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(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

by

RICHARD JASNOW



2019-2020-21

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NO. 52

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A LATE PERIOD HIERATIC WISDOM TEXT  
(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

*By*  
RICHARD JASNOW

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 92-60742

ISBN: 0-918986-85-0

ISSN: 0081-7554

The Oriental Institute, Chicago

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Published 1992. Printed in the United States of America.

*Series Editor's Note*

Three of the five fonts used to print this volume—CuneiformOriental, Greek Times, and JudeoArabicGan—were provided by Lloyd Anderson (Ecological Linguistics, P.O. Box 15156, Washington, D.C. 20003). The Oriental Institute especially thanks Lloyd for adding the double-ʾaleph and Fraktur Hyphen (i.e., ʾ and ʿ) to the CuneiformOriental font in time for them to be used herein. A Coptic font was kindly provided to the Publications Office by Dr. Janet H. Johnson, Professor of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute.

The vast majority of hieroglyphs used in this volume were submitted to the Publications Office by Dr. Richard Jasnow, who created them with the Bonn hieroglyphic computer program of Norbert Stief. As press time drew near, the author discovered that a few hieroglyphs were still needed for the manuscript. Therefore, the hieroglyphic font developed by Cleo Huggins of Mountain View, California was used to complete this volume. The Oriental Institute once again extends its gratitude to Cleo.

The cover illustration was drawn by W. Raymond Johnson, Senior Artist of the Epigraphic Survey. The illustrations in the text were prepared for publication by Lynn Michaels of Color Concept Company.

For My Parents



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## DESIGNATIONS OF TEXTS

Amenemope	For the hieratic text a set of photographs of P. BM 10474 was kindly provided by the British Museum. The basic edition employed is from Lange 1925. The remark “translation of Lichtheim” refers to the translation in Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 2, pp. 146–63. On occasion “chapters” of Amenemope are cited, in which case the numbering is that of Lichtheim’s translation.
Any	The hieratic text is published in Mariette-Bey 1871–72, plates 15–28. The basic edition employed is from Suys 1935. The remark “translation of Lichtheim” refers to the translation in Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 2, pp. 135–46.
Insinger	The Demotic text is from Lexa 1926. The remark “translation of Lichtheim” refers to the translation in Lichtheim, <i>LEWL</i> , pp. 197–234.
Onkhsheshonqy	The Demotic text is from Glanville 1955. The remark “translation of Lichtheim” refers to the translation in Lichtheim, <i>LEWL</i> , pp. 66–92.
Prisse	The text is from Žába 1956. The remark “translation of Lichtheim” refers to the translation in Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 1, pp. 61–80. On occasion the maxims of Ptahhotep are referred to, in which case the numbering of the maxims is that in Lichtheim’s translation.



## LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS\*

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Černý and Groll, <i>LEG</i> | <i>A Late Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd updated edition. J. Černý and Sarah Israelit Groll. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984  |
| Černý, <i>CED</i>           | <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> . J. Černý. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976   |
| Crum, <i>CD</i>             | <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . W. E. Crum. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939  |
| Erichsen, <i>Glossar</i>    | <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . W. Erichsen. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954  |
| Erman, <i>NÄG</i>           | <i>Neuägyptische Grammatik</i> , 2nd ed. A. Erman. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933   |
| Lesko, <i>DLE</i>           | <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> , 3 vols. L. Lesko. Berkeley and Providence: B. C. Scribe Publications, 1982–  |
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| Möller, <i>HP</i>           | <i>Hieratische Paläographie. Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , 3 vols. Georg Möller. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909–12                 |
| Posener, <i>Vandier</i>     | <i>Le Papyrus Vandier</i> . Bibliothèque générale 7. Georges Posener. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985  |
| <i>Wb.</i>                  | <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. plus 5 vols. Belegstellen. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971  |
| Wente, <i>LRL</i>           | <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> . E. F. Wente. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 33. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967   |
| Westendorf, <i>KHWb.</i>    | <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> . W. Westendorf. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965–77   |

\*All biblical citations are from *The Holy Scriptures*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917



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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a revised version of my dissertation presented to the faculty of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago in 1988.<sup>1</sup> As such, my debts of gratitude remain the same; in fact, they have grown larger in the interim.

I thank first of all the members of my committee, Professors Janet H. Johnson, Edward F. Wente, and Robert D. Biggs. My advisor, Professor Johnson, introduced me to the study of Late period Egypt and was unfailingly encouraging throughout the years of graduate work. She has been a continual source of information and inspiration, above all in the field of Egyptian grammar. To her I am especially grateful for giving me the opportunity to participate in the Demotic Dictionary Project. I am indebted to Professor Biggs for agreeing to serve on my committee, replacing the late Professor Klaus Baer. While Professor Baer did not see the finished dissertation, he did read a preliminary draft, and I profited from his comments thereon. As do virtually all Chicago Egyptologists, I owe a great deal to Professor George R. Hughes. It was a privilege to read Onkhsheshonqy and other Demotic texts with him. That I have been able to undertake this study of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is due to Mr. Richard Fazzini, Chairman of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art at the Brooklyn Museum. It is a pleasure for me to thank him for his generosity and helpfulness. Dr. Robert Bianchi, Dr. James Romano, Ms. Diane Guzman of the Wilbour Library, and the rest of the staff of the Brooklyn Museum have also rendered invaluable assistance during my visits there. The Conservation Department of the Museum kindly provided both space and equipment in the laboratory, thus allowing me to study the papyrus under ideal conditions. Ms. Antoinette Owens, a specialist in paper conservation at the museum, generously offered advice on technical matters, and carried out restoration work on P. Brooklyn 47.218.135. Ms. Mary McKercher and Dr. Ogden Goelet devoted considerable time and energy to photographing the papyrus. I am happy to acknowledge their essential aid. I am under especial obligation to Professor Karl-Theodor Zauzich of the University of Würzburg. At the Institut für Ägyptologie I was able both to write the dissertation and, more enjoyably, to study Demotic texts with a true master of decipherment and interpretation. I shall never forget the hours spent happily reading Berlin literary papyri under the tutelage of Professor Zauzich. I have learned much from discussions with the other members of the Würzburg Egyptological community as well. Professor Horst Beinlich, in particular, patiently answered inquiries concerning the mysteries of computer

1. The content of the manuscript published here is essentially identical to that of the dissertation completed in 1988; I have been able only sparingly to incorporate references to books and articles appearing after that date.

word-processing. He also devoted a great deal of time and energy to helping me use the Bonn hieroglyphic computer program, developed by Norbert Stief, for the hieroglyphic texts quoted in this book. Frau Gisela Schrödl provided assistance during the writing of the dissertation, for which I thank her most sincerely. Among my friends in Chicago, I should like to mention Lorelei Corcoran, now Assistant Professor at Memphis State University, and Professor Helene Kantor, who gave both moral and practical support on a number of occasions. Tom Holland and his staff, particularly Tom Urban, have been extraordinarily generous with their advice and aid during the preparation of the manuscript. I am grateful to Frau Christina Di Cerbo and her family for help in countless matters; I doubt that I should have been able to complete the dissertation had it not been for them. I thank the University of Chicago for a Special Humanities Fellowship and the German Academic Exchange Service for the stipend which enabled me to continue my study in Germany. With incomparable understanding and patience, my parents have sustained me throughout. This book is for them.

Richard Jasnow  
Luxor, Egypt

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The subject of this book is P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum. I first learned of its existence through a joint paper delivered by the distinguished French Egyptologists Georges Posener and Jean Sainte Fare Garnot at Strasbourg in 1962.<sup>1</sup> Therein they described briefly a wisdom text written in hieratic dated palaeographically to about the fourth century B.C. Being interested in Late period Egyptian literature, generally composed in Demotic, not hieratic, I was naturally curious about the papyrus. Inquiries to the Brooklyn Museum and to Professor Posener himself revealed that the latter had in fact given up his original plan of publishing the text. After a preliminary study, I decided that P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 would make an excellent subject for a dissertation. I therefore requested, and kindly received, permission from the authorities of the Brooklyn Museum to publish the papyrus.

P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, which comprises at present six damaged columns and numerous loose fragments, poses rather daunting problems. The major difficulty has been the reconstruction of the papyrus. In the case of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 this entails verifying previous work of restoration, searching for additional fragments, and attempting to place the loose fragments in their proper position. Several factors complicate the process of reconstruction. First, P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is a unique composition. I have searched without success for close parallels among published, and unpublished, papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions. A second problem is the sheer quantity and unsorted state of the papyrus fragments in the Brooklyn Museum.<sup>2</sup> The Wilbour family donated P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 along with several better preserved papyrus rolls to the museum in 1947. Included in the gift were some 130 boxes of papyrus fragments. Although each box received its own number, suggesting that the contents are a distinct papyrus, most contain in fact a hodge-podge of papyrus fragments from

1. Posener and Sainte Fare Garnot 1963: 153–57.

2. For a description of the collection and the problems involved in editing Wilbour papyri, see Sauneron 1966–67: 98–102 and idem 1968–69: 109–15. Sauneron (1970) published one text from this group and made a preliminary study of several others before his death. Goyon (1972–74) has also edited a papyrus from this batch, while Meeks is presently preparing the publication of P. Brooklyn 47.218.84, “un manuel de géographie religieuse du Delta,” see Meeks 1985: 136. Included in the Wilbour gift of 1947 was also the papyrus published by Parker (1962). Posener-Kriéger (1976, vol. 2, p. 454) has transcribed P. Brooklyn 47.218.18, an Old Kingdom letter. I owe this last reference to Professor Wente.

totally unrelated texts. Some of these are substantial pieces, but many are mere flakes with no more than a few signs. The majority of the fragments belong to Late period hieratic texts—many indeed derive from the better preserved rolls mentioned above. Those who wish to publish a papyrus from the group must spend innumerable hours sorting through this jumble. Fortunately, several scholars, including Serge Sauneron, Georges Posener, Karl-Theodor Zauzich, and George Hughes, have examined the collection and made progress in the sorting of fragments. Nevertheless, much remains to be done.

The history of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 and its reconstruction is complicated. Georges Posener found the partially rolled-up papyrus and some fragments in a box marked 135 during a stay at the museum in 1952/53.<sup>3</sup> He subsequently identified pieces of the text in five other boxes. These he removed and placed together. He thereupon indicated the interest of the papyrus to John Cooney, then Curator of the Egyptology Department at the Brooklyn Museum. From August until December of 1959 Anthony Giambalvo, the department technician, worked on the papyrus.<sup>4</sup> Giambalvo was much experienced in the assembling of papyrus fragments. He had helped to restore the Middle Kingdom text edited by William Hayes (1972) and the Aramaic documents from Elephantine published by Emil Kraeling (1969). He not only assembled many of the pieces recovered by Posener but also conducted an independent search through the boxes for further fragments. Unable to read Egyptian, he could, of course, only evaluate these on the basis of script and fiber pattern. It is not clear at this time what the respective contributions of Giambalvo and Posener are: both deserve a great deal of credit.<sup>5</sup> It

3. Letter of April 22, 1985.

4. See Cooney 1959–60: 43 and the museum record quoted on page 5.

5. Two years after this dissertation was completed and submitted, I received from Madame Paule Posener-Kriéger a letter dated August 17, 1990. Enclosed with this letter were copies of correspondence between Cooney and Posener concerning the papyrus. This consisted of a two page letter from Cooney and a half page of observations by Posener on the placement of fragments. From this it is evident that Cooney also took an active role in the restoration of the papyrus. There may still exist additional letters and notes by Posener and Cooney, but I have not been able to discover them and did not have available to me any such notes during my own work on the papyrus. I have done my best to confirm the relative positions of the fragments on the basis of the fibers, and must therefore assume responsibility for the published reconstruction. When I first examined the papyrus, it was indeed sometimes unclear to me why a fragment had been positioned in such and such a position. It was certainly possible, I thought on occasion, that Cooney and Giambalvo had their reasons for a particular reconstruction, but I did not always know them. One case of this kind was the fragment containing the cartouche in column one. I quote Cooney's remarks on this fragment from his letter: "We agree with your [Posener's] doubts. The entire area to right (with cartouche) probably does not belong here. Faute de mieux we put it here mainly because it is an overlap and the structure of the papyrus calls for an overlap here. There is no certain evidence that it does belong here. Indeed our failure to place this fragment was our main disappointment in assembling this papyrus." This fragment had long puzzled me as well, before I knew of Cooney's doubts. It would naturally be interesting, for example, to ascertain if the fragment was found in the same box as the main portions of the papyrus, but this I do not know. I believe, however, that Cooney was right in placing it where he did; I would merely shift it slightly to the right. I further believe that the additional fragment above this one belongs to P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, though I found it in box 120 (labeled 47.218.30). It displays, I think, a good vertical fiber match with the fragment

is important to emphasize, however, that Posener was not with Giambalvo when the latter reconstructed the papyrus. In his report on departmental activities for 1959, Cooney wrote that work on the papyrus was complete. Photographs were then taken and sent to Posener. It is on the basis of these photographs that Posener and Sainte Fare Garnot presented their preliminary analysis of the text in the paper mentioned above.

The papyrus as I found it in 1985 was, therefore, basically the result of Giambalvo's labors. Contrary to Cooney's statement, however, the reconstruction work on the papyrus was not finished. As Posener warned me, each of Giambalvo's suggested joins had to be confirmed, the boxes rechecked for additional pieces, and the possibility of new joins explored. I spent several months in the Brooklyn Museum dealing with these problems. My own work was rendered more difficult by the fact that Giambalvo had taped and glassed the papyrus, understandably, of course. I could not, therefore, easily shift fragments about in order to check the fiber agreement, though it was at times clear that the proposed positioning was not correct. A provisional solution to the dilemma was provided by Dr. Ogden Goelet and Ms. Mary McKercher, who kindly photographed the Brooklyn papyrus placed upon a light box. The fiber pattern of the papyrus fragments is clearly visible in the photographs. Using them I was able to place a number of important fragments in the proper position. In August 1987 the paper conservator of the Brooklyn Museum, Ms. Antoinette Owens, unglased the papyrus. Thanks to her help, I was able to check a number of joins and to study the papyrus under ideal conditions. During my work at the museum I found some thirty-seven probable new pieces of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, several of which may be joined to it.

The study has resulted in considerable textual improvement. Even quite small pieces have proved at times to be significant. One tiny fragment, discovered amidst hundreds of small pieces from other texts, confirms that the pharaoh named is Apries (1/14). This is, naturally, a welcome aid to the dating of the papyrus. I have also succeeded in establishing the proper sequence of columns, not recognized by previous investigators.

Given the condition of the papyrus, it is inevitable that much of the translation must be conjectural. However, while no parallel versions are known, the ideas expressed are not unlike those in other Egyptian wisdom texts. With this in mind, a great deal of the fragmentary composition can be plausibly reconstructed. I have attempted to give full warning of the problems involved in a proposed translation in my commentary. It is hardly practical or desirable to mention all possibilities in the commentary, and I have restricted my remarks to those which seem to me most likely. It lies in the nature of wisdom compositions that sayings may be understood in numerous ways, and I have no illusions that others will find all my interpretations convincing.

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containing the cartouche. The fibers to the left of the overlap in this upper fragment also seem to match the pattern found in the sheet inscribed with column two. This was typical of the technical problems posed by the reconstruction of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135. Again, while stressing the "independence" of my own reconstruction, such notes as those kindly sent to me by Madame Posener-Kriéger make very clear the amount of valuable work done on this papyrus by Posener, Cooney, and Giambalvo.



## CHAPTER 2

### DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS

In the records of the Brooklyn Museum, P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is described as follows:

Mass of papyrus fragments and portion of small papyrus roll. Inscribed on recto in small, clear black hieratic. Fragments are of fair size and appear to belong to same text as roll. The rolled portion can easily be opened and mounted. Possibly entire mass can be salvaged.

*Period:*

*Measurements:* Length of roll, 13 cm

*Provenance:* Unknown. Container marked "Black 7"

Bequest of Miss Theodora Wilbour from the collection of her father, Charles Edwin Wilbour.

*Condition:* Badly broken and doubtless very incomplete. Rolled portion not very extensive.

August–December 1959. assembled by Mr. Giambalvo, including fragments from envelopes and boxes other than 135. Photographed June 1960 (negs. I–IX). Prints sent to G. Posener.

The papyrus is still provisionally mounted between three separate glass frames.<sup>1</sup> A fourth glass mounting contains the fragments. As I have reconstructed the papyrus, it consists of six columns. The state of preservation is poor, and several fragments (e.g., in columns one and three) can only be positioned on the basis of probable fiber agreement. There are,

1. The photographic reproduction of the papyrus is a montage to the extent that I have cut and joined photographs so as to create contiguous images of columns three and five. Portions of both these columns are preserved in separate glass frames. I should also point out that several loose fragments in the lower section of column five unfortunately shifted upwards slightly when being photographed, creating a misleading impression that the texts upon them belong to higher lines. The correct placement is reflected in the hieroglyphic transcription (figs. 7 and 11).

nevertheless, sections which have escaped serious damage. Column six, for example, undoubtedly the unrolled portion mentioned in the museum records, is quite well preserved. The color of the papyrus ranges from darkish brown to light tan. The papyrus is for the most part translucent and may be readily examined upon the light box.

P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 consists of nine papyrus sheets (see fig. 1). Their approximate measurements are as follows:

*Sheet One:* ca. 6 cm preserved

*Sheet Two:* ca. 15.5 cm (14 cm preserved)

*Sheet Three:* 16 cm

*Sheet Four:* 16 cm

*Sheet Five:* 16.5 cm

*Sheet Six:* 15.3 cm

*Sheet Seven:* 16 cm

*Sheet Eight:* 16.2 cm

*Sheet Nine:* ca. 15 cm preserved

The preserved length of the papyrus is thus approximately 132.4 cm. This assumes that a 1.5 cm lacuna is to be restored in column one (belonging to sheet two). Sheets one and two are presently joined to form a connected text, but the passage so restored yields no sense, so a short lacuna is required.<sup>2</sup> The overlap between sheets is about 1 cm.

The text is written parallel to the fibers. The scribe has maintained a 4–4.5 cm blank border at the bottom of each column. Between columns there is a space of 2–2.5 cm. The measurements of the inscribed areas are the following:

*Column one:* max. height: 17.5 cm; max. width 9.5 cm (see figs. 2–3)

*Column two:* max. height: 19 cm; max. width 21 cm (see figs. 4–5)

*Column three:* max. height: 19 cm; max. width 19.5 cm (see figs. 6–7)

*Column four:* max. height: 19 cm; max. width 25 cm (see figs. 8–9)

*Column five:* max. height: 20 cm; max. width 24 cm (see figs. 10–11)

*Column six:* max. height: 18.7 cm; max. width 21 cm (see figs. 12–13)













The verso is uninscribed.

2. See footnote five on page 2 (above).

While the top of the papyrus is nowhere preserved *in situ*, there are fifteen unplaced fragments with portions of the uppermost text (fragments 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 20, 21, 27, 28, 30, 39, 40, 41, 48, and 53). I have been unable to fix their position on the basis of the fibers, and some, at least, may belong to completely destroyed columns preceding the present column one. The total number of unplaced fragments is seventy-seven (see figs. 14–20). It is by no means certain that all in fact belong to this papyrus, nor is it unlikely that additional pieces of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 may be discovered in the boxes of fragments.

### SCRIPT

The signs, written with the masticated rush stem common in the pre-Roman period, are small and neatly formed. While a *terminus post quem* is provided by the mention of Apries in 1/14 (Twenty-sixth Saite Dynasty: 589–570 B.C.), the *terminus ante quem* must be supplied by palaeography. The problems of late hieratic palaeography have often been stated, namely, the lack of firmly dated papyri and the difficulty of establishing a clear development for most signs.<sup>3</sup> It is clear, therefore, that such a dating criterion is approximate at best.




Chiefly as an aid to the identification of fragments, a palaeography of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 was compiled. The script does not closely resemble those of the Brooklyn papyri published by Sauneron, Goyon, and Parker.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, few other papyri or fragments in the Brooklyn collection which were examined display a hand entirely similar to that of the wisdom text. Particularly distinctive are the scribe's writings of  (  ),  (  ),  (  ), and  (  ). In most of the other Brooklyn fragments they appear as  ,  ,  , and  . Similar hands are to be found, in fact, in boxes 46, 102, 108, and 128. These are religious or medical texts, however, which are relatively easy to distinguish from the literary composition.

A comparison with the Late period signs in Möller, *HP*, vol. 3, supports a date for P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 to about the fourth century B.C.<sup>5</sup> In general, the closest parallels are to be found in Leinwand (Thirtieth Dynasty; 380–343 B.C.) and P. Bremner (ca. 320 B.C.). Those signs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 that display a marked resemblance to the Leinwand and P. Bremner examples, in contrast to other forms in Möller, *HP* 3, are listed in table 1.

The Brooklyn wisdom text also contains sign-forms which differ from all the examples given in Möller, *HP* 3; these signs are given in table 2. There is an admittedly subjective element in such a selection, and I would not maintain that the differences are in all cases significant. For purposes of comparison examples from Leinwand and P. Bremner are provided. Among the more significant signs are nos. 105, 285, 341, 388, 439, 473, 505, and

3. Compare Sauneron 1970: 3. Useful remarks on the palaeography of Late period hieratic may be found in Derchain 1965, fascicle 1, pp. 119–27; Kurth 1980: 17–20; Vernus 1979: 110–17; Goyon 1967: 91; Posener 1957: 120–21; idem 1966: 45–61; idem, *Vandier*, pp. 8–11.
4. Sauneron (1970: 4) dated the script of P. Brooklyn 47.218.156 to the fourth or third centuries B.C. Goyon (1972–74: 13) placed 47.218.50 at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. P. Brooklyn 47.218.3, inscribed in both abnormal and normal hieratic, dates to 651 B.C. (Parker 1962: 1).
5. As already proposed by Posener and Saint Fare Garnot 1963: 156.

590. Numbers 105 and 388 are especially useful in the identification of possible fragments of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135.

While reliable criteria are lacking for dating the majority of Late period hieratic signs, a few do seem to distinguish between “late” and “early” forms. The point of division appears in most cases to be the sixth through fourth centuries B.C. Thus Posener notes in his edition of P. Vandier that, in general,  is written  before Darius I and  thereafter.<sup>6</sup> These distinctions are, however, based largely on the limited corpus of Möller, *HP*, and so must not be regarded as more than working hypotheses. Table 3 contains a list of signs that may be considered to have such “diagnostic” value.



















































The scribe not infrequently points his signs, which is also a characteristic of P. Vandier;<sup>7</sup> table 4 has a selection of examples.

## GRAMMAR

As one of the few late non-religious compositions written in hieratic, the language of the Brooklyn papyrus deserves to be considered in some detail. The author avails himself of a wide variety of verbal forms, constructions, and vocabulary. It is, moreover, a rather carefully written text, and obvious corruptions are few. A sketch of some of the more significant grammatical features of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is given below.

## ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of the text is good. The scribe is for the most part consistent and displays few eccentricities. The following may be noted:

- a. Coalescence of *q* and *g*, e.g.,  for , “to rest, be still” (2/17);  for , “to find” (3/5).
- b. The distinction between  and  is generally maintained. Exceptions to this are  for , “to burn” (5/16);  for    , “to equip” (6/10).
- c. The determiner , “every,” is usually written with the feminine *.t*, as often in the Late period, . In 6/14 there may be an example of *nb*, “master,” written *nb.t*, .
- d. In 1/10 and 1/14 the finite form of *rdi.t* is spelled  , *rdi.t=f*.
- e. The otiose plural is occasionally supplied, e.g.,      , “your calf” (4/5);   , “friend” (3/13);                  , “shore” (2/6).
- f. The double reed leaf is found in collective nouns (cf. Junker 1906: 14), e.g.,     , “crew” (4/13).

6. Posener, *Vandier*, p. 9. See also Sauneron 1951:191–94, who discusses confusion between the *sdm* sign (Möller, *HP*, no. 158) and that for *idn* (Möller, *HP*, no. 159). This reference is courtesy of Professor Wente.

7. Posener, *Vandier*, p. 10.

Table One. Signs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 Most Closely Resembling Those of Leinwand and P. Bremner in Möller, *HP*

HP		P. Brooklyn	Leinwand	P. Bremner	Remarks
96		 5/5			
103		 4/11			
112		 2/6			
122		 2/8			
128		 3/12			
160		 3/6			
192		 5/10			
201		 3/11			Replaces no. 202 in P. Brooklyn
260		 4/4			
297		 3/6			 Schmitt
379		 2/2			
398		 1/14			

Table Two. Signs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 Unlike All Examples in Möller, *HP*

HP		P. Brooklyn	Leinwand	P. Bremner	Remarks
105		 5/4			
141		 2/9			
211		 6/20			 P. Ryl.
285		 6/9			
341		 3/11			
388		 3/10			
395		 4/9			
397		 5/16			
439		 4/12			or = 571 (?)
473		 5/7			
505		 2/7			 Schmitt
590		 6/10			
619		 5/15			








Table Three. Additional Noteworthy Signs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135

HP		P. Brooklyn	Remarks
81		 4/12	Closer to Takelothis  than Leinwand forms  , cf. Derchain 1965: 122
110		 4/9	Most closely resembles Roman period forms  vs. (Leinwand)  (P. Bremner)
118		 2/19	Contrast the writing  , attested before P. Bremner, see Posener, <i>Vandier</i> , p. 10
121		 2/5	Written  in texts before Leinwand, see Posener, <i>Vandier</i> , p.10
132		 2/18	In P. Ryl. and later, generally  , cf. Derchain 1965: 123
158		 4/16	Usually  before P. Ryl., see Posener, <i>Vandier</i> , p. 9
165		 3/12	Unlike Leinwand  and Schmitt  , cf. Takelothis  ; Rit.
166		 2/12	Closest to Leinwand and later forms  , contrast Takelothis  ,  , cf. Derchain 1965: 123
229		 3/18	Pointed before Leinwand,  thereafter, see Posener, <i>Vandier</i> , p. 10
253		 2/6	Resembles Takelothis  ; after Leinwand  , see Derchain 1965: 124
279		 6/10	P. Bremner and later  , see Posener, <i>Vandier</i> , p. 10
534		 2/9	/  for  is a feature of late hieratic texts, see Möller, <i>HP</i> 3, p. 51, n. 8
547		 2/20	The pointed writing is attested in Möller, <i>HP</i> 3 from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Möller, <i>HP</i> 3, p. 53






Table Four. Pointed Signs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135

HP		P. Brooklyn
7		 5/9
35b		 6/12
122		 2/8
326		 6/5
358		 2/12

## PRONOUNS











- For the third person plural suffix pronoun the scribe writes both  , *sn* (1/15), and  , *w* (2/7). The latter is, however, more common. In 4/17  perhaps stands for  .
- The masculine third person dependent pronoun *sw* is variously written  (2/8) or  (3/13).
- A possible example of the third person independent plural pronoun is in 6/8  .<sup>8</sup>

## ARTICLE





- The scribe employs the definite article series  ,  ,  , together with the possessive adjectives formed from them. When followed by the relative pronoun, an abbreviated spelling is used  (2/7 and *passim*) and  (6/12). Other examples of

8. I might also mention the *nt(y).w* which appears in a broken context in 3/21. I have rendered this as a relative pronoun in my translation, but it could also be the independent pronoun.


this writing can be found in Davies 1953, pl. 20 (North wall, bottom register, second line of main text); Vernus 1975: 59, n. 3; Gasse 1984: 208 (= P. Strasbourg 2); Jelínková-Reymond 1956: 42; Zivie 1975: 88, line 8.

- b. The possessive adjectives are inconsistently written. Examples are: , *p3y=s* (6/8),  (6/10); , *p3y=w* (2/6),  (6/18); , *t3y=w* (2/3),  (5/12).
- c. The possessive prefix , "he-of," is attested in 4/20 . A possible example of , "the-ones-of," is  (4/11).







## COPULA

- a. The copula *pw* may be found in 2/3, , while the feminine copula  occurs in 2/2, , and 2/3, . The normal method of forming nominal sentences, however, is simple juxtaposition, e.g., *n3 qm3.w p3-R Pr-3 pw mniw*, "As for those whom Pre created, Pharaoh is their herdsman" (2/8–9); and *n3 nt mš3 p3 drp n n3 s3w-3*, "The (grain) which goes astray is the offering of the weak-of-arm" (6/12). Other examples of such juxtaposition are: 2/9, 2/9–10, 2/11, 2/12, 2/13, 2/14, 2/17, 4/7, 4/11, 4/15–16, 4/18, 5/6, 5/11, 5/12, 5/15(?), 6/7, and 6/18.<sup>9</sup>



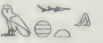















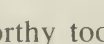

## DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE










- a. The archaic demonstrative adjective  is found only in the phrase *t3 pn*, "this land," in 1/11 and 1/13.

## PREPOSITIONS

- a. , *iwd*, "between" (5/5).
- b. , *irm*, "together with." The scribe writes both *irm* (5/14) and *rm*  (3/11). The latter is especially characteristic of late texts, see Korostovtsev 1973: 135.
- c. , *m* "in, from, etc.," , "its door-leaves of tin" (2/7). As often in the Late period *m* is also written , e.g., *iw=f n hb*, "he being in festival (i.e., 'festive'))" (5/4). *m* is also perhaps used once in order to mark the direct object of a present tense verb [*in i*]*w=k rh tw n p3y=k ssw n hpr 3d=k*, "[Do] you know your day in which your need comes into being?" (5/8). The prepositions *m*, *n*, and *r* are generally written in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 and do not have to be supplied or understood. A possible example of the omission of *n* is in 4/17.

9. Such sentences may also be interpreted as "A, B Ø" constructions, "As for A, (it is) B"; see Gilula 1976: 170, n. 58 (reference courtesy of Professor Wente).

- d.  , *m-ʿ*, “about, through, concerning” (2/18, 2/20).
- e.  , *m-b3h*, “before” (1/13).
- f.  , *m-ht*, “behind” (5/18), written  (?)
- g.  , *m-s3*, “after” (4/11 and passim).
- h.  , *m-di*, “with, in the possession of,” in *mn m-di ɛf*, “he has not” (5/5) and also perhaps in the phrase *p3 nḥ m-di ɛf*, “his life (sic)” (3/11).
- i.  , *m-dr*, “around” (2/7).
- j.  , *n*, “to, for,” passim.
- k.  , *r*, “to, towards, etc.” passim. The forms with suffix are  (5/9), perhaps  (3/21, though this may also be understood as *hr*), and  (2/5). The scribe seems in general to maintain the distinction between *iw* (circumstantial converter) and *r* (preposition). While he varies his spelling of the circumstantial converter between *iw* and *i*, he does not seem to write the preposition  . A possible exception is in 6/6 where  may stand for the *r* of the future tense.
- l.  , *n-h3w-r*, “more than,” e.g., *t3y ɛs mi.t nb n ds iw ɛw dm n-h3w (-r) sf*, “its every path of flint, they being sharper than a knife” (2/5).
- m.  , *hn*, “together with.” The preposition occurs once in the normal spelling (1/10) and once in a Ptolemaic writing  (5/12). On *hn* in Late period literary texts, see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 13. It is less frequent in this composition than *irm*.
- n.  , *hr*, “on, concerning,” e.g., 5/4. There are also several possible examples (2/4, 5/6, and 5/11) of the compound preposition *hr-3t ɛ*, “concerning, upon,” which is hardly attested outside of Demotic (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 12) and Coptic (Crum, *CD*, p. 221). Noteworthy too is  (4/6, 5/5), which is also rare outside of Demotic (see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 13). *hr* + infinitive is used to express concomitant action in 1/15 and, perhaps, in 2/7 (restored). As expected *hr* is not written in the first present construction (a possible exception is 3/13).
- o.  , *hft*, “in accordance with.” Found alone in the phrase *hpr nb hft ntr*, “every form like (that of) a god” (1/16). The preposition was archaic by this stage of the language and is rare in Demotic; compare Westendorf, *KHWb*, p. 571 (for a Demotic example, see Johnson 1977: 85 [P. Louvre E3229, 6/25]). The compound preposition *r-hft-hr* occurs in 1/16 and 3/9.

- p. , *hn*, “in” (2/14 and passim). For the late writing without initial *m*, see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 67.
- q. , *hr*, “under” (6/11). Note the probable garbled writing in 5/14   (as *hr.t* “sustenance”).
- r.  , *mi-qd*, “like,” e.g., *iw=f b3k mi-qd bity*, “he working like a bee” (4/3).
- s.  , *n-t(?)*, “since.” A possible example of this preposition is in 2/15. It is hardly attested outside of Demotic and Coptic (see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 13).
- t. , *dr*, “since,” in the phrase *dr rk ... [ ... ]*, “since the time of ... [ ... ]” (2/4).





## GENITIVE

- a. The feminine genitive adjective *n.t* is found only in the set phrases *m hr.t hrw n.t r nb*, “in the course of every day” (2/5), and *3h.t n.t p.t*, “horizon of heaven” (2/8).
- b. There is also the compound *iwiw n s nh*, “domestic dog” (4/7), in which an infinitive follows the genitive (cf. Spiegelberg 1925: 40–41).

## PASSIVE

- a. The only example of the impersonal pronoun *tw* is, *m-dr dd tw n=f*, “when one said to him” (1/13). In general the third person plural *w* is used to express the passive, e.g., 5/4 (see Wente, *LRL*, p. 29. n. e).

ADJECTIVE VERBS WITH THE *n3* -PREFIX



- a. Two examples of these typically Demotic forms occur in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135: (1)  , *n3-qsn*, “to be painful, difficult,” e.g., *i-ir=f wh3 t3 nt n3-qsn=s nb r ir=s n=f*, “He seeks everything which is painful so as to do it to him” (5/16); and (2)  , *n3-shm*, “to be fearsome,” in 3/12, *n3-shm=f hr w*, “He is fearsome while cursing.” P. Vandier also contains several such adjective verbs (see Posener, *Vandier*, pp. 12–13). For further discussion of these forms, see Osing 1976: 162–63.

## PARTICIPLES

- a. IMPERFECTIVE (OR PRESENT) PARTICIPLES: e.g., *whwh* in 4/7, *iwiw n s nh whwh p3 nt di wd3 p3y=f nb*, “a domestic dog which barks is the one who keeps his master safe.” On this rather archaic form, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 469.
- b. PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLES (*i-ir* + INFINITIVE): *n3 i-ir hpr*, “that which came into being” (3/18). A possible example of the perfective participle without *i-ir* is, *in Dhwty*, “(He






who) appointed Thoth (as Vizier)” (3/20). For the former, the usual Demotic construction, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 468–69; Spiegelberg 1925: 111, and for the latter, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 464–65.


## VERBAL FORMS

- a. FIRST PRESENT: The first present is common, e.g., *nꜣ i-ir ḥpr nb ḥpr n-im=f*, “Everything which has come into being came into being through him” (3/18). The second *ḥpr* is a qualitative predicate. Other examples of the first present are in 4/9, 4/18, 4/19, and 6/10. Note *sw* as a possible first present subject in 2/4 (Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 33). This is in contrast to the Demotic third person masculine prefix *iw=f* (Johnson 1976: 36). A possible instance of *m* preceding the direct object is in 5/8.
- b. CIRCUMSTANTIAL PRESENT: This form is also relatively frequent in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, e.g., *i-ir=k skꜣ iw=k ḥr pꜣ nhb*, “You plow, while you are under the yoke” (6/11). The circumstantial converter is written either  or . It is rarely omitted, one possible instance being *imw tꜣy=f is.t isfy iw=f bgꜣ*, “A ship, its crew is evil, it is shipwrecked” (4/13), where one might expect *iw* before *tꜣy=f*.
- c. RELATIVE PRESENT: This is often found in the text, e.g., *iwꜣw n s'nh whwh pꜣ nt di wdꜣ pꜣy=f nb*, “A domestic dog which barks is the one which keeps its master safe” (4/7); and *i-ir sr di šb n pꜣ nt di mnḥ tꜣy=f wp.t pꜣ nt di šꜣ pꜣy=f bꜣk*, “A noble gives a reward to the one who causes his work to be excellent (and to) the one who causes his labor to be abundant” (2/18). As already mentioned, *ḥr* is generally not written before the infinitive; for the construction, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 500, and Korostovtsev 1973: 461–62. Examples of the relative present are: 2/7, 8, 10, 15, 18, 3/5, 10, 4/7, 11 (bis), 4/13, 16, 17, 18 (bis), 5/4, 5, 7, 11, 15, 16, 6/7, 8, 9, 9–10, 12, 13 (see also the glossary).
- d. SECOND PRESENT: This is very frequently used, e.g., (a multitude of soldiers) *i-ir=w hdp n nw qnw*, “at the sight of a champion they fall” (2/10); and *pꜣ nt di hwš pꜣy=f š-shn i-ir pꜣ ntr dbꜣ n=f*, “As for him who causes his affair(s) to go wrong, on him the god takes revenge” (2/19–20). A possible *Wechselsatz* may be in 6/17.
- e. NEGATIVE PRESENT: No certain examples of the negative present have been found. If correctly joined, a possible instance of a circumstantial negative present is *iw bn tꜣy=f ḥr.t n ḏr.t=f in*, “while his sustenance is not in his hand” (3/8). Another uncertain example is in 5/2.

- f. AORIST: *hr smʒ=f ḥḥ n mšʕ*, “he slaughters myriads of soldiers” (2/11). For a discussion of *hr sdm=f* in Demotic and earlier Egyptian, see Johnson 1976: 143.
- g. NEGATIVE AORIST: *bw-ir=f ts.t=f*, “He cannot raise himself” (3/10). The negative aorist sometimes follows a vetitive, in which case it has the meaning “lest,” e.g., *m-ir ir n=k ḥry sʒh-tʒ bw-ir=k ir iwīw iw mn mtw=f nb mtw=k ʒq iwd=w*, “Do not make for yourself a master (and) a friend lest you become as a dog without a master and you perish between them” (5/5–6).
- h. FUTURE: The third future is difficult to identify with certainty due to the possible omission of *r*, and subsequent confusion with the circumstantial, present, or conditional forms. A very probable example is *pʒ nt dwʒ pʒy=f nb n-t [ ... ] iw=f (r) mr.tw=f r nʒy=f iw.f.w mtw=f [dʔ n=f ʕq].w mnw*, “As for the one who praises his lord from [ ... ], he will love him more than his flesh, and he will [give to him ra]tions daily” (2/15). The fact that the sentence is concluded by a conjunctive form strongly implies that *iw=f mr.tw=f* is indeed future. Also of interest are third future constructions wherein the predicate is a prepositional phrase: *iw yʕb m nʒy=k iw.f.w*, “sickness will be in your flesh” (5/3–4).
- i. RELATIVE FUTURE: *nʒ sry.w nʒ nt i-ir dr.t=w r mh ḥ.t=w iw nʒ nt bʒk pʒ tʒ mwt n ḥq n nʒ ḥʒr.w*, “The nobles are the ones whose hands will fill their stomachs, while those who work the land perish from hunger in the low-lying fields” (6/6–7). The form (*nt i-ir* subject *r* + infinitive) may also be interpreted as a relative second future construction, though this seems rather unlikely.
- j. PAST *sdm=f*: This is relatively common in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, in which the old *sdm.n=f* is entirely absent, e.g., *ir=f n=s inb*, “he made for it a wall” (2/6). On the form in general, see Johnson 1976: 178–94. On the use of the past *sdm=f* in narration, see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 12, and Sherman 1981: 98.
- k. CIRCUMSTANTIAL PAST *sdm=f*: [*i-ir=*]*w gm.tw=k iw t ʒy=k [iw=w r šʕ]d=k*, “[If th]ey discover that you have stolen, [they will ki]ll you” (5/3).
- l. PAST RELATIVE *sdm=f*: The past relative *sdm=f* is written both with and without *r* (= *i*), e.g., *tʒ i-ir=f n=f*, “that which he did to him” (2/17); *gr m-ir ḥsf m-ir ḥsʒ šʕ-tw=f rh pʒ ʒ n tʒ ir=k n=f*, “Be silent! Do not reply! Do not praise until he learns the importance of that which you did for him” (5/7). The full writing would be *tʒ r-ir=k*.

In 2/7,  $p^3 nt ph=f nb$ , the construction is perhaps  $nt + sdm=f$ , a somewhat unusual form.<sup>10</sup> It may be a simple relative present or future ( $nty + [r] +$  infinitive), however. A more probable example of  $nty + sdm=f$  is  $t^3 nty msd=k ir.s n=k$ , “that which you hate to be done to you” (5/7–8). Identical formulations are found in Onkhsheshonqy,  $p^3 nt mst=f s$ , “him whom he hates” (19/9); and  $t^3 nt mst=k s$ , “that which you hate” (15/23, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 84). On the construction, see Wentz, *LRL*, p. 62. On the use of the  $sdm=f$  form of  $mst$  to express present time, see Johnson 1976: 71.

- m. NEGATIVE PAST:  $bn-pw=f nht n^3y=f rh.w$ , “He did not believe(?) his wise ones” (3/18–19); and  $bn-pw=w st^3 h^3t=w r-hr=f$ , “They did not withdraw their hearts from him” (3/21). For the writing  $bn-pw$  (the Demotic form) as opposed to  $bw-pw$  (the late Egyptian form), see Vernus 1975: 44–45, 62, and Johnson 1976: 203.
- n. OPTATIVE: A possible example is  $m-^c rh p^3y=k i^3w p^3y=k [mnh(?)]$ , “Let your elder (i.e., chief) know your [excellence(?)].” (4/5). For the spelling , compare  in P. Vandier (Posener, *Vandier*, p. 51). Less probable is that  is the negative  $m dy$ , “Do not” (Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 358).
- o. NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE AND OPTATIVE: Examples are numerous, e.g.,  $m-ir d^3 iw rs(?)$ , “Do not allow tomorrow(?) to come” (3/6). The negative imperative is written both  (3/6) and in the characteristic late spelling  (5/7).<sup>11</sup>
- p. TERMINATIVE:  $bw-ir h^3t=f qr š^3 ^c-tw=f ir n=f p^3 db^3 n t^3 i-ir=f n=f$ , “His heart does not rest until he takes revenge on him for that which he did to him” (2/16–17).
- q. TEMPORAL:  $m-dr dd tw n=f$ , “When one said to him” (1/13).
- r. CONDITIONAL: This can be difficult to identify, owing to its similarity to other forms. It may be found, however, in  $i-ir=w tm gm [tw=k iw] t^3y=k iw y^3b m n^3y=k iw.f.w$ , “If they do not discover that you have stolen, sickness will be in your flesh” (5/3–4). This may in fact be a second tense acting as a conditional (cf. also 5/18?). Noteworthy is the apodosis which consists of a future construction with an adverbial predicate.

In several passages an interrogative phrase seems to have the force of a conditional. These are introduced by  $in-iw$ , which I have taken to be the interrogative particle  (Wb. 1, 89/14). On the “interpretation of questions as conditions,” see Silverman 1980: 105–08 and Erman, *NÄG*, §818. The examples in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 are:  $in-iw k^3.w hnš p^3y=w mn^3w p^3 nt qnb[=w n r]^3 n t^3y=f dr$ , “Are bulls

10. See note M on column two.

11. See Vernus 1975: 39, n. aq.

perverse? (Then) their herdsman is the one who tame[s them with the mou]th of his prod” (2/9–10); *in-îw = k wsr r pzy = k* [ ... ], “Are you stronger than your [ ... ]” (4/9–10); *in-îw pzy = k hry msd s h' = f*, “Is your master hateful? Reproach him” (5/6); and *in-îw ikn h' (n) tzy = f wp.t i n3 šnw.w mh n it bty îw p3 hty îw ir wgg mn k3.t hpr n p3 šn' = f*, “Does the hoer cease (in) his work, the granaries being full of barley and emmer? The threshing-floor will (then) suffer a shortage. No sustenance comes (therefore) into the storehouse” (6/5–6).

- s. Purpose Clauses: The prospective *sdm = f* may be used to express purpose, e.g., *i-ir = f ir n = f š-shn nb n n3 t- = n r3.w pr = f m m3' = hrw n3 hfty.w nty.w* [ ... ], “He (Thoth) carries out for him (Pre) every matter of the determinations(?) of their mouths, so that he comes forth in justification of voice against the enemies who [ ... ]” (3/19–20). When the subject of a purpose clause was not indicated, the author used *r* + infinitive to express purpose, e.g., [*i-ir = w*] *šn' st r-r = s r tm tî.t rh = w pzy = s snnt*, “[They] repel them from it so as not to permit them to know its plan” (2/5).
- t. Conjunctive: This is common in the text, e.g., *mtw = f sn pzy = f s3tt*, “(As for everyone who reaches the sanctuary) and passes by its ground ... ” (2/7). In this sentence the conjunctive continues a present construction (cf. the remarks on the negative conjunctive below). The form also appears following a third future, e.g., 2/15.
- u. Negative Conjunctive: *in p3 iry [p3 nt(?)] k'k' = irm* [ ... ] *qsn mtw = f tm pr hr n3y = k mt.wt nt h3p* ... , “Is the companion [the one who(?)] chatters with irksome [ ... ], and (yet) does not reveal your words which are secret ... ” (5/14). The conjunctive seems here to continue a present tense. While this is unusual, it is not unparalleled (see Johnson 1976: 291 “The conjunctive here follows a present tense clause with gnomic meaning ...”).

## ANTICIPATION

- a. The scribe is very fond of anticipatory emphasis (on which see Gardiner 1957, §§146–48), e.g., *n3 qm3.w p3-R' Pr-3 pzy = w mniw*, “As for those whom Pre created, Pharaoh is their herdsman” (2/8–9). Other examples are: 2/11, 2/15, 2/16, 2/19, 4/8, 5/6, 5/7–8, 5/8, 6/15–16.

## VOCABULARY

The vocabulary of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is basically that of late Egyptian. There are, nevertheless, words and constructions normally associated with Demotic. Examples of the





















































latter are the adjective verbs formed with *nʒ*, the compounds *dī hwš* “give offense” and *š-šh* “matter, affair.” This mixture of late Egyptian and Demotic is also characteristic of P. Vandier, composed at approximately the same time as P. Brooklyn 47.218.135. As is perhaps to be expected, the language of Third Intermediate Period inscriptions displays similarities to that of this composition as well.<sup>12</sup>

Appended below is an admittedly subjective list of those words which seem to be archaic, i.e., rarely or not at all attested in Demotic.






1. *ib*, “heart” (6/2). The late word *hʒt* is generally used, however.
2. *imw*, “ship” (4/13)
3. *ir.ty*(?), “two eyes” (5/17)
4. *is.t*, “crew” (4/13)
5. *isfy*.(t), “falsehood” (2/17)
6. *ikn*, “hoer” (6/5)
7. *qy*, “ship” (2/14)
8. *wbt*, “to burn” (5/16)
9. *wnmy.t*, “fire” (3/13)
10. *wgg*, “lack” (6/6)
11. *bwʒ.t*, “covert” (5/4)
12. *mʒt*, “granite” (6/9)
13. *mib.t*, “axe” (2/12)
14. *mʿr*, “be happy, satisfied” (3/5)
15. *mrgbt*, “chariot” (2/13–14 restored). While not attested, to my knowledge, in Demotic, this word appears in Coptic as Ⲡⲣⲅⲟⲟⲩⲧ (Crum, *CD*, p. 44b).
16. *m-dr*, “around” (2/7)
17. *nīw.wt*, “towns” (1/11)
18. *nhm*, “to jubilate” (2/4)
19. *nqr*, “sieve” (6/16)
20. *nt*, “pool of water, cistern” (6/4)
21. *rk*, “time” (2/4)
22. *hn*, “abomination” (5/17)
23. *m hr.t hrw n.t rʿ nb*, “in the course of every day” (2/5)
24. *sʒ-pr*, a type of police official (5/3)
25. *sʒw*, “beware” (2/20)
26. *sʒw-ʿ*, “weak-of-arm” (6/12)

12. See Vernus 1975: 59–66.

- In general, the orthography of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is unexceptional. The following spellings are typically late or unusual:























1. , *ir* (5/5 and passim). On this Ptolemaic writing, see Goyon 1966: 25.
2.                                                      

13. The late Professor Klaus Baer pointed out to me (letter of February 25, 1986) that “the writing of  $gm$  ‘find’ as though it were  $qm3$  is relatively old,” quoting Edwards 1960, vol. 1, p. 5, n. 31, and Leclant 1961: 70 (e).




P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 offers few hitherto unattested words. In 2/10 there is , obviously a type of prod used on cattle. I have understood this to be a feminine noun formed from , “vertreiben” (Wb. 5, 473/1–474/12). One might also compare , *tr.t*, “Hacke” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 647). Finally, there are two words which are yet to be adequately explained: , *stht*, a type of weapon or staff(?) (2/12); and , *pwr*, a verb of uncertain meaning (5/8).

### SCRIBAL ERRORS AND ADDITIONS

There are relatively few scribal errors in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, but note the following:

1. 3/21: the scribe seems to have written , “long of years,” in place of the expected , “myriads of years.” See note GG on column three.
2. 4/17: , “mountains,” has been written in place of , “evil”
3. 5/11:  for , “son, child”
4. 5/12:  for , “brother”
5. 5/14: , “sustenance,” for the correct , “under, with”
6. 5/15:  has been written for , “hunter, member of desert border troop”
7. 5/18: , “in him,” for the correct , “behind him”
8. 6/5:  has perhaps been written for , “flourish.” See note H on column six.
9. 6/5:  instead of the correct 
10. 6/14:  in place of the correct , “master, owner”
11. 6/18:  has perhaps been written for , “exclamations”

The following additions or corrections to the text may be observed:

1. 3/10:  has been added above the line
2. 3/18:  has been added above the line
3. Frag. 65, 2:  has been added above the line

### THE CONTENT OF THE BROOKLYN WISDOM PAPYRUS

The Brooklyn wisdom papyrus deals with many of the traditional themes of the genre. The text contains observations on god, companions, education, family, evil, and other familiar topics. The author naturally does not give equal space to all but rather concentrates on a few special themes—most notably the relationship between servant and master. A summary of the most important subjects treated in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is given below.

## SERVANT AND SUPERIOR

If there is a central theme in the Brooklyn text, it is the relationship between the servant and the superior. The majority of the preserved sayings seem to deal with some aspect of that relationship. The didactic purpose of the composition is evidently to persuade the reader of the benefits of serving his master well and faithfully. Naturally these rewards are in large part the tangible ones of daily sustenance and support. The purpose of the paeon to the king (2/8–14) may well be to offer to the reader a theoretical justification for the servant-master relationship, i.e., as the pharaoh is due the respect and loyalty of his subjects, so is the master due the same from his servants. While the composition is largely directed to the subordinate, the author is not unaware of the responsibility of the master for his underlings. As columns five and six make clear, the superior must also maintain his ethical standards and provide adequately for his servants.

The “wisdom text” proper begins in 2/14 with exhortations towards the reader to love and praise his master. The author recounts with equal delight the benefits awaiting the good servant and the punishment awaiting the evil one. This contrast, made repeatedly throughout the composition, is reminiscent of that between the wise and foolish man or the silent and loquacious individual found in other wisdom texts.

The master is the epitome of good (2/17) but also a stern and harsh disciplinarian. Satisfied with, and profiting from, excellent service, he will “stretch out to you his hand with life” (2/19). The closing lines of column two describe perhaps the special relationship which the master enjoys with the deity. Should the servant injure the interests of his master, it is god himself who will punish him.

In column three the bad subordinate is once again the topic of discussion. The author stresses the inevitability of punishment for the inept servant, particularly the one who “creates obstruction for his master” (3/4). Here it is fate, *ḥw*, which dooms the servant. At this point the author introduces the well-known motif of “reporting to one’s superiors” (3/6), which the “guilty man” is naturally unable to do properly (3/8, the sense is uncertain).

In the damaged middle portion of column three the author emphasizes the awesomeness of the superior. The purpose is doubtless to inculcate the proper attitude of respect in the mind of the reader.

The initial preserved lines of column four also probably describe the bad servant. The author then neatly characterizes the ideal subordinate as “Sia, a perfect wise man, a crocodile to the thief, a fate to the evil one, a guardian poisonous snake in the house of his lord” (4/4). Thus the time-honored figure of the wise man makes his appearance here as the epitome of the excellent servant.

Sayings concerning the servant occupy most, but not all, of the first half of column four. In 4/12 the author shifts his attention to the theme of evil, though here too the servant is not neglected, e.g., “A laborer who is suffering under two sticks is happy with one” (4/19).

The thieving servant is vividly portrayed in column five. The author asserts once more the inevitable punishment awaiting the malefactor. Advice from the traditional store of Egyptian wisdom follows. One should correct the master, but not publicly (5/6). Moreover, do not be

impertinent, allow your master to realize himself the significance of what you have done (5/7). Before changing the subject, the author emphasizes the practical rewards of good behavior, “Be capable so that your sustenance comes into being” (5/9).

Two more observations, worthy of Onkhsheshonqy, deserve mention. In 5/16 the author notes that the maltreated servant seeks revenge upon his master. In 6/6–7 he remarks upon the inevitable consequences of a poorly run farm, namely, the nobles continue “to fill their stomachs,” but the workers who cultivate the fields “perish of hunger.”

## DIVINITY

As so often in wisdom texts, the author generally employs *p3 ntr* to denote divinity. Nevertheless, he does not hesitate to name deities. The Ennead, Ptah, Re, Horus, Thoth, Apophis, and Sia, all appear in this composition. While god and cult are perhaps not paramount in this text, both do play a significant role. The fragmentary narrative in columns one and two certainly allocates to Ptah, Horus, and the Ennead a prominent place. The commentary suggests that the sacred locality described in column two may be equated with, or at least inspired by, the water-sources of the Amun temples in Siwa.

The creator deity, probably Re, is important in the Brooklyn wisdom text. Mankind is his creation, and the pharaoh is his representative upon earth (2/8–9). The epithets at the bottom of column three also refer to Re in his role as creator. The wise servant is further characterized as Sia (4/4), a deity closely connected with the creator god Re. Thoth also is featured in the somewhat enigmatic passage at the bottom of column three. He is there hailed as the vizier of the sun god, an office which the author also mentions earlier in the column (3/11–12). The writer apparently seeks to emphasize the roles and duties of the god. He focuses on the aid which Thoth provided to Re and his special relationship with the sun god. Thoth is here, perhaps, an example of the excellent servant who helps his master, Re. In the following column the servant is identified with Sia, who may also be equated with Thoth.<sup>14</sup>

If the Brooklyn wisdom text is not as imbued with religious spirit as Amenemope or Insinger, for example, it seems nevertheless to display the same attitudes towards the divinity. For our author traditional piety is clearly an important virtue without which there can be no lasting success or prosperity. This sentiment finds expression in the statement “The one who causes that god be disrespected is the one who causes that fear of him (i.e., god) be known among the masses” (4/11).

## KINGSHIP

The king plays a prominent role only in the first two columns. Pharaoh Apries figured in the narrative portions, while the middle of column two contains the paeon to the pharaoh. The king receives the well-attested designation “herdsman” of mankind at the beginning of the passage (2/9). Equally traditional is the association of the king with *maat* (2/9). In the paeon the author

14. See Boylan 1922: 103–06.

emphasizes the aggressive aspects of the pharaoh, the king as chastiser of unruly subjects and as defender of the people against the onslaughts of robbers. This view of the pharaoh may well reflect the efforts of native rulers of the later dynasties to defend Egypt against foreigners, especially the Persians.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from these passages, the king is not mentioned in the Brooklyn papyrus. As the author is chiefly concerned with practical matters, the pharaoh may have been too remote a figure to be of much interest. The significance of the king in our text is thus largely that of master *par excellence*.

