

2. Translation

Prologue

(following P1)

Fragment 1

1[...| 2 [...| 3 [...| (himself)¹³ having been sent [...| 4 [...| formerly [called] island of Helios [...| 5 [... when Amenophis| the king had come to [...| 6 [...| costly *blank*¹⁴ of Osiris [...| 7 [... Isis, who is| worthy of highest praises¹⁵ [...| 8 [...| to [her| who is fruitful¹⁶ in regard to good things an[d ...| 9 [... tha|t time to the [...| 10 [...| art of the potter's cra[ft| And th[e (*plural subject*)¹⁷ ...| 11 [...| despising the deity, experiencing [...| 12 [...| that [...| was [... beca|use Hermes¹⁸ had spoken.¹⁹ [...| 13 [...| the potter [...| 14 [... an[d those near it²⁰ [...| 15 [...| having come down and having pulled out t[he...] 16 [...

¹³ Probably the potter.

¹⁴ Koenen suggests that the blank space may have included a noun that perhaps was left out because it was unclear in the scribe's exemplar or that the blank space signified the beginning of a new section. Koenen suggests that the missing noun is "temple." The word "and," which appears clearly in line 6, could precede the entire phrase ("and costly *blank* of Osiris") or precede the word Osiris ("costly *blank*... and of Osiris"). In the latter case, one would be inclined to supply "of Isis" in the lacuna before "and of Osiris." Koenen would like to follow this option but indicates that the stroke remaining from the preceding word probably belongs to a different letter than "of Isis" would require.

¹⁵ The appropriate translation of the existing words in this line is almost impossible to determine. The line reads more smoothly if "worthy" is understood as a feminine singular nominative (ἄξια) rather than as a neuter plural (ἄξια) as Koenen proposes. The referent is then Isis; cf. P1.8; P2.41; P3.67. A neuter plural would require a translation such as "... greatest praises with regard to the worthy things ...".

¹⁶ "Fruitful," or more literally "fruitbearing" (καρποτόκος), was an epithet of Isis.

¹⁷ Koenen suggests something such as "th[e priests (or: the citizens) were thinking that he was| despising the deity (and so was) experiencing [derangement from the god]."

¹⁸ The Greek god Hermes here is probably equivalent to the Egyptian god Thoth.

¹⁹ For lines 12-14, Koenen suggests "[But] the potter [himself was saying tha|t he w|as sent to the island beca|use Hermes had spoken. [And] while many were coming toget[her...]. The word translated "coming together" could also mean "coming into existence afterward" and the context is too unclear to decide which is correct.

²⁰ "It" is feminine and probably refers to the potter's kiln, as in the similar phrase in line 16, but the referent is unclear. The word is followed by κλείμασι, a word that it is so difficult to make sense of in this context that Koenen rejects it. But it is impossible to determine whether the difficulty in understanding the word is in the use of the word itself or whether it is simply a product of the fragmentary nature of the text.

FRIENDS AND STUDENTS

let [...] be near the kiln."²¹ [And after] 17 [the potter had] lost [his] senses and [had become] possessed by Her[m]es, [...] 18 [...] said, "²² [...] would easily [...] from you (singular) [...] 19 [...]"] But the potter, saying [...] 20 [...]

Fragments 2-3

21 [...] and [after] the people [...] and the king [...] 22 [...] and after he had heard this man²³ [...] 23 [...] violator of] law an[d b]lasphe[m]ed 24 [...] was dr[iv]en out of his sen[ses]. 25 [...] And the potter responded, " [...] burns potter's [...] 24 26 [...] and with [much] fire [...]" 27 [...] the king [...] made the command [...] 28 [...] to g[ua]rd with care [...] 29 [...] 30 [...] And th[e king having marveled [...] 25 31 [...] After [...] had been shut [...] 32 [...] they ord[er]ed a [certain] sacred scribe 33 to recor[d all the things which would happen in Egypt]²⁶ in [a sacred 34 book [...] 35 [...]

