THE LIBRARY OF A. CHESTER BEATTY
DESCRIPTION OF A HIERATIC PAPYRUS WITH A MYTHOLOGICAL STORY, LOVE-SONGS, AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS, BY ALAN H. GARDINER, F.B.A.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

§ 1. THE PAPYRUS, ITS PROVENANCE, AND ITS DATE

THE Egyptian hieratic papyrus to which this volume is devoted is at the present time the sole representative of its kind in Mr. Chester Beatty's collection of Oriental manuscripts. If, none the less, it has received the designation Pap. Chester Beatty, no. I, this is in order to co-ordinate it with a number of other hieratic papyri, all clearly from the same find, which have been presented to the Trustees of the British Museum partly by Mrs. Chester Beatty, and partly by Mr. Chester Beatty. Valuable as are several of these, the manuscript here to be described far surpasses any of them alike in size, in state of preservation, and in interest of content. Here for the first time we have a long mythological narrative composed solely for literary and non-utilitarian purposes, and here, too, on the verso, are the most complete, intelligible, and poetic love-songs which Ancient Egypt has bequeathed to us.

The appearance of the papyrus before unrolling is shown in the frontispiece, but at the moment of acquisition a length of at least 5.5 centimetres had been torn from the beginning by the rapacious and destructive hands of the fellahen, and had been crushed or pulled into pieces of varying sizes. Out of the larger fragments it was possible, immediately after acquisition, to reconstruct a strip comprising practically the whole of the first two pages of the recto, with the exception of the right-hand third of page 1. The fragments out of which some portion of this last has been built up were collected only gradually from a chaos of many thousands of small pieces belonging to well over twenty different manuscripts. For the unrolling and preliminary mounting Mr. Lamacraft of the British Museum was responsible. The completion of page 1 has been the joint work of the present writer and of Papyrus-konservator Dr. Hugo Ibscher, the well-known expert from Berlin. It seems highly unlikely that any more fragments will come to light. There must be a number among those still unidentified, but if not already reduced to dust, they will be of such minute size that recognition is no longer possible.

It is certain that the provenance is Thebes. This is expressly stated in the colophon (XVI, 8), which reads: 'It has come to a happy eliding in Thebes, the place of Truth (?)'. Moreover, in the following line, the writing of the recto is claimed by the scribe Nakhtsoh of the (Royal) Necropolis. This entry is a clumsy insertion over an erasure, and is in fact an impudent usurpation. But for our purposes the entry has interest as showing that at least one subsequent owner of the papyrus was a Theban, since all the Pharaohs of the Twentieth Dynasty were buried at Thebes, and since there is no doubt that our papyrus belongs to that period. As regards the actual date of writing, the Encomium of Ramesses V on the verso (Plates XIX–XXI) fixes this down to his brief reign. The reign of Ramesses V, who was the second of the ephemeral successors of Ramesses III, the last great monarch of his line, may be roughly dated to 1160 B.C., the dynasty to which he belonged being the twentieth of the Manethonian reckoning.

§ 2. TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The papyrus, now mounted between glass in five long strips, is of fine, though not of the very finest texture, moderately thick, and in most portions of a rich brown colour, on which the black and red script shows up brilliantly. Only in those passages of the verso where there has been re-use after deletion of earlier texts does the ink appear faint. The height is 215 millimetres or about 8½ inches, a very usual height with literary papyri of the Ramesside period. The present length is 5.02 metres or a trifle less than 16½ feet. The manuscript is now composed of twenty complete sheets with an average breadth of about 250 millimetres between the joins; the overlap measures one or two centimetres at the utmost. The diagram of the papyrus and of its contents given below on p. 3 indicates the exact dimensions in each case, and it will thence be seen that the narrowest sheet was the tenth, measuring only 216 millimetres, and the broadest the ninth, measuring 263 millimetres. The tenth and narrowest sheet (see Plate IX) possesses the further peculiarity of being composed of two unequal halves measuring 173 millimetres and 43 millimetres respectively, the join between these being very rough and probably not the work of a professional maker of papyrus. Possibly the scribe who first owned the roll found some defect in it at this point, and sought to remedy it in his own clumsy manner. The sheets overlap in
such a way that the right-hand sheet of the recto, i.e. the side with the horizontal fibres uppermost, always lies above its left-hand neighbour; by this means the writer's reed, as it proceeded from right to left, encountered no obstacle on reaching the join. In the twenty sheets of which the papyrus is composed, as said above, no account is taken of the tiny fragment of another page visible at the bottom of Plate I. The sheet which has been reckoned as the first undoubtedly contains the beginning of the mythological story, and the sheet which stood before it may have been left blank by the original writer to serve as a protecting strip. The rough signs seen on the recto of the unplaced fragment of this sheet o, as it may be called, as well as the tiny trace at the bottom and extreme right of Plate I, are quite problematic in character. It is just possible that some subsequent owner of the papyrus may have thought fit to place certain jottings on what the original writer designed as a protecting strip. But it must be confessed that a whole series of sheets now lost may once have existed to the right of sheet i, and that the said traces, rough as they are, might possibly remain as the sole surviving testimony to a text of considerable length preceding the mythological story. The evidence of the verso (Plate XVIII) weighs heavily in favour of this hypothesis. The nature of the composition there designated as section A is rather doubtful, but there seems little likelihood that the fragmentary page with which the verso opens was the first of this text. But since also that page must have lost at least a few centimetres at the beginnings of the lines, a preceding page of the same size (say 27 centimetres) would take us well into sheet o–i. The final conclusions towards which we are thus impelled must be deferred to § 4, when the palaeographic considerations which help to a decision have been set forth in detail (§ 3).

Taking leave for the present of this difficult problem, we must now proceed to consider the way in which the papyrus-roll thus constituted was utilized by its successive owners. There is good reason for thinking that, in the Ramesside period, the demand for papyrus as a writing-material far outran the supply. To this state of affairs the very frequent employment of potsherds and fragments of limestone bears witness, but above all the fact that most non-funerary papyri of this period are opisthograph, and many of them, at least in part, also palimpsest. Pap. Chester Beatty, no. I, is no exception to the rule. The verso exhibits, besides certain literary compositions, complete and incomplete, several brief memoranda, and there are clear signs of much more writing of the last-named kind which has been none too skilfully erased. The recto, on the other hand, shows no traces of re-use, but is fully occupied from the present extreme right-hand margin down to the finish, where only a strip from 50 to 55 millimetres broad has been left blank. For sound technical reasons, and in agreement with ordinary usage, the side where the horizontal fibres are uppermost has been taken as the recto, i.e. as the side first to be inscribed, and the side on which the most important texts are found. This procedure enabled the scribe to write along the horizontal fibres, instead of against the vertical ones; and it further enabled the papyrus to be rolled with its original texts on the inner face, for the general practice was to roll the papyrus with the horizontal fibres inward, the contrary method stretching them unduly and therefore being apt to damage them. The frontispiece shows that, when found, the papyrus was rolled normally, recto within and verso without; and since the writing which is seen is that of the Encomium of Ramesses V (text B of the verso, see the diagram), it is clear that the person who last perused the papyrus had been considerate enough to re-roll it, so as to be ready for the next reader's use. The subject chosen for the recto was a long mythological story, which will here be called 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth'. This is preserved complete, save for a few lacunae on the first page (Plate I). The tale ends with the short colophon in the eighth line of the sixteenth page. In XVI, 9 begins a collection of brief love-poems entitled The Beginning of the sweet Sayings found while using a Papyrus, and introduces the name of the usurping scribe already mentioned (above, p. 1). These love-poems come to an end with the close of the seventeenth page, there being no room for an eighteenth. The seventeen pages of the recto contain from 12 to 14 lines apiece, with an average breadth of 240 to 260 millimetres. Only five pages exceed 270 millimetres, namely the seventeenth (280 mm.), the eighth (295 mm.), the fourteenth (315 mm.), the sixteenth (345 mm.), and the fifteenth—this last having the imposing breadth of 365 millimetres. A glance at the diagram will show that the writer, in mapping out his work, has not attempted to avoid the joins, as was sometimes done in contemporary manuscripts, e.g. in Pap. Chester Beatty, no. V, a book of model letters. To conclude the description of the recto it remains only to say that the tale contains rubrics at short intervals, that there are numerous corrections, and that there are no verse-points. Red verse-points, which would more truly be termed punctuation, occur, however, in the love-poems, where the sole rubric is in the opening title. The last page is carelessly written, but is
DIAGRAM OF THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Vertical dotted lines represent joins between the sheets of the papyrus, as seen on the recto. Unbroken lines, whether horizontal or vertical, represent the written text. Horizontal dotted lines represent deleted texts. The recto and verso are shown above one another in such a way that the relative position of their details can be seen at a glance.
undoubtedly from the same hand as those preceding it. The *verso* offers more problems than the *recto*, and it will be well to record the facts before entering upon debatable questions of relative date and attribution of the contents. There are two natural methods of utilizing the *verso* of a papyrus. The first is the more usual when the text of the *recto* is to be continued on the *verso*. In this case the scribe, on completing the last page of the *recto*, turns over his manuscript horizontally. When this is done, the rolled portion is on his left instead of on his right as heretofore, so that in writing the successive pages of the *verso*, he places *verso* p. 1 on the back of the last page of the *recto* and gradually works his way along in the direction of the beginning of the *recto*. It will be plain, on consideration, that where this method is employed, the top of the pages on the *verso* will correspond to the top of the pages on the *recto*. Good examples are the *Pap. Chester Beatty, no. II* and *no. V*, the latter being the above-quoted book of model letters, and the former the story of the ‘Blinding of Truth by Falsehood’. The second natural way of inscribing the *verso* of a papyrus occurs only when the texts on the *verso* are unrelated to, or at least not the continuation of, the text of the *recto*. In such a case the scribe simply unrolls a length of the beginning of the *recto*, turns the manuscript over vertically, and writes the first page of the *verso* on the back of the first page of the *recto*. Obviously the top of the *verso* will now correspond to the bottom of the *recto*. The papyrus which we have been describing conforms in the main to the second of these methods, but also has some writing (Plates XXVIII–XXX) which agrees with the first method. The description of the contents of the *verso* must begin from the back of the first page of the *recto*. Here (Plate XVIII) we find what is probably a hymn to the Theban god Amun; only one fragmentary page of seven lines, and a line and a half of a second page are left, after which section A of the *verso* breaks off unaccountably in the middle of a sentence. The probability that several pages of this text may be lost has been discussed on p. 2. Close upon the hymn follows section B, which is an Encomium of Ramesses V written across the page in magnificent large hieratic characters. The first line is a date, ‘Year 2, third month of the inundation season, day 28’, doubtless belonging to the reign of the king who is the object of the Encomium, and it will be the date when this particular section of the *verso* was written. Like section A, section B breaks off abruptly in the thirty-third line (Plate XXI). A space of 120 millimetres intervenes between B and C, and here, at the top of the page, are traces of six lines of writing now deleted, but in which one seems able to detect the Egyptian form of the numeral 9, and possibly also that of the numeral 90. It was, perhaps, in preparing the page for these memoranda that a few signs of line 33 of the Encomium were erased. Only a portion of this illegible area is shown on Plate XXI. Section C is a book of love-songs entitled *The Beginning of the Words of the Great Dispenser of Entertainment*, and consisting of four complete pages and two lines of a fifth (Plates XXII–XXVI). The writing is of medium size, rubricized in the title and at intervals, and with red verse-points. The entire composition consists of seven chapters, which are numbered, and the first and last words of each chapter play upon the Egyptian name for the number in question. Below the two lines of the fifth page are more deleted memoranda. Plate XXVII in our publication practically joins on to Plate XXVI, so that section D is seen to follow on section C closely. Section D is the record of payment for a bull made to the scribe Pen'amûke on a specified day in the fourth year of a monarch unnamed. To the left of this section a large space of 730 millimetres, not shown in the Plates, is blank, save for the traces of many deleted memoranda which have been indicated, as well as may be, in the diagram of the papyrus. The remaining texts of the *verso* (sections E, F, G, H) are all upside-down from the standpoint of those previously described, and accordingly belong to the first of the two methods of inscribing the *verso* characterized a little way back. We now, therefore, start from the inner end of the papyrus, and describe the contents of the *verso* backwards, in the direction of section D. To the right of Plate XXVIII is a strip measuring 162 millimetres not reproduced in facsimile, since all that it contains in the way of writing is an erased memorandum, the position of which is shown in the diagram. Sections E and F (Plate XXVIII) are business jottings, each dated in ‘Year 2’. To the left of these are two more pages of love-poems (section G) without rubrics or verse-points. Under the second page of G, which consists only of five lines, is a last business memorandum (section H, Plate XXX) dated in ‘Year 3’. Then comes the large blank area above alluded to.

