

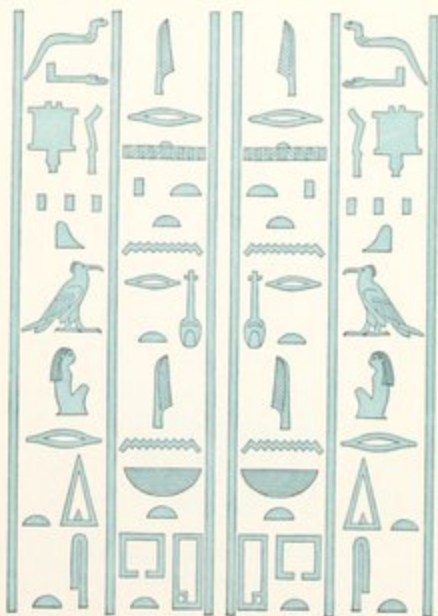


A. H. GARDINER

The Admonitions
of an Egyptian Sage



GEORG OLMS HILDESHEIM



A. H. Gardiner · The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage

The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage

From a

Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden

(By James de Meuse)

ALAN H. GARDINER



1947

GEORGE DINE VELLAS
HILDESBACH

The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage

from a

Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden

(Pap. Leiden 344 recto)

by

ALAN H. GARDINER

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1969

GEORG OLMS VERLAG
HILDESHEIM

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THE
ADMONITIONS OF AN EGYPTIAN SAGE

FROM A
HIERATIC PAPYRUS IN LEIDEN

(PAP. LEIDEN 344 RECTO)

BY

ALAN H. GARDINER M. A.

LAYCOCK STUDENT OF EGYPTOLOGY AT WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH 18 PLATES IN AUTOGRAPHY AND 1 IN COLLOTYPE



LEIPZIG
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PREFACE

TO

H. O. LANGE

IN

GRATITUDE AND FRIENDSHIP

PREFACE.

More than five years have elapsed since Dr. H. O. Lange communicated to the Berlin Academy of Sciences a short but very remarkable paper on the literary text that occupies the recto of the hieratic papyrus 344 of Leiden. The existence of this text had long been known to scholars, but its linguistic difficulties and damaged condition had deterred all but a few from making it the object of their studies. Its contents were generally agreed to be of didactic nature, but no more definite conclusion than this had been reached when Dr. Lange made the startling announcement that the papyrus contained the prophetic utterances of an Egyptian seer. This statement was based upon a long and painstaking investigation of the papyrus, and was accompanied by a careful analysis of the whole and by excellent translations of many passages. The interest aroused by Dr. Lange's paper was considerable, and the complete edition of the text which was promised has been expectantly awaited. It must here be explained why the publication has been so long delayed, and how it has come about that the book now appears with the name of the present writer, and not that of Dr. Lange, on its title-page.

In the spring of 1905 I made a prolonged stay in Leiden in order to collate, for the purposes of the Berlin Dictionary, the numerous and valuable hieratic papyri preserved in the Museum of Antiquities there. Being unwilling to let slip so good an opportunity of studying the most interesting text in the entire collection, I applied to Dr. Lange for leave to compare his transcription of Pap. Leiden 344 with the original, and to utilize the results for the Dictionary; such additional readings as I might obtain would, I thought, also be of service to him in the preparation of his edition. To this proposal Dr. Lange willingly consented, and explaining that his official duties as Chief Librarian of the Royal Library at Copenhagen had prevented him from making the desired progress with his book, further suggested that I should join him as a collaborator. After some hesitation I accepted this attractive offer, and subsequently devoted much time to the study of the text. New collations of the papyrus which I undertook in 1906 and 1907 added a number of improved or fresh readings. In the summer of 1906 I had the good fortune to be able to read through the entire text with Dr. Lange in Copenhagen. Meanwhile I had come to the conclusion that certain modifications were required in the interpretation of the composition as a whole, and many details had become clearer to me. In May 1907 I prepared the autographic plates, and in October of the same year I started upon the writing of the Commentary, a preliminary sketch of which I was able to submit to Dr. Lange before the beginning of December. My three visits to Leiden had afforded me quite exceptional opportunities of establishing an accurate text, and my access to the materials of the Berlin Dictionary had proved of inestimable value to me in the compilation of the Commentary. In addition to

these advantages I had enjoyed almost unlimited leisure. Dr. Lange, on the other hand, had in the meantime been impeded not only by his heavy official duties, but also, I regret to say, by ill-health. In returning my manuscript in March 1908, he wrote that he now felt that my share of the work had become so great as compared with his, that he was unwilling to take to himself the credit of the joint-authorship. Since Dr. Lange declared his decision to be irrevocable, I was very reluctantly compelled to assent to the loss of the fellow-worker who thus so generously abandoned his prior claims in my favour. One need only consult the Commentary to see how many valuable observations are due to him; and his own article stands as a permanent record of his great merits in connection with the decipherment of the text. Since Dr. Lange will not allow his name to be placed upon the title-page, I gladly welcome the very pleasant alternative of being able to inscribe it in the dedication of this work.

To Professor Holwerda and Dr. Boeser I am deeply indebted for the liberal facilities of study afforded to me during my visits to the Leiden Museum. I am under still greater obligations to Professor Sethe, who not only read through the whole of my manuscript and furnished me with many useful suggestions and criticisms, but also devoted some hours of his valuable time to discussing with me various points that still remained obscure. Not a few passages of which I could make nothing have also defied the learning and acumen of Professor Sethe: in such cases I have had the consolation of reflecting that I had sought aid where, if anywhere, it was to be found.

Half of the book was already in type when I became acquainted with the London writing-board no. 5645. The texts upon this board proved to be of such interest in connection with the Leiden Papyrus that I at once decided, subject to the courteous consent of my publishers, to print them in an Appendix to my work. The indications afforded by this new document have led me to take up a much more definite position with regard to the date of the composition of the Leiden Admonitions, and I must beg my readers not to overlook the concluding remarks on this subject at the end of the Appendix.

The Leiden papyrus is too dark in colour to make a complete photographic reproduction desirable. It is my firm conviction that, in the case of defective and worn documents such as this, no mechanical reproduction can render a study of the original superfluous; and I considered it better to induce the student who wishes to check the transcription to have recourse to the actual document than to offer him an inadequate means of control that would greatly have increased the price of the work. I have therefore contented myself with giving, as frontispiece, a photograph of the most legible page. The hieratic signs drawn in the footnotes to the autographic plates do not claim to be more than approximately accurate. The appearance of Dr. Lange's name beside my own on the frontispiece and on the autographic plates is due to circumstances above explained, and will doubtless meet with the indulgence of my readers.

INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. The papyrus, its history, dimensions, palaeography and age.

The papyrus 344 of Leiden, like all the hieratic manuscripts of the same collection with the single exception of no. 346, was formerly in the possession of Anastasi, and was purchased for the Leiden Museum at the sale of his antiquities in 1828. According to indications furnished by Anastasi, it was discovered at Memphis, by which Sakkara is doubtless meant. In its present imperfect condition the papyrus measures 378 centimeters in length; its height is 18 cm. It is now mounted in book-form, the pages being folded over upon one another so that the written surfaces touch; however being protected by a layer of vegetable paper as well as by a coating of varnish, the text is in no danger of injury. At the same time there can be little doubt that the mode of treatment which now serves to protect the papyrus has, in the past, damaged it to a very considerable extent. The colour has become very dark, especially near the edges of the lacunae that are so abundant in the latter part of the recto; here the traces of the ink can often be discerned only with the utmost difficulty.

Both sides of the papyrus are fully inscribed from beginning to end. The recto, i. e. the side upon which the horizontal fibres lie uppermost, consists of seventeen complete and incomplete pages of writing, and contains the literary text with which this volume deals. Each page had fourteen lines of writing, so far as we are able to judge, with the exception of pages 10 and 11, which had only thirteen lines apiece. Of the first page only the last third of eleven lines remains. Pages two to seven are comparatively free from lacunae, but in many places the text has been badly rubbed. A large lacuna occurs to the left of page eight, and from here onwards the middle part of each page is entirely or for the greater part destroyed. The seventeenth page was probably the last; at the top are the beginnings of two lines in the small writing typical of the recto; near the bottom may be seen traces of some lines in a larger hand apparently identical with that of the verso.

The verso contains hymns to a solar divinity, of which a transcription and translation have been published by A. Massy¹. Here the writing is bigger and more regular than that of the recto, and is probably to be attributed, in agreement with Dr. Lange, to the 19th. or 20th. dynasties.

The scribe of the recto wrote a somewhat small and crabbed literary hand, perhaps consciously archaistic in character. The blackness of the writing and the closeness of the lines give

¹) *Le Papyrus de Leyde I, 344 (verso) transcrit et traduit par A. MASSY*. Gand, Fr. Waem-Lienders and Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1886. Gardiner.

INTRODUCTION.

1. The papyrus, its history, dimensions, palaeography and age.




























The papyrus 344 of Leiden, like all the hieratic manuscripts of the same collection with the single exception of no. 346, was formerly in the possession of Anastasi, and was purchased for the Leiden Museum at the sale of his antiquities in 1828. According to indications furnished by Anastasi, it was discovered at Memphis, by which Sakkara is doubtless meant. In its present imperfect condition the papyrus measures 378 centimeters in length; its height is 18 cm. It is now mounted in book-form, the pages being folded over upon one another so that the written surfaces touch; however being protected by a layer of vegetable paper as well as by a coating of varnish, the text is in no danger of injury. At the same time there can be little doubt that the mode of treatment which now serves to protect the papyrus has, in the past, damaged it to a very considerable extent. The colour has become very dark, especially near the edges of the lacunae that are so abundant in the latter part of the recto; here the traces of the ink can often be discerned only with the utmost difficulty.

Both sides of the papyrus are fully inscribed from beginning to end. The recto, i. e. the side upon which the horizontal fibres lie uppermost, consists of seventeen complete and incomplete pages of writing, and contains the literary text with which this volume deals. Each page had fourteen lines of writing, so far as we are able to judge, with the exception of pages 10 and 11, which had only thirteen lines apiece. Of the first page only the last third of eleven lines remains. Pages two to seven are comparatively free from lacunae, but in many places the text has been badly rubbed. A large lacuna occurs to the left of page eight, and from here onwards the middle part of each page is entirely or for the greater part destroyed. The seventeenth page was probably the last; at the top are the beginnings of two lines in the small writing typical of the recto; near the bottom may be seen traces of some lines in a larger hand apparently identical with that of the verso.

The verso contains hymns to a solar divinity, of which a transcription and translation have been published by A. Massy¹. Here the writing is bigger and more regular than that of the recto, and is probably to be attributed, in agreement with Dr. Lange, to the 19th. or 20th. dynasties.





The scribe of the recto wrote a somewhat small and crabbed literary hand, perhaps consciously archaistic in character. The blackness of the writing and the closeness of the lines give







¹) *Le Papyrus de Leyde* I, 344 (verso) transcrit et traduit par A. MASSY. Gand, Fr. Waem-Lieoeders and Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1886.

a certain appearance of neatness to the pages, but the shapes of the individual signs are very irregular and often grossly careless. The only instance of a cursive form that I have observed is in the writing of  like  in *hm* (e. g. 14, 1, 3) and in *wnm(w)* 8, 5, though simple ligatures of course abound. In the forms of certain signs ( 2, 11; contrast  7, 1, 12, 2; the full form of  det. of *kt* 3, 11;  as det. of *krs* 2, 6) the scribe is visibly influenced by the hieroglyphs. For the vertical determinative of the plural he knows only the form ; the feather *šw*  he writes without the adjunct () that usually serves to distinguish it from *ms't*; and  is similarly bereft of the stroke at the side that it has elsewhere in hieratic. The distinction between the determinatives of *fs* and *šp* in 1, 2 is apparently unique; and various rare and curious hieratic forms are found;  3, 12;  5, 8;  7, 12;  12, 2;  9, 2, 4, 12, 1;  2, 10. In spite of these peculiarities it seems impossible to ascribe the writing to an earlier date than the beginning of the 19th. dynasty; the form of  in 7, 5, 12, 4, 14, 4 is quite late, as is also the writing of *hw* 'to strike' (e. g. 4, 6, 9). There are some indications that the manuscript used by the scribe was an old one, perhaps dating as far back as the beginning of the 18th. dynasty. The unfilled spaces in 6, 1, 8, 7, 13, 11, 13 are most easily accounted for if we assume that the papyrus from which the scribe copied was torn or illegible in these places, and the frequent omissions of words are perhaps to be similarly explained. The forms of  (e. g. 1, 1, 2, 2);  (e. g. 2, 4, 5, 6);  7, 13;  *passim*, are archaic, and resemble those found in Ebers, Westcar, and the Berlin parchment. In a number of cases the scribe has clearly been unable to decipher his original; hence the meaningless signs in 2, 1, 3, 10, 14, 14, 1. Certain determinatives seem to have occasioned him special difficulty; thus for  in *mrt* 6, 11,  in *hw* 8, 2, and  in *hn* 8, 11 he substitutes  *t3*; in 8, 4  takes the place of , of which however we find an approximately correct form in 5, 4.

The introductory formulae which divide paragraph from paragraph are always written in red until 10, 13; from there onwards a more sparing use is made of rubrics. Only the first examples of the oft-repeated phrases *shšw* (10, 12 foll.) and *hw irf hm (nfr)* (13, 9 foll.) are in red ink. There is no other instance of a rubric in the latter part of the papyrus except the word *ddtn* in 15, 13, which marks the beginning of a new speech. Red 'verse-points' are found in 3, 2—3, but not elsewhere. Corrections above the line occur in 3, 8, and possibly in 8, 5. A sign in red, which I cannot read, is found before the beginning of 6, 14 and perhaps refers to a graphical error at the commencement of the same line.

2. Orthography, language and linguistic connection with other texts.

The spelling is, on the whole, that of a literary text of the Middle Kingdom, if this term be interpreted in a very liberal way; it must be remembered that we have no hieratic literary texts which can with any certainty be attributed to the 18th. dynasty. For the retention of an ancient style of orthography the text may be compared with the Millingen papyrus, which likewise seems to have been copied from a manuscript of some age. The curious addition of  *Pdt* 3, 1, *Wltw* 3, 9, *Hšstiw* 4, 8, finds parallels in the Ramesseum text of Sinuhe (e. g. 14, 62), and the writing of    'some' in 7, 3, 13, 6 is that of Middle Kingdom papyri

(e. g. *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 47.48). On the other hand there are some very clear instances of New Egyptian spellings:  3, 7.13. 4, 6;  2, 6;  4, 5 = 5, 13;  6, 4;  6, 11; and the method of appending the pronominal suffix to feminine nouns by means of  in *šwyt-f* 7, 13; *hryt-f* 10, 1. The orthography of our text thus brings us to very much the same results as its palaeography: the date of the writing of the recto cannot be placed earlier than the 19th. dynasty, but there are indications that the scribe used a manuscript a few centuries older.

The language of the text is that which we usually consider to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. I have sought in vain for any signs of the influence of late Egyptian idioms. A few expressions, as for example *m bšt* in 6, 13, cannot indeed be paralleled from early texts; but we have no right therefore to assert that they belonged exclusively to the later language. Our text shows, both in its vocabulary and otherwise, quite unmistakable points of contact with two well-known literary texts of the Middle Kingdom, the *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele* and the *Instructions of Amenemhet I.* The sentence *nht hr h3b n bw nb* in 5, 10 recurs, with a very slight difference of reading, in *Lebensmüde* 107. Other verbal resemblances are the particle *ms* (cf. *L.* 142. 143. 145), *nb* 'if' e. g. 2, 5 (cf. *L.* 33), *h3t* 'tomb' 2, 7 (cf. *L.* 52), *nhtw* 2, 7 (cf. *L.* 148), *nht-lb* 12, 3 (cf. *L.* 56), *hnty* 'crocodile' 5, 8 (cf. *L.* 79), *ts sp n* 5, 13 (cf. *L.* 122), *knr* e. g. 4, 3 (= *kt3*, *L.* 59), *hws mr* 13, 12 (cf. *L.* 61). The repetition of a phrase or clause to introduce a series of descriptive sentences is a striking point of similarity in both texts; and the analogous use of *ddtn* in 15, 13 and *L.* 147 is also worthy of notice.

The number of verbal resemblances between the Leiden text and the *Instructions of Amenemhet* is smaller, and they are perhaps fortuitous; cf. *ts skw* 1, 3 and *Millingen* 2, 7; *nty wn* 2, 2. 3, 14 and *Mill.* 1, 7; *šw3* e. g. 2, 4 and *Mill.* 1, 6. But in 6, 12—14 we have an entire paragraph which reappears, though in a garbled form, in the worse manuscripts of the *Instructions*. The *Millingen* papyrus is unhappily defective at this point, but a sufficient number of signs remains to show that it contained substantially the same text as our Leiden papyrus, doubtless in a less corrupt version than *Sallier II.* This curious fact raises a difficult question. The sense of this paragraph and the words employed in it¹ are so perfectly appropriate to our papyrus, that the supposition that it was derived from elsewhere would savour strongly of paradox. The alternative seems to be that it is a quotation or interpolation in the *Instructions*. The obscurity of this composition is well known, but the general drift, so far as it can be made out, does not harmonize at all with the pessimistic sententiousness of the paragraph in question. It is not very likely therefore that the passage stood, as a quotation from our text, in the archetype of the *Instructions*; but if not, its occurrence both in *Millingen* and in *Sallier II* shows at least that it was very early interpolated. It is unsafe to draw any conclusions hence as to the date either of our text or of the *Instructions*.

This section would be incomplete without some reference to the extreme corruption of our papyrus. This will be amply illustrated in the commentary, and a list of errors could be of little service. It is not unlikely that the scribe of the Leiden manuscript was himself responsible for a

¹ The introductory formula *bw n3* is particularly noteworthy. For *mw nw* 5, 6 may be compared, and the sense of *h3t m mw* is approximately that of *dhw hr knr* 4, 3; for the word *mw* cf. 6, 11.

considerable number of the mistakes. A particularly large class of corruptions is due to the omission of words.

3. The facsimile and previous treatments of the text.

A facsimile copy of *Pap. Leiden 344*, executed by T. Hooiberg, was published in the monumental work of Leemans¹. Though quite inadequate for the purposes of accurate study, this copy is nevertheless still serviceable in more ways than one. Not only does it convey an approximately correct notion of the handwriting, but it also preserves traces of a number of signs now either illegible or completely lost². A serious error, which was corrected by Pleyte when the papyrus was remounted, has been committed in respect of pages 9 and 10 of the recto, a large fragment of page 9 being treated (pl. 109) as belonging to page 10, and *vice versa*.

In the introductory text, by Chabas³, that accompanied the publication of the facsimile, a first attempt was made to determine the character of the literary text of the recto. Chabas arrives at the conclusion that the first eight pages contain proverbs or axioms, while the fragmentary pages that follow seem to him to be devoted to a text of philosophic import.

The next scholar to turn his attention to the recto was Lauth, who after quoting it in connection with his unfortunate theory of an Egyptian University at Chennu⁴, published a complete and very meritorious translation of the first nine pages⁵. A number of sentences are quite correctly rendered; but the view taken by Lauth of the work as a whole is that it is a collection of proverbs or sayings used for didactic purposes.

Many sentences are quoted from the recto by Heinrich Brugsch in the Supplement to his Hieroglyphic Dictionary. His writings will be searched in vain for some indication of his conception of the text as a whole, but we have it on the authority of Professor Erman that he once expressed a verbal opinion that the papyrus contained a collection of riddles.

Professor Maspero tells us⁶ that the papyrus formed the subject of lectures that were given by him at the École des Hautes Etudes.

No other attempt to elucidate the text has to be recorded until the year 1903, when Dr. H. O. Lange, in a paper entitled *Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen*⁷, gave a short account of the results to which long study of the recto had brought him. The great merit of this article, apart from the excellent transcriptions and translations that it contains, is that the continuity of the text, which had hitherto been regarded as consisting of isolated and mutually independent sayings, proverbs, riddles and the like, is there for the first time clearly enounced, and its place among other literary products of the Egyptians is properly defined. Dr. Lange has rightly perceived that the composition belongs to that category of poetical and semi-philosophical

1) *Ägyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden IIe Afd.*, 105—125. Plates 105—113 give the facsimile of the recto, plates 114—125 that of the verso.

2) Having heard from my friend M. SEYMOUR DE RICCI that some photographs of the Leiden papyri were among the papers of the late Professor EISENLOH, I inquired of Professor WIEDEMANN, in whose possession these papers now are, whether a photograph of *Pap. no. 344* was among them. In his courteous reply to my question, Prof. WIEDEMANN informed me that this was not the case. I have not been able to hear of any other early photographs or copies.

3) Reprinted in French in the *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, tome 10, pp. 133 foll. Also to be had separately: FR. CHABAS, *Notices seminaires des papyrus hiéroglyphiques égyptiens 1 343—371 du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1901.

4) *Ueber die altägyptische Hochschule von Chennu*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie*, 1872, pp. 29—88.

5) *Altägyptische Lehrsprüche*, ibid. 1872, pp. 347—404.

6) *Causeries d'Égypte*, p. 265.

7) *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1903, pp. 601—610.

books of which the *Eloquent Peasant* and the *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden* are the best-known examples. The characteristic feature of this group of Middle Kingdom texts is that, while the setting is that of a tale, the claim that they made to the admiration of their readers lay wholly in the eloquence and wisdom of the discourses contained in them. In the case of the Leiden papyrus the introductory narrative is lost, but as Dr. Lange has seen, it must have explained the circumstances under which the chief personage named, one *Ipw* or *Ipw-wr*, came forward to hold a long and impassioned harangue in the presence of the king and his people. These speeches, in the opinion of Dr. Lange, are prophetic in character; an era of disasters is predicted for Egypt, and is even now, as one passage declares, at hand; and it is the king himself who is responsible for the calamities the bitterness of which he is soon to taste in full measure. Dr. Lange lays great stress on one passage, the colouring of which, according to him, is quite Messianic; here the advent of a saviour is prophesied, a wise and mild ruler who will restore order among his people and inaugurate an age of happiness and prosperity. In conclusion, it is suggested that the book may have had an historical background, and that the writer had possibly in his mind some such political situation as that of the troublous times which preceded the rise of the twelfth dynasty.

The interest awakened by the view of the text thus ably propounded by Dr. Lange has been reflected in the writings of various eminent scholars. Besides a review by Maspero recently reprinted¹, Eduard Meyer has discussed the Leiden papyrus in its bearing upon Hebrew prophecy², and Reitzenstein³ and Wilcken⁴ have dealt with it in connection with certain fragmentary prophetic texts from Egypt written in Greek.

4. The contents.

It has already been seen that our papyrus has suffered grievously at the hands of Time. The beginning is lost; a first inspection of the fragmentary pages at the end would seem to indicate that the conclusion also is missing, but we shall later show cause for rejecting this view. The contents of the last eight pages have been reduced by lacunae to about one half of their original bulk. In addition to these external deficiencies, the possibility or probability of textual corruptions has to be weighed in almost every line. It is hardly strange, under these circumstances, that the interpretation of the whole should give rise to many difficult and often insoluble problems. A consecutive translation of the text, given without comments, would not only be incomprehensible, but also could hardly be made without the tacit assumption of some definite conception of the entire composition. We must therefore be content with an analysis illustrated by quotations. In the course of the discussion an attempt will be made to show the relation of the different parts to one another; many obscure and defective passages will be ignored altogether or dismissed in a few words.

The Egyptian author divided and sub-divided his book, or rather the greater part of what is left of it, by means of a small number of stereotyped introductory formulae, which consist of a few words or a short clause usually written in red and repeated at short intervals. New









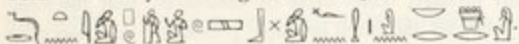
1) *Cantaries d'Égypte*, pp. 265-271.

2) *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, pp. 451-455.

3) *Ein Stück hellenistischer Kleineliteratur*, in *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1904, Heft 4 pp. 309-322.

4) *Zur ägyptischen Prophetie*, *Hermes* 40, (1905), pp. 544-560.

reflexions or descriptive sentences are appended to these formulae, which thus form as it were the skeleton or the framework of the whole. There is a change of introductory formula only when the writer tires of the constant reiteration of the same words; or when the theme of his discourse demands a different style of preface. This monotonous mode of composition is also found in parts of the *Lebensmüde*, in the hymn to Sesostrius III from Kahun and in the so-called poetical stèle of Thutmosis III¹.

From 1, 9 to 6, 14 we find each section or paragraph introduced by the words , and it is probable that the same formula would have been found in the lines 1, 1—1, 8, if we had them complete. In 7, 1  or  is substituted for *hw ms*, and is used in a similar way until 9, 8. In 9, 8 and the following lines the introductory word is . In 10, 3—10, 6 a single section beginning with the rubric  occurs, and seems to conclude the purely descriptive portion of the book. The subject of this (1, 1—10, 6) is the downfall of Egypt, depicted in great detail; the writer tells of civil war and foreign invasion, and of the social upheaval attendant thereupon; the poor are in the place of the rich, want and misery prevail, handicrafts are abandoned and no imports come from abroad. Then follow two series of exhortations; the first, from 10, 6 to 10, 12 has as its burden ; the second, beginning in 10, 12, is characterized by the repeated word  followed by infinitives, — injunctions to 'remember' various ceremonial acts and religious observances. A long section without prefatory formulae starts somewhere between 11, 8 and 11, 12, ending only in 13, 9. The first part contains the 'Messianic' passage to which Dr. Lange called special attention. This leads into a passionate denunciation of someone who is directly addressed and who can only be the king; after which the text reverts to the description of bloodshed and anarchy. Less gloomy thoughts form the theme of the sentences introduced by , from 13, 9 to the middle of page 14; here the joyous incidents of happier days are recalled, in deep contrast to the sinister utterances that precede. After a long lacuna we next find ourselves in the midst of a passage referring to warfare and to relations with foreign peoples: an obscure passage that becomes totally unintelligible after 15, 2. In 15, 13 begins a new speech, announced by the words . The sixteenth page is very fragmentary, and the last traces of the text occur in 17, 2.

The sentence in 15, 13 just quoted acquaints us with two of the *dramatis personae* of the book. One is a man named Ipuwer²; the other is the king. A speech of the king must have preceded, as Ipuwer is here represented as replying to him. Since however there is good evidence³ that the person addressed in 12, 12 foll. is the king, it is plain that the beginning of the king's speech will have to be placed in the lacunae of the fourteenth or in those of the fifteenth page. Now a thread of continuity can be traced from the very beginning of the papyrus down

1) The last-named texts are poetical, and the repeated words may be there fitly termed a *refrain*. No doubt also in our text the repetitions seemed to the Egyptian ear to heighten the style, and to give it a certain grandeur and solemnity. But in reality they were merely a clumsy device for facilitating the work of the writer. He seems to have imagined that these pages on which he hung his reflexions dispensed him from any more refined and logical arrangement of his theme.

2) The reading of the name is not certain, and still less so, of course, its pronunciation. To avoid the constant use of notes of interrogation, I shall henceforth employ the form Ipuwer.

3) See later, and also the note on the passage 12, 11—13, 9

to the middle of page 14, so that this must be regarded as a single discourse. No other person besides Ipuwer and the king being anywhere alluded to by name, there can be little doubt that Ipuwer is here the speaker throughout. It must however be noted that other hearers were present besides the king, for Ipuwer occasionally employs the second person plural¹. We shall hardly err in supposing them to have been the courtiers assembled around the king.

The analogy of the *Eloquent Peasant*, of the *Instructions of Ptahhotp* and of the *Lebensmüde* confirms what indeed is apparent from the text itself, namely that a short narrative must have introduced and preceded the lengthy harangue of Ipuwer. This narrative, had it been preserved, would have told us all that we need to know about the personality of Ipuwer, and about the circumstances that led to his appearance at the court of Pharaoh. One possibility is that he had suffered, like the peasant in the Berlin tale, some personal wrong, which made him appear in his own eyes as the typical victim of a maladministration that had plunged the entire land in ruin and misery. But this theory is not favoured by the general tenor of his words, which seem to be rather those of a preacher or of a sage. It is more plausible to suppose that he had been sent for by the king, who wished to consult him for some particular purpose, or that his coming was voluntary, perhaps prompted by some mysterious heaven-sent impulse, like that which drove Sinuhe out upon his wanderings in distant lands. At all events it is clear that Ipuwer was no dispassionate onlooker at the evils which he records. He identifies himself with his hearers in the question *what shall we do concerning it?* evoked by the spectacle of the decay of commercial enterprise (3, 7, 13); and the occupation of the Delta by foreigners (4, 7), and the murderous hatred of near relatives for one another (5, 10), wring from him similar ejaculations. Occasionally he speaks in his own name, using the first person²; so in the lament *Woe is me for the misery of these times!* (6, 8), and perhaps in the wish of 6, 5 *Would that I had raised my voice at that time, that it might save me from the pain in which I am!* And after regarding the land shorn, like a mown field, of all its former magnificence, he cries (5, 14—6, 1); *Would that there might be an end of men, no conception, no birth! O that the earth would cease from noise, and tumult be no more!*

Do the descriptions of 1, 1—10, 6 refer to the future or to the present? In other words, was Ipuwer a prophet, one whom a special visionary gift enabled to forecast, even in the minutest detail, a coming era of disaster and misfortune? Or was he a mere spectator, whose eye dwelt compassionately on the misery of his country, as he beheld it overwhelmed by calamities unmistakably real and present? Dr. Lange, as we have seen, held strongly to the hypothesis of prophecy. For my own part, I am convinced that the other view is the correct one. It would be wrong to insist overmuch on the personal note sounded in the speech of Ipuwer, and upon the occurrence of the word 'today' (3, 6, 5, 2) and of the correlated 'yesterday' (2, 2, 4, 5); for prophets in all ages are apt to represent their predictions as realized, and when they describe the day of retribution their imagination paints it as not merely imminent, but as actually there. On the other hand it is justifiable to urge against Lange's view the extreme wealth of detail in these ten pages of description; even in a *post eventum* prophecy of the clumsiest kind there is a limit to the minuteness with which future things may be foretold, and that limit is clearly overstepped by our author. Again the particle *ms*, which is so frequent in the first six pages, implies, if I

¹ Thus in 1, 7 and 5, 7 foll., unless Ipuwer is here putting words into the mouth of some fictitious person. Further in the formula *mlw* 7, 1 foll., and in the imperatives *hꜥw* 10, 6 foll., and *ꜥꜥw* 10, 12 foll., the subject of which is referred to by the suffix *-w* in 11, 6—7.

² Uncertain instances are also 4, 10, 5, 11.

have rightly diagnosed its meaning¹, a certain nuance of surprise or reproach that the statements which it prefaces have not obtained a greater degree of recognition; this means that Ipuwer narrates nothing that is not already familiar to his hearers. Moreover it seems to be hinted that the present miseries were presaged long ago; they were *foretold by the ancestors* (1, 10), and *decreed in the time of Horus* (1, 7). Cumulatively these arguments have some force, but we must look beyond the descriptions themselves for the best evidence. In 10, 6 foll., Ipuwer charges his hearers to *destroy the enemies of the Residence*, hardly, one would think, foes whose acts of hostility lie in the still distant future. Nor are the exhortations to piety in 10, 12 foll. really intelligible, unless they are to be regarded as the remedy for ills already existent. The decisive passage however is 12, 11 foll., where the king is denounced as the true cause of the ruinous condition of the land: *It is confusion that thou bringest throughout the land together with the noise of tumult. Behold one man uses violence against the other. People transgress that which thou hast commanded. If three men walk upon the road, they are found to be two; the greater number slays the less* (12, 12—14). Note especially the final sentence addressed by the sage to the king: *Would that thou mightest taste some of these miseries, then wouldst thou say...* (13, 5—6). Dr. Lange himself admits that present, not future, calamities must here be meant². But if here, why not also earlier? Lastly, the brief characterisation of a happier age in 13, 9 foll. can, so far as I am able to see, only be understood as an ideal picture which the speaker introduces in order to contrast with it the stern realities of the present.

The artificial mode of composition employed by the author led him to spend but little pains upon the internal arrangement of the long descriptive passage 1, 1—10, 6. The introductory rubrics are here more than once changed, but the changes do not seem to be accompanied by any real progression in the thought³. The entire context from 1, 1 to 10, 6 constitutes a single picture of a particular moment in Egyptian history, as it was seen by the pessimistic eyes of Ipuwer. The details of this picture follow one another in haphazard fashion, in which little or no design is apparent⁴. Here and there, as is inevitable, adjacent sections touch upon similar or identical topics. More often the occurrence of a word in one section seems to have suggested to the author the subject and the phraseology of the next⁵. But still more often there is no link, either logical or philological, to connect a paragraph with its neighbours⁶. If therefore we wish to learn the nature of the disasters described by Ipuwer, we must group his utterances in more systematic order.

1) See the note on 1, 9.

2) „Es scheint, dass 'Ipu hier den König anredet und zeigen will, dass die Verwirrung im Lande schon da ist, und das durch Schuld des Königs“.

3) The words that follow the first occurrence of *min* in 7, 1 might seem to cast a doubt upon this statement; *The fire has mounted up on high, its burning goeth forth against the enemies of the land*. If however we carefully scrutinize the paragraphs succeeding this sentence we shall perceive that the details there described are of the same kind as those depicted in the first six pages; they are not a whit more terrible than those, and clearly belong to the same extensive picture. How then is the section above quoted to be explained? I fancy that it is a fictitious device of the author to justify his abandonment of the introductory formula *lw ms*, of which he has at last grown tired. The modern reader will certainly not feel that any apology for this course was needful, but the writer seems to have done so. He therefore pretends that he is going to describe calamities still more horrible, and having thus salved his conscience, proceeds in much the same way as hitherto.

4) There are several repetitions of whole sections, which amply justify this depreciatory criticism: 4, 3—4 = 5, 6; 4, 4 = 6, 14; 4, 4—5 = 5, 12—13.

5) Cf. *ḥmwet*(?) 'female slaves' and *ḏns* in 4, 13—14; both words occur in the foregoing paragraph. Note too *ḥḏḏ* 'divulge' in three consecutive sections 6, 3—6; *ḥwsw* in 6, 10 and 6, 11; *ḥwsw* 8, 8 and *ḥwsw* 8, 9; *ḥwsw* 'butchers' thrice within a very short distance of each other 8, 10, 12; 9, 1. There would be no difficulty in finding more instances.

6) The second page affords a good illustration of this.