### COMPANIONS AND FRIENDS

The Brooklyn papyrus naturally promotes a code of behavior towards friends and associates. As we might expect, he advocates such traditional virtues as generosity "A good person opens up his arms to every man" (4/9). He shows himself aware of the problem of divided loyalties, "Do not make for yourself a master and a friend, lest you become as a dog without a master and you perish between them" (5/5–6). In this connection one might quote the version of the Golden Rule in 5/7–8, "That which you hate to have done to you, do not do it to another." At the end of column five, he appears to counsel generosity to helpful companions and forgiveness for those who have annoyed or wronged you in some small way (5/13–14).

### MAN AND FAMILY

The author is particularly interested in the role of the son. It is the offspring of the just man who inherits his property (4/8), while wrongly acquired possessions cause the destruction of one's sons (4/17). The topos of educating the son may occur in 5/10. The practical attitude of the author is revealed once more in the advice to be generous to your son's son so that he may support you when you are old (5/10–11). In 5/11 the author warns the reader against favoritism, again a common theme in the literature. Finally, the rather obscure passage at the bottom of column five also seems to deal with the lazy or disobedient son (5/18).

The author pays less attention to wives in this composition. The evil servant brazenly makes love to the superior's wife in his presence (5/4–5). The author may here be alluding to the faithlessness of women, a popular idea in wisdom literature. This could equally well be a question of rape, however. The obscure saying in 5/15 is possibly concerned with the predicament of the barren wife.

The author advocates proper treatment of parents in 5/12, and generosity towards a needy brother in 5/12–13.

15. See Johnson 1984: 121–22. Note also the possible association of the king and the path of god (2/11), also found in the Demotic Chronicle (see Johnson 1983: 69).

## WISE MAN AND FOOL

A fragmentary passage contains a contrast between the wise man and the fool (3/15), but the topos does not seem to play a central role in the text. The excellent servant is a *rmt-rh* (4/4), while the foolish man is either *swg* (3/15) or *hm* (1/16). The *bw-rh=f*, “ignorant man,” also appears in 6/18. The common Demotic term *lh*, “fool,” is not found.

## WORK AND OCCUPATIONS

While the entire text is preoccupied with the servant-master relationship, the author is rather vague as to the kinds of tasks that the subordinate is expected to perform. He is evidently more interested in the relationship and the attitudes of those concerned than in the details of the work itself. In column three he mentions the giving of reports, already discussed above. The servant should be industrious, literally, “busy as a bee” (4/3). He should be a watchdog for his superior’s interests (4/4) and not shy about discreetly correcting him (5/6). The author assumes apparently that the servant can attain a confidential position *vis-à-vis* the master, who will then “tell him all that has happened to him” (4/6).

In column six the reader is exhorted to arrange for the proper irrigation and cultivation of his fields. The drastic results of sloth are then portrayed. The author advises the owner of fields to take a direct interest in their cultivation, and perhaps even actively participate. Industry, thrift, and conscientiousness are the important virtues. The reward for following his advice is wealth in abundance. The conclusion of this column well illustrates the author’s rather unusual attitude towards the cultivator, “The farmer is the chief of every occupation. For him do they work. His hands are their breath of life in [ ... ]” (6/18).

## PROPERTY AND WEALTH

With regard to material well-being, the servant is largely dependent on his superior. The latter provides him with rations in compensation for his good work. Poverty and starvation, meanwhile, are the result of laziness. Wisdom texts not seldom advocate an acquisitive striving for possessions. A hint of this may be found, perhaps, in 4/13, “Collect for yourself property again and again.” The author does not overtly mention such crimes as fraud or bribery committed with the aim of self-enrichment. As already mentioned, he does warn, however, that wrongly acquired goods will not be inherited by one’s children, who may even be destroyed by them (4/10; 5/17). The wicked man is one “whose beloved is silver and gold” (5/6). The sixth column is a paean to industry and the rewards deriving therefrom. The poorly equipped farmer is rapacious (6/16), while the well-supplied industrious farmer is an owner of silver, gold, cows, birds, granaries, and every kind of livestock (6/14).

Honestly acquired wealth is a good thing. The author neither remarks that wealth is a gift of the gods (as in Ptahhotep), nor expresses the view of Insinger that even the poor man may be happy, or content with his lot. Wealth then is good but must not be sought through evil means. Generosity is a virtue to be expected of the good man (4/9). The author apparently

believes that the hope of prosperity and reward from one's master promotes and preserves social order.

## EDUCATION

The sole illuminating statement on this subject is in 5/10, where the author declares that one must strive to educate the foolish (son?), even though on the verge of death. Otherwise the composition does not mention education and learning. Notably absent too are references to the scribal craft.

## ILLNESS AND DEATH

Illness and death are the lot of the unruly man and evil servant (3/10, 3/13). Wrongfully acquired property also harbors death within it (4/17). The Brooklyn papyrus contains few references to the after-life and the preparation for the other world. Possible allusions to the after-life judgment are 5/12 where parents are referred to as the witnesses of their (neglectful) children and 4/17, "Prepare for the one who causes to testify [ ... ]."

## FATE AND FORTUNE

"Fate" (*Šꜥw*), which plays so important a role in the Late period, appears several times in the Brooklyn papyrus. *Šꜥw* is here apparently the negative personification of fate, who punishes the evil servant (4/4, 4/7). Other terms for fate and fortune, e.g., *Špsy.t* and *Rnn.wt*, do not occur in the preserved text. The author is obviously aware of the tenuous and uncertain nature of man's existence. This is indeed one of his arguments as to why others should be treated fairly (5/7–8). The topos of the reversal of fortune is employed in the damaged passage in column four, "[ ... ] the one who is unimportant after being great, the one who is great after being unimportant" (4/11). In contrast to Insinger, however, the author does not dwell on the idea that man is at the complete mercy of fortune.

## CAUSALITY AND RECIPROCITY

The author clearly believes that there is a fixed order in the universe and that every transgression against this order will be punished without exception. As already stated, the basic rule of the author is that good is rewarded and bad punished (cf. 5/3–4). The paradoxical statements of Insinger, which seem to emphasize apparent exceptions to the rule, are not to be found in this composition.

## SPEECH AND SILENCE

The author does not neglect these popular subjects. In 2/9 the author, employing a *Wortspiel*, equates the speech of the pharaoh with *maat*, "His speech (*md*) is the seed (*mt.wt*) of the bulls." The value of flattery is acknowledged. It is the servant who praises his master

who will be best rewarded (2/15). The author naturally knows full well that the praises of the servant are not necessarily sincere, as is clear from 4/6–7. 4/17 seems to describe the evil servant who “speaks in order to give offense.” Finally, the presentation of oral reports is probably the subject of the upper portion of column three.

The figure of the silent man is not prominent in the preserved text. Discretion is very important, however. One should be particularly careful not to praise one’s own actions to the master, letting him rather draw his own conclusions. If he is indeed acting wrongly, one has the obligation to correct him, but here again discretion is paramount (5/7). As already mentioned, the author advises forgiveness of friends who have somehow annoyed you with their conversation, provided that they have revealed no important secrets (5/13–14).

### THEFT AND ROBBERY

Some of the more interesting passages in the Brooklyn papyrus are about theft and robbery. In the paean to the pharaoh in column two, it is said that “Myriads of soldiers cannot seize them (the cattle, i.e., the subjects of the pharaoh) through robbery” (2/10). Similarly, the able servant protects his master against the thief (4/4). The upper portion of column five is indeed largely concerned with theft and emphasizes the inevitable punishment that follows. The author warns that if the master encourages the criminal activities of his servant he will himself eventually suffer robbery and humiliation at the hands of his subordinate. As already mentioned, the robber will not bequeath to his sons (4/10), while wrongly acquired property will result in the destruction of one’s own children.

### EVIL

Much of this composition deals either directly or indirectly with evil. The narrative of column two mentions the drastic consequences of attempted trespass of the sacred locality. The paean to the pharaoh portrays him as the chastiser of his unruly folk and as protector of his subjects against the attacks of others. The broken lines of column three describe the utter destruction of the bad servant, a doomed man. It is in the latter half of column four (4/12 ff.) that the author deals especially with evil. The words employed are *bīn*, *isfy*, and *dw*. Between 4/12 and 4/18 there are at least twelve sayings which treat evil explicitly or implicitly. Thus in 4/18 the author mentions hypocrisy, “The mouth says one thing to one man, another to another.” The author apparently believes that one has the capacity to change others for the better: “Do not ever allow a great man to be bad” (4/12). The idea of retaliation is expressed in proverbial form, “A ship, whose crew is evil, is shipwrecked” (4/13). Again, in 4/16–17 we find the statement, “An evil person is an abomination to his master.” The danger of association with thieves and evil-doers, a common theme in Demotic wisdom texts, is perhaps alluded to in the saying “An evil household results in [suffering viol]ence yourself” (4/18), as well as in the warning to the master not to encourage the thievery of a subordinate (5/4). After the colorful description of the corrupt servant (5/4), the author observes regarding the evil man, “silver and

gold are his beloved" (5/6). The author does not indulge in philosophical speculations on the origin and nature of evil.

## THE ORGANIZATION AND STYLE OF THE BROOKLYN WISDOM PAPYRUS

The surviving composition appears to comprise the following sections:

1/1–2/8	Narrative
2/8–14	Paeon to the pharaoh
2/14–3/17	Wisdom text
3/17–20	Narrative section concerning Re and Thoth
4/1–5/18	Wisdom Text
6/1–18	Didactic text dealing with agricultural work

Does the composition display a coherent structure? I would answer this with a cautious affirmation. The transition and connection between the sections are sometimes, however, difficult to establish with certainty. The reasons for this are obvious: the papyrus is fragmentary, there are no helpful chapter headings, and even the division between sayings is often problematic.

The relationship between the narrative in columns one and two and the remaining composition is perhaps the most obscure. The sole surviving rubrum in 2/8 does indeed imply a break at that point. Nevertheless, there is still the possibility that this merely introduces a new section and not an entirely new composition.

It is impossible to reconstruct the plot of the narrative. Column one contains perhaps an allusion to a distant land, in which a wonderful object is located. Significant phrases are "weighty of words," "life through the working of it, death through ...," and "concerning knowledge." The bottom of column one mentions Ptah, the sun-disk, a temple of the Ennead, and the pharaoh Apries. The author may refer to the installation of the pharaoh on the throne (1/15). A miraculous transformation of the ignorant man is implied in 1/16, which line also contains the tantalizing phrase, "every form in accordance with a god." The narrative of column two describes a sanctuary in a distant land. A well seems to be contained in or connected with this sanctuary. The inhabitants of the land jealously guard the knowledge of the fortified sanctuary from outsiders, but those privileged to enter "find it like the horizon of heaven" (2/8).

That this narrative contains elements well suited for a wisdom text is clear enough. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that it is a simple frame story in the manner of Onkhsheshonqy.<sup>16</sup> One might suppose, for example, that the didactic portions of the papyrus



16. For a discussion of the frame story of Onkhsheshonqy, see Thissen 1984: 11–12. Our text is perhaps another illustration of J. Barn's (1956: 1) dictum: "There is, in fact, no hard and fast line between narrative fiction and wisdom literature."

derive from a wisdom text hidden in the above mentioned sanctuary. However, the relatively well-preserved transition from the narrative to the paean contains no hint that this is the case.

I tentatively suggest in the commentary that the sacred locality is in Siwa Oasis. The *hnm.t*, “spring, well,” perhaps the object of veneration, may be associated with, or identical to, one of the sacred water sources in the two temples of Amun at Siwa. It must be emphasized, however, that the fragments of the first column lend no direct support for this view. The upper fragment does indeed seem to describe a foreign land but mentions neither Siwa nor the *hnm.t*.

In any case, if the narrative does concern the sun god and his shrines, the rubrum of the following paean to the pharaoh, “As for the creations of Pre, Pharaoh is their herdsman” (2/8–9), constitutes an apt transition. The paean to the pharaoh evolves into a paean to the champion (*qn*). In 2/13 the author declares, “A soldier is feeble whose master is not with him.” There then follow several metaphors describing the plight of the leaderless soldier (2/13–14). Immediately thereafter comes the imperative, “[place?] your master in your body that he may love you.” Thus the author introduces the wisdom text “proper” with its emphasis on the master-servant relationship. Particularly to be observed is the logical sequence of subjects: “sun god–pharaoh–champion–master.”

The *hnm.t* again appears in column six, which dwells on the importance of irrigation. Is this a deliberate echo of the *hnm.t* in the first column? While possible, one should be cautious in placing too much weight on the repetition of the word. In dealing with such a lacunose text, there is the ever present danger of “over-interpretation,” i.e., of seeing connections which do not exist. A conservative attitude in such matters is obviously in order.

It is not impossible that the Brooklyn papyrus in fact consists of several different compositions.<sup>17</sup> One notes, for example, the rather archaic grammar of the first column, as well as writings of , “words” (1/2), and , “find” (1/3), otherwise unparalleled in the text. So too, the long connected passages in column six are reminiscent of the Late Egyptian Miscellanies. Nevertheless, while the author has possibly utilized several different compositions, he has done so quite deliberately and with the aim of creating a continuous text.<sup>18</sup>

The fragmentary narrative at the bottom of column three (3/18–21) presents another problem. Departing from the usual mixture of exhortations and didactic statements, the author has composed a narrative passage about the sun god and Thoth. Is there a connection between

17. The comments of M. Smith (1987: 27, n. 113) regarding the mortuary composition recently published by him are relevant to our text as well: “Without the British Museum parallel, it would be very difficult to identify P. Harkness, II, 13–III, 8 as a discrete composition, or to determine the specific ritual in which it was employed. One wonders how many other compositions there are which, embedded in longer manuscripts, have gone unrecognized for lack of an explicit label.”

Many other Egyptian literary works pose, of course, the same problem of compositional unity (see, for example, the remarks of Posener 1976: 12; Brunner 1944: 59–60).

18. So too, Albrecht Alt (1955: 18), while maintaining that the author of Amenemope made use of a variety of sources, states: “Die Ordnung und Einteilung des Stoffes ist also auf jeden Fall das wohlüberlegte Werk eines einzelnen Mannes, und insoweit kann an der Einheitlichkeit des Buches kein Zweifel sein.”

this section and the surrounding wisdom text? I believe so. The passage in question does not seem to be a hymn to the creator god as found, for example, in Insinger 31/24–32/21. Indeed, the section is as much about Thoth as about the creator god.<sup>19</sup> In 3/11–12 the author twice mentions *ḥḥty*, the “vizier.” I understand these lines to refer to the master, i.e., one should revere and fear the master as though he were a vizier. In the narrative he describes the appointment of Thoth as vizier of the sun god (3/20) and the numerous ways in which Thoth aids the sun god. The notion of the *ḥḥty* thus helps to connect the narrative passage with the surrounding text. The passage seems to focus on the unique status of Thoth *vis-à-vis* the creator god. The enigmatic statement in 3/18–19, “He (the sun god) did not ask(?) his wise ones, [namely(?), h]is court of the gods who are with him,” perhaps implies that the god did not consult the Ennead, but rather (by implication) only Thoth. The narrative passage thus extols that deity as the epitome of the good servant who aids his master, Re, in an exemplary fashion. Also noteworthy is that in column 4/4 the good and wise servant is referred to as Sia, who is sometimes identified with Thoth.<sup>20</sup> This passage too, then, seems to fit quite well into the scheme of the composition.

Column six, with its sustained treatment of the agricultural theme, is also rather unlike the preceding text. The reader is addressed as if he were a master and not a servant. The author, moreover, displays an interest in practical aspects of work (i.e., irrigation, plowing, reaping) not evident in the foregoing columns. There are also similarities, however. As the bad servant is contrasted with the good in the previous columns, so here is the good farmer contrasted with the bad farmer. Furthermore, the author is still preoccupied with the master-servant relationship but now concerns himself chiefly with the role of the master. It is, for example, his responsibility to provide well for the field-worker. This idea is foreshadowed already in 5/16, where the neglected servant is described as one who seeks to annoy his master in every way. 5/18 provides a colorful picture of the *wsf*, the “lazy one,” that exemplifies the attitude against which the author warns in the last column. I have already remarked on, the possibly fortuitous, reappearance of the *ḥnm.t* in the last column, which may echo the *ḥnm.t* of column two.<sup>21</sup> The closing words of the text, put into the mouth of “the ignorant man,” are “The farmer is the chief of every occupation. For him do they work. His hands are their breath of life” (6/18). The farmer himself thus appears in the odd position of superior, the exclamations echoing the previous descriptions of the master. It is unlikely that this is mere chance. While column six may be a separate composition, it still appears probable to me that the scribe has deliberately inserted it here, and that a connection with the preceding text exists.

There are then good reasons for believing that the preserved wisdom text, while perhaps comprising various compositions, is a structural unity. There seems to be a logical connection between the sections, most of which deal with the master-servant relationship.

19. Or is Thoth himself here the creator god?

20. See Boylan 1922: 59.

21. Compare above, pp. 30–31. Note also the possible reappearance in 6/9 of *mfky*, “turquoise,” first mentioned in 1/3. The reading is uncertain, however.

Turning to the wisdom text proper, it is clear that the author does not make great thematic leaps in the manner of Onkhsheshonqy.<sup>22</sup> The subject of master-servant is introduced in 2/14 and is handled in the traditional manner till the narrative section in 3/18. Within this passage the author explores various aspects of the relationship. After the narrative praising Pre(?) and Thoth, he resumes his discussion of the master-servant in 4/1–4/9. Again, while the author sometimes gives advice not directly related to the master-servant relationship, e.g., “Love your household (*pr*); choose for yourself a multitudinous harem” (4/8), the advice does not stray very far from that subject.<sup>23</sup> In 4/9 it becomes somewhat more difficult to see a sustained theme. The author treats successively just action and its rewards and, perhaps, the tenuous nature of man’s fate. With 4/12 he begins to deal mainly with evil, a topic which seems to continue until 4/19 (4/20 is uncertain). With the first preserved lines of column five, the author returns to the theme of servant, more specifically, the evil subordinate. So does he well combine the previously treated topic of evil and the main figure of the servant. The theme of servant continues until 5/10, at which point the author shifts to the subject of family. Nevertheless, the servant appears sporadically here as well. This section continues until 5/18. The first preserved lines of column six show that the author has moved to a somewhat new topic with his emphasis on agriculture. As already mentioned, the column still deals with the master-servant relationship though from a different perspective.

The transition between subjects is not clearly indicated. Thus, the author introduces the theme of evil in 4/12 with the vetitive, “Do not ever allow a great man to be evil.” The ensuing sections deal generally with that topic, but the change in subject from the preceding (man’s mortality?) is abrupt. So too, in 5/10 the theme of children and family is introduced with the imperative, “You should reach a foolish son(?) in order to instruct him, although your coffin is at the place of your two feet.” This follows immediately upon an injunction to be industrious, “Be capable so that your sustenance comes about. Do not be weak, lest you founder” (4/9–10).

The individual sections, however, are apparently organized in a coherent fashion.<sup>24</sup> The author often employs couplets, a mode of writing which serves him well in setting forth the contrast between the good servant/bad servant or the good farmer/bad farmer. The following passages are offered as illustrations of his style of composition:

#### 2/15–2/18

1. (As for) the one who praises his master since [ ... ]  
     he will love him more than his flesh,  
     and he will [give to him rat]ions daily on

22. Compare Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 4.

23. The scribe has perhaps been motivated by word association here, *pr* “house,” appearing twice in the same line.

24. A saying which seems to bear little relationship to the surrounding text is 5/16, “As for a servant who is lacking his food of yesterday, he does not delay to disturb the heart of his master. He seeks everything which is distressing so as to do it to him [....].” The entire passage is admittedly obscure, but 5/15 deals apparently with the plight of the barren woman and 5/17 describes the disobedient or disrespectful son.

- (2/16) account of the love [of his master ... ]  
and he will cause his men to work for him in accordance with their [ ... ]
2. [But as for him who causes] his lord to be greatly troubled in his body, he (i.e., the lord) looks to [ ... ] he does not (2/17) rest until he exacts from him the compensation of that which he did to him.
  3. A noble lives (on) *maat*.  
Falsehood is his abomination.  
He joins the blessed ones.  
He is a (2/18) companion of truth.
  4. The noble(?) gives compensation to the one who causes his work to be excellent (and to) the one who causes his labor to be abundant.

Sections one and two are clearly parallel. The first pictures the rewards which a satisfied master bestows, the second the punishment and wrath of the wronged master. The parallelism is not taken to extremes, however. While both passages introduce the subject by anticipation, neither the grammatical constructions nor the number of clauses in each stanza is identical.

In section three, the author describes in traditional terms the noble, who is presumably the master:

*i-ir sr 'nh (n) m' .t*  
"A noble lives (on) truth."  
*t3y=f bw.t isfy*  
"Falsehood is his abomination."  
*i-ir=f šbn n im3h.w*  
"He joins the blessed ones."  
*i-ir=f ir iry n m' .t*  
"He is a companion of truth."

Of particular note is the word-play in the last of these four short balanced clauses: *i-ir=f ir iry*.<sup>25</sup> The *srw*, "noble," appears again in the following sentence, *i-ir srw di šb n p3 nty di mn3h t3y=f wp.t p3 nty di 'š3 p3y=f b3kiw*, "A noble gives compensation to the one who causes his work to be excellent and to the one who causes his labor to be abundant" (2/18). Here too, the phrase *di šb n*, "give compensation to," was doubtless intended as a word-play on *šbn* in 2/17, *i-ir=f šbn n im3h.w*.

Other fine examples of the compositional style of the Brooklyn papyrus are:

4/5–7

Hand over to him (the superior) your one calf  
so that he may feed your many calves.

25. Other examples of word-play in the Brooklyn papyrus are: *mt - mt.t* (2/9), *qn - qnqn* (2/11), *šhs - šhm* (4/7), *is - isfy* (4/13), and *nk.t - nk* (5/4).

You will find it a prosperous way,  
 there not being your finding obstruction therein.  
 Let your chief know your [excellence! Be at]tentive,  
 so that he relates to you everything which has  
 happened to him and  
 so that he gives you a hand in the future.  
 The praises of the servant are from his mouth,  
 while his heart is scorn[ful ... ]

4/7

A barking domestic dog is the one who causes his master to be safe.  
 His biting is that which is de[spised ... ]

4/8

Love your household.  
 Choose for yourself a multitudinous harem.

4/10

The property of the just man does not perish.  
 The robber does not bequeath to his son.

5/9–10

Be energetic so that your sustenance comes about.  
 Do not be weak lest you founder.

While most of the text appears to be in couplet form, 4/16–19 consist mainly of monostichic (single-line) sayings:

1. (4/16) An evil person is an (4/17) abomination (to his) master.
2. Their condition of death lives in wrong(ly) acquired property, they having consumed the sons (of evil-doers).
3. Prepare for the one who causes the [ ... ] to bear witness.
4. He speaks in order to give (4/18) offense.
5. Violence to you is (the result of) an evil household.
6. The mouth speaks one thing to one man, another to another.
7. The one who shipwrecks himself is the one who sends [for aid].
8. ... the soldier is the one who (4/19)
9. [ ... ] ... works the land.
10. A laborer who is suffering under two sticks is happy with one.

A number of sayings, particularly those in column four, have the appearance of proverbs.<sup>26</sup> Examples are: “A barking domestic dog is the one who causes his master to be safe. His biting is that which is de[spised]” (4/7–8); “The praises of the servant are from his mouth, while his heart is scornful” (4/6); “The mouth speaks one thing to one man, another to another” (4/18); “The one who shipwrecks himself is the one who sends for aid” (4/18); “A laborer who is suffering under two sticks is happy with one” (4/19); and “An excellent servant (is a) miserable son(?)” (5/11).

Occasionally the author utilizes the classic format discussed by Lichtheim.<sup>27</sup> The author presents us first with a situation. An imperative then gives the suggested course of action. This is followed by statements justifying or qualifying the advice offered. Examples of this format are:

4/9–10.

Are you more powerful than your [ ... ]. The property of the just man does not perish. The robber does not bequeath to his son.

5/5–6

Is your master hateful? Reprove him! (But) an abomination is the reproving of him ... [ ... ].

It is perhaps useful here to summarize our observations regarding the organization and style of the work. P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 deals with a varied number of themes, but the connecting thread is the master-servant relationship. The composition seems to comprise distinct sections, but there does appear to exist an underlying connection between them. Most problematic is the introductory narrative, which does not form a frame-story in the usual sense. Even this, however, seems to be related to the remaining composition. Some sections display a closely linked structure, strongly bipartite and marked by word-play. Elsewhere the connection between sayings is looser, and the work evokes the monostichic style of the Demotic texts. While a few of the sayings may be proverbs, the majority do not have the folk-wisdom appearance of those in Onkhsheshonqy, for example. The author employs a figurative and choice language but does not carry this feature to extremes.

26. The identification of proverbs in literary texts is a well recognized problem, see, e.g., Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 4–6; 35–37.

27. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 2–3.

P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135 AND THE TRADITION OF EGYPTIAN WISDOM<sup>28</sup>

In the preserved text, the author of the Brooklyn papyrus reveals neither his name nor title. Such information may have been provided, of course, in the lost beginning of the composition. While advising and admonishing the reader, he nowhere addresses the latter as son. Thus, in so far as one can judge, the author has not presented his advice in the popular form of an instruction to a son.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the goal of the Brooklyn papyrus is that of most wisdom texts, to prepare the reader for a successful life and career.<sup>30</sup> As it was shown above, the subjects of our composition and the attitudes of its author may easily be paralleled in both Demotic and hieratic wisdom texts. A few examples must here suffice; further parallels are to be found in the commentary:

1. Master-servant relationship<sup>31</sup>
2. Cause and effect<sup>32</sup>
3. Retaliation<sup>33</sup>
4. *Do ut des*<sup>34</sup>
5. Fate<sup>35</sup>
6. Generosity<sup>36</sup>
7. Giving of reports<sup>37</sup>
8. Restraint in the face of opposition<sup>38</sup>
9. Family<sup>39</sup>

28. Convenient review articles on the immense subject of Egyptian wisdom include Williams 1981: 1–19 and Fox 1980: 120–35. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, is, of course, fundamental for the Late period. Also quite useful is the well documented summary of the Demotic wisdom texts by M. Smith (1986, cols. 1192–1204).
29. In contrast to Onkhsheshonqy or Ptahhotep, for example. Note, however, the prominence accorded the son in our text, compare Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 158–60.
30. A classic expression of this goal is in the epilog of Ptahhotep.
31. See above pp. 23–24. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 10, 27; Amenemope 11/15–18; Any 3/17; Onkhsheshonqy 7/13, 15, 9/13; and Insinger 3/11, 10/11–11/19.
32. See above p. 27. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 5, 28; Amenemope chapter 6; Any 8/15–16; and Onkhsheshonqy 9/17.
33. See above p. 28. Compare Insinger 20/11, 33/10.
34. See below p. 78. Compare Ptahhotep maxim 31 and Onkhsheshonqy 6/3.
35. See above p. 27. Compare Amenemope 9/11, 21/15–16; Any 7/12; and Onkhsheshonqy 8/14.
36. See above p. 25. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 22, 34; Amenemope chapter 13; and Onkhsheshonqy 15/5–7.
37. See above p. 23. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 8, 15; and Onkhsheshonqy 17/10.
38. See above p. 28. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 25, 26.
39. See above p. 25. Compare Ptahhotep maxim 21 and Onkhsheshonqy 6/6.

10. Companions and friends<sup>40</sup>

11. Theft<sup>41</sup>

Irrigation and farming are the predominant subjects of column six, and other references to agriculture are found elsewhere in the text (e.g., 4/19, 4/20). While not unparalleled in earlier Egyptian wisdom,<sup>42</sup> among hitherto published instructions Onkhsheshonqy certainly contains the greatest number of allusions to agriculture.<sup>43</sup> In this respect at least, Onkhsheshonqy is no longer quite so unique, and in its extensive use of agricultural thematic material the Brooklyn papyrus stands close to the Demotic composition. Both place special emphasis, moreover, on incessant work in the fields; for example:

6/5–6

Does a hoer cease his work, the granaries being full of barley and emmer? The threshing floor will (thus) suffer a shortage. There is (then) no produce for the store-rooms.

Onkhsheshonqy 9/14

Do not say “I have plowed the field but there has been no return”; plow again, it is good to plow.

P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, 6/10

You should say “My field is well supplied,” when you give its farmer the equipment of his labor.

Onkhsheshonqy 9/11

Do not say “My land thrives,” do not cease to inspect it.

A very similar attitude to that of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, 6/5–6, is in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, 410–13:<sup>44</sup>

Don’t put things off until tomorrow and the day after. The man who slacks and procrastinates finds his barn empty. Effort fosters work. The man who puts off his work is always wrestling with disaster.

40. See above p. 25. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 18, 22, 33; Onkhsheshonqy 10/12, 13/6, 7, 24; and Insinger 6/21, 12/18, 13/13.

41. See above p. 28. Compare Ptahhotep maxim 31; Amenemope chapters 2, 7; and Onkhsheshonqy 11/17, 13/21, 14/7, 15/14, 21/17.

42. E.g., Ptahhotep maxim 9 and Amenemope chapter 6.

43. Despite the emphasis on agriculture, I would agree with Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 4) that Onkhsheshonqy was probably not written for the “peasant farmer.”

44. The translation is from Walcot 1962: 217.

While certainly significant, a direct connection between the Brooklyn papyrus and *Works and Days* should not be assumed on the basis of this isolated parallel.<sup>45</sup>

Traditional piety does not seem to play as large a role in the Brooklyn text as in Any and Amenemope, for example. The author neither stresses satisfaction with one's lot in life (cf. Amenemope chapter 7) nor reflects overmuch on the dependence of man on god. While perhaps implicit throughout the composition, one does not find such pious formulations as that of Amenemope 22/7, "Settle in the arms of the god" (*hms n=k r 'wy n pꜣ ntr*). The deity is, nevertheless, the ultimate source of retribution, an idea also found in Amenemope 19/18–21, for example. The use of *pꜣ ntr* to denote the deity, a standard feature of wisdom literature, is mentioned above. Also in common with other wisdom texts is the important role assigned to Re and Thoth.<sup>46</sup> There is relatively little concern in the Brooklyn papyrus with preparation for the life beyond, a significant theme in other compositions.<sup>47</sup> In 4/11–12 the author appears to display an awareness of the transient nature of man's life. For this idea, one might compare Any 8/4–6 and Amenemope chapter 5. The Golden Rule (5/7–8) appears also in Insinger 16/15 and Onkhsheshonqy 12/6, 15/23.

In contrast to those compositions written explicitly for the scribal class (e.g., Any 7/4–7), our author places little emphasis on that occupation. On the other hand, he has an unusually high opinion of the farmer (cf. 6/18). The topic of "strange/bad women" is hardly touched upon in the Brooklyn papyrus.<sup>48</sup> One finds the opposition of the wise man and the fool (3/15), but it is not, overtly at least, a major feature of this text. The author refers only indirectly to the "silent man" (e.g., 5/7). Unlike most other Egyptian wisdom texts, the Brooklyn papyrus contains little advice on table manners or etiquette.<sup>49</sup>

The language of the Brooklyn papyrus, while figurative on occasion, does not reach the metaphorical heights of Amenemope and Any. Still, in its use of language and imagery, the Brooklyn papyrus seems to be closer to the older texts than to the Demotic compositions. Certain genres of sayings, e.g., "better-proverbs," are apparently not in the Brooklyn papyrus.<sup>50</sup> The text does not appear to contain any paradoxical statements of the sort attested in Insinger.

45. The relationship between *Works and Days* and Onkhsheshonqy presents a similar problem. Walcot (1962: 215–19; idem 1966: 88) has argued strongly for a close connection between the two works. While Lichtheim (1973–80, vol. 3, p. 160) has rightly rejected this proposal, other scholars have been more favorable, e.g., Williams 1981: 5, "The demotic Onkhsheshonqy is unlike other Egyptian didactic works in that it is particularly concerned with giving advice on agricultural matters. This has led Walcot to the interesting and plausible conjecture that the author was influenced by Hesiod's *Works and Days*."

46. Compare Amenemope chapter 16; Onkhsheshonqy 5/1–13, 10/12; Insinger 4/17, 31/10ff. [hymn to creator god].

47. E.g., Any 4/14–5/4 and Insinger 2/9–13.

48. Compare Ptahhotep maxims 18, 37; Any 3/13–17; and Onkhsheshonqy 12/13.

49. Compare Ptahhotep maxim 7; Amenemope chapters 14 and 23; Any 4/6–11, 6/12–15; and Insinger 6/16. In 5/18 the author may condemn the impolite staring at elders by a younger son.

50. On this type of saying, see Lichtheim 1984: 129–31.

With regard to the structure of the composition, it is interesting to observe that the scribe does not place each saying on a separate line. Late period scribes did not invariably so structure wisdom texts, but this would seem to have been the norm.<sup>51</sup> There are no chapter headings in the Brooklyn papyrus, and the connections between the various sections seem to be rather more subtle than is usual in late wisdom literature. The uncertain status of the initial narrative passage, which does not appear to be a typical frame-story as in Onkhsheshonqy, has already been touched upon above. Finally, if column six is indeed the end of the composition, there is no epilog or colophon. This is in contrast to Ptahhotep, Amenemope, and Any.

Although late copies of New Kingdom wisdom texts exist,<sup>52</sup> the Brooklyn papyrus is one of the few apparently original compositions from the centuries between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period.<sup>53</sup> The survey of themes reveals that the work shares much with both the earlier hieratic and the later Demotic wisdom texts. The central subject of the servant-master relationship,<sup>54</sup> the emphasis on fate (Shai) and retribution (*dbꜣ*),<sup>55</sup> the Golden Rule,<sup>56</sup> and the sage/fool dichotomy<sup>57</sup> are in keeping with what one might expect in a Late period composition.

51. Compare Tait 1986: 66. In both the hieratic (e.g., Amenemope) and Demotic (Onkhsheshonqy, Insinger, P. Louvre 2414) wisdom texts the separate aphorisms or clauses are often placed on single lines. That all Demotic scribes did not trouble to distinguish their “monostichs” (cf. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 1) is shown by a papyrus in the Ashmolean Museum, which the author is preparing for publication. In that composition, the wisdom text is written continuously. It also may be noted that the Demotic scribes did not employ rubra when writing down wisdom texts (cf. Tait 1986: 67). In the Brooklyn papyrus there is one preserved rubrum in 2/8.
52. P. BM 10474, which contains Amenemope, has been dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see Grumach-Shirun 1980, col. 971 (“Lehre des Amenemope”). Posener (1966: 45–65) has edited several Late period copies of Amenemope and Hardjedef. Burkard (1977: 7–8) discovered a fragment of the Teaching of Amenemhet I for his son (P. Berlin P 23045) which may be dated palaeographically to the Thirtieth Dynasty. Various Late period copies of non-wisdom literature have also been published. The following are known to me: P. Chassinat I (Ethiopian period), containing the Story of Néferkarê and General Siséné (see Posener 1957: 120ff.) and Chassinat II (tenth–seventh centuries B.C.), which preserves a ghost story (see Posener 1960b: 75–82).
53. The fragmentary remains of another wisdom text possibly written in the Late period are to be found on a wooden tablet:

- |    |                      |                              |
|----|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>h3.t m sb3y.t</i> | Beginning of the Instruction |
| 2. | <i>... t3y</i>       | ... steal                    |

The text may perhaps be dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, see Bietak 1972, pl. 17. Apart from P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, the only other published important hieratic literary work composed in the Late period is Posener’s *Vandier*.

54. Onkhsheshonqy commences his instruction with a series of injunctions all beginning with *šms*, “serve” (cf. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 4). For the many sayings concerning the master-servant relationship, see *ibid.*, p. 54.
55. Compare the sayings concerning fate and retaliation in Onkhsheshonqy, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 55; in Insinger, *ibid.*, pp. 151–52.
56. On the Golden Rule, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 31–35.
57. According to Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 45; *idem* 1979: 291), the contrasted pair “wise man” and “fool” becomes established only in Demotic wisdom.

the sage/fool dichotomy<sup>57</sup> are in keeping with what one might expect in a Late period composition.

It is difficult to date the Brooklyn text with any precision. I have attributed the manuscript to the fifth or fourth century B.C., and the composition itself may be from this period (i.e., ca. Thirtieth Dynasty). It is entirely possible, of course, that the work is Saite, and portions could even be earlier. The narrative in the first two columns is placed in the reign of Apries. If the work derives in fact from the fourth century, this could reflect the Late period fondness for the Saite Dynasty as a choice of setting. The authors of both *Amasis* and the *Sailor and Onkhsheshonqy*, for example, also employed the Saite age as the background for their literary efforts.<sup>58</sup>

The relationship of the Brooklyn papyrus to Demotic wisdom, and especially to *Onkhsheshonqy*, will no doubt be much discussed by scholars. The problem is complicated by the fact that the dates of composition for *Insinger* and *Onkhsheshonqy* are themselves still disputed. The most commonly accepted time of composition for the latter text is about the fourth century B.C.<sup>59</sup> The language, script, and style of the Brooklyn papyrus suggest to me that it is somewhat older than *Onkhsheshonqy*. The significance of the Brooklyn sapiential work must be considered in connection with the broader question of the nature and origin of Late period literature.<sup>60</sup> The lack of published literary material from the intervening centuries has prevented an adequate appreciation of the sources, native or foreign, from which Late period scribes drew their inspiration. In view of the many unpublished Demotic and hieratic literary works,<sup>61</sup> it is, perhaps, premature to expect a definitive solution to the problem of origins and influences.<sup>62</sup> The possibility exists that there was indeed much experimentation in literary forms between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period.<sup>63</sup> The differences between the

57. According to Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 45; idem 1979: 291), the contrasted pair “wise man” and “fool” becomes established only in Demotic wisdom.

58. Compare Thissen 1984: 10–11.

59. Compare H. Smith 1980: 156. On the problem of dating *Insinger* and the ramifications thereof in any discussion of its relationship with other wisdom texts, see Thissen 1986: 200–01.

60. For a survey of Late period literature, see Brunner 1986: 97–106.

61. Large numbers of literary texts remain to be published in the collections of Copenhagen, Berlin, and Vienna, for example. An excellent idea of the magnitude of the task is provided by the lectures devoted to Demotic literature at the 1. Internationales Demotisten-Colloquium (Berlin 26–28. September 1977), see Reymond 1978: 31, Tait 1978: 37–38, and Zauzich 1978a: 45–46.

62. It is, for example, at present difficult to judge the extent to which the instructions are original compositions. The authors undoubtedly incorporated folk proverbs and quoted freely from other texts. Such borrowings are naturally impossible to detect until they are discovered in other works. Only new texts will help to clarify the compositional methods of the Demotic scribes. One such promising papyrus is the still unpublished P. Berlin P 15658. In addition to hitherto unattested sayings, this long, unfortunately fragmentary, composition contains a number of parallels to *Onkhsheshonqy*.

63. The often repeated tenet that Demotic came to be used for literary purposes only relatively late may be based on mere accident of publication. Zauzich has discovered a Demotic literary text in Berlin, P. Berlin 23504, written in an archaic hand possibly dating to the fifth century B.C. The considerable number of

Demotic and hieratic wisdom texts may thus be revealed as more apparent than real. For all its importance, the Brooklyn papyrus is but one piece of the puzzle.

The following features seem to link the Brooklyn papyrus with the Demotic compositions. The Brooklyn papyrus consists largely of couplets. There are, however, particularly in column four, passages that seem to contain a number of monostichs. These sections represent that style of single-line composition most prominently attested in Onkhsheshonqy. If so, this may compel one to reconsider Lichtheim's thesis that the predominance of the monostichic style in the Demotic texts is due to foreign influence: "The monostich appears to be newly invented because we have found no precedent for it in the known Egyptian wisdom texts, including the unpublished Late-Hieratic sapiential text of the Brooklyn Museum (Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.135)."<sup>64</sup> So long as the date of the Brooklyn papyrus remains uncertain, one could still maintain that foreign influences are responsible for the choice of monostichic composition. Nevertheless, the earlier the text, the less likely, in this writer's view, is the probability of such foreign influence.

As in the Demotic texts, the transition between themes is not always clearly marked. This is, once again, especially the case with column four and the lower portion of column five. These sections convey most strongly the impression that the scribe has employed aphorisms from various sources. The author does not, of course, make such dramatic leaps as those of Onkhsheshonqy. Still, the Brooklyn wisdom papyrus betrays a certain tendency towards compositional looseness that becomes much more prominent in Onkhsheshonqy.

The author of the Brooklyn wisdom text occasionally uses words in a manner reminiscent of the "associative method by which one topic leads to another through repetition of a key word."<sup>65</sup> While not as prominent a feature as in Onkhsheshonqy, he does seem to employ this compositional technique as a means of connecting and structuring his sayings. Possible examples of such key words are *h3p* in 4/12 and 4/13; *wh3* in 4/11(?); *t3ty* in 3/11–12 and 3/20; and *pr* in 4/8.

The vocabulary betrays at times a certain affinity to that of the Demotic texts. Thus, in the third column the author speaks repeatedly of the bad servant who creates "obstruction" (*shd*) for his master. This term is particularly characteristic of Demotic wisdom literature.<sup>66</sup> As already observed, however, the vocabulary is for the most part rather closer to the older

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Saqqara literary papyri published by H. Smith and W. J. Tait may well be as early as the fourth century B.C. (see Smith and Tait 1983: x).

64. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 11. Compare also her statement (*ibid.*, p. 12): "Having concluded that the Demotic instructional monostich has no known precursor in earlier Egyptian wisdom, we now approach the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy with the question whether it may reveal tangible traces of acquaintance with, and borrowing from, non-Egyptian sapiential sources." As Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 12) has herself remarked, the so-called monostich or one line aphorism is not absent in earlier Egyptian wisdom.

65. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 99. Compare also *ibid.*, p. 64.

66. Compare Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 97.

classical texts. A number of words typical for Demotic wisdom literature, e.g., *ʾmy.t*, “character,” do not seem to occur in this composition.<sup>67</sup>

The Brooklyn papyrus contains several sayings which display a cynical tone. Examples are: “A barking domestic dog is the one who causes his master to be safe. His biting is that which is de[spised]” (4/7–8); “A servant suffering under two sticks is happy with one” (4/19); and “the mouth says one thing to one man, another to another” (4/18). The world of Onkhsheshonqy is indeed not far distant. This basically cynical attitude, expressed in humorous terms, may be a significant link between the Brooklyn papyrus and Demotic wisdom literature.

The more archaic features of the text are not, however, to be minimized. The sixth column resembles in tone the Late Egyptian Miscellanies or New Kingdom satiric works. The paean to the pharaoh finds also, to my knowledge, no counterpart in Demotic. If this discussion has a conclusion to offer, it is merely that the Brooklyn papyrus resists facile pigeon-holing. My own impression is that it is in fact a transitional work, containing elements characteristic of both hieratic and Demotic wisdom literature. The verdict of Lichtheim that the Brooklyn papyrus “is not in any sense a precursor of the Demotic Instructions”<sup>68</sup> seems premature, to say the least. On the contrary, my own reading of the Brooklyn papyrus encourages me to suggest that the Demotic wisdom texts are firmly rooted in native tradition and that foreign influence need not be invoked to explain their apparent differences from their predecessors.

67. See Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 40.

68. Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 11. In her discussion of Onkhsheshonqy, Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 53) observes that “new and typically Hellenistic are the topics of ‘slaves’ and ‘friends.’” As can be easily seen from the summary of themes above or in the glossary, the Brooklyn wisdom text also contains numerous sayings dealing with servants (*b3k.w* or *hl.w*) and friends/companions (*iry.w*).

## CHAPTER 3

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN ONE WITH COMMENTARY (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

















































#### COLUMN ONE


#### Translation




1. [ ... ] ... these happen<sup>A</sup> [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] weighty of words. Everyone ... <sup>B</sup> [ ... ]
3. [ ... fi]nd it like turquoise. There is no ... <sup>C</sup> [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... life through working it, death through ... <sup>D</sup> [ ... ]
5. [ ... ] in the southern half of the southern land ... <sup>E</sup> [ ... ]
6. [ ... ] ... a Northerner(?) fares southwards to ... <sup>F</sup> [ ... ]
7. [ ... ] ... he his boundaries ... established at(?)<sup>G</sup> [ ... ]
8. [ ... ] concerning knowledge ... [ ... ] ... majesty<sup>H</sup>
9. [ ... ] ... Ptah [ ... ] ... her/its mouth(?)<sup>I</sup>
10. [ ... ] ... and gods ... [ ... ]. The Ennead gave to him<sup>J</sup>
11. [ ... ] this entire land, the cities <sup>K</sup> [ ... ] them more than(?)<sup>L</sup>
12. [ ... ] the temple of the Ennead [ ... s]un disk<sup>M</sup>
13. [ ... ] When one said to him (the) manner(?) [ ... ] this land before him<sup>N</sup>
14. [ ... ] the Son of Ra, *W3ḥ-ib-R* <sup>ˆ</sup> came forth [ ... ] ... he gave to him the seat<sup>O</sup>
15. [ ... ] ... among them [ ... ] throne of Horus governing<sup>P</sup>
16. [ ... ] before everyone(?). Every ignorant man is (become?) as [ ... ] every form in accordance with (that of) a god.<sup>Q</sup>

## COLUMN ONE

## Commentary

- 1/1, n. A.  seems to be a writing of the demonstrative pronoun ,  (Wb. 2, 272).
- 1/2, n. B. For the idiom *dns md.t* (Wb. 5, 469/6), see Clère 1949: 38–42, idem 1951: 112–13, and Ward 1977: 283–84.<sup>1</sup> Clère suggests that it means “cautious in speech.” *md.t* is otherwise spelled  in the text.  
*bw-nb*, “everyone” (Wb. 1, 452/6–7), may also occur in 1/16.
- 1/3, n. C. The restoration  seems secure, but the verb is elsewhere written  in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135.  
  , *mfk.t*, “turquoise, Malachite” (Wb. 2, 56), perhaps appears again in 6/9. It is often employed figuratively (see Grapow 1983: 54–55).  
 I am unable to read the traces following *nn* (  ?).
- 1/4, n. D. These enigmatic phrases are apparently in parallelism (cf. possibly 6/9). *b3k* does not have this determinative elsewhere in the text. The sign at the end of the line may be  or .
- 1/5, n. E. I am unable to decipher the first broken signs of this line:  (?). The reading   would seem to be secure (cf.  in P. Salt 825, 6/10, Derchain 1965, fasc. 2, pl. 6). Is   , “the southern land,” a reference to Nubia? Possibly “the southern (part) of the land” is intended, i.e., southern Egypt (cf. Wb. 3, 306/11).<sup>2</sup>
- 1/6, n. F. An infinitive may have stood after *r*.
- 1/7, n. G. Restore perhaps                               




inscription [Nitocris] and elsewhere in late texts.”<sup>4</sup> (*r*)*dī*≠*f* is, however, usually written  in the text. This column also differs from the rest of the composition in its use of the archaic demonstrative *pn* and the indefinite pronoun *tw*.

1/11, n. K.  is probable (cf. Möller, *HP* 3, no. 294, ). The sign is written somewhat differently in 2/7, .

*t3 pn*, “this land,” most often refers to Egypt (see *Wb.* 5, 215/10, and Sethe 1928: 21).



1/11, n. L. *sn* is uncertain. Both *sn* and *w* are to be found in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, although *w* predominates. On this common feature of Late period texts, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 27–31, and Erman, *NÄG*, §77.



1/12, n. M. Heliopolis seems the probable location for the temple mentioned here; for a discussion of cult centers of the Ennead, see Barta 1973: 27–30 and Brunner 1982, col. 475 (“Neunheit”). Pre is perhaps the most prominent deity in the Brooklyn papyrus; on his connection with the Ennead, see Barta 1973: 30–31. The section describing the creator god in 3/19 mentions the “gods who are with him” that comprise his *d3d3.t*. These too are probably the Ennead who formed the court of the sun god (see Brunner 1982, cols. 476–77).

[*i*]*tn*, “sun disk” (*Wb.* 1, 145/1–8), at the end of the line also suggests a connection with the sun god. The word often has the divine determinative in late Egyptian (, Lesko, *DLE* 1, pp. 59–60) and Demotic (, Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 47).  also appears in Amenemope 10/12.



1/13, n. N. *f* in this line probably refers either to the pharaoh or the sun god.

On the *m-dr sdm*≠*f* construction (only here in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135), see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 410–13.

 is apparently , “Wesen, Art, Gestalt” (*Wb.* 5, 75/3–77/11), though one might have expected the definite article *p3* to precede.

*t3 pn* seems certain, while I would compare  in  (5/5) as support for the reading *m-b3h*≠*f*.

1/14, n. O. Apries is the only personal name found in the Brooklyn papyrus. The passage may relate how the sun god bestowed on Apries the office of kingship. We might then understand the line so: “Apries came forth out [of the palace.] He (the sun god) gave to him the throne ...”

 is much like Möller, *HP* 3 no. 396  (Leinwand). *ns.t* may be used to refer to the royal throne (*Wb.* 2, 321/10, Kuhlmann 1977: 34–39).




1/15, n. P. The fragmentary words at the beginning of the line describe a (possibly violent) activity. The antecedent of *sn* is, of course, unknown.

The subject of the clause after the lacuna is probably the pharaoh (Apries?).

4. See also Leclant 1961: 84, n. e, and Logan and Westenholz 1971–72: 111, n. 3.



For *s.t Hr* as the royal throne, see *Wb.* 4, 7/21–24, and Kuhlmann 1977: 43.



Note the construction *hr* + infinitive expressing a clause of circumstance (Erman, *NÄG*, §431).

1/16, n. Q. This line is exceedingly problematic. Most probable seems to be , “everybody” (cf. 1/2). Also possible is  or .

I suggest that *hm nb.t (sic) m [ ... ]* is a first present construction. A plausible restoration is *hm nb.t m [rmt-rh]*, “Every ignorant man is (become) as [a wise man].” Compare Amenemope 27/10, *st di.t rh p3 hm*, “They (the sayings) cause that the ignorant man become knowledgeable.”

There is, apparently, another first present construction at the end of the line.

 is probably , “Gestalt, Wesen” (*Wb.* 3, 266/1–5). For a discussion of the word, see Hornung 1967: 131–34.

On the spelling  with the otiose , see above p. 8. For *hft*, see above p. 14.

## CHAPTER 4

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN TWO WITH COMMENTARY (P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

#### COLUMN TWO




##### Translation

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] is in a foreign [land<sup>A</sup> ... ] its lord<sup>B</sup> [ ... ]
3. their ruler is he ...<sup>C</sup> [ ... ] the(?) breath of [life<sup>D</sup> ... ] their well is it<sup>E</sup> ... [ ... ]
4. in it.<sup>F</sup> He is hidden(?) [ ... ] since the time of its(?) [ ... ] upon it.<sup>G</sup> They jubilate concerning this [ ... ]
5. in the course of every day.<sup>H</sup> [They] repel them from it so as to prevent them from knowing its lay-out [ ... ].<sup>I</sup> They [made/built/surrounded(?)] all its paths with flint-stones, they being sharper than a [kn]ife, they being
6. wanting in water, they [being em]pty of food.<sup>J</sup> Whoever fares upon their water is ship-wrecked ... ] he cannot reach the edge/shore.<sup>K</sup> He built for it a wall of granite
7. around it. Its ram[part]s are of flint, its double-door of tin, [its] door[-bolt of ...<sup>L</sup>]. Whoever reaches there and transgresses its ground, [entering] into it so as to
8. trespass on it, he f[alls(?) ... ] place of his two feet.<sup>M</sup> He will not return to his place (of origin) ... [ ... ] ...<sup>N</sup> The one who knows how to enter into it (finds it) like the horizon of heaven.<sup>O</sup> *As for those whom*
9. Pre created, Pharaoh is their herds[man].<sup>P</sup> His speech is the seed of the bulls.<sup>Q</sup> Many(?) are the ... [ ... ] against the perverse ones.<sup>R</sup> Are bulls perverse? Their herdsman
10. is the one who tames [them with the mou]th of his prod.<sup>S</sup> Myriads of soldiers cannot se[ize th]em through robbery. They fall at the sight of a brave man.<sup>T</sup>
11. As for him who is on the path [ ... ] reaches him when he sallies forth. He slaughters myriads [of soldiers].<sup>U</sup> Myriads of soldiers are leaderless. The brave man (is a) [leader] who fights
12. with the edge of his ax.<sup>V</sup> [ A bra]ve man is a hound. His *sth3t* is a ...<sup>W</sup> [ ... ] a wall of copper, while he looks out for(?) the one who [fights(?)] with him.<sup>X</sup>
13. He fights, [while he(?) ... ]. He makes a slaughter, burn[ing with fi]re.<sup>Y</sup> A soldier is feeble, whose master is not with [him].<sup>Z</sup> (He is) a ch]ario-


14. -t, which has not a [kʔ]šn. (He is) a transport ship, which has no [rudder(?)<sup>AA</sup>... . Place(?)] your master in your body that he may love you<sup>BB</sup> [ ... ] his health
15. through the gods, [ ... ] ... [ ... ] his household.<sup>CC</sup> The one who praises his master since [ ... ], he will love him more than his flesh, and he will [give(?) to him rat]ions dai-
16. -ly on account of the love of [his master(?) ... ], and he will cause his men to work for him in accordance with their [ ... ].<sup>DD</sup> (But as for) him who causes] his lord to be greatly troubled in his body, he (i.e., the master) looks to [ ... ]. His heart does not
17. rest until he exacts from him the compensation of that which he did to him.<sup>EE</sup> A noble lives (on) Truth. Falsehood is his abomination.<sup>FF</sup> He joins the blessed ones. He is
18. a companion of truth.<sup>GG</sup> The noble gives compensation to the one who causes his work to be excellent (and to) the one who causes his labor to be abundant.<sup>HH</sup> He will distinguish himself from the Friends on account of the abundance
19. of your activity for your master daily, so that he stretches out to you his hand with (the promise of) life.<sup>II</sup> A chief who is cruel to him, however, is cruel to his men.<sup>JJ</sup> As for the one who causes his affair(s) to
20. go badly, the god exacts compensation from him.<sup>KK</sup> (Even) if he spends the night being silent, it is to the god without need(?) that he speaks concerning your case(?).<sup>LL</sup> Beware<sup>MM</sup>




## COLUMN TWO





### Commentary

- 2/2, n. A. The traces suggest the feminine copula *tʔw* (cf. , , *Wb.* 5, 212). Another example of the copula is in 2/3, .

Since this section describes a sacred locality in a distant land,  is an attractive reading.

- 2/2, n. B. The *pʔy=s* probably refers to *hʔs.t*. The usual spelling of the feminine possessive adjective is  (2/5, 3/16, 6/8, 6/9), but an identical writing occurs in 6/10.


The normal writing of “master, lord” is  (e.g., 5/5, 5/16), but here  was probably employed. *nb*, “master,” is also once spelled  (6/14). The text does not reveal, unfortunately, the identity of the ruler.



- 2/3, n. C. As with *pʔy=s*, the scribe also writes *pʔy=w* variously:  (2/6),  (2/9),  (4/17), and  (6/18).

*w* presumably refers to the inhabitants of this land.

*hʔʔ* (2/3) may denote rulers of foreign lands (*Wb.* 3, 171/8, Lorton 1974: 21–32 and 64–65, and Otto 1954: 113).

*pw* is probably the copula.

The traces before the break fit , which may be a second tense beginning a new sentence.

2/3, n. D. For this expression, see *Wb.* 5, 352/21–25. It occurs again in 6/18 (where *ḥw* is written  in contrast to  here).