In seeking to determine the order in which the various portions of the *verso* were written, full attention must be paid to their differences of handwriting. Our next task will, therefore, be palaeographical.

1 In endeavouring to understand these technical details it must always be remembered that Egyptian hieratic writing reads from right to left.
§ 2 INTRODUCTORY

Under the present head only a few more remarks require to be made. A careful scrutiny has failed to discover any traces of re-use or erasure of an earlier text in any of the literary sections of the papyrus (the recto, and sections A, B, C, G of the verso). All the rest of the verso, except the four lines of section D, abounds in traces of deletion. It would thus seem that the various owners attached considerable importance to the compositions left intact in this manner, and further that the memoranda or business jottings were the latest part to be written. In agreement with this we may note that in the memorandum F (Plates XXVIII, XXIX) the tail of the numeral (l. 1) is clearly above, not below, the l at the beginning of the third line of the first page of the love-songs (G).

§ 3. PALAEOGRAPHY AND SPELLING

The writing of the recto is a smallish literary hand recalling Sallier I in its general effect, but displaying many later forms, the nearest analogies to which will be found in Harris I or the Abbott papyrus. Examples of such later forms are & with a dot or ‘squiggle’ (e.g. 10, 9), >(11, 7), the very peculiar ì (6, 13) approximating in shape to ³, and the clear ³ (1, 1) taking the place of ³ as determinative of hprì. The hand is neither very regular nor yet very tidy, but it possesses plenty of character and is not without a certain beauty of its own. Special features are the preference shown for a short-tailed -<, ending abruptly as though written with a jerk (e.g. 1, 10; 5, 10), for -< with its downward stroke sometimes practically vertical (e.g. 5, 12; 13; 6, 11), or again the spirited ì (4, 2), and € with the foremost arm ending in a daring flourish (7, 8, ii). Perhaps the most characteristic traits of all are the ligature for -< (e.g. 1, 12) or -< (15, 6 hprì) and the misshapen -< (e.g. 15, 1, 9). A peculiarity which occurs Pap. Turin (ed. Pleyte and Rossi), 108, 1, 6; Pap. jud. Turin, 6, 1; Pap. Brit. Mus. 10054, verso 2, 1 (I owe the last of these examples to Peet), is ^ (2, 4) for ê; the form of a mìh in 13, 3, 5 has become so close to ê that it has given rise to the group §(l., 3) with ì borrowed from ³ cubit. In respect of spelling, the scribe shares the constant confusion and interchange of the suffixes -< (1st plur.) and ê (2nd plur.) not uncommon in papyri of the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty (e.g. the Mallet and the Tomb-robberies papyri in the British Museum). The remarkable writing ì< (e.g. 6, 14) for ì< turns out to be of considerably more frequent occurrence than might have been imagined.

There can be no doubt that the love-songs at the end of the recto are the work of the same scribe, though here he has become careless and irregular. For these defects he makes ample amends, however, in the magnificent writing of the Encomium of Harnesses V (verso, section B; Plates XIX–XXI). That this section of the verso is to be attributed to the writer of the recto is certain, as the reader may convince himself by comparing the following signs and groups: -< recto 1, 12; 3, 3; verso B 7, 11; -< recto 1, 2; verso B 20; -< recto 2, 1; 4, 4; verso B 9, 21; ê recto 15, 5; verso B 14; ê recto 8, 12; verso B 11; -< recto 3, 12; verso B 30; -< recto 3, 9, end; verso B 27; ê, recto 4, 7; verso B 10; ê, recto 16, 6; verso B 24. A momentary doubt due to the fact that the Encomium abbreviates the ì of Y ì far more than is done in the mythological story is dispelled by the consideration that the Encomium, though written in larger and finer characters, bears every appearance of speedier execution, and also by the occurrence of the abbreviated ì in Y ì in the love-songs of Plate XVII (e.g. 3, 8). An astonishing and, so far as I know, unparalleled ligature found in the Encomium, but not on the recto, is that for l< (verso B 23, 26). It may here be remarked that the scribe of the Encomium and of the love-songs on the recto employs a form for ê (recto 17, 9; verso B 24) which the late Professor Möller took as a criterion of Memphite provenance (Hieratische Paläographie, II, p. 2); if Memphite and Theban writing is to be distinguished at all, the criteria must be established on a much wider basis than has hitherto been attempted.

Is the handiwork of the scribe of the recto to be found in any part of the verso besides the Encomium? The various love-songs (Plates XXII–XXV; XXIX; XXX) are clearly due to some other writer, and though it is difficult to say what the business style of the scribe of the recto would have looked like, there is little chance that the memoranda of the verso were written by him. There remains only the hymn with which the verso opens (Plate XVIII). About this I have long been in two minds. The execution is so much rougher than that of either the recto or the Encomium, and the strokes of the reed are so much thicker, that at first I found it difficult to reconcile myself to the notion that the hymn was the work of the same hand. But on closer examination the similarities were seen to be remarkable. The ligature for -< in A 1, the short-tailed -< in A 6, 7, the writings of ì (A 3, 7), of Y ì (A 5, 6), of
\( \Xi \) (A 2, cf. recto 3, 3), of | (A 7, cf. recto 16, 2), and above all of \( \Phi \) (A 8) altogether outweigh the singularity of | for \( \Phi \) (A 7) and of the second \( \Xi \) of A 6 in the hymn. Add to this that, in the matter of spelling, \( \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi \X
to frame hypotheses on this subject, but a more straightforward and simpler history of the papyrus is obtained if other students can convince themselves, as I have done, that the hymn was written by the scribe of the *recto*.

