Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich

The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth

A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge
and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica

Volume 1: Text

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To the Memory of our Fathers
Alexander Jasnow (1918–1997)
Karl Zauzich (1911–1941)

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Abbreviations

Bibliographic Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1960–.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, 1979–.
AEL	Miriam Lichtheim. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*. 3 volumes. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1973–80.
ALE	Dimitri Meeks. *Année Lexicographique Égypte ancienne*. Volumes 1–3 (1977–1979). Paris: Cybele, 1998.
ANRW	W. Haase and H. Temporini, editors. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–.
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo, 1900–.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo, 1908–.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Cairo, 1901– .
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie.* Paris, 1949– .
CD	W. E. Crum. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels, 1926–.
CED	J. Černý. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
CRIPEL	*Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*. Lille, 1973–.
DLE	Leonard Lesko et al. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 5 volumes. Berkeley and Providence: B. C. Scribe Publications, 1982–1990.
DVS	Janet Johnson. *The Demotic Verbal System*. SAOC 38. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976.
EG	Alan Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd edition, rev. London: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1957.
Glossar	W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen.* Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion. Göttingen, 1972– .
HP	Georg Möller. *Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909–12.
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston, 1962–.
JEA	*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London: 1914–.
JJP	*The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. New York and Warsaw, 1946–.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago, 1942–.
Karnak	*Cahiers de Karnak.* Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. Cairo, 1975–.
Kêmi	*Kêmi*. Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes. Paris, 1928–.
KHWB	Wolfhart Westendorf. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965–77.

LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf (editors). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Seven volumes. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975–1992.
LEM	Ricardo Caminos. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Brown Egyptological Studies 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
Lexikon	Penelope Wilson. *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997.
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire. Paris and Cairo, 1889– .
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*. Louvain, 1970–.
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Leiden, 1920–.
RdE	*Revue d'Égyptologie*. Cairo and Paris, 1933– .
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg, 1974– .
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1931–.
Wb.	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* Seven volumes (and five volumes *Belegstellen*). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig and Berlin, 1863–.
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn, 1967–.

General Abbreviations

adj.	adjective
add.	addendum
ca.	*circa*, about, approximately
cf.	*confer*, compare
col(s).	column(s)
det.	determinative
ed(s).	editor(s)
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
par.	parallel
pl(s).	plate(s)
p(p).	page(s)
vb.	verb
vol(s).	volume(s)

Abbreviations in the Designations of Papyri

B	Berlin
C	Copenhagen
F	Florence
L	Louvre
PC	Papyrus Carlsberg. These papyri are housed in the Carsten Niebuhr Institute at the University of Copenhagen.
PSI	= papyri in the collection of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' in Florence
V	Vienna

(V.T.)	(Vulture Text)
Y	Yale = papyri in the collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven

Symbols

⌜ ⌝	encloses partly damaged text
[ ]	encloses text lost in break
. . .	damaged or unread text
< >	encloses reconstruction due to scribal omission
/	line change
//	caesura. We indicate such a pause in a line in order to clarify the sense. We have used this symbol mainly in the section of the Book of Thoth preserved in B02.
•	"Verse"-point
Bold Font	In the transliterations and translations bold indicates a rubric.

Locations of Transliterations and Translations with Commentary of the Papyri

B01 169–212
B02 170–309
B02 fragment B 289–292
B02 fragment F 295–301
B02 other unplaced fragments A–R 358–360
B03 289–308
B03.1 295–304
B03.2 294–299
B03.3 294–301
B03.4 360
B03.5 190–196
B03.6 361
B03.7 361
B03.8 361–362
B03.9 285–288
B03.10 191–211
B03.11 362
B03.12 362–363
B03.13 363
B03.14 363–364
B03.15 364
B04 . . . . . 232–330 and 474–481
B04.1 214–230
B04.2 232–263
B05 191–235
B06 367–389
B06.1 384–389
B06.2 385–389
B06.3 393–395
B06.4 389–390
B06.5 390–391
B06.6 392
B06.7 392–393
B07 364–377
B08 393–395
B08.1 395
B08.2 396
B08.3 171–187
B08.4 396
B08.5 268–272
B09 397
B09.1 397–398
B10 398
B11 . . . . . 318–331 and 474–481
B12 398–399
B13 399–400
B14.1 435–437
B14.2 437–439
C01 367–382
C02 294–311
C02.1 400–402
C02.2 402–403
C02.3 332–336
C02.4 403
C03 333–342
C03.1 403–404
C04.1 161–169
C04.2 167–178
C04.3 146–149
C04.4 404–413
C04.5 413
C04.6 413–414
C04.7 433–435
C04.8 143–157
C04.9 152–163
C04.10 414
C04.11 414–415
C05 415
C06.1 152–159
C06.2 274–278
C06.3 151–159
C07.1 364–378
C07.2 415–416
C07.3 416
C07.4 416
C07.5 385–389
C07.6 416
C07.7 416
C07.8 417
C07.9 417
C08 170–182
C09 150–163
F01 366–382
F01.1 365–376

F01.2 385–389
F01.3 417–418
F01.4 418
F01.5 418
F01.6 365–375
F02 419
F03 419–420
F04 420
F05 420–421
F06 214–223
F07.1 421
F07.2 421
F07.3 421–422
F07.4 161–164
F08 422
F09 171–185
F10 166–174
F11 407–412
F12 150–160
F13 147–159
F14 366–380
F15 422–423
L01 . . . . . 171–239 and 473–492
L01 (V.T.) = L01 (Vulture Text) . . 332–358
L01.1 . . . . . 225–244 and 485–488
L01.2 250–266
L01.3 . . . . . 261–276 and 483–485
L01.4 . . . . . 261–288 and 481–485
L01.5 289–310
L01.6 . . . . . 318–326 and 475–481
L01.7 423–424
L01.8 407–412
L01.9 . . . . . 424–425 and 494–496
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L01.11 474–481
L01.12 481–483
L01.13 483–485
L01.14 485–488
L01.15 488–490
L01.16 491
L01.17 491
L01.18 492
L01.19 492
L02 366–388
V01 143–166
V01.1 426
V02 426–428
V03.1 428–429
V03.2 429
V03.3 429
V03.4 430
V03.5 430
V04 152–175
Y01.1 431
Y01.2 432–433
Y01.3 433–435
Y01.4 435–437
Y01.5 437–439
Y01.6 439
Y02 407–413

Locations of Transliterations and Translations with Commentary of the Major Papyri (B02, B04, and L01) according to Column

B02
Column 1 169–182
Column 2 182–189
Column 3 190–201
Column 4 201–213
Column 5 213–224
Column 6 224–232
Column 7 232–239
Column 8 240–249
Column 9 250–260
Column 10 260–267
Column 11 268–273
Column 12 273–282
Column 13 285–288
Column 14 or "14" 289–293
Column 14 294–304
Column 15 304–310

B04
Column 1 214–230
Column 2 232–247
Column 3 241–263
Column 4 260–273
Column 5 . . . . . 286–289 and 294–304
Column 6 . . . . . 296–310 and 312–317
Column 7 . . . 312–317, 275–285, 474–479
Column 8 . . . . . 318–328 and 475–479
Column 9 . . . . . 328–330 and 476–481

L01
Column 1 171–196
Column 2 190–212
Column 3 203–229
Column 4 . . . . . 225–239 and 485–488
Column 5 233–245
Column 6 250–266
Column 7 . . . . . 261–276 and 483–485
Column 8 . . . . . 285–288 and 481–483
Column 9 289–293
Column 10 294–310
Column 11 474–479
Column 12 476–481

L01 (V.T.) = L01 (Vulture Text)
Column x+1 332–340
Column x+2 340–347
Column x+3 347–354
Column x+4 354–358

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Many have helped us in the course of our work on the Book of Thoth. We thank Professor Dr. Dietrich Wildung for the permission to publish the papyri from the Berlin Museum. Dr. Ingeborg Müller was of great assistance to us during our research there. *Diplomrestauratorin* Myriam Krutzsch masterly reassembled and conserved P. Berlin P 15531 (= B02), the chief witness of the Book of Thoth. Margarete Büsing took the excellent publication photographs of the Berlin papyri. Chief Curator Christiane Ziegler kindly allowed us to work on the Louvre papyri, while Curators Christophe Barbotin, Elisabeth Delange, and Marc Etienne expedited our study of the texts. Dr. Etienne also greatly helped our study of the Book of Thoth by communicating to us his discovery (together with Sophie Sagaÿ) of important new fragments of P. Louvre E 10488 (= which we designate L01), not published by Revillout. We have been able to position the fragments in their proper place in the photographs of P. Louvre E 10488. On computer Martin Zauzich skillfully added the new fragments to our photographic illustrations of L01. Since they came to our attention after the submission of the manuscript, the transliteration and translation of these new fragments are in the addenda. They are not otherwise mentioned or discussed in the body of the manuscript. Dr. Kim Ryholt made possible our collation of the papyri in the University of Copenhagen, and freely offered hospitality at The Carsten Niebuhr Institute and his insights into the Tebtunis papyri under his care. Both he and Dr. Joachim Quack brought to our attention numerous important papyri of the Book of Thoth in Yale, Florence, Copenhagen, and Berlin. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Quack for informing us about the hieratic fragment L02 (P. Louvre AF 13035 and P. Louvre E 10614), and sending to us an excellent hieroglyphic transcription, just before the manuscript was dispatched to press. We have therefore been able to incorporate this important witness into our edition at the last moment, even if we have not been able to provide quite as detailed a discussion as it deserves. The illustration and transcription of this hieratic text have been added on plates 60 and 61. We thank Dr. Martin Stadler for drawing the hieroglyphic transcription; he also contributed several useful observations and corrections. Professors Manfredo Manfredi and G. Bastianini in Florence graciously allowed us to work in the Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli» in Florence. Dr. Giovanna Menci helped us in every way there, providing much information and advice about the Book of Thoth papyri housed in that collection. Dr. Robert Babcock of the Beinecke Library gave permission to examine the fragments at Yale University, while Anne Marie Menta arranged for the publication photographs. The Keeper in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities W. Vivian Davies permitted us to search the collection of Demotic papyri at the British Museum for Book of Thoth texts; Curator Carol Andrews facilitated our study of the papyri in that museum. We are grateful to Professor Dr. H. Harrauer for the excellent photographs of the papyri in the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. The Deutsche For-

schungsgemeinschaft generously funded a study trip for the purpose of visiting the museums in London and Paris. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft also provided the essential subvention which has made possible the publication of the Book of Thoth. We are exceedingly appreciative for this support. We would also like to thank the anonymous reader for the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, who offered several useful suggestions and corrections.

Karl-Theodor Zauzich would like to add a few words of his own: Im Jahre 1964 verschaffte mir mein Lehrer Erich Lüddeckens, dem ich so viel verdanke, die Möglichkeit, noch während meines Studiums für die „Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" zu arbeiten, bei jenem auf Jahrzehnte angelegten Projekt, das es zahlreichen jungen Wissenschaftlern ermöglichte, originale Handschriften in vielen orientalischen Sprachen zu studieren. Dies ist der Platz, um dankbar an den Gründer und langjährigen Leiter der Katalogisierung Wolfgang Voigt zu erinnern, der es auf wundersame Weise geschafft hat, auch die Sammlungen in der DDR in das Projekt einzubeziehen. Zu Beginn meiner Tätigkeit übergab mir Erich Lüddeckens einen großen Stapel von Fotos demotischer Papyri, die sich in der Papyrussammlung Berlin auf der Museumsinsel (Ost-Berlin) befanden und die er überwiegend selbst photographiert hatte. Mit großer Spannung und Erwartung machte ich mich sofort an eine erste Durchsicht und kann mich lebhaft an die Freude erinnern, mit der ich viele hochinteressante Texte der verschiedensten Gattungen entdeckte. Am erstaunlichsten erschien mir sofort der längste Text in einer schwierigen, aber sehr gleichmäßigen Handschrift mit einem mir in seiner Art vollkommen neuem Text, eben jene Handschrift des Thotbuches (unser Manuskript B02), die den Ausgangspunkt dieses Buches bilden sollte.

Vom Jahre 1968 an durfte ich dann im Ägyptischen Museum in Berlin-Charlottenburg (West-Berlin) arbeiten, wo es darum ging, aus dem großen Schatz von univentarisierten und gänzlich unbearbeiteten Papyrusfragmenten wissenschaftlich lohnende Stücke herauszusuchen und zu bearbeiten bzw. für eine Bearbeitung bereitzustellen. Gern erinnere ich mich an jene glücklichen Jahre einer fruchtbaren Zusammenarbeit mit den Kollegen Herwig Maehler und dem viel zu früh verstorbenen Dino Bidoli. Ich möchte die Gelegenheit nutzen, um den damaligen Direktoren der Sammlung Werner Kaiser und Jürgen Settgast zu danken, die meine Arbeit ermöglicht haben, sowie auch den Papyrus-Restauratoren Max Brzyski und seinem Nachfolger Jürgen Hofmann, die sie immer freundlich und kompetent gefördert haben. Mit Dankbarkeit und großem Respekt möchte ich hier auch erwähnen, daß der damalige Direktor des Ägyptischen Museums und der Papyrussammlung auf der Museumsinsel (Ost-Berlin), Dr. Wolfgang Müller, es mir erlaubte, regelmäßig in dem von ihm geleiteten Hause zu arbeiten. Im Interesse der Wissenschaft setzte er sich mutig über eine Anordnung seiner Regierung hinweg, die Kontakte mit Mitarbeitern der Staatlichen Museen Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz (West-Berlin) untersagte. Die Papyri in Ost-Berlin waren nach dem Krieg in die Sowjetunion transportiert und erst 1958 zurückgegeben worden. Weil es damals von Ost-Berlin bis Wladiwostok keinen Demotisten gab, hielt ich es für meine Aufgabe, die Sammlung demotischer Papyri zu sichten, zerbrochene Stücke zusammenzusetzen, fehlende Inventarnummern zu rekonstruieren usw. Da ich auch das uninventarisierte Material durchsehen und daraus viele Stücke inventarisieren durfte, konnte ich weitere Fragmente der erwähnten Handschrift des Thotbuches identifizieren.

In Würzburg zeigte mein Student und späterer Assistent Richard Jasnow sehr früh Interesse an dem „Book of Thoth", auf das er durch zwei Einträge in Černýs Coptic Etymological Dictionary aufmerksam geworden war. Im Jahre 1989 schenkte ich ihm bei einem besonderen Anlaß eine Kopie der Handschrift B02 und bot ihm die Zusammenarbeit bei der Edition des Thotbuches an. Was als Geschenk für ihn gemeint war, erwies sich mehr und mehr als ein Geschenk für mich selbst. Keinen besseren Mitarbeiter hätte ich mir wünschen können, der schließlich die Hauptlast getragen und das Manuskript allein geschrieben hat. In der mehr als 15jährigen Zusammenarbeit in Würzburg und Sommerhausen, aber auch in Paris und London, sind wir manchmal fast verzweifelt über den immensen Schwierigkeiten des Textes und seiner vielen Varianten, aber auch immer wieder mit Freude über die Schönheit und Gedankentiefe der Komposition belohnt worden. Als Älterer darf ich wohl sagen, daß wir durch Thot zu Freunden geworden sind.

Abschließend möchte ich den Studierenden meiner Demotisch-Klasse danken, mit denen ich gelegentlich einzelne Abschnitte des Thotbuches gelesen habe und die uns manche Anregungen gegeben haben, über die einzeln vermerkten hinaus.

Richard Jasnow is deeply indebted to Professor Betsy Bryan, Chair of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins University. She has unfailingly supported our project, and Jasnow has, moreover, benefited greatly from frequent Egyptological conversations with her. The collegial atmosphere of the Department of Near Eastern Studies is, indeed, an ideal environment in which to conduct such research. Johns Hopkins University also provided several travel grants which enabled Jasnow to study the papyri in Copenhagen and Berlin.

In 1997 Jasnow spoke on the Book of Thoth at a meeting of the Chicago-Stanford Seminar on Hellenistic Egypt at the University of Chicago. Discussions with the Demoticists there, especially with Professors Janet Johnson and Robert Ritner, were extremely helpful. Johnson's encouragement to go to Würzburg to study in 1984, and her aid in obtaining for Jasnow a DAAD fellowship, laid the groundwork for his involvement with the Book of Thoth. Jasnow wishes to thank Professor Johnson again here for her inspiring teaching of Demotic. Moreover, the experience gained by him as a graduate student working on Johnson's Demotic Dictionary Project, which permitted daily contact with such Demoticists as George Hughes and Mark Smith, proved invaluable for the Book of Thoth. Thomas Urban generously read through a draft of the manuscript, and offered many valuable comments on format and corrections to style. We have benefited greatly from his deep experience in producing Near Eastern language text editions.

We are very grateful to Dr. Barbara Krauss of Harrassowitz Verlag for accepting our manuscript on behalf of that distinguished firm. She has enthusiastically met the challenge of publishing the Book of Thoth, and has helped to solve the many technical difficulties associated with producing this volume. Her constant support and encouragement have been a source of comfort to the authors. We also thank her assistant, Ms. Sonja Becker, who produced the computer version of the manuscript that was submitted to the printer. This was no light task in view of the necessary conversion from Apple to PC format. Both authors would like to acknowledge here the skills of Joachim Adomeit, Dirk Grothues, and Marco Raasch of the printing house Hubert & Co. in Göttingen, who displayed great expertise and efficiency in the printing of this complicated book.

Richard Jasnow would also like to remember here his parents who heard so much about Thoth through the years, and often gave him good advice on the study. His brother, too, Dr. Michael Jasnow, was always willing to discuss this project; he was at all times there with moral support and useful observations. Christina Di Cerbo helped immensely in organizing the confusing material and was also an excellent *Gesprächspartnerin* in mat-

ters of Demotic. She contributed several of the overview plates of the longer papyri, while the drawing of Thoth on the cover is from her hand. Jasnow would further like to thank her mother, Christine Di Cerbo, and grandmother, Gertrude Schinzel, who provided such an exceptionally hospitable *Zuhause* at Ansbach in which to contemplate the mysterious beauty of the Book of Thoth.

November 2004

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Postscript

On July 27th, 2005, Karl-Theodor Zauzich received from Hilde Lüddeckens photographs from the papers of Professor Erich Lüddeckens. Among these was a photograph of P. Michigan 6128, which could be immediately recognized as belonging to the lengthy manuscript of the Book of Thoth in the Louvre designated by us as L01. The new fragment, for which we propose the designation L01.20, is parallel to B06+B06.1+B06.2, col. 2 (plate 25). This new parallel permits us to place exactly the hitherto unplaced B06.5 (plate 26); it belongs at the top of the column between the fragments B06.1 and B06 (plate 25). This discovery results in several changes in our understanding of B06, B06.1, B06.2, and B06.5, which we will publish elsewhere. We thank Professor Traianos Gagos of the University of Michigan with whom we have corresponded concerning this fragment.

R. J. and K.-Th. Z.

Let one open for me the well
which unites with the wise ones
that I may drink from its sweet water!

(Book of Thoth, B02, col. 6,5)

I. Preliminary Essays on the Book of Thoth

1. Introduction and History of Scholarship

We present here the *editio princeps* of an extensive scholarly and theological composition which we have designated the "Book of Thoth." The product of scribes probably associated with the House of Life, it represents a remarkable intellectual achievement of Late Period Egypt. Although engaged in the decipherment, translation, and interpretation of this document for some fifteen years, we do not claim to have resolved all of its difficulties. It is the nature of such Egyptian compositions to be elusive and multi-leveled; the Book of Thoth is no exception. Our aim is to offer a foundation upon which future scholars can build.[1]

Although individual papyri belonging to the composition have been published, if not always translated, the text has scarcely received any attention. Spiegelberg included photographs of significant portions of B04 in the Berlin catalogue, but confessed himself unable even to summarize the text.[2] Herbert Thompson quoted several words in his Demotic manuscript dictionary from B02 which he designated as "P. Berlin (Thoth)." Through him a few quotations entered Černý's *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*.[3] Thompson must have seen the papyrus in the early twentieth century, but all trace was lost until Zauzich discovered it again in the Berlin collection. An important advance was our recognition that B02 was paralleled in part by a text in the Louvre (L01 = P. Louvre E 10488).

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1 We first introduced the composition in Jasnow and Zauzich, "A Book of Thoth?" in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 607–18. Since that time we have lectured on the text at the American Research Center meetings in Chicago (1999) and Ann Arbor (1997), as well as the Hellenistic Colloquium at University of Chicago (1997), and at Johns Hopkins University. These preliminary discussions have occasioned comment, e.g., Hornung, *Das Esoterische Aegypten*, p. 54; Kingsley, "Poimandres: The Etymology of the Name and the Origins of the Hermetica," in van den Broek and van Herrtum (eds.), *From Poimandres to Jacob Böhme: Gnosis, Hermetism and the Christian Tradition*, p. 42; Mahé, "La Renaissance et le mirage égyptien," ibid., p. 382.

2 Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, p. 26 and plates 72–74. For the designations of the texts, see pp. 79–88.

3 Černý, *CED*, p. 86 (MNOT, "breast"); p. 156 (GNGN, "resound").

Revillout did in fact publish poor photographs of that much destroyed papyrus in 1902 with a brief translation, but it has been scarcely mentioned in the literature.[4] Reymond included several Vienna fragments of the composition (= V01 and V02) in her *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*.[5] Despite their broken condition and the rather misleading translation, a few scholars, such as Redford[6] and Fowden,[7] nevertheless appreciated the significance of these unimpressive bits and pieces.

We believe our title, "The Book of Thoth," is not unsuitable for the composition.[8] It is, admittedly, a term which has been applied to numerous distinct texts.[9] Thoth was, indeed, a prolific author: according to Manetho he wrote 36,525 books, although another scholar, Seleukos, maintained it was only 20,000.[10] In any case, our particular Book of Thoth early on assumed alarming proportions. There are now some 18 columns in more or less secure sequence, and several sections are represented by as many as seven different manuscript witnesses - an uncommon luxury in Egyptian. There are approximately 44 "witnesses" to the composition, ranging from tiny fragments to lengthy and complete multi-columned papyri.[11] We have identified portions of the Book of Thoth in Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Florence, Copenhagen, and New Haven.[12]

The decipherment and interpretation have been hampered by the lack of parallels among already known texts. While individual phrases, similar themes and subject matter can naturally be found in other documents, we have discovered no true parallel among published hieroglyphic, hieratic, or Demotic works.

4 It is not found, for example, in the list of Demotic papyri in Lüddeckens, *LÄ* 4, col. 873 ("Papyri, Demotische").

5 Reymond, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*, pp. 117–42.

6 Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, p. 217.

7 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 62.

8 Many writings were naturally attributed to Thoth. Edfu Temple provides a good example: "A copy of a writing which was made by Thoth, in accordance with what the (creative) Words of the Heavy Flood said: Enumeration of the mounds of the First Time, as it is called," Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*, p. 25.

9 See Quaegebeur, "Books of Thoth belonging to owners of portraits? On dating late hieratic funerary papyri," in Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks. Burial customs in Roman Egypt*, pp. 72–77. He discusses (ibid., p. 72) the *mḏ3.t Ḏḥwty* in Spell 68 of the Book of the Dead. The Book of Two Ways was said to have been found under the flanks of Thoth (?), Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 189.

10 Schott, "Thoth als Verfasser heiliger Schriften," *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 20. See also Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 136. Fowden, ibid., p. 136, aptly quotes the opening of Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*, "Hermes, the god who presides over learning, has for long been rightly regarded as common to all priests; he who presides over true knowledge about the gods is one and the same, whatever the circumstances. It was to him that our ancestors too dedicated the fruits of their wisdom, by placing all their own writings under his name."

11 Some, to be sure, may be fragments belonging to the same papyrus roll.

12 We thank K. Ryholt and J. Quack for their identification of fragments of the Book of Thoth in New Haven, Copenhagen, Florence, and Paris.

2. Overview of the Book of Thoth

It is difficult to provide an overview of this composition. First, the condition of the papyri often prevents connected translation, especially in the beginning of the text. Second, the number of subjects treated is quite large. Nevertheless, there are certainly basic themes to which the author repeatedly returns, while even the most damaged sections preserve good clues as to their subject-matter.

The discursive nature of the composition is determined largely by its question and answer format.[13] The Book of Thoth is not a narrative, but a dialogue between the *mr-rḫ*, "The-one-who-loves-knowledge" or "The-one-who-wishes-to-learn" and a deity, generally *Ḥsr.t*, "He-of-Heseret," or *Ḥs-rḫ*, "He-who-praises-knowledge." We identify this god with Thoth. While there may be an overall "shape" to the composition, it conveys the loose character of an encyclopedia.

One basic aim of the work seems to be to present different types of useful scribal/theological/scholarly knowledge to the aspiring disciple or reader. As such, the author often moves from point to point in a fashion difficult for us today to discern. Moreover, individual temple scribes may well have changed, expanded, and adapted a core composition according to their own individual needs. This would account for the various versions which we have identified. It may incorporate ritual texts or served the priestly scribes as a reference work on such matters.

As may be expected in a composition of this type, it is not always clear just where a given passage is situated in time and space. One has the impression that much of the action is set in the House of Life in connection with specific festivals or events. However, there is little doubt that the constituent elements of the House of Life could be imbued with symbolic force; the author may conceive this institution as reflecting the underworld or, perhaps better, the divine world. Similarly, the author of the Book of Thoth may sometimes employ metaphorical language. The process of attaining mastery of scribal knowledge, for example, may mirror the deceased's striving to attain rebirth.

We leave aside the possible beginning of the composition, preserved in B07, since the placement is uncertain, and commence our description with V01, the portions already published by Reymond. It is likely that only a few columns are missing at the beginning, judging from the preserved column numbers in C02, C02.1, and C02.2.

The fragmentary following columns do not permit a narrative reconstruction. Nevertheless, phrases and words provide indications of the subject matter. The first recognizable speaker is the *mr-rḫ* (V01, 1/17) in a section mentioning plants and the "tongue." The appearance of "the deceased ones" already implies an underworld milieu.

Mythological references continue into the following very broken lines (V01, column 2). The author speaks of the Ennead, "ears of grain of gold," and the "Lord of Hermo-

13 "The dialogue form, which we have already encountered in the 'Man Weary of Life' ... appears to have been quite widely employed in the literature of the New Kingdom, though the 'Instruction' of Any is the only text to preserve a good example," Posener, "Literature," in Harris (ed.), *Legacy of Egypt*, p. 246. A good discussion of the question and answer interaction between the deceased and the ferryman is in Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 157–58. Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead contains a series of questions and answers in an underworld dialogue, see Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 100.

polis" (= Thoth). The image of the nurse first appears, a figure prominent throughout the composition. Also significant is the first allusion to the "scribal palette."

In the shattered, but well-attested V01, column 3, the Heseret (= Thoth) advises the *mr-rḫ* specifically regarding scribal ritual and implements. One of the problems with this composition is the author's unusual terminology for scribal equipment. Here, for example, the deity offers advice concerning the otherwise unparalleled "box of Shai" (= not "Fate" but "Seshat") in addition to the well-known scribal water-jar and palette. The subject may be particular rituals associated with scribal equipment or the act of writing itself. Most fascinating is the first appearance of the Chamber of Darkness, which may be a composition, designate an actual locality in the temple (in the House of Life?), or refer to the Underworld itself.

With an enigmatic mention of the *hp n ntr*, "the law/custom/spell of god" (V01, 3/6) the author begins to utilize the imagery of nursing and milk, presumably a reference to the nurturing of the scribal student. One gains the impression that writing is being presented in symbolic terms: writing as a creative act. The author clearly alludes to the sacred *bas*, "the sacred rolls" or "sacred souls." A few more or less complete statements are preserved: "The papyrus/scribe is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are ...] the papyrus rolls/generations, that is, ... [...]" (V01, 3/15).

The scribe mentions nets and hunting, while using too the figure of the *bas*. The *mr-rḫ* is anxious to display his knowledge, and begins to explain the "Praises of *Isten*" (V01, 3/16), an epithet or form of Thoth.

In the following section the author continues his description of hunting and fishing. The fragmentary passage appears to compare the act of writing to fishing and fowling. Scribal equipment is perhaps symbolically explicated.

The broken sections (V01, column 4) after this provide merely tantalizing phrases, such as "lake of life which is before *Shai* (here 'Seshat')." The author speaks of the "scribal palette," "baboons," "turquoise," "nets," "beasts" and "birds" which "possess no herdsman." The *mr-rḫ* may well address Seshat herself.

Another damaged section contains the enigmatic statement: "I am the son of a man who ...[...]" (C04.2, 1). The *mr-rḫ* here establishes his credentials vis-à-vis the deity (*Ḥs-rḫ*). The god then questions the disciple regarding the teacher-student relationship. This sadly lacunose passage preserves revealing phrases: "wise one," "father" and "son," "heart and tongue," and the "prophet." These subjects remain important throughout the composition.

Most significantly the deity points to birds and wild animals: "Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountain, do they not have guidance?" (B01, 1/6–7).

The point of the deity is that the divine creator, Thoth or Re, has provided animals with intelligence. Since the entire composition deals with sacred animals, this may further be, on one level, a rhetorical section justifying efforts to understand the "sacred speech" of animals, perhaps expressed through omens.

The next section treats a quite different topic. It has an unambiguous title: "The Chapter ... of the scribal equipment, the occasion of gaining authority over it" (B01, 1/8). Unfortunately, the much damaged passage yields little connected sense. The composition deals here with the ritual connected with the scribal palette, much like the Edfu temple scenes treating a similar topic. Of great interest is the mention of the "son of *Wn-ỉmȝ*," a phrase known from Edfu as an epithet of the king, but here possibly applied to priestly

scribes. In any case, the remainder of the relevant column of the main manuscript (B01) names the "praises of *Isten*," "collection of the reeds (?)," the "teaching," "She who initiated" (writing [?]; probably Seshat), "the treasury in/of the house of books," the "box of divine-secrets," the "craftsman," and the "box of papyrus-rolls." Clearly, the author explicates aspects of the scribal art and the institutions connected therewith.

The *Ḥs-rḫ* continues to speak for the next columns (B02, col. 2) concerning the scribe or magician. He advises the *mr-rḫ* on how to attain scribal success. He uses designations such as "prophet" and "craftsman," which may denote varying levels of proficiency, virtually assuming the status of technical terms. While many of the images and phrases in this rather broken passage are obscure, the god definitely praises the teaching, the benefits of which are summed up thus: "As for his (the god's) beloved, he being in complete darkness, the teaching/teacher will light for him a torch."

At this point the composition is excellently preserved (B02, col. 3), and the *Ḥs-rḫ* is still speaking. He apparently describes the successful scribe or scholar, the "ideal" of the *mr-rḫ*. In many ways this paragon resembles the blessed deceased. The god recounts that he (= the disciple?) is "searching for the secret compartments (*ỉpt.w*) of the lord of the *Heden*-plant." He aspires to many of the same goals as those of the deceased. The scene of the action is presumably in the underworld, specifically, the "river of coals." He joins the crew of the Bark of Re, learns the constellations, and gains control over his body. There may be allusions to the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.[14] In this composition, however, the result thereof is that he also becomes acquainted with a series of sacred books. He is deemed suitable to become one of the exalted "apprentices of the Servant of Thoth." This servant may in fact be the seer, Imhotep.

The *Mr-rḫ* then asks Thoth ("O select of speech") about the "claw which fastens on the tongue." He is concerned with the implements of the scribal craft. The *mr-rḫ* requests knowledge about the "tools" (*ḫ.w*). He asks specifically about the "nurse" who nurtures language (B02, 4/1).

The *Ḥsr.t* describes in detail the goddess, who in L01 seems to be the divine personification of a gate. He instructs the *mr-rḫ* about the proper fashion of greeting her. She resembles the formidable Tefnut who gave Thoth himself so much trouble. In this section there are manifest allusions to the Myth of the Sun's Eye. Despite his own experience with that intimidating goddess, the *Ḥsr.t* encourages the *mr-rḫ*.

This helpful response emboldens the *mr-rḫ* to inquire about the "book" or "writing" and its location. In a poetical reply the *Ḥsr.t* answers: "The writing (or 'book') is a sea," and advises the *mr-rḫ* to immerse himself without hesitation. By this the deity presumably means that the *mr-rḫ* should involve himself deeply in scribal activity.

The image of the sea and the reeds on its shores is maintained. The *Ḥsr.t* then moves to a description of "the seven reeds which resemble the plow in the seven fields of 'He who knows the Two-Lands (= Thoth).'" In column five (of B02) the deity presents an extended exposition on these sacred localities, the farmer, the fields, the crop, and the storerooms. Much is obscure in this section, but clearly the god draws an analogy to the *mr-rḫ* between the act of writing and cultivation of the fields, using, it seems, the fields surrounding the underworld Lake of Fire as a metaphor. The god encourages the *mr-rḫ*

14 Compare the adaptation of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony in a snake-spell, Quack, "Zwiebel und Keule," *SAK* 24 (1997): 231–39.

to persevere in his scribal efforts. The latter then expressly asks the god to describe the "work of the fist." In reply the deity explains in detail the art of holding a brush.

In B02 column six, the deity advises the *mr-rḫ* to learn and not to shun writing. In this spirit the *mr-rḫ* questions concerning the brush, an inquiry answered by the deity with a symbolic designation of the utensil as the "*ḥt*-plant of life."

Thereupon, the *mr-rḫ* expresses a great desire for knowledge, a request phrased in colorful imagery. The deity assents, and presents a short wisdom text. This contains standard advice, such as "Take counsel with the wise man!"; "Ask the one less important than yourself! Desire to listen to the voice of the wise man!" and "Take thought for tomorrow!"

The deity concludes his wisdom text in column seven of B02. Thereupon the *mr-rḫ* praises Thoth for his advice, and expresses his own hopes for what amounts almost to a spiritual rebirth. The disciple avows his loyalty to Thoth, and promises his future cultic activity on behalf of the god.

In column eight of B02 the *mr-rḫ* offers a recitation of praise to Thoth or Imhotep at the festival of Imhotep. He expresses the wish to join his entourage, become a seer, and worship Seshat. The *mr-rḫ* further proclaims personal experience and knowledge of such events as Thoth's defeat of the enemies of Re in the underworld.

In column nine of B02, the *mr-rḫ* continues his speech of glorification. He desires to worship the god, partake in his ceremonies or processions, and acquire further familiarity with the underworld. The images employed, such as "bow the shoulder under the papyrus roll of the great god," reveal that the *mr-rḫ* is thinking of the functions of the *ḫry-ḥb.t*, "the lector priest."

In column ten of B02 *Heseret* begins to describe the creative activities of the deity (= the sun-god or Thoth as the "heart of the sun-god"). *Heseret* vividly portrays the deeds and divine qualities of the god. He refers to the ten vultures of Upper Egypt and the nine vultures of Lower Egypt. He recounts his creation of script and understanding of the language of sacred animals. The *mr-rḫ* then joins in with praise of the deity.

In column eleven of B02 the *mr-rḫ*, probably still the speaker, declares that an unidentified third person "will go (or "has gone"?) to the House of Life." A rubric suggests that now another character appears, "He-created-the-thoughts," although this may again refer to Thoth. There is mention of the "hall of (the) dog," perhaps a chamber in the House of Life or in the Underworld. In any case, this fragmentary section may describe the physical components of the House of Life, namely, the window, lock, and gates. One has the impression that the composition here deals with the rituals connected with entering the House of Life.

About this point another character, *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*, "He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back," probably Osiris, begins to speak.

In column twelve of B02 there is an apparent address (by the disciple?) to the guardians of the House of Life. The *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* questions the *mr-rḫ* about the nature of the underworld. He is particularly interested in minerals and the form of the denizens of that place.

The *mr-rḫ* answers with details, explicitly mentioning the House of Life. He explicates the forty-two *bas*, all of whom seem to have a special function or position, almost as if they take part in an Osirian (?) procession. The *mr-rḫ* further describes a vulture, who will give birth to young, having possibly been intimate with the forty-two *bas*.

In the much damaged column thirteen of B02, the *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* still speaks. The *mr-rḫ* asks the deity about the "young bird." In response the *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* undertakes to instruct the disciple.

The sequence of columns becomes obscure around column "fourteen." Little can be said about this much destroyed section. It mentions the House of Life, ibises, and the eternal darkness.

In the following column, principally preserved in L01, there is a three-way dialogue between the *mr-rḫ*, Osiris (*Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*), and Thoth (*Heseret*). Osiris questions the disciple about his acquaintance with Thoth and his knowledge of the watery underworld regions. Much is made of fishing and fowling in this column. The disciple affirms his knowledge of these places and the activities associated with them. *Heseret* also asks the *mr-rḫ* about his experiences there: has he, for example, "crossed the river in their ferries?" This too the *mr-rḫ* confirms, adding that he has trapped birds in the locality.

At this point the Osiris inquires about the Chamber of Darkness, and about the disciple's knowledge of the rivers and the denizens of this region.

In column fifteen of B02 the *mr-rḫ* emphasizes again his knowledge of the underworld seas and the sacred bark. He significantly mentions in B04 the "arms of Shu," a well-attested feature at the conclusion of the Amduat. In that composition the deceased is raised to the heavens by the "arms of Shu" to begin once more the cycle of life. The disciple avows that he has spent a thousand years in the "nether" regions, fishing and fowling. He recounts how the sacred animals (baboon, dog, and ibis) gave to him individual objects, which all seem to be involved with fishing and fowling. Not only did these creatures present to him the items, but they also explained to him their symbolic meaning.

At this point the composition diverges in several directions.

In C02, without parallel, the question and answer dialogue continues between the *mr-rḫ* and Osiris (*Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*). The mention of a "spear" (C02, 2/12) suggests that the subject is still the various objects given to the disciple by the sacred animals in the underworld.

In B04, also without parallel, there is an apparent expansion of the speech of the *mr-rḫ* in which he recounts more fully his voyage in the underworld sea. The sailors, the mooring place, the animals which he found there, all are described. Particularly significant words and phrases are: "the landing-post of the life" and the "canal of life." The total amount of time spent there is one thousand years. The disciple then requests of Osiris (*Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*) that he elucidate the "fighting," by which he means perhaps the underworld combat between Osiris and his enemies. The *mr-rḫ* himself already has some familiarity with this combat and the weapons involved. He speaks of the heavy spear of the underworld beings and mentions a "bodyguard of 10,000," who carry spears.

In one passage, basically only preserved in B04 (B04, 8/1–23), the *mr-rḫ* narrates in rich detail his experience on the underworld waters, the nine boats sailing upon the lake, the minerals, the plants, and the rowers. He refers to a lamp and, perhaps, a "storeroom of life." He describes, moreover, the mode of worship practiced there, conducted especially by certain divine (?) beings. These benevolent denizens of the region help the worthy dead, and perform the necessary rituals. The last section is much damaged, but mentions Pe, Dep, and the goddess Wadjet.

Column nine of B04 is far too poorly preserved for interpretation.

We now pass over to the vulture text, also available in essentially one version (L01). While it is clearly part of the Book of Thoth, the relationship between this section and the previous columns cannot be firmly fixed.

This section begins with three statements by the disciple describing Horus defeating in turn the turtle, the oryx, and the hippopotamus. These statements underscore the Edfu references in the Book of Thoth, a connection also evident in other passages and

phrases.[15] It appears that the disciple emphasizes here that he has himself witnessed these manifestations of Horus. He asserts that he has personally carried out several activities in connection with various deities or sacred animals. He specifically names the vulture, crowns, the combat between Horus and his enemies (?), the House of Life, the "*bas* of Re," the White and Red Crowns, and sacred birds, such as the kite, falcon, and ibis.

The disciple speaks of the "forty-two sacred places in the House of Life." He then moves on to the young of the vultures. A mother vulture, who sits on a throne with a lion nearby, is portrayed.

The deity asks the *mr-rḫ* to describe these forty-two vultures, which he proceeds to do.

In the following columns (L01 V.T. x+1/24–x+3/18), the *mr-rḫ* lists the forty-two nomes, and a vulture with her young. In strict geographical order a vulture and her young are described as doing something or being something in a manner which alludes to the name or symbol of the nome in question. The author employs numerous word plays and visual references. This list concludes with the "total" and a reference to Re.

The *mr-rḫ* then lists and comments on two sacred animals of Thoth, namely, the baboon and ibis. The column finishes with an apparent praise of Thoth or his prophet.

Most of the unplaced fragments are too damaged to yield sense. However, several unplaced fragments, sometimes of considerable size, deserve mention.

B07 and the related fragments (B06+C01+C07.1+F01+F01.1+F01.6+F14+L02) may preserve the beginning of the Book of Thoth. The title of the entire composition may therefore be the "[The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-ỉm*ỉ to question." There is clearly an association with the cult or ceremonies of Osiris Naneferhotep, who appears elsewhere in the composition. Sekhefabwy, that is, Seshat, is named. The deity seems to encourage the disciple to participate in the cultic aspects of writing. Most significant may be B07, 4, which may allude to a ritual of "entering the Chamber of Darkness." This column further speaks of the prophecy and of the Chamber of Darkness. The disciple(?) wishes to become one of the "dogs of Shait (= Seshat)." He introduces himself, answering the question: "Who are you?" with the words: "I am the *mr-rḫ*." This strongly suggests that B07 and its related fragments contain in fact the beginning of the composition.

Fragments F01 and B06, associated with B07, focus on ritual activities. The *mr-rḫ* claims that he knows the "libations for the Chamber of Darkness." He mentions cultic objects, e.g., wine and myrrh. Ibises, dogs, baboons, and snakes appear. The *mr-rḫ* speaks of the scribal water pot, and seems to be about to begin writing activity, removing the dust of the chests, illuminating the torch, and taking hold of the writing tablet. "The-one-who-praises-knowledge" (= Thoth?) asks the *mr-rḫ* about a dream, which is then recounted by the disciple.

A fragment published by Reymond (V02) may also belong to the initial sections of the composition. While the name of the deity is not preserved, the *mr-rḫ* already poses questions. The subject is teaching, the House of Life, sacred animals in the form of baboons, and possibly ritual objects such as torches. The *mr-rḫ* or the *Ḥsr.t* expresses the desire to

15 Reymond discusses the connections between the Demotic texts published by her and the tradition of Edfu Temple, *Hermetic Writings*, pp. 31–33. In this respect interesting are the remarks of Clarysse, "Theben Personal Names," in Thissen and Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika*, p. 27, regarding the onomastic evidence for Thebans being active in branch-temples to the north (e.g., Oxyrhynchus). Zauzich discusses possible scribal connections between Edfu and Philadelphia in *Schreibertradition*, vol. 1, p. 155.

"encircle Nut"; alternatively, they have already accomplished that feat. The author then clearly treats such key topics as: the *ỉpt-* compartments of Thoth, the Chamber of Darkness, and the *ỉḫy.w*, "spirits." We are in an underworld milieu, and the disciple seeks to know the denizens which dwell there, and the events which take place in the netherworld.

In a fragment of L01 (V.T., col. x+4) the *mr-rḫ* declares that he "wishes to kiss the earth for the gods of the House of Life." Interestingly, the *Wpy-tp-ỉ.t=f* then enumerates various sacred animals and objects, several of which, but not all, have appeared in the previous preserved columns: dogs, jackals, bulls, male snakes, female snakes, swords, spears, and flies. The *mr-rḫ* asserts that he has knowledge of the "battlefields" and has seen the flies and dogs which are as scribes (?).

Finally, Y01 and related fragments list the achievements of the creator-deity. The *Heseret* (?) speaks of the "law/custom (*hp*) concerning the house of the one who is upon the throne." There is a series of temporal or causal sentences, only partly preserved: Examples are: "Since he made life under the head of a man ..." and "Since he said 'bull' as name of ..."

The remaining unplaced fragments yield, for the most part, little intelligible sense.

3. Thoth

Thoth is the main deity in the composition.[16] The usual name, *Ḏḥwty*, appears several times, but the author generally employs less obvious epithets.[17] In the rubrics, he is *Ḥsr.t* (with divine determinative), which we understand as a nisba adjective from *Ḥsr.t*, Heseret, namely, "He-of-Heseret." Heseret is Thoth's sacred precinct either within Hermopolis or perhaps rather its necropolis, modern Tuna el-Gebel.[18] While we have no example of this epithet, similar formations, such as *nb Ḥsr.t*, "Lord of Heseret,"[19] and *ḫnty-Ḥsr.t*,

16 In general, see Kurth, "Thot," *LÄ* 6, cols. 497–523; Vos, "Thoth" in van der Toorn et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, pp. 861–64. In B02, 6/8 the speaker designated *Ḥsr.t* refers to Thoth in the third person, but we do not believe that this necessarily argues against understanding the *Ḥsr.t* as the god. In that passage the speaker cites a composition composed by Thoth himself. On Thoth, see further: Bleeker, "Thoth in den altägyptischen Hymnen," in *The Rainbow*, pp.143–55; Goyon and Traunecker, "La Chapelle de Thot et d'Amon au sud-ouest du Lac Sacré," *Karnak* 7 (1982): 355–66; Inconnu-Bocquillon, "Thot de Pnoubs (la ville) ou Thot du nébès (l'arbre)," *RdE* 39 (1988): 47–62; Kessler, "Der Gott Thot-Stier," in Kessler and Schulz (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta*, pp. 229–45; Zivie, "L'ibis, Thot et la coudée," *BSFE* 79 (1977): 22–41.

17 Compare Hornung's remarks about the Instruction of Amenemope. He points out that the text "makes clear and frequent allusions to Thoth, the god of writing and hence of literature and wisdom, but names him only once; in the other cases he designates him indirectly by invoking his manifestations, such as the ibis, baboon, or moon," *One and the Many*, p. 54.

18 Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 151. Westendorf, *KHWB*, p. 482, identifies *Ḥsr.t* with Tuna el-Gebel, citing Satzinger, "The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus," *JARCE* 12 (1975): 42. See also Kessler, "Der Gott Thot-Stier," in Kessler and Schulz (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta*, p. 231.

19 Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 1171 ("Heseret").

"Foremost of Heseret," are well-attested as titles of the deity.[20] It is written in an unusual fashion with the *s* in the word initial form; the author perhaps thereby emphasizes *sr*, "to prophesize," so significant a notion in the Book of Thoth. A variant of *Ḥsr.t* is *Ḥs-rḫ*, "He-who-praises-knowledge," certainly also a fitting title of Thoth. Several other well-known or suitable designations of the god occur: *p3-wr-tiw*, "the Great-of-Five," *wr wr wr*, "Thrice-great one,"[21] and *nb ḥtmw*, "Lord of the *Hedeb*-plant/writing brush." Another common Ptolemaic Period term found in the Book of Thoth is *ʿm-t3.wy*, "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands." An uncertain epithet of the deity is *qm3=f n3 m3w.w*, "He-created-the-thoughts."

Apart from Heseret, the Book of Thoth mentions cult-sites important to Thoth, such as Hermopolis in the title *nb Ḫmnw*, "Lord of Hermopolis." Although not named in the composition, we suspect that the beginning preserved sections may refer, obliquely at least, to the "House of the Fish-net." In any case, the great stress in these passages on fishing and fowling suits this aspect of Thoth. The "House of the Fish-net" is a designation for a temple or sacred precinct of Thoth in Hermopolis.[22] The House of the Fish-net was conceived to be where Thoth captured the enemies of the sun-god.[23] It may be associated with *Heseret*.[24] Along with the Lake of Fire, also alluded to in the Book of Thoth, the House of the Fish-net cannot be identified with certainty.[25]

A valuable Late Period reference to the House of the Fish-net is from the Famine Stela:

> "I (Djoser) directed my heart to turn to the past, I consulted one of the staff of the Ibis (actually the *wn-ỉm*-priest), the chief lector-priest of Imhotep, Son of Ptah, south of his wall: In which place is Hapy born? Which is the town of the Sinuous One? Which god dwells there? That he might join with me." He stood: "I shall go to the House of the Fish-net. It is designed to support a man in his deeds (?). I shall enter the House of Life, unroll the Souls of Re. I shall be guided by them."[26]

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20 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 69–80.

21 Quaegebeur, "Thot-Hermès, le dieu le plus grand!" in *Hommages à François Daumas*, pp. 525–44.

22 *Ḥ.t-ibṯ.t*, "Heiligtum des Thoth," *Wb.* 1, 65/2; it is found, for example, in Book of the Dead Spell 109 b (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 86): "O ibis presiding over living beings. Thy counsels in the House of the Snare outweigh ⌜sinister figures⌝ on papyrus." See also M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 95 ("Thoth … the great god in the mansion of *ibty.t*"); Bidoli, *Fangnetze*, p. 18. On the role of Thoth as bird-catcher, see Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 152–54. Khonsu as a baboon seems to reside also in the House of the Fish-net, Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 157–58. The word *ibt*, "bird-trapper," possibly appears in F10, 6. The word may survive in Coptic ⲁⲃⲱ, "Netze auswerfen," Westendorf, *KHWB*, p. 1.

23 "Weiterhin wird das 'Haus des Vogelnetzes' (*ḥ.t ibṯ*) in dem Temenos (scil. Hermopolis) gelegen haben. Es wird vielfach als Stätte des Thot und der Achtheit genannt, ohne dass seine Bedeutung recht einsichtig würde. Immerhin mag man an das Netz erinnern, mit dem Thot die Feinde des Osiris oder auch das Mondauge einfing," Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 294.

24 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 199–200.

25 The sacred geography of Hermopolis is obscure. As Arnold remarks: "In religiösen Texten sind zahlreiche derartige Stätten des alten Hermopolis überliefert, lassen sich aber trotz intensiver Grabungstätigkeit nicht lokalisieren. Zum Beispiel kennen wir weder die Lage des berühmten 'Messersees' noch der 'Flammeninsel' mit der heiligen Akazie von Hermopolis noch des 'Hauses des Netzes' (wo Thot die Feinde des Sonnengottes mit Netzten eingefangen haben soll)," *Die Tempel Ägyptens*, p. 182.

26 After Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 96. See also Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 150.

The action of the Book of Thoth is presumably situated physically in Hermopolis, but also takes place on the divine or underworld levels as well. In B02 the author clearly refers to the *ỉpt.w*, "secret-chambers" of Thoth.[27]

Thoth functions as both examiner and teacher in the composition. He is generally portrayed as a benevolent and helpful deity. Thoth sets questions concerning knowledge (*rḫ*) and instruction (*mtry*). He advises the *mr-rḫ* on behavior regarding other deities. He offers information concerning writing, scribal implements,[28] the sacred books, and gives advice to the *mr-rḫ* on these topics. He describes underworld geography in great detail.

One has the impression that the author of the Book of Thoth may sometimes portray Khonsu-Thoth, a lunar compound deity well known from Edfu,[29] although there are certainly Osirian aspects as well. Khonsu-Neferhotep is particularly associated with oracles, an emphasis agreeing with the tenor of the Book of Thoth. The title Neferhotep occurs several times in the Book of Thoth, once in passages dealing with darkness and alluding to eclipses. Thus, Khonsu-Thoth, being a moon deity, is a suitable figure to invoke. Khonsu in that form is represented as a baboon, naturally also quite Thothian and yielding sense within the context of this composition.

In the "Vulture Text" of L01 the author describes the victories of Horus over the turtle, crocodile, and hippopotamus. This strongly Edfu-colored passage may also be understood in terms of the identification or, at least connection of Thoth with Horus.[30]

Thoth is prominent in the underworld theology, much in evidence in this text.[31] The best known example of a funerary work associated with Thoth is the Book of Two Ways, a product of Hermopolis.[32] We understand the Book of Thoth as being very much in this tradition.

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27 Hornung, "Die 'Kammern' des Thot Heiligtumes," *ZÄS* 100/1(1973): 33–35.

28 Derchain translates an Edfu text describing the value of writing and the writing implements, "Des Usages de l'écriture: Réflexions d'un savant égyptien," *CdE* 72 (1997): 10–16.

29 On the association between Khonsu-Neferhotep and Thoth, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 160. "The cosmic role of the baboon as the animal of the moon god Thoth eventually resulted in his identification with the moon god Khonsu. Statues of Khonsu in the shape of a baboon stood in front of the Theban Khonsu temple. In the Late Period, the god Thoth-Khonsu became an important nocturnal oracle god. This baboon god statue, to whom written petitions for the priests were submitted, was called Mestasythmis, Greek for the 'hearing ear'," Kessler, "Monkeys and Baboons," in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, pp. 430–31; Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW* 18.5, II, pp. 2969–70. This notion of oracles fits in very well with the emphasis in the Book of Thoth on *sr*. On Khonsu-Thoth, see also Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 204–208; Kaplony, "Denkmäler der Prinzessin Neferurê und der Königin Ti-mienêse in der Sammlung A. Ghertsos," *RdE* 22 (1970): 99–109; Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, pp. 239–40.

30 Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 207.

31 Thoth is a central deity in the Book of the Dead, and the deceased is identified with him. This is clear already in Spell One of the Book of the Dead, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 5.

32 See Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 191–203, for a detailed discussion of Thoth in the underworld. He has a dominant position in section six of the Book of Two Ways. Thoth takes an important place in the Book of Two Ways, in the company of Re and Osiris, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 70 and 113. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 244, observes that the Book of Two Ways was probably composed by priests of the Thoth-temple in the temple library at Hermopolis: "Eine Bestätigung dafür findet sich in der Übernahme der lokal mythischen Strukturen von

The great emphasis throughout the composition on knowledge (*rḫ*), sacred animals, prophecy,[33] the House of Life, the "sacred writings" (*bȝ.w-Rʿ*), and the scribal art, points to Thoth as being the key figure in the composition and justifies our designation of the text as the "Book of Thoth."

We append here specific passages dealing with Thoth.

Thoth sets questions concerning knowledge (*rḫ*) and instruction (*mtry*):

B01, 1/1 **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** "Do you lead for (or "say 'leader' to") the one who knows how to act // or does the wise one instruct that (?) [which] they will do?"

He advises the *mr-rḫ* on behavior regarding other deities:

B02, 4/2 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret (var. The-one-who-praises-knowledge), he says:** "Take for yourself 'The Mighty-one' (var. 'the door') which protects (var. 'is loaded with') *bas*. // Praise her. // Let her answer you."

He offers declarations concerning writing, scribal implements, the sacred books, and gives advice to the *mr-rḫ* on these topics:

B02, 4/13 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Writing (or 'a book') is a sea. // Its reeds are a shore. //Hasten therein, little one, little one!"

He describes underworld geography with great detail:

L01.5, 10/10 So he speaks, The-one-of-Heseret, he says: "There are three seas to be crossed between them, namely, the corridors (?) of this land."

The speaker in the Book of Thoth refers at least once to Thoth in the third person; here in connection with a specific writing of Thoth:[34]

B02, 6/8 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Come that I may instruct you concerning ... the writing which Thoth gave to the hand of his disciple."

He raises the topic of dreams:

B06, 1/12–13 He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "Do you have a dream? What is it? ...

B06, 1/13 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge**, he says: "I was ... upon the mast (?), you being far away (from)

B06, 1/14 the place of dreaming." He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "As for the bull which establishes the settlement (?)"

He discusses sacred animals:

F01, 11 He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The ibises ... Painful is their food, difficult their mode of life."

Hermopolis in das Zweiwegebuch." The second "Book of Breathing" was also ascribed to Thoth, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 54.

33 On Thoth as an oracular deity, see Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, p. 111.

34 On divine authorship, see Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in Götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, pp. 40–46.

4. *Mr-rḫ* ("The-one-who-loves-knowledge" or "He-who-wishes-to-learn")

The *mr-rḫ* is a central figure in the Book of Thoth. The construction is probably a participium coniunctum of *mr*, that is, *mai*.[35] We know of no examples of this striking Egyptian parallel to Greek *Philosophos* outside of the Book of Thoth.[36] We hesitate to maintain that the Egyptian author deliberately intended to echo the Greek term, although it is certainly possible. *Mr-rḫ* designates the aspiring student or scholar who desires to be initiated into the wisdom of Thoth.

He is not, however, merely an ignorant student but also demonstrates his knowledge to the deities, much as the deceased answers questions posed by underworld gods. His relationship with the deities is a close one; Thoth treats him virtually as a son, although he is not addressed explicitly as such. One goal of the *mr-rḫ* is to participate in the traditional underworld events and activities, i.e., to join the Sun-god in the bark, and to be involved in the fundamental struggle between the forces of good and evil. His priestly activities are those of the *ḫry-ḥb*; he yearns to take part in the Thothic processions, holding upon his shoulders the sacred books.

Although the *mr-rḫ* occasionally asserts knowledge and experience of the underworld, it is perhaps significant that there are no obvious indications that he is himself deceased. He is never, for example, referred to as an "Osiris." In many ways the figure of the *mr-rḫ* is the most fascinating aspect of the Book of Thoth. His role raises the problem of initiation and mysticism, without, of course, providing any simple answers. Some scholars will doubtless assume that the *mr-rḫ* is indeed conceived by the author of the Book of Thoth as deceased, and not as a still living human seeking knowledge and experience about the beyond. In support of this are those statements made by him indicating his first-hand acquaintance with the underworld. Nevertheless, it is our own tentative impression that the *mr-rḫ* is indeed a still living disciple. Our uncertainty on this point is, perhaps, due to an inherent ambiguity in such a composition. The borders between life and death, between this world and the next, are often blurred in ancient Egypt, and we cannot expect that the Book of Thoth should offer us any obvious and unequivocal assertions concerning the status of the *mr-rḫ*.[37]

We append here specific statements pertaining to the *mr-rḫ*:

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35 Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic*, p. 118.

36 For the epithet, one may also compare "O you who love wisdom, love me," in Sethe, "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte," *ZÄS* 57 (1922): 36 and 46 (on Book of the Dead Spells 114 and 116). The epithet "Philosophos" appears on a Hawara Fayum portrait, and one wonders whether, given the funerary context, this is the Greek equivalent of *mr-rḫ* used as an epithet; see Montserrat, "Heron, 'bearer of *Philosophia*' and Hermione *Grammatike*," *JEA* 83 (1997): 223–26. This usage in the Book of Thoth renders more understandable Graeco-Egyptian characterizations of Egyptian priests as "philosophers" by such authors as Porphyry or Chaeremon, Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 54. On the importance of knowledge and memory in the underworld, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 107.

37 Cf. Corcoran, "Mysticism and the Mummy Portraits," in Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, p. 45.

The *mr-rḫ* asks questions:
V02, 1/4 [...] dead ones. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge,** he says: "What (?)[...]
B02, 13/11 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge,** he says: "What is the protection (?) (for) the young bird in it? ... you thereto (?)?"

He explains hymns, "prayers to Thoth" and aspects of Thoth:
V01, 3/16 [... their] *bas* (?).**The one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I wish to make explanations concerning the praises of *Isten* [...]"

He answers questions or makes statements. Thereby he assures the god that he has some direct knowledge or experience of sacred matters and localities:
B04, 7/2–3 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I have entered ... the (?) field of turquoise which forms a shade for the spirits."
B04, 7/6–9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ... which command myriads. They are 3000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals."
B04, 7/10–11 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will reveal the name(s) and their secret aspects for indeed they are more mysterious than the nights."
B02, 13/9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Some vultures [...]"
L01.5, 10/4 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have fished (with) the net of Shentait, Shai...the net of..."
L01.5, 10/6 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I made a test of every prescription which destroys (?). I have seen every implement which stops."
L01.5, 10/13 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. I have caught their fish. I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."
L01.5, 10/16 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have rowed in the circuits (?) of the sea (among?) the apprentices who are in the sacred bark, who are the arms of Shu."
B04, 6/24 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "[They] gave to me a bodyguard of 10,000 who stride and who are upon the road [to] bring them (the spears)."
L01 (V.T.), x+1/24 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "A vulture which draws a bow, while its young ...[...] It is Elephantine."
L01 (V.T.), x+4/20 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I crossed through these battlefields [...]"
F01, 9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge,** he says: "I know the libations [... the Chamber of] ⌜Darkness⌝ ... [...] primeval one (?).
F01, 10 I poured out wine. I burn (?) perfume of myrrh ... [...] I am in eagerness.
B06, 1/6–7 and F01, 16 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I will wash the water pots / [...] chapters (?). I will remove the dust of the chests
B07, 20 [...] **I am the One-who-loves-knowledge,** ... so that he may seek out the spell-craft of the Ibis, the one who bound up (?) [...]

He asks questions about ritual implements, especially those associated with Thoth:
B02, 3/16 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? O select of speech, reveal the tools!"

He asks questions about sacred books and the location thereof:
B02, 4/12 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is writing? What are its places of storage? Compare it to its like, O overflowing one!

He asks questions about scribal activities, especially, of course, writing:
B02, 5/12 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one say to me the work of the fist, the hand which labors on the divine writings."

He asks about pens and brushes used for writing:
B02, 6/2 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is its nature? What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?"

He asks about words:
B02, 6/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one command for me the word which gives birth to the prophets that I may cause that they become pregnant in my flesh."

He asks about teaching, and displays thereby a certain technical knowledge:
B02, 7/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! Begin with the children of your teaching!"

The god may address the *mr-rḫ* as the representative of an entire group. In these contexts, he seems to look upon them as allies, in the darkness, and in association with the "souls of Re."
B02, 10/2 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Slaughterers (are) these, O you who love knowledge, in the darkness. The lord of the *bas* of Re (is) the messenger of prophecy."

5. *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* ("He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back")

After *Ḥsr.t(y)*, *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* is the most significant deity with whom the disciple speaks. This character first appears rather late in the composition in B02, 11/11. *Wpỉ*, always written with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is "open, divide, separate, judge, discern (a secret), distinguish."[38] We understand *tp-ỉt=f* to be a nisba formation, and the subject. "He-who-is-upon-his-back-has-judged" is therefore the most reasonable primary literal translation. However, there is an abundance of word play in the Book of Thoth, and the epithet may also be interpreted as "He-who-is-upon-his-mound" or "He-who-wears-the-*Atef*."

Clearly, the description of the deity as judge (*wpỉ*), as being "upon his back," and wearing the *Atef*-crown fits Osiris. Of course, Osiris is the judge of the Underworld,[39]

38 *Glossar*, pp. 86–87, Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 59. *Wp* in the name of Osiris may be the title, "judge," *Wb.* 1, 302/7–11 (used of Thoth, the sun-god, the king, the baboons, and other judging gods).
39 Griffiths, *LÄ* 4, cols. 629–30 ("Osiris"). *Wpỉ* is also found in title of Thoth: *wp rḫwy*, "he who separates the two men," *Wb.* 1, 299/1–2.

while the *Atef*-crown is characteristic of the god.[40] Moreover, the "back" or backbone" plays a significant role in the Osiris-cult, as is shown by the interpretation of the Djed-pillar as the "backbone" of Osiris.[41] Osiris is often portrayed as being upon his back (on the funerary bed).[42] Finally, *ỉs.t*, "mound," is a term also very closely associated with Osiris, as, for example, in the phrase, *ỉs.t-Wsỉr*, "Mound of Osiris."[43]

The identification of *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* with Osiris is particularly attractive, since the House of Life, prominent in the Book of Thoth, was much involved in Osirian rites.[44]

In view of the importance of the baboon (*ʿn*) in the Book of Thoth, one should keep in mind that there was also an Osiris the Baboon (at Saqqara), distinct from Thoth.[45]

We append here statements dealing with *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*:

Wpy-tp-ỉt=f asks about the forms of the beings in the nether regions:

B04, 7/8–10 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Explain to me this form of theirs; reveal their shapes. May the mouth open ... hear ..."

B02, 13/12 [**He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his**]**-back**, he says: "May you praise! May you recite (?). What is your image? What is the ... and the skin (?)?"

He examines the *mr-rḫ*, "The-one-who-loves-knowledge," about his being introduced to Thoth:

L01.5, 10/3 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant "taught"]) before "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?"

He sets questions about the "medicines" found in these regions:

L01.5, 10/5 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What is the taste of the prescription of writing? What is this net?"

He remarks upon the eagerness of the *mr-rḫ*:

L01 (V.T.), x+1/22 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back: he says: "Inasmuch as you are abundant of desire [...]...

L01 (V.T.), x+1/23 Would you lead (us through) them, that we may know them, and that [we may] praise them ... foundation [...]

He asks about the mode of fighting found in the underworld:

B04, 6/22 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:

40 Strauss, *LÄ* 3, col. 814 ("Kronen") and Griffiths, *LÄ* 4, col. 627 ("Osiris").

41 Altenmüller, *LÄ* 1, col. 1102 ("Djed-Pfeiler").

42 Especially in connection with the procreation of Horus, see, e.g., M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 62–63.

43 Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 37, asserts that "perhaps any place which contained Osirian relics could have this name." One notes also the expression *tpyw ỉs.t.sn*, "divine effigies," in Edfu, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1140. For *ỉs.t*, "hill, mound," cf. the mounds or hills in the underworld, e.g., Faulkner, *Book of Hours*, p. 36. For the gods on their mounds, see also Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 143.

44 See, for example, Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, p. 38.

45 Davies and H. Smith, "Sacred Animal Temples at Saqqara," in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, p. 126. See also Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, pp. 216–18, on "Osiris-Ibis" in Hermopolis.

B04, 6/23 "Their spear ... [...] ... which it is hard to carry them. Have you made the greatness (or "extent") of its fighting (?)?"

6. Imhotep

Since it is one of the few specific fixed temporal points in the composition, the mention of a festival of Imhotep in the Book of Thoth is of great interest. He appears in:

B02, 8/1 "I will praise god for you, O foremost one of the temple of Ptah, in the festival of *ỉy-m-ḥtp* before *Wsỉr-nỉ-nfr-ḥtp*."[46]

The following hymn of praise seems to honor Imhotep and not Thoth.[47] The funerary coloring of the hymn (containing phrases such as *sʿnḫ rn* and *ḥtp-tỉ-nswt*) is certainly more appropriate to a mortal than a deity. In this hymn much emphasis is placed on the *bỉ* (the "soul"), and the *bỉ* of Imhotep was prominent in his cult.[48] In any case, it is reasonable to assume that a hymn of praise recited during the "festival of Imhotep" should be addressed to him. Unfortunately, it is not clear which festival of Imhotep is meant in the Book of Thoth. Imhotep enjoyed a series of festivals in his honor.[49] Particularly significant was the day of his death or burial on the fourth of Payni. One festival calendar, for example, declares that this "was the day on which the *Ba* (soul) of Imhotep went up to heaven."[50]

Although more ambiguous, other references also fit Imhotep in this column, such as "craftsman of *Isten*" in:

B02, 8/4 "Come you, O one who lives as the craftsman of *Isten*. O praised one of the heart of Re, may he cause that you ⌜recite⌝."

Imhotep appears only once by name in the Book of Thoth, but he is probably intended in the following passage in which the successful disciple is portrayed as having read the sacred books, and becoming "an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth." "Servant of Thoth" is a plausible title for Imhotep:

B02, 3/13–15 and he learns the Book of Insight, the Book of Power, the Book of Annals, the Book of the Djed-pillar (?), the Book of Interpretation, ... the Book of ..., and the Book of ...

14) and he drinks in the Book of Proclaiming the Proclaiming (?) of Praise, and the

46 The identity of *Wsỉr-nỉ-nfr-ḥtp* is uncertain; see p. 242.

47 It is possible that Thoth and Imhotep are occasionally identified with one another; Imhotep can be designated, for example, as the "ibis," Hurry, *Imhotep*, p. 46.

48 Cf. Vittmann, "Festkalender des Imhotep," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 955–56.

49 Still basic is Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*. See also: Quack, "Ein übersehener Beleg für den Imhotep-Kult in Theben," *RdE* 49 (1998): 255–56; Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW* 18.5, II, pp. 2973–79.

50 See Vittmann, "Festkalender des Imhotep," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 955–56.

Book of Honoring their Father who is Powerful,
15) and he understands the difficult passages, and he elucidates the praises, and he becomes an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth (L01: "Great of Five")

The intermediary role of Imhotep is possibly alluded to in the following line, where he may appear as the "father" in:

L01.5, 10/3 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant "taught"]) before "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?"

His mortuary cult may be referred to in:

C04.4, 2/x+6 He made a protecting (or "mourning") of the child of [Mut] ... It is the child of Mut.

The child of Mut is a plausible designation of Imhotep.[51]

That Imhotep should play a significant role in the Book of Thoth is hardly surprising, since much Egyptian speculative writing is connected with the funerary cult of Imhotep.[52] The Demotic version of the Memphite Theology, for example, detailing the creation of the world by Ptah, is also associated with the burial rites of Imhotep.[53] These compositions deal with cosmology and sacred geography as well.[54] An echo of this mortuary background to the cult surrounding Imhotep survives in the Latin Hermetic text *Asclepius*, wherein Hermes Trismegistus says to the disciple:

> "They dedicated a temple to him (Imhotep) on the Libyan mountain near the shore of the crocodiles. There lies his material person-his body, in other words. The rest, or rather, the whole of him (if the whole person consists in consciousness of life) went back happier to heaven."[55]

Imhotep is the recipient of other hymns which portray him as deceased, and ascending to heaven; fine examples are inscribed in his own temple in Philae.[56] The death and transfiguration of Imhotep are, perhaps, the model, the paradigm, for the (metaphorical?) death and transfiguration which the disciple(*mr-rḫ*) hopes to achieve in the Book of Thoth.[57] He is "the god who comes forth from the Netherworld," as an ostrakon from the Hor Archive phrases it.[58]

Imhotep was a popular figure in the Hellenistic Period. Well-known are the aretalogies of Imhotep and such Graeco-Egyptian texts as P. Oxyrhynchus 1381, that tale of a disciple who belatedly turns his hand to translating a book on the god's immense power and miraculous manifestations.[59] The strong didactic tendencies of Imhotep are quite evident in native texts as well. Thus, in the Famine Stela (Ptolemaic Period) a priest of Imhotep lectures Djoser himself, explaining rather pedantically the names of significant gods, goddesses, and stones from the border areas of Elephantine.[60]

Like Thoth, Imhotep is an author, composing, for example, the *sšm.w nw Ḥ.t-nṯr*, "The Regulations/Ordinances of the Temple."[61] He is associated with the sacred animals.[62] As a mortal man who became a god, Imhotep is an ideal intermediary and example for the "one-who-loves-knowledge," the *mr-rḫ*.[63] His appearance in the Book of Thoth is therefore quite appropriate. Indeed, he may play a larger role than is readily obvious.

7. Seshat

Just as Thoth is clearly named as *Ḏḥwty* only a few times in the Book of Thoth, so too Seshat indisputably appears only once as *Sḫ-ʿb.wy*, Sekhefabwy. Nevertheless, we believe that this rather elusive goddess plays a significant part in the Book of Thoth.[64] With

51 Hurry, *Imhotep*, pp. 48–49.

52 In his discussion of the Praise of Imhotep found in P. Oxyrhynchus 1381, Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 51–52, remarks: "The reference to a cosmogonical treatise, the close association in Graeco-Egyptian literature between Asclepius and Hermes, the revelatory atmosphere, the text's date and certain stylistic considerations all show that this interesting aretalogy emanated from a milieu similar to that of Hermetism, and warn us against trying too hard to isolate the aretalogical texts from the theological and philosophical speculations of the more educated."

53 Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 78–80. See also his discussion of Imhotep and Hermetic Literature, ibid., pp. 101–03. On the tomb of Imhotep in Hermetic literature, see also Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 40. Consider further the remarks of Kákosy on the representation of Imhotep in the Deir el-Medina Temple: "Probably, it was supposed to show that Imhotep's apotheosis resulted from the decision of the divine tribunal," "Temples and Funerary Beliefs in the Graeco-Roman Epoch," in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, vol. 1, p. 127. The Greek aretalogy, P. Oxyrhynchus 1381, is also concerned with the tomb of the sage, Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XI*, pp. 222–23.

54 Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 18–19 (4/1, 4/7, 4/9, 4/11).

55 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 90.

56 "O Imhotep, the great, son of Ptah, you fly up to heaven as a falcon, you go as a noble ba, you come as a divine falcon before the ones who know not weariness. You receive the *ḥt* plant in the sunbark in the company of those who do not know destruction. Opened is your fair face on your path ... the snake (?). It makes for you light. She opens for you the two gates by going into the *imḫ.t*-hall, while you stride freely like a lord of eternity ... Osiris is joyful (?) ... while (you?) come out of the great palace. You receive the offering-loaf before him every day like Horus ...," after Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 157.

57 On the death and transformation of the man Imhotep into a god, see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 76.

58 Text 18, verso, line 15, *ntr pr m Dwȝ.t*, Ray, *Hor*, p. 71. The reading is not certain.

59 On the aretalogies of Imhotep, and specifically P. Oxyrhynchus 1381, Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 50–51. Imhotep is especially associated with astronomy and knowledge of the stars, Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 169. Imhotep is also just called "the wise one," *rḫ-iḫ.t*, Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 174.

60 Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 151, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, vol. 3, pp. 94–103,

61 Mentioned in the Horus Edfu temple, Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 145.

62 See Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, pp. 130–38, on Imhotep and sacred animals.

63 For Imhotep in the Greek magical papyri, see Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 136. Also Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 144, "Asklepios [saw] Osiris and admitted that he [could] not [put together] someone who was dead [even] with the help of Hebe or of [anyone else]." Actually that is precisely what Thoth, in contrast, was able to achieve.

64 See now Budde, *Seschat*. The precise relationship between Thoth and Seshat is obscure; she does not seem to be his daughter or wife, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 144–46. As Budde, *Seschat*, p. 189, observes, the chief characteristics of Seshat are her connection with writing, temple-con-

its emphasis on the scribal art and the House of Life,[65] it would be strange if the divine personification of writing and foundation ceremonies were not important in the composition. Although Seshat occurs only once as Sekhefabwy, another of her well attested epithets is not uncommon in the Book of Thoth, namely, *Šꜥy* or *Šꜣy*, "the primeval one." That title, which refers to her function as foundation-deity, is rather misleading, since it is naturally associated with, or, indeed, confused with *Šꜣy*, "Fate," such a powerful figure in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The ambiguity may not be unintentional, but rather due to the close connection between Seshat and Shai. Even as late an author as Horapollo remarks:

> "The infinite, a Muse or Fate: Seven letters surrounded by two fingers mean a muse, the infinite or fate."[66]

This passage in Horapollo illustrates both an acquaintance with the unusual characteristic headdress of the goddess and the merging of this female deity with *Šꜣy*, "Fate."[67]

A further indication that Seshat is the main goddess in the Book of Thoth is the Edfu epithet of Seshat, "Mistress of the Sustenance of the Foremost of the Chamber of Darkness," *nb.t nw ḫw ḫnt ꜥ.t-kkw*.[68] The *ꜥ.t-kkw*, "chamber of darkness," is prominent in the Book of Thoth. This epithet of Seshat presents an important connection between Edfu and the Book of Thoth, since the *ꜥ.t-kkw* is otherwise not attested outside of Edfu and the Book of Thoth.

We believe that the fragmentary broken initial columns, which largely deal with hunting and fowling, also allude to Seshat. As mentioned above, we think the Book of Thoth refers to the "House of the Fish-net" (*Ḥ.t ỉbṯ.t*),[69] The goddess was especially closely associated with the "House of the Fish-net," located in Hermopolis, just as was Thoth.[70]

Seshat seems to have been most vigorously worshipped in the Old Kingdom,[71] and it is interesting to have in our Late Period text such an emphasis on her. Still, if not overly prominent in detail, she never lost her place in the temple iconography of the Late Period. She naturally merged with the other great female deities of the age, such as Isis, Maat,[72] Mut, and Tefnut,[73] all of whom play a role in the Book of Thoth.

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struction, and regeneration or lifetime. These aspects are well represented in the Book of Thoth. On Seshat, see further: Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, pp. 386–87; Wessetzky, "Die ägyptische Tempelbibliothek," *Ausgewählte Schriften*, p.152; Bastin, "De la fondation d'un temple: 'Paroles dites par Seshat au Roi Sethi Ier,'" in Broze and Talon (eds.), *L'Atelier de l'orfèvre: Mélanges offerts à Ph. Derchain*, pp. 9–24; Helck, "Seschat," *LÄ* 5, cols. 884–88.

65 For the connections between Seshat and the House of Life, Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 30.

66 Wainright, "Seshat and the Pharaoh," *JEA* 26 (1941): 34–35.

67 On the connection between Seshat and Shai, see Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 24, 90, and 228.

68 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 291. Possibly read *nb.t nwḥ ḫnt ꜥ.t-kkw*, "mistress of the rope, foremost one of the Chamber of Darkness"; see footnote 131.

69 See above, p. 168.

70 Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 61 and 144. Seshat appears, moreover, in bird trapping scenes. At Esna, for example, she is shown together with Khnum holding a net, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 155.

71 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 84.

72 Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 82 and 169–70.

73 Although not explicitly identified with Tefnut, she can have an aggressive aspect, and can be armed with knives, and thus the identification with the goddess of Mythus is by no means unreasonable, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 178–79.

There are several other aspects of the Book of Thoth which suggest, if they do not prove, that Seshat is quite well-suited to appear in the composition.

Much of the beginning columns contains nursing imagery, and it is possible that Seshat is represented there in the function of nurse.[74]

The title or epithet *ḥmw*, "craftsman," occurs frequently in the Book of Thoth. This term incorporates notions of building and construction. Seshat's association with such activities is fundamental and may further explain why she assumes an important position in the composition.[75]

Seshat is connected with the House of Life, an institution possessing underworld significance as well. In P. BM 10209, 2/28, for example, Seshat is said to open the House of Life for the deceased ("Seshat opens for you the House of Life," *pgꜣ n=k Sšꜣ.t prꜥnḫ*).[76] Seshat performs protective functions for Osiris.[77] She helps to collect and reassemble the limbs of Osiris, much like Thoth.[78] The House of Life appears often in the Book of Thoth, and thus provides a milieu in which the goddess may be expected to be active. We present here possible references to Seshat:

The "box of Shai" is most probably the container for the scribal utensils.[79]

V01, 3/1 [...] ... Do not take your box of Shai in the house of your doctor at (?) your [...] ...They do not ... you. They do not [...]

The author makes a pun between the "lake of life" and the epithet of Seshat, Shai.

V01, 4/17 ... [...] ... he ... lake of life which is before Shai (= Seshat) ... [...]

The disciple addresses Seshat in her guise (?) as huntress. We relate this to the "House-of-the-Fish-net."

C04.1, 12–14 Are you the huntress who hunts [...] ... judge me [...]
13) Are you the trapper, who traps the ... [...] ...
14) Are you the ... [...]

The association of Shai with the House of Life strongly suggests that Seshat is intended in the following statement:

B02, 8/12 May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life. I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai.

In the next lines the author may describe the elaborate headdress of Seshat. The seven projecting elements have indeed been explained as reeds:[80]

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74 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 89.

75 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 191.

76 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 200.

77 Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 177–79.

78 In her conclusion Budde, *Seschat*, p. 227, emphasizes the close relationship between Seshat and Osiris.

79 There is a tendency to wax poetic with regard to the writing utensils: (Abydos Temple of Sety I) "(Seshat speaks during the ritual of the Unification of the Two Lands) Meine Binse ist die Neheh-Zeit, die Tinte ist die Djet-Zeit, und der Farbnapf ist die Million von überaus zahlreichen Sedfesten für den König von Ober-und Unterägypten," Budde, *Seschat*, p. 109.

80 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 37. Budde, *Seschat*, p. 48, suggests that the object upon Seshat's head may represent a brush, *ꜥr* or *hdn*.

B02, 4/16 "The **seven** reeds which resemble the plow in the **seven** fields of "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

The female deity in the following line is associated with the year. The connection with the year is very strong for Seshat, who is often shown with the year-symbol in her hand.[81] We believe, therefore, that the intended goddess is Seshat.

B02, 4/4 If you should praise her at the occasion of the New Year, "The Mighty-One" will return so as to answer to you.

The association with Thoth again suggests that Shai in this line refers to Seshat, and not to Fate.

B02, 9/6 "And I shall go to make praise before the lord of the *Heden*-plant and kiss the earth for Shai (= Seshat)."

The reference in this next statement is tentative since we know of no such bark involved in the cult of Seshat:

B02, 9/17 "May I take hold of the *nšy.t*- bark of Shai, which opens the going (for) the ones who are in their heaps."

The allusion to foundation ceremonies in the following line points clearly to Seshat:

B04, 7/21 Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier. Let me learn of

B04, 7/22 She-who-is-wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.

In a line from the Vulture Text the association with Shentait is rather mysterious. The author may speak metaphorically or identify the goddesses Shentait and Seshat:

L01.5, 10/4 "The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have fished (with) the net of Shentait, Shai ... the net of ..."

L01 (V.T.), x+3/19 *Sꜣ-kꜣ* (?), the eldest son (?) of Shentait and Shai (= Seshat?); they are the vulture together with its young.

This broken passage in B07 makes explicit the connection between the somewhat enigmatic Shai and the clear designation of Seshat, *Sḫf-ʿb.w*:

B07, 3 [...] unification of his body for (?) the lords of offerings ... before (the goddess) Shai (= Seshat) in the name [...]

B07, 4 [...] ... which is Sekhefabwy ... [rit]ual (of) entering the Chamber of [Dark]-ness.

In the following line appears the "House of the Documents/Ritual-books" (*ḥ.t-iry.w*).[82]

81 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 91. At Dendera Seshat is represented with Hathor in connection with the "Eröffnen des neuen Jahres," Budde, *Seschat*, p. 157.

82 *iry.w*, with the book-roll determinative, is to be identified with *iry.w*, "Akten," Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*, pp. 15–16. Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 627, renders *ḥ.t-iryw* as "Mansion of Records." According to her this title is "always associated with Seshat" in Edfu.

Budde emphasizes the relationship between Seshat and this locality, which she describes as a "building or room in which compositions, perhaps ritual texts, were stored."[83]

B02, 7/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! Begin with the children of your teaching!"

8. Other Deities and Festivals Mentioned in the Book of Thoth

Apart from Thoth, Seshat, Osiris (as *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f*), and Imhotep, other deities or divine associations appear in the Book of Thoth. These are: the Ennead, Horus and Apophis/Seth, Isis, Mut, Neith, Nun, Nut, Ptah, Mut, Osiris Naneferhotep, Khnum, Re, Shentait, Shu, and Wadjet. Few of these appearances are especially striking. Most significant, perhaps, are the descriptions of Horus spearing the turtle or hippopotamus. These are images closely associated with the Edfu tradition, and tend to underscore thereby the connections between that temple and the Book of Thoth. The statement concerning Ptah-Tenen refers to his role as a chthonic deity, still half submerged in the primeval water of Nun. Mut may be designated as the mother of Imhotep. Neith appears once, as the mistress of "the ones of Upper and Lower Egypt." These obscure beings may be the 42 *bas*. We have tentatively identified one of the chief characters, *Wpy-tp-ỉt=f* with Osiris, but the composition twice explicitly mentions an Osiris Naneferhotep. This may be a form of the rejuvenated Osiris, although Neferhotep could well be also associated with Khonsu or Khonsu-Thoth. Re occurs most often in the compound *bꜣ.w-Rʿ*, "souls of Re," i.e., the sacred scrolls. In addition to this, the author may allude to the Bark (*mnṯ*) of Re. Isis does not appear frequently, but very interesting are the two mentions of Shentait. This designation means the "widow," and indeed may be an epithet of Isis.[84] The reference is to the "net" of Shentait and the "eldest son" of Shentait (= Horus?). The arms of Shu, a well known motif in the underworld books, occur in connection with the sacred solar bark. In the funerary literature these arms of Shu lift up the bark at the end of its underworld journey. Wadjet may appear together with her sacred locality Dep in an unclear passage. Khnum is mentioned but once in the composition, while the helper-deity of Thoth, *iry*, also occurs a single time with reference to his function of holding the divine palette. The (seven) Khnum builder gods do seem to be named in L02, 2/12.

Of great interest are the two festivals cited in the Book of Thoth. The first is the "Opening of the Year Festival" (*tp-rnp.t*, B02, 4/4). While *tp-rnp.t* was distinguished from *wp-rnp.t* in older texts, it later does appear to have the meaning of the first day of the New Year. In the Book of Thoth the disciple seems to be encouraged to worship Seshat (?) on the first day of the New Year. It may be significant that the first month was in fact called "Thoth." The rites connected with the New Year are minutely described at

83 Budde, *Seschat*, p. 227.

84 "The Great of Magic" makes allusion to Isis-Shentait who reconstitutes the life of Osiris, Autrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, p. 420. Shentait is also associated with the House of Life, Cauville, "Chentayt et Merkhetes, des Avatars d'Isis et Nephthys," *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 25.

Dendera and Edfu.[85] It is difficult, however, to perceive any very close parallels between those descriptions and the actions recorded in the Book of Thoth. At Edfu a particular statue was reserved for the festival, housed in the *Mesen*-sanctuary (in the axis of the temple), in the mysterious corridor (near the *s.t wr.t*, "the great seat"). The statue, one cubit in height, was kept in a golden kiosque. The ceremonies involve performing the daily ritual with this statue, bringing it in procession to various other chapels, for example, the *w'b.t*. Crowns were placed upon the effigy. The Hermopolitan Ogdoad plays a role. The main event of the proceedings was the exposure of the statue to sun-light on the roof of the temple, which endowed the statue with the life-giving solar rays. As Quirke describes the festival,

> "The ceremony was performed on the first day of the first month, the Opening of the Year, also called Birth of Ra; it culminated in a procession escorting the sacred images of the deities worshipped in the temple, leading up to a chapel on the roof. There the statue could 'see' and 'join' the sun-disk; this action activated the statue so that the *ba*-spirit of the deity could see, hear and act through the earthly vehicle of the statue."[86]

While certain features of the Book of Thoth might yield sense within the context of the New Year's Festival, such as the mention of processions, the importance of the *bas*, and the use of gold, there do not seem to be any very explicit connections between the Book of Thoth and the known ritual of the New Year.

Although there are likewise no direct parallels between the Book of Thoth and P. Brooklyn Museum 47.218.50, "Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an," the latter text incorporates the House of Life into the ceremonies.[87] There are seven statuettes in animal form, representing the gods of the House of Life, which are involved in the ritual of the "Confirmation."[88] Both Thoth and Seshat play a role in the "Confirmation."[89]

The festival of Imhotep is specifically mentioned in B02, 8/1. Unfortunately, the date of this festival is not given in the Book of Thoth, so one cannot correlate it with one of the known festival dates of Imhotep. These refer, for example, to his birth and death.[90]

We append here statements dealing with the various deities and festivals occurring in the Book of Thoth:

ỉry

B02, 5/6 ... The scribal palette is the beautiful praise which (is) in the arm of (the god) *ỉr* in its true name.[91]

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85 Daumas, *LÄ* 4, col. 467 ("Neujahr").

86 *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 93. A good discussion is also in Meeks and Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, pp. 193–98.

87 Goyon, *Confirmation*, pp. 21–22. Goyon provides a detailed treatment of the House of Life, *Confirmation*, pp. 38–41. See also the description of Meeks and Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, pp. 187–93.

88 Goyon, *Confirmation*, p. 25.

89 Goyon, *Confirmation*, pp. 68–69.

90 See Vittmann, "Bemerkungen zum Festkalender des Imhotep," Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 947–61.

91 On the helper-deities, *ỉry* and *sḏm*, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 161–62.

Ennead

V01, 2/6 [...] is the Ennead. Do not ... [...]
Y01.2, 1/4 [...] the Ennead is it.
B06, 2/8 and F01.2, 2–3 this land and I (?) cause to live ... of the great Ennead.

Horus and Apophis (the latter only in symbolic form)

B02, 2/9 Does ... the servants of Horus, they raising a troop more numerous than the enchantments of the heart?
L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 [...] ... to fall under (?) his ..., he being violent with the turtle (?) upon the sand-bank.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 [I have] worshipped (?) ... while he pierces the red hippopotamus.
C04.4, 2/x+5 The lord of the *Oudjat*-eye ... [...]

Isis

B02, 2/13 Does he ... (to) Isis, [the] one who lives through eternity, they will burn him to his (very) bones.

Khnum

L01.9, 18 [...] Khnum, ... [...]

Khnums

L02, 2/12 [...] craftsmen of the House of Life and the Khnum-builder gods ... [...]

Mut

B02, 3/9 May he learn the number of times of calling out to the (door), "great protector (?)" of Mut (B02: "the striker" of Mut), the great one of the enchanters.
C04.4, 2/x+10 The wise female, the great mother (or "Mut"), the nurse ... teaching.
C02.1, 12 [...] ... Mut (?), the great one, is the one who embraces him; Selket is the one who ... to see him (?) [...]
C04.4, 2/x+6 He made a protecting (or "mourning") of the child of [Mut] ... It is the child of Mut.

Neith

B04, 8/11 whose mistress is Neith, which have no enemies; they do not hide themselves.

Nut (*Nwny.t*)

V02, 1/5 [...] I have come forth (to) encircle *Nut* [...]
Nut is written as *Nwny.t*.

Nun

B02, 5/8 One took one-half (of) one for (or "of") Ptah-teny, he being half in Nun, without his (Nun) having inundated me.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/5 The vulture (?) has protected (?) Nun (?) ... so as to cause the earth to overflow through its work.
B04, 8/23 who has come from the four corners of Nun. May she delay (?).

Osiris Naneferhotep

B02, 8/1 I will praise god for you, O foremost one of the temple of Ptah, in the festival of Imhotep before Osiris Naneferhotep.
B07, 2 [...] ... the protection (?) of purity of Osiris Naneferhotep, the great god, the (?) ... lord (?)

Ptah

B02, 5/8 One took one-half (of) one for (or "of") Ptah-teny, he being half in Nun, without his (Nun) having inundated me.
L01: One took 2/3 (?) [from] one for Ptah-teny, he being in half, without ... he did not inundate.

Re

Re appears most often in the compound *bꜣ.w-Rᶜ*, but also in:
B02, 9/14 May I take hold of his majesty while my voice is loud. May I open the fist (so as to) take hold of the bark of Re.
L01.3, 7/19 O wise one of Re, enchant (?) ⌜for me⌝ [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+3/18 Total of the vultures and their young in their specification as (or "in") the *mnṯ* of Pre [...]
This last is a very uncertain example.

Selket

C02.1, 12 [...] ... Mut (?), the great one, is the one who embraces him; Selket is the one who ... to see him (?) [...]

Shentait

L01.5, 10/4 = B02, 14/6 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have fished (with) the net of Shentait, Shai ... the net of ..."
L01 (V.T.), x+3/19 *Sꜣ-kꜣ* (?), the eldest son (?) of Shentait and Shai (= Seshat?); they are the vulture together with its young.

Shu

L01.5, 10/16= B02 15/1 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have rowed in the circuits (?) of the sea (among?) the apprentices who are in the sacred bark, who are the arms of Shu.
C04.4, 2/ x+7 The evil injury ... of Shu concerning his father, he making a disturbance.

Wadjet

B04, 8/23–25 while I / dwell in *Dep* of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with (?) ... the *sꜣ*-cloth falcons. They / enchant my heart.

There are only two festivals mentioned in the Book of Thoth. These are:

Festival of Imhotep

B02, 8/1 I will praise god for you, O foremost one of the temple of Ptah, in the festival of Imhotep before Osiris Naneferhotep.

The Opening of the Year Festival.

B02, 4/4 If you should praise her at the occasion of the New Year, "The Mighty One" will return so as to answer to you.

9. The Souls of Re and the "Sacred Books"

The Book of Thoth is much concerned with the sacred books, the *bꜣ.w-Rᶜ*, "Souls of Re."[92] which are to be found in the House of Life.[93] The author attempts to explicate to his reader the character and significance of these compositions. As is well known, there was held to be a canonical number of forty-two "Souls of Re," equivalent to the forty-two nomes of Egypt. It is very probable that the so-called "Vulture Text" is intended to present the forty-two *bas*, identical, on some level, at least, with these forty-two "souls

92 For the "souls of Re," as a designation of the sacred writings, see the references collected in Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 299–300. A useful discussion is Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 57–60. "Im Dienste dieser kultischen Aufgabe übernimmt der Priester Götterrollen und rezitiert Götterrede. Dazu befähigt ihn seine Kenntnis der Schriften, in die er als Priester eingeweiht wird. Der Sammelname dieser Schriften ist *bꜣw Rᶜw* 'die Machterweise des Re,'" Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in Götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, p. 60.
93 Weber, "Lebenshaus," *LÄ* 3, col. 955.

of Re." Clement of Alexandria speaks, tantalizingly, of the forty-two books of Thoth.[94] Beyond this, however, the author of the Book of Thoth does not provide many details regarding these writings. He nowhere offers to us known titles of the individual compositions. He does, to be sure, name various intriguing titles in B02, 3/13–14, but we have been unable to equate any of the titles found in the Book of Thoth with those listed elsewhere, as, for example, in the Library of Edfu.

In the Book of Thoth the "Souls of Re" first occurs in:

B01, 2/4–5 He has supplied the souls of Re. Do they not serve the one who desires (to be) a prophet, since (or "so that") he will not be able to become a craftsman?

Here the god, presumably Thoth, is described as having supplied these sacred writings for the benefit of the aspiring priestly scholar.

The *bꜣ.w*, "souls," appear alone in several passages. Given their similarity to the previous line, these may also designate or refer to the *bꜣ.w-Rʿ*:

V01, 3/12 [...] He supplied the *bas* ... the dogs ... fisherman (?) ... the [...] nest (?) in her [...] ...

V01, 3/17 [...] ... *bas*. He equipped the *bas*. He said: "Supply the net (?) which catches (?) [...].

B02, 3/7 Effective is the chapel of the *bas*. Eff[ective is] the one who takes possession for himself from the storeroom of the deceased spirits.

It is indeed possible that *bꜣ.w* in the Book of Thoth generally refers to the sacred writings.[95]

A female deity, perhaps Seshat, is described as protecting or, in a variant, "being loaded with" the *bas*, where this term may once again denote the sacred writings.

B02, 4/2 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret (var. The-one-who-praises-knowledge), he says:** "Take for yourself "The Mighty-one" (var. "the door") which protects (B02 "is loaded with") *bas*. Praise her. Let her answer you.

In a fine image, the hand of the scribe is said to "labor on the souls of Re":

B02, 5/12 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one say to me the work of the fist, the hand which labors on the divine writings."

The "Souls of Re" may be portrayed as the crew of the bark of the sun:

B02, 8/9 Let one place me on the bark of the divine *ba*s. The wise ones who are in the setting forth.

The creator-god, Thoth or Re, brings into being nine female vultures which are represented as "praising the souls of Re."

94 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 58. On the forty-two sacred books, see Grimm, "Altägyptische Tempelliteratur," Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985*, vol. 3, p. 161; Bleeker, "Religious Tradition and Sacred Books in Ancient Egypt," in *The Rainbow*, pp. 91–105.

95 This may also be the case for *šhy*, basically "spirits," but also "magical creative power, spells," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 13.

B02, 10/4 "He created nine female vultures of Lower Egypt together with their nine young, they making praise to the *bas* of Re."

In the following passage, the forty-two souls may designate the sacred writings, but this is not certain:

B04, 7/6–7 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ... which command myriads. They are 3,000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals."

A divine falcon, Seshat or Mut, has the authority over the personified sacred compositions:

L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 "I have worshipped the female divine falcon while she gives orders to the souls, while the scribe ... hand ..."

In the following line the pastophoroi are said to seek the sacred writings:

L01 (V.T.), x+1/14 "May the pastophoroi seek out the writings of the *bas* of Pre, the ones who protect his (?) foundation ..."

Occasionally there are other images used for "divine writings," apart from the "souls of Re," e.g.,

B02, 7/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! Begin with the children of your teaching!"

One suspects that the "children of your teaching" refers here to the sacred writings.

10. The Prophet (*sḏꜣ*)

Sḏꜣ, invariably with the man-with-hand-to-mouth-determinative, plays a great role in this text. We identify the word with *sr*, "verkünden, anzeigen," *Glossar*, p. 441.[96] It can be a noun, "prophet," or, more frequently, verbal. The noun, "prophet," appears to be a title or designation to which the disciple or author aspires. It is in the "Chamber of Darkness" that prophecy takes place. *Sr*, "foretelling, prophesizing, announcing," is in the

96 "Foretell, predict," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 880–81 (used of Thoth); *Wb.* 4, 189/15–190/17. On this verb, see: Willems, *Heqata*, p. 452; Yoyotte, "Une Épithète de Min Comme Explorateur des Régions orientales," *RdE* 9 (1952): 125–37; Brunner, "Die 'Weisen,' ihre 'Lehren' und 'Prophezeiungen' in altägyptischer Sicht," in Röllig (ed.), *Das Hörende Herz*, pp. 59–65; Fox, "Two Decades of Research in Egyptian Wisdom Literature," *ZÄS* 107 (1980): 128; Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, pp. 27–28 (discussion of the epithet *sr bi*ꜣ); Kruchten, *Annales*, p. 70 (for *sr* and the House of Life); Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 11 and 119; Graefe, "König und Gott als Garanten der Zukunft," in Westendorf (ed.), *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 59–65; Waitkus, "Statuen auf Konsolen?" in Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien*, pp. 168–69; Goyon, in Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 46, n. 10.

Egyptian tradition also an attribute of sacred animals. One may compare the statement in the Coffin of Aspelta:

> "The baboons, who announce (*sr*) Re,
> when this great god is born
> at the sixth hour in the underworld."[97]

In a few cases *sr* may mean "announce, show," rather than the "foretell" of our translation in the Book of Thoth. The word also occurs in images, such as "the lamp of prophecy."

The author emphasizes a close relationship between prophecy and writing. Thoth is designated as "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands." The "prophets" are connected with Thoth. There also appears to be an association between the "prophets" and the "craftsman."

The following are statements pertaining to the *sḏ*:

B01, 2/4–5 "He has supplied the souls of Re. Do they not serve the one who desires (to be) a prophet, since (or "so that") he will not be able to become a craftsman?"

B04, 3/15–16 These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes, which prophesize according to their utterances [...]

C02.1, 5 [...] ... the temple (or "chapter") ... life. The jackal ... speaks prophecies in the Chamber (?) of Darkness [...]

B02, 12/12 There are seven of them who announce the Lord of Protection and who are as protection for the one brilliant (?) of appearances.

B02, 9/8 And I shall worship him as the one who understands the great of strength, (and) adore him (as) the one who announces the Foremost one of ⌜*Heseret*⌝ (Thoth).

B02, 10/2 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Slaughterers (are) these, O you who love knowledge, in the darkness. The lord of the *bas* of Re (is) the messenger of prophecy."

L01, 4/14 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! Begin with the children of your teaching!"

B04, 7/22 she who is wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.

L01, 4/5 Do not command fighting against a prophet! Take a magic book of protection (?)! Do not be weak of heart (?) concerning reaching its end (i.e., the teaching's end)!

L01, 3/22 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one command for me the word which gives birth to the prophets that I may cause that they become pregnant in my flesh."

L01.5, 10/3 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back: He says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant "taught" in B04 and C02]) before "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?"

L01.5, 10/8 The child does not tread upon its clay (?) like the prophets of the praised of heart.

L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 And he truly is the one who has prophesized for his father and his mother: Another Version: [...] ... he making ... [...]

97 Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 24.

B06, 2/6 and F01.2, 1 an utterance with the mouth ... they prophesiz[ing ...] ... the ones who are in their time, twice (?) [...]

B07, 14 [...] the prophets call out: "*Istes*, son of *Wn-imȝ*," to him, every form in which he is is that which they say to him (?).

B01, 1/3 Control (?) over the heart and tongue is that which causes a prophet to come about. The field is that which gives birth to her children which are as one (?).

B02, 1/15 They reveal another box of divine-secrets. Their craftsman is the one who interprets (or "prophesizes") about them.

11. The *Wn-imȝ*

The intriguing title *wn-imȝ* occurs several times in the Book of Thoth. *Wn-imȝ* may itself be an epithet of Thoth, but it appears generally in the expression "son of *Wn-imȝ*" (*sȝ wn-imȝ*) in the Book of Thoth. In this instance it seems to indicate the king or be a priestly title.[98] The phrase "son of *Wn-imȝ*" is well-attested at Edfu, and may be another feature connecting the Book of Thoth with the Edfu tradition.

A valuable Late Period passage from the Famine Stela refers to the *wn-imȝ*, Imhotep, the House/Mansion-of-the-Fish-net, and the House of Life:

> "I (Djoser) directed my heart to turn to the past, I consulted one of the staff of the Ibis (actually the *wn-imȝ*- priest!), the chief lector priest of Imhotep, Son of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall: 'In which place is Hapy born? Which is the town of the Sinuous one? Which god dwells there? That he might join with me.' He stood: "I shall go to the House of the Fish-net. ⌜It is designed to support a man in his deeds.⌝ I shall enter the House of Life, unroll the Souls of Re. I shall be guided by them."[99]

To our knowledge, no translation of *wn-imȝ* has been proposed. *Wn-im* may mean, of course, "He who was there" (i.e., in the netherworld), but it is by no means clear that this is the force of the phrase. The title occurs in:

B01, 1/15 His sons of the *wn-imȝ.w*-priests are (?) the ones whom he will raise up in his (?) ...

B07, 1 [The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-imȝ* to question.

B07, 14 [...] the prophets call out "*Istes*, son of *Wn-imȝ*," to him, every form in which he is is that which they say to him (?).

98 For *wn-imȝ*, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 229: "epithet of Thoth"; Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 184; Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 2, p. 374. In the Edfu references quoted by Wilson, ibid., the king is the son of the *wn-imȝ* in a palette presentation; in a procession the lector priest (a Thoth substitute) is the *wn-imȝ*. On this priestly title, see also Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 395. Alliot refers to him as the "second hierogrammateus" ("le second hiérogrammate du temple," ibid., p. 395). He is compared with Thoth "who protects Egypt," ibid., p. 395.

99 After Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 96.

12. The Craftsman (*ḥm*)

Among the distinctive titles in the Book of Thoth is the *ḥm*, "craftsman." We identify this with *ḥm*, "herstellen, bilden,"[100] although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish from *ḥm*, "fangen."[101] The word in the Book of Thoth generally receives the wood determinative, which favors "craftsman." The term is, of course, not rare, but the precise significance of *ḥm* in the Book of Thoth is obscure. Nevertheless, *ḥm* is a title found in association with the cult of Thoth.[102] It occurs, for example, in the designation of the High Priest of Memphis, *wr ḫrp ḥmw*.[103] Significantly, perhaps, *ḥm.t-rȝ*, "craft of the mouth," also has the meaning "Zauberspruch."[104] Still, the connection between these attested meanings and the *ḥm* in the Book of Thoth is not certain.

The "craftsman" is found together with prophecy in the Book of Thoth. He may be contrasted, or again merely associated, with the prophet. The "craftsman" is also connected with the scribal craft. The author invokes Imhotep as the "craftsman of *Isten*," which makes perfect sense given his fame as an architect[105] and his status as the son of Ptah. The *ḥm* seems to be the priest charged with the interpretation of the secret books or forms:

V01, 3/22 [...] Are you able to act as a fisherman (or "hunter," "craftsman "?) [...] they do not pass you by ... [...]

B02, 1/15 They reveal another box of divine-secrets. Their craftsman is the one who interprets (or "prophesizes") about them.

The craftsman is contrasted with the "prophet":

B02, 2/2 He has supplied the souls of Re. Do they not serve the one who desires (to be) a prophet, since (or "so that") he will not be able to become a craftsman?

B02, 2/7 ... hieroglyphic sign, craftsman. Let him who is strong of arm be at rest (?)!

B02, 2/10 They will ... they will flatter (?) the strong one. They will bow down to the craftsman who makes up 1,000. (Alternate version of L01) They will assign (?) his servants to the craftsman who amounts to 1,000.

B02, 6/1 As for every (kind of) writing, their rapid approach (means) their becoming a craftsman quickly. Do not turn away!

B02, 8/4 Come you, O one who lives as the craftsman of *Isten*. O praised one of the heart of Re, may he cause that you recite.

He is associated with the House of Life:

L02, 2/12. [...] craftsmen of the House of Life and the Khnum-builder gods ... [...]

100 *Glossar*, pp. 303–04.

101 *Glossar*, p. 305; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 645.

102 Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 132–33. He suggests that it may generally designate "priests of Egypt."

103 *Wb.* 3, 86/1–4.

104 *Wb.* 3, 85/1.

105 See, e.g., Aldred, *LÄ* 1, col. 803 ("Bildhauer und Bildhauerei").

13. The Assistant (*ḫry-ʿ/ ḫry-rt*)

Another term which occurs several times is the *ḫry-ʿ*, "assistant," "der Gehülfe," *Wb.* 3, 393/9–12.[106] In some manuscripts *ḫry-ʿ* varies with the graphically similar *ḫry-rt*.[107] They are presumably assistants of Thoth or Imhotep; it may designate a specific priestly status but this is not certain.[108] Given the emphasis on the scribal arts in the Book of Thoth, it is perhaps significant that *ḫr.t-ʿ* or *ḫry-ʿ* is also a term for "Behälter für Schreibzeug," *Wb.* 3, 394/1–3. On a mythical level, the *Ḏsiw*-beings, personifications of the "word,"[109] can be conceived of as the "assistants" of Thoth.[110] Unfortunately, we have no definite evidence for the *Ḏsiw* in the Book of Thoth.

The author of the Book of Thoth describes a dialogue between a deity and "his disciples/assistants." The subordinates of magicians or scholars are characterized as *ḫry.w-ʿ*. The status of "assistant" is envisioned as one stage of the disciple's progress; it is certainly a desirable goal (B02, 8/10).

V01, 3/13 [...] He opened his mouth. He replied to his disciples (?) (regarding) the lords of offerings (?) ... the *bas*... in (or "of") the net (?) ... [...]

B01, 2/6 As for the magicians (or "scholars") who came into existence earlier, do they not have a second party? SPATIUM "Helper" (apparently a gloss)

B02, 3/15 and he understands the difficult passages, and he elucidates the praises, and he becomes an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth (L01 variant: Great of Five)

B02, 8/10 May I gather in (?) as a seer; may I become like unto a monument (or "statue," "sign") and I become one with the assistants.

B02, 9/11 May I see the great and the small (ones), the apprentices who shut their mouths among them.

B06, 1/15 ... He speaks, namely, **The-one-who-praises-knowledge**, he says: "The assistants ... possessors of offerings"

L01.5, 10/16 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have rowed in the circuits (?) of the sea (among?) the apprentices who are in the sacred bark, who are the arms of Shu."

14. House of Life (*pr-ʿnḫ*)

The *pr-ʿnḫ*, "House of Life," appears frequently in the Book of Thoth. Although it is mentioned often in Egyptian texts, the exact nature of this institution is not clear.[111] It

106 See Posener, "L'exorde de l'instruction éducative d'Amennakhte," *RdE* 10 (1955): 64–65; Gardiner, "House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 159.

107 Compare *Wb.* 2, 462/3–7.

108 On this title as denoting a scribal apprentice, see Baines and Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," *GM* 61 (1983): 88–89; *ḫry-ʿ n Ḏḥwty*, "apprentice of Thoth," Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 6, p. 35.

109 Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1216–17.

110 So Derchain, "Des usages de l'écriture. Réflexions d'un savant égyptien," *CdE* 72 (1997): 11.

111 Weber, "Lebenshaus," *LÄ* 3, cols. 954–57. In general, see Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 205–06; Burkard, "Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten," *Bibliothek* 4 (1980): 79–115; Volten, *Traumdeutung*,

was evidently the place where scribes were trained, the texts composed, copied, and stored. However, it was certainly more than a mere scriptorium and seems to have been the location of ritual as well, as indeed is suggested by its very name. For example, a ritual for the "Preservation of Life in the World" ("die Erhaltung des Lebens in der Welt") was carried out in the House of Life.[112] The famous P. Salt 825 (P. BM 10051) contains the description of this ritual. Parallel rituals are found in the *pr-ʿnḫ* in Edfu.[113] There was a very close association between physicians,[114] craftsmen, sculptors, and the House of Life.[115] Its personnel were responsible for determining that the sacred animals displayed the proper markings.[116] The House of Life was thus by no means dedicated solely to the preservation of past wisdom; there was certainly a creative drive. As Sauneron wrote long ago:

> "For everything was not just mechanical copying, in these studies; sometimes an original text, sometimes a theological exposition would be drawn up following meditation or the exchange of fruitful views ... Some of the finest spiritual or ethical texts we possess were stimulated by the reflections and convictions of some obscure scribe whose name will never be known to us ..."[117]

The Book of Thoth is very much a creation of one of the Houses of Life. Its audience was quite likely the educated scribes of that institution.[118] The only clearly defined priestly function occurring in the composition is the "lector priest," those officials who carried and read the sacred texts.[119] Significant too is the extraordinarily detailed description by Thoth of the method of holding the scribal brush. The encyclopedic character of the Book of Thoth is thoroughly in keeping with such statements as that in P. Ry-

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pp. 17–44; Goyon, *Confirmation*, pp. 104–05; L. Morenz, "Neues zum *pr-ʿnḫ* - zwei Überlegungen zu einem institutionellen Zentrum der sakralen Schriftlichkeitskultur Altägyptens," *GM* 181 (2001): 77–81.

112 See Weber, "Lebenshaus," *LÄ* 3, col. 954. "The place where these [sacred] writings were composed was called the 'House of Life'; it was there as well that a Horus specially charged with putting the cosmic enemies to death was supposed to live. Here writing appears to be closely bound up with the cult of Osiris and the resurrection of the god. Osiris 'who had achieved his cycle,' that 'yesterday,' came back to life in writings, themselves only reactualizations of a past memory," Meeks and Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, p. 105. On the *pr-ʿnḫ* in the Roman Period, see Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 238–64.

113 Among the specific rituals associated with the House of Life is that mentioned in Edfu: "Zur Halle des Lebenshauses ziehen und alle Riten des Lebenshauses ausführen. Die Auflösung (der Symbolik) angeben. Trinken zur Abendzeit. Eine angenehme Nacht an dieser Stätte verbringen," Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, p. 172, and compare also p. 169; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 233.

114 On the close connection between medicine and the House of Life, Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 30. Dreams also play a role in the House of Life, since their interpretation is offered by the scribes of the House of Life, Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 40. There are several mentions of dreams in the Book of Thoth.

115 Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 34.

116 Weber, *LÄ* 3, col. 955 ("Lebenshaus").

117 *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, p. 136.

118 See Sauneron, ibid., p. 136.

119 "And I shall bow the shoulder under the papyrus roll of the great god" (B02, 9/9).

lands 9, 14/20–21, wherein a scribe is thus addressed: "Look, you are the scribe of the House of Life, there is nothing concerning which one could ask you, to which you cannot answer."[120]

The Osirian aspects of the House of Life are well known;[121] this deity and the events or aspects of his life are prominent in the Book of Thoth. Magic, certainly a feature of the Book of Thoth, is also connected with this institution.[122] Vocabulary closely associated with the House of Life, such as *sḫr*,[123] appears in the Book of Thoth.

In the Book of Thoth the House of Life may in fact be identical with the Chamber of Darkness (determined with the book-roll) and the Chapel of the *bas* (*ḥ.t-bꜣ.w*). Quite possibly the author conceives of the House of Life as figuratively representing the underworld. In this way, the spiritual journey of the aspiring scribe may be described by images and terms drawn from the journey of the deceased in the underworld.

Little is known about the physical appearance of the House of Life. In P. Salt 825 the *pr-ʿnḫ* of Abydos is said to consist of four parts, dedicated to Isis, Nephthys, Horus, and Thoth, while in the interior is Osiris: "the living one."[124]

The Book of Thoth may also refer to the physical structure of the House of Life:

V02, 1/6 [...] ... outside of (?) the House of Life, the torch (?)

L02, 1/7 [...] ... will you burn myrrh? Do not enter into the House of Life. Stinking bulls are as (?) the ones [...]

In the Book of Thoth the House of Life may be conceived of as being surrounded by infernal darkness:

L01.5, 9/5 [...] you ... to the House of Life in the darkness of twilight. [125]

The Book of Thoth mentions sacred places or areas within the House of Life.

L01 (V.T.), x+1/15 They say to me: "There are forty-two sacred places in the House of Life, they (?) growing [...]."

B04, 7/20 ⌜belonging to⌝ an entrance-way (of) the House of Life. Come! Let me go to it.

L01 (V.T.), x+1/10 I have seen ... the closed room of the House of Life with a doorpost of iron [...].[126]

B02, 8/12 May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life. I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai (= Seshat).

B02, 11/1 He will go to the House of Life. He will hunt in the ... [...] ...

B02, 11/2 **He-created-the-thoughts, he says:** "The ⌜hall of (the) dog⌝ ... [...] ... these are the places (?) of 3,000 of going to the House of Life.

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120 Quoted in Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 40. See Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, pp. 165 and 503.

121 Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 18. The life of Osiris is magically protected in the rituals of the House of Life, Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 20.

122 Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 19.

123 Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 18.

124 Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 20.

125 *ḫn pꜣ kky smy*.

126 For a discussion of the ceremonies (e.g., of unlocking the door of the House of Life), see Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 147.

B02, 12/6 She will reveal the ... (of) the House of Life, myriads, little by little (?) its list (?) of ...

The Book of Thoth mentions deities associated with the House of Life:

L01 (V.T.), x+4/6 "I wish to kiss the earth (for) the gods of the House of Life, and I make [...]."[127]

Priestly titles pertaining to the House of Life also appear in the Book of Thoth:

C02.1, 2 [...] the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...] ... [...] ...

C02.1, 4 [...] ... the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...]

B06, 2/1 ... take their flesh (?), I gave to them ... [...] the ones of the House of Life to hurry.

15. Chamber of Darkness (*ꜥt-kky*)

The *ꜥt-kky*, "Chamber of Darkness," frequently occurs in the Book of Thoth.[128] The compound generally has the book-roll determinative implying that it designates a composition.[129] *ꜥt* is a complex word which may denote a chamber in a temple or an area of the underworld.[130] Another attestation of *ꜥt-kky* is found in the Temple of Edfu, significantly within an epithet of Seshat: *nb.t nwḥ ḫnt ꜥt-kkw*, "mistress of the rope, foremost

127 The seven Khnum-gods and the seven Djaisu who help with the construction of the temple in Edfu are represented as the gods of the House of Life, and are associated with Thoth and Seshat, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 187–88. The Djaisu are "the personified statements of the creator deity," Budde, *Seschat*, p. 187.

128 *ꜥt* is written as *ꜥt*, "Kammer, Raum im Hause," *Wb.* 1, 160/1–13; see also *ꜥt*, "chamber," *Glossar*, p. 51. The word is employed for a specific chamber in a temple, especially in the Greek Period, comparing *ḥy.t*, "temple, shrine," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 134–35; *Wb.* 1, 166/11. The *ꜥt* may be a place in the tomb or underworld, comparing *ꜥt*, "Kleine Kammer im Königsgrabe," and "Raum im Totenreich (Königsgr.)," *Wb.* 1, 160/8–9. One might further cite the *ꜥt ḥḥw*, "Zimmer des Sonnenglanzes (?)," which occurs in Burkard, *Osiris-Liturgien*, p. 255. He corrects to *ỉs.t-ḥḥw*, a designation of both an underworld region and the Temple of Edfu; *ꜥt šsꜣ*, "La salle du document mystérieux," perhaps in Hermopolis, Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 112. In the Book of Gates: "He (the Sun-god) illumines the darkness and brings light to the Hidden Room" (Second Hour, Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 208). Hornung analyzes the various meanings of *ꜥt* in "Probleme der Wortforschung im Pfortenbuch," *GM* 6 (1973): 55–59.

129 It is not listed in Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten*.

130 The Amduat begins "Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes," Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 59. For "Verborgener Raum," see also Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 118, and the reference in footnote 132. Is there an allusion in the Book of Thoth to the *ꜥt ỉmn.t*, "hidden chamber," discussed in connection with the Amduat by Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, pp. 334–38? He has there a detailed treatment of the nuances of *ꜥt*; see also Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 47. For the notion of the "hidden chamber," compare Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 74: "der Verborgene (Osiris?) ist verborgen in Verborgener-Stätte (Edfu als Krypte)."

one of the Chamber of Darkness."[131] In the Book of Caverns *ꜥt-kky.t* appears as a variant of the more common *ꜥt-ỉmn.t*, "Verborgener Raum."[132] *Kky*, "darkness," often has underworld connotations, or may refer to the "darkness" at the edge of the universe.[133] In the Book of Thoth *ꜥt-kky* may signify a chamber in the temple or the House of Life (or be another name of the House of Life). At the same time, however, it probably designates a portion of the underworld. Given the book-roll determinative *ꜥt-kky* may even simultaneously be a ritual composition on the subject.

In the Book of Thoth the disciple aspires to enter into and learn about the *ꜥt-kky*. It has manifest underworld connections. Seshat is closely associated with the *ꜥt-kky*, presumably having first established it. The disciple claims knowledge of the offerings or libations which are presented in the "Chamber of Darkness."

The *mr-rḫ* aspires to enter this chamber or be initiated into its contents. Most striking is:

B07, 4 [...] which is Sekhefabwy, ritual (?) of the [regu]lation of entering the Chamber of [Dark]ness.

V01, 3/5 [... Chamber of] Darkness. Beware, beware (?) ... spend the night, spend the day in the container of coal ... may I make ... [...]

Note that it has here the book-roll determinative.

B02, 9/5 My heart said to me: "Return to it, namely, the Chamber of Darkness, so as to learn its boundary (?)!"

The *ꜥt-kky* has a connection with the underworld:

B02, 9/12 May I see the Chamber of Darkness, entering into the form of it, namely, the (?) excellent limb of the underworld (?).

B04, 5/24–6/1 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "It is proper to let happen the recitation (?) of the ritual composition of the Chamber of Darkness."

B07, 16 [...] **the-one-who-hears** in the Chamber of Darkness and in the shrines (?) of the spirits [...]

If the chamber mentioned in the following line is the Chamber of Darkness, then Seshat is associated with it.

B04, 7/22 She-who-is-wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.

131 We read *nwḥ* ("Seil, Strick," *Wb.* 2, 223/6–13) instead of *nw ḫw*, *pace* Budde, *Seschat*, p. 291. The statement thus associates Seshat with rope, used in the foundation ceremony.

132 Hornung, *Das Amduat*, p. 3.

133 For *kky* or *kkw*, "darkness," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1091–92. This refers to the "darkness of night," and is generally a negative concept. As Wilson declares, ibid., p. 1092: "The darkness beyond the horizon, before the creation and outside the created world is called *kkwness smꜣw* 'united, that is, intense darkness,' which occurs in parallel with 'primeval water' Nun as 'primeval darkness.'" On *kky-smꜣw*, see also Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, pp. 341–42.

Thoth is also connected with the Chamber of Darkness:

B07, 15 [...] ... May I wake up in the Chamber of Darkness, the wonder (?) of the Ibis under his guidance (?).

The *mr-rḫ* asserts that he knows the offerings associated with the Chamber of Darkness:

F01, 9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge**, he says: "I know the libations [... the Chamber of] ⌜Darkness⌝ ... [...] primeval one (?)."

16. Animals

The author of the Book of Thoth is deeply concerned with the nature and significance of animals. Given the intense interest in, and popularity of sacred animals in the Late Period, such a focus is hardly surprising.[134] A wide range of animals is represented in the composition: baboons, birds of various types, bulls, cows, crocodiles, dogs and jackals, the donkey, fish, fly, hippopotamus, horse, lion, lizard, oryx, reptiles, scarab-beetles, snakes,[135] turtles, and "sacred animals" (*ʿ.w*) in general. The baboon and ibis, the two animals sacred to Thoth, fittingly receive special emphasis. The composition indeed devotes particular attention to birds, this reaching a climax in the "Vulture Text" of L01.[136]

The author treats the subject of animals in several distinct ways. In some cases he deals with the animal *qua* animal, as when he mentions fishing and fowling. Elsewhere he clearly refers to the animal as a sacred being, especially in an underworld context, as when he asserts that a baboon has given to him a "spear of sixty cubits" (B04, 6/7). The disciple both claims some knowledge of sacred animals and wishes to acquire additional information about them from the deity. The composition contains abundant animal imagery, e.g., "What is the claw which fastens?" (B02, 3/16). Unsurprisingly, the author also

134 For discussions of sacred animals, see Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, esp. pp. 7–9; Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*; Hornung, *One and the Many*, pp. 136–38; Jasnow, "A Demotic Omen Text? (P. BM 10238)," in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, p. 208; Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW* 18.5, II, pp. 2988–89; Ray, *Ḥor*, pp. 136–46; Davies and H. Smith, "Sacred Animal Temples at Saqqara," in Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 112–31; Te Velde, "A Few Remarks upon the Religious Significance of Animals in Ancient Egypt," *Numen* 27 (1980): 76–82.

135 On snake symbolism, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 113–14.

136 One may compare the Seeing and Hearing birds in *Mythus* 13/24–15/24; these birds are vultures, see Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 39, col. 14/28. Tefnut changes herself into a noble vulture (*nry.t šps.t*) in Mythus, 21/3. On birds from the *qbḥ.w*, see also Spiegelberg, "Der demotische Papyrus Heidelberg 736," *ZÄS* 53 (1917): 32 (reference of Dr. John Darnell). Egberts, "The Chronology of the Report of Wenamun," *JEA* 77(1991): 63–64, discusses the migratory birds who come from the northern region of the *kkw smʾw*, the *qbḥ.w* (reference of Dr. John Darnell). Vultures fly about on the edges of the zodiac in the tomb of Petosiris in Dakhla, see Osing et al. *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, p. 100 and pl. 41 (reference of Dr. John Darnell). On the symbolism of birds in ancient Egypt and neighboring lands, see also Keel, *Vögel als Boten*.

utilizes traditional symbolism; such gods as Thoth[137] appear in the form of their sacred animals: B02, 8/16, "I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, he who has judged the earth with his scale (?)." As mentioned, the composition often remarks upon the special qualities or knowledge of animals: B02, 11/3, "These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes which prophesize according to their utterances [...]." The author is fascinated with the nature of animal knowledge: "The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, but what is the book chapter which they have read?"(B01, 1/6–7).[138] Finally, the author praises the creator deity as one who knows "the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises" (B02, 10/8).[139]

In its preoccupation with sacred animals the Book of Thoth reflects the concerns and interests of the priestly scholars of Late Period Egypt.[140] The composition continues a long tradition of theological speculation on the language and special character of animals.[141] In the ancient underworld books, for example, the deceased may identify himself with the jackals and baboons representing the Eastern or Western *bas*.[142] It was certainly one of the intentions of the author of the Book of Thoth to transmit lore and information regarding this important aspect of Egyptian Religion.

It may be helpful here to divide the statements concerning animals into several broad categories, although the distinctions are admittedly often subjective or overlapping:

Animal *qua* animal

L01 (V.T.), x+ 2/9 A vulture [which] eats of a bull, while its young rejoices (?) in its ... [It is] ⌜Kom Ishqaw.⌝

137 Brunner-Traut, "Der Sehgott und der Hörgott," in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, pp. 140–41, discusses the connections between vultures, Thoth, and the sun-god.

138 On this topos in Israelite Wisdom, see, for example, Fohrer, "Sophia," in Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, p. 70, "Even animals - the ibis and cock - have the ability to give advance notice of storms" (Job 38:36, but the text itself is rather unclear on the point).

139 On the speech of birds, see Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, pp. 39–40. Such statements may be compared with earlier expressions of the creator god's concern for animals: "The creatures you create in the water, they live, breathing in the midst of the river; the creatures of the land, you provide fodder for them," Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 85–86.

140 The House of Life personnel confirmed that the sacred animals displayed the proper markings, Weber, *LÄ* 3, col. 955 ("Lebenshaus").

141 As in the language of the baboons, studied by Te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, pp. 129–36.

142 Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 60. The precise nature of these solar beings is not simple to determine: "Die pavian- und schakalsgestaltigen 'Seelen' des Ostens und Westens sind keine Tiere, sondern eine Art Engel," Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in Götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, p. 51.

L01 (V.T.), x+4/15 these dogs, these jackals, these bulls which ...
L01 (V. T.), x+2/5 A vulture, ... upon a crocodile, while her young dance upon [him] ... [It is Dendera.]
L01 (V.T.), x+2/16 A vulture which bites a dog, while its young takes hold (?) of it. It is Sako.
L01.5, 10/13 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. I have caught their fish. I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)." (N.b. possibly underworld context)
L01.5, 10/18 I spent a thousand years while I rowed therein, catching fish in its pools. (N.b. possibly underworld context)
L01 (V.T.), x+2/18 A vulture which [...] a horse (?), while its young ... [...] ... It is *W'b'b*.
B04, 6/8–9 An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/19 ⌜The⌝ lion sits by her throne [...]
B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables ... grow ...

The sacred animal as a divine being (possibly in the underworld)

L01.5, 10/21 A baboon gave to me a spear of sixty cubits (or "hands"). He says to me: "It is their *wtš.t ht*."
B02, 9/2 May I enter therein, namely, the character (?) of all the ibises, that I betake myself (or "offer") to the place of the servants of ⌜Thoth.⌝
L01.5, 10/20 I ... their birds. I understood their falcons. My heart joined with their natures (or "plants"?).
B04, 6/8–9 An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.
B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow...
B04, 6/19 while a canal of life was bubbling over ... all its young birds in it.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/12 ... a kite, an ibis, and a falcon assign them to the (two) lands one by one.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/16 There are forty-two vultures which give birth between them, while their young [...] ... sing.

Of course, the entire section of the "Vulture Text" (not quoted here) deals with that particularly important bird.
L01 (V.T.), x+ 2/19 18 vultures which cut (?) a baboon (?) ... their young ... It is Herakleopolis.
L01 (V.T.), x+4/19 Have you honored the quail which is in the ... [...]
B02, 10/9 He went about truly (?) in the hall of the dog. He did not restrain their barking.
B02, 11/2 **He-created-the-thoughts**, he says: "The ⌜hall of (the) dog⌝ ... [...] ... these are the places (?) of 3,000 of going to the House of Life.

L01.5, 10/22 A dog (or "jackal" ?) gave to me a block of limestone. He says to me: "It is their net of trapping (?)."
B04, 6/9–10 A dog gave to me a mummy-cloth (with) hieroglyphs. He says to me: "It is their ... of hunting."
L01 (V.T.), x+4/18 these flies which are as shades at the chapels (?) [...]
B04, 6/20 ⌜I⌝ completed year(s) until one thousand years. There said to me a lizard (?): "Bring the writing ..."
L01.5, 10/17 Bring me to the ferry of the snake! Take the hieroglyphic sign! Fill my fingers (with) the rudder of the field-dwellers!
L01 (V.T.), x+1/13 May some snakes give protection (?) so as to protect them, some brushes (?) ... [...] pastophoroi (?)

Figurative use of an animal

B06, 1/4–5. [... snak]es upon the two lips (are) their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is [...]
F01, 13–14. [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ...] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
L02, 1/14–15. Mouths are joyful. Snakes upon the two lips [... sust]enance. A baboon ... the reptiles [...]
B06, 1/16 [...] ... sacred animals [...] ... I shall act as a baboon therein
V01, 3/15 [...] ... his hand. The papyrus (or "scribe") is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are ...] the papyrus rolls (or "generations"), that is, ... [...]
B02, 3/16 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? O select of speech, reveal the tools!"
B03, 2/2+ B03.2 Behold, I stand up, I being like unto a mummy, I being as a snake ... [...]

The deity in the form of the sacred animal

Baboon

B02, 8/16 I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, he who has judged the earth with his scale (?).

Birds

B02, 10/3 He made the forms of the vultures of Upper Egypt: ten, he giving praise to god for the teaching.
B02, 10/4 He created nine female vultures of Lower Egypt together with their nine young, they making praise to the *bas* of Re.

B04, 7/15–17 A noble vulture is the one who embraces them, it will give birth to all the young so as to settle them (according to their) manner (?) ...[143]
B04, 7/19 (in) the hall. The vulture discovered its young between [the] pillars (?)
B04, 7/20 ⌜belonging to⌝ an entrance-way (of) the House of Life. Come! Let me go to it.
B04, 7/21 Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier. Let me learn of
B04, 7/22 She-who-is-wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.
L01.5, 9/6 [...] ... Behold! ... the excellent ibises ... the ones who sent me.
B02, 8/14 Let me hurry to (or "look to") the love of *T*? (= Thoth), another version, [lor]d of the *Heden*-plant. Let me hurry to the praises of the foremost one who is under (the) wing (of Thoth = Imhotep).
L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
L01 (V.T.), x+2/15 A vulture [and] its young, they exulting over the body of an oryx. It is ⌜Hebenu.⌝
L01 (V.T.), x+1/5 The vulture (?) has protected (?) Nun (?) ... so as to cause the earth to overflow through its work.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 I have worshipped the female divine falcon while she gives orders to the souls, while the scribe ... hand ...
L01 (V.T.), x+1/12 ... a kite, an ibis, and a falcon assign them to the (two) lands one by one.
B07, 15 [...] ... May I wake up in the Chamber of Darkness, the wonder (?) of the Ibis under his guidance (?).
B07, 20 [...] **I am the-one-who-loves-knowledge**, ... so that he may seek out the spell-craft of the Ibis, the one who bound up (?) [...]

Dog/jackal

B02, 4/7 Great is the immense number which the intelligent jackal listens to her, and she loves him (the intelligent jackal).
L01: Great is the immense number which she listens to him, this one, the intelligent jackal, and she [loves him.]
B02, 4/8 She does not disdain to act (for) the one humble of face. Hers is the intelligent dog (?), and she hastens to answer him.
B07, 17 [...] wish to bark among the dogs of Shait (= Seshat), the great.

143 The mention of procreation is interesting. The Egyptians considered all vultures to be female, just as they believed all scarab beetles to be male. This leads to problems in reproduction. Horapollo, for example, has a great deal to say about the vulture: "There is no male in this species of animal. And they are born in this way: when the vulture hungers after conception, she opens her sexual organ to the North Wind and is covered by him for five days," Boas, *Horapollo*, p. 64.

Hippopotamus

L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 [I have] worshipped (?) ... while he pierces the red hippopotamus.

Sacred Animals

B04, 7/6–8 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ... which command myriads. They are 3,000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals."
B01, 1/6–7 Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?

Turtle

B02, 9/7 And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one, and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 [...] ... to fall under (?) his ..., he being violent with the turtle upon the sand-bank.

The special knowledge, character, or abilities of animals

B02, 11/3 These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes which prophesize according to their utterances [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides ... him.
C04.1, 8 [... these] beasts, these birds, these ... [...] ... which possess no herdsman [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+4/23 I have seen (?) the dogs which are as scribes (?) [...]
L01.7, 6 [...] writing of the dog which made a ... [...]
C04.1, 5 The souls (?) say (or "that is"), ... [...] these elders (or "sacred animals"?) which open up the storeroom ... to seek (?) its produce (?) of turquoise (?).
B01, 1/6–7 Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?

The speech of animals

B02, 10/8 He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.
B02, 10/10 He understood the barkings of these and these cries of the land of the fathers.

B02, 10/11 He made the four pleas (?) of the wild beasts, one by one ... He understood them. He brought them before me.

Types of Animals in the Book of Thoth

Baboons

V01, 4/13 If I do not ... [...] reveal (?) the ... the baboon which [...] ... bites [...] with its mouth, the one who reaches ... [...] ...
B06, 1/4–5 [... snak]es upon the two lips (are) their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is [...]
F01, 13–14 [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ...] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
L02, 14–15 Mouths are joyful. Snakes upon the two lips [... sust]enance. A baboon ... the reptiles [...]
B06, 1/16 [...] ... sacred animals [...] ... I shall act as a baboon therein
L01.5, 10/21 A baboon gave to me a spear of sixty cubits (or "hands"). He says to me: "It is their *wt3.t ht*."
V02, 1/3 [...] ... about (or "to"?) the baboons, let [...]
B02, 8/16 I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, he who has judged the earth with his scale (?).
B02, 11/3 These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes, which prophesize according to their utterances ... [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides ... him.
B02, 10/8 He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.
B06, 2/10 dogs, these baboons. I have stood ... [...] ... as a wise one ...
F04, 3 [...] ... his dogs and ba[boons (?) ...]

Birds

V01, 3/15 [...] ... his hand. The papyrus (or "scribe") is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are ...] the papyrus rolls (or "generations"), that is, ... [...]
C04.1, 8 [... these] beasts, these birds, these ... [...] ... which possess no herdsman ...
B02, 9/2 May I enter therein, namely, the character (?) of all the ibises, that I betake myself (or "offer") to the place of the servants of ⌜Thoth.⌝
B02, 9/7 And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.
B02, 10/3 He made the forms of the vultures of Upper Egypt: ten, he giving praise to god for the teaching.
B02, 10/4 He created nine female vultures of Lower Egypt together with their nine young, they making praise to the *bas* of Re.
B02, 10/8 He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.
B02, 10/10 He understood the barkings of these and these cries (probably of birds) of the land of the fathers.

B04, 7/15–17 A noble vulture is the one who embraces them, it will give birth to all the young so as to settle them (according to their) manner (?) ...
B04, 7/19 (in) the hall. The vulture discovered its young between [the] pillars (?)
B04, 7/20 ⌜belonging to⌝ an entrance-way (of) the House of Life. Come! Let me go to it.
B04, 7/21 Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier. Let me learn of
B04, 7/22 she who is wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.
B02, 13/9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge**, he says: "Some vultures [...]"
B02, 13/11 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge**, he says: "What is the protection (?) (for) the young bird in it? ... you thereto (?)?
L01.5, 9/6 [...] ... Behold! ... the excellent ibises ... the ones who sent me.
L01.5, 10/20 I ... their birds. I understood their falcons. My heart joined with their natures (or "plants"?).
L01.5, 10/23 An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.
B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow.
B02, 3/16 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? O select of speech, reveal the tools!"
B02, 8/14 Let me hurry to (or "look to") the love of *T3* (= Thoth), another version, [lor]d of the *Heden*-plant. Let me hurry to the praises of the foremost one who is under (the) wing (of Thoth = Imhotep).
B04, 6/19 while a canal of life was bubbling over ... all its young birds in it.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/5 The vulture (?) has protected (?) Nun (?) ... so as to cause the earth to overflow through its work.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 I have worshipped the female divine falcon while she gives orders to the souls of Re, while the scribe ... hand ...
L01 (V.T.), x+1/12 ... a kite, an ibis, and a falcon assign them to the (two) lands one by one.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/16 There are forty-two vultures which give birth between them, while their young [...] ... sing.

Of course, the entire following section deals with vultures ("Vulture Text" = L01 (V.T.), x+1/24 to L01 (V.T.), x+3/18). We do not quote this section in full here.
L01 (V.T.), x+ 2/19 18 vultures which cut (?) a baboon (?) [...] ... their young ... It is Herakleopolis.
L01 (V.T.), x+ 3/22 The wise ibis is [the one which] sent off the great ones, the one who great are the [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+4/19 Have you honored the quail which is in the ... [...]
F01, 11 He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The ibises ... Painful is their food, difficult their mode of life.
B07, 15 [...] ... May I wake up in the Chamber of Darkness, the wonder (?) of the Ibis under his guidance (?).

B07, 20 [...] **I am the-one-who-loves-knowledge,** ... so that he may seek out the spell-craft of the Ibis, the one who bound up (?) [...]
B06, 1/18 [...] ... [...] ... he being after the falcon.

Bull

L01 (V.T.), x+1/4 I have seen ... bull protecting the secrets (?).
L01 (V.T.), x+ 2/9 A vulture [which] eats of a bull, while its young rejoices (?) in its ... [It is] ⌜Kom Ishqaw.⌝
L01 (V.T.), x+4/15 these dogs, these jackals, these bulls which ...
L02, 1/7 [...] ... will you burn myrrh? Do not enter into the House of Life. Stinking bulls are as (?) the ones [...]
C02.1, 6 [...] ... who have closed your throat. May you act as the apprentice of the bull of ...
B06, 1/14 the place of dreaming. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "As for the bull which establishes the settlement (?)"
B14.1, 1/5 and Y01.4, 4 [...] seed (?) ... He said it concerning the bulls (*supra* "cows" in B14.1) which are powerful (?).
Y01.3, 5 and C04.7, 8 Since he said "bull" as name of ... [...]

Cow

B14.1, 1/5 and Y01.4, 4 [...] seed (?) ... He said it concerning the bulls (*supra* "cows" in B14.1) which are powerful (?).
C04.4, 2/ x+8 On account of the overflowing of my heart ... the cows.
Y01.4, 3 [...] name (?) of the ... He made it as the cows [...]

Crocodile

B04, 4/17 ... these lions and crocodiles (?) ... [...]
L01 (V. T.), x+2/5 A vulture, ... [...] ... upon a crocodile, while her young dance upon [him] ... [It is Dendera.]

Dog/jackal

V01, 3/12 [...] He supplied the *bas*. ... the dogs ... fisherman (?) ... the [...] nest (?) in her [...]
V01, 3/19 [...] ... hunters upon ... [...] He said: "The fish and the birds which enter to (?) [...]"
B02, 4/7 Great is the immense number which the intelligent jackal listens to her, and she loves him (the intelligent jackal).
L01, 2/17 Great is the immense number which she listens to him, this one, the intelligent jackal and she [loves him.]
B02, 4/8 She does not disdain to act (for) the one humble of face. Hers is the intelligent dog (?), and she hastens to answer him.
B02, 10/9 He went about truly (?) in the hall of the dog. He did not restrain their barking.

B02, 10/10 He understood the barkings of these and these cries of the land of the fathers.
B02, 11/2 **He-created-the-thoughts,** he says: "The ⌜hall of (the) dog⌝ ... [...] ... these are the places (?) of 3,000 of going to the House of Life.
B02, 11/3 These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes, which prophesize according to their utterances ... [...]
B04, 6/7–8 A dog (or "jackal"?) gave to me a block of limestone. He says to me: "It is their net of trapping (?)."
B04, 6/9–10 A dog gave to me a mummy-cloth (with) hieroglyphs. He says to me: "It is their ... of hunting ...
L01 (V.T.), x+2/16 A vulture which bites a dog, while its young takes hold (?) of it. It is Sako.
L01 (V.T.), x+ 4/8 May they place me between them, namely, the rowers, the dogs of the ... [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+4/15 these dogs, these jackals, these bulls which ...
L01 (V.T.), x+4/23 I have seen (?) the dogs which are as scribes (?) [...]
L01.7, 6 [...] writing of the dog which made a ... [...]
F01, 13–14 [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ...] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
B07, 17 [...] wish to bark among the dogs of Shait (= Seshat), the great.
F04, 3 [...] ... his dogs and ba[boons (?) ...]
L02, 1/5 [...] ... throat with a throat of copper. Let me make a barking with you [...]

Donkey

B02, 10/13 He created the thoughts of the donkey ... [...] ... of the stall.
B02, 13/13 [**The-one-who-loves-knowledge,** he says ...] ... of the donkey, a raising up of another treasure of the heart and tongue.

Fish

V01, 3/19 [...] ... hunters upon ... [...] He said: "The fish and the birds which enter to (?) [...]"
L01.5, 10/13 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. I have caught their fish. I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."
L01.5, 10/18 I spent a thousand years while I rowed therein, catching fish in its pools.

Fly

L01 (V.T.), x+4/18 these flies which are as shades at the chapels (?) [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+4/21 I looked at the flies, while they cut (?) in the ... [...]

Hippopotamus

L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 [I have] worshipped (?) ... while he pierces the red hippopotamus.

Horse

L01 (V.T.), x+2/18 A vulture which ... a horse (?), while its young ... [...] ... It is *W'b'b*.

Lion

B02, 3/11 May his fingers work (in?) the house of the lion so as to divide the strong ones upon the roof
B04, 4/17 The lock of faience ... [...] ... these lions and crocodiles (?) ... [...]
B04, 6/8–9 An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/19 ⌜The⌝ lion sits by her throne [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+4/14 Is your fruit (or "Have you looked") at the house of the lion which makes ... [...]

Lizard

B04, 6/20 ⌜I⌝ completed year(s) until one thousand years. There said to me a lizard (?): "Bring the writing ..."

Oryx

L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
L01 (V.T.), x+2/15 A vulture [and] its young, they exulting over the body of an oryx. It is ⌜Hebenu.⌝

Reptiles

B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow.
F01, 13–14 [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ...] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
B06, 2/21 May he reveal the field, the reptiles in ... writing, to see [...]

Sacred Animals

V01, 4/15 The souls (?) say (or "that is") ... [...] these elders (or "sacred animals"?) which open up the storeroom ... to seek (?) its produce (?) of turquoise (?).
B01, 1/6–7 Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?
B01, 1/10a It is the sacred animal (?).
B04, 7/6–8 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ...

which command myriads. They are 3,000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals.
B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow,
B06, 1/16 [...] ... sacred animals [...] ... I shall act as a baboon therein.
L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides ... [...] ... him.

Wild animals or beasts as a generic designation

B01, 1/6–7 Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?
B02, 10/11 He made the four pleas (?) of the wild beasts, one by one ... He understood them. He brought them before me.

Scarab

B02, 11/5 The life which grows in the scarab (is?) the star which rises in (?) ... [...]
L01 (V.T.), x+1/7 I have seen the book of She-who-is-wise, who has ... on account of the scarab ...

Snakes

B02, 8/16 I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, he who has judged the earth with his scale (?).
B02, 11/3 These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes, which prophesize according to their utterances [...]
B03, 1/5 [...] ... through (?) the *hfn*-snake (?) ... [...] sweet tongue, if it ignores (?) silence (?).
L01.5, 10/2 Behold, I stand up, I being like unto a mummy, I being as a snake (?) ... [...]
L01.5, 10/17 Bring me to the ferry of the snake! Take the hieroglyphic sign! Fill my fingers (with) the rudder of the field-dwellers!
L01 (V.T.), x+1/13 May some snakes give protection (?) so as to protect them, some brushes (?) ... [...] pastophoroi (?)
L01 (V.T.), x+ 4/16 these male snakes, these female snakes, these bodies ...
B04, 9/14 ... snake ... [...]
F01, 13–14 [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ...] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]

Turtles

B02, 9/7 And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.

L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 [...] ... to fall under (?) his ..., he being violent with the turtle (?) upon the sand-bank.

17. Plants and Minerals

If not as important as the animal world, plants and minerals do play a role in the Book of Thoth.[144] The author equates, for example, the act of cultivation with that of writing. The rushes growing on the shores of the lake (perhaps the Lake of Fire) acquire theological significance in his eyes since they provide the scribal brushes. Throughout the composition the author also deals with minerals and stones, both in a literal and a figurative sense. In B04, 7/3, the author mentions "the field of turquoise which forms a shade for the spirits." Still, while he employs imagery drawn from plants and minerals, he does not dwell overmuch on either; one has the impression that plants and minerals are secondary to animals in the mind of the author of the Book of Thoth.

The author refers several times to Thoth as the "lord of the *Heden*-plant" (presumably, the scribal brush). A possible ritual reference is found in the "ears of grain of gold," *ḫms nb* in V01, 2/7, unfortunately, in a broken context.

The deity appears to emphasize some special quality or characteristic of plants and minerals early in the composition (the following sentence clearly deals with the innate knowledge of animals):

B01, 1/5 Behold them (or "What are they"), the trees and the ... of lapis lazuli and tur[quoise]? Is it (not) the father who makes for them guidance?

V01, 1/1 [...] harvest (?) of a field ... growth of *ʿt.w*-plants

B02, 3/2 As soon as the one who has come receives them (?), he will seek the secret compartments of the Lord of the *Heden*-plant.

B02, 4/13 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Writing (or 'a book') is a sea. Its reeds are a shore. Hasten therein, little one, little one!"

B02, 4/16 The **seven** reeds which resemble the plow in the **seven** fields of "He-who-knows-the-Two-Lands."

B02, 5/1 As for the farmer who stands up, he being in the presence of two companions, he divides up portions (as) his **1/4th** of barley (var. "his milled barley").

B02, 5/2 As for his seed-corn which is in these storerooms, they being marked off (and) surrounded by a thick wall.

There are numerous allusions to fields, plants, and the harvest in the rest of B02 column five and the following passages:

B02, 6/2 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is its nature? What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?"

B02, 6/3 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "They have named it the *ʿt*-plant, namely, the *ʿt*-plant of life, which the land of mooring will touch it (the brush)."

B02, 7/6 You have been for me a farmer, I being like unto a field, I being dry. You have been for me (?) ... [...]

B02, 11/8 These who have interpreted (?) the pieces (?) of bronze ... [...] ... mouths are they.

B04, 6/18 I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow,

B04, 7/1–2 **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "Have they completed the gate with the (?) green-stone which creates every stone block by means of it?"

The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered ... the (?) field of turquoise which forms a shade for the spirits.

B04, 7/18–19 She works some forty with gold and turquoise, another two with real lapis [lazuli?] in the hall. The vulture discovered its young between [the] pillars (?)

L01.5, 10/17 Bring me to the ferry of the snake! Take the hieroglyphic sign! Fill my fingers (with) the rudder of the field-dwellers!

L01.5, 10/20 I ... their birds. I understood their falcons. My heart joined with their natures (or "plants"?).

B04, 6/17 until I moored at the landing-post of the life ... the splendid field ...

B04, 8/1–2 the one who gave birth to her. Let me reveal a sea which is protected ...

B04, 8/3 its ... grow with turquoise, while nine boats fare north and south

B04, 8/4 within it, concerning their souls and their creations, concerning their plants,

B04, 8/5 which give birth to new words, concerning their nurses and wet-nurses.

V01, 4/15 The souls (?) say (or "that is") ... [...] these elders (?) (or "sacred animals") which open up the storeroom ... to seek (?) its produce (?) of turquoise (?).

L01 (V.T.), x+1/10 I have seen ... the closed room of the House of Life with a doorpost of iron [...]

L01 (V.T.), x+2/1 A vulture ... a scale, while its young of gold is before her ... [It is Edfu.]

L01 (V.T.), x+2/13 A vulture which is (in?) an acacia-tree, while their young ... [...] It is Qusae.

L01 (V.T.), x+2/24 A vulture [which is] (in) an acacia-tree (?) with her young, they bring[ing (?) ...] ... It is Kom [el-Hisn.]

Y01.3, 8 and C04.7, 11 lapis lazuli and turquoise (of?) He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands (= Thoth) [...]

L02, 1/5. [...] ... throat with a throat of copper. Let me make a barking with you [...]

18. Sacred Geography

Much of the Book of Thoth is devoted to sacred geography.[145] Thoth himself receives several times the epithet *ʿm-tȝ.wy*, "He-who-understands-the-Two Lands," a title under-

144 On the symbolic character of plants and minerals, see Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*; idem, "Flore pharaonique et croyances égyptiennes," *Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 22 (1998): 5–16, with full references to past and forthcoming literature on the subject by that scholar.

145 A fine example of a long composition about sacred geography is Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*.

scoring his knowledge of Egypt.[146] Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the places wherein the action is set in the Book of Thoth are difficult to determine, although these do seem to be sometimes underworld localities such as the Lake of Fire,[147] the Winding Waterway, and the Hall of the Two Truths (B04, 7/8). However, they are not always expressly designated as such. It is probable too that areas within the temple, and sections of the House of Life itself, are equated with underworld or divine localities.[148]

There is throughout the Book of Thoth a preoccupation with underworld geography, the rivers and fields of the Netherworld. This is naturally a well-established Egyptian tradition,[149] especially necessary since the underworld landscape posed serious hazards to the deceased.[150] The deities both explain aspects of this geography and question the *mr-rḫ* concerning it. Similarly, in the Vulture Text (not quoted here in full) there is probably an onomastic or scholastic motivation in listing the forty-two nomes of Egypt.

The Book of Thoth sometimes alludes to vague, unspecified localities, such as the "lake of life" (V01, 4/17). Much of the setting for the first fragmentary columns seems to be marsh-lands, *qbḥ.w*, suitable for fishing and fowling.[151] Another very mysterious place is the "Land of the Father," possibly not a physical locality at all, but an unorthographic spelling of a still unidentified term.

Since the Book of Thoth is weighted heavily in favor of the divine and sacred, known actual localities are rare in the composition (apart from the Vulture Text). As one might expect, Heseret and Hermopolis itself appropriately appear. Heseret occurs in such epithets as the "foremost one of the temple of Heseret" (B01, 1/13). Although it is not named (except for one possible mention), we believe that the House of the Fish-net, the sacred shrine of Thoth at Hermopolis, may be alluded to in the Book of Thoth (see Add. 7 C04.1, 10). The sacred geography of Hermopolis is a rich topic within Egyptian theology, and it is quite possible that the House of the Fish-net figures more prominently in this composition than we have been able to discern.[152] The traditional sacred localities of Pe and Dep also occur. Somewhat curious are the mentions of Sako, probably the "metropolis of Kynopolites Ko,"[153] in the 17th Upper Egyptian nome. This town is especially associated with Bata, but its significance in the Book of Thoth is still unclear.

The Book of Thoth is not generous with place-names except for the Vulture Text;

146 Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 103.

147 See Hermsen, "Die Bedeutung des Flammensees im Zweiwegebuch," in DuQuesne (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological Studies for BH Stricker*, pp. 73–86.

148 Note that in the Late Period composition "The Book of Traveling through Eternity" the topography of the underworld is identified with the topography of this world, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 55.

149 The Egyptians often provide very precise information about the netherworld. Thus, the *Wernes* field in the underworld measures 309 by 120 miles. In this area there are trees and fruit, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 149–50. On the geography of the underworld, see also Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 168–70.

150 The difficulty of journeying through the two roads of Rosetau is emphasized in the underworld books: "Only those who know can find their way," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 179.

151 The focus on fishing, fowling, and marshlands places the setting in the underworld or otherworld, see Bidoli, *Fangnetze*, p. 11.

152 In general, see on the sacred precincts of Hermopolis, Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, pp. 36–38. On the House of the Fish-net, see ibid., p. 38.

153 Kessler, *LÄ* 5, col. 359 ("Sako").

more evidence of this type would certainly facilitate the interpretation of the composition. We have, for example, proposed a connection with the theological tradition of the Temple of Edfu, but that locality is nowhere mentioned except in the Vulture Text. Similarly, most of the papyri themselves seem to derive from the Fayum, but no obvious sites from that area appear in the Book of Thoth.

The nome-list incorporated into the Vulture Text is a well known feature in the Egyptian textual tradition,[154] and here it seems to have added importance due to the association with the forty-two *bȝ.w-Rˁ*, "sacred souls/books." Osiris challenges the disciple to name forty-two vultures and the nome-capitals with which they are to be identified.[155] As already mentioned, Clement of Alexandria attributes forty-two fundamental treatises to Thoth.[156] Much damaged, the nome-list itself seems to be relatively standard. It is, of course, interesting to see how the Demotic scribes rendered some of these ancient designations. Thus, the 19th Upper Egyptian nome, generally transliterated *Wȝbwy*, has been given as *Wˁbˁb* in L01, x+2/18. As fragmentary as it is, this list deserves the close attention of scholars attracted to such geographical matters.

The following statements may serve to illustrate the geographical aspects of the Book of Thoth:

Hall of the Two Truths

B04, 7/8 [...] ... the place of the Hall of the Two Truths ...

"Land of the Father(s)" Add. 8

B01, 1/10–11 all of them (?). The heart of Re (?) ... the wise ones (?) ... They do not delay (?) ... a limb, it being with them. The good chapel (or "office"?) in the land of the fathers ...

B02, 8/6 I am with you as an heir like a son of the land of the fathers. May your teaching act as a nursemaid for me.

B02, 9/9 And I shall bow the shoulder under the papyrus roll of the great god, and go (as) the possessor of the wealth of the land of the father.

L01.5, 10/7 I have caused salt to ... throughout (?) the limbs like the praises of the land of the father (?).

Pe and Dep

B04, 8/20 My heart said to me the desire before them until I

B04, 8/21 found her in *Tȝ-ỉmy.t* of the heaven, the one who has determined

154 Compare, for example, the geographical hymn based on nome imagery in Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, pp. 10–19.

155 Such knowledge was especially popular in the Late Period. Osing observes that the procession shown of the forty-two nomes of Egypt around the sanctuary of the Temple of Edfu incorporates much lore associated with each of the forty-two nomes and was certainly based on sacred books, *Aspects de la culture pharaonique*, p. 37.

156 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 58.

B04, 8/22 in Pe, the rituals, total, one by one. Excellent is their mistress (?)
B04, 8/23 who has come from the four corners of Nun. May she delay (?), while I
B04, 8/24 dwell in Dep of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with (?) ... the *sḫ*- cloth falcons.

Sako

L01 (V.T.), x+1/8 I greeted her at the house of ... , while she presses her gate-keeper (?) of Re (?), she commanding them (?) [...] gods ... Sako.

Hermopolis

V01, 2/8 Lord of Hermopolis [...]

19. Initiation and Mysticism

As do other such religious scholarly texts, the Book of Thoth raises the controversial issues of initiation and mysticism in ancient Egypt.[157] The work projects a personal relationship between the deity and one individual, namely, the *mr-rḫ*. This intimate aspect certainly lends an air of mystery and initiation to the composition, as does the very subject matter of sacred knowledge, underworld geography, death and rebirth. Nevertheless, many scholars would perhaps object to characterizing the Book of Thoth as a text of initiation or mysticism.

Specialists in Egyptian religion are divided on these topics, in part because of problems of definition of the relevant terms.[158] Some, such as Hornung, would deny that one should speak of initiation or mysteries in connection with ancient Egypt.[159] Others

157 Still perhaps the most concise statement of the subject is Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 161–79. Useful more recent discussions and observations are in: Hornung, *Das esoterische Aegypten*, pp. 13–25; Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel*, pp. 165–73; Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," in Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 135–59; Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 1–23; Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice," *ANRW* 18.5, II, p. 3365; Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, pp. 37–60; Assmann, *Weisheit und Mysterium*, pp. 37–42; Corcoran, "Mysticism and the Mummy Portraits" in Bierbrier (ed.) *Portraits and Masks*, pp. 45–53; Malaise, "Les caractéristiques et la question des antécédents de l'initiation isiaque," in Ries (ed.), *Les Rites d'Initiation*, pp. 355–62.

158 See, for example, Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 17, on the problem of the use of the term *sšt*, "mysteries," with regard to Egyptian religion.

159 Hornung, *One and the Many*, p. 182, "Several writers have stressed quite correctly that no trace of mysticism can be found in ancient Egypt." For further sceptical remarks on the notion of initiation, see Hornung, "Lehren über das Jenseits?" in Hornung and Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, pp. 221–22. See also Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in Götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, pp. 55–60. On the subject of mysteries and initiation, see also Nock, "Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments," in Stewart (ed.), *Arthur Darby Nock: Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, pp. 791–820. On ibid., p. 797 he declares: "In pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, as in Babylonia, there were no initiates in the Greek sense as it has been described; the terms which appear to correspond are explained as referring to persons who were admitted to participation in secret ceremonies and priestly lore."

accept these designations as reasonable, at least within certain limits. Kákosy, for example, states: "Auf einem hohen Grad standen die Einweihungen in die tiefsten Geheimnisse der einzelnen Tempel durch spezielle Riten, die man gewöhnlich als Mysterien zu bezeichnen pflegt."[160] He then further defines "mysteries" as follows: "Mysterien gehörten zum Gebiet der religiösen Praxis, dem Ritual, die einem kleinen ausgewählten Kreis der Gläubigen - den Eingeweihten - ein geheimes Wissen von einem Gott, von mehreren Gottheiten oder von den letzten Fragen der menschlichen Existenz, z.B. von Leben nach dem Tode vermittelten."[161]

It is indeed probable that the knowledge transmitted in the Book of Thoth would have been considered quite profound. It is also likely that the participants in this dialogue would have belonged to the priestly class, *ipso facto*, an exclusive group. Moreover, the very situation envisioned, instruction of a mortal by a divine being, is evocative of initiation and mysticism.

Unfortunately, the Book of Thoth is not very informative regarding the purpose which it served, the circumstances in which it was recited, or the identity of the participants. In view of this lack of certainty, we should perhaps be cautious in using the Book of Thoth as an example of initiation or of evidence for "mysteries" any more than other temple ritual texts, such as P. Salt 825.

Still, there are features of the composition which deserve the attention of scholars interested in initiation and mysticism. The format of the Book of Thoth is that of a dialogue between a deity and a *mr-rḫ*, whom we assume to be a mortal man.[162] The dialogue often comprises question and answer. Sometimes the deity poses the questions, and the disciple must answer them, sometimes the reverse. The speakers occasionally launch into virtual monologues.

This format of the Book of Thoth is striking. It is atypical, for example, that the deity asks questions of the mortal participant in an Egyptian temple ritual text. Such interaction between gods and mortal is not often found in formal temple inscriptions, but is more characteristic of funerary literature, and also, if less so, of such compositions as the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus.[163] It is easy, in fact, to imagine the Book of Thoth staged

160 Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel*, p. 166.

161 ibid.

162 On the special role of the actor in Egyptian ritual, see Assmann, "Unio Liturgica. Die kultische Einstimmung in götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, pp. 46ff.

163 Donadoni, "Dialog," *LÄ* 1, cols. 1077–78. On the genre, see van der Toorn, "The Ancient Near Eastern Literary Dialogue as a Vehicle of Critical Reflection," in Reinink and Van-

as a drama,[164] the roles of the mortal and divine participants being assumed by priestly actors. However attractive this idea may be, it must be considered an unproven hypothesis.

Inasmuch as mysticism often implies a type of union with the divine, it should be emphasized that the disciple in the Book of Thoth does not claim to "become one with" Thoth. There does not seem to be a merging with that deity or with Osiris.[165] At most, the disciple implies identity with one of those in the entourage of Thoth (which may also be understood as merely figurative); he is able to participate or hopes to do so in the events of the divine world:[166]

B02, 8/6 I am with you as an heir like a son of the land of the fathers. May your teaching act as a nursemaid for me.

He appears also to conceive himself as attaining the goals of the blessed deceased. It may be significant that the possible beginning of the Book of Thoth is as follows:

B07, 1 [The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-ỉmỉ* to question.

The person to be instructed is here designated a *nḫn*, "youth." This noun is, for example, applied to "youths" at the brink of an initiation ceremony, such as circumcision.[167] It may well be used in the Book of Thoth again in a figurative sense, that is, not to denote the physical age of the disciple, but rather his status within the group.

Whether one wishes to employ the labels initiation and mysticism or not, Wente's remarks in his article "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt," are certainly thought-provoking with regard to the Book of Thoth:

> "... what is involved in the offering formulas of the Book of Gates and the Quererts as well as the similarly structured 'knowledge' formulas in the Book of Amduat are identifications of a living person with beings in various states and stages who dwell in the netherworld as witnesses to and participants in the sun god's voyage of renewal. It was not a matter of the officiant having to wait until his death to receive such benefits. The Book of Gates and the Book of Amduat were indeed works of '*practical* theology,' to borrow te Velde's use of this expression."[168]

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stiphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East*, pp. 59–75.

164 Cf. Altenmüller, "Dramatischer Ramesseumspapyrus," *LÄ* 1, col. 1137.

165 Hornung, *One and the Many*, p. 207, "The Egyptians evidently never experience a longing for union with the deity."

166 Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 66, writes of the possibility afforded to human beings "to participate in events that take place in the divine world. They can transpose themselves into the icon, e.g. by becoming a baboon in the morning, overcoming Apophis at midday (BD 39) and 'taking the tow rope' at night."

167 Feucht, *Kind*, pp. 239, 248, 374, and 527–30.

168 Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 175. Other scholars have held that there is no evidence that the living made use of these books. See, e.g., Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 250: "In Egypt it was the *dead*, whereas in the Hellenistic world it was the *living* who were so consecrated and thereby saved from their state of worldly terror." In this respect, consider the observations of Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 99, on C.H. I, Poimandres: "The whole dialogue is pitched at an unusually exalted level, and the instruction is conveyed with the aid of visions. C.H. I is also unusual in that it treats the vision of God as something of which one may have knowledge before but experience only after the soul has been finally separated from the body by death, whereas the Hermetica more commonly maintain that contemplation of the divine realm is possible even for those who are still attached to the body's mortal envelope." See also Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 71: "Fifty years after Lexa's recognition of the importance of rubrics for the identification of magic, Morenz urged a study of them to settle the question of the 'magical' nature of funerary texts and their potential use by the living; his *desideratum* is still unfulfilled."

Even if the knowledge preserved in these underworld books was, as it were, specialized and restricted knowledge,[169] it was knowledge that would certainly also have been deemed useful for living persons.[170]

The obvious underworld character of the Book of Thoth and the emphasis on knowledge of the underworld and rebirth by no means preclude our understanding it as primarily a tool of the living.[171] Indeed, sections of the composition, such as the wisdom text or the description of writing, would have had little obvious relevance to the deceased. We do not therefore think that the Book of Thoth should be interpreted primarily as a mortuary text made for the benefit of the dead, but rather as a ritual or scholarly text of the House of Life made for the benefit of the living priesthood.

Metaphorical death and rebirth are essential elements of mystical literature.[172] The paradigm here is the Golden Ass of Apuleius, concerning which Wente observes, "the initiation of Lucius into the mysteries of Isis at Kenchreai involved a sort of free-will death,

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169 The mortuary texts sometimes stress the hidden and selective nature of the knowledge contained in them: "This is drawn in such a manner in the hidden part of the netherworld, being remote and hidden because of the selectivity of those who know it," Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 167. This is from the Amduat.

170 It must be emphasized that several specialists in Egyptian mortuary literature, such as Mark Smith, have been sceptical of the claim that such sections of the Coffin Texts, specifically, the transformation spells, would have been used by the living. Smith points out how rare it is in Egyptian literature that living beings turn themselves into animals in the way that the "Book of Transformations" (= P. Louvre E. 3452) details, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, p. 40. He specifically argues against the idea of an "Egyptian initiation," as advocated by Federn, "The 'Transformations' in the Coffin Texts. A New Approach," *JNES* 19 (1960): 241–57. It does seem to be the case that, in Egyptian stories at least, you generally have to be dead or a deity before you can turn into an animal, as in the case of Bata in the "Tale of the Two Brothers." If this is correct, then, Apuleius's transformation into an donkey while still a living man would be a non-Egyptian feature. Griffiths, e.g., *The Isis-Book*, pp. 28 and 236, seems to assume that Apuleius's transformation into a donkey is not contrary to Egyptian tradition, but does not discuss this question in detail.

171 On the mystical nature of the underworld, and the knowledge of the initiated, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 33. On the special knowledge of the king/sun-priest, and the example of Tuthmosis III, who has left a record of his initiation into this cultic *sšt*3-sphere, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 54–57. A very useful discussion of the underworld books and initiation is in Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 177 and 279–87.

172 The term found in Apuleius is *renatus*; note the comments of Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 51–52: "The rebirth is mentioned too in the 'birthday of the initiation' ... Whereas the idea of being born again is found also in the cults of Demeter at Eleusis, of Cybele and of Mithras, as well as in Christianity and the Corpus Hermeticum, it is the ritual nexus of death and rebirth as presented by Apuleius that is the most distinctive element." See also Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 84, where he discusses an unusual Greek spell, a rite of "immortalization," declaring: "Yet the notion of immortalization, and the allusion to the initiate's finding himself on the edge of bodily extinction, remind one perforce of the rituals of death and rebirth in which certain of the mystery religions culminated." See also Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 98.

a dying of the old life, and a rebirth culminating in his emergence in the likeness of the sun god. In the adytum of the temple Lucius made a transit through the netherworld, through all the elements, encountering the gods of the underworld and those of the world above and worshiping them."[173] As Apuleius himself says: "I approached close to the gods above and the gods below and worshipped them face to face."[174]

The notion of exclusiveness also characterizes mysteries and initiations. Such texts as the Amduat emphasize how few can lay claim to the knowledge which it contains.[175] Here the Book of Thoth offers only vague indications. The text itself does not seem to assert exclusiveness or secrecy in any obvious way; there are no adjurations to the reader to keep the information secret.[176] Nevertheless, the situation and the highly esoteric nature of the subject matter imply that the composition was directed to a relatively small group of priests. While the Book of Thoth is not clear on the question of possible participants, one does find such statements as:

B02, 5/5 As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, their roasting burns his fingers.

There is a marked tendency in the Book of Thoth to avoid obvious names and titles; one uses, for example, *Ḥsr.t* instead of *Ḏḥwty*. This elusiveness also characterizes other Egyptian religious texts.[177]

It does seem fair to say that in the Book of Thoth the *mr-rḫ*, be he priest or student, undergoes a type of initiation and spiritual rebirth. The knowledge imparted is strongly, but not solely, underwordly in character. We believe that the process takes place while the *mr-rḫ* is alive, within the context of the temple House of Life, and probably in connection with festivals. It is quite likely that in entering the sacred space of the temple and House of Life the participant was simultaneously conceived to be entering the underworld or, at least, the divine otherworld.[178] To the extent that these features conform to one's notions of initiation and mysticism, the Book of Thoth may be considered such a text.

The Book of Thoth is clearly designed to expedite the disciple's spiritual rebirth and

173 Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 177.

174 Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 99.

175 "As Schott has indicated, such knowledge as is spoken of in the Book of Amduat was confined to a select few," Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 167.

176 This may have been understood, however. Such admonitions to secrecy are found not only in traditional "magical" texts, but also in the official temple sphere: "The hymn too is surrounded by indications of secrecy. In the Hibis temple version it bears the title: 'Book of the Secrets of Amun Written down on Boards of *Nbs*-Wood.' We find ourselves here on the threshhold of Hermetism and the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, which to some extent develop a similarly complex theo-cosmology," Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 147. On the notions of "hiddenness" and the secret, see also Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 136–39.

177 Baines, "Restricted Knowledge," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 16.

178 "The path of the deceased to Osiris corresponds to the path of the priest on his way to the innermost sanctuary of the god," Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," in Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, p. 149. Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 22, "the cult performed in the temple is understood as a replica of events that take place in the divine world."

confrontation with the divine. In this, however, the composition is not unique, since that is a fundamental feature of many Egyptian religious works. The experience of Apuleius is not unlike that of the *mr-rḫ* in the Book of Thoth. Our text also displays similarities with the Third Intermediate Period "priestly initiation" texts published by Kruchten.[179]

It may indeed be useful to consider the Book of Thoth in the light of Kákosy's list of the main features of both the Apuleius composition and the Karnak priestly initiation texts published by Kruchten:[180]

1. The show-place of the two was the sanctuary of the temple.
2. The initiate left symbolically this world. He perceives in the priestly annals the secrets of the heavens and goes through various regions of the cosmos in the novel of Apuleius.
3. Both forms of initiation had solar features. In the Egyptian texts the goal is the seeing of Amun-Re, as well as the heaven and the horizon. In Apuleius the initiate sees the brilliance of the sun in the night.
4. The mysteries refer directly or indirectly to life after death.
5. The mysteries are revealed to the initiate in a series of steps. In Apuleius three stages of initiation are described. In the Annals one can conclude that sometimes an initiation into the Mysteries of Mut and Khonsu preceded initiation into the Mysteries of Amun.

Among the differences is that in Apuleius Lucius is an outsider, while in the Egyptian texts only the highest elite were initiated.[181]

The composition may be understood as standing in close relation to the group designated by Assmann as "Texte eines esoterischen Wissensvorrats."[182] Illuminating in this respect is the statement of Kalasiris in Heliodorus's *Aithiopika*:

> "I told him what I knew of these matters, giving him all the information which is recorded in sacred books about this river, and which prophets alone may read and learn."[183]

Clearly, the disciple in the Book of Thoth desires a special knowledge pertaining to the scribal arts. As when he asks the question:

B02, 3/16 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? O select of speech, reveal the tools!"

The disciple achieves a sort of rebirth, perhaps through the equivalent of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, which then results in his recitation of a hymn to Imhotep/Thoth:

B02, 7/8 You have separated for me my tongue. You have opened for me. You have opened (or "given") for me the possibility for going and coming.

B02, 7/9 You have lessened hatred of me. You have brought love of me. You have caused that my praise come quickly.

179 Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^mes Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*.

180 Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel*, p. 169. The following list closely paraphrases his German.

181 ibid.

182 ibid., p. 170, quoting from Assmann, *Re und Amun*, pp. 12–14.

183 Quoted in Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 53.

B02, 7/10 You have caused that I achieve old age, I being (still) young. I have sent off (or "written to") those older than I through your effective magic.

In the following sections of column eight in B02 the disciple seems to repeat his wish for entry to the House of Life, with all of its symbolic significance:

B02, 8/12 May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life. I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai (= Seshat).

B02, 8/13 May one open for me the path of going-and-coming. Let me show the way to the hall with my own feet.

B02, 8/14 Let me hurry to (or "look to") the love of *T*ꜣ (= Thoth), another version, [lor]d of the *Heden*-plant. Let me hurry to the praises of the foremost one who is under (the) wing (of Thoth = Imhotep).

The composition implies an entry into a sacred locality, and access to revealed knowledge upon leaving that area:

B02, 9/1 May I see the darkness as a servant of *Isten*, that I may make a glorification of the secrets of Thoth.

B02, 9/2 May I enter therein, namely, the character (?) of all the ibises, that I betake myself (or "offer") to the place of the servants of ⌜Thoth.⌝

B02, 9/3 May I see heaven, reveals me ... and the four (corners) of the earth to its length.

B02, 9/4 May the Nile flood turn me back. There flow over me, from them, namely, the secrets and ⌜praise⌝ (?) ... their nurses (or "sources"?).

B02, 9/5 My heart said to me: "Return to it, namely, the Chamber of Darkness! Learn its boundary (?)!"

The situation of the following passage also implies that the disciple is striving to enter a sacred area:

B02, 3/7 Effective is the chapel of the *bas*. Eff[ective is] the one who takes possession for himself from the storeroom of the deceased spirits.

B02, 3/8 May he open his throat. May he give praise to it. Many are the names of the chapel of the *bas*.

B02, 3/9 May he learn the number of times of calling out to the (door), "great protector (?)" of Mut (B02 variant "the striker" of Mut), the great one of the enchanters.

The significant word *bs*, "to introduce, induct, initiate," so prominent in the Karnak texts published by Kruchten, occurs in:

B01, 2/19 = B02, 2/16 Will it come to be that ... the initiated ones (or "torches") will draw near before him.

L01.5, 10/3 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back: he says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant 'taught']) before 'He-who-understands-prophecy,' who is 'He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?'"

Most striking, perhaps, is the obscure line

B07, 4 [...] ... which is Sekhefabwy ... [rit]ual (of) entering the Chamber of [Dark]-ness.

The word for entering is *ʿq*, but it is determined with the festival determinative, as *ʿyq*, "Fest, Einweihung," *Glossar*, p. 56.

20. Knowledge

The Book of Thoth revolves around the acquisition of knowledge.[184] It is therefore desirable to consider the kinds of knowledge treated and the result of its acquisition. This emphasis on knowledge is expressed by the very names of the characters mentioned. The designation of the disciple is *mr-rḫ*, "The-one-who-loves-knowledge" or "He-who-wishes-knowledge/to learn." Two common names of Thoth in the composition are "The-one-who-praises-knowledge" and "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

In some ways, the knowledge conveyed by the Book of Thoth is reminiscent of the knowledge attributed to the pharaoh in earlier times. Naturally, the pharaoh possesses knowledge denied to mere mortals:[185]

> "The king N. knows this secret language (*mdw pn šṯꜣ*) that is spoken by the Souls of the East (that is, the sacred baboons who praise the sun-god)."[186]

Praise of pharaoh's knowledge becomes quite elaborate. Rekhmire eulogizes Tuthmosis III:

> "Behold, His Majesty knew what has come into being; there was nothing at all which he did not know. He was Thoth in everything; there was not any subject of which he was not knowledgeable [...] ... after the manner of the Majesty of Seshat. He could construe (or 'divide') a sign according to its value (or 'use') like the god who ordained it and created it."[187]

More generally, of course, knowledge plays a basic role in the entire Egyptian scholarly tradition. It is especially prominent in the underworld tradition, for example, in the title of the Amduat.[188]

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184 A useful overview is Baines, "Restricted Knowledge," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 1–23. See also, for example, Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 158–59; Meeks and Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, pp. 94–107 ("Intelligence and Knowledge"); Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *JNES* 41 (1982): 167. Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 101–03, discusses knowledge within the context of the Hermetic tradition.

185 "The Lord of the Two Banks is a sage; the King, lord of courtiers, cannot be foolish. At his coming forth from the womb he was wise," Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, p. 52 ("Teaching for Merikare"). Hornung nuances the statements about the knowledge of the kings: "Royal inscriptions and hymns declare that Pharaoh had secret knowledge (for instance, about the arcana of the sun's course) and that he was 'wise already in the egg,' but these statements refer to the divinity of his office, not to the human individual," in Donadoni (ed.), *The Egyptians*, p. 299.

186 Te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 134. "In the solar cult there are multiple layers of restricted knowledge, of a more narrowly religious kind than the evidence just discussed," Baines, "Restricted Knowledge," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 10.

187 After Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, pp. 166–67.

188 Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 56. On the importance of "knowledge" in the underworld literature, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 21–22 and 116; el-Metwally, "Bemerkung

Egyptian scholars enthusiastically organized the divine world.[189] *Rḫ* prepares one's way into the Beyond: "I know you, I know your names," says the deceased to the underworld deities in the Book of the Dead.[190] The precision, detail, and organization of mortuary or religious texts often lead scholars to employ such adjective labels as "scientific" or "encyclopedic."[191] Hornung, for example, speaks of the "scientific" character of the cosmographic branch of funerary literature,[192] while Westendorf observes: "It is notable that the statements concerning the gods, concerning the topography of heaven and the underworld, are likewise connected with the term *rḫ*, 'to know' (not 'to believe'), that is, the religious conceptions receive the character of science."[193] This tendency towards systematic classification becomes especially prominent in Graeco-Roman temple decoration.[194] The vast mortuary literature is strongly didactic. Naturally there is often a pronounced geographical component to such texts dealing with "the other world." We have the:

> "2 ways, the 7 gates, the 21 portals, the 7 heavenly cows and their bull, the 14 hills, the 12 crypts, the field of reeds, the offering-fields, the door-keepers and heralds, the councils and judges, the individual parts of the ferry and of the catching net, and so on and so on."[195]

Knowledge is conveyed in various ways in the Book of Thoth. While the deity may use simple declarative statements, elsewhere he launches into a didactic mode, employing imperatives and vetitives:

V01, 3/2 [...] ... Do not touch (?) the *nhy.t* book upon the scribal water-jar on your day [...]

In the Book of Thoth there is an intimacy in the transmission of knowledge which is expressed in physical imagery:

L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 The breast of knowledge which allows that the wise ones suckle is that which belongs to the Nurse.

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zur Macht des Wissens," in Behlmer (ed.), ... *Quaerentes Scientiam. Festgabe für Wolfhart Westendorf zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, pp. 133–42.

189 See the chapter entitled: "Classification and Articulation of the Pantheon," in Hornung, *One and the Many*, pp. 217–50.

190 Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 99.

191 "This (the decoration of the chamber of the seasons in the solar temple of Neuserre) contains 'encyclopaedic' knowledge in a context to which hardly anyone would have access," Baines, "Restricted knowledge," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 11. Similarly, Assmann, *Ägypten*, p. 80, designates these underworld books as "in Wahrheit Kodifizierungen kosmologischen Wissens." But not all scholars wish to see this corpus as "Wissenschaft." "Weder um Hirngespinste handelt es sich noch um Wissenschaft," declares Brunner, "Vom Sinn der Unterweltsbücher," in Röllig (ed.), *Das Hörende Herz*, p. 319.

192 Hornung has designated the underworld books as *Lehrbücher*, Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 56.

193 Translated from Westendorf, *LÄ* 6, col. 1278 ("Wissenschaft"). So too Assmann, *Ägypten*, p. 116.

194 Assmann, "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung Kultureller Identität," in Osing and Nielsen (eds.), *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen*, pp. 9–25.

195 After Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," in Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy*, p. 143.

C04.4, 2/ x+10 The wise female, the great mother (or "Mut"), the nurse ... teaching ... upon [...]

The possible beginning of the composition evokes the traditional image of a "father (?)" and a "youth" (*nḫn*):

B07, 1 [The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-ỉmỉ* to question.

He offers knowledge both of procedure and of a symbolic nature concerning the scribal art, and sacred localities or compositions, such as the Chamber of Darkness.

It is probable that much of the Book of Thoth would have consisted, in the eyes of the Egyptians themselves, of *wšḫ.w*, "explanations." The disciple can himself exhibit his knowledge in the form of *wšḫ.w*, in proclaiming his "explanations (*wšḫ.w*) concerning the praises of *Isten*" in V01, 3/16.

One may also compare:

B04, 7/21 Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier.

The disciple displays knowledge of the underworld:

L01.5, 10/13 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. I have caught their fish. I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."

B04, 8/17 difficult are their words; their repetitions (or "explanations") being too various to write, whereas it is they

B04, 8/18 who commanded to them the loosening of the papyrus documents (?) ... I ... them. I said them. I have loosened (or "explained")

B04, 8/19 them. Since I have listed them, I will know how to worship.

As already mentioned, in the first column of B01 (= B02, column one) the deity is much concerned with the nature of the teacher and the transmission of knowledge, be it through the father, compulsion, or the school-teacher. In the same column the knowledge of animals is considered.

The benefits or results of teaching or knowledge are tangible, and relate chiefly to the underworld or comparable dangerous localities. The teaching will preserve the disciple in the "Chamber of Darkness."

B01, 2/15–16 = B02, 2/12 As for his beloved, he being in complete darkness, the teaching will light for him a torch.

It is indeed the main goal of the disciple to learn or display knowledge of ritual or the underworld:

B02, 3/9 May he learn the number of times of calling out to the (door), "great protector (?)" of Mut (B02 "the striker" of Mut), the great one of the enchanters.

Clearly in B02, column nine, the disciple expresses the wish to gain knowledge of the underworld or the "secrets" of Thoth.

In B02, column three, the disciple is said to learn or hopes to learn the content of numerous sacred books.

Much turns on the disciple understanding "praises" or hymns, as in:

B02, 4/5 "If you understand her (and if) you understand her praises, she will make her place at your mouth, you being thirsty."

In the later sections of the composition the disciple is called upon to explain details of the underworld:

B04, 7/8–10 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Explain to me this form of theirs; reveal their shapes. May the mouth open ... hear ... "

B04, 7/10–11 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will reveal the name(s) and their secret aspects, for indeed they are more mysterious than the nights."

F01, 9 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge**, he says: "I know the libations [... of the Chamber of] ⌜Darkness.⌝"

The god is naturally the ultimate fount of knowledge. The disciple requests knowledge about "the book" in B02, column four. The author emphasizes the special knowledge of the creator-deity:

B02, 10/8 He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.

Where the deity himself seems to wish for knowledge, this is probably merely rhetorical or didactic in purpose. The Vulture Text, for example, is introduced with the words spoken by the deity:

L01 (V.T.), x+1/22 He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Inasmuch as you are abundant of desire [...] ...

L01 (V.T.), x+1/23 Would you will lead (us through) them, that we may know them, and that [we may] praise them ... foundation [...]

The deity offers knowledge of names of sacred scribal objects:

B02, 5/6 ... The scribal palette is the beautiful praise which (is) in the arm of (the god) *ỉr* in its true name.

B02, 6/2 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is its nature? What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?"

The designations of the modes in which knowledge is transmitted are the classical ones of *mtr* and *sbỉ*. The deity offers an instruction (*mtr*):

B02, 6/8 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Come that I may instruct you concerning ... the writing which Thoth gave to the hand of his disciple."

The following lines indeed comprise a *mtr*.

Among the most interesting sections are those dealing with the knowledge of the activity of writing itself. In column five of B02 the god offers advice about the mechanics of writing.

The divine knowledge to which the student aspires is potent and effective; as Baines remarks: "knowledge is an instrument of power."[196] The teaching which the god conveys possesses a rejuvenating aspect and has a transforming effect upon the disciple:

196 Baines, "Restricted Knowledge," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 6. See also Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 57.

B02, 7/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! O foremost one of (or 'before') the House of Documents! Begin with the children of your teaching!"

and

B02, 7/10 You have caused that I achieve old age, I being (still) young. I have sent off (or "written to") those older than I through your effective magic.

In the hymn to the deity (Thoth or Imhotep) the disciple himself apparently proclaims that the teaching is divine (?):

B02, 8/7 You have made me a ruler (?) through the raising of the hand ("for" or "of") the one who created me, so that I may become an heir of your divine instructions.

The disciple displays onomastic geographical knowledge in the Vulture Text of L01.

The author of the Book of Thoth employs the well known image of "drinking in" knowledge (B02, 3/14), *swr*, when he describes how the successful disciple will become knowledgeable about the sacred books.

21. Hermetic and Greek Interaction as Reflected in the Book of Thoth

Given the subject matter, the dialogue structure, certain phraseology, and, perhaps most striking, the designation of Thoth as *wr wr wr*, "Trismegistus," the question naturally arises as to the relationship between the Book of Thoth and the Hermetic Corpus.[197] The classic *Corpus Hermeticum*, comprising 17 Greek treatises and the Latin *Asclepius*,[198] dates from the first through late third centuries A.D.[199] They are therefore approximately contemporary with the Book of Thoth. The Hermetic texts are distinguished by a similarity in form and themes. The prominent figures in the classical Hermetic texts are: Hermes

197 Basic for the Hermetic Corpus is Fowden, *Hermes*, while useful general comments from an Egyptological perspective are in Thissen, "Hermetische Schriften," *LÄ* 2, cols. 1135–37. Several points of comparison between the Book of Thoth and the Hermetic Corpus have been discussed by Mahé, "Preliminary Remarks on the Demotic *Book of Thoth* and the Greek *Hermetica*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996): 353–63.

198 Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 7–8. The fundamental unity or disunity of the Hermetic corpus is still very much a matter of speculation: "Indeed, the variety of the philosophical Hermetica is so great as to impose on the student a basic methodological decision. Does one start from their differences or from what they have in common? Reacting against J. Kroll's attempt in his book *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos* (1914) to construct a single Hermetic synthesis, most scholars this century have preferred to isolate groups of conceptually similar treatises and make out of them divergent streams united little more than nominally under the label 'Hermetism'," Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 95. A convenient translation, with discussion and ample bibliography, is now available in Copenhaver, *Hermetica*.

199 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 11.

Trismegistus,[200] Tat,[201] Asclepius,[202] and Poimandres,[203] all having strong Egyptian associations. There are numerous other technical "Hermeticizing" texts treating astrological, magical, and alchemical subjects.[204] While older scholars, such as Festugière, tended to dismiss the possibility of true Egyptian connections, recent workers, such as Fowden,[205] Mahé,[206] Kingsley, and Copenhaver, more readily acknowledge significant Egyptian content in the corpus.[207] Where does the Book of Thoth stand in this relationship?[208]

First of all, there is nothing inherently unreasonable about positing a connection between these Egyptian and Greek texts. There is certainly good evidence for the transfer of knowledge between the native Egyptian temple scribal spheres and Graeco-Egyptian scholarship.[209] We know that Greek translations of Egyptian scholarly texts such as the

200 On Hermes Trismegistus, see Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 22–31; Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 93.

201 Fowden suggests that Tat is a "Greek misspelling of Thoth," *Hermes*, p. 33; Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 93. It has also been understood to be the personified *djed*-pillar, the sacred pillar of Osiris, see Černý, *CED*, pp. 197–98; Westendorf, *KHWB*, p. 248.

202 See Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 32; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 88–99.

203 See the discussion of Kingsley, "Poimandres: The Etymology of the Name and the Origins of the Hermetica," in van den Broek and van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres*, p. 56, who opts basically for Griffith's explanation, *P3-ʿm-nte-Rʿ*, but discusses possible word-plays as well.

204 The technical hermetica are magical, astrological, alchemical, and iatromathematical, Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 2–3, and 75–94.

205 See also the detailed review of Fowden, *Hermes*, by Kákosy in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 85 (1990): cols. 403–08.

206 Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte: Tome I. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins*, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi: Section "Textes" 3; idem, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte: Tome II. Le fragment du* Discours Parfait *et les* Définitions *hermétiques arméniennes (NH VI, 8.8a)*, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi: Section "Textes" 7.

207 See, for example, Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 28–29; Kákosy, "Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW*, vol. 18.5, II, pp. 3037–38; Sørensen, "Ancient Egyptian Religious Thought and the XVIth Hermetic Tractate," in Englund (ed.) *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions*, pp. 41–57; Griffiths, "Possible Egyptian Elements in Tractate XIII of the Corpus Hermeticum," in Minas and Zeidler (eds.), *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur*, pp. 97–102. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*, pp. 150–51 and 156–57, discusses the Egyptian background to the passages in *Asclepius*. There is also a thesis on the subject, Scott, *Egyptian Elements in Hermetic Literature*, Dissertation of Harvard University (1991), but this does not treat the topic with the necessary depth.

208 "One naturally asks: did the Hermetica in fact have Egyptian literary antecedents or models? Two areas of native literature promise, *prima facie* at least, profitable comparison: the sacred literature of the priests, which was mostly attributed to Thoth; and the so-called 'wisdom' or 'instruction' texts," Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 56–57.

209 On the specific literary or cultural context of the Book of Thoth, useful are the remarks of van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1998): 99–184. Significant may be his statement: "It is incorrect to link the literary texts from the temple area at Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis with the temples themselves, as if there were 'temple libraries' in these villages. Egyptian temples were run by families of priests, who accumulated literary texts for their own use, both for the proper exercise of their religious functions and for instructing their off-spring." ibid., p. 109. He mentions the Book of Thoth (from Soknopaiou Nesos) on ibid., p. 153.

"Book of the Temple,"[210] and the magnificent Demotic Myth of the Sun's-Eye were in circulation in the Roman Period.[211] Even if the extent of the impact of Greek culture on the native Egyptian literary and religious traditions is still the subject of debate,[212] the substantial corpus of bilingual Roman Period Magical Papyri attests to the intermingling of traditions.[213] Recent scholarship has shown that several hitherto unintelligible explanations in the oft-mocked *Hieroglyphika* of Horapollo can be plausibly explained by recourse to Demotic spellings.[214] There are, moreover, intriguing texts mentioned in the Greek tradition, such as the translation from the Egyptian said to have been made by Eudoxus of the "Dialogues of Dogs,"[215] while the Greek Hermetic Texts themselves proclaim that they are translations from the Egyptian language.[216] Doubtless, one should be wary of taking all of these statements at face value. Nevertheless, they do suggest that the conditions for cultural interaction were favorable.

Despite all of the available material, the degree of Egyptian influence on the Hermetic Corpus is still a matter of debate. The mechanism of exchange can indeed be difficult to determine; one often has the impression that the mediating stages of transmission between these very different presentations of, or approaches to knowledge are missing. As Thissen remarks with regard to Horapollo, "Vielleicht muß man mit einem 'mehrstufigen (?) Übergang' bzw. einer Verarbeitung mehrerer verschiedener Vorlagen rechnen."[217] If the Book of Thoth is no "smoking gun," it does at least provide us with a better idea of Egyptian Late Period scholarly theological thought, precisely the sort of composition that would have been of interest to Hellenistic Hermetic thinkers.

The classic Hermetic Corpus is variable when considered from an Egyptological perspective. Some of these texts do not seem to preserve Egyptological material in any fundamental sense; others clearly contain striking native elements which catch the eye of the Egyptologist. Perhaps the most interesting of these works is the *Asclepius*.[218]

While all deeper religious scholarly texts are multi-layered by nature, it is curious how well the words of Asclepius describe the Book of Thoth:

210 Quack, "Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung," *ZPE* 119 (1997): 297–300.

211 West, "The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut," *JEA* 55 (1969):161–83. See also the remarks of M. Smith, "Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythos vom," *LÄ* 5, col. 1085.

212 See, e.g., von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, pp. 9–10.

213 See the introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri by Johnson, in Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. lv-lviii. The designation "Amduat" may even appear in a Coptic magical text, see Brashear, *Magica Varia*, pp. 33–34.

214 Thissen, "Horapollinis Hieroglyphika Prolegomena," in Minas and Zeidler (eds.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur*, pp. 255–63. See now Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch. Band I: Text und Übersetzung*.

215 Griffiths, "A Translation from the Egyptian by Eudoxus," *Atlantis and Egypt*, pp. 31–35.

216 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 58 and 201–02.

217 "Horapollinis Hieroglyphika Prolegomena," Minas and Zeidler (eds.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur*, p. 259.

218 See Quispel, "Reincarnation and Magic in the Asclepius," in van den Broek and van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres*, pp. 168–231. Derchain remarks: "Dans l'*Asclepius*, en effet, l'auteur, qui connaissait très bien la théologie égyptienne ...," *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 14–15. Derchain, "L'Auteur du papyrus Jumilhac," *RdE* 41 (1990): 27, again stresses the relationship between the apocalyptic world view of Papyrus Jumilhac with that in the hermetic *Asclepius*.

> "Hermes ... often used to say to me ... that those who read my books will think that they are very simply and clearly written, when in fact, quite on the contrary, they are unclear and hide the meaning of the words, and will become completely obscure when later on the Greeks will want to translate our language into their own, which will bring about a complete distortion and obfuscation of the text."[219]

There are broad structural similarities between the Book of Thoth and the compositions of the Hermetic Corpus. The Book of Thoth is a dialogue between the god and a man "who wishes to know." The classic Hermetica are also conversations between divine teachers and eager students:[220]

> "In most of the Hermetic writings, a teacher, mostly called Hermes, instructs a pupil about the nature of man, the world, and God. But at the same time mention is made of prayers, hymns, meals, and initiations into the Hermetic mysteries. Does all this point to the existence of Hermetic groups in which the 'way of Hermes' was taught and celebrated in a more or less structured way? Or are we only concerned with a literary device, without any basis in real life?"[221]

In the Book of Thoth we have assumed that the *mr-rḫ*, "The-one-who-loves-knowledge," is a mortal, while in the Hermetic Corpus the pupil may be of more divine nature. Still, even that is not entirely certain, as the identity and character of the *dramatis personae* in the Hermetic texts are not always manifest.[222] Even if such figures as Tat are originally derived from divinities, their roles do not always represent them as omniscient deities, but rather as mortal aspiring students.

Certain portions of the Book of Thoth are very concerned with the relationship between the teacher and student (B01, column one). This is a characteristic of the Greek and Latin texts as well: "The Hermetic writings often give important hints about the nature of the teaching process: about the responsibilities of the teacher, and the responsibilities of the pupil."[223] Both Greek and Egyptian works portray an agreeable familiarity between man and god, a loving relationship. In our Demotic text, for example, Thoth addresses his student as "Little One (B02, 4/13)." A familiar tone is also characteristic of the classical compositions.[224]

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219 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 37. Cf. also Kingsley, "Poimandres," in van den Broek and van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres*, pp. 72–73; Assmann, "Unio Liturgica," in Kippenberg and Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and Concealment*, pp. 38–39.

220 But note the possible Greek background to the usage of this form in the Hermetic Corpus: "It is significant how many of the philosophical Hermetica are presented in epistolary or dialogue form. In this way the Hermetist, while preserving the divine and revelatory character of his doctrines, imparts to their exposition a certain air of historical reality, stirring in his audience, perhaps, echoes of Socrates and his circle as depicted in the Platonic dialogues," Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 28; compare also ibid., p. 72. A good example is C. H. II, Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 8–9, which reads just like a Socratic dialogue. See also the comments of Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 445.

221 van den Broek, "Religious Practices in the Hermetic 'Lodge': New Light from Nag Hammadi," in van den Broek and van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres*, p. 80.

222 See Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 32–34.

223 Kingsley, "An Introduction to the Hermetica: Approaching Ancient Esoteric Tradition," in van den Broek and van Heertum (eds.), *From Poimandres*, p. 36.

224 See, e.g., Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 5, wherein Poimandres says: "Hold your tongue, fellow," to the disciple (C.H. I).

The vocabulary of the Book of Thoth is similar to that of the Hermetic Corpus. The composition contains phrases such as the "breast of knowledge" and the "well of knowledge" which lend, to our ears at least, a distinctly "Hermetic " color. The disciple in the Thoth book is sometimes apparently possessed by a *šgyg*, a "longing" to know.[225] This rather unusual word is strongly reminiscent of the *epithumia* and *pothos*, "desire" and "longing" of the Hermetic disciple.[226]

> "O Poimandres, now I have come into a great longing, and I yearn to hear; so do not digress."[227]

Most striking, of course, is the designation of Thoth as *wr wr wr*, "Trismegistus," in B02, 9/7.

While this may be due to our faulty understanding, it is sometimes difficult to determine precisely the identity of the speaker in the Book of Thoth. Similarly, the identity of the speaker in the Hermetic texts and the relationship of the participants are rather obscure.[228]

The role of knowledge, *rḫ* for the Egyptian, *gnosis* in the Greek, is fundamental for both traditions. As Copenhaver remarks: "the theoretical *Hermetica* present a theory of salvation through knowledge or *gnosis*."[229] Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that the *rḫ* of the Egyptian may denote something other than the *gnosis* of the Hellene.[230]

Prominent is the *ḥmw*, "craftsman," in the Book of Thoth, which recalls the *demiourgos* of the Hermetic texts, even if the role which he plays differs.[231] Very important is Imhotep in our work; the hymn in column eight of B02 is recited in the festival of Imhotep. This sage is quite significant in the Hermetica; he has given his name as the title of one of the chief works, *Asclepius*.[232] A Coptic version of the *Asclepius* forms part of the Nag Hammadi Library, dated to the fourth century A.D.[233] One observes interesting similarities in phraseology between the Book of Thoth and the Hermetica. "Immerse yourself in the mixing bowl," in the Hermetic texts,[234] while Thoth also advises his student to

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225 E.g., L01 (V.T.), x+1/22; F01, 10.

226 E.g., Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum,* vol. 1, p. 12, lines 12–13 (there the verb *pothein* is used).

227 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 4 (C.H. I).

228 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 94.

229 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. xxxvii. Fowden speaks of the "central aspiration of the Hermetist to attain knowledge of God," Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 112.

230 A detailed study of the meaning of *rḫ* remains to be done; see, e.g., Hornung, "Lehren über das Jenseits?," in Hornung and Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, p. 223: "Die Bedeutung von 'Wissen' (*rḫ*) wird in allen diesen Gattungen betont, wobei für die Lehren noch eine spezielle Untersuchung über die Verwendung dieses Begriffs fehlt. Aber das Wissen ist nicht Alleinzweck; übergeordnet ist im Falle der Lebenslehren die Absicht, den Menschen in die Ordnung des Diesseits einzugliedern, im Falle der Unterweltsbücher, den verstorbenen König in den regenerierenden Sonnenlauf hineinzunehmen." For a discussion of Hermetic *gnosis*, see Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 104–15; Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 14–17.

231 On the *demiourgos*, "craftsman," in the hermetic corpus, see Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 104–05.

232 Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 10 and 199.

233 Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 5.

234 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p.134.

"swim" in the sea which is the book or the scribal art (B02, 4/15). So too the imagery of "drinking" in knowledge is common to both traditions.[235] One notes, further, the appearance of *pr.t-ḫrw* in both the Book of Thoth and the Hermetic texts, where it is termed a "speech-offering."[236] In the Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth the disciple is instructed to inscribe the book upon "steles of turquoise."[237] This is certainly striking in view of the significance of "turquoise" in the Book of Thoth. The same passage speaks of "writings in the writing of the House of Life."[238] The House of Life plays a fundamental role in the Book of Thoth.

The author of the Book of Thoth discusses the knowledge of animals in that fascinating passage:

> "The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching (*sbꜣ*) comes about for them, (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance? (*ṯꜣy-myt*)" (B01, 1/6–7)

In the fifth Century A.D. Hermetic anthology of Stobaeus[239] there is an excerpt from a dialogue between Hermes and his son Tat.[240] This selection concerns the question of animals and their intelligence. Tat remarks that "knowledge" (*episteme*) and "skill/art" (*techne*) are "an activity of the rational part (of the soul)."[241] Tat then asks, since animals are lacking a "rational part of the soul," how is it that: "we see some of the irrational animals using knowledge and skill, the ants, for example, storing up their food, and the birds of the air building nests for themselves, and the four-footed beasts knowing their own particular lairs."[242] Hermes answers: "It is not by knowledge or skill, my son, that they do these things, but by natural instinct (*phusis*)."[243] This was a classical topos; Plutarch, Seneca, and Philo, among others, discussed animal intelligence.[244] The Egyptian author of the Book of Thoth treats precisely this subject of the nature of animal intelligence. While there are no very similar examinations of this theme in Egyptian literature, the epilogue of Any does deal with animal knowledge. Although it is a subject found in other types of Classical texts, it is quite interesting that we find precisely this subject in both a Greek Hermetic text and our Book of Thoth.

The connection between the Egyptian tradition of didactic wisdom and the Hermetica seems to us somewhat less strong than is advocated, for example, by Mahé.[245] Nevertheless, one must note that "traditional" wisdom instruction appears in the Book of Thoth, and, of course, the entire structure of the composition is an instruction text.

In considering the relationship between the Book of Thoth and the Hermetic texts, it is important to keep in mind their essential differences.

The concerns of the Book of Thoth differ from those expressed in the Hermetic Corpus. In the Book of Thoth the god is clearly engaged in explaining to the student the symbolic nature of the scribal tools. This subject, to our knowledge, does not play a significant role in the Hermetic Corpus. Indeed, the position of the scribe is a key one in the Book of Thoth, and this too does not seem to be an important element of the Hermetic texts.

While Thoth and Imhotep play a role in both corpora, other deities important in the Book of Thoth, namely, Seshat and Osiris, scarcely appear in the Hermetica, insofar as we can judge.

Similarly, the underworld is fundamental in the Book of Thoth, as it has always been in such Egyptian literature. The underworld as a locality does not play a role in the Hermetic Corpus. So too, the subject of prophecy, specifically through animals, is not a factor in the Hermetic texts.

It is no doubt significant that both Egyptologists and Classicists rejected the label "Hermetic" which Reymond assigned to the small fragments of the Book of Thoth published by her.[246] There is no simple identity between the Book of Thoth and the corpus of Hermetic texts. Our examination of the corpus has revealed no verbal parallels. There is no evidence for uniquely Greek thought or distinctive Greek philosophical terminology in the Book of Thoth. The similarities between the Book of Thoth and the Hermetic Corpus are of format, phraseology, and, to some extent, content. However, it must be emphasized that whereas the context, as it were, of the Book of Thoth, lies squarely within the Egyptian temple tradition, and specifically, within the rituals and cult of the House of Life, the context of the Hermetic Corpus is much more difficult to determine. The existence or non-existence of "organized practitioners of Hermetic doctrine" has long been a famous problem.[247] It is safest to posit that the Book of Thoth represents the Egyptian religious tradition which may ultimately feed into the Hermetic teaching, but that this connection takes place through a series of intermediary steps involving perhaps several Greek interpretations and translations of the material presented in the Book of Thoth.[248] There is, in our opinion, little doubt that the imagery and symbolism found in the Book of Thoth would have been quite congenial and amenable to further interpretation by the authors of the Hermetic Corpus.[249] Still, it is imperative to keep the texts distinct.

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235 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 134.
236 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. 122–23.
237 Robinson (general ed.), *Coptic Gnostic Library*, vol. 3, p. 367.
238 Robinson (general ed.), *Coptic Gnostic Library*, vol. 3, p. 367.
239 The precise dating is uncertain, Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 4.
240 Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 3, pp. 21–29; Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 1, p. 407.
241 After Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 3, p. 21.
242 After Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 3, p. 21, and Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 1, p. 407.
243 Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 3, p. 21, and Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 1, p. 407.
244 See, e.g., Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 3, pp. 354–56.
245 See the critique of Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 68–74.
246 Reymond, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*. For the negative reaction, see, e.g., Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, p. 110; Johnson, review of Reymond, *Hermetic Writings*, in *JNES* 41 (1982): 302.
247 Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, pp. lv-lvii. Fowden thinks that the Hermetic texts were studied by small groups of interested students under the guidance of a master, Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 160. He does remark, however, that "The philosophical Hermetica strongly imply … the existence of Hermetist individuals and circles who followed a coherent spiritual 'way'. But the external testimonia afford the hypothesis of an independent Hermetist milieu pitiably little support," *Hermes*, p. 186.
248 Compare the rather similar conclusion of Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 65–68.
249 In his useful comments on the possible impact of Greek literature on the native priests, van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *JJP* 28 (1998): 169, states: "Under Greek influence they may also have been developing a more philosophical attitude towards their religion, thereby contributing to the development of Hermetism and the like." Fowden, *Hermes*, pp. 167–68, also discusses the possible interest of native Egyptian priestly scholars in Hellenistic thought.

22. Purpose of Composition and the Place of the Book of Thoth within the Egyptian Literary Tradition

Given the wide variety of genres represented in the Book of Thoth, it is probably a mistake to attempt to discern a single purpose behind its composition. Even in its present fragmentary state, the length and variety of the text are impressive. Assmann has emphasized the tremendous amount of space on Late Period temples devoted to encyclopedic *Wissens-Literatur*, comprising cosmological, geographical, theological, and mythological texts, such as are found in no earlier temple decoration.[250] This he attributes to a process of "codification of knowledge" which took place especially in the Late Period.[251] Within this broader context, the Book of Thoth may be understood as another expression of the desire to codify and organize the received knowledge of the native culture. More specifically, however, we would like here to summarize some important aspects of the text, and comment on the purpose of its composition and the position of the Book of Thoth within the Egyptian literary tradition.

Script, Language, and Date

The choice of script is important. The very use of Demotic for this composition is significant. The first Demotic religious texts apparently date from the end of the Ptolemaic period, although literary papyri are attested considerably earlier.[252] While some of the writings in the Book of Thoth, most notably in the Vulture Text, are indeed strongly hieraticising, there is no absolutely compelling reason to assume that the work as a whole is a translation from an earlier hieratic (or hieroglyphic) text. We had, at any rate, found no parallels to the composition in hieratic or hieroglyphs until Joachim Quack brought L02 to our attention just before the manuscript was submitted for publication.[253] L02 is indeed in a hieratic hand, probably to be dated to the Second Century A.D., as Quack has observed. This fragment with portions of seventeen lines eloquently demonstrates that hieratic versions of the Book of Thoth existed, and one may hope that better preserved examples may surface soon. The grammar, while archaic in places, does not suggest that the text was written in a non-Demotic stage of Egyptian; the work was probably composed in Demotic. A Ptolemaic date for the composition is reasonable, although portions may derive from earlier times. It is important to keep in mind that the Book of Thoth is but one example of a vigorous scholarly Demotic tradition which is just now being studied and published.[254] The distinctions of genre (decorum) based on script were breaking down by the later Ptolemaic Period. In spirit, at least, the Book of Thoth is not so far from the hieroglyphic Papyrus Jumilhac, the hieratic Tebtunis Onomasticon, or P. Salt 825.[255]

250 "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität," in Osing and Nielsen (eds.), *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 12–13.

251 Indeed, even with regard to the New Kingdom Amduat Assmann declares: "The Amduat serves to codify and transmit the appropriate knowledge inasmuch as it relates to the Night Phase of the solar journey" and "Now, it would be too much to suppose that the Amduat or its Heliopolitan model was enacted in the cult: it does not belong to what is said or done, but (and the title makes this clear) what is known," *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 26.

252 Depauw, *Companion*, p. 117.

253 One may compare the complicated relationship between the hieratic and Demotic sections discussed in Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, pp. 10–13. See also the discussion of Ryholt, in Frandsen and Ryholt (eds.), *Miscellany*, pp. 119–20, on the possible hieratic *Vorlage* of Onkhsheshonqy.

Sources

The author drew on a wide variety of sources, including temple ritual (opening of the House of Life), underworld texts (description of the netherworld, funerary literature), wisdom compositions,[256] and sacred geographical works or onomastica (Vulture Text). Several specific features point to the Temple of Edfu (e.g., the title *wn-im3*; the "Chamber of Darkness"; description of Horus spearing the turtle) as a source of inspiration. One may plausibly assert that the author or compiler utilized, among other texts, an Edfu composition. This is notable, given that most of the papyri themselves appear to derive from the Fayum (that is, with the important possible exception of B02). Indeed, one of the fascinating aspects of the Book of Thoth is this possible interaction with the tradition of Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions; connections between Demotic and Ptolemaic hieroglyphic inscriptions are relatively difficult to document, although the division between the two "genres" may become less marked as more texts are published and more deeply studied.[257] The Book of Thoth is, among other things, an explication of the sacred books, the *h3.w-R'*. It is, again, perhaps no accident that Edfu Temple contains that "library," which provides the titles of numerous such texts. If correctly identified, the importance of Seshat in the composition, the relatively common but elusive personifi-

254 Other examples are the Nun-Cosmology being edited by M. Smith, "A New Egyptian Cosmology," in Eyre (ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 1075–79, and the Book of the Temple, being edited by Quack, "Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung," *ZPE* 119 (1997): 297–300.

255 "Le papyrus Salt 825 peut être regardé comme une sorte d'aide-mémoire pour le cérémoniaire chargé de ces rites. Il donne sous une forme souvent très concise et parfois obscure une masse d'indications relatives à la maison de la vie et à ses rites," Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, p. 19. For the Tebtunis onomasticon, see Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis, I.*

256 The fact that a wisdom text should be included within the Book of Thoth is not in itself surprising. Didactic compositions full of advice for priests are found, for example, in Edfu Temple, see Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, pp. 184–88. The short wisdom text in B02, 6/8–16 is not closely paralleled by any known Demotic composition, but does contain numerous vetitives in the style of Demotic Wisdom.

257 See the remarks on the common vocabulary found in Demotic and Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts in Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. xvii-xviii. Quack, "Monumental-Demotisch," in Gestermann and Sternberg-El Hotabi (eds.), *Per aspera ad astra. Wolfgang Schenkel zum neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 107–21, discusses interaction between Demotic texts and Graeco-Roman temple compositions.

cation of writing, would also tend to place the Book of Thoth within the temple sphere.[258]

With regard to known Demotic texts, the most prominent connection is that between the Book of Thoth and the Myth of the Sun's Eye. The author seems to allude to the narrative of the latter in such lines as:

B02, 4/8–9 She does not disdain to act (for) the one humble of face. Hers is the intelligent dog (?), and she hastens to answer him. And he calls out to her seven thousand times seventy-seven times and she does not come at his voice.

It is, of course, possible that the author was drawing on a hieratic or hieroglyphic version of the tale. We would not even exclude the possibility that both the Book of Thoth and the Myth of the Sun's Eye share an aspect of "humor," based on the contrast in size and character between the two protagonists (i.e., Thoth and Tefnut in Myth of the Sun's Eye; the *Ḥs-rḏ* and the *Mr-rḏ* in the Book of Thoth).

The image of the search for the *ỉpt.w*, "the secret chambers (of Thoth; B02, 3/2)," is, of course, best attested in the hieratic Middle Kingdom Tales of Westcar. However, here too one must be cautious about assuming that the author of the Book of Thoth is referring to that particular ancient story.

Intended Audience

We believe that this composition would have been of most interest to the scribal class and that it was a text closely associated with the House of Life. Its rather wide circulation, as indicated by the numerous copies, suggests that it is an "official" temple text, although individual scribes would possibly have wanted to possess their own copies of the text in its entirety or in excerpts.[259] It is perhaps too strong to label the Book of Thoth as an initiation text, but it does contain elements which imply initiation, in that the *mr-rḏ* is instructed, or demonstrates knowledge, in sacred terminology, symbolism, and geography. It may well have even figured in the practical instruction of advanced priestly scribal scholars. A Tebtunis Greek papyrus of the second century A.D. confirms that candidates had, at least on occasion, to prove competence in religious subjects.[260] Admittedly, nothing in that Greek text suggests that the required level of knowledge equaled that of the Book of Thoth.

258 See, for example, Schott, "Thoth als Verfasser heiliger Schriften," *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 21, on the ritual of the king offering the palette and waterbowl to Thoth in the library of Edfu, with Seshat in attendance.

259 The question of temple libraries versus private priestly libraries is still much debated, see Quirke, review of Sauneron, *Un traité d'ophiologie* and Jasnow, *Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, in *JEA* 83 (1997): 244. Burkard discusses Reymond's "Hermetic" texts as part of the library of the Sobek Temple at Dime, "Frühgeschichte und Römerzeit: P. Berlin 23071 vso.," *SAK* 17 (1990): 126–27.

260 Grenfell and Hunt, *The Tebtunis Papyri: Part II*, pp. 54–58 (number 291); see Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 159; Fowden, *Hermes*, p. 61.

The twin emphasis on scribal matters and underworldly knowledge is consistent with Egyptian tradition. Funerary literature underscored the importance of scribal knowledge for the deceased.[261] Indeed, it should not be forgotten that even the wisdom composition of Insinger is embedded within a funerary context.[262]

The prominence of the *sr*, "prophecy/prophets," and the significance of sacred animals, especially as a source of oracles, may be understood against the background of the great popularity of oracles in the Roman Period, extending well into late antiquity.[263]

Relationship to Ritual

We doubt that the Book of Thoth was employed in a single otherwise known ritual, such as the revivication of Osiris or "preservation of the life of the king" (as is the case, for example, with P. Salt 825). The dialogue structure, didactic sections, and learned passages are hard to imagine within the context of any one ritual activity of this type. While a certain interaction, even dialogue of a sort, between divine and mortal participants is found in temples, we know of nothing quite so extensive as the Book of Thoth. Still, the heavy use of underworld imagery and the importance of Osiris fit well with the function of the House of Life as a place in which Osirian rituals were conducted. B07 seems to emphasize actual ritual or ceremony in the House of Life or Chamber of Darkness. It must be emphasized that, despite the frequency of its mention in Egyptian sources, the internal workings and rituals of the House of Life are still relatively mysterious.[264] The *bỉ.w Rʿ*, "souls of Re," is the standard designation of the sacred books. This term is prominent in the Book of Thoth, and this composition may perhaps even have been reckoned as one of the *bỉ.w-Rʿ*, or, at the very least, as a text closely associated with them.

We have seen that the festival of Imhotep played a significant role in the composition, and it is possible that all or part of the text was utilized in connection with the various rituals devoted to that divine seer. The speaker visualized himself as a lector priest carrying the sacred scroll, and the Book of Thoth may therefore have been used in a procession of Imhotep or Thoth.

We have further observed that the Opening of the Year Festival is mentioned, and one can also suggest that the Book of Thoth was involved in that important festival.

261 See Schott, "Schreiber und Schreibgerät im Jenseits," *JEA* 54 (1968): 45–50.

262 Insinger 35/13–15: "The end of the Instruction. May his *ba* flourish forever; Phebhor, son of Djedherpaan. His *ba* will serve Osiris-Sokar, the great god, the lord of Abydos. May his *ba* and his body be young for all eternity," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 213. On this topic, see Quack, "Balsamierung und Totengericht im Papyrus Insinger," *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 27–38.

263 See Frankfurter, "Mutations of the Egyptian Oracle," in *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 145–97.

264 Thus Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, pp. 151–52, declares: "Unfortunately no rituals of the Thoth cult have been handed down to us. The worship may be assumed to have followed the pattern known to us from the text describing the programme of the daily service. For the rest our knowledge of the staff of priests who served Thoth is minimal."

Relationship to Magical Texts

The Book of Thoth does not bear much similarity in structure and subject matter to the Roman period Demotic magical texts.[265] While there are occasional allusions to "efficacy" or "speed," there is none of the distinctive vocabulary (e.g., *ḥ-ntr*) or procedures which characterize the magical texts. There are no *voces magicae*, and the text is hardly marked by the eclecticism of the Demotic magical compositions. It is safe to conclude that there is no very close relationship between the Book of Thoth and that corpus of texts.

Possibility of Performance?

The dialogue format is unusual in form, with the introduction of some speakers by *ḥr*, "to speak." In this, the Book of Thoth is reminiscent of the Myth of the Sun's Eye.[266] It is by no means impossible that the Book of Thoth was performed. One can well imagine it as part of ceremonies connected, for example, with the Festivals of Imhotep. Morenz classified certain religious texts as "theological treatises without any visible ritual purpose."[267] As an example he names "The Memphite Theology," a glorification of god, composed in a mixture of dialogue and narrative. Now Morenz raises the possibility that such works as "The Memphite Theology" may have been recited at festivals. This seems an attractive proposal, and may also have been true for the Book of Thoth.[268]

Connections with Underworld Tradition

Future researchers may well discover even closer connections between the Book of Thoth and the underworld tradition than we have observed. There was certainly a strong Late Period interest in New Kingdom cosmological or mortuary texts. The Composition of the Nut-book ("Nut-Bild"), attested in the Osireion of Sety I and the tomb of Ramesses

265 See the overview of Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context," *ANRW*, vol. 18.5, II, pp. 3333–79. There are, however, notable similarities to the magical Book of Thoth in Setne I. One has the impression that this tale may present a popular and literary interpretation, as it were, of the Book of Thoth which we here edit.

266 "Another striking feature of the text is the presence in it of what appear to be 'stage directions'. These have led some to regard it as a drama which would have been performed by human actors wearing animal masks," M. Smith, "Sonnenauge," *LÄ* 5, col. 1085.

267 *Egyptian Religion*, p. 217. Compare the problems connected with the interpretation of the Myth of the Sun's Eye: "It is difficult to discern the purpose for which the demotic version of the myth was written," M. Smith, "Sonnenauge," *LÄ* 5, col. 1085.

268 On drama in ancient Egypt, see the remarks of Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus*, pp. 1–13.

IV, is found in a commentated version in Carlsberg I from the second century A.D., with hieratic/Demotic text.[269] It is highly probable that the author of the Book of Thoth has drawn upon the great underworld book tradition, about which Hermsen remarks: "With the Book of the Earth the continuous tradition of the underworld books breaks off, although they, generally in quotations, are attested as non-royal mortuary literature into the late period."[270]

Age of Composition

The original age of the composition is still unknown. It may well go back to the Ptolemaic Period, with sections being considerably older. Yet, there is no doubt that most of the copies derive from the first and second centuries A.D. Interestingly enough, it is precisely at this time when we have "massive finds" of Demotic literary texts of every description.[271] In his already cited article on Late Period temples, Assmann explains the drive, the motivation, to collect and preserve the received cultural tradition in the form of temple decoration as in part a reaction to the "cultural shock" of Hellenistic rule, to the pressures of Hellenism. He quotes approvingly Kees's formulation of an *Angst des Vergessens*, "A Fear of Forgetting."[272] It is perhaps in this context that we might also consider the Book of Thoth, not as an isolated phenomenon, but as a product of a great period of literary activity, motivated in part by the challenge of Hellenism.

To sum up, we suggest that the Book of Thoth is a scholastic work written for and by priests associated with the House of Life. Probably compiled in the later Ptolemaic or early Roman Period, it draws on a wide variety of sources, from temple ritual to underworld literature through wisdom texts. While it may have played a part in actual ceremonies conducted in the House of Life, perhaps during a festival of Imhotep, the composition could equally well have served didactic purposes. It may, conceivably, be an example of an otherwise unknown ritual book from the House of Life which gives insight into the relationship between the human participants, personified by the *mr-ḥ*, and the gods of the House of Life, basically, Thoth, Seshat, and Osiris. In any case, it illuminates the kinds of knowledge preserved and transmitted in that institution in a detail not hitherto available. The format, purpose, and goals of the Book of Thoth are completely in keep-

269 Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 48.

270 Translated from Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 47. See also the remarks on the continuity of the mortuary religion from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman Period in Stadler, "The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766," *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 122–23.

271 See Tait, "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society," in Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society*, p. 304.

272 "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität," in Osing and Nielsen (eds.), *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, p. 12. Osing, "Vocabulaires et manuels sacerdotaux à l'époque romaine," in *Aspects de la culture pharaonique*, p. 37, remarks that as the Egyptians were excluded from the reins of government and Greeks took over a dominant position in the administration, the Egyptians were left principally with the temples and the "Houses of Life" to maintain their tradition.

ing with Egyptian tradition. It is the amount of information and, perhaps, the intimate character of the dialogue which distinguish the text. Its comprehensiveness, richness of symbolism, and wealth of expression mark it as an important product of priestly Thothic wisdom of the Late Period. Its distinctive dialogue format, phraseology, and subject matter warrant the attention of those interested in the connections between the native Egyptian priestly traditions and Hellenistic scholarship culminating in the virtually contemporary classical Hermetic Corpus.

II. Discussion of the Papyri and Text of the Book of Thoth

1. Description of the Papyri

Preliminary Remark: In the measurements height precedes width. All measurements are in the metric system, i.e., centimeters and millimeters.

The number of manuscripts, the dispersion of the individual papyri amongst various collections, and the sheer quantity of fragments have complicated the task of assigning designations. While the largest portion of a papyrus, e.g., L01, may be in the Louvre, significant sections of the same papyrus may be in the Berlin Museum. In such cases we have assigned a designation reflecting the location of the major portions of the papyrus, e.g., L01, and designated additional fragments of the same papyrus, no matter where the present location, as L01.1, L01.2, and so forth. In this section the actual museum designations of the individual papyri are provided. When a single manuscript includes unplaced fragments, often, of course, all preserved in the same museum, we have similarly assigned the largest fragment a "base designation," such as B08, and subsequently designated the remaining fragments B08.1, B08.2, and so forth. Over the years, our study of the Book of Thoth often involved the adding, subtracting, and shifting of fragments from our edition. Minor inconsistencies may therefore have crept into our system of designation. However, we do not believe that such inconsistencies of designation will lead to confusion.

B01 P. Berlin P 15652 verso
Date: First Century A.D. (?)
Provenance: Dime (?)
Measurements: 20.5 x 54.3

Comments: The recto contains a Demotic religious text, to be published by Martin Stadler.

B02 P. Berlin P 15531
Date: First Century B.C. (?)
Provenance: Upper Egyptian (?)
Measurements:
Column 1: 29 x 13.5
Columns 2–5: 29.8 x 72
Columns 6–10: 30 x 100.5
Column 11: 21 x 30

Columns 11–12 (fragmentary): 27 x 33
Columns 12–13 (fragmentary): 33 x 30
Column "14" (= B02, fragment B): 2.2 x 15.5
Columns 14–15 (fragmentary): 27 x 19.5
B02 fragment A: 8.6 x 22
B02 fragment C: 0.6 x 14
B02 fragment D: 0.4 x 8.6
B02 fragment E: 1 x 13.5
B02 fragment F: 0.8 x 10.3
B02 fragment G: 1.1 x 1.5
B02 fragment H: 0.5 x 3.1
B02 fragment I: 0.6 x 3.5
B02 fragment J: 0.3 x 3.5
B02 fragment K: 0.5 x 6.7
B02 fragment L: 0.3 x 12.5
B02 fragment M: 1 x 14.5
B02 fragment N: 1 x 1.4
B02 fragment O: 4.6 x 1
B02 fragment P: 2 x 2
B02 fragment Q: 3.1 x 5.1
B02 fragment R: 30 x 3.6

Comments: The recto, which contains the main witness for the Book of Thoth, may be a palimpsest; there are traces of Greek. The verso is uninscribed.

B03 P. Berlin P 14401 verso
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 25.8 x 22
B03.1 (PC 673): 6.8 x 2.8
B03.2 (PC 673): 4.5 x 2
B03.3 (PC 673): 6 x 2.5
B03.4 (PC 673): 3.5 x 3
B03.5 (PC 673): 3.6 x 3.2
B03.6 (PC 673): 6.3 x 2.3
B03.7 (PC 673): 4.5 x 2.3
B03.8 (PC 673): 5 x 1.2
B03.9 (PSI Inv. D. 19/5): 11 x 5.6
B03.10 (PC 673): 13.5 x 10.7
B03.11 (PC 673): 7.8 x 3.5
B03.12 (PC 673): 9.2 x 4
B03.13 (PC 673): 5.1 x 3
B03.14 (PC 673): 4 x 2.3
B03.15 (PC 673): 8.5 x 3.5

Comments: There is an astronomical Greek text on the recto.

B04 P. Berlin P 8027 verso, supplemented by **B04.1** (P. Vienna D 12439) and **B04.2** (P. Vienna D 12438)

Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: **B04** Column 2: 20.5 x 10; Columns 3–4: 20.5 x 32 (formerly inventory number 8931); Columns 5–9: 20.5 x 75.5
B04.1: ca. 11.2 x 7
B04.2: ca. 20 x ca. 14

Comments: The papyrus originally derives from the Sammlung Mosse 1894. A portion of B04, P. Berlin P 8027, is published in Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, p. 26, and plates 72–74. There is a Greek text on the recto which records personal names and numbers.

B05 P. Berlin P 15798 verso
Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: 15.8 x 13.5

Comments: A Greek text (a documentary list) is on the recto.

B06 P. Berlin P 8933, supplemented by **B06.1–6** (= P. Vienna D 12441, Fragments A-F) and **B06.7** (P. Berlin P 23865)
Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements:
B06 + **B06.1** + **B06.2**: total 21.2 x 32, but **B06** alone is 20.8 x 23.5.
B06.3: 6 x 4.3
B06.4: 7.4 x 6.1
B06.5: 11 x 5.3
B06.6: 6.2 x 3.8
B06.7: 8.8 x 4.4

Comments: The Greek text is published in *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden,* vol. 3, number 773. The papyrus is from the Sammlung Mosse.

B07 P. Berlin P 8905 verso
Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: 25.5 x 19.8

Comments: The recto has a Greek text recording personal names and amounts.

B08 P. Berlin P 23846 and **B08.1–5** (P. Berlin P 23847 fragments a-e)
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: uncertain
Measurements:
B08: 10 x 10.8
B08.1: 5 x 4.3
B08.2: 4.2 x 2.5
B08.3: 7.2 x 6.8

B08.4: 6.4 x 4.2
B08.5: 4.2 x 5.3

Comments: The Demotic is on the recto; the verso is uninscribed.

B09 P. Berlin P 23849 a and **B09.1** (P. Berlin P 23849 b)
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: uncertain
Measurements:
B09: 8 x 2.7
B09.1: 2.6 x 3.9

Comments: The Demotic is on the recto; the verso is uninscribed.

B10 P. Berlin P 23851
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: uncertain
Measurements: 9 x 6

Comments: The Demotic is on the recto; the verso is uninscribed.

B11 P. Berlin P 23850 verso
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: uncertain
Measurements: 21 x 6.5

Comments: The recto has a Greek account.

B12 P. Berlin P 23854
Provenance: Fayum
Measurements: 8 x 8.5

Comments: The recto has the Book of Thoth; the verso contains faint traces of script, possibly Greek. Note the underlining.

B13 P. Berlin P 16563 verso
Date: Second Century A.D.
Measurements: 13.8 x 5.6
Provenance: Dime

Comments: The recto has a Greek account. The Demotic script resembles that of B04.

B14.1 P. Berlin P 30068a, and **B14.2** (P. Berlin P 30068b)
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Fayum, perhaps Dime
Measurements:
B14.1: 14.5 x 11.5
B14.2: 11.8 x 5.8

Comments: The recto has the Demotic text. The verso is blank.

C01 PC 619
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 10.5 x 7.5

Comments: The Demotic is on the recto; the verso is uninscribed.

C02 PC 616.1
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 14.5 x 15
C02.1 (PC 616.2): 12 x 12
C02.2 (PC 616.3): 4 x 1.5
C02.3 (PC 616.4): 5.5 x 5
C02.4 (PC 616.5): 3.2 x 1.8

Comment: The recto has a Greek account concerning grain (perhaps Ptolemaic); the verso has the Book of Thoth. The handwriting is very similar to that of Y02.

C03 PC 697
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 7 x 5.2
C03.1 (PC 697): 7.2 x 3

Comment: The recto has the Demotic; the verso is uninscribed. There is underlining.

C04.1 PC 618
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 12.2 x 18.2
C04.2 (PC 618): 10.1 x 6.2
C04.3 (PC 618): 8.5 x 4
C04.4 (PC 618): 24 x 32
C04.5 (PC 618): 3.7 x 4.5
C04.6 (PC 618): 3.4 x 1.7
C04.7 (PC 618): 9 x 6
C04.8 (PC 618): 15.3 x 8.3
C04.9 (PC 618): 7.4 x 3.2
C04.10 (PC 618): 5.2 x 6.5
C04.11 (PC 618): 5.5 x 4.1

Comment: The recto has the Demotic text; the verso is uncertain.

C05 PC 699
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 1.6 x 2.5

Comment: The recto has the Demotic text; the verso is uninscribed.

C06.1 PC 700
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 3 x 5.3
C06.2 (PC 700): 4.5 x 2.3
C06.3 (PC 700): 9.3 x 7

Comment: The recto has the Demotic text.

C07.1 PC 480
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 26.5 x 10.2 (three non-contiguous fragments in approximately correct position to one another)
C07.2 (PC 480a): 4.2 x 2.5
C07.3 (PC 480b): 3.9 x 2.3
C07.4 (PC 480c): 3.1 x 1.5
C07.5 (PC 480g): 13.5 x 7.5
C07.6 (PC 480h): 15.5 x 3
C07.7 (PC 480i): 5.3 x 2.9
C07.8 (PC 480j): 3 x 1.5
C07.9 (PC 480k): 5 x 1.1

Comment: The verso has the Demotic text; the recto is uncertain. There is underlining.

C08 PC 698
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 11 x 10.3

Comment: The recto has the Demotic text; the verso is uninscribed.

C09 PC 617
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 22.8 x 6.1

Comment: The verso has the Demotic text; the recto has a Greek account.

F01 PSI Inv. D 18a
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 21 x 19.5
F01.1 (PSI Inv. D 18b): 12.5 x 14.5
F01.2 (PSI Inv. D 18c): 9.2 x 6.2
F01.3 (PSI Inv. D 18d): 2.8 x 2.5
F01.4 (PSI Inv. D 18e): 2.4 x 1.7
F01.5 (PSI Inv. D 18f): 6.8 x 3.1
F01.6 (PSI Inv. D 18g): 8 x 4.5

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F02 PSI Inv. D 19/1
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 10.6 x 1.8

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F03 PSI Inv. D 19/2
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 11.7 x 7

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F04 PSI Inv. D 19/3
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 4.5 x 4.8

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F05 PSI Inv. D 19/4
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 2.4 x 3.6

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F06 PSI Inv. D 19/6
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 3 x 2.4

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F07.1–4 PSI Inv. D 19/7–10
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
F07.1 (PSI Inv. D 19/7): 2.5 x 2
F07.2 (PSI Inv. D 19/8): 2 x 1.5
F07.3 (PSI Inv. D 19/9): 2 x 2.6
F07.4 (PSI Inv. D 19/10): 5.5 x 2.5

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text.

F08 PSI Inv. D 19/11
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 1.9 x 1

F09 PSI Inv. D 19/12
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 4.2 x 5.3

F10 PSI Inv. D 19/13
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 8.9 x 3.4

Comments: There are border lines on the right side of papyrus.

F11 PSI Inv. D 19/14
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 6.8 x 3

Comments: Demotic text on the verso; Greek text on recto.

F12 PSI Inv. D 20
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 25.5 x 6.1

F13 PSI Inv. D 21
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 21.5 x 4.5

F14 PSI Inv. D 22
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 12.2 x 5

F15 PSI Inv. D 19/15
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Tebtunis
Measurements: 3 x 3.5

L01 and L01 (V.T.)
P. Louvre E 10488
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Probably Fayum; perhaps Dime
Measurements: L01: Columns 1–4: 20 x 78.3
L01 (V.T.): Column x+1 - Column x+3: ca. 21 x 74; Column x+4: ca. 21 x 13.5

Comments: Recto has the Demotic text; verso is uninscribed. There are border-lines and guidelines throughout the text, except for column two of L01, which was written by a different scribe.

The L01 Louvre papyrus is supplemented by numerous lengthy fragments in Berlin.
L01.1 (P. Berlin P 15499BI): 20.3 x 7.5
L01.2 (P. Berlin P 15499BII): 21 x 7.3
L01.3 (P. Berlin P 15499BIII): 21 x 8
L01.4 (P. Berlin P 23513b): 13.2 x 9
L01.5 (P. Berlin P 15499A): 20.6 x ca. 35
L01.6 (Louvre E 10488B): 11 x 4.5
L01.7 (Louvre E 10488A): 10.85 x 4.5
L01.8 (P. Berlin P 15499B): 9 x 5
L01.9 (P. Berlin P 23513a): 15.3 x 9
L01.10 (P. Berlin P 23513c): 16.7 x 7.5

Comments: The five fragments of P. Berlin P 15499 are from the Sammlung Brugsch. The Louvre papyri are illustrated and discussed in Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, Tome I, *Papyrus démotiques du Louvre*, Fascicle IV, pp. 5–8; pls. 30–33.

L02 P. Louvre AF 13035 and P. Louvre E 10614
Date: Probably Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Possibly Elephantine, on the basis of P. Louvre E 10614, which has a certain provenance from Elephantine.
Measurements: 20 x 10.4 for column one of L02 (P. Louvre AF 13035); and 20.5 x 8.7 for column two (P. Louvre E 10614).

Comments: This is the only hieratic text amongst the corpus of Book of Thoth manuscripts. There are two fragments preserving two consecutive columns. The Demotic is on the recto; the verso is uninscribed. Joachim Quack identified both of these fragments.

V01 P. Vienna D 6343
Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements:
Reymond fragment a: 9.4 x 8
Reymond fragment b: 27 x 10.4
Reymond fragment c: 27 x 20.8
Reymond fragment d: 10 x 5.2
V01.1 small unplaced fragment: 2.1 x 1.5

Comments: The recto has the Demotic text; the verso is uncertain. This text has been published by Reymond, *Hermetic Writings*, pp. 125–42; pl. V.

V02 P. Vienna D 6336
Date: Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: 8 x 9.4

Comments: The recto has the Demotic text; the verso is uncertain. This text has been published by Reymond, *Hermetic Writings*, pp. 117–24; pl. IV.

V03.1 P. Vienna D 12146
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: 4.5 x 5.5
V03.2 (P. Vienna D 6652A): 5.4 x 5.2
V03.3 (P. Vienna D 6652B): 4.5 x 2
V03.4 (P. Vienna D 6652C): 4.5 x 3.8
V03.5 (P. Vienna D 13138): 3.5 x 1.8

V04 P. Vienna D 12440
Date: First to Second Century A.D.
Provenance: Dime
Measurements: 17.5 x 8.2

Comments: The recto has Greek accounts; verso has the Demotic text.

Y01.1 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back A
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Fayum
Measurements: 16.2 x 3.4
Y01.2 (P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back B): 16 x 7.1
Y01.3 (P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back C): 11.4 x 6.5
Y01.4 (P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back D): 18 x 4.5
Y01.5 (P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back E): 14.5 x 12.4
Y01.6 (P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back F): 7 x 1.8

Comments: Recto has the Demotic texts; verso has a Greek text.

Y02 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 1085
Date: First Century A.D.
Provenance: Fayum
Measurements: 11.7 x 4.5

Comments: Recto has the Demotic texts. The handwriting is very similar to that of C02.

2. Orthography

We discuss here chiefly those cases wherein the Book of Thoth seems to depart from what may be considered "standard" Demotic, a still subjective designation, to be sure. Moreover, we collect in this chapter features of orthography, grammar, and vocabulary of interest to the philologist. We have only rarely drawn on the single hieratic fragment L02. A proper appraisal of these subjects will only be truly attained when the other compositions similar in character to the Book of Thoth are published, within the context of a comprehensive study.

The orthography of the manuscripts of the Book of Thoth exhibits the characteristics usually associated with Demotic of the later Ptolemaic or Roman Periods. While specific

remarks on orthography are in the commentary, we offer here a few general observations on the orthography of the manuscripts.

The Faiyumic *l* is extremely common, as is to be expected given the probable provenance of Tebtunis and Dime for most of the manuscripts. The main Berlin witness B02 (possibly not from the Fayum) displays this feature slightly less frequently, perhaps, than the others:
tkr (B02, 4/3) versus *tkl* (L01, 2/13; B05, 1/8)
ḥrḥ (B02, 5/2) versus *šlḥ* (L01, 3/4)
spḫr (B02, 5/16) versus *spḫl* (L01, 3/18)

Nevertheless, even B02 often employs *l*; indeed, sometimes B02 shows *l* where the other manuscripts do not:
ʿlȝ (B02, 5/5) versus *ȝn=f* (L01, 3/7)

The variation between individual letters or phonemes is typical of Roman Period manuscripts:

ȝ for *ʿ*	*ȝrq* (L01, 2/15) and *ʿrq* (B02, 4/5); *bȝḥ* for *bʿḥ*, "overflow" (B02, 4/12); *ʿnḥ* for *ȝnḥ* (L01, 3/4); *ḏbʿy* for *ḏbȝy* (B06, 1/8). On this feature, Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 5.
i for *ȝ*	*iḫ* for *ȝḫ* (L01, 3/13); on variation between *i* and *ȝ*, Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 4. Note also *ȝḥ.t*, "throat," for old *iḥ.ty* (C02.1, 6).
i or *ȝ* and *ʿ*	*im-ḫ.t* for *ʿm-ḫ.t* (L01, 1/6); compare further *ʿtḥ* for *itḥ* in L01 (V.T.), x+1/24, and L01 (V.T.), x+3/2.
b for *w*	*bḥbḥ* for *wḥwḥ* (F01.1, 10); *bth* for *wth* (F01, 9; F01, 10); on *w* for *b*, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, pp. 6–7; M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 110–11. In Coptic, the use of *b* for *w* seems to be a Bohairic feature: **внр** (B) for **ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲣ**, "wieviel," *KHWB*, p. 26; **вολс** (B) for **ⲟⲩⲱⲗⲥ**, *KHWB*, p. 24.
b for *f*	*by* for *fy* (B07, 10)
b for *p*	*šbs* for *šps* (B04, 7/16)
p for *b*	*ip* for *ib* (L01.3, 7/19); see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 7.
n for *m*	*štn* for *ḫtm* (?) (L01 [V.T.], x+1/10)
l/*r* for *n*	*lʿy* for *nʿy* (L01, 1/23 = B02, 3/5)
h for *ḥ*	*nhm* for *nḥm* (B04, 8/14); *shn* for *sḥn* (L01 [V.T.], x+1/11); *hlg* for *ḥlg* (B06, 1/9).
ḥ and *h*	*wḥy* for *why* (L01.8, x+10); on the Roman Period variation between *h* and *ḥ*, Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 8.
ḫ for old *ḥ*	*ḫȝ* for *ḥȝ.t*, "corpse" (B04, 8/12)
ḫ for *š*	*mḫy* for *mšʿ* (L01 [V.T.], x+ 4/12); *sḫ* for *sš* (B04, 8/19); *ḫrḥ* for *šlḥ* (B02, 5/2); *ḫȝy* for *Šȝʿy* (C07.1, 14). See Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 8.
š and *ḫ*	*nšn* for *nḫn* (L01, 4/21); *špš* for *ḫpš* (V03.2, 5); *sšt* for *sḫt* (C04.1, 13); *šb* for *ḫb* (L01, 4/19); *šbn* for *ḫbn* (B02, 8/16); This variation appears, for example, in P. Krall, Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 375.
g for *k*	*ng* for *nky* (B01, 3/5); see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 10.
k for *g*	*kny* for *gnw.t*, "annals" (B02, 3/13)
k for *q*	*fk* for *fqȝ* (B03, 1/6)
g for *q*	*gt* for *qt* (B04, 7/9)
g for *k*	*brgt* for *brkt* (L01.5, 10/18)

q for old *k* *qsm* for *ksm* (C04.4, 2/x+9)
ḏ for old *ṯ* *ḏtf* for *ṯtf* (L01 [V.T.], x+1/5)

Unorthographic writings of words unusual or rare in Demotic

Abusive or unorthographic writings of "rare" words are not exceptionally numerous in the Book of Thoth. In some cases, however, the scribe certainly employs the spelling of a common word or phrase to render a homophonic rare word.

ỉs-ts for *ỉsts* F01.1, 7, where *ts* is written with the jar determinative, as *ds*-jar

ḥsy, "ritual," written as *ḥsꜣ.t*, "necropolis" in L01.5, 10/14

šꜥt, "to cut," for *št*, "to recite," L01.5, 10/14

šty, literally, "recite," for *št*, "turtle," B02, 9/7

gmḥs, literally, "to find praise," for *gmḥs*, "sacred falcon image," L01 (V.T.), x+3/17

We have tentatively suggested in the commentary that *pꜣe=w ꜣyty* (F01, 9; F14, 10; L02, 1/10), literally, "their lack," may in fact stand for a form of *pꜣw.t*, "primeval one."

A few Demotic spellings may derive from misunderstandings of older writings, presumably in hieratic:

ꜣmḫ "grasping," L01, 3/15, is derived from a possible reinterpretation of the "fist" sign in hieratic (Möller, *HP* 3, number 116) as the *ḫ*-sign (Möller, *HP* 3, number 169).

In some cases the similarity of signs may explain possible manuscript variance. An example of this is *ḫr-ꜥ* in L01, 4/2 and *ḫr-rt* in B02, 6/8.

Further noteworthy spellings

ỉpt, "bird," V01, 3/19

ỉnḥꜣ for *ỉnḥ*, B02, 9/14, where the scribe seems to have been influenced by *ỉnḥ*, "eyebrow"

ꜥwy, "house," is written for *ꜥwy*, "the two arms," in B02, 5/6

ꜥm-ḫ.t as a possible variant of *ꜥm-tꜣ.wy* due to graphic similarity of *ḫ.t* and *tꜣ.wy* in B02, 2/4 .

ꜥnḫ for *ḫr*, B02, 8/1

wnḥ written as *wn ḥr* in B01, 2/1

pꜣe=f for *bn-pw=f* in L01, 3/7

phr, L01, 1/3

r-mn as a possible writing of the imperative form of *ỉy*, "come," B04, 7/20

mny "daily," as a potential unorthographic writing of *mn.t*, "manner," in B04, 7/4 (?)

mḥ as a variant of *m-bꜣḥ*, B04, 8/7 (see Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 344)

n-ỉ-ỉr-ḥr is found in L01, 3/1

As Ryholt remarks, *Story of Petese*, p. 7, this is the late form, "not yet dominant by the early 2nd century A.D., judging from the Tebtunis texts."

nḫṯ as possible writing of *n-ḫ.t* in L01 (V.T.), x+2/12

nsns as one word, probably for *ns n=s* in B02, 4/6

rḫ written *š*, C09, 2/22

h for the preposition *ḥr*, L01.2, 6/6

htp for *ḥry tp*, B02, 8/15

gm sp-2 for *gmgm*, B02, 3/2

sn for *ns* as in "call out." L01, 2/16

ḏ in the abbreviated hieratic form, B02, 3/16

šp-ꜥnḫ in B02, 7/14

tn=s for *tns*, B02, 3/3

Explicitly hieratic or hieroglyphic writings

In general, hieratic or hieroglyphic influence is moderate in the Book of Thoth manuscripts. Most striking, perhaps, are the frequent variations between hieratic and Demotic in the writing of *nry.t*, "vulture," in L01 (V.T.), the Vulture Text. Significant is L02, which is a fragment of a hieratic version of the Book of Thoth. This was brought to our attention as we were virtually finished with our edition, and suggests that there may be much more substantial hieratic versions of the Book of Thoth waiting to be discovered. We have already quoted a few hieratic types of forms in the previous list; several additional writings may be noted:

wḏꜥy in L01.2, 6/18

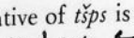
mḥy appears in a very hieratic writing in L01.2, 6/16

ḥm written in a virtually hieroglyphic form in B02, 9/14

ḥqry in B01, 1/4, displays a very distinctive hieratic form for the weary seated man (Möller, *HP* 3, number 32) .

snsn in B04, 8/19 has the archaic hieratic nose or face determinative (Möller, *HP* 3, number 90) .

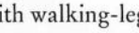
The form of *sḫm* is in the hieratic fashion in L01.2, 6/10

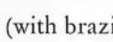
The jar determinative of *tšps* is supplied with a dot above the sign, a common feature of hieratic, in B02, 3/1  .

In some cases, especially in the Vulture Text, the author seems to allude specifically to hieratic writings:
L01 (V.T.), x+2/2 *[wʿ.t n]ry.t ỉw=s … šy ỉw=s ḥwy sty n pȝ qty n pȝ … […] … [ỉwny.t pȝy]*
"[A vu]lture which … lake which casts fire in the surroundings of the … [It is Esna]."
This line is a play on the *Nḫn* sign, which also resembles *š*, especially in hieratic, Möller, *HP* 3, numbers 335 (*š*) and 586 (*Nḫn*) .

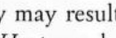
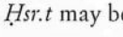
Variations between manuscripts dependent on interpretation of determinatives

The availability of parallel manuscripts permits a comparison of writings. The variability of determinatives may reveal different interpretations by the individual scribes:

bs, "initiate" (with walking-legs determinative) in L01, 1/18, 

versus *bs*, "torch" (with brazier determinative), in B01, 2/19  . The texts are parallel at this point.

Graphic similarity may result in manuscript variations. The variation, for example, between *Ḥs-rḫ* and *Ḥsr.t* may be partly due to the strong resemblance between *t* and *ḫ*.

The similarity between certain writings of *mḥ*  and *wsḥ*  probably also resulted in the manuscript variations between B02, 5/7 and L01, 3/9.

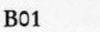
Aural or phonetic similarity may also explain manuscript variations. The close relationship in sound, for example, between *tš* and *tšr* may be responsible for the manuscript variations in B02, 5/3 and L01, 3/5.

3. Script

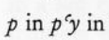
A thorough examination of the palaeography of the Book of Thoth manuscripts lies outside the scope of this *editio princeps*. Such a study would best be conducted within the context of a broad analysis of the hands in the Tebtunis or Fayumic literary papyri. In view of the hieratic fragment L02, recently brought to our attention, the occasional hieratic or hieroglyphic forms found in otherwise Demotic manuscripts of the Book of Thoth are not surprising. In general, the difficulties of decipherment have been due more to the condition of the papyri and the nature of the composition than to the palaeography of the script. We note here a few unusual or characteristic forms of specific signs among the manuscripts:

B01

ʿ, e.g., *ḏbʿe* in B01, 3/4

p in *pʿy* in B01, 2/17  ; also *sp* in B01, 3/6

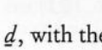
B02

ḏ, with the short almost vertical line, e.g., B02, 4/1 

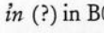
ỉn (?) in B02, 4/5

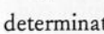
determinative of *mḫy*, "storeroom," B02, 5/4

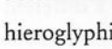
hieroglyphic determinative of *nḫn*, B02, 7/11

hieroglyphic determinative of *gby*, B02, 9/3 

B04

wȝ.t sign in *mỉ.t*, B04, 3/1 

hieroglyphic writing of *ḥm*, B04, 3/6 

writing of *nȝe=w*, B04, 6/11 

archaic writing of *nb* in B04, 5/16

B06

hieroglyphic writing of *rḫ* in *Ḥs-rḫ*, B06, 1/15

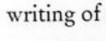
writing of *nȝe=w*, B06, 2/5

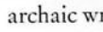
B07

uncertain word in B07, 12 (*ỉmȝ*?)

C04.1

strongly hieroglyphic writings, especially for the determinatives

qs in C04.1, 4 

mnỉ in C04.1, 8, "herdsman" 

C04.8

determinative of *tw*, C04.8, 15

C02.1

strongly hieroglyphic determinatives of *kky*, C02.1, 5

F01

walking-legs determinative, F01, 2

L01

This is perhaps the Demotic script with the most prominent hieratic or hieroglyphic component. It should be emphasized that column 2 of L01 has been written by a different scribe from the one responsible for the remaining text.

ḥḥ and *ḫb* in L01, 1/13

possible confusion due to animal-skin determinative of *sꜣb* in L01, 2/18

snake determinative in L01, 3/13

hieratic writing of *sšm*/s*ḫm*, L01.2, 6/10

writing of the vocative particle *i*, L01.3, 7/23

boat determinative of *ḫn*, L01.5, 10/11

determinative of *qs* in L01, 1/15

tnḥ, L01 (V.T.), 2/ 17

4. Corrections and Additions

The manuscripts of the Book of Thoth do not display very many obvious corrections:

sp-2 is added above the line in V01, 3/5.
ṯ is added above *mḥ* in C04.8, 4.
ꜥ is added above the line in *ḥyꜥ*, V02, 1/6.
y is added above the line in *wyny*, C04.9, 6.
ỉw=y is added above the line in B02, 12/11.
f is added below the line after *ḥn* in V01, 1/4.
ḥš in B04, may be corrected to *ḥp* in B04, 5/2.
tw=y s may be corrected in B03, 2/2.
ỉḫ is possibly written over *sm* in B04, 7/9.
B01, 1/9a is inserted between two lines.
ỉḥ.wt is inserted above the line in B14.1, 1/5.
tp is inserted above the line in F11, 6.

5. Errors

In a few cases variations between the manuscripts reflect the individual scribe's understanding of a word. Of course, it is difficult to label such variations simple errors, although they may be mere mistakes on occasion. This is most clearly observed in the interpretation of a sign or phoneme as either a radical or suffix pronoun. Examples are:

tns (L01, 1/21) versus *tn=s* (B02, 3/3)
šlf (B02, 4/8) versus *ḫl=f* (L01, 2/18)
ḫy (L01, 3/22) for *mt* in B02, 6/4
rmn in B02, 9/9 seems to have the boat determinative borrowed from "*rms*-boat."
my smny n=f is written for *my smny=f* in L01, 1/23.

Note also:
mꜣy for *ḥs* in B05, 1/22
qt with the walking-legs determinative in a writing of *gt*/*qt*, "form," B04, 7/9
šp has possibly been omitted in B03, 1/6 (uncertain, since this may be a meaningful variant and not an omission)
ḏ=f after *mr-rḫ* omitted in B02, 10/12
bw-ỉr=k rḫ=k in C07.1, 18, where one expects merely *bw-ỉr rḫ=k*

6. Grammar

The language of the Book of Thoth is basically that associated with "standard" Demotic, although there are a few archaic forms and constructions. The hieratic fragment L02 preserves a somewhat older form of Egyptian, but even that version contains such typically "Demotic" grammatical forms as the adjective verbs in *nꜣ*. We offer here a few observations on grammatical points.

Pronouns

The author often employs *sn*, and not *w* as the third person plural suffix pronoun, e.g., *ḥꜣ.ṯ=sn*, "before them," in B04, 8/20.

The suffix pronouns are rarely used to express possession, except with parts of the body. Instead, as is standard, the possessive adjectives are utilized. Nevertheless, in a few cases, the suffix pronoun has this function:

ꜥḥꜥ=f	"his lifetime," B02, 3/4 (but meaning uncertain; perhaps for *ḥꜥ*, "limbs, flesh")
s.t=s	"her place," B02, 4/5; B02, 6/7
s.t=k	"your place," B02, 13/14
sšr=k	"your papyrus roll," B02, 7/16
sbꜣ=k	"your teaching," B02, 7/16
šꜥy=f	"his fate," B04, 8/14

The possessive adjectives sometimes appear where one might expect the suffix pronoun, e.g., *nꜣe=s mnṯ.w*, "her breasts" (B02, 4/1).

Note the use in apposition of the suffix pronouns followed by the noun; this construction is, we believe, rather more prevalent in Coptic than Demotic, see Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, p. 71:
e.g., B02, 9/10 *my šm=y ḫn=s tꜣ ʿ*
"Let me go into it, namely, the chamber."
Similarly, B02, 9/5.
In a few cases nouns are modified by both suffix pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, e.g., *tꜣy gt=sn*, "this form of theirs" (B04, 7/9).
ṯy second person singular dependent pronoun (archaic), B07, 19. This is quite uncertain.

Article

A vocative use of the masculine article is in L01, 4/3, *pꜣ sbk*, "o little one." Significantly, perhaps, this is omitted in the parallel B02, 6/9. Similarly, B06, 1/5.

Copula

The standard *pꜣy, tꜣy, nꜣ.w* series appears frequently in the composition (see the glossary). In the L01 Vulture Text, for example, the scribe invariably includes *pꜣy* after the locality.

Demonstrative Adjective

While the series *pꜣy, tꜣy, nꜣy* is generally used, the archaic demonstrative adjective *ỉypn* occurs in the expression *tꜣ ỉypn*, "this land."

ỉypn B06, 2/8; C02, 1/10; F01.2, 2; L01.5, 10/10

Particles

The author of the Book of Thoth often employs particles:

ỉ vocative particle, B08, 9; L01, 4/14; L01.3, 7/23
ỉḫ non-enclitic particle preceding prospective verbal form, B04, 7/9
ʿs-my "behold!" B02, frag. B; L01.5, 9/6 (?)
pry "behold!" B01, 1/5 (?); B02, 6/7
mtwn "indeed" (?), B02, 10/9 (?)
ḥꜣ particle of wishing or requesting, C03, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/23

ḫr particle, B01, 1/2 (twice); C04.2, 4 (introduces question); F04, 2 (*ḫr ỉn*); F13, 6; V01, 2/9
tw=s "behold!" B03, 2/2 (*tw=y sꜣ*?); L01, 4/1; L01.5, 10/1(*tw=y sꜣ*?); L01.5, 10/2 (?)

Interrogative Constructions

Among the interrogative constructions employed may be mentioned the particle *ḫr* followed by the interrogative particle *ỉn* preceding a nominal sentence:
B01, 1/6 *ḫr ỉn sbꜣ pꜣ nt mtry*
"Is a learned one he who instructs?"

Prepositions

In general, the author employs the standard Demotic prepositions. However, there are rather numerous examples of "archaic" prepositions in the composition. We have detected no so-called "double writings" of prepositions, such as are discussed by M. Smith, "Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts," *Enchoria* 8/2 (1978): 17-27.

Common prepositions in the Book of Thoth

ỉwt passim
ỉrm passim
wbꜣ "opposite," L01 (V.T.), x+2/22
m-bꜣḥ passim
m passim
mtw or *m-tỉ* "belonging to," passim
n dative, passim
n "in, with," passim
r passim
ḥꜣ.t "before," passim
ḥnʿ "together with," passim
ḫr passim, but written *ḥ* in L01.2, 6/6
ḫr ꜣt "upon," B01, 1/17 (?); V01, 3/4
ḫnt "before," passim
m-ḫnt "out of," B02, 9/4; B02, 9/10
n ḫ.t "in," B01, 3/22
ḫn "in," passim
ḫr "under," passim
m-sꜣ "after," passim
šʿ preposition "until," B02, 7/4; B04, 2/1

m-qty	"like," passim
gs	in *n-gs* or *r-gs*, "beside," B01, 2/2; B02, 8/2; B08.3, 3; L01, 1/2 (*gsf*)
tp ỉt	compound preposition, "upon," V01, 3/19 (*ṯp ỉt*)
tr.t	in the compound preposition *i-ỉr tr.t*, "by," "near," L01 (V.T.), x+1/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1
r-ḏbꜣ	"concerning," passim

Unusual prepositions or writings of prepositions in Demotic

m-ꜥwy	"from," B04, 8/14
ꜥq	in the compound preposition *m ꜥq*, "opposite," L01 (V.T.), x+4/13
mw	"like, as," B02, 9/2; B04, 3/6
mtwt	preposition or noun, "like," writing of *mỉt.t*, B02, 4/12; B02, 6/12
mtr	preposition, "in the presence of," B02, 5/1 (? *n mtw*); L01, 3/3 (*mtw*)
hn	meaning uncertain, perhaps preposition "up to," B01, 2/2
ḥꜣ	preposition, "behind," B04, 8/15 (written *ỉn=w-ḥꜣ*)
ḫr	"before," L01.5, 10/3
m-ḫt	"after," B02, 9/13; B02, 10/1; B04.2, 3/21; L01.2, 6/13
r ḫt	"after," B04, 8/6 (?)
ḫtḫt	possibly for the preposition *ḫtḫt*, "throughout," L01.5, 10/7 (?)
qb	in the compound preposition *m-qb*, "within," B04, 7/6; B04, 8/4

Genitive

The author usually employs the undeclined *n*, but not infrequently uses the archaic plural genitive particle *nw* (e.g., B02, 4/6; B02, 7/4; B02, 7/13; B02, 9/9), and, less commonly, the singular feminine genitive particle *n.t* (B01, 3/6; B02, 3/9 [?]), written as relative pronoun; L01, 2/3). In L01.5, 10/10 the archaic plural genitive article *nw* appears as the plural dative *n=w*.

Passive

Insofar as we can judge, the scribe does not use the archaic passive pronoun *tw*. He invariably employs the third person plural to expressive a passive construction.

Conjunctions

In addition to the standard Demotic conjunctions, such as *n-tr.t* + *sḏm=f*, we may note one possible example of
m tꜣ wnw.t + *sḏm=f*, "as soon as," B02, 3/2 (?)

Nominal Sentences

The author sometimes forms nominal sentences with unexpressed copula:
B02, 4/3 *pꜣe=k tỉ.t qy ḫrw=k pꜣe=s mr sḏm=k // pꜣe=s ỉy n tkr r-r=k*
"Your causing that your voice be loud (means) her wish to hear you (and) her coming quickly to you."

Nominal sentences figure prominently in the section immediately following the Vulture Text:
L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 *pꜣ mnṯ n rḫ nt tỉ.t snqy nꜣ rḫ.w pꜣ nt m[tw] mnỉy ... [...]*
L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 *pꜣ ꜥꜥ ỉ-ỉr [tỉ.t (?)] ꜥm pꜣ ꜥn pꜣ nt ṯ -myt w[...]ṯ=f*
L01 (V.T.), x+3/22 *pꜣ hb rḫ [pꜣ] ỉ-ỉr hb nꜣ ỉꜣw.t pꜣ nt ꜥꜣ nꜣ [...]*
L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 *mtw=f m twnw ỉ-ỉr slꜣ n ỉṯ=f mw.t=f ky ḏ [...]ṯ ỉw=f ỉr ... [...]*
" The breast of knowledge which allows that the wise ones suckle is that which belongs to the Nurse ... [...]
The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides ... [...] ... him.
The wise ibis is [the one which] sent off the great ones, the one who great are the [...]
And he truly is the one who has prophesized for his father and his mother: Another Version: [...] ... he making ... [...]"

Two other interestingly formed nominal sentences are:
F01.1, 7 *ỉw=s-ts sꜣ wn[-ỉmꜣ n=f] ꜣmw nb ỉ-wnn=f pꜣe=w ḏ n=f (?)*
(the prophets call out:) "*Istes*, son of *Wn*[*-ỉmꜣ*," to him], every form in which he is is that which they say to him (?).

and
B02, 4/11 *pꜣe=k šn r-r=s pꜣe=s ỉy n tkr pꜣe=k sw n wḫꜣ=s ỉ-ỉr=k gm.ṯ=s*
"Your seeking her (means) her coming quickly. On your day of desiring her, you find her."
In this last line one observes the nominal use of the second tense *ỉ-ỉr=k gm.ṯ=s*, virtually with the force of a *Wechselsatz*.

Adjective Verbs

The following adjective verbs appear in the Book of Thoth:

nꜣ-ꜥꜣ	"be great," B04, 8/15 (*nꜣe=w-ꜥw*)
nꜣ-nfr	"be good," B04, 8/22 (*nꜣe=w-nfr*)
nꜣ-nḫt	"be strong," B06, 2/2
nꜣ-m-šs	"be significant," C04.3, 3 (?)
nꜣ-štšt	"be sharp" (?) or "to be hard," B04, 8/16; B06, 1/1; L02, 1/12 (hieratic)
nꜣ-qns	"be difficult," B04, 6/23; L02, 1/12 (hieratic)

ꜥꜣ may appear as an initial adjective verb without *nꜣ* in *ꜥꜣ tꜣ ỉp.t* in B02, 4/7, "great is the number."

Note also the use of *ꜥn=y*, the verb, "be pleasing, good," B02, 5/15; B02, 5/16; B05, 2/5 (*ꜥn*); L01, 3/17 (*ꜥny*); L01, 3/18

Participles

While the perfect participle is generally construed with *i-ir* (e.g., *i-ir ḫpr* in B01, 2/6), as is typical of later Egyptian, in a few cases the scribe may employ archaic active participles without *i-ir*:
B02, 3/10 (*mḥ*); L01, 2/4 (*mḥ*); L01, 3/12 (*in*); B02, 8/4 (*ꜥnḫ*)

Perfect Participle

Interesting are the textual variants in the parallel lines:
B02, 11/7 *pꜣ i-ir ms* versus [*p*]*ꜣ ms* in L01.3, 7/13

The hieratic L02 also freely forms perfect participles with *i-ir*: *pꜣ irw ms* (L02, 1/1); *pꜣ i-irw snḥ* (L02, 1/2).

Participium coniunctum

The *Ḥs-rḫ* and *Mr-rḫ* designations of the characters are probably participium coniunctum constructions. *Mr-spḫl.w* in L01.5, 10/9, may also be another example of this form.

Relative Forms

The clearly marked relative form is not very common, but may certainly be recognized in the following:

r-tiˀ	B02, 6/8
iˀ-wn=f	B07, 14
iˀ-ir	C04.4, 2/x+11; L01.8, x+12
iˀ-wnn=f	F01.1, 7

In two examples the definite articles *pꜣ* and *tꜣ* merge with the relative *r*-prefix and are written as *pꜣy* and *tꜣy*:

pꜣy ir=k	"that which you did," B04, 6/1
tꜣy ḫ=w	"that which they read," B01, 1/7; B02, 1/1

Stative

The standard endings are found: *k* (B02, 6/7); *ṯ* (B02, 9/12); *w* (L01, 4/9). More unusual would be the form *ṯk* (B02, 7/11; L01, 4/21).
ꜣby.k in the following line may be a stative form (as in the above quoted B02, 6/7), and not a circumstantial *sḏm=f*, scarcely attested in Demotic:
B02, 4/5 *in ꜥrq=k s ꜥm=k twꜣ=sn ir=s s.t=s ḫnt rꜣ ꜣby.k*
"If you understand her (and if) you comprehend her praises, she will make her place at your mouth, you being thirsty."

However, other grammatical interpretations of the line are possible, for which see the commentary.

Verbal Forms

A wide range of verbal forms is naturally attested in the Book of Thoth. The following constructions deserve special mention:

sḏm=f

There is little that need be said about the *sḏm=f* form in the Book of Thoth. Significant is the use of *ḫr*, "to say," as a verb in the *sḏm=f* to introduce speakers:
B02, 4/2 *ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f*
"He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says"
Now throughout the Book of Thoth we have translated *ḫr* in the present, following, e.g., Gardiner, *EG*, p. 348 (paragraph 436). If this is done, however, it seems difficult to avoid rendering the concluding *ḏ=f* as a present or circumstantial *sḏm=f*, forms which admittedly scarcely exist in Demotic. It may be preferable, therefore to translate *ḫr=f* in the past, as is done by Vittmann, *Rylands*, pp. 365–66, and Smith and Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, p. 84 (in *ḫr=s*, "so she said").
There are no certain examples of the *sḏm.n=f* in the Book of Thoth.

Irrealis

There is a single line with an example of a possible irrealis form (or imperfect converter?):
B01, 1/8 (with the parallels, also broken, of B02, 1/4; C04.2, 12)
h-wn-nꜣ.w (?) pꜣ nt ...

Aorist

The aorist particle may appear as *šˇ*, e.g.,
šˇ mnq=s L01, 2/20
"She completes."

Relative negative aorist

mtw bw-rḫ=w L01, 3/5

Second tense

It is interesting to observe that *i-ir=k* (B02, 4/4) varies with *in iw=k* (L01, 2/14) and *in iw iw=k* (B01, 3/14).
A rather unusual example of a Second Tense Future is:
i-ir=k r B06.3, 4; B06.4, 2/5

Negative Future

B02, 2/2 *ḏ bn-iw=f rḫ ir ḥm*, "so that he will not be able to become a craftsman."
This line seems to contain a negative future after the particle *ḏ*, with a purpose meaning.

Prospective *sḏm=f* after *iḫ*

iḫ non-enclitic particle preceding prospective verbal form, B04, 7/9

Circumstantial third future

Rather unusual are the occasional full writings of the circumstantial third future:
iw iw=k L01 (V.T.), x+1/22 (?)
iw iw=s B02, 12/16

Conjunctive

The conjunctive may be written *nt-iw=f*, e.g.,
B02, 3/13 *nt-iw=f rḫ*
"and he knows."

Conditional

The conditional is difficult to identify with certainty; a possible example of a negative conditional form, negated by *tm*, is in V01, 4/13, *iw=y tm*, "If I do not," but the context is lost.

Until-construction

variant *šʿ-mtw=f* B01, 3/8; L01, 2/6
B02, 3/12 *šʿ- tw=f gm pȝ sq n ir.t*
"until he finds the gathering over eye"

"Not yet" conjugation

Circumstantial
r bw-ir-tw=k B02, 13/16 (twice); B04, 5/2 (twice, but once largely restored)

Imperative

Clearly written imperative forms may be found, e.g.,
i-mḫ, "fill!" L01.5, 10/17

Vetitive

Generally *m-ir* is employed,
F01, 2 *m-ir ḫn*
"Do not draw near!"
But occasionally *tm* is used:
B02, 6/14 *tm ti.t ḫpr*
"Do not permit there to happen."
This usage is attested especially in Papyrus Insinger, *Glossar*, p. 631.
A notable textual variant regarding the vetitive is in
B07, 21 *bn-iw ḫny*
"There is no drawing near"
where the parallel has
C07.1, 18 *m-ir ḫn*
"Do not draw near"
Curiously, *mn* as a vetitive prefix is attested for the Akhmimic dialect, *KHWB*, p. 93.

Negative Existence

bn-iw is written for *mn* in the negative possession phrase *mn mtw=*:
B01, 1/7 *in bn-iw m-ti=w ṯ-myt*
"Do they not have guidance?"

nn, the archaic negative existence word, may appear in
B02, 10/1 *nn ḥm nhy*
"without forgetting the destruction"

Relative pronouns

In addition to the usual Demotic relative constructions (i.e., *nt* + simple adverbial form = adverb, stative, [*ḥr*] + infinitive, or *nt* + adverbial phrase [*nt* + prepositional phrase]), there may be an example of *nt* + *sḏm=f*
B02, 5/5 *pȝ nt ʾlȝ=f r-r=w r bn-pw=f tpy ḫmm.w pȝe=w hȝ wsḫ n ⸢tbʿ.wʾ=f*
"As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, their roasting burns his fingers."
However, this may be rather a reflexive construction.

There are also a few unusual (and uncertain) writings of the relative pronoun *nt*: B04, 8/11 (twice; second example spelled *tw=y*?)

7. Vocabulary

The Book of Thoth is rich in words otherwise hardly attested in published Demotic texts. The significance of the vocabulary for evaluating the place of the Book of Thoth within the Egyptian literary tradition is difficult to judge, since Demotic is expanding rapidly beyond the corpus canonized, as it were, in Erichsen's *Glossar*. One has often the impression that the vocabulary of the Book of Thoth is basically that found in Ptolemaic temple inscriptions, hieroglyphic or hieratic theological texts.[273]

We present here words or expressions not found in *Glossar*, together with a single line reference (for the complete references, see the glossary). The following list does not include words deemed highly questionable or uncertain.

ꜣꜣ.t "sacred place." L01 (V.T.), x+1/15
ꜣwy.ṯ.w "cultivation (?)." B02, 5/11 (written *ʿwy*); L01, 3/13
ꜣmn "to go (?)." B02, 9/17
ꜣmḫ "grasping." B05, 2/3
ꜣrꜣ vb. "to hold up," "explain (?)." B02, 13/14
ꜣl type of plant, "reed (?)." B04, 8/4
ꜣḫty "throat." C07.1,19
ꜣspy.t "language." B02, 4/1
ꜣkyr.t "underworld." B02, 9/12
ꜣty "net." B02, 14/x+6
ꜣtn "perch." V01, 3/18
ꜣtty "nurse." B02, 8/6

ỉwt n=f mḏy "one who has no book." B04, 8/13
ỉpt "room." B01, 2/21
ỉmꜣ reading uncertain. Probably "young bird." B07, 12
ỉr divine name. B02, 5/6
ỉry "documents," in the phrase *ḥ.t ỉry.w*, "House of Documents." B04, 2/1
ỉstn epithet of Thoth. B01, 1/16; B02, 8/4; B02, 9/1(spelled *ꜣstn*)
ỉsts epithet of Thoth. B07, 14; F01.1, 7 (*ỉw=s-ts*)
ỉtn "resting-place," "perch." C04.1, 4
ỉtn "secret," "difficult (passages)." B02, 3/15

ʿ.t "chamber," especially in *ʿ.t-kky*, "chamber of darkness." B02, 9/5
ʿꜣ in the phrase *r ʿꜣ=f*, "to its entirety." B04, 3/7
ʿꜣ ḥt "limestone." L01.5, 10/22

273 As is the case with other Demotic religious or scholarly texts, *ỉb* is, for example, still used (e.g., L01.5, 10/20); indeed, it appears about as often as *ḥꜣt* (see M. Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, p. 41).

ʿbʿ "to boast." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2
ʿpy "to enter." B03, 2/19
ʿm-ḫ.t "He-who-understands-the-body." B01, 2/7
ʿm-tꜣ.wy "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands" (epithet of Thoth). B02, 4/16
ʿnʿn "to turn back." L01, 3/19
ʿnḫ "ear." B02, 10/5
ʿrq "to be clever." B02, 9/8
ʿrq "to complete." B04, 7/1
ʿrq "to understand." B02, 4/5
ʿḥʿ type of ship. L01.5, 10/16
ʿq in the compound preposition *m ʿq*, "opposite." L01 (V.T.), x+4/13
ʿt (with plant determinative) "the *ʿt*-plant, brush." B02, 5/13
ʿtḥ "to draw (a bow)" (= *ỉtḥ*). L01 (V.T.), x+1/24

wbꜣ "servant, butler." B03, 1/6
wpy "to pierce." L01 (V.T.), x+1/3
wn-ỉmꜣ epithet of Thoth. B01, 1/15 (in *sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ*)
whwḥ "bark." B02, 10/10
whs "hall." B04, 7/8 (in *whs mꜣʿ.ty*, "Hall of the Two Truths")
wsr "oar." B02, 3/5
wsḥ "to burn." B02, 5/5
wtꜣ.t "steering-oar post." B02, 3/5
wtʿ "to separate (?)." B02, 3/11
wḏʿ "to separate, split." B02, 7/8

bꜣy "be full of *ba*." B02, 10/1
bḥ "hole, cavern, source." B06, 1/5
bflbf "barking (?)." B02, 10/9
bny-ls "sweet-of-tongue." B01, 2/9
bnš "threshhold." L01, 3/24
bs "flame." B01, 2/19
bs "to induct, introduce." L01, 1/18
bt/bnṯ "field." B01, 2/3
btꜣ.t "character (?)." B02, 9/2 (?)
bḏ "to be weary." B02, 6/11

pys "water pot (of scribe)." B06, 1/6
pʿy "fire, glow." B01, 2/17
pry/pyt interrogative pronoun, "what is." B04, 7/5
pry "behold." B02, 6/7
ply.t "quail." L01 (V.T.), x+4/19
ptpt "tread." L01.5, 10/8
ptl "battlefield." L01 (V.T.), x+4/20

fy "(Book of) Awe." B02, 3/13
fk "reward." B03, 1/6

mꜣy-ḥḏ "oryx." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2

mwṯs "to be violent with." L01 (V.T.), x+1/1
mn in *r mn r* "as far as." B07, 7
mn ḏ.t "eternally," in the phrase *n mn ḏ.t*. B02, 7/14
mnḫṯ.t "scribal equipment." B01, 1/8
mnṯ "breast." B02, 4/1
mr-sḏ "teacher." B01, 1/2
mḥ-ib "bodyguard." B04, 6/24
mḫny "ferry." B04, 5/21
mḫny tʾy "ferryman." L01.5, 10/12
ms "to betake oneself." B02, 9/2
mṯwn "arena." C04.4, 1/9 (?)
mtwt = miṯ.t "like." B02, 4/12
mtn "road." B02, 8/12
mts "to be firm." V01, 1/2 (?)

nyšy "child." B03, 2/8
Nyšy.t name of sacred bark. B02, 9/17 (?)
nbṯ meaning uncertain, "brilliant (?)." B02, 12/12
nn negative existence. B02, 10/1
nny "to go, leave." F12, 4
nhy "magic-book (?)." B02, 6/11
ns "to call out." B01, 2/8 (written *nws*)
ng "to open." B02, 3/8 (*nky*)
nḏl "to grab, seize." B02, 3/16

r-ỉny imperative form of *ỉn*, "Bring!" B04, 6/20
rᶜ enclitic particle in the compound *n-rᶜ*, "also." B02, 5/7 (?)
rᶜ "end (of something)." B02, 10/1 (?)
rmn "shoulder." B02, 9/9
rḫ "list." B04, 7/4 (?)

ll.t "nurse." B02, 6/6

hʾ "roasting." B02, 5/5
hby "plow." B02, 4/16
hbhb "to trample." B04, 3/10
hh "fire." B04, 2/9 (?)
ht "thorn (?)." L01.5, 10/21
Htn "*heden*-plant, writing-brush." B02, 3/2

Ḥ.t ỉry "House of Documents." B04, 2/1
Ḥ.t mʾy "House of the Lion." B02, 3/11
ḥʾ non-enclitic particle. L01 (V.T.), x+1/23
Ḥbnw "Hebenu." L01 (V.T.), x+2/15
ḥp.wy "crypts (?)." B02, 10/5; B04, 4/3
ḥpt "to embrace." B02, 12/16
ḥf "to worship." B02, 9/8
ḥfn "myriad." L01 (V.T.), x+4/3

ḥm "majesty." B02, 9/14
ḥnty "crocodile." B04, 4/17
ḥnty "slaughterer." B02, 10/2 (?)
Ḥs-rḫ "The-one-who-praises-knowledge," as epithet of Thoth. B01, 1/1
Ḥsr.t "The-one-of-Heseret," as epithet of Thoth. B02, 4/2
ḥq "to make as ruler (?)." B02, 8/7
ḥkn "to jubilate." B02, 9/7
ḥḏ.t "the white crown." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9

ḫʾs.t "ritual composition." L01.5, 10/14 (*ḫsy*)
ḫywy "plumage." L01 (V.T.), x+2/10
ḫnmṯ "nurse." B02, 9/4 (?)
ḫnt in the compound preposition *m-ḫnt*, "in, before." B02, 9/10
ḫnt "crocodile." L01 (V.T.), x+2/5
ḫt in the compound preposition *m-ḫt*, "with, after." B02, 9/13

ḫʾ "office." B02, 8/13
ḫnm.t "well." B02, 6/5
ḫḫ-sy(?) "scale (?)." B02, 8/16

ḫʾsy.t "altar." B02, 8/3

s-n šbs "possessor of wealth." B02, 9/9
sʾ wn-imʾ "son of *Wn-imʾ* (Thoth)." B07, 1
sʾ s "son of a man." C04.2, 1
sʾ-tʾ "to praise." B02, 9/8
sʾb "jackal." L01, 2/18 (?)
sʾb "variegated." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2
sy "(Book of) Insight." B02, 3/13 (?)
syʾ "cloth-falcon." B04, 8/24 (?)
sylḫ.t "throne" or "palace-façade." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 (?)
sᶜnḫ rn "cause the name to live." B02, 8/2
sᶜr "to cause to ascend." B02, 1/9
sᶜḫ wr "great-protector." L01, 2/3 (?)
sᶜq "cause to enter." B02, 8/5
sphr "writing." B02, 3/9
snfr "to make beautiful." B04, 8/12
snnwʾ "image." B02, 8/3
snsn "to worship." B02, 8/3
sntm "to make comfortable, to write to." B02, 7/11
sntl "divinization." L01, 2/16 (?)
sr(n)py "cause to be young." B02, 8/5
srk "to let breath, open." B02, 9/14
Slk.t divine name, "Selket." C02.1, 12
Shf-ᶜb.w divine name, "Sefekhabwy." B07, 4
sḫn "support, column, pillar." L01 (V.T.), x+2/3
sḫm "to walk about (?)." B02, 3/4
sḫm "to have power over." B02, 7/16

sš "spread out, explain." B04, 7/9
sšm (ib) "to guide (the heart)." B02, 10/5
sšr "papyrus roll." B02, 7/16 (uncertain; written as *sšr*, "demon")
sšt "to trap (birds)"; writing of *sḫd*. L01.5, 10/9
stkn "to draw near." L01, 1/18

Šꜣy "She-who-has-initiated," an epithet of Seshat. B02, 8/12
šbn "to punish." B02, 8/16
šbšb "to order." B04, 7/15 (?)
šp-ꜥnḫ "living image." B01, 1/12 (?)
šft "book." L01 (V.T.), x+1/7
šn "net." L01.5, 10/4
Šntꜣ.t divine name, "Shentait." L01.5, 10/4
šlg "to cut." L01, 4/15
šsl "to recite." B04, 2/16
ššṯf "door-post." L01 (V.T.), x+1/10
šty "turtle." B02, 9/7

qb in the compound preposition *m-qb*, "within" (= *m-qꜣb*). B04, 7/6
qn tp ḥ.t "lion water-spout." B02, 3/11
qns in the adjective verb *nꜣ.w-qns*, "be difficult." B04, 8/17
qspw "*qspw*-deities (?)." B02, 5/9

kky smy "darkness of twilight," "outer darkness." L01.5, 9/5

gmḥy "wick." B02, 3/1
gmḥs "falcon image." L01 (V.T.), x+3/17
gmgm "to seek." B02, 3/2
gnw.t "annals." B02, 3/13
gsgs "to order." B02, 8/15
gsgs "to overflow." B02, 9/4

tbl "divine shrine." B03, 1/12
tbty "ceremony." B07, 11
tp "hippopotamus." L01 (V.T.), x+1/3
tp-rꜣ "spell, statement." B01, 2/8
tp-rnp.t "New Year." B02, 4/4
tp-rt "ceremony." B04, 8/13
tfw "food, sustenance." B02, 7/13 (?)
tns "be heavy." B02, 3/3 (?); L01, 1/21
trf "hieroglyphic sign, script." L01.5, 10/17
trm "to hasten." B02, 4/13 (?)
trty "scribal palette." B02, 8/15
tty.t "nurse." V01, 3/8 (?)

ṯ-ꜥ.wy "to deliberate." V02, 1/7
t-ꜥ.wy "leader." B01, 1/1 (?)
ṯsy "sand-bank." L01 (V.T.), x+1/1

ḏꜥb "to cross through." L01 (V.T.), x+4/20
ḏsm "dog" (*ṯsm*). B02, 10/9
ḏtf "to overflow." L01 (V.T.), x+1/5
ḏtm "heap." B02, 9/17 (?)

8. The Style of the Book of Thoth

We offer here a few observations on the literary style of the Book of Thoth; an *editio princeps* is not the place for a full treatment. The composition conveys the impression of a very carefully constructed text. As we have seen, the grammar, though archaic in a few cases, does not diverge significantly from the Demotic found in religiously oriented works. While it may partly derive from much older material, this version would be considerably updated, a virtual translation into Demotic, and not a slavish copy of, say, a Middle Egyptian text. The vocabulary is, in contrast, rather select; the author of the Book of Thoth certainly had mastered Egyptian literary tradition. The poetic character of the composition is graphically demonstrated both by the stichic layout of B02 and L01 (but not B04),[274] and by the apparent "verse points" in B02.[275] A metrical analysis of the text would probably be worthwhile, although we will attempt no such study here. The author often consciously expresses himself in an oblique manner, and rejoiced in epithets, allusions, and figures. Inasmuch as the subject of the composition is often writing itself and the scribal arts, it is not surprising that the author seeks to display his command of such basic Egyptian stylistic devices as word play, word association, and assonance. The style of the individual sections naturally depends on the chosen genres, and the Book of Thoth incorporates religious/scholarly writing, onomastica, wisdom literature, and funerary types of composition.

As might be expected, the basic line often seems to fall into two balanced sections:

B02, 3/5 "May he grab the oar (of) the steering-oar post with his arm. Let him set fast his hand to the ship's-hand (?)."

or

B02, 3/1 *iw=f (r) tì.t tšps ⸢m-sꜣ⸣ nꜣe=w gmḥy.w ḥbs n mꜣy (r) nꜣe=w ḥꜥy.w*
"He (will) place *tšps*-oil upon their wicks, new cloth upon their candles."

The parallelism may be varied by the use of different vocabulary for similar or identical concepts:

B02, 3/7 *mnḫ tꜣ ḥ.t n nꜣ bꜣ.w mn[ḫ (?)] mḥ n=f n pꜣ wḏꜣ n nꜣ iḫy.w*
"Effective is **the chapel of the** *bas*. Eff[ective (?) is] the one who takes possession for himself of **the storeroom of the deceased spirits.**"

Here *ḥ.t n nꜣ bꜣ.w* is the pendant to *wḏꜣ n nꜣ iḫy.w*.

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274 Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, p. 11, on the use of monostichs. The employment of rubrics also helps to clarify the divisions of the composition.

275 The use of verse points is very restricted in Demotic, Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, pp. 10–11. In B02 the "verse points," if that is what they are, are written beneath the line, and not, as is usual, above the line.

The second clause may be an explanation of an element of the first:

B02, 5/12 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one say to me the work of the fist, the hand which labors on the divine writings."

The second half of the line may contain a result or purpose clause dependent upon the first:

B02, 6/4 **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one command for me the word which gives birth to the prophets that I may cause that they become pregnant in my flesh.

B02, 6/5 Let one open for me the well (or 'nurse') which unites with the wise ones that I may drink from its sweet water."

B02, 4/1 May one say to me the nurse who nurtures language that I may suck from her breasts.

There is sometimes a "triplet," comprising three equal clauses:

B02, 3/4 *my tḥy=f r (?) rt=f my mr=f s r pȝ kky my sḫm=f pȝ wyn n ʿḥʿ=f*

May he be equipped on (?) his foot. May he gird himself against the darkness. May he move confidently in the light of his life-time.

L01.5, 10/13 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ʿq=y nȝe=w tpy ḥm=y nȝe=w ỉym.w sšt=y tȝ tpn (?) nȝe=w … […]* The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. I have caught their fish. I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."

In the following line there is assonance between the *tḥy* and *tḥs* of the last two clauses:

C01, 1 *[bw]-ỉr=w sy[…]*

B06, 1/2 *[…]ʳtʿy.wʾ bw-ỉr=w* ***tḥy*** *n ỉrp bw-ỉr=w* ***tḥs*** *n sgn*

F01, 12 *[…] sy … ʿy.w bw-ỉr=w* ***tḥy*** *n ỉrp (?) ʳbw-ỉr=w* ***tḥs***ˀ *(n) sgn*

They do not sate themselves with bread. They do not become drunk with wine. They do not anoint with unguent.

In certain extended passages, as in B02, 3/11–15, the author begins with an initial optative statement which is then continued with "until" and conjunctive clauses. These sections may have a certain climactic impact:

11 May his fingers work (in?) the house of the lion so as to divide the strong ones upon the roof

12 until he finds the gathering over eye, ears, heart, tongue, hand, sole of the foot

13 and he learns the Book of Insight, the Book of Power, the Book of Annals, the Book of the Djed-pillar (?), the Book of Interpretation, … the Book of …, and the Book of …

14 and he drinks in the Book of Proclaiming the Proclaiming (?) of Praise, and the Book of Honoring their Father who is Powerful,

15 and he understands the difficult passages, and he elucidates the praises, and he becomes an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth (L01 variant: Great of Five).

This brings to a close a speech by the deity, and forms a fitting conclusion to his declamation to the disciple.

The hymn to Imhotep in Column 8 of B02 is a section that especially well illustrates poetic form in the Book of Thoth. The following rendering attempts to communicate this aspect visually:

1. I will praise god for you, o foremost one of the temple of Ptah,
   in the festival of *ỉy-m-ḥtp* before *Wsỉr-nȝ-nfr-ḥtp*.
2. I will cause your name to live beside the living *ba*.
   I will divinize your *ba* before the *ba* of his divinity.
3. A *ḥtp-(tỉ-)nswt* to your *ka* at (your) [al]tar.
   A worshiping your name before the sacred images.

4. Come you, o one who lives as the craftsman of *Isten*.
   O praised one of the heart of Re, may he cause that you ʳrecite˺.

5. May I praise god for you.
   May I cause that your name be eternally youthful.
   (May I) cause your *ba* to enter before my father.

6. I am with you as an heir like a son of the land of the fathers.
   May your teaching act as a nursemaid for me.
7. You have made me a ruler (?) through the raising of the hand (of) the one who created me, so that I may become an heir of your divine instructions.

8. O honored one! Let one cause that my name remain.
   Let me enter among the nobles.
9. Let one place me on the bark of the divine *bas*,
   the wise ones who are in the setting forth.
10. May I gather in (?) as a seer!
    May I become like unto a monument,
    so that I become one with the assistants (of Thoth).

11. I have completed the action of the funerary offering
    through pronouncing my name in the darkness,
    while I fight with the *bas*.

12. May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life.
    I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai (= Seshat).

13. May one open for me the path of going-and-coming.
    Let me show the way to the hall with my own feet.

Occasionally, the author employs rhetorical questions.[276] An example of this is in C04.1:

C04.1, 12 Are you the huntress who hunts […] … judge me … […]

C04.1, 13 Are you the trapper who traps the … […] …

C04.1, 14 Are you the … […]

276 On such rhetorical questions, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 105–06.

Questions asked for rhetorical effect apparently also occur in B01, where the deity queries the *mr-rḫ*:

B01, 1/6 "Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them,

7 (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?"

When instructing or advising the disciple, the deity employs a mixture of indicative statements, optatives, and imperatives:

B02, 5/13 **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Your **three** fingers, place the brush between them. Your two fingers, let them make a grasping.

B02 2/4 = B01, 2/7 Let him act as a school-master. May his mouth reveal the teaching of the one who understands the body (?).

B02, 2/5 Incline to the scribe! Write a book ...! Pronounce a spell! Be disposed to ask advice of the one in his moment (or "horoscopist," "astronomer")!

Some passages are basically composed in the concise style of wisdom texts:

L01, 4/4 Ask the one less important than yourself. Desire to listen to the voice of the wise man. Do not [...]

The author often employs anticipatory emphasis, a construction well-suited to the didactic tone of the composition:

B02, 2/3 As for the magicians (or "scholars") who came into existence earlier, do they not have a second party?

B01, 2/15–16 As for his beloved, he being in complete darkness (or [the] "Chamber of Darkness"), the teaching will light for him a torch.

B02, 3/10 As for the one who takes possession for himself of the teaching, may he look to the star. May he learn the constellation(s) of the heaven in night.

B02, 5/5 As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, their roasting burns his fingers.

Among the various rhetorical devices used by the author, we may mention chiasmus, as in the line already quoted above:[277]

B02, 3/5 May he grab the oar (of) the **steering-oar post** with his **arm**. Let him set fast his **hand** to the **ship's-hand** (?).

The Vulture Text represents, of course, a very distinct section of the Book of Thoth. It displays a fairly consistent pattern, resembling a didactic school text or onomastic list. One might even think that this list was intended to accompany or replace an illustrated papyrus. Almost every line begins with the words: "a vulture." This, in turn, is followed by one circumstantial clause modifying the indefinite antecedent, "vulture," while a second circumstantial clause describes the actions or nature of its young. The line concludes

277 Another example may be in B02, 12/12. For a comprehensive discussion of rhetorical devices in Egyptian texts see Guglielmi, "Der Gebrauch rhetorischer Stilmittel in der ägyptischen Literatur," Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 465–97.

with a nominal statement using *pꜣy*, explicating the nome or nome-capital to be identified with this particular vulture and young.

L01 (V.T.), x+1/24 The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "A vulture which draws a bow, while its young ... [...]" It is Elephantine.

The author only rarely departs from this pattern; an example of such a variation is:

L01 (V.T.), x+2/8 Woe (?) ... a vulture, while its young [...] ... [It is] Akhmim.

In some passages of the Book of Thoth the author appears to take care to explain or gloss terms which may not have been immediately obvious to his audience, e.g., in L01.5, 10/3:

ʿm-slꜣ nt ʿm-tꜣ.wy "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

This last epithet is the relatively common Late Period title of Thoth, while the first is scarcely attested.

Truly narrative sections are rare; the closest approach to this style is, perhaps, in column eight of B04. Even here the flow of the narrative is interrupted by what appear to be parenthetical remarks or glosses. Indeed, the very nature of the dialogue structure is antithetical to the narrative style. This dialogue format has greatly complicated the interpretation of the composition, since the editor cannot depend on an obvious plot or sequence of actions or ideas.

In a few cases lines have the appearance of "headings," and may not even form complete sentences. An example is:

B02, 4/16 *pꜣ 7 ʿt.w nt n mḫy r pꜣ ḥby ḫn tꜣ 7.t sḫ.t n ʿm- tꜣ.wy*

The **seven** reeds which resemble the plow in the **seven** fields of "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

Such statements convey the character of glosses describing a figure or image.

The author may repeat an initial construction for dramatic or rhetorical effect:

Y01.3, 3 *n-tr.t ir=f ʿnḫ [...]*
C04.7, 6 *[...] n-tr.t ir=f ʿnḫ ḫr tp n rmt [...]*

Y01.3, 4 *n tr.t ḏ=f iḫy n [...]*
C04.7, 7 *n-tr.t ḏ=f iḫy rmt n ... [...]*

Y01.3, 5 *n tr.t ḏ=f kꜣ n rn [...]*
C04.7, 8 *n-tr.t ḏ=f kꜣ n rn ... [...]*

Y01.3, 6 *tr.t ḏ=f spw[...]*
C04.7, 9 *[...] n-tr.t ḏ=f sp n rn n nꜣ [...]*
"Since he made life under the head of a man (?) ... [...]
Since he said "possession (or 'spirit') of a man (?)" as ... [...]
Since he said "bull" as the name of ... [...]
Since he said "*Sp*" as name of the [...]"

The use of repetition also appears at the end of clauses. In this following passage we have the repeated mention of *m-qty*:

L01.5, 10/7 *tw=y […] … ḫmꜣ ḫtḥt nꜣ ꜥt.w m-qty nꜣ twꜣ.w tꜣ it*
L01.5, 10/8 *bw-ir ꜥnḫy (?)ꜥ ptpt sꜣn m-qty nꜣ slꜣ n ḥs-ib*
L01.5, 10/9 *bw-ir tꜣ (?) sšty.t pr-lḫny.t sšt m-qty tꜣ mr-spḫl.w*

"I have caused salt to … throughout (?) the limbs like the praises of the land of the father (?).
The child does not tread upon its clay (?) like the prophets of the praised of heart.
The *sšty.t* of the harem does not trap (?) like the one who loves enchantment (or "writing")."

In B02, 3/4 -3/6 the lines all begin with *my*. Indeed, in that column almost every line begins with an "m" sound.

B02, 8/12–13, also begin with *my*. There is a further parallelism between *mi.t* and *mtn*. Both of these mean "road, path," but the second term would have been quite archaic.

B02, 8/12 *my wn=w n=y nꜣ* ***mtn.w*** *[n] šm (r) pr-ꜥnḫ sš=y ṯ ḥ ḫ.t=y ꜥnḫ [Š]ꜣy*
B02, 8/13 *my wn=w n=y tꜣ* ***mi.t*** *n šm-iy my sr=y pꜣ ḫꜣ n nꜣe=y t[bt.]w*

The author's use of word play is very prominent in the Book of Thoth. One may even wonder whether it was not one purpose of the composition to illustrate the possibilities of word play, or to impress on the student the potential for puns embedded in the Egyptian language. Indeed, one of the difficulties of interpretation of the Book of Thoth is that the motivation, as it were, behind a series of statements may only become apparent due to word-association, and not due to the surface meaning.

Already in the broken fragments of the beginning of the connected text, one can detect word play. In the following lines, for example, there appears a play between *ḏꜥm*, "generation," and *ḏmꜥ*, "papyrus-roll:"

V01, 3/15 *[…] … tr.ṯ=f mḥ pꜣy pꜣ sḫ nꜣe=f ḏ[w.w (?) …] nꜣ* ***ḏꜥm.w*** *ḏ […]*

[…] … his hand. The papyrus (or "scribe") is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are …] the **papyrus rolls** (or "**generations**"), that is, … […]

The author associates and connects lines through word play or association:

B02, 3/5 *my mḥ=f n pꜣ wsr tꜣ wtꜣ.t n ḫpš my smn=f tr.t r* ***try.t***
B02, 3/6 *my ir=f skr ḫn pꜣ ym šnꜥ my ḫny=f pꜣ yꜥr n* ***ḏbꜥy.w***

5 May he grab the oar (of) the steering-oar post with his arm. Let him set fast his hand to the ship's-hand (?) (L01 variant: mooring-post)
6 May he make a sailing in the sea of *šnꜥ*. May he row in the river of **coals** (also "**fingers**").

Here, of course, the image of a hand, together with the fingers, a prominent theme in the Book of Thoth, is developed by means of the use of *ḏbꜥy*, "coal," which is homophonic with *ḏbꜥ*/ *tbꜥ*, "finger." This naturally refers back to the "arm" and "hand" of the previous line.

We list here a selection of word plays in the Book of Thoth:

C04.1, 7 *šy n ꜥnḫ*, "lake of life," and *Šꜣy* (= Seshat)

[…] šy n ꜥnḫ nt ḫr ḫꜣ.t Šꜣy …
[…] lake of life which is before Shai (= Seshat) …

B02, 4/15 *nb*, "lord," and *nby*, "swim"
šꜥ-tw pꜣe=f nb tỉ.t nby=k
until its lord permits that you swim.

B01, 2/17 *pꜥy*, "to spit out," and *spty*, "lips"
ỉw=w r ir pꜥy (?) ḫn nꜣe=f [sp]ty.w [ỉw=w r w]bk nꜣe=f ꜥ.wt
They will make a burning in his lips. They will set his limbs ablaze.
pꜥy means not only "burning," but also "to spit out."

B02, 3/10 *sbꜣ*, "teaching," and *sbꜣ*, "star"
mḥ n=f sbꜣ.t my nw=f r pꜣ sw my rḫ=f tꜣ snty.t n tꜣ p.t n grḥ
As for the one who takes possession for himself of the teaching, may he look to the star. May he learn the constellation(s) of the heaven in night.

B02, 5/4 *tr.t*, "hand," and *tbꜥ*, "finger"
nꜣy mḫy.w st bꜣḥ n ḏbꜥy.w nꜣe=w n ḏ tr.t iw=s bꜣk
As for these storerooms, they are overflowing with coal: their meanings, a hand which works.

B02, 5/5 *pꜣ nt ꜥlꜣ=f r-r=w r bn-pw=f tpy ḫmm.w pꜣe=w hꜣ wsḥ n tbꜥ.w=f*
As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, their roasting burns his fingers.

B02, 8/12–16 The last words of the remaining lines in this column of B02 are puns on parts of the body: *šꜣy*, "nose," *tbt*, "feet," *tnḫ*, "wing," *trty*, "hand," *ḫḥ-sy* (?), "throat."

B02, 8/12 *my wn=w n=y nꜣ mtn.w [n] šm (r) pr-ꜥnḫ sš=y ṯ ḥ ḫ.t=y ꜥnḫ [Š]ꜣy*
B04, 2/22–23 *[…] wn=w […….. pr-ꜥ]nḫ ỉr=y ṯ ḫr ḫ.ṯ=y […….]…*

B02 8/13 *my wn=w n=y tꜣ mi.t n šm-iy my sr=y pꜣ ḫꜣ n nꜣe=y t[bt.]w*
B04.2, 3/1 *my wn[=w] n=y* (B04) *tꜣ mi.t n š … šmy rt …… […….]*

B02, 8/14 *tky=y (r) tꜣ mr.t n Tꜣ [n]b htnw sny=y nꜣ twꜣ.w n ḫnṯ ḫr tnḥ*
B04.2, 3/2 *tky […]*(B04) *mr Tꜣ ky ḏ nb htnw sny […….]*

B02, 8/15 *tky=y n tm [rn pꜣ] htp siy=f ỉ-ỉr gsgs pꜣ tꜣ m trty=f*
B04.2, 3/3 *tky=y […]*(B04) *… htp smy=f (?) ỉ-ỉr … […….]*

B02, 8/16 *mꜣꜣ=y pꜣ ꜥꜥn nt šbn n ḥf ỉ-ỉr wpy pꜣ tꜣ n nꜣe=f ḫḥ-sy (?)*
B04.2, 3/3–4 *mꜣꜣ[=y] ꜥꜥn […* (B04) *…] šb (?) ḥf ỉ-ỉr wpy pꜣ tꜣ n nꜣ […]*

B02, 9/7 *hb*, "ibis," and *hbhb/hbl*, "to trample"
B02, 9/7 *mtw=y twn tr.ṯ=y n pꜣ wr wr wr ꜥ. w. s. ḫknw pꜣ hb hbl šty*
B04, 3/10 *[mtw=y] twn tr.ṯ=y n pꜣ wr wr.w ḫgn n pꜣ hb hbhb šty*

And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one, and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.

B02, 9/8 *ḥf*, "to worship," *ḥf*, "snake," and *sꜣ-tꜣ*, "to worship," and *sꜣ-tꜣ*, "snake"
mtw=y ḥf=f n pꜣ ꜥrkꜣ wr pḥ.t sꜣ-tꜣ n=f(n) slꜣ ḫnt ⸢Ḥsr.t⸣
And I shall worship him as the one who understands the great of strength, (and) adore him (as) the one who announces the Foremost one of ⸢*Heseret*⸣ (Thoth).
There may be a deliberate play here on the meanings of *sꜣ-tꜣ*, which is also "snake," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 785, and *ḥf*, which means both "worship" and "snake," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 641–42.
Additional examples of puns are: *pḥ* and *pḥs* (C04.1, 3); *kk* and *kky* (B01, 2/18) *mnỉry.t* and *mnṯ* (B02, 4/1); *sbꜣ* and *bꜣ* (B02, 8/5 and 8/6); *ꜥ.t*, "limb," and *ꜥ.t*, "chamber" (B02, 9/12); *šm-ỉy* and *šꜣy* (B02, 8/13).
If not quite a pun, the author appears sometimes to exploit double meanings. For example, *ḫry-ꜥ* is a term for both "helper" and "the container for writing material" (B01, 2/6); *sbꜣ* as "teaching" and "door" (B02, 6/6); *sḫr*, "papyrus roll," "to have power," and *sḫm*, "to prevail over" (B02, 7/16).
The author employs sounds as an organizing motif: e.g., the *tn* sound in B02, 5/16, *wstn nb tꜣe=w tny.t*
"Every type of free-movement (is) their share (the fingers')."

Even more prominent is the focus on the *gs/qs* sound in column five of B02:
B02, 5/6 *tꜣ ḥs.t nfr nt pꜣ ꜥwy n ỉr pꜣe=f n rn n mtr pꜣy* ***gst***
L01, 3/8 *pꜣ ḥs nfr nt n ꜥwy n ỉr pꜣe=f rn n mtr pꜣy pꜣ* ***gṯ***

B02, 5/7 *ḫr=f n=y tw=y n* ***qns*** *bw-ỉr=y wꜣḥ šm bn-ỉw ky r ỉn=f(n)-rꜥ*
L01, 3/9 *ḫr=f n=y tỉ=y n* ***gs*** *bw-ỉr=y mḥ šm bn-ỉw ky ỉn=f(n)-rꜥ n tr.ṯ=y*

B02, 5/8 *ṯ=w* ***1/2*** *(n)* ***wꜥ.t*** *n Pth-tny ỉw=f n* ***gs*** *m nwn r bn-pw=f bꜥḥ=y*
L01, 3/10 *ṯ=w 2/3 (?) (n) wꜥ.t n Pth-tny ỉw=f n* ***gs*** *r bn-ỉw mwn bn-pw=f bꜥḥ*

B02, 5/9 *pꜣ ỉ-ỉr sḫn=f r skꜣ nꜣe=f ꜣḥ.w* ***qspw*** *ḫn nꜣe=f rn.w stp.w*
L01, 3/11 *pꜣ ỉ-ỉr sḫny.ṯ=s r skꜣ nꜣe=f ꜣḥ.w* ***gsp*** *ḫn=w nꜣe=f rn.w stp.w*

6 The scribal **palette** is the beautiful praise which (is) in the arm of (the god) *ỉr* in its true name.
7 He speaks to me: "I am **wronged**. I cannot put down the harvest-tax. Another will also not bring it.
L01: He speaks to me. I am half (= half paid-up?). I cannot pay in full the harvest-tax. Another will also not bring it in (or "from") my hand.
8 B02: One took **one-half** (of) one for (or "of") Ptah-teny, he being **half** in Nun, without his (Nun) having inundated me.
L01: One took 2/3 (?) (from) one for Ptah-teny, he being in half, without … he did not inundate.
9 As for the one who has ordered it to cultivate his fields, (he is) *qspw* in his select names."

The author often seems to exploit the numerous meanings embedded in a word. In B02, 9/1, for example:
B02, 9/1 *pry=y tꜣ ꜣbꜣ.t n ḥm ꜣstn ỉr=y ššꜥ nꜣ ỉtn.w n Ḏḥwty*
May I see the darkness as a servant of *Isten*, that I may make a glorification of the secrets of Thoth.
Here the author clearly plays with the several nuances of *ỉtn.w*, namely, "secrets," "deputy," "(sun/moon) disk." *ꜣbꜣ.t* is a word generally associated with the eclipse. There is also a connection between the *ỉstn/ꜣstn* and the *ỉtn.w*.

Not surprisingly, given his propensity for unusual vocabulary, the author sometimes uses rather archaic modes of expression of the superlative:
L01 (V.T.), x+3/24 The writer (or "enchanter") has said to me his children that he may become the greatest of the ones greater than he […]

and
B01, 2/10 *slf n (?) slf.w* Be the most meditative of the meditating ones! (**Alternative:** "Be the most industrious of the industrious ones!")

9. Textual Variants in the Papyri of the Book of Thoth

We discuss and list here the textual variants of the manuscripts of the Book of Thoth. Even if it is not possible to establish the dependence or independence of the various witnesses, numerous variations are clearly significant, and indicate different textual traditions for the composition. We have collected both those which we deem major and minor variants. Major variants (= A.) range from lines or parts of lines which depart dramatically from the otherwise parallel versions, to substantive differences in grammar which nevertheless result in the same basic sense. Minor textual variants consist of the presence or absence of an *n* or *r*, for example, or the use of *l* in one text versus *r* in another (= B.), and other such minor variations in the spelling of the same word (= C.). The minor variants presumably do not have significance regarding the compositional history of the text, since they may be the result of the individual scribe's whim, no matter what text he may have had before him. Nevertheless, they are not totally without consequence. It is safe to suppose, for example, that an unwritten *n* might well have puzzled an ancient scribe, and led him to expand on a phrase using his own ingenuity. Similarly, some scholars may also wish to study the alternation of *š* and *ḫ* and other such phonological variants. We also list those cases where expected parallels seem to be lacking (= D.).

N.b. the numbers refer to the following lists of variants.

Remarks on A. Major Variants

We find especially interesting those variants reflecting a very different wording, but still resulting in similar sense. Examples of this are 4, 46, 84, 88, 96, 112, 116, 125, and 129.

Also quite noteworthy are those relatively few cases in which a scribe appears to "update" the composition, using, say, the more common Demotic particle *twy-s* for the older *pry-s* (71, 105). Similarly, ancient names or titles may have posed problems to Graeco-Roman scribes (e.g., 20, 27), which would explain profound differences in the texts. 27 is especially intriguing. Here L01 has *rs*, "to watch," B02 *ỉtp*, "to load." Does such a variation derive from a reading of the *rs*-sign (Möller, *HP* 3, number 588) as the man with the basket upon his head (Möller, *HP* 3, number 42), which it resembles? Several variations within the textual tradition are undoubtedly due to graphic similarities of certain words. Examples of this phenomenon are: *ḥs* and *mỉy* (55); *ḫry-ʿ* and *ḫry-rt* (72, 87); *wỉḥ* and *mḥ* (57); *mt* and *ḫy* (69). The modern Demoticist will appreciate how the use of different determinatives could quickly produce an important new textual change, as when *bs* is given the walking-legs determinative in one version, and the brazier in another (15). Metathesis too can easily result in variant readings, as when the manuscripts offer both *bs*, "introduce," and *sbỉ*, "teach" (107). One naturally hesitates to label any one of such variants "mistakes," for the ancient Egyptians may well have considered the close relationship in meaning as being reflected in the phonetic similarity. In a very few examples, the scribes use the notation *ky ḏ*, "another version," to explain the presence of variant readings (e.g., 53, 82). Several variants may be explained as due to false (?) division of a word (e.g., 7, 36). Individual scribes often seem to have felt compelled to add possessive suffix pronouns to parts of the body, although these are generally not required for sense (e.g., 18, 19). It is curious too how variants may demonstrate a scribe's understanding of a word as singular or plural (*pỉe=f* versus *nỉe=f*), although this seldom alters the sense of a line (e.g., 42, 45). This variant presumably is also due to the similarity of certain writings of *nỉe=f* and *pỉe=f*.

A number of lines or portions of lines which should be parallel in two versions yield little sense to us, and may be corrupt. Especially troublesome in this respect are: 35, 37, 48, 60, 92. In a few cases, similarities in writing and problems of interpretation may have posed puzzles for the ancient scribe (e.g., 29 *sḏm=k* and *n=k*; 33, but the *s* of *sntl* in 33 may in fact be the determinative of *nw*). It is our impression that the manuscripts do not display many examples of unsolvable corruptions.

The significant variants may be further broken down into distinct types. We present a few of these categories as a basis for further discussion:

1. Variants indicating different rubrics:
   Ḥsr.t versus *Ḥs-rḫ*
   1, 26, 64, 68, 86, 94

2. Variants due to insertion of additional particles:
   ỉn ḫr for *ḫr*: 2, 3, 31, 108

3. Variants reflecting the same or similar meaning, but with different wording or grammatical construction:
   4, 8, 12, 13, 23, 28, 30, 40, 41, 42, 46, 51, 52, 66, 71, 72, 80, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96, 99, 100, 105, 111,112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 120, 125, 126, 129, 130, 133

4. Variants reflecting different grammatical constructions:
   5, 6, 30, 31, 40, 44

5. Variants reflecting different division of consonants or signs:[278]
   7, 17, 34, 36

6. Variants reflecting additions or omissions:
   9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 40, 43, 44, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 67, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82, 93, 95, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 110, 115, 123, 126, 131, 132

7. Variants reflecting significant differences in the spelling of a word:
   10, 33, 117

8. Variants reflecting significant differences in determinatives for the same consonant series:
   15

9. Variants reflecting different understanding and different meaning for a given passage or word:
   19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56, 59, 60, 65, 70, 75, 78, 81, 83, 89, 92,104, 106, 107, 109, 117, 118, 122, 124, 127 (?)

10. Variants reflecting scribal errors, misunderstandings, or reinterpretations:
    29, 35, 37 (*Hörfehler*?), 45, 55, 57, 69, 72, 78, 79, 88, 101, 106, 107, 109 (?), 121, 127, 128

Remarks on B. Minor Graphic or Phonological Variants

Much less need be said about the minor variants. One suspects that scribes occasionally understood the grammar of a given clause in different ways; the tendency to omit *n* or *r* certainly would have encouraged variation within the manuscript tradition. A few of the variations are rather curious, as when L01.5 consistently writes *ḫr=f n n=y* for *ḫr=f n=y* (35–37).

Remarks on C. Variant Spellings of Same Word

Similarly, little must be said concerning the variant spellings of the same word. Some scholars may, however, be interested in such phonological variations as that between *ỉ* and *ʿ* (e.g., 2, 21) or the common alternation between *r* and *l*. B02 consistently writes *ḫr*, whereas many of the later versions present *ḫ* (52, 54; but compare also 119). Noteworthy are the examples of *b* for *f* (143).

278 Included in this group are examples of so-called *Hörfehler*. On this class of variant, see, e.g., Ryholt, in Frandsen and Ryholt (eds.), *Miscellany*, p. 119.

Remarks on D. Lines without Parallel

We have also listed those (relatively few) cases where a parallel seems to be entirely lacking, although expected.

A. Significant Variants

1.
B01, 1/1; C04.2, 3; F10, 9: *ḫr=f Ḥs-rḏ*
V04, 26: *ḫr=f n Ḥsr.t*

2.
B01, 1/1: *in ḫr*
C04.2, 3: *ḫr*

3.
F10, 10; B01, 1/2: *in it*
C04.2, 4: *ḫr* *in it*

4.
B01, 1/7: *in bn-iw m-tỉ=w*
B02, 1/2: *ḫr ḫpr n=w*

5.
B01, 1/18: *ʿry.w nt iw=w*
C08, 10: *ʿry.w iw=w*

6.
B02, 1/15: *pȝ nt sȝl*
L01, 1/1: *r ir slȝ*
F09, 3: *pȝ nt ir slȝ*

7.
B01, 2/2; B08.3, 3: *gs=f*
L01, 1/2: *gsf*

8.
B01, 2/4: *ir sl*
B08.3, 5: *wḥȝ slȝ*

9.
B01, 2/6: *2.nw* spatium *ḫlʿ*
L01, 1/5; B08.3, 6: *2.nw*

10.
B01, 2/10: *gȝ*
L01, 1/9: *glȝ*

11.
B01, 2/10; L01, 1/9: *šps*
B02, 2/7: *ḫpš=f*

12.
B01, 2/12: *iw=w ir* *ḥw*
L01, 1/11: *n ḥwȝ*

13.
B01, 2/13–14: *kny iw=w w[ʿ]f n pȝ ḥm ir 1,000*
L01, 1/12: *qnw iw=w sl ḥm.w=f n pȝ ḥm i-ir 1,000*

14.
B01, 2/15: *m-bȝḥ*
B02, 2/11; L01, 1/13: *m-bȝḥ=f*

15.
B01, 2/19: *bs.w* (brazier determinative)
L01, 1/18: *bs.w* (walking-legs determinative)

16.
B01, 2/10; L01, 1/9: *m (?)* *šps*
B02, 2/7: *ḫpš=f*

17.
B02, 3/3: *tn=s*
L01, 1/21: *tns=s*

18.
B02, 3/3: *šte ḥȝt*
B01, 3/1: *št ḥȝt=f*

19.
B02, 3/5: *ḫpš my smn=f* *tr.t r try.t*
L01, 1/23: *šps my smny n=f* *tr.ṯ=f r tȝ lʿy*
B01, 3/3: *šps my smn=f* *tr.t=f*
B03.5, 2: *tr.ṯ=f r t[...]*

20.
B02, 3/9: *tȝ sḥ=s n Mw.t wr.t nȝ spḫr*
L01, 2/3: *sʿḥ wr (?) n Mw.t wly.t nȝ spḫl.w*

21.
B02, 3/13: *nt-iw=f rḫ sy*
L01, 2/7: *mtw=f rḫ sy*
B01, 3/9: *mtw=f sʿmny*

22.
B02, 3/14: *nt-iw=f sỉwr stt*
L01, 2/8: *mtw=f sʿḥʿ shn*
B05, 1/3: *mtw=f sȝ shn tȝ shn*

23.
B02, 3/15; B05, 1/4: *Ḏḥwty*
L01, 2/9: *wr 5*

24.
B01, 3/11; B02, 3/16: *ḫʿy.w*
B05, 1/5: *nȝ* *ḫʿy.w*

25.
B02, 4/1: *n=y tȝ*
L01, 2/11: *n=y ʿn tȝ*

26.
B02, 4/2; L01, 2/12: *Ḥsr.t*
B01, 3/12: *Ḥs-rḏ*

27.
B02, 4/2: *tȝ sḫ=s nt ỉtp*
L01, 2/12: *tȝ sḫḥy.t nt rs*

28.
B02, 4/2: *wšb=s ṯk*
L01, 2/12; B05, 1/7: *wšb=s n=k*

29.
B02, 4/3; B01, 3/13: *mr sḏm=k*
L01, 2/13: *mr n=k*

30.
B02, 4/3: *n tkr*
L01, 2/13; B05, 1/8: *iw=s tkl*

31.
B02, 4/4: *i-ir=k*
L01, 2/14: *in iw=k*
B01, 3/14; B05, 1/8: *in iw iw=k*

32.
B02, 4/5: *twȝ=sn*
L01, 2/15; B05, 1/9: *twȝ=s*

33.
B02, 4/6: *nw ntr=k*
L01, 2/16: *sntl.w=k*

34.
B02, 4/6: *nsns*
L01, 2/16: *sn n=s*
B05, 1/10: *ns=k n=s*

35.
B02, 4/7: *sḏm n=s pȝ wnš ỉb*
L01, 2/17: *sḏm=s n=f tȝy pȝ wnš ỉb*

36.
B02, 4/8; B05, 1/11: *šlf*
L01, 2/18: *ḫl=f*

37.
B02, 4/8: *dry[...] mtw=s pȝ iwỉw sȝb mtw=s ȝsy*
L01, 2/18: *ḏllḥ-ḥr mtw=s pȝ ỉy sȝb mtw ms ...*

38.
B02, 4/9: *7,000 n 77*
L01, 2/19: *7,000 n sp*
B05, 1/12: *1,077 (?)*

39.
B02, 4/10: *mn=s*
L01, 2/20: *tȝe=s ỉy mnq*

40.
B02, 4/11: *n* *tkr*
L01, 2/21: *iw=s* *tkl r-r=k*
B01, 3/19; B05, 1/13: *tkl*

41.
B02, 4/11: *i-ir=k gm.ṯ=s*
L01, 2/21: *iw=k gm.ṯ=s*

42.
B02, 4/12; B05, 1/14 (with *ỉḫ*): *ỉḫ nȝ.w nȝe=f ʿwy.w*
L01, 2/22: *ỉḫ pȝy pȝe=f ʿwy*

43.
B02, 4/13: *pȝy* *sḫ*
L01, 2/23: *pȝy pȝ sḫ*

44.
B02, 4/14: *ḫsy n=f*
L01, 2/24: *ḫsy=f*

45.
B02, 4/15: *šʿ-tw pȝe=f* *nb tỉ.t nby=k*
L01, 3/1: *šʿ-mtw nȝe=f* *nb.w tỉ.t ḫny=k*
B01, 3/22: [.....] *nb.w tỉ.t nby=k*
B05, 1/16: [.....] *nȝe=f* *nb.w tȝ nb=k*

46.
B02, 4/15: *ḫn=f*
L01, 3/1; B01, 3/22; B05, 1/16: *n ḫ.ṯ=f*

47.
B02, 4/16; B05, 1/17: *hby ḫn tȝ 7.t*
L01, 3/2: *ḥby ḫn tȝ 3.t*

48.
B02, 5/1: *mtw n iry*
L01, 3/3: *mtw n 2 wp iry*

49.
B02, 5/1: *1/4*
L01, 3/3: *nt*

50.
B02, 5/2: *ḫn*
L01, 3/4: *ḫn=w*

51.
B02, 5/2: *iw=w ḫrḥ=w ꜣnḥ*
L01, 3/4: *nt šlḥ iw=w ꜥnḥ*

52.
B02, 5/3: *nt ir n=w nb*
L01, 3/5: *i-ir ir n=w nb.w*

53.
B02, 5/3: *tš=w qmꜣy nt bw-ir rḫ[=w] pḥ=w*
L01, 3/5: *nꜣ ꜥsḫ.tꜣ qm ky ḏ tšl qm mtw bw-rḫ=w pḥ.t=w nꜣ.w*
B05, 1/20: *pḥ.w nꜣ.w*

54.
B02, 5/5: *pꜣe=w hꜣ wsḥ*
L01, 3/7: *pꜣe=f hh whs*

55.
B02, 5/6; L01, 3/8: *ḥs.t*
B05, 1/22: *mꜣy*

56.
B02, 5/6: *pꜣ ꜥwy n ir pꜣe=f n rn n mtr pꜣy gst*
L01, 3/8: *n ꜥwy n ir pꜣe=f rn n mtr pꜣy pꜣ gst*

57.
B02, 5/7: *wꜣḥ*
L01, 3/9: *mḥ*

58.
B02, 5/7: *rꜥ*
L01, 3/9: *rꜥ n tr.t=y*

59.
B02, 5/8: *1/2*
L01, 3/10: *2/3 (?)*

60.
B02, 5/8: *m nwn*
L01, 3/10: *r bn-iw mwn*

61.
B02, 5/8: *r bn-pw=f bꜥḥ=y*
L01, 3/10: *bn-pw=f bꜥḥ*

62.
B02, 5/9: *shn=f r*
L01, 3/11: *shny.t=s r*

63.
B02, 5/9: *qspw ḫn*
L01, 3/11: *gsp ḫn=w*

64.
B02, 5/13: *Ḥsr*
L01, 3/15: *Ḥs-rḫ*

65.
B02, 5/14: *hb (?)*
L01, 3/16: *iwt=w*

66.
B02, 5/14; L01, 3/16: *ḫr-ḥ.t*
B04.1, 1/3: *ḫr*

67.
B02, 6/2; B04.1, 1/6: *gꜣy=f*
L01, 3/20: *gꜣy*

68.
B02, 6/3: *Ḥsr*
L01, 3/21; B04.1, 1/7: *Ḥs-rḫ*

69.
B02, 6/4: *mt*
L01, 3/22: *ḫy*

70.
L01, 3/23: *pꜣe=s*
B04.1, 1/10: *pꜣe=w*

71.
B02, 6/7: *pry=y*
L01, 4/1; B04.1, 1/11 : *twy-s*

72.
B02, 6/8: *ḫr-rt=f*
L01, 4/2: *ḫr-ꜥwy=f*

73.
B02, 6/9: *sḫ sbk*
L01, 4/3: *sḫ pꜣ sbk*

74.
B02, 7/4: *nꜣ ms.w*
B04, 2/1: *ms.w*

75.
B02, 7/8: *tꜣ=k n=y*
B04, 2/5: *wpy=k n=y*

76.
B02, 7/10: *ꜥy*
B04, 2/7: *nꜣ iꜣw*

77.
B02, 7/11: *[w]w.w m ꜥḥꜥ=k*
B04, 2/8: *nꜣ wr.w ꜥḥꜥ=k*

78.
B02, 8/2: *ntr bꜣ=k*
B04, 2/14: *nt bꜣ=k*

79.
B02, 8/9: *mꜣ*
B04, 2/20: *imw*

80.
B02, 8/12: *sš=y ṯ h*
B04, 2/23: *ir=y ṯ ḥr*

81.
B02, 8/13: *my sr=y*
B04.2, 3/1: *... šmy rt (?) ...*

82.
B02, 8/14: *Tꜣ [n]b*
B04.2, 3/2: *Tꜣ ky ḏ nb*

83.
B02, 8/15: *htp siy=f*
B04.2, 3/3: *htp smy=f*

84.
B02, 9/7: *wr wr wr*
L01.2, 6/1; B04, 3/10: *wr wr.w*

85.
B02, 9/7: *hbl*
B04, 3/10: *hbhb*

86.
B02, 9/8: *Ḥsr.t*
B04.2, 3/11: *Ḥs-rḫ*

87.
B02, 9/11; B04, 3/15: *ḫr-rt*
L01.2. 6/6: *ḫr-ꜥ*

88.
B02, 9/11: *ḫmt*
L01.2, 6/6: *ḥ sgr*

89.
B02, 9/11: *rꜣ=w ꜣm=sn*
B04.2, 3/15: *rmt.w (?) imw=sn*

90.
B02, 9/12; L01.2, 6/7: *ꜥq*
B04, 3/15: *ip*

91.
B02, 9/13: *ꜥskyr.t*
B04, 3.17: *ꜥt kky*

92.
B02, 9/15: *=y m tm=f (?) sw (?)*
B04.2, 3/19: *ib ntb ...*

93.
B02, 9/16: *shqr=y*
B04.2, 3/19: *my (?)* *shqr=y*

94.
B02, 10/2: *Ḥsr*
B04, 3/22: *Ḥs-rḫ*

95.
B02, 10/9: *mtwn*
B04, 4/5: *pꜣ mtwn*

96.
B02, 11/1: *iw=f grg (?)*
L01.3, 7/7: *iw=f grg*
B04, 4/13: *iw=f r ḥm*

97.
B02, 11/4: *tꜣ pḥ.t ḥ.t*
L01.3, 7/10: *pḥ ꜥḥꜥ*

98.
L01.3, 7/18: *r bnš*
B04, 4/23: *nꜣ bnš*

99.
B02, 12/13: *n-im=w tꜣ*
B04, 7/12: *n-im=w iw=w tꜣ*

100.
B02, 12/16: *šbs ḥpt*
B04, 7/16: *tꜣ nt ḥpt*

101.
B02, 13/16: *ḥp*
B04, 5/2: *ḥš* corrected to *ḥp* (?)

102.
B02, frag. B; L01.5, 9/6: *nꜣ i-ir hb=y*
B03, 1/3: *ir hb=y*

103.
L01.5, 9/9: *pꜣ i-ir šp pꜣe=k qf*
B03, 1/6: *pꜣ i-ir pꜣe=k fk*

104.
B02, 14/x+2: *nꜣe=y (?)*
B03, 1/17: *nꜣe=f*

105.
L01.5, 10/1: *tw=y*
B03, 2/1: *pry=y*

106.
L01,5, 10/1: *ḫpn.w*
B04, 5/10: *tpn*

107.
L01.5, 10/3: *bs*
B04, 5/12; C02, 1/4: *sbꜣ*

108.
L01.5, 10/3: *ḫr ꜥm*
C02, 1/4: *ḫr in ꜥm*

109.
B02, 14/x+8: *wꜣtn*
L01.5, 10/6: *wḏn*
B04, 5/16: *wḥty (?)*
C02, 1/7: *wsf*

110.
L01.5, 10/8: *slꜣ n ḥs-ỉb*
C02, 1/8: *slꜣ.w nt ḥs-ỉb*

111.
L01.5, 10/14: *ỉ-ỉr sḫny r*
B04, 5/24–25: *r ỉr r*

112.
L01.5, 10/16: *ym*
B04, 6/2: *ʿyr*

113.
L01.5, 10/16: *mw ḥʿ nt ʿ.wy Šw*
B04, 6/3: *mw wꜣy nt ʿ.wy Šw*
C02, 1/16: *mw ḥʿ n tꜣ ʿ.wy Šw*

114.
L01.5, 10/17: *ʿny*
B04, 6/3: *ʿpy*

115.
L01.5, 10/17; B04, 6/4: *tbʿ.w*
C02, 1/17: *[tbʿ].w=y*

116.
L01.5, 10/18: *r ḥ.t=s*
B04, 6/4: *r-ḥꜣ.t=s*

117.
L01.5, 10/20: *tꜣe=s ḫlty.w*
B04, 6/6: *nꜣe=w ḫly*

118.
L01.5, 10/20: *tꜣe=w*
B04, 6/6: *nꜣe=w*

119.
L01.5, 10/21: *mḥ 60 (?)*
B04, 6/7: *šp/mḥ 60*

120.
B02, 15/7: *ỉwỉw*
B04, 6/8: *wnš (?)*

121.
L01.5, 10/23: *tḥ*
B04, 6/9: *htꜣ*

122.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/5: *tꜣe=s*
C02.3, 3: *tꜣe=w*

123.
C07.1, 19: *tny[...]*
L02, 1/4: *bỉ[...]*

Add. 9

124.
B06, 1/1: *tỉ=y nꜣ.w-qns*
F01, 11: *ty nꜣ.w-qns*

125.
B06, 1/4: *ʿq*
C01, 3; F01, 14: *ḫr.t* or *ḫrꜣ.t*
L02, 1/15: *[ḫrꜣ].t*

126.
B06, 1/5: *ỉn ỉw=k (?) r rḫ ʿnḫ*
C01, 4: *ỉn ỉr=k rḫ ʿnḫ*
F01, 15: *ỉn ỉw=k rḫ r ʿnḫ*

127.
B07, 20: *pꜣ hby pꜣy ỉr sn...*
C07.1, 17: *pꜣ hb pꜣ ỉ-ỉr [...]*

128.
B07, 21: *bw-ỉr rḫ=k*
C07.1, 18: *bw-ỉr=k rḫ=k (sic)*

129.
B07, 21: *bn-ỉw*
C07.1, 18; F01, 2; F14, 3: *m-ỉr*
L02, 1/3: *bn*

130.
C04.4, 2/x+7: *ỉt ỉw=f ỉr ỉr ḫnyn*
Y02, 1: *ỉt ỉr ḫnyn*

131.
C04.4, 2/x+10: *tꜣ Mw.t*
L01.8, x+11: *Mw.t*

132.
Y01.3, 1: *sp-2 ms*
C04.7, 4: *ms=k*

133.
B02, 3/6: *yʿr*
L01, 1/24: *yʿl*
B01, 3/4: *ym*
B03.5, 3: *yʿm*

134.
B07, 19: *hrw*
C07.1, 16; L02, 1/1: *ḫḥ*

135.
B07, 19: *pry*
C07.1, 16: *gꜣy*
L02, 1/1: *gr[...]*

B. Minor Graphic or Phonological Variants

1.
V01, 2/17: *mwt rnp.t*
F13, 5: *mwt n rnp.t*

2.
V01, 3/11; C06.3, 4: *snqy n ḏ*
F12, 12: *snqy ḏ*

3.
B01, 1/7: *ỉḫ n ḥ.t*
B02, 1/1: *ỉḫ ḥ.t*

4.
B01, 1/15: *nt ỉw=f r tny=w*
B02, 1/11; C08, 7: *nt ỉw=f tny=w*

5.
B02, 2/1: *qt*
L01, 1/3: *n qty*
B08.3, 4: *n qt*

6.
B02, 3/1; B01, 2/20: *nꜣe=w ḥʿy.w*
L01, 1/19: *r nꜣe=w ḥꜣy*

7.
B02, 3/4: *sḫm=f pꜣ wyn*
L01, 1/22; B01, 3/2: *smḫy=f n pꜣ wyn/wnyn*

8.
B02, 3/6: *n ḏbʿy.w*
L01, 1/24: *ḏby.w*
B01, 3/4: *ḏbʿe.t*

9.
B02, 3/10: *sbꜣ.t*
L01, 2/4: *n (?) sbꜣ*

10.
B02, 3/11: *r wtʿ*
L01, 2/5: *wtʿ*
B05, 1/1: *wt*

11.
B02, 4/4: *r stꜣ=s*
L01, 2/14: *stꜣ=s*

12.
B02, 4/6: *r nꜣ*
L01, 2/16: *nꜣ*

13.
B02, 4/15: *ỉ-ỉr-ḥr=k*
L01, 3/1: *n-ỉ-ỉr-ḥr=k*

14.
B02, 4/16: *nt n mḫy*
L01, 3/2: *nt mḫy*

15.
B02, 5/4: *nꜣe=w n ḏ*
L01, 3/6: *nꜣe=w ḏ*

16.
B02, 6/9: *ntnt rḫ*
L01, 4/3: *ntnt n rḫ*

17.
B02, 7/15: *ỉw=y ỉr*
B04, 2/11: *ỉw=y r ỉr*

18.
B02, 7/16: *ỉw=y sꜣ*
B04, 2/12: *ỉw=y r s[...]*

19.
B02, 8/16: *šbn n ḫf*
B04.2, 3/4: *šb ḫf*

20.
B02, 9/7: *ḫknw*
B04, 3/10: *ḫgn n*

21.
B02, 9/17: *nyšy.t n šꜣy*
B04.2, 3/20: *nyšy šʿ[...]*
L01.2, 6/12: *[...]yšy n šʿy*

22.
B02, 10/1; B04.2, 3/21: *ỉn=y*
L01.2, 6/13: *r ỉn=y*

23.
B02, 10/2: *nꜣy*
L01.2, 6/14; B04, 3/22: *r nꜣy*

24.
B02, 10/8: *mt n nꜣ*
L01.2, 6/21: *mt nꜣ*
B04 omits

25.
B02, 11/1: *šm (r)*
L01.3, 7/7; B04, 4/13: *šm r*

26.
B02, 11/8; L01.3, 7/14: *ḫny.w bꜣ*
B04, 4/20: *ḫnny.w n bꜣ*

27.
B02, 11/9; B04, 4/21: *sbꜣ sp*
B08.5, 4: *sbꜣ n sp*

28.
B02, 12/8: 42 *n [...]*
B04, 7/6–7: 42 *bꜣ.w*

29.
B02, 12/12: *sꜣ n*
B04, 7/12: *sꜣ*

30.
B02, 12/15: *fy n wꜥ.t*
B04, 7/15: *fy wꜥ.t*

31.
B02, 12/16: *wꜥ.t (ʔ) nry*
B04, 7/15: *r wꜥ.t nry.t*

32.
B02, frag. B; L01.5, 9/5: *ḫn pꜣ*
B03, 1/2: *ḫn n pꜣ*

33.
L01.5, 9/10: *r ḫr sḏm=f*
B03, 1/7: *š sḏm=f*

34.
L01.5, 10/9: *mr-spḫl.w*
C02, 1/9: *mr n spḫl.w*

35.
L01.5, 10/21: *ḫr=f n n=y*
B04, 6/7: *ḫr=f n=y*

36.
L01.5, 10/22: *ḫr=f n n=y*
B04, 6/8: *ḫr=f n=y*

37.
L01.5, 10/24: *ḫr=f n n=y*
B04, 6/10: *ḫr=f n=y*

38.
B04, 8/9: *gꜣy mt*
B11, 1/4: *gꜣy n mt*

39.
B06, 1/5: *in iw=k (ʔ) r rḫ ꜥnḫ*
C01, 4: *in ir=k rḫ ꜥnḫ*
F01, 15: *in iw=k rḫ r ꜥnḫ*

40.
B07, 11; C07.1, 8: *mtry sḫ*
F01.1, 4: *[...] n sḫ*

41.
Y01.3, 2: *pr n pꜣ*
C04.7, 5: *pr pꜣ*

42.
Y01.3, 4: *iḫy n*
C04.7, 7: *iḫy rmt*

43.
B07, 18: *irm nꜣ ḫl.w*
C07.1, 15: *irm ḫl.w*

C. Variant Spellings of Same Word

1.
V01, 2/18: *qns*
F13, 6: *qs*

2.
F12, 1: *šꜣy*
C04.8, 9: *šꜥy*

3.
F12, 4: *ḫꜥ*
C04.8, 12: *ḫꜥ.w*

4.
V01, 3/17: *grg=f*
C09, 2/17; C06.1, 2; F12, 19; C04.9, 1: *glg=f*

5.
V01, 3/18: *pꜣe=k ꜣtn*
C06.1, 3: *pꜣe=k ꜣty (ʔ)*

6.
V01, 3/18: *grg*
F13, 25: *glg*

7.
V01, 3/20; F12, 22: *ḫsy n*
C04.9, 4: *ḫsy (ʔ) r ššt*

8.
V01, 3/21; F12, 23: *snt*
C09, 2/21: *snty*

9.
V01, 3/22: *in iw (ʔ) iw=k rḫ*
F12, 24: *[.....]=k š*
C09, 2/22: *in iw=k š*

10.
V01, 3/22: *wny*
C04.9, 6: *wyny*

11.
V01, 3/23: *nt-iw=w*
C04.9, 7: *mtw=w*

12.
C09, 2/25: *ḫr.t*
V04, 3: *ḫlꜣ*

13.
C04.1, 14: *mtw [tꜣ] (ʔ)*
F10, 5: *mtw=t tꜣ*

14.
C04.2, 2: *mḫy*
F10, 8: *mḫ*

15.
B01, 1/4: *wꜥ*
C04.2, 7: *wꜥ.t*

16.
B01, 1/5: *pry s*
C04.2, 8: *pry=y s*

17.
B01, 1/7: *iḫ n ḥ.t*
B02, 1/1: *iḫ ḥ.t*

18.
B01, 1/13: *twy (ʔ)*
C08, 5: *tꜥy*

19.
B01, 1/14: *nt iw=w*
C08, 6: *mtw=w*

20.
B01, 1/16: *lg (ʔ)*
C08, 8: *lyqy*

21.
B01, 2/3; B02, 2/1; B08.3, 4; F09, 5: *ꜥry.w*
L01, 1/3: *ꜣly.w*

22.
B01, 2/3: *pḫl*
B02, 2/1: *pḫr*
L01, 1/3; B08.3, 4: *pḫr*

23.
B01, 2/3: *bt*
L01, 1/3: *bnṯ.t*

24.
B01, 2/7; B02, 2/4; B08.3, 7: *ꜥm-ḫ.t*
L01, 1/6: *im-ḫ.t*

25.
B01, 2/9: *tp-mnṯ=f*

B02, 2/5; L01, 1/7: *tp m wnw.t=f*
B08.3, 8: *[...] mꜣnꜣṯ...*

26.
B01, 2/10: *slf n (ʔ) slf.w*
L01, 1/8: *slf.t n slf.w*

27.
B01, 2/13: *pḫl*
B02, 2/9; L01, 1/11: *pḫr*

28.
B01, 2/16: *tk*
B02, 2/12: *tq.w*
L01, 1/14: *tyq*

29.
B01, 2/16; L01, 1/15: *ḏf=f*
B02, 2/13: *ḏfꜣ=f*

30.
B01, 2/17: *[sp]ty.w*
L01, 1/16: *spṯ.w*

31.
B02, 3/1; B01, 2/20: *ḥꜥy.w*
L01, 1/19: *ḥꜣy*

32.
B02, 3/2; B01, 2/21: *htn.w*
L01, 1/20: *ḥtyn.w*

33.
B02, 3/3: *lky*
B01, 3/1: *rky*

34.
B02, 3/3: *iny.t*
L01, 1/21: *iny*

35.
B02, 3/4: *mr*
B01, 3/2; L01, 1/22: *ml*

36.
B02, 3/4; B03.5, 1: *sḫm=f*
L01, 1/22; B01, 3/2: *smḫy=f*

37.
B02, 3/5: *ḫpš*
B01, 3/3; L01, 1/23: *špš*

38.
B02, 3/6: *yꜥr n ḏbꜥy.w*
L01, 1/24: *yꜥl ḏby.w*

39.
B01, 3/4: *ym*
B03.5, 3: *yꜥm*

40.
B02, 3/6: *ḏbʿy.w*
L01, 1/24: *ḏby.w*
B01, 3/4: *ḏbʿe.t*

41.
B02, 3/8: *nky*
L01, 2/2: *nkʿ*
B01, 3/5: *ng*

42.
B02, 3/11; L01, 2/5: *wtʿ*
B05, 1/1: *wt*

43.
B02, 3/12: *šʿ-tw=f*
L01, 2/6; B01, 3/8: *šʿ-mtw=f*

44.
B02, 3/12: *gp*
L01, 2/6; B05, 1/2: *kp*

45.
B02, 3/13: *nt-ỉw=f*
L01, 2/7; B01, 3/9; B05, 1/2: *mtw=f*

46.
B02, 3/14: *nt-ỉw=f*
L01, 2/8; B05, 1/3: *mtw=f*

47.
B02, 3/14: *ỉw*
L01, 2/8: *ỉw*

48.
B02, 3/15: *nt-ỉw=f*
L01, 2/9: *mtw=f*

49.
B02, 3/16: *ʿny.t*
L01, 2/10: *ỉny*

50.
B02, 3/16: *nḏy*
L01, 2/10: *nḏl*

51.
B02, 4/5; B05, 1/9: *ʿrq*
L01, 2/15: *ỉrq*

52.
B02, 4/6: *ḫr*
L01, 2/16; B05, 1/10: *š*

53.
B02, 4/7: *nt*
L01, 2/17: *mtw*

54.
B02, 4/7; B01, 3/16: *ḫr*
L01, 2/17: *š*

55.
B02, 4/9: *nt-ỉw=f*
L01, 2/19; B01, 3/17: *mtw=f*

56.
B02, 4/11: *tkr*
L01, 2/21; B01, 3/19; B05, 1/13: *tkl*

57.
B02, 4/12: *ỉḥ*
L01, 2/22; B05, 1/14: *ỉḫ*

58.
B02, 4/13; B05, 1/15: *ḫm*
L01, 2/23; B03.10, 15: *šm*
B01, 3/21: *ḫm*

59.
B02, 4/15: *šʿ-tw*
L01, 3/1: *šʿ-mtw*

60.
B02, 4/15; B01, 3/22: *nby=k*
B05, 1/16: *nb=k*

61.
B02, 4/15; L01, 3/1; B01, 3/22: *tỉ.t*
B05, 1/16: *tỉ*

62.
B02, 4/16: *mḫy*
L01, 3/2: *mḫy*

63.
B02, 5/2: *ḫrḥ*
L01, 3/4: *šlḥ*

64.
B02, 5/2: *ỉnḥ*
L01, 3/4: *ʿnḥ*

65.
B02, 5/4: *bỉḥ*
L01, 3/6: *bʿḥ*

66.
B02, 5/4: *ḏbʿy.w*
L01, 3/6: *ḏʿby.w*

67.
B02, 5/5: *ʿỉ=f*
L01, 3/7: *ỉn=f*
B05, 1/21: *ʿr=f*

68.
B02, 5/5: *bn-pw=f*
L01, 3/7: *pỉe=f*

69.
B02, 5/5: *wsḥ*
L01, 3/7: *whs*

70.
B02, 5/7: *qns*
L01, 3/9: *gs*

71.
B02, 5/9: *sḥn=f*
L01, 3/11: *sḥny.t=s*

72.
B02, 5/9: *qspw*
L01, 3/11: *gsp*

73.
B02, 5/10: *ʿw*
L01, 3/12: *ỉw*

74.
B02, 5/11; F06, 1: *ỉsḫ*
L01, 3/13: *ỉsḫ*

75.
B02, 5/11: *ʿwy[...]*
L01, 3/13: *ỉwy.t.w*

76.
B02, 5/15: *ʿn=y*
L01, 3/17: *ʿny*

77.
B02, 5/16: *spḫr*
L01, 3/18; B05, 2/5: *spḫl*

78.
B02, 6/1: *tkr*
L01, 3/19; B04.1, 1/5: *tkl*

79.
B02, 6/1: *gtgt*
L01, 3/19: *tktk*

80.
B02, 6/2: *pry=y*
L01, 3/20: *pyt*

81.
L01, 4/4: *ḫm*
B05, 2/15: *šm*

82.
B02, 6/12: *mtwtw=f*
L01, 4/6: *mỉt.t=f*

83.
B02, 7/8: *wḏʿ*
L01, 4/18: *wḏỉ*

84.
B02, 7/9: *ktkt*
B04, 2/6: *g[tgt]*

85.
B02, 7/10: *ʿy*
B04, 2/7: *ỉỉw.w*

86.
B02, 7/10: *ỉḫy*
B04, 2/7: *ỉḫy*

87.
B02, 7/11: *ww.w*
B04, 2/8: *wr.w*

88.
B02, 8/10: *mnw*
B04, 2/21: *mny*

89.
B02, 8/12: *h*
B04, 2/23: *ḫr*

90.
B02, 8/16: *šbn*
B04.2, 3/4: *šb (?)*

91.
B02, 9/1: *ỉstn*
B04.2, 3/5: *ỉstn*

92.
B02, 9/1: *ššʿ*
B04.2, 3/5: *šʿš*

93.
B02, 9/2: *ỉm=s*
B04, 3/5: *ỉm=s*

94.
B02, 9/4: *ḫy Ḥʿpy*
B04, 3/7: *ḥ Ḥʿpy*

95.
B02, 9/5: *ḏr=s*
B04, 3/9: *ḏl=s*

96.
B02, 9/6: *šm*
B04, 3/9: *šy*

97.
B02, 9/6: *pỉ*
B04, 3/9: *pỉy*

98.
B02, 9/6: *Šỉy*
B04, 3/10: *Šʿy*

99.
B02, 9/7: *ḫknw*
B04, 3/10: *ḫgn n*

100.
B02, 9/8: *ꜥrkꜣ*
L01.2, 6/2: *[...]lgꜣ*

101.
B02, 9/11: *wy*
B04, 3/14: *wr.w*

102.
B02, 9/12: *ꜥꜥe.t*
B04.2, 3/16: *ꜥ.t*

103.
B02, 9/14: *inḥꜣ*
B04, 3/17: *iḫn (?)*

104.
B02, 9/14: *srk*
B04.2, 3/18: *slk*
L01.2, 6/9: *slg*

105.
B02, 9/16; B04, 3/19: *ir=y*
L01.2, 6/11: *i-ir[...]*

106.
B02, 9/17: *šꜣy*
B04.2, 3/20: *šꜥ[...]*
L01.2, 6/12: *šꜥy*

107.
B02, 10/3: *nry*
L01.2, 6/15: *nly*

108.
B02, 10/5: *ꜣkr*
L01.2, 6/17: *ꜣkyl*

109.
B02, 10/6: *iḫy.w*
B04, 4/4: *iḫy.w*

110.
B02, 10/7: *twꜣ*
L01.2, 6/20: *tꜣy.w*

111.
B02, 10/12: *ḫq*
L01.3, 7/2: *ḫyq.w*

112.
B02, 11/4: *tꜣ pḥ.t ḥ.t*
L01.3, 7/10: *pḥ ḥꜥ*

113.
B02, 11/8; L01.3, 7/14: *ḫny.w*
B04, 4/20: *ḫnny.w*

114.
B02, 12/12: *sr*
B04, 7/12: *sl*

115.
B02, 12/13: *ḫt*
B04, 7/13: *ḫt*

116.
B02, 12/14: *sḥty*
B04, 7/14: *sḥt*

117.
B02, 13/11: *iḫ*
B03.9, x+5; L01.4, 8/11: *iḫ*

118.
L01.5, 9/9: *qf*
B03, 1/6: *fk*

119.
L01.5, 9/10: *ḫr*
B03, 1/7: *š*

120.
B02, 14/x+1: *qs.w*
B03, 1/16: *ks.w*
B04, 5/6: *ks*

121.
L01.5, 10/2: *sꜥḥw*
B04, 5/11: *sḥ*

122.
B02, 14/x+7: *tꜣe=y*
L01.5, 10/5: *tꜣe=w*
C02, 1/6: *tꜣy*

123.
B02, 14/x+8: *ḫꜣ.t*
L01.5, 10/6: *ḫꜥy.w*

124.
L01.5, 10/8: *nḫy (?)*
B03, 2/8: *nyšy*

125.
L01.5, 10/15: *yꜥl.w*
B04, 6/1: *yꜥyl*

126.
L01.5, 10/16: *šnꜣ*
B04, 6/2: *šnꜥ.w*

127.
L01.5, 10/17: *i-mḥ*
B04, 6/3: *mḥ*

128.
L01.5, 10/18: *1,000*
B04, 6/4: *š.t*

129.
L01.5, 10/19: *iḫy*
B04, 6/5: *iḫy*

130.
L01.5, 10/22: *ꜣ*
B04, 6/8: *iwiw*

131.
B04, 8/8: *wt*
B11, 1/3: *wyty*

132.
B04, 8/10: *šnb*
L01.6, 5: *šbn*

133.
B04, 8/11: *tw=y*
L01.6, 6: *ti=y*

134.
B04, 8/19: *sḥ*
L01.6, 12: *sš*

135.
B04, 8/20: *šꜥ-tw=y*
L01.6, 13: *š-tw=y*

136.
L01 (V.T.), x+1/24: *nly.t*
C03, 5: *nryt*

137.
F01, 9: *ꜣyty*
F14, 10: *ꜣyꜣty*

138.
F01, 10: *škyk*
F14, 11: *šgyg*

139.
B06, 1/5: *in iw=k (?)*
C01, 4: *in ir=k*
F01, 15: *in iw=k*

140.
B06, 1/6; C01, 5 (?): *r yꜥy*
F01, 16: *yꜥy*

141.
B06, 1/8: *dꜣby*
F01, 17: *dꜥ[by]*

142.
B07, 7; F01.6, 3: *šꜥy*
C07.1, 4: *ḥꜥy*

143.
B07, 10: *by*
F01.6, 6: *fy*

144.
B07, 14: *imw*
F01.1, 7: *ꜣmw*

145.
B07, 14: *i-wn=f*
F01.1, 7: *i-wnn=f*

146.
B07, 17: *Šꜥy.t*
C07.1, 14: *ḥꜣy*
F01.1, 10: *Šꜥy*

147.
B07, 17; F01.1, 10: *wr.t*
C07.1, 14: *wl.t*

148.
C04.4, 1/11: *ꜣkyr*
L01.10, 1/16: *ꜣkyl*

149.
C04.4, 2/x+7: *qnw*
L01.8, x+8: *gn*

150.
C04.4, 2/x+9: *why*
L01.8, x+10: *wḫy*

151.
C04.4, 2/x+9: *nwny.t*
Y02, 3: *nny.t*
F11, 4: *nn.t*

152.
B07, 15; F01.1, 8: *tꜣ*
C07.1, 12: *tꜣy*

153.
B07, 16; F01.1, 9: *tꜣ*
C07.1, 13: *tꜣy*

154.
C07.1, 17: *ḥmꜥl.w*
L02, 1/2: *ḥm-rꜣ*

155.
C07.1, 19: *ꜣḥty*
L02, 1/4: *iḥty.t*

156.
F01, 7: *in wn mtw=k*
L02, 1/8: *bn mtw=k*

157.
F14, 10: *n p3e=w*
L02, 1/10: *pw=w*

158.
B06, 1/2; F01, 12; F14, 13: *sgn*
L02, 1/13: *sqn*

D. Lines without Parallel

1.
L01.2, 6/3 *[...]...f... nb 3l[.w (?)].....]* (No parallel in B02)
B04, 3/11–12 *mtw=y /* (B04.2) *[...]...* (B04) *fy p3y sḫ ... n3 rḫ.w* (No parallel in B02)

2.
L01.2, 6/19*[...]... mtny n3e=w (?) sḫ.w [...]* (No parallel in B02)

3.
B02, 10/8 *rḫ=f p3 gy n mt n n3 ˁn.w n3 hb.w*
L01.2, 6/21 *[.....] mt n3 ˁn.w ... [...]*
B04 apparently omitted

4.
No clear parallel between B02 and B04
B02, 12/9 *pr=y (?) n3 s ... [...]... p3e=k (?)... i-ir i3w*
B04, 7/8 ..... *t t3 s.t n3 wḥs m3ˁ.ty*

10. Remarks on the Manuscripts and Manuscript Tradition of the Book of Thoth

Unlike so many other Egyptian texts, we possess a sufficient number of papyri witnesses to the Book of Thoth to justify consideration of the manuscript tradition.[279] While we do not believe it possible to reconstruct a "straightforward" *stemma* for the composition, relationships between the papyri can be determined and evaluated to a certain extent. Both variants and other distinctive features of the individual texts preserved in the various papyri provide the basis for such a study. To facilitate the understanding of the manuscript tradition we present here two tables. Table 1 (Plate 66) represents the witnesses to those sections of the composition represented, more or less, by a connected series of columns. Table 2 (Plate 67) illustrates the relationships between the witnesses of the relatively few well-attested unplaced, i.e., "floating" sections of the composition. The tables indicate merely that enough survives to justify the assumption of a parallel; many of the columns in the individual papyri are so fragmentary as to contribute little to the question of manuscript tradition. Naturally we also draw on the lists of textual variants in the previous dis-

279 A good overview of the problems involved in evaluating the manuscript tradition of Egyptian texts is Quack, *Ani*, pp. 13–23. One of the relatively few attempts to discuss in detail the manuscript tradition of an Egyptian literary work is in Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, pp. xxviii–xxx.

cussion of the manuscript tradition. We cite those variations according to the numbering and designations (A, B, and C) in those lists.

A few words must first be said about the extent of the preserved text of the Book of Thoth. We cannot determine how much text preceded the present beginning of the connected composition, that is, the Reymond Vienna fragments (V01). C02 does preserve column numbers, but these are too damaged to be helpful. Doubtless, several of the unplaced papyri belong to the beginning of the composition. It is possible, indeed, that B07 represents the first column of the Book of Thoth, but that is a mere supposition.

Similarly, we have no way of establishing how much is lost beyond those columns which can be placed, approximately, in sequence. On the basis of meaning, we strongly believe that the four columns of L01 (V.T.) come towards the end of the composition. However, we emphasize that even these four columns of the L01 Vulture Text actually "float," that is, their relationship to the remainder of the text cannot be precisely fixed.

This uncertain state of the text obviously complicates any attempt to understand the manuscript tradition. Any new fragment can have dramatic implications for the reconstruction. The recently identified L02, a hieratic version, has clarified connections between B07 and B06, for example.

The form of name of the deity most prominent in the composition, probably Thoth, is one distinguishing or, possibly diagnostic feature within the corpus of manuscripts. Two different designations, namely, *Ḥsr.t*, "The-one-of-Heseret," and *Ḥs-rḫ*, "The-one-who-praises-knowledge" appear in the papyri. The reason behind the choice of one name over the other is unknown, although the similarity between the writings of *ḫ* and *t* may easily have given rise to the variants.

Ḥsr.t: B02, L01 (usually *Ḥsr.t*; one possible example of *Ḥs-rḫ*), B03, V04
Ḥs-rḫ: B01, C04, F01, F10, L01 (?), B04, B06, B08, B12, B13, F07.1, F15, Y01

While this basic difference may in fact have occurred early on in the tradition, we think it nevertheless best not to place too much weight on the choice of name, since there is much variation between the texts which share the same designations of the speakers.

We turn now to the papyri themselves. Certain papyri occupy key positions within any treatment of the manuscript tradition. Our reconstruction of the Book of Thoth rests indeed primarily on three distinct manuscripts:

B02: approximately 15 columns (1st Century B.C - probably Upper Egypt)
B04: approximately 10 columns (2nd Century A.D. - Dime)
L01: approximately 10 columns (1st-2nd Century A.D. - Dime or Fayum)

As was mentioned in the introduction, our study of the Book of Thoth began with B02 alone. The recognition first that L01 (partly published by Revillout) and, later, that B04 (partly published by Spiegelberg) belonged to the same composition was a very important step in the reconstruction.

Since B02 remains the best preserved of the three we consider L01 and B04 primarily in terms of their relationship to B02. It became apparent during the course of our work that there are a few serious divergences in the sequence of text found in the different papyri, quite apart from the individual textual variants.

Palaeographically, B02 seems to be the oldest manuscript; we date it to approximately the First Century B.C. In contrast to the other papyri, we do not place B02 in the Fayum, but consider it probable that the text derives rather from Upper Egypt; even Edfu itself is possible. An unusual feature of B02 is the apparent use of verse-points, absent from the

other witnesses. Similarly, the scribe of B02 utilized rubrics for the individual speakers and numbers, a scribal feature not found in either L01 or B04. Like L01, but unlike B04, it is written in graphic stichic fashion. Significantly, the stichic division is virtually identical between B02 and L01, despite numerous other differences in details.

While the first two columns of B02 are much destroyed, with column three the text is virtually complete. Columns three through five are in excellent state, while six and seven are again severely damaged. Eight through ten are well preserved, but eleven through fifteen become progressively more fragmentary. Surprisingly few loose fragments remain of B02.

L01 must also have been a magnificent papyrus when complete. Most of the papyrus is in the Louvre, but substantial fragments are in Berlin. The external appearance is striking, due to the use of borders and guide-lines. The four first columns are relatively well preserved. A different scribe from the one responsible for the rest of the papyrus obviously wrote the second column of L01. It has been possible to reconstruct ten columns in sequence, but most of the last columns, apart from column ten are in exceedingly poor condition. The last broken column of the Vulture Text, L01 (V.T.), column four, may in fact not directly follow L01 (V.T.), column three, although we suspect that this position is correct. The long list of various animals and objects in L01 (V.T.), column four, modified by "these," most of which do not appear in the preserved sections, suggests that this column may refer to a considerable portion of completely lost text.

The first four columns of L01 very closely parallel columns 1–7 of B02, and fragments of L01 also sporadically parallel B02 through column 15. There is then a very small but notable parallel between L01 and column eight of B04, not attested in B02. However, the four columns of the L01 Vulture Text find no parallel in B02 or B04. Curiously, both B02 and B04 do often mention vultures in their later columns, but deal with the subject in different ways. One wonders whether the Vulture Text of L01 represents an expansion of the subject undertaken by an especially ambitious scribe. As has been stated, the Vulture Text is only paralleled by two very small Copenhagen fragments: C02 and C03.[280] Significantly, perhaps, the manuscript C02 also parallels B02 columns 14 and 15, as well as the first column of the L01 (V.T.).

The third of this core group, B04, with its distinctive double borders, must also have been an impressive text. At present it comprises some ten columns, but several are much destroyed. Most of the papyrus is in Berlin, but a few fragments are in Vienna. Lengthy sections of the columns 6–8 cannot be paralleled in other papyri, and one wonders whether here too there has been expansion by an unusually creative scribe. It is particularly unfortunate that no connection can be established between column nine of B04 and any of the other witnesses to the Book of Thoth.

B02, L01, and B04 parallel one another for considerable portions of the text. Eventually, however, B04 and L01 largely go there own separate ways, at least according to the preserved papyri. B04 continues with the long section strongly colored by underworld imagery, while L01 contains the so-called Vulture Text. Again, one can easily imagine a composition such as the Book of Thoth giving rise to multiple versions, and our own impression is that they do not necessarily contain absolutely identical texts of the Book of Thoth. Still, we do not definitively exclude the possibility that they represent the same

280 There is actually a further Copenhagen fragment of a Vulture Text (C03.1), but this does not contain enough text to provide a firm parallel to L01.

composition throughout; our perception of them as being distinct in parts may be due merely to chance of preservation. There are indeed vague hints that the connection between the texts in the later columns is stronger than it first appears. As just mentioned, the very fragmentary C02, for example, apparently parallels both the last columns of B02 and column one of the L01 (V.T.).

The relationship between B02 and L01 is complicated. B02 and L01 begin to parallel in B02, 1/15 and L01, 1/1. This correspondence continues strongly until B02, 8/6, at which point L01 is lost. The parallels resume again with B02, 9/9, and are maintained until B02, 11/11. The highly fragmentary B02 column 12 reveals no clear correspondence between B02 and L01 (although this is not entirely impossible). However, B02 columns 13, "14 (only B02 fragment B)," 14, and 15 do find parallels in L01. The extensive Vulture Text of L01 is not attested in the B02 papyrus. We list here the textual variants between B02 and L01:

Significant Textual Variants Between B02 and L01(Category A):

A) 6, 11, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45 (!), 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 84, 87, 88, 109

Minor Textual Variants Between B02 and L01 (Categories B and C):

B) 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
C) 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 122, 123

The relationship between B02 and B04 presents some peculiarities, which may actually reflect problems in the reconstruction of B02. B04 begins with column 5 of B02. It stops briefly at the bottom of column 6 of B02. It resumes with column 7 of B02, and continues through columns 8, 9, 10, and 11. However, column 12 of B02 corresponds to column 7 of B04, and not the expected column 5 of B04. Moreover, lines 7/17–22 of B04 are completely unparalleled in both B02 and L01. This section may represent a totally independent tradition. Curiously, the bottom of column 13 of B02 begins to parallel column 5 of B04. This correspondence between B02, column 14, and B04, column 5, continues. Column 15 of B02, the last of the preserved columns, parallels B04, column 6. Again, strangely enough, B04, 6/10–7/1 is totally without parallel in the other papyri. Column 8 is very briefly paralleled by fragments of L01 and B11. There seems no way to avoid the conclusion that either B04 or B02 preserve different versions of the composition, or, at least, a different order of columns.

Significant Textual Variants Between B02 and B04 (Category A):

A) 66 (B02 agrees with L01 against B04), 68, 71 (B02 against both L01 and B04), 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 109, 120

Cases wherein B02 agrees with B04 against L01: 67, 87

Minor Textual Variants Between B02 and B04 (Category B):
B) 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 (omitted), 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31

Cases wherein B02 differs from B04 in C) Variant spellings of same word:

C) 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120

Significant Textual Variants Between L01 and B04 (Category A):

A) 66 (L01 agrees with B02), 67 (B04 agrees with B02 against L01), 70, 84 (B04 and B02 agree), 87 (B02 and B04 agree), 90 (L01 and B02 agree), 96 (B02 and L01 agree), 98, 106 (?), 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121

Cases wherein L01 agrees with B04: 68, 71, 84, 115

Minor Textual Variants Between L01 and B04 (Categories B and C: Minor graphic or phonological variants):

B) 21, 22, 24, 26, 35, 36, 37

Cases wherein L01 differs from B04 in C) Variant spellings of same word:

C) 104, 105, 106, 113, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135

It must be kept in mind that L01 and B04 only parallel one another for relatively short or fragmentary portions of text.

The numerous textual variants have been listed in the previous section. We believe that the quantity of major and minor textual variants between B02, B04, and L01 argues against the assumption of simple dependence of the later B04 or L01 on the chronologically older B02.

Many of the other witnesses are so fragmentary or parallel B02 so briefly that it does not seem worthwhile to examine possible connections in detail. We mention therefore only a few other texts here. The relationship, for example, between B02 and B01, an important fragment unfortunately only preserving three columns, is interesting. Particularly illuminating is text variant A, 4:

B01, 1/7 *⸢nꜣ⸣ tp-n-iꜣw.t [nt ḥr nꜣ] tw.wy in bn-iw m-tỉ=w ṯ-myt*
B02, 1/2 *[...] tp-iꜣw.t nt ḥr nꜣ tw.w ḫr ḫpr n=w ṯ-myt [...]*

Such a variant is highly noteworthy, since both versions are rather sophisticated versions of the same idea. One wonders indeed how to explain such a variation.

There are a fair number of other divergences between B02 and B01, even if not quite as serious. An example of this is A, 133, where B02 and L01 have *yʿr/yʿl*, while B01, 3/4, and B03.5, 3, have *ym*, *yʿm*. We believe that B01 and B02 represent fairly close, but not duplicate versions of the Book of Thoth.

The rather substantial fragment B05 also seems to present a text similar to, but not identical to that of B02. A most significant variant here is in A 55, where B05 has *mꜣy* for the *ḥs* of both B02 and L01.

We have already discussed the relationship between L01 and B02. The amount of parallel text is not really sufficient to draw far-reaching conclusions regarding the relationship between L01 and the other papyri apart from B02 and B04. The parallel between L01 and B01 is not especially close; we may cite text variants A) 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, 31. There may be some interesting parallels between L01 and B05, e.g., 22, 30 (both against B02), 34 (but L01 has *sn* against B05 *ns*), 46, 53.

Both L01 and B04 also preserve lines without parallel in B02 within passages otherwise parallel between B02, B04, and L01. Example D, 1, could have been very valuable, since both B04 and L01 seem to offer a line not attested in B02. However, the line is too damaged to determine whether it is preserved identically in B04 and L01. Very interesting too is Example D, 2, in which L01 contains a line not in a very well preserved column of B02. Since this line seems to offer the parallelism of *mtn* to the previous line's *mỉ.t* (a common pair), one may assume that L01 presents the better text. Example D, 3 is a case wherein B02 and L01 have a line absent from B04.

Some of the other texts which occasionally parallel B02, L01, or B04, deserve mention. C04 is now sadly shattered, but seems to have been rather considerable in length. Very curious is C06, which preserves not only a parallel to one of the first columns in our reconstruction, column 3 of V01, but also to a small section of B02, column 12. The previously cited C02 is also quite intriguing, since it parallels both column 14 of B02 and L01 (V.T.), column 1. This papyrus may therefore indicate a connection between B02 and the Vulture Text.

Little need be said concerning the unplaced fragments. They never exceed three columns of text; most are much shorter. They therefore do not contribute much to the subject of manuscript tradition. The textual variants of such fragments are also listed in the previous chapter. In general, it seems that, while there is considerable agreement where multiple versions of the same text of an unplaced fragment exist, there is also a fair amount of variation (A, 124, 125, 126, 129, and 130).

It seems reasonable to conclude that despite a surprising amount of agreement between the manuscripts, there are also numerous instances of disagreement. Most of the variants are relatively minor, but others are quite substantial. We hesitate indeed to posit that any of these preserved papyri is totally dependent on the others, and would be hardpressed to declare any one of the versions vastly superior to the others. It is, perhaps, significant that where two manuscripts disagree, both readings often yield sense (e.g., A, 4, 15). The scribes themselves occasionally admit to using various versions, as is shown by the appearance of the phrase *ky ḏ* (e.g., B04.2, 3/2),[281] a complicating factor in determining relationships. It must be kept in mind that relatively little is known about how manuscripts were transmitted within the House of Life; one suspects that individual priestly scribes may well have felt themselves entitled, or even obligated, to approach the task of copying creatively.[282] Such an attitude certainly enriches the literary tradition, but renders the editorial goal of producing a single text and of securely establishing the relationship between the known manuscript witnesses exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to attain. We are confident that many other versions of the Book of Thoth will surface in the future, and therefore deem it all the more premature to be dogmatic regarding the manuscript tradition of the composition.

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281 See Quack, *Ani*, p. 15.

282 See Quack, *Ani*, p. 19. On the "license" taken by scribes copying Onkhsheshonqy, see Ryholt, in Frandsen and Ryholt (eds.), *Miscellany*, p. 120. See also the remarks of M. Smith, *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, pp. 10–13, concerning the expansion of a theme by the scribe of one of the versions of the composition edited by him. See further the discussion of Fischer-Elfert on scribal editorial changes of literary works, "Literaturwerke aus philologischer Perspektive," in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 502–503.

III. Transliteration and Translation of the Book of Thoth with Commentary

List of Manuscript Witnesses

B01 P. Berlin P 15652

B02 P. Berlin P 15531

B03 P. Berlin P 14401
- **B03.1** PC 673
- **B03.2** PC 673
- **B03.3** PC 673
- **B03.4** PC 673
- **B03.5** PC 673
- **B03.6** PC 673
- **B03.7** PC 673
- **B03.8** PC 673
- **B03.9** PSI Inv. D. 19/5
- **B03.10** PC 673
- **B03.11** PC 673
- **B03.12** PC 673
- **B03.13** PC 673
- **B03.14** PC 673
- **B03.15** PC 673

B04 P. Berlin P 8027
- **B04.1** P. Vienna D 12439
- **B04.2** P. Vienna D 12438

B05 P. Berlin P 15798

B06 P. Berlin P 8933
- **B06.1** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment B
- **B06.2** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment A
- **B06.3** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment E
- **B06.4** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment D
- **B06.5** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment C
- **B06.6** P. Vienna D 12441 fragment F
- **B06.7** P. Berlin P 23865

B07 P. Berlin P 8905

B08 P. Berlin P 23846
B08.1 P. Berlin P 23847 fragment a
B08.2 P. Berlin P 23847 fragment b
B08.3 P. Berlin P 23847 fragment e
B08.4 P. Berlin P 23847 fragment c
B08.5 P. Berlin P 23847 fragment d

B09 P. Berlin P 23849 fragment a
B09.1 P. Berlin P 23849 fragment b

B10 P. Berlin P 23851

B11 P. Berlin P 23850

B12 P. Berlin P 23854

B13 P. Berlin P 16563

B14.1 P. Berlin P 30068a
B14.2 P. Berlin P 30068b

C01 PC 619

C02 PC 616.1
C02.1 PC 616.2
C02.2 PC 616.3
C02.3 PC 616.4
C02.4 PC 616.5

C03 PC 697
C03.1 PC 697

C04.1 PC 618
C04.2 PC 618
C04.3 PC 618
C04.4 PC 618
C04.5 PC 618
C04.6 PC 618
C04.7 PC 618
C04.8 PC 618
C04.9 PC 618
C04.10 PC 618
C04.11 PC 618

C05 PC 699

C06.1 PC 700
C06.2 PC 700
C06.3 PC 700

C07.1 PC 480
C07.2 PC 480a
C07.3 PC 480b
C07.4 PC 480c
C07.5 PC 480g

C07.6 PC 480h
C07.7 PC 480i
C07.8 PC 480j
C07.9 PC 480k

C08 PC 698

C09 PC 617

F01 PSI Inv. D 18a
F01.1 PSI Inv. D 18b
F01.2 PSI Inv. D 18c
F01.3 PSI Inv. D 18d
F01.4 PSI Inv. D 18e
F01.5 PSI Inv. D 18f
F01.6 PSI Inv. D 18g
F02 PSI Inv. D 19/1

F03 PSI Inv. D 19/2

F04 PSI Inv. D 19/3

F05 PSI Inv. D 19/4

F06 PSI Inv. D 19/6

F07.1 PSI Inv. D 19/7
F07.2 PSI Inv. D 19/8
F07.3 PSI Inv. D 19/9
F07.4 PSI Inv. D 19/10

F08 PSI Inv. D 19/11

F09 PSI Inv. D 19/12

F10 PSI Inv. D 19/13

F11 PSI Inv. D 19/14

F12 PSI Inv. D 20

F13 PSI Inv. D 21

F14 PSI Inv. D 22

F15 PSI Inv. D 19/15

L01 P. Louvre E 10488; N.b. also L01 (V.T.) = L01 (Vulture Text)
L01.1 P. Berlin P 15499C
L01.2 P. Berlin P 15499B
L01.3 P. Berlin P 15499A
L01.4 P. Berlin P 23513b
L01.5 P. Berlin P 15499
L01.6 P. Louvre E 10488B
L01.7 P. Louvre E 10488A

L01.8 P. Berlin P 15499D
L01.9 P. Berlin P 23513a
L01.10 P. Berlin P 23513c

L02 P. Louvre AF 13035 and P. Louvre E 10614

V01 P. Vienna D 6343
V01.1 P. Vienna D 6343, unplaced fragment

V02 P. Vienna D 6336

V03.1 P. Vienna D 12146
V03.2 P. Vienna D 6652A
V03.3 P. Vienna D 6652B
V03.4 P. Vienna D 6652C
V03.5 P. Vienna D 13138

V04 P. Vienna D 12440

Y01.1 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back A
Y01.2 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back B
Y01.3 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back C
Y01.4 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back D
Y01.5 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back E
Y01.6 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 323 Back F

Y02 P. Yale CtYBR INV. 1085

V01 Column 1 (= x+1)

Transliteration

V01, 1/1 *[...] twt n sḫ.t ... rt ʿt.w*

V01, 1/2 *[...] ls=k st mts (?) ḫnt rs.w (?)*

V01, 1/3 *[...] ... ns bw ... m-ỉr wyny.t=w*

V01, 1/4 *[...] ...=k r pse=k ... ḥt ḥn=f*

V01, 1/5 *[...] ... r pse=f (?) ... lws ...*

8 or 9 lines missing in lacuna

V01, 1/14 *[...]k ...*

V01, 1/15 *[...]=k ls* (or *ns?*) *n ...*

V01, 1/16 *[...] ... glg stp*

V01, 1/17 *[...] ... .w* **mr-**
C04.8, 1 *[...] ... tse=k t[...]*

C04.8, 2 *[...] ... stb [...]*

V01, 1/18 *[rḫ ...] ... ns ḫʿy.w*
C04.8, 3 *[.....* *ḫʿ]y n qnqnw ... [...]*

V01, 1/19 *[...] ... twn sḥ*

V01, 1/20 *[...] ... mḏy.w (?)*
C04.8, 4 *[.....] mḏy mḥt n ps ʿl[...]*

V01, 1/21 *[...] ... tyw n rhwy*
C04.8, 5 *[.....]* *rhwy ts wy [...]*

V01, 1/22 *[...] sḫ my*
C04.8, 6 *[...] ... ps ḏl ḫn [...]*

V01, 1/23 *[...] ...*
C04.8, 7 *[...] ... ns ỉyḫ.w m-bsḥ (?) [...]*

V01, 1/24 *[...] ḥs (?) ns ỉn-mwt.w*
C04.8, 8 *[...] ... pse=k gst ... [...]*

V01 Column 1 (= x+1)

Translation

V01, 1/1. [...] harvest (?) of a field ... growth of *ʿt.w*-plants

V01, 1/2. [...] your tongue is firm (?), at the mouths.

V01, 1/3. [...] ... the plants, do not ignore (?) them.

V01, 1/4. [...] ... your ... to your ... He commanded (?).

V01, 1/5. [...] ... to his (?) ...

8 or 9 lines missing in lacuna

V01, 1/14. [...] your ...

V01, 1/15. [...] your ... your tongue (?) ...

V01, 1/16. [...] ... to supply (?) and choose (?)

V01, 1/17. [...] ... **The-one-who-loves-**
C04.8, 1–2. [...] ... your ... [... /] ... [...]

V01, 1/18. [**knowledge** ...] ... the tools
C04.8, 3. [..... too]ls of fighting ... [...]

V01, 1/19. [...] ... raise the fight (?)

V01, 1/20. [...] ...
C04.8, 4. [...] chisel, to grasp the ... [...]

V01, 1/21. [...] ... in the evening
C04.8, 5. [.....] evening ... [...]

V01, 1/22. [...] to write (?). Let
C04.8, 6. [...] ... the ... in [...]

V01, 1/23. [...] ...
C04.8, 7. [...] ... the spirits before (?) [...]

V01, 1/24. [...] ... before (?) the deceased ones.
C04.8, 8. [...] ... your scribal palette ... [...]

Commentary

(line numbers refer to V01, unless otherwise noted)

Line 1: Reymond's reading *twt* is possible, *twt*, "Frucht, Ertrag," *Glossar*, p. 663. *ỉꜣbt*, "east," or "easterners," is another alternative. The determinative may be the divine one, comparing V01, 2/6, *psḏ.t*.

The determinatives of *sḫ.t* are difficult; perhaps *sḫ.tyw*, "field-workers," comparing this word in L01.5, 10/17.

ʿt, with plant determinative, may be the same word as appears elsewhere in the composition (e.g., B02, 4/16), "a reed used for writing," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 188.

Line 2: For *ls*, "tongue," see *Glossar*, p. 263.

St is not impossible, comparing *Glossar*, p. 471, but the plural strokes beneath the *t* are not clear. If correct, this may be the object of a missing verb, with *ls=k* as subject.

Mts is presumably *mds*, "be powerful, firm," *Wb.* 2, 183/1–16 (not in *Glossar*). Other possibilities for the group read as *st mts* are: *ḥtm*, "destroy," *Glossar*, p. 341, *ḫtm*, "provide," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 689.

As in B02, 4/15, we had first understood *ḫnt rꜣ*, "foremost of mouth," as a designation of a deity. However, this is probably a prepositional phrase *ḫnt rꜣ*, "at the mouth."

Line 3: *Bw* is a good reading, but the following signs are lost, and the translation uncertain.

Wyny is *wyn*, "vorübergehen," *Glossar*, p. 80.

Line 4: Probably read *ḫr=k* at the beginning of the line. One might have, for example, *my ḫr=k r*, "Pay attention to ..."

Transliterate possibly *mnḥt* for *mnhd*, "scribal equipment," *Wb.* 2, 83/3.

Ḥn may be "to command," *Glossar*, p. 310.

Line 5: For *pꜣe=f*, read perhaps *ṯp*.

Line 15: *Sn* is written.

C04.8, 1: Instead of *tꜣe=k*, *tꜣ*, "evil," is possible, *Glossar*, p. 600.

C04.8, 2: *Stb* is either *stb*, "Schaden, Unheil," *Glossar*, p. 476, or *stbḥ*, "Gerät," *Glossar*, pp. 476–77.

Line 18: *Ḥʿy.w*, with the wood determinative, is "ein Werkzeug," *Glossar*, p. 378; it appears again in B02, 3/16. This is identical with *ḫʿw*, and may refer to weapons as well, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 708.

Line 19: The expression *twn ỉḫ* is odd, and may have a figurative sense. *Twn ỉḫ* occurs also in L01.5, 10/19. This may allude to underworld battles or the fighting associated with the Osiris-mysteries. Thoth participated in the battle on the Lake of Nedyt, and then resurrected the body/statue of Osiris in the temple, Volten, *Traumdeutung*, p. 22.

Alternatively, *ỉḥ* may be connected with *ỉḥ*, "Elend," *Glossar*, p. 8, compare, e.g., *ỉḥw ỉb*, "Pain of the heart," as the name of a sacred book in Edfu, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 12.

Line 20: This is perhaps *mḏy.w*, "Art Instrument (in *mḏy tb*)," *Glossar*, p. 194.

C04.8, 4: We render *mḏy* as *mḏy*, "brace, dowel," Vos, *Apis*, p. 355; *Glossar*, p. 194. See also Tait, "A Demotic Word-List from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41A," *JEA* 68 (1982): 221.
Mḥ is *mḥ*, "fassen, greifen," *Glossar*, pp. 172–73.

C04.8, 6: There may be room for another sign after *ḏl*; perhaps *ḏlʿ*, "to collect," *Glossar*, p. 684, or *ḏllḥ*, "to be small," *Glossar*, p. 686.

C04.8, 7: This is possibly *ỉḫy.w*, "spirits."

V01 Column 2

Transliteration

V01, 2/1 *ỉwt [...]*
C04.3, 1 *[...]... [...]*

V01, 2/2 *tw ... [...]*
C04.3, 2 *[...] r (?) bk[...]*

V01, 2/3 *m ... =k pry=f [...]*
C04.3, 3 *[...] k nỉ.w-m-šs (?) [...]*

V01, 2/4 *mtry nỉ sʿ[...]*
C04.3, 4 *[...] ṯk mw.t (?) [...]*

V01, 2/5 *r mn-ỉry.t=k ... [...]*
C04.3, 5 *[...]... =f ʿnḫ w... [...]*

V01, 2/6 *pỉy psḏ.t m-ỉr w [...]*
C04.3, 6 *[...] tr=w (?) nỉ.w [...]*

V01, 2/7 *ḫms n nb nỉ.w [...]*
C04.3, 7 *[...]=f ḫms n nb nỉ.w [...]*

V01, 2/8 *nb ḪmnW [...]*
C04.3, 8 *[...]... w pỉ wḥy (?)... [...]*

V01, 2/9 *ḫr st n nb [...]*
C04.3, 9 *[...]... tʿ (?) [...]*

V01, 2/10 *gʿỉ r-ḫr... [...]*
C04.3, 10 *[...]... [...]*

V01, 2/11 *ḫn pỉe=f ḥ ... [...]*

V01, 2/12 *mtw=y grg [...]*

V01, 2/13 *tp ls [...]*
F13, 1 *[...]... [...]*

V01, 2/14 *fnṯ=f nỉe=k (?) [...]*
F13, 2 *[...] fnt [...]*

V01, 2/15 *nḫṯ=y (?) nỉe=f ḏ[.....]*
F13, 3 *[...]... ṯ=f... f... [...]*

V01, 2/16 *bw-ỉr=w wnm [...]*
F13, 4 *[...]=w bw-ỉr=w wnm ... [...]*

V01, 2/17 *mwt rmp.t n [...]*
F13, 5 *[...] bw-ỉr=w mwt n rmp.t [...]*

V01, 2/18 *qns ... [...]*
F13, 6 *[...]... ṯ=k ḫr bn-ỉw qs [...]*

V01, 2/19 *šm-ỉy ... [...]*
F13, 7 *[...]... glg ḫn (?) [...]*

Translation

V01, 2/1. between (?) [...]
C04.3, 1. [...]... [...]

V01, 2/2. ... [...]
C04.3, 2. [...]... [...]

V01, 2/3. ... he sees (or "dreams"?) [...]
C04.3, 3. [...] you (or "your")... are they ... [...]

V01, 2/4. instruction, the ... [...]
C04.3, 4. [...]... mother (?)... [...]

V01, 2/5. while (or "to") your nurse ... [...]
C04.3, 5. [...]... he (or "his")... [...]

V01, 2/6. is the Ennead. Do not ... [...]
C04.3, 6. [...] all (?) ... [...]

V01, 2/7. ears of grain of gold are these [...]
C04.3, 7. [...] his ears of grain of gold are these [...]

V01, 2/8. Lord of Hermopolis [...]
C04.3, 8. [...] ... the ... [...]

V01, 2/9. And they are lords (?) [...]
C04.3, 9. [...] ... [...]

V01, 2/10. silent (?) before (?) ... [...]
C04.3, 10. [...] ... [...]

V01, 2/11. in its (or "his") ... [...]

V01, 2/12. and I supply [...]

V01, 2/13. upon the tongue [...]
F13, 1. [...] ... [...]

V01, 2/14. his nose, your (?) [...]
F13, 2. [...] nose [...]

V01, 2/15. ... his ... [...]
F13, 3. [...] ...

V01, 2/16. They do not eat [...]
F13, 4. [...] ... They do not eat ... [...]

V01, 2/17. die (in) a year (?) ... [...]
F13, 5. [...] They do not die in a year [...]

V01, 2/18. painful (or "difficult") ... [...]
F13, 6. [...] ... you. And there is no (?) difficulty (?) [...]

V01, 2/19. go and come ... [...]
F13, 7. [...] ... supply in (?) [...]

Commentary

C04.3, 2: *Bks* may be suggested, a variant of *bgs*, "to rebel," *Glossar*, p. 125.

V01, 2/3: Possibly *mtw=k* (?) or *m ... bnr=k* (?). But *mtw=k* should not have the plural signs.

Pry has the sun-disk determinative, and may be, as Reymond suggests, *pry*, "to dream," *Glossar*, p. 136. The subject of dreaming also occurs in B06, 1/12.

C04.3, 3: This may be *m-šs*, "to be significant."

V01, 2/4: Read possibly *sšb.w* or *sʿnḫ.w* at the end of the line.

V01, 2/5: For *mn-ỉry.t*, see *Glossar*, p. 161. *K* could be the suffix pronoun, but this is not certain.

C04.3, 5: *ʿnḫ* is secure, but no translation can be offered.

V01, 2/6: This is perhaps a nominal sentence. For *psḏ.t*, see *Glossar*, p. 140.

V01, 2/7: *Ḥms* is "die Kornähre," *Wb.* 3, 367/5–6, but also "Art Räucherwerk," *Wb.* 3, 367/7–8, or "part of the spear, spear-point," *Wb.* 3, 367/9; see also Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 764. In Demotic just *ḥms*, "die Ähre," is attested, *Glossar*, p. 381. It is only here that there are firm parallels between V01 and the C04.3. For a *ḥms nb*, "eine Ähre aus Gold," see Burkard, *Osiris-Liturgien*, p. 209 (from the Procession of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris); Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 279.

V01, 2/8: *Nb* lacks the determinative. This is presumably a reference to Thoth.

V01, 2/9: The particle *ḥr* precedes a first present construction.

V01, 2/10: *Gʿ*, with the hand-to-mouth determinative is perhaps either *gʿ* for *gr*, "to be silent," *Glossar*, p. 573, or *gy*, "form, manner," *Glossar*, pp. 571–72.

V01, 2/12: It is clear later that these two texts are part of the same composition, but the specific lines here may not be parallel.

V01, 2/13: *Tp* may be the preposition "upon" or *tp*, "taste," *Glossar*, p. 625.

V01, 2/15: *Nḫt* is not secure.

F13, 4: Instead of [...]=*w*, the initial signs may be the determinative of *rhy*, "der Abend," *Glossar*, p. 251. A possible translation is "[...] evening. They do not eat ... [...]."

V01, 2/17: A similar writing of *rnp.t* is in *Glossar*, p. 251; *s.t* is less likely.

F13, 5: The group read *rnp.t* is identical to that in V01.

V01, 2/18: For *qns*, "Gewalt," see *Glossar*, pp. 541–42.

F13, 6: *Qs* is uncertain.

V01, 2/19: *Ḥr* may stand before the lacuna.

V01 Column 3

Transliteration

V01, 3/1 *[…]ḏȝ=f m-ỉr ṯ pȝe=k hn n*
C09, 1/23 (?) *[…] hl*
F12, 1 *[…] ṯ pȝe=k hn n šȝy […]*
C04.8, 9 *[……] šȝy n pȝ ʿ.wy n pȝe=k swnw r pȝe=k […]*
F13, 8 *[…] bw-ỉr=w (?) … =k bw-ỉr=w […]*

V01, 3/2 *[…] … m-ỉr tʿmy nhy*
C09, 1/24 (?) *[…]*
F12, 2 *[…] m-ỉr tʿmy nhy ḥr tp … […]*
C04.8, 10 *[…] ḥr tp n pȝe=k pys n pȝe=k hrw […]*
F13, 9 *[…] nȝy … […]*

V01, 3/3 *[…] sšm 2 ỉw=w šms n pȝ gst*
C09, 1/25 (?) *[…]*
F12, 3 *[…] n sšm 2 [ỉw=w] šms n pȝ gst […]*
C04.8, 11 *[…] šms (?) n pȝ gst n ỉrp (?) … n nȝe=f … […]*
F13, 10 *[…] … tn (?) […]*

V01, 3/4 *[…] … wȝḥ ḥr ȝṯ=k*
C09, 1/26–27(?) *[…]/ […] …*
F12, 4 *[…] … nny r tỉ.t ḫʿ pȝ gst […]*
C04.8, 12 *[…] tỉ.t ḫʿ.w pȝ gst r nȝ šwt.w r … […]*
F13, 11 *[…] … =y ḫnt … […]*

V01, 3/5 *[…ʿ.t]- kky swt ṯ.k sp-2*
C09, 2/1 *swṯ=k sp-2 st … m-ỉr … […]*
F12, 5 *[…] str wrš ḫn pȝ hn […]*
C04.8, 13 *[…] ḫn pȝ hn ḏʿby.w ỉ-ỉr=k gm mnht (?) […]*
F13, 12 *[…] my ỉr=y nḏ […]*

V01, 3/6 *[…] …… sbȝ=k r hp n ntr*
C09, 2/2 *…… r-r=w (?) sbȝ=k r […]*
F12, 6–7 *[…] … ỉwt=w m-ỉr ḫsy/ […] … sbȝ=k r hp […]*
C04.8, 14 *[…] m-ỉr ḫsy n m ḏȝly n ḥȝt … […]*
F13, 13 *[…] glg (?) my (?) … […]*

V01, 3/7 *[…] … tȝe=f ỉmy r ỉn*
C09, 2/3 *… t … mr […]*
C04.8, 15 *[…] … =k r hp n tw-ntr n=f snsn […]*
F13, 14 *[…] sbȝ.w my tkn (?) […]*

V01, 3/8 *[…] … =k ḫn tȝe=k (?) … tȝe=k tty.t rmt (?)*
C09, 2/4 *pry mtw=f tny=k mtw=f […]*
F12, 8–9 *[…] … pȝ h[…] / […] … tny=k … […]*
C04.8, 16 *[…] mr […] sl (?) […] smȝ (?) […] … […]*
F13, 15 *[…] … ḥȝt … […]*

V01, 3/9 *[……] … sbȝ=f …… ỉrty*
C09, 2/5–6 *[…] wṯ (?) nȝ sʿnḫ.w (?) ỉ-ỉr n=k […] /[…]… ỉrty mn-ỉry […]*
F12, 10 *[…] … […]*
F13, 16 *[…] pḫr n l … […]*
C06.3, 1 *[……] ỉrty mn-ỉry […]*

V01, 3/10 *[…] …… hl n rȝ=f mnt pȝy ls=f …*
C09, 2/6–7 *[…]/ hl rȝ=f mnt pȝy ls […]*
F12, 11 *[…] … =f bw … […]*
F13, 17 *[…] pky (?) n sḫ.t […]*
C06.3, 2 *[…… hl] n rȝ=f mnt pȝy ls […]*

V01, 3/11 *[…] … tbʿ.w … m-ỉr (?) ḫsy n snqy n ḏ … š (?)*
C09, 2/8–9 *wȝt nȝe=f b (?) … […]/ m-ỉr ḫsy n snqy […]*
F12, 12 *[…] … snqy ḏ=f (?) […]*
F13, 18 *[…] nȝ ỉ-ỉr (?) rt pr.t-sḫ.t (?) … […]*
C06.3, 3–4 *[…] wṯ nȝe=f b.w (?) … […] /…… ḫ]sy n snqy n ḏ […]*

V01, 3/12 *[…] … glg=f nȝ [bȝ.w …] … m=f nȝ ỉwỉw.w … n (?) whỵ s (?) n pȝ …*
C09, 2/10 *glg=f nȝ bȝ.w […]*
F12, 13 *[…] glg=f nȝ bȝ.w … […]*
F13, 19 *[…] … mḥ (?) n nȝe=s […]*
C06.3, 5 *[…… glg]=f nȝ bȝ.w ḫm […]*

V01, 3/13 *[… **wp]y=f (?) rȝ=f … wšb=f n nȝe=f ḫry.w-ʿ nb.w-ḥtp*** *nȝ bȝ.w*
C09, 2/11–13 *… […]/ wpy=f rȝ […] /nȝ bȝ.w*
F12,14–15 *[…] wpy=f rȝ=f wšb […] /…] bȝ.w m*
ỉwt (?) … […]
F13, 20 *[…] … n tȝ ȝty.t … […]*
C06.3, 6 *[……] wpy=f rȝ=f wšb=f … […]*

V01, 3/14 *[…] ỉ-ỉr=w ḫl … pȝ rḫ … mtw=f pȝe=w mny nt ỉr n=w ḫlȝ.w*
C09, 2/13–14 *…… nb (?) […….]/ mtw=f pȝe=w mny nt ỉr n=w […]*
F12, 16 *[…] … mtw=f pȝe=w mny nt ỉr n=w ḫ[l.w]*
F13, 21 *[…] ḫl (?) rḫ (?) … […]*
C06.3, 7–8 *[…] … st n nb tnw […] /……] mny nt ỉr n=w ḫl.w […]*

V01, 3/15 *[…] … tr.ṯ=f mḥ pȝy pȝ sḫ nȝe=f ḏ[w.w (?) …] nȝ ḏʿm.w ḏ […]*
C09, 2/14–15 *[…]/ mḥ pȝy pȝ sḫ … […]*
F12, 17 *[…] mḥ pȝy pȝ sḫ […]*
F13, 22 *[…] … m … […]*
C06.3, 9 *[……] mḥ pȝy pȝ sḫ nȝe=f ḏ[w.w (?) …]*

V01, 3/16 *[... nʾe=w] bʾ.w* ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f tw=y wḫʾ ir wḥy r nʾ twʾ.w n iʾs[tn ...]***
C09, 2/16 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f tw=y [...]***
C06.1, 1 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f tw=y ... [...]***
F12, 18 *[...]* ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f tw=y w ... [...]***
F13, 23 *[...]... iw=s (?) w ... [...]*
C06.3, 10 *[...]... [...]*

V01, 3/17 *[...]... bʾ.w grg=f nʾ bʾ.w ḏ=f grg tʾ ʿty[.t ...]*
C09, 2/17 *glg=f nʾ bʾ.w ḏ[=f ...]*
C06.1, 2 *glg=f nʾ bʾ.w [...]*
F12, 19 *[...]* *glg=f nʾ bʾ.w ḏ=f grg ... [...]*
F13, 24 *[...]...* *tʾ ʿty.t nt glg [...]*
C04.9, 1 *[...]* **Rubric** *gl[g ...]*

V01, 3/18 *[...] rʾ=k pʾe=k ʿtn tp [...]... grg nʾe=k šn [...]*
C09, 2/18 *[...]* *nʾe=k šn [...]*
C06.1, 3 *pʾe=k ʿty [...]*
F12, 20 *[...]... [...]*
F13, 25 *[...]..... glg nt gl[...]*
C04.9, 2 *[..... ʿtn (?)] ḥr tp [...]*

V01, 3/19 *[...]... ḥym.w tp ʾ[t ...] ḏ=f nʾ lym.w ipt.w [...]*
C09, 2/19 *...* *nʾe=k lym.w ... [...]*
F12, 21 *[...]* *nʾ lym.w ipt.w [...]*
C04.9, 3 *[.....] ipt.w nt ʿq r [...]*

V01, 3/20 *[...]... wpy rʾ [...]... n-im=w m-ir ḫsy n [...]*
C09, 2/20 *gw n-im=w m-ir [...]*
F12, 22 *[...]...* *n-im=w m-ir ḫsy n s[...]*
C04.9, 4 *[...]* *ḫsy (?) r sšt [...]*

V01, 3/21 *[...] n pr-ḥḏ [...] snt n ḏbʾ rmp.t n ʿb[...]*
C09, 2/21 *bw-ir=w snty ... [...]*
F12, 23 *[...] bw-ir=w snt n ḏbʾ rmp.t ... [...]*
C04.9, 5 *[.....] rmp.t n ʿb [...]*

V01, 3/22 *[...] in iw (?) iw=krḫ ḥm [...] bw-ir=w wny.t=k ... [...]*
C09, 2/22 *in iw=k š (= rḫ) ḥm ... [...]*
F12, 24 *[.....]=k š ḥm [...]*
C04.9, 6 *[...]* *bw-ir=w wyny[...]*

V01, 3/23 *[...] t=w pʾ nt-iw=w n-im=f[...] ḫn tʾe=k ... [...]*
C09, 2/23 *... r rʾ ... [...]*
V04, 1 *[...]... [...]*
C04.9, 7 *[...]* *mtw=w n-im=f[...]*

V01, 3/24 *[...] tr.t=k (?) bw-ir=w ... [...]*
C09, 2/24 *in iw=k šm-iy ḥr ... [...]*
V04, 2 *[...]... ʿty [...]* *in iw=k šm-iy [.....]*
C04.9, 8 *[...]... šy [...]*

Interpretative Translation Based on V01 Column 3, but incorporating other Versions where possible

V01, 3/1. [...] ... Do not take your box of Shai (= Seshat) in the house of your doctor at (?) your [...] ... They do not ... you. They do not [...]

V01, 3/2. [...] ... Do not touch (?) the *nhy.t* book upon the scribal water-jar on your day [...]

V01, 3/3. [...] 2 *sšm*-animals (?), they serving the scribal palette with wine (?) ... his ... [...]

V01, 3/4. [...] place upon you ... to go to cause that the scribal palette appear, while the two feathers (?) ... foremost of ... [...]

V01, 3/5. [... Chamber of] Darkness. Beware, beware (?) ... spend the night, spend the day in the container of coal. You are to find scribal equipment (?) ... may I make ... [...]

V01, 3/6. [...] ... [...] ... between them. Do not be weak in being strong of heart ... may you teach concerning the law of god ... supply (?) ... let ... [...]

V01, 3/7. [...] his character (?) to ... wish (?) ... of praising the god to him worship ... gates. Let be near (?) ... [...]

V01, 3/8. [...] you (or "your") in your (?) ... your nurse, men (?) ... and he raise you up (?) and he ... heart ... [...]

V01, 3/9. [...] ... make for you ... teach him (?) ... milk, nurse ... to go around ... [...]

V01, 3/10. [...] ... a *hr*-vase for his mouth. It is a breast. His tongue ... [...] ... plot (?) of field ... [...]

V01, 3/11. [...] ... fingers ... his ... Do not be weak (?) in nursing from the saying of ... [...] the ones who planted (?) with the seed (?) ... [...]

V01, 3/12. [...] He supplied the *bas* ... the dogs ... fisherman (?) ... the [...] nest (?) in her [...]

V01, 3/13. [...] **He opened his mouth. He replied to his disciples (?) (regarding) the lords of offerings** (?) the *bas* ... in (or "of") the net (?) ... [...]

V01, 3/14. [...] they fly ... the wise one (?) ... He is their herdsman who makes for them sustenance.

V01, 3/15. [...] ... his hand. The papyrus (or "scribe") is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are ...] the papyrus rolls (or "generations"), that is, ... [...]

V01, 3/16. [... their] *bas* (?). **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I wish to make explanations concerning the praises of *Is*[*ten* ...]

V01, 3/17. [...] ... *bas*. He equipped the *bas*. He said: "Supply the net (?) which catches (?) [...]

V01, 3/18. [...] your mouth. Your perch (?) ... supply your nets [...] ... hunter who hunts (?) [...]

V01, 3/19. [...] ... hunters upon ... [...] He said: "The fish and the birds which enter to (?) [...]

V01, 3/20. [...] ... Open the mouth [...] ... therein: Do not be weak in hunt(ing) [...]

V01, 3/21. [...] in (or "of") the treasury. They do not fear on account of a year (?) of ... [...]

V01, 3/22. [...] Are you able to act as a fisherman (or "hunter," "craftsman"?) [...] they do not pass you by ... [...]

V01, 3/23. [...] their [...] that which they are in [...] in your ... [...]

V01, 3/24. [...] Do you go upon (?) ... [...] your hand (?). They do not ... [...]

Commentary

V01, 3/1: *Ḏ* is uncertain.

Hn is *hn*, "Art Krug," or "Kasten," *Glossar*, p. 277; *Wb.* 2, 491/9–492/4, used also for papyrus rolls; as chests containing the sacred texts, the *bꜣ.w Rʿ*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 606; see also Schott, "Schreiber und Schreibgerät im Jenseits," *JEA* 54 (1968): 46.

F12, 1: *Šʿy* or *šꜣy* is probably the epithet of Seshat, *šꜣʿ.t*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988. If one understands *šꜣy* rather as a variant of *šʿ*, "sand," *Glossar*, p. 489, this may allude to the sand employed in the Osiris rituals of the House of Life, Weber, "Lebenshaus I.," *LÄ* 3, col. 954.

C04.8, 9: *Swnw*, "doctor," is probable, although difficult to discern: *Glossar*, p. 415. The significance of the title here is unclear, although Thoth is, for example, the "doctor" of the Horus-eye, *Wb.* 3, 427/10. The House of Life is associated with medicine and doctors, Weber, "Lebenshaus I.," *LÄ* 3, col. 955. On the connection between scribes, lector priests, and doctors, see L. Morenz, "(Magische) Sprache der 'geheimen Kunst,'" *SAK* 24 (1997): 194.

V01, 3/2: *Tʿmy* may be *tym*, "to protect," *Glossar*, p. 607; also possible is *tm*, "clothe," *Glossar*, p. 631.

Nh.t is written as *nhy.t*, "sycamore," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 528, but is probably *nhy.t*, "magical book," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 528; Redford, *King-Lists*, p. 167. The *nhy.t* book appears later in B02, 10/1.

C04.8, 10: *Ḥr tp* seems to be the compound preposition: "on top of."

Pys is *pꜣs*, "Das Wassernäpfchen des Schreibers," *Wb.* 1, 499/5; see Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 370–71; Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 74–76 (with remarks on the association with Seshat).

F13, 9: This may not preserve a parallel.

V01, 3/3: *Sšm* has the animal skin determinative, but may be a figurative designation of a piece of scribal equipment. *Sšm*, "ein Tiername," is also found in Mythus, 15/1, Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 38; *Glossar*, p. 464. One is reminded of the *šsm*, "leather rolls (?)," *Wb.* 4, 545/10; see van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, pp. 29–32. *Sšm* is also the Demotic rendering of *Sšmw*, the god of wine and ointments, *Glossar*, p. 463. Especially in the Late Period this deity is represented as a lion, which would explain the animal skin determinative here, see Ciccarello, "Shesmu the Letopolite," in Johnson and Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, p. 50.

On the connection between wine and Thoth, see Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, pp. 193–94.

C04.8, 11: *irp* is not secure, but resembles the examples in *Glossar*, p. 39.

V01, 3/4: *Wsḥ*, "legen," *Glossar*, p. 76, is a probable reading, possibly a stative form.

F12, 4: *Nny*, with the walking-legs determinative, is *nn*, "gehen, weggehen," *Wb.* 2, 276/1–2 (not in *Glossar*), which is an archaic verb (found in Pyramid and Coffin texts). The line may describe a ritual connected with the act of writing.

C04.8, 12: *Šwt.w* is perhaps *šw.ty*, "two feathers," *Wb.* 4, 425, but note too *šw*/*šw.t*, "the uninscribed papyrus," *Wb.* 4, 428/5–13; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 995. There is possible confusion between hieroglyphic spellings of *gsty* and *šwty*; *gst*, "scribal palette," may be written with the two feathers, *Wb.* 5, 207/11–17. See also Beinlich, *Osirisreliquien*, p. 254.

F13, 11: Read either *ššt* or *sbꜣ* after *ḫnt*.

V01, 3/5: *Kky* has the book-roll determinative, and is probably preceded by *ʿ.t*. The *ʿ.t*-

kky occurs frequently in this composition. *ꜥ.t* is written as *ꜥ.t*, "Raum im Hause," *Wb.* 1, 160/1–13; *Glossar*, p. 51. It is also employed for a specific chamber in a temple, especially in the Greek Period, comparing *ꜥy.t*, "temple, shrine," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 134–35, and of a "Raum im Totenreich," *Wb.* 1, 160/9. *ꜥ*, "room," may allude to the *ꜥ.t ỉmny.t*, "hidden room," mentioned in the Book of the Earth, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 47; see further Hornung, "Probleme der Wortforschung im Pfortenbuch," *GM* 6 (1973): 55–59. *ꜥ.t-kky* has the book-roll determinative implying that it designates a composition, but it is not listed in Schott, *Bücher*, p. 433. In the Book of Caverns *ꜥ.t-kky.t* appears as a variant of the more common *ꜥ.t-ỉmn.t*, "Verborgener Raum," Hornung, *Das Amduat*, p. 3. In Edfu Seshat receives the epithet, "Mistress of the Sustenance of the Foremost of the Chamber of Darkness," *nb.t nw ḥw ḫnt ꜥt-kkw*, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 291 (or read *nb.t nwḥ ḫnt ꜥ.t-kkw*, "mistress of the rope, foremost one of the Chamber of Darkness"). In the Book of Thoth the compound may refer to the House of Life or a section thereof.

Swt may be *swt*, "deliver," *Glossar*, p. 418, but "beware," *sỉw*, is equally possible, *Glossar*, p. 412 (reflexive use from this third weak verb, *Wb.* 3, 416/12–417/21).

Sp-2 is inserted above the line.

C09, 2/1: The group between *sw.t=k* and *m-ỉr* is difficult; either *ḫt...* or *st* might be read. *M-ỉr* may negate *str* and *wrš*.

F12, 5: For *wrš*, "den Tag verbringen," *Glossar*, p. 95. One example there also has the arm with a stick.

Str is "to lie down, sleep," *Glossar*, pp. 480–81.

C04.8, 13: *Ḏꜥby.w* is *ḏb.t*, "Holzkohle," *Glossar*, p. 677. The significance of a "container of coals" is obscure. The phrase may be literal (e.g., for cooking, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1225) or figurative.

F13, 12: *Nḏ* is plausible, but no convincing translation can be offered.

V01, 3/6: The parallel between V01, F12, and F13 is questionable for the beginning of the line. It may be that V01 preserves the latter part of the line.

C09, 2/2: Instead of *r-r=w*, read perhaps *mr*, "overseer," but the translation would be difficult.

C04.8, 14: *Ḥsy* can be followed by *m*, "bei einem Tun," *Wb.* 3, 399/8; compare *m-ỉr ḥsy n ỉ*, "Do not weary of calling out," Zauzich, "Anchscheschonqi – eine Lehre für den Schreiber?" in Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege Öffnen*, pp. 376–77. *Ḏỉly* is "stark sein," *Glossar*, pp. 682–83.

F13, 13: While *glg* is probable, *my* is questionable; perhaps *ỉr=y* is preferable.

V01, 3/7: *ỉmy* may have the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, suggesting either *ỉm*, "wehklagen," *Wb.* 1, 77/12–13, or *ỉmy*, "character," *Glossar*, p. 4.

ỉn, "to bring," *Glossar*, p. 33, is never apparently written so fully; perhaps *ỉn.t*, "valley," *Glossar*, p. 33.

C09, 2/3: The position of these words within the reconstructed line is not secure.

C04.8, 15: We had first thought *rn* was to be read at the beginning of the line, but this is dubious.

Tw-ntr, written in a very hieratic fashion, is certain, but it may be followed by the seated man and plural strokes, suggesting a participle or noun construction.

F13, 14: *Sbỉ.w*, "gates," *Glossar*, p. 419, is assured; *tkn* is much less so.

V01, 3/8: After the lacuna there is the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. This may be *tny*, "raise up," which has that determinative and appears in the other papyri at this point.

Tty.t may be a late writing of *ỉṯ.t*, "nurse," *Wb.* 1, 23/9–11, or *tt*, "Frucht, Ertrag," *Glossar*, p. 663. The determinative is unclear (the plant?).

C09, 2/4: *Tny*, "raise up," *Glossar*, p. 635, is probable. The first word may be *pry*, "what is?" If so, read: *pry pỉ mtw=f tny=k*, "What is that which will exalt you?"

V01, 3/9: Perhaps *wṯ*, "to be different, better," stands at the beginning of the line.

Sbỉ=f may also be rendered "his teaching." Is *mr-sbỉ*, "teacher," to be read?

C09, 2/5–6: This passage describes the (spiritual?) sustenance of the aspiring disciple. *Mn-ỉry.t*, "Amme," *Glossar*, p. 161, and *ỉrty*, "milk," *Glossar*, p. 40, are certain. On the symbolism and significance of milk, see Guglielmi, *LÄ* 4, cols. 125–27 ("Milch(-wirtschaft)").

F13, 16: Read either *ỉs*, "tongue," or, less likely, *lym*, "fish."

V01, 3/10: *Hl* is presumably *hr*, "ein Gebrauchsgegenstand," *Glossar*, p. 278, which is probably identical with *hr*, "Spätäthiopisch, ein Gefäss aus Metall (silver or copper)," *Wb.* 2, 498/6–7. The context strongly suggests an association with *mhr*, "milk jug," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 448, and *mhr*, "to suckle," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 448.

F13, 17: *Pky* may be "split, piece," *Glossar*, p. 141, but the *k* is uncertain.

V01, 3/11: *Tbꜥ.w* is possible, although there appear to be only two "finger" signs.

One expects *mt.w* or similar after *ḏ*, but only ... *š* is visible.

F13, 18: *Nỉ ỉ-ỉr rt* is uncertain; read perhaps *nỉe=f* or *nỉe=s*. Similarly *pr.t-sḫ.t* is not secure.

V01, 3/12: *Glg=f nỉ bỉ.w* is an oft-recurring phrase in this composition.

The verb ...*m*, with the walking-legs determinative, is one of movement.

ỉwỉw, "dogs," *Glossar*, p. 22, is certain; the word concludes with the animal skin determinative. On *ỉwỉw*, see Barbotin, "Le Papyrus Chassinat III," *RdE* 50 (1999): 19.

The reading *whỵ* is clear, but the determinative presents problems. It does not seem to be the fish, which would suggest *whỵ*, "fisherman," *Glossar*, p. 98. It may be the "evil"

determinative for *why*, "evil," *Glossar*, p. 97, but the form would also not be otherwise attested in this papyrus.

F13, 19: *Mḥ* may be "nest," *Glossar*, p. 173.

V01, 3/13: *Wpy=f rꜣ=f* could be the name of a speaker.

Following *wšb=f* we may have *r-r=f*, as Reymond.

Nꜣe=f ḫry-ʿ is not certain. However, Reymond's *md.wt ḥmw.t* is impossible to confirm.

It is unclear to whom the *nb.w-ḥtp*, "lords of offerings (?)," refers. This may rather be the divine epithet and deity Hathor-(Nebet-Hetep), see Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 101.

F12, 16: *ỉwt* is uncertain.

F13, 20: *ỉty.t* is more likely "net," *Wb.* 1, 36/8–11, than *ỉty.t*, "die Vulva," *Glossar*, p. 13. The determinative is probably the cloth sign.

V01, 3/14: The author employs here bird imagery with regard to the scribe and his master, presumably Thoth.

For *ḥl*, "fliegen," see *Glossar*, p. 327.

Pꜣ rḫ seems to describe Thoth or a similar master, although there is no divine determinative.

There follows a nominal sentence.

Mny, "herdsman," *Glossar*, p. 160, is a reasonable reading.

F13, 21: The bird determinative suggests that *ḥl*, "fly," is the correct restoration.

V01, 3/15: For *mḥ*, "nest," see *Wb.* 2, 121/10. Under *mḥ*, "nest," *Wb.* also cites *sš*, "nest," *Wb.* 3, 483/12–485/2. There is certainly therefore a clever pun or allusion (on the basis of *sš*, "writing, document") by the author here in declaring that *mḥ* is *sḫ* (= *sš*); cf. Derchain, "Usages," *CdE* 72 (1997): 12.

On the writing of *sḫ*, see Ryholt, *Story of Petese*, pp. 7–8. One notes the possibility of reading *bꜣ-Rʿ* in some hands.

This is followed by apparently another nominal sentence, based on word plays. *Ḏw* is "junger Vogel," *Glossar*, p. 668, while the author has then made a pun between *ḏmʿ*, "papyrus-roll," *Glossar*, p. 679, and *ḏm*, also *ḏmʿ*, "generations, off-spring," *Glossar*, p. 678. There may be a reference here to the use of birds and bird names for the Egyptian "alphabet." Instead of *ḏw*, *ḏm*, "generation," may also be restored after *nꜣe=f* in V01 and C06.3, 9. The sense and word play remain the same.

C09, 2/14–15: In line 14 read perhaps *pꜣe=w mny*, "their herdsman."

F13, 22: Either *ḫnm*, *wnm*, or *ḥm* is possible.

V01, 3/16: This is a first present sentence.

Wḫꜣ, "wünschen," *Glossar*, p. 98, is the best resolution, although the writing is damaged. The initial *w* is preserved in F12. Another possibility is *ḥꜣʿ*, but the translation is then unclear.

Wḥy lacks the determinative, but it may be *wsḥ*, "lösen," *Glossar*, p. 77. This word possesses the sense of "explain," but *ỉr wsḥ* also simply means "answer," *Glossar*, p. 77.

The phrase "praises of *ỉstn*" occurs again in B01, 1/16.

F13, 23: Read possibly *ḫb* at the beginning of the line.

V01, 3/17: The author deals with the *ba*-spirits, which may denote the sacred papyrus rolls.

We take the first *grg* to mean "to supply, equip, outfit," *Glossar*, p. 586, but the author may also intend *grg*, "to hunt, catch," *Glossar*, p. 586.

ỉty.t is again more likely "net," *Wb.* 1, 36/8–11, than *ỉty.t*, "die Vulva," *Glossar*, p. 13, or a variant of *ỉt*, a type of fish, *Glossar*, p. 13. *ỉty.t* has already been mentioned in F13, 20. The *ỉty.t* in a passage dealing (figuratively) with hunting also appears in C04.1. which begins shortly.

For the image of the deceased as a "fisherman," see Willems, *Heqata*, p. 262.

V01, 3/18: We had initially read *ỉtḥ* which may be *ỉtḥ*, "to draw," *Glossar*, p. 14; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 124 (in an Edfu "net text"). However, the determinative is unclear (wood sign?), and one expects the arm with a stick sign for *ỉtḥ*. It is preferable to read *ỉtn*, understood as a variant of *ỉtn*, found in C04.1, 4, where we translate "resting-place, perch," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 122; Fairman, "Some unrecorded Ptolemaic Words," *ZÄS* 91 (1964): 5.

Tp is possibly part of a compound, but we can offer no secure transliteration of the word following the break (*tš*?). The determinative is especially mysterious.

Šn or *šnt* is probably *šnw*, "Netz," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9.

C06.1, 3: *Pꜣe=k ỉty* seems more likely than *nꜣe=k šnty*. But would this parallel the *ỉtn* of V01?

F13, 25: Compare C04.1, 12, *tꜣ glg nt glg*.

V01, 3/19: For *ḫym.w* (with the man and plural strokes), see *ḥm*, "fangen (Vögel und Fische)," *Glossar*, p. 305.

Restore possibly *tp ỉty.t*, "upon the net."

The determinative suggests that this is *ỉpt*, "bird," *Glossar*, p. 29, which often occurs in abbreviated and difficult writings; see M. Smith, "Demotic Lexicography," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zur Sprache und Religions Ägyptens*, pp. 390–91 (a different form from ours is discussed there); Vittmann, "Die Mumienschilder in Petries Dendereh," *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 160.

V01, 3/20: This may be the name of the speaker *Wpy=f rꜣ=f*, which appears in V01, 3/13, but that is uncertain.

The missing verb concludes with the arm with a stick. It presumably had a meaning such as "hunt" or "be strong."

Ḫsy is followed by *n* and probably an infinitive, as in V01, 3/11.

C09, 2/20: These readings are uncertain. This may parallel the verb with the arm with a stick determinative followed by *n-ỉm=w* in V01, 3/20. It may be better to read *ỉq*, "to perish."

V01 3/21: Unfortunately, the subject is not named. *ꜥb* is perhaps *ꜥb*, "Unheil," *Wb.* 1, 174/16–18, but note also the expression *ꜥb nỉꜣw*, literally, "horn of the ram," meaning "year," *Wb.* 1, 173/16.

V01, 3/22: *Ḥm* is nowhere perfectly preserved, but seems in C09 to have the arm with a stick determinative, suggesting *ḥm*, "fangen," *Glossary*, p. 305.

Wny is *wyn*, "vorübergehen," *Glossary*, p. 80.

C09, 2/22: *Š* is the variant of *rḫ*.

V01, 3/23: Perhaps read *tr.t=w* at the beginning of the line.

C09, 2/23: *R rꜣ* is tentative. This may precede the preserved line in V01.

V01, 3/24: The presumed *tr.t* lacks the flesh determinative, which renders the reading uncertain.

V01 Column 4

Transliteration

V01, 4/1 *[...]*
C09, 2/25 *mny pꜣe=w ỉr ḫr.t [...]*
V04, 3 *[.....] ḫlꜣ n (?) pꜣe=w ... [...]wl nꜣy nt ỉr ... [...]*
C04.9, 9 *[...] ky (?) š[...]*

V01, 4/2 *... [...]*
C09, 2/26–7 **mr-rḫ ḏ=f** *tꜣ ꜣty [...]/ glg.w my ḥr ... [...]*
V04, 4 *[... ỉr]=y wꜥ ḥnꜥ nꜣe=s (?) glg.w my ... [...]*

V01, 4/3 *m[...]*
V04, 5 *[...] ... pꜣe=w (?) gst ḫr pꜣe=s ỉtnw ... [...]*

V01, 4/4 *ḏ[...]*
V04, 6 *[...] ꜥwy.w ... glg ỉr=y rsṯy [...]*

V01, 4/5 *ỉr[...]*
V04, 7 *[...] mtw=y ... wn (?) nꜣe=s rꜣ.w my [...]*

V01, 4/6 *mtw[...]*
V04, 8 *[...] ... nꜣe=s ṯsy.w ... [...]*

V01, 4/7 *m[... bḫꜣ.w [...]*
V04, 9 *[...] yꜥl ... sḫ.t nꜣe=s gy [...]*

V01, 4/8 *... [...] m ... [...]*
V04, 10 *[...] ... w tꜣe=s ḫmm ... [...]*
F07.4, 1 *[...] tꜣe=s ... [...]*

V01, 4/9 *nꜣe=s pgy ... [...]*
V04, 11 *[...]yg ... ḥn.w nꜣ glg.w [...]*
F07.4, 2 *[...] ... nꜣ glg (?) [...]*

V01, 4/10 *nꜣe=s mtn.w (?) ... [...]*
V04, 12 *[...] ... r sšt ỉpt.w [...]*
F07.4, 3 *[...] r sšt [...]*

V01, 4/11 *n ḥm.w ... [...]*
V04, 13 *[...] ... my st gl[g ...]*
C04.1, 1 *mtw tꜣ mr [...] grp=f s r-ḫr [...] ... [...]*
F07.4, 4 *[...] (bird det.) šš=y ... [...]*

V01, 4/12 *grg ... [...]*
V04, 14 *[...] ... m ... wf ... [...]*
C04.1, 2 *[...] ... [...] ...*
F07.4, 5 *[...] ... ḏ=f tꜣ ... [...]*

V01, 4/13 *ỉw=y tm ... [...]*
V04, 15 *[...] glp r nꜣ ... pꜣ ꜥꜥn nt [...]*
C04.1, 3 *[...] ḥb (?) ... [...] ... pḥ[s ...] m rꜣ=s pꜣ nt pḥ ... [...] ꜣw ...*

V01, 4/14 *my ỉr=w ṯ=y ... [...]*
V04, 16–17 *[...] ... pꜣ nt (n) rꜣ nꜣe=s ... [...]/ [...] ỉtn pꜣy*
C04.1, 4 *[... i]ꜣw m qs ... [...] ... pꜣe=s ỉtn pꜣy*

V01, 4/15 *nꜣ bꜣ.w ḏ=f ... [...]*
V04, 17 *nꜣy ỉꜣw (?) nt wn [...]*
C04.1, 5 *[...] nꜣy ꜥꜥe š (?) nt wn ... wḏ ... šny nꜣe=s ms ḫstb ...*

V01, 4/16 *w[...] mꜣw (?) [...]*
V04, 18 *[...] tsl.w wr.w nꜣy ... [...]*
C04.1, 6 *[... n]ꜣy tsl.w wr.w nꜣy mny nt mn ... tm sy (?) tm thy ḥtp ...*

V01, 4/17 *[...] ... [...]*
V04, 19 *[...] ... i- ỉr=f ... m ... [...]*
C04.1, 7 *[...] šy n ꜥnḫ nt ḫr ḥꜣ.t šꜣy ... b ...*

Interpretative Translation Based on V01 Column 4, but incorporating other Versions where possible

V01, 4/1. [...] herdsman ... food for their ... these who make ... [...]

V01, 4/2. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "As for the net [...] I have joined with its (or "their") hunters. Pay attention (?) to ... [...]

V01, 4/3. ... [...] ... their (?) scribal palette with its (or "her") perch ... [...]

V01, 4/4. ... [...] places ... hunt (or "supply"). I spent yesterday (?) [...]

V01, 4/5. Make (?) [...] And I cause (?) that her mouths be open. Let [...]

V01, 4/6. And [...] ... her ... [...]

V01, 4/7. ... [...] river ... field, its forms (?) [...]

V01, 4/8. [...] ... its heat ... [...]

V01, 4/9. Its fragments ... [...] ... the hunters (?) [...]

V01, 4/10. Her ... [...] ... to catch birds [...]

V01, 4/11. of (or "for") fishermen ... [...] give them ... [...] He revealed it before [...] ... [...]
C04.1, 1. [...] You are she who binds [...]
F07.4, 4. [...] ... I explained (?) ... [...]

V01, 4/12. hunt ... [...] ...
F07.4, 5. [...] ... **He says:** "The ... [...]

V01, 4/13. If I do not (?) ... [...] reveal (?) the ... the baboon which [...] ... bites [...] with its mouth, the one who reaches ... [...] ...

V01, 4/14. Let one make me ... [...] ... that which is (at?) the mouth of her ... [...] the elder in bowing ... It is its perch.

V01, 4/15. The souls (?). He said [...] these elders (or "sacred animals") which open up the storeroom ... to seek (?) its produce (?) of turquoise (?) ...

V01, 4/16. ... [...] sacred great ones, these ... not to become sated; not to become drunk ...

V01, 4/17. ... [...] ... he ... lake of life which is before Shai (= Seshat) ... [...]

Commentary

V01, 4/1 and C09, 2/25: Compare the writing of *mny*, "herdsman," *Glossar*, p. 160. The determinative may be the hieratic form of the animal skin.

Between *mny* and *ḫr.t* perhaps read *pꜣ=w ỉr*, presumably an unorthographic writing of *pꜣ ỉ-ỉr* or similar, "the one who made" (or "makes").

V04, 3: The word following *pꜣ=w* is difficult. It has the animal skin determinative, and *wl* seems reasonable, although the *w* is somewhat low. It may be **ваʿɔор**, "fox," *KHWB*, p. 29.

C04.9, 9: For *š* read possibly *w*.

V01, 4/2 and C09, 2/26–27: While the determinative is lost, this is probably *ỉty*, "net," which has already appeared in the section. This word, which occurs often in the composition, may also be *ỉꜣd.t*, "a cord used to tie up a roll of papyrus (and close a naos)," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 123.

Grg, with the seated man and arm with stick determinatives, is *grg*, "Jäger," *Glossar*, p. 586.

Since the determinative is missing, *my wꜥḥ*, "give an answer," may also be read.

V04, 4: For *ỉr=y wꜥḥnꜥ*, compare *ỉr wꜥ ỉrm*, "sich vereinigen mit jem." *Wb.* 1, 275/8.

For *nꜣe=s*, transliterate possibly *nꜣe=w*.

V01, 4/3 and V04, 5: Instead of *pꜣe=w*, read perhaps *pꜣy*.

ỉtn, with the wood determinative, is probably "a resting place, perch," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 122 (not in *Glossar*). It may designate here part of the scribal equipment.

V01, 4/4 and V04, 6: *Glg* is either "supply" or "hunt."

Rsṯy, "tomorrow," *Glossar*, p. 255, is not secure, the *ṯ* being especially uncertain (the flesh determinative?).

V01, 4/5 and V04, 7: *M* is damaged, but is possible.

There may be a word lost between *mtw=y* and *wn*.

The phrase *nꜣe=s rꜣ.w* is curious; there is no preserved antecedent for the feminine suffix pronoun.

V01, 4/6 and V04, 8: *Ṯsy* seems to be a noun, but the determinative is lost.

V01, 4/7 and V04, 9: *Yꜥl* is *yr*, "Fluss, Kanal," *Glossar*, p. 50.

We had first read *ḫlꜣ.w* or *ḫr mfky* after *yꜥl*, but now consider the passage too broken to decipher.

V01, 4/8 and V04, 10: The damaged words clearly denote water or moisture, but we can offer no transliteration.

V01, 4/9: *Pgy* may be *pke*, "trennen, Bruchstück," *Glossar*, p. 141.

V04, 11: *Ḥn* is possible, *Glossar*, p. 310, although the man-with-hand-to-mouth sign has an unusual shape at the bottom.

Glg.w may be connected either with *grg*, "hunt," *Glossar*, p. 586, or *grg*, "supply," *Glossar*, p. 586.

V01, 4/10: We had first read *mḫn*, but this seems unlikely, and perhaps Reymond's *mtn.w* is preferable. However, secure translation remains impossible.

V04, 12: We had transliterated *r mtr* before *r sšt*, but this is very tentative.

Sšt, with the arm holding a stick, is probably *sḫt*, "Vögel mit dem Netz fangen," *Wb.* 4, 262/3–263/2 (not in *Glossar*). Thoth has the epithet *ḫnty ḥ.t sḫt*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 915.

For the writing of *ỉpt*, see Vittmann, "Die Mumienschilder in Petries Dendereh," *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 160.

V01, 4/11: *Ḥm* is *ḫm*, "fangen (Vögel u. Fische)," *Glossar*, p. 305.

V04, 13: The relative position of these phrases preserved in the three papyri is not certain. The restoration *st* seems secure, but *gl* may be either *glg* or even the *grp*, "reveal" of C04.1.

C04.1, 1: The fragment with *mtw tỉ mr* really does belong here, although one would expect that it should be C04.1, 14, paralleling F10, 5. *Grp* is *glp*, "offenbaren," *Glossar*, p. 589, comparing the idiom: *krp=w s r-r=f*, "sie offenbarten ihm."

F07.4, 4: Here the parallels do not seem to hold.

V01, 4/12 and V04, 14: Read perhaps *wnm*, of which *m* is clear.

Wf is certain, but the following sign is damaged. The word may have the walking-legs determinative, suggesting *wsf*, "to be lazy, hesitate," *Wb.* 1, 357/2–11.

F07.4, 5: Again, this version cannot be clearly paralleled with V01, 4/12.

V01, 4/13: This can only be the negative conditional tense.

V04, 15: Either *glp* or *glg* is possible.

We cannot identify the apparent determinative of the word preceding *pỉ ʿʿn*.

C04.1, 3: *H* seems probable, but *b* is uncertain.

Pḥs, "beissen," *Glossar*, p. 137, is only a suggestion, but would also provide a sound-play with the following *pḥ*.

The final word, which concludes with a seated man (?) and plural signs, is puzzling. *ỉ̓w* is an attractive reading, but the group after *w* remains a problem; perhaps *s̓wtyw*, "guardians," *Wb.* 3, 418/7–11.

V01, 4/14 and V04, 16–17: The arm with a stick begins the preserved portion. Little can be deciphered until *pỉ* (perhaps an *r*?).

The *rỉ* is secure, comparing V04, 7.

C04.1, 4: The *ỉ* and the elderly man with a staff determinative (and seated man) strongly suggest that *ỉ̓w* is the correct reading, *Glossar*, p. 16.

The *m* has an unusually flat top, but the sign can hardly be anything else.

Ks, "bowing," *Wb.* 5, 140/1–11, is not in *Glossar*.

The final clause may be a gloss. *ỉtn* is probably "perch," figuratively designating some part of the scribal equipment.

V01, 4/15: The *bỉ.w* is a plausible transliteration, especially in view of the likely initial *b*, comparing *bỉ.w* in V01, 3/17.

V04, 17: It seems impossible to equate the group before *nt wn* in V04 with that preceding *nt wn* in C04.1. There may be a *g* here (*glg*).

C04.1, 5: *ʿʿe*, with the flesh determinative (from *ʿ.t*, "Glied," *Glossar*, p. 51), is most likely. It is either *ʿʿe*, "heiliges Tier," *Glossar*, p. 56, or, less probable, *ỉ̓w*, "elder," *Glossar*, p. 16.

The sign following the flesh determinative is best understood as a *š*, and we suggest *šw*, as a writing of *ḫw*, "schützen, heilig," *Glossar*, p. 352, which may be used to modify *ʿʿ.w* (ibid.).

We take *wḏỉ* to be *wḏỉ*, "Speicher," *Glossar*, p. 109, but also possible is *nt wn tỉ wḏỉ.t* ... "who open the *wḏỉ.t*-eye ..."

Nt sḫpr may be transliterated after *wḏ* ... .

Šny, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, may be identified with *šny*, "to ask, investigate," *Glossar*, pp. 513–14.

We translate *ms* as "Erzeugnis (des Ackers)," *Wb.* 2, 142/1. *Ms* may not be, however, "to bear," but rather to "convey, transport," comparing *ms-ỉnr*, "Steinträger," *Wb.* 2, 135/22, and *ms-ʿ.t*, "quarryman," *Wb.* 2, 138/19, Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral*, pp. 72–74. Compare also *ms šw* in B04, 7/2.

Ḥstb, "lapis lazuli," *Glossar*, p. 369, is reasonable, despite the damage. On the symbolism of blue *ḫstb*, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 141.

V01, 4/16 and V04, 18: *Tsl.w* is probably *tsr*, "prächtig, herrlich," *Glossar*, p. 656. The determinative is uncertain; it may be the wood sign, noting especially the wood determinative of *ỉtn* in V04, 17.

C04.1, 6: After *nỉy*, one expects another noun; perhaps ... *y.w*.

The word concludes with the arm holding the stick. *Mn*, "to remain," *Glossar*, p. 159, is only one possibility.

Sy is presumably the infinitive of *sy*, "satt werden," *Glossar*, p. 407, after the negative *tm*.

Thy is *thy*, "sich betrinken," *Glossar*, p. 654.

The final group most resembles *ḥtp*, but the translation is uncertain.

V01, 4/17 and V04, 19: Read perhaps either *s* or *nỉ* at the beginning of the line.

ỉ-ỉr=f may be a second tense.

The determinatives suggest that the line deals with water.

Add. 10 **C04.1, 7:** There is a pun between *šꜣy* and *šy*.

A *šy n ꜥnḫ*, "lake of life," appears in the Papyrus Jumilhac, Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel*, pp. 342–51. Located in the 18th Nome, it is the lake wherein Thoth and Anubis perform glorification spells for and purification of the mummy of Osiris. It is said to be the source for two fish, which seem to aid in the revivification of Osiris. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen*, p. 349, states: "Die Bedeutung der danach aufgeführten heiligen Seen liegt in ihrer belebenden Wirkung, die sie direkt oder indirekt auf den Leichnam des Osiris ausüben. Der Name See-des-Lebens zeigt ganz klar, daß diesem Gewässer eine solche Wirkung beigemessen wurde." See further: Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 218. Osiris comes forth "from the Lake of Life," Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 286.

This "Lake of Life" may be identical with the *Flammensee*, which, we think, appears later in the Book of Thoth. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 179, remarks: "Wasser, das sich unten in der Höhle als 'Flammensee' sammelt, ist der Urstoff, die *materia prima*, identisch mit dem Nun, aus dem letztlich alles Leben entstammt." See also Hermsen, "Die Bedeutung des Flammensees im Zweiwegebuch," in DuQuesne (ed.), *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological Studies for BH Stricker*, p. 85.

The reading *ḫr ḥꜣ.t*, "before," *Glossar*, p. 387, is secure.

Šꜣy is probably not *Šy*, "Fate," *Glossar*, pp. 485–86, but an epithet of Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988. See Budde, *Seschat*, p. 25.

Judging from the determinatives, the line continues to deal with water.

The last sign is puzzling.

Continuation of Text Based on C04.1 and C04.2

Transliteration

C04.1, 8 *[... nꜣy] tp-iꜣw.t nꜣy ipt.w nꜣy ... [...] ... mtw bn iw mtw=w mny [...]*

C04.1, 9 *[...] tꜣ (?) nt sšt=w n wꜥ qbḥ (?) ... tp (?) [...] ... ṯ ... [...] ... glg ... [...]*
V04, 20 *[.....] mtw sšt [...]*

(Uncertain Parallel)
C04.1, 10 *[...] ꜣty nb pꜣe=w glg ... tꜣ [...] ... glg mꜣꜥ [...]*
F10, 1 *... [...]*
V04, 21 *[...] ... [...]*

C04.1, 11 *ꜥmr- rḫ d=f tꜣ ꜣty nfr.t 4.t (?) ... [...] it wpy [...]*
F10, 2 ***mr-rḫ d*** *... [...]*

C04.1, 12 *[...] mtw=t tꜣ glg.t nt glg [...] ... wpy ṯy ... [...]*
F10, 3 *in mtw=t tꜣ gl[g ...]*
V04, 22 *[...] mtw=t tꜣ glg [...]*

C04.1, 13 *[...] mtw=t tꜣ sšt nt sšt nꜣ ... [...] ... my [...]*
F10, 4 *in mtw=t tꜣ sšt [...]*

C04.1, 14 *[... mt]w[=t tꜣ ...] ... [...]*
F10, 5 *in mtw=t tꜣ mr [...]*
V04, 23 *[...] glp (?) [...]*

F10, 6 *in mtw=t tꜣ ibt [...]*
V04, 24 *[...] ... in mtw=t [...]*

Uncertain placement
V04, 25 *[...] ... [...]*

C04.2, 1 *[...] inky sꜣ s iw=f ... [...]*
F10, 7 *inky sꜣ s [...]*

C04.2, 2 *[...] mḫy r ir (?) [...]*
F10, 8 *tw=y (?) mḫ (?) [...]*

Translation

C04.1, 8. [... these] beasts, these birds, these ... [...] ... which possess no herdsman [...]

C04.1, 9. She who catches them (?) in a marshy region (?) ... [...] to hunt ... [...]

C04.1, 10. [...] every sort of net of (?) their hunting ... [...] ... hunting in truth (?) [...]

C04.1, 11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "The four (?) good nets ... [...] the father judges ... [...]

C04.1, 12. Are you the huntress who hunts [...] ... judge me ... [...]

C04.1, 13. Are you the trapper who traps the ... [...] ...

C04.1, 14. Are you the ... [...]

F10, 5. Are you the one who binds [...]

F10, 6. Are you the bird-trapper [...]

C04.2, 1. I am the son of a man who ... [...]

C04.2, 2. I am like unto ... [...]

Commentary

C04. 1, 8: The author lists a series of animals, the first being *tp n i3w.t*, "Vieh," *Glossar*, p. 17. The thought behind this line well coincides with that expressed in the first preserved columns of B01, 1/7, and B02, 1/2.

The determinative of the second type of animal implies *ipt.w*, "birds."

Restore perhaps *dtf.t*, "reptiles," "Gewürm," *Glossar*, p. 688, in the lacuna.

The line apparently concludes with a relative negative possession clause.

The first *mtw*, which would be the relative pronoun, is written differently, however, from the clear *mtw=w* which follows.

Mny, "Hirt," *Glossar*, p. 160, displays a distinctly hieratic form.

C04.1, 9: *Sšt* is probably *sḫt*, "Vögel mit dem Netz fangen," *Wb.* 4, 262/3–263/2.

The reading of the suffix object of *sšt* is not secure.

Qbḥ, "Wassergebiet," *Glossar*, p. 535, is not certain, but *ḥ* seems possible. This locality is the destination of the marsh-birds, *Wb.* 5, 29/5–13.

Given the context, *glg* is presumably "hunt," *Glossar*, p. 586.

V04, 20: While the preserved traces may be *r*, we think it more probable that they belong to *mtw*, as a writing of *nt*.

C04.1, 10: *3ty* has the cloth determinative, and is older *i3d.t*, "Netz (besonders für Vogelfang und Fischfang)," *Wb.* 1, 36/8–11; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 38. This is possibly connected with the cult-center of Thoth, "the Temple of the Net," *ḥ.t-ibṯ*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 627. *ibṯ*, "Vogelfalle," *Wb.* 1, 65/1–2, is an ancient word; has it been modernized to *3ty*? See also *ibṯt*, "bird trap," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 61. On this rather mysterious sanctuary, also called "House of the Fish-net," see Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 152–54; it occurs, for example, in the Famine Stela, see Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 101.

The antecedent of the third person plural in *p3e=w* is unclear. The grammatical relationship between *3ty nb* and *p3e=w glg* is ambiguous; we render the phrase as a genitive.

Perhaps read *t3* before the lacuna.

M3ᶜ.t may be *m3ᶜ*, "place," *Glossar*, p. 149.

V04, 21: Read *p3y glg*?

C04.1, 11: The beginning of this line is uncertain. *Nfr.t 4.t* is reasonable; compare *nfr.t* in *t3 i3.t nfr.t* in C08, 2.

C04.1, 12: *in* introduces a series of questions. On such rhetorical questions, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 105–06. Curiously, the independent pronoun is feminine, which is odd if the *mr-rḫ* is speaking with the *Heseret*, i.e., "Thoth," or "Imhotep." The divine speaker was perhaps Seshat, the companion of Thoth (= Shai above); she may then be addressed in this passage.

Grg is here "to set up a net or snare," *Wb.* 5, 185/13–186/1. There may be a connection with the Coffin Text spells against the fish-net (spells 473–80, Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, pp. 107–126).

Wpy (with *ṯy* as the object?) parallels *it wpy* of the preceding line.

F10, 3: This crucial fragment provides the link first with C04.2, then to B01, and thus to the great Book of Thoth (= B02).

C04.1, 13: *Sšt* is again *sḫt*, "to trap birds."

C04.1, 14: The context suggests that *mr* is "to bind," *Wb.* 2, 105/1–8; *Glossar*, p. 166.

V04, 23: *Glp* is insecure.

F10, 6: The last word may be *ibt*, for *ibṯ.t*, "Vogelfalle," "Vogelfänger," *Wb.* 1, 65/1–3. We had first read *i3w*, but this is unlikely.

C04.2, 1: The *mr-rḫ* emphasizes his suitability and claim for training by Thoth or Imhotep. *S3*, *Glossar*, p. 402, is more likely than *sn*, *Glossar*, pp. 435–36. *S3 s*, "son of a man," is probable, given the well-known phrase *s3 s*, "Sohn eines Mannes," *Wb.* 3, 406/1. For this very significant expression, see Fischer-Elfert, *Lehre eines Mannes*, pp. 299–312, who renders, by explication, "Mann von Rang," ibid., p. 299.

F10, 7: This is an excellent writing of *s*,"man," *Glossar*, p. 400.

C04.2, 2: This version resembles *ir ḫy* (compare *Glossar*, p. 349), but *mḫy r*, "be like to," *Glossar*, pp. 175–76, is not impossible. The *ir* is uncertain; *w*, for example, is an alternative transliteration.

F10, 8: *Tw=y* is the most likely reading, but the initial signs are unclear.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 1 of B02

Transliteration

B01, 1/1	*ḫr=f*	*Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f in ḫr=k ṯ -ᶜ.wy n p3 nt rḫ ir ḫr in mtry p3 rḫ p3 (?)*
	[nt] iw=w ir=f	
C04.2, 3	***[ḫr]=f***	***Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f ḫr [...]***
F10, 9	***ḫr=f n***	***Ḥs-rḫ [...]***
V04, 26	***[...] ḫr=f n***	***Ḥsr.t [...]***

B01, 1/2	*in*	*it p3 nt ti.t smt (n) s3=f ḫr in ḥtl n šbt ḫr in mr-sb3 p3 nt mtl*
C04.2, 4	*ḫr in*	*it p3 nt ti.t [...]*
F10, 10	*in*	*it [...]*
V04, 27	*[...] in*	*it (?) [...]*

B01, 1/3	*i3b (?) r ib*	*ls p3 nt ti.t ḫpr sl3*	*t3 sḫ.t nt ms n3e=s ms.w nt r wᶜ*
C04.2, 5–6	*i3b (?) r ib*	*ls [.....] /*	*t3 sḫ.t nt ms [...]*
V04, 28	*[...] ... [...]*		

B01, 1/4 *tny r ms in w‘ tty (?) pr.t-ḫrw pꜣ nt tỉ.t n=s ‘nḫ ḥqry mtw=f nt ḫl šꜥ.t=s*
C04.2, 7 *[…] w‘.t tty … […]*

B01, 1/5 *pry s nꜣ šn.w šs (?) nꜣ sḥn (?) ḫstb.w mf[ky …] ỉn ỉt pꜣ nt ỉr n=w ṯ-myt*
C04.2, 8 *pry=y s […]*

B01, 1/6–7 *ḫr ỉn sbꜣ pꜣ nt mtry nꜣ ꜥꜥ.w nꜣ ỉpt.w ḫr ḫpr n=w sbꜣ.t / ỉḫ n ḥ.t tꜣy ʒ=w*
B02, 1/1 *[……] ꜥꜥ.w nꜣ ỉpt.w ḫr ḫpr n=w sbꜣ.t ỉḫ ḥ.t tꜣy ʒ=w*
[…]
C04.2, 9 *nꜣ ꜥꜥ.w […]*

B01, 1/7 *ꜥnꜣ tp-n-ỉꜣw.t [nt ḥr nꜣ] tw.wy ỉn bn-ỉw m-tỉ=w ṯ-myt*
B02, 1/2 *[…] tp-ỉꜣw.t nt ḥr nꜣ tw.w ḫr ḫpr n=w ṯ-myt […]*
C04.2, 10 *nꜣ tp-n-ỉꜣw.t […]*

B01, 1/8 *tꜣ ḥ.t … tꜣ mn[ḥṯ.t] pꜣ sp ỉ-ỉr sḫy n-ỉm=s (?) h-wn-nꜣ.w (?) pꜣ nt … ꜥḥ.ṯ=f (?)*
B02, 1/3 *[tꜣ ḥ.]t … tꜣ mnḥy.t pꜣ sp ỉ-ỉr s[ḫy ……]*
C04.2, 11 *ḥ.t […]*

B01, 1/9 *r ḥ.t pꜣ nt sꜥr=sn … ṯs … y … pꜣ sꜣw … pꜣ nt mtry*

B02, 1/4 *[…] h-w-wn-nꜣ.w … r=f … pꜣ nt sꜣl ḥ.t ḥs ṯs […]*
C04.2, 12 *h-wn-nꜣ.w pꜣ nt […]*

B01, 1/9a *ḥr m … šbt … n w‘ …*

B02, 1/5 *[…] … tꜣ mꜣꜥ.t ỉ-ỉr šꜥ spḫr … […]*
C08, 1 **N.b. supra *mḥ*-9** *[…] … […]*
C04.2, 13 *[…] … […]*

B01, 1/10–11 *tr=w (?) ḥꜣt n R‘ … nꜣ rḫ.w (?) … bw-ỉr=w ḫrr (?) … ‘.t ỉw=s ỉrm=w / tꜣ ꜥꜥb (.t) nfr.t n tꜣ ỉt.w …*
B02, 1/6–7 *[…] … ỉb n R‘ pꜣ nt tỉ.t rḫ [……] / ……] tꜣ ỉt.w […]*
C08, 2 *[……] ỉw=s ỉrm=w tꜣ ỉꜣw.t nfr.t (?) n […]*

B01, 1/10a *pꜣ ꜥꜥpꜣy (?) bw-ỉr=f ḫr …*

B01, 1/11–12 *… ỉ-ỉr tỉ.t s ḫn … ỉw=f šw (or nw?) n pꜣ ḫn / n tꜣ swḥy*
C08, 3 *[…] …… ỉw=f šw (or nw?) n pꜣ ḫn n tꜣ […]*

B01, 1/12 *ỉ-ỉr=w … tꜣ sḫ.t … r pꜣ ḫbs ḥꜣ.t=w ỉw=w šp-‘nḫ*
B02, 1/8 *[…] …… r pꜣ ḫbs ḥꜣ.t=w ỉw=w šp-‘nḫ*
C08, 4 *[…] ……ḥ.t r pꜣ ḫbs ḥꜣ.t=w ỉw=w š[p-‘nḫ …]*

B01, 1/13 *ḫnty ḥ.t Ḥsry pꜣ… ms ḥꜣṯ=w ḏ n pꜣ sntr nꜣ twy ḫnq.t (?) ḫnt ṯ-ḥ …*
B02, 1/8–9 *n ḫnt Ḥ[sr.t … / …] … n […]*
C08, 5 *[……] … ḥꜣṯ=w n pꜣ ḏ n pꜣ sntr nꜣ tꜥy … ḥ.t … […]*

B01, 1/14 *ḫrꜥ.t tr=w pꜣ nt ỉw=w n-ỉm=f (?) ḥꜣt (or ỉb) n Rꜥ pꜣ nt tỉ.t nꜣ*
rḫ[…]… ṯ=f (?) ỉmy.w (?) …
B02, 1/10 *[……] pꜣ nt tỉ.t*
rḫ=w • […….]
C08, 6 *[……] tr=w mtw=w n-ỉm=f ỉb n Rꜥ pꜣ nt tỉ.t nꜣ*
rḫ.w …

B01, 1/15 *nꜣe=f sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ.w nꜣ nt ỉw=f r tny=w n tꜣe=f (?) …*
B02, 1/11 *[……] nꜣ nt ỉw=f tny=w n tꜣ … […]*
C08, 7 *[…] m ṯp n (?) nꜣe=f sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ.w nꜣ nt ỉw=f tny=w […]*

B01, 1/16 *pꜣ … š… Šꜥy lg (?) ḥꜣt=f m … nt nꜣ twꜣ.w n ỉstn ḥq*
B02, 1/12 *[……]=y nꜣ twꜣ.w n ỉstn ḥ[…]*
C08, 8 *[…]y lyqy ḥꜣṯ=f n-ỉm=w mtw […]*

B01, 1/17 *… rt (?) =f … n ꜥꜥ.t=f m-sꜣ=f…… ꜥỉnꜥ ḥꜣt=f pꜣ nt ḥr (?) ꜣt=w (?)*
B02, 1/13 *[……] ỉn ḥꜣt=f pꜣ nt tỉ.t n=w […]*
C08, 9 *[…]… ṯ=f n-ỉm=w m-sꜣ=f ỉn ḥꜣt=f pꜣ […]*
F09, 1 *[…]… […]*

B01, 1/18 *… skf (?) nꜣ ‘ry.w nt (?) ỉw=w twt mtry [ỉw=w ỉr] pr-ḥḏ n pr-mḏy*
B02, 1/14 *[…… mtr]y.t • ỉw=w ỉr pr-ḥḏ n […]*
B08.3, 1 *[…… m]ḏy*
C08, 10 *[……] nꜣ ‘ry.w ỉw=w twt (?) m[…]*
F09, 2 *[…]… […]*

B01, 2/1 *ỉ-ỉr=w wn ḫr wꜥ ky ḥn št-ntr pꜣe=w ḥm [pꜣ nt sꜣ] n-ỉm=w*
B02, 1/15 *[…]…… r (?) pꜣe=w ḥm pꜣ nt sꜣl […]*
L01, 1/1 *[…]…… =f (?)ꜥ pꜣe=w ḥmꜥ r ỉr sꜣꜥn-ỉm=wꜥ*
B08.3, 2 *[……] sꜣ n-ỉm=w*
C08, 11 *[……] kꜣy ḥn šs̈t […]*
F09, 3 *[……] pꜣ nt ỉr sꜣ […]*

B01, 2/2 *ỉwn (?) … ꜣky ḥn n … ḥn nꜣ mḏy.w [tw]t gs=f*
B02, 1/16 *[……]n nꜣ mḏy.w tw[t …]*
L01, 1/2 *[……] ḫn nꜣ mḏy.w twt r ‘gꜥsf*
B08.3, 3 *[…… m]ḏy.w twt.ṯ r gs=f*
C08, 12 *[…]…… ḫr (?) […….]*
F09, 4 *[……] mḏy.w twt … […]*

Continuation of Text Based on Column 1 of B02 (line numbering follows B01)

Translation

1. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** "Do you lead for (or "say 'leader' to") the one who knows how to act // or does the wise one instruct that (?) [which] they will do?
2. Is a father the one who gives an example (to) his son // or the compulsion of the stick or is the school-master the one who instructs?
3. Control (?) over the heart and tongue is that which causes a prophet to come about. // The field is that which gives birth to her children which are as one (?).
4. Have respect (?) for the offspring! Is fruit (?) of the mortuary offering-prayer that which gives life to it (the field)? A hungry man, he is the one who will take away a piece.
5. Behold them (or "What are they"), the trees and the ... of lapis lazuli and tur[-quoise]? Is it (not) the father who makes for them guidance?
6. Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them,
7. (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?
8. The Chapter ... of the scribal equipment, the occasion of gaining authority over it. The one who would have ascended (?)
9. before the one who caused them to ascend ... the amulet ... the one who instructs

B02, 1/4. [...] ... the one who prophesizes ... [...]
B01, 1/9a. upon ... stick ... in a ...
B02, 1/5. ... the (female) ... who began writing (= Seshat?) ... [...]
B01, 1/10–11. all of them (?). The heart of Re (?), ... the wise ones (?) ... They do not delay (?) ... a limb, it being with them. / The good chapel (or "office"?) in the land of fathers ...
B02, 1/6–7 [...] ... heart of Re is that which gives wise ones [... / ...] land of fathers [...]
B01, 1/10a. It is the sacred animal (?). He does not say (?) ...
B01, 1/11–12. ... who placed it in ... it being dry (or "he seeing"?) in the interior of / the egg.
B01, 1/12. They ... the field ..., while the lamp is before them, they being (as) a living image.

13. of the foremost one of the temple of Heseret ... the ... off-spring (or "offerings") being before (?) them ... in the jar of the (or "spell of the") incense, the bread and beer (?) ... before ...
14. the sustenance entirely (?). The one from whom they are, the heart of Re is that which gives the wise ones [...] ... him (?) ...
15. His sons of the *wn-im3.w*-priests are (?) the ones whom he will raise up in his (?) ...
16. the ... of Shai (= Seshat) harms (or "bends") his heart ... the praises of *Isten*, ruler (?) ...

17. ... his ... in his limb after him ... Is his heart that which is upon them?
18. The collection (?) of the reeds, which (?) are gathered together (as) a teaching, they making a treasury in the house of books.

B01, 2/1. They reveal another box of divine-secrets. Their craftsman is the one who interprets (or "prophesizes") about them.
B01, 2/2. ... an old one from ... to a ... box of the papyrus-rolls entirely (?) at his side (?).

Commentary

Line 1

B01: *Ḥs-rḫ* is a variant of *Ḥsr.t*, the usual epithet of Thoth in this text. *Ḥsr.t* is the quarter of Hermopolis most closely connected with Thoth, "die Nekropole von Hermopolis," *Wb.* 3, 168/12; see Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 151–52.

The *Ḥs-rḫ* apparently distinguishes here between the *rḫ*, "the one who has learned," i.e., the "learned one," and the one who *mtr*, "teaches." Thoth emphasizes the priority of the teacher, and deals with the transmission of knowledge in the following statements.

Ḥr is "sprechen," *Glossar*, p. 365. *Ḥr=f* introduces or follows direct speech or quotes, see *Wb.* 3, 317/18–19; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 744. On the relatively rare form *ḫr=f*, "he says/said," see Vittmann, *Rylands*, pp. 365–66; Smith and Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, p. 84 (in *ḫr=s*, "so she said"). This phrase usually introduces the divine speaker in the Book of Thoth. We have found no parallel to the pattern: *ḫr*+ suffix+*n*+noun subject + *ḏd=f*. See also Ray, "Phrases used in Dream-texts," in Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, p. 87. It is perhaps significant that *ḫrw*, "voice," is sometimes employed in Demotic to introduce direct speech, M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 72. While we have used the present tense for *ḫr*, it is also possible, and perhaps preferable, to put it in the past tense, as is indeed done by both Vittmann, ibid. and Smith and Tait, ibid. This question of tense is not insignificant with regard to the nature of the composition.

If *ḫr=f* is understood verbally in the present ("he says"), it is awkward to translate *ḏd=f* as the past "he said." We render it also as a present, as if *ḏd=f* were an old circumstantial form, "as he says." *D* is written with the horizontal line and short vertical cross-stroke in this position throughout the composition; on the form of *ḏd*, see *Glossar*, p. 691. Ryholt discusses this writing of *ḏd* under hieratic influence, Frandsen and Ryholt (eds.), *Miscellany*, p. 117.

in, which introduces questions in this text, precedes "any main clause form," Johnson, *Thus Wrote ʿOnchsheshonqy*, p. 54. Here it comes before a *sḏm=f* (prospective?), *ḫr=k*. We think this preferable to understanding *ḫr=k ṯ-ʿ.wy* as the older aorist construction, *ḫr=f sḏm*.

T-ʿ.wy (not in *Glossar*) may be identical with the *ṯ-ʿ.wy*, rendered "determinations," Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, pp. 72–73. Borghouts, "The Evil Eye of Apopis," *JEA* 59 (1973): 136, translates *ṯ-ʿ* as a title, "leader," in the sentence "The son-of-Re (Caesar) is in the House of the Sound Eye as a leader (*ṯ-ʿ*) in the place of battle." For the house determinative of *ʿ.wy*, compare *ḥ.t* in B01, 1/8. This may be an unetymological writing of ⲭⲟⲟⲩ, "schicken, senden," *KHWB*, pp. 437–38, although the meaning is not then self-evident. It appears to be a positive quality.

The supralinear stroke of *rḫ* is lost.We take *rḫ ỉr* together, although other interpretations are possible.

Ḥr following *ỉr* is the particle "although, whereas, but, however," *DLE* 2, pp. 187–88. This clause may parallel the preceding one, namely, *ḫr ỉn* (question particle) followed by *mtry* as a verb, with *rḫ* as the subject. It seems to be another example of the use of this particle apart from the aorist construction, see Vittmann, *Rylands*, pp. 503–04. The *ỉn* does appear to introduce a question here, and *ḫr ỉn* in B01 1/1–2 may be the double question discussed in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, p. 223. It is perhaps the Demotic equivalent of the Coptic ϣⲁⲛ, on which see Johnson, "The Coptic Conditional Particles *ŠAN* and *ENE* in Demotic," *JNES* 32 (1973): 167–69.

The damaged sign following *mtry* may be *pȝ*, comparing, e.g., B01, 1/4. Also possible is *n*.

Pȝ [*nt*] *ỉw=w ỉr=f* at the end of the line is uncertain. We transliterate *ỉr* here, and take the supralinear stroke above *ỉr* as belonging to the palimpsest. Otherwise the group could be read as *ḏ*.

C04.2, 3: Given the graphic similarity between *t* and *ḫ*, variation between *Ḥsr.t* and *Ḥsrḫ* is not surprising.

Line 2: Thoth discusses the nature of learning and teaching.

B01: *Smt*, "example," *Glossar*, pp. 434–35, is preferable to *spd*, "to supply, equip," *Glossar*, p. 424, *spd*, "tüchtig," *Wb.* 4, 108/15–110/8, or *sbȝ*, "teaching." The word concludes with the book-roll determinative, comparing *sbȝ.t* in B01, 1/7. For the idiom, compare ϯ-ϩⲙⲟⲧ, "gestalten, formen," *KHWB*, p. 187. We might also translate: "Is a father the one who forms his son?"

Sȝ, *Glossar*, p. 402, is one possibility. Still, the slanting stroke above the *f* is hard to explain in a writing of *sȝ*, *Glossar*, p. 402.

Ḫr ỉn again appears here, as in B01, 1/1, for the question series. *ỉn* is written in a hieratic fashion.

Ḥtl is probably *ḥtr*, "compel," *Glossar*, p. 343.

Šbt is "Stock," *Glossar*, p. 499.

Mr-sbȝ is an attractive reading; compare *mr sbȝ*, "Vorsteher der Lehrer," *Wb.* 4, 85/3–4. Another example is in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, p. 14. For the form of *mr*, compare *Glossar*, p. 166. See also: Černý, "An alternative etymology of the Bohairic Word for 'interpreter of dreams,'" *JEA* 50 (1964): 184 (on the title *sbȝ pr-ʿnḫ*, "teacher of the House of Life").

Line 3

B01: The first group seems to be the Demotic form of the rather complicated *ỉȝb*-sign. The initial vertical stroke is probably a reed-leaf.

The group may be identical with the unread sign in Onkhsheshonqy 13/4, see Thissen, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 140. The same writing appears in C04.2 (with the addition of the two slanting strokes). This is probably *ỉȝb*, comparing the *ȝb* sign, Gardiner U23 (=Möller, *HP* 2, p. 43, number 485), or the *ỉȝby* sign, Gardiner R15 (=Möller, *HP* 2, p. 52, number 578), *Glossar*, p. 17, although we have also considered *mr*, that is, the *mr*-chisel, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 46 number 484. The sign in the Book of Thoth further resembles Möller, *HP* 3, number 502, Gardiner W14, *ḥs/sbn*. The equally puzzling word in Demotic, read *mr*, Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, p. 31, is also used in association with the heart, *ỉhm mr r ḫȝt*, "Trauer und Schmerz (ist es) für das Herz." Unfortunately, there does not seem to be a totally convincing translation for the group if read *ỉȝb*, although compare *ỉȝb*, apparently meaning "evil, evil condition," e.g., M, Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 69. Another possibility is to equate *ỉȝb* with *ȝb*, "aufhören," *Wb.* 1, 6/2–16. An unpublished Carlsberg papyrus, PC 643, line 6, supports the reading *ỉȝb*. That writing has the jar with the two strokes followed by *by*. In our context a good action or activity is required, which will ultimately result in becoming a "prophet" who has attained the highest stage of knowledge. On the heart and tongue, see Beinlich, *Osirisreliquien*, p. 271; Quack, "Korrekturvorschläge," *Enchoria* 21 (1994): 70.

Slȝ, frequent in this text, is *sr*, "verkünden, anzeigen," *Glossar*, p. 441. Another spelling with aleph is in *Glossar*.

While *sḫ.t*, "field," is an attractive reading, *Glossar*, p. 451, the image is unclear. The "field" may be figuratively the papyrus roll which is elsewhere said to give birth to new words (cf. B02, 6/4; B04, 8/4).

R after *nt* is presumably the stative of *ỉr*, *Glossar*, p. 36. The meaning of the phrase "which are as one" is obscure.

Line 4

B01: *Tny* is probably *tn*, "to raise, distinguish," *Glossar*, p. 635.

The traces following *tny* fit *r ms*, but the sense of *tny r ms* is difficult. It evidently continues the thought of the previous sentence, which deals with the product (*ms*) of the "field."

The two words after *wʿ* also present a problem. The parallels are good, although B01 has the masculine indefinite article, while C04.2 has the feminine. We had first read *bty* in C04.2 but now think *tty* is preferable. This may be *tt*, "Frucht, Ertrag," *Glossar*, p. 663. Another possibility is *ϯⲧⲟ, "geben lassen," *KHWB*, p. 248 (citing then *Glossar*, p. 605).

The complicated word in B01 following *tty* is best resolved as *pr-ḫrw*, "funerary offering," *Glossar*, p. 135. This group was liable to reinterpretation in Demotic, Vittmann, "Die Mumienschilder in Petries Dendereh," *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 160 (*pr-ḫrw* written as *pr-ḥḏ*, "house of drunkenness"). However, it is not possible to transliterate *pr-ḫrw* in C04.2, 7.

Ỉ.t in *pȝ nt ỉ.t* is not certain, since the sign seems to be rather different from the example in B01, 1/3, where there is the expected tick at the bottom of the cross-stroke. *Wn*, "open," is another possibility, comparing the *wn* in B01, 2/1.

The *ʿnḫ* would be written in an abbreviated fashion.

The determinative of *ḥqrỉ* is the hieratic man with drooping arms, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 3, number 32. The *q* of *ḥqrỉ* is difficult to discern, and perhaps another reading is required, especially as the determinative is unusual for that word. For *ḥqr*, "hungern, der Hungrige, der Arme," see *Glossar*, p. 334.

Mtw=f is plausible for the following damaged group. This would be the independent pronoun in a nominal sentence. One might have expected *mtw=f pȝ nt ḫl*, but examples without the definite article also occur, Johnson, "Demotic Nominal Sentences," in Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, p. 420.

Ḫl is either *ḫlʿ*, "to scatter," *Glossar*, p. 395, or *ḫl*, "to rob," *Glossar*, p. 368. However, the writing of *ḫl* with the *ḫr* group is odd.

The reading of the word at the end of the line is uncertain. Following *šʿ* (or *še*), there

is a curiously stacked group resembling the *bnr* sign above a *t* and a stroke. For the *t* compare *twt* at B01, 2/2. An apparent suffix *s* concludes the word. This may be equivalent to *šʿ.t=s*, "piece," *Glossar*, p. 493; *KHWB*, p. 331; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, p. 825.

Line 5

B01: *Pry* has the eye determinative, comparing *nw*, "to see," *Glossar*, p. 209. It is either *ptr*, "to see," *Glossar*, p. 136, *ptr*, "behold," *Wb.* 1, 564/20–23, or the old interrogative *ptr* (< *pw tr sw/sy*, "what is it?"), *Wb.* 1, 506/6. It occurs clearly in B02, 6/2, as the interrogative pronoun, where another version (L01, 3/20) has *pyt*. This interrogative does not seem otherwise to be attested in Demotic.

After *nꜣ* merely *šn*, "tree," *Glossar*, p. 513, is written. The following sign may be *šs*, "linen," *Glossar*, p. 522, or *ḥbs*, "clothes, cover," *Glossar*, pp. 300–01. However, it may be merely a determinative, suggesting that the best translation is *šn*, "net," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9. This may be associated with the *ꜣty.t*, "net," mentioned several times in the previous column. An alternative is to read *šnt*, "Tracht," or "Dornakazie," *Glossar*, p. 516, and understand the "cloth" sign again as a determinative.

The problematic word following *nꜣ* begins with an *s*. Possibilities are *sḫn*, uncertain translation, *stp*, "to choose, choice," *Glossar*, p. 477, *skꜣ* or *sg*, having the meaning of "to make small, to mill, to quarry," *KHWB*, p. 180. One might expect a combination with "lapis lazuli," in the sense of "to quarry" or "work" the stone (= *skꜣ* "to cultivate"?).

For *ḫstb*, "lapiz lazuli," see *Glossar*, p. 369.

For *ṯ-myt*, "guidance," see *Glossar*, p. 666.

Compare C04.7, 10–11: *i-ir qmꜣ ... n.w* (?) *n sḫ.t* [... / ...] ... *ḫstb mſky* [...], "who created ... of the field [... / ...] ... lapis lazuli and turquoise [...]."

Line 6: The deity raises the subject of knowledge in animals. Here begins B02.

B01: On the capacity of animals to learn, see, e.g., Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 6, col. 560 ("Tier, Verhältnis zum"). One may compare such statements as that in P. Lansing 2/6, "So also a cow is bought this year, and it plows the following year. It learns to listen to the herdsman; it only lacks words," Lichtheim, *AEL* 2, p. 169.

The object of *mtr* may be *nꜣ ʿ.w*, in which case translate: "Is a father the one who instructs the sacred animals and the birds; but teaching accrues to them; what is the book chapter which they have read?"

Tꜣ-r (relative form) is written as *tꜣy*.

Line 7

B01: Read perhaps *tw.w*, and not *tw.wy*.

Significant are the variants between B01 and B02 here. In B01 the negative question is employed, while B02 has the aorist. The meaning remains the same.

In B01 *bn-ỉw* is written for *mn*.

Line 8

B01: There are traces above the end of the line as well.

Ḥ.t, "chapter," introduces a new subject; on *ḥ.t*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 80. The following passage deals with the ritual of the presentation (*sʿr* is in line B01, 1/9) or use of the scribal equipment. There is probably a word following *ḥ.t*; perhaps read *tp.t*,

"first"; neither *nṯr* or *sḫ* is likely. One might expect a numeral, "the second chapter," or similar. In both versions the signs are identical (three in number, the first being a vertical stroke descending beneath the base line). The most recent collation suggests *ḥ.t ỉrm*.

Mnḥt.t is *mnḫd*, "Schreibgerät," *Wb.* 2, 83/3. It is an archaic term, found mostly in Pyramid Texts and Dynasty 18. One expects *n-ỉm=s*, referring back to the feminine *mnḥt.t*, but the *s* is unclear; less likely is *n-ỉm=f*.

The connection between the first phrase, ... *mnḥt.t* and *pꜣ sp* ... is difficult. It is possibly a genitive relationship.

The reading at the end of the line is uncertain in the B01 version. It may be a nominal sentence: "The one who has ascended first is the one who causes the praises to ascend." *H-wn-nꜣ.w* usually introduces a contrary to fact condition or sentence, *Glossar*, p. 265; Johnson, *DVS*, p. 266.

ʾl.ṯ=f is awkward; perhaps merely *ʾl=f* is intended.

Line 9

B01: There are traces to the right of this column; one might propose *rmt*, "man."

For *r-ḥ.t*, "before," see *Glossar*, p. 287.

Sʿr is presumably *siʿr*, "emporsteigen lassen," and "etw. überreichen, darbringen," *Wb.* 4, 32/9–33/17. It is not in *Glossar*, although compare *sʿr*, "anordnen," *Glossar*, p. 442. This verb is used of the presentation of the scribal palette, see Weber, *Beiträge*, pp. 39–40; cf. also Aufrère, *Le Propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, p. 345. On the Edfu scenes of the presentation of the palette, see Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 1–26; A. Zivie, "L'Ibis, Thot et la coudée," *BSFE* 79 (1977): 37.

Sꜣw may be *sꜣ*, "Amulette," *Glossar*, p. 403, but *sꜣ*, "baboon," could also be understood, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 783.

B02, 1/4: The reading following *h-w-wn-nꜣ.w* is uncertain.

Ḥ.t ḫs ṯs is secure (also *ṯs* in B01 as well). *Ṯs* may be a writing of old *ḏs*, "self," as in P. Louvre E3452, 4/2 (see M. Smith, *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*). Alternatively, *ṯs* may be *ḏꜣys*, "Spruch," *Wb.* 5, 521/11–522/1, noting especially 521/19, "Lobsprüche." *Ḏꜣisw*, "spell, words of power," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1215–16, is especially found in connection with various terms for "praise," which may be the case here (*ḫs*). Furthermore, the *ḏꜣisw* are "divine beings," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1216–17, the personification of the divine utterance, and closely associated with Thoth and Seshat. *Ḥs ṯs*, "praised of words," or "He who praises words," may also be an epithet of Thoth himself.

Line 1/9a

B01: This line may be a gloss, perhaps pertaining to the line beneath dealing with amulets (positioning of same?).

For *šbt*, compare the writing in B01, 1/2.

C08: *Mḥ-9* may be written above the column.

B02 1/5: This line refers to Seshat. *Mꜣʿ.t* is uncertain.

Lines 10–11

B01: For *tr*, "all, entire," see *Glossar*, pp. 641–42.

Ḥꜣt n Rʿ may be identical with *ỉb n Rʿ*, "heart of Re," the epithet of Thoth, Boylan,

Thoth, p. 180. The flesh determinative of *ḥꜣt* would have an archaic form. Alternatively, *ꜥn sḫ* may be read, comparing *ꜥn*, "tablet, writing-board" (also in the compound *ꜥn n sḫ*), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 153.

Instead of *ḥrr*, "delay," *Glossar*, pp. 325–26, read perhaps *wrš*, "to spend the day," *Glossar*, p. 95.

For *ꜥ.t*, "limb, member," see *Glossar*, p. 51.

ꜥb (with the house determinative) may be *ꜥb.t*, "altar, chapel," *Glossar*, p. 58. However, in C08, *iꜣw.t* is written. The variation is probably due to the resemblance between certain spellings of *iꜣw.t*, "office," *Glossar*, p. 16, and *ꜥb.t*.

For "land of the fathers," compare "sein Heimatsland, das Land 'seiner Väter' und ähnlich," *Wb.* 5, 215/7. While that translation yields sense, this phrase, which occurs several times in the Book of Thoth, may in fact be an unorthographic spelling of another term or name.

Line 1/10a: This short line may be a gloss.

B01: *ꜥ*, "sacred animal" or "heir," *Glossar*, p. 56, is possible, but the word lacks a determinative (unless *pꜣy* is understood as the animal-skin determinative).

Ḫr is a secure reading, but this could be again an unorthographic writing of another verb (e.g., *rḫ*) and not *ḫr*, "to speak," *Glossar*, p. 365.

Line 11

B01: *i-ir tꜣ.t* is presumably a perfect participle, but the noun subject is lost. While *nw*, "to see," *Glossar*, p. 209, gives attractive sense, the double cross stroke favors the reading *šw*, *Glossar*, pp. 494–95. Most recent collation suggests that the bottom stroke may belong to *f* in *iw=f*.

For *swḥ.t*, "egg," see *Glossar*, p. 417; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 812–13. In Mythus 8/19 the "egg of Shu," *swḥ.t Šw*, appears, Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 27. The *swḥ.t* is perhaps the "Farbnapf," generally a "Muschelschale," Budde, *Seschat*, p. 254; *swḥ.t*, "Napf o.ä. (ob: halbes Straussenei?)," *Wb.* 4, 74/3.

Line 12

B01: The verb is lost after the second tense *i-ir=w*; perhaps read *i-ir=w wꜣḥ s*.

Tꜣ sḫ.t is plausible, comparing B01, 1/3, but the following word is damaged.

R pꜣ ḫbs is a circumstantial clause. The subject is a ritual ceremony conducted before sacred images.

The translation assumes that this is not "they will accept a bouquet," but rather a nonverbal sentence with *n*, "as," understood. In B01 *šsp* is written with the hand hieroglyph, Gardiner D48, as in *šp*, "palm-measure," *Glossar*, p. 503 (there "Nomen," but see M. Smith, "Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts," in Junge [ed.], *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, p. 388). The form resembles Möller, *HP* 3, number 114. For *šp ꜥnḫ*, "living image," see *Wb.* 4, 536/6; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1028–29. Compare *iy.ti m ḥtp snn n ỉsdn šsp ꜥnḫ n ḫnty-Ḥsr.t*: "Welcome, portrait of Isden, living image of 'the one who is at the front of Heseret,'" from Dendera, Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 74; *snn ꜥnḫ n* DN, Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 69.

Line 13

B01: Schott, *Abwehr des Bösen*, p. 46, observes that Old Egyptian "Der von *Ḥsr.t* (*imy ḫnt Ḥsr.t*)" is rendered in Late Egyptian by "Thoth." The determinatives of *Ḥsr.t* are difficult. Thoth is probably intended rather than Imhotep, comparing, for example, *nb Ḥsr.t* as a title of Thoth, Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 1171 ("Heseret").

The meaning of *ms ḥꜣt* is unclear; read perhaps *pꜣe=w ms*. Ryholt, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story," *JEA* 84 (1998): 157, discusses *ms-ḥꜣt*, from older *mstỉ n ḥꜣt*, "the basket of the heart," i.e., "chest." We had earlier transliterated *iw=w* (?) before *ms*.

Ḏ n pꜣ is much destroyed (*ḏ* is mostly lost in the hole), but the reading is secure. It is hard to recognize *sntr* in B01, comparing *Glossar*, p. 440, although the initial elements seem compatible with the writing of *sntr* in C08. But what can be the meaning of "saying of the incense?" We think that this could be either *ḏd*, "Becher," *Glossar*, p. 692; *Wb.* 5, 532/1–5 (used of a bowl in which incense is burned), or *tꜣ*, "pellet (of *sntr*)," *Wb.* 5, 341/4–342/3; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1156–57 (written *ḏ*).

Twy is a variant of *tꜥy*, "bread," *Glossar*, p. 608; compare also *t.wy*, "the two breads (?)," *Wb.* 5, 210/10. The last group may in fact be the expected plural sign, since otherwise this word lacks a determinative.

Ḥnq.t, "beer," *Glossar*, pp. 314–15, is possible, but the *q* is difficult.

Another word probably follows *ḫnt*; perhaps *ḫnt nꜣ* .... For *ḥ*, compare *ḥ* in *swḥy* in B01, 1/12.

The final sign in this line could be either *mḥ-1*, *sn*, or *sꜣ*.

C08: There is perhaps here a peculiar writing of *sntr*. We had read *tr ntr*, but this is probably a writing of *ntr*, with the *ntr*-sign followed by *tr*, comparing *Wb.* 2, 363.

Nꜣ is possible before the lacuna.

Line 14

B01: The line describes the role of Thoth (as the "heart of Re") acting on behalf of the "wise ones."

For *ḫr.t*, see *Glossar*, p. 389.

The group *tr=w* here is similar to that in B01, 1/10.

Pꜣ nt after *tr=w* is uncertain.

The flesh determinative is probably to be read at the end of the line, comparing B01, 1/17.

Transliterate possibly *nꜣe=f* ... (flesh det.), in parallel with the following *nꜣe=f sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ.w*.

C08: Read perhaps *ỉb n Rꜥ nꜣ nty nꜣ rḫ.w*.

Line 15

B01: This may be a nominal statement concerning the relationship between Thoth (*nꜣe=f*) and the *sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ* priests.

For *wn-ỉmꜣ*, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 229: "epithet of Thoth"; Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 184 (*wn-ỉmꜣ wn ḫnt Ns.t-ntr.w*, "the *wn-ỉmꜣ* presiding over the Temple of Edfu." On this priestly title, see also Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 395. One wonders whether there is a connection with the epithet of Thoth: *ḫry-ỉb ỉmꜣ*, "Thot dans l'arbre-*ima*," discussed by Sauneron, "Quelques Monuments de Soumenou au Musée de Brooklyn," *Kemi* 18 (1968): 69–71 (followed by the title "lord of the writings of the *pr-mḏꜣ.t*").

C08: At first, *imy.w-tp*, "the ones who are at the head," seemed possible at the beginning

of the line, as a priestly title, compare Meeks, *ALE 1*, pp. 26–27. This now appears unlikely.

Line 16

B01: *P3* is probable at the beginning of the line, with *ḥr* as an alternative transliteration, comparing *ḥr* in B01, 2/1.

However, the translation remains obscure. A problem is the sign following the initial *š*. The preserved traces do not suggest *f*, and perhaps a determinative, e.g., the arm with a stick is to be read. This may be *ḥrš*, "schwer sein," *Glossar*, p. 327. However, such a writing is not paralleled.

Šʿy, with the *t*, egg, and the seated goddess is likely. This is therefore not the masculine Shai, "fate," *Glossar*, pp. 485–86, but rather *šʿ.t*, an epithet of Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988; "die Uranfängliche," *Wb.* 4, 409/3–4. This aspect of Seshat appears elsewhere in the composition: B04, 7/22 *rḫ.t t3 i-ir š snt ʿ.t*, "wise one, she who first began the planning of the chamber." For *šʿy*, note the characteristic writing of the *ʿ*, as in *ḏbʿe*, "charcoal," in B01, 3/4.

Lg is probably related to *rq*, "jem. abwehren von (mit *r*)," "jemanden befeinden," *Wb.* 2, 456/9–10; compare also *rq-ib*, "Ausdruck für widersetzlich," *Wb.* 2, 456/11. The words written *lg* or similar are notoriously confusing. This is presumably *lgy*, *lyg*, "obstacle, Hindernis," *Glossar*, p. 265. See Quack, "Zu einer Formel der demotischen Viehdeklarationen," *Enchoria* 22 (1995): 222 (on *lg*, "remove").

The phrase *n3 tw3.w n ỉstn*, "the praises of *Isten*," occurs also in V01, 3/16. On *tw3*, "praise," see M. Smith, "Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts II," *Enchoria* 13 (1985): 103–04; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1186. For remarks on *tw3* and *sb3*, see P. Kaplony, "Definition der schönen Literatur," in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 312. There may also be a word play with *ṯy3*, "(hieroglyphic) sign," *Glossar*, p. 606.

Ḥq, "to rule," is discussed in M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 57. The verb is not in *Glossar*, which does, however, cite *ḥq*, "der Herrscher," and other derived forms, *Glossar*, p. 333.

Line 17

B01: The initial group may be *ỉn* (*ỉnw*?). Instead of ... *rt* (?) ... , transliterate possibly *ỉn-n3.w n3 ʿn tr.t=f*. The elements of *tr.t*, "hand," are present, *Glossar*, pp. 643, although doubts remain.

The traces fit the flesh determinative of *ʿ.t*, "limb," *Glossar*, p. 51. We have read *ʿ.t=f*. An alternative is *ʿš=f*.

M-s3=f would be a rather lengthy writing (*m-n-s3=f*?), *Glossar*, p. 405.

While *ỉt* at the end of the line is not impossible, the second sign is found in no quoted writing in *Glossar*, p. 12. Still, it does resemble the writings of *tp-ỉt=f* in the Book of Thoth, e.g., L01.5, 10/3.

Line 18

B01: The beginning of this sentence may also be read *ḥr kf*, and not ... *skf*. For *skf*, compare *n3e=f skf.w*, "ihre Ersparnisse," Quack, "Zwei verwechselbare demotische Wörter," *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 67. Nevertheless, it is probably a writing of *sk*, with the crocodile determinative understood as an *f*, *Glossar*, p. 466.

For *ʿry*, compare *ʿrw*, "reeds," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 165–66. This also denotes a writing brush. One wonders if there is not a confusion here with *ʿrt*, "papyrus-rolls," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 166.

Read perhaps *nt ỉw=w* in B01 after *ʿry.w*. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 159–61, discusses an *ʿrw* tree with Osirian associations.

For *pr-mḏ3.t*, "library" see *Glossar*, p. 194; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 353; Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 163.

Line 2/1: The author seems to shift to another topic.

B01: For *wn-ḥr*, see *Glossar*, p. 92 ("offenbaren"); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 230, see Lohwasser, *Die Formel "Öffnen des Gesichts"*; Fischer-Elfert, *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein*, pp. 28–32. Wilson observes that "It is particularly found at Edfu as the climax of rituals," *Lexikon*, p. 230.

One might have expected merely *ky hn*, but *wʿ ky hn* is written in B01.

Hn, "Art Krug," or "Kasten," *Glossar*, p. 277, also designates the wooden containers of papyrus scrolls, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 606.

Instead of *št-ntr*, we may perhaps read *št*, and take the vertical sign as the plural marker *w*, comparing *n-ỉm=w* at the end of this line. *Št* may be *šd*, "recite," *Wb.* 4, 563–564/16, but we have rendered it as related to *sšt3*, "be secret," and associated words, *Wb.* 4, 296–299/16. The horizontal sign with the vertical stroke may be a hieratic *t3*-sign, Möller, *HP* 3, number 317; it does not seem to be an *s*. On the writing of the *t3* sign in *ḫry sšt3*, see M. Smith, "Two further instances of hieratic writings of *sšt3*, '(secret) image, form', in demotic texts," *Enchoria* 12 (1984): 189. Unfortunately, the determinative of the word is damaged; one can hardly recognize either the divine determinative of *sšt*, "sacred form," or the man-with-hand-to-mouth of *št*, "to recite." One might also compare: *ḥn-šty.t*, "box of the crypt," from Edfu, quoted in Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 153. See further *ḥn št3*, "secret box," in the interesting postscript to Book of the Dead Spell 137A (18th Dynasty): "It was the late prince Hardjedef who discovered this roll in a secret box with texts of the god himself in the temple of Unut, Lady-of-Unu, when he made a revision in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt," translation of Kammerzell, "Within the Altar of the Sun," *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001): 160.

The *ḫm* would be the priest charged with the interpretation of these secret books or forms. Given the activities of the craftsmen as manufacturers of statues, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 645, one wonders whether *št* is not here in fact "images."

Line 2/2

B01: The author continues the subject of boxes containing sacred papyrus rolls.

ỉwn is doubtful at the beginning of the line.

ỉky may be identical with *ỉỉk*, "old man," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 34–35, with a possible reference also to *ỉk*, "stone quarry worker"; *ỉky*, "Steinmetz," *Glossar*, p. 12.

The first *hn* may be the compound preposition *r ḥn r*, "bis hin nach," *Glossar*, p. 276.

Hn, "box," may here have the wood and house determinative, the latter being unusual for this word, *Wb.* 2, 491/9–492/4. The parallel *ḫn* in L01 is uncertain.

Mḏy.w is *mḏ3.t*, "Buchrolle," *Glossar*, p. 194.

We take *twt* as "sammeln," *Glossar*, pp. 616–17, although the grammar is obscure (= stative?). Also possible is "statue," *Glossar*, p. 616. It seems less likely that this is a personal (or divine) name, *Twt* or Tat.

We understand *iw gsf*, as *r gs=f*, "at his/its side," identifying this with *gs*, "side," *Glossary*, p. 591, which can have the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

L01: The reading *ḫn* is uncertain, and possibly read *hn* here as well.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 2 of B02

Transliteration

B01, 2/3 *in-nꜣ[.w] rḫ-iḫy.w ṯsy ..... wʿ(ʔ) bt nꜣ ʿry.w pḥl [m] qṯ=f*
B02, 2/1 *[.....] ʿry.w pḫr qt=f*
L01, 1/3 *[.....] ⸢bnṯ.t⸣ nꜣ ꜣly.w pḫr n qty=f*
B08.3, 4 *[...] ṯ nꜣ ʿry.w pḫr n qt=f*
F09, 5 *[.....] nꜣ ʿry.w ..... [...]*

B01, 2/4–5 *grg=f nꜣ by.w Rʿ in bw-ir=w šms pꜣ nt wḫꜣ ir sl ḏ bn-iw=f / rḫ ir ḥm*
B02, 2/2 *[..... s]lꜣ ḏ bn-iw=f rḫ ir ḥm.*
L01, 1/4 *[.....] ... ⸢pꜣ (ʔ) nt (ʔ) wḫꜣ⸣ n slꜣ ḏ bn-iw=f rḫ ir ḥm*
B08.3, 5 *[..... šʃms pꜣ nt wḫꜣ slꜣ ḏ [bn-iw=f rḫ ir ḥm]*

B01, 2/6 *nꜣ rḫ-iḫy.w i-ir ḫpr tꜣ ḥ.t in bn mtw=w ḫ.t 2.nw* SPATIUM *ḫlʿ*
B02, 2/3 *[...] .....*
L01, 1/5 *[.....] tꜣ ḥ.t in bn-iw mtw=w ḫ.t 2.nw*
B08.3, 6 *[.....] mtw=w ḫ.t 2.nw*

B01, 2/7 *im ir=f ⸢mr⸣-sbꜣ [g]lp rꜣ=f n sbꜣ ʿm-ḫ.t*
B02, 2/4 *[.....] ʿm-ḫ.t.*
L01, 1/6 *[.....] qlp rꜣ=f ⸢n sbꜣ⸣ im-ḫ.t*
B08.3, 7 *[.....]=f sbꜣ ʿm-ḫ.t*

B01, 2/8–9 *gs n sḫ sḫ šft ... s (ʔ) nws tp-rꜣ hn / ntnt tp-mnṯ=f tp m wnw.t=f*
B02, 2/5 *[.....] ...*
L01, 1/7 *[.....] ... s ..... ns tp-rꜣ hn ntnt tp m wnw.t=f*
B08.3, 8 *[.....] mꜣnꜣṯ ... [...]*

B01, 2/9–10 *sḏm mt ꜣk[r.t] ... [...] bny-ls / slf n (ʔ) slf.w*
B02, 2/6 *[.....] srfe*
L01, 1/8 *[.....] bny-ls slf.t n slf.w*
B08.3, 9 *[..... sl]f n s[lf.w]*

B01, 2/10–11 *ʿꜣ (ʔ) ... ʿr ... twy ḥm gꜣ / qny m (ʔ) špš[...]*
B02, 2/7 *[.....] ḫpš=f*
B08.3, 10 *[.....] š[pš ...]*
L01, 1/9 *[...] ..... tꜣy ḥm glꜣ qn m špš*

B01, 2/11 *tꜣ ... bḥ ... t nf ... wʿ (ʔ) ..... nꜣ ...*
B02, 2/8 *[.....]*
L01, 1/10 *[...] ... fy ḏmḏm (ʔ) ..... nꜣ ...*

B01, 2/12–13 *in ... nꜣ ..... iw=w ṯsy ḏm iw=w ir ḫw / pḫl ib (ʔ)*
B02, 2/9 *[...] ..... ḫwꜣ ⸢pḫr ib⸣.*
L01, 1/11 *[...] ..... bꜣk.w Ḥr iw=w ṯsy ḏm n ḫwꜣ ⸢pḫr ib⸣*

B01, 2/13–14 *iw=w sḫ ... iw=w klš (ʔ) ... kny iw=w w[ʿ]f / n pꜣ ḥm ir 1,000*
B02, 2/10 *[...] ..... ḥm n ...*
L01, 1/12 *[.....] ... pꜣ qnw iw=w sl ḥm.w=f n pꜣ ḥm i-ir 1,000 [...]*

B01, 2/14–15 *r pꜣe=f ... m-sꜣ (ʔ) ... mtw ḥḥ ḫb=w / m-bꜣḥ*
B02, 2/11 *[...] ..... ḫb=w m-bꜣḥ=f*
L01, 1/13 *[...] ..... mtw ḥḥ ḫb=w m-bꜣḥ=f*

B01, 2/15–16 *pꜣe=f mr [iw=f ḫn] ʿ.t (ʔ)- kky nb iw pꜣ mtr r sḫt n=f (ʔ) / tk* SPATIUM *tq.w*
B02, 2/12 *[.....] ... =f tyq*
L01, 1/14 *[.....] kky nb r pꜣ mtr r sḫṯ n=f*

B01, 2/16 *in iw=f ... is.t [tꜣ] sbb ḏ.t ... iw=w r ḏf=f r nꜣe=f qs.w*
B02, 2/13 *[.....] ..... ḏfꜣ=f r nꜣe=f qs.w.*
L01, 1/15 *[...] ..... iw=w r ḏf=f iw nꜣe=f qs.w*

B01, 2/17 *iw=w r ir pʿy (ʔ) ḫn nꜣe=f [sp]ty.w [iw=w r w]bk nꜣe=fʿ.wt*
B02, 2/14 *[.....] ..... nꜣe=fʿ.wt*
L01, 1/16 *[.....] spṯ.w iw=w r wbk nꜣe=fʿ.wt*

B01, 2/18 *iw=s ir b ... ḏ r ḥꜣt=f ..... kk nꜣe=f kky*
B02, 2/15 *[.....] ..... nꜣe=f kky*
L01, 1/17 *[.....] r ḥ.t (ʔ) tꜣ ʿ.t i-ir kky nꜣe=fʿ.wy kky.w*

B01, 2/19 *... in iw=f ḫpr [iw] šw ... tꜣe=... r nꜣ bs.w r s[... ḫr] ḥ.t=f*
B02, 2/16 *[.....] ... ḥ.t=f*
L01, 1/18 *[.....] ..... =f r nꜣ bs.w r stkn (ʔ) ḫr ḥ.ṯ=f*

Translation

1. If a magician (or "scholar") raises (?) ..., a field, the reeds go about him (or "it").
2. He has supplied the *bas* of Re. Do they not serve the one who desires (to be) a prophet, since (or "so that") he will not be able to become a craftsman?
3. As for the magicians (or "scholars") who came into existence earlier, do they not have a second party? SPATIUM "Helper."
4. Let him act as a school-master. May his mouth reveal the teaching of the one who understands the body.
5. Incline to the scribe! Write a book ...! Pronounce a spell! Be disposed to ask advice of the one in his moment (or "horoscopist," "astronomer")!
6. Hear the good word! ... [...] Be sweet of tongue! Be the most meditative of the meditating ones! (Alternative: "Be the most industrious of the industrious ones!")
7. ... hieroglyphic sign, craftsman. Let him who is strong of arm be at rest (?)!
8. The ... breath (?) ... one ... the ...
9. Does ... the servants of Horus, they raising a troop more numerous than the enchantments of the heart?
10. They will ... they will flatter (?) the strong one. They will bow down to the craftsman who makes up 1,000. (Alternate version of L01: "They will assign [?] his servants to the craftsman who amounts to 1,000").
11. ... his ... and myriads bow before him.
12. As for his beloved, he being in complete darkness (or "[the] Chamber of Darkness"), the teaching will light for him a torch.
13. Does he ... (to) Isis, [the] one who lives through eternity, they will burn him to his (very) bones.
14. They will make a burning in his lips. They will set his limbs ablaze.
15. She will make ... to his heart before (?) the chamber which has cooked his two *kk*-organs (?).
16. Will it come to be that ... the initiated ones (or "torches") will draw near before him.

Commentary

Line 1: The statement may describe figuratively the work of the scholar-scribe.

B01: This sentence is a conditional introduced by *in-nꜣ.w*, with a noun subject, Johnson, *DVS*, p. 235.

For *rḫ-iḫy*, compare *rḫ iḫy*, "Zauberei," *Glossar*, p. 253; *rḫ-iḫ.t*, "der Gelehrte," *Wb.* 2, 445. It is used especially in connection with ritual knowledge (and with Thoth), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 590. On *rḫ-ḫ.t* as the designation of personnel of the House of Life, M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 69.

Ṯsy is a good reading, comparing *Glossar*, p. 671, but the determinative is lacking. *Ṯsꜣ* seems less likely.

For *wꜥ*, compare B01, 2/1.

We identify *bt/bnṯ*, with *bnd/bꜣd.t*, "field," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 321(not in *Glossar*).

It is improbable that this is an unorthographic spelling of the *bntỉ*-baboons, associated with the *Feuersee*, Quack, "Balsamierung und Totengericht im Papyrus Insinger," *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 37.

ꜥry is perhaps "pen," Goyon, "Un identification de la plante *HDN* des anciens égyptiens," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, p. 243; "reed," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 165–66.

Pḫr, "to go around," may also have the meaning "to enchant," *Glossar*, p. 139.

Line 2: This line concerns the relationship between the scribe/craftsman/prophet and the souls of Re, i.e., the sacred books. The image may still be that of a farmer (= the scribe) cultivating (= writing) the plants (= the sacred rolls).

B01: For *grg*, "to supply, found," see *Glossar*, pp. 586–87. The subject of *grg* may be the creator-deity (Re) or Thoth himself, but may also be the scribe/farmer. For the phrase *grg=fnꜣ bꜣ.w*, compare V01, 3/17.

in introduces a rhetorical question. The *bas* of Re will naturally serve the one who supplies (?) them (= copies them?). The scribe must aspire or desire to become a "prophet," presumably one possessing a very high degree of knowledge.

"After the particle *ḏd* 'in order that,' the negative future, like the positive future, had purpose meaning," Johnson, *DVS*, p. 175. The significance of this last clause is unclear. The author may be contrasting the *slꜣ*, "prophet," with the *ḥm*, "craftsman."

Line 3: The author describes past (?) scholars, and observes that they enjoyed the aid or help of subordinates, either as a "party" or as "helpers/apprentices."

B01: The sentence seems to comprise a phrase in anticipation, followed by the interrogative. The spatium between *ḫ.t 2.nw* and *ḫrꜥ* (= *ḫry-ꜥ*) suggests that the latter is a gloss.

For *ḫ.t*, "Mannschaft," see *Glossar*, p. 374. *Ḥ.t 2.nw*, "second story," is another possible translation. The meaning would then be admittedly obscure, although one may compare *ḫ.t 2.t*, "Zwei Parteien," *Glossar*, p. 374. Other renderings, such as "copy," are even less attractive. One may also cite *ḫ.t tpy*, "'the first group of Mesen,' that is the first generation of Mesen," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 778. There may be an allusion here to the "four bodies" of the House of Life, Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 167–68. This could refer then to one of the four sections of the House of Life, one of which was assigned to Thoth. *Ḥ.t*, "mass (body) of a substance," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 778, is often used with numerals. On *ḫ.t*, see Daumas, "L'origine égyptienne de la tripartition de l'ame chez Platon," *Mélanges Gutbub*, pp. 46–47. For the possible pun between *ḥ.t* and *ḫ.t*, compare M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 97–98. Indeed *ḫ.t* may even be here a writing of *ḫ.t*, "chapter," ibid.

For *ḫry-ꜥ*, "der Gehülfe," *Wb.* 3, 393/9–12. The author may allude here to *ḫr.t-ꜥ* or *ḫry-ꜥ*, "Behälter für Schreibzeug," *Wb.* 3, 394/103. For the *ꜥ*, which resembles *ḥ*, compare B01, 3/4 (*ḏbꜥ*).

Line 4: The author explicates the function of the scribe who disseminates the teaching of Thoth.

B01: There may be something more between *ỉr=f* and *sbȝ*, probably *mr*, "overseer," or *tȝ*, i.e., "the teaching." For the compound *mr-sbȝ*, see B01, 1/2. The subject of *ỉr* is the active scribe or Thoth priest.

Glp is "offenbaren, enthüllen," *Glossar*, p. 589. One expects *r* to be used with *glp*, and not *n*.

ʿm-ḫt may be a variant of the common *ʿm-tȝ.wy*, but we have no parallels. Some writings of *tȝ.wy* resemble *ḥ.t*, compare *Glossar*, p. 599. There is also presumably a connection with the *ḥ.t* in the previous line. The phrase lacks the expected divine determinative if it were to refer to Thoth, and in fact has the seated man determinative in B01.

The determinative of *ḥ.t* in B01 seems to be the same as that in *tw*, "Sandale," *Glossar*, p. 611.

Sḏm is possibly to be read in place of *slȝ*.

Line 5: This line is a series of admonitions to the aspiring scribal scholar.

B01: *Gs* is probably *gs*, "sich neigen," *Glossar*, p. 592; also possible is *gs*, "to run, hasten," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1112; *Wb.* 5, 204/19–205/6.

Šft is perhaps the papyrus sheet or roll, *šfdw*, "book," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1006; *šfd.w*, "Papyrus als Schreibstoff; Buch," *Wb.* 4, 461/11–17 (not in *Glossar*). It may be that the traces which we read as ... *s* actually belong to a long writing of *šft*. In that case *šft* seems to have the knife determinative, possibly under the semantic influence of *ḥft*, "enemy," *Glossar*, p. 358 (although no Demotic writing there actually displays this determinative). There may be a connection with *šfȝ.t*, "Erzählung," *Glossar*, p. 504.

Nws in B01, is a variant of *nȝs*, "announce," "recite a ritual," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 491 (not in *Glossar*).

Tp-rȝ is *tp-rȝ*, "Ausspruch," *Wb.* 5, 287/4–12; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1136 (not in *Glossar*).

Hn is here rendered as "neigen, zustimmen," *Glossar*, p. 276.

Ntnt is *nḏnḏ*, "fragen," *Glossar*, p. 235.

Tp is difficult, but *m wnw.t* or *mnṯ* is presumably *ỉmy wnw.t*, "Astronom," *Glossar*, p. 30. This is "observer of the hour," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 69–70: "at Edfu this is the priest who gives the signal for ceremonies to begin and indicates to the workmen in the temple when they should begin to prepare the offerings for the rituals." Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 28, suggests that the *ỉmy-wnw.t* may have been attached to the House of Life.

L01: Read perhaps *mn s* at the beginning of the line.

Line 6: This is a series of imperatives, enunciating basic wisdom principles.

B01: *Mt* is a possible reading, but not certain; compare B01, 3/11.

The well-attested phrase, *bny-ls*, "sweet of tongue," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 318, is not in *Glossar*.

Srf is "Musse haben, ruhen," *Glossar*, p. 443, but also *srf*, "Brand," *Glossar*, p. 443, thus explaining the brazier determinative. *Slf n slf.w* may be a genitive construction used in the sense of a superlative. For *srf*, "to rest," and *srf*, "to be warm," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 884–85. On *srf.t*, see L. Morenz, "Brandopfer (*sfr.t/srf.t ḥtp.t*)," *Lingua Aegyptia* 6 (1999): 105–09.

Line 7: While there seems to be a connection with the preceding statement, we can offer no certain interpretation of this line. The syntax is obscure.

B01: We had originally read *ʿȝ* as the first word in B01, but now think this doubtful because of the repeated lower signs which resemble feminine "*t*"s.

The *r* of *ʿr* is faint; other readings are possible.

Twy/tȝy, with the book-roll determinative, is probably *tyȝ*, "hieroglyphic sign," *Glossar*, p. 606; compare *twy* in B01, 3/10.

The full spelling of *glȝ* in L01 suggests that this is *gr*, "to be quiet, at rest," *Glossar*, p. 582, rather than *gr*, "or," *Glossar*, pp. 582–83.

Qn m ḫpš=f, "strong in his arm," may be a participial noun phrase, and the subject of *glȝ*. It is not clear, however, just who is meant by this designation - the aspiring scribe? *Qn* is often used in connection with *ḫpš*, as in the New Kingdom personal name, Qenherkhepeshef, Ranke, *Personennamen*, vol. 1, p. 334. Curious is the book-roll determinative. One wonders whether this is a book-title or an "abusive" writing of an archaic word.

Line 8: It is difficult to discern the presumed parallels between B01 and L01 of this unintelligible line.

B01: *Nf*, "breath," is tentative, *Glossar*, p. 216. The word can be written with the evil determinative, so the *nf* of B01 is probably identical with [...]*fy* in L01.

L01: *Ḏmḏm* is uncertain. The Louvre scribe does occasionally employ this form of *m*, comparing *my* in L01, 1/23. It may be a reduplicated form related to *ḏm*, "generation, young men," *Glossar*, p. 678, or an unorthographic spelling of *gmgm*, Coptic ⲭⲉⲙⲭⲟⲙ, "to be able," *KHWB*, p. 424.

Line 9: The author describes the gathering of a numerous host, presumably associated with the scribe. *Ḏm*, "generation, troop," connects it with the *ḏmḏm* of the preceding line (L01, 1/10).

B01: The traces following *nȝ* may fit *bȝk.w*.

L01: Horus is not prominent in this composition, and the phrase *bȝk.w Ḥr* is mysterious. *Bȝk.w*, with the seated man determinative, is "servants," *Glossar*, p. 124. For a discussion of the compound *bȝk* followed by a divine name (e.g., "herdsman servant of Horus of Edfu"), see Manning, "Land and Status in Ptolemaic Egypt," in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, pp. 157–75.

For *ỉr ḥw* or *n ḥw r*, see *Glossar*, p. 294; note the variation between *ỉw=w ỉr ḥw* of B01 and the *n ḥwȝ* of L01.

For the expression *ṯs ḏm*, "muster a generation," see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 88–89.

The reading *pḫl ỉb* is not secure; also possible are *pḫl rȝ* or *pḫl ḥr*. For *pḥr ỉb*, compare, *Glossar*, p. 139, *pḥr ḥȝt*, "Herz-Zauber," from Mythus 10/1 (Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 31); see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 366, for *pḥr ỉb* used for the heart going about in joy, as an epithet of Hathor. For *pḥr ỉb*, see also Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 66–67. *Pḥr ḥr*, "mit umgewandtem Kopf," *Wb.* 1, 548/1–3, is used of the snake deities which bring the inundation.

Line 10: The author portrays the adoration given to the "craftsman." He characterizes the individual "craftsman" as equal to a thousand ordinary mortals, an image normally restricted to the pharaoh.

B01: The first verb begins with *sḫ*, but too much is lost to suggest a convincing restoration or translation.

Klš is presumably *krš*, "flatter," or "kränken," *Glossar*, p. 566; see de Cenival, *Mythe*, p. 81. Here the positive nuance yields better sense.

W'f, with the evil determinative, is *w'f*, "gekrümmt sein," "niederbeugen," *Wb.* 1, 285/1–14. It is perhaps identical with *w'fy*, "Verbum," *Glossar*, p. 84.

ỉr 1,000 is the most satisfying reading; for writings of "1,000," see *Glossar*, p. 702.

L01: This version significantly differs from that of B01.

Sr is presumably *sr*, "anordnen, verteilen," *Glossar*, p. 442.

Ḥm is written in virtually hieroglyphic form, *Glossar*, p. 304 (*ḥm*, "servant").

Line 11: The author again emphasizes the honor given to the scholar or scribe.

B01: The initial *r* is possibly a future converter.

The group with the long horizontal stroke is perhaps *ḫn* or *ḥs*.

There seems to be a seated man with the plural determinative before the conjunctive *mtw*.

Curiously, the divine determinative is written after *m-bỉḥ*, while the suffix *f* found in the other versions is lacking.

B02: *Ḫb=w* may be written *ḫbw=w*.

Line 12: The beloved (of Thoth?) will be safe even in the darkest regions (or the Chamber of Darkness?), since the teaching will be a torch for him.

B01: *ỉw=f ḫn* is uncertain, but yields sense. So too *ḳ.t* is not secure.

For *sḫḏ* or *sḫṯ*, "erleuchten," see *Glossar*, p. 450.

N=f is hardly visible in this version, and may not have been written.

For *tk*, "verbrennen," "Funke," see *Glossar*, p. 659.

This is the third future construction *ỉw* + noun + *r*.

L01: *Mtr* is written as "middle," with the house determinative, *Glossar*, p. 191, but we believe *mtr*, "instruct, instruction," is intended, *Glossar*, p. 190.

Line 13: The author persists with the image of "fire," but it is difficult to determine the sense of the line. The one to be burned may be the scribe/workman or his opponent.

B01: *ỉs.t* is possible; the missing context renders it tentative. One expects a verb such as *ḫ*, "call out," in the lacuna.

Sbb occurs as an epithet of Isis, *Glossar*, p. 421 (London-Leiden Magical 15/9): "I am he of Abydos, in truth, in the completion of birth in her name of Isis, the bringer of flame (*sbb ḥḥ*), she of the seat of mercy of the Agathodaimon," as rendered by Johnson, in Betz (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 220. But one might translate *sbb ḏ.t*, "she who lives

through eternity," comparing the idiom, *sb ḏ.t*, "die Ewigkeit durchleben," *Wb.* 5, 508/10; Herbin, *Parcourir*, p. 285 (*mḏỉ.t nt sb nḥḥ*, "Book of Traversing Eternity," as a composition title).

Ḏ.t, "eternity," *Glossar*, pp. 687–88, is possible, but the following sign is unclear.

For *ḏf*, "brennen," see *Glossar*, pp. 677–78.

Traces of the *qs*-sign are visible; for *qs*, "der Knochen," see *Glossar*, p. 548.

Line 14: The description of burning continues.

B01: The best reading of the noun after *ỉr* is *p'y*, comparing the hieratic *p* of B01, 3/6. This is *p'w*, "Feuer, Glut," *Wb.* 1, 503/13; *KHWB*, p. 530 (not in *Glossar*). The author has also played on the semantic connection between *p'y*, "to spit out," Wilson, *Lexicon*, p. 346, and "lips."

Spt is "Lippen," *Glossar*, p. 428.

Wbk is *wbg*, "leuchten, erleuchten," *Wb.* 1, 296. Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 220, compares the word with *wbḫ*. Perhaps *wbd*, "to burn," is intended, but note the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, and that the reading in B01 is uncertain; perhaps *bn* (*wbn*?).

Line 15: This line maintains the emphasis on fire and burning. There may be a reference to a goddess.

B01: While *b* is possible, we can offer no complete reading of the word after *ỉw=s ỉr*. For the *ḏ* in B01, compare *ḏ.t* in B01, 2/16. The determinative could be the evil bird, but the upward curve of the bottom sign renders this tentative. The word may be identified with *bṯ*, "to run away," *Wb.* 1, 485/6–10, or *bṯn*, "to rebel, be opposed to," *Wb.* 1, 485/17–486/2.

There is word play between *kk*, "braten," *Glossar*, p. 568, and *kk*, "darkness," i.e., the underworld or far reaches of the universe. The author is perhaps referring to punishments meted out to the evil-doers in the afterlife.

Kky, with the flesh determinative, appears as a dual or pair. This is a difficult word; one might compare: ⲕⲁⲕⲉ, "Pupille," *KHWB*, p. 59; *ḫr-ggy.t*, "lower jaw," Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 99. The author may also intend an allusion to *kk*, "to blind," *Wb.* 5, 144/12.

Line 16: This final sentence takes the form of a question. The author portrays a reception or procession in honor of the deity or the scribe.

B01: *Šw* is possible for the beginning of the line, with a destroyed *š* and man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. This may be *šw*, "be worthy, suited, useful," *Glossar*, p. 493.

B01 has *bs*, "flame," *Wb.* 1, 476/1–5 (not in *Glossar*), instead of *bs*, "induct, introduce," *Wb.* 1, 473/1–18, as in L01 (also not in *Glossar*).

L01: The construction seems to be the third future.

For *stkn*, "to draw near," or "bring," see *Wb.* 4, 345/9–346/7 (not in *Glossar*).

Continuation of Text Based on Column 3 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 3/1 *ỉw=f(r) tỉ.t tšps ⌜m-s3⌝ nȝe=w gmḥy.w ḥbs n mȝy (r) nȝe=w ḥ⌜y.w*
L01, 1/19 *[...]..... gmḥ[y] ḥbs n mȝy r nȝe=w ḥȝy*
B01, 2/20 *..... ⌜tšps⌝ m-s3 nȝe=w gmḥ.w ḥbs mȝy [r nȝe=w] ḥ⌜y.w*

B02, 3/2 *m twn šp s (?) pȝ ỉ-ỉr ỉy ỉw=f(r) gmgm ḫn nȝ ỉpt.w n pȝ nb htn.w*
L01, 1/20 *[.....] gmgm ḫn nȝ ỉpt.w pȝ nb ḥtyn.w*
B01, 2/21 *m twn šp s (?) pȝ ỉ-ỉr ỉy [ỉw=f(r) g]mgm ḫn ... ỉpt.w [pȝ] nb htnw*

B02, 3/3 *šte ḥȝt my lky s pȝe=f ȝsy tn=s r ỉny.t my*
L01, 1/21 *[.....] s pȝe=f ȝsy tns=s r ỉny my*
B01, 3/1 *št ḥȝt=f my rky s pȝe=f..... [...]*

B02, 3/4 *my tby=f r (?) rt=f my mr=f s r pȝ kky my sḫm=f pȝ wyn n ⌜ḥ⌜=f*
L01, 1/22 *[.....] my ml=f s r pȝ kky my smḫy=f n pȝ wnyn n ⌜ḥ⌜*
B01, 3/1–2 *[.....] / my ml=f s r pȝ kky my smḫy=f n pȝ wyy[n ...]*
B03.5, 1 *[.....] my sḫm[.....]*

B02, 3/5 *my mḥ=f n pȝ wsr tȝ wtȝ.t n ḫpš my smn=f tr.t r try.t*
L01, 1/23 *[.....] wtȝ.t n špš my smny n=f(sic) tr.t=f r tȝ l⌜y*
B01, 3/2–3 *[.....] / špš my smn=f tr.t=f.....*
B03.5, 2 *[.....] tr.t=f r t[...]*

B02, 3/6 *my ỉr=f skr ḫn pȝ ym šn⌜ my ḫny=f pȝ y⌜r n ḏb⌜y.w*
L01, 1/24 *[.....] šn⌜ my [...]... [.....y]⌜l ḏby.w*
B01, 3/3–4 *my ỉr=f skr [.....] / n pȝ ym ḏb⌜e.t*
B03.5, 3 *[.....] n pȝ y⌜m [...]*

B02, 3/7 *mnḫ tȝ ḥ.t n nȝ bȝ.w mn[ḫ (?)] mḥ n=f n pȝ wḏȝ n nȝ iḫy.w*
L01, 2/1 *[mn]ḫ tȝ [.....] bȝ.w.....] iḫ[...]*
B01, 3/4–5 *mn[ḫ] tȝ ḥ.t n nȝ bȝ.w.....] / n nȝ iḫy.w*

B02, 3/8 *my nky=f šnby=f my tw=f n=s nȝ-ỻȝ rn.w tȝ ḥ.t n nȝ bȝ.w*
L01, 2/2 *my nk⌜=f šnby=f my twȝ=f n=s [nȝ-ỻ]ȝ rn.w tȝ ḥ.t n nȝ bȝ.w*
B01, 3/5 *my ng=f ⌜šnby=f⌝ my twȝ[=f.....]*

B02, 3/9 *my rḫ=f tȝ ỉp.t n sp nt ỻ r tȝ sḫ=s n Mw.t wr.t ⌜nȝ⌝ spḫr*
L01, 2/3 *my rḫ=f tȝ ỉp.t n sp nt ỻ r s⌜ḥ wr (?) n Mw.t wly.t nȝ spḫl.w*
B01, 3/6 *my rḫ=f tȝ ỉp.t sp nt... [.....] wly.t...*

B02, 3/10 *mḥ n=f sbȝ.t my nw=f r pȝ sw my rḫ=f tȝ snty.t n tȝ p.t n grḥ*
L01, 2/4 *mḥ n=f n (?) sbȝ my ⌜nw⌝=f r pȝ syw [m]y rḫ=f tȝ snty.t n tȝ p.t [n] grḥ*
B01, 3/6–7 *[.....] / my rḫ=f tȝ snty.t n tȝ p.t ⌜n grḥ⌝*

B02, 3/11 *my bȝk tb⌜.w=f tȝ ḥ.t mȝy r wt⌜ qne.w tp ...*
L01, 2/5 *my bȝk tb⌜.w... [n t]ȝ ḥ.t mȝy wt⌜ qne tp ḥ.t [...]*
B01, 3/7–8 *m[y... /.....]... tp ḥ.t=f*
B05, 1/1–2 *[m]y bȝk tb⌜.w=f n tȝ ḥ.t mȝy wt / [.....].*

B02, 3/12 *š⌜-tw=f gm pȝ sq n ỉr.t r msḏr ỉb ls tr.t gp*
L01, 2/6 *š⌜-mtw=f gm pȝ sq ỉ[r.]t msḏr.w ỉb ls tr.t kp*
B01, 3/8 *š⌜-mtw=f gm pȝ sq... [.....]*
B05, 1/2 *[.....] msḏr ỉb ls tr.t kp*

B02, 3/13 *nt-ỉw=f rḫ sy fy kny tty wȝḥ .....*
L01, 2/7 *mtw=f rḫ sy fy (?) kny tty w... [... n]ȝ mw.w (?) ḫmts*
B01, 3/9 *mtw=f s⌜mny..... nȝ.....*
B05, 1/2–3 *mtw=f / [...]... sy .....*

B02, 3/14 *nt-ỉw=f sỉwr stt nȝ stt n nȝ twȝ.w ȝw pȝe=w ỉt nt shm*
L01, 2/8 *mtw=f s⌜ḥ⌜ sḫn [.....] twȝ.w ỉw pȝe=w ỉt nt sŝm*
B01, 3/9 *[.....]*
B05, 1/3–4 *mtw=f sȝ sḫn tȝ sḫn nȝ twȝ.w / [.....]*

B02, 3/15 *nt-ỉw=f gm ỉtn nt-ỉw=f wȝḥ twȝ nt-ỉw=f ỉr ḫry-rt n ḫm n Ḏḥwty*
L01, 2/9 *mtw=f gm ỉtn ⌜ mtw=f⌝ wȝḥ twȝ.w mtw=f ỉr ⌜ḫry-rt⌝ (n) ḫm (n) wr 5*
B01, 3/9–10 *[.....] / wȝḥ twȝ.w mtw=f ỉr ḫl- ..... [...]*
B03.10, 1 *[.....]... [...]*
B05, 1/4 *[.....]=f wȝḥ twȝ.w mtw=f ỉr ḫry-rt ḥm.w Ḏḥwty*

B02, 3/16 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ỉḥ tȝy tȝ ⌜ny.t nt nḏy pȝ ls stp mt ⌜wn⌝ ḫ⌜y.w*
L01, 2/10 *mr-[rḫ] ḏ=f ỉ[ḥ tȝ]y tȝ ȝny nt nḏl pȝ ls stp mt ⌜w⌝[n ..... ḫ⌜]y.w*
B01, 3/10–11 *[.....] / stp mt ỉw-wn ḫ⌜y.w*
B03.10, 2 *[.....]... pȝ l[s .....]*
B05, 1/4–5 *mr /-[rḫ ḏ=f..... ls stp mt ỉw-wn nȝ ḫ⌜y.w*

Translation

1. He (will) place *tšps*-oil upon their wicks, // new cloth upon their candles.
2. As soon as the one who has come receives them (?), // he will seek the secret compartments of the lord of the *Heden*-plant.
3. O one-who-...- his-heart, // may its (or "his") lightness be removed. // It is raised up to ... death. (L01: "It is heavier than the ... of death.") Add. 11
4. May he be equipped on his foot. // May he gird himself against the darkness. // May he move confidently in the light of his life-time.
5. May he grab the oar (of) the steering-oar post with his arm. // Let him set fast his hand to the ship's-hand (?) (L01: "mooring-post")
6. May he make a sailing in the sea of *šn⌜*. // May he row in the river of coals.

7. Effective is the chapel of the *bas*. Eff[ective is] the one who takes possession for himself of the storeroom of the deceased spirits.
8. May he open his throat. // May he give praise to it. // Many are the names of the chapel of the *bas*.
9. May he learn the number of times of calling out to the (door), "great protector (?)" of Mut (B02: "the striker" of Mut), the great one of the enchanters.
10. As for the one who takes possession for himself of the teaching, // may he look to the star. May he learn the constellation(s) of the heaven in night.
11. May his fingers work (in?) the house of the lion // so as to divide the strong ones upon the roof
12. until he finds the gathering over eye, ear, heart, tongue, hand, sole of the foot,
13. and he learns the Book of Insight, the Book of Power, the Book of Annals, the Book of the Djed-pillar (?), the Book of Interpretation, ... the Book of ..., and the Book of...
14. and he drinks in the Book of Proclaiming the Proclaiming (?) of Praise, and the Book of Honoring their Father who is Powerful,
15. and he understands the difficult passages, and he elucidates the praises, and he becomes an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth (L01: "Great of Five").
16. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? // O select of speech, reveal the tools!"

Commentary

Line 1

B02: *ỉw=f* probably refers to the *mr-rḫ*. For the lighting of torches in an underworld text, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester,* p. 12; Fischer, "Fackeln und Kerzen," *LÄ* 2, cols. 79–81.

We restore a third future, but this may also be a first present construction: "He places."

The jar determinative of *tšps* (*Glossar*, p. 658) has a dot above it, a characteristic of late hieratic. For a discussion of this aromatic substance, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 108–09; Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, p. 152; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 27.

The mention of "new cloth," implies a ritually pure or magical stance, see Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, p. 46. In London-Leiden Magical, for example, the magician puts a *sʿl n ḥbs ỉw=f wʿb*, "a wick of clean linen," in a new lamp, Griffith and Thompson, *Magical*, pp. 116–17.

Gmḥy (not in *Glossar*) is *gmḥ.t*, "Docht der Lampe, Kerze, Fackel," *Wb.* 5, 171/14.

Ḥʿy is *ḥʿ*, "Kerze," *Glossar*, p. 293; see Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka*, p. 81.

B01: *ỉw=f tỉ.t tšps* is difficult to see in this version.

The supralinear stroke of *m-sꜣ* is rare, but not unparalleled, see *Glossar*, p. 405.

Line 2: This line describes the search of the *mr-rḫ* for the "secret compartments" of Thoth.

B02: *M twn* is probably an unetymological writing of *m tꜣ wnw.t*, "in the moment," followed by a *sḏm=f* form of *šp*. It would be a variant usage of *n tꜣ wnw.t*, "Sofort," *Glossar*, p. 90; *Wb.* 1, 316/11, "jetzt." We believe this preferable to *m-twn*, *Wb.* 5, 432/10–13, "truly" or "further, then"; *Glossar*, p. 615; Caminos, *Tale of Woe*, p. 16; Guglielmi and Buroh, "Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I,1–VI,3)," in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays in Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman Te Velde*, p. 128.

The reading *s*, the dependent pronoun, is not certain in either B02 or B01. It would refer back to the torches of B02, 3/1. Also possible is *nꜣ.w*, "these (things)."

The subject of the sentence is "The one who has come," the individual seeking knowledge. This knowledge is apparently equated with the "Book of Thoth," hidden in the secret chambers of Thoth. The "secret chambers of Thoth" are a well-known topos in Egyptian literature. Here the word is clearly written with a radical *t*, i.e., as *ỉpt.w*, but is still probably to be identified with the *ỉp.t*, "verschließbar(er) Teil eines Gebäudes," *Wb.* 1, 67/12 (Westcar); cf. *Glossar*, p. 29. Papyrus Westcar recounts: "Now the majesty of King Khufu had been spending time searching for the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth in order to copy them for his temple," Lichtheim, *AEL* 1, p. 218. The magician Djedi, of course, knows the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth. Setne also seeks, to his misfortune, the hidden book of Thoth. On the *ỉp.wt*, see Hornung, "Die 'Kammern' des Thot-Heiligtumes," *ZÄS* 100 (1973): 33–35.

Section 8 of the Book of Two Ways contains the statement: "these are the *ỉpwt* of the field of the Gods, in which Re eats grapes together with his retinue," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 209–10, with a discussion of the "hidden rooms" and their significance in underworld literature.

The same spelling of *gmgm* as *gm sp-2* is in London-Leiden Magical 18/13, *gʿm sp-2*, "können, vermögen," *Glossar*, p. 580. The word does not seem to be common in hieroglyphs, *gmgm*, "betasten (die Glieder der Geliebten)," *Wb.* 5, 172/12. In Lesko, *DLE* 4, 59, it is grouped with *gmgm*, "to tear asunder," but translated "to seek." In Coptic the word is rendered "to touch, grope," Crum, *CD*, 818b.

The epithet of Thoth, *nb htn* (*Wb.* 2, 506/6, with the note "Greek"; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 609) is not yet otherwise attested in Demotic. On the epithet, see Goyon, "Un identification de la plante *HDN* des anciens égyptiens," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 241–50. There is also a "little-known feast of the *hdn* plant," discussed by Spalinger, "Chronological Remarks," *Société d'Egyptologie Genève* 22 (1998): 57–58.

B01: *Htnw* is the best reading, but *hbnw* is also possible.

Line 3: In this obscure line the deity addresses the *mr-rḫ*. The wish is expressed to alleviate certain negative conditions or qualities afflicting the "one who has come."

B02: We believe it most probable that *šte ḫꜣt* is a vocative designation of the *mr-rḫ*. After *ḫꜣt* is the seated man determinative, comparing *ḫry-rt* in B02, 3/15. The translation of *šꜣt*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is uncertain, due to the many possible renderings of *šꜣt*. The combination of *šꜣt* and "heart" is attested. There is, for example, a *štꜣw-ỉb*, "the one secret of heart," a guardian of the gate in the fifth hour of the Amduat, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 141, but we cannot be sure that he is intended here. *Šꜣ* is used with the meaning "to tear out," of hearts of ene-

mies, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1040. For *šd (ḥ3t)*, "to extract (hearts)," see further Ritner, "O. Gardiner 363: A Spell Against Night Terrors," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 31. For *šṯ ḥ3t*, see also Piankoff, *Le "Coeur" dans les textes égyptiens*, p. 121. However, there are numerous other candidates, e.g., *šṯ*, "recite," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1041 (not in *Glossar*; Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 44–45), or *šṯ*, "nehmen," *Glossar*, p. 528.

Alternatively, this may be an unorthographic writing of *šʿṯ*, "to cut, to lack," *Glossar*, pp. 492–93. The resulting compound *šṯ ḥ3t* would then mean "witless-one." See further Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 89 (on *šʿd-ḥ3t*, "discourage").

Lky is *lg*, "aufhören," "entfernen," *Glossar*, p. 264, with a reflexive pronoun.

Add. 11 *i3sy* is clear, but what is the significance of "lightness?" *i3sy*, "leicht sein" (with the sail determinative as here), *Glossar*, p. 11, also means "decaying, insignificant," Lesko, *DLE* 1, 52.

Tns/ dns seems to represent a good quality in this line, perhaps "gewichtig, ernst," *Wb.* 5, 468/14 (not in *Glossar*). In L01 *tns*, "heavy" is written, while in B02, the division is *tn=s*. *Tn* is presumably *tn*, "erheben," *Glossar*, p. 635, which also yields plausible sense in the context.

In B02 the determinative of *i3ny.t* is probably the man-with-hand-to-mouth. None of the numerous possibilities (e.g., *Wb.* 1, 92–94) is convincing. The reading *i3py.t* is less attractive.

The mysterious *my* at the end of the line may be *my*, "come!" as the euphemism for "Death"; compare the statement in the inscription of Taimhotep "As for Death, 'Come!' is his name," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 63; note the writing of *mwt*, "death," as *my.t* in *Wb.* 2, 165. On this word play, see Guglielmi, "Funktionen des Wortspiels," Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, p. 505.

L01: *i3ny my* has the stone and town determinative.

i3y.t, is possibly a "Heiligtum bei Letopolis," *Wb.* 1, 38/12–13. One might compare the "flint-eyed ones from Letopolis" in Book of the Dead Spell 125, discussed in Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral*, p. 564.

Line 4: The seeker must prepare himself for the darkness of the underworld.

B02: *Tby* is *ṯb*, "beschuht sein," *Wb.* 5, 363/6–10, or *ḏbi*, "bekleiden, schmücken," *Wb.* 5, 556/11–558/8; *tby* "ausstatten," *Glossar*, p. 618; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1228–29.

On the cultic significance of sandals, see Seyfried, *LÄ* 5, cols. 379–82 ("Sandale"); Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 136–37; Schwarz, "Zur Symbolik weißer und silberner Sandalen," *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 69–84. In the eighth hour of the Amduat, for example, particular emphasis is given to the clothing of the deceased, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 39.

Mr=fs is the reflexive use of *mr*, "binden, sich gürten," *Glossar*, p. 166.

As Hornung, *Totenbuch*, p. 428, remarks, "Urfinsternis" stands for the tomb and underworld. On the dangers of the night and darkness, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 182–83.

Sḫm is a "Verbum heftiger Bewegung, losfahren," *Wb.* 4, 269/13–16; "to be hasty, impetuous," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 918 (not in *Glossar*).

Wyn, "light," *Glossar*, p. 79, seems to have the verbal group *mn*, "to see," as a determinative.

The precise meaning of *ḥʿ* is difficult. "Lifetime" is the most obvious translation. One observes, for example, that *ḥʿ*, "lifetime," is a very important key-word in the fifth hour

in the underworld; see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 148. It often appears also in the Demotic epistolary phrase *i ti pi Rʿ qy pše=f ḥʿ*, "O may Pre cause that his lifetime be long," Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften: Teil 2*, p. xv. Naturally, alternative renderings of *ḥʿ* may be considered: *ḥʿ*, "stand-still," *Wb.* 1, 218 (Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 32); *ḥʿ* can also be the noon position of the sun, *ḥʿy*, *Wb.* 1, 223/8–9, as well as "high-point," cf. *ḥʿ n Rʿ*, discussed in Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 227, n. 1 (reference of John Darnell). It is also possible that *ḥʿ* is a writing of *iḥʿ.w*, "limbs," an attested spelling in religious texts, see M. Smith, "A Demotic Formula," *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/3): 138.

The motif of light and darkness in the underworld is strikingly illustrated by the episode in Setne I wherein Setne goes up from the tomb with the Book of Thoth, and "light went before him, darkness went behind him," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 133.

L01: Note the variants *smḫy* in both L01 and B01.

Line 5: The *mr-rḫ* joins the crew of the solar bark. The author employs underworld imagery, although the context may be rituals connected with the House of Life.

B02: For *mḫ*, "greifen, fassen" (with *n/m*), see *Glossar*, pp. 172–73.

Wsr is not in *Glossar*, but is attested in P. Dodgson, vo. 25, text III, line 8, in the numbering of de Cenival, "Le Papyrus Dodgson," *RdE* 38 (1987): 7; Martin, in Porten et al. (eds), *Elephantine Papyri in English*, p. 345, renders "helmsman." It may be "rudder," *Wb.* 1, 364/1–4.

The second noun is not certain. *Wti.t* is preferable to *wtḥ.t*. Most probable are *wḏ.t*, "ein hölzerner Schiffsteil (Totb.)," *Wb.* 1, 399/12; *wḏ.t*, "steering-oar posts (?)," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 162, or *wḏy.t*,"helm," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 162.

In B02 the word at the end of the line seems to be *try.t* with the wood determinative. This may be "oar," Crum, *CD*, p. 425a. In L01 the same word is clearly spelled *ti lʿy* with the stone determinative. It stands for *ti nʿy.t*, "mooring post," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 199; Demotic *nʿy.t*, "Pflock, Landungsplatz," *Glossar*, p. 208; *nʿy.t*, "mooring-post in forepart of the ship," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 493.

This line is marked by chiasmus. Moreover, the author offers a word play in that this line ends in *try.t*, i.e., "hand," the next line (B02, 3/6) in *ḏbʿy.w*, meaning both "coal" and "finger."

Line 6: The seeker will embark on the underworld riverine journeys.

B02: *Skr* is *sgr*, "segeln," *Glossar*, p. 470.

We have no precise identification for the "sea of *šnʿ*," although numerous reasonable suggestions may be offered. This may be identified with *šnʿ*, "abweisen," *Glossar*, p. 515; *šn*, "Kreis," *Glossar*, p. 515; *šn*, "Baum," *Glossar*, p. 513; *šn.t*, "Garten," *Glossar*, p. 513; *šn*, "Haar," *Glossar*, p. 513. The "hair-lake" appears in the Book of the Dead Spell 98, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 78. The determinative seems to be the cloth sign or the jar, as found in *šnṯ*, "Tracht, Schurz," *Glossar*, p. 516. One notes that words spelled *šny* may also have a form with *ty*, e.g., *šnty* as a later writing of *šny*, "hair," *Wb.* 4, 518/12–13.

Yʿr n ḏbʿy.w, "river of coals," may allude either to the "Island of Flame," which was considered the birth-place of Thoth, Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 155, or, rather, to the "Lake of

Fire." This *Feuersee* appears, for example, in Book of the Dead Spell 17, "And as for the '<Lake> of Fire,' it is the one that lies between Naref and the ⌜court,⌝" Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 31. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, p. 429, states: that the "Flammeninsel" may symbolize a boundary land between this world and the otherworld. See also Altenmüller, "'Messersee', 'gewundener Wasserlauf' und 'Flammensee.'" Eine Untersuchung zur Gleichsetzung und Lesung der drei Bereiche," *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 89. We paraphrase here Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 153, where he well describes the Lake of Fire as:

1. a cosmic region: a heavenly lake, which is a critical point in the daily voyage of the sun-god;

2. a mythical region: the primeval water in Hermopolis, in which the sun-god showed himself for the first time (*sp tpy*);

3. an earthly region in cult area: the sacred lake in the temple complex of Hermopolis (identical with number 2); the necropolis of Hermopolis, and partly identical with the land of the dead in the west;

4. an underworldly region: place of rebirth of the sun-god and of the dead.

In the Book of Gates the Lake of Fire is the preferred place of punishment for the damned *ḫfty.w*, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 42. It is located in the east of the heaven, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 154.

Compare again the passage from the Book of the Dead already quoted:

"As for the '<Lake> of Fire,' it is the one that lies between Naref and ⌜the court⌝. Everyone who treads on [it] while unclean succumbs to terror," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 31 (Spell 17).

The closely associated *Messersee* is rendered in Egyptian by *mr/š Nḫ*, Altenmüller, "Messersee," *LÄ* 4, cols. 113–14 (*Wb.* 2, 306/5), and *ym šnʿ* may be a reinterpretation (with *šnʿ* from *nḫ* through haplography) and modernization of the old expression.

B01: Note the variant of *ym* for *yʿr*.

Line 7: The author shifts his attention to the "chapel of the *bas*."

B02: *Mnḫ*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is probably an otherwise unparalleled writing of *mnḫ*, "be excellent," *Glossar*, p. 163. On *mnḫ*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 87.

Ḥ.t bȝ.w is given with the meaning "Grabkapelle," in *Glossar*, p. 284; the compound seems to occur in Brunsch, "Papyrus BM 10398," *Meroitica* 12 (1990): 7 (so editor); see also Meeks, *ALE* 3, p. 182 (designation of a Theban sanctuary); Leahy, "In the House of the Phoenix at Thebes (Cairo JE 36938)," in Leahy and Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, p. 186. *Ḥ.t* is written with the wood determinative, which, in fact, suggests "book-chapter." The *ḥ.t bȝ.w* is very likely here another designation of the House of Life. The author seems to employ several names for the *pr-ʿnḫ*. It is possible, for example, that the *ʿ.t-kky*, "Chamber of Darkness," generally written with the book-roll determinative, is another appellation of that institution. In the Book of Thoth the *pr-ʿnḫ* may assume the character of the underworld, and entry into it would therefore be figuratively portrayed in much the same way as entry into the underworld.

The two clauses comprising this line are evidently in parallelism: *ḥ.t* to *wḏȝ*; *bȝ.w* to *iḫy.w*.

The subject of *mnḫ* in the second clause is a participial form, *mḥ*, being *mḥ n*, "to take possession of," *Glossar*, pp. 172–73. *N=f* is thus reflexive. The same construction is in B02 3/10.

Wḏȝ is *wḏȝ*, "Speicher, Magazin," *Glossar*, p. 109.

The *mwt* group at the end of *iḫy*, "Geist," *Glossar*, p. 42, is a determinative. It is tempting to understand the *bȝ.w* as referring to sacred texts and the *iḫy.w* as denoting the authors of those compositions.

Line 8: The *mr-rḫ* regains control over his throat and praises the *ḥ.t bȝ.w* (or a personification of the same).

B02: *Nky* is *ngj*, "sich öffnen (von der Kehle zum Rufen)," *Wb.* 2, 348/14 (not in *Glossar*).

For *šnb.t*, "die Luftröhre, die Kehle," see *Glossar*, p. 515. On the meanings of *šnb.t*, "throat," see M. Smith, "An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c.9(P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1)," *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 72.

The *bas*, also mentioned in the previous line, may refer to the "souls of Re" as the term for the sacred writings.

Line 9: The *mr-rḫ* is at the door, which may open to the Chapel of the *bas* (= House of Life or another sacred location).

B02: *ỉp.t*, "number," *Glossar*, p. 28, is secure on the basis of L01.

ỉ is an infinitive form, while *nt* may be the relative pronoun used for the feminine genitive *n.t*, for which see M. Smith, "Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts," *Enchoria* 8/2 (1978): 19–21. The genitive modifies *ỉp.t*.

The two main versions differ. In B02 we believe that *tȝ sḫ=s* is most probable, comparing B02, 4/2 (see the discussion *ad locum*). L01 has *sʿ* very clearly. This is followed by *ḥ*, the *wr*-bird and the wood determinative. *Sʿḥ wr* may be identical with *sʿȝ wr*, "well-guarded," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 806, comparing also *sʿȝ*, "guard," *Wb.* 4, 55/14–18; Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 49. This is certainly a suitable name for an underworld door, although we have not found it elsewhere. There is paronomasia between *ỉ* and *sʿḥ*.

We should perhaps understand "great one (of) the enchantresses" or even "Great Mother of the writings." For *sphr*, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 67. The precise significance of *sphr* (not in *Glossar*) is uncertain. It is found in *Wb.* 4, 106/1–10, "to move around, circulate," but *sphr* can also mean "to write, draw, paint," *Wb.* 4, 106/11–107/6; "script," *Wb.* 4, 107/7–8; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 829–30, "to write," "writing."

Line 10: A series of optatives is addressed to the *mr-rḫ*. The deity describes the knowledge of the one who has assimilated the teaching, the knowledge in this case being astronomical in character.

B02: We think that *mḥ n=f* is an archaic participial construction, with a reflexive dative.

These statements are well paralleled in Egyptian, e.g., Onkhsheshonqy 25/12, "Learn the constitution of the sky," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 178; Insinger 32/5, "He created the constellation of those that are in the sky, so that those on earth would learn them," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 210. Compare also Setne I, 3/13–14, Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 128;

Coffin Text Spell 129, "To Know the Paths to the sky," Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 113.

The author of the Book of Thoth may be alluding here to such knowledge as that discussed in Barguet, "Le Cycle lunaire d'apres deux textes d'Edfou," *RdE* 29 (1977): 14–20, regarding two Edfu texts dealing with the movement of the moon. For observations on such "Sternenführer" (*sšm sw*) in Demotic and Ptolemaic texts, see von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 185.

The author plays on the similarity of sound between *sbꜣ*, "teaching," and *sbꜣ*, "star." *Sbꜣ.t* also means "Sternbild, Sternhaufen," *Wb.* 4, 83/6. On the semantics of *sbꜣ*, see Takács, "Egyptian *sbꜣ* 'Star', *sbꜣ* 'to teach'. Their Origin and Related Questions," *Folia Orientalia* 31 (1995): 177–88.

Line 11: This sentence describes a cultic activity, presumably the Opening of the Mouth ceremony or one based thereon, resulting in the *mr-rḫ*'s recovering control over his body.

B02: The action of the fingers may here refer to the ritual activity of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, although in the Book of Thoth, the phrase generally designates the act of writing.

The significance of the "House of the Lion" is not clear. Inasmuch as the previous line dealt with astronomy, astrological implications are possible, since the lion can figure as one of the Zodiac, von Beckerath, *LÄ* 1, col. 512 ("Astronomie und Astrologie"). Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, p. 105, discusses an "alternative zodiac" in which the lion is the sixth hour or noon (identified with Amun-Re). On the sixth hour protector-deity as a lion in astronomical scenes at Edfu, see Daressy, "Les Formes du soleil aux différentes heures de la journée," *ASAE* 17 (1917): 197–208 (Tableau II). However, astrological texts employ *ꜥwy* and not *ḥ.t*, see Hughes, "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian," in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 53. Thoth himself can be represented as a lion, Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 165. Finally, there is the "house of the lion," *Pr-mꜣy*, a town in the 17th upper Egyptian nome, Montet, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 168 (reference of John Darnell).

Alternatively, *ḥ.t mꜣy* may be a miswriting of *ḥ.t mꜣꜥ*, "House of Maat." This fits in very well with the Book of Two Ways: Lesko, *Two Ways*, p. 20, "The beginning of this spell seems to refer to those deceased who become stars in the 'house of Maat' according to the Thoth tradition." Cf. Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 151, for the "House of Maat" (*pr Mꜣꜥ.t*). For a discussion of the various writings and meanings of *ḥ.t*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 80.

Wtꜥ seems to be written in both B02 and L01. The most likely identification is with *wḏꜥ*, "trennen, richten," *Wb.* 1, 404/3–406/12; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 288–89. The determinative of *wtꜥ* is the hieratic road sign, Möller, *HP* 3, number 326, otherwise not found with *wḏꜥ*, "separate." One might also think of *wḏꜣ*, "to proceed to (sometimes with direct object)," *Wb.* 1, 403/2–19, with the derivative *wḏꜣ.t*, "path" (Greek period). *Wḏꜥ/wtꜥ*, "separate," is not in *Glossar*, but see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 92. There is also *wḏꜥ.t*, which designates a piece of writing equipment (the mussel palette or wooden palette?), Weber, *Beiträge*, p. 32; *Wb.* 1, 407/12.

Tp-ḥ.t is "roof," *Wb.* 5, 290/8–18. There is probably a reference here to *qn*, "the lion (as a water-spout)," particularly in *qn tp ḥ.t*, "'der Starke auf dem Dach' als Bez. des löwengestaltigen Wasserspeiers," *Wb.* 5, 47/14–15. See further Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 292, for the "lion water-spouts" (Horus Behdetite is the "Lion on the roof"); Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 445, on lion water-spouts; Deaton, "The Religious Significance of the Egyptian Lion-Headed Water Spout," *Discussions in Egyptology* 41 (1998): 29–32; De Wit, "Les inscriptions des lions-gargouilles du temple d'Edfou," *CdE* 29 (1954): 29–45.

The author may employ the image of the water-spout to refer figuratively to the "mouth" or seven openings in the head (cf. *Wb.* 5, 263/9). Then the *wḏꜥ*, "divide," could well denote the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. It is precisely this ritual which provides the sort of empowerment described in the following lines.

Line 12: The *mr-rḫ* ultimately regains power over his limbs and senses.

B02: The use of *šꜥ-tw=f* demonstrates that this is a continuation of the preceding line, introduced by *my*. One may compare Book of the Dead Spell 68: "I control my heart, I control my breast, I control my mouth, I control my feet and hands," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 62.

Sq is *sq*, "join together, collect," *Glossar*, p. 466. *Sꜣq* particularly denotes the collecting and joining together of the body-parts, *Wb.* 4, 25/7. One may also observe the meaning "capacity," Crum, *CD*, p. 324b.

We had first transliterated *ḥꜣt*, comparing the compound *sq-ib*, "sich selbst beherrschend," *Wb.* 4, 26/1, but it is better to read *ỉr.t*, "eye," *Glossar*, p. 38.

Gp is written in B02; *kp* in L01. This is *gp*, "sole of the foot," *Glossar*, p. 578.

L01: *Msḏr* appears to have the plural *.w*, a more probable reading than *mn*.

Line 13: The *mr-rḫ* will now learn the contents of a series of seven (?) sacred books.

B02: *Nt ỉw* is written for *mtw*, which is in fact in the other versions.

Sy is probably *sỉꜣ*, "insight," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 795–96 (not in *Glossar*). Also possible, however, is *sy*, "praise," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 86. On the sacred books in general, see, for example, Wessetzky, "Gottesbuch des Königs," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 963–65.

We identify *fy* with *fꜣw*, "Power, awe," *Wb.* 1, 575/3–15.

On the *kny*, clearly *gnw.t*, "annals," *Wb.* 5, 173/6–15, see Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, and esp. pp. 65–96; idem, "Meaning and Use of the Term *GNWT* 'Annals,'" in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 327–41. The word is not in *Glossar*.

Tty is certain in B02 and L01, but the identification is not secure. Most probable is a connection with *twtw*, "der heilige Pfeiler," *Glossar*, p. 617, or related words, e.g., *twt*, "collect," *Wb.* 5, 259/5–260/10. One thinks, of course, of the Hermetic *Tat*, which has itself been identified with the djed-pillar, but this must remain a mere possibility.

Wꜣḥ is secure; *w*[...] is preserved in the L01. *Whꜥ*, "to unravel, explain, interpret," *Wb.* 1, 348/3–349/15, written *wꜣḥ* in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 77, yields sense. For the meaning "Deutung," see Schott, *Abwehr des Bösen*, pp. 12–13. Compare also the various titles compounded with *whꜥ* in Iversen, "Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary," p. 14.

The last portion of the line, which contained apparently two more "books," is unclear.

L01: In L01 *mw* seems to follow the lacuna.

The end of the line may be *ḫmts* in L01, which is difficult to equate with the preserved

traces in B02 . *Mts* may be identical with *mds*, "to be powerful," *Wb.* 2, 183/1–13. *ḥ(m)* may be *ḥm*, "small," *Glossar*, pp. 359–60. Naturally, other interpretations may be proposed.

Line 14: The author continues his listing of sacred books mastered by the *mr-rḫ*. In this line there are puzzling variations between the three preserved versions.

B02: For *swr*, "to drink," see *Glossar*, pp. 415–16. The reed-leaf is generally reduced to a mere vertical stroke in Demotic writings of *swr*, but in B02 a clear writing is employed. The determinative is manifestly the expected jar determinative of *swr*. It may be a figurative use of *swr*, cf. "auch bildlich: von der Wahrheit trinken," *Wb.* 3, 428/13. There is probably also a deliberate play on words between *swr*, "to drink," and *swr*, "to make great," cf. *swr,* "jem. rühmen, mit (*m*) Sprüchen 'gross machen,'" *Wb.* 4, 70/18. On the idea of drinking in words, see Ritner, in Allen et al. *Religion and Philosophy*, p. 107 (e.g., Setne1).

In L01, on the contrary, *sḫ*ʿ is equally clear. In Demotic *sḫ*ʿ is normally "to set up, reproach," *Glossar*, p. 411. The objects of the verb are uncertain, but they seem to be "praises" or "book of praises." We can discover no meaning of *sḫ*ʿ which suits this passage. Is this for *sḫwy,* "to collect," *Wb.* 4, 211/13–212/5?

The two nouns following *swr* may be identical. The most obvious reading in B02 is *stt*, perhaps best identifed with *stwt*, "to praise, commend," *Wb.* 4, 335/12–13, or *stwt*, "to gather together, assemble," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 958. The transliteration *sḫn*, comparing, e.g., *sḫn*, "(Worte) verkünden," *Wb.* 4, 218/8, is less satisfactory. Instead of *n*ȝ, read perhaps *t*ȝ.

The word after the second *stt* seems to be *tw*ȝ, which we take to be "praise." On *tw*ȝ "praise," see M. Smith, "Lexicographical Notes," *Enchoria* 13 (1985): 103–04.

We seem then to have a series of different words for "praise." This yields sense, since the object of the praise is "their father," who is undoubtedly Thoth.

ȝw is *ȝwy*, "preisen, Lobpreis," *Glossar*, p. 2. In L01 *iw* is more archaic, cf. *iȝw*, *iw*, *Wb.* 1, 28.

Sḫm,"be mighty," does not seem to be still a viable verb in Demotic, which appears to know only *sḫm*, "göttliche Macht, Bild eines Gottes," *Glossar*, p. 454.

L01: *Sḫn* is uncertain, and *stt*, as in B02, may be preferable.

it is written as a plural in this version.

B05: For *s*ȝ, possibly transliterate *sḫ*.

Line 15: For *itn*, "secret," see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 98.

The reading *wȝḫ* seems secure; cf. *wȝḥ* in B02, 3/13. *Wȝḫ* here may be identical with *wḫ*ʿ, "explain, interpret," *Wb.* 1, 348/3–349/15. One might compare the "Erklärung der Namen," in P. Jumilhac, Rössler-Köhler, *LÄ* 4, col. 710 ("Pap. Jumilhac"). In V01, 3/16, the disciple expressly says that he wishes to elucidate the praises of *Isten*.

Twȝ.w is probably "praise," *Glossar*, p. 613, and not a writing of *tyȝ*, "hieroglyphic sign," *Glossar*, p. 606.

Ḫry-rt is the most likely transliteration. *Ḫr-rt* means "under," *Glossar*, p. 258; "unter den Füssen (jemds, einer Statue u. ä), bes. von den Unterworfenen," *Wb.* 2, 462/3–7. The word is damaged in L01, but it clearly concluded with the seated-man determinative.

Ḫry-rt seems to vary in this text (e.g., B02, 9/11) with *ḫry-*ʿ, "apprentice," for which see Posener, "L'exorde de l'instruction éducative d'Amennakhte (Recherches littéraires, V)," *RdE* 10 (1955): 64; Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 159.

The reading *ḥm* is assured by L01; in B02 it is written with the *ḥm* sign. In B02, 8/4, there is mentioned the *ḥm n istn*, "servant of *Isten* (= Thoth)." The servant of Thoth is probably Imhotep.

L01: We had first read *Ḏḥwty*, but now think *wr tiw*, "Great of Five," is more appropriate. One can readily see the possibility for a variation between *wr tiw* and *Ḏḥwty* due to graphic similarity, *Glossar*, p. 652.

Line 16: The disciple begins to question Thoth. This is the first clear example of an inquiry by the *mr-rḫ*; the immediately previous lines have been spoken by Thoth.

B02: The questions are generally introduced by *iḫ*.

For *ʿny.t,* "nail, claw, talon," *Glossar*, p. 63, see Vittmann, "Zauberspruch," in Thissen and Zauzich (eds.), *Festschrift Lüddeckens*, p. 254. The original ʿ is maintained in B02, while L01 substitutes ȝ. On its use as a tool for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, see Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, Teil 2, p. 25. This ritual provides the background to the composition of the Book of Thoth; compare C09, 2/11–13, where *wpy r*ȝ appears. *ʿny.t* may be the "pointer" in the scale employed in the underworld judgment, Seeber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 69–70.

Nḏl is a variant of *nḏr*, "to fasten upon, grab, seize," *Wb.* 2, 382/18–383/26. The word has not yet been attested in Demotic or Coptic. *Nḏr* is often used in connection with *ʿn.t*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 155. *Nḏr* may also mean "to know," see Derchain, "De l'éloquence judiciaire," *CdE* 54 (1999): 37. See also Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, pp. 89–90.

Stp mt, "select of words," is probably an epithet of Thoth. *Stp* is, of course, the designation of the adze used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.

Ḥʿy, with the wood-determinative, is *ḫʿy*, "ein Werkzeug," *Glossar*, p. 378, also rendered as a "winnowing-fan," see Tait, "Demotic Word-list," *JEA* 68 (1982): 222; Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, p. 24. The determinative in B02, 3/16, is that found in *ȝsḫ*, "ernten, mähen," *Glossar*, p. 11. *Ḥʿy* is a writing of *ḫʿw*, "weapon, instrument," *Wb.* 3, 243/3–15. On the warlike and aggressive aspects of Thoth, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 807.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 4 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 4/1	*my ḏ=w*	*n=y tȝ mn-iry.t nt sʿnḫ*	*ȝspy.t ir=y snqy n nȝe=s mnṯ.w*
L01, 2/11	*my ḏ=w*	*n=y ʿn tȝ [mn]-iry.t nt sʿnḫ*	*ȝspy ir=y snqy […] nȝe=s mnt.w*
B01, 3/11	*my ḏ[=w*	*n=y]ʳtȝ mn-iry.tʾ*	*[.....]*
B03.10, 3	*[.....]*	*.....*	*ȝs[py.....]*
B05, 1/6	*[.....*		*ȝs]py ir=y snqy n nȝe=s mnt.w*

B02, 4/2 **ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f t̲ n=k** *t3 sḫ=s nt 3tp b3.w tw r-r=s my* **wšb=s t̲=k**
L01, 2/12 **ḫr=f n Ḥsr.t ḏ=f t̲ n=k** *t3 sḫy.t nt rs b3.w tw r-r=s my* **wšb=s n=k**
B01, 3/12 **ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f t̲ n=k** *t3.....* *b3.w ... [.....]*
B03.10, 4 *[.....] ... [.....]*
B05, 1/7 *[.....] b3.w tw r-r=s my* *wšb=s n=k*

B02, 4/3 *p3e=k ti.t qy ḫrw=k p3e=s mr sḏm=k p3e= s* *iy n tkr* *r-r=k*
L01, 2/13 *p3e=k ti.t qy ḫrw[=k p3]e=s mr n=k p3e= s* *iy iw=s tkl r-r=k*
B01, 3/12–13 *[.....] / p3e=s mr sḏm=k .....* *r=k*
B03.10, 5 *[.....] mr n=k p3e= s* *iy [.....]*
B05, 1/8 *[.....] p3e=s* *iy iw=s tkl r-r=k*

B02, 4/4 *i-ir=k* *tw s n p3 ḫpr tp-rnp.t t3 sḫ=s r st3=s* *wšb n=k*
L01, 2/14 *in iw=k* *tw3 s [n p3 ḫpr] tp-rnp.t t3 sḫ=s st3=s* *wšb n=k*
B01, 3/14 *in iw iw=k tw3 ... [.....]*
B03.10, 6 *[.....]=s ... =s* *wšb [.....]*
B05, 1/8–9 *in iw iw=k tw3 s / [.....]*

B02, 4/5 *in ʿrq=k s ʿm=k* *tw3=sn ir=s s.t=s* *ḫnt r3 3by.k*
L01, 2/15 *in 3rq=k s [ʿm]=k* *tw3=s ir=s s.t=s* *ḫnt r3 i3b.k*
B01, 3/14–15 *[.....] / s.t=s* *ḫnt r3 i3b.k*
B03.10, 7 *[.....]* *ḫnt r3 i3b ... [...]*
B05, 1/9–10 *in ʿrq=k* *tw3=s ir=s s.t=s* *ḫnt r3 / [...]*

B02, 4/6 *iw-wn r n3* *sb3.w nw ntr=k* *ḥ3.t=sn nsns* ***120*** *ḫr sḏm=s*
L01, 2/16 *iw-wn n3* *sb3.w [n]w sntl.w=k ḥ3.t st sn n=s n* *120 š sḏm=s*
B01, 3/15 *[...] iw-wn ...* *sb3.w ..... [.....]*
B03.10, 8 *[.....] ... n=s* *120 ... [...]*
B05, 1/10 *[.....]* *ḥ3.t=s ns=k n=s* *120 š sḏm=s*

B02, 4/7 *ʿ3 t3 ip.t* *wr.t nt ḫr sḏm n=s p3* *wnš ib mtw=s mr=f*
L01, 2/17 *ʿ3 t3 ip.t* *wr.t mtw š sḏm=s n=f t3y p3* *wnš ib mtw=s [mr=f]*
B01, 3/16 *ʿ3 t3 ip.t* *[wr.t mtw ḫr .....]*
B0 3.10, 9 *[.....] t3y p3* *wnš ib mtw=s [...]*
B05, 1/10–11 *ʿ3 t3 ip.t wr.t / [..... m]r=f*

B02, 4/8 *bw-ir=s šlf ir (n) dry[ḥ-ḥ]r mtw=s p3 iwiw s3b ʿmtw=s 3sy ʾ [r] wšb=f*
L01, 2/18 *bw-ir=s ḥl=f p3 ḏlḥ- ḫr mtw=s p3 iy* *s3b mtw ms ..... wšb=f*
B01, 3/16–17 *[.....] ... / ḫr=f*
B03.10, 10 *[.....] p3 iy* *s3b ... [...]*
B05, 1/11–12 *bw-ir=s šlf ir* *ḏlʿḥ-ḫr / [...]*

B02, 4/9 *nt-iw=f* ***ʿš n=s 7,000 n 77 n sp*** *mtw=s tm iy r* *ḫrw=f*
L01, 2/19 *mtw=f* *ʿš n=s 7,000 n sp* *mtw=s tm iy r* *ḫrw=f*
B01, 3/17–18 *mtw=f ʿš n=s [.....] /* *mtw=s tm iy r* *ḫrw=f*
B03.10, 11 *[.....] iy r* *ḫrw=f*
B05, 1/12 *[mtw]=f* *ʿš n=s 1,077 (?) n sp* *mtw=s tm iy r* *ḫrw=f*

B02, 4/10 *m333=s* *ḫ3=s t3e=s ... e.t mn=s ḫr* *mnq=s ḥḥ bw-ir=w mnq s*
L01, 2/20 *ʿm333ʾ[=s]* *ḫ3.t̲=s t3e=s iy mnq š* *mnq=s ḥḥ bw-ir=w mnq s (?)*
B01, 3/18 *[m333]=s* *ḫ3.t ... [.....]*
B03.10, 12 *[.....] mnq=s ḥḥ* *bw-ir=s (?) mnq s*
B05, 1/13 *[...] ... [.....]* *bw-ir=w (?) mnq s*

B02, 4/11 *p3e=k šn r-r=s* *p3e=s iy n tkr p3e=k* *sw n wḫ3=s i-ir=k gm.t̲=s*
L01, 2/21 *[p]3e=k šny r-r=s p3e=s iy iw=s tkl r-r=k p3e=k sw n [wḫ3]=s iw=k gm.t̲=s*
B01, 3/18–19 *[.....] / r-r=s p3e=s iy tkl [... p]3e=k* *sw n wḫ3 ... [.....]*
B03.10, 13 *[.....] p3e=k* *sw wḫ3=s i-ir=k gm s*
B05, 1/13–14 *[p3e=k] šny r-r=s p3e=s iy tkl / [.....]*

B02, 4/12 **mr-rḫ ḏ=f** *iḫ p3y sḫ iḫ n3.w n3e=f ʿ.wy.w n wsḥ mḥy=s r mtwt=f b3ḥy*
L01, 2/22 **mr-rḫ ḏ=f** *iḫ p3y sḫ iḫ p3y p3e=f ʿ.wy wsḥ* *mḥy[=s] r mtwt=f (?) m (?)-b3ḥ=y*
B01, 3/19–20 *[.....] / ʿ.wy wsḥ* *mḥy.t̲=s r m...=f..... y*
B03.10, 14 *[.....]* *mḥy s r mtwt=f m-b3ḥ=y*
B05, 1/14–15 *[.....] ... iḫ n3.w n3e=f ʿ.wy wsḥ* *mḥy=s / [.....]*

B02, 4/13 **ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f** *ym p3y sḫ ʿt n3.w n3e=f ʿt.w trm n-im=f* *ḫm sp-2*
L01, 2/23 **ḫr=f Ḥsr.t ḏ=f** *ym p3y p3 sḫ ʿt n3.w n3e=f ʿt.w trm n-im=f* *šm sp-2*
B01, 3/20–21 **ḫr=f** *[.....] /* *ḫm sp-2*
B03.10, 15 *[.....] n3e=f ʿt.w trm n-im=f* *šm [...]*
B05, 1/15 *[.....].w tlm n-im=f* *ḫm sp-2*

B02, 4/14 *fy n p3 ʿt* *tn tny.w ḫ.t̲=f* *ḥḥ p3y m-ir ḫsy n=f*
L01, 2/24 *fy ... [... tn]y ... [ḫ.t̲]=f* *ḥḥ p3y m-ir ḫsy=f*
B01, 3/21 *fy n p3 ʿt tny ... tn [.....]*
B05, 1/16 *[.....]*

B02, 4/15 *š-tw p3e=f nb ti.t nby=k* *ḫn=f nt-iw=f ir* *m3ʿtr=f i-ir-ḫr=k*
L01, 3/1 *š-mtw n3e=f nb.w ti.t ḫny=k (?) n ḫ.t̲=f mtw=f [...]* *m3 tr=f n-i-ir-ḫr=k*
B01, 3/21–22 *[.....] / nb.w ti.t nby=k* *n ḫ.t=f mtw=f ir* *m[3ʿ.....]*
B05, 1/16–17 *[...] n3e=f* *nb.w t3 nb=k (?)* *n ḫ.t=f / [.....]*

B02, 4/16 ***p3 7 ʿt.w nt n*** *mḥy r p3 hby ḫn t3 7.t sḫ.t n ʿm-t3.wy*
L01, 3/2 *p3 7 ʿt.w nt* *mḥy r* *ḥby ḫn t3 3.t t3 sḫ.t [ʿm]-t3.w*
B05, 1/17–18 *[.....] hby ḫn t3 7.t / [...]*

Translation

1. May one say to me (L01: "also") the nurse who nurtures language // that I may suck from her breasts.
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret** (B01: **"The-one-who-praises-knowledge"**), **he says:** "Take for yourself 'The Mighty-one' (L01: 'the door') which protects (B02: 'is loaded with') *bas*. // Praise her. // Let her answer you.
3. Your causing that your voice be loud (means) // her wish to hear you (and) // her coming quickly to you.
4. If you should praise her at the occasion of the New Year, // "The Mighty-One" will return so as to answer to you.
5. If you understand her (and if) you comprehend her praises, // she will make her place at your mouth, you being thirsty.
6. Open the doors of your divinity before her. // Call out to her **120** times. // She hears.
7. B02: Great is the immense number which the intelligent jackal listens to her, // and she loves him (the intelligent jackal).
   L01: Great is the immense number which she listens to him, this one, the intelligent jackal and she [loves him.]
8. She does not disdain to act (for) the one humble of face. // Hers is the intelligent dog (?), and she hastens to answer him.
9. And he calls out to her **seven thousand** times **seventy-seven** times // and she does not come at his voice.
10. She looks before her ... // She completes millions. // They do not complete her. (L01 "before her. Her ... complete. She completes millions. They do not complete her.")
11. Your seeking her (means) her coming quickly. // On your day of desiring her, you find her.
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is writing? // What are its places of storage? // Compare it to its like, O overflowing one!
13. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Writing (or "a book") is a sea. // Its reeds are a shore. // Hasten therein, little one, little one!
14. Hurry to the shore! // Count waves (?) (or "difficult passages"). // As for its body, it is a myriad. // Do not be weak with regard to it (the sea)
15. until its lord permits that you swim in it // and he makes a perfect place (?) (or "very fair wind") before you.
16. The **seven** reeds which resemble the plow in the **seven** fields of "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

Commentary

Line 1: The *mr-rḫ* asks that he be made acquainted with a goddess associated with language that he may be nurtured. There is a clear connection between these two questions of the disciple (the first question is B02, 3/16) and the answer by Thoth. In B02, 4/5, Thoth speaks of "your being thirsty."

B02: The involvement of Thoth with languages is well known, see Sauneron, "La différenciation des langages," *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 31–41. The image of the breast is important in this composition, cf. L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 *pȝ mnḫ n rḫ nt tȝ.t snqy nȝ rḫ.w* "the breast of knowledge which allows that the wise ones suckle."

For *mn-ỉry.t*, "nurse," see *Glossar*, p. 161. The determinative is the same as that in *snqy*, perhaps the seated woman, cf. *ḥm.t*, *Glossar*, p. 306.

ȝspy is not in *Glossar*, but it is found, for example, in the Lille Mythus fragments, de Cenival, "Les nouveaux fragments," *CRIPEL* 7 (1985): 114; see now also Ryholt, *Story of Petese*, p. 42. Significantly, perhaps, one of the underworld gates is named *sr.t mt.w*, "she who foretells the words," *Wb.* 4, 190/17.

Mnḫ is not in *Glossar*. This example is included in Černý, *CED*, p. 86, through Thompson, who apparently saw B02 at some point. Another attestation of *mnḫ* occurs in the Book of the Lizard, to be published by Zauzich. There is word play between *mn-ỉry.t* and *mnḫ*.

L01: *Tȝ mn* is very difficult to recognize in L01.

Line 2: Thoth, addressing his questioner, advises him on behavior towards this feminine deity. In L01, at least, that divinity is apparently a gate or portal (*sbḫy.t*). This section, with its allusion to a dialogue between a seeker and a gate, is reminiscent of the "Book of Gates." As Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 589, remarks (our translation): "It (The Book of Gates) describes the way which the Sun-god takes during his nightly voyage from West to East through the Underworld. It is similar in this to the Amduat, but differs from the Amduat, in that the emphasis is on the gates. These, guarded by demons and fire-spitting snakes, offer from hour to hour resistance to the god and, thus to the deceased, who desires to travel with him. It opens only after being entreatied with spells." The pattern of address and response in the Book of Thoth certainly conforms to the underworld typology. On the significance and symbolism of gates and portals, see, for example, Brunner, "Die Rolle von Tür und Tor im Alten Ägypten," *Das Hörende Herz*, pp. 248–70.

B02: The name of Thoth in B02 and L01 is *Ḥsr*(*.t*), while B01 clearly has *Ḥs-rḫ*.

B02 has *tȝ šḫ=s*. This is presumably *šḫy*, "schlagen," *Glossar*, p. 451. *Šḫ=s* may be the late nominal formation of the verbal root with the addition of a suffix object, as in ϣⲁⲁⲧⲥ, "piece," from *šȝ.t*, "to cut"; compare *Glossar*, p. 493, for *šȝ.t=s*, "piece"; Osing, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 330–33. There is probably also a connection with Demotic *šḥj*, generally found in the compound *ỉr-šḥy*, "Macht haben." We have therefore translated *tȝ šḫ=s* as the "Mighty-one."

The author may also have had other words in mind, such as *šš*, "open," *Wb.* 3, 481/14–482/14; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 922. This is a fitting designation of a gate in the netherword, cf. "⌜the openers⌝" in the Book of the Dead, Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 118.

The scribe may even have intended *Šḫ=s* to be a reference to *Sšš.t*, "Seshat," *Wb.* 4, 280/6–11. That goddess can help the deceased enter the underworld gates: "Ho N. The portal is opened for you by Seshat," Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 7.

In L01 *sbḫy.t* is *sbḫ.t*, "Tor," *Glossar*, p. 422.

The phrase qualifying the door or gate is problematic, being clearly different in B02 and L01. While there are no examples identical to that in L01 in *Glossar*, p. 253, *rsy*, "to guard," is plausible. It is difficult to understand the B01 version. *ỉtp* is very probable, though the *t* is not absolutely secure. However, the only meaning of this verb is "to carry,

load," *Glossar*, p. 13, which yields little obvious sense. It may be best to understand this as a stative form, a gate which is "loaded" with *bas*.

The *bas* are either the blessed dead or "emanations of Re (sacred books)."

R-r=k at the end of the line is expected, perhaps, but *ṯ=k* is written in B02. For the transitive use of *wšb* in Subakhmimic, see Crum, *CD*, p. 502b. While the usual meaning of "answer," *Glossar*, p. 102, adequately fits the context, *wšb* can also mean "protect," and take the direct object; see M. Smith, *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, note on 1/8.

Line 3: This line comprises three nominal sentences underscoring the female deity's sympathetic response. A similar construction is in B02, 4/11.

B02: B02 presents the better text of this line, *sḏm* being omitted in L01.

For *qy ḫrw*, "to be loud of voice," see *Glossar*, p. 531.

For *tkr*, "sich beeilen," see *Glossar*, p. 660. The emphasis on speed is characteristic of magical texts, e.g., Johnson, in Betz (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 200.

L01: The determinative of *qy* is the man with his arms extended.

The scribe may have omitted *sḏm* because of its graphic similarity to *n=k*; compare *sḏm* in L01, 2/17.

Line 4: This line is important since it provides a temporal fixed point for the sequence of events in the mention of the New Year.

B02: There are variations between the two versions at the beginning of the line. B02 has the second tense, while the others formulate the sentence as a question.

Ḫpr is the best reading in B02; it is lost in L01. *Ỉp* in B02 is also probable. However, it is difficult to explain the man-with-hand-determinative, which rarely seems to occur with *tp*, "head, first," cf. *Glossar*, pp. 626–27. It is doubtful that this is *tp*, "gewöhnen," *Glossar*, p. 626. In view of the following *rnp.t*, *tp-rnp.t*, "First day of the Year," *Wb.* 5, 280/1–4; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1137, is the most attractive reading. As remarked in *Wb.*, it was distinguished from *wp-rnp.t* in older texts, but later does appear to have the meaning of the first day of the New Year. On the New Year ritual, see Daumas, *LÄ* 4, cols. 466–72 ("Neujahr"), although little written there illuminates this passage. On the festivals associated with the New Year, see also Coppens, "The Wabet and New Year's Court of the Temple of Shenhur," *GM* 171 (1999): 87–92. The House of Life does play a role in the ceremonies of the New Year, Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, pp. 38–41. There are various festival or rituals connected with the New Year in the cult of Thoth; of course, the very designation of the first month of the year is Thoth; D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, p. 195. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 156 (with our translation), remarks:

> (On the lake in the Temple of Thoth at Hermopolis) "This lake must have been large enough so that in dramatic rites it could receive a bark with the image of the sun-god Re. This is confirmed by two inscriptions of the Late Period: 'You see Thoth on the Festival of Thoth, and you see Re in the New Year, when he appears in Hesret, this place in which he was born.' In the tomb of Petosiris there is recorded the wish of his daughter: 'May you see Re on the New Year, when he nears the land at Hesret, when he fares over the Lake of Fire, the place in which he was born.'"

A "house" or "mansion of Seshat" also appears in the New Year ceremonies, Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, p. 69.

Both L01 and B02 have the same designation of the deity after *rnp.t*, namely, *sḫ=s* (or *Sḫ=s*). *Sḫ=s* in L01 may have the evil determinative. For *ỉ͗ sḫ=s*, see the commentary to B02, 3/2.

For *sṯ͗*, see *Glossar*, pp. 473–74.

L01: Instead of *ỉn*, the initial sign may be an elaborate writing of *ỉ*, perhaps the man with outstretched arms, *Glossar*, p. 15. The sign at the beginning of the line in L01 resembles the enigmatic one discussed by M. Smith in *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, note to 6/19. The reading is *ỉn* or *ỉ*, to judge from L01, 3/14, in which there is a writing of *ỉmy.t* using this sign. Fortunately, B02 has an unequivocal *ỉ-ỉr=k* here.

L01 might have only *ỉ͗ rnp.t*, not *tp-rnp.t* and clearly has no man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative after *tp*.

Line 5: Thoth continues to describe the helpful character of this female deity to whom the *mr-rḫ* must defer.

B02: Given the parallels in L01 and B05, the initial sign is probably *ỉn*, but the writing is difficult to explain. It is perhaps a scribal error. Other possibilities, such as the egg used to write *ỉmy*, "cause," comparing *Wb.* 1, 75/22 (the egg for *ỉmy*, "which is in"), are less likely.

ỉn ʿrq=k s is best translated "if you (or 'do you') understand her." For *ʿrq*, "verstehen," see *Wb.* 1, 212/14 (not in *Glossar*). We take *ʿm=k twʾ=sn / twʾ=s* also to have conditional force. *Twʾ=sn* in B02 is probably for *twʾ=s* as in L01, 2/15.

The prepositional phrase *ḫnt rʾ* indicates that the deity will position herself so that the *mr-rḫ* may suckle from her breast.

ʿby, "dursten," *Glossar*, p. 3, is probably a stative. Sandra Lippert has proposed the attractive interpretation of *rʾ ʿby* as an unorthographic writing of *rʾ-ib*, "stomach," *Wb.* 2, 393/14. The phrase *ḫnt rʾ-ib* may then designate the "esophagus" or "throat," a reasonable if otherwise unattested term. There is an intriguing association between the *Mr.t*-goddess, the throat, and *maat*, which may underlie this passage of the Book of Thoth; on the connection between the "throat" and *maat*, see Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 109–24.

B05: This version may omit the *s ʿm=k* of B02 and L01, but the papyrus is too poorly preserved at this point for a secure reading.

Line 6: The god commands the *mr-rḫ* to call out to the female divinity 120 times. B02 and L01 display several divergences from one another.

B02: *Nw* is the archaic plural genitive particle, see M. Smith, "Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts," *Enchoria* 8/2 (1978): 18–19.

The noun *ntr*, with man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is uncertain. It may be "divinity," *Wb.* 2, 364/19–23, but the phrase "doors of *ntr=k*" suggests a location, e.g., *nṯrỉ*, "der heilige Palast," *Wb.* 2, 364/26, "Heiligtum," *Wb.* 2, 365/1–2, or even *nṯrỉ*, "das Herz," *Wb.* 2, 365/5–7; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 558–60, with other reasonable possibilities, e.g., "sacred writings, sacred eyes." "Divinity" here may have the special meaning

of "senses." An interpretation of the group not as *nṯr*, but as a variant spelling of *nḏ-r*, "advice," *Wb.* 2, 371/22–372/3, is less likely.

The author may again allude here to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The blades employed in that ritual are indeed called *nṯrwy* and *sbꜣwy*, Roth, "Fingers, Stars, and the 'Opening of the Mouth': The Nature and Function of the *NṮRWJ*-Blades," *JEA* 79 (1993): 57. The Opening of the Mouth ceremony has probably already been referred to in the *ꜥn.t*, "claw," in B02, 3/16.

L01 is slightly damaged, but seems to read [...] *w sntl.w=k*. The sign read as "*s*" may be, however, a man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative after *nw*. There is a flesh determinative in *sntl*. We may identify this with *snṯrj*, "göttlich machen, heiligen," *Wb.* 4, 180/3–6. The word is particularly used with regard to the mummification of the corpse, which perhaps explains the flesh determinative. Alternatively, "heart" may have been intended; compare the previous remarks on the B02 version.

Ḥꜣ.t=sn is presumably for *ḥꜣ.t=s*, "before her."

Nsns in B02 is probably also for *ns n=s*, as in L01 (written *sn*). For *ns*, "to call out," see *Wb.* 2, 204/1–19 (not in *Glossar*).

The significance of the numeral 120 is not clear, although it is, of course, one third of the 360 day Egyptian year.

L01: *Š* is written for the aorist particle *ḫr* in both L01 and B05.

Line 7: The author refers here to the *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, focusing especially on the number of times which Thoth (as a small monkey) had to address Tefnut.

B02: In all versions the line begins with the adjective verb *ꜥꜣ*, "to be great," where one might expect the usual Demotic form *nꜣ-ꜥꜣ*. The subject is *ỉp.t*, "number," *Glossar*, p. 28; *Wb.* 1, 66/22–24.

Pꜣ wnš seems to be the subject of the relativized aorist clause.

ỉb, "heart," probably qualifies *wnš*. We translate this standard epithet of Thoth as an adjective, "intelligent." One wonders whether there is confusion here with the verbal adjective *ỉp*, "intelligent," *Wb.* 1, 66/14. There is probably a word play between *ỉb* and the *ỉp.t* earlier in the line.

Mtw=s at the end is probably a conjunctive form, and the clause modifies *wnš*.

L01: This version yields in part better sense, since Tefnut listens more to Thoth than the reverse.

We had first read *gm*, not in B01, used in the pregnant sense, "einen Körperteil (Hand, Mund, Herz) finden = richtig zu gebrauchen wissen," *Wb.* 5, 169/4. The form is not unlike the example of *gm* in L01, 2/21. However, it is preferable to read *tꜣy pꜣ*, which provides a closer parallel to B02. Unfortunately, the force of *tꜣy* (demonstrative pronoun or copula) remains ambiguous. It may indeed be a gloss on the entire statement: "This means ... "

Line 8: This line again displays close connections with *Mythus*. The beginning of the sentence refers to the attitude of Tefnut to the monkey, who was truly "modest of face." Nevertheless, she was not hateful to him.

B02: For *šlf*, "hässlich," see *Glossar*, pp. 518–19. The following word is probably *ỉr*. We therefore take the infinitive as dependent on *šlf*, with a meaning such as "to disdain." One must, however, then understand *n*, "for," before *ḏryḥ-ḥr*. On *šlf*, see Quack, "Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters," *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 64.

For *ḏlḥ*, "klein, gering sein," see *Glossar*, p. 686; Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 85 (with another early example in Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 24). Thoth employs *ḏlḥ* to describe himself in *Mythus*, Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 308.

Mtw=s introduces a nominal sentence, with the independent pronoun being used to indicate possession. It does not seem possible to interpret it as a conjunctive.

For *ỉw*, "dog," as an epithet of Thoth, Caminos, *LEM*, p. 90; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 47–48.

It is difficult to explain the variants between the two versions. *Sꜣb* is clear in B02. Since it is supplied with the evil-determinative, it seems to be "enemy," *Glossar*, p. 420.

For *ỉsy*, see *ỉs*, "eilen," *Glossar*, p. 50.

B01: In B01, 3/16–17, restore perhaps *[wšb] / ḫr=f mtw=f ꜥꜣ n=s*.

L01: This scribe has divided *šlf* into *ḫl=f*, "he robbed," from *ḫl*, "rauben," *Glossar*, p. 368.

The vague traces after the evil bird determinative of *ḫl* are probably the falling soldier sign (Gardiner Z6) rather than *r-r=f*.

One may note that *ỉy*, "to come," can be written with the *sꜣb* jackal in the Greek Period, *Wb.* 1, 37.

The word following *ỉy* is most likely written as *sꜣb*, "jackal," *Wb.* 3, 420/5–13, determined by the animal skin, cf. Möller, *HP* 3, number 166 (this accounts well for the dot). While not certain, this reading yields meaning, and provides an excellent counterpart to the clear *sꜣb*, "enemy," in the B02 version, an easy mistake. Moreover, the jackal can be a symbol of Thoth, see M. Smith, footnote 17 to his commentary on column 11, *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*. Nevertheless, *sꜣb* probably is connected here with *sbꜣ*, "be learned," and refers to the intelligence of the dog.

Line 9: The author elaborates on the interaction between Thoth and Tefnut as found in *Mythus*. He emphasizes how often Thoth had to call to her before she responded. Here the god wishes thereby to comfort his disciple, assuring him that Thoth himself had a difficult time of it with Tefnut.

B02: The writing of 7,000 is not in *Glossar*. It is the best reading, although actually 1,000 +77 might be understood in B02; we follow L01 here. These are naturally mythologically significant numbers. 7,000 bottles of beer, for example, are prepared to intoxicate Sakhmet in the "Destruction of Mankind," Sethe, *Zahlen*, p. 37. 77 is also a number associated elsewhere with the sun-god, Sethe, *Zahlen*, p. 36. On the numbers, 7,000 and 77, see Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, p. 245; Derchain, "Miettes," *RdE* 26 (1974): 7–8 (on the multiples of 77 and 777 to express an infinite number). One may also add the "7,000 measures" mentioned in Baines, "The Stela of Emhab," *JEA* 72 (1986): 42.The author is obviously interested in the significance of "7," since in B02, 4/16 he speaks of the "seven reeds" and the "seven fields" of Thoth. In general, see now Rochholz, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*. An interesting parallel is in Matthew 18:22, where Jesus declares: "I say not unto thee, until seven times: but, until seventy times seven."Cf. also Genesis 4:24.

The idiom "come at the voice" is characteristic of oracles, compare: "Drawing toward him and coming at his voice (*ỉy n ḫrw=f*) by the great god," Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, p. 7.

B05: The numeral is unclear in this text; read perhaps *1,000+ ... 77*.

Line 10: The author explicates the unique and independent qualities of the goddess being approached by the *mr-rḫ*.

B02: Given the clear *mn* in *mnq* later in the sentence, it may be preferable to read *mn for mỉỉ* at the beginning.

The word after *tỉe=s* is possibly *ḫn.t*; it may be derived from *ḫn*, "sich nähern," *Glossar*, pp. 382–83.

The following word is also problematic. We believe that it is probably *mn=s*, comparing ⲙⲙⲛ, "selbst," *KHWB*, p. 92, and the writing of *mn* in B02, 3/5.

For *mnq*, "vollenden," see *Glossar*, p. 164. While this line certainly contains a clear expression of the goddess's powers, one wonders whether there is not a more oblique sense as well. Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 397, observes: "*mnq* ist für Kolophone demotischer literarischer Papyri *das* charakteristische Wort." Could this line indirectly refer to that usage or a similar nuance?

In general one might compare such statements as Book of the Dead Spell 42, "I am Horus, presiding over millions," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 49. Assmann collects numerous similar examples of such statements about *ḥḥ*, although none is identical with the one here, Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 150–55.

L01: Several possibilities exist for the reading of the word following *tỉe=s*, but *ỉy* seems most probable, comparing the following line L01, 2/21. The translation is obscure.

Line 11: Thoth reassures the *mr-rḫ* that the female deity will respond to his approaches.

B02: The writing is abbreviated, but *šn*, "fragen," *Glossar*, pp. 513–14, which often takes *r*, is secure.

The infinitive *ỉy* is here correctly treated as a masculine noun, Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, p. 101, paragraph 221.

ỉ-ỉr=k is most likely a second tense or second future (*ỉ-ỉr=k r*), the absolute noun adverbial phrase presumably being emphasized.

L01: This author employs the circumstantial phrase *ỉw=s* in place of the prepositional phrase *n tkr* in B02.

Apparently a simple future *ỉw=k* (*r*) is used instead of the second tense of B02.

Line 12: The *mr-rḫ* asks Thoth about writing and the location of "writing" or the sacred books.

B02: This is a series of interrogative nominal sentences introduced by *ỉḫ*.

Wỉḥ is "to place, be placed," *Glossar*, p. 76. However, the author may also have intended the sense derived from *whʿ*, "to loosen," namely, "to explain, interpret," *Glossar*, p. 77. The phrase *ʿwy n wỉḥ* occurs also in B14.1, 1/13.

We understand *mḫy* to be *mḥy*, "vergleichen," *Glossar*, pp. 175–76. This is probably an infinitive form employed as an imperative, see Johnson, *DVS*, pp. 27–29. Add. 12

Mtwt may be a Demotic rendering of *mỉt.t*, "das Gleiche," *Wb.* 2, 40/4–41/7 (not in *Glossar*). The *mr-rḫ* seems to be asking the deity to speak in parables or in figures, which he indeed subsequently does.

Despite the version of L01, since the disciple would hardly use *m-bỉḥ* to refer to himself in conversation with Thoth, we think that *bỉḥy* in B02 is probably an epithet of Thoth in a vocative construction. We therefore propose to identify *bỉḥ* with *bʿḥ*, "to overflow," *Glossar*, p. 113, and render "overflowing one." For *bỉḥ*, compare also *bʿḥ*, the sacred town in the Delta dedicated to Thoth, Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 159. Thus, in Edfu Thoth is called the *nb Bʿḥ*, "lord of Bah," Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 156. The following passages contain water imagery, for which symbolism, see, e.g., Traunecker, "Les rites de l'eau à Karnak d'après les textes de la rampe de Taharqa," *BIFAO* 72 (1972): 195–236. Another possibility is that *bỉḥy* is a variant of *Mḥy*, a well-attested name of Thoth, *Wb.* 2, 127/3.

B01: Read possibly *mḫy=s* or *mḫy s* instead of *mḫy.t=s*.

Line 13: Thoth replies to the disciple with a metaphor. The papyrus roll or writing is identified with a sea, while the brushes or pens are the reeds growing upon its banks.

B02: Similar statements are in Book of the Dead Spell 17: "The name of the One is Million, the name of the Other is Sea. They are the natron lake and the *mỉʿt*- lake," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 28. One may also compare the rich water symbolism discussed in Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, pp. 285–93 ("Gewässerbeschreibungen").

For *ʿt*, "Seite, Gegend, Festland, Ufer," see *Glossar*, p. 74. There is a word play between this word and *ʿt*, = *ʿd*, "a reed used for writing," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 188.

The author may also be alluding to *ʿd*, "knife," this last being perhaps a name of the Messersee, compare Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 152 (= *ʿỉtyw*?), both *Wb.* 1, 239/1–4 ("Gemetzel"), and *Wb.* 1, 240/13, "ein Gewässer im Jenseits."

There may be a connection between *ʿt* and *ʿr* (through the similarities of writing in hieratic), "reed, brush," *Glossar*, p. 65; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 165–66. See also Schott, "Schreiber und Schreibgerät im Jenseits," *JEA* 54 (1968): 45–50.

Trm is probably ⲧⲁⲟⲙ, "eilen"(Sahidic), *KHWB*, p. 230 (a variant of ⲕⲱⲗⲉⲙ).

The use of the diminutive *ḫm sp-2* strikingly reveals the intimate nature of the relationship between Thoth and the *mr-rḫ*.

Line 14: Thoth urges the disciple to engage in writing, and not to be hesitant about practicing this difficult art.

B02: *Fy* is "to hurry," *Glossar*, p. 144. *N* does seem to be written after this, and not *r*.

Tn tny.w is a difficult phrase. The first *tn* is probably "to count," *Glossar*, p. 635. Given the image of the sea, it is tempting to translate *tny* as "wave(s)," but there is no evidence for such a meaning. We think there may well be a connection between *tny* and *ỉtn*, the well-attested word for "difficulties, problems." The point of the god is presumably that one should begin to study even if there are obstacles. One should not wait for the deity to remove all difficulties. There does seem, in any case, to be a contrast between *tn* *tny.w* and the following explanation *ḥḥ pỉy*, "it is a myriad." We understand *ḫ.t=f* as

being in anticipatory emphasis to the nominal phrase *ḥḥ pꜣy*. *Ḥ.t* perhaps refers here to the "body" of water (although we do not know this image otherwise in Egyptian), but may also mean, of course, "content" or "body (of adherents)."

Note that the dative is employed after *ḥsy*.

B01: Having earlier read *qn*[...], we now believe that *tn*[...] is equally possible.

L01: We had first restored [*qn*]*y.w*, but again now think that [*tn*]*y* ... is better.

The end of the line is damaged; we suggest that merely *ḥsy=f* is written.

Line 15: This sentence continues the previous line of thought; Thoth encourages the disciple to undertake the labor of writing without awaiting the permission of the deity.

B02: There is a word play between *nb*, "lord," and *nby*, "swim," in the B02 version, which does not seem to appear in L01. However, *bn* (=*nb*) is just possibly to be read there, although *ḫny*, "to row," is still more probable.

Nb, "lord," refers to Thoth himself.

For *nby*, "schwimmen," see *Glossar*, p. 215.

The end of this line is obscure, and possibly corrupt. For *mꜣꜥ*, "place," see *Glossar*, p. 149. We understand *mꜣꜥ tr=f*, literally, "a place (in) its entirety," to mean a sheltered haven in the sea. The author may also intend an allusion to *mꜣꜥ*, "fair wind," *Glossar*, p. 150. In L01 "fair wind" is indeed probably written. One might further compare *mꜣꜥ*, "Ufer des Flusses," *Wb.* 2, 25/2–4.

Tr=f, comparing *tr*, "all, entire," *Glossar*, pp. 641–42, is the most probable reading. There may be an indirect reference to *drf*, "script," *Wb.* 5, 477/8–19.

L01: As already remarked here *ḫny* may be written, although *bny* (= *nby*) is also possible.

Most of *mꜣꜥ* is lost in the lacuna; it is strangely spelled with the lotus determinative (as in *Glossar*, p. 150).

Line 16: This may introduce a new section, noting that the "7" is written in red in B02. The author elaborates on the types of reeds (*ꜥt.w*). He then offers a comparison with the "plow" of the seven fields of Thoth. This line and the following two in B02 column five do not seem to be necessarily complete sentences. They convey the impression of headings or glosses, perhaps to illustrations or images.

B02: The seven reeds may refer to the seven elements of the head-dress of Seshat, which have indeed been explained as reeds, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 37. In the Offering of the Scribal Palette from Edfu there is mention of "les sept calames *wr-nḏ.ty*," Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. xiii. There may well be a word play between *ꜥt*, "plant, brush," and *ꜥḏ/ꜥt*, "edge, margin," which at Edfu is a "term for a type of lands or fields which are covered by the inundation and used to grow crops," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 187. One also wonders about a possible association with the seven *ꜥry.wt*, "gates" (*Wb.* 1, 209/6) of the underworld, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 121.

Mḥy is probably "to be like," *Glossar*, p. 175. However, there may also be word play with the following *mḥy*, "storeroom," in the next column (B02, 5/2).

Hby, with the wood determinative, is *hb*, "Der Pflug," *Wb.* 2, 485/10–11.

On the various fields of the Underworld, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 14. There are basically two different important fields: the Field of *Yaru* and the Field of Offering. There is also a "Field of Thoth" (or, perhaps, better, "Fields of Thoth") in the Book of Two Ways, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 20.

The number seven plays a role in the so-called "Gefilde des Thot" section of the Coffin Texts, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 208–09. In section eight the deceased travels seven sections of heaven in order to reach Horus the elder in the "middle of the sky," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 240. On the importance of the number seven in underworld imagery, see Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 168–69; compare also the Book of the Dead Spell 52: "I live on these 7 loaves of her whose loaves have been brought by Horus and Thoth," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 52. See now the useful discussion of the association between the number seven and Thoth in Rochholz, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, pp. 136–40.

ꜥm-tꜣ.wy/tꜣ.w is the epithet of Thoth, well-attested in the Greek period, see *Wb.* 1, 184/21. It does not seem to be otherwise found in Demotic.

L01: In L01, the scribe apparently misreads and misunderstands *7.t* as *tꜣ 3.t*. It is just possible that he has used the *tp*-sign, *Glossar*, p. 626, in order to write 7, a not uncommon hieroglyphic variant, see *Wb.* 4, 115.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 5 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 5/1 *[pꜣ wꜣḏꜥ nt ḥꜥ iw=f n mtw. n iry iw=f pḫ tny.w n pꜣe=f* **1/4** *it*
L01, 3/3 *pꜣ wꜣḏ nt ḥꜥ iw=f mtw n 2 wp iry iw=f pḫ tny n pꜣe=f nt it*
B05, 1/18–19 *[.....]=f pḫ tny pꜣe=f/[...]*

B02, 5/2 *tꜣe=f pr.t-sḫ.t nt ḫn nꜣy mḥy.w. iw=w ḫrḥ.w ꜥnḫ n wmty*
L01, 3/4 *tꜣe=f pr.t-sḫ.t nt ḫn=w nꜣ.w mḥy.w nt šlḫ iw=w ꜥnḫ n wmty*
B05, 1/19 *[.....] ꜥnḫ n (?) wmty.t*

B02, 5/3 *tꜣ ḫ.t 2.nw n-ỉm=w nt ỉr n=w nb tš=w qmꜣy nt bw-ir rḫ[=w] pḫ=w*
L01, 3/5 *tꜣ ḫ.t 2.nw n-ỉm=w ỉ-ỉr ỉr n=w nb.w nꜣ ˹sḫ.t˺ qm ky ḏ tšl qm mtw bw-rḫ=w pḫ.t=w nꜣ.w*
B05, 1/20 *[.....] rḫ=w pḫ=w nꜣ.w*

B02, 5/4 *nꜣy mḥy.w st bꜣḫ n ḏbꜥy.w nꜣe=w n ḏ tr.t ˹iw=s bꜣk˺*
L01, 3/6 *nꜣy mḥy.w st bꜥḫ n ḏꜥby.w nꜣe=w ḏ tr.t iw=s bꜣk*
B05, 1/20–21 *nꜣy ... /[..... ỉw=s bꜣk*

B02, 5/5 *pꜣ nt ꜥlꜣ=f r-r=w r bn-pw=f tpy ḫmm.w pꜣe=w hꜣ wsḫ n˹tbꜥ.w˺=f*
L01, 3/7 *pꜣ nt ꜣn=f r-r=w pꜣe=f tpy ḫmm.w pꜣe=f hh whs n tbꜥ.w=f*
B05, 1/21–22 *pꜣ nt ꜥr=f / [.....] tbꜥ.w=f*

B02, 5/6 *...ₒ tꜣ ḥs.t nfr nt pꜣ ꜥ.wy n ỉr pꜣe=f n rn n mtrₒ pꜣy gstₒ*
L01, 3/8 *pꜣ ḥs nfr nt n ꜥ.wy n ỉr pꜣe=f rn n mtr pꜣy pꜣ gst*
B05, 1/22–23 *pꜣ mꜣy nfr / [.....]*

B02, 5/7 *ḫr=f n=y tw=y n qns bw-ỉr=y wꜣḥ šm bn-ỉw ky r ỉn=f(n)-rꜥ*
L01, 3/9 *ḫr=f n=y tỉ=y n gs bw-ỉr=y mḥ šm bn-ỉw ky ỉn=f(n)-rꜥ n tr.t=y*
B05, 1/23 *[.....]*

B02, 5/8 *t=w 1/2 (n) wꜥ.t n Pth-tny ỉw=f n gs m nwn r bn-pw=f bꜥḥ=y*
L01, 3/10 *t=w 2/3 (?) (n) wꜥ.t n Pth-tny ỉw=f n gs r bn-ỉw mwn bn-pw=f bꜥḥ*
B05, 1/24 *[.....]*

B02, 5/9 *pꜣ ỉ-ỉr sḫn=f r sḳꜣ nꜣe=f ꜣḥ.w qspw ḫn nꜣe=f rn.w stp.w*
L01, 3/11 *pꜣ ỉ-ỉr sḫny.t=s r sḳꜣ nꜣe=f ꜣḥ.w gsp ḫn=w nꜣe=f rn.w stp.w*
B05, 1/25 *[.....]*

B02, 5/10 *ꜥw n ỉn tk ḫn nꜣy qꜣy.w ꜥw n ʿšꜣy n wtḥ*
L01, 3/12 *ꜥw n ỉn tk ḫn nꜣy qꜣy.w ꜣw n ʿšꜣ n wtḥ.w*
B05, 1/26 *[.....]*

B02, 5/11 *pꜣ nt ꜣsḫ=w pꜣ nt tỉ.t šm qy tꜣe=w rnw.t pꜣe=w ꜥwy[...]*
L01, 3/13 *pꜣ nt ỉsḫ=w pꜣ nt tỉ.t šmm qꜣy tꜣe=w rnw.t n pꜣe=w ꜣwy.t.w*
B05, 1/27 *[.....]*
F06, 1 *pꜣ nt ꜣsḫ [...]*

B02, 5/12 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f** my ḏ=w n=y tꜣ wp.tₒ tꜣ ỉmy tꜣ tr.t nt ỉr bꜣk n˹nꜣ˺ bꜣ.w[-Rꜥ]*
L01, 3/14 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f my ḏ=w n=y tꜣ wp.t tꜣ ỉmy t[ꜣ] (?) tr.t (?) nt ỉr bꜣk nꜣ bꜣ.w-Rꜥ*
B05, 2/1–2 *mr-rḫ [...] /Rꜥ*
B04.1, 1/1 *[...] tꜣ tr.t nt ỉr bꜣk nꜣ b[ꜣ.w ...]*
F06, 2 ***mr-rḫ** [...]*

B02, 5/13 ***ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f** pꜣe=k 3 tbꜥ.w my pꜣ ꜥt ỉwt=w pꜣe=k 2 my ...*
L01, 3/15 *ḫr n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f pꜣe=k 3 tbꜥ.w my pꜣ ꜥt ỉwt=w pꜣe=k 2 my ỉr=w ꜣmḫ*
B05, 2/2–3 *ḫr=f n ... [...] / ꜣmḫ*
B04.1, 1/2 *[...] ꜥt ỉwt pꜣe=k 2 my ỉr=w [...]*
F06, 3 ***ḫr=f n** [...]*

B02, 5/14 *ḫꜣꜥ pꜣ rꜣ-10 rꜣ-20 n pꜣ wr 5 (?) Ḏḥwty hb (?) pꜣ (?) t- rꜣ ḫr-ḥꜣ.t tbꜥ.w=k*
L01, 3/16 *ḫꜣꜥ pꜣ rꜣ-10 rꜣ-20 n pꜣ wr 5 Ḏḥwty ỉwt=w pꜣ (?) t- rꜣ ḫr-ḥꜣ.t tbꜥ.w=k*
B05, 2/3 *ḫ[ꜣꜥ.....]*
B04.1, 1/3 *[.....] rꜣ ḫr tbꜥ.w=k*

B02, 5/15 *ꜥn=y n tr.t=k spḫl n tbꜥ.w=k ... ỉ-ỉry [.....]*
L01, 3/17 *ꜥny n tr.t=k spḫl n tbꜥ.w=k šm-ỉy smny ỉ-ỉry ḫn s (?) r tbꜥ.w (?)*
B05, 2/3–4 *[.....] / spḫl tbꜥ.w=k [.....]*
B04.1, 1/3–4 *[...] ꜥn / [...]ny*

B02, 5/16 *wstn nb tꜣe=w tny.t ꜥn ˹spḫr˺ pꜣ sqfy n nꜣ twꜣ.w [...]*
L01, 3/18 *wstn nb tꜣe=w tny.t (?) ꜥn spḫl pꜣ sqfy n nꜣ twꜣ.w ỉw=w ys.w*
B05, 2/4–5 *[.....]/ ꜥn spḫl [.....]*
B04.1, 1/4–5 *wstn nb tꜣe=w tny.t (?) / [...]*

Translation

1. As for the farmer who stands up, he being in the presence of (L01: "two") companions, // he divides up portions (as) his **1/4th** of barley (L01: "his milled barley").
2. As for his seed-corn which is in these storerooms, // they being marked off (and) surrounded by a thick wall.
3. B02: The second body thereof which acts for them as master, // they have assigned reeds (?) which [they] cannot reach.
   L01: The second body thereof which has acted for them as the masters of the fields of reeds (?). Another version: they are the Red and Black which cannot be reached.
4. As for these storerooms, they are overflowing with coal: their meanings, // a hand which works.
5. As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, // their roasting burns his fingers.
6. ... The scribal palette is the beautiful praise which (is) in the arm of (the god) *ỉr* in its true name.
7. He speaks to me: "I am wronged. // I cannot put down the harvest-tax. // Another will also not bring it.
   L01: He speaks to me. I am half (= half paid-up?). I cannot pay in full the harvest-tax. Another will also not bring it in (or "from") my hand.
8. B02: One took one-half (of) one for (or "of") Ptah-teny, // he being half in Nun, without his (Nun) having inundated me.
   L01: One took 2/3 (?) (from) one for Ptah-teny, he being in half, without ... he did not inundate.
9. As for the one who has ordered it to cultivate his fields, // (he is) *qspw* in his select names.
10. Honor be to the one who carries off the fruits in these high-fields; // honor be to the one abundant of fruits.
11. The one who reaps them is the one who gives the harvest-tax. // High is their harvest of their cultivation (?).
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one say to me the work of the fist, // the hand which labors on the divine writings."
13. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Your **three** fingers, place the brush between them. Your **two** fingers, // let them make a grasping.

14. Place the **one-tenth** and **one-twentieth** for the Great of Five, Thoth, // send (L01: "between them [the fingers]") the ink-holder (?) before your fingers.
15. Be good with your hand! // Write with your fingers! // As for movement and staying-still, make a commanding of them to the fingers!
16. Every type of free-movement (is) their (the fingers') share, // excellence (in) writing (means) the collection of the praises, they being quick.

Commentary

Line 1: Thoth expounds on the farmer, presumably a metaphor for the scribe. He apparently uses juristic figures to delineate the functions of the scribe. The image is that of a farmer who has entered into partnership with two other persons, and is thus giving (or receiving) a share of his harvest or seed. B02 and L01 display variations, but apparently make the same point. As already mentioned in the commentary on B02, 4/16, this may not be a complete sentence, in which case *ỉw=f pḫ* may be translated as a circumstantial form.

B02: *ḥr* is used here in virtually a juristic sense in conjunction with the preposition *n mtr*, "in the presence of," *Glossar*, p. 191. We thus take *n mtw n* as a spelling of *n mtr n*.

Wp ỉry (L01) is then equivalent to a *ỉry wp.t*, "companion of work," i.e., "partner." The compound may have been understood (or misunderstood) in various ways by different scribes; B02 has merely *ỉry*.

Pḫ is *pḫỉ*, "spalten," *Wb.* 1, 542/12–543/7. This may be identical with the *pḫ*, which is discussed by Zauzich, "Korrekturvorschläge," *Enchoria* 2 (1972): 95; M. Smith, "Book of Opening the Mouth," *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 88, and which is listed in *Glossar*, p. 11, under *ỉsḫ*, "ernten." See also Thissen, "Ein demotischer Brief aus dem Anubieion," *Serapis* 6 (1980): 168.

Tny is *dny.t*, "Teil," *Wb.* 5, 465/9–466/2; *Glossar*, p. 639. This entire column seems to be based on the meanings and sound of *tny.t* (cf. Ptah-teny in B02, 5/8; *tny.t-tꜣ.wy* in B02, 5/16).

"1/4" is probable, comparing *Glossar*, p. 704. It may be significant that a quarter of the harvest is the amount paid as the rent to the lessor in early Demotic texts, Donker van Heel, "Kushite Abnormal Hieratic Land Leases," in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, p. 341.

L01: Instead of "2 *wp*," read possibly *šms*, "to serve," or "servant," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 71. Indeed, the otherwise awkword placement of the purported "2" suggests that *šms* is preferable.

Nt is *nt*, "mahlen," *Glossar*, p. 231. This may be *nḏ*, "das Mehl," followed by *ỉt*, *bty*, or similar, *Wb.* 2, 370/16–18. The determinative is the basket with seed, Möller, *HP* 2, number 470.

Line 2: The author describes the seed-corn of the farmer (i.e., the papyrus scroll). He emphasizes the secure and well-marked character of the storerooms, perhaps metaphorically the House of Life.

B02: This sentence also begins in anticipatory emphasis; oddly, the line as translated seems to consist of circumstantial forms, and may not be a complete sentence as has already been remarked concerning the two previous lines of B02.

We take *mḥy* to be *mḥr*, "storeroom," see *Wb.* 2, 134/6–8; "barn for grain," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 457; *Glossar*, p. 176. On the unusual determinative, compare Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 353. The preceding demonstrative adjective is curious, since these "storerooms" have not been mentioned in the previous columns. There is probably a sound-play with the *mḥy*, "to be like," of B02, 4/16.

ỉw=w at the end of the sentence is a circumstantial form.

Šlḫ (written *ḥrḫ* in B02) is identical with ϣωʌϩ, "(be)zeichnen," *KHWB*, p. 312; see de Cenival, "Notes de grammaire," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, pp. 227–28.

ỉnḫ is *ỉnḫ*, "umgeben," *Glossar*, p. 35. This may be used nominally here, since it would be unusual to have two stative forms in a row.

Wmty is *wmṯ*, "Turm," *Glossar*, p. 87.

Line 3: In this enigmatic line the author may speak of the *ḥ.t*, "group, party," which owns the field cultivated by the previously mentioned farmers. The identity of this *ḥ.t* is not clear, but the group is presumably headed by Thoth. There are significant differences between the two versions, L01 providing an alternative reading. There is a definite distinction or contrast made between *qm*, "black," and *tšl*, "red." One wonders whether the author is metaphorically speaking of the two most common colors of ink, namely, black and red, comparing Weber, *Beiträge*, pp. 52–53.

B02: We understand *ḥ.t 2.nw* to be "second body" on the basis of *ḥ.t*, "Mannschaft," *Glossar*, p. 374. *2.nw* is clear in L01, although *2.t* might be read in B02. Other meanings of *ḥ.t* (e.g., "portion," "story") are possible, but the translation remains perplexing. The same expression may occur in L01, 1/5. The qualification "second" is puzzling, if the phrase actually denotes Thoth and his colleagues. We had indeed originally thought that *ḥ.t 2.nw* was to be rendered "second story," referring to the storeroom, but now believe this unlikely.

Interestingly, B02 employs the present relative, whereas L01 uses the perfect participle.

Qmỉy is written as "Harz, Gummi," *Glossar*, p. 537, but the author may have intended *qmỉ*, "Schilf, Binse," *Glossar*, p. 537. Since *tšl* in L01 is obviously *tšr*, "red," *Glossar*, p. 658, *qmỉ* may be associated with *km*, "schwarz sein," *Glossar*, p. 563, or even *km*, "Garten," *Glossar*, p. 562. *Qm* (in L01) as *Km.t* here may also stand for Egypt, while *tšl* represents the "desert." In B02 *tš=w* is written for *tšl*.

L01: We restore *nỉ sḫ.t* in L01 on the basis of L01, 3/4.

This is one of the rare examples wherein L01 offers two alternatives (*ky ḏ*).

Line 4: The deity portrays these storerooms as overflowing with coal, perhaps referring to the ink to be found among the equipment of the House of Life.

B02: The author employs anticipatory emphasis. He uses the first present, with *st* followed by a stative form.

Bʿḥ is *bʿḥ*, "froh, glücklich sein," *Glossar*, p. 113. The notion of inundation or overflowing is important in this section of the composition.

Ḏbʿy is *ḏb.t*, "(Holz)kohle," *Glossar*, p. 677. There is a word play between *ḏbʿ*, "coal," and *ḏbʿ* (= *tbʿ*), "finger," in B02, 5/5. *Ḏbʿy.t* can be used in the production of ink, Guglielmi, *LÄ* 2, cols. 1271-72 ("Holzkohle"); Schott, "Schreiber und Schreibgerät," *JEA* 54 (1968): 50.

Nɜe=w n ḏ introduces a gloss on the previous phrases, literally, "their sayings," comparing (*nɜ*) *ḏd*, "die Worte," *Glossar*, p. 691. The function of the *n* is unclear (archaic usage?). The idea is perhaps that the hand of a writing scribe becomes black with (carbon-based) ink. The image of the "hand which works" is repeated in B02, 5/12. In the Book of the Dead it is stated "And it was Thoth who did this with his fingers," i.e., healed the wounds of Horus, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 29 (Book of the Dead Spell 17). On the symbolism of the hand in the underworld books, see Kurth, "Zum Pfortenbuch, 12. Stunde, 90. Szene," *GM* 105 (1988): 49–54.

Line 5: The author stresses the dreadful fate of those attempting to reach the fields or storerooms (of Thoth) without proper preparation (i.e., scribal training). The fields of Thoth are located around the Lake of Fire.

B02: *ʿlɜ* is *ʿl*, "hinaufsteigen," *Glossar*, p. 67. This is apparently a reflexive use, comparing Crum, *CD*, p. 520b. One should also note the specific Coptic senses of the verb, "take, lay hold of," which yield good sense in the Book of Thoth, cf. *KHWB*, p. 291. *ʿlɜ=f* may also be a past *sḏm=f*, although it would be unusual following the relative pronoun.

R-r=w refers back to the "storerooms" of the previous line.

This is an ancient pun between *dp.t* and *ḏbʿ*, which also occurs in the Piye Victory Inscription (line 26), Grimal, *Stèle Triomphale*, p. 285. The sentence may refer to the destructive fire of the underworld, which consumes the unworthy. The initiated have knowledge, and thus control, over this fire. On the significance of fire, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 131. Not uncommon are such statements as "This is the place of an *akh*, who knows how one enters fire and opens the darkness," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 217. The Lake of Fire serves especially in Osirian Rosetau for the food-supply of the blessed dead; in the Book of Gates the deceased and Osiris are refreshed with cool water and grain. The contrast of the fiery punishment for the evil and cool refreshment for the good is also found in Book of the Dead Spell 149, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 158. On the connection between Thoth and the Lake of Fire, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, ibid.

According to Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 159, the goal of the Book of Two Ways is the Lake of Fire. As for the necropolis of Hermopolis, it is the "point of contact between this world and the next." Compare also the *ỉw nsrsr*, "Island of Fire," Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, pp. 364–65.

There may be sound-play between *ḫmm*, "heat," and *šmm*, "harvest" or "harvest-tax" (compare B02, 5/7).

Hɜ is probably *hɜ*, "rösten," *Wb.* 2, 475/9. The author may have nevertheless intended the more common *hh*, "Flamme, Feuer," *Glossar*, p. 281.

For *wsḥ*, "verbrennen, Feuer," see *Wb.* 1, 364/9–10; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 259 (not in *Glossar*). This is a first present clause with *n* introducing the oblique object.

L01: *ɜn* is the best reading, but the *nt* would be strangely written (short writing of the *ɜ*?). *ɜn* would be an otherwise unattested variant of *ʿr*. Also possible is *ʿn*, "umwenden," *Glossar*, p. 61.

L01 has *pɜe=f* for *bn-pw=f*.

Line 6: Thoth instructs the disciple on the sacred or secret names of the scribal palette (*gst*).

B02: We cannot explain the traces before *tɜ ḥs*; it does not seem to be a space-filler. It is perhaps a rubric "*7.t.*"

It is difficult to read *pɜ* in B02, and we propose a feminine counterpart. In any case the author may allude here to the late term, *ḥs-ʿ*, "palette," *Wb.* 3, 159 (suggestion of Sandra Lippert); *ḥs-ʿ*, "a rare word for the palette, only attested at Edfu," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 675.

There are probably other word plays embedded in this line. *ʿn ỉr*, "Arm of *ỉr* = Thoth," is also the name of the scribal palette, see Cauville, "À propos des désignations de la palette de scribe," *RdE* 38 (1987): 185–87. In Late Period temples there was a ritual of "Handing over the scribal palette to Thoth," Helck, *LÄ* 4, col. 657 ("Palette [Schreib-]"); Junker and Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, pp. 34–35 and 176–77. *ỉr* here perhaps designates the assistant of Thoth who is represented as carrying the scribal equipment, see *ỉry-sḏm*, *Wb.* 1, 108/3; Brunner-Traut, "Der Sehgott und der Hörgott in Literatur und Theologie," in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, pp. 125–45 (and especially Abbildung 2 on p. 143 and pp. 128–29). *ʿn-ỉr*, "arm of him who sees," refers to the palette offered by the king to Thoth in temple scenes, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 131. There is also a word *ʿ* which itself is a palette, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 136.

Interesting is the possible connection between this statement and the line inscribed on several scribal water jars: *Ḥs sw Ḏḥwty Sšɜ.t mtr sw ỉry sḏm*, "Thot und Seschat loben ihn, und Iri und Sedjem unterrichten ihn," Budde, *Seschat*, p. 75.

ʿwy, "house," is written for *ʿwy*, "arms." However, the "house" may itself refer, for example, to the House of Life, and so should not be considered a simple mistake.

On the "true name," see Quack, "Philologische Miszellen 3," *Lingua Aegyptia* 5 (1997): 238.

For *gst*, "palette," see *Glossar*, p. 593.

B05: Instead of *ḥs*, *mɜy*, "lion," *Glossar*, p. 148, is apparently written, a graphic confusion.

Line 7: The speaker of this presumed quote is difficult to determine. Thoth may repeat a conversation with another deity (?). This seems, in any case, to be a figurative statement referring to a mythological narrative. B02 has *wɜḥ* for the *mḥ* of L01.

B02 : *Ḫr* is "sprechen, sagen," *Glossar*, p. 365.

Tw=y introduces a first present.

For *qns*, "Gewalt, Unrecht," see *Glossar*, pp. 541–42. This is an adverbial phrase.

Šm is "Ernte, Abgabe," *Glossar*, p. 507. On *šm*, "Ernte, Ernteabgabe," see Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, pp. 151–58. There is a play on words here, based on the sound *gs* (*gst* and *gs*).

W3ḥ, "legen," *Glossar,* p. 76, is the most likely reading here, although perhaps *mḥ*, "to pay," *Glossar,* pp. 171–72, may have been intended, as in L01. *W3ḥ* and *mḥ* can be written in a very similar fashion.

Bn-iw + subject + *r* + infinitive is a strong future construction.

Rʿ is probably Coptic ⲣⲱ, "enklitische Partikel der Bekräftigung, des Gegensatzes und der Frage: selbst, auch, noch, aber, in der Tat, freilich, denn, ja, doch, wenigstens," *KHWB*, p. 161.

N tr.t=y may be written (erased?) at the end of this line.

L01: This version has *gs*, but the meaning of the statement: "I am (as) a half" is obscure. We understand it to mean that he has been able to pay only half of his "debts." Other interpretations are certainly possible.

Line 8: This sentence apparently refers to Ptah-Tatenen and his relationship to Thoth himself. It may allude to an otherwise unknown mythological account of interaction between Thoth and Ptah. One might compare, for example, the game of "draughts" between Thoth and the moon in which the former "wins" five epagomenal days (Plutarch, chapter 12, see Griffiths, *De Iside et Osiride*, pp. 293–94). B02 and L01 depart substantially from one another. The action of "taking" may relate to the mention of *n qns* in the previous line and the "harvest-tax" (note also the common idiom *ṯ gns*, "mit Unrecht nehmen," *Glossar*, p. 542).

B02: "1/2" is not certain, but see *Glossar,* p. 704. The significance of these fractional amounts is unclear, although the author may be here playing with the meaning of *gs* as "half," *Glossar*, p. 592.

Ptḥ-tny is not in *Glossar*. *Tny* is written as *tn*, "erheben," *Glossar,* p. 635, although with the arm-with-stick determinative, and not the more usual man-with-hand-to-mouth. There may well be a divine determinative.

There is a close connection between Ptah-Tatenen and the flood, the god Nun, see Grieshammer, *LÄ* 5, col. 239 ("Tatenen"); Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, pp. 115–20. In the Demotic cosmology being published by Mark Smith, Ptah is apparently described as being born in Nun, "A New Egyptian Cosmology," in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, p. 1076. On Nun in the Book of Two Ways, see Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 121–22. On the association of Ptah and Thoth, see Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 118; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 381–82. In Edfu the creation is described as *gs m ʿq gs m pr.t*, "zur Hälfte beim Eindringen, zur Hälfte beim Herauskommen," Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 164. There may be a play between the phrase *gs m* and *gsm*, "ein Gewässer," *Wb.* 5, 206/12.

L01: It does not seem possible to read 1/2 in this version. Either 1/4 or 2/3 is more likely, *Glossar,* pp. 704–05.

The writing of *Ptḥ* is unusual, comparing *Glossar,* p. 142, but the essential elements are there.

This is a circumstantial negative clause. The scribe has perhaps confused *m nwn* as *mn wn* or *bn-iw mwn*. We can offer no translation of *mwn*, with the sun determinative, in this context.

There is no object of *bʿḥ* in L01.

Line 9: In this didactic statement "the one who ordered" is probably Thoth himself. The fields may refer on one level to the Field of Reeds, but on another level to the papyrus. The "cultivation," of course, is the act of writing or the benefits therefrom.

B02: *Sḫn* is certain, comparing *sḫn*, "beauftragen," *Glossar*, pp. 446–47 (a more explicit writing in L01). This is a perfect participle, perhaps in anticipatory emphasis, although the whole may be a nominal sentence.

The house determinative is unusual for *sk3*, "to cultivate, plough," but not unparalleled, *Glossar*, p. 467.

The reading *gsp* is secure, the meaning obscure. In both B02 and L01 the word has the divine determinative. The author continues to dwell on the sound of *gs* (*qns/qs, gst, gsp*). However, the precise force of *gsp* remains difficult, especially if it is taken to refer to Thoth. The *gsp.w* are minor gods or divine personifications (comparing *gsptyw*, "minor deities," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1112), found in the Sun-litany, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 26–27 (hieroglyphic text), "Lobpreis sei dir, Re, du mit hoher Macht, mit dem Uräus Geschmückter, mit der Doppelfeder Ausgestatteter (*gsp šw.ty*) - du bist ja der Leichnam des 'Faulenden' (translation in ibid., vol. 2, p. 64), about which Hornung remarks, ibid., vol. 2, p. 106, note 63: "Die Nisbe-Bildung *i'rwty* wird in allen Versionen mit zwei Uräen determiniert, bei R III und R IV zusätzlich mit dem Ei-Det. der Göttinen. *Gsp*, bei U und Th III *gps* geschrieben, ist sonst unbekannt, muss sich aber vom Sinn her auf den Federschmuck des Sonnengottes beziehen." See further *Wb.* 5, 206/6. Compare also: "The King's *gsp* trees are the *gsp*-trees of the *Ḥnw*-bark, his movements [are toward] the Jackal-lakes, the King travels (?) to you," Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 269.

Even less attractive is to interpret *gsp* as *gs-pr*, "temple," *Wb.* 5, 198/2–199/18; on the connection between Thoth and the *gs-pr*, see Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p.150. An identification with *gsp*, found in Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 405, is also unlikely.

The *rn.w stp.w*, "select names," may refer to the numerous sacred designations of the scribal palette.

Line 10: The author or Thoth himself praises the one who reaps the produce from the field (i.e., the scribe).

B02: *ʿw* is probably *ʿw*, "glücklich sein," *Glossar*, p. 57. On the confusion between words such as *ʿ*, *ʿw*, *3w*, and *ʔ*, see Quack, "*ʿw* 'Größe' und *ʿ* 'Zustand, Art'. Zwei verwechselbare demotische Wörter," *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 62–75. Compare also Coptic ⲙⲓⲟ, "heil sei...!" *KHWB*, p. 88. This would be followed here by the dative *n*.

We take *in* as a participle, "the one who brings" or "the one who has brought."

Tk is *tgj*, "Frucht," *Glossar*, p. 662.

Q3y is *qy*, "Hochland," *Glossar*, p. 532. This *q3y* is again echoed in the following sentence.

ʔ3y would also then be a participial or adjectival form.

Wtḥ is "Frucht," *Glossar*, p. 107.

Line 11: Thoth emphasizes that the active scribe is in an enviable position, being able to provide "the harvest-tax/rent" (perhaps offerings to the god).

B02: This first sentence is a nominal construction.

ꜣsḫ, "ernten," is *Glossar*, p. 11.

Rnw.t is not so clear in B02, but certain in L01, *Glossar*, p. 250.

ꜥwꜣy.ṯ.w, is probably associated with *ꜥwꜣy*, "to harvest," *Wb.* 1, 171/18–21. However, the ending is difficult; it may be a nisbe or a suffixed plural object. The author offers a sound-play with the *ꜥw* and *ꜣw* of the previous line. *ꜥwꜣy.ṯ.w* has the tree or plant determinative. There may nevertheless be an allusion here to *ꜣwy*, "preisen," often found in the formula: *ꜣwy.ṯ=k*, "Du seiest gepriesen" (or similar), *Glossar*, p. 2. One could then render the last clause: "High is their harvest to their honor."

Line 12: In this interesting passage the disciple queries Thoth about the nature of writing.

B02: *Wp.t* is clearly *wp.t*, "die Arbeit," *Glossar*, p. 86.

ỉmy.t, "fist," *Glossar*, p. 4 (*ꜣmy.t*) apparently has the plural sign, although it may merely be a rather large feminine *t*. In L01 *ỉmy.t* has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

One may compare the phrase "the hand which works" in B02, 5/4.

Rꜥ seems most probable at the end of the line, but it is not certain.

L01: *Wp.t* appears to have the x-shaped *wp* sign above the *p*.

The writing of the reed-leaf in *ỉmy.t* is unusual, and resembles the form in L01, 2/14. *ỉmy.t* has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, much like *ꜣmy.t*, "character," *Glossar*, p. 4.

B05: This version may conclude with *sḫ* and not *Rꜥ*.

Line 13: The god replies with practical advice on the holding of the writing brush. The description itself is rather confusing when compared with scenes showing the action of writing, e.g., Schlott, *Schrift und Schreiber im Alten Ägypten*, p. 55. It seems from the representations as if the brush is placed between the two fingers, while the three other fingers make a fist. On the subject, see Tait, "Rush and Reed: the Pens of Egyptian and Greek Scribes," in Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology. Athens 25–31 May 1986*, vol. 2, pp. 477–81. He too remarks upon the problems of determining precisely how the ancient scribes held their brushes or pens. Descriptions of writing speak of the "two fingers" holding the pen, see Schlott, *Schrift und Schreiber im Alten Ägypten*, pp. 53–56. Typical is the following statement: (words spoken by Thoth to Ramesses II in his Abydos Temple) "I will let your name remain in this your temple in the writing of my own two fingers," ibid., p. 56.

This line in the Book of Thoth may belong to a tradition of symbolism connected with the hand and fingers, which might account for the apparent awkwardness of expression. There is, for example, a very obscure "finger-counting poem" in the Coffin Texts, Willems, *Heqata*, p. 170. See also Schott, *Eine ägyptische Schreibpalette als Rechenbrett*, pp. 110–12.

B02: *ỉwt=w* is probable, but no identical writing is in *Glossar*, p. 26. The *ḫꜥ* group is strangely embedded within it. However, L01 clearly has *ỉwt=w*.

L01: This version may have here *Ḥs-rḏ* for the *Ḥsr.t* otherwise more characteristic of L01.

The last word must be a term for grasping, being determined by the "hand." This is probably *ꜣmm*, "mit der Faust ergreifen," *Wb.* 1, 10/17–22; the *ḥ* is perhaps a misunderstanding of the hieratic writing of the fist. The fist sign can easily be misinterpreted as *ḫ*, see Möller, *HP* 3, numbers 116 and 169.

Line 14: The god continues to instruct the disciple upon the necessary ceremonies connected with the act of writing.

B02: It is better to read 1/10th and 1/20th rather than our initial 1/14th. This may well be the 1/10th or 1/20th forming "The Tithe of the Scribes (and) Representatives," Vleeming in Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society*, pp. 343–50. Here we probably have the image of the tax generally being paid to the scribes being now paid by the scribes to Thoth himself. These fractions may refer figuratively to the water offering given to Thoth by scribes from the small water-cup comprising part of their scribal equipment before beginning to write, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 808; Erichsen, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung in demotischer Schrift*, p. 14; Te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss*, p. 135. Scribes also customarily offered water to Imhotep as well as to Ptah before commencing work, see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 323; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 37: *mw nw ps n sš nb n kꜣ=k ỉy-m-ḥtp*, "Wasser aus dem Wassernapf eines jeden Schreibers für deinen Ka, Imhotep."

The reading after the fractions until *ṯ-rꜣ* is uncertain in B02, although fortunately L01 is secure enough.

For *pꜣ wr tiw*, *Glossar*, p. 93. The epithet "Great of the Five" has never been satisfactorily explained. Fairman suggests that there were five gods, instead of the original eight in Hermopolis, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1183. See also Jankuhn, *LÄ* 2, col. 1239 ("Hoherpriester"); M. Smith, *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, p. 68; Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, p. 34; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, p. 152; M. Smith, "Papyrus Harkness," *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 102. Here the epithet clearly designates the five fingers, although that may be merely a secondary meaning.

One might compare the description of hand gestures associated with the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (including the little finger) in Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, p. 144.

Ṯ-rꜣ is ambiguous. There is the idiom *ṯ-rꜣ* in Coptic, ⲭⲓⲣⲱ "entziehen, zuvorkommen, verhindern," *KHWB*, p. 160, but we do not know this phrase in Demotic. *Rꜣ* may either be "mouth, utterance," *Glossar*, pp. 239–40, or *rꜣ*, "share, portion," *Glossar*, p. 240. The context suggests that we are dealing with an object, and we conjecture that *ṯ-rꜣ* may be a term for an "ink-holder" or another piece of scribal equipment. *Rꜣ* could, for example, be an unorthographic spelling of *ry*, "ink," *Glossar*, p. 241.

L01: The *pꜣ* is conjectural, but there does seem to be something between *ỉwt=w* and *ṯ-rꜣ*.

Line 15: Thoth advises the disciple to write, which is a beneficial activity. The line consists of a series of imperatives.

B02: *ꜥn* is *ꜥn*, "schön ist, schön," *Glossar*, p. 62. *ꜥny* may also be an impersonal usage, followed by the dative here, "it is good for your hand ..." The scribe possibly intends an allusion to *ꜥn*, "writing board," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 153.

For *sphl*, "to write, inscribe," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 829–30 (not in *Glossar*).

L01: We take *šm-iy* and *smny* to be parallel, in the sense of "moving" (literally, "going and coming") and "standing still" (literally, "standing fast," "feststellen," *Glossar*, p. 433) of the pen or brush.

Line 16: Thoth concludes with a general tribute to writing. The very act results in praise for the scribe. This line parallels the following B02, 6/1.

B02: *Wstn*, "frei, unbehindert sein," *Glossar*, p. 101, is here employed in its positive sense of "free movement," of the brush or hand. *Nb* is then "every kind of."

The significant or operative sound in this sentence is *tny.t/tꜣ.wy*. This may also explain the use of *wstn* at the beginning of the line.

We transliterate *tny.t*, "share," but there may also be an reference to *tyꜣ*, "hieroglyphic sign," *Glossar*, p. 606 (*tjꜣ*), and *twꜣ*, "praise," *Glossar*, p. 613.

Sqfy is presumably a writing of *sk*, "to collect," *Glossar*, p. 466, noting the examples of *sqfy* quoted there.

L01: The last circumstantial, "they being quick," probably refers to the instantaneous nature of the resulting praise, although it may also describe the rapid movements of the writing hand.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 6 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 6/1 *sḫ nb pꜣe=w tkn tkr. pꜣe=w ir ḥm gtgt tm ... [...]*
L01, 3/19 *sḫ nb ⸢pꜣe=w⸣ tkn tkl pꜣe=w ir ḥm tktk tm ꜥnꜥn*
B05, 2/5–6 *[.....] / pꜣe=w ir ḥm g[tgt ...]*
B04.1, 1/5–6 *sḫ nb [pꜣe]=w tkn (?) tkl / [...]*

B02, 6/2 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *pry=y. gꜣy=f iḫ n ḫbr pꜣ sm wt ꜣkr mr.t*
L01, 3/20 *mr[-rḫ] ḏ=f pyt gꜣy iḫ n ḫbl pꜣ sm wt ꜣkyl mr*
B05, 2/6–7 *[.....] / iḫ m ḫbl [...]*
B04.1, 1/6–7 *[...]..... m gꜣy=f... / [.....] ꜣkl mr*

B02, 6/3 ***ḥr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f*** *ḏ=w n=f pꜣ ꜥt ḏ pꜣ ꜥt n pꜣ ꜥnḫ ⸢mtw⸣ pꜣ tꜣ mn [...] t...*
L01, 3/21 *⸢ḥr=f Ḥs-rḫ⸣ ḏ=f ḏ=w n=f pꜣ ꜥt ḏ pꜣ ꜥt n pꜣ ꜥnḫ mtw [pꜣ] tꜣ mny r tꜣmy=f*
B05, 2/7–8 *[.....] / ḏ=f ḏ=w n=f pꜣ [.....]*
B04.1, 1/7–8 *ḥr=f n Ḥs-rḫ / [.....] mny r tꜣmy=f*

B02, 6/4 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *my ḥn=w n=y nꜣ mt nt ms ..... ỉwr=w ḫn (?) ỉwf.w*
L01, 3/22 *⸢mr-rḫ⸣ ḏ=f my ḥn=w ⸢n=y⸣ nꜣ ḫy.w nt ms slꜣ.w tỉ=y ỉwl=w ḫn [... ỉw]f.w*
B05, 2/9–10 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f [.....] / ḫn nꜣe=y ỉwf.w*
B04.1, 1/9–10 *[.....] ms nꜣ slꜣ.w tw=y ỉwl / [...]*

B02, 6/5 *wpy n=y tꜣ ḫnm.t. nt (n) ḫnm r nꜣ rḫ.w swr=y ḫn pꜣ[e=s .....]*
L01, 3/23 *[...]=y tꜣ ⸢ḫn⸣[m nt ḫ]nm nꜣ [rḫ.w sw]r=y ḫn pꜣe=s mw ntm*
B05, 2/10 *wpy [.....]*
B04.1, 1/10–11 *[.....] rḫ.w swr=y ḫn pꜣe=w [...] / [...]*

B02, 6/6 *tꜣ ꜣtty.t nt n ll.t r pꜣ sꜣb my ꜥq=y ḫn pꜣe=s [...]*
L01, 3/24 *[...]⸢nt ꜣlly⸣[r pꜣ sꜣ]bꜣ m[y ꜥq=y ḫ]n pꜣe=s bnš*
B05, 2/11 *tꜣ ꜣtꜣ[ty] ꜣ[.....]*
B04.1, 1/11 *[.....] pꜣe=s bnš*

B02, 6/7 *pry=y rꜣ=y ỉw=f wn my tỉ=⸢w n=f⸣ ỉrty ỉr=s s.t=s ḫnt rꜣ ꜣby.k.*
L01, 4/1 *twy-s r[ꜣ]=y ỉw=f wn my tỉ=w n=f ỉrty [...]f (?) [.....]*
B05, 2/11–12 *[.....]/ ỉw=f wn [.....]*
B04.1, 1/11–12 *tw=y-s / [...] rꜣ ... [...]*

B02, 6/8 ***⸢ḫr=f n Ḥsr.t ḏ=f*** *... mtry=y ṯ=k r ... n sphr r-tỉ Ḏḥwty n tr.t ḫr-rt=f*
L01, 4/2 *ḫr=f n Ḥsr.t ḏ=f mꜣ mtly=y ṯ[=k ... (L01.1)...]Ḏḥwty r tr.t ḫr-ꜥwy=f*
B05, 2/12–13 *[.....] / ḏ=f m[ꜣ .....]*
B04.1, 1/12–13 *ḫr=f n [...] / [...]*

B02, 6/9 *sḫ sḫ[k] ntnt rḫ tm [...]*
L01, 4/3 *sḫ pꜣ sḫk ntnt n rḫ tm pr [...]*
B05, 2/14 *sḫ s[ḫk .....]*
B04.1, 1/14 *[...] ... [...]*

B02, 6/10 *[.....]*
L01, 4/4 *šny pꜣ ḫm r-ḫr=k mr sḏm ḫrw pꜣ rḫ tm [...]*
B05, 2/14–15 *[...] / pꜣ šm r-[ḫr=k .....]*
B04.1, 1/15 *[...] ... [...]*

B02, 6/11 *⸢tm ḫn tyꜣ [...] ṯ ... nhy sp-2 (?) tm bḏ n ḥꜣt r-ḏbꜣ ỉn r⸣= sn (?)*
L01, 4/5 *tm ḫn ty r slꜣ ṯ nhy [.....] (L01.1) ... st*
B05, 2/16 *tm [...]*

B02, 6/12 *rwš r rsty ỉꜣb (or mr) mtwtw=f e-ḏ n=y r ꜣs=k nb [...]*
L01, 4/6 *ḫwš r rsty ỉꜣb (or mr) mỉt.ṯ=f ỉw ... [.....]*
B05, 2/16–17 *[.....] / ꜣ ... [...]*

B02, 6/13 *[.....]*
L01, 4/7 *smny ḫlš mn r sbꜣ n (?) [.....] (L01.1) ...*
B05, 2/18 *smn [.....]*

B02, 6/14 *tm ti.t ḫpr sq n bꜣk n sḫ šʿy ... [...]*
L01, 4/8 *tm t[i.t ḫp]r sq n bꜣk n sḫ šʿy ... [...]*
B05, 2/19 *tm [.....]*

B02, 6/15 *wʿ ỉtn [.....]*
L01, 4/9 *wʿ ỉtnw tr=w ỉw=w šb.w n smt r bn-ỉw [...]*
B05, 2/19–20 *[.....] / ỉw=w [.....]*

B02, 6/16 *[.....]*
L01, 4/10 *ʿꜣ n nw ʿꜣ ỉr ʿꜣ sḏm [...]*
B05, 2/21 *[.....]*

Translation

1. As for every (kind of) writing, their rapid approach // (means) their becoming a craftsman quickly. // Do not turn away!
2. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is its nature? // What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?"
3. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "They have named it the *ʿt*-plant, namely, the *ʿt*-plant of life, // which the land of mooring will touch it (the brush)."
4. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one command for me the word which gives birth to the prophets // that I may cause that they become pregnant in my flesh.
5. Let one open for me the well (or "nurse") which unites with the wise ones // that I may drink from its sweet water.
6. The vulva (or "nurse") which is as a nurse for the learned one (or "door"), // may I enter into its doorposts.
7. Behold, my mouth is open. // May one give to it milk // that she may make her place before (my) mouth, I being thirsty."
8. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Come that I may instruct you concerning ... the writing which Thoth gave to the hand of his disciple."
9. Write, O little one! // Take counsel with the wise man! // Do not come forth [...]
10. Ask the one less important than yourself! // Desire to listen to the voice of the wise man! // Do not [...]
11. Do not command fighting against a prophet! // Take a magic book of protection (?)! // Do not be weak of heart (?) concerning reaching its end (i.e, the teaching's end)!
12. Take thought for tomorrow! // Be troubled (?) with regard to its like (i.e., the day after tomorrow)! // Say to me every ... [...]
13. Establish seriousness (or "weightiness")! // Be firm with regard to the teaching! // ... [...]
14. Do not permit the coming into being of an incompetent man as a servant of the Demotic script ... [...]
15. Be engaged (?) with all types of difficult passages, // they being varied in form, without there [...]
16. Be abundant in looking! // Be abundant in acting! // Be abundant in hearing! [...]

Commentary

Line 1: The god advises the disciple to approach his craft quickly and enthusiastically. This line comprises an initial phrase in anticipatory emphasis, followed by paired nominals, concluded by a vetitive introduced by *tm*. The line parallels the previous B02, 5/16.

B02: *Pꜣe=w* is presumably the possessive adjective, and not an unorthographic spelling of *bn-pw=w*.

For *tkn*, "nahe sein, nahe kommen," see *Glossar*, pp. 659–60. See also Hughes, "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian," in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 68.

Gtgt is *tktk*, "schnell, eilen," *Glossar*, p. 660.

For *ỉr ḫm*, compare B02, 2/2 *bn-ỉw=f rḫ ỉr ḫm*, "he will not be able to become a craftsman."

Tm is probably used here as a vetitive instead of *m-ỉr*, see *Glossar*, p. 631.

ʿnʿn (with the walking-legs in L01) is most likely "zurückweisen," *Wb.* 1, 191/11, and not *ʿnʿn*, "aufschreien," *Glossar*, p. 63.

L01: *Sḫ* has the seated man determinative, suggesting "scribe," which also yields sense.

Line 2: The disciple asks the deity about the nature of the writing brush. This line consists of two interrogative questions, followed by a vocative.

B02: As L01 shows, *pry=y* is the old interrogative phrase (not in *Glossar*) *pw tr* or *ptr*, *Wb.* 1, 506/2–8. This is reduced to *pry* just as *ptr*, "to see," becomes *pry*, "to dream," *Glossar*, p. 136.

Ḫbr is *ḫrb*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 392.

Sm, written with the plant determinative in L01, is *sm*, "Kraut," *Glossar*, p. 430. This is combined with *wt*, "der Papyrus," *Glossar*, p. 105.

We understand *ỉkr mr.t* as an epithet of Thoth. On the common use of *ỉqr* in connection with that deity (and also to describe an efficient scribe), see, for example, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 116.

L01: In addition to the more archaic form of the interrogative pronoun, *pyt*, *gꜣy* is clearly written, and not *gꜣy=f*, as in B02.

Line 3: In reply Thoth informs the disciple about the special name of the brush. In his answer the deity plays on the double or triple meanings of *ʿt*, "brush," "shore," and "well-being."

B02: Thoth had already used the term *ʿt* for the brush in B02, 4/13, this being *ʿḏ*, "a plant," which "may be a reed used for writing" (attested only at Edfu), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 188. The fuller expression "*ʿt* plant of life" may refer to *ʿt*, "heil sein, wohlbehalten," *Glossar*, p. 74.

Mtw is the writing of the relative *nt ỉw*.

There is word play here between *t3my/mn* and *t3mn*. *Mny* is probably *mn*, "landen," *Glossar*, p. 160, and not *mn*, "to remain," *Glossar*, p. 159.

L01: *T3my* has the finger determinative, suggesting *tm*, "verbinden, bekleiden, grenzen," *Glossar*, p. 631. This derives from old *dmi*, "berühren," *Wb.* 5, 453/6–455/3. *Mni*, "to land," is often found with *dmi*, "quay" (see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 422), and the author may be obliquely referring to this idiom. He thus continues to dwell on the double meaning of *ꜥt*, "brush," and *ꜥt*, "shore." There may well be a play on words between *ꜥt n pꜣ ꜥnḫ*, "brush/shore of the Life," and *tꜣ mny*, "land of mooring," since *mny* is often associated with notions of death, e.g., *mn*, "das Landen, d.h. der Tod," *Glossar*, p. 160. The suffix *f* after *t3my* probably refers back to *ꜥt*, "brush, shore." The sense of the line is apparently that the writing brush will provide the scribe with eternal life. Still, the force of the concluding relative clause is unclear.

Line 4: Beginning with this line the disciple announces a strong wish, expressed in powerful, sexual imagery, that the "words" or teaching be communicated to him.

B02: The figure of "the words which give birth to prophets" is striking and unparalleled. A similar image occurs in B04, 8/4–5, "their plants give birth to new words."

L01: On the problems of distinguishing *ḫy.w*, "Landmesser," or similar, *Glossar*, p. 347, and *mt.w*, see Zauzich, "Differenzierende Schreibungen," in Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, p. 112. The similarity between the two words has led astray not only modern scholars, but also ancient scribes.

Ti=y ỉwl=w is apparently a finalis construction, see Johnson, *DVS*, pp. 277–79. While the first person may still have significance here, a straight result clause as in Coptic is also possible: "that they become pregnant in my flesh." For the idea, cf. John 1:14: "And the word became flesh."

ỉwl is presumably *ỉwr*, "schwanger werden," *Glossar*, p. 24, although the papyrus book-roll determinative is naturally unusual.

Line 5: The disciple speaks of the "well" of wisdom. Lines B02, 6/5 and 6/6 are in close parallelism. The author offers word plays on *ḫnm.t*, "well," and *ḫnm.t*, "nurse," *Wb.* 3, 381/8–11.

B02: *Ḫnm.t*, "well," *Wb.* 3, 382/10–15; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 771 (not in *Glossar*). On the association between Thoth and the well, see Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse*, pp. 82–83; Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 50.

In older Egyptian one might expect *ḫnm m*, but *Wb.* 3, 381/1, offers *ḫnm r*, "sich gesellen zu," with the notation "Sp., Gr." There is obvious assonance between *ḫnm.t*, "well," and *ḫnm*, "to unite." As already mentioned, *tꜣ ḫnm.t* may also mean "the nurse," parallel to the *ll.t*, "nurse," in the following line.

L01: For *mw ntm*, "sweet water," see *Wb.* 2, 378/20.

Line 6: The basic point of the disciple in this obscure line is clear enough; he wishes to be admitted to the teaching.

B02: *Tꜣ ỉtty.t* is the best reading. This word has the flesh determinative, which suggests *ỉty.t*, "die Vulva," *Glossar*, p. 13. Still, *ỉtt.t*, "nurse" (*Wb.* 1, 23/9–10, and Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 27), is a more likely identification. This would then parallel the *ḫnm.t* of the previous line. The scribe may well have intended both meanings, given the image of the door and threshold. It would be tempting to understand both *ỉtty.t* and *ll.t* as terms for part of a door, given the double meaning of *sbꜣ*. However, we can find no such words in the lexica.

We have read *nt n* which implies a following noun. *Ll.t* is probably *rr.t*, "Amme, Wärterin (von einer Göttin)," *Wb.* 2, 439/8 (Greek Period). It is difficult to discern a distinction of meaning between *ỉtt.t* and *rr.t*.

The speech of Tefnut in Mythus 8/22–23 and 9/1, contains similar imagery revolving around the vulva, see Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 64. For statements concerning *tꜣ ỉt.t*, "the vulva," in relation to the creator-god, Ptah, see Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, p. 18. For sexual imagery in the Hermetic Corpus, see Mahé, "Le sens des symboles sexuels," in Ménard (ed.), *Les Textes de Nag Hammadi*, pp. 123–45.

The author plays on the double meaning of *sbꜣ/sꜣb*, "door, gate," and "wise man."

L01: The reading of these words is tentative. If *ỉlly* is correct, it is probably not to be associated with *ỉrr*, "be impatient, desire eagerly," discussed in Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, p. 3.

For *ḥnš*, "die Türpfosten (aus Holz oder Stein)," see *Wb.* 1, 464/3; "Doorposts, doorjamb," Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 156; *KHWB*, p. 76, "Dach, Geländer" (not in *Glossar*).

B05: Possibly transliterate *nt* before the lacuna at the end of the line, and not *ỉ*.

Line 7: The image of nursing continues in this line.

B02: *Pry=y* is old *ptr*, "behold," *Wb.* 1, 564/20–23, which can be written *prꜣ* (ibid.). This is not in *Glossar*, and it is interesting to observe that L01 has the standard Demotic *tw=s / tw=y-s*, "siehe," *Glossar*, p. 612.

ỉw=f wn is a circumstantial clause with a stative form; we should perhaps read *wn.w*.

The subject of *ỉr* is the female deity already mentioned in B02, 4/1. The same final clause already appears in B02, 4/5. *ỉby.k* is a stative form. Again, however, the phrase *ḫnt rꜣ ỉby* may rather be taken as a designation of the "throat"; see the commentary to B02, 4/5.

For "mystic thirst" with regard to the Thoth-temple, see Griffiths, "Divine Impact on Human Affairs," in Baines et al. (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, p. 99.

Line 8: Thoth or his representative, i.e., Imhotep, now specifically agrees to instruct the disciple on the "writing of Thoth."

B02: On the topos of Thoth giving a sacred book to a disciple, see, for example, Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 92–97; Stadler, "The Funerary Texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766," *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 102 (the compositions being Books of Breathing). One thinks naturally of the Book of Thoth in Setne 1.

As already mentioned, *spḫr*, "die Schrift," *Wb.* 4, 107/7–8, does not seem to be otherwise attested in Demotic. There is considerable space between *ṯ=k r* and *n spḫr*, and another word, such as *sḫ* or *mḏꜣ.t*, must have stood there.

R-tỉ is one of the few indisputable relative forms in this composition.

B02 has the nisbe compound *ḫry-rt=f*, literally, "one who is under his feet," comparing *Wb.* 3, 388/5, whereas L01 offers the like-meaning *ḫr-ꜥ.wy=f*, "one who is under his arm," *Glossar*, p. 391 (*ḫrꜥ*), comparing *ḫry-ꜥ*, "Gehülfe," *Wb.* 3, 393/9–12. The two compounds are palaeographically similar, and thus easily confused.

L01: *Mỉ*, "come!" *Wb.* 2, 35/8–14, is generally *ỉm* in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 30.

Instead of *Ḏḥwty*, *pỉ wr tỉw* may be written.

Line 9: Thoth offers his disciple advice in the manner of standard Egyptian wisdom compositions. The line is a series of imperatives.

B02: For *sbk*, "klein," see *Glossar*, p. 422. It does not seem to be attested in earlier Egyptian, although see *KHWB*, p. 177. Given the determinative in L01, this is the probable primary reading. However, the author may have also intended an allusion to *sbq*, "verständig, klug," *Wb.* 4, 94/2–12. In B02, 4/13, Thoth calls the disciple "very small one."

L01: *Ntnt* is *nḏnḏ*, "fragen, raten," *Glossar*, p. 235. The *n* before *rḫ* may mark the object; compare *nḏnḏ m-ꜥ*, "sich Rat holen bei jem.," *Wb.* 2, 382/2.

Tm forms the vetitive in this composition, as in L01, 3/19.

After *pr* restore perhaps the preposition *ḫr*, "mit etw. herausgehen = etw. verraten (Geheimnisse)," *Wb.* 1, 520/7. See also Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 107.

Line 10: Thoth presents rather typical formulations of Egyptian wisdom.

L01: For the very full writing of *šny*, "fragen," see *Glossar*, p. 514.

We consider *ḫm*, "klein," *Glossar*, pp. 359–60, more likely than *nḏs*, "klein, gering," *Glossar*, p. 235.

For the idea expressed in this line, compare: "Consult with the ignorant as well as the wise," Guglielmi, "Zur Adaption und Funktion von Zitaten," *SAK* 11 (1984): 356.

Line 11: In this unclear line Thoth apparently advises the disciple to avoid disputes (?) with a prophet, to use the magical books of protection, and persevere in the teaching.

B02: Given the papyrus-roll determinative, we identify *nhy* with *nh.t* or *nhy*, "Zauberbuch (zum Schutz)," "Name eines Buches, das als Amulett an die Mumie gebunden wird," *Wb.* 2, 282/3–4.

The *sp-2* following this is uncertain, and in fact we would rather expect it to conclude a vetitive ("ever"). It probably refers back to the *nh.t*, reading perhaps *nh.t nh.t*, "magic book of protection," or similar.

Bḏ is not in *Glossar*. It may be equated with ⲃⲓⲝⲓ, "Schiffbruch erleiden, scheitern, sinken," *KHWB*, p. 30. This Coptic word derives from old *bgỉw*, *Wb.* 1, 482/12–14, which indeed yields reasonable sense in connection with *ḥỉt*, "heart." However, even better sense is offered by *bỉgj*, "müde sein," which is employed of the heart, *Wb.* 1, 431/10. Also possible is a derivation from *bṯ*, "to run away, abandon," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 337, comparing the various *bṯ/bṯn* words, "laufen, verlassen, sich widersetzen," *Wb.* 1, 485/6–486/3.

For *r-ḏbỉ*, see *Glossar*, pp. 620–21. An example of this writing is Lüddeckens, "Urkunde eines Soldaten über den Verkauf seines Ernteertrages," in Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, p. 80, line 10 (read *r-ḏbỉ=w r mḥ.ṯ=w*).

Following *r-ḏbỉ* is the infinitive *ỉn*, "to bring away." While we have no other example of an idiom *ỉn rꜥ*, "to carry away the end," in Demotic, we can quote *ỉn rỉ-ꜥ*, "das Ende von etw. (des Landes u. ä.) erreichen," *Wb.* 2, 394/2.

Compare *rꜥ* in B02, 5/7.

Read probably *rꜥ=sn*. The presumed *s* may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

L01: While *ḫn*, "command," *Glossar*, p. 310, is secure, *ty*, "to fight," *Glossar*, p. 606 is less so. It does have the expected arm-with-stick determinative, but also the man-with-hand-to-mouth, suggesting that it is a question here of verbal conflict. *Ty* is followed by *r*, for which see Hughes, "The Blunders of an Inept Scribe," in Kadish and Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams*, p. 65.

Line 12: Thoth counsels forethought and encourages his disciple to report any problems to himself.

B02: For *rwš*, "sorgen für," see *Glossar*, p. 243.

For *rsṯ*, "der Morgen," see *Glossar*, p. 255.

The word read *ỉỉb* or *mr* also appears in B01, 1/3, and C04.2, 5 (see the note there). If sound-play is a factor (*rwš* and *rsty*), then perhaps *mr* is the preferred reading.

Mtwt=f, "its like," may refer to the day after tomorrow.

We had first rendered *ỉs* as *ỉs*, "Schaden, Strafe," *Glossar*, p. 10. The determinative in B02 is odd, however; expected is the evil determinative. This may rather be *ỉs*, "be light," given the following *ḥlš*, "be heavy," in B02, 6/13. The meaning and writing remain difficult.

e-ḏ is the imperative form.

Line 13: Thoth advises his disciple to be serious and to adhere to his path.

L01: One notes the deliberate repetition of the *mn* sound.

For *smny*, "aufstellen, feststellen," see *Glossar*, pp. 433–34.

The precise nuance of *ḥlš*, "schwer sein," *Glossar*, p. 327, is uncertain. We take it to mean "seriousness," *Glossar*, p. 327 (*ỉr ḥrš*, "ernst sein").

Line 14: The god warns against an unspecified negative activity in connection with Demotic.

B02: We think that *sq* with the evil determinative in B02 and the man-with-hand-to-mouth in L01 is most probably a writing of *swg*, "töricht, dumm," *Glossar*, p. 417. While the *w* is generally written, *sg* is also attested. This is ⲥⲟⲥ, "fool," Crum, *CD*, p. 388a. The word is often rendered "stupid, stupidity," but the essential meaning may be somewhat less negative; one notes *swg*, "unmündig, minderjährig," *Glossar*, p. 417. On *swg*, "incompetent, minor," see Hughes, "Cruel Father," in Kadish (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, p. 47. *Sq* might also be *sg*, "erstarren," *Glossar*, p. 468; "paralysis, be ri-

gid," Crum, *CD*, p. 388a. Although not completely implausible, the resulting sense is then markedly forced, and we have no parallel to such an idea.

Bꜣk is either "work," *Glossar*, p. 124, or "Urkunde, Schriftstück," *Glossar*, p. 125. Either yields acceptable meaning.

Sḫ šꜥy is *sḫ šꜥ.t*, "'Brief-Schrift' d.i. 'demotisch,'" *Glossar*, p. 489. Alternatively, *šꜥy* may be the epithet of Seshat.

Line 15: This obscure line is probably another injunction to take care with the writings.

L01: One expects that this line begins, as do the others, with an imperative. Despite being written as the simple indefinite article, *wꜥ* may be an imperative of a verb, comparing, for example, *wꜣ*, "sich einlassen" (with *n* or *m*), *Wb.* 1, 244/8, or *wꜥ*, "allein," *Glossar*, p. 81, However, none yields optimal sense. The author evidently contrasts the *wꜥ* in this line with the *ꜥꜣ* of the following B02, 6/16.

ỉtnw is "Schwieriges (in Büchern), Geheimnisse," *Wb.* 1, 146/1–2.

The antecedent of *tr=w* (the reading seems secure; another example with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative is in *Glossar*, p. 642) is unclear; understand *ỉtnw.w*. If so, this again compels us to interpret *wꜥ* as something more than the singular indefinite article.

Šb (stative form) is "verändern," *Glossar*, p. 497.

R bn-ỉw is the circumstantial negative construction.

Line 16: This line offers another series of imperatives.

L01: We read *ỉr* and not *ḏ*. One might expect *ꜥꜣ ḏ*, "be abundant of saying," to follow.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 7 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 7/1 ... [.....]
Add. 6 L01, 4/11 *mꜣ tỉ=y rḫ=k st pꜣ ⸢4⸣ myl n pꜣ ꜥnḫ [.....]*
B05, 2/21–22 *[.....] / f[.....]*

B02, 7/2 *ḫꜣꜥ ḫ[ꜣt .....] ... šmy (?)ₒ h mꜣꜥ.t*
L01, 4/12 *ḫꜣꜥ ḫꜣṯ=k r pꜣ ntr hn ḫr ḥp ỉr ꜥ-n [...]*

B02, 7/3 *ḫm [.....] ⸢f⸣[y] ... tꜣy sḏm=k*
L01, 4/13 *ḫm bꜥy ḥs ỉ-ỉry rmt nfr tm fy [...]*

B02, 7/4 ***mr-[rḫ ḏ=f*** *.....] ... šꜥnꜣ ms.w nw sbꜣ=k*
B04, 2/1 *[.....] ... =k ḫnt ḥ.t ỉry.w šꜥ* (B04.2) *ms.w nw sbꜣ=k*
L01, 4/14 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ỉ rpy sꜣl=k ḫnt [.....* (L01.1) *m]s.w n sbꜣ*

B02, 7/5 *ỉr=k n=y [...] ... [.....] ...*
B04, 2/2 *[..... s.t]-ḏbꜣ ỉr=k sḫy n nꜣe[=y] (?)* (B04.2) ...
L01, 4/15 *ỉr=k n=y ḥm šlg=k tꜣy s.t-ḏbꜣ [.....]*

B02, 7/6 *ỉr=k n=y wyꜥ ỉw=y mḥy r ꜣḥ ỉw=y n šw [.....]*
B04, 2/3 *[..... mḥ]y r ꜣḥ ỉw=y [n] šw ỉr=k (?) n=y (?)* (B04.2) ... *ḫ [...]*
L01, 4/16 *ỉr=k n=y wꜥy ỉw=y n mḥy r ꜣḥ ỉw=y [n šw .....]*

B02, 7/7 *tỉ=w ṯ n=k ỉw=y n šw wpy=k ṯ [...] ..... sꜥnḫ=f (?)*
B04, 2/4 *[.....]=k ṯy m twt=k ...* (B04.2) *my ḥt (?) ... ꜥnḫ ... [...]*
L01, 4/17 *tỉ=w ṯ n=k ỉw=y n šw wpy=k ṯ twt [.....]*

B02, 7/8 *wḏꜥ=k n=y ls=y ⸢wpy=k n=y⸣ tỉ=k n=y (?) pꜣ rt šm-ỉy*
B04, 2/5 *w[ḏꜥ .....] wpy=k n=y wpy=k (?) n=y pꜣ r[t ...* (B04.2)*] šm-ỉy (?) ...*
L01, 4/18 *wḏꜣ=k n=y ls=y wpy=k [.....* (L01.1) *.....] šm-ỉy*

B02, 7/9 *[...]=kₒ..... in=k tꜣe=y mr.t tỉ=k ỉr tꜣe=y ḥs.t kṯkṯ*
B04, 2/6 *ḫb[.....] mr tỉ=k ỉr tꜣe=y ḥs.t g[tgt]* (B04.2) ...
L01, 4/19 *šb=k pꜣe=y ms<t> in=k tꜣe=y mr.t [.....]*

B02, 7/10 *tỉ=k ỉr=y ỉꜣw ỉw=y sbk n ms hb=y ꜥy r-ḫr=y m ỉḫy=k*
B04, 2/7 *[.....] nꜣ ỉꜣw.w r-ḫr=y m ỉḫy=k*
L01, 4/20 *tỉ=k ỉr=y ỉꜣw.t ỉw=y sbk n ms hb[..... ỉḫ]y=k*

B02, 7/11 *tỉ=k n=y pꜣ rt ỉw=y ḫpr.ṯkₒ m nḫn sntm=y r [w]w.w m ḥꜥ=k*
B04, 2/8 *[.....] sntm=y r nꜣ wr.w ḥꜥ=k*
L01, 4/21 *tỉ=k n=y pꜣ rt ỉw=y ḫpr.ṯk m nšn [.....* (L01.1)*] ḥꜥ=k*

B02, 7/12 *[tỉ=k] ꜥꜣ (ꜥ)tty r wn-nꜣ.w ỉw=y m wꜥ ỉr=k n=y ḏm rry*
B04, 2/8–9 *tỉ=k* (B04.2) *ꜥꜣy (?) [...] ... / [..... rr]y*
L01, 4/22 *tỉ=k ꜥꜣꜥ=y⸣ n tty wn-nꜣ.w ỉw=y m wꜥ ỉr=k [.....]*

B02, 7/13 *[.....] ... n rꜣ=k grp n=y tfw bḥ ṯ ꜣḥy nw ḫ.ṯ=k*
B04, 2/9–10 *tỉ=k hh (?) rꜣ=k gr[p ...] / [.....]*
L01, 4/23 *tỉ[=k] ... [..... r]ꜣ=k glp n=y tf[w .....* (L01.1) *ḫ].ṯ=k*

B02, 7/14 *⸢ꜣsy⸣ n=y ỉḫy ỉr=k n=y ỉw=y (n) šp-ꜥnḫ n mn ḏ.t*
B04, 2/10 *[...] ... yw n=y ⸢ꜣḫy⸣ ỉr=k n=y* (B04.2) *ỉw=y [.....]*
L01, 4/24 *ꜣs[.....] ỉḫy ỉr=k n=y ỉw=y šp[-ꜥnḫ .....]*

B02, 7/15 *[ỉw=y] (r) ḥꜥ n twt ... ỉw=y ỉr n=k mnw ỉw=y snn ḫnṯ ... w=f*
B04, 2/11 *[.....] ỉw=y r ỉr n=k mn ỉw=y [.....]*
L01.1, 5/1 *ỉw=y [.....]*

B02, 7/16 *[ỉw]=y ṯḥm ššr=k ỉw=y snsn sbꜣ=k ỉw=y sꜣ.....n rn=k nfr*
B04, 2/12 *[.....] snsn sbꜣ=k ỉw=y r s[ỉꜣw (?) ...]* (B04.2) *rn=k [...]*
L01.1, 5/2 *ỉw=y [.....]*

Translation

1. Come, let me cause you to know them, // namely, the ⌜four⌝ bandages (or "precepts"?) of the life [...]
2. Set your heart upon the god! // Adhere to the law! // Make ... [...] // Go (?) in *maat*!
3. Be small of conceit and praise! // Be a good man! // Do not ... [...] ... this which you have heard."
4. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! // O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! // Begin with the children of your teaching!
5. You have been for me a craftsman. // You have diminished my trouble. // You have taken control of my (?) ...
6. You have been for me a farmer, // I being like unto a field, // I being dry. // You have been for me (?) ... [...]
7. They have given me to you, // I being worthy. // You opened me in your image ... [...] ... To cause him (or "it") to live (?).
8. You have separated for me my tongue. // You have opened for me. // You have opened (or "given") to me the possibility for going and coming.
9. You have lessened hatred of me. // You have brought love of me. // You have caused that my praise come quickly.
10. You have caused that I achieve old age, I being (still) young. // I have sent off (or "written to") those older than I through your effective magic.
11. You have given to me the status, although I am but a youth. // I have written to the great ones (= comforted the hearts of great ones) by means of your assistance (?).
12. You caused that I be abundant in nurses, when I was alone. // You made for me a troop of youths.
13. You have given flame (?) (or "moisture") of your mouth. // Reveal to me sustenance (or "spit"). // The beneficent power of your body has flowed over me.
14. ... for me the benefaction. // You have acted for me, I being as a living image eternally.
15. I will stand as a statue ... // I will make (or "be") for you a divine statue (or "monument"), I being as an image of the foremost of (or "before") his ...
16. I will have power over your papyrus roll. // I will worship your teaching, // I being protected (or "I protecting"?) ... your beautiful name.

Commentary

Line 1: Thoth continues with his instruction of the disciple.

L01: *Mȝ* is the archaic imperative *ỉmy*, "Komme!" *Glossar*, p. 30.

The destroyed signs are probably "4." While this is the standard hieratic writing of "4," Möller, *HP* 3, number 617, no similar Demotic forms are in *Glossar*, p. 696.

Myl may be a variant of *mtly*, "instruction, precept," comparing *mry.t*, "Nomen," *Glossar*, p. 169. In Coptic *mtr*, "midday," may appear as ⲙⲏⲁⲓ (F), *KHWB*, p. 99. Other

possibilities, such as an identification with *mˁr*, "be successful, flourish," *Wb.* 2, 48/10–49/1, or with *myl*, "to bind," "bandage," *Glossar*, p. 166, are less probable. *Mr*, "bandage," may possess here the sense of "precept," but we have no parallel to "the four precepts of the life," and this is a mere suggestion.

B05: This may not preserve a parallel.

Line 2: Thoth commands the disciple to think of god, the law, and *maat*.

B02: *Šmy*, with the walking-legs determinative, may be for *šm*, "to go," *Glossar*, pp. 505–06, but also possible are a variant of *mšˁ*, "gehen," *Glossar*, p. 181, and *šmy* = *ḫnm*, "to unite (with)," "sich vereinigen," which can appear as *ḫm*, *Glossar*, p. 380. There is evidently a word play on the *ḫm* of the following line.

H is probably for *ḥr*, "upon"; compare *ỉh*, *Glossar*, p. 320.

L01: *Ḥȝˁ ḥȝṯ* is not in *Glossar*, but does appear in Onkhsheshonqy with the meaning, "vertrauen," Thissen, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 95.

Line 3: The deity admonishes the disciple to be even-tempered, and to conduct himself well.

B02: *Tȝy sḏm=k*, "this which you have heard," is a past relative construction.

L01: *Bȝy* is *by*, "Gewalttätigkeit, Zorn," *Glossar*, p. 111, although the flesh determinative is unusual. The expression "small of *bȝy*," as well as the association with *ḥs*, "praise," occur also in P. Louvre 2414, 1/8: "A man <whose> vanity is small creates praise for himself," as translated by Hughes, "Blunders of an Inept Scribe," in Kadish and Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams*, pp. 52 and 56–57. The line in the Book of Thoth would confirm Hughes's reading of *ḥs.t*.

ỉ-ỉry is the imperative form, *Glossar*, p. 36.

Fy is probably "carry" or "hurry," *Glossar*, pp. 143–44.

Line 4: The disciple praises the teaching of Thoth, and asks him to begin or continue his instruction.

B02: The point following *šˁ* may be *n*.

B04: *Ḫnt ḥ.t ỉry.w* is an epithet of Thoth, Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 5, p. 829. However, it is also possible that *ḫnt* is the preposition, "before." *ỉry.w*, with the book-roll determinative, is to be identified with *ỉry*, "Akten," Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*, pp. 15–16. Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 627, renders *ḥ.t-ỉryw* as "Mansion of Records." According to her, this title is "always associated with Seshat" in Edfu. *ỉry*, "document," is not in *Glossar*. One might compare the *pr ˁnḫ ỉrw*, "la Maison de Celui qui vit des rites," Herbin, *Parcourir*, pp. 114–16.

Šˁ is perhaps the verb *šˁȝ*, from older *šȝ*, "anfangen, beginnen," *Wb.* 4, 406/4–407/6. This is attractive, given the epithet of Seshat, *Šȝy.t*. Alternatively, it is the preposition *šˁ*, "until," although then the translation of the line becomes difficult.

L01: The vocative particle is written in hieratic fashion; compare *Glossar*, p. 15.

Rpy (note again the hieratic form of the *rpy* sign) is *rpy*, "jung sein, blühen, gedeihen," *Glossar*, p. 244.

Line 5: The disciple asks Thoth that he stand by him, and presumably "take control" over his enemies (or similar).

L01: For *šlg*, see ϣϣωλϭ, "schneiden," *KHWB*, p. 313 (not in *Glossar*).

S.t-ḏbꜣ is *stb*, "Unglück, Schaden, Unheil," *Glossar*, p. 476 (perhaps in the sense of drought or famine).

B04: *ỉr=k sḫy n* fits the traces, space, and sense.

One expects a word for "enemies" or "opponents."

Line 6: The disciple offers metaphors describing his relationship with Thoth and his teaching.

B02: *Wyʿ* is *wyʿ*, "Bauer," *Glossar*, p. 79.

Mḥy is *mḫy*, "gleichen" (with *r*), *Glossar*, p. 175.

For *šw*, "trocken," see *Glossar*, p. 494; on the group read *šw*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 121. The author makes a word play on *šw*, which appears in the following line in the sense of "be worthy."

L01: The unusual house determinative of *ỉḫ*, "field" (no examples in *Glossar*, p. 9) is also found in B04.

B04: Restore possibly "you have been for me my irrigation" or similar.

Line 7: The disciple emphasizes his close association with the god. The second half of this line is too broken for translation.

B02: This statement is connected with the previous one through the word play on *šw*, here "geeignet, würdig," *Glossar*, p. 493, in the other line, "to be dry."

There may be another word play between *tỉ=w ṯ* and *twt*. *Wpy*, "to open," *Glossar*, pp. 86–87, in association with *twt*, "statue," evokes the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, noting especially: *wp rꜣ*, "'den Mund öffnen,' 'den Mund der Mumie oder Statue "öffnen"' d.h. sie zum essen oder trinken befähigen (mit *m* des Werkzeugs u. ä.)," *Wb.* 1, 300/5.

B04: The reading *ḥt*, with the knife determinative, is dubious.

Line 8: The disciple continues with the image of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. While this may indeed be intended literally, it is also possible that the student describes figuratively the effect of Thoth's teaching upon him. The repeated *wpy* links this sentence with the previous line.

B02: *Wḏʿ*, "to split," *Wb.* 1, 404/3–406/12, is not in *Glossar*, but see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 92. It may be attested in Coptic, *KHWB*, p. 279.

One expects an object for *wpy*. There seems to be too much room for just *wpy=k n=y* before *tỉ=k*.

Rt is either "foot," *Glossar*, p. 258, or "Art," *Glossar*, p. 258. Both yield acceptable sense, although the latter, in the sense of "possibility" is more attractive, comparing, *KHWB*, p. 168, ⲣⲏⲧⲉ, "Möglichkeit."

Šm-ỉy may pick up once more the *šw* of the previous line.

B04: It is difficult to see the second *wpy=k n=y* in this version, and *tỉ=k n=y pꜣ rt* may also have stood here.

Line 9: The disciple now lauds the social benefits, as it were, of Thoth's teaching.

L01: *Šb* is *ḫb*, "vermindern," *Glossar*, p. 353.

There can be little doubt that *mst*, "hatred," *Glossar*, p. 180, is intended, and in fact we may indeed read *mst*.

B02: On *tktk/gtgt*, "schnell sein," *Glossar*, p. 660, see Thissen, "Demotische Ostraka aus Oxyrhynchus," *Enchoria* 5 (1975):110.

Line 10: Through Thoth, the disciple achieves high status. Employing traditional imagery, he portrays himself as able to send messengers.

B02: The author again offers a play on the sound of *ms*, which appears both here and in the *mst* of the previous line. He may further pun on *ỉꜣw* and *ʿy* within this sentence.

We take the expression *ỉr ỉꜣw* to mean "attain old age" or "achieve respect," although *ỉꜣw.t*, "office," may also be understood, *Glossar*, p. 16.

Sbk is *sbq*, "klein," *Glossar*, p. 422, where the expression *sbk* (*n*) *ms*, "jung (Gegens. *ʿy* [*n*] *ms*)," is also quoted. On this word, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 65.

Hb may mean here either "to send" with the direct object *ʿy* or "to send messages, write," with an understood (*n*) *ʿy*.

ʿy is either "greater" (*ʿꜣ*) or "older" (*ỉꜣw*), with identical sense. In both cases *r-ḫr* is a comparative construction.

ỉḫy or *ỉḥy* is difficult; this may be *ỉḫw*, "Macht eines Gottes," *Wb.* 1, 15/4–9, but *ỉḫ.t*, "Herrlichkeit," *Wb.* 1, 15/10, or even *ỉḫy*, "Besitz," *Glossar*, p. 42, also yields good sense.

There may be a word play on the *ḥʿ=k* in the following B02, 7/11.

B04: Read perhaps *tỉ=k* at end of line.

Line 11: In parallelism with the previous line, the disciple emphasizes his high prestige due to Thoth's aid. The author develops the image of rebirth alluded to in the preceding passages.

B02: *Rt* is probably "status" or "(high)-position." The man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative in L01 suggests an abstract meaning.

We take *ḫpr.ṯk* as a stative construction.

It is possible, but unlikely, that *ỉw=y ḫpr.ṯ=k*, a transitive use, be understood, "while

I transform you (in turn) into a youth." *Ḫpr* would then be transitive (as if *sḫpr*), *Wb.* 3, 264/16–17. One would not expect *ṯ*, however, and the meaning would be difficult.

Nḫn, "das Kind," is not common in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 226. For *ḫpr nḫn*, "wieder zum Kind werden (vom Alten)," see *Wb.* 2, 311/18.

Sntm is most probably *snḏm*, "angenehm machen," *Wb.* 4, 185/10–186/18, in general, but also "Bes. auch von erfreulichen Mitteilungen (brieflich u.ä.)," *Wb.* 4, 186/16. An attractive alternative is *snmḥ*, "beten, flehen," *Wb.* 4, 165/16–166/4. Neither *sntm* or *snmḥ* is in *Glossar*.

Ww is a writing of *wr.w*.

ḥ' presumably parallels *iḫy=k* of the previous line. This verb has numerous meanings; we tentatively render "assistance." There is a probable play on the common Demotic phrase *ḥ'-rt* in this line.

Line 12: The disciple praises the god for having provided nurses and companions when he "was alone."

B02: *Tty* is *ỉty.t*, "Kinderwärterin," *Wb.* 1, 23/10; also spelled *ỉtt*.

R wn-nỉ.w iw=y would be a circumstantial imperfect form, Johnson, *DVS*, p. 37.

M w' is identical with *m w''w*, "im Allein sein," *Wb.* 1, 278/1.

The determinative of *ḏm*, "troop," *Glossar*, p. 678, is the seated man with the plural strokes. However, one tends to expect the child sign, and this may be lost in the damage.

Rry is *ll*, "Knabe," *Glossar*, p. 262.

Line 13: The disciple describes the god's life-giving fluid (or flame?) which sustains and flows through him.

B04: *Hh*, "Flame," *Glossar*, p. 281, is reasonable in terms of sense and determinative. For the "flame of the mouth," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 607. One anticipates, nevertheless, a term for "fluid, moisture" (see note on B02) and perhaps *nn*, for *nwn*, "das Urwasser," *Glossar*, p. 211, is the better transliteration. See also *nn*, "flood water," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 523. The determinative would then be not the flame, but rather the *Ḥ'py* sign, e.g., *Glossar*, p. 293.

B02: The initial preserved signs are probably the water determinitive of *hh / nn*. *Grp* is *glp*, "offenbaren, enthüllen," *Glossar*, p. 589.

Tfw is *tfw*, "Speise," *Glossar*, pp. 628–29, or *tfỉ*, "Speichel" (not in *Glossar*), Thissen, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 132.

Bḥ is for *b'ḥ*, "to innundate," *Glossar*, p. 113, while *ṯ* is the dependent pronoun. On the connection between Thoth and (magical) spitting, see Quack, "Das Pavianshaar," *SAK* 23 (1996): 325–26.

The expression of *ỉḫy nw ḫ.t=k*, the "*ỉḫy* of your body," is striking, and one wonders whether this is not *ỉḫ*, "vorzüglich," *Glossar*, p. 9, but rather connected with *ỉššỉ*, "Speichel," *Wb.* 1, 135/16, which is also apparently written *ỉšỉ*, "(Opfergaben) ausspeien? (bildlich vom Nil)," *Wb.* 1, 21/1. This fits the sense of the line.

Line 14: The disciple now turns his attention once more to the idea of a statue, presumably a cult image enduring for eternity.

B02: The reading *ỉsy* is plausible, but the translation is unclear, perhaps, "be light."

Again the author employs a word play between *ỉḫy*, "benefaction" (Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 14) here and *ỉḫy* of the previous line.

The determinative of *'nḫ* is the mummy, and *šp 'nḫ* is *šsp 'nḫ* (with the mummy determinative), "lebendes Abbild," *Wb.* 4, 536/6–10. See Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit*, pp. 33–39, on *sšp* and *sšp 'nḫ*. These words are not in *Glossar*.

N mn ḏ.t is probably a variant of *r mn-ḏ.t*, "for eternity," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 422; *Wb.* 5, 509/19 "(spät)."

Line 15: The disciple continues with the theme of statues, vowing that he will also make monuments for the deity.

B02: *Twt* is *twtw*, "Statue," *Glossar*, p. 616.

There is probably a short word following *twt*. It resembles *2.nw* or *ḥỉ.t*.

Mnw is "Götterbild," *Glossar*, p. 158. This may pick up the *mn* of the previous line.

Snn seems the best transliteration, but both *snn*, "Bild, Ebenbild," *Wb.* 3, 460/6–17, and a variant of the verb *snỉ*, "to go by" (or similar), *Wb.* 3, 454/14–456/14, are possible.

We cannot read the epithet (of Thoth?) at the end of the line.

Line 16: The disciple asserts that he will master and worship the teaching.

B02: The beginning of the line resembles *pỉe=w* rather than *ỉw=y*.

Sḫm is probably "prevail over (with *m*)," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 903 (not in *Glossar*).

Sšr, with the evil determinative, is written as *sšr*, "Umsturz," or "demon," *Glossar*, p. 457. This may refer to opponents of Thoth. Intriguing, however, would be a connection with *sḫr.wt*, "papyrus rolls," *Wb.* 4, 261/1–4; "papyrus document," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 908, with a false determinative (not in *Glossar*); Barguet, "Le Rituel archaïque," *RdE* 9 (1952): 8, remarks that the word *šsr* can denote formulas spoken by Thoth during the construction of a temple. Given the idiom *ỉr sḫr*, "to have power (over)," *Glossar*, p. 452, there may be a word play between *sšr* (= *sḫr*) and *sḫm*, "to prevail (over)."

For *snsn*, "worship, praise" (*Wb.* 4, 171/15–16; not in *Glossar*), see the note on P. Louvre E 3452, 8/17, in M. Smith, *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*. See also the reference in Černý, *CED*, p. 156; Thompson examined the Book of Thoth papyrus B02; his "P. Berlin [Thoth] 2/3" quoted in Černý, *CED*, p. 156, seems to be our B02, 8/3. See also Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 868–69, where she observes that *snsỉ* is probably a "semi-reduplicated" form of *sn*, "to kiss, praise." The occurrence here may echo the *snn* of the previous line.

We cannot read confidently the word beginning *sỉ*; there may be a final consonant. We have rendered it as if *sỉw*, "to protect, guard," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 782, but it may be *sỉṯ*, for example, standing for *sỉ-tỉ*, "to adore," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 785.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 8 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 8/1 *iw=y (r) tw-ntr n=k ḫnt ḥ.t Ptḥ m ḫ‘ iy-m-ḥtp ‘nḫ Wsir-nḥ-nfr-ḥtp.*
L01.1, 5/3 *iw=y [.....]*
B04, 2/13 *[.....] ⌜m ḫ‘ iy-m-ḥtp ‘nḫ Wsir⌝-nfr-ḥtp [...]*

B02, 8/2 *iw=y (r) s‘nḫ. rn=k n-gs bḥ ‘nḫ iw=y (r) ntr bḥ=k ḥḥ.t bḥ ntry=f*
L01.1, 5/4 *iw=y [.....]*
B04, 2/14 *[.....] ‘nḫ iw=y nt bḥ=k ḫr ḥḥ.t by (?) [...]*

B02, 8/3 *ḥtp <ti> nswt n kḥ=k. ‘nḫ [ḫ]ḥy. snsn rn=k ‘nḫ snnwḥ*
L01.1, 5/5 *[.....]*
B04, 2/15 *[...] y..... snsn rn=k ‘nḫ s (?) [...]*

B02, 8/4 *mḥ n=k ‘nḫ. n ḫm n istn ḥs.ṯ ib n R‘ ti=f ⌜...=k⌝ (?).*
L01.1, 5/6 *mḥ (?) [.....]*
B04, 2/16 *[.....] ⌜ib n R‘ ti=f šsl=k⌝ [...]*

B02, 8/5 *tw=y ntr n=k srpy=y rn=k s‘q(=y) bḥ=k ḫr-ḥḥ.t ỉt=y*
L01.1, 5/7 *[.....]...*
B04, 2/16–17 *tw[.....] / [.....] ỉt=y*

B02, 8/6 *tw=y mtw=k n ‘‘mw sḥ tḥ ỉt.w ỉr n=y sbḥ=k ḥtty*
L01.1, 5/8 *tw[=y.....]*
B04, 2/17 *⌜tw=y⌝ mtw=k (n) ‘‘e mw [.....]* (B04.2, 17?) ...

B02, 8/7 *ḫq=k ṯ m twn tr.t pḥ ỉ-ỉr qmḥ=y ỉr=y ḫry nsṯ n nḥe=k mtry.wt*
B04, 2/18 *[...]...=k ṯy m twn tr.t pḥ ỉ-ỉ[r.....]* (B04.2, 18?) *mtry.[w=k*

B02, 8/8 *tw‘y my tỉ=w mn rn=y my ‘q=y ḫn nḥ sḥl.w*
B04, 2/19–20 *[... t]w‘y my tỉ=w mn rn=y ⌜m⌝[y ...]* (B04.2, 19?) *ḫ]n* / (B04) *[...]*

B02, 8/9 *my tỉ=w ṯ h wtn n nḥ bḥ.w ntr.w nḥ rḫ-iḫy.w mḥ pḥ wṯ*
B04, 2/20–21 *[...]..... n nḥ bḥ.w ntr.w ... [...]* (B04.2, 20).*w imw / [...]*

B02, 8/10 *sq=y n rḫ twtw=y r w‘ mnw. mtw=y ỉr w‘ ỉrm nḥ ḫr.w-rt*
B04, 2/21 *[...]..... w‘ mny mtw=y ỉr [.....]*

B02, 8/11 *ỉr=y pḥ r‘n tḥ-nswt. n tm rn=y ḫn pḥ kky iw=y ỉr ḥḥ ỉrm nḥ bḥ.w*
B04, 2/21–22 (B04.2, 21) *ỉr=y / [..... kk]y nt (?) iw=y ỉr ḥḥ ỉrm nḥ [...]*

B02, 8/12 *my wn=w n=y nḥ mtn.w [n] šm (r) pr-‘nḫ sš=y ṯ h ḫ.t=y. ‘nḫ [Š]ḥy.*
B04, 2/22–23 (B04.2, 22) *[...] wn=w / [..... pr-‘]nḫ ỉr=y ṯ ḫr ḫ.ṯ=y [.....]...*

B02, 8/13 *my wn=w n=y tḥ mỉ.t. n šm-ỉy my sr=y pḥ ḫḥ n nḥe=y t[bt.]w.*
B04.2, 3/1 *my wn[=w] n=y* (B04) *tḥ mỉ.t n š... šmy rt..... [.....]*

B02, 8/14 *tky=y (r) tḥ mr.t n Tḥ [n]b htnw. sny=y nḥ twḥ.w n ḫnṯ ḫr tnḫ.*
B04.2, 3/2 *tky [...]* (B04) *mr Tḥ ky ḏ nb htnw sny [.....]*

B02, 8/15 *tky=y n tm [rn pḥ] htp sỉy=f ỉ-ỉr gsgs pḥ tḥ m trty=f*
B04.2, 3/3 *tky=y [.....]* (B04)... *htp smy=f (?) ỉ-ỉr... [.....]*

B02, 8/16 *mḥḥ=y pḥ ‘‘n nt šbn n ḫf ỉ-ỉr wpy pḥ tḥ n nḥe=f ḫḫ-sy (?).*
B04.2, 3/3–4 *mḥḥ[=y] / ‘‘n [...* (B04)*...] šb (?) ḫf ỉ-ỉr wpy pḥ tḥ n nḥ[...]*

Translation

1. I will praise god for you, O foremost one of the temple of Ptah, // in the festival of *iy-m-ḥtp* before *Wsir-nḥ-nfr-ḥtp*.
2. I will cause your name to live beside the living *ba*. // I will divinize your *ba* before the *ba* of his divinity.
3. A *ḥtp* <*-ti-*> *nswt* to your *ka* at (your) [al]tar, // a worshiping your name before the sacred images.
4. Come you, O one who lives as the craftsman of *Isten*. // O praised one of the heart of Re, may he cause that you ⌜recite⌝.
5. May I praise god for you, // and may I cause that your name be eternally youthful. // (May I) cause your *ba* to enter before my father.
6. I am with you as an heir like a son of the land of the fathers. // May your teaching act as a nursemaid for me.
7. You have made me a ruler (?) through the raising of the hand ("for" or "of") the one who created me, // so that I may become an heir of your divine instructions.
8. O honored one! Let one cause that my name remain. // Let me enter among the nobles.
9. Let one place me on the bark of the divine *bas*. // The wise ones who are in the setting forth.
10. May I gather in (?) as a seer; // may I become like unto a monument (or "statue," "sign"), // and I become one with the assistants.
11. I have completed the action of the funerary offering through pronouncing my name in the darkness, while I fight with the *bas*.
12. May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life. // I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai (= Seshat).
13. May one open for me the path of going-and-coming. // Let me show the way to the hall with my own feet.
14. Let me hurry to (or "look to") the love of *Tḥ* (= Thoth), another version, [lor]d of the *Heden*-plant. // Let me hurry to the praises of the foremost one who is under (the) wing (of Thoth = Imhotep).
15. Let me hasten in proclaiming [the name of] him who is at the top of his brush (?), // he who has ordered the earth with his scribal palette.

16. I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, // he who has judged the earth with his scale (?).

Commentary

Line 1: The disciple recites a hymn of praise, probably to Imhotep. The festival of Imhotep is explicitly mentioned, one of the few firm temporal points in this composition. Similarly, a secure location is provided by appearance of the temple of Ptah.

B02: For *dwꜣ-ntr*, "praise god (for someone)," see *Glossar*, p. 613; *Wb.* 5, 427–428/1–4.

We translate *ḫnt* as the nisbe adjective, but it may be the simple preposition "before," *Glossar*, p. 363; *Wb.* 3, 303/10–304/5.

Ḥ.t Pṯḥ is probably the main temple of Ptah in Memphis, see te Velde, "Ptah," *LÄ* 4, col. 1177.

For the "festivals of Imhotep," which seem to be funereal in character, see Vittmann, "Bemerkungen zum Festkalender des Imhotep (Statuenbasis BM 512)," in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, vol. 2, pp. 947–61.

Palaeographically *ꜥnḫ* is better than *m-bꜣḥ*. *ꜥnḫ* is presumably an unorthographic writing of the preposition *ḫr*, "before," *Glossar*, p. 365. The author seems to play with the various meanings of *ꜥnḫ* in this column.

For Neferhotep, see Favard-Meeks, *Le Temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 373–74 (reference of John Darnell). She points out that this may be a divine child, but that it is also used of Osiris. Osiris Naneferhotep is a fairly well-attested form of Osiris. He appears in the Greek magical texts as Nephotes; see Betz (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 337, although that may be Khonsu-Neferhotep. See also Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 518–19; Collombert, "Hout-sekhem et le septième nome de Haute Égypte II: Les stèles tardives," *RdE* 48 (1997): 64–69. The deity occurs later (?) in the Book of Thoth as *Nꜣ.w-nfr-ḥtp pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ*, "Naneferhotep, the great god," in B07, 2, which may in fact be the actual beginning of the composition. In Edfu Khonsu-Thoth and Seshat are represented, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 92–93. Neferhotep is one of the most prominent of Khonsu's epithets, Brunner, *LÄ* 1, col. 961 ("Chons").

Line 2: The disciple continues in the first person, avowing to perform the cultural ritual (Opening of the Mouth ceremony?) on behalf of the *ba* of the deity. These statements are better suited to Imhotep than to Thoth.

B02: The idiom *sꜥnḫ rn*, "cause the name to live," is not in *Glossar*. The expression *sꜥnḫ rn* generally refers to putting the name of the deceased on a monument (*Wb.* 4, 47/2), "perpetuating the name," Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 214. Most of the activities mentioned here are funereal. That again suggests that this entire hymn may be mainly directed to Imhotep, and that only a few statements, if any, are made to Thoth. An echo of this mortuary background to the cult surrounding Imhotep survives in the Latin Hermetic text, *Asclepius*, wherein Hermes Trismegistus says to the disciple:

"They dedicated a temple to him (Imhotep) on the Libyan mountain near the shore of the crocodiles. There lies his material person - his body, in other words. The rest, or rather, the whole of him (if the whole person consists in consciousness of life) went back happier to heaven," Copenhaver, *Hermetica*, p. 90.

Significantly, perhaps, in view of the possible Edfu influence on the Book of Thoth, Imhotep appears on numerous Edfu temple scenes receiving offerings of incense from the king and giving benefactions in return, see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 141–48.

N-gs is probably to be equated with *r-gs*, "neben," *Wb.* 5, 194/11–195/25; "Seite," *Glossar*, p. 591.

Bꜣ ꜥnḫ is used here as a compound, "living *ba*," *Wb.* 1, 412/2–4; *bꜣ ꜥnḫ* can refer to gods as well; *Wb.* 1, 412/7 (*bꜣ ꜥnḫ n Wsir*).

We take the stroke beneath the group to be a part of *ꜥnḫ* and not, for example, *k*.

Nt-r is either *nḏ r*, "care for someone, watch over," *Wb.* 2, 371/22–372/3 (not in *Glossar*), or *ntr*, "to divinize (the deceased)," *Wb.* 2, 364/15. The statement "divinize your *bas* daily," occurs in M. Smith, *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, p. 30 (1/18), with discussion on p. 40.

Ntry=f is a possible reading at the end of this line, but the meaning is obscure; *Glossar*, p. 235, offers only *ntrj*, "göttlich." If the transliteration is correct, *nṯry*, "Heiligtum," *Wb.* 2, 365/1–2, might be suggested. However, there is an abundance of alternate renderings for *nṯry*: "cloth," "heart," "censer," "knife," "natron," "be pure," "sacred writings," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 558–60.

B04: In this version *ḫr ḫꜣ.t* is written for *ḫꜣ.t* in B02.

Line 3: The disciple vows to perform funerary offerings, and worship before the divine statue.

B02: *Ḥtp-ti-nswt*, the mortuary offering prayer, often for the *ka* of the deceased (*Wb.* 3, 186/15), is hardly attested in Demotic, and then in difficult and varied writings, *Glossar*, p. 339. *Tỉ* does not seem to be written, unless it be in much abbreviated form at the end of the compound (or *ỉw. s.*?).

Kꜣ, "*ka*," is uncommon in Demotic, see *Glossar*, pp. 555–56; Thissen, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber (eds.), *Kölner Ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 73–74.

The word following *ꜥnḫ* (= *ḫr*) is probably *ḫꜣy(.t)*, for old *ḫꜣw.t*, "altar," *Wb.* 3, 226/11–19 (not in *Glossar*). The damaged determinitive may be a Demotic version of the hieratic *ḥtp* sign, Möller, *HP* 2, number 552, and *HP* 3, number 552, comparing also *Glossar*, p. 340.

The syntax of the last clause is unclear; *snsn*, "praise," may be an infinitive.

As in B02, 8/1, *ꜥnḫ* would again be for the preposition *ḫr*, "before," comparing *Glossar*, p. 365.

There is word play between *snsn* and *snn*. *Snnꜣ*, "Bild," *Wb.* 3, 460/6–17, is also not in *Glossar*. *Snn* is used for both private and divine statues.

Line 4: The disciple invokes the deity.

B02: This line begins with an imperative and second person dative. *Mꜣ* is a variant of *ỉm*, "come!" *Glossar*, p. 30. This is followed by the dative. Perhaps Imhotep is addressed in the hope that he may help the student win the praise of Thoth.

ʿnḫ is clearly written as *ʿnḫ*, "oath, by," *Glossar*, p. 64. We render as a participle, comparing also *ʿnḫy*, "'der Lebende' als Beiname des Sonnengottes, des Horus, des Thoth," *Wb.* 1, 201/5–7.

The "servant of *Isten*" is probably Imhotep. For *ỉsdn*, *Wb.* 1, 134/9, see Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 201–04; Derchain-Urtel, "Ein ptolemäisches Schriftspiel," *GM* 11 (1974): 17–18. It is not otherwise found in Demotic. In the Rhind Papyrus, hieratic *ỉsdn* is often rendered simply as *Ḏḥwty* in the Demotic version, see Möller, *Rhind*, p. 73.

We have translated *ḥs.ṯ* as an invocation (stative; see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 239), and not as a *sḏm=f* followed by the first person dependent pronoun. On *ḥs*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 103.

For *ỉb Rʿ* as the epithet of Thoth, see Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 114; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 58.

The end of the line is quite uncertain in B02. However, *šsl* (actually *šsl.w*) may be read in B04. We identify this with *šsr*, "aussprechen," *Wb.* 4, 548/1–7, a verb much associated with Thoth.

Line 5: The disciple praises the name of the addressed deity, probably Imhotep. This line is also best understood within the context of the funerary rites of Imhotep, especially if "my father" be taken as a reference to Thoth.

B02: The verb may be future or prospective, "I will praise ... " The disciple reiterates the ideas already expressed in B02, 8/1–2, but instead of "causing the name to live" (*sʿnḫ*) as in B02, 8/2, he will cause it to be rejuvenated (*srnpy*). *Srnpy*, "to rejuvenate," often denotes cultic or mortuary activities: *Wb.* 4, 198/12–15, "allgemein: einen Gott oder den König [jung werden lassen] (auch mit dem Zusatz: von Neuen) beim Darbringen von Milch, Wasser, Dattelsaft, von Salbe und Kleidern." *Srnpy* (or *srpy*) is not in *Glossar*, but see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 104, on *rpy*, "with causative force" (the "limbs/bones of the deceased are rejuvenated.").

The disciple will cause that the *ba* "enter" before "my father." The father is, presumably, Thoth. This phrase may refer to a ritual procession, comparing *sʿq-ntr*, "Die Einführung des Gottes" (nach der Prozession)," *Wb.* 4, 56/8, and as festival, *Wb.* 4, 56/9. The verb is not in *Glossar*, but see again M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 64–65, discussing simple *ʿq*, with the causative force of *sʿq*.

"My father" probably refers to the god Thoth himself.

We understand *sʿq(=y)* but other grammatical interpretations are certainly possible.

Line 6: The disciple asserts his close relationship to the deity.

B02: *Mtw=k* is preferable to *ḫȝʿ*, "throw," or *bȝk*, "work." The slanting stroke is not found in the writings of *mtw=k* in *Glossar*, p. 187. The initial *tw=y*, here the first person present subject, may deliberately echo the *tw=y ntr* of the previous line.

We believe that the best primary meaning is *ʿʿ*, "heir," *Glossar*, p. 56, although there is also probably an allusion to *ʿʿe*, "sacred animal," *Glossar*, p. 56.

Mw is a writing of *mw*, "like, as," see *Glossar*, p. 154; M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 72 (on *m/ mỉ*) and 168.

Add. 13 *Sȝ*, "son," *Glossar*, p. 402, yields excellent sense in this context.

The curious expression *tȝ ỉt.w*, "land of the fathers," has occurred earlier in this text (e.g, B01, 1/11). We have no parallel to this phrase outside of the Book of Thoth. *Tȝ ỉt*, "land of the fathers," is possibly a euphemistic writing of *Twȝ.t*, the author having

wished to avoid clearer spellings of such a word in this composition. The "fathers" may mean "forefathers" or refer to the ancestral gods; see, for example, Book of the Dead Spell 168B, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 170; Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p. 147. *Tȝ ỉt* may even be a designation of Thoth himself, but we have no other example of such a writing or epithet. See also the note on B02, 9/9.

The *sbȝ*, "teaching," is a word play on the *bȝ* of the previous line, B02, 8/5.

ȝtty, identical with *ȝty.t*, "Kinderwärterin," *Wb.* 1, 23/10, is not in *Glossar*. There is a sound play between *ȝtty* and *tȝ ỉt.w*.

Line 7: This line parallels the previous one (note the balancing *sbȝ* of line 6 and *mtry.w*). The disciple emphasizes that he is the rightful heir of his teacher.

B02: The reading of the initial verb is not certain. *Ḥq* seems to be a causative form of *ḥqȝ*, "beherrschen," *Wb.* 3, 170/6–21, i.e. identical with *sḥqȝ*, "zum Herrscher einsetzen," *Wb.* 4, 221/4–6. The determinative would be borrowed from *ḥq*, "erbeuten," *Glossar*, p. 333. This is preferable to *ḥkȝ*, "jemanden bezauben," *Wb.* 3, 177/7–9. Hughes denies the existence of the one possible example of Demotic verbal *ḥkȝ*, "to bewitch," "Blunders of an Inept Scribe," in Kadish and Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams*, p. 64. On *ḥkȝ*, see further Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 14–28.

ṯ is the first person dependent pronoun.

M twn is probably the preposition *m* followed by the infinitive or participle of *twn*, "aufstehen," *Glossar*, pp. 614–15, with *tr.t* as the object. The particle *mtwn*, "indeed," that is, *m twn*, "wahrlich," *Glossar*, p. 615, is another alternative interpretation.

Qmȝ=y is preferable to *qmȝ sw*, "sein Erzeuger," *Wb.* 5, 34/18–19.

We read *ḫry nsṯ*, "one who is upon the seat" (= heir), but note that *ns.t* is feminine. For *ḫry ns.t*, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 547. For this epithet in association with Thoth, Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 73.

Mtry seems to have the divine determinative. For the pharaoh as the "heir of Thoth" at Edfu, see Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 20.

B04: Unfortunately, little can be seen of the determinative of the initial verb; it is perhaps the "falling soldier" (Gardiner Z6).

Mtry.w=k, with the divine determinative, appears to be written here instead of *nȝe=k mtry.w*.

Line 8: The disciple requests that his name "remain," and that he be admitted to the "nobles."

B02: We identify *twʿy* with ΤΑΘΙΟ, "ehren," *KHWB*, p. 224; *Glossar*, p. 53 (*tỉ ʿȝ*), and translate as a vocative.

Sȝl.w is probably not "prophets" here, but "nobles, magistrates," *Glossar*, p. 441. The determinative may be the "mummy." *Sr.w* is well known in mortuary contexts, especially if one adopts Quack's reading for the group hitherto understood as *qnb.ty*, "Zur Lesung des Wortes für 'Beamtenschaft,'" *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 193–96.

Line 9: The disciple wishes to be placed among the crew of the solar bark, described as the "wise ones."

B02: *H* is for *ḥr*; compare *ỉh*, *Glossar*, p. 320.

The probable assonance with *wṯ* at the end of the line, speaks for *wtn*, "Götterbarke," *Glossar*, p. 106, versus *wšy*, on which see Hoffmann, "Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für 'Götterbarke,'" *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 39–51.

Both *bꜣ.w* and *ntr.w* are written.

Mꜣ has the walking-legs determinative, but B04 strongly suggests that the nisbe *ỉmy.w* is intended. The scribe of B02 writes *mꜣ*, "come," or perhaps *mꜣ* for *mꜣꜥ*, "to make correct, lead," *Wb.* 2, 22/1–23/6.

Wṯ is probably *wt*, "fortschicken, entlassen," *Glossar*, p. 103. Less likely are other verbs (employed as verbal nouns), such as *wd*, "push off from land," or *wḏỉ*, "act as pilot," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, pp. 212–13.

B04: It is difficult to discern what follows *bꜣ.w*; perhaps the papyrus determinative. *Ntr.w* precedes the lacuna.

Line 10: In this obscure line the disciple expresses the desire to act as a "seer" or "wise one," ultimately joining forces with the "assistants," most likely of Thoth or Imhotep.

B02: *Sq* is preferable to *ḥq* at the beginning of the line. *Sq* would be "zusammenfügen, sammeln," *Glossar*, p. 466. *Sq=y* and *twtw=y* may be parallel *sḏm=f* forms. Also possible are parallel imperative forms: "Collect me as a wise one; gather me to be a statue!" The use of the suffix pronouns as the object of imperatives is permissible, if we understand the forms to be infinitives. *Sq* could possibly be old *sqr*, "to strike," used of presenting offerings, *Wb.* 4, 307/8–9, but one expects an object.

Twtw is either *twtw*, "sammeln" (compare *sq*), *Glossar*, pp. 616–17, or *twt*, "gleich sein," *Wb.* 5, 256–257/18 (not in *Glossar*). The author is indeed probably playing on the various meanings of *twtw*, including, "dauern," *Glossar*, p. 617 ("May I endure as a monument"); *twtw*, "image," and *mn*, "Götterbild," *Glossar*, p. 158.

The *ḫry-rt* are presumably assistants of Thoth or Imhotep.

Line 11: The disciple asserts his performance of the proper ritual (?), while fighting with the *bas* in their underworld (?) struggle.

B02: *Rꜥ* is the best reading of the object of *ỉr*, *Glossar*, p. 242. This may be *rꜣ-ꜥ*, "das Ende von etw.," *Wb.* 2, 394/1–8; *rꜣ-ꜥ*, "als Präfix in Zusammensetzungen; Zustand," *Wb.* 2, 394/11–395/5; *rꜣ-ꜥ*, "Tätigkeit," *Wb.* 2, 395/12–396/4.

While *qmꜣ*, "schaffen, Schöpfung," *Glossar*, p. 537, is possible, we propose *tꜣ-nswt* for *ḥtp-tỉ-nswt* (compare B02, 8/3).

Tm, "nennen," *Glossar*, p. 632, is either an infinitive after *n/m*, "(through) pronouncing," or a participle, "(as) one who calls my name." It is curious here that the speaker refers to pronouncing or proclaiming "**my** name in darkness," that is, his own name. One might expect the student to repeat rather the name of the god in such a dangerous time, *kky* being the fearful darkness of the underworld. In the next phrase, the speaker himself undertakes to do battle with "evil" souls, that is, the enemies of the sun-god. (or understand "fight together with the souls"?) He is therefore perhaps already equating himself with Thoth, Re, or one of the other divine members of the solar bark.

If *qmꜣ* rather than *tꜣ* is correct or, at least, an influence on the writing, then one thinks of the association of the recitation of the *qmꜣ-Rꜥ*, "creations of Re," and darkness in the famous passage in Insinger (31/9–33/5), which contains a hymn to the sun-god to be recited when one is "in fear without blame," Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, pp. 210–11.

ꜣḥ is "kämpfen," *Glossar*, p. 8. The expression "fight with the *bas*," found elsewhere in the composition, may mean here "fight on the side of the *bas*." Statements about the conflict in the afterworld abound: "And as for 'THAT NIGHT OF BATTLE,' it means that they forced their way into the east of the sky. Then a battle ensued in the sky and in the whole earth," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 30, and "The day when the enemies of the Lord of the Universe were annihilated and his Son Horus was caused to reign," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 27. In P. Salt 825: "The books that are in it (scil. the House of Life) are the souls of Re, wherewith to keep alive this god and to overthrow his enemies," after Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 168.

There seems to be a sign below *bꜣ.w* at the end of the line.

Line 12: The disciple now speaks of journeying to the House of Life, where he will make his obeisance before a goddess, probably Seshat. This line is closely paired with the following. The last words of the remaining lines in this column of B02 are puns on parts of the body.

B02: Here we have another clear reference to the House of Life. The author offers word plays on *šm* and *šỉy*.

Mtn, "road," *Wb.* 2, 176/1–7, is not in *Glossar*.

Sš is "to spread," *Wb.* 3, 482/16–483/1 (not in *Glossar*). Compare *šm=f* in B02, 9/15, for the odd shape of the *s*.

H is used for *ḥr*, this being confirmed by the B04 version.

M-bꜣḥ is not possible towards the end of the line; perhaps again *ꜥnḫ* is the preposition *ḫr*.

Šỉy is not "Fate" (a masculine noun) here, but rather *šꜣꜥt* or *šꜣt*, an epithet of the goddess Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988; compare B02, 8/3. There is probably a pun between the name of Seshat, *Sšꜣt*, and the verb, *sš*. There is also paronomasia between *Šỉy* and *šy*, "nose," *Glossar*, p. 484.

B04: This version has *ỉr=y* for the *šš=y* of B02.

There seem to be traces of Demotic after the lacuna and between the guide-lines.

Line 13: The disciple wishes access to the sacred paths and localities.

B02: *Mỉ.t* is "path," *Glossar*, p. 152. The determinatives may be the flesh and house signs. This is an interesting parallel to the rather archaic word of the same meaning, *mtn*, in the previous line.

Of course, *šm-ỉy* was pronounced ϣⲉⲓ, providing a connection with the *Šỉy* in the preceding line, which is ϣⲁⲓ in Coptic.

Sr is a "Verbum mit Objekt des Ortes," *Wb.* 4, 190/20–23; "show the way," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 883; *sr tꜣ mỉ.t*, "den Weg ansagen," in Rhind II5 d, *Glossar*, p. 441.

Ḥꜣ is probably *ḫꜣ*, "Halle," *Wb.* 3, 221/18–222/4. There is a possible word play with *šm-ỉy*. This term is no longer found in Demotic, although it still exists in Abnormal Hieratic, Vleeming, "Sale of a Slave," *OMRO* 61 (1980): 15. Compare also *ḫꜣ*, "path," discussed by Derchain, "De l'éloquence judiciaire," *CdE* 54 (1999): 37. The *ḫꜣ* parallels

*pr-ʿnḫ. Ḥ*ꜣ and *pr-ʿnḫ* are also associated in the inscription of Wedjahorresnet, Posener, *La Première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 23.

We suggest *tbt* for the damaged final word. This offers several possibilities. *Tbt* is "rite, ceremony," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 84–85. The determinative is borrowed from *tbt*, "Fisch," *Glossar*, p. 625. The intended meaning is perhaps "my (own) two feet, sandals," from older *ṯb.t*, "Sohle, Sandale," *Wb.* 5, 361/2–363/3; *tbṯy*, "feet," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 183. As in the previous line, this sentence concludes with a reference to a part of the body.

B04: The damaged signs following *mi.t* are obscure. *Šmy*, for *šm-iy*, is plausible, but the group before it is uncertain.

The last word before the break resembles *rt*, "foot, leg," *Glossar*, p. 258.

Line 14: The disciple wishes to approach and receive the love of the god, and sing his praises.

B02: *Tky* is probably a form of *tkr*, "sich beeilen," *Glossar*, p. 660. In view of the probable eye-determinative, *dg*, "sehen, blicken, erblicken," *Wb.* 5, 497, is another possibility (not in *Glossar*). Since the previous sentences seem to deal with movement, "to hasten" is attractive, but the final sentence of B02, 8/16, clearly has to do with "seeing." This ambiguity is presumably a deliberate choice of the author.

Mr.t may be an example of assonance with the *mi.t* of the previous line.

The group in B02 following *mr.t n* is similar to that in B02, 8/11. We suggest *T*ꜣ, and take it to be the attested writing of "Thoth" in *Wb.* 5, 606. The scribe seems to have had two variants before him.

Sny is "vorbeigehen," *Glossar*, p. 437, noting also the meaning "to hurry (to)," *Wb.* 3, 456/15–457/1.

The translation of *twꜣ.w* as "praises," *Glossar*, p. 613, is not certain.

For *tnḥ*, "wing," see *Glossar*, p. 640. The epithet is apparently: "the foremost one who possesses wings." For the image, see Roeder, "Auf den Flügeln des Thot," in Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift Gundlach*, pp. 232–52. Again, the line concludes with a body-part.

B04: *T*ꜣ is a reasonable transliteration of the group after *mr*.

Line 15: The disciple lauds Thoth and his capacity for order, achieved through writing.

B02: For *tky*, see the note on the previous line.

Tm, "nennen," *Glossar*, p. 632, is possible, but the traces do not fit the expected man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. *Tmt*, a variant of *tm*, is a plausible alternative, *Glossar*, p. 634.

We take *htp* as a spelling of *ḥry-tp*, which can be written *ḥtp*, *Glossar*, p. 322. Naturally, also possible is *htp* (= *ḥtp*), "Fall, Untergang," *Glossar*, p. 341.

The meaning of *sỉy* is obscure; this may be *sj*, "satt werden," *Glossar*, p. 407. *Sỉ*ꜣ, "to perceive," *Wb.* 4, 30/1–21, does not appear to occur in Demotic. In our translation we use the *smy* of B04.

The final clause is a past participle construction,

Gsgs is perhaps *gsgs*, "ordnen, regeln," *Wb.* 5, 207/1–7; see Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 121. One finds elsewhere a play on words between *gsgs tꜣ* and *gst*, "palette," Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 224. See further Iversen, *Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, p. 19.

Trty may be a variant of *tr.t*, "hand." Although this seems unlikely, the author is continuing his stylistic device of concluding with terms for parts for the body. Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1244, offers *tr.t*, "hand," as an expression for *tr.ty*, "palette."

B04: *Smy*, "Kraut," *Glossar*, p. 430, is written in B04. There are several *sm* words which come into question, e.g., "image," "offering-table," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 838. We have rendered as "brush," but this is little more than a guess.

Line 16: The disciple claims to have seen Thoth at work in the underworld, and praises the god for bringing justice to the world.

B02: This sentence represents a climax of the composition. The disciple declares that he has witnessed (or possibly wishes to witness) Thoth performing his most important action of defeating Apophis.

Mꜣꜣ=y may also be a prospective form.

Šbn is probably *ḫbn*, "(den Verbrecher) bestrafen," in *Wb.* 3, 254/3 (not in *Glossar*).

Ḥf, is *ḫf*, "die Schlange," *Glossar*, p. 303. The *n* which precedes this object indicates that it is a present form. For snakes in the Book of the Dead, compare Spells 33 and 39, see Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 44 and 46, where snakes are discussed, and equated with Apophis. In the middle register of the 12th hour there is a 1,300 cubit snake called "life of the gods," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 39.

We understand the last clause to parallel the previous line, and to be grammatically a past participle form.

Wpy is "trennen, öffnen, richten," *Glossar*, pp. 86–87.

We had first transliterated *iḫ-sy*, a compound of *ỉḫ*, "be effective, efficacious," and *sy*, "insight, book of insight." We now believe that *ḥḥ-sy*, is the best reading, and suggest that it is a variant of *ḫḫ*, "to weigh," i.e., a "scale," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 748. *Sy* is perhaps a pronoun object of *ḫḫ*, used in a nominal construction. The evident association with "throat," *Glossar*, p. 396, continues the author's listing of body-parts.

The reference is to Thoth's defeat of Apophis by means of *hike*, cf. Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 60. See also Quack, "Die Pavianshaar und die Taten des Thot," *SAK* 23 (1996): 318–19, with interesting remarks on the identification of the "Lake of Fire" with "Hermopolis," as well as the aid given to Re against his enemies by the magically adept Thoth.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 9 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 9/1 *pry=y tȝ ȝbȝ.t n ḥm ȝstn ỉr=y šš‹ nȝ ỉtn.w n Ḏḥwty*
B04.2, 3/5 *[…]=y tȝ ȝb[…(B04)ḥ]m ỉstn ỉr=y šš nȝ ỉtn.w [Ḏḥwty]*

B02, 9/2 *ʿq=y ỉm=s (ʔ) n btȝ.t ḥb.w mw gy=w ms=y tȝ s.t … […….]*
B04, 3/5–6 *ʿq=y ỉm=s* / (B04.2) *[…] bt[…] ḥ[b* (B04) *m]w gy=w ms=y r tȝ s.t n nȝ ḥm.w ⌜Ḏḥwty⌝*

B02, 9/3 *mȝȝ=y gby grp ṯ … r s ỉft tȝ n … […]*
B04, 3/6–7 *mȝȝ=y tȝ g[b]y / […* (B04.2) *g]lp […]* (B04) *…=s ỉft tȝ r ʿȝ=f*

B02, 9/4 *wtb ṯ ḥy Ḥʿpy gsgs ṯ m-ḫnt=s nȝ ỉtn.w ⌜iȝw⌝ … ḫnmṯ (ʔ)…*
B04, 3/7–8 *wtb ṯ ḥ Ḥʿpy gsgs / […]* (B04.2) *m-ḫnt=s nȝ ỉ[tnw …* (B04)*] … ḫnmty=sn*

B02, 9/5 *ḏ n=y ḥȝt=y stȝ=k r-r=s tȝ ʿ-kky r rḫ ḏr=s*
B04, 3/8–9 *ḏ n=y ḥȝṯ=y stȝ=k r-r=s tȝ ʿ.t* / (B04.2) *-kky […* (B04) *…] ḏl=s*

B02, 9/6 *mtw=y šm ỉr ỉȝw m-bȝḥ pȝ nb htnw sn-tȝ n Šȝy*
B04, 3/9–10 *mtw=y šy ỉr ỉȝw m-bȝḥ pȝy nb htn sn-tȝ* / (B04.2) *n Šʿy […]*

B02, 9/7 *mtw=y twn tr.ṯ=y n pȝ wr wr wr ʿ. w. s. ḫknw pȝ ḥb ḥbl šty*
B04, 3/10 *[mtw=y] twn tr.ṯ=y n pȝ wr wr.w ḫgn n pȝ ḥb ḥbḥb šty*
L01.2, 6/1 *[……] pȝ wr wr.w […….]*

B02, 9/8 *mtw=y ḫf=f n pȝ ʿrkȝ wr pḥ.t sȝ-tȝ n=f(n) slȝ ḫnt ⌜Ḥsr.t⌝*
B04.2, 3/11 *mtw=y ⌜ḫf⌝ […* (B04) *…]ȝ wr pḥ.t … š … tȝ … slȝ ḫnt Ḥs-rḫ*
L01.2, 6/2 *[……]lgȝ wr p[ḥ.t ……. …]*

B04, 3/11–12 *mtw=y* / (B04.2) *[…] …* (B04) *fy pȝy sḫ … nȝ rḫ.w* **No parallel in other texts**
L01.2, 6/3 *[…] … f … nb ȝl[.w (ʔ)……]* **No parallel in other texts**

B02, 9/9 *mtw=y ḫb rmn ḫr sḫ pȝ ntr ʿȝ nȝy pȝ s-n šbs nw tȝ ỉt*
B04, 3/12–13 *mtw=y ḫb* / *[*(B04.2) *…* (B04) *…] nȝy pȝ s-n šbs nw tȝ ỉt*
L01.2, 6/4 *[…… rm]n ḫr sḫ pȝ ntr […….]*

B02, 9/10 *my šm=y ḫn=s tȝ ʿnt š ḏ mtw=k tỉ gm=y pȝ gy n nȝ nt m-ḫnṯ=s*
B04, 3/13–14 *my šm=y ⌜ḫn=s⌝* / (B04.2) *[…] … mtw=k tỉ (ʔ) …* (B04) *gy n nȝ nt m-ḫnṯ=s*
L01.2, 6/5 *[……] … n tȝ ʿnt šʿ […….]*

B02, 9/11 *mȝȝ=y wȝy ḥnʿ nḏs ḫr-rt ḥmt rȝ=w ȝm=sn*
B04, 3/14–15 *mȝȝ=y wr.w … /* (B04.2) *[…] ʾrt s … y rmt.w (ʔ)* (B04) *ỉmw=sn*
L01.2, 6/6 *[……] nḏs.w ḫr-ʿh sgr […….]*

B02, 9/12 *mȝȝ=y ʿ-kky ʿq.ṯ m ḫbr=s tȝ (ʔ) ʿʿe.t ȝkry.t n tȝ ȝkyr.t*
B04, 3/15–16 *mȝȝ=y ʿ-kȝky ỉp … /* (B04.2)*[…] ʿ.t ȝkly nȝ* (B04) *[ȝk]yr.w*
L01.2, 6/7 *[……] kky ⌜ʿq⌝.ṯ m ḫb[r …….]*

B02, 9/13 *ḏ n=y ḥȝt=y snsn m-ḫt=s (ʔ) tȝ ȝkr.t nt ḫn ʿȝkyr.t*
B04, 3/16–17 *ḏ n=y ḥȝt=y snsn* / (B04.2) *[…] ȝkl.t nt ḫn ʿ.t* (B04)*-kky*
L01.2, 6/8 *[… ḥȝ]t=y snsn m … […….]*

B02, 9/14 *ỉnḥȝ=y n ḥm=f r qy n ḫrw=y srk=y ỉmy.t (r) mḥ wtnw n Rʿ*
B04, 3/17–18 *[i]ḫn=y n ḥm=f qy ḫrw=y* / (B04.2) *slk=y … mḥ wtny n Rʿ*
L01.2, 6/9 *[……] ḥm=f qy ḫrw=y slg […….]*

B02, 9/15 *tw=y n šȝm=f n ḫr-rt kk ḏ=y m tm=f(ʔ) sw (ʔ)*
B04.2, 3/18–19 *twy[…* (B04) *]=y šȝm=f ḫr-rt (ʔ) […] ḏ n=y ỉb ntb … / […] …*
L01.2, 6/10 *[……] šȝm=f ḫr-rt gw (ʔ) […….]*

B02, 9/16 *sḫqr=y ṯ n-ỉm=w nȝe=y (ʔ) ḫqr.w ỉr=y ȝḥ [ḫ]n tȝ ʿ-kk*
B04.2, 3/19 *my (ʔ) sḫqr=y ṯy n-ỉm=w n nȝe=y* (B04) *ḫqr.w ỉr=y [ȝḥ] ḫn tȝ ʿ-kky*
L01.2, 6/11 *[……] n-ỉm=w nȝy ḫql.w ỉ-ỉr […….]*

B02, 9/17 *mḥ=y n tȝ nyšy.t n šȝy wbȝy.t ȝmn nȝ nt m ḏtm=sn*
B04.2, 3/20 *mḥ=y n tȝ nyšy šʿ[* (B04) *…] … […] nȝ nt m ḏtm=sn*
L01.2, 6/12 *[……]yšy n šʿy wb[……]*

Translation

1. May I see the darkness as a servant of *Isten*, // that I may make a glorification of the secrets of Thoth.
2. May I enter therein, namely, the character (?) of all the ibises, // that I betake myself (or "offer") to the place of the servants of ⌜Thoth.⌝
3. May I see heaven, reveals me … and the four (corners) of the earth to its length.
4. May the Nile flood turn me back. // There flow over me, from them, namely, the secrets and ⌜praise⌝ (?) … their nurses ("sources"?).
5. My heart said to me: "Return to it, namely, the Chamber of Darkness, so as to learn its boundary (?)!
6. And I shall go to make praise before the lord of the *Heden*-plant, // and kiss the earth for Shai (= Seshat).
7. And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one, // and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.
8. And I shall worship him as the one who understands the great of strength, // (and) adore him (as) the one who announces the Foremost one of ⌜*Heseret*⌝ (Thoth).

B04, 3/11–12. And I / [...] ... bring (?) this writing ... the wise ones. **No parallel in other texts.**

L01.2, 6/3. [...] ... lord of reeds (?) [...] **No parallel in other texts.**

9. And I shall bow the shoulder under the papyrus roll of the great god, // and go (as) the possessor of the wealth of the land of the father.
10. Let me go into it, namely, the chamber which is without singing, // and you should cause that I discover the form of the ones who are in it.
11. May I see the great and the small (ones), // the apprentices who shut their mouths among them.
12. May I see the Chamber of Darkness, entering into the form of it, // namely, the (?) excellent limb of the underworld (?).
13. My heart said to me: "Associate with her, // namely, the excellent one who is in the room of *ỉkr.t*."
14. May I take hold of his majesty while my voice is loud. // May I open the fist (so as to) take hold of the bark of Re.
15. May I praise in his entourage (or "his sacred image," "leadership") beneath (?) darkness. // May I recite in his company the Book of Stars (?). (B04 variant: "My heart said to me ... ")
16. May I arm myself with them, my weapons, that I may fight in the Chamber of Darkness.
17. May I take hold of the *nšy.t*-bark of Shai, // which opens the going (?) (for) the ones who are in their heaps.

Commentary

Line 1: The disciple wishes to emerge from the depths of Duat, at it were. In the previous lines he has been immersed in the underworld darkness (*kky*) witnessing the actions of Thoth.

B02: While *pry*, "to go out," *Glossar*, pp. 134–35, is possible, given the *ʿq* of the next line, the author may intend *pry*, old *ptr*, "to see, look," *Glossar*, p. 136, "träumen"; *Wb.* 1, 564/1–19, "sehen," where it is considered a synonym of *mỉỉ*. Of course, he may have had in mind both meanings. Significantly, the previous sentences begin with verbs of seeing or movement. On the juxtaposition of *ʿq* and *pr*, see Herbin, *Parcourir*, p. 133.

ỉbỉỉ.t is *ỉb.t*, "eclipse," *Glossar*, p. 3. *KHWB*, p. 32, derives Coptic ⲉⲃⲏ, "Verfinsterung, Entrückung, Verwirrung," from *bỉỉ.t*, *Wb.* 1, 440/3, "das Erstaunen." On the word, see Parker, *Lunar-Omina*, p. 55; M. Smith, "Did Psammetichus I die abroad?" *OLP* 22 (1991): 106. This *ỉbỉỉ.t* is equivalent to the more common *kky*, "darkness," in B02, 8/11. Upon his return from the darkness the disciple will praise the "secrets" of Thoth. *Bỉỉ* can be associated with the defeat of Apophis, and seems to be connected with "light," or "opening the darkness" (*wbỉ kky*), which may denote the ability to see in the darkness, Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bỉỉ*, p. 57. One might also compare *ỉỉb.t*, "Left-eye," i.e., "moon," *Wb.* 1, 30/12; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 47. Bleeker posits an association between Thoth and an eclipse of the sun, *Hathor and Thoth*, p. 121. The previous column mentions Osiris-Neferhotep, and one wonders whether there is not a relationship here between Khonsu-Neferhotep and Khonsu-Thoth, a moon deity, see Kessler, "Monkeys and Baboons," in Redford (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 430.

Ḥm is possible, *Glossar*, p. 304, but the form differs from the writings there.

Isten is a well-attested epithet of Thoth; Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 201–04. It is not otherwise found in Demotic. In the Rhind Papyrus, hieratic *ỉsdn* is often rendered simply as *Ḏḥwty* in Demotic, Möller, *Rhind*, p. 73*. On *Isten*-Thoth and the moon, see von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, pp. 126–27 (with further references).

For *šsỉ*, "to praise," see *Glossar*, p. 492. Compare also ⲯⲱⲯ, "to make level" (= "explain"?), *KHWB*, p. 337. There may be an allusion here to *šs*, *Glossar*, p. 522, "ausbreiten," with a soundplay on the *ḫḫ*, "throat," of the previous line. Note further *sšỉ*, "to extoll," as a magical term, Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 48.

For *ỉtn*, "secret," see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 98; cf. "(you) who can interpret the mysteries (*ỉtn.w*) of the Emanations of Re," Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 1938): 173. There is intentional alliteration between *ỉstn* and *ỉtn*. *ỉtn*, "disk," can be used in the Late Period for the Moon, and Thoth is the god of the moon; see also *Wb.* 1, 145/8. Of course, *ỉtn* is the sun-disk as well, *Glossary*, p. 47, while Thoth acts as the *ỉdnw*, "Vertreter" (of Re), *Wb.* 1, 154/6–9.

Line 2: The disciple desires knowledge of the sacred ibises, and wishes to journey to their dwelling-place.

B02: For *ʿq m*, "enter into," see Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 116.

ỉm=s is a variant of the *ỉm=s* of B04. However, the last part of the word is unclear.

Btỉ.t is ambiguous; it is possibly a variant of *bỉỉ.t*, "Charakter," *Wb.* 1, 441/14–19 (not in *Glossar*; see Quack, "Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters," *ZÄS* 123 [1996]: 62–69). It may also be a feminine derivative of *bt*, "light," *Wb.* 1, 487/9–10; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 338–39, while *bỉỉ* "sky," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 306, should also be considered. The entire passage has an astronomical background.

Despite these lexicographic problems, it seems evident enough that the disciple wishes to learn the character or forms (*gy*) of the sacred ibises; compare: L01.5, 10/15: *tỉe=w btỉ.w nỉe=w ḫbl.w* and F01.1, 8 *tỉ bty hb*. *Mw* is old *mỉ*, *Glossar*, p. 154.

Ms is *ms*, "herbeibringen," *Wb.* 2, 135/7–21; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 458–59 (not in *Glossar*). This may be the intransitive use, "betake oneself," *Wb.* 2, 135/21. There is alliteration between *ỉm=s* and *ms*. For *ms*, cf. also B02, 7/10.

B04: "Servants of Thoth" echoes the "servant of *Isten*," in B02, 9/1.

Line 3: This line presents problems of decipherment. We move to a more cosmic level, in which the student wishes to see, or claims to have seen, the heaven, and the four supports of the earth.

B02: The word for "heaven," *gb.t* (*Wb.* 5, 162/10–14), is typically Greek Period; *Glossar*, p. 579 (*gp.t*, "Wolke"). We seem to be dealing with a "revelation," given the *grp*, "to reveal," following *gby*, "heaven."

Glp is "reveal," *Glossar*, p. 589. The *ṯ* may be the stative ending rather than the dependent pronoun.

We cannot transliterate the signs following *grp ṯ*. Read perhaps *ngs*.

For *ỉft*, "Viereck," see *Glossar*, p. 29.

B04: *R ꜥ=f* is *r ỉw=f*, "entirely," *Wb.* 1, 4/12 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 4: The author desires that he be brought back (to Egypt) by means of the Nile flood. The image may be one of a return from the underworld via the Nile sources (e.g., the two caves in Elephantine).

B02: *Wtḥ* is *wḏḥ*, "umwenden, Gr. von der Überschwemmung, die sich den Ackern zuwendet," *Wb.* 1, 408/6; *Glossar*, p. 106; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 289–90. On the connection between Thoth and the inundation, see Vos, "Thoth," in van der Toorn, Becking, and van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Old Testament*, p. 862; this association is doubted in Kurth, *LÄ* 6, col. 508 ("Thot").

Ḥwy.t is the term for the Nile flood, *Wb.* 3, 48/16, and 49/4; compare *ḥwy*, "Regen," *Glossar*, p. 295. Read perhaps merely *ḥyw.w*.

Gsgs is probably *gsgs*, "überlaufen," *Wb.* 5, 207/8–9, although note also *gsgs*, "ordnen, regeln," *Wb.* 5, 207/1–7 (found in B02, 8/15). For *gsgs*, see Caminos, *Tale of Woe*, p. 55, in the phrase *m gsgs*, "with a rush, rushing forth, overflowing." We take the *ṯ* after *gsgs* as the dependent pronoun, but it may be the stative ending (modifying *ḥy* = *ḥwy.t*).

M-ḫnt, "to come from something," *Wb.* 3, 302/13–14. *S* refers back to the heaven or to the feminine *ḥy* = *ḥwy.t*.

The meaning of *ỉtn.w* is difficult. It is probably *ỉtn*, "secrets" (which appears in B02, 9/1), but one naturally thinks also of *ỉtn*, "Erdboden," *Glossary*, p. 47. It may be the subject of the sentence beginning with *gsgs*, despite the interjected object *ṯ* (?) and prepositional phrase (*m-ḫnt=s*).

Ḫnmṯ is presumably *ḫnm.ty*, "nurse," *Wb.* 3, 294/2–3. This word also occurs in B04, 7/5. There is probably a deliberate allusion here to *ḫnm.t*, "well, source."

Line 5: This is the first time that the disciple takes counsel with his heart. The heart encourages the student to meet the initimidating challenge of entering the "Chamber of Darkness," despite the hardships and dangers which this may entail.

B02: *Sṯꜣ* is possible, although there is no identical writing in *Glossar*, p. 474.

ꜥ.t is "Kammer, Raum," *Glossar*, p. 51; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 185.

The reading *ḏr* is problematic, especially since the usual writings of *tr*, "boundary," are quite different in Demotic, *Glossar*, pp. 641–42. One might compare the statement in the Tomb of Paheri: "I reckoned the limits in the books," Lichtheim, *AEL* 2, p. 19 (*ỉw ḥsb.n=ỉ ḏr.w m sš.w*).

Line 6: The disciple vows to worship Thoth and, probably, Seshat, the goddess of writing.

B02: The walking-legs (or) *ꜣ* sign used for "receipt," and generally read *ỉw* is employed here for *ỉꜣw*, "praise," *Glossar*, p. 2. On this sign, see Zauzich, "Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden I," *Enchoria* 1 (1971): 35–36; on *ỉw*, "receipt" as a writing for *ỉꜣw*, "praise," see M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 131. *R* ("to") may be understood before both *ỉr ỉꜣw* and *sn-tꜣ*.

For *sn-tꜣ*, "kiss," see *Glossar*, p. 435.

For *šꜥ.t* as an epithet of Seshat, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988. There is assonance between *šm* (= *šy*) and *Šꜣy*.

B04: The sign is slightly damaged, but *pꜣy*, "this" (i.e., "this lord"), is preferable to *pꜣ*.

Line 7: The disciple continues to relate his veneration of Thoth, "who tramples the turtle."

B02: The conjunctive confirms the futurity of the actions.

Twn is *twn*, "aufstehen," *Glossar*, pp. 614–15; *dwn*, "ausstrecken," especially "die Arme, die Hand ausstrecken," *Wb.* 5, 431/6.

On the epithets of Thoth, see Ray, *Hor*, pp. 158–61. Mark Smith has read *Ḏḥwty* in place of *Ḥꜥpy* following "the thrice-great god" (*pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ*) in Mythus 21/32, see *LÄ* 5, col. 1086 ("Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythus vom"); see also Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, p. 198. To our knowledge, this particular sequence is not otherwise attested. Perhaps read *ꜥw.s.* (or *y* for three times the reed-leaf?) after the final *wr*.

Ḥkn is "to praise, jubilate," *Wb.* 3, 178/2–179/3, or the noun form, *ḥkn*, "praise," *Wb.* 3, 179/6–19 (not in *Glossar*).

Hbl is *hbr*, "mishandeln, demütigen," *Glossar*, p. 273. There is an obvious assonance between *hb* and *hbl*. Interesting is the variant *hbhb* in B04. On *hbl*, see Quack, "Korrekturvorschläge," *Enchoria* 21 (1994): 70–71.

Šty is written as *šdj*, "lesen," *Wb.* 4, 563–564/16, although this precise meaning is indeed not found in *Glossar*, p. 528 ("nehmen," with man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative). Intended, however, is *štw*, "die Schildkröte," *Wb.* 4, 557/1–5 (not in *Glossar*); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1034. It has the snake determinative. Here Thoth, and not Horus, is represented as destroying the turtle, symbolic of Seth and Apophis; compare Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 43.

B04: This version displays several variants. Instead of *wr wr wr*, it offers, together with L01, *pꜣ wr wr.w*, "the greatest of the great."

Similarly it preserves *hbhb*, "to trample," *Wb.* 2, 487/21–25, in place of the *hbl* of B02.

Šty has the divine determinative in this manuscript.

Line 8: The disciple vows to worship Thoth (or Imhotep) in his various aspects.

B02: *Ḥf=f* is probably *ḥf*, "jemanden (seinem Bilde, seiner Krone u.ä.) huldigen," *Wb.* 3, 73/9–12 (not in *Glossar*), with the suffix object. See also Herbin, *Parcourir*, p. 176.

The object of *ḥf* is the deity, followed by the *m/n* of predication.

ꜥrḳꜣ is *ꜥrq*, "klug sein," *Wb.* 1, 212/10–15 (not in *Glossar*). Thoth is called *ꜥrq-ỉb*, "prudent of heart," Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 183.

Wr pḥ.ty, "Great of strength," is, of course, a common divine epithet, *Wb.* 1, 539/16. It is also possible to read the title of Thoth, *wr ḥkꜣ*, "Great of Magic," Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 184, since *ḥkꜣ* can also be spelled with the hind-quarters of the lion, as *pḥ*, *Wb.* 3, 176.

The ink is flaked here, and instead of *slꜣ*, *glp* may be written.

We had first read *nḏ tꜣ*, but, although *nḏ*, "schützen," *Glossar*, p. 235, is palaeographically reasonable, the idiom *nḏ tꜣ* does not yield attractive sense. We believe that a better reading is *sꜣ-tꜣ*, comparing *sꜣ*, "Amulette," *Glossar*, p. 403. This is to be equated with *sꜣ-tꜣ*, "to praise, adore," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 785; Coptic ⲥⲱⲓⲧ, "praise," *KHWB*, p. 179. There may be a deliberate play here on the meanings of *sꜣ-tꜣ*, which is also "snake,"

Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 785, and *ḥf*, again both "worship" and "snake," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 641–42.

The syntax of the phrases at the end of the line is obscure. Similarly, it is uncertain whether Thoth or Imhotep is intended.

B04: It is difficult to see *s3-t3* in this version.

B04 Insertion with no parallel in other texts: *Mtw=y* may in fact have been inserted before *ḫb*, and not belong to this line.

L01 Insertion with no parallel in other texts: Restore perhaps *3rw*, "reeds," *Glossar*, p. 6, sometimes used of writing brushes, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 166.

Line 9: The disciple joins the procession of the deity or Imhotep, bearing the papyrus roll as a lector priest.

B02: *Ḫb* is "sich neigen, verbeugen," *Glossar*, p. 379.

Rmn, "shoulder," *Wb.* 2, 418/1–16 (not in *Glossar*), seems to have the wood determinative, possibly borrowed from *rms*, "*rms*-ship," *Glossar*, p. 247.

N3y, with the walking-legs determinative, is presumably *n<*, "gehen," *Glossar*, pp. 207–08. *N<y* can mean to drag the bark of a god, von Beckerath, "Die 'Stele der Verbannten' im Museum des Louvre," *RdE* 20 (1968): 17.

For *s-n*, "man-of (X)," see *Glossar*, p. 400.

For the writing of *šbs*, which we identify with *šps*, "herrlich, erhaben," *Glossar*, pp. 503–04, compare B02, 12/16. The precise force of the expression "man of wealth" is unclear. Of course, "wealth" may mean here "scribal knowledge."

While *t3 it*, "land of the father," yields reasonable sense, it may also be, for example, an unorthographic spelling of ⲦⲞⲄⲒⲦ, ⲦⲀⲄⲒⲦ, "klagen," or, as noun, "Jammer, Totenklage," *KWHB*, pp. 225–26; *tyṯ*, "schreien, wehklagen," *Glossar*, p. 608. See the note on B02, 8/6.

Line 10: The disciple wishes to descend into the underworld (the "chamber") to learn the nature of the inhabitants there.

B02: The noun phrase *t3 <* follows the preposition and suffix pronoun antecedent.

Š or *Š<*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is probably not *šw*, "würdig sein," *Glossar*, p. 493, but rather a form of *šw*, "leer," *Glossar*, p. 495, or ϣⲱϩ, ϣⲁⲗ, or ⲥϣⲱϩ, "es ziemt sich," *KHWB*, p. 301. L01 has *š<*. There may be deliberate assonance between the initial *šm* and this *š(<)*.

We understand *ḏ<*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, to be *ḏ*, "singen," *Glossar*, p. 691 (Coptic ϫⲱ). An alternative is to read, *ḏ-mt*, comparing *Glossar*, p. 691.

M-ḫnṯ is either "before" or "in" (a room), *Wb.* 3, 302/11 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 11: This problematic line reiterates the aspiration of the disciple to learn of the underworld denizens.

B02: *W3y* stands for *wr*, "great," *Glossar*, pp. 92–93, as is demonstrated by the *wr.w* in B04.

The group resembles *nḏs*, "small," *Glossar*, p. 235, rather than *ḫm*, "small," *Glossar*, pp. 359–60.

Ḫr(y)-rt, "ones who are at the foot," is a variant of *ḫry-<*, "apprentice," *Wb.* 3, 393/9–12.

We identify *ḫmt* with *ḫtm*, "close," comparing the idiom *ḫtm r3*, "den Mund schliessen," *Glossar*, p. 372. Thompson, *Family Archive*, p. 24, cites "a spell to close mouths," in Schott, "Drei Sprüche gegen Feinde," *ZÄS* 65 (1930): 35, and *Wb.* 3, 351/15–17. This rendering is consistent with the *sgr*, "be silent," of L01.2, 6/6.

At the end of the line we had first read *3mt.w* , but now believe that *3m=sn* for old *im=sn* is more likely. This writing has the walking-legs determinative, borrowed from *im*, "come," *Glossar*, p. 30

B04: There are writings of *šms*, "to serve," very similar to the group read *s ... y* here, comparing M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 71. The determinative seems to be the "falling soldier" (Gardiner Z6).

The group read *rmt.w* would be an archaic spelling, *Glossar*, p. 247, and it is perhaps better to transliterate *r-r=w*, yielding a parallel to *r3.w* in B02. The entire section is uncertain, and we cannot relate it well to either the B02 or L01 versions.

L01: *H* may be for *ḫr* (plus infinitive).

Sgr is not secure; compare *ḫmt r3* in B02.

Line 12: The disciple wishes to see the "chamber of darkness." This has the papyrus determinative, and is thus possibly the title of a composition. He desires to learn its nature, which manifestly has underworld overtones.

B02: *<q ṯ* is curious; we interpret is as a stative form. Alternatively, *<q* may be transitive: "etw. hineinführen," *Wb.* 1, 231/20, and *ṯ* the dependent pronoun. On this causative use of *<q*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 64–65. Interestingly, the sentence quoted there also has to do with entering the darkness: "I am one who loved light, (but) was ushered into the strange darkness within a few days."

Ḥbr is *ḫrb*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 392.

<(.t), "chamber," is a word play with *<.t*, "limb," *Glossar*, p. 51.

Similarly *<q*, "to enter," is perhaps a paronomasia with *3kry.t*. While *3kry.t* may simply be a writing of *iqr*, "excellent," *Glossar*, p. 45, it could also be a spelling of *igr.t*, the designation of the underworld, *Wb.* 1, 141/3–6. Significantly, *igr.t* is the name of the goddess of the fifth hour, *Wb.* 1, 141/7. The "excellent limb of the underworld" may be an epithet of a goddess, e.g., Seshat, *Maat*, or similar.

B04: This version seemingly offers *ip*, "denken," *Glossar*, p. 28, in place of the *<q m*, "to enter into," which can mean "to be initiated into" (the knowledge of something). *ip* may stand for *<pi*, "'eintreten' (als Variante zu *<q*)," *Wb.* 1, 179/15. For *ip* as a writing of *<p*, see M. Smith, "A Demotic Coffin Inscription: Berlin ÄG. Inv. 7227," in Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Part I. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, p. 432. However, the transliteration is uncertain; read perhaps *itn* for *ip*.

L01: The word is damaged, but *ʿq* may be written here with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, "in etwas eindringen, etwas erkennen," *Wb.* 1, 230/14.

Line 13: Developing the idea of the previous line, the heart of the disciple instructs him to worship this female goddess.

B02: There are several possible meanings of *snsn*: "to breathe," *Glossar*, p. 439; "to praise," *Wb.* 4, 171/15–16 (related to the more common *snsi*, "to praise"); *snsn*, "to associate with," *Wb.* 4, 172/12–173/31. We believe that *snsn*, "praise," is most appropriate. However, the determinative does seem to be the walking-legs (hardly the "falling soldier" [Gardiner Z6]).

The following problematic group may be an unorthographic spelling incorporating *ḫt*, "wood," *Glossar*, p. 370, but the dot after *m* casts some doubt on this. One expects a prepositional phrase, e.g., *m-ḫt* (cf. *Glossar*, p. 345), and we have so rendered. If this is not *ḫt*, then the determinative seems to be the eye. One might compare also *ḫt*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 371, which would parallel the *ḫbr* of the previous line.

Line 14: The disciple emphasizes his participation in the divine procession.

B02: *inḥʾ* is probably *inḥ*, "umgeben, (fest)halten," *Glossar*, p. 35. This may also be translated "to surround," with all of the protective implications thereof. Alternatively, *inḥʾ.t*, with the flesh determinative, may be written; the scribe may have been thinking of *inḥ*, "Augenbraue," *Glossar*, p. 35.

Ḥm is either "servant," *Glossar*, p. 304, or the old *ḥm*, "majesty," *Wb.* 3, 91/1–92/11 (not in *Glossar*). The divine determinative in L01 suggests that "majesty" is intended.

R is perhaps a circumstantial converter, although it may also be *r* followed by an infinitive.

Srk is presumably the late usage of *srk*, "to let breathe, open," *Wb.* 4, 203/9–10; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 887 (not in *Glossar*). One notes that a key word in the previous line is *snsn*, both "to breathe" and "to praise." The author seems to be playing with this image.

imy.t is *ʾmy.t*, "Faust," *Glossar*, p. 4. To be sure, Quack, "Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters," *ZÄS* 123 (1996): 66–67, seems to doubt the existence of this word in Demotic.

Line 15: In this problematic line the disciple continues his praise of the deity or his image. The two main versions diverge significantly at the end of the line.

B02 : *Sšm* is difficult, and there are several possibilities. In all versions it has apparently the divine determinative, suggesting "Götterbild," *Glossar*, p. 463, but see also the note on L01.

Ḥr-rt is the compound preposition, "unter," *Glossar*, p. 258, or the noun, "apprentice."

Kk, with the divine determinative, may be the personification of darkness, Keku, one of the Ogdoad, *Glossar*, p. 568; *Wb.* 5, 144/13.

We take *ḏ=y* to be a prospective form.

M tm (from *tm*, "nennen," *Glossar*, p. 632) is not secure. Also possible is *mtn*, If *mtn* is correct, there are various candidates, none very persuasive: *mtn*, "to inscribe," *Wb.* 2, 170/16–171/4; *mtn*, "reward," *Wb.* 2, 170/11–14. Also possible is *m-tr=f*.

We had first read *swn* at the end of the line, but this is equally uncertain. In Demotic one expects *swn*, "erkennen, wissen," to have the eye determinative, *Glossar*, pp. 413–14. The papyrus roll determinative in B02 suggests that this may be a composition. We should perhaps transliterate *sw*, and identify with *sw*, "star," *Glossar*, p. 413.

B04: This version departs dramatically from B02. The archaic *ib*, "heart," *Glossar*, p. 26, is clear; there may be confusion here between *ib* and the negative verb *tm*, *Glossar*, p. 629, the signs for *ib* and *tm* being similar.

Ntb may be *ndb*, "entire," *Wb.* 2, 368/2–10, literally, "foundation" (not in *Glossar*).

L01: *Sšm* seems to be written with a hieratic or hieroglyphic sign; compare Möller, *HP* 3, number 449 (*sḫm*), which actually lacks the additional cross-stroke. The two cross-strokes do seem to characterize Demotic writings of *Sḫm*, *Glossar*, p. 455. This may be the sistrum sign, Gardiner Y8 (Möller, *HP* 3, number 539), which varies with the *sḫm* sign.

Line 16: The disciple wishes to arm himself for the conflict between the sun-god and his opponents in the underworld.

B02: For *sḫqr*, see *sḫqr*, "schmücken," *Glossar*, p. 461.

N-im=w is not certain.

Ḫqr.w is "Schmuck, Waffen," *Glossar*, p. 397.

For *ʿḥ*, "fight, fighting," see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 73.

ʿ-kk lacks the papyrus roll determinative so often found in this compound in the Book of Thoth. In B04 *ʿ-kky* does have this determinative.

B04: *My* is uncertain, but something does seem to precede *sḫqr*.

L01: Read perhaps *nʾe=w* for *n-im=w*.

i-ir appears to be written in this version, presumably restore *i-ir[=y]*.

Line 17: The disciple continues with violent underworld images in this obscure sentence.

B02: *Mḥ* is *mḥ*, "greifen, fassen," *Glossar*, pp. 172–73, with *m*.

The interpretation of *nyšy.t* is difficult. The reading is secure (and consistent in the manuscripts), but the translation is problematic. This is probably *nšy.t*, an attested variant of *nšm.t*, "die heilige Barke des Osiris in Abydos; Später auch an anderen Orten (z.B. Theben) und auch als Schiff in dem der Tote fahren möchte," *Wb.* 2, 339/15–17. The determinatives are unclear. We had first thought of the metal determinative. However, it is possible that this is not the metal determinative, but rather the ship sign. The two are easily confused in hieratic: Möller, *HP* 3, numbers 374 and 589. On the *nšm.t* barke and the ship sign, see Hoffmann, "Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für 'Götter-barke,'" *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 45–46. Another alternative rendering is *nše*, "ein kupfernes Gerät (mit Artikel *tȝ*)," *Wb.* 2, 338/19. This could refer to a type of weapon. Finally, intriguing is the possibility that it is the archaic *nš* shrine of Seshat, Wainright, "Seshat's *nš*-shrine," *JEA* 25 (1939): 104, cited in Leitz et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 6, p. 609.

Šꜣy is probably *šꜣꜥ.t*, a primordial goddess, either Hathor or Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988, and not *šꜥy*, "fate." Elsewhere too it appears to designate a goddess, and not the masculine "Fate."

Wbꜣy is *wbꜣ*, "to open," *Wb.* 1, 290/1–291/7. The verb is hardly attested in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 85.

The line may refer to underworld beings in their sandbanks.

The translation of *ꜣmn* is not certain; this may be *imn*, "verbergen," *Glossar*, p. 30.

Ḏtm, "heap," is not in *Glossar*, but see *Wb.* 5, 634/7–18. Also possible are: *ḏdm*, "stechen," *Wb.* 5, 634/19–20, or *ḏdm*, "brennen," *Wb.* 5, 635/1. Despite the possessive suffix, *Ḏtm* may be identified with the place name *Ḏdm*, the locality where enemies are slaughtered by Horus in the mythologies of Edfu and Tod; see Grenier, "Djédem dans les textes du Temple de Tod," in Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages Sauneron*, pp. 381–389. This event is associated with the festival of the "First of the Year," ibid. p. 388. This may be significant, given the occurrence of the *tp-rnp.t* in the Book of Thoth in B02, 4/4, "If you should praise her at the occasion of the New Year, // *tꜣ sḫ=s* will return so as to answer to you."

Thoth is also mentioned at Edfu in connection with these battles at Djedem, Grenier, ibid., p. 385.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 10 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 10/1 *bꜣy=y m-ḫt=sn in=y pꜣe=w rꜥnn ḥm nhy ḫr=sn*
L01.2, 6/13 *[... bꜣy m-ḫt=sn r in=y pꜣe=w rꜥ[...]*
B04.2, 3/21 *[...]y m-ḫt=sn in=y pꜣe=w rꜥꜣ* (B04) *[...]... nhy [...]...=sn (?)*

B02, 10/2 ***ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f ḥnty nꜣy mr-rḫ ḫn pꜣ kky nb bꜣ.w-Rꜥ hby slꜣ***
L01.2, 6/14 *[.....] ⸢ḏ⸣=f ḥnty r nꜣy mr[-rḫ ...]*
B04, 3/21–4/1 *ḫr=f [...]/*(B04.2) *Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f ḥnty r nꜣy mr* (B04)*[-rḫ ...] ... kky nb bꜣ.w-Rꜥ hby /[...]*

B02, 10/3 *ir=f tꜣ.w n nry šmꜥ **10.t** iw=f twꜣ ntr n tꜣ sbꜣ.t*
L01.2, 6/15 *[.....] nly šmꜥ[.....]*
B04, 4/1 *[...]... [.....]*

B02, 10/4 *qmꜣ=f **9.t** nry.t mḥy irm pꜣe=w 9 ḏw iw=w ir iꜣw n nꜣ bꜣ.w-Rꜥ*
L01.2, 6/16 *[..... nr]y.t mḥy irm pꜣe=w 9 [.....]*
B04, 4/2 *[..... ḏ]w iw=w ir iꜣw n nꜣ [.....]*

B02, 10/5 *sšm=f ib=f ꜣkr n=f tbꜥ.w=f wn nꜣ ḥp.wy ꜥnḫ.w=f*
L01.2, 6/17 *[.....]=f skyl n=f tbꜥ.w=f [.....]*
B04, 4/3 *[.....] wn nꜣ ḥp.wy ꜥnḫ ... [...]*

B02, 10/6 *mꜣꜣ wḏꜥy=f ḥnt mi.t sšm=f ḥr pꜣ ḫꜣ n nꜣ iḥy.w*
L01.2, 6/18 *[...] wḏꜥy.t=f ḥnt m[i.t .....]*
B04, 4/4 *[.....]... ⸢sšm⸣=f ḥr pꜣ ḫꜣ n nꜣ iḥy.w*

L01.2, 6/19 *[...]... mtny nꜣe=w (?) sḫ.w [...]* **Parallel? (B02 omits line)**

B02, 10/7 *grp nꜣ twꜣ.w pꜣe=w ḫbr ꜥs=f n=w wšb=w n=f*
L01.2, 6/20 *[...] tꜣy.w n pꜣe=w ḫbr [.....]*
B04, 4/4–5 *grp [...] / [.....]...*

B02, 10/8 *rḫ=f pꜣ gy n mt n nꜣ ꜥn.w nꜣ hb.w*
L01.2, 6/21 *[.....] mt nꜣ ꜥn.w ... [...]*
B04 **apparently omitted**

B02, 10/9 *pḫ=f mtwn ḫn pꜣ ḫꜣ n pꜣ ḏsm bn-pw=f ḫl nꜣe=w bfbf.w*
L01.2, 6/22 *[...] mtwn ḫn ... [.....]*
B04, 4/5 *pḫ=f pꜣ mtwn ḫn pꜣ ḫꜣ [.....]...*

B02, 10/10 *ꜥm=f nꜣ wḥwḥ.w n nꜣ.w irm nꜣy sbḥ.w nw ⸢tꜣ it.w⸣*
L01.2, 6/23 *[.....] wḥwḥ n nꜣy [.....]*
B04, 4/6 *ꜥm=f nꜣ wḥwḥ.w n nꜣy.w [...] tꜣ (?) bf... [...]*

L01.2, 6/24 *[.....]... tny (?) [...]*
B04, 4/7 *tꜣ ..... pꜣ hb ... nt iw=f [tn]y=w r... [...]* **Parallel? (B02 omits line)**

B02, 10/11 *ir=f pꜣ 4 smy n tꜣ iꜣw.t iꜣw.t ... ꜥm=f s in=f s m-bꜣḥ=y*
L01.3, 7/1 *[..... sm]y tꜣ iꜣw.t ... [...* (L01.4) *i]n=f s m-bꜣḥ=y*
B04, 4/7–8 *... [.....] / iꜣw.t ... sp.w (?) ꜥm=f s in=f s m-[bꜣḥ=y]*

B02, 10/12 *mr-rḫ <ḏ=f> ḥꜥ ḥq s nꜣ ḥq.w nb ... [...]...*
L01.3, 7/2 *[.....] nꜣ ḫyq.w [...* (L01.4)*]... w*
B04, 4/8–9 *mr-rḫ ... [.....] / ... ḫtp ... =f ... wḫꜣ ...*

B02, 10/13 *qmꜣ=f nꜣ mwy.w n pꜣ ꜣ ... [...]... ihy*
L01.3, 7/3 *[.....]... [...]* (L01.4) *..... ihy*
B04, 4/9–10 *qmꜣ=f nꜣ mꜣw [...] / ..... n pꜣ ihy*

B02, 10/14 *wpy=f pꜣ ḫꜣ (n) pꜣ i-ir qw ... [...]...*
L01.3, 7/4 *[.....]... n pꜣ i-ir ... [.....]*
B04, 4/10–11 *wpy [.....] / gw=f pꜣ itn nꜣ itn.w ...*

B02, 10/15 *sr pꜣ ḫꜣ ḥꜥ=f ... [...]... [...]*
L01.3, 7/5 *[...]*
B04, 4/11–12 *sr pꜣ ḫꜣ ḥꜥ=f [...]/ ... m ...*

B02, 10/16 *ḫmy kky [...]*
L01.3, 7/6 *[...] kꜣky ... [...]*
B04, 4/12–13 *ḫmy kky ... [...] / ib*

Translation

1. May I be full of *ba* against them. // May I bring about their end, without forgetting the destruction of them (?).
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Slaughterers (are) these, O you who love knowledge, in the darkness. // The lord of the *bas* of Re (is) the messenger of prophecy.
3. He made the forms of the vultures of Upper Egypt: ten, // he giving praise to god for the teaching.
4. He created nine female vultures of Lower Egypt together with their nine young, // they making praise to the *bas* of Re.
5. He directed his heart. // His fingers were excellent for him. // The crypts of his ears were opened (or "secrets of the distant ones were revealed [to] his ears.")
6. His *oudjat*-eye saw before the road. // He led at the hall of the divine spirits.
   L01 line without parallel in B02 and B04. (Gloss?)
   [...] ... path of their (?) writings [...]
7. The signs revealed their form. // He called to them // and they answered to him.
8. He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.
9. He went about truly (?) in the hall of the dog. // He did not restrain their barking.
10. He understood the barkings of these and these cries of the land of the fathers.
    B04 and L01 (?) line without parallel in B02
    the ... the ibis who will raise them up to (or "more than") ... [...]
11. He made the four pleas (?) of the wild beasts, one by one ... // He understood them. // He brought them before me.
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, <he says>:** "Stand! The magic spells (or 'magicians') have enchanted them (?), lord (?) [...] ... to seek (?) ...
13. He created the thoughts of the donkey ... [...] ... of the stall.
14. He opened the hall for the one who ... he (or "him") ... the most difficult of the difficult passages ...
15. Show the hall itself ... [...] ... [...]
16. Unite with the darkness ... [...] heart.

Commentary

Line 1: The disciple maintains his aggressiveness against the enemies of the sun-god in the underworld.

B02: *Bỉy*, with the falling man determinative (Gardiner Z6), is presumably *bỉ*, "Eigenschaftsverbum: Seele sein, beseelt sein," *Wb.* 1, 411/1–4 (but see the note on B04). The verb does not seem to be attested in Demotic, but compare *by*, "Gewalttätigkeit, Zorn," *Glossar*, p. 111; see also Meeks, *ALE* 2, p. 114. The sense is that the disciple will exert his power against these enemies.

M-ḫt=sn is written as if with *ḫt*, "wood," *Glossar*, p. 370.

Rʿ is perhaps *rỉ-ʿ*, "das Ende von etw.," *Wb.* 2, 394/1–8 (not in *Glossar*).

For the archaic negative *nn*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 57 (not in *Glossar*).

ḥm is probably *ḫm*, "nicht kennen," *Glossar*, p. 359. This may have the nuance of "forgetting" here, comparing *Wb.* 3, 279/11 (with *ḥr*).

The determinative of *nhy* suggests either *nh.t*, "Zauberbuch," *Wb.* 2, 282/3, or *nhy*, "Name eines Buches, das als Amulett an die Mumie gebunden wird," *Wb.* 2, 282/4. Nevertheless, we think *nhy* is most likely *nhy*, "to do away with," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 527–28.

The final signs are ambiguous. We have read *ḫr=sn*, but it may be the ending of *nhy* or another word entirely. The similarity to the obscure phrase in Mythus 16/13, *šm.w n nhỉ*, "Die kleinen Fabeln (?)," is probably fortuitous, *Glossar*, p. 221. On such headings in Mythus, see de Cenival, "Les titres des couplets du Mythe," *CRIPEL* 11 (1989): 141–46.

L01: *R* seems to precede *ỉn* in this version (circumstantial?).

B04: The final man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative indicates that more than *nhy* is to be read here, perhaps *mt.w=sn*, "their words."

Line 2: Thoth addresses the *mr-rḫ*, and apparently explains to him the designations of specific individuals who act on behalf of Re or Thoth in the underworld. The line comprises two nominal sentences.

B02: The meaning of *ḫnty* is uncertain. The *ḫ* is clear in L01 and the word has the man-with-hand-to-mouth sign. In B02 *snty* also does not appear impossible, and fits the house determinative well. There is no suitable *ḫnt* which might have the house determinative. We take it nevertheless to be *ḫnt*, "destroy, kill," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 659–60 (not in *Glossar*). It is used with regard to the enemies of the king or gods, which yields sense in this passage. On the basis of L01 and B04 it seems to be employed with *r. Ḫnty*, "slaughterer," *Wb.* 3, 122/14, is one of the priests (acting as Horus) in the P. Salt 825 ritual text about the House of Life, Gardiner, "The House of Life," *JEA* 24 (1938): 168; Eggebrecht, *LÄ* 5, col. 641 ("Schlächter"). For the *ḫnty* of the House of Life, see Gourlay, "Les seigneurs el les *baou* vivants à Chedenou," in Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages Sauneron*, p. 374.

Nỉy would then be a demonstrative pronoun.

Mr-rḫ is a vocative.

We understand *nb bỉ.w-Rʿ* to introduce the second nominal sentence. *Hby* is the most likely reading. Since *slỉ*, "prophecy," is the object, we take it to be *hb*, "senden, schreiben," *Glossar*, pp. 271–72. The author may be alluding to a priestly title or even to Thoth or Imhotep.

Line 3: The speaker praises the creator deity, Thoth or Re.

B02: *Tỉ* is probable, which is to be equated with *tỉ.t*, "form, sign," *Wb.* 5, 239/1–240/11; *Glossar*, p. 606; compare the epithet of Thoth, *ỉr tỉ.t*, "who fashioned signs," Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 213. In the following line it is the vultures or their young who glorify the sacred rolls. There is a probable word play between *tỉ* and *tw*, "praise."

For *nry*, "vulture," see *Glossar*, p. 221. At this point L01 begins to elaborate on these vultures in the "Vulture Text." We have not found these "ten Upper Egyptian vultures" elsewhere. One wonders whether they are not to be associated with the *ḏỉsỉw*, "divine

beings," personifications of the "creative word" and writing. To be sure, they are seven in number, and are falcon-headed. Still, the function is not dissimilar; see Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1216–17.

The identity of the praise-giver is ambiguous; it may be either Re or Thoth. On the complex relationship between the two, see Fischer-Elfert, *Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 404.

Line 4: The god exalts the nine Lower Egyptian vultures, along with their nine young.

B02: *Qmȝ*, "schaffen," *Glossar*, p. 537, is certain. Could these two sets of nine vultures and the nine (male?) offspring (the mothers and the young) refer to the Greater and Lesser Ennead?

While not identical to the examples of *mḥ*, "Lower Egypt," in *Glossar*, p. 174, there can be little doubt about the reading *mḥy*.

ỉr ỉȝw is the phrase based on *ȝwy*, "praise," *Glossar*, p. 2. One should also note the idiom transliterated by Hughes *ỉr ỉsw*, "receive a reward, prosper," "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian," in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 59.

L01.2, 6/16: *Mḥy* is a hieratic writing, Möller, *HP* 3, number 278.

Line 5: The god describes the attributes of the creator deity.

B02: This is *sšm ỉb*, "to guide the heart," *Wb.* 4, 286/3, "leiten, Auch vom Herzen u. ä. als Leitendem" (not in *Glossar*). The author may also intend an allusion to the idiom *šms ỉb*, "to follow the heart," *Wb.* 4, 483/11–14; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1013–14, not otherwise attested in Demotic.

The dative *n=f*, clear in B02, is evident in L01.

Wn=w is the impersonal passive construction.

Ḥp wy may an attempt to render the dual, but *wy* for *wy*, "distant ones," or *wr*, "great ones," is also possible. The falling man determinative (Gardiner Z6) is found in various examples of *ḥp*, "verbergen," in *Glossar*, p. 302. While the basic meaning of "hidden" is clear, the nuance is not certain. The word may be related to *ḥȝp.t*, "hiding place," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 616. We take this statement to refer figuratively to the ears of the creator god.

ʿnḫ, "ear," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 157, is not in *Glossar*.

Line 6: The god expounds upon the superior attributes of the deity in reference to the "path" and the "spirits."

B02: *Wḏʿy* is dual: "Im Dual meist von den wirklichen Augen eines Gottes, auch eines Menschen," *Wb.* 1, 401/16–17; *wḏȝ.t*, "das Horusauge," *Glossar*, p. 108. The author may intend a word play with *wḏȝ.t*, "der Weg," *Wb.* 1, 404/1 (found in Ptolemaic, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 288, but not in *Glossar*).

There may also be assonance between *mȝȝ*, "to see," and *mỉ.t*, "path," *Glossar*, p. 152.

Sšm is repeated from the previous line.

Ḥȝ is the most probable reading, the word concluding with the house determinative. This is *ḫȝ*, "Halle," *Wb.* 3, 221/18–222/4 (not in *Glossar*).

ỉḫy.w, "spirits," *Glossar*, p. 42, incorporates the group for *mwt*.

B04: *Sšm* is damaged; perhaps *šm* is to be transliterated.

L01 line without parallel in B02 and B04:

There seems to have been an additional line here, providing a parallel to the *mỉ.t* of the previous verse. The same parallelism between *mỉ.t* and *mtn* occurs in B02, 8/12 and 8/13.

Read possibly *bȝ.w* in place of *sḫ.w*.

Line 7: This line recounts the invention of the hieroglyphic signs, which are portrayed as living entities. The striking dialogue between creator and created is unique in the Egyptian tradition.

B02: *Grp* is *glp*, "offenbaren," *Glossar*, p. 589.

Twȝ.w (L01 *tȝy.w*) is probably *tyȝ*, "(hieroglyphic) sign," *Glossar*, p. 606, rather than *twȝ*, "praise." On the Egyptian tradition concerning the creation of the hieroglyphs, see Weber, *Beiträge*, pp. 62–66.

The object of *grp* is *ḫbr*, identical with *ḫrb*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 392.

Line 8: The deity proclaims the creator-god's knowledge of animal language.

B02: *Gy n mt* is perhaps merely "speech," *Glossar*, p. 572. On the speech of baboons, see Te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk (eds.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss*, pp. 129–36.

It is more difficult to identify the "speech of the ibises," although in the "Nut-book" the migratory birds do speak "with one another in the language of men," Assmann, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*, p. 77.

Line 9: The creator-deity was able to move about freely in a sacred (underworld?) locality, the hall of the dog.

B02: *Pḫ* is probably old *pḫr*, "in einem Ort umhergehen," *Wb.* 1, 546/13. However, *pḫr* retains the *r* in the examples cited in *Glossar*, p. 139.

We translate *mtwn* as the particle, *m twn*, "wahrlich," *Glossar*, p. 615, but it may be rather *mtwn*, "arena," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 477–78.

As in the previous line, we take *ḫȝ* as *ḫȝ*, "Halle," *Wb.* 3, 221/18–222/4.

Ḏsm, with the animal skin determinative, is *ṯsm*, "Hund," *Wb.* 5, 409/13–22 (not in *Glossar*). There may be a reference here to the Cynopolite nome (17th Upper Egyptian Nome), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1175. If *mtwn* alludes also to the "arena, bull-ring," then a connection with the nome is plausible. The god of *Sȝ-kȝ*, once the nome-capital, was Bata in the form of a bull, Kessler, *LÄ* 5, col. 360 ("Sako"). On the theological significance of bull-fighting, see Galán, "Bullfight Scenes in Ancient Egyptian Tombs," *JEA* 80 (1994): 81–96.

The negated verb is unclear. The falling man (Gardiner Z6) is reasonable, but there may be another sign between it and *r*. If *ḫl* is correct, then it is probably not *ḫl*, "rauben," *Glossar*, p. 368, which yields little sense. It may, however, be identical with the ancestor of this word, *ḫnr*, "to scatter," *Wb.* 3, 298/8–14, or *ḫnr*, "to restrain," *Wb.* 3, 295–296/7.

Bfbf is related to *bfn*, "Hund. Auch als göttl. Wesen," *Wb.* 1, 456/4–5, and *bfn*, "to bark," *Wb.* 1, 456/3; Herbin, *Parcourir*, pp. 174–75. For *bfbf*, compare ⲟⲩⲁϩⲃⲉϥ, *KHWB*, p. 285.

Line 10: The author asserts the god's knowledge of animal speech.

B02: For *ʿm*, "wissen," see *Glossar*, p. 60.

Wḥwḥ is "bellen," *Wb.* 1, 351/10; compare again Coptic ⲟⲩⲁϩⲃⲉϥ, *KHWB*, p. 285 (not in *Glossar*); see Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 75.

Nꜣ.w, presumably the demonstrative pronoun, possibly refers back to *bfbf* of the previous line (in which case perhaps translate not "barking," but "barkers," i.e., "dogs"). It is less likely that *nꜣ.w* is a miswriting of *nꜣ ỉwỉw.w*, "the dogs."

Sbḥ, "scream," is "bitten, flehen," *Glossar*, p. 422; *Wb.* 4, 90/11–91/7. *Sbḥ* denotes "usually the cry of men or birds," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 820.

Nw is the archaic genitive particle.

We had first read the damaged signs at the end of the line as *nry.wt*, "vultures." We now believe that *tꜣ ỉt.w*, "land of the fathers," is the best transliteration.

B04: After the lacuna *tꜣ* and not *nꜣ* appears to be written. The *bf...* may belong to the previous line or be the result of a corrupt text.

B04 and L01 line without parallel in B02: This statement seems to recount the actions of the Ibis, i.e., Thoth, who may, for example, exalt his followers.

B04: *Hb* is a plausible reading. However, the bird determinative is difficult to discern.

L01: *Tny* is possible, but the parallel is not certain.

Line 11: The author recounts another aspect of the creator-god's power and knowledge, apparently with regard to animals.

B02: *Smy* may be *smy*, "klagen, Anklage," *Glossar*, p. 432; compare: *smy.w*, "belegt Sp. vom Lallen, Schreien des Säuglings," *Wb.* 4, 129/13, and Coptic ⲥⲙⲏ, "Stimme" (from older *smꜣʿ.w*?), *KWHB*, p. 185. The meaning of the "four pleas" is obscure; the author may be considering distinct kinds of animal languages. *Smy* may also be rather *sm*, "praise," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 178.

ỉꜣw.t seems to be written twice. It is presumably "Vieh," *Glossar*, p. 17.

The suffix pronoun may refer to the speaking deity, Thoth or Imhotep.

Line 12: With this difficult statement, the disciple begins to relate the achievements of the creator-god.

B02: *ḫʿ*, "stand up," is preferable to *st*, but the translation is obscure. This may be an imperative addressed to the god. *ḫʿ* could also be an unorthographic writing of another word, such as *ḫʿ*, "guardian snake," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 174.

Ḥq is either "to enchant," or *ḥq*, "erbeuten," *Glossar*, p. 333.

S is the dependent pronoun.

The second *ḥq* has the cobra determinative; one notes that the possible variant spelling of *ḥq*, "bewitch," in P. Louvre 2414, 2/13, as *hk* also has the snake determinative, Hughes, "Blunders of an Inept Scribe," in Kadish and Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams*, p. 64.

The translation of *nb* is uncertain.

Line 13: The disciple lists the god's creative acts.

B02: *Mwy* is probably *mwy*, "denken," *Glossar*, p. 156, which derives from *mỉṯ*, "erdenken," *Wb.* 2, 34/17–21. This rubric is possibly the name of a different speaker, but the identity is unclear (Thoth?). As Derchain-Urtel observes, *Thot*, p. 90, "L'acte créateur qui a déterminé l'origine de Thot 'coeur de Ra' était défini par le term *mỉṯ* 'la pensée créatrice.'" Thus, the designation: "He created the thoughts," is a suitable title for the deity. Intriguing, but unlikely, would be a connection with *mỉ*, "ancestor," a common term at Edfu, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 393.

ʿꜣ, "ass," *Glossar*, pp. 54–55, is secure. While one naturally thinks of Seth here, this is hardly certain. We have no parallel for the interesting phrase "the thoughts of the donkey."

ỉhy, with the house determinative, is *ỉhy*, "Stall, Hürde," *Glossar*, p. 40.

B04: The house determinative concludes the word before *n pꜣ ỉhy*.

Line 14: The disciple describes some aspect of Thoth in connection with mysterious textual passages. A "hall" evidently plays a significant role in this section.

B02: *Ḥꜣ* is probably *ḥꜣ*, "hall," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 700.

B04: *Gw* seems to be the best reading, perhaps with the arm-with-stick determinative. However, the translation is difficult. *Gỉy*, "die Schreibbinse 'befeuchten,'" *Wb.* 5, 150/14–15, and *gw*, "eng sein," *Glossar*, pp. 574–75, are reasonable, but there are other possibilities.

ỉtn here is probably "mystery, secret," discussed in M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 98, in a superlative construction.

Line 15: In this address (?) to the deity, the disciple may request more information concerning the *ḥꜣ*, the "hall" or "office."

B02: *Sr* is probably *sr*, "to show," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 883; *Wb.* 4, 190/20–23 (apparently a verb of movement, "betake oneself to [?]").

Ḥʿ is possibly *ḫʿ*, "selbst, auch," *Glossar*, p. 292.

Read perhaps *mšʿ*, "journey," after *ḫʿ=f*.

B04: The line appears to conclude with a place-name.

Line 16

B02: *Ḫmy* has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, and may be identical with *ḫnm*, "to unite with," also written *ḫm* with that determinative, *Glossar*, p. 380.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 11 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 11/1 *iw=f šm (r) pr-ᶜnḫ iw=f grg (?) ... [.....]*
L01.3, 7/7 *[.....] r pr-ᶜnḫ iw=f grg [.....* (L01.4)*]q.w (?)*
B04, 4/13–14 *iw=f šm r pr-ᶜnḫ ⸢iw=f⸣ r ḥm n pȝ ... [...] / ...*

B02, 11/2 ***qmȝ=f nȝ mwy.w ḏ=f*** *pȝ ⸢ḫȝ n ḏsm⸣ ... [.....]*
L01.3, 7/8 *[.....]...*
B04, 4/14–15 *qmȝ=f nȝ mwy.w ḏ=f pȝ ... [...] / ... ᶜwy (?) 3,000 šm r pr-ᶜnḫ nȝ.w*

B02, 11/3 *nȝy iwiw.w nȝy wnš.w nȝy ... [.....]*
L0 1.3, 7/9 *[.....] nȝy ᶜᶜn.w nȝy [.....]*
B04, 4/15–16 *nȝy [.....] / ᶜᶜn.w nȝy ḫf.w nt sl n rȝ.w ...*

B02, 11/4 *tȝ pḥ.ṯ.t ḥ.t n tḥny ... [.....]*
L01.3, 7/10 *⸢pḥ ḥᶜ⸣ n tḥny [.....]* (L01.4) ...
B04, 4/16–17 *[.....] / ... .w nȝy mȝy.w ḥnty.w ... [...]*

B02, 11/5 *pȝ ᶜnḫ nt rt ⸢ḫn⸣ ... [.....]*
L01.3, 7/11 *[pȝ] ᶜnḫ nt rt ḫn pȝ mḫrr [.....]*
B04, 4/17–18 *[pȝ ᶜnḫ] / nt rt ḫn pȝ mḫll pȝ sw wbn m ... [...]*

B02, 11/6 *pȝ twȝ-ntr ... [.....]*
L01.3, 7/12 *[...] t... nt ḥᶜ n tȝ ḥ.t [.....]*
B04, 4/18–19 *[.....] / ... ᶜnḫ ... pr-ᶜnḫ bȝ.w (?) pȝy*
B08.5, 1 *pȝ ... [.....]*

B02, 11/7 *pȝ i-ir ms iw=f ḫpr iw[.....]*
L01.3, 7/13 *[pȝ] ms iw=f ḫpr iw=f ᶜ[.....]*
B04, 4/19–20 *pȝ i-ir ms iw=f ḫpr i[w .....] / pȝe=f (?) ... pȝy*
B08.5, 2 *pȝ i-ir ms [.....]*

B02, 11/8 *nȝy wȝḥ ḫny.w bȝ ... [.....]*
Add. 5 L01.3, 7/14 *[.....] ḫny.w ⸢bȝ⸣ ... [.....]*
B04, 4/20–21 *nȝy wȝḥ ḫnny.w n bȝ nȝy ... [...] / ... r rȝ.w nȝ.w*
B08.5, 3 *nȝy wȝḥ ḫnn[...]*

B02, 11/9 *sbȝ sp pȝ nt ḥᶜ r-r=w ... [...]*
L01.3, 7/15 *[sbȝ] sp [pȝ] nt ḥᶜ r-r=w ... [...]*
B04, 4/21–22 *sbȝ sp pȝ nt ḥᶜ r-r=w [...] / ...*
B08.5, 4 *sbȝ n sp [...]*

B02, 11/10 *šȝt ḫny pȝ nt wn n-im=w nȝe=f [...] ... pȝ rt (?) ...*
L01.3, 7/16 *[...] ... ḫny pȝ nt [.....]*
B04, 4/22 *šȝt ḫny pȝ nt wn n-im=w nȝe=f sȝ sw (?) [.....]*
B08.5, 5 *šȝt [...]*

B02, 11/11 ***⸢wpy-tp-ȝt=f⸣*** *[.....]*
L01.3, 7/17–18 *[wp]y-tp-ȝt=f [.....] / i... r bnš ... [.....]*
B04, 4/23 *..... [ḏ]=f pȝ ḫ ... nȝ bnš pȝ nt ... [.....]*

B02, 11/12–16 are missing

B04, 4/24 *... tky=k ...* (goddess determinative) *m-ḫnt [...]*

L01.3, 7/19 *ip Rᶜ pḫ ⸢n=y⸣ [...]*

B04, 4/25 *... ⸢wpy-tp-ȝt=f⸣ [...]*

L01.3, 7/20 *glp=k n=y wḏȝy [...]*

B04, 4/26 *...= sn ... [...]*

L01.3, 7/21 *i-ir=y iy n pȝe=k ḫb[r ...]*

Translation

1. He will go to the House of Life. He will hunt in the ... [...] ...
2. **He-created-the-thoughts, he says:** "The ⸢hall of (the) dog⸣ ... [...] ... these are the places (?) of 3,000 of going to the House of Life.
3. These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes which prophesize according to their utterances ... [...]
4. The lock of faience ... [...] ... these lions and crocodiles (?) ... [...]
5. The life which grows in the scarab (is?) the star which rises in (?) ... [...]
6. Venus ... which arises in the house [...] ... of life ... House of Life, the *bas* (?) is it.
7. The one who has given birth, he being as ... he is (or "will be") [...] his (?) ... is it.
8. These who have interpreted (?) the pieces (?) of bronze ... [...] ... mouths are they.
9. Gate of (?) *Sep* (?) (is) the one who waits for them ... [...]
10. Window of (?) *Ḫny* (is) the one who opens them in its walls of protection (?) [...] ...
11. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "The ... the thresholds, the one who ... [...]

B02, 11/12–16 are missing
B04, 4/24. ... may you see ... before [...]
L01.3, 7/19. O wise one of Re, enchant (?) ⸢for me⸣ [...]
B04, 4/25. (with no clear parallel to B02 or L01) **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back,** ... [...]
L01.3, 7/20. May you reveal for me the *oudjat* [...]

B04, 4/26. (with no clear parallel to B02 or L01) [...] ... them ... [...]
L01.3, 7/21. I come in your form [...]

Commentary

Line 1: The disciple may describe the creator deity (or a priest?), mentioning here the House of Life.

B02: *Grg*, "to hunt," *Glossar*, p. 586, is not certain. It does not seem to be *ḥm*, with the same meaning, as is clearly written in B04.

B04: *Ḥm* may be *ḥm*, "fangen (Vögel u. Fische)," *Glossar*, p. 305. The line concludes with the book-roll determinative (fitting for the *pr-ꜥnḫ*), but it is difficult to relate this to the last traces visible in L01 (although a snake sign may perhaps be recognized).

L01: We had first read *ḥyq*, with the snake determinative, but too little is preserved. One may compare *ḥqy.w*, "Schlinge, Falle," *Glossar*, p. 334 (but see Hoffmann, "Schlinge des Kampfes," *Enchoria* 18 [1991]: 183–86), *ḥk*, "Zauberei," *Glossar*, p. 334 (with snake determinative).

Line 2: There appears to be a new speaker, perhaps already introduced in B02, 10/13. He explains to the disciple further aspects of the House of Life.

B02: *Qmꜣ=f nꜣ mwy.w* may be a divine name or epithet of Thoth; compare the same phrase in B02, 10/13.

While *mwy* is probably old *mꜣꜥ*, "thoughts," the author may also be alluding to other words, e.g., *mꜣꜥw*, "island," *mꜣꜥw*, "rays," or *mꜣꜥwt*, "harpoon," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 400–01.

Ḫꜣ n ḏsm is a reasonable reading; the phrase occurs in B02, 10/9; the first animals mentioned in B02, 11/3, are dogs or dog-like.

B04: The "house of 3,000" is without parallel, and perhaps "3,000 places" is intended. 3,000 also appears in B04, 6/7. "3,000" is more probable than "300," *Glossar*, pp. 702–03.

Šm r pr-ꜥnḫ stands in the previous line. This passage may refer to a ceremony involving entry to the House of Life. The following statements describe the doors and locks of the building.

Line 3: The god explicates the prophetic powers or qualities of various sacred animals.

B02: *Wnš* is "jackal," *Glossar*, p. 92; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 238.

B04: *Nt* is not certain.

The vertical stroke of the *s* of *sl* is preserved.

Line 4: The god seems to explain the nature of the locks in the House of Life, which were in the form of lions. This line may deal with the ceremony of opening the lock on the door of the House of Life (e.g., at Edfu Temple), for which see Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 147.

B02: *Pḥ.ṯ.t ḥ.t* is *pḥ-ḥꜥ.t*, "der Riegel," *Glossar*, p. 138. On locks, see Behrens, *LÄ* 5, cols. 256–57 ("Riegel"). It appears as the "End and the Beginning," which yields sense since both words are written with the lion. Locks were indeed lion-shaped in the Late Period (ibid., col. 256); compare the lion determinative found in *qꜣr.t*, "der Riegel der Tür," *Wb.* 5, 12/6, and the lion determinatives in *pḥ-ḥꜥ* quoted in Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 132 (8/27). On this topic, see Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, pp. 53–58. A lock of faience would be atypical, to be sure; door bolts can be made of *ṯḥs.t*, "copper, bronze," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1085 and 1172, and perhaps that word is intended, not *ṯḥny*. On the association of Thoth and Seshat with doors and gates, see Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 221–22.

B04: This may in fact not be *ḥnty.w*, "crocodile," *Glossar*, p. 315, as the form of *n* (with the point above the horizontal) would be unusual.

Line 5: The god moves now to a celestial level of symbolism, discussing the figurative characteristics of the stars or planets. He may be especially concerned with Venus.

B02: We have no parallel for the phrase,"The life which grows in the scarab." *ꜥnḫ* has many specialized meanings which may apply here, e.g., "bouquet" or "door-leaf," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 155–62.

Rt is probably *rt*, "wachsen," *Glossar*, p. 257.

Mḫrr is apparently only attested in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 177. The connection with the "Morning-star" may be due to the fact that the scarab represents the reborn young sun-god.

Sw is "der Stern," *Glossar*, p. 413, observing that the planets are designated as *pꜣ 5 sw ꜥnḫ.w*. The author may be playing with the assonance between *sbꜣ*, "star," and *sbꜣ*, "door."

B04: The "star which rises" is presumably Venus, mentioned in the next line.

Wbn, "to rise," can be used of stars, *Wb.* 1, 293/10–11.

Line 6: The god explains an aspect of Venus, perhaps in connection with the House of Life.

B02: *Twꜣ-ntr* is probably *tꜣ-(ntr)*, "Venus," *Glossar*, p. 614. This is the Late Period designation of the planet, see Graefe, "Morgenstern," *LÄ* 4, col. 206 (*ntr-dwꜣw*).

L01: *Ḥ.t* may be equated with the astrological *ꜥ.wy*, "house," for which see Hughes, "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian," in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 53. This usage does not seem to be otherwise attested, however, and it may possibly be *ḥ.t-ꜥnḫ*, "temple," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 628.

B04: Nothing may be written before *ꜥnḫ* at the beginning of B04, 4/19.

Bꜣ.w is uncertain, and may be best deleted.

Line 7: This obscure sentence deals with the birth (?) of an unnamed person or deity, possibly occurring at a particular time.

B02: We have read *pꜣ i-ir ms*, but *pꜣ ms* is perhaps better. This may be "the one who gives birth," or "the one who was born." It is reminiscent of the common phrase in astrological handbooks, *pꜣy ms=w*, "He who was born," Hughes, "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian," in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 69.

iw=f ḫpr may be a circumstantial or conditional form. This is followed by a circumstantial clause.

Line 8: This line is too damaged for secure translation.

B02: Instead of *nꜣy* read perhaps *nꜣe=w*, comparing the examples of *nꜣe=w*, *Glossar*, p. 205.

Wꜣḥ is uncertain.

Ḫnny.w or *ḫny.w*, not in the dictionaries, should mean "pellets, pieces," or similar, to judge from the determinative.

Bꜣ, with the metal determinative, may be old *biꜣ*, "Erz, Kupfer?" *Wb.* 1, 436/1–17; compare *Glossar,* p. 111.

B04: Perhaps read *nt sḏr rꜣ.w* as above in B04, 4/15.

Line 9: This sentence may describe a gate and gatekeeper.

B02: *Sbꜣ* has the wood determinative, as is clear from B04.

It seems likely that *sp* here means something other than merely "occasion." This may be an unorthographic writing. In B02 *sp* may have the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, while in B04 the normal *sp* sign is used. One notes that *sꜣb*, "jackal," can be written as *sp* with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, *Glossar*, p. 426. Other possibilities are *Sp*, "Sepa (the guardian-deity)," *Wb.* 3, 441/6; *spꜣ*, "stairs," *Wb.* 3, 441/9.

Line 10: Again, we seem to be dealing here with the physical openings or means of access to the House of Life.

B02: The determinative of *ššt* is not clear. There does not seem to be any suitable verb. It is possible that *ššt*, "window," *Glossar*, p. 523, is intended, parallel to the *sbꜣ*, "gate," of the previous line.

Ḫny is a plausible reading, although *ḥ* is not secure. Given the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, this is probably *ḥn*, "to command," *Glossar*, p. 310.

Pꜣ rt, "the foot (?)," is not certain of placement.

B04: *Sꜣ* is possibly *sꜣ*, "Mauer," *Glossar*, p. 405.

Sw is perhaps *sw*, "hüten," *Glossar*, p. 412.

Line 11: This is the first mention of a divine speaker, probably Osiris himself, who becomes important in the later portions of the composition.

B02: For a discussion of the name, see above, p. 15.

B04: *Pꜣ nt* is uncertain.

L01.3, 7/19: The speaker, unknown at this point, addresses Thoth himself. The fragmentary condition of the manuscripts obscures the parallelism with B04.

Possibly read the first group as *ỉp-ỉb*, and not just *ỉp*, comparing *Wb.* 1, 66/19, "verständig," this being an epithet of Thoth.

The determinative of *pḫ* is damaged, but may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth. This suggests *pḫr*, "bezauben," *Glossar*, p. 139. However, *r* is not omitted in any of the examples cited there.

L01.3, 7/20: The speaker may be the disciple, who requests revelation from the deity. Once more, the parallelism between L01 and B04 cannot be established.

Since the determinative of *wḏꜣy* is lost, the translation remains uncertain.

L01.3, 7/21: The speaker should still be the disciple, who perhaps claims identity with the deity.

ỉ-ỉr=y would be a second tense form.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 12 of B02

Transliteration

L01.3, 7/22 *nm pꜣ nt ʿḥʿr nꜣ sbꜣ[...]*

B02, 12/1 *[.....]*

L01.3, 7/23 *ỉʿpꜣ swt (r) nꜣ n[tr.w (?)...]*

B02, 12/2 ***wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f*** *nꜣy [...]*

NO CLEAR PARALLEL!

L01.3, 7/24 *ỉ pꜣ mr (?) pr-ḥḏ n nꜣ tꜣ.w[y ...]*

B02, 12/3 *[.....]ʿỉtʾ [...]*

B04, 7/1 *ṯ=w ꜣkyl (?)... nꜣ.w (?)*

B02, 12/4 ***[wp]y-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f*** *[.....]*

B04, 7/1–2 ***wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f*** *ỉn ʿrq=s(n) tꜣ / sbḫy n pꜣ (?) wyt nt ms šw nb ỉm=s*

B02, 12/5 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *ʿq=y ... [.....]*

B04, 7/2–3 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *ʿq=y / ỉ... tꜣ (?) sḫ.t mfkꜣy nt ỉr ḫyby n nꜣ ỉyḥỉy.w*

B02, 12/6 *iw=s grp r pȝ ... [.....]*
B04, 7/3–4 *iw=s /grp r pȝ ... pr-ˁnḫ ḥḥ nhy sp-2 tȝe=f (?) rḫ mny*
C06.2, 1 *[.....] ... [.....]*

B02, 12/7 ***wpy-tp-ȝt=f [.....]***
B04, 7/5–6 *wpy-tp-ȝt=f ḏ=f pyt m ḫt iḫ m tḫb / m ... nt iw=y n=w m-qb=s*
C06.2, 2 ***[wpy-tp-ȝt] = f ḏ = f*** *py[t .....]*

B02, 12/8 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *wn* ***42*** *n [.....](walking-legs det.)=k*
B04, 7/6–8 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f wn 42 / bȝ.w ... iw=w sḫn ḥḥ 3,000 ḥḥ [n]ȝ.w tw=y nȝ stp.w n nȝ / ˁˁ.w*
C06.2, 3–4 *[...] ḏ=f wn 4[2 ..... /.....] nȝ stp.w [...]*

NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04
B02, 12/9 *pr=y (?) nȝ s ... [...] ... pȝe=k (?) ... i-ir iȝw*

B04, 7/8 *... t tȝ s.t nȝ wḥs mȝˁ.ty*

NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04
B02, 12/10 ***[wpy-tp-ȝt] = f ḏ = f*** *... [...] pȝ ls ...*

B04, 7/8–10 *wpy-/tp-ȝt=f ḏ=f sš n=y tȝy gt=sn grp gȝy=sn iḫ / wn rȝ ... sḏm=w (?)*
C06.2, 5 ***[wpy-tp]-ȝt = f ḏ = f*** *s[š .....]*

B02, 12/11 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *iw=y wpy rn ḥnˁ ... [.....]*
B04, 7/10–11 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f iw=y wpy rn / ḥnˁ tȝe=w itny ḫr st gnm r nȝ wḥ.w*
C06.2, 6 *[.....] r nȝ wḥ.w (?)*

B02, 12/12 *wn 7.t n-im=w iw=w• sr nb mky.t• iw=w n sȝ n nbṯ ... [...]*
B04, 7/11–12 *wn 7[.t] n-im=w / iw=w sḏ nb mky iw=w n sȝ nbṯ ḫˁ.w*

B02, 12/13 *ky 2 n-im=w tȝ rt n wˁ ḫt ... [.....]*
B04, 7/12–13 *ky 2 n-im=w iw=w tȝ / rt n wˁ ḫt (?) ... mwt iw=w sbt (?) tp tȝ*

B02, 12/14 *ky ḥȝ.ty mtw=w iw=f n ḫbs iw=f sḫty iw=f ... [.....]*
B04, 7/13–14 *ky ḥȝ.t mtw=w i[w=f n] ḫbs / iw=f sḫt iw=f wḥm tȝe=w ȝspy*

B02, 12/15 *pḥ.wy 9 wḥȝ.w• iw=w fy n wˁ.t• wḏy [.....]*
B04, 7/14–15 *pḥy.w 9 wḥȝ / iw=w fy wˁ.t wḏy iw=s šš.w bšbš (?) twȝ.w (?) sp-2*

B02, 12/16 *wˁ.t (?) nry šbs ḥpt n-im=w iw iw=s ms ḏw ... [...]*
B04, 7/15–17 *r wˁ.t nry.t / šbs tȝ nt ḥpt n-im=w iw=s ms ḏw nb r glg=w mny / ...*

Translation

L01.3, 7/22. Who is the one who stands at the gate[s (?) ...]
L01.3, 7/23. O one who guards (?) the god[s (?) ...]
B02, 12/1 is missing

2. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "These [...]

L01.3, 7/24. O overseer (?) of the Treasury of the Two Lands (or "praises," "hieroglyphic signs"?) [...]

3. [...] ˹father˺ [...]

B04, 7/1. (the path of bringing) them are (the) excellent (?) ...

4. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "Have they completed the gate with the (?) green-stone which creates every stone block by means of it?"
5. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I have entered ... the (?) field of turquoise which forms a shade for the spirits.
6. She will reveal the ... (of) the House of Life, myriads, little by little (?) its list (?) of ...
7. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back,** he says: "What is the sailing northwards? What is the moistening? ... for them within it."
8. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ... which command myriads. They are 3,000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals.

NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04
B02, 12/9. I have seen (?) the ... [...] your (?) ... which have praised.
B04, 7/8. ... the place of the Hall of the Two Truths.
NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04

B02 12/10. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "... [...] the tongue ..."
B04, 7/8–10. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Explain to me this form of theirs; reveal their shapes. May the mouth open ... hear ..."

11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will reveal the name(s) and their secret aspects for indeed they are more mysterious than the nights.
12. There are seven of them who announce the Lord of Protection and who are as protection for the one brilliant (?) of appearances.
13. Another two of them give a foot (or "position") in a ... (in?) the place (?) of death, they being prepared (?) upon earth.
14. The foremost also of them, he being as a lamp which is lit, while he interprets their language.
15. The last nine (are) columns, carrying a Wadjet-figure amulet which has been spread out, the orderer of the two lands.
16. A noble vulture is the one who embraces them, it will give birth to all the young so as to settle them (according to their) manner (?) ...

Commentary

L01.3, 7/22: These lines continue the subject of gates and gate-keepers, possibly of the House of Life.

Sbꜣ is more probably "gates, doors," rather than "enemies."

L01.3, 7/23: We identify *swṯ* with *sꜣtw*, "to guard," which has numerous derived forms, *Wb.* 3, 416/12–418/12, or, less likely, with *sw*,"to guard," *Glossar*, p. 412.

Either *ntr.w*, "gods," *Glossar*, p. 234, or *ms.w*, "children" (or another word spelled *ms*), *Glossar*, p. 178, are reasonable interpretations of the last group.

Line 2

B02: The B02 version differs completely from L01 here. The next clear parallel between B02 and L01 appears in B02, 13/8 = L01.4, 8/7.

L01.3, 7/24: *Mr pr-ḥḏ* is an attractive reading, *Glossar*, p. 166.

Tꜣ.wy, "two lands," *Glossar*, p. 599, *twꜣ.w*, "praises," *Glossar*, p. 613, or *ṯyꜣ*, "hieroglyphic sign," *Glossar*, p. 606, are possible (intentional word play?). Perhaps transliterate *twꜣ[.w ...]*

B04, 7/1: No parallel to B02; see discussion of B04, column 5. This statement, possibly a gloss, may continue from B04, 6/24: "... which are the path of bringing them ... excellent ... "

Line 4: The parallel between B02 and B04 seems to begin here.

While the apparent connection with the preceding column may be misleading, the author evidently elaborates on the topic of gates. Osiris or Thoth question the disciple about stones and minerals.

B04: Most likely is *ʿrq*, "vollenden," *Wb.* 1, 212/3–7 (not in *Glossar*); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 167. The evil determinative may be borrowed from *ỉg*, "aufhören," *Glossar*, p. 264. Other alternatives, such as *ʿrq*, "swear," *Glossar*, p. 66; Coptic ϣⲁⲕ, "to bend," *KHWB*, p. 291; *ʿrq*, "to understand," *Wb.* 1, 212/10–15, do not yield as good sense (although "to understand" is certainly an intriguing rendering). *ʿrq* can mean "to polish, finish," stone, see Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral*, pp. 781–82.

We take *s* to be *sn* (the old suffix pronoun), although a reflexive or feminine suffix is also possible.

The word at the beginning of B04, 7/2, is difficult. It may be *sbḫy.t*, "gate," *Wb.* 4, 92/1–9; *Glossar*, p. 422 (in the expression *nꜣ sbḫ.wt n tꜣ Twꜣ.t*, "The gates of the Underworld"); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 821. The *ḫ* is formed as in *whs* in B04, 7/8.

Wyt is "grüner Stein," *Glossar*, p. 105. This is older *wꜣḏ*, "green-stone," Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 134; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 206.

Although *ms*, "to give birth," is written, the author may intend *ms*, "to bring (stone)," *Wb.* 2, 135/9. *Ms* would then be an archaic active participle.

Šw is *šw*, "Block," *Glossar*, p. 495.

Something may be written between *šw* and *nb*, perhaps "2." Other candidates are man-with-hand-to-mouth (suggesting that *šw* is then "be worthy") or *sp*-2. It resembles several examples of *sp*-2 in *Glossar*, p. 425, but is different from the clear writing of that term in B04, 8/22.

The *s* in *ỉm=s* probably refers back to the word read *sbḫy*.

Line 5: The disciple asserts that he has entered and knows certain sacred localities, perhaps specifically "the field of turquoise."

B04: Instead of *ỉ...* , read possibly *wmt* at the beginning of B04, 7/3, attested later in B04, 7/20. This would be the "thickness" (*Glossar*, p. 87) of the gate leading to the "field of turquoise."

The "field of turquoise," *sḫ.t mfky*, occurs also in B04, 9/21; *sḫ.t mkfꜣ.t*, "Name eines Gefildes am Himmel," *Wb.* 2, 56/11. Compare the "twin sycamores of turquoise" in Book of the Dead Spell 109, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 86, and also p. 100 (Spell 125 with mention of the "block of green fayence" given to the deceased); Burkard, *Osiris-Liturgien*, p. 154 (in the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys). On the significance of turquoise, see Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral*, pp. 491–517. A locality called *Sḫ.t-mfkꜣ.t* also appears in the Elephantine Stela of Amasis, where it has tentatively been identified with Kom Abu Billu, Leahy, "Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis," *JEA* 74 (1988), 190.

If *wmt* be restored at the beginning of B04, 7/3, the "thickness of the gate" may form a *ḫyb.t*, "shade," or perhaps "protective roof," *Glossar*, p. 377. See further George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*, pp. 9–10.

ỉyḫỉy.w is *ỉḫy*, "Geist," *Glossar*, p. 42.

Line 6: The disciple requests or offers a revelation concerning possibly forty-two (divine entities = books = sacred localities?) objects or beings associated with the House of Life.

B02: *ỉw=s grg* is difficult, but the traces support this reading, on the basis of B04.

B04: The subject is a feminine entity, perhaps a goddess or personification of the "field of turquoise."

The unread word before *pr-ʿnḫ* probably denotes inhabitants or objects of the House of Life, e.g., *bꜣ.w* or *ỉmy.w* (written *mw*).

Pr-ʿnḫ is certain, comparing B04, 7/20.

The determinative of *nhy* is damaged; it is definitely not the man-with-hand-to-mouth or the bird signs, *Glossar*, p. 221. *Sp*-2 is the best reading, *Glossar*, pp. 424–26. *Nhy sp*-2 may occur also in B02, 6/11.

We had first read "42" for the two signs immediately preceding *rḫ*. This would be oddly written with the "2" beneath the 40. We now believe that *tꜣe=f* is preferable, although this is also far from secure.

Rḫ is *rḫ.t*, "list, number," *Wb.* 2, 448/12–449/2 (not in *Glossar*).

Mny most resembles *mny*, "täglich," *Glossar*, p. 160 (the final determinative is damaged). However, we believe that this may be an unorthographic spelling of *mn.t*, "Art und Weise," *Glossar*, p. 161.

Line 7: The deity questions the disciple about the watery regions or a related subject within the sacred locality.

B04: *Pyt* is *pw tr*, "what is, who is," *Wb.* 1, 506/2–8 (not in *Glossar*). It is followed by *m* as is the parallel clause with *ỉḫ*.

The word after *m* should balance *tḫb*, "to immerse, annoint," *Glossar*, pp. 653–54; "to inundate," *Wb.* 5, 326/11; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1150. The signs fits *ḫt*, "wood," *Glossar*, p. 370, very well. Still, given that the word may have the water determinative, the scribe may have intended *ḫt*, "fahren, stromab fahren," *Glossar*, p. 397.

The beginning of B04, 7/6, is equally puzzling. The noun following *m* is lost, and the dative *n=w*, "for them," is inexplicable. This may be an unorthographic spelling, e.g., *n nw* for *n wʿ*, "as one," comparing *Glossar*, p. 81.

M-qb is the old compound preposition *m qꜣb*, "im Inneren von," *Wb.* 5, 10/3–11/1 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 8: The disciple responds to the question by explaining the forty-two sacred *bas*. These are explicitly characterized as sacred animals, an image well suited to the general tenor of the composition. While it is difficult to relate this answer to the previous question about libation or water, the following column of B04 is indeed concerned with ships and water.

B02: The *k* after the long lacuna may not belong to this line; it does not parallel the other versions.

B04: Read perhaps *bꜣ.w n pꜣ-Rʿ*, "souls of Re."

Forty-two, of course, is a fundamental number in Egyptian theology; there are, for example, forty-two judging gods in the underworld, for which see Seeber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 136–39. These forty-two presumably also relate to the forty-two vultures and their young described elsewhere, representing, among other things, the forty-two sacred books.

Sḫn, "command," *Glossar*, pp. 446–47, is probable; compare *sḫn* in B04, 7/1. However, there seem to be two additional strokes following the damage, and another short word may have stood before *ḥḥ* (*n* or *nꜣ*?).

The short stroke better fits 3,000 than 300, *Glossar*, p. 703.

3,000 *ḥḥ nꜣ.w* is a parenthetical gloss in the form of a nominal sentence. Only the vertical stroke of *nꜣ.w* is preserved.

Tw=y is a prospective form.

Stp has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, *Glossar*, p. 477.

The traces after ᶜ are probably the divine determinative and plural signs (as in *ḥḥ*).

Line 9: The parallelism breaks down here; we render the B02 and B04 versions separately.

B02: *Pry* may be *pr*, "to see," *Wb.* 1, 532, written for *ptr*, "to see," *Wb.* 1, 564/1–19. Another possibility is *pw*, "what," *Wb.* 1, 506/4–8. The reading *pry* is not secure.

We originally read [...] ...*=k n pꜣe=k wn* in the B02 version, which is unlikely.

ỉ-ỉr ỉꜣw is for *ỉ-ỉr ꜣwy*, "the ones who have praised," comparing *Glossar*, p. 2. The papyrus determinative is unexpected, but not inappropriate (a book of praise?).

B04: This clause may continue the previous line, since little is missing in the damage at the beginning of B04, 7/8. The *wsḫ.t mꜣᶜ.ty*, "Halle der beiden Wahrheiten," *Wb.* 1, 366/15, is where the underworld judgment takes place; see Helck, *LÄ* 3, col. 1112 ("Maat"); Seeber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 15, 54–56, 141 (on the important transitional aspect of the Hall of the Two Truths, situated between this world and the next), 142 (on the appearance of Thoth and Seshat in the judgment scenes, and also on Thoth), and 147–54. For the "Hall of the Two Truths" in Demotic, see M. Smith, *Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, 11/1 (not in *Glossar*). This is, in a sense, the goal of the deceased or disciple, cf. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," in Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, p. 150.

Line 10: Once more, the parallelism between the manuscripts breaks down here.

B02: *Pꜣ ỉs* is clear, but the concluding word cannot be read; it may end with *w* or the divine determinative.

B04: *Sš* is *sš*, "öffnen," *Wb.* 3, 481/14–482/14, or *sš*, "ausbreiten," *Wb.* 3, 482/16–483/1 (neither in *Glossar*). The sense here seems to be "explain."

The writing of *n=y* is abbreviated, but standard.

Gt, with the walking-legs determinative, is perhaps a miswriting of *qt*, "form," *Glossar*, p. 554.

There may have been some uncertainty on the part of the scribe; it does seem that *grp* was intended, although *grg* may also be read.

Gꜣy is a variant of *gy*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 571.

Again, there is a problem in the text, as *ỉḫ* seems to be written over *sm*, perhaps "sich erkundigen nach," *Glossar*, p. 431. The scribe possibly had in mind the old prospective construction with *ỉḫ*. Although rare, it is still attested in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 41 (Krug-text A, line 15).

We cannot read the traces preceding *sḏm*. The word concludes with the walking-legs, perhaps: *m-šm*, *my*, or *ms*.

Sḏm=w appears to be written, but the function of the suffix is unclear ("hear them" or "[what] they heard"?).

C06.2: This fragment lends support to the B04 version.

Line 11: The disciple lists the *bas* and elucidates their secret forms. L01 does not parallel the other versions at this point.

B02: *ỉw=y* may be added or corrected; it is a peculiar writing.

B04: *Ḫr* seems to be the particle, "further, for," *Wb.* 3, 316/12–317/10, followed by the first present (*st*), and not *ḫrw*, "voice," or the verb "to say." This particle is rare in Demotic, but occurs elsewhere in this composition, V01, 2/9, *ḫr st n nb* [...].

St introduces a first present construction.

Gnm is "to be blind," or "blind," *Glossar*, p. 581; *Wb.* 5, 107/1–4. This may be a figurative usage; *kꜣmn* can have the non-literal meaning: "to be dark (of the earth in a storm)," *Wb.* 5, 107/4; on *gnm* in the sense of "obscure," see M. Smith, review of Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, *JEA* 86 (2000): 177.

Wḫ is the best reading; compare *wḫs* in B04, 7/8. We identify this with *wḫ*, "darkness (of night)," *Glossar*, p. 98. On *wḫꜣ*, "night," *Wb.* 1, 352/5–10, and related terms,

see Hornung, "Lexikalische Studien I," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 106–14. Such words can receive the evil determinative, e.g., *kky*, "darkness," *Glossar*, p. 568. Other possibilities, such as *wḫ3*, "foolishness," *Wb.* 1, 354/11–14, although also having such a determinative, yield less sense. One may compare the statement in Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel-Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, p. 173: (the cult-images are) "geheimer als was im Himmel ist, verhüllter als die Geheimnisse der Unterwelt und verborgener als die Bewohner der Urwassers" (from a monument of Tuthmosis I in Abydos).

Line 12: The disciple describes the sacred *ba*s and their functions.

B02: Interestingly, the feminine form of the numeral is employed; presumably the author is thinking of the sacred *ba*s as *nr.wt*, "vultures," which appear later in this passage.

The *n-im=w* refers back to the forty-two *ba*s.

Sr, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is *sr*, "verkünden, anzeigen," *Glossar*, p. 441. It can have the sense of "showing the way," and these *bas* may have had the function of clearing the path for Osiris. Seven *ḏ3ṯiw*-deities (personifications of the creative word and writing) are *bas* who protect Osiris at Esna, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1217.

We had first taken the word after *nb* to be the dual of *m3ʿ.t*, *Glossar*, p. 149, but now think it is a form of *mky*, "protection," *Glossar*, p. 183; *Wb.* 2, 160/1–161/4 (noting the writings with the vulture, such an important image in this section of the Book of Thoth). For this epithet, see Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 3, p. 652.

S3 is *s3*, "Schutz, Amulett," *Glossar*, p. 403, for which, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 128.

There are several possibilities for *nbṯ*, but it is uncertain whether this is a negative epithet (of Seth) or a positive one (of Horus/Re): *nbd*, "be covered with copper," *Wb.* 2, 247/1–2; *nbḏ*, "be evil, harmful," *Wb.* 2, 247/4–5; *nbḏ*, "the evil one (of Seth)," *Wb.* 2, 247/6–8, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 508–09; *nbḏbḏ*, "verb used of the Horus-eye brought to heaven," *Wb.* 2, 247/9. We assume *nbṯ ḫʿw* is a good being, since *ḫʿw* generally has positive connotations. For *nbṯ* or *nbḏ*, see Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 101; M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 57; Herbin, *Parcourir*, pp. 215–16.

Ḥʿw is probably "glorious appearances," *Glossar*, pp. 350–51, rather than "weapons," *Wb.* 3, 243/3–15.

Line 13: The disciple portrays two beings who perform a specific function in the place (?) of death, for which they have been prepared upon earth.

B02: The construction may be a first present in B02, while in B04 the circumstantial *iw=w* is used.

Rt, "foot," *Glossar*, p. 258, is probable. The vertical stroke after the flesh determinative is perhaps a plural marker. The idiom "to give the foot," does not appear in *Wb.* 2, 461/1–462/15; Crum, *CD*, p. 303a, ϯ ϵⲣⲁⲧ, "to shoe," yields little sense for this passage. A prepositional use of *(r)-rd.wy*, "at," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 595, is also not very compelling. This may be *rt*, "Art," *Glossar*, p. 258, noting the Coptic idiom ϯⲙⲫⲣⲏⲧⲉ, "to give means," Crum, *CD*, p. 305b, or *ti rt* could be an unorthographic writing of ⲧⲣⲁⲓⲧ, "befestigt sein," *KHWB*, p. 242.

Ḥt is not certain, the *ḥ* being especially suspicious. The word apparently has the plant determinative, but *ḫt*, "wood, tree," *Glossar*, p. 370, is hardly written thus. One might consider the spelling of *ḫt*, "plot of land," with the plant determinative, *Glossar*, p. 371, but this is uncertain.

B04: The noun preceding *mwt* has the place determinative, comparing *s.t* in B04, 7/8; it may be *ʿ.wy mwt* or *s.t*.

Sbt may be *sbt*, "to prepare, equip, establish," *Glossar*, p. 424, and we have so translated. However, that verb has the arm with a stick or the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinatives, while this word seems to have the place determinative. That suggests rather *sbt*, "Hügel," *Glossar*, p. 423.

The old preposition *tp* is uncommon in Demotic, *Glossar*, pp. 626–27.

Line 14: The first one of the procession seems to have the form of a lamp, lighting the way.

B02: A red point is written above the *ḥ3.ṯ*. *Ḥ3.ṯ* is a plausible reading, *Glossar*, p. 287, although the concluding signs are difficult to see.

For *mtw=w*, "from them," see *Glossar*, p. 188.

iw=f is either the first present or a circumstantial form.

iw=f n ḫbs is also ambiguous, being either "he being as a lamp" or "he being with a lamp."

Sḫty is *sḫḏ*, "erleuchten," *Glossar*, p. 450. On this word, see M. Smith, *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, p. 79.

For representations of the "damned" with "torches as heads," see Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, p. 155; for "positive" deities with such emblems on their heads, Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, p. 97.

B04: *Wḥm* is "wiederholen," but also, "interpret, translate," *Glossar*, p. 97. Significantly, the Apis bull was designated the *wḥm n Ptḥ*, "the herald of Ptah," *Wb.* 1, 344/14.

ʿspy, "language," not in *Glossar*, is already attested in B02, 4/1.

Line 15: The last nine in the procession are possibly "column"-shaped, but carry an *oudjat*-eye.

B02: *Pḥ.wy* or *pḫw* is plausible, comparing *pḫw*, "das Ende," *Glossar*, p. 138. Damage after the *pḥ* sign obscures the following short vertical strokes.

We had first understood *wḫ3* as "to seek," *Glossar*, p. 98, but now think *wḫ3*, "column," *Glossar*, p. 98, more likely. The determinative in B02 is not clear, but *wḫ3* in B04 seems to have the stone determinative found with *wḫ3*, "column," in *Wb.* 1, 352/13. These are presumably divine column-shaped beings, comparing the papyrus column in the Third Hour of the Amduat, Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 82.

Wḏy.t is probably *Wt.t* or *Wʒḏ.t*, "the snake-goddess Wadjet," *Glossar*, p. 105. Wadjet can merge with the vulture deity Nekhbet, Fischer-Elfert, *LÄ* 6, col. 907 ("Uto"). Also possible is "Horusauge," *Glossar*, p. 108.

B04: *Sš* is reasonable, comparing *sš* in B04, 7/9, although the meaning is obscure. The two strokes of the *s* are damaged. The verb probably has the walking-legs determinative,

and is a stative form with a *w* ending. It is related to *sš*, "öffnen," *Wb.* 3, 481/14–482/14, or *sš*, "ausbreiten," *Wb.* 3, 482/16–483/1 (not in *Glossar*).

Bšbš, written as *bš sp-2*, is not otherwise attested; compare *bšbš.t*, "Substantiv," *Wb.* 1, 478/14. It may be identical with Coptic ⲃⲟⲩⲃⲉⲩ, from ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲩ, "to rub, break," *KHWB*, p. 283; *wšwš*, "zerschlagen," *Wb.* 1, 370/16–371/2. Compare further *ʿbšbš*, "louange," Herbin, *Parcourir*, p. 210. There may be a sound-play with *wḫ3* earlier in the line. None of these possibilities is compelling.

However, one wonders whether this is, in fact, *šbšb t3.wy*, "she who puts the two lands in order," comparing *šbšb*, "to order," *Wb.* 4, 442/4–7; cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, p. 8. Wadjet is celebrated as *wp.t t3.wy*, "she who judges, opens, defines the two lands," Fischer-Elfert, *LÄ* 6, col. 907 ("Uto"). This may describe the Wadjet figure. If the preceding *sš* be transitively understood as "to spread out," *bšbš* might be a writing of *šb*, "feather." The "feather of the vulture,"can allude to *Maat*, *Wb.* 4, 424/4–8.

The problematic final word resembles the sign in *wpy-tp-3t=f*. We believe that *t3.wy*, "two lands," *Glossar*, p. 599, is likely.

Sp-2 is not certain. Render possibly "one by one?"

The sign before *wʿ.t nr.t* may be the numeral 6 or *i*; see the note on the following line 16.

Line 16: The author depicts a vulture which has intercourse with the forty-two *bas*, and gives birth to forty-two young.

B02: The initial sign is puzzling. It could be a damaged *wʿ.t*, comparing *wʿ.t* in the previous B02, 12/15, but would be set strangely above the base line. Since it seems to be an indefinite subject, it may also be understood as the "flower (?)" sign, Gardiner M42, with the value of *wn*, "there exists," a well-attested variant of the hare *wn* sign. It resembles Möller, *HP* 3, number 564.

Add. 14 The probable adjective modifying *nry* in B02 is *šbs*; the odd writing is found as well in B02, 13/13. Mut is called the *nry.t šps.t* in Mythus (e.g., 9/7), Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, p. 264.

Ḥpt, "umarmen, umfassen," *Wb.* 3, 71/16–72/8 (not in *Glossar*), may be construed with *m*.

iw iw=s is a circumstantialized future form, uncommon in Demotic.

B04: There seems to be a group before *wʿ.t* belonging to the line. This is either "6" or *r* (for old *ir*, "as for?").

Šbs is probably *šps*, "be noble," *Glossar*, p. 503, with *b* written for *p*.

The traces fit *t3 nt*, which is not in B02.

iw=s may be the simple third future here, as opposed to the circumstantial third future in B02.

In B04, 7/2, mention is made of a "gate/field" which *ms šw nb*, "creates every stone block." There may be parallelism in sound (variation between *ḏ* and *š* is attested, see *KHWB*, p. 417) or meaning here.

R glg=w is probably *r* plus infinitive with suffix object. *Glg* is *grg*, "to equip, supply, found," *Glossar*, pp. 586–87. The force of this clause is unclear.

Mny may be "daily" here, *Glossar*, p. 160, but *mn.t*, "Art und Weise," *Glossar*, p. 161, is also attractive. The same word may occur in B04, 7/5.

Continuation of Text Based on B04, 7/17–22 (Without Parallel in B02 or L01)

Transliteration

B04, 7/17 *... t3e=w imy šby ḫr (?) ḏ iry ... wʿ smt*

B04, 7/18 *iw=s b3k hyny 40 (n) nb mfky k.t 2 (n) ḫs[tb]* Add. 1

B04, 7/19 *ʿm3ʿ (n) t3 h3y.t gm t3 nry.t n3e=s ḏw.w iwt [n3] wš.w (?)*

B04, 7/20 *ʿiw=s' wmt pr-ʿnḫ r-mn šm=y r tr.t=s*

B04, 7/21 *mny=y im=s w3ḥ=y n3 tws.w nt ḫpr ḫr ḥ3.t gm=y*

B04, 7/22 *rḫ.t t3 i-ir š snt ʿ.t iw=s ... ḫbs n sl3*

Translation

B04, 7/17. ... their character (?), various of appearance (?), ... to say ... a manner.
B04, 7/18. She works some forty (with) gold and turquoise, another two (with) real lapis [lazuli ?]
B04, 7/19. (in) the hall. The vulture discovered its young between [the] pillars (?)
B04, 7/20. ʿbelonging toʾ an entrance-way (of) the House of Life. Come! Let me go to it.
B04, 7/21. Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier. Let me learn of
B04, 7/22. She-who-is-wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.

Commentary

B04, 7/17: The author describes the nature of these divine offspring.

The initial three strokes may be *y*. It is unclear whether they begin this sentence or belong to the preceding *mny* in B04, 7/16. One expects the first word to be an adjective form qualifying *imy.t*, "character."

imy, written with the flesh determinative, is probably "character," *Glossar*, p. 30, and not a variant of *3my.t* "fist," *Glossar*, p. 4.

Šby, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is "mischen," *Wb.* 4, 436/4–14; "to mix, change," *Glossar*, p. 497. This may mean "be diverse, various," here (cf. *KHWB*, pp. 303–04).

The damaged word after *šby* resembles *ḥr*, "face, appearance." *Mt.w*, "words" (found in B04, 7/17), is less likely.

The traces fit *ḏ*, comparing B04, 7/2. The vertical stroke after *ḏ* may be *=w*.

ỉry is uncertain, especially since there seems to be more than *ỉr* after the vertical stroke; perhaps *š*. The word concludes with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

Smt, "manner, way," *Glossar*, pp. 434–35, is reasonable; the final signs are the tusk and the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

B04, 7/18: The vulture-mother covers forty of these young in gold and turquoise, the other two (first and last?) in lapis lazuli.

ỉw=s is the proclitic first present referring back to the *nry.t*.

Bỉk is *bk*, "arbeiten," *Glossar*, p. 123, in the sense of "work with gold or another precious material," *Wb.* 1, 427/5–11. Curiously, *mk*, "überzogen sein mit Gold (comparing *bỉk*)," *Wb.* 2, 162/1–2, can be written with the vulture with outstretched wings.

Hyny is the indefinite plural article, *Glossar*, p. 269.

For *mfky*, "Malachit," see *Glossar*, p. 157.

Ḫstb, "lapis lazuli," *Glossar*, p. 369, is probable, but the end of the word is difficult.

B04, 7/19: Given the known phrase *ḫstb mỉꜥ*, *Wb.* 3, 334/9, we suggest *mỉꜥ*, but *m-ḫn* is also possible. On the symbolism of lapis lazuli, see Mathieu, *Poésie*, p. 36.

Hỉy.t is "Halle, Vorhalle," *Wb.* 2, 476/4–11; *hỉ.t*, "Halle," *Glossar*, p. 266, or *hỉy.t*, "heaven," noting the *p.t* determinative. It may be a sort of columned portico or kiosk, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 598–99; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, pp. 257 and 416; Kammerzell, "Within the Altar of the Sun," *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001): 158–59.

Wš is written as *wš*, "Loch, Raum," *Glossar*, p. 101, but the stone determinative implies that it is a variant of *wḫỉ*, "column," *Wb.* 1, 352/12–16; *wḫỉ*, "Säule," *Glossar*, p. 98.

B04, 7/20: *ỉw=s* at the beginning of the line would be the genitive particle *ns*, "gehören," *Glossar*, p. 227.

Wmt is "gateway," *Wb.* 1, 307/1–2, "tower," *Glossar*, p. 87, for which, see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, p. 190; Kampp-Seyfried and Seyfried, "Zwei Baugraffiti aus dem Vorhof des Grabes des Paser (TT 106)," in Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach*, p. 121; Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, p. 78; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 22. It designates here a room or gateway of the House of Life.

R-mn is the best reading, perhaps with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. Neither the verb *mn*, "to remain," nor the compound preposition *r mn*, "as far as," *Wb.* 2, 64/3–12, yields satisfactory sense. We render it as an unorthographic writing of the imperative of *ỉw*, *ỉ-mj-n*, "kommt!" *KHWB*, p. 5.

Šm is damaged, but recognizable.

R tr.t is "besides, by," *Glossar*, p. 644 ("vor"). The suffix *s* presumably refers to the "hall" (*hỉy.t*).

B04, 7/21: Given the context, *mny/mỉỉ=y* as an action of the speaker is preferable to *mny*, "daily." We take it to be *mn*, "to remain."

ỉm=s refers back to the *hỉy.t*, "hall."

Wỉḫ may have several meanings here, but *wḥ*, "lösen," *Glossar*, p. 77, is most likely. The expression *wỉḫ twỉ.w* occurs also in B02, 3/15.

Although the determinative of *twỉ.w* (pellet and plural strokes) is odd, this is probably *twỉ*, "praise," *Glossar*, p. 613. The speaker hopes to recite or elucidate ancient (hymns of) praise.

We translate *gm=y* as a prospective form.

B04, 7/22: Cf. C04.4, 2/x+10, *tỉ rḫ.t*, "the wise one," there applied to Mut. *Rḫ* is also written with a straight horizontal stroke above the *ḫ* in B04, 7/13. Here it probably refers to Seshat, prominent in foundation ceremonies.

Tỉ ỉ-ỉr š snt is the past participle with *šỉꜥ*, "to be first," written as *š*, followed by an infinitive, *snt*, "schaffen, gründen," *Glossar*, pp. 439–40. Alternatively, *š* stands for *rḫ*.

The object of *snt* is *ꜥ.t*, "chamber," *Glossar*, p. 51. This suggests that we are dealing with a foundation ceremony; on Thoth and the founding of the temple, see, for example, Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 199.

Understand possibly *ỉw=s* + verb/preposition + *ḫbs n slỉ*, conveying the sense "she (the wise one) carrying/possessing a lamp of prophecy." The traces following *ỉw=s* are too damaged for certainty; perhaps *ꜥḥꜥ* or *ḫpr*.

The traces, concluding with the brazier determinative, fit *ḫbs*, "lamp," *Glossar*, p. 380. We have no other example of the striking phrase *ḫbs n slỉ*, "lamp of prophecy."

Continuation of Text Based on Column 13 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 13/1–6 are missing

L01.4, 8/1	*ỉ[.....]*	Add. 4
L01.4, 8/2	*...[.....]*	
L01.4, 8/3	*[.....]*	
L01.4, 8/4	*...[.....]*	
B02, 13/7	*[...]=f[.....]*	
L01.4, 8/5–6	are missing	
B02, 13/8	*[wpy-tp-]ỉt=f ḏ=f ꜥ... n ... [...]*	
B03.9, x+1	*wpy-tp[-ỉt=f...]*	
L01.4, 8/7	*w[py-tp-ỉt=f...]*	

B02, 13/9 **mr-rḫ ḏ=f ḥyn.w n (ʔ) nry.w [...]**
B03.9, x+2 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f... [...]*
L01.4, 8/8 *m[r-rḫ ...]*

B02, 13/10 **wpy-tp-ỉt=f ḏ=f mỉʿ qbḥ [...]**
B03.9, x+3 *wpy-tp-[ỉt=f...]*
L01.4, 8/9 *w[py tp-ỉt= f...]*

B02, 13/11 **mr-rḫ ḏ=f** *ỉḫ n mky nt-ỉw=w n-ḫ.t=f ḥr šw ... k r-r=w*。
B03.9, x+4–5 *mr-rḫ [...] / ỉḫ n mky [...]*
L01.4, 8/10–11 *mr[-rḫ ... /] ỉḫ [...]*

B02, 13/12 **[wpy- tp-ỉt] =f ḏ=f** *twỉ=k šty=k ỉḫ snn=k pry tỉ ḫn.t (ʔ) ḥnʿ ỉnm*
B03.9, x+6–7 *wpy-t[p-ỉt=f..... / š]ty [...]*
L01.4, 8/12–13 *wpy-tp-[ỉt=f... /] twỉ=k šty [...]*

B02, 13/13 **[mr-rḫ ḏ=f ...]** *... ỉ... y ... n ʾ*。 *sʿḥʿ n ky šbs nw ỉb ls*。
L01.4, 8/14 *mr-rḫ [...]*

B02, 13/14 **[wpy-tp-ỉt=f] ḏ=f** *mwḫy=k ʿnḫ=k ỉrỉ=k s.t=k gy=k nb my tỉ=w rḫ=y st*
L01.4, 8/15 *wp[y-tp-ỉt=f...]*

B02, 13/15 *[...] ... mỉwy... ntnt ḥn ḥr mỉʿ*
B04, 5/1 *[..... ḥ]n ḥr mỉʿ*

B02, 13/16 *[...] mỉ mtry=y (ṯ)=k r bw-ỉr-tw=k ḥp r bw-ỉr-tw=k ʿq ḫn ... [...]*
B04, 5/2–3 *[..... bw]-ỉr-tw=k ḥš* (corrected to *ḥp*) *r bw- ỉr / [...]*

Translation

B02, 13/1–6 are missing
L01.4, 8/1. O [...]
L01.4, 8/2–6 are too damaged for translation

7. [...] he (?) [...]
8. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "... [...]
9. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Some vultures [...]
10. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "The place of coolness (or "the swamp areas") [...]
11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the protection (?) (for) the one in whom they are? ... you thereto (?)?"
12. [**He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his**]**-back, he says:** "May you praise! May you recite (?)! What is your image? What is the ... and the skin (?)?"
13. [**The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "...] ... of the donkey, a raising up of another treasure of the heart and tongue."

14. [**He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back**], **he says:** "May you compare (?) your life! May you explain (?) your place! As for every form of yours, may they cause that I know it.
15. [...] ... thought ... inquire (?). Stay near to the place!
16. [...] Come let me instruct you before you hurry (?) and before you have entered in ... [...]

Commentary

B02, 13/8: Read perhaps *ʾỉb.t*, "offering," or *ʿ.t*, "limb," after *ḏ=f*.

B02, 13/9: The author still describes the vultures, presumably the same as those found in B02 column 12.

B02, 13/10: *Mỉʿ* has the house determinative, but the long vertical stroke curving out at the bottom after the determinative is problematic; this may be *mỉʿ*, "Ort, Platz," *Glossar*, p. 149.

Qbḥ is certain, but no determinative is preserved, so "cool," "libation," or "swamp," *Glossar*, pp. 534–35, are equally possible. It may designate the original dwelling places of the vultures.

B02, 13/11: In this difficult line the disciple questions the deity about protection (?).

Mky is possibly "protection," *Glossar*, p. 183; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 470–71. The determinative is not certain; it may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth sign, so other words spelled *mk* might be proposed, e.g., *Wb.* 2, 161–62. The sign may even be the wood determinative, suggesting *mky*, "Leiter," *Glossar*, p. 183.

An alternative rendering of *mk.t* is "the proper place," *Wb.* 2, 161/8–12; see also Mathieu, *Poésie*, p. 166.

For the reading *ḫ.t=f*, compare *ḫ.t* in B02, 2/4.

Ḥr is most likely the aorist particle, which implies that *šw* is a verb. The determinative may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth, which brings to mind *šw*, "nützlich, geeignet, würdig," *Glossar*, p. 493. Alternatively, *ḥr šw* may be an unorthographic writing of שייע, "it is fitting," *KHWB*, p. 336, but this is quite speculative.

Št is the most plausible reading of the initial signs of the word after *šw*. However, more seems to be written than *štyty ṯ=k*, which is, in any case, difficult to translate. The sign before *ṯ=k* may be the arm with a stick; this is perhaps best read as *št... ṯ=k*. The entire conclusion of this line is suspicious, and what we suggest is *št* may equally be *ʿt*, *ṯ*, or *nḫ*.

This is probably a plea of the disciple for instruction, such as *mtry=k ṯ r-r=w*, "may you instruct me concerning them," or *ṯ-myt=k ṯ*, "may you guide me (?)."

B02, 13/12: The deity replies with a question in turn. This relates to the image and external characteristics of an unnamed being (the bird?).

We read *twỉ* on the basis of L01.4, 8/13. *Twỉ*, "to praise," fits the first sign exceptionally well, comparing the *twỉ* in B02, 1/12.

We take *šty* as "recite," but there are, of course, other possibilities.

Snn is "Bild, Ebenbild," *Wb.* 3, 460/6–17 (not in *Glossar*); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 865. It is strange that the god should ask the disciple: "What is your image?"

We understand *pry* to be an interrogative pronoun, a variant of *pw/ptr*, *Wb.* 1, 506/2–8.

The preserved slanting traces suggest *ḫn.t*, "Tierfell," *Wb.* 3, 367/12–14. The determinative may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth.

ꜣnm is probably *ꜣnm*, "Haut, Fell," *Glossar*, p. 5; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 84.

B02, 13/13: This line, which cannot be confidently translated, is the speech of the disciple.

The word preceding *n ꜥꜣ* ends with the flesh determinative.

ꜥꜣ, "donkey," seems certain, *Glossar*, pp. 54–55.

The precise nuance of *sḫr*, "aufstellen, tadeln," *Glossar*, p. 411, escapes us.

Ky, "another," fits the traces well.

For the reading *šbs*, see B02, 12/16.

B02, 13/14: The deity may be testing the student.

The initial group may be *mw ḫy*, but such words as *ḫꜣy*, "Licht," *Glossar*, p. 376, yield unsatisfactory sense; *mwḫ*, "brennen," *Glossar*, p. 157, is little better. Most attractive is *mḫy*, "compare," *Glossar*, pp. 175–76.

"Life" is the apparent object of *mwḫy*, just as *s.t=k* may be the object of *ꜣrꜣ=k*.

The first two signs of *ꜣrꜣ* are secure, as is the house determinative. However, the final *ꜣ* is not. We identify this with ωλ, "aufheben, bringen, umgeben," *KHWB*, p. 291. The rendering "explain" is a suggestion, but we can offer no other example of such a meaning.

B02, 13/15: *Mꜣwy* is probably *mꜣwy*, "denken," *Glossar*, p. 156.

The word following *mꜣwy* may conclude with the animal-skin determinative.

Ntnt is *ndnḏ*, "fragen," *Glossar*, p. 235.

We take *hn* to be *hn*, "neigen," *Glossar*, p. 276, or *hn*, "sich erstrecken nach," *Glossar*, p. 276; note also *hnn*, with *ḫr*, "vertrauen auf," *Wb.* 2, 495/6.

The determinative of *mꜣꜥ* in B02 and B04 suggests "place," rather than "truth, justice."

B04: Here B04 begins once more to parallel B02.

B02, 13/16: Evidently the deity still speaks; compare B02, 6/8, for the initial imperative, *mꜣ mtry=y ṯ=k*.

This phrase is followed by two circumstantialized negative perfect constructions.

The problematic first verb is most probably *ḥp*. With the evil determinative one thinks naturally of *ḥp*, "verbergen," *Glossar*, p. 302, but it may well be that *ḥp*, "eilen," *Wb.* 3, 68/7–10, is intended (not in *Glossar*).

The traces fit *ḫn* well after *ꜥq*.

B04: Here *ḫš*, "to press, torture," ϩωϣ, *KHWB*, p. 405, seems to be written. However, there may be a correction to *ḥp*.

Continuation of Text Based on Two Lines of B04 (Without Parallel in Other Papyri)

Transliteration

B04, 5/3 *[...]... yn r nꜣ...*

B04, 5/4 *[...] ỉr... ns r s.t...*

Translation

B04, 5/3. [...] ... to the ...
B04, 5/4. [...] ... to make ... go to (the) place ...

Commentary

B04, 5/3: Perhaps *wyn*, "vorübergehen," *Glossar*, p. 80.

Nỉe=k may be written at the end of the line.

B04, 5/4: The sign between the probable *ỉr* and *ns* may be *ỉr* or *m*.

Ns is possibly *ns*, "gehen nach (with *r*)," *Wb.* 2, 321/1–3, or it may belong to the preceding word.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 14 or "14" of B02

Transliteration

L01.5, 9/1 *[...]* (tongue determinative)

L01.5, 9/2 *[...]... nꜣ ntr.w*

L01.5, 9/3 *[...]... ỉw=f ꜥꜣ-sḏm*

L01.5, 9/4 *[...]... ḏ nꜣ twꜣ.w ... ⌜ḫr ḫꜣ.ṯ=f⌝* Add. 15
B03, 1/1 *[.....] ḏ nꜣ twꜣ.w ... ḫr ḫꜣ.ṯ=f*

B02 frag., B *[.....]⌜pr-ꜥnḫ⌝ ḫn pꜣ kky smy*
L01.5, 9/5 *[..... pꜣr-ꜥnḫ ḫn pꜣ kky smy [...]*

B03, 1/2 *[...]... =k r pr-ʿnḫ ḫn n pꜣ kky sm[...]...*

B02 frag., B *[...] ʿs-my w...y... ỉw=s (?) hb.w ... nꜣ ỉ-ỉr hb=y*
L01.5, 9/6 *[...] ʿs-my (?) wꜣ nꜣ hb.w ꜣkyl.w nꜣ ỉ-ỉr hb=y*
B03, 1/3 *[...]..... nꜣ hb.w ꜣkyl.w ỉr hb=y*

B02 frag., B *[...]... [...]*
L01.5, 9/7 *[...]s... [...] r ỉr=w ʿhnt=fʾ*
B03, 1/4 *[...]..... ỉr=w ḥnṯy=f*

L01.5, 9/8 *[..... lꜣs ntm [ỉw]=f šm (or tmꜣ) syg*
B03, 1/5 *[...] tr.t pꜣ ḫfn (?)..... ls ntm ỉw=f šm (or tmꜣ) syg*

L01.5, 9/9 *[.....] pꜣ ỉ-ỉr šp pꜣe=k qf*
B03, 1/6 *[ỉḫ ... pꜣ] ỉ-ỉr pꜣe=k ʿn-smy [...] ỉḫ wbꜣ pꜣ ỉ-ỉr pꜣe=k fk*

L01.5, 9/10 *[.....]..... r ḫr sḏm=f*
B03, 1/7 *[...]... ʿy.w hymꜣey ḥwt.w š sḏm=f*

L01.5, 9/11 *[.....]*
B03, 1/8 *[... ỉ]b glꜣ.w ... ỉmṯ ... mn [...]*

L01.5, 9/12 *[.....]*
B03, 1/9 *[...]... m ... [...]*

L01.5, 9/13 *[.....] ls [...]*
B03, 1/10 *[...]... šbs nw ỉb ls*

L01.5, 9/14 *[.....]*
B03, 1/11 *[...]... šgyg m[y ti=y] rḫ=k s*

L01.5, 9/15 *[.....] tbl*
B03, 1/12 *[...] ḫn pꜣ tbl*

L01.5, 9/16–24 are missing

B03, 1/13 *[...]... mr nte*

B03, 1/14 *[...]... slꜣ.w ỉ-ỉr=k m wḫꜣ*

B03, 1/15 *[...]...*
B04, 5/5 *[...]... tꜣ lʿy.t (?) tꜣ*

Translation

(lines numbered chiefly according to L01.5)

1. [...] tongue (?)
2. [...] ... the gods.
3. [...] ... as he calls and hears.
4. [...] ... say the praises ... before him.
5. [...] you ... to the House of Life in the darkness of twilight.
6. [...] ... Behold! ... the excellent ibises ... the ones who sent me.
7. [...] ... They made his slaughter (?).
8. [...] ... through (?) the *ḫfn*-snake (?) ... [...] sweet tongue, if it ignores (?) silence (?).
9. [What is the ...] which made your report? What butler is the one who has made (L01: "received") your reward.
10. [...] ... limbs, some males. He hears.
11. [... he]art (?) ... [...]
12. [...] ... [...]
13. [...] ... treasures of the heart and tongue (?) [...]
14. [...] ... longing. L[et me cause] that you know it.
15. [...] in the divine shrine

B03, 1/13. [...] ... to wish to ask
B03, 1/14. [...] ... prophets. You are a fool.
B04, 5/5. [...] ... the landing-place (?), the

Commentary

Line 1: We render *ls*, "tongue."

Line 2: *Nꜣ* is uncertain.

Line 3: Read perhaps *[m]nq*, "to complete," at the beginning of the line.

Line 4
L01: One expects the name of a deity or *pr-ʿnḫ*, "House of Life," for example, to follow *nꜣ twꜣ.w*. However, none of these fits the traces.
Ḥr-ḫꜣ.t is insecure at the end of the line.

B03: There may be a *ṯ* and the house determinative after *twꜣ.w*.

Line 5: The author mentions the House of Life and the outer darkness.

B02: *Kky smꜣw*, *Wb.* 5, 143/16–144/5 (not in *Glossar*); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1092, is a compound known especially from the royal tombs. It has the basic meaning of "darkness," but particularly designates the twilight on the border of the underworld in the first

and last hours of the night. The House of Life is possibly conceived as being figuratively situated in such murky twilight regions.

L01: The water determinative of *sm3w* is partly preserved after the break.

Line 6: The disciple probably speaks, requesting that the sacred ibises reveal (?) or "consider the one who sent him."

B02: The script is too unclear to be certain of the parallelism between B02 and the other two papyri.

We had first read the traces as *my wpy ... n3 hb.w*, "Let reveal/separate ... the ibises," but now think this doubtful. We believe that *ʿs-my*, "see!" *Glossar*, p. 70, is more likely.

For *ỉw=s*, read possibly *n3*.

Similarly, while L01 and B03 have *hb.w 3kyl.w*, a form of *3kr.w* is by no means so self-evident in B02; only the *3* may be visible.

L01: *W3*, with man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is perhaps related to *w3w3*, "überlegen, planen," *Wb.* 1, 249/6–15. Instead of *w3* read possibly *wp*.

ỉ-ỉr hb is probably a past participle construction. The line plays on the ancient pun between *hb*, "ibis," and *hb*, "send."

Line 7

L01: *R* may be a circumstantial converter or *r ỉr=w* may be a second tense.

Ḥnty is possibly *ḥntj*, "schlachten," *Wb.* 3, 122/11–13 (not in *Glossar*), or *ḥnty*, "to be greedy," *Wb.* 3, 121/12–13.

Line 8

B03: *Tr.t*, "hand," is not certain.

As *ḥfn* is determined with the snake (?), it may be identical with *ḥfn.w*, "Bez. für Schlange," *Wb.* 3, 74/17, or *ḥfnw*, "hundreds of thousands," *Wb.* 3, 74/1–14. The reading is not secure.

A "sweet tongue" may be an eloquent one.

We have read *tm*, presumably the negative verb, but the construction is odd; it should be a conditional. Moreover, the writing is not typical for *tm*, *Glossar*, pp. 629–30. Preferable may be *šm* for *ḫm*, "nicht kennen," *Glossar*, p. 359.

Syg is probably *sg3*, "schweigen," *Wb.* 4, 320/7–8 (from *sgr*, "be silent"); *sgr*, "Ruhe," *Glossar*, p. 470. A connection with *sg*, "erstarren," *Glossar*, p. 468, is less plausible.

Line 9

L01: This version has *šp*, omitted in B03.

B03: *ỉ-ỉr* may be the imperative or the second tense.

For *ʿn-smy*, see *Glossar*, p. 432.

We render the partly destroyed signs before *wb3* as the interrogative pronoun *iḫ*, and not as *ỉ-rḫ*, the imperative of *rḫ*.

Wb3 is not otherwise attested in Demotic, and may be old *wdpw/wb3*, "Aufwärter, Diener," *Wb.* 1, 388/2–10; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 276–77. On the word, see Barbotin, "Le Papyrus Chassinat III," *RdE* 50 (1999):19.

Fk is *fq3*, "Geschenk," *Wb.* 1, 579/5–9 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 10

B03: We take *hyn3ey* as *hyny*, "some," which may have the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, *Glossar*, p. 269. The *n* would be considerably distorted by damage in that case.

Ḫwt.w, "males," *Glossar*, p. 297, is reasonable, but the meaning is obscure.

Š sḏm=f is an aorist conjugation.

Line 11

B03: For the suggested *ỉb*, compare B03, 1/10.

Gl3 is obscure; the *3* is doubtful. The word may conclude with the man and plural signs. A connection with *glw*, "anvertrauen," *Glossar*, p. 587, is not convincing. Something seems to be written between the *gl3.w* and *ỉmṯ*.

The reading *ỉmṯ* is difficult to avoid, but we can find no suitable word so spelled. It may be related to *ỉmtw*, "impure creature," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 79.

Line 12

B03: The damaged initial sign looks like *3*.

Line 13

B03: For the phrase *3bs nw ỉb ls*, see B02, 13/13. There is indeed a rather close parallel between B03, 1/9–15 and B02, 13/13–15.

Line 14

B03: There is probably an *m* after the *šgyg*. We suggest *my tỉ=y rḫ=k s(t)*, comparing B02, 13/14.

Line 15

B03: *Ḥn* is reasonable; compare the house determinative in B03, 1/1.

Tbl is *dbr*, "Götterschrein," *Wb.* 5, 439/4; ΤΑΒΙΡ, "Heiligtum," *KHWB*, p. 223 (not in *Glossar*). The determinative preserved in L01 is identical with that quoted in *KHWB*, p. 223 (Gardiner sign-list V 19, hobble, but also used for shrines).

B03, 1/13: *Nte*, "to ask," *Wb.* 2, 370–371/14 (not in *Glossar*), is preferable to ... *snte*.

B03, 1/14: The final word appears to be either *wḫ3*, "töricht sein," *Wb.* 1, 354/14, or *wḫ3*, "fool," *Wb.* 1, 354/11–12 (not in *Glossar*).

B04, 5/5: After *t3* is probably the *mr* sign, *Glossar*, p. 165, which is used for *l*. Intended may be *l3y*, for *n3y.t*, "mooring-post," *Glossar*, p. 208. The word, which also occurs in B04, 6/17, has the place determinative.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 14 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 14/x+1 *[…]…=k … nꜣe=k qs.w*
B03, 1/16 *[……] ks.w*
B04, 5/6 *[……] nꜣe=k ks*

B02, 14/x+2 *[…]…… nꜣ ꜥ.wt nꜣe=y (ʔ) iwf.w …*
B03, 1/17 *[…]ll wnm.w …=y (ʔ) nꜣ ꜥ.wt nꜣe=f iwf.w*
B04, 5/7–8 *[…]ll wnm.w / […….]*

B02, 14/x+3 *[…] n tꜣe tp ꜥ.t … tꜣ (ʔ) ꜣkr.t nm ṯy.t […]*
B03, 1/18 *[……] ꜣkl [nm] ṯy […]… […]*
B04, 5/8 *[……]ṯy nꜣy iwf*

B03, 1/19 *[…]… […….]*
B04, 5/9 *[…] ꜥꜣ n nꜣy ꜥꜥe.w*

L01.5, 10/1 *tw=y [s nꜣ] mḥt.w wn ḫpn.w nꜣ ꜥꜥ.w ꜣḫ […]… rꜣ=w*
B03, 2/1+B03.2 *pry=y nꜣ mḥ[t.w ……].w nꜣ ꜥ[……]*
B04, 5/10–11 *[……] tpn nꜣ ꜥꜥe.w / […….]*
C02, 1/1 *[…]… […….]*

B02, 14/x+4 *[……]… […]*
L01.5, 10/2 *tw… […] iw=y ḫꜥ iw=y n mḥy r sꜥḥw iw=y s … […]… […]*
B03, 2/2+B03.2 *tw=y s tꜣi=y (ʔ) ḫꜥ iw=y n […… iw]=y s[……]*
B04, 5/11–12 *[……]…… sḫ iw=y stw … / […]*
C02, 1/2–3 *[…]… […… / …] ꜥnḫ … […….]*

B02, 14/x+5 *[……]… ꜥm-slꜣ nt ꜥm-tꜣ.wy*
L01.5, 10/3 *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f in bs iṯ ḫr ꜥm-slꜣ nt (ʔ) ꜥm-tꜣ.wy*
B03, 2/3+B03.2+B03.3 *wpy-tp-ꜣt[=f] ḏ … in […….]*
B04, 5/12–13 *[……] ḫr in sbꜣ / […….]*
C02, 1/4 *[……] in sbꜣ … […]… ḫr in ꜥm[-tꜣ.wy …]*

B02, 14/x+6 *[……] ꜣty Šꜣy (ʔ).*
L01.5, 10/4 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ḥm=y nꜣ šn.w n šntꜣ.t šꜣy … […] tꜣ ꜣty.t … […]*
B03, 2/4 +B03.2+B03.3 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ḥm[…]… šn (ʔ) […….]*
B04, 5/13–14 *[……] ḥm=y nꜣ šnꜣ.w / […….in]y (ʔ)*
C02, 1/5 *[……]… […….] tꜣ ꜣty.t*

B02, 14/x+7 *[……] ꜥpḥr sḫ iḫ tꜣy tꜣe=y ꜣty.t*
L01.5, 10/5 *wpy=y ṯp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f iḫ tꜣy tpy nꜣ pḫr.w sḫ iḫ tꜣy tꜣe=w ꜣty*
B03, 2/5 +B03.3 *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f i[ḫ …….]*
B04, 5/14–16 *wpy-/ […… pḫ]r sḫ iḫ tꜣy / […]*
C02, 1/6 *[……] pḫr …… tꜣy tꜣy ꜣty*

B02, 14/x+8 *[…… pḥ]ꜥr nb nt wꜣtn mꜣꜣ=y ḥꜣ.t nb nt wsf*
L01.5, 10/6 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ir=y ḏnt n pḫr nb nt wḏn mꜣꜣ=y ḥꜥy.w nb nt wsf*
B03, 2/6 +B03.3 *mr[-rḫ] ḏ=f ir=y ḏn[t …….]*
B04, 5/16–17 *[……] nb nt wḥty (ʔ) mꜣꜣ=y / […]*
C02, 1/7 *[……]… nb nt wsf*

B02, 14/x+9 *[…]…… it*
L01.5, 10/7 *tw=y […]… ḥmꜣ ḥtḥt nꜣ ꜥt.w m qty nꜣ twꜣ.w tꜣ it*
B03, 2/7+B03.3 *tw=y … […] ḥmꜣ […….]*
B04, 5/17–18 *[……] ꜥt.w m qty / […….]*

B02, 14/x+10 = frag. F *[……] ptpt sꜣn m qty [nꜣ s]ll[ꜣ] ḥs-ib*
L01.5, 10/8 *bw-ir ꜥnḥy (ʔ) ptpt sꜣn m qty nꜣ slꜣ n ḥs-ib*
B03, 2/8 *bw-ir nyšy … […….]*
B04, 5/18–19 *[……m] qty slꜣ / […….]*
C02, 1/8 *[……] ꜥslꜣ.w nt ḥs-ib*

B02, 14/x+11–16 are missing

L01.5, 10/9 *bw-ir tꜣ (ʔ) sšty.t pr-ḥḏ nšt m qty tꜣ mr-spḫl.w*
B03, 2/9 *bw-ir tꜣ sšty.t pr […….]*
B04, 5/19–20 *[…… m] qty tꜣ mr/[-spḫl.w …]*
C02, 1/9 *[……] mr n spḫl.w*

L01.5, 10/10 *ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f wn 3 ym ṯ iwt=w nꜣ šmy.w n=w tꜣ iypn*
B03, 2/10 *ḫr=f n Ḥsr ḏ=f […….]*
B04, 5/20–21 *[……] iwt=w nꜣ šmy.w / […….]*
C02, 1/10 *[…… š]my.w nw tꜣ iypn*

L01.5, 10/11 *in ir=k ṯ-yꜥr ḫn nꜣe=w mḥny.w in ṯ=k nꜣe=w mꜣ.w*
B03, 2/11+B03.1 *in ir=k [ṯ]-yꜥr […….] nꜣe=w mꜣ.w*
B04, 5/21–22 *[……] mḥny in / […….]*
C02, 1/11 *[……] mꜣ.w*

L01.5, 10/12 *in ꜥti=k hmy n pꜣe=w mḥny tꜣy in ṯ=k tꜣe=w ꜥqꜣ.t*
B03, 2/12+B03.1 *in ti=k hmy […….] ꜥqꜣ.t*
B04, 5/22 *[……]… tꜣe=w ꜥqꜣ.t*
C02, 1/12 *[……] ꜥqꜣ*

L01.5, 10/13 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ꜥq=y nꜣe=w tpy ḥm=y nꜣe=w lym.w sšt=y tꜣ tpn (ʔ) nꜣe=w … […]*
B03, 2/13+B03.1 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ꜥq=y […… nꜣe]=w lym[.w …….]*
B04, 5/23–24 (ʔ) *[…… nꜣe]=w lym.w šty / […….]*
C02, 1/13 *[……]…=y tpn (ʔ) n nꜣe=w šmꜥ.w*

L01.5, 10/14 *wpy-ṯp-ỉt=f ḏ=f ỉ(w)=s r rḫ ỉ-ỉr sḫny r šʿṯ tỉ ḥsy n ʿ-kky ...*
B03, 2/14+B03.1 *wpy-ṯp-[ỉt=f ḏ=f .....] šʿṯ tỉ ḥs[y. .....]*
B04, 5/24–6/1 *[..... ỉw]=s r rḫ r ỉr / r šʿṯ tỉ ḥsy n ʿ-kky pỉy ỉr=k*
C02, 1/14 *[.....] tỉ ḫỉs.t n ʿ-kky ...*

L01.5, 10/15 *in ḥny=k nỉ yʿl.w ỉḫ tỉe=w btỉ.w nỉe=w ḫbl.w*
B03, 2/15+B03.1 *in ḥny=k nỉ.w (?) [..... nỉe]=w ḫl[b.w]*
B04, 6/1–2 *in ḥny=k nỉ yʿyl ỉḫ / tỉe=w btỉ.w nỉe=w ḫbl*
C02, 1/15 *[.....]*

Translation

1. [...] ... your bones.
2. [...] ... food ... the limbs of my (or "his") flesh (?).
3. [...] of my (?) limb ... the (?) excellent one (?), strength ... flesh.

B04, 5/9. [...] greatness of these limbs.
L01.5, 10/1 (with B03 and B04). Behold! I have seen the intestines which open (?) the ... limbs ... [...] ... mouths.

4. Behold, I stand up, // I being like unto a mummy, // I being as a snake ... [...]
5. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant "taught"]) before "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?"
6. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have fished (with) the net of Shentait, Shai ... the net of ..."
7. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What is the taste of the prescription of writing? // What is this net?"
8. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I made a test of every prescription which destroys (?). // I have seen every implement which stops.
9. I have caused salt to ... throughout (?) the limbs like the praises of the land of the father (?).
10. The child does not tread upon clay (?) like the prophets of the praised of heart.

B02, 14/11–16 are missing; the line numbering is according to L01.5.
L01.5, 10/9. The *sšty.t* of the harem does not trap (?) like the one who loves enchantment (or "writing").
L01.5, 10/10. He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says: "There are three seas to be crossed between them, // namely, the corridors (?) of this land.
L01.5, 10/11. Have you crossed the river in their ferries? // Have you crossed their canals?
L01.5, 10/12. Have you given the fare (?) to their ferryman? // Have you crossed (in) their *ʿqỉ.t*-boat?"
L01.5, 10/13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. // I have caught their fish. // I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."
L01.5, 10/14. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "It is proper to let happen the recitation (?) of the ritual composition of the Chamber of Darkness?

L01.5, 10/15. Have you rowed over the rivers? // What is their nature and their forms?

Commentary

Line 1
B02: We had first transliterated *ỉb.w*, perhaps *ỉb*, "Horn," *Glossar*, p. 3, but *qs.w* is more convincing, since it provides a parallel with B03, 1/16 and B04, 5/6.

B04: *Ks* is *qs*, "die Knochen," *Glossar*, p. 548.

Line 2
B02: *Nỉe=y* (?) is written instead of the *nỉe=f* of B03.

B03: *Wnm* is presumably *wnm*, "food," *Glossar*, p. 91. The word following *wnm* seems to have the flesh determinative; perhaps read *wnm.w rỉ=y*, "food of my mouth."

B04: The preserved word ends in *l* and the papyrus determinative.

Line 3
B02: The relationship of this line to the better preserved L01.5, 10/1, is obscure. Firm parallels between B02 and L01.5 begin only in B02, 14/x+5 (= L01.5, 10/3).

Tp-ʿ.t is probably *tpw-ʿ.t*, "limbs," *Wb.* 5, 285/3 (late); Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1135 (not in *Glossar*).

The damaged word before *tỉ* (?) *ỉkr.t* has the arm with a stick determinative; read perhaps *wn*, "to open."

The papyrus-roll determinative of *ỉkr* is presumably significant. This may not be a variant of *iqr*, "vortrefflich," *Glossar*, p. 45, but, for example, *ỉgr.t*, "Name des Totenreiches," *Wb.* 1, 141/4, *ʿkr*, "Schilf," *Glossar*, p. 73, or the name of a composition.

Nmṯy.t, a transliteration preferable to *nšty.t*, is *nmṯ.t*, "Kraft, Stärke," *Glossar*, p. 220.

B03: The reading of *nmṯy* is possible, but uncertain.

B04, 5/8: After *ṯy* there seems to be the flesh determinative, obscured by the tail of the plural stroke of the line above. The expected determinative of *nmṯy* is the arm with a stick, so this may not necessarily be best restored as *nmṯy*.

The flesh sign followed by the plural stroke may be a short writing of *ỉwf.w*, *Glossar*, p. 23.

B04, 5/9: The parallels of B02 and B03 to this line are unclear.

L01.5, 10/1: The *mr-rḫ* claims knowledge of specific internal organs, evidently in connection with mummification. The relationship between this version and B02 is not cer-

tain, and so we do not give any B02 line here as a parallel. It may be that the difficult *ḫpn nꜣ ꜥ.w* is a misinterpretation of *tp n nꜣ ꜥ.w*. This may in turn be compared to the *tp ꜥ.t* in B02, 14/x+3.

Tw=y may be the past *sḏm=f*, and not the first present proclitic pronoun. Another possibility is *tw=y* [*s*], "behold!"

For *mḫt*, see *Glossar*, p. 177; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 458; Westendorf, *LÄ* 1, cols. 1205–06 ("Eingeweide").

Wn, "open," is most likely, comparing the writing of *wn* in L01, 4/1 *twy-s p*[*r=y rꜣ*]*=y ỉw=f wn*. The sense obtained, however, is puzzling: "The intestines are opened ..." or "The intestines open fat of the blessed limbs." *Wn* is, to be sure, used of body-parts, but usually with regard to the eye or mouth, *Wb.* 1, 311/15–20. The grammar is equally difficult; would *wn* be a participle or stative? However, alternative readings may also be considered, e.g., *nt tỉ.t*, "which gives," *m-tỉ*, the compound preposition, *Glossar*, p. 188, "bei, von," or an unetymological writing of *m-tr*, followed by a *sḏm=f*. For *rdỉ* in the sense of applying a medicine, "Heilmittel auflegen," see *Wb.* 2, 466/19–21.

If transliterated thus, *ḫpn.w* is seemingly *ḫpn*, "fat," *Glossar*, p. 380; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 763; *ḫpn*, "fett, gemästet, o.ä.," *Wb.* 3, 366/12–14. For the use of fat in medicine and in the embalming process, see Nicholson and Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, pp. 411–12. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, *ḫpn nꜣ ꜥ.w* may be a misinterpretation of *tp n nꜣ ꜥ.w*, comparing *tp ꜥ.t* in B02, 14/x+3.

ꜥ.w is probably a spelling of *ꜥ.t*, "limb," *Glossar*, p. 51. *Nꜣ tp.w ꜥ.wt* can also mean "intestines," Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 333.

ỉḫ may be *ỉḫ*, "excellent," *Glossar*, p. 9, but other possibilities exist, e.g., *ỉḫ* as a variant of *ꜥḫy*, "aufhängen," *Glossar*, p. 70.

B03: *Pry* is *pry*, "to dream," *Glossar*, p. 136, from *ptr*, "to see, learn," *Wb.* 1, 564/1–19.

Add. 16 **B04:** Again, we suggest *tpn*, but *ḫpn* is not impossible.

Line 4: The disciple maintains that he has become a mummy and assumed the form of a snake.

B02: Read perhaps *ꜥ.e*, "limbs," towards the beginning of the preserved line. The final signs are the flesh determinative and the plural or divine determinatives. Again the parallelism with L01.5, 10/2 and the other versions is not certain at this point.

L01: Probably restore *tw=y s* (note the correction in B03), the non-enclitic particle, *Glossar*, p. 612; the sentence is a first present construction.

Mḫy is "gleichen" (with *r*), *Glossar*, pp. 175–76.

Sꜥḫw is *sḫ*, "mummy," *Glossar*, p. 445. This assertion is not uncommon; in Coffin Text spell 1034, for example, the deceased declares "I am the mummy of Re," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 111. The meaning "noble," *Wb.* 4, 50–51/13, may also be intended.

B04: *Stw* seems to have the snake determinative; compare *syṯ*, "snake," *Glossar*, p. 472; M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 113–14.

Line 5: Osiris questions the disciple on his relationship with Thoth. There may be an interesting sound-play between *bs*, "initiate," and *sbꜣ*, "teach."

B02: The trace before *ꜥm* may be the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative of *ḫr*.

The phrase seems to be a gloss in which the unusual expression *ꜥm-slꜣ* is explained by the relatively common epithet of Thoth, *ꜥm-tꜣ.wy*. *ꜥm* lacks a determinative.

L01: *ỉn* is the interrogative particle, *Glossar*, p. 32.

Bs is probably *bs*, "einführen," *Wb.* 1, 473/1–18 (not in *Glossar*), though also possible is *bs*, "hervorquellen, heraustreten," *Wb.* 1, 474/5–18. On *bs*, see Kruchten, *Annales*, pp. 147–204, who quotes numerous relevant sentences and phrases, e.g., "I am your son whom you introduce to be king in the place of my father," Kruchten, *Annales*, p. 171; *rḫ bs štꜣ*, "one who knows the secret initiation," Kruchten, *Annales*, p. 198. The "father" in the Book of Thoth may be Imhotep, who has the intermediary role between the disciple and Thoth.

Ḫr is either the preposition "bei, von jem. ausgehend," *Wb.* 3, 315/1–316/9 (hardly attested in Demotic), or *ḫr ỉn* may be the connective particle followed by the interrogative, a construction found in B01, 1/1.

B04: *Sbꜣ*, "teach," is possibly a metathesis of *bs*, "to introduce, initiate," *Wb.* 1, 473/1–18; for this metathesis, see Kruchten, *Annales*, p. 165.

Line 6: The disciple recounts his activities in the watery regions of the underworld.

B02: The final word may be the masculine *Šỉy*, "Fate," or the feminine epithet of Seshat (see note on L01). However, this scribe just possibly wrote *n ḫy.w*, as we originally read; the sun-disk and the divine determinative do fit *ḫy*, "light, brilliance," *Glossar*, p. 348.

L01: *Ḥmy* is *ḥm*, "to catch," *Glossar*, p. 305.

Šn is probably *šnw*, "das Netz," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9 (not in *Glossar*). The author puns with the following *Šntꜣ.t*. The determinative of *šn* is the fish, comparing *rm*, "fish," *Glossar*, p. 246. Supply an *n* before *šn*.

For the goddess *Šntꜣ.t* (*Wb.* 4, 518/3–10; not in *Glossar*), see Widmer, "Un Papyrus Démotique Religieux du Fayoum," *Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 22 (1998): 85; cf. Zauzich, "Schülerübung," *Enchoria* 17 (1990): 163. According to Helck, *LÄ* 5, cols. 580–81 ("Schentait"), this deity has the form of a recumbent cow, and is instrumental in the revivification of Osiris: the Osiris bed is called "the Garden (*ḫspt*) of *Khenty-amentiu* in the House of Shentait." See also Herbin, *Parcourir*, pp. 114–15, and 196; Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel*, p. 169 (with further references).

Šỉy is presumably not the masculine *Šỉy*, "Fate," *Glossar*, pp. 485–86, but rather, as elsewhere in this composition, the epithet of Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 988–89.

ỉty.t is *ỉꜣd.t*, "Netz," *Wb.* 1, 36/8–11 (not in *Glossar*); on the symbolism of the net, see Guglielmi, "Netz," *LÄ* 4, cols. 464–65.

Fish nets play a significant role in the Book of the Dead, e.g., Spell 153: "Spell for escaping from the net within the valley," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 151–53.

For deities holding throwing nets to protect the sun-god against Apophis, see Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 277 (Book of Gates).

B04: This papyrus apparently preserves a word with the stone determinative. We suggest *ỉny*, "stone," *Glossar*, p. 34, but that is difficult to relate to the other versions.

Line 7: Osiris questions the disciple about written compositions and the "net."

L01: Unusually, the scribe has added the first person suffix to the title *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f*.

Tpy.t is *tpy.t*, "Geschmack," *Glossar*, p. 628, where the same jar determinative is employed.

Ḫr.t is "Heilmittel, Heilung," *Glossar*, p. 139. In general, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 54–67 (applied both to medical and magical spells or potions). The idiom "prescription of writing" is odd. Given the association with "taste," the line may refer to the swallowing of a magical formula. For *ḫr.t* as the preparations used to fill the mummy, see *Wb.* 1, 549/12. For such mortuary meanings of *ḫr.t*, see further Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, pp. 348–49; Quack, "Balsamierung und Totengericht im P. Insinger," *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 29.

ꜣty.t is again probably *ỉꜣd.t*, "Netz," *Wb.* 1, 36/8–11(not in *Glossar*). "In funerary belief the deceased meets the danger of falling as a migratory bird or fish into the nets strung out between heaven and earth with a precise knowledge of the individual parts (of the net)," Guglielmi, *LÄ* 4, col. 465 ("Netz"; our translation). On the basis of Bidoli, *Fangnetze*, p. 96 (24k-l), the "intestines" of Horus appear to be identified with the ropes of the net.

Line 8: The disciple asserts his knowledge of "every prescription" and "every implement," presumably those sacred to Osiris and mummification or burial.

L01: *Ḏnt*, "to test out, try," *Glossar*, p. 682, does not seem to be attested in hieroglyphs; *KHWB*, p. 426.

Wḏn may be ⲱⲭⲛ, "vernichten," *KHWB*, p. 556, where the Coptic is derived from *ʿḏn*. This word is not in *Glossar*. The meaning suits the evil determinative. There is perhaps a word play between *ḏnt* and *wḏn*. *Wḏn* may also be identified with *bṯn*, "sich widersetzen," *Wb.* 1, 485/17, *bḏn*, "Verbum (Zustand in dem man nicht gerne geht)," *Wb.* 1, 488/16, or *wtn*, "to pour out," *Glossar*, p. 107.

Ḥʿy, with the wood and metal determinative, is *ḥʿy*, "tool," *Glossar*, p. 378.

Wsf is "to be lazy, stop," *Glossar*, p. 100. It may have the negative meaning here, "to spoil," also in *Glossar*. There is probably no relationship to the medical ingredient, *wsfꜣw*, *Wb.* 1, 357/14.

B04: *Nb* is written in an archaic fashion.

This version offers *wḫty*. The determinative may be the pustule sign. This is *wḫd*, "to suffer, be painful," *Wb.* 1, 356/1–7 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 9: Here commences a group of three sentences all concluding with comparisons (*m qty*). The disciple asserts his participation in or knowledge of ritual activities, and seems to offer a simile as well in connection with the "praises."

L01: There is space for a verb after *tw=y*. Alternatively, this may be the first present construction.

Ḥtḫt, written with the evil bird and falling soldier determinative (Gardiner Z6), is a problem. Possible are *ḥtḫt*, "investigate," *Glossar*, p. 398; *ḫtḫt*, "to turn back, to be lost, to go through (the body)," *Wb.* 3, 353/13–354/5; *ḫtḫt*, "to pound" (in the preparation of kyphi), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 758. The grammatical construction is unclear; if verbal, it

may be an archaic participle or stative. However, an interpretation as the preposition *ḫtḫt*, "throughout," *Wb.* 3, 354/6, also yields sense, "I have caused salt to go around throughout the limbs like the praises of the land of the father." The author thereby compares the "praises," either the explication of the hymns to Thoth or the writing-down thereof, with the process of mummification, both being beneficial activities. A connection with עטף, "to cut, engrave, incise," *KHWB*, p. 333, is unlikely.

Ḥmꜣ is "salt," *Glossar*, p. 307. While we have suggested an allusion to mortuary practice, salt is apparently not generally used in mummification, Fuchs, *LÄ* 5, col. 371 ("Salz"); Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, p. 112. We may be dealing here rather with a medicinal or non-mortuary ritual use of salt, Fuchs, *LÄ* 5, col. 371 ("Salz").

The best reading is *twꜣ.w*, "praises," *Glossar*, p. 613.

Tꜣ ỉt at the end of the line, which occurs several times in the composition, may be an unorthographic spelling, and not literally "land of the father."

C02: The line is omitted in this version.

Line 10: In this obscure statement the disciple offers a general negative statement, perhaps regarding a ritual activity, "trampling the shrine/clay."

B02: The small loose fragment (F) of B02 with *ptpt* belongs here.

L01: This and the following line are in parallelism, both beginning with negative aorist constructions.

Nḫy or *nšy*, determined with the child sign, may be a writing of *nḫn*, "das Kind," *Wb.* 2, 311/3–12; *nḫ* is found in the Ptolemaic Period, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 541 (not in *Glossar*). Other *nḫ* words, such as "protect" or "complain," yield little sense.

Ptpt is *ptpt*, "tread upon," "destroy," *Wb.* 1, 563/9–16. Found in Coptic, ⲡⲟⲧⲡⲧ, *KHWB*, p. 154, it has been unattested in Demotic.

Sꜣn, with the house determinative, is a secure transliteration, the translation less so. "Lehm (?)," *Glossar*, p. 406, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 801 (see Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 385), or *snꜣ*, "granary, hut," *Glossar*, p. 437 (see ϩⲛⲏ, "Behälter, Lager," *KHWB*, p. 188; *Wb.* 4 156/7) is possible.

The epithet *ḫs-ỉb* may denote Thoth. It is possibly a playful reference to the common epithet of the god, *ḫsb*, "he who reckons," Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 193.

B02 is lost at this point, and the following commentary is arranged according to L01.5.

L01.5, 10/9: The disciple describes divine beings and their activities. He again offers a simile with the goddesses Mut, Seshat, or Nehemetawy.

Tꜣ is uncertain; it may be *nꜣ*.

Šty.t has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. In B03 the determinative appears to be wood (or simply a damaged man-with-hand-to-mouth sign?). This may be *šḏ.t*, "falcon-shrine," *Wb.* 4, 302/6–7. In that case we should take the *pr* sign as a determinative, and not transliterate it. There is probably a connection with the various words related to *šṯꜣ*, "geheim," *Wb.* 4, 297/19–20; *Glossar*, p. 465. There is a word play with the following *šṯ*.

SBD/IFFLCH/USP

For *pr-ḫny.t*, compare *rḫny*, "Schlafzimmer," *Glossar*, p. 253. The determinatives may include the seated person, but the vertical sign before it is obscure. The word seems to be *pr-ḫnr*, "harem," *Wb.* 3, 297/3–7. The writing of *pr* is abbreviated. While probably not a locality in the Book of Thoth, it may be observed that *pr-rḫny* as a place name in Demotic is found in Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition*, vol. 2, p. 293. This placename is known from the 20th Dynasty: *Ḫnỉ*, "name of a Theban necropolis," *Wb.* 3, 296/12–13.

Sšt would then be the negated verb. We have rendered as a variant of *sḫt*, "to trap (with a net)," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 915, found already in C04.1, 13. Other possibilities are: *sšṯ*, "hindern," *Glossar*, p. 465; *sšd*, "to penetrate (of a harpoon)," *Wb.* 4, 301/2; *sšd*, "to decorate (with bandages)," *Wb.* 4, 301/12–13. Compare the passage in Burkard, *Osiris-Liturgien*, p. 185: "Siehe doch, es werden dir gebracht die Frauen aus Abydos, sie schmücken (? = *sšd*) ihr Haupt mit Myrrhen," with note 44.

For *mr-spḫl.w*, presumably a participium coniunctum, as *mr-rḫ*, compare B02, 3/9, where the word *spḫl.w* is associated with Mut. A reference to Mut, Seshat, or Nehemetawy may also be intended. On Nehemetawy, see A. Zivie, *LÄ* 4, cols. 390–92 ("Nehemet- awai").

L01.5, 10/10: The deity pictures the underworld (?) watery regions.

A sentence with an indefinite subject is introduced by *wn*. "3" seems to be the best reading of the slightly damaged signs before *ym*. While not a standard Demotic writing of "3," *Glossar*, p. 695, it is a typical hieratic form, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 59, number 616.

We have found no explicit mention of three distinct lakes in the Underworld, but compare Altenmüller, "'Messersee', 'gewundener Wasserlauf' und 'Flammensee.' Eine Untersuchung zur Gleichsetzung und Lesung der drei Bereiche." *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 86–95; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 151–54. There is a reference to the "three lakes" in Zauzich, "Paläographische Herausforderungen I," *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/3): 167 and 173. There are four lakes in the Book of Two Ways, Lesko, *Book of the Two Ways*, p. 56.

Problematic in this line is *ṯ* which we interpret as *ḏỉ*, "to cross," *Wb.* 5, 511–513/14. This can be written as *ṯ*, "to take," as in the compound *ṯ-ỉr*, "den Fluss überqueren," *Glossar*, p. 665. The form here must then be an infinitive or stative.

ỉwt is the preposition "between," *Glossar*, p. 26, or the verb, "to separate," *Wb.* 1, 58/11–59/6.

Šmy.w is most likely a writing of *šmꜥ.t*, "Speicher," *Glossar*, p. 508; *šmm.t*, "stall, granary," *Wb.* 4, 482/1–4. Worthy of consideration is also *šmy.t*, "passage, corridor," *Wb.* 4, 472/5–7; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1009–10. This designates "corridors in temples, especially around the inner sanctuary," as well as a place in which a god spends time; see Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, pp. 153 and 156. An identification with *šm(w)*, "waterways," *Wb.* 4, 466/10–12, is doubtful.

The plural (masculine or feminine) genitive particle is written as the Demotic dative plural.

Also archaic is the demonstrative article, *ỉypn*, *Glossar*, p. 29.

L01.5, 10/11: The deity questions the disciple about his familiarity with these watery regions.

We had first read *ỉn ṯ=k*, but *ỉn ỉr=k ṯ* fits the traces better. Here again is a writing of *ḏỉ*, "to cross," as *ṯ*, "to take," playing on the previous line. For *ṯ-ỉr*, see *Glossar*, p. 665.

Mḫn.t is *mḫn.t*, "Fähre, bes. auch im Jenseits," *Wb.* 2, 133/12–13 (not in *Glossar*). The determinative is the hieratic form, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 35, number 374. Read perhaps the singular *tỉ=w mḫny*, "their ferry."

Mꜣ.w is *mꜣ*, "canal," *Glossar*, p. 147.

B04, 5/21: *Mḫny* in this version has the sail and wood determinatives.

L01.5, 10/12: The deity examines the disciple, focusing on his active participation in the voyage. He may ask him specifically whether he has paid the ferryman.

Hmy may be *hm.t*, "Fracht, Lohn," *Glossar*, p. 275. While, of course, the notion of paying the ferryman is well grounded in the Hellenistic tradition, we do not know it to be explicitly featured in the Egyptian underworld theology. We had first understood *hmy* as the late writing of *ḥmy*, "to steer," *Glossar*, p. 308. However, we have no parallel for an idiom *tỉ ḥmy*; compare *Wb.* 3, 80/16–81/10; usual is *ỉr ḥmw*, *Wb.* 3, 81/1–5. Diodorus Siculus does mention an Egyptian expression for the person about to be interred (and judged) as being "about to cross the lake," Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, p. 313.

Mḫn.tj is "der Fährmann, bes. vom Fährmann am Himmel," *Wb.* 2, 133/14–15 (not in *Glossar*).

Compare especially the "Spell for Bringing the Ferryboat in the God's Domain," Book of the Dead Spell 99, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 80–81.

ꜥqꜣ.t is *ꜥq*, "Art Schiff," *Glossar*, p. 73; Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 58.

L01.5, 10/13: The disciple asserts his knowledge of these regions and their fauna.

The answer begins with a word play between the *ꜥqꜣ.t* of the previous line and the *ꜥq* of this one.

ꜥq probably means here "to enter into something," i.e., "to understand something," *Wb.* 1, 230/14.

Tpy is *dp.t*, "der Geschmack," *Wb.* 5, 444/16–445/9; *Glossar*, p. 628. It may have the extended sense, "to experience (something)," *Wb.* 5, 444/4–15. One may compare the special knowledge displayed in Book of the Dead Spell 15, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 17, "I look upon the *ỉbḏw* fish, (its) fate having come to pass; I behold the bulti in its (true) nature guiding the speedy boat in its waters."

Sšt is probably *sḫt*, "to trap," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 915–16 (not in *Glossar*).

We had first read *ḫpn*, but this is difficult; the same word occurs in L01.5, 10/1. One thinks of *ḫpn*, "Fett," *Wb.* 3, 366/12–14; *Glossar*, p. 380; this may be a derived form, "(fat) bird." In L01 the word has the pustule sign, while in C02 it has the bird determinative. However, we incline now to the reading *tpn*, a transliteration supported by the *tpy* above. However, we find no meaning of *tpn* in the lexica which in this same line (word play?). However, we find no meaning of *tpn* in the lexica which yields totally convincing sense. One thinks of *tp n* X, "the best of X," *Wb.* 5, 266/12–267/6. Still the determinatives which follow *tpn* suggest that this is a noun in itself.

C02, 1/13: *Šmꜥ.w*, with the bird determinative, is the best reading; compare *šmꜥ*, "fremd sein," in *Glossar*, p. 510. The term may denote "strange/migratory birds."

L01.5, 10/14: The god further interrogates the disciple reciting the ritual of the "Chamber of Darkness."

ỉw=s may be an impersonal third future form, but the construction is obscure.

Sḫny is *sḫn*, "to happen, meet, befall," *Glossar*, pp. 455–56, often followed by *r*.

Rḫ is followed by *r* plus infinitive (spelled *i-ir*). It is perhaps a writing of Coptic ⲥϣⲉ, *KHWB*, p. 301, "it is necessary."

Šʿt, "to cut," *Glossar*, pp. 492–93, is a certain transliteration, but the meaning is extremely difficult; it may be an unorthographic writing. There seems to be a tall *ṯ* following the walking-legs determinative. Possible candidates are the various *šd* words, e.g., ϣⲓⲧⲉ, "demand," *KHWB*, p. 329, or *šd*, "to read, recite." In view of the following interpretation of *ḫ3s.t*, we have rendered "recitation."

Ḫ3s.t is a spelling of "necropolis," *Glossar*, pp. 347–48. It is a later form, not employing the usual "*ḫ3s.t*-sign." We believe, however, that *ḫ3s.t* is in fact an abusive writing of *ḫs*, "das Ritual," *Wb.* 3, 332/1–3 (masculine), which can have the book-roll determinative, Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 149. The spelling in C02 seems to have the scribal equipment (*sš*) as a determinative. The *ḫs* ritual may be "recited" (*šd*), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 748, which supports the just proposed interpretation of *šʿt* as *šd*, "to read." Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1041. For *šd ḫs*, "lecture du cérémonial," see Alliot, *Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 412; Schott, *Bücher*, pp. 320–21 (*sšm ḫs.t m ʿ.t sšt3*).

ʿ.t-kky has the scribal determinatives. The writing of *ʿ.t*, "room, chamber," *Glossar*, p. 51, lacks the usual house determinative.

B04, 6/1: *P3y ir=k* is a past relative form construction: "that which you did."

L01.5, 10/15: The god requests details concerning the disciple's journey and the character of the river itself.

Yʿl.w is perhaps "canals," *Glossar*, p. 50.

Bt3.w, with the plant or divine (?) determinative, may be a variant of *bi3i.t*, "marvel," *Wb.* 1, 440/7–441/11, or *bi3.t*, "character," *Wb.* 1, 441/16–19. This implies that the feminine ending has been reinterpreted as a radical *t*. *Bty*, "wheat," *Wb.* 1, 486/14–487/7, is also possible, but seems overly specific; expected is a counterpart to *ḫbl*, "form." *Bt3.w* may also be a Bohairic form of *wt*, ⲃⲱⲧ (B), "Grünzeug," *KHWB*, p. 279. The seated man and plural signs remain a problem.

The plural suffixes of *t3e=w* and *n3e=w* probably refer back to "rivers," *yʿl.w*.

Ḫbl.w is *ḫrb*, "Gestalt," *Glossar*, p. 392. The damaged determinative may be the mummy sign.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 15 of B02

Transliteration

B02, 15/1 [.....]
L01.5, 10/16 *mr-rḫ d=f ḫny=y šn3 p3 ym n3 ḫry-ʿ.wy ... mw ʿḥʿ nt ʿ.wy Šw*
B03, 2/16 *mr-rḫ d=f* [.....]
B04, 6/2–3 *mr-rḫ d=f ḫny=y šnʿ.w p3 ʿyr n3 ḫry-ʿ.wy / mw w3y nt ʿ.wy Šw*
C02, 1/16 [.....] *mw ʿḥʿ n t3 ʿ.wy Šw*

B02, 15/2 [.....]
L01.5, 10/17 ⲁⲡⲓⲧ ʿ*ny*ʾ *ṯ r t3 mḫny n p3 ḥf ṯ trf i-mḥ tbʿ.w n p3 wsl sḫ.t ṯ*
B03, 2/17 ..... *y ṯ r* [.....]
B04, 6/3–4 *ʿpy=y r t3 mḫny n p3 ḥf ṯ trf mḥ / tbʿ.w [n] p3 wsl sḫ.tyw*
C02, 1/17 [..... *tbʿ].w=y n p3 wsl sḫ.t t3y*

B02, 15/3 [.....]
L01.5, 10/18 *ir=y rmp.t 1,000.t iw=y ḫny r ḫ.ṯ=s iw=y ḥm n n3e=s brgṯ.w*
B03, 2/18 *ir*[...] ... [.....]
B04, 6/4–5 *ir=y rmp.t š.t iw=y ḫny r-ḫ3.ṯ=s iw=y ḥm n n3e=s / brgt.w*
C02, 1/18 [.....]ʿ*brgṯ.w*ʾ

B02, 15/4 [.....]
L01.5, 10/19 [.....] *r t3 mḫny n3 iḫy 3kyl twnw n=y sḥ irm n3e=w b3.w*
B03, 2/19 *ʿp*[*=y* ...] ... [.....]
B04, 6/5–6 *ʿpy=y r t3 mḫny n3 iyḥiy.w 3kyl twn n=y sḥ irm / n3e=w b3.w*
C02, 2/1 [.....]

B02, 15/5 [.....]
L01.5, 10/20 [...] ... *=y t3e=s ḥlty.w ʿm=y n3e=w b3k.w šnb ib=y irm t3e=w bt3.w*
B04, 6/6 ..... *=y n3e=w ḥly ʿm=y n3e=w b3k.w šnb ib=y irm n3e=w bty.w*
C02, 2/2 [.....]

B02, 15/6 (?) *ti n=y wʿ* [ʿ]*n* [.....]
L01.5, 10/21 ʿ*ti n=y wʿ ʿn*ʾ *wʿ in-nw n mḥ 60 (?) ḫr=f n n=y t3e=w wt3.t ht t3y*
B04, 6/7 *ti n=y wʿ ʿn wʿ in-nw šp (or mḥ) 60 ḫr=f n=y t3e=w wt3.t ht t3y*
C02, 2/3 [.....]

B02, 15/7 (?) *ti n=y wʿ iwiw wʿ š*[.....]
L01.5, 10/22 [...] ... *wʿ šw n ʿ3 ḥt.t ḫr=f n (sic) n=y p3e=w šn ... ḥm ...* [...]
B04, 6/7–8 *ti n=y / wʿ wnš (?) wʿ šw iwiw ḥḏ ḫr=f n=y p3e=w šn ḥm p3y*
C02, 2/4 [.....]

B02, 15/8 (?) *ti n=y wʿ ḥb wʿ t3*[.....]
L01.5, 10/23 [.....] *tḥ n 3y r p3e=f ḫt-ṯ3w tḥ n m3y* [...]
B04, 6/8–9 *ti n=y wʿ ḥb / wʿ ht3 n 3y r p3e=f ḫt-ṯ3w th3 n m3y*
C02, 2/5 [.....]

B02, 15/9 (?) ... [.....]
L01.5, 10/24 [.....] ..... *myly mt-ntr ḫr=f n (sic) n=y t3e=w b3*[.....]
B04, 6/9–10 *ti n=y wʿ iwiw / wʿ.t myly mt-ntr ḫr=f n=y t3e=w b3... y.t glg t3y ht*
C02, 2/6 [.....]

Translation

1. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have rowed in the circuits (?) of the sea (among?) the apprentices who are in the sacred bark, who are the arms of Shu.
2. Bring me to the ferry of the snake! // Take the hieroglyphic sign! // Fill my fingers (with) the rudder of the field-dwellers!
3. I spent a thousand years // while I rowed therein, // catching fish in its pools.
4. Embark me on the ferry of the excellent spirits! // Raise up fighting for me with their *bas*!
5. I ... their birds. // I understood their falcons. // My heart joined with their natures (or "plants"?).
6. A baboon gave to me a spear of sixty cubits (or "hands"). // He says to me: "It is their *wtȝ.t ht*."
7. A dog (or "jackal"?) gave to me a block of limestone. // He says to me: "It is their net of trapping (?)."
8. An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, // while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.

B04, 6/9–10. A dog gave to me a mummy-cloth (with) hieroglyphs. // He says to me: "It is their ... of hunting."

Commentary

Line 1: The disciple asserts that he has traveled in the (underworld) sea as a crew member of the solar bark. The statement may also be understood as a prospective, "may I sail."

L01: *Šnȝ* has the brazier determinative, but is nevertheless probably *šn*, "der Ozean," *Wb.* 4, 493/12–13, or *šn*, "Umkreis," *Wb.* 4, 491/6–493/7; *Glossar*, p. 515. Curiously, the B04 version has the pellet and plural sign.

The reading *ym* assumes that a stroke is missing from *y*. *Pȝy m* or *mw* are less likely. In B04 *pȝ yʿr* (spelled *ʿyr*) is found.

For *ḫry-ʿ*, see *Glossar*, p. 391 (*ḫrʿ*); "apprentice, helper," *Wb.* 3, 393/9–12.

Mw, "water," is a not improbable reading before *ḥʿ* in L01 although it has the vertical stroke, unlike the previous writing of this group in the line. It may be an unorthographic spelling of *imy=w*.

ḥʿ, with the divine determinative, is most likely "*ḥʿ*-ship," *Wb.* 1, 222/4–8 (not in *Glossar*). As Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 173, observes, *ḥʿ* is a "generic term" for boats. The L01 scribe employs the more common *ḥʿ*, "ship," rather than the rarer *wiȝ*. In any case, "the-ones-who-are-in-the-*ḥʿ*-boat," much resembles *mw wiȝ*, "ones-who-are-in-the-bark."

Significantly, in the twelfth hour there is a 1,300 cubit long snake called "Life of the Gods" (compare *ḥʿ*, "als Bez. heiliger Schlangen," *Wb.* 1, 222/12–15) through which the bark journeys at the end of the Amduat. Since this episode is followed by the elevation through the arms of Shu, it is reasonable to assume that *ḥʿ* here, with the divine determinative, refers to this snake; compare Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 39.

For the writing of *Šw*, compare *Glossar*, p. 494. The "arms of Shu" play a fundamental role in the conclusion of the Amduat: "Den Abschluß des Amduat bilden die Arme des Schu, der die Barke zum Himmel erhebt und damit den Sonnenaufgang - zugleich die 'Neuerschaffung' der Welt - ermöglicht. Danach bleibt die Unterwelt in Finsternis versiegelt zurück, bis zur erneuten Nachtfahrt der Sonnenbarke," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 39. The "Hand-of-Shu" is also a term for the incense-burner, Caminos, *LEM*, p. 422; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 122. See also Quack, "Das Pavianshaar und die Taten des Thot," *SAK* 23 (1996): 316; Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 188.

B04: This version displays significant differences from that of L01. *Ḥry* is damaged and added above the sign for *ʿwy.w*.

Here *wiy* clearly stands for *wiȝ*. On *wiȝ*, see Hoffmann, "Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für 'Götterbarke,'" *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 39–51.

C02: *N tȝ* may be a writing of *nt*.

Line 2: The disciple either requests that he be brought to the "ferry of the snake" or, perhaps, maintains that he has already embarked thereon.

L01: The first Demotic word seems to be *ʿny*, although the *n* is slightly damaged; there are variations between L01 and B04. *ʿn*, "turn back," *Glossar*, p. 61, does not yield satisfactory sense. We translate *ʿny* as an imperative of *in*, with suffix object. Another alternative is to understand the initial verbs as *sḏm=f* forms. The *ʿpy*, "embark on a ship," of B04 is also reasonable; see the note in B04. ΔΠΙΤ (or ΔΝΙΤ) may be added in the Greek gloss.

While we have no textual parallel for the "ferry of the snake," it is clearly an underworld or solar bark, *mḫn.t*, "Bes. auch im Jenseits," *Wb.* 2, 133/13. The snake form does have a close association with the solar bark; see the note on *ḥʿ* in the previous line. The solar bark changes into the form of a snake in the fourth hour of the night in order to be able to navigate the sands more efficiently; see the illustration from the tomb of Tuthmosis III in Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 81. See also: Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, pp. 108 (fifth hour of Amduat) and 165 (tenth hour of Amduat). On the regeneration of the sun-god within the ourobouros snakes in the twelfth hour of Amduat, see Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 177.

T is preferable to *r*, which descends further beneath the ground line. The grammatical construction of the phrase *t trf* is unclear. *Trf* (not in *Glossar*) is *drf*, "Schrift," *Wb.* 5, 477/8–19. *Trf* implies a connection with Thoth, comparing, e .g., *rdi ḫrw drf*, "he who gave words and script," Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 191. We render these balanced final phrases as imperatives, addressed by the disciple either to the god himself or to the reader-disciples, a parenthesis as it were. Also possible are participial forms: "he who has taken script" and "the one who fills the fingers with the rudder."

imḥ is *mḥ*, *imḥ* (imperative form), "to take hold of," *Glossar*, pp. 172–73, in parallel with *ṯ*. Curiously, it seems to have the wood determinative (compare *in-nw* in L01.5, 10/21 [or the finger sign?]). Furthermore, *tbʿ.w* is itself determined by the seated man and the plural strokes, suggesting a symbolic sense for "fingers." Possibly *i-mḥ tbʿ.w* is a compound noun (with a participle), "the ones who fill the fingers." Or read *tbʿ.w s*, "fingers of a man?"

Wsl sḫ.t is difficult. *Wsl* with the wood determinative is *wsr*, "ruder," *Wb.* 1, 364/1–4 (not in *Glossar*). The writing with *l* is otherwise unattested, *KHWB*, p. 277.

Sḫ.t ṯ, comparing *Glossar*, pp. 450–51, is the best reading for the last word. It concludes with the *ṯ* and divine determinative. This *sḫ.t* is one of the underworld fields. Given the divine determinative, the word may allude to *Sekhet*, the personification of the "field," closely associated with fishing and fowling, both subjects figuring prominently in this column, *Wb.* 4, 231/8–12; see Guglielmi, "Sechet," *LÄ* 5, col. 778; eadem, "Die Feldgöttin *Sḫ.t*," *Die Welt des Orients* 7 (1974): 206–27; eadem, "Zur Symbolik des 'Darbringens des Strausses der *Sḫ.t*,'" *ZÄS* 103 (1976): 101–12. In B04 the word may have the *ṯ* sign, the man and woman and plural strokes determinatives, suggesting *sḫṯ.w*, "field dwellers," *Wb.* 4, 231/15–232/7.

B04: *ʿpy* is "to enter, journey through (a place), to embark on a ship," *Wb.* 1, 179/7–15 (not in *Glossar*).

C02: Read *ṯ* or *tȝy* after *sḫ.t*, presumably a phonetic complement.

Line 3: The disciple claims to have spent a thousand years sailing and fishing in this marshy region. The passage is reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom "Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling," Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, p. 5, who remarks: "Embodied in funerary texts there are passages that refer with varying directness to similar pursuits (scil. fishing and fowling) in the meres of the beyond."

L01: The *ir* is probable, but there is an extra point above it.

In L01 *r* or *n-ḫ.ṯ=s* is written, "within it," *Glossar*, pp. 373–74, while in the B04 version *r-ḫȝ.ṯ=s* is found, "before it," *Glossar*, p. 287. The *s* may refer back to *sḫ.t*.

Brgṯ is *brkt*, "dike, lake," *Glossar*, p. 119.

B04: This version offers *š*, "lake" (without the water sign), *Glossar*, pp. 484–85; for *ḫ* = "1,000," compare *Wb.* 3, 219/3–220/2, and the Coptic ϩⲟ, *KHWB*, p. 302.

Line 4: The disciple implores the god that he may board the sacred bark, and participate in underworld combat.

B04: *ʿpy* is presumably the same verb as in B04, 6/3. It is preferable to reading *ʿqy*, although both *ʿpy* and *ʿq* are often in parallelism with one another, *Wb.* 1, 179/15.

However, more may be written than just *ʿpy=y*; either the dative or the reflexive object, *ṯ=y*, is possible. We render the verbs in this line as imperatives, but they may be past narrative, i.e., simple past *sḏm=f* forms. One must then assume that the scribe intended *ʿpy=y r* and *twn=y*.

The ferry of the "sacred spirits" is the solar bark or similar. For *ȝḫ ỉqr*, "sacred spirits," see *Wb.* 1, 16/3, and in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 45. On *iḫy* in Demotic, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 115.

Twn is "to raise," *Glossar*, pp. 614–15; "to stretch out," *Wb.* 5, 431/1–432/13.

A similar statement is in B02, 8/11, *ỉr=y pȝ rʿ n tȝ-nswt n tm rn=y ḫn pȝ kky ỉw=y ỉr ȝḫ ỉrm nȝ bȝ.w*. On *twn* in a hostile sense, Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, p. 26.

Bȝ.w has the book-roll determinative, suggesting that it is "sacred writings," *Wb.* 1, 414/1–2. This may nevertheless be the *bȝ.w* of the damned, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 45 and 158; "Der Verstorbene will seinen Feind bekämpfen," Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 189.

Line 5: The disciple asserts his knowledge of the birds and plants (?) of this region.

B04: We cannot read the initial word, probably a verb of knowledge like the others in this line. *Ḥm*, "catch," *Glossar*, p. 305, *ḫnm*, "unite," *Glossar*, p. 384, or *šp*, "receive," *Glossar*, pp. 500–01, are possible, but palaeographically unconvincing.

Ḥly in B04 and *ḥlty* in L01 are from *ḥl*, "fly," *Glossar*, p. 327, with the noun derivative *ḥʿlṯ*, "bird."

Šnb is *šbn*, "to join," *Glossar*, p. 499, with the "x" determinative appropriate to that verb found in L01. Compare the idiom, *šb ḥȝty*, *Wb.* 4, 436/14 (a good quality).

Btȝ.w is the same word as in line L01, 10/15. While *wt* "plants," is possible, comparing Coptic ϐⲱⲧ, "frisch sein," for ⲟⲩⲱⲧ, *KHWB*, p. 28, we render "nature," or "character."

Line 6: In the following passage the disciple recounts that individual animals (baboon, dog, and ibis) from these (underworld) regions have given to him various objects.

B04: *ỉn-nw* is "lance, spear," *Glossar*, p. 210 (with other examples of the *ỉn*-prefix).

For the writing of "60," see *Glossar*, p. 701. The *mḥ* is the abbreviated form generally used for ordinal numbers, *Glossar*, p. 172, and not the fuller version normally employed for *mḥ*, "Elle," *Glossar*, p. 173. Or read *šp*?

Wtȝ.t (with the wood-determinative) has already appeared in B02, 3/5, *my mḥ=fn pȝ wsr tȝ wtȝ.t n ḫpš*. It is presumably identical with *wḏ.t*, "steering-oar posts (?)," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 162, or *wḏy.t*, "helm," idem, *Nautical Titles*, p. 162 (not in *Glossar*).

Ht.t is probably *hd.t*, "thorn (?)," *Wb.* 2, 505/15, or *ḥṯy.t*, "drill," *Wb.* 2, 503/10 (not in *Glossar*).

There are similar statements about the bark in the Book of the Dead, e.g. "Thorn is the name of the dipper; Tested (and) Accurate is the name of the steering oar," Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 54.

L01: The upper portions of the two *ayins* are still preserved.

Line 7: The disciple declares that a dog has given to him a block of limestone, and explained to him its symbolic significance.

B02: We have followed this version, and assumed that *ỉwiw*, "dog," was the intended subject.

B04: The subject of this version is unclear; it is not *ỉwiw*. The initial letter appears to be *w*, which suggests *wnš*, "jackal," *Glossar*, p. 92.

Šw is *šw*, "block," *Glossar*, p. 495.

There seems to be a word play at the beginning of the line between *ỉwiw* and *ʿȝ*. The latter is to be identified with *ʿȝ.t ḥḏ.t*, "limestone," *Wb.* 1, 165/17 (not in *Glossar*).

Šn with the cloth determinative is presumably *šnw*, "net," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9 (not in *Glossar*).

Ḥm is *ḥm*, "to catch, fish," *Glossar*, p. 305, or a derivative of this verb, e.g., "net" (in the compound *ḥȝm.t ftw*, *Wb.* 3, 32/4).

Line 8: The disciple now describes his gift from an ibis, which seems to symbolize the mast or sail.

B04: *Ḥtꜣ* is probably *ḥt* for *ḥṯ*, "cloth, clothes" (also *ḥt*), *Glossar*, p. 337, which is followed by *ḥṯ*, "sail," in *Glossar*, p. 337. The same word, however, may occur in M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 126, *ḥtꜣ*, which he equates with *ḥꜣt.t*, "prow rope."

ꜣy is *ꜣy*, "cattle, offering-animal," *Glossar*, p. 1, or *iwꜣ*, "Rind," *Wb.* 1, 49/9–11.

R may either introduce a circumstantialized nominal sentence or be the preposition "to/for."

Ḫt-ṯꜣw is "mast," *Glossar*, p. 370.

Thꜣ is a variant of *thꜣ*, "skin," *Glossar*, p. 654.

For *mꜣy*, "lion," see *Glossar*, p. 148.

The obscure final signs of this line perhaps include the *pꜣy* copula.

Line 9: This problematic line apparently deals again with the gift to the disciple from a dog.

B04: The repetition of *iwiw*, already mentioned in B02, 15/7 (?), is odd.

Myly is *mr*, "bandage," *Glossar*, p. 166 (also *ml*) p. 354.

Immediately following the cloth determinative of *myly* is a damaged divine sign. This must be *mt(.w)-nṯr*, "hieroglyphs." *Myly mt-ntr* is possibly a linen bandage inscribed with hieroglyphs.

The reading of the word after *tꜣe=w* is uncertain. We had first read *bꜣty.t*, but this is unlikely.

Glg is *grg*, "hunt," *Glossar*, p. 586.

The same *ht* as in L01.5, 10/21, occurs here; it may belong to the following sentence.

Continuation of Text Based on C02 (Without Parallel in Other Papyri)

Transliteration

C02, 2/7 *[...]*

C02, 2/8 *[...]*

C02, 2/9 *[...]*

C02, 2/10 *[...]... y n ... [...]*

C02, 2/11 *m[r-rḫ ...]... tỉ=y [...]*

C02, 2/12 *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f... in-nw [...]*

C02, 2/13 *mr-rḫ ... [...] wʿ mꜣ ... [...]*

C02, 2/14 *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f in ʿr[...]*

C02, 2/15 *mr-rḫ ... [...]*

C02, 2/16 *... [...]*

C02, 2/17 *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f pry ... [...]*

C02, 2/18 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ... ḥꜣ.t=s (?) ... [...]*

below line *mḥ-10* + (?)

Translation

C02, 2/7. [...]
C02, 2/8. [...]
C02, 2/9. [...]
C02, 2/10. [...] ... of ... [...]
C02, 2/11. The-one-who-lo[ves-knowledge ...] ... I gave (?) [...]
C02, 2/12. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... a spear [...]
C02, 2/13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge ... [...] a ... [...]
C02, 2/14. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... [...]
C02, 2/15. The-one-who-loves-knowledge ... [...]
C02, 2/16. ... [...]
C02, 2/17. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What (?) is ... [...]
C02, 2/18. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "... before it (?) ... [...] below line "Tenth +?"

Commentary

Line 2/10: The first preserved word concludes with the house determinative.

We had first tentatively read the last word as *iꜣw*, but it may be *n pꜣ ...*

Line 2/12: This line evidently refers back to B02, 15/6.

Line 2/13: The determinative of *mꜣ* is not clear, and thus no secure translation is possible.

Line 2/16: Read perhaps *r bꜣ.w* at the end of the line.

Continuation of Text Based on B04 (Without Parallel in Other Papyri)

Transliteration

B04, 6/10–11 *ʿe=y / nꜣe=w tꜣ wtꜣ ḥm ib=y n=w šnꜣ.w glg ls wʿ nꜣe=w sfty.w (?)*

B04, 6/12 *smny=y sgl.w (n) ṯꜣ=f ḥꜣ.ṯ=f ir=y sgl rnp.t 1,000.t n(ꜣ)-ʿꜣ nꜣ brgt*

B04, 6/13 *ḫny=y wʿ.t ḥny n wʿ ḥꜣ (?) r ʿw r bn-pw=y rḫ r (?) in.ṯ=w (?) n ʿꜣ (?)*

B04, 6/14 *n pꜣ yʿm r ʿw=f bn-pw=y rḫ in.ṯ=w pꜣ šlḏ nꜣe=f pš.w (?) r šny*

B04, 6/15 *nꜣ sgl.w nt ḫny r-tr.ṯ=f ir=w n=y gsp rn pꜣe=f nf gby*

B04, 6/16 *n ḥny tꜣ i-ir wtb r pꜣ ʿt ḥpꜣ ... ky=y r bn-pw=y pḥ=w*

B04, 6/17 *šʿ-mtw mny=y r tꜣ lʿy n pꜣ ʿnḫ tꜣ sḫ.t iḫy ...*

B04, 6/18 *gm=y nꜣ rmt.w nꜣ ʿʿ.w nꜣ ipt.w (?) nꜣ ḏtf.w r nꜣ sm.w (?) ... rt*

B04, 6/19 *r wʿ mꜣ ʿnḫ psf ... ḫ ... nꜣe=f ms ḏw nb im=s*

B04, 6/20 *ʿrq=ʿyʾ rnp.t r-mny rnp.t 1,000.t ḏ n=y (?) wʿ ḥnts (?) r-ỉny pꜣ sḫ ...*

B04, 6/21 *ḥy (?) mṯly (?) nswt šʿ.t (?) tw=s tw=y pꜣ bnr ḥr pꜣ ꜣḥ s.t-ḏbꜣ tw=y thm n=k*

B04, 6/22 *in bn-iw=k wn n=y p[ꜣ g]y pꜣe=w qnqn wpy-tp-ꜣt=f ḏ=f*

B04, 6/23 *nꜣe=w in-nw ... [...] ... nt nꜣ.w-qns fy.ṯ=w in ir=k ʿꜣ nꜣe=f qnqn (?)*

B04, 6/24 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f tꜣ[=w] n=y rmt mḥ-ib 10,000 nmy nt tꜣ mi.t [r] fy.ṯ=w*

B04, 7/1 *ṯ=w ꜣkyl (?) ... nꜣ.w*

Translation

B04, 6/10–11. (As for) my limbs, / it is the ones of the *wtꜣ* which steer my heart for them. As for (their) hairs (?), my tongue supplies one of their ...

B04, 6/12. I established my sailings, its ... upon it (?). I have made sailings for a thousand years. Great are the lakes.

B04, 6/13. I rowed in a canal with a sail (?) ... without my being able to reach (?) the ... due to the width

B04, 6/14. of the sea in its entirety. I was not able to reach them, the ... its ... so as to question (?)

B04, 6/15. the sailors who row before it. They made for me a shout (?) concerning its captain ... become weak (?) ...

B04, 6/16. canal, she who has turned back from the shore ... I ... I not having reached them

B04, 6/17. until I moored at the landing-post of the life ... the splendid field ...

B04, 6/18. I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow,

B04, 6/19. while a canal of life was bubbling over ... all its young birds in it.

B04, 6/20. ʿIʾ completed year(s) until one thousand years. There said to me a lizard (?): "Bring the writing ...

B04, 6/21. a *ḥy*-animal (?) ... writing. Behold! I am outside of the field of trouble. I summon you.

B04, 6/22. Will you not reveal to me the [man]ner of their fighting?" He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:

B04, 6/23. "Their spears ... [...] ... which it is hard to carry them. Have you made the greatness (or "extent") of its fighting (?)?"

B04, 6/24. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "[They] gave to me a bodyguard of 10,000 who stride and who are upon the road [to] bring them (the spears).

B04, 7/1. them. They are ... excellent (?) ...

Commentary

B04, 6/10–11: These grammatically obscure lines may equate elements of the bark with parts of the body. The author employs the topos of the heart and tongue.

ʿe is presumably *ʿ.t*, "limb," *Glossar*, p. 51. This word may belong to the previous sentence.

The *nꜣe=w* preceding *tꜣ wtꜣ.t* is a problem. The possessive adjective seems hardly possible, and this may be a possessive prefix: "the ones of ..."

Wtꜣ, determined by the wood sign, is identical with the *wtꜣ.t* in B04, 6/7, perhaps "steering-oar posts."

We render *ḥm* as "to steer," *ḥm*, "steuern," *Glossar*, p. 308, and take it to be a participle. This yields sense in association with the just mentioned *wtꜣ*. On the heart steering (or being steered), see Fischer-Elfert, "'Ich bin das Schiff - Du bist das Ruder,' Eine Danksagung an den Lehrer," *SAK* 11 (1984): 335–45. Less likely are *ḥm*, "to hunt," *Glossar*, p. 305, or *ḥm*, "to be heavy," de Cenival, "Les nouveaux fragments," *CRIPEL* 7 (1985): 106.

Šnꜣ (= *šn*, "Haar," *Glossar*, p. 513), seems to be written, judging from the determinative. However, the scribe may have intended *šnw*, "rope," *Wb.* 4, 509/5–7, or "net," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9.

N=w is a writing of the dative (referring back to the *ʿe*?), but may stand for the possessive *nꜣe=w*, or even *n wʿ* (*Glossar*, p. 81).

Glg with this determinative is *grg*, "to found, equip," *Glossar*, pp. 586–87, or "to hunt," *Glossar*, p. 586. There is probable parallelism between *ḥm ib=y* and *glg ls*(=*y*).

The syntax of the end of the line is puzzling. The phrase *wʿ nꜣe=w* is suspiciously awkward, and may represent an unorthographic spelling of another word entirely.

While *sfty.w* is the best reading at the end of the line, we can offer no translation and *sšt* or *sḫt*, for example, are also possible transliterations.

B04, 6/12: The disciple describes his journey upon these waters.

The idiom *smny=y sgl.w*, "I established sailings," is peculiar; perhaps "I set up/appointed sailors."

We read the group after *sgl.w* as *ṯȝ*, comparing *ṯȝ*, "Zeit," *Glossar*, p. 600. The word concludes with the sun-disk or the place determinative. The meaning is poor, however. Palaeographically *tpȝ* is also possible, in view of the writing of *tp* in B04, 7/13. Again, none of the resulting possibilities (e.g., *dp.t*, "ship," *Wb.* 5, 446/17–447/2) is compelling.

Alternatively, *ḫfȝ* might be proposed, identified with *ḫfȝȝ.t*, "shore, landing-place, bank," *Wb.* 3, 271/13–14.

Ḥ.ṯ=f is *ḥȝ.t*, "Spitze, Vorderteil," *Glossar*, p. 287, or *ḥ ʿ*, "selbst, Leib," *Glossar*, p. 292. *Ḥ.t*, "Leib," *Glossar*, pp. 373–74, is less likely due to the shape of the "head" of the sign.

We read "1,000," *Glossar*, p. 702; the form also closely resembles "20," *Glossar*, p. 700. Compare also L01.5, 10/18.

We have interpreted *n(ȝ)-ʿȝ* as an adjective-verb, *Glossar*, p. 54, but it may simply be the dative (or = *m*) construction, "through the greatness of the lakes."

The water determinative of *brgt*, "der Teich," "der See," *Glossar*, p. 119, is on the next line, B04, 6/13.

B04, 6/13–14: The disciple emphasizes the great size of the underwater lakes and canals.

Comparable statements are: "I have come after I traveled the waters (*ḥn.t*)," Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, p. 27; "Arriving at the north of the winding canal, the number of (whose) cities is not known. A million cubits are around it in the flame of a torch," Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, p. 128. The passage in the Book of Thoth is related to such geographical sections in underworld compositions as Spell 1052 of the Coffin Texts: "The place of plants. The place of plots of land. The place of sand. The place of <stone>," Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, p. 56.

We had first thought that *ḥṯȝ* should be read after *wʿ*, and that this was *ḥṯ*, "sail," *Glossar*, p. 337; compare also *ḥtȝ*, "prow rope," M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 126. We now think that *ḥȝ* with the water sign is the best reading, comparing *ḥȝy*,"sail," "At Edfu this is used to describe sailing on the primeval Nun-Ocean," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 612. Compare also *ḥȝy*, "to flow," "flood," *Wb.* 3, 13/5–11. If so, the sign which resembles *ȝ* or *ḥ* would be the water determinative.

A possible reading of the end of the line is *bn-pw=y rḫ r ỉn pȝ rʿ-ȝ / n pȝ ym* "I was not able to reach the end of the sea." For *ỉn rȝ-ʿ*, "das Ende von etw. (des Landes u. ä.) erreichen," see *Wb.* 2, 394/2. Compare *ỉn rʿ* in B02, 6/11.

R ʿw or *n ʿw* is presumably a phrase with *ʿw*, "weit sein," *Glossar*, p. 57.

In B04, 6/14, *r ʿw=f* is probably a writing of *r ȝw=f*, "bis zu seiner Länge, ganz," *Wb.* 1, 4/12.

B04, 6/14–17: The disciple recounts his experiences upon the lake with the sailors of the bark.

We have read *bn-pw=y rḫ ỉn.ṯ=w*, "I was not able to bring/reach them," but that is uncertain.

Šlḏ, with the walking-legs determinative, is the most attractive reading; *šlq* does not seem possible, and taking the last group as the heart sign is also unlikely. This may be identified with ϣⲁⲗϫ-, "to cut," *KHWB*, pp. 312–13.

Pš.w is reasonable, but the determinative is unclear. An alternative is *gš.w*, "reeds," *Glossar*, p. 593.

Šny is most likely *šn*, "to ask, investigate," *Glossar*, pp. 513–14.

If *šny*, "ask," is correct, then *sgl.w*, with the seated man determinative, should be "sailors" (a participle), and not "sailings," *Glossar*, p. 470.

Ḫny in B04, 6/15, may be "to row," *Glossar*, p. 383.

R-tr.ṯ could be *r-tr.t*, "from, in," *Glossar*, p. 644, or *ỉ-ỉr-tr.t*, "beside, at," *Glossar*, p. 644. This is preferable to *r-ḥȝ.ṯ*, "before," *Glossar*, p. 287.

Gsp, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is probably not *gs-pr*, "temple," *Wb.* 5, 198/2–199/18. Other possibilities, such as taking this to be a writing of *ky sp*, "another thing," or "another time," *Wb.* 3, 436/3, or *gsptyw*, "minor deities," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1112, are even less likely. We understand it to be a variant writing of *sgp*, "Geschrei, Klage," *Glossar*, p. 469.

We had first read *bn-pw pȝe=f nf gby* (= *bgy*), "His captain did not suffer shipwreck." However, the slanting supralinear stroke suggests *m*, *Glossar*, p. 249, rather than *bn-pw*, *Glossar*, p. 116.

Nf seems to have the expected sail determinative, as quoted in *nf*, "sailor," *Glossar*, p. 216. *Nf* means both simple "sailor" or a "captain," Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p. 77.

Gby or *gbe*, "be weak, tired," *Glossar*, p. 577, is probable, but the determinative is unclear, being partly obscured by the three strokes of *y* and the divider line. It seems to be the seated child, perhaps being used in place of the weary man. Alternatively, *gby* may be in error for *bgy*, "Schiffbruch leiden," *Glossar*, p. 125.

In B04, 6/16, *n*, written with a very short stroke, is possible at the beginning of the line. *Ḥny* is again "canal," *Glossar*, pp. 311–12.

Tȝ ỉ-ỉr wtb r is a perfect participle construction; *wtb* is "umwenden, übergehen," *Glossar*, p. 106; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 289–290. The feminine definite article perhaps refers back to the canal, which is a feminine word. The significance of the phrase is obscure; it may even be the name of the canal: "She who has turned back to the shore."

Ḥpȝ is more likely than *spȝ* or *ḥsȝ*; compare the *ḥ* in *ḫf* of B04, 6/3. This may be *ḥp*, "verbergen," *Glossar*, p. 302. The word concludes with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. This argues against understanding it as a writing of *ḥpw*, "course (of a river)," Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 108.

The word after *ḥpȝ* in B04, 6/16, is difficult; there is a misleading stroke descending from the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative immediately above (of *gsp*). This scribe tends to add a flourish at the bottom of such long vertical strokes; compare *ḫf* again in B04, 6/3. The word, which is a verb, may conclude with *ky*, but the first sign resists decipherment. A possibility is *sty*, "to pour," *Glossar*, p. 475 (Möller, *HP* 3, number 167). Such readings as *mȝky*, *bky*, *ḫnky*, or *ỉnky*, are not satisfactory.

R would be a circumstantial converter, but the reading is uncertain.

Šʿ-mtw is the "until" construction; compare *Wb.* 4, 409/1. This appears to be *šʿ-mtw* followed by a *sḏm=f* form, although one might rather expect *šʿ-mtw=y mny*, and not *šʿ-mtw mny=y*. For the writing with the initial sign preceding *mn*, see *mn*, "landen," *Glossar*, p. 160.

The word following *tȝ* is probably *lʿy(.t)*, the *mr* sign being used for "*l*." This has the place determinative, and may be *nʿy.t*, "landing-post," *Glossar*, p. 208. *Tȝ lʿy.t n pȝ ʿnḫ* is

a plausible place-name, but we have not found it elsewhere. For the symbolism of the "landing-post," see Helck, *LÄ* 3, col. 917 ("Landepflock").

The word between *t3* and *ỉḫy* is perhaps *sḫ.t*, "field." The final preserved sign may be the tree determinative.

B04, 6/18: The disciple declares that he has "discovered" the people and other forms of life in this locality. He describes the fauna and a "well/canal of life" within it.

R before *n3* may be the circumstantial converter.

Sm.w is *sm*, "Kraut," *Glossar*, p. 430.

B04, 6/19: *R* at the beginning of the line is either the circumstantial converter or the preposition.

M3 is "Kanal," *Glossar*, p. 147. We have no parallel for this phrase, although compare the *šy n ʿnḫ*, "lake of life," in C04.1, 7.

The damaged word following *ʿnḫ* is difficult. We think *psf* is most likely *psỉ*, "kochen," *Wb.* 1, 551/5–552/5, also *pfs*, *Wb.* 1, 507; *Glossar*, p. 139 (*psy*), but the determinative is not the expected brazier sign, and the image of a "boiling canal of life" is unusual, though not inconceivable.

There seems to follow a *ḫ* (or *m*?), but our earlier reading of *tỉ* before *n3e=f* is implausible.

ỉm=s has the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, comparing *ỉm=*s in B04, 7/2 (a similar statement).

B04, 6/20–21: The disciple again recounts how much time he has spent in the region, 1,000 years, and reveals what various animals in the locality said to him.

ʿrq is "vollenden," *Wb.* 1, 212/3–7 (not in *Glossar*).

R-mny is *r-mn*, "bis...," *Wb.* 2, 64/7 (not in *Glossar*).

"1,000" is a more probable reading than "20."

The vertical stroke after *ḏ* resembles *w*, though the expected and proposed *n=y* is not impossible (perhaps written *n3=w*).

We read *ḫnts*, "die Eidechse" (with the lizard or crocodile determinative), *Glossar*, p. 315, although the end of the word is damaged. *Ḫnt*, "crocodile," *Glossar*, p. 315, is another possibility.

The words after the subject may represent the animal's speech.

R-ỉny would be the imperative form of *ỉn*, Johnson, *Thus Wrote ʿOnchsheshonqy*, p. 53 (not in *Glossar*).

The beginning of B04, 6/21, is difficult. We had read *ḫʿ=y p3y*, "It is ... myself," but this is dubious, since we cannot decipher the end of line B04, 6/20. It may be best to understand the sign resembling *p3y* as the animal skin, and identify *ḫy* with *ḫ3y*, "ein Tier," *Glossar*, p. 290.

We have read *mṯly* (comparing *myly* in B04, 6/10?) *nswt*, but this is exceedingly uncertain. The word beginning with *m* may have the place determinative, while the transliteration of *šʿ.t* is chiefly based on the papyrus determinative.

Tw=s, "behold," *Glossar*, p. 612, is an attractive reading of the damaged signs before *tw=y*; the following construction would be first present.

The compound preposition *ḥnr ḫr* is not in *Glossar*, but is plausible, given the numerous such combinations with *ḥnr* (e.g., *ḥnr r*, *ḥnr ḫr tr.t*), *Glossar*, p. 118.

3ḫ resembles the examples in *Glossar*, p. 9.

For *s.t-tb3*, see *Glossar*, p. 402, where it is associated with *stb*, "Unglück," *Glossar*, p. 476. This may be a place-name, but we have no parallels for the "Field of Trouble." It may be an unorthographic spelling; there are numerous words spelled *tb3*, *ḏb3*, or similar.

The end of this line is poorly preserved, but *thm n=k* is reasonable. This would be *thm*, "laden, einladen," *Glossar*, p. 650. On this verb, see Demidchik, "The Middle Egyptian Verb *thm/tḫm*," *GM* 150 (1996): 47–49. The determinative appears to be the arm with a stick. The sense would be "to summon, invite, invoke," although the use of the dative is unusual.

B04, 6/22: The disciple asks the deity for information concerning the manner of fighting, presumably in the underworld.

ỉn is the interrogative particle introducing a negative third future.

Gy or *g3y*, "Art," *Glossar*, pp. 571–72, is a fitting restoration.

For the form of *p3e=w*, see *Glossar*, p. 129.

B04, 6/23: The deity describes these underworld weapons, and appears to question the disciple concerning his knowledge of them.

We had first read *ỉn-nw ms n*, but this may be just the knife, metal, and wood determinatives of "spear." It is not very different from the example of *ỉn-nw* in B04, 6/7.

N3.w-qns is an adjective-verb, from *qns*, *Glossar*, pp. 541–42, with the infinitive *fy* as subject. Unsurprisingly, these underworld weapons are heavy and cumbersome.

The parallel question is obscure; *qnqn* is far from secure, although it fits the traces.

B04, 6/24: The disciple replies by apparently confirming his familiarity with these weapons.

For *rmt*, compare *rmt.w* in B04, 6/18.

The force of *mḥ-ib* here is not completely clear. For *mḥ-ib*, see *Wb.* 2, 118/11–119/2. This is perhaps the term for "bodyguard," *Wb.* 2, 118/17; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 449–50. On *mḥ-ib*, see also Jansen-Winkeln, "Beiträge zu den Privatinschriften der Spätzeit," *ZÄS* 125 (1998): 1–2. *Mḥ-ib* is also an epithet of Thoth, Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, p. 421.

The sign after *mḥ-ib* is 10,000, *Glossar*, p. 703.

The difficult verb or stative following 10,000 has the walking-legs determinative. It may be a writing of *nmỉ*, "einen Ort durchfahren, gehen," *Wb.* 2, 265/5–13, or *nmt*, "schreiten," *Wb.* 2, 270/4–21; *Glossar*, p. 220 (questionable example). The scribe of this papyrus sometimes flattens out his "*m*"s (e.g., *mfky* in B04, 7/18). We have read *nt* after *nmy*, but this is perhaps *ṯ*, and thus would belong to *nmṯ* (= *nmt*). The relative pronoun seems awkward here.

B04, 7/1: The scribe repeats *ṯ=w*, although *ḫr*, "upon," is also a feasible transliteration.

3kyl, "excellent," is reasonable, but possible too is *3sy*, "to be light," *Glossar*, p. 11, which would contrast with *n3.w-qns*, "to be heavy, difficult," just used to describe the spears. If *n3.w* is correct, then this concluding sentence may be a gloss in the form of a nominal sentence.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 8 of B04

Transliteration

Add. 2 B04, 8/1 *[...]... ỉwy (ʔ) ỉw=s wꜣḥ n=w sḫny ỉw=s sḫn tꜣ ỉ-ỉr*

B04, 8/2 *ms.ṯ=s grp=y r wʿ yʿm ỉw=f ḫw ...*

B04, 8/3 *r pꜣe=f... rt mfky r 9 tks ḫt ḫnt*

B04, 8/4 *m-qb=f r nꜣe=w bꜣ.w nꜣe=w snty.w r nꜣe=w ꜣl.w*

B04, 8/5 *ms mt mꜣy r nꜣe=w ḫnmt.w mn-ỉry.w*
L01.6, 1 ..... *[...]*
B11, 1/1 *[.....] mn-ỉry*

B04, 8/6 *ḫry.w ṯ wʿ ḫbs n tr.ṯ=y r ḫt (ʔ) wʿ n pꜣ*
L01.6, 2 *[... ṯ]y wʿ ḫ[bs ...]*

B04, 8/7 *tš mḥ=f (ʔ) ỉr=y pꜣe=f wʿ pḥ=y r wʿ wḏ ʿnḫ*
L01.6, 3 *ỉr=y ... [...]*

B04, 8/8 *ỉw=f tš nḏy (ʔ) r bn-pw=f wt gm=y 6 (ʔ) ḫn ỉw=w*
L01.6, 4 *gm=y ... [...]*
B11, 1/3 *[.....] r bn-pw=f wyṯy*

B04, 8/9 *ḥmsy.ṯ ỉw=w tmt ỉw=w snsn (n) wʿ gꜣy mt*
B11, 1/4–5 *[.....] gꜣy n mt / [...] ...*

B04, 8/10 *ỉw=w šnb ḥꜣt ḥnʿ nt nꜣ šmʿ.w mḥy r nꜣ tꜣ.wy*
L01.6, 5 *ỉw=w šbn [...]*
B11, 1/6 *[.....] šmʿ.w*

B04, 8/11 *nt-ỉw tꜣe=w nb.t N.t tw=y bn-ỉw mtw ḏḏy bw-ỉr=w ḥp=w*
L01.6, 6 *tỉ=y bn-ỉw m[...]*
B11, 1/7 *[...] rꜣ=sn (ʔ)*

B04, 8/12 *ỉw=w ḥm snty nt mw ḥy ỉw=w snfr ḫꜣ*
L01.6, 7 *ỉw=w snfr ... [...]*

B04, 8/13 *ỉwt n=f mḏy ỉw=w fṯ bty m tp-rt.w*

B04, 8/14 *ỉw=w nhm s (ʔ) m -ʿ.wy n šʿy=f r pꜣe=f mwt ʿḥʿ*
L01.6, 8 *ỉw=w nhm [...]*

B04, 8/15 *ỉn=w-ḫꜣ=f nꜣe=w-ʿw ḫs pꜣ ỉ-ỉr tỉ.t ṯ=w nꜣy ...*
L01.6, 9 *pꜣe=w ʿw ḫs (ʔ) [...]*

B04, 8/16 *st ỉ-ỉr ỉy ... bny mr nꜣ.w-štšt š... k.t*
L01.6, 10 *nꜣ.w-štšt ... [...]*
B11, 1/10 *[...] mr*

B04, 8/17 *nꜣ.w-qns nꜣe=w mt nꜣe=w wḫm.w šb.ṯ r sḫ r mtw=w*
L01.6, 11 *r mtw=w ... [...]*

B04, 8/18 *sḫn.ṯ=w n=w ntf nꜣ sšl.w mtw=y sn ḏ=y sn wꜣḥ=y*

B04, 8/19 *sn ỉn mtw sḫ=y sn ỉw=y (r) swn snsn*
L01.6, 12 *ỉn mtw sš ... [...]*

B04, 8/20 *ḏ n=y ḥꜣṯ=y šgyg ḥꜣ.ṯ=sn šʿ-tw=y*
L01.6, 13 *š-tw=y ... [...]*
B11, 1/13 *[.....] šgyg ḥꜣ.t=sn*

B04, 8/21 *gm.ṯ=s n Tꜣ-ỉmy.t tꜣ kby ỉ-ỉr ṯ-ʿ.wy*

B11, 1/14 *[.....]... y* (Parallel?)

B04, 8/22 *n P nꜣ tp-rt.w tmt wʿ sp-2 nꜣe=w-nfr nb*

B11, 1/15 *[.....] ḥꜣṯ=y* (Parallel?)

B04, 8/23 *ỉ-ỉr ỉy pꜣ ỉft nwny ỉwsq=s ỉw=y*
B11, 1/16 *[.....] nwn*

B04, 8/24 *ḥms m Tp-wḏꜣ ḥnʿ sfḫy sysꜣ.w st*

B04, 8/25 *ḥqy ḥꜣṯ=y*
B11, 1/17 *[...] rꜣ (ʔ) ...*

Translation

B04, 8/1. [...] ... she gives orders to them, she commanding, the one who
B04, 8/2. gave birth to her. Let me reveal a sea which is protected ...
B04, 8/3. its ... grow with turquoise, while nine boats fare north and south
B04, 8/4. within it, concerning their souls and their creations, concerning their plants,
B04, 8/5. which give birth to new words, concerning their nurses and wet-nurses.
B04, 8/6. The servants take a lamp from my (?) hand after (?) one of the
B04, 8/7. district before (?) him. I made his one. I reached a storeroom of life,
B04, 8/8. it being determined (as) "The one who counsels (or 'questions'?)," without it being different (?). I found six (?) rowers,
B04, 8/9. they sitting down, they being complete, they worshipping (in) a mode of speech,

B04, 8/10. they being joined in heart with the ones who are (of) Upper Egypt and the ones of Lower Egypt, being the two lands,
B04, 8/11. whose mistress is Neith, which have no enemies; they do not hide themselves,
B04, 8/12. they forming a creation which is as one in illness (?), they beautifying a corpse
B04, 8/13. which has no papyrus-roll, they eradicating evil by means of rituals,
B04, 8/14. they rescuing a man (?) from his fate, his death standing
B04, 8/15. behind him. Great is the praise (of) the one who has caused that they take ...
B04, 8/16. They have come ... sweet of love, sharp (?) are ... another;
B04, 8/17. difficult are their words; their repetitions (or "explanations") being too various to write, whereas it is they
B04, 8/18. who commanded to them the loosening of the papyrus documents (?) ... I ... them. I said them. I have loosened (or "explained")
B04, 8/19. them. Since I have listed them, I will know how to worship.
B04, 8/20. My heart said to me the desire before them until I
B04, 8/21. found her in *Ꜣs-ỉmy.t* of the heaven, the one who has determined
B04, 8/22. in Pe, the rituals, total, one by one. Excellent is their mistress (?)
B11, 1/15. [...] my heart. (Parallel?)
B04, 8/23. who has come from the four corners of Nun. May she delay (?), while I
B04, 8/24. dwell in Dep of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with (?) ... the *sỉꜣ*-cloth falcons. They
B04, 8/25. enchant my heart.

Commentary

B04, 8/1–2: The disciple depicts in detail the underworld locality and its denizens.

The disciple portrays the "wise-one," the *rḫ.t*, presumably identical with the *nry.t*-vulture who has given birth to the forty-two young, after mating with the forty-two *bas*.

For *wꜣḥ sḫm*, "befehlen," see *Glossar*, p. 447. The two examples of *sḫm* in this line are written in two different, but equally well-attested forms.

The dative *n=w* probably refers back to the *bas* or the forty-two young.

The participial phrase *tꜣ ỉ-ỉr ms.ṯ=s* may be in apposition to the mother-vulture. The suffix *s* may refer to the vulture herself or stand for *sn* (or *st*), "them," i.e., the forty-two young.

B04, 8/2: The disciple describes a great underworld sea, upon which boats sail. This "sea journey" may allude to the funerary ritual. As Quack remarks in connection with a passage in Insinger: "Als Vorstufe zur Beisetzung findet nun die rituelle Seefahrt (*ḫne*) statt," "Balsamierung und Totengericht im P. Insinger," *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 31. Such a background fits the general tenor of this column. See also Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 40. Interestingly, nine books are recited aloud during this journey, Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual*, p. 52; compare the mention of the nine boats in B04, 8/3.

Grp is *glp*, "reveal, expose," *Glossar*, p. 589.

ỉw=f ḫw may be a circumstantial clause modifying *yꜥm*, "sea." *Ḫw* is probably *ḫwy*, "protect, be holy," *Glossar*, p. 352, but the end of the word is obscure.

We had read *nỉ b.w*, "the plants," after *ḫw*, but this is unconvincing.

The final word is also problematic. It may conclude with the seated man and plural strokes; such readings as *twỉ.w* or *wꜥb.w* are not compelling.

B04, 8/3: This line comprises two circumstantial clauses describing the "shore" of the sea and nine ships which sail north and south upon it.

R pỉe=f, possibly a circumstantial clause, is secure, but the following word is unread. It may begin with *g* or *š*. The following half-preserved sign seems to be *g*. We had first read *grg*, but this is unlikely. The subject is the shore of the sea, which produces turquoise. Alternatively, the *r* may be construed with *grp*.

Given the plant determinative, *rt*, "wachsen," *Glossar*, p. 257, is probable, but the *rt* sign would have an odd additional slanting stroke.

R again introduces a circumstantial clause.

Tks, "boat," *Glossar*, p. 661, is a general term, without specific religious significance.

Both *ḫt*, "to sail northwards," *Glossar*, p. 397, and *ḫnt*, "stromauf fahren," *Glossar*, p. 364, have the boat determinative.

B04, 8/4: The compound preposition *m-qb* or *m-qỉb*, "in the middle of," *Wb.* 5, 10/3–11/1, is not in *Glossar*, but occurs in Ptolemaic temple texts, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1046.

R in this line refers back to the *grp*: "I shall reveal concerning (the following)." The antecedent of the plural suffix *nỉe=w* is unclear; one assumes that the various localities comprising the district are meant.

Bỉ.w is *by.w*, "souls," *Glossar*, p. 111.

Snty may be here not "foundations," but "creations, beings," *Glossar*, p. 439.

We identify *ỉḏ*, "plant" (the faded sign is the tree determinative, Möller, *HP* 3, number 266) with *ỉỉr*, "reeds," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 34 (especially in *sḫ.t ỉỉr.w*; not in *Glossar*). This yields excellent sense, since the author often speaks of reeds as writing utensils, as with *ꜥrw*, "reed," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 165–66.

B04, 8/5: For *ms*, compare *ms* in B04, 8/2. The construction may be a first present circumstantial ("while their plants give birth to new words") or *ms* may be a participle.

For *mt* compare *mt* in B04, 8/17.

We have no other example of the striking phrase "to give birth to new words."

In view of the scribal background of this passage, the designations of "nurses and wet-nurses" may be metaphorical. *Ḫnmt*, "Amme," *Wb.* 3, 294/2–3, is not in *Glossar*; for *mn-ỉry*, "Amme," see *Glossar*, p. 161.

L01.6, 1: There is a misplaced piece of papyrus here.

B11, 1/1: Here begins the fragmentary parallel.

B04, 8/6: The disciple apparently recounts a procession, in which he himself participates.

This line begins a new sentence, possibly a first present construction.

Ḫry concludes with the damaged plural sign, but the determinative is unclear. Presumably it is *ḫry*, "Syrian, servant," *Glossar*, p. 387, or *ḫl*, "servant," *Glossar*, pp. 393–94.

The first person suffix after *n tr.t* is not secure (somewhat flaked; perhaps *p3...*), and difficult to understand within the context. It may be a mistake for *sn*.

Since *w'* follows, the damaged sign after *ḫ* should be a determinative or the conclusion of a short word such as a preposition. We suggest *r-ḫt*, "behind, after," *Wb.* 3, 347/8–12, before *w'*; compare also the writing of *imy=w-ḫ.t*, *Glossar*, p. 345. We had earlier read *r ḫn*, but the translation would be problematic.

One notes that the Bark-procession of Osiris at Dendera utilized 365 lamps, Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien," in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel*, p. 167.

B04, 8/7: The disciple joins the procession and arrives at the "storeroom of life."

Tš, with the place determinative, is probably "land, district," *Glossar*, pp. 656–57, although *tš* may also be a writing of *t3-šy*, "das Seeland" (the Fayum), *Glossar*, p. 658; M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 58.

The reading *mḥ=f* is plausible; we interpret it as an unorthographic spelling of *m-b3ḥ=f*, *Glossar*, p. 110. It is not clear, however, to whom the masculine suffix refers. The syntax and meaning of the entire sentence are puzzling. What, for example, is meant by "one of the district?"

The idiom "to make his one" may be equivalent to *ir w' irm*, "to make one with (someone)," *Wb.* 1, 275/ 8, that is, "to join up with (someone)."

Pḥ has the walking-legs determinative.

Wḏ 'nḫ is perhaps *wḏ3 n 'nḫ*, "Schatzhaus für das Leben (bildl. von guter Lehre)," *Wb.* 1, 402/14; *wḏ3*, "Speicher," *Glossar*, p. 109. There is probably no connection with the common expression *wḏ3 n 'nḫ*, "euphemist. Ausdruck für 'sterben,'" *Wb.* 1, 401/1, although an allusion may be intended. The feminine (*w'.t*) *wḏy(.t)* occurs in the previous column, B04, 7/15.

B04, 8/8: This problematic line may describe the "storeroom" or give its name. The disciple claims to have found six rowers or sailors seated together.

Tš, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, may echo the *tš* of the previous line. But to whom or what does *iw=f* refer? This is most likely a circumstantial form modifying the "storeroom of life." We have translated it as a stative, but an active meaning is equally possible, "he determining."

There may be space for one sign, such as *p3*, between *tš* and *nḏy*. We had earlier read *snḏy*, but this is unlikely.

We have tentatively rendered *nḏy* as a designation of the "storeroom," but have no other example of such a name. *Nḏy* may be related to *nḏnḏ*, "ask," *Glossar*, p. 235; *nḏ*, "ask, take counsel," *Wb.* 2, 370/-371/14. One might note too the idiom *nḏ ḫr rn*, "to address someone by name," *Wb.* 2, 371/10, and *nḏ rn*, "to name the name of someone," *Wb.* 2, 371/11–13. In that case *r rn=f* could be read in place of *r bn-pw=f*.

Unfortunately, *wt*, determined by the man-with-hand-to-mouth, can be several distinct words: *wt*, "to be different from, better than," *Glossar*, p. 104; *wt*, "to send away," *Glossar*, p. 103. The passage may deal with the nature of the storeroom or its various designations.

"6" appears to be more likely than *r* following the *gm=y*.

Ḫn, "rower," *Glossar*, p. 383, fits the traces well. It yields sense in view of the nine boats just mentioned in this column.

B04, 8/9: The disciple depicts the six rowers worshipping in their own speech.

Ḥmsy is one reasonable transliteration for *ḥms*, "sitzen," *Glossar*, pp. 308–09; the *s* and *m* are clear. The *ḥms* sign may have been misleadingly damaged to the right side, and actually be oval shaped. However, the lack of a determinative renders the reading insecure. This would be a stative form after the circumstantial *iw=w* of the previous line. Another attractive possibility is *ksm*, in the compound *m ksm*, "in bowing," *Wb.* 5, 141/ 11–12.

Tmt is *tmt*, "vereinigen," *Glossar*, p. 634.

Snsn is *snsn*, "praise," *Wb.* 4, 171/15–16 (not in *Glossar*), and not *snsn*, "to breathe," *Glossar*, p. 439.

G3y is probable; compare *gy*, "manner, type," *Glossar*, pp. 571–72, which can be followed by the infinitive, e.g., *p3e=k gy n wnm*, "dein Essen."

B04, 8/10: The disciple elaborates on the six anonymous rowers or sailors who are associated with (the beings of) Upper and Lower Egypt.

Šnb is *šbn*, "to unite with," *Glossar*, p. 499; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 999. A similar idiom (with *ib*) occurs in L01.5, 10/20.

Ḥn' is not certain; read possibly *=w p3*. There may be another stroke before the *n3*. The group after the supposed *ḥn'* looks much like *nt n3*, possibly for *n3 nt*.

Both *šm'*, "Oberägypten," *Glossar*, p. 509, and *mḥy*, "Unterägypten," *Glossar*, p. 174, have the place determinative. The phrase *n3 šm' mḥy* may refer to the forty-two sacred books (in the form of vultures) or to the inhabitants of Egypt.

We take the traces of *r* before *n3 t3.wy* to be the stative form of *ir*, *Glossar*, p. 36. This provides better sense than the preposition or circumstantial converter.

Such a doubled writing of *t3.wy*, "the two lands," is not cited in *Glossar*, p. 599. A reading *iwiw*, "dogs," *Glossar*, p. 22, in a hieratic form, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 12, number 143, is less likely.

B04, 8/11: The disciple describes either "the ones of Upper and Lower Egypt," or the rowers.

Nt-iw t3e=w is not certain; the tail of the plural suffix *w* from the previous line obscures this group.

N.t, "Neith," *Glossar*, pp. 206–07, does appear possible after *nb.t*; the seated goddess determinative is preserved. Neith has not occurred elsewhere in the composition. The mention of Upper and Lower Egypt in B04, 8/10, may allude to the two sacred shrines of Neith in Sais: *rs-nt* and *mḥ-nt*, on which see Schlichting, *LÄ* 4, col. 393 ("Neith"). On the association between Neith and Seshat, see Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 173–74. Neith's role here may be that of a protective funerary deity, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 174.

We understand *tw=y* as a writing of *nty* or the copula *t3y*.

Bn-iw mtw is the negative possession phrase.

The spelling of *ḏḏy* is identical with the Roman example of *Glossar*, p. 692.

Ḥp is used reflexively here. Again, it is not clear just what beings the author has in mind: the rowers or the divine entities associated with Upper and Lower Egypt and Neith.

B11, 1/7: This version does not appear to parallel B04 or L01.

B04, 8/12: These beneficient beings arrange the proper mummification and burial of those lacking the appropriate funerary books.

In view of the object (*snty,* "Geschöpf," *Glossar*, p. 439), *ḥm* is more probably *ḥm*, "to form, shape," *Glossar*, pp. 303–04, than *ḥm*, "to fish," *Glossar*, p. 305. There are, of course, other possible meanings of *snty*, *Wb.* 4, 177–80.

Mw is almost certainly *mỉ/mw*, "like, as," *Glossar*, p. 154. It is improbable that *mw* comprises part of the following word.

The damaged first sign is most likely *ḥ*, comparing *ḥ* in *sḫn*, B04, 8/1 (with a bit more of a flourish at the bottom). Other readings such as *wʿb* or *šny* are even less plausible. In view of the evil determinative, one thinks of *ḥw*, "faulen," *Glossar*, p. 295; compare also *ḥ3y*, "illness," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 613. In itself this is not unreasonable, given that the following sentences refer to the corpse. However, the force of the phrase "who are like those who are in illness" is unclear. It may refer back, as appears likely, to *snty*. If so, there may be an unrecognized nuance of *ḥm*. This may allude, for example, to the manufacture of a coffin with an image of the deceased (for one who has none). This would parallel the following mention of a needy individual who has no Book of the Dead.

Snfr, "make good, beautiful," *Wb.* 4, 163/1–13 (not in *Glossar*), may have the meaning of burying someone properly or healing the sick. As Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 863, remarks, it is "used in the sense of 'to make clean': 'make your limbs well against every impurity.'"

Ḫ3 is presumably *ḫ3.t*, "Leichnam," *Wb.* 3, 359/9–20; *Glossar*, p. 376.

B04, 8/13: These beings evidently act as benevolent mortuary priests.

ỉwt n=f mḏỉy is an archaic form, compare *ỉwty n=f*, "besitzlos," *Wb.* 1, 16/8.

Mḏỉy is *mḏ3.t*, "Buchrolle," *Glossar*, p. 194.

Fṯ is "fortwischen, reinigen," *Glossar*, p. 145; *Wb.* 1, 581/16. The *f* is more vertical than usual, but still plausible. Less possible is *sṯ*, which may be identical with *stj*, "throw," *Glossar*, p. 475.

Bty is presumably *bw.t*, "abomination," *Wb.* 1, 453/7–454/7; *bty*, "Abscheu," *Glossar*, p. 126. The determinative is probably the "abomination" fish, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 24, numbers 254 or 257.

Tp-rt is *tp-rd*, "ceremony, instruction, order," *Wb.* 5, 288/2–289/23. The word in this form is not preserved in Demotic, but is equivalent to *tbt3*, M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 84–85.

B04, 8/14: These beings can also aid the living, "rescuing" a person in danger of dying.

Nhm is *nḥm*, "retten," *Glossar*, p. 223. This verb is often used together with *m-ʿ*, "from," here written *m-ʿ.wy*, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 535.

We have read simply *s*, "man," *Glossar*, p. 400, but this is not totally convincing. *Ḫm*, "servant," *Glossar*, p. 304, is also possible, but does not yield much more sense. A problem is the apparent seated woman sign (compare B04, 8/11). This group may be *s3-is.t*, "Son of Isis," i.e., Horus. The mythological reference would then be to Isis preserving the life of the young Horus.

M-ʿ.wy, "from the hands of," *Glossar*, p. 52 (*n ʿ.wy*), is an attractive reading.

Here *šʿy*, "Schicksal," *Glossar*, pp. 485–86, evidently means "death."

R pỉe=f mwt ḥʿ is a circumstantial clause; the striking image of imminent death is unparalleled.

B04, 8/15: The disciple begins to praise unknown persons or deities who have performed a good deed, connected, we suppose, with burial.

ỉn=w-ḥ3=f (or *ỉn-ḥ3=f*) is apparently for *ỉn-ḥ3*, an attested spelling of the preposition *ḥ3*, "behind," *Glossar*, p. 286. The "head" sign is found in this word, comparing, e.g., *ḏ3ḏ3*, "Kopf," *Glossar*, p. 673.

Nỉe=w-ʿw is an adjective verb, *n3-ʿ3*, "gross ist," *Glossar*, p. 54.

Ḥs is slightly damaged, *Glossar*, pp. 330–31.

P3 ỉ-ỉr tỉ.t is a nominalized perfect participle construction. Unfortunately, the damaged object of *ṯ* cannot be read; it has the arm with a stick determinative. We had earlier suggested *nʿ3*, but this is uncertain.

Instead of *n3y*, read perhaps *n=y*.

B04, 8/16: The disciple describes the mysterious benevolent beings, who are "sweet of love."

St ỉ-ỉr ỉy is presumably a first present construction, again a perfect participle. For the writing of *ỉy*, compare that word in *ỉyḫỉy.w*, in B04, 7/3.

The difficult sign following the walking-legs of *ỉy* may be a damaged *š*, or the determinative of the previous clause.

Bny mr is *bnr mr.t*, "sweet of love," a common divine epithet, *Wb.* 1, 463/3; improbable would be the reading *šbny mr.t*, with an obscure translation, "One(s) who mingle(s) with sweetness," comparing *šbn*, "to mix, mingle," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 999.

We have no other attestation of an adjective-verb, *nš.w-štšt*. In L01, this has the arm with a stick determinative; compare עטרסד, "einschneiden, einritzen, gravieren," *KHWB*, p. 333. We have therefore rendered, "to be sharp." Other possibilities are: *ḫṯḥt*, "to drive away," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 758; *štšt*, without definition, and readings dubious, *Glossar*, p. 530; *šdšd*, "to ambush, lie in wait for," Lesko, *DLE* 3, p. 173. The same word also appears in Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 331.

The problematic word immediately following *štšt* may begin with *š* (= *rḫ* or *ḫr*?).

K.t, "another," *Glossar*, p. 559, seems to be written at the end of the line.

B04, 8/17: The disciple characterizes the "words" and "interpretations/repetitions" of these beings as difficult and varied.

Nš.w-qns is an adjective-verb, derived from *qns*, "be harsh, painful, difficult," *Glossar*, pp. 541–42; the adjective-verb form is not in *Glossar*. For this adjective-verb, see Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, p. 15. The author emphasizes that the divine beings in question speak in a symbolic language.

Nỉe=w whm.w may be a circumstantial clause with a stative *šb.ṯ*. One might have expected an *r* before *nỉe=w*. Comparable is the statement of Ramses IV regarding a sacred book: "How difficult is their wording!" in Redford's translation, "Meaning and Use of the Term *GNWT* 'Annals,'" Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, p. 336 (*štš.w r rỉ st*).

Whm.w is *whm*, "wiederholen, deuten, übersetzen," *Glossar*, p. 97; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 252–53.

There follows a Roman Period spelling of *šb*, "mischen, ändern, verändern," *Glossar*, p. 497. A stroke is written between the expected man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative and the preposition *r*. This may be the stative ending *ṯ*.

R sḫ is not certain. The papyrus roll determinative of *sḫ* is damaged. These sentences may be in chiasmus.

R mtw=w appears to be a circumstantialized participial statement, *mtw=w* being the independent pronoun. The participle is *sḫn.t=w* on the following line.

B04, 8/18: The subject of this line may be the divine beings of whom the disciple has knowledge. He then states that he has explained their nature.

Sḫn is written in a standard fashion, "beauftragen," *Glossar*, pp. 446–47; cf. the various ways in which this word is spelled in B04, 8/1.

For *n=w* also compare B04, 8/1. However, the antecedent is unclear.

Ntf, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth, is *ntf*, "to loosen, release," *Glossar*, p. 232; "to unbind, loosen, release," Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 39.

The writing of *sšl.w*, with the falling soldier determinative (Gardiner Z6), suggests *sḫr / sšl*, "demons," *Glossar*, p. 457. To be sure, there is no previous mention of such demons, and an identification with *sḫr.t*, "Bündel mit Papyrusrollen (neben Palette und Wassernapf als Schreibmaterial)," *Wb.* 4, 261/1–4; "papyrus document," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 908, is an attractive alternative. The same word may occur, for example, in B02, 7/16.

The translation of *mtw=y sn* is unclear. For simple possession, "they belong to me," one expects *wn mtw=y sn* or *ink st*. The *sn* may refer back to the *sšl.w*, "papyrus rolls" (?). Understanding *mtw=y* as a conjunctive is also difficult, since one would not anticipate its use in this present tense passage, and no verb is found after *mtw=y*.

B04, 8/19: The disciple again asserts his knowledge of the divine beings or procedures.

We take *ỉn mtw* as a writing of *n-tr.t*, "weil," *Glossar*, p. 189. *ỉn mtw* may be followed by a simple past *sḏm=f*.

Sḫ is written as *sḫ*, "to strike," *Glossar*, p. 451, but the author may have intended *sš*, "öffnen," *Wb.* 3, 481/14–482/14, or *sš*, "ausbreiten," *Wb.* 3, 482/16–483/1. We render "to list" or "to explain."

ỉw=y swn is either a circumstantial or future construction.

Swn does not seem to have the eye-determinative expected of "erkennen, wissen," *Glossar*, p. 413. Compare, however, the abnormal hieratic writing of this eye-determinative, Vleeming, "La Phase initiale du démotique ancien," *CdE* 56 (1981): 38. Unlikely is an identification with *swn*, "to open," *Wb.* 4, 68/16–17. *Swn*, "to know, understand how (to do something)," *Glossar*, p. 413, is still the best translation.

Snsn, "to breathe," *Glossar*, p. 439, has the archaic hieratic nose/face determinative, *Wb.* 4, 172. This word also means "to praise, worship," *Wb.* 4, 171/5–10, and that is how we render it here.

B04, 8/20: The disciple conducts here a dialogue with his heart, expressing his desire for an acquaintance with these sacred entities.

D may be prospective, "may my heart say to me."

Ḥr.t=sn is a short writing of *ḥr.t*, "before," *Glossar*, p. 287. The antecedent is unclear.

B04, 8/21: The disciple claims to have already discovered or to desire to discover a divine deity or object. The identity of this feminine deity or object is unspecified.

Neither "character," *Glossar*, p. 30, nor "fist," *Glossar*, p. 4, is appropriate for *ỉmy.t*. This may be *ỉm.t*, "a name for the city of Buto," or the goddess of Buto, *Wb.* 1, 78/12–17 (and compare Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 65). That yields good sense since the entire passage appears to revolve around Buto and Wadjet (and vultures). Generally represented as a cobra, Wadjet can assume the features of a vulture as well, just as her colleague, Nekhbet, Fischer-Elfert, *LÄ* 6, col. 907 ("Uto").

Kby has either the sea determinative (as *Nwny* in B04, 8/23) or the heaven determinative, as in *ḥr.t* in B04, 7/19. If so, *kby* may be a writing of *gb.t*, "heaven," *Wb.* 5, 162/10–14; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1097.

The slanting stroke immediately following the deteminative of *kby* may belong to the previous line (*ḥr.t=sn*). This then leaves us with the perfect participle: *ỉ-ỉr ṯr.y*.

T-ḥ.wy (with house determinative) is *t-ḥ.wy*, "to make determinations," Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, pp. 72–73. The subject is probably the female deity mentioned at the beginning of the line.

B04, 8/22: After the geographical localization of the goddess in *Pe*, the author alludes, in list form, to the rituals. It is precisely these which the disciple claims to know or wishes to learn.

P is *Py*, the sacred precinct of Buto, *Glossar*, p. 130.

For *tp-rt.w*, with the papyrus determinative, see the note on B04, 8/13.

The sign following *tp-rt.w* resembles the abbreviated writing of *tmt*, *Glossar*, p. 634. Also possible is *wp-st*, "specification," *Glossar*, p. 85.

Nỉe=w-nfr is probably a spelling of the adjective-verb, and not "their good ones/goodness," or similar.

The identity of the *nb* is by no means obvious; it may be masculine (the god/disciple?) or feminine (the female deity?).

B04, 8/23: The disciple describes a deity who springs from the primeval waters.

ỉ-ỉr ỉy (n), "who has/ which have come (from)," is a perfect participle construction modifying *nb*.

ỉft, determined by four strokes, is *ỉft*, "rectangle," *Glossar*, p. 29; *ỉfd*, "the four sides (of heaven)," *Wb.* 1, 71/1–4; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 64.

Nwny is "the primeval flood," *Glossar*, p. 211; "als Herkunft oder Aufgangsort der Götter," e.g., *pry m Nwn*, *Wb.* 2, 215/2 and 4. In B11, 1/16, the group resembles *pr-ʿnḫ* more than *Nwn*.

The first sign of the word following *Nwny* seems to be the walking-legs. It is most probably a spelling of *ỉsq*, "to delay, spend time," *Wb.* 1, 133/6–12; *ỉsq*, *ỉsq*, "to stop, delay," *Glossar*, p. 44. The grammatical construction remains unclear, however. We translate as a prospective form.

The damaged signs at the end of this line fit *ỉw=y*; compare B04, 8/19.

B04, 8/24: *M* is preferable to *nt* after *ḫms*.

Tp-wḏỉ has the place determinative. Since *Pe* was just mentioned in B04, 8/22, we suggest that *tp* is for *Dp*, another sacred precinct of Buto, *Glossar*, p. 627; *Wb.* 5, 443/1–4. We cannot parallel this designation, but "*Dep* of (the goddess) Wadjet," makes sense, since the city was indeed sacred to Wadjet, *Wb.* 1, 268/17–19.

Ḫnʿ is possible on the basis of B04, 8/10.

The damaged following signs are difficult. *Sfḫy*, from *sfḫ*, "lösen," *Wb.* 4, 116/2–117/5, is attractive, comparing also *sfḫ*, "seven," *Wb.* 4, 115, and *sfḫ-ʿbw* (?), the epithet of the goddess of writing, Seshat, *Wb.* 4, 117/6. Another possibility is *sḫf*, "to write down," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 901. The *s* is especially problematic, since the upper portion of the vertical is lost.

We had earlier read the probable object of a verbal *sfḫy* as *ḫyỉ* (or even *ḫyq*), with the cord determinative. It is evidently a type of cloth or woven object, but we could offer no

translation. We now propose *sỉ*, "Stück Leinenzeug (das die Hieroglyphe darstellt), als Zeugstoff, als Kleidungsstück. Auch als Stirnbinde und als Mumienbinde (auch mit Bildern bemalt)," *Wb.* 4, 29/3–7; *sỉ.t*, "bird-shaped piece of cloth used as amulet or funerary offering," *Wb.* 4, 29/8–10.

St is very uncertain at the end of the line. This would be a first present construction, describing the effect of the *sỉ*-cloth.

B04, 8/25: *Ḥqy* seems to be *ḥkỉ*, "to enchant," *Wb.* 3, 177/7–9. The cloth amulets are possibly said to enchant the heart of the disciple.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 9 of B04

Transliteration

N.b. The traces of B11, column 2, are too damaged to use for comparison with B04, column 9.

Add. 3 B04, 9/1 *tỉ rhny.t (?) ... [...]*

B04, 9/2 *... pỉ pḥ (?) [...]*

B04, 9/3 *... =f swt ... [...]*

B04, 9/4 *... sỉ ... [...]*

B04, 9/5 *... [...]*

B04, 9/6 *... [...]*

B04, 9/7 *... sky l ... [...]*

B04, 9/8 *... [...]*

B04, 9/9 *... [...] ... ns [...]*

B04, 9/10 *ṯ tỉ ... [...] myt (?) [...]*

B04, 9/11 *my ... =w st r [...]*

B04, 9/12 *ỉ-ỉr=k ... ḫnnw (?) ... [...]*

B04, 9/13 *r kky (?) ... py [...]*

B04, 9/14 *r ... ḥfr [...]*

B04, 9/15 *r ḥỉt=w rỉ ... [...]*

B04, 9/16 *nỉe=w gwtn ḫ ... [...]*

B04, 9/17 *r ... mỉỉ=y [...]*

B04, 9/18 *... [...]*

B04, 9/19 *... [...]*

B04, 9/20 *... nf ... [...]*

B04, 9/21 *... sḫ.t mfky r nỉe=w ... [...]*

B04, 9/22 *... [...]*

B04, 9/23 *swt (?) ... [...]*

Translation

B04, 9/1. the support (?) ... [...]
B04, 9/2. ... the ... [...]
B04, 9/3. ... deliver (?) ... [...]
B04, 9/4. ... [...]
B04, 9/5. ... [...]
B04, 9/6. ... [...]
B04, 9/7. ... excellent ... [...]
B04, 9/8. ... [...]
B04, 9/9. ... [...] ... [...]
B04, 9/10. take the ... [...] path (?) [...]
B04, 9/11. Let them ... them to [...]
B04, 9/12. You are to ... [...]
B04, 9/13. to darkness (?) ... [...]
B04, 9/14. ... snake ... [...]
B04, 9/15. to their hearts, mouth ... [...]
B04, 9/16. their bindings ... [...]
B04, 9/17. ... I saw [...]
B04, 9/18. ... [...]
B04, 9/19. ... [...]
B04, 9/20. ... [...]
B04, 9/21. ... field of turquoise, while their (?) ... [...]
B04, 9/22. ... [...]
B04, 9/23. ... [...]

Commentary

B04, 9/1: *Rhny.t*, "support," *Glossar*, p. 252, is secure, but the expected house determinative is hard to discern.

B04, 9/2: Read perhaps *ḫ‘* in place of *pḥ*.

B04, 9/3: *Swt* may be *swt*, "abliefern," *Glossar*, p. 418.

B04, 9/9: This may be *ns*, "to call out."

B04, 9/12: Possibly *ḫnn*, "to disturb," *Glossar*, p. 385.

B04, 9/13: Perhaps *nhpy*, "to be sad," *Glossar*, p. 221.

B04, 9/16: *Gwtn* is *gwtn*, "to bind," Lesko, *DLE* 4, p. 55 (not in *Glossar*).

B04, 9/21: *Sḫ.t mfk.t* is the name of one of the sacred fields in heaven, *Wb.* 2, 56/11. The compound occurs also in B04, 7/3.

Continuation of Text Based on Fragmentary Column 2 of B11

Transliteration

B11, 2/x+1 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+2 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+3 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+4 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+5 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+6 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+7 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+8 *rnꜣ ... [...]*

B11, 2/x+9 *ḫr [...]*

B11, 2/x+10 *hyn (?) [...]*

B11, 2/x+11 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+12 *ꜣs m ... [...]*

B11, 2/x+13 *ꜣs ... [...]*

B11, 2/x+14 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+15 ... *gs ... [...]*

B11, 2/x+16 ... *[...]*

B11, 2/x+17 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+18 *[...]*

B11, 2/x+19 ... *[...]*

Translation

B11, 2/x+1. [...]
B11, 2/x+2. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+3. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+4. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+5. [...]
B11, 2/x+6. [...]
B11, 2/x+7. [...]
B11, 2/x+8. to the (?) ... [...]
B11, 2/x+9. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+10. some (?) [...]
B11, 2/x+11. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+12. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+13. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+14. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+15. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+16. ... [...]
B11, 2/x+17. [...]
B11, 2/x+18. [...]
B11, 2/x+19. ... [...]

Commentary

B11, 2/x+12: This may be the particle *ꜣs*, "behold," or *ꜣs-my*, *Glossar*, p. 70.

Continuation of Text based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+1

Transliteration

L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 *[...] ... hȝy.w ḫr (ʔ) ... =f iw=f mwṯs n pȝ št ḥr pȝ ṯsy*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 *w[...] bȝk nt n sȝb ḫywy iw=f ʿbʿ n tȝ ḥ.t n wʿ mȝy-ḥḏ*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 *sn[=y ...] ... m ... s iw=f wpy n pȝ tp tšy*
C02.3, 1 *[...] ..... pȝ tp tšy*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/4 *mȝȝ=y nȝ gl ... kȝ iw=f(ʔ) mky n nȝ sšt*
C02.3, 2 *[...] ..... mky n nȝ sšt*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/5 *nhpy tȝ nly.t ... nwny (ʔ) qmȝ (ʔ) r ḏtf pȝ tȝ n tȝe=s wpy*
C02.3, 3 *[...] ..... qmȝ r ḏtf pȝ tȝ n tȝe=w [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/6 *pry=y pȝ ḫrṯ ʿʔ n pḥ.ṯ ... iw=f wpy ... iw=f ḏtf n pȝ snf n nȝ sȝb.w*
C02.3, 4 *[...] ..... iw=f ḏtf n pȝ snf [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/7 *pr=y pȝ šft tȝ rḫ.t i-ir ... r-ḏbȝ pȝ mḫll ...*
C02.3, 5 *[...] ..... ḏbȝ pȝ mḫll ..... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/8 *wšt=y s r pr... iw=s sḫm n pȝe=s mnṯ n Rʿ iw=s tš n-im[...] ntr.w ... Sȝ-kȝ*
C02.3, 6 *[...] ..... iw=s tš [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 *tȝ=s wnm.w tȝ ḫl ḫḏ.t irm tȝ ḫl tšly n n-im=f ʿḥrʾ (ʔ) ḏȝḏȝ pȝ ... [...] n [pȝ] sylḥ.t (ʔ)*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/10 *mȝȝ=y ... štn n pr-ʿnḫ wʿ šštf n bnypy [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 *sn=y tȝ bȝk ntl iw=s shn n nȝ bȝ.w r pȝ sḫ gȝy sḫ ... n-tr.t ...*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/12 *tȝ ... (ʔ) wʿ.t trȝ.t wʿ hb wʿ bȝk tš st r nȝ tȝ.w wʿ sp-2*

L01(V.T.), x+1/13 *tȝ [hy]ny syt swt ʿrʾ swt=w hymy.w ʿry...w [...] wn (ʔ)*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/14 *šny nȝ wn.w r sḫ nȝ bȝ.w pȝ-Rʿ nȝ swt.w r pȝ[e=f(ʔ)] snṯ*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/15 *ḫr=w n=y wn ȝȝ.t 42 n pȝ pr-ʿnḫ iw=w (ʔ) rt [...] ...*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/16 *wn 42 n nly ms iwt=w r nȝe=w ḏw ... [...] ḏ=w*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/17 (Traces of Greek?) *šš=y nȝ nly.wt irm nȝe=w rn.w ḏ n=y nȝ ḏw.w ... [...] nȝ mky.w (ʔ)*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/18 *r wʿ.t nly.t tȝ ḫpt n-im=w iw=s n šg[yg (ʔ) ...] smn ḫr l[...]=s (ʔ)*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/19 *ʿpȝʾ (ʔ) mȝy ḫmsy.ṯ i-ir tr.t pȝe=s bḫt[...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/20 (misplaced bit of papyrus) *iw=s ḏ iw=f ir šʿy n nȝ nt iw=f smȝ=w n ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/21 *iw=s wn iw=f ḫtm n pȝ fq n tȝ hwl[t] ... [...]*
C03, 1 *[...] ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/22 *wpy-tp-ȝt=f ḏ=f iw iw=k ʿȝ.y [š]gyg [...] ...t*
C03, 2 ***[w]py-[tp-ȝt=f ...]***

L01 (V.T.), x+1/23 *ḥȝ sšm=k st rḫ=n st twȝ[=n s ḥ]nw=n ... snṯ [...]*
C03, 3 *ḥȝ sšm ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+1/24 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f wʿ.t nly.t iw=s ʿtḥ wʿ.t pty.t r pȝe=s ḏw ... [...]....w ybw pȝ.y*
C03, 4–5 *[.....] / wʿ.t nry.t [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... to fall under (?) his ..., he being violent with the turtle upon the sand-bank.
2. ... [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
3. [I have] worshipped (?) ..., while he pierces the red hippopotamus.
4. I have seen the ... bull protecting the secrets (?).
5. The vulture (?) has protected (?) Nun (?) ... so as to cause the earth to overflow through its work.
6. I have seen the child, ⌜great⌝ of strength, ... while he slaughters ... he (?) being covered with the blood of the enemies.
7. I have seen the book of She-who-is-wise, who has ... on account of the scarab ...
8. I greeted her at the house of ..., while she presses her gate-keeper (?) of Re (?), she commanding them (?) [...] gods ... Sako.
9. She caused to eat the young female servant of the White Crown together with the young female servant of the Red Crown therein upon (?) the head of the ... [...] of the throne (or "palace-façade").
10. I have seen ... the closed room of the House of Life with a door-post of iron [...]
11. I have worshipped the female divine falcon while she gives orders to the souls, while the scribe ... hand ...
12. ... a kite, an ibis, and a falcon assign them to the (two) lands one by one.
13. May some snakes give protection (?) so as to protect them, some brushes (?) ... [...] pastophoroi (?)

14. May the pastophoroi seek out the writings of the *bas* of Pre, the ones who protect his (?) foundation ...
15. They say to me: "There are forty-two sacred places in the House of Life, they (?) growing [...] ...
16. There are forty-two vultures which give birth between them, while their young [...] ... sing.
17. (N.b. Traces of Greek?) May I list the vultures together with their names, say for me (?), the young ... [...] the ...
18. A vulture will embrace them, she being in de[sire (?) ...] ... [...] ...
19. ⌜The⌝ lion sits by her throne [...]
20. She speaks, while he makes a slaughter of the ones whom he will slay ... [...]
21. She opens, while he shuts the offerings of (or "in") the ... [...]
22. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Inasmuch as you are abundant of desire [...] ...
23. Would you lead (us through) them, that we may know them, and that [we may] praise them ... foundation [...]
24. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "A vulture which draws a bow, while its young ... [...] It is Elephantine.

Commentary

Line 1: The author describes Horus (of Edfu) spearing the turtle.

Ḥꜣy, with the walking-legs determinative, is *hy*, "fallen," *Glossar*, p. 266.

The traces after *ḫr* (?) fit *nw*, "spear," *Glossar*, p. 210, so perhaps render "under his spear."

Mwṯs is probably *mds*, "gewalttätig sein," *Wb.* 2, 183/1–13 (not in *Glossar*).

A tentative, but attractive reading is *št*, "turtle," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1034 (attested also in B02, 9/7). On the turtle, see Fischer, *LÄ* 5, cols. 627–28 ("Schildkröte"); Gutbub, "La tortue animal cosmique bénéfique à l'époque ptolémaique et romaine," in Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages Sauneron* I, pp. 391–435.

Ṯsy, with the house and place determinative, is probably *ṯs*, "Sandbank," *Wb.* 5, 401/12–402/5 (not in *Glossar*). It is where the enemies of the sun-god and Osiris are defeated.

Line 2: The Horus falcon triumphs over an oryx.

Sꜣb, "bunt, scheckig," *Wb.* 4, 17/13–18/1 (especially of Horus of Edfu), is not in *Glossar*.

Ḫywy also occurs in L01 (V.T.), x+2/10. It is probably *šw.t*, "feather," *Wb.* 4, 423/10–425/14, which is frequently found with *sꜣb*.

ꜥḥꜥ is "sich rühmen," *Wb.* 1, 177/17–22; "boast," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 147 (not in *Glossar*).

Mꜣy-ḥḏ is *mꜣꜥ-ḥḏ*, "die weisse Säbelantilope (oryx leucoryx)," *Wb.* 2, 11/4–9 (not in *Glossar*), often used as an offering; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 694. For the oryx as the symbol of Seth, see Störk, *LÄ* 1, cols. 319–23 ("Antilope"); Derchain, *Rites Égyptiens I: le sacrifice de l'oryx*.

Line 3: This line depicts Horus slaying the red hippopotamus.

Sn, with a damaged man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is perhaps *sn*, "to honor," *Wb.* 4, 154/5–7, or *ns*, "rufen," *Wb.* 2, 204/1–19.

M ... s, with the bird determinative, is possibly *msn* (spelled *mns*), to be identified with *msnw*, "Harpunierer," *Wb.* 2, 145/4–8. This is the epithet of Horus when he slays the hippopotamus.

Wpy is "zerteilen, zerstückeln," *Wb.* 1, 302/3 (not in *Glossar*).

Tp is probably *dp/db*, "Nilpferd," *Wb.* 5, 433/14–17; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1188–89 (not in *Glossar*).

Tšy is *dšr*, "red," *Wb.* 5, 489/1–490/18. This may have the brazier determinative in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 658 (also spelled *tšy*); hippopotami may be portrayed as "red," see Störk, *LÄ* 4, col. 504 ("Nilpferd").

Line 4: This line, too damaged for translation, evidently describes a positive action of the deity.

Gl ... is perhaps *glp*, "to reveal," *Glossar*, p. 589; *grmp*, "dove," *Glossar*, p. 585; or *glg*, "jagen," *Glossar*, p. 586.

The reading *kꜣ* is based on the writing of this word in L01 (V.T.), x+2/9.

The traces fit *mky*, probably *mky*, "to protect," *Glossar*, p. 183.

The final word may be *sšt*, "Geheimnis," *Glossar*, p. 465, *sšm.w*, "ordinances," *Wb.* 4, 289/10–290/4, or *sšm*, "Götterbild," *Glossar*, p. 463.

Line 5: The author recounts the awesome mythical actions of a vulture.

Nhpy is written as *nhp*, "to be sad, mourn," *Glossar*, p. 221. However, *nhp* may also mean "to protect," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 529.

Nly.t is a tentative reading.

The traces after *nwny* fit *qmꜣ*, but the translation is obscure.

Ḏtf seems to be *ttf*, "to climb, pour out," *Wb.* 5, 411/12–413/2; "cause to overflow," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1180 (not in *Glossar*, but see Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 305).

Line 6: The disciple has seen Re or Horus defeating his enemies.

Either *ḫrṯ* or *šr* is possible.

? is much restored but fits the space and sense.

The author deliberately repeats *wpy*, providing a connection with lines three and five of this column. We render *wpy* as *wp*, "zerteilen, zerstückeln," *Wb.* 1, 302/3, but *wpy* may here also have its more usual meaning of "separate, judge," *Glossar*, pp. 86–87.

For *ḏtf*, note especially *Wb.* 5, 412/29: "den Fluss mit dem Blut der Feinde ⌜übervoll machen.⌝"

Line 7: The disciple asserts that he has personal knowledge of a sacred book.

We had earlier read "18" or "14 *n sḫ*," but *šft*, "book," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1006 (not in *Glossar*), is more attractive.

Rḫ.t, "die Wissende," is well-attested as an epithet of Hathor or Isis, *Wb.* 2, 446/3–5, but may here also stand for Seshat or Mut. See further on *tꜣ rḫ.t*, Karl, "Funktion und Bedeutung einer *weisen Frau* im alten Ägypten," *SAK* 28 (2000): 131–60.

The unread word, presumably a perfect participle (we had first read *i-ỉr=s*), apparently ends with an evil determinative (*dbꜣ*?).

Line 8: The disciple declares that he has seen and greeted an unidentified goddess, possibly Seshat.

For *wšt*, "anbeten, begrüssen," *Glossar*, p. 102, see Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, pp. 9–10. The feminine pronouns refer back to the *rḫ.t* of the previous line.

The traces following *pr* are difficult. There is evidently a reference to a female deity, given the determinative. We had earlier read *pr gm ršy*, but this is dubious; perhaps transliterate ... *Sšꜥ t*, "... Seshat."

Sḥm is "to press, destroy," *Wb.* 4, 215/13–20; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 892 (not in *Glossar*).

Mnṯ, written with the wood determinative, is probably *mnṯ*, "Türhüter," *Glossar*, p. 165. The word occurs again in L01 (V.T.), x+3/18, in the same phrase *mnṯ n Rꜥ*. There, admittedly, we have hesitated to translate. It may be the "evening-bark of Re," *mnṯꜣ*, *Glossar*, p. 165; see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 85; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 415.

Instead of *Rꜥ* one could read *sḫ*.

The word following the damage may be *ntr.w*, "gods," *Glossar*, pp. 234–35.

The reading here is based on the mention of *Sꜣ-kꜣ* in L01 (V.T.), x+2/16. Sako is the capital of Kynopolites Ko (= el-Qais), the 17th Upper Egyptian nome, which in the Ptolemaic period became part of the 18th Upper Egyptian nome, see Kessler, *LÄ* 5, cols. 359–60 ("Sako"); Yoyotte, "Sur Bata, Maître de Sako," *RdE* 9 (1952): 157–59. The "gods of Sako" is an obscure expression.

Line 9: The disciple displays his erudition concerning the white and red crowns.

Tî=s may rather be the particle "behold," *Glossar*, p. 612. So perhaps render: "Here is (the) food ... "

Wnm, with this determinative, is "das Essen," *Glossar*, p. 91.

Ḥl, with the child determinative, is evidently the feminine of *ḫl*, "jung," *Glossar*, pp. 393–94. The force of the expression is unclear. Since *ḫl* is also used of servants, one may compare the phrase *ḥm ḥḏ.t*, "Servant of the White Crown," and *ḥm Dšr.t*, "Servant of the Red Crown," quoted in Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 697.

Ḥḏ.t, "white crown," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 697, is not in *Glossar*; *tšr*, "als Bez. der roten Krone," occurs in *Glossar*, p. 658.

At the end of the line read probably *sylḥ.t*, identical with *srḫ*, "palace-facade, throne," *Wb.* 4, 200/3–14 (not in *Glossar*). The Demotic scribe incorporates a superfluous *t* (?).

Line 10: The disciple alludes to a secure room in the House of Life, of which he presumably has special knowledge.

The object of *mꜣꜣ=y* is unread; one might suggest *ṯ* or *kꜣ.t*, but neither is very compelling. It is not certain that the apparent arm-with-a-stick is a determinative of this word.

Štn, with the house determinative, is the best transliteration (although an initial letter may be lost in the damage). We think that most likely is an identification with *ḫtm*, "Verschluss, Schloss (der Tür), Festung," *Wb.* 3, 352/6–11.

Šštf, with the metal determinative, is ⲫⲁϣⲫⲧ, "door-posts," *KHWB*, p. 336 (not in *Glossar*).

Bnypy is *bnpy*, "das Eisen," *Glossar*, p. 117.

Nothing may be lost after *bnypy*.

Line 11: The disciple declares that he has worshipped a "female divine falcon," who is associated with the "*bas* (of Re)," i.e., the sacred scrolls.

Sn has already appeared in L01 (V.T.), x+1/3.

The reading of *bꜣk* is based on the example in the following line, L01 (V.T.), x+1/12. In the latter portion of B04, a female vulture gives birth to what may be the forty-two "souls," representing the sacred scrolls. This statement seems to be a variant of that idea.

Bꜣk.t ntr.t is attested "as a designation of Hathor and other goddesses," *Wb.* 1, 445/10–12 (Late Period and Greek Period).

Ntl may be the adjective form *ntre*, "göttlich, heilig," *Glossar*, p. 235.

Shn is a writing of *sḫn*, "beauftragen," *Glossar*, pp. 446–47. While *ỉw=s shn n* may mean "she gives orders to," the sense is possibly that this vulture assigns the *bas* to the individual scribes or papyrus-rolls.

Line 12: The author describes the activites of three sacred birds, the kite, ibis, and falcon in connection with the *bas*.

Tî fits the traces of the initial verb, but no translation is possible.

Trꜣ.t is *tr.t*, "Raubvogel," *Glossar*, p. 647. *Ḏr.t* denotes several different (albeit related) birds: *ḏr.t*, "ein Raubvogel" (associated with Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor), *Wb.* 5, 596/2–8; *ḏr.t*, "das Klageweib," *Wb.* 5, 596/9–597/4; *ḏr.ty*, "der Falke," *Wb.* 5, 597/5–12; *ḏrty.t*, "the female Falcon," *Wb.* 5, 597/13–14.

Tš, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is *tš*, "bestimmen, festsetzen, überweisen," *Glossar*, p. 656. It parallels *shn* of the previous line.

The *st* probably refers to the "souls of Re," i.e., the sacred books.

For the writing of *tš.w*, see M. Smith, review of Tait, *Tebtunis*, *JEA* 69 (1983): 201. Naturally, only the Two Lands (= Egypt) are allocated sacred writings.

Line 13: The disciple turns his attention to divine snakes and their role, perhaps with regard to the activities or sacred implements of Thoth.

An alternative restoration is *ti=y* at the beginning of the line.

Syt is *sṯ*, "Schlange," *Glossar*, p. 472; *sꜣ-tꜣ*, "snake," *Wb.* 3, 410/16–17.

Although *swt*, "to deliver," *Glossar*, p. 418, is written, it may well be that *sw*, "hüten," *Glossar*, p. 412, is intended. There is word play between *swt* and *syt*.

R is attractive after *swt*, but other possibilities exist, e.g., *ỉw=f*. The grammar of *r swt=w* is ambiguous.

ꜥry.w is probably "pen, brush" (cf. e.g., B01, 1/18), but may also be *ꜥrꜥy.t*, "uraeus," *Glossar*, p. 65, since the determinative is unclear.

Wn is not certain, but does appear in the following line.

Line 14: The disciple expounds on the function of the *pastophoroi* concerning the *bas* of Re.

If *šny*, "ask," *Glossar*, p. 513, has the expected man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, there is not enough room for *=y*. This is probably a prospective form.

The following word seems to have the seated man determinative, suggesting *wn*, "der Schreinöffner," and not *ḥ.t*, "chapter." On these "ritual assistants," see Griffiths, *LÄ* 4, col. 914 ("Pastophoren").

Sḫ is uncertain; compare *sḫ* in L01 (V.T.), x+1/11; it may be a verb, and not a noun.

The *n* of *nꜣ* is visible, but the reading is not secure.

We understand *swt.w* again as an unorthographic writing of *sw*, "hüten," *Glossar*, p. 412, or *sꜣw.ty*, "guardian," *Wb.* 3, 418/7–11.

Snṯ is *snṯ*, "foundation," *Glossar*, pp. 439–40; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 875, a word closely associated with the activities of Seshat.

Line 15: The disciple declares that the *pastophoroi* or the *bas* have revealed to him the existence of the forty-two "sacred places" of the House of Life.

Ḥr is the verb *ḥr*, "sprechen," *Glossar*, p. 365; the subject is presumably the *wn.w* or the *bꜣ.w* of the previous line.

Wn, the verb of existence, is reasonable here; *wn* occurs in the next line, L01 (V.T.), x+1/16.

For *ꜣꜣ.t*, with the place determinative, compare the name, *wpy-ṯp-ꜣt=f* in L01 (V.T.), x+1/22. There are numerous words spelled *ꜣꜣ.t* with which this might be identified, e.g., *ꜣꜣ.t*, "standard," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 38. Nevertheless, most likely is *ꜣꜣ.t*, "sacred place," *Wb.* 1, 16/9–15; note the variant *ꜣ.t*, *Wb.* 1, 2/5; "mound," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 36. *ꜣꜣ.t* in the plural, "die Stätten," can signify "Egypt," *Wb.* 1, 26/13 (Greek Period; Edfu and Dendera). On the geographical symbolism of the House of Life, see Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, pp. 125–26. The Osiris figure *tpy-ꜣꜣ.t=f* may also mean "he who is over his mound = Nome," this then being a geographical expression associated with Egypt. One of the volumes in the Edfu book catalog is called *sipꜣ.t ꜣꜣ.t nb.t*, "Das Verzeichnis jeder Stätte," Grimm, "Altägyptische Tempelliteratur," in Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* (= *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte* 3), p. 160.

We had first read *n pꜣe=w rt*, "in their order," but *rt*, "wachsen," *Glossar*, p. 357, is written.

Line 16: The forty-two vultures bear their young between these sacred places or mounds (?).

The sentence may be a first present construction.

ỉwt=w probably refers back to the *ꜣꜣ.t*, "sacred place(s)" or "mound(s)."

R nꜣe=w ḏw is a circumstantial present clause, with the predicate lost in the lacuna.

ḎD with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative generally means "singen," or as noun, "Lied," *Glossar*, p. 691. This introduces the subject of the vultures and their young developed in the next columns of this version.

Line 17: The disciple announces his intention to list these forty-two vultures.

There may be a word in Greek to the right of this column, but we cannot decipher it.

Sš is *sš*, "to spread out," with many figurative usages, *Wb.* 3, 481/14–483/1; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 922. The same word appears in B04, 7/9. Given the focus on birds and bird imagery here, there may be word play between *sš*, "to spread out, explain," and *sš*, "nest," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 921–22. We understand this to be a prospective form.

The syntax of the last part of the line is unclear; perhaps "say to me the young birds ..."

Mky.w is reasonable at the end of the line, but the determinative is damaged. It may be associated with *mky*, "schützen," or "Schutz," *Glossar*, p. 183. The combination of "young birds" and *mky* occurs also in B02, 13/11.

Line 18: The disciple explains how a female vulture will embrace unidentified beings, probably the *bas* of Re.

This line parallels B02, 12/16; for *ḫpt*, see the note on that line.

Šgyg, "desire, wish," is an attractive restoration.

Smn is *smn*, "aufstellen, feststellen," *Glossar*, p. 433.

Instead of *ḫr l*[...], read perhaps *ḫl*[...].

Line 19: The disciple describes a vulture seated upon a throne, with a lion before it.

Ḥmsy.ṯ is a stative form, the construction being a first present.

ỉ-ỉr tr.t is "neben, bei," *Glossar*, p. 644.

Pꜣe=s refers back to the vulture.

This is *bḥt*, "throne," *Glossar*, p. 121; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 325–26.

Line 20: The disciple emphasizes the violent behavior of the lion on behalf of the enthroned vulture.

A misplaced papyrus fragment obscures the beginning of this line.

ỉw=s is probable, comparing the following line. It may be a conditional tense.

Šꜥy is "Gemetzel," *Glossar*, p. 490, where the idiom *ỉr šꜥy*, "ein Schlachten machen," is also quoted.

For *smꜣ*, "schlachten," see *Glossar*, p. 432. This is in a relative future construction.

Line 21: The disciple depicts the actions of the vulture and the lion.

Fq is "Geschenk," *Wb.* 1, 579/5–9; "gift, reward, maintenance," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 389 (not in *Glossar*).

Hwlt or *hwl.t* may have the scribal equipment determinative; compare L01 (V.T.), x+1/11. This may be *hrwṯ*, "Fest, Festtag," *Glossar*, p. 279 (the word is feminine). It does not seem to be related either to *hwr.t*, found in *šꜣ(ꜣ).w n ḫwr*, "Waldgegenden," *Glossar*, p. 271, or *hrwy.t*, "journal," *Wb.* 2, 500/26.

Line 22: The deity, probably Osiris, begins to question the disciple.

ỉw-ỉw=k is a circumstantial future, Johnson, *DVS*, p. 158. One might expect the conditional or second tense, but the form does not suit these. However, there may be a conditional nuance.

Line 23: The god asks the disciple to explain and list the vultures.

Ḥꜣ, "would that," is archaic, *Wb.* 3, 11/13–12/10 (not in *Glossar*); see Gardiner, *EG*, paragraph 238, on p. 180.

Sšm is "leiten," *Glossar*, p. 463. The sense seems to be "to lead (someone) through a list."

In a series of prospective verbal forms, the god requests that the disciple enumerate the vultures so that both the god and the disciple may properly praise them. The god presumably speaks rhetorically, since one assumes he already possesses this knowledge.

We have read [*ḫ*]*nw=n*, but this is uncertain.

C03: The small fragment probably parallels this portion of the Vulture Text. Lines 4 and 5 may display a format different from that of L01.

Line 24: The First Upper Egyptian Nome: *Tȝ-Sty*, with a capital at Elephantine (*Yb*, *Glossar*, p. 49).

ʿtḥ is *itḥ*, "ziehen," *Wb.* 1, 148/12–23; *ȝtḥ*, *Glossar*, p. 14.

Pty.t is *pḏ.t*, "der Bogen," *Wb.* 1, 569/7–570; *pty.t*, *Glossar*, p. 142. The statement refers to the symbol of this nome.

For *Yb*, "Elephantine," see *Glossar*, p. 49.

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+2

Transliteration

L01 (V.T.), x+2/1 *[wʿ.t n]ry.t … wʿ.t mḥy r pȝe=s ḏw n nb i-ir tr.ṯ=s … [Tbȝ pȝy]*
C03, 6 *wʿ.t nry.t […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/2 *[wʿ.t n]ry.t iw=s … šy iw=s ḥwy sty n pȝ qty n pȝ … […] iwny.t pȝy]*
C03, 7 *wʿ.t nry.t […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/3 *wʿ.t nry.t [irm] nȝe=s ḏw.w iw=w fy nȝ sḫny.w n tȝ p.t [iwn-Mnt pȝy]*
C03, 8 *wʿ.t nry.t […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/4 *wʿ.t nry.t … pȝe=s ḏw … Q[bṯ pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/5 *wʿ.t nry.t […]* (misplaced fragment) *… ḥr wʿ ḫnṯ ⸢r pȝe=sˀ ḏw gsgs tp[=f] … [iwn.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/6 *wʿ ḏw … […] nry.t … s[ḫm] nfr … […] … Ḥ.t[-sḫm pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/7 *wʿ.t nry.t … rȝ=s iw=s ir (?) gȝ r-ḏbȝ.ṯ=s … i[bt pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/8 *ȝtyȝ […] … wʿ.t nly.t r pȝe=s ḏw […] … r… w [Ḫnty-]Mn [pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/9 *wʿ.t nly.t [iw=s] wnm n wʿ kȝ r pȝe=s ḏ[w] ršy (?) n pȝe=s … ⸢Pr-wtˀ [pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/10 *wʿ.t nly.t [iw]=s sḫqr pȝe=s ḫywy […] … twtw (?) … pȝe=s ḏw … Š[ȝs-ḥtp pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/11 *wʿ.t nly.t r pȝe=s tbȝ swtn r pȝe=s ḏw … š … pr[-Nmty (?) pȝy]* (misplaced fragment at end of line)

L01 (V.T.), x+2/12 *wʿ.t nly.t [r] pȝe=s ḏw nḫṯ=s (?) iw=f kʿy… nȝ.w (?) wnm=f … Sy[wt pȝy]* (misplaced fragment at end of line)

L01 (V.T.), x+2/13 *[wʿ.t] nly.t iw=s […] n wʿ.t šnt.t r pȝe=w ḏw … yl […] … Qs pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/14 *wn nly[.t] irm pȝe=w 9 ḏw.w tȝ=w ḥl wʿ n-im=w […] … Ḫmnw pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/15 *wʿ.t nly.t [irm pȝ]e=s ḏw iw=w ʿbʿ n tȝ ḥ.t wʿ mȝy-ḥḏ ⸢Ḫbnwˀ pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/16 *wʿ.t nly.t iw=s phs n wʿ iwiw r pȝe=s ḏw [mḥ]ṯ (?) n-im=f Sȝ-kȝ pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/17 *wʿ.t nly.t iw[=s] ⸢pšˀ tnḥ irm pȝe=s ḏw iw=w ḫywy n pȝe=w ỉṯ Ḥr-Bḥtt pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/18 *wʿ.t nly.t […] ḥtȝ r pȝe=s ḏw … […] … lʿ… wʿbʿb pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/19 *18.t n nly.t iw=w šlg wʿ ʿʿn […] bnn … pȝe=w ḏw … Ḥ.t-nn-nswt pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/20 *wʿ.t nly.t [iw=s] ms ḏw r smn […] … [Smn-Ḥr (?)] pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/21 *wʿ.t nly.t [iw=s] mqȝ n šny r pȝe=s [ḏw …] ḏbȝ (?) ḥr … Pr-nb-tp-⸢iḥ.tˀ pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/22 *wʿ.t nly.t [iw=s] qt n tȝ p.t r pȝe=s ḏw […] … n pȝ tȝ wbȝ=s Mn-nfr pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/23 *[wʿ.t n]ly.t [iw=s] ir … sbḥ pȝe=s [ḏw …] … Sšm pȝy*

L01 (V.T.), x+2/24 *w[ʿ.t n]l[y.t iw=s] (n) šnt (?) irm pȝe=s ḏw iw=w fly …] … Pr[-imȝ.t] pȝy*

Translation

1. [A vu]lture … a scale, while its young of gold is before her … [It is Edfu.]
2. A vulture which … lake which casts fire in the surroundings of the … [It is Esna.]
3. A vulture [and] its young carrying the supports of the heaven … [It is Armant.]
4. A vulture, … its young … [It is] C[optos.]
5. A vulture, … […] … upon a crocodile, while her young dance upon [him] … [It is Dendera.]
6. A young bird … […] vulture … fair sistrum … […] … [It is] Hu.
7. A vulture … its mouth, while it experiences (?) suffering because of it … [It is] Abydos.
8. Woe (?) […] … a vulture, while its young […] … [It is] Akhmim.
9. A vulture [which] eats of a bull, while its young rejoices (?) in its … [It is] ⸢Kom Ishqaw.⸣
10. A vulture which adorns her wing […] … her young … [It is] Hypselis.

11. A vulture whose finger is extended, while its offspring ... [It is] el-At[awla.]
12. A vulture whose young is in her (?). He ... its food. [It is] As[siut.]
13. [A] vulture which is (in?) an acacia-tree, while their young ... [...] ... It is Qusae.
14. A vulture and their nine offspring, they have caused one to fly therefrom [...] ... It is Hermopolis.
15. A vulture [and] its young, they exulting over the body of an oryx. It is ⌜Hebenu.⌝
16. A vulture which bites a dog, while its young takes hold (?) of it. It is Sako.
17. A vulture which ⌜separates⌝ a wing together with its young, they protecting their father. It is Hor-Behdetite.
18. A vulture [...] a horse (?), while its young ... [...] ... It is *W'b'b*.
19. 18 vultures which cut (?) a baboon (?) [...] ... their young ... It is Herakleopolis.
20. A vulture [which] gives birth to young so as to establish (?) [...] ... It is [Akanthon (?).]
21. A vulture [which] is grieved with sorrow, while its [young ...] ... face. It is Atfih.
22. A vulture [which] builds the sky, while its young [...] ... the land opposite her. It is Memphis.
23. [A v]ulture [which] makes ... forgets her [young ...] ... It is Letopolis.
24. A v[ul]ture [which is] (in) an acacia-tree (?) with her young, they bring[ing (?) ...] ... It is Kom [el-Hisn.]

Commentary

Line 1: The Second Upper Egyptian Nome: *Wṯs.t-Ḥr*, with a capital at Edfu (*Tbḥ*, *Glossar*, pp. 621–22).

Mḫy, identical with *mḫy*, "scale," *Glossar*, p. 176, probably refers to the scale or determinative of *wṯs* in the name of the nome, this being a "post of balance" (Gardiner Sign-list U38).

Before *i- ir tr.t=s*, read *nb*, "gold," *Glossar*, p. 214.

Line 2: The Third Upper Egyptian Nome: *Nḫn*, "Landing-place," with a capital at Esna (*iwny.t*, *Wb.* 1, 54).

Šy, "See," *Glossar*, pp. 484–85, is not certain.

This line is a word play on the *Nḫn* sign, which also resembles *š*, especially in hieratic, Möller, *HP* 3, numbers 335 (*š*) and 586 (*Nḫn*).

For *ḥwy sty(.t)*, "im Brand stecken," see *Glossar*, p. 476.

Line 3: The Fourth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Wḥs.t*, "Thebes," but with specific reference to Armant, also in this nome.

Sḫny is *sḫn*, "Pfosten, Stütze," *Wb.* 3, 471/15–472/7, especially of the pillars of heaven, *Wb.* 3, 472/4; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 906 (not in *Glossar*). This is an allusion to the *iwn-Mnṯ*, "Pillar of Mont," i.e., Armant, *Glossar*, p. 24 (from *iwn*, "Pfeiler," *Wb.* 1, 53/10–18).

Line 4: The Fifth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Bḥ.wy* or *Nṯr.wy*, with a capital at Coptos (*Gbṯ*, *Glossar*, pp. 577–78).

Not enough survives of this line to determine the word play or allusion.

Read perhaps *wḥḥ* or *tḥ=w* before *pḥe=s ḏw*.

Line 5: The Sixth Upper Egyptian Nome: *ḥqr*, with a capital at Dendera (*ḥwn.t*, *Glossar*, p. 24).

For *ḫnṯ*, "das Krokodil," see *Glossar*, p. 315; also possible is *ḫnt*, "crocodile" (comparing *ḫnty*, "crocodile," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 739).

For *gsgs*, "tanzen," see *Glossar*, p. 593. The determinative of *gsgs* is also found in B08, 3.

We had earlier read *ḥ-ḥr-ḫr* ... , but *tp*, "upon," yields even better sense since the nome symbol is a crocodile with a *maat*-feather upon its head. Of course, dancing and music are suitable imagery for Dendera, the home of Hathor.

Line 6: The Seventh Upper Egyptian Nome: *Bḥt*, with a capital at Diospolis Parva, Hu (*Ḥ.t-sḫm*).

This line is unique for beginning with a reference to the *ḏw*, "young bird," and not the *nry.t*-vulture.

The traces fit a *sḫm* sign, although the word is perhaps here written as *ḫsf*. However, the apparent cross-stroke through the sceptre may belong to a previous sign, e.g. *y*. From the New Kingdom onwards, the more common *sḫm* sistrum replaced the *Bat*-faced emblem.

For *Ḥ.t-sḫm*, "Diospolis," see *Glossar*, p. 455; this city is also called *Ḥ.t*, *Glossar*, p. 284. On the nome, see Collombert, "Hout-sekhem et le septième nome de Haute Égypte II: Les stèles tardives," *RdE* 48 (1997): 15–70.

Line 7: The Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Tḥ-wr*, with a capital at Abydos (*ibt*, *Glossar*, p. 27).

Gḥ is probably to be identified with *gḥ*, "hässlich, böse," *Glossar*, p. 570.

The line, which has no apparent mention of the vulture's young, may refer to the sufferings of Osiris.

Line 8: The Ninth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Mn*, with a capital at Akhmin (*Ḫnty-Mn*, *Glossar*, p. 364).

Again, this line departs from the usual pattern since it begins with *ḥṯyḥ*, not *w'.t nry.t*.

ḥṯyḥ, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, may be a variant of *ḥt*, "Mangel, Not, Unglück," *Glossar*, p. 13. To be sure, one expects the evil determinative. This may also be read *ḥṯy*... , and identified with *ḥṯ*, "to nurse," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 26.

Line 9: The Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Wḥḏy.t*, with a capital at Kom Ishqaw (*Pr-Wḥḏy.t*).

The Horus-Seth myth is particularly important in the Tenth Nome, and perhaps the bull here represents Seth; it is a possible form for that god; Helck, *LÄ* 6, col. 14 ("Stiergott"). The hippopotamus is called "bull of the swamp," *kḥ-mḥy*, Störk, *LÄ* 4, col. 504 ("Nilpferd"); see also Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 58–59.

For *Wḥḏ.t* as the name of the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, "Aphroditopolites," see *Wb.* 1, 269/5.

The traces fit *Pr-wt*, with the *pr* sign clearly visible, a trace of the cobra's tail, and the *t*.

Line 10: The Eleventh Upper Egyptian Nome: *Sth*, with a capital at Hypselis (*Šȝis-ḥtp*).

For *sḥqr*, "schmücken," see *Glossar*, p. 461. The significance of the imagery is uncertain (possible assonance between *ḫywy* and *Šȝs-ḥtp*).

Ḫywy may be *šw.t*, "wing," *Wb.* 4, 424/9–11 (not in *Glossar*). The same word occurs in L01 (V.T.), x+1/2.

For *Šȝ-ḥtp*/ *Šȝs-ḥtp*, see *Glossar*, p. 341; *Wb.* 4, 412/12; Kessler, *LÄ* 5, cols. 532–33 ("Schashotep").

Line 11: The Twelfth Upper Egyptian Nome: *ȝtft*, with a capital at el-Atawla (*Pr-Nmty*).

The Twelfth and Tenth nomes seem to have merged already after the Middle Kingdom, Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 389 ("Gaue"). The *tbʿ*, "finger," *Glossar*, p. 623, alluded to here yields sense since the two fingers are used in the writing of the nome-god, Anti (*Nmty*); see Graefe, *Studien zu den Göttern und Kulten*. "The clawed one" appears to be the name of the local falcon god.

The *š* between the *ḏw* and *pr* is doubtful.

Line 12: The Thirteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Ndf.t ḫntt* ("Upper Pomegranate Nome"), with a capital at Assiut (*Sȝwt*, *Glossar*, p. 408).

The sign beneath the *n* in *nḥṯ=s* (?) resembles the hieratic branch sign, Möller, *HP* 3, number 269. The small flesh determinative added to the word suggests that this may be *nḥṯ=s* for *n-ḥ.ṯ=s*, "in her."

The remainder of the line is uncertain; we had originally read *nt nȝe=f kʿy nȝ.w wnm=f*, "which its fruit are its food" (or "that which it eats").

The transliteration *kʿy* is probable, but the word may contain another letter, and the determinative is lost.

While a continuous translation is impossible, the line apparently alludes to the name of the nome: *Ndf.t ḫntt*, "Upper Pomegranate Nome."

Line 13: The Fourteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Ndf.t pḥ.t* ("Lower Pomegranate Nome"), with a capital at Qusae (*Qs, Glossar*, p. 550).

Šnty.t is "Akazie," *Wb.* 4, 520/9–521/15; *Glossar*, p. 516. This may be a reinterpretation of the tree hieroglyph used in the writing of this nome, although it is read as *ndf.t*, "ein Baum, nur belegt in dem Ortsnamen (*Ndf.t*)," *Wb.* 2, 378/1. On the acacia as a sacred tree, see Helck, *LÄ* 1, col. 113 ("Akazie"). Hathor is the "mistress of the Acacia" (see Parker, "Hathor, Lady of the Acacia," *JARCE* 4 [1965]: 151), which yields sense here, since Hathor is also the chief goddess of this nome.

Pȝe=w (or *nȝe=w*) instead of *pȝe=s*/*nȝe=s* is curious.

We had earlier read *gyl* before the lacuna, but this is uncertain. Since the determinative is lost, numerous possibilities exist, e.g., *yl*, "river."

We had first transliterated [*p*]*r-ỉȝbt* before *Qs*, but that too is very tentative.

Line 14: The Fifteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Wn* ("Hare-Nome"), with a capital at Hermopolis (*Ḫmnw*, *Glossar*, pp. 360–61).

This clever line begins with a word play between the verb of existence *wn* and the name of the nome, *Wn*.

As in the previous line, *pȝe=w* instead of *pȝe=s* is puzzling.

The author arrives at the Ogdoad, the divine assembly most closely associated with Hermopolis, by causing one of the nine young vultures (an Ennead) to fly away.

For *ḥl*, "to fly," see *Glossar*, p. 327.

Line 15: The Sixteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Mȝ-ḥḏ* ("Oryx-nome"), with a capital at Hebenu.

ʿbʿ, "sich rühmen," *Wb.* 1, 177/16–22, is not in *Glossar*.

Ḫbnw, "Hebenu," *Wb.* 3, 63/11, is also not in *Glossar*.

This is one of the neatest descriptions, based on a late writing of Hebenu, with a substitution of the vulture for the falcon. It is the spelling found in the Great Edfu list, in de Rochemonteix and Chassinat, second edition revised and corrected by Cauville and Devauchelle, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. 1/3, p. 341. See also de Meulenaere, "Horus de Hebenou et son prophète," in Derchain (ed.), *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, pp. 21–29; Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 132; Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, p. 37, observes that this writing is characteristic of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods; the form may thus be of significance for dating the Book of Thoth.

Line 16: The Seventeenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *ỉnpw.t* ("Young Female Dog-nome"), with a capital at Sako (el-Qais).

Pḥs is *phs*, "beissen," *Glossar*, p. 137.

Given the *ṯ* and the arm with a stick determinative, *mḥ*/*mḥṯ*, "greifen, fassen" (construed with *n*), *Glossar*, pp. 172–73, is a reasonable reading.

The connection between this line and the nome symbol, comprising a dog with a *maat* feather upon it, is obvious.

There is a misplaced fragment obscuring this line with perhaps *ml*, "to bind," written on it.

On Sako, see Barbotin, "Le Papyrus Chassinat III," *RdE* 50 (1999): 13–14.

Line 17: The Eighteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *ʿnty* ("the clawed one"), with a capital at *Ḥ.t-ỉnw*.

Pš, "to separate," *Glossar*, p. 140, is plausible.

We understand *ḫywy* to be a variant of *ḫwy*, "to protect," *Glossar*, p. 352 (or the dual of *šw.ty* "two feathers"?). This particular nome symbol is a falcon with outstretched wings, the standard protective pose.

The nome apparently fell into obscurity already by the Middle Kingdom, and is later only sporadically mentioned in archaistic contexts, Helck, *LÄ* 2, cols. 391–92 ("Gaue"). It is perhaps for that reason that the name of the nome city is unclear. We expect *Ḥ.t-nsw* or *Ḥ.t-ỉnw*, but *Ḥr-Bḥtt* seems to be written.

Line 18: The Nineteenth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Wȝbwy* (?), with a nome capital at *Pr-Mȝḏȝy* (Oxyrhynchus).

Ḥṭȝ has the animal skin determinative, which suggests *ḥtr*, "Pferd," *Glossar*, p. 342. Less likely is *ḥtȝ*, "to compel," *Glossar*, p. 343. in which case read *ỉw=s ḥtȝ*. This may allude to *mḏd*, "to compel, press," *Wb.* 2, 192/6–8, which comprises part of the placename, *Pr-mḏd*, "Oxyrhynchus," *Glossar*, p. 134; *KHWB*, p. 478.

Unfortunately the last word of the sentence is unread. It appears to have the wood/finger and net/fish determinatives. We had earlier transliterated *glʿ*.

We had also first read *pr-* (?) before *wʿbʿb*, but this is dubious.

Wʿbʿb seems to be a writing of *Wȝbwy* (?), the name of the nome itself, see Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 392 ("Gaue").

Line 19: The Twentieth Upper Egyptian Nome: *Nʿr.t ḫnt.t* ("Upper Oleander Nome"), with a capital at Herakleopolis (*Ḥ.t-nn-nswt*, *Glossar*, p. 285).

The significance of the 18 is obscure; it perhaps refers to the Great and Small Enneads.

Šlg is Coptic ϣⲱⲗⲥ, "to cut," *KHWB*, p. 313 (not in *Glossar*). The damaged determinative is the knife sign.

The reading of the following word, with an animal skin determinative, is not secure. This is probably the object of *šlg*. We have transliterated *ʿn*, "Pavian," *Glossar*, p. 56, but *bḥn* is also possible. *Bḥn* is an "Art Hund," *Wb.* 1, 468/20 (found in the Book of the Dead).

The cult deity of this nome was *Bebon*, who shares characteristics with Seth, and is represented both as a dog and as a baboon, Otto, *LÄ* 1, col. 675 ("Bebon"). Thus, this line may refer to the local mythology revolving around the opposition of Horus and Bebon.

Bnn is perhaps the "phoenix," *Wb.* 1, 458/3–5, worshipped in Herakleopolis, Kákosy, *LÄ* 4, col. 1031 ("Phoenix"); compare Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 97: "My purity is the purity of this great Phoenix that is in Heracleopolis."

The writing of Herakleopolis appears to be the variant form, *Ḥnn-nswt*, *Wb.* 2, 272/4–6. The circular sign would then be the town determinative written beneath the two "*n*"s.

Line 20: The Twenty-first Upper Egyptian Nome: *Nʿr.t pḥ.t* ("Lower Oleander Nome"), with a capital at Akanthon (*Snʿ-ḫn* or *Smn-Ḥr*), Kafr ʿAmmar.

We render *r smn* as *r* plus infinitive *smn*, "aufstellen, feststellen," *Glossar*, pp. 433–34, but this may also be a circumstantial form. In any case, *smn* probably alludes to *Smn-Ḥr*; see Kessler, *LÄ* 3, col. 290 ("Kafr Ammar"); Yoyotte, "Études géographiques I. La 'Cité des Acacias' (Kafr Ammar)," *RdE* 13 (1961): 71–105.

Line 21: The Twenty-second Upper Egyptian Nome: *Mdny.t* ("Knife-nome"), with a capital at Atfih (*Pr-nb-tp-iḥ*, *Glossar*, p. 627).

Mqȝ seems to be written, but *mqḥ*, "betrübt sein," *Glossar*, p. 183, may be intended, and we have so translated. However, *mqȝ* may also be a variant of *mk*, "to protect, rest," comparing ⲙⲓⲕⲉ, "ruhen," *KHWB*, p. 89.

Šny is "Krankheit," *Glossar*, p. 514. We render this as "sorrow," and not physical illness.

Read probably *ḏbȝ*, "ersetzen, vergelten," *Glossar*, pp. 618–19, before *ḥr*.

Hathor, the chief deity of this nome, is identified at Atfih with Isis (Grieshammer, *LÄ* 1, col. 519, "Atfih"), and the sorrow is probably that of the goddess mourning for Osiris.

Line 22: The First Lower Egyptian Nome: *inb ḥḍ* ("White Wall"), with a capital at Memphis (*Mn-nfr*, *Glossar*, p. 161).

The traces and determinitives fit *qt*, "to build," *Glossar*, p. 551. The subjects of creation and building treated in this line suit Memphis and its local deity, Ptah.

Restore perhaps *smn*, "to establish," before *n pȝ tȝ*, paralleling *qt*.

Line 23: The Second Lower Egyptian Nome: Reading uncertain, with a capital at Letopolis (*Ḫm*, *Sḫm*, *Glossar*, p. 454).

We had earlier read *ir n=w* (?) *iȝw*, "which makes for them (?) praise," but this is dubious.

For *Sḫm* (here written *Sšm*) as a writing of *Ḫm*, "Letopolis," see *Wb.* 3, 280/15.

There is a word play between *ȝbḥ*, "forget," *Glossar*, p. 4, and the name of Letopolis, *ḫm* or *sḫm*, both meaning "forget," *Wb.* 3, 278/5–280/5 (*ḫm*), and *Wb.* 4, 140/16–141/10 (*smḥ/sḫm*).

Line 24: The Third Lower Egyptian Nome: *imnt.t* ("Western"), with a capital at Kom el-Hisn (*iȝmw*).

Šnt, "die Dornakazie," *Glossar*, p. 516, is plausible, although *Glossar* provides no exact parallels. This may allude to *iȝm*, which is actually a date-palm, *Wb.* 1, 79/4–8, but is found in the name of the metropolis of the third nome, "Western" (from the NK onwards), *iȝmw*, Kom el-Ḥisn, Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 395 ("Gaue"). The *iȝm* tree is not identical with the *šnt*, "thorn-acacia," *Wb.* 4, 520/9–521/15, but the same sign is indeed used for both (Gardiner Sign-list M1). Instead of *šnt*, the reading *šnb*, "verbinden (sich)," *Glossar*, p. 515, is possible. Curiously *imȝ*, used as a verb, can also mean "to unite with, join with," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 67. In that case, the determinatives may be interpreted as the tusk and the damaged man-with-hand-to-mouth.

Fy, "to carry," or "hurry," *Glossar*, pp. 143–44, is not certain; another possibility is *ʒȝ*, "to be abundant."

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+3

Transliteration

L01 (V.T.), x+3/1 *[wʿ.t nry.t]… pȝe[=s] ḏw ḫr s… […]… m … […pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/2 *[wʿ.t nr]y.t ḫr pyṯ … r pȝe=s ḏw ʿtḥ r … […Sȝw pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/3 *wʿ.t nry.t 7,000 n rnp.t … pȝe=s ḏw 2 (?) snqy … […Ḫȝsw pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/4 *wʿ.t nry.t ḫr wʿ.t ʿq … r pȝe=s ḏw ḥnmy … […pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/5 *wʿ.t nry.t irm pȝe=s ḏw iw=w ḥwy šn.w … [Pr-ỉtm pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/6 *wʿ.t nry.t iw=s smn rʿ-wʿb […]… […] Pr-[Wsir pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/7 *wʿ.t nry.t [iw=s] tỉ.t st=s … […] n-im=w […] … pȝe=s ḏw … [Ḥ.t-tȝ-ḥry-ib.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/8 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s tỉ.t pḥ btw … […]=f ḏbȝ […r pȝe]=s ḏw (?) … […Nȝy-tȝ-ḥ.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/9 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s ḫn pȝe=s mḥ ḏwf tḥ […] … r nȝe=s ḏw.w … […ṯb-ntr pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/10 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s ḥm lym ỉw=s tỉ.t ḫlȝ … […].w n pȝe[=s]ʳḏwʾ … […ỉwnw pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/11 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s … […] … rḫ n pȝe=s ḏw … […Pr-Ḥry-šf-nb-Nn-nswt pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/12 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s … […] …ʳwr.wʾ n ḏw ỉw=s tỉ.t (?) […] … […] … […Pr-Ḏḥwty-wp-rḥ.wy pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/13 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s š[lg] n wʿḫ … r rȝ=s … […] … pȝe=s ḏw […Pr-Bȝ-nb-Ḏd.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/14 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s ḫn (?) pȝe=s mḥ … ỉw=s … […] … mȝʿ (?) … […Smȝ-Bḥt.t (or ỉw-n-ỉmn) pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/15 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s ȝmḥṯ (?) ʳbsʾ n-tr.ṯ=s (?) […] … pȝe=s ḏw ỉw=f … […Pr-Bȝst.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/16 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s n ḫnmṯy […] ḏw r …=s r … […]y (?) … n pȝe=f ỉṯ […Ḏʿn.t pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/17 *wʿ.t nry.t ỉw=s mqȝ n sṯr.t ỉwt=w nȝ ʳšywyʾ n gmḥs pȝ […Pr-Spt pȝy]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/18 *tmt (n) nȝ nly.wt ỉrm nȝe=w ḏw.w ḫr pȝe=w wn n pȝ mnṯ n pȝ-Rʿ […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/19 *Sȝ-kȝ pȝ sȝ (?) ʿȝ n Šntȝ.t Šȝy tȝ nly.t ỉrm pȝe=s ḏw nȝ.w (?) […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 *pȝ mnṯ n rḫ nt tỉ.t snqy nȝ rḫ.w pȝ nt m[tw] mnỉy … […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 *pȝ ʿʿi-ỉr [tỉ.t (?)] ʿm pȝ ʿʿn pȝ nt ṯ-myt w[…]ṯ=f*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/22 *pȝ hb rḫ [pȝ] i-ỉr hb nȝ ỉȝw.t pȝ nt ʿȝ nȝ […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 *mtw=f m twnw i-ỉr slȝ n ỉṯ=f mw.t=f ky ḏ […]ṯ ỉw=f ỉr … […]*

L01 (V.T.), x+3/24 *ḏ n=y spḫl nȝe=f ms.w ỉr=f wr wr.w r-r=f […]*

Translation

1. [A vulture] … its young under … […] … [It is …]
2. [A vultu]re with a bow …, while its young draws the cord … [… It is Sais.]
3. A vulture, 7,000 years … its two (?) young nursing … [… It is Xois.]
4. A vulture upon an *ʿq*-boat, while its young steers … [It is …]
5. A vulture and its young, they casting ropes … [It is Pithom.]
6. A vulture which establishes purity […] … [It is] Bu[siris.]
7. A vulture [which] places her tail … […] therein […] … its offspring … [It is Athribis.]
8. A vulture which causes evil to reach … […] him on account of […, while i]ts young (?) … [It is Nathu.]
9. A vulture which is in its nest of papyrus and hay […] … , while its young … [… It is Sebennytos.]
10. A vulture which hunts fish, it giving food … […] … its (?) ʳyoungʾ … [It is Heliopolis.]
11. A vulture which … […] … know(ing) its young … [It is Herakleopolis Parva.]
12. A vulture which … […] … ʳgreat onesʾ to a young one, she giving (?) […] … […] … [It is Hermopolis Parva (or "Baqliya").]
13. A vulture which c[uts] a …, while its mouth … […] … its young … [… It is Mendes.]
14. A vulture which is in (?) its nest, …, while it … […] … place (?) … [… It is *Smȝ-bḥt.t* (or "Tell el-Balamun").]
15. A vulture which takes hold of (?) a ʳ*bs*- torchʾ in its hand (?) […] … its young, while it (masculine) … [… It is Bubastis.]
16. A vulture which is a nursemaid […] young … […] … its father [… It is Tanis.]
17. A vulture which is resting in a resting-place between them, namely, the two wings (or "feathers") as a falcon image … [… It is Persopdu.]
18. Total (of) the vultures and their young in their specification as (or "in") the *mnṯ* of Pre […]
19. *Sȝ-kȝ* (?), the eldest son (?) of Shentait and Shai (= Seshat?); they are the vulture together with its young […].
20. The breast of knowledge which allows that the wise ones suckle is that which belongs to the Nurse … […]
21. The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides … […] … him.
22. The wise ibis is [the one which] sent off the elder ones, the one who great are the […]
23. And he truly is the one who has prophesized for his father and his mother: Another Version: […] … he making … […]
24. The writer (or "enchanter") has said to me his children that he may become the greatest of the ones greater than he.

Commentary

Line 1: The Fourth Lower Egyptian Nome: *N.t-rsy* ("Southern Neith-nome"), with a capital at *Ḏqꜣpr* or Nikiou (Ibshadi). Presumably one of these is to be restored.

The sail-determinative suggests *swḥy*, "wind," *Wb.* 4, 72/9–15, after *ḫr*.

Line 2: The Fifth Lower Egyptian Nome: *N.t-mḥy* ("Northern Neith-nome"), with a capital at Sais (*Sy*, *Glossar*, p. 408).

Pyṯ is a variant of *pty.t*, "der Bogen," *Glossar*, p. 142.

ʿtḥ is *ỉtḥ*, "ziehen," *Glossar*, p. 14.

The line refers to the bow emblem of this nome.

Line 3: The Sixth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Ḥỉsww* ("Mountain-bull"), with a capital at Xois.

For the writing of "7," see *Glossar*, p. 698.

"2" is not certain, but *snqy* is secure.

For *Ḥỉsw*, "Xois," see *Wb.* 3, 234/6 (not in *Glossar*).

This line alludes to the late tradition that Re had a reign of 7,000 years, based on the hieratic spelling of Xois, Vernus, *LÄ* 6, col. 1303 ("Xois"); see idem, "Le Nom de Xoïs," *BIFAO* 73 (1973): 27–40.

Line 4: The Seventh Lower Egyptian Nome: *wʿ m ḫww ỉmnt* ("Harpoon with rope, west"), with an uncertain capital (perhaps Besta).

ʿq is *ʿqꜣ.t*, "a type of boat," *Wb.* 1, 234/15; *Glossar*, p. 73.

Ḥnmy, "to steer," *Glossar*, p. 314, fits the traces.

The line refers to the nome emblem.

Line 5: The Eighth Lower Egyptian Nome: *wʿ m ḫww ỉꜣbt* ("Harpoon with rope, east"), with a capital at Pithom (*Ṯkw* or *Pr-ỉtm*).

For *ḫwy*, "werfen," see *Glossar*, p. 296; compare L01 (V.T.), x+2/2.

For *šnw*, "cord, rope, net," *Wb.* 4, 509/5–9 (not in *Glossar*), compare the writing of *šnt.t*, "acacia-tree," in L01 (V.T.), x+2/13. Given the name and symbol of this nome, the reference to fishing with nets is comprehensible.

Line 6: The Ninth Lower Egyptian Nome: *ʿnḏty* ("The god of the pasture-area"), with a capital at Busiris (*Ḏdw* or *Pr-Wsỉr nb Ḏdw*, *Wb.* 1, 514/1).

For the reading *rʿ*, cf. *Rʿ-qd* in P. Cairo 30617A, line 1, Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus*, vol. 2, pl. 27 (reference of Christina Di Cerbo). It is old *rꜣ-ʿ*, "condition," *Wb.* 2, 394/11–395/5 (followed by infinitive). The line alludes to the "embalming" or purification ritual of Osiris. This yields good sense since the capital is *Pr-Wsỉr*, "Busiris," one of the preeminent burial places of the god.

Line 7: The Tenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Km wr* ("Great Black Bull"), with a capital at Athribis (*Ḥ.t-tꜣ-ḥry-ỉb.t*, *Wb.* 3, 3/4).

For the writing of *sṯ*, "Schwanz," see *Glossar*, p. 472.

The chief divinity of Athribis is a crocodile named Chentechtai, also worshipped as a falcon from the 12th Dynasty onwards, Vernus, *LÄ* 1, col. 520 ("Athribis"). The author depicts the physical position of the vulture/falcon, comparing the remark under *sd*, "Schwanz," *Wb.* 4, 363/10, "vom Falken der 'auf seinem Schwanze steht.'"

Line 8: The Eleventh Lower Egyptian Nome: *Ḥsbw* ("slaughtered Bull"), with a capital at Nathu (*Nỉy-tꜣ-ḥ.t*).

The name of the nome is *Ḥsbw*, "slaughterer," from *ḥsb*, "schlachten," *Wb.* 3, 168/4 (note knife as also in nome-sign). There is presumably a reference to the "punisher" implied in our Demotic text. On the "warlike" associations of this nome, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 678.

Nỉy-tꜣ-ḥ.t is not in *Glossar*, but see Černý, *CED*, p. 348; Ray, "Two Objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum," *JEA* 58 (1972): 249; Hoffmann, *Kampf*, p. 233.

Line 9: The Twelfth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Ṯb-ntr.t* ("Calf and divine cow") with a capital at Sebennytos (*ṯbn-ntr*, *Glossar*, p. 624).

For *mḥ*, "Nest," see *Glossar*, p. 173.

For *ḏwf*, "Papyrus," see *Glossar*, p. 676.

Ṯḥ is probably *tḥ*, "straw, hay," *Glossar*, p. 651.

The nest here is appropriate, given the motherly connotations of the nome emblem. *Mḥ* may also be an allusion to the chief local goddess of Sebennytos, Mehit, *Wb.* 2, 127/7–9.

Line 10: The Thirteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *ḥqꜣ-ʿnḏ.w/ʿḏ* ("the Ruler is well"), with a capital at Heliopolis (*ỉwnw*, *Glossar*, p. 24).

The mention of fishing may be connected with the "Fish-pond" subdistrict of this nome, Helck, *LÄ* 2, col. 399 ("Gaue"). Sacred fish play a role at Heliopolis, especially in association with Atum, Gamer-Wallert, *LÄ* 2, cols. 232–33 ("Fische, religiös"). The author was possibly thinking of the important ancient priestly title *ʿḏ-mr*, written with the fish sign, *Wb.* 1, 240/7–12; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 188.

Read perhaps *wr.w*, "great ones," before *n pỉe*[*=s*] ⌜*ḏw*⌝.

Line 11: The Fourteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Ḫnt-ỉꜣbt* ("Front of the East"), with capital at Sile (*Ṯỉrw*) or Herakleopolis Parva (*Pr-ḥry-š=f-nb-Nn-nswt*).

We had originally read *tỉ.t* following *ỉw=s*, but this is dubious.

We had first read *ms* or *msn* before *rḫ*, but that is also insecure.

Line 12: The Fifteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Hb* (?) ("Ibis"), with a capital at Baqliya (*Pr-Ḏḥwty-wp-rḥ.wy*).

Since this nome is dedicated to Thoth himself, read perhaps *wr wr.w n ḏw*, "great one of the great ones of the young," i. e., Thoth. Compare *wr wr.w* in L01 (V.T.), x+3/24.

Line 13: The Sixteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Ḥꜣ.t-mḥy.t* ("Schilbe mystus-fish"), with a capital at Mendes (*Pr-bꜣ-nb-ḏd*, *Glossar*, p. 118).

The probable object of *šlg* is too damaged for restoration; read perhaps *ḫꜣ*, *ḫl*, or *ḫb*. The obscure determinative may be the mummy. Still, *ḫl*, possibly *ḫl*, "Reisszahn," *Glossar*, p. 368, with a pun on *šlg*, is most attractive. One expects a reference to a fish, given the nome-symbol, and the cult-goddess: *Ḥꜣ.t-mḥy.t*, "The First of the Fish," *Wb.* 2, 127/12.

Line 14: The Seventeenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Sm3-Bḥd.t*, with a capital at Tell el-Belamun (*iw-n-imn*).

Instead of *ḫn*, read perhaps *ḫr* or *gm*.

Mḥ, "nest," *Glossar*, pp. 174–75, may have the house determinative.

Instead of *m3ʿ*, it is tempting to read *Sm3-Bḥd.t*, for which, see Zauzich, "Von Elephantine bis Sambehdet," *Enchoria* 12 (1984): 193–94. Unfortunately, the traces do not seem to permit this.

There is possibly a play on the alternative name of the Seventeenth Lower Egyptian Nome, *W3s.t-mḥt.t*, Malek, *LÄ* 6, col. 319 ("Tell el-Belamun").

Line 15: The Eighteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *imt ḫnt* ("Royal Child"-south), with a capital at Bubastis (*Pr-B3st.t*, *Wb.* 1, 423/8).

We had first read *ti.t mḥt*, but better is *3mḫt* or *iw-mḥt*, *Glossar*, p. 173.

The top portion of the brazier determinative is still preserved after *bs*. *Bs* is probably "Flamme, Brand," *Wb.* 1, 476/1–5; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 329; compare also *bs*, "Gegenstand (aus Metall)," *Glossar*, p. 122. *Bs* may be a word play on *Pr-B3st.t*.

We had earlier read *wnm* after *iw=f*, but this is dubious.

Line 16: The Nineteenth Lower Egyptian Nome: *imt pḥ* ("Royal Child" -north), with a capital at Buto or Tanis (*Ḏ3ny*, *Glossar*, p. 675).

The image of the "nursemaid" fits the designation of this nome. For *ḫnmty*, "nurse," see *Wb.* 3, 293/9–294/3.

Read perhaps [... *tm*]*y*, with a place determinative ("town?") in the lacuna preceding *n p3e=f it*.

Line 17: The Twentieth Lower Egyptian Nome: *Spd* ("Sopdu"), with a capital at Saft el-Henna (*Pr-Spd*, *Glossar*, p. 428).

Mqḥ, "to grieve, mourn," *Glossar*, p. 183, does not seem possible, and we have taken this to be a variant of *mk*, "to protect, rest," *Glossar*, p. 183, Coptic ⲙⲁⲕⲉ, "ruhen," *KHWB*, p. 89.

For *str.t*, "Ruhestätte," see *Glossar*, p. 481.

Šywy is attested elsewhere as *ḫywy* in this text, comparing L01 (V.T.), x+1/2.

Add. 17 *Gmḥs* is "sacred falcon image," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1100 (not in *Glossar*). This is the name of the image used for the nome symbol.

We had read *p3*[*e=f it*] at the end of the line, but that is quite insecure.

Line 18: The disciple concludes his impressive list.

Most problematic is *mnt*, with the wood or finger determinative. The word also occurs in L01 (V.T.), x+1/8. The reading is secure, but the translation is tentative. It may be the *mʿndt*- evening bark of Re, which can appear as *mnt3* in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 165; M. Smith, "A Demotic Formula," *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/3): 145. Other possibilities such as *mnt*, "Türhüter," *Glossar*, p. 165, are not very compelling. Perhaps more attractive is *mn-t3*, "sacred grove," "der heilige Hain des sogen. Abaton auf der Insel Bigge bei Philae," *Wb.* 2, 91/13–14. This is intriguing since the sacred grove of Osiris was the "Aufenthaltsort des Ba," Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 576, and the vultures in this list are probably the "sacred *bas*." On the *mn-t3*, see Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 119–20.

P3-Rʿ is more likely than *p3 sḫ*.

Line 19: The disciple offers a general statement concerning the goddesses Shentait and Seshat. There may be a gloss which relates them or other entities to the previously listed vultures.

The reading *S3-k3* is assured on the basis of L01 (V.T.), x+2/16. However, the iden- Add. 18
tity of the first sign remains a mystery. It does not resemble the expected *s3*-sign ("back of something," Gardiner Sign-list Aa 18; Möller, *HP* 3, number 594) or *s3*, "rolled up herdman's shelter of papyrus," Gardiner Sign-list V17 (Möller, *HP* 3, number 389). After the very clear bull sign, there is the close of the cartouche determinative (Gardiner Sign-list V11). It is not obvious why this should be the locality of Sako, but no other reading suggests itself. One wonders whether this is not an enigmatic writing of Thoth, for example, or of another deity (note the divine determinative after the problematic first sign *s3*). It is, perhaps, no accident that *s3*, written with the amulet, can mean "Thoth," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 782.

We had earlier suggested *pr* for the damaged sign after *p3*. Of course, the result is no usual writing of *pr-ʿ3*, and the sense is strange. Either *s3* or *sn* is possible.

Both *Šnt3.t* and *snt3.t* are reasonable transliterations. For the initial sign as a form of *šn*, see *Glossar*, p. 512, while this is also a typical writing of *sn*, *Glossar*, p. 435, or *s3*, *Glossar*, p. 402. It may be misleadingly damaged at the top, which suits *šn* rather than *sn*. However, the determinative is clearly the goddess, and the word must be identified with *Šnt3y.t*, "als Name einer Kuh-Göttin" (often a designation of Isis), *Wb.* 4, 518/1–10. On this goddess, see Helck, *LÄ* 5, cols. 580–81 ("Schentait"). The king can be designated as the "son of Shentait," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1024. See also: Cauville, "Chentayt et Merkhetes, des Avatars d'Isis et Nephthys," *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 30 (on the connection between Shentait with the House of Life).

Šsy has the divine goddess determinative, and is thus not the masculine *Šsy*, "Fate," *Glossar*, pp. 485–86, but *Šsʿ.t*, "primeval goddess," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 988–89, an epithet of Seshat.

N3.w is the copula, but the syntax of the sentence is unclear due to the problems of interpretation at the beginning of the line.

Line 20: The disciple describes wisdom in richly symbolic nominal sentences.

The "breast of knowledge" has already been referred to in B02, 4/1, *my ḏ=w n=y t3 mn-iry.t nt sʿnḫ 3spy.t ir=y snqy n n3e=s mnt.w*, "Let one say to me the nurse who nurtures language that I may make a suckling from her breasts."

Mtw is an attractive restoration following *nt*.

Mniy is *mn-iry*, "Amme," *Glossar*, p. 161.

The copula may be lost after *mniy*.

Line 21: The disciple now turns his attention to more specifically Thothic types of sacred animals. He emphasizes the positive guiding qualities of one such animal.

The signs after *ʿn* are difficult. Read possibly *iw=f* instead of *i- ir. ʿm*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is clear.

The word read here as *ʿn* may already appear in L01 (V.T.), x+2/19.

We had originally read *wb3.t=f*, but this is uncertain.

Line 22: The disciple praises the "wise ibis" of Thoth.

This is the common word play between *hb*, "ibis," and *hb*, "to send."

i3w.t is probably here "altern, das Alter," *Glossar*, p. 16, parallel to *ʿ3*.

P3 nt may introduce a relative adjective clause, with *n3* modifying the noun subject of *ḏ3*.

Line 23: The disciple continues to laud the sacred animal, who has the role of prophet.

This line is a participial phrase, with an independent pronoun at the beginning (*mtw=f*), and a perfect participle as predicate (*i-ir sḏ3*).

We had read [... *ḥ3*].*ṯ=f* in the lacuna, but this is insecure.

Read perhaps *mt.w* at the end of the line, while *ḏ* may also be proposed in place of *ir* immediately preceding the possible *mt.w*.

Line 24: The disciple seems to speak of himself here, perhaps claiming that Thoth has conveyed his special knowledge to him.

Spḫl may be the subject of *ḏ*, "to say." This is then perhaps a personification of writing, *spḫr.w*, "die Schrift," *Wb.* 4, 107/7–8, or an epithet, "he who is writing," *Wb.* 4, 106/11–107/6.

An alternative is to understand *spḫl* as an epithet of Thoth.

It is unlikely that *ḏ* is an imperative form.

The *ms.w*, "children" of Thoth, are presumably his spells or books; compare *ms.w*, "children," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 459–60.

Again, the entire line may refer to Thoth or, possibly, to a disciple who portrays him.

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+4

Transliteration

N.b. This column may not have followed immediately the preceding column; certainly a fair amount of space is to be understood between the two. This is to allow for the placement of the nome capitals in the preceding column.

L01 (V.T.), x+4/1 *[...] ... n-im=w smn=y t3 ... [...]* (N.b. fragment with *k* above *smn* is just misplaced here; it may belong to the portion of the same line in front of *smn*.)

L01 (V.T.), x+4/2 *[...]...=y r n3 mw.w n3.w nt mḥ (?) ... [...] r p3 [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/3 *ḥḥ ms ḫfn.w n qm3.w (?) ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/4 *kky ... hyny ... [...] ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/5 *šl ... ib=y swn ... mtw tbʿ.w ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/6 *wḫ3=y sn-t3 (n) n3 ntr.w pr-ʿnḫ mtw=y ir [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/7 *ir n=y ms.w ib=y ḫym n ḫm pk ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/8 *my ti=w ⸢ṯ=y⸣ iwt=w n3 ḫne.w iwiw(.w) n p3 ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/9 *iw=s šw [...]y nt im ntsn n3 iyḫ.w 3k[yl ...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/10 *ti=y tpy (n) r3=y r thm r n3 sp ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/11 *my n nt ṯ ... nt ḥʿ=y nt km ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/12 *wpy=y ṯp-3t=f ḏ=f in mḥy ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/13 *r ḫtby ḥʿm ʿq n p3 s spt.w [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/14 *in tky=k r t3 ḥ.t m3y nt ir ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/15 *n3y iwiw.w n3y wnš.w n3y k3.w nt š[...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/16 *n3y ḫf.w n3y ḫf.(w)t n3y ḫ.wt ḏ[...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/17 *n3y [s]fy.w n3y in-nw.w n3y ḫ.wt ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/18 *n3y ʿf.w nt n ḫyby r n3 ḫ.wt (?) [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/19 *in sn=k t3 ply.t nt ḫn p3 m... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/20 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f ḏʿb=y n3y ptl[...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/21 *nw=y r n3 ʿf.w iw=w šlg n p3 ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/22 *pr=y r t3 ...y.t n t3e=s b3.t n p3 ś[...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/23 *m33=y (?) r n3 iwiw nt n sḫ ... [...]*

L01 (V.T.), x+4/24 *ḫf... [...] ... 3š ... [...]* (N.b. a piece of papyrus is misplaced here covering the preserved end of the last two lines of this column.)

Translation

1. [...] ... I establish (?) the ... [...]
2. [...] ... they are the waters which fill (?) ... [...] ... the [...]
3. Millions who bear myriads ... [...]
4. Darkness ... some ... [...] ... [...]
5. ... heart (?) know ... and fingers ... [...]
6. I wish to kiss the earth (for) the gods of the House of Life, and I make [...]

7. The children have made for me my wish to fish as a fisherman ... [...]
8. May they place me between them, namely, the rowers, the dogs of the ... [...]
9. It is fitting [...] ... which are there. They are the ex[cellent] spirits [...]
10. I have placed the taste (in) my mouth so as to enter into (?) the (?) ... [...]
11. Let ... which I have arisen ... [...]
12. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Has a going ... [...]
13. so as to kill, to stand up opposite the man, prepared ones [...]
14. Is your fruit (or "Have you looked"?) at the house of the lion which makes ... [...]
15. these dogs, these jackals, these bulls which ... [...]
16. these male snakes, these female snakes, these bodies ... [...]
17. these swords, these spears, these bodies ... [...]
18. these flies which are as shades at the chapels (?) [...]
19. Have you honored the quail which is in the ... [...]
20. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I crossed through these battlefields [...]
21. I looked at the flies, while they cut (?) in the ... [...]
22. I have observed the ... -bird in its covert in the ... [...]
23. I have seen (?) the dogs which are as scribes (?) ... [...]
24. ... [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 2: The damaged word with the flesh determinative at the beginning of the line is perhaps *ḥꜣṯ=y*.

At the end of *mw.w* the plural strokes may be written.

The fragment with *rḫ=k (?)* does not belong here.

Line 3: *Ḥfn*, "Hunderttausende = Unzählige," *Wb.* 3, 74/1–14, is not in *Glossar*.

Qmꜣ.w, "Schöpfung," *Glossar*, p. 537, is reasonable, but *ʿm.w* or *mꜣ.w* are also conceivable.

Line 4: We had first read *irm* or *pꜣ*, but this is uncertain.

Either *ʾꜣ m* or *sʿm* is possible after *hyny*.

We had earlier transliterated *snf=y nt n* [...] at the end of the line.

Line 5: Since the determinative is not preserved, we can offer no interpretation for *šl*.... We had first proposed *šlg*.

Swn is probably "erkennen, wissen," *Glossar*, pp. 413–14.

Line 6: The phrase "gods of the House of Life" is noteworthy. In Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, p. 68 (= col. 13/13–14), offerings are made to "all the gods of the House of Life." See also Budde, *Seschat*, p. 58.

Line 7: The syntax of this line is obscure, although the readings are secure.

We take *ms* to be "children," and to be the subject of *ir*. *Ms.w*, "children," possibly in the sense of spells or sacred books, appears also in L01 (V.T.), x+3/24.

ib may mean "wish," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 58.

The grammar of *ḫym n ḫm* is uncertain; we understand *ḫym* to be a verb or infinitive, and *ḫm* to be the noun.

Pk may be "separate," *Glossar*, p. 141.

Line 8: The disciple expresses a wish to be part of the crew of the sacred bark.

Ḫny is probably *ḫn*, "Ruderer," *Glossar*, p. 383. Are the rowers here portrayed as sacred dogs?

Line 9: *Šw* is "geeignet, nützlich, würdig," *Glossar*, p. 493.

Read perhaps *nꜣy nt im*, "these who are there." *Ntsn* is the archaic independent pronoun, functioning as the subject of a nominal sentence.

Line 10: *Tpy* may be *tp.t*, "Geschmack," *Glossar*, p. 628.

Alternatively, *ti=y* may be the first present and *tpy* the verb "to taste," i.e., "I taste." Still another possibility is to understand this line as continuing the previous one; "(It is fitting) that I give utterance to my mouth ..."

Thm has numerous meanings, "laden, einladen," *Glossar*, p. 650; "to tread, go into," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1148–49.

Restore perhaps *spt.w* for *stp.w*, "select."

Line 11: The syntax of this line is again hopelessly obscure.

Could this be "Give to (the one) who takes," or *my*... with the seated man determinative? There does seem to be something written after *ṯ*, perhaps *irm*.

Pꜣy nt ḫʿ is also attractive.

The various examples of *nt* in this line may stand for *n-tr.t*, "weil," followed by past *sḏm=f* forms.

Line 12: *Wpy=y*, "I-have-judged," is written for *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f*.

The walking-legs determinative suggests that *mḫy* is a variant of *mšʿ*, "gehen," *Glossar*, p. 181.

Line 13: *Ḫtb* is possibly not "kill" here, but rather *ḫtb*, "to sprinkle," see Nur el-Din, *Demotic Ostraca*, p. 267. *ḫʿ* would then be the orthography of *ḫʿ*, "limb," for which see the note on B02, 3/4.

M ʿq is probably the archaic preposition *m ʿqꜣ*, "opposite," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 182 (not in *Glossar*).

Spt is perhaps *spt*, "to be ready, prepared," *Glossar*, p. 428; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 832.

Line 14: We had originally read *tby*, but *tky* probably begins the line. Given the determinative, this seems to be *tkr* or *tky*, "Obst, Frucht," *Glossar*, p. 662. However, *tky* may equally well be a variant of *tky*, "to see."

The *ḫ.t mꜣy* has already appeared in B02, 3/11.

Alternatively, transliterate rather *nt ḫr* at the end of the line.

Line 16: Read possibly *d[tf.t]*, "re[ptile]."

Line 17: For *sfy*, "Schwert," see *Glossar*, p. 429.
Lbš.w, "Rüstung," *Glossar*, p. 262, may stand at the end of the line.

Line 18: *ʿf* may mean "bee" here, see *Glossar*, p. 59.

Line 19: *Sn* is perhaps "verehren," *Wb.* 4, 154/5–7. It may also be a variant of *ns*, "to call out."
Ply.t is probably *pʿr.t*, "Art Geflügel," *Wb.* 1, 504/14 (not in *Glossar*); "Wachtel," Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, p. 274; "kind of bird, quail," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 347; Smith and Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, p. 203.
We had originally read *mḥ*, "nest," at the end of the line, but this is insecure.

Line 20: We identify *ḏʿb*, determined by the walking-legs, with ⲭⲱⲱⲃⲉ, "vorüberqueren, durchqueren," *KHWB*, p. 414. The word does not seem to be attested before Coptic.
Ptl, with the house determinative, is probably "battlefield," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 381 (not in *Glossar*).

Line 21: *Šlg*, "cut," is an awkward translation. This word occurs several times in the composition, and we have identified it with Coptic ϣⲱⲗⲥ, "schneiden, scharf sein," *KHWB*, p. 313. This certainly is supported by the knife determinative, but the meaning remains obscure.
N pꜣ ... may be the object of *šlg* or a prepositional phrase.

Line 22: Perhaps read *pr=y* at the beginning of the line. *Pr* would be old *ptr*, "see," still preserved in *pry*, "träumen," *Glossar*, p. 136.
Restore possibly *nly.t*, "vulture," or *tr.t*, "kite," after *tꜣ*.
Bꜣ.t is probably *bwꜣ.t*, "marsh, thicket," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 313–14.
We might also transliterate the final damaged signs as *tꜣe=s bꜣ.t 6 n pꜣ sʿ*[...].

Line 23: *Nt n sḫ* may be variously translated, e.g. "which are in the writings" or "which are written."

Line 24: *Ḫf* is reasonable at the beginning of the line, but hardly certain.
Read perhaps *ḥr*, "face," after the lacuna.
... *šš* may be identified with ⲃⲟⲓϣⲓ, "ein Tier der Wüste (?)," *KHWB*, p. 21.

Unplaced Fragments

B02 Fragment A, Column 1

Transliteration

1/1 *[...] grp ... [...]*
1/2 *[...] ... [...]*

B02 Fragment A, Column 2

Transliteration

2/1 *[...]*
2/2 *[...]*

N.b. Fragment B placed in B02 "14" as parallel to L01.5, 9/5–7.

B02 Fragment C

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*

B02 Fragment D

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*

B02 Fragment E

Transliteration

[...] ... mꜣꜣ r sbꜣ=k ʿw n ḥꜣt [...]

Translation

[...] ... to see your gate, great of heart [...]

B02 Fragment F

Placed as B02, 14/x+10

B02 Fragments G-L

No legible writing

B02 Fragment M

Transliteration

1 *[…]… sm (?)… […]*

B02 Fragments N-Q

No legible writing

B02 Fragment R

End of one column and beginning of next, but hardly any preserved traces (*mr* in column 2?)

B03.4

Transliteration

1 *[…]… tn (?) r […]*
2 *[…] grp r […]*
3 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […]… […]
2. […] reveal concerning […]
3. […]… […]

B03.6

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… […]*
3 *[…]… […]*
4 *[…]… nw… […]*

Translation

1. […]… […]
2. […]… […]
3. […]… […]
4. […]… […]

B03.7

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… […]*
3 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […]… […]
2. […]… […]
3. […]… […]

B03.8

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…] st[…]*
3 *[…] nꜣ s[…]*
4 *[…] g […]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [...] the ... [...]
4. [...] ... [...]

B03.11

Transliteration

1 *[...]...* (goddess-determinative) ... *[...]*
2 *[...]... ṯ=y tỉ pȝ mn[...]*
3 *[...] mn-ỉry ... [...]*
4 *[...] ṯ=k (ȝ) ṯ r pȝ s... [...]*
5 *[...]... ỉ-ỉr=k ... [...]*
6 *[...] ỉr=k [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] my ... Caused (?) the ... [...]
3. [...] nurse ... [...]
4. [...] you took (?) me to the ... [...]
5. [...] ... you ... [...]
6. [...] you made (?) [...]

B03.12

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*
2 *[...]...=k ... [...]*
3 *[...]... tm ... [...]*
4 *[...]... m ...y [...]*
5 *[...]... ỉw=w twn ... [...]*
6 *[...]... l ... [...]*
7 *[...]... [...]*
8 *[...]...* (animal-skin determinative) ... *[...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... you (or "your") ... [...]
3. [...] ... [...]
4. [...] ... [...]
5. [...] ... they raising ... [...]
6. [...] ... [...]
7. [...] ... [...]
8. [...] ... (animal-skin determinative) ... [...]

B03.13

Transliteration

1 *[...]... ḥ.ṯ [...]*
2 *[...]... [...]*
3 *[...]... sḫ.t ... [...]*
4 *[...] ỉy ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... body [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [...] ... field ... [...]
4. [...] to come (?) ... [...]

Commentary

Line 1: Read perhaps *gm* before *ḥ.ṯ*.

B03.14

Transliteration

1 *[...] ỉw=y [...]*
2 *[...] ḫnny [...]*

Translation

1. […] I (?) … […]
2. […] … […]

B03.15

Transliteration

1 […] … […]
2 […] … […]
3 […] … […]
4 […] …=f … […]
5 […] … […]
6 […] … […]
7 […] … […]

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … […]
3. […] … […]
4. […] … he (or "his") … […]
5. […] … […]
6. […] … […]
7. […] … […]

B06 + B07 + C01 + C07.1 + C07.5 + F01 + F01.1 + F01.2 + F01.6 + F14 + L02

Transliteration

B07, 1 ***[nꜣ mt].w (?) nt tỉ.t sbꜣ nḫn ntnt-rꜣ sꜣ wn-im3***

B07, 2 *[…] … mky wʿb n Wsỉr Nꜣ.w-nfr-ḥtp pꜣ ntr ʿ pꜣ (?) … nb (?)*

B07, 3 *[…] … ʿby ḫ.t=f n nb.w-ḥtp.w … ḫnt Šꜣy m rn […]*

B07, 4 *[…] … nt Sḫf-ʿb.w ḫꜣs.t (?) [tp]-rt n ʿq r tꜣ ʿʿy .t [-kk]y*
C07.1, 1 *[…]* … (goddess-determinative) *[…]*

B07, 5 *[…]… ỉw=w wš 1 1/2 (?) ỉw=w … m tp-rꜣ=k*
F01.6, 1 *[…]… […]*
C07.1, 2 *[…]…… m t[p-rꜣ …]* Add. 21

B07, 6 *[…]… ỉft … ḥr pꜣe=w gr… ḫm qns*
F01.6, 2 *[……]… n ḥr pꜣe=w grg (?) […]*
C07.1, 3 *[……] ḫm qns […]*

B07, 7 *[…]… r ….w r mn r … šʿy pꜣ mt-ntr (?)*
F01.6, 3 *[…]…… pꜣ šʿy […]*
C07.1, 4 *[……] ḫʿy […]*

B07, 8 *[…] ỉw=w ʿḥ ʿꜣ … tm […] rʿ-ỉtp (?) …*
F01.6, 4 *[……]… r ʿꜣ wr… […]*
C07.1, 5 *[…… rʿ-it]p […]*

F01.1, 1 *[…]…*

B07, 9 *[…] sp-2 nb.w-ḥtp … ỉw=k (?) mr sḏm=w (?) my msḏr=k (?) r sḏm=w* Add. 19
F01.1, 2 *[…]… […….]=k*
C07.1, 6 *[……]…… msḏr […]*
F01.6, 5 *[……] in ỉw=k mr sḏm […]*

B07, 10 *[…] hrw m mꜣwy.w … by mꜣʿ… tpy=k tpy […]*
F01.1, 3 *[……fy] mꜣʿ[……t]py=sn*
C07.1, 7 *[……]=k tpy […]*
F01.6, 6 *[……] r fy […]*

B07, 11 *[…]=y st r ỉmy.t …… tbty st r ḥr n mtry sḫ*
F01.1, 4 *[……].w tb[ty ……] n sḫ*
C07.1, 8 *[……] mtry sḫ*
F01.6, 7 *[……] … ty […]*

B07, 12 *[…]… r (?) imꜣ (?) ỉw=w … ʿʿ ỉw=w ʿm m rꜣ.w ꜣkly*
F01.1, 5 *[……] ỉw=w ʿm m r[ꜣ] ꜣkyry*
C07.1, 9 *[……..] rꜣ ꜣkyl […]*
F01.6, 8 *[…]…… […]*

B07, 13 *[…]… =w ḥr swr st … r rt=w ḥr s.t=sn*
F01.1, 6 *[……] ḥr s.t=sn*
C07.1, 10 *[…]… […]*
F01.6, 9 *[…]… […]*

B07, 14 *[……] slꜣ.w ns ỉsts sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ.t n=f imw nb ỉ-wn=f… […]* Add. 20
F01.1, 7 *[……n]s ꜣsts sꜣ wn-[…] ꜣmw nb ỉ-wnn=f pꜣe=w ḏ n=f (?)*
C07.1, 11 *[……] ꜣsṯs sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ […]*

B07, 15 *[…]… nhsy=y ḫn tꜣ ꜥt-kky tꜣ bt.…w n hb […]*
F01.1, 8 *[…… ḫ]n tꜣ ꜥt-kky tꜣ bty hb ḥr sšm=f*
C07.1, 12 *[……] ḫn tꜣy ꜥt-kky tꜣ bt[h]b […]*

B07, 16 *[…] pꜣ nt sḏm ḫn tꜣ ꜥꜥy.t-kky ḫn nꜣ štꜣ.w nꜣ iḫiy.w […]*
F01.1, 9 *[……] ḫn tꜣ ꜥt-kky ḫn nꜣ štꜣ.w n iḫiy.w […]*
C07.1, 13 *[……] ḫn tꜣy ꜥt-kky … […]*

B07, 17 *[…] wḥꜣ r ḥbḥb ꜥḫnꜥ nꜣ whl n Šꜥy.t wr.t*
F01.1, 10 *[……] bḥbḥ ḫn nꜣ whl Šꜥy wr.t*
C07.1, 14 *[……] ḫn nꜣ whl.w ḥꜣy wl.t […]*

B07, 18 *[…] ḥꜣt=y … pꜣ i-ir in (ʔ)… my ir=y wꜥ irm nꜣ ḫl.w […]*
F01.1, 11 *[……]… pꜣ i-ir in (ʔ)… […….] in-mwṯ.w*
C07.1, 15 *[……]… =y my ir=y wꜥ irm ḫl.w …[…]*

B07, 19 *[…] ḏ…=f … m rꜣ=k … nm sb i[t]… hrw n=k pry ṯy sp-2 pꜣy ms …*
C07.1, 16 *[……] rꜣ ḥḥ n=k gꜣy sp-2 pꜣ i-ir ms […]*
F01.1, 12 *[…]… […]… =k*
F14, 1 *[……] rḫ (ʔ) […]*
L02, 1/1 *[……] m sbb it ḥḥ n=k gr […] sp-2 pꜣ irw ms nh … (ʔ) […]*

B07, 20 ***inky mr-rḫ … […] ḫ]ḥ=f*** *ḥm[…] n pꜣ hb pꜣy ir sn… […]*
C07.1, 17 *[……] r ḥḥ=f ḥmꜥl.w pꜣ hb pꜣ i-ir […]*
F01, 1 *[……]…. =y r gmgm […]*
F14, 2 *[……] hb pꜣ i-ir snḥ (ʔ) […]*
L02, 1/2 *[……] mr-rḫ ꜥpꜣe=fꜥ ḥḥ=f ḥm-rꜣ pꜣ hꜣb pꜣ irw snḥ […]*

B07, 21 *[…] bn-iw thm rꜥtpḥ.tꜥ … bw-ir rḫ=k gy=s bn-iw ḫny […]*
C07.1, 18 *[…… tp]ḥy […] bw-ir=k rḫ=k (sic) gy=s m-ir ḫn […]*
F01, 2 *[……..g]y=sn m-ir ḫnn r tꜣ tr.t nꜣ […]*
F14, 3 *[…… =s]n m-ir ḫnn r tꜣ […]*
L02, 1/3 *[……]… iw dpḥ.t iw b-rḫ=k qꜣe=sn bn ḫn […]*

C07.1, 19 *[…… m]ḥy […] tꜣ ꜣḫty bnyp[y…]*
F01, 3 *[……] bnpy*
F14, 4 *[…… bn]py*
L02, 1/4 *[…] nꜣ h[…] inr mḥw nꜣy tꜣ iḫty.t b[npy …]*

C07.1, 20 *[……]…n šnby ḥmt [m]y […]*
F01, 4 *[…] tꜣ i-ir n[…… wḥ]wḥ ḫnꜥ=tn*
F14, 5 *[……..……] wḥwḥ ḫnꜥ=tn*
L02, 1/5 *[…].w šnb.t n šnb.t n ḥmt my ir=y wḥwḥ ḫnꜥ=tn […]*

C07.1, 21 *[…] iy[ḫ].w ꜣkyl m… […]*
F01, 5 *[…] nꜣ iḫ […….]…… =y n ꜣṯ=y […]*
F14, 6 *[……]=y ꜣṯ=y r nꜣ ll (ʔ) […]*
L02, 1/6 *[…] iw nꜣ ꜣḫw.w iqr mꜣw.w m ib=i ḥꜣw … […]*

F01, 6 *[ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ] ḏ=f in ir=k sty […….]… ḫnš.w nꜣ nt ḫn […]*
F14, 7 *[……] kꜣ.w ḫnš.w nꜣ nt ḫ[n …]*
L02, 1/7 *[……] iw=k sꜥtyꜥ nty.w m-ir ꜥq r pr-ꜥnḫ kꜣ.w ḫnš.w m nꜣ […]*

F01, 7 *[…] n=k (ʔ)… in wn mtw=k … […]=k*
F14, 8 *[……]=k*
L02, 1/8 *[…]tw=k ….w bn mtw=k s.t ty my ḥr=k* SPATIUM

F01, 8 *[…]…=k ḫr in iṯ pꜣ i-ir hb … […]… […] shy=k […]*
F14, 9 *[……] šw shy r=k*
L02, 1/9 *[……] it pꜣ irw hꜣb=k sbꜣ nḥyr (ʔ) ṯfy šb[…]*

F01, 9 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *rḫ=y nꜣ btyḥ.w […. tꜣ ꜥt]-ꜥkkyꜥ i-[…] pꜣe=w ꜣyty*
F14, 10 *[……] n pꜣe=w ꜣyꜣty*
L02, 1/10 *[…….].w nty ḫn tꜣ ꜥt -kkwy i-ir=i iy pw=w […]*

F01, 10 *btḫ=y irp ti=y (ʔ) sty ꜥntꜣy …g… ḥt[… t]w=y n šky k*
F14, 11 *[……] šgyg*
L02, 1/11 *[……. stꜣy ꜥ[n]t[ꜣy]… gr … nꜣw=i ḥ[…]… ḥtꜣ.w … […]*

B06, 1/1 *[……] ti=y nꜣ.w-qns tꜣe=w wmny.w nꜣ.w-ḫtḫt*
F01, 11 *ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f nꜣ hb.w … ty nꜣ.w-qns tꜣe=w [wmn]y nꜣ.w-štšt nꜣe=w ꜥnḫ*
F14, 12 *[……. štʃšt nꜣe=w ꜥnḫ*
L02, 1/12 *[……] nꜣy-gns tꜣe=w wnmy nꜣy-ḫtḫt […]*

B06, 1/2 *[……]ꜥtꜥy.wꜥ bw-ir=w thy n irp bw-ir=w ths n sgn*
C01, 1 *[… b]w-ir=w sy[…]*
F01, 12 *[……]sy…ꜥy.w bw-ir=w thy n irp (ʔ)ꜥbw-ir=w thsꜥ (n) sgn tꜣe=w bk[s …]*
F14, 13 *[……] sgn tꜣe=w bks ḏ rn n=f (ʔ)*
L02, 1/13 *[……. bw-ir]=w dḫ irp bw-ir=w ths n sqn tꜣy=wꜥbwtꜥ […]*

B06, 1/3 *[…]… n ….t hyny sšl.w nꜣ nt mny*
C01, 2 *[…… h]yny sšl.w nꜣ […]*
F01, 13 *hyny sšly nꜣ nt mny*
L02, 1/14 *[……] nꜣ nty mn*

B06, 1/4–5 *[..... ḥf].w tp spṯ.w (n) pꜣe=w ḥtp iwiw tꜣe=w ꜥq ꜥn / [...]*
C01, 3 *pꜣe=w ḥtp iwiw tꜣe=w ḥr.t [...]*
F01, 13–14 *[...]..... ḥf.w ṯp sp[ṯ.w /] pꜣe=w ḥtp iwiw tꜣe=w ḥrꜣ.t ꜥꜥn nꜣe=w ...= w nꜣ ḏtfy [...]*
L02, 1/14–15 *i-ir rꜣ.w hꜣy ḥfy.w tp sp.ty[... /..... ḥrꜣ].t ꜥꜣ nꜣy.w tꜣ g.w (ʔ) nꜣy nꜣ ḏdfy [...]*

B06, 1/5–6 *in iw=k (ʔ) r rḫ ꜥnḫ pꜣ imw bb n 7,000 (ʔ) iḫ pꜣe=w / [...]*
C01, 4 *in ir=k rḫ ꜥnḫ pꜣ imw [...]*
F01, 15 *in iw=k r rḫ r ꜥnḫ pꜣ im bb [...] gꜣy n šms[...]*
L02, 1/16 *[.....]... iḫ pꜣe=w qꜣy n šms.w [...]*

B06, 1/6–7 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f iw= y r yꜥy nꜣ pys.w /[...] ḥ.t iw=y r nhy pꜣ ḥyḥ n nꜣ ḥn.w*
C01, 5–6 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f** iw=y r [...] / iw=y (ʔ)... mḥ sp ... [...]*
F01, 16–17 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f iw= y yꜥy nꜣ pys ... [...] ḥ.t iw[=y ... /...]... sp=w*
L02, 1/17 *[..... py]s ꜥy (ʔ) nꜣ ḥ.wt iw=i nh[...]*

B06, 1/8 *[.....] sḫt tq iw=y r glg ḏꜣby r nꜣ gs (ʔ)*
F01, 17 *iw=y r sḫt tq iw=y r glg ḏꜥ[by ...]*
L02, 2/1 *[.....] grg ḏb.w iw ... [...]*

B06, 1/9 *[.....] ꜥn iw=y r hlg nꜣ tby.w ... r tꜣ...*
C01, 7 *iw=y stꜥy nꜣ ꜥny ... [...]*
F01, 18 *[.....] nꜣ ꜥn.w iw=y [...] r nꜣ tby.w [...]*
L02, 2/2 *[..... hl]g nꜣ tby.w ... p [...]*

B06, 1/10 *[.....] šp nꜣ tby.w iw=y r hn ḥr tꜣe=w mtry.t*
C01, 8 *iw=y šp nꜣ tby.w iw=y r [...]*
L02, 2/3 *[..... iw]=y hn iw tꜣ=w ..... wn [...]*

B06, 1/11 *[...] iw=y r fy nꜣ bꜣ.w r (ʔ) pꜣ [w]yt (ʔ) ...*
C01, 9 *[...]..... fy nꜣ [.....]*
L02, 2/4 *[..... f]y bꜣ.w ... [...]*

B06, 1/12–13 *ḥr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f in wn mtw=k rsw pry st (ʔ) / ...*
L02, 2/5 *[.....]... gry s tꜣ ꜥ.t ... [...]*

B06, 1/13 *Mr-rḫ ḏ=f ḫpr iw* (or *ṯ*)*=k nmsy (ʔ) pꜣ tp ḫty iw=k (ʔ) wwy*
L02, 2/6 *[.....] qd.k ḥ[w]y ... in-nꜥ.k (ʔ) iw ... [...]*

B06, 1/14 *s.t rswy ḥr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f pꜣ kꜣ nt smn tꜣ glg.t (ʔ)*
L02, 2/7 *[..... k]ꜣ (ʔ)... [...] gr (ʔ)... sꜣ.w ... pwy ... [...]*

B06, 1/15 *... m ... ḥr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f ḫry-ꜥ.wy ..... nb.w-ḥtp*
L02, 2/8 *[.....]... nb.w-ḥtp* SPATIUM

B06, 1/16 *[...]..... ꜥꜥe.w [.....]ḏ iw=y r ir (ʔ) ꜥꜥn ḥn=w*
L02, 2/9 *[...] ḥn nꜣe=k ꜥꜥ.wt ḥꜥ.wt=k ḏ iw=y ir ... ḥn[...]*

B06, 1/17 *[...]... [...]... tꜣ=y ḥꜥ=k*
L02, 2/10 *[.....]....w tꜣ=y ḥꜥ=k ... [...]*

B06, 1/18 *[...]=k pꜣy ḫf nt n (ʔ) ... [...]... iw=f m-sꜣ bꜣk*
L02, 2/11 *[...]..... iw=f m ... [...]*

B06, 1/19 *[...]... [...]... ꜥnḫ [...].t iwy (ʔ) nꜣ ḥm.w (ʔ)*
L02, 2/12 *[.....] ḥm.w pr-ꜥnḫ nꜣ ḥnm.w ... [...]*

B06, 1/20 *[...]... [...] iry n nꜣ iḫy.w*
L02, 2/13 *[...] mnꜥ.t (ʔ) ... [...]*

B06, 1/21 *[...]... r-ḏbꜣ wꜣṯy=f*
L02, 2/14 *[...]... [...]*

Translation

(Numbering according to B07 where possible. The translation is eclectic)

1. **[The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-imꜣ* to question.**
2. [...]... protection (?) of purity of Osiris Naneferhotep, the great god, the (?)... lord (?)
3. [...] ... unification of his body for (?) the lords of offerings ... before (the goddess) Shai (= Seshat) in the name [...]
4. [...] ... which is Sekhefabwy, ritual (?) of the [regu]lation of entering the Chamber of [Dark]ness.
5. [...] ... they lacking 1 1/2 (?), they ... with the utterance of your mouth.
6. [...] ... four ... upon their foundation (?) ... small, painful (or "difficult")
7. [...] ... as far as ... of the divine writing (?)
8. [...] they (?) raising up ... very greatly (?) ... not [...] lifting ...
9. [...] twice, lords of offering ... If you wish (?) to hear them, set your ears to hear them.

F01.1, 2. [...] ... [.....] your [...]

10. [...] day in thoughts (?) ... to hasten (to) the place (?) ... May you experience their taste (?).
11. [...] I have [...] it concerning ... its ceremony concerning the teaching of the writing.
12. [...] ... concerning a young bird (?) ... they ..., sacred animals, they swallowing with mouths of excellence.
13. [...] ... they (or "them"). There drinks ... on their feet upon their places.
14. [...] the prophets call out "*Istes*, son of *Wn-imꜣ*," to him, every form in which he is is that which they say to him (?).

15. [...] ... May I wake up in the Chamber of Darkness, the wonder (?) of the Ibis under his guidance (?).
16. [...] **the one who hears** in the Chamber of Darkness and in the shrines (?) of the spirits [...]
17. [...] wish to bark among the dogs of Shait (= Seshat), the great.
18. [...] my heart (is?) ... that which has brought (?) ... [...] Let me act together with the youths [...] the dead ones.
19. [...] ... **say** ... **him** (?) ... with your mouth (?) ... Who is the one who conducts the father? Seek for yourself! Who are you? Who are you? The one who gave birth to knowledge (?) [...]
20. [...] **I am the One-who-loves-knowledge**, ... so that (?) he may seek out the spell-craft of the Ibis, the one who bound up (?) [...]

F01, 1. [...] ... I so as to touch [...]

21. [...] There is no entering to the cavern, you not knowing its (or "her," "their") form. Do not draw near [...]

F01, 2. [...] their form. Do not draw near to the chamber (?) of the [...]

From this point on, each version is translated separately. Duplicate versions are omitted.

C07.1, 19. [..... car]er [...] the throat of iro[n ...]
F01, 3. [.....] iron
L02, 1/4. [...] the ... [...] ... carer (?) are they, the throat of i[ron ...]

F01/1, 4. [...] she who did ... [..... bar]king with you.
L02, 1/5. [...] ... throat with a throat of copper. Let me make a barking with you [...]

F01, 5. [...] the spirits (?) [...] ... I (or "my") ... my back (?) [...]
F14, 6. [.....] my [...] on my back to the ... [...]
L02, 1/6. [...] while the excellent spirits think (?) in my heart ... [...]

F01, 6. [He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge,] **he says:** "Will you burn [myrrh? ...] ... stinking [...] are the ones who are in [...]
L02, 1/7. [...] ... will you burn myrrh? Do not enter into the House of Life. Stinking bulls are as (?) the ones [...]

F01, 7. [...] ... Do you have ... [...] you (or "your") [...]
L02, 1/8. [...] ... Do you not have a place here? Give your face! SPATIUM

F01, 8. [...] ... you (or "your") ... Is the father the one who sent ... [...] ... [...] of withdrawing you [...].
F14, 9. [.....] worthy of withdrawing from you.
L02, 1/9. [.....] father the one who sent you. A teacher who equals (?) his com[pensation (?) ...]

F01, 9. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I know the libations [... the Chamber of] ⌜Darkness⌝ ... [...] primeval one (?).
F14, 10. [.....] as the primeval one (?).

L02, 1/10. [.....] ... which are in the Chamber of Darkness. I have come as the primeval one (?).

F01, 10. I poured out wine. I burn (?) perfume of myrrh ... [...] I am in eagerness.
L02, 1/11. [..... bu]rn pe[r]fume of m[y]rr[h] ... [...] ... clothes ... [...]

F01, 11. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The ibises ... Painful is their food, difficult their mode of life.

B06, 1/2. [.....] (with) ⌜bread.⌝ They do not become drunk with wine. They do not anoint with unguent.
C01, 1. [...T]hey do not sate themselves [...]
F01, 12. [...] sate ... They do not become drunk with wine (?). They do not anoint with unguent. Their throa[t ...]
F14, 13. [.....] unguent. Their throat says a name to him (?).

B06, 1/3. [...] ... some demons (or "papyrus documents") are the ones who remain (or "herd").

B06, 1/4–5. [... snak]es upon the two lips (are) their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is / [...]
F01, 13–14. [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ... /] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
L02, 1/14–15. Mouths are joyful. Snakes upon the two lips [... / ... sust]enance. A baboon ... the reptiles [...]

B06, 1/5–6. Will you be able to live, O one who is in the water source of 7,000 (?)? What is their / [...]
C01, 4. Will you be able to live, O one who is in [...]
F01, 15. Will you be able to live, O one who is in the water source [...] manner of serving [...]
L02, 1/16. [.....] ... What is their manner of serving? [...]

B06, 1/6–7. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I will wash the water pots / [...] chapters (?). I will remove the dust of the chests
C01, 5–6. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will [...] / I will (?) ... fill ... [...]
F01, 16–17. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I will wash the water pots ... [...] chapters (?). I [will ... /...] ...
L02, 1/17. [... water] pots. ... the chapters (?). I will remove [...]

B06, 1/8. [...] illuminate the torch. I will supply the coal for the ...
F01, 17. I will illuminate the torch. I will supply the co[al ...]
L02, 2/1. [.....] supply coal for ... [...]

B06, 1/9. [...] writing-tablets. I will embrace (?) the containers ...
C01, 7. I will ... the writing-tablets ... [...]
F01, 18. [...] the writing-tablets. I will [...] to the containers [...]

L02, 2/2. [..... embr]ace (?) the containers ... [...]

B06, 1/10. [...] receive the containers. I will draw near to their instruction (?).
C01, 8. I will receive the containers. I will [...].
L02, 2/3. [..... I will] draw near to their ... [...]

B06, 1/11. [...] I will bring the sacred rolls to the stele (?) ...
L02, 2/4. [.....] bring the sacred rolls (?) ... [.....]

B06, 1/12–13. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "Do you have a dream? What is it? ...
L02, 2/5. [.....] .....What is it? The chamber ... [...]

B06, 1/13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I was ... upon the mast (?), you being far away (from)
L02, 2/6. [.....] I being (?) asleep, throw ... I (?) came to the ... [...]

B06, 1/14. the place of dreaming." He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "As for the bull which establishes the settlement (?)
L02, 2/7. [... bu]ll ... [...] establishes (?) ... [...]

B06, 1/15. ... He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The assistants ... possessors of offerings
L02, 2/8. [.....] ... possessors of offerings SPATIUM

B06, 1/16. [...] ... sacred animals [...] saying I shall act as a baboon therein
L02, 2/9. [...] in your limbs and your flesh, saying I shall act ... in [...]

B06, 1/17. [...] ... [...] ... I caused (?) that you stand
L02, 2/10. [.....] ... I caused that you stand ... [...]

B06, 1/18. [...] you this snake which ... [...] ... he being after the falcon
L02, 2/11. [...] ..... he being after (?) ... [...]

B06, 1/19. [...] ... [...] ... life (?) [...] ... of the craftsmen (?)
L02, 2/12. [.....] craftsmen of the House of Life and the Khnum-builder gods ... [...]

B06, 1/20. [...] ... [...] companion (?) of the spirits.
L02, 2/13. [...] tutor (?) ... [...]

B06, 1/21. [...] ... on account of ...
L02, 2/14. [...] ... [.....]

Commentary

B07, 1: The line, written as a rubric, is certainly a heading of the composition or section. This is indeed possibly the beginning of the Book of Thoth.

For *tỉ.t sbȝ*, see Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, p. 18.

For *nḫn*, "Kind," see *Glossar*, p. 226. The determinative appears to be the hieratic form of the seated child, Möller, *HP* 3 (number 30, perhaps influenced by number 32). *Nḫn*, designating a child still lacking understanding ("Verstand"), Feucht, *LÄ* 3, col. 430 ("Kind"), occurs especially in connection with schooling or an initiation ceremony; compare Feucht, *Kind*, pp. 239, 374, and 527–30. An example is *wr.w/ỉȝw ḥr sbȝ nḫn*, "the elders teach the young ones," Kruchten, "Un sculpteur des images divines rames-side," in Broze and Talon (eds.), *L'Atelier de l'orfèvre*, p. 109.

Ntnt is *nḏnḏ*, "fragen," *Glossar*, p. 235. *Nḏnḏ-rȝ* is a later form of *nḏ-rȝ*, "jemanden fragen," *Wb.* 2, 382/8.

Wn-ỉmȝ is an epithet of Thoth, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 229. The king may be called the "son of *Wn-ỉmȝ*" (ibid), but the phrase may be applied here to non-royal priests or other individuals. The "son of *Wn-ỉmȝ*" is most likely the subject, and not the object of *ntnt-rȝ*. It may parallel the *nḫn*.

B07, 2: The reading *mky* is secure, but the translation less so. It is presumably *mkỉ*, "to protect," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 471.

The deity Naneferhotep appears also in B02, 8/1; see the note there.

The group following *pȝ*(?) is quite enigmatic. It is probably also a divine name or epithet. One might transliterate *pȝ tȝ ỉr.t*, but this yields no sense.

B07, 3: *ʿby* is probably related to *ỉʿb*, "to unite (with)," noting especially the phrase *ʿb-ḫȝ.t*, "den Leichnam vereinigen (mit d. Erde)," *Wb.* 1, 10/20, rather than *ʿb*, "be pure, purify," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 144.

Ḥ.t=f is plausible, but *ʿby* then lacks a determinative.

We had first read *Nb-ḥtp*, possibly the variant name of Nehmetawy, the companion of Thoth, Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 512. For *Nebet Hetepet*, see also Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 50–53. This is interesting in view of B07, 6 which may in fact mention "four faces." However, *nb.w-ḥtp*, "lords/possessors of offerings," is a certain transliteration. For *nb.w-ḥtp*, see now Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 3, p. 816. The compound occurs again in B07, 9. Significant may be B06, 1/15, where the *nb.w-ḥtp* are possibly identified with the *ḫry-ʿwy*, "assistants." The translation is uncertain, however.

As elsewhere in this composition, we identify *Šȝy* with *šȝʿ.t*, an epithet for Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 988.

B07, 4: *Sḫf-ʿb.w*, i.e., *Sfḫ.t-ʿbw*, the designation of Seshat, *Wb.* 4, 117/6, is otherwise not attested in Demotic. Possibly transliterate *ḫnt* at the beginning of the line.

Ḥȝs.t may well be the same word (*ḫsy*) meaning "ritual" found in B04, 6/1, where it is spelled as *ḫȝs.t*, "necropolis."

ʿq has the older hieratic form of the *ḥb* determinative, Möller, *HP* 3, number 176.

ʿʿy.t is certain.

B07, 5: The reading of the fraction is probable, but its significance cannot be determined. Is the disciple being addressed?

B07, 6: We had earlier transliterated *n grḫ*, but that is unlikely.

B07, 7: We had first read ... *mn* or *ỉrm=w* at the beginning of the line. *Mn* does indeed seem a plausible rendering of the first preserved group.

B07, 8: *ʿḫ* is *ʿḫỉ*, "hochheben," *Wb.* 1, 224/2–7.

We had proposed *Wsỉr* after *ʿ*, but this is uncertain. There may, however, be a divine determinative. Also possible is *wr*, in parallelism to F01.6, 4.

W... may be preferable to *tm*.

Instead of *rʿ*, read perhaps *ỉr=w*.

B07, 9: We had first considered *tbꜣ* or *pr* at the beginning of the line, but *sp-2* now seems preferable, comparing B07, 19.

Add. 19 Instead of *ỉw=k*, one may suggest *ỉr=k*. *ỉr=k mr sḏm=w* could then be translated "may you be one who wishes to hear them." The puzzling group before *ỉw=k* (?) is conceivably a writing of the interrogative particle *ỉn*.

B07, 10: In place of the questionable *hrw*, read perhaps *pꜣ (?) sḫ*.

By is *ḏy*, "to hasten, fly," *Glossar*, pp. 143–44. For *b* as a variant of *f*, see *KHWB*, p. 344.

We understand *tpy* (with the tongue determinative, and not the cobra) to be *dp*, "to taste," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1192.

B07, 11: All that remains of the word beginning the line is the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative.

ỉmy.t is a reasonable reading, but the translation is problematic, since the damaged determinative is unclear. It may be related to the *wn-ỉmꜣ*.

For *tbty*, "ceremony," see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, pp. 84–85 (not in *Glossar*).

St appears to stand for a suffix pronoun such as *s*.

B07, 12: The word following *r* is puzzling. The egg and bird determinatives suggest that it is a term for a young bird. It obviously begins with *ỉ*, and may have an *ꜣ*. Possible is *ỉmj*, "das Junge im Ei," *Wb.* 1, 75/22, comparing also *ỉmt*, "Zögling," *Wb.* 1, 78/16. However, we cannot explain the sign forming the main element of the word, and thus the identification remains tentative. The imagery of swallowing which follows yields sense in combination with this interpretation of *ỉmꜣ* (and note also the title *wn-ỉmꜣ* in B07, 1 and 14). The line may comprise two undefined nouns, each followed by a circumstance present.

The damaged verb after *ỉw=w* may be *thm* or *nhm*.

The traces fit *ʿꜥ*, "sacred animal," *Glossar*, p. 56, well. This may parallel the *ỉmꜣ* (?) earlier in the line.

One might almost read *ʿmʿm* in B07, but this is probably merely *ʿm*.

The writing of *ỉkry* with the snake determinative may be influenced by *ỉqrw*, "eine Schlange," *Wb.* 1, 138/3–4.

B07, 13: We had first read *wn=w* at the beginning of the line, but that is quite doubtful; more likely is *ḏ=w*, "they said."

Swr would be written unlike the examples in *Glossar*, p. 415, and the reading is dubious.

We had also transliterated *st ... nb* after *swr*, but this too is difficult to see. Recent collation suggests *r tr.t* following *st*.

B07, 14: The *slꜣ.w*, "prophets," appear to be the subject of this line. It would be a first present construction.

We understand *ns* as *nỉs*, "rufen," *Wb.* 2, 204/1–19, and not the feminine dative singular *n=s*.

Almost unrecognizable is the writing of *ỉsds*, the epithet of Thoth, *Wb.* 1, 134/10–12 (not in *Glossar*).

N=f would then be the dative, and not, e.g., "1/4." The reading is not secure, and Add. 20
this might also be a bird determinative for *ỉmꜣ.t*.

The end of this line is enigmatic. We had first read in B07 *ỉwn nb wn=f...* and in F01.1 *ỉmw sf n=f ḏ n=f* (?), but these are not very satisfying transliterations.

We identify *ỉmw* with *ỉm*, "Gestalt," *Wb.* 1, 78/1.

ỉ-wn=f or *ỉ-wnn=f* would be a relative form from the verb of existence.

Pꜣe=w in F01.1, 7, is damaged, and the reading thus tentative.

The entire last part of the line appears to be a gloss or explanation of the known designation of Thoth, *wn-ỉmꜣ*.

B07, 15: *Nhsy* is *nhs*, "aufwecken," *Glossar*, p. 222.

Bty, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth in F01.1, 8, may be a variant of *bỉꜣ.t*, "marvelous thing," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 308 (with the feminine ending interpreted as radical).

F01.1, 8: We had earlier read *ḫr sšm n=f*, but *ḫr sšm=f* is perhaps more likely. The word appears to have the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. *Sšm* would be "leiten," *Glossar*, p. 463, and refer to Thoth's guidance of the disciple in this mysterious and dangerous territory.

B07, 16: We have proposed *štꜣ* or *štꜣ.w*, but the transliteration is not certain; our translation assumes that this is *št.t*, "Schrein, Heiligtum," *Glossar*, p. 527. However, there are numerous other plausible meanings for *št*, e.g., "woods," or "district." It seems, in any case, to parallel the "Chamber of Darkness." Other readings such as *ʿt* or *nḫ* do not yield better sense.

The line may describe Thoth who hears the voice of his followers even in such fearsome underworld regions.

B07, 17: Very interesting is the mention of the "dogs of Shait (= Seshat)."

The scribe sometimes writes *b* for *w*, and so *ḥbḥb/bḥbḥ* is *wḥwḥ*, "bellen," *Wb.* 1, 351/10 (Coptic ⲟⲩⲁϩϐⲉϥ, *KHWB*, p. 285).

Šʿy.t is the epithet of Seshat, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 988–89.

F01.1, 10: Read probably *bḥbḥ* instead of *ḥbḥb*.

B07, 18: The speaker obviously wishes to join the disciples (?) or blessed dead.

B07, 19: We had earlier read *ḏ=f*, but this could also be *ḏ n=f*: "say to him (with your mouth)," which gives better sense. It is curious that this is a rubric, and unfortunate that the speaker cannot be confidently identified.

Read possibly *n m rꜣ=k*.

Rꜣ is damaged, but the traces suit this reading.

Nm is the interrogative pronoun, introducing a nominal sentence.

Sb (*sbḥ* in L02, 1/1) is probably *sbi*, "to conduct," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 817-18. This would be then a participle. The statement is similar to that in L01.5, 10/3 *in bs ỉṯ*, "Has the father introduced," where *bs* varies with *sbꜣ* in the other versions of that line.

It is difficult to reconcile the *hrw* in B07 with the *ḫḫ* of C07.1 and L02. Certainly, a scribe might read a Demotic writing of *ḫḫ* as *ḥꜣ*, which could become then *hꜣ* (= *hrw*). However, such an explanation is not very convincing.

Pry ṯy is a secure reading. Still, the translation is difficult. Significantly, both C07.1 and L02 offer *gꜣy* or *gr*. Nevertheless, both may be easily understood as being in error for *pry*, that is, *pw tr*, "what is?" *Wb.* 1, 506/2-8. The sign for *g* is quite similar to that for *p* in both hieratic and Demotic. Moreover the notched branch (Gardiner M4) is much more appropriate to *pry* than to *gry*. Finally, this interrogative *pry* would then reasonably parallel the previous question initiated by *nm*.

ṯy is probably therefore the second person dependent pronoun, acting as the subject, Gardiner, *EG*, p. 406 (paragraph 497).

C07.1, 16: This version seems to offer a variant: "Seek for yourself form by form!" The advice is suited to the disciple, where the "form" might refer to the forms of Thoth or the different kinds of scribal knowledge.

L02, 1/1: *M* is the older interrogative pronoun, *m*, "who, what," *Wb.* 2, 4/3-13. It parallels the Demotic *nm*, "who," *Glossar*, p. 218, in B07. Perhaps *ỉn* preceded *m*.

Sbḥ would then be the imperfect participle following the *m*, Gardiner, *EG*, p. 406 (paragraph 496).

Ḫḥ is *ḫḫ*, "suchen," *Wb.* 3, 151/3-152/4, which is rare in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 328. We render as an imperative, but the grammar is not certain.

The reading *gr* is difficult to avoid, comparing *g* in Möller, *HP* 3, p. 38, number 395, and *p*, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 37, number 388. However, *gr*, especially with the determinative Gardiner Sign-list M4, is not attested. As already mentioned, we think that this is probably a scribal error for *pw*, "who," *Wb.* 1, 506/2-8.

Perhaps *ṯy* is to be restored in the lacuna, paralleling B07.

The line concludes with a nominalized perfect participle construction. On the basis of F14, 1, one might want to read *ms rḫ* in L02, 1/1. However, this does not seem possible. The traces resemble *nh* or *nhꜣ*, but the *h* would have a Demotic form, and the translation remains insecure. Does this phrase *ms nh* refer to Thoth or Imhotep? The situation implies that the speaker is a deity addressing the disciple, the *mr-rḫ*. Still, it is problematic, given that the name of the speaker is not well preserved.

B07, 20: The *mr-rḫ*, the disciple, introduces himself. Here is the best evidence that this column represents the beginning of the Book of Thoth. The interpretation of the line is not absolutely secure, but the disciple apparently declares his intention of "seeking out" the specialized knowledge of the Ibis, that is, Thoth.

Perhaps read *ỉnky* in place of *ỉnk*.

The old *ḥm.wt-rꜣ*, "Spruch, Zaubersprucht," *Wb.* 3, 85/1-2, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 646-47, is not in *Glossar*, although it may be connected with the Demotic *ḥmr*, as noted by Wilson, ibid. See also Ritner, *Magical Practice*, p. 43; *KHWB*, p. 373. Interesting is the spelling *ḥm'l.w* in C07.1, 17, which closely approximates the Coptic ϩⲙⲏⲣ.

As in the previous line, the statement concludes with a perfect participle. The best preserved determinative in L02 confirms that the verb is *snḫ*, "binden," *Glossar*, p. 439. This may refer to the activity of Thoth against the enemies of Osiris.

F01, 1: *Gmgm* may be "zerbrechen," *Wb.* 5, 172/8-11, but see also the note on *gmgm* in B02, 3/2.

L02, 1/2: *Pꜣe=f* is the probable reading, but difficult to translate. *Pꜣ ỉr ḫḫ=f*, "the one who sought him," yields better sense, and is a possible alternative.

B07, 21: This line is a warning, presumably to the disciple, not to approach certain sacred locations without prior knowledge about them.

B07 has *bn-ỉw* (= *mn*), where C07.1 has *m-ỉr*. In Akhmimic this is the vetitive, being the counterpart to the more common *m-ỉr*, *KHWB*, p. 93. This form may also occur in P. Dodgson, line 10, and verso, line 16 (suggestion of Zauzich); for the text see Martin, "The Child Born in Elephantine," in Bresciani (ed.), *Acta Demotica*, pp. 199–212; idem, in Porten (ed.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, pp. 339–45; de Cenival, "Le Papyrus Dodgson," *RdE* 38 (1987): 3–11.

Thm is *thm*, "einladen," *Glossar*, p. 650. There are, however, other possible translations of *thm*, since the root meaning is "to penetrate," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1148–49.

The various versions confirm the reading *tpḥ.t* here, although B07 is damaged. *Tpḥ.t*, "Höhle, Loch," *Glossar*, p. 628, appears also in C02.1, 10, and C04.11, 5. The sense of the word in this context is obscure; it may designate a chapel in a temple, *Wb.* 5, 366/1. It is possible, although not probable, that *tpḥ.t* is a variant of *tp-ḥ.t*, "roof," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1137.

The antecedent of *s* in *gy=s* is *tpḥ.t*.

F01, 2: *Tr.t* is, of course, "hand," but, if taken in parallelism to *tpḥ.t*, it may stand for *ḏry.t*, "shrine, chapel," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1341-42.

L02, 1/3: Preserved is the determinative of *thm*, noting *Wb.* 5, 321.

This version preserved the circumstantial converter before *b-rḫ=k*.

As in B07, L02 also uses *bn* or *bn-ỉw* where the other versions have the vetitive *m-ỉr*.

C07.1, 19: The *b* of *bnypy* is slightly damaged.

F01, 3: The "throat of iron" parallels the "throat of copper" in the next line.

L02, 1/4: This line deals with the vocalisation, presumably in honor of Thoth, by animals sacred to that deity. It appears to be a nominal sentence.

Read possibly *nꜣ ḥb.w*, "the ibises," at the beginning of the preserved line.

The apparent house determinative after *ỉnr* suggests that this is not simply "stone" (although see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 85). The transliteration is uncertain.

Mḥw, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, is probably "sich sorgen ma-

chen um," *Wb.* 2, 120/13–16. It may be the epithet of Thoth, *mḥy*, *Wb.* 2, 127/3, but the expected divine determinative is lacking; see also Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 3, p. 377.

Nꜣy may be the plural copula.

iḥty.t is *ḥty.t*, "Kehle," *Wb.* 3, 181/4–16. There is an obvious connection with the *šnb.t*, "throat," of the following line.

L02, 1/5: The speaker (the disciple?) wishes to join in the barking of his interlocutors or audience (deities?), who are conceived of as sacred dogs.

The significance of the phrase "throat with a throat of copper" is unclear. "Throat of copper" is clearly identical with *šnb.t*, "Trompete," *Wb.* 4, 514/6–7 (with the copper determinative). The trumpet may be used here as a cultic instrument. *Šnb.t*, "throat, breast," is not rare in epithets, cf. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 7, pp. 102–03.

The book-roll determinative is unusual for *ḥnꜥ*.

F01, 5: The determinative of the word lost in the lacuna before *...=y* fits *ḥwy*, "to strike," and may possibly parallel the *ḥꜣw... [...]* of L02. Still, there are many other possibilities.

F14, 6: The transliteration *ll* is probable, and one thinks of "Knabe," *Glossar*, p. 262, or *rr.t*, "Amme," *Wb.* 2, 439/8.

L02, 1/6: This seems to be a circumstantial clause, possibly with the *mꜣw* as predicate.

The *ꜣḫ.w.w ỉqr*, "excellent spirits," have also appeared in L01.5, 10/19 ("the ferry of the excellent spirits").

Mꜣw is the noun "thoughts," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 401–02, or the spelling of the verb *mꜣꜣ*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 401, *Wb.* 2, 34/3–21. While this does appear to be a circumstantial clause, the grammar remains obscure; *mꜣw* may be a noun, an infinitive, or stative form.

Unfortunately, the determinative of *ḥꜣw* remains a problem.

F01, 6: The *Ḥs-rḫ* questions the disciple concerning ritual activities in the House of Life. This interrogative mode continues through several lines.

Sty is "to burn (incense)," *Wb.* 4, 330/8 (Greek Period), or "werfen," *Glossar*, p. 475.

The reading *ḫnš.w* is secure, but the force of *ḫnš*, "to stink," *Glossar*, p. 363, is not evident. The determinative is unclear.

L02, 1/7: Again, the problem is the force of the "stinking bulls." One wonders whether the author alludes here to another meaning of *kꜣ*, e.g., *kꜣ*, "name," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1079. *Ḫnš* would certainly be an appropriate adjective for "name."

The *m* indicates that there is a slight variation between L02 and F01 with F14.

F01, 7: The traces before *in* are difficult. The first preserved signs in the line appear to be *n* and *k*, but the following sign may not be the arm-with-a-stick. *Nt* seems to follow this, but certainty is impossible.

L02, 1/8: The word with the seated man and plural strokes determinatives resists secure interpretation. One can propose that the noun be read as *sꜣt.t* (or *sꜣ.ty*), and identify this with *sꜣw.ty*, "Wächter," *Wb.* 3, 418/7–11. Indeed, perhaps understand "Do you not have guardians?" (*ỉn mtw=k sꜣt.t*) in parallelism with the following statement.

The deity presses the disciple concerning a "place," and seems to demand that he pay attention (but to what?).

Ty, "here," may refer to the House of Life.

Interesting is the spatium found only in L02.

F01, 8: The deity continues his questioning of the disciple.

He first queries the disciple as to whether the "father" (= Thoth himself?) has sent him.

Shy, with the falling soldier determinative (Gardiner Z6), may be *shy*, "fliehen, umkehren," *Glossar*, p. 444; Thissen, *Harfenspieler*, p. 62.

F14, 9: *Šw* is "geeignet, würdig," *Glossar*, p. 493.

L02, 1/9: The sign after the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative of *sbꜣ* seems to be a bird, and we suggest *nḫ*, comparing Möller, *HP* 3, p. 21, number 229. If so, then the vertical sign must be *ḥ*, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 50, number 525. This is, however, different from the certain example of *ḥ* in L02, 1/2. Indeed, it rather resembles the throw-stick, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 44, number 457. Other possibilities, such as the *tyw*-bird, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 17, number 191, do not seem to yield better sense (*sbꜣ.tyw*?). We therefore propose the reading *nḫyr*, and identify this word with *nḥr*, "gleichkommen, nicht nachstehen," *Wb* 2, 298/1–10; "be like, resemble," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 535. *Nḥr* generally has the walking-legs determinative, as would be the case in L02. The grammar remains obscure; *nḫyr* may be a participle.

Tfy is the possessive adjective.

While one would naturally first transcribe *pb*[...], this sequence of consonants is not likely in Egyptian (unless *p* stands for the definite article *pꜣ*?). We suggest rather *š*, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 25, number 274. The lack of a preserved determinative prevents certainty, but possible are *šbw*, "food offerings," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 997–98 or *šb.t*, "Belohnung," *Glossar*, p. 497; "Bezahlung," *Wb.* 4, 436/15–16. A plausible rendering of *sbꜣ nḫyr tfy šb* would be, for example, "a learned one who is comparable to his compensation." Given the interaction between *b* and *w*, the *šb* of L02 may parallel the *šw* of F14, 9.

F01, 9: The disciple now confirms that he knows the proper ceremonies connected with the House of Life, here apparently referred to as the Chamber of Darkness.

Btyḫ is a form of *wtḫ*, "Gefäss," *Glossar*, p. 107, but the negative determinative is puzzling. On the use of *b* for *w*, see the note on F01, 10.

The determinative suggests the restoration *ꜥ.t-kky*.

ỉyty is *ỉt*, "Mangel," *Glossar*, p. 13. *Pꜣe=w ỉyty* is literally, "their lack." Still, this may be an unorthographic writing of one of the words spelled *pꜣwt*, e.g., "primeval being," or "cake offering," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 342–44. The use of the second tense in L02 implies that *n* should be understood before *pꜣe=w ỉyty*.

L02, 1/10: The first preserved sign may well be the falling soldier determinative (Gardiner Z6), which suggests that this is parallel to the *btyḥ.w* of F01, 8, which also has this determinative.

F01, 10: Here one can clearly see that the scribe employs *b* for *w*, since *wtḥ*, "pour," *Wb.* 1, 393/6–13, is obviously intended.

ʿntṯy is *ʿnṯ*, "Räucherwerk," *Glossar*, p. 65. This is basically the same phrase as is found a few lines earlier in F01, 6, although the reading of *tỉ=y* is suspect.

Škyk is *šgg*, "Begier, Verlangen," *Glossar*, p. 526. This would be a first present construction.

L02, 1/11: Little more can be said about this line than that it does seem to parallel F01, 10.

The determinative of *sty* is preserved, Möller, *HP* 3, number 597.

As in L02, 1/1, *gr* may be a mistake for *pr*, the interrogative pronoun.

Ḥtỉ is probably *ḥt*, "Gewand," *Glossar*, p. 337.

ỉwt, "without," is but one possibility of transcription for the last few preserved signs.

B06, 1/1: The god then apparently describes certain beings (the sacred ibises?) associated with the House of Life or the Chamber of Darkness together with their mode of life.

Tỉ=y may be a variant of *ty*, "here," clearly found in F01, 11.

We take *nṯ.w-ḫtḫt* to be an adjective verb, identified with דעזסע, "einschneiden," *KHWB*, p. 333. Other possibilities are *ḫtḫṯ*, "drive away," and *ḫtḫṯ*, "to pound," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 758–59; *ḫtḫṯ*, "untersuchen," *Glossar*, p. 398, which can also have a falling soldier determinative (Gardiner Z6). However, the resulting translations are not very satisfying.

F01, 11: This mention of ibises (*ḥb.w*) may refer back to the use of *ḥb*, "to send," in F01, 8.

L02, 1/11: The determinative of *ḫtḫṯ* in L02 does imply *ḫtḫṯ*, "drive away."

B06, 1/2: These beings evidently live a Spartan life.

Tʿy.w or *tṯ.w* is *tṯ*, "Brot," *Glossar*, p. 600.

Thy is *thw*, "sich betrinken," *Glossar*, p. 653.

Ths is *ths*, "salben," *Glossar*, p. 653.

Sgn is "Salbe," *Glossar*, p. 469.

C01, 1: There are traces of another column to the left of this one, but nothing can be read.

Sy is "satt werden," *Glossar*, p. 407.

F01, 12: *Sy* is written with the pellet and plural strokes.

The following damaged word appears to end with the pellet and plural determinatives; it may be *tʿy.w*, "bread."

F14, 13: *Bks* may be *bgs*, "throat," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 336, although *bks*, "sich empören, Aufruhr," is written, *Glossar*, p. 125. We understand this as a first present construction, where *f* refers to the deity. "Throats" were already mentioned in this column in L02, 1/5.

L02, 1/13: Although one would like to have a spelling of *bks* also in this version, the traces do not seem to fit this word. Perhaps one might read *bṯ[...]. Bwt*, however, still seems to be the most probable transliteration.

B06, 1/3: The determinative of the word towards the beginning of the line may be the hieratic form of the tree hieroglyph, Möller, *HP* 3, number 266. The word is feminine and concludes with the house sign (*nh.t*?).

The determinative suggests *ššr*, "Dämon," *Glossar*, p. 457, but this may be an unorthographic writing of *šḫr*, "papyrus-document," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 908.

B06, 1/4: The author may describe either the food of the deity or, less likely, a kind of *Mischwesen*.

The preserved trace is the tail of the snake of *ḥf*, while *tp* is a reasonable reading of the group before *spṯ.w*.

We had earlier read *n* before *spṯ.w*, but that is doubtful.

Spṯ.w, with the flesh determinative, is *spt*, "Lippen," *Glossar*, p. 428.

Ḥtp, with the pellet and plural strokes, is *ḥtp*, "Speise, Opfer," *Glossar*, p. 339.

ʿq is strangely treated as a feminine; it is virtually always masculine, *Glossar*, p. 73, and may be an error for the *ḫrṯ.t*, "food," of C01 and F01.

L02, 1/14–15: This is evidently a second tense construction with *rṯ.w* as subject. The meaning remains unclear.

Hỉy is *hy*, "jauchzen, jubeln," *Wb.* 2, 483/1–13.

ʿ may be "Esel," *Wb.* 1, 165/6–11; *Glossar*, pp. 54–55.

Nỉy.w may be the plural copula (or possessive adjective?). One wonders, however, whether *ʿ nỉy.w* may not stand for *ʿn.w*, "baboons," *Glossar*, p. 56.

The determinative of the word tentatively read here as *g.w* is the basket with the grain, Möller, *HP* 3, number 470. This interpretation is very tentative, since no such word with this determinative is attested in the lexica. Alternatively, we may transliterate *tgṯ.w*, which could be identified with *dqr*, "Frucht," *Wb.* 5, 495/8 - 496/1; *tgy*, *Glossar*, p. 662.

B06, 1/5–6: The deity continues his interrogation of the disciple.

Pṯ ỉmw bb has the appearance of an epithet. *Bb* is most likely *bỉbṯ.t*, "Stelle des Flusses, aus der man trinkt," or the designation of the Nile inundation waters, *Wb.* 1, 419/6–8. The following line does indeed deal with water. Instead of the vocative, we could also understand *ʿnḫ (n) pṯ ỉmw bb n 7,000*, "(Will you be able) to live (from) the one who is in the water source of 7,000?"

The sign before *n 7,000* is problematic; it resembles most the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. On the symbolic meaning of 7,000, see the notes on B02, 4/9, and L01 (V.T.), x+3/3. There may be a connection with Xois.

L02, 1/16: The traces at the beginning of the line might also be interpreted as 7,000, but this is quite uncertain.

Does the *pṯe=w* refer back to the 7,000? Even so, what that number denotes is obscure.

We have rendered *šms.w* as the infinitive; note the ending in *.w*.

Again, there is a spatium here.

B06, 1/6–7: The disciple now describes cleaning or purification rituals, which presumably precede his actual use of scribal materials.

Y'y is *y'*, "waschen," *Glossar*, p. 48.

Pys is *ps*, "water pot of scribe," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 370–71.

Nhy, with the sail determinative, is possibly *nh*, "beseitigen," *Wb.* 2, 280/13; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 527–28. Given the determinative, a meaning "to blow" would be appropriate, but no such Egyptian verb is forthcoming.

ḫyḫ is *ḫyḫ*, "Staub," *Glossar*, p. 349.

The *ḥn.w* are presumably boxes or chests for papyri, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 606.

C01, 6: *Mḥ* is the most likely reading, but we can offer no translation.

F01, 17: We render *sp*, with an apparent object, as ϲωπ, "eintauchen," *KHWB*, p. 192 (not in *Glossar*).

L02, 1/17: The *s* after the break probably belongs to *pys*. The jar is the determinative.

'y is more attractive than *'b*, but no translation can be offered.

B06, 1/8: The disciple continues his description of cultic rituals, here involving torches, connected with the House of Life.

Ḏ3by, with the brazier determinative, is *ḏb.t*, "(Holz)kohle," *Glossar*, p. 677.

Instead of *gs* read perhaps *g.t*.

L02, 2/1: The first sign does seem to be Gardiner U17 (pick excavating a pool), Möller, *HP* 3, p. 45, number 467.

B06, 1/9: *Hlg* is probably *ḫlg*, "umarmen," *Glossar*, p. 328.

We identify *tby* with *tby.t*, "Kasten," *Glossar*, p. 622.

C01, 7: We can propose no convincing identification of *st'y*, with the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative. It is possibly a variant of *s3-t3*, "to adore," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 785.

'ny may be a writing of *'n*, "tablet, writing-board," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 153. For the form of *'n*, cf. *'n*, "schön ist," *Glossar*, p. 62.

B06, 1/10: *Mtry.t* seems certain, but the wood determinative suggests that another translation than "instruction" is necessary.

L02, 2/3: The reading *wn* is questionable.

B06, 1/11: *Wyt* may be *wty*, "Stele," *Glossar*, p. 105, but the determinative is lost.

L02, 2/4: The parallel appears secure, especially because of the *y*, which strongly suggests *fy*. However, the individual readings are not certain. The determinatives of *fy* are difficult, and the proposed *b3* bird tentative. It may be preferable to read *[f]y n3 b3.w*.

B06, 1/12: The deity questions the disciple regarding a dream.

Rsw seems to have the sail determinative, and thus "Traum," *Glossar*, p. 255, is most likely.

Pry may be the interrogative pronoun (old *pw tr*, *Wb.* 1, 506/2–8). Of course, *pry* also has the meaning, "dream," *Glossar*, p. 136; see also Ray, "Phrases used in Dream-texts," in Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, p. 89.

L02, 2/5: This line is also mysterious. In L02, 1/1, *gr* is apparently written for the interrogative *pw*. One is therefore tempted to understand here a form of *pw tr s*, which is very close to the *pry st (?)* of B06, 1/12. *'t* would then be "chamber," which fits well the sense of the following passage.

B06, 1/13: The disciple recounts his dream.

We have read *nmsy*, but the *n* is dubious. The word appears to lack a determinative; this is perhaps rather the prepositional phrase *m-s3=y*? The disciple may describe the circumstances in which he had the dream.

Tp ḫty, with the sail determinative after *ḫty*, is presumably associated with *ḫt tw*, "Mastbaum," *Glossar*, p. 370. Given the difficult sense, one wonders whether the group written as *tp ḫty* is not an error of *in-qty*, as is clearly written in L02, 2/6.

Similarly *iw=k (?) wwy* is very possibly a reinterpretation of *ḫwy* or *ḫwy=k* as is preserved in L02, 2/6. One might even read *ḫwy* in B06, 1/13.

L02, 2/6: The poor condition of L02 is unfortunate, since it may have preserved a more intelligible version than B06.

Qdy is *qd*, "schlafen," *Wb.* 5, 78/11–14. While the *k* can obviously be the suffix pronoun, we have interpreted it here as the stative first person ending.

in n' is almost certainly a writing of the stative form of *n'*, "gehen," often written *in-n'* in Demotic, *Glossar*, pp. 207–08. The apparent *k* may be a stative ending, as in *qd.k*.

B06, 1/14: The disciple may have had his dream at a specific chapel designed for incubation.

T3 glg.t at the end of the line is not secure; we take it to be a form of *grg.t*, "Ansiedlung," *Wb.* 5, 188/14–15. But could this be *str.t*, "sleeping-place," *Glossar*, p. 481?

L02, 2/7: The animal skin determinative suggests that this was parallel to the *k3*, "bull," of B06, 1/14. However, the preserved signs preceding the determinative are hard to reconcile with *k3*.

Gr (?) is probably parallel to the *glg.t* (?) of B06.

B06, 1/15: It is strange that the *Ḥs-rḫ* speaks in two consecutive lines without interruption by the *mr-rḫ*. The text may not be in order.

Read possibly *ḫry-'.wy n3=w nb.w-ḥtp*, "The assistants are their possessors of offerings." The phrase *ḫry-'.wy nb.w-ḥtp* occurs also in V01, 3/13.

L02, 2/8: It is significant, perhaps, that there is a spatium in L02. It may mark the end of one section. Unfortunately, B06 is damaged at this point.

B06, 1/16: The deity may still speak, although the statement would also yield sense in the mouth of the disciple. The recently recognized L02 suggests that the disciple is indeed the speaker.

L02, 2/9: The parallel seems strong.

The reading of *ỉr* is probable, but our inability to decipher the sign beneath it renders it less certain. The statement in L02 may also have been: "I shall act as a baboon therein (or 'among them')."

B06, 1/17: The book-roll determinative is preserved after the lacuna.

Tỉ=y ḥ‘=k may also be a first present: "I stand" (reading then *ḥ‘.k*).

L02, 2/10: The parallel is once more convincing between L02 and B06.

The signs before the book-roll determinative seem to be Möller, *HP* 3, p. 4, number 46 (Gardiner sign-list 47 or 48, "shepherd or beardless man holding knife"). There is a word *ỉry.w*, "records," but this only appears to occur in the compound *ḥ.t ỉry.w*, "Mansion of Records," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 627. *Ḥ.t* does not seem very likely in L02.

L02, 2/11: While *ms* can be read in L02, this would not be the usual spelling of *m-sỉ*, where one expects the *sỉ* sign.

B06, 1/19: After the lacuna, there may be a place name with a feminine ending.

ỉwy has the book-roll determinative, but the translation is difficult.

Ḥm.w is preferable to *šn.w*.

L02, 2/12: L02 provides here very interesting evidence.

The "craftsmen" are explicitly associated with the House of Life in this line, an association only suggested in other passages in the Book of Thoth.

Ḫnm.w are most probably the *ḫnm.w*, "builder gods," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 768–69. They are naturally also found together with Seshat, Budde, *Seschat*, pp. 153–55.

B06, 1/20: This may be *[ḥ.t] ỉry.w*, "mansion of records," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 627 (associated with Seshat), but one could also read *mn-ỉry.t*, "nurse." *Ḥ.t ỉry* is attested in B04, 2/1.

L02, 2/13: The clear *ỉry.w* of B06 suggests that this is perhaps *mn‘.t-ỉry.w*, "nurses."

Column 2 of B06

Transliteration

B06, 2/1 *nỉ.w ṯ nỉe=w ỉwf.w tỉ=y n=w […]* (B06.1) *[…] sḫsḫ nỉ.w pr-‘nḫ*
L02, 2/15 *[…]…… ỉwf.w …… n=w p ……ỉ […]*

B06, 2/2 *nỉ-nḫt=st nỉ sḫ.w nỉ … pr (?) … pỉy (?) … […]* (B06.1) *[…] ḥỉt=w (?) my sḏm=y (?)*
L02, 2/16 *[……]… p …… […….]*

B06, 2/3 *mt=y my syt n w‘.t ntr.t (?) […]* (B06.1) *[…] r-ḏbỉ nḫt.t (?) bn-ỉw=y ḥs*
C07.5, 1 *[…] mỉ.t=y … […]*
L02, 2/17 *[…]… n=y w‘ ntr.t (?) ḏbỉ (?) nḫ[…]*

B06, 2/4 *r-ḥr=y r-ḏbỉ šgyg […]* (B06.1) *[…]… wny […]*
C07.5, 2 *[…]… ‘ỉ pỉ ḥ‘[…]*

B06, 2/5 *nỉe=w tr.t pỉ ḥn … šft […]* (B06.1) *[…] ḥmsy […]*
C07.5, 3–4 *[…]…… nỉ šft […] / […]… […]*

B06, 2/6 *w‘.t tpy.t m rỉ … ỉw=w sl[ỉ …]* (B06.1) *[…]… nỉ ỉmy.w […]*
F01.2, 1 *[…… ỉmy].w hỉ sp- 2*
C07.5, 5 *[……] ỉmy.w hỉ sp-2*

B06, 2/7 *ntr.w … w ḥ … mtw nỉ […]* (B06.1) *[…] tỉ.t ḏ=w rn.w […]*
F01.2, 2 *[……].w nt tỉ.t ḏ=w rn.w m*
C07.5, 6 *[……]… nt … tỉ.t ḏ=w rn.w m […]*

B06, 2/8 *tỉ ỉypn mtw=y (?) s‘nḫ … […]* (B06.1) *[……] psḏ.t ‘ỉ.t …*
F01.2, 2–3 *tỉ ỉy[pn …] / […….]… n tỉ psḏ.t ‘ỉ.t*
C07.5, 7 *[……]mt n tỉ psḏ.t … […]*

B06, 2/9 *nt tỉ.t … ḫr‘… […* (B06.1) *ḥ].t ntr.w r nỉ[e.w (?) …]*
F01.2, 4 *[…… s]ty nỉ ḥ.t ntr.w*
C07.5, 8 *[……] sty n nỉ ḥ.wt ntr.w (?) […]*

B06, 2/10 *ỉwỉw nỉe.w ‘n.w ḥ‘=y […]* (B06.1) … *n rḫ-ỉḫy*
F01.2, 5 *[…]…*
C07.5, 9 *[…… rḫ-ỉḫy.w*

B06, 2/11 *… wỉt r tỉ ỉỉw.t … […]* (B06.1) *[…] m-sỉ rmp.t …*
F01.2, 6 *[……]… tỉ ỉỉw.t …*
C07.5, 10 *[…]… r tỉ ỉỉw.t …… […]*

B06, 2/12 *… […]* (B06.2) … *[…]* (B06.1) *[…] ḫfn … […]*
F01.2, 7 *[…]… sḫy*
C07.5, 11 *[…]… sḫy*

B06, 2/13 *ḫỉ.t sỉ.t (?) … […]* (B06.2) … *r […]*
F01.2, 8 *[…]… […]*
C07.5, 12 *[…] ḫỉ.t sỉ.t (?)*

B06, 2/14 *nỉ ms.w n sbỉ nỉ nt mn […]* (B06.2) *ws […]*

B06, 2/15 *ỉw … ḫr … r …* (B06.2) … *my ỉr=y (?) […]*

B06, 2/16 *ty (?) ⌜nỉ nt ỉm …⌝* (B06.2) … *w nỉ ỉy[ḫy.w (?) …]*

B06, 2/17 *ḫmt r … iḫ … […]* (B06.2) *f … y … […]*

B06, 2/18 *iw=y r (?) hb ꜣḫ iw=y* (B06.2) *skꜣ (?) my […]*

B06, 2/19 *ḏ […] … ir.t* (B06.2) *=w sḏm=y (?) […]*

B06, 2/20 *… =s r ḫftḥ* (B06.2) *nꜣ iyḫy.w m … ṯ=f … […]*

B06, 2/21 *glp=f r tꜣ sḫ.t* (B06.2) *nꜣ ḏtfy.w m … sḫ mꜣꜣ* (or *ir.t?*) *[…]*

Translation

B06, 2/1. … take their flesh (?), I gave to them … […] the ones of the House of Life to hurry.
L02, 2/15. […] ..... flesh ..... to them .....[…]

B06, 2/2. They are difficult, namely, the writings, the … […] their hearts (?). Let me hear (?)!
L02, 2/16. […] ..... […]

B06, 2/3. Let me speak! Give praise to a god[dess (?) …] on account of strength! I will not praise
C07.5, 1. […] my … […]
L02, 2/17. […] … to me (?) a goddess (?) on account of (?) … […]

B06, 2/4. regarding myself on account of the desire […] … […]
C07.5, 2. […] … great the life-time (?) […]

B06, 2/5. before the case (of the?) book-roll […] to sit […]
B06, 2/6 and F01.2, 1. an utterance with the mouth … they prophesiz[ing …] … the ones who are in their time, twice (?) […]
B06, 2/7 and F01.2, 2. gods … They are the ones who cause that they say their names in

B06, 2/8 and F01.2, 2–3. this land and I (?) cause to live … […] … of the great Ennead.

B06, 2/9 and F01.2, 4. Which (or "who") gives … […] praise (to) the chapters of the gods, the[se (?) …]

B06, 2/10 and F01.2, 5. dogs, these baboons. I have stood … […] … as a wise one.

B06, 2/11 and F01.2, 6. … to be different (?) from the cattle (?) … […] after a year …

B06, 2/12 and F01.2, 7. […] … […] myriads (?) … […] …

B06, 2/13 and F01.2, 8. before (?) a daughter (?) … […] … […]

B06, 2/14. the children of the teaching (are) the ones who remain […] … […]

B06, 2/15. to come … to … let me make (?) […]

B06, 2/16. praise (?) ⌜the ones who are there⌝ … the sp[irits (?) …]

B06, 2/17. … […] … […]

B06, 2/18. I will (?) tread a field. I will cultivate (?). Let […]

B06, 2/19. to say […] … their eyes … I heard (?) […]

B06, 2/20. … opposite (?) … the spirits in his … […]

B06, 2/21. May he reveal the field, the reptiles in … writing, to see (?) […]

Commentary

B06, 2/1: *Nꜣ.w ṯ nꜣe=w iwf.w* is secure, although we had earlier considered *nꜣ.w mw.w* at the beginning. However, the syntax of this sentence and the connection with the previous line are obscure.

Nꜣ.w may be: 1. the copula 2. the possessive prefix 3. a spelling of the imperfect converter (for *wn-nꜣ.w iw=w?*) 4. a writing of *nꜣ i-ir*, i.e., a past participle construction.

There may be another word between *iwf.w* and *ti=y*.

Sḫsḫ, "to run, hasten," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 909–10 (understood as a reduplicated form of *sḫ*, "to beat," which explains the arm-with-a-stick determinative) is the best transliteration.

We render *nꜣ.w* before *pr-ꜥnḫ* as a possessive prefix.

Pr-ꜥnḫ is written in an abbreviated fashion, but the basic elements are there.

B06, 2/2: *Nꜣ-nḫt* would be an adjective verb.

St is written for *sn*.

Instead of the copula *pꜣy*, the sign may be the animal skin determinative.

The following signs are also enigmatic; perhaps *gm* or *ꜥ.t*.

L02, 2/16: There seems to be a word denoting, perhaps, verbal aggression in this line. It concludes with the man holding a stick and the man-with-hand-to-mouth.

B06, 2/3: We equate *syt* with *syt*, "Ruhm, Lob," *Glossar*, p. 409.

Ntr.t, "Göttin," *Glossar*, pp. 233–34, is uncertain, since the phrase *n wꜥ.t ntr.t* is awkward. It may be preferable to read *wnw.t*, "Stunde," *Glossar*, p. 90.

For the writing of the preposition *r-ḏbꜣ*, compare B06, 2/4.

For *nḫt.t* after *r-ḏbꜣ*, see *Glossar*, p. 226.

Bn-ỉw=y seems to be written, but the presumed *bn* may in fact be the seated person (or goddess?) determinative of the previous word, in which case the positive *ỉw=y* is to be read: "I will praise."

C07.5, 1: *Mỉ.t=y* is quite insecure; the parallel is uncertain.

L02, 2/17: The parallel here is a strong one.
The apparent dative is not in B06.
Ntr.t would be written with the goddess determinative, Möller, *HP* 3, p. 5, number 61.

B06, 2/4: Given the following preposition, *wny* may be *wnỉ*, "to hurry," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 229.

B06, 2/5: *Nỉe=w tr.t* is possibly the compound preposition *nỉy tr.t*, "vor," *Glossar*, p. 644.
Šft is "sacred book," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1006; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 145.

B06, 2/6: *Tpy.t m rỉ* seems to be related to *tp.t-rỉ*, "Ausspruch," see *Wb.* 5, 287/13–16; Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1136.

F01.2, 1: We understand the plural signs to belong to *ỉmy.w*, while *hỉ*, with the road-sign, is clearly *hỉ*, "time," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 599. One notes the compound *ỉmy hỉw=f*, "der jeweilige," *Wb.* 2, 478/10.

B06, 2/7: This line is a nominalized relative clause.

B06, 2/8: *Sʿnḫ* may be either literal, "to sustain," or figurative, "to make (the name) live," or a statue "come to life," *Wb.* 4, 46/4–47/13.

F01.2, 3: The preserved determinative of the word lost in the break is ambiguous; it may be the child (*ms.w*?) or the metal determinative (term for a statue?).

B06, 2/9: *Ḫrʿ* is doubtful; perhaps *r*...
The *ḥ.t* is restored on the basis of F01.2, 4; the word seems to have the place determinative followed by a feminine *t*.

F01.2, 4: We have restored [*s*]*ty* and identified this with *syt*, "Ruhm."

B06, 2/11: The first sign is puzzling. We had first read *ỉn*, "to bring," but this would be a strange writing. There may be some deceptive damage, and merely *tỉe=w* or similar is to be transliterated. We now think it is probably the book-roll determinative (Schriftdeterminativ).
Wỉt is most probable, and not *wḏỉ.t*. Given the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, this is most likely *wt*, "verschieden sein, besser sein," *Glossar*, p. 104.
Rnp.t, "year," *Glossar*, pp. 250–51, is more probable than *s.t*, "place." After the feminine *.t* of *rnp.t*, there seems to be a plural sign, but this may be a numeral (7,000?).

F01.2, 6: Unfortunately, the determinative of *ỉỉw.t* is unclear; it appears to be "cattle," rather than "office." The last word seems to be *kỉ.t*, concluding with the close-cartouche. This may be a spelling of *kỉ*, "name," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1079, but that is very uncertain. Alternatively, *ỉbty.w*, "kings of Lower Egypt," *Wb.* 1, 435/9, *Glossar*, p. 27, may have been intended. This interpretation assumes that the scribe wrote a somewhat faulty bee-sign, Möller, *HP* 3, number 260, and that an aleph is written for the *tyw*-bird.

F01.2, 7: *Sby* may have the walking-legs determinative (*sbỉ*, "to go," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 817) or the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative (*sby*, "to laugh," *Glossar*, p. 421).

B06, 2/13: *Ḫỉ.t* may be rather *ḫỉ.t=f*.
Sỉ.t resembles the examples in *Glossar*, pp. 402–03, but the meaning is obscure and the reading questionable. The group is similar to that found in the beginning of L02, 1/8.

B06, 2/14: A similar phrase, *ms.w nw sbỉ=k*, occurs in B02, 7/4.
Restore perhaps *ws*[*tn*] or *ws*[*ḥ.t*].

B06, 2/15: *ỉw*, "kommen," is possible, *Glossar*, pp. 20–21.

B06, 2/17: *Ḫmt* may be for *ḫnmt*, "nurse."

B06, 2/18: *Hb* is *ḥb*, "betreten," *Wb.* 2, 485/12–486/6 (not in *Glossar*).
ỉḫ is not certain.
Skỉ is tentative.

B06, 2/19: One may read *ḏ=f* at the beginning of this line.
We had first transliterated *sḏm=w*, but *sḏm=y* is preferable; compare B06, 2/2.

B06, 2/20: *Ḫftḥ* has the place determinative; either "vor, voran," or "Vorhof des Tempels," *Glossar*, pp. 353–54, is possible.

B06.4, Column 1

Transliteration

1/1 [...]... *pry*
1/2 [...]*y*
1/3 [...]*r mtry*
1/4 [...]... *r*
1/5 [...]*fy*
1/6 [...]... *ḥf* (or *ḥfn*)

Translation

1/1. [...] ... to see (or "what")
1/2. [...] ... (wood determinative)
1/3. [...] to be witness (or "agree")
1/4. [...] ... to
1/5. [...] to carry
1/6. [...] ... snake (?)

B06.4, Column 2

Transliteration

2/1 *nꜣ wnm.w [...]*
2/2 *iw=f tmt [...]*
2/3 *tr.t=k [...]*
2/4 *ḥn=w pꜣ [...]*
2/5 *i-ir=k r mn ... [...]*
2/6 *ꜥky ky ḏ ... [...]*
2/7 *ipt ... [...]*
2/8 *... [...]*

Translation

2/1. the food [...]
2/2. it being complete [...]
2/3. your hand [...]
2/4. in them, the [...]
2/5. you will see ... [...]
2/6. excellent (?), another version ... [...]
2/7. bird (or "container") ... [...]
2/8. ... [...]

B06.5

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... y iw=w ḫbt [...]*
2 *[...] ... ḥlg iw=w ir hy[...]*

3 *[...] ntb pꜣ hn (?) ... ḥr [...]*
4 *[...] pꜣ ḫꜥ ... [...]*
5 *[...] ... ḫ ... [...]*
6 *[...] ḫb (?) [...]*
7 *[...] ... .w n nt ... [...]*
8 *[...] sšm.w ... [...]*
9 *[...] tỉ=y [...]*
10 *[...] ḏ mt n wꜥ.t ... [...]*
11 *[...] ỉt (?) ... [...]*
12 *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... they punishing (?) [...]
2. [...] ... be sweet, they making ... [...]
3. [...] ... the container (?) ... upon [...]
4. [...] the lifetime ... [...]
5. [...] ... [...]
6. [...] ... [...]
7. [...] ... who (or "which") ... [...]
8. [...] images ... [...]
9. [...] I caused [...]
10. [...] to say a word in a ... [...]
11. [...] back (?) ... [...]
12. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 1: The determinative is lacking, but *ḫbt* may be *ḫbt*, "to punish," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 719.

Line 3: *Ntb* is uncertain, since the *b* is strangely formed; it may be the metal determinative, for example. There is *ntb*, "to hear," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 562–63, but this is very tentative. A sign may be lost at the beginning of the word.

Either *hn* or *m* is possible.

Line 9: *Tỉ=*y may be rather a first present proclitic pronoun.

B06.6

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… y […]*
3 *[…]… w … […]*
4 *[… m]ḏy ỉw=w […]*
5 *[…]… w ỉtnw […]*
6 *[…]… ỉw=w ḫn (?) […]*
7 *[…]tb […]*
8 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … […]
3. […] … […]
4. […] b]ooks, they being […]
5. […] … […]
6. […] … […]
7. […] … […]
8. […] … […]

Commentary

Line 5: Read perhaps rather *ỉpnw* (demonstrative adjective?).

B06.7

Transliteration

1 *[…]… ḏ=f ꜥq […]*
2 *[…]… nw […]*
3 *[…]… pr-ꜥnḫ (?) […]*
4 *[…]… ỉw=f ḥb … […]*
5 *[…]… lbnṯ … […]*
6 *[…] ꜥn.w ḥ … […]*
7 *[…]… tỉ.t ꜥnḫ (?) tꜣ … […]*
8 *[…]… b r=k … […]*

9 *[…]…ꜣ tš […]… […]*
10 *[…] ꜥnḫ (or tỉ.t rḫ?) […]*

Translation

1. […] He said: "Enter […]
2. […] … […]
3. […] … House of Life (?) […]
4. […] … […]
5. […] … […]
6. […] baboons … […]
7. […] … to cause … the … […]
8. […] … […]
9. […] … […] … […]
10. […] … […]

Commentary

Line 1: Instead of *ꜥq* read perhaps *ꜥp*.

Line 5: Rather than *lbnṯ*, transliterate possibly *=f bnṯ*.

Line 7: Or *tỉ.t rḫ=y sꜣ*? Another plausible reading is *ꜥnḫ=s*.

B08: Paralleled in Part by B06.3

Transliteration

B08, 1 *[…] nꜣ (?) […]*

B08, 2 *ꜥpꜣ stp ḥs ỉw=f m[…]*
B06.3, 1 *[…]… sḫ.t (or s.t) n nꜣ […]*

B08, 3 *… pꜣe=w (?)… m gs ḥry … […]…*
B06.3, 2 *[…]… nꜣe=w pr.w-ḥḏ.w (or pr.w) […]*

B08, 4 *ỉw=k ỉr sḫty ḫn [pꜣ] wḏꜣ ntr […]*
B06.3, 3 *[…]… ṯsy nꜣe=w […]*

B08, 5 *[……]ꜥỉw=kꜣ r ṯsy ḥr tp nꜥ…ꜥ ḫnt.t ỉw=k r tỉ.t (?) […]*
B06.3, 4 *[… ḫ]bs i-ỉr=k r ṯsy […]*

B08, 6 *[…]… r bn-ỉw mtw=w sp nꜣ mꜣwy… […]*
B06.3, 5 *[…]… ỉw bn-ỉw mtw=w sp (?)… […]*

B08, 7 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f my tš=w ṯ=y n-ỉm=w […]*
B06.3, 6 *[……] ḏ=f […]*

B08, 8 *ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f nꜣy ỉꜣw.wt r w… […]*

B08, 9 *ỉ pꜣ ỉ-ỉr ỉy r ỉr nmṯy.t… […]… […]*

B08, 10 *mꜣ grp=y (?) st r gy […]*

B08, 11 *… […]… […] ỉw=k r […]*

B08, 12 *… […] tr.t […]*

Translation (Line numbering follows B08)

1. […] the (?) […]
2. 'The' select (?) praise (?) it being … […]
   B06.3, 1. […] … field (or "place") of the […]

3. …… […] …
   B06.3, 2. […] … their storerooms (or "houses") […]

4. You will make an illumination in [the] divine storeroom […]
   B06.3, 3. […] … raise up their […]

5. […….] You will raise up upon the throne (or "pronaos"?). You will cause (?) […]
   B06.3, 4. […] lamp. You will raise up […]
   B08, 6 and B06.3, 5. […] … whereas they do not have a remainder of the thoughts … […]

7. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "Let them assign me therein […]
   B06.3, 6. […….] he says: […]

8. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "These offices (or "old ones," "cattle") … […]

9. O one who has come back to exercise power (?) … […] … […]
10. Come, let me reveal (?) them in accordance with the form […]
11. … […] … […] you will […]
12. … […] hand […]

Commentary

B08, 3: Either *pꜣe=w* or *n-ỉm* … is possible.
Read perhaps *gst*, "palette," instead of *gs ḥry*. Also tempting is to understand *m gs ḥry* as rather a writing of *mks*, "document holder," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 473–74; *Glossar*, p. 183.

B08, 4: *Mtw* may stand at the end of the line in place of *ntr*.

B08, 5: Instead of *ṯsy*, read possibly *mn*, "der Hirt," *Glossar*, p. 160.
Read perhaps *tꜣ ḫnt.t*. For *ḫnt*, "pronaos," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 738.

B08, 9: The best transliteration is *ỉr nmṯy.t*, "to make power/stride," *Glossar*, p. 220, with the striking arm determinative.

B08.1

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…] tꜣ ꜣḫ … nt ỉr (?) […]*
3 *[…]y ḫꜣt=y … […]*
4 *[…] …= y n tꜣ … […]*
5 *[…] … =y m … […]*
6 *[… Mr]-rḫ ḏ=f … […]*
7 *[…] nry … […]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] the field (?) … which makes (?) […]
3. […] … my heart … […]
4. […] … I … in the … […]
5. […] … I … […]
6. […**The-one-who-loves**]**-knowledge, he says:** " … […]
7. […] vulture … […]

Commentary

Line 2: The apparent house determinative after *ꜣḫ* is unusual, and the reading is not secure.

B08.2

Transliteration

1 *[…]… =f[…]*
2 *[…] ḥ‘… […]*
3 *[…] wnš […]*
4 *[…]… […]*
5 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […]… he (or "him") […]
2. […] to stand … […]
3. […] jackal […]
4. […]… […]
5. […]… […]

B08.4

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… […]*
3 *[…]… […]*
4 *[…]… […]*
5 *[…]… […]*
6 *[…]… […]*
7 *Mr-rḫ ḏ[=f…]*
8 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […]… […]
2. […]… […]
3. […]… […]
4. […]… […]
5. […]… […]
6. […]… […]
7. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, [he] says: […]
8. […]… […]

B09

Transliteration

1 *… […]*
2 *wr (?)… […]*
3 *… […]*
4 *mr[-rḫ (?)…]*
5 *pȝ i-ỉr tỉ.t […]*
6 *r tȝ tp[…]*
7 *ḫny […]*
8 *r gȝ… […]*
9 *smn (?) […]*
10 *mnq (?) […]*
11 *grp […]*

Translation

1. … […]
2. great (?)… […]
3. … […]
4. The-one-who-loves[-knowledge (?)…]
5. The one who caused […]
6. … the … […]
7. disturb (or "row") […]
8. … […]
9. establish (?) […]
10. complete (?) […]
11. reveal […]

B09.1

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[… Mr]-rḫ ḏ=f iḫ nȝ (?)… […]*
3 *[…]… ḏ=f w‘ tny (?) n ỉ… […]*
4 *[…]… gm=y pȝ myt… […]*
5 *[…]… y.t… […]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [The-one-who-loves]-knowledge, he says: "What are the (?) ... [...]
3. [...] ... he says: "A ... of ... [...]
4. [...] ... I found the path ... [...]
5. [...] ... [...]

B10

Transliteration

1 *[...] ...*
2 *[...] ḫ ... r ⸢pỉe=⸣ ...*
3 *[...] ỉw bn pḫr.t*
4 *[...] nỉ ḫrt.w (?) n tỉ ... [...] y*
5 *[...] r sḏm ḏ=w (?)*
6 *[...] ... qw [...] ... btỉ.w*
7 *[...] ...*

Translation

1. [...] ...
2. [...] ...
3. [...] ... there being no remedy
4. [...] the children (?) of the ... [...] ...
5. [...] to hear that which they said (?).
6. [...] ... [...] ...
7. [...] ...

B12

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... t ... [...]*
2 *bỉk n tr.t=k mt ... [...]*
3 *... tk nry (?) r psy ... [...]*
4 *... ỉw=k (?) mr ⸢q r ḫnty [...]*
5 *... ḥỉt=k (or ỉr.t=k) r ... [...]*

6 *ỉỉb (?) r pỉ tl ỉb l[s ...]*
7 ***mr-rḫ ḏ=f*** *tỉy ḫrỉ.t pỉe=y g ... [...]*
8 ***ḫr=f Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f*** *ḥ ... [...]*
9 *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. work of your hand, to speak ... [...]
3. ... [...]
4. ... If you (?) wish to enter before [...]
5. ... your heart (or "your eye") to ... [...]
6. pain (or "suffering") with regard to the ... the heart and ton[gue (?) ...]
7. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "As for this (or "my") food (and) this (or "my") ... [...]
8. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** "... [...]
9. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 6: The same word, tentatively read *ỉỉb*, appears in B01, 1/3.

B13

Transliteration

1 *[...] pr-⸢nḫ (?) [...]*
2 *[... ḫr]=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f [...]*
3 *[...] tỉ sḫ.t n pỉ ... [...]*
4 *[...] ... ḫry-⸢ỉb.wy ... [...]*
5 *[...] ... gm=y ... [...]*
6 *[...]y mtry.t ... [...]*
7 *[...] ... [...]*
8 *[...] ... [...]*
9 *[...] ... g [...]*
10 *[...] ... ḫr pỉe=k ḥs [...]*
11 *[...] ... nw ... [...]*
12 *[...] ḫn=w ḫr in w⸢ [...]*
13 *[...] ... [...]*
14. *[...] ... [...]*
15. *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] House of Life (?) [...]
2. He [speaks], namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, [he] says: [...]
3. [...] the field of the ... [...]
4. [...] ... assistants ... [...]
5. [...] ... I found ... [...]
6. [...] ... instruction (?) ... [...]
7. [...] ... [...]
8. [...] ... [...]
9. [...] ... [...]
10. [...] ... about your ... [...]
11. [...] ... [...]
12. [...] in them. Does a [...]
13. [...] ... [...]
14. [...] ... [...]
15. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 1: Or read *kky*, "darkness," before the lacuna.

Line 12: Compare F04, 2.

C02.1

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... y ṯ=k ... [...] qns (?) (or qnw) [...]*
2 *[...] wn pr-ʿnḫ ... [...] ... [...] ḫ*
3 *[...] sʿ [...] sš (or bš ?) ... nꜣ pts ... wnš (?) ... [...] ...*
4 *[...] ... nw (?) ... pꜣ wn n pr-ʿnḫ ḏ (?) ... [...]*
5 *[...] r ḥ.t (?) ḥm (?) ʿnḫ pꜣ wnš ... ḏ sḏꜣ n tꜣ ʿ-kky [...]*
6 *[...].w i-ir tm tꜣe=k ꜣḥ ir=k ḫry-ʿ.wy n pꜣ kꜣ n ... [...]*
7 *[...] pry pꜣe=f mꜣ n ʿ.t iw=f grp m-bꜣḥ=y (?) iw=f bʿḥ*
8 *[...] ... ls wnm n rꜣ=k my rt sbꜣ (n) ḥsṯ=k*
9 *[...] ... pꜣ nt ḫn nꜣe=f ḫnmy iw=f gšp (?) n-im=f r ... =f (?)*
10 *[...] ... pꜣ nt ḫn tꜣe=f tpḥy.t ʿm-tꜣ.w mꜣwy (?) m ḫr=f (?)*
11 *[...] ... tꜣ.w ḫr=y tꜣy (?) m rn=f pꜣe=w wnm n-im=f pꜣe=f ms*
12 *[...] ... Mw.t (?) wr.t* (or *tꜣ wr.t ?*) *tꜣ nt ḥpt n-im=f Slk.t tꜣ nt spy=f (?) r nw=f (?) [...]*

Below column: *mḥ-4 (?)*

Translation

1. [...] ... you ... [...] difficult (?) [...]
2. [...] the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...] ... [...] ...
3. [...] ... the chests ... jackal (?) ... [...] ...
4. [...] ... the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...]
5. [...] ... the temple (or "chapter") ... life. The jackal ... speaks prophecies in the Chamber of Darkness [...]
6. [...] ... who have closed your throat. May you act as the apprentice of the bull of ... [...]
7. [...] ... There has come forth his fluid of his limb, it being revealed before me (?), it overflowing
8. [...] ... tongue (?). Eat with your mouth! Let the teaching flourish in your heart (?)!
9. [...] ... the one who is in his wells, while he looks (?) therefrom to its (or "his") ... (?).
10. [...] ... the one who is in his hole, He-who-understands-the-two-lands, thoughts (?) ...
11. [...] ... the two lands, and I say this (?) in his name: their food therein is his producing
12. [...] ... Mut (?), the great one, is the one who embraces him; Selket is the one who ... to see him (?) [...]

Below column "fourth (?)"

Commentary

Line 2: *Wn* is "der Schreinöffner," *Glossar*, p. 89. The pastophoros was the assistant in the cult of the gods, Griffiths, *LÄ* 4, col. 914 ("Pastophoren"). While, to our knowledge, the title "Pastophoros of the House of Life" is not otherwise attested (cf. Weber, *LÄ* 3, cols. 954–57 ["Lebenshaus"]), there is no reason to suppose that such a priest may not have played a role in this institution.

Line 3: *Pts* may be "chest" (for writing utensils), *Glossar*, p. 142; *Wb.* 1, 566/13–15.

Line 4: *ḏ*, "to say," is uncertain towards the end of the line.

Line 5: Read possibly *tꜣ s* instead of *ḥ.t*.

Line 6: *Tm* is *tm*, "schliessen," *Glossar*, p. 631.
ꜣḥ is presumably *ḥty.t* (*iḥ.ty*), "die Kehle," *Wb.* 3, 181/4–16 (not in *Glossar*).
We had originally suggested *n pꜣ kꜣ n* [*ntr* (?) ...]. The unread group above *kꜣ* may belong to this line.

SBD/FFLCH/USP

Line 7: We have rendered *pry* as *pr*, "herauskommen," *Glossar*, pp. 134–35, but this may also be the interrogative pronoun, "What is," comparing *pw tr*, "Wer, Was?" *Wb.* 1, 506/2–8.

Grp would be a stative form.

The use of *m-bꜣḥ* implies that the deity is speaking. There is probably a sound play with the following *bꜥḥ*. The scribe apparently wrote *m-bꜣḥ=y/k*.

Line 8: We had first read *ḥr ls* (?).

The determinative of *wnm* is unclear; it is probably the group for *ꜥqw*, "rations," *Glossar*, pp. 91 and 73.

Instead of *ḥꜣt*, "heart," read perhaps *ḫ.t*, "body."

Line 9: *Ḫnmy* seems to be *ḫnm.t*, "Brunnen," *Wb.* 3, 382/10–15 (not in *Glossar*).

We have transliterated *gšp*, "sehen, blicken," *Glossar*, p. 594, but also *gšy* is possible. Perhaps the best reading is *gꜥy*, "to be high."

Line 10: For *tpḥ*, "Loch," see *Glossar*, p. 628; M. Smith, *Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, p. 77; Willems, *Heqata*, p. 314.

ꜥm- tꜣ.wy is the common designation of Thoth, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 153.

Either *mꜣwy*, "denken," *Glossar*, p. 156 (*mwy*), or *m ỉwy*, "in praise" (comparing *ꜣwy* "preisen," *Glossar*, p. 2), is possible.

M ḥr=f at the end of the line is dubious.

Line 11: *Tꜣ.w*, *Glossar*, p. 599, is doubtful.

Ḫr=y seems to be *ḫr*, "sprechen," *Glossar*, p. 365, but the apparent *ṯ* is difficult. We have rendered it as the demonstrative *tꜣy*; it may be also read as *ḫpr* or *tw*.

Either *pꜣe=w* or *nꜣe=w* is possible before *wnm*.

The syntax of the sentence is obscure; we have translated it as a nominal construction.

Line 12: *Mw.t* is uncertain, but the goddess determinative may be preserved.

Ḫpt is not in *Glossar*; compare *ḫpt*, "umarmen, umfassen," *Wb.* 3, 71/16–72/8. It also occurs in L01 (V.T.), x+1/18 and B02, 12/16.

Spy is insecure, especially since we can offer no convincing translation.

C02.2

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*
2 *[...]... [...]*
3 *[...] ms ỉw (?) [...]*
4 *[...]... [...]*
5 *[...]... n-ỉm=w ... [...]*

Commentary

Line 2: Possible is *[pr]-ꜥnḫ*.

Line 3: No translation can be proposed, as the reading is insecure.

Below the column is *⌜p3 mḥ-⌝ [...]*

C02.4

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*
2 *[wꜥ.t nr]y.t [...]*
3 *wꜥ.t nry.t [...]*
4 *[...]... ḫpt [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [A vul]ture [...]
3. A vulture [...]
4. [...] ... embrace [...]

Commentary

As is the case with C03.1, this evidently belongs to the Vulture Text, but we cannot place it; perhaps compare L01 (V.T.), x+1/16–18. The two fragments possibly belong to the same manuscript, but the hands are not necessarily identical.

C03.1

Transliteration

1 *wꜥ.t nry.t [...]*
2 *wꜥ.t nr[y.t ...]*
3 *wꜥ.t nr[y.t ...]*
4 *wꜥ.t [...]*
5 *wꜥ.t [...]*

Translation

1. A vulture [...]
2. A vul[ture ...]
3. A vul[ture ...]
4. A [...]
5. A [...]

Commentary

C03.1 is obviously a parallel to the L01 (V.T.), but too little is preserved to be placed.

C04.4 + L01.10 + L01.8 + F11 + Y02

Transliteration

C04.4, 1/1 *[...]... [...]*

C04.4, 1/2 *[...]... tr.t ḫnt Šw*

C04.4, 1/3 *[...]... tỉ=y s st tỉ ḥw-ỉr=w (?) tỉ nỉ.w* (or *n=w, n=y ?*)

C04.4, 1/4 *[...]...y swnw*

C04.4, 1/5 *[...]... [...] š ʿm=f*

C04.4, 1/6 *[...]... mr ḏ ỉwy*

C04.4, 1/7 *[...] nỉ.w-ʿšỉ nỉe=w šl.w*

C04.4, 1/8 *[... šg]yg nỉe=w ḏrỉ.w nỉe=w twtw.w*

C04.4, 1/9 *[...] rỉ mỉỉ[=k] tʿ n pỉ mṯwn*
L01.10, ca. 1/13 *[.....] mỉỉ=k tʿ nt mṯwn*

C04.4, 1/10 *[...]....w*
L01.10, 1/14 *[...]*

C04.4, 1/11 *[...] ʿ.w nỉe=k ỉkyr*
L01.10, 1/15 *[...] nỉe=k ỉkyl*

C04.4, 1/12 *[...]... ḫr ls=k*
L01.10, 1/16 *[..... ljs=k*

C04.4, 1/13 *[...]*
L01.10, 1/17 *[...]*

C04.4, 1/14 *[...]... y ḫnt...* (book-roll det.)
L01.10, 1/18 *[...]*

C04.4, 1/15 *[...]... ʿtʿt n fnt (?)*
L01.10, 1/19 *[...]*

C04.4, 1/16 *[...]...*
L01.10, 1/20 *[...]*

C04.4, 1/17 *[...]...*
L01.10, 1/21 *[...]*

L01.10, 1/22 *[...]...*

Translation (Line numbering follows C04.4)

1/1. [...] ... [...]
1/2. [...] ... the hand before Shu (?).
1/3. [...] ... I gave it. They give. They do not (?) give these (or "to them," "to me"?).
1/4. [...] ... knowledge (?).
1/5. [...] ... [...] He understands.
1/6. [...] ... the one who wishes to say "hail!"
1/7. [...] Numerous are their robberies (or "robbers").
1/8. [...] desire, their strengths, their gatherings.
1/9. [...] mouth. May you remain (?) for a time in the arena.
1/10. [...] ...
1/11. [...] the limbs of your excellent ones.
1/12. [...] ... under your tongue.
1/13. [...]
1/14. [...] ... I ... the foremost of the ...
1/15. [...] ...
1/16. [...] ...
1/17. [...] ...
L01.10, 1/23. [...] ...

Commentary

C04.4, 1/2: We had earlier read *ḫnṯ ḥwt* or *ḫnt imnty.w*, but neither is very compelling. *Šw* is a possibility.

C04.4, 1/3: *Nꜣ.w* may stand at the end of the line, but the supposed *w* may also be the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative (or the dative *n=y*?).

C04.4, 1/4: The reading is secure, but *swn*, "erkennen," *Glossar*, pp. 413–14, generally has the eye determinative.

C04.4, 1/5: *Š* is the variant of *ḫr* found elsewhere in this composition.

C04.4, 1/6: *ꜥwy* is *ꜥwy*, "preisen," *Glossar*, p. 2. *Mr* may, of course, be an infinitive.

C04.4, 1/7: *Šl.w* is possibly a form of *ḫl*, "rauben," *Glossar*, p. 368.

C04.4, 1/8: We render *ḏrꜣ* as *ḏr*, "strength," "to be strong," *Glossar*, pp. 682–83, but it may rather be a variant of *ḏrꜥ*, "zerstreuen," *Glossar*, p. 684. Given the determinative, a negative quality is expected.

Twtw is perhaps *twtw*, "sammeln," *Glossar*, p. 616. *ṯ=w* seems to be written after *twtw*.

C04.4, 1/9: Read either *mꜣꜣ* or *mn*. We have translated *mꜣꜣ* as a spelling of *mn*.

Tꜥ is probably *tꜣ*, "time," *Glossar*, p. 600.

Mṯwn is presumably *mṯwn*, "Kampfplatz," *Wb.* 2, 175/12–13; Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 477–78 (not in *Glossar*).

C04.4, 1/10: All that remains is the knife determinative and plural strokes.

C04.4, 1/14: *imnṯyw*, "westerners," may stand at the end of the line, comparing *Glossar*, p. 31.

C04.4, 1/15: Read perhaps rather *ftft*, "to jump," *Wb.* 1, 581/3–6, or *nbnb*, "to protect (the land)," *Wb.* 2, 245/4–6.

L01.10, Column 2

Transliteration

L01.10, 2/1 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/2 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/3 *[...]*
L01.10, 2/4 *[...]*

L01.10, 2/5 *[...]*
L01.10, 2/6 *[...]*
L01.10, 2/7 *[...]*
L01.10, 2/8 *[...]*
L01.10, 2/9 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/10 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/11 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/12 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/13 ...*[...]*
L01.10, 2/14 ...*[...]*

N. b. About at this point there may be contiguity between L01.10, which preserves fragments of the beginnings of the lines here, and L01.8. L01.10 continues for about three more lines. However, we now transliterate only L01.8.

C04.4, 2/x+1 *[...]... [...]*
L01.8, x+1 *[...]... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+2 *[...] wꜣ [...]*
L01.8, x+2 *[...] wꜣ tꜣ ꜥty [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+3 *[...]... [...]... wꜥ.t rḫ [...]*
L01.8, x+3 *[... m]s=s wꜥ šr n ... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+4 *[...] qny... [.....] ḏtf wḏy [...]*
L01.8, x+4–5 *[...]... qnw wꜥ (?) nyḫ (?) [.../...] qne pꜣ qnw (?) [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+5 *pꜣ nb wḏꜣy... [...]... w... [...]ʳḏtfˀ*
L01.8, x+6 *nb wḏꜣy [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+6 *ir=f nhpy n pꜣ šr n [Mw.t]... šr n Mw.t pꜣy*
L01.8, x+7 *ir=f nhpy n pꜣ [...]*
F11, 1 *[...]... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+7 *pꜣ qnw bin... n Šw ḫr pꜣe=f it iw=f ir ir ḫnyn*
L01.8, x+8 *[...] gn bin [...]*
Y02, 1 *[.....] pꜣe=f iṯ ir ḫnyn*
F11, 2 *[.....] tꜣ šr.t Šw... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+8 *r-ḏbꜣ pꜣ ḏtf n ḫꜣt=y... nꜣ iḥ.w*
L01.8, x+9 *[...] r-ḏbꜣ pꜣ ḏtf n ḫ[ꜣt=y...]*
Y02, 2 *[.....] iḥ.w*
F11, 3 *[...] ḫt i-ir ḫpr... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+9 *qsm pꜣ why... ḫysy snty=f n tꜣ nwny.t n pꜣe=f thꜣ [...]*
L01.8, x+10 *[qsm] pꜣ why [...]*
Y02, 3 *[...]..... tꜣ nny.t n pꜣe=f thꜣ [...]*
F11, 4 *[..... s]nt=f n tꜣ nn.t... [...]*

C04.4, 2/x+10 *tȝ rḫ.t tȝ Mw.t wly.t tȝ mn-ỉry.t wnm (ʔ) sbȝ*
L01.8, x+11 *[tȝ rḫ].t tȝ Mw.t […]*
Y02, 4 *[…]*
F11, 5 *[……] sbȝ*

C04.4, 2/x+11 *tȝ ỉrty ỉ-ỉr tȝ snqy… mn-ỉry… […] ʿnḫ tp-rt*
L01.8, x+12 *[…] ỉrty ỉ-[ỉr…]*
Y02, 5 *[……]… ʿnḫ.w tp-rt […]*
F11, 6 *[……] mn-ỉry ỉ-ỉr […] tp […]*

C04.4, 2/x+12 *[…]… […] nȝe=s ḏ.w*
L01.8, x+13 *[…] t… […]*
Y02, 6 *[…]*
F11, 7 *[……] nȝe=s ḏ*

C04.4, 2/x+13 *… […]… htm*
Y02, 7 *[…]*
F11, 8 *[…] ỉmy (ʔ)*

C04.4, 2/x+14 *… […]… nȝ ḫry.w … y r gs.w-pr pr […]*
Y02, 8 *[…]…*
F11, 9 *[…]w.w htty (ʔ) […]*

C04.4, 2/x+15 *[…] ḫnyn r bks*
Y02, 9 *[…]*
F11, 10 *[……] bks*

C04.4, 2/x+16 *[…]… y ỉw=f ⸢n⸣ ʿʿn pȝ bȝn rn=f*
Y02, 10 *[… bỉ]n rn=f*

C04.4, 2/x+17 *[…]… mw.w […]=k tȝ … ⸢bty.t⸣ ʿm […]*
Y02, 11 *[…]…… ʿm …*

C04.4, 2/x+18 *[…]… […] m […]n n ḫnt … […]*
Y02, 12 *[…]… […]*

C04.4, 2/x+19 *[…] wʿ… […]… ʿm=k ʿnḫ ḫnt pr-ʿnḫ*

C04.4, 2/x+20 *[…]… ỉw=f (ʔ) ỉr nȝ ỉry.w n tȝ ỉr.t mn n ḏ rȝ w[…]*

C04.4, 2/x+21 *[…]… nȝ … mn r bȝk tr.t ʿt*

C04.4, 2/x+22 *[…]… msḏr …*

C04.4, 2/x+23 *[…]… pȝ nb n … tʿy.w n ʿq nt fy.t=s*

C04.4, 2/x+24 *[…]… pȝy*

C04.4, 2/x+25 *[…]… tr.t=f*

C04.4, 2/x+26 *[…]… […] pḥ.t*

C04.4, 2/x+27 *[…]… twn ȝḥ (ʔ) … […] n mȝʿ.t pȝy*

C04.4, 2/x+28 *[…]…*

C04.4, 2/x+29 *[…]… tȝy*

Translation

L01.10, 2/1. … […]
L01.10, 2/2. … […]
L01.10, 2/3. […]
L01.10, 2/4. […]
L01.10, 2/5. […]
L01.10, 2/6. […]
L01.10, 2/7. […]
L01.10, 2/8. […]
L01.10, 2/9. … […]
L01.10, 2/10. … […]
L01.10, 2/11. … […]
L01.10, 2/12. … […]
L01.10, 2/13. … […]
L01.10, 2/14. … […]

N.b. At this point the parallelism between C04.4 and L01.8 is not certain, so both versions are translated where useful.

C04.4, 2/x+1 […] … […]
L01.8, x+1. […] … […]

C04.4, 2/x+2. […] great one […]
L01.8, x+ 2. […] great one (?), the limb (?) […]

C04.4, 2/x+3. […] … a wise woman […]
L01.8, x+3. […] She gave birth to a son of … […]

C04.4, 2/x+4. […] strong one (?) […] to pour down, the *Oudjat*-eye (?) […]
L01.8, x+4–5. […] … strong one, a (?) youth (?) […] / …] strong is the strong one (?) […]

C04.4, 2/x+5. The lord of the *Oudjat*-eye ... [...] ... [...] ⌜to pour down⌝

C04.4, 2/x+6. He made a protecting (or "mourning") of the child of [Mut] ... It is the child of Mut.

C04.4, 2/x+7. The evil injury ... of Shu concerning his father, he making a disturbance.
F11, 2. [...] ... the daughter of Shu ... [...]

C04.4, 2/x+8. On account of the overflowing of my heart ... the cows.
F11, 3. [...] ... which happened ... [...]

C04.4, 2/x+9. The evil one attacked ... wretched. Establish it as (?) the root of his ... [...]

C04.4, 2/x+10. The wise female, the great mother (or "Mut"), the nurse ... teaching ... upon [...]

C04.4, 2/x+11. The milk which the suckler produced ... nurse ... [...] living (?), regulation (?) [...]

C04.4, 2/x+12. [...] ... [...] her sayings.
Y02, 6. [...]

C04.4, 2/x+13. ... [...] throne.
Y02, 7. [...]
F11, 8. [...] ...

C04.4, 2/x+14. ... [...] ... the chiefs ... to the temples (?) ... [...]
Y02, 8. [...] ...
F11, 9. [...] ... hyenas (?) [...]

C04.4, 2/x+15. [...] to disturb so as to rebel.
Y02, 9. [...]
F11, 10. [...] rebel

C04.4, 2/x+16. [...] ... he being (?) a sacred animal in the aforesaid (?) evil.
Y02, 10. [.....] ... aforesaid [ev]il.

C04.4, 2/x+17. [...] ... your [...] the ... ⌜emmer⌝ ... to swallow (or "know") ... [...]
Y02, 11. [...] ...
C04.4, 2/x+18. [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... of the foremost one (or "before") ... [...]
Y02, 12. [...] ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+19. [...] a ... [...] ... that you may know life before the House of Life
C04.4, 2/x+20. [...] ... he making the companions of the eye, to remain in saying a spell (?) ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+21. [...] ... to see for the work of the hands (with) a reed.
C04.4, 2/x+22. [...] ... ears (?) ...

C04.4, 2/x+23. [...] ... the master (?) ... bread of sustenance which is to be brought
C04.4, 2/x+24. [...] ... is it.
C04.4, 2/x+25. [...] ... his hand.
C04.4, 2/x+26. [...] ... [...] strength.
C04.4, 2/x+27. [...] ... raise fighting (?) ... [...] of a place is it.
C04.4, 2/x+28. [...] ...
C04.4, 2/x+29. [...] ... is it.

Commentary

L01.8, x+2: *Wl* is probably *wr.t*, "gross (fem.)," *Glossar*, p. 93, although the determinative is damaged. *ỉwr*, "schwanger werden," *Glossar*, p. 24, is much less likely. The relationship between the two fragments L01.8 and L01.10 is problematic.

ʿ.t may be *ʿ.t*, "Glied," *Glossar*, p. 51, but other words in *ʿd / ʿt* are equally possible.

C04.4, 2/x+2: The expected parallelism between C04.4 and L01.8 seems to begin here. We are apparently dealing with a goddess such as Mut or Seshat in this passage.

L01.8, x+4–5: *Qne* and *qnw* are identified with *qny*, "stark sein," *Glossar*, p. 539. The precise relationship of L01.8 and C04.4 is especially unclear for these two lines.

C04.4, 2/x+4: *Ḏtf* is *ṯtf*, "to overflow" (also used of weapons, "overwhelm"), Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1180.

Wḏy lacks a determinative, so the translation is not secure.

C04.4, 2/x+5: Presumably Re or Horus is intended.

C04.4, 2/x+6: There are various words spelled *nhp*: "to protect"; "rise early"; "to revive," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 529–30.

We have restored *Mw.t*, "Mut," after *pꜣ šr n*. Although attractive, this is uncertain.

However, *mw.t*, either "mother" or the goddess herself, does appear in the gloss-like statement at the end of the line.

The child of Mut may be Imhotep, Hurry, *Imhotep*, p. 48 (Theban triad of Ptah, Mut-Sakhmet, and Imhotep).

C04.4, 2/x+7: *Qnw* (or *gnw*) is probably *qn*, "harm, injury, evil deed," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1059. It can refer to the injury of the *Oudjat*-eye.

We had earlier read *s.t n Šw*, but *s.t* is dubious.

F11, 2: We cannot explain the reference to "the daughter of Shu."

C04.4, 2/x+8: *iḫ*, "Rind," *Glossar*, p. 41, is reasonable (and certain in Y02), but the significance is obscure.

C04.4, 2/x+9: *Qsm* is *ksm*, "to attack, assault," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1090 (cf. *gsm*, "Sturm," *Glossar*, p. 593).

Why may refer to Seth, "The Failure," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 247.

There may be something written between *snty* and *n tȝ nwny.t*; perhaps *snty=f*, "He established."

Nwny.t is "die Wurzel," *Glossar*, p. 220.

Y02, 3: The determinative suggests that *nny.t* means "root."

Thȝ is preferable to *ḥnȝ*, but the determinative is basically lost (falling soldier [Gardiner Z6]?). It would be difficult to discern the sense here of *thȝ* = *thr*, "sadness," *Glossar*, p. 653, the most obvious rendering.

C04.4, 2/x+10: Mut is clearly mentioned. She assumes the role of the "wise deity," perhaps being identified with the sacred vultures so important in this composition. She may also be a form of Seshat.

Either *wnm*, *ḥm*, or *ỉmy* are possible towards the end of the line.

Sbȝ lacks a determinative.

C04.4, 2/x+11: We had earlier read *ỉ-ỉr=s*, but *ỉ-ỉr tȝ* is more likely.

Snqy(*.t*) would then be a noun.

Y02, 5: *ʿnḫ.w* has the pellet and plural strokes; this may be "sustenance."

Tp-rt is most probably the compound noun "regulation," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1137.

F11, 6: *Tp* is written above the line.

C04.4, 2/x+12: The man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative implies that *ḏ.w* is more than merely "to say," perhaps "singen," *Glossar*, p. 691.

C04.4, 2/x+13: *Htm* is "Thron," *Glossar*, p. 282. However, we cannot explain the evident discrepancy between the C04.4 and F11 versions.

C04.4, 2/x+14: The word following *ḫry.w* has the plant determinative, possibly *ȝky*, comparing *ȝk*, "Schilf," *Glossar*, p. 12.

It is difficult to avoid the reading *gs-pr*, "temple," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1108–09, although this word is not otherwise attested in Demotic.

Y02, 8: The determinative may be the house sign and plural strokes.

F11, 9: *Htty* is not certain; the *h* and first *t* are slightly irregular or damaged. It may be *ḥṯ.t*, "Hyäne," *Glossar*, p. 232, with the feminine *t* understood as radical. An alternative is *htt,* "baboon," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 608.

C04.4, 2/x+15: Given the association with *ḫnyn, bks* is certainly "sich empören, Aufruhr," *Glossar*, p. 125.

Add. 22 **C04.4, 2/x+16:** Unfortunately, there is insufficient text to discern the subject beyond the fact that sacred animals are experiencing negative influences in some way.

C04.4, 2/x+17: The initial word has the papyrus roll determinative.

Read possibly *pr.t*, "seed," *Glossar*, pp. 135–36, after *tȝ*.

Bty.t, "(Spelt) Emmer," *Glossar*, p. 126, is not certain,

C04.4, 2/x+19: The phrase *ʿm=k ʿnḫ* is rather unusual.

C04.4, 2/x+20: *ỉw=f* is not secure.

There may be more than merely *ỉry.w*, since the sign following the *ỉy* group is unclear (= *nfr*?).

C04.4, 2/x+21: We had first read *4.t* … , but *ʿt*, "plant, reed," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 188, is preferable.

C04.4, 2/x+27: The traces do seem to fit *twn ȝḫ*, which occurs elsewhere in the Book of Thoth, e.g., V01, 1/19.

C04.5

Transliteration

1 … *[…]*
2 *wpy-tp […]*
3 *mr-rḫ […]*
4 *wpy-tp […]*
5 *mr-rḫ […]*

Translation

1. … […]
2. There-has-judged, namely, the-one-[…]
3. The-one-who-loves-knowledge […]
4. There-has-judged, namely, the-one-[…]
5. The-one-who-loves-knowledge […]

C04.6

Transliteration

1 *tȝ … […]*
2 *tȝe=k (ʔ) […]*
3 … *[…]*
4 ***mr-[rḫ …]***

Translation

1. the ... [...]
2. your (?) [...]
3. ... [...]
4. **The-one-who-loves-[knowledge** ...]

C04.10

Transliteration

1 *[...] ʿq ḫn ḥn (?) ... [...]*
2 *[...] wly.t r stp mꜣʿ.t sp-2 ỉn [...]*
3 *[...] ḏ=f mḥy ṯ=y nꜣ slꜣ.w [...]*
4 *[... s]bꜣ.t tꜣ w[...]*

Translation

1. [...] enter in a box (?) ... [...]
2. [...] great to choose ... twice. Does [...]
3. [...] **He says:** "The prophets have beaten (?) me ... [...]
4. [... t]eaching, the ... [...]

Commentary

Line 2: The precise significance of *mꜣʿ.t* here is unclear.

C04.11

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] tr.t=f (?) ḥr wʿʿ.wy [...]*
3 *[...] ... ḫnm n-ỉm=w ḥr [...]*
4 *[...] Šʿy.t wl.t [...]*
5 *[...] wʿ.t tpḥy.t m-bꜣḥ [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] his hand (?) upon a place [...]
3. [...] ... join therein upon [...]
4. [...] Shai (= Seshat), the great [...]
5. [...] a cavern before [...]

Commentary

Line 3: Read either *wnm* or *ḫnm* before *n-ỉm=w*.

C05

Transliteration

1 *tw=y [...]*
2 ***mr-rḫ*** *[...]*

Translation

1. I (or "I caused") [...]
2. **The-one-who-loves-[knowledge** ...]

C07.2

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... =k [...]*
2 *[...] ... ỉw=y [...]*
3 *[...] ṯy ... [...]*
4 *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... you [...]
2. [...] ... I [...]
3. [...] ... [...]
4. [...] ... [...]

C07.3

Transliteration

1 *[...] rt [...]*
2 *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] foot (?) [...]
2. [...] ... [...]

C07.4

This fragment has traces of four lines, too damaged to transliterate.

C07.6

This fragment is too damaged for transliteration.

C07.7

This fragment is too damaged for transliteration.

C07.8

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] =f iw=f ... [...]*
3 *[...] ... [...]*

Commentary

Line 3: Read perhaps *ir ⌜mt⌝*.

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] he (or "him"), he ... [...]
3. [...] ... [...]

C07.9

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] ... sn [...]*
3 *[...]e [...]*
4 *[...] ... [...]*
5 *[...] ... [...]*

F01.3

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... mr-rḫ [...]*

Translation

1. […] … The-one-who-loves-knowledge […]

F01.4

Transliteration

1 *[…] wyny […]*
2 *[…] … […]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … (seated man determinative) […]

F01.5

Transliteration

1 *[…] … ny=f wʿ.t sp-2 ỉw=w […]*
2 *[…] … l … ḏl […]*
3 *[…] … ti.t ʒs mw (?) […]*
4 *[…] … g … […]*

Translation

1. […] … it, one by one, they being […]
2. […] … […]
3. […] … cause to be abundant water (?) […]
4. […] … […]

Commentary

Line 3: Instead of *mw,* read perhaps *mn.*

F02

Transliteration

1 *[…] …*
2 *[…] …*
3 *[…] …*
4 *[…] …*
5 *[…] …*
6 *[…] …*
7 *[…] …*

F03

Transliteration

1 *[…] … n pꜣ ỉwỉw (?) […]*
2 *… tl … […]*
3 *… ỉḫ pꜣy pꜣ gꜣy n […]*
4 *… fy.ṯ=f […]*
5 *… nꜣe=f pr.t (?) ỉw pꜣ ḏ […]*
6 *… ⸢ʒn⸣ ḥn … […]*
7 *… kky … […]*
8 *… wnš ꜣl … […]*
9 *… sl m=k r tꜣ […]*
10 *… […]*

Translation

1. […] … of the dog (?) […]
2. … strength … […]
3. … What is the manner of […]
4. … bring him (or "it") […]
5. … his seed (?), while the saying (?) […]
6. … ⸢tree⸣ to command … […]
7. … darkness … […]
8. … jackal … […]
9. … announce your name to the […]
10. … […]

Commentary

Line 2: For *tl*, see Thissen, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 134.

Line 5: Instead of *iw pꜣ* read perhaps *irm ḏ*.

F04

Transliteration

1 *[…] iḫ pꜣy pꜣ rt n … […]*
2 *[…] rt ḫn=w ḫr in wˁ […]*
3 *[…] … nꜣe=f iwiw.w ˁ[ˁn.w …]*
4 *[…] … kky […]*
5 *[…] … […]*

Translation

1. […] What is the manner of … […]
2. […] grows in them. And does a […]
3. […] … his dogs and ba[boons (?) …]
4. […] … darkness […]
5. […] … […]

Commentary

Line 2: Compare B13, 12.

Line 5: Read perhaps … *ḏ=f*

F05

Transliteration

1 *[…] … ḏ=f … […]*
2 *[…] mr-rḫ ḏ=f my […]*
3 *[…] … rḫ … wšt […]*
4 *[…] … slꜣ … […]*

Translation

1. […] … he says … […]
2. […] The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "Let […]
3. […] … to know … greet […]
4. […] … prophecy (?) … […]

F07.1

Transliteration

1 ***mr-rḫ** […]*
2 ***ḫr=f n Ḥs[-rḫ** …]*

Translation

1. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge** […]
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises[-knowledge** …]

F07.2

Transliteration

1 *[…] … n s… […]*
2 *[…] … […]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … […]

F07.3

Transliteration

1 *[…] … […]*
2 *[…] … **nꜣ mꜣwy.w** … […]*
3 *[…] pꜣ lꜣ […]*
4 *[…] … […]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... **the thoughts** ... [...]
3. [...] the tongue [...]
4. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 2: This is probably the designation *qmꜣ=f-nꜣ-mꜣwy.w*, "He-created-the-thoughts," as in B02, 11/2.

F08

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] rḫ [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] to know [...]

F15

Transliteration

1 *ʿMr-ʾ[rḫ] ḏ=f ... [...]*
2 *ḥr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f ... [...]*
3 *ꜣby n ỉrp [...]*
4 *[...] ... [...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. ʿ**The-one-who-loves**ʾ-[**knowledge,**] **he says:** ... [...]
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** ... [...]
3. thirst for (?) wine [...]
4. [...] ... [...] ... [...]

L01.7

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... =f [...]*
2 *[...] ... ʿḥʿ ... [...]*
3 *[...] ... =k ... [...]*
4 *[...] ... .w wn nꜣ ḥ[b.w (?) ...]*
5 *[...] ... ʿ.w ḏ=w ... [...]*
6 *[...] sḫ pꜣ ỉwỉw ỉ-ỉr ... [...]*
7 *[...] wšb=f n ... [...]*
8 *[...] ... =y ... [...]*
9 *[...] ... [...]*
10 *[...] iḫ ... tn (?) [...]*
11 *[...] wpy ... [...]*
12 *[...] ... [...]*

End of column; no ink below.

Translation

1. [...] ... he [...]
2. [...] ... stand (?) ... [...]
3. [...] ... you ... [...]
4. [...] ... list of the ib[ises (?) ...]
5. [...] ... They said ... [...]
6. [...] writing of the dog which made a ... [...]
7. [...] He replied to ... [...]
8. [...] ... I ... [...]
9. [...] ... [...]
10. [...] What (?) ... [...]
11. [...] Judge (?) ... [...]
12. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 2: Either *ḥ‘* or *st* is possible.

Line 4: The line begins with the animal skin determinative.
Nrw.t may also be read at the end of the preserved line.

Line 6: Instead of the perfect participle, read perhaps *i-ir-ḫr* at the end of the line.

Line 11: This may be the designation *wpy-tp-ỉṯ=f*.

Add. 23 **L01.9**

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… y… […]*
3 *[… i]ḫ tỉy tỉe=w ḥn[…]*
4 *[…]… ḫpr (?) n-tr.ṯ=w ỉw=f […]*
5 *[…]… ntnt tỉe=w… […]*
6 *[…]… pỉe=w… […]*
7 *[…]… š… […]*
8 *[…]… =f ‘nḫ […]*
9 *[…]… š […]*
10 *[…]… […]*
11 *[…]… ỉrm pỉe=f (?)… k… […]*
12 *[…]… […]*
13 *[…]… […]*
14 *[Wpy-tp-]ỉt=f ḏ=f (?)… […]*
15 *[…]=y ṯ n-ỉm=w ỉrm tỉe=w šr.t (?)… […]*
16 *[mr]-rḫ ḏ=f w‘ qby (?)… […]*
17 *[… m]ḫll w‘.t nmy… […]*
18 *[…] Ḫnm ỉn (?) w… […]*
19 *[…]… ll… […]*

Translation

1. […]… […]
2. […]… […]
3. […W]hat is their… […]
4. […]… to happen (?) through them, he […]

5. […]… to ask their… […]
6. […]… their… […]
7. […]… […]
8. […]… […]
9. […]… […]
10. […]… […]
11. […]… together with his (?)… […]
12. […]… […]
13. […]… […]
14. [He-has-judged, namely, the-one]-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "… […]
15. […] I myself therein with their daughter (?)… […]
16. [The-one-who-loves]-knowledge, he says: "A… […]
17. […a s]carab, a female dwarf… […]
18. […] Khnum, … […]
19. […]… […]

Commentary

Line 3: *Ḥn* is a probable reading, but the translation remains uncertain.

Line 4: Both *ḫpr* and *n-tr.ṯ=w* are not secure.

Line 5: *Ntnt* is to be identified with *nḏnḏ*, "fragen," *Glossar*, p. 235.

Line 6: Either *ỉ‘ỉy* or *fq* is possible at the end of the line.

Line 9: We had earlier transliterated *ỉw=s š*, but this is dubious.

Line 10: Read perhaps *n=k* at the end of the line.

Line 11: There is an animal skin determinative before *ỉrm*.

Line 15: Given the walking-legs determinative and the reflexive *ṯ*, one might restore a transitive verb of movement, with the sense of "I have betaken myself."

Line 16: Or read *qnw*, "strong man," for *qby*.

Line 17: For *nm.t*, "Zwerg (female)," see *Glossar*, p. 218.

Line 18: This is a standard writing of *Ḫnm*, *Glossar*, p. 384.

Line 19: The traces of the first sign speak in fact against the reading *mḫll*; perhaps rather *qll*, "frog," or "necklace," *Glossar*, p. 544.

V01.1

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] r-r=s [...]*
3 *[...] ḫn nꜣ (?) ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] to it [...]
3. [...] in the (?) ... [...]

V02

Column 1

Transliteration

1/1 *[...] y ... sbꜣ=f (?) [...]*
1/2 *[...] nw.w n tꜣ s.t nꜣ [...]*
1/3 *[...] r (?) nꜣ ꜥn.w my [...]*
1/4 *[...] in-mwṯ.w (?)* **mr-rḫ ḏ=f iḫ** *(?)*
1/5 *[... pꜣr=y pḫl Nwny.t [...]*
1/6 *[...] ... m bnr (?) n pr-ꜥnḫ pꜣ ḥyꜥ*
1/7 *[...] ... iw=f r ṯ-ꜥwy*
1/8 *[...] ... bnt.t ...*
1/9 *[...]*
1/10 *[...] ... ꜥn.w (?)*

Translation

1/1. [...] ... his teaching (?) [...]
1/2. [...] ... of the place of the [...]
1/3. [...] ... about (or "to"?) the baboons, let [...]
1/4. [...] dead ones. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What (?)

1/5. [...] I have come forth (to) encircle *Nut* [...]
1/6. [...] ... outside of (?) the House of Life, the torch (?)
1/7. [...] ... he will take (or "deliberate"?)
1/8. [...] ... threshold ...
1/9. [...]
1/10. [...] ... baboons (?)

Commentary

Line 2: The first sign may be the *nw* jar.

Line 3: The writing of *ꜥn.w* is strange, the two strokes following *ꜥ* being unparalleled.

Line 4: The *in-mwṯ.w* appear also in V01, 1/24.

Line 5: *Pḫl* is evidently *pḫr*, "to enchant/go around," *Glossar*, p. 139; see Jasnow, "The Greek Alexander Romance," *JNES* 56 (1997): 99–100.

For *Nwny.t*, see *Nw.t* (?)/ *Nn.t* (?), "Eigtl. der untere Himmel und seine Personifikation als Göttin. Auch als weibliches Gegenstück zum *Nwn*... . Seit N.R. (sehr oft Gr.) vom oberen Himmel; zumeist wie eine andere Schreibung für *Nw.t* gebraucht," *Wb.* 2, 213/7–10; *Nw.t*, *Glossar*, p. 211.

The sentence is reminiscent of the description of the powers of the Book of Thoth in Setne 1, wherein the magician can "enchant the heaven," *pḫr tꜣ p.t*, Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 102–03. The Chicago Demotic Dictionary also suggests *Nw.t*, citing M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 129. As Smith explains, the Demotic scribes could write *Nw.t* with the three water jars as if *Nwn*. We adopt that reading here.

To be sure, Naunet, with the determinatives for feminine deities, as Reymond, *Hermetic Writings*, p. 122, also yields sense; see further Grieshammer, *LÄ* 4, col. 534 ("Nun"). The connection with the Hermopolitan theology fits the Book of Thoth. *Nun* may represent here, for example, the sacred lake of the temple.

Line 6: *Ḥyꜥ* has been corrected, with the *ꜥ* written above the line. This word appears also in B02, 3/1. *Ḥꜥy* is "Kerze," *Glossar*, p. 293; see Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka*, p. 81.

On "Fackeln anzünden in der Erde" in the underworld texts, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 12; Fischer, *LÄ* 2, cols. 79–81 ("Fackeln und Kerzen").

Line 7: For *ṯ-ꜥwy*, see Jasnow, *Wisdom Text*, pp. 72–73.

Line 8: *Bnt.t* may be *bnn.t*, "die Schwelle (der Tür)," *Wb.* 1, 460/15. The reading is not certain.

Column 2

Transliteration

2/1 *[...]... [...]*
2/2 *i-iw=k* (or *i-ir=k* ?) ... *[...]*
2/3 *n ps syf... [...]*
2/4 *ipt [...]*
2/5 *n ꜥt [-kky ...]*
2/6 *plḥ [...]*
2/7 *r* (or *ḏ*) *ns w[...]*

Translation

2/1. [...] ... [...]
2/2. You (?) ... [...]
2/3. of the youth (?) ... [...]
2/4. secret chamber (?) [...]
2/5. of the Chamber (?) [of Darkness ...]
2/6. to open [...]
2/7. to (or "said") the ... [...]

Commentary

Line 3: This is perhaps *syf*, "youth," *Glossar*, p. 408, but *syf*, "Cedar-oil," *Glossar*, p. 408, or *syf*, "sword," *Glossar*, p. 409, is also possible.

Line 4: *ipt* is probably "hidden chamber," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 63, or *ipt*, "container," *Glossar*, p. 29.

Line 5: *ꜥt-kky* occurs frequently in this composition.

Line 6: *Plḥ* is *prḥ*, "to spread out," *Glossar*, p. 136.

V03.1

Transliteration

1 *[...]=fw ... [...]*
2 *[...]yn n [...]*

3 *[...]n st wpy ... [...]*
4 *[...] iḫ nse=w twsꜣ.w iḫ ns[e=w ...]*
5 *[...]... ḏ=fḫr ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] he ... [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [...] ... it (or "them"). Judge (or "open") ... [...]
4. [...] What are their praises (or "hieroglyphic signs")? What are th[eir ...]
5. [...] ... he says, ... [...]

V03.2

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*
2 *[...] y ns mn (?) [...]*
3 *[...]... st (?) r ꜥq r [...]*
4 *[...] smy (?) nꜣ ... [...]*
5 *[...fliy n šps [...]*
6 *[...]... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... the ... [...]
3. [...] ... they (?) will enter to [...]
4. [...] report (?) the ... [...]
5. [... car]ry with the arm [...]
6. [...] ... [...]

V03.3

This fragment is too damaged for transliteration.

V03.4

Transliteration

1 *[…]y … […]*
2 *[…]… […]*
3 *[…]… =y r ỉr (?) … […]*
4 *[…]… […]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … […]
3. […] … will … […]
4. […] … […]

V03.5

Transliteration

1 *[…]… […]*
2 *[…]… špt […]*
3 *[…] pȝ ỉȝb (?) […]*
4 *[…] mr[-rḫ …]*

Translation

1. […] … […]
2. […] … anger […]
3. […] the … […]
4. […] **The-one-who-loves-[knowledge** …]

Commentary

Line 2: *Špt* may be *špt*, "anger, vexation," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1003.

Line 3: This is the same problematic word as in B01, 1/3.

Y01.1

Transliteration

1 *[…] y … =f ṯ-wnw.t ḥr […]*
2 *[…]… pȝe=f sšt […]*
3 *[…]… y=f ḥb […]*
4 *[…] ḥpr (?) šms (?) […]*
5 *[…] r … ʿwy […]*
6 *[…] pȝ ỉ-ỉr tȝ … […]*
7 *[…] ym … n pȝ […]*
8 *[…]… b (?) […]*
9 *[…]… ỉr=k […]*
10 *[…]… nt […]*
11 *[…]… […]*
12 *[…]… […]*
13 *[…]… […]*
14 *[…]… ỉw=k […]*
15 *[…]… bʿ […]*
16 *[…]… […]*

Faint traces of several more lines (at least 19 total).

Translation

1. […] … he (or "him") (specific) hour … […]
2. […] … his secret (?) […]
3. […] … he (or "him") ibis (or "send") […]
4. […] to happen (?), to follow (?) […]
5. […] to … […]
6. […] the one who made … […]
7. […] sea (?) … of the […]
8. […] … […]
9. […] … you made […]
10. […] … […]
11. […] … […]
12. […] … […]
13. […] … […]
14. […] … you […]
15. […] … […]
16. […] … […]

Commentary

Line 1: For *ṯ-wnw.t*, see *Glossar*, p. 90.

Y01.2

Column 1

Transliteration

1/1 *[…]=f* (rubric?)
1/2 *[…] pꜣy*
1/3 *[…] p.t tꜣ pꜣy*
1/4 *[…] psḏ.t pꜣy*
1/5 *[…]… t*
1/6 *[…] iḫy*
1/7 *[…]… n*
1/8 *[…]…*
1/9 *[…]…*
1/10 *[…] n nꜣ sbꜣ.w*
1/11 *[…]bt*
1/12 *[…]* (night determinative)
1/13 *[…] kky*
1/14 *[…] ḫry-ꜥ.wy kky (?) ꜣsm*
1/15 *[…]…*
1/16 *[…]…*
1/17 *[…]…*

Faint traces of several more lines.

Translation

1/1. […] he (or "him") (rubric?)
1/2. […] is it
1/3. […] (of) heaven (and) earth is he (?).
1/4. […] the Ennead is it.
1/5. […]…
1/6. […]…
1/7. […]…
1/8. […]…
1/9. […]…
1/10. […] of the gates (or "teaching")
1/11. […]…
1/12. […]…
1/13. […] darkness
1/14. […] assistants of darkness (?)…
1/15. […]…
1/16. […]…
1/17. […]…

Y01.2

Column 2

Traces of thirteen lines (in lines 3 and 5 *nꜣ* […]). In line 8 is written *tꜣ* […].

Y01.3 and C04.7

Transliteration

C04.7, 1 *[…]… […]*

C04.7, 2 *[…]… […]*

C04.7, 3 *[…]… ḫꜥ […]*

Y01.3, 1 *ꜣḥ n=f sp-2 ms[…]*
C04.7, 4 *ꜣḥ n=f ms=k (?) […]*

Y01.3, 2 *ḥp ḫr pr n pꜣ nt ḫr […]*
C04.7, 5 *[…] ḫr pr pꜣ nt ḫr pꜣ htm […]*

Y01.3, 3 *n-tr.t ỉr=f ꜥnḫ […]*
C04.7, 6 *[…] n-tr.t ỉr=f ꜥnḫ ḫr tp n rmt […]*

Y01.3, 4 *n-tr.t ḏ=f iḫy n […]*
C04.7, 7 *n-tr.t ḏ=f iḫy rmt n … […]*

Y01.3, 5 *n-tr.t ḏ=f kꜣ n rn […]*
C04.7, 8 *n-tr.t ḏ=f kꜣ n rn … […]*

Y01.3, 6 *tr.t ḏ=f spw […]*
C04.7, 9 *[…] n-tr.t ḏ=f sp n rn n nꜣ […]*

Y01.3, 7 ..... *ỉ-ỉr qmꜣ… […]*
C04.7, 10 *[…]… ỉ-ỉr qmꜣ… n n sḫ.t […]*

Y01.3, 8 *ḫstb mfky ꜥm-tꜣ.wy […]*
C04.7, 11 *ḫstb mfky […]*

Y01.3, 9 *ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f […]*
C04.7, 12 *ḫr=f n Ḥs-rḫ ḏ=f […]*

Y01.3, 10 *[Mr]-rḫ ḏ=f… […]*

Y01.3, 11 *[ḫr]=f n Ḥs-rḫ […]*

Y01.3, 12 *[…]… […]*

Y01.3, 13 *[…]… […]*

Translation

C04.7, 1. […]… […]
C04.7, 2. […]… […]
C04.7, 3. […]… […]

Y01.3, 1 and C04.7, 4. Fight for him, fight for him … you (or "your")… […]

Y01.3, 2 and C04.7, 5. law upon (or "concerning") the house of the one who is upon the throne […]

Y01.3, 3 and C04.7, 6. Since he made life under the head of a man (?) […]

Y01.3, 4 and C04.7, 7. Since he said "possession (or 'spirit') of a man (?)" as … […]

Y01.3, 5 and C04.7, 8. Since he said "bull" as name of … […]

Y01.3, 6 and C04.7, 9. Since he said "*Sp*" as name of the […]

Y01.3, 7 and C04.7, 10. … which created … in (or "of") the field […]

Y01.3, 8 and C04.7, 11. lapis lazuli and turquoise (of?) He-who-understands-the-two-lands (= Thoth) […]

Y01.3, 9 and C04.7, 12. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** […]

Y01.3, 10. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "… […]
Y01.3, 11. He [speaks], namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge […]
Y01.3, 12. […]… […]
Y01.3, 13. […]… […]

Commentary

C04.7, 2: There is a man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative, possibly followed by *n*.

C04.7, 3: There seems to be the remains of a cobra or tongue at the beginning of the line.

Y01.3, 1 and C04.7, 4: *N=f* is presumably a dative.

Sp-2 appears to be lacking in C04.7.

Ms does not have a clear determinative, so no translation can be offered. In C04.7, 4, *ms-ḥ.t* or *ms-ḥ.t* (= Coptic ⲙⲉⲥϩⲏⲧ, "Brust," *KHWB*, p. 103?) seems to be written.

Y01.3, 2 and C04.7, 5: The appearance of *ḥp*, "law, custom," here is curious, and it is unfortunate that the context is lost. This may be a heading for the following lines.

Htm is "der Thron," *Glossar*, p. 282. It can also mean a "box," or "chest," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 609.

Y01.3, 3 and C04.7, 6: The author may recount here the achievements of Thoth or the creator god.

Y01.3, 4 and C04.7, 7: *iḫy* is written as if *iḫy*, "Besitz," *Glossar*, p. 42, but "Geist," may be intended.

Rmt is not certain, but seems to be written just as in the previous line.

Y01.3, 5 and C04.7, 8: Again, this line may describe the creative powers of the deity.

Y01.3, 6 and C04.7, 9: Since the determinative of *sp* is not preserved in either version, no translation can be confidently offered.

Y01.3, 7 and C04.7, 10: The first word cannot be *n-tr.t*, although it is not entirely dissimilar from it in appearance.

The object of *qmꜣ* may be a type of plant, to judge from the determinative.

Y01.4 and B14.1

Transliteration

B14.1, 1/1 *[…]ḫy n=f ḫr-r=s*

B14.1, 1/2 *[…]… [i]w=f iy n=f*

B14.1, 1/3 *[……] mr.ṯ=f iw=f ḥq=f*
Y01.4, 1 *[…]… mr.ṯ=f iw=f ḥq (?) […]*

B14.1, 1/4 *[…… s] r mw ḥnʿ nꜣ sp.w*
Y01.4, 2 *[……]… ir=f s r mw ḥnʿ nꜣ […]*

Y01.4, 3 *[…] rn (?) n nꜣ (or tꜣ) sḫ.t ir=f s r nꜣ iḫ.w […]*

B14.1, 1/5 *[…] pr.t (?)… ḏ=f s r nꜣ kꜣ.w* (supra *iḫ.wt*) *nt ir nḫt (?)*
Y01.4, 4 *[……] ḏ=f s r nꜣ kꜣ.w …*

B14.1, 1/6 *[.....] ḏ=f s r nꜣ kꜣ.w nt ỉr tl*
Y01.4, 5 *[...] (water det.) ḏ=f s r nꜣ kꜣ.w [...]*

B14.1, 1/7 *[.....] ḏ=f s r pꜣ ḫyt ḫr wtḥ*
Y01.4, 6 *[...]... ḏ=f s r pꜣ [...]*

B14.1, 1/8 *[.....] rn snw (?)*
Y01.4, 7 *[...] pꜣe=f rn snw (?)*

B14.1, 1/9 *[...]... mnš r ms=w iḫy.w*
Y01.4, 8 *[...]... mnš r m[s...]*

B14.1, 1/10 *[.....]* (scribal det.) *ỉn mꜣꜣ=k ỉn ỉr=k ḥ... b...*
Y01.4, 9 *[.....]... ỉn mꜣꜣ=k [...]*

B14.1, 1/11 *[...]... my rḫ=y s sᶜ...=f*
Y01.4, 10 *[...]*

B14.1, 1/12 *[...] sḫ n pꜣ ᶜwy n kk ... bꜣ.w-Rᶜ (?) ḫn[=f]*
Y01.4, 11 *[...]... [...]*

There are traces of remaining lines of Y01.4, of which only *tꜣe=f psḏ.t*, "his ennead," can be recognized about line 16 and possibly *Mr-rḫ ḏ=f* in line 17.

B14.1, 1/13 *[...].t ḫny pḫy*

B14.1, 1/14 *[...] ᶜwy n wꜣḥ my pry rn=k (?) n sšt*

B14.1, 1/15 *[...]... ỉw=f... [...]... ḥn [...]*

B14.1, 1/16 *[...] ỉw=f n sḫ ... [...]*

Traces of signs of a second column
B14.1, 2/1 *... y [...]*
B14.1, 2/2 *... [...]*

Translation

B14.1, 1/1. [...] ... to him under it.
B14.1, 1/2. [...] ... he comes to him (or "away").
B14.1, 1/3 and Y01.4, 1. [...] ... loves him, he will enchant him.
B14.1, 1/4 and Y01.4, 2. [...] He made (or "said") it for the water and the soakings (?)
Y01.4, 3. [...] name (?) of the fields (?). He made it as the cows [...]

B14.1, 1/5 and Y01.4, 4. [...] seed (?) ... He said it concerning the bulls (*supra* "cows" in B14.1) which are powerful (?).
B14.1, 1/6 and Y01.4, 5. [...] (water det.) **He said** it concerning the bulls which make strength.
B14.1, 1/7 and Y01.4, 6. [...] **He said** it concerning the threshing-floor (covered) with grain.
B14.1, 1/8 and Y01.4, 7. [...] his (or "its") name *snw* (?).
B14.1, 1/9 and Y01.4, 8. [...] ... excellent (?), they having created possessions (?).
B14.1, 1/10 and Y01.4, 9. [...] (scribal-roll determinative) Have you seen (or "remained")? Have you made ...?
B14.1, 1/11 and Y01.4, 10. [...] ... Let me know it ...
B14.1, 1/12. [...] writing of the House of Darkness ... the souls of Re (?) in [it.]
B14.1, 1/13. [...] ... *ḫny*-water ...
B14.1, 1/14. [...] place of storage. Let your name come forth ... [...]
B14.1, 1/15. [...] ... it (or "he") being ... [...] ... [...]
B14.1, 1/16. [...] it being written (?) ... [...]

Traces of signs of a second column

Commentary

B14.1, 1/4: *Sp. w* may be ɔɯn, "eintauchen," *KHWB*, p. 192.

B14.1, 1/14: *ᶜwy.w n wꜣḥ* occurs in B02, 4/12.
The determinative of *sšt* is lost; it is probably associated with *sšt*, "secret," *Glossar*. p. 465.

Y01.5 and B14.2

Transliteration

Y01.5, 1 *[...] ꜥꜣ... ỉw=f snt (?)... ḥ.t (?)... [...]*
Y01.5, 2 *[...]... tp [...]*
Y01.5, 3 *[...]... qt ntr.w [...] r ṯ ᶜwy*
Y01.5, 4 *[...] m ᶜny ... [...]... tky (?) [...]*
Y01.5, 5 *[...]... ls ḥt (?) [...]... ỉw=f [...]*
Y01.5, 6 *[...]... wn ḥb(?) m ... [...] f... sšš... [...]*
Y01.5, 7 *[...] ft... [...]... l... [...]*

Y01.5, 8 *[...]... [...] f wnᶜwn ... [...]*
B14.2, 1 *[..... wn]ᶜwn nꜣe=f wnᶜw.wt*

Y01.5, 9 *[...]... [...]... n nꜣe=f šms.w [...]*
B14.2, 2 *[..... nꜣ]e=f šms.w ...*

Y01.5, 10 *[…] m … […]… m wb … […]*
B14.2, 3 *[…] ..... wbꜣ h šms ib=f*

Y01.5, 11 *[…]… […]… ḫy (?) … […]*
B14.2, 4 *[…] ḥy.w (?) … nꜣ bꜣ-n-Rʿ (?) nt … […]*

Y01.5, 12 *[…]… […]… iw=f (?) ṯsy … […]*
B14.2, 5 *[…]… ntnt*

Y01.5, 13 *[…]… […] ḫn pꜣ ym … […]*
B14.2, 6 *[…]*

Y01.5, 14 *[…] iw=s ṯ-yʿl r tʿmy …]*
B14.2, 7 *[.....] r tʿmy=f*

Y01.5, 15 *[…]… […]*
B14.2, 8 *[…]ꜣ.t=f*

Y01.5, 16 *[…] ʿw (?) n ḥt (?) […]*
B14.2, 9 *[…]… nꜣ it.w i-ir š ms […]*

Y01.5, 17 *[…]… […]*
B14.2, 10 *[…] ky ḏ nꜣe=f mw.w*

B14.2, 11 *[…]… bḥ n qnw […]*

B14.2, 12 *[…]… n mn (?) […]*

Translation

Y01.5, 1. […] abundant, he founds (?) … chapel (?) … […]
Y01.5, 2. […] … upon (?) […]
Y01.5, 3. […] … construct the gods […] to deliberate (?)
Y01.5, 4. […] … […] … […]
Y01.5, 5. […] … tongue … […] … […]
Y01.5, 6. […] … pastophoros (?), Festival (?) … […] … […]
Y01.5, 7. […] … […] … […]
Y01.5, 8 and B14.2, 1. […] … […] … traverse his hours.
Y01.5, 9 and B14.2, 2. […] … […] … of his followers […]
Y01.5, 10 and B14.2, 3. […] … […] … a butler serves his heart.
Y01.5, 11 and B14.2, 4. […] rain (?) … the souls of Re (?) which … […]
Y01.5, 12 and B14.2, 5. […] … […] … he raises up (?) … to ask.
Y01.5, 13 and B14.2, 6. […] … […] in the sea … […]
Y01.5, 14 and B14.2, 7. […] she will cross the river to sail on it.
Y01.5, 15 and B14.2, 8. […] his …

Y01.5, 16 and B14.2, 9. […] broad of throat (?) … the fathers who began (?) to give birth […]
Y01.5, 17 and B14.2, 10. […] another version: his waters.
B14.2, 11. […] … in the breast (or "lap") […]
B14.2, 12. […] … […]

Commentary

(Line numbers according to Y01.5)

Line 5: Compare the possible *ls=k ḥt* in V01, 1/2 (with other readings suggested *ad locum*). See also the note to line 16 of this text.

Line 8: *Wnwn* is perhaps *wnwn*, "traverse," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 233.

Line 9: For the writing of *šms*, see M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 71.

Line 10: *Wb* may be *wbꜣ*, "Diener," *Wb.* 1, 292/1–6.

Line 14: The correspondence between B14.2 and Y01.5 is very likely, although the space between the preceding line in B14.2 is unusually large. *Tʿmy* seems to be *dmi*, "to sail on," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1196. Significantly, she suggests that the word is only attested with this sense in Edfu (literally, it is "to touch").

Line 16: *Ḥt* may be *ḥty.t*, "Kehle," *Wb.* 3, 181/4–16 (not in *Glossar*).

Y01.6

No visible signs.

IV. Consecutive Translation

Preliminary Remark: The sequence of the translation must be considered tentative, since it depends on our reconstruction and interpretation of the numerous papyri preserving the composition. It should also be emphasized that the translations are often eclectic, based on our understanding of the various witnesses to a given line. We have not systematically translated here all of the divergent versions of a line; we only do so where otherwise particularly serious misunderstandings might ensue. We have omitted completely broken passages. The headings of the individual sections present the chief witness to that section; the line numberings are also, where possible, those of that chief witness to a given section.

V01 Column 1 (= x+1)

V01, 1/1. [...] harvest (?) of a field ... growth of *ʾt.w-* plants
V01, 1/2. [...] your tongue is firm (?), at the mouths.
V01, 1/3. [...] ... the plants, do not ignore (?) them.
V01, 1/4. [...] ... your ... to your ... He commanded (?).
V01, 1/5. [...] ... to his (?) ...
V01, 1/14. [...] your ...
V01, 1/15. [...] your ... your tongue (?) ...
V01, 1/16. [...] ... to supply (?) and choose (?)

V01, 1/17. [...] ... **The-one-who-loves-**
C04.8, 1–2. [...] ... your ... [... /] ... [...]

V01, 1/18. [**knowledge** ...] ... the tools
C04.8, 3. [..... too]ls of fighting ... [...]

V01, 1/19. [...] ... raise the fight (?)

C04.8, 4. [...] chisel, to grasp ... [...]

V01, 1/21. [...] ... in the evening

V01, 1/22. [...] to write (?). Let

C04.8, 7. [...] ... the spirits before (?) [...]

V01, 1/24. [...] ... before (?) the deceased ones.
C04.8, 8. [...] ... your scribal palette ... [...]

V01 Column 2

V01, 2/1. between (?) [...]
V01, 2/3. ... he sees (or "dreams"?) [...]
C04.3, 3. [...] you (or "your") ... are they ... [...]

V01, 2/4. instruction, the ... [...]
C04.3, 4. [...] ... mother (?) ... [...]

V01, 2/5. while (or "to") your nurse ... [...]
C04.3, 5. [...] ... he (or "his") ... [...]

V01, 2/6. is the Ennead. Do not ... [...]
C04.3, 6. [...] all (?) ... [...]

C04.3, 7. [.....] his ears of grain of gold are these [...]

V01, 2/8. Lord of Hermopolis [...]

V01, 2/9. And they are lords (?) [...]

V01, 2/10. silent (?) before (?) ... [...]

V01, 2/11. in its (or "his") ... [...]
V01, 2/12. and I supply [...]
V01, 2/13. upon the tongue [...]

V01, 2/14. his nose, your (?) [...]

V01, 2/16. They do not eat [...]

F13, 5. [...] They do not die in a year [...]

F13, 6. [...] ... you. And there is no (?) difficulty (?) [...]

V01, 2/19. go and come ... [...]
F13, 7. [...] ... supply in (?) [...]

V01 Column 3

V01, 3/1. [...] ... Do not take your box of Shai (= Seshat) in the house of your doctor at (?) your [...] ... They do not ... you. They do not [...]
V01, 3/2. [...] ... Do not touch (?) the *nhy.t* book upon the scribal water-jar on your day [...]

V01, 3/3. [...] 2 *sšm*-animals (?), they serving the scribal palette with wine (?) ... his ... [...]
V01, 3/4. [...] place upon you ... to go to cause that the scribal palette appear, while the two feathers (?) ... foremost of ... [...]
V01, 3/5. [... Chamber of] Darkness. Beware, beware (?) ... spend the night, spend the day in the container of coal. You are to find scribal equipment (?) ... may I make ... [...]
V01, 3/6. [...] ... [...] ... between them. Do not be weak in being strong of heart ... may you teach concerning the law of god ... supply (?) ... let ... [...]
V01, 3/7. [...] his character (?) to ... wish (?) ... of praising the god to him worship ... gates. Let be near (?) ... [...]
V01, 3/8. [...] you (or "your") in your (?) ... your nurse, men (?) ... and he raise you up (?) and he ... heart ... [...]
V01, 3/9. [...] ... make for you ... teach him (?) ... milk, nurse ... to go around ... [...]
V01, 3/10. [...] ... a *hr*-vase for his mouth. It is a breast. His tongue ... [...] ... plot (?) of field ... [...]
V01, 3/11. [...] ... fingers ... his ... Do not be weak (?) in nursing from the saying of ... [...] the ones who planted (?) with the seed (?) ... [...]
V01, 3/12. [...] He supplied the *bas* ... the dogs ... fisherman (?) ... the [...] nest (?) in her [...]
V01, 3/13. [...] He opened his mouth. He replied to his disciples (?) (regarding) the lords of offerings (?) ... the *bas*... in (or "of") the net (?) ... [...]
V01, 3/14. [...] they fly ... the wise one (?) ... He is their herdsman who makes for them sustenance.
V01, 3/15. [...] ... his hand. The papyrus (or "scribe") is a nest. His yo[ung ones (?) are ...] the papyrus rolls (or "generations"), that is, ... [...]
V01, 3/16. [... their] *bas* (?). **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I wish to make explanations concerning the praises of *Is*[*ten* ...]
V01, 3/17. [...] ... *bas*. He equipped the *bas*. He said: "Supply the net (?) which catches (?) [...]
V01, 3/18. [...] your mouth. Your perch (?) ... supply your nets [...] ... hunter who hunts (?) [...]
V01, 3/19. [...] ... hunters upon ... [...] He said: "The fish and the birds which enter to (?) [...]
V01, 3/20. [...] ... Open the mouth [...] ... therein: Do not be weak in hunt(ing) [...]
V01, 3/21. [...] in (or "of") the treasury. They do not fear on account of a year (?) of ... [...]
V01, 3/22. [...] Are you able to act as a fisherman (or "hunter," "craftsman"?) [...] they do not pass you by ... [...]
V01, 3/23. [...] their [...] that which they are in [...] in your ... [...]
V01, 3/24. [...] Do you go upon (?) ... [...] your hand (?). They do not ... [...]

V01 Column 4

V01, 4/1. [...] herdsman ... food for their ... these who make ... [...]
V01, 4/2. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "As for the net [...] I have joined with its (or "their") hunters. Pay attention (?) to ... [...]
V01, 4/3. ... [...] ... their (?) scribal palette with its (or "her") perch ... [...]
V01, 4/4. ... [...] places ... hunt (or "supply"). I spent yesterday (?) [...]
V01, 4/5. Make (?) [...] And I cause (?) that her mouths be open. Let [...]
V01, 4/6. And [...] ... her ... [...]
V01, 4/7. ... [...] river ... field, its forms (?) [...]
V01, 4/8. [...] ... its heat ... [...]
V01, 4/9. Its fragments ... [...] ... the hunters (?) [...]
V01, 4/10. Her ... [...] ... to catch birds [...]

V01, 4/11. of (or "for") fishermen ... [...] give them ... [...] He revealed it before [...]
C04.1, 1. [...] You are she who binds [...]
F07.4, 4. [...] ... I explained (?) ... [...]

V01, 4/12. hunt ... [...] ...
F07.4, 5. [...] ... **He says:** "The ... [...]

V01, 4/13. If I do not (?) ... [...] reveal (?) the ... the baboon which [...] ... bites [...] with its mouth, the one who reaches ... [...] ...
V01, 4/14. Let one make me ... [...] ... that which is (at?) the mouth of her ... [...] the elder in bowing ... It is its perch.
V01, 4/15. The souls. He said [...] these elders (or "sacred animals") which open up the storeroom ... to seek (?) its produce (?) of turquoise (?) ...
V01, 4/16. ... [...] sacred great ones, these ... not to become sated; not to become drunk ...
V01, 4/17. ... [...] ... he ... lake of life which is before Shai (= Seshat) ... [...]

Continuation of Text Based on C04.1 and C04.2

C04.1, 8. [... these] beasts, these birds, these ... [...] ... which possess no herdsman [...]
C04.1, 9. She who catches them (?) in a marshy region (?) ... [...] to hunt ... [...]
C04.1, 10. [...] every sort of net of (?) their hunting ... [...] ... hunting in truth (?) [...]
C04.1, 11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "The four (?) good nets ... [...] the father judges ...[...]
C04.1, 12. Are you the huntress who hunts [...] ... judge me ... [...]
C04.1, 13. Are you the trapper who traps the ... [...] ...
F10, 5. Are you the one who binds ... [...]
F10, 6. Are you the bird-trapper [...]
C04.2, 1. I am the son of a man who ... [...]
C04.2, 2. I am like unto ... [...]

Continuation of Text Based on Column 1 of B02 (line numbering follows B01)

1. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** "Do you lead for (or "say 'leader' to") the one who knows how to act // or does the wise one instruct that (?) [which] they will do?
2. Is a father the one who gives an example (to) his son // or the compulsion of the stick or is the school-master the one who instructs?
3. Control (?) over the heart and tongue is that which causes a prophet to come about. // The field is that which gives birth to her children which are as one (?).
4. Have respect (?) for the offspring! Is fruit (?) of the mortuary offering-prayer that which gives life to it (the field)? A hungry man, he is the one who will take away a piece.
5. Behold them (or "What are they"), the trees and the ... of lapis lazuli and tur[-quoise]? Is it (not) the father who makes for them guidance?
6. Is a learned one he who instructs? The sacred beasts and the birds, teaching comes about for them,
7. (but) what is the book chapter which they have read? The four-footed beasts which are upon the mountains, do they not have guidance?
8. The Chapter ... of the scribal equipment, the occasion of gaining authority over it. The one who would have ascended (?)
9. before the one who caused them to ascend ... the amulet ... the one who instructs

B02, 1/4. [...] ... the one who prophesizes ... [...]
B01, 1/9a. upon ... stick ... in a ...
B02, 1/5. ... the (female) ... who began writing (= Seshat?) ... [...]
B01, 1/10–11. all of them (?). The heart of Re (?), the wise ones (?) ... They do not delay (?) ... a limb, it being with them. / The good chapel (or "office"?) in the land of the fathers ...
B02, 1/6–7 [...] ... heart of Re is that which gives wise ones [...]
B01, 1/10a. It is the sacred animal (?). He does not say (?) ...
B01, 1/11–12. ... who placed it in ... it being dry (or "he seeing"?) in the interior of / the egg.
B01, 1/12. They ... the field ..., while the lamp is before them, they being (as) a living image.

13. of the foremost one of the temple of Heseret ... the ... off-spring (or "offerings") being before (?) them ... in the jar of the (or "spell of the") incense, the bread and beer (?) ... before ...
14. the sustenance entirely (?). The one from whom they are, the heart of Re is that which gives the wise ones [...] ... him (?) ...
15. His sons of the *wn-ỉmȝ.w*-priests are (?) the ones whom he will raise up in his (?) ...
16. the ... of Shai (= Seshat) harms (or "bends") his heart ... the praises of *Isten*, ruler (?) ...
17. ... his ... in his limb after him ... Is his heart that which is upon them?
18. The collection (?) of the reeds, which (?) are gathered together (as) a teaching, they making a treasury in the house of books.

B01, 2/1. They reveal another box of divine-secrets. Their craftsman is the one who interprets (or "prophesizes") about them.

B01, 2/2. ... an old one from ... to a ... box of the papyrus-rolls entirely (?) at his side (?).

Continuation of Text Based on Column 2 of B02

1. If a magician (or "scholar") raises (?) ..., a field, the reeds go about him (or "it").
2. He has supplied the *bas* of Re. Do they not serve the one who desires (to be) a prophet, since (or "so that") he will not be able to become a craftsman?
3. As for the magicians (or "scholars") who came into existence earlier, do they not have a second party? SPATIUM "Helper."
4. Let him act as a school-master. May his mouth reveal the teaching of the one who understands the body.
5. Incline to the scribe! Write a book ...! Pronounce a spell! Be disposed to ask advice of the one in his moment (or "horoscopist," "astronomer")!
6. Hear the good word! ... [...] Be sweet of tongue! Be the most meditative of the meditating ones! (Alternative: "Be the most industrious of the industrious ones!")
7. ... hieroglyphic sign, craftsman. Let him who is strong of arm be at rest (?)!
8. The ... breath (?) ... one ... the ...
9. Does ... the servants of Horus, they raising a troop more numerous than the enchantments of the heart?
10. They will ... they will flatter (?) the strong one. They will bow down to the craftsman who makes up 1,000. (L01: "They will assign [?] his servants to the craftsman who amounts to 1,000").
11. ... his ... and myriads bow before him.
12. As for his beloved, he being in complete darkness (or "Chamber of Darkness"), the teaching will light for him a torch.
13. Does he ... (to) Isis, [the] one who lives through eternity, they will burn him to his (very) bones.
14. They will make a burning in his lips. They will set his limbs ablaze.
15. She will make ... to his heart before (?) the chamber which has cooked his two *kk*-organs (?).
16. Will it come to be that ... the initiated ones (or "torches") will draw near before him.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 3 of B02

1. He (will) place *tšps*-oil upon their wicks, // new cloth upon their candles.
2. As soon as the one who has come receives them (?), // he will seek the secret compartments of the lord of the *Heden*-plant.
3. O one-who-...-his-heart, // may its (or "his") lightness be removed. // It is raised up to ... death. (L01: "It is heavier than the ... of death.")

4. May he be equipped on his foot. // May he gird himself against the darkness. // May he move confidently in the light of his life-time.
5. May he grab the oar (of) the steering-oar post with his arm. // Let him set fast his hand to the ship's-hand (?) (L01: "mooring-post")
6. May he make a sailing in the sea of *šn'*. // May he row in the river of coals.
7. Effective is the chapel of the *bas*. Eff[ective is] the one who takes possession for himself of the storeroom of the deceased spirits.
8. May he open his throat. // May he give praise to it. // Many are the names of the chapel of the *bas*.
9. May he learn the number of times of calling out to the (door), "great protector (?)" of Mut (B02: "the striker" of Mut), the great one of the enchanters.
10. As for the one who takes possession for himself of the teaching, // may he look to the star. // May he learn the constellation(s) of the heaven in night.
11. May his fingers work (in?) the house of the lion // so as to divide the strong ones upon the roof
12. until he finds the gathering over eye, ear, heart, tongue, hand, sole of the foot,
13. and he learns the Book of Insight, the Book of Power, the Book of Annals, the Book of the Djed-pillar (?), the Book of Interpretation, ... the Book of ..., and the Book of ...
14. and he drinks in the Book of Proclaiming the Proclaiming (?) of Praise, and the Book of Honoring their Father who is Powerful,
15. and he understands the difficult passages, and he elucidates the praises, and he becomes an apprentice of the Servant of Thoth (L01: "Great of Five").
16. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the claw which fastens on the tongue? // O select of speech, reveal the tools!"

Continuation of Text Based on Column 4 of B02

1. May one say to me (L01: "also") the nurse who nurtures language // that I may suck from her breasts.
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret** (B01: **"The-one-who-praises-knowledge"**), **he says:** "Take for yourself 'The Mighty-one' (L01 'the door') which protects (B02: 'is loaded with') *bas*. // Praise her. // Let her answer you.
3. Your causing that your voice be loud (means) // her wish to hear you (and) // her coming quickly to you.
4. If you should praise her at the occasion of the New Year, // "The Mighty-One" will return so as to answer to you.
5. If you understand her (and if) you comprehend her praises, // she will make her place at your mouth, you being thirsty.
6. Open the doors of your divinity before her. // Call out to her **120** times. // She hears.
7. Great is the immense number which the intelligent jackal listens to her, // and she loves him (the intelligent jackal).

L01 Great is the immense number which she listens to him, this one, the intelligent jackal and she [loves him.]

8. She does not disdain to act (for) the one humble of face. // Hers is the intelligent dog (?), and she hastens to answer him.
9. And he calls out to her **seven thousand** times **seventy-seven** times // and she does not come at his voice.
10. She looks before her ... // She completes millions. // They do not complete her. (L01 "before her. Her ... complete. She completes millions. They do not complete her.")
11. Your seeking her (means) her coming quickly. // On your day of desiring her, you find her.
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is writing? // What are its places of storage? // Compare it to its like, O overflowing one!
13. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Writing (or "a book") is a sea. // Its reeds are a shore. // Hasten therein, little one, little one!
14. Hurry to the shore! // Count waves (?) (or "difficult passages"). // As for its body, it is a myriad. // Do not be weak with regard to it (the sea)
15. until its lord permits that you swim in it // and he makes a perfect place (?) (or "very fair wind") before you.
16. The **seven** reeds which resemble the plow in the **seven** fields of "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands."

Continuation of Text Based on Column 5 of B02

1. As for the farmer who stands up, he being in the presence of (L01: "two") companions, // he divides up portions (as) his **1/4th** of barley (L01: "his milled barley").
2. As for his seed-corn which is in these storerooms, // they being marked off (and) surrounded by a thick wall.
3. The second body thereof which acts for them as master, // they have assigned reeds (?) which [they] cannot reach.

L01 The second body thereof which has acted for them as the masters of the fields of reeds (?). Another version: they are the Red and Black which cannot be reached.

4. As for these storerooms, they are overflowing with coal: their meanings, // a hand which works.
5. As for the one who ascends to them, without his having experienced heat, // their roasting burns his fingers.
6. ... The scribal palette is the beautiful praise which (is) in the arm of (the god) *ir* in its true name.
7. He speaks to me: "I am wronged. // I cannot put down the harvest-tax. // Another will also not bring it.

L01 He speaks to me. I am half (= half paid-up?). I cannot pay in full the harvest-tax. Another will also not bring it in (or "from") my hand.

8. One took one-half (of) one for (or "of") Ptah-teny, // he being half in Nun, without his (Nun) having inundated me.

L01 One took 2/3 (?) (from) one for Ptah-teny, he being in half, without ... he did not inundate.

9. As for the one who has ordered it to cultivate his fields, // (he is) *qspw* in his select names.
10. Honor be to the one who carries off the fruits in these high-fields; // honor be to the one abundant of fruits.
11. The one who reaps them is the one who gives the harvest-tax. // High is their harvest of their cultivation (?).
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one say to me the work of the fist, // the hand which labors on the divine writings."
13. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Your **three** fingers, place the brush between them. // Your two fingers, let them make a grasping.
14. Place the **one-tenth** and **one-twentieth** for the Great of Five, Thoth, // send (L01: "between them [the fingers]") the ink-holder (?) before your fingers.
15. Be good with your hand! // Write with your fingers! // As for movement and staying-still, make a commanding of them to the fingers!
16. Every type of free-movement (is) their (the fingers') share, // excellence (in) writing (means) the collection of the praises, they being quick.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 6 of B02

1. As for every (kind of) writing, their rapid approach // (means) their becoming a craftsman quickly. // Do not turn away!
2. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is its nature? // What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?"
3. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "They have named it the *ʾt*-plant, namely, the *ʾt*-plant of life, // which the land of mooring will touch it (the brush)."
4. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Let one command for me the word which gives birth to the prophets // that I may cause that they become pregnant in my flesh.
5. Let one open for me the well (or "nurse") which unites with the wise ones // that I may drink from its sweet water.
6. The vulva (or "nurse") which is as a nurse for the learned one (or "door"), // may I enter into its doorposts.
7. Behold, my mouth is open. // May one give to it milk // that she may make her place before (my) mouth, I being thirsty."
8. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Come that I may instruct you concerning ... the writing which Thoth gave to the hand of his disciple.

9. Write, O little one! // Take counsel with the wise man! // Do not come forth [...]
10. Ask the one less important than yourself! // Desire to listen to the voice of the wise man! // Do not [...]
11. Do not command fighting against a prophet! // Take a magic book of protection (?)! // Do not be weak of heart (?) concerning reaching its end (i.e, the teaching's end)!
12. Take thought for tomorrow! // Be troubled (?) with regard to its like (i.e., the day after tomorrow)! // Say to me every ... [...]
13. Establish seriousness (or "weightiness")! // Be firm with regard to the teaching! // ... [...]
14. Do not permit the coming into being of an incompetent man as a servant of the Demotic script ... [...]
15. Be engaged (?) with all types of difficult passages, // they being varied in form, without there [...]
16. Be abundant in looking! // Be abundant in acting! // Be abundant in hearing! [...]

Continuation of Text Based on Column 7 of B02

1. Come, let me cause you to know them, // namely, the ⌜four⌝ bandages (or "precepts"?) of the life [...]
2. Set your heart upon the god! // Adhere to the law! // Make ... [...] // Go (?) in *maat*!
3. Be small of conceit and praise! // Be a good man! // Do not ... [...] ... this which you have heard."
4. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! // O foremost one of (or "before") the House of Documents! // Begin with the children of your teaching!
5. You have been for me a craftsmen. // You have diminished my trouble. // You have taken control of my (?) ...
6. You have been for me a farmer, // I being like unto a field, I being dry. // You have been for me (?) ... [...]
7. They have given me to you, // I being worthy. // You opened me in your image ... [...] ... To cause him (or "it") to live (?).
8. You have separated for me my tongue. // You have opened for me. // You have opened (or "given") to me the possibility for going and coming.
9. You have lessened hatred of me. // You have brought love of me. // You have caused that my praise come quickly.
10. You have caused that I achieve old age, I being (still) young. // I have sent off (or "written to") those older than I through your effective magic.
11. You have given to me the status, although I am but a youth. // I have written to the great ones (= comforted the hearts of great ones) by means of your assistance (?).
12. You caused that I be abundant in nurses, when I was alone. // You made for me a troop of youths.
13. You have given flame (?) (or "moisture") of your mouth. // Reveal to me sustenance (or "spit"). // The beneficent power of your body has flowed over me.

14. ... for me the benefaction. // You have acted for me, I being as a living image eternally.
15. I will stand as a statue ... // I will make (or "be") for you a divine statue (or "monument"), I being as an image of the foremost of (or "before") his ...
16. I will have power over your papyrus roll. // I will worship your teaching, // I being protected (or "I protecting"?) ... your beautiful name.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 8 of B02

1. I will praise god for you, O foremost one of the temple of Ptah, // in the festival of *iy-m-ḥtp* before *Wsir-nḥ-nfr-ḥtp*.
2. I will cause your name to live beside the living *ba*. // I will divinize your *ba* before the *ba* of his divinity.
3. A *ḥtp*<*-ti-*>*nswt* to your *ka* at (your) [al]tar, // a worshiping your name before the sacred images.
4. Come you, O one who lives as the craftsman of *Isten*. // O praised one of the heart of Re, may he cause that you ⌜recite⌝.
5. May I praise god for you, // and may I cause that your name be eternally youthful. // (May I) cause your *ba* to enter before my father.
6. I am with you as an heir like a son of the land of the fathers. // May your teaching act as a nursemaid for me.
7. You have made me a ruler (?) through the raising of the hand ("for" or "of") the one who created me, // so that I may become an heir of your divine instructions.
8. O honored one! Let one cause that my name remain. // Let me enter among the nobles.
9. Let one place me on the bark of the divine *bas*. // The wise ones who are in the setting forth.
10. May I gather in (?) as a seer; // may I become like unto a monument (or "statue," "sign"), // and I become one with the assistants.
11. I have completed the action of the funerary offering through pronouncing my name in the darkness, // while I fight with the *bas*.
12. May one open for me the roads of going (to) the House of Life. // I will spread myself out on my belly before Shai (= Seshat).
13. May one open for me the path of going-and-coming. // Let me show the way to the hall with my own feet.
14. Let me hurry to (or "look to") the love of *Ti* (= Thoth), another version, [lor]d of the *Heden*-plant. // Let me hurry to the praises of the foremost one who is under (the) wing (of Thoth = Imhotep).
15. Let me hasten in proclaiming [the name of] him who is at the top of his brush (?), // he who has ordered the earth with his scribal palette.
16. I have seen the baboon who punishes the snake, // he who has judged the earth with his scale (?).

Continuation of Text Based on Column 9 of B02

1. May I see the darkness as a servant of *Isten*, // that I may make a glorification of the secrets of Thoth.
2. May I enter therein, namely, the character (?) of all the ibises, // that I betake myself (or "offer") to the place of the servants of ⌜Thoth.⌝
3. May I see heaven, reveals me ... and the four (corners) of the earth to its length.
4. May the Nile flood turn me back. // There flow over me, from them, namely, the secrets and ⌜praise⌝ (?) ... their nurses ("sources"?).
5. My heart said to me: "Return to it, namely, the Chamber of Darkness, so as to learn its boundary (?)!
6. And I shall go to make praise before the lord of the *Heden*-plant, // and kiss the earth for Shai (= Seshat).
7. And I shall raise my hand to the great, great, great one, // and jubilate to the ibis who tramples the turtle.
8. And I shall worship him as the one who understands the great of strength, // (and) adore him (as) the one who announces the Foremost one of ⌜*Heseret*⌝ (Thoth).

B04, 3/11–12. And I / [...] ... bring (?) this writing ... the wise ones. **No parallel in other texts**

L01.2, 6/3. [...] ... lord of reeds (?) [...] **No parallel in other texts**

9. And I shall bow the shoulder under the papyrus roll of the great god, // and go (as) the possessor of the wealth of the land of the father.
10. Let me go into it, namely, the chamber which is without singing, // and you should cause that I discover the form of the ones who are in it.
11. May I see the great and the small (ones), // the apprentices who shut their mouths among them.
12. May I see the Chamber of Darkness, entering into the form of it, // namely, the (?) excellent limb of the underworld (?).
13. My heart said to me: "Associate with her, // namely, the excellent one who is in the room of *šer.t*."
14. May I take hold of his majesty while my voice is loud. // May I open the fist (so as to) take hold of the bark of Re.
15. May I praise in his entourage (or "his sacred image," "leadership") beneath (?) darkness. // May I recite in his company the Book of Stars (?). (B04 variant: "My heart said to me ... ")
16. May I arm myself with them, my weapons, that I may fight in the Chamber of Darkness.
17. May I take hold of the *nšy.t*-bark of Shai, // which opens the going (?) (for) the ones who are in their heaps.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 10 of B02

1. May I be full of *ba* against them. // May I bring about their end, // without forgetting the destruction of them (?).
2. **He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says:** "Slaughterers (are) these, O you who love knowledge, in the darkness. // The lord of the *bas* of Re (is) the messenger of prophecy.
3. He made the forms of the vultures of Upper Egypt: ten, // he giving praise to god for the teaching.
4. He created nine female vultures of Lower Egypt together with their nine young, // they making praise to the *bas* of Re.
5. He directed his heart. // His fingers were excellent for him. // The crypts of his ears were opened (or "secrets of the distant ones were revealed [to] his ears.")
6. His *oudjat*-eye saw before the road. // He led at the hall of the divine spirits.

L01 line without parallel in B02 and B04. (Gloss?) [...] ... path of their (?) writings [...]

7. The signs revealed their form. // He called to them // and they answered to him.
8. He knew the form of speech of the baboons and the ibises.
9. He went about truly (?) in the hall of the dog. // He did not restrain their barking.
10. He understood the barkings of these and these cries of the land of the fathers.

B04 and L01 (?) line without parallel in B02. The ... the ibis who will raise them up to (or "more than") ... [...]

11. He made the four pleas (?) of the wild beasts, one by one ... // He understood them. // He brought them before me.
12. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, <he says>:** "Stand! The magic spells (or 'magicians') have enchanted them (?), lord (?) [...] ... to seek (?) ...
13. He created the thoughts of the donkey ... [...] ... of the stall.
14. He opened the hall for the one who ... he (or "him") ... the most difficult of the difficult passages ...
15. Show the hall itself ... [...] ... [...]
16. Unite with the darkness ... [...] heart.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 11 of B02

1. He will go to the House of Life. He will hunt in the ... [...] ...
2. **He-created-the-thoughts, he says:** "The ⌜hall of (the) dog⌝ ... [...] ... these are the places (?) of 3,000 of going to the House of Life.
3. These dogs, these jackals, these baboons, these snakes which prophesize according to their utterances ... [...]
4. The lock of faience ... [...] ... these lions and crocodiles (?) ... [...]

5. The life which grows in the scarab (is?) the star which rises in (?) ... [...]
6. Venus ... which arises in the house [...] ... of life ... House of Life, the *bas* (?) is it.
7. The one who has given birth, he being as ... he is (or "will be") [...] his (?) ... is it.
8. These who have interpreted (?) the pieces (?) of bronze ... [...] ... mouths are they.
9. Gate of (?) *Sep* (?) (is) the one who waits for them ... [...]
10. Window of (?) *Ḥny* (is) the one who opens them in its walls of protection (?) [...] ...
11. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "The ... the thresholds, the one who ... [...]

B04, 4/24. ... may you see ... before [...]
L01.3, 7/19. O wise one of Re, enchant (?) ⌜for me⌝ [...]
B04, 4/25. (with no clear parallel to B02 or L01) **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back,** ... [...]
L01.3, 7/20. May you reveal for me the *oudjat* [...]
L01.3, 7/21. I come in your form [...]

Continuation of Text Based on Column 12 of B02

L01.3, 7/22. Who is the one who stands at the gate[s (?) ...]
L01.3, 7/23. O one who guards (?) the god[s (?) ...]

2. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "These [...]

L01.3, 7/24. O overseer (?) of the Treasury of the Two Lands (or "praises," "hieroglyphic signs"?) [...]

3. [...] ⌜father⌝ [...]

B04, 7/1. (the path of bringing) them are (the) excellent (?) ...

4. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "Have they completed the gate with the (?) green-stone which creates every stone block by means of it?"
5. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I have entered ... the (?) field of turquoise which forms a shade for the spirits.
6. She will reveal the ... (of) the House of Life, myriads, little by little (?) its list (?) of ...
7. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back,** he says: "What is the sailing northwards? What is the moistening? ... for them within it."
8. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "There are forty-two souls ... which command myriads. They are 3,000 (of) myriads. I will give the choicest of the sacred animals.

NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04
B02, 12/9. I have seen (?) the ... [...] your (?) ... which have praised.
B04, 7/8. ... the place of the Hall of the Two Truths.

NO CLEAR PARALLEL BETWEEN B02 AND B04
B02 12/10. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "... [...] the tongue ..."
B04, 7/8–10. He-has-judged, / namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Explain to me this form of theirs; reveal their shapes. May the mouth open ... hear ..."

11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will reveal the name(s) and their secret aspects for indeed they are more mysterious than the nights.
12. There are seven of them who announce the Lord of Protection and who are as protection for the one brilliant (?) of appearances.
13. Another two of them give a foot (or "position") in a ... (in?) the place (?) of death, they being prepared (?) upon earth.
14. The foremost also of them, he being as a lamp which is lit, while he interprets their language.
15. The last nine (are) columns, carrying a Wadjet-figure amulet which has been spread out, the orderer of the two lands.
16. A noble vulture is the one who embraces them, it will give birth to all the young so as to settle them (according to their) manner (?) ...

Continuation of Text Based on B04, 7/17–22 (Without Parallel in B02 or L01)

17. ... their character (?), various of appearance (?), ... to say ... a manner.
18. She works some forty (with) gold and turquoise, another two (with) real lapis [lazuli ?]
19. (in) the hall. The vulture discovered its young between [the] pillars (?)
20. ⌜belonging to⌝ an entrance-way (of) the House of Life. Come! Let me go to it.
21. Let me remain in it. Let me interpret the praises which came into being earlier. Let me learn of
22. She-who-is-wise, this one who first established (the) chamber, she being ... a lamp of prophecy.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 13 of B02

7. [...] he (?) [...]
8. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "... [...]
9. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "Some vultures [...]
10. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "The place of coolness (or "the swamp areas") [...]

11. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What is the protection (?) (for) the young bird in it? ... you thereto (?)?"
12. **[He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his]-back, he says:** "May you praise! May you recite (?)! What is your image? What is the ... and the skin (?)?"
13. **[The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "...] ... of the donkey, a raising up of another treasure of the heart and tongue."
14. **He-has-judged, [namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back], he says:** "May you compare (?) your life! May you explain (?) your place! As for every form of yours, may they cause that I know it.
15. [...] ... thought ... inquire (?). Stay near to the place!
16. [...] Come let me instruct you before you hurry (?) and before you have entered in ... [...]

Continuation of Text Based on Column 14 or "14" of B02 (lines numbered chiefly according to L01.5)

1. [...] tongue (?)
2. [...] ... the gods.
3. [...] ... as he calls and hears.
4. [...] ... say the praises ... before him.
5. [...] you ... to the House of Life in the darkness of twilight.
6. [...] ... Behold! ... the excellent ibises ... the ones who sent me.
7. [...] ... They made his slaughter (?).
8. [...] ... through (?) the *ḥfn*-snake (?) ... [...] sweet tongue, if it ignores (?) silence (?).
9. [What is the ...] which made your report? What butler is the one who has made (L01: "received") your reward.
10. [...] ... limbs ..., some males. He hears.
11. [... he]art (?) ... [...]
13. [...] ... treasures of the heart and tongue (?) [...]
14. [...] ... longing. L[et me cause] that you know it.
15. [...] in the divine shrine

B03, 1/13. [...] ... to wish to ask
B03, 1/14. [...] ... prophets. You are a fool.
B04, 5/5. [...] ... the landing-place (?), the

Continuation of Text Based on Column 14 of B02

1. [...] ... your bones.
2. [...] ... food ... the limbs of my (or "his") flesh (?).
3. [...] of my (?) limb ... the (?) excellent one (?), strength ... flesh.

B04, 5/9. [...] greatness of these limbs.
L01.5, 10/1 (with B03 and B04). Behold! I have seen the intestines which open (?) the ... limbs ... [...] ... mouths.

4. Behold, I stand up, // I being like unto a mummy, // I being as a snake ... [...]
5. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon- his-back, he says: "Has the father introduced (you [variant "taught"]) before "He-who-understands-prophecy," who is "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands?"
6. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have fished (with) the net of Shentait, Shai ... the net of ... "
7. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What is the taste of the prescription of writing? // What is this net?"
8. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I made a test of every prescription which destroys (?). // I have seen every implement which stops.
9. I have caused salt to ... throughout (?) the limbs like the praises of the land of the father (?).
10. The child does not tread upon clay (?) like the prophets of the praised of heart.

B02, 14/11–16 are missing; the line numbering is according to L01.5.
L01.5, 10/9. The *šty.t* of the harem does not trap (?) like the one who loves enchantment (or "writing").
L01.5, 10/10. He speaks, namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says: "There are three seas to be crossed between them, // namely, the corridors (?) of this land.
L01.5, 10/11. Have you crossed the river in their ferries? // Have you crossed their canals?
L01.5, 10/12. Have you given the fare (?) to their ferryman? // Have you crossed (in) their *ʿqȝ.t*- boat?"
L01.5, 10/13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have entered into their taste. // I have caught their fish. // I have trapped the best of their exotic (birds?)."
L01.5, 10/14. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "It is proper to let happen the recitation (?) of the ritual composition of the Chamber of Darkness?
L01.5, 10/15. Have you rowed over the rivers? // What is their nature and their forms?

Continuation of Text Based on Column 15 of B02

1. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I have rowed in the circuits (?) of the sea, (among?) the apprentices who are in the sacred bark, who are the arms of Shu.
2. Bring me to the ferry of the snake! // Take the hieroglyphic sign! // Fill my fingers (with) the rudder of the field-dwellers!
3. I spent a thousand years // while I rowed therein, // catching fish in its pools.
4. Embark me on the ferry of the excellent spirits! // Raise up fighting for me with their *bas*!
5. I ... their birds. I understood their falcons. // My heart joined with their natures (or "plants"?).

6. A baboon gave to me a spear of sixty cubits (or "hands"). // He says to me: "It is their *wtȝ.t ht*."
7. A dog (or "jackal"?) gave to me a block of limestone. // He says to me: "It is their net of trapping (?)."
8. An ibis gave to me a cloth (or "sail") of cattle-leather, // while its mast is a skin of lion-skin.

B04, 6/9–10. A dog gave to me a mummy-cloth (with) hieroglyphs. // He says to me: "It is their ... of hunting."

Continuation of Text Based on Column 2 of C02 (Without Parallel in Other Papyri)

11. The-one-who-lo[ves-knowledge ...] ... I gave (?) [...]
12. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... a spear [...]
13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge ... [...] a ... [...]
14. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... [...]
15. The-one-who-loves-knowledge ... [...]
17. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What (?) is ... [...]
18. The-one-who-loves-knowledge ... before it (?) ... [...]

Continuation of Text Based on Columns 6–7 of B04 (Without Parallel in Other Papyri)

6/10–11. (As for) my limbs, / it is the ones of the *wtȝ* which steer my heart for them. As for (their) hairs (?), my tongue supplies one of their ...

6/12. I established my sailings, its ... upon it (?). I have made sailings for a thousand years. Great are the lakes.

6/13. I rowed in a canal with a sail (?) ... without my being able to reach (?) the ... due to the width

6/14. of the sea in its entirety. I was not able to reach them, the ... its ... so as to question (?)

6/15. the sailors who row before it. They made for me a shout (?) concerning its captain ... become weak (?) ...

6/16. canal, she who has turned back from the shore ... I ... I not having reached them

6/17. until I moored at the landing-post of the life ... the splendid field ...

6/18. I found the people, the animals, the birds, the reptiles, while the vegetables (?) ... grow,

6/19. while a canal of life was bubbling over ... all its young birds in it.

6/20. ⌜I⌝ completed year(s) until one thousand years. There said to me a lizard (?): "Bring the writing ...

6/21. a *ḫy*-animal (?) ... writing. Behold! I am outside of the field of trouble. I summon you.

6/22. Will you not reveal to me the [man]ner of their fighting?" He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:

6/23. "Their spear ... [...] ... which it is hard to carry them. Have you made the greatness (or "extent") of its fighting (?)?"

6/24. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "[They] gave to me a bodyguard of 10,000 who stride and who are upon the road [to] bring them (the spears).

7/1. them. They are ... excellent (?) ..."

Continuation of Text Based on Column 8 of B04

1. [...] ... she gives orders to them, she commanding, the one who
2. gave birth to her. Let me reveal a sea which is protected ...
3. its ... grow with turquoise, while nine boats fare north and south
4. within it, concerning their souls and their creations, concerning their plants,
5. which give birth to new words, concerning their nurses and wet-nurses.
6. The servants take a lamp from my (?) hand after (?) one of the
7. district before (?) him. I made his one. I reached a storeroom of life,
8. it being determined (as) "The one who counsels (or 'questions'?)," without it being different (?). I found six (?) rowers,
9. they sitting down, they being complete, they worshipping (in) a mode of speech,
10. they being joined in heart with the ones who are (of) Upper Egypt and the ones of Lower Egypt, being the two lands,
11. whose mistress is Neith, which have no enemies; they do not hide themselves,
12. they forming a creation which is as one in illness (?), they beautifying a corpse
13. which has no papyrus-roll, they eradicating evil by means of rituals,
14. they rescuing a man (?) from his fate, his death standing
15. behind him. Great is the praise (of) the one who has caused that they take ...
16. They have come ... sweet of love, sharp (?) are ... another;
17. difficult are their words; their repetitions (or "explanations") being too various to write, whereas it is they
18. who commanded to them the loosening of the papyrus documents (?) ... I ... them. I said them. I have loosened (or "explained")
19. them. Since I have listed them, I will know how to worship.
20. My heart said to me the desire before them until I
21. found her in *Tȝ-ỉmy.t* of the heaven, the one who has determined
22. in Pe, the rituals, total, one by one. Excellent is their mistress (?)
23. who has come from the four corners of Nun. May she delay (?), while I
24. dwell in Dep of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with (?) ... the *sỉȝ*-cloth falcons. They
25. enchant my heart.

Continuation of Text Based on Column 9 of B04

1. the support (?) ... [...]
2. ... the ... [...]
3. ... deliver (?) ... [...]
7. ... excellent ... [...]
10. take the ... [...] path (?) [...]
11. Let them ... them to [...]
12. You are to ... [...]
13. to darkness (?) ... [...]
14. ... snake ... [...]
15. to their hearts, mouth ... [...]
16. their bindings ... [...]
17. ... I saw [...]
21. ... field of turquoise, while their (?) ... [...]
22. ... [...]
23. ... [...]

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+1

1. [...] ... to fall under (?) his ..., he being violent with the turtle upon the sand-bank.
2. ... [...] the falcon which is variegated of plumage, he exulting over the body of an oryx.
3. [I have] worshipped (?) ..., while he pierces the red hippopotamus.
4. I have seen the ... bull protecting the secrets (?).
5. The vulture (?) has protected (?) Nun (?) ... so as to cause the earth to overflow through its work.
6. I have seen the child, ⌜great⌝ of strength, ... while he slaughters ... he (?) being covered with the blood of the enemies.
7. I have seen the book of She-who-is-wise, who has ... on account of the scarab ...
8. I greeted her at the house of ..., while she presses her gate-keeper (?) of Re (?), she commanding them (?) [...] gods ... Sako.
9. She caused to eat the young female servant of the White Crown together with the young female servant of the Red Crown therein upon (?) the head of the ... [...] of the throne (or "palace-façade").
10. I have seen ... the closed room of the House of Life with a door-post of iron [...]
11. I have worshipped the female divine falcon while she gives orders to the souls, while the scribe ... hand ...
12. ... a kite, an ibis, and a falcon assign them to the (two) lands one by one.
13. May some snakes give protection (?) so as to protect them, some brushes (?) ... [...] pastophoroi (?)
14. May the pastophoroi seek out the writings of the *bas* of Pre, the ones who protect his (?) foundation ...

15. They say to me: "There are forty-two sacred places in the House of Life, they (?) growing [...] ...
16. There are forty-two vultures which give birth between them, while their young [...] ... sing.
17. May I list the vultures together with their names, say for me (?), the young ... [...] the ...
18. A vulture will embrace them, she being in de[sire (?) ...] ... [...] ...
19. ⌜The⌝ lion sits by her throne [...]
20. She speaks, while he makes a slaughter of the ones whom he will slay ... [...]
21. She opens, while he shuts the offerings of (or "in") the ... [...]
22. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Inasmuch as you are abundant of desire [...] ...
23. Would you lead (us through) them, that we may know them, and that [we may] praise them ... foundation [...]
24. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "A vulture which draws a bow, while its young ... [...] It is Elephantine.

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+2

1. [A vu]lture ... a scale, while its young of gold is before her ... [It is Edfu.]
2. A vulture which ... lake which casts fire in the surroundings of the ... [It is Esna.]
3. A vulture [and] its young carrying the supports of the heaven ... [It is Armant.]
4. A vulture, ... its young ... [It is] C[optos.]
5. A vulture, ... [...] ... upon a crocodile, while her young dance upon [him] ... [It is Dendera.]
6. A young bird ... [...] vulture ... fair sistrum ... [...] ... [It is] Hu.
7. A vulture ... its mouth, while it experiences (?) suffering because of it ... [It is] Abydos.
8. Woe (?) [...] ... a vulture, while its young [...] ... [It is] Akhmim.
9. A vulture [which] eats of a bull, while its young rejoices (?) in its ... [It is] ⌜Kom Ishqaw.⌝
10. A vulture which adorns her wing [...] ... her young ... [It is] Hypselis.
11. A vulture whose finger is extended, while its offspring ... [It is] el-At[awla.]
12. A vulture whose young is in her (?). He ... its food. [It is] As[siut.]
13. [A] vulture which is (in?) an acacia-tree, while their young ... [...] ... It is Qusae.
14. A vulture and their nine offspring, they have caused one to fly therefrom [...] ... It is Hermopolis.
15. A vulture [and] its young, they exulting over the body of an oryx. It is ⌜Hebenu.⌝
16. A vulture which bites a dog, while its young takes hold (?) of it. It is Sako.
17. A vulture which ⌜separates⌝ a wing together with its young, they protecting their father. It is Hor-Behdetite.
18. A vulture [...] a horse (?), while its young ... [...] ... It is *W'b'b*.
19. 18 vultures which cut (?) a baboon (?) [...] ... their young ... It is Herakleopolis.

20. A vulture [which] gives birth to young so as to establish (?) [...] ... It is [Akanthon (?).]
21. A vulture[which] is grieved with sorrow, while its [young ...] ... face. It is Atfih.
22. A vulture [which] builds the sky, while its young [...] ... the land opposite her. It is Memphis.
23. [A v]ulture [which] makes ... forgets her [young ...] ... It is Letopolis.
24. A v[ul]ture [which is] (in) an acacia-tree (?) with her young, they bring[ing (?) ...] ... It is Kom [el-Hisn.]

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+3

1. [A vulture] ... its young under ... [...] ... [It is ...]
2. [A vultu]re with a bow ..., while its young draws the cord ... [... It is Sais.]
3. A vulture, 7,000 years ... its two (?) young nursing ... [... It is Xois.]
4. A vulture upon an *ʿq*-boat, while its young steers ... [It is ...]
5. A vulture and its young, they casting ropes ... [It is Pithom.]
6. A vulture which establishes purity [...] ... [It is] Bu[siris.]
7. A vulture [which] places her tail ... [...] therein [...] ... its offspring ... [It is Athribis.]
8. A vulture which causes evil to reach ... [...] him on account of [..., while i]ts young (?) ... [It is Nathu.]
9. A vulture which is in its nest of papyrus and hay [...] ... , while its young ... [... It is Sebennytos.]
10. A vulture which hunts fish, it giving food ... [...] ... its (?) ⌜young⌝ ... [It is Heliopolis.]
11. A vulture which ... [...] ... know(ing) its young ... [It is Herakleopolis Parva.]
12. A vulture which ... [...] ... ⌜great ones⌝ to a young one, she giving (?) [...] ... [...] ... [It is Hermopolis Parva (or "Baqliya").]
13. A vulture which c[uts] a ..., while its mouth ... [...] ... its young ... [... It is Mendes.]
14. A vulture which is in (?) its nest, ..., while it ... [...] ... place (?) ... [... It is *Smȝ-bḥt.t* (or "Tell el-Balamun").]
15. A vulture which takes hold of (?) a ⌜*bs*-torch⌝ in its hand (?) [...] ... its young, while it (masculine) ... [... It is Bubastis.]
16. A vulture which is a nursemaid [...] young ... [...] ... its father [... It is Tanis.]
17. A vulture which is resting in a resting-place between them, namely, the two wings (or "feathers") as a falcon image ... [... It is Persopdu.]
18. Total (of) the vultures and their young in their specification as (or "in") the *mnṯ* of Pre [...]
19. *Sȝ-kȝ* (?), the eldest son (?) of Shentait and Shai (= Seshat?); they are the vulture together with its young [...]
20. The breast of knowledge which allows that the wise ones suckle is that which belongs to the Nurse ... [...]

21. The sacred animal which has [caused (?)] the baboon to perceive is the one which guides ... [...] ... him.
22. The wise ibis is [the one which] sent off the elder ones, the one who great are the [...]
23. And he truly is the one who has prophesized for his father and his mother: Another Version: [...] ... he making ... [...]
24. The writer (or "enchanter") has said to me his children that he may become the greatest of the ones greater than he.

Continuation of Text Based on L01 "Vulture Text," Column x+4

1. [...] ... I establish (?) the ... [...]
2. [...] ... they are the waters which fill (?) ... [...] ... the [...]
3. Millions who bear myriads ... [...]
4. Darkness ... some ... [...] ... [...]
5. ... heart (?) know ... and fingers ... [...]
6. I wish to kiss the earth (for) the gods of the House of Life, and I make [...]
7. The children have made for me my wish to fish as a fisherman ... [...]
8. May they place me between them, namely, the rowers, the dogs of the ... [...]
9. It is fitting [...] ... which are there. They are the ex[cellent] spirits [...]
10. I have placed the taste (in) my mouth so as to enter into (?) the (?) ... [...]
11. Let ... which I have arisen ... [...]
12. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Has a going ... [...]
13. so as to kill, to stand up opposite the man, prepared ones [...]
14. Is your fruit (or "Have you looked"?) at the house of the lion which makes ... [...]
15. these dogs, these jackals, these bulls which ... [...]
16. these male snakes, these female snakes, these bodies ... [...]
17. these swords, these spears, these bodies ... [...]
18. these flies which are as shades at the chapels (?) [...]
19. Have you honored the quail which is in the ... [...]
20. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I crossed through these battlefields [...]
21. I looked at the flies, while they cut (?) in the ... [...]
22. have observed the ... -bird in its covert in the ... [...]
23. I have seen (?) the dogs which are as scribes (?) ... [...]

Selected Unplaced Fragments

B06 + B07 + C01 + C07.1 + C07.5 + F01 + F01.1 + F01.2 + F01.6 + F14 + L02

(Numbering according to B07 where possible.)

1. **[The word]s (?) which cause a youth to learn and a son of *Wn-ỉmỉ* to question.**
2. [...] ... protection (?) of purity of Osiris Naneferhotep, the great god, the (?) ... lord (?)
3. [...] ... unification of his body for (?) the lords of offerings ... before (the goddess) Shai (= Seshat) in the name [...]
4. [...] ... which is Sekhefabwy, ritual of the [regu]lation of entering the Chamber of [Dark]ness.
5. [...] ... they lacking 1 1/2 (?), they ... with the utterance of your mouth.
6. [...] ... four ... upon their foundation (?) ... small, painful (or "difficult")
7. [...] ... as far as ... of the divine writing (?)
8. [...] they (?) raising up ... very greatly (?) ... not [...] lifting ...
9. [...] twice, lords of offering ... If you wish (?) to hear them, set your ears to hear them.
10. [...] day in thoughts (?) ... to hasten (to) the place (?) ... May you experience their taste (?).
11. [...] I have [...] it concerning ... its ceremony concerning the teaching of the writing.
12. [...] ... concerning a young bird (?) ... they ..., sacred animals, they swallowing with mouths of excellence.
13. [...] ... they (or "them"). There drinks ... on their feet upon their places.
14. [...] the prophets call out "*Istes*, son of *Wn-ỉmỉ*," to him, every form in which he is is that which they say to him (?).
15. [...] ... May I wake up in the Chamber of Darkness, the wonder (?) of the Ibis under his guidance (?).
16. [...] **the one who hears** in the Chamber of Darkness and in the shrines (?) of the spirits [...]
17. [...] wish to bark among the dogs of Shait (= Seshat), the great.
18. [...] my heart (is?) ... that which has brought (?) ... [...] Let me act together with the youths [...] the dead ones.
19. [...] ... **say** ... **him** (?) ... with your mouth (?) ... Who is the one who conducts the father? Seek for yourself! Who are you? Who are you? The one who gave birth to knowledge (?) [...]
20. [...] **I am the One-who-loves-knowledge**, ... so that (?) he may seek out the spell-craft of the Ibis, the one who bound up (?) [...]
21. [...] There is no entering to the cavern, you not knowing its (or "her," "their") form. Do not draw near [...]

F01, 2. [...] their form. Do not draw near [...] to the chamber (?) of the [...]

From this point on, each version is translated separately.

C07.1, 19. [..... car]er [...] the throat of iro[n ...]
F01, 3. [.....] iron
L02, 1/4. [...] the ... [...] ... carer (?) are they, the throat of i[ron ...]

F01.4. [...] she who did ... [..... bar]king with you.
L02, 1/5. [...] ... throat with a throat of copper. Let me make a barking with you [...]

F01, 5. [...] the spirits (?) [...] ... I (or "my") ... my back (?) [...]
F14, 6. [.....] my [...] on my back to the ... [...]
L02, 1/6. [...] while the excellent spirits think (?) in my heart ... [...]

F01, 6. [He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge,] **he says:** "Will you burn [myrrh? ...] ... stinking [...] are the ones who are in [...]
L02, 1/7. [...] ... will you burn myrrh? Do not enter into the House of Life. Stinking bulls are as (?) the ones [...]

F01, 7. [...] ... Do you have ... [...] you (or "your") [...]
L02, 1/8. [...] ... Do you not have a place here? Give your face! SPATIUM

F01, 8. [...] ... you (or "your") ... Is the father the one who sent ... [...] ... [...] of withdrawing you [...].
F14, 9. [.....] worthy of withdrawing from you.

L02, 1/9. [.....] father the one who sent you. A teacher who equals (?) his com[pensation (?) ...]

F01, 9. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I know the libations [... the Chamber of] ⌜Darkness⌝ ... [...] primeval one (?).
F14, 10. [.....] as the primeval one (?).
L02, 1/10. [.....] ... which are in the Chamber of Darkness. I have come as the primeval one (?).

F01, 10. I poured out wine. I burn (?) perfume of myrrh ... [...] I am in eagerness.
L02, 1/11. [..... bu]rn per]fume of m[y]rr[h] ... [...] ... clothes ... [...]

F01, 11. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The ibises ... Painful is their food, difficult their mode of life.

B06, 1/2. [.....] (with) ⌜bread.⌝ They do not become drunk with wine. They do not anoint with unguent.
C01, 1. [...T]hey do not sate themselves [...]
F01, 12. [...] sate ... They do not become drunk with wine (?). They do not anoint with unguent. Their throa[t ...]
F14, 13. [.....] unguent. Their throat says a name to him (?).

B06, 1/3. [...] ... some demons (or "papyrus documents") are the ones who remain (or "herd").

B06, 1/4–5. [... snak]es upon the two lips (are) their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is / [...]
F01, 13–14. [...] ... snakes upon the two lip[s ... /] their offering. A dog is their sustenance. A baboon is their ... the reptiles [...]
L02, 1/14–15. Mouths are joyful. Snakes upon the two lips [... / ... sust]enance. A baboon ... the reptiles [...]

B06, 1/5–6. Will you be able to live, O one who is in the water source of 7,000 (?)? What is their / [...]
C01, 4. Will you be able to live, O one who is in [...]
F01, 15. Will you be able to live, O one who is in the water source [...] manner of serving [...]
L02, 1/16. [.....] ... What is their manner of serving? [...]

B06, 1/6–7. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I will wash the water pots / [...] chapters (?). I will remove the dust of the chests
C01, 5–6. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "I will [...] / I will (?) ... fill ... [...]
F01, 16–17. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I will wash the water pots ... [...] chapters (?). I [will ... /...] ...
L02, 1/17. [... water] pots. ... the chapters (?). I will remove [...]

B06, 1/8. [...] illuminate the torch. I will supply the coal for the ...
F01, 17. I will illuminate the torch. I will supply the co[al ...]

B06, 1/9. [...] writing-tablets. I will embrace (?) the containers ...
C01, 7. I will ... the writing-tablets ... [...]
F01, 18. [...] the writing-tablets. I will [...] to the containers [...]

B06, 1/10. [...] receive the containers. I will draw near to their instruction (?).
C01, 8. I will receive the containers. I will [...]

B06, 1/11. [...] I will bring the sacred rolls to the stele (?) ...
B06, 1/12–13. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises- knowledge, he says: "Do you have a dream? What is it? ...
B06, 1/13. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I was ... upon the mast (?), you being far away (from)
B06, 1/14. the place of dreaming." He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "As for the bull which establishes the settlement (?)
B06, 1/15. ... He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says: "The assistants ... possessors of offerings
B06, 1/16. [...] ... sacred animals [...] saying I shall act as a baboon therein
B06, 1/17. [...] ... [...] ... I caused (?) that you stand
B06, 1/18. [...] you this snake which ... [...] ... he being after the falcon

B06, 1/19. [...] ... [...] ... life (?) [...] ... of the craftsmen (?)
L02, 2/12. [...] craftsmen of the House of Life and the Khnum-builder gods ...

B06, 1/20. [...] ... [...] companion (?) of the spirits.
B06, 1/21. [...] ... on account of ...

Column 2 of B06

B06, 2/1. ... take their flesh (?), I gave to them ... [...] the ones of the House of Life to hurry.
B06, 2/2. They are difficult, namely, the writings, the ... [...] their hearts. Let me hear (?)!
B06, 2/3. Let me speak! Give praise to a god[dess (?) ...] on account of strength! I will not praise

B06, 2/4. regarding myself on account of the desire [...] ... [...]
C07.5, 2. [...] ... great the life-time (?) [...]

B06, 2/5. before the case (of the?) book-roll [...] to sit [...]
B06, 2/6 and F01.2, 1. an utterance with the mouth ... they prophesiz[ing ...] ... the ones who are in their time, twice (?) [...]
B06, 2/7 and F01.2, 2. gods ... They are the ones who cause that they say their names in
B06, 2/8 and F01.2, 2–3. this land and I (?) cause to live ... [...] ... of the great Ennead.
B06, 2/9 and F01.2, 4. Which (or "who") gives ... [...] praise (to) the chapters of the gods, the[se (?) ...]
B06, 2/10 and F01.2, 5. dogs, these baboons. I have stood ... [...] ... as a wise one.
B06, 2/11 and F01.2, 6. ... to be different (?) from the cattle (?) ... [...] after a year ...
B06, 2/12 and F01.2, 7. [...] ... [...] myriads (?) ... [...] ...
B06, 2/13 and F01.2, 8. before (?) a daughter (?) ... [...] ... [...]
B06, 2/14. the children of the teaching (are) the ones who remain [...] ... [...]
B06, 2/15. to come ... to ... let me make (?) [...]
B06, 2/16. praise (?) ⌜the ones who are there⌝ ... the sp[irits (?) ...]
B06, 2/17. ... [...] ... [...]
B06, 2/18. I will (?) tread a field. I will cultivate (?). Let [...]
B06, 2/19. to say [...] ... their eyes ... I heard (?) [...]
B06, 2/20. ... opposite (?) ... the spirits in his ... [...]
B06, 2/21. May he reveal the field, the reptiles in ... writing, to see (?) [...]

C02.1

1. [...] ... you ... [...] difficult (?) [...]
2. [...] the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...] ... [...]
3. [...] ... the chests ... jackal (?) ... [...] ...
4. [...] ... the pastophoros of the House of Life ... [...]
5. [...] ... the temple (or "chapter") ... life. The jackal ... speaks prophecies in the Chamber (?) of Darkness [...]
6. [...] ... who have closed your throat. May you act as the apprentice of the bull of ... [...]
7. [...] ... There has come forth his fluid of his limb, it being revealed before me (?), it overflowing
8. [...] ... tongue (?). Eat with your mouth! Let the teaching flourish in your heart (?)!
9. [...] ... the one who is in his wells, while he looks (?) therefrom to its (or "his") ... (?).
10. [...] ... the one who is in his hole, He-who-understands-the-two-lands, thoughts (?) ...
11. [...] ... the two lands, and I say this (?) in his name: their food therein is his producing
12. [...] ... Mut (?), the great one, is the one who embraces him; Selket is the one who ... to see him (?) [...]

C04.4

1/2. [...] ... the hand before Shu (?).
1/3. [...] ... I gave it. They give. They do not (?) give these (or "to them," "to me"?).
1/4. [...] ... knowledge (?).
1/5. [...] ... [...] He understands.
1/6. [...] ... the one who wishes to say "hail!"
1/7. [...] Numerous are their robberies (or "robbers").
1/8. [...] desire, their strengths, their gatherings.
1/9. [...] mouth. May you remain (?) for a time in the arena.
1/11. [...] the limbs of your excellent ones.
1/12. [...] ... under your tongue.
1/14. [...] ... I ... the foremost of the ...

C04.4 + L01.8 + F11

C04.4, 2/x+2. [...] great one [...]
L01.8, x+2. [...] great one (?), the limb (?) [...]

C04.4, 2/x+3. [...] ... a wise woman [...]
L01.8, x+3. [...] She gave birth to a son of ... [...]

C04.4, 2/x+4. [...] strong one (?) [...] to pour down, the *Oudjat*-eye (?) [...]
L01.8, x+4–5. [...] ... strong one, a(?) youth(?) [.../...] strong is the strong one (?) [...]

C04.4, 2/x+5. The lord of the *Oudjat*-eye ... [...] ... [...] ⌜to pour down.⌝
C04.4, 2/x+6. He made a protecting (or "mourning") of the child of [Mut] ... It is the child of Mut.
C04.4, 2/x+7. The evil injury ... of Shu concerning his father, he making a disturbance.
C04.4, 2/x+8. On account of the overflowing of my heart ... the cows.
C04.4, 2/x+9. The evil one attacked ... wretched. Establish it as (?) the root of his ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+10. The wise female, the great mother (or "Mut"), the nurse ... teaching ... upon [...]
C04.4, 2/x+11. The milk which the suckler produced ... nurse ... [...] living (?), regulation (?) [...]
C04.4, 2/x+12. [...] ... [...] her sayings.
C04.4, 2/x+13. ... [...] throne.

C04.4, 2/x+14. ... [...] ... the chiefs ... to the temples (?) ... [...]
F11,9. [...] ... hyenas (?) [...]

C04.4, 2/x+15. [...] to disturb so as to rebel.
C04.4, 2/x+16. [...] ... sacred animals in the aforesaid (?) evil.
C04.4, 2/x+17. [...] ... your [...] the ... ⌜emmer⌝ ... to swallow (or "know") ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+18. [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... of the foremost one (or "before") ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+19. [...] a ... [...] ... that you may know life before the House of Life
C04.4, 2/x+20. [...] ... he making the companions of the eye, to remain in saying a spell (?) ... [...]
C04.4, 2/x+21. [...] ... to see for the work of the hands (with) a reed.
C04.4, 2/x+22. [...] ... ears (?) ...
C04.4, 2/x+23. [...] ... the master (?) ... bread of sustenance which is to be brought
C04.4, 2/x+24. [...] ... is it.
C04.4, 2/x+25. [...] ... his hand.
C04.4, 2/x+26. [...] ... [...] strength.
C04.4, 2/x+27. [...] ... raise fighting (?) ... [...] of a place is it.
C04.4, 2/x+29. [...] ... is it.

V02

1/1. [...] ... his teaching (?) [...]
1/2. [...] ... of the place of the [...]
1/3. [...] ... about (or "to"?) the baboons, let [...]

1/4. [...] dead ones. **The- one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "What (?)
1/5. [...] I have come forth (to) encircle *Nut* [...]
1/6. [...] ... outside of (?) the House of Life, the torch (?)
1/7. [...] ... he will take (or "deliberate"?)
1/8. [...] ... threshold ...
1/9. [...] ... baboons (?).

Y01.3 + C04.7

Y01.3, 1 and C04.7, 4. Fight for him, fight for him ... you (or "your") ... [...]
Y01.3, 2 and C04.7, 5. law upon (or "concerning") the house of the one who is upon the throne [...]
Y01.3, 3 and C04.7, 6. Since he made life under the head of a man (?) [...]
Y01.3, 4 and C04.7, 7. Since he said "possession (or 'spirit') of a man (?)" as ... [...]
Y01.3, 5 and C04.7, 8. Since he said "bull" as name of ... [...]
Y01.3, 6 and C04.7, 9. Since he said "*Sp*" as name of the [...]
Y01.3, 7 and C04.7,10. ... which created ... in (or "of") the field [...]
Y01.3, 8 and C04.7,11. lapis lazuli and turquoise (of?) He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands (= Thoth) [...]
Y01.3, 9 and C04.7,12. **He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge, he says:** [...]
Y01.3, 10. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "... [...]
Y01.3, 11. He speaks, namely, The-one-who-praises-knowledge [...]

Y01.4 + B14.1

B14.1, 1/1. [...] ... to him under it.
B14.1, 1/2. [...] ... he comes to him (or "away").
B14.1, 1/3 and Y01.4, 1. [...] ... loves him, he will enchant him.
B14.1, 1/4 and Y01.4, 2. [...] He made (or "said") it for the water and the ... [...]
Y01.4, 3. [...] name (?) of the ... He made it as the cows [...]
B14.1, 1/5 and Y01.4, 4. [...] seed (?) ... He said it concerning the bulls (*supra* "cows" in B14.1) which are powerful (?).
B14.1, 1/6 and Y01.4, 5. [...] He said it concerning the bulls which make strength.
B14.1, 1/7 and Y01.4, 6. [...] He said it concerning the threshing-floor (covered) with grain.
B14.1, 1/8 and Y01.4, 7. [...] his (or "its") name *snw* (?).
B14.1, 1/9 and Y01.4, 8. [...] ... excellent (?), they having created possessions (?).
B14.1, 1/10 and Y01.4, 9. [...] Have you seen (or "remained"?)? Have you made ...?
B14.1, 1/11 and Y01.4, 10. [...] ... Let me know it ...
B14.1, 1/12. [...] writing of the House of Darkness ... the souls of Re (?) in [it.]
B14.1, 1/13. [...] ... *ḫny*-water ...
B14.1, 1/14. [...] place of storage. Let [me] proclaim concerning your name ...

B14.1, 1/15. [...] ... it (or "he") being ... [...] ... [...]
B14.1, 1/16. [...] it being written (?) ... [...]

Y01.5 + B14.2

(Numbering where possible according to Y01.5)

1. [...] ... he founds (?) ... chapel (?) ... [...]
2. [...] ... upon (?) [...]
3. [...] ... construct the gods [...]
4. [...] ... [...] ... [...]
5. [...] ... tongue ... [...] ... [...]
6. [...] ... pastophoros (?) ... [...] ... [...]
7. [...] ... [...] ... [...]

Y01.5, 8 and B14.2, 1. [...] ... [...] ... traverse his hours.
Y01.5, 9 and B14.2, 2. [...] ... [...] ... of his followers [...]
Y01.5, 10 and B14.2, 3. [...] ... [...] ... a butler serves his heart.
Y01.5, 11 and B14.2, 4. [...] rain (?) ... the souls of Re (?) which ... [...]
Y01.5, 12 and B14.2, 5. [...] ... [...] ... he raises up (?) ... to ask.
Y01.5, 13 and B14.2, 6. [...] ... [...] in the sea ... [...]
Y01.5, 14 and B14.2, 7. [...] she will cross the river to sail on it.
Y01.5, 15 and B14.2, 8. [...] his ...
Y01.5, 16 and B14.2, 9. [...] broad of throat (?) ... the fathers who began (?) to give birth [...]
Y01.5, 17 and B14.2, 10. [...] another version: his waters.
B14.2, 11. [...] ... in the breast (or "lap") [...]

V. Addenda

1. Additional Fragments of L01 (L01.11–19)

After the manuscript was sent to press, the Curator of the Louvre, Dr. Marc Etienne, kindly brought to our attention the following additional fragments of L01 (= P. Louvre E 10488), neither published nor mentioned by Revillout. We thank Dr. Etienne and Sophie Sagaÿ, who also helped to identify these interesting pieces. We are further grateful to Dr. Etienne for the excellent photographs and permission to publish them. Unfortunately, we were not able to incorporate these fragments into the manuscript. However, where possible, the fragments have been placed in their correct position in our publication photographs of L01.

Several of the larger pieces are especially significant. Fragments 1, 3, 7 , and 13 (using Dr. Etienne's designations for the new fragments) join to form columns 11 and 12 of L01. We had previously only a small portion of L01 column 11, preserved in L01.6. Columns 11 and 12 of L01 parallel B04 columns 7–9. The new section of L01 is therefore a great gain. Whereas B04 column 9 was in a lamentable state, L01 column 12 has several virtually complete lines, hitherto unknown. Two examples are:

L01.11, 12/3. I found the [...] support of the life which *Isten* established, the one who gave it to the-ones-of-the-House-of-Life.

L01.11, 12/4. ... [...] collection of the magical spells, they being af[ter (?)] him (*Isten*) as his sole protection (?).

Particularly interesting is L01.11, 12/4, which, if understood as a rubric, seems to raise the possibility that the Book of Thoth, or at least this version of it, comprises miscellaneous compositions ("collections," *twtw.w*). This aspect of the Book of Thoth, already mentioned by us, perhaps deserves further consideration.

The other new fragments are also noteworthy: L01.12 joins L01.4 column 8; L01.13 completes L01 column 7; L01.14 provides the middle section of L01 column 4.

As an aid to the reader we have used bold font for text preserved on the new fragments (L01.11, L01.13, and L01.14) when these can be joined or related to previously known portions of L01. We have not employed this convention for column 12 of L01.11 and L01.12. Readers should observe that particularly L01.11 offers new or different readings which make it possible to improve what we have presented in our initial publication (see, e.g., L01.11 , 11/12).

We have assigned the following designations to the new fragments, continuing the sequence of designations of the fragments of L01. We also give here correspondences be-

tween our designations and the numbering of the new fragments assigned by Dr. Etienne (1–14).

L01.11 Four fragments which join so as to preserve columns 11 and 12 of L01. These correspond to B04, column 7–9. They represent Louvre fragments 1, 3, 7, and 13. See Plates 50 and 51.
Fragments 1, 3, and 7: 20.2 x 33.5
Fragment 13: 5.2 x 3.2

L01.12 The fragment joins column 8 of L01. It comprises Louvre fragments 4 and 9. See plate 53.
Fragment 4: 14.1 x 11
Fragment 9: 4 x 2.6

L01.13 The fragment joins column 7 of L01. It is Louvre fragment 5. See plate 54.
9.5 x 12

L01.14 The fragment joins column 4 of L01. It is Louvre fragment 6. See plate 56.
11.2 x 7.5

L01.15 The fragment is unplaced and unparalleled. It is Louvre fragment 2. See plate 44.
16.1 x 23

L01.16 Louvre Fragment 10. See plate 44 (unplaced). 4.6 x 3

L01.17 Louvre Fragment 11. See plate 44 (unplaced). 1.5 x 3

L01.18 Louvre Fragment 12. See plate 44(unplaced). 2.9 x 1.3

L01.19 Louvre Fragment 14. See plate 44(unplaced). 2.6 x 2

L01.11

Transliteration

L01.11, 11/1 *[...]... [...]*
L01.11, 11/2 *[...]... [...]*
L01.11, 11/3 *[...]... [...]*
L01.11, 11/4 *[...]... [...]*

Add. 1 L01.11, 11/5 ***[.....] ḫstb***
B04, 7/18 *iw=s bꜣk hyny 40 (n) nb mfky k.t 2 (n) ḫs[tb]*

L01.11, 11/5 ***n mꜣꜥ.t [.....]***
B04, 7/19 *mꜣꜥ (n) tꜣ hꜣy.t gm tꜣ nry.t nꜣe=s ḏw.w iwt [nꜣ] wš.w (?)*

L01.11, 11/6 ***[.....]... r-mn (?)***
B04, 7/20 *⸢iw=s⸣ wmt pr-ꜥnḫ r-mn šm=y r tr.t=s*

L01.11, 11/7 *[...]...*
B04, 7/21 *mny=y im=s wꜣḥ=y nꜣ twꜣ.w nt ḫpr ḫr ḫꜣ.t gm=y*

L01.11, 11/8 ***[..... ḫb]s (?) ...***
B04, 7/22 *rḫ.t tꜣ i-ir š snt ꜥ.t iw=s ... ḫbs n slꜣ*

L01.11, 11/9 ***[.....]=s sḫn ⸢tꜣ⸣ [i-]ir ms.ṯ=s***
B04, 8/1–2 *[...]... iwy (?) iw=s wꜣḥ n=w sḫny iw=s sḫn tꜣ i-ir / ms.ṯ=s* Add. 2

L01.11,11/10 ***[.....]... r pꜣe=f [...]... rt n mfky***
B04, 8/2–3 *grp=y r wꜥ yꜥm iw=f ḫw ... / r pꜣe=f... rt mfky r 9 tks ḫt ḫnt*

L01.11, 11/11 ***[.....] bꜣ.w ⸢nꜣe=w⸣ [s]nty***
B04, 8/4 *m-qb=f r nꜣe=w bꜣ.w nꜣe=w snty.w*

L01.11, 11/12 (+L01.6) ***r nꜣe=w [.....] mn-iry n štly.w***
B04, 8/4–6 *r nꜣe=w šl.w / ms mt mꜣy r nꜣe=w ḫnmt.w mn-iry.w / ḫtry.w*
B11, 1/1 *[..... mn-]iry št[...]*

L01.11, 11/13 (+L01.6) *[ṯ]=y wꜥ ḫ[bs .....]*
B04, 8/6 *ṯ wꜥ ḫbs n tr.ṯ=y r ḫt (?) wꜥ n pꜣ*

L01.11, 11/14 (+L01.6) *ir=y ... [...]*
B04, 8/7 *tš (?) mḥ=f (?) ir=y pꜣe=f wꜥ pḥ=y r wꜥ wḏ ꜥnḫ*

L01.11, 11/14–15 ***[...] ...nby r bn-pw=f [...] /*** (L01.6) *gm=y 6 [...]*
B04, 8/8 *iw=f tš nby (?) r bn-pw=f wt gm=y 6 (?) ḫn iw=w*

L01.11, 11/15 ***[...] n wꜥ gy mt***
B04, 8/9 *ḫmsy.ṯ iw=w tmt iw=w snsn (n) wꜥ gꜣy mt*

L01.11, 11/16 (+L01.6) *iw=w šbn [.....]* ***tꜣ.w mtw=w [...]***
B04, 8/10–11 *iw=w šnb ḫꜣt ḫnꜥ nt nꜣ šmꜥ.w mḥy r nꜣ tꜣ.wy /nt-iw*

L01.11, 11/17 (+L01.6) *tỉ=y bn-iw m[.....]*
B04, 8/11 *tꜣe=w nb.t N.t tw=y bn-iw mtw ḏḏy bw-ir=w ḫp=w*

L01.11, 11/17–18 (+L01.6) *[...] ⸢sꜣ⸣ nty [...] / iw=w snfr... [...]*
B04, 8/12 *iw=w ḥm snty nt mw ḥy iw=w snfr ḫꜣ*

B04, 8/13 *iwt n=f mḏy iw=w fṯ bty m tp-rt.w*

L01.11, 11/19 (+L01.6) *iw=w nhm [...]*
B04, 8/14 *iw=w nhm s (?) m-ꜥ.wy n šꜥy=f r pꜣe=f mwt ꜥḥꜥ*

L01.11, 11/20 (+L01.6) *pꜣe=w ꜥw ḫs (?) [...]*
B04, 8/15 *in=w-ḫꜣ=f nꜣe=w- ꜥw ḫs pꜣ i-ir tỉ.t ṯ=w nꜣy ...*

L01.11, 11/21(+L01.6) *nʾ.w-štšt … […]*
B04, 8/16 *st i-ir iy … bny mr nʾ.w-štšt š… k.t*
B11, 1/10 (?) *[……]… **mr***

L01.11, 11/22(+L01.6) *r mtw=w … […]*
B04, 8/17 *nʾ.w-qns nʾe=w mt nʾe=w wḥm.w šb.ṯ r sḫ r mtw=w*

L01.11, 11/22 *[……]=y st*
B04, 8/18 *sḫn.ṯ=w n=w ntf nʾ sšl.w mtw=y sn d=y sn wʾḥ=y*

L01.11, 11/23(+L01.6) *in mtw sš… […]*
B04, 8/19 *sn in mtw sḫ=y sn iw=y (r) swn snsn*

L01.11, 11/23–24 (+L01.6) ***[…]… [ḫʾt]=y šgyg ḫnʿ=sn** / šʿ-tw=y … […]*
B04, 8/20 *d n=y ḫʾṯ=y šgyg ḫnʿ=sn šʿ-tw=y*
B11, 1/13 *[…… šg]yg ḫnʿ=sn*

L01.11, 11/24 (+L01.6) *[…… **tp-]rt.w***
B04, 8/21–22 *gm.ṯ=s n Tʾ-imy.t tʾ kby i-ir ṯ-ʿwy / n Pʾ tp-rt.w*

L01.11, 12/1 *tmt wʿsp-2 […….] nfr nb i-ir… […]… ift n nwny.t*
B04, 8/22–23 *tmt wʿsp-2 nʾe=w-nfr nb i-ir iy pʾ ift nwny*

L01.11, 12/2 *ʾs[q iw]=y ḥms r tp-wdʾ irm=w r nʾe=w ḥq.w ḥq ḥʾt[…]*
B04, 8/23–25 *iwsq=s iw=y / ḥms m Tp-wdʾ **irm=w r nʾe=w ḥyq** / ḥqy ḥʾṯ=y*

L01.11, 12/3 *gm=y tʾ[…] lhny.t n pʾ ʿnḫ r-smn istn i-ir ti s n nʾ.w pr-ʿnḫ*
Add. 3 B04, 9/1 *[……] tʾ rhny.t (?) … […]*

L01.11, 12/4 *… […] twt n nʾ sp.w ḥyq iw=w m[-sʾ(?)]=f n swṯ wʿʾ.ṯ=f*
B04, 9/2–3 *… pʾ pḫ (?) […….]/ swt w[…]*

L01.11, 12/5 *tʾ … […]… iʾw.t [ḥ]sʾ ir […] ḥs (?) s[t]*
B04, 9/4 *…… sʾ … […]*

L01.11, 12/6 *… […nʾ s]p.w … irm iry … […]… n-im=w*
B04, 9/5 *… **iry** […]*

L01.11, 12/7 *… […]… Šnty ir-rḫ nʾ nt i-ir-[ḥr=s (?) …]… nʾe=w ʾkyl*
B04, 9/6–7 *… […….]/ … ʾkyl.w […]*

L01.11, 12/8 *[…]ʿhnʾ r pʾ wt … […]… i-ir in pʾe=w rʿ*
B04, 9/8 *[…]… […]*

L01.11, 12/9 *[…] m-sʾ=s bs=y … nʾ … […]… ʿsʾlʾlm*
B04, 9/9 *… […]=s bs[…]*

L01.11, 12/10 *[…] r pʾ nt ḫnm m-sʾ … […]*
B04, 9/10–11 *ṯ tʾ … […] myt (?) […]/my … =w st r […]*

L01.11, 12/11 *i-ir=y ḫnny r df nʾe=w qs[… nʾe=w iwf].w*
B04, 9/12 *i-ir=y ḫnny … […]*

B04, 9/13 *r kky (?) … py […]*

L01.11, 12/12 *ʾs=y r ḫf r tiʾ.t […….]ṯ=w n rʾ.w wʿsp-2*
B04, 9/14–15 *r … ḫf.w r […]/ r ḫʾt=w rʾ … […]*

L01.11, 12/13 *st n ḫbl n ḫbl nʾ… […]… mn*
B04, 9/16 *nʾe=w g[…]wtn ḫ… […]*

L01.11, 12/14 *ʿq=y r tr.ṯ=w mʾʾ=y pʾe=w … st[…]… s*
B04, 9/16–17 *[…] / r tr… mʾʾ=y … […]*

L01.11, 12/15 *gm=y wʿ.t ʿry.t iw=s mtw=w … […]…y […]*
B04, 9/18–19 *… […]/ […]*

L01.11, 12/16 *iw=s ms nf ḫn wʿ.t b[…]*
B04, 9/20–21 *iw=sʿmsʾ … nf ḫn […]/sḫ.t mfky*

L01.11, 12/17 *r nʾe=s ms.w ir 100 (?) … […]*
B04, 9/21 *r nʾe=s … […]*
B11, 2/x+8 *r nʾe=s […]*

L01.11, 12/18 *ḫr pnʿ=s 50 n ḫbl r ḫbl […]*
B04, 9/22 *… […]*
B11, 2/x+9 *ḫr […]*

L01.11, 12/19 *hyny kʾ.w n-im=w ḫn hyny[…]*
B04, 9/23 *swt (?) … […]*
B11, 2/x+10 *hyn […]*

L01.11, 12/20 *hyny ḥry.w-tʾ ky d […]*
B11, 2/x+11 *hyn […]*

L01.11, 12/21 *iw=s my tʾ nly.t nt ms [dw (?) …]*
B11, 2/x+12 *ʾs my […]*

L01.11, 12/22 *ʾsq ḫn pʾ i-ir tiʾ.t (?) ly … […]*
B11, 2/x+13 *ʾsq … […]*

L01.11, 12/23 *… […]*
B11, 2/x+14 *… […]*

L01.11, 12/24 *[...]ʳgsʾ (?)... [...]*
B11, 2/x+15 *... gs... [...]*

Translation

(We only translate in this addendum those lines offering significant corrections to or variations from our previous version, or which display special problems.)

L01.11, 11/12(+L01.6). concerning their [.....] nurses, ichneumon (?)
B04, 8/4–6. concerning their plants, which give birth to new words, concerning their wet-nurses, ichneumons (?). The servants take a lamp from my (?) hand after (?) one of the
L01.11, 11/14–15 [...] ... without it being **[...]** / (L01.6) I found six [...]
B04, 8/8 It being determined ... without it being different (?). I found six (?) rowers, they
L01.11, 12/2. [May she de]lay (?), while I dwell in Dep of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with them, while their magic enchants my heart.
B04, 8/23–25. May she delay, while I / dwell in Dep of (the goddess) Wadjet, together with them, while their magic/ enchants my heart.
L01.11, 12/3. I found the [...] support of the life which *Isten* established, the one who gave it to the-ones-of-the-House-of-Life.
L01.11, 12/4. ... [...] collection of the magical spells, they being af[ter (?)] him (*Isten*) as his sole protection (?).
L01.11, 12/5. the ... [...] ... to make [...] praise (?) her (or "them"?).
L01.11, 12/6. ... [... the de]eds (?) ... together with a companion ... [...] ... therein.
L01.11, 12/7. ... [...] ... Shentait knows the things which (or "the ones who") are be[-fore her (?) ...] ... their excellent ones.
L01.11, 12/8. [...] ʳdraw nearʾ (?) to the papyrus ... [...] ... which carried off their end.
L01.11, 12/9. [...] after it. I entered ...the ... [...] ... ʳgʾlow.
L01.11, 12/10. [...] to the one who smells after (?) ... [...]
L01.11, 12/11. I row so as to burn their bo[nes (?) ... their fles]h (?)
L01.11, 12/12. I hastened to the snake(s) so as to give [...] them with mouths one by one.
L01.11, 12/13. They are in the forms of forms of the ... [...] ...
L01.11, 12/14. I entered to them. I saw their ... [...] ...
L01.11, 12/15. I found a uraeus, it being with them ... [...] ... [...]
L01.11, 12/16. it giving birth to breaths in a ... [...]
L01.11, 12/17. while its offspring amount to 100 (?) ... [...]
L01.11, 12/18. She turns around 50 of forms to a form [...]
L01.11, 12/19. some bulls therein in some [...]
L01.11, 12/20. some snakes, another version: [...]
L01.11, 12/21. She is like the vulture which gives birth [to a young bird (?) ...]
L01.11, 12/22. delay in them, the one who gave (?) ... [...]
L01.11, 12/23. ... [...]
L01.11, 12/24. [...] ʳto bowʾ (?) ... [...]

Commentary

L01.11, 11/6: The traces preceding *r-mn* (?) are probably the book-roll, comparing *pr-ʿnḫ* in L01.11, 12/3.

L01.11, 11/10: Unfortunately, the problematic noun following *pȝe=f* is also lost in the new fragment.

L01.11, 11/12: The new fragments of L01 now supplement the previously known section of this column preserved in L01.6.

Ḥnmt.w mn-ỉry.w may well be a single compound designation of a type of nurse, rather than two separate nouns.

The damaged word in L01.11, read *štly.w*, suggests that our original reading *ḫry.w* in B04, 8/6 may be wrong (or a variant). The *t* beneath the *ḫ* in B04, 8/6, possibly belongs to B04, 8/6, and not to B04, 8/7. We had read *tš*, "district," in B04, 8/7. Intriguingly, *štly.w* may be *štl*, "Ichneumon," *Glossar*, p. 530. *Štl* is "Spitzmaus," Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 5, p. 638; Brunner-Traut, "Ichneumon," *LÄ* 3, cols. 122–23. This animal is associated with the sun-god.

L01.11, 11/15: *Nby* in L01 suggests that *nby* should also be transliterated in B04, 8/8, and not *ngy*. *Nby* in L01 has a (damaged) walking-legs determinative. *Nb*, "to swim," may have this determinative, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 501, but the translation remains uncertain.

L01.11, 11/16: L01 has *mtw=w* where B04 has *nt-ỉw*.

L01.11, 12/2: This L01 parallel is important because it clarifies a hitherto misunderstood section of B04, previously the only witness. We had transliterated the damaged section as *ḥnʿ sfḫy syȝ.w st*, but the reading of L01 *ỉrm=w r nȝe=w ḥq.w* is straightforward.

For the image of "enchanting hearts" (with *pḫr*), see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 66–67.

L01.11, 12/3: This interesting statement emphasizes once more the close connection between the Book of Thoth and the House of Life. One notes that *rhn*, "support," is used in epithets of the seven *Ḏsỉw*-gods, *rhn-ḥr-nb-wnw.t=sn*, "Auf deren Dienst sich jedermann verlässt," Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 4, p. 702.

L01.11, 12/4: One wonders whether the *twt* implies that this is a separate composition.

For *sp.w ḥyq*, cf. *sp n ḥyq*, "Zauberformel (Setne 2, 6/21)," *Glossar*, p. 425.

Alternatively, one may restore *mtw=f* (for *m-tỉ=f*). Presumably the *f* refers to Thoth.

The *n* is probably old *m*, "being."

Swṯ is written as "abliefern," *Glossar*, p. 418, but this may well be an unorthographic spelling of another word. One possibility is that *swṯ* is a variant of *swḏȝ*, "to make

healthy." That verb appears in association with the writings of Thoth, Schott, *Bücher*, p. 3.

For *wʿ.t=f*, "er allein," see *Glossar*, p. 81.

L01.11, 12/5: *iꜣw.t*, "office (?)," or "animal (?)," is preferable to *iw=s* ....

L01.11, 12/7: *Šnty*, with the divine determinative, may be *Šntyy.t*, "Shentait," *Wb.* 4, 518/1–10, who occurs elsewhere in the Book of Thoth (e.g., L01.5, 10/4).

Transliterate perhaps *ir-rḫ=s nꜣ i-ir* (possibly the relative form).

L01.11, 12/8: A verb of movement is lost at the beginning of the line.

Wt is *wt*, "Papyrus," *Glossar*, p. 105, where one of the examples has an identically written determinative.

The same expression, *in rʿ*, occurs in B02, 6/11 (*in rʿ=sn*).

L01.11, 12/9: *Šlꜣlm* is *šllm*, "Glut," *Glossar*, p. 520 (*Mythus*).

L01.11, 12/10: It is difficult to discern the relationship between the L01 and B04 versions for this line.

The idiom *ḫnm m-sꜣ*, literally, "to smell after," is found in *Glossar*, p. 362, where it is rendered "nachstellen."

L01.11, 12/11: The determinative of *df* is lost, but this is presumably *df*, "to burn," *Glossar*, pp. 677–78.

L01.11, 12/12: The version of L01 again clarifies the damaged signs in B04.

Wʿsp-2 implies that various kinds of snakes are being described.

L01.11, 12/13: Naturally the hieroglyphic *ḥ* is striking. Given the context *mnḥ* may be the snake-goddess *mnḥy.t*, Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 3, pp. 305–06.

L01.11, 12/14: The speaker perhaps asserts that he has approached these snake deities.

Unfortunately the object of *mꜣꜣ* cannot be read.

L01.11, 12/15–16: The speaker recounts his acquaintance with divine snakes, in this case, the uraeus, *ʿrʿy.t*, "Uraeusschlange," *Glossar*, p. 65.

Nf, "fiery breath," is especially associated with the uraeus, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 513, and see also M. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean* (Carlsberg Papyri 5; CNI Publications 26 [Copenhagen, 2002]), p. 113. We have not found the expression *ms nf* elsewhere; one wonders whether there is not a word play here with *nfr.w*, "young ones," *Wb.* 2, 258/1–3.

L01.11, 12/18: The uraeus snake undertakes a course of action with regard to its young. The aorist form is doubtless significant.

Pnʿ is "umwenden," *Wb.* 1, 508/11–509/9; *Glossar*, pp. 131–32, but the precise force of the word here is uncertain. In L01 *pnʿ* may have the meaning of "to change" or "transform," comparing ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ "verwandeln," *KHWB*, p. 148. Is the uraeus snake transforming the shape or appearance of one of its young?

L01.11, 12/19: The precise identity of these bulls remains questionable, although *kꜣ.w* appear elsewhere in the Book of Thoth.

L01.11, 12/20: For *ḥry-tꜣ*, "serpent"(not in *Glossar*), see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 666; Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 5, p. 409.

Notable is the hieroglyphic writing of *ky ḏ*, "andere Lesart," *Wb.* 5, 111/12. There was perhaps another, more common term for serpent here in place of the rather choice *ḥry-tꜣ*.

L01.11, 12/21: In this line the author compares the snake to the vulture who figures so prominently in the Book of Thoth, especially as a mother.

My is old *mi*, "like," which generally appears as *mw* or *m* in Demotic, *Glossar*, p. 154.

L01.12 (joins L01.4, column 8)

Transliteration

8/1 *i pꜣ sꜣwṯ.w (?) nꜣ mny.w nt ... [...]* Add. 4

8/2 *... nt nꜣ sꜣ.w nꜣ sbꜣ.w ḫr ḥ.t ... [...]*

8/3 *wpy-ṯp-ꜣṯ=f ḏ=f sb... [...]*

8/4 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f inky wn ... [...]*

8/5 *wpy-ṯp-ꜣṯ=f [...]*

8/6 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f nꜣ ḫl[-ʾ]y.w nꜣ wnš [...]*

8/7 *[wp]y-ṯp-ꜣṯ=f ḏ=f iḫ n špʿsn ... inky [...]*

8/8 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f wʿ iḥ iw=f prḫ hyny [...]*

8/9 *wpy-ṯp-ꜣṯ=f ḏ=f iḫ wn (?) pꜣ i-ir pꜣe=y [...]*

8/10 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f hyny nly[.wt hyny ḫf].w [...]*

8/11 *iḫ [... m]ky pꜣ nt iw=w n ḥ.ṯ=f [...] ... [...]*

8/12 *wpy-ṯp-ꜣṯ=f ḏ=f [...] ... [...]*

8/13 *twꜣ=k šty=k iḫ n sns...[...]*

8/14 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f qs iyḥ.w [...]*

8/15 *wpy-tp-ỉṯ=f ḏ=f mwḥy [...]*

8/16 *[mr-rḫ ḏ]=f ḥs mwky mỉwy [...]*

8/17 *[wp]y-tp-ỉṯ=f ḏ=f mỉ [...]*

8/18 *[...]... [...]*

Translation

8/1. O guard (?), the herdsmen (?) who ... [...]
8/2. ... who the walls, the doors before ... [...]
8/3. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... [...]
8/4. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "I am the opener ... [...]
8/5. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back [...]
8/6. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "The el[der]s (?), the jackals [...]
8/7. [He-has-]judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What ... I [...]
8/8. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "A heart which spreads out some [...]
8/9. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "What pastophoros (?) is the one who made my [...]
8/10. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "Some vultur[es, some snak]es [...]
8/11. What [...] ... that in which they are [...] ... [...]
8/12. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: [...] ... [...]
8/13. May you praise! May you recite! What image ... [...]
8/14. The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "Bone, spirits (?) [...]
8/15. He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "... [...]
8/16. [The-one-who-loves-knowledge,] he [says:] "Praised one! Protect the thoughts (?)! [...]
8/17. [He-has-judg]ed, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says: "Come [...]
8/18. [...] ... [...]

Commentary

Line 1: For the writing of the vocative particle, cf. L01.3, 7/23.
Mny.w may be *mn*, "der Hirt," *Glossar*, p. 160, but other possibilities exist.

Line 2: The first sign does not seem to be the vocative *ỉ*, which in any case would be incompatible with the following *nt*.
Sỉ is probably *sy*, "beam," *Glossar*, p. 407.

Line 3: *Sb* may be a variation of the old interrogative pronoun *sy*, "was? wer?" *Wb.* 3, 424/14–425/6.

Line 4: *Wn* may be *wn*, "to open," or *wn*, "pastophoros," *Glossar*, p. 89; the damaged sign may be the arm-with-a-stick determinative.

Line 6: The space may be too long for just *ḫl-ỉ*, "Greis," *Glossar*, p. 394.

Line 7: The destroyed sign after *šp* fits *š*. Nevertheless, the meaning remains difficult, as *ḫpš*, "Arm," *Glossar*, p. 357, seems unlikely

Line 8: This appears to be a virtual relative clause, with a circumstantial form modifying the indefinite noun *ỉb*.
Prḫ seems to be *prḫ*, "ausbreiten," *Glossar*, p. 136. It is an odd choice in connection with *ỉb*, however, and this may also be a variant of *pḫr*, "bezaubern," *Glossar*, p. 139.

Line 9: The traces support the reading *wn*, "der Schreinöffner," *Glossar*, p. 89.

Line 10: The determinative after the break suggests naturally *ḫf.w*, "snakes," *Glossar*, p. 303.

Line 11: On the basis of L01.12, 8/11, we can read *ỉḫ n mky pỉ nt ỉw=w n-ḏ.t=f* in B02, 13/11.

Line 13: On the basis of the parallel in B02, 13/12, *sns...* may be a variant of *snn*, "image," *Wb.* 3, 460/6–17.

Line 16: Possibly translate the parallel in B02, 13/15:... *ntnt ḥn ḥr mỉ*ʿ "... Protect (or 'question?') the one who draws near to the place!"

L01.13 (joins L01.3 + L01.4, column 7)

Transliteration

7/14 *[.....] ḫny.w ⸢bỉ⸣ ... [...]... ⸢pỉ⸣ ḫḥy.w nt n ... [...]* Add. 5

7/15 *[sbỉ] sp [pỉ] nt ʿḥʿr-r=w ... [...]=y n-ỉm=w pỉe=w bʿḥ*

7/16 *[...]... ḫny pỉ nt [.....]... ỉw=f hlʿly*

7/17 *[wp]y-tp-ỉt=f [ḏ=f...]... ṯ r wnm.w ʿn [...]*

7/18 *ỉ... r b ḫr... [...]... tỉe=w ỉmy.t*

7/19 *ỉp Rʿpḫʿn=y⸣ [ỉb(?)]=y nt ḥ wstn n ỉbw=sn*

7/20 *glp=k n=y wḏỉy=y ʿʿe=y nỉe=w šnỉ.w*

7/21 *i-ir=y iy n pꜣe=k ḫb[r] ḫn tꜣ sḫ.t sm ꜣkyl mr*

7/22 *nm pꜣ nt ḥ‹r›r nꜣ sbꜣ [nt (?) s]l (?) snby*

7/23 *i⌜pꜣ⌝ swt (r) nꜣ m[s].w 18 SPATIUM mꜣwṯ*

7/24 *i pꜣ mr (?) pr-ḥḏ n nꜣ tꜣ.w[y ...] ... nꜣ htty.w*

Translation (we present also the B04 version, where this may be helpful)

L01.13, 7/14. [...] pieces (?) of ⌜bronze⌝ ... [...] ...⌜the⌝ grains which ... [...]
B04, 4/20–21. These who have interpreted (?) the pieces (?) of bronze ... [...] ... mouths are they.

L01.13, 7/15. [Gate of] *Sep* (is) [the] one who waits for them ... [...] my/I ... therein their overflowing.
B04, 4/21–22. Gate of (?) *Sep* (?) (is) the one who waits for them [...]

L01.13, 7/16. [...] ... of (?) *Ḥny* (is) the one who [...] ... he being cared for.
B04, 4/22. Window of (?) *Ḥny* (is) the one who opens them in its walls of protection (?) [...]

L01.13, 7/17. [He-has]-judged, namely, the one-who-is-upon-his-back, [he says: "...] ... to eat (or "food") again (?) [...]
B04, 4/23. **He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back, he says:** "The ... the thresholds, the one who ... [...]

L01.13, 7/18. ... to the place under ... [...] ... their form (?).
L01.13, 7/19. O heart of Re, enchant ⌜for me⌝ my [heart (?)] which wonders freely according to their forms.
L01.13, 7/20. May you reveal for me my eyes, my limbs, their hair (or "nets").
L01.13, 7/21. It is in your fo[rm] in the field of plants that I come, excellent of love.
L01.13, 7/22. Who is the one who stands at the gates [which (?) fore]tell (?) health.
L01.13, 7/23. O guard (of) the off[spr]ing 18 SPATIUM "refrain"
L01.13, 7/24. O overseer (?) of the treasury of the Two Land[s ...] ... the baboons (?)

Commentary

L01.13, 7/14: If the destroyed word is *pꜣ*, then *lḫy*, with the pellet determinative, may be *nš*, "grain," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 549.
Read *rpy* or *rsy* at the end of the line.

L01.13, 7/15: *Bʿḥ* is clearly *bʿḥ*, "froh sein," or "inundate," *Glossar*, p. 113, although the determinative is uncertain.

L01.13, 7/16: *hlʿly* is *hll*, "ein Kind tragen, wiegen," *Glossar*, p. 280.

L01.13, 7/17: We render *ʿn* as "again," but the damaged group may also be *ʿ-n*, "Vorsteher von," *Glossar*, p. 54, although the noun lost in the lacuna must, of course, have then been a short one.

L01.13, 7/18: *B* may be *bw*, "Ort," *Glossar*, p. 113.
imy.t is perhaps *ꜣmy.t*, "Faust," or *imy.t*, "Seele," *Glossar*, pp. 4–5.

L01.13, 7/19: *H* is *ḫr*, "upon."
ꜣbw, not in *Glossar*, is *ꜣbw.t*, "images, forms," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 5. There is clearly a word play between *ꜣbw* and *ip*. On the basis of this we suggest that *ib*, "heart," stood in the lacuna, comparing also *pḫr ḥꜣṯ*, "Herzenszauber," *Glossar*, p. 139.

L01.13, 7/20: *Šnꜣ* is either *šnw*, "Netz," *Wb.* 4, 509/8–9 or *šn*, "Haar," *Glossar*, p. 513.

L01.13, 7/21: This line resembles B02, 6/2, **"The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: 'What is its nature? What is the shape of the papyrus plant, O excellent of love?'"**

L01.13, 7/22: We suggest *sl* as a variant of *sr*, "foretell," but this is merely one possibility.

L01.13, 7/23: The significance of the total is quite intriguing, but uncertain. Eighteen vultures appear, for example, in B02, 10/4.
For this ancient abbreviation, *mꜣwṯ*, apparently meaning "refrain," see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 400. It is not otherwise attested in Demotic.

L01.13, 7/24: Other translations are possible for *tꜣ.wy*, e.g., "hieroglyphic signs," *tyꜣ.w*, *Glossar*, p. 606. The transliteration *tny.t* is another alternative.
htt appears also in F11, 9. This is most likely *ḥtt*, "Art Pavian," *Wb.* 2, 504/4–6.

L01.14 (joins L01 + L01.1, column 4)

Transliteration

4/10 *ꜣꜣ n nw ꜣꜣ ir ꜣꜣ sḏm [...] ... [...] ... [...]*

4/11 *mꜣ tw=y rḫ=k st pꜣ ⌜4⌝ myl n pꜣ ʿnḫ [...] snḫ n-im=w [...]*

4/12 *ḥꜣʿ ḥꜣṯ=k r pꜣ ntr ḥn ḫr ḥp ir ʿn-wšb šmy ḫr mꜣʿ.t*

4/13 *ḫm bʿy ḥs i-iry rmt nfr tm f[y]* **tȝy sḏm=k**

4/14 *mr-rḫ ḏ=f i rpy sȝl=k ḫnt* **ḥ.t iry šᶜ ms.w n sbȝ**

4/15 *ir=k n=y ḥm šlg=k tȝy s.t-ḏbȝ* **šm=y n=i ṯp ᶜᶜe.w** [...]

4/16 *ir=k n=y wʿy iw=y n mḫy r ȝḥ iw=y [n š]w* **ir=k ṯ=y (n) nḫb**

4/17 *ti=w ṯ=y n=k iw=y n šw wpy=k ṯ twt[=k]* **n=y ḫtt sʿnḫ [...]**

4/18 *wḏȝ=k n=y ls=y wpy=k [...] ...* **pr ti=k n=y pȝ rt** *šm-iy*

4/19 *šb=k pȝe=y ms<t> in=k tȝe=y mr.t [...]* **tȝe=y ḥs.t ḫk[...]**

4/20 *ti=k ir=y iȝw iw=y sbk n ms hb[=y]* **ʿy.w r-ḫr=y m** *i[ḫ]y=k*

4/21 *ti=k n=y pȝ rt iw=y ḫpr.ṯk m nšn* **sntm=y r nȝ** *[wr.w] (n) ʿḥʿ*

4/22 *ti=k ʿȝsʳ=yˀ n tty wn-nȝ.w iw=y m wʿ ir=k [n=y ḏ]m ll*

4/23 *ti[=k] ... [..... r]ȝ=k glp n=y tf[w* **bʿ]ḫ ṯ=y** *i[ḫ nw ḫ].ṯ=k*

4/24 *ȝs [.....] iḫy ir=k n=y iw=y šp[-ʿnḫ ...] ...* **mn** *[...]*

Translation

4/10. Be abundant in looking! // Be abundant in acting! // Be abundant in hearing! [...] ... [...] ... [...]

4/11. Come, let me cause you to know them, // namely, the ⌜four⌝ bandages of the life [...] **to bind them [...]**

4/12. Set your heart upon the god! // Adhere to the law! // Make **revenge! // Go (?) in** *maat***!**

4/13. Be small of conceit and praise! // Be a good man! // Do not car[ry] away **this which you have heard.**

4/14. **The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:** "O may your prophecy be eternally young! // O foremost one of (or 'before') the **House of Documents! // Begin with the chil**dren of the teaching!

4/15. You have been for me a craftsman. // You have diminished my trouble. // **I may go off to my forefathers (?)** [...]

4/16. You have been for me a farmer, // I being like unto a field, // I being [d]ry. // **You have made me a** *nḫb*-**field.**

4/17. They have given me to you, // I being worthy. // You opened me. [You] collected (?) **for me ... (?)** *ḫtt* **...** [...]

4/18. You have separated for me my tongue. // You have opened [...] ... **You have given to me the possibility** for going and coming.

4/19. You have lessened hatred of me. // You have brought love of me.[...] **my praise** ... [...].

4/20. You have caused that I achieve old age, I being (still) young. // [I] have sent off (or 'written to') **those older than I** through your effective **magic.**

4/21. You have given to me the status, although I am but a youth. // **I have written to the** [great ones (= comforted the hearts of great ones)] (by means of your) assistance (?).

4/22. You caused that ⌜I⌝ be abundant in nurses, when I was alone. // You made [for me a **tr]oop of youths.**

4/23. [You] have given ... [...] your mo[uth.] // Reveal to me suste[nance (or 'spit').] // The **be**[neficent power of] your [bo]dy **has [flow]ed over me.**

4/24. ...[...] benefaction. // You have acted for me, I being as a [living] image **[eter]**-nally [...]

Commentary

L01, 4/11: *Snḫ*, "binden," *Glossar*, p. 439, strongly implies that *myl* is "bandage," a noun derived from *mr*, "binden," *Glossar*, p. 166.

L01, 4/12: Only a trace of the *w* of *wšb* is preserved. For *ʿn-wšb*, "Rache," see *Glossar*, p. 102. The context suggests that "revenge" or "vengeance" is intended, and not the colorless "reply." Presumably "revenge," means "(justifiable) punishment" or similar.

L01, 4/13: For the phrase *ḫm bʿy*, compare Onkhsheshonqy 6/8, Thissen, *Anchscheschonqi*, p. 20.

Fy may have the sense here of "reveal, make public," comparing Ryholt, *Story of Petese*, p. 27.

L01, 4/14: *Ḥ.t* has the wood determinative, occasionally found in *ḥ.t*, "chapter," comparing *Glossar*, pp. 283–84.

L01, 4/15: We think that *ṯp ᶜᶜe.w* is probably an unorthographic writing of *tpyw-ʿ*, "ancestors," Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 1139–40. Other possibilities naturally exist. *Tp* may be the preposition, "upon," *Wb.* 5, 273/1–276/9, a usage not clearly documented under *tp* in *Glossar*, pp. 626–27; one may quote *m tp ʿ.t*, "an seinen Gliedern," *Wb.* 5, 285/3. *ṯp ᶜᶜe.w* may also stand for *tp-ʿwt*, "limbs," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1135.

L01, 4/16: The dependent pronoun *ṯ=y* seems to be written *yṯ*.

Nḫb is probably *nḫb*, "Art Acker," *Wb.* 2, 308/8–9, rather than *nḫb*, "Lotusblüte," *Wb.* 2, 307/3–8. The author presumably intended this word play. *Nḫb* is especially used of "fresh land," or "land upon which a temple is built," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 540.

L01, 4/17: Here too the dependent pronoun is written *yṯ*.

Twt is probably a verb. There may be a contrast between *wpy*, "to divide," and *twt*, "to gather."

Ḥtt may be the "epithet of Isis or Hathor," *ḥddt*, Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 693–94. Still, it is curious that there is not a divine determinative, and the sense of the clause is obscure. It may therefore be preferable to identify this with *htt*, "baboon," or, verbally, "shout, scream," Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 608.

The relationship between *ḥtt* and *sʿnḫ* is uncertain.

L01, 4/18: The damaged middle section of L01, 4/18, unfortunately does not shed light on the other versions of this line in B02 and B04.

L01, 4/19: *Ḥk[...]* should parallel *ktkt* (B02) and *gtgt* (B04), but it does not seem possible to explain the variation.

L01, 4/24: Read possibly *[...]... r mn [...].*

L01.15

Transliteration

1/1 *[...]... stw ỉtn n (?) ʿʿe.w=f nb ...*

1/2 *[...]... n=f ḥr pȝ ... n ls=f ḥr pȝ ḏs (?) nȝy=f ... [...]*

1/3 *[...] tbʿ.w=f ḥr pȝ ʿw nȝe=f qmȝ ḥr pȝ mšʿ (?) ... [...]*

1/4 *[...] syw.w nȝ yʿl.w nȝ mȝ.w nȝ ʿȝ.w ... [...]*

1/5 *[...]... pš nȝ nt šm-ỉy n-ỉm=s ... [...]*

1/6 *[...]y pȝ mḫll nt fy ... ʿ... [...]*

1/7 *[...]... tʿ tȝ ỉ-ỉr ms ms.w ... bȝ.w (?) ...*

1/8 *[...]... grp nȝ rḫ.w nȝe=f ỉwỉw.w nȝe=f rm.w nȝe=f ... [...]*

1/9 *[...]... pr n ỉm nt ʿʿe.w=f ... y ... [...]*

1/10 *[...]... ỉ-ỉr mtr (?) ... ȝ.w [...]*

1/11 *[...].w n=s Šȝy tȝ [...]... ḏ.w ... [...]*

1/12 *[...] bȝ.w-Rʿ pr-ʿnḫ ... [...]*

1/13 *[...]... [...]*

1/14 *[...]... nȝ ... [...]*

1/15 *[...]... [...]*

1/16 *[...]... [...]*

1/17 *[...]... [...]*

1/18 *[...]... [...]*

1/19 *[...]... [...]*

Ca. 2/1–5 lost

2/6(?) *... [...]*

2/7(?) *... [...]*

2/8(?) *nȝ nw ... [...]*

2/9(?) *spḫl [...]*

2/10(?) *pȝ nt ... [...]*

2/11(?) *pȝe=f nw ... [...]*

2/12(?) *... [...]*

Translation

1/1. [...] ... rays of the sun-disk in (?) all his limbs ...
1/2. [...] ... to him upon ... of his tongue upon the ... his ... [...]
1/3. [...] his fingers upon the greatness of his creations upon the multitude (?) ... [...]
1/4. [...] stars, the rivers, the canals, the stones ... [...]
1/5. [...] ... divide (?) that which comes and goes from it ... [...]
1/6. [...] ... the scarab beetle which carries ... [...]
1/7. [...] ... the one who bore the offspring ... *bas* (?) ...
1/8. [...] ... the wise ones revealed (?) his dogs, his fish, his ... [...]
1/9. [...] ... which comes forth therefrom (?), which his limbs ... [...]
1/10. [...] ... [...]
1/11. [...] ... to her, Shai, the [...] ... they said (?) ... [...]
1/12. [...] the *bas* of Re of the House of Life ... [...]
1/13. [...] ... [...]
1/14. [...] ... the ... [...]
1/15. [...] ... [...]
1/16. [...] ... [...]
1/17. [...] ... [...]
1/18. [...] ... [...]
1/19. [...] ... [...]

Ca. 2/1–5 lost

2/6.(?) ... [...]
2/7.(?) ... [...]
2/8.(?) the ... [...]
2/9.(?) writing [...]
2/10.(?) the one who ... [...]
2/11.(?) his looking (?) ... [...]
2/12.(?) ... [...]

Commentary

Line 1/1: For *stw*, "Strahlen," see *Glossar*, p. 476. Notable is the hieroglyphic determinative in this version.

Line 1/2: Read perhaps *tp* after *ḥr pȝ*.
The proposed *ḏs* has the pellet and plural strokes determinatives; the translation is obscure (= *ṯs*?).

Line 1/3: We take *qmȝ* to be *qm*, "Schöpfung," *Glossar*, p. 537.
The transliteration *mšr* is plausible, *Glossar*, p. 181.

Line 1/4: The author describes either the act of creation or an aspect thereof.

Line 1/5: *Pš* does not resemble the spellings of *pš*, "teilen," *Glossar*, p. 140.

Line 1/6: The first damaged word ends with the brazier and sun disk determinatives.

Line 1/7: *Tr*, with the sun disk determinative, may be a variant of *tȝ*, "Zeit," *Glossar*, p. 600.

Line 1/8: This line evidently deals with the "wise men" revealing or explicating the types of sacred animals well attested in the Book of Thoth. We render *rḫ.w* as the subject, but it could also be the object of *grp*.

Line 1/9: The *n* after *pr* is suspect.
ỉm appears to have the walking legs determinative, suggesting *ỉm*, "komme!" *Glossar*, p. 30, rather than the adverb *ỉm*, "there."

Line 1/13: The line begins with the name of a goddess.

L01.16

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] ... [...]*
3 *[...] ... r ... [...]*
4 *[...] ... [...]*
5 *[...] ... [...]*
6 *[...] ... ḏ ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [...] ... [...]
4. [...] ... [...]
5. [...] ... [...]
6. [...] ... to say ... [...]

L01.17

Transliteration

1 *[...] ... [...]*
2 *[...] ... nỉe (?) [...]*
3 *[...] ... m (?) [...]*
4 *[...] ... [...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [...] ... name (?) [...]
4. [...] ... [...]

L01.18

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*
2 *[...]... [...]*
3 *[...]... [...]*
4 *[...]... [...]*

Translation

1. [...]... [...]
2. [...]... [...]
3. [...]... [...]
4. [...]... [...]

L01.19

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*

Translation

1. [...]... [...]

2. Additional Comments or Corrections to the Book of Thoth

Add. 7 **Page 52**
On the House of the Fish-net, see Y. Volokhine, "Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agouz: *Ḏd-ḥr-pȝ-hb, Ḏḥwty-stm*," *BIFAO* 102 (2002), p. 411.

Add. 8 **Page 53**
One wonders whether *tȝ ỉṯ.w* is not an unorthographic writing of *ṯȝty*, "vizier," a well attested epithet of Thoth, Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 7, p. 449.

Page 124 Add. 9
Variant 123: Instead of *tny[...]* in C07.1 19, read *bnyp[y]*. Therefore, this purported variant must be deleted.

Page 166 Add. 10
C04.1, 7: On the "Sea of Life," as a "designation for the primordial flood," see now M. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, p. 112.

Page 194 Add. 11
B02, 3/3: Given the known Egyptian word-pair of "light-heavy," L01, 1/21 may present the better text. One may compare Eloquent Peasant "Act not lightly - you are weighty," Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, p. 176. We may offer the interpretative translation: "May it (the heart) end its lightness. Heavier is death than the stone." The *my*, "death," may have been transposed from its proper place because of the *my* at the beginning and the "life-time" (*ḥ ʿ*) at the end of the next line.

The pairs at the end of the lines also deserve attention: 1–2: *ḥ ʿy.w/htn.w* 3–4 *my/ʿḥ ʿ* 5–6 *try.t/ḏb ʿy.w* 7–8 *ỉḫy.w/bȝ.w*.

Page 211 Add. 12
B02, 4/12: There are other intriguing possible translations of *mḥy=s r mtwt=f*, e. g., "Compare it to its seed" (*mtw.t*, "der männliche Same," *Wb.* 2, 169/1–4) or "Compare it to its capability" (*mt.t*, "Eignung, Geeignetheit," *Wb.* 2, 168/2). The student wishes to know the potential use or profit of the art of writing. The image of "male seed" is especially attractive, given the following apparent epithet of Thoth, *bȝḫy*.

Page 244 Add. 13
B02, 8/6: Again, one suspects that *sȝ tȝ ỉṯ.w*, "son of land of fathers," is an oblique way of saying, "son of Thoth," which is a designation of the ibis, Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 6, p. 100.

Page 282 Add. 14
In B02, 12/16 we have read *šbs*, as a variant for *šps*, "noble." However the puzzling sign beneath the *š* may be Möller, *HP* 3, number 26, and thus *šps* may in fact be read.

Page 289 Add. 15
B03, 1/1: Read perhaps *nȝ twȝ.w mỉ.ṯ gm*, "The praises as found."

Page 298 Add. 16
B04, 5/10: Could *tpn nȝ ʿe.w* be an unorthographic writing of *tp-n-ỉȝw.wt*, "Vieh," *Glossar*, p. 17?

Page 352 Add. 17
L01 (V.T.), x+3/17: For the association between *gmḥs* and Thoth, see Y. Volokhine, "Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agouz: *Ḏd-ḥr-pȝ-hb, Ḏḥwty-stm*," *BIFAO* 102 (2002), p. 407.

Page 353 Add. 18
L01 (V.T.), x+3/19: We now think that *nswt-bỉty*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," is to be read in place of the problematic *Sȝ-kȝ*. The first group resembles the examples of

nsw, "der König," in *Glossar*, p. 228, although the loop is certainly more pronounced in L01. We also believe that the sign which we originally transliterated as *kꜣ* is in fact the bee, Möller, *HP* 3, number 260. There is some similarity between the hieratic writings of the bull, Möller, *HP* 3, number 142, and that for the bee. As said in the commentary *ad locum*, the king is said to be the "son of Shentait," so the reading proposed here well fits the sense.

Add. 19 **Pages 365 and 374**

B07, 9: Read probably *sḏm st*, "hear it/them," at the end of the line for *sḏm=w*.

B07, 10: *Mꜣꜥ* may be "die Schläfe," *Wb.* 2, 24/10–16. Restore perhaps *mꜣꜥ.wy=k*, and render "Lift your two temples," in the sense of "pay attention." This is especially attractive because of the possible word play between *tpy*, "taste," and *tp*, "head." The concluding clauses of B07, 9 and B07, 10 may therefore be:

My msḏr=k r sḏm st
By mꜣꜥ.wy=k r tpy=k tpy

Add. 20 **Page 375**

B07, 14: Read perhaps *sꜣ wn-imꜣ.t n=f imy nb*, in a possessive sense, possibly "every *sꜣ wn-imꜣ* belonging to him." This would, of course, be an archaic Middle Egyptian construction, Gardiner, *EG*, p. 88 (paragraph 113.3).

Add. 21 **Page 365**

F01.6 is to be joined to F01.1. This becomes clear when one observes that the previously unread traces in F01.1, 2 perfectly complete the *sḏm* of F01.6, 5. We could not incorporate this new understanding of the relationship of the two fragments into the text volume (the line numbering could not be altered), but have arranged the photographs of F01.1 and F01.6 on plate 40 in such a way as to reflect their proper association.

Add. 22 **Page 412**

C04.4, 2/x+16: Note that *bin-rn=f*, "His name is bad," is an epithet of Seth, Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 308.

Add. 23 **Page 424**

Further study of L01.9 has resulted in considerable improvement of the transliteration; we therefore present here our revised text.

L01.9

Transliteration

1 *[...]... [...]*

2 *[...]... ⌜tn⌝=y... [...]*

3 *[mr-rḫ ḏ=f i]ḫ tꜣy tꜣe=w ḥn[...]*

4 *[...]... mḥ n-tr.t=w ỉw=f [...]*

5 *[...] š ntnt=w tꜣe=w... [...]*

6 *[...]... pꜣe=w... [...]*

7 *[mr-rḫ ḏ=f]... š... pꜣ ꜥnḫ [...]*

8 *[wpy-tp-]ꜣt=f ḏ =f pꜣ ꜥnḫ [...]*

9 *[...]... šꜥ šr n [...]*

10 *[...]... ms n=k... [...]*

11 *[... ỉw] n=k nꜣ wnš.w ỉw n=k nꜣ ỉw[ỉw.w...]*

12 *[...]... pꜣ... ḫf... [...]*

13 *[...]n=k nꜣ mšt.w ...w [...]*

14 *[ḫr]=f n Ḥsl ḏ=f wpy=f rꜣ=f [...]*

15 *[...]=y ṯ n-ỉm=w ỉrm tꜣe=w šr.t (?)... [...]*

16 *[mr]-rḫ ḏ=f wꜥ qbe (?)... [...]*

17 *[... m]ḫll wꜥ.t nmy.t... [...]*

18 *[...] Ḫnm in (?) w... [...]*

19 *[...]qll (?) ⌜4 ḫf⌝ [4 (?)...]*

Translation

1. [...] ... [...]
2. [...] ... [...]
3. [The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says: "W]hat is their ... [...]
4. [...] ... to fill their hands (?), he [...]
5. [...] ... They ask their ... [...]
6. [...] ... their ... [...]
7. [The-one-who-loves-knowledge, he says:] "... the life (?) [...]
8. [He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon]-his-back, he says: "The life (?) ... [...]
9. [...] ... until (?) the child of [...]
10. [...] ... be born to you ... [...]
11. [... come] to you the jackals, come to you the do[gs ...]
12. [...] ... the ... snake ... [...]

13. [...] to you the ... [...]
14. He [says,] namely, The-one-of-Heseret, he says: "He opened his mouth [...]
15. [...] I myself therein with their daughter (?) ... [...]
16. [The-one-who-loves]-knowledge, he says: "A ... [...]
17. [... a s]carab, a female dwarf ... [...]
18. [...] Khnum, ... [...]
19. [...] frogs (?) ⌜4, snakes⌝[4 (?) ...]

Commentary

Line 3: *Ḥn* is a probable reading, but the translation remains uncertain.

Line 4: For *mḥ tr.t*, cf. *Glossar*, p. 173.

Line 5: *Ntnt* is to be identified with *nḏnḏ*, "fragen," *Glossar*, p. 235.

Line 6: Either *ʾiỉy* or *p* is possible at the end of the line.

Line 13: There are several possible translations of *mšṯ*, e. g., "untersuchen," "Furt," *Glossar*, p. 182.

Line 15: Given the walking-legs determinative and the reflexive *ṯ*, one might restore a transitive verb of movement, with the sense of "I have betaken myself."

Line 17: For *nm.t*, "Zwerg (female)," see *Glossar*, p. 218. The scarab and the female dwarf are also associated in the Demotic Memphite Theology 2/7–8, see W. Erichsen and S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. demot. Berlin 13603)*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlungen der Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1954. Nr. 7: Wiesbaden: Verlag der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1954, p. 313.

Line 18: This is a standard writing of *Ḫnm*, *Glossar*, p. 384.

Line 19: *Qll*, "frog," seems possible, *Glossar*, p. 544; the determinative may even be the frog. We are clearly dealing here with the eight primeval gods of Hermopolis. On that basis we suggest this restoration of the line. The frogs represent the male deities, the snakes, the female, H. Altenmüller, "Achtheit," *LÄ* 1, col. 56.

Glossary

1. General Vocabulary

ỉỉ.t "sacred place." L01 (V.T.), x+1/15 cf. also *wpy-tp-ỉt=f*

ỉy "cattle (?)." B04, 6/9; L01.5, 10/23

ỉyty "lack." F01, 9; F14, 10 (*ỉyỉty*) Both examples may be unorthographic renderings of *pỉw.t*, "primeval being," spelled *pỉe=w ỉyty*.

ỉw "praise." B02, 3/14; L01, 2/8 (*ỉw*)

ỉw "extent." B04, 3/7 (written *r ʾỉ=f*)

ỉw see *ʿw*

ỉwy "hail." C04.4, 1/6

ỉwy.ṯ.w "cultivation (?)." B02, 5/11 (written *ʿwy*); L01, 3/13

ỉbỉ.t "darkness (?)." B02, 9/1; B04.2, 3/5

ỉby vb. "to be thirsty." B01, 3/15 (written *ỉỉb*); B02, 4/5; B02, 6/7; B03.10, 7; F15, 3; L01, 2/15 (*ỉỉb*)

ỉbḥ vb. "to forget." L01 (V.T.), x+2/23

ỉmw see *ỉnw*

ỉmn vb. "to go (?)." B02, 9/17

ỉmḥṯ see *mḥ*

ỉmḥ "grasping." B05, 2/3; L01, 3/15

ỉn see *ʾỉ*

ỉny see *ʿny.t*

ỉnm "skin." B02, 13/12

ỉnḥ vb. "to hold back," "surround." B02, 5/2; B05, 1/19; L01, 3/4 (*ʿnḥ*)

ỉrỉ vb. "to hold up," "explain (?)." B02, 13/14

ỉrq see *ʿrq*

ỉỉ type of plant, "reed (?)." B04, 8/4; L01.2, 6/3

ỉỉ see *ʿr*

ỉỉ [...] meaning uncertain. F03, 8

ỉỉly "nurse." L01, 3/24

ỉḫ "field." B02, 5/9; B02, 7/6; B04, 2/3; B04, 6/21; B06, 2/18; L01, 3/11; L01, 4/16

ỉḫ "fight." B02, 8/11; B02, 9/16; B04, 2/22; B04, 3/19 (restored); B04, 6/5; B08.1, 2 (?); C04.4, 2/x+27; C04.7, 4; L01.5, 10/19; V01, 1/19; Y01.3, 1

ỉḫ.t "throat." C02.1, 6 see also *ỉḫṯy*

ỉḫṯy "throat." C07.1, 19 see also *ỉḫ.t*

ỉḫy "beneficent power (?)." B02, 7/13

ỉḫ [...] meaning uncertain. L01.5, 10/1

ỉs meaning uncertain. B02, 6/12

ỉsy meaning uncertain. B02, 7/14; L01, 4/24 (*ỉs*[...])

ỉs meaning uncertain (particle?). B11, 2/x+12; B11, 2/x+13

ỉsy "lightness (?)." B02, 3/3; L01, 1/21

ỉspy.t "language." B02, 4/1; B03.10, 3; B04, 7/14; B05, 1/6; L01, 2/11

ꜣsm see *smy*
ꜣsḫ vb. "to harvest." B02, 5/11; F06, 1; L01, 3/13 (*ꜣsḫ*)
ꜣsṯs see *ꜣsts* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets
ꜣstn see *ꜣstn* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets
ꜣky see *ꜣkr*
ꜣkyr see *ꜣkr*
ꜣkr "excellent." B01, 2/9; B02, 6/2; B02, 9/12 (*ꜣkyr.t*); B02, 9/13 (*ꜣkyr.t*); B02, 14/x+3 (?); B03, 1/3 (*ꜣkyl.w*); B03, 1/18 (noun?); B04.1, 1/7; B04, 3/16 (twice); B04, 6/5; B04, 7/1 (?); B04, 9/7; B06.4, 2/6 (*ꜣky*); B07, 12; C04.4, 1/11 (as noun); C07.1, 9; C07.1, 21(*ꜣkyl*); F01.1, 5; L01, 3/20 (*ꜣkyl*); L01.5, 9/6; L01.5, 10/19; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9; L01.10, 1/15; L02, 1/6 (*iqr*)
ꜣkr vb. "be excellent." B02, 10/5; L01.2, 6/17
ꜣkyr.t "underworld." B02, 9/12; B02, 9/13 (*ꜣkr.t*); B04, 3/16
ꜣt "back." F01, 5; F14, 6 see *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f* (in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets), *ḫr ꜣt*, *tp ꜣt*
ꜣty "net." B02, 14/x+6; B02, 14/x+7; C02, 1/5; C02, 1/6; C04.1, 10; C04.1, 11; C06.1, 3 (?; masculine); C09, 2/26; F13, 20; F13, 24; L01.5, 10/4; L01.5, 10/5; V01, 3/17
ꜣṯyꜣ "woe." L01 (V.T.), x+2/8
ꜣtp vb. "to load." B02, 4/2
ꜣtn "perch." V01, 3/18
ꜣtty.t "nurse (?)," "vulva (?)." B02, 6/6; B05, 2/11 (*ꜣtꜣ[ty]*)
ꜣtty.t "nurse ." B02, 7/12 (written *tty*); B02, 8/6; L01, 4/22 (*tty*)

i vocative particle. B08, 9; L01, 4/14; L01.3, 7/23; L01.3, 7/24; L01.4, 8/1
iꜣw "old age." B02, 7/10; L01, 4/20
iꜣw "elder." B02, 7/10 (*ỉy*); B04, 2/7; C04.1, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22; V04, 17
iꜣw "praise." B02, 9/6; B02, 10/4; B02, 12/9; B04, 3/9; B04, 4/2
iꜣw.t "cattle," "animal." B02, 10/11; B04, 4/8; B06, 2/11 (?); C07.5, 10 (?); F01.2, 6 ("office"?); L01.3, 7/1 see also under *tp-n-iꜣw.t*
iꜣw.t uncertain reading and meaning. C08, 2
iꜣw.t uncertain meaning. B08, 8
iꜣb (?) vb. "to suffer," noun, "suffering," or similar; possibly to be read *mr*. B01, 1/3; B02, 6/12; B12, 6; C04.2, 5; L01, 4/6; V03.5, 3
iꜣb see *ꜣby*
iy vb. "to come." B01, 2/21; B01, 3/18; B01, 3/19; B02, 3/2; B02, 4/3; B02, 4/9; B02, 4/11; B03.10, 5; B03.10, 10; B03.10, 11; B03.13, 4; B04, 8/16; B04, 8/23; B05, 1/8; B05, 1/12; B05, 1/13; B08, 9; B14.1, 1/2; L01, 2/13; L01, 2/18; L01, 2/19; L01, 2/20 (?); L01, 2/21; L01.3, 7/21; L02, 1/10; V01, 2/19 (perhaps in compound verb *šm-iy*) see also *mn*; *šm-iy*
iyḫiy see *iḫy*
iypn demonstrative adjective, "this." B06, 2/8; C02, 1/10; F01.2, 2; L01.5, 10/10
iw vb. "to come." B06, 2/15
iw see *ꜣw*
iw=s-ts see *ists* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets
iw-wn see *wn*, "open"
iwiw "dog." B02, 4/8; B02, 11/3; B02, 15/7; B04, 6/9; B06, 1/4; B06, 2/10; C01, 3; F01, 14; F03, 1 (?); F04, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+4/8; L01 (V.T.), x+4/15; L01 (V.T.), x+4/23; L01.7, 6; V01, 3/12 (?)
iwy reading and meaning uncertain. B04, 8/1
iwy reading and meaning uncertain. B06, 1/19

iwf "flesh." B02, 6/4; B02, 14/x+2; B03, 1/17; B04, 5/8; B05, 2/10; B06, 2/1; L01, 3/22; L02, 2/15
iwr vb. "to be pregnant." B02, 6/4; B04.1, 1/9; L01, 3/22 (*iwl*)
iwl see *iwr*
iwsq see *isq*
iwt preposition, "between." B02, 5/13; B04.1, 1/2; B04, 5/20; B04, 7/19; F12, 6; L01, 3/15; L01, 3/16; L01.5, 10/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/8; V01, 2/1
iwt n=f "one who has not." B04, 8/13
ib "heart." B01, 1/3; B01, 2/13; B02, 1/6; B02, 2/9; B02, 3/12; B02, 4/7; B02, 8/4; B02, 10/5; B02, 13/13; B03, 1/8 (?); B03, 1/10; B03.10, 9; B04, 2/16 (partly restored); B04, 6/6; B04, 6/11; B04, 6/24; B05, 1/2; B12, 6; B14.2, 3; C04.2, 5; C08, 6; L01, 1/11; L01, 2/6; L01, 2/17; L01.3, 7/19 (*ip R^c*); L01.5, 10/20; L01 (V.T.), x+4/5; L01 (V.T.), x+4/7; L02, 1/6 see also *ḥs-ib*
ibt "bird-trapper." F10, 6
ip see *ib*
ip meaning uncertain. B04, 3/15
ip.t "number." B01, 3/6; B01, 3/16; B02, 3/9; B02, 4/7; B05, 1/10; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/17
ipt "room." B01, 2/21; B02, 3/2; L01, 1/20; V02, 2/4 (?)
ipt "bird." B01, 1/6; B02, 1/1; B04, 6/18 (?); C04.1, 8; C04.9, 3; F12, 21; V01, 3/19; V04, 12
ipt meaning uncertain. B06.4, 2/7
ift "four corners." B02, 9/3; B04, 3/7; B04, 8/23; B07, 6
im imperative, "let!" B01, 2/7
im adverb, "there." B06, 2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9 (*nt im*)
im-ḫt see *ꜥm-ḫ.t* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets
imꜣ see under *sꜣ wn-imꜣ*
imꜣ reading uncertain. Probably "young bird." B07, 12
imꜣ.t see *Pr-imꜣ.t* in 3. Toponyms
imy reading and meaning uncertain. F11, 8
imy.t "fist." B02, 5/12; B02, 9/14; L01, 3/14
imy.t meaning uncertain, "character (?)." B04, 7/17; B07, 11 (?); V01, 3/7
imy.t see *Tꜣ-imy.t* in 3. Toponyms
imy nisbe of *im*. B04.2, 20 (*imw*); B06.1, 2/6 (*nꜣ imy.w*); C07.5, 5; F01.2, 1 see also *mw*
imw=sn writing of *imy.w-sn*, "who are in them." B04, 3/15 (?)
imw nisbe of *m*, in the compound name *imw bḥ n* 7,000, "one who is in the water source of 7,000." B06, 1/5; C01, 4; F01, 15 (*im*)
imw "form." B07, 14; F01.1, 7 (*ꜣmw*)
imṯ meaning uncertain. B03, 1/8
in vb. "to bring." B02, 5/7; B02, 5/10; B02, 6/11; B02, 7/9; B02, 10/1; B02, 10/11; B04.2, 3/21; B04, 4/8; B04, 6/13; B04, 6/14; B07, 18; F01.1, 11; L01, 3/9; L01, 3/12; L01, 4/19; L01.2, 6/13; L01.4, 7/1
imperative: *r-iny* B04, 6/20; L01.5, 10/17 (*ꜥny*?)
in meaning uncertain. V01, 3/7
in interrogative particle. B01, 1/1(twice); B01, 1/2 (three times); B01, 1/4; B01, 1/5; B01, 1/6; B01, 1/7; B01, 1/17; B01, 2/3 (*in-nꜣ.w*); B01, 2/4; B01, 2/6; B01, 2/16 (*in iw=f*); B01, 3/14 (*in iw iw=k*); B02, 1/13; B02, 4/5; B03, 2/3; B03, 2/11; B03, 2/15; B04, 5/12; B04, 5/21; B04, 6/1; B04, 6/22 (*in bn-iw=k*); B04, 6/23 (*in ir=k*); B04, 7/1; B05, 1/8; B05, 1/9; B06, 1/5 (*in iw=k*?); B06, 1/12; B13, 12; B14.1, 1/10 (twice); C01, 4 (*in ir=k rḫ*); C02, 1/4 (*ḫr in*; twice?); C02, 2/14 (?);

C04.2, 4; C04.10, 2; C08, 9 (?); C09, 2/22 (*in iw=k*); C09, 2/24; F01, 6 (*in ir=k*); F01, 7; F01, 8 (*ḫr in*); F01, 15 (*in iw=k rḫ*); F01.6, 5 (*in iw=k mr*); F04, 2; F10, 3; F10, 4; F10, 5; F10, 6; F10, 10; L01, 1/5; L01, 2/14; L01, 2/15 (with conditional sense?); L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/11 (twice); L01.5, 10/12 (twice); L01.5, 10/15; L01 (V.T.), x+4/12; L01 (V.T.), x+4/14; L01 (V.T.), x+4/19; V01, 3/22 (*in iw iw=k*); V04, 2 (*in iw=k*); V04, 24 (*in mtw=t*); V04, 27; Y01.4, 9

in-mwt see *mwt*

in-nˁ see *nˁ*

in-nw see *nw*, "lance."

in=w-ḥꜣ see *ḥꜣ*

iny "stone." B04, 5/14 (?); L02, 1/4 (*inr*?)

iny.t meaning uncertain, "stone (?)." B02, 3/3; L01, 1/21 (*iny*)

inr see *iny*

inḥ vb. "to take hold (?)." B02, 9/14 (*inḥꜣ*); B04, 3/17 (*iḥn*)

ink(y) first person singular independent pronoun. B07, 20; C04.2, 1; F10, 7

ir vb. "to make," "do," "be."

B01, 1/1 (twice); B01, 1/5; B01, 1/8 (*i-ir*); B01, 1/18 (restored); B01, 2/4; B01, 2/5; B01, 2/7; B01, 2/12; B01, 2/14; B01, 2/18; B01, 3/3; B01, 3/10; B01, 3/22; B02, 1/3; B02, 1/14; B02, 2/2; B02, 3/6; B02, 3/15; B02, 4/1; B02, 4/8; B02, 4/15; B02, 5/3; B02, 5/12; B02, 6/1; B02, 7/5; B02, 7/6; B02, 7/9; B02, 7/10; B02, 7/12; B02, 7/14; B02, 7/15; B02, 8/6; B02, 8/7; B02, 8/10; B02, 8/11(twice); B02, 9/1; B02, 9/6; B02, 9/16; B02, 10/3; B02, 10/4; B02, 10/11; B02, 12/9 (?); B03, 1/4; B03, 2/6; B03, 2/11; B03, 2/18; B03.11, 6; B04.1, 1/1; B04.1, 1/2; B04, 2/2; B04, 2/3; B04, 2/6; B04, 2/10; B04, 2/11; B04, 2/21; B04, 2/22; B04, 2/23; B04, 3/5; B04, 3/9; B04, 3/19; B04, 4/2; B04, 5/4; B04, 5/24; B04, 6/1; B04, 6/4; B04, 6/15; B04, 6/23; B04, 7/3; B04, 8/7; B04, 8/10 (stative, written *r*?); B05, 1/4; B05, 1/6; B05, 1/9; B05, 1/11; B05, 2/6; B06, 1/16; B06.2, 2/15; B06.5, 2; B07, 18; B08, 4; B08, 9; B08.1, 2 (?); B08.3, 5 (restored); B14.1, 1/5; B14.1, 1/6; B14.1, 1/10

C02.1, 6; C04.2, 2; C04.4, 2/x+6; C04.4, 2/x+7; C04.4, 2/x+11; C04.4, 2/x+20; C04.7, 6; C07.1, 15; C09, 2/5 (?); C09, 2/14; C09, 2/25

F01, 6; F09, 3; F13, 12

L01, 1/1; L01, 1/4; L01, 1/13; L01, 2/9; L01, 2/11; L01, 2/15; L01, 3/5; L01, 3/14; L01, 3/19; L01, 4/10; L01, 4/12; L01, 4/15; L01, 4/16; L01, 4/20; L01, 4/22; L01, 4/24; L01.2, 6/11; L01.5, 9/7; L01.5, 10/6; L01.5, 10/11; L01.5, 10/14; L01.5, 10/18; L01 (V.T.), x+1/20; L01 (V.T.), x+2/7 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+2/23; L01 (V.T.), x+3/23; L01 (V.T.), x+3/24; L01 (V.T.), x+4/6; L01 (V.T.), x+4/7; L01 (V.T.), x+4/14; L01.6, 3; L01.8, x+7; L01.8, x+12 (?)

L02, 1/5; L02, 2/9

V01, 3/14; V01, 3/16; V01, 4/5; V01, 4/14; V03.4, 3 (?); V04, 3; V04, 4; V04, 6; Y01.1, 6; Y01.1, 9; Y01.3, 3; Y01.4, 3; Y02, 1

Imperative: *i-iry* B02, 5/15; L01, 3/17; L01, 4/13

ir ḫr possible conjunction (?) "or." B01, 1/1

ir.t "eye." B02, 3/12; B06, 2/19; B06.2, 2/21 (or *mꜣꜣ*?); C04.4, 2/x+20; L01, 2/6

iry "documents," in the compound *ḥ.t iry.w*, "House of Documents." B04, 2/1

iry "companion." B02, 5/1; B06, 1/20; C04.4, 2/x+20; L01, 3/3

iry meaning uncertain. B04, 7/17

irp "wine." B06, 1/2; C04.8, 11; F01, 10; F01, 12 (?); F15, 3; L02, 1/13

irm preposition "with." B01, 1/10; B02, 8/10; B02, 8/11; B02, 10/4; B02, 10/10; B04, 2/22; B04, 6/5; B04, 6/6; B07, 18; C07.1, 15; C08, 2; L01.2, 6/16; L01.5, 10/19; L01.5, 10/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/9; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19; L01.9, 11; L01.9, 15

irty "milk." B02, 6/7; C04.4, 2/x+11; C06.3, 1; C09, 2/6; L01, 4/1; L01.8, x+12; V01, 3/9

ihy "stall." B02, 10/13; B04, 4/10; L01.3, 7/3

iḫ "cow." B14.1, 1/5; C04.4, 2/x+8; Y01.4, 3; Y02, 2

iḫn see *inḥ*

iḫty "throat." L02, 1/4 see also *ꜣḫty* and *ꜣḥ.t*

iḫ see *iḫ*

iḫ non-enclitic particle preceding prospective verbal form. B04, 7/9

iḫ interrogative pronoun. B01, 1/7 (*iḫ n*); B02, 1/1; B02, 3/16; B02, 4/12 (twice); B02, 6/2; B02, 13/11; B02, 13/12; B02, 14/x+7; B03, 1/6 (twice; once restored); B03, 2/5; B03.9, 5; B04, 5/15; B04, 6/1; B04, 7/5; B05, 1/14; B05, 2/7; B06, 1/5; B09.1, 2; F03, 3; F04, 1; L01, 2/10; L01, 2/22 (twice); L01, 3/20 (*iḫ*); L01.4, 8/11; L01.5, 10/5 (twice); L01.5, 10/15; L01.7, 10 (*iḫ*?); L01.9, 3; L02, 1/16; V03.1, 4 (twice)

iḫy "thing," "matter (= *iḫ.t*)," in the compound *rḫ-iḫy.w*. B01, 1/3; B01, 2/6; B02, 8/9; B06.1, 2/10 (*rḫ-iḫy*); C07.5, 9

iḫy reading and meaning uncertain. Y01.2, 1/6

iḫ see *iḫy*, "spirit."

iḫ see *iḫ*

iḫy translation uncertain, "spirit," or "possession," "thing." B14.1, 1/9; C04.7, 7; Y01.3, 4

iḫy "excellence," "effective magic." B02, 7/10; B02, 7/14; B04, 2/7; B04, 2/10 (?); L01, 4/20; L01, 4/24

iḫy "spirit." B01, 3/5; B02, 3/7; B02, 10/6; B04, 4/4; B04, 6/5; B04, 6/17; B04, 7/3 (*iyḫiy*); B06, 1/20; B06.2, 2/16 (?); B06.2, 2/20; B07, 16; C07.1, 21; F01, 5 (*iḫ*?); F01.1, 9; L01, 2/1; L01.5, 10/19; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9; L02, 1/6 (*ꜣḫw*)

isḫ see *ꜣsḫ*

isq vb. "to delay." B04, 8/23 (*iwsq*)

iqr see *ikr*

it "barley." B02, 5/1; L01, 3/3

it "father." B01, 1/2; B01, 1/5; B01, 1/11 (in *tꜣ it.w*); B02, 1/7; B02, 3/14; B02, 8/5; B02, 8/6; B02, 10/10; B02, 14/x+9; B04, 2/17; B14.2, 9; C04.1,11; C04.2, 4; C04.4, 2/x+7; F01, 8; F10,10; L01, 2/8; L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/7 (*tꜣ it*); L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+3/16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/23; L02, 1/1; L02, 1/9; V04, 27 (?); Y02, 1 see also *tꜣ*

itp see *rˁ-itp*

itm see *Pr-itm* in 3. Toponyms

itn "secret," "difficult (passages)." B02, 3/15; B02, 6/15; B02, 9/1; B02, 9/4; B04, 3/5; B04.2, 3/8; B04, 4/11 (twice); B04, 7/11; L01, 2/9; L01, 4/9

itn "resting-place," "perch." C04.1, 4; V04, 5; V04, 17

itn meaning uncertain. B06.6, 5

y first person singular suffix pronoun. Passim.

yˁy vb. "to wash." B06, 1/6; F01, 16

yˁm "sea." B01, 3/4 (*ym*); B02, 3/6 (*ym*); B02, 4/13 (*ym*); B03.5, 3; B04, 6/14; B04, 8/2; L01, 2/23 (*ym*); L01.5, 10/10 (*ym*); L01.5, 10/16 (*ym*); Y01.1, 7 (*ym*?); Y01.5, 13 (*ym*)

yˁr "river." B02, 3/6; B04, 6/1 (written *yˁyl*); B04, 6/2 (written *ˁyr*); L01, 1/24 ([*y*]*ˁl*); L01.5, 10/15 (*yˁl*); V04, 9; Y01.5, 14 (*yˁl*)

ym see *yˁm*

SBD/FFLCH/USP

ys vb. "to be quick." L01, 3/18

ꜥt "chamber." B01, 2/15; B02, 9/5; B02, 9/10; B02, 9/12 (twice); B02, 9/13; B02, 9/16; B04, 3/8; B04, 3/15; B04.2, 3/16; B04.2, 3/17; B04, 3/19; B04, 6/1; B04, 7/22; B07, 4 (*ꜥy.t-kky*); B07, 15; C02, 1/14; C02.1, 5; C07.1, 12; C07.1, 13; F01, 9; F01.1, 8; F01.1, 9; L01, 1/17; L01.2, 6/5; L01.5, 10/14; L02, 1/10; L02, 2/5; V02, 2/5

ꜥt "limb." B01, 1/10 (?); B01, 2/17; B02, 2/14; B02, 14/x+2; B02, 14/x+3; B03, 1/17; B04, 5/17; C02.1, 7; C04.4, 1/11; L01, 1/16; L01.5, 10/7; L01.8, x+2 (*ꜥty*)

ꜥ-n [...] reading uncertain. L01, 4/12

ꜥwy "house," "place." B01, 3/20; B02, 4/12; B05, 1/14; B14.1, 1/12 (*ꜥwy n kk*); B14.1, 1/14; C04.8, 9; C04.11, 2; L01, 2/22; V04, 6 see also *t-ꜥwy*

ꜥwy "arms." B02, 5/6; B04, 6/3; B04, 8/14 (*m-ꜥwy*); C02, 1/16; L01, 3/8; L01.5, 10/16

ꜥwy "pair," "two." L01, 1/17

ꜥwy see under *ỉwy.ṯ.w*

ꜥwy reading and meaning uncertain. Y01.1, 5

ꜣ adj. "great." B01, 3/16 (or adjective-verb); B02, 4/7; B02, 9/9; B04, 5/9; B05, 1/10; B06.1, 2/8; B07, 2; C07.5, 2; F01.2, 3; L01, 2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22

ꜣ noun "greatness." B04, 6/12 (or adjective-verb); B04, 6/13 (?); B04, 6/23 (?)

ꜣ in the adjective-verb *nỉ-ꜣ*, "be great." B04, 8/15 (*nỉe=w-ꜥw*); L01.6, 9 (? *pỉe=w ꜥw* seems to be written)

ꜣ in the phrase *ꜣ wr*, "very greatly." F01.6, 4

ꜣ reading uncertain. B01, 2/10

ꜣ reading and meaning uncertain. B07, 8

ꜣ ḫt "limestone." L01.5, 10/22

ꜣ "donkey." B02, 10/13; B02, 13/13; L02, 1/15 (*ꜣ nỉy.w* may stand for *ꜥn.w*)

ꜣ see *ỉw*, "extent."

ꜥ "sacred animal." B01, 1/6; B01, 1/10a; B02, 1/1; B04, 6/18; B04, 7/8; B06, 1/16; B07, 12; C04.1, 5 (or "elders"); C04.2, 9; C04.4, 2/x+16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/21

ꜥ "heir." B02, 8/6; B04, 2/17

ꜥe "limb." B03, 1/7; B03, 2/1; B04, 5/9; B04, 5/10; B04, 6/10; L01.5, 10/1; L02, 2/9

ꜥy vb. "to be old." B02, 7/10

ꜥy reading uncertain. L02, 1/17

ꜥyr see *yꜥr*

ꜥy.t see *ꜥt*, "chamber"

ꜥb.t meaning uncertain. B01, 1/11

ꜥn "baboon." B02, 8/16; B02, 10/8; B02, 15/6; B04.2, 3/4; B04, 4/16; B04, 6/7; B06, 1/16; B06, 2/10; B06.7, 6; F01, 14; F04, 3; L01.2, 6/21; L01.3, 7/9; L01.5, 10/21; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/21; V02, 1/3; V02, 1/10 (?); V04, 15

ꜥw "honor." B02, 5/10 (twice); L01, 3/12 (twice, but second time is perhaps *ỉw*, "praise")

r ꜥw translation uncertain. B04, 6/13 ("width"?); B04, 6/14 (perhaps = *r ỉw=f*, "to its extent")

ꜥw see also *ꜣ*

ꜥw vb. "be broad," "wide." Y01.5, 16 (?)

ꜥb in the phrase *rnp.t n ꜥb*. C04.9, 5; V01, 3/21

ꜥby vb. "to unify." B07, 3

ꜥbꜥ vb. "to exult." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15

ꜥpy vb. "to betake (oneself)," "to ascend, board (a boat)." B03, 2/19; B04, 6/3; B04, 6/5

ꜥf "fly." L01 (V.T.), x+4/18; L01 (V.T.), x+4/21

ꜥm vb. "to understand," "to know." B02, 4/5; B02, 10/10; B02, 10/11; B02, 14/5 (twice); B04, 4/6; B04, 4/8; B04, 6/6; C04.4, 1/5; C04.4, 2/x+19; L01, 2/15 (restored); L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/20; L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 see also *ꜥm-ḫ.t*, *ꜥm-sỉs*, and *ꜥm-ỉs.wy* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

ꜥm vb. "to swallow." B07, 12; C04.4, 2/x+17 (or "know"); F01.1, 5; Y02, 11

ꜥn see *ꜥn=y*

ꜥn "writing-tablet." B06, 1/9; C01, 7 (*ꜥny*); F01, 18

ꜥn=y vb. "be pleasing," "good." B02, 5/15; B02, 5/16; B04.1, 1/3; B05, 2/5 (*ꜥn*); L01, 3/17 (*ꜥny*); L01, 3/18

ꜥn adv. "also." L01, 2/11

ꜥn-smy "report." B03, 1/6

ꜥny uncertain reading; perhaps imperative of *ỉn*, "to bring," or miswriting of *ꜥpy*. L01.5, 10/17

ꜥny reading and meaning uncertain. Y01.5, 4

ꜥny.t "claw." B02, 3/16; L01, 2/10 (*ỉny*)

ꜥnꜥn vb. "to turn away." L01, 3/19

ꜥnḫ see *ỉnḫ*

ꜥnḫ vb. "to live," "by." B02, 8/4; B06, 1/5; B06.7, 7 (?); C01, 4; F01, 15

ꜥnḫ "life," "living." B01, 1/12 (in *šp-ꜥnḫ*, "living image"); B02, 1/8 (in *šp-ꜥnḫ*); B02, 6/3 (?); B02, 7/14 (in *šp-ꜥnḫ*); B02, 8/2; B02, 11/5; B04, 2/14; B04, 4/17 (restored); B04, 4/19 (?); B04, 6/17; B04, 6/19; B04, 8/7; B06, 1/19; C02, 1/3 (?); C02.1, 5; C04.1, 7; C04.3, 5 (?); C04.4, 2/x+11; C04.4, 2/x+19; C04.7, 6; C08, 4; F01, 11; F14, 12; L01, 3/21; L01, 4/11; L01, 4/24; L01.3, 7/11; Y01.3, 3; Y02, 5

ꜥnḫ see also *pr-ꜥnḫ*, *ḫr*

ꜥnḫw "ear." B02, 10/5; B04, 4/3

ꜥnḫ translation uncertain. L01.9, 8

ꜥntỉy "myrrh." F01, 10; L02, 1/7 (*ꜥnty*); L02, 1/11

ꜥr see *ỉr*

ꜥr reading uncertain. C02, 2/14

ꜥry "brush," "pen." B01, 1/18; B01, 2/3; B01, 2/10; B02, 2/1; B08.3, 4; C08, 10; F09, 5; L01, 1/3 (*ỉry*)

ꜥry reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/13

ꜥrq vb. "to understand." B02, 4/5; B05, 1/9; L01, 2/15 (*ỉrq*)

ꜥrq vb. "to complete." B04, 6/20; B04, 7/1

ꜥrkỉ vb. "to be a clever one." B02, 9/8; L01.2, 6/2 ([...]*lgỉ*)

ꜥỉ vb. "to ascend." B01, 1/8 (*ꜥỉ*); B02, 5/5; B05, 1/21; L01, 3/7 (*ỉn=f*)

ꜥḥꜥ vb. "to stand." B02, 5/1; B02, 7/15; B02, 11/9; B03, 2/2; B04, 4/21; B04, 8/14; B06, 1/17; B06, 2/10; B08.2, 2 (?); L01, 3/3; L01.3, 7/12; L01.3, 7/15; L01.3, 7/22; L01.5, 10/2; L01 (V.T.), x+4/11; L01 (V.T.), x+4/13; L01.7, 2 (?); L02, 2/10

ꜥḥꜥ "lifetime." B02, 3/4; B02, 7/11 (or "assistance" ?); B04, 2/8; B06.5, 4; C07.5, 2 (?); L01, 1/22; L01, 4/21 (or "assistance"?); L01.1, 4/21

ꜥḥꜥ type of boat. C02, 1/16; L01.5, 10/16

ꜥḫ vb. "to raise." B07, 8

ꜥs-my particle, "behold!" B02, frag. B; L01.5, 9/6 (?)

ꜥš vb. "call out," "read." B01, 1/7; B01, 3/17; B02, 1/1; B02, 3/9; B02, 4/9; B02, 10/7; B05, 1/12; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/19

ꜥš-sḏm vb. possibly a compound: "to call out and hear" or noun, "servant." L01.5, 9/3

ꜥš in the adj. vb. *nỉ-ꜥš* "be numerous." B02, 3/8; B02, 7/12; B04, 2/8; C04.4, 1/7; F01.5, 3 (?); L01, 2/2; L01, 4/10 (three times; imperative forms without *nỉ*); L01, 4/22; L01 (V.T.), x+1/22

ꜥšy "abundant." B02, 5/10; L01, 3/12; Y01.5, 1 (?)

ꜥq vb. "to enter." B02, 6/6; B02, 8/8; B02, 9/2; B02, 9/12 (?); B02, 12/5; B02, 13/16; B03, 2/13; B04, 3/5; B04, 7/2; B06.7, 1; B12, 4; C04.9, 3; C04.10, 1; L01, 3/24 (restored); L01.2, 6/7; L01.5, 10/13; L02, 1/7; V03.2, 3

ꜥq "entering (in a festival context)." B07, 4

ꜥq "sustenance." B06, 1/4; C04.4, 2/x+23

ꜥq in the compound preposition *m ꜥq*, "opposite." L01 (V.T.), x+4/13

ꜥqꜣ.t "boat." B03.1, 2/12; B04, 5/22; C02, 1/12; L01.5, 10/12; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4

ꜥt "shore," "edge." There is possible confusion with *ꜥt*, "reed." B01, 3/21; B02, 4/13 (twice?); B02, 4/14; B02, 4/16; B03.10, 15; B04, 6/16; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/2 (?)

ꜥt (with plant determinative) "the *ꜥt*-plant," "reed." There is possible confusion with *ꜥt*, "shore." B02, 4/16 (?); B02, 5/13; B02, 6/3 (twice); B04.1, 1/2; C04.4, 2/x+21; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/2 (?); L01, 3/15; L01, 3/21 (twice); V01, 1/1

ꜥty meaning uncertain. V04, 2

ꜥtꜥt reading and meaning uncertain. C04.4, 1/15

ꜥḥ vb. "to draw (a bow)." L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2

w third person plural suffix pronoun. Passim.

wꜣ vb. "to think about," "plot." L01.5, 9/6 (?)

wꜣy "bark." B04, 6/3

wꜣḥ vb. "to place," "to be placed." B01, 3/20; B02, 4/12; B02, 5/7; B04, 8/1 (*wꜣḥ ṯnny*, "to give orders"); B05, 1/14; B14.1, 1/14; L01, 2/22; V01, 3/4

wꜣḫ vb. "to elucidate," "to explain" (old *wḫꜥ*). B01, 3/10; B02, 3/13; B02, 3/15; B02, 11/8 (?); B04, 4/20; B04, 7/21; B04, 8/18; B05, 1/4; B08.5, 3 (?); L01, 2/7 (?); L01, 2/9; V01, 3/16 (? written *wḫy*)

wꜣt see *wt*, "to be different"

wꜣt uncertain meaning. C06.3, 3 (*wꜣṯ*); C09, 2/8

wꜣṯy meaning uncertain. B06, 1/21

wꜣtn see *wḏn*

wy vb. "to be far." B06, 1/13 (*wwy*)

wyꜥ "farmer." B02, 5/1; B02, 7/6; L01, 3/3 (*wꜥy*); L01, 4/16 (*wꜥy*)

wyn "light." B01, 3/2; B02, 3/4; L01, 1/22 (*wnyn*)

wyny[...] uncertain meaning. F01.4, 1

wyny vb. "to go by," "to ignore." C04.9, 6; V01, 1/3; V01, 3/22 (*wny*)

wyt "green stone." B04, 7/2

wyṯy see *wt*, "to be different"

wꜥ "alone." B02, 7/12; L01, 4/22

wꜥ "one." B01, 1/4 (?); B02, 15/6; B04, 6/7 (twice); B04, 8/7; B04, 8/22; B06.4, 1/2; B07, 18; B09.1, 3; B13, 12; C07.1,15; F04, 2; L01.5, 10/21 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+2/14

wꜥ.t "one." B02, 5/8; B06, 2/3; C04.2, 7; F01.5, 1; L01, 3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12; L01 (V.T.), x+1/18; L02, 2/17

wꜥ vb. "to be engaged (with)?" B02, 6/15; L01, 4/9

wꜥy see *wyꜥ*

wꜥb vb. "to be pure." B07, 2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/6 (*rꜥ-wꜥb*, "purity")

ww see *wr*

wwy see *wy*

wbꜣ "butler." B03, 1/6; B14.2, 3; Y01.5, 10

wbꜣ preposition. "opposite." L01 (V.T.), x+2/22

wbꜣy vb. "open." B02, 9/17; L01.2, 6/12

wbn vb. "to rise." B04, 4/18

wbk vb. " to illuminate," "to burn." B01, 2/17; L01, 1/16

wp.t "work." B02, 5/12; L01, 3/3 (?); L01, 3/14; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5

wpy vb. "to open, reveal, judge." B02, 6/5; B02, 7/7; B02, 7/8; B02, 8/16; B02, 10/14; B02, 12/11; B04, 2/5 (twice); B04, 3/4; B04, 4/10; B04, 7/10; B05, 2/10; C04.1,11; C04.1,12; L01, 4/17; L01, 4/18; L01.7, 11; V03.1, 3 see also *wpy=f-rꜣ=f*, *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

wpy vb. "to pierce," "to slaughter." L01 (V.T.), x+1/3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6

wf... reading uncertain; perhaps identical with *wsf*, "to be lazy," "neglect." V04, 14

wmty "thickness," "wall," "entrance-way." B02, 5/2; B04, 7/20 (*wmt*); B05, 1/19; L01, 3/4

wn vb. "to open." B01, 3/11 (imperative *ỉw-wn*); B01, 3/15 (partly restored imperative *ỉw-wn*); B02, 3/16; B02, 4/6 (imperative *ỉw-wn*); B02, 6/7; B02, 8/12; B02, 8/13; B02, 10/5; B02, 11/10; B04, 2/22; B04.2, 3/1; B04, 4/3; B04, 4/22; B04, 6/22; B04, 7/10; B05, 1/5 (imperative *ỉw-wn*); B05, 2/12; C04.1, 5; L01, 2/10; L01, 2/16 (imperative *ỉw-wn*); L01, 4/1; L01.5, 10/1; L01 (V.T.), x+1/21; V04, 7 (?); V04, 17 see also *wnḫ*

wn existential verb, "to be." B02, 12/8; B02, 12/12; B04, 7/6; B04, 7/11; B06, 1/12 (*wn mtw=k*); B07, 14; C06.2, 3; F01, 7 (*wn mtw=k*); F01.1, 7 (*ỉ-wnn=f*); L01.5, 10/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/15; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14

wn see also under *sꜣ wn-ỉmꜣ*

wn "pastophoros." C02.1, 2; C02.1, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/13 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/14; Y01.5, 6

wn "specification," "list." L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; L01.7, 4 (?)

wny meaning uncertain. B06.1, 2/4

wnyn see *wyn*

wnw.t "hour." B02, 2/5; B14.2, 1; L01, 1/7 see *ữ-wnw.t*

wnwn vb. "to traverse." B14.2, 1; Y01.5, 8

wnm vb. "to eat." C02.1, 8; F13, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 (written as noun); L01 (V.T.), x+2/9; V01, 2/16

wnm.w noun. "food," "sustenance." B03, 1/17; B04, 5/7; B06, 1/1; B06.4, 2/1; C02.1, 11; F01, 11 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/12; L02, 1/12 (*wnmy*)

wnm reading and meaning uncertain. C04.4, 2/x+10

wnḫ vb. "to reveal." B01, 2/1 (written *wn ḫr*)

wnš "jackal." B02, 4/7; B02, 11/3; B03.10, 9; B04, 6/8 (?); B08.2, 3; C02.1, 3 (?); C02.1, 5; F03, 8; L01, 2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/15

wr noun. "great one." B02, 7/11 (*ww*); B02, 9/7 (three times in the epithet of Thoth); B02, 9/8; B02, 9/11 (written as *wy*); B04, 2/8; B04, 3/10 (twice); B04, 3/11; B04, 3/14; B09, 2 (?); L01.2, 6/1 (twice); L01.2, 6/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/12; L01 (V.T.), x+3/24 (twice)

wr in the phrase *r ꜣ wr*, "very greatly." F01.6, 4

wr adj. "great." C04.1, 6; L01, 2/3 (in *sꜣḫ wr*); V04, 18

wr.t noun, "great one," and adj. "great." B01, 3/6 (*wly.t*); B01, 3/16 (restored); B02, 3/9; B02, 4/7; B05, 1/10; B07, 17; C02.1, 12; C04.4, 2/x+2; C04.4, 2/x+10 (*wly.t*); C04.10, 2 (*wly.t*); C04.11, 4; C07.1, 14 (*wl.t*); F01.1, 10; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/17; L01.8, x+2 (?)

wly.t see *wr.t*

wrš vb. "to spend the day." F12, 5

why "evil one." C04.4, 2/x+9; L01.8, x+10 (*wḫy*)

whl "dog." B07, 17; C07.1, 14; F01.1, 10

whs see *wsḫ*

wḫy meaning uncertain ("fisherman" or "evil"?). C04.3, 8; V01, 3/12

wḫy see *why*

wḫy see *wꜣḥ*

wḥwḥ "barking." B02, 10/10; B04, 4/6; B07, 17 (*ḥbḥb*); F01, 4; F01.1, 10 (*bḥbḥ*); F14, 5; L01.2, 6/23; L02, 1/5

wḥm vb. "to repeat," "to interpret." B04, 7/14

wḥm "repetitions," "explanations." B04, 8/17

wḥꜣ vb. "wish," "seek." B01, 2/4; B01, 3/19; B02, 4/11; B03.10, 13; B04, 4/9 (?); B07, 17; B08.3, 5; L01, 1/4; L01, 2/21 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+4/6; V01, 3/16

wḥꜣ "column." B02, 12/15; B04, 7/14; B04, 7/19 (*wš*)

wḥꜣ "fool." B03, 1/14

wḥ "night." B04, 7/11; C06.2, 6

wḥs "Hall" in the compound *wḥs mꜣʿ.ty*, "Hall of the Two Truths." B04, 7/8

wḥty vb. "make suffer (?)." B04, 5/16

Wsir see *Pr-Wsir* in 3. Toponyms

wsf vb. "to stop," "be lazy." B02, 14/x+8; C02, 1/7; L01.5, 10/6

wsr "oar," "rudder," "steering-oar." B02, 3/5; B04, 6/4 (*wsl*); C02, 1/17 (*wsl*); L01.5, 10/17 (*wsl*)

wsḥ vb. "to burn." B02, 5/5; L01, 3/7 (*whs*)

wstn vb. "move freely," or noun "free-movement." B02, 5/16; B04.1, 1/4; L01, 3/18

wš vb. "to lack." B07, 5

wš see *wḥꜣ*, "column"

wšb vb. "to answer," "reply." B02, 4/2; B02, 4/4; B02, 4/8; B02, 10/7; B03.10, 6; B05, 1/7; C06.3, 6; F12, 14; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/14; L01, 2/18; L01.7, 7; V01, 3/13

wšt vb. "to greet." F05, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/8

wt "papyrus." B02, 6/2; L01, 3/20

wt vb. "to be different." B04, 8/8; B06, 2/11 (*wꜣt*); B11, 1/3 (*wyṯy*)

wṯ "setting forth." B02, 8/9

wt see also *wtʿ*

wt see *Pr-wt* in 3. Toponyms

wtꜣ.t "steering-oar post." B02, 3/5; B04, 6/11; L01, 1/23

wtꜣ.t part of a ship. Identical with preceding? B04, 6/7; L01.5, 10/21

wtʿ vb. "to divide." B02, 3/11; B05, 1/1 (*wt*); L01, 2/5

wtb vb. "to turn around." B02, 9/4; B04, 3/7; B04, 6/16

wtn (or read *wiꜣ*?) "bark." B02, 8/9; B02, 9/14; B04.2, 3/18 (*wtny*)

wtḥ "fruit," "grain." B02, 5/10; B14.1, 1/7; L01, 3/12

wtḥ vb. "to pour." F01, 10 (*btḥ*)

wtḥ "libation. F01, 9 (*btyḥ*)

wḏꜣ "storeroom. B02, 3/7; B04, 8/7; B08, 4; C04.1, 5 (?)

wḏꜣ see *Tp-wḏꜣ* in 3. Toponyms

wḏꜣ see *wḏʿ*

wḏꜣy translation uncertain. L01.3, 7/20

wḏʿ vb. "to judge," "to separate," "to divide." B02, 7/8; B04, 2/5; L01, 4/18 (*wḏꜣ*)

wḏʿy "*oudjat*-eye." B02, 10/6; C04.4, 2/x+4; C04.4, 2/x+5; L01.2, 6/18; L01.8, x+6

wḏy "*oudjat*-figure." B02, 12/15; B04, 7/15

wḏn vb. "to destroy (?)." B02, 14/8 (*wꜣtn*); L01.5, 10/6

bꜣ "soul." B01, 2/4; B01, 3/4; B01, 3/12; B02, 3/7; B02, 3/8; B02, 4/2; B02, 5/12 (*bꜣ.w-Rʿ*); B02, 8/2 (three times); B02, 8/5; B02, 8/9; B02, 8/11; B02, 10/2 (*bꜣ.w-Rʿ*); B02, 10/4 (*bꜣ.w-Rʿ*); B04.1, 1/1; B04, 2/14 (twice); B04, 2/20; B04, 3/22; B04, 4/19 (?); B04, 6/6; B04, 7/7; B04, 8/4; B05, 1/7; B06, 1/11; B14.1, 1/12 (*bꜣ.w n Rʿ*?); B14.2, 4 (*bꜣ n Rʿ*?); C06.1, 2; C06.3, 5; C09, 2/10; C09, 2/13; C09, 2/17; F12, 13; F12, 15; F12, 19; L01, 2/1; L01, 2/2; L01, 2/12; L01, 3/14 (*bꜣ.w Rʿ*); L01.5, 10/19; L01 (V.T.), x+1/11; L01 (V.T.), x+1/14 (*bꜣ.w pꜣ-Rʿ*); L02, 2/4; V01, 3/12 (restored); V01, 3/13; V01, 3/16; V01, 3/17 (twice); V01, 4/15

bꜣy vb. "to be full of *ba*-spirit." B02, 10/1; B04.2, 3/21; L01.2, 6/13

bꜣ meaning uncertain. B02, 11/8; B04, 4/20; L01.3, 7/14

bꜣ.t "covert." L01 (V.T.), x+4/22

m-bꜣḥ preposition "before." B01, 2/15; B02, 2/11; B02, 9/6; B02, 10/11; B03.10, 14; B04, 3/9; B04, 4/8; C02.1, 7 (?); C04.11, 5; L01, 1/13; L01, 2/22 (possibly for *bꜣḥy*, "overflowing one"); L01.4, 7/1 see also *mḥ* (variant writing of *m-bꜣḥ*)

bꜣḥ see *bʿḥ*

bꜣk vb. "to work." B02, 3/11; B02, 5/4; B04, 7/18; B05, 1/1; B05, 1/21; C04.4, 2/x+21; L01, 2/5; L01, 3/6

bꜣk noun. "work." B02, 5/12; B04.1, 1/1; B12, 2; L01, 3/14

bꜣk "servant." B02, 6/14; L01, 1/11; L01, 4/8 (? perhaps "work")

bꜣk "falcon." B04, 6/6; B06, 1/18; L01.5, 10/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12

bꜣk.t "(female) falcon." L01 (V.T.), x+1/11

bꜣ...y.t reading and meaning uncertain. B04, 6/10; L01.5, 10/24

bin "evil." C04.4, 2/x+7; L01.8, x+8

bin noun "evil." C04.4, 2/x+16 (*bꜣn*); Y02, 10

bʿy "conceit." L01, 4/13

bʿḥ vb. "to overflow," "flood," "fill." B02, 5/4 (*bꜣḥ*); B02, 5/8; B02, 7/13 (*bḥ*); C02.1, 7; L01, 3/6; L01, 3/10

by see *fy*

bw "plant (?)." V01, 1/3

bw reading and meaning uncertain. F12, 11

bwt reading and meaning uncertain. L02, 1/13

bḥ "water source," "cave." B06, 1/5; F01, 15

bf... see *bfbf*

bfbf "(type of) dog" or "barking." B02, 10/9; B04, 4/6 (? written *bf...*)

bn negative existence. B10, 3; L02, 1/3 see also *bn-iw m-ti*

bn-iw negative existence. B07, 21 (twice); L01, 3/10

bn-iw m-ti negative possession. B01, 1/7; B01, 2/6 (*bn mtw=w*); B04, 8/11 (*bn-iw mtw*); B06.3, 5 (*iw bn-iw mtw=w*); B08.3, 6 (partly restored); B08, 6; C04.1, 8 (*bn-iw mtw=w*); L01, 1/5 (*in bn-iw mtw=w*); L01.6, 6; L02, 1/8 (*bn mtw=k*)

bny adj. "sweet." B01, 2/9 ("sweet of tongue"); B04, 8/16 (*bny mr*, "sweet of love"); L01, 1/8

bnypy "iron." C07.1, 19; F01, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/10; L02, 1/4

bnn meaning uncertain; perhaps "phoenix." L01 (V.T.), x+2/19 (?)

bnr adv. "outside" and noun "outside." B04, 6/21; V02, 1/6 (*m bnr*?)

bnš "threshold." B04.1, 1/11; B04, 4/23; L01, 3/24; L01.3, 7/18

bnṯ "field." B01, 2/3 (*bt*); L01, 1/3

bnt.t "threshold." V02, 1/8 (?)

brgt "pool." B04, 6/5; B04, 6/12; C02, 1/18; L01.5, 10/18

bḥ reading uncertain. B01, 2/11

bḥbḥ see *wḥwḥ*

bḥt "throne." L01 (V.T.), x+1/19

bḥtt see *Ḥr-Bḥtt* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

bs vb. "to introduce." L01.5, 10/3

bs "initiated ones." L01, 1/18

bs "torch." B01, 2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/15

bšbš see *šbšb*

bks vb. "to rebel." C04.3, 2 (damaged); C04.4, 2/x+15; F11, 10

bks "throat (?)," but written as "rebellion," or "knife." F01, 12 (?); F14, 13

bt "wonder (?)." B07, 15; C07.1,12; F01.1, 8 (*bty*)

bt see *bnṯ*
btꜣ meaning uncertain. B10, 6
btꜣ.t "character," "nature." B02, 9/2 (?); B04.2, 3/6; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/6; L01.5, 10/15; L01.5, 10/20
bty "evil." B04, 8/13
bty.t "emmer." C04.4, 2/x+17 (?)
btyḥ see *wtḥ*
btw "evil." L01 (V.T.), x+3/8
bḏ vb. "be weak (?)." B02, 6/11
p.t "heaven." B01, 3/7; B02, 3/10; L01, 2/4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; Y01.2, 1/3
pys "water pot (of scribe)." B06, 1/6; C04.8, 10; F01, 16; L02, 1/17
pyt interrogative pronoun. B04, 7/5; C06.2, 2; L01, 3/20
pyṯ see *pty.t*
pʿy "burning." B01, 2/17 (?)
pr "house." B01, 1/18; B02, 1/14; B03, 2/9; C04.4, 2/x+14 (unclear context); C04.7, 5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/8 (damaged context); Y01.3, 2
pr-ʿnḫ "House of Life." B02, 8/12; B02, 11/1; B02 frag. B, 1; B03, 1/2; B04, 2/23; B04, 4/13; B04, 4/15; B04, 4/19; B04, 7/4; B04, 7/20; B06.1, 2/1; B06.7, 3 (?); B13, 1(or *kky*); C02.1, 2; C02.1, 4; C04.4, 2/x+19; L01.3, 7/7; L01.5, 9/5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/15; L01 (V.T.), x+4/6; L02, 1/7; L02, 2/12; V02, 1/6
pr-mḏy "library." B01, 1/18; B08.3, 1 (damaged)
pr-ḫnr.t "harem." L01.5, 10/9
pr-ḥḏ "treasury," "storeroom." B01, 1/18; B02, 1/14; B06.3, 2 (?); L01.3, 7/24; V01, 3/21
pry vb. "to come forth." B02, 9/1; B14.1, 1/14; C02.1, 7; L01, 4/3; V02, 1/5
pr.t-ḫrw "invocation-offering." B01, 1/4
pr.t "seed." B14.1, 1/5 (?)
pr.t-sḫ.t "seed." B02, 5/2; F03, 5 (?); F13, 18; L01, 3/4
pry/pyt interrogative pronoun, "what?" B01, 1/5 (perhaps "behold!"); B02, 6/2; B02, 13/12; B06, 1/12; B07, 19; C02, 2/17 (?); L02, 1/1 (written *gr*); L02, 1/11 (written *gr*); L02, 2/5 (written *gr*?)
pry particle. "Behold!" B01, 1/5 (?); B02, 6/7 (*pry=y*)
pry verb of uncertain meaning. C04.2, 8 (or variant of the particle?)
pr vb. "to see," "to dream." B03, 2/1; B06.4, 1/1 (or interrogative pronoun); L01 (V.T.), x+1/6; L01 (V.T.), x+1/7; L01 (V.T.), x+4/22 (?); V01, 2/3
pỉy.t "quail chick." L01 (V.T.), x+4/19
pỉḫ vb. "to spread out," "unroll." V02, 2/6
pḥ vb. "to reach." B04, 6/16; B04, 8/7; C04.1, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8
pḥ "end." B02, 5/3; B02, 12/15 (written *pḥ.wy*); B04, 7/14; B05, 1/20; L01, 3/5
pḥ ḥ.t "lock." B02, 11/4 (*pḥṯ.t ḥ.t*); L01.3, 7/10 (*pḥ ḫ*ʿ)
pḥ.ṯ "strength." B02, 9/8; B04, 3/11; C04.4, 2/x+26; L01.2, 6/2; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6
pḥs vb. "to bite." C04.1, 3 (partly restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/16
pḫ vb. "to divide." B02, 5/1; B05, 1/18; L01, 3/3
pḫ see *pḫr*
pḫy reading and meaning uncertain. B14.1, 1/13; Y01.5, 11 (?)
pḫr vb. "to go about," "encircle," "enchant." B01, 2/3; B01, 2/13; B02, 2/1; B02, 2/9; B02, 10/9 (*pḫ*); B04, 4/5 (*pḫ*); B08.3, 4; F13, 16; L01, 1/3; L01, 1/11; L01.3, 7/19 (*pḫ*); V02, 1/5 (*pḫl*)
pḫr "medicament," "prescription." B02, 14/7; B02, 14/8; B04, 5/15; B10, 3; C02, 1/6; L01.5, 10/5; L01.5, 10/6
psy reading and meaning uncertain. B12, 3; B14.1, 1/13

psf vb. "to bubble," "to boil." B04, 6/19
psḏ.t "Ennead." B06.1, 2/8; C07.5, 7; F01.2, 3; V01, 2/6; Y01.2, 1/4; Y01.4, 16
pš vb. "to separate." L01 (V.T.), x+2/17
pš meaning uncertain. B04, 6/14
pk meaning and reading uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/7
pky "fragment," " portion." F13, 17; V01, 4/9 (*pgy*)
pgy see *pky*
pty.t "bow." L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2 (*pyṯ*)
ptpt vb. "to to tread." B02, 14/10; L01.5, 10/8
ptl "battlefield." L01 (V.T.), x+4/20
pts "(wooden) chest." C02.1, 3

f Third person singular masculine suffix pronoun. Passim.
fy "power," "awe." In title of book. B02, 3/13; L01, 2/7
fy vb. "to carry." B02, 12/15; B04, 3/12 (?); B04, 6/23; B04, 6/24; B04, 7/15; B06, 1/11 (or "hurry"); B06.4, 1/5; C01, 9 (or "hurry"); C04.4, 2/x+23; F03, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L02, 2/4; V03.2, 5
fy vb. "to hurry." B01, 3/21; B02, 4/14; B07, 10 (*by*); F01.1, 3 (restored); F01.6, 6; L01, 2/24
fy [...] meaning uncertain. B02, 7/3; L01, 4/13
fnṯ "nose." F13, 2; V01, 2/14
fnt reading and meaning uncertain ("nose?"). C04.4, 1/15
fk "reward," "offering." B03, 1/6; L01.5, 9/9 (*qf*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/21 (*fq*)
fṯ vb. "to eradicate." B04, 8/13

m preposition, "in." B02, 2/5; B02, 5/8; B02, 7/10; B02, 7/11(twice); B02, 7/12; B02, 8/1; B02, 9/12; B02, 9/15; B02, 9/17; B03, 1/14; B04.1, 1/6; B04, 2/4; B04, 2/7; B04, 2/13; B04, 3/20; B04, 7/5 (twice); B04, 8/13; B05, 2/7; B07, 3; B07, 5; B07, 12; C04.1, 3; C04.1, 4; C04.8, 14; C07.1, 2; F01.1, 5; F12, 15; L01, 1/7; L01, 4/21; L01, 4/22; L01.2, 6/7; L02, 1/6
see also *m-sꜣ*, *m-qty*, *m-twn*
m interrogative pronoun. L02, 2/1 (?)
m meaning uncertain. B01, 1/9a; B01, 1/16
mꜣ imperative of *ỉy*, "come!" B02, 8/4; B02, 13/16; B05, 2/13; B08, 10; L01, 4/2; L01, 4/11; L01.1, 5/6 (?)
mꜣ see *mw*
mꜣ "canal," "spring," "pool." B03.1, 2/11; B04, 6/19; C02, 1/11; L01.5, 10/11
mꜣ "fluid." C02.1, 7 (?)
mꜣ uncertain reading. C02, 2/13
mꜣ uncertain reading. L01, 3/1
mꜣꜣ vb. "to see." B01, 3/18 (largely restored); B02, 4/10; B02, 8/16; B02, 9/3; B02, 9/11; B02, 9/12; B02, 10/6; B02, 14/8; B04.2, 3/3; B04, 3/6; B04, 3/14; B04, 3/15; B04, 5/16; B04, 9/17; B06.2, 2/21 (or *ỉr.t*?); B06.4, 2/5 (*mn*); B14.1, 1/10 (or *mn*); C04.4, 1/9; L01, 2/20; L01.5, 10/6; L01.10, ca. 1/13; L01 (V.T.), x+1/4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/10; L01 (V.T.), x+4/23; Y01.4, 9 (or *mn*)
mꜣꜣ see also *mn*, "to remain"
mỉy "new." B01, 2/20; B02, 3/1; B04, 8/5; L01, 1/19
mỉy "lion." B02, 3/11; B04, 4/17; B04, 6/9; B05, 1/1; B05, 1/22 (error for *ḫs*); L01, 2/5; L01.5, 10/23; L01 (V.T.), x+1/19; L01 (V.T.), x+4/14 (*ḥ.t mỉy*)
mỉy-ḫḏ "oryx." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15
mỉʿ "place." B01, 3/22 (?); B02, 4/15 (?); B02, 13/10; B02, 13/15 (or "truth"); B04, 5/1; B07, 10; C04.4, 2/x+27 (? written *mỉʿ.t*); F01.1, 3

mꜣꜥ "truth." B02, 7/2; B04, 7/19; C04.1, 10 (?)
mꜣꜥ.ty in the compound *wḥs mꜣꜥ.ty*, "Hall of the Two Truths." B04, 7/8
mꜣꜥ.t meaning uncertain. C04.10, 2
mꜣꜥ.t meaning uncertain. B02, 1/5
mꜣꜥ reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+3/14
mꜣw vb. "to think." L02, 1/6 (?)
mꜣwy "thought." B02, 10/13 (*mwy*); B02, 11/2; B02, 13/15; B04, 4/9; B04, 4/14; B07, 10; B08, 6; C02.1, 10 (?); F07.3, 2
mi.t "path." B02, 8/13; B02, 10/6; B04, 3/1; B04, 6/24; L01.2, 6/18
mit.t "like." B01, 3/20 (damaged); B02, 4/12 (*mtwt*); B02, 6/12; B03.10, 14; L01, 2/22 (*mtwt*); L01, 4/6
mi.t translation uncertain. C07.5, 1
my uncertain meaning, perhaps "death." B02, 3/3
myl "mummy-cloth/ bandages" or "precepts?" L01, 4/11
myly "mummy-cloth." B04, 6/10; L01.5, 10/24
myt "path," "road." B01, 1/7; B02, 1/2; B04, 9/10; B09.1, 4 see *ṯ-myt*
mw preposition "like," "as." B02, 8/6; B02, 9/2; B04, 2/17; B04, 3/6
mw unorthographic writing of *imy* or *imy.w*. B02, 8/9 (written *mi*); B04, 6/3; B04.2, 2/20 (*imw*); B04, 8/12; C02, 1/16; L01.5, 10/16
mw.t "mother." L01 (V.T.), x+3/23
mwy see *mꜣwy*
mw "water." B14.1, 1/4; B14.2, 10; F01.5, 3 (?); L01, 3/23; L01 (V.T.), x+4/2; Y01.4, 2
mw reading and meaning uncertain (title of book?). L01, 2/7
mw reading uncertain. C04.4, 2/x+17
mwn meaning uncertain. L01, 3/10
mwḫy vb. "to compare (?)." B02, 13/14
mwt vb. "to die. " F13, 5; V01, 2/17
in-mwt "deceased." F01.1, 11; V01, 1/24; V02, 1/4 (?)
mwt "death." B04, 7/13; B04, 8/14 see also *my*
mwṯs vb. "to be violent with." L01 (V.T.), x+1/1
mfky "turquoise." B01, 1/5; B04, 7/3; B04, 7/18; B04, 8/3; B04, 9/21; C04.7, 11; Y01.3, 8
mn vb. "to remain," "to be firm." B02, 4/10; B02, 7/14; B02, 8/8; B04, 2/19; B04, 7/21 (*mny*); B06, 2/14; C04.4, 1/9 (written as *mꜣꜣ*); C04.4, 2/x+21; L01, 4/7; L01.10, ca. 1/14 (written as *mꜣꜣ*)
mn(y) vb. "to moor." B02, 6/3; B04.1, 1/8; B04, 6/17 (?); L01, 3/21 (?)
mn negative existence. L01 (V.T.), x+4/9 (?)
Mn see *Ḫnty-Mn* in 3. Toponyms
mn[...] reading and meaning uncertain. V03.2, 2
mn reading and meaning uncertain. B03, 1/8
mn in *r-mn*, possibly an unorthographic writing of the imperative form of *iy*, "Come!" B04, 7/20
mn in *r mn r*, "as far as." B04, 6/20 (*r-mny*?); B07, 7
mn see *mꜣꜣ*
mn-iry.t "nurse." B01, 3/11; B02, 4/1; B03.11, 3; B04, 8/5; B11, 1/1; C04.4, 2/x+11; C06.3, 1; C09, 2/6; F11, 6; L01, 2/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 (*mniy*); V01, 2/5
mniy see *mn-iry.t*
mny translation uncertain. B04, 7/4
mny meaning uncertain. B01, 3/9
mny vb. "to remain" or "to herd." B06, 1/3; F01, 13; L02, 1/14
mny "herdsman." C04.1, 8; C06.3, 8; C09, 2/14; C09, 2/25; F12, 16; V01, 3/14

mny "manner." B04, 7/16 (?)
mnꜥ.t "tutor," "nurse." L02, 2/13 (?)
mnw "statue." B02, 7/15; B02, 8/10; B04, 2/11; B04, 2/21
mnḥt.t "scribal equipment." B01, 1/8; B02, 1/3; C04.8, 13 (? *mnht*)
mnḫ adj. "to be excellent," "efficient," "beneficial." B01, 3/4; B02, 3/7 (twice?); L01, 2/1
mnš "excellent (ones?)." B14.1, 1/9; Y01.4, 8
mnq vb. "to complete." B02, 4/10 (twice); B03.10, 12 (twice); B05, 1/13; B09, 10 (?); L01, 2/20 (three times)
Mnt see *ỉwn-Mnt* in 3. Toponyms
mnṯ "breast." B02, 4/1; B05, 1/6; C06.3, 2; C09, 2/7; L01, 2/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20; V01, 3/10
mnṯ meaning uncertain: "evening-bark (?)," "sacred-grove," or "gate-keeper (?)." L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18
mr vb. "to bind." B01, 3/2 (*ml*); B02, 3/4; C04.1, 1; F10, 5; L01, 1/22 (*ml*)
mr vb. "to love," "to desire," "to wish." B01, 3/13; B02, 4/3; B02, 4/7; B03, 1/13; B03.10, 5; B05, 1/11; B07, 9; B12, 4; B14.1, 1/3; C04.4, 1/6; C09, 2/3; F01.6, 5; L01, 2/13; L01, 2/17 (restored); L01, 4/4; Y01.4, 1 see also *mr-rḫ*, *mr-sphl.w*
mr-rḫ "The-one-who-loves-knowledge." B02, 3/16; B02, 4/12; B02, 5/12; B02, 6/2; B02, 6/4; B02, 7/4; B02, 10/2; B02, 10/12; B02, 12/5; B02, 12/8; B02, 12/11; B02, 13/9; B02, 13/11; B02, 13/13 (restored); B03, 2/4; B03, 2/6; B03, 2/13; B03, 2/16; B03.9, 2; B03.9, 4; B04.2, 3/22 (partly restored); B04, 4/8; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/24; B04, 7/2; B04, 7/6; B04, 7/10; B05, 1/4–5; B05, 2/1; B05, 2/9; B06, 1/6; B06, 1/13; B07, 20; B08, 7; B08.1, 6; B08.4, 7; B09, 4 (?); B12, 7
C01, 5; C02, 2/11; C02, 2/13; C02, 2/15; C02, 2/18; C04.1,11; C04.5, 3; C04.5, 5; C04.6, 4; C05, 2; C06.1, 1; C09, 2/16; C09, 2/26
F01, 9; F01, 16; F01.3, 1; F05, 2; F06, 2; F07.1, 1; F10, 2; F12, 18; F15, 1
L01, 2/10; L01, 2/22; L01, 3/14; L01, 3/20; L01, 3/22; L01, 4/14; L01.2, 6/14; L01.4, 8/8; L01.4, 8/10; L01.4, 8/14; L01.5, 10/4; L01.5, 10/6; L01.5, 10/13; L01.5, 10/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+4/20; L01.9, 16
L02, 1/2
V01, 1/17–18 (partly restored); V01, 3/16; V02, 1/4; V03.5, 4
Y01.3, 10
mr.t noun. "love." B02, 6/2; B02, 7/9; B02, 8/14; B04.1, 1/7; B04, 2/6; B04, 3/2; B04, 8/16 (*ḥny mr*, "sweet of love"); B09.1, 1/7; B11, 1/10; L01, 3/20; L01, 4/19
mr "beloved." B01, 2/15
mr "overseer." L01.3, 7/24 (?)
mr-sbꜣ "school-master," "teacher." B01, 1/2; B01, 2/7
ml see under *mr*, "to bind."
mḥ vb. "to fill," "take hold of," "to pay." B02, 3/5; B02, 3/7; B02, 3/10; B02, 9/14; B02, 9/17; B04.2, 3/18; B04.2, 3/20; B04, 6/3; C04.8, 4 (*mḥṯ*); L01, 2/4; L01, 3/9; L01.5, 10/17 (*i-mḥ*; imperative?); L01 (V.T.), x+2/16 (*mḥṯ*?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/15 (*ꜣmḥṯ*?); L01 (V.T.), x+4/2 (?) see also *mḥ-ib*
mḥ-ib "body-guard." B04, 6/24
mḫ variant writing of *m-bꜣḥ* (?). B04, 8/7
mḫy "Lower Egypt." B02, 10/4; B04, 8/10; L01.2, 6/16
mḫ "nest," or "feather." C06.3, 9; C09, 2/15; F12, 17; F13, 19 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; L01 (V.T.), x+3/14; V01, 3/15
mḫ "cubit." B04, 6/7 (or *šp*?); L01.5, 10/21
mḫ reading and translation uncertain. C01, 6
mḫw "carer (?)." C07.1, 19; L02, 1/4
mḫṯ see *mḥ*
mḫn(*y*) "ferry." B04, 5/21; B04, 6/3; B04, 6/5; L01.5, 10/11; L01.5, 10/17; L01.5, 10/19

mḥn-tỉy "ferryman." L01.5, 10/12

mḥt "intestine." B03, 2/1; L01.5, 10/1

mḥrr see *mḥll*

mḥll "scarab." B04, 4/18; C02.3, 5; L01.3, 7/11 (*mḥrr*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/7; L01.9, 17

mḥy vb. "to compare," "to be like," "resemble." B01, 3/20; B02, 4/12; B02, 4/16 (*mḥy*); B02, 7/6; B03.10, 14; B04, 2/3; B05, 1/14; C04.2, 2; F10, 8; L01, 2/22; L01, 3/2; L01, 4/16; L01.5, 10/2

mḥy.t "scale." L01 (V.T.), x+2/1

mḥy "storeroom." B02, 5/2; B02, 5/4; L01, 3/4; L01, 3/6

mḥy see *mšʿ*

ms vb. "to give birth." B01, 1/3; B01, 1/4 (?); B01, 1/13 (?); B02, 6/4; B02, 7/10; B02, 11/7; B02, 12/16; B04.1, 1/9; B04, 4/19; B04, 7/2; B04, 7/16; B04, 8/2; B04, 8/5; B07, 19; B08.5, 2; B14.1, 1/9; B14.2, 9; C04.2, 6; C07.1, 16; L01, 3/22; L01, 4/20 (infinitive: *sbk n ms*); L01.3, 7/13 (participial construction?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+4/3; L01.8, x+3; L02, 1/1; Y01.4, 8

ms "children," "offspring," "produce," "birth." B01, 1/3; B02, 7/4; B04.2, 2/1; B04, 6/19; B06, 2/14; C02.1, 11; C04.1, 5 (?); L01, 4/14; L01 (V.T.), x+3/24; L01 (V.T.), x+4/7

ms vb. "to betake oneself." B02, 9/2; B04, 3/6

ms reading and meaning uncertain. C02.2, 3

ms reading and meaning uncertain. C04.7, 4; Y01.3, 1

ms reading and meaning uncertain. L01, 2/18

mst "hatred." L01, 4/19 (*ms<t>*)

msḏr "ear." B02, 3/12; B05, 1/2; B07, 9; C04.4, 2/x+22; C07.1, 6; L01, 2/6

mšʿ vb. "to go." L01 (V.T.), x+4/12 (*mḥy*)

mqỉ vb. "to grieve." L01 (V.T.), x+2/21

mqỉ see *mk*

mk vb. "to protect," "to rest." L01 (V.T.), x+3/17 (written *mqỉ*)

mky "protection (?)." B02, 12/12; B02, 13/11; B03.9, 5; B04, 7/12 (*nb mky*, "lord of protection"); B07, 2 (?); C02.3, 2 (or verb?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/4 (or verb?)

mky meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/17

mt vb. "to speak." B04, 8/9; B06, 2/3; B11, 1/4; B12, 2

mt "word," "speech." B01, 2/9; B01, 3/11; B02, 3/16; B02, 6/4; B02, 10/8 (perhaps infinitive of verb, "to speak"); B04, 8/5; B04, 8/9; B04, 8/17; B05, 1/5; B06.5, 10; B07, 1 (restored); B11, 1/4; L01, 2/10; L01.2, 6/21

mt-ntr "divine-word," "hieroglyph." B04, 6/10; B07, 7 (?); L01.5, 10/24

mtw=t independent pronoun second person feminine singular. C04.1, 1; C04.1,12; C04.1, 13; C04.1, 14; F10, 3; F10, 4; F10, 5; F10, 6; V04, 22; V04, 24

mtw possible writing of preposition *m-tỉ*, "belonging to," "of." B02, 12/14; B04, 7/13; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20

mtw meaning uncertain, possibly a writing of *nt ỉw*. B02, 6/3; L01, 3/21

mtw meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/5

mtwt see *mỉt.t*

mtw=f independent pronoun third person masculine singular. C09, 2/14; F12, 16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/23; V01, 3/14

mtw=w independent pronoun third person plural. B04, 8/17; L01.6, 11

mtw see *mtr*, "in the presence of"

mtwn "arena." B02, 10/9; B04, 4/5 (?; but also see under *twn*, "indeed"); C04.4, 1/9; L01.2, 6/22; L01.10, ca. 1/13

mtw=s independent pronoun third person feminine singular. B02, 4/8 (?); L01, 2/18

mtn "road," "path." B02, 8/12; L01.2, 6/19 (*mtny*)

mtn reading and translation uncertain. V01, 4/10

mtr "true," "precise." B02, 5/6; L01, 3/8

mtry vb. "to teach," "instruct," "witness." B01, 1/1; B01, 1/2 (*mtl*); B01, 1/6; B01, 1/9; B02, 6/8; B02, 13/16; B06.4, 1/3 (?); B07, 11; C07.1, 8; L01, 4/2 (*mtly*)

mtry "teaching," "instruction." B01, 1/18; B01, 2/15 (masculine); B02, 1/14; B02, 8/7; B04, 2/18; B06, 1/10 (?); B13, 6 (?); C08, 10; L01, 1/14 (masculine); V01, 2/4

mtr preposition, "in the presence of." B02, 5/1 (*n mtw*?); L01, 3/3 (*mtw*)

mtly see *mtry*

mṯly meaning uncertain. B04, 6/21

mts vb. "be firm," "be powerful." V01, 1/2 (?)

mḏy "book." B01, 1/18; B01, 2/2; B02, 1/16; B08.3, 1; B08.3, 3; B04, 8/13; B06.6, 4; F09, 4; L01, 1/2

mḏy (?) meaning uncertain; possibly identical with following *mḏy*, "chisel." V01, 1/20

mḏy "chisel," "brace," "dowel." C04.8, 4

n genitive particle. Passim
- *n.t* singular feminine genitive particle. B01, 3/6; B02, 3/9 (?), written as relative pronoun; L01, 2/3
- *nw* archaic plural genitive particle. B02, 4/6; B02, 7/4; B02, 7/13; B02, 9/9; B02, 10/10; B02, 13/13; B03, 1/10; B04.2, 2/1; B04, 3/13; C02, 1/10; L01, 2/16; L01.5, 10/10 (spelled as the dative *n=w*)

n preposition. "in," "with," "from," "as," "by." Passim
see also *m*, *ḏbỉ*
- *n-ỉm=f* Passim
- *n-ỉm=s* B02, 9/2 (written *ỉm=s*?); B04, 3/5 (*ỉm=s*); B04, 7/2 (*ỉm=s*); B04, 7/21 (*ỉm=s*) Passim
- *n-ỉm=w* Passim

n dative. "to." Passim
- *n=y* Passim
- *n=k* Passim
- *n=f* Passim
- *n=s* Passim
- *n=w* Passim

nỉy vb. uncertain meaning, perhaps a writing of *nʿ*, "to go." B02, 9/9; B04, 3/13

nỉ.w(?) meaning uncertain, perhaps the demonstrative pronoun or plural copula. C04.3, 7; V01, 2/7

nỉ.w verbal adjective prefix. see *m-šs*, *qns*

nỉw=ỉ interpretation uncertain. L02, 1/11

nyḫ [...] translation uncertain; perhaps variant of *nyšy*, "child." L01.8, x+4

nyšy probably a variant of "*nšy.t*-bark." B02, 9/17; B04.2, 3/20; L01.2, 6/12

nyšy "child." B03, 2/8 (? or variant of preceding, "bark?"); L01.5, 10/8 (*nḫy*?)

nʿ vb. "to go." L02, 2/6 (*ỉn-nʿ*)

nw vb. "to look." B01, 1/11 (or *šw*?); B02, 3/10; C02.1, 12 (?); C08, 3 (or *šw*?); L01, 2/4; L01, 4/10; L01 (V.T.), x+4/21

nw "lance." B04, 6/7 (written *ỉn-nw*); B04, 6/23 (written *ỉn-nw*); C02, 2/12 (*ỉn-nw*); L01.5, 10/21(*ỉn-nw*); L01 (V.T.), x+4/17 (*ỉn-nw*)

nw see *n*

nwn "(primeval) flood." B02, 5/8

nwny.t "root." C04.4, 2/x+9; F11, 4 (*nn.t*); Y02, 3 (*nny.t*)

nws see *ns*

nb "lord," "master." B01, 2/21; B01, 3/22; B02, 3/2; B02, 4/15; B02, 5/3; B02, 8/14; B02, 9/6; B02, 10/2; B02, 10/12 (?); B02, 12/12; B04, 3/2 (*nb htnw*); B04, 3/9 (*nb htn*); B04, 3/22; B04, 7/12 (*nb mky*, "lord of protection"); B05, 1/16; B07, 2

(?); C04.4, 2/x+5; C04.4, 2/x+23; L01, 1/20; L01, 3/1; L01, 3/5; L01.2, 6/3; L01.8, x+6; V01, 2/8; V01, 2/9

nb.t "mistress." B04, 8/11

nb.w-ḥtp "lords/possessors-of-offerings" (designation of disciples of Thoth?). B06, 1/15; B07, 3; B07, 9; L02, 2/8; V01, 3/13

nb "all," "every." B01, 2/15; B02, 5/16; B02, 6/1; B02, 6/12; B02, 13/14; B02, 14/8 (twice); B04.1, 1/4; B04.1, 1/5; B04, 5/16; B04, 6/19; B04, 7/2; B04, 7/16; B07, 14; C02, 1/7; C04.1, 10; C09, 2/13 (?); F01.1, 7; L01, 1/14; L01, 3/18; L01, 3/19; L01.5, 10/6 (twice)

nb "gold." B04, 7/18; C04.3, 7; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1; V01, 2/7

nby vb. "to swim." B01, 3/22; B02, 4/15; B05, 1/16

nbṯ "brilliant." B02, 12/12; B04, 7/12

nf reading uncertain. B01, 2/11

nfr adj. or adj. vb."be beautiful," "good." B01, 1/11; B02, 5/6; B02, 7/16; B05, 1/22; C04.1,11 (?); C08, 2 (?); L01, 3/8; L01, 4/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/6 see *Mn-nfr* in 3. Toponyms

nfr in adj. verb *nḫ-nfr*, "be good." B04, 8/22 (*nḫe=w-nfr*)

nm interrogative pronoun "who." B07, 19; L01.3, 7/22

nmy.t "female dwarf." L01.9, 17

nmsy reading and meaning uncertain. B06, 1/13

Nmty see *Pr-Nmty* in 3. Toponyms

nmṯy.t meaning uncertain, possibly "strength." B02, 14/3; B03, 1/18; B04, 5/8 (damaged); B08, 9

nn negative existence "there exists not." B02, 10/1

nny vb. "to go," "leave." F12, 4

nny.t see *nwny.t*

nry reading and meaning uncertain. B12, 3

nry.t/ nly.t "vulture." B02, 10/3; B02, 10/4; B02, 12/16; B02, 13/9; B04, 7/15; B04, 7/19; B08.1, 7; C02.4, 2; C02.4, 3; C03, 5; C03, 6; C03, 7; C03, 8; C03.1, 1; C03.1, 2; C03.1, 3; L01.2, 6/15; L01.2, 6/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01 (V.T.), x+1/18; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/2; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3; L01 (V.T.), x+2/4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/6; L01 (V.T.), x+2/7; L01 (V.T.), x+2/8; L01 (V.T.), x+2/9; L01 (V.T.), x+2/10; L01 (V.T.), x+2/11; L01 (V.T.), x+2/12; L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; L01 (V.T.), x+2/23; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/1 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/6; L01 (V.T.), x+3/7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8; L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; L01 (V.T.), x+3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+3/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/12; L01 (V.T.), x+3/13; L01 (V.T.), x+3/14; L01 (V.T.), x+3/15; L01 (V.T.), x+3/16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/17; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19

nhy "*nhy*-book of protection." B02, 6/11 (?); F12, 2; L01, 4/5; V01, 3/2

nhy vb. "to remove." B06, 1/7; L02, 1/17 (?)

nhy "(a) little." B04, 7/4

nhy "destruction." B02, 10/1 (?); B04, 3/21

nh ... interpretation uncertain. L02, 1/1

nhpy vb. "to mourn," "to protect." C04.4, 2/x+6; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5; L01.8, x+7

nhm vb. "to rescue." B04, 8/14; L01.6, 8

nhsy vb. "to wake up." B07, 15

nḫyr vb. "to equal (?)." L02, 1/9 (?)

nḫn "youth." B02, 7/11; B07, 1; L01, 4/21 (*nšn*)

nḫt meaning and reading uncertain. V01, 2/15

nḫt "to be strong," in the adjective-verb *nḫ-nḫt*. B06, 2/2

nḫt.t "strength." B06.1, 2/3 (?); B14.1, 1/5 (?); L02, 2/17 (?)

nḫt see *ḫ.t*

nḫy see *nyšy*

ns "tongue." V01, 1/15 (?) see also *ls*

ns vb. "to go." B04, 5/4 (?)

ns vb. "to call out." B01, 2/8 (*nws*); B05, 1/10; B07, 14; L01, 1/7; L01, 2/16 (*sn*) see also *nsns*

ns genitive adj. B04, 7/20 (written *ỉw=s*?)

nswt "king." B02, 8/11 (?); B04, 6/21 (?)

nsns vb. "to call out." B02, 4/6 (probably for *ns n=s*) see also *ns*

nsṯ writing of *ns.t*, "seat," in phrase *ḫry nsṯ*, "heir" (?). B02, 8/7

nšn see *nḫn*

nky vb. "to open (of throat)." B01, 3/5 (*ng*); B02, 3/8; L01, 2/2 (*nkʿ*)

nkʿ see *nky*

ng see *nky*

nt "milled." L01, 3/3

nt see *ntr*, "to divinize"

nte vb. "to ask." B03, 1/13 (?)

ntḥ meaning uncertain. B04, 3/18; B06.5, 3

ntf vb. "to loosen." B04, 8/18

ntm "sweet." B03, 1/5; L01, 3/23; L01.5, 9/8

ntnt vb. "to inquire of," "to take counsel with." B01, 2/9; B02, 6/9; B02, 13/15; B07, 1 (*ntnt-rs*); B14.2, 5; L01, 1/7; L01, 4/3; L01.9, 5

ntr "divinity." B02, 4/6 (?); B02, 8/2 (*ntry*?)

ntr "god." B01, 2/1; B02, 8/9; B02, 9/9; B02, 10/3 (*tws ntr*); B02, 11/6; B07, 2; L01, 4/12; L01.2, 6/4; V01, 3/6 see also *mt-ntr*; *tws ntr*; and *ṯb-ntr* in 3. Toponyms

ntr.w "gods." B04, 2/20; B06, 2/7; B06, 2/9; C07.5, 8 (?); F01.2, 4; L01.3, 7/23 (?); L01.5, 9/2; L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+4/6; Y01.5, 3

ntr.t "goddess." B06, 2/3 (?); L02, 2/17 (?)

ntr vb. "to divinize." B02, 8/2; B04, 2/14 (*nt*)

ntr adj. "divine." B08, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/11(*Ntl*)

ntry see *ntr*, "to divinize"

ntsn archaic third person plural independent pronoun. L01 (V.T.), x+4/9

nḏ uncertain and damaged context. F13, 12

nḏy vb. "to fasten (on)." B02, 3/16; L01, 2/10 (*nḏl*)

nḏy "The one who questions," as a name? B04, 8/8 (?)

nḏl see *nḏy*

nḏs "small one." B02, 9/11; L01.2, 6/6

r preposition. "to," "towards." Passim

r-ḫr=y	B06, 2/4
r-r=k/*r=k*	B01, 3/13; B02, 4/3; B05, 1/8; L01, 2/13
r-ḫr=k	B05, 2/15; L01, 4/4
ḫr=f	B01, 3/17 (translation uncertain)
r-r=s	B01, 3/19; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/11; B02, 9/5; B04, 3/8; B05, 1/7; B05, 1/13; L01, 2/12; V01.1, 2
r-r=w	B02, 5/5; B02, 11/9; B02, 13/11; B04, 4/21; C09, 2/2 (?); L01, 3/7; L01.3, 7/15

r-mn see *mn*

rs "part," in the fractions 1/10th and 1/20th. B02, 5/14 (twice); L01, 3/16 (twice)

rꜣ "mouth." B01, 2/7; B01, 3/15; B02, 4/5; B02, 6/7 (twice); B02, 7/13; B02, 9/11; B03.10, 7; B04.1, 1/12; B04, 2/9; B04, 4/16; B04, 4/21; B04, 7/10; B04, 9/15; B05, 1/9; B06, 2/6; B07, 12; B07, 19; B11, 1/7; B11, 1/17 (?); C02.1, 8; C04.1, 3; C04.4, 1/9; C04.4, 2/x+20; C06.3, 2; C07.1, 9; C07.1,16; C09, 2/7; C09, 2/23; F01.1, 5; L01, 1/6; L01, 2/15; L01, 4/1; L01, 4/23; L01.5, 10/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/13; L01 (V.T.), x+4/10; L02, 1/14; V01, 1/2; V01, 3/10; V01, 3/18; V04, 7; V04, 16 see also *wpy=f-rꜣ=f* (in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets), *ntnt*, *ḥm*, *tp rꜣ*, *ṯ- rꜣ*

rʿ "also," "ever." B02, 5/7; L01, 3/9

rʿ "end." B02, 6/11 (?); B02, 10/1; B04.2, 3/21 (*rʿꜣ*); L01.2, 6/13

rʿ "action." B02, 8/11

rʿ-itp "lifting." B07, 8 (from *ꜣtp*?); C07.1, 5

rʿ-wʿb "purity." L01 (V.T.), x+3/6

rym/ lym "fish." B03.1, 2/13; B04, 5/23; C09, 2/19; F12, 21 (*lym.w*); L01.5, 10/13 (*lym*); L01 (V.T.), x+3/10; V01, 3/19 (*lym.w*)

rwš vb. "to take thought." B02, 6/12; L01, 4/6 (*lwš*)

rpy vb. "to be young." L01, 4/14

rmn "shoulder." B02, 9/9; L01.2, 6/4

rmt "man." B04, 6/18; B04, 6/24; B10, 3; C04.7, 6; C04.7, 7; L01, 4/13; V01, 3/8 (?)

rn "name." B02, 3/8; B02, 5/6; B02, 5/9; B02, 7/16; B02, 8/2; B02, 8/3; B02, 8/5; B02, 8/8; B02, 8/11; B02, 8/15 (restored); B02, 12/11; B04.2, 2/12; B04, 2/15; B04, 2/19; B04, 6/15 (?); B04, 7/10; B06.1, 2/7; B07, 3; B14.1, 1/8; B14.1, 1/14 (?); C02.1, 11; C04.4, 2/x+16; C04.7, 8; C04.7, 9; C07.5, 6; F01.2, 2; F03, 9; F14, 13; L01, 2/2; L01, 3/8; L01, 3/11; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; Y01.3, 5; Y01.4, 3 (?); Y01.4, 7; Y02, 10

rnw.t "harvest." B02, 5/11; L01, 3/13

rnp.t "year." B02, 4/4 (in *tp-rnp.t*); B04, 6/4; B04, 6/12; B04, 6/20 (twice); B06.1, 2/11; C04.9, 5; F12, 23; F13, 5; L01, 2/14; L01.5, 10/18; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3; V01, 2/17; V01, 3/21

rry "youth." B02, 7/12; B04, 2/9

rhwy "evening." C04.8, 5; V01, 1/21

rhny.t "support." B04, 9/1

rḫ vb. "to learn," "to know," "be able." B01, 1/1; B01, 1/10a (written *ḫr*?); B01, 1/14; B01, 2/5; B01, 3/6; B01, 3/7; B02, 1/6; B02, 1/10; B02, 2/2; B02, 3/9; B02, 3/10; B02, 3/13; B02, 5/3; B02, 9/5; B02, 10/8; B02, 13/14; B03, 1/11; B04, 5/24; B04, 6/13; B04, 6/14; B05, 1/20; B06, 1/5; B06.7, 7 (?); B08.3, 5 (restored); B14.1, 1/11; C01, 4; C08, 6; C09, 2/22 (written *š*); F01, 9; F01, 15; F05, 3; F08, 2; F12, 24 (written *š*); F14, 1 (?); L01, 1/4; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/4; L01, 2/7; L01, 4/11; L01.5, 10/14; L01 (V.T.), x+1/23; L01 (V.T.), x+3/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22
see also *mr-rḫ* and *Ḥs-rḫ* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

rḫ in a broken context; either *Ḥs-rḫ* or *mr-rḫ*. B09.1, 2

rḫ "wise one." B01, 1/1; B01, 1/10 (?); B01, 1/14; B02, 6/5; B02, 6/9 (?); B02, 8/10; B04.1, 1/10; B04, 3/12; C08, 6; F13, 21; L01, 3/23 (restored); L01, 4/3; L01, 4/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20; V01, 3/14

rḫ.t "She-who-is-wise," "wise one (fem.)." B04, 7/22; C04.4, 2/x+3; C04.4, 2/x+10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/7; L01.8, x+11

rḫ-iḫy "wise one." B01, 2/3; B01, 2/6; B02, 8/9; B06.1, 2/10; C07.5, 9

rḫ "list." B04, 7/4 (?)

rs vb. "to protect," "to guard." L01, 2/12

rsw "dreaming," "dream." B06, 1/12; B06, 1/14

rsṯy "tomorrow." B02, 6/12; L01, 4/6; V04, 6

ršy vb. "to rejoice." L01 (V.T.), x+2/9 (?)

rky see *lky*

rt "feet," "position." B02, 3/4; B02, 9/11 (in *ḫr-rt*); B02, 9/15 (in *ḫr-rt*); B02, 12/13; B04, 3/1 (?); B04.2, 15 (probably *ḫr-rt*); B04, 3/18 (in *ḫr-rt*); B04, 7/13; B07, 13; C07.3, 1 (?); L01.2, 6/10

rt "manner," "way." B02, 7/8; B02, 7/11; B04, 2/5; F04, 1; L01, 4/21

rt vb. "to grow," "flourish," or noun, "harvest." B02, 11/5; B04, 4/18; B04, 8/3; C02.1, 8; F04, 2; F13, 18; L01.3, 7/11; L01 (V.T.), x+1/15; V01, 1/1 (?)

lym see *rym*

lyqy see *lg*

lʿy "mooring place (?)." B04, 5/5 (?); B04, 6/17; L01, 1/23 (*lʿy*)

lwš see *rwš*

lbnṯ reading uncertain. B06.7, 5 (perhaps read rather =*f bnṯ*)

ll reading and meaning uncertain. F14, 6

ll(.t) "nurse." B02, 6/6

lḫny.t see *pr-lḫny.t*

lš "tongue." B01, 1/3; B01, 2/9; B02, 3/12; B02, 3/16; B02, 7/8; B02, 12/10; B02, 13/13; B03, 1/5; B03, 1/10; B03.10, 2; B04, 6/11; B05, 1/2; B05, 1/5; B12, 6; C02.1, 8; C04.2, 5; C04.4, 1/12; C09, 2/7; F07.3, 3; L01, 1/8; L01, 2/6; L01, 2/10; L01, 4/18; L01.5, 9/8; L01.5, 9/13; L01.10, 1/16; V01, 1/2; V01, 1/15 (?); V01, 2/13; V01, 3/10; Y01.5, 5

lky vb. "to remove." B01, 3/1 (*rky*); B02, 3/3

lg vb. "be evil," "bent." B01, 1/16 (?); C08, 8 (written *lyqy* with evil determinative)

h writing of preposition *ḫr*, "upon," which see

hꜣ "flame." B02, 5/5

hꜣ see *hrw*

hꜣy vb. "to fall," "to descend." L01 (V.T.), x+1/1

hꜣy vb. "to be joyful." L02, 1/14

hꜣy.t "hall." B04, 7/19

hꜣb see *ḥb*, "ibis"

hynw "some," "certain." B02, 13/9; B03, 1/7; B04, 7/18; B06, 1/3; B11, 2/x+10 (?); C01, 2; F01, 13; L01 (V.T.), x+1/13 (*hyny*; twice); L01 (V.T.), x+4/4

hwlt meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/21(*hwl.t*?)

ḥb "ibis." B02, 5/14 (?); B02, 9/2; B02, 9/7; B02, 10/8; B02, fragment B, line 2; B02, 15/8; B03, 1/3; B04.2, 3/6; B04, 3/10; B04, 4/7; B04, 6/8; B07, 15; B07, 20 (*ḥby*); C07.1,12; C07.1, 17; F01, 11; F01.1, 8; F14, 2; L01.5, 9/6; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22; L01.7, 4 (?); L02, 1/2

ḥb vb. "to send," "to send away," "to write." B02, 7/10; B02, fragment B, line 2; B03, 1/3; F01, 8 (?); L01, 4/20; L01.5, 9/6; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22; L02, 1/9; Y01.1, 3 (?)

ḥb vb. "to tread." B06, 2/18

ḥby "plow." B02, 4/16; B05, 1/17; L01, 3/2 (*ḫby*)

ḥby "messenger (?)." B02, 10/2; B04, 3/22

ḥb reading uncertain. C04.1, 3

ḥbl vb. "to trample." B02, 9/7

ḥbḥb vb. "to trample." B04, 3/10

ḥp "law," "custom." C04.8, 15; F12, 7; L01, 4/12; V01, 3/6; Y01.3, 2

ḥmy "fare." B03, 2/12 (?); L01.5, 10/12

ḥn vb. "to be near," "to agree (to)," "adhere to." B01, 2/8; B02, 13/15; B04, 5/1; B06, 1/10; L01, 1/7; L01, 4/12; L02, 2/3

hn "box," "container." B01, 2/1; B06, 1/7; B06, 2/5; B06.5, 3; C04.10, 1 (?); C04.8, 13; C08, 11; F12, 1; F12, 5; V01, 3/1

hn reading and meaning uncertain, perhaps preposition "up to." B01, 2/2

hnt see *ḥnty*

hrw "day." B07, 10; B07, 19; C04.8, 10; C07.5, 5 (*hꜣ*); F01.2, 1 (*hꜣ*)

hl a type of vase. C06.3, 2 (restored); C09, 2/7; V01, 3/10

hlg vb. "to embrace (?)." B06, 1/9; L02, 2/2

hh "flame," "fire." B04, 2/9 (?)

ht uncertain meaning in phrase *wtꜣ.t ht*. B04, 6/7; B04, 6/10; L01.5, 10/21

htꜣ "cloth" or "sail." B04, 6/9

htp probably a writing of *ḥry-tp*, "who is on the top of." B02, 8/15; B04, 3/3

htm "throne." C04.4, 2/x+13; C04.7, 5

htnw "*Heden*-plant," generally in the epithet of Thoth, *nb htnw*, "lord of the *Heden*-plant." B01, 2/21; B02, 3/2; B02, 8/14; B02, 9/6; B04, 3/2; B04, 3/9; L01, 1/20 (*ḥtyn.w*)

htty meaning uncertain; perhaps "hyena." F11, 9 (?)

ḥ see *ḥy*

ḥ reading and meaning uncertain. B01, 1/13

ḥ.t "tomb," "house," "chapel," "temple," "chapter." B01, 1/7; B01, 1/8; B01, 1/13; B01, 3/4; B01, 3/8; B02, 1/1; B02, 1/3; B02, 3/7; B02, 3/8; B02, 3/11 (*ḥ.t mꜣy*, "House of the Lion"); B02, 8/1; B04, 2/1 (*ḥ.t ỉrỉy*, "House of Documents"); B05, 1/1; B06, 1/7; B06.1, 2/9; C02.1, 5 (?); C04.2, 11; C07.5, 8; C08, 4 (?); C08, 5; F01, 16; F01.2, 4; L01, 2/2; L01, 2/5 (twice); L01.3, 7/12; L01 (V.T.), x+4/14 (*ḥ.t mꜣy*); L01 (V.T.), x+4/18 (?); L02, 1/17; Y01.5, 1 (?)

ḥ.t see *pḥ ḥ.t*

ḥꜣ "sail." B04, 6/13 (?)

ḥꜣ preposition, "behind." B04, 8/15 (written *ỉn=w-ḥꜣ*)

ḥꜣ particle of wishing or requesting. C03, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/23

ḥ(ꜣ).t preposition "before," and adverb, "before," or noun "front." B01, 1/9 (*r ḥ.t*); B01, 1/12; B01, 1/13 (?); B01, 2/6; B01, 2/19; B01, 3/18; B02, 1/4 (?); B02, 1/8; B02, 2/16; B02, 4/6; B02, 4/10; B02, 8/2; B04, 2/14; B04, 6/4 (*r-ḥ.t=s* or simply *ḥ.t=s*); B04, 6/12; B04, 7/21 (*ḥr ḥ.t*); B04, 8/20; B05, 1/10; B06, 2/13; B11, 1/13; C02, 2/18 (?); C07.5, 12; C08, 4; C08, 5; L01, 1/5 (*tꜣ ḥ.t*); L01, 1/17; L01, 1/18 (*ḥr ḥ.t*); L01, 2/16; L01, 2/20; L01.5, 10/18

ḥꜣ.t / ḥꜣ.ṯ "foremost." B02, 12/14 (*ḥꜣ.ṯ*); B04, 7/13 (or *wʿ*?)

ḥꜣy see *ḥʿy*

ḥꜣt "heart." B01, 1/10; B01, 1/16; B01, 1/17; B01, 2/18; B01, 3/1; B02, 1/13; B02, 3/3; B02, 6/11; B02, 7/2; B02, 9/5; B02, 9/13; B04, 3/8; B04, 3/16; B04, 8/10; B04, 8/20; B04, 8/25; B04, 9/15; B06.1, 2/2; B07, 18; B08.1, 3; B11, 1/13; B11, 1/15; B12, 5 (or *ỉr.t*?); C02.1, 8; C04.8, 14 (?); C04.4, 2/x+8; C08, 8; C08, 9; F13, 15; L01, 4/12; L01.2, 6/8; L01.8, x+9

ḥ(ꜣ)y "*ḥꜣy*-animal (?)." B04, 6/21

ḥꜣw reading uncertain. L02, 1/6

ḥy "illness (?)." B04, 8/12 (?)

ḥy "rain," "flood." B02, 9/4; B04, 3/7 (*ḥ*); B14.2, 4 (?)

ḥyʿ see *ḥʿy*

ḥym "hunter," "fisherman." V01, 3/19

ḥym see *ḥm*

ḥyq see *ḥq*

ḥʿ "flesh, "self." B02, 10/15; B04, 4/11; L02, 2/9 (*ḥʿ.wt*)

ḥʿy "candle." B01, 2/20; B02, 3/1; L01, 1/19 (*ḥꜣy*); V02, 1/6 (*ḥyʿ*?)

ḥw "surplus," "abundance." B01, 2/12; B02, 2/9 (*ḥwꜣ*); L01, 1/11 (*n ḥwꜣ*, "more than")

ḥwy vb. "to throw," "to cast." L01 (V.T.), x+2/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; L02, 2/6

ḥwt "male." B03, 1/7

ḥb "festival." Y01.5, 6 (?)

ḥby see *hby*, "plow"

ḥbḥb see *wḥwḥ*

ḥbs "cloth," "clothing." B01, 2/20; B02, 3/1; L01, 1/19

ḥp vb. "to hide." B02, 13/16; B04, 5/2 (corrected from *ḥš*); B04, 8/11

ḥp.wy "crypts (?)." B02, 10/5; B04, 4/3

ḥpꜣ reading and meaning uncertain. B04, 6/16

ḥpt vb. "to embrace." B02, 12/16; B04, 7/16; C02.1, 12; C02.4, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/18

ḥf "snake." B02, 8/16; B04, 3/4; B04, 4/16; B04, 6/3; B04, 9/14; B06, 1/4; B06, 1/18; B06.4, 1/6 (?); F01, 13; L01.5, 10/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/16; L02, 1/14

ḥf.t "(female) snake." L01 (V.T.), x+4/16

ḥf vb. "to worship." B02, 9/8; B04.2, 3/11

ḥfn "*ḥfn*-snake (?)." B03, 1/5

ḥfn "myriad." B06.1, 2/12; L01 (V.T.), x+4/3

ḥm "majesty." B02, 9/14; B04, 3/17; L01.2, 6/9

ḥm "prophet," "servant." B02, 3/15; B02, 9/1; B04, 3/5; B04, 3/6; B05, 1/4; L01, 1/12; L01, 2/9 (but spelled as "craftsman")

ḥm vb. "to form." B04, 8/12

ḥm "craftsman." B01, 2/1; B01, 2/5; B01, 2/10; B01, 2/14; B02, 1/15; B02, 2/2; B02, 2/10; B02, 6/1; B02, 8/4; B05, 2/6; B06, 1/19; B08.3, 5 (restored); C07.1, 17 (*ḥmʿỉ*); C09, 2/22; F12, 24; L01, 1/1; L01, 1/4; L01, 1/9; L01, 1/12; L01, 3/19; L01, 4/15; L02, 2/12; V01, 3/22 (?)

ḥm "craft." B07, 20 (partly restored; probably *ḥm-rꜣ*); L02, 1/2 (in *ḥm-rꜣ*)

ḥm vb. "to fish," "to hunt." B03, 2/4; B04, 4/13; B04, 5/13; B04, 6/4; B04, 6/8; B04, 6/11; L01.5, 10/4; L01.5, 10/13; L01.5, 10/18; L01.5, 10/22; L01 (V.T.), x+3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+4/7 (*ḥym*)

ḥm "fisherman. L01 (V.T.), x+4/7; V01, 4/11 (?)

ḥm reading and meaning uncertain. C02.1, 5

ḥmꜣ "salt." B03, 2/7; L01.5, 10/7

ḥmʿỉ "craft." C07.1, 17 see also *ḥm*

ḥms vb. "to sit." B04, 8/9; B04, 8/24; B06.1, 2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/19

ḥmt "copper." C07.1, 20; L02, 1/5

ḥn vb. "to command." B02, 6/4; B02, 6/11; F03, 6; L01, 3/17; L01, 3/22; L01, 4/5; V01, 1/4 (?)

ḥn reading and meaning uncertain. V04, 11

ḥn[...] reading and meaning uncertain. L01.9, 3

ḥny "canal," "pool." B04, 6/13; B04, 6/16

ḥny meaning uncertain. B02, 11/10; B04, 4/22; L01.3, 7/16

ḥnʿ preposition. "together with." B02, 9/11; B02, 12/11; B02, 13/12; B04, 7/11; B04, 8/10; B04, 8/24; B14.1, 1/4; F01, 4; F14, 5; L02, 1/5; V04, 4; Y01.4, 2

ḥnw reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/23

ḥnmy vb. "to steer." L01 (V.T.), x+3/4

ḥnty "slaughter," "slaughterer." B02, 10/2; B03, 1/4 (*ḥnty*); B04.2, 3/22; L01.2, 6/14; L01.5, 9/7 (*ḥnt*)

ḥnty "crocodile." B04, 4/17

ḥnts "lizard." B04, 6/20 (?)

ḥr "face." B01, 2/1 (in the compound *wn ḥr* for *wnḥ*); B02, 4/8; B04, 7/17 (?); B05, 1/11; C02.1, 10; C09, 2/27; L01, 2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L02, 1/8

ḥr preposition. "on," "about." B01, 1/7 (restored); B02, 1/2; B02, 8/12 (*h*); B02, 10/6; B02, 13/15; B04, 2/23; B04, 4/4; B04, 5/1; B04, 6/21; B06, 1/10; B06.5, 3; B07, 6; B07, 13; B08, 5 (*ḥr tp*); B13, 10; B14.2, 3 (*h*); C04.4, 2/x+7; C04.7, 5 (twice); C04.8, 10 (*ḥr tp*); C04.9, 2 (*ḥr tp*?); C04.11, 2; C04.11, 3; C09, 2/24 (?); F01.1, 6; F01.1, 8; F01.6, 2 (or "face"?); F12, 2 (*ḥr tp*); L01.2, 6/6 (*h*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; Y01.3, 2 (twice)

i-ir-ḥr B02, 4/15; L01, 3/1 (*n-i-ir-ḥr*)

r-ḥr=y B02, 7/10; B04, 2/7

ḥr=f B01, 3/17 (also under *r*)

r ḥr(r) B07, 11; C04.1, 1; V01, 2/10

ḥr ỉst preposition. "upon." B01, 1/17 (?); V01, 3/4

ḥr translation uncertain. C08, 12 (?)

ḥry "master," "chief." B02, 8/7; C04.4, 2/x+14

ḥry reading and meaning uncertain. B08, 3

ḥrr vb. "to delay." B01, 1/10 (?)

ḥl vb. "to fly." L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; V01, 3/14 (uncertain; partly damaged)

ḥly "bird." B04, 6/6; L01.5, 10/20 (*ḥlty*)

ḥlš "seriousness," "weightiness." L01, 4/7

ḥlg vb. "to be sweet." B06.5, 2

ḥlty see *ḥly*

ḥḥ "myriad." B01, 2/14; B02, 4/10; B02, 4/14; B03.10, 12; B04, 7/4; B04, 7/7 (twice); L01, 1/13; L01, 2/20; L01, 2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+4/3

ḥḥ vb. "to seek." B07, 20; C07.1, 16; C07.1, 17; L02, 1/1; L02, 1/2;

ḥs vb. "to praise." B02, 1/4 (?); B06.1, 2/3

ḥs "praised one." B02, 8/4 (?)

ḥs.t "praise." B02, 5/6; B02, 7/9; B04, 2/6; B04, 8/15; B08, 2 (?); L01, 3/8 (masculine?); L01, 4/13; L01.6, 9

ḥs meaning uncertain. B13, 10

ḥš see *ḥp*

ḥq vb. "to make a ruler." B02, 8/7

ḥq vb. "to enchant." B04, 8/25 (*ḥqy*); B14.1, 1/3 (?); Y01.4,1 (?)

ḥq "enchantment." B02, 10/12 (or verb?); L01.3, 7/2 (*ḥyq*)

ḥqry "hungry (man)." B01, 1/4

ḥkn vb. "to jubilate." B02, 9/7 (*ḥknw*); B04, 3/10 (*ḥgn*)

ḥgn see *ḥkn*

ḥt reading uncertain. F11, 3

ḥt see *ʿỉ ḥt*

ḥt reading uncertain. Y01.5, 5

ḥt "throat." Y01.5, 16

ḥtỉ "horse," or "span." L01 (V.T.), x+2/18

ḥtỉ "clothes." L02, 1/11 (?)

ḥtp "offering." B06, 1/4; C01, 3; F01, 14 see also *nb.w-ḥtp*

ḥtp meaning uncertain. C04.1, 6

ḥtp tỉ nswt "offering of the king's giving." B02, 8/3 (written *ḥtp<-tỉ- >nswt*)

ḥtp see *Šỉs-ḥtp* in 3. Toponyms

ḥtl "compulsion." B01, 1/2

ḥḏ "white." B04, 6/8 (in phrase *ỉwiw ḥḏ*, perhaps for *ʿỉ ḥḏ*, "limestone") see also *mỉy-ḥḏ*

ḥḏ.t "White Crown." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9

ḥỉ "corpse." B04, 8/12

ḫʿ vb. "to place," "to put." B02, 5/14; B02, 7/2; B05, 2/3; L01, 3/16; L01, 4/12

ḫỉs.t see *ḫsy*

ḫʿỉ vb. "to appear in glory." C04.8, 12; F12, 4

ḫʿ "appearance." B04, 7/12

ḫʿ "festival." B02, 8/1; B04, 2/13

ḫywy "plumage." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 (*sỉb ḫywy*); L01 (V.T.), x+2/10; L01 (V.T.), x+3/17 (*šywy*?)

ḫywy vb. "to protect" (compare *ḫw*). L01 (V.T.), x+2/17

ḫyt "threshing-floor." B14.1, 1/7

ḫw vb. "to protect." B04, 8/2

ḫb vb. "to diminish." B04, 2/6; L01, 4/19 (*šb*)

ḫbt vb. "to punish." B06.5, 1

ḫpr vb. "to happen," "become." B01, 1/3; B01, 1/6; B01, 2/6; B01, 2/19; B02, 1/1; B02, 1/2; B02, 4/4; B02, 6/14; B02, 7/11; B02, 11/7; B04, 4/19; B04, 7/21; B06, 1/13; F11, 3; L01, 2/14 (restored); L01, 4/8; L01, 4/21; L01.3, 7/13; L01.9, 4 (?); Y01.1, 4 (?)

ḫpš "(strong) arm." B01, 2/11 (*špš*); B01, 3/3; B02, 2/7; B02, 3/5; B08.3, 10 (*š[pš]*); L01, 1/9 (*špš*); L01, 1/23 (*špš*); V03.2, 5 (*špš*)

ḫfṯḥ "opposite." B06, 2/20

ḫm vb. "be small." B02, 7/3; B07, 6; C07.1, 3; L01, 4/13

ḫm "small," "little." B01, 3/21 (*ḫm*); B02, 4/13 (*ḫm*); B03.10, 15 (*šm*); B05, 1/15 (*ḫm*); B05, 2/15 (*šm*); L01, 4/4; L01, 2/23 (*šm*)

ḫmt meaning uncertain; variation of *ḫnmṯ*, "nurse?" B06, 2/17

ḫny meaning uncertain (with water determinative). B14.1, 1/13

ḫnmṯ "nurse." B02, 9/4 (?); B04, 3/8; B04, 8/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/16 (*ḫnmṯy*)

ḫnš "stinking (?)." F01, 6; F14, 7; L02, 1/7

ḫnt(y) "foremost one," in epithet of Thoth. B01, 1/13; B02, 7/15 (?); B02, 8/1 (in the epithet *ḫnty ḥ.t Ptḥ*); B02, 8/14; B02, 9/8; B04, 3/11; C04.4, 1/14 (?); C04.4, 2/x+18 (or preposition)

ḫnt preposition. "before," "at." B01, 1/13 (?); B01, 3/15; B02, 4/5; B02, 6/7; B02, 10/6; B03.10, 7; B04, 2/1; B05, 1/9; B07, 3; B12, 4; C04.4, 1/2; C04.4, 2/x+19; F13, 11 (?); L01, 2/15; L01, 4/14; L01.2, 6/18; V01, 1/2

m-ḫnt "before." B02, 9/4; B02, 9/10; B04.2, 3/8; B04, 3/14; B04, 4/24

ḫnt vb. "to sail southwards." B04, 8/3

ḫnt "throne," "pronaos." B08, 5

ḫnṯ "crocodile." L01 (V.T.), x+2/5

ḫr vb. "to speak," "to say." B01, 1/1 (twice; second example uncertain); B01, 3/12; B01, 3/20; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/13; B02, 5/7; B02, 5/13; B02, 6/3; B02, 6/8; B02, 10/2; B03, 2/10; B04.1, 1/7; B04.1, 1/12; B04, 3/21; B04, 6/7; B04, 6/8; B04, 6/10; B05, 2/2; B06, 1/12; B06, 1/14; B06, 1/15; B08, 8; B12, 8; B13, 2 (restored); C02.1, 11 (?); C04.2, 3; C04.7, 12; F01, 6 (restored); F01, 11; F06, 3; F07.1, 2; F10, 9; F15, 2; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/9; L01, 3/15; L01, 3/21; L01, 4/2; L01.5, 10/10; L01.5, 10/21; L01.5, 10/22; L01.5, 10/24; L01 (V.T.), x+1/15; V04, 26; Y01.3, 9; Y01.3, 11

ḫr see *ỉr ḫr*

ḫr particle. B01, 1/2 (twice; *ḫr ỉn*); B01, 1/6 (*ḫr ỉn*); B04, 5/12 (*ḫr ỉn*); B04, 7/11; B07, 13; B13, 12 (*ḫr ỉn*); C02, 1/4 (*ḫr ỉn*); C04.2, 4 (*ḫr ỉn*); F04, 2 (*ḫr ỉn*); F13, 6; V01, 2/9

ḫr preposition, "before." B02, 8/1(written *ʿnḫ*); B02, 8/3 (twice; written *ʿnḫ*); B02, 8/12 (written *ʿnḫ*); B04, 2/13 (written *ʿnḫ*); B04, 2/15 (written *ʿnḫ*); L01.5, 10/3

ḫr see *rḫ*, "to know"

ḫr in broken context. B11, 2/x+9

ḫrw "voice." B01, 3/18; B02, 4/3; B02, 4/9; B02, 9/14; B03.10, 11; B04, 3/17; B05, 1/12; L01, 2/13; L01, 2/19; L01.2, 6/9

ḫl vb. "to rob." L01, 2/18

ḫsy "ritual composition," but written as *ḫ3s.t*, "necropolis." B03.1, 2/14; B04, 6/1; B07, 4 (?); C02, 1/14; L01.5, 10/14

ḫstb "lapis lazuli." B01, 1/5; B04, 7/18; C04.1, 5; C04.7, 11; Y01.3, 8

ḫt meaning uncertain, perhaps "tree?" B02, 12/13; B04, 7/13

ḫt-ṯ3w "mast." B04, 6/9; L01.5, 10/23

ḫt in the compound preposition *m-ḫt*, "with." B02, 9/13; B02, 10/1; B04.2, 3/21; L01.2, 6/13

ḫt in the compound preposition *r ḫt*, "after." B04, 8/6 (?)

ḫt vb. "to sail northwards." B04, 7/5; B04, 8/3

ḫtm vb. "to shut." L01 (V.T.), x+1/21

ḫtḫt see *štšt*

ḫ ... reading uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+3/13

ḫ.t "body," "stomach." B01, 2/6; B01, 3/22 (*n ḫ.t=f* as preposition); B02, 4/14; B02, 5/3; B02, 7/13; B02, 8/12; B02, 13/11 (?); B03.13, 1; B04, 2/23; B05, 1/16 (*n ḫ.t=f*); B07, 3 (perhaps for *ḫ3.t*, "corpse"); B08.3, 6; L01, 1/5; L01, 2/24 (restored); L01, 3/1 (*n ḫ.t=f*); L01, 3/5; L01.1, 4/23; L01.5, 10/18 (*r ḫ.t=s*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+2/12 (*nḫt=s*); L01 (V.T.), x+2/15; L01 (V.T.), x+4/16; L01 (V.T.), x+4/17 see also *ʿm-ḫ.t* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

ḫ3 "hall," "office." B02, 8/13; B02, 10/6; B02, 10/9; B02, 10/14; B04, 4/4; B04, 4/5

ḫy "survey measurements." L01, 3/22 (in error for *mt*)

ḫyby "shade." B04, 7/3; L01 (V.T.), x+4/18

ḫysy see *ḫsy*

ḫʿ reading and meaning uncertain. C04.7, 3

ḫʿy "utensils," "tools." B01, 3/11; B02, 3/16; B05, 1/5; C04.8, 3 (restored); L01, 2/10; V01, 1/18

ḫb vb. "to bow." B01, 2/14; B02, 2/11; B02, 9/9; B04, 3/12; L01, 1/13

ḫbr "form." B02, 6/2; B02, 9/12; B02, 10/7; B03.1, 2/15; B04, 6/2; B05, 2/7 (*ḫbl*); L01, 3/20 (*ḫbl*); L01.2, 6/7; L01.2, 6/20; L01.3, 7/21; L01.5, 10/15

ḫbs "light," "lamp." B01, 1/12; B02, 1/8; B02, 12/14; B04, 7/13; B04, 7/22; B04, 8/6; B06.3, 4; C08, 4; L01.6, 2

ḫpn see *tpn*

ḫf ... [...] reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/24

ḫmy see *ḫnm*

ḫmm "heat." B02, 5/5; L01, 3/7; V04, 10

ḫms "ear of grain." C04.3, 7; V01, 2/7

ḫn preposition "in." Passim

ḫn "interior." B01, 1/11; C08, 3

ḫny vb. "to row." B02, 3/6; B03, 2/15; B04, 6/1; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/4; B04, 6/13; B04, 6/15; L01, 3/1; L01.5, 10/15; L01.5, 10/16; L01.5, 10/18

ḫn "rower." B04, 8/8 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+4/8 (*ḫny*)

ḫn vb. "to draw near." B07, 21; C07.1, 18; F01, 2; F14, 3 (*ḫnn*); L02, 1/3

ḫny see *ḫn*, "rower"

ḫny vb. "to disturb." B09, 7; C04.4, 2/x+15 (*ḫnyn*)

ḫnyn "disturbance." C04.4, 2/x+7; Y02, 1

ḫny meaning uncertain, "pieces (?)." B02, 11/8; B04, 4/20 (*ḫnny*); B08.5, 3; L01.3, 7/14

ḫn.t meaning uncertain, perhaps "skin (?)." B02, 13/12 (?)

ḫnm vb. "to unite," "join." B02, 6/5; B02, 10/16 (*ḫmy*); B04, 4/12 (*ḫmy*); C04.11, 3 (?); L01, 3/23

ḫnm.t "well." B02, 6/5; C02.1, 9; L01, 3/23 (or "nurse?")

ḫnn see *ḫn*, "to draw near"

ḫnny reading and meaning uncertain. B03.14, 2

ḫnnw reading and meaning uncertain. B04, 9/12

ḫr preposition, "under." B02, 8/14 (?); B02, 9/9; B02, 9/11 (*ḫr-rt*); B02, 9/15 (*ḫr-rt*); B02, 10/1; B04, 3/18 (*ḫr-rt*); B14.1, 1/1 (*ḫr-r=s*); B14.1, 1/7; C04.4, 1/12; L01.2, 6/4; L01.2, 6/6 (*ḫr-ʿ*); L01.2, 6/10 (*ḫr-rt*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/18; L01, x+3/1; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2; V04, 5

ḫr ḥ(3).t preposition, "before." B01, 2/19 (partly restored); B02, 5/14; B02, 8/5; B03, 1/1; B04, 2/14; C04.1, 7; L01, 1/18; L01, 3/16; L01.5, 9/4 (?)

ḫr-ʿ "apprentice," "disciple." B01, 2/6 (*ḫlʿ*); B04, 6/2; B06, 1/15; B13, 4; C02.1, 6; L01, 4/2; L01.2, 6/6; L01.5, 10/16; V01, 3/13; Y01.2, 1/14

ḫry-rt "disciple." B01, 3/10 (only *ḫl-* ... is preserved); B02, 3/15; B02, 6/8; B02, 8/10; B05, 1/4 (or *ḫry-ʿ3wy*); L01, 2/9

ḫry "servant." B04, 8/6

ḫr.t see *ḫr3.t*

ḫr3.t "food, "sustenance." B12, 7; C01, 3; C06.3, 8; C09, 2/25 (*ḫr.t*); F01, 14; F12, 16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/10 (*ḫl3.t*); L02, 1/15; V01, 3/14 (*ḫl3*); V04, 3 see also *ḫrʿ.t*

ḫrʿ reading uncertain. B06, 2/9

ḫrʿ.t "food," "sustenance." B01, 1/14 see also *ḫr3.t*

ḫrṯ "child." B10, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6

ḫl vb. "to restrain." B02, 10/9

ḫl vb. "to steal," "to take away." B01, 1/4 see also *šl*

ḫl "youth." B07, 18; C07.1, 15

ḫl "young female servant." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 (twice)

ḫl3 see *ḫr3.t*

ḫḫ-sy "scale (?)." B02, 8/16

ḫsy vb. "despise," "be weak." B02, 4/14; C04.8, 14; C04.9, 4; C06.3, 4; C09, 2/9; F12, 6; F12, 22; L01, 2/24; V01, 3/11; V01, 3/20

ḫsy "wretched." C04.4, 2/x+9 (*ḫysy*)

ḫqr "weapons," "arms." B02, 9/16; B04, 3/19; L01.2, 6/11 (*ḫql*)

ḫty "mast." B06, 1/13 (?)

ḫthy vb. "to kill." L01 (V.T.), x+4/13

ḫtḫt preposition, "throughout." L01.5, 10/7

ḫ3.t "utensil," "implement." B02, 14/8 (probably a variant of *ḫʿy*); L01.5, 10/6 (*ḫʿy*)

ḫ3y "altar." B02, 8/3

ḫyḫ "dust." B06, 1/7

ḫʿy see *Šʿy* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

ḫm see *ḫm*

ḫm vb. "to forget." B02, 10/1; B03, 1/5 (*šm?*); L01.5, 9/8 (*šm?*)

ḫmt meaning uncertain. B02, 9/11

ḫmts meaning uncertain; title of book? L01, 2/7

ḫrḥ see *šlḥ*

s Third person singular feminine suffix pronoun. Passim

s Third person singular masculine dependent pronoun. Passim

s "man," "person." B04, 8/14; C04.2, 1; F10, 7; L01 (V.T.), x+4/13

s-n šbs "possessor-of-wealth." B02, 9/9; B04, 3/13

s.t "place." B01, 3/15; B02, 4/5; B02, 6/7; B02, 9/2; B02, 13/14; B04, 3/6; B04, 5/4; B04, 7/8; B05, 1/9; B06, 1/14; B07, 13; F01.1, 6; L01, 2/15; L02, 1/8; V02, 1/2

s.t-ḏbꜣ "trouble," "misfortune." B04, 2/2; B04, 6/21; L01, 4/15

m-sꜣ preposition, "behind," "after." B01, 2/20; B02, 3/1; B06, 1/18; B06.1, 2/11; L02, 2/11 (?)

sꜣw "protection," "amulet." B01, 1/9; B02, 12/12; B04, 7/12

sꜣ "son." B01, 1/2 (?); B01, 1/15; B02, 8/6; C04.2, 1 (*sꜣ s*, "son of a man"); F10, 7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19

sꜣ wn-imꜣ "son-of-*wn-imꜣ* (Thoth)," a priestly title (?). B01, 1/15, B07, 1; B07, 14; C07.1, 11; C08, 7; F01.1, 7

sꜣ.t "daughter." B06, 2/13 (?); C07.5, 12

sꜥ "wall" (?). B04, 4/22

sꜥ variant of *sꜥwr* (?) or read *sḥ*. B05, 1/3

sꜥ-tꜣ vb. "to adore." B02, 9/8

sꜥw vb. "to protect," or "to honor." B02, 7/16; B04, 2/12 (partly restored)

sꜥb "enemy." L01 (V.T.), x+1/6

sꜥb "enemy (?)" or "jackal." B02, 4/8 (?); B03.10, 10; L01, 2/18

sꜥb "variegated." L01 (V.T.), x+1/2 (*sꜥb ḫywy*)

sꜥn "clay (?)." B02, 14/10; L01.5, 10/8

sꜥr "noble (?)." B02, 8/8 (*sꜥl*)

sꜥl see *sꜥr*

sꜥy meaning uncertain. B02, 8/15

sꜥwr vb. "to drink." B02, 3/14; B02, 6/5 (*swr*); B04.1, 1/10; B07, 13; L01, 3/23

sy vb. "to become sated." C01, 1 (?); C04.1, 6 (?); F01, 12

sy "(Book) of Insight." B02, 3/13 (?); B05, 1/2; L01, 2/7

syꜣ "cloth-falcon." B04, 8/24 (?)

syw see *sw*

syf "youth." V02, 2/3 (?)

sylḫ.t "throne" or "palace-façade." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 (?)

syg see *sg*

syt "praise." B06, 2/3

syt "snake." L01 (V.T.), x+1/13

sˁ B01, 3/9. Possibly a form of *sy*, "to understand."

sˁnḫ "to sustain," "to nurture," "to cause to live." B02, 4/1; B02, 7/7; B02, 8/2; B06, 2/8 (?); L01, 2/11

sˁ[...] meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/22

sˁ... meaning uncertain. B14.1, 1/11

sˁr vb. "to cause to ascend." B01, 1/9

sˁḥ "mummy." B04, 5/11 (*sḥ*); L01.5, 10/2 (*sˁḥw*)

sˁḥˁ vb. "to raise up." B02, 13/13; L01, 2/8

sˁḥ in the expression *sˁḥ wr*, "the (door) great protector." L01, 2/3

sˁq vb. "to cause to enter." B02, 8/5

sw "time," "day." B01, 3/19; B02, 4/11; B03.10, 13; L01, 2/21

sw "star." B02, 3/10; B02, 9/15 (?); B04, 4/18; L01, 2/4 (*syw*)

swn vb. "to know," "to understand." B04, 8/19; C04.4, 1/4 ("knowledge?"); L01 (V.T.), x+4/5 (?)

swnw "doctor." C04.8, 9

swr see *sꜥwr*

swḫy "egg." B01, 1/12

swsw.t see *swt*

swg "incompetent (one)." B02, 6/14 (written *sq*); L01, 4/8

swt vb. "to beware" or "deliver." B04, 9/3; C09, 2/1 (*swsw.t*); V01, 3/5

swt vb. "to guard," "to protect." L01.3, 7/23; L01 (V.T.), x+1/13 (twice)

swt "protector." L01 (V.T.), x+1/14

swtn vb. "to extend." L01 (V.T.), x+2/11

sb see *sbꜣ*

sbꜣ vb. "to teach." B04, 5/12 (?); B07, 1; C02, 1/4; C09, 2/2; F12, 7; V01, 3/6; V01, 3/9

sbꜣ.t "teaching." B01, 1/6; B01, 2/7; B02, 1/1; B02, 3/10; B02, 7/4; B02, 7/16; B02, 8/6; B02, 10/3; B04, 2/12; B04.2, 2/1; B06.2, 2/14; B08.3, 7; C02.1, 8; C04.4, 2/x+10; C04.10, 4; F11, 5; L01, 1/6; L01, 2/4; L01, 4/7; L01, 4/14; V02, 1/1 (or verb?)

sbꜣ "teacher," "learned one," "wise one." B01, 1/6; B02, 6/6 (*sꜣb*); L01, 3/24 (or "door"?); L02, 1/9

sbꜣ "door," "gate." B01, 3/15; B02, 4/6; B02, 11/9 (?); B04, 4/21; B08.5, 4 (?); F13, 14; L01, 2/16; L01.3, 7/15 (restored); L01.3, 7/22; Y01.2, 1/10 (?)

sby meaning uncertain. C07.5, 11; F01.2, 7

sbi vb. "to live through," "conduct." B01, 2/16 (*sbb*); B07, 19 (*sb*); L02, 1/1 (*sbb*)

sbb see *sbi*

sbḫ "cry," "screaming." B02, 10/10

sbḫy "gate." B04, 7/2 (*sbḫy*); L01, 2/12 (*sbḫy.t*)

sbk "to be small." B02, 6/9; B02, 7/10; B05, 2/14; L01, 4/3; L01, 4/20

sbt vb. "to be prepared." B04, 7/13 (?)

sp "time," "occasion." B01, 1/8; B01, 3/6; B02, 1/3; B02, 3/9; B02, 4/9; B05, 1/12; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/19

sp-2 "twice." B01, 3/21; B02, 4/13; B02, 6/11 (?); B04, 7/4; B04, 7/15; B04, 8/22; B05, 1/15; B07, 19; C04.10, 2; C07.1,16; C07.5, 5; C09, 2/1; F01.2, 1; F01.5, 1; L01, 2/23; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12; L02, 1/1; V01, 3/5; Y01.3, 1

sp "remainder." B06.3, 5; B08, 6

sp name of locality or deity (?). B02, 11/9; B04, 4/21; B08.5, 4; L01.3, 7/15

sp reading and meaning uncertain. C01, 6

sp... reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/10

sp vb. "to immerse." B14.1, 1/4 (?); F01, 17

sp meaning uncertain. C04.7, 9; Y01.3, 6

spy reading and meaning uncertain. C02.1, 12

spḫr vb. "to write." B02, 5/15 (*spḫl*); B05, 2/4; L01, 3/17 (*spḫl*)

spḫr "enchantment," "writing." B02, 3/9; B02, 5/16; B02, 6/8; B05, 2/5; L01, 2/3; L01, 3/18 see also *mr-spḫl.w*

spḫl epithet of deity, "enchanter (?)." L01 (V.T.), x+3/24

spḫl see *spḫr*, "to write"

spt "lips." B01, 2/17; B06, 1/4; F01, 13; L01, 1/16; L02, 1/14

spt "prepared ones." L01 (V.T.), x+4/13

sfy "sword." L01 (V.T.), x+4/17

sfḫy reading and meaning uncertain. B04, 8/24

sm "vegetable," "plant." B02, 6/2; B04, 6/18; L01, 3/20

smꜣ vb. "to slaughter." L01 (V.T.), x+1/20

smy "plea," "report." B02, 10/11; L01.3, 7/1; V03.2, 4 (?) see also *ˁn-smy*

smy in the expression *kky smy*, "darkness of twilight." B02 fragment B, line 1 (col. 14 or "14"= L01.5, 9/5); B03, 1/2; L01.5, 9/5; Y01.2, 1/14 (spelled *ꜣsm?*)

smy "brush (?)." B04, 3/3

smn vb. "to establish." B01, 3/3; B02, 3/5; B04, 6/12 (*smny*); B05, 2/18; B06, 1/14; B09, 9 (?); L01, 1/23 (*smny*); L01, 3/17 (*smny*); L01, 4/7 (*smny*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/18 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+3/6; L01 (V.T.), x+4/1

smḫy see *sḫm*

smt (?) "example." B01, 1/2 (?)
smt "manner," "form." B04, 7/17 (?); L01, 4/9
sn third person plural suffix pronoun. Passim
sn vb. "to worship," "to honor." L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/11; L01 (V.T.), x+4/19
sn-tꜣ vb. "to kiss the earth." B02, 9/6; B04, 3/9; L01 (V.T.), x+4/6
sn see *ns*, "to call out"
sny vb. "to hurry to." B02, 8/14; B04, 3/2
snw reading uncertain. B14.1, 1/8; Y01.4, 7
snf "blood." C02.3, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6
snfr vb. "to beautify." B04, 8/12; L01.6, 7
snn "statue." B02, 7/15 (?); B02, 8/3 (*snnwꜣ*); B02, 13/12; B04, 2/15 (damaged; very uncertain)
snḥ vb. "to bind." B07, 20 (partly damaged); F14, 2; L02, 1/2
snsn vb. "to worship." B02, 7/16; B02, 8/3; B02, 9/13; B04, 2/12; B04, 2/15; B04, 3/16; B04, 8/9; B04, 8/19; C04.8, 15; L01.2, 6/8
snqy vb. "to nurse." B02, 4/1; B05, 1/6; C06.3, 3/4; C09, 2/9; F12, 12; L01, 2/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20; V01, 3/11
snqy "suckler." C04.4, 2/x+11
snt vb. "to fear." C09, 2/21; F12, 23; V01, 3/21
snt vb. "to establish." B04, 7/22; C04.4, 2/x+9 (? written *snty*); F11, 4; Y01.5, 1 (?)
snṯ "foundation (?)." L01 (V.T.), x+1/14; L01 (V.T.), x+1/23 (?)
snty "creation." B04, 8/4; B04, 8/12
snty.t "constellation." B01, 3/7; B02, 3/10; L01, 2/4
sntm vb. "to make comfortable." B02, 7/11; B04, 2/8
sntr "incense." B01, 1/13; C08, 5
sntl "divinization." L01, 2/16
sr see *slꜣ*
srnpy vb. "to make young." B02, 8/5 (*srpy*)
srk vb. "to open." B02, 9/14; B04.2, 3/18 (*slk*); L01.2, 6/9 (*slg*)
sl see *slꜣ*
sl vb. "to assign." L01, 1/12 (?)
slꜣ vb. "to prophesize," "announce," "show the way." B01, 2/1 (restored); B01, 2/4; B02, 1/15 (*sꜣl*); B02, 2/2; B02, 8/13 (*sr*); B02, 9/8 (?); B02, 10/15 (*sr*); B02, 12/12 (*sr*); B04, 3/11; B04, 4/11 (*sr*); B04, 7/12 (*sl*); B06, 2/6; B08.3, 2; B08.3, 5; F03, 9; F09, 3; L01, 1/1; L01, 1/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 see also the noun *slꜣ*, "prophecy"
slꜣ "prophecy," "those who prophesize," "prophet." B02, 10/2; B02, 14/5; B02, 14/10; B03, 1/14; B04.1, 1/9; B04, 5/18; B04, 7/22; B07, 14; C02, 1/8; C02.1, 5; C04.10, 3; F05, 4; L01, 3/22; L01, 4/5; L01, 4/14; L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/8 see also *ʿm-slꜣ*
slf "be meditative," "at rest (?)." B01, 2/10 (twice); B02, 2/6 (?); B08.3, 9 (twice; partly restored); L01, 1/8 (twice)
slg see *srk*
shy vb. "to withdraw." F01, 8 (?); F14, 9
shn see *sḫn*
sḥ see *sʿḥ*
sḫm vb. "to press." L01 (V.T.), x+1/8
sḫn vb. "to command." B02, 5/9; B04, 7/7; B04, 8/1; L01, 3/11 (*sḫny*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 (*shn*)
sḫn "command." B04, 8/1 (*sḫny*)
sḫn meaning uncertain. B05, 1/3 (twice); L01, 2/8

sḫn meaning unknown. B01, 1/5
sḫty vb. "to light." B01, 2/15; B02, 12/14; B04, 7/14; B06, 1/8 (*sḫt*); F01, 17; L01, 1/14
sḫty "illumination." B08, 4
sḫ vb. meaning unknown. B01, 2/13
sḫ.t "field." B01, 1/3; B01, 1/12; B02, 4/16; B03.13, 3; B04, 6/17; B04, 7/3; B04, 9/21; B06, 2/21; B06.3, 1 (or *s.t*?); B13, 3; C04.2, 6; C04.7, 10; F13, 17; L01, 3/2; L01, 3/5; V01, 1/1; V04, 9; Y01.4, 3
sḫ.tyw "field-dwellers." B04, 6/4 (*sḫ.tyw*); C02, 1/17 (*sḫ.t tꜣy*); L01.5, 10/17 (*sḫ.t ṯ*?)
sḫy "(to have) authority/ power over (something)." B01, 1/8 (with *ir*); B02, 1/3 (with *ir*); B04, 2/2 (with *ir*)
sḫm "sistrum." L01 (V.T.), x+2/6 (twice; once restored) see also *Ḥ.t-sḫm* in 3. Toponyms
sḫny vb. "to happen." L01.5, 10/14
sḫny "support." L01 (V.T.), x+2/3
sḫsḫ vb. "to hurry." B06.1, 2/1
sḫ vb. "to write." B01, 2/8 (?); B02, 6/9; B04, 8/17; B05, 2/14; L01, 4/3; L01 (V.T.), x+4/23 (?); V01, 1/22 (?)
sḫ "scribe." B01, 2/8 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/11 (twice?)
sḫ "document," "book," "writing." B02, 4/12; B02, 4/13; B02, 6/1; B02, 6/14 (*sḫ šʿy*, "Demotic script?"); B02, 9/9; B02, 14/7; B04, 3/12; B04.1, 1/5; B04, 5/15; B04, 6/20; B06, 2/2; B06.2, 2/21; B07, 11; B14.1, 1/12; B14.1, 1/16 (?); C06.3, 9; C07.1, 8; C09, 2/15; F01.1, 4; F12, 17; L01, 2/22; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/19; L01, 4/8 (*sḫ šʿy*, "Demotic script?"); L01.2, 6/4; L01.2, 6/19; L01.5, 10/5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/14; L01.7, 6; V01, 3/15
sḫm vb. "to move confidently." B01, 3/2 (*smḫy*); B02, 3/4; B03.5, 1; L01, 1/22
sḫqr vb. "to arm (oneself)," "to embellish," "adorn." B02, 9/16; B04.2, 3/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/10
sḫ vb. "to strike." B02, 3/9
sḫ see *sš*
sḫm vb. "to have power." B02, 3/14; B02, 7/16; L01, 2/8 (*sšm*)
sš vb. "to spread out," "to explain," "to list." B02, 8/12; B04, 7/9; B04, 7/15; B04, 8/19 (*sḫ*); C06.2, 5; F07.4, 4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01.6, 12
sšm "sacred image." B02, 9/15 (?); B04, 3/18 (?); B06.5, 8; L01.2, 6/10 (?)
sšm vb. "to guide," "to govern," "to lead." B02, 10/5; B02, 10/6; B04, 4/4; C03, 3; F01.1, 8 ("governance"?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/23
sšm "*sšm*-animal (?)." F12, 3; V01, 3/3
sšm see *sḫm*
sšr "papyrus roll." B02, 7/16 (?); B04, 8/18 (*sšl*); B06, 1/3 (?); C01, 2; F01, 13
sšl see *sšr*
sšt vb. "to catch (birds)," "to hunt," writing of *sḫd*. B04, 5/23 (written *šty*, perhaps rather the verb *šṯ*, "to take"); C04.1, 9; C04.1, 13 (twice); C04.9, 4; F07.4, 3; F10, 4; L01.5, 10/9; L01.5, 10/13; V04, 12; V04, 20
sšt "secret," variant of *šṯ*. C02.3, 2; C08, 11; L01 (V.T.), x+1/4; Y01.1, 2 (?) see also *šṯ*
sšt meaning uncertain. B14.1, 1/14
sšty.t meaning uncertain. B03, 2/9; L01.5, 10/9
sq see *szg*
sq vb. "to collect," "to gather." B01, 3/8; B02, 3/12; B02, 8/10 (?); L01, 2/6
sqfy "collection (?)." B01, 1/18 (*skf*); B02, 5/16; L01, 3/18
sqn see *sgn*
skꜣ vb. "to cultivate." B02, 5/9; B06.2, 2/18 (?); L01, 3/11
skf see *sqfy*

skr see *sgl*
sg vb. "to be silent." B03, 1/5 (? *syg*); L01.5, 9/8 (*syg*)
sgp "shout." B04, 6/15 (*gsp*?)
sgn "unguent." B06, 1/2; F01, 12; F14, 13; L02, 1/13
sgr vb. "to be silent." L01.2, 6/6 (damaged)
sgl "sailing." B01, 3/3 (*skr*); B02, 3/6 (*skr*); B04, 6/12 (twice)
sgl "sailors." B04, 6/15
st dependent pronoun. B02, 10/12 (?); B02, 13/14; V04, 13
st̲ "tail." L01 (V.T.), x+3/7
st̲ẖ vb. "to return," "to withdraw," "to turn back." B02, 4/4; B02, 9/5; B04, 3/8; L01, 2/14
sty "fire." L01 (V.T.), x+2/2
sty vb. "to burn (incense)." F01, 6; F01, 10; L02, 1/7; L02, 1/11
sty "praise." C07.5, 8; F01.2, 4
stʿy vb. reading and meaning uncertain. C01, 7
stw "snake." B03, 2/2 (?); B04, 5/11 (?); L01.5, 10/2 (?)
stb reading and translation uncertain, "tool," "weapon?" C04.8, 2
stp vb. "to choose." C04.10, 2; V01, 1/16 (or noun?)
stp "choice," "select." B01, 3/11; B02, 3/16; B02, 5/9; B04, 7/7; B05, 1/5; B08, 2 (?); C06.2, 4; L01, 2/10; L01, 3/11
str vb. "to spend the night." F12, 5
st̲r.t "resting-place." L01 (V.T.), x+3/17
stkn vb. "to draw near (?)." L01, 1/18
stt vb. "to praise (?)." B02, 3/14 (twice)
sḏm vb. "to hear." B01, 2/9; B01, 3/13; B02, 4/3; B02, 4/6; B02, 4/7; B02, 7/3; B03, 1/7; B04, 7/10; B05, 1/10; B06.1, 2/2; B06.2, 2/19 (?); B07, 9 (twice); B07, 16; B10, 5; F01.6, 5; L01, 2/16; L01, 2/17; L01, 4/4; L01, 4/10; L01.5, 9/10 see also *ʿš-sḏm*

š see *rḫ*
š see *šw*
š identical with *ḫw*, "sacred?" C04.1, 5
š(ʿ) vb. "to be first." B02, 7/4 (?); B04, 2/1 (?); B04, 7/22 (? or *rḫ*); B14.2, 9
šy "lake," "pool." C04.1, 7; L01 (V.T.), x+2/2
šy see *šm*
šywy see *ḫywy*
šʿ see *š(ʿ)*
šʿy "writing." B02, 6/14; B04, 6/21 (? *šʿ.t*); L01, 4/8
šʿy meaning uncertain, "writing (?)" or "Shai?" B07, 7; C07.1, 4 (*ḫʿy*); F01.6, 3
šʿy see *Šiy* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets
šʿt vb. "to cut." B03.1, 2/14; B04, 6/1 (miswriting of *šty*, "to recite?"); L01.5, 10/14 (miswriting of *šty*, "to recite?") see also *šty*
šʿ.t=s "piece. B01, 1/4
šʿ see *šw*
šʿy "slaughter." L01 (V.T.), x+1/20
šʿš vb. "to glorify." B04, 3/5 see also *šš*
šw "without," "lack." B02, 9/10 (written *š*); L01.2, 6/5 (*šʿ*)
šw vb. "to be dry." B02, 7/6; B04, 2/3; L01, 4/16 (restored)
šw vb. "to be worthy," "fitting." B02, 7/7; F14, 9; L01, 4/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9
šw "block (of stone)." B04, 6/8; B04, 7/2; L01.5, 10/22
šw (?) meaning uncertain. B02, 13/11
šwt "feather." C04.8, 12

šb see *šbn*
šb see *ḫb*
šb vb. "to vary." B04, 8/17; L01, 4/9
šby "various." B04, 7/17
šb[...] "compensation (?)." L02, 1/9 (?)
šbn vb. "to punish," as variant of *ḫbn*. B02, 8/16; B04, 3/4 (written *šb*?)
šbn vb. "to join (with)." B04, 6/6 (*šnb*); B04, 8/10 (*šnb*); L01.5, 10/20 (*šnb*); L01.6, 5 (*šbn*)
šbs "noble," wealth," "treasure." B02, 9/9; B02, 12/16; B02, 13/13; B03, 1/10; B04, 3/13; B04, 7/16
šbšb vb. "to order." B04, 7/15 (written *bšbš*?)
šbt "stick." B01, 1/2; B01, 1/9a
šp vb. "to receive." B01, 2/21; B02, 3/2; B06, 1/10; C01, 8; L01.5, 9/9
šp-ʿnḫ "living image." B01, 1/12 (?); B02, 1/8; B02, 7/14; C08, 4; L01, 4/24 (partly restored)
špš see *ḫpš*
špt "anger." V03.5, 2
šft "book (?)." B01, 2/8; B06, 2/5; C07.5, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/7
šm "harvest-tax," "rent." B02, 5/7; B02, 5/11 (or "to go"?); L01, 3/9; L01, 3/13 (*šmm*)
šm vb. "to go." B02, 5/11 (or "harvest-tax"?); B02, 7/2 (written *šmy*?); B02, 7/8 (*šm-ỉy*); B02, 8/12; B02, 8/13 (*šm-ỉy*); B02, 9/6; B02, 9/10; B02, 11/1; B04.2, 2/5 (*šm-ỉy*; partly restored); B04, 3/1(?); B04, 3/9 (*šy*); B04, 3/13; B04, 4/13; B04, 4/15; B04, 7/20; C09, 2/24 (*šm-ỉy*); L01, 3/17 (*šm-ỉy*); L01, 4/18 (*šm-ỉy*); V01, 2/19 (in compound verb *šm-ỉy*); V04, 2 (*šm-ỉy*)
šm see *ḫm*
šmy "granary" or "corridor." B04, 5/20; C02, 1/10; L01.5, 10/10
šmʿ "Upper Egypt." B02, 10/3; B04, 8/10; B11, 1/6; L01.2, 6/15
šmʿ "exotic (birds?)." C02, 1/13 (?)
šmm see *šm*, "harvest-tax"
šms vb. "to follow," "to serve." B01, 2/4; B08.3, 5; B14.2, 3; C04.8, 11 (mostly restored); F12, 3; L02, 1/16 (?); V01, 3/3; Y01.1, 4 (?)
šms "follower." B14.2, 2; Y01.5, 9
šn vb. "to seek," "to question." B02, 4/11; B04, 6/14 (? *šny*); B05, 1/13 (*šny*); L01, 2/21 (*šny*); L01, 4/4; L01 (V.T.), x+1/14 (*šny*)
šn "net," "rope." B03, 2/4 (?); B04, 5/13 (*šnỉ*); B04, 6/8 (?); B04, 6/11 (*šnỉ*); C09, 2/18; L01.5, 10/4; L01.5, 10/22; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; V01, 3/18
šn "tree." B01, 1/5; F03, 6 (*šnʿ*)
šny meaning uncertain; "to seek?" C04.1, 5
šny "sorrow." L01 (V.T.), x+2/21
šnʿ meaning uncertain. B02, 3/6; L01, 1/24
šnʿ "circuit." B04, 6/2; L01.5, 10/16 (*šnỉ*)
šnʿ see *šn* "tree"
šnb see *šbn*
šnby "breast," "throat." B01, 3/5; B02, 3/8; C07.1, 20; L01, 2/2; L02, 1/5 (twice)
šnt.t "acacia-tree." L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24 (*šnt*?)
šr "son," "child." C04.4, 2/x+6 (twice); L01.8, x+3
šr.t "daughter." F11, 2; L01.9, 15 (?)
šl "robbery." C04.4, 1/7
šl... reading uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/5
šlf vb. "to disdain," "despise." B02, 4/8; B05, 1/11
šlḫ vb. "to mark off." B02, 5/2 (*ḫrḫ*); L01, 3/4 (*šlḫ*)

šlg vb. "to diminish," "to cut." L01, 4/15; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/13; L01 (V.T.), x+4/21

šlḏ meaning uncertain. B04, 6/14

šs in *m-šs*, "exceedingly," within the adjective vb. *nꜣ.w-m-šs*. C04.3, 3 (?)

šs reading and meaning uncertain. "linen?" Perhaps rather *ḥbs*, "clothes." B01, 1/5.

šsr vb. "to recite." B04, 2/16 (*šsl*)

šš' vb. 'to glorify." B02, 9/1 see also *šꜥš*

ššt "window." B02, 11/10; B04, 4/22; B08.5, 5

šštf "door-post." L01 (V.T.), x+1/10

škyk see *šgyg*

šgyg "longing, "desire," "eagerness." B03, 1/11; B04, 8/20; B06, 2/4; B11, 1/13; C04.4, 1/8; F01, 10 (*škyk*); F14, 11; L01 (V.T.), x+1/18; L01 (V.T.), x+1/22

št meaning uncertain. B01, 3/1; B02, 3/3 (*šte*)

št "secret." B01, 2/1

štꜣ "shrine." B07, 16 (?); F01.1, 9

šty vb. "to recite." B02, 13/12 (?); B03.1, 2/14 (written as *šꜥt*, "to cut"?); B03.9, 7; B04, 6/1 (written as *šꜥṯ*); L01.4, 8/13; L01.5, 10/14 (written as *šꜥt*, "to cut") see also *šꜥt*

šty "turtle." B02, 9/7; B04, 3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 (*št*)

šty see also *ššt*

štn "closed room." L01 (V.T.), x+1/10

štšt in the adjective vb. *nꜣ.w-štšt*, "be sharp (?)," or "to be hard." B04, 8/16; B06, 1/1 (*nꜣ.w-ḫtḫt*); F01, 11; F14, 12; L01.6, 10; L02, 1/12

qꜣe see *gꜣy*, "form"

qꜣy "high-fields." B02, 5/10; L01, 3/12; L01, 3/13

qy vb. "to be loud," "high." B02, 4/3; B02, 5/11; B02, 9/14; B04, 3/17; L01, 2/13; L01, 3/13; L01.2, 6/9

qb in the compound preposition *m-qb*, "within." B04, 7/6; B04, 8/4

qby reading and meaning uncertain. L01.9, 16

qbḥ "coolness" or "swamp." B02, 13/10; C04.1, 9 (?)

qf see *fk*

qm "black." L01, 3/5

qmꜣ vb. "to create." B02, 8/7; B02, 10/4; B02, 10/13; B02, 11/2; B04, 4/9; B04, 4/14; C04.7, 10; Y01.3, 7

qmꜣ "reeds (?)." B02, 5/3 (*qmꜣy*); L01, 3/5 (*qm*)

qmꜣ meaning uncertain. C02.3, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5

qmꜣ meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/3

qne "strong one," probably in the expression *qne tp ḥ.t*, "lion water-spouts." B02, 3/11; L01, 2/5

qny vb. "to be strong." B01, 2/11; L01, 1/9; L01.8, x+5 (*qne*?)

qny "strong one." B01, 2/13 (*kny*); C04.4, 2/x+4; L01, 1/12 (*qnw*); L01.8, x+4 (*qnw*); L01.8, x+5 (? *qnw*)

qnw "injury." C04.4, 2/x+7; L01.8, x+8 (*gn*)

qnw "lap," "breast." B14.2, 11 (?)

qns "pain," "difficulty." B02, 5/7; B04, 6/23 (adj. vb. *nꜣ.w-qns*); B04, 8/17 (adj. vb. *nꜣ.w-qns*); B06, 1/1 (adj. vb. *nꜣ.w-qns*); B07, 6; C02.1, 1 (?); C07.1, 3; F01, 11 (adj. vb. *nꜣ.w-qns*); F13, 6 (? *qs*); L02, 1/12 (*nꜣy-gns*); V01, 2/18

qnqn vb. "to fight." B04, 6/22; B04, 6/23 (?); C04.8, 3

qlp see *grp*

qs "bowing." C04.1, 4

qs "bones." B01, 2/16; B02, 2/13; B02, 14/1; B03, 1/16 (*ks*); B04, 5/6 (*ks*); L01, 1/15

qs see *qns*

qspw meaning uncertain. B02, 5/9 see also *gsp*

qsm vb. "to attack." C04.4, 2/x+9; L01.8, x+10 (mostly restored)

qt vb. "to sleep." L02, 2/6 (*qḏ*)

qt vb. "to build." L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; Y01.5, 3

qt "form." B04, 7/9 (*gt*)

qty in *m qty*, preposition, "like," "as." B01, 2/3; B02, 2/1; B02, 14/10; B04, 5/17; B04, 5/18; B04, 5/19; B08.3, 4; L01, 1/3; L01.5, 10/7; L01.5, 10/8; L01.5, 10/9

qty "surroundings." L01 (V.T.), x+2/2

qḏ see *qt*, "to sleep"

k second person singular masculine suffix pronoun. Passim

kꜣ "*ka*." B02, 8/3

kꜣ "bull." B06, 1/14; B14.1, 1/5; B14.1, 1/6; C02.1, 6; C04.7, 8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/9; L01 (V.T.), x+4/15; L02, 1/7; L02, 2/7; Y01.3, 5; Y01.4, 4; Y01.4, 5

ky "another." B01, 2/1; B02, 5/7; B02, 12/13; B02, 12/14; B02, 13/13; B04, 7/12; B04, 7/13; C08, 11 (*kꜣy*); L01, 3/9 see also *ky ḏ*

ky ḏ "another version." B04, 3/2; B06.4, 2/6; B14.2, 10; L01, 3/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/23

k.t "another (fem.)." B04, 7/18; B04, 8/16

kꜥy meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+2/12

kḥy "heaven." B04, 8/21

kp see *gp*

km reading uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+4/11

kny see *qny*

kny see *gnw.t*

krš vb. "to flatter." B01, 2/13 (*klš*)

klš see *krš*

ks see *qs*

kk vb. "to cook." B01, 2/18; L01, 1/17 (*kky*)

kky "darkness." This may be sometimes the title of a composition in *ꜥt-kky*. B01, 2/15 (*ꜥt-kky*); B01, 3/2; B02, 3/4; B02, 8/11; B02, 9/5 (*ꜥ-kky*); B02, 9/12 (*ꜥt-kky*); B02, 9/15; B02, 9/16 (*ꜥ-kk*); B02, 10/2; B02, 10/16; B02 fragment B (col. 14), 1 (*kky smy*); B03, 1/2 (*kky smy*); B04, 2/22; B04.2, 3/8–9 (*ꜥt-kky*); B04, 3/15 (*ꜥ-kky*); B04.2, 3/17 (*ꜥt- kky*); B04, 3/19 (*ꜥ-kky*); B04, 3/22 (with papyrus determinative?); B04, 4/12; B04, 6/1 (*ꜥ-kky*); B04, 9/13 (?); B07, 4 (*ꜥy.t-kky*); B07, 15 (*ꜥt-kky*); B07, 16; B14.1, 1/12 (*ꜥwy n kk*); C02, 1/14 (*ꜥ-kky*); C02.1, 5 (*ꜥ-kky*); C07.1,12 (*ꜥt-kky*); C07.1, 13 (*ꜥt-kky*); F01, 9 (*ꜥt-kky*); F01.1, 8 (*ꜥt-kky*); F01.1, 9 (*ꜥt-kky*); F03, 7; F04, 4; L01, 1/14; L01, 1/22; L01.2, 6/7; L01.3, 7/6 (*kꜣky*); L01.5, 9/5 (*kky smy*); L01.5, 10/14 (*ꜥ-kky*); L01 (V.T.), x+4/4; V01, 3/5 (*ꜥt-kky*); Y01.2, 1/13; Y01.2, 1/14 (*kky ꜣsm*?)

kky noun, part of the body. B01, 2/18; B02, 2/15; L01, 1/17

kṯkṯ see *ṯkṯk*

g.w reading uncertain. L02, 1/15

gꜣ meaning uncertain. B01, 2/10

gꜣ "suffering." L01 (V.T.), x+2/7

gꜣy "form." B02, 6/2; B02, 9/2 (*gy*); B02, 9/10 (*gy*); B02, 10/8 (*gy*); B02, 13/14 (*gy*); B04.1, 1/6; B04, 3/6; B04, 3/14; B04, 6/22; B04, 7/9; B04, 8/9; B07, 21; B08, 10; B11, 1/4; C07.1, 16 (*gꜣy*); C07.1, 18 (*gy*); F01, 15; F03, 3; L01, 3/20; L02, 1/3 (*qꜣe*); L02, 1/16 (*qꜣy*)

gꜣy meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/11

gy see *gʿy*
gy[...] reading uncertain. V04, 9
gʿ meaning uncertain, "be silent (?)." V01, 2/10
gw[...] reading and meaning uncertain. The parallels have *kk*, "darkness." L01.2, 6/10
gw meaning uncertain. C09, 2/20
gwtn "binding." B04, 9/16
gb vb. "to become weak." B04, 6/15 (? *gby*)
gby "heaven." B02, 9/3; B04, 3/6
gp "sole." B02, 3/12; B05, 1/2 (*kp*); L01, 2/6 (*kp*)
gm vb. "to find," "to discover," "to learn." B01, 3/8; B02, 3/12; B02, 3/15; B02, 4/11; B02, 9/10; B03.10, 13; B04, 6/18; B04, 7/19; B04, 7/21; B04, 8/8; B04, 8/21; B09.1, 4; B13, 5; L01, 2/6; L01, 2/9; L01, 2/21; L01.6, 4
gmḥy "wick." B01, 2/20; B02, 3/1; L01, 1/19
gmḥs "falcon image." L01 (V.T.), x+3/17
gmgm vb. "to seek," "to search." B01, 2/21; B02, 3/2; L01, 1/20
gmgm vb. "to break." F01, 1 (?)
gn see *qnw*, "injury"
gnw.t "annals." B02, 3/13 (*kny*); L01, 2/7 (*kny*)
gnm vb. "to be mysterious." B04, 7/11
gns see *qns*
gr... see *grg*, "foundation"
gr[...] interpretation uncertain; perhaps error for *pry*, "who." L02, 1/1; L02, 1/11 (*gr*...); L02, 2/5 see also *pry*
grp vb. "to reveal." B01, 2/7; B02, 7/13; B02, 9/3; B02, 10/7; B02, 12/6; B03.4, 2; B04, 2/9; B04.2, 3/7; B04, 4/4; B04, 7/4; B04, 7/9; B04, 8/2; B06, 2/21; B08, 10; B09, 11; C02.1, 7; C04.1, 1; L01, 1/6 (*qlp*); L01, 4/23 (*glp*); L01.3, 7/20; V04, 15 (*glp*); V04, 23 (?)
grḥ "night." B01, 3/7; B02, 3/10; L01, 2/4
grg vb. "to supply," "to settle," "to equip." B01, 2/4; B04, 6/11; B04, 7/16; B06, 1/8; C04.9, 1; C06.1, 2; C06.3, 5 (restored); C09, 2/10; C09, 2/17; F01, 17 (*glg*); F12, 13; F12, 19; F13, 7; L02, 2/1; V01, 1/16 (*glg*); V01, 2/12; V01, 3/12; V01, 3/17 (twice); V01, 3/18; V04, 13 (?)
grg "foundation." B07, 6 (? written *gr*...); F01.6, 2 (?)
grg vb. "to hunt." B02, 11/1; B04, 6/10; C04.1, 9 (?); C04.1, 10 (twice?); F13, 13 (?); F13, 24; F13, 25; L01.3, 7/7; V01, 4/12; V04, 6 (?) see also *glg*
gl[...] reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+1/4
glʾ vb. "to be at rest (?)." L01, 1/9
glp see *grp*
glg vb. "to hunt" or noun "hunter." C04.1, 12; C09, 2/27 (?); F07.4, 2 (?); F13, 25; V04, 4; V04, 11 see also *grg*
glg.t "huntress." C04.1,12 (?); F10, 3; F13, 25 (?); V04, 22
glg.t reading and meaning uncertain. B06, 1/14; L02, 2/7 (?)
glg see *grg*
gs "half." B02, 5/8; L01, 3/9 (?); L01, 3/10
gs in the compound preposition *n-gs* or *r-gs*, "beside." B01, 2/2; B02, 8/2; B08.3, 3; L01, 1/2 (written *gsf*)
gs vb. "to incline (to)." B01, 2/8
gs reading and meaning uncertain. B06, 1/8
gs reading and meaning uncertain. B08, 3 (perhaps *gst*, "palette")
gs-pr "temple." C04.4, 2/x+14 (?)
gsp meaning uncertain. L01, 3/11 see also *qspw*
gsp see *sgp*

gsf see *gs*, "beside"
gsgs vb. "to order." B02, 8/15
gsgs vb. "to overflow." B02, 9/4; B04, 3/7
gsgs vb. "to dance." L01 (V.T.), x+2/5
gst "palette." B02, 5/6; C04.8, 8; C04.8, 11; C04.8, 12; F12, 3; F12, 4; L01, 3/8; V01, 3/3; V04, 5
gšp vb. "to look." C02.1, 9 (?)
gt see *qt*, "form"
gtgt "quick(ly)." B02, 6/1; B05, 2/6 see also *tktk* and *ṯktk*

tʾ "land," "earth." B01, 1/11 (*tʾ ỉt.w*); B02, 1/7 (*tʾ ỉt.w*); B02, 6/3; B02, 8/15; B02, 8/16; B02, 9/3; B02, 9/9 (*tʾ ỉt*); B02, 10/10 (*tʾ ỉt*); B04, 3/4; B04, 3/7; B04, 3/13 (*tʾ ỉt*); B04, 7/13; B06, 2/8; C02, 1/10; C02.3, 3; F01.2, 2; L01, 3/21; L01.5, 10/7 (*tʾ ỉt*); L01.5, 10/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; Y01.2, 1/3
tʾ.wy "two lands." B04, 7/15 (?); B04, 8/10; C02.1, 11; L01.3, 7/24 (? or *twʾ*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/12
tʾ "hieroglyphic sign," "form." B02, 10/3; B02, 10/7 (*twʾ*); L01, 1/9; L01.2, 6/20 (*tʾy*)
tʾ "bread." B06, 1/2 (*tʿy*); C04.4, 2/x+23 (*tʿy*)
tʾ see also *tỉ.t*
tʾy see *tʾ*, "hieroglyphic sign"
tʾmy vb. "to touch." B04.1, 1/8; L01, 3/21 see also *tʿmy*
tỉ.t vb. "to give," "to place." Passim, but note the possible unusual writing in B05, 1/16 (*tʾ*)
tỉ=y uncertain meaning. B06, 1/1
ty "fighting." B02, 6/11; L01, 4/5
ty "praise (?)." B06, 2/16 (?)
ty "here." L02, 1/8
tyq see *tk*, "torch"
tʿ "time." C04.4, 1/9; L01.10, ca. 1/13
tʿy meaning uncertain; perhaps spelling of "bread," using the writing of *tʾ.wy*, "two lands." C08, 5
tʿy see *tʾ*, "bread"
tʿmy vb. "to touch," "to sail." B14.2, 7; F12, 2; V01, 3/2; Y01.5, 14 see also *tʾmy*
tw- s particle, "behold!" B03, 2/2 (*tw=y s*); L01, 4/1 (*twy-s*); L01.5, 10/1 (*tw=y s*?); L01.5, 10/2 (?)
tw "mountain." B01, 1/7; B02, 1/2
twʾ vb. "to praise." B01, 3/5; B01, 3/14; B02, 3/8; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/4; B02, 8/1 (*tw-ntr*); B02, 8/5 (*tw-ntr*); B02, 9/15; B02, 13/12; B04, 2/16; B04.2, 3/18; B05, 1/7; B05, 1/8; L01, 2/2; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/14; L01, 2/15; L01.4, 8/13; L01 (V.T.), x+1/23
twʾ "praise." B01, 1/16; B01, 3/10; B02, 1/12; B02, 3/14; B02, 3/15; B02, 4/5; B02, 5/16; B02, 8/14; B02, 10/3; B02, 11/6; B03, 1/1; B05, 1/3; B05, 1/4; B05, 1/9; L01, 2/8; L01, 2/9; L01, 2/15; L01, 3/18; L01.5, 9/4; L01.5, 10/7; V01, 3/16; V03.1, 4 (?)
tw-ntr "praise." C04.8, 15
twʾ "form." B02, 10/7 see also *tʾ*
twʾ reading and meaning uncertain. C04.4, 2/x+9
twy "bread." B01, 1/13 see also *tʾ* and *tʿy*
twʿy vb. "to honor." B02, 8/8; B04, 2/19
twn vb. "to raise." B02, 8/7; B02, 9/7; B03.12, 5; B04, 2/18; B04, 3/10; B04, 6/5; C04.4, 2/x+27; L01.5, 10/19; V01, 1/19

twn in *m twn* as a possible writing of *m ṯ wnw.t*, "in the moment," "when." B01, 2/21; B02, 3/2

twn in the compound phrase *m twn*, "indeed," "truly." B02, 10/9 (?); L01.2, 6/22 (or *mtwn*, "arena"?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 (*mtwnw*?)

twn see also *mtwn*, "arena"

twt meaning uncertain. V01, 1/1

twt vb. "to collect." B01, 1/18; B01, 2/2; B02, 1/16; B08.3, 3; C08, 10; F09, 4; L01, 1/2

twt "statue," "image," "likeness," "form." B02, 7/15; B04, 2/4; C04.4, 1/8; L01, 4/17

twtw vb. "to be like." B02, 8/10

twtw meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+2/10 (?)

tḥꜣ see *tḥꜥ*

tḫy vb. "to be equipped." B02, 3/4

tḫy "container." B06, 1/9; B06, 1/10; C01, 8; F01, 18; L02, 2/2

tḥꜥ "finger." B02, 3/11; B02, 5/5; B02, 5/13; B02, 5/14; B02, 5/15; B02, 10/5; B04.1, 1/3; B04, 6/4; B05, 1/1; B05, 1/22; B05, 2/4; C02, 1/17; L01, 2/5; L01, 3/7; L01, 3/15; L01, 3/16; L01, 3/17 (twice); L01.2, 6/17; L01.5, 10/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/11 (*tḫꜣ*); L01 (V.T.), x+4/5; V01, 3/11

tbl "divine shrine." B03, 1/12; L01.5, 9/15

tbty "ceremony," "ritual." B07, 11; F01.1, 4

tp[...] reading and meaning uncertain. B09, 6

ṯp meaning uncertain. V01, 3/18

tp "upon." B01, 3/8; B02, 3/11; B04, 7/13; B06, 1/4; F01, 13; F11, 6; L01, 2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L02, 1/14; V01, 2/13; Y01.5, 2 see also *ṯp*

tp "top" in *ḥr tp*. C04.8, 10; C04.9, 2; F12, 2

tp "top." B06, 1/13

tp "head." C04.7, 6

tp ꜣt compound preposition, "upon." V01, 3/19 see also *wpy-tp-ꜣt=f* in 2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

tp-mnṯ=f writing of *tp m wnw.t=f*, "one who is in his hour." B01, 2/9; B02, 2/5; B08.3, 8 ([...]*mꜣnṯ*...); L01, 1/7

tp-n-ỉꜣw.t "animal." B01, 1/7; B02, 1/2; C04.1, 8; C04.2, 10

tp-rꜣ "statement." B01, 2/8; B07, 5; C07.1, 2; L01, 1/7 see also *tpy.t*

tp-rnp.t "New Year," "beginning of the year." B02, 4/4; L01, 2/14

tp-rt "ritual," "regulation." B04, 8/13; B04, 8/22; B07, 4 (partly restored); C04.4, 2/x+11; Y02, 5

tp[...] reading and meaning uncertain. B09, 6

tp "hippopotamus." C02.3, 1; L01 (V.T.), x+1/3

tpy vb. "to taste," "to experience." B02, 5/5; B07, 10; L01, 3/7

tpy "taste." B07, 10; C07.1, 7; F01.1, 3; L01.5, 10/5; L01.5, 10/13; L01 (V.T.), x+4/10

tpy.t "utterance." B06, 2/6 (in the phrase *wꜥ.t tpy.t m rꜣ*) see also *tp-rꜣ*

tpn "limbs (?)." B04, 5/10 (in the phrase *tpn nꜣ ꜥe.w*); L01.5, 10/1 (spelled *ḫpn*?; in the phrase *ḫpn.w nꜣ ꜥ.w*) see also the following entry, *tpn*

tpn "best of (?)." C02, 1/13 (or *ḫpn*?); L01.5, 10/13 (or *ḫpn*?) see also the previous entry, *tpn*

tphy.t "hole," "cavern." B07, 21; C02.1, 10; C04.11, 5; C07.1, 18; L02, 1/3 (*dpḥ.t*)

tfw "sustenance." B02, 7/13 (or "spit?"); L01, 4/23 (or "spit?")

tm negative verb. B01, 3/18; B02, 4/9; B02, 6/1; B02, 6/9; B02, 6/11 (twice); B02, 6/14; B03, 1/5 (or *šm*?); B05, 1/12; B05, 2/16; B05, 2/19; B07, 8; C04.1, 6 (twice); L01, 2/19; L01, 3/19 (vetitive use); L01, 4/3 (vetitive use); L01, 4/5 (vetitive use); L01, 4/8 (vetitive use); L01, 4/13 (vetitive use?); L01.5, 9/8 (or *šm*?); V01, 4/13

tm vb. "to close." C02.1, 6

tm vb. "to pronounce." B02, 8/11; B02, 8/15; B02, 9/15 (?)

tmt vb. "to be complete," "to close." B04, 8/9; B04, 8/22; B06.4, 2/2

tmt "total." L01 (V.T.), x+3/18

tn meaning uncertain, vb. "to count (?)." B01, 3/21 (*tny*); B02, 4/14; L01, 2/24 (?)

tn second person plural suffix pronoun. L02, 1/5

tn meaning uncertain, "wave," "difficult passage (?)." B01, 3/21; B02, 4/14

tn reading and meaning uncertain. B03.4, 1

tny "portion." B02, 5/1; B02, 5/16; B04.1, 1/4 (?); B05, 1/18; L01, 3/3; L01, 3/18 (?)

tny in *Pṯḥ-tny*. B02, 5/8; L01, 3/10

tny vb. "to raise." B01, 1/4 (?); B01, 1/15; B02, 1/11; B04, 4/7; C08, 7; C09, 2/4 (?); F12, 9; L01.2, 6/24 (?)

tny see also *tn*

tny reading and meaning uncertain. B09.1, 3

tnḫ "wing." B02, 8/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17

tns vb. "to be heavy," or *tn=s*, from "raise up." B02, 3/3 (written *tn=s*); L01, 1/21

tr "entire." B02, 4/15 (?); C04.3, 6; L01, 3/1 (?); L01, 4/9

tr.t "hand." B01, 3/3; B02, 3/5; B02, 3/12; B02, 5/4; B02, 5/12; B02, 5/15; B02, 6/8; B02, 8/7; B02, 9/7; B03, 1/5; B03.5, 2; B04.1, 1/1; B04, 2/18; B04, 3/10; B04, 7/20 (*r tr.t*?); B04, 8/6; B05, 1/2; B06, 2/5 (*nꜣe=w tr.t*, perhaps the preposition "before"); B06.4, 2/3; B08, 12; B12, 2
C04.4, 1/2; C04.4, 2/x+21; C04.4, 2/x+25; C04.11, 2
F01, 2
L01, 1/23; L01, 2/6; L01, 3/6; L01, 3/9; L01, 3/14 (?); L01, 3/17; L01, 4/2; L01 (V.T.), x+1/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/15; L01.9, 4
V01, 3/15; V01, 3/24

tr.t in *n-tr.t* as the conjunction "since." B04, 8/19 (written *in mtw*); C04.7, 6; C04.7, 7; C04.7, 8; C04.7, 9; L01.6, 12 (written *in mtw*); Y01.3, 3; Y01.3, 4; Y01.3, 5; Y01.3, 6

tr.t in the compound preposition *ỉ-ỉr tr.t*, "by," "near." B04, 7/20 (*r tr.t*?); B06, 2/5 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1

try.t "(ship's)- hand," for *tꜣ rꜣy.t*(= *tꜣ nꜣy.t*), "mooring post (?)." B02, 3/5

trꜣ.t "kite." L01 (V.T.), x+1/12

trf "hieroglyphic sign." B04, 6/3; L01.5, 10/17

trm vb. "to hasten." B02, 4/13 (?); B03.10, 15; B05, 1/15 (*tlm*); L01, 2/23

trty "scribal palette." B02, 8/15

tl meaning uncertain. B12, 6 see also the following *tl*

tl "strength (?)"; possibly identical with the preceding. F03, 2; B14.1, 1/6

tlm see *trm*

thm vb. "to summon," "to invite," "to enter." B04, 6/21; B07, 21; L01 (V.T.), x+4/10

tḥ "skin." B04, 6/9 (*tḥꜣ*); L01.5, 10/23 (twice?)

tḥ "hay." L01 (V.T.), x+3/9

tḥꜣ meaning uncertain. Y02, 3

tḥny "faience." B02, 11/4; L01.3, 7/10

tḥs vb. "to anoint." B06, 1/2; F01, 12; L02, 1/13

tḫy vb. "to be drunk." B06, 1/2; C04.1, 6; F01, 12; L02, 1/13 (*dḫ*)

tḫb vb. "to moisten." B04, 7/5

tsl "splendid," "sacred." C04.1, 6; V04, 18

tš vb. "to command," "to assign," "to determine." B02, 5/3; B04, 8/8; B08, 7; C02.3, 6; L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/12

tš "district." B04, 8/7

tšy adj. "red." C02.3, 1; L01 (V.T.), x+1/3 see also *tšl*

tšps "*tšps*-oil." B01, 2/20 (?); B02, 3/1
tšl "red." L01, 3/5 see also *tšy*
tšly "Red Crown." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9
tq see *tk*, "torch"
tk "torch." B01, 2/16; B02, 2/12 (*tq*); B06, 1/8 (*tq*); F01, 17 (*tq*); L01, 1/14 (*tyq*)
tk "fruit." B02, 5/10; L01, 3/12 see also *tky*
tk meaning uncertain. B12, 3
tky vb. meaning uncertain, "to look (at)" or "to hurry." B02, 8/14; B02, 8/15; B04.2, 3/2; B04.2, 3/3; L01 (V.T.), x+4/14 (or *tk*, "fruit?")
tkn vb. "to approach." B02, 6/1; B04.1, 1/5; F13, 14 (?); L01, 3/19
tkr "quick(ly)." B01, 3/19 (*tkl*); B02, 4/3; B02, 4/11; B02, 6/1; B04.1, 1/5; B05, 1/8; B05, 1/13; L01, 2/13 (*tkl*); L01, 2/21 (*tkl*); L01, 3/19 (*tkl*)
tkl see *tkr*
tks type of boat. B04, 8/3
tktk "quick." L01, 3/19 see also *gtgt* and *ṯkṯk*
tty.t "nurse (?)." V01, 3/8 see also *ỉtty.t*
tty name of a book, "(Book of the) Djed-Pillar (?)." B02, 3/13; L01, 2/7
tty "fruit (?)." B01, 1/4; C04.2, 7

dpḥ.t see *tpḥy.t*
dḏ see *tḏ*

ṯ first person singular common dependent pronoun. B02, 7/7 (twice); B02, 7/13; B02, 8/7; B02, 8/9; B02, 8/12; B02, 9/4 (twice); B02, 9/16; B03, 2/17 (?); B03.11, 4; B04, 2/4; B04, 2/18; B04, 2/23; B04, 3/7; B04.2, 3/19; B04, 5/8 (?); B08, 7; C04.1, 12; C04.10, 3; L01, 4/17 (twice); L01.5, 10/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/8 (reading uncertain <*ṯ*>*y*?); L01.9, 15 (?); V01, 4/14
ṯỉ meaning uncertain. B04, 6/12
ṯ=y second person singular dependent pronoun (archaic). B07, 19
ṯ=k second person singular dependent pronoun. B02, 6/8; B02, 13/16; L01, 4/2
ṯkṯk "quick(ly)." B02, 7/9 (*ṯkṯkṯ*) see also *tktk* and *gtgt*

ṯ vb. "to take." B01, 3/12; B02, 4/2; B02, 5/8; B02, 6/11; B03.11, 4; B04, 6/3; B04, 8/6; B04, 8/15; B04, 9/10 (?); B06, 2/1; F12, 1; L01, 2/12; L01, 3/10; L01, 4/5; L01.5, 10/17; L01 (V.T.), x+4/11 (?); L01.6, 2; V01, 3/1
ṯ-ʿwy vb. "to deliberate." B04, 8/21; V02, 1/7; Y01.5, 3 (?)
ṯ-ʿwy "leader." B01, 1/1 (?)
ṯ vb. "to cross." L01.5, 10/10; L01.5, 10/11; L01.5, 10/12
ṯ-yʿr vb. "to cross the river." B03, 2/11; L01.5, 10/11; Y01.5, 14 (*ṯ-yʿl*)
ṯ-myt vb. "to lead the way." B01, 1/5; B01, 1/7; B02, 1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/21
ṯ-rỉ "ink-holder (?)." B02, 5/14; L01, 3/16
ṯ-wnw.t "(specific) hour." Y01.1, 1
ṯ meaning uncertain. B01, 1/13
ṯỉw see *ḫt-ṯỉw*
ṯs reading and meaning uncertain. B01, 1/9
ṯsy vb. "to raise," "to enlist." B01, 2/3 (?); B01, 2/12; B06.3, 3; B06.3, 4; B08, 5; L01, 1/11; Y01.5, 12
ṯsy reading and meaning uncertain. V04, 8
ṯsy "sand-bank." L01 (V.T.), x+1/1

ḏ vb. "to say."
B01, 1/1; B01, 1/13 (?); B01, 3/11; B01, 3/12; B02, 2/2; B01, 2/4; B01, 2/5; B02, 3/16; B02, 4/1; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/12; B02, 4/13; B02, 5/12 (twice); B02, 5/13; B02, 6/2; B02, 6/3 (three times); B02, 6/4; B02, 6/8; B02, 7/4 (restored); B02, 9/5; B02, 9/13; B02, 9/15; B02, 10/2; B02, 11/2; B02, 12/2; B02, 12/4; B02, 12/5; B02, 12/8; B02, 12/10; B02, 12/11; B02, 13/8; B02, 13/9; B02, 13/10; B02, 13/11; B02, 13/12; B02, 13/13 (restored); B02, 13/14; B03, 1/1; B03, 2/3; B03, 2/4; B03, 2/5; B03, 2/6; B03, 2/10; B03, 2/13; B03, 2/14 (restored); B03, 2/16; B03.9, 2; B04, 3/8; B04, 3/16; B04, 3/18; B04.2, 3/22; B04, 4/14; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/20 (?); B04, 6/22; B04, 6/24; B04, 7/1; B04, 7/2; B04, 7/5; B04, 7/6; B04, 7/9; B04, 7/10; B04, 7/17; B04, 8/18; B04, 8/20; B05, 2/8 (twice); B05, 2/9; B05, 2/13; B06, 1/6; B06, 1/12; B06, 1/13; B06, 1/14; B06, 1/15; B06.1, 2/7; B06, 2/19; B06.3, 6; B06.5, 10 (perhaps the compound *ḏ mt*); B06.7, 1; B07, 19; B08.1, 6 (?); B08.3, 5; B08, 7; B08, 8; B08.4, 7; B09.1, 2; B09.1, 3; B10, 5; B12, 7; B12, 8; B13, 2; B14.1, 1/5; B14.1, 1/6; B14.1, 1/7
C01, 5; C02, 2/12; C02, 2/14; C02, 2/17; C02, 2/18; C02.1, 4; C02.1, 5; C04.1, 11; C04.2, 3; C04.4, 1/6; C04.4, 2/x+20; C04.7, 7; C04.7, 8; C04.7, 9; C04.7, 12; C04.10, 3; C06.1, 1; C06.2, 3; C06.2, 5; C06.3, 4; C07.5, 6; C08, 5 (?); C09, 2/16; C09, 2/17; C09, 2/26
F01, 6; F01, 9; F01, 11; F01, 16; F01.1, 7; F01.2, 2; F05, 1; F05, 2; F07.4, 5; F10, 2; F12, 12; F12, 18; F12, 19; F14, 13; F15, 1; F15, 2
L01, 1/4; L01, 2/10; L01, 2/11; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/22; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/5 (*ky ḏ*); L01, 3/6; L01, 3/14 (twice); L01, 3/15; L01, 3/20; L01, 3/21 (three times); L01, 3/22; L01, 4/2; L01, 4/14; L01.2, 6/14; L01.5, 9/4; L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/4; L01.5, 10/5; L01.5, 10/6; L01.5, 10/10; L01.5, 10/13; L01.5, 10/14; L01.5, 10/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01 (V.T.), x+1/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/22; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/24; L01 (V.T.), x+4/12; L01 (V.T.), x+4/20; L01.7, 5; L01.9, 14 (?); L01.9, 16; L02, 2/9
V01, 3/11; V01, 3/15; V01, 3/16; V01, 3/17; V01, 3/19; V01, 4/15; V02, 1/4; V03.1, 5
Y01.3, 4; Y01.3, 5; Y01.3, 6; Y01.3, 9; Y01.3, 10; Y01.4, 4; Y01.4, 5; Y01.4, 6
imperative: *ḏ-ḏ* B02, 6/12; L01, 4/6 (?)
see also *ky ḏ*

ḏ "saying," "meaning." B02, 5/4; C04.4, 2/x+12; F03, 5; F11, 7; L01, 3/6
ḏ vb. "to sing." B02, 9/10; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16 (?)
ḏ.t "eternity." B01, 2/16; B02, 7/14
ḏỉby see *ḏbʿy*
ḏỉly see *ḏr*, "to be strong"
ḏỉḏỉ in the compound *ḥr ḏỉḏỉ*, "upon the head." L01 (V.T.), x+1/9 (?)
ḏʿb vb. "to cross." L01 (V.T.), x+4/20
ḏʿby see *ḏbʿy*
ḏʿm "papyrus-roll." V01, 3/15 (or "generation")
ḏw "young." B02, 10/4; B02, 12/16; B04, 4/2; B04, 6/19; B04, 7/16; B04, 7/19; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3; L01 (V.T.), x+2/4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/6; L01 (V.T.), x+2/8; L01 (V.T.), x+2/9; L01 (V.T.), x+2/10; L01 (V.T.), x+2/11; L01 (V.T.), x+2/12; L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; L01 (V.T.), x+2/23 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/1; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8; L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; L01 (V.T.), x+3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+3/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/12; L01 (V.T.), x+3/13; L01 (V.T.), x+3/15; L01 (V.T.), x+3/16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19; V01, 3/15 (?)

ḏwf "papyrus." L01 (V.T.), x+3/9

ḏbꜣ in the compound preposition *n/r-ḏbꜣ*, "on account of." B06, 1/21; B06.1, 2/3; B06, 2/4; C02.3, 5; C04.4, 2/x+8; F12, 23; L01 (V.T.), x+1/7; L01 (V.T.), x+2/7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8 (?); L01.8, x+9; L02, 2/17 (?); V01, 3/21

ḏbꜣ "trouble," "misfortune." see under *s.t-ḏbꜣ*

ḏbꜣ reading and meaning uncertain. L01 (V.T.), x+2/21

ḏbʿy "coal." B01, 3/4; B02, 3/6; B02, 5/4; B06, 1/8 (*ḏꜣby*); C04.8, 13 (*ḏʿby*); F01, 17 (*ḏʿby*); L01, 1/24 (*ḏby*); L01, 3/6 (*ḏʿby*); L02, 2/1

ḏf vb. "to burn." B01, 2/16; B02, 2/13 (*ḏfꜣ*); L01, 1/15

ḏm "troop," "generation." B01, 2/12; B02, 7/12; L01, 1/11

ḏmḏm reading and meaning uncertain. L01, 1/10

ḏnt "test." B03, 2/6; L01.5, 10/6

ḏr vb. "to be strong." C04.8, 14 (*ḏꜣly*)

ḏr "boundary." B02, 9/5 (?); B04, 3/9 (*ḏl*)

ḏrꜣ "strength. C04.4, 1/8

ḏryḥ see *ḏlḥ*

ḏl meaning uncertain ("strength?"). F01.5, 2

ḏl see *ḏr*, "boundary"

ḏl reading uncertain. C04.8, 6

ḏlʿḥ see *ḏlḥ*

ḏlḥ "humble." B02, 4/8 (*ḏryḥ-ḥr*); B05, 1/11 (*ḏlʿḥ-ḥr*); L01, 2/18 (*ḏlḥ-ḥr*)

ḏsm "dog." B02, 10/9; B02, 11/2

ḏtf "reptile." B04, 6/18; B06.2, 2/21 (*ḏtfy*); L02, 1/15 (*ḏdfy*)

ḏtf vb. "to cover," "to overflow." C02.3, 3; C02.3, 4; C04.4, 2/x+4 (?); C04.4, 2/x+5; C04.4, 2/x+8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5; L01 (V.T.), x+1/6; L01.8, x+9

ḏtm "heap." B02, 9/17; B04, 3/20

ḏḏy "enemy." B04, 8/11

2. Divine Names and Selected Epithets

iy-m-ḥtp "Imhotep." B02, 8/1; B04, 2/13

ir divine name. B02, 5/6; L01, 3/8

istn epithet of Thoth. B01, 1/16; B02, 1/12; B02, 8/4; B02, 9/1 (*ꜣstn*); B04, 3/5; V01, 3/16

ists epithet of Thoth. B07, 14; C07.1, 11 (*ꜣsṯs*); F01.1, 7 (*iw=s-ts*)

ʿm-ḫ.t probable epithet of Thoth. B01, 2/7; B02, 2/4; B08.3, 7; L01, 1/6 (*im-ḫ.t*)

ʿm-slꜣ probable epithet of Thoth, "He-who-understands-prophecy." B02, 14/5; L01.5, 10/3

ʿm-tꜣ.wy "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands" (epithet of Thoth). B02, 4/16; B02, 14/5; C02, 1/4; C02.1, 10; L01, 3/2 (*ʿm-tꜣ.w*); L01.5, 10/3; Y01.3, 8

wpy=f rꜣ=f epithet or title (?), "He-opened-his-mouth." C09, 2/12; V01, 3/13; V01, 3/20 (?; just *wpy rꜣ* written)

wpy-tp-ꜣt=f epithet, "He-has-judged, namely, the-one-who-is-upon-his-back." B02, 11/11; B02, 12/2; B02, 12/4; B02, 12/7; B02, 12/10; B02, 13/8; B02, 13/10; B02, 13/12; B02, 13/14; B03, 2/3; B03, 2/5; B03, 2/14; B03.9, 1; B03.9, 3; B03.9, 6; B04, 4/25; B04, 5/14; B04, 6/22; B04, 7/1; B04, 7/5; B04, 7/8–9; C02, 2/12; C02, 2/14; C02, 2/17; C03, 2; C04.5, 2; C04.5, 4; C06.2, 5; L01.3, 7/17; L01.4, 8/7; L01.4, 8/9; L01.4, 8/12; L01.4, 8/15; L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/5; L01.5, 10/14; L01 (V.T.), x+1/22; L01 (V.T.), x+4/12 (?); L01.9, 14

wr in the epithet of Thoth, *pꜣ wr* 5, "the Great of Five." B02, 5/14; L01, 2/9 (*wr* 5); L01, 3/16

Wsir-nꜣ(.w)-nfr-ḥtp "Osiris-Naneferhotep." B02, 8/1; B04, 2/13 (partly restored); B07, 2

bꜣḥy "overflowing one (?)," as epithet of Thoth (?). B02, 4/12

Ptḥ "Ptah." B02, 5/8 (*Ptḥ-tny*); B02, 8/1; L01, 3/10 (*Ptḥ-tny*)

Mw.t "Mut." B02, 3/9; C02.1, 12 (?); C04.4, 2/x+6 (twice; once restored); C04.4, 2/x+10; L01, 2/3; L01.8, x+11

mr-spḫl.w divine epithet (?), "She-who-loves-enchantment." B04, 5/19; C02, 1/9 (*mr n spḫl.w*); L01.5, 10/9

N.t "Neith." B04, 8/11

Nw.t V02, 1/5 (written *Nwny.t*)

Nwny.t divine name; possibly for *Nw.t*, "Nut," and not "Naunet." B04, 8/23 (*nwny*); B11, 1/16 (*nwn*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/5 (?); V02, 1/5 (*Nwny.t*)

Rʿ "Re." B01, 1/10 (?); B01, 1/14; B01, 2/4; B02, 1/6; B02, 5/12 (restored); B02, 8/4; B02, 9/14; B02, 10/2; B02, 10/4 (*bꜣ.w-Rʿ*); B04, 2/16; B04.2, 3/18; B04, 3/22; B05, 2/2; B14.1, 1/12 (?); B14.2, 4 (*bꜣ-n-Rʿ*?); C08, 6; L01, 3/14; L01.3, 7/19 (*ỉp Rʿ*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/14; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18 (*pꜣ-Rʿ*)

Ḥr "Horus." L01, 1/11 see also *Smn-Ḥr* in 3. Toponyms

Ḥr-Bḥtt "Horus-Behdetite." L01 (V.T.), x+2/17

ḥs-ib "praised-of-heart" (probably an epithet of Thoth). B02, 14/10; C02, 1/8; L01.5, 10/8

Ḥsr(.t) "The-one-of-Heseret." DN or epithet. B01, 1/13 (*Ḥsry*); B01, 3/12; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/13; B02, 5/13; B02, 6/3; B02, 6/8; B02, 9/8; B02, 10/2; B03, 2/9; B03, 2/10; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/23; L01, 4/2; L01.5, 10/10; V04, 26

Ḥs-rḫ "The-one-who-praises-knowledge," as epithet of Thoth (?). B01, 1/1; B01, 3/12; B04.1, 1/7; B04, 3/11; B04.2, 3/22; B06, 1/12; B06, 1/14; B06, 1/15; B08, 8; B12, 8; B13, 2; C04.2, 3; C04.7, 12; F01, 6 (restored); F01, 11; F07.1, 2; F10, 9; F15, 2; L01, 3/15; L01, 3/21; Y01.3, 9; Y01.3, 11

Ḫnm "Khnum." L01.9, 18

Ḫnm.w "Khnums," "builder gods." L02, 2/12

Slk.t "Selket." C02.1, 12

Sḫf-ʿb.w "Sefekhabwy." B07, 4

sḫ=s "The-striker." B02, 3/9; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/4 (*tꜣ sḫ=s*); L01, 2/14

Šꜣy "Shai (= 'Seshat')," literally, "She-who-has-initiated." B02, 8/12; B02, 9/6; B02, 9/17; B02, 14/6 (?); B04.2, 3/10; B04.2, 3/20 (*Šʿ[...]*); B04, 8/14 (*Šʿy*); B07, 3; B07, 17; C04.1, 7; C04.8, 9; C04.11, 4; C07.1, 14 (*ḥꜣy*); F01.1, 10; F12, 1; L01.2, 6/12 (*Šʿy*); L01.5, 10/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19

Šw "Shu." B04, 6/3; C02, 1/16; C04.4, 1/2; C04.4, 2/x+7; F11, 2; L01.5, 10/16

Šntꜣ.t "Shentait." L01.5, 10/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19

Tꜣ name or epithet of Thoth. B02, 8/14; B04, 3/2

Ḏḥwty "Thoth." B02, 3/15; B02, 5/14; B02, 6/8; B02, 9/1; B04, 3/5 (damaged); B04, 3/6; B05, 1/4; L01, 3/16; L01, 4/2

3. Toponyms

iw-n-imn	"Tell el-Balamun." L01 (V.T.), x+3/14 (possible reconstruction)
iwn-Mnt	"Armant." L01 (V.T.), x+2/3 (restored)
iwn.t	"Dendera." L01 (V.T.), x+2/5 (restored)
iwny.t	"Esna." L01 (V.T.), x+2/2 (restored)
iwnw	"Heliopolis." L01 (V.T.), x+3/10
ibt	"Abydos." L01 (V.T.), x+2/7
Ybw	"Elephantine." L01 (V.T.), x+1/24
w'b'b	"Wabab." L01 (V.T.), x+2/18
P	"Pe," designation of sacred precinct in Buto. B04, 8/22
Pr-imȝ.t	"Kom el-Hisn." L01 (V.T.), x+2/24
Pr-itm	"Pithom." L01 (V.T.), x+3/5 (restored)
Pr-Wsir	"Busiris." L01 (V.T.), x+3/6
Pr-wt	"Kom Ishqaw." L01 (V.T.), x+2/9
Pr-Bȝ-nb-Ḏd.t	"Mendes." L01 (V.T.), x+3/13
Pr-Bȝst.t	"Bubastis." L01 (V.T.), x+3/15 (restored)
Pr-nb-tp-iḥ.t	"Atfih." L01 (V.T.), x+2/21
Pr-Nmty (?)	"Atawala." L01 (V.T.), x+2/11
Pr-Ḥry-šf-nb-Nn-nswt	"Herakleopolis Parva." L01 (V.T.), x+3/11 (restored)
Pr-Spt	"Persopdu." L01 (V.T.), x+3/17
Pr-Ḏḥwty-wp-rḥ.wy	"Hermopolis Parva/ Baqliya (?)." L01 (V.T.), x+3/12
Mn-nfr	"Memphis." L01 (V.T.), x+2/22
Nȝy-tȝ-ḥ.t	"Nathu." L01 (V.T.), x+3/8
Ḥ-nn-nswt	"Herakleopolis." L01 (V.T.), x+2/19
Ḥ.t-sḫm	"Hu." L01 (V.T.), x+2/6
Ḥ.t-tȝ-ḥry-ib.t	"Athribis." L01 (V.T.), x+3/7
Ḥbnw	"Hebenu." L01 (V.T.), x+2/15
Ḥȝsw	"Xois." L01 (V.T.), x+3/3 (restored)
Ḥmnw	"Hermopolis." L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; V01, 2/8
Ḥnty-Mn	"Akhmim." L01 (V.T.), x+2/8
Sȝ-kȝ	"Sako." L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19
Sȝw	"Sais." L01 (V.T.), x+3/2 (restored)
Smȝ-Bḥt.t	"Semabehdet." L01 (V.T.), x+3/14 (possible restoration)
Smn-Ḥr	"Akanthon." L01 (V.T.), x+2/20
Sšm	"Letopolis." L01 (V.T.), x+2/23
Šȝs-ḥtp	"Hypselis." L01 (V.T.), x+2/10
Qbṯ	"Coptos." L01 (V.T.), x+2/4
Qs	"Qusae." L01 (V.T.), x+2/13
Tȝ-imy.t	designation of Buto? B04, 8/21
ṯb-ntr	"Sebennytos." L01 (V.T.), x+3/9 (restored)
Tbȝ	"Edfu." L01 (V.T.), x+2/1 (restored)
Tp-wḏȝ	designation of Buto or precinct thereof? B04, 8/24
Ḏ'n.t	"Tanis." L01 (V.T.), x+3/16 (restored)

4. Grammatical Items

First Present

tw=y/ tỉ=y	B02, 5/7; B02, 8/6; B03, 2/2; B04, 2/17; B04, 6/21(twice?); C06.1, 1(mostly restored); C09, 2/16; F01, 10; F10, 8 (?); F12, 18; L01, 3/9; L01.1, 5/8; V01, 3/16
iw=f	B14.1, 1/2 (?); Y01.5, 1 (?); Y01.5, 12 (?)
iw=s	B04, 7/18; B04, 8/1 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/21; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9
st	B02, 5/4; B04, 7/11; B04, 8/16; B04, 8/24 (?); L01, 3/6; V01, 1/2 (?); V01, 2/9 (?); V03.2, 3 (with future sense? Reading uncertain)

Present Circumstantial

iw=y	B02, 7/6 (twice); B02, 7/7; B02, 7/10; B02, 7/11; B02, 7/14; B02, 8/11 (or future); B03, 2/2 (twice); B04, 2/3; B04.2, 2/10; B04, 2/22 (or future); B04, 5/11 (?); B04, 6/4 (twice); B04, 8/23; L01, 4/16 (twice); L01, 4/17; L01, 4/20; L01, 4/21; L01, 4/24; L01.5, 10/2 (three times?); L01.5, 10/18 (twice)
iw=k	B06, 1/13 (?)
iw=f	Passim
iw=s	Passim
iw=w	Passim
iw/r	plus noun subject B01, 1/12; B02, 1/8; B04, 6/9; B04, 6/19 (?); B04, 8/3 (twice); B04, 8/4 (twice); B04, 8/5; B04, 8/14; B04, 8/17 (followed by independent pronoun *mtw=w*); B04, 9/21 (?); C08, 4; F03, 5 (?); L01.5, 10/23; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/8; L01 (V.T.), x+2/9; L01 (V.T.), x+2/11 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+2/12 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; L01.6, 11; L02, 1/6

Circumstantial of Negative Existence or Possession

iw bn-iw mtw=w	B06.3, 5
r bn-iw mtw=w	B08, 6
r bn-iw	L01, 3/10; L01, 4/9 (?)

Present Relative

nt iw=w	B01, 1/14 (?); B01, 1/18 (or future?); B02, 13/11; C08, 6 (*mtw=w = nt iw=w*?); C04.9, 7 (*mtw=w*); V01, 3/23

Circumstantial Converter preceding Past *sḏm=f*

B02, 9/14 (?); B14.1, 1/9 (?); Y01.4, 8 (?)

Imperfect Circumstantial

r wn-nḫ.w iw=y B02, 7/12; L01, 4/22 (*wn-nḫ.w iw=y*)

Unreal Conditional Particle or Irrealis

h-wn-nḫ.w B01, 1/8; B02, 1/4 (?); C04.2, 12

Second Tense

i-ir=y L01.3, 7/21; L02, 1/10
i-ir=k B02, 4/4; B02, 4/11; B03, 1/14; B03.10, 13; V02, 2/2 (?)
i-ir=w B01, 1/12 (?); B01, 2/1; V01, 3/14 (?)
i-ir followed by noun subject L02, 1/14

Future

iw=y B02, 7/15 (twice); B02, 7/16 (twice or three times [?]; once restored); B02, 8/1; B02, 8/2 (twice); B02, 12/11; B04, 2/11 (twice; second example damaged); B04, 2/12; B04, 2/14; B04, 7/10; B04, 8/19 (?); B06, 1/6; B06, 1/7; B06, 1/8; B06, 1/9; B06, 1/10; B06, 1/11; B06, 1/16; B06, 2/18 (twice?); C01, 5; C01, 7; C01, 8 (twice); F01, 16; F01, 17 (twice?); F01, 18; L01.1, 5/1; L01.1, 5/2; L01.1, 5/3 (restored); L01.1, 5/4; L02, 1/17; L02, 2/3; L02, 2/9

iw=k B01, 3/14 (in question *in iw iw=k* [possibly conditional]); B05, 1/8 (*in iw iw=k* [possibly conditional]); B06, 1/5; B07, 9 (conditional?); B08, 4; B08, 5 (twice); B08, 11; C01, 4 (*in ir=k*?); F01, 15 (*in iw=k rḫ*); F01.6, 5 (*in iw=k mr sḏm* [conditional?]); L01, 2/14 (*in iw=k*[conditional?]); L01, 2/21; L02, 1/7

iw=f B01, 2/21 (restored); B02, 3/1 (?); B02, 3/2 (?); B02, 11/1 (twice?); B04, 4/13 (twice?); B14.1, 1/3; V02, 1/7; Y01.4.1

iw=s B01, 2/18 (?); B02, 12/6 (?); B04, 5/24; B04, 7/3 (?); B04, 7/16; L01.5, 10/14; Y01.5, 14 (?)

iw=w B01, 2/13 (twice?); B01, 2/16; B01, 2/17 (twice; once restored); L01, 1/12; L01, 1/15; L01, 1/16

iw/r plus subject plus *r*
B01, 2/15; L01, 1/14; L01 (V.T.), x+1/18 (?)

Circumstantial Future

iw iw=k L01 (V.T.), x+1/22 (?)
iw iw=s B02, 12/16

Negative Future

bn-iw=y B06.1, 2/3
bn-iw=f B01, 2/4; B02, 2/2; B08.3, 5 (restored); L01, 1/4
bn-iw=k B04, 6/22
bn-iw with noun subject. B02, 5/7 (*bn-iw … r*); F13, 6 (?); L01, 3/9

Relative Future

nt iw=fr B01, 1/15; B02, 1/11; C08, 7; L01 (V.T.), x+1/20
nt iw=w r B01, 1/1; B01, 1/18 (or present?)

Second Tense Future

i-ir=k r B06.3, 4; B06.4, 2/5

Negative Past

bn-pw=y B04, 6/14
bn-pw=f B02, 10/9; L01, 3/7 (*pḥe=f*); L01, 3/10

Circumstantial Negative Past

r bn-pw=y B04, 6/13; B04, 6/16
r bn-pw=f B02, 5/5; B02, 5/8; B04, 8/8; B11, 1/3

Conditional

iw=y V01, 4/13 (?; negated with *tm*?)
iw=k B07, 9 (or future?); B12, 4 (?)
iw=f B02, 11/7 (or circumstantial?); B03, 1/5 (negated with *tm*? Uncertain reading); B04, 4/19; L01.3, 7/13 (?); L01.5, 9/8 (negated with *tm*? Uncertain reading)

Conjunctive

mtw=y B02, 8/10; B02, 9/6; B02, 9/7; B02, 9/8; B02, 9/9; B04, 2/21; B04, 3/9; B04, 3/10 (restored); B04, 3/11; B04, 3/12; B06, 2/8 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+4/6; V01, 2/12

mtw=k B02, 9/10; B04.2, 3/14

mtw=f B01, 3/9; B01, 3/10; B01, 3/17; B01, 3/22; B02, 3/13 (written *nt-iw=f*); B02, 3/14 (written *nt-iw=f*); B02, 3/15 (three times); B02, 4/9 (*nt-iw=f*); B02, 4/15; C09, 2/4 (twice); B05, 1/2; B05, 1/3; B05, 1/4; B05, 1/12 (partly restored); L01, 2/7; L01, 2/8; L01, 2/9 (three times); L01, 3/1

mtw=s B02, 4/7 (?); B03.10, 9; L01, 2/17

mtw before noun subject B01, 2/14; L01, 1/13

Negative Conjunctive

mtw=s tm B01, 3/18; B02, 4/9; B05, 1/12; L01, 2/19

Until-construction

šʿ-tw=y B04, 8/20; L01.6, 13 (*šʿ-tw=y*)
šʿ-tw=f variant *šʿ-mtw=f*. B01, 3/8; B02, 3/12 (*šʿ-tw=f*); L01, 2/6
šʿ-mtw + vb. B04, 6/17 (*šʿ-mtw mny=y*)
šʿ-tw + noun subject B02, 4/15; L01, 3/1 (*šʿ-mtw*)

Relative Pronoun

nt B01, 1/1; B01, 1/2 (twice); B01, 1/3 (three times); B01, 1/4 (twice); B01, 1/5; B01, 1/6; B01, 1/7 (restored); B01, 1/8; B01, 1/9 (twice); B01, 1/14 (twice); B01, 1/15; B01, 1/16; B01, 1/17; B01, 2/1 (restored); B01, 2/4; B01, 3/6
B02, 1/2; B02, 1/4; B02, 1/6; B02, 1/10; B02, 1/11; B02, 1/13; B02, 1/15; B02, 3/9; B02, 3/14; B02, 3/16; B02, 4/1; B02, 4/2; B02, 4/7; B02, 4/16; B02, 5/1; B02, 5/2; B02, 5/3 (twice); B02, 5/5; B02, 5/6; B02, 5/11 (twice); B02, 5/12; B02, 6/3 (?); B02, 6/4; B02, 6/5; B02, 6/6; B02, 8/16; B02, 9/10 (twice); B02, 9/13; B02, 9/17; B02, 11/5; B02, 11/9; B02, 11/10; B02, 14/5; B02, 14/8 (twice)
B04.1, 1/1; B04, 3/14; B04.2, 3/17; B04, 3/20; B04, 4/7; B04, 4/16; B04, 4/18; B04, 4/21; B04, 4/22; B04, 4/23; B04, 5/16; B04, 6/3; B04, 6/15; B04, 6/23; B04, 6/24; B04, 7/2; B04, 7/3; B04, 7/6; B04, 7/16; B04, 7/21; B04, 8/10; B04, 8/11 (twice; second example spelled *tw=y*?); B04, 8/12; B05, 1/21; B06, 1/3; B06, 1/14; B06, 1/18; B06, 2/9; B06, 2/14; B06, 2/16; B06.5, 7; B07, 1; B07, 4; B07, 16; B08.1, 2; B08.3, 5; B14.2, 4
C02, 1/7; C02, 1/8; C02, 1/16 (written *n tỉ*?); C02.1, 9; C02.1, 10; C02.1, 12 (twice); C04.1, 3; C04.1, 5; C04.1, 6; C04.1, 7; C04.1, 8 (written *mtw*); C04.1, 9; C04.1,12 (?); C04.1, 13; C04.2, 4; C04.2, 6; C04.2, 12; C04.4, 2/x+23; C04.7, 5; C04.9, 3; C06.3, 8; C07.5, 6; C08, 6; C08, 7; C09, 2/14
F01, 6; F01, 13; F01.2, 2; F06, 1; F09, 3; F12, 16; F13, 24; F13, 25; F14, 7
L01, 1/4; L01, 2/3; L01, 2/8; L01, 2/10; L01, 2/11; L01, 2/12; L01, 2/17 (*mtw*); L01, 3/2; L01, 3/3; L01, 3/4 (twice); L01, 3/5 (*mtw*); L01, 3/7; L01, 3/8; L01, 3/13 (twice); L01, 3/14; L01, 3/21; L01, 3/22; L01, 3/23 (restored); L01, 3/24; L01.2, 6/5; L01.3, 7/11; L01.3, 7/12; L01.3, 7/15; L01.3, 7/16; L01.3, 7/22; L01.5, 10/3; L01.5, 10/6 (twice); L01.5, 10/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/20 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+3/21; L01 (V.T.), x+3/22; L01 (V.T.), x+4/2; L01 (V.T.), x+4/9; L01 (V.T.), x+4/11 (three times, but very uncertain); L01 (V.T.), x+4/14; L01 (V.T.), x+4/15; L01 (V.T.), x+4/18; L01 (V.T.), x+4/19; L01 (V.T.), x+4/23; L01.6, 6 (spelled *tỉ=y*?)
L02, 1/10; L02, 1/14
V01, 3/14; V04, 3; V04, 15; V04, 16; V04, 17; V04, 20 (*mtw*)
Y01.3, 2

"Active" Participle

B02, 3/7 (*mḥ*); B02, 3/10 (*mḥ*); B02, 5/10 (*ỉn*); B02, 8/4 (*ʿnḫ*); L01, 2/4 (*mḥ*); L01, 3/12 (*ỉn*)

Perfect Participle

B01, 1/11 (*ỉ-ỉr tỉ.t*); B01, 2/6 (*ỉ-ỉr ḫpr*); B01, 2/14 (*ỉr*); B01, 2/21 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ỉy*); B02, 3/2 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ỉy*); B02, 5/9 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr sḫn=f*); B02, 8/7 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr qmṣ*); B02, 8/15 (*ỉ-ỉr gsgs*); B02, 8/16 (*ỉ-ỉr wpy*); B02, 10/14 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr qw...*); B02, 11/7 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ms*); B02, 12/9 (*ỉ-ỉr ỉṣw*?); B02 frag. B, 2 (*ỉ-ỉr hb=y*? = col. "14"); B03, 1/3 (*ỉr hb=y*); B03, 1/6 (*ỉ-ỉr*; twice); B04, 2/18 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉ[r qmṣ]*); B04, 3/3 (*ỉ-ỉr ...*); B04, 3/4 (*ỉ-ỉr wpy*); B04, 4/19 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ms*); B04, 6/16 (*tṣ ỉ-ỉr wtb*); B04, 7/22 (*tṣ ỉ-ỉr š*); B04, 8/1–2 (*tṣ ỉ-ỉr ms.ṯ=s*); B04, 8/15 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr tỉ.t*); B04, 8/16 (*ỉ-ỉr ỉy*); B04, 8/21(*ỉ-ỉr ṯ-ʿ.wy*); B04, 8/23 (*ỉ-ỉr ỉy*); B07, 18 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ỉn*?); B07, 19 (*pṣy ms*); B07, 20 (*pṣy ỉr sn...*); B08, 9 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ỉy*); B08.5, 2 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ms*); B09, 5 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr*); B14.2, 9 (*nṣ ỉt.w ỉ-ỉr š ms*)

C02.1, 6 (*ỉ-ỉr tm*); C04.7, 10 (*ỉ-ỉr qmṣ*); C07.1, 16 (*ỉ-ỉr ms*); C07.1, 17 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ...*)
F01, 4 (*tṣ ỉ-ỉr n[...]*; F01, 8 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ḥb*); F01.1, 11 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr ỉn*?); F11, 3 (*ỉ-ỉr ḫpr*); F13, 18 (*nṣ ỉ=ỉr rt*?); F14, 2 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr snḫ*?)
L01, 1/1 (*r ỉr slṣ*; very uncertain); L01, 1/12 (*ỉ-ỉr 1,000*); L01, 1/17 (*ỉ-ỉr kky*); L01, 3/5 (*ỉ-ỉr ỉr*); L01, 3/11 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr sḫny.ṯ=s*); L01.3, 7/4 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr... ?*); L01.5, 9/6 (*nṣ ḥb.w ṣkyl.w nṣ ỉ-ỉr ḥb=y*); L01.5, 9/9 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr šp*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/7 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/21 (*ỉ-ỉr [tỉ.t]*?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/22 ([*pṣ*] *ỉ-ỉr ḥb*); L01 (V.T.), x+3/23 (*ỉ-ỉr slṣ*); L01.7, 6 (*ỉ-ỉr...*)
L02, 1/1 (*pṣ ỉrw ms*); L02, 1/2 (*pṣ ỉrw snḫ*); L02, 1/9 (*pṣ ỉrw ḥṣb*)
Y01.1, 6 (*pṣ ỉ-ỉr*); Y01.3, 7 (*ỉ-ỉr qmṣ*); Y02, 1 (*ỉr ḫnym*?)

Aorist

ḫr sḏm=f B01, 1/6; B01, 3/16 (restored); B02, 1/1; B02, 4/6; B02, 4/7; B02, 4/10; B02, 13/11 (?); B03, 1/7 (*š sḏm=f*); B05, 1/10 (*š sḏm=s*); C04.4, 1/5 (*š sḏm=f*); L01, 2/16 (*š sḏm=f*); L01, 2/17 (*mtw š sḏm=s*); L01, 2/20 (*š sḏm=f*); L01.5, 9/10 (*ḫr sḏm=f*; possibly circumstantial *r ḫr sḏm=f*); V03.1, 5 (? *ḫr...*)

Negative Aorist

bw-ỉr=y B02, 5/7; L01, 3/9
bw-ỉr=f B01, 1/10a (?)
bw-ỉr=s B02, 4/8; B03.10, 12 (or *bw-ỉr=w*); B05, 1/11; L01, 2/18
bw-ỉr=w B01, 1/10; B01, 2/4; B02, 4/10; B04, 8/11; B05, 1/13; B06, 1/2 (twice); C01, 1; C04.4, 1/3 (?); C04.9, 6; C09, 2/21; F01, 12 (twice); F13, 4; F13, 5; F13, 8 (twice; once uncertain); F12, 23; L01, 2/20; L02, 1/13 (twice); V01, 2/16; V01, 3/22; V01, 3/24
bw-ỉr rḫ=k B07, 21; C07.1, 18 (*bw-ỉr=k rḫ=k*)
bw-ỉr rḫ=w B02, 5/3; B05, 1/20; L01, 3/5 (*mtw bw-rḫ=w*; relative aorist)
bw-ỉr followed by noun subject B03, 2/8; B03, 2/9; L01.5, 10/8; L01.5, 10/9

Circumstantial Negative Aorist

ỉw b-rḫ=k L02, 1/3

Imperative

my B01, 3/1; B01, 3/2 (twice); B01, 3/3 (twice); B01, 3/5 (twice); B01, 3/6; B01, 3/7 (twice); B01, 3/11; B02, 3/4 (three times); B02, 3/5 (twice); B02, 3/6 (twice); B02, 3/8 (twice); B02, 3/9; B02, 3/10 (twice); B02, 3/11; B02, 4/1; B02, 4/2; B02, 5/12; B02, 5/13 (twice); B02, 6/4; B02, 6/6; B02, 6/7; B02, 8/8 (twice); B02, 8/9; B02, 8/12; B02, 8/13 (twice); B02, 9/10; B02, 13/14; B03, 1/11; B03.5, 1; B04.1, 1/2; B04, 2/19; B04.2, 3/1; B04, 3/13; B04, 9/11; B05, 1/1; B05, 1/7; B06.1, 2/2; B06, 2/3; B06.2, 2/15; B06.2, 2/18 (?); B07, 9; B07, 18; B08, 7; B14.1, 1/11; C02.1, 8; C07.1, 15; C07.1, 20; C09, 2/27 (*my ḫr*, "pay attention"); F05, 2; F13, 12; F13, 13; F13, 14; L01, 1/22 (twice); L01, 1/23; L01, 1/24; L01, 2/2 (twice); L01, 2/3; L01, 2/4 (twice); L01, 2/5; L01, 2/11; L01, 2/12; L01, 3/14; L01, 3/15 (twice); L01, 3/22; L01, 3/24; L01, 4/1; L01 (V.T.), x+4/8; L01 (V.T.), x+4/11; L02, 1/5; L02, 1/8; V02, 1/3 (?); V01, 1/22; V01, 4/14; V04, 4; V04, 7; V04, 13

see also *in* ("to bring"), *ỉr, ỉm* ("Let!"), *wn* ("to open"), *mn* (in *r-mn*, "Come!"), *mḥ* ("to fill")

Negative Imperative or Vetitive

m-ỉr B02, 4/14; C04.8, 14; C07.1, 18; C09, 2/1; C09, 2/9; C09, 2/20; F01, 2; F12, 2; F12, 6; F12, 22; F14, 3; L01, 2/24; L02, 1/7; V01, 1/3; V01, 2/6; V01, 3/1; V01, 3/2; V01, 3/11; V01, 3/20

tm plus infinitive B02, 6/1 (?); B02, 6/9 (?); B02, 6/11 (twice); B02, 6/14; B05, 2/16; B05, 2/19; L01, 3/19 (*tm ꜥnꜥn*); L01, 4/3 (*tm pr*); L01, 4/4 (?); L01, 4/5 (*tm ḫn*); L01, 4/8 (*tm tỉ.t*); L01, 4/13 (*tm fy* [...])

"Not yet" Conjugation Circumstantial

r bw-ỉr-tw=k B02, 13/16 (twice); B04, 5/2 (twice, but once largely restored)

Relative form

r-tỉ B02, 6/8

pṯy ỉr=k "that which you did." B04, 6/1

tṯy ꜥ=w "that which they have read." B01, 1/7; B02, 1/1

ỉ-wn=f B07, 14

ỉ-wnn=f F01.1, 7

ỉ-ỉr C04.4, 2/x+11; L01.8, x+12

Stative Ending

k B01, 3/15 (?); B02, 4/5 (?); B02, 6/7 (?); L01, 2/15 (?); L02, 2/6 (twice?)

ṯ/t B02, 8/4; B02, 9/12; B04, 8/9; B04, 8/17; B08.3, 3; L01.2, 6/7; L01 (V.T.), x+1/19

ṯk B02, 7/11; L01, 4/21

w L01, 4/9 (*šb.w*); L01 (V.T.), x+1/1 (?)

Definite Article

pꜣ Passim

tꜣ Passim

nꜣ Passim

Indefinite Article

wꜥ Passim

wꜥ.t Passim

Possessive Adjectives

pṯe=y B12, 7 (?); L01, 4/19

pṯe=k B01, 3/19; B02, 4/3; B02, 4/11 (twice); B02, 5/13 (twice); B02, 12/9 (?); B03, 1/6 (twice); B03.10, 13; B04.1, 1/2; B05, 1/13 (restored); B13, 10; C04.8, 8; C04.8, 9 (twice); C04.8,10 (twice); C06.1, 3; F12, 1; L01, 2/13; L01, 2/21 (twice); L01, 3/15 (twice); L01.3, 7/21; L01.5, 9/9; V01, 1/4; V01, 3/1; V01, 3/18

pṯe=f B01, 2/15; B01, 3/1; B02, 3/3; B02, 4/15; B02, 5/1; B02, 5/6; B04, 6/9; B04, 6/15; B04, 8/3; B04, 8/7; B04, 8/14; B05, 1/18; C02.1, 7; C02.1, 11; C04.4, 2/x+7; C04.4, 2/x+9; L01, 1/21; L01, 2/22; L01, 3/3; L01, 3/7; L01, 3/8; L01.5, 10/23; L01.9, 11 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+1/14 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/16; L01.9, 11 (?); L02, 1/2; V01, 1/5 (?); V01, 2/11; Y01.1, 2; Y01.4, 7; Y02,1; Y02, 3

pṯe=s B01, 3/13; B01, 3/19; B02, 4/3 (twice); B02, 4/11; B02, 6/5; B02, 6/6; B03.10, 5; B04.1, 1/11; B05, 1/8; B05, 1/13; C04.1, 4; L01, 2/13 (twice); L01, 2/21; L01, 3/23; L01, 3/24; L01 (V.T.), x+1/8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/19; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1; L01 (V.T.), x+2/4; L01 (V.T.), x+2/5; L01 (V.T.), x+2/8; L01 (V.T.), x+2/9 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+2/10 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+2/11 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+2/12; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; L01 (V.T.), x+2/23; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/1; L01 (V.T.), x+3/2; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/4; L01 (V.T.), x+3/5; L01 (V.T.), x+3/7; L01 (V.T.), x+3/8; L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; L01 (V.T.), x+3/10; L01 (V.T.), x+3/11; L01 (V.T.), x+3/13; L01 (V.T.), x+3/14; L01 (V.T.), x+3/15; L01 (V.T.), x+3/19; V04, 5

pṯe=w B01, 2/1; B02, 1/15; B02, 3/14; B02, 5/5; B02, 5/11; B02, 6/1 (twice); B02, 10/1; B02, 10/4; B02, 10/7; B04.1, 1/5; B04.1, 1/10; B04.2, 3/21; B04, 6/8; B04, 6/22; B04, 6/23; B05, 2/6; B06, 1/4; B06, 1/5; B07, 6; B08, 3 (?); C01, 3; C02.1, 11; C04.1, 10; C09, 2/14; F01, 14; F01.1, 7 (?); F01.6, 2; F12, 16; L01, 1/1; L01, 2/8; L01, 3/13; L01, 3/19 (twice); L01.2, 6/13; L01.2, 6/16; L01.2, 6/20; L01.5, 10/12; L01.5, 10/22; L01.6, 9; L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; L01.9, 6; L02, 1/10 (*pw=w*); L02, 1/16; V01, 3/14; V04, 3; V04, 5 (?)

tṯe=y B02, 7/9 (twice); B02, 14/7; B04, 2/6; B12, 7 (possibly demonstrative adjective); L01, 4/15 (*tṯy*; possibly demonstrative adjective); L01, 4/19

tṯe=k C04.6, 2; C04.8, 1; V01, 3/8 (twice); V01, 3/23

tṯe=f B01, 1/15 (?); B02, 5/2; B04, 7/4; C02.1, 10; L01, 3/4; L02, 1/9 (*tfy*); V01, 3/7; Y01.4, 16

tṯe=s B02, 4/10; F07.4, 1; L01.5, 10/20; L01, 2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/5; L01 (V.T.), x+4/22; V04, 10

tṯe=w B02, 5/11; B02, 5/16; B04.1, 1/4; B04, 5/22; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/7; B04, 6/10; B04, 7/11; B04, 7/14; B04, 7/17; B04, 8/11; B06, 1/4; B06, 1/10; C01, 3; C02.3, 3 (?); F01, 14; L01, 3/13; L01, 3/18; L01.5, 10/5; L01.5, 10/12; L01.5, 10/15; L01.5, 10/20; L01.5, 10/21; L01.5, 10/24; L01.9, 3; L01.9, 5; L01.9, 15; L02, 1/12; L02, 1/13; L02, 2/3

nṯe=y B02, 9/16; B02, 14/2 (?); B04, 2/2 (?); B04.2, 3/19; B05, 2/10

nṯe=k B02, 8/7; B02, 14/1; B04, 5/6; C04.4, 1/11; C09, 2/18; L01.10, 1/15; L02, 2/9; V01, 2/14 (?); V01, 3/18

nṯe=f B01, 1/15; B01, 2/16; B01, 2/17 (twice); B01, 2/18; B02, 2/13; B02, 2/14; B02, 2/15; B02, 4/12; B02, 4/13; B02, 5/9 (twice); B02, 8/16; B02, 11/10; B03, 1/17; B03.10, 15; B04, 4/22; B04, 6/14; B04, 6/19; B04, 6/23; B05, 1/14; B05, 1/16; B14.2, 1; B14.2, 2; B14.2, 10; C02.1, 9; C04.8, 11; C08, 7; F03, 5; F04, 3; L01, 1/15; L01, 1/16; L01, 1/17; L01, 2/23; L01, 3/1; L01, 3/11 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+3/24; V01, 2/15; V01, 3/13; V01, 3/15; Y01.5, 9

nṯe=s B02, 4/1; B04, 6/4; B04, 7/19; B05, 1/6; C04.1, 5; C04.4, 2/x+12; F11, 7; F13, 19; L01, 2/11; L01.5, 10/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/3; L01 (V.T.), x+3/9; V01, 4/9; V01, 4/10; V04, 4 (?); V04, 7; V04, 8; V04, 9; V04, 16

nɜe=w B01, 2/20 (twice; once restored); B02, 3/1 (twice); B02, 5/4; B02, 10/9; B03.1, 2/11; B03.1, 2/13; B03.1, 2/15; B04, 5/23; B04, 6/2; B04, 6/6 (four times); B04, 8/4 (three times); B04, 8/5; B04, 8/15 (?); B04, 8/17 (twice); B04, 9/21; B06, 2/1; B06.3, 2; B06.3, 3; C02, 1/13; C04.4, 1/7; C04.4, 1/8 (twice); F01, 11; F01, 14; F14, 12; L01, 1/19; L01, 3/6; L01.2, 6/19 (?); L01.5, 10/11 (twice); L01.5, 10/13 (three times); L01.5, 10/15; L01.5, 10/19; L01.5, 10/20; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16; L01 (V.T.), x+1/17; L01 (V.T.), x+3/18; V01, 3/16 (restored); V03.1, 4 (twice; once partly restored)

Possessive Prefixes

nɜe.w "the-ones-of." B04, 6/11 (or possessive adjective). B06.1, 2/1

Copula

pɜy B02, 4/12; B02, 4/13; B02, 4/14; B02, 5/6; B04, 4/19; B04, 4/20; B04, 6/8; B06, 2/2 (?)
C04.1, 4; C04.4, 2/x+6; C04.4, 2/x+24; C04.4, 2/x+27; C06.3, 9; C09, 2/7; C09, 2/15
F03, 3; F04, 1; F12, 17
L01, 2/22; L01, 2/23; L01, 2/24; L01, 3/8; L01 (V.T.), x+1/24; L01 (V.T.), x+2/1 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/2 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/3 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/4 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/5 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/6 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/7 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/8 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/9 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/10 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/11 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+2/12; L01 (V.T.), x+2/13; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14; L01 (V.T.), x+2/15; L01 (V.T.), x+2/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/17; L01 (V.T.), x+2/18; L01 (V.T.), x+2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+2/20; L01 (V.T.), x+2/21; L01 (V.T.), x+2/22; L01 (V.T.), x+2/23; L01 (V.T.), x+2/24; L01 (V.T.), x+3/1 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/2 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/3 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/4 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/5 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/6 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/7 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/8 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/9 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/10 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/11 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/12 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/13 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/14 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/15 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/16 (restored); L01 (V.T.), x+3/17 (restored)
V01, 2/6; V01, 3/10; V01, 3/15; V04, 17
Y01.2, 1/2; Y01.2, 1/3; Y01.2, 1/4

tɜy B02, 3/16; B02, 14/7; B03.10, 9; B04, 5/15; B04, 6/7; B04, 6/10; C02, 1/6; C04.4, 2/x+29; L01, 2/10; L01, 2/17; L01.5, 10/5 (twice); L01.5, 10/21; L01.9, 3

nɜ.w B02, 4/12; B02, 4/13; B04, 4/15; B04, 4/21; B04, 7/1 (?); B04, 7/7; B05, 1/14; B05, 1/20 (or demonstrative pronoun?); B06, 2/1; C04.1, 6 (or demonstrative adjective?); L01, 2/23; L01, 3/5 (or demonstrative adjective?); L01 (V.T.), x+2/12 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+3/19 (?); L01 (V.T.), x+4/2; L02, 1/4 (uncertain; *nɜy*); L02, 1/15 (*nɜy.w*?); V04, 18 (?)

Demonstrative Adjective

pɜy B04, 3/12; B06, 1/18 (?); B07, 20

tɜy B02, 7/3 (in relative verb construction *tɜy sḏm=k*); B04, 7/9; C02, 1/6 (?); C07.1, 12; C07.1, 13

nɜy B02, 5/2; B02, 5/4; B02, 10/10; B02, 11/3 (three times); B02, 11/8; B02, 12/2 (?); B03, 2/15 (?); B04, 4/6 (*nɜy.w*?); B04, 4/15; B04, 4/16; B04, 4/17; B04, 4/20 (twice); B04, 5/8 (? or possessive = *nɜe=y*); B04, 5/9 (?); B05, 1/20; B06, 2/10 (?); B08, 8 (?); B08.5, 3; C04.1, 5; C04.1, 6; C04.1, 8 (three times; once restored); L01, 3/4 (*nɜ.w*); L01, 3/6; L01.2, 6/23; L01.3, 7/9 (twice); L01 (V.T.), x+4/15 (three times); L01 (V.T.), x+4/16 (three times); L01 (V.T.), x+4/17 (three times); L01 (V.T.), x+4/18; L01 (V.T.), x+4/20; V04, 17 (?); L02, 1/15 (*nɜy*?); V04, 18

ỉypn demonstrative adjective, "this." B06, 2/8; C02, 1/10; F01.2, 2; L01.5, 10/10

Demonstrative Pronouns

tɜy C02.1, 11 (?)

nɜy B02, 10/2; B04.2, 3/22; B04, 4/6 (written *nɜy.w*?); B05, 1/20 (or copula?); C04.4, 1/3 (?); F13, 9 (?); L01.2, 6/14; L01.2, 6/23; V04, 3

Dependent Pronouns

s masculine. Passim

s feminine. Passim

5. Numbers

rʾ-20 B02, 5/14; L01, 3/16

rʾ-10 B02, 5/14; L01, 3/16

1/4 B02, 5/1 (?)

1/2 B02, 5/8

2/3 L01, 3/10 (?)

1 and 1/2 B07, 5 (?)

2 B02, 5/13; B02, 12/13; B04.1, 1/2; B04, 7/12; B04, 7/18; F12, 3; L01, 3/3; L01, 3/15; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3 (?); V01, 3/3

3 B02, 5/13; L01, 3/15; L01.5, 10/10 (unusual spelling)

3.*t* L01, 3/2 (?)

4 B02, 10/11; L01, 4/11 (?)

4.*t* C04.1,11 (?)

5 B02, 5/14; L01, 3/16

6 B04, 8/8

7 B02, 4/16; L01, 3/2

7.*t* B02, 4/16; B02, 12/12; B04, 7/11; B05, 1/17

9 B02, 10/4; B02, 12/15; B04, 7/14; B04, 8/3; L01.2, 6/16; L01 (V.T.), x+2/14

9.*t* B02, 10/4

10.*t* B02, 10/3

18.*t* L01 (V.T.), x+2/19

40 B04, 7/18

42 B02, 12/8; B04, 7/6; C06.2, 3; L01 (V.T.), x+1/15; L01 (V.T.), x+1/16

60 B04, 6/7; L01.5, 10/21

77 B02, 4/9

120 B02, 4/6; B03.10, 8; B05, 1/10; L01, 2/16

1,000	B01, 2/14; B04, 6/4 (written *š.t*); L01, 1/12; L01.5, 10/18
1,000.*t*	B04, 6/12; B04, 6/20
1,077	B05, 1/12 (?)
3,000	B04, 4/15; B04, 7/7
7,000	B02, 4/9; B06, 1/5 (?); L01, 2/19; L01 (V.T.), x+3/3

Ordinals

2.*nw*	B01, 2/6; B02, 5/3; B08.3, 6; L01, 1/5; L01, 3/5
mḥ-9	Above C08, 1
mḥ-10+(?)	Below C02, 2/18

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"Foremost of Heseret," are well-attested as titles of the deity.[20] It is written in an unusual fashion with the *s* in the word initial form; the author perhaps thereby emphasizes *sr*, "to prophesize," so significant a notion in the Book of Thoth. A variant of *Ḥsr.t* is *Ḥs-rḫ*, "He-who-praises-knowledge," certainly also a fitting title of Thoth. Several other well-known or suitable designations of the god occur: *pꜣ-wr-tiw*, "the Great-of-Five," *wr wr wr*, "Thrice-great one,"[21] and *nb htnw*, "Lord of the *Heden*-plant/writing brush." Another common Ptolemaic Period term found in the Book of Thoth is *ʿm-tꜣ.wy*, "He-who-understands-the-Two-Lands." An uncertain epithet of the deity is *qmꜣ=f nꜣ mꜣw.w*, "He-created-the-thoughts."

Apart from Heseret, the Book of Thoth mentions cult-sites important to Thoth, such as Hermopolis in the title *nb Ḫmnw*, "Lord of Hermopolis." Although not named in the composition, we suspect that the beginning preserved sections may refer, obliquely at least, to the "House of the Fish-net." In any case, the great stress in these passages on fishing and fowling suits this aspect of Thoth. The "House of the Fish-net" is a designation for a temple or sacred precinct of Thoth in Hermopolis.[22] The House of the Fish-net was conceived to be where Thoth captured the enemies of the sun-god.[23] It may be associated with *Heseret*.[24] Along with the Lake of Fire, also alluded to in the Book of Thoth, the House of the Fish-net cannot be identified with certainty.[25]

A valuable Late Period reference to the House of the Fish-net is from the Famine Stela:

> "I (Djoser) directed my heart to turn to the past, I consulted one of the staff of the Ibis (actually the *wn-im*-priest), the chief lector-priest of Imhotep, Son of Ptah, south of his wall: In which place is Hapy born? Which is the town of the Sinuous One? Which god dwells there? That he might join with me." He stood: "I shall go to the House of the Fish-net. It is designed to support a man in his deeds (?). I shall enter the House of Life, unroll the Souls of Re. I shall be guided by them."[26]

20 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 69–80.

21 Quaegebeur, "Thot-Hermès, le dieu le plus grand!" in *Hommages à François Daumas*, pp. 525–44.

22 *Ḥ.t-ibṯ.t*, "Heiligtum des Thoth," *Wb.* 1, 65/2; it is found, for example, in Book of the Dead Spell 109 b (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 86): "O ibis presiding over living beings. Thy counsels in the House of the Snare outweigh ⌜sinister figures⌝ on papyrus." See also M. Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, p. 95 ("Thoth ... the great god in the mansion of *ibty.t*"); Bidoli, *Fangnetze*, p. 18. On the role of Thoth as bird-catcher, see Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 152–54. Khonsu as a baboon seems to reside also in the House of the Fish-net, Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 157–58. The word *ibt*, "bird-trapper," possibly appears in F10, 6. The word may survive in Coptic ⲁⲃⲱ, "Netze auswerfen," Westendorf, *KHWB*, p. 1.

23 "Weiterhin wird das 'Haus des Vogelnetzes' (*ḥ.t ibṯ*) in dem Temenos (scil. Hermopolis) gelegen haben. Es wird vielfach als Stätte des Thot und der Achtheit genannt, ohne dass seine Bedeutung recht einsichtig würde. Immerhin mag man an das Netz erinnern, mit dem Thot die Feinde des Osiris oder auch das Mondauge einfing," Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 294.

24 Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, pp. 199–200.

25 The sacred geography of Hermopolis is obscure. As Arnold remarks: "In religiösen Texten sind zahlreiche derartige Stätten des alten Hermopolis überliefert, lassen sich aber trotz intensiver Grabungstätigkeit nicht lokalisieren. Zum Beispiel kennen wir weder die Lage des berühmten 'Messersees' noch der 'Flammeninsel' mit der heiligen Akazie von Hermopolis noch des 'Hauses des Netzes' (wo Thot die Feinde des Sonnengottes mit Netzten eingefangen haben soll)," *Die Tempel Ägyptens*, p. 182.

26 After Lichtheim, *AEL* 3, p. 96. See also Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 150.

The action of the Book of Thoth is presumably situated physically in Hermopolis, but also takes place on the divine or underworld levels as well. In B02 the author clearly refers to the *ỉpt.w*, "secret-chambers" of Thoth.[27]

Thoth functions as both examiner and teacher in the composition. He is generally portrayed as a benevolent and helpful deity. Thoth sets questions concerning knowledge (*rḫ*) and instruction (*mtry*). He advises the *mr-rḫ* on behavior regarding other deities. He offers information concerning writing, scribal implements,[28] the sacred books, and gives advice to the *mr-rḫ* on these topics. He describes underworld geography in great detail.

One has the impression that the author of the Book of Thoth may sometimes portray Khonsu-Thoth, a lunar compound deity well known from Edfu,[29] although there are certainly Osirian aspects as well. Khonsu-Neferhotep is particularly associated with oracles, an emphasis agreeing with the tenor of the Book of Thoth. The title Neferhotep occurs several times in the Book of Thoth, once in passages dealing with darkness and alluding to eclipses. Thus, Khonsu-Thoth, being a moon deity, is a suitable figure to invoke. Khonsu in that form is represented as a baboon, naturally also quite Thothian and yielding sense within the context of this composition.

In the "Vulture Text" of L01 the author describes the victories of Horus over the turtle, crocodile, and hippopotamus. This strongly Edfu-colored passage may also be understood in terms of the identification or, at least connection of Thoth with Horus.[30]

Thoth is prominent in the underworld theology, much in evidence in this text.[31] The best known example of a funerary work associated with Thoth is the Book of Two Ways, a product of Hermopolis.[32] We understand the Book of Thoth as being very much in this tradition.

27 Hornung, "Die 'Kammern' des Thot Heiligtumes," *ZÄS* 100/1(1973): 33–35.

28 Derchain translates an Edfu text describing the value of writing and the writing implements, "Des Usages de l'écriture: Réflexions d'un savant égyptien," *CdE* 72 (1997): 10–16.

29 On the association between Khonsu-Neferhotep and Thoth, Budde, *Seschat*, p. 160. "The cosmic role of the baboon as the animal of the moon god Thoth eventually resulted in his identification with the moon god Khonsu. Statues of Khonsu in the shape of a baboon stood in front of the Theban Khonsu temple. In the Late Period, the god Thoth-Khonsu became an important nocturnal oracle god. This baboon god statue, to whom written petitions for the priests were submitted, was called Mestasythmis, Greek for the 'hearing ear'," Kessler, "Monkeys and Baboons," in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, pp. 430–31; Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW* 18.5, II, pp. 2969–70. This notion of oracles fits in very well with the emphasis in the Book of Thoth on *sr*. On Khonsu-Thoth, see also Boylan, *Thoth*, pp. 204–208; Kaplony, "Denkmäler der Prinzessin Neferurê und der Königin Ti-mienêse in der Sammlung A. Ghertsos," *RdE* 22 (1970): 99–109; Aufrère, *Le propylone d'Amon-Re-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, pp. 239–40.

30 Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 207.

31 Thoth is a central deity in the Book of the Dead, and the deceased is identified with him. This is clear already in Spell One of the Book of the Dead, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 5.

32 See Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 191–203, for a detailed discussion of Thoth in the underworld. He has a dominant position in section six of the Book of Two Ways. Thoth takes an important place in the Book of Two Ways, in the company of Re and Osiris, Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, pp. 70 and 113. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, p. 244, observes that the Book of Two Ways was probably composed by priests of the Thoth-temple in the temple library at Hermopolis: "Eine Bestätigung dafür findet sich in der Übernahme der lokal mythischen Strukturen von