2/3, n. E. The narrative passage in lines 1–8 mentions the following:

1. The setting is a foreign land.
2. The land is ruled by a *ḥqꜣ*.
3. A spring or well (*ḥnm.t*) is located therein.
4. The inhabitants jubilate daily, probably over this spring.
5. The spring is located in a strong fortification(?).
6. The inhabitants repel all those who try to enter the sanctuary.
7. The place is very difficult to reach, there being neither water nor food on the way.
8. All who try to enter the sanctuary by force perish.
9. The one who knows how to enter it finds it like the “Horizon of Heaven.”

The *ḥnm.t* is of central importance in the passage. A somewhat daring, but by no means implausible, identification, is with one of the sacred springs or wells in the Siwa Oasis. There were two famous water sources in the oasis. One was an ancient well in the Temple of Aghurmi, while the other was the so-called κρήνη τοῦ ἡλίου, “spring of the sun,” at the Temple of Umm ‘Ebeida. For a description of these temples, see Fakhry 1944: 83–120; a more recent discussion of Siwa and the relevant literature is in Osing 1984b, cols. 965–968 (“Siwa”).<sup>1</sup> The above statements may be applied to the Siwa temples without great difficulty:

1. The appellations *nb* or *ḥqꜣ* are quite well suited to the local rulers of Siwa between the Twenty-second and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasties (see Fakhry 1944: 26 and 88 and Osing 1984b, col. 966).
2. The temples are in the desert.
3. The two water sources played no small part in the fame of the Amun temples; note that *ḥnm.t* means both “source, spring” and “well” (Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 379, and Fakhry 1944: 84).
4. According to Diodorus XVII. 50. 3–4, the well in the temple of the Amun-oracle had a connection with the rites (see Fakhry 1944: 84). The spring in the vicinity of the second Amun temple was located about one kilometer to the south of the Temple of Aghurmi. As the “spring of the sun,” it was counted among the wonders of the world (see Fakhry 1944: 85).
5. The difficulty of the trip to Siwa was a popular theme of ancient writers (see the collection of stories about Alexander in Leclant 1950: 193–253).
6. It is precisely in the Saite period that Siwa together with the other oases gained political importance (Fakhry 1944: 28 and Trigger 1983: 345). This accords well with the mention of Apries in column one.



1. See now also the comprehensive work of Kuhlmann 1988.



7. The temple of the Oracle in Siwa was built on an acropolis as a fortification (Fakhry 1944: 84). This agrees excellently with the description of the sanctuary in the Brooklyn papyrus.
8. Herodotus describes the evil fate awaiting those who attempted to force entry into the sanctuary. In III.17.25–26 he recounts the mysterious destruction of the fifty thousand man Persian army which, under Cambyses in 525, set out to conquer Siwa (see Fakhry 1944: 29).


















Given the condition of the text, this must be regarded as a mere suggestion. It may well be that *hnm.t*, particularly used of wells dug in the desert (Wb. 3, 382/10–15), is employed here in a purely figurative sense (see Gamer-Wallert 1978: 25). For the image of the “well of wisdom,” see also Küchler 1979: 70 (Ethiopian Enoch).

- 2/4, n. F. The second tense *i-ir* introduces a new sentence which may conclude with *im=s*, “in it” or “through it” in 2/4.


The *s* probably refers to either *hʿs.t*, “foreign land,” or *hnm.t*, “well.” It is not unlikely that the subject of this sentence is the antecedent of *sw* in the following clause.



- 2/4, n. G. The subject is evidently a hidden sacred object (a book?). I have translated *sw* as the first present (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 33). This seems preferable to understanding  as a writing of the enclitic particle . On this spelling, see Caminos 1977: 18, idem 1952: 58, n. 54, and idem 1958a: 33.


The phrase following the break probably is best taken with the preceding clause, i.e., the object has been hidden “since the time of ” X. For this expression, see Luft 1976: 47–78. I had originally read the traces as , the late writing of Osiris, literally, “He who made it (*maat*),” on which see Westendorf 1954: 165–82. The mention of *maat* is, of course, not unexpected in a wisdom text, but I am now skeptical of the reading and believe that the traces fit , “its,” somewhat better.

 is probably the compound preposition                  

šn', "to repulse, drive away," is written in an abbreviated form attested in the Greek period (Wb. 4, 504).






The reading , "foundation" or "plan" of a building (Wb. 4, 178–79), is certain.



2/6, n. J. I restore a verb in the *sdm=f* form such as , "they built," or simply , "they made."

On , "flint," see Harris 1961: 138–39 and Midant-Reynes 1981: 39–45. For walls of flint, see Lesko 1972: 80. To be sure, it is not clear whether the paths are made out of sharp flint or surrounded by flint walls. The former seems somewhat more likely.





Note that the first circumstantial clause qualifies the flints, while the following pair qualify *my.t*, "path(s)."

On the preposition *n-h3w-r*, "more than," see Wb. 3, 18/3–4, and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 294.


Having first understood  to be *3h*, "in elendem Zustand sein" (Wb. 1, 12/3 [cf. perhaps 3/7]), I now think it more probable that *n3h3* is to be read. This may be equated with  (Wb. 2, 280/11–12), which seems to mean "mangeln" (cf. also Wb. 2, 281/1–4, , "Verlust"). While I have no exact parallel for this writing, one might compare the spelling of , "some, few, a little," as  (Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 23).

There are several possible readings for the traces following the break. , "zu Grunde gehen, von Personen, Sachen, Ländern" (Wb. 1, 21/11–20), is the most attractive candidate.  is perhaps a qualitative form, "they being desolate, wasted, with regard to water." For the expression, compare Helck 1977: 55 and Koenig 1979: 203–04.




2/6, n. K. If the locality is indeed Siwa Oasis, then this sentence must be understood metaphorically. For the figurative use of *hn*, used in a positive sense, compare *w3d wy hnn hr mw=f*, "happy is he who sails upon his water," quoted by Assmann (1979: 68).

, "suffer shipwreck," a key word in this text, occurs also in 4/13, , 4/18, , and 5/10, . It is used figuratively as well (see Derchain-Urtel 1984, vol. 2, pp. 754–55, and Edwards 1960, vol. 1, pp. 6–7).

On the writing of *p3nty*, see above pp. 12–13.


On 'd, "desert edge" or "other side" (Wb. 1, 239/6 [Gr. ]), see Habachi 1972: 35.



2/7, n. L. The author describes the strong fortifications protecting the sanctuary or sacred object. Once again, the text does not specify who is responsible for the building (the king or the god?) or what precisely is being protected (the well?). I have translated the succeeding clauses as first present, but one could also take "rampart," "double doors," and "door-bolts" as objects of *ir*.



 is the compound preposition  (Wb. 5, 598/13) rather than the verb , "be walled in" (Wb. 2, 189/6–7).

On *inh* in general, see Spencer 1984: 260–64. The word is often used, of course, for the walls around temples (ibid., p. 263). Walls also surround mythical sacred precincts such as the Field of Rushes (see Faulkner 1973–78, vol. 1, pp. 137–38): “I know that Field of Rushes which belongs to Re, the wall of whose enceinte is of iron” (spell 159).






While , “at it,” is possible,  yields better sense. On the word, see Spencer 1984: 281–85. The *f* would then refer back to *inh*. See also Grimal 1981: 112.

On , ‘wy, “door-leaves,” see Spencer 1984: 179–82. Although usually made out of wood, door-leaves were sometimes covered with “sheets of beaten metal” (ibid., p. 182), and so were described as metal.



On  , see Wentz, *LRL*, p. 67, n. g (“a rather rare word designating a metal which has not been identified”), and Harris 1961: 66–67. Helck has proposed *biʒ*, “copper,” as a more probable reading than *dʒh* (personal communication).



The traces favor  , “Riegel” (*Wb.* 5, 12/2–7). Restore thus probably *n* and a type of metal. For a similar description, see Helck 1969: 81.



2/8, n. M. These lines emphasize the invulnerability of the sanctuary. *pʒ nt phʒf nb* may be the relative converter followed by a *sdmʒf*, which is, however, a rather rare form (see Erman, *NÄG*, §847, and Korostovtsev 1973: 461). Still, in view of the following conjunctive form, it may be preferable to take *pʒ nt phʒf nb n-imʒw* as a relative first present or, less likely, a future form. *f* would then be the object of *ph*, not the subject. The present is more probable, since one would expect *pʒ nt iwʒf r phʒf* for the future relative. On the use of the conjunctive after a present tense, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 443, and Johnson 1976: 291.





  is probably the adverb; compare  (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 201, and Crum, *CD*, p. 196b). For a possible early example, written  , see Černý 1978: 19 (j).


On *nb* modifying a defined antecedent, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 81.

 , “ground, earth, soil, floor” (*Wb.* 3, 423/7–424/12). On this word, see Christophe 1961: 21 and Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979: 52, n. 43 (with the meaning “ground [of temple]”).






I restore an infinitive following *hr*, the construction used to express concomitant action (see note P on column one). A plausible restoration is  , “enter,” which is often construed with *r* (cf. 2/8).

  is a III. inf. verb, with a pronominal form in *tw* (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 183–84). On the writing with *tw*, see Caminos 1958a: 43 and 49; on the meaning, see Berlandini 1978: 157, n. j.


I would restore either  , “herabsteigen, fallen” (*Wb.* 2, 472/4 [not found otherwise in this text]), or, less likely,  , “fallen,” which appears in 2/10.

I have no exact parallel for the phrase “place of his two feet,” i.e., “current position,” but compare , “Standort” (Wb. 4, 4/12), and *nn rh(=y) s.t rd.wy=y*, “I know not the place of my feet” (P. Chester Beatty I, verso 2/7).<sup>2</sup>



2/8, n. N. *nn sdm=f* is employed for the future negative (also 6/2).

 is the masculine third person singular pronoun (here reflexive), otherwise written  (e.g., 3/13) in this text. On  and  for , see Sander-Hansen 1956: 12. The end of the sentence is damaged.

*s.t* seems to mean “home” here; compare *s.t=f*, “der Stelle wo er ist, der Ort wo er sein soll” (Wb. 4, 5/14–20). Thus, in Amenemope 6/5 the tree is floated “far from its place (*r s.t=f*),” i.e., “home.”

Perhaps a short adverbial phrase, for example , “twice,” meaning here “never,” is lost in the break.

The partially preserved word after the lacuna probably belongs to this clause.

2/8, n. O. The meaning seems to be that the one who is able to enter the sacred place finds it like the horizon of heaven. This would argue against reading  as , “There exists not ...” (see previous note). One must understand “(he finds it) like the horizon of heaven.” On such elliptical constructions, see Gardiner 1957, §506.4.

On the use of the phrase “horizon of heaven” to describe buildings, see Grapow 1983: 29 and Blackman and Fairman 1946: 78. Compare, for example, *m33 sn r 3h.t n.t p.t ‘q.sn nb ‘q=f nw.t*, “À les voir, c’est comme (voir) l’horizon du ciel. Tous ceux qui entrent, entrent au ciel” (de Wit 1961: 282, line 6, similarly, pp. 280 and 300).


2/9, n. P. The only preserved rubric in the text begins a new section. On the use of rubrics, see especially Posener 1951a: 75–80.

2/9–14 is largely a paean to the pharaoh as stern ruler and heroic warrior. While the damaged condition of the initial narrative renders it difficult to establish a firm connection between the two sections, this is not improbable. The previous section definitely mentions the pharaoh and, if correctly interpreted, alludes to the sun god. The author is concerned here with elucidating the function and role of the pharaoh. He emphasizes the traditional association between the king, Re, and *maat*. He then describes the pharaoh as the master *par excellence*. The author may be thus drawing an analogy between the pharaoh, the stern overseer, and the superior in the normal servant-master relationship. As the pharaoh has been set upon the throne of Egypt and must be obeyed, so should every master be obeyed by his underlings.

The important role of the creator deity in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 is discussed above (p. 24).




2. Gardiner 1931: 32. Compare also Wente, *LRL*, p. 61 (“not knowing a place for our feet”), and Grimal 1981: 126.



*qmꜣ* (Wb. 5, 34/3–36/5) is a word often associated with Pre, both in the sense of “aspect” and “creation,” (see, e.g., van der Plas 1986, vol. 1, p. 21 [*qmꜣ.w n R*]). For Pre as creator deity, see Barta 1984, cols. 158–59 (“Re”). On the connection between Re and the pharaoh, see Hornung 1982b: 139–40 and Barta 1984, cols. 161–63.

On the abbreviated writing of , characteristic of late hieratic texts, see Möller, *HP* 3, p. 51, n. 8.

The image of the pharaoh as the herdsman of mankind and of the latter as the cattle of Pre is widespread in Egyptian literature (see Grapow 1983: 156–57, “starker Treiber, der sein Vieh treibt [of the king]”; de Buck 1938: 54, note 9 [Berlin Leather Roll, I/6]; Blackman 1930: 66–67; and Hintze 1942: 55–56).


Note that Caminos (1963: pl. VIa [recto, 6]) transcribes  as .



2/9, n. Q. Nothing is lost after   .

The tail of  in  is visible.




For the reading , compare 2/20  and 5/8 .

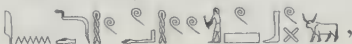
On the expression *mtw.wt kꜣ*, “seed of the bull,” see Kurth 1984, vol. 1, pp. 273–81. He discusses in detail the phrase, which is an allegory for *maat*. The parallels are chiefly drawn from Greco-Roman temple inscriptions. See also Kurth 1986, cols. 515–16, n. 82 (“Thot”). This is an apt choice of expression since, as observed above, the passage dwells on the image of the pharaoh as herdsman and mankind as cattle.




2/9, n. R. I can offer no firm restoration of this sentence. The initial traces fit , which suggests, for example, “Numerous are the blows [or similar] against the perverse ones.” One might have expected the adjective verb *nꜣ-šꜣ*, however. For the idea, compare Kagemni I/2–3, “Keen are knives against him whose path goes astray” (Gardiner 1946: 71–74).

 , literally, “stink” (Wb. 3, 301/1–3). The word is often used figuratively in wisdom texts, e.g., Any 3/17, *im=k šm ‘q ḥꜣt.w tm rn=k ḥnš*, “Do not go away when superiors enter so that your name does not stink.” For Demotic examples, see Thissen 1984: 104. I assume that by “the perverse ones” the author has in mind rebellious subjects of the pharaoh.


2/10, n. S. The next two clauses form a couplet. On the author’s use of rhetorical questions, see above p. 18. The construction seems to be *in-iw* + subject + old perfective (Silverman 1980: 35–43) or *in-iw* + first present construction (ibid., p. 117). *in-iw* is the late Egyptian successor to Middle Egyptian *in* and is not found in Demotic (cf. also Erman, *NÄG*, §739). If *ḥnš* were an adjective, I would expect *in-iw ḥnš kꜣ.w* (cf. Erman, *NÄG*, §739, *in iw nfr pꜣy=k ḥdb*, “Ist es gut, dass du tötest?”).

For the verb   , “subjugate” (Wb. 5, 53/1–4), see Faulkner 1932: 72. It is often used in reference to cattle (see Iversen 1979: 82). Another instance of the word is in Goyon 1975: 380–81 (line 4). *qnb* is still attested in Demotic (Erichsen, *Glossar*,





p. 540 [Spiegelberg 1917: 46, 18/25]). A somewhat similar statement is to be found in Posener 1976: 41 (§11.4), , “C’est le toucheur qui conduit le taureau.”

 is not in *Wb*. I assume that it is derived from , “vertreiben” (*Wb*. 5, 473). One might also compare , *tr.t*, “Hacke” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 647). On *r3*, “edge,” see note V on column two.

2/10, n. T. This couplet develops the theme, moving from the pharaoh to the image of the “champion.” The latter is, of course, also an aspect of the king. A direct connection with the preceding pair is provided by the suffix pronoun *w*, which refers to the above mentioned cattle.

The suggested restoration is quite probable. The cross-bar of  is still visible, and the space is adequate for the full writing of the verb. The scribe employs the topos of the individual hero, i.e., the pharaoh, versus myriads of soldiers. Examples of the image are numerous (see Decker 1971: 22–25 and Assmann 1979: 61).

*hwr* is already attested in late Egyptian with the meaning “to rob” (in the compound *m hwr*, “auf gewaltsamer Weise, räuberisch,” Amenemope 9/16). Another example of *t3y n hwr* is in Schott 1929: 71, line 14. *hwr*, “to rob, deprive,” is also found in Demotic (see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 297, Hughes 1969: 50, and Thissen 1984: 96).

 is a late variant of , “to throw” or “be thrown to the ground” (*Wb*. 3, 205/8–17). Compare , *htp*, “Fall, Untergang” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 341), and  (Crum, *CD*, p. 725, “fall, destruction”). This spelling is not in *Wb*.

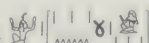

The emphasized phrase in the sentence is *n nw qnw* which I take to be *m* + infinitive, literally, “in seeing a brave man.” Compare *bw rh s h3 smn r h3.t=f hfñw bdš n ptr=f*, “A thousand men are unable to stand up against him. Hundreds of thousands grow weak at the sight of him” (Kitchen 1979: 8).

2/11, n. U. The subject still seems to be the pharaoh. This may be a reference to the proverbial “path of god” or “path of life,” on which see, for example, Ray 1976: 62–63. The passage from the Hor archive is Text 16, recto, 4–5, *p3 nt mš' hr t3 mī.t rn=s nfr=s n p3y=f h' n wš qy*, “He who walks upon the path named, it is favourable for his life for a long time.”

The structure of this passage is typical: subject in anticipatory emphasis, followed by two sentences in parallelism.

*ph=f* is the infinitive with the suffix pronoun object (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 31). I would restore in the lacuna a phrase such as “no evil reaches him” or “they (i.e., the enemy) cannot reach him.” For similar statements using *ph*, see Assmann 1979: 69 and Wente 1963: 33, line 7, *nn ph.n sw dw.t*, “no evil can befall him.”

For *pr* in the sense of “sally forth (to battle),” see *Wb*. 1, 520/1, and Donner 1956: 61–62.



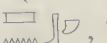
There is not enough room for more than . The spelling  only becomes frequent under the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemies (see Posener 1957: 121, Goyon 1967: 91, and de Meulenaere 1965: 27, n. q).

On the verb *sm*?, see Grimal 1981: 40, n. 94.

- 2/12, n. v. Here begins a series of largely nominal sentences describing metaphorically the strength of the champion and the weakness of the individual soldier.

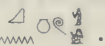
I understand *iwt* *is.w* to be a compound adjective “leaderless” (cf. Erman, *NÄG*, §799, “Ich war ein *iwt ht*, “Armer,” quoted from Davies 1908, pl. 4 [similarly, *iwt ms*, “barren,” in 5/15]). For the sentiment, one might also quote de Buck (1938: 53), “The multitude cannot achieve anything without you” (Berlin Leather Roll II/3–4).




The restoration after *qnw* is uncertain. Note the word-play between *qn* and *qnqn*.




, “Beil als Handwerkszeug” (*Wb.* 2, 42/14), but here clearly a weapon.  is perhaps to be distinguished from , “Hacke” (see Meltzer 1977: 150–51); on *min-bit*, see Kühnert-Eggebrecht 1969: 3. To my knowledge, the word is no longer extant in Demotic.


*r3* seems best rendered here as “edge (of weapon),” a meaning attested in Coptic (see Crum, *CD*, p. 289a).

- 2/12, n. w. This passage contains a series of metaphors for the valiant warrior.

Space permits only the restoration of .

*iwiw*, “dog” (*Wb.* 1, 50/1), is written  in this text (cf. 4/7 and 5/5). Similar spellings are found in Faulkner 1962: 12,  (from the *Book of the Dead*), and Sauneron 1970, pl. 4a (= 4/7), . For a discussion of the relationship between *iwiw* and *iw*, see Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, vol. 1, pp. 44–45. On dog imagery, see Grapow 1983: 75–76 and Johnson 1984: 123. According to Johnson, *iw* / *iwiw* may denote particularly a hunting hound, a meaning which fits this passage quite well.

I have no convincing explanation for . The syllabic spelling indicates, of course, a foreign word. The determinative appears to be the throw-stick or club used as a foreign weapon (Gardiner 1957, Sign-list T 14). Could it be related to , a verb of unknown meaning (*Wb.* 2, 503/14 [= Any 9/13])?  is perhaps *rmt*, “man.”

- 2/12, n. x. I am uncertain what to restore in the lacuna, perhaps . *shty*, “Mauer, Befestigung” (*Wb.* 4, 95–96) is often used figuratively of gods or kings (see Grapow 1983: 163–64). The image continues in Demotic (cf. Spiegelberg 1910, column 12/13, Insinger 11/15, and Shore 1979: 150, n. cc).

*nw* may be employed here in a positive sense, “to look out (for someone)” in dangerous situations. For the various nuances of *nw*, see Wentz, *LRL*, p. 30, and Caminos 1954: 134. Also possible is *nw r*, “look at.”

[*qnqn*] *rm* would mean then “the one who fights on his side,” in contrast to *qnqn irm*, “kämpfen mit jem.” (Wb. 5, 56/1 [Spätäth.: Gr.]; Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 542; and Bresciani 1964, column 9/6).

For a discussion of the meanings of *qn* and *nht*, see Spalinger 1982: 228–29.

2/13, n. Y. A pair of sentences each perhaps consisting of a second tense and a circumstantial clause. The circumstantial clause of the first sentence is, to be sure, lost in the lacuna. A plausible restoration, for example, is , *iw=fw*‘, “he being alone.”

*ir š’d* is translated “to exercise ferocity” in Caminos 1974, vol. 1, p. 49 (Pillar 16, line 5).

The restoration of the last circumstantial clause seems probable.

, “Personen (Feinde) verbrennen” (Wb. 5, 522/12); (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 677); and (Crum, *CD*, p. 795b). An example may be found in Goyon 1975: 389, lines 7–10 (of Seth). On the topos, see Grapow 1983: 49.

At the end of the clause the brazier determinative is preserved. I suggest that a plausible restoration is , “fire” (Wb. 3, 217/10–218/13). The word appears in 3/12.

2/13, n. Z. Here follow three clauses describing the plight of the masterless soldier. The key word *nb*, “master,” anticipates the next subject of the composition, namely, the relationship between master and servant. This is first treated in 2/14.

I take the whole to be a first present construction, *hsy* being probably a qualitative form. The circumstantial clause, introduced by *iw*, modifies *mš*‘.


On the meaning of *hsy*, see Grimal 1981: 124.


This type of simile is well attested in Egyptian; compare Eloquent Peasant, B1 189, “See, you are like a town without a mayor, like a company without a chief, like a ship without a captain, a troop without a leader” (text in Vogelsang 1913: 151–52) and Admonitions 9/2 (Gardiner 1969: 66–67). Compare too the Akkadian parallels quoted in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 24, “A people without a king (is like) sheep without a shepherd. A people without a foreman (is like) water without a canal inspector. Labourers without a supervisor (are like) a field without a ploughman.”


2/14, n. AA. I restore at the end of the line , “chariot” (Wb. 2, 113/4). The interchange of and is relatively common (see Erman, *NÄG*, §53). Examples are: for (Wb. 5, 102); for (Wb. 5, 103); and for (Wb. 5, 137).

For , compare in 2/12.

I propose that the damaged word in line 14 is a writing of , a part of the chariot (Wb. 5, 117/9). This word is attested only in Gardiner 1964: 26\*, n. 14 and n. 15, where it is rendered “girth.” In his new edition of the text, Fischer-Elfert (1986b: 205, n. 1) suggests “Ledersack.” On such technical terms for parts of the chariot, notoriously difficult to translate, see Schulman 1980: 151.

, “type of transport ship” (*Wb.* 1, 234/15 [late Egyptian]). See also Wente, *LRL*, p. 62, n. t. The word is found in Demotic (see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 73 [feminine]).



, “rudder, steering-oar” (*Wb.* 3, 80/16–81/10), is a plausible restoration. On the figurative use of the word, see Grapow 1983: 153–55, Herrmann 1954: 106–15, and Fischer-Elfert 1984: 338.

2/14, n. BB. A new section begins at this point, dealing with the relationship between master and servant. As the lacuna is short, I would restore the imperative , “place!” or similar.

*h.t.*, literally, “stomach, belly,” is here the seat of thoughts and emotions, much like *ib*, “heart” (see Grapow 1983: 109–10). Compare Amenemope 3/13, *im htp = w m- hn n h.t = k*, “Let them (the aphorisms) rest in the casket of your belly”; 10/17, *im nfr = k m h.t n rmt*, “cause that you be good in the belly of men”; and 11/11, *iw p3 dw h3p m h.t = k*, “while the bad is hidden in your belly.”

It is perhaps worth noting that aphorisms dealing with the master-servant relationship appear not only in traditional wisdom texts but also in those New Kingdom documents expressing “personal piety” (see Assmann 1969: 290–91, n. 37) and in the letters to deities (see Hughes 1968: 179).







I understand *ir = f t3y = k mrw.t* to be a purpose clause. For the idiom *ir mr*, “to make the love (of someone),” compare Amenemope 11/1, *iry = k mr n kwj*.

2/15, n. CC. The interpretation of this passage is uncertain. One might restore the second tense converter , and indeed  fits the traces in 2/15 well. There is perhaps a contrast drawn between *ntr.w*, “gods,” and *pr*, “household,” e.g., “The health of a master comes from the gods, his happiness from his family.”



On *pr*, “household,” see Williams 1961: 105; Hughes 1982: 58; Wente, *LRL*, p. 59, n. c; and Foster 1984: 98, n. 65. Compare *mr p3y = k pr*, “love your household” (4/8), and *p3y = k [t-gns].w n pr isfy*, “[Vio]lence to you (comes) from an evil household” (4/18).

2/16, n. DD. The subject, the good servant, is in anticipatory emphasis. The main clause then enumerates the various good things which the satisfied master will do for him.

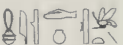
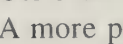

*iw = f* is a third future, while two conjunctive forms continue the thought.

 is probably Demotic  $\text{𐤎𐤓}$ , *n-t3* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 667) and Coptic Ⲭⲓⲛ, “from, since” (Crum, *CD*, p. 772b). This preposition is quite rare in hieroglyphic and hieratic texts (it is not in *Wb.*, but see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 13; Černý, *CED*, p. 315, quoting Schaefer 1901: 59 and 82; Junker 1913: 2, ; and Sauneron 1969: 66, n. 7). The preposition is not uncommon in abnormal hieratic texts (see Malinine 1953: 8 and 16). This is not, of course, the only possibility for . One could also propose: , “als gute Eigenschaft des Menschen” (*Wb.* 5, 342/9); and , “Jauchzen, Jubel, Freude,” in the phrase  (*Wb.* 5, 396/1).




As already mentioned, I understand *iw = f* to be third future.


The plural form of  would seem to mean “limbs” (*Wb.* 1, 51/16); compare Demotic , *nʒy=f iwf.w*, in *Mythus* 2/5 and 12/30 (Spiegelberg 1917: 12 and 34). I can quote no precise parallel to this expression, but compare “I have loved you more than [ ... ]” (Caminos 1954: 374) and *mr sw niw.t=f r hʿ=w*, “his city loves him more than itself” (Sinuhe B 66, text in Blackman 1932: 21). *iwf.w*, “flesh,” may conceivably mean “flesh and blood,” i.e., children; compare Ahikar Arm. 71 (= Nau 1 86), “Son, love thy flesh and thy wife,” quoted in Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 32. If so, the meaning would be that the satisfied master will love the servant more than his own children.

In the lacuna I restore *mtw=f [di.t n=f q].w mnw*. In 2/16, *pʒy=f nb* fills the available space well but can hardly be considered certain.


The traces following *mi-qd* are difficult. I had first read , *mi-qd biṭy*, “like bee(s),” on the basis of 4/3 but now consider this unlikely. A more probable reading is , “in accordance with their ... .” If so, we might restore , “in accordance with their [form],” i.e., “in their entirety.” In any case, the meaning is clear: the satisfied master will cause the other members of his household to work for the excellent subordinate.





2/17, n. EE. The subject is now the unenviable fate of the bad servant. Note the parallelism between [ ... ] *pʒy=k nb hn h.t=k* of 2/14 and [ ... w] *r qsn pʒy=f nb hn h.t=f*, though *h.t=k* refers to the reader (= the servant) and *h.t=f* refers to the master.


, of which only the tail is preserved, is probable but not certain. There are no other examples of  in the text. Or is  the evil bird determinative often found in *qsn*? The sense is the same in either case.

On , see Grimal 1981: 73 and 78.

In 2/12 *nw* was used in a positive sense, while in this passage it seems to possess a negative meaning, e.g., “looks to punish him” or similar. Compare note X above.

In the lacuna I restore *[b]w-ir*, of which the  is still visible.



 is a variant of , “be silent, be at peace” (*Wb.* 5, 179/9–180/7 [note the example labeled *sp.* ]). For the phrase, compare P. Harris 500, 5/10, *bw gr ib=y*, “my heart is not at peace” (= BM 10060, Müller 1899, pl. 11; Budge 1923, pl. XLIV); and Any 8/19, , “Keep your heart quiet among fighters” (translation of Lichtheim).


 occurs also in 2/20, 3/5, and 3/16(?). The idea of retribution (*ḏbʒ*) is, of course, prominent in Late period wisdom literature (see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 151–52).

The past relative form is written both  (2/17) and  (5/7).

2/17, n. FF. Here begins a series of statements describing the good noble(?). They are concise, rather stereotypical formulations.

The first aphorism is somewhat ambiguous.





I have read  as *sr*, “noble” (Wb. 4, 188/3–189/9). *iry*, “companion” (Wb. 1, 105/5–8), is not impossible, but compare the writing of *iry* in 2/18, .

It is best to understand  as the second tense converter and to read *i-ir sr nh* (n) *m3't*, “It is (on/in) *maat* that a noble lives.” For the use of the second tense in this expression, compare Groll 1969: 189.

On the common phrase *t3y=f bw.t isfy*, see, for example, Grieshammer 1979: 85.


















2/18, n. GG. The subject of these lines is more likely the noble master than the excellent servant.

*im3h.w* probably denotes the blessed deceased spirits (Wb. 1, 82/1–12); compare *šbn=k h3.w iqr.w*, “may you mingle with the virtuous spirits” (Caminos 1954: 146 and see further, idem 1977: 23). *šbn* is often construed with *m* (Wb. 4, 440/15). There is a possible word-play between *šbn* and *šb n*, “(give) compensation to,” in the following line (2/18).

 would seem to be  (Möller, *HP* 3, no. 63) rather than  (ibid., no. 47); compare  (2/20).


I have not found the phrase *iry n m3't* elsewhere, but compare *s n m3't*, “man of justice” (Wb. 3, 406/2).

2/18, n. HH. This translation is awkward, and I may not have correctly understood the aphorism. It appears to mean simply that the industrious servant will be rewarded for his diligence.




The reading , “noble” is not unproblematic. One might also render                   

According to Wb. 5, 431/6–9, *dwn* means “to stretch out (the hand)”; with *n*, “to stretch out the hand in a helpful manner to someone”; with *hr* (often in Greek period), “with something that one hands over or carries.”

- 2/19, n. JJ. This aphorism is obscure. It is evident that the meaning of the saying depends on that of *why*, variously rendered as “entgehen, entgleiten, verfehlen, Misserfolg haben” (Wb. 1, 339/1–15). It occurs frequently in wisdom literature, e.g., Prisse 296–97, *ir whh m skn hr=s n m<sup>r</sup> .n shr nb m-<sup>c</sup>=f*, “He who fails through lust of them, no affair of his can prosper” (= Žába 1956: 39 and 141; translation of Lichtheim); Onkhsheshonqy 18/5, “Better a noble failure (*why*) than a half success (*mnh*)(?)”; Onkhsheshonqy 21/12, “There is none who goes astray (*mn p<sup>3</sup> nt why*), and then goes and prospers” (translation after Lichtheim). When construed with the dative *n*, it means “be cruel” or “mean” to someone, e.g., Insinger 2/7, *tm why n=f*, “Do not be cruel to him”; and 16/17, *p<sup>3</sup> nt why n n<sup>3</sup>y=f rmt.w p<sup>3</sup> nt mwt iw bn-pw=w šrl n=f*, “The one who is cruel to his men is the one who dies without there being prayer recited for him.” The basic discussions of this word are in Černý 1950: 41–42, Habachi 1972: 36, Hughes 1969: 48, and M. Smith 1987: 66 and 73.






*why* is construed here with the dative *n*. As we have seen, this seems to mean “be cruel to (someone),” which yields good sense for *why n n<sup>3</sup>y=f rmt.w* (cf. especially Insinger 16/17, quoted above). However, the preceding phrase, *hry wh<sup>3</sup> n=f h<sup>c</sup>=f*, is difficult, since the antecedent of *n=f* is unclear. I believe *f* refers to the good servant, and the phrase describes the master who treats the industrious servant unjustly. *wh<sup>3</sup>* is best explained therefore as a participle, while the sentence as a whole is a first present construction: “A chief who is cruel to him, however, is cruel to his people (i.e., the entire household).” On this interpretation,  may perhaps be taken as an early example of Coptic  $\text{Ⲛⲱⲱⲓⲛ}$ , “but, however” (Crum, *CD*, p. 652, and cf. Spiegelberg 1925: 255). This rendering can hardly be considered certain but seems preferable to other possibilities, e.g., “A chief who fails through himself is cruel to his men.” Note that a distinction was already made in 2/16 between the individual servant to whom the text is addressed and the *rmt.w*.<sup>3</sup>





- 2/20, n. KK. The point of this saying is that the god himself punishes those servants who neglect the work of their masters. On the phrase *dī hwš*, rare in non-Demotic texts, see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 13.

 is also almost unattested before Demotic (see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 49, and Jasnow 1986: 65–67). For a similar writing of  with , see Barguet 1962: 19, n. 1.

- 2/20, n. LL. The remainder of this line presents numerous problems. I hesitantly suggest that the contrast is between *qr*, “be silent,” and *md*, “to speak.”

3. Professor Zauzich has suggested that, taking the *n=f* to be reflexive, we might translate: “Ein Chef, dem sein Körper zusetzt, der setzt seinen Leuten zu” or “Ein Chef, den sein Körper quält, der quält seine Leute.”


The reading of  is uncertain. I assume that it is , “to spend the night” (*Wb.* 4, 390/9–392/6), and not , *grg*, “to establish” (*Wb.* 5, 186/4–187/23). For the hieratic signs, compare  (Möller, *HP*, no. 384B) and  (ibid., no. 467).

I have equated  with  in line 2/17, but  (= , “to stop” [*Wb.* 5, 49/1–14?]) is also possible.

Moreover, the two *iw=f* forms in the clause are uncertain. The first is translated here as conditional, the second circumstantially, “If he spends the night, being silent.” The following clause, *i-ir=f md m-‘ p3y=k nkt n p3 ntr*, would then be the apodosis.

I suggest that the translation of *md m-‘* is “complain about, speak (evil) concerning.” Compare *mdw m*, “Böse reden über” (*Wb.* 2, 179/17), on which, see Gardiner 1962: 66; Borghouts 1982a: 78; Vleeming 1980: 15, n. 50; and Allam 1973, vol. 1, p. 47, n. 13; compare also Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 113–14, *mdw m-di*, “make claims against.”

*p3y=k nkt n p3 ntr* could, of course, be “your property of the god,” but that yields little sense here. *nkt* may also have the meaning “matter, case (‘Angelegenheit’)” (*Wb.* 2, 347/14).

According to *Wb.* 5, 524,  alone means “need” (cf. Faulkner 1962: 319). On this rather difficult word, see the remarks of Grumach 1972: 80, 162, 164, and Sauneron 1977: 26. “The god without need” is a plausible epithet (presumably for Re), but I am unable to quote a parallel.<sup>4</sup>

2/20, n. MM. *s3w* probably began a new sentence, which continued onto the next column; compare 3/11.

4. Professor Zauzich has also studied this passage; his comments are:

“Hier möchte ich folgende Auffassung vorschlagen:

*p3 nty dy.t hwš p3y=f š-s3n*

*i-ir p3 ntr tb3 n=f iw=f str*

*iw=f qn i-ir=f mt m-‘ p3y=k (lies: p3y=f) nkt*

*n p3 ntr iwty d3r*

“Derjenige, der seinen (des Chefs) Auftrag verletzt, Gott wird (es) ihm vergelten, noch wenn er schläft (durch schlechte Träume). Sobald er aufhört (zu schlafen), wird er (der Chef) Anklage in seiner Sache bei Gott erheben ohne Not(?)”

Problematisch ist hier nur *iwty d3r*, da man eigentlich ein “unverzüglich” erwartet. Aber auch “ohne (zwingende) Not” gibt einen akzeptablen Sinn. Auf jeden Fall ist es mir aber wahrscheinlich, dass zwischen den beiden Umstandsätzen *iw=f str* und *iw=f qn* der entscheidende, chiastische Einschnitt der Konstruktion vorliegt.”

## CHAPTER 5

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN THREE WITH COMMENTARY (P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

#### COLUMN THREE

##### Translation

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]<sup>A</sup>
2. [ ... ] he suffers(?) ... ]<sup>B</sup>
3. want, he being a master<sup>C</sup> [ ... ] of exacting from him the compensation [ ... ]<sup>D</sup>
4. the obstruction of [ ... ] the obstruction of his master<sup>E</sup> [ ... ]. The
5. Fate knows well how to use its hand on account of it to punish [him<sup>F</sup>]. There does not exist the one who can save him from it.<sup>G</sup> [ ... ] Do
6. that which you said to him (that you would do.) Do not allow tomorrow to come, while his report is neglected.<sup>H</sup> [ ... ] ... your
7. plea another time.<sup>I</sup> A master (is) the like (of) the one who is happy with/for the<sup>J</sup> [ ... ] every sort of misery in
8. existence, while his sustenance is not in his hand.<sup>K</sup> A guilty man(?) gives his re[port(?) ... ] bend
9. his elbows before [ ... ] (he) sees him (the master?).<sup>L</sup> ... He is greedier than [ ... ] ... the Fate.<sup>M</sup>
10. The one who is suffering under evil does not neglect(?) ... ] the god so that he begs for death ... . His [heart] is weak. He cannot raise himself. His life
11. is (that of) a dead [man(?)<sup>N</sup> ... ]. Be trustworthy with your master. He will love [you(?)<sup>O</sup> ... ]. Tremble (as though he were) as a vizier. Prepare yourself for a *byty*
12. *sb*.<sup>P</sup> Beware [ ... ] ... a vizier. Do not let there exist his obstruction.<sup>Q</sup> [ ... ] He is fearful when cursing more than fire.<sup>R</sup>
13. The unruly man [ ... they place(?)] him in flames.<sup>S</sup> He cannot ... [ ... ] his companion of yesterday suffers(?) [ ... ]
14. until he<sup>T</sup> [ ... ] a Medjay ... [ ... ] a support(?) of the earth.<sup>U</sup> The protection of the one
15. [for whom(?)] you will make<sup>V</sup> [ ... ] a wise man from a stupid man there[in(?)]
16. because(?)<sup>W</sup> [ ... a stupid man(?). He cannot finish<sup>X</sup> [ ... ]




17. said by(?) a wise man [ ... ] with his mouth, and he completes the attaining of it,<sup>Y</sup> ... the matter is more precious(?) than a [ ... ]
18. hidden<sup>Z</sup> [ ... ] who hung up the heaven, while establishing the earth.<sup>AA</sup> Everything which has come into being comes into being through him.<sup>BB</sup> He did not ask(?)
19. his wise ones(?) ... .<sup>CC</sup> [ ... h]is court of the gods who are with him, being one who loves truth, who hates falsehood, one without a fondness for
20. hatred<sup>DD</sup> [ ... ] ... who appointed Thoth as vizier.<sup>EE</sup> He performs for him every matter of the determinations of their mouths so that he comes forth in justification of voice
21. against the enemies who ... .<sup>FF</sup> [ ... jud]ging between Pre and Apophis in the Exalted of Years.<sup>GG</sup> They did not withdraw their hearts from him.<sup>HH</sup>




### COLUMN THREE



#### Commentary


3/1, n. A. There is the trace of a sign from this line.






3/2, n. B. Possibly restore  after the lacuna.

On the basis of  I suggest  , *mqh*, “betrübt sein” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 183), or its possible hieroglyphic ancestor  , “vernachlässigen” (*Wb.* 2, 163/7–12; see Vycichl 1984: 111 and Caminos 1954: 325). These lines apparently resume the description of the bad servant.


3/3, n. C.  , “elend sein, Mangel leiden” (*Wb.* 1, 35/9–11), and the noun derivative  , “Not, Mangel, Unheil” (*Wb.* 1, 35/16–17). The word survived into Demotic,  , “Not, Armut, Unglück” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 13). See Osing 1984a, vol. 1, pp. 283–85, and Graefe 1981, vol. 1, p. 61.

*iw=f* may be a circumstantial followed by the *m* (written *n*) of predication. *nb* is generally written  in this text, but compare also  (*Wb.* 2, 227).

3/3, n. D. On the basis of 2/17,  , “of exacting from him the compensation [of that which he did to him]” may be restored. The subject seems to be the revenge of the wronged master.




3/4, n. E. *shd* occurs also in 3/12,  , and 5/8,  . Written here with the otiose plural strokes, it is probably identical with  , *shd*, “fernhalten, hindern” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 458), and Coptic  , “impede, hinder, stop” (Crum, *CD*, p. 377b). Černý (*CED*, p. 170) offers no hieroglyphic ancestor, but Westendorf (*KHWb.*, p. 208) and Vycichl (1984: 203) suggest a derivation from  , “zurückweichen lassen” (*Wb.* 4, 265/3). *shd* is attested in Demotic wisdom texts, e.g., Onkhsheshonqy 11/5, “Do not be too often obstructive (*shd*), lest you be cursed”; P. Louvre 2414, 2/3, “Do not place an obstruction (*shd*) after a foolish man” (but see the discussion in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 97); and Insinger 26/9, “Do not think of hindering a fool or one bereft of judgment” (translation of

problems for his master. Restore, perhaps, the following,


- 3/5, n. F. Fate takes revenge on the inept or disobedient servant. The sentence begins with a second tense converter. The emphasized adverbial predicate is possibly *n-im=f*, "on account of it" (i.e., the creating of obstruction for the master).  occurs also in 3/9, 4/4, and 4/7.

For the reading of 𐤔𐤌 as Šw, “fate,” compare *Wb.* 4, 403/1, noting especially the Greek spelling 𐤔𐤌 and the remark “als Tod mit 𐤔𐤌.” For a discussion of the late writings and various negative connotations of the word, see Quaegebeur 1975: 55–57. Particularly close is 𐤔𐤌, “Shai” (Quaegebeur 1975: 56, from Chassinat 1910: 27). Other recent discussions on Shai can be found in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 138–50; Miosi 1982: 69–111; and Eyre 1976: 103–12.

For the idiom *gm dr.t*, see *Wb.* 5, 169/4, “einen Körperteil (Hand, Mund, Herz) finden = richtig zu gebrauchen wissen.” Several examples are in Groll 1970: 73–74. On the spelling of *gm*, see above p. 21.

The restoration , “to punish him,” is probable. A trace of the  sign is preserved above the .

- 3/5, n. G. This sentence also emphasizes the impossibility of escaping fate and may form a couplet with the preceding one.

As the traces fit  well, I have translated the clause as a negative existence statement.


*p<sup>3</sup> nt n̄m* is a relative first present construction. Note that the direct object is *f* and not *n-ĩm* = *f*; for a discussion of such exceptions to the oblique object rule in Demotic (e.g., *p<sup>3</sup> nty gm = n* instead of *p<sup>3</sup> nty gm n-ĩm = n*), see Hughes 1969: 50.

Q at the end of the clause may be either the negative *in* (understanding the initial *mn* as *bn*) or the interrogative particle *in* beginning a new sentence.

For *nhm m-dr.t/m-* ‘‘to save (someone) from (something/someone),’’ see *Wb.* 2, 296/12–13, and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 223.

- 3/6, n. H. These two sentences probably also form a couplet. The author advises the reader to carry out the master's business without delay.


I have translated  $\text{[ ]}$  at the beginning of the first clause as an imperative, perhaps restore  $\text{[ ]}$ .


 is the past relative form so often found with *dd*, literally, “that which you said” (see, e.g., Posener, *Vandier*, p. 71).

The  $n=f$  refers to the master.


The clause is elliptical, and we should possibly understand “Do that which you said to him (you would do it).”


The next sentence also begins with an imperative. For the writing of the vetitive, see p. 18.

*dī-iw* is certain, but the following word, the probable subject of *dī-iw*, is unclear. I suggest that the traces fit , and that it is < 𓂏 𓂐 𓂑, *rst*, “tomorrow” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 255).

The circumstantial converter, written  (see above p. 16), introduces a subordinate clause. *ṣq*, “zu Grunde gehen” (*Wb.* 1, 21/12–20), is presumably a qualitative predicate.


*‘n-smy*, “Meldung, Bericht,” “brieflich antworten” (*Wb.* 4, 129/1). The compound is quite common in Demotic (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 432). On the topos of rendering reports, see above p. 36.

- 3/7, n. I. The traces preceding *pk* are perhaps  with the meaning “to reject” (*Wb.* 3, 228/7). The wronged master will in the future ignore the complaints or reports of the incompetent servant.

*ky sp*, “ein anderes Mal,”  (Wb. 3, 436/3). Compare Amenemope 15/17–18, “If a man is observed on a fraudulent errand, he will not be sent on another occasion” (*r ky sp*).<sup>1</sup>

- 3/7, n. J. This nominal sentence is apparently a positive description of the master; compare perhaps Amenemope 23/19–20, “An official is great in his office, as a well is rich in drawings of water” (translation of Lichtheim).

*mit.t*, “das Gleiche, Gleiches” (*Wb.* 2, 40/4–41/7). I have assumed that *hry* begins a new clause, but it is also possible that *hry mit.t*, “(as/to) a chief likewise (*mit.t* = adverb),” in fact concludes the previous sentence.



 is clearly the adjective(-verb) *m‘r*, “excellent, successful, faultless” (*Wb.* 2, 48/10–49/1). It occurs again in 4/19 with the meaning “happy, content, satisfied.”

The following *n* is either the dative *n* or a writing of *m*.

- 3/8, n. K. This sentence portrays once more the situation of the inept servant, who will be left without food and sustenance.


 is the most probable restoration.

*n hpr* seems best understood as *n* (= the preposition *m*) or the genitive adjective plus an infinitive *hpr*.

The converter  (contrast  above) introduces a circumstantial negative first present clause (see p. 16).


- 3/9, n. L. The scribe may now describe how the derelict servant presents his report. The second tense implies that an emphasized circumstantial clause or adverbial phrase was in the lacuna.



1. This is the rendering of Lichtheim; for a different translation and interpretation, see Grumach 1972: 95–96.

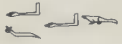
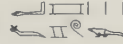
 is the most likely restoration, “der Schuldige” (Wb. 1, 241/8–10). For the grouping of signs, see Posener, *Vandier*, p. 87.

With all due hesitation,  is a plausible restoration (cf. 3/6).

The clause following the lacuna also seems to describe the bad servant. He does not, perhaps, bend his arms in a respectful fashion when he sees his master, or does so insincerely.


For  (also 5/9), see Wb. 3, 229/7–11.

The reading of  is far from certain. I had first assumed that *r-ḥft-ḥr* was followed by the infinitive *mꜣꜣ* (cf. Wb. 3, 274/17 and 275/17), the sense being “corresponding to the seeing of him.” This is admittedly dubious, however, and it is perhaps better to restore , “(his) master,” in the lacuna. I understand the *sw* after *mꜣꜣ(?)* also to refer to the master.

3/9, n. M.  is , “gierig?” (Wb. 1, 182/12). The object of comparison is unfortunately lost.

*pꜣ šꜣw*, “the fate,” may conclude this clause. This assumes that *bw-ir* begins a new sentence and does not here have the meaning “lest.”


3/11, n. N. This difficult passage appears to describe the suffering servant. The subject of the sentence is *pꜣ nty ḥr bꜣn*, literally, “he who is under evil.” For a discussion of the various nuances of *ḥr*, see Borghouts 1982b: 65. It is, to be sure, unclear whether *pꜣ nty ḥr bꜣn* denotes here an evil person or rather one who is in evil circumstances. The relative phrase *nty ḥr* is often used in medical texts to describe a patient afflicted with a morbid condition (see Caminos 1977: 17).


A verb is clearly required after *bn*, and I would suggest , *mqḥ*, which possibly occurs in 3/2. The passage may refer to the despairing pleas of the sufferer to the god to grant him relief through death; compare *mtw=k tbḥ pꜣ mwt*, “and you will beg for death” (Onkhsheshonqy 19/15), and *tꜣ md.t nfr.t n pꜣ rmt bn ḥr tbḥ=w pꜣ mwt n-īm=s*, “The well-being of the evil man, they ask for death in it” (Insinger 26/7, translation of Lichtheim).


I restore *ḥꜣt=f ḥs*, “his heart is wretched,” for which expression see Wb. 3, 399/7.

The negative aorist here indicates inability.



*tꜣs*, “to raise,” is used reflexively (see Wb. 5, 406/6–14).


Note that the scribe seems to have later inserted .

I assume that *m-di=f* means “belonging to him, of his.” One might have expected the modified noun to be indefinite, but compare *pꜣ šꜣr mtw (=y)*, “der Sohn von mir” (Spiegelberg 1925: 167 [§376a]). One could also take  to be an early example of the adversative particle NT□□, for which see M. Smith 1985: 112. This seems doubtful, however.

 is presumably *b3gj*, “müde sein” (*Wb.* 1, 431/1–11), which is also used figuratively of death (*Wb.* 1, 431/3). If so, one must understand “his life is (as that) of a dead man.” For another elliptical construction, see 2/8.


3/11, n. O. This is a series of imperatives instructing the reader on the proper behavior towards one’s master.



 is probably identical with Demotic  *nḥt* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 225) found, for example, in *tm nḥt ḥrm p3 nt iw bw-ḥr rh=k ḥ3t=k bw-ḥr=f tḥ ḥb=k ḥn krf*, “Do not trust one whom you do not know in your heart, lest he cheat you with cunning” (Insinger 11/23, translation of Lichtheim); further instances are in Insinger 12/4, 6, 8, 12, and 25. See also note CC on column three.

The imperative is followed by a third future. There does not seem to be enough room for *iw=f r mr.t=k r n3y=f iw.f.w* (cf. 2/15). Perhaps restore merely  *m-šs*, “very much,” or similar.

3/12, n. P. These imperative sentences are also somewhat elliptical since one must supply the irrealis nuance “as though he were” after the *m* of predication.


For *sdd*, “to tremble,” see *Wb.* 4, 365/15–366/12 and 367/11–12.



 is either *hr*, “prepare (yourself)” (*Wb.* 3, 146–147/1–9), or *hry*, “sich ängstigen vor (with *r*)” (*Wb.* 3, 147/11–13). *tw* may be the second person dependent pronoun (Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 22) or the qualitative second person ending (*ibid.*, p. 195); compare *hr.ti r [X]*, “Be far from [X]” (*Wb.* 3, 145/20). It may be preferable to translate simply, “Beware of a *t3yty s3b*!”

This is followed by the archaic title of the vizier  (Faulkner 1962: 293), which is often found in connection with *s3b* (see *Wb.* 5, 344/1, and Derchain-Urtel 1981: 95–106). Thoth appears later in this column as the “vizier” of Pre. On his role as *t3yty s3b t3ty*, see Boylan 1922: 199 and Grieshammer 1979: 83. On the  sign, see Graefe 1975: 82–84.

3/12, n. Q. Compare note E on column three.




3/12, n. R. The author describes now the angry master.

I understand  to be an adjective verb (see above p. 15). The literal meaning is “be powerful” (*Wb.* 3, 245/10–248/21), but here perhaps “fearsome, terrible” is a possible rendering.

I have taken  to be a writing of , “Böses reden, schmähen” (*Wb.* 1, 279/14–17). On this verb, see Baer 1965: 428–38 (reference courtesy of Professor Wente). Compare also 5/12.


On the image, see Posener 1976: 21.


3/13, n. S. The evil servant is apparently equated with the “unruly man.”


 (cf. , “Schaden” [*Wb.* 1, 483/4]) has the determinative of  *b3gy*, “müde” (*Wb.* 1, 431/2–11). The same writing is found in Posener 1976: 106. The two verbs are often confused (see, most recently, Cruz-Urbe 1986: 18).

In the wisdom text published by Posener (1976: 49), *hgs* seems to denote the son who refuses to carry out the rituals of the paternal cult. On *hgs*, see also Fecht 1969: 126–28 (reference courtesy of Professor Wente).

The restoration is intended merely to convey the probable sense of the sentence. Punishment of evil-doers by fire is common in Egyptian texts (see Caminos 1958a: 51, n. j; Eyre 1976: 107, n. 32; Zandee 1960: 133–46; and Vernus 1978a: 242, n. g).



For , “the devouring flame” (*Wb.* 1, 321/21–22); see Goyon 1967: 121, n. 115; idem 1975: 380; and Germond 1981: 354, n. 4.



3/14, n. T. *bw-ir=f* refers either to the servant or the master. The former seems more probable. It is possible, however, that , “be mild” (*Wb.* 3, 443/2–11), is to be read after *bw-ir=f*. If so, then the subject of the clause may indeed be the master or the flame.

 is perhaps identical with *hn*, “companion, friend,” on which see the comprehensive discussion in M. Smith 1987: 103. For *hn.w n sf*, which is probably a compound “friends of yesterday” (similarly 5/16, *hr.t n sf*, “sustenance of yesterday”), compare *Wb.* 4, 113/9–13. Compare further *s.t n sf*, “sa place habituelle” (Gasse 1984: 218, n. 31), and *hnms.w nw min*, “friends of today,” in P. Berlin 3024, 104 (Barta 1969: 16 [“Dispute of a Man with his Ba”]).

*bgz* is either “founder” (= “suffer”?) or “tired.” The context is too uncertain to assume that the figurative meaning is intended, i.e., “be dead”; see note N on column three. The construction is apparently *hr* and the infinitive.

3/14, n. U. I can make little of this line.

 is probable, but the  is somewhat peculiar. Although originally meaning “inhabitant of the land *md3*,” the word came to be used for “mercenary troop, soldier, policeman” (see *Wb.* 2, 186/3–13; Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 195; Westendorf, *KHwb.*, p. 105; and Posener 1958: 38–43). It occurs again in 4/14.

What “support of the earth” means is unclear, unless it is a metaphor for the master. The reading is, in any case, not certain. Possible is either , “pillars, columns” (Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 70; cf. also *Wb.* 1, 164/10–11), or , “beam” (*Wb.* 3, 419/14–17). On the figurative use of “pillar, beam” to describe one who helps others, see Grapow 1983: 164–65.

3/15, n. V. This sentence is equally enigmatic. The feminine word *nht.t* means “strength, victory, stiffness” (*Wb.* 2, 317/15–22). *p3 nt i-ir=k ir* [ ... *n=f*], “The one [for whom] you will do/make [ ... ],” is a possible restoration, i.e., relative third future or relative second tense, but the sense remains obscure.

3/16, n. W. This fragmentary line seems to introduce the topos of the wise man and the foolish man. While implicit throughout the text, of course, the theme does not play a very prominent role in the Brooklyn papyrus. I suggest that a verb for “to distinguish” be restored in the

lacuna, e.g., , “to distinguish” (*Wb.* 2, 444/1, construed with *r*), or , “to separate” (*Wb.* 1, 298/15–16, also attested with *r*, “from”).

The scribe apparently writes the singular *rmt*, “man” (*Wb.* 2, 421/9–424/14), with the plural strokes (cf. the spelling quoted in Caminos 1958a: 57). Additional examples are listed in the glossary. Compare Demotic *rmt-rh*, “kluger Mann” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 252), and *rmt-swg*, “törichter Mensch” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 417).