The Egyptians are engaged in warfare, and the whole country is up in arms. *The face is pale(?) The Bowman is ready. The wrongdoer is everywhere. There is no man of yesterday (2, 2). full of confederates. A man goes out to plough with his shield (2, 1). The door-keepers say: let us go and plunder. The confectioners The bird-catchers draw up in line of battle [The inhabitants?] of the Marshlands carry shields. The brewers A man looks upon his son as his enemy (1, 1—5). A man smiles his brother (the son) of his mother. What is to be done? (5, 10). A man is slain by the side of his brother. He to save his (own) limbs (9, 3). [He who has] a noble lady as wife, her father protects him. He who has not (they) slay him (8, 8—9). [Men's hearts] are violent. The plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere. Death is not lacking(?) The mummy-cloth(?) speaks, before ever one draws near to it(?) (2, 5—6). The river is blood. Men drink of it, and shrink from (the taste of?) people. Men thirst after water (2, 10).*

Several of these sentences indicate that the Egyptians are not merely fighting against foreigners, but against their own countrymen too. Mention is twice made of the "enemies of the land": *The fire has mounted up on high, its burning goeth forth against the enemies of the land (7, 1); No craftsmen work, the enemies of the land have spoilt(?) its crafts(?) (9, 6).* By this expression rebels are perhaps meant; so too we read; *Men have ventured to rebel against the Uraeus, the of Re, which pacifies the two lands (7, 3—4).* Something of this kind must also be intended by the mysterious allusion in *A few lawless men have ventured to despoil the land of the kingship (7, 2—3).* With traitors within, Egypt has also to face the aggression of foreign invaders from the North: *The Desert is throughout the Land. The nomes are laid waste. A foreign tribe from abroad has come to Egypt (3, 1).* The Delta is overrun by Asiatics: *The Marshland in its entirety is not hidden. The North land can boast of trodden ways. What shall one do? Behold it is in the hands of(?) those who knew it not like those who knew it. The Asiatics are skilled in the arts of the Marshlands (4, 5—8).* So deep a root have these barbarians taken in the land, that they are no longer distinguishable from true Egyptians¹: *The tribes of the desert(?) have become Egyptians(?) everywhere (1, 9). There are no Egyptians anywhere (3, 2). Tents(?) are what they (the Egyptians) have made like the desert tribes (10, 1—2).* It is tempting to conclude from one injured passage (3, 10—11) that the Egyptian kingdom recognized by the writer was at this time restricted to the country between Elephantine and Thinis: *Elephantine and Thinis(?) [are the dominion of?] Upper Egypt, (yet) without paying taxes owing to civil strife.* Nor is this limited area immune from the disasters that have befallen Lower Egypt: *The ship of the [Southerners] has gone adrift(?) The towns are destroyed. Upper Egypt has become dry [wastes?] (2, 11).*

In consequence of civil war² and the prevailing anarchy men are openly robbed. *The ways are The roads are guarded. Men sit over the bushes until the benighted (traveller) comes, in order to plunder his load. What is upon him is taken away. He is belaboured with blows of the stick, and slain wrongfully (5, 11—12). The plunderer [is] everywhere (2, 2). The land turns round as does a potter's wheel. The robber is a possessor of riches. (The rich man) [is become?] a plunderer (2, 8—9). Property is destroyed: Gates, columns and walls are consumed by fire (2, 11). Boxes of ebony are broken up. Precious acacia-wood is cleft asunder (3, 5).*

1) The sentences here quoted are however all somewhat dubious.

2) *Hyt* 'civil war' 3, 11, 7, 6, 13, 2.

The valuables thus wantonly wasted are not replaced by foreign imports: *No longer do men sail northwards to [Byblos]. What shall we do for cedars for our mummies, with the produce of which priests are buried, and with the oil of which [chiefs] are embalmed as far as Kestiu. They come no more. Gold is lacking, the of all handicrafts is at an end(?)* (3, 6—8). The Egyptians should consider themselves lucky if they still receive the paltry tribute of the Libyan Oases: *What a great thing it is that the people of the Oases come with their festival spices(?) with fresh redmet-plants!* (3, 9—10). The products of Egypt itself are lacking. *Lacking are grain(?), charcoal The products of craftsmen the palace. To what purpose is a treasure-house without its revenues? Glad indeed is the heart of the king, when Truth comes to him!* (3, 11—12). Neediness and want are everywhere conspicuous. *Princes are hungry and in distress* (5, 2). *Noble ladies go hungry; the butchers are sated with what was prepared for them* (9, 1—2). *[Men eat] herbs, and wash (them) down with water. No fruit(?) nor herbs are found (for) the birds. is taken away from the mouth of the swine* (6, 1—2). *Corn has perished on every side. (People) are stripped of clothes, spices(?) and oil. Everybody says: there is none. The storehouse is ruined. Its keeper is stretched on the ground* (6, 3—4). *noble ladies. Their limbs are in sad plight by reason of (their) rags. Their hearts sink(?) in greeting [one another?]* (3, 4). *Men are like gm-birds. Squalor(?) is throughout the land. There is none whose clothes are white in these times* (2, 8).

Arts and crafts are at a standstill: everyone nowadays is a warrior (1, 1—4). *No craftsmen work. The enemies of the land have spoilt(?) its crafts(?)* (9, 6). *Nile overflows, (yet) no one ploughs for him. Every man says: we know not what has happened throughout the land* (2, 3). Indeed men are scarce; many die and few are born. *Men are few; He who places his brother in the ground is everywhere* (2, 13—14); *Women are lacking, and no (children) are conceived. Khnum fashions (mankind) no more because of the condition of the land* (2, 4). Hence cattle are left to stray, and there is none to gather them together. *Each man fetches for himself those that are branded with his name* (9, 2—3).

The political organization of the land is in the utmost confusion. *No offices are in their (proper) place, like a roaming herd without a herdsman* (9, 2). *The laws of the judgement-hall are cast forth. Men walk upon (them) in the public places. Poor men break them up(?) in the streets* (6, 9—11). *The great judgement-hall is thronged by people entering and going forth. Poor men come and go in the Great Houses* (6, 12). *The splendid(?) judgement-hall, its writings are taken away. Laid bare is the secret place* (6, 5—6). *Offices are opened, and (their) census-lists are taken away. Serfs become lords of serfs(?)* (6, 7—8). *[Officials] are slain and their writings are taken away. Woe is me because of the misery in this time!* (6, 8). *The scribes of the tm3(m), their writings are destroyed. The corn(?) of Egypt is common property* (6, 9). *The poor man has come to the estate(?) of the divine Ennead. That (former) system of the houses of the Thirty is divulged* (6, 11). *The judges of the land are driven out throughout the land. (The) are driven out from the houses of kings* (7, 9—10). *The strong men of the land, the condition of the people is not reported (to them?). All is ruin* (9, 5—6). *[He who gathered in?] the corn (now) knows nothing thereof. He who never ploughed [for himself] [The reaping?] takes place, but is not reported. The scribe [sits in his office?], but his hands are [idle?] within it* (9, 7—8).

The social order is reversed, so that slaves now usurp the places of their former masters.

The general condition of the country is compared, in a passage quoted above, to the turning of a potter's wheel (2, 8). *He who possessed no property is (now) a man of wealth. The prince praises him* (8, 1—2). *The poor of the land have become rich, and (the possessor) of property has become one who has nothing* (8, 2). *have become masters of butlers. He who was a messenger (now) sends another* (8, 2—3). *He who had no dependents(?) is (now) a lord of serfs. He who was a (notable) does commission(s) himself* (9, 5). *Abolished is the performance of that for which they are sent by servants in the missions of their lords, without their being afraid* (10, 2). *All female slaves are free with their tongues. When their mistress speaks, it is irksome to the servants* (4, 13—14). *Gold and lapis lazuli, silver and malachite, carnelian and bronze, stone of Yebhet and are fastened on the necks of female slaves. Good things are in the land. (Yet) the mistresses of houses say: would that we had something to eat* (3, 2—3). *The possessor of wealth (now) passes the night thirsting. He who begged for himself his dregs is (now) the possessor of bowls full to overflowing(?)* (7, 10—11). *Poor men are become owners of good things. He who could make for himself no sandals is (now) the possessor of riches* (2, 4—5). *This has happened (to?) men: he who could not build himself a cell is (now) possessor of walls* (7, 9). *He who could make for himself no sarcophagus is (now) possessor of a tomb* (7, 8; cf. too the next section). *He who never built for himself a boat is (now) possessor of ships(?)* *He who possessed the same looks at them, but they are not his* (7, 12). *He who had no yoke of oxen is (now) possessor of a herd. He who could find for himself no oxen to plough with is (now) possessor of cattle* (9, 3—4). *He who had no grain is (now) the possessor of granaries. He who had to fetch for himself $\text{\$3bt}$ -corn (now) sends it forth* (9, 4—5). *The possessors of robes are (now) in rags. He who never wove for himself is (now) the possessor of fine linen* (7, 11—12). *He who had no loaf is (now) owner of a barn. His magazine is fitted out with the possessions of another* (8, 3—4). *He whose hair had fallen out and who was without oil is become a possessor of jars of sweet myrrh* (8, 4). *She who had no box is possessor of a coffer. She who looked at her face in the water is possessor of a mirror* (8, 5). *Those who possessed vessel-stands of bronze — not one jug is adorned for one of them(?)* (7, 14). *He who was ignorant of the lyre (now) possesses a harp. He who never sang for himself now vaunts the goddess Mert* (7, 13—14). *He who slept without a wife(?) through want finds precious things* (7, 14—8, 1). *Noble ladies, great ladies, mistresses of goodly things give their children (in exchange) for beds(?)* (8, 8). *The children of princes are dashed against the walls. The offspring of desire are laid out on the high ground. Khnum groans because of his weariness* (5, 6—7). *Noble ladies are upon Princes are in the storehouse. He who never slept upon walls(?) is (now) the possessor of a bed* (7, 10). *Hair has fallen out for everyone. The son of a man of rank is no (longer) distinguished from him who has no such father(?)* (4, 1). *The children of princes are cast out(?) in the streets. He who knows says it is so. He who is ignorant says no. He who does not know it, it is good in his eyes* (6, 13—14). *The wealthy are in mourning. The poor man is full of joy. Every town says: let us suppress the powerful among us* (2, 7—8).

It is an age of wickedness and impiety. *The hot-headed man(?) says: If I knew where God is, then would I make offerings unto him* (5, 3). *[Right(?) is throughout the land in this its name. What men do, in appealing to it, is Wrong* (5, 3—4). *Magical spells are divulged. $\text{\$m}$ -incantations(?) and $\text{\$hm}$ -incantations(?) are frustrated because they are remembered by men* (6, 6—7). *[A man who was ignorant of] his god (now) offers to him with the incense of another* (8, 7). *Butchers transgress(?)*

with the cattle of the poor (8, 10). Butchers transgress(?) with geese. They are given (to) the gods instead of oxen (8, 12). He who never slaughtered for himself now slaughters bulls (8, 11)¹.

A few sentences phrased in more general terms give expression to the prevailing wretchedness and misery. *That has perished which yesterday was seen(?) The land is left over to its weariness(?) like the cutting of flax* (5, 12—13). *Noise is not lacking(?) in years of noise. There is no end of noise* (4, 2). *Mirth has perished, and is [no longer] made. It is groaning that fills the land, mingled with lamentations* (3, 13—14). *All animals, their hearts weep. Cattle moan because of the state of the land* (5, 5). *The virtuous man walks in mourning because of what has happened in the land* (1, 8). *Great and small (say): I wish I might die. Little children say: he ought never to have caused (me) to live(?)* (4, 2—3). In an obscure paragraph it seems to be said that men voluntarily throw themselves into the river, in order to be devoured by the crocodiles (2, 12—13). The fate of the dead is not much better than that of the living. *The owners of tombs are driven out on the high ground. He who who could make for himself no coffin is (now) (possessor) of a treasury* (7, 8). *Those who were in the place of embalment are laid on the high ground* (4, 4). *Many dead men are buried in the river. The stream is a sepulchre, and the place of embalment has become stream* (2, 6—7).

The allusions to the king and to the palace in the earlier part of the book are for the most part vague and inconclusive. The position of the reigning monarch is nowhere clearly defined. There are a few references to the robbery of royal tombs, and to the violation of their secrecy. *The serpent-goddess is taken from her hole. The secrets of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are divulged* (7, 5—6). *He who was buried as a hawk is What the pyramid concealed is become empty* (7, 2). It is not improbable that tomb-robbery is also implied by the sentence *Things are done, that have never happened for long time past; the king has been taken away(?) by poor men* (7, 1—2). There seems to be a contradiction between the statements *The palace is firm and flourishing* (2, 11) and *The Residence is overturned in a minute* (7, 4). We need not however attach much importance to this inconsistency; what is probably meant is that while the palace is endangered, still the king is more happily situated than most of his subjects. Sentences have already been quoted (3, 9, 12) where the poverty of the king is alluded to; and it is mentioned again in 7, 6—7: *The Residence is afraid through want*. This is the key-note of the final sentence that leads up to the admonitions of 10, 6 foll.; *The North-land weeps. The storehouse of the king is the common property of everyone, and the entire palace is without its revenues. To it belongs (by right) wheat and barley, geese and fish. To it belongs white cloth and fine linen, bronze and oil. To it belongs carpet and mat, palanquin and all goodly produce If it had not been in the palace, would not be empty* (10, 3—6).

With these words Ipuwer ends his description of the desolation and anarchy to which Egypt has fallen a prey. Taking it as his text, he now turns to his audience and admonishes them to rid themselves of these evils by energetic measures and by virtuous conduct. His last utterance has contrasted the palace as it is, impoverished and robbed by everyone, with the palace as it was in former and better times, rich in wheat and barley, and in all the produce of the land. His first command is to rid Egypt of the enemies whose machinations have brought

1) These three sentences probably all refer to offerings.


the Residence to such a pass: *Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence, splendid in courtiers.....*, wherein formerly the overseer of the town walked abroad, without an escort(?) (10, 6—7). Again and again Ipuwer reiterates this charge, each time recalling another trait of the past splendour of the Residence. The epithets that he applied to it are now lost in lacunae, with the exception of two, from which we learn that its laws were manifold (10, 8), and its offices numerous (10, 11).

But it will not suffice to drive the enemies from the land, the angry gods must be appeased. *Remember (to bring) fat ro-geese, torpu and set-geese; and to offer offerings to the gods. Remember to chew natron, and to prepare white bread. (So should) a man (do?) on the day of moistening the head. Remember to erect flagstaves, and to carve stelae; the priest purifying the temples, and the god's house being plastered (white) like milk. (Remember) to make fragrant the perfume of the horizon, and to renovate the offering-loaves. Remember to observe regulations, and to adjust dates. (Remember) to remove him who enters upon the priestly office in impurity of body(?) That is to perform it wrongfully. That is corruption of heart(?) Remember to slaughter oxen to offer geese upon the fire (10, 12—11, 7).*

These injunctions grow less and less intelligible as the lacunae of the eleventh page increase in size. We cannot tell where they ended; perhaps the infinitive *rdlt* in 11, 10 is dependent upon a last example of the imperative 'remember'. At last an obscure passage emerges out of the fragments of lines. The following translation, full of uncertainties as it is, will give some idea of the drift. lack of people Re; command(?) the West, to diminish(?) by the [gods?]. Behold ye, wherefore does he [seek?] to form without(?) distinguishing the timid man from him whose nature is violent. He bringeth(?) coolness to that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire(?) Would that he had perceived their nature(?) in the first generation (of men); then he would have suppressed evil, he would have stretched forth his arm against it, he would have destroyed their and their inheritance. Men desired to give birth. Sadness grew up(?); needy(?) people on every side. Thus it was(?) and it passes not away(?) as long as(?) the gods in the midst thereof endure. Seed shall come forth from(?) the women of the people; none(?) is found on the way(?). A fighter(?) goes forth, that (he?) may destroy the wrongs that(?) they have brought about. There is no pilot(?) in their moment. Where is he(?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold, his might is not seen (11, 11—12, 6).

Dr. Lange saw in this passage the prophecy of a wise and beneficent ruler, whose advent should restore Egypt to its old prosperity and power; and he made the observation that both the form in which it is put and the choice of words recall those higher flights of Hebrew prophecy that speak of a coming Messiah. The suggestion implicated in this view is momentous enough to demand a very careful consideration. Dr. Lange states his case with great caution, and freely admits, that if the passage stood alone, it might easily be susceptible of another interpretation. When at last he decides in favour of his 'Messianic' hypothesis, he is confessedly influenced by his view of the early descriptive passages¹. These he understands as referring to the future and hence as prophetic in character. Our rejection of that view does not however necessarily invalidate Dr. Lange's conception of the passage now under discussion: it is very well possible

1) „Ich habe mich wiederholt gefragt, ob eine andere Auffassung dieses Abschnitts möglich wäre. Es könnten natürlich auch ganz allgemeine Betrachtungen über 'den guten' König sein. Aber bei Erwägung der ganzen Situation ist es doch wahrscheinlich, dass 'Ipuwer, ausgehend von der Schilderung der kommenden sozialen und politischen Zerrüttung des Landes, auf die Abhilfe durch einen von den Göttern geschickten König hinweist" *Op. cit.* p. 7.

that Ipuwer, though hitherto merely a narrator and preacher, should here have given utterance, as if by a sudden inspiration, to a prophecy concerning a coming saviour. Certain sentences and phrases seem at first sight to favour this supposition: *He bringeth(?) coolness to that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day gather them together.* So too the references to the suppression of evils, and the destruction of wrongs; and the final rhetorical questions in 12, 5—6. I cannot but think that Dr. Lange has overestimated the significance of the metaphor of the herdsman, which was no uncommon image among the Egyptians for the good ruler. Still the theory put forward by him has considerable plausibility. The question is, whether the passage cannot be interpreted in a wholly different manner, and in one which explains, to some extent at least, the obscure sentences in 12, 2—6. Now a good case can, I think, be made out for the hypothesis that it is the sungod Re to whom the entire passage refers. It should be remembered that Re was fabled to have been the first of the Pharaonic rulers of Egypt, and that he stood at all periods in the most intimate relation to its kings, who were called 'sons of Re' and were thought to possess and to exercise solar prerogatives. The name of Re occurs in the fragments of 11, 11, and though the lacunae that follow make the sense of the context impossible to divine, yet the allusion to the *West* in 11, 12 suggests that the dealings of that deity with men may there have been the dominant thought. The question immediately preceding the description of the perfect ruler (11, 13—12, 1) perhaps refers to the god as creator (11, 12—13); wherefore, it is asked, does Re shape mankind without distinguishing the meek from those that are violent? The words *he is the herdsman of mankind, there is no evil in his heart* are no less applicable to Re than to a predicted human ruler. I desire to lay special emphasis on the next sentences (12, 2—3). Expression is there given to the wish that the good herdsman *had perceived the (evil) natures of men in the first generation; then he would have suppressed evil, he would have stretched forth his arm against it(?), he would have destroyed their seed(?) and their inheritance.* It is not easy to see in what sense these words could be applied to an human ruler whose coming is predicted. On the other hand the thought is perfectly natural if we take it as referring to Re, the supreme ruler of the world. The phrase *the first generation* is, as the philological note will show, closely allied to the term  'the first time', the familiar expression used by the Egyptians in connection with the age when Re was king upon earth. Nor is there anything strange in the supposition that Re could, if he had wished, have destroyed mankind and so rooted out the evil of which they are the originators. Dr. Lange did not understand these sentences, and that is the reason why his theory takes no account of them. From this point onwards the text becomes more and more obscure; I venture however to think that the argument must have been somewhat as follows. Re in his leniency permitted men to live. *They desired to give birth; hence arose sadness, and needy(?) people on every side.* Nor shall the eternal propagation of the race, and the evils consequent thereupon, ever cease. But a strong ruler — Re himself or his deputy the king — might succeed in controlling and mitigating the terrible consequences which men, left to themselves, are bound to reap as the fruits of their wickedness; he might *destroy the wrongs that(?) they have brought about.* But now, in this age of wickedness and misery, no such ruler is at hand; *There is no pilot(?) in their moment. Where is he(?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold, his power is not seen* (12, 3—6).

I do not wish to conceal or minimize the fact that this manner of interpreting the passage,

so far at least as the latter parts of it are concerned, is sheer guesswork, at the very best a rough approximation to the sense intended by the writer. It has however the advantage of providing a suitable transition to the denunciation of the king that is soon to follow. I propose it merely as an alternative, and, as I think, a superior alternative, to Dr. Lange's view. At all events it seems now to be clear that whichever hypothesis scholars may choose, there is too much uncertainty about the matter for it to be made the basis of any far-reaching conclusions as to the influence of Egyptian upon Hebrew literature.

After a few more broken sentences, the drift of which is utterly obscure and where it is best to refrain from any sort of conjectures as to the possible meaning, we arrive (in 12, 11) at a rather more intelligible passage where a single person is addressed. This is the king, as we soon perceive from the epithets and predicates that are applied to him. Hitherto the discourse of Ipuwer has run on quite general lines, and personal recriminations are wholly wanting. Even when the sage speaks of Re, the type and pattern of all kings, and laments the absence of his guiding hand in the present conjuncture, there is still no clear reference to the reigning monarch. The long-deferred reproaches that Ipuwer now levels at the head of the king have something of the force of Nathan's words, when at last he turns on David with the retort 'Thou art the man!' The charge seems to be one of laxity and indifference rather than of any definitely criminal intention, and the accusations are intermingled with detached and brief descriptions of the deeds of violence and the bloodshed that are witnessed daily throughout the land. *Taste, Knowledge and Truth, those three noble attributes of royalty, are with thee, and yet confusion is what thou dost put throughout the land, together with the noise of tumult. Behold, one uses violence against another. People transgress what thou hast commanded. If three men journey upon a road, they are found to be two men; the greater number slays the less* (12, 12—14). The speaker next imagines himself to be debating the point with the king, who is perhaps thought to exculpate himself by casting the blame on the evil dispositions of his subjects. *Is there a herdsman that loves death? Then wouldst thou command to make reply: it is because one man loves and another hates(?) that their forms(?) are few on every side. It is because thou hast acted so(?) as to bring about these things(?) Thou hast spoken falsehood. The land is as a weed that destroys men* (12, 14—13, 2). These are obscure words, but their tenor is, I think, unmistakeable. Then follows a last emphatic reiteration of the well-worn theme of bloodshed and anarchy; two sentences are actually repeated from the earlier part of the book, that which precedes the admonitions. *All these years are(?) discordant strife. A man is killed upon his housetop. He is vigilant in his boundary-house. Is he brave? (Then) he saves himself and he lives(?) People send a servant(?) to poor men. He walks upon the road until he sees the flood(?) The road is dragged (with the drag-net?). He stands there in misery(?) What he has upon him is taken away. He is belaboured(?) with blows of the stick, and wrongfully slain* (13, 2—5). Yet once again Ipuwer turns to the king: *Would that thou mightest taste some of these miseries, then wouldst thou say* Here we lose sight, for a few lines, of the meaning of the context.

There follows a description of a peaceful and joyous condition of things, doubtless calculated to instil into the hearers of Ipuwer a sense of the great losses that their folly and impiety have inflicted upon them. *It is however good, when ships(?) sail upstream(?) It is however good, when the net is drawn in, and birds are made fast It is however good, when and the roads are passable. It is however good, when the hands of men*

build pyramids. Ponds are dug, and plantations are made of the trees of the gods. It is however good, when people are drunken. They drink, and their hearts are glad. It is however good, when rejoicing is in men's mouths. The magnates of districts stand and look on at the rejoicing in their houses It is however good, when beds are made ready(?) The headrests of princes are stored in safety(?) The need(?) of every man is satisfied with a couch in the shade. The door is shut upon him, who(?) (formerly?) slept in the bushes. It is however good, when fine linen is spread out on the day of the Newyear(?) (13, 9—14, 4). A few more sentences of the same kind, now lost, brought this section to a close.

Here the discourse of Ipuwer may well have ended. After the idealistic picture of a happier age, in which a gleam of hope for the future may be discerned, any return to the pessimistic tone of the foregoing pages seems impossible. As was pointed out above¹, place must be found before 5, 13 for a speech of the king. Of the two possible alternatives, by far the more probable is that the beginning of this speech fell in the destroyed portions of page 14. It is very unfortunate that the passage following the lacunae of the fourteenth page should be among the most obscure in the entire work; all my efforts to make connected sense of it have utterly failed. It is at least clear that warfare and the recruiting of troops are among the topics; and various foreign tribes are named. The only sentence that we can utilize in this summary of the contents of the book is one where it is stated that the Asiatics (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) had made themselves acquainted with the internal condition of Egypt (15, 1): this confirms the allusions made in earlier passages to a foreign people that had invaded the land and had found a firm footing in its northernmost parts. If we may hazard a guess as to the probable drift of the whole section 14, 7—15, 13, it may be surmised that the king here answers Ipuwer with general reflexions concerning the political outlook of those times.

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1) P. 6, bottom.

5. Conclusions.

Having analysed in detail the contents of *Pap. Leiden 344* recto, it remains for us only to state, in a more general way, our conclusions as to its place in Egyptian literature, as to the date of its composition, and as to the historical situation to which it may allude. The text belongs to the same category as the *Eloquent Peasant*, the *Maxims of Ptahhotp* and the *Lebensmüde*; in all these books the real interest centres in the long discourses that they contain, and the introductory tale is merely the framework or setting. The form is thus not very dissimilar to that of the Platonic dialogues; and though it may seem rather bold to compare these Egyptian compositions, for the most part so sterile in imagination and lacking in genuine poetic beauty, with some of the grandest products of the Greek literary genius, still the analogy is sufficiently close to be worth insisting upon. There can be little doubt that the *Lebensmüde*, for example, satisfied the same kind of intellectual cravings among the Egyptians as did the *Phaedo* among the Greeks¹. The purely literary intention of these Egyptian books has, I think, been somewhat over-emphasized. Even the *Eloquent Peasant*, which is richer in metaphors and similes than in its thought, is after all something more than a mere series of eloquent speeches — eloquent in the Egyptian sense of the word. It has a definite abstract subject, the rights of the poor man, or, more briefly, Justice. Similarly the *Maxims of Ptahhotp* have as their theme the conduct that befits the well-born man, and more particularly the judge. The *Lebensmüde* gives an answer to the question 'Is life worth living?' However deficient in philosophical value these treatises are, when looked at from our modern standpoint, they are none the less that which in the earlier stages of Egyptian history took the place of Philosophy².

Regarded from this point of view, what is the specific problem of which our text may be said to treat? I think the answer must be, of the conditions of social and political well-being³. If we may venture to extract the essence of Ipuwer's discourse, we shall find that the things which he thought to conduce to the happily-constituted state are three: a patriotic attitude in resisting foes from within and from without; piety towards the gods; and the guiding hand of a wise and energetic ruler. This formulation of the contents seems to be unsatisfactory only in so far as it ignores the great prominence and extension given to the exposition of the downfall of the land. The writer was perhaps unable to restrain himself in the presence of the opportunity here offered to his descriptive powers. However that may be, it can scarcely be denied that the admonitions which begin on the tenth page form the kernel of the whole. Hence the title that I have chosen for this edition of the text. Before leaving the subject of its contents, I must once more affirm that there is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book.


With regard to the date at which the work was composed, this question is inextricably bound up with the problem as to the historical situation that the author had in his mind. The existence of some historical background few will venture to dispute; unless some support in facts had been forthcoming for his thesis, the Egyptian writer would have imagined an Egypt given over to anarchy and foreign invaders not much more easily than an English novelist could

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Gardiner.

imagine an England subject to the Turks. The text tells both of civil war and of an Asiatic occupation of the Delta. There are two periods which might possibly answer the requirements of the case: the one is the dark age that separates the sixth from the eleventh dynasty; the other is the Hyksos period. Sethe inclines to the view that it is the invasion of the Hyksos to which our papyrus alludes. Much may be said in favour of this alternative. Though the tombs of Siut give us a glimpse of the internal disruption of Egypt during the ninth and tenth dynasties, the monuments are silent upon the subject of Asiatic aggression at that date. Hence if the text be thought to refer to the earlier period, an historical fact of great importance must be postulated. There is no such difficulty in the view preferred by Sethe. A small point that might be thought to lend support to this hypothesis is the use of the word *l3dt* 'pestilence' or 'plague' in 2, 5; this is the identical word that is employed of the Hyksos in the first Sallier papyrus. On the other hand certain considerations may be urged in favour of the earlier date. The text belongs to a group of compositions that we are accustomed, as we thought on good grounds, to associate with the Middle Kingdom. In particular there are curious points of contact both with the *Lebensmilde* and the *Instructions of Amenemmes I.* Though, as we have seen¹, no definite deductions as to date can be based on these connections, still it is difficult not to feel that they point towards a pre-Hyksos period. It is true that we have no means of telling in what style of language literary texts of the early eighteenth dynasty were written; and it is of course possible that our text may have been composed while the Hyksos were still in the land. But on the whole the language of the papyrus (and, we may add, the palaeography) makes us wish to push back the date of the composition as far as possible. Certain administrative details may perhaps be brought forward as indicative of the earlier period of the two between which our choice lies. In 6, 12 the six 'Great Houses' are named; we know these to have been the law-courts that were in existence throughout the Old Kingdom, and it is not improbable that they became obsolete in or soon after the Middle Kingdom. Again in 10, 7 the 'Overseer of the Town' is mentioned as exercising office in the royal city of Residence; before the eighteenth dynasty this title had degenerated into a merely decorative epithet of the Vizier. It will be seen that the grounds for a decision are not very convincing on either side. The view that our Leiden papyrus contains allusions to the Hyksos has the better support from the historical standpoint, but philological and other considerations seem rather to point to the seventh to tenth dynasties as those which have provided the background of events. It is doubtless wisest to leave this question open for the present.

1) See above p. 3.



TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY.

Preliminary note. The text given below is in the main identical with that of the plates at the end of the volume, but is here divided into sections, within which the separate sentences are demarcated in such a way as to exhibit their grammatical structure. Signs enclosed in square brackets [] are restorations of lacunae in the papyrus. Emendations or dots within angular brackets < > indicate words omitted by the scribe. The orthography of the original has been retained as a rule, even where it is obviously incorrect, but here and there a slight alteration has been made. All departures from the transcription given in the plates are shown by dots beneath the line, except when they are already marked by the presence of brackets.

1.1—1.6.

[illegible]

a. M_n ^{~~~~~} with a superfluous w , as in $wwww/w$ 3, 3.


b. Ms.  or ; for various forms of the microglyph here to


be read see *Bershek* I 14, 8; *Rifek* 5, 17; *Urkunden* IV 758; and in hieratic *Anast.* I 22, 6; *Millingen* 2, 7.


..... The door [-keepers] say: Let us go and plunder. The confection-
ners The washerman refuses (?) to carry his load.
..... The bird [-catchers] have drawn up in line of battle. [The inhabitants?] of
the Marshes carry shields. The brewers sad. A man looks
upon his son as his enemy:

Men abandon their trades and professions to become soldiers; the evils of civil war are everywhere felt.


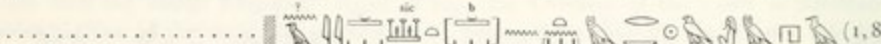
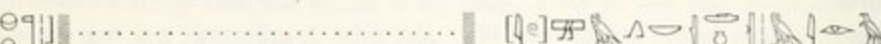

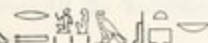
1, 1. ^Q 'say' with ellipse of *dd*, see Erman, *Aeg. Gramm.*² § 380: so often below e.g. 2, 3, 7; 6, 4, 13 etc.

1, 2. *Rhtw* must be construed as a singular, if the suffix of *stpw* be correct. — *Fst* might mean 'weighing' or 'advantage', but in juxtaposition with *stpw* 'load' (for which we might expect *stpyt* *ernw*) must have its literal meaning 'carrying' (infinitive). — For *dd* both Lange and Sethe compare the usage Sethe, *Verbum* II § 150h, where *dd*, followed by the tense *sdmf*, means 'to think' 'to plan' (Germ., *gedenken*). This suggestion is certainly not far from the truth, though here *dd* takes the infinitive, and has a slightly different sense:  = 'to refuse'. — For the determinative of *stpw*, cf. Sethe, *Verbum* I 208 and below 5, 12; similarly *hntw* 6, 1; 12, 13; *hryt* 10, 1, 2.

1, 3. *Ts škw*, aciem instruere, cf. *Sinuhe* B 54; *Amosis* 37; *Urkunden* IV 758; *Sall.* III 9, 1; *R. I. H.* 246, 73; *Millingen* 2, 7. It is probable that in this expression *škw* means 'squadrons' 'companies' cf. *Bersheh* I 14; *R. I. H.* 235, 18; *Urkunden* IV 653; and that it is to be distinguished from *šky* (or *škw*) 'battle', for which see *Mar. Karn.* 52, 12; Greene, *Fouilles* II 23; *R. I. H.* 117. Otherwise the suffix *šn* in *Amosis* 37 has nothing to refer to (a *zavā ouvraiv* construction being however not quite impossible). As Sethe points out, in *Piankhi* 8  we must translate 'Go forth in ordered line of battle (*šk ts*)', and must not separate *ts* from *šk*, as is done by Griffith in his note on *Millingen* 2, 7.

1, 5. *Snm*, see on 2, 5. — For the next sentence cf. 9, 8—9. — In the following line Sethe suggests  'and the son is ungrateful to his father': for *sh?* in this sense see *Sint* 5, 23 and the note below on 2, 11.

1, 6—1, 9.

 (1,7)
 (1,8)
 (1,9) 







a. Ms. 




b. This is an emendation, since the traces do not suit.

c. Ms. apparently 



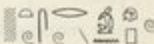



..... to(?) another. Come
 predestined for you in the time of Horus, in the age of (the Ennead).
 The virtuous man walks in mourning(?) on account of that which
 has happened in the land. The walks The tribes of the
 desert(?) have become Egyptians(?) everywhere.

1, 7. The present disasters were decreed by fate in the long bygone age, when the gods reigned upon earth. For a similar thought cf. below 1, 10. — For *m rk Hr*, cf. *dr rk Hr*, *Butler* verso 7. — The conjecture *m hzw [pšdt]* is due to Sethe, who compares *dr hzw pšdt*, *R. I. H.* 177, 2.