²¹ Koenen suggests, "having pulled out [the vessels they said, 'But let these things not] be near the kiln.'" Koenen and others usually suggest that later references to "making the potter's kiln desolate" in P2.19; P2.32-34 = P3.54-56; and P3.43-44 imply that the potter's kiln was "emptied" of vessels in P1.13-20 as an acted parable symbolizing the emptying of the city of the Typhonians. The first problem with this reconstruction of the events in P1.13-20 is that P1.15 implies that something is "pulled out" of something else, but the kiln is not explicitly mentioned as the thing from which something else is pulled. Line 18 may repeat the verb for "pulling out" but seems to be concerned with something other than the kiln. The second problem is that pulling vessels "out" of the kiln implies a contrast with being "in" (ἐν) the kiln, while the text only refers to something "near" (πρὸς) the kiln. The third problem is that the word used to describe the "desolating" of the potter's kiln in P2.19; P2.32-34 = P3.54-56; and P3.43-44 (ἐρημωθήσεται; cf. ἐξερημωθήσεται in P2.30 = P3.52-53) often suggests the depopulation of a city directly as a result of its destruction rather than the simple act of depopulating or "emptying" itself. Other words for "emptying" (e.g., κενωθήσεται) would have eliminated this ambiguity. These factors make it difficult to determine whether the potter's kiln was only emptied of its contents or completely destroyed. If line 16 does indeed imply any concern with pottery vessels, the preserved writing clearly indicates that this concern is with vessels "near" the kiln. Concern for the welfare of objects "near" a kiln makes much better sense if the kiln is being destroyed than it does if the kiln is simply being emptied. Analogy with the city of the Typhonians suggests destruction of the potter's kiln because destruction of the city of the Typhonians seems to be implied in P2.35 = P3.59. Emptying remains an option, but one not without difficulties.

²² The use of "you" in this line suggests direct discourse. Koenen suggests that the speaker is the potter, but the singular form of "you" indicates that it is equally possible that the crowds or the king may be addressing the potter. Line 19 would then contain the beginning of the potter's response.

²³ Koenen suggests, "and after he had heard this man[, they believed] that [he was both entirely la[w]less [23 and a t[ransgressor an[d b]lasphe[m]ed 24 the gods, but was dr[iv]en out of his sen[ses]. I do not find this reconstruction convincing because it rests partly on a tenuous word division and emendation of the existing letters in line 23.

²⁴ Possibly as Koenen suggests, "burns potter's clay" (γῆν). But the adjective and its antecedent could be nominative and its antecedent could be "skill" (τέχνη) or, though somewhat redundant, "kiln" (κάμινος). The phrase might then read "potter's skill burns ..." or "potter's oven burns ...".

²⁵ Koenen suggests readings in the following lines that describe a counsel meeting behind closed doors.

²⁶ Koenen, based on P2.56-57.

Fragment 4

36 [...] 37 [...] sacred [...] 38 [...] 39 [...] of the sacred scri[be ...] 40 [...] i]n sacred
[archives ...]²⁷ 41 [...] 42 [...] you are making (or doing) [...] 43 [...] neither [...]

Fragment 5 (four lines, too fragmentary to place or read even one complete word)
(a number of lines missing)

*The Prophecy*²⁸

(following P3 and P2)

P3 col. 1

1 "[...] And he will rule Egypt 2 [after he has enter]ed into the city that is being created,
which [will] make the gods 3 anew for itself after it has cast (as in a mold) its own f[o]rm. 4
But because it has been [founded] by the Typhonians [...] will [...] even its²⁹ 5 [...] of
temples [...].³⁰ Processions of the temples 6 [will become few.] B[uri]al <will be> [in wet]
clays. Some 7 sten[ch] wi[ll] re[ach] to the city by those needing burial.³¹ 8 [Then n]ot ev[en]
the ki[n]g [will attai]n divine victory during any time of the 9 [Ty]phonians. A[nd] in the
proper time the one who has 10 been [thoroughly defi]led from his own impiety {land itself
will not harmonize with the 11 seeds. These things will (cause) its things to be destroyed by
the wind}³² will thr<ust down>ward throughout the land of 12 Eg[ypt] and thr[ougho]ut
Lebanon. And so that he would not (?)

