

V. The Misfortunes of Wenamūn,  
from a papyrus now in the Moscow Museum.

1. 
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 3. 
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 9. 
 10.

## V. The Misfortunes of Wenamün.

*Abbreviations.* G = Golénischeff's text in Rec. de Trav. XXI, 74 foll. G' = Gol.'s earlier transcription of p. 1 in his Russian article. E = Erman's collation of G with the original papyrus. (E) = readings of G left by Erman without comment. photo = photographs of the original possessed by, or lent to, me. N.B. The prepositions  $\text{---}$  (= old  $\text{R}$ ),  $\text{---}$  (= old  $\text{mm}$ ),  $\text{---}$ , and  $\text{---}$  are very often omitted. Such omissions are not as a rule mentioned in the following notes.

1,1. <sup>a</sup> So G' and all photos, confirmed by Lourie; G(E) wrongly  $\text{---}$ . The dates in 1,1.6.7 are clearly irreconcilable, but since no firm basis for emendations is indicated, no alterations of the MS readings are here proposed. <sup>b</sup> A variant of  $\text{---}$  not uncommon in and after Dyn. XXI; doubtless derived from the cursive hieratic writing  $\text{---}$  frequent in Dyn. XX. <sup>c</sup> In dates written in hieratic the numbers for the days are always laid on their sides, see Möller, Hier. Pal. II, nos. 657 foll.

<sup>d</sup> ; G  $\text{---}$ , doubtless rightly as regards  $\text{---}$ , the top right angle of which is visible but displaced. The first determinative resembles  $\text{---}$ , but is not identical with it; it probably serves to indicate that hsy signifies not "sky," but "portal" or the like, cf. the O.K. det  $\text{---}$ . The transcription here is purely artificial. Cf. Gol. Gloss. 2, 10-1, from the same hand.

<sup>e-f</sup> A fold in the papyrus as at present mounted conceals the two  $\text{mm}$ 's completely.

1,2. <sup>a</sup>  $\text{---}$  with three horizontal strokes, not merely two as in 1,15. Still hardly  $\text{---}$ .

<sup>b</sup>  $\text{---}$ ; however, comparison of the other examples of this word (2,4.49.56) with  $\text{---}$  and  $\text{---}$  elsewhere in this papyrus is conclusive in favour of  $\text{---}$ .

1,3. <sup>a</sup> The spelling, cf. 2,23 below; the phrase hr tp i(t)₁ (€1000) ibid.; Harris 57, 10. <sup>b</sup> Restore nty m.fon? 1,4. <sup>a-b</sup> So G. rightly.

1,6. <sup>a</sup> See Horus and Seth, 6,8, note <sup>c</sup>; also below 2,26.28.46. <sup>b-c</sup> See above 1,1, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>d</sup> For this writing of older  $\text{---}$  see ZAS LIX, 63; characteristic for Dyn. XXI, cf. Max d'Anii 5,3; below 1,7. <sup>a</sup> Sic; read 1,8. <sup>a</sup>  $\text{---}$  i.e. the ligature for  $\text{---}$  "month 1" (cf. 1,2,39) superfluously augmented by  $\text{---}$  above it. Quite similarly  $\text{---}$  2,44.

1,9. <sup>a</sup> The space-filler  $\text{---}$  occurs several times below in the next few lines. Cf. also 3,8.

<sup>b</sup>  $\text{---} G \text{---} 10,000$ , which is also palaeographically possible. The sense here, as also 2,1.58 decides in favour of 50.

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 18  
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 20

I, 11. <sup>a-b</sup> Of only the dot is visible, and of the stroke only the top. After this a low long group, well suiting . <sup>c</sup> For the space-filler — see I, 9, note <sup>a</sup>.

I, 12. <sup>a-b</sup> Perhaps restore [redacted]. The word dmd will have been rubricized. Possibly the genitival following it is unnecessary.

<sup>c</sup> So G, wrongly questioned by E. Interpretation is, however, difficult. Possible solutions are: (1) dws̄w is really for once taken as a feminine, cf. tʒ dmi below 2, 75; also see Horus and Seth I, 10, note <sup>b-c</sup>; (2) m dws̄w being a well-known phrase, is superfluous, and is perhaps a mere abusive anticipation of the initial pronounced t of dws̄w too ; a solution that might apply also to tʒ dmi, 2, 75; (3) less likely is the supposition that is semi-phonetic for , since the phrase Pap. Leyden 350, verso 3, 32 uses hr, not m. <sup>d</sup> is a semi-phonetic spelling of the infinitive , Coptic wε; so too often below, e.g. I, 22; 3, 4; but sdmf, Pap. hier. Strassburg 25, recto 6 = ZÄS III, 11, Dyn. XXI. <sup>e</sup> G.E.; — is certain from photo, though obscured by a fold.

I, 13. <sup>a</sup> Or else with a space-filler; in this story "there" is often either (1) e.g. I, 4; I, x + 16; 2, 21. 61, or else (2) e.g. 2, 1. 20. <sup>b</sup> only here in place of .

I, 14. ; the stroke below is probably fortuitous. <sup>b</sup> Wörterb. IV, 144 interprets this as smty "judge" doubtless on account of the rare det. and the rare verb "hear", "judge"; this seems more likely than to take the word as a miswriting of ssmy, though the first signs suggest as a palaeographical possibility.

