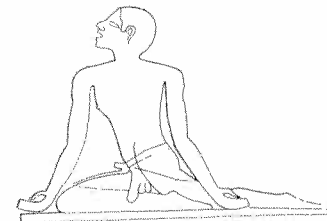


THE TALE OF
THE ELOQUENT PEASANT

Edited by
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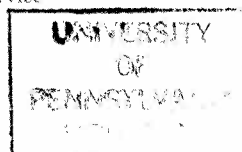
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CONTENTS

List of Figures	v
Preface	v
1 INTRODUCTION	i
1.1 The Manuscripts	i
1.2 Provenance and Subsequent History	
P Berlin 3023 (B1) and 3025 (B2)	
P Amherst	
P Butler	
P Ramesseum A	
1.3 Description	xi
P Berlin 3023 (B1)	xi
P Berlin 3025 (B2)	xi
P Butler	xi
P Ramesseum A	xx
1.4 Dating	xx
P Berlin 3023 (B1) and 3025 (B2)	xx
P Butler	xx
P Ramesseum A	xx
1.5 The Relationships of the Manuscripts	xxv
1.6 Publications: a Chronological Summary	xx
1.7 Abbreviations and References	xxx
1.8 Concordances of Line Numbers	xxx
2 THE TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT	
Conventions	
Text	

LIST OF FIGURES

- 1 A restoration of the beginning of B1 (0.33 : 1; after Möller 1927b : 13–14)
- 2 The supposed line numbers above B1 56, 66 (0.9 : 1)
- 3 Diagram of the arrangement of B1 on recto and verso (0.17 : 1)
- 4 The erased lines of B1 (0.45 : 1); collated with LD VI, 110
- 5 A restoration of the beginning of B2 (0.35 : 1)
- 6 The verso of B2 (0.9 : 1); with a copy of LD VI, 114
- 7 The supposed line numbers above Bt recto 19, 29 (0.9 : 1)
- 8 The line numbers above Bt verso 12, 22, 32 (0.9 : 1)
- 9 The unpublished fragments of R (0.9 : 1)

PREFACE

The present work originated as the introduction to a doctoral thesis in the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford (*The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Commentary*, 1988). It is intended to fill the gap left by the unfinished state of A. M. Blackman's *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, of which the 'Story of the Eloquent Peasant' was to form pp. 48–83, by providing a parallel text and a description of the manuscripts. The new line numbering adopted here conforms with modern practice, and is necessary for indicating the structure of the manuscripts (see 1.3); concordances of old and new numbering systems are given in 1.8.

In preparing this work I have benefited from the advice of Mark Smith (Oxford), with whom I first read the text, and John Baines who became my supervisor of my thesis. I am especially grateful to him for all his assistance and support as well as for his meticulous editing and constant availability for discussion. My thanks are due to Ingeborg Müller (Staatliche Museen Berlin) for providing invaluable photographs of the Berlin manuscripts and for assistance in collation, to S. Quirke (British Museum) for help with the Butler and the Ramesseum papyri, to William Voelke (Pierpont Morgan Library) for information about the Amherst fragments, and to A. F. Shore (School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool) for allowing me to consult and cite Blackman's unpublished transcription. I am also grateful to the Griffith Institute, where most of this was written, for assistance and for access to unpublished notes by Barns, Gunn, Newberry, as well as to Yvonne Harpur (Oxford) for all her technical assistance in preparing the text and for her encouragement. In drawing the transcription, I have used a system developed by my father, to whom as an artist I am indebted. I am especially grateful to him and to my mother for their constant support. Finally my thanks are due to Christian Klotz and Tom Reid for their friendship.

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University College, Oxford

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE MANUSCRIPTS

The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* is preserved in four fragmentary Middle Kingdom manuscripts, which are here described and transcribed:

- B1 Papyrus Berlin 3023
- B2 Papyrus Berlin 3025
- A Papyrus Amherst I = Fragments A–E of B1
Papyrus Amherst II = Fragments F–G of B2
- Bt Papyrus Butler (recto) = Papyrus BM 10274
- R Papyrus Ramesseum A = Papyrus Berlin 10499

The Berlin papyri were first published in 1859 (LD), supplemented in 1892 by publication of Papyrus Butler (Griffith 1892), and in 1899 by Newberry's publication of the Amherst fragments (Newberry 1899). Chabas was the first to study the text and to recognize its character, translating almost 90 lines in 1863 (1863: 303; 1864). Twenty years later Maspero produced the first attempt at an extensive translation (up to B1 118, 1882: 173–84), followed in 1893 by Petrie's paraphrase (1895: 61–80; incorporating Griffith's interpretations: 4) and, in 1895, Erman's translation (Erman & Krebs 1899: 46–53). By 1904 Vogelsang had completed his work which culminated in his *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern* (1913), and in 1908 he collaborated with Gardiner on the official publication of the two 1 and the Ramesseum manuscripts, with a continuous translation; this edition has been the basis for all subsequent studies.

While Vogelsang was preparing his valuable *editio princeps*, Lexa wrote a series of notes on the Tale (1912), which were not mentioned by Vogelsang, and reliance on extensive emendation was felt to justify his omission (cf. G 1913 reviews of Vogelsang; Grapow 1913, Maspero 1914). All subsequent translations have relied heavily on Vogelsang's pioneering work. Gardiner followed Vogelsang with a series of notes, which he did not complete (1913–14, covering R 1.1–B1); his revised analysis of the Tale appeared as an annotated translation in *JEA* 9 (1914). This contained many improved readings and renderings and is the last major advance in interpretation. Ten years later, Suys published his *Étude sur le contadain plaigneur* (1933), based on new and largely erroneous readings of

manuscripts. He dwelt on points of divergence with previous work, but, in Blackman's words, he 'added little of value to the work of his two chief predecessors' (1934:218). In 1986 E. Perry produced another commentary as a doctoral dissertation (*A Critical Study of the Eloquent Peasant*), which does not include a transcription of the texts, and advances the understanding of the text on only a few points. As stated in the Preface, the Tale was the subject of my doctoral thesis (Oxford, 1988). Since 1933 there have been several important studies of individual passages and aspects, as well as annotated translations (most importantly Lichtheim 1973:169–84).

1.2 PROVENANCE AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

P Berlin 3023 (B1) and 3025 (B2)

B1 and B2 were bought for the Berlin Museum with other literary papyri at the sale of the Athanasi collection in June 1843 (Sotheby's, London: VG:6). The other papyri were P Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*) and 3024 (*Lebensmüder* and *The Tale of the Herdsman*); the provenance was not recorded. Their common literary character suggests that they were discovered together as a library (Goedicke 1970:1; Simpson 1972:70), probably in a tomb, as were the Ramesseum Papyri. This assumption is supported by the fact that B1 and P Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*) were written by the same scribe (Möller 1927a:15); both manuscripts show an idiosyncratic orthography of *srw* 'officials' (Text 15a.9.a). The other papyri, which Möller believed to be by a different scribe but of the same period, are so similar that Vogelsang and Gardiner (VG:6) considered that they might almost be from the same hand; this is particularly true of P Berlin 3024 (*Lebensmüder*) and 3022 (*Sinuhe*: Goedicke 1970:3 n.13). The Athanasi collection included pieces most probably from Thebes (Goedicke 1970:1 n.4; cf. Perry 1986:21), and Thebes was suggested as the find-site by Newberry, who described their discovery as being 'many years ago in some locality, perhaps Thebes, in Upper Egypt' (1899:9).

P Amherst

Papyri Amherst I and II are fragments of B1 and B2. Identified by Newberry in 1891 and transcribed by Griffith (1892:452, 461–4), they were fully published in collocation and transcription by Newberry in 1899 with fragments of P Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*) and of an unidentified text (a wisdom text: Helek 1982a:673; Posener 1951a:39 no.32). Newberry did not realize that A II was a part of B2. 'When and where Lord Amherst procured them is unfortunately not certain, but it seems probable that they were obtained with the collections of Mr. Lieder of Cairo in the year 1861' (Newberry 1899:9). Lieder worked in Cairo from 1825 to 1862, dying

three years later (Dawson and Uphill 1969:179). The date of A's acquisition given by Griffith in 1892 as 'about thirty years ago' (452). He noted another possible source for the fragments, the Hartwell Museum of Dr Lee (1783–1866), in Bonomi's catalogue of that collection (1858) nothing identifiable with them mentioned. If one assumes that they had been in Athanasi's possession with Berlin papyri, rather than having been dispersed by the original finders, they presumably acquired from Athanasi ultimately before 1843; Lieder could easily have dealt with him at this period, whereas one might expect Lee to have acquired by 1858, which he apparently did not. Lieder is thus the most likely source. If they were purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (a new catalogue of the collection is being prepared by Ogden Goelet).

This group of fragments demonstrates again the close association of the Papyri at all stages of their history, supporting the library hypothesis.

P Butler

Bt was first brought to notice and partly published in 1864 by Goodwin, who that it was then labelled 'Butler 527' and hypothesized that it had been bought at Athanasi's sale of 1843, like B1 and B2 (1864:250). This suggestion was based on the assumption that it was written by the same scribe as B1 (1864:251), which is unlikely. Bishop Samuel Butler (1774–1839) had acquired it at the sale of the Salt collection in 1835. In the catalogue it is item 417, 'a papyrus in the Egyptian character, upright lines, 6 in. broad and about 2 ft. long..... Thebes. £5. (Athanasi 1836:183; identification confirmed by British Museum records). It was the papyrus was sold to the British Museum. Thirty years after Goodwin, it was more fully published by Griffith with a copy by Newberry (Griffith 1892:pl. later collated by Gunn (MS, date uncertain); a published photograph is Jancz 1979:100 fig. 39. There are plans to publish a full edition.


P Ramesseum A

R was found by Quibell in 1896 in a late Middle Kingdom tomb and fragments of the Ramesseum (1898:3–4; pl.1; PM I², 679; Kemp & Meeks 1980:166). At the foot of the tomb-shaft, was a box ('18 × 12 × 12"') with a drawing on the lid, presumably left there by robbers. Inside was a bundle of papyrus and the following papyri, as numbered by Gardiner:

- A *The Eloquent Peasant and Sinuhe* (P Berlin 10499)
- B Dramatic Papyrus (P BM 10610, Berlin fragments; Sethe 1928b:pl.1–1955a:8, 17–18 fig.2)
- C Semna Despatches, with magical texts on the verso (P BM 10752; Smither 1955a:8, 11, pl.29–32; Spänel 1984)
- D Onomasticon (P Berlin 10495; G 1947:16–23, pl.1–6; G 1955a:8)

- E Funerary liturgy, with a business text on the verso (P BM 10753; G 1955a:8, 11, pl. 28; G 1955b; Helck 1981)
- I *The Discourse of Sisebek* (P BM 10754; G 1955a:8, pl. 1-2; Barns 1956:1-10, pl. 1-6)
- II Wisdom text (P BM 10755; G 1955a:8-9, pl. 3-6; Barns 1956:11-14, pl. 7-9)
- III Medico-magical text (P BM 10756; G 1955a:9, 17, pl. 7-10, 63-4; Barns 1956:15-23, pl. 10-15, 24-5)
- IV Magico-medical text (P BM 10757; G 1955a:9, pl. 10-14; Barns 1956:24-9, pl. 163-20, 25)
- V Magical text (P BM 10758; G 1955a:9, pl. 15-17; Barns 1956:30-34, pl. 21-3)
- VI Hymns to Sobek (P BM 10759, 10760.2, 5, 7; G 1955a:10, pl. 18-21; G 1957b)
- VII Magical (recto) and mathematical (verso) texts (P BM 10760.1, 4, 6, 8-11; G 1955a:10-11, pl. 22-7)
- VIII-XI Magical texts (P BM 10761-4; G 1955a:11-14, pl. 33-44)
- XII Invocations to demons (P BM 10765; G 1955a:14, pl. 45)
- XIII Magical text (recto) and a diary of an embalmment (? verso) (P BM 10766; G 1955a:14-15 fig. 1, pl. 46)
- XIV-VI Magical texts (P BM 10767-9; G 1955a:14-16, pl. 46-61)
- XVII Protection against the epagomenal days (P BM 10770; G 1955a:16)
- XVIII Nubian despatches (P BM 10771; G 1955a:17, pl. 62)
- P BM 10772 comprises three frames of fragments of magical texts and a Nubian despatch

Scattered around the box were the following items, numbered after Quibell 1898:3, pl. 2-3:

- 1-3 Fragments of four ivory 'wands' (Manchester University Museum 1799, 1800, 1801; H. Altenmüller 1965:II, 108-11; Bosse-Griffiths 1977:102, fig. 1)
- 4 Bronze uraeus entangled in a mass of hair (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, E.63.1896; Bourriau 1988:113 [no. 100])
- 5 Faience lion (Manchester University Museum 1839)
- 6 Faience ape and beads
- 7 White faience phallus(?) or cucumber(?) (Manchester University Museum 1792)
- 8 -shaped piece of ivory, to fit on the end of a stick (Manchester University Museum 1834)
- 9 Wooden paddle doll (Manchester University Museum 1832)
- 10 Limestone female figurine (Manchester University Museum 1789)
- 11 Blue faience female figurine (Manchester University Museum 1787)
- 12 Magical or religious figure: a wooden female figure with a partly animal head, and movable arms holding two bronze snakes (Manchester University Museum 1790; Bruyère 1930:174 fig. 92; Hall 1914:203, pl. 34 [2]; Bosse-Griffiths 1977:102-3 fig. 2; David 1982:pl. 9; Bourriau 1988:111 fig. 1)
- 13 Limestone female figurine (Manchester University Museum 1794)
- 14 Faience ape (Manchester University Museum 1835)
- 15 Ivory *djed* (Manchester University Museum 1838)
- 16 Faience lotus-shaped cup (Manchester University Museum 1791)
- 17 Ivory hand-shaped clappers (Manchester University Museum 1796, 1797)
- 18 Fragments of an ivory magic rod(?) with incised figures of two lions (Manchester

- University Museum 1795; for this identification see exx. of Bourriau 1988 [nos. 103-4])
- 19 Limestone female figurine (not illustrated by Quibell 1898)
- 20 Ivory figure of a dwarf(?) carrying a calf (unnumbered by Quibell 1898 [1-2]); possibly of later date

While some of these are funerary items, the others have led to the suggestion the owner was a 'magician and medical practitioner' (G 1955a:1; followed by Simpson 1972:66; Bourriau 1988:110), or more specifically a lector priest (Yoyon 1957:174-5; Helck 1982b:726). Damaged during excavation, R was stored at University College, London, until 1906, when it was transferred to Berlin for treatment by Hugo Ibscher (G 1955a:2-3; VG:5); the identification of the text was published the following year (G 1907:1-2). The unrolled papyrus (recto) was published with photographs and transcription in 1908 by Vogelsang and Garthoff. It is now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, together with two unpublished fragments (see 1.3).

1.3

DESCRIPTION

The conventions used here are taken in part from Turner 1978:§7 and p. 10, including 'kollesis' to mean the terminal edge of a sheet overlapping the next ('7.7 K 1' means 'from the right 7.7 cm, then first kollesis'). The terms 'recto' and 'verso' are retained here, designating the inside and outside of the roll, respectively (Turner 1978:§3.2).

P Berlin 3023 (B1)

Dimensions: 390 × 16 cm. Like the other Berlin manuscripts it is a half-sheet (Černý 1952:15; Helck 1974:8). For the dimensions of the individual Archaic fragments see Newberry 1899:17.

Colour: Dark brown. It is discoloured on the second page of the verso, which is generally yellower.

Texture: There are traces of palimpsest on the recto, particularly clear along the terminal edge (see fig. 4). These can be observed at the following points: B1 21-2, 25-7 a horizontal rubric, 55-6, 59, 66, 74-5 a vertical rubric, 75, 76, 79-81, 8 a horizontal rubric, 85-6, 96, 104, 122, 133, 136 a horizontal rubric, 153, 180 a horizontal rubric, 216-7, 255, 256, 271, 278-9. On the verso there are traces above B1 316 (in general see Caminos 1986). The surface of the verso is more damaged and uneven, at least partly to its being more extensively palimpsest. In places it is now very thin and transparent.

Kollesis (vertical): 7.7 K¹ (incomplete sheet); 49 K²; 35.6 K³; 51.1 K⁴; 33 K⁵; 54.2 K⁶; 51.4 K⁷; 53.3 K⁸; 53.3 K⁹. The kollesis are right over left on the recto, and

for K³, and possibly K⁴ (uncertain due to mounting). K⁵ has been reinforced by a strip of papyrus (1.0–1.2 cm wide) on the recto.

Preservation: There are 326 lines on the Berlin manuscript with a further 29 and fragments of a column of a list on P Amherst I. As these can be joined exactly (see fig. 1), the lines are here renumbered, and the whole designated B1. A concordance of old and new numbers is provided in 1.8. The text of R suggests that some 12 lines must now be missing from the start.

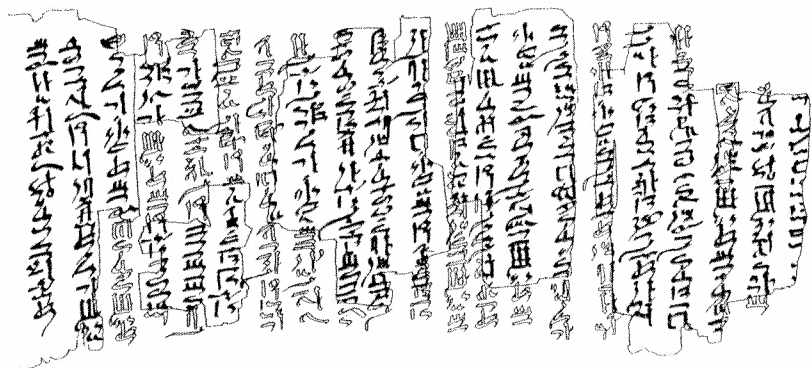


Figure 1 A restoration of the beginning of B1 (0.33:1; after Möller 1927b:13–14)

Format: On the recto there are traces of six horizontal ruled guidelines (for this term see Tait 1986:77–8 n.2), c.3.2 cm apart; these are sometimes very clear but elsewhere erased; the verso has less extensive traces of these lines (see fig. 4). Similar guidelines are also found on P Berlin 3024 (*Lebensmüder*) and on the verso of R. They were intended to facilitate the alignment of corresponding entries in accounts and ledgers arranged in widely spaced columns (Hayes 1955:8–9; Simpson 1963:18–19, nn.13–14; Helck 1974:47–8; Megally 1977:3; Tait 1986). The single vertical line (through 134–45) may be similarly explained (e.g. Simpson 1963:19 n.14). Commenting on P Brooklyn 35.1446 (verso), Hayes suggested that such guidelines had largely fallen out of use by the mid 13th dynasty (1955:9; see also Helck 1974:48). When they were used primarily to format a literary text, only the equivalents of the top and bottom guidelines were ruled (e.g. P Ram. D: G 1947:8; Tait 1986:72, 83 n.64), but this is not the case here. The top guideline is the same distance from the top edge as on P Berlin 3024 (*Lebensmüder*) and on R. The clean ends of the guidelines at the present end of the manuscript show that it was the same length when prepared for accounts as now. The reinforcement of K⁵ was made

before the guidelines were drawn. The partial erasure of the guidelines on the and verso suggests that an unevenly distributed text (or texts) was partially written over the roll; the roll was then halved and the text erased, carelessly along the edge. Few of the palimpsest traces are legible; at B1 21–2 *dd.hr=k* is clear, and 25 *gm=k*. These forms are suggestive of a medical text, while other traces are compatible with accounts (B1 271; 278–9). This reuse is similar to that of P 3024 (*Lebensmüder*), which has less extensive traces of similar guidelines and traces of the text of the accounts (G 1909:6; Goedicke 1970:1, n.5). The verso B1 also was prepared and used, perhaps secondarily (Helck 1974:47), before the Tale was written.