1, 8. *Nb kḏ* 'the man of character' 'the virtuous man'; so already *Hat Nub graffiti* 1, 3; 12, 9. —  again in 4, 13 and perhaps *Anast. IV* 11, 6; *Brit. Mus.* 574, 17 = Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* 179.  in 3, 11 is obviously a different word. — *M' hprt m t3*, cf. *hprt ht t3* 2, 3. *Ht t3* occurs several times below, cf. 2, 6; 3, 1. 3, 14; 5, 3. 10. Compare too    2, 4; 5, 5. These phrases show that it is no merely local disturbance that is here described, but a great and overwhelming national disaster.




1, 9. The admirable conjecture  is due to Sethe; for the confusion of  and  cf. on 3, 1. Egypt has fallen a prey to foreign invaders (cf. 3, 1), who have taken so firm a root in the land that they may be said to have become Egyptians. True Egyptians are nowhere to be found (cf. 3, 2); they, conversely, have become foreigners (cf. 15, 1). — *Rmt* 'Egyptians' — real 'men' in distinction to barbarians — cf. the well-known scene from the tomb of Sethos I, *Champ. Mon.* 238 = Rosellini, *Mon. stor.* 155; and below 3, 2; 4, 1(?) — *M st nbt*, a favourite phrase in our papyrus; cf. 2, 2. 6. 14; 3, 2; 4, 7.

1, 9—11.

 (1, 10)  
 (1, 11)  


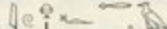
Two or three lines entirely lost.

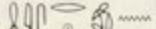
Forsooth, the face is pale(?) *which(?)*
the ancestors had foretold

1, 9. Here for the first time¹ we meet with the formula *hw ms*, which introduces each new topic in the dreary description of Egypt's downfall until 7, 1, when its place is taken by  or . It is all the more necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of this phrase, since it might be thought to exert a modal or temporal influence over the statements that follow it, such as would cast them into the dim futurity of prophecy, represent them as contingent or as yet unfulfilled, or even wholly negative their meaning. In the Introduction (§ 4) the internal evidence of the papyrus was examined at length, and the conclusion was reached that the sections 1, 1—6, 14 and 7, 1—10, 6 together contain a long exposition of social and political disorders put into the mouth of a speaker who treats them as existent and undeniable, who views himself and his audience as the victims of this condition of things, and who uses it as the text for his admonishments and moralizings. It was pointed out that there is little or no progress of thought or change of attitude observable when we pass from the first section to the second; in the latter however  is substituted for *hw ms*, so that the conclusion is forced upon us that *hw ms* cannot possess a meaning much more significant than *mln* 'behold'. Still the very rarity of the particle *ms* precludes the supposition that it is wholly lacking in colour and intention, and thus the question arises as to the precise nuance of tone or emphasis that it should be understood to imply. The clearest instances outside our papyrus are *Westcar* 2, 5;

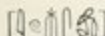
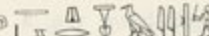

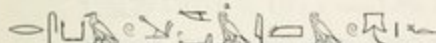
¹ It is probably mere accident that no example of *hw ms* is found in the remaining portions of the previous lines. To judge from their sense, it is impossible to separate 1, 1—9 from what follows.

quire into the particular *nuance* of feeling that it possesses in our papyrus. As we have seen in the Introduction, the dramatic position is highly problematical. Yet there can be little doubt that, as in the *Lebensmüde*, with which our text shows so many points of contact, the speaker's audience are called upon to open their eyes to facts in respect of which they have hitherto shown themselves apathetic, and to learn the lessons inculcated thereby. Thus the function of *ms* is here to admonish.

 cf. 2, 2. Sethe well compares Ebers 42, 9  'his face is pale(?)'. For the use of *hr*, see Vogelsang's notes on *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 60. 188. The foreign word 'dt in *Pap. jud. Turin* 4, 5 is not to be confused with '3d here.



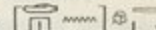
1, 10. Cf.  quoted by Golenischeff *Ä. Z.* 14 (1876), 108 from *Pap. Petersburg* 1. — For the sense see above 1, 7 note.

1, 14(?)—2, 1.

 (2, 1)  


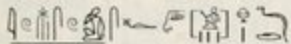

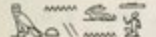
a. Ms. has a meaningless ligature, which however may easily be emended to *m*.

[Forsooth] the land full of confederates. A man goes out to plough with his shield.

2, 1. *Hr smjy*, cf. 7, 7. — Sethe suggests: '[The wrongdoers] upon earth have confederates'; but we should then require  instead of . Perhaps some such phrase as  (see *Ä. Z.* 34 [1896], 30) should be emended.

If the conjecture *m* be correct, the sense may be; even those engaged in the peaceful occupation of ploughing have to carry shields; we should however expect *hr* for *m*, cf. 1, 4. Sethe prefers to suppose that the man used his shield (*m* instrumentally) instead of a plough. A third possibility is to regard the phrase 'to plough with his shield' as a metaphorical expression for 'to fight' — 'a man goes forth to fight instead of to plough'.

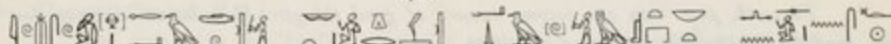
2, 1—2, 2.

 (2, 2) 


Forsooth, the meek say [The man who is of]
 face is like him who

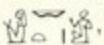
2, 2. *Nti wn*, see the note on 3, 14.

2, 2.



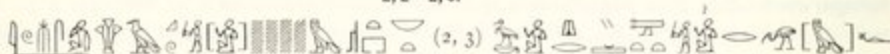
— the nominal sentence being suppressed. As the later spelling  (*Ä. Z.* 44 [1907], 46) shows, its origin was subsequently forgotten. — The suggestion that this *hw ms* is preserved in the coptic verb *hmac* (*Ä. Z.* 41 [1904], 148) has been successfully controverted by Boeser (*Ä. Z.* 42 [1905], 86).

Forsooth, the face is pale(?) The Bowman is ready. The wrongdoer is everywhere. There is no man of yesterday.

2, 2. [Hr] '3dw, see 1, 9 note. — Pdty(?) 'bowman' (note the masculine pseudoparticipial grg) is not found as a singular elsewhere; perhaps we should emend , the usual phrase for 'bowman' in the Middle Kingdom.

Nu si n sf. Probably we should understand, with Sethe: the times are changed, there are no men of yesterday, — only novi homines, upstarts, men of today.

2, 2—2, 3.



Forsooth, the plunderer(?) ... everywhere. The servant ... to find it.

2, 2. H3kw again below 2, 9; 8, 10. 11; see the note on 2, 9.

2, 3. This clause is certainly corrupt.

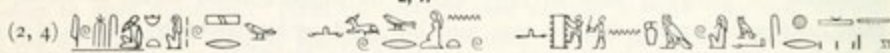
2, 3.




Forsooth, Nile overflows, (yet) no one ploughs for him. Every man says: we know not what has happened throughout the land.

2, 3. Nf 'for him' i. e. for the Nile personified as a god.

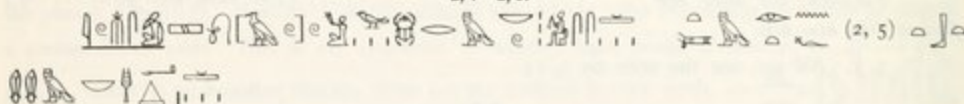
2, 4.



Forsooth, women are lacking, and no (children) are conceived. Khnum fashions (mankind) no longer because of the condition of the land.



2, 4. W3r 'be wanting' 'lacking'. So Sethe correctly; not 'barren', as I, following Lange, had rendered. Lange quotes Piehl, *Inscr.* I 38, 9—39, 1  — Khnum is here the potter who fashions men on his wheel; cf. below 5, 6.

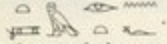



2, 4—2, 5.






Forsooth, poor men are become owners of good things. He who could make for himself no sandals is (now) the possessor of riches.

2, 4. Šw3, opposed to 3psw below 2, 7, to 3wdw below 8, 2; from these and other passages (*Millingen* 1, 6; *Sinuhe* 309; *Mar. Karnak* 37b, 7; *Harris* 75, 4 [contrasted with bw3w]) it appears to mean 'poor' 'in humble circumstances'. As verb, 'to be poor' on a M. K. sarcophagus,

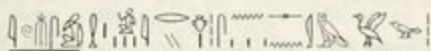
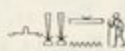
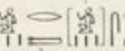


Rec. de Trav. 26, 67; the causative below 7, 2; 9, 6. — *Nb* 3^{ps}, cf. 8, 8; *Rifeh* 4, 59; as Sethe points out, *špsš* 'good things' (especially eatables) (cf. 3, 3; 8, 1. 8.) has here as elsewhere (e. g. *Westcar* 7, 21; *Urkunden IV* 52. 334. 335. 515) always the geminated form, which thus serves to distinguish it from  'noble men' (2, 7), and from  'noble women' (3, 4; 4, 12; 8, 8. 9. 13; 9, 1).

. The infinitive  is doubtless due to the New Egyptian scribe, who for this form of the verb however usually writes  or  (Sethe, *Verbum II* § 683); perhaps we should read *r* for *t* here, though the sign is made small (cf. *r ky* 1, 6; *irw* 6, 5; *dsr* 6, 5).



The correct old form after *tm* occurs below,  7, 8; 12, 11; so too  8, 1;  9, 4.

2, 5. *Nb* *h w*, lit. 'possessor of heaps', cf. 2, 9; 7, 12; 8, 1; *Siut* 1, 247; *Lebensmüde* 33; *Rifeh* 7, 50. So in Coptic *ⲁⲑⲟ* 'treasure'.







2, 5.

 |  |  |  |  |




Forsooth, men's slaves, their hearts are sad. Princes do not fraternise with their people(?) when they rejoice(?)


2, 5.  in place of a suffix, as often elsewhere, occurs below e. g. 2, 12; 3, 8; 12, 3; here doubtless vaguely, 'men's slaves'. — *Sum* is probably identical with the verb 'to be sad', hitherto known only from texts in Dendera (cf. *Ä. Z.* 43 [1906], 113) and from *Canopus* 26, 29, where *τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ πένθους* is rendered by . This sense suits well here, and fairly well in 3, 4; in 1, 5 the context is lost. *Sum* in 12, 6 is possibly a different word. — The conjecture *nhm* is accepted by Sethe, who translates as above.

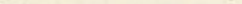
2, 5—6.

 (2, 6) |  |  |  |  |  |

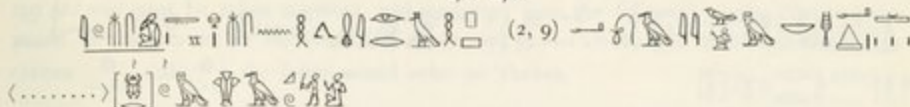
Forsooth, (men's) hearts are violent. Plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere. Death is not lacking(?). The mummycloth(?) speaks, before ever one comes near it(?)

2, 5. *l(3)dt* is apparently a term of opprobrium for all malign influences. It is used of the Hyksos *Sall.* I, 1, 1; cf. *Pap. Leiden* 350 recto 1, 13. It is especially frequent in magical texts in the phrase  *Sall.* IV 8, 9; 15, 1; *Pap. Leiden* 346, 2, 4, 7, where it cannot be altogether dissociated from the masculine word  in Middle Kingdom texts; cf. *mi Shmt rnpt idw*, *Sinuhe* 45; similarly (spelt ) *Rec. de Trav.* 15, 179; *rnpt n idw L. D.* II 150a, 6; *nbt idw*, *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 120.


2, 6. The verb *nk:n* (or *h:n*?) is probably corrupt; a similar word occurs in 4, 2. In both places the emendation  would be suitable. — The translation of the last two sentences is due to Sethe. The sense seems to be: corpses are everywhere, and the very bandages cry out, so that they can be heard without drawing near to them.

Ebers 89, 16, 18; and possibly in  (*scil.* t3 'the land'), *Urkunden IV* 247, if sôt is there to be read. — *Hd* hōšw, as epithet, occurs *Sinuhe* 153; Petrie, *Denderah* 15, 4; *Leiden V* 6.

2.8—2.9.

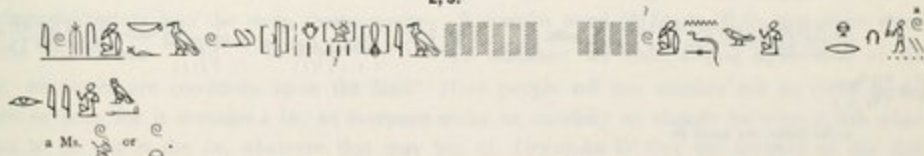


Forsooth, the land turns round as does a potter's wheel. The robber is a possessor of riches. (The rich man?) is [become?] a plunderer.


2, 8. *Msnh* 'to turn round' 'be reversed', first in *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 2, 1; in the New Kingdom spelt either so (e. g. *Pap. Leiden* 350, recto 2, 6), or without *n*  (Br. *Wörterb.* 704), often with the meaning 'to turn away' 'dazzled by the light of the sun'. — *Nhp* 'potter's wheel', Br. *Wörterb.* 795.

2, 9. *Nb* 'h'w, see the note on 2, 5. — *H3kw* again above 2, 2; the plural *h3ky* below 8, 10, 11. If the form be participial, it can only be that of the imperfect active participle, as the plural *h3ky* shows (cf. Sethe, *Verbum* II § 870). In this case the sense must be: he who was once a robber is now rich, and he who was formerly rich is now a robber. However both Lange and Sethe prefer a passive meaning for *h3kw* 'a man who is plundered' or 'captured as plunder'. — The lacuna before *m h3kw* is not nearly big enough to have contained the substantive which the antithesis demands; and it should probably be assumed that *nb* 'h'w, or some synonymous expression, has been omitted by the scribe.

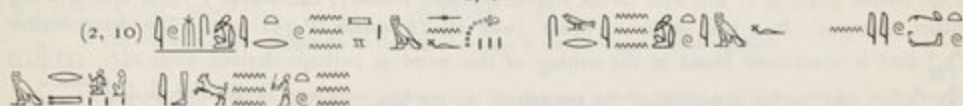
2.9.



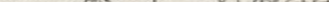
Forsooth, trusty servants(?) are [like?] The poor man [complains?]:
how terrible it is(?); what am I to do?

2, 9. *Kfz-ib*, a good quality of uncertain meaning, cf. *Prisse* 8, 6. 13, 8; frequently as epithet of the , e. g. *Bersheh* I 20. 29; *Rekhmere* 3, 33. — For *hr-wy* the above rendering is proposed by Sethe.

2.10.



Forsooth, the river is blood, and (yet) men drink of it. Men shrink from(?) (tasting?) human beings, and thirst after water.

2, 10. *Nl* as transitive verb in  *Eloquent Peasant B 2, 106*

recto 7, 2; *Pap. Leiden* 350, recto 5, 15) may be due to a confusion with *swk*¹. (3) Possibly to be distinguished from (1) and (2) is (*Siut* 5, 23; *Prisse* 14, 11; perhaps here 1, 5), which may refer to a bad quality such as 'ingratitude'.

Dpt metaphorically for the ship of state (so Lange, Sethe) only here. — As Sethe points out *hbs nwt* must be taken together, and separated from the following words: 'the southern town' would be *nt rst*, not *nt 3m* (see *A. Z.* 44 [1907], 5) — One might hesitate between the restorations and ; the latter would refer to Thebes.

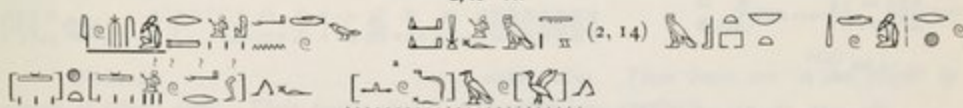
2, 12—2, 13.



Forsooth, crocodiles are gluttoned(?) with what they have captured. Men go to them of their own accord. It fares ill with the earth too(?) People say: walk not here, behold it is a Behold people tread [upon the earth?] like fishes. The timid man does not(?) distinguish it through terror.

2, 12. In this extremely difficult passage Sethe proposes, with great ingenuity, to understand as follows. The crocodiles have more than enough to feed upon; men commit suicide by casting themselves into the river as their prey. A foreign word *[h]fp* or *[3]fp* may have stood in the first lacuna. — To continue: we must emend *hd-tw n t3* or the like; no better are conditions upon the land. Here people tell one another not to tread in this place or that, for it contains a *3n*; so everyone walks as carefully as though he were a fish which fears to be put in the *3n*, whatever that may be; cf. *Urkunden* IV 659 the corpses of the slain lay . Men are so full of terror that they can no longer distinguish the earth (*sw*) from the water.

2, 13—14.



a This reading, no longer recognizable on the original papyrus, is strongly suggested by the facsimile.

¹ Such are the conclusions to which my examination of the Dictionary material brought me. Sethe, who has studied the instances afresh, writes to me suggesting another view. He considers that *swk*(?) originally meant 'to roar', esp. of Typhonic animals, (cf. the passages from *Pap. Leid.* 343 and 350 etc., here too metaphorically „das Schiff der Südkäfer kracht“); the meaning 'to boast' 'praise' he regards as secondary and derivative. It seems to me that if this view be accepted the distinction between *swk* and *shz* becomes very dubious; it is at least remarkable that two words of so similar appearance should *shz* denote Typhonic attributes; and I very much doubt the transition of meaning from 'roar' to 'praise'. Therefore I prefer my own mode of interpretation, though of course its assumption of confused spellings is by no means satisfactory. We sorely need early examples of (1) and (2).

participle in the form of the 3rd. person masculine singular, cf. 2, 4; 4, 13; 9, 1. — *Pdt* must be translated 'a foreign tribe' (Sethe „ein Bogenvolk"), as the feminine pseudoparticiple *iyti* shows.

3, 1—3, 2.

(3, 2)

Forsooth, people come(?) *There are no Egyptians anywhere.*

3, 2. If, as is probable, this section continued the topic that was broached in the last, *rmf* must be taken to mean 'Egyptians'; see the note on 1, 9.

3, 2—3, 3.

a Ms. with a superfluous *n*, as in 1, 1.

Forsooth, gold and lapis lazuli, silver and malachite, carnelian and bronze, stone of Yebhet and are fastened on the necks of female slaves. Good things are in the land. (Yet) the mistresses of houses say: would that we had something to eat.





3, 2. On *hm3g3t* and *ibht* see Brugsch, *Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*, pp. 129—130; *hm3g3t* already *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, verso 2, 6.

3, 3. *Mnh* of 'fastening' beads on a thread, *ibid.* recto 1, 3; verso 2, 6: here too the reference is to costly necklets. — Read and see the note on 2, 4. — relative form, for ; *ti* for *t*, cf. 3, 7 and the formula frequently so written.




3, 3—3, 4.












Forsooth, noble ladies. Their limbs are in sad plight by reason of (their) rags. Their hearts sink(?) in greeting [one another?]



















3, 4. *Sum*, see on 2, 5, here metaphorically. — *Isytw* 'rags', again below in 7, 11: either from *lsw* 'to be old' or from *lsy* ($\Delta\epsilon\alpha\iota$) 'to be light' or 'worthless'. — *Btk*, in 9, 1 determined by seems to mean something bad; the verbal stem appears in *Weni* 29, and in *Totb. ed. Nav.* 113, 5; also in some late texts quoted by Br., *Wörterb. Suppl.*, 463. — The sense may be: noble ladies are now so ill clad that they are ashamed to greet their friends.

After *kdw* the traces are difficult to read; *hpr* is rendered likely by the following letter ; the plural strokes are probable, and above them there is some sign like . Perhaps  is the right reading;  does not suit well, for 'to build ships' is in Egyptian usually *mdh* or simply *irt*, but not *kd*. The sense is not clear: perhaps the 'Pyramidbuilders' and 'those who were in the divine bark' are the princes and priests of Egypt, who in contrast to the foreign chieftains and priests mentioned below, are now reduced to the position of field-labourers.





Dpt ntr elsewhere either (1) a mythological ship, cf. *Pyramidtexts*, T 93; *Urkunden* IV 366; or (2) the divine bark used in the temple ceremonies; so often in tomb-formulae where the deceased man expresses the wish that he may sail therein, or states that he has done so, e.g. *Mission* V 545; *Brit. Mus. stele* 580; *Cairo, M. K. stele* 20564. Such divine ships were usually made of cedar-wood. — *Nhb* 'yoked', like oxen to the plough.

3, 7. The conjecture    'Byblos' is due to Sethe, and suits the traces, the space, and the context quite admirably. It is now well-known that Byblos was the port from which the Egyptians sought access to the Lebanon; see Sethe, *Eine äg. Exped. nach dem Libanon*, pp. 2, 8. — *Pw-tri* (cf. below 3, 13; 4, 6) is the NE writing of the old interrogative particle *ptri*, *pti*, cf. Erman, *Aeg. Gramm.* § 387. — For the spelling of *irtu* see the note on 3, 3; and for similar phrases, cf. 3, 13; 4, 7.

The next two clauses must be taken as relative sentences, in which the suffix of *inw-sn* and *iry* in *sft iry* refer to the word *šw*. This is the explanation adopted by Sethe. I had rejected it for two reasons, neither of which is convincing; (1) *inw-sn* 'their tribute' 'produce' is difficult, if 'their' refers to *šw* 'cedars'; (2) *sft*-oil is mentioned in the ancient lists of offering (e.g. *Mar. Mast.* C 27; D 47) beside    . The metaphor of (1) is indeed hard, but still not impossible so. The answer to (2) is that *sft* is a generic word, and as such may be distinguished from the more specific expression 'cedar-oil'. But there is no reason why cedar-oil should not occasionally be called *sft*; indeed in the magical papyrus *Salt* 825, 2, 3 it seems to be specially so used: the blood of Geb fell upon the ground, and grew;        'thus came into existence the cedar, and from its water the cedar-oil'. In Coptic *ye nēnbe* is cedar-wood, and *enbe: enpi* is used for 'cedar-oil' or 'cedar-resin' (see Peyron).

Stchw 'to embalm' cf.              *Urkunden* IV 538. 913;    *Brit. Mus. stele* 378, 9 = Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* I 48. Whether the word is identical with   in Ebers is uncertain.

3, 8. For the latest discussion of the land *Kftw* (here wrongly spelt) see W. Max Müller, *Mitt. d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1904, 2, pp. 13—15. — *Hd* and *kn* seem to be parallel verbs, though *kn* is elsewhere unknown before the New Kingdom. — *Inyt* only here.

3, 9. In *kf* Sethe sees the verb 'to be laid waste'; in this case a word must be lost before *nt*. Perhaps it would be better to emend     'the king's palace is stripped bare'.

Sethe is probably right in understanding *wr-wy* ironically: the products of the Oases were very insignificant as compared with those of Asia. — *Hbyt* elsewhere unknown. — *Rdmt* (often wrongly transcribed *ddmt*) cf. *Harris* 8, 4; 27, 11 etc.; *Anast.* IV 8, 11; and as a product of the

Wady Natrun (*Sht hmt*, reckoned as one of the Oases, Düm., *Die Oasen d. Lib. Wüste*, p. 29), *Eloquent Peasant* R 9.

3, 10 probably named other articles that came from the Oases.

3, 10—3, 13.




Forsooth, Elephantine and Thinis(?) are [the dominion of?] Upper Egypt(?), (yet) without paying taxes owing to civil strife. Lacking are grain(?), charcoal, The products of craftsmen the palace. To what purpose is a treasure-house without its revenues? Glad indeed is the heart of the king, when Truth comes to him! Lo, every foreign country [comes?]. That is our water! That is our happiness! What shall we do in respect thereof? All is ruin!

3, 10. The translation of the first sentence is that proposed by Sethe. *Šm't*, as it stands, is the feminine adjective, and the only suitable substantive that can be emended is *šrt*. Properly speaking, the *šrt šm't* is the old Upper Egyptian palace, the so-called *pr-wr* (*Ä. Z.* 44 [1907], 17) but since later the expression 'the two *šrtw*' is used as a synonym for 'Egypt' (e. g. Pichl, *Inscr.* II 33, 5), so here *šrt šm't* might mean 'Upper Egypt'. The sense would then be that the dominion of Upper Egypt is now restricted to the country between Elephantine and Thinis, which were, at a certain moment in the XIth. Dynasty, the actual limits of the kingdom (see Meyer, *Nachträge zur aeg. Chronologie*, p. 24). — It is however not quite certain that *Tny* is to be understood as Thinis; instead of the expected determinative ☐, the Ms. seems to have a vertical stroke.

3, 11. [*H3*]yt 'civil strife', cf. *Sinuhe* B 7; below 7, 6; 13, 2. — In we should probably omit and construe as above 3, 8. — *šrtw* possibly a kind of fruit, see *Ebers* 30, 5; 104, 7. — *D'bt* 'charcoal', see Br. *Wörterb. Suppl.*, 1381.

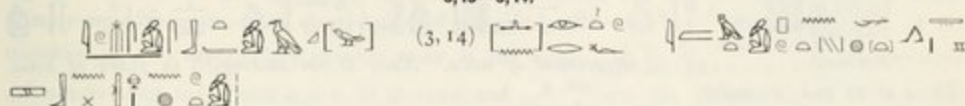
3, 12. *Nfr lb*, cf. below 13, 14; *Westcar* 5, 14; 12, 8. The contrary is expressed by e. g. *ibid.* 12, 21; *Harris* 500, verso 1, 5. — The sentence is to be taken, in agreement with Sethe, ironically; in his poverty the king must feel himself happy, if he obtain Truth in lieu of tribute. Thus we have a parallel to *wrwy lw Wthw* in the last section (3, 9).

The repetition of *šs* makes it likely that the next clause is also ironical. Perhaps we should emend [*Δ*☐]; instead of tribute, every country comes, i. e. the land is overrun with foreigners.

Mw-n pw may be an allusion to the phrase 'to be on the water'  of someone' i. e. subject to him. At all events the first person plural is a comment of the writer.















3, 14. *Pw-try irt-n rs*, cf. above 3, 7. — For *wsw r 'kw* cf. below 9, 6 and the note on 7, 1.

3, 13—3, 14.

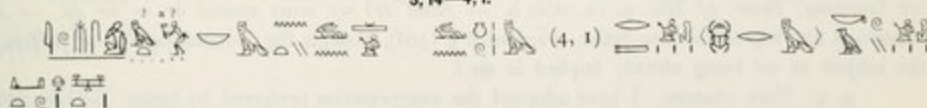


Forsooth, mirth has perished, and is [no longer] made. It is groaning that is throughout the land, mingled with lamentations.

3, 13. *Sbt*, the old form of *cohe*, cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 149; *Pap. Leiden* 346, 3, 1; the later writings substitute *i* or *iz* for *t*, e. g. *Sall. I* 8, 11; *Piankhi* 6; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, 5. 6. 11.

3, 14. *Imt* 'groaning' 'grief'; as infinitive below 5, 5. 6. Elsewhere known from *Metternichstele* 56     'she traversed(?) her city groaning'; *Pap. Leiden* 348, verso 1, 2; 12, 1. 5;     'to grieve', *Pap. Turin* 135, 12. Possibly too in *Sinuhe R* 11   (Cairo ostrakon    ).

3, 14—4, 1.



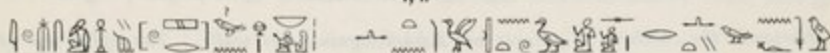
a See note p on plate 3.

Forsooth, all dead are like those who live(?)?. Those who were Egyptians(?) have become foreigners(?)





3, 14. Hopelessly obscure. — *Nty wn*, cf. 2, 2 and *Millingen* 1, 7, where Griffith suggested 'the man of importance'.

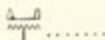
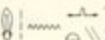

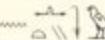
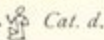
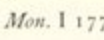
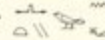
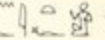

4, 1. This is Sethe's suggestion; *rmf* as above in 1, 9; 3, 2. — The last phrase is quite untranslatable; elsewhere *dit hr wst* means 'to place (someone) on the way' i. e. 'to direct' or 'guide'; cf. *Sinuhe* 97. 251; *Totb. ed. Nav.* 75, 6.

4, 1.


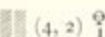

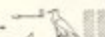
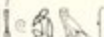
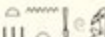

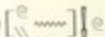



Forsooth, hair has fallen out for everyone. The son of a man of rank is no (longer) distinguished from him who has no such father(?)

4, 1. We may have here a reference to the side-lock worn by the children of the wealthy. — *Wsr* is conjectured by Sethe. — For *s3 sk*, see the note on 2, 14. — *htwy nf sw* is very unclear; if it is correct we must assume the word 'father' to be understood out of the words *s3 sk*; the phrase *htwy sw* occurs in a vague sense also in other texts, e. g.     Cairo

stele M. K. 20539, 5; *Urkunden* IV 48; possibly too in   Cairo stele M. K. 20537;     *Cat. d. Mon.* I 177. However    would be an easy emendation.

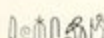
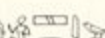
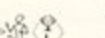

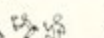
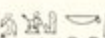
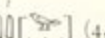
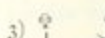






4, 1-4, 2.

 (4, 2)        

Forsooth on account of noise. Noise is not lacking(?) in years of noise. There is no end [to] noise.


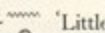
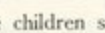
4, 2. There is clearly some play upon the word *hrw* here, the point of which is to us obscure. — For a suggestion with regard to *kz* see the note on 2, 6.

4, 2-4, 3.

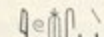
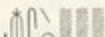

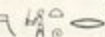



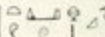


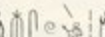
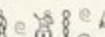

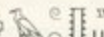


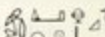


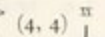

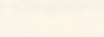
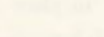








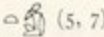

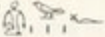


       (4, 3)  
    

Forsooth, great and small (say): I wish I might die. Little children say(?): he ought never to have caused (me) to live(?).

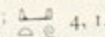
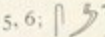

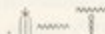
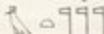
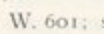
4, 2. *Wr*; the hieratic sign is different to that employed by the scribe for *sr* (e.g. 4, 3); see Gardiner, *Inscr. of Mes.* p. 12, note 9. — After *3rī* we must emend *hr* or *hr dd*. — *Mt-l* is perhaps not impossible (see Sethe, *Verbum* II § 150f), though the infinitive would be preferable, the subject of *mt* being already implied in *mr-l*.


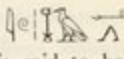
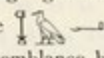

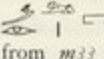
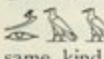

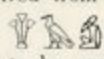
4, 3. Very obscure. I have adopted the interpretation preferred by Sethe; *sw* here refers to the father of the children. Another possibility is to understand *tm sw* elliptically and to read    'Little children say "would that it did not exist" concerning life'.

4, 3-4, 4 (= 5, 6-5, 7).

        
(5, 6)         
  (4, 4)       
    (5, 7)     

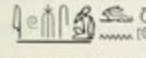
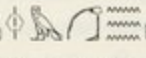
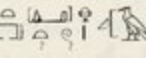
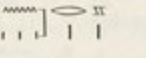
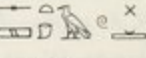
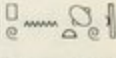
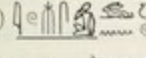
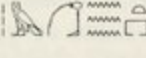
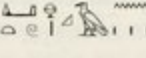
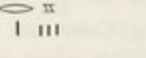
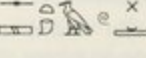
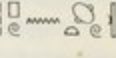
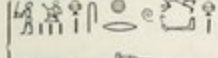
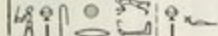
Forsooth, the children of princes are dashed against the walls. The offspring of desire are laid out on the high ground. Khnum groans because of his weariness.

4, 3. This section is repeated below in 5, 6 with a short additional clause. Both versions are here given together. — *Hytw*; for the strange form cf. below 4, 9;  4, 1, 4; 5, 6;  6, 8. — *Nhbt* 'neck' is clearly meaningless, and should be rejected in favour of *nht* in 5, 6; *nht* seems to be used in the sense of 'to pray for' 'wish for' children already in the Pyramid-texts, cf. (W)     W. 601; so too in the late text, Br. *Thes.* 923.

 cf. below 4, 4; 6, 14; 7, 8; Abbott 4, 3 '(the possessors of tombs)  are cast out upon the high ground'. In *Lebensmüde* 59 'burial' is said to be 'that which snatches a man from his house  and casts (him) on the high ground' i. e. on the high *gebel*; the resemblance between this and the Abbott passage is sufficiently close to warrant the identification of the words *k3nr* and *k33*. Another instance of the transition of 3 to *nr* (*l3*) may possibly occur in the words  (in the name *H'-m-m3nr*, *Pap. jud. Turin* 4, 9; L. D. III 219e) and  *Six Temples* 12, 12, if these and  *Harris* 17a, 14 are really derived from *m33* 'to see'; and a third case of the same kind may well be  and , both of them particles meaning 'would that'. This change of sound is of course not to be confounded with the class of spellings discussed by Erman, *Zur ägypt. Wortforschung*, pp. 13-14.

5, 7. The sense must be: Khnum groans over his wearying exertions in creating children who are doomed to perish at once. For Khnum as creator of mankind cf. 2, 4; and for *iml*, see 3, 14 note.

4, 4 (= 6, 14).

     
 (6, 14)      



Forsooth, those who were in the place of embalment are laid on the high ground. It is the secret of the embalmers(?)

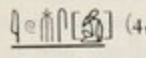
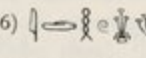
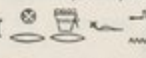
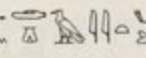


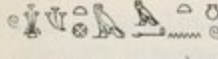
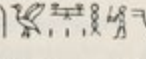
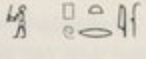
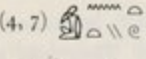
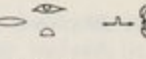
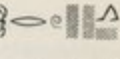
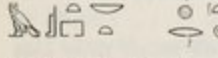
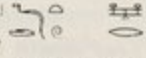
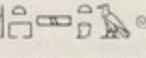
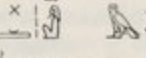
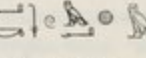
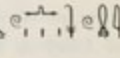
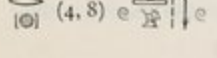
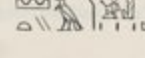

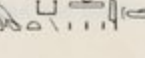


4, 4 = 6, 14. — For *w'bt*, see the note on 2, 7. — *Ditw hr k3nr* seems to have the same sense as *k3' hr k3nr* in the Abbott passage quoted above in the note on 4, 3.