There is hardly room at the end of the line for more than . *dh* *hpr* would seem therefore to begin a new clause. This may be identical with the Demotic conjunction , *r-dh* *hpr*, “because” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 356), but the broken context precludes certainty.

3/16, n. X. I can offer no probable restoration of the end of the line. I assume that the subject is the foolish man.

The *tw* in *bw-rh-tw=f* seems to be superfluous (cf. *bw-rh-tw=f* in 5/5).

*mnq* occurs also in the following line.

3/17, n. Y. *dd* appears to introduce a new clause, but the grammar is difficult. may be:

1. An independent use of the conjunctive following *dd* (Frandsen 1974, §83).
2. A spelling of the relative *nt-iw* (Johnson 1976: 69).
3. A writing of , , “by, through” (*Wb.* 5, 594/1).

In view of the phrase *n r* *z=f*, “with his mouth,” and the following conjunctive clause, the sentence may continue across the break. If the wise man is indeed the subject, the rather awkward phrase “and he will complete the attaining of it” may allude to the acquisition of *maat*.

3/18, n. Z. I hesitate to propose an interpretation of this section.








The rendering of *m-ti=f* as a conjunctive is, of course, mere conjecture.

The traces after *ph* agree well with , but the subject of the verb is obscure.

A puzzling sign follows . I tentatively suggest that is plausible and , *n* *z*-*špss*, “be precious,” (an otherwise unattested adjective verb) is to be read.

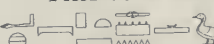
It is unclear to what “the matter, affair” refers. This may be a declaration of the value of knowledge, i.e., “the wise man knows that the matter is more precious than a hidden jewel (or similar).” Compare Prisse 58, “Good speech is more hidden than greenstone” (Žába 1956: 20). The preposition *n h* *zw*, “more than,” makes it clear that a comparison is being made, but the object of comparison is unfortunately not preserved.

in 3/18 is perhaps , *lg*, “to hide” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 264); compare (Crum, *CD*, p. 152b). This in turn may be derived from , “to bandage” (*Wb.* 2, 459/9 and Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 84). The determinative seems to be Gardiner (1957) Sign-list V19, “a hobble for cattle,” found, for example, in , “sack,” as a measure for grain (Faulkner 1962: 201, cf. also in 3/10). There exists, to be sure, the Demotic word , *lq*, “liquid measure” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 264).

One would expect, however, simply the vase determinative, and the sense seems unlikely. The comparison with , “to hide,” is more probable; compare , “to hide,” quoted in Gardiner 1917: 32, and the employment of  as a determinative (Greek period) for *sšt*, “geheim machen” (Wb. 4, 297). On the confusion of  and , see Parker 1962: 33, n. 1. Note, for example, Amenemope 8/10, wherein , “der Schrecken” (Wb. 3, 147/14–148/12), is written .




3/18, n. AA. Here begins a distinct section which continues to the end of the column. It comprises epithets and statements concerning both the creator god, probably Re, and Thoth. The principle elements are:



1. Allusion to the creation of heaven and earth.
2. A deity described as creator of all that exists.
3. Obscure remark concerning knowledge or “the wise ones.”
4. Mention of the court of the gods “who are with him.”
5. Epithets characterizing the god as a lover of *maat* and hater of falsehood.
6. Reference to the installation of Thoth as vizier.
7. Thoth is further described as recorder in the court and as the one who carries out its decisions.
8. Allusion to contendings of Re and Apophis in the sun-bark.
9. Obscure statement that they (i.e., the gods?) did not “withdraw their hearts from him.”

This is a standard description of the creation of the world; compare, for example,  (Sethe 1906–09, vol. 4, p. 942, 14) and, in general, Assmann 1984, cols. 677–690 (“Schöpfung”). On the verb *hy*, see Kurth 1975: 102–03.

3/18, n. BB. Another statement concerning the god’s creation. It is a simple first present construction. *nꜥ i-ir hpr nb.t*, “everything which happened,” (past participle) is the subject, while *hpr* is the qualitative predicate.

Note the otiose *t* in  (see above p. 8).



3/19, n. CC. The import of this sentence is unclear. The verb  seems to be , *nh*, “wish, request, pray” (Wb. 2, 288/11–289/10); compare the spelling  in Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 24. On this and related words, see Gilula 1977: 295–96, Spalinger 1979: 70–71 (reference courtesy of Professor Wente), and Vittmann 1984a, vol. 2, pp. 950–51. In Demotic, *nhe*, “to request, demand,” is attested in Mattha 1975, vol. 1, p. 69 (note to line 21); compare also *nhe*, “plea,” in Ray 1976: 24 (n. m). The same word may appear in 3/11.

The meaning of  is problematic, especially as the determinative is lost. It seems most probable that , “wise ones” (Wb. 2, 445/17–18), is intended. These would be counselors at the court of the sun god (= the Ennead?). *nꜥy=f rh* may also mean merely “his knowledge”; compare “If a wise man is not balanced(?), his wisdom (*nꜥy=f rh.w*)


does not avail” (Insinger 4/19, translation of Lichtheim). This does not yield good sense in the context, however, and I prefer the first alternative.

The author emphasizes the independence of the creator deity, who creates all alone, without a counselor; compare the similar statements in SlavHen A 33, 3b–4a, quoted in Küchler 1979: 77.

- 3/20, n. DD. The reference to the “court” of the sun god may indeed form part of the preceding sentence, as little is lost in the lacuna. One could understand, for example, “He did not ask his wise ones [of h]is court, namely, the gods who are with him.” It is also possible, however, that a new sentence began in the break. The *d3d3.t* was the divine court (see Grieshammer 1970: 93–97). The “gods who are with him” may be identified with the Ennead, already mentioned in 1/10 and 12. For the Ennead as a court, see Barta 1973: 31–35. On this late writing of *d3d3.t*, see Gardiner 1937: 74 and Faulkner 1938: 51.

For the common epithets *mr m3 ˁt* and *msdd isfy*, see *Wb.* 2, 99/15 and *Wb.* 2, 154/4. <sup>www</sup>, “as,” is just possibly to be read before , if the trace of ink preceding the break does not belong to .

I have no parallel for the epithet “one without a fondness for hatred.” One might also translate “falsehood which is without love.” Both renderings are suspiciously awkward.

- 3/20, n. EE. While Re is the subject of the previous sentences, here the focus of attention is Thoth. I have assumed that Thoth is the object of *in*, which can indeed mean “appoint” (*Wb.* 1, 90/4, “jem. in ein Amt einführen”). For the phrase (though with *ir*, not *in*), compare , “He who made Thoth as Vizier (of Osiris)” (see Gardiner 1916: 52). On Thoth as vizier of Re, see Griffiths 1960: 66, Hornung 1982a: 67, and Kurth 1986, col. 506 (“Thot”). The subject of the participle *in* is still Re. This seems preferable to taking Thoth as the subject of *in*, which would then be a relative form(?).

- 3/21, n. FF. The author describes the functions of Thoth. The subject of the second tense is clearly Thoth, while I suggest *n=f* refers to Re. The emphasized clause may be *pr=f*, i.e., “it is in order that he may come forth in justification of voice against his enemies that he carries out ... .”


The translation of *i-ir=f iry n=f š3-šh nb*, “he carries out every matter,” is straightforward. More difficult is the compound *t-ˁ*, literally, “to take the arm.” It occurs again in 4/6 in the clause “so that he may take for you the arm concerning that which is coming (i.e., the future).” The idiom is not found in *Wb.* but is discussed by Borghouts (1973: 136), who suggests “to lead.” It appears also in Insinger 22/2, “Their determination (*t ˁ.wy*) is through the counsel which the god has decreed” (translation of Lichtheim). Spiegelberg (1928: col. 1027) translated, “leiten, führen,” and noted another occurrence in Papyrus Rhind II, 2/5.<sup>2</sup> “Determinations” yields acceptable sense in this






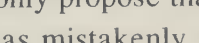
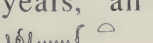
2. Möller 1913: 55. It is equivalent to *šsm* in the hieratic version. See further Lexa 1929: 119–21 and Volten 1941: 107–09.

passage. In 4/6 one is tempted to translate  $\text{t}^{\text{c}}$ , “aid,” but “determine (for), decide (for)” also produces a reasonable meaning. “The determinations of their mouths” would seem to be their (the gods’) “oral decisions.” The sentence thus adequately describes Thoth’s duties: he carries out the verbal decisions of the court and Re so that the latter may be victorious against his enemies.

For the phrase  $pr\ m\ m^{\text{c}}\ hrw$ , see Wb. 2, 16/10. It may be construed with  $r$  (Wb. 2, 15/9–15). The author fuses Horus and Re, utilizing elements of the mythology of both.

On  $hfty$ , “enemy,” especially in “Rechtsstreit,” see Grieshammer 1970: 18–21, noting particularly  $m^{\text{c}}\ hrw\ r\ hft$ , “be justified against an enemy.” On  $hft$ , see also Posener 1969: 30–35.

3/21, n. GG. The scribe dwells on Thoth’s role as helper of Re (and Horus). The most likely reading of the broken word following the break is  (cf. 2/18).  $wp$ , “to separate, judge” (Wb. 1, 298/7–301/12), can be construed with  $irm$  (Wb. 1, 299/7), and I would note above all,  $wp\ A\ hn^{\text{c}}\ B$ , “zwischen dem rechtsuchenden A und seinem Gegner B entscheiden” (Wb. 1, 299/5). This passage thus refers to Thoth who aids Re in his battle with Apophis in the sun-bark.

$q^{\text{c}}\ n\ rnp.wt$  is also problematic. The context suggests that the sun-bark is intended. This is, however, generally called , “the Bark of Millions (of years)” (cf. Wb. 1, 271/11). Instead of , “million” (Wb. 3, 152/14–153/24), , “tall, high, exalted” (Wb. 5, 4/1–13), is written. Since I know of no other example in which the sun-bark is named “exalted of years,” I can only propose that the scribe has either confused  in his *Vorlage* for  or that he has mistakenly written , “long of years,” an attested expression (see Kitchen 1979, vol. 2, p. 236, 2), for the correct .

Note that the judgment of the dead can also take place in the sun-bark (see Grieshammer 1970: 100–01).

3/21, n. HH. The gods did not abandon Horus (= Re) in his hour of need. The meaning of  $st^{\text{c}}\ h^{\text{c}}t$ , “to withdraw the heart,” is clear enough. I have not found the idiom elsewhere, but similar phrases can be quoted, e.g., Prisse 205,  $im.k\ iwd\ ib=k\ r=f$ , “Do not separate your heart from him” ([scil. the son], see Žába 1956: 32), and  $iw\ bn\ ir\ h^{\text{c}}t=s\ g^{\text{c}}w^{\text{c}}\ š^{\text{c}}\ im=f$ , “her heart shall not turn away from him” (Gunn 1955: 98 [= Hieratic Board of Neskhons, line 21]).



## CHAPTER 6

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN FOUR WITH COMMENTARY (P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

#### COLUMN FOUR

##### Translation

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ]. They do not give his proper[ty ... ] ... . They do not allow him to speak ...<sup>A</sup> [ ... ] like a<sup>B</sup> [ ... ] ...
3. [ ... h]e being wretched.<sup>C</sup> It is (for?) the one who is [excellent(?)] that they act/speak, he working like a bee<sup>D</sup> [ ... . He is the] best of the wise men ... [ ... ] to him<sup>E</sup>
4. [ ... (He is)] like Sia, a perfect wise man, [a croco]dile to the thief, a Fate to the ev[il one,] a guardian poisonous(?) [sna]ke in the house of (his) lord<sup>F</sup> [ ... ] superior
5. [ ... ha]nd over to him your (one) calf so that he may feed your (many) calves.<sup>G</sup> You will find it a prosperous (way), there not being your finding obstruction therein.<sup>H</sup> Let your chief know your
6. [excellence(?).<sup>I</sup> Be at]tentive so that he relates to you everything which has happened to him and so that he determines for you in the future.<sup>J</sup> The praises of [the] servant are from his mouth, while his heart
7. [is scornful(?).<sup>K</sup> ... . He] hastens towards the image(?) of Fate daily.<sup>L</sup> A barking domestic dog is the one who causes his master to be safe. His biting is that which is de-
8. [-spised(?).<sup>M</sup> ... ] ... at the gate(?) of the house of his lord, being forgetful of the respect due him, he is in everybody's eye a thing which makes enmity.<sup>N</sup> Love your household. Choose for yourself a multitudinous harem.<sup>O</sup>
9. [ ... ] the earth being fit to be a male-nurse/tutor(?) (for) the offspring(?) of nobles.<sup>P</sup> A good man(?) opens up his arms to every man.<sup>Q</sup> Are you more powerful
10. than your [ ... ].<sup>R</sup> The property of the just (man) does not perish. The robber does not bequeath to his son.<sup>S</sup> A chief does not say that which concerns him. His ... is not able to
11. call out(?)<sup>T</sup> [ ... ] ... the one who is unimportant after being great, the one who is great after being unimportant.<sup>U</sup> The one who causes that god be disresp[ected] is the one who causes that fear of him be known to(?) the masses.<sup>V</sup> The ones of


12. ... [ ... ] ... in accordance with the nature of wild beasts.<sup>W</sup> One is born after another has died. One is old, another is young.<sup>X</sup> Do not ever allow a great man to be evil.<sup>Y</sup>
13. [ ... ] you make a reproach(?) against(?) him, while he is standing in the [ ... ].<sup>Z</sup> Collect for yourself property again and again ... [ ... ] ... <sup>AA</sup> A ship, the crew of which is evil, it is shipwrecked.<sup>BB</sup>
14. ... [ ... ti]me, so that your enemies do not [ ... (?)] over you so that you suffer ... you be frightened(?) ... <sup>CC</sup> [ ... ] ... his Medjay slaughters
15. ...<sup>DD</sup> [ ... ] ... repentance(?) (is) a physician (for) the he[art(?)<sup>EE</sup> ... ] granite, the snare
16. for/of the hearts<sup>FF</sup> [ ... ]. An obedient(?) [por]ter(?) is the one who draws water [ ... ]. An excellent [ma]ster is the one who ...<sup>GG</sup> [ ... ] the temple.<sup>HH</sup> An evil person is an
17. abomination (to his) master.<sup>II</sup> Their condition of death [li]ves (in) wrong(ly) (acquired) property, they(?) having (even) consumed the sons (of the evil-doers).<sup>JJ</sup> Prepare for the one who causes the [ ... ] to bear witness<sup>KK</sup> [ ... ]. He speaks in order to give of-
18. -fense.<sup>LL</sup> [Vio]lence to you (is the result of) an evil household.<sup>MM</sup> The mouth speaks one thing to one man, another to another.<sup>NN</sup> The one who shipwrecks himself is the one who sends [(for aid?)<sup>OO</sup> ... ] ... the soldier. The one who
19. ...<sup>PP</sup> [ ... ] ... works the land.<sup>QQ</sup> A laborer who is suffering under two sticks is happy with one.<sup>RR</sup> [ ... As for the one who trea]ds the earth with his two feet,
20. it is for him that the river has been established(?),<sup>SS</sup> while the fieldworker produces(?) (that) which makes his flesh comfortable so that [he(?)] asks for [ ... ] ...<sup>TT</sup> [ ... ] ... for the powerful ones(?)<sup>UU</sup>

## COLUMN FOUR

### Commentary

4/2, n. A. This section resumes the description of the plight of the bad servant.

The restoration *bw-ir* is supported by the following negative aorist clause, probably parallel to this one.

For the reading  , compare 4/10.

4/2, n. B. *mi qd* presumably introduces a simile; compare 4/3 and 4/4.


4/3, n. C.  is a variant writing of  , “to suffer” (*Wb.* 1, 260/9–261/7).

4/3, n. D. The author now contrasts the fortunate situation of the good servant.


The third person plural *w* may refer to the gods, the superiors, or be an impersonal usage.

The emphasized adverbial phrase seems to be (*n*) *pꜣ nt* [*mnḥ*(?)], i.e., “(It is for) the one that is [efficient(?)] (that they act).”

*iw=f* would then introduce a circumstantial clause. Compare Proverbs 14:35, “The king’s favour is toward a servant that dealeth wisely; but his wrath striketh him that dealeth shamefully.”


The idiom “to work like a bee” is of some interest. Rather surprisingly, I can quote no exact parallels to this expression. That the Egyptians were impressed by the industrious character of bees is clear from such statements as Cheti 5/4–5, *qnn=f ʿwy=fy r mh h.t=f mī bīty wnm r k3.t=s*, “Er strengt seine Arme an, um seinen Bauch zu füllen, wie die Biene, die (nur) entsprechend ihrer Arbeit fressen kann” (Brunner 1944: 22). In the Late period, moreover, the sign  was indeed employed for *k3.t*, “work” (cf. Brunner 1975, col. 806 [“Bildliche Ausdrücke und Übertragungen”], and Sherman 1981: 94). On busy-bee imagery, see further Küchler 1979: 293, and compare Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 304–06, “[the lazy man is] much like the stingless drone, who does not work, but eats, and wastes the effort of the bees” (translation from Wender 1973: 68).



4/3, n. E. Restore perhaps  (trace of ink visible after lacuna).




 is *stpw*, “das Auserwählte” (Wb. 4, 338–339/14). There is clearly a connection between this section and the following, in which the good servant is identified with the god Sia.





4/4, n. F. This line consists of metaphors for the excellent servant. He is first equated with Sia, the personification of understanding and insight (Wb. 4, 31/1–5). On this god, see Posener 1960a: 45. Sia is particularly associated with Re and Heliopolis (Altenmüller 1980, col. 65 [“Hu”]). He may also be identified with Thoth (see above p. 24).


*iw=f mnq* probably qualifies *rmt-rh*, literally, “a wise man who is complete,” i.e., perfect. I have found no parallel for such a use of *mnq*, but compare *ṬṢḤḤ ḤṬḤḤḤ*, “perfect truth(?)” (Allberry 1938: 85, line 3).



The following figures are also interesting. Although only the determinative is preserved, there can be little doubt that *msh* or a synonym is to be restored. On the fearsomeness of the crocodile, see Grapow 1983: 95–96, who cites an example in which the upright man is described as a “raging crocodile” (  ) against the evil-doer (= Sethe 1906–09, vol. 4, p. 945, line 16). On the association of the crocodile and the snake, compare Insinger 29/15, most recently discussed by Pezin 1986: 93.

  , “der Dieb” (Wb. 1, 151/1). On the word, see Hughes 1982: 55.


I take  to be the Oxyrhynchus fish (Gardiner 1957, Sign-list K4), and the broken word to be identical with, or related to,  , “die Feinde” (Wb. 3, 360/4), or  , “der Verbrecher” (Wb. 3, 362/5).





While the restoration [*h*]*f* is certain, the reading of  is less so. I would connect it with either  , *mtw.t*, “das Gift” (Wb. 2, 169/5–8), or  , *sty*, “(eine Flüssigkeit) ausgiessen” (Wb. 4, 328/9–329/16, noting especially 329/10, “Gift verspritzen,” with the Greek period abbreviated writing  ). *s3wty*, “guardian,” is

perhaps to be separated from , though snakes also appear as guardians in Demotic literary texts, e.g., I. Kh. 3/30–3/33 (see Griffith 1900, vol. 1, pp. 100–02).

- 4/5, n. G. The author now provides practical advice regarding one's superiors. Having previously used either *nb* or *hry* to denote "master," he now employs  , "der Alte: auch im Sinne von: ältester Beamter" (Wb. 1, 29/2).

The advice itself is a typical example of the *do ut des* aspect of Egyptian wisdom. Generosity to one's master will be amply rewarded in the future.

 may be either *hn*, "supply, deposit, entrust" (Wb. 3, 101/1–26), or *shn*, "ausrüsten" (Wb. 4, 216/8–16). *shn* is found also in 6/10 and 6/17.

 , "grössere Kälber, Jungvieh" (Wb. 5, 524/7 ["belegt Gr."]), seems to be related to *dzm*, "Nachwuchs" (Wb. 5, 523/4–524/6). It is not common in Demotic; compare Onkhsheshonqy 23/11 (see Thissen 1984: 138) and perhaps Mythus 7/31 (published in Spiegelberg 1917),  , hitherto read as *dnm* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 682; and Spiegelberg 1917: 24).

*bhs*, on the contrary, is a common term for "calf" (see Cruz-Urbe 1985: 48 and Vleeming 1985, col. 513).

Since *s'nh* comprises four consonants, the scribe employs the periphrasis *ir* plus infinitive for the prospective *sdm=f* (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 161).



- 4/5, n. H. The scribe affirms the efficacy of his advice. The literal translation is "You will find it, it being healthy/successful." In a similar fashion, the author of P. Lansing states (1/6) *gm=k st m sh.w*, "you will find it (the advice) useful" (Erman and Lange 1925: 34).





On the writing of *gm*, see above p. 21. The form is presumably prospective. This is followed by two circumstantial clauses.

I have no other examples of the expression "to find obstruction," but compare Wb. 5, 168/1–4, "Besonders negiert: jem. (etw.) wird nicht gefunden = man hat es nicht, es gibt es nicht."

- 4/6, n. I. These sentences continue the theme of servant and master. As reconstructed, the advice is to make your chief aware of your industriousness and proper attitude. The superior will then take you into his confidence and aid you in the future.

I understand  to be a variant of  (Wb. 1, 76, see above p. 18).






  is merely one possibility, but it conveys the basic idea of the sentence.




- 4/6, n. J. The tail of  is visible below *h3t*. Restore perhaps   , "[give to] him your heart ... ." Compare the idiom *rdi h3t m-s3*, "be concerned about, take heed" (Wb. 3, 27/17), and  $\dagger \text{ZHT}$  (Crum, *CD*, p. 716a).




*sdd*, "etw. erzählen, sprechen" (Wb. 4, 394–395/12). It can be construed with *m* (= *n*), "(to talk) about (something)." *sdd=f* and *t=f* are prospective *sdm=f* forms introducing balanced purpose clauses.


*hpr i-ir-hr*, literally, “to happen before (someone),” is not found in *Wb*. I assume it to be equivalent to *hpr n*, “etw. geschieht jemandem” (*Wb*. 3, 262/16). On the compound preposition *i-ir-hr*, not in *Wb*., see above p. 14.

On the idiom *t* , “take the hand/arm (for some one),” see above pp. 72–73. The meaning seems to be “to determine/decide (in your favor)” or “to aid/benefit (with dative).”

 may be an error for , “concerning that which is coming,” i.e., the future. For , compare Goyon 1975: 354, *sw mī Stš p3 nty n iw r shm*, “He is like Seth, the one who is coming to power(?)”  is thus identical with Coptic ΝΗΥ, “to be on the way” (< *m iw.t*, “in coming,” see Wentz 1959: 34). “That which is coming” seems to be an expression for the future, with presumably negative connotations; compare , “evil” (*Wb*. 1, 38/9–10, discussed by Morenz 1975: 343–59).

4/7, n. K. This aphorism is distinctly cynical in tone. The usual word for “servant” in the text is *b3k*, and , literally, “youth” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 393–94), may denote a subordinate of lower rank. , “youth, servant,” is hardly attested in earlier Egyptian and is difficult to distinguish from , “Syrian (slave)” (*Wb*. 3, 232/15, and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 387). Both are, at any rate, proposed as ancestors of Coptic Ⲫⲁⲛ, “servant” (see Černý, *CED*, pp. 277–78 and Westendorf, *KHWb*., p. 363).


For the writing of  (“Preis,” *Wb*. 5, 428/14–429/6) with the  determinative, compare *Wb*. 5, 426, .




The emphasized phrase is more probably *n r3=f* (“It is in his mouth that the praises of a servant are”) rather than the circumstantial clause “while his heart [is scornful].” I restore in 4/7 , “curse” (*Wb*. 4, 213/4–6).






Egyptian texts not infrequently contrast what is said with what is thought, e.g., Any 8/12–13, “He may say ‘Welcome’ with his mouth, yet deride you in his thoughts” (translation of Lichtheim), and P. Berlin 13544, 14–17, “He says some words with his mouth, while they are not in his heart” (see Zauzich 1978b). Compare also Onkhsheshonqy 7/18, “A servant who is not beaten, great is cursing in his heart.” For such formulations, see Lichtheim 1984: 131–32.

4/7, n. L. This saying is uncertain. The meaning may be that the bad servant runs the risk daily of punishment from fate.

On the basis of the apparent , I restore a first present .




, “eilig laufen, eilen” (*Wb*. 3, 472/10–473/9 [construed with *r*, *Wb*. 3, 473/2–4]). The word is rare in Demotic, occurring in Onkhsheshonqy 9/23 and 21/13 (spelled *shst*).




The problem in this saying is the meaning of  (probably so, rather than ). There are several possible renderings. I suggest that the most likely is  (*Wb*. 4, 244/12 ff., “*shm* eines Gottes = sein Bild”), which is followed by the name of the god in

the genitive. Since Šꜣy in this text means “Nemesis” or “Death,” the image is that of the servant blithely tempting fate; compare perhaps P. Louvre 2414, 1/7, “A man who is faring toward death is he who goes to a woman <who> has a husband” (translation from Hughes 1982: 52). If this is correct, then the determinatives would seem to be borrowed from , “Schwert” (*Wb.* 4, 245/9 [reading *shm* queried], and , *shm*, “powerful [person]”). Most of the other possible readings convey a similar meaning, e.g., , “die Macht” (*Wb.* 4, 249/1–16), i.e., “He hastens against the power of fate daily”; , *shm*, “to destroy” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 461, and Černý, *CED*, p. 173); and , “to forget” (*Wb.* 4, 140/16–141/10). Note the possible alliteration between *shs* and *shm*.

- 4/8, n. M. This fine couplet illustrates the scribe’s insight into the ambiguities of the master-servant relationship.



*iwīw n s’nh* (noun plus genitive plus infinitive) is the subject of the nominal sentence. On the construction, see Černý and Gröll, *LEG*, p. 186. While parallels are lacking, compare Demotic *s-hm.t n s’nh* (see Pestman 1961: 42), the term for a wife guaranteed annual support by her husband. The compound *hl (n) s’nh* is found in P. Spiegelberg 14/6, which Spiegelberg (1910: 31) translated hesitantly as “Pfründen-Knabe.” Given the context of that passage, “domestic servant” is perhaps a better rendering. Other aphorisms based on the dog-master relationship are: Amenemope 26/6–7, “A dog’s food is from its master; it barks to him who gives it” (translation of Lichtheim); Coffin Text spell 37, “The dog which thwarts its master is beaten”;<sup>1</sup> compare also Syriac Ahikar 38, “My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth: for the tail of a dog wins him bread and his mouth gets him blows”;<sup>2</sup> and Syriac Ahikar 35, “My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee” (Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 106).


The following clause is unfortunately damaged. For , compare , “to chew” (*Wb.* 4, 368/12–369/2), and , “to chew” (Crum, *CD*, p. 363). In our context, “bite” is the best translation. Of course, one might render “his chewings,” which could then refer to the expense of feeding the servant.

I restore , “belegt N, jemd. schmähen” (*Wb.* 5, 149/10–11); compare *gꜣ* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 570); and , “ugly one, ugliness, disgrace” (Crum, *CD*, p. 466a). , “to be narrow, constricted, in want” (*Wb.* 5, 151/6–152/7), is also possible but does not yield as satisfactory a sense.


1. Translation of Faulkner 1973–78, vol. 1, p. 28. The text is cited in Guglielmi 1984, cols. 1220–21 (“Sprichwort”). Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert has also kindly pointed out to me the passage in O. DelM. 1085, lines 4–5, *bn tw=k m iwīw iry=f rsy hr nb=f*, “You are not as a dog which guards its master,” published in Posener 1938, pl. 47.
2. Translation in Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 106; discussed in Küchler 1979: 345, n. 31.

4/8, n. N. The author offers an example of poor behavior by the servant. The partially lost words probably introduced the subject in anticipatory emphasis: “As for him who ... .” The first *iw=f* is perhaps a circumstantial form qualifying the subject, while the following *iw=f* is the main clause in the first present.

In view of the preserved  determinative, I would restore a word for a door, e.g., *sb3*, “Tor” (Wb. 4, 83/10), or for a part of the door, e.g., , *wgy.t (n p3 r3)*, “doorpost” (see Malinine 1964: 128, note g). A plausible restoration is “As for him who pounds (*sh*, “schlagen”) on the door/doorpost of the house of his master, being forgetful of the respect due him, he is in every eye a thing which causes enmity.”


, “fear, respect” (Wb. 4, 184/1–14), here employed with the possessive adjective, *t3y=f snd.t*, “his respect,” i.e., “the respect due him.” Compare *t3y=f snt.t*, (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 440, “Seine Furcht [= die F. vor ihm]”), quoted from Spiegelberg 1917, Glossar no. 686; and Amenemope 22/12, *mtw=k h3d p3y=k nri.t* (sic), “and so injure respect of you.” See also note V on 4/11.

The prepositional phrase *n ir.t = m ir.t*, “etw. ist in (*m*) den Augen jemds. = man sieht etwas” (Wb. 1, 106/16). *ir.t nb.t* also has the meaning “everybody” (see Wb. 1, 107/3–4; Grapow 1983: 114–15; Brack and Brack 1977: 43; and Sauneron 1970: 27).





While strictly speaking  is feminine in gender, it also may be treated as masculine (see Wb. 1, 124). Here it has the neutral meaning “something, thing” (cf. Wb. 1, 124/6). Possibly *n /m* is to be supplied before *h.t*, “he is in every eye (as) a thing which makes enmity.”

 is , “Empörung, Feindseliges” (Wb. 4, 88/12–15).

On uninvited entry and intruders, compare Any 3/9–11, “Do not enter the house of anyone until he admits you and greets you: Do not snoop around in his house, let your eye observe in silence” (translation of Lichtheim); similarly, Any 8/11–13.

The scribe may have intended alliteration, *sh**m* here echoing the *sh**m* of the preceding line. *sh**m*, “vergessen” (Wb. 4, 140/16–141/10), is rare in Demotic, being but once attested, to my knowledge,  (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 454).



4/8, n. O. Two balanced imperative clauses seem to introduce a new theme, having little to do with that of the master-servant relationship. *pr*, “house, household,” is, however, possibly the associative link with the preceding saying. On the broader meaning of *pr*, see note CC on column two.




 is clearly , “die Haremsdame” (Wb. 3, 297/15–298/1). The word scarcely seems to occur with this meaning in Demotic, but compare , “Schlafzimmer” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 253), and , “Schlafgenosse” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 362, quoted from Insinger 7/24 and 32/20). As the reference is to “concubines,” the text cannot be used as evidence for the existence of non-royal polygamy, on which, see Ward 1986: 57–59, Simpson 1974: 100–05, and Pestman

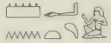
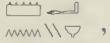
1961: 3. On the distinction between concubines and wives, see Lüddeckens 1960: 7, n. 8, and Pestman 1961: 25–26, n. 4. On *hnr*, see Bryan 1982: 35–54, with references to earlier literature. Concubines are mentioned, for example, in the oracular amuletic decrees, “I shall make fruitful his concubines to bear male and female children as seed which has come forth from his body” (L. 7 recto, lines 39–40, translation in Edwards 1960, vol. 1, p. 48).





For similar sayings, compare Hordjedef, “When you prosper, found your household. Take a hearty wife, a son will be born you” (translation of Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 1, p. 58; the text is in Posener 1952: 111); and Onkhsheshonqy 18/19, “He who loves his house so as to dwell in it warms himself by its beams” (translation of Lichtheim).




4/9, n. P. This is a difficult aphorism, which I have been unable to explain satisfactorily. It seems to be an exhortation to live in such a manner as to be a worthy companion or servant of a noble family. If correct, then this and the following sentence may form a couplet.





I have no compelling restoration to offer for what may have stood in the lacuna.  is to be identified with , “wert” (Wb. 4, 404/13–18), which is well attested in the compound *n šʒw n*, “in the capacity of, fit for” (see Caminos 1954: 356; idem 1958a: 58; Quaegebeur 1975: 58–62; Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 493; and Crum, *CD*, p. 599).

*wty* may be identical with , “der Vater” (Wb. 1, 382/10–12, derived from , “erzeugen” [Wb. 1, 381/10–382/9]). The word always seems to be spelled *wtt* in late Egyptian, but compare Demotic , *wt*, “erzeugen” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 103).

 is evidently , “der Erzieher” (Wb. 2, 78/11–15); note also the compound noun *it mn ʿy*, “Nährvater,” and compare *mn ʿy*, “male nurse” (Faulkner 1962: 108). I understand *wty mn ʿt* to be, therefore, a previously unattested term for “male nurse,” presumably a type of paedagogus or tutor.

 may have the meaning “offspring,” though I can offer no parallel. A literal rendering of *hʒw n sr.w* would be “increase of nobles”; compare , “Zuwachs, Vermehrung” (Wb. 3, 16/7–18/4). A similar construction, admittedly with a different nuance, is , “the lower orders” (Wb. 3, 18/10–11). Compare also , which Goyon (1967: 113, n. 34) translates “les pleureuses.”

4/9, n. Q. This statement is relatively straightforward, emphasizing the importance of generosity. The reading  after  (second tense converter) is not certain. Also possible is , “companion,” in which case the construction is first present.



 is , “ausbreiten, öffnen, die Arme ausbreiten (Gr.)” (Wb. 1, 562/1–7). The determinative is perhaps borrowed from , “Art zu sitzen” (Wb. 1, 562/8–9), or , “Kampfplatz” (Wb. 1, 562/14–18). It is preserved as Demotic

*pke*, “separate” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 141), and Coptic ΠΩϢΕ, “break, burst” (Crum, *CD*, pp. 285b–286b; see also Černý, *CED*, p. 133).

For similar sentiments, compare Prisse 339–40, “Sustain your friends with what you have, you have it by the grace of god” (Žába 1956: 43; translation of Lichtheim); Prisse 481–82, “Be generous as long as you live, what leaves the storehouse does not return” (Žába 1956: 54; translation of Lichtheim); Any 8/3–4, “Do not eat bread while another stands by, without extending your hand to him” (translation of Lichtheim); Amenemope 16/5, “If you find a large debt against a poor man, make it into three parts; forgive two, let one stand” (translation of Lichtheim); and Insinger 15/7–17/3 (chapter on greed and generosity). On the topos of “gracious giving” in Onkhsheshonqy, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 43–45.

4/10, n. R. This damaged clause is presumably a hypothetical condition, and probably forms a unit with the following statements on the advantages of justice. One possible restoration is “Are you more powerful than your [companion, then be fair!] The property of the just man does not perish. The robber, however, does not bequeath to his son.” If correctly understood, the structure of this passage is similar to that of the “classical Egyptian instruction” discussed by Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 2): “Their basic pattern is tripartite: A conditional clause sketching a situation, a set of imperatives, and an amplifying explanation by means of generalizing statements.”




*in-iw=k* is probably a first present interrogative construction (cf. Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 554). However, one might expect *in tw=k* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 33). Variation between *iw=k* and *tw=k* in the first present is found also in Demotic.<sup>3</sup>

, “mächtig, stark” (*Wb.* 1, 360/7–362/9). The determinative is perhaps borrowed from , “der Mächtiger” (*Wb.* 1, 363/5–7).

4/10, n. S. This couplet is a classic statement of Egyptian ethics; compare Prisse 92–93, “Baseness may seize riches, yet crime never lands its wares” (Žába 1956: 23–24; translation of Lichtheim); Amenemope 9/16–17, “If wealth comes to you by theft, it will not remain the night by you”; Onkhsheshonqy 14/7, “He who steals from the property of another will not profit by it”; and Proverbs 13:22, “A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children’s children; and the wealth of the sinner is laid up for the righteous.”



*p3 nkt (n) m3 ˁ.t*, is, literally, “the property of justice.”



*hwr ˁ* appears also in the prepositional phrase *n hwr ˁ*, “through robbery,” in 2/10.

, “überweisen, vererben” (*Wb.* 4, 78/6–17, note the common variant writing ). It occurs again in 5/9, .



3. “Examples of the 2 m. with *iw* earlier than Mythus are somewhat suspect; they usually occur after the particle *in*, where the circumstantial was normally used ...” (Johnson 1976: 32). See further, Silverman 1980: 115.

4/11, n. T. I can offer no satisfactory interpretation of these two sentences, which appear to form a couplet. The sense of the first clause evidently depends on the meaning of *ph*. In addition to “reach, attack” (*Wb.* 1, 533/12–535/12), the word can mean, at least in the Late period, “to concern, pertain to,” e.g., Onkhsheshonqy 9/8, “Do not scorn a matter which concerns (*ph*) a cow.” I have translated, therefore, “A chief does not say that which concerns him,” literally, “the reaching of him.” It is not certain, however, whether the *f* refers back to the implied “just man” of the previous sentence or reflexively to the *hry*.

I am also unable to suggest a plausible rendering for  at the end of the line. The signs seem to be , but this reading is not secure.

 may well be for , “to call out” (see above p. 61). This would nicely parallel with *dd pʒ ph=f* in the preceding clause. The subject of the sentence may thus be a subordinate to the *hry*.



4/11, n. U. I can offer no reading for the traces preceding *pʒ nty*. These two clauses and the following sentence (“The one who causes that god be disrespected] is the one who causes that fear of him be known to(?) the masses.”) perhaps form a unit. The passage may allude to the vagaries of fortune, concluding that the only way to assure stature in the world is to glorify and respect god.

 is probably “be unimportant,” contrasted with , “to be great, important” (see *Wb.* 4, 526/3). Both *šriw* and *ʒ* following *m-sʒ* would seem to be infinitive forms (see *Wb.* 4, 11/6); compare Insinger 34/20, *hr ti=f hpr hqʒ m-sʒ sy sy m-sʒ hqʒ ʿn*, “He creates hunger after satiety, satiety in turn after hunger.” The contrast between “great” and “small” is often made in wisdom literature; compare Onkhsheshonqy 7/19–20, “A small man with a great wrath makes much stench; a great man with a small wrath gets much praise.” For the reversal of fortune theme, compare Prisse 177, “Do not recall if he once was poor” (Žába 1956: 30); Prisse 428–29, “If you are great after having been humble (*m-ht nds=k*), have gained wealth after having been poor ...” (Žába 1956: 50; translation of Lichtheim); and Any 8/5–6, “One man is rich, another is poor, but food remains for him [who shares it.] As to him who was rich last year, he is a vagabond this year; don’t be greedy to fill your belly, you don’t know your end at all” (translation of Lichtheim).



4/11, n. V. In this sentence the author clearly warns the reader of the consequences of disrespecting the deity. The aphorism consists of two defined relative clauses forming a nominal sentence.

*tʒy=f šf.t* may mean either “respect of the god” or “respect of the man.” While both are possible, the former seems more probable. Compare Onkhsheshonqy 14/10, “Offer sacrifice and libation before the god; let fear of him (*tʒy=f snt.t*) be great in your heart”;





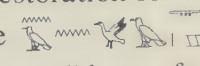



and Insinger 23/23, “It is the god who gives the heart to the wise man on account of fear/respect.”

 is obviously , “spotten” (Wb. 5, 388/4). To my knowledge this verb is attested in earlier Egyptian only in O. Petrie 11, recto, 2–3  $[i]m=k \text{ } r\dot{h} \text{ } m \text{ } i\dot{z}wy \text{ } i\dot{z}y.t \text{ } m-\dot{h}t \text{ } k\dot{h}k\dot{h}=sn \text{ } s\dot{z}w \text{ } [ \dots =s]n(?) \text{ } r=k \text{ } h\dot{r} \text{ } tp \text{ } i\dot{z}y=k$ , “Do not mock an old man, an old woman in their infirmity, lest [they utter curses] against you upon your old age” (text in Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. 1; translation of Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 7).  $\text{𓂏} \text{ } \text{𓂏} \text{ } \text{𓂏}$ ,  $\dot{d}lh$ , “verachten” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 686), is very common in Demotic wisdom literature, e.g., Onkhsheshonqy 12/10, “Disdain ( $\dot{d}lh$ ) ruins a great man” (translation of Lichtheim; further instances of  $\dot{d}lh$  in Onkhsheshonqy are listed in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 62).  $\dot{d}lh$  is even more prominent in Insinger. The Twentieth Instruction, for example, begins  $tm \dot{d}lh \text{ } hm \text{ } mt.t \text{ } bw-\dot{ir}=k \text{ } th\dot{z} \text{ } n-\dot{im}=s$ , “Do not scorn/belittle a small thing lest you suffer because of it” (Insinger 23/20). Additional examples of  $\dot{d}lh$  from Insinger are in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 183. The word survived into Coptic,  $\text{Ⲭ} \text{ } \text{ⲟ} \text{ } \text{ⲛ} \text{ } \text{ⲉ}$ , “be smallest, least” (Crum, *CD*, p. 769b).

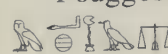
The plural subject of  $r\dot{h}$  may be impersonal; compare O. DelM 1088, 1–3,  $h\dot{z}ty-\text{‘} m \text{ } s\dot{d}d \text{ } b\dot{z}w \text{ } n \text{ } Pth \text{ } rsy \text{ } inb=f \text{ } d\dot{i}.t \text{ } r\dot{h} \text{ } rmt \text{ } r\dot{h}y.t \text{ } wsr \text{ } p\dot{h}ty \text{ } ntr \text{ } \dot{s}pssy \text{ } h\dot{r}y-tp \dots ps\dot{d}.t$ , “Beginning of the recitation of the Powers of  $Pth-rsy-inb=f$  (in order to) cause that people (and) the  $r\dot{h}y.t$  know the power and strength (of the) noble god who is at the head ... of the Ennead” (see Posener 1938, pl. 49).

 is perhaps “in, among the masses”; compare ,  $\dot{s}\dot{z}.t$ , “Die Menge” (Wb. 1, 229/6–8).


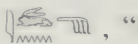
4/12, n. W. A new aphorism, and indeed section, begins here.



 may be the possessive prefix  $\text{N}\Delta$ ; compare 4/20 , “the-one-of-the-field,” i.e., “field-worker,” or, less likely, the plural article  (Wb. 2, 199/1–6) or the interrogative particle  (Erman, *NÄG*, §739). I can offer no certain restoration for the lacuna. If the interpretation of this passage is correct, one might propose , “the-ones-of-the-earth,” i.e., “mankind,” comparing, perhaps,  $n\dot{z}y-t\dot{z}.w-tr.w$ , “those of all lands,” a phrase found in Theban Demotic graffiti (see Jasnow 1984: 92). , however, does not fit the scant traces visible on the right-hand fragment  (  ?).

As I understand this difficult section, the author compares mankind with the beasts of the field. Like them, man is subject to the inevitable laws of nature. Each man ages, dies, and his place is taken by another.

I suggest that  $r$  means “gemäss” (Wb. 2, 387/16), or that we supply a verb such as , “gleichen” (Wb. 2, 130/14–131/5), which is construed with  $r$ ; compare  $i\dot{w}=f \text{ } m\dot{h}y.w \text{ } r \text{ } H\dot{r}$ , “He being like unto Horus” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 175). Comparisons between mankind and the beasts of the field are relatively common in Egyptian


literature (see Grapow 1983: 82–83, Barns 1968: 74, , “herd [of god],” and cf. 2/9, n. P).

 is probably , “Farbe” (Wb. 1, 52/10–18), used figuratively for “character, nature, manner” (cf. Faulkner 1962: 13, “complexion, colour, nature, disposition,” and Brunner-Traut 1977, col. 118 [“Farben”]). I cannot explain, however, why the scribe wrote the plural form.

 is clearly , “Kleinvieh, Wild, vierfüssige Tiere” (Wb. 1, 170/7–171/1).

This statement introduced the theme of man’s mortality, which is further developed in the next two clauses.

4/12, n. X. Each of these two sentences consists of a second tense and a circumstantial past *sdm=f*. The restoration is quite secure. The idea seems to be that the mortal cycle of birth and death, youth and age, is inescapable.


, “one,” is used correlatively, “the one ... the other” (see Wb. 1, 274/8). A literal rendering, emphasizing the past circumstantial clauses, produces an awkward English: “It is after one has died that another is born; it is after one is young that another becomes old.” For the idea, compare Merikare 123–24, “Among men generation after generation passes away” (Helck 1977: 77), and P. BM 10060 6/3–4, “a generation passes, another stays” (a “Harper’s Song,” text in Müller 1899, pl. 13; translation in Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 1, p. 196).


A comparison with the third chapter of Ecclesiastes is also difficult to avoid. There too the subject is the cycle of life and death, though in Ecclesiastes the emphasis is perhaps on the notion of “the proper time.” In 3:1–2 we read, for example, “To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die.” One may further compare 3:18–19 where the author declares: “I said in my heart: ‘It is because of the sons of men, that God may sift them, and that they may see that they themselves are beasts (N.B. *בהמה*, cf. *w.t*). For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity.’”


The sense of the Egyptian passage is that man, like the beasts, is subject to the laws of nature: he dies and another takes his place. Unlike the Hebrew passage, there is no explicit mention of the “proper time” for all things. Nor is the parallel with Ecclesiastes 3:19, “as the one dieth, so dieth the other,” very close. In the Hebrew passage “the one” and “the other” refer to man and beast respectively. In the Egyptian passage no such comparison is made within the last two statements. Nevertheless, the basic ideas are not dissimilar. Man is like the beasts. As they age, die, and are replaced by others, so too do the sons of mankind. Given the differences between the two passages and the existence

of earlier similar formulations in Egyptian literature, I hesitate to posit a direct connection between the Egyptian and Hebrew compositions. The ideas expressed here had presumably achieved wide circulation in the Near East by the sixth to third centuries B.C., the period within which both Ecclesiastes and P. Brooklyn 47.218.135 were probably composed.<sup>4</sup>

4/12, n. Y. The connection between the preceding and this aphorism seems tenuous. Once more the scribe returns to the topic of servant and master. The passage, which probably continues with the next preserved clause, deals with the admonition or correction of the master. Most of the remaining column is concerned with the subject of evil.





For , "schlecht," see Wb. 1, 442/15–443/17.



𓄤, "great," is written without the book-roll determinative , in contrast to 4/11, 12, and 5/7, 9.


I assume that  lends emphasis here to the negative imperative (cf. Wb. 3, 437/5). An example is Any 3/10–11, *m-ir gmḥ sp-2 m pr(=f)*, "Do not snoop around in (his) house" (translation of Lichtheim).

On the correction of one's superiors, compare 5/6 and also Prisse 399, "teach the great what is useful to him" (Žába 1956: 48).

4/13, n. Z. I have already suggested that this somewhat uncertain aphorism is best understood in connection with the previous saying. The *f* following *t3y* may thus refer back to the *rmt* 𓄤. An imperative perhaps stood in the lacuna, but too much is lost to recover the complete sense.

I take  to be , "make a reproach against someone" (Wb. 5, 349/1). Also possible is  (second tense) or the negative aorist  with the meaning "lest you ..."




*t3y* is then not simply "to take," but rather "tadeln" (Wb. 5, 348/12–16). On this verb, see Caminos 1963: 32, Posener 1957: 130, and Baer 1965: 435–38 (reference courtesy of Professor Wente). The signs following *t3y* are damaged, however, and perhaps  is in fact to be read in place of . If so, then *t3y*, "take, steal," is more likely after all.

The restoration in the lacuna is, of course, conjectural. I propose, e.g., *iw=f ḥ' n t3* [*mtr.t*], "while he is standing in the [middle (of a crowd)]." For *mtr.t*, "middle," see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 191 (there always with noun following, but compare *n t3 mtr.t* used absolutely in Griffith and Thompson 1904–09, vol. 1, p. 32 [= 3/2]). Another possibility is *iw=f ḥ' n t3* [*qnb.t*], "while he is standing in the court"; compare the use of  in the expression "vor Gericht stehen" (Wb. 1, 219/6, and Grieshammer 1970: 33).

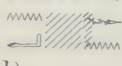

In any case, it is probable that the aphorism warns against admonishing one's superior in public. Compare Onkhsheshonqy 17/17, "Do not scorn your master before an

4. On the dating of Ecclesiastes, see Scott, 1965: 192 and 201.

inferior,” and Insinger 3/1, “Do not rage against him who reproves you because he reproves you in public” (translation of Lichtheim).


- 4/13, n. AA. This aphorism apparently exhorts the reader to gather as much property as possible. However,  may have stood in the lacuna, in which case we must translate “[Do not] gather for yourself property again and again.” , “sammeln” (Wb. 4, 335/14–16, construed with *n*, “für sich”), may also be restored, rather than simply , “versammeln” (Wb. 5, 259/5–260/10). The scribe uses here the somewhat archaic *h.t* for property. Elsewhere he employs *nkt*.

For *m whm*, “wiederum,” see Wb. 1, 343/4.



I have no convincing explanation for the broken traces which follow. They appear to be , and probably belong to this clause (= , “Pflock” [Wb. 2, 207/17–19?]).





The acquisition of wealth is, of course, a common topic in wisdom literature; compare Onkhsheshonqy 6/10, “Do not set your heart on the property of another, saying: ‘I will live therefrom.’ Acquire your own”; Onkhsheshonqy 23/9, “Better is small wealth gathered (*twt*) than large wealth scattered” (translation of Lichtheim); Insinger 16/23, “There is he who buries them (his goods) when they are gathered (*twt*), and then the earth conceals them”; Any 5/9–10; and, among non-Egyptian texts, Ahiqar Gk 152, “Put away something daily for tomorrow, for it is better dying to leave something for your enemies than living to have need of your friends” (text in Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 164).


- 4/13, n. BB. This almost completely preserved saying is a conventional statement of Egyptian ethics, namely, that evil people suffer evil ends.

, “Art Schiff. Meist Flußschiff zum Transport von Lasten” (Wb. 1, 78/8–10, and Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 33). The word is apparently not attested in Demotic. On ship imagery, see Grapow 1983: 153.





There is perhaps a word-play on *is.t* and *isf.t*. One might expect a circumstantial *iw* to be written before *t3y=f is.t isfy*, but the text as it stands is also grammatically correct. *iw=f* is either the first present or the third future.

- 4/14, n. CC. While  at the beginning of the line may belong to the previous clause, it could also be , “Do not,” and begin this aphorism. I can make out little of the saying with confidence.

Inasmuch as  seems to be the sun-determinative, I suggest that  is  (Möller, *HP* 3, no. 271), and that the word is , “time” (Wb. 5, 313–316/11). I have assumed that what follows is *tm* negating a final prospective *sdm=f* (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 460–61). This form may follow the imperative and thus fits our context well, “[Do (not?) ... ti]me so that your enemies do not [ ... ] ... over you ... .” As a possible


restoration I propose , “to rejoice, exult,” compare *m-ir tī ršy nš hft.w n-im=y*, “Do not allow that my enemies rejoice over me” (Jasnow 1984: 94).

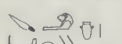
I understand *šd=k*, “elend sein” (*Wb.* 1, 35/9–12), to be a prospective *šdm=f* as well.


The following signs are very uncertain, perhaps . As neither  nor  seems probable, I suggest that it could be , *ky dm*, “another version” (cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 559). While the reading is hardly secure, “so that you be frightened” (*Wb.* 3, 147/14–148/12) is indeed a plausible alternative reading to “so that you suffer.”



4/15, n. DD. I can make nothing of this aphorism.

For *mdš*, see note U on column three.


, *smš*, “slaughter” (*Wb.* 4, 122/7–123/11), occurs also in 2/11.


4/15, n. EE.  may be the compound *š'd-hšt*, also found in Onkhsheshonqy 12/7, 15/24 (bis), and 15/25. Lichtheim translates “discourage” and Thissen (1984: 119) “kleinmütig.” For the abbreviated writing of *š'd*, see *Wb.* 4, 422.

 is clearly “der Arzt” (*Wb.* 3, 427/7–15). This may be used here figuratively (cf. Grapow 1983: 141–42).


The restoration  is merely a guess. For the spelling , compare 4/16.



4/16, n. FF. , “granite,” occurs figuratively in 6/9.



, “net” (*Wb.* 1, 36/8–11), is used especially for birds and fish. This spelling is found also in P. Turin 2008 and 2016, 3, V, 17 (see Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 17). It is apparently not attested in Demotic (see Černý, *CED*, p. 13), and the proposed identification with Coptic ⲁⲧⲉ (cf. also Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 13) is denied by Osing (1978: 187).


I have not found the phrase “snare of/to the hearts” elsewhere in Egyptian, but compare Ecclesiastes 7:26, “and I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her.” In Egyptian, compare Chester Beatty I, recto 17/2, , “She cast a snare after me with her locks” (see Iversen 1979: 82). It is, perhaps, too daring to restore *hšwty*, “men” (*Wb.* 1, 217/12), in the lacuna, and so translate “snares of the hearts [of me]n.” The word following the lacuna may equally belong to the next saying.




4/16, n. GG. These two sayings may form a couplet, but this is by no means certain. The numerous lacunae and the ambiguous grammar permit several interpretations. I suggest that a contrast is being made between the servant and the master. The passage may seek to delineate the respective roles and duties of each. After an apparent interlude, the author thus returns to the theme of master and servant.

As mentioned above (note FF), the partly damaged word after the break may belong to this clause. If so, one thinks of a noun ending in *wty*, e.g., , “Wächter”




(Wb. 3, 418/7–11); , “farmer” (Wb. 1, 214/7–9); and also , “Träger” (Wb. 5, 102/4–10).


Since *sdm* has the  determinative, it may well be the noun , “Diener” (Wb. 4, 389/6–11), and not an adjective “hearing, obedient.”

I am unable to read the traces before the break . An alternative translation is “A servant is the one who draws water [for his] master. Excellent is the one who ... [ ... ].”



4/16, n. HH. The traces before  fit . Despite the unorthodox writing, , “temple” (Wb. 3, 411–5/9), was perhaps intended. The subject may have been the improper behavior of an impious man in a sacred locality.


4/17, n. II. The author once more returns to the relationship of master and servant.






The determinative of  (*isfy*) indicates that this is a noun “evildoer.” The word may be equivalent to  (Wb. 1, 129/16). Also note the dittography in , “abomination.”

 following *nb* may not be the possessive adjective belonging to the next saying, but rather the copula of this one. A similar statement is in 2/17, “His (the noble’s) abomination is falsehood.”




4/17, n. JJ. The meaning of this aphorism may be that ill-gotten gains destroy their possessor together with his family.



 is , “Zustand” (Wb. 1, 158/1–4). Pantalacci (1985: 5–20), who discusses this construction, quotes another possible example of this compound *-n-mwt*, “condition of death,” from P. Anastasi VI, 83–84 (ibid., p. 18; see also Caminos 1954: 300).


The restoration of the damaged word presents problems. Given considerations of space, I can only suggest . If correct, we seem to have a first present construction, and *n*, “in”(= *m*), has been omitted before *n3*.

 is perhaps an error for , “evil” (Wb. 5, 545/9–547/9), noting especially the compound  (Wb. 5, 546/13). The  determinative would then be borrowed from , “Berg” (Wb. 5, 541/7–545/1).

While the preceding seems reasonably secure, the subordinate clause introduced by the circumstantial converter is more problematic.

The determinative of  suggests that this is a spelling of *wnm*, “to eat” (Wb. 1, 320/1–321/12), rather than the nisbe of *m*,  (Wb. 1, 72/13–75/19). A similar writing of *wnm* is quoted by Lesko (DLE 1, p. 117), .

I understand  to refer to *n3 ht.w dw.w*, and to be the subject of the verb *wnm*. *s* must then be a spelling of *sn*; compare  (Wb. 4, 147).

 can hardly be anything other than “sons,” as “birds” yields little sense in the context.