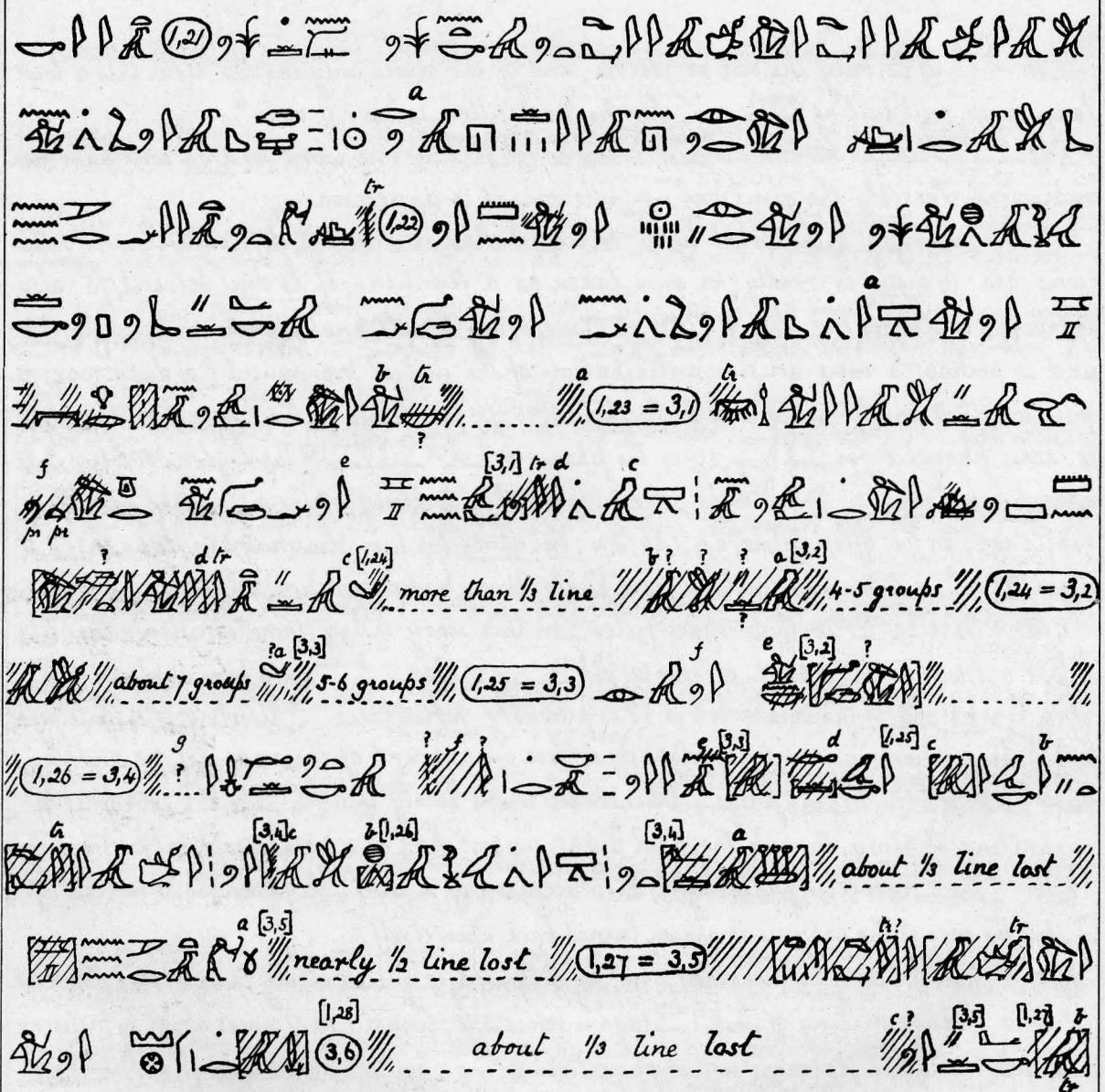
I, 15. <sup>a</sup> So E, correcting the slight displacement of in G; the photo shows no trace of but the edge of the papyrus is shown turned back upon itself.

I, 17. <sup>a</sup> (twice). "whether ... or; see the passages quoted in my Inscr. of Mes, p. 16, n. 28.

<sup>b</sup> This strange writing of (again below 2, 18; Anast. I, 10, 5) comes about by prefixing to a determinative its more usual phonetic writing. See ZÄS XL, 76 and cf. ; less close analogies are , ; also below 1 x + 16; 2 2, 15.

I, 19. <sup>a</sup> A semi-phonetic writing of (cf. the full writings 3, 9; 2, 36) "until they have (done) ....", Coptic watoy, see JEA, XVI, 231. Cf. below 2, 66, and possibly also 3, 4 (damaged).

I, 20. <sup>a</sup> For old m.: "in his name", i.e. "whatever his name may be"; see Griffith, Rylands Pap., s.v. rn; Setne (I, 3, 6 for demotic examples).



Erman had already realized that the narrative contained in the damaged and threadbare fragment called p.3 by Golenischeff must belong between 1,22 and 1,x+1,foll. Against this view, however, militated the fact that p.3, top, looked like the top of a page with a protecting strip. At the last moment Dr. Ibscher has examined the photos. with great care and has concluded that the supposed p.3 is a sheet that has become ungummed from the well-preserved sheets over and under it. The supposed margin at top of p.3 is really underlap, and the tongue projecting down with the few signs numbered 1,24-7 fits a lacuna in the left-hand part of the threadbare sheet. Similarly the bottom of p.3 slightly overlaps the sheet with x+1 foll. This theory is, as seen above, brilliantly confirmed by the philological evidence.

1,21. <sup>a</sup>This, the only example of the plural of h(r)w 200y "day" in the story, is also the only case where w is written; for the singular 109<sup>b</sup> see 1, x+16; 2, 8.58. For the present plural writing cf. the Akhmimic plural zpey.

1,22. <sup>a</sup> See above 1,12, note <sup>d</sup> for this writing.

1,23. <sup>a-b</sup> The sign before h, left unread by G.E., is just possibly h, but is very far from certain. The traces of the preceding word are illegible. I had thought of hni (1, x+1) but the trace before h does not really suit h and 1, x+1 has as det. h with h. Near the beginning of line we seem to have h, which it is tempting to restore as h. If h be correct, we should then have the construction [h .....] k(w)i "[mayst] thou[...] me"; for h as dependent pron. 1st. sing. see below 2,26; Blinding of Truth, 6,7; Mayer A, 2,3, end.

<sup>c</sup>The writing with h only here and 2,39 in this story, which has h for the infinitive, see 1,12, note <sup>a</sup>. Here we have a participle, and probably so in 2,39. <sup>d</sup> I had guessed h, but Ibscher's reasoning makes it clear that we have here the first letters of im "sea". It is very curious that the definite article p3 should be absent; but its absence can be explained by assuming a phrase sm <sup>h></sup> im "go to sea". This is the one and only real difficulty in the way of Ibscher's reconstruction on the philological side. The top of this P in 3,1 seems visible in 1,23, but owing to the bad mounting of p.3 it is impossible to be certain from photo.

<sup>f</sup> Probable from photos.; omitted by G.E. E rightly h for h of G.

3,2. <sup>a-b</sup> So photo.; omitted by G.E.; it is not certain whether the first word should be restored as h or as h. [1,24]<sup>c</sup> Not h as G.E. but clearly h; photo. h; cf. 2,77.