In that case the fortunes of the papyrus, down to the time when it passed out of the ownership of the said scribe, present no difficulty. Its next possessor may have been inspired by the love-songs at the end of the *recto* to adopt the same theme for his contributions to the *verso*. Perhaps section G, written from the opposite end of the *verso* to that already inscribed, was his first essay as a copyist of love-poems, or possibly even as the poet himself. The complete book of seven chapters (section C) will then have been his second effort, which he tacked on to the end of the uncompleted Encomium. Henceforth the papyrus was used only for business notes. The record of the sale of the ox (section D) is not, apparently, over an erasure, and for some reason or other it has been allowed to stand. There is no means of telling whether the fourth year in which it is dated belongs to Ramesses V or a later king. Other papyri from the same find name the vizier Nebmarenakht who flourished in the reign of Ramesses IX, so that there is ample room for datings posterior to Ramesses V. The entire central portion of the papyrus outside the literary texts and the memorandum D has been used and re-used, in some cases clearly more than once. A narrow strip in one part of the *verso* has been worn almost threadbare by erasures, and these have even given a smudgy and dark appearance to the *recto* at this point, see Plate XIII, left-hand portion. It would seem as though the space between section G and the inner margin of the papyrus may have held some brief memoranda before that section was written, since otherwise it is difficult to account for section G beginning so far from the inner end of the roll. These original memoranda may have been left standing until all the rest of the *verso* had been used over and over again, as there are very few erasures in this area. At the last, however, the old memoranda in question will have been deleted to give place to E and F. It has already been remarked that one sign of section F lies above a sign of section G (Plates XXVIII and XXIX). Perhaps E and F are the latest entries in the papyrus. The personages mentioned in them do not appear to be known from other sources, so that there is no means of knowing to whose reign the datings in ‘Year 2’ here belong.

§ 5. THE PRESENT PUBLICATION

The translation of the various texts contained in *Pap. Chester Beatty, no. I*, will occupy the next four chapters, of which the first will be devoted to the mythological story, the second to the love-songs, the third to the remaining literary writings, and the last to the business memoranda. It seemed unsuitable, in the catalogue of a great library of miscellaneous manuscripts, to include a mass of philological comments of interest only to the specialist, so that I have been sparing in annotations except such as are indispensable to the lay reader. On the other hand, it appeared useful to prefix to the translations a certain amount of introductory matter which explains the general bearings of the texts translated and places them in their true perspective as accessories to our knowledge.

My cordial thanks are due to Mr. Chester Beatty for making possible the result of my researches in so magnificent a form, to Messrs. Emery Walker for their admirable plates, and to my old friends of the Oxford University Press for the care which they have bestowed on the typographical side of the book. My assistant Mr. R. O. Faulkner has helped me ably alike in connexion with the manuscript and in the correction of the proofs.
CHAPTER II

THE CONTENDINGS OF HORUS AND SETH

§ 6. THE STORY AS A NOVELTY IN EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

The paucity of mythological texts from Ancient Egypt has often been remarked upon, and various reasons for it have been given. First, as to the facts. The vast collections of spells which the Old and Middle Kingdoms have bequeathed to us are singularly free from tales about the gods. There is hardly a divinity, however obscure, who escapes mention in the inscriptions of the pyramids and the coffins. But their individual characters and the legends told about them are assumed to be familiar; allusion takes the place of explicit recital, both as regards their personalities and as regards the vicissitudes of their fabled lives. Here and there the veil is lifted slightly, but no one conversant with the Egyptian religious literature will dispute the truth of the above statement as a broad generality. It is in the magical and magico-medical works that less cursory accounts of the gods are first vouchsafed to us. From this source we have the story of the healing of Ré by Isis, and from this source also both the cruder and the more refined versions of the anecdote telling how Isis quenched the flames in which her son Horus was engulfed. Also the legend of the 'Destruction of Mankind', a small book in itself, perhaps originally intended as a cosmogonical treatise, has come down to us through some compendium of magical recipes, as is shown by the rubrics which it contains, although the Tombs of the Kings are the immediate provenance. I will not dilate upon the campaigns of Horns recounted upon the walls of the temple of Edfu, nor yet upon the martial deeds of Shu, of which a fragmentary account is preserved upon the shrine in the Wady el-Árish. These belong to the later stages of pagan Egypt, when mythology was already to a considerable extent a mere matter of antiquarian curiosity. More to my present purpose is it to note that the sole coherent and detailed narratives of the tragedy and final vindication of Osiris are due to the Greek writers Diodoms Siculus and Plutarch. Unhappily these are adulterated with many new traits and incidents derived from non-Egyptian or at all events non-mythological sources, so that to obtain the story in anything like its original form we are thrown back upon the scattered and often discordant allusions which exist in plenty in the religious and magical texts of Pharaonic times.

Next, as to the reason. Herodotus, as is commonly known, attributes to pious awe his abstention from explicit description of the Osirian drama. But no one well-acquainted with the original hieroglyphic and hieratic writings will be disposed to credit the Egyptians with such praiseworthy delicacy. Much more in accordance with the truth is the observation made by Iamblichus that the Egyptians, alone of mortal men, were in the habit of threatening their gods; ample testimony to this blasphemous practice has been quoted from the Pyramid Texts downward. Perhaps the real cause for the paucity of mythological tales is twofold: partly, no doubt, a wide-spread familiarity with them from childhood; but partly also, I feel certain, an inborn love of mystery, a sense that words gain in potency in proportion as they are allusive and obscure. Be this as it may, straightforward mythological narratives of any considerable length have hitherto been absent. All the greater revelation is the long extract from the annals of the gods which is disclosed to us in the Ramesside papyrus here edited for the first time.

A broadly conceived and logically developed description of the legal conflict between Horus and Seth, culminating in the triumph of the former; a tale about the gods in which no human being plays a part, and where their foibles and intrigues are related with a half-contemptuous directness that is truly Homeric; a mythical story evidently told for no other reason than the story's sake, and dwelling on the coarser episodes with a schoolboy-like emphasis just for the jolly fun of lubricity: who would have dreamt that a native Egyptian papyrus would ever have presented us with such a book as this? And yet when we look around, there are some slight indications that the Chester Beatty papyrus is not quite

1 For instance, as others have not failed to point out, the sojourn of Isis at Byblos contains many traits in common with the 'Tale of the Two Brothers'. The journeys of Osiris to spread agriculture and knowledge of the vine are influenced largely by the myth of Dionysus.

2 De Mysteriis, 6, 7; see HOPFNER, Fontes historiae religiousis Aegyptiacae, p. 501. Similarly also in Porphyry, loc. cir., p. 472.

unique of its kind. It is almost certain that the Amherst papyrus relating to Astarte, the fragments of which Professor Newberry has published, was of closely similar character, though not enough is preserved to enable us to discern whether the narrative was tinged with the same rather rustic humour. I am less confident that the Twelfth Dynasty scraps from Illahun describing the pederastic stratagems of Seth belong to the same series. The opinion has been expressed that these are probably derived from some magical book, but perhaps only because mythology for its own sake has not hitherto been in our purview. There is a Middle Kingdom mythological fragment in the Cairo Museum, still unpublished and recording an episode in which some one is bitten by a snake and dies, whereat ‘this god (?) Ṛ’ spoke to Seth’, and bade the council be convoked, etc. Thus we possess at least some shreds of evidence that the lives and fortunes of the gods had become the subject-matter of purely literary treatment even as early as the Middle Kingdom. Until more facts are at our disposal, I think it premature to conclude that the flippancy of the ‘Contendings of Horus and Seth’ would alone mark that book as the product of a decadent and sceptical age. In view of the threats against the gods above mentioned, I am not at all sure that the irreverent though probably still fully believing stage of Egyptian religion had not been reached already by the time of the Pyramid builders. Even if some scholars should feel themselves unable to put implicit faith in the extraordinarily persuasive and apparently unanswerable arguments with which Professor Sethe has recently traced the development of Egyptian mythology through half a dozen successive historic stages, still they must admit that, before the Fifth Dynasty, centuries of theological speculation had overlaid and profoundly altered the simple, comparatively spontaneous myths of a postulated naïve tribal age. The moment has not yet arrived to pronounce a certain judgement upon this issue. Negatively, however, I think we may refuse to regard our tale as plainly characteristic of the Ramesside period and of that period only, at all events so far as its spirit and tone are concerned. Such examples of Egyptian humour as we possess do, it is true, emanate mainly from the Nineteenth Dynasty—the best-known specimen is the literary controversy of the first Anastasi papyrus. But our material is so scanty that the argument from silence is exceedingly dangerous, as has been proved time and time again. Possibly if the Horus and Seth fragments from Illahun were preserved entire, as well as the original from which is drawn the incident of Isis and the hippopotamuses common to the Chester Beatty papyrus and Pap. Saltier IV, we might then see a closer kinship than is at present discernible between those compositions and the newly discovered text. But until more material of the kind is forthcoming, the new story must necessarily appear a complete novelty, and indeed as a most important accession to our none too well stocked collection of Egyptian literary pieces.