²⁷ Koenen, following P2.52.

²⁸ The division here follows the end of P1 because P3 and P2 are indisputably fragments of the prophecy. But the shift to the second person singular in P1.42 above may indicate that the actual beginning of the prophecy occurs in fragment 4 of P1; cf. the use of the second person singular in P2.4-5 = P3.15-17.

²⁹ Following Roberts in reading αὐτῆς instead of Koenen's αὐτῆς.

³⁰ Koenen suggests here "[properties] of [the] temples will be [sold]", but this does not leave room for the noun that belongs with τὰς in line 4.

³¹ Koenen; Roberts reads "burials" ("burial places").

³² Based on lines 18-20 (and the correspondence with P2.7-8), Koenen marks the words enclosed in braces in lines 10-11 as an interpolation. Without the interpolation, the text suggests something like, "A[nd] in the proper time the one [who has been thoroughly defi]led from his ow[n] impiety wi[ll] thr>ust downward throughout the land of Eg[ypt] and thr[ougho]ut Lebanon." This sentence obviously makes better sense, although it seems a bit out of place in the context of a general description of the evils in Egypt. It could signal the original *Sitz im Leben* or could itself be an interpolation designed to update the text by relating it to historical events that occurred after the production of the text.

FRIENDS AND STUDENTS

P2 col. 1

1 [...] and lawless. And the [ri]ver 2 [will come not having adequate water, but a little, s[o] that [the land] will be scorched 3 [...] ³³ but unnaturally. [For] in the time of the Typhonians 4 they will say, "Wretched Egypt, 5 [you are] maliciously [trea]ted with [awesome] malicious deeds maliciously worked [ag]ainst you." 6 And the sun will become dim because it does not want to see the evils in 7 Egypt.

The land will not harmonize with the seeds. These things will (cause) its things to be destroyed by the 8 wind. [And the far]mer who did not sow will be asked to pay taxes. ³⁵

9 They are fighting in Egypt because th[ey] a[re] {} ³⁶ lacking in food supplies. 10 The things which they cultivate [another man will] reap and carry away.

During this generation 11 there will be [...] murder] which ³⁷ [will slay] even brothers and [w]ives. 12 Fo[r] these things will happen] when ⁴⁰ the great god Hepha[es]tos has decided 13 [to return] to the [city]. And

P3 col. 1

13 [...] lawless]. On account of the insufficiency of the Nile the barren 14 land will be utterly ruined after it has given birth. ³⁴ They will be grieved 15 with misfortunes, saying "And as for you, in the times of the Typhonians 16 you, Egypt, will be maliciously treated with awesome 17 malicious deeds devised against you every year." And the sun will become 18 dim because it does not want to see the evils in Egypt. The land will not 19 harmonize with the seeds. The majority of its things will be destroyed by the 20 wind. [The fa]rmer will be demanded to pay taxes even for things which he did not sow, 21 [and th]ey are fighting with one another in Egypt 22 because the<y> are lacking in food supplies. For the things which they cultivate 23 [another man w]ill reap and will [...]. ³⁸ During this genera[ti]on 24 there will be [...] impi]ous [murder] ³⁹ of brothers 25 [and of wives. For] Mephis has decided to 26 [return] to the [city]. And the beltwearers, be[ing]

³³ Koenen (1983), 184, suggests ὁ[σ]τε πυ[ρ]εῦεσθαι [τὴν γῆν οὐκ οἶον εἶκος (?),] ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν. This is rather awkward and I do not think it is likely. The translation would be something like, "so that the land will be scorched (or set on fire), not as is reasonable, but contrary to nature."