The second half of the paragraph is probably corrupt. The sense that we might expect is: the secret art of the embalmers is thereby made useless.

4, 4-4, 5 (= 5, 12-5, 13).

The next section, beginning with the words *[tw m]s n33 3kw*, is repeated below in 5, 12 foll. as part of a longer paragraph; its consideration is therefore deferred until we reach that passage.

4, 5-4, 8.

 (4, 6)     
     
     
 (4, 8)     

Forsooth, the Marshlands in their entirety are not hidden. Lower Egypt can boast of trodden roads. What shall one do? There are no anywhere. People shall surely(?) say: cursed be(?) the secret place! Behold, it is in the hands of(?) those who knew it not like those who knew it. The Asiatics are skilled in the crafts of the Marshlands.

4, 5. The Marshlands of the Delta, hitherto barely accessible to the Egyptians themselves, are now opened up and overrun by Asiatics, who have made themselves masters in the crafts of those regions.

4, 6. There is apparently paronomasia between *idhw* and *dgztyw*, and between *mh-ib* and *Tz-mh*. — *Dg* 'to conceal', *Sinuhe* 4; *Prisse* 5, 10; the causative *sdg* is much more common. — *Mtnw htw*, either 'trodden' or 'levelled' roads; cf. 'roads that were blocked on both sides are (now) trodden(?)', *Urkunden IV* 385; Rochem. *Edfou I* 95; Piehl, *Inscr. II* 20a.

4, 7. Sethe's conjecture seems too big for the lacuna. — For *wz r*, see the note on 7, 1. — We must read 'the secret place'; for this phrase, see below 6, 6; *Cairo stele M. K.* 20003; *Bersheh II*, 21; *Louvre C* 41; *Benihasan* 2, 14; and, with a less literal meaning, *Urkunden IV* 966. — In *stw* is for (Sethe).

4, 8. *Hm* 'skilled' e. g. *Cairo stele M. K.* 20539; *Urkunden IV* 555; construed, as here, with *m*, cf. *Anast. I*, 1, 1.

4, 8—4, 13.

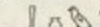







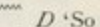



(4, 9) (4, 10) (4, 11) (4, 12) (4, 13)

a Ms. b Ms. c Ms. d Ms.

Forsooth let citizens be(?) placed over corn-rubbers(?). Those who were clad in fine linen are beaten(?) Those who never saw the day go forth unhindered(?) Those who were on the couches of their husbands, let them sleep upon of(?) I say(?) 'it is heavy to me' concerning(?) laden with 'ntw-oil. Load them(?) with vessels filled with [Let?] them know the palanquin. As for the butler, wear him out(?). Good




are the remedies thereof? Noble ladies suffer (?) like slave-girls. Musicians are in (?) the chambers within the halls (?). What they sing to the goddess Mert (?) is dirges (?). Story-tellers (?) over the corn-rubbers.








4, 8—4, 13. This paragraph teems with difficulties, and the interpretation here offered is put forward with the utmost diffidence. The point seems to lie in the words *good are the remedies thereof* (4, 11—12), which must be ironically meant, as the next clauses go on to say that *noble ladies suffer (?) like slave-girls*, the female musicians sing nothing but dirges, etc. The phrase *phrt iry* suggests that some desperate remedy by which the Egyptians might find an issue out of their afflictions had been proposed — not seriously of course — in the preceding lines, and the occurrence of an imperative *imi* (4, 10) seems to confirm this hypothesis. Now the first sentences of the section appear to speak of the degradation of citizens to menial duties, and there are references to the palanquin, to butlers, and to myrrh and spices. Is it not possible that the general sense may be as follows? However brutally individuals may compel others to cater to their personal luxury, all such striving after diversions is vain and futile; the noble lady cannot isolate herself from the surrounding misery, and suffers no less than her maid-servants; even the singers and story-tellers within her halls have no other theme than the common woe.

4, 8. *Hmw* is discussed by Griffith in his note on *Pap. Kahun* 12, 5. —  in *Urkunden IV* 831 is a species of stone; here however it seems, as in some other passages, to mean the stone upon which female slaves grind corn with the 'corn-rubber'; cf. the statuettes of female domestics from Middle Kingdom tombs and the similar methods employed in bread-making that are still practised in Lower Nubia (Garstang, *Burial Customs* pp. 63—64 and 128). In the magical treatise *Pap. Leiden* 343 recto 2, 8 (= verso 4, 3) the malady or evil spirit is thus addressed:        *P*  *D* 'So grindest thou (corn) over a corn-rubber, so servest thou over the corn-rubber of *P* and *D*'. Similarly *Prisse* 5, 10: 'A good saying is more hidden than a gem; it is found   in the hand of female slaves over the corn-rubbers' i. e. among domestics in the lowest station of life. Note how suitably the preposition *hr* is used in this connection. Here therefore it seems to be said that citizens are degraded to the vilest menial duties. *Bnw* occurs again below in 4, 13. — Observe that  is here the passive of the *sdmf*-form, not the pseudoparticle; an action, not a state or condition, is therefore here described, and in accordance with the view of the passage above suggested I venture to translate it as an optative.

4.9. As Sethe points out, *hbsy*, *tmy* and *wmy* are imperfect, not perfect, participles; perhaps they refer to customary action in the past — 'those who used to be clad' etc. The meaning of the first two clauses (those introduced by *hbsy* and *tmy*) is not clear. For *wmy* we ought apparently to read the feminine plural.





4, 10. The imperative *iml*, on the view of the general drift above proposed, is virtually concessive in sense: 'however much those who are on the beds of their husbands be caused (now) to lie on (i. e. whatever brutal degradation men may inflict on women of rank) (yet all such) remedies are futile'. No doubt this interpretation is difficult; but it may perhaps be more easily reconciled with the rest of the context than Sethe's proposal; he regards this as a wish



of the speaker, who desires such luxury to be done away with. — *Šdw*, here determined with a sign that seems to be an imperfectly made , has  as determinative in 7, 10; in both passages the word is contrasted with *hukyt*, and obviously denotes some less agreeable place of repose. In 9, 1  'waterskin' appears to occur in a similar, though obscure, context.





 , as it stands, can only be a comment of the speaker: if we accept this view, *huf dws rī r* (for *dws r* cf. 4, 14) must be translated 'it (i. e. this state of affairs) is heavier to me than' — what follows being a mere elaborate metaphor for a particularly heavy burden. But (1) such a comment would be insufferably abrupt and cannot be made to fit in with the preceding sentence, and (2) it seems far from likely that the mention of 'myrrh' 'vessels' 'palanquin' in a context clearly alluding to luxurious life (cf. 'butlers' 'musicians' 'story-tellers') is merely figurative. Therefore I should prefer to emend:      'When the say 'It is heavy to me' concerning *šdw* (unknown) laden with 'ntlw-oil, (then) load them with vessels full of; [let] 'them know (the weight of) the palanquin'. The sense would be: do not spare your servants, when they complain of the heaviness of their burdens; and this would be another of the 'remedies', the futility of which is soon to be pointed out.

4, 11. *hwh-st* would then be an imperative, like *imī sdr-sn* above, and possibly like *hḏ-sz* below. *hwh* has two meanings 'to load (a person)' and 'to carry' 'support' a load'. — For *ndw* cf. Mar. Mast. D 10. 41; Ebers 64, 6; Cairo stele M. K. 20514.

4, 12. On the view here adopted *nfr pw phrt ỉry* is the climax and answer to what precedes: fine is the cure which such callous luxury brings! *Nfr* would then be used ironically, as in 3, 12.

 cf. 13, 5; in Totb. ed. Nav. 42, 22 apparently an intransitive verb for 'to suffer' or the like;  (3ae. infirmae) seems to occur in a similar sense in the Pyramidtexts (cf. Sethe, *Verbum* I § 265); as substantive  Metternichstele 55;  Rochem. *Edfou* I 321. 324.

Hnyt 'female musicians' cf. Westcar 10, 1; 11, 24. In a Theban tomb (*Urkunden* IV 1059)  of Amon and other gods are depicted carrying the *mnit* and sistrum, and are therefore 'musicians', rather than 'dancers' as Erman proposed. —  cf. Piankh 113; Metternichstele 48; Sall. II 7, 2; 11, 2.

4, 13. A word  occurs in *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 2, 5, but it is difficult to see what it could mean in this connection. We ought doubtless to emend   , for which see 7, 14 note. — For *irtw* see the note on 1, 8.

4, 13—4, 14.

                      (4, 14)                             

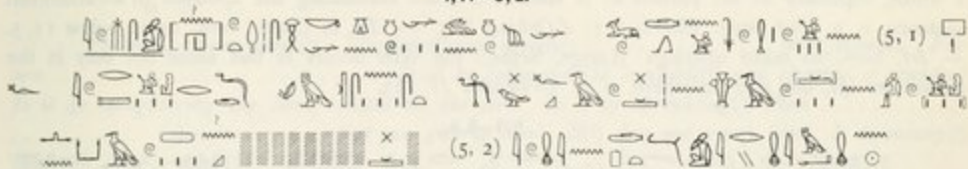
1) The transition of meaning is interesting; it consists in the conversion of some thing or person more remotely affected by the meaning of the verb into its object. Similar instances that I have noted are: *dg* 'to plant' trees, and 'to plant' gardens with trees; *Aw* 'to nod' with approval over something, then 'to approve', *hf* 'to lay bare' something, 'to uncover', then 'to remove' the covering; *šw* 'to take away' something from somebody, then 'to rob' a person; *wd* 'to divide', especially 'to decide' a case for somebody, then 'to judge'; *mm* 'to feed' someone, then 'to feed upon' something.

Forsooth, all female slaves are free with their tongues. When their mistress speaks, it is irksome to the servants.

4, 13. *Sgm m* means 'to possess' 'have rights over'; the meaning must therefore be: female slaves feel themselves at liberty to say what they like.

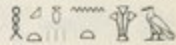
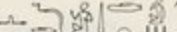
4, 14. *Dns r*, see above 4, 10.

4, 14—5, 2.



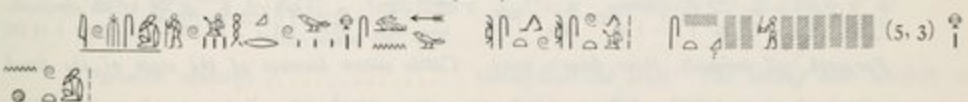
Forsooth, trees are destroyed(?)..... I have separated him and the slaves of his house. People will say, when they hear of it: destroyed are cakes(?) for most(?) children. There is no food Today, like what is the taste thereof today?

4, 14. This passage again is full of difficulties, and there can be little doubt that the text is corrupt. The first clause has no verb, unless we assume that *šk* and *wn* are pseudoparticiples, to which the scribe, misunderstanding them, has given wrong determinatives. — *lwd-ni* etc. is in itself a perfectly intelligible sentence, but the pronoun *šw* lacks an antecedent and the meaning of the whole context is a riddle. *lwd* is usually construed with one direct object and the preposition *r* (e. g. *Sinuhe* 224; *Ebers* 108, 5; below 12, 11), but the construction with two objects is also found, cf. *Mar. Karn.* 37, 31; *Mar. Abyd.* I 7, 70.

5, 1. *Hd* intransitive, or passive, cf. 3, 8, 11. — *Eḫ3* 'cake' e. g. *Ebers* 17, 4; 22, 7; 44, 2; *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 301. — For *hsw* followed by a genitive Lange quotes  *Ebers* 76, 3,  *Urkunden IV* 120.

5, 2. *Min* is probably repeated twice by error. — The metaphorical use of *dpt* 'taste' for the taste of evil, death, etc., is by no means rare; cf. below 13, 5; *Sinuhe B* 23; *Anast.* VII 1, 1.

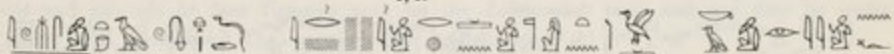
5, 2—5, 3.

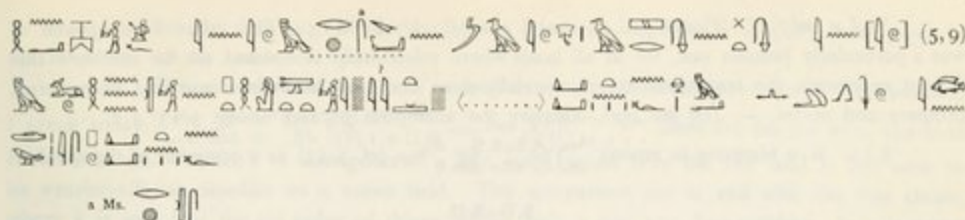


Forsooth, princes are hungry and in distress. Servants are served(?) by reason of mourning.

5, 2. *Swm* 'to be in pain' or the like, cf. below 5, 14; *Rochem. Edfon I* 403, 4. The causative *sswm* (in the phrase *sswm id* below 11, 5; 12, 7) is far commoner, and is chiefly employed of the 'chastisement' of enemies. A substantive *swnyt* 'pain' occurs in *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, recto 3, 2.



5, 3.





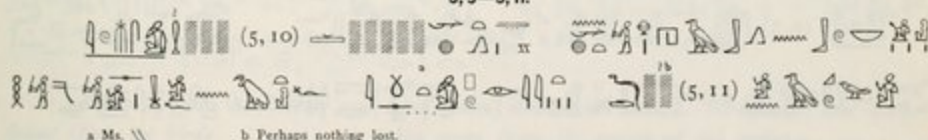
Forsooth, terror slays(?). The timid man says(?): your enemies. Few are Is it by following the crocodile(?) and cleaving it asunder? Is it by slaughtering the lion, roasted on the fire? Is it by sprinkling(?) Plah wherefore that you give to him? It(?) does not reach him? It is misery(?) that you give to him.

5,7. Here again the suggested renderings can serve no other purpose than to display the grammatical structure of the sentences, and to convey some slight impression of the subject with which they deal. It is possible that the greater part of the section may not consist, as the translation implies, of the words of the timid man: the speaker may be addressing his audience directly, and scoffing at their inability to cope with their enemies. — *Šd*, in parallelism with *šndw*, is probably the wrong, but by no means uncommon, spelling of *št* 'terror'. — For 'nd *twt* cf. the equally obscure expression 'nd *hprw-sn* in 13,1.
















5,8—9. We have here three rhetorical questions of like construction following the scheme *in lw m* (infinitive) *n* (substantive). Sethe suggests that *hnti* may be the rare word for 'crocodile' known from *Lebensmüde* 79; *Pap. Leiden* 350 recto 3, 19. — For *wā* see Erman's note on *Westcar* 8, 17. — For  of the Ms. we must clearly read  (Br. *Wörterb.* 870).

5,9. *Ind* 'calamity' 'misery' cf. below 6,8; *Melternichstele* 56. 234; the causative *sind*, *Lebensmüde* 57.

5,9—5,11.



Forsooth, slaves(?) throughout the land. The strong man sends(?) to all people. A man strikes his brother (the son) of his mother. What is to be done? ruin.

5,10. Cf. *Lebensmüde* 107               . Whether our text borrows from *Lebensmüde* or *vice versa*, or whether both have taken the phrase from some other literary composition, may be disputed; but it is obviously necessary to emend one or the other. In favour of *hšw* being the more correct reading it might be argued that the intrusive *b* in *hšb* is due to the proximity of *bw-nb*. But in other passages the antithesis to *šf* is *nht* and not *nht hr* (see Erman's note on the *Lebensmüde* text) and *hšb* may be understood as 'to send for help'. The question must be left open.

Sn-f n mt-f cf. *Westcar* 12, 13; *snt-f n mt-f*, *Abydos* III 13. The crime here spoken of was a particularly heinous one, for in all lands where relationship is counted on the mother's side (Egypt represents the transitional stage), specially close ties exist between a man and his maternal brothers and uncles. — *Isst pw iryt*, compare the analogous phrases above 3, 13; 4, 7.

5, 11. It is tempting to emend  (cf. 3, 13) as a comment of the speaker.

5, 11–5, 12.


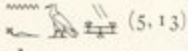


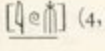


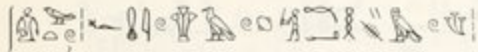
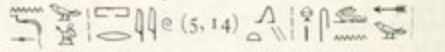

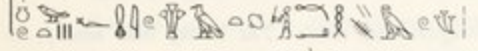

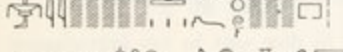


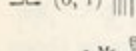
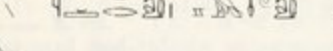
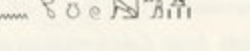


  
 (5, 12)  
  
 a Ms.  b Ms. 

Forsooth, the ways are The roads are guarded. Men sit over the bushes until the benighted (traveller) comes, in order to plunder his burden. What is upon him is taken away. He is belaboured with blows of the stick, and slain wrongfully.

6, 11. *Hswy*, if correct, must be a *nisbe*-form from *hswy* 'night' meaning the traveller who returns home in the night-time; else the suffix of *stpw-f* would be left without an antecedent.




5, 12. The latter part of the section, from *nhm* onwards, is repeated below in 13, 5. — *Hnm* only here in this sense; it is perhaps the verb 'to smell' metaphorically used. — *M nf*, cf. below 11, 5; 13, 5; *Rekhmere* 10, 18; *Shipwrecked Sailor* 149.

5, 12–6, 1 (= 4, 4–4, 5).



  (5, 13)  
 (4, 5)  
  (5, 14) 
 
  
 (6, 1)   
 a Ms. 

Forsooth, that has perished, which yesterday was seen(?) The land is left over to its weariness(?) like the cutting of flax. Poor men are in affliction. Would that there might be an end of men, no conception, no birth! O that the earth would cease from noise, and tumult be no more!

5, 12. For the first part of the section we possess a duplicate in 4, 4—5, here given in the lower line of the bracketed text.

5, 13. The second clause has some resemblance to *Lebensmüde* 121—123; 'To whom do I speak today;  there are no just men, the land is left over (lit. 'remains') to wrongdoers'. The sense would here be: the land is left over to its weariness(?), as desolate as a mown field. The comparison fits in well with the first clause, where it is said that the old order of things, visible only a day ago, has perished. It is however somewhat difficult to take *m33* as a passive participle referring to *nf3*, from which it is separated by the predicate *3kw*; if this be felt to be too hard a construction,  may be emended for  and *nf3 3kw* divided from what follows. The translation would then run: 'The old order has perished. He who sees the dawn (*hd-t3*), the occasions of his weariness(?) are like the cutting of flax' — this being taken as the type of a fatiguing occupation. On the whole the former interpretation is to be preferred, supported as it is by the *Lebensmüde* passage. — *Gnn* 'to be slack' 'weak'; a substantive *gnwt* is not elsewhere known. — *Wh3* 'to cut' corn, or 'to hew' stone, is a triliteral verb; *whst* in 4, 5, if infinitive, must be wrong.

5, 14. For *swm* see the note on 5, 2.


6, 1.  'tumult' 'uproar', an abstract word expressing the contrary of *hṯp* (Br. *Wörterb. Suppl.* 934–5); it is already found in the Pyramidtexts e. g. *P* 662; cf. *hrw hnnw* below 12, 13; *Pap. Leiden* 346, 2, 8. The *nomen agentis* 'brawler' is similarly written e. g. *Pyramid-texts T* 245. For the determinative  see the note on *stpw* 1, 2.

6.1—6.3.

[illegible]

Forsooth, [men eat] herbs, and wash (them) down with water. No fruit(?) nor herbs are found (for) the birds. is taken away from the mouth of the swine. hunger.

6, 1. Men are reduced to eating the food of animals, so that nothing is left over for the latter. — After *hw ms* there is a blank space, in which we must restore *wmmtw*. *Wmm* is frequently construed with *m* in the Pyramidtexts and the religious literature; elsewhere the direct object is usual. — *S'm*, always followed by *m*, means 'to wash down' food with a liquid, and frequently occurs together with *wmm* e. g. Ebers 4, 11. 16. 21; 38, 2

6, 2. *Kiy*, doubtless the word  of the *Ebers* papyrus, the product of several kinds of tree. — Before *spdw* we must clearly emend either *n* 'for' or *in* 'by'. — The last clause is utterly obscure, and very probably corrupt.

1) So I prefer to translate; Erman renders 'Die Erde ist ein Fall von Übeltätern'

6, 3-6, 5.



a The traces suit this reading.

b Ms. inserts *m* before *mrht*.

c Ms.

d Ms.

Forsooth, grain has perished on every side. (People) are stripped of clothes, spices(?) and oil. Everybody says: there is none. The storehouse is ruined. Its keeper is stretched on the ground. It is no(?) happy thing for my heart(?) Would that I had made my voice (heard) at that moment, that it might save me from the pain in which I am(?)

6, 3. *Shw* here perhaps 'stripped', either impersonally and passive, or some words being lost before it. — occurs often in *Ebers* as a product of the Nubian district of *Md*; possibly some kind of spice.

6, 4. The suffix of *swf* demands that the plural strokes of *w* should be omitted. — From *m sm* onwards the text becomes very obscure. Probably it was a comment of the speaker. — *Sm* is an old word for 'deed' or 'event' and occurs in the phrases *sm nfr* and *sm '3*, see Erman's note, *Die Sphinxstele*, p. 5. So here *sm m'r* — for the writing of the old word see *A. Z.* 41 (1904), 76 — may be an equivalent for the phrase *sp m'r* 'happy event' that is found *Siut* 3, 8; *Brit. Mus.* 581 = Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* II 83. If this be so should be emended in place of *m*.




6, 5-6, 6.




a Ms. apparently



Forsooth, the splendid(?) judgement-hall, its writings are taken away. Laid bare is the secret place that was (such formerly??).

6, 5. occurs below in *hfw nw* 6, 10; and in 6, 12, where it stands in parallelism with . In the two later passages the meaning 'judgment hall' seems necessary, and it is not unsuitable also here. We may further compare *Pap. Leiden* 347, 12, 11; 'If this book be read . . . he (the reader) hungers not, and thirsts not, he does not enter into the law-court, he does not come forth judged from it; if (however) he enters into the law-court, he comes forth acquitted.' The suffix of *swf* (6, 6) shows that the preceding word

Šmw, šmw, possibly particular species of incantations beginning with the words  and  (cf. ); however only mentioned here.

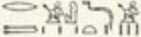

6,7. *Šnh*³ the causative of a rare word *nh*³ (cf. *nh*³-ib 12,3) meaning 'contrary' 'perverse' and hence perhaps 'dangerous'; see Br. *Wörterb.* 793; *Suppl.* 689. The causative again only *Pap. Turin* 133, 13, where Isis, having induced Re to tell her his name, says to Horus;  'I have frustrated(?) him by a divine oath(?) — a very obscure sentence. Here one may hesitate between two interpretations: (1) incantations are 'made dangerous' because people repeat them; magic has always the tendency to be employed for evil ends, and is therefore best confined to a small number of professional practitioners; (2) incantations are 'endangered' or 'frustrated' because so often repeated. This is perhaps the more likely meaning: mystery is of the essence of magic, and incantations too generally bandied about must perforce lose something of their efficacy.


6, 7—6, 8.


(6, 8) 

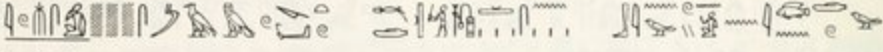
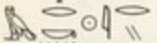
a Extremely uncertain; see note k on plate 6.


Forsooth, public offices are opened and (their) census-lists are taken away. Serfs become lords of serfs (?).

6,7. For *h*³ 'public office' 'diwān' see Newberry, *Proc. S. B. A.* 22, 99 foll.; the word being masculine, the suffix of *wḫwt-s* must be wrong. Read *h*³*rw* and *wḫwt-sn*. — *Wḫwt* 'specifications' 'schedules', technically used of the 'census-lists' made of people's households. See Griffith's note on *Pap. Kahun* 9, 2. The destruction of such lists would naturally result in slaves claiming an independence to which they were not entitled. —  doubtless a periphrasis for the common  'serfs'.

6,8. The reading  is very uncertain; at all events it is meant that serfs usurp a position which legally is not theirs.

6, 8.

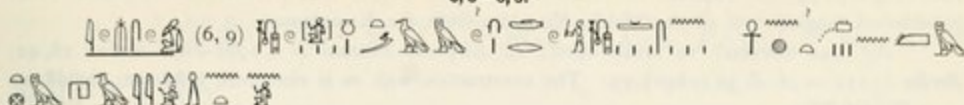



a Ms. ; the same corruption below 9, 8.

Forsooth [officials] are slain, and their writings are taken away. Woe is me because of the misery in this time!

6,8. For the form of the pseudoparticiples *sm*³*m*(*tw*), see the note on 4, 3. — *Ind*, see on 5, 9.

6, 8—6, 9.

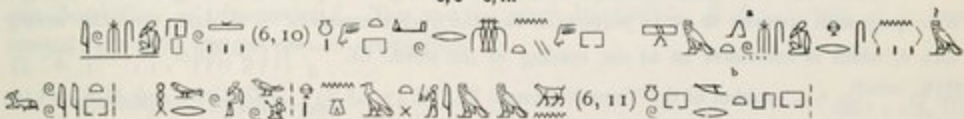


Forsooth, the scribes of the *tm3(m)*, their writings are destroyed. The corn(?) of Egypt is common property.

6, 9. *S3w nzw tm3(m)*, similarly spelt out *Rekhmere* 3, 26; a scribe who later 'reckoned the corn in Upper and Lower Egypt' previously bore the title *Brit. Mus.* 828; so too we must read the title *Leiden V 3* (the same man is 'overseer of fields'): *Cairo stele M. R.* 20056; and compare *(together with 'overseers of fields')* *Rekhmere* 3, 18. Though these officials have clearly to do with agriculture, yet the determinative π makes it difficult to connect *tm3(m)* with *tm3(m)* 'sack (of corn)' (e. g. *Harris* 53a 14); nor is it probable that it has anything to do with *tm3(m)* 'mat' (e. g. *Westcar* 7, 15; Capart, *Monuments* I 30). — *Dr.* of writings, cf. Petrie, *Koptos* 8, 7.

The reading '*nht*' is not quite certain, and no such word seems to occur at an early date; cf. however in the Ptolemaic texts, e. g. *Mar. Dend.* I 18; II 42b. — The expression *h3t-i intw-ni* occurs below 10, 3 in a very similar context, and is evidently a proverbial phrase like our 'common property' 'dirt cheap'. The original meaning 'I go down, there is brought to me' doubtless conveyed the nuance 'I have only to go and help myself'. The facility with which the Egyptians coined such phrases and employed them as simple substantives is surprising. I have quoted several examples *Rec. de Trav.* 26, 14; see too below 6, 12 *pr-h3f*.

6, 9—6, 11.



a Ms. inserts π before *ms*.

b Ms.

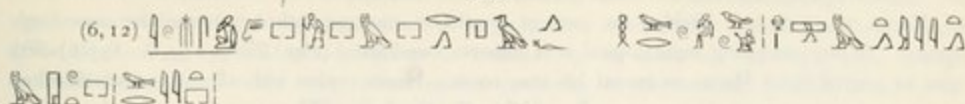
Forsooth, the laws of the judgement-hall are cast forth. Men walk upon (them) in the public places. Poor men break them up(?) in the streets.

6, 10. see the note on 6, 5. — *D3w r hnt* only here; for the meaning assigned to *r hnt* some support may be found in the expression which means 'to go out' in *Lebensmüde* 82. 131; *r hnt* in *Shipwrecked Sailor* 66 is quite obscure.

The reading 'on account of it' gives no sense; possibly we should emend *hr-sn*, referring to *h3pw* and understand *3mt hr-sn* literally 'walk upon them'; with this emendation the second and third clauses become parallel. — *hwt* 'quarter' of a village or town; see Spiegelberg,

1) This sign is only approximately correct.
Gardiner.

6, 12.



Forsooth, the great judgement-hall is thronged(?). Poor men come and go in the Great Houses.

6, 12. For see the note on 6, 5. — *Pr h3-f* lit. 'he goes out and in' must be an expression analogous to *h3-i intw-ni* that was discussed above in the note on 6, 9; its meaning here is apparent from the context. Slightly different in *Urkunden* IV 387 'I consecrated their temples (so that they were) provided with throngs of people(?)'.

Smt iyt, cf. *Benihasan* I 44, 2. — *Hwt wryt* elsewhere only in titles like that of the Vizier . The six 'Great Houses' appear first in the 5th. Dynasty (*A. Z.* 28 [1890], 48), and though still mentioned in such titles as late as the New Kingdom (e.g. *Rekhmere* 4) had doubtless fallen into disuse long before that period.

6, 12—6, 14.



a For the reading of the Ms. see note a on plate 6.



Forsooth, the children of princes are cast out(?) in the streets. He who knows says it is so. He who is ignorant says no. He who does not know it, it is good in his eyes(?).

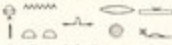


6, 12. The whole of this passage occurs in a corrupt and somewhat different version in the *Instructions of Amenemhet I*. The text as given by Griffith, *A. Z.* 34 (1896), 48 is here quoted *in extenso* for purposes of comparison: —



In spite of all differences of detail it is easy to recognize that the quotation from the *Instructions* is essentially the same as the section 6, 12—6, 14 in our papyrus. The literary question raised thereby has been discussed in the Introduction p. 3.

6, 13. *Mrt*, see the note on 6, 11. — 'to say yes' as verb, cf. *Louvre* C 218; *Sall. III* 10, 4; similarly & *Orbiney* 19, 5 and Erman's note *A. Z.* 29 (1891), 59; hence the concessive particle *A. Z.* 43 (1906), 42.

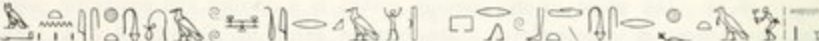
M b̄st was conjectured to mean 'no', though on somewhat scanty evidence, in my *Inscription of Mes*, p. 18, note 34. Besides the present conclusive passage, other instances are now forthcoming. In an interesting mythological text hitherto overlooked (*Pap. Turin* 134, 6—135, 6) Seth tries to prevail upon Horus to reveal his true name. Horus replies with all manner of ridiculous answers, to which Seth always retorts  'no, thou art not' — repeating the name that Horus has mentioned. Finally Seth abandons his questioning in despair. *M b̄st* further occurs after 'he says' or the like in several New Egyptian texts: an unpublished letter from Gurob (Petrie Collection); *Louvre Ostrakon* 697; *Pap. Turin* 92, col. 1, 2. See too  in Ebers, and Schäfer's interesting comments in *A. Z.* 42 (1907), 132—3.

As the text stands, a distinction is made between (1) the man who knows and admits the fact that the children of princes are cast out in the streets, (2) the ignorant man who denies it, and (3) the man who does not know of it, and is indifferent to its truth or falsehood. While possible, this interpretation is not quite easy; the distinction between (2) and (3) is trivial and artificial. It is therefore possible that we should read  with Millingen — a far better text than our Leiden papyrus. In this case we should have to translate: 'The ignorant man says no because he does not know it; it is fair in his eyes', i. e. his ignorance makes things seem to him quite in order. Perhaps too  of Millingen is preferable to  in the Leiden text; 'it is empty, meaningless' instead of 'fair, good'.


6.14 (= 4.4).

The section 6.14 = 4.4 above, and has already been translated and annotated on p. 37.

7.1.


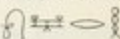
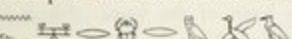
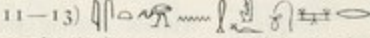
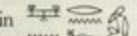
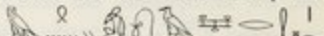

(7.1) 


Behold, the fire has mounted up on high. Its burning goes forth against the enemies of the land.

7.1. From here until 9.6 the beginning of each new paragraph is marked by the words *mitn* or *mitn is*, these words replacing the formula *iw ms* that served a like purpose from 1.9 to 6.14. Between *mitn* and *mitn is* there is no difference of meaning beyond the slight shade of greater liveliness imparted by the enclitic *is*. The use of the plural *mitn* instead of  is an indication that a number of persons are here addressed, a point that is later confirmed by the plural imperatives *h̄dw* and *sh̄w* and by the use of the pronoun of the second person plural on the tenth and eleventh pages.

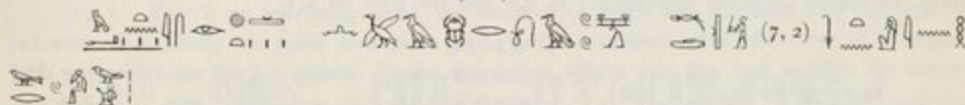
Unlike the sentences that precede and follow we have in 7.1 a reflexion of a more general kind¹. The 'fire' referred to must be an image for the accumulated evils previously described with such wealth of detail. So terrible has the conflagration become, that even now it is on the point of consuming the 'enemies of the land' to whose agency it is due. Ominous words, quite in the spirit of Hebrew prophecy!

¹) On this sentence see the Introduction, p. 8, note 3.

w:r occurs often in our papyrus, and particularly often on its seventh page; I take this opportunity of discussing its idiomatic use. A large number of examples are collected by Breasted, (*Proc. S. B. A.* 23, 239 foll.) who proposes to translate 'to be about to' 'to begin with'; though as he himself admits, cases occur where neither rendering is very suitable. What Breasted appears to have overlooked is that in almost all the instances quoted by him the reference is to the occurrence of something evil. The only unequivocal exception known to the Berlin Dictionary is *Totb. ed. Nav.* 30b; 'This chapter was found by Hardief, who found it  when he was about to hold an inspection in the temples'. Everywhere else the notion of a logical development in a wrong direction, deterioration, is present in a greater or less degree. In some instances the physical movement seems to be uppermost in the thought of the writer, as in Breasted's instance no. 16 'the troops of the prince of Naharina . . . had come to fight with his Majesty'; more metaphorically no. 7 'this road which  becomes narrow' i. e. grows narrower the farther one proceeds along it. In other examples the idea of movement is restricted to a minimum, as in instance no. 1  'an evil thing has come to pass in this temple', where Breasted translates, to my mind wrongly, 'a bad thing is about to happen in this temple'. Quite conclusive are such instances as no. 10 (cf. 11—13)  'his Majesty found (the temple) gone to ruin', clearly not 'beginning to go to ruin'. In these and many other cases the sense of deterioration, harmful development, seems alone to be connoted by *w*:r. From this constant association of *w*:r with words of evil import must be derived the curse exemplified in  ('perdition) befall his name', Petrie *Koptos* 8, 5;  "do not swear(?): 'perdition befall his Majesty'" *Sinuhe* 74; and  "he who shall speak evil saying: 'may her Majesty fall (into perdition)'" *Dcir el Bahari* 61, 16. This usage is probably the origin of the Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲣⲉ 'blasphemare'. The instances of *w*:r contained in our papyrus are difficult, but may be explained at least in part in the light of what has been said above. Here in 7, 1 the 'fire' is regarded as something disastrous; whence the idiomatic employment of *w*:r. A curious impersonal use is found in several passages; in *w*:r r 3k̄ 3, 13; 9, 6; *w*:r r sSw̄ 7, 2; *w*:r r sb̄l 7, 3; *w*:r r hb̄b 15, 1; quite normal on the other hand are *w*:r r Sw̄t 7, 2; *w*:r r hkrw 9, 1 with preceding nominal subject; so too the obscure *w*:st̄i r st-mw in 7, 4. *W*:r r st-St̄(f) in 4, 7 is perhaps an example of the curse.