We possess from the Ramesside age two other stories which are inspired, at any rate in part, by traditional mythology, but which differ from the ‘Contendings of Horus and Seth’ in several important particulars. I allude to the well-known ‘Tale of the Two Brothers’, and also to the as yet unpublished story of ‘The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood’, contained in a papyrus which Mrs. Chester Beatty has generously presented to the Trustees of the British Museum. In the former the heroes are the god Anubis and a little-known deity Bata worshipped at Kynopolis; in the latter Truth is but a thinly disguised pseudonym for Osiris, while Falsehood is evidently identical with Seth. In style and vocabulary these two stories are very closely related to the tale we are now considering, but in their manner of composition and in their atmosphere this last appears to me poles apart from both the former. Those two stories are very closely related to the tale we are now considering, but in their manner of composition and in their atmosphere this last appears to me poles apart from both the former. Those are humanized to such an extent that their actors might well be fictitious men and women, while all the ‘Contendings’ and ‘The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood’ are folk-stories slightly moralized after the manner of Hans Andersen. It is amusing to see how the Egyptian deities look when bereft of their hieratic poses. Horus is a child and a wealding, but none the less the true son of Osiris, conciliatory and good, destined also in the steadfastness of his virtue to prevail at last and to secure his succession to the throne of Egypt. 

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Seth is the stupid but muscular lout, who often temporarily secures his ends by malignant threats or by unworthy ruses. Isis, the tender-hearted mother and sister, is the typical woman, whose subtle instinct and magical power protect both herself and her son, though her fears and in her actions, her judgement is undeniably at fault. Thoth is the active agent of the Ennead, writing its letters and performing its business with the efficiency of a respectable family solicitor. The sun-god Pre', like Zeus in the Iliad, is hardly the commanding presence whom we should expect to find ruling in the Egyptian Olympus. He goes off to sulk in his tent like a very Achilles, though the cause of his vexation is just as insignificant a figure as the Homeric Thersites. The correspondence between Pre' and Osiris is burlesque of the most barefaced description. At the behest of the Ennead Thoth writes to Osiris respectfully; he replies peevishly. The sun-god then tries to put Osiris in his proper place, but the latter forces Pre' to surrender by angrily threatening to fetch the rebellious gods down to his dark and dismal realm. Nor is the analogy with the Homeric atmosphere confined to the individual deities. Like the Olympians in Homer, so too the gods of the great Ennead in our tale are for ever eating and drinking, when not engaged in the equally pleasurable alternative of squabbling. But I will pursue this characterization no further. Students of Egyptian mythology and literature have here a wonderful field for study which will doubtless occupy them for many a long year. This introductory summary must attempt to do no more than deal with the salient features.

I have touched on the question of humour. It is not very easy to know when an ancient writer is attempting to be humorous, since there is no point in which different peoples hold more divergent views. Broadly speaking, we may safely assert that the tale of the 'Contendings' was meant to be diverting and even, from time to time, frankly farcical, but in exactly which places the auditors have will have laughed most is not easy to decide. The taunt which made the sun-god go on strike still seems amusing; more so, in a Rabelaisian way, the reason which sent him back to work (3, 9-4, 3). I fancy that the blustering of Seth and the deceptions which he undergoes will have appealed to many; in particular, there is humour which we can still appreciate in the manner in which Seth goes to Pre' and tells how Isis has outwitted him, only to meet with the retort that it is all his own fault (7, 1-12). Merriment may also have been occasioned by the vacillations of the divine tribunal, swayed first in this way and then in that. To the coarser aspects of the tale I have alluded more than once. These were, no doubt, an inevitable heritage from the earlier sources. Still, they are elaborated with a relish that is quite unmistakable.

§ 7. THE STYLE, LANGUAGE, AND MODE OF COMPOSITION

One cannot fail to be struck with the meanness of diction displayed by the new tale. Fresh incidents and other speakers are ushered in with the same monotonous 'Thereupon he' or 'And so-and-so spake', while longer intervals are invariably marked by the formula 'And after many days following upon these things'. The vocabulary is small and commonplace; there is only one new word, or at the outside two, namely Kal epiRTATIKTOv 6, 13, 4; perhaps also 5, 13, 8. The high-water mark of clumsiness is reached in the passage where Seth relates to Pre' the conversation that had passed between Isis and himself; here a story told by Isis to Seth is encased in the story told by Seth to Pre', and the quotation ends 'thus he spake unto my son—so she said to me' (7, 7-8). I have deemed it my duty as a translator to reproduce as faithfully as possible all these evidences of incompetence on the part of the original writer, just as I have not flinched (except in the case of one wholly impossible word) from a literal English rendering of the more salacious episodes. In taking this course, I have come to the unexpected conclusion that the entire passage relating to the seed of Horus and Seth is too barbaric to give real offence. At all events, the investigator of antiquity who takes his task seriously must be prepared to follow the lead given by his material, however little to his taste the substance of what he has to retail may happen to be.

The vulgarity both of style and of subject-matter on which I have dwelt separates our story widely from the great Middle Kingdom masterpieces of Egyptian literature like the 'Tale of Sinuhe', as well as from the more carefully written and sophisticated products of the Ramesside age, like the literary controversy contained in Pap. Anastasi I. Our story was, in fact, evidently intended for purely popular

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1 Cf. Τυρφων ὁ τῆς φυγής τὸ παρθενόν καὶ τυπάσας καὶ ἐλημένος καὶ ἐμπεξομενον 'In character Typhon represents all that is passionate, subversive, unreasonable, and capricious', PLUTARCH, de Iside, ch. 49.

2 For non-Egyptological readers it is necessary to state that the 'Ennead' is the English rendering of the Egyptian name for the conclave of the gods generally. For further details see below, p. 14, note 3.
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consumption; one can imagine its recital by a village story-teller before a squatting circle of guffawing fellaheen. To the same series of vernacular tales belong the Westcar papyrus, the 'Tale of the Two Brothers', the 'Tale of the Doomed Prince', and others. All these display a similar manner of diction and many of the same actual expressions; they differ only in an absence, or in a lesser degree, of coarseness as regards the contents. This being so, to judge fairly of the merit of the new story we must lower our standard, and assess its merit from a different angle from that whence the older literature is judged.

Regarded from this more liberal standpoint, we have to admit that the tale of the 'Contendings' achieves its somewhat ignoble purpose with a remarkable measure of success. The narrative hangs well together, and marches onward through a series of well-ordered episodes to a triumphant logical conclusion. The individual episodes must, I believe, in every case be drawn from a genuine mythological source. Where the incidents recounted are novel, it by no means follows that they are not of ancient origin. The probability is, on the contrary, that the Ramesside author has invented nothing. That he has shown great skill in binding the various incidents together, none can deny. And so effectively has he clothed them in his own language, that only in one doubtful case have I been able to detect a Middle-Egyptian mode of parlance inconsistent with the Late-Egyptian idioms used by him elsewhere. Nor are the joins anywhere visible. The introduction of a new incident is generally marked by the removal of the Ennead to some other place where a fresh verdict is pronounced, and it is the non-acceptance of this fresh verdict by one or other of the two parties which then gives rise to the new occurrences. Only in three passages does the writer himself seem to hark back to previous portions of his book. In 9, 6 a word which apparently signified 'hostility', 'estrangement' in its original source, has been altered in our tale to 'stranger' in order to provide an allusion to the fictive incident of the 'stranger' which Isis uses as a ruse to entrap the unwary Seth (6, 7, foll.). Here for once our writer has been unsuccessful, for the resultant sentence is well-nigh unintelligible in its context. In 12, 8, where the testing of the seed of Horus and Seth is in progress, reference seems made to the water into which Isis had thrown the polluted hand of Horus cut off by her. Can this be regarded as a proof that the contents of the eleventh and twelfth pages were continuous and consecutive in some earlier composition? In 14, 2-4 the various tribunals in which Horus had received a favourable verdict are enumerated. In spite of slight verbal differences the names of the first two can be identified with two judgement-halls mentioned in the course of the preceding narrative (3, 7; 3, 6); whether or not the two remaining judgement-halls named refer to other places in the story where verdicts were given is doubtful. In connexion with the second of the four tribunals Horus is not altogether justified in stating that a verdict had been given in his favour; first of all Neith's decision in favour of Horus is accepted (3, 7), but later on the Ennead veers round in favour of Seth (4, 6), though only to assure Isis a moment afterwards that justice will be done to her. This is one of the few inconsistencies of the tale. In some passages there seems to be a slight hesitancy as to whether two distinct divine names belong to separate deities or to a single god. Thus in 2, 2 Banebdedet is summoned, but when he arrives, it is in the company of Ptah-tanen, a divinity with whom he is elsewhere identified in Ramesside times. Still, the writer here seems definitely to have recognized the gods as two, since he subsequently refers to them, not in the singular, but in the plural. Much more puzzling is the expression 'Pre^Harakhti and Atum, the lord of the two lands in Heliopolis' in 8, 2-3; 5-6. Everywhere else Pre^-Harakhti and Atum are but variant designations of the sun-god, and so too here 'my letter' in the following context points to a single deity. But can the Egyptian word for 'and' ('?) be employed to express distinct names of one and the same person? The phrase is at all events misleading. Still more inconsequent is the vow of Isis, in 4, 10-12, to lay the whole dispute before Atum of Heliopolis and before Khopri, another form of the sun-god. For here Isis seems to be appealing, as it were, from Julius to Caesar, and not only to Caesar, but to him differentiated into two separate personalities. Equally difficult also is an utterance of the Ennead a line or two further back (4, 8-9), where they reproach the sun-god with some words which

1 Plutarch, De Iside, ch. 20, speaks with abhorrence of certain odious and disgusting stories about the gods. He would assuredly have put our new tale into this category.
2 The word 'barb' is sometimes followed by a suffix-pronoun (9, 2; 5; 13, 10), though in other passages (9, 3; 6; 11, 6) the possessive article papyrus is used. This seems to point to an incompletely carried out adaptation from Middle to Late Egyptian. It is true, however, that in a few other cases which I cannot explain the suffix is used, e.g. (9, 4; 9, 10; 13, 10); always in (9, 4; 9, 10; 13, 10).
3 This source seems preserved in the sentence (9, 5; 13, 10) (read 'Sallier IV, recto 3. 2. The word darp is evidently the prototype of the Coptic maax; it is a variant writing. See the translation below, p. 19, n. 51; also p. 20, n. 1.
he has never spoken. At this point the tale produces an impression of muddle-headedness at variance with the narration as a whole.