<sup>d-e</sup> Owing to the differing scale of photos. and present condition of p.3 the size of the lacuna is difficult to estimate. At <sup>e</sup> [3,2] certainly not h as G.E. but h; I imagine some such restoration as h h h h h h. <sup>f</sup> G. h; E. h; h is certain.

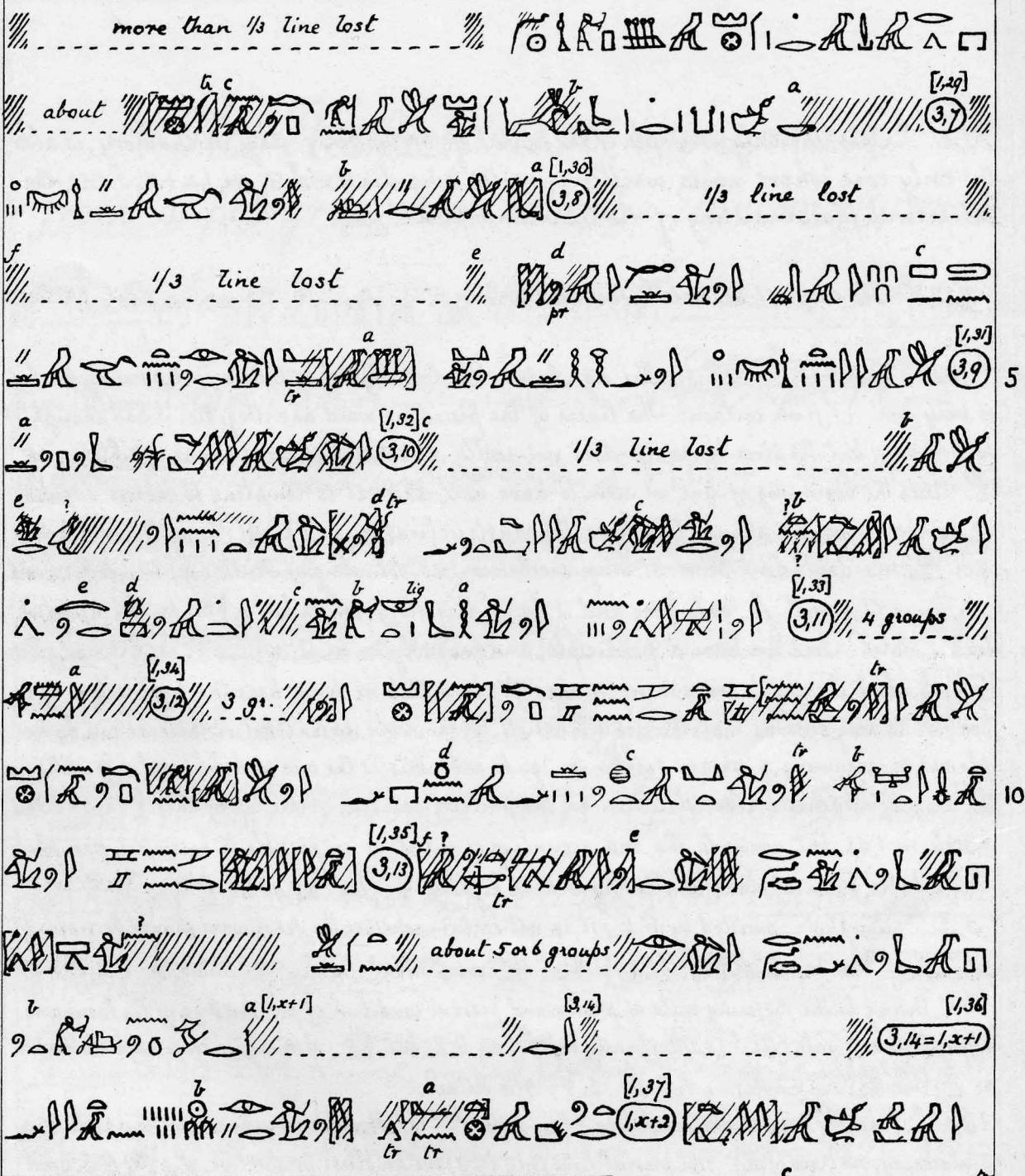
3,3. <sup>a</sup> I see h in photo., much like h in 1,14. <sup>b-c</sup> If Ibscher's view be correct, this restoration is necessary; no trace of h. Not present time (nty tw.k) but doubtless prospective. [1,25]<sup>d</sup> h; G.E. omit.

<sup>e</sup> G.E. h, but I am not sure it is not h (photo). <sup>f</sup> Uncertain; an unknown word. <sup>g</sup> h photo; G. h.

3,4. <sup>a</sup> See 1,19, note <sup>a</sup>. [1,25]<sup>b</sup> h recognized by me in photo. before Ibscher's reconstruction confirms [it]

<sup>c</sup> G(E) h, but photo. of p.3 shows only a gap now filled by h of 1,26.

3,5. <sup>a</sup> So E., photo.; G. omit. <sup>b-c</sup> 1,27 h here fits in wonderfully well; tail of h photo.; cf. 1,22 for the word. At <sup>c</sup> G.(E) read h, which is also possible.



(continued on p. 65)

Hirsch has made it highly probable (see p. 63, bottom) that p. 3 overlaps the lower half of p. 1. In 3.14, which gives  $\Delta$  nearly entire, are seen traces which may be top of  $\Delta$ . Much more certain, further on, trace of the top of  $\Delta$  in  $\Delta\Delta$ .

3,7. <sup>a</sup> photo.; G. gave but E. noted that there was no trace of this and insufficient space. <sup>b</sup> Read see 1,17. <sup>c</sup> G shows the name entire, but without l; of this I think to see traces in the photo.

3,8. <sup>a-b</sup> Certain; recognized by Gerny from the photos. <sup>c</sup> For the space-filler see above 1,9, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>d</sup> G. ; E. ; from the photo. seems more probable, besides suiting the sense better. <sup>e-f</sup> The sense must here be: "[I said to the owners of the ship: I have taken] your money."