③  occurs in the *Ebers* for a 'burn' 'Brandwunde', but is not known elsewhere in the abstract sense 'burning'. — *Hftw* 13, cf. q. 6.

7.1—7.2.



Behold, things are done, that have never happened for long time past(?): the king has been taken away(?) by poor men.

7, 8. *Wbt* is here to be translated 'tomb', see the note on 2, 7. — For *k3nr* see 4, 3 note. — *M pr-hd* 'in the treasury' makes little sense, and one possible solution is to insert *nb* before *pr-hd*. There is however another possibility, namely that a word is lost after *ir nf*: 'He who made for himself no (.) is buried out of the treasury' i. e. his burial equipment is furnished from the royal treasury. In favour of this view it might be urged that *krs* is here determined as though it were a verb; but the use of the preposition *m* would be quite exceptional. The first alternative is to be preferred.

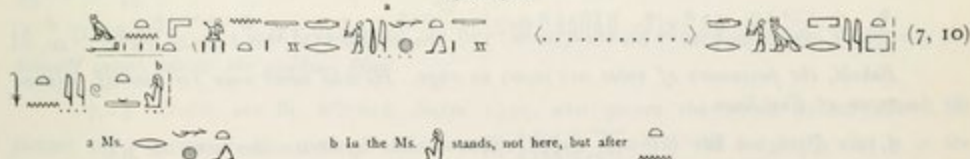
7, 9.



Behold, this has happened (to?) men: he who could not build himself a cell is now possessor of walls.

7, 9. *Rmt* cannot be attached to what follows; of the numerous sentences in our papyrus similar to the second clause here (2, 4; 4, 9; 7, 8 *bis*. 10. 11. 12. 14; 8, 1. 11; 9, 4. 7; 12, 11) the subject is always *tm*, never *rmt tm*. The simplest way of emending the text is to insert \bigcirc before *rmt*; the sense is however not very satisfactory, and the first clause may well conceal some deeper-seated corruption. — For *drit* see the note on 2, 10.

7, 9—7, 10.



Behold, the judges of the land are driven out through the land. The are driven out from the houses of kings.

7, 9. The correct reading may be either *r t3* or *ht t3*; one of the two prepositions given in the Ms. is superfluous. — A substantive has obviously been omitted before the second *dr*. — *Pryt* is not uncommon in the New Kingdom as the writing of the plural of \square e. g. *Inscr. dedic.* 47; *Horemheb decree* 34. 36. 38; perhaps we have here the plural of \square \downarrow \square .

7, 10.



Behold, noble ladies are upon Princes are in the storehouse. He who never slept upon walls(?) is (now) the possessor of a bed.

7, 10. *Šdw*, as was pointed out in the note on 4, 10, must refer to some particularly unpleasant kind of sleeping place. — *Šn'* 'the storehouse' is often mentioned as the place where the slaves captured by the Pharaoh in his wars were confined or employed; thus to say that

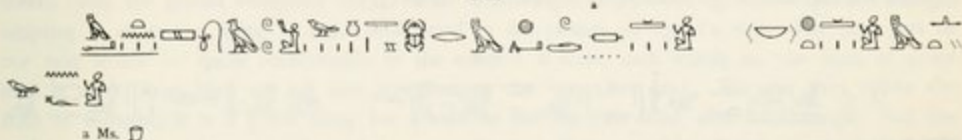
8.1—8.2.



8, 1. *Nb* 'h'w, see the note on 2, 5. — The second clause obviously means that princes now have to adopt an attitude of deference towards men who once were poverty-stricken.

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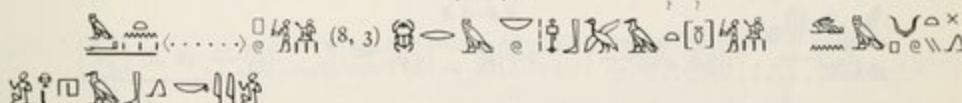
8.2.



Behold, the poor of the land have become rich, and (the possessor of) property has become one who has nothing.

8, 2. *Hwd* 'rich' is not a rare word, e. g. *Hat Nub Graffiti* 8, 10; *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 89; still more frequent is the causative *shwd* 'to enrich' *Rifeh* 7, 22; *Urkunden* IV 60, 163. The sign D is substituted by the scribe for the less familiar determinative 𐤔 , which was doubtless unknown to him; for this sign cf. *Rifeh* 7, 22; *Mission* V 8, 37 (*Tomb of Ibi*); the form 𐤔 *Siut* I 247 is marked by Griffith as not clearly legible. — The restoration of *nb* before *lht* is a necessary and certain conjecture.

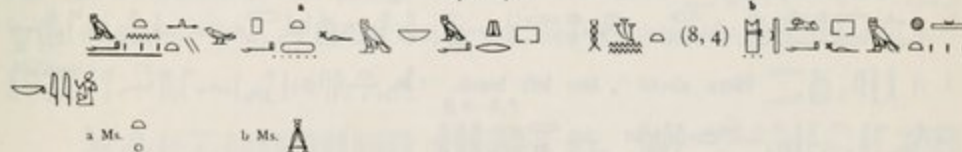
8.2—8.3.



Behold, have become masters of butlers. He who was a messenger (now) sends another.

8, 2. The first word is evidently incomplete; the name of some kind of domestic servant is required; *krpw* will clearly not suit.

8.3—8.4.



Behold, he who had no loaf is owner of a barn. His magazine is provided with the possessions of another.

8, 3. *P't* a kind of cake or loaf of bread; *Pap.* *Kahun* 26a, 16; *Ebers* 49, 11; *Harris* 18a, 3; *Anast.* IV 14, 1. — *Hnn* 'to provide', cf. Br. *Wörterb.* 963; *Harris* 57, 6; *Amherst* 2, 4.

8.4.



Behold, he whose hair had fallen out and who was without oil is become a possessor of jars of sweet myrrh.

8.4. *W3*, of the falling out of hair, cf. *Ebers* 67, 3. — *Hbb* 'oil-jar' hitherto known only from Ptolemaic texts, see Br. *Wörterb.* 1065; *hbbh* in the same sense *Piankhi* 110. — 'ntiw as an unguent for the hair, e.g. *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 3, 5.

8.5.



a Ms. inserts *sw* before *ghs*.


Behold, she who had no box is possessor of a coffer. She who looked at her face in the water is possessor of a mirror.

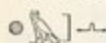
8.5. *Ghs* 'a box' especially for clothes; cf. *Westcar* 2, 1; 12, 5; *Anast.* I 12, 2; 16, 3; *Piankhi* 33. — *stp*, elsewhere unknown; Sethe suggests that it may be identical with the word *pd*, *tpd* 'furniture' discussed by him *A. Z.* 44 (1907), 134—5.

8.5.



Behold,

8.5. Left incomplete by the scribe: Sethe points out that this beginning of a paragraph may very well be transferred to the blank space in 8, 7, where Lange had conjectured 



































8.5—8.7.





















Behold, a man is happy when he eats his food. 'Partake of thy possessions in joy of heart, turning not back! It is good for a man to eat his food'. The god allows it to him whom he praises [Behold, he who was ignorant of] his god (now) offers to him with the incense of another; not known


































8, 5. The blank space in 8, 7 is doubtless due to a lacuna or illegible passage in the Ms. that lay before the scribe of the Leiden papyrus, or before one of his immediate predecessors. The question now arises as to whether this lacuna contained the introductory formula *mltn* or not; or in other words, whether we have here two sections or one. If we emend *mltn* to *hm* at the end of the gap, inserting the fragmentary words in 8, 5 in accordance with Sethe's suggestion, from this point onwards we get a paragraph intelligible in itself, and quite in the style of our papyrus. On the other hand the earlier part ending with *hs-nf* can hardly be quite complete; for the section would then be mere pointless moralizing, whereas every separate paragraph hitherto (with the partial exception of 7, 1 after the change of introductory formula) has been descriptive in character, filling in some new detail in the picture of Egypt's ruin. The first part of our text would be made conformable to the context if some such words as 'the food of every man is taken from him' or, 'all men now hunger' be lost after *hs-nf*. We can then follow the train of thought: it is a good thing for a man to eat his own food, and it is a right that the god concedes to those of whom he approves; now however this divinely-given privilege is denied to men.

8, 6. *Snm* (Br. Wörterb. 1248; Suppl. 1073) usually means 'to feed' some one with (prep. *m*) something. The sense 'to feed on' something, with the thing as object, appears to be secondary; cf.                 *Thebes, Tomb of Paser* (unpublished);                 *Culte d'Atonou* p. 40. — *Nu nk hnhn*; this construction is more usual in the New than in the Middle Kingdom, see Sethe, *Verbum* II § 563; cf. however *Lebensmide* 77. — *Snm ht-k* and the following words are probably the substance of the divine decree afterwards alluded to.
































8, 7—8, 8.

 (8, 8)                a Ms.  b Ms. 

Behold, noble ladies, great ladies, mistresses of goodly things give their children for beds(?).

8, 8. Sethe conjectures that *rdit n* here means 'to exchange for'; and though this construction seems hard it must be admitted that the use of  as equivalent to the later *r dbt* *erbc* may be defended by such passages as *Urkunden* IV 118                                cf. *Rekhmere* 8, 24. — *Hnkyl* 'bed' is also elsewhere determined by  cf. 4, 9; 9, 1; *Millingen* 1, 12.

8, 8—8, 9.

Behold, a man [who, obtains] a noble lady as wife; her father protects him. He who has not (.) slay him.

8, 9. The probable sense is: he who has acquired riches, obtains a wife of noble birth and is protected by his father-in-law. The man who has no means is not protected, but killed. Unless some words have fallen out after *hw* the construction is quite abnormally elliptical: we require something like *hw* [nf, rmt nbt] hr sm:m:f.

8, 9—8, 10.

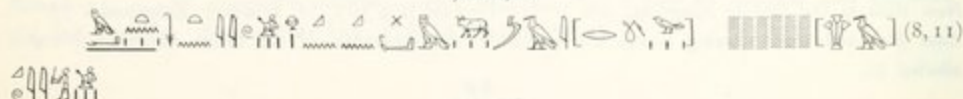


Behold, the children of courtiers are [Rich men hand over the] calves(?) of their cows(?) to plunderers.

8, 9. The incomplete word might be emended to 'criminals' (Sethe) or 'rags' (cf. 3, 4).

8, 10. *Htw*, the reading of the Ms., must be corrected to or to — The sign read is exceptionally large, and indistinctly made; possibly it should be read . In this case we might restore: '[the herdsmen (or "overseers") of] cattle [deliver over] the best of their cows(?) to plunderers'. — For *h3kyw*, see the note on 2, 9.

8, 10—8, 11.

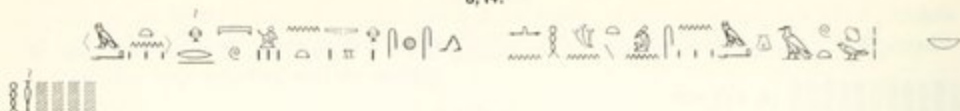


Behold, butchers transgress(?) with the cattle of the poor, plunderers.

8, 10. *Snyw* below 8, 12; 9, 1, is evidently a word for 'butcher' 'slaughterer'; the rendering 'kings' is quite impossible in 9, 1, where the determinative is significant. It is curious that the word should be of such rare occurrence; we might certainly have expected to find it in the Hood papyrus. The connection with the late verb Br. *Wörterb. Suppl.* 1158 is extremely dubious, and the only likely example outside our papyrus is *d'Orbiney* 16, 7 ; even here the reading is slightly doubtful, the transcription used for the Berlin Dictionary giving — *Knhn* elsewhere means (1) 'to beat' a person with a stick; (2) 'to beat' 'pound up' in the medical literature; (3) 'beaten' 'flattened' of bronze. The construction with *m* occurs only here and in 9, 12. It does not appear likely that the verb is here used merely as a rarer circumlocution for 'to kill'; it is perhaps preferable to assign to it a metaphorical sense, as in the *Decree of Horemheb* 26, where it seems to be used of *official abuses*: 'they went from house to house beating (i. e. coercing people) and without leaving hides'

1) *Tpi m* is here nothing more than a faulty writing of the preposition *tp m* 'before'.

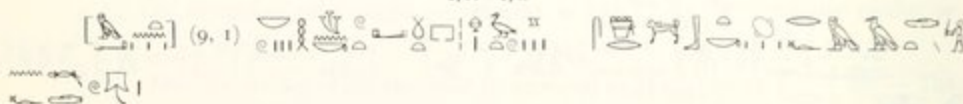
8, 14.



(Behold) the chiefs of the land flee. There is no for them because of want

8, 14. This section being clearly parallel to the last, *mitn* should probably be restored at the beginning. — *Nt* is obviously wrong; read $\overline{\text{U}}$ (?). — The meaning of *hnt* here is obscure. — *M' gwt*, see 7, 6 note. — If *mitn* be restored at the end of the line, only $2-2\frac{1}{2}$ squares remain for the sentence beginning with *nb hs* (?).

8, 14—9, 1.

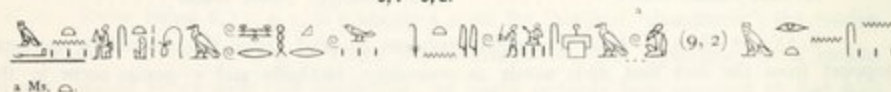


(Behold) those who possessed beds (now lie) on the ground. He who passed the night in squalor(?) is (now) one who prepares(?) for himself a waterskin(?).

8, 14. As was pointed out in the notes to the last paragraph, the restoration of *mitn* leaves but little place for the preceding sentence.

9, 1. For *bt* see the note on 3, 4; the meaning of the word and its construction here are equally obscure. — For hnt see on 14, 2. — *Sdw* is here written as though the word for waterskin were meant; it should possibly be identified with the word discussed on 4, 10. — The second clause here is clearly antithetical to the first; but its exact meaning is uncertain.

9, 1—9, 2.



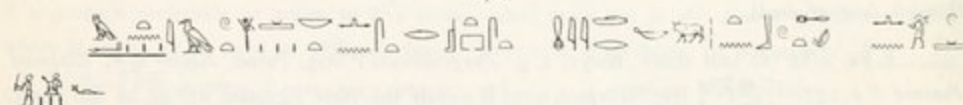
a Ms. a.

Behold noble ladies go hungry; the butchers are sated with what was prepared for them.

9, 1. For *w3 r* see the note on 7, 1, and for *stny* that on 8, 10.

9, 2. *lrt nsn* either (1) 'that which was made for them', i.e. that which formerly was prepared for the ladies who now are famished; or (2) 'what they have done' i.e. the animals which they, the butchers, have slaughtered. The former alternative is preferred by Lange and myself, but is rejected by Sethe on the ground that hnt would be required.

9, 2.



Behold, no offices are in their (right) place, like a frightened herd without a herdsman.

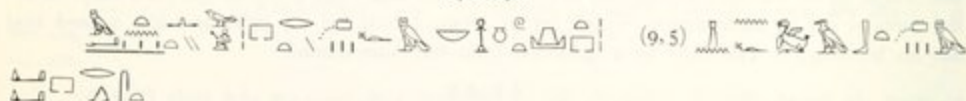
9, 3—9, 4.



Behold, he who had no yoke of oxen is (now) possessor of a herd. He who could find for himself no oxen to plough with is (now) possessor of cattle.

9, 4. With the help of the two simple emendations adopted in our text, the passage becomes perfectly clear. — *Idr*, see 9, 2 note. — *Skz* possibly *Pap. med. Berlin* 8, 5, but nowhere else.

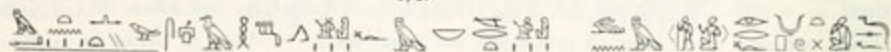
9, 4—9, 5.



Behold, he who had no grain is (now) the possessor of granaries. He who had to fetch for himself *t3bt*-corn (now) sends it forth.

9, 5. *In* and *dit pr* seem here to mean 'to fetch' and 'send out' from the granary respectively. — *T3bt* is a rare word for some kind of corn: cf. 'I was persistent in giving grain to the Thebans' *Rec. de Trav.* 16, 59 (collated by Sethe); de Rougé, *Edfou* 21, 13. Brugsch is clearly wrong in regarding *t3bt* as a measure of corn (*Wörterb. Suppl.*, 1400); the Edfou example speaks decisively against this view.

9, 5.

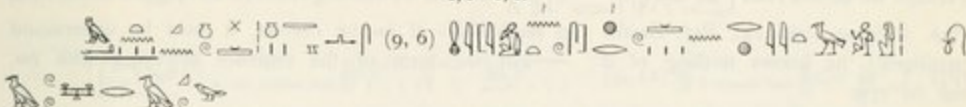


Behold, he who had no dependents(?) is now a lord of serfs. He who was a (notable) does commission(s) himself.

9, 5. *S3hw*. The meaning 'neighbours' (Br. *Wörterb.* 1276; *Suppl.* 1094) does not seem at all satisfactory here, and one is tempted to connect the word, not with *s3h* 'to draw close' 'approach', but with *s3h* 'to present' 'reward'; the determinative Δ is quite negligible in a Ms. of this kind, and *s3h* is used of 'presenting' a man with slaves (*Urkunden IV* 58). It must be admitted however that the meaning 'neighbours' is certain in at least one passage (*Harris* 500 recto 2, 10), where the love-sick swain is visited by his 'neighbours'. In the obscure context *Prisse* 14, 1, *s3hw* seems to be parallel to *tku imk*, so that there too 'neighbours' is the probable meaning. On the other hand *Paheri* 6 seems to make in favour of the rendering 'dependent'; a number of 'attendants' (Δ) carrying sandals etc. are followed by a man who brings a couple of bags and is called 'his beloved dependent(?)'. *S3hw-t3* 'neighbours'

Sall. I 6, 8 = *Anast.* V 15, 8 is possibly a different word. — After *wn m* a word has been left out. The conjecture *sr* (often above translated 'prince'; neither this rendering nor yet 'official' covers the whole connotation of the word) is supported by the fact that the *sr* is often described as despatching messengers; cf. *Prisse* 8, 12—13; *Rekhemre* 2, 10 foll.

9, 5—9, 6.

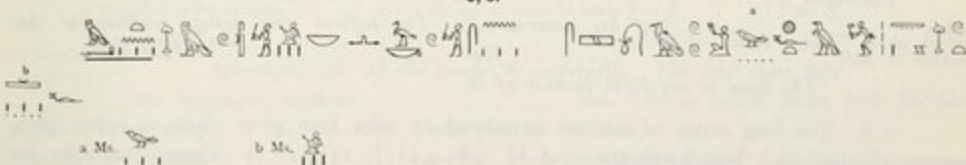


Behold, the powerful men of the land, the condition of the people is not reported (to them?). All is ruin!

9, 5. The expression *knw nw t3* is curious: for *knw* cf. 2, 7.

9, 6. The facsimile shows traces, now quite illegible, that seem to point to the reading *shrw n rhyt*. But as Sethe points out, the omission of *n-sh* is intolerable, and we ought to emend *shrw n rhyt* or *shrw n rhyt*. — Lange suggests that *shrw n rhyt* should be taken with the following words; the objection to this is that *ws r 3kw* occurs above in 3, 13 impersonally, and it is hardly possible to understand it differently here.

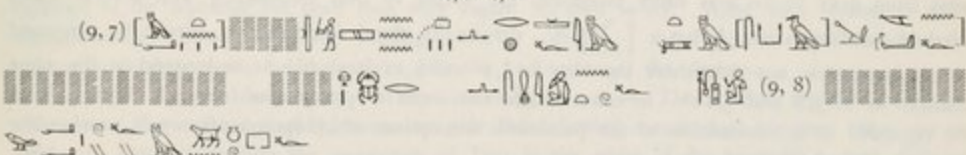
9, 6.



Behold, no craftsmen work. The enemies of the land have spoilt(?) its crafts(?)

9, 6. *Sšw*, see 7, 2 note; in that passage 'to impoverish' someone 'of' (preposition *m*); here apparently 'to make poor' i. e. 'spoil'. The construction could be made like that of 7, 2 by emending *m* before *hmt-f* and understanding *t3* as the object of the verb; but it is better to construe *hftw t3* together as 'the enemies of the land'; cf. 7, 1.

9, 7—9, 8.



[Behold, he who gathered in?] the harvest (now) knows nothing thereof. He who never ploughed [for himself] [The reaping?] takes place, but is not reported. The scribe [sits in his office(?), but] his hands are [idle?] within it.

thirst from thee, and so thou art strong, thou art not weak thereby(?)' *Mission V*, Tomb of Neferhotep, plate 3¹; 'their hearts are faint in their bodies' *Stele of Tutankhamon* 9 = *Rec. de Trav.* 29, 164; a man calls himself 'the shelter of the infirm'², *Urkunden* IV 972¹. — The emendation *kḥw* [*hr tsw*] is suggested by 11, 13 below.

9, 11—10, 2.

(9, 12) 8 squares lost
 (9, 13) about 6 squares lost
 (9, 14) 5-6 squares lost
 (10, 1) about 6 squares lost
 (10, 2)

a Suggested by the facsimile.



























b The Ms. reading might be either δ or χ .

c Ms. B.

*Destroyed(?) are their food [is taken away?] from them.
 [through] fear of the terror he inspires(?). The poor man begs
 the messenger, without time. He is seized, laden with his pos-
 sessions; taken away men pass by his door.
 chambers with hawks(?) morn(?). Is the poor man vigilant? The day dawns upon
 him, without his dreading it. Men flee Tents(?) are what
 they make like the dwellers of the hills.*



9, 11—10, 2. It is quite possible that *hā* may have occurred once or twice in the lost portions of this passage, and that it ought in consequence to be divided up into several paragraphs. The subject of 9, 11—12 seems to have been the deprivations of the poor, that of 9, 12—13 the robbery of messengers. It is wholly obscure what meaning is to be attached to the greater part of 9, 14. At the end of that line and in 10, 1, it seems to be said that by vigilance in the nighttime the poor man may assure his own safety. What then follows is quite untranslatable. Lastly — if the reading *imw* be correct — the Egyptians are described as reduced to making tents for themselves, like the barbarians of the deserts.



10.1. For the determinative of *hryt* see on *špwr* 1, 2. — The obscure sentence beginning with *šhs-tw*, if translated literally, seems to give the following meaningless phrases: 'men run on foreheads, strained through the *wryt*-cloth of Tayt in the midst of the house(?)'. For *šnk* 'to strain' a liquid through (*w*) a cloth, see the note, in the Appendix, on *ššk*, *Brit. Mus.* 5645 recto 3.

10, 2. Read                          

1) These examples I owe the kindness of Dr. Vogelsang.

2) Hitherto wrongly divided $n\dot{a}t$ n t/n .


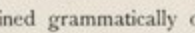

10,4. In  *s* is doubtless a corruption of *m*. — The proper writing of 'without' is  (e.g. *Sinuhe B* 205), but the writing *m hnt* is frequent in the N. K. (e.g. *Pap. Turin* 59, 3) and occurs also quite early (e.g. *Sinuhe B* 44 = *ibid.* R 68). — *Nif*, emphatic, 'to the palace belongs (by right)'; for this usage cf. *A. Z.* 34 (1896), 50. — *Hdt* and *ph̄t* together, *Urkunden* IV 207; 742.

10, 5. *Pšš(t)* and *kn* occur together *Pap. Kahun* 30, 44—5; for the meaning of these words see Griffith's additional note (p. 105) on the passage quoted. — *hyf irw* is quite obscure. — *hr wdf* is the New Egyptian spelling (cf. *Totb. ed.* Nav. 89, 3; *Pap. Turin* 122, 1) of the old expression  for which see Sethe, *Verbum* II § 148b. — *Sk*, with  as determinative, is unknown, and it is not clear what sense should be given to it.

10.6—10.7.



Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence, splendid of courtiers in it like
The Overseer of the town walked abroad, without an escort(?)

10, 6. From 10, 6. To 10, 11 we find a number of short sections beginning with the words *hḏw hḏtḏw nḏw hḏw* (pf) *špsī*. Unfortunately not one of these sections has been preserved complete, and in most of them only a few words remain. So far as can be seen, the introductory formula was followed by epithets agreeing with *hḏw*, which were succeeded in their turn by short circumstantial clauses descriptive of the orderliness and magnificence of the royal Residence, as it was in times of peace and prosperity. It seems likely that the essentially descriptive part of our book — that in which the ruin of the land was depicted — ended in 10, 6, the last paragraph 10, 3 — 10, 6, which paints the desolate condition of the king's palace, forming a very appropriate transition to a series of admonitions or commands to destroy the enemies of the royal Residence. On this view *hḏw* is a plural imperative, parallel to *šḏw* in 10, 12 and the following lines. It is obvious that we cannot here translate 'destroyed are the enemies of the noble Residence' giving *hḏ* the sense assigned to it in 9, 8, for one of the main points of the descriptive passages has been that Egypt owes its misfortunes to the machinations of the 'enemies of the land' (see especially 7, 1; 9, 6); nor is there any good ground for such a translation as 'harmful are' or 'woe unto' the enemies of the Residence. In the only two instances where the first word of the introductory formula is completely preserved the plural strokes are found, and as it stands , can be explained grammatically only as a plural imperative. It may be objected that *hḏ* is but rarely employed of the 'destruction' of people; the only known instances seems to be the name of the gate  in *Totb. ed. Nav.* 145 B (Pg); 146, 9 (*Aa* has as variant ). However the rarity of *hḏ* in this sense may be due to the very strong meaning of that word, which signifies rather 'to efface' 'to obliterate' than merely 'to destroy'. —

□ in *hnuw pf špsī* 10, 8, 10, 11 seems to indicate that the glory of the Residence described by the following epithets is a thing of the past, (for a similar use see 6, 11 above and *nfš* in 5, 12), and the use of the reproving particle *ms* in 10, 7, 11(?) may hint at the same fact.

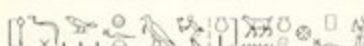

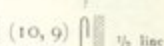

10, 7. *Sšš* is perhaps the official whose title often occurs in the N. K., and who derives his name from the rare verb *sšš* 'to repress' Harris 28, 6; 57, 13; 58, 6; Mar. Abyd. II 55, 34.

10, 7—10, 8.

 (10, 8)  8—9 squares lost

[Destroy the enemies of the noble Residence], splendid

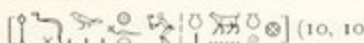

10, 8—10, 9.

 (10, 9)  about 9 squares lost  ½ line
lost  4—5 squares lost

[Destroy the enemies of] that (formerly) noble Residence, manifold of laws

10, 8—10, 9. Not improbably to be divided into two paragraphs.

10, 9—10, 10.


 (10, 10)  ½ of a line lost

[Destroy the enemies of] that (formerly) noble [Residence]

10, 10—10, 11.


 about 7 squares lost (10, 11)  4—5 squares lost

Destroy the enemies of that (formerly) [noble] Residence No one could stand

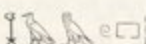

10, 11. Perhaps some phrase like ; cf. *Sinuhe* B 56; *Piankhi* 95, both times in reference to the king.

10, 11—10, 12.

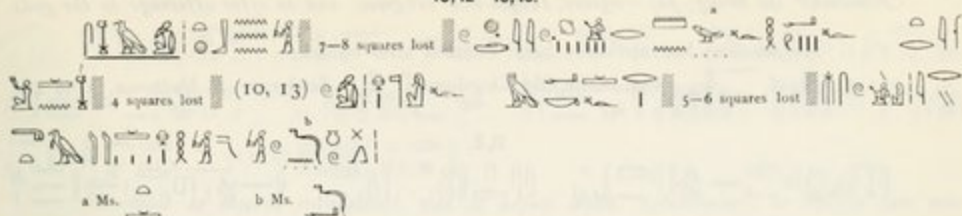
 (10, 12)  about 7 squares lost

a Ms.  b Ms. 

[Destroy the enemies of] that (formerly) glorious [Residence], abundant in offices(?)

10, 11.  is unknown; doubtless  'offices' should be read.

10, 12-10, 13.



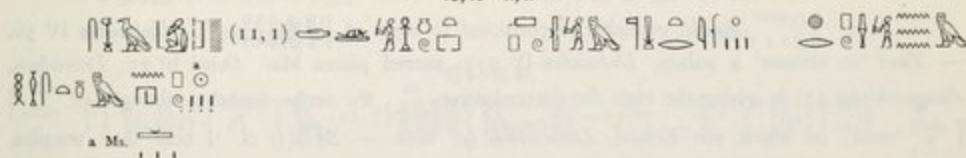
Remember to immerse(?) him who is in pain(?) when(?) he is
ill in his limbs. his god. He
His children

10, 12. The reiterated command to destroy the enemies of the royal Residence is here succeeded by a number of solemn exhortations to pious conduct and to the observance of religious duties. These exhortations are introduced by the plural imperative followed by infinitives; the construction is a natural one, but does not seem to have been noted in other texts. There is no reasonable ground for doubting that *šh-w* is an imperative, especially as the suffix of the 2nd. person plural occurs below in 11, 6, 7.

means 'to immerse' or 'dip' something in a liquid, or 'to irrigate' or 'soak' land. The former sense is common in the medical literature, and the context here suggests that the sentence referred to some act of healing sick persons. — , for which the singular must be read, if *h-w-f* be correct, seems to be the participle of a verb *whd*; for this word see the note on *Brit. Mus.* 5645 recto in the Appendix to this book.

10, 13. The meaning is wholly obscure. — For cf. below 13, 4.

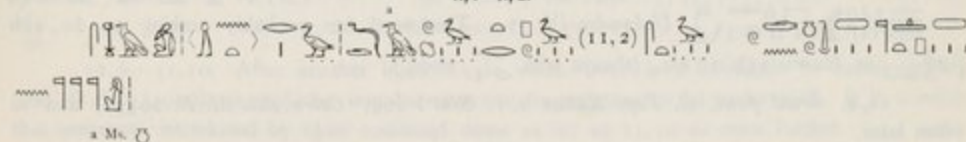
10, 13-11, 1.



Remember to; to fumigate with incense, and to offer water in a jar
in the early morning.



11, 1. , which might equally well be read , is here hardly to be translated 'granary', that word being out of place in the present context, which clearly deals with religious rites. — *M nhpw*, cf. *Totb. ed.* Nav. 178, 22; *Mar. Dend.* III 33; IV 74, 21.

11, 1-11, 2.



Remember (to bring) fat ro-geese, torpu and set-geese; and to offer offerings to the gods.


11, 1. An infinitive has obviously been omitted after *sh3w*.

11, 2. *St.* cf.  often in the Old Kingdom;  *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 4, 1.

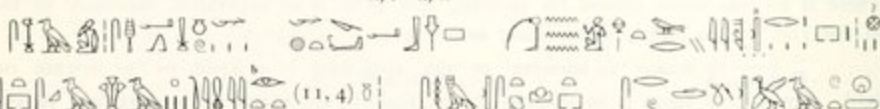

11, 2.



Remember to chew natron, and to prepare white bread. (So should) a man (do?) on the day of moistening the head.

11, 2. Purificatory rites are not to be forgotten. — *Ws hsmn*, cf. *Totb. ed. Nav.* 172, 1. The cleansing properties of natron are frequently mentioned; in *Pap. Turin* 58, 10  is used of the period of purification which priests had to undergo. — *lwh tp*, only here.











11, 3—11, 4.

 (11, 4) 

a Ms. 

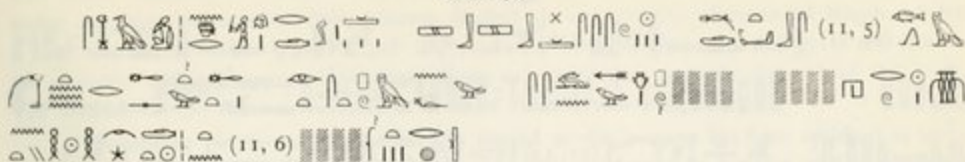
b Wrongfully transcribed as  on the plate.

Remember to erect flagstaffs, and to carve stelae; the priest purifying the temples, and the god's house being plastered (white) like milk; (remember) to make fragrant the perfume of the horizon, and to perpetuate bread-offerings.

11, 3.  should probably be corrected to *snwt*; cf.  *Urkunden* IV 56. — *Twri* 'to cleanse' a palace, *Urkunden* IV 975; sacred places *Mar. Dend.* III 25; *Dümichen, Baugeschichte* 47; in giving the verb the determinative , the scribe doubtless thought of , 'reed', on which see Erman, *Lebensmüde* 92 note. — *Sḫ3h(3)* cf. 'I built their temples,  their stair-cases were plastered(?)' *Cairo stele M. K.* 20512. To judge from the determinative  here, and the comparison with 'milk', the verb may well mean 'to cover with plaster' and be a causative derived from the noun , (for derivatives of the kind see Sethe, *Verbum* I § 352). *K3h* is possibly *naḡ* 'Nile-mud' (Sethe); the paintings in Egyptian tombs are made on a surface of Nile-mud covered with a coating of whitewash. So too Breasted (*Proc. S. B. A.* 22, 90) understands the passage  *Urkunden* IV 57. The word has probably nothing to do with  in *Harris* 15b. 10 etc., (always with , 'wood').

11, 4. *Srwḏ p3wt*, cf. *Pap. Kahun* 2, 1; *Siut* I 269; *Cairo stele M. R.* 20539, and so often later.

11, 4—11, 6.



Remember to observe regulations, and to adjust dates. (Remember) to remove him who enters upon the priestly office in impurity of body(?). That is to perform it wrongfully. That is corruption of heart(?) day eternity, months years(?)