For a discussion of this theme, see Posener 1976: 44. On the evil consequences of possessing stolen property, compare Insinger 15/18, “Money with greed, its wrong does not end” (translation of Lichtheim); Insinger 18/7, “He who thinks of it for the sake of hoarding, the riches will bring about his end” (translation of Lichtheim); Insinger 30/24, “Property is given to the evil man in order to deprive him of his breath through it” (translation of Lichtheim); and Proverbs 10:2, “Treasures of wickedness profit nothing; but righteousness delivereth from death.” On the idea that the sons will pay the penalty of the parent’s misdeeds, compare Amenemope 17/13–14, “The scribe who cheats with his finger, his son will not be enrolled” (translation of Lichtheim).

- 4/17, n. KK. This fragmentary statement may be an injunction not to forget the judgment in the underworld, perhaps “Prepare yourself for the one who allows that the [wronged one] bear witness [(against you)].” The reference may be to Thoth; compare Amenemope 4/19, “It is the moon (= Thoth) who prosecutes (*s ḥ*) his crime,” and 5/12. Also note Proverbs 22:22–23, “Rob not the weak, because he is weak, neither crush the poor in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and despoil of life those that despoil them.”

𐀓𐀓, “zugegen sein, bezeugen” (*Wb.* 2, 171/9–20).

The traces following 𐀓𐀓 are not very clear, but they fit 𐀓𐀓.

- 4/18, n. LL. This sentence is presumably a description of the evil-doer. The subject in anticipatory emphasis was possibly in the lacuna, “As for him who ... .” This section does not appear to consist of couplets, but rather of monostichic sayings loosely bound together by a common theme.

I restore the second tense 𐀓𐀓 and assume that the emphasis is on the *r* plus infinitive construction.

For the idiom *dī hwš*, see above p. 61.

- 4/18, n. MM. In this broken saying the author seems to warn that association with a wicked household can only have evil consequences. On the topos, compare Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 46–47.


I suggest that the damaged word is 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, “Unrecht” (*Wb.* 5, 177/5–6). The compound *t-gns* is particularly common in Demotic (see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 542, “Gewalt antun, mit Unrecht nehmen”). See further Caminos 1977: 37, Barns 1972: 165–66, and Posener, *Vandier*, p. 67. The sentence is thus in the first present, “Your violence (i.e., violence to you) (is) in an evil house.”


- 4/18, n. NN. This cynical statement would fit in well with the world-view of Onkhsheshonqy and Insinger (cf. especially chapter 12 of the latter, 11/22–13/7). While I have found no parallel to the aphorism, the proposed translation is by far the most probable. The sentence (a first present construction) is somewhat elliptical, literally, “A mouth speaks another (thing) to another”; compare 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, “der Eine-der Andere” (*Wb.* 5, 113/7).



- 4/18, n. OO. The author observes that the man who brings his troubles upon himself is nevertheless the one who expects others to rescue him from them. The two relative phrases form a nominal sentence.

$p^3 nt (hr) bg^3.tw=f$  is probably a present tense relative (see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 496) rather than the future relative. The suffix  $f$  is reflexive.

On  $bg^3$ , “shipwreck,” see 2/6, n. K.

, “schicken, aussenden: vielfach vom (Brief) schreiben” (*Wb.* 2, 479/13–481/1). We may have here the objectless construction construed with  $r$ , “um etw. tun zu lassen” (*Wb.* 2, 480/13).


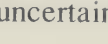

- 4/19, n. PP.  is the most likely reading of the signs following the break.


 may, of course, be part of the next saying, which probably continued till .

- 4/19, n. QQ. I am unable to decipher the beginning of this line.  $f$  is also quite uncertain.




For  $ir$ , “to work (the land),” see Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 44; Caminos 1954: 168; Hughes 1952: 15; and Mattha 1945: 199.



- 4/19, n. RR. Another cynical statement in the tradition of Onkhsheshonqy. I have found no close parallels in other Egyptian wisdom texts.

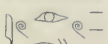
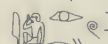
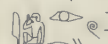
The determinative of  $b^3k$  is uncertain (or ?). Compare 2/18 , “labor,” and 5/11 , “servant.”

 denotes a staff or stick often used for beating (see *Wb.* 4, 442/13–14; Lesko, *DLE* 3, p. 144; Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 499; and Crum, *CD*, p. 554).

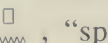
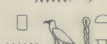
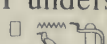
Another example of “two” is in 6/5.


The reading  is very probable. Note, however, the additional stroke after ; compare 3/7 .







- 4/20, n. SS. The last two lines of this column present serious problems. I have tentatively restored , “treten” (“als Tätigkeit der Füße” [*Wb.* 3, 47/19–48/5]); compare 6/4 . For  $hw t^3$ , “tread the earth,” see Gardiner 1935, vol. 1, p. 16, n. 11.



A possible restoration is “[As for him who hates to tr]ead the earth with his feet, it is for him that the river has been established.” This translation requires an interpretation of  in 4/20 as a second tense, which the scribe otherwise writes in the normal fashion . It is safer, perhaps, to take  as a circumstantial perfect  $sdm=f$  form, though I am then unable to offer a plausible rendering of the passage. I have found no similar saying in other Egyptian texts.


- 4/20, n. TT. I am uncertain what, if any, connection exists between this saying and the previous one.  $iw$  may be either the circumstantial converter or the third future prefix before a nominal subject. The meaning of the clause is quite obscure.


, “späte Schreibung für  $p^3 n$ , ‘der von ... ’” (*Wb.* 1, 508/3). I understand , “the one of the field,” to be a term for the farmer; compare .

“der von den Ställen” (quoted in Erman, *NÄG*, §127). However, one would expect the  determinative after *ḥ.t*.

   is probably identical with   , “bestimmen,” “mit *n* : jemandem ein Landstück zuweisen” (*Wb.* 2, 307/12), but the precise meaning is uncertain here.

I have understood  or  and so translate “that which causes his flesh to be comfortable.” Nevertheless, the sense escapes me.

 is probably identical with *ndm*, “von Personen, sich wohl befinden” (*Wb.* 2, 380/4).

4/20, n. UU.   is presumably  , “der Starke” (*Wb.* 2, 318/1–6).



## CHAPTER 7

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN FIVE WITH COMMENTARY (P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

#### COLUMN FIVE

##### Translation


1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] servant [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] collect it.<sup>A</sup> Do not let [ ... wh]ile it is not (included?) in the los[s(?) of] your property.<sup>B</sup> [ ... ] complained/reported [ ... the] theft of(?) [ ... ]<sup>C</sup>
3. [ ... the] palace, and he [ ... ] a policeman in/through the saying [ ... ]<sup>D</sup> If] they discover that you have stolen, they will [kil]l you. If they do not discover that you have stolen, sickness will be in
4. your flesh.<sup>E</sup> As for the one who steals with his servant, he does not allow him to reach the Fate(?).<sup>F</sup> He (the servant) is placed in the covert, he being festive in his [hea]rt, having stolen his (master's) property, and having
5. had sex with his (master's) wife before him,<sup>G</sup> while he (the master) is silent. He does not speak.<sup>H</sup> Do not make for yourself a master and a friend, lest you become as a dog who has no master and you perish between
6. them.<sup>I</sup> That which your master [ ... ] ... abomination ... for him, you being(?) [ ... ] exceedingly concerning it. An evil man, silver and gold are his beloved.<sup>J</sup> Is your master hateful? Reprove him!
7. (But) an abomination is the reprovng of him(?) ...<sup>K</sup> [ ... ] ... [ ... ] Be silent! Do not reply! Do not praise until he recognizes the greatness/importance of that which you did for him.<sup>L</sup> That which you hate to be done
8. to you, do not do it to another ... [ ... ]<sup>M</sup> Do] you know the day in which you (may) become wretched with every kind of obstruction (and) lasting rejection(?)<sup>N</sup> As for a heedful man who ... according to his word,
9. he bequeaths (to) his(?) ... <sup>O</sup> [ ... no] evil(?) having reached him, while those who are greater than he bend to him with their shoulders.<sup>P</sup> Be energetic so that your sustenance comes about. Do not be weak, lest you

10. founder.<sup>Q</sup> You should reach a foolish (son?) so as to instruct him, (even) while your coffin is at the place of your two feet.<sup>R</sup> You should support the son of your son. When he supports (others?) himself, so will he learn
11. the difficulty of supporting his<sup>S</sup> [ ... ] concerning you, when you are old.<sup>T</sup> An excellent servant (is?) a miserable son.<sup>U</sup> A wretch is he who singles out one (son) from another.<sup>V</sup> A miserable
12. son (is) an abomination ... [ ... ] ... [an abomina]tion (in) his heart.<sup>W</sup> (As for children,) their [fa]ther and their mother are their witnesses (before god) which belong to them.<sup>X</sup> Is a brother
13. needy, he being [ ... ] death.<sup>Y</sup> If [a com]panion resolves(?) [any] matter of yours in the world, you should give to him a reward, it being
14. secret [ ... ] a companion.<sup>Z</sup> Does his(?) companion [ ... ] chatter(?) with unpleasant [ ... ] ... and (yet) does not betray your words which are private,
15. ...<sup>AA</sup> [ ... ] ... with the vagina (is?) an excellent/fortunate woman. One unlucky/unhappy(?) with her vagina (is) the barren wife of the one who will(?) spend six months (of the year) hunting(?).<sup>BB</sup> The woman who reproves
16. their [ ... ]<sup>CC</sup>. As for a servant who is lacking his food of yesterday, he does not delay to disturb the heart of his master.<sup>DD</sup> He seeks whatever is distressing so as to do it to him in (?)
17. the [ ... ]<sup>EE</sup> ... through it. (As for) the staring of the two eyes(?), the one who gazes piercingly (with his) two eyes (at his) elder brother(?), his mother (or) [fath]er, he brings up against himself a blasphemous accusation.<sup>FF</sup> He protects himself from
18. [GG ... ] ... the lazy one ... [ ... ] for you your two feet.<sup>HH</sup> He hurries when he wishes. If he is [ ... ] ... , he turns his back.<sup>II</sup> If a pair of horses rushes behind him(?),<sup>JJ</sup>





## COLUMN FIVE

## Commentary



- 5/2, n. A. The first word is probably *twi*, “versammeln” (*Wb.* 5, 259/5–260/10), which also occurs in 4/13. The meaning “gather (property)” found there equally suits this section, which deals with theft.




A trace of  is still preserved.




- 5/2, n. B. After the imperative there seems to have followed a circumstantial negative first present, *iw bn sw ... in*. An alternative is to understand *in iw* after *pk nkt* as the interrogative particle.

   , “loss, crime, failure,” is the only word in the text spelled with an initial  . The restoration fills the space well.



- 5/2, n. C. The author describes a situation which might befall the reader, and then advocates a specific course of action. It may be a question of accusations of theft, but the passage is

too damaged for certain restoration. Preserved is most of , “berichten, anzeigen” (*Wb.* 4, 127/7–128/13). The trace of ink after the lacuna may belong to , suggesting ‘*n-smy*, a compound found in 3/6. *smy* may be followed by direct speech (introduced by *dd*), giving the wording of the complaint or report.




, “stehlen” (*Wb.* 5, 350/2–10), seems to be written with otiose plural strokes. Either  or  is possible.




5/3, n. D. I am unable to read the traces preceding . They are perhaps  which would imply a title. *pr-nswt*, a common word for the palace, is also used in an extended sense for the royal administration (*Wb.* 1, 513/3–5). For a writing similar to this one, compare  (Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 174).

*s3-pr*, “Art Hausbeamter” (*Wb.* 1, 515/4 [ ... -*pr*]). For a detailed discussion of the title, which seems to denote a type of police official, see Leclant 1952: 139–51. Frequent in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, it is apparently not attested in the New Kingdom. During the archaizing Saite period the title was again employed.

For , compare perhaps 3/5–6 , “that which you said.”


5/4, n. E. This fine pair of conditional statements presents the author’s view that evil actions, here theft, inevitably result in punishment. The reading of the damaged lines is secure. Both conditionals have the same form. The protasis consists of a second tense with *gm*. The object of *gm* is then the subject of a circumstantial past *sdm=f* clause (cf. H. Smith 1980: 143, n. t). The apodosis is in the third future. Note that the final apodosis *iw y b m n3y=k iw f.w*, “sickness will be in your flesh,” consists of the third future converter *iw*, plus noun subject, plus adverbial phrase.

On the basis of the  determinatives, I would restore a verb meaning “kill” or “beat,” e.g.,  or .

 is Demotic *ḳḳ, m, y b*, “Krank, müde, Krankheit, Not, Leid, Kummer” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 48; and Hughes 1951: 263, n. 46). The etymology of the word is uncertain, but it may be identical with , “Adjektiv u. Verbum übler Bedeutung (vom Geruch der Leiche u. A.)” (*Wb.* 1, 29/19), or , “evil, impurity” (*Wb.* 1, 174/15–18). M. Smith (1987: 69) favors the last alternative.

Close parallels are Onkhsheshonqy 15/14, “Do not commit theft; you will be found out” (translation of Lichtheim, compare Tait 1977: 55, n. j), and 21/17, “Do not steal copper or cloth from the house of your master.” Compare also Ptahhotep maxims 5, 6, and 31; and Amenemope, chapters 2 and 7.


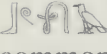
5/4, n. F. This saying appears to condemn the master who permits his servant to steal, presumably to his profit. The result of such moral laxity is that the corrupt servant ultimately robs and humiliates his own master.

I am uncertain as to the traces after *p3*. They may fit , “fate,” but doubt remains.

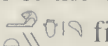
- 5/5, n. G. This seems to be a portrayal of the evil servant, who has not yet been chastised for his misdeeds.

$i-ir = w$  may be an impersonal use of the third person plural.

I take  $sw$  to refer back to the servant.

 , “Hügel, hochgelegener Acker” (*Wb.* 1, 454/17), probably identical with  , “ob: Vergnügungsstätte?” (*Wb.* 1, 455/1; and Lesko, *DLE* 1, pp. 154–55). It commonly denotes an enjoyable place; compare the English expression “sitting in clover.” On the word, see further Caminos 1954: 374–76; Edwards 1960, vol. 1, p. 32; and Vernus 1978a: 258, n. (a). A doubtful Demotic example is in Reymond 1977: 132.

For the expression  $m hb$ , “in festlicher Stimmung,” see *Wb.* 3, 58/13–21.

 fills the lacuna well. A trace of the flesh determinative is still preserved.


The structure of this sentence is worth comment. The main clause is a second tense present, which is followed by a circumstantial present  $iw = f n hb n h3t = f$ . The sentence concludes with two subordinate clauses in parallelism, each consisting of circumstantial past  $sdm = f$  forms.

For  $nk$ , “den Beischlaf vollziehen” (*Wb.* 2, 345/3–10), see Eyre 1984: 93, n. 12.




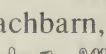
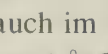
I understand the two possessive adjectives  $pf$  and  $tfy$  to refer to the master.



$hm.t$  has here the meaning “wife” (*Wb.* 3, 77/8–78/15).

- 5/5, n. H. The subject is the speechless master. Compare P. Louvre 2377, verso, 12,  $dwy irm rmt hm nk = f t3y = k hm.t i-ir-hr = f$ , “A thief and a common man, he violated your wife before him” (Williams 1976: 266).

I believe that  in  is a mistake, and that merely  $bw-rh = f$  is intended (cf. 3/16).

- 5/6, n. I. The idea of this relatively well-preserved aphorism is that one cannot satisfy both a master and a friend. The inevitable result is that you will alienate both and “perish between them.” I have found no parallels in other Egyptian texts, though compare Onkhsheshonqy 9/13, “Do not act the neighbor to your superior.”

 seems to be a singular form of , “die Nachbarn” (*Wb.* 4, 21/14); compare also , “die Nachbarn,” “auch im Sinne von: Freunde” (*Wb.* 4, 21/12–13). On the variation between  and  , see Brunner 1944: 41–42.

 is the late writing of the preposition  , “zwischen” (*Wb.* 1, 58–59/6). The Demotic form of the preposition is, of course, also  $\text{ⲉⲛ}$  ( $iwt$  (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 26). The plural suffix pronoun  $w$  after  $iwd$  confirms that we should insert “and” between  $hry$  and  $s3h-t3$ .


Other examples of dog imagery are found in 2/12 and 4/7.

- 5/6, n. J. The author addresses the reader on the assumption that the latter has a master. These clauses may form a distinct section extending until the interrogative particle  $in-iw$  at the


end of the line. After an introductory premise introduced by the relative clause, “As for that which your master ...,” the author advocates a specific course of action, i.e., what should be done in such a situation. The section concludes with a generalization on the nature of the evil man, who presumably does not carry out the suggested course of action. Unfortunately, too much is lost for a plausible restoration.



 would seem to be the evil fish determinative (cf.  [5/7]).

$n=f$  may refer to the master.


After  $iw=k$  (probably either future or present circumstantial), the context suggests a verb, e.g., , “to suffer,” found also in 4/3.

On  $hr-3t$ , see p. 14.

The noun subject of the nominal sentence is in anticipatory emphasis, as often in this papyrus. Though lacking the seated person determinative,  is more probably “evil man” rather than the abstract “evils” (Wb. 5, 370/2–6). On the word, see Goyon 1972–74: 123, n. 347. It does not seem to occur in Demotic, but see Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 547.

 is evidently the noun “beloved,”  (Wb. 2, 103/11–104/11). Compare also Demotic *mr.t*, “beliebt, beliebig” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 167).



5/7, n. K.  $in-iw$  introduces a new subject, namely, the reproving of one’s master. This question is equivalent to a conditional clause presenting a hypothetical situation. There then follows an imperative giving the proper course of action. If the restoration of  $s'h' = f$  is correct, the sequence concludes with a generalization (cf. the previous note). The idea that one should teach or reprove the superior is found already in Prisse 399, “teach the great what is beneficial to him” (Žába 1956: 48).


The verb , “reprove, correct” (Wb. 4, 54/3–6), is much used in the wisdom literature; compare Any 5/15–16; Amenemope 4/19, 12/13; and O. Petrie 11 verso, 3 and 4 (text in Černý and Gardiner 1957, vol. 1, pl. 1; translation in Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 7–8). In Demotic, compare Insinger 3/1, 9/4, 11/7, 11/8, 26/10; Onkhsheshonqy 28/8 (?); and P. Louvre 2377, verso, 3 (Williams 1976: 264).




In 5/7  seems to be written for . The only explanation which I can offer for this apparent error is that the scribe was influenced by Demotic ,  $s'h'$ .

5/7, n. L. The theme is now that of discretion, perhaps in the face of an unjust rebuke by one’s master.



Taking  $gr$  as an imperative is, of course, only one possibility, but it yields good sense here.


 is a writing of , “to repulse, avert” (Wb. 3, 335/6–337/2), also used in the sense of “oppose (with words),” found, for example, in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 215, verso, 1/2,  $m-ir hsf t3 nt iw=y (r) d=s$ , “Do not oppose that which I (will) say” (Spiegelberg 1914: 26). For this meaning, see also Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 194, “answer,

respond, reply"; Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 369, "sich widersetzen, verachten"; and Faulkner 1962: 197, , "reprove, contend."

I understand  to be , "to praise" (*Wb.* 3, 154/2–155/25). Less probable is , "grimmig" (*Wb.* 3, 161/1–14). The meaning may be that one should not praise one's own ideas, but rather wait until the master realizes their usefulness himself.


For *rh* in the sense "erkennen," see *Wb.* 2, 442/7.



 is perhaps best rendered here "importance, significance"; compare , "das Grosse" (*Wb.* 1, 163/10). Compare also Insinger 30/18, "The teaching of knowing the greatness of the god (*p3 'w n p3 ntr*) so as to put it in your heart."

, "that which you did," definite article plus past relative *sdm=f* (see pp. 17–18).

The importance of discretion and silence in relations with one's betters is, of course, a well-known idea in Egyptian wisdom; e.g., Amenemope 26/3–5, "Let him (the superior) revile you while you are silent; if next day you come before him, he will give you food in plenty" (translation of Lichtheim); similarly Amenemope chapters 3, 9, 22; Ptahhotep maxims 2, 3, 26, and 33; Any 6/15–16, 7/10–11; Onkhsheshonqy 8/11, 21/9; and Insinger 10/20.

- 5/8, n. M. This statement and the following also may form a unit. The first is, of course, a version of the Golden Rule. For a discussion of the Golden Rule, and the question of its dissemination throughout the Near East, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 31–35. If one accepts a fifth-fourth century date for our text, this would seem to be the earliest clear Egyptian example of the formulation. Onkhsheshonqy also contains the Golden Rule, "Do not do evil to a man so as to cause another to do it to you" (12/6) and "Do not do to a man what you hate, so as to cause another to do it to you" (15/23). Dihle (1962: 82) maintains that the Golden Rule appears only late in Egypt and is a product of Greek influence. So too, in his discussion of Onkhsheshonqy, Thissen (1980, col. 974) states that while many sayings recall earlier works "andere können erst spät hinzugekommen sein, z.B. die Formulierungen des Prinzips der Vergeltung in der sog. 'Goldenen Regel.'" As Lichtheim remarks, the idea is nevertheless implicit in earlier Egyptian texts (cf. also Vernus 1985: 71–79). It seems to me that this composition is rather too early to display Greek influence, though some may disagree.

, *ir*, "to do," may form the associative link with the previous aphorism (cf. above, p. 41).






 seems to be , "Entgelt, Bezahlung" (*Wb.* 4, 436/15–16). The word occurs also in 5/13. It appears to belong to the formulation of the Golden Rule, but I can propose no convincing rendering.

- 5/8, n. N. As just noted, this sentence may form a unit with the preceding Golden Rule. It would provide the justification for following the advice, namely, the uncertainty of fate and the possibility that one may need the help of others. The restoration of the sentence is

problematic, however. I have understood it as an interrogative clause, *in-ıw=k*, followed by *rh* in the qualitative form, i.e., a first present construction.

The *n* (= *m*) thus marks the direct object, a particular feature of Demotic (see Johnson 1976: 49). For *n/m* marking the direct object in late Egyptian, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 94, and Caminos 1977: 16.





*pzy=k ssw n hpr zy=k*, literally, “your time of the happening of your need.” On the infinitive following the genitive *n*, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 186, and compare also *Wb.* 4, 57/9, “Zeit in der etw. geschieht (Z. des Fahrens, Z. des Erdhackens).”


The problematic signs after  may be  understood to be a writing of , “abweisen” (*Wb.* 4, 504, note especially the late [Greek] spelling ). Nevertheless, the tail of  seems to descend abnormally far below the line (cf. Möller, *HP* 3, no. 521). *sh̄t* and *šn̄* may stand in parallelism to one another or, alternatively, *sh̄t nb* (*n*) *šn̄*, “every hindrance (of) rejection,” may be understood.

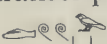

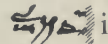
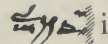
*ıw=f mn* would then best be considered a circumstantial clause modifying either *sh̄t* or *šn̄*.

5/9, n. O. This group of related clauses extends until the imperative “Be capable!” in 5/9. It presents, however, a number of problems. The subject of the passage seems to be the *ip*, “the heedful/sensible man”; compare *ip-ib* (*Wb.* 1, 66/16). Like the just man in 4/10, the *ip* bequeaths his property to his children and enjoys a good reputation as well.

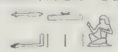

On the compound *ip-ib*, see Fecht 1963: 85ff. and de Meulenaere 1962: 34–35. On the various meanings of *ip*, see el-Sayed 1980: 214, n. n.


 , which appears in the circumstantial present clause qualifying *ip*, is a crux. I have found no word so spelled in *Wb.* or elsewhere. It is perhaps unwise to posit an error here, but the scribe has just possibly miswritten , *p*, for , *g*. There is, in any case, the verb , *glw*, “to deposit, entrust” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 589), which at least yields sense: “As for the heedful man who deposits (goods) in accordance with his word ...” This is, however, quite uncertain.

The traces following *pf* are not consistent with , “son,” but it is very probable that some such word was intended.

5/9, n. P. The transcription of the first signs following the break is not secure. I hesitantly suggest that  is either an otherwise unparalleled spelling of , “das Schlechte” (*Wb.* 5, 548/18–549/20), or that  is , *wty*, “Vernichtung” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 106 [reading *wdww*]). I understand the clause to mean that no evil will reach the heedful man; compare Insinger 7/8, “Hunger is good for him who knows how to be sated without harm attaining him (*mtw tm btw ph=f*; translation of Lichtheim) and the note U on 2/11.

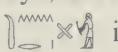

*i* introduces a circumstantial clause, further describing the respect paid to the “heedful man.” Compare perhaps “He fraternizes with those who are greater than he” (Caminos 1954: 373).

 is clearly , “die Grossen, die Vornehmen” (Wb. 1, 162/18–163/8).


The expression “bend (with) the elbows” occurs also in 3/8–9, where *hʿb* is written .


 appears superficially like , but  is certain.

5/10, n. Q. The author once more advocates diligence and industry. The two paired sentences both consist of an imperative and result clause. The first sentence is a positive formulation; the second restates the same idea in the negative. Similar admonitions are numerous in wisdom literature, e.g., Onkhsheshonqy 7/15, “Do not neglect to serve your master.” As always, the scribe emphasizes the practical rewards of this course of action.


 is , “stark sein, tüchtig sein” (Wb. 5, 382/6–383/15). *tw* is perhaps the dependent pronoun employed for emphasis after imperatives (Gardiner 1957, §337).

*hpr* is therefore a prospective *sdm=f* expressing purpose or result.

, “be weak, feeble” (Wb. 3, 398–399/19), is used here, as often, in opposition to *tnr*; compare Onkhsheshonqy 23/17–18, “Do not be active (*tl < tnr*) in all sorts of work and slack (*mtw=k ir hs*) in your work. He who is not slack, his father will be active for him.”

, “to suffer shipwreck” (Wb. 1, 482/12–14), is employed figuratively (cf. also 4/18).

5/10, n. R. After *bgʿ* begins a new section dealing with the instruction of children. If my understanding of this saying is correct, the meaning is that one should never give up on instructing one’s offspring, even while at the point of death. On the importance of educating children, a prominent theme in Demotic wisdom, see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 158–60. Compare also Proverbs 13:24.

The traces before the break fit the second tense  very well. I assume that the circumstantial clause introduced by *iw* is emphasized.

There is an interesting parallel in Onkhsheshonqy 4/X+11–12. The sage requests papyrus and palette in order to write down his instruction, stating: *wn mtw=y wʿ hm-hl bn-pw=y ph r-r=f r mtr.t=f*, “I have a son. I have not reached him in order to instruct him” (see H. Smith 1980: 139). Is this an allusion to our sentence (or vice versa)? It is indeed remarkable that in his dangerous predicament Onkhsheshonqy thinks primarily of his son’s education.

I construe *r mtr=f* as *r* plus infinitive plus suffix pronoun object. For *mtr*, “instruct,” see Wb. 2, 171/19; Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 253; and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 190. Compare also the remarks of Thissen 1984: 4.

𐤒𐤓𐤕 is 𐤓𐤕, “der mumienförmige innerste Sarg” (Wb. 1, 379/7, and Lesko, *DLE* 1, pp. 134–35).

I have no parallel to “region of your two feet,” but the translation seems reasonable; compare 𐤓𐤕, “Gegend” (Wb. 1, 157/14–22; Fecht 1960: 97–98; and Barns 1952: 16–17). This would thus seem to be an idiom well rendered by the English “at death’s door.”

5/11, n. S. This problematic section apparently advocates supporting one’s grandchildren, even though they can survive without your help. Such generous behavior will ensure being well looked after when you are old. On the theme of supporting one’s parents, compare Any 7/17–18, “Double the food your mother gave you, support her as she supported you” (translation of Lichtheim).

As in the previous section, the admonition is in the second tense. The following clause (*iw=f s’nh h’w=f*) is either circumstantial with the force of a concessive (“although he can support himself”) or a temporal/conditional (“If/When he supports himself”). I have adopted the second alternative, though this admittedly leaves the second tense without an emphasized predicate. 𐤓𐤕 is the usual expression for “self” (Wb. 3, 38/19–24), but it may here have the literal meaning “limbs, flesh,” and be the direct object of *s’nh*. 𐤓𐤕 could also be a writing of 𐤓𐤕𐤓, “children” (Wb. 3, 42/1–3).

𐤓𐤕 is perhaps *šr* rather than *hrd* (Wb. 4, 526/9–23, noting especially the compound *šr n šr*, “Enkel” [Wb. 4, 526/17]). For the abbreviated writing, compare 𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 (Wb. 4, 526/23) and 𐤓𐤕, *šr.t*, “daughter” (Wb. 4, 527).

𐤓𐤕 (without the book-roll determinative) seems to be an initial prospective *sdm=f*, for which see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, pp. 328–34. It must be granted, however, that a simple future suits this interpretation better, since the optative has a somewhat negative connotation: “May he learn the difficulty of supporting his ...”

5/11, n. T. Assuming a connection with the previous passage, I suggest, for example, “[He will then take pains] concerning you, when you are old.”

*iw=k iʔw.t* is a circumstantial present; 𐤓𐤕𐤓 is the qualitative of 𐤓𐤕𐤓, “alt werden, alt sein, bejahrt” (Wb. 1, 28/8–10).



5/11, n. U. This is a short monostichic aphorism that combines the themes of “son” and “servant.”


The rather ambiguous saying may mean that even the best servant cannot take the place of a son, but other interpretations are possible, e.g., “An excellent servant (is better than) a bad son.” One may compare, perhaps, Proverbs 17:2, “A servant that dealeth wisely shall have rule over a son that dealeth shamefully, and shall have part of the inheritance among the brethren”; Proverbs 29:21, “He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become master at the last”; Ahikar Arm. 73, “Better is an upright slave than one free but false” (Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 32);

and Syr. Ahikar, “Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave” (Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 127).



On the contrast between *mnḥ* and *why*, see M. Smith 1987: 66, and above, p. 61.


- 5/11, n. v. The author warns fathers against favoritism. One may compare P. Louvre 2414, 3/1, “Do not prefer your (eldest) son, lest another son contend with him” (Hughes 1982: 53), and Onkhsheshonqy 13/11, “Do not prefer one to another of your children; you do not know which of them will be kind to you.” Lichtheim (*LEWL*, pp. 18–19) points out the similarity between Onkhsheshonqy 13/11 and Ahikar Syr. Camb Add 2020, no. 34, “Treat not your slave better than his fellow, for you know not which of them you will need in the end.”

The nominal sentence consists of , “wretch” (note the  determinative) and a defined relative clause.









On the verb , “distinguish,” see the note on 2/18, n. II.





- 5/12, n. w. I assume that a new sentence begins with . The author condemns the disobedient son.



 is just possibly , “ka” (*Wb.* 5, 86/10–89/11). This term, so common in earlier Egyptian, is not otherwise found in the preserved portion of the text. It is, indeed, rare in the later stages of the language (cf. Thissen 1984: 42–43).

*bwt*, “abomination,” seems to be the most probable reading for the traces . I can quote no parallel to the phrase “abomination in his heart,” but compare *bwt* *k3=f*, “an abomination in his ka” (*Wb.* 1, 453/15).

- 5/12, n. x. With this saying the author shifts his attention from the father to the children, and specifically their obligations towards their parents. The statement may be a monostich, though it is not impossible that it continues the idea of the preceding damaged lines. The meaning seems to be that parents should be treated well when they are elderly. If not, they will bear witness against you before the god. A similar sentiment is expressed in Any 4/4–6, and especially the just quoted 7/17–8/3, wherein the reader is warned to support his mother: “Do not give her cause to blame you, lest she raise her hands to god, and he hears her cries” (translation of Lichtheim). Compare also 5/10–11, where one is enjoined to be generous to one’s grandchild in the hopes of future support in old age.

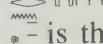
The restoration     is very likely; compare the writing in 2/9    . The antecedent of *t3y=w*, *p3y=w*, and *n3y=w* must be “children.”

The reading   seems required by the context, being in parallelism with *t3y=w mw.t*. Traces of the divine determinative are preserved after the lacuna. While not found in *Wb.*, *it*, “father,” usually has this determinative in Demotic (see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 46,  ).

 is one of the relatively few examples of Greek spellings in this text. Since the obvious reading *s3*, “son,” yields little sense, I take  to be *hn*’, “and.” This spelling (with the remark “griechisch”) is attested in *Wb.* 3, 110 (see also Jelínková-Reymond



1956: 4). The sentence is thus once again a nominal statement, consisting of two nouns followed by a predicate  $n\dot{y}=w$  *mtr.w*. This predicate is itself qualified by a relative clause.

 is , “der Zeuge” (*Wb.* 2, 172/5–9).

 is the dative *n* followed by a third person suffix pronoun (cf. Erman, *NÄG*, §600, 3).

For the idiom *hpr n*, literally, “happen to, come about for,” see *Wb.* 3, 262/16, “mit *n* (Günstiges) geschieht jemandem, wird ihm zu Teil”; the idiom is well attested in Demotic (cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 355, and Hughes 1951: 261–62).

- 5/13, n. Y. The subject now changes from the relationship between parents and children to that between siblings. The new topic is introduced once again by the interrogative particle *in-iw*. I understand the construction to be first present, i.e., noun subject plus qualitative. This is further qualified by a circumstantial present *iw=f*, probably “he being [hungry]” or similar. The largely destroyed saying obviously contained advice to help one’s brother when he is in need. Onkhsheshonqy, in particular, provides us with similar statements: “Serve your brothers so that you may have good repute” (6/2); “May I have something and my brother have something, that I may eat without desisting” (10/16, translation of Lichtheim); “If you have reached your prime and become rich, let your brothers be great with you” (15/7); “I have no profit from my brother if he does not take care of me” (24/24, translation of Lichtheim); 11/4; 13/10; 16/4; and note further Insinger 12/19, “One does not discover the heart of a brother if one has not begged (from him) in want” (translation of Lichtheim); and 18/19, “Drink and eat when no brother is hungry, when no father and mother beseech you” (translation of Lichtheim).





 is , “elend sein, Mangel leiden” (*Wb.* 1, 35/9–12).

*iw=f* proves that  stands for “brother,” not “sister.”

- 5/14, n. Z. These next aphorisms deal with the relationship between “companions,” a logical progression from “brothers.” The advice seems to be to reward friends discreetly when they have done you a good turn.





*in* presumably introduces another interrogative sentence; one may perhaps restore


.

While the reading  is secure, the translation is less so. The verb is probably identical with , , “aufblühen, ausbreiten” (*Wb.* 1, 532/7–11; Lesko, *DLE* 1, 177; and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 136,  “ausbreiten”). Since the restoration *š-shn*, “matter, affair,” is certain, *prh š-shn* would seem to be an idiom meaning “to resolve, take care of a matter.” I can quote, however, no other example of the expression.

I would have expected *š-shn nb n pḏ tḏ*, but there is no room for *nb* in the lacuna.

*iw=k* is a third future form with injunctive force (see Johnson 1976: 163).


 is probably the same word as that in 2/16. The following *iw=f* shows that it is masculine. , “Entgelt, Bezahlung” (*Wb.* 4, 436/15–16), is a feminine noun, but compare Demotic , *šp*, “Geschenk, Lohn, Entschädigung” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 502), which Erichsen plausibly derives from , “Nahrung” (*Wb.* 4, 437/6–9). Compare the occurrences of *šp*, “gift,” which Lichtheim (*LEWL*, p. 177) lists for Insinger.




Despite the damage, the reading  at the beginning of 5/14 is certain. For the phrase, one might compare Proverbs 21:14, “a gift in secret.” On “gracious giving,” see Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 43–45.



The key word in this section may be *hšp*, which also occurs in the following saying.

5/15, n. AA. This difficult aphorism appears to concern the idle or offensive chatter of a companion. The advice seems to be that, although the companion’s gossip disturbs you, you should not seek to take revenge, particularly if he has not revealed any of your truly personal affairs. Compare Prisse 471–73, “If what he [a friend] has seen escapes him, if he does a thing that annoys you, be yet friendly with him, don’t attack” (translation of Lichtheim), and see also Lichtheim 1973–80, vol. 1, p. 79, n. 54, “Does this mean ‘forgetful’ or ‘indiscreet?’”; and Ahikar Armenian Recension B 76, “Son, reveal thy secrets before thy friend, and after some days, provoke him. If he does not reveal the secret thou didst tell him, let him be thy friend. For he has been found true to thee” (Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 63).

*in* is perhaps the interrogative particle introducing the new aphorism (cf. Erman, *NÄG*, §739), but this is otherwise always *in-îw* in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135. It may indeed be the negative particle (*bn ... in*) and thus may belong to the previous clause.

*f* is quite uncertain, and I do not know to whom this would refer. Perhaps just .



Another difficulty is the meaning of the verb(?) . I hesitantly suggest that it is identical with Demotic , *g'g'*, “aufschreien, Geschrei” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 574), noting especially I Kh. 5/6, *îr=s g'g' mt*, translated by Griffith (1900: 125): “she [a slave-girl] made clatter(?) of speech.” Compare also  in P. Vandier 5/17, a type of cry or exclamation, discussed by Posener (*Vandier*, p. 79).

Since *irm* always seems to mean “together with” and not “by means of, with,” such possibilities as , “evil sentences” (Lefebvre 1923–24, vol. 1, p. 163), or similar are excluded. I propose therefore that a word such as , “hearer, auditor” (*Wb.* 4, 384) may have stood in the lacuna after *irm*. It is, nevertheless, unusual, to my knowledge, to find *qsn*, “schwierig, schlimm, schmerzhaft” (*Wb.* 5, 69/7–70/16), employed in connection with persons.<sup>1</sup>

1. Compare the use of *qsn* in the sense of “peinlich” to describe a quarrel before witnesses in “Lehre eines Mannes an seinen Sohn,” IX 1 (see Fischer-Elfert 1988: 174–75). I thank Fischer-Elfert for the reference.

For the expression *mt nt ḥṣp*, compare *md.t ḥṣp.t* (*Wb.* 2, 182/2), “hidden word, secret,” in *ḏdw n=f md.t ḥṣp.t*, “one to whom the hidden word is said” (*Wb.*, Belegstellen, quoted from Kairo 20538, Ic 10); Cheti 9/9–10/1, *m ḏd.wt md.wt n ḥṣpw*, “Do not speak of hidden words”; and Any 4/2–3, *iw md.wt=f nb.t imnw*, “while his every word is hidden.”



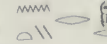
This saying seems to deal with the plight of the barren woman who is, for that reason, neglected by her husband(?).




A possible restoration for the word following the lacuna is   with the meaning “excellent, perfect” (cf. 4/4).

𐎧𐎡𐎴 seems to be 𐎧𐎡, “vagina” (*Wb.* 5, 93/12–94/4). The determinative is uncertain, however. It appears to be 𐎧, but *k3.t* is spelled in the usual fashion later in the same line. *k3.t* may be used figuratively to refer to the woman herself, as a term for the rival of the legitimate spouse (see Žába 1956: 146, and cf. also *Wb.* 5, 94/1).

The scribe may be contrasting the “excellent woman,” the *s-ḫm.t mnḥ*, with her counterpart who is unable to bear children (*iwt-y-ms*). On *mnḥ* and *why*, see note U on 5/11.

I take *iwt* *ms* to be the negative relative pronoun and infinitive with the meaning of an adjective “barren”; compare M E T Δ T M I C E, “barrenness” (Crum, *CD*, p. 185b). As already mentioned, I am uncertain as to the syntax of the sentence. I have translated it as a nominal clause, but the rendering is suspiciously awkward.




The man referred to in the relative clause is presumably the husband of the barren woman.  would seem to be *nt r* plus infinitive, a relative pseudo-verbal construction (see H. J. Polotsky’s comments in Groll 1985: 363). This form is certainly unusual in late Egyptian (one expects *nt iw = f r ir*), but compare *Wb.* 3, 264/1, wherein “der (die) sein wird” is rendered by both  and . Compare also Caminos 1958a: 96. A possible Coptic example may be quoted from Allberry 1938: 84, line 32: T E T Δ P X Δ I Q Δ P Δ I, “she who will ferry me” (= *t3 nt r ir d3j hr = y?*). Professor Wente has suggested an alternative rendering which has the advantage of eliminating the unexpected construction. On this view, we may understand *nt (hr) iir 3wny*, i.e., a relative present construction with paraphrasis of the verb (*iir* = *ir*). The sense remains unchanged.

 is a somewhat confused writing of  or , “hunter” (*Wb.* 2, 200/8; and Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 10, quoting Caminos, 1954: 177–78, where Caminos discusses “the curious spelling of *nww*”).

For this writing of “6,” see Megally 1969, pl. 23.

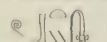

5/16, n. CC. *t3 nty s’h* may of course merely continue the previous clause and may not be an independent sentence.

5/16, n. DD. This passage clearly deals with the servant neglected by his master and who consequently does his best to make life difficult for the latter. Onkhsheshonqy 14/19 also emphasizes the importance of treating servants well, “Do not let your servant (*hl*) lack (*3yt*) his food and clothing.” Compare further Ahiqar Gk. 149, “Take care of your servants so that they not only fear you as a master, but respect you as a benefactor” (text in Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913: 164).

 is a variant spelling of , “Mangel leiden” (*Wb.* 1, 35/9–12); compare 5/13 . The lacuna makes it impossible to determine whether *3d* is a verb or participle.

For the expression *hr.t n sf*, “food of yesterday,” compare the note on 3/13, *hn n sf*, “companion of yesterday.”

*h’ n* seems to mean “to wait, delay” (cf. *Wb.* 1, 218/10, and the detailed discussion of Vernus 1978b: 125; also Borghouts 1982a: 76; and Caminos 1954: 261).





 is , “to burn” (*Wb.* 1, 297/1–6, noting especially the identically spelled late example). On the association between “burn” and “heart,” see Grapow 1983: 48. The figurative use of “to burn” is well attested in wisdom literature, e.g., Insinger 30/10, “The man of god does not burn (*mwḥ*) to injure, lest one burn against



him” (translation of Lichtheim). See further, Lichtheim, *LEWL*, pp. 96–97. I understand the expression “to burn the heart” to mean “annoy” or “exasperate.”




5/17, n. EE. This sentence develops the thought of the previous clause. The second tense may emphasize either the infinitive phrase “so as to do it to him” or the fragmentary adverbial adjuncts which follow.




*t3 nty n3-qsn=s* is a defined relative clause consisting of *nty* plus the *sdm=f* of an adjective verb. Note that *nb* here modifies a defined antecedent (cf. 2/7), for which construction, see Johnson 1987: 45.




5/17, n. FF. I have great difficulties with this line, which seems to deal with the disrespectful behavior of a younger son. Specifically, it may warn against impolitely intense staring at one’s elders; compare Prisse 119–25, “If you are one among guests at the table of one greater than you, take what is set before you; look at what is before you, don’t shoot many glances at him, molesting him offends the ka” (translation of Lichtheim; text in Žába 1956: 25–26).






 probably determines a word such as  ,  , or  .

 is evidently the rather rare verb  , “von den Augen: geblendet sein” (*Wb.* 5, 636/1). It occurs several times in Caminos 1954, where it is translated (p. 383) “stare, glance piercingly.” Two further examples are in Caminos 1968: 89–90 and Edwards 1982: 132–33.

 may be either the noun  , “the two eyes” (*Wb.* 1, 465/5, cf. Coptic Ⲫⲃⲗ) or the verb  , “to look at” (*Wb.* 1, 465/6). The noun is quite common in the Late period (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 120; and Crum, *CD*, pp. 31b–32a).

A problem, however, is  , which follows the second *ddwt*. If this is the dual noun of uncertain reading “the two eyes” (*Wb.* 1, 108/1–2), then it may be the subject of *ddwt*, “to stare piercingly.”<sup>2</sup> In the translation, however, I have taken the second *ddwt* to be a participle and understood *n/m* before  . One should note also the adverbial use of  , “face to face,” (reading unknown), discussed by Gardiner (1913: 169–70). Both

  and  seem indeed to possess virtually the same meaning: “to stare piercingly with the two eyes.” I assume that the first phrase introduces the subject of the saying in anticipatory emphasis, but the translation is not secure.

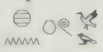


In view of the context,  is most probably a writing of  , “brother” (*Wb.* 4, 150/8–151/4). Nevertheless, the grouping of signs is very unusual. On the assumption that *sn* is correct, I have translated  as an abbreviated spelling of *smsw* (*Wb.* 4, 142/8–143/1). Note, however, that it is determined by  , which suggests that it is a noun rather than an adjective. Or is  to be read *sr*, “noble?”



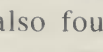
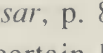
I understand *iw=f s h' n=f hnw m w'* to be the apodosis, presenting the result of the ill-bred behavior just described. *iw=f* is thus most likely to be third future or present.

2. On the numerous phonetic values of this group, see de Wit 1979: 446–55.

$s'h'$  is here used in its legal sense (cf. *Wb.* 4, 54/3–6).



$n=f$  is the reflexive dative of disadvantage “to his debit.” On this usage, see Wente, *LRL*, p. 23, n. m.


 is the object of  $s'h'$ . It may be either , “Abscheuliches, Verhasstes” (*Wb.* 3, 288/19–20) or , “Rede, Angelegenheit” (*Wb.* 3, 289/1–14). Compare especially the remarks of Caminos 1954: 365–66, “As for  $hnw$ , literally ‘speech, utterance’, it is sometimes pregnantly used for ‘adverse speech’, i.e. ‘accusation, charge’, either legally as in the above passages ... or non-technically ... .” See further Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 180; and Edwards 1960: 44–45. See also the discussion of  $hn$  in Ockinga 1983: 89–90 (reference courtesy of H.-W. Fischer-Elfert).


 is , “böses Reden” (*Wb.* 1, 279/14–17; and Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 106 [“to curse”]). The word is also found in Demotic ,  $w'y$ , “sich empören, Lästerung” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 82); compare , “blasphemy” (Crum, *CD*, p. 468b). I am, however, uncertain how best to translate the phrase  $m w'$ . One may understand this to be the  $m$  of predication “as a blasphemer,” but it may also be  $m$  plus infinitive “he brings upon himself a charge in cursing” (i.e., “consisting of blasphemy” or “with a curse”?). I have rendered the phrase as equivalent to an adjective, “a blasphemous accusation.”

5/18, n. GG. The subject of this sentence is presumably still the disrespectful younger son(?). One may translate it as either conditional or future.

5/18, n. HH. This last line seems to describe in a picturesque fashion the behavior of the disrespectful and lazy son.


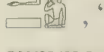
 is , “der Faule” (*Wb.* 1, 357/12).

The reading  is very uncertain.

$n.k rd.wy=k$  appears to belong to a command addressed to the lazy child. One expects a phrase such as  $3s rd.wy=k$ , “hurry” (found in 6/12), or , “eilen (von den Füßen)” (*Wb.* 2, 461/14), but I am unable to propose a firm restoration. The idea seems to be that it is useless to tell the lazy son to hurry. As the next clause makes clear, he hurries only when he himself desires to hurry.

5/18, n. II.  $iw=fmr$  is thus the emphasized circumstantial clause, “It is (only) when he wishes that he hurries.” For  $shs$ , see the note L on 4/7.

The following sentence may be in parallelism with the preceding one. It seems to consist of a conditional  $iw=f[ \dots ]$  ... and a present (or future) tense  $iw=f h' ph.wy=f$ .

The word lost in the lacuna  was perhaps a verb of calling or summoning, e.g., , “rufen” (*Wb.* 1, 227/5–15), or similar. It would then be in the qualitative, “If he is summoned” or “He is summoned.”

$h' ph.wy$ , literally, “to turn the back-side” (towards someone or something) is an idiom much like  $h' h' r$ , “den Rücken wenden nach” (*Wb.* 3, 227/18), and  $ti 3t$ , “als

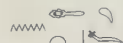
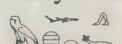



Redewendung in übertragenem Sinn,” in the Demotic Harper Satire 4/12.<sup>3</sup> As *ph.wy* denotes the lower part of the back, the gesture may be rather cruder than that of merely turning one’s back.

5/18, n. JJ. The last clause is probably the protasis of a condition, the apodosis having been in the now lost upper portion of the next column. It portrayed in vivid terms the laziness of the disobedient son. A plausible restoration, for example, is “Even if a team of horses is right behind him, [he does not get out of the way].”

*i-ir* is perhaps best explained as a second tense conditional (see Williams 1977–78: 82–83).

*htr*, “Pferdegespann, Pferde” (*Wb.* 3, 199/11–200/12).

Note the (deliberate?) repetition of *shs*.

If my interpretation is correct, then we must emend , “in him,” into , “behind him.” While another example of such a corruption is lacking, compare the writing of *m-ht* as  (Caminos 1977: 59), and note also the variation between  and  (Teaching of Merikare) discussed by Burkard (1977: 123).

3. Lüddeckens 1977: 346. On the idiom “to turn one’s back,” see also Caminos 1954: 137; Coffin Text spell 237, where Isis is described as “She to whom Osiris turned his back,” i.e. “ignored,” (*rdi.t n Wsir s3zfr=s*), quoted in M. Smith 1987: 63; and Satzinger 1973: 227–28.



## CHAPTER 8

### TRANSLATION OF COLUMN SIX WITH COMMENTARY (P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135)

#### COLUMN SIX

##### Translation


1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. a leader [ ... ] ... it/him, so that he directs [ ... ] watering of fields<sup>A</sup> [ ... ] ... . There is no consumption [of pro]visions in the heart [of the leader(?).<sup>B</sup> There is no wa]ste of the
3. seed [of the] virtuous ones.<sup>C</sup> As for the one who digs d[yk]es(?) with his own hands, [he will] not [become] a have-not.<sup>D</sup> (But) the [foo]l will not enter into the plans [of the wise man(?) ...] ... .<sup>E</sup> Let [one] pro[tect(?) the]
4. produce.<sup>F</sup> Dig a canal for your field so that the river may take to it the flow (in) its dykes, (and) so that it becomes like [a ?] well.<sup>G</sup> The fields will
5. flourish(?) through(?) the work of two farmers in seed-time. The land will perish through the work of one in harvest-time, although the field is in good condition.<sup>H</sup> Does a hoer
6. cease his work, the granaries being full of barley and emmer?<sup>I</sup> The threshing floor will (thus) suffer a shortage.<sup>J</sup> There is (then) no produce for the store-rooms.<sup>K</sup> The nobles
7. are the ones whose hands will fill their bellies, while the ones who work the land starve to death in the low-lying fields.<sup>L</sup> A field flourishes through
8. a cultivator, its ... and ... , they are the ones who cause it to be destroyed.<sup>M</sup> The husband ... of a field is its farmer ...
9. creates for him produce and sustenance.<sup>N</sup> A field (is) turquoise(?), a fair well for the one who knows its nature.<sup>O</sup> (It is) fat for [him who] works it; granite for him who
10. plunders it.<sup>P</sup> You should say: "My field is well supplied." when you give its farmer the equipment of his labor.<sup>Q</sup>
11. You plow, you being under the yoke. You reap, while you stumble along(?).<sup>R</sup> Be prepared on the threshing floor of the granaries.<sup>S</sup>
12. That which is lost is the offering of the weak ones.<sup>T</sup> Make your feet hurry, while you look to(?) the cultivator(?). Provide for him(?), while you reap.<sup>U</sup>

13. He who causes one to plow, he will(?) cause [another] to reap, and he will cause that they (both) suffer torments without cea[se<sup>V</sup> ... ] the causing to make a ... [ ... ]<sup>W</sup>
14. [ ... ] ... a farmer in a field annually, he is successful(?), an owner of silver, gold, cows, birds, granaries, every kind of small cattle (in) a [grea]t
15. Nile<sup>X</sup> [ ... the] farmer (in a) small Nile, his heart will be joyful.<sup>Y</sup> As for a farmer who plows and reaps, without his having ... [ ... ]
16. he will e[xten]d(?) his hand like a lion.<sup>Z</sup> (He is) a man who draws water from a well, his vase being as a sieve,<sup>AA</sup> a farmer from year to year.<sup>BB</sup> He does
17. not have [a hand]ful of barley.<sup>CC</sup> (But) when he plants(?) (in) the Nile-mud, (then) he fills granaries with barley and emmer.<sup>DD</sup> The one who is (well) prepared cultivates, while causing to come forth
18. the (following) exclamations of the ignorant man<sup>EE</sup>: “The farmer is the chief of every occupation. For him do they work. His hands are their breath of life in [ ... ]<sup>FF</sup>





## COLUMN SIX

### Commentary

6/2, n. A. The remainder of the composition is concerned with agriculture, particularly the irrigation of the fields. The first lines of the column are badly destroyed, which renders their interpretation difficult.





As done earlier with regard to the good and bad servant, so here too the author contrasts the good with the bad farmer or landowner. The former is the *sšm*, “Führer, Leiter” (*Wb.* 4, 288/1–289/3). The first preserved line is probably a description of this model farmer, which continued until .


*sšm* = *f* would then be a prospective *sdm* = *f* expressing purpose or result. For the idiom *sšm* ‘, “direct the arm,” see *Wb.* 4, 287/8, quoting Sethe (1906–09: 1149/11): *sšm* = *f* ‘.w *hm.wt* = *f*, “He directed the arms of his workers” (see also Lacau and Chevrier 1977, vol. 1, p. 127, n. [d]).



 is probably the causative form of , “trinken” (*Wb.* 3, 428/5–17, written  in the Late period and *Wb.* 4, 273/16–17, , noting especially the remark “vom Nil der die Felder trinkt”). Similar writings of *swr* are in P. BM 10209, 1/37 (Haikal 1970–72, vol. 1, p. 29); Westendorf 1974: 248; and Reymond 1981, vol. 1, p. 171 (= text 20, line 15).

6/2, n. B. I understand this and the following sentence to be in parallelism. Both seem to be statements concerning the thriftiness or efficiency of the model farmer.

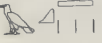


I have translated *nn* as “There is no ...” or “There exists not ...” followed by the infinitive (i.e., a variant of *mn*). It is also possible to render the phrase as a negative future *nn sdm* = *f*.

The partially damaged sign after  is most likely . Thus, the verb is probably , “eat” (Wb. 1, 320/1–321/12). While attested in this spelling (Wb. 1, 320), it is hardly the usual writing. The only other example of this word in P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, and that not certain, is  in 4/17.


 fills the space very well (cf. the spelling in 6/9).


*ib* is found only here; otherwise *h3t* is used. This is, perhaps, the idiom *n ib*, “nach (seinem) Wunsch o.ä.” (Wb. 1, 60/1). The restoration of the lacuna is, of course, problematic. I assume that the subject is the *sšm*, “leader” or “wise man.” The point may be that he never has any intention of wasting provisions. It is also possible, though unlikely, that  is an abbreviated writing of , “der Magen” (Wb. 2, 393/14; see Caminos 1972: 214 and Lefebvre 1952: 34).




6/3, n. C. This sentence is a restatement of the same idea. I restore therefore  in the lacuna.

 is either , “Verlust” (Wb. 1, 21/22), or , “destruction” (cf. 3/7, 4/10, 5/5, and 6/8).




 alone is perhaps insufficient for the available space.




, “Feldfrucht, Getreide, Saatkorn” (Wb. 1, 530/9–531/4).

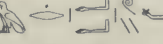

I tentatively restore  in the lacuna.


 is presumably “excellent ones” (cf. Wb. 1, 15); for the various meanings of *šh.w*, see el-Sayed 1982: 200–01. Note the occurrence of the expression , “excellent seed,” (of the king) (Wb. 1, 531/4), and the word , “field” (Wb. 1, 18/9), which appears several times in Amenemope (see Lange 1925: 28). Although the primary meaning of the sentence is “There is no loss of the seed of the excellent ones,” the author may well have intended that the reader be aware of the other possible translations.