3,9. <sup>a</sup> See 1,19, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>b-c</sup> Perhaps restore which fits the available space well. Before the lacuna , omitted by G, but given by E, is certain

3,10. <sup>a</sup> So photo.; G.(E) . <sup>b</sup> So perhaps the photos.; hardly ; G.E. omit. <sup>c</sup> So G.(E); in the photo. I think I see traces of both and , though is superfluous and to be accounted an error. <sup>d-e</sup> G. ; E. suggests for the first signs " oder ganz anders?" In the photo. Gerny recognized fairly clear traces of ; for G's seems to me certain, and must be meant ("but as for you") though there is no trace of over the . G. is possibly right in reading for after the lacuna, but the sign might also be a rather abnormal . seems certain.

3,11. <sup>a-b</sup> The sign following is a puzzle; demands two ticks and the same is true of ; G. and E. have no proposal. <sup>c-d</sup> G. (E.) ; the word - doubtless "tent" with perhaps borrowed from "clay" one - is certain from photo., this passage and 1,x+12, end, mutually confirming one another.

<sup>e</sup> An error for i.e. < hurapt "on the shore of"; correctly 1,x+13; 2,44; almost as here, 2,62; intermediate writing , 2,14.

3,12. <sup>a-b</sup> Cf. 2,55. <sup>c</sup> This spelling of the old , in Dyn. XX occurs often below, e.g. 2,7,30; also Max. d'Anii, 4,10; 5,5. The is written large like , and this, combined with following, suggests the influence of . <sup>d</sup> See 1,6, note <sup>d</sup>. <sup>e-f</sup> Restored from 1,x+2,3; 1,x+9 (see notes therem); tail of is visible. At end may have been omitted or written .

1,x+1. <sup>a</sup> G.(E) wrongly. <sup>b</sup> Suffix 1st. sing. after a fem. infin.; see 2,74, note <sup>d</sup>; Horus and Seth, 4,9.

1,x+2. <sup>a</sup> ; reading certain, though not in G.(E.). <sup>b</sup> G. ; E. "oder 20?"; seems certain from photo., and is confirmed by 2,27. <sup>c</sup> G. restores similarly, but wrongly omits ; see 1,x+6.

1, x+2 to 1, x+11  
 1, x+3      [1, 38]      1, x+4      [1, 39]      1, x+5      [1, 40]      1, x+6      [1, 41]      1, x+7      [1, 42]      1, x+8      [1, 43]      1, x+9      [1, 44]      1, x+10      [1, 45]      1, x+11      [1, 46]

5  
 10  
 15

1, x+3. <sup>a</sup> For ~~g~~ as dependent pronoun, 2nd. masc. sing., see Horus and Seth, 7, 1, note <sup>a</sup>; so too in this same phrase 3, 12; 1, x+9; but ~~g~~ above 1, 20.

<sup>b</sup> G wrongly without —.

1, x+4. <sup>a</sup> Sufficient traces visible in photo.; cf. 1, x+5.

<sup>b</sup> The writing of iny with Δ, also e.g. 2, 8, 15, alternates with forms without det., e.g. 1, 2; 2, 8, 11. Examples with Δ are rare at any period, but cf. Max. Anii, 4, 12. <sup>c</sup> G ~~¶~~ ¶; at the end of the lacuna I see ¶, which suggests ~~¶~~; however, "god" is written ~~¶~~ without l in 1, x+7; 1, x+12. <sup>d</sup> This writing with initial P often below, e.g. 2, 37, 39; examples occur sporadically at all periods, see Erman, Zur äg. Wortforschung, III, in Sitzs. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss. 1912, 958, n. 2.

1, x+5. <sup>a</sup> Initial Δ also below 2, 68 and very often in papyri of this date, a shortening of older Δ; but in this tale Δ without tick is commoner, see 1, x+15; 2, 26, 63.

1, x+6. <sup>a</sup> The strokes — also in the preposition — below 2, 3, see too Horus and Seth, 15, 2, note <sup>b</sup>. Such writings are common at this period.

1, x+8. <sup>a</sup> Here there is a small —, almost a dot, under l; without — in 1, x+9, 11.

<sup>b-c</sup> For — "so says he, namely (n = old m)....." So again below 1, x+11, and for the construction cf. — — — — — 2, 25. The writing — for — also in — — Pap. Mayer A, 9, 19; Gardiner et al., Theban Ostraca, p. 16 f. n. w.; Peet, Tomb Robberies, p. 164. <sup>d</sup> — in this tale occasions great difficulty. My conclusions are as follows: (1) it negatives a statement 1, x+23; 2, 11 (bis), 12, 13, 27 (?); (2) negation in a question expecting the answer 'yes' = latin nonne? 1, x+8; x+9; x+20; (3) precedes another negation in a question expecting answer 'yes', and therefore perhaps simply interrogative particle = old l, 1, x+22; x+23; 2, 1, 27, 49, 65, 66, 77, 82; (hardly double negation as emphatic statement, ZÄS ~~XVII~~, 8, n. 1, see especially 2, 77, a clear question); (4) interrogative particle in question expecting answer 'no' = latin ne? 2, 81 (hardly 'surely, thou will not...').

1, x+9. <sup>a</sup> The same phrase 3, 12; 1, x+3; see note <sup>a</sup> on latter. <sup>b</sup> Negative question, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (2). <sup>c</sup> See 1, x+8, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>d</sup> Certain; recognized by Cerny from photo.

1, x+10. <sup>a</sup> So G.(E). photo; one expects — as e.g. 1, x+2. <sup>b</sup> See above 1, 12, note <sup>d</sup>.

1, x+11. <sup>a</sup> Without following — as in 2, 67; cf. too 3, 7; 2, 76. <sup>b</sup> See above 1, x+8, note <sup>a</sup>.

1, x+11 to 1, x+21  
 [1, 47] 1, x+12  
 [1, 48] 1, x+13  
 [1, 49] 1, x+14  
 [1, 50] 1, x+15  
 [1, 51] 1, x+16  
 [1, 52] 1, x+17  
 [1, 53] 1, x+18  
 [1, 54] 1, x+19  
 [1, 55] 1, x+20  
 [1, 56] 1, x+21

1, x+11 to 1, x+21  
 1, x+12  
 1, x+13  
 1, x+14  
 1, x+15  
 1, x+16  
 1, x+17  
 1, x+18  
 1, x+19  
 1, x+20  
 1, x+21

1, x+11. <sup>a</sup> For ~~mn~~ "so says he, namely ....", see 1, x+8, note <sup>b-c</sup>.