11, 4. Here the observance of religious times and seasons is enjoined, and the due performance of the religious duties connected therewith.

Ndr tp-rd, cf. Sethe, *Urkunden IV* 384; 489. — *Sbsb* occurs in several obscure passages (e.g. *Rekmere* 7, 9); here it has clearly some such sense as the Coptic *unbe mutare*. — *Sw* in the old language is not simply 'days' but 'days of the month' 'dates'; doubtless the reference is to the astronomically fixed festivals, the *Urkunden IV* 112, and to the lunar months used in the temples.

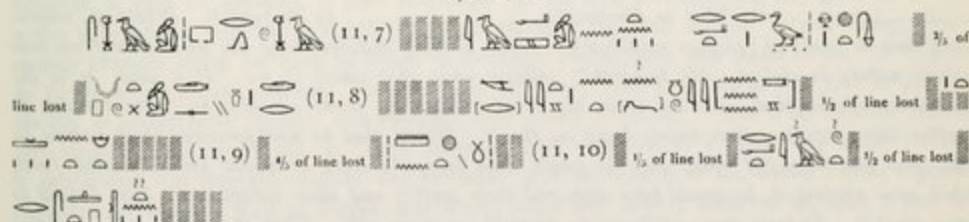
11, 5. *Wbt* 'priestly service' and *hst* of bodily impurity seem to be elsewhere unknown. In *Pap. Turin* 58, 9 foll. a *wbt*-priest is accused of infringing the rules as to purification. This sentence suits the foregoing context, as the four classes of *wbt*-priests served in monthly relays (cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I, p. 23, note 4). — In *st* probably refers to *wbt*. — *M nf*, see the note on 5, 12. — *Ssw* *ib*, cf. 12, 7 and consult the note on 5, 2.

11, 6.



Remember to slaughter oxen you.

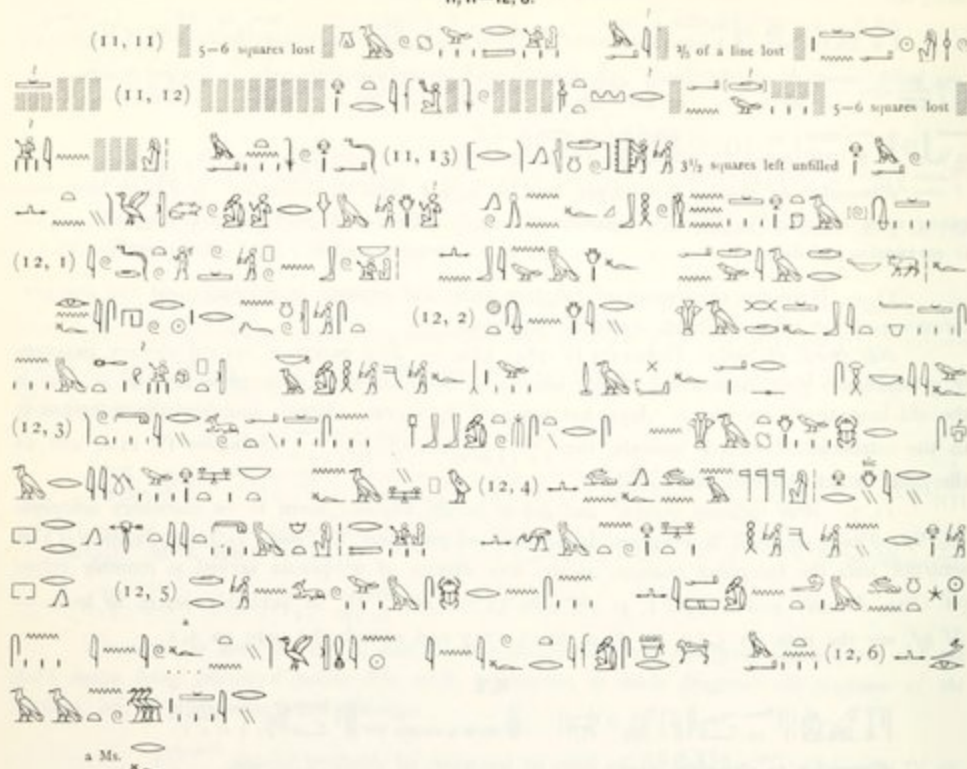
11, 6—11, 10.



Remember to go forth(?) who calls to you. (Remember) to offer geese upon the fire the bank of the river linen [Remember?] to give to pacify you(?)

11, 6—11, 10. After another injunction in which there is a reference to burnt sacrifice (see *A. Z.* 43 [1906], 10 top), the text becomes too fragmentary to be understood. It is possible that sentences introduced by *shsw* continued down as far as 11, 10 or even further.

11, 11—12, 6.





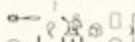
..... lack of people Re; command(?)
 the West to diminish(?) by the [gods?]. Behold ye, where-
 fore does he [seek] to [fashion mankind?], without distinguishing the timid man from him
 whose nature is violent. He bringeth(?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the
 herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to
 gather them together, their hearts being on fire(?). Would that he had perceived their nature in
 the first generation (of men); then he would have repressed evils, he would have stretched forth
 (his) arm against it, he would have destroyed their seed(?) and their inheritance. Men desired to
 give birth(?). Sadness grew up(?); needy people(?) on every side. Thus it was(?), and it passes
 not away(?), so long as(?) the gods in the midst thereof endure(?). Seed shall come forth(?) from
 the women of the people; none(?) is found on the way(?). A fighter(?) goes forth, that (he?) may
 destroy the wrongs that(?) they have brought about. There is no pilot(?) in their moment. Where
 is he(?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold, his might is not seen.


1, 11—12, 6. A new section, wholly different in character to all that precedes, now emerges
 out of the lacunae following upon 11, 6; its beginning fell certainly before 11, 12 and probably





after 11,9. Here the contents are neither descriptive nor admonitory, and the introductory formulae by which the text has been hitherto divided up into sections of restricted length are for a time abandoned. That Ipuwer is still the speaker is probable from the absence of any hint to the contrary, and will appear increasingly likely as we advance towards the end of the book. The audience is the same as heretofore; cf. *mln* 'behold ye' 11,13; 12,5.



The theory put forward by Lange with regard to this passage has been criticized at some length in the Introduction (p. 13—15), and though a few references to his view will be inevitable in commenting on the text, it seems superfluous to cover the same ground over again. It will suffice to remind the reader that Lange thought it possible here to discern a Messianic prophecy, which is thus described by him: „Der Prophet verkündet hier den Erretter, der das Volk wieder sammeln und Heil und Hilfe bringen wird“.

The *crux* of this obscure section is the identity of the being to whom the pronoun of the 3rd. person singular in 11,12—12,2 is to be referred. Since we find *sw* as far back as 11,12 and as there is no reasonable ground for supposing that the antecedent of this pronoun differs from that of the pronoun in *innf* (11,13) and in subsequent verbs, it is plain that the antecedent in question must have been named in the context that precedes 11,12. That context is unfortunately too fragmentary to yield a certain solution to the problem: but we find in it a mention of the sun-god Re (11,11), which may prove to be the clue that we are seeking; at all events it is a clue that we are bound to consider carefully. Following closely upon the name of Re comes the word *wed* 'to command', then after a brief interval *Imntt* 'the West' and a little farther on a word ending with the determinative  that is appended to divine names (11,12). Thus there is here already some slight justification for supposing that the theme of the passage is the control exercised over mankind, either now or once, by the gods. In the next sentences 11,12—13 the important word was doubtless , which may possibly allude to the creation of men. I have proposed to restore and render: *wherefore doth he (i. e. Re) [seek to] fashion [men] without distinguishing the meek and the violent?* In other words, why has Re not created all men good alike? If he had done so, the present evils would never have arisen. This however, it must be admitted, is pure conjecture. In the next sentences the text goes on to describe a beneficent ruler: *he bringeth* (we might translate the verb *brought* or *will bring*, alternatives between which we have no means of deciding) *cooling upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passeth the day to gather them together, even though(?) their hearts be aflame.* There is no inherent reason why these phrases should not, as Lange imagined, have reference to a good king whose coming is prophesied; but they may equally well be taken as a description of Re, whom ancient legends regarded as the first king of Egypt, and whose reign was looked back on as upon a sort of Golden Age. We now reach, in 12,2—3, a group of sentences beginning with a regretful wish uttered by Ipuwer: *Would that he (that is, the ideal king just described) had perceived their nature in the first generation (of men); then he would have repressed evils, he would have put forth (his) arm against it, he would have destroyed their seed(?) and their inheritance.* Unless the translation be at fault, only one meaning can be attached to these words: if the ideal king here envisaged had known, from the very beginning of things, how wicked human nature is, he would have exterminated mankind and thus have rooted up the seed from which the present

chaos and abuses have sprung. It is hardly conceivable that such a thought could have been framed in reference to a future ruler of human or even semi-divine birth. How could such a ruler, whose advent *ex hypothesi* is a thing of the future, be imagined as capable of having discerned, in the far distant past, the frailties of mortal men? And what means could he have employed to annihilate the human race? In other words, if the Messianic hypothesis be right, my conception of the meaning of Ipuwer's wish must be utterly wrong. The passage becomes both intelligible and rational if we accept the view that it refers to Re. Nor is that all; in this case it will be seen to accord well with the famous story according to which Re, having become aware of the plots which men made against him, conceived the plan of destroying them, but relented at the last moment and forbade the godden Sekhmet to compass their complete destruction¹. Thus we seem now to be in possession of tangible evidence that the clue afforded by the mention of the name of Re (11, 11) is the real key to the whole section. To my mind the decisive proof is given by the expression  'the first generation' in 12, 2. The


philological note on this expression will show that it is very nearly synonymous with , the phrase which was technically used by the Egyptians to designate the age following immediately upon the creation of the world, the age, in fact, when Re was king upon earth.

Whatever interpretation be given to the remainder of the passage, the central fact that it refers to Re may now, I think, be reckoned as a *fait acquis*. In 12, 3—6 we are confronted by difficulties of a more serious order; grammar and syntax are here so obscure that we can but guess at the sense. The words  and  in 12, 3,  in the following sentence, and  further down (12, 4) make it fairly clear that the propagation of the human race is in some way under discussion. Interwoven with these words are others referring to misfortunes, adversity or the like (*nh3t-ib* 12, 3; *s3ry* 12, 3). Combining these data and translating as best we may, we can dimly discern a train of thought not inappropriate to the preceding context. It has been said that if Re had known all the evils which would spring up in consequence of men's wicked natures, he would have destroyed men and so have prevented the subsequent disasters (12, 2—3). This was not done; and the lines 12, 3—6 seem to describe the result. *Men desired birth(?)*. Hence *sadness grew up(?)*, and *needy people(?) on every side*. *So it was(?)*, and *it shall not pass away(?)*, so long as(?) the gods in the midst thereof endure(?). *Seed shall come forth from (or in) the women of mankind*; the implication is that this is the cause of all evil. After this we appear to return to a consideration of the future prospects of Egypt. It seems to be hinted that someone will come, *who(?) shall destroy the wrongs that they* (i. e. men) *have brought about*. But *there is(?) no pilot(?) in their moment* — this may perhaps mean, that now, while the authors of evil still live, the saviour is not yet at hand. At last we touch firm ground in three sentences that clearly refer to the looked for (but not necessarily prophesied) redeemer. *Where is he today? Doth he sleep perchance? Behold ye, his might is not seen* (12, 5—6)!

11, 13. For the contrasted words *sndw* and *shm-ib* cf. *Rekhmere* 8, 38; 10, 23. —  in , if not corrupt, must be used as an auxiliary verb. This usage however is not very

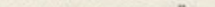

¹ See Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion* pp. 32—33.


² The meaning of this unknown word can only be conjectured from the determinative.

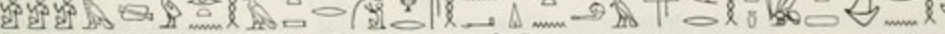
well authenticated; besides the example cited by Erman, *Gramm.* § 252, Sethe quotes the obscure phrase  (var. *inf*) Ebers 106, 5; 108, 19. — *Int khhw hr ttw* is, as we have seen, possibly to be emended in 9, 9 above, where the context is quite unintelligible.


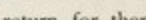
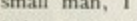

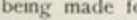
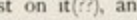
12, 1. For the metaphorical use of *minw* 'herdsman' as applied to princes, Homer's *ποι-
μένα λαών*, cf. *A. Z.* 42 (1905), 121; the image, which is no uncommon one, is continued in the
following sentences. — For *'nd*, *ldr* and *nwl* see the notes on 2, 13; 9, 2; and 9, 2 respectively.





12, 2. *Ht* may here, like *tsw* above in 11, 13, be a metaphor for the discord that inflames the hearts of men; cf. 7, 1. — *Hš* *kš* ‘would that’ ‘then’, cf. below 13, 5—6; similarly with *hš ni*, *Brit. Mus.* 5645, recto 13 (see the Appendix); and with *hw* for *hš*, *Rekh-mere* 7, 10 ‘O that thou wouldst act as I say; then would Right rest in its place’; an instance with as wish-particle *Cairo Lovesong* 13. The use of *kš* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence (cf. 5, 3 note), implied or expressed, is one of its chief employments; cf. the Arabic . The protasis may be replaced by a wish, as here, or by a rhetorical question, as below 12, 14; 14, 13, 14; or else by an imperative ('do this, [and if thou dost so] then'), e.g. *Westcar* 11, 25.

The words *'nd bit* occur once again in a biographical inscription of the Middle Kingdom
Brit. Mus. 574 = Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.*, I 79  'His Majesty used to greet me, for he perceived my quality (*bit-i*) of every day' i.e. he recognized
that I was always excellent. The verb *'nd* 'to perceive' or the like, is very rare. The only other early
instance known to me is not quite certain; at the bottom of a stele of the early Middle Kingdom
from Gebelen(?), *Brit. Mus.* 1372, (belonging to the  whose 'good name'


was  we read the two following lines:














 'I have not done the deeds of any small man, I have done the deeds of a prince and overseer of², in return for there being made for me a field to support a *wab*-priest on it(?), and (in return for) there being given to me cloth, oil and honey. I have moreover done what men love, in the knowledge of the princes, in the moment of making³?'³. Here *m'nd* (*šrw*) is probably the equivalent of the phrase *m rḥ n* (*rmt* or *bw-nb*), on which see *Rec. de Trav.* 26, 13. Later instances of *nd* are:

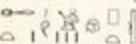
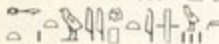
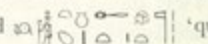
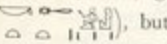

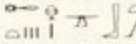

 'because he had perceived his excellence' *Louvre C 112*;  'his form and his complexion are not known' *Rochem. Edfou 430, 3*; Piehl, *Inscr.* II 2 C δ. —  is a word meaning 'quality' 'character', originally (like ) neutral in sense, but tending to signify 'good character' owing to its frequent employment in such common phrases as  (e. g. *Hat Nub Graffiti* 1, 9) and  (e. g. *Urkunden* IV 133). In

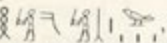


1) Not the least interesting part of this little text, which seemed worth quoting entire, in spite of the irrelevancy of so doing, is the abbreviation  for the name *Sethke*; note the final letter *k* as in  for  ; and see Sethe's article *A. Z. 44* (1907), 90.

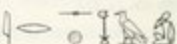
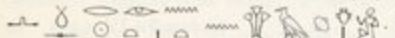


2) Read *isap-ri isethu(?)*; for this title Griffith quotes to me Petrie *Athribis* 2; for the word *isethu* cf. *Urkunden* 1, 2.




3) Probably nothing is lost after . For the obscure words at the end, cf. *Weni* 36-7.

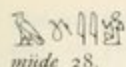
the present instance the implication is that men's characters are bad: it is not easy to find a close parallel for this sense, but the neutral (ethically uncoloured) meaning of *bit* is attested by the frequency with which its significance is supplemented by the epithets *nfri* or *ikri*, and by the fact that in such sentences as  *bit* is often replaced by such colourless words as  or ; cf. further *Louvre* C 26, 21  'This is my character in very truth' (*kd* occurs in a parallel clause in the preceding line). Three words must be carefully distinguished: (1) The word  or  'character' is never early written either with  or with  (for old instances cf. *Siut* 3, 12; 5, 22; *Prisse* 15, 4; *Proc. S. B. A.* 18, 196, 15), and this statement holds good also of the 18th. dynasty, with the single exception of the instance quoted above from *Louvre* C 26; its reading is therefore probably *bit*, not *bišt*. (2) *Bišt* 'wonder', on the other hand, is at an early date written with  (cf. *L. D.* II 149c, Hammamat, 11th. dyn.) or with  (18th. dyn. passim; and implied in the stroke \ of  in the *Westcar*) and is derived from a verb 'to wonder' which is spelt with  as early as the *Pyramidtexts* (cf. N 789). (3) Different both from *bit* 'character' and *bišt* 'wonder' is the masculine word , which is found in the *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 109, and in the phrase *irt bi*, *Prisse* 5, 5; 17, 13; *Turin* 2.


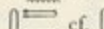
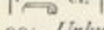
 'the first generation', cf. *Brit. Mus.* 5645, recto 6 (see the Appendix);  *Totb. ed. Nav.* 133, 10; Hathor is called  'queen of the first (divine) generation', *Mar. Dend.* III 73d. *Ht* is, properly speaking, 'a body' of men (cf. , but is specially used in the sense 'generation'; cf.  'tell it to generation after generation' *Leiden* V 1;  'generations pass' Max Müller, *Liebeslieder* 1, 2 (Tomb of Neferhotep); *Statue of Horemheb* 4; *Mar. Abyd.* I 51, 36. For *tpt*, cf.  die 'Urzeit'.



 is a common phrase, often found in the *Totenbuch*. The exact meaning of *sdb* has still to be determined; for its use in non-religious texts cf. *Pap. Kahun* 13, 34, where  should be read; *Rekhmere* 2, 14. —  'to stretch forth the arm', in a hostile sense already in the *Pyramidtexts*, W 607; N 924 (with *m* 'against'); cf. too *Rec. de Trav.* 16, 125 (late stèle from Luxor, with *r*).

12, 3. *Nhst-ib*, cf. *Lebensmüde* 56, where we ought perhaps to read ; Erman however read *hst* (*Br. Wörterb. Suppl.* 780), which is also possible. In an unpublished literary papyrus from the Ramesseum (M. K.) occurs the sentence  — *Ssry*, cf.  (var. ).

1) It should be noted that several words of the stem *hst* are persistently written *ht* without the final radical *t*, as for example  'mine', which is proved to have the reading *hstw* by an isolated variant, Weill, *Recueil* 57, 3;  'heaven' 'firmament' should perhaps by analogy also be transliterated *hst* or *hstw*, though not a single instance with *t* is known in early texts. However the case with *ht* 'character' is different, as the oldest instances are without the determinatives , in which the reading *hst* seems to be implicitly expressed.

 Petrie, *Denderah* 2b; 6; 11b. Other examples are quoted by Erman on *Lebensmide* 28.


12, 4.  Δ 'to pass by' *oseme*, see my note *Rec. de Trav.* 26, 11. — *Styl*, infinitive of the verb  cf.  Benihasan II 4. — *Hwuy r hr*, cf. *Millingen* 2, 2; *Amada stela* 3, 7; *Inscr. dedic.* 99; *Urkunden* III 60; on the form with *-ny* see Sethe, *Verbum* II §§ 117, 4. 683, 6c.

12, 5. *Dr hw*, compare the examples quoted above on 12, 3; and Lepsius, *Alt. Texte* 1, 9. — *Iš (n) hst*, a 'pilot' on board a ship, cf. *Urkunden* IV 310; *Anast.* II 9, 2. — As Sethe points out *in hw rf tn* is as impossible as *num ubi?* would be in Latin; one of the two interrogative words must be omitted. Possibly two sentences have here been blended into one. — Lange translated  „unter Euch“, which of course demands the correction ; Sethe is doubtless right in rendering 'behold'.

12, 6—12, 11.

   (12, 7)      (12, 8)  7-8 squares lost  lost  about 5 squares lost  (12, 9)  8-9 squares lost  about 5 squares lost  (12, 10)  7-8 squares lost  (12, 11)                       

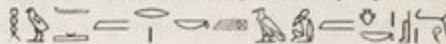
If we had been I should not have found thee(?); I should not have been called in vain(?) a saying(?) that is on the lips of everybody. Today fear more than a million of people. Not seen enemies enter into the temples weep His words go adrift(?). the statues would(?) [not?] be burnt, their(?) tombs would be safe(?) see him(?) on the(?) day of all He who never made for himself (.....) between heaven and earth fears on account of everyone.



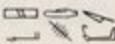
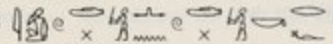
12, 6—12, 11. These lines are too much interrupted by lacunae to be intelligible. If the pronoun  in *n gm-ni tw* be correct, the king must already here be addressed. The last sentence seems by its form to belong to a descriptive passage; and the same conclusion is suggested by the reference to the burning of statues in 12, 10.

12, 6. *Snm* is here clearly transitive, and cannot therefore be identified with *snm* 'to mourn' (see on 2, 5) in spite of the determinative. Lange proposes to emend *snm* 'to feed', and

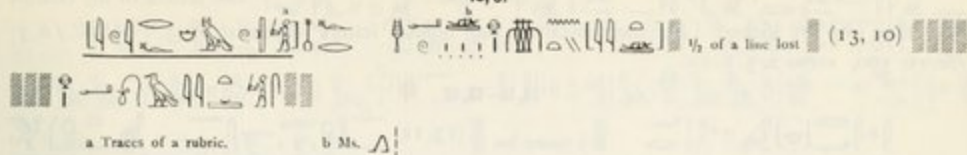
that which thou hast commanded. If three men journey upon a road, they are found to be two men; the greater number slay the less. Is there a herdsman that loves death? Then wouldst thou command to make reply: it is because one man loves and another hates(?), that their forms(?) are few on every side. It is because thou hast acted so(?) as to bring these things about(?). Thou hast spoken falsehood. The land is as a weed that destroys men. Then people would not reckon upon(?) life. All these years are(?) discordant strife. A man is killed upon his housetop. He is vigilant in his boundary-house. Is he brave? (Then) he saves himself, and he lives(?). People send a servant(?) to poor men. He walks upon the road until he sees the flood(?). The road is dragged (with the drag-net??). He stands there in misery(?). What he has upon him is taken away. He is belaboured(?) with blows of the stick, and wrongfully slain. Would that thou mightest taste some of these miseries! Then wouldst thou say from another as a wall(?) hot years

12, 11—13, 9. The speaker now turns to the king, and passionately denounces his callous indifference to the scenes of bloodshed daily witnessed upon the public highways. The Pharaoh himself, to whom Religion and Literature ascribed the attributes of Taste, Knowledge and Truth, is the cause of the confusion and tumultuous noise that fill the land (12, 12—12, 13). It is due to his commands that every man's hand is against his fellow (12, 13). If three men travel together two of them conspire with one another against the third, whom they kill (12, 13—12, 14). Is it possible, asks the speaker, that a ruler, the shepherd of his people, should wish to see his subjects die (12, 14)? Here the king is imagined to reply to the charge brought against him (12, 14—13, 1). The answer is obscure, but the king seems to shift the responsibility on to the people themselves (13, 1). Nay, it is what thou hast done that has brought these things to pass; thou liest retorts the sage, who then proceeds to illustrate anew the murder and rapine that meet his gaze wherever he looks. He ends with the bitter wish: *Would that thou mightest taste some of these miseries, then wouldst thou tell another tale* (13, 1—13, 6). — The passage is by no means lacking in obscurity, yet there can, I think, be no doubt but that it is the king who is here addressed with such vehemence. We know from 15, 13 that the king was among the *dramatis personae* of the book, and various expressions in the passage before us cannot well refer to any other personage. Such are the words *Hw Siš M's't* in 12, 12; *wē* 'command' in 12, 13, 14, *minw* 12, 14 (see above on 12, 1); and finally the wish in 13, 5—13, 6, which could only be said to one who was relatively little affected by the devastation of the land (cf. 2, 11).

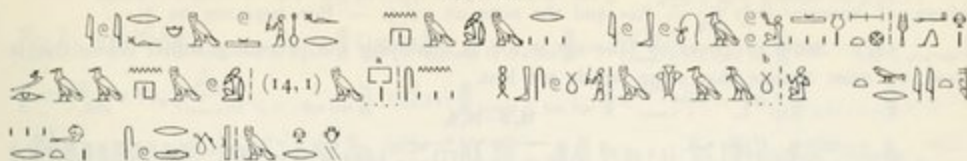
12, 12. *Hw* and *Siš* are very often associated with one another (cf. already *Pyramid-texts* W 439) as attributes of the king; compare  'Taste is in thy mouth, Knowledge is in thy heart, thy tongue is the shrine of Truth' *Kuban stele* 18; similar phrases are addressed to king Rehotep, Petrie *Koptos* 12, 3. — *Shš*, see on 2, 11.

12, 13. For *hnnw*, see the note on 6, 1. — *Wd* is often used with an object such as  (cf. 7, 6),  or  of 'exerting' violence or the like against someone. For the absolute use here exemplified no better parallel is forthcoming than the amulet *Pap. Leiden* 358  'o thruster, thou dost not thrust (i. e. use violence) against him' — *Sn* followed by *r* seems never to mean to 'transgress', but either (1) 'to be like'

13.9.



13, 14—14, 1.



a Ms. has meaningless signs; see the plate.

b Ms. 7

It is however good, when rejoicing is in (men's) mouths. The magnates of districts stand and look on at the rejoicing in their houses(?), clothed in (fine?) raiment, purified in front, made to flourish in the midst(?).

13, 14. The word *m33* 'to see' has a strong suggestion of the wall-paintings of the tombs, where the nomarch stands and inspects his dependents busy with their crafts or indulging in various forms of amusement.

14, 1. The emendation □□ is both easy and suitable, but it is difficult to conceive how so simple a word could have been misunderstood by the scribe. — *H3ti* 'a garment' is, as Sethe points out, the Coptic *goestre*; cf. below 14, 4; *Deir el Gebrawi* II 13; *Pap. med. Kahun* 2, 8; *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 8, 3. The word is here corruptly written. The three participles *hbs*, *tury*, and *srwd* seem to refer to *bw3w*, but it is not easy to fathom their meaning. The parallelism of *r h3t* and *m hr-ib* leads one to suspect that *hbs* may originally have been followed by *h3ti* instead of *m h3ti*.

14, 1—14, 3.



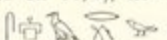
a Ms. 1

b Ms. 11

It is however good, when beds are made ready(?). The headrests of princes are stored in safety(?). The need(?) of every man is satisfied with a couch in the shade. The door is shut upon him, who(?) (formerly?) slept in the bushes.


14, 1. For the spelling of *3tiwt* cf. *Piankhi* 110; the old form is *h3ti*.


14, 2. The verb *3dt* seems both here and above in 9, 1 to be used of 'making ready' a sleeping-place, but no such word is known to the dictionaries. — *T3r* is a word of rare occurrence; the earliest of the known examples *Urkunden* IV 84. 896 are quite obscure; perhaps 'to keep safe' in *thy neck is kept safe(?) for thee* *Festival Songs* 11, 2; 'O Osiris, offered to thee is the *mn-wr*, thy flesh being preserved, thy bones being sound' *Mar. Dend.* IV 51a. — *Sirt* elsewhere means 'wisdom'

'sense' (see the note on 16, 1), no feminine word meaning 'want' or the like being found elsewhere: cf. however  and the note on 12, 3. — For *swyt* see on 7, 13.


14, 3. Sethe proposes to take *sdr m bst* as qualifying the preceding suffix; unless this is done, we must assume that some words are lost.



14, 3—14, 5.

  (14, 4) 
   (14, 5) more
than 1/2 of a line lost  4 1/2 lines lost

a Ms. 

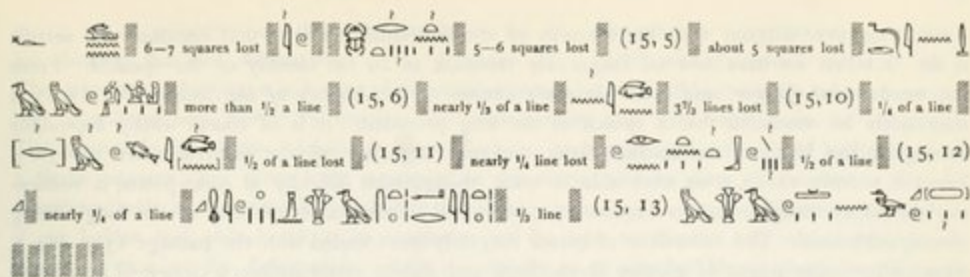
*It is however good, when fine linen is spread out on the day of the Newyear(?)
on(?) the bank. Fine linen is laid out(?), garments are on the ground(?). The overseer(?)
. trees. The poor*

14, 3. The section seems to have to do with the use of fine linen for festival purposes, people no longer fearing to leave it spread out in public places. — For , of clothes, cf. *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 34; of papyrus-rolls, cf. *Rekhmere* 2, 2.

14, 4. *Hst*, see on 14, 1. —  is unknown; should we emend ?

14, 10—15, 13.

 4 1/2 lines lost (14, 10)  1/2 of a line lost  (14, 11)  nearly 1/2 of a line lost  
(14, 12)   5-6 squares lost 
 (14, 13)   (14, 14)
  
 (15, 2)  
 (15, 3)  4-5 squares lost 
 (15, 4)  4-5 squares lost 



a See plate 14, note f.

..... [in the midst?] thereof like Asiatics.
 Men their manner. They have come to an end for themselves(?). There are none found to stand and [protect?] themselves(?). Every man fights for his sister, he protects himself(?). Are (they) Negroes? Then we protect ourselves(?). Multiplied are warriors(?) to repel the people of the Bow. Is it Temhi? Then we turn back(?). The Mazoi are happy(?) with Egypt. How should every man slay his own brother? The troops which we recruited for ourselves are become a people of the Bow, and have come to destroy(?). What has happened(?) through it(?) is(?) to cause the Asiatics to know the condition of the land. All foreign tribes are full of its fear. The taste of men without giving Egypt It is strong(?)
 say concerning you after years devastate itself. He who remains(?) makes their houses to live(?) to cause his children to live
 Generations(?) said? fish
 gum most(?) provisions

14, 10—15, 13. A gap of more than four lines introduces a long section which, if it had been preserved complete, might well have shed a clear light upon the historical situation presupposed by our book. In its present mutilated condition even the general trend of the passage is obscure. The first words of 14, 11 compare someone with the Asiatics (), to whom allusions have been made in several passages above (cf. 3, 1; 4, 5—8; 10, 1—2), though without explicit mention of their ethnical name. In 14, 12—13 some people, perhaps the Egyptians themselves, are apparently reproached with cowardice. A series of difficult and elliptical sentences in 14, 13—14 appears to refer to the relations of Egypt with its foreign neighbours on the South and West. These sentences are followed by the rhetorical question: *how should every man slay his own brother?* The only thing that is here plain is that the Libyans and Nubians are somehow contrasted with the more dangerous enemy on the Eastern boundary. The Asiatics are again named in 15, 1, and in the foregoing sentence it is possibly explained how they came to know the condition of the land. Sethe thinks that the words *dmw ts-n nn hpr m Pdt* hint at a mutiny of Asiatics, whom the Egyptians, following their ancient custom of employing foreign mercenaries, had enrolled in their army. These Asiatics, he understands, had fallen to plundering and had made themselves the masters of Egypt. The hypothesis is attractive, but the words *hpr m Pdt* are too little intelligible for one to feel any great confidence as to their meaning. In 15, 3 we may guess that this national disaster was spoken of as a thing which would remain as a blot in the memory of the Egyptians for many generations to come. After this the context once more becomes shrouded in utter darkness.

A graver difficulty than the obscurity of the individual sentences that compose this section is the fact that we have now no longer any certitude as to the identity of the speaker. From the words *what Ipuwer said, when he made answer to the Majesty of the Sovereign* in 15, 13 it may safely be concluded that a speech of the king preceded. It is of course wholly impossible to regard the king as the speaker from the very beginning of the papyrus down to 15, 13. From 1, 1 down to 14, 5 we were able to trace, though with difficulty at some points, a continuous thread of thought; and in 12, 11—13, 9 we found unmistakable evidence of the king's being directly addressed. The reflections of Ipuwer may fitly have ended with the passage 13, 9—14, 5, where after many pages of gloomy forebodings and violent recriminations a picture of peace and prosperity is unfolded. That passage describes a joyful and harmonious era, such as Egypt had known in the past and might still perhaps know in the future. It is by no means likely that Ipuwer, after holding out this hope, reverted any more to the disasters that had overwhelmed Egypt. For this reason the most probable hypothesis is that the commencement of the king's words fell in the gap between 14, 5 and 14, 11. However as no internal evidence on this point can be found in the passage 14, 11 to 15, 3, there remains the possibility that the king's speech began in the midst of page 15, where the context is completely lost.

14, 12. *Mik h'w-f*, possibly in a disparaging sense, as in the obscure sentence 9, 3.

14, 13. Here there are two elliptical questions, each of which is answered by *k?*; on this use of the particle, see 12, 2 note. — It is unnecessary to emend *in hws* to *in hwsn*, as the singular suffix may refer to *Pdt*, which was treated as a feminine singular above 3, 1.


15, 1. For *w?* see on 7, 1. — *Hfpt nf imf* is obviously corrupt, as the suffix is without an antecedent. The meaning must somehow be: 'the result of this was that'

15, 13—16, 1.









What Ipuwer(?) said, when he answered the Majesty of the Sovereign. all cattle. To be ignorant of it is what is pleasant in (their) hearts. Thou hast done what is good in their hearts. Thou hast nourished people with it(?). They cover(?) their(?) through fear of the morrow.