6/3, n. D. This is a very uncertain passage. I understand *šd d[ny].w m r-‘wy=f* to be a clause in anticipatory emphasis describing the industrious farmer. There then follow two balanced statements, each comprising *nn* plus *sđm=f*. In these two clauses a contrast is made between the above mentioned industrious farmer and the “foolish, inefficient” farmer.

 is probably “dig” (Wb. 4, 414/11–415/4), which occurs in the next line, and not , “to take away” (Wb. 4, 560/8–562/19), or , “to save” (Wb. 4, 563/2–9). *šd* would then seem to be a participle, though *p3 nty šd* might rather have been expected.

Assuming that the word lost in the lacuna is the object of *šd*, “dig,” I restore , “Damm, Deich” (Wb. 5, 465/1–2), or , “Damm als Feldergrenze” (Wb. 5, 465/3). The traces following the lacuna agree indeed with , found after *dny*, “dike,” in the next line. On this word, see also note G on 6/4.



 is clearly , “with the two arms” (Wb. 2, 395/14–18, noting especially “mit jemds. Armen schaffen” [Wb. 2, 395/17]).


The preserved end of the clause *m iwt=f*, “as a have-not,” suggests a rendering such as “He will not become as a poor man” or “He will not suffer as a poor man.” For  , see *Wb.* 1, 46/7; on the more common forms *iwt*y and *iwt*y-*n=f*, both of which also mean “poor man,” see Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 25; Lichtheim, *LEWL*, p. 9; and Caminos 1958a: 121.



- 6/3, n. E. The determinatives following the lacuna assure that the subject of the parallel sentence was the opposite of the wise man. Possible restorations are  , “failure,” or  , “fool.” This sentence may describe the intransigence of the ignorant man, who refuses to acknowledge the benefits of correct action.








This is evidently ‘*q m*, “in etw. eindringen,” “etwas erkennen” (*Wb.* 1, 230/10–15). One may compare ‘*q nb=f m sʕr.t=f*, “one whose lord recognized his wisdom” (Sethe 1906–09: 1194, line 12). For a discussion of the idiom, see Posener 1976: 34.

 is  , “Gedanke, Plan, Rat” (*Wb.* 4, 258/10–260/16).

I assume that  belongs to this clause, but can propose no probable restoration (  “[ ... the one who does] it,” i.e., excavates a dike?).

- 6/4, n. F. I am very uncertain of this section. We are clearly justified in supplying  , “produce” (*Wb.* 5, 100), at the end of the line; the word also occurs in 6/6 and 6/9.

I have taken  to be a variant of the imperative  . The same spelling may appear in 4/5.

Understanding  to be  , “schützen, behüten” (*Wb.* 3, 244/10–245/22), I restore  , “Let one protect ... .” This is very conjectural, however, and I emphasize that the verb also occurs in 5/17 in the normal spelling. Any number of other possibilities exist, e.g.,  = the preposition  , “from, by,” or  =  , “forget,” but I am then quite unable to propose a plausible interpretation of the passage.


- 6/4, n. G. This is an admonition to dig a canal so that the fields are properly irrigated. The initial imperative seems to be followed by two subordinate purpose clauses introduced by prospective *sḏm=f* forms. The relationship of the various clauses in this section is, however, quite difficult to determine.


 is the normal word for “canal” (*Wb.* 3, 105/1–5).

*pk* makes it clear that the reader is addressed. The previous sentences of this column are in the third person.

As just mentioned *tʕy* is probably a prospective form, providing the reason for digging a canal. If so, then *n=f* refers to the field (*pʕ ʕh.t*), and the subject of the clause is *itrw*.



*itrw* may also be used of canals (*Wb.* 1, 146/12; and Schenkel 1978a: 32).

 , “die Flut (eines Gewässers)” (*Wb.* 3, 48/24), is thus the object of *tʕy*.



I understand *pʕ hʕw (n) nʕy=f*. The restoration  , “Damm, Dyke” (*Wb.* 5, 465/3), seems quite probable. On the word, see especially the remarks of Schenkel




1980, col. 311 (“Kanal”); compare also *im hpr ib=k mī dnyw ʿ3 n.t wsr.ti r-gs=f*, “May your heart become as a great dike, a torrent being mighty against its side,” from the Instruction of Amennakht (Posener 1955: 62 and 66); and Meeks 1972: 54–55 and 101, n. 158. For another possible example of omitted *n*, see 4/17.

The translation of this clause is not certain. It is unclear whether the subject of *hpr* is the field or the canal.

 , “Wasser, Wasserflut, Gewässer” (Wb. 2, 198/10–15). The damaged word preceding *n.t* is perhaps merely .

6/5, n. H. This is one of the most obscure sections in the Brooklyn papyrus. The main difficulty is deciding how to separate the clauses. There are numerous possible translations and, without the help of parallel versions, it is difficult to judge their relative plausibility. The author seems to employ a mixture of statements and rhetorical questions which also complicates the task of translation. As I understand the passage, its purpose is to impress on the reader the importance of incessant work on the fields and to warn against self-satisfaction.

The section (6/4–6) contains several examples of  and . These may be translated, of course, as either the third future verbal prefix or the circumstantial converter, which complicates matters still more. I suggest that the first clause is best understood as a third future, but this interpretation is not without problems.

The signs at the end of 6/4 are probably , which I equate with , *hbs.w*, “Feld, Acker” (Wb. 3, 256/13–14). On this word, see Kees 1933: 30 and Schenkel 1978a: 32–35. Also possible, but less likely, is , *sw3.w*, “Umgebung, Bezirk” (Wb. 4, 62/4–9), for which see especially Meeks 1979, vol. 1, p. 252, n. 63 (who notes confusion with *hbs.w*).

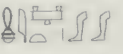
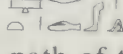
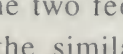
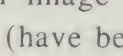
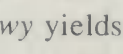
As the section is rather obscure it may help to enumerate the various clauses:

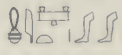
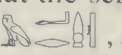

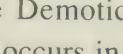
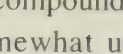
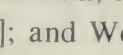

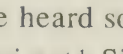

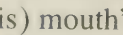
1. (6/4) *iw hbs.w* (6/5) *mī.t rd.wy (n) t3 wp.t n hwtj 2 n pr.t*
2. *iw t3 sh.t 3q [n] t3 wp.t (n) w ʿ [n šm]w*
3. *iw t3 sh.t snb.tw*

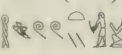
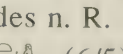

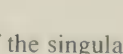
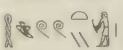

It is clear that clauses 1 and 2 are in parallelism. The subject of the first clause is “*hbs*-field” and that of the second, *sh.t*, “field.” Moreover, the final phrases of both sentences are virtually identical in structure “(through) the work of two farmers in seed-time” and “(through) the work of one (farmer) in harvest-time.”

While the first clause presents problems of translation, the second may be rendered confidently “The field will perish through the work of one (field-worker) in harvest-time.” This is evidently then a warning to the landowner to employ an adequate number of laborers at harvest-time.

To return to the first clause, a literal translation runs “The *hbs*-fields will ... (through) the work of two field-workers in seed-time.” The chief problem is the phrase

at the beginning of 6/5 . The possible translations are *mi w3.t rd.wy*, “like a path of the two feet”; compare , “betretener Weg” (Wb. 2, 461/13), or , (n) *mi.t rd.wy*, “(as) a path of the two feet.” Other examples of *mi.t* are  (2/5) and  (2/11). Despite the similar image in the Tutankhamun Restoration Stela, *h.wt=sn m w3.t rd*, “Their temples (have become) as foot-paths” (Helck 1958: 2027), it seems that neither *w3.t rd.wy* nor *mi.t rd.wy* yields acceptable sense. A literal rendering would be “The *hbs*-fields will be (as?) a path of the two feet (through) the work of two field-workers in seed-time; the field will perish through the work of one field-worker in harvest-time, (although) the field is in good condition.” The construction of *iw* plus subject plus adverbial phrase may also appear in 5/3–4. While the meaning might be that the *hbs*-fields will be as infertile as a well-trodden path if two workers are employed at seed-time (too many laborers or too few?), it seems more probable that the text is corrupt at this point.

If the first clause is a positive statement contrasting with the negative formulation in the second clause, it is necessary to suggest an emendation. The idea of the first clause should then be that the fields will flourish when worked by a sufficient number of men in *pr.t*. This implies that the contrast between “one” and “two” is not to be taken literally; rather, “one (man)” denotes an inadequate number and “two” a sufficient number. The only emendation which I can propose is that the scribe wrote , *mi.t rd.wy*, but that the original manuscript had a form of , *m'r*, “flourish” (Wb. 2, 48/10–49/1). This word occurs in 3/7  and 4/19 . I note the spellings  and  in Wb. There is also the Demotic word *mrwt* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 257), possibly derived from . It occurs in compounds with *3h.t* and *t3*, and seems to mean “fertile (land).” The etymology is somewhat uncertain, however (see Černý, *CED*, p. 89 [MPΔΥΤ, “crop-land,” not in Crum, *CD*]; and Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 520). I suggest then that the scribe heard something such as *\*mirat* (= , *mrwt*), which he mistakenly wrote as *\*mi rat*.<sup>1</sup> Since this suggested error can hardly have originated from a misreading of the original manuscript, it would seem to fall into the category of “Hörfehlern” or “Gedächtnisfehlern” (see Burkard 1977: 72–145; see further Koenig 1980: 106–13; Schenkel 1978b: 119–26; idem 1986, cols. 460–61 [“Texttradierung, -Kritik”]; and Sledzianowski 1975: 95–106). I note that in a Demotic version of a middle Egyptian hymn the Demotic scribe reinterpreted the hieroglyphic , “great is his prosperity,” as , *wr md r3*, “Great is the word of (his) mouth” (see M. Smith 1977: 133).

 is , “Feldarbeiter” (Wb. 1, 214/7–9), where it is observed, “Im Hieratischen des n. R. ist das Zeichen  mit  zus. gefallen.” It is found only in this column:  (6/5) and  (6/8; also 6/10, 14, 15, 16, 18). On the word, see

1. For the two legs as a writing of the singular (PΔΥΤ, Crum, *CD*, p. 302b), see Borghouts 1971, pl. 4A, n. 1a.

James 1962: 10–11, Hayes 1972: 34, and Graefe and Wassef 1979: 104 and 111. While *hwt* is still found in Demotic (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 298), it seems to have been replaced by  $\square\Upsilon\square\epsilon|\epsilon$  in Coptic (see Crum, *CD*, p. 473). The scribe appears to have written  $\square$  before the  $\epsilon$  determinative, which is somewhat damaged.

The opposition between *pr.t* and *šmw* is well attested (cf. *Wb.* 1, 530 [under *pr.t*] “auch als kühle Jahreszeit [im gegs. zum heißen Sommer *šmw*]”; Onkhsheshonqy 9/16–17, “Do not say ‘It is summer’; there is winter too. He who does not gather wood in summer cannot warm himself in winter”; and Insinger 32/3, “He created summer and winter through the rising and setting of Sothis” (translation of Lichtheim).

*iw t3 šh.t snb.tw* is a circumstantial clause introduced by *iw*, modifying the preceding sentence. *snb.tw* is thus probably a qualitative form. For the translation of the circumstantial as a concessive clause (“although”), see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, p. 570. The land perishes if too few workers cultivate it, although it is basically in good condition.

- 6/6, n. I. The interrogative *in-iw* begins a new clause. The writer admonishes the reader not to be lax in cultivating the fields, even if the granaries are full. In the following sentences he describes the results of lackadaisical work.

$\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  is the most probable reading. I understand this to be related to  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$ , “hoe” (*Wb.* 1, 140/3; Faulkner 1962: 32; and Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 58,  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$ ). While it is perhaps used figuratively “Does a hoe cease its work ...”,  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  is more probably a noun of agent “hoer.” I have, however, found no other examples of this word.

*h* is thus “still stehen (nach einer Bewegung)” (*Wb.* 1, 218/8). *n* is to be supplied before *tfy*.

The converter *i* (written *iw* in 6/5) introduces a circumstantial clause. *mḥ* is the qualitative form.

The subject of the circumstantial clause is *šn.wy*, “die Scheune, Kornspeicher” (*Wb.* 4, 510/1–16), which is often found in the dual.

$\text{𓂏𓂐}$  is *it*, “die Gerste” (*Wb.* 1, 142/10–20), while  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  is *bd*, “Emmer, Spelt” (*Wb.* 1, 486/14–487/7).

- 6/6, n. J. This is a third future construction, *iw* plus noun subject plus *iw* (= *r*) plus infinitive.





$\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  seems virtually certain; compare the same word in 6/11,  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$ . It is evidently  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$ , “die Tenne” (*Wb.* 3, 349/10; Faulkner 1962: 198; Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 197; and Caminos 1954: 247, 310 [where he observes that the *dnw* is composed of several *htyw*], and 382). The word is still extant in Demotic (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 371) and Coptic (Crum, *CD*, p. 629a).

$\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  is  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ , “Schädliches, Schädigung” (*Wb.* 1, 376/15–377/4), or  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ , “Mangel, Hungersnot(?)” (*Wb.* 1, 377/18, and Lesko, *DLE* 1, p. 134). For previous discussions of the word, which often refers to the results of famine, see Grumach 1972:

26. It is not common in Demotic; see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 103, quoting Spiegelberg 1917: 32 [= Leiden I 384, 11/32], possibly *ir wgg*?). For the Coptic descendant(?), see Westendorf, *KHWh.*, p. 269. Apart from the questionable example in Erichsen, *Glossar* (loc. cit.), I can quote no other attestation of the idiom *ir wgg*, “suffer harm, shortage,” but compare *ir ʔt*, “Mangel leiden, haben, im Not sein” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 13), and *ir ʔwy.t*, “Leid ertragen” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 22, and Černý, *CED*, p. 141).




- 6/6, n. K. The scribe continues to describe the consequences of inadequate work on the fields. The sentence is probably a first present construction, *mn* introducing the undefined noun subject (see Johnson 1986: 77).

On the idiom *hpr n*, see the note X on 5/12.

 is probably , “Speicher” (*Wb.* 4, 507/12–508/25). I assume that the traces following  are the  determinative, but this is not certain.




- 6/7, n. L. A rather remarkable statement, which once more warns of the consequences of insufficient work on the fields. It is a nominal sentence, the predicate of which is a substantivized relative third future *nʔ nt i-ir* plus noun plus *r* plus infinitive.




A circumstantial present clause follows, consisting of a defined relative clause *nʔ nt bʔk pʔ tʔ* and the predicate infinitive *mwt*. The passage illustrates the realistic, indeed pessimistic, attitude of the author.

, “princes, nobles” (*Wb.* 4, 188/3–189/9, noting particularly the example cited from the Twenty-first Dynasty: ). The reading of  is certain.

I have found no parallel to the expression “their hands will fill their stomachs.” For *mh h.t*, see *Wb.* 2, 116/21, Brunner 1944: 120 (5/4), Marciniak 1973: 109–12, and Amenemope 5/5. In Demotic the expression is attested in Insinger 6/5.



For *bʔk*, “to cultivate,” see *Wb.* 1, 426/10.

*hq(r)* is written without  as in Demotic , *hqʔ* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 334). For the  determinatives, see *Wb.* 3, 174. For the expression “to die from (n) hunger,” see *Wb.* 3, 175/5; and Vandier 1950: 220 (inscription 10, IV 16, and 17–18); in Demotic, see Onkhsheshonqy 10/5.

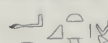

 is probably , a type of low-lying field (*Wb.* 3, 322/5), contrasted with *kʔ.t*, “high-land.” See James 1962: 67 and Schenkel 1978a: 61–62. The word does not seem to be attested in either Demotic or Coptic. Another possibility is , “street.”







- 6/8, n. M. A couplet introduces a series of figurative statements continuing into 6/10. While there are problems in the translation, the basic meaning seems clear. The cultivator, who causes the fields to be fertile, is contrasted with others, of uncertain identity, who destroy them.





The first clause is a second tense construction with the emphasis on *n sh.ty*, “through the cultivator.”

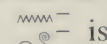

 is , “grünen” (*Wb.* 1, 18/16–21), which is employed both transitively and intransitively. It is still found, though rarely, in Demotic as *ḥy* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 70).

I am uncertain whether there is a distinction to be made between *sh.ty*, “der Feldbewohner” (*Wb.* 4, 231/15–232/7), and *ḥwty*.

More difficult is the parallel clause. It would seem to be a nominal sentence with two subjects,  and . Unfortunately, I am unable to translate either with confidence.


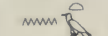
*t3y=s* clearly refers back to *sh.t*. The reading of the following word is problematic. Most probable is , but  is uncertain; no translation of *rq.t* yields sense in the context. It is feminine (note that the scribe does not always distinguish between  and ), but may be a collective noun such as , “crew.” A connection with , discussed by Meeks (1972: 64–65), is unlikely.

While the transcription of the next word is secure, the translation is not. The determinative assures a negative connotation, but I find no identically spelled word in *Wb.* Among the possibilities are: , “gefangen sein, in Bedrängnis sein” (*Wb.* 2, 351/6); , “betreten” (*Wb.* 3, 312/16–313/20); and , “eine Berufsbezeichnung” (*Wb.* 3, 314/1). Also to be considered are unorthographic spellings, e.g., , “umherziehen” (*Wb.* 3, 343/6, cf. Caminos 1977: 30). None of these is very attractive.<sup>2</sup>

 is evidently the third person plural independent pronoun (*Wb.* 2, 355/15). It is curious that  occurs three times in close proximity, perhaps another instance of word-play.

6/9, n. N. These clauses also present problems. The scribe figuratively describes the farmer as the husband of the field, which bears for him its produce. One might compare Prisse 330, “She (the wife) is a fertile field for her lord” (Žába 1956: 42). Note also the Akkadian saying quoted several times in the Amarna tablets, “My field is like a woman without a husband because it lacks a cultivator” (Lambert 1960: 233).

On the metaphorical use of *hy*, “husband,” see Grapow 1983: 134–35.

I can offer no reading of the damaged sign group following . I would expect simply , but this does not seem possible.



I have assumed that the subject of *ms* in line nine is *sh.t*, “field,” but am unable to explain the traces at the end of the line.



On the common phrase *k3(.t)-df3w*, see *Wb.* 5, 92/1.

6/9, n. O. While it is clear that the scribe is here praising or describing the (well-watered) field, the lacuna prevents a certain interpretation.





2. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert has plausibly suggested taking this as a writing of *ḥīnī*, “mad, fool,” for which, see Caminos 1954: 397.



On *hnm.t*, “well,” see the note E on 2/3.








The reading of the word following *sh.t* is difficult. I have rendered , “turquoise” (*Wb.* 2, 56/1–14), and interpreted the sentence figuratively (cf. Grapow 1983: 54 and Assmann 1969: 127 and 153 [reference courtesy of Professor Wente]). Another possibility is , = *mtn*, “to supply” (*Wb.* 2, 170/11–12), in which case we might translate “A field sup[plied with] a well is good for the one who knows its nature.”

 is without question , “Gestalt, Wesen, Art” (*Wb.* 5, 15/5–16/17). The writer attributes to the successful cultivator an almost esoteric knowledge.




- 6/10, n. P. A pair of nicely turned metaphors. As in lines 6/7–8, the contrast is made between those who constructively cultivate the earth and those who abuse the land.











Posener and Sainte Fare Garnot (1963: 155) had already discussed this sentence, translating “c’est de la graisse pour celui qui travaille, (mais) c’est du granit pour celui qui le dévaste.” The reading   , “Fett” (*Wb.* 1, 239/8–16), is probable, although the  is somewhat unclear.



 , “granite,” also occurs in 2/6.

   , “erbeuten, erobern” (*Wb.* 3, 32/14–33/5), a writing similar to ours being quoted there from the Nineteenth Dynasty,   . It appears here to mean “misuse, ignorantly mishandle,” and to refer to the farmer who does not properly irrigate his field.



- 6/10, n. Q. The scribe admonishes the reader, as presumed landowner, to outfit the field-workers suitably. On the importance of the good treatment of serfs, compare Posener 1976: 47. The second tense emphasizes the circumstantial phrase *iw=k stb* [ ... ]. On the proposed injunctive nuance of the second tense, see Johnson 1976: 111.

  , “ausrüsten” (*Wb.* 4, 216/8–16). The construction of the direct statement is first present, *shn.tw* being a qualitative form.

  may be understood as either a spelling of  , “ausrüsten” (*Wb.* 4, 112/10–20, cf. Demotic , *sbt* [Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 424]), or    , “ausrüsten” (*Wb.* 4, 369/4–8; cf. Demotic , *stbh*, “Gerät” [Erichsen, *Glossar*, pp. 476–77]). The meaning in both cases is the same. On the variation between *b* and *p*, see, for example, Edwards 1960, vol. 1, p. 33.

  seems a virtually certain restoration.

- 6/11, n. R. While this couplet may be confidently transcribed, the translation is not secure. Both sentences consist of a second tense form emphasizing a circumstantial present clause. The writer seems to encourage the reader to take an active role in the cultivation of his fields, but I have had difficulties in establishing the precise meaning of this passage.

 , “plow, cultivate” (*Wb.* 4, 315–316/9), is often found, as here, in association with *wʒ*, “to harvest” (see Caminos 1968: 87–88); Wente (*LRL*, p. 23, n. h) observes

that *skʒ* may mean “sow,” and that “in the case of cereals the plowing was done simultaneously with the sowing of the seed.”

*nḥb*, “Joch für Pferde und Rinder” (*Wb.* 2, 293/1–2). I am uncertain, however, as to whether the phrase “you being under (*ḥr*) the yoke” is to be taken literally or not. *ḥr* may mean “to bear, carry,” and indeed it is not impossible that the farmer himself, on occasion, had to carry the yoke. In discussing Cheti 6/5, “The gardener carries the yoke,” for example, Brunner (1944: 35) remarks, “An dem Joch trägt der Gärtner die Kugeligen Gefässe, in denen er im AR und MR (wohl vor der Erfindung des Schadufs) mühsam das Wasser zur Gärtepflege herbeitragen muss.” See also West 1978: 273. The writer may thus be emphasizing the burdensome labor of the farmer (cf. the next clause). *ḥr* also means, of course, “in possession of,” though the rendering, “You should plow, being in possession of a yoke,” is a rather colorless statement. A third possibility is that the author is referring to the practice of sowing (= *skʒ*, see above) the seed while in the process of plowing. I incline to the first alternative.

*ʿwʒ*, “ernten” (*Wb.* 1, 171/18–21). While absent from Erichsen, *Glossar*, the word is found in Demotic (see Thissen 1984: 57). The noun  $\square\Upsilon\square\epsilon\mid\epsilon$ , “farmer” (Crum, *CD*, p. 473a, = Demotic  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$  [Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 79]), is, moreover, generally derived from *ʿwʒ* (see, e.g., Černý, *CED*, p. 209, and Westendorf, *KHWb.*, p. 268).

$\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$  is a problem. *Wb.* contains no word identically written. There is a  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$ , which is explained in *Wb.* 5, 603, as a variant of  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$ , “beschenken” (*Wb.* 5, 476/1–25). The noun derivative of this verb appears, however, in the next line spelled in the normal fashion. It is, furthermore, difficult to understand what “You should harvest, while you (make) offerings” might mean. The author may be alluding to ritual offerings, but this is hardly a compelling interpretation. A second possibility is to take *dṛp* as a variant writing of  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$ , “to trip, stumble” (*Wb.* 5, 387/10). The word is attested in both Demotic  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$  (Onkhsheshonqy 10/7 [bis]; see Thissen 1984: 139) and Coptic  $\text{Ⲭⲱⲡⲧ}$  (Crum, *CD*, p. 786). See also Caminos 1954: 188. As in the previous sentence, the author may thus be trying to describe the exhausting physical labor associated with cultivation. I have adopted the latter interpretation in the translation. Nevertheless, this seems to contradict the generally positive view of the farmer presented in the column. Compare perhaps 6/13.


6/11, n. S. This line and the following form a couplet. The scribe cautions his reader to be careful while threshing grain since what goes astray is recovered by the poor, i.e., is lost to the farmer.

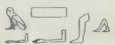
$\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$  is the imperative use of  $\text{𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩢}$ , “to prepare (yourself)” (*Wb.* 3, 146–147/9), attested also in 3/11. The translation of Lichtheim (*LEWL*, pp. 11–12), “you reap beating grain loads on the threshing floor,” seems to rest on a misreading.

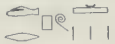
Threshing platforms (*htyw*) could be situated in close proximity to the granaries (see Guglielmi 1986, col. 421 ["Tenne"]).

- 6/12, n. T. The poor collect what the farmer overlooks during the harvest. Compare the rather more charitable statement of Amenemope 26/9–10, "Do not pounce on a widow when you find her in the fields, and then fail to be patient with her reply" (translation of Lichtheim).

This is another example of a nominal clause formed by simple juxtaposition (see p. 13).


On the writing of *nʒ nty* as , see p. 12.





, literally, "travel, journey" (*Wb.* 2, 156/4–12), has here the meaning of "go astray, be lost." While not found in *Wb.*, this nuance is attested for *mšʿ* in Demotic. Kaplony-Heckel (1963, vol. 1, p. 468) translates *mšʿ* as "abhanden kommen," where the subject of the verb is also grain.



, "Speise: die jem. hat, bekommt, gibt" (*Wb.* 5, 477/1–5; see also note R on column six).



For , (found also in Amenemope 21/4), see *Wb.* 3, 419/10.



- 6/12, n. U. This is a difficult section, in which the author seems to exhort the reader to vigorous activity.

Nothing may be lost before *ʒs*, "to hurry" (*Wb.* 1, 20/1–8). Note especially the phrase , "mögen deine Füße eilen" (Erman 1910: 40 = *Wb.* 1, 20/2).



The next clause is a problem. *iw=k* may introduce a circumstantial form describing the conditions under which one should hurry. *nw*, "to see" (*Wb.* 2, 218/3–16), would seem to be the predicate, but the clearly written  must then be a qualitative ending. This produces the rendering "Hurry your feet, when you are seen (observed)." While not bad advice, it seems more plausible to emend  to , and to understand *iw=k nw n* with the following . The resulting translation is "Hurry your feet, while looking (out for the) cultivator. Provide for him, when you reap."




The idiom *nw n*, "to look out for," is discussed in note X of column two. It is also possible to understand *nw* as a variant of , "to care for" (*Wb.* 2, 220/5–14). Compare , "[Er(?)] sorgt für [die Ernte o.ä.]" (Fischer-Elfert 1986a: 53 and 57).



There is scarcely room for more than  or  in the lacuna. I have translated *skʒ* as the noun object of the proposed *n*. Also possible, of course, is an imperative rendering "cultivate/plow!"



*nḥb*, "equip" (*Wb.* 2, 293/3–7; see the discussion in Caminos 1954: 426). Instead of  following *nḥb*, one might transcribe .


- 6/13, n. V. The lacunae prevent a confident rendering of this line. It may possibly enjoin the reader to extract the utmost exertion from his field-workers.


 fits the traces quite well. I understand the subject to be the landowner. I take *iw=f di.t* to be a third future and have restored  in the second clause, i.e., *w' ... ky*, “der eine - der andere” (*Wb.* 1, 274/12).

The interpretation of  is a problem. Since  is clearly impossible, I suggest  , with some hesitation. The use of the conjunctive is rather unexpected, though it is attested independently and as continuing a present tense (see Johnson 1976: 292).

For the restored writing of  , compare  in 4/3.



 is  , “sich abmühen” (*Wb.* 5, 577/2–3). The word is found in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, where it also refers to “arduous tasks” (see Caminos 1954: 608 and Wentz 1966: 80 [17a]). *ir dnn* may thus mean in our text “to labor mightily” or “suffer torments.”



The restoration  , “without cease,” (cf. 6/6) is probable, but not certain.






6/13, n. W. I am unable to read the damaged group at the end of this line (  ?). The clause quite possibly belongs with the following sentence in 6/14.

6/15, n. X. In 6/14–15 the writer describes the good fortune of the well-prepared farmer, whose land is properly irrigated. In a high Nile he is the possessor of every excellent thing, while even a low Nile cannot destroy his peace of mind.





I can offer no plausible restoration for the lacuna at the beginning of 6/14. It is clear, however, that something positive has either been done for or by the farmer. As stated in note W, this sentence may have continued from 6/13.

 is, presumably, the adverbial phrase  , “annually” (*Wb.* 2, 430/9); note the otiose plural, on which see p. 8.

*nht* has, of course, numerous meanings: “stiff, strong, victorious” (*Wb.* 2, 314/6–316/6). As it characterizes here the good farmer, I have translated “successful.” The broken context prevents certainty, however, and other interpretations are possible; e.g.,  , “schützen” (Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 226), which is perhaps related to  (*Wb.* 2, 304/9–13). The grammatical construction *iw=f* is equally ambiguous.

I have translated  as “lord,” or “master,” rather than the adjective  , “all” (which would then have to modify  ). This word is normally spelled  in the Brooklyn papyrus, but  is also well attested for the Late period (see Vittmann, 1984b: 77).


On the phrase  , see Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 17.



The trace of ink below the lacuna in 6/15 fits  quite well. This is the standard term for a high Nile (see *Wb.* 3, 43/1). Note that  , “low Nile” (*Wb.* 3, 43/2), occurs in the next clause. For similar spellings of *h'py*, see *Wb.* 3, 42; P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 1/3 (Goyon 1972–74, plate [1]); P. BM 10209, 1/34 (Haikal 1970–72, vol. 1, p. 29); Caminos 1958b: 20; and P. Lausanne 3391, 2/18 (Valloggia 1979, vol. 1, p. 288).  is probably to be understood before both *h'py*  and *h'py šriw*.

6/15, n. Y. Again, the lacuna prevents a certain interpretation of this line. In view of *ndm*, I assume that it still refers to the successful farmer. I have translated the clause as a third future, but a circumstantial rendering is also possible, “his heart being joyful.”

6/16, n. Z. The writer now describes the plight of the poorly equipped or lazy farmer. The subject is *hwtj*, which is followed by two circumstantial clauses. The main sentence is on 6/16, which I take to be a third future.

*sk3* *w3*, “plows (and) reaps,” i.e., carries out all the activities connected with cultivation.



I am unable to propose a probable restoration for the end of the line. The word appears to denote a positive quality or useful object which the poor farmer lacks. One might, perhaps, suggest , “endurance, vigor(?)” (see Gilula 1971: 18 and Meeks 1981: 399), but this is hardly more than a guess (*Wb.* 5, 139/4–5.).


The traces fit  quite well. For the idiom, see *Wb.* 1, 5/8–9, where it is defined, “die Hand ausstrecken nach, die Hand legen an jem. (feindlich).” See further, Williams 1961: 103–04; Any 8/4; and Amenemope 4/6 (note that this last spelling is identical to that proposed here ). The meaning is then that the poor farmer will turn to thievery, since he will not be able to support his family.

6/16, n. AA. A picturesque characterization of the poor farmer, possibly based on a proverb.



The main clause is a first present. It is followed by a circumstantial clause introduced by *i*.

On *ith*, “to draw water,” see the note GG on 4/16.






The restoration  seems secure; compare  in 6/9.


I have identified  with *š3m.w*, “Art grosser Krug” (*Wb.* 4, 411/2). However, the word is otherwise attested only in the Old Kingdom.

 is the *m* of predication.




 is , “das Sieb” (*Wb.* 2, 344/11; and Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 36). It does not seem to be attested in either Demotic or Coptic.

6/16, n. BB. Literally, perhaps, “a farmer of year to year.” I am uncertain of the exact translation of this phrase, which I understand to be another negative description of the poor farmer. The meaning may be that such a farmer has no secure future, being totally dependent on a high Nile.












The same writing of *rnp.t* is to be found in Lesko, *DLE* 2, p. 65. While the phrase  is perhaps identical with , *m rnp.t rnp.t*, “alljährlich” (*Wb.* 2, 430/8; cf.  in 6/14), a genitive construction is also possible—compare the compounds: *hn n sf*, “companion of yesterday” (3/13), and *hr.t n sf*, “food of yesterday” (5/16). I can quote no other examples of the expression, however.  could also be a writing of , “das Vorjahr” (*Wb.* 4, 162/12–14), in which case “a farmer of yesteryear,” would

denote the unsuccessful cultivator. This too, unfortunately, is little more than a conjecture, as one would expect  to be written.











6/17, n. CC. This seems to conclude the description of the impoverished farmer.


I restore in the lacuna a word for “handful” or “measure,” e.g., , “Handvoll als Mass” (Wb. 5, 584/15–16), or , “trockene Masse” (Wb. 3, 358/5). However, these do not seem to account for the available space, and I have no suggestion for what might precede (merely  [?]).

6/17, n. DD. A difficult pair of clauses. The writer has returned to his portrayal of the good farmer, emphasizing once again the benefits of correct irrigation.

*i-ir=f di.t šmm* presents a problem. The phrase may be understood in a variety of ways.    is either the noun direct object of *di.t* or a prospective *sdm=f*. Both are possible. Taking    to be  , “die Ernte, der Ernteertrag” (Wb. 4, 481/1–11; note especially the Demotic , *šmm* [Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 507]), and supplying *m* before  , we might render “It is in (with, from?) Nile earth that he gives the harvest(-tax).” I do not understand, however, what such a statement would mean in this context. The following clause, “It is with barley and emmer that he fills the granaries,” is clearly positive, while the above quoted translation of the first clause seems, on the whole, to have negative connotations. Indeed, so understood, the sentence best describes the poor farmer, i.e., “It is with earth that he gives the harvest-tax.” On this view, then, the following clause begins a new section.



I would propose, however, a different interpretation. As both clauses are introduced by a second tense, I have translated the couplet as a *Wechselsatz*, for which, see Johnson 1976: 114 and Junge 1978: 115–20.








With some hesitation, I suggest that    is  , a writing of  $\Sigma \square$ , “to sow, plant” (Crum, *CD*, p. 752 [for  $\Sigma \square < \img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph of a man carrying a staff" data-bbox="545 605 575 625"/> ], see Westendorf, *KHWh.*, p. 412], and Erichsen, *Glossar*, p. 605). I have then translated  , “das Erdreich, die Nilerde” (Wb. 5, 12/9–12), as “Nile mud,” i.e., irrigated earth. Supplying *m* once more before  , I render “When he plants in Nile mud (however), then he fills granaries with barley and emmer.” I emphasize, however, the unusual writing of the supposed *di-šm*.$


 may, of course, be *it*, “barley,” and we could translate “It is in Nile mud that he is to plant barley.” This rendering is not very satisfactory, especially since the author otherwise uses the expression *it bt*, “barley and emmer,” e.g., in the following clause.

6/18, n. EE. With *p3 nty šhn*, “the one who is (well) outfitted,” we clearly return to the description of the good farmer.

*šhn* is a qualitative form, while *sk3* is an infinitive (in first present construction).

I interpret *iw=f di.t šm* as a circumstantial clause. Also note the repetition of   (see note DD on column six).


 stands probably for , “Spruch” (Wb. 2, 391/14–392/1). I am hard put, however, to explain the miswriting. Could  possibly be an attempt to render “I” ( = “I” [see Gardiner 1957: 490]), comparing the Fayumic plural  $\lambda \omega \square \gamma$  (Crum, CD, p. 288a)? The plant determinative might be borrowed from , “Stroh” (Wb. 2, 408/2 [Coptic  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{E}$ ]).  may also perhaps stand for , though this seems unlikely.

For  $p\dot{s} bw rh=f$ , the negative aorist, see Erman, NÄG, §768, and compare the Demotic  , “the ignorant man,” in Insinger 14/23. A personal name,  $P\dot{s}-bw-ir-rh=f$ , is also attested in Demotic (see Lüddeckens 1980–, vol. 1, p. 183 [there translated “Der, der nicht gekannt wird”], and de Cenival 1984: 96).

6/18, n. FF. The column (and quite possibly the composition) concludes with praise of the farmer. Such accolades are usually reserved for the scribal profession, and our text stands in sharp contrast with the usual Egyptian view of the farmer’s life. These lines are quoted in Posener 1976: 37.

A parallel, for example, to  $p\dot{s} hry n i\dot{s}w.t nb.t$  is found in a writing tablet in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire de Bruxelles, lines 4–5:  $ir s\dot{s} tpy n i\dot{r}y.w=f h\dot{s}ty n i\dot{s}w.wt nb.t$ , “Quant au scribe, (il est) le premier de ses compagnons, celui qui vient en tête de toutes les professions” (translation of van de Walle 1963: 120).

While  $i\dot{s}w.wt$ , “professions,” is clearly written, one wonders whether the author did not intend a word-play on  $i\dot{s}w.t$ , “cattle” (cf. 6/14). The resulting translation may be understood as an ironic comment on the status of the farmer.

At the end of the line restore perhaps  , “truly” (Wb. 2, 20/1).

## CHAPTER 9

### FRAGMENTS

#### FRAGMENT 1


Height: 2.7 cm

Width: 1.3 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... al]l. Has<sup>a</sup> ... [ ... ]<sup>b</sup>

Notes:

- a. *in-iw* is probably the interrogative particle.  
b. Restore perhaps , “your.”

#### FRAGMENT 2

Height: 2.7 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] exce[l]lent [ ... ]

#### FRAGMENT 3





Height: 4.4 cm

Width: 2.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]  
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]  
3. [ ... ] nurse(?)<sup>a</sup> him ...<sup>b</sup> [ ... ]  
4. [ ... ] ... rule ... [ ... ]  
5. [ ... ] power [ ... ]

Notes:

- a. The reading seems secure, but the translation is uncertain (cf. *Wb.* 2, 436/2 ff.).  
b. Possibly    .

## FRAGMENT 4

Height: 2.5 cm

Width: 2.1 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... <sup>a</sup> property(?) [ ... ]

Note:

- a. *iw=f* is not certain, and the lack of context prevents a plausible translation of .

## FRAGMENT 5

Height: 4.2 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] la]bor(?) for(?) [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... <sup>a</sup> to him sustenance [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... him ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Restore possibly , "[giv]e," or  , "[pro]duce."

## FRAGMENT 6


Height: 3.0 cm

Width: 1.1 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] his [abomi]na[tion] ... <sup>a</sup> [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Restore    , "equip?"

## FRAGMENT 7

Height: 4.0 cm

Width: 1.6 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] his property for [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] of the god ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 8


Height: 3.5 cm

Width: 2.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... <sup>a</sup> him. Wretched is <sup>b</sup> [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... mouths(?) ... <sup>c</sup> [ ... ]

Notes:

- a. The signs are perhaps .
- b. *hr* may be the aorist particle (cf. 2/10).
- c. Lack of context prevents a plausible translation of this line.

## FRAGMENT 9

Height: 1.5 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] question you(?). A statement(?) of(?) [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 10

Height: 1.8 cm

Width: 1.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... Do not allow to s[ay ... ]
2. [ ... to] go astray(?)<sup>a</sup> from/to [ ... ]

Note:

- a. , "verfehlen" (*Wb.* 4, 413/1–3).

## FRAGMENT 11

Height: 1.1 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] beware [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 12



Height: 1.6 cm

Width: 1.1 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... Who<sup>a</sup> ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a.  is apparently a writing of the interrogative pronoun  (*Wb.* 2, 263/7–9).

## FRAGMENT 13

Height: 4.2 cm

Width: 2.1 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... protected from evil [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 14

Height: 3.8 cm

Width: 1.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... m]y compani[ons ... ]
2. [ ... th]e land of th[e ... ]

## FRAGMENT 15

Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

Column One

1. [ ... ] ...

Column Two

Translation:

1. ... [ ... ]
2. join/reward(?) [ ... ]
3. ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 16

Height: 1.9 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... h]e ... rescue/tak[e ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 17

Height: 1.5 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] barley(?) ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 18

Height: 1.7 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... th[e ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... a [ ... ]

---

Note:

- a. Probably a possessive adjective.

## FRAGMENT 19

Height: 1.8 cm

Width: 0.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 20

Height: 3.5 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... in/of the mouth [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] his [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 21

Height: 3.7 cm

Width: 2.1 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... field [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] labor(?) ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 22

Height: 1.5 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... fai]lure ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] open [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 23

Height: 2.5 cm

Width: 0.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 24

Height: 1.7 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] you[r ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... a wise man(?) [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 25

Height: 1.3 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 26

Height: 3.4 cm

Width: 0.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... th]e (one) wh[o ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] daughter(?) [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] Horus(?) [ ... ]
5. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 27

Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 1.4 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... a[ ... ]

Note:

- a.  is very uncertain.

## FRAGMENT 28

Height: 3.8 cm

Width: 1.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... seed ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] his [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 29

Height: 1.8 cm

Width: 2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] so as to take revenge on him for [ ... ]
2. [ ... He will] love him more than his [flesh(?) ... ]

This passage clearly refers to the master-servant relationship. Close parallels are in 2/15, 17, and 3/3, 11.

## FRAGMENT 30

Height: 3.7 cm

Width: 0.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] to cause ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 31

Height: 5 cm



Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] exists(?) disru[ption(?)<sup>a</sup> ... ]
2. [ ... ] wretched [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... empty [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... he him [ ... ]
5. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

---

Note:

- a. The signs may be , a variant writing of , "Störung" (Wb. 3, 383/14–20).

## FRAGMENT 32

Height: 3.5 cm

Width: 1.4 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... S]ia himself<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] the god in [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] land to ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Sia appears also in 4/4.

## FRAGMENT 33

Height: 2.1 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... before [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] the Ennead<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]

Note:

- a. The Ennead is mentioned in 1/10, 12.

## FRAGMENT 34

Height: 1.6 cm

Width: 0.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] your [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 35


Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... There exists not [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... before(?)<sup>a</sup> god ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. The preposition  does not occur elsewhere in the preserved text. The translation is uncertain.

## FRAGMENT 36

Height: 2.5 cm

Width: 0.6 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] abomina[tion ... ]

## FRAGMENT 37


Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 0.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... <sup>a</sup>[ ... ]

Note:

- a.  is presumably the same sign as in  , “granite” (2/6).

## FRAGMENT 38

Height: 1.8 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] saw(?)<sup>a</sup>[ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. I understand  to be  , “die Säge” (Wb. 5, 298/13–14).

## FRAGMENT 39

Height: 4.3 cm

Width: 2.0 cm

Translation:

1. they being(?) [ ... ]
2. Do not say [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 40

Height: 1.7 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... all, gather(?) [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 41

Height: 3.7 cm

Width: 2.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... Does not [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 42

Height: 3.9 cm

Width: 1.3 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... through the[m ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... give to him attention/concerning(?) [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] door-keeper<sup>a</sup> ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Compare  ,  , “Pförtner” (Wb. 1, 165/2).

## FRAGMENT 43

Height: 2.1 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... slau]ghter ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... the] Nine Bows<sup>a</sup> ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. *pd.t* 9 (Wb. 1, 570/6–7). I owe the reading to Professor Zauzich.

## FRAGMENT 44


Height: 3.2 cm

Width: 2.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... as(?) an elder(?) [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... nobles. There exists not(?) ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... one-in-the-middle<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Note the  determinative. Does this refer to a man of intermediate rank? One may also translate “concerning my heart.”

## FRAGMENT 45

Height: 5.4 cm

Width: 2.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... h]is deviation(?)<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... he/him his elder/chie[f ... ]
4. [ ... ] your [ ... ] bin[d ... ]
5. [ ... ] need ... [ ... ]
6. [ ... a wret]ch(?) his ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a. I have identified the word with , “Schwankung, Unregelmässigkeit” (*Wb.* 2, 225/10), but this is, of course, uncertain.

## FRAGMENT 46

Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 0.6 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] com[pensation(?) ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 47

Height: 2.5 cm

Width: 1.7 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... as a leader [ ... ]
3. [ ... sustena]nce [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 48

Height: 2.4 cm

Width: 1.7 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... gods ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... fill ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 49

Height: 5.0 cm

Width: 2.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... in the ha[nd ... ]
3. [ ... ] he ... [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] excellent ... [ ... ]
5. [ ... wre]tch ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 50

Height: 3.8 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... breadth ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] purity(?)<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

Note:

- a.  seems to be a writing of  <sup>wp</sup>, 'bw, "Reinigung" (Wb. 1, 175/13–20).

## FRAGMENT 51


Height: 4.2 cm

Width: 2.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... your mat[ter<sup>a</sup> ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... through(?) his work ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] They labor [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... he the stomach [ ... ]

Note:

- a. For , see above p. 61.

## FRAGMENT 52

Height: 2.4 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] for/to her [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] man [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 53

Height: 3.9 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... boun]dary(?) [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 54




Height: 0.9 cm

Width: 0.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... <sup>a</sup> [ ... ]

Note:

- a. Presumably either  or  , but I can quote no parallels with the  determinative.

## FRAGMENT 55

Height: 2.2 cm

Width: 1.5 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] respe[ct ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... of(?) ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 56

Height: 1.8 cm

Width: 0.6 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... la]nd(?) ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 57

Height: 0.6 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 58

Height: 1.0 cm

Width: 1.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 59



Height: 2.3 cm

Width: 1.4 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] Beware [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] you behind(?)<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]

Note:

- a.  may be a writing of the preposition , “hinter” (Wb. 3, 345/1–346/14), though other renderings are certainly possible.

## FRAGMENT 60

Height: 3.8 cm

Width: 1.9 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... Do not ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... the wretch [ ... ]
3. [ ... th]e crime [ ... ]
4. [ ... the da]y(?)<sup>a</sup> [on] which [ ... ]

Note:

- a.  may be a variant writing of  (cf. Wb. 2, 498).

## FRAGMENT 61

Height: 1.0 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... Horus [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 62

Height: 1.3 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 63

Height: 1.5 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 64

Height: 2.0 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] in the[m ... ]
2. [ ... ] susten[ance(?) ... ]

## FRAGMENT 65

Height: 1.3 cm

Width: 1.3 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... lov[e ... ]

## FRAGMENT 66

Height: 2.4 cm

Width: 0.6 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 67





Height: 2.7 cm

Width: 2.4 cm

Translation:

1. ... There exists not [ ... ]
2. fall<sup>a</sup> for(?) the maste[r ... ]
3. your heart so that he takes for you<sup>b</sup> [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

Notes:

- a.  may be , “fallen” (*Wb.* 3, 319–321/5), though it is not attested there with the  determinative.
- b. The sentence probably advocates a conscientious attitude towards work so that the master will reward you. I would restore , “to take the arm,” on the basis of the parallel in 4/6.

## FRAGMENT 68

Height: 2.5 cm

Width: 1.4 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] fields ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... ] to fare(?)<sup>a</sup> [ ... ]

Note:

- a. For  , compare 2/6.

## FRAGMENT 69

Height: 1.5 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... a [ ... ]

Note:

- a. The reading of this line is very uncertain.

## FRAGMENT 70

Height: 2.3 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... Do not(?) al[low(?) ... ]
2. [ ... ] all ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 71

Height: 1.3 cm

Width: 1.3 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] until ... [ ... ]

## FRAGMENT 72

Height: 1.2 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... for yo[u(?) ... ]
2. [ ... ] tak[e ... ]

FRAGMENT 73

Height: 0.5 cm

Width: 0.2 cm

Translation:

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]

THE FOLLOWING LOOSE FRAGMENTS ARE NOT INSCRIBED

FRAGMENT 74

Height: 2.1 cm

Width: 0.4 cm

FRAGMENT 75

Height: 4.0 cm

Width: 1.0 cm

FRAGMENT 76

Height: 2.2 cm

Width: 0.8 cm

FRAGMENT 77

Height: 3.0 cm

Width: 0.6 cm



## CHAPTER 10

### CONSECUTIVE TRANSLATION

#### COLUMN ONE

1. [ ... ] ... these happen [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] weighty of words. Everyone ... [ ... ]
3. [ ... fi]nd it like turquoise. There is no ... [ ... ]
4. [ ... ] ... life through working it, death through ... [ ... ]
5. [ ... ] in the southern half of the southern land ... [ ... ]
6. [ ... ] ... a Northerner(?) fares southwards to ... [ ... ]
7. [ ... ] ... he his boundaries ... established at(?) [ ... ]
8. [ ... ] concerning knowledge ... [ ... ] ... majesty
9. [ ... ] ... Ptah [ ... ] ... her/its mouth(?)
10. [ ... ] ... and gods ... [ ... ]. The Ennead gave to him
11. [ ... ] this entire land, the cities [ ... ] them ...
12. [ ... ] the temple of the Ennead [ ... s]un-disk
13. [ ... ] When one said to him (the) manner(?) [ ... ] this land before him
14. [ ... ] the Son of Ra, *W3ḥ-ib-R* came forth [ ... ] ... he gave to him the seat
15. [ ... ] ... among them [ ... ] throne of Horus governing
16. [ ... ] before everyone(?). Every ignorant man is (become?) as [ ... ] every form in accordance with (that of) a god.

#### COLUMN TWO

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] is in a foreign [land ... ] its lord [ ... ]
3. their ruler is he ... [ ... ] the(?) breath of [life ... ] their well is it ... [ ... ]
4. in it. He is hidden(?) [ ... ] since the time of its(?) [ ... ] upon it. They jubilate concerning this [ ... ]
5. in the course of every day. [They] repel them from it so as to prevent them from knowing its lay-out [ ... ]. They [made/built/surrounded(?)] all its paths with flint-stones, they being sharper than a [kn]ife, they being

6. wanting in water, they [being em]pty of food. Whoever fares upon their water is ship-  
[wrecked ... ] he cannot reach the edge/shore. He built for it a wall of granite
7. around it. Its ram[part]s are of flint, its double-door of tin, [its] door[-bolt of ... ].  
Whoever reaches there and transgresses its ground, [entering] into it so as to
8. trespass on it, he f[alls(?) ... ] place of his two feet. He will not return to his place (of  
origin) ... [ ... ] ... . The one who knows how to enter into it (finds it) like the horizon  
of heaven. *As for those whom*
9. Pre created, Pharaoh is their herds[man.] His speech is the seed of the bulls. Many(?)  
are the ... [ ... ] against the perverse ones. Are bulls perverse? Their herdsman
10. is the one who tames [them with the mou]th of his prod. Myriads of soldiers cannot  
se[ize th]em through robbery. They fall at the sight of a brave man.
11. As for him who is on the path [ ... ] reaches him when he sallies forth. He slaughters  
myriads [of soldiers.] Myriads of soldiers are leaderless. The brave man (is a) [leader]  
who fights
12. with the edge of his axe. [ A bra]ve man is a hound. His *sthꜣt* is a ... [ ... ] a wall of  
copper, while he looks out for(?) the one who [fights(?)] with him.
13. He fights, [while he(?) ... ]. He makes a slaughter, burn[ing with fi]re. A soldier is  
feeble, whose master is not with [him. (He is) a ch]ario-
14. -t, which has not a [kꜣ]šn. (He is) a transport ship, which has no [rudder(?) ... ].  
Place(?)] your master in your body that he may love you [ ... ] his health
15. through the gods, [ ... ] ... [ ... ] his household. The one who praises his master since  
[ ... ], he will love him more than his flesh, and he will [ give(?) to him rat]jions dai-
16. -ly on account of the love of [his master(?) ... ], and he will cause his men to work for  
him in accordance with their [ ... . (But as for) him who causes] his lord to be greatly  
troubled in his body, he (i.e., the master) looks to [ ... ]. His heart does not
17. rest until he exacts from him the compensation of that which he did to him. A noble  
lives (on) Truth. Falsehood is his abomination. He joins the blessed ones. He is
18. a companion of truth. The noble gives compensation to the one who causes his work to  
be excellent (and to) the one who causes his labor to be abundant. He will distinguish  
himself from the Friends on account of the abundance
19. of your activity for your master daily, so that he stretches out to you his hand with (the  
promise of) life. A chief who is cruel to him, however, is cruel to his men. As for the  
one who causes his affair(s) to
20. go badly, the god exacts compensation from him. (Even) if he spends the night being  
silent, it is to the god without need(?) that he speaks concerning your case(?). Beware

## COLUMN THREE

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] he suf[fers(?) ... ]
3. want, he being a master [ ... ] of exacting from him the compensation [ ... ]
4. the obstruction of [ ... ] the obstruction of his master [ ... ]. The
5. Fate knows well how to use its hand on account of it to punish [him.] There does not exist the one who can save him from it. [ ... ] Do
6. that which you said to him (that you would do.) Do not allow tomorrow to come, while his report is neglected. [ ... ] ... your
7. plea another time. A master (is) the like (of) the one who is happy with/for the [ ... ] every sort of misery in
8. existence, while his sustenance is not in his hand. A guilty man(?) gives his re[port(?) ... ] bend
9. his elbows before [ ... ] (he) sees him (the master?) ... . He is greedier than [ ... ] ... the Fate.
10. The one who is suffering under evil does not neglect(?) the god so that he begs for death. His [hea]rt is weak. He cannot raise himself. His life
11. is (that of) a dead [man(?) ... ]. Be trustworthy with your master. He will love [you(?) ... ]. Tremble (as though he were) as a vizier. Prepare yourself for a *t3yty*
12. *s3b*. Beware [ ... ] ... a vizier. Do not let there exist his obstruction. [ ... ] He is fearful when cursing more than fire.
13. The unruly man [ ... they place(?)] him in flames. He cannot ... [ ... ] his companion of yesterday suffers(?) [ ... ]
14. until he [ ... ] a Medjay ... [ ... ] a support(?) of the earth. The protection of the one
15. [for whom(?)] you will make [ ... ] a wise man from a stupid man there[in(?)]
16. because(?) [ ... a stupid m]an(?). He cannot finish [ ... ]
17. said by(?) a wise man [ ... ] with his mouth, and he completes the attaining of it, ... the matter is more precious(?) than a [ ... ]
18. hidden [ ... ] who hung up the heaven, while establishing the earth. Everything which has come into being comes into being through him. He did not ask(?)
19. his wise ones(?) ... [ ... h]is court of the gods who are with him, being one who loves truth, who hates falsehood, one without a fondness for
20. hatred [ ... ] ... who appointed Thoth as vizier. He performs for him every matter of the determinations of their mouths so that he comes forth in justification of voice
21. against the enemies who ... [ ... jud]ging between Pre and Apophis in the Exalted of Years. They did not withdraw their hearts from him.

## COLUMN FOUR

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] They do not give his proper[ty ... ] ... . They do not allow him to speak ... [ ... ] like a [ ... ] ...
3. [ ... h]e being wretched. It is (for?) the one who is [excellent(?)] that they act/speak, he working like a bee[ ... ] . He is the] best of the wise men ... [ ... ] to him
4. [ ... (He is)] like Sia, a perfect wise man, [a croco]dile to the thief, a Fate to the ev[il one,] a guardian poisonous(?) [sna]ke in the house of (his) lord [ ... ] superior
5. [ ... ha]nd over to him your (one) calf so that he may feed your (many) calves. You will find it a prosperous (way), there not being your finding obstruction therein. Let your chief know your
6. [excellence(?). Be at]tentive so that he relates to you everything which has happened to him and so that he determines for you in the future. The praises of [the] servant are from his mouth, while his heart
7. [is scornful(?) ... He] hastens towards the image(?)'of Fate daily. A barking domestic dog is the one who causes his master to be safe. His biting is that which is de-
8. [-spised(?) ... ] ... at the gate(?) of the house of his lord, being forgetful of the respect due him, he is in everybody's eye a thing which makes enmity. Love your household. Choose for yourself a multitudinous harem.
9. [ ... ] the earth being fit to be a male-nurse/tutor(?) (for) the offspring(?) of nobles. A good man(?) opens up his arms to every man. Are you more powerful
10. than your [ ... ]. The property of the just (man) does not perish. The robber does not bequeath to his son. A chief does not say that which concerns him. His ... is not able to
11. call out(?) [ ... ] ... the one who is unimportant after being great, the one who is great after being unimportant. The one who causes that god be disresp[ected] is the one who causes that fear of him be known to(?) the masses. The ones of
12. ... [ ... ] ... in accordance with the nature of wild beasts. One is born after another has died. One is old, another is young. Do not ever allow a great man to be evil.
13. [ ... ] you make a reproach(?) against(?) him, while he is standing in the [ ... ]. Collect for yourself property again and again ... [ ... ] ... . A ship, the crew of which is evil, it is shipwrecked.
14. ... [ ... ti]me, so that your enemies do not [ ... (?) ] over you so that you suffer ... you be frightened(?) ... [ ... ] ... his Medjay slaughters
15. ... [ ... ] ... repentance(?) (is) a physician (for) the he[art(?) ... ] granite, the snare
16. for/of the hearts [ ... ]. An obedient(?) [por]ter(?) is the one who draws water [ ... ]. An excellent [ma]ster is the one who ... [ ... ] the temple. An evil person is an

17. abomination (to his) master. Their condition of death [li]ves (in) wrong(ly) (acquired) property, they(?) having (even) consumed the sons (of the evil-doers). Prepare for the one who causes the [ ... ] to bear witness [ ... ]. He speaks in order to give of-
18. -fense. [Vio]lence to you (is the result of) an evil household. The mouth speaks one thing to one man, another to another. The one who shipwrecks himself is the one who sends [(for aid ?) ... ] ... the soldier. The one who
19. ... [ ... ] ... works the land. A laborer who is suffering under two sticks is happy with one. [ ... As for the one who trea]ds the earth with his two feet,
20. it is for him that the river has been established(?), while the fieldworker produces(?) (that) which makes his flesh comfortable so that [he(?)] asks for [ ... ] ... [ ... ] ... for the powerful ones(?)

## COLUMN FIVE

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] servant [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. [ ... ] collect it. Do not let [ ... wh]ile it is not (included ?) in the los[s(?) of] your property. [ ... ] complained/reported [ ... the] theft of(?) [ ... ]
3. [ ... the] palace, and he [ ... ] a policeman in/through the saying[ ... . If] they discover that you have stolen, they will [kil]l you. If they do not discover that you have stolen, sickness will be in
4. your flesh. As for the one who steals with his servant, he does not allow him to reach the Fate(?). He (the servant) is placed in the covert, he being festive in his [hea]rt, having stolen his (master's) property, and having
5. had sex with his (master's) wife before him, while he (the master) is silent. He does not speak. Do not make for yourself a master and a friend, lest you become as a dog who has no master and you perish between
6. them. That which your master [ ... ] ... abomination ... for him, you being(?) [ ... ] exceedingly concerning it. An evil man, silver and gold are his beloved. Is your master hateful? Reprove him!
7. (But) an abomination is the reproving of him(?) ... [ ... ] ... [ ... ]. Be silent! Do not reply! Do not praise until he recognizes the greatness/importance of that which you did for him. That which you hate to be done
8. to you, do not do it to another ... [ ... . Do] you know the day in which you (may) become wretched with every kind of obstruction (and) lasting rejection(?)? As for a heedful man who ... according to his word,
9. he bequeaths (to) his(?) ... [ ... no] evil(?) having reached him, while those who are greater than he bend to him with their shoulders. Be energetic so that your sustenance comes about. Do not be weak, lest you

10. founder. You should reach a foolish (son ?) so as to instruct him, (even) while your coffin is at the place of your two feet. You should support the son of your son. When he supports (others?) himself, so will he learn
11. the difficulty of supporting his [ ... ] concerning you, when you are old. An excellent servant (is ?) a miserable son. A wretch is he who singles out one (son) from another. A miserable
12. son (is) an abomination ... [ ... ] ... [an abomina]tion (in) his heart. (As for children,) their [fa]ther and their mother are their witnesses (before god) which belong to them. Is a brother
13. needy, he being [ ... ] death. If [a com]panion resolves(?) [any] matter of yours in the world, you should give to him a reward, it being
14. secret [ ... ] a companion. Does his(?) companion [ ... ] chatter(?) with unpleasant [ ... ] ... and (yet) does not betray your words which are private,
15. ... [ ... ] ... with the vagina (is ?) an excellent/fortunate woman. One unlucky/unhappy(?) with her vagina (is) the barren wife of the one who will(?) spend six months (of the year) hunting(?). The woman who reproves
16. their[ ... ]. As for a servant who is lacking his food of yesterday, he does not delay to disturb the heart of his master. He seeks whatever is distressing so as to do it to him in (?)
17. the [ ... ] ... through it. (As for) the staring of the two eyes(?), the one who gazes piercingly (with his) two eyes (at his) elder brother(?), his mother (or) [fath]er, he brings up against himself a blasphemous accusation. He protects himself from
18. [ ... ] ... the lazy one ... [ ... ] for you your two feet. He hurries when he wishes. If he is [ ... ] ... , he turns his back. If a pair of horses rushes behind him(?),

#### COLUMN SIX

1. [ ... ] ... [ ... ] ... [ ... ]
2. a leader [ ... ] ... it/him, so that he directs [ ... ] watering of fields [ ... ] ... There is no consumption [of pro]visions in the heart [of the leader(?). There is no wa]ste of the
3. seed [of the] virtuous ones. As for the one who digs d[yk]es(?) with his own hands, [he will] not [become] a have-not. (But) the [foo]l will not enter into the plans [of the wise man(?) ... ] ... Let [one] pro[tect(?) the]
4. produce. Dig a canal for your field so that the river may take to it the flow (in) its dykes, (and) so that it becomes like [a ?] well. The fields will
5. flourish(?) through(?) the work of two farmers in seed-time. The land will perish through the work of one in harvest-time, although the field is in good condition. Does a hoer

6. cease his work, the granaries being full of barley and emmer? The threshing floor will (thus) suffer a shortage. There is (then) no produce for the store-rooms. The nobles
7. are the ones whose hands will fill their bellies, while the ones who work the land starve to death in the low-lying fields. A field flourishes through
8. a cultivator, its ... and ... , they are the ones who cause it to be destroyed. The husband ... of a field is its farmer ...
9. creates for him produce and sustenance. A field (is) turquoise(?), a fair well for the one who knows its nature. (It is) fat for [him who] works it; granite for him who
10. plunders it. You should say: "My field is well supplied." when you give its farmer the equipment of his labor.
11. You plow, you being under the yoke. You reap, while you stumble along(?). Be prepared on the threshing floor of the granaries.
12. That which is lost is the offering of the weak ones. Make your feet hurry, while you look to(?) the cultivator(?). Provide for him(?), while you reap.
13. He who causes one to plow, he will(?) cause [another] to reap, and he will cause that they (both) suffer torments without cea[se ... ] the causing to make a ... [ ... ]
14. [ ... ] ... a farmer in a field annually, he is successful(?), an owner of silver, gold, cows, birds, granaries, every kind of small cattle (in) a [grea]t
15. Nile [ ... the] farmer (in a) small Nile, his heart will be joyful. As for a farmer who plows and reaps, without his having ... [ ... ]
16. he will e[xten]d(?) his hand like a lion. (He is) a man who draws water from a well, his vase being as a sieve, a farmer from year to year. He does
17. not have [a hand]ful of barley. (But) when he plants(?) (in) the Nile-mud, (then) he fills granaries with barley and emmer. The one who is (well) prepared cultivates, while causing to come forth
18. the (following) exclamations of the ignorant man: "The farmer is the chief of every occupation. For him do they work. His hands are their breath of life in [ ... ]



# GLOSSARY

## VOCABULARY

- ʒbd.w*, “months.” 5/15  
*ʒpd.w*, “birds.” 4/17 (or *sʒ.w*, “sons”). 6/14  
*ʒhʒ*, “sorrow, trouble.” 2/6(?), 3/7  
*ʒht*, “field.” 4/20, 6/2, 6/4  
*ʒh.w*, “excellent ones.” 6/3  
*ʒh.t*, “horizon.” 2/8  
*ʒhʒh*, verb, “flourish, become verdant.” 6/7  
*ʒs*, verb, “hurry.” 6/12  
*ʒq*, verb, “perish, be devastated, desolate.” 2/6 (restored), 3/6, 4/10, 5/5, 6/5, 6/8  
*ʒq*, noun, “loss, waste.” 6/2 (restored)  
*ʒt*, in the compound preposition *hr-ʒt*, “concerning.” 2/4 (*hr-ʒt=s*), 5/6 (*hr-ʒt=s*), 5/11 (*hr-ʒt=k*)  
*ʒd*, “need, want.” 3/3, 4/14, 5/8, 5/13 (spelled *iʒd.t*), 5/16, Frag. 45, 5  
*iʒw*, verb, “extend.” 6/16 (restored)  
*iʒw.t*, “occupation.” 6/18  
*iʒw*, verb, “be old.” 5/11 (*iʒw.t*)  
*iʒw.t*, noun, “elder, superior.” 4/4, 4/5, Frag. 44, 1(?), Frag. 45, 3(?)  
*iʒw.t*, “small cattle.” 6/14  
*iʒd.t*, “net.” (plural). 4/15–16  
*iʒd.t*, see *ʒd*  
*iw*, verb, “come.” 3/6, 4/6  
*iwiw*, “dog.” 2/12, 4/7, 5/5  
*iwf.w*, “flesh.” 2/15, 4/20, 5/4  
*iwty*, “without.” 2/11, 2/20, 3/19, 5/15, 6/3 (*iwty=f*), 6/13  
*iwd*, preposition, “between.” 5/5  
*ib*, “heart.” 1/14 (in *Wʒh-ib-r*), 6/2(?). See also *hry-ib*  
*ibi*[ ... ], meaning unknown. 4/10, Frag. 45, 5(?)

- ip*, “heedful man.” 5/8
- imḥw*, “venerated ones.” 2/17
- imw*, “ship.” 4/13
- in*, “appoint (literally, “bring”).” 3/20
- in-iw*, marker of interrogative. 2/9, 4/9 (*in-iw = k*), 5/6, 5/8 (*in-iw = k*, restored), 5/12, 5/13(?), 5/14 (*in* for *in-iw*?), 6/5, Frag. 1, 1
- in*, possibly negative particle (*bn ... in*). 3/8, 5/2(?)
- inw*, “nature, manner, character (literally, “color”).” 4/12
- inb*, “wall.” 2/6
- iry*, “companion.” 2/18, 4/9(?), 5/13, 5/14 (twice)
- ir*, “make.” 2/5 (restored), 2/6, 2/13, 2/14, 2/17, 2/18, 2/19, 3/3, 3/5, 3/15, 3/20, 4/3, 4/5, 4/8, 4/9, 4/13, 4/19, 5/5 (twice), 5/7 (twice), 5/15, 5/16, 6/6, 6/13 (three times), Frag. 8, 2(?)
- ir.t*, “eye.” 4/8, 5/17 (dual?)
- irm*, preposition, “together with.” 2/12, 2/13, 3/11, 3/19, 3/21, 5/4, 5/14
- ih*, “cows.” 6/14
- is.t*, “crew.” 4/13
- isfy*, “falsehood.” 2/17, 3/19, 4/13, 4/18
- isfy*, “false/evil one.” 4/16
- ikn*, “hoer(?)” 6/5
- it*, “father.” 5/12, 5/17
- it*, “barley.” 6/6, 6/17 (twice), Frag. 17, 1(?)
- itm*, “sun-disk.” 1/12 (partially restored)
- itrw*, “river.” 4/20, 6/4
- ith*, “draw (water).” 4/16, 6/16
- itḥy*, “thief.” 4/4
- yḥ*, “sickness.” 5/3
- ‘, “hand, arm.” 2/18, 2/20, 3/20 (in the compound *t-‘*), 4/6 (in the compound *t-‘*), 4/9 (*‘.wy* “two arms”), 6/2, 6/3 (*rḥ-‘.wy*), 6/12 (in the compound *sḥw-‘*, “weak-of-arm”), Frag. 42, 1 (in the compound preposition *m-‘*?)
- ‘, “area, region, side.” 5/10
- ‘, “condition.” 4/17 (*‘ n mwt*, “condition of death”)
- ʕ, noun, “great one,” “importance, significance.” 5/7, 5/9
- ʕ, adjective, “great.” 4/12, 6/15 (restored). See also *Pr-ʕ*
- ʕ, verb, “be great, old.” 4/11 (twice), 4/12
- ʕ, noun, “support, beam.” 3/14(?)

- ʕwy, “double-door.” 2/7  
 ʕ, “door-keeper.” Frag. 42, 3(?)  
 ʕw.t, “small cattle, beasts.” 4/12  
 ʕwʕ, verb, “reap.” 6/11, 6/12, 6/13, 6/15  
 ʕw, “purity.” Frag. 50, 2(?)  
 ʕp, divine name, “Apophis.” 3/21  
 ʕʕ, verb, “be greedy.” 3/9  
 ʕn, verb, “turn back, return.” 2/8  
 ʕn-smy, “report.” 3/6, 3/8(?), 5/2(?)  
 ʕnh, verb, “live.” 2/17, 4/17(?)  
 ʕnh, noun, “life.” 1/4, 2/9 ( ʕw.s.), 2/19, 3/10, 6/18  
 ʕrq.t(?), meaning unknown. 6/8  
 ʕʕ, verb, “stand up, delay.” 4/13, 5/16, 6/6, 6/13 (partially restored)  
 ʕh, verb, “hang, suspend.” 3/18  
 ʕš, meaning uncertain. 4/11  
 ʕš(ʕ)-shn, “matter, affair.” 2/20, 3/17, 3/20, 5/13, Frag. 51, 1(?)  
 ʕš.t, noun, “multitude.” 4/11(?)  
 ʕš, adjective, “abundant.” 4/8  
 ʕš, verb, “be much.” 2/9 (restored), 2/18  
 ʕq, verb, “enter.” 2/7 (restored), 2/8, 6/3  
 ʕq.w, “rations.” 2/6, 2/15 (restored)  
 ʕy, “transport-ship.” 2/14  
 ʕd, “shore, (other) side.” 2/6  
 ʕdw, “grease, fat.” 6/9  
 ʕdʕ, “sinner.” 3/8(?)  
 wʕ.t, “path.” 6/5(?)  
 Wʕh-ib-R ʕ, royal name. 1/14  
 wʕs, verb, “be wretched.” 4/3, Frag. 31, 2  
 wʕʕty, verb, “distinguish(?)” 2/18, 5/11  
 wʕ, “one.” 4/12 (four times), 4/19, 5/11 (twice), 6/5, 6/13, 6/14 (for wʕ.t)  
 wʕ, “curse.” 5/17  
 wʕ, verb, “curse.” 3/12  
 wbt, verb, “burn, annoy.” 5/16  
 wpt, verb, “separate.” 3/21

- wp.t*, noun, "work." 2/18, 6/5 (twice), 6/6, Frag. 51, 3(?)  
*wn*, verb, "open." Frag. 22, 2  
*wnm*, verb, "eat, consume." 4/17, 6/2(?)  
*wnmy.t*, "consuming fire." 3/13  
*wnn*, verb, "exist." Frag. 31, 1, Frag. 35, 1(?, *nn wn* [...])  
*wr*, verb, "be great." 2/16(?)  
*whꜣ*, noun, "wretch, failure." 5/15, Frag. 22, 1, Frag. 45, 6, Frag. 49, 5(?), Frag. 60, 2  
*whꜣ*, adjective, "wretched." 5/11, 5/12  
*whꜣ*, verb, "be wretched, cruel, fail." 2/19 (twice)  
*whwh*, verb, "bark." 4/7  
*whm*, "repeat." 4/13 (in the phrase *m whm sp-2*)  
*whꜣ*, verb, "seek." 5/16  
*wsf*, "lazy person." 5/18  
*wsr*, verb(?), "be strong, powerful." 4/9–10  
*wsh*, verb, "be broad." Frag. 50, 1(?)  
*wgg*, "lack, shortage, neglect." 6/6  
*wt*, "innermost coffin." 5/10  
*wtiꜣ*, see *wiꜣty*  
*wty-mn .t*, "foster-father, male nurse." 4/9(?)  
*wd(?)*, "destruction, evil(?)." 5/9  
*wdꜣ*, verb, "be well." 4/5, 4/7  
*bꜣ.w*, "power, strength." Frag. 3, 5  
*bꜣh*, in the compound preposition *m-bꜣh*, "before." 1/13, Frag. 33, 2  
*bꜣk*, "servant." 4/19, 5/4, 5/11, 5/16  
*bꜣk*, noun, "work, labor." 2/18, 6/10  
*bꜣk*, verb, "work." 1/4(?), 2/16, 4/3, 5/1(?), 5/18(?), 6/7, 6/9, 6/18, Frag. 5, 1(?), Frag. 21, 2(?),  
 Frag. 51, 3(?)  
*bi.t*, "bee." 4/3  
*bw*, "place." 1/2 (in the phrase *bw nb*, "everyone"), 1/16(?)  
*bw-rh=f*, "ignorant one." 6/18  
*bwꜣ.t*, "covert." 5/4  
*bw.t*, "abomination." 2/17, 4/16–17, 5/7, 5/12 (twice), Frag. 6, 2(?), Frag. 36, 2  
*bn*, writing of *mn*, "there exists not." 2/13  
*bn*, noun, "evil." 3/10  
*bn*, verb, "be evil." 4/12

- br*, verb, “to look(?)” or noun, “two eyes(?)” 5/17
- bḥs*, “calf.” 4/5
- bgʒ*, “be shipwrecked, founder.” 2/6, 3/13(?), 4/13, 4/18, 5/10
- bgy*, “be tired.” 3/11 (restored)
- bgs*, “unruly man.” 3/13
- btʒ*, “crime.” Frag. 60, 3
- bty*, “emmer.” 6/6, 6/17
- p.t*, “heaven.” 2/8, 3/18
- pwr*, verb, meaning unknown. 5/8
- pr*, “house.” 2/15, 4/4, 4/8 (twice), 4/18, 5/3 (in compound *pr-nswt*, “royal house”), 5/3 (in the compound *sʒ-pr*)
- pr-ʒ*, “pharaoh.” 2/9
- pr*, verb, “come forth.” 1/14, 2/11, 3/20, 5/14
- pr.t*, “winter, seed-time.” 6/5
- pr.t*, “seed.” 6/3, Frag. 28, 1
- prḥ*, verb, “spread out, unfold, resolve(?)” 5/13
- ph*, verb, “reach.” 2/6, 2/7, 2/11, 3/17, 4/10, 5/4, 5/9, 5/10
- phy*, “hinter-parts.” 5/18
- psd.t*, “Ennead.” 1/10, 1/12, Frag. 33, 3
- pgʒ*, verb, “open.” 4/9
- Pth*, divine name, “Ptah.” 1/9
- pd.t*, “the Nine Bows.” Frag. 43, 2
- m*, preposition, “in, from, through, as.” 1/5, 1/11(*n?*), 1/13(?), 1/13 (in the compound conjunction *m-ḏr*), 1/13 (in the compound preposition *m-bʒḥ*), 1/15 (*im=sn*), 1/16, 2/2 (*n?*), 2/4 (*im=s*), 2/5 (*m-ḥr.t hrw nt rʿnb*), 2/5 (*n*, twice), 2/6(*n*), 2/7 (in the compound preposition *m-ḏr*), 2/7 (*m*, twice), 2/7 (*n-im=w*), 2/10 (*n*, twice), 2/12 (*n*), 2/13 (restored), 2/15 (in the compound preposition *n-tʒy[?]*), 2/15 (*n*), 2/15–16 (in the compound (*m*)-*mnw*), 2/17 (*n*), 2/19 (in the compound *m-mnw*), 3/3 (*n?*), 3/5 (*n-im=f*), 3/5 (in the compound preposition *n-ḏr.t=f*), 3/7 (*n*, twice), 3/8, 3/9 (in the compound preposition *n-ḥʒw*), 3/11 (*n*), 3/11, 3/12, 3/13 (*n*), 3/15 (*n-i[m ... ]*), 3/17 (*n*, twice), 3/18 (*n-im=f*), 3/20 (*n*), 3/20 (*m*), 3/21 (*n*), 4/4 (*n[?]*), 4/5 (*im=f*), 4/6 (in *n-iw*), 4/6(*n*, twice), 4/7, 4/7 (*n* marker of direct object[?]), 4/7 (in the compound *m-mnw*), 4/8 (*n*), 4/9 (*n*), 4/11 (in the compound preposition *m-sʒ*, twice), 4/11 (*n*), 4/13 (*n*), 4/13 (in the compound *m-wḥm*), 4/14(?), 4/14 (*n-im=k*), 4/18 (*n*), 4/19 (*n*, twice), 5/2 (*n*), 5/3 (*n*), 5/3, 5/4 (*n*, twice), 5/6 (in *m-šs*), 5/8 (*n*, marker of direct object[?]), 5/8 (*n*), 5/9 (*n*), 5/10 (*n*), 5/13 (*n*), 5/15 (*n[?]*), 5/15 (*n[?]*), 5/16 (*n[?]*), 5/17 (*n-im=f*), 5/17, 5/18 (*n-ḥ.t=f* written for the compound preposition *m-ḥt=f[?]*), 6/2 (*n*), 6/3 (in the compound *m-rʒ-ʿwy=f*), 6/3 (twice), 6/5 (*n*), 6/6, 6/7 (*n*), 6/10

- (*n*), 6/14 (*n*, twice), 6/16 (*n*, three times), 6/17 (*n*), 6/18 (*n*), 6/18, Frag. 20, 1(?), Frag. 32, 2, Frag. 33, 2 (in the compound preposition *m-bꜣh*), Frag. 42, 1 (in the compound preposition *m-ꜥ*), Frag. 44, 1, Frag. 47, 2, Frag. 49, 2, Frag. 59, 3 (*n*?), Frag. 64, 1 (*im = sn*)
- m-ꜥ*, compound preposition, "concerning, on account of." 2/18, 2/20, Frag. 42, 1(?)
- m-di*, compound preposition, "in the hand of." 2/14 (*mn [m-di = s]*), 3/11. Compare also *mn m-di*, negative possession under the grammatical elements
- mꜣꜣ*, verb, "see." 3/9(?)
- mꜣy*, "lion." 6/16
- mꜣꜥ.t*, "truth." 2/17 (perhaps *n mꜣꜥ.t*, "in truth, truly"), 2/18, 3/19, 4/10
- mꜣꜥ-hrw*, "triumph, justified of voice." 3/20
- mꜣt*, "granite." 2/6–7, 4/15, 6/9
- mi*, preposition, "like, as." 1/3, 6/5(?). See also *mi- qd* under *qd*
- mi.t*, "way." 2/5, 2/11, 6/5(?)
- miḃ.t*, "axe." 2/12
- miṯ.t*, "likeness." 3/7(?)
- mꜥr*, verb, "be successful, happy." 3/7, 4/19, 6/5(?)
- mw*, "water." 2/6 (twice), 6/4, 6/16
- mw.t*, "mother." 5/12, 5/17
- mw.t*, noun, "death." 1/4, 3/10
- mw.t*, verb, "die." 4/12, 4/17, 5/13, 6/7
- mfky*, "turquoise." 1/3, 6/9(?)
- mn*, verb, "endure, be lasting, be established." 1/7(?), 5/8
- mn*, verb, "there exists not." 2/13 (written *bn*), 2/14 (twice), 3/5(?), 4/5, 6/6, 6/15 (in the compound *mn mtw*), Frag. 67, 1(?). Compare also *nn* and *bn*
- mnw*, "daily." 2/15–16 (probably (*n*) *mnw*), 2/19 (*m-mnw*), 4/7 (*m-mnw*)
- mnṯw*, "herdsman." 2/9, 2/9–10
- mnꜥ.t*, "nurse." In the compound *wty-mnꜥ.t*, "male-nurse." 4/9
- mnḥ*, adjective, "excellent." 4/16, 5/11, 5/15, Frag. 2, 1(?), Frag. 49, 4(?)
- mnḥ*, verb, "be excellent." 2/18
- mnq*, verb, "be complete, perfect." 3/16, 3/17, 4/4
- mr*, noun, "love." 2/16
- mr.t*, noun, "love." 2/14 (in the phrase *ir tꜣy = k mr.t*)
- mr.tw*, noun, "beloved." 5/6
- mr*, verb, "love, desire." 2/15, 3/11, 3/19 (twice), 4/8, 5/18, Frag. 29, 2, Frag. 65, 2(?)
- m-rḥ-ḥt*, "knowledge(?)." 1/8

- mrqbd*, “chariot.” 2/13–14 (restored)
- mḥ*, verb, “fill.” 6/6, 6/7, 6/17, Frag. 48, 2(?)
- mḥ.ty*, “Northerner.” 1/6(?)
- ms*, verb, “bear.” 4/12, 5/15, 6/9
- msh*, noun, “crocodile.” 4/4(?)
- msdd*, noun, “hatred.” 3/20 (uncertain)
- msd*, verb, “hate.” 3/19, 5/6, 5/7
- mšʿ*, noun, “soldier.” 2/10, 2/11 (twice, once restored), 2/13, 4/18
- mšʿ*, verb, “go, travel.” 6/12 (with the meaning “go astray”)
- mq* [ ... ], verb, meaning uncertain, perhaps *mqḥ*, “grieve” or “neglect.” 3/2(?), 3/10(?)
- mt.t*, “seed.” 2/9
- mtw.t*, “poison(ous).” 4/4(?)
- mtr*, verb, “instruct, be witness.” 4/17, 5/10
- mtr.w*, “witnesses.” 5/12
- md.t*, noun, “speech, word, thing.” 1/2, 4/3, 5/8, 5/14
- md*, verb, “speak.” 2/9, 2/20, 4/2, 4/17, 4/18, 5/5
- mdʒy*, noun, “Medjay, policeman, soldier.” 3/14, 4/14
- n*, genitival adjective. 2/3, 2/8(?), 2/9, 2/10(?), 2/10, 2/11 (twice), 2/12 (twice), 2/16, 2/17, 2/18, 2/19, 2/20 (or dative *n*), 3/3, 3/4 (twice), 3/7, 3/13, 3/14, 3/19, 3/20, 3/21, 4/3, 4/4 (or *n*, “in”), 4/7, 4/8 (twice), 4/9, 4/11(?), 4/12, 4/15(?), 4/16(?), 4/17, 5/2(?), 5/7, 5/8, 5/10 (twice), 5/15 (four times, but all may not be genitive), 5/16, 5/17(?), 6/5, 6/10, 6/11, 6/12, 6/16(?), 6/18 (three times), Frag. 7, 2, Frag. 9, 1(?), Frag. 14, 2, Frag. 55, 2(?)
- n.t*, feminine genitival adjective. 2/5, 2/8
- n*, preposition, “to, for.”
- n*: 1/4 (twice?), 2/12, 2/15(?), 2/18, 2/19 (twice), 2/20(?), 3/3(?), 4/4 (twice), 4/10, 4/16(?), 4/18, 5/8, 5/15 (twice?), 5/16, 6/4, 6/6, 6/7, 6/9 (three times), Frag. 7, 1(?), Frag. 67, 2(?)
- n=k*: 2/19, 4/6 (twice), 4/8, 4/13, 5/5, 5/8, 5/18, Frag. 67, 3, Frag. 72, 1(?)
- n=f*: 1/10, 1/13, 1/14, 2/15(restored), 2/16, 2/17 (twice), 2/19, 2/20, 3/3, 3/6, 3/20, 4/3, 4/5, 4/20, 5/6, 5/7, 5/9, 5/13, 5/16, 5/17, 6/4, 6/9, 6/12(?), 6/18, Frag. 5, 3, Frag. 29, 1, Frag. 42, 2
- n=s*: 2/6, Frag. 52, 2(?)
- n=w*: 5/12
- n*, as a writing of *m*, see under *m*
- nʒw*, “hunter(?), member of desert patrol(?)” 5/15
- nʒhʒ*, verb, “lack.” 2/6(?)

*nw*, verb, "see." 2/10, 2/12, 2/16, 6/12

*nw.wt*, "towns." 1/11

*nwd.t*, "deviation." Frag. 45, 2(?)

*nb*, "lord, master." 2/2, 2/13, 2/14, 2/15, 2/16, 2/19, 3/3, 3/4, 4/4, 4/7, 4/8, 4/16, 4/17, 5/5, 5/16, 6/14, Frag. 67, 2(?)

*nb*, determiner. "every, all." 1/2 (in *bw nb*, "everyone"), 1/16 (twice), 2/5, 2/6, 2/7, 3/7, 3/18, 3/20, 4/8, 4/9, 4/16, 5/8, 5/16, 6/14, 6/18, Frag. 1, 1, Frag. 70, 2(?)

*nbw*, "gold." 5/6, 6/14

*nfr*, adjective, "good." 4/9

*nfr*, verb, "be good." 6/9(?)

*nm*, interrogative pronoun, "who." Frag. 12, 2

*nn*, negation. 1/3 (in uncertain context), 2/8 (followed by *sḏm=f*), 6/2 (followed by infinitive?), 6/2 (followed by infinitive, "there exists not"?), 6/3 (twice, followed by *sḏm=f*), Frag. 35, 1, Frag. 44, 2. Compare *mn* and *bn*

*nhm*, verb, "jubilate." 2/4

*nhb*, noun, "yoke." 6/11

*nhb*, verb, "provide." 6/12(?)

*nhm*, verb, "rescue." 3/5, Frag. 16, 2

*nhṯ*, verb, "ask, consult." 3/18(?)

*nhṯ*, verb, "be trusting." 3/11

*nhb*, verb, "assign." 4/20(?)

*nhṯ.t*, noun, "victory, strength, success." 3/14

*nhṯ.w*, noun, "strong ones(?)." 4/20

*nhṯ*, verb, "be strong, successful." 6/14

*ns.t*, noun, "throne." 1/14

*nswt*, "king." 5/3 (in the compound *pr-nswt*, "palace")

*nqr*, noun, "sieve." 6/16

*nk*, verb, "have sex with." 5/5

*nkt*, "property." 2/20, 4/2, 4/10, 5/2, 5/4, Frag. 7, 1

*nt*, "water, cistern(?)." 6/4(?)

*ntr*, "god." 1/12, 1/16, 2/20 (twice), 3/10, 4/11, Frag. 7, 2, Frag. 32, 2, Frag. 35, 2.

*ntr.w* (plural form). 1/10, 2/15, 3/19, Frag. 48, 1

*nd*, meaning uncertain. Frag. 32, 3

*ndm*, verb, "be pleasant, happy." 4/20, 6/15

*r*, preposition, "to, against."

- r* : 1/6, 1/7, 2/5, 2/6, 2/7, 2/8, 2/15, 2/18, 3/5, 3/11, 3/15, 3/21, 4/6, 4/7, 4/9, 4/10(?), 4/12, 4/17 (twice), 4/20, 5/8, 5/10, 5/11, 5/16, 5/17, Frag. 10, 2, Frag. 13, 1, Frag. 29, 1, Frag. 29, 2, Frag. 49, 3
- r-r=f* : 3/21 (*r-hr=f*), 4/13(?), 5/9 (*r=f*)
- r-r=s* : 2/5, 2/7, 2/8
- rʒ*, “mouth.” 1/9(?), 2/10 (restored), 2/12, 3/17, 3/20, 4/6, 4/18, Frag. 8, 2(?), Frag. 20, 1(?)
- rʒ*, “statement.” 6/18(?), Frag. 9, 1(?)
- rʒ*, “door, gate.” 4/8(?)
- rʒ-wy*, expression for the two arms. 6/3
- Rʿ*, divine name, “Ra.” 1/14 (in the compound *sʒ-Rʿ*), 1/14 (in *Wʒh-ib-Rʿ*), 2/9, 3/21
- rʿ*, “day.” 2/5
- rmt*, “man.” 1/16, 2/12(?), 2/16 (plural), 2/19, 3/15 (? , twice), 3/17(?), 4/3, 4/4, 4/9, 4/12, 6/16, Frag. 24, 2, Frag. 52, 3
- rnp.t*, “year.” 3/21, 6/14 (plural), 6/16 (in the phrase *n rnp.t sp-2*)
- rnn.t*, translation uncertain, “nurse.” Frag. 3, 3
- rḥ*, noun, “wise ones.” 3/19(?)
- rḥ*, adjective, “wise.” 3/15, 3/17, 4/3, 4/4, 6/3 (restored), Frag. 24, 2
- rḥ*, verb, “know, be able.” 2/5, 2/8, 4/5, 4/11, 5/7, 5/8, 5/10, 6/9. See also *m-rḥ-ḥt*
- rs*, “tomorrow.” 3/6(?)
- rsy*, adjective, “southern.” 1/5
- rkw*, “time.” 2/4
- rgʒ*, verb, “hide.” 3/18(?)
- rd.wy*, noun, “(two) feet.” 2/8, 4/19, 5/10, 5/18, 6/5(?), 6/12
- (*r*)*dī*, verb, “give, place, cause.” 1/10, 1/14, 2/5, 2/15 (restored), 2/16, 2/18 (three times), 2/19, 3/6, 3/8, 3/12, 4/2 (twice), 4/7, 4/11 (twice), 4/12, 4/13, 4/17 (twice), 4/20, 5/2, 5/4 (twice), 5/13, 6/8, 6/13 (four times), 6/17, Frag. 10, 1, Frag. 30, 1, Frag. 42, 2, Frag. 70, 1(?)
- [*h*]*ʒ*, “day.” Frag. 60, 4 (spelling of *hrw*?)
- hʒ*, verb, “fall.” 2/8 (restored)
- hʒy*, noun, “husband.” 6/8
- hʒb*, verb, “send.” 4/18
- hwš*, verb, “insult, damage, offend.” 2/19–20, 4/17–18
- hrw*, “day.” 2/5
- hdp*, verb, “fall.” 2/10
- ḥ.t-ntr*, “temple.” 1/12, 4/16(?)
- ḥʒw*, noun, “off-spring(?)” 4/9

*ḥꜣw*, noun, "abundance." 2/18

*ḥꜣw*, in the compound preposition *n ḥꜣw (r)*, "more than." 1/11(?), 2/5, 3/9, 3/12, 3/17

*ḥꜣp*, verb, "hide." 2/4, 5/14 (twice)

*ḥꜣq*, verb, "destroy, plunder." 6/10

*ḥꜣt*, "heart." 2/17, 3/10(?), 3/21, 4/6 (twice), 4/15, 4/16, 5/4 (restored), 5/12, 5/16, 6/15, Frag. 67, 3

*ḥꜣw*, noun, "flow." 6/4

*ḥꜣw*, "body, self." 2/19, 5/10, Frag. 32, 1

*Ḥꜣpy*, "inundation." 6/14, 6/15

*ḥw*, verb, "strike." 4/19(?)

*ḥwr ꜣ*, noun, "robbery." 2/10

*ḥwr ꜣ*, noun, "robber." 4/10

*ḥwty*, noun, "cultivator." 6/5, 6/8, 6/10, 6/14, 6/15 (twice), 6/16, 6/18

*ḥb*, "festival." 5/4

*ḥf*, "snake." 4/4 (partially restored)


*ḥm*, "majesty." 1/8

*ḥm.t*, "wife." 5/5, 5/15

*ḥmw*, noun, "rudder." 2/14 (restored)

*ḥmt*, "copper." 2/12

*ḥn*, "canal." 6/4

*ḥn ꜣ*, preposition, "and, together with." 1/10, 5/12 (written )

*Ḥr*, divine name, "Horus." 1/15, Frag. 26, 4(?), Frag. 61, 1

*ḥr*, preposition, "on, concerning." 1/8, 1/15 (followed by infinitive), 2/4, 2/7 (followed by infinitive), 2/11, 3/12 (followed by infinitive?), 3/13 (followed by infinitive?), 5/4, 6/11, Frag. 29, 1. In the compound preposition *i-ḥr-ḥr*: 4/6, 5/5. In the compound preposition *ḥr-ꜣt*, "concerning." 2/4, 5/6, 5/11. In the compound preposition *ḥft-ḥr*, "before." 1/16, 3/9

*ḥr*, verb, "be ready, prepared." 3/11, 4/17, 6/11, Frag. 59, 2(?)

*ḥr*, verb, "be fearful, afraid." 4/14

*ḥr*, noun, "face." Frag. 42, 2(?)

*ḥry*, "master." 2/19, 3/7, 3/11, 4/10, 5/5, 5/6, 6/18

*ḥry-ib*, person of middle rank(?). Frag. 44, 3


*ḥḥ*, "multitude." 2/10, 2/11 (twice)

*ḥs*, verb, "praise." 5/7

*ḥqꜣ*, "ruler." 2/3

*ḥqꜣ*, verb, "rule." Frag. 3, 4(?)

- ḥq(r)*, noun, "hunger." 6/7  
*ḥtr*, noun, "yoke, pair of horses." 5/18  
*ḥd*, "silver." 5/6, 6/14  
*ḥ.t*, noun, "fire." 2/13(?), 3/12  
*ḥ.t*, noun, "thing, property." 2/19, 4/8, 4/13, 4/17, Frag. 4, 2(?). See also *m-rḥ-ḥ.t*, "knowledge"  
*ḥʕ*, verb, "place, thrust." 5/18  
*ḥʕb*, verb, "bend, bow." 3/8, 5/9  
*ḥʕnty*, noun, meaning unknown. 6/8  
*ḥʕs.t*, noun, "foreign land, desert." 2/2 (partially restored)  
*ḥwʕ*, verb, "protect." 5/17, 6/3(?), Frag. 13, 1  
*ḥbs*, type of field. 6/4  
*ḥpr*, noun, "form." 1/16  
*ḥpr*, verb, "become, happen." 1/1(?), 3/8, 3/12, 3/16, 3/18 (twice), 4/6, 5/8, 5/9, 5/12, 6/4, 6/6  
*ḥft*, in the compound preposition (*r-*)-*ḥft-ḥr*, "before, at the same time as." 1/16, 3/9. Absolute, "in accordance with." 1/16  
*ḥfty*, noun, "enemies." 3/21  
*ḥm*, "ignorant man." 1/16  
*ḥni*, "harem woman." 4/8  
*ḥnw*, "abomination, disgraceful accusation." 5/17  
*ḥnn*, "disruption." Frag. 31, 1(?)  
*ḥnš*, noun, "perverse (ones)." 2/9  
*ḥnš*, verb, "be perverse, stink." 2/9  
*ḥnt*, "southern." 1/5  
*ḥnt*, verb, "sail up-stream." 1/6  
*ḥr*, noun, "low-lying land." 6/7(?)  
*ḥr*, preposition, "before." Frag. 35, 2(?)  
*ḥr*, noun, "servant." 4/6  
*ḥr*, verb, "fall." Frag. 67, 2(?)  
*ḥry.w*, noun, "enemies." 4/14  
*ḥrw*, "voice." See under *mʕ-ḥrw*  
*ḥšf*, verb, "oppose, reply." 5/7  
*ḥtyw*, noun, "threshing-floor." 6/6, 6/11  
*ḥt*, in the compound preposition *m-ḥt*. 5/18 (written *n-ḥt?*), Frag. 59, 3(?)  
*ḥ.t*, "belly, stomach." 2/14, 2/16, 5/18 (in corrupt writing of *m-ḥt?*), 6/7, Frag. 51, 4  
*ḥʕ[ ... ]*, "evil one(?)." 4/4

- hn*, noun, "companion." 3/13  
*hn*, verb, "navigate, sail." 2/6, Frag. 68, 3(?)  
*hn*, preposition, "in." 2/14, 2/16  
*hnm.t*, "spring, well." 2/3, 6/9, 6/16  
*hr*, preposition, "under, with." 2/19, 3/10, 4/19, 5/14 (written , 6/11  
*hr.t*, "rations, food." 2/5 (in the phrase *m hr.t hrw n.t r' nb*, "in the course of every day"), 3/8, 5/9, 5/16, Frag. 64, 2(?)  
*hrd*, "child, son." 4/10, 5/10, 5/11 (twice, or *šr*?)  
*hs*, noun, "weak one. wretch." 2/13, 5/11  
*hs*, verb, "be weak, wretched." 3/10, 5/9, Frag. 8, 1  
*s.t*, "seat, place." 1/15, 2/8 (twice)  
*sʒ*, "son." 1/14, 4/17  
*sʒ.t*, "daughter." Frag. 26, 3(?)  
*sʒ-pr*, "policeman." 5/3  
*sʒ*, "back." In the compound preposition *m-sʒ*. 4/11 (twice)  
*sʒw.ty*, noun, "guardian." 4/4  
*sʒw*, verb, "beware, guard." 2/20, 3/12(?), Frag. 11, 1  
*sʒw*, "weak." In the phrase *sʒw-ʿ*, "weak-of-arm." 6/12  
*sʒb*, noun, "judge." 3/12  
*sʒh-t ʒ*, "neighbor." 5/5  
*sʒt*, "ground, earth." 2/7  
*Siʒ*, divine name, "Sia." 4/4, Frag. 32, 1  
*sʿnh*, verb, "nourish, sustain." 4/5, 4/7, 5/10 (twice), 5/11  
*sʿhʿ*, verb, "cause to stand, reprove." 5/6, 5/7, 5/15, 5/17  
*swnw*, "doctor." 4/15  
*swg*, "foolish, stupid man." 3/15, 3/16 (restored), 5/10  
*swd*, verb, "bequeath." 4/10, 5/9  
*sbiw*, "enmity." 4/8  
*sbty*, "rampart." 2/12  
*sp*, "time, occasion." 3/7  
*sp-2*, "twice." 4/12, 4/13, 5/6, 6/16  
*sf*, "knife." 2/5  
*sf*, "yesterday." 3/13, 5/16  
*smʒ*, verb, "slaughter." 2/11, 4/14–15  
*smʒy.w*, "companions." Frag. 14, 1(?)

- smy*, noun, "complaint, report." 3/6 (in the compound 'n- *smy*), 3/6–7, 5/2(?)
- smn*, verb, "establish." 3/18
- smr*, title, "Friend." 2/18
- smsw*, adjective, "eldest." 5/17(?)
- sn*, "brother." 5/12, 5/17(?)
- sny*, verb, "pass by, transgress." 2/7
- snb*, noun, "health, well-being." 2/14–15
- snb*, verb, "be well, in good condition." 6/5
- snh*, verb, "bind." Frag. 45, 4(?)
- sntt*, noun, "plan." 2/5
- snd.t*, noun, "fear, respect." 4/8
- sr*, noun, "noble." 2/17, 2/18(?), 4/9, 5/17, 6/6–7 (plural), Frag. 44, 2
- s-ḥm.t*, "woman." 5/15
- shn*, see ṣ(ʒ)-*shn*
- shn*, verb, "outfit, supply, commit." 4/5(?), 6/10, 6/17
- sh.t*, noun, "field." 6/5 (twice), 6/7, 6/8, 6/9, 6/10, 6/14, Frag. 21, 1, Frag. 68, 2
- sh.ty*, noun, "peasant." 6/8
- shm*, verb, "forget." 4/8
- shm*, "image." 4/7
- shm*, in the adjective-verb *nʒ-shm*, "be grim." 3/12
- shr.w*, noun, "plans." 6/3
- shs*, verb, "run, hurry." 4/7, 5/18 (twice)
- shd*, noun, "obstruction." 3/4 (twice), 3/12, 4/5, 5/8
- ssiw*, verb, "cause to drink (of fields)." 6/2
- ssw*, "time." 5/8
- sšm*, noun, "leader." 6/2
- sšm*, verb, "lead, guide, direct, govern." 1/15, 6/2 (in the compound *sšm-* 'direct the arm')
- skʒ*, verb, "plow, cultivate." 6/11, 6/12, 6/13, 6/15, 6/17
- stʒ*, verb, "withdraw." 3/21
- stb*[ ... ], verb, "equip." 6/10(?)
- stp*, noun, "choice, select, best." 4/3
- stp*, verb, "choose." 4/8
- stht.w*, noun, meaning unknown. 2/12
- sdb.w*, noun, "chewings." 4/7

- sdd*, verb, "tremble." 3/11  
*sḏm*, verb, "hear, be obedient" 4/16  
*sḏr*, verb, "spend the night." 2/20  
*sḏd*, verb, "relate, narrate." 4/6  
*šḏ*, noun, "be worthy, fitting." 4/9  
*šḏw*, divine name, "Fate." 3/5, 3/9, 4/4, 4/7, 5/4(?)  
*šḏbd*, noun, "stick, staff." 4/19  
*šḏš*, verb, "to miss." Frag. 10, 2  
*š'd*, noun, "slaughter." 2/13  
*š'd*, verb, "to cut." 4/15 (in the phrase *š'd-ḥḏt*, "repentance"?), 5/3(?), Frag. 43, 1(?)  
*šw*, "empty." Frag. 31, 3(?)  
*šb*, noun, "recompense, reward." 2/18, 5/13  
*šb[ ... ]*, meaning uncertain. 5/8, Frag. 15, 2/2  
*šbn*, verb, "mingle with." 2/17  
*špss*, verb, "be precious." 3/17(?). Possibly the adjective-verb form *nḏ-špss*.  
*šfe.t*, noun, "respect." 4/11, Frag. 55, 1(?)  
*šm*, noun, "vase." 6/16  
*šmw*, noun, "harvest-time, summer." 6/5 (partially restored)  
*šm*, verb, "to go." 6/17. Possibly in the compound (*r*)*dī šmm*, "grow, plant." 6/17  
*šn*, verb, "question." Frag. 9, 1(?)  
*šn'*, noun, "store-house." 6/6  
*šn'*, noun, "rejection." 5/8(?)  
*šn'*, verb, "repel." 2/5  
*šnw.t*, "granary." 6/6, 6/11, 6/14, 6/17  
*šrīw*, adjective, "small." 6/15  
*šrīw*, verb, "be small, unimportant, young." 4/11 (twice), 4/12  
*šs*, in the compound *m-šs*, "very, truly." 5/6  
*šd*, verb, "dig." 6/3, 6/4  
*qḏ*, adjective, "high." 3/21 (probably mistake for *ḥḥ* in *ḥḥ n rnpw.t*, "Myriads of years," the sun-bark)  
*qḏy*, noun, "form, manner, nature." 6/9  
*q'h*, noun, "elbow." 3/9, 5/9  
*qm*, see under *gm*, "find"  
*qmḏ*, verb, "create" or noun, "creations." 2/8  
*qnw*, noun, "brave man, champion." 2/10, 2/11, 2/12

- qnb*, verb, "subjugate." 2/10  
*qnqn*, verb, "beat, strike, fight." 2/11, 2/12 (restored), 2/13  
*qr*, see under *gr*, "be silent"  
*qr.t*, "lock, bolt." 2/7 (partially restored)  
*qh*, noun, "Nile-earth, mud." 6/17  
*qsn*, noun, "difficulty, vexation." 2/16 (possibly a verb), 5/11  
*qsn*, adjective, "painful, difficult." 5/14  
*qsn*, in the adjective-verb form *n³-qsn*. 5/16  
*qd*, noun, "manner, nature. form." 1/13. In the compound preposition *mi-qd*, "like." 2/8, 2/16(?), 4/2, 4/3, 4/4, 6/4, 6/16  
*k³*, "ka." 5/12(?)  
*k³*, "bull." 2/9 (twice)  
*k³.t*, "vagina." 5/15 (twice?)  
*k³.t*, "produce." 6/3–4 (restored), 6/6, 6/9, Frag. 5, 3  
*k³w.ty*, "porter." 4/16 (restored)  
*k³šn*, part of a chariot. 2/14 (partially restored)  
*k k ʿ*, verb, "chatter(?)." 5/14  
*ky*, "another." 3/7, 4/18 (twice), 5/8, 6/13 (partially restored)  
*g³w*, adjective, "hateful." 4/7–8 (partially restored)  
*gm*, verb, "find." 1/3 (partially restored), 3/5 (written *qm*), 4/5 (written *qm*, twice), 5/3 (written *qm*, twice)  
*gns*, "violence." 4/18 (restored)  
*gr*, verb, "be silent, rest." 2/17 (written *qr*), 2/20(?), 5/5, 5/7  
*grg*, noun, "equipment." 6/10  
*grg*, verb, "equip, establish." 4/20 (or noun?)  
*gs*, "side, area." 1/5(?)  
*t³*, "earth." 1/5, 1/11, 1/13, 3/14, 3/18, 4/9, 4/19 (twice), 5/13, 6/7, Frag. 14, 2, Frag. 32, 3, Frag. 56, 2. See also *s³h-t³*, "neighbor"  
*t³yty*, title. 3/11  
*twt*, verb, "gather, collect." 4/13(?), 5/2(?), Frag. 40, 1(?)  
*tp*, noun, "head." In the compound *tp-(n)-i³w.t*, "head of cattle." 6/14  
*tf*, noun, "saw." Frag. 38, 2  
*tm*, negative verb. 2/5, 4/14, 5/3, 5/14  
*tms*, noun, "evil (man)." 5/6  
*tnr*, verb, "be eager, productive." 5/9

*tr*, noun, "time." 4/14 (partially restored)

*thʒ*, verb, "transgress." 2/8

*tš*, "boundary." 1/7, Frag. 53, 1(?)

*tʒy*, verb, "take, steal." 2/10 (partially restored), 3/20 (in the compound *tʒy-ʿ*), 4/6 (in the compound *tʒy-ʿ*), 4/18 (in the compound *tʒy-gns*, restored), 5/2(?), 5/3 (twice), 5/4, 6/4, Frag. 67, 3, Frag. 72, 2

*tʒy*, verb, "rebuke." 4/13(?)

*tʒy*, in the compound preposition *n-tʒy*, "since." 2/15(?)

*tʒty*, "vizier." 3/11, 3/12, 3/20

*tʒw*, "wind." 2/3, 6/18

*trh*, verb, "be disrespectful, belittle." 4/11

*ts*, noun, "leader." 2/11 (twice, once restored), Frag. 47, 2

*ts*, verb, "raise." 3/10

*tsm.t*, "battlement." 2/7 (partially restored)

*dwʒ*, noun, "praise." 4/6

*dwʒ*, verb, "praise." 2/15

*dwn*, verb, "stretch out." 2/19

*dbh*, verb, "ask for, request." 3/10, 4/20

*dm*, verb, "be sharp." 2/5

*dny.w*, "dykes." 6/3(?), 6/4(?)

*dns*, verb, "be heavy(?)." 1/2

*dr.t*, "prod(?)." 2/10

*drp*, noun, "offering." 6/12

*ds*, "flint." 2/5, 2/7

*dʒf*, verb, "burn." 2/13(?)

*dʒm*, "young calf." 4/5

*dʒr*, "need(?)." 2/20

*dʒh*, "tin(?)." 2/7

*dʒdʒ.t*, noun, "court." 3/19

*dʒw*, adjective, "evil." 4/17

*dʒw*, noun, "evil." Frag. 13, 1

*dbʒ*, noun, "revenge." 2/17, 2/20, 3/3, 3/16(?)

*dbʒ*, verb, "punish." 2/20, 3/5 (partially restored), Frag. 29, 1, Frag. 46, 1(?)

*dfʒw*, noun, "provisions." 6/2, 6/9, Frag. 47, 3(?)

*dnn*, noun, "exertion, labor, torment." 6/13

- ḏr*, in the compound preposition *m-ḏr*, “around.” 2/7  
*ḏr*, preposition, “since.” 2/4  
*ḏr*, noun, “entire.” 1/11  
*ḏr.t*, “hand.” 2/19, 3/5 (twice), 3/8, 6/7, 6/16, 6/18 (“handful” as a measure, restored), Frag. 49, 2  
*ḏrp*, verb, meaning uncertain, “stumble(?)” 6/11  
*Dḥwty*, divine name, “Thoth.” 3/20  
*ḏd*, verb, “say.” 1/13, 3/6, 3/17, 4/10, 5/3, 6/10, Frag. 10, 1, Frag. 39, 2  
*ḏdwt*, verb, “stare piercingly.” 5/17 (twice)

## GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

## SUFFIX PRONOUNS

- k*, second person singular masculine suffix pronoun. 2/14, 2/19, 3/6, 3/11, 4/5, 4/6, 4/14 (twice), 5/2(?), 5/3 (four times), 5/7 (twice), 5/8, 5/9, 5/10, 5/11, 5/18, 6/12, Frag. 9, 1, Frag. 45, 4(?), Frag. 59, 3, Frag. 67, 3  
*f*, third person singular masculine suffix pronoun. 1/3, 1/7(twice), 1/11, 1/13, 1/14, 2/6, 2/7 (three times), 2/8 (twice), 2/11 (twice), 2/12, 2/13(?), 2/14, 2/15, 2/16, 2/17, 2/18 (three times), 2/19 (three times), 3/2, 3/5 (twice), 3/8, 3/9, 3/10, 3/11, 3/12, 3/17, 3/19, 3/20, 4/2, 4/5, 4/6 (three times), 4/9, 4/10, 4/13, 4/18, 4/19, 5/2, 5/4 (three times), 5/5, 5/6, 5/7, 5/9, 5/10 (three times), 5/12, 5/17, 5/18 (twice), 6/2 (twice), 6/3 (twice), 6/4, 6/15, 6/16, Frag. 6, 2, Frag. 8, 1, Frag. 16, 2, Frag. 29, 2, Frag. 31, 4, Frag. 45, 3, Frag. 51, 4, Frag. 54, 1, Frag. 67, 3  
*s*, third person singular feminine suffix pronoun. 1/4, 1/9(?), 2/4, 2/7, 2/8, 5/6, 5/7, 5/8, 5/15, 5/16 (twice), 6/8, 6/9, 6/10  
*w*, third person plural suffix pronoun. 2/5, 2/10(?), 3/20(?), 3/21(?), 4/11, 5/6, 5/9, 6/7 (twice), 6/13  
*sn*, third person plural suffix pronoun. 1/11(?), 1/15, 4/17(?), Frag. 42, 1, Frag. 64, 1

## DEPENDENT PRONOUNS

- tw*, second person masculine singular. 3/11, 4/17, 5/9, 6/11  
*sw*, third person masculine singular. 2/8, 3/9, 3/13, 4/5, 5/4, 5/8(?), Frag. 3, 3, Frag. 5, 4, Frag. 31, 4  
*st*, third person plural. 2/5

## INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

- ntw.w*, third person plural. 6/8

## PASSIVE MARKER

*tw*, passive marker. 1/13, 5/5 (superfluous), 5/6(?)

## VERBAL FORMS

## FIRST PRESENT

*iw* = *k*, second person singular masculine singular. 5/8(?)

*sw*, third person singular masculine singular. 2/4, 5/2

*iw* = *f*, third person singular masculine singular. 2/6(?), 3/9(?), 4/8, 4/13, 5/17(?), 5/18(?), 6/14, 6/16(?), 6/17(?)

## CIRCUMSTANTIAL PRESENT

*iw*, converter before nominal subject. 2/13 (before *bn*), 2/14, 2/14 (written *i*), 3/6 (written *i*?), 3/8, 4/5, 4/6, 4/20, 5/2 (before negative first present), 5/5, 5/9, 5/9 (written *i*), 5/10, 6/5, 6/6 (written *i*), 6/7, 6/15, 6/16 (written *i*)

*iw* = *k*, second person masculine singular. 5/6(?), 5/11, 6/10, 6/11 (twice), 6/12 (twice)

*iw* = *f*, third person masculine singular. 2/11 (twice), 2/12, 2/13, 2/20 (twice), 3/3(?), 3/18, 4/3 (?), 4/4, 4/5, 4/8 (twice), 4/13, 4/19, 5/4(?), 5/5(?), 5/8, 5/10(?), 5/13(?), 5/13, 5/18, 6/13(?), 6/14, 6/15, 6/16

*iw* = *w*, third person masculine plural. 2/5 (twice), 2/6(?), Frag. 39, 1(?)

## RELATIVE CONVERTER

*p3 nt*, singular masculine article + relative converter. 2/6 (+ infinitive), 2/7 (+ infinitive?), 2/8 (+ infinitive), 2/10 (+ infinitive), 2/11 (+ prepositional phrase), 2/12 (+ infinitive, restored), 2/15 (+ infinitive), 2/16 (+ infinitive, restored), 2/18 (+ infinitive, twice), 2/19 (+ infinitive), 3/5 (+ infinitive), 3/7 (+ infinitive or qualitative), 3/10 (+ prepositional phrase), 3/14, 4/3, 4/7 (+ infinitive), 4/11 (+ qualitative or infinitive, twice), 4/11 (+ infinitive, twice), 4/16 (+ infinitive), 4/17 (+ infinitive), 4/18 (+ infinitive, twice), 4/18 (+?), 5/4 (+ infinitive), 5/6, 5/11 (+ infinitive), 5/15 (+ future), 6/9 (+ infinitive), 6/9 (+ infinitive, restored), 6/9–10 (+ infinitive), 6/13 (+ infinitive), 6/17 (+ qualitative), Frag. 26, 1(?)

*t3 nt*, singular feminine article + relative converter. 5/7 (+ *sḏm* = *f*), 5/15 (+ qualitative or infinitive), 5/16 (+ adjective-verb)

*n3 nt*, plural definite article + relative converter. 4/7 (+ qualitative?), 6/7 (+ third future), 6/7 (+ infinitive), 6/8 (+ infinitive), 6/12 (+ infinitive or qualitative)

*nt*, 3/19 (+ prepositional phrase), 4/6 (+ *n-iw*), 4/20 (+ infinitive), 5/12 (+ infinitive), 5/14 (+ qualitative)

*ntyw*, plural relative converter. 3/21 (+ ?)

*nt-iw*. Frag. 60, 4(?)

## SECOND TENSE

*i-ir=k*, second person singular masculine. 3/15(?), 5/10 (twice), 6/10, 6/11 (twice)

*i-ir=f*, third person singular masculine. 2/8, 2/13 (twice), 2/16, 2/17 (twice), 2/20, 3/20, 4/17, 4/19, 5/9, 5/16, 5/18, 6/17 (twice), Frag. 49, 3, Frag. 51, 3(?)

*i-ir=w*, third person plural. 2/4, 2/5(?), 2/10, 4/3, 4/12, 4/20 (written *iw ir=w?*), 5/3 (twice), 5/4, 6/18

*i-ir*, before nominal subject. 2/3 (twice?), 2/17, 2/20, 3/4, 3/8, 4/6, 4/9, 4/12, 5/18, 6/7

## NEGATIVE FIRST PRESENT CIRCUMSTANTIAL

*iw bn ... in*. 3/8, 5/2(?)

## THIRD FUTURE

*iw=k*, second person masculine singular. 5/13(?)

*iw=f*, third person masculine singular. 2/6(?), 2/15(?), 2/18(?), 3/11(?), 4/13(?), 5/17 (twice?), 5/18(?), 6/16(?)

*iw=w*, third person plural. 5/3

*iw*, before nominal subject. 5/3 (before noun plus adverbial phrase), 6/4 (plus noun plus infinitive?), 6/5 (plus noun plus infinitive), 6/6 (plus noun plus *iw* plus infinitive), 6/15 (written *i*)

## RELATIVE THIRD FUTURE

*nʒ nt* plus *i-ir* plus noun plus *r* plus infinitive. 6/7

## AORIST

*hr*. 2/11, Frag. 8, 1

## NEGATIVE AORIST

*bw-ir=k*. 5/5, 5/9

*bw-ir=f*. 2/6, 3/10, 3/13, 5/4, 5/16

*bw-ir=w*. 4/2 (twice)

*bw-ir*. 2/10, 2/16, 3/9, 4/10 (three times)

*bw-ir*[ ... ]. Frag. 41, 1

*bw-rh*. 3/16 (written *bw-rh.tw=f*), 4/10, 5/5 (written *bw-rh.tw=f*), 6/18 (*pʒ bw-rh=f*)

## CONJUNCTIVE

*mtw* = *k*. 5/5

*mtw* = *f*. 2/7, 2/15, 2/16, 3/17(?), 5/3, 5/14, 6/13(?)

*mtw*, plus noun. 3/17(?)

## NEGATIVE POSSESSION

*mn mtw* = *f* (*mn m-di* = *f*). 5/5, 6/15, 6/16–17

*mn mtw* = *s* (*mn m-di* = *s*). 2/14 (twice, once restored)

## CIRCUMSTANTIAL PAST

*iw sdm* = *f*, 4/12 (written *i*, twice), 4/17, 5/3 (twice), 5/4 (written *i*), 5/4

## NEGATIVE PAST

*bn-pw* = *f*. 3/18

*bn-pw* = *w*. 3/21

*bn-pw*. 5/9

## OPTATIVE

*mi*. 4/5, 6/3(?)

## VETITIVE

*m-ir*. 3/6, 3/12, 4/12, 5/2, 5/5, 5/7 (twice), 5/8, 5/9, Frag. 10, 1, Frag. 39, 2, Frag. 60, 1, Frag. 70, 1(?)

## UNTIL-FORM

*š3* *tw* = *f*. 2/17 (broken), 3/14, 5/7, Frag. 71, 2(?)

## CONDITIONAL

*iw* = *f*. 2/20(?), 5/10(?), 5/18(?)

## QUALITATIVE ENDINGS

*k*. 6/12(?)

*tw*. 5/8, 6/5, 6/10, 6/14(?)

## PAST RELATIVE FORM

*i-ir*. 2/17, 5/7 (*tʔ ir=k*)

## PAST PARTICIPLE

*i-ir*. 3/18 (twice?), 4/6

## TEMPORAL

*m-dr*. 1/13

## DEFINITE ARTICLE

*pʔ*. 2/3(?), 2/6 (twice), 2/7, 2/8, 2/9, 2/10, 2/11, 2/12, 2/15, 2/16 (restored), 2/17, 2/18 (three times), 2/19, 2/20 (twice), 3/3, 3/4 (three times), 3/5 (twice), 3/7 (twice), 3/9, 3/10 (four times), 3/14 (twice), 3/17, 3/18, 3/21 (twice), 4/2, 4/3, 4/7 (twice), 4/9 (twice), 4/10 (twice), 4/11 (five times), 4/15, 4/16 (twice), 4/17, 4/18 (three times), 4/19 (twice), 4/20, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4 (twice), 5/6, 5/7, 5/10, 5/11 (twice), 5/13, 5/15, 5/17(?), 6/4, 6/6 (twice), 6/7, 6/8, 6/9 (three times), 6/10, 6/11, 6/12, 6/13 (twice), 6/15, 6/17, 6/18 (twice), Frag. 7, 2, Frag. 14, 2 (twice), Frag. 32, 2, Frag. 60, 3(?)

*tʔ*. 2/9, 2/11, 2/17, 3/14, 3/18, 4/13, 4/15, 4/16, 5/4, 5/7 (twice), 5/15 (twice), 5/16, 6/5 (four times)

*nʔ*. 2/8, 2/9 (twice), 2/15, 3/18, 3/19, 3/20, 4/3, 4/6 (twice), 4/7, 4/11 (twice), 4/12, 4/16, 4/17 (twice), 4/20, 5/9, 6/2, 6/6 (twice), 6/7 (twice), 6/8, 6/11, 6/12 (twice)

## POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES

*pʔy=k*. 2/14, 2/19, 2/20, 3/6, 3/11, 4/5 (four times), 4/8, 4/10, 4/18, 5/2, 5/6 (twice), 5/8, 5/10 (twice), 5/13, 6/4, Frag. 34, 2, Frag. 51, 1

*pʔy=f*. 2/7, 2/9, 2/13, 2/14, 2/15(?), 2/15, 2/16, 2/18, 2/20, 3/4, 3/6, 3/8, 3/12, 3/13, 4/2, 4/7, 4/8, 4/10 (twice), 4/14, 5/4 (twice), 5/6, 5/9, 5/11, 5/14(?), 5/16, 6/10, 6/16, Frag. 7, 1, Frag. 20, 2, Frag. 45, 3, Frag. 45, 6

*pʔy=s*. 2/2, 2/4(?), 2/5, 3/17, 6/8, 6/9, 6/10

*pʔy=w*. 2/3, 2/6, 2/9 (twice), 2/16(?), 4/17, 5/12, 5/16, 6/18

*tʔy=y*. 6/10

*tʔy=k*. 2/14

*tʔy=f*. 2/10, 2/12, 2/17, 2/18, 3/8, 3/19(?), 4/8, 4/11, 4/13, 5/5, 5/8, 5/16, 5/17, 6/6, Frag. 45, 2, Frag. 51, 2

*tʔy=s*. 6/8

*tʔy=w*. 2/3, 5/12

$n^3y = y$ . Frag. 14, 1(?)

$n^3y = k$ . 4/5, 4/14, 5/4, 5/14, Frag. 24, 1

$n^3y = f$ . 2/15, 2/16, 2/19, 3/19, 4/7, 4/20, 6/4, 6/18, Frag. 28, 2, Frag. 29, 2

$n^3y = s$ . 2/5 (possibly  $t^3y = s$ )

$n^3y = w$ . 5/12 (partially restored)

$t^3y \dots$  2/4

#### POSSESSIVE PREFIX

$pn$ . 4/20

#### DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE

$pn$ . 1/11, 1/13

$nn$ . 1/1(?)

#### COPULA

$t^3w$ . 2/2, 2/3

$pw$ . 2/3

#### NUMERALS

2. 4/19, 6/5

6. 5/15

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# P. BROOKLYN 47.218.135

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Diagram of Papyrus, Figure 1

Photographs of Papyrus and Fragments, Figures 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, and 18

Hieroglyphic Transcriptions, Figures 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20



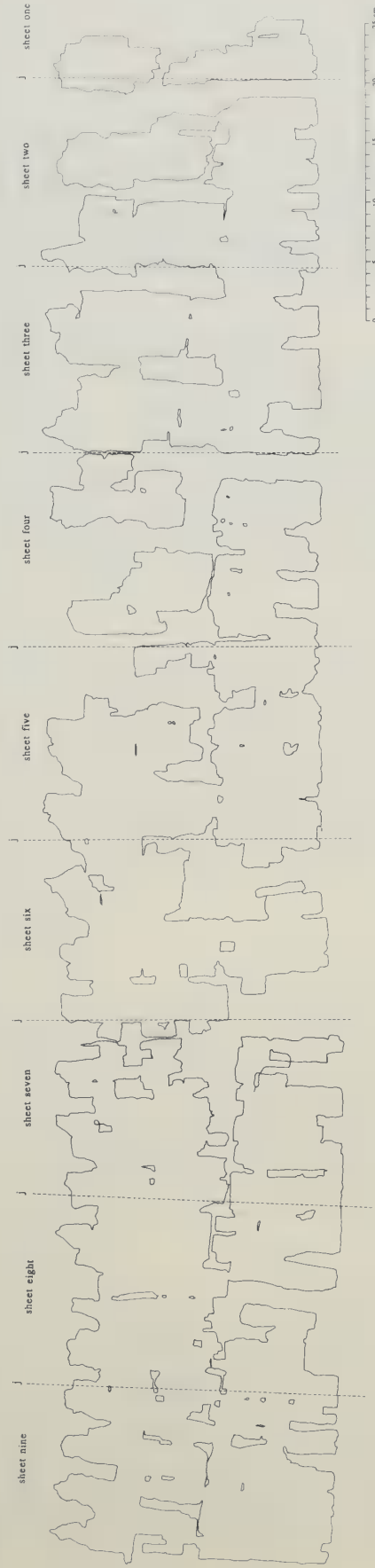
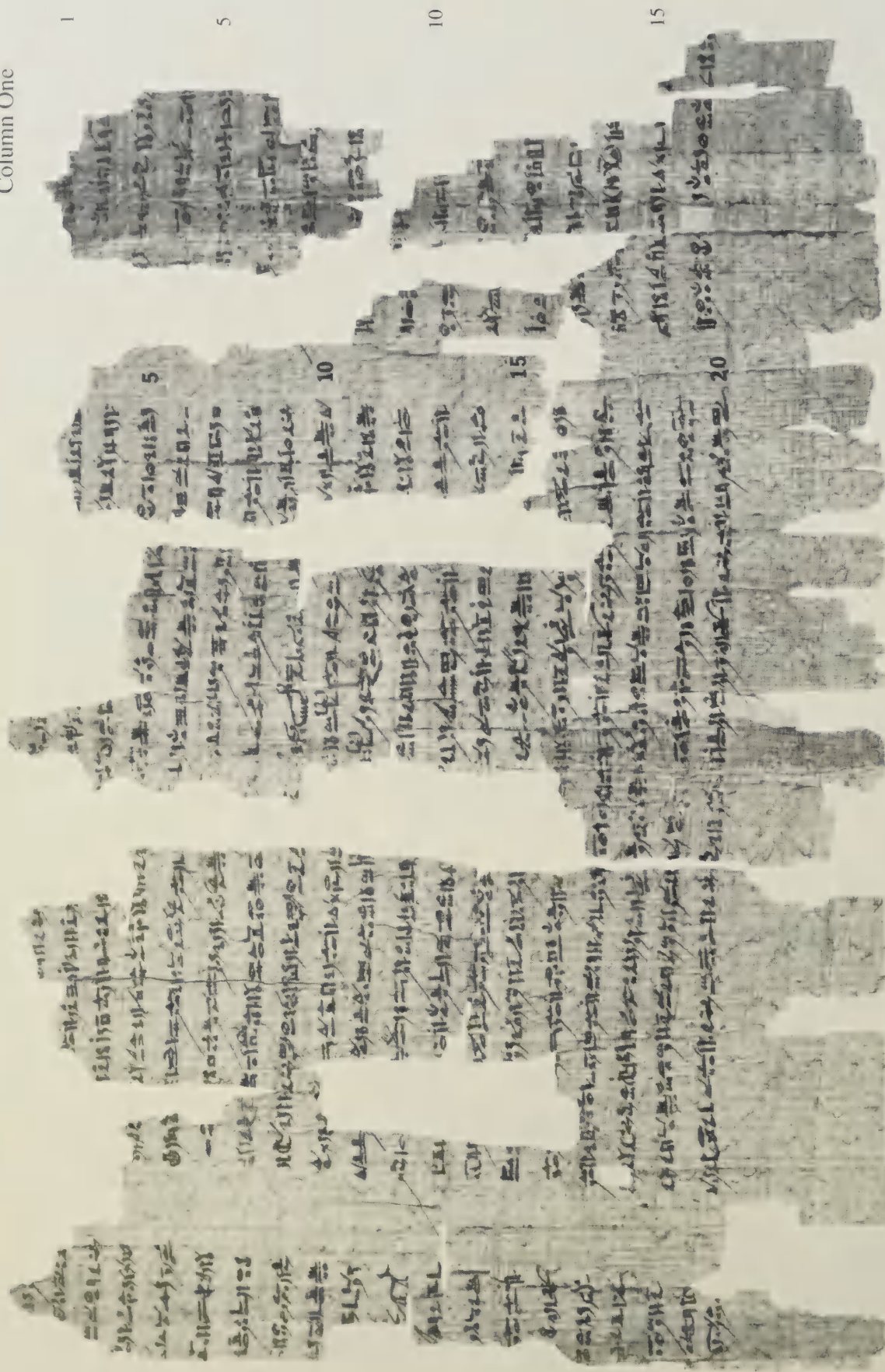


Figure 1. Diagram of Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.135

Column One



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Figure 2. Photograph of Column One (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

# Column One

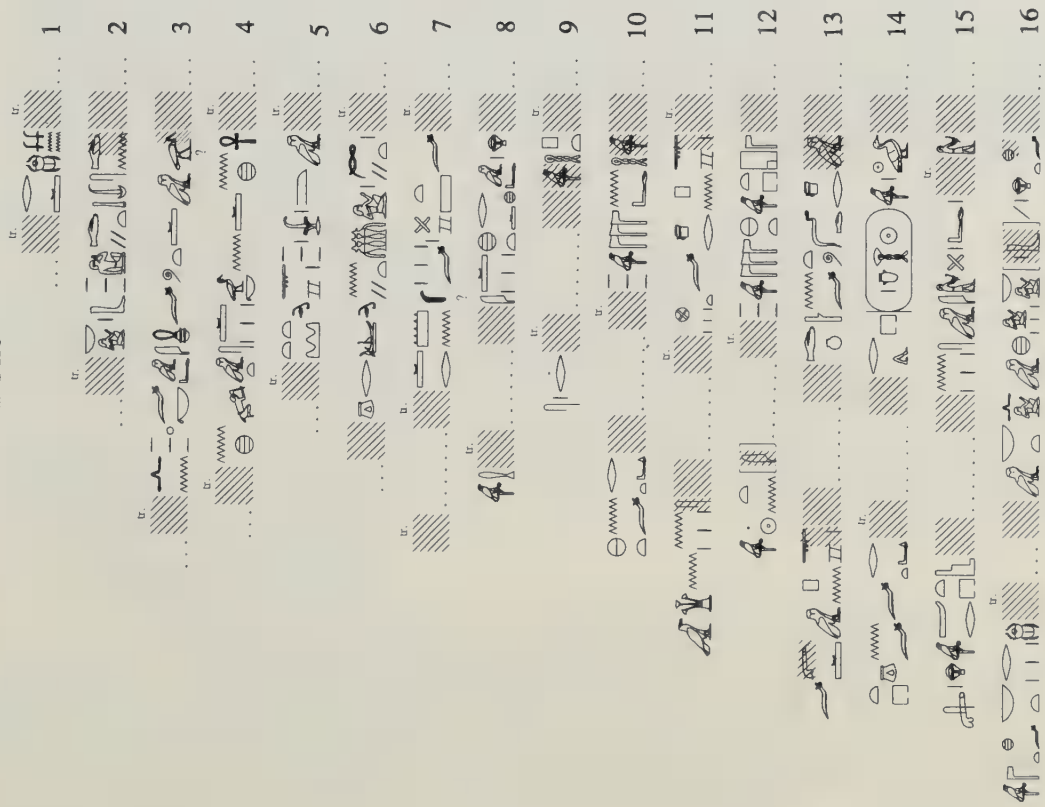
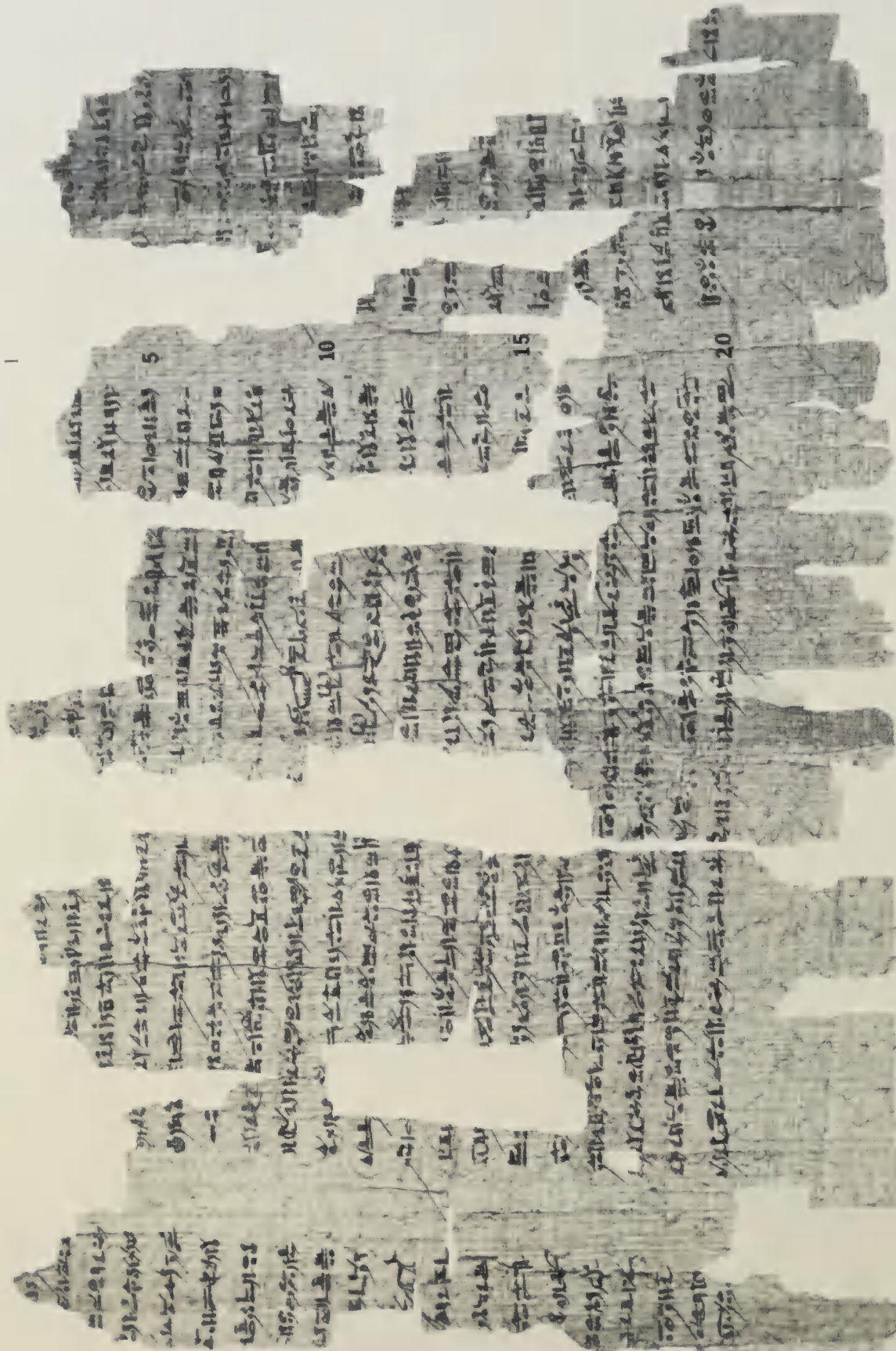


Figure 3. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column One (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

Column Two



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Figure 4. Photograph of Column Two (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

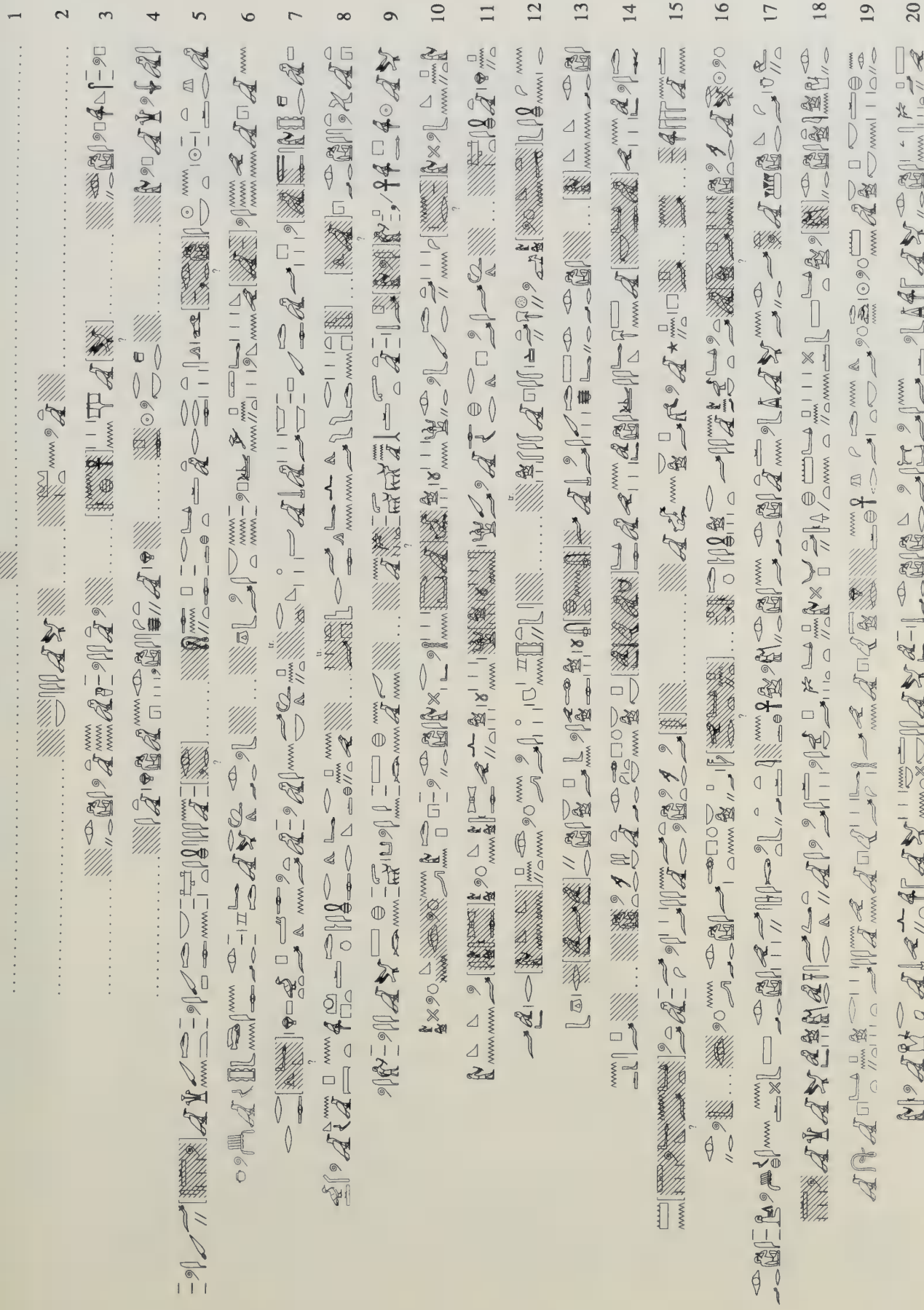


Figure 5. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column Two (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

## Column Three

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Figure 6. Photograph of Column Three (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

## Column Three

Column Three

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Figure 7. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column Three (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

## Column Four

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[illegible]

Figure 8. Photograph of Column Four (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

# Column Four

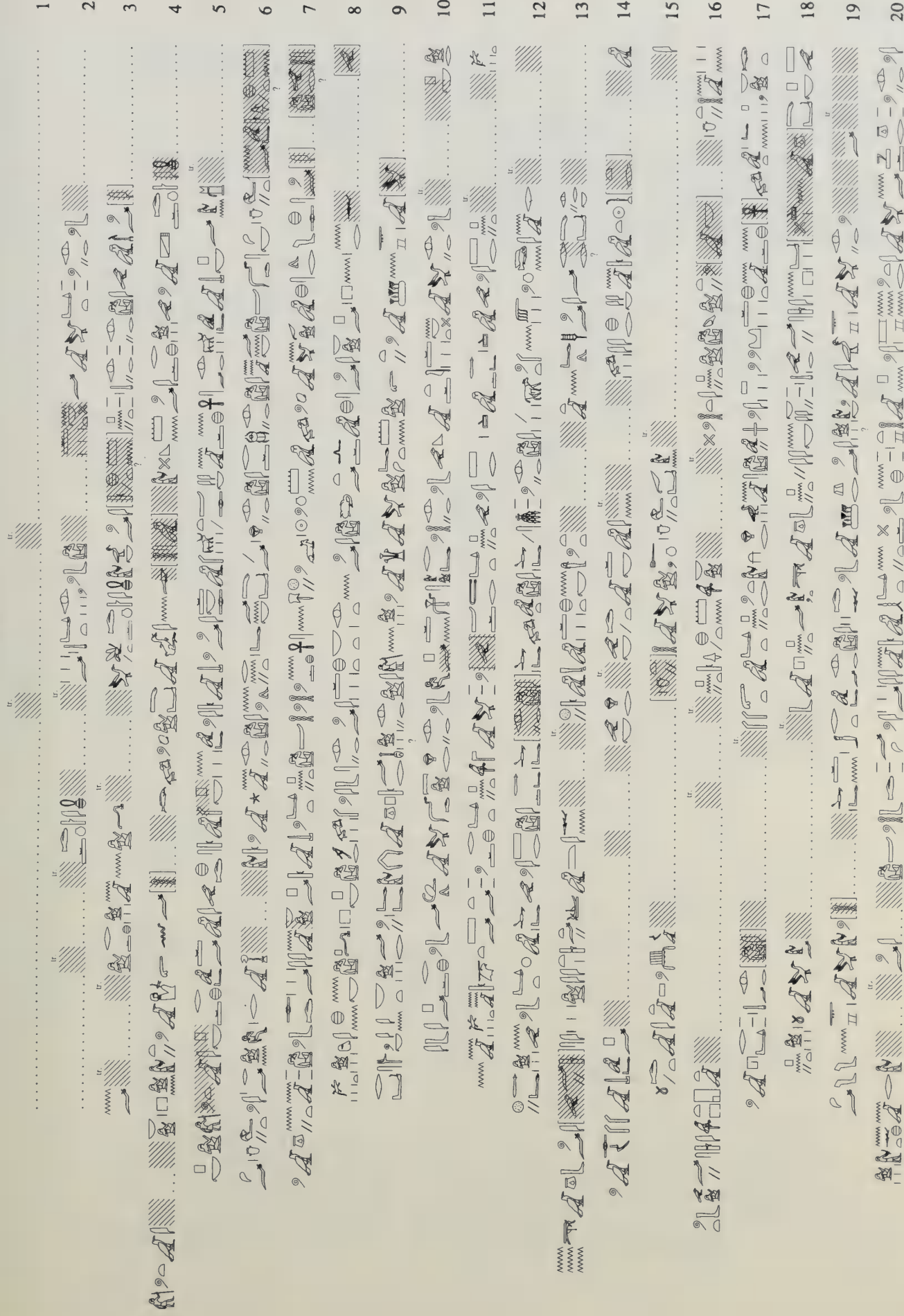


Figure 9. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column Four (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

Column Five

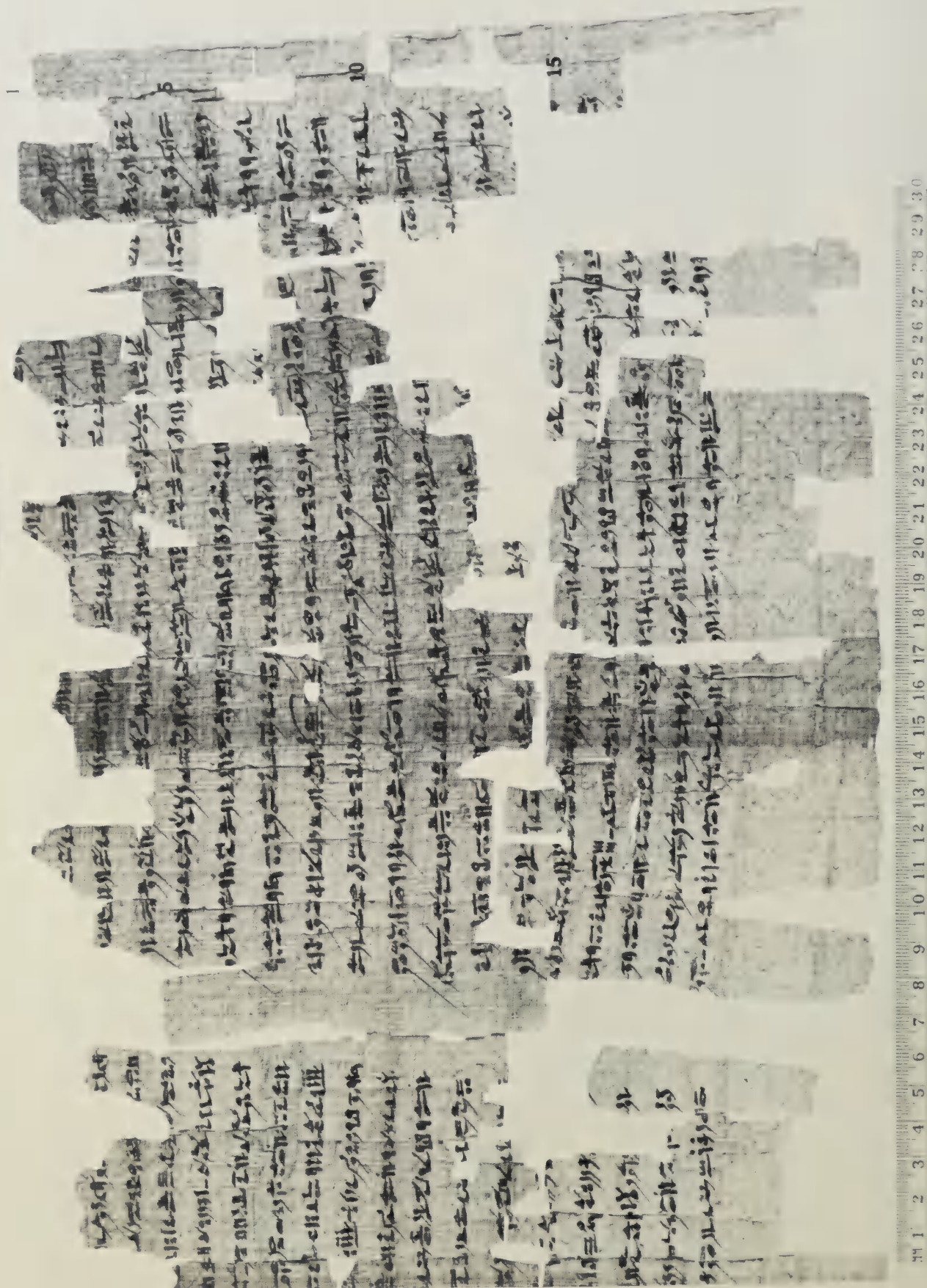


Figure 10. Photograph of Column Five (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

# Column Five

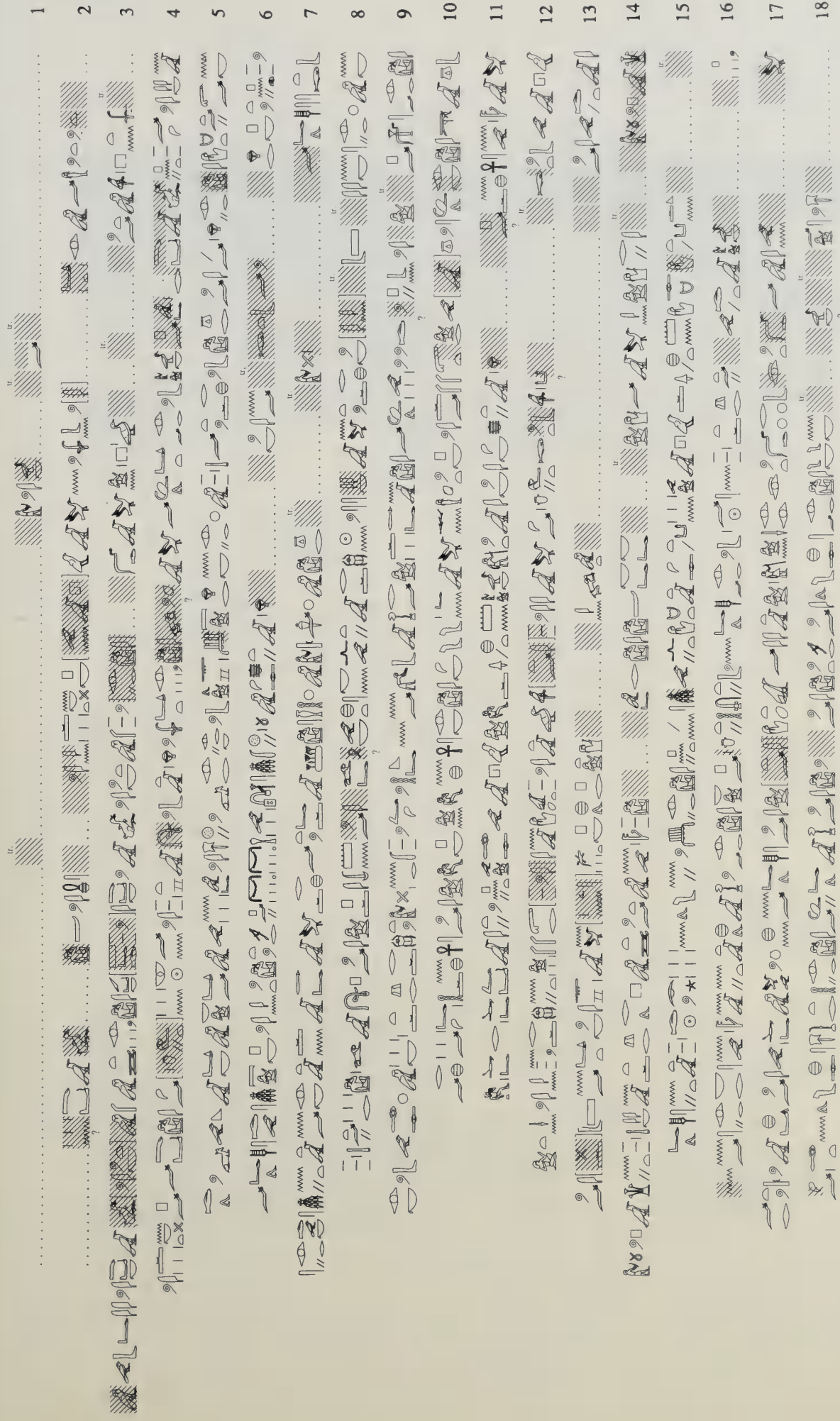
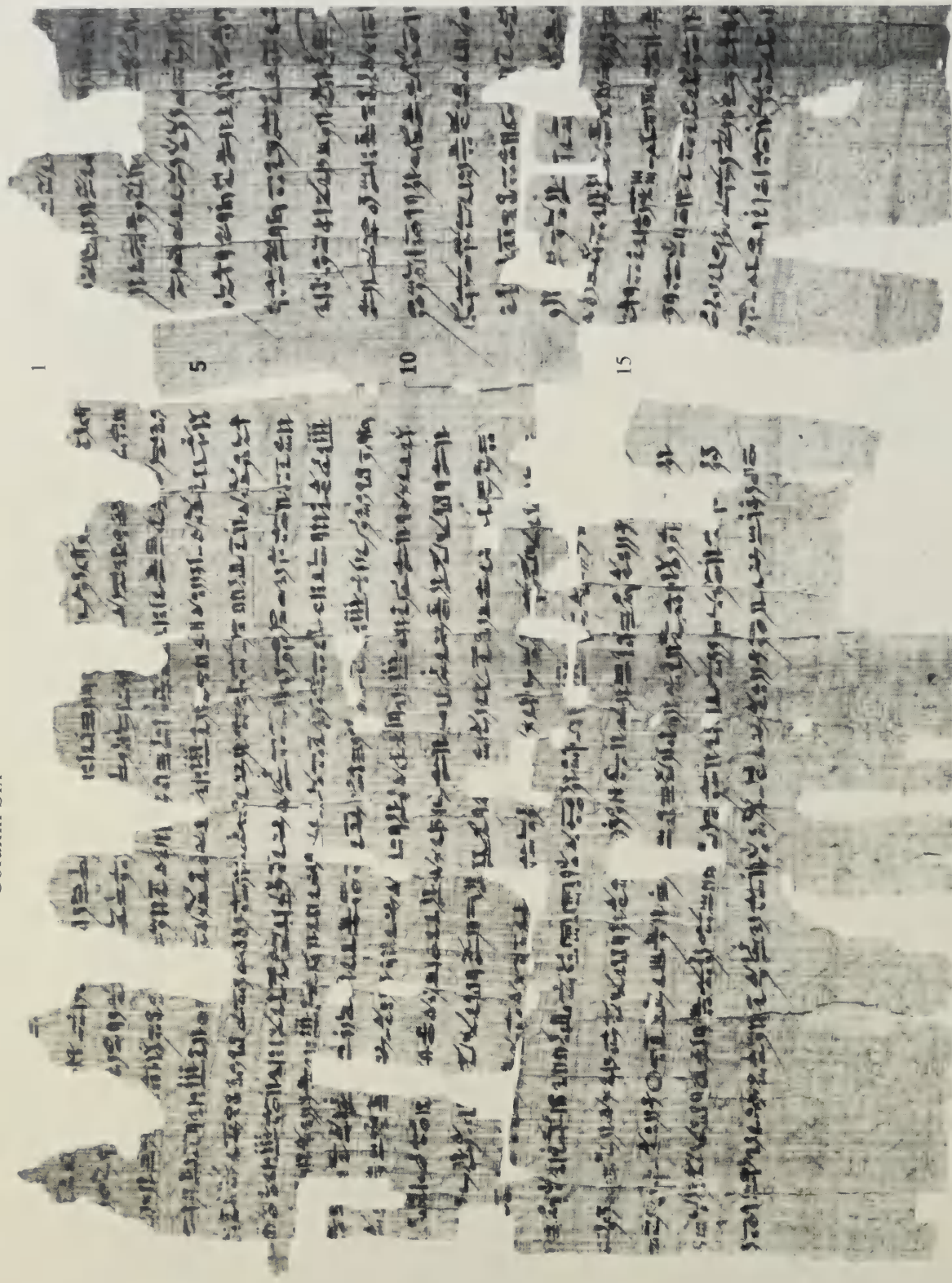


Figure 11. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column Five (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

Column Six



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Figure 12. Photograph of Column Six (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

# Column Six

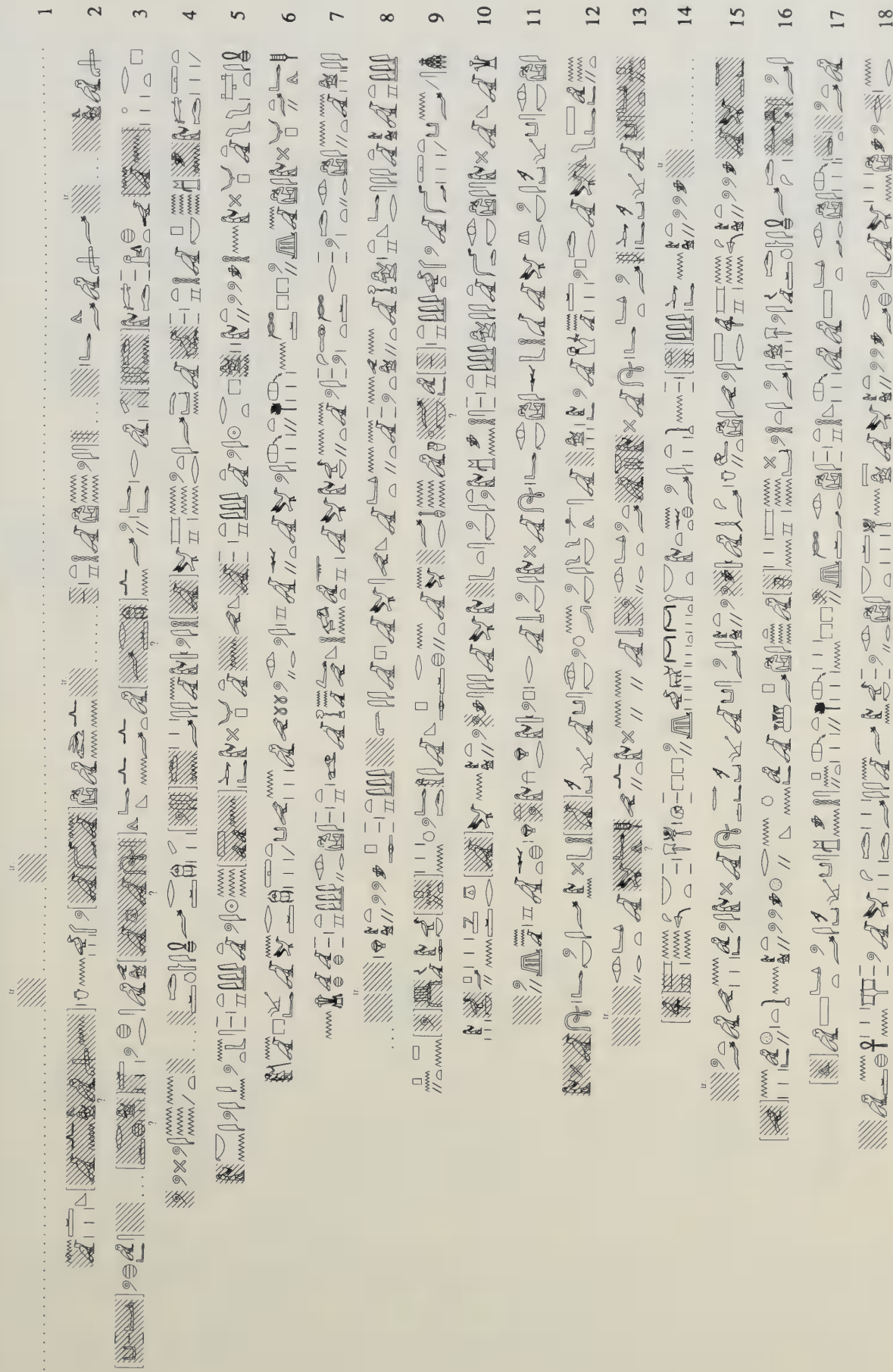


Figure 13. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column Six (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

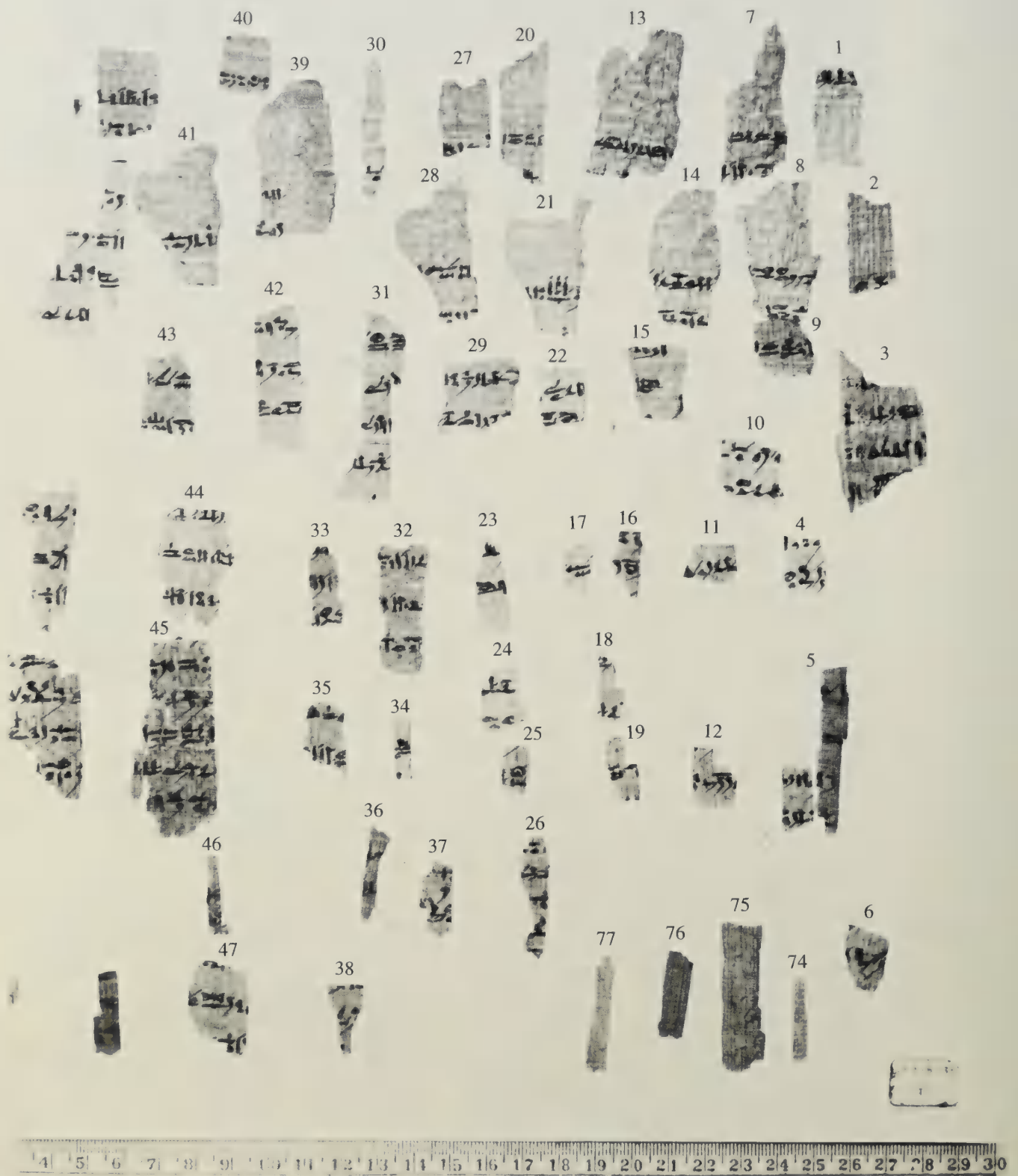


Figure 14. Photograph of Unplaced Fragments 1-47 and 74-77 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

### Fragment 1



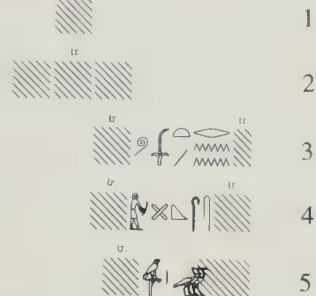
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### Fragment 2



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### Fragment 3



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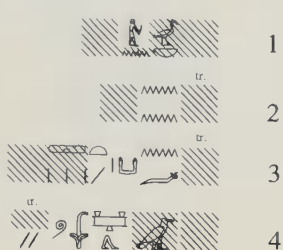
### Fragment 4



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### Fragment 5



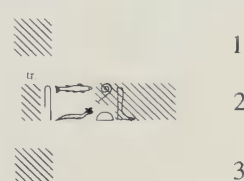
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### Fragment 6



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### Fragment 7



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### Fragment 8



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### Fragment 9



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### Fragment 10



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### Fragment 11



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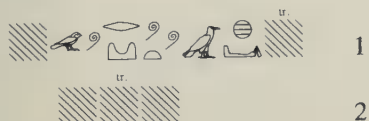
### Fragment 12



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### Fragment 13



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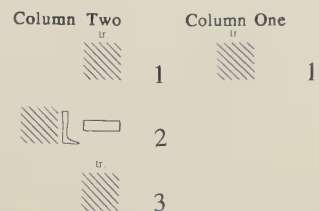
### Fragment 14



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### Fragment 15



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Figure 15. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Fragments 1–15 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

### Fragment 16



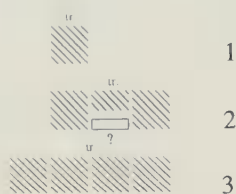
### Fragment 17



### Fragment 18



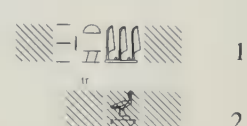
### Fragment 19



### Fragment 20



### Fragment 21



### Fragment 22



### Fragment 23



### Fragment 24



### Fragment 25



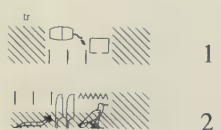
### Fragment 26



### Fragment 27



### Fragment 28



### Fragment 29



### Fragment 30

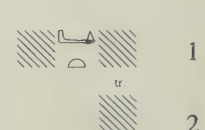
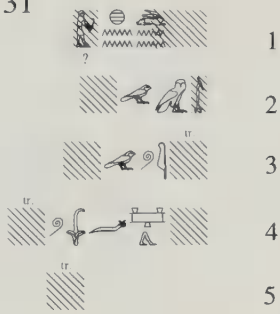
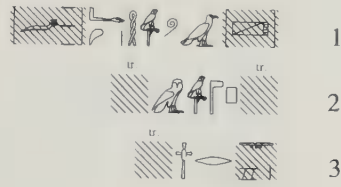


Figure 16. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Fragments 16–30 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

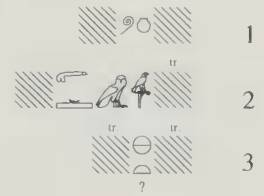
Fragment 31



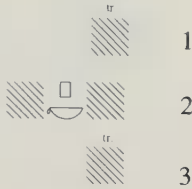
Fragment 32



Fragment 33



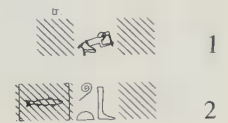
Fragment 34



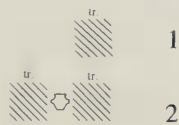
Fragment 35



Fragment 36



Fragment 37



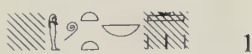
Fragment 38



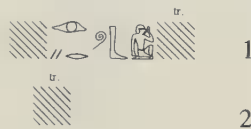
Fragment 39



Fragment 40



Fragment 41



Fragment 42



Fragment 43



Fragment 44



Fragment 45

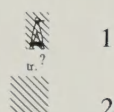


Figure 17. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Fragments 31–45  
(P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)



Figure 18. Photograph of Unplaced Fragments 48–73 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

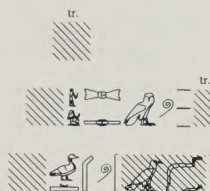
# Fragment 46



1

2

# Fragment 47

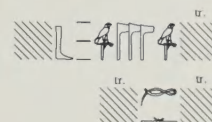


1

2

3

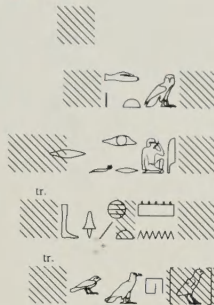
# Fragment 48



1

2

# Fragment 49



1

2

3

4

5

# Fragment 50



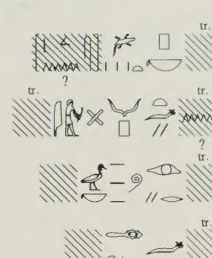
1

2

3

4

# Fragment 51



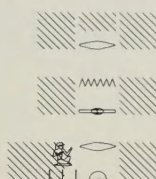
1

2

3

4

# Fragment 52

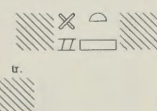


1

2

3

# Fragment 53



1

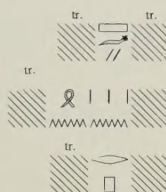
2

# Fragment 54



1

# Fragment 55

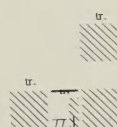


1

2

3

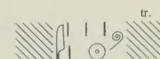
# Fragment 56



1

2

# Fragment 57



1

# Fragment 58



1

# Fragment 59

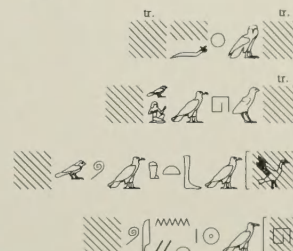


1

2

3

# Fragment 60



1

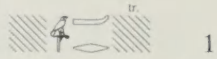
2

3

4

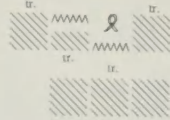
Figure 19. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Fragments 46–60 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)

Fragment 61



1

Fragment 62



1

2

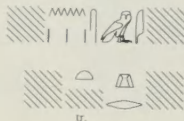
Fragment 63



1

2

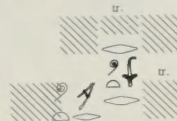
Fragment 64



1

2

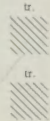
Fragment 65



1

2

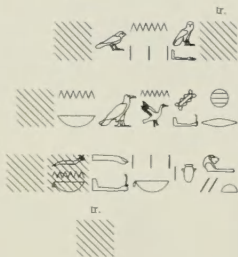
Fragment 66



1

2

Fragment 67



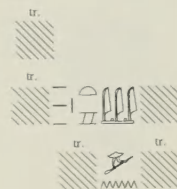
1

2

3

4

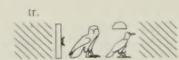
Fragment 68



1

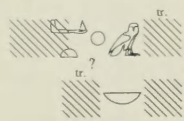
2

Fragment 69



1

Fragment 70



1

2

Fragment 71



1

2

Fragment 72



1

2

Fragment 73



1

Figure 20. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Fragments 61–73 (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)



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