1, x+12. <sup>a</sup> See above 3, 11, note <sup>c-d</sup>; G wrongly ~~mn~~ <sup>[?]</sup>.

1, x+13. <sup>a</sup> So again with a space-filling dot 2, 22.80. <sup>b</sup> See Möller, Hier. Pal. I (II), no. 92; used wrongly for ~~mn~~ below in swg, 2, 22.

<sup>c</sup> ~~mn~~. There is a space, not noted by G.E., between ~~mn~~ and ~~mn~~, and a trace - is visible therein. This might be trace of ~~mn~~, though the photo shows no other indication of the sign. Grammatically, iw h<sup>3c</sup>.f st.f seems preferable to the accepted reading iw h<sup>3c</sup> st.f.

1, x+14. <sup>a</sup> G; <sup>b</sup> E. The photo seems to show ~~mn~~ but the oblique stroke may be fortuitous. The sign can hardly be read as ~~mn~~, which has here a quite different shape.

<sup>b</sup> ~~mn~~, omitted by G(E) is here for ~~mn~~, as again in 2, 23.53.59; see too above, in Blinding of Truth, 8, 7, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>c</sup> ~~mn~~; G; E "Reste einer Gruppe, gewiss ~~mn~~". The photo shows ~~mn~~; ~~mn~~ is probable, and the preceding sign, very unlike ~~mn~~ in x+15, may owe its strange appearance to the roughness of the papyrus at this point. If ~~mn~~ be correct, there will be dittoigraphy at the beginning of the next line.

1, x+15. <sup>a</sup> A common writing of h(r)w zooy at this period, particularly in cursive MSS.

1, x+16. <sup>a</sup> A miswriting for 1(?)w, incorporating 1(?)w dws:w on the principle discussed 1, 17, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>b</sup> For this writing of h(r)w zooy "day" cf. 2, 8.58. Contrast the plural 1(?)w with r, above 1, 21, with note <sup>a</sup> thereon.

1, x+17. <sup>a</sup> ~~mn~~ here and several times below after ~~mn~~ almost a mere dot. <sup>b</sup> P

1, x+19. <sup>a</sup> For this writing with one ~~mn~~ only see below 1, x+24; 2, 39.

1, x+20. <sup>a</sup> Negative question, see above 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (2).

<sup>b</sup> The reading is quite certain except perhaps as regards the determinatives; cf. Horus and Seth, 7, 5. <sup>c</sup> G ~~mn~~; E "fehlt überhaupt etwas?" Perhaps my ~~mn~~ is only the continuation of ~~mn~~.

1, x+21. <sup>a</sup> So G(E); not visible in photo, which shows the edge of the papyrus folded over.

a [1.5]      a [1.5]
   
 1.x+22      1.x+23
   
 1.x+24      1.x+25
   
 1.x+26      1.x+27
   
 1.x+28      1.x+29
   
 1.x+30      1.x+31
   
 1.x+32      1.x+33
   
 1.x+34      1.x+35
   
 1.x+36      1.x+37
   
 1.x+38      1.x+39
   
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 1.x+226      1.x+227
   
 1.x+228      1.x+229
   
 1.x+230      1.x+231
   
 1.x+232      1.x+233
   
 1.x+234      1.x+235
   
 1.x+236      1.x+237
   
 1.x+238      1.x+239
   
 1.x+240      1.x+241
   
 1.x+242      1.x+243
   
 1.x+244      1.x+245
   
 1.x+246      1.x+247
   
 1.x+248      1.x+249
   
 1.x+250      1.x+251
   
 1.x+252      1.x+253
   
 1.x+254      1.x+255
   
 1.x+256      1.x+257
   
 1.x+258      1.x+259
   
 1.x+260      1.x+261
   
 1.x+262      1.x+263
   
 1.x+264      1.x+265
   
 1.x+266      1.x+267
   
 1.x+268      1.x+269
   
 1.x+270      1.x+271
   
 1.x+272      1.x+273
   
 1.x+274      1.x+275
   
 1.x+276      1.x+277
   
 1.x+278      1.x+279
   
 1.x+280      1.x+281
   
 1.x+282      1.x+283
   
 1.x+284      1.x+285
   
 1.x+286      1.x+287
   
 1.x+288      1.x+289
   
 1.x+290      1.x+291
   
 1.x+292      1.x+293
   
 1.x+294      1.x+295
   
 1.x+296      1.x+297
   
 1.x+298      1.x+299
   
 1.x+299      1.x+300

1, x+21. <sup>a</sup> Semi-phonetic for ~~DN~~ NTE, see ZÄS XII, 6. So too below 1, x+22; 2, 28. 58. 67.

1, x+22. <sup>a</sup> Not visible in photo owing to the folding over of the papyrus edge.

<sup>b</sup> ~~nn~~ perhaps here for interrogative ~~nn~~, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

1, x+23. <sup>a</sup> Not visible in photo; see 1, x+22, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>b</sup> Negation "not"; see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (1). <sup>b-c</sup> Coptic MN<sup>T</sup>Y; cf. wn (m-) di<sup>2</sup> w 2, 29. <sup>d</sup> Interrogative particle, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

1, x+24. <sup>a</sup> Not visible in photo; see 1, x+22, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> With only one ~~¶~~ as 1, x+19; 2, 39.

2, 1. <sup>a</sup> The spelling is clearly influenced by ~~Σ Δ Τ~~ and seems to point to the reading ss. For this troublesome problem see my Notes on... Sinaïke, pp. 72. 160; also Wörterb. III, 483. <sup>b</sup> Interrogative particle, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3). <sup>c</sup> ~~¶~~; G 1 = 1; for the reading nn see above 1, 9, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>d</sup> See 1, 13, note <sup>a</sup>.

2, 3. <sup>a</sup> This writing of the preposition again below in 2, 59. See too above 1, x+6, note <sup>a</sup>, and Pap. Mayer A, 3, 7; 8, 7; 9, 7. 19.

2, 4. <sup>a</sup> ~~¶~~; see above 1, 2, note <sup>b</sup>.

2, 7. <sup>a</sup> — is made large like —. See above 3, 12, note <sup>c</sup>. <sup>b</sup> See below 2, 28, note <sup>a</sup>.

2, 8. <sup>a</sup> So G; the rather scanty traces seem to suit. For the word cf. 1, 19.

10. 2, 8-19  
 2, 9. 2, 10. 2, 11.   
 2, 12. 2, 13. 2, 14.   
 2, 15. 2, 16. 2, 17.   
 2, 18. 2, 19.

5 10 15

$4\frac{1}{2}$  gr.    $2\frac{1}{4}$  gr.   5 groups

2,8. <sup>a</sup> G ; the traces visible in photo suit ~~well~~ excellently.  
<sup>b</sup> For this writing see 1, x + 16, note <sup>b</sup>.

2,9. <sup>a</sup> Here probably with nn, not n as above 1, 11; 3,8. <sup>b</sup> "different things," nty, see Wörterb. II, 354; so written often in the Decree of Pinodjem, e.g. 38.40 (Gol's numbering). That the curious writing with n above, instead of after, n is purely graphic, seems proved by n "whatever" below 2,70, see note <sup>b</sup> thereon. The sign n similarly above a suffix which is to be read before it, see 1, 6, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,11. <sup>a</sup> (twice). Negative statement, see above 1, x + 8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (1).

2,12. <sup>a</sup> Negative statement, see last note.

2,13. <sup>a</sup> Negative statement, see 1, x + 8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (1).

2,14. <sup>a</sup> l at the beginning of a word is abnormal and a peculiarity of the scribe of Wenamün and the Gol. Glossary, see Burchardt, Altkan. Fremdwörte, I, 28.

<sup>b</sup> Exceptionally so for l, or rather for l n below 2,19; Horus and Seth, 15,7.

<sup>c</sup> A miswriting of l, see above 3,11, note <sup>e</sup>.

2,15. <sup>a</sup> <l R l> has been omitted in passing from this line to the next. So already Eiman, ZAS. XXXVIII, 9.

2,16. <sup>a-b</sup> Since l n is certain from photo, the construction is clearly similar to that of 2,15 above, and the only really uncertain word in the restoration is l l l l.

2,17. <sup>a</sup> Photo l l l - ; the trace is decisive for l, but I cannot restore. <sup>b</sup> l <sup>c</sup> l  
<sup>d</sup> ; the vertical sign appears not to be l. <sup>e</sup> The traces suit well.

2,18. <sup>a</sup> This writing, cf. above 1,17, with note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b-c</sup> Abnormal writing for l l l <l>.

20, 1 3, 2, 20  
 21, 2, 21  
 22, 2, 22  
 23, 2, 23  
 sic  
 24, 2, 24  
 25, 2, 25  
 26, 2, 26  
 27, 2, 27  
 28, 2, 28  
 29, 2, 29  
 30, 2, 30

5 10 15

2,20. <sup>a</sup> mn is superfluous, see grg·w immediately following. If not a mistake, it can only be regarded as a very early example of the N (for m) found in Coptic before the direct object; on this see Spiegelberg's remarks, Rec de Trav. XXVI, 94.

<sup>b</sup> See above, 1, 13, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,22. <sup>a</sup> A writing of nmoy parallel to that of the adverb nmoy dealt with in 1, 13, note <sup>a</sup>; so too again below 2, 53. 77. 78. <sup>b</sup> Similarly with space-filling dot, 1, x+13; 2, 80.

<sup>c</sup>  ; like the det. of hms, 1, x+13, see note <sup>b</sup> thereon. The same word has the child-determinative  below in 2, 23; this is better, the meaning being "silly" like a child.

2,23. <sup>a</sup> See last note. <sup>b</sup> For nn  , as is written in 1, x+22; nn for  , see 1, x+14, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>c</sup> For this writing of i(t)rw, ειοορ, see above 1, 3, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,24. <sup>a</sup> For  at the beginning of this name see above 2, 14, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,25. <sup>a-b</sup> So G.(E); both photos show a lacuna. <sup>c</sup> "namely . . ." see 1, x+8, note <sup>b-c</sup>.

2,26. <sup>a</sup> Photo  ; almost like  or  . <sup>b</sup> See 1, 6, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>c</sup> Dependent pron. 1st. sing.; for this spelling see 1, 23, note <sup>a-b</sup>.

2,27. <sup>a</sup> nn perhaps the simple negation here; a doubtful case. See above 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (1). <sup>b</sup> Negative question, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3); nn here is for n.

2,28. <sup>a</sup> This papyrus observes the usual L-Eg. distinction of  (or  ) with two ticks (or one) for the value sw,  without tick for the value mst, see 2, 5. 79. Cf. the same distinction Horus and Seth, 14, 5. <sup>b</sup> See above 2, 14, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>c</sup> For nn, see 1, x+21, note <sup>a</sup> (p. 67a). <sup>d</sup> See 1, 6, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,29. <sup>a</sup> For εγ nn  εγ ntoy; cf. above 1, x+23, with note <sup>b-c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> For the determinative, see 1, x+4, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>c</sup> Read εγ εγ  εγ, see 3, 12, note <sup>c</sup>.

፩ የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,31</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,32</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,33</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,34</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,35</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,36</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,37</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,38</sup>  
 የዕለታዊ አገልግሎት ተናስተካክለሁ እንደሚከተሉ  
 ይህንም ስምምነት ተመርሱ ይችላል ፩<sup>2,39</sup>

2,30. <sup>a</sup> See 3,12, note <sup>c</sup>.

2,32. <sup>a</sup> Between ⲥ and ⲫ a deleted vertical sign, probably Ⲧ.

2,34. <sup>a</sup> < ⲩ ⲙ ⲙ ⲩ > has been omitted; see above 2,30. <sup>b</sup> See 3,12, note <sup>c</sup>.  
<sup>c</sup> G.(E) ⲩ ⲩ ; photo clearly ⲩ ⲩ.

2,35. <sup>a-b</sup> A ⲇ ⲇ ⲇ ⲇ or at least a unique writing. Wörterb. IV, 166 suggests that it may be merely a misspelling of ⲩ ⲩ "officer." The phrase ⲩ ⲇ ⲩ ⲩ seems to have influenced the writing.

2,36. <sup>a</sup> See above 2,9, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b-c</sup> See 1,19, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,37. <sup>a</sup> For this spelling see 1,x+4, note <sup>d</sup>.

2,38. <sup>a</sup> ⲩ ⲩ ⲩ ⲩ ; ⲩ is E's proposal, and is rendered practically inevitable by ⲩ following - not ⲩ as G read. But the form is very strange, and differs from that used by the same scribe Gol. Glass. 3,2.      2,39. <sup>a</sup> See 1,x+4, note <sup>d</sup>.

तु युक्ते वर्षा पूर्व को दीपालि नामको जन्म अवधि  
संभव हो नाहि। एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि २४० सुन्दरी नामकी  
दीपालि के रूप में उत्तमा २४१ थी। उसे कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दिए गए थे। उसे कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे।  
उसे कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४२ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४३ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४४ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४५ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४६ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४७ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे। २४८ एउटा दिन कृष्ण दीपालि के नाम  
दीपालि के नाम दिए गए थे।

2, 39. <sup>a</sup> The writing with  $\Delta$  appears to indicate a participle "who had gone"; see above 1, 23, note <sup>c</sup> and as exact parallel to the present sentence Two Brothers, 11, 8. However, we might expect the prothetic  $\Delta\Delta$ . <sup>b</sup>  $\Delta$ , see 1, 8, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>c</sup> With only one  $\Delta$ , as above 1, x+19; x+24. <sup>[possible]</sup>

2, 40. <sup>a</sup> G.(E) read  $\sim$  for  $\Delta\Delta$ ; the sign is much damaged, but  $\sim$  seems barely <sup>b</sup>  $\Delta\Delta$ ; for the reading  $\Delta\Delta$  see Bull. de l'Inst. franç. XXX, 173. <sup>c</sup>  $\Delta\Delta$  a combination of  $\Delta$  and  $\delta$ , as E recognized. <sup>d</sup>  $\Delta\Delta$ ; G: [ ]; E "ob  $\Delta\Delta$  oder  $\Delta\Delta$ ?" The final sign is probably a missshapen  $\delta$ .

2, 41. <sup>a</sup>  $\Delta$  <sup>b</sup> On this writing see Horus and Seth, 8, 11, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>c</sup>  $\Delta$  much more oblique than  $\Delta$  preceding. So too in 2, 42. I transcribe as the writing demands, and as the scribe may have meant, but the word is  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$  "basket."

2, 42. <sup>a</sup> (twice). As above, 2, 40, note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup>  $\Delta$  <sup>c</sup> See above 2, 41, note <sup>c</sup>. Here the preceding group is  $\Delta$  i.e.  $\Delta$ , not  $\Delta$

2, 44. <sup>a</sup>  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$ ; the ligature for  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  (Möller, Hier. Pal. II, no. 312) is here written below  $\Delta$ ; cf. the analogous writing  $\Delta\Delta$  above 1, 8, see note <sup>a</sup> thereon.

2, 45. <sup>a</sup>  $\Delta$  is here clearly written; so G.(E). For this miswriting of  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  see ZÄS. XLVIII 36.

<sup>b</sup>  $\Delta$ , a clear lotus leaf, Coptic  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ ; see Wörterb. IV, 195. <sup>c</sup> For  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ , as below 2, 46.

2, 46. <sup>a</sup> See 1, 6, note <sup>a</sup>.

2, 47. <sup>a</sup> G.(E)  $\Delta$ ; photo  $\Delta$  i.e.  $\Delta$ , as in  $\Delta\Delta\Delta$  immediately following. Nevertheless the scribe may have intended to write the word as in 2, 45, see note <sup>a</sup> thereon.

1  
 2,49  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15

2,50  
 2,51  
 2,52  
 sic  
 2,53  
 2,54  
 2,55  
 2,56  
 2,57

2,48. <sup>a</sup> ~~it~~ can hardly be correct, if interpreted literally, and might possibly be mechanically repeated from ir n.i at the beginning of the sentence. But perhaps it is merely an inaccurate way of saying "for mine"; i.e. "for my fathers."

2,49. <sup>a</sup> ~~m~~ is probably here for interrogative m "will they not.....?" See above 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

2,51. <sup>a</sup> For ~~it~~ with the not infrequent omission of the preposition nn. So too above 2,17. 30.33; below 2,71.77. See too Blinding of Truth, 5,6, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>b</sup> See 1,x+4, note <sup>d</sup>.

2,52. <sup>a</sup> For the writing of this word for "tomb" identically with chew aye "life" (see 2,31) cf. the variants ~~mnkt~~ Lieblein, Deux papyrus.... Turin, 4,6; ~~mnkt~~ Ost. Hood, 6, (unpublished). Nevertheless, there is reason to think that mnkt, mnkt should be read; so too Wörterb. II, 49.

2,53. <sup>a</sup> See above 2,22, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>b</sup> See 1,x+14, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>c</sup> Without 9, 1,x+4; 2,56.

2,54. <sup>a</sup> It seems to be displaced above the line. The papyrus is here in great disorder, <sup>(photo)</sup>. <sup>b</sup> ~~mnkt~~ photo; E, who read ~~mnkt~~, has also recognized ~~mnkt~~. The nn following seems to me well-nigh certain. If mnkt be accepted, the sense must be "thou hast not (scil. here before thee) one of his envoys." <sup>c</sup> G ~~mnkt~~; E "/// wo vielleicht nichts steht." From the photo ~~mnkt~~, though indistinct, appears highly probable; cf. ~~mnkt~~ in a Dyn. XXI letter, Proc. S.B.A. XXXI, Pl. 2.

2,55. <sup>a</sup> Scanty traces, but the reading is inevitable. So G.(E). <sup>b</sup> See below 2,59.

<sup>c</sup> A quite unusual writing, ~~mnkt~~ or the like being normal.

2,56. <sup>a</sup> Without 9 (so too E), as above 2,53.

2,57. <sup>a</sup> ~~mnkt~~; G ~~mnkt~~; nn seems certain from photo, but ~~A~~ would here have a most abnormal form. However, cpn is exactly the word required.

"— ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ②.58 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ②.59 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ②.60 ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ②.61  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ- ②.62  
 — ḥ- ②.63  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ②.64  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ②.65  
 — ḥ- ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ḥ-  
 — ḥ- ②.66

2,58. <sup>a</sup>  photo; G 1 = 1. See above 1, 9, note <sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> For  see 1, x + 21, note <sup>a</sup> (p. 67a). <sup>c</sup> G.E. -x; photo, clearly 9, though with an exceptionally long tail; for this see 9 in irm 2, 2.  
<sup>d</sup> See above 1, x + 16, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>e</sup> See 1, x + 4, note <sup>d</sup>.

2,59. <sup>a</sup> See 2, 3, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> For  as several times elsewhere in this story. See 1, x + 14, note <sup>b</sup>.

2,61. <sup>a</sup> Sic; the sense being future we should have expected  , see Gunn, Studies in Egyptian Syntax, p. 57, nos. 99, 100.

2,62. <sup>a</sup> For  , see above 3, 11, note <sup>e</sup>. The  following is superfluous.

<sup>b</sup> So E., photo.

2,63. <sup>a-b</sup> For old  , see Egyptian Grammar, § 331. Doubtless Coptic EYNHY, though NHY is usually explained otherwise.

<sup>c</sup> See below 2, 69, 70; Max. d'Anii 7, 2; Horus and Seth, 2, 5, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,64. <sup>a</sup> See above 1, x + 13, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>b</sup> For the spelling see Horus and Seth, 8, 11, note <sup>b</sup>.

2,65. <sup>a</sup> A mistake for  , see 2, 68.

<sup>b</sup>  is here a writing of interrogative  , see 1, x + 8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

2,66. <sup>a-b</sup> See above 1, 19, note <sup>a</sup>.



2,66. <sup>a</sup> ~~mn~~ is here for interrogative ~~mn~~, see 1,x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

2,67. <sup>a</sup> See above 1,12, note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Without <~~sh~~>, see 1,x+11, note <sup>a</sup> (p. 65a). <sup>c</sup> See 2,64, note <sup>b</sup>. <sup>d</sup> For ~~sh~~, see 1,x+21, note <sup>a</sup> (p. 67a).

2,68. <sup>a</sup> See 1,x+5, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,69. <sup>a</sup> See 2,63, note <sup>c</sup>.

2,70. <sup>a</sup> See last note.

<sup>b</sup> For the strange writing of rty nb with - above mn cf. RP̄N̄ M̄ in a Dyn. XXI letter from Hibeh, ZÄS LIII, 10; see too 2,9, note <sup>b</sup>.

2,71. <sup>a</sup> ~~z̄l~~; for the upper sign, the reading of which is certain, see Möller, Hier. Pal. II, no. 475.

<sup>b</sup> See 1,6, note <sup>d</sup>. <sup>c</sup> See 2,51, note <sup>a</sup>. <sup>d</sup> Read m̄l as in 2,63, or perhaps better : z̄l.

2,72. <sup>a</sup> All translations give "with", clearly wrongly. Without emendation, sh can be taken only as a writing of mn "for". No other example of the kind occurs, however, in this tale.

2,73. <sup>a</sup> See 1,6, note <sup>d</sup>.

2,74. <sup>a</sup> (twice). An unusual writing of the suffix 1st sing. occurring once again 2,81.

<sup>b-c</sup> In the photos I see z̄l. The reading given in the text seems fairly certain, except that the dot over - is perhaps only part of the dot of sh. In Coptic sh im-t would be m̄mo, coinciding with Akhm. m̄mo = old sh (Saadic m̄ay) which is perhaps here meant. <sup>d</sup> Suffix 1st sing. after a fem. infin., see 1,x+1, note <sup>b</sup>; also 2,75, at <sup>b</sup>.



2,75. <sup>a</sup> Dmī, in 2,76 masculine, is here apparently taken as a feminine. For a similar difficulty and an alternative view, see 1, 12, note <sup>c</sup>. A third view that here we have a fem. word dmit "port", "harbour", differing from the masc. dmi "town" in the next line (Sethe, *Achtung feindlicher Fürsten*, 57), seems to me exceedingly improbable.

<sup>b</sup> Probably suffix 1st. pers., see 1, x+1, note <sup>b</sup>. Wörterb. I, 368 appears to regard the complex wiss-tw as an old perfective, but since the sense is evidently dynamic ("pushed" or "forced my way") it is far more likely that we here have a fem. infin. with reflexive suffix.

2,77. <sup>a</sup> For z, see above 2,51, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Here doubtless an interrogative particle, old m; see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

<sup>c</sup> For MWtN, see 2,22, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,78. <sup>a</sup> See 2,22, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,80. <sup>a</sup> 1st. pers. suffix after a fem. infinitive, see 1, x+1, note <sup>b</sup>. In the same verb 2,74 m was not written. <sup>b</sup> For the space-filling dot see 2,22, note <sup>b</sup>.

2,81. <sup>a</sup> Perhaps a writing of interrogative m as elsewhere in this tale; but all other examples appear to be before a negative word. See above 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (4) and (5).

<sup>b</sup> For this writing of d-Eg. 90 q see below 2,83; Max. d'Anii 4,16; Decree of Neskrons, 81, 90 (Gol.'s numbering). <sup>c</sup> For this writing of the suffix 1st. sing. see 2,74, note <sup>a</sup>.

2,82. <sup>a</sup> See above 1, x+16, note <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> m is doubtless for the interrogative particle m, see 1, x+8, note <sup>d</sup>, under (3).

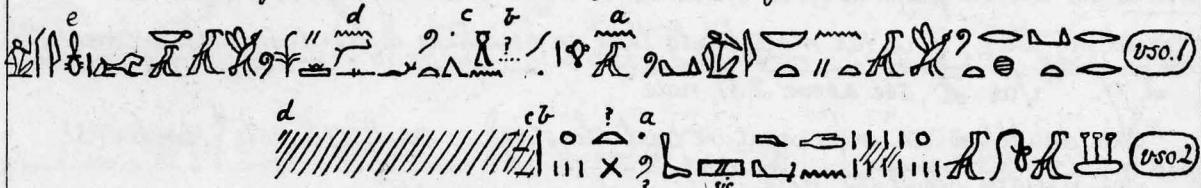
2,83. <sup>a</sup> "belonging to thee", perhaps a mere misspelling of z here.

<sup>b</sup> See above 2,81, note <sup>b</sup>.



Here ends the second page of Golenischeff's numbering, and the rest of the tale is lost. For the fragment designated p. 3 by the same scholar, see above, pp. 63-4.

APPENDIX. Verso. A line and a half written at the bottom of p. 1 behind 1, x+21 to x+13, at the end of these lines. The writing is thus at a right angle to that of the recto, and would appear as top of a page if the recto were turned from left to right, and then leftwards at 90°.



## VI. The Legend of Astarte,

from the Amherst fragments now in the Pierpont Morgan collection, New York.