15, 3—16, 1. That a speech of the king has just ended is a legitimate deduction from the opening words of this section. The sage, whose name we here learn for the first time, now answers him. Does his reply mark a new stage in the debate, and did argument and counter-argument continue to alternate with one another far beyond the limits of the papyrus in its present mutilated form? Or are we here approaching the end of the book? The former view has a *prima facie* plausibility, for amid the sparse fragments of the sixteenth page there is no external sign of discontinuity with what precedes; and when the left margin of the papyrus is reached

in 17, 1—2, sentences are there cut into halves by it¹. Nevertheless there are strong grounds for thinking that the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* ended with the word *dwjyt* in 16, 1. The arguments that make in favour of this conclusion will be set forth in the notes on 16, 1—17, 2; here it will be best merely to consider the consequences that will result from its acceptance. The *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, an ancient literary text edited by Erman from a Berlin papyrus, has often been mentioned in this work, and its close relationship to the *Admonitions* both in form and in vocabulary has been emphasized in the Introduction (p. 3). Now if our Leiden text ends in 16, 1, its conclusion will be seen to show a very considerable resemblance to that of the *Lebensmüde*, where the debate as to whether life or death be preferable is abruptly terminated by a brief speech introduced by the phrase .

The concluding words of *Ipwew*, if such they be, are by no means so clear as we could wish. The Egyptians are apparently likened to cattle, for whom ignorance is bliss. The sage now turns to the king: *thou hast done what is good in their hearts. Thou hast nourished them with it(?)*. These words can hardly be understood otherwise than ironically; the king has fostered the Egyptians in their lack of knowledge, so that they go their ways heedless even of their own misery and without will or intelligence to better their condition. The last sentence may perhaps be guessed to mean: *they veil their faces(?) because of the fear of tomorrow*, that is, they fear to look the future in the face. At all events the phrase *fear of tomorrow* touches the keynote of the book, and may very appropriately be its last utterance: today sorrow is everywhere; unless people mend their ways, what hope can they have for tomorrow?

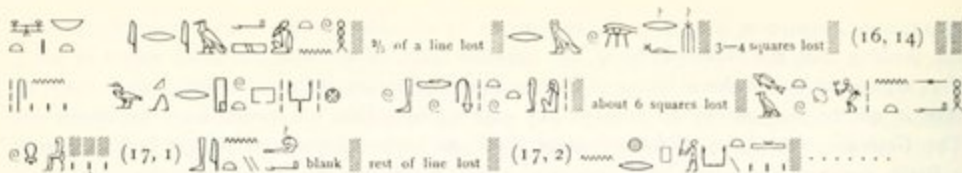
15, 13. The name  or  is by no means a rare one, and names compounded therewith can also be exemplified; cf.  *Louvre C 7*;  *Paheri 6*; and  *Ipwew*, *Pap. Kahun 14, 55*. There are no grounds for taking  in the name as given by the Ms., to be a determinative; if the reading be correct, *Ipwew* or *Sripw* must be read. It is however more probable that the scribe has for once confused the hieratic signs for *sr* and *wr* (see 4, 2 note) and that *Ipwew* is to be read. — *Nb r dr*, of the king, cf. *Millingen 2*: so too in *Sinuhe 172* it is probably the queen who is designated as *nbt r dr*.

15, 14. For the spelling of *wt*, cf. 5, 5 note. — *Im-sn* may be a corruption of *im-s*, as there is no suitable substantive for the plural suffix to refer to.

16, 1. *hw hbsw-sn hnty-sn* is obscure; *hbsw* may well be an error for the verb *hbs*. — *N snd n*, see the note on 8, 14.

16, 1—17, 2

           (16, 2)                                                                                        



It is to be(?) an aged man who has not yet died, and his son is young and without understanding. He begins He does not open [his] mouth [to] speak(?) to you. Ye seize(?) him in the fate(?) of death(?). Weep go after you(?). The earth is on every side. If men call to Weep their enter into the sepulchres, burn the statues the corpses of the mummies of directing work

16, 1—17, 2. Were the opening words of this passage to be found on a scrap of papyrus, isolated from the surrounding context, no scholar would have the least hesitation about pronouncing them to be the beginning of a tale¹. Here however, if they are looked upon as the continuation of the speech of Ipwer, they can only be accounted for by supposing them to contain a description of the king as aged and incompetent, while his son is still a babe unable to take the place of his father. The extreme improbability of this view can easily be shown. Ipwer has, we must remember, begun to answer the king, whom he directly addresses in the second person singular, while the Egyptians at large are referred to by the pronoun of the third person plural. At this point intervenes the supposed description of the king, without any preliminary word of warning, and from the following line onwards the audience is addressed in the second person plural. The abruptness of this change of attitude is, to my mind, quite intolerable, even when liberal allowances have been made for the greater freedom of Egyptian idiom in its use of pronouns. It has been seen in the notes to the foregoing section how well the *Admonitions* might end with the words 'through the fear of tomorrow' (16, 1). These considerations lead one to frame the hypothesis that *dwjyt* was really the last word of the *Admonitions*, but that the scribe of the Leiden papyrus, not perceiving that he had reached the conclusion, went on copying mechanically from the Ms. before him, in which a tale followed upon the *Admonitions*. This hypothesis fails however to account for the second person plural in the next line and is finally disposed of by 16, 13—14 below, where expressions occur that are almost identical with phrases that have already been read in the *Admonitions*. The only way out of the difficulty seems to be to assume that the words *wn si pw* really belong to the *Admonitions* and contain a description of the king, but that this description, together with the rest of page 16, is out of place. In favour of this view it should be observed (1) that the phrases in 16, 13—14 are all paralleled by expressions on the twelfth page of the Leiden Ms. and in a part of it where the king is evidently being unfavourably criticized, though not as yet directly denounced in the second person; (2) that the papyrus from which the scribe copied was clearly defective², so that a column of it may easily have been torn off and have been read by the copyist in a wrong

¹ One would in this case translate: 'there was once an aged man' etc.; see the philological note.

² See the Introduction, p. 2.

place; (3) at the bottom of page 17 there are traces of writing in a different hand to that of the *Admonitions*, so that this work was either left incomplete or else came to an end not much farther on than 17, 2. On the strength of this evidence I think that the most natural conclusion (though of course there can be no question of arriving at a certain decision on so problematical a point) is that the passage 16, 1—17, 2 represents a column or page that had become detached from the Ms. utilized by the scribe of the Leiden papyrus, and that this page ought to be inserted at some point between 12, 6 and 12, 12.

16, 1. For the resemblance of the words *wn si pw tui* etc. to the beginning of a tale, one might compare *Peasant R 1*. — *Shipwrecked Sailor 33* and possibly too the first example (*3dtwf?*) in Sethe, *Verbum II* § 555 k. — For *swd3* 'to die' Sethe quotes *Harris* 22, 1; 77, 12; perhaps also to be emended in *Sinuhe B 170—1*. This word is probably not to be confused with which is used of 'going' to one's tomb e.g. *Sheikh Said* 19; *Mar. Mast. D 10*; *Breasted, A new historical Stele 12*. — *Sirt* 'understanding' 'intelligence', such as is lacking in a tiny infant, cf. *Turin statue of Haremheb 3*; 'the children of Re whose words are puissant and whose lips are knowing and their understanding (i.e. the fame thereof) reaches heaven' *Pap. Turin* 132, 14; and so often.

16, 13. *Hr wst nbt*, cf. 12, 3; 13, 1. — *Ir is(3)stw n*, cf. 12, 6. — *Rm(y)*, cf. 10, 3; 12, 9.

16, 14. *k r hwt-k3*, cf. 12, 8. — *Wbdw twtw*, cf. 12, 10.

APPENDIX







Brit. Mus. 5645 (plates 17—18).

While visiting the British Museum I had often noticed the writing-board no. 5645, which occupies a conspicuous place among the hieratic ostraca in the Third Egyptian Room¹. Its peculiar script, more archaic than that of the tablets around it, made me single it out as a promising object of study; red verse-points indicated its contents to be literary, and the few short extracts which I jotted down in my note-book seemed to correspond to no known text. However it was not until half of this book was in print that I found an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity with regard to the writing-board. My surprise and pleasure were great when many of the rare words known to me from the *Admonitions* made their appearance one by one, as I advanced with the transcription; it seemed almost as though this new text had been written for the express purpose of illustrating my Leiden papyrus! Nor were the resemblances confined to the vocabulary alone: the latter parts contain a pessimistic description of the world that vividly recalled the descriptive portions of the *Admonitions*. At the same time I noted differences both in the

¹ See the official *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 11: there the description of no. 7 (*B. M.* 5645) has been erroneously interchanged with that of no. 13 (*B. M.* 5646).

form and in the matter which made a comparison with the *Admonitions* particularly instructive; and I soon became aware of an especially important point about the writing-board, namely that its date can be fixed with certainty. From every point of view therefore it seemed advisable to publish this new document as an Appendix to my work on *Pap. Leiden* 344.

Brit. Mus. 5645 is a wooden board 55 cm. long and 29 cm. high, covered on both sides with a coating of stucco. The stucco is laid upon the wood by means of a coarse network of string, which was attached to the board with some adhesive matter. In the middle of the right-hand side is a small hole, which made it possible for the board to be suspended from a wall. The text consists of four paragraphs of varying length, three of which are upon the recto; the verso contains the fourth paragraph, and, lower down, two lines of larger writing that have nothing to do with the preceding literary text. The entire board is covered with dirty reddish marks which may very easily be confused with the red verse-points, and all the more so since the latter have become very pale in colour. The writing is in places very faint, and the task of decipherment was in consequence not always quite easy.

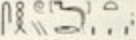


The hieratic hand is perhaps more nearly related to that of the Westcar papyrus than to any other well-known text; however I am inclined to assign it to a somewhat later date, at all events not posterior to the middle of the 18th. dynasty¹. For  the scribe always employs the large uncial form, except in two instances of the ligature  (recto 8; verso 4). The plural determinative even after a tall sign is often written  horizontally, an indication that the old mode of writing hieratic in vertical columns still continued to influence the horizontal script. The complete form of  in used in recto 8. 13, and in recto 8 the fish  *in* is drawn in great detail. The feather *šw* is not distinguished from that of *mš't*. The sign  exhibits a peculiarity not known elsewhere, the end of the tail being crossed by a short thick transverse stroke.

PARAGRAPH 1 (Recto 1—4).

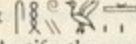

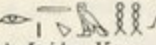
Recto 1.



The collection of words, the gathering together of sayings, the quest of utterances with ingenious mind, made by the priest of Heliopolis, the, Khékheperre-sonbu, called Onkhu.

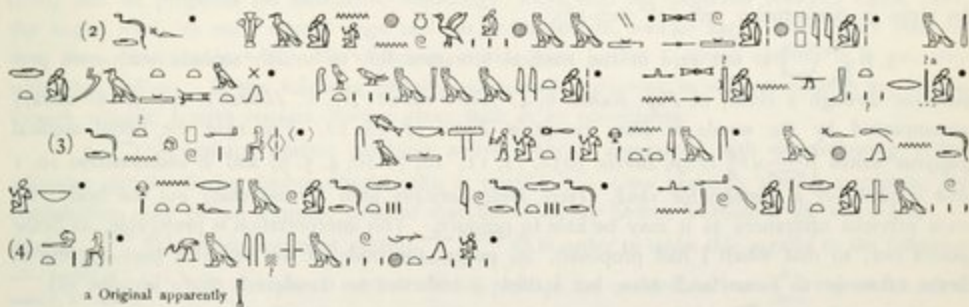
1. This is the title of the composition. — With the original before me I read ; both  and  seemed clearly legible. In any case the parallelism of *šhwý mdwt*, *kdf tsw* and

¹ The fact that the text is written on a wooden board also points to this conclusion. We have several such boards dating from the 12th. to the 18th. dynasties in Cairo and elsewhere. In the 19th. and 20th. dynasties they seem to have gone out of fashion. In the 21st. dynasty the use of wooden boards instead of ostraca appears to have been revived, though the boards of this date are generally not covered with stucco. Of course local conditions may here have determined the choice of writing-materials; in Thebes limestone ostraca were more accessible than, for instance, in Memphis.

d3r hnw shows that  must be read. —  is unknown; Sethe proposes, and I think rightly, to identify the word with *hwt* 'decerpere' (fructus, flores). — *M hhy n ib*, cf. the epithet of a god  'who created the earth with ingenious mind' lit. 'with searching of heart' *Leiden K 1*.

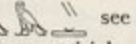
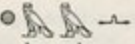
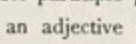
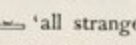
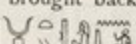
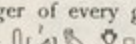
The word following *w'b n hnw* is difficult to decipher; see note *b* on plate 17. For a moment I inclined towards the reading 'Sny son of', but it is far more likely that *sny* is a title of some kind. — The name of the author is compounded with the prenomen of Sesostriis II (12th. dyn.), and there is no reason for doubting that this gives us the actual date of the composition; on the form of the name see *A. Z.* 44 (1907), 52—3.


Recto 2—4.



He said: — Would that I had words that are unknown, utterances that are strange, (expressed) in new language that has never occurred (before), void of repetitions; not the utterance of past speech(?), spoken by the ancestors. I squeeze out my body for(?) that which is in it, in the loosing(?) of all that I say. For what has been said is repeated, when(?) what has been said has been said; there is no the speech of men of former times, when(?) those of later times find it.











2—4. The writer wishes that he had new and original things to say, not merely repetitions of what men of former generations had said before him.

2. For  see the note on  *Admonitions* 7, 4; the ending *i* is correct for the perfect participle passive, if *hnw* be taken, as Sethe suggests, as a singular. —  must be an adjective or participle parallel to *hmm*. Sethe well compares the words  'all strange plants' in the descriptive sentences accompanying the pictures of the Syrian plants brought back by Thutmosis III from his Asiatic campaigns, *Urkunden* IV 775. Cf. too  'Back, thou messenger of every god! Hast thou come to this my heart of the living as a stranger?' *Harhotep* 336;  'he is of heart, he seeks counsel for things that are strange like (= with the same facility as for) things

1) *Lacan* ; the original has the same sign as that which determines 'Inu, *Pap. Kahun* 1, 5; *Proy*, *ibid.* 2, 16; *hft* *Prüse* 9, 12; and the proper name of a foreigner *hft* *Simke* 220.

Not speaks one who has (already) spoken, there speaks one that is about to speak, and of whom another finds what he speaks(?). Not(?) a tale of telling afterwards: 'they had made(?) (it) before'. Not a tale which shall say(?): 'it is searching after(?) what had(?) perished; it is lies; there is none who shall recall his name to others'.

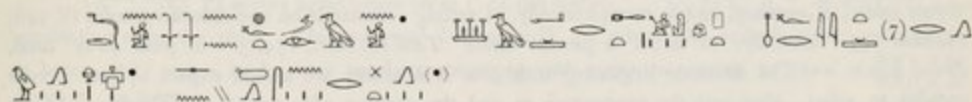
5—6. These words, which contain the same artifice of style already noted in l. 3, are exceedingly obscure. The end of the section suggests that the writer is there defending his work from any imputation of untruthfulness that may later be cast upon it, and I therefore translate the first sentences as a refutation of a possible charge of plagiarism. There are however very serious difficulties connected with this view. Sethe thinks that the passage must be aphoristic, the writer returning to the discussion of his own affairs only in the words *ddi nn hft m3ni* (l. 6), and he proposes the alternative rendering: 'nicht sagt ein Sager (etwas), damit einer, der sagen wird, (es noch einmal) sage und ein anderer finde, was er sagte; nicht redet man für den, der später reden will'. My objection to this view is that I cannot connect it in any way with what follows. In the following philological notes I endeavour to support my own hypothesis, though without, I must confess, having great faith in its correctness.

5.  perhaps perfect participle active, sharply contrasted with the following verbal adjective *ddtfti*. Sethe doubts whether this is possible. — *Gmy* probably passive participle; the construction may be an extreme case of that discussed by Sethe, *Verbum II* §§ 899—902. — For  I think we must emend  in order to make this parallel to the following  in which the plural strokes should perhaps be omitted. Here  cannot be translated 'there is not', but must be an example of the rare use of this negation to negative an isolated word or phrase. Cf.  above l. 2, and the sentence     'Do not allow him to drink nor wax, nor honey, nor sweet beer, for four days' in an unpublished magical text in Turin; see too Steindorff, *Kopt. Gramm.* § 460.

For the construction *k3s dds* in a relative sentence Sethe compares *Rekhmere* 10, 14. With the present reading *k3s dds* (not *k3sn ddsn rs*) we must render 'not a tale which shall say' i.e. not words which show on the very surface their inconsistency with the truth. This seems however highly improbable.

6. The verse-point after *sh3tfti* seems to be wrong, as it certainly is in several instances below. *Sh3* 'to mention', cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 128, and a less certain case, without dative but with *rn* 'name' as object, Petrie, *Koptos* 8, 6.

Recto 6—7.




I have said this in accordance with what I have seen, beginning with the first generation down to those who shall come afterwards; they are like what is past(?).

1) The letters *dt* are here and in the two following instances written with a ligature which might possibly be read *-dw*.

6—7. The writer claims that his moralizings are in accordance with a comprehensive view of all history, beginning at the first age of human existence and not excluding the future.

6. For *m̄ni*, for which we expect *m̄ni*, see above on *ddi*, l. 3. — For *ht tpt* see the note on *Admonitions* 12, 2.


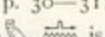

7. For  cf. Mar. *Abydos* II 10, where these words are used of future kings; so too *by hr sz* of future days *Prisse* 9, 2. — The last words are very obscure; the sense may possibly be that the writer can look into the future as easily as he can review past events. For *sn r* see *Admonitions* 12, 13 note.

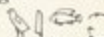
Recto 7—9.



Would that I knew that of which(?) others are ignorant, even things that have never been related: in order that I might say them, and my heart might answer me; that I might explain to it concerning my sufferings, and thrust aside for it the load that is upon my back, (that I might speak) words(?) about that which oppresses me(?), that I might express to it what I suffer through it(?), that I might say . . . about my mood.






7—9. After the pretentious boasting of lines 6—7 the return to the theme of line 2 seems exceedingly naive.

7. For  see *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 111 and Vogelsang's interesting note in his thesis *Die Klagen des Bauern* p. 30—31; for two more examples of the particle *z*, see *Sinuhe* 217. 260. — The writing  is curious: it has probably nothing to do with the other words ending in  that are discussed by Erman in his edition of the *Lebensmüde* p. 57 and by Sethe in *Ä. Z.* 44 (1907), 85, but may be simply the past relative form with a superfluous *z*; this *z* may be due to the influence of the dual word *kiwi*, cf. *Ä. Z.* 40 (1902), 94 *ad finem*¹.

8. *Shd* here clearly means 'to explain' 'elucidate' and is construed with *r* on the analogy of *dd* 'to say'; I have been unable to find any other instance of this usage. — The masculine *stpw* 'load' 'burden', e. g. *Pap. Kahun* 15, 62; 30, 38. 42; *Admonitions* 1, 2. —  'to repel' 'thrust aside', cf. verso 3; so too metaphorically, of setting commands on one side, *Urkunden* IV 546; *Piankhi* 143. Literally, 'to thrust' a person 'aside' *Totb. ed. Nav.*, 154, 3. 'to push away' food, *Prisse* 1, 10. — The sentence beginning with *hnw* is obscure; we should expect to find a verb parallel to *win-i*, *szr-i* and the preposition *m* and the spelling *sfu-n-wi* are inexplicable. *Sfu* is apparently an active participle, and has therefore nothing to do with the word *sfu* 'mild'; it is

¹ Sethe considers this view very improbable, and prefers to take *-ny* here too as equivalent to the pronoun *-m* or *-it*: 'would that I knew, while others do not know it'.

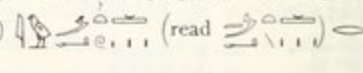
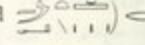
lands have planned and plotted rebellion'¹ *Urkunden* IV 138. — *Hpr ht t3*, see the note on *Admonitions* 1, 8. — For *hprw* 'changes' I can find no exact parallel.




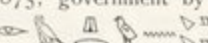
 is the Coptic *ⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓ*; cf.  *Maximes d'Ani* 7, 6, 8, both times in contrast with  'this year', and see Sethe's remarks *Ä. Z.* 40 (1902), 95. The Ptolemaic spellings are  and  see Br., *Wörterbuch* 1209. — For the metaphorical use of *dns* cf. *Admonitions* 4, 10, 14; and for *sh3* the note on *Admonitions* 2, 11 may be consulted.

Recto 11—12.




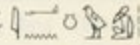







Right is cast outside. Wrong is inside the council-chamber. The plans of the gods are violated; their ordinances are neglected. The land is in distress. Mourning is everywhere. Towns and provinces are in sorrow. Everybody alike is subjected to wrongs. Reverence, an end is put to it. The lords of quiet are disturbed. Morning(?) occurs every day, and the face(?) shrinks(?) at what has happened.






11. The converse of the first two sentences is expressed in the prophecy *Cairo* 25224 (Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 53, parallel text to *Pap. Petersburg* 1)  (read ).


For *wen* 'neglect' see Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, note 90. — *Mhrw* is an interesting word of somewhat elusive meaning, which cannot always be rendered in English with the same term; it seems to be derived from the preposition *hr* and to signify 'that which appertains to' or 'is requisite for' somebody or something. A man applies to himself the epithet  'good of dealings in the house of his lord' (*Munich Glyptotek* 40) or claims to be one  'whose intelligence performed his business' (*Leiden* V 4; *Brit. Mus.* 572). A pyramid is  'superior in arrangement to all (other) places' *Louvre* C 3. *irt mhrw* means 'to provide for' someone; in a general sense, cf. *Urkunden* IV 656, 968. Especially of 'government', cf. *irt mhrw t3*, *Urkunden* IV 60; *irwd mhrw idwy*, *Urkunden* IV 1075; government by the gods, cf. *Lyon* 93 'O thou Ennead that art in Abydos  which governest the two lands'; so perhaps here



¹ It is not certain that *shlt* is to be connected with *hwt shlt*.



'ordinances'. Lastly *irt mhrw* is commonly used for 'providing for' bodily wants; and so ultimately *mhrw* comes to mean little more than 'food' (cf. the English 'provisions') and is sometimes spelt  cf. Düm. *Geogr. Inscr.* IV 125.

Su-mnt is a compound word meaning 'distress' 'calamity' or the like. Cf.  'Grief is in the Netherworld, distress in'. *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 9, 8;  *Stele of Tutankhamon* 8 = *Rec. de Trav.* 29, 164;  *Cairo* 25224 (= Daressy, *Ostraca* p. 54, where  is read);  in a very obscure context, *L. D.* III 256 a, 8; and finally  *Metternichstele* 240. — For  see the note on *Admonitions* 1, 8; the lacuna is exactly of the shape of , so that there can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the restoration.

12.  cf. the first quotation above in the note on *su-mnt*; *Eloquent Peasant* R 115  'I am laden with grief' (similarly *op. cit.* fragm. III 13); parallel to *imw* 'grief', *Pap. Leiden* 348, verso 12, 5. As verb, perhaps in  'the thirsty man groans (emend  for *tw*) to himself in the desert' *L. D.* III 140 b, 2. However  at the beginning of invocations in *Totb. ed. Nav.* 12, 1; 14, 1; 102, 6 appears to be an exclamation of joy.

Šfyt is that quality in things or people which commands respectful admiration; 'reverence', the word which I here use to render *šfyt*, is properly speaking too subjective in its meaning. — *Rdit s3 r* 'to annul' 'put a stop to' cf.  *Bibl. Nat.* 20, 24 (hymn to Osiris); similarly *Horemheb decree* 20, 37.

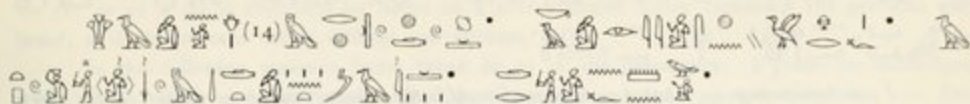
Nbw sgr 'the lords of quiet' probably a circumlocution for 'the gods'. *Nb sgr* is an epithet of Osiris in Busiris (Br., *Dict. Géogr.* 757), and it is perhaps Osiris who is so called in *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 27, 29. Cf. too the epithet  *Urkunden* IV 1031. As the last quotation shows, *sgr* must mean 'quiet' 'peace' or the like, a sense for which we may compare  *Sinuhe* R, 8, and the word *sg* discussed by me *Ä. Z.* 42 (1905), 32.

 occurs again below *verso* 2. If the word has here its usual meaning 'morning' (as in *m nhpw*, *Admonitions* 11, 1), it is clear that the sentence *nhpw hr hpr r nb* must be closely connected with what follows, since 'morning takes place every day' in meaningless as an isolated clause. So Sethe, for whose interpretation see below. If this view be not taken — it should be noticed that the neighbouring clauses are all short and independent of one another — the only possible alternative is to connect *nhpw* with the phrase  'to care for' *Israel stele* 13; *Inscr. in the Hier. Char.*, 29, 12, 13; *Pap. Turin* 147, col. 2, 9, and to translate 'cares come about every day'. The determinative seems however to make against this view.

For *tnbh* see the note on *Admonitions* 9, 2. The meaning which seemed to result from the examples there quoted was 'to swerve, shrink back, recoil' especially from fright. For

1) Sethe however points out that the genitive following *mhrw* is elsewhere always an objective genitive, and therefore prefers to render *mhrw-in* as 'care for them', i. e. 'their cult'.

Recto 13—14.

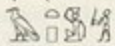

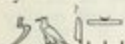


a Erroneously omitted on plate 18.

Would that I had a heart able to suffer! Then I would rest upon it. I would load it with words of I would ward off from it my malady.

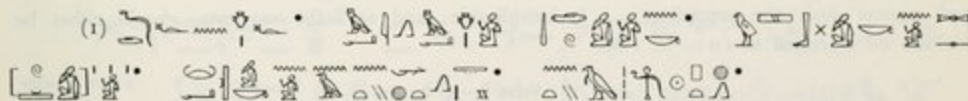
13. *H*₃ *k*₃, see the note on *Admonitions* 12, 2.

14. *W*_{gd} must here be infinitive, in spite of the final *g*, and must have the nuance of meaning found in the passage from the *Berlin med. Pap.* quoted above, namely 'to bear' 'endure' suffering, not merely 'to suffer' passively. — *l*_{rt} *shny*, cf. *L. D.* III 140 b, 2; *Munich, Antiquarium* 38; *Totb. ed.* Nav. 64, 42 (variants).



The signs following  are not easy to read, but if  be correct, it is preceded by a small sign like *g*. The emendation *stpi sw* seems probable from the parallelism. — For , one is tempted to conjecture *m3ir* 'misery', but we have then the difficulty that this clause would very nearly contradict that which follows it. In any case the last sentence is strange; the preceding context would lead one to expect *drf ni mn-i* 'that it might ward off from me my malady!'

PARAGRAPH 4 (Verso 1—6).

Verso 1.

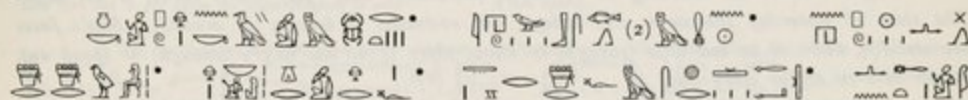


He said to his heart. Come, my heart, that I may speak to thee, and that thou mayest answer for me my words, and mayest explain to me what is in the land

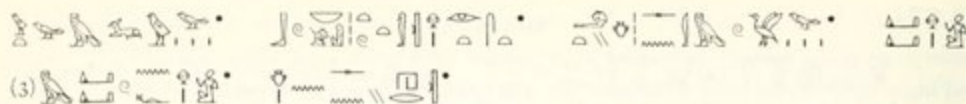
1.  after an imperative cf. *Destruction of Men* (Sethos), 3, 16; *Kuban stele* 11; *Piankhi* 86¹: later  *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, 17; *Mayer A*, 2, 18; see too Junker, *Grammatik* § 245.

The last words *ntiw h4 pth* are quite incomprehensible to me.



Verso 1—3.

























¹) Erman still connects *m*³ in *Weni* 41, 45 with this particle (*A. Z.* 43 [1906], 24); I can however see no reason for explaining those instances otherwise than I have done in *Proc. S. B. A.* 1902, 351—2.











I am meditating on what has happened. Afflictions have entered in today; in the morning, have not passed away. All people are silent concerning it. The entire land is in a great stir. There is nobody free from wrong; all people alike do it. Hearts are sad. He who gives commands is as one who receives commands; both of them are content.

1. *Nkty*, see above on recto 10. — *Ihw* again below 4; see Br. *Wörterb. Suppl.* 15—16; *ihw* is certainly identical with  .

2. *Nhptw*, see above recto 12, note. Here, if 'cares' were really the meaning, one might understand the sentence to mean 'cares, (they) have not passed away since the ancestors', *dr drw* then being an equivalent of      *Urkunden* IV 429. Sethe's proposal is however far superior: he takes *nhptw*, not as 'cares' parallel to *ihw*, but as 'morning' i. e. 'tomorrow', contrasted with *min* 'today'. In this case *drdrw* is the rare word written    , in *Lebensmüde* 117. In spite of the strange determinatives this word must signify an evil quality cf.    (read         *Sallier* IV 3, 2.

Sht & perhaps in a sense similar to that of the English slang expression 'to be in a great state', i. e. in great perturbation. — The determinative of   is probably correct, *nn ht* here meaning literally 'nobody'.

Sum, see on *Admonitions* 2, 5. — *Dit hr*, see Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, note 144. —    must mean 'the heart of both of them is contented', that is to say, both the ruler and the ruled are indifferent as to their miserable lot;  is doubtless the suffix of the 3rd. person dual; the preceding  is inexplicable, and as Sethe suggests, should either be omitted or emended to   .

Verso 3—4.









a Original  as below 1. 6.



People rise in the morning to (find) it (so) daily, and (yet) hearts thrust it not aside. The state of yesterday therein is like today, and resembles it because of much(?). Men's faces are stolid(?), there is no one wise (enough) to know, there is no one angry (enough) to speak out. People rise to suffer every day.

3—4. The thought of the callousness and submissiveness of men to their own and other people's troubles is here further developed and elaborated.

3. The suffix *s* and the absolute pronoun *st* must refer to the general state of affairs. — *Hr sn rs n 33* is explained by Sethe as a circumstantial clause explaining the previous sentence; *n 33* is however rather difficult and dubious.

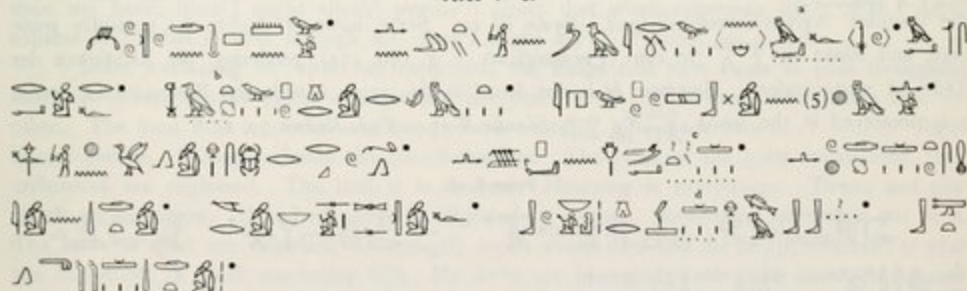
In the following sentence Sethe takes *hr* to be the preposition. I prefer to understand it as 'face' and to compare the sentences mentioned above recto 12, note, *ad finem*. — *Dri* seems to be a *ἄραξ λυγόντρον*, unless one may compare , which is apparently used of the baneful properties of a herb *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 2, 4.


The meaning  'to know' 'perceive' appears to have been first recognized by Sethe. Transitivity 'to know' a thing cf. *Rekmere* 7, 9; *Louvre* C 240; *Prisse* 2, 3¹. More often adjectivally used in the sense 'skilled in' or the like: cf. for example  'whose hearts are skilled in seeing excellence' Piehl, *Inscr. Hiér.* III, 45;  'commander of troops, skilled in warfare' Mar. *Abyd.* I 53;  Karnak, *Temple of Chons*;  'wise in knowledge' *Anast.* I 2, 4. — *Ss3* as verb, e. g. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 139.


 'angry', cf. the word  in the Pyramidtexts; a good instance of *dnd* 'anger' at a later date, will be found in *Sint* I 224. For the spelling here one may compare *Ebers* 102, 10; an unpublished magical papyrus in Budapest contains several more examples of it. In *Ebers* the word *dnd* seems to refer to madness, and this might possibly be the sense here, where *dnd* is contrasted with 'rk. However it is more likely that the opposition is rather between the cool thinker and the quick-tempered fanatic; one might quote Juvenal's *facit indignatio versum*.




Dif rs, see the note on recto 12. — For the construction of *dw3* see Sethe, *Verbum* II § 555 d d.


Verso 4—5.




a Original 

b Original inserts  after *3*

c The sign read  on the plate may well be ; for 

both here and in *grg* below we ought probably to read 


d See note c.

1) This last instance demands some further comment. The 'passage runs: 'The Visier caused his children to be summoned  when he had perceived the manner of men, and their nature revealed itself to him(?)'. The usual translation is 'when he had finished the instruction of men'. The determinative of 'rè here tells heavily against the meaning 'to finish'. Nor does *thr* mean 'instruction' for which *thyt* is the Egyptian word. Lastly, however we may understand *u ill hr-f*, the words *ht-su* 'their character' must be parallel to *thr rms*; for *ht* see on *Admonitions* 12, 1.


Long and heavy is my malady. The poor man has no strength to protect (himself) from him who is stronger than himself. It is pain to keep silence about things heard. It is misery to answer one who is ignorant. To find fault with a speech breeds hostility(?). The heart does not accept the truth. The reply(?) to a speech(?) is not tolerated(?). All that a man loves is his (own) utterance. Everyone puts his trust in Rectitude has abandoned speech(?).

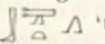
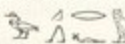

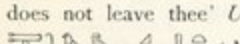


4—5. The writer complains that he has no one in whom he can confide his woes, as those who know their cause wilfully shut their eyes to the truth and refuse to listen.

4. The emendation *nhm-f sw* is based upon the common epithet *nhm m3r m wsr rf* e. g. Petrie, *Denderah* 8. — *fh*, see above verso 1 note.

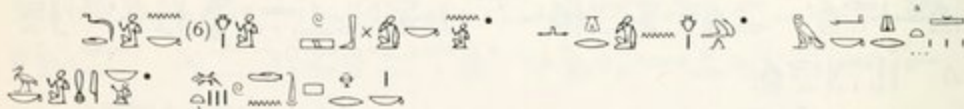
5. *Hsf* is here used in its familiar meaning 'to criticize' 'find fault with' (Sethe); so especially of criticizing or correcting letters. — The substantive *smi* has here perhaps the sense of 'answer' 'rejoinder', as apparently in  'Copy of the reply to this command' *Sinuhe* 204. — *Whd* has here apparently its transitive sense; see above recto 13 note.