Lines 1–285 of the Tale are on the recto, beginning where the goods carried by the peasant are listed (B1 1–14). The list of goods was arranged in one and a half vertical columns of horizontal items, with the determinatives forming sub-columns. B1 15–16 are written beneath the one-sixth column. Traces of line-numbering are thought to exist above B1 56 and 66, reading 60 and 70 respectively, but the text is probably palimpsest:

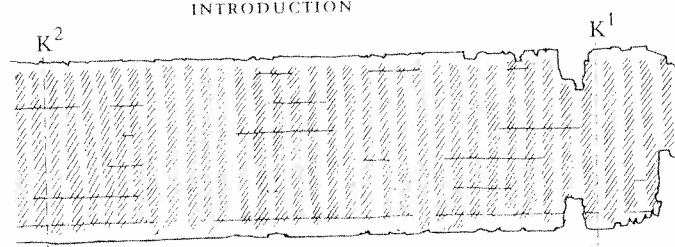


Figure 2 The traces above B1 56, 66 (0.9:1)

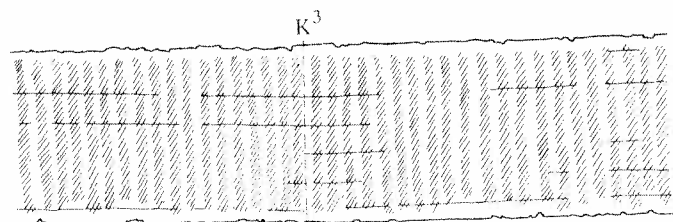
The arrangement of the Tale is shown in fig. 3; the columns written in horizontal lines may reflect the scribe's concern when writing the middle portion to fit the roll on the papyrus (compare the similar arrangement of P Berlin 3022 [*Sinuhe*]). The writing is more spacious for the final few lines of the recto, and after B1 285 there is a blank space of 7.5 cm, occupying the remainder of the recto, enough for further lines. The roll was then turned on a horizontal axis, and the text began on the verso at a spot equivalent to B1 152 on the recto. The preceding portions of the roll may have been left blank because the surface was damaged (it is not visible due to mounting). The second column of horizontal lines on the verso, which begins with the start of the peasant's seventh petition, is left short, to allow writing on traces of erased text (previously unread); after B1 304 the scribe wrote two lines of text which occur later (B1 310–12); he realised his mistake, and then before writing B1 305. The blot beneath these lines may have been caused by putting his pen down while making the erasure. I include a facsimile, restoration and transcription: (fig. 4, p. xviii).

INTRODUCTION

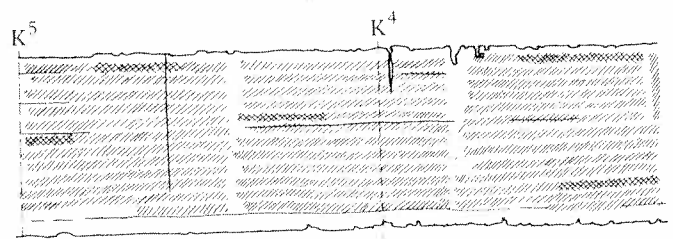
A
B1 32-68



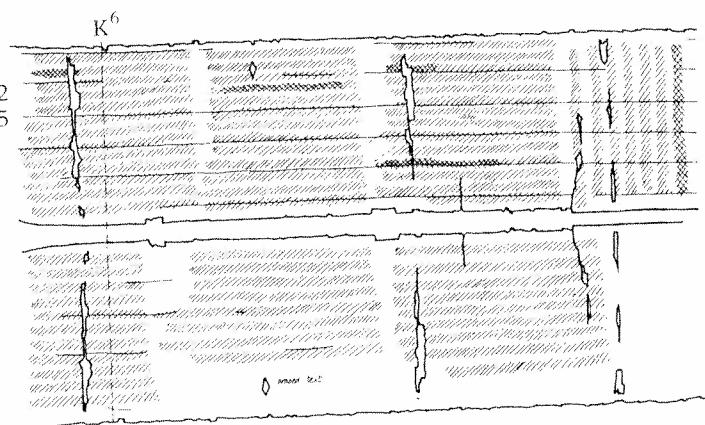
B
B1 69-107



C
B1 108-145



D
B1 146-192
B1 288-315

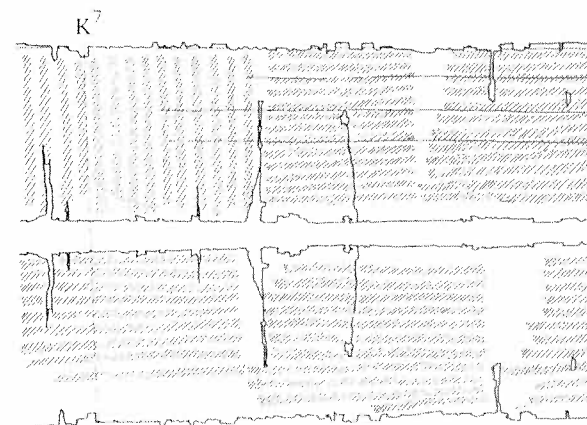


~~~~~: line of hieratic      ~~~~: rubric

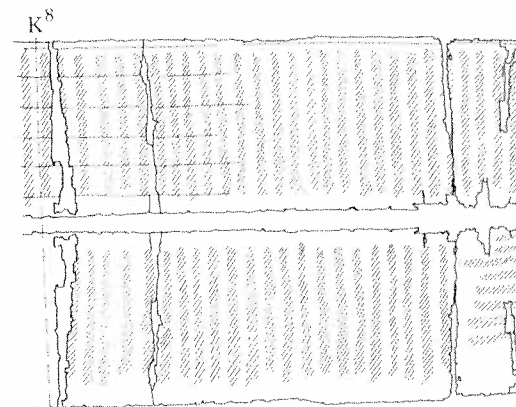
Figure 4 Diagram of the arrangement of B1 on recto and verso (o.17:1)

## INTRODUCTION

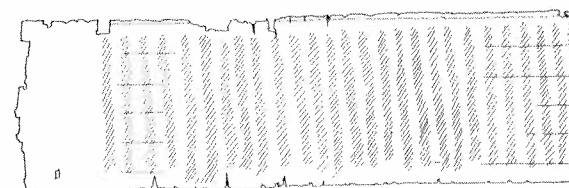
E  
B1 193-237  
B1 305-335



F  
B1 231-260  
B1 327-357



G  
B1 261-287





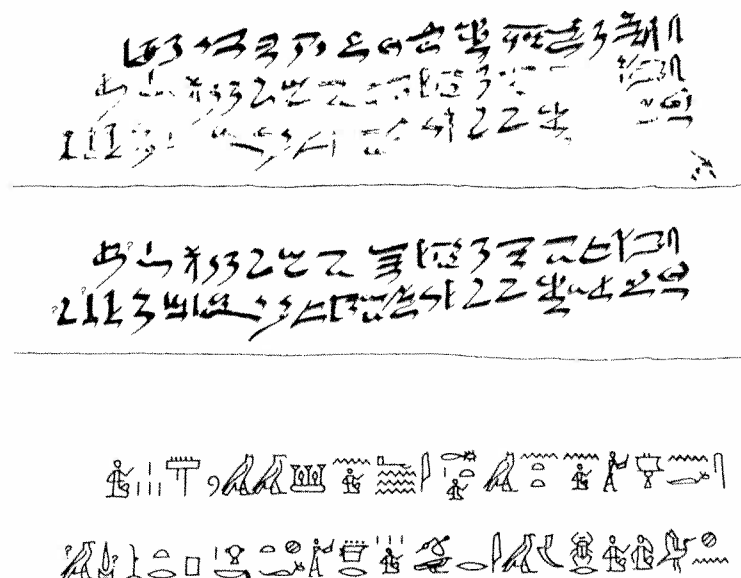










Figure 4 The erased lines of B1 (0.49:1)

The fifth column is slightly short, although the surface beneath is not noticeably damaged. B1 verso ends with the conclusion of the eighth petition at a point equivalent to B1 258 on the recto. There would not have been enough room to include the ninth petition or the concluding narrative on the roll, and thus a second manuscript was necessary for the owner of the 'library' of Berlin manuscripts to possess the whole Tale (see 1.2).

*Hand:* Black ink is used, with rubrics only in the first six columns of horizontal lines on the recto and at B1 146 – the only vertical example (cf. Assmann 1983:41 on the irregular rubrics of P Berlin 3022 [*Sinuhe*]). Allowing for the differing surfaces, the pen thickness is probably the same on recto and verso: c. 2–2.5 mm; the number of signs written with a single dipping increases on the verso. The hand itself is accomplished and regular in the vertical lines; when horizontal it is more cursive (e.g.  and  in 106 and 113) and much less elegantly arranged, especially towards the end of the recto and on the verso, and uses more ligatures. On the verso it is generally more cursive, and appears more hurried. The inferior surface explains this

at least partially. The full forms of , , , and  are found frequently; as their use is dictated by space and by word grouping, they are frequent in vertical lines. Vogelsang and Gardiner noted that the scribe 'scheu nicht vor Ligaturen .... Große Mühe macht oft die Unterscheidung von  und  auch sonst sind die einzelnen Formen der Zeichen so verschimmelt gemacht oder entstellt, daß die Lesung keineswegs zu den leichtesten Aufgezählt werden kann' (6). The hand is the same as that of P Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe* further G 1909:4–5). Corrections or deletions of errors are found in B1 13 140(?), 153(?), 154, 230(?), 336, 342; these can be confused with traces of palimpsest. The scribe apparently became less careful towards the end of the verso (e.g. B1 348), though some uncorrected errors are found earlier (e.g. B1 273). It seems the corrections and deletions of mistakes – no less obvious than the uncorrected mistakes – were made in the course of writing.

#### *P Berlin 3025 (B2)*

*Dimensions:* 295 × 15 cm, a halved roll.

*Colour:* Darker than B1, and the sheets are less even in tone.

*Texture:* Coarser and less even than B1. There are slight indications of palimpsest (e.g. between 102–3, 106–7), but any previous text was well erased. Not transparent.

*Kolleseis:* 27.5 K<sup>1</sup> (incomplete); 45.6 K<sup>2</sup>; 44.9 K<sup>3</sup>; 46.7 K<sup>4</sup>; 45.4 K<sup>5</sup>; 48.7 K<sup>6</sup>; K<sup>7</sup>. They are right over left on the recto.

*Preservation:* The papyrus appears more fragmented than B1, with more severe vertical cracking. The fragments were misarranged by Lepsius (*LD VI*, 113–14) his '1–3' are B2 133–5; '4–10', 126–32; '11–17', 136–42; '18–142', 1–125. The becomes increasingly damaged and missing at the bottom, and it is uncertain much is lost at the beginning and end; the roll need not have contained the whole text. 142 lines survive in the Berlin sections, and parts of another four in P Am II, fragments F and G. The relationship of the fragments is shown in fig. 5 (p. xx) the joins are not direct and the exact number of vertical lines lost between G and uncertain, I have not included their lines in my numbering.


*Format:* The text occupies the recto, written vertically. The lines are evenly spaced slightly more widely at the start and on the final sheet. The verso is bare apart a small area of writing, equivalent to B2 54–6 on the recto. The facsimile of surviving traces included here (fig. 6) has been collated with *LD VI*, 114, in which the signs are less fragmentary, although still illegible. Its position in the middle of the roll shows that it cannot have been a roll-label or title, but was probably a scribble (cf. P Ram. I [*The Discourse of Sisobek*] verso: Barns 1956: pl. 25).







Figure 5 A restoration of the beginning of B2 (0.35:1)



Figure 6 The verso of B2, with a copy of LD VI, 114 (0.9:1)

*Hand:* There are three rubrics (B2 21, 50, 91, all *ju.jn-rf*). The pen thickness is c. 1.5–2.0 mm; the ink flow is less regular than in B1. The hand itself is very similar to that of B1, but much less careful (e.g. *mk* in B1 344 and B2 78: ). A comparison of B2 71–9 with the vertical B1 336–57 reveals why Vogelsang and

Gardiner (6) considered that they might be the work of the same scribe, but Möller's contrary view is confirmed, not only by particular signs (e.g.  (M. 594): B1  B2 ) but also by the spacing of words and the more spacious arrangement of lines (1927a: 15). The absence of the fully written  is also relevant. The text is corrected, notably in 82 and 100(?). The former contains a gap of 3–4 groups, due either to palimpsest traces making the surface unusable, or to an error purposely expunged.

*P Butler*

*Dimensions:* 72 × 13.7 cm. The edges have been trimmed in modern times, but suggest an original height of c. 15 cm.

*Colour:* A light brown; yellower on verso.

*Texture:* The recto shows palimpsest traces of a text written in horizontal lines with a number of short rubrics (Bt 7, 18–9, 21, 24, 28, 29–30, 32); it has been thoroughly cleaned and the traces are illegible. The surface is more extensively damaged on the verso, and it is unclear if this is also palimpsest. Very thin and transparent.

*Kolleseis:* One is preserved at Bt (recto) 28–9, 44.5 K<sup>1</sup>. It is right over left (recto).

*Preservation:* The unfortunate mounted state of the papyrus was described by Griffith (1892:458); this has recently been remedied. 40 lines are preserved on the recto.

*Format:* The text of the Tale occupies the recto, beginning with the list of the peasant's goods. This is arranged as in B1, though the first column has eleven horizontal items and the second three; the determinatives form a separate sub-column. Bt 15–16 are long vertical lines, cramped beneath Bt 12–14. Griffith detected traces of line numbers, which could be read 20 and 30, although partially cut away (1892:459–61):



Figure 7 The supposed line numbers above Bt recto 19, 29 (0.9:1); after Griffith 1892

Both the traces are now lost; that above Bt 19 was on a fragment which may well have been misplaced (so Gunn MS), but the other trace was certain. However, the trace was probably a palimpsest trace, similar to that above Bt 29–30. There is a date above Bt 16, which Griffith related to the principle of numbering (1892:460); it

doubtful whether his analysis is correct. The amount of text lost at the start, to judge by that preserved in R, would require another at least 20 cm of papyrus, suggesting a previous sheet must be lost at the beginning of the roll, unless the one on which the text now begins was unusually long.

The roll was turned about on a horizontal axis to write the verso text, whose numbering is much clearer (Möller 1927a:8):



Figure 8 The line numbers above Bt verso 12, 22, 32 (0.9:1)

These figures show that eight lines are lost, suggesting a wider initial border than on the recto. The text is written in what Gunn called 'the most difficult hieratic ... of the M[iddle] K[ingdom]' (letter to Blackman, 4.10.1938, in B II). This difficulty is due to the cursiveness of the hand as well as the damaged surface and flaked ink, and it has hindered study of the text. In addition to Griffith's published transcription, there is a set of notes by Gunn (MS), and a transcription by Blackman (in B II). The text is distinct from the Tale, but is a discourse (Posener 1951a:34 no. 12), apparently involving a similar pleader. The setting is pastoral: mention is made of the goddess *Shit* and of the countryside. Posener suggested that it is part of the text whose title is elsewhere preserved as 'the discourse of a fowler of the Southern City, Iuru' (1969:103, 105-6).

*Hand:* There is only one sign in red, Bt (recto) 14, probably a later correction. The pen thickness is c. 1-1.5 mm, and the number of signs written with a single dipping is very variable. The writing is larger and swifter on the verso, at least partially due to the surface; although the hands look dissimilar in places, they could well be the same. The hand of the recto itself is of the same style as the Berlin manuscripts and very similar to that of B2, although it uses the full forms of , and (see 1.2, 1.4), and forms quite differently. The pen thickness is 1-1.5 mm (recto). In Bt (recto) 3 and 14 there are corrections probably made while writing.

#### *P Ramesseum A*

*Dimensions:* The major part is 240 cm long, as mounted; of the other main fragments which were known before 1908, I-II are quite small, 3.4 × 2.5 and 3.0 × 2.2 cm, and III is 20 cm long (VG:5; G 1909:1). If these fragments are added

to the major part, with the lost portions, the papyrus would be 4.25m long (1909:1). It is 8.2 cm high, a quartered roll, which occurs with four literary texts of the Middle Kingdom (Černý 1952:15; Helck 1974:8).

*Colour:* Yellow-brown, in places quite dark (VG:5), due to (modern) damage (1955a:7).

*Texture:* Of very high quality (VG:5). The text is palimpsest, most obvious under column 1, where there are traces of rubrics. Very thin but not transparent.

*Kolleseis:* The major fragment is of six sheets, of which five are relatively complete: 34.6 K<sup>1</sup>; 44.3 K<sup>2</sup>; 46.4 K<sup>3</sup>; 33.5 K<sup>4</sup>; 39.5 K<sup>5</sup>. The kolleseis on the recto are right left.

*Preservation:* Quibell found it in 'extremely bad condition' (1898:3), and it is very fragmentary with large areas completely lost, perhaps due to its being dropped on discovery and to its subsequent treatment (a rumour recounted by G 1955). The start of the text is less fragmentary, having been originally at the centre of the roll. The identification of further fragments during 1908 led Vogelsang and Gardiner to add extra plates to their publication (4 bis, 4 bis a; described: G 1909:pl. 4 bis - the fragments are unnumbered). In 1912 more fragments were found, one of which (R 19.4-7) was published in transcription (G 1923:22); the other 'somewhat larger' piece (R 20.2-7) remained unpublished, being 'without noteworthy variations' (G 1955a:7-8). Facsimiles of these are included here (fig. 9, p. xxiv).




The aggregate of the pieces of R amounts to the remains of 229 lines on the recto, while the text of *Simuhe* on the verso has 203 lines (G 1909:pl. 4 bis). The major part, including fragments I-II, contains R 1.1-20.7. A 1908 fragment comprises R 23.1-24.7, III contains R 25.1-27.8, and another 1908 fragment comprises R 30.6-31.8.

*Format:* A margin of 2.5 cm is left blank at the start of the recto. The text is arranged in columns of horizontal lines, which are here renumbered in accordance with this pagination; a concordance is given in 1.8.

After the first column of seven long lines comes the list of the peasant's goods, arranged in four narrow vertical columns of horizontal items. Three columns contain seven items each, the fourth six written more sparsely. The determinatives form subcolumns, aligned with the longest item in the column. Columns 6-8 are of seven lines each; a single vertical line follows, written to allow column 9 to start with a rubric. Columns 9-11 are of seven lines, 12 of six, with a short last line. 13 has eight long lines, followed by two vertical lines, with thus for the same reason as 8.8. Columns 14-15 have seven lines, 16 eight (the line may relate to one of the petitions ending in the middle of R 13.8), 17-20 six, 21-22, which are completely lost, were probably of seven lines each (so VG:5 bis). Columns 23-24 have seven lines, 25-27 eight; the lines of 26 are rather short.

27.1 being rubricized. 28–9 are completely lost. Of 30, the ends of lines 6–7 survive; Vogelsang and Gardiner assumed a short eighth line, but this is unlikely (pl. 4 bis). 31 has eight lines, the first of which is lost.

On the verso, the roll having been turned on a horizontal axis, *Simuhe* begins after a margin of 11 cm. It is formatted into 30 columns of horizontal lines, of which four are completely lost. There are traces of three horizontal ruled guidelines from column 25 (= R 133) on (see above for these).

*Hand:* Rubrics are frequent throughout, marking the start of speeches and petitions, regardless of the metrical scheme. The pen thickness is c. 1–2 mm. A single dipping seems to write a whole line, the scribe redipping at the end of each line before the ink ran out; because of this inking method the blackness is very even. The hand itself is 'eine schöne literarische Hand, die sowohl in den Zeichenformen wie in der Orthographie äußerst konsequent ist. Die größeren Nebenformen ... sind wohl wegen des kleinen Formats im allgemeinen vermieden, doch kommen sie bei  und  in der vertikalen [R 8.8], wie auch bei  in der vertikalen [R 13.10] sowie in der Liste [R 5.1] vor' (VG: 5). The last of these is a widely spaced column. The hand is generally neater than the horizontal part of B1 and B2 and the lines are more elegantly arranged. The forms are more angular, due partly to a sharper pen and the small size of the signs (see also 1.4). Corrections and deletions made while writing are found (e.g. 13.4 and 25.6).

The hand of the verso (*Simuhe*) is less careful and hastier than that of the recto, but is certainly of the same scribe (G 1909: 4).

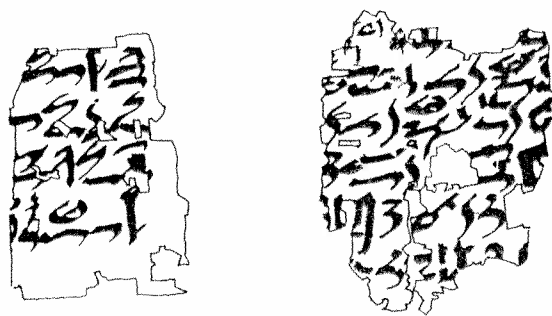


















Figure 9 The unpublished fragments of R (0.9: 1)

## DATING

### *P Berlin 3023 (B1) and 3025 (B2)*

Möller (1927a: 15) considered these to be contemporaneous, and there is contemporary evidence for this assumption (see 1.2, 1.3). B2 is generally more cursive, though there are not many major variations between the hands of the manuscripts; some signs may suggest a marginally later date than B1:  (M. 207b) is as , not as in B1 ();  (M. 582) is also as in R (), not B1 (). These differences may not be significant as a dating criterion, and should override the general similarity. The textual variants of the two relate primarily to the difference between the manuscripts' textual archetypes and not directly to the date of their writings.

The Berlin manuscripts are generally accepted to date 'to the very end of the 12th or to the beginning of the 13th. Dynasty' (G 1916: 2); of these, P Berlin 3023 (*Simuhe*) cannot predate the reign of Sesostrius I. Möller concurred (1927a: 15) comparing this group with Papyri Kahun (Illahun) and P Bulaq 18 (year Sobekhotpe II, early 13th dynasty; cf. Spalinger 1984: 1038, n. 12). However, the evolution presented in Möller's tables is vitiated by his misplacing of P Prisse to the Berlin group, not after (he later recognized this: Dévaud 1924: i–ii, n. 5). The hands of other similar literary texts can be used for comparative dating, different forms characterize different types of manuscripts as well as stages of evolution, which need not be contemporaneous in different types. For this purpose the relevant datable manuscripts are P Kahun LV.1, VI.12, which are from the group of Illahun papyri, dating from Amenemhat III and his successors (Sir 1974: 67; see also Möller 1927a: 13; Matzker 1986: 116–21). These are *Hymn to Sesostrius III*, *The Tale of Hay*, and a narrative concerning Horus and Seth (G 1898: pl. 1–4). Of these, the first cannot predate Sesostrius III, and may have been roughly contemporaneous with his reign (so Posener 1956: 128). The hands of B1 and B2 appear generally similar to these, but not exactly. Some signs link them to later manuscripts; thus, for  (M. 200) Illahun has only , while B1/2 has

 and Bulaq 18 . Similarly for  (M. 237) Illahun and earlier texts have , B1/2, Prisse and Bulaq 18 . For  (M. 393) Illahun has , B1/2, later (Hyksos period) . However, such differences may relate more to factors as regional variation than to date.

Similar reservations affect Dévaud's analysis of orthography (1924) and his remarks on the date of the Tale (1987: 83). Dévaud's analysis, in general, links the Berlin group to the 12th dynasty Illahun papyri and separates them from the 13th dynasty. Of the words selected by him, only two show an orthographic



Thus, the Ramesseum burial can be dated to the mid to late 13th dynasty, with R being written early in the dynasty. A more precise estimate of the period between its writing and B1 and B2 cannot be given.

## 1.5 THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Although the Tale is almost unique in the number of its preserved Middle Kingdom manuscripts, they are insufficient in quantity and in providing parallel texts for a full stemmatisation of the textual transmission: only for B1 1–34 are there more than two manuscripts. The following description of the relationship of the manuscripts adopts the guidelines and terminology of Maas (1958), as does Schenkel (1978; see also Blumenthal 1983: 236–7, whose reservations are excessive).

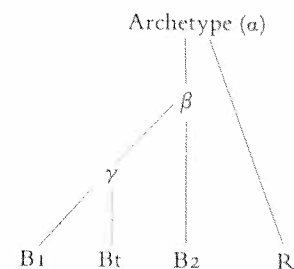
B1 and Bt always agree against R, save in Bt 24, 25 27, 33 (V:2-3). Some of these minor variants are not 'indicative', and cannot be considered 'conjunctive errors' (Maas 1958:43) allying Bt and R to the same textual tradition, since Bt's variants against B1 are probably due to error in Bt's tradition (which the scribe of Bt could have removed by conjecture). The variants of R against B1 can be considered 'separative errors' (Maas 1958:42), revealing that R is not merely a later development of B1's textual tradition (although many of the variants can be thus dismissed: V:3-4), but represents an independent tradition. The extent of R's 'redactional' variants supports this analysis (B1 109-18 = R 17.6-19.6).

The position of B2 in any stemmatisation is very uncertain, as there are 250 possible stemma types with 4 textual witnesses (Maas 1958:47). Provenance and date ally it with B1, but the same factors indicate that its variants against B1 must be separative. B2 varies against B1 more frequently than the roughly contemporary Bt (although there are no fully parallel passages), which suggests that it is not from the same tradition. B2 also probably belongs to a separate tradition from R; B2 lacks both R's tendency to interpolate from elsewhere in the text (R 16.5–8, 26.4–6) and its redactional variants against B1 (see above).

B1 contains many minor errors and miswritings, and although B2 shows signs of corrections, it too has a substantial number of similar errors (see 1.3). On the whole, Bt is the most carefully written manuscript (see summary of V:8-9), but these facts do not necessarily reflect the quality of the textual traditions represented. Many variants are inexplicable merely as errors of hearing or reading, and while some of them may have been induced by memory, others reflect a more deliberate redactional activity (cf. Burkard 1977). It is difficult to decide which manuscript variants are preferable as a whole, or to proclaim any one stemma superior to the others; as Gardiner concluded of *Simuhe*, 'all variants must be examined and judged on their [individual] merits' (1916:163). Nevertheless, it seems that R contains the largest number of readings which can be explained as redactional alterations, although it may preserve some archetypal readings lost in B1 (this contrasts with the

textual transmission of *Sinuhe*, where R is often better than B, though also more evolved). The metrical structure and the character of the list of the peasant's goods (B1 1-14 = R 2.1-5.6) favours B1 as superior there, a conclusion probably valid for B1 and R as wholes (also, R contains two irregular 4-cola lines, as opposed to only one in B1: Fecht 1982:1140). Preference for a shorter version, which is also a principle of biblical textual tradition (Tigay 1985:8), favours B1 against R.

It is more difficult to judge between B1 and B2. V considered B2 superior, with the variations in length being the result of B1's tendency to omit phrases in copy which he compared with its occasional omission of individual radicals (6-7). When B2 is a more carefully corrected manuscript, the parallel of R shows that a shorter version may be preferable. The relationships of B2 to B1 and R to B1 are different in nature, as is shown by the fact that B2's number of omissions against B1 is smaller than R's; B2 provides many variants of equivalence. Thus the following stemmatisation can be suggested:



The textual transmission is compatible with a composition date for the archetype the middle of the 12th dynasty (Berlev 1987; Parkinson 1988; Vernus 1990).

The textual transmission of the Tale has often been assumed to end with the 13th dynasty (e.g. Baines 1982: 32–3) – a sign that it had fallen out of favour (e.g. Ermenou 1923: 157–8) after popularity in the Middle Kingdom, from which it is attested in many surviving copies as *Sinuhe* (cf. Simpson 1984: 952). However, contra evidence is provided by *Menna's Instruction to his Son*, a literary ostrakon of the reign of Ramesses IV from Deir el-Medineh (first noticed by G. 1923: 25; published by Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. 78–9; translations and studies: Simpson 1958; Gagliardi 1983; Foster 1984; Sturtewagen *et al.* 1985; Goedicke 1987). Verso ll. 6–7 read:





You are in the situation of the one who said:  
'You kill, my asses are taken  
and complaint is seized from my mouth.'




This echoes B1 59–60; the specific nature of the final phrase suggests that the lines are an allusion to or loose quotation from the Tale (Guglielmi 1983: 159, nn. z, aa; for a contrary translation and interpretation see Goedicke 1987: 74 [54], 78).

The lack of actual New Kingdom manuscripts and ostraca may be due to chances of preservation or to the length and complexity of the Tale, which would make it unsuitable for use in scribal training – a major source of New Kingdom literary copies (the reservations of van der Plas, 1986: 12–13, about this presumed provenance for ostraca are excessive).

## 1.6 PUBLICATIONS: A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

For publications up to 1908, articles relating to new readings of individual passages are listed; thereafter, only substantial transcriptions and corrections are included, later references to individual passages being incorporated in the textual notes.

- 1859 Lepsius, C. R., *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abth. VI, pl. 108–10, 113–14. (Facsimiles of B1 and B2).
- 1863 Chabas, François, *Les Papyrus hiératiques de Berlin: récits d'il y a quatre mille ans, avec un index géographique et deux planches de fac-simile*. Chalon-sur-Saône: J. Dejussieu; reprinted in *Œuvres Diverses* II, 289–364, BÉ 10. Paris: Ernest Leroux 1902. (294–302 concern B1, with partial translation. General content is recognized, as is B2's relation to B1. Facsimile and full transcription of B1 170–76).
- 1864 Goodwin, Charles W., 'Lettre à F. Chabas sur un fragment hiératique se rattachant au Papyrus de Berlin No. II', in François Chabas, *Mélanges égyptologiques* II<sup>e</sup> série, 249–66. (Partial transcription and translation of Bt, followed by a note by Chabas [266–72] with a revised transcription).
- 1864 Chabas, François, 'Sur un texte égyptien relatif au mouvement de la terre'. ZÄS 2, 97–103; reprinted in *Œuvres Diverses* III, 1–13, BÉ 11. Paris: Ernest Leroux 1903. (Transcription and study of B1 297–9).
- 1889 Borchardt, Ludwig, 'Bemerkungen zu den ägyptischen Handschriften des Berliner Museums'. ZÄS 27, 118–22. (Description of B1 and B2, also Bt, giving line numbers for the fragments).
- 1892 Griffith, Francis L., 'Fragments of Old Egyptian Stories from the British Museum and Amherst Collections'. PSBA 14, 451–72. (Facsimile by Newberry of Bt [pl. 1–4]; transcription, including B1; corrections to Lepsius' grouping of the B2 fragments).

- 1893 Müller, W. Max, 'The Story of the Peasant'. PSBA 15, 343–4. (A suggestion of Griffith's reading of ; also a note by the latter acknowledging corrections to his transcription, = Bt 29, 37).
- 1894 Erman, Adolf, *Ägyptische Grammatik: mit Schrifttafel, Litteratur, Lesestücken Wörterverzeichnis*. Lesestücke, 28\*–37\*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium Berlin: Reuther & Reichard. (Transcription of Bt 16–33, B1 31–108).
- 1899 Newberry, Percy E., *The Amherst Papyri: being an account of the Egyptian Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney ...*, 17–18, pl. 1. London: Bernard Quaritch. (Collotypes of A I and II, with a transcription of C translation of the former).
- 1902–3 Schäfer, Heinrich, 'Eine kursive Form von '. ZÄS 40, 121–4. (On the reading of .
- 1904 Erman, Adolf, *Ägyptische Chrestomathie: zum Gebrauch auf Universitäten und Selbstunterricht*, 11–19, 6\*–10\*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium 19. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard. (Transcription and notes, as Erman 1894: 28\*–37\*).
- 1904 Vogelsang, Friedrich, *Die Klagen des Bauern (aus Papyrus 3023 & 3025 der Königl. Museen zu Berlin)*. Inaugural-Dissertation: Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin. Berlin: Bernhard Paul. (First version of Vogelsang 1913. Transcription of B1 85–93, 119–28, 170–83, 218–20, 231–9, 252–6, 307–12 + B2 35–9 319–20 + B2 48–50).
- 1908 Friedrich Vogelsang & Alan H. Gardiner, *Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches: Die Klagen des Bauern*. Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königl. Museen Berlin 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (Publication of R, B1 (32ff.) and B photographs with transcription and translation).
- 1909 Möller, Georg, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch I: Alt-mittelhieratische Texte*, pl. 12–16. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (Facsimile of R 1 B1 15–82).
- 1913 Vogelsang, Friedrich, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*. UGAÄ 6.
- 1923 Gardiner, Alan H., 'The Eloquent Peasant'. JEA 9, 5–25. (Translation corrections and additions to Vogelsang & Gardiner 1908).
- 1924 Sethe, Kurt, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: des Mittleren Reiches*, 17–25. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (Partial transcription omitting problematic passages).
- 1927 Möller, Georg, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch I: Alt-mittelhieratische Texte*, pl. 12–16, 2nd edition. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (Revised Möller 1909. Facsimile of R 1.1–8, B1 15–82).
- 1928 Sethe, Kurt, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: des Mittleren Reiches*, 17–25, 2nd edition. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (Revised Sethe 1924. Partial transcription, omitting problematic passages).
- 1933 Suys, Émile, *Étude sur le conte du fellah plaideur: récit égyptien du M. Empire*, 1\*–31\*. AnOr 5. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico. (Transcription of 'best' text with variants noted and innovations on previous readings; evaluation see Blackman 1934).

- 1936-7? Aylward M. Blackman & H.W. Fairman, Fairman's transcript of Blackman's transcription of all the mss (collated in late 1936: B1 & II). (Complete parallel text in pencil, inked as far as B1 67. Without textual notes, rough drafts for which are in the notebooks. Intended to form *Middle Egyptian Stories*, 48-83; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Now in School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool.)
- 1948 de Buck, Adriaan, *Egyptian Readingbook I: Exercises and Middle Egyptian Texts*, 88-99. Leiden: Nederlandsch Archaeologisch-Philologisch Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. (Partial transcription, omitting problematic passages; some textual notes on p. 128).


## I.7 ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES


Discussions are referred to by name and date. Abbreviations not listed in Wolfgang Helck *et al.* (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1989-), are included here.

- Altenmüller, Hartwig 1965, *Die Aptropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens: eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten "Zaubermesser" des Mittleren Reiches*. 2 vols. (Dissertation: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München).
- Assmann, Jan 1983, 'Die Rubren in der Überlieferung der Sinuhe-Erzählung', in *Fontes atque Pontes: eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, Manfred Görg (ed.), 18-41. ÄUAT 5.
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## I. 8

CONCORDANCES  
OF LINE NUMBERS

## B1

|       | Old | New  |  | Old | New |  | Old | New |
|-------|-----|------|--|-----|-----|--|-----|-----|
| A.A   | 1   | 1-14 |  | 18  | 49  |  | 54  | 85  |
|       | 2   | 15   |  | 19  | 50  |  | 55  | 86  |
|       | 3   | 16   |  | 20  | 51  |  | 56  | 87  |
|       | 4   | 17   |  | 21  | 52  |  | 57  | 88  |
|       | 5   | 18   |  | 22  | 53  |  | 58  | 89  |
|       | 6   | 19   |  | 23  | 54  |  | 59  | 90  |
| A.B   | 7   | 20   |  | 24  | 55  |  | 60  | 91  |
|       | 8   | 21   |  | 25  | 56  |  | 61  | 92  |
|       | 9   | 22   |  | 26  | 57  |  | 62  | 93  |
|       | 10  | 23   |  | 27  | 58  |  | 63  | 94  |
| A.C   | 11  | 24   |  | 28  | 59  |  | 64  | 95  |
|       | 12  | 25   |  | 29  | 60  |  | 65  | 96  |
|       | 13  | 26   |  | 30  | 61  |  | 66  | 97  |
|       | 14  | 27   |  | 31  | 62  |  | 67  | 98  |
|       | 15  | 28   |  | 32  | 63  |  | 68  | 99  |
| A.D-E |     |      |  | 33  | 64  |  | 69  | 100 |
|       | 16  | 29   |  | 34  | 65  |  | 70  | 101 |
|       | 17  | 30   |  | 35  | 66  |  | 71  | 102 |
|       | 18  | 31   |  | 36  | 67  |  | 72  | 103 |
| B1    | 1   | 32   |  | 37  | 68  |  | 73  | 104 |
|       | 2   | 33   |  | 38  | 69  |  | 74  | 105 |
|       | 3   | 34   |  | 39  | 70  |  | 75  | 106 |
|       | 4   | 35   |  | 40  | 71  |  | 76  | 107 |
|       | 5   | 36   |  | 41  | 72  |  | 77  | 108 |
|       | 6   | 37   |  | 42  | 73  |  | 78  | 109 |
|       | 7   | 38   |  | 43  | 74  |  | 79  | 110 |
|       | 8   | 39   |  | 44  | 75  |  | 80  | 111 |
|       | 9   | 40   |  | 45  | 76  |  | 81  | 112 |
|       | 10  | 41   |  | 46  | 77  |  | 82  | 113 |
|       | 11  | 42   |  | 47  | 78  |  | 83  | 114 |
|       | 12  | 43   |  | 48  | 79  |  | 84  | 115 |
|       | 13  | 44   |  | 49  | 80  |  | 85  | 116 |
|       | 14  | 45   |  | 50  | 81  |  | 86  | 117 |
|       | 15  | 46   |  | 51  | 82  |  | 87  | 118 |
|       | 16  | 47   |  | 52  | 83  |  | 88  | 119 |
|       | 17  | 48   |  | 53  | 84  |  | 89  | 120 |

## CONCORDANCES

| <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 90         | 121        | 134        | 165        | 178        | 209        |
| 91         | 122        | 135        | 166        | 179        | 210        |
| 92         | 123        | 136        | 167        | 180        | 211        |
| 93         | 124        | 137        | 168        | 181        | 212        |
| 94         | 125        | 138        | 169        | 182        | 213        |
| 95         | 126        | 139        | 170        | 183        | 214        |
| 96         | 127        | 140        | 171        | 184        | 215        |
| 97         | 128        | 141        | 172        | 185        | 216        |
| 98         | 129        | 142        | 173        | 186        | 217        |
| 99         | 130        | 143        | 174        | 187        | 218        |
| 100        | 131        | 144        | 175        | 188        | 219        |
| 101        | 132        | 145        | 176        | 189        | 220        |
| 102        | 133        | 146        | 177        | 190        | 221        |
| 103        | 134        | 147        | 178        | 191        | 222        |
| 104        | 135        | 148        | 179        | 192        | 223        |
| 105        | 136        | 149        | 180        | 193        | 224        |
| 106        | 137        | 150        | 181        | 194        | 225        |
| 107        | 138        | 151        | 182        | 195        | 226        |
| 108        | 139        | 152        | 183        | 196        | 227        |
| 109        | 140        | 153        | 184        | 197        | 228        |
| 110        | 141        | 154        | 185        | 198        | 229        |
| 111        | 142        | 155        | 186        | 199        | 230        |
| 112        | 143        | 156        | 187        | 200        | 231        |
| 113        | 144        | 157        | 188        | 201        | 232        |
| 114        | 145        | 158        | 189        | 202        | 233        |
| 115        | 146        | 159        | 190        | 203        | 234        |
| 116        | 147        | 160        | 191        | 204        | 235        |
| 117        | 148        | 161        | 192        | 205        | 236        |
| 118        | 149        | 162        | 193        | 206        | 237        |
| 119        | 150        | 163        | 194        | 207        | 238        |
| 120        | 151        | 164        | 195        | 208        | 239        |
| 121        | 152        | 165        | 196        | 209        | 240        |
| 122        | 153        | 166        | 197        | 210        | 241        |
| 123        | 154        | 167        | 198        | 211        | 242        |
| 124        | 155        | 168        | 199        | 212        | 243        |
| 125        | 156        | 169        | 200        | 213        | 244        |
| 126        | 157        | 170        | 201        | 214        | 245        |
| 127        | 158        | 171        | 202        | 215        | 246        |
| 128        | 159        | 172        | 203        | 216        | 247        |
| 129        | 160        | 173        | 204        | 217        | 248        |
| 130        | 161        | 174        | 205        | 218        | 249        |
| 131        | 162        | 175        | 206        | 219        | 250        |
| 132        | 163        | 176        | 207        | 220        | 251        |
| 133        | 164        | 177        | 208        | 221        | 252        |

## CONCORDANCES

| <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 222        | 253        | 257        | 288        | 293        | 324        |
| 223        | 254        | 258        | 289        | 294        | 325        |
| 224        | 255        | 259        | 290        | 295        | 326        |
| 225        | 256        | 260        | 291        | 296        | 327        |
| 226        | 257        | 261        | 292        | 297        | 328        |
| 227        | 258        | 262        | 293        | 298        | 329        |
| 228        | 259        | 263        | 294        | 299        | 330        |
| 229        | 260        | 264        | 295        | 300        | 331        |
| 230        | 261        | 265        | 296        | 301        | 332        |
| 231        | 262        | 266        | 297        | 302        | 333        |
| 232        | 263        | 267        | 298        | 303        | 334        |
| 233        | 264        | 268        | 299        | 304        | 335        |
| 234        | 265        | 269        | 300        | 305        | 336        |
| 235        | 266        | 270        | 301        | 306        | 337        |
| 236        | 267        | 271        | 302        | 307        | 338        |
| 237        | 268        | 272        | 303        | 308        | 339        |
| 238        | 269        | 273        | 304        | 309        | 340        |
| 239        | 270        | 274        | 305        | 310        | 341        |
| 240        | 271        | 275        | 306        | 311        | 342        |
| 241        | 272        | 276        | 307        | 312        | 343        |
| 242        | 273        | 277        | 308        | 313        | 344        |
| 243        | 274        | 278        | 309        | 314        | 345        |
| 244        | 275        | 279        | 310        | 315        | 346        |
| 245        | 276        | 280        | 311        | 316        | 347        |
| 246        | 277        | 281        | 312        | 317        | 348        |
| 247        | 278        | 282        | 313        | 318        | 349        |
| 248        | 279        | 283        | 314        | 319        | 350        |
| 249        | 280        | 284        | 315        | 320        | 351        |
| 250        | 281        | 285        | 316        | 321        | 352        |
| 251        | 282        | 286        | 317        | 322        | 353        |
| 252        | 283        | 287        | 318        | 323        | 354        |
| 253        | 284        | 288        | 319        | 324        | 355        |
| 254        | 285        | 289        | 320        | 325        | 356        |
| 255        | 286        | 290        | 321        | 326        | 357        |
| 256        | 287        | 291        | 322        |            |            |
|            |            | 292        | 323        |            |            |






(v) marks a line as vertical; this is numbered as the last line of the preceding column of horizontal lines.

| Old | New | Old | New    | Old | New      |
|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|----------|
| 1   | 1.1 | 40  | 6.6    | 79  | 12.2     |
| 2   | 1.2 | 41  | 6.7    | 80  | 12.3     |
| 3   | 1.3 | 42  | 7.1    | 81  | 12.4     |
| 4   | 1.4 | 43  | 7.2    | 82  | 12.5     |
| 5   | 1.5 | 44  | 7.3    | 83  | 12.6     |
| 6   | 1.6 | 45  | 7.4    | 84  | 12.7     |
| 7   | 1.7 | 46  | 7.5    | 85  | 12.8     |
| 8   | 2.1 | 47  | 7.6    | 86  | 13.1     |
| 9   | 2.2 | 48  | 7.7    | 87  | 13.2     |
| 10  | 2.3 | 49  | 8.1    | 88  | 13.3     |
| 11  | 2.4 | 50  | 8.2    | 89  | 13.4     |
| 12  | 2.5 | 51  | 8.3    | 90  | 13.5     |
| 13  | 2.6 | 52  | 8.4    | 91  | 13.6     |
| 14  | 2.7 | 53  | 8.5    | 92  | 13.7     |
| 15  | 3.1 | 54  | 8.6    | 93  | 13.8     |
| 16  | 3.2 | 55  | 8.7    | 94  | 13.9(v)  |
| 17  | 3.3 | 56  | 8.8(v) | 95  | 13.10(v) |
| 18  | 3.4 | 57  | 9.1    | 96  | 14.1     |
| 19  | 3.5 | 58  | 9.2    | 97  | 14.2     |
| 20  | 3.6 | 59  | 9.3    | 98  | 14.3     |
| 21  | 3.7 | 60  | 9.4    | 99  | 14.4     |
| 22  | 4.1 | 61  | 9.5    | 100 | 14.5     |
| 23  | 4.2 | 62  | 9.6    | 101 | 14.6     |
| 24  | 4.3 | 63  | 9.7    | 102 | 14.7     |
| 25  | 4.4 | 64  | 10.1   | 103 | 15.1     |
| 26  | 4.5 | 65  | 10.2   | 104 | 15.2     |
| 27  | 4.6 | 66  | 10.3   | 104 | 15.3     |
| 28  | 4.7 | 67  | 10.4   | 106 | 15.4     |
| 29  | 5.1 | 68  | 10.5   | 107 | 15.5     |
| 30  | 5.2 | 69  | 10.6   | 108 | 15.6     |
| 31  | 5.3 | 70  | 10.7   | 109 | 15.7     |
| 32  | 5.4 | 71  | 11.1   | 110 | 16.1     |
| 33  | 5.5 | 72  | 11.2   | 111 | 16.2     |
| 34  | 5.6 | 73  | 11.3   | 112 | 16.3     |
| 35  | 6.1 | 74  | 11.4   | 113 | 16.4     |
| 36  | 6.2 | 75  | 11.5   | 114 | 16.5     |
| 37  | 6.3 | 76  | 11.6   | 115 | 16.6     |
| 38  | 6.4 | 77  | 11.7   | 116 | 16.7     |
| 39  | 6.5 | 78  | 12.1   | 117 | 16.8     |


| <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> | <i>Old</i> | <i>New</i> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 118        | 17.1       |            |            | 186        | 26.5       |
| 119        | 17.2       | Lacuna     |            | 187        | 26.6       |
| 120        | 17.3       |            |            | 188        | 26.7       |
| 121        | 17.4       | 160        | 23.4       | 189        | 26.8       |
| 122        | 17.5       | 161        | 23.5       | 190        | 27.1       |
| 123        | 17.6       | 162        | 23.6       | 191        | 27.2       |
| 124        | 17.7       | 163        | 23.7       | 192        | 27.3       |
| 125        | 18.1       | 164        | 24.1       | 193        | 27.4       |
| 126        | 18.2       | 165        | 24.2       | 194        | 27.5       |
| 127        | 18.3       | 166        | 24.3       | 195        | 27.6       |
| 128        | 18.4       | 167        | 24.4       | 196        | 27.7       |
| 129        | 18.5       | 168        | 24.5       | 197        | 27.8       |
| 130        | 18.6       | 169        | 24.6       |            |            |
| 131        | 18.7       | 170        | 24.7       | Lacuna     |            |
| 132        | 19.1       | 171        | 25.1       |            |            |
| 133        | 19.2       | 172        | 25.2       | 219        | 30.6       |
| 134        | 19.3       | 173        | 25.3       | 220        | 30.7       |
| 135        | 19.4       | 174        | 25.4       | {221}*     |            |
| 136        | 19.5       | 175        | 25.5       | 222        | 31.1       |
| 137        | 19.6       | 176        | 25.3       | 223        | 31.2       |
| 138        | 19.7       | 177        | 25.4       | 224        | 31.3       |
| 139        | 20.1       | 178        | 25.5       | 225        | 31.4       |
| 140        | 20.2       | 179        | 25.6       | 226        | 31.5       |
| 141        | 20.3       | 180        | 25.7       | 227        | 31.6       |
| 142        | 20.4       | 181        | 25.8       | 228        | 31.7       |
| 143        | 20.5       | 182        | 26.1       | 229        | 31.8       |
| 144        | 20.6       | 183        | 26.2       |            |            |
| 145        | 20.7       | 184        | 26.3       |            |            |
| 146        | 21.1       | 185        | 26.4       |            |            |

\*This line, restored by VG, did not exist.

## CONVENTIONS


The full forms of ,  and  are not distinguished from the abbreviated forms, as is standard practice; see 1.3.


Ligatures are not commented on unless the reading is uncertain.


 a line break, with the number of the following line above

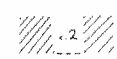
A blank space shows that the passage is not found in this manuscript.  
82 the manuscript contains an actual blank space, which is recorded in the notes.

 written in red ink

 an illegible sign

 an uncertain, but probable, reading

 a damaged area

 an extensive damaged area, with an indication of the estimated number of sign groups lost

Restorations are marked as hatched signs, and are given wherever legible traces are preserved; the preserved areas of the signs are left unhatched. If a trace is too slight to indicate thus, it is marked 'tr.'. Apart from the completion of half-preserved word groups, no restoration is made without supporting parallel. Where there is the possibility of a textual or orthographic variant against the preserved parallel of another manuscript, there is again no restoration, unless such a variant is found consistently elsewhere. Restorations are made within the text only where the arrangement of the signs is reasonably certain; other restorations are given in the notes.

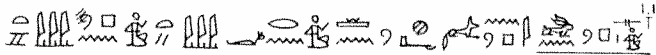
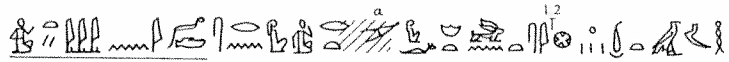



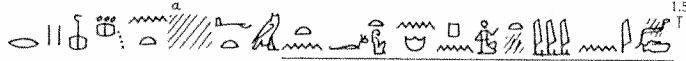
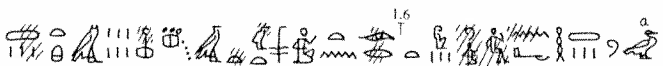

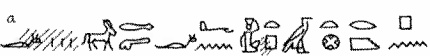
Facsimiles are provided when the reading is uncertain or has been disputed. Facsimiles of groups are approximately 1:1. They have been collated with photographs in VG and the copies in LD, which often preserve traces now lost. Collations are noted only where these sources are significant. Traces of illegibility are indicated by hatching.


Past readings are given wherever it is judged appropriate. Contrary opinions to those of Suys are not listed, as his errors are apparent from the facsimiles.


R 1.1-1.7  
(old: R 1-7)



R 1.1-1.7



# THE TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT




 R  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  





2.a Clear traces: 


4.a So G 1923:22. Contra VG pl.1a (). Cf. R 1.6.

5.a Clear traces:  Contra S:2-3\* (); G 1923:7 ('last harvest'); Lichtheim 1973:171 ('last year'); Hornung 1978:9 ('Ernte').

5.b Traces:  Cf. M.619 (Illahun). So BF:48. Contra S:2\* (), for which there is insufficient room.

6.a Traces:  Surface damaged. 'Traces suit neither *wn* nor *sp*' (G 1923:22). Perhaps restore ; contra S:2-3\* ().

7.a  Contra S:2\* (). His  is the end of the 'q-bird, distorted by break; cf. R 11.4).

8.a Traces:  So Sethe 1928a:18.2 n.a., BF:49. Contra V:29 ('*nh:f*'); G 1923:7 ('travel'; *šm=f*).

9.a In all mss the following list is arranged in vertical columns, with the determinatives in a subcolumn (VG pl.1; Griffith 1892 pl.1; fig.1). This format is retained here.

B1 1-4; R 2.1-2.4  
(old: Amherst 1; R 8-11)

|     |     |   |     |     |    |
|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|----|
| /// | --- | ? | --- | /// | B1 |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | Bt |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | R  |

|     |     |   |     |     |    |
|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|----|
| /// | --- | ? | --- | /// | B1 |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | Bt |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | R  |


|     |     |   |     |     |    |
|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|----|
| /// | --- | ? | --- | /// | B1 |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | Bt |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | R  |

|     |     |   |     |     |    |
|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|----|
| /// | --- | ? | --- | /// | B1 |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | Bt |
| /// |     |   |     | /// | R  |



5

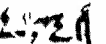


10






B1 1-4; R 2.1-2.4

2.a/3.a  set to right of main column.

5.a  See 6.a




6.a  So VG pl.1a, Contra G 1923:22 (). See Dévauchelle 1980.


8.a  The scribe started to write , then changed to .


11.a  Apparently more like  than , but tick above  is part of .


B1 5-8; R 2.5-3.2  
(old: Amherst 1; R 12-16)


|  |                                                                                  |                 |    |
|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----|
|  |                                                                                  | $\frac{5}{T}$   | B1 |
|  | $9 \wedge \text{shaded area} \beta \sigma^a \text{shaded area} \text{hair cell}$ | $\frac{5}{T}$   | Bt |
|  | $9 \beta \beta \sigma^a \text{shaded area} \text{hair cell}$                     | $\frac{2.5}{T}$ | R  |

|                                                                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
|  | B1 |
|  | Bt |
|  | R  |


B1
10


Bt


R


R

B1 5-8; R 2.5-3.2

2.a Traces:

aces:

The restorations of Edel 1970:7  
(Bt: 9 a [[77]], R: 9000 [[77]]) are  
impossible (contra Gomaà 1987:286-7).

3.a Traces:

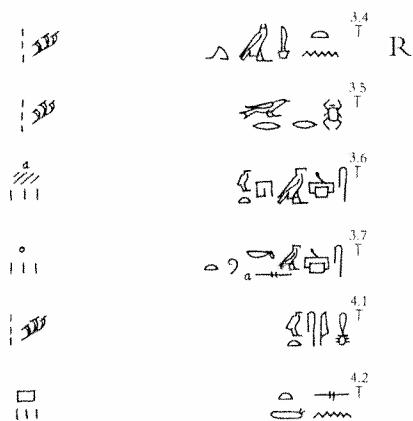
۱۳۳۳

See 2.a

13.a Faint traces:

✓ was written in the wrong place,  
then erased and rewritten.

B1 9-10; R 3.4-4.2  
(old: Amherst 1; R 17-23)



10

B1 9-10; R 3.4-4.2

1.a/4.a Identification of B1 and Bt 9-10 with items in the list of R is uncertain. Determinatives suggest that they correspond to R 3.3 ('nw) and 4.2 (snt), or 4.3 ('b[3]). Length of lacunae in B1 and Bt suit either alternative.

8.a Traces: } Perhaps .

9.a -- placed below line in darker ink: a later addition.



B1 11-13; R 4.3-5.1  
(old: Amherst 1; R 24-29)

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>4.3</sup>  R

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>4.4</sup> 

  ?  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>11</sup>  B1


  ?  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>11</sup>  Bt


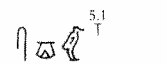
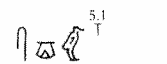

  ?  <sup>12</sup>  B1 5

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>12</sup>  Bt


  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>4.5</sup>  R

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>4.6</sup>  R



  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>4.7</sup> 

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>5.1</sup>  10

  ?  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>13</sup>  B1

  <sup>a</sup>  <sup>13</sup>  Bt

B1 11-13; R 4.3-5.1

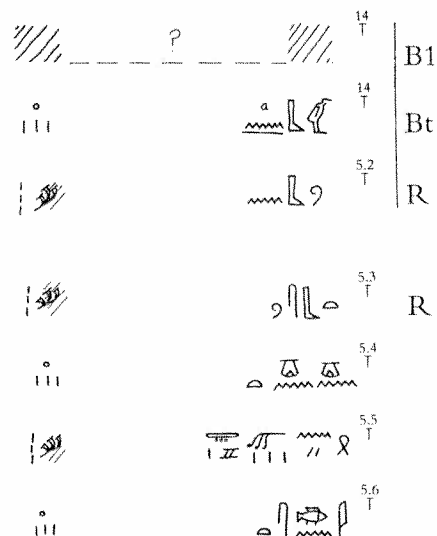
1.a Traces, which suit the reading  : 

3.a/4.a It is uncertain to which item in R these lacunae correspond. Although the determinative in Bt suggests *s3hwt* (R 3.6) or *s3kswt* (R 3.7), *jbs3* (R 4.4) is also possible (cf. determinatives for *jnbj* in Bt 12 and R 4.5).

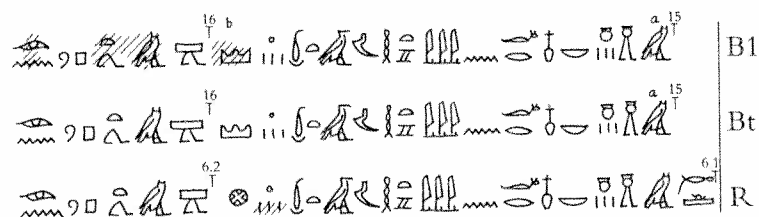
6.a See 2a.2.a. Second column of the list of goods begins here.

11.a See 2a.2.a. Second column of the list of goods begins here.  
This item may correspond with *tbsw* in R 5.3 - perhaps read *tb<s>w*.

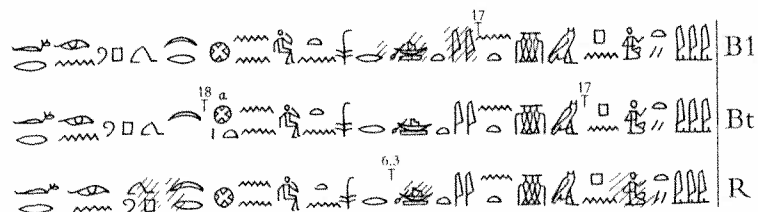
B1 14-17; R 5.2-6.3  
(old: Amherst 1-4; R 30-37)



5



10



B1 14-17; R 5.2-6.3

2.a Added in red, a later correction.

8.a B1 15-6 short, placed under final item of the second column of the list of goods.

8.b This shorter than B1 16, unless additional sign lost: unlikely.

9.a As in B1 (8.a). Writing cramped; Bt 15-6 longer at bottom than following lines, to accomodate same number of signs.

12.a Now no trace of the spacefiller/blot under group shown in Griffith 1892 pl.1.

B1 17-22; R 6.3-7.1  
(old: Amherst 4-9; R 37-42)

B1  
Bt  
R






B1  
Bt  
R

B1  
Bt  
R


B1 10  
Bt  
R

B1 17-22; R 6.3-7.1

1.a 

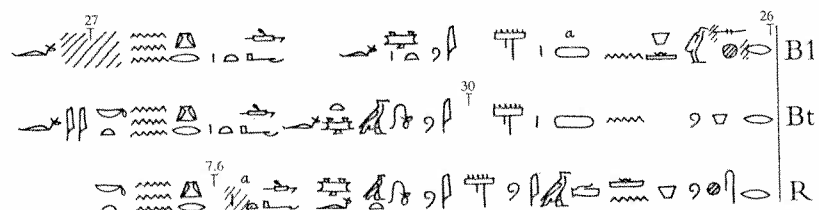
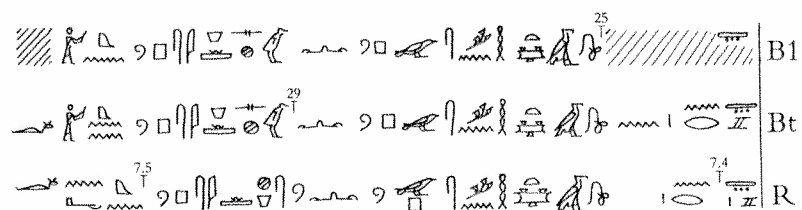
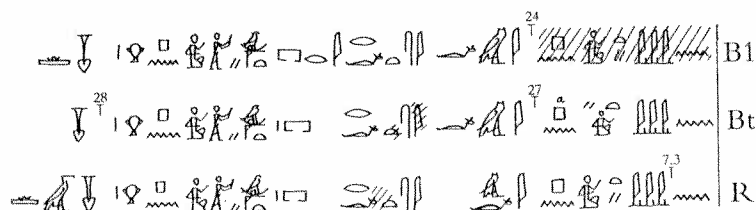
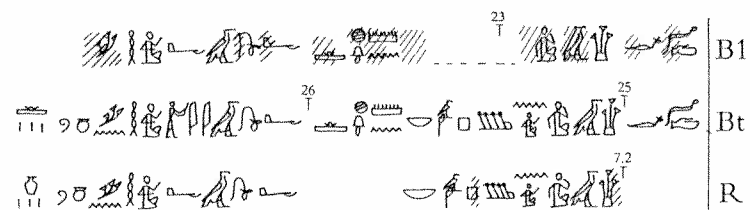
4.a In B1  is very similar to cursive . For this reading, see Berlev 1969; contra Schäfer 1902-3, VG pl.1a *et al.* (). Previous readings: Chabas 1863:6; Goodwin 1864:255; Griffith 1892:463, 466 (); Müller 1893, Newberry 1899:17 ().

5.a Reading certain; Gunn read  without ! (MS), but cf. Bt 18, 36.

5.b. Apparently corrected out of a .

8.a Written to left of line due to lack of space; added later.

B1 22-27; R 7.2-7.6  
(old: Amherst 9-14; R 43-47)



B1 22-27; R 7.2-7.6

5.a Cramped at bottom of long line.

10.a See Dévaud 1911; Blackman 1932:47a.2a; James 1962:94.

12.a w'r is cramped to avoid long line. | was once clearly visible (VG pl.1a).

5

10

B1 27-31; R 7.6-8.3  
(old: Amherst 14-18; R 47-51)


28  
B1  
Bt  
R

29  
B1  
Bt  
R

30  
B1  
Bt  
R



31  
B1  
Bt  
R

B1 B1 27-31; R 7.6-8.3




4.a So BF:53; contra Möller 1927b:13(  ).

4.b Clear traces:



So Möller 1927b:13. Contra Griffith 1892:464, Newberry 1899:17 (  ). Final sign unlike  .

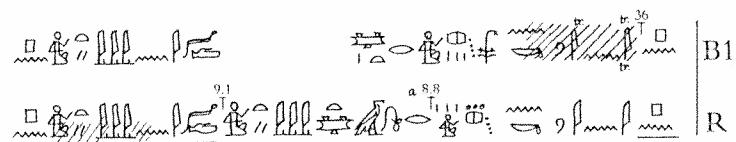
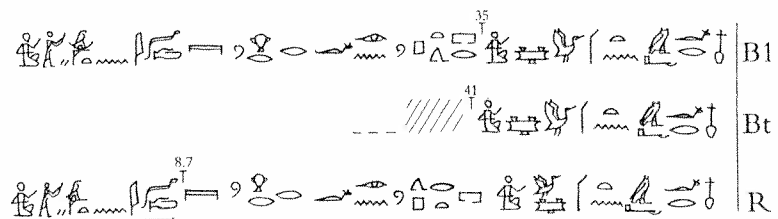
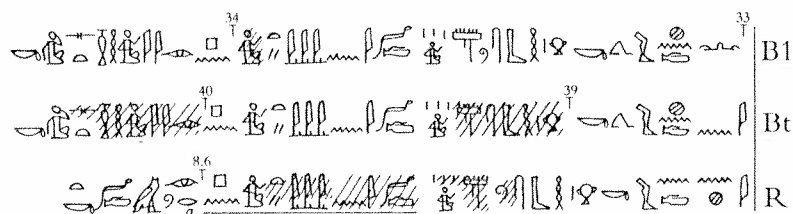
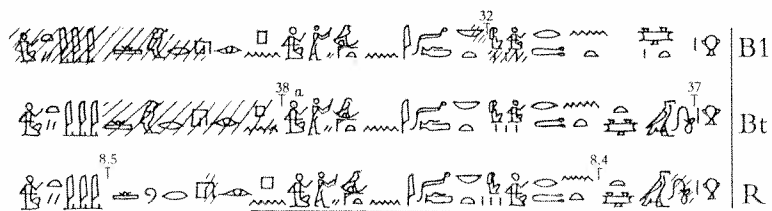
5.a

So Möller 1927b:13. Contra Griffith 1892:464 (  ); V:39, Sethe 1928a:19, S:5\*, BF:53 (  ). The reading  + a space-filler (cf. Bt 17; 6a.12.a) is also possible; see 4.b.

8.a Probably no loss.

10.a Exact placing of line division uncertain (so Möller 1927a:13-4).

B1 31-36; R 8.3-9.1  
(old: Amherst 18-B1 5; R 51-57)



B1 31-36; R 8.3-9.1

2.a Written to one side due to lack of space.

6.a Too large for  $\circ$  ?

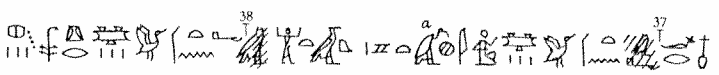
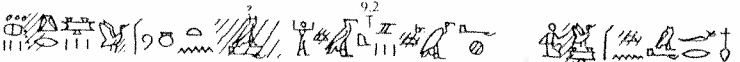
11.a R 8.8 is a vertical line, spaciouly written, allowing column 9 to start with a rubric.


.5


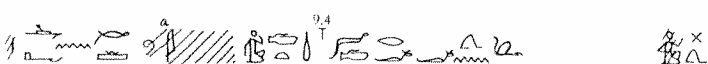
10



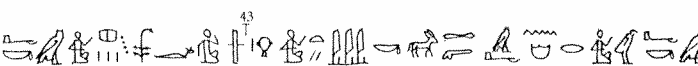

B1 36-44; R 9.1-9.7  
(old: B1 5-13; R 57-63)

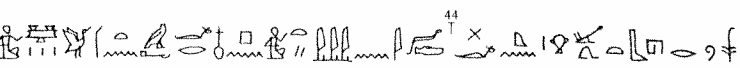
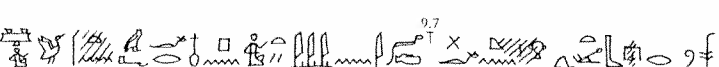
 | B1  
 | R

 | B1  
 | R

 | B1  
 | R


 | B1  
 | R

 | B1  
 | R




 | B1  
 | R

B1 36-44; R 9.1-9.7

1.a So Möller 1936:4 (Sinuhe 194); see also Smither 1939.

3.a So BF:54, G 1923:22. Large like .

5.a Written to one side, making B1 40 a short line.

6.a Traces:  The restoration  is impossible (VG pl.2a), and  practically certain.

5

10

B1 44-52; R 9.7-11.1  
(old: B1 13-21; R 63-71)

B1

R

B1

R

B1

R

5

B1

R

B1

R

10

B1

R

B1 44-52; R 9.7-11.1

1.a So Berlev 1966:8-9. Contra Wente 1965:105 *et al.* ().

1.b So Berlev 1966:8, 13, *passim*. Contra V:49, VG pl.5a (); S:6\* (); Wente 1965:106-7; for other earlier readings see Wente 1965:105. The is written to one side.

1.c Contra VG pl.5a, reading due to a tick.

2.a See 1.a

2.b So Berlev 1966:8, 13, *passim*. Contra V:49, VG pl.2a, S:7\* (); BF:55 (); Wente 1965:107 (); doubtful about . may derive from the related *ʕn'* (Wb. IV,504.5-505.13; Berlev 1966:23).


2.c See Wente 1965:107 n.34. Contra S:7\* (); Berlev 1966:8 (blot).

6.a Not ; cf. M.325.

8.a So BF:55. No trace of any following sign (i.e. ).

8.b Traces:

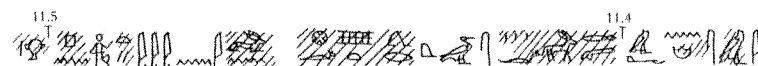
 B1


 R


 B1

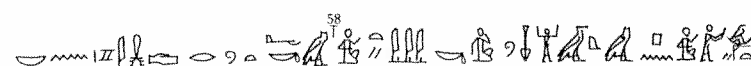
 R

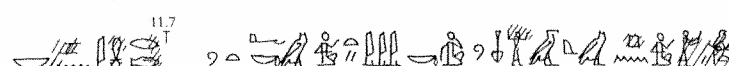
 B1

 R

 B1


 R

 B1

 R

 B1

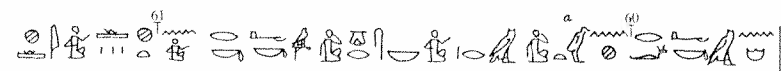
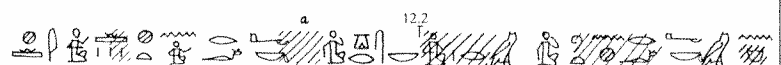
 R


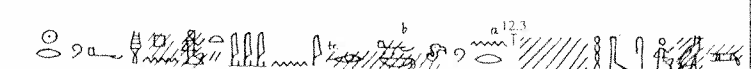
11.a Full writing, distinct from .

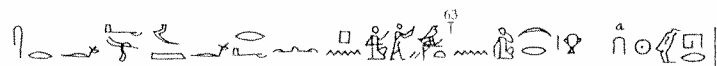

11.b Cramped at bottom of long line.

12.a Obscured by fibres from another sheet, inseparable in unrolling.


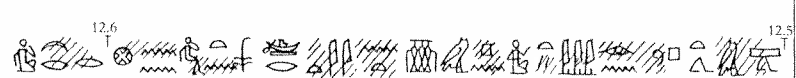
B1 59-67; R 12.1-13.1  
(old: B1 28-36; R 78-86)



 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

5

 B1  
 R


 B1  
 R


10


 B1  
 R

B1 59-67; R 12.1-13.1





1.a Ligature, with large  $\cap$ .

2.a Room to restore  as in 11.7.

3.a  So G 1923:22, BF:57, Miosi 1974:151. Contra VG pl.6a ( $\equiv$ ); M.659; B1 uses numbers with both horizontal and vertical strokes, but this is clearly not  $\supset$  as in B1 225.

4.a-b Traces: 

5.a  See 3.a.

6.a  Erroneous stroke distinct from  of the line above (R12.3). Perhaps read , or as dittography of .

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

B1 5  
 R

B1  
 R

B1  
 R 10

B1  
 R

4.a Traces:

4.b For restoration cf. R 13.3.

8.a at end of R 13.3 is faint (though not purposely deleted).  
The size of the lacuna at start of R 13.4 suggests a dittography of is to be restored there.

9.a The orthography of *srw* with often formed as if , is peculiar to the scribe of B1 and P Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*: B 184); see Dévaud 1924: no.13. It arises from the similarity of and in hieratic (cf. B1 163, 327, 328, 332).

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

B1  
 R

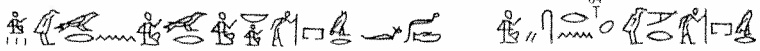
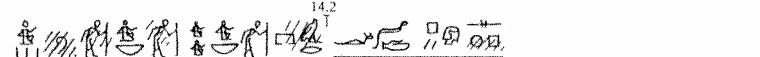
2.a So Gunn (BF), BF:58. Contra VG pl.3a *et al.* ().


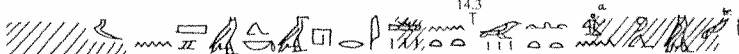
4.a Traces: suit but not . Restore , rather than (BF:58).

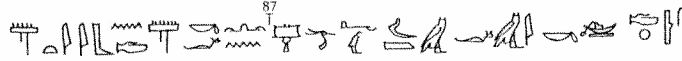
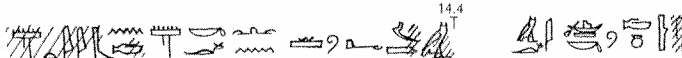
8.a Restore , for which just enough room.



5

10

 B1  
 R



 B1  
 R


 B1  
 R



 B1  
 R



 B1  
 R





 B1  
 R

4.a Traces:  Contra BF:59 (  ); restoration suits space.


7.a  See G 1923:22.

8.a No trace of  above  ; restoration suits space.

9.a  Contra S:9\*, who read thus but commented: 'pour  '. See 10.a.

10.a  See Westendorf 1977:505-6. Contra VG pl.3a (  ); V:65 (  ); S:9\*, BF:60 (  ).


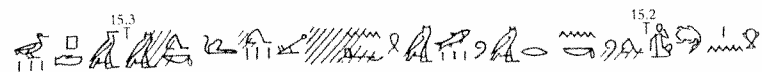
12.a Short line.



12.b So VG pl.3a, Posener 1955:93 n.2. Contra V:65, G 1916:99 (  ).

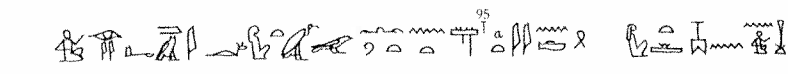
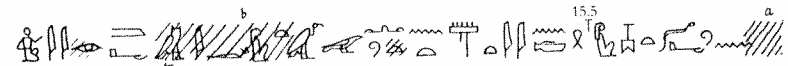
12.c Traces: 

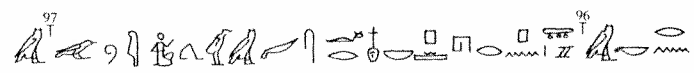
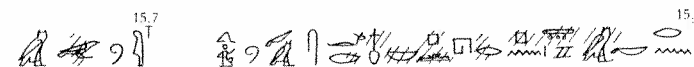
5

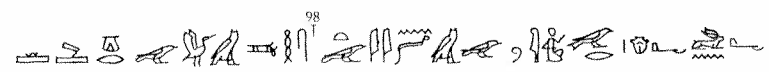
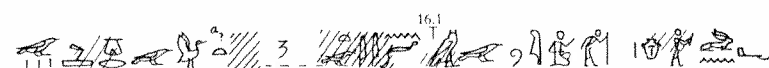
10

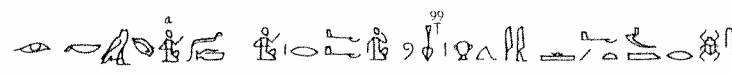
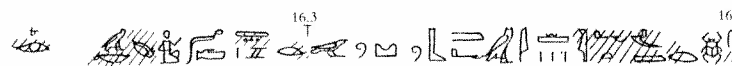
 B1  
 R







 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R


 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

1.a Omission of  perhaps due to lack of space at line end.3.a So Grapow 1913:743, G 1923:22; contra VG pl.7a (  ?).4.a/6.a Traces: (fibres realigned). Restoration  
uncertain:  or  (B 1,57)?5.a  to one side.

6.b So B 1,57.

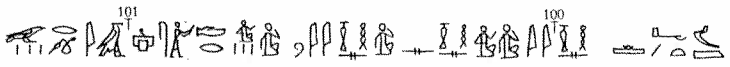

10.a Traces: 

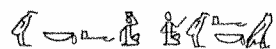
11.a Added later.

5

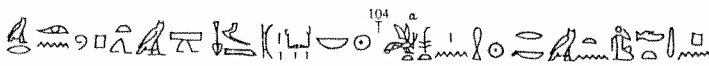
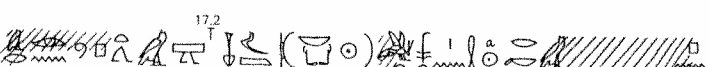
10

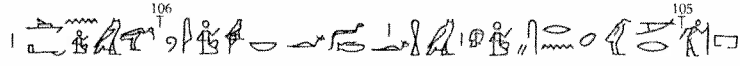



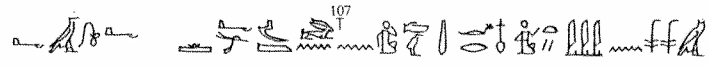
 B1  
 R


 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

4.a Just space to restore  (so BF:61; contra S:28 [hr]).

6.a Very faint.

6.b Traces:  . Contra B 1,61 ().

7.a Written as a single horizontal group, wider than the line.

8.a Obscured by sign from unrelated fibres inseparable in unrolling.

5

10

B1 107-113; R 17.4-18.4  
(old: B1 76-82; R 121-128)

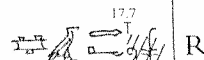
 B1

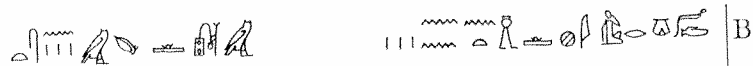
 R

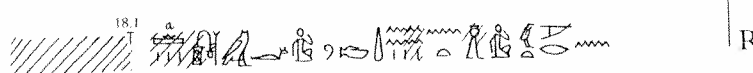
 B1

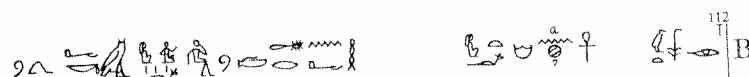
 R

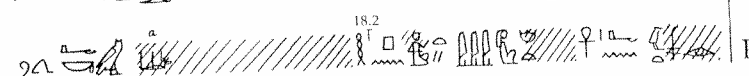
 B1

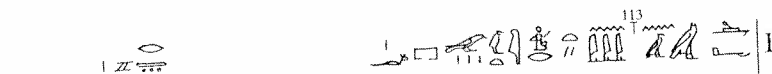
 R

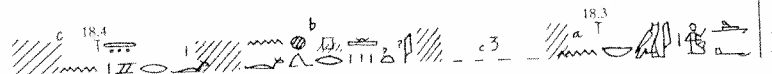
 B1

 R

 B1

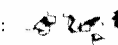
 R


 B1


 R





B1 107-113; R 17.4-18.4



1.a Short vertical line, inset into a column of horizontal lines.  
B1 109-45 is written in columns of horizontal lines.


4.a Traces: 

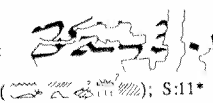

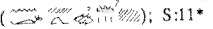

8.a Traces: 


8.b Traces of a stroke under .

9.a  Contra VG pl.7a (  'sehr kursiv'; for 'nht see Faulkner 1964:31). Cf. B1 113; VG's  may be merely a tick at the end of the ligature, or to be read  (cf. M.xviii n.1).

10.a Traces:  Cf. R 18.7; space to restore 

12.a Traces: 

12.b Uncertain traces:  Contra VG pl.4a (  ); VG pl.4 bis a (  ); S:11\* (  ).

12.c Traces: 

114  
B1  
18.5  
a 4-5  
R

115  
B1  
18.6  
R

18.7  
R

116  
B1

117



B1  
19.2  
19.1  
R



118  
B1  
19.3  
R




B1  
19.5  
19.4  
R



2.a Traces:


2.b Traces:

3.a  apparently with extra stroke, as if . As in B1 118.







3.b The two  s are run together into a single stroke. Contra VG pl.7a ().




5.a Traces:  Restore , followed by  with a long line (so S:11\*).

6.a  See 14a.3.a. So G 1923:22-3, BF:64, which is supported by the context. Contra VG pl.7a, S:10\* ().

7.a  So BF:63. Contra S:10\*.

10.a See 3.a

10.b  So BF:63 (cf. Blackman 1934:218, reading ); for this orthography see Fischer 1968:94. Contra VG pl.7a (); G 1923:23 (); Sethe 1928a:23.14-5 (); S:10\* ().

11.a  Contra VG pl.4 bis a, Blackman 1934:218 (); S:11\* (). Cf. M.695, 709, James 1962: Pal.15.

13.a For restoration cf. R 19.2.

B1 119-123; R 19.5-20.7  
(old: B1 88-92; R 136-145)

R

B1

R

B1

R

5

B1

R

B1

R

B1

R

10

B1

R

B1 119-123; R 19.5-20.7

1.a Restore with numeral, perhaps '10' (for the ratio of bread to beer see *Sīdā* 1.314, P Westcar 7.1-2).

1.b Contra G 1923:22 ().

3.a Restoration necessary unless line short (cf. R 19.7).

3.b Short line (unless is to be restored: unlikely).

3.c The exact restoration is uncertain. Number of groups lost uncertain  
- all but a full line.

5.a To judge by other rubrics and following traces, this lacuna is longer than as now mounted and as shown in VG pl.4 bis. Fragment I should be some 2 cm further left; R 20.5, 20.6 were probably shorter lines than R 20.1.

5.b Illegible traces:

VG pl.4 bisa suggests , which is just possible. is presumably to be restored between end of traces copied here and .





























9.a Traces: Perhaps read .

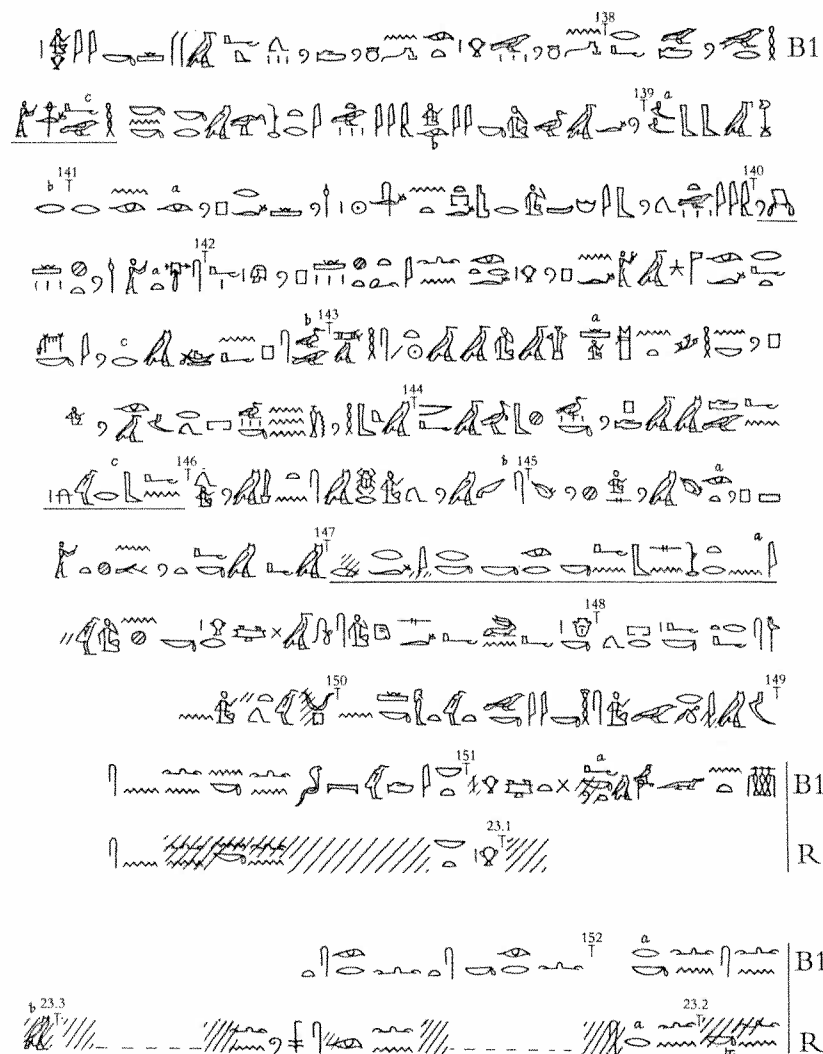
10.a B1 121 is a half line, ending column.





































11.a Traces: Restore .

13.a Unidentifiable traces at end of 20.7:  
Perhaps of *nwdw* (= B1 123)?

<sup>124</sup>  
 B1  
<sup>125</sup>  
<sup>126</sup>  
<sup>127</sup>  
<sup>128</sup>  
<sup>129</sup>  
<sup>130</sup>  
<sup>131</sup>  
<sup>132</sup>  
<sup>133</sup>  
<sup>134</sup>  
<sup>135</sup>  
<sup>136</sup>  
<sup>137</sup>

- 1.a  So VG pl.8a, BF:64. Contra S:10\* (  ).
- 5.a  So G 1923:23, BF:64, S:11\* (cf. P Edwin Smith 2.1).  
Contra VG pl.8a (  ). Cf. 28a.9.b.
- 5.b Large but certain. 5.c See M.145; G 1923:23; cf. 29a.5.a.
- 6.a  So G 1923:23 (for *with*); BF:64. Contra VG pl.8a (  ; cf. Grapow 1913:744-5); S:10\* (  ).
- 7.a  Contra G 1923:23, BF:64 (  ); S:10\* (  ).  
Elsewhere in B1 *it* is invariably determined with *u*.
- 7.b  So VG pl.8a *et al.*
- 8.a  Contra S:12\* (  ; see S:48).
- 8.b  So G 1923:23, BF:64. Contra VG pl.8a (  ).
- 9.a  Contra S:12\* (  ; see S:48).
- 10.a  So G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.8a (  +  ); S:12\* (  +  ).
- 10.b  So G 1923:23, BF:64. Contra VG pl.8a, S:12\* (  ).
- 10.c  So G 1923:23 'probably no importance is to be attached to the unusual form'. Contra VG pl.8a (  ); S:12\* (  ; see Blackman 1934:218).
- 11.a  first written at level of top of *β* and then obliterated.



- 2.a  So BF:65; see G 1923:23, 11 n.8. Contra VG pl.8a (  ); S:12\* (  ).
- 2.b  Contra VG pl.8a *et al.* (  ); cf.  in B1 209. Cursive, but certain.
- 2.c  So Gunn 1921:102, G 1923:23, BF:65 (for *hw*). Contra V:97 (  ); S:12\* (  ).
- 3.a Faint  under  intentionally erased.
- 3.b  Contra S:12\* (  ). 4.a  So BF:65; very like a .
- 5.a  So BF:65. Contra VG pl.8a *et al.* (  ).
- 5.b  corrected over a faint , intentionally erased.
- 5.c  So G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.8a, S:12\* (  ).
- 7.a  So VG pl.8a *et al.* 7.b Short line ending column. B1 146-52 are vertical lines.
- 7.c So VG pl.9a, G 1923:23, noting 'the supposed *r* more like *d*'. Contra BF:65 (  ); S:12-3\* (  ); his division of  and  is due to damaged fibres).
- 8.a Contra VG pl.9a (  ); G 1923:23, BF:65 (  ); S:12-3\* (  ).
- 11.a So G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.9a, S:12\* (  ).
- 13.a  So BF:65, G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.9a, S:12\* (  ).
- 14.a Traces of  were once visible, but lost by 1936 (B 1.83).
- 14.b Traces:  The top trace is , from the end of R 22.3. Read perhaps  (=B1 147).



B1  
R




B1  
R

B1  
R

B1  
R



B1  
R


B1  
R



1.a Traces:  So Dévaud (Grapow 1913:745-6), doubted by G 1923:23; cf. B1 156. Contra VG pl.9a (); S:12\* ().

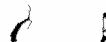
1.b B1 153-217 written in columns of horizontal lines.







2.a Traces:  may be .








2.b Traces:  For full form of  in R cf. R 5.1, R 13.10.


2.c Traces: 



3.a  Palimpsest traces above .

4.a Traces: 

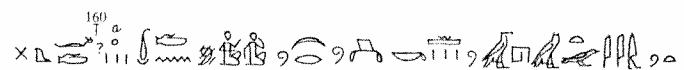

5.a  So G 1923:23, BF:85. Contra VG pl.9a (); S:12\* ().  apparently corrected, from a high  or .


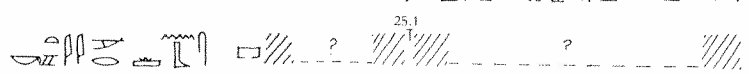
9.a B1 156-7 is obscure:  
V:115 read   
VG pl.9a  Palimpsest  
G 1923:23 , noting that 'w has been corrupted into a form resembling '; S:14\* . Dévaud read as *jht-nbt* (Grapow 1913:746), but unlikely. Perhaps read  .

10.a Traces: 

11.a  So VG pl.9a, BF:66. Contra S:14\* (.


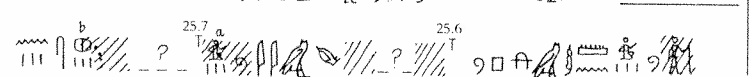
B1 159-166; R 24.5-26.1  
(old: B1 128-135; R 171-182)

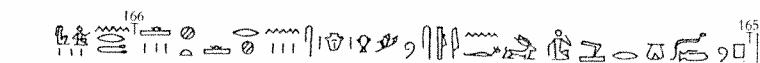
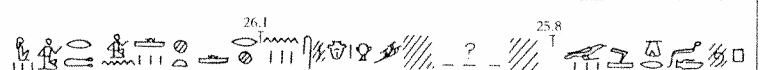
 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R



 B1  
 R

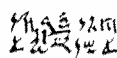
 B1  
 R




 B1  
 R


 B1  
 R


B1 159-166; R 24.5-26.1




1.a  So G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.9a, S:14\* (  ).

3.a-b Placed thus:  S:14-5\* reads with B1 159 (*m h3w ntj jm=k*), groundlessly.

3.c   was written near top of line, then rewritten, more cursively, lower down. Contra BF:67 *et al.* (  ).

7.a  So G 1923:23, traces of an erasure or palimpsest above.

10.a Traces of an erased sign (or palimpsest ?) after  .

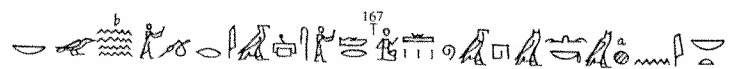

10.b  So VG pl.4a, BF:67; not  or  .


5

10






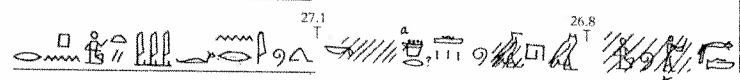
B1 166-173; R 26.1-27.3  
(old: B1 135-142; R 182-192)

 B1  
 R

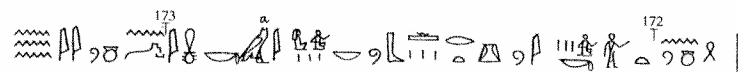
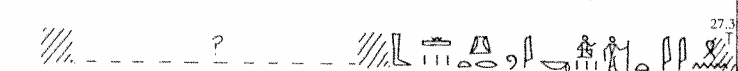
 B1

<sup>a</sup>  R


 B1  
 R



 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R


B1 166-173; R 26.1-27.3

1.a  Contra VG pl.9a (○).


1.b  Contra S:14\* (𐎶); palimpsest traces above .


2.a The line endings of column 26 are all fragmentary; any further lost signs here unlikely.


3.a Nothing lost (G 1923:23)

3.b  Contra S:14\* (𐎶𐎶𐎶).

4.a Probably nothing lost; one group at most.

8.a Traces: 

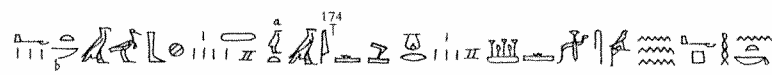

10.a Traces: 


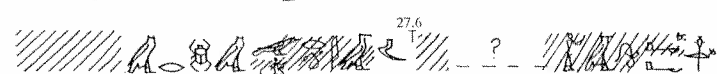
11.a  So G 1923:23, BF:68. Contra VG pl.9a (𐎶).

5

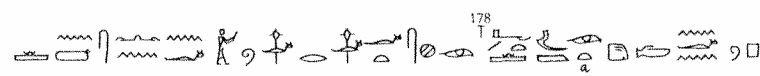

10

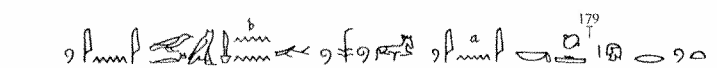
B1 173-185; R 27.4-27.8  
(old: B1 142-154; R 193-197)

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

 B1  
 R

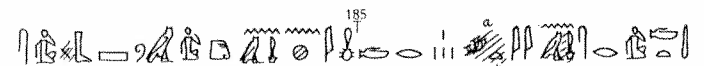
 B1  
 R

 B1



 B1




 B1

 B1



 B1


B1 173-185; R 27.4-27.8



1.a  So V:124, Gilula 1978:129. Contra G 1923:23, S:14\*, BF:68 ().




1.b  So BF:68; cf. 33a.13.a, 38a.7.b, 38a.8.b, 40a.5.a, 40a.6.a, M.466. 'Certainly not the ordinary ; it looks more like ' (G 1923:23).




2.a Traces: 



7.a  So G 1923:23. Contra VG pl.10a ().



8.a Traces: 



8.b  So BF:68. Contra VG pl.4a ().



9.a  A short , written over a : a correction or, more probably, palimpsest.

9.b  Contra V:128, VG pl.10a, S:14\* (); resemblance to  is due to surface. Cf. 23a.5.a.

10.a  So BF:68. Contra VG pl.10a *et al.* ().

10.b  No trace of tick; emend to .

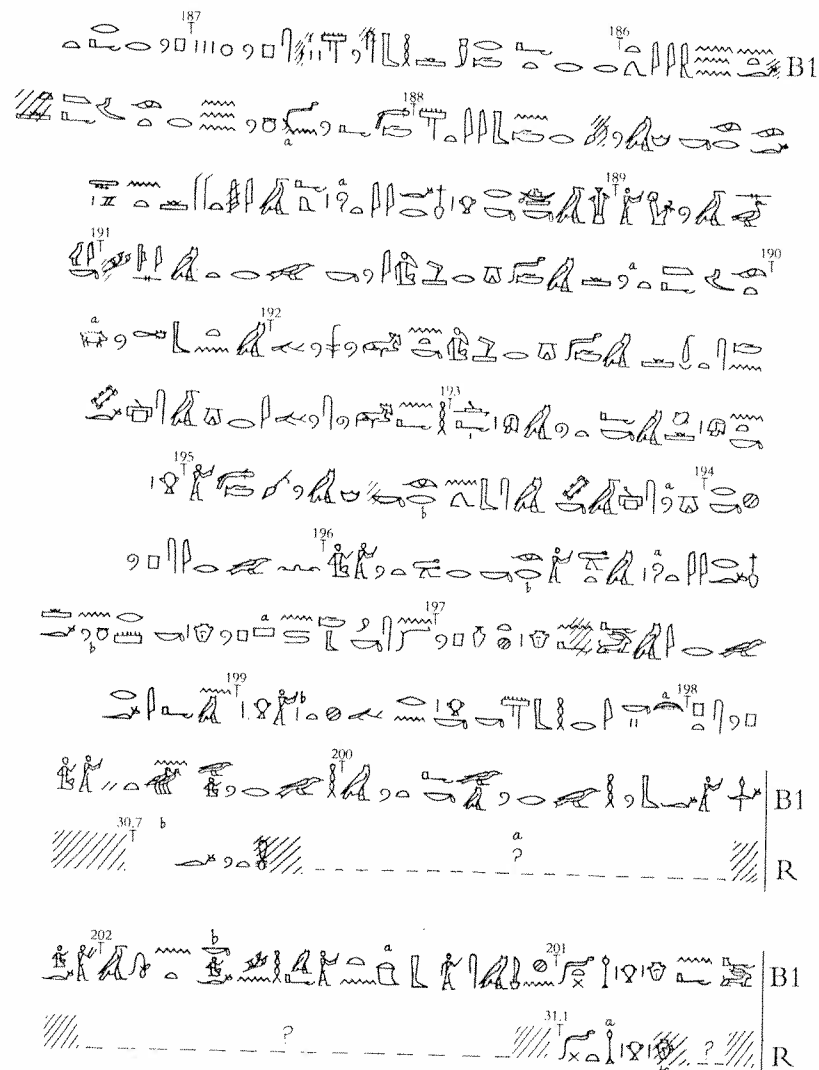
11.a  So G 1923:23. Contra Gunn (BF: ).

13.a Traces:  So BF:69. Contra S:16-7\* ().

5

10

B1 185-202; R 30.6-31.1  
(old: B1 154-171; R 219-222)





5

10

B1 185-202; R 30.6-31.1

2.a Apparently a stroke thus.

3.a  So BF:69; alternative suggestion of VG pl.10a (⌘) is unlikely.

4.a  So G 1923:23, BF:69. Contra V:133 (⌘); VG pl.10a (⌘).


5.a See 23a.5.c.


7.a Or perhaps an erroneous ⌘ ?

7.b Small, like ⌘.

8.a See 3.a.


8.b See 7.b.

9.a 


9.b  'Ob nicht eher ⌘ ?' (VG pl.11a, comparing ⌘ in B1 233). Resemblance to ⌘ may be due to being written over a palimpsest trace.


10.a  Or ⌘ ?

10.b The | is distinct from ⌘ in line above (contra B 1,100).

12.a Traces:  The end of R 30.4 may read ⌘ (=B1 199), and R 30.5 ⌘ (=B1 199).

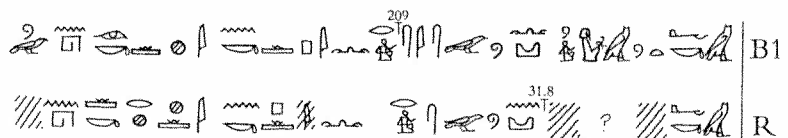
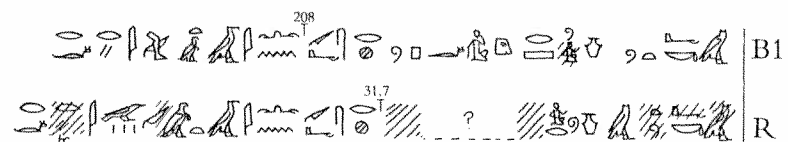
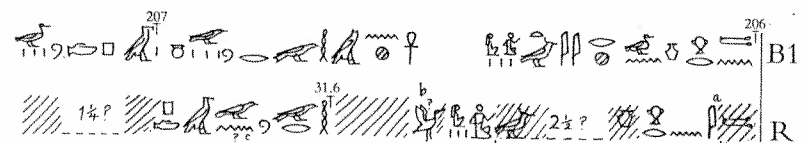
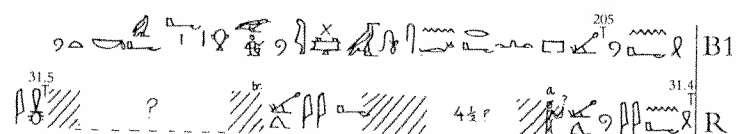
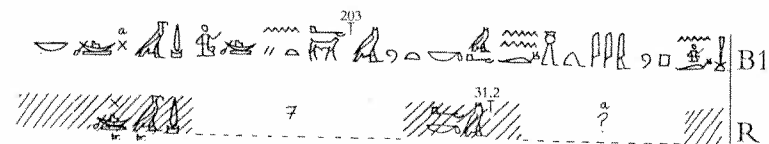
12.b Probably nothing lost.

13.a  So BF:69; cf. Faulkner 1956:25 n.113a-b. Contra V:139 (⌘) S:16\* (⌘); cf. Blackman 1934:219).

13.b  Contra S:16\* (⌘); cf. Blackman 1934:219).

14.a So BF:69; cf. M.447 (Bulaq 18). Contra VG pl.4 bis a et al. (⌘).

B1 202-209; R 31.1-31.8  
(old: B1 171-178; R 222-229)



B1 202-209; R 31.1-31.8

1.a x added later, overlapping .

2.a Size of these lacunae uncertain; R 30.7-8 suggest that they are larger than as shown in VG pl.4 bis.

3.a So BF:70. Contra VG pl.11a *et al.* ().

6.a Traces: Contra VG pl.4a bis ().  
Following traces: .

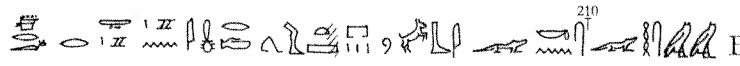


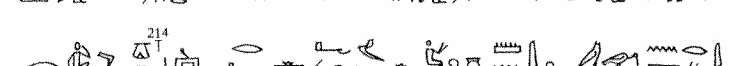

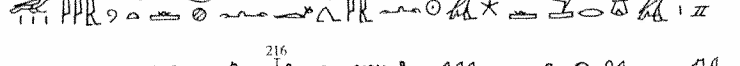
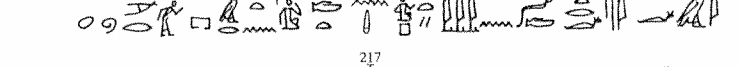
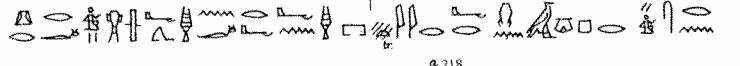
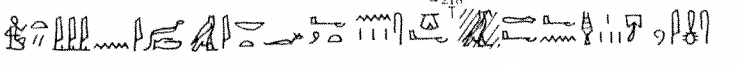
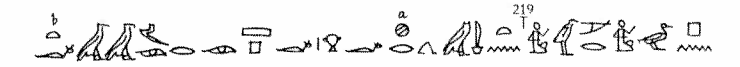
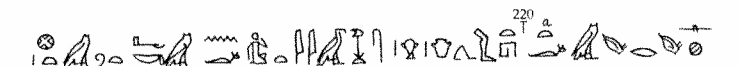


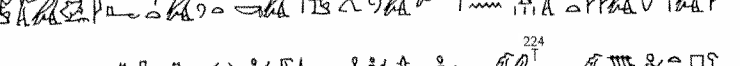
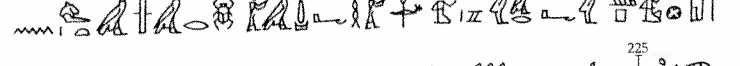

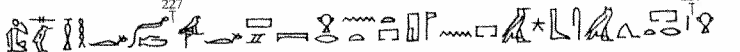
8.a Traces: .




8.b Traces: .

8.c So BF:70, VG pl.4 bis a. Or ?


5


10

 B1  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  



3.a  So VG pl.11a, S:16\*, B II,3. Contra G 1923:23 ('hardly be  or  ', misled by blot above).


8.a B1 218-87 are vertical lines.

9.a Contra Sethe 1928a:23 1.20 n.1 (; cf. Sethe 1927:30).

9.b Large, like .

10.a See 9.b.

12.a 

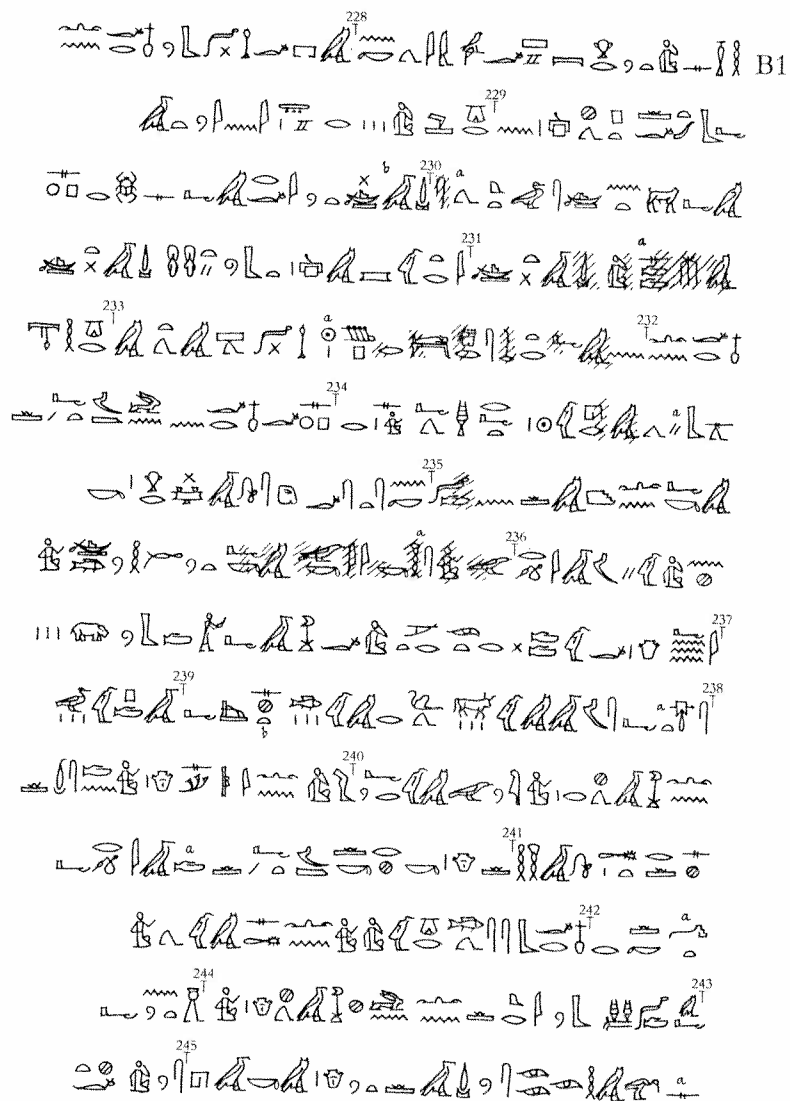
12.b 

5

10

15

B1 227-245  
(old: B1 196-214)



5

10

15

B1 227-245



3.a Traces:



So VG pl.12a, BF:71. No indication that it is palimpsest (contra G 1923:23).

3.b Written



, with traces of a  under , later erased.

4.a Traces:



So BF:71, G 1923:23.  
Contra V:155, VG pl.12a (A1 B1 142);  
S:18-9\* (A1 B1 142).

5.a So VG pl.12a, very cursive.

6.a





So VG pl.12a, BF:71. Contra S:18\* (9).

8.a Reading certain.

10.a



So BF:72. Contra VG pl.12a. A tick is part of  in B1 259, 270 (although not in B1 142); here right tick is merged with broad lower stroke.

10.b Large like .

12.a Contra S:20-1\* (A1 B1 142).

13.a

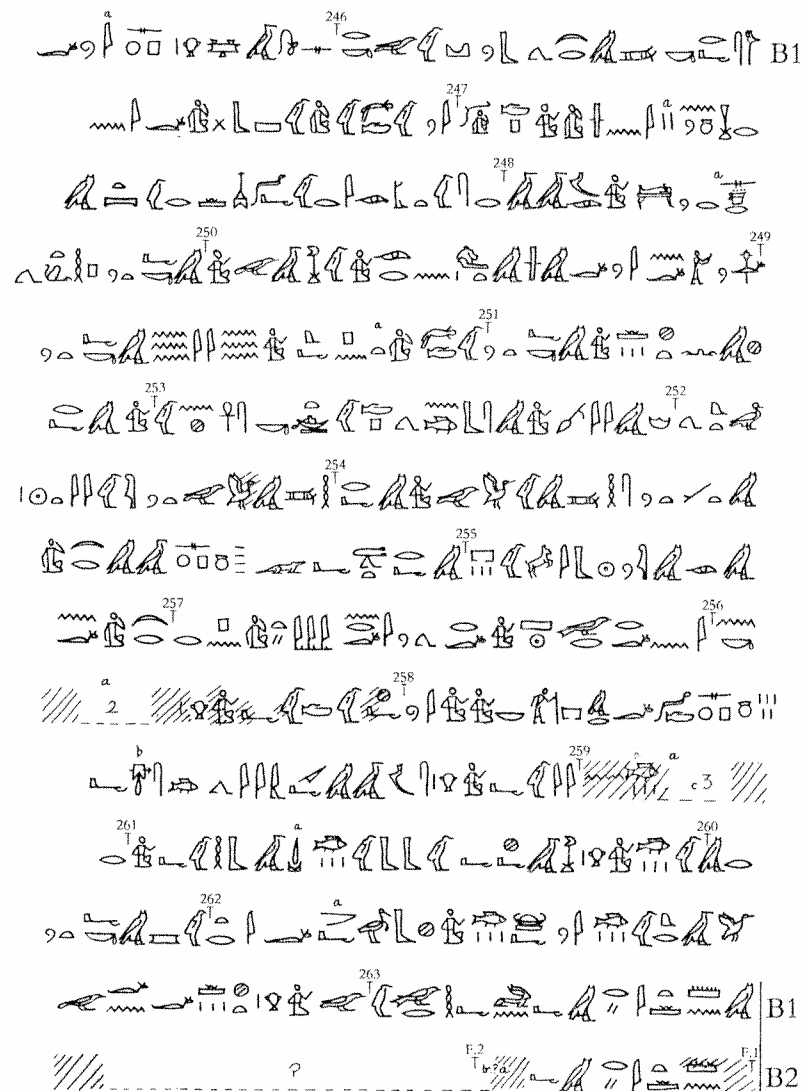










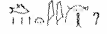







So V:160, BF:72. Contra S:20\* (A1 B1 142).

15.a



Contra S:20\* (A1 B1 142).



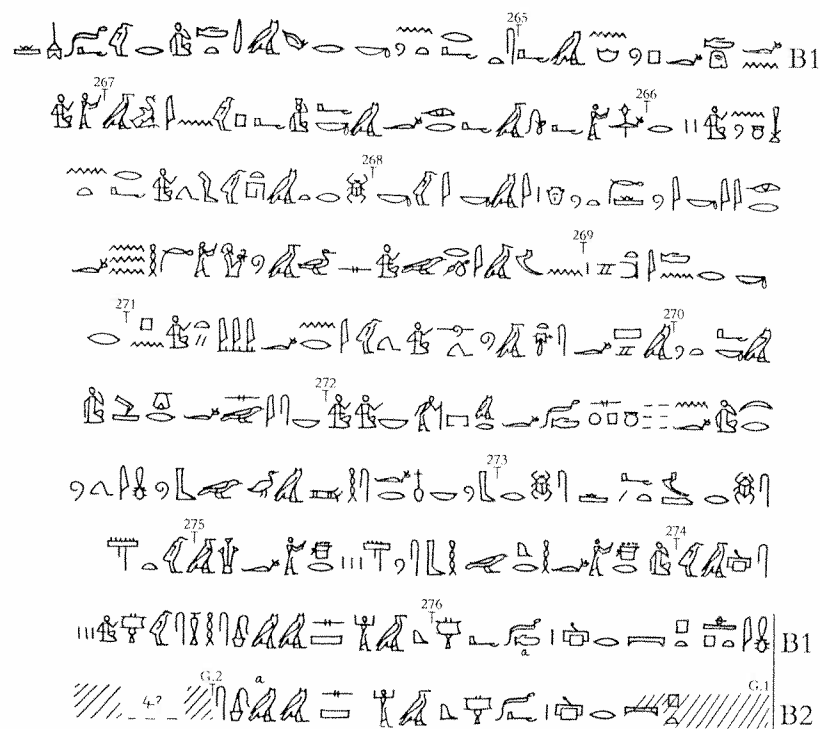
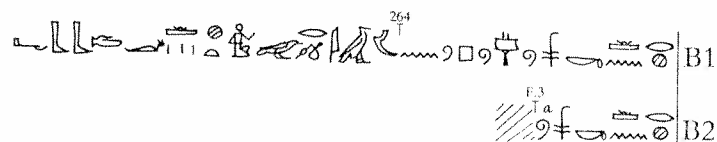
- 1.a  So VG pl.12a *et al.* Contra S:20\* (; cf. 25a.11a).
- 2.a  So VG pl.12a *et al.* Contra S:20\* (; cf. B1 265).
- 3.a  The ligature  is treated as if .
- 5.a Placed after  due to lack of space.
- 10.a Previous traces are certain. Following traces much clearer in LD VI,109.
- 11.a Illegible traces:  
Perhaps restore ?
- 11.b  Contra VG pl.13a, S:20\*, BF:72 ().
- 12.a  Contra S:20\* (.
- 13.a  So M.466, BF:72; see 28a.1.b, 38a.7.b, 38a.8.b, 40a.5.a, 40a.6.a.
- 15.a Traces?  Perhaps of another group before line end ()?

5

10

15

B1 263-278; B2 F.2-3, G.1-3  
(old: B1 232-247)



5


10


B1 263-278; B2 F.2-3, G.1-3

2.a Certainly the end of a line (see fig. 5).

11.a So G 1923:24, S:22\*, BF:73; not < (suggested by VG pl.13a).

12.a See fig.5. *As* cramped, and *l* written to left, to avoid line end. Number of groups lost based on comparison with B2 1.

13.a  (fibres misaligned as mounted).

14.a Traces level with  :





B1 278-288; B2 1-9  
(old: B1 247-257)

280  
B1  
B2

282  
B1  
B2

283  
B1  
B2

284  
B1  
B2

286  
B1  
B2

287  
B1  
B2

B1 278-288; B2 1-9

2.a Traces:

3.a Traces of a  $\circ$  to the left between  $\circ$  and  $\circ$ , either palimpsest or a correction.

4.a Traces:

5.a So VG pl.14a *et al.*  
Contra S:22\* (  $\circ$   $\circ$  ).

5.b So VG pl.14a *et al.*  
Contra S:22\* (  $\circ$   $\circ$  ).

6.a Traces:

6.b So VG pl.18a; see 5.a.

6.c So VG pl.18a; see 5.b.

6.d Possibly room for another sign (so BF:74), but doubtful.

8.a Traces:

11.a Beginning of verso. B1 288-335 written in columns of horizontal lines.

B1 288-294; B2 9-17  
(old: B1 257-263)

<sup>289</sup>  
a B1  
b B2

<sup>290</sup>  
 B1  
 B2

<sup>291</sup>  
 B1  
 B2

<sup>292</sup>  
 B1  
 B2

<sup>293</sup>  
 B1  
 B2

<sup>294</sup>  
 B1  
 B2

B1 288-294; B2 9-17

1.a So G 1923:24 ('the det.s of *jwsu* in [B1 333, 354] are somewhat similar'). Contra VG pl.14a (suggesting ); S:22\* ().

2.a Traces: So G 1923:24 ('no trace of but a small horizontal sign (?) after '), BF:74. Contra VG pl.18a (). Palimpsest traces also present.

2.b See 1.a.

3.a So G 1923:24, BF:174. Contra S:22\* (); S:157 ().

4.a Traces: (collated with LD VI,113), apparently wiped away. Contra VG pl.18a, BF:74 (); cf. G 1923:24).

7.a A stroke joining and .

9.a So VG pl.14a, BF:75 *et al.* 'C[oul]d be (B II,22). Contra Faulkner 1962:296 ().

9.b Or ?

10.a So VG pl.18a, BF:75 *et al.*; see 9.a.

B1 294-301; B2 17-25  
(old: B1 263-270)

<sup>295</sup>  
B1  
<sup>19</sup>  
B2

<sup>296</sup>  
B1  
<sup>20</sup>  
B2

<sup>297</sup>  
B1  
<sup>21</sup>  
B2




<sup>298</sup>  
B1  
<sup>23</sup>  
B2



<sup>300</sup>  
B1  
<sup>24</sup>  
B2

<sup>301</sup>  
B1  
<sup>25</sup>  
B2


B1 294-301; B2 17-25

1.a 'Long like ~~~~.

5.a  So G 1923:24; cf.  in B1 220. Contra VG pl.14a (  ).  
Short line ending column.

6.a Traces:  Contra VG pl.18a (  ); unread in G 1923:4 *et al.* Cf. B2 25.

9.a Widely spaced, with ~~~~ near the top of the line, perhaps to avoid damaged surface.

10.a Traces:  (collated with LD VI,113).

12.a Blot to right of group.

12.b Written  to avoid long line.

5

10

B1 301-307; B2 26-34  
(old: B1 270-276)

B1  
B2

B1  
B2

B1  
B2

B1  
B2

B1  
B2

B1  
B2

5

10

B1 301-307; B2 26-34

1.a Clearly thus; no palimpsest.

3.a corrected over ?

7.a After this line two lines were written (=B1 310-2), then erased, leaving a short column (see fig.4).

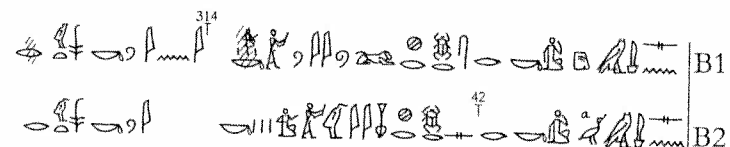
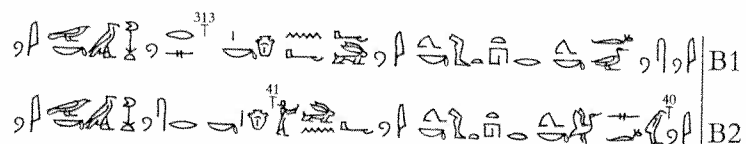
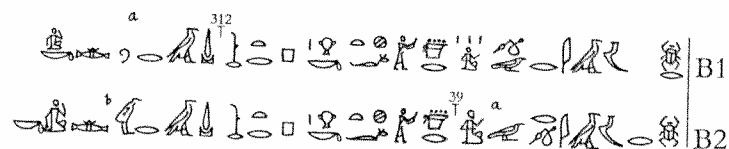
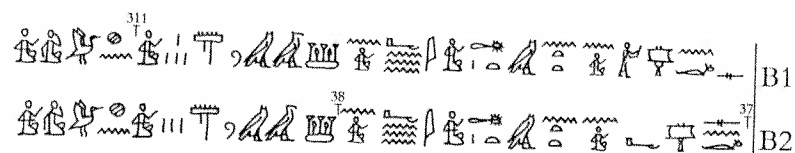
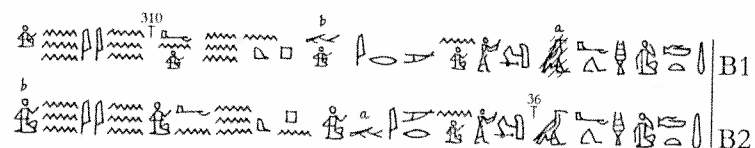
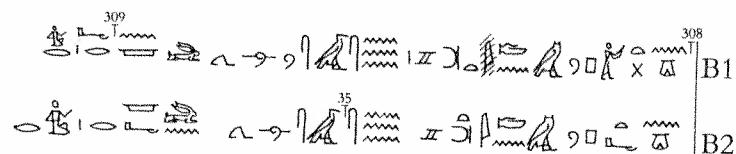
7.b So VG pl.15a, BF:76; cf. 28a.1.b, 33a.13.a, 38a.8.b, 40a.5.a, 40a.6.a.

8.a So BF:76. Contra VG pl.19a ( ).

8.b So BF:76; see 7.b.

11.a Traces:

B1 308-314; B2 34-42  
(old: B1 277-28)



5

10

B1 308-314; B2 34-42

3.a Traces: So VG pl.15a, BF:76. Contra S:24\* ( ).

3.b See 36a.1.a. So BF:76. Contra S:24\* ( ).

4.a See 36a.2.b. So BF:76. Contra S:25\* ( ).

4.b Written to one side to avoid long line/edge.

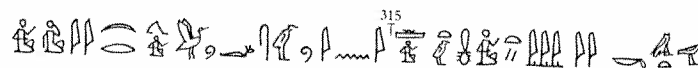
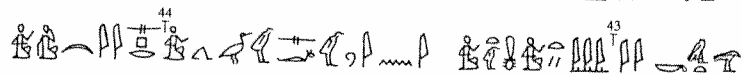
7.a So VG pl.15a et al. Contra S:24\* ( ).

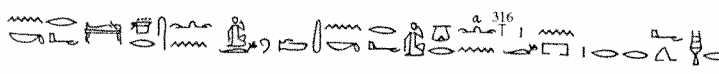

8.a Written . So G 1923:24 (contra VG pl.15a, adding |||).

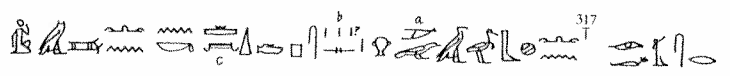
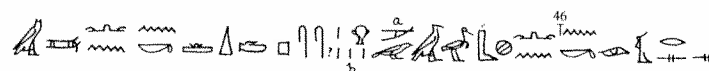
8.b So VG pl.19a; see 7.a.

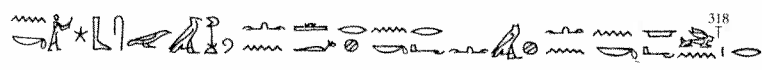
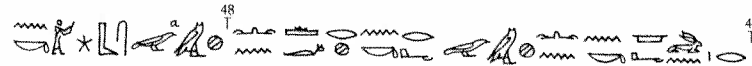
12.a So G 1923:24, BF:77. Contra S:25\* ( ).



B1 314-321; B2 42-51  
(old: B1 283-290)

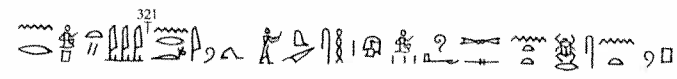
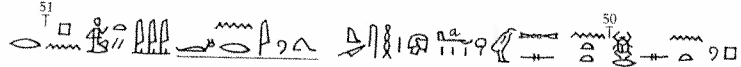
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 B2

 B1  
 B2

 B1  
 B2

 B1  
 B2


 B1  
 B2

 B1  
 B2

5

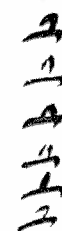
10


B1 314-321; B2 42-51

3.a So VG pl.15a *et al.* Contra S:24\* (  ), who reads thus in following lines in B1 and B2. The signs are:



B1:


B2:






5.a  So BF:77; see 28a.1.b, 33a.13.a, 38a.7.b, 38a.8.b, 40a.6.a.

5.b  Or ?



5.c  Unread in BF:77 *et al.* So Gunn (BF) 'from some confusion w[ith] *pa* "sharpen"?''. Contra S:24-5\* (  'un oeil blanc').

6.a  So BF:77; see 5.a.

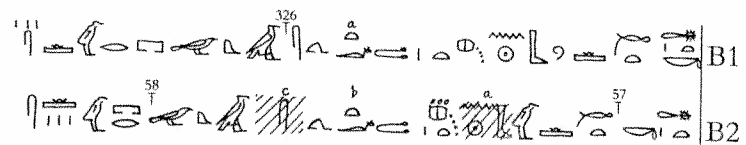
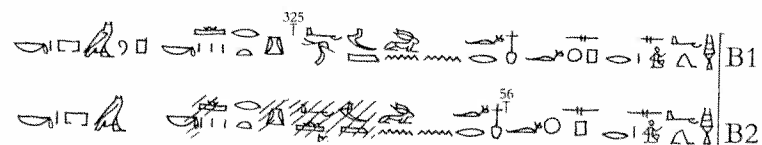
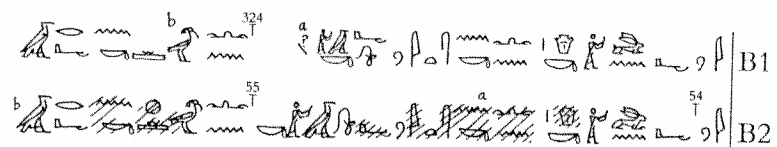
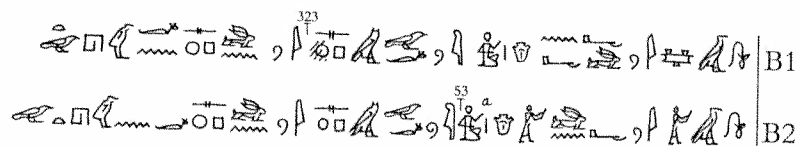
6.b  So G 1923:24 *et al.* Or ?

8.a Blot thus:



12.a  corrected out of .

B1 321-327; B2 51-59  
(old: B1 290-296)





5



10

B1 321-327; B2 51-59

41a



4.a Written  to avoid long line/edge.


5.a Contra VG pl.16a (  ); the stroke is a palimpsest trace.



5.b  (collated with LD VI,110). So BF:78 et al. Contra VG pl.16a (  ).

6.a Section heavily damaged, to be restored after LD VI,113:

6.b Blot (see 6.a).



9.a  So Gunn (MS). Contra VG pl.16a et al. (  ).


10.a Traces, clear in LD VI,113:  
Contra VG pl.20a (  ).

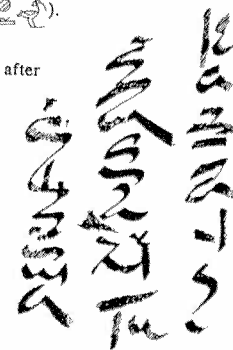
10.b  So Gunn (MS). Contra VG pl.20a et al. (  ).

10.c Trace, clear in LD VI,110.

11.a Short line ending column.

11.b  So VG pl.16a, BF:78 et al. Contra Luft 1983:141 (  ).

12.a  So VG pl.20a, BF:78 et al.; see 11.b.



B1 327-333; B2 59-67  
(old: B1 296-302)

B1

B2

B1

B2

B1

B2

B1

B2

B1

B2

B1

B2

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B1 327-333; B2 59-67

3.a So VG pl.16a, BF:79 *et al.* Contra Luft 1983:141 ( ). Perhaps corrected out of .

3.b So VG pl.16a, BF:79. Contra S:26\* ( ). Cf. B1 330, B2 123.

4.a So VG pl.20a, BF:79 *et al.*; see 3.a.

4.b So VG pl.20a, BF:79. Contra S:27\* ( ). Cf. B2 63.

4.c So G 1923:24 ('a low wide form found elsewhere eg. [B2] 85 top'), BF:79. Contra S:27\* ('n dittog.').

8.a Written to avoid long line/edge.

9.a Contra G 1923:24, BF:79 ( ); S:26\* ( ). corrected over ; hence cramped form of second . No trace of any ; palimpsest traces also present.

9.b

10.a So BF:79. Contra VG pl.20a (suggesting and ; cf. 37a.5.a).

11.a So S:26\* (although the orthography with is unusual: Grapow 1913:743). Contra VG pl.16a ( + blot); BF:79 ( ). has a tick like .

12.a So VG pl.20a. Contra S:27\* ( ); BF:79 ( ).



B1 333-340; B2 67-75  
(old: B1 302-309)

333 B1

334 B2

335 B1

336 B2

337 B1

338 B2

339 B1

340 B2

341 B1

342 B2

343 B1

344 B2

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B1 333-340; B2 67-75

1.a  $\beta$  and  $\vartheta$  widely spaced due to blot between. Palimpsest traces also at bottom of column and in B1 334.

4.a Traces:

4.b clear (contra G 1923:24: 'unusual in form').

5.a Short line ending short column. B1 336-57 are vertical lines.

6.a Contra B II,39 ('prob. only one group [after /  $\alpha$  ] le ).

7.a So BF:80. Contra VG pl.17a (suggesting ).  $\iota$  is corrected out of  $\alpha$ .

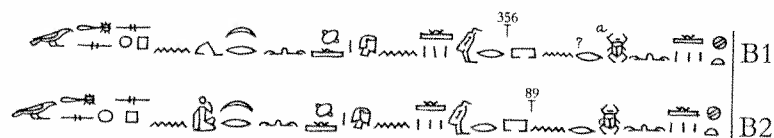
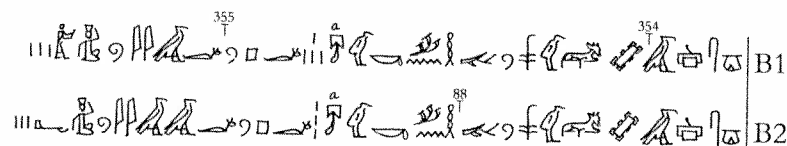
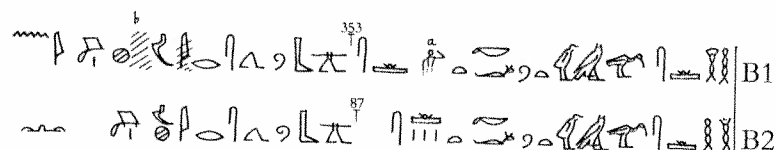
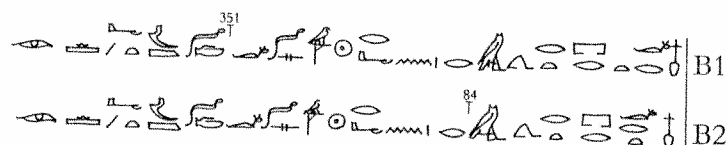
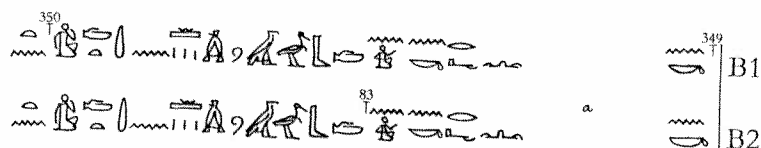
7.b corrected out of  $\alpha$ .

8.a So G 1923:24, BF:80. Contra VG pl.21a ( $\iota$ ).

9.a Written to left to avoid long line.



B1 349-356; B2 82-89  
(old: B1 318-325)



B1 349-356; B2 82-89

- 2.a Blank space 3-4 groups long. Traces (cf. LD VI,114):  
Either signs purposely obliterated, or palimpsest traces, over which scribe would not write.  
Probably former.

- 6.a So G 1923:24, BF:81. Contra VG pl.21a ( ).

- 7.a Contra S:26\* ( ); left blank in VG pl.17a *et al.*  
Not a misformed , but a correction; perhaps the scribe started to write , then realized his mistake, and wrote over the half finished sign.  
written to left to avoid long line.

- 7.b Probably no loss between and . There is an erroneous stroke, like a , through .

- 9.a So James 1962:139-40. Contra VG pl.17a ( ); G 1923:24, BF:81 ( , comparing Tb. (Neville) 125 *Schlussrede* 32 Ca); S:28-9\* ( ? , 'peut-être un vase').

- 10.a Contra VG pl.21a *et al.*; see 9.a.

- 11.a So VG pl.17a, BF:81; cf. B1 313. Or with no ?

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357

B1

B2

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1.a  So VG pl.17a *et al.* Contra S:28\* (  ).

2.a  So VG pl.21a *et al.*; see 1.a. 3.a  So BF:81; cf. 44a.6.a.

5.a  So VG pl.22a, BF:82. Contra S:28\* (  ).

5.b Traces:  *LD*  
VI,114: 



note distortion of fibres.  
Unread in VG pl.22a *et al.*  
'The suggestion *bñ nm*  
[VG pl.22a] is impossible'  
(G 1923:24).  
The first vertical sign is  
damaged. The last sign  
looks like ; for the  
twist on the sign above  
cf. 47a.10.a.








































6.a  So VG pl.22a *et al.* Contra S:28 ().

7.a **2** So VG pl.22a *et al.* 7.b **1** So G 1923:24, BF:82.  
Contra S:28-9\*(111).

7.c So VG pl.22a *et al.*  
Contra S:28\* (→; ;  
cf. 40a.3.a).

7.d Contra G 1923:24,  
BF:82 (↗↘); S:28\*  
(↗↘). Perhaps  
a misformed? (cf. P  
Prisse 7.11)?

9.a  Faint traces (collated with LD VI, 114).  
So G 1923:24 ('highly probable'), BF:82.  
Restore  (S:28\*), or  (just enough space).

9.b Collated with LD VI,114. So BF:82; 'for an approximation of the det. of *hw*d to , see *Adm*.8.2. The correction in the margin is clearly  ' (G 1923:24). Faulkner transcribed the misformed determinative as  (1962:186). Contra S:28-9\* (                                                                                                                                       

10.a III corrected over ~~mm~~(?).

12.a Palimpsest traces above 



14.a 9 written over another sign - perhaps a badly formed 9 which was rewritten more distinctly.



Adm.8.2.  
G  
est  
transfer  
ink

<sup>108</sup>  
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 110  
 111  
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



10


2.a Traces:  Restore  (BF:82). Written thus to avoid long line/edge.


5.a  So BF:82. Contra G 1923:24 ( [M.49]; cf. M.33 [Sinuhe]).




6.a Traces: 

9.a Traces: 


10.a  So G 1923:24 ('the middle — has a peculiar twist at right end, the effect of which is exaggerated by loss of fibres'), BF:83. Contra V:228 (); S:30 (). Middle  is distinct from  (contra VG pl.23a); cf. B2 120.

11.a Traces at line end:  
So BF:83. Contra VG pl.13a ().

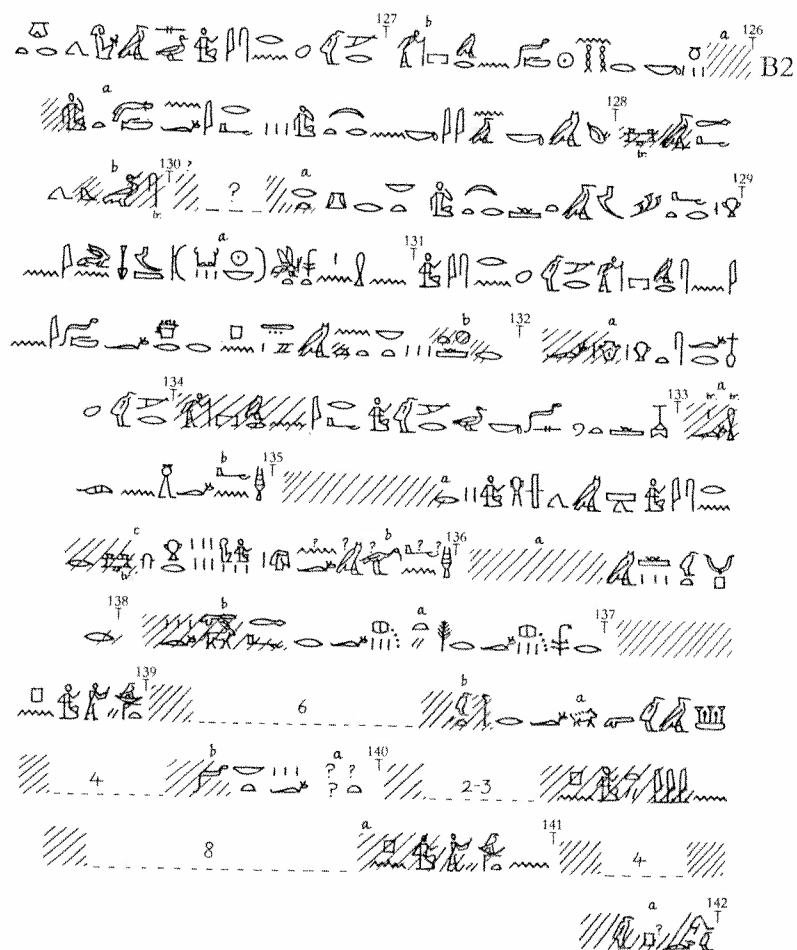
11.b Faint traces (collated with LD VI,114):  
So G 1923:24, BF:83. Contra VG pl.23a (suggesting ).

12.a So VG pl.23a; not . No trace of  after  (contra VG pl.23a).

13.a No further loss; traces: 

14.a Full form; an error for  ?

14.b Written to one side; perhaps added later?



## 1.a Traces, collated with LD VI,113:

So G 1923:24-5 ('' seems probable'). Restore ; there is little room for any (contra S:30\*). The group has completely vanished, but is not 'purposely expunged' (contra B II,52); cf. lacunae B2 130, 132

1.b Short line (by c.2.5 groups). Read *dd.</i>n; apparently no loss (cf. LD VI,113).*

## 2.a Traces:



(collated with LD VI,113). So G 1923:25; contra VG pl.23a (suggesting ). For form of cf. B2 79. Uncertain if any lacuna thereafter, but probable (BF:83).

## 3.a Traces:



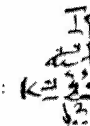
So G 1923:25. Contra VG pl.23a (). Room to restore or (as Sethe 1928a:28 1.10); possibly no further loss.

## 3.b Traces:



So G 1923:25. Contra V:230, VG pl.23a ().

## 4.a Written so that B2 131-2 are widely spaced:



## 5.a Traces:



Restore , with short line (G 1923:25, BF:83). Contra V:230 ().

## 5.b Traces certain.

## 6.a Traces:



## 7.a Traces:



Restore , with long line like B1 132, unless written to one side (G 1923:25, BF:83). Contra V:231 ().

## 7.b Traces:







(collated with LD VI,113). So G 1923:25, BF:83.

## 8.a This lacuna too small to restore (contra V:231); restore an item of goods. Traces:

8.b



Very faint. Unread in VG pl.24a, G  
1923:25, BF:83, save for last two signs  
(); of which S:30\* read  as . The  
suggestion *hrw=f* (V:231) is impossible.  
 written to left.

8.c Traces:





9.a So BF:83. Contra VG pl.24a *et al.*

9.b Certain traces. '[w=f]' is probably enough to fill lacuna, if a short line; contra Sethe 1928a:25 l.17:




10.a





After LD VI,113 (collated); now very faint. So G 1923:25, BF:83. Contra VG pl.24a ( ).

10.b Traces:



11.a Faint traces (collated with LD VI,113):  
 VG pl.24a suggests  , which  
 is impossible unless arranged  .  
 is possible, but unlikely in context.


11.b Trace certain: restore either  or .



12.a As B2 142 begins with the start of the colophon, this probably a full line; number of groups lost uncertain, and probably widely spaced.

13.a



So G 1923:25 ('almost certain in large sprawling forms'), BF:83. Contra VG pl.24a, S:30\* (~~~~~). One might expect B2 to rubricize a colophon, but rubrics are often omitted near ends of mss (Posener 1951b:76 n.5). Restore . Compare vertical colophons in other MK literary mss:

B2  
restored

P Berlin 3022  
(*Sinuhe* B)  
1.309

P Ermitage 1116a  
(Shipwrecked Sailor)  
ll.186-7

P Berlin 3024  
(*Lebensmüder*)  
II.154-5