It cannot be denied, moreover, that the entire plot of the story is based on an inconsistency inseparable from the syncretistic account of the gods which it embodies. The author has glossed over this inconsistency so well that it is probably only an un-Egyptologically minded reader who will notice it and be puzzled by it. The mainspring of the tale is really the unwillingness of the sun-god Prë to admit the claims of Horus to the throne of Osiris. The antagonistic views of Prë and Osiris culminate in the acrimonious correspondence between the two (see above, p. 10); this is, indeed, the climax of the book. But the curious point is that, in opposing the claims of Horus, the sun-god is not pressing his own, as might be expected, but is contending on behalf of Seth. To those who have not reconciled themselves, through long familiarity, to the Egyptian habit of entertaining contradictory notions at the same time, the position of Prë in our tale must appear highly anomalous. He is in *the Master of the Universe* (i, 2. 6. 8 and passim), and adopts in his two letters (2, 9 foll.; 14, 7 foll.) the full style and titles of an earthly Pharaoh. And, nevertheless, as president of the divine tribunal, he deals with the rival claimants to the kingship of Egypt in as detached a manner—apart from a certain bias in favour of Seth—as though he were a Nineteenth-Dynasty Vizier adjudicating on some ordinary case of inheritance. Also in another respect the status of Prë may cause perplexity to the general reader. In our tale he is mainly a ruler of supreme authority moving from place to place with his court of attendant gods; these, being away from home, live in tents like soldiers on a foreign campaign (3, 13). But at the same time we receive discreet hints of his solar function: mention is made of the *Bark of Millions* in which he fares across the heavens (4, 5); and in the *dénouement* he promises to take Seth to dwell with him as his adopted son, so that he may *thunder in the sky* (16, 4). Last of all, the identification of Prë with Atum of Heliopolis is not forgotten, though only in the passage already mentioned (4, 12) does it cease to be a mere titular attribute and become a living conception in the mouth of one of the characters in the tale.

The author cannot be blamed for the blurred and misty effect produced by such discrepancies as those mentioned in the last paragraph.¹ They are due to deep-rooted tendencies in the Egyptian mind which constitute one of its main differences from the Hellenic spirit apparent already in the great Homeric epics. The line of bards responsible for the Iliad would never have tolerated so indistinct a figure as Prë presents; they are careful always to tell us how the gods came by any new forms that they chose to adopt for any special purpose or mission. But apart from the defects inherent in our author's own tradition he has told his story well. As exceptions there remain only to be noted the two letters composed by Thoth (2, 9–3, 1; 14, 7–9), which are lacking in the clarity one might have expected from the inventor of writing and literature—and the introductory passage. The obscurity of the introductory passage is due not so much to the lacunae in the papyrus and to the difficulty of filling them, as to the embarrassment which the Egyptian author, like many another before and after him, seems to have felt in commencing his narrative. Such embarrassment frequently displays itself in a pomposity out of keeping with the limpidity of style observable when once the writer has got going. In this same opening passage there is a cryptic sentence relating to Thoth's presentation of the Sacred Eye which has required a note to explain it.

As to the nature of the sources whence the author drew his various episodes, we are almost wholly in the dark. In some cases the source may have been oral tradition, but in one instance at least we have the certitude that a literary original was used. The verbal coincidences between the passage referring to Isis and the hippopotamuses and the version of the same episode in *Pap. Saltier IV*, show that some common written source must have been employed. The Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days in *Pap. Saltier IV* is so corrupt that we cannot but conclude that it was of considerable antiquity. Thus the origins of the new mythological tale go back, at least in part, to a period not later than the Middle Kingdom.

Nevertheless, the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth' bear as a whole the unmistakable stamp of the Ramesside age. The language is Late Egyptian as pure as the literary convention of the time would allow it to be. There are features, like the references to Banebdedet and Ptah-tanen (2, 2–6), which find their only parallel in the official stelae of Abu Simbel and Medinet Habu. The titulary of the sun-

¹ One might add as a final example the fact that, though Horus is represented as a child (1, 2; 3, 8), he is nevertheless said to have been already eighty years before the tribunal (2, 13; 13, 13).
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god (14, 7–9) is based on that of kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The formulae employed, the grammar, and the individual words, all point in the same direction. From the purely philological standpoint, the great interest of our text lies, not in the new constructions it presents, but in the remarkable way in which it confirms and illustrates afresh the idiomatic uses familiar from other contemporary tales.

The grammar of Late Egyptian is at present in a state of flux, and any summary of the peculiarities of our papyrus in this respect seems to me inopportune in the present publication. It is my intention to print a series of philological comments elsewhere, and such grammatical observations as I have to offer are better deferred to be used in that connexion.

The question of the correctness of the MS. does not belong strictly under the present head. But the topic is akin to those previously discussed, and the little I have to say on the subject may as well be said here. Errors of orthography are not infrequent, but they are almost always transparent. It seems evident that our papyrus is very close to the archetype. Indeed, I can see no absolutely compelling reason why the scribe should not have been the actual author of the tale.

§ 8. TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Some reference has been made already to the principles which have guided me in translating the new story. It has been my endeavour to be as literal as possible, and I remain impenent in my belief that a semi-Biblical style is the best medium for conveying to modern readers both the Egyptian atmosphere and the Egyptian phraseology. Where additional words not in the hieratic text were needed to make the renderings more intelligible or more palatable, the expedient of italics has been adopted, as in our Authorized Version. Square brackets [ ] indicate words lost in lacunae. With rare exceptions I have followed the rubrics of the original in dividing the tale into paragraphs. The foot-notes are intended either to explain matters which might perplex the modern reader or else to illustrate or in some way elaborate the statements of the narrative. The above remarks must be taken as applying, not only to the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth', but also to the renderings in the subsequent chapters of this book.

THE CONTENDINGS OF HORUS AND SETH

[Came to pass] the adjudging of Horus and Seth, those twain mysterious of form, great, mighty princes that ever came into being; in that 1 a certain [little] child 2 of Ptah, 3 who enlighteneth [the netherworld with] his commodity; while Thoth was presenting the Eye 4 [to] the mighty prince who is in Heliopolis. 5

1 Horus is of course meant. Egyptian petitioners before a court of law presented their pleadings; if Horus is represented as sitting, it is perhaps because he is conceived of as a child unable to walk. See below, 3, 8, and the sitting posture of bronzes of Harpokrates ("Horus-the-child").

2 Literally "the Lord-to-the-Boundary", the second comonest designation of the sun-god in this text (20 times). The commonest of all is Prer-Harakhti (22 times; first in 1, sun-god recalls a mythical incident belonging to the most mysterious of form, great,

3 Ptah, the god of Memphis, is named as the demiurge of the second comonest form of the sun-god, namely the scarabaeus Khopri, is represented as fitting, it is perhaps because the posture of bronzes of Harpokrates ("Horus-the-child") is meant, too, by the epithet, 'the bull which dwelleth in Heliopolis'; Atum is meant, too, by the epithet, 'the bull which dwelleth in Heliopolis' (2, 8, 12; 3, 4; 14, 9). Yet another form of the sun-god, namely the scarabaeus Khopri, is mentioned only in 4, 13.

4 We gain the impression that this gesture is mentioned as part of the regular ceremonial of the divine tribunal, and the probability is that it was a symbolic tribute to the supreme justice of the sun-god, being understood as synonymous with the act of presenting a figure of Justice (§ 5 Mære) to its lord, which the Pharaoh (or a priest as his representative) performed as a part of the daily ritual in the temples. Thoth's presentation of the Sacred Eye to the sun-god recalls a mythical incident belonging to the most tangled skein of Egyptian mythology. At least three themes have been mixed up: (1) that of a goddess (Hathor), daughter of Rê, who was sent by him to punish some rebellious subjects; (2) that of a lioness-goddess (Nefertari) brought back against her will from the Nubian desert by a warrior god (In-her Osiris); (3) the legend according to which Thoth healed and restored to Horus the eye which had been torn from him by Seth. Further ingredients which led to the portrayal of Thoth as offerer of the Eye were (4) the identification of the sun-god with a Horus, though not with Horus, the son of Isis; and (5) the conception of the sun and moon as the eyes of heaven, subject to eclipse and temporary destruction.

5 i.e. Atum, see note 2 above.
Then spake Shu, the son of Re, before [Atum], the mighty [prince] who is in Heliopolis: All justice is powerful; [do] it, saying, Give the kingly office unto [Horus].

And Isis uttered a great cry, and rejoiced ex[ceedingly. And she came and stood] before the Master [of the] Universe, and she said: North wind, his to the West, and bear the good tidings to Onnophris!

Then spake Thoth unto the Divine Ennead: [Right,) a million times right!

And he appears again only in i, 7; 14, 4. 5> where he is a strong partisan of Horus.

The Ennead is here answering the sun-god's objection by pointing to a fait accompli: Horus has already assumed the kingship.

The north wind was regarded by the Egyptians as the north wind was regarded by the Egyptians as

The first-born son of Rer, for that reason well qualified to act as spokesman of the Ennead. Nevertheless he appears again only in 1, 7; 14, 4. 5, where he is a strong partisan of Horus.

The term 'Ennead' (from Gk. εἴδη) is the accepted English equivalent of the Egyptian pidy, 'a body of nine (gods'), properly the official designation of the company of great deities descended, according to the Heliopolitan dogma, from the sun-god Re-Atum. Originally comprising Atum himself and four pairs of deities, namely Shu and Tefnêr, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephys, the Ennead subsequently extended its membership so as to comprise (theoretically) eighteen or twenty-seven divinities, but no list of them is ever given. Already in the Pyramid Texts (1064-6) we find an address to the great Ennead in Heliopolis, mistress of twenty-seven gods', which hies to the West, instead of to the South. Onnophris is a well-known designation of Osiris, only here in our tale. Osiris is a new and surprising trait, though the pronoun clearly means Horus, since Seth has not yet been mentioned except in the title, and since Seth himself, on his first definite appearance on the scene (1, 9) refers to Horus, not by name, but with the pronoun of the third person. The Ennead is here answering the sun-god's objection by pointing to a fait accompli: Horus has already assumed the kingship.

The explicit statement that the sun-god supported the claims of Rer is a new and surprising trait, though 'beloved of Rer' and the like are not uncommon titles of Seth in Rameside times; references, see Roden, art. Set in Roscher, Lexikon, IV, 756.

Onuris, Eg. Tn-hrt, 'the one who brought the distant one' (see p. 13, n. 4 above), the god of Thinis. He is named again as a supporter of the cause of Horus in 3, 8; 4, 6.

Banebdedet, the goat-god of Mendes, the modern Tell er-Roba in the midst of the eastern half of the Delta, was reputed to be the incarnation ('living manifestation') both of Rer and of Osiris. Since, furthermore, he was pre-eminent the god of generation, he would undoubtedly be the most suitable deity to determine the legitimacy of Horus. These are probably the reasons why appeal was made to him. In the sequel he shows himself unwilling to give a decision (2, 5-6), but inclines to take the part of Seth (4, 7). The explanation here given of the invitation that which brought health and happiness. The West is often synonymous with the nether world, the realm of Osiris. These two conceptions, as Mr. Faulkner points out, together explain the incongruity of a north wind which hies to the West, instead of to the South. Onnophris is a well-known designation of Osiris, only here in our tale. Osiris is a new and surprising trait, though the pronoun clearly means Horus, since Seth has not yet been mentioned except in the title, and since Seth himself, on his first definite appearance on the scene (1, 9) refers to Horus, not by name, but with the pronoun of the third person. The Ennead is here answering the sun-god's objection by pointing to a fait accompli: Horus has already assumed the kingship.

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§ 8

So they brought Banebdedet, the great god who dwelleth in Setit, before Atum, together with Ptah-tanen. And he said unto them: Pronounce judgement upon the two striplings, and stop them from standing thus and wrangling every day.

And Banebdedet, the great god, the living, made answer to that which he had said:

Let not us take action in our ignorance, but cause to be sent a letter unto Neith, the mighty, the god's mother. What she shall say, that will we do.

Thereupon the Ennead spake unto Banebdedet, the great god, the living: Judgement was made between them in the primeval time in the hall Alone-of-truths.

Thereupon the Ennead spake unto Thoth in the presence of the Master of the Universe: Make thou a letter unto Neith, the mighty, the god's mother, in the name of the Master of the Universe, the bull which dwelleth in Heliopolis.

Thereupon Thoth said: I will do so, verily I will do so.

Thereupon he sat down to make the letter, and he said: The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rê-Atum, the beloved of Thoth, the lord of the two lands in Heliopolis, the sun which enlighteneth the two lands with his comeliness, the Nile mighty in taking possession, Rê-Harakhti (whilst Neith, the mighty, the god's mother, who enlightened the first face, still liveth, and is in health, and flourisheth), the living manifestation of the Master of the Universe, the bull in Heliopolis as the good king of To-meri, to this effect: I thy servant spend the night in thought for Osiris, taking counsel with the two lands every day, while Sobk endureth for ever. What are we to do unto the two men who these eighty years past have been before the tribunal, and none knoweth how the judgement upon them twain? Mayest thou write unto us what we shall do.

Thereupon Neith, the mighty, the god's mother, sent a letter to the Ennead, saying:

Give the office of Osiris to his son Horus, and do not do those great acts of wickedness which are not in their place, else I shall be angry, and the heaven shall crash to the ground. And let it be spoken unto the Master of the Universe, the bull which dwelleth in Heliopolis, Double thou Seth in his possessions, and give unto him Anat and Astarte thy two daughters, and set thou Horus in the place of his father Osiris.

Nothing is known about this earlier judgement of Horus and Seth. The judgement-hall in which it was made is referred to under a slightly different name 'Way-of-Truths' (was 'way' taking the place of w' alone?) in § 14. 7

Here and below Thoth is represented as composing and reading aloud the letters from one god to another. Outside the present story he is called 'letter-writer of the Ennead' in Pap. Anastasi II, 9, 2.

Egyptian letters normally begin with the names of both sender and addressee in some such form as 'X greets Y'. Here and in the letter to Osiris, 14, 7 foll., only the name and titles of the sender are given, but in the present case some wishes for the health of Neith, the intended recipient, are extremely curiously introduced in the guise of a parenthesis.

'To-meri' is a not uncommon designation of Egypt.

The crocodile-god Sobk, the Suchos of the Greeks, was the son of Neith. The sun-god appears to suggest that while he, Prê, is thus worrying about Osiris, Neith has no such anxieties about her own offspring.

Cf. the similar sentence below, 13, 12, together with my comment above, p. 12, n. 1.

Anat and Astarte are two Semitic goddesses often mentioned together in the Egyptian texts, see S. A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine, pp. 104 foll. In the
And the letter of Neith, the mighty, the god’s mother, reached the Ennead as they
sat in the hall Horus-prominent-of-horns, and the letter was put into the hand of Thoth.
And Thoth read it out before the Master of the Universe and before the entire
Ennead. And they spake with one mouth, This goddess is in the right.
Thereupon the Master of the Universe was angry with Horus, and he said unto him:
Thou art feeble in thy limbs, and this kingly office is too great for thee, thou stripling
the taste of whose mouth is bad!
And Onuris was angry a million times, and so was the entire Ennead, even the
Thirty. And the god Babai rose up, and he spake unto Prê-Harakhti, Thy shrine
is empty!
And Prê-Harakhti was aggrieved at this taunt which had been spoken to him, and he
laid himself down upon his back, and his heart was very sore.
And the Ennead went forth, and they cried aloud before the face of the god Babai.
And they said unto him, Get thee forth, this crime that thou hast done is exceeding
great. And they went to their tents.
And the great god passed a day lying upon his back in his arbour, and his heart was
very sore, and he was alone.
And after a long space Hathor, the lady of the southern sycomore, came and stood
before her father, the Master of the Universe, and she uncovered her nakedness before
his face.
And the great god laughed at her.
Thereupon he rose up, and he sat down with the great Ennead, and he said unto
Horus and Seth, Speak concerning yourselves.
Thereupon Seth, great of strength, the son of Nut, said: As for me, I am Seth, the
greatest of strength among the Ennead, and I slay the enemy of Prê daily, being in
front of the Bark-of-Millions, and none other god is able to do it. I am entitled to the
office of Osiris.
Thereupon they said: Seth, the son of Nut, is in the right.
Thereupon Onuris and Thoth cried aloud, saying. Shall the office be given unto
a brother on the side of the mother, while a son of the body is yet alive?
Then spake Banebdedet, the great god, the living, and said: Shall the office be given
unto this stripling, while Seth, his elder brother, is yet alive?
Astarte papyrus (Newberry, Amherst Papyri, Pl. 20, frag. 1) that goddess is called the daughter of Ptah, but
Anat appears as the daughter of Prê in a fragmentary legend concerning her preserved in the unpublished Page of the Dead, ch. 49, speaks of a god Bebon who according to some was
a friend of Seth-Typhon, but whom Manetho identifies with the latter.

Presumably the gibe means that nobody any longer worships or pays attention to Prê; his shrine is empty or,
as we might put it, to let.

6 See above in the introduction to this story, p. 12.
7 Hathor appears here quite unmistakably as the Egyptian Aphrodite. ‘Nakedness’ in my translation represents a grosser word in the Egyptian text.
8 M. Nagel has recently collected all the texts and figured representations in connexion with this function of Seth: ‘Set dans la barque solaire, in Bull. de l’Inst. françois, Art. orient., 28, 33-9.
9 In this passage two discordant views with regard to

A very obscure deity, mentioned already in the Pyramid Texts, where he is described as ‘red-eyed, and with
coloured hind-quarters’ (1349, 9). This suggests a monkey,
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And the Ennead cried aloud before the face of the Master of the Universe, and they said unto him: What are these words that thou hast spoken, which are not worthy that they should be heard?

Then spake Horus, the son of Isis: Not good is this, in sooth, that I should be cheated in presence of the Ennead, and that the office of my father Osiris should be taken away from me.

And Isis was angry with the Ennead, and she made an oath to God in presence of the Ennead, saying: As my mother, the goddess Neith, liveth, and as Ptah-tanen, high of plumes, curber of the horns of the gods, liveth, these words shall be placed before Atum, the mighty prince who is in Heliopolis, and likewise before Khopri who dwelleth in his Bark.

Spake to her the Ennead: Be not vexed, his rights shall be given unto him who is the right, and all that thou hast said shall be done.

And Seth, the son of Nut, was angry with the Ennead, when they said these words to Isis, the mighty, the god's mother.

And Seth spake unto them: I will take my sceptre of four thousand and five hundred pounds, and I will kill one of you each day.

And Seth made an oath to the Master of the Universe, saying: I will not contend in the tribunal whilst Isis is in it.

And Prê-Harakhti spake unto them: Cross ye over to the Island-in-the-midst, and judge ye between them, and say unto Anti, the ferryman, Do not ferry across any woman in the semblance of Isis.

And the Ennead crossed over to the Island-in-the-midst, and they sat down and ate bread.

Thereupon Isis came, and she drew nigh unto Anti, the ferryman, as he sat anigh his boat, and she had changed herself into an aged woman, and she went along bowed down, and a little ring of gold was on her finger. And she spake unto him, I have come unto thee that thou mayst ferry me across to the Island-in-the-midst, for I have come with this jar of flour for the little lad. He has been looking after some cattle in the Island-in-the-midst for five days unto to-day, and he is hungry. And he spake unto her: It was said unto me, Do not ferry across any woman. And she spake unto him: Was it said to thee on account of Isis, this that thou hast said? And he spake unto her: What wilt thou give me, that I may ferry thee across to the Island-in-the-midst?

the relationship of Horus and Seth are turned to effective 'him of the claws', his native city was in the 12th nome of literary use. According to the more ancient legend, Horus Upper Egypt, named 'Mountain of the Cerastes'. His dating from a later, but still very remote age, Seth and Osiris were children of the heaven-goddess Nut, so that Seth would be not the elder brother, but merely the maternal uncle, of Horus.

1 But the sun-god has said nothing offensive whatsoever. See on this passage my comments above, pp. 11-12.
2 See above, p. 11 at bottom, with regard to the self-contradictory views involved in this passage.
3 The word here rendered 'pounds' is different from that translated in like fashion in 8, 12, but it seems impossible to find a satisfactory substitute.
4 A locality not mentioned elsewhere than in our tale.
5 The whole of the episode next related (5, 4-8, 1) is new.
6 The little hitherto known about this god is due to the researches of Prof. Sethe, who discusses him at length in his book Urschichte und alteste Religion der Aegypter, §§ 51, 53. Originally a falcon god with the name twy, 'him of the claws', his native city was in the 12th nome of Upper Egypt, named 'Mountain of the Cerastes'. His function as ferryman had not been hitherto recognized, but now that it has been revealed by the Chester Beatty papyrus, we can discern traces of it, as Sethe points out to me, in two passages of the Pyramid Texts (13591; 7524). Also the curved object below the falcon in the hieroglyph denoting his name may now be identified as a boat, the more so since it is occasionally furnished with a rudder, see the personal names in Lange and Scharff, Grab- und Denksteine, III, 149. A god of related name, but dual in form `cneyc', had his home in the not far distant roth Upper Egyptian nome, that of the Serpent; there has been some confusion of the two deities, as is shown alike by the writings and by the passages from the Pyramid Texts above quoted.

Throughout this episode there is a continual play upon words between `bwt' ('kingly office'), Seth being intended to understand the former, while Isis was really alluding to the latter.
13 Spake to him Isis: I will give thee this loaf.

14 Thereupon he spake unto her: What is it to me, thy loaf? Shall I ferry thee across to the Island-in-the-midst—when it has been said to me, Ferry no woman across—for the sake of thy loaf?

6 Thereupon she spake unto him: I will give thee this ring of gold which is in my hand. And he spake unto her, Let me have the ring of gold. And she gave it to him.

Thereupon he ferried her across to the Island-in-the-midst.

3 And while she was going beneath the trees, she looked and she saw the Ennead, as they sat and ate bread in presence of the Master of the Universe in his arbour.

4 And Seth looked and he saw her, as she was coming there afar off.

5 Thereupon she uttered an incantation with her magic, and she changed herself into a maiden fair of her limbs, and there was not the like of her in the entire land.

6 And he loved her right sore.

Thereupon Seth rose up, and he sat down and ate bread with the great Ennead, and he went to overtake her, and no one had seen her except him.

Thereupon he stood behind a tree, and he cried unto her, and he said to her: I am here with thee, fair maiden. And she spake unto him: Nay, my great lord! As for me, I was the wife of a herdsman of cattle, and I bare unto him a male child. And my husband died, and the stripling came to be after the cattle of his father. Then a foreigner came, and he sat down in my byre, and thus spake he unto my son: I will beat thee, and I will take away the cattle of thy father, and I will cast thee forth. Thus spake he unto him. But my wish is to make thee act for him as champion.

And Seth spake unto her: Shall the cattle be given to the foreigner, while the son of the goodman is alive?

14 And Isis changed herself into a kite, and she flew, and she perched on the top of an acacia. And she called unto Seth, and she said unto him: Weep for thyself; it is thine own mouth that hath said it, it is thine own cleverness which hath adjudged thee. What aileth thee now?

2 And he stood a-weeping, and he went to the place where Prê-Harakhti was, and he wept.

Thereupon Prê-Harakhti spake unto him: What aileth thee now?

3 Thereupon Seth spake unto him: That evil woman came against me again, that she might beguile me once again, having changed herself into a fair maiden before my face.

4 And she spake unto me: As for me, I was the wife of a herdsman of cattle, and he died, and I bare to him a male child, and he is after some cattle belonging to his father. And a foreigner visited my byre and gave him bread. And after many days following upon these things the stranger spake unto my son: I will beat thee, and I will take away the cattle of thy father, and they shall become mine. Thus he spake unto my son—so he said to me.

Thereupon Prê-Harakhti spake unto him: And what saidst thou to her?

9 And Seth spake unto him: I said to her, Shall the cattle be given to the foreigner, while the son of the goodman is yet alive? so I said to her.—One shall beat the face of the stranger with a stick, and he shall be cast forth, and thy son shall be set in the place of his father—so I said to her.

1 Paronomasia between cattle and office.

2 Seth has condemned himself out of his own mouth without knowing it, since it is he and none other who has sought to rob the orphan of his true rank or office, for the pun on which see above, n. 1, and p. 17, n. 6. So Isis turns into a kite and mocks at him. The particular shape adopted by the goddess is characteristic of her; as a mourner at the bier of Osiris she was known as the greater kite, while Nephthys was the lesser kite. See Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet, p. 49, n. 2.
§ 8 THE CONTENDINGS OF HORUS AND SETH

And Prê-Ḥarakhti spake unto him: But now look thee, thou hast adjudged thine own self; what aileth thee now?

And Seth spake unto him: Let Anti, the ferryman, be brought, and let a great punishment be inflicted upon him, saying, Why didst thou let her cross?—so shall it be said to him.

Thereupon Anti, the ferryman, was brought before the Ennead, and they removed the soles of his feet.²

And Anti forswore gold unto this day in presence of the great Ennead, saying, Gold hath been made unto me into an abomination for my city.³

Thereupon the Ennead crossed over to the Western Tract,¹ and they sat down upon the mountain. And when it was eventide, Prê-Ḥarakhti and Atum, the lord of the two lands in Heliopolis, sent unto the Ennead, saying: What are ye doing, still sitting here? As for these two striplings, ye will cause them to end their lives in the tribunal! When my letter reacheth you, ye shall set the White Crown upon the head of Horus, the son of Isis, and ye shall promote him to the place of his father Osiris.

And Seth was angry right sore.

And the Ennead spake unto Seth: Why art thou angry? Shall not one do as Atum, the lord of the two lands in Heliopolis, and Prê-Ḥarakhti have said? Thereupon they established the White Crown upon the head of Horus, the son of Isis.

And Seth cried aloud before the face of the Ennead, and he was vexed, and said: Shall the office be given to my little brother, while I, his elder brother, am yet alive?

Thereupon he made an oath, saying: They shall remove the White Crown from the head of Horus, the son of Isis, and they shall cast him into the water, that I may contend with him regarding the office of Ruler.

Thereupon Prê-Ḥarakhti did accordingly.

And Seth spake unto Horus: Come, let us change ourselves into two hippopotamuses, and let us plunge into the waters which are in the Great-green. And whoso shall emerge within the period of three months of days, to him shall this office not be given.

Thereupon they plunged in, those twain.