³⁴ I.e., after it has given birth to seedling plants.

³⁵ Koenen brings this line into harmony with the parallel in P3 by means of a few minor emendations, so that it reads, "[The far]mer will be <de>manded to pay taxes <for things> which he did not sow."

³⁶ Koenen marks as an interpolation the word {in}.

³⁷ Koenen restores, "there will be [both war and murder] which will slay..." The lacuna may have been filled by a description of a type of person "who will slay" (the relative could refer to either a person or masculine thing).

³⁸ Koenen suggests, "and will [flee the a]rea."

³⁹ Koenen suggests, "there will be [war and impi]ous [murder (?)] of brothers..." and poses a similar restoration in the parallel text, but neither one has the phrase "[war and murder]."

⁴⁰ Or, "because."

the beltwearers, be[ing Typhonians],⁴¹ will slay themselves. 14 [And the Mer|ciful (god) will be maltreated.

But he will come after (them) on foot 15 to the sea [in] wra[th] and he will overthrow many of them 16 [because they are] impious. And the⁴⁵ one who will be hateful to all men [and abominable]⁴⁶ [will c]ome down out of Syria. 17 And also from Eth[i]opia 18 [another one who is]⁴⁷ himself from the unholy ones will [come d]o[wn ...] to Egypt. And he 19 will set[tle in the city which] later will be made desolate.

And the one (ruling) for two

years 20 was [not o]urs⁴⁸

[...] and <the> la{ }mb⁵¹ spoke well.⁵²

Typhonians],⁴² will slay themselves.

27 [And the Mer|ciful (god) will be [ma]ltreated.⁴³ But 28 he will come after (them) on foot [to the s]ea [having] wrath and 29 [because they are] impious he will overthrow many [in ...]⁴⁴ which are flaming (with fire). 30 [And] a king will [co]me down out of Syria who 31 [will be] hateful to all men.

And [the one (ruling) for two years]⁴⁹
Col. 2

32 was not ours. But the one (ruling) for fifty-five years 33 { },⁵⁰ because he is ours, will bring to the Greeks 34 the evils which the lam{m}b announced to [B]acharis.⁵³ And luck 35 will be taken away

⁴¹ Probably, "be[cause they are Typhonians]." But the emphasis may be on identification of the beltwearers as Typhonians rather than the relationship of their Typhonian nature to their self-annihilation. This would suggest a translation with a relative clause ("wh[o are Typhonians]").

⁴² See note on P2.13-14.

⁴³ Or possibly, "and (singular subject) will be badly placed" (κακῶς τεθήσεται). My translation follows Koenen's emendation (κακῶς τεθήσεται), based on κακωθήσεται in P2.14.

⁴⁴ Koenen suggests, "[in places] which are flaming..."

⁴⁵ Koenen makes an emendation here that would result in deletion of "the." But the definite article may refer to the subsequent participle (ὑπάρχων), although this is slightly awkward (but not impossible) if Koenen's tentatively supplied "will be" (ἔσται) is correct.

⁴⁶ Roberts reads "raving" ([μαίν]όλης) instead of Koenen's "[abomin]able" ([ἐ]ξώλης), which makes better sense of the indisputable letters (ολης). But Koenen's description of the remaining stroke of the previous letter supports his own reading.

⁴⁷ For line 18, tentatively reading [καθή]ξι[εἰ] ἄλλος ὅς] αὐτός.

⁴⁸ Following the corrections in Koenen (1984), 10.

⁴⁹ As in the parallel lines, following the corrections in Koenen (1984), 10.

⁵⁰ After "fifty-five years" (πεντήκοντα πέντε ἔτη), an error was interpolated (κοντα πέντη ἔτη).

⁵¹ The text reads αμῶνος, which Koenen, citing Tacitus *Hist.* 5.3, states is based on confusion between χρησμός Ἄμμωνος (oracle of Ammon) and χρησμός τοῦ ἄμνου (oracle of the lamb).

⁵² Koenen marks as an interpolation the words, "And the one (ruling) for two years was [not o]urs [...] and <the> la{ }mb spoke well."

⁵³ Koenen regards all the words from "And [the one (ruling) for two years]" in line 31 to "which the lamb announced to [B]acharis" in line 34 as an interpolation.

FRIENDS AND STUDENTS

21[...| the children of these (people) will be diminished. And the countryside will [be disrupted by] anarchy 22 an[d not a fe]w of those who dwell in Egypt will 23 abandon their own possessions from their own free will. They will travel in a foreign (land) because they are sh[ut] out⁵⁴ 24 [by all ...| their own evils being less than those [...].⁵⁷ And 25 pe[ople will be ki]lled b[y] one ano[the]r. Two of them will c[ome] to 26 the same place for the sake of the benefits of one. [And] among pregnant women 27 there will also be much death.

[fro]m th[is] generation. And the honors of these (people) will be 36 di[mi]nished. And {and} the countryside [will be] disrupted by anarchy 37 [because of th]ose who have abandoned their own (land) from their own free will. And they 38 will travel in a foreign (land) beca[use they are sh]ut out by fr[iends ...].⁵⁵ 39 [...] his⁵⁶ own evils being less than that [...].⁵⁸ 40 And people [...] (driven) by [povert]y will come to the same place 41 for the sake of the gains of one. There will be 42 among pregnant women a curse and much death. {They aba[ndon]ed 43 (their land) in the upper regions.}⁵⁹ And <the> cit[y] of the beltwearers will 44 be made desolate in the

⁵⁴ Reading παρακλειόμενοι ("because they are shut out") instead of Koenen's παρακλαίόμενοι ("weeping for themselves"). Koenen says the actual reading either could be παρακλαο[...] or could be παρακλεο[...]. But in the parallel in P3.38, Koenen says the actual reading is παρ[α]κλεομε[ι]νοι.

⁵⁵ Reading παρακλειόμενοι ("because they are shut out") instead of Koenen's παρακλαίόμενοι ("weeping for themselves"). Koenen says the actual reading is παρ[α]κλεομε[ι]νοι.

⁵⁶ Koenen emends to "their" based on the parallel in P2.

⁵⁷ I do not find Koenen's reconstruction convincing. A slight modification of his reading might result in a better sense: ἐπι ξένης πορευθήσονται παρακλειόμενοι πασιν. <οὐκ> ἔσται τὰ ἐαυτῶν κακὰ ἥσσον' ὄντα ἐκεῖνων. This would suggest a translation such as "They will travel in a foreign land because they are shut out by all. Their own evils [will not be] less there{ }," or possibly, " ... shut out by all. Their own evils [will <not> be] less because they (the evils) are there{ } <also>." Burstein's translation reads, "and people will lament their own problems although they are less than those of others." This might resolve the difficulties of the Greek, but it assumes the uncorrected version of the text that Koenen produced in 1968 and lacks the support of the corrections to the parallel text in P3 that Koenen (1974) made after he had direct access to the Oxyrhynchus fragment. O'Connell's translation is better, "There will be weeping and their woes shall be worse than those of their fellows." Unfortunately it still requires some emendation for its support. See the note below on the parallel lines in P3 (P3.37-39).

⁵⁸ As in the parallel lines, I do not find Koenen's reconstruction convincing. A slight modification of his reading might result in a better sense: ἐν τε ξένη πορευθήσονται παρακλειόμενοι τοῖς φίλοις. [οὐ γε]νήσ[ε]ται τὰ ἐαυτῶν κακὰ ἥσσονα ὄντα ἐκεῖνου. This would produce a translation such as, "And they will travel in a foreign (land) because they are shut out by friends. Their own evils will [not come] to be less there{ }." Since the existing demonstrative pronouns in the two recensions have different endings (P2.24, ἐκεῖνων; P3.39, ἐκεῖνου), the endings may represent attempts on the part of two different scribes to reconstruct a lacuna that may have followed ἐκεῖ in a common exemplar used at some stage of the manuscript history.

⁵⁹ Koenen, probably correctly, marks as an interpolation, "{They aba[ndon]ed 43 (their land) in the upper regions.}."

But the beltwearers, being 28 Typhonians also themselves, will slay themselves.⁶¹ And then the Agathos Daimon⁶² will 29 abandon the city that is being created and will enter into Memphis and 30 the city of foreigners <which> will be founded will be made utterly desolate.⁶⁴

And these things will be 31 at the end of the evils, when <the falling of the> leaves⁶⁶ of foreign men has come to Egypt. 32 And the city of the beltwearers will be made desolate in 33 the same way my kiln was because of lawless deeds which they committed in Egypt.

same way my kiln was. And 45 the sla[ves] will be liberated an[d th]eir masters 46 will ask for life.⁶⁰ And the virgins 47 will be corrupted by the(ir) parents, and the <fath>er of the daughter will drag away the 48 husband, and there will be men who practise incest with their mothers. And they will 49 violently forcibly sacrifice the male children. And the beltwearers, 50 being themselves also Typhonians, will slay themselves.⁶³ And then the Agathos 51 Daimon will abandon the city that is being created and 52 will go away to god-birthing Memphis, and it will be made utterly desolate.⁶⁵

53 And these things will be at the end of the evils, when (the) fa[lling] of (the) leaves 54 of foreign men has come to Egypt. And the 55 <city> of the beltwearers will be made desolate in the same way {as} 56 my kiln was because of the lawless deeds which they committed.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ The phrase, "to ask for life" is thoroughly Egyptian. There are other places (e.g., parataxis without conjunctions) that reflect the Egyptian original.

⁶¹ As in P2.13-14, P3.26-27, and P3.49-50, "being Typhonians" probably has the sense "because they are Typhonians," but it might simply emphasize the Typhonian identity of the beltwearers; i.e., it might have the sense of a relative clause, "who are Typhonians."

⁶² I.e., the tutelary deity.

⁶³ Possibly, "because they are Typhonians." But see the notes on P2.13-14 and P2.27-28.

⁶⁴ Or possibly, "that which (ḥ) will be founded as a city of foreigners will be made utterly desolate." This requires no emendation but is rather awkward.

⁶⁵ The city that will be made desolate is subject to misinterpretation in this version, hence Koenen makes an emendation to clarify the subject of the verb as "the city of foreigners." But the text simply does not have this clarification.

⁶⁶ Without the full emendation, the text could read "when the leaves (or: plant) of foreign men has come." The emended text (based on P3.53) refers to the end of the rule of the foreigners. Omitting "<the falling of the>" would refer to the beginning of the rule of the foreigners rather than its end. In favor of the emendation, Koenen (1974) points out that in the parallel in P3.53 the foreigners are compared to wilted leaves, which must fall off before the new leaves described in P3.71-73 can grow. The falling off of the old leaves symbolizes the removal of the foreign rulers and the growth of new leaves symbolizes the restoration of Egypt and its royal dynasty.

⁶⁷ Or possibly, "lawless deeds which they did to you," i.e., to Egypt.

34 The cu|lt imag|es that have been transferred there will come back to 35 Egypt again. And the city by the sea will be a drying pl|ace| for fisherman⁶⁹ because 36 the Agathos Daimon and Knephis will have gone away to [M]emphis, 37 so that some passing through will say, "This ci|t|y was nourisher of all, 38 into which was settled every nationality of men."

And then Egypt 39 will grow, when the kindly one 40 who originates from Helios has arrived to be king for fifty-five years, a giver of good things, who is 41 appointed by the greatest goddess Isis,⁷¹ so that the ones who survive will pray 42 that the ones who died before will arise in order that they may share in the 43 good things. And at the end of these things it will <bear> leaves.⁷³

57 And the [cult images] of Egypt that have been transferred there 58 {to Egypt} ⁶⁸ will come back to Egypt again. And the 59 city by the sea will be a drying pl|ace| for fisherman 60 because the Agathos Daimon and Mephis will go away, so 61 that some passing through will say, "This was the nourisher 62 of all, into⁷⁰ which every nationality of men settles."

Col. 3

63 And then Egypt will grow, 64 when the one who has come 65 from Helios for fifty-five years, 66 a giver of good things, is appointed 67 by the greatest goddess, so that 68 the ones who survive will pray and⁷² 69 the ones who died before will 70 arise in order that they may share in the 71 good things. And at the end of [the] evils, 72 after [the] dry acanthus⁷⁴ [has been w]atered,

⁶⁸ In line 58, Roberts regarded the second "to Egypt" as an interpolation, while Koenen regards the first "to Egypt" as an interpolation. The first is more awkward, but its omission from the parallel text does not necessarily demonstrate that the other is closer to the original because its presence may reflect Egyptian word order.

⁶⁹ Burstein's translation ("refuge for fishermen") requires only a slight emendation, but it is unnecessary. The image of a sea-side city being desolated and left as a bare rock for drying nets or fish is found in Ezek 26:5, 14, which in LXX/OG uses precisely the same word used in the papyrus (ψυγμός). Cf. the examples cited in LSJ, s.v.

⁷⁰ Koenen regards "into" as an interpolation. If so, the line would read, "nurturing (city) which every nationality of men settles."

⁷¹ Koenen regards "Isis" as an interpolation gratuitously added to clarify the identity of the goddess.

⁷² Koenen regards this "and" as an interpolation. Omission of the word would bring this text into harmony with the parallel column and the text would read: "so that 68 the ones who survive will pray that 69 the ones who died before will 70 arise..." The recension as it is holds interest, however.

⁷³ I.e., Egypt will bear leaves (cf. P2.38-39, "Egypt will grow"). Contrast the parallel in P3, where the growth of the acanthus is described. But without emendation, P2.44 = P3.73 may have originally referred to the falling of the leaves of foreigners, who (in the unemended form of P2.31) may have been identified with leaves or a plant. In addition to the reading of P3.53, which implies loss of leaves before growth and would support Koenen's reading of P2.31, the context of P2.44 = P3.73 is one of growth and the metaphor of bearing leaves would fit better than loss of leaves in such a context.

⁷⁴ As Koenen (1974) argues, this refers to an acacia tree, which was a symbol of Egyptian kingship.

And the Nile that had been lacking 44 in water will be filled. And the winter, which had taken off its clothing in a discordant manner, 45 will run in its own cycle. And then the summer will 46 take its own [[cycle]] course, and (the) breezes of (the) winds which formerly (existed) will be orderly, 47 being gently diminished.⁷⁷ For in the <time> of the Typhonians the sun 48 became dim to shine forth a penalty for the evils and to display dearth⁷⁸ for the 49 beltwearers. And Egypt—."

[it] will [blo]om.⁷⁵ 73 It will bear leaves, and the 74 Nile that had been lacking in water will 75 come filled. And the winter, which had taken off its clothing, 76 will run in its own cycle. 77 And the summer will take its 78 own course, [and]⁷⁶ (the) 79 breezes of (the) winds will be orderly. These things will be."

⁷⁵ Against Koenen's reconstruction, I have based my translation on the reading: "([ῥ] 72 ξηρὰ ποτις<θεῖς>α ἐπα[νθη]σε{ε}ι ἄκαν 73 θα φυλλο<φορ>ήσει." Koenen's reconstruction would result in a translation such as: "72 after [the] dry [things have been w]atered, [they] will [blo]om, if (the) acanthus 73 will [bear] leaves and the 74 Nile..." Koenen reads the substantive adjective "dry," its article, and the following participle as neuter plurals ("things"). I would prefer to restore the article, the adjective ("dry"), and the participle as feminine singulars, referring to the acanthus. The conditional particle ("if") read by Koenen is awkward, uncharacteristic of the rest of the text (where no conditions are ever described for the predetermined picture foretold by the potter), and poses the difficulty of knowing where to end the sentence (which could continue to line 79). Koenen notes that the underlying Egyptian may have had a temporal sense rather than a conditional sense. This would require changing "if" to "when." The word "when" would fit better in the context but requires a somewhat strained translation of εἰ, even though it is not impossible. I prefer to eliminate the word "if" altogether by treating the εἰ as the final two letters that Koenen has proposed for the previous word, which Koenen reads ἐπα[νθη]σε<ν>. The resulting doubled εε in ἐπα[νθη]σε{ε}ι could be a simple scribal repetition, similar to what may have occurred in lines 9 (ἰδίας {ας}), 34 (ἄμ {μ} νός), 36 (τε {τε}), 40-41 ({[π]αρ} παρελεύσοντα), and in the case of whole phrases possibly in line 58 ({εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον} . . . εἰς Αἴγυπτον) and the long interpolation in lines 11-12 derived from lines 18-20. The absence of "and" at the beginning of line 73 could then be explained as a result of Egyptian parataxis and would parallel the lacking "and" in line 78.

⁷⁶ Roberts omits "[and]."

⁷⁷ A more natural translation of the word order for lines 46-47 would be, "and the breezes of the winds will be orderly, which formerly were gently diminished." The great problem with such a translation is that it cannot be reconciled with the statements about the destruction caused by the wind in P2.7-8 = P3.19-20, the image of "Typhonian" enemies identified with the destructive winds of Seth-Typhon, or the tradition of identifying the hostile activity of invading armies with destructive wind (e.g., in Manetho's description of the invasion of the Hyksos in Josephus, *Ap.* 1.75, Manetho says, "God blew against us"). Cf. Koenen (1970), 250.

⁷⁸ Or possibly, "to display the insatiable lust of the beltwearers." But "scarcity" or "dearth" is better because it provides a better parallel with the statement that the sun will shine forth a penalty for the evils. The sun is the subject in both cases, "shine forth" parallels "display," and "penalty" would best parallel a type of punishment, such as a "dearth" of resources.

FRIENDS AND STUDENTS

P2. Epilogue

Having made things clear to this point, he 50 breathed his last. And King Amenophis, who had been persuaded⁷⁹ with regard to⁸⁰ not a few events 51 about which he had proclaimed, honored the potter with funerary rites and (then) buried him in Heliopolis. 52 But he deposited the papyrus in his sacred archives and 53 showed it to all people ungrudgingly.

Postscript

54 The Potter's Defense 55 made to Amenophis the king, translated⁸¹ as best as possible.⁸² Concerning the things that will happen in 57 Egypt.

⁷⁹ Burstein's "who was grieved" (or O'Connell's "was troubled") is not impossible but is unlikely, because if this was what was intended the proper form would have been ἐπαχθέσθεις rather than the actual reading given in the text, which is ἐπαχθείς.

⁸⁰ The sense is better if this is understood as a dative of respect. But the passive verb expects an agent or instrument, so "persuaded by" is equally possible.

⁸¹ Technically the word order would suggest, "The Potter's Defense, translated 55 for Amenophis the king as best as 56 possible." But given the occasional use of interlocking order elsewhere in the text, I am not sure that Koenen's emendation of the word order is necessary to obtain the proper sense.

⁸² Or less likely, "translated according to the meaning."