The construction of *mr nb si tsf* is difficult. For *mr* one expects *mrt*, but see the note on recto 3. Sethe is doubtless right in translating 'all that a man loves is his (own) utterance', i. e. he will pay no attention to anyone's words except his own.

Grg hr, compare *Admonitions* 5, 4. — *H3bb* cf.  *Eloquent Peasant B* 1, 107 in an obscure context: the determinative, which I cannot identify with any known hieroglyph, looks as though it might represent the jaws of the hippopotamus (*h3b*).

 'to leave' 'abandon' cf.  'Enter in to him, do not leave him' *Ebers* 40, 7; 41, 21; 42, 5;  'Thy ka is with thee, he does not leave thee' *Urkunden* IV 500 (similarly *ibid.* IV 117);  'A well-born man who does it (scil. "evil"), his (own) father abandons him in the lawcourt' Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, *Abydos* III 29. Sethe however doubts the transitive sense here, and thinks of  'to run' (*Pyramidtexts*, e. g. 140. 253), rendering 'die Richtigkeit der Rede ist weggelaufen'. However *bt* is not found in this sense outside the *Pyramidtexts*, unless it is preserved in the word  *Sinuhe B* 154; *Pap. Kahun* 35, 13.


Verso 5-6.



a Original @, as above l. 3.

I speak to thee, my heart; answer thou me. A heart that is approached does not keep silence. Behold the affairs of the slave are like (those of) the master. Manifold is that which weighs upon thee.

5—6. Since other people will not listen to him, the author turns to his heart, whose interests are bound up with his own, and who is forced to share his burden with him.

6. Sethe is doubtless right in taking *ph* as a passive participle, though I prefer the rendering 'approached' to his 'angegriffen'. — The translation of the last sentence is also due to Sethe, who points out that  is the late Egyptian writing of the verb, if the spelling be correct.

TRANSLATION.

The collection of words, the gathering together of sayings, the quest of utterances with ingenious mind, made by the priest of Heliopolis, the, Khékheperre-sonbu, called Onkhu. He said: — Would that I had words that are unknown, utterances that are strange, (expressed) in new language that has never occurred (before), void of repetitions; not the utterance of past speech(?), spoken by the ancestors. I squeeze out my body for(?) that which is in it, in the loosing(?) of all that I say. For what has been said is repeated, when(?) what has been said has been said; there is no the speech of men of former times, when(?) those of later times find it.

Not speaks one who has (already) spoken, there speaks one that is about to speak, and of whom another finds what he speaks(?). Not(?) a tale of telling afterwards: 'they had made(?) (it) before'. Not a tale which shall say(?): 'it is searching after(?) what had(?) perished; it is lies; there is none who shall recall his name to others'. I have said this in accordance with what I have seen, beginning with the first generation down to those who shall come afterwards; they are like what is past(?). Would that I knew that of which(?) others are ignorant, even things that have never been related: in order that I might say them, and my heart might answer me; that I might explain to it concerning my sufferings, and thrust aside for it the load that is upon my back, (that I might speak) words(?) about that which oppresses me(?), that I might express to it what I suffer through it(?), that I might say . . . about my mood.

I am meditating on what has happened, the things that have come to pass throughout the land. Changes take place; it is not like last year. One year is more burdensome than the other. The land is in confusion and has become waste(?); it is made into Right is cast outside. Wrong is inside the council-chamber. The plans of the gods are violated; their ordinances are neglected. The land is in distress. Mourning is everywhere. Towns and provinces are in sorrow. Everybody alike is subjected to wrongs. Reverence, an end is put to it. The lords of quiet are disturbed. Morning(?) occurs every day, and the face(?) shrinks(?) at what has happened. I speak concerning it(?). My limbs are heavy-laden. I am(?) distressed because of(?) my heart. It is painful(?) to hold my peace concerning it. Another heart would bend (under such a burden?). A brave heart in evil case is the companion(?) of its lord. Would that I had a heart able to suffer! Then I would rest upon it. I would load it with words of I would ward off from it my malady.

He said to his heart. Come, my heart, that I may speak to thee, and that thou mayest answer for me my words, and mayest explain to me what is in the land I am meditating on what has happened. Afflictions have entered in today; in the morning, have not passed away. All people are silent concerning it. The entire land is in a great

stir. There is nobody free from wrong; all people alike do it. Hearts are sad. He who gives commands is as one who receives commands; both of them are content. People rise in the morning to (find) it (so) daily, and (yet) hearts thrust it not aside. The state of yesterday therein is like today, and resembles it because of much(?). Men's faces are stolid(?), there is no one wise (enough) to know, there is no one angry (enough) to speak out. People rise to suffer every day. Long and heavy is my malady. The poor man has no strength to protect (himself) from him who is stronger than himself. It is pain to keep silence about things heard. It is misery to answer one who is ignorant. To find fault with a speech breeds hostility(?). The heart does not accept the truth. The reply(?) to a speech(?) is not tolerated(?). All that a man loves is his (own) utterance. Everyone puts his trust in Rectitude has abandoned speech(?). I speak to thee, my heart; answer thou me. A heart that is approached does not keep silence. Behold the affairs of the slave are like (those of) the master. Manifold is that which weighs upon thee.

CONCLUSIONS.

The opening paragraphs of the new London text are something of a novelty. The few samples of the Egyptian Wisdom-literature hitherto known conform, with hardly an exception, to a uniform pattern, the ethical or philosophical issue with which they deal arising out of a brief introductory narrative of a dramatic kind¹. Here however the usual dramatic preface is abandoned in favour of a very quaint and unexpected confession of the author's literary aspirations. His craving for an original theme and for choice, unhackneyed words is confided to us with a good deal of *naïveté*; and it is amusing to note that the only touch of originality that the writer shows consists of the very words wherein he seems to cast doubts upon his powers in that respect. The two sections which contain this candid revelation of the writer's ambition are very artificially and obscurely expressed, and it is not at all easy to make coherent and consistent sense out of them. After the hesitating and diffident tone of the first words the pompous boast that the reflexions in the book rest upon a broad survey of all history comes as a surprise. If thus we are unable to obtain a clear conception of the author's pretensions from his own lips, yet the title at the beginning gives us a fairly just estimate of his actual achievement. This title describes the work as a collection or anthology of wise sayings ingeniously put together by a Heliopolitan priest named Khékheperre-sonbu.

When in the third paragraph the writer reaches the main topic of his book, namely the wickedness of men, the corruption of society and his own grief and despondency thereat, he at once lapses into the conventional language of Egyptian pessimism. It is for this reason that the text serves so admirably as a philological commentary to the *Admonitions*. It might be employed almost equally well to illustrate the ideas of the Berlin papyrus containing the dialogue between an existence-weary mortal and his soul. Just as there the unhappy hero turns to his

¹ The only real exception seems to be the Song of the Harper in the tomb of Nefert-hotep and in Pap. Harris 500. A particular variety of this literary genus is the kind of composition known to the Egyptians as a *shéyet* 'teaching', in which the dramatic situation (a father instructing his son, or a scribe his pupil) is summarily indicated by the title of the work; cf. the *Instructions of Amenemhet I.*


soul for help and solace, so here the writer makes an appeal to his own heart. The refrain of the *Lebensmüde* 'To whom shall I speak today?' has its counterpart on the London writing-board in the author's denunciation of the indifference that is shown to his complaints. In the Introduction to this book I have called attention to the points of contact between the *Admonitions* and the *Lebensmüde*; on comparing the resemblances there noted with the considerations here adduced, it will be seen that there are good grounds for classing the *Admonitions*, the *Lebensmüde* and the new London text together as a historically-related group of texts.

Now this conclusion is not without a certain significance in connection with the problem as to the age of the *Admonitions*, for the text of the London writing-board can be definitely dated back as far as the reign of Sesostriis II¹. Thus there seems to be a slightly increased likelihood that the *Admonitions* are to be reckoned among the literary products of the Middle Kingdom. However there is an essential difference to be noted between the pessimism of the London fragment and that of the *Admonitions*. Egypt had, by the time that Sesostriis II came to the throne, long since recovered its old prosperity, and there is no evidence for any social or political disturbances at this flourishing moment in the Twelfth Dynasty. It follows that the pessimism of Khékheperresonbu is of a quite general and literary quality, at the most an unconscious echo of that troubled period preceding the rise of the earlier Theban Empire which had first tinged Egyptian literature with melancholy. There can, on the other hand, be no question that the pessimism of Ipuwer was intended to be understood as the direct and natural response to a real national calamity; the references in the *Admonitions* to Asiatic aggression in the Delta and to the devastation of the land through civil war leave no room for doubt on this point. But, although the *Admonitions* have an indubitable historical background, it need not be too hastily assumed that their composition was contemporary with the events to which they allude; historical romance was always popular in Ancient Egypt, and there is no inherent reason why the *Admonitions*, even if referring to the conditions of the Tenth Dynasty, should not have been written under the Twelfth.

This is, in fact, the conclusion to which the balance of evidence would seem to incline, but for the historical difficulty that was emphasized in the Introduction. But is this difficulty really so great after all? It should be observed that if the *Admonitions* really refer to the Hyksos invasion, Ipuwer has been guilty rather of understating than of overstating his case. There is no indication in the *Admonitions* that a rival monarchy had been established in the North by Asiatics, nor is any clue given us as to the extent or the duration of the encroachments of foreign hordes in the Delta therein alluded to. Moreover — and this is an important point entirely overlooked in the Introduction — there does exist some evidence that the internal disruption of Egypt after the VIth. Dynasty was taken advantage of by its Eastern neighbours. Golenischeff thus describes a passage contained in the still unpublished Papyrus no. I of St. Petersburg²: 'De la page 7 commence sans interruption un autre texte dont le commencement même m'est jusqu'à présent fort embarrassant. Je vois seulement qu'il est aussi parfois entrecoupé de différents préceptes. À la ligne 11 de la même page nous trouvons la phrase suivante écrite en rouge: 'Cela est dit par le porteur de l'arc' Après cela on mentionne les *amu-Xesi* (𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐) les mauvais Asiatiques. Le texte fort embarrassant et assez endommagé des

1) See the note on recto 1.

2) *A. Z.* 14 (1876), 109.


pages VIII et IX ne me permet pas d'en saisir exactement le sens. J'y trouve seulement souvent employés les mots: asiatiques, combattre, ville, soldats, l'Égypte du nord, les ennemis — *ce qui semble prouver, qu'il s'agit de quelque narration sur une incursion d'Asiatiques dans l'Égypte du nord.* On y trouve aussi le nom de *zereti*  *de la VIII^e dynastie*¹. The historical value of this text may of course be small; but it seems to hint that in the days of a king Akthoes, possibly the same as the ruler mentioned in the tombs of Siut, the Delta was ravaged by Asiatics. We know further that the king Amenemmes I built a strong wall on the East of the Delta to keep back the Beduins². These defensive constructions may well have been merely the restoration of more ancient fortifications due to some Pharaoh of the Old Kingdom; but that the first monarch of the Twelfth Dynasty undertook this work at a time when so much reorganization was needful throughout the entire length of the land³ shows that he considered it a vital and pressing precaution. From this alone one might conclude that the Asiatics had not abstained altogether from interference in the Delta under the weaker rulers of the intermediate period. In the newly-discovered Temple of Deir el Bahari scenes depicting battles with Asiatics have been found⁴. In a word, there is scanty but indisputable evidence that already in the period between the VIth. and XIIth. Dynasties Egypt had been liable to periodic incursions on the part of the Beduins of the Sinaitic Peninsula and of Palestine.

More evidence than this is hardly necessary to account for the references to the Asiatics in the *Admonitions*, and the historical objection to an early date for that work therefore disappears. Still in spite of all that has been said, there remains the possibility that Sethe may be right in his opinion that the work was composed at the end of the Hyksos period. I am myself now strongly inclined to adopt the view that the *Admonitions* are a product of the XIIth. Dynasty, that prolific period of Egyptian literary activity; but I must conclude by reminding my readers that on this point we have no means of attaining anything more than a strong presumptive probability.

1) The italics are mine.

2) It was called *inw hst* 'the wall of the Prince'; cf. *Sonke, R 42*; *Daresey, Ostraka 25224*. That this wall was built by Amenemmes I is clear from the latter text, which is a duplicate of the second half of the above-mentioned Petersburg papyrus, and contains a *posteventum* prophecy of the happy era to be inaugurated by king *Imny*. For a translation, by Ranke, of this text, see *Gressmann, Alt-orientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, p. 204 ff.

3) See the inscription of Chnumothos, *passim*.

4) Naville, *The XIIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, I 14. — There is one more point which I mention quite tentatively; in the Twelfth Dynasty the title  'Asiatic' for a particular kind of servant (especially in the temples) becomes very frequent; were such servants really always of Asiatic birth, or does the name date from a time when the Egyptians were at war with the Asiatics, and utilized their prisoners as domestic slaves?

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 8, line 5. It should be noticed that the Egyptian future tense *hwf r sdm* does not occur once in this long descriptive passage. On the other hand the Cairo writing-board 25224, which really contains a prophetic text (see p. 112, footnote 2), constantly employs that construction. This difference between the two texts is striking and significant.

P. 8, line 12: *for* transgress *read* conform to.

P. 9, line 23: *for* North land *read* Lower Egypt.

P. 12, lines 12. 11 from bottom: *for* North-land *read* Lower Egypt.

P. 15, line 22: *for* transgress *read* conform to.

P. 20, lines 4. 5: *dele* the parenthesis '(for which we might expect *špyt* ⲉⲡⲛⲱ)'; see p. 100.

P. 23, footnote, line 2. However the writing ⲡⲓⲓⲓⲓ occurs already in the 12th. Dyn., cf. L. D. II 136h, 14 (Semneh stele).

P. 26, line 21: *for* Hr *read* Hr.

P. 26, last line. The examples quoted are hardly applicable: in *Sinuhe* 291 the right reading is ⲡⲓⲓⲓⲓ; in the *Ebers* passages *sbt* is probably an adjective.

P. 29, lines 15. 16. The last sentence must surely be translated: *The timid man does not distinguish himself from those who are cautious*; for *hr* 'prepared' see now *A. Z.* 45 (1909), 74, footnote 2. This alteration may require a modification of Sethe's view of the first sentences in the section; the anxiety and fear that reign throughout the land seem to be its chief topic.

P. 31, line 18. The real meaning of *mnḥ* here is doubtless 'to arrange'.

P. 36, note on *nhbt* 4. 3. Erman suggests *Tragekind*, (lit. *children of the neck*), or as we should say, 'children in arms'. Probably that was the interpretation of the scribe responsible for this variant; but which of the two, *nhbt* or *nht*, was the reading of the archetype is hard to decide.

P. 40, line 3: *for* agreeable *read* agreeable.

P. 49, line 4: *for* destroyed *read* suppressed.

P. 61, line 19. Erman proposes *wdpw* 'butlers' for the faulty word at the beginning of the section. This may very well be the correct reading, though *wdpw* is never written out in full except in the *Pyramidtexts* (cf. *Pyr.* 120. 124). Perhaps the simplest course is to emend □ to ⲡ, which would give the same reading in its usual N. K. form.

P. 67, line 4. 11. Möller thinks that the determinative of *tubḥ* in the *Eloquent Peasant* may be a hedgehog. This seems quite a likely suggestion, and if *tubḥ* were the name of that animal, the sense of the verb derived from it would not be difficult to account for. At all events my conjecture that the determinative depicts a gazelle cannot be upheld.

P. 69, line 13: *for* ⲡⲓⲓⲓⲓ *read* ⲡⲓⲓⲓⲓ.

P. 87, note on 13, 9. Perhaps after all *hmw* may here be simply a variant of *hmy* 'steersman'; Erman points out that the reference to ships in the first section where *hmw* occurs would be very appropriate, if we render *Is there a good steersman, then ships sail upstream, etc.*

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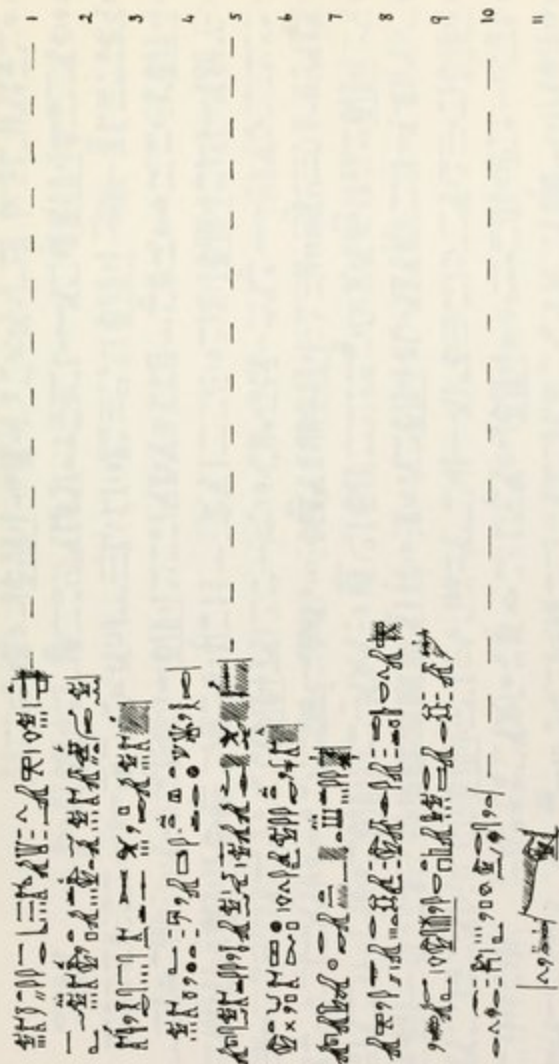
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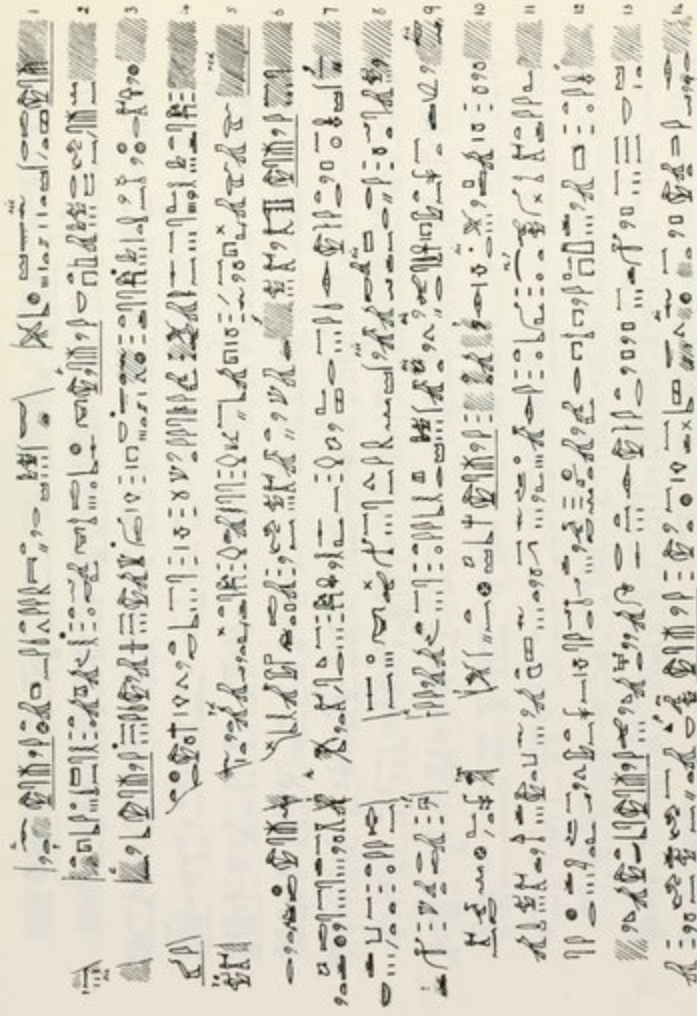


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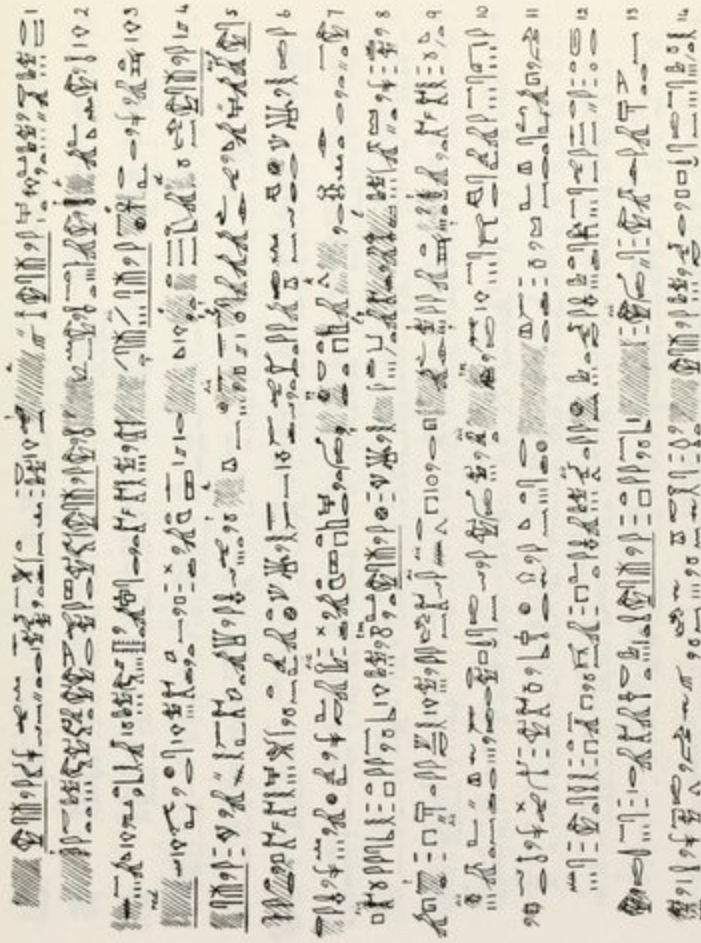
"Certain, as in 14.3. ¹¹ a trace of the bird on right is still visible. ¹ different from the del. of *it* as in 5.12; 9.13. The traces are confused: ¹¹ is very im- probable (cf. 7.11); ¹¹ is a just possible reading, i.e. either *h* or *m* ¹¹; see the commentary. ¹¹ The traces agree well. ¹¹















"Certain. 'A meaningless ligature, probably corrupted from *al*. 'Very slight traces to right of a vertical stroke; perhaps *o* as in 1.9. 'Or *u*? 'Tail only. 'Sw: contrast wr 4.2. 'The traces suggest *the* *in*, not *now*! 'Hardly *an*. 'Possibly *o*. 'Or *u*? not improbably an error for *89* *l*. 'Or *u*? 'Ink apparent. 'By washed away. 'The traces suit *o*. 'Or *u*? the same difficulty in 5.1; 6.1; 7.12. 'Or *u*? '3m: as in 3.10. 'As in the facsimile. 'Or *u*? 'Or *u*? no trace of dot. The facsimile suggests the reading *an* 'illegible traces






















"Or-¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ Here and elsewhere, perhaps properly, as at the beginning of this line; see in *hrs.* 7. ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ It seems impossible to read ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ 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^a Traces possibly *sh.* after *ini* ^b now visible; facsimile shows more. ^c *mh* probably but not certain. ^d Read [9]; no room for ^e *tu*; cf. 4.1. ^f *3*; corrupted from ^g clearly *it* in 5.14, otherwise one might read *ol*. ^h *tu*; in 5.13 *gnw*. ⁱ So the facsimile; no longer legible. ^j All certain, except the final *m*. ^k Like *hnm* in 5.6 (rather different in 2.4); but possibly *ll*, cf. 2.7. ^l sic; cf. 7.10.

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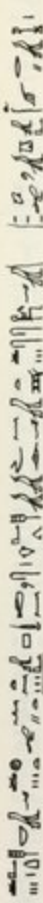
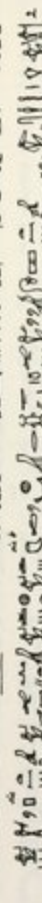

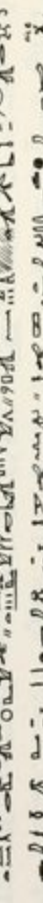
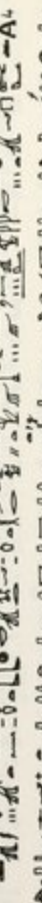
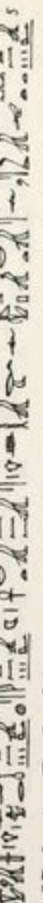
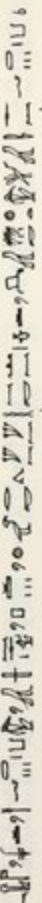
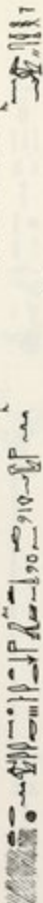
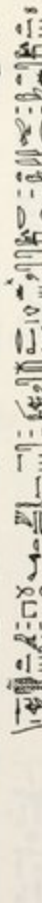

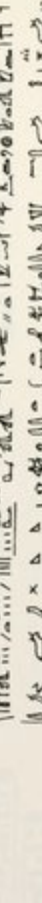
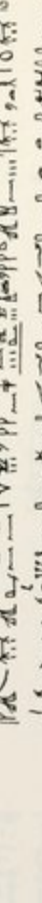
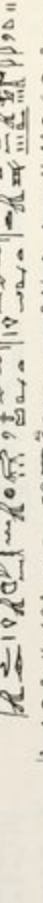


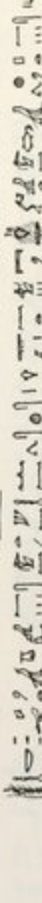
'See the note on 2, 9 (9)  'Perhaps no
 thing lost.  Or      'with a curious prolongation
 below, thus :-      



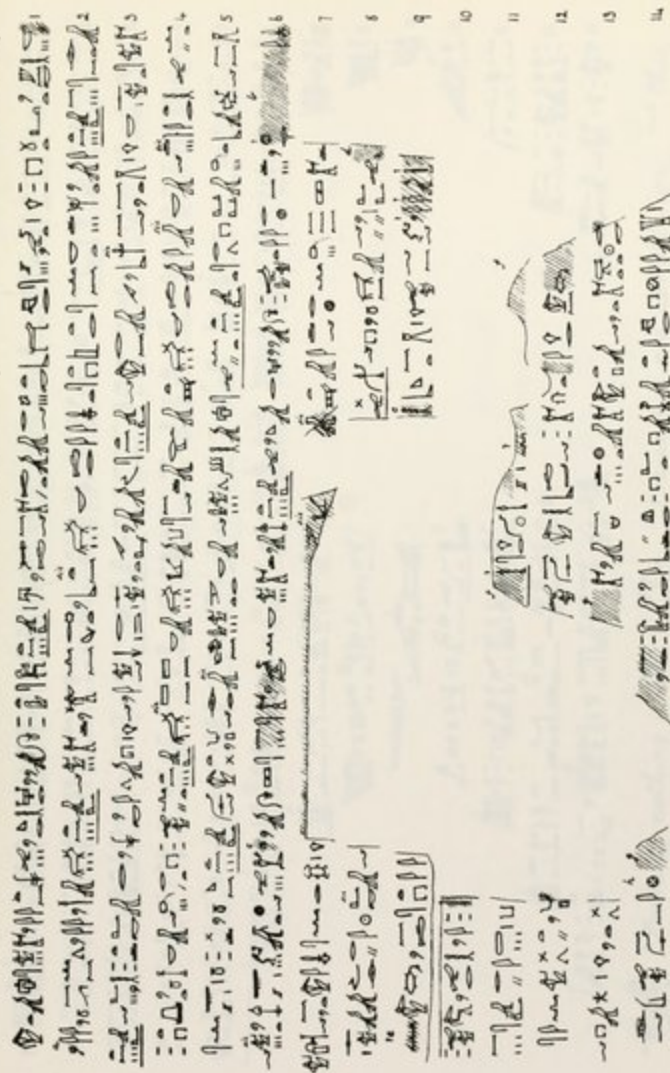
a. Blank and without any traces. ^b Slight traces; ^c is certain. ^d As the
 facsimile. ^e Trace of a sign. ^f Or ^g ^h — small, perhaps. ⁱ ^j See on 2, 9 (9)
 Tail only. ^k ^l (approximately) in red, before the begin-
 ning of the line. ^m ⁿ i.e. ^o perhaps a correction.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is written in black ink on aged paper and appears to be a continuous passage of prose or poetry.

^a Possibly α . ^b See photograph; not $\overline{\alpha}$ nor $\overline{\alpha}$. ^c More probable than $\overline{\alpha}$. ^d See photograph.
^e The Traces suit $\overline{\alpha}$. ^f See photograph. ^g As below in width 14. ^h Perhaps merely a
 prolongation of the cross-stroke of $\overline{\alpha}$. ⁱ Here like $\overline{\alpha}$, cf. 3.2; 15.12.

'sic: "A" like a but for the strokes at top. The same ligature as for σ 7.13
 and for σ 3.2. "possibly". "As in db below 11; contrast 5.4. "Possibly" 11. 9.2
 above the line "A" a blank space never filled, as the tail of the "A" shows.
 "Or 3.9. "A" "No trace." ~~11~~ "The traces, in red, suit σ well.




































































































































































































































































































































































































































“A”; — is also possible “Traces.” Facsimile only, now lost. “There seems to be a dot above the horizontal stroke. — This, with the adjacent portions of the following lines, stands wrongly in the facsimile at the bottom of page 10. Facsimile gives more than is now legible in the original. a Or o.”



Probably nothing is lost, ¹ Traces of a red upright sign. ² This, with the adjacent portions of the following lines, stands in the facsimile wrongly at the bottom of page 9. ³ Facsimile wrongly gives room for a line lost between 9 and 10. ⁴ Tail only. ⁵ Traces. ⁶ So the facsimile suggests; now illegible. ⁷ Certain traces.



* not quite like elsewhere. 'on now lost. 'Top only. 'Or ' 'is now lost 'Traces
? Blank. ^A sic.

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

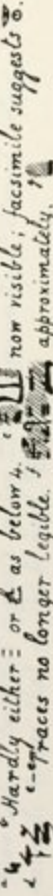
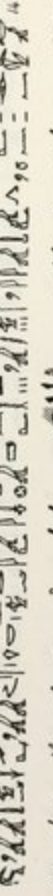
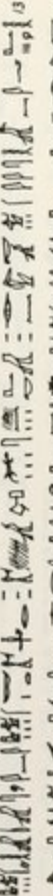
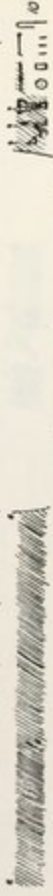
11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

* sic, with an inexplicable stroke on the left near top. ^b more like but of 22.
^c So facsimile suggests; now illegible. ^d Traces of red. ^e See facsimile; instead of perhaps .

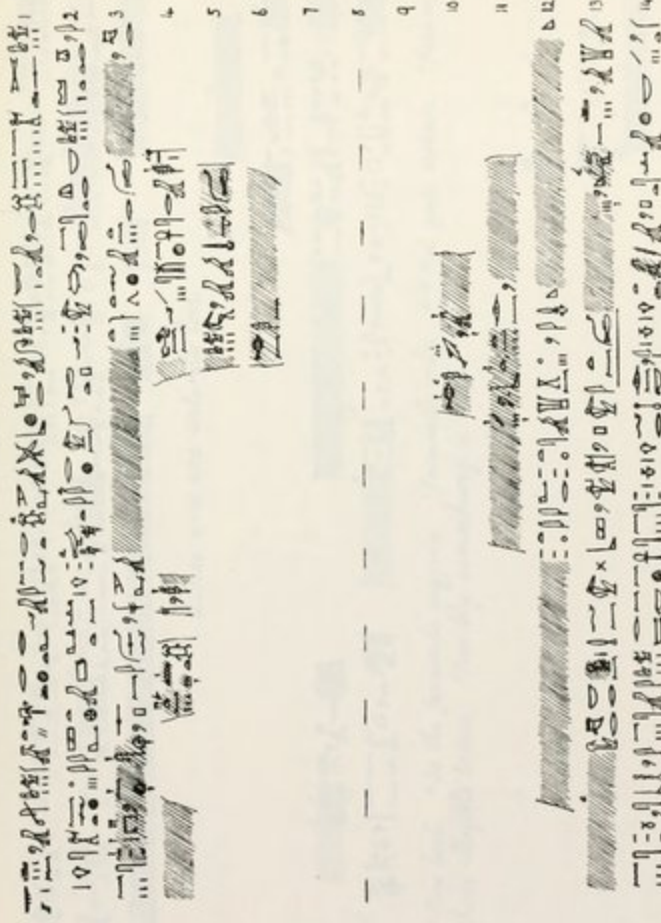


— — — — —

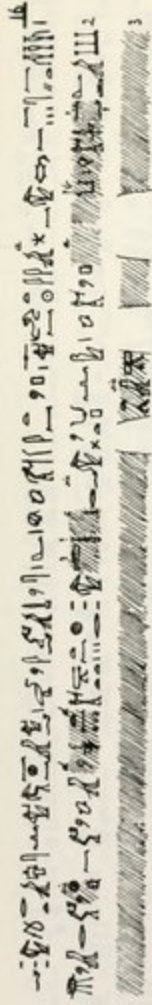
8



⁶ Hardly either ⁷ or ⁸ as below ⁸ now visible; facsimile suggests ⁹ traces no longer legible. ¹⁰ approximately. ¹¹



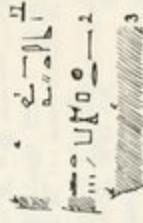
^a Now lost. ^b Facsimile suggests rather ^c So facsimile. ^d Almost certain. ^e In facsimile traces that might be read ... or



Lines 4-10 are entirely lost.



* Now lost. † So the facsimile suggests. ‡ Facsimile only. †-† Not quite certain. ‡ Facsimile shows illegible traces. † Possibly something is lost.



* Blank space. ‡ Facsimile gives trace of a sign, now cut away. ‡ Traces. † The greater part of the page is lost: towards the bottom, beginning opposite 16, 13, are portions of three lines in larger writing like that of the verso.

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Short line. ①
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Faint, but certain. ①
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Versa.

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 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿

Short line. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿

"Traces suit. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿
 ? As in *mir* 6.5; see note f. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿







