the true pronunciation of 'n-w, 'they carried.'

*szw* n-w *zt* e·r·tn š(m) *r* p t Nhs n *py* grh(·t) e·r·tn ʾn p K-wr? *r* hry

21. *r* Kmy *r* p m(°) *nt* e Pr-° n·m-f e-w mhye-t-f n(n) sh šwy? CCCCC n t mty·t mōh Pr-° e ʾr·tn st-f *r* p t Nhs °n

22. hn wne·t VI·t ebne(°) mnq *zt*-w m-šs nn e-n ty wyn mt·t fy n hyq·w n Hr *py* P-nše hr n gpwy·wt t p·t

23. (n)ōp-w hrr *r* p t Nhs n grh(·t) ʾr-w nb n p K-wr ʾn-w *szw* *r* hry *r* Kmy mhy-w *szw* n sh šwet? CCCCC n t mty·t (n)mbh Pr-°

24. st-w *szw* *r* p t Nhs hn wne·t VI·t eōne(°) mnq n-y *szy*·w S·Sʾr p *nt* ʾr n·m-w n(n) *szy* n t mty·t (n)mōh Pr-° erme ne-f

25. h·t·w e p mš° n Kmy stm *r* hrw-f e-f *zt* p hyt n ʾMn pe-k ntr hwy *r* hr-k p sʾb(°)e n(n) ʾGš n mt·wt *nt* e-y *zt* n·m-w ʾn *nt* e

26. *nt*? sh *r* *py* whe mt(t) p ʾGš e zz-f ty *r* p ʾtne *zt* °š m-s ne-k °š mt·t nb *nt* e·r·k *zt* n·m-w *nt* e (n)n sh *r* *py* whe

27. *zt* S·Sʾr e·r ny tr-w hpr e (sic) st-w p K-wr? *r* p t Nhs hn wne·t VI·t ebne(°) mnq h°-w *szw* hn pe-f m(°) qt-f twne-f *szw*

28. hr twe(·t) e-f mhye (n)m šs n sh·w *r*-te-w n-f hry n Kmy \* \* \* \* \* mhye·t·y n sh šwy? CCCCC n t mty·t mōh Pr-° n Kmy

l. 22. *gpwy·wt* БНП(Т) *nubes*. *hr* must here be 'under'?

ll. 24 et seqq.: cf. above, iv. 21 et seqq.

l. 26. *ty* ТО : ТОI, qualitative.

l. 27. *hpr* e. The e may be repeated from the final e of *цwne*.

l. 28. *ЭРАГ ЭП КНЕЕ* : *ПЭРНИ ДЕН ХНЕИ*; Str., § 573. But *hry* may here have its common meaning in reference to something already stated or described, 'as above'; this use is especially frequent in legal documents.

\* A considerable passage is omitted here, corresponding to iv. 26-v. 1, though doubtless shorter. The det. of *Kmy* seems to have been confused with *hr* (?) which should precede *mhy·t·y* as in v. 1.

saying, 'Ye shall go to the land of Nehes this night; ye shall bring the Viceroy up.

21. to Egypt, to the place in which Pharaoh is, while he is beaten with 500 blows of stick in the midst before Pharaoh, ye shall return him to the land of Nehes again

22. in six hours thither completely.' They said, 'Certainly, we will not allow a word to pass away.' The sorceries of Hor son of Pa-neshe travelled under (?) the clouds of heaven,

23. they delayed not to the land of Nehes by night. They mastered the Viceroy, they brought him up to Egypt, he was beaten with 500 blows of stick in the midst before Pharaoh.

24. They returned him to the land of Nehes in six hours, thither completely. These relations Si-Osiri it was that made them in telling in the midst before Pharaoh with his

25. nobles, the people of Egypt hearing his voice, he saying, 'The power of Amon thy god is cast upon thee, O wicked one of Ethiopia. The words that I am speaking, are they

26. what are written on this letter?' Spake the Ethiopian, his head being turned to the ground saying, 'Read after thy reading, every word that thou sayest is what is written in this letter.'

27. Said Si-Osiri, 'All these things having happened, they having brought back the Viceroy to the land of Nehes in six hours, thither completely, they put him in his place, he lay down, he arose

28. at morn, being beaten exceedingly with blows that had been given him above in Egypt.' \* \* \* \* \*  
'beat me with 500 blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh of Egypt.



29. st-w r p t Nhs 'n ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f t 'l(t) e-ṛ-ḥr n ḥ<sup>c</sup>t-w wn-w r-w n sgp ' te p K-wr? šm-w m-s Ḥr-p-šre-t-Nhs zt-f ḥr n-k 'Mn

30. p k n Mrwe pe ntr mte-k e-ṛ šm e (n)n rmt-w n Kmy my tn? r ḥr-y r nwe r p g<sup>(c)</sup>y nt e-ṛ-k [r?] 'r-f r nḥm-t-y t-t

31. Ḥr py P-nše 'r-f ne-f ḥyq-w mr?-f szw r p K-wr? r nḥt-f r n ḥyq-w n Ḥr py P-nše ḥpr p grḥ(t) n p hrw n mh II fy (n)n ḥyq-w.

32. n Ḥr py P-nše r p t Nhs 'n-w p K-wr? r ḥry r Kmy mḥye-szw n(n) šḥ šwye? CCCCC n t mty-t (n)mḥ Pr-<sup>c</sup> st-w szw r p t Nhs

33. ḥn wne-t VI-t ebne<sup>(c)</sup> mnq ḥpr py smt n p K-wr? š<sup>c</sup> ḥrw III (n)ḥp rḥ (n)n ḥyq-w n n 'Gš-w nḥme p K-wr? t-t

34. Ḥr py P-nše mkḥ p K-wr? (n)m-šs te-f 'n-w Ḥr-p-šre-t-Nhs e-ṛ ḥr-f zt-f n-f 'hw p sḥ<sup>(c)</sup>e n(n) 'Gš te-k ḥbe-y t-t

35. n rmt-w n Kmy ḥp-k rḥ nḥm-t-y r t-t-w 'nḥ 'Mn p k [n] Mrwe pe ntr ḥpr-f e nne(n)-k rḥ ty [wz?]-y r n wtn(w)-w? n n rmt-w n Kmy

l. 29. ḥr n-k 'Mn; vid. I Kh. iii. 21, note.

l. 30. šm e n n rmt-w. e must be the preposition e.

my tn? perhaps an imperative: can it be ill-written for my ḥr-k as in l. 8, a sarcastic prayer 'for goodness sake!'

r nwe, 'to see,' or for ΔΠΔΤ imperative 'see!'

nḥm-t-y ΠΔΞΡΕΤ.

l. 31. mr? r, elsewhere mr? n.

nḥt-f. Cf. ΠΔΥ† 'protector,' 'champion.' Eg. s-nḥt, 'make strong,' in Ptolemaic Eg. nḥt, 'protect,' Br., Wtb. Suppl. 694. But perhaps nt-f may be read, from Eg. nz, 'avenge,' the same group being used for nz in spelling 'Απειδορns (Ḥr-nz-yt-f), Br., Thes. 1008; cf. 862 ad inf.

l. 33. (n)ḥp rḥ. ΔΠΕ is never elsewhere followed by sdm-f. It seems nothing but a mistake; cf. l. 35. On the other hand nn e rḥ N. is a common form for the future negative in dem. contracts for this verb with nominal subject; cf. ΠΠΕΥ- with nominal subject, Sr., § 455.

l. 34. mkḥ ΔΚΔΞ 'be afflicted.'

29. They returned (me) to the land of Nehes again.' He turned the back before the princes, they opened their mouths with great lamentation. The Viceroy caused them to go after Hor the son of the Negress; said he, 'May Amon curse (?) thee

30. the bull of Meroe, my god! Thou art he that went to the men of Egypt, consider (?) for me to see the method that thou shalt do to save me from the hand

31. of Hor son of Pa-neshe.' He made his sorceries, be bound them on the Viceroy to save him from the sorceries of Hor son of Pa-neshe. Came the night of the second day, travelled the sorceries

32. of Hor son of Pa-neshe to the land of Nehes, they carried the Viceroy up to Egypt, he was beaten with 500 blows of the stick in the midst before Pharaoh, he was taken back to the land of Nehes

33. in six hours thither completely. There happened this wise to the Viceroy till three days, the sorceries of the Ethiopians were not able to save the Viceroy from the hand

34. of Hor son of Pa-neshe. The Viceroy was in anguish exceedingly, he caused Hor the son of the Negress to be brought unto him. He said to him, 'Woe thou enemy of Ethiopia, thou causedst me to be humiliated (?) by the hand of

35. the men of Egypt, thou couldst not save me from their hands. By the life of Amon the bull [of] Meroe my god, if it be that thou shalt not be able to cause me to be saved from the aerial cars of the men of Egypt,

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*hbe*: cf. vi. 1, et seqq.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'be humbled'; here the caus.  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'humiliate.' Cf. Eg. *hb*, 'catch,' 'triumph over (?)'

l. 35. *hpr-f*, &c. for  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , as in vi. 3; but in vi. 4 correctly *e-f hpr*. Here  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏𓂏}$ , &c.

*wimw*, pl., the sing. in vi. 20, 29; 'magic car,' 'aerial boat,' used of

36. e-y ty ʾr-w n-k (ʾn)mt? bn e-f r q erme?-k zt-f  
pe ʾry p K-wr? my w(ʿ)t-y r ʾry r Kmy nwe-y r p  
nt ʾr ʾyq ʾn(·t)-w

37. ʾq-y wbe-f te-y gm-f p ʾsf nt ʾr r . . . . yt? t-t-f  
w(ʿ)t-w ʾr-p-šre-t-Nʾs e-ʾt-ʾr p K-wr? e-f ʾw r p m(ʿ)  
nt e t Nʾs te-f mw·t

\* \* \* \* \*

(page VI)

1. n-ʾm-f e-ʾr-k (ʾn)nʿy r ʾry r Kmy e ʾr ʾyq ʾn-f  
ʾrʾʾ r ʾr-k erme n rmt·w n Kmy nne e-ʾr-k rʾʾ ty  
erme-w b ʾr (sic) ʾbe t-t-w mte-k tm st-k

2. r p t Nʾs r šw zt-f mn n-ʾm-w n mt·wt nt e-t zt  
n-ʾm-w nn e-y rʾʾ tm šm r ʾry r Kmy nte-y ʾwy ne  
ʾyq·w r ʾry ʾn-f

3. zt n-f t Nʾs te-f mw·t mt ʾpr-f e-ʾr-k (ʾn)nʿy r  
ʾry r Kmy ʾʿ hyn·w tb·w ʾwt-y erme-k ʾpr-f e-ʾr-k  
ʾbe e-y ʾy n-k nte-y nw(e) ʾn(ne)

the bark of the sun, moon, &c.; cf. Rh. bil. pap., No. 84; Lond. Gnost., Gloss., p. 5.

1. 36. ʾnmt (cf. vi. 28), seems to stand for 𐩦𐩣𐩀𐩆 ‘death,’ with superfluous ʾn (𐩠 or 𐩡) as in ʾnny (iii. 7 note). The following e-f shows that it cannot be nm·t (fem.) of Rh. bil. v. 1. (The equation with 𐩦𐩣𐩀𐩆 is doubtful; cf. ʾnmwt bn, Leyden Mor. xxiii. 14.)

e-f r qʿ erme-k, ‘which (death) shall be high (or long?) with thee.’ Is this a hint of hanging (cf. ‘lift up the head’ in the story of Joseph), or is it an expression for extreme severity or slow torture?

w·t is the form in II Kh. of wt in I Kh. iv. 7; so also Hist. Rom., No. 77. Here passive with the causative; cf. I Kh. iii. 6 note.

nwe-y, ʾq-y, te-y, final as in iii. 4.

ʾn·t-w: N.B. the false t after the det. of the house. It does not imply a pronunciation 𐩠𐩤𐩀𐩆𐩀, the t being written with the weak terminal sign.

1. 37. ʾq, hardly a word for ‘exercise magic’ 𐩠𐩣𐩀𐩆: perhaps to be connected with Eg. ʾq, ‘ravage,’ or ʾqʿ, ‘be ruler.’

ʾsf: Eg. ʾsf, ‘prevent,’ ‘punish,’ &c., here perhaps as Coptic 𐩠𐩤𐩀𐩆 ‘despise,’ &c. In Poème Sat. ii. 16; iii. 7, 9; iv. 9 ‘error’?

r . . . . yt, very obscure.

36. e-y ty ʾr-w n-k (ʾn)mt? bn e-f r q erme?-k zt-f  
pe ʾry p K-wr? my w(ʿ)t-y r ʾry r Kmy nwe-y r p  
nt ʾr ʾyq ʾn(·t)-w

37. ʾq-y wbe-f te-y gm-f p ʾsf nt ʾr r . . . . yt? t-t-f  
w(ʿ)t-w ʾr-p-šre-t-Nʾs e-ʾt-ʾr p K-wr? e-f ʾw r p m(ʿ)  
nt e t Nʾs te-f mw·t

\* \* \* \* \*

(page VI)

1. n-ʾm-f e-ʾr-k (ʾn)nʿy r ʾry r Kmy e ʾr ʾyq ʾn-f  
ʾrʾʾ r ʾr-k erme n rmt·w n Kmy nne e-ʾr-k rʾʾ ty  
erme-w b ʾr (sic) ʾbe t-t-w mte-k tm st-k

2. r p t Nʾs r šw zt-f mn n-ʾm-w n mt·wt nt e-t zt  
n-ʾm-w nn e-y rʾʾ tm šm r ʾry r Kmy nte-y ʾwy ne  
ʾyq·w r ʾry ʾn-f

3. zt n-f t Nʾs te-f mw·t mt ʾpr-f e-ʾr-k (ʾn)nʿy r  
ʾry r Kmy ʾʿ hyn·w tb·w ʾwt-y erme-k ʾpr-f e-ʾr-k  
ʾbe e-y ʾy n-k nte-y nw(e) ʾn(ne)

the bark of the sun, moon, &c.; cf. Rh. bil. pap., No. 84; Lond. Gnost., Gloss., p. 5.

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ʾsf: Eg. ʾsf, 'prevent,' 'punish,' &c., here perhaps as Coptic 𐩠𐩪𐩠𐩪 'despise,' &c. In Poème Sat. ii. 16; iii. 7, 9; iv. 9 'error'?

r . . . . yt, very obscure.

36. I will cause them to do to thee an evil death, which shall be high with thee.' Said he, 'My master the Viceroy, let me be sent up to Egypt that I may see him that makes sorcery in them,

37. that I may strive (?) against him, that I may cause him to find the scorn that is (?) at my heart (?) for his hand.' Hor the son of the Negress was dispatched from before the Viceroy. He came to the place in which was his mother the Negress.

\* \* \* \* \*

VI. 1. 'in it. Thou coming up to Egypt to do sorcery therein, beware for thyself with the men of Egypt. Thou wilt not be able to contend with them. Do not be caught (?) in their hands, so that thou wilt not return

2. to the land of Nehes for ever.' Said he, 'There is nought of them, the things that thou sayest. I shall not be able to avoid going up to Egypt that (?) I may cast my sorceries up into it.'

3. Said to him the Negress his mother, 'Whereas it hath happened that thou art going to Egypt, set some signs between me and thee: be it that thou failest, I will come to thee that I may see whether

\* Probably the scribe has dropped a whole section terminating like the present one with *n'm-f*.

1. 1. *te erme* † *neee* 'contend with.'

*b 'r* is possibly for *eeper*, but probably *b 'r-k* should be read, and the *-k* omitted after *st*. Cf. I Kh. iv. 12.

1. 2. *n mt-wet* in apposition to the first *n'm-w*, not the subject of *mn*.

Or 'to avoid . . . and to cast' *nnawtewye ebrai*  
*exhnei nta zi naxik ebrai*.

1. 3. *mt*, Late Eg. *m dr*, 'when,' ERM., N. A. G., § 397. Followed by *sdm-f*; cf. vii. 7 below. Here = *n'te(pe)c ywne : et(Δ)c ywpi*. The same expression in Can., l. 27 (BR., Thes. 1561).

*e-y 'y n-k*. '*y* is here in the future *eieei* as in l. 31 *nnaei*: also we have *etwaei* (l. 31) and *ecje* (l. 34), apparently attributive.

4. e-y *rh* nhm-k *zt*-f n-s(st) e-f *hpr* e-y *hbe* mte-f *hpr* p? *swr* [wm?] ef? n? mw e-w 'r 'wn n snf e-'r-hr-t n *hre-w nt* e-'r-hr-t e-w 'r 'wn ef?

5. t p·t e-s 'r 'wn n snf e-'r-hr-t 'r Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs *tb'w w*[t-f?] *erme* te-f *mw·t* fy-f *r hry r* Kmy e-f 'm? n *hyq mšty*?-f

6. m *θe* p e-'r 'Mn (*blank*) š' Mn-*nfr* š' p m(°) *nt* e Pr-° n-'m-f e-f *hnme* m-s [p?] *nt* 'r *hyq sh hn* Kmy e-[f] 'w *r p wrh mōh* Pr-°

7. mt-f e *hrw-f* q *zt* 'hw p *nt* 'r *hyq wbe-y* n p *wrh* n p m(°) *nt* e Pr-° n-'m-f e p *mš' n* Kmy *nwe* m-s-f p *sh Pr-°nh* II

8. p *sh Pr-°nh* *nt* 'r *hyq* n p K-wr? e-f 'n n-'m-f *r hry r* Kmy *wbe-y* e-f *zt* n *mt·wt* n rn-w e Hr *py* P-nše *h'* n p *wrh*

9. (n)mōh Pr-° e-f *zt* 'hw p sb(°)e n 'Gš 'n (n)n(-e) mte-k Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs 'n *r·nhme-y?* hn n *km·w* n p R° e pe-k 'r

1. 4. *mte-f* conjunctive.

*p swr-wm-ef* (?), possibly as one expression: or the *p?* may really be *e*, usually occurring with *hpr*. Or for *ef?* *n?*? read *'se?* 'instead of?' or *g't* 'kind,' as in l. 30.

'wm אַרְמֵנ, Eg. *ywm*.

*ef* at the end may perhaps stand for the suffix -f, 'its (blood) colour.'

1. 5. *w*[t-f] must be for *'wt-f* אֶרְמֵנ; cf. l. 3.

'm': cf. Eg. 'm, 'devour,' 'swallow,' common in Kufi and from the same root as 'm in ii. 6, corresponding to אֶרְמֵנ.

*mšty* (?); cf. אֶרְמֵנ 'traverse,' 'explore,' 'consider.' The *y* is perhaps falsely added from such words as *šty*, 'dig.'

1. 6. *m θe* for אֶרְמֵנ 'from,' generally written *θe* alone, also *n θe*, Br., Wtb. 1575, *m θe*, Kufi, xvi. 12; cf. O. C. Horosc. v. 23-4.— אֶרְמֵנ אֶרְמֵנ . . . . אֶרְמֵנ . . . .

*p e-'r 'Mn*. The gap following may indicate that the scribe was here in difficulties, but a similar expression for Ethiopia as the land of Amon seems to occur in iv. 2-3. Is this connected with *e-'r* of vi. 35?

*hnme* אֶרְמֵנ *olefacere*; cf. Kufi, xiv. 23.

1. 7. *nwe m-s* seems to mean no more than 'look at,' 'see,' not 'watch,' or 'look unto' in expectation, as might be conjectured; see Hist. Rom., No. 153.

1. 8. 'n *n-'m-f*: in pp. i. and ii. of dead bodies, but not of living people

4. I be able to save thee.' Said he to her, 'If it be that I am overcome (?) and it be that thou art drinking [or eating flesh (?)], the waters they shall make colour of blood before thee, the foods that are before thee they shall make colour of flesh (?),

5. the heaven it shall make colour of blood before thee.' Hor the son of the Negress set signs between (?) himself and his mother, he went up to Egypt, being crammed (?) with sorcery, he traversed

6. from that which Amon made . . . . as far as Memphis, to the place in which Pharaoh was, hunting after him who was making sorcery in Egypt. He came to the court before Pharaoh,

7. he spake, his voice being loud, saying, 'Ho thou that makest sorcery against me in the court in the place in which Pharaoh is, the people of Egypt looking at him, ye two scribes of the House of Life

8. (or) thou scribe of the House of Life, that doest sorcery unto the Viceroy, bringing him up to Egypt in spite of me.' He saying the words named, Hor son of Pa-neshe standing in the court

9. before Pharaoh, he saying, 'Ho thou enemy of Ethiopia, art thou not Hor the son of the Negress whom I saved (?) in the reeds (?) of Ra, it being that thy companion

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on the one hand, nor of things on the other. Perhaps here also it has the notion of complete power over the man, as if he were a corpse. Cf. note to i. 16.

*wbe-y*, 'in spite of me'; or rather, 'contending against me.'

1. 9. *r-nhme-y*. The det. is peculiar (cf. l. 4 and v. 9), and renders the reading somewhat doubtful. It might also be doubted whether a trilateral would have prosthetic alif even in dem.; but in Ros., l. 2, we have *r-stp Pth*, 'whom Ptah chose.'

*km-w*: cf. **𓀀𓀁𓀂** *hortus* (I Kh. v. 12), but the dets. here indicate **𓀀𓀁𓀂** 'reed'; the first sign also generally corresponds in II Kh. to K not **𓀀**.

*e pe-k 'r*. This terminates in an anacoluthon *e tetn*, &c.

10. n ᵑGš r·wn(n)e erme-k e-te-tn hrp? r p mw e te-tn wlcy r hry hr p tw n p(r) ybt n ᵑNw ᵑn ᵑp-k r hct-k n p wstne Pr-ᶜ pe-k

11. Hry e·r-k mhy hft-f n p m(ᶜ) nt e p K-wr? n-ᵑm-f e·r-k (ᵑn)w r hry r Kmy zt ᵑn(n)e wn p nt e·r hyq wbe-y ᵑh ᵑTm

12. nb ᵑNw ᵑn t-k n ntr-w n Kmy r t ᵑt(tt) r tb-k hn pe-w tš šp hcty?-k te-y ᵑw n-k t wne-t n(n) zt n mt-wt e·r Hr py P-nše

13. wšb n-f Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs zt ᵑn p nt e hr-y ty sbe-f r mt-t wnše p nt e-f r hyq wbe-y r p ᵑte n ᵑGš wᶜ sp n hyq šh

14. te-f pr t ste-t n p wrh ᶜš Pr-ᶜ erme n hct-w n Kmy sgp ᶜ e-w zt gtgte r hr-n p hr tbe? Hr py P-nše r Hr py P-nše

15. wᶜ hpe n šh te-f r t p·t wᶜ hw qmᶜ? t ry-t hry-t n t ste-t ᵑhme-s n ty hty-t r p ᵑGš ky sp n hyq šh

16. r p ᵑGš ky sp n hyq n šh te-f hpr wᶜ hsyse ᶜ hr p wrh (n)bepe rmt nw r pe-f sn pe-f r n-ᵑm-w ᶜš Hr py P-nše šh r t p·t

1. 10. *hrp*, Eg. *hrp*, 'drown,'  $\rho\omega\rho\pi$  'moisten' (cf. Hist. Rom., No. 196): we might read *hlp*.

*wlcy*, with det. of water (cf.  $\sigma\tau\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$  'be fertile,' 'abound') may be a false writing for  $\sigma\tau\omega\lambda\epsilon$  'put to flight,' 'cast down.'

r *hct-k*, S.  $\rho\zeta\eta\tau$  'be sorry for,' also 'attend to,' PEYRON, 366.

*wstne*. Cf. Lond. Gnost. i. 4, 7, hardly  $\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ , Eg. *wstn*, 'widen,' 'be free in movement.'

1. 12 *nt-k r t ᵑt*, from the analogy of the use in ll. 23, 27, probably means 'put thee on the back,' i.e. 'rendered thee helpless': or is it 'brought thee back'?

šp *hcty-k*: cf. šp *hct*, 'entertain,' I Kh. iii. 6, note.

1. 13. *hr-y* for  $\rho\omega$  (?)

*ty sbe-f*  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\epsilon\upsilon$ .

*wnš*  $\sigma\tau\omega\pi\alpha\upsilon$ , Eg. *wnš*, 'jackal.'

*sp*, Eg. *sp*, 'time,' in the sense of *fois*. Often 'effort,' 'display,' 'feat.'



10. of Ethiopia that was with thee, ye being drowned (?) in the water, ye being cast (?) down from (?) upon the hill on the east of On? Didst thou not repent of the freeing (?) of Pharaoh thy

11. sovereign, thou causing his hinder parts to be beaten in the place where the Viceroy was, thou coming up to Egypt saying, "Is there he that doeth sorcery against me? By the life of Atum,

12. lord of On, the gods of Egypt have brought thee on the back (?) to requite thee in their country." Entertain thyself (?), I have come unto thee.' The time of saying the words that Hor son of Pa-neshe did,

13. Hor the son of the Negress answered him saying, 'Is it he to whom I taught jackal-language (?) that doeth sorcery against me?' The man of Ethiopia made an effort of magic written,

14. he caused the fire to come out in the court. Pharaoh with the princes of Egypt uttered a great cry, saying, 'Hasten to us, thou librarian Hor son of Pa-neshe.' Hor son of Pa-neshe made

15. a formula of writing, he caused the sky to make a southern rain the upper side of the flame. It was extinguished on that instant: The Ethiopian made another effort of magic in writing.

16. \*The Ethiopian made another effort of magic in writing\*, he created a great covering (?) upon the court, not a man saw his brother or his companion of them. Hor son of Pa-neshe read a writing to the sky,

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l. 15. *hw 2wot*.

*qm<sup>c</sup>*, apparently Eg. *qm<sup>c</sup>*, 'south,' with det. of water for the whole expression.

*'hm wꜣꜣꜣ* 'quench.'

l. 16. *hyq n sh*, 'of magic and? of writing.' Cf. v. 15.

*ty hpr xpō : xpō*.

*hsyse*: cf. I Kh. vi. 19.

17. te-f lk-s e-s zme n p tw bn r·wn-ne e-s n·m-f  
 ṛ Hr p-šre-t-Nhs ky sp n hyq sh te-f hpr w<sup>c</sup> qpe <sup>c</sup> n  
 ny e-f ṛ

18. mh CC n qy hr he mh L n wsh·t n t ry·t hry·t  
 n Pr<sup>c</sup> erme ne-f h<sup>c</sup>t·w e-f w r ty ṛ Kmy ṛ bl n Stn  
 p t n wš Hry

19. gšp Pr<sup>c</sup> r t p·t nw-f r p kpe n ny n te-f ry·t  
 hry·t wne-f r-f n sgp <sup>c</sup> erme p mš<sup>c</sup> r·wn-ne n p  
 wrh <sup>c</sup>s

20. Hr-s-P-nše w<sup>c</sup> hpe n sh te-f hpr w<sup>c</sup> wtne n zwf  
 te-f fy-f hr p qpe n ny e·r-f hr? erme-f r hr Šy-wr  
 p mw <sup>c</sup> n

21. Kmy rh se p te n Ḡš zt nn(e) e-f rh ty erme  
 p Ḡš (*sic, erased*) ṛ-r-f w<sup>c</sup> sp n hyq sh r tm ty nw-f  
 r-r-f n p wrh hr p g(<sup>c</sup>y)

22. n ty šm-f r p t Nhs pe-f tmy <sup>c</sup>s Hr py P-nše  
 sh r-r-f te-f glp n hyq·w n p Ḡš te-f nw Pr<sup>c</sup> r-r-f  
 erme p mš<sup>c</sup> n

23. Kmy r·wn(n)e h<sup>c</sup> n p wrh e-f smt n w<sup>c</sup> hp?

l. 17. te-f lk-s ΔϞΤΔΛΒΟϞ.

zme, cf. ΧΔΔΔΗ, Τ *tranquillitas maris, serenitas coeli*: also Kufi,

xi. 17.

qpe (masc.): cf. ΚΗΠΕ, Τ 'vault,' 'roof.'

ny, Eg. ynr ωΠΕ.

e-f ṛ mh CC; as in Coptic with ep.

l. 18. qy. So also in Late Eg. q<sup>r</sup> is used of length.

hr he. Is this to be taken closely with qy 'on (its) body,' i. e. 'horizontally.'

e-f w r. See I Kh. v. 30, note.

εΤρε R. ρβολ.

ṛ bl. ρβολ, ρπβολ is commonly *fugere*, but TATTAM, p. 59, gives ΔΠρ πετεπβολ *ἀποφανισθέντες ἀφ' ἑμῶν*. bl is not quite in its usual form, the vertical line being omitted, probably because of the neighbourhood of vertical lines from l. 17.

p t. Is this a description of Egypt, 'the land without a superior'? t unqualified seems generally to have the sense of ΤΟ:ΘΟ *orbis terrarum*, and we may perhaps render 'and the world to be without a sovereign.'

17. he caused it to cease, it being clear from the evil wind in which it was. Hor the son of the Negress made another effort of written magic, he caused to become a great vault of stone, it making

18. 200 cubits in length by (?) 50 cubits of width, above Pharaoh with his princes, it being about to cause Egypt to be without a king, the world (?) deficient of a sovereign.

19. Pharaoh looked at the sky, he saw the vault of stone above him, he opened his mouth with a great cry, together with the people that were in the court. Pronounced

20. Hor son of Pa-neshe a formula of writing, he caused to become an air-boat of papyrus, he caused it to proceed with the vault of stone. Behold! it flew with it forward to the Mighty Pool, the great water of

21. Egypt. The man of Ethiopia knew it, that he was not able to contend with [the Ethiopian, *sic*], he made an effort of magic in writing to prevent his seeing him in the court, with the intent

22. of causing himself to go to the land of Nehes his city (*sic*). Hor son of Pa-neshe pronounced a writing at him, he caused the sorceries of the Ethiopian to be revealed, he caused Pharaoh to see him, with the people of

23. Egypt that were standing in the court, he being

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l. 20. *zwf*, late hieroglyphic *θzwf*, S.  $\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\chi$ .

*fy hr*: cf. S.  $\epsilon\chi$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$  'carry.'

*hr* (?): cf. Eg. *hr*  $\epsilon\chi\omega\lambda$  'fly.'

*r hr* must be the origin of  $\epsilon\chi\rho\epsilon\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\rho\epsilon$ : 'to meet,' 'against,' but with a slightly different meaning, lit. 'to the face of the Great Pool.'

l. 21. The faulty  $\rho$  'G' is erased.

l. 22. *tmy*  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$  'city,' here and in l. 32 replaces  $\epsilon\chi$ , 'nome,' 'province' of ii. 31.

l. 23. *e-f smt* suggests that *smt* is an adj. or a verb in the qual.; but the phrase may mean *n p smt n*.

*hp* (?). For this group in dem. (*Hp* 'Apis') see BR., Wtb. 951. If

*byn* e-f (ʔn)nʿy r *šm*-f (*sic*) n-f ʿš Hr py P-nše šh r-r-f  
te-f qty t ʔt(t) e·wn

24. wʿ grg ʿhʿ n te-f ry·t hry·t e te-f sfy·t tks·t t-t-f  
e-f (ʔn)nʿy e ʔr n-f btw e ʔr ny tr-w hpr e n tbʿw  
r·hʿ Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs

25. ʔwt-f erme te-f mw·t hpr-w e-ʔr-hr-s tr(t)-w (n)bp-  
s(st) hrr r hry r Kmy e-s n hrb t sre ʿhʿ-s(st) t ry·t  
hry·t n pr Pr-ʿ e-s ʿnʿn?

26. n hrw-s wbe pe-s šre e-f n hrb n hp? bn e p  
grge ʿhʿ n te-f ry·t hry·t gšp Hr py P-nše r t p·t nw-f  
r t Nhs

27. n p smt nt e-s n-ʔm-f r h-f s zt t Nhs t ʔGš·t ty  
ʿš-f šh r-r-s(st) te-f qty n-s(st) t w·t(et) (*sic*) e·wn wʿ  
grge ʿhʿ n te-s ry·t hry·t

28. e te-f sfy (ʔn)w r ty n-f (*sic*) (ʔn)mt? rgy-s? n p  
hrb nt e-s n-ʔm-f ʔr-s(st) pe-s smt n wʿt s-hm·t ʔGš·t e-s  
šll zt n . . . . . r hr-n Hr py P-nše

29. hʿ n-n py sp n lwh r bl e-f hpr e te-k n-n wtn  
nn e-n st-n r Kmy ʿn sp-sn ʔr Hr py P-nše ʿnh n  
Pr-ʿ erme (n)n ntr·w

the reading is correct we have here the bird *hp*, i. e. the Egyptian goose: possibly *byn*, 'the evil,' is to distinguish it from the Apis bull which bore nearly the same name.

*e-f ʔn-nʿy* r **ΕΥΠΟΥΙ Ε.**

*r šm-f n-f*: cf. i. 6, note. Perhaps to be corrected to *r šm n-f*.

l. 24. *grg* **ΣΕΡΗΣ: ΧΕΡΗΧ** *venator*. In Eg. *grg* is used of 'laying' a net, MAX MÜLLER, *Liebespoesie*, ix. 2 (Pap. Harris, 500).

*sfy* **CHQE, T** 'sword,' 'knife,' Eg. *sf·t*.

*tks* **TWKC** 'pierce,' here perhaps adj. 'sharp.'

*t-t-f* is probably **NTOOTCY** 'in his hand.'

*e n tbʿw . . . . hpr-w*: anacoluthon.

l. 25. *tr-t-w*. The meaningless *t* belongs to the det.

*t sre*, cf. the gloss *sre·t* **ΧΗΗΗ** . . . (HESS, Lond. Gnost. Gloss., p. 13), must be the female *hp*; cf. BR., *Wtb. Suppl.* 1082, but distinct from *sr*, masc., 'widgeon (?).'

*ʿnʿn* (?), *šnšn* (?): cf. *Hist. Rom.*, No. 44.

(in the) form of, a bad fox-gander, it going to depart. Hor son of Pa-neshe pronounced a writing at him, he caused (him) to turn the back, there being

24. a fowler standing over him, his knife piercing in his hand, he going to do to it abomination. All these things having happened, the signs which Hor the son of the Negress had set

25. between himself and his mother—they happening before her, all; she delayed not going up to Egypt, she being in the form of the fox-goose, she stood over the palace of Pharaoh, she wailing (?)

26. with her voice unto her son, he being in the form of an evil fox-gander, the fowler standing over him. Hor son of Pa-neshe looked at the sky, he saw the Negress

27. in the guise in which she was, he knew her that it was the Negress the Ethiopian. He pronounced a writing to her, he caused the back to be turned for her, there being a fowler standing over her,

28. his knife being about to do to her death. She changed from the form in which she was, she made her guise as an Ethiopian woman, she praying, saying, 'Do not make end (?) to us, Hor son of Pa-neshe

29. let go for us this occasion of failure (?). If it be that thou shalt have given us an aerial boat, we will not return to Egypt again, again.' Horus son of Pa-neshe made an oath by Pharaoh with the gods

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1. 27. N.B.—*n-s(st)* does not occur in the parallel l. 23. See vii. 4 for a different meaning of *te-f qly n-f*.

1. 28. *ty n-f* should probably be *ty n-s(st)*.

*rgy* (no det.) apparently **PIKE** 'incline,' with reflex. suffixes 'be converted.'

*n . . . .*, possibly (*n*)*m-r* . . . .; hardly **ΠΔ : ΠΔΙ** 'pity,' constructed with **Π** or **ΔΔ**.

1. 29. Cf. **ΚΩ ΕΔΟΛ**. Apparently the same expression with *sp n lwz* in Kufi, xiii. 17.

30. n Kmy (n)bp-y (*sic*) zt nn e-y . . . . . pe sp n  
hyq sh e bp-tn 'r ny 'nh' r tm st r hry r Kmy n  
ge-t? sp fy t Nhs t-t-s(st)

31. r tm 'y r hry r Kmy r nh' z-t 'r Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs  
'nh' zt nn e-y 'y r hry r Kmy š' rnp-t MCCCCC st  
Hr py P-nše

32. t-t-f n pe-f sp n sh te-f wtn n Hr-p-šre-t-Nhs  
er-me t Nhs te-f mw-t fy-w r p t Nhs pe-w tmy ny  
s-zy S-S'r

33. p nt 'r n'm-w mōh Pr-<sup>c</sup> e p mš<sup>c</sup> n Kmy stm  
r hrw-f e Stme pe-f yt nw r mt-t nō e zz p 'te n 'Gš  
ty r p 'tne

34. e-f zt 'nh' hr-k pe nb ' py nt e-r-hr-k Hr-p-šre-t-  
Nhs py py nt e-y s-zy n ne-f mt-wt nt e n pe-f (*sic*)  
'r h't-f n n e-r-f t h't e-f 'y r hry r

35. Kmy hr zz n rnp-t MCCCCC r hwy n hyq hn-f  
'nh' 'S'r ntr ' nb 'Mnt nt e-y htp e-r n-f 'nwk(y)  
Hr py P-nše py nt e-y 'h<sup>c</sup>

l. 30. There seems to be considerable confusion. (n)bp-y seems quite wrong, and probably ought to be omitted; the addition above the line is almost illegible, but may read as indicated.

e bp-in 'r. A good instance of ΕΛΛΠΕ, St., § 435 ad fin.

ge-t?. The word looks much like the group *ge* treated by MAX MÜLLER, Rec. de Trav. xiii. 149 et seqq.; cf. ΠΚΕΟΠ *iterum*. It also resembles dem. 's-t ΔCOY, T. It occurs again below vii. 7, perhaps also vi. 4.

fy t-t: of oath in Leyd. Mor. xxxi. 2; cf. Hist. Rom., No. 102, but not there in connexion with an oath.

l. 32. fy-w. Note the curious spelling of *w*.

l. 34. py emphatic demonstrative ΠΔΙ:ΦΔΙ, written with the sign for ΠΔ- (above v. 10) with repeated *y*, and not with the ordinary demonstrative sign, probably to mark its emphasis before the relative *nt*.

nt e n pe-f 'r h't-f. Unetymological for ΕΤΑΛΠΠΡΩΝΤΥ!

l. 35. hr zz n. There seems no such use of ΔΙΧΕΝ in Coptic,

30. of Egypt, saying, 'I will not [let go?] my effort of sorcery, until ye have made to me oath not to return up to Egypt for any kind (?) of purpose (?).' The Negress raised her hand

31. not to come up to Egypt for ever eternally. Hor the son of the Negress made oath, saying, 'I will not come up to Egypt until 1500 years.' Hor son of Pa-neshe withdrew

32. his hand from his feat of writing, he gave an aerial boat to Hor the son of the Negress with the Negress his mother. They proceeded to the land of Nehes, their city. These relations Si-Osiri (was)

33. he that made them before Pharaoh, the people of Egypt hearing his voice, Setme his father seeing everything, the head of the man of Ethiopia being turned to the ground

34. he (Si-Osiri) saying, 'By the life of thy face, my great lord, this man that standeth before thee is Hor the son of the Negress, this man whose words I am relating, who hath not repented of those things that he did before, he coming up to

35. Egypt at the end of 1500 years to cast the sorceries therein. By the life of Osiris, great god lord of Amenti before (?) whom I rest (?), I am Hor son of Pa-neshe, this man, who stand

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but  $\Sigma\omega$ : is used in the sense 'of end' (place not time), St., p. 98.

$e^{\prime}r n-f$ , a prepositional phrase. Before a noun usually  $e^{\prime}r$ ; cf. also the phrase  $e^{\prime}r hr$ . It is employed especially in religious expressions, and so corresponds in some degree to ceremonial  $hr$  in Eg. 'In the realm of' is often a good rendering, as in  $e^{\prime}r n?$  'S'r, Pamonth iii. 24: cf. II Kh. vi. 6; see also Pamonth ii. 26; iii. 3, 6; Ros., I. 1  $e^{\prime}r n^{\prime}$   $ntr-w$  'towards the gods.'

36. *mḥ* Pr-<sup>c</sup> *gm-s(st)* *py* ṛ-y *hn* ṾMnt *zṯ* p s<sup>(ḳ)</sup>b<sup>(c)</sup> n  
 ṾGš *r* *ḥwy* ne-f *ḥyq.w* *hn-f* e mn *sh* *nfr* *rmt* *rḥ* *hn*  
*Kmy* n p wš e-f *r* *rḥ* ty

(page VII)

1. *erme-f* *tbḥ-y* *mḥ* ṾSṛ *hn* ṾMnt *r* ty *pr-y* *r* p t  
 n *wḥm* r tm ty *ḫ-f* p *zlh* n *Kmy* *r* p t *Nḥs* *hn-w* se  
*mḥ* ṾSṛ

2. *r* ty Ṿw-y *r* p t *nhs-y* *ḥr-y* *r?* *swḥy* *zz* *r* *gm*  
*Stme* p šre n Pr-<sup>c</sup> *ḥr* t *ḥse-t* n ṾNw t *ḥse-t* n Mn-*nfr*  
 e-y rt n ty

3. b<sup>(c)</sup>e n šw *ḥr* p g<sup>(c)</sup>y n st *r* t ḥ<sup>(c)</sup>e-t n *wḥm* *nte*  
*ms-t* *r* p t e Ṿr *ḥyq* *wbe* *py* s<sup>(ḳ)</sup>b<sup>(c)</sup>e n ṾGš *nt* ḫ<sup>c</sup> n  
 p wrḥ

4. Ṿr *Hr* *py* P-nše w<sup>c</sup> sp n *ḥyq* *sh?* e-f n p *smt*  
 [n?] S-ṾSṛ *r* p Ṿte n ṾGš *te-f* *qty* n-f t *sty* *wš-f* se n t  
*nty-t* n p wrḥ

5. e Pr-<sup>c</sup> *nwe* *r-r-f* *erme* n *ḥt.w* *erme* p mš<sup>c</sup> n *Kmy*  
*sny* S-ṾSṛ n *ḥybe* *r* bl *ḥr* t-t Pr-<sup>c</sup> *erme* *Stme* *pe-f*  
 yt (n)ḳp-w

6. *nwe* *r-r-f* Ṿr Pr-<sup>c</sup> (n)myh n p t *erme* ne-f *rmt-ty*

1. 36. *gm st*; perhaps imperative, 'learn this that I have done.'

*Ṿr-y*. Can this be past passive part. 'this that was done'?

*p' sb'e . . . r ḥwy*; a future nominal sentence, very unusual, probably some word or phrase is omitted.

n p wš: cf. S.  $\text{ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲟⲈⲓⲨ}$  'then,'  $\text{ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲟⲈⲓⲨ}$  *olim*, Can., l. 39, n wš nb =  $\text{ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲈⲓⲨ}$   $\text{ⲡⲓⲉⲉ}$ .

1. 1. *hn ṾMnt*. N.B.—Not *Hnt ṾMnt*, the title of Osiris.

n *wḥm* (or *wḥm?*, as *SETHE* in *Verbum*, passim), S.  $\text{ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲉⲉ}$  *iterum*. Eg. m *wḥm*, Merenptah Stela, l. 25 (*PETRIE*, *Six Temples*, Pls. xiii, xiv). Cf. Br., Wtb. 769 for the dem. group.

1. 2. *ḥr*, perhaps for  $\text{ⲉⲱⲗ}$ .

*swḥy* *zz*: cf.  $\text{ⲧⲐⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓ}$   $\text{ⲡⲕⲱ}$  'crown (lit. egg) of head'; so apparently an expression like  $\text{ⲈⲧⲡⲈ}$ , in I Kh. iv. 33, 'I flew right up'?

1. 3. *nte* probably for *nte-w*,  $\text{ⲡⲐⲈ}$ :  $\text{ⲡⲧⲟⲩ}$   $\text{ⲉⲉⲁⲐⲧ}$ : conjunctive.



36. before Pharaoh, found this, that which I did (find) in Amenti, that the wicked one of Ethiopia would fling his sorceries up into it (*siz*), there not being a good scribe or learned man in Egypt at the time, that would be able to contend

VII. 1. with him. I prayed before Osiris in Amenti to let me come forth to the world again, to prevent his taking the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nehes. It was commanded before Osiris

2. to bring me out into the world. I awoke, I flew to the crown of the head to find Setme the son of Pharaoh upon the *gebel* of On (or) the *gebel* of Memphis, I growing as this

3. vine of melon with the intent of returning to the body again, that I might be born to the world to make sorcery against this enemy of Ethiopia that stands in the court.'

4. Hor son of Pa-neshe made an effort of written magic, he being in the shape of Si-Osiri, against the man of Ethiopia. He caused the fire to surround him, it consumed him in the midst of the court

5. Pharaoh seeing him with the nobles with the people of Egypt. Si-Osiri passed away as (?) shade out from the hand of Pharaoh and Setme his father, not did they

6. see him. Pharaoh made wonder of the world with his great men at the things they saw upon the court,

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1. 4. ΔΥΤΑΚΤΟ ΠΔΥ (*circumdedit ei*) ΤΣΔΤΕ; cf. vi. 27, where the meaning is different.

*wš-f.* Note the misplaced suffix. S. ΟΥΩΥΕ 'consume by fire.'

1. 5. *sny* CINE *praetergredi*.

ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΕΝ.

n n mt.wt r-nwe-w r-r-w hr p wrh e-w zt mn sh nfr  
rmt rh m-qty

7. Hr py P-nše nn e ty? gt-t(?) hpr m-s-f 'n sp-sn  
wn Stme r-f n sgp 'nty (sic) sny S-S'r n hybe e bp-f  
nwe r-r-f.

8. tw n se Pr-<sup>c</sup> hr p wrh e-f n p sšme n h<sup>t</sup> n ne?  
e nwe-w r-r-w hn-s? Pr-<sup>c</sup> r ty 'r-w p sbt hr t h<sup>c</sup>-t n  
Stme r šp h<sup>c</sup>-f tb

9. S-S'r pe-f šre r s-hpr h<sup>t</sup>-f hpr rhwe šm Stme  
[r n]e-f 'y-w e h<sup>t</sup>-f thr (n)m šs qt-(t) n-f (sic) Mh-wsh-t  
r twe-f

10. šp-s(st) hn w<sup>c</sup> mw n 'wr t-t-f n p grh-(t) n rn-f  
(n)bp-s 'sk ms-s w<sup>c</sup> hm-hl 'hwt te (sic) rn-f r Wsy-  
Mnt-Hr?

11. hpr-f e b 'r Stme 'r wš n n e-'r glyl wtne mbh  
[p] šy' n Hr py P-nše n nw nb p maq n py  
z<sup>c</sup>m py sh

l. 7. ty? written as  $\overline{\tau\epsilon}$ , not  $\overline{\tau\Delta\iota}$ , is written in this papyrus. It looks like  $\overline{\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau}$ .

$\overline{\pi\tau\epsilon}$ (pe) C. cine; cf. vi. 3, note.

l. 8. sšme, S.  $\omega\psi\epsilon\epsilon$ , qual.  $\omega\psi\sigma\epsilon\epsilon$ . It has the det. of deity, being connected with the name of the god, Eg. Šsm, in dem. Šsm (Rh. bil. pap., No. 250).

l. 9. gt-t n-f M. Probably a mistake for n-s; cf. vi. 28 for the same mistake.

l. 10. 'sk  $\omega\kappa\kappa$  'delay,' 'fail': so also Küf, xi. 17; BR., Wtb. 218, Eg. *ysq*.

*te*, passive, or rather for *te-w*.

they saying, 'There is not a good scribe and learned man like

7. Hor the son of Pa-neshe, there will not become this sort after (?) him again, again.' Setme opened his mouth with great clamour, whereas Si-Osiri had passed away as a shade, he not having seen him.

8. Pharaoh arose (from) upon the court, he being in the anger of heart at these things that he had seen. Pharaoh commanded to cause the preparation to be made before Setme to lodge him because of

9. Si-Osiri his son, to refresh his heart. Came evening, Setme went to his apartments, his heart being sad exceedingly. Meh-wesekht lay at his side.

10. She conceived in a liquid of conception from him in the night named. She did not delay, she bore a male child, his name was given as Wesy-Ment-Hor (?)

11. It came to pass that Setme did not make intermission of those that make offerings and libations before the genius of Hor son of Pa-neshe at every occasion.

This is the end of this book, written . . . . .

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1. 11.  $\bar{p}o\tau\omega\gamma$ .

One would expect simply 'r *gyl*, 'of making offering,' and perhaps this is intended.

*šy*. This corresponds to Eg. *š* in Rh. bil. pap., No. 391 (xx. 10).

*nwe*, 'appointed time (?)': cf. I Kh. i. 2,  $\mathbf{n\Delta\tau}$ .

*šh*. Perhaps a passive participle: the name of the scribe should follow.

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