And Isis sat a-weeping, and said: Seth hath killed Horus my son.

Thereupon she took a quantity of yarn.⁶

¹ This means, of course, that Anti was well flogged.

² The expression does not seem to occur elsewhere.

³ The "Western Tract" and its eastern counterpart are the borders of the cultivation on the extreme opposite edges of the Delta. See Journ. Eg. Arch. V, 259.

⁴ For the inconsequent distinction here made between Atum and Prê-Ḥarakhti see the remarks above, p. 11.

⁵ The episode which follows is related in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days, Pp. Saltier IV, recto, ɔ, 6 foll. The passage is very corrupt, but is couched in much the same terms as here employed. The following is a literal rendering of the first half; the rest will be given below, p. 20, n. 2: "First month of inundation, day [twenty-six]. Bad, bad, bad. Do not do anything on this day. It is the day when Horus fought with Seth. And one must the other. Thereupon they (lay) on their sides, both of them, having changed themselves into two hippopotamuses (at) the gate (?) of the lord (?) of Khur-rahor (near old Cairo). And they spent three days and three nights after this wise. And Isis caused to go down her harh against them, and it fell in the face of Horus. Thereupon he cried aloud, saying: I am (thy) son Horus. So Isis called to the harh, saying: Loose from my son Horus. Thereupon the (caused to go) down a second (harh) and it fell in the face of her brother Seth. Thereupon he cried aloud and mourned. Thereupon she called to the harh saying: (hold firm (?).) Thereupon he (cried) unto her many times: Dost thou desire enmity against (thy) brother on the side of the mother? Thereupon (his) heart (became) right sore. Thereupon she called unto the harh saying: Loose thou, behold, (this is) my brother on the side of the mother. Thereupon the harh loosed from him. And they arose, both of them, and turned their backs (?) (each) upon his fellow.²

⁶ A common designation of the sea.

⁷ The method of hunting the hippopotamus followed by the Egyptians was to attach a barb to a line and to launch it by means of a harpoon. When many barbs had caught in the hide of the animal, the latter was drawn in weakened by loss of blood, and then dispatched. See further Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat, p. 28.
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And she made a cord, and she took a pound of copper, and she melted it down into weapons of the water, and she tied to it the rope, and she threw it into the water in the place of the plunging in which Horus and Seth had made.

1 And the barb bit into the Majesty of her son Horus.
2 And Horus cried aloud, saying: Come unto me, my mother Isis, my mother! Call unto thy barb, that it loose from me, for I am Horus, the son of Isis.
3 And Isis cried aloud, and she said unto the barb: Loose thou from him; behold, he is my son Horus, my child. And her barb loosed from him.
4 Thereupon she threw it again into the water, and it bit into the Majesty of Seth. And Seth cried aloud, saying: What have I done against thee, my sister Isis? Call unto thy barb that it loose from me, for I am thy brother on the side of the mother, O Isis.

Then had she compassion upon him exceedingly.
5 And Seth called unto her, saying: Didst thou love the foreigner more than thou dost thy brother on the side of the mother, even Seth? 7
6 And Isis called unto her barb, saying: Loose from him; behold, it is the brother of Isis on the side of the mother into whom thou hast bitten.

Thereupon the barb loosed from him.
7 Thereupon Horus, the son of Isis, was angry with his mother Isis, and he went forth, and his face was savage like a panther of Upper Egypt, and his chopper of sixteen pounds was in his hand. And he removed the head of his mother Isis, and he put it in his bosom, and he ascended into the mountain.
8 Thereupon Isis changed herself into a statue of flint which had no head.
9 And Prē-Harakhti spake unto Thoth: What is this female that is come, and she hath no head? And Thoth spake unto Prē-Harakhti: O my good lord, this is Isis, the mighty, the god's mother, and Horus her son hath removed her head.
10 Thereupon the Ennead ascended into the mountains in order to search for Horus, the son of Isis. Now as for Horus, he was lying under a Shenusha-tree in the Oasis country.

1 The original text (see above, p. ii, n. 3) obviously read as in Pop. Saltier IV: 'Dost thou desire enmity against thy brother on the side of the mother?' Our author has changed the word ḡeḏr, 'enmity', into πσ ḡeḏr, 'the foreigner', in order to harmonize with the expression used in 6, 10, and in so doing he has rendered the sentence quite unintelligible.
2 Cf. the continuation of the passage of Pop. Saltier IV translated above, p. 19, n. 5, which reads: 'And the Majesty of Horus was angry with his mother Isis like a panther of Upper Egypt. And she removed herself [from] before him on this day of commanding (ⅲ) fights against the turbulent one (ⅲ). Thereupon he chopped off the head of Isis. And Thoth changed himself into (the god) Ḫeka (i.e. Magic), and restored it as a cow-head (ⅲ). One makes offering in her name and in the name of Thoth on this day.' The legend in question is obviously an attempt to explain, firstly the cow-head of the goddess Hathor, and secondly the identification of Isis with Hathor; but our present story, having no aetiological aim, omits all reference to the restoration of the head by Thoth. As is well known, PauTarch, De Iside, ch. 19, recounts the episode in much the same terms as Pop. Saltier IV; so too in ch. 20, v ὄφαλος ἀπομειοθέντος.
3 The expressions here used suggest that the legend of the beheading of Isis was simply invented to explain some well-known ancient female statue which had lost its head. There are sparse references to a headless goddess in the classical writers, and such a goddess is seen worshipping the ram-god in the solar disk in the tomb of Ramesses IX, see K. Preisendanz, Aekhalis, p. 74; but none of this evidence seems particularly relevant to the present tale.
4 For this tree see Pop. Ebers, 70, 81; 74, 16. 5 The whole of the following episode, as here narrated, is completely new. A very ancient legend told how Seth had torn out the eye of Horus, while Horus had done the like to the testicles of Seth. But in the present passage two eyes are removed, not one, and it is Hathor, not Thoth, who restores the god's sight. The differences are so great that it may be questioned whether the incident here related is not of wholly independent origin.
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Thereupon Seth found him, and took hold on him, and threw him on his back upon the mountain. And he removed his two Eyes from their places, and buried them upon the mountain in order to illuminate the earth. And the two balls of his two eyes became two bulbs, and they grew into lotuses.

Thereupon Seth returned, and he spake unto Prê-Harakhti falsely, I did not find Horus—although he had found him.

Thereupon Hathor, the lady of the southern sycomore, went, and she found Horus, as he lay a-weeping on the desert. Thereupon she took hold on a gazelle, and she milked it, and she spoke unto Horus: Open thine eye, that I may put this milk therein.

Thereupon he opened his eye, and she put the milk therein. She put it in the right eye, and she put it in the left, and she spake unto him, Open thine eye. And he opened his eye, and she saw him, and she found him restored.

Thereupon she went to speak unto Prê-Harakhti: I found Horus, and Seth had deprived him of his eye. And so I raised him up again, and behold, he is come.

Thereupon the Ennead said: Let Horus and Seth be summoned, in order that judgment may be made between them.

Thereupon they were brought before the Ennead. Then spake the Master of the Universe before the great Ennead unto Horus and Seth: Go ye, and let what I have said unto you be listened to; eat ye, and drink ye, and let us be at peace, and cease ye from wrangling thus every day.

Thereupon Seth spake unto Horus: Come, let us pass a happy day in my house.

Thereupon Horus said to him: I will do so, verily, I will do so.

And when it was eventide the bed was spread for them, and they twain lay down.

And in the night Seth caused his member to become stiff, and he made it go between the loins of Horus.

Thereupon Horus put his two hands between his loins, and he caught the seed of Seth.

Thereupon Horus went to speak unto his mother Isis: Come unto me, O Isis, my mother! Come and see this which Seth hath done to me! And he opened his hand, and he caused her to see the seed of Seth. And she cried out aloud, and she seized her knife, and she cast it into the water. And she drew out for him a hand of like worth.

Thereupon she took a dab of sweet ointment, and put it upon the member of Horus.

Thereupon Isis went with the seed of Horus in the morning to the garden of Seth.

1 Allusion seems to be made to the concept of Horus as the god of the sky, one of whose eyes was the sun, and the other the moon. The word rendered 'Eyes' is the special word for the sacred eyes of Horus. The next sentence records an incident hitherto unknown.

2 The central theme of the following passage is familiar from a fragmentary Middle Kingdom papyrus published in F. L. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, Pl. 3 and p. 4, but the details are widely different. In the next two foot-notes references are made to other texts which seem to refer to incidents in the tale as we have it here.

3 The cutting off of the two hands of Horus (not one hand as in our tale) is related in the 113th Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the beginning of which, in its Middle Kingdom version, I quote from the most recent translation (K. Sethe, Die Sprüche für das Kennen der heiligen Orte, p. 76): 'I know the secret of Hierakonpolis. It is the two hands of Horus, in consequence of that which his mother did. Thrown were they into the water, she saying: Ye shall be the two severed ones of Horus, even after ye have been found again like that which I have found again. Then said Râ: Mutilated is this son of Isis through that which his mother herself hath done unto him. Let Sobk (i.e. the crocodile-god) be fetched for us from the end of the waters, that he may fish them up, and that his mother Isis may restore them to their (old) place.' It is unnecessary to insist here on the similarities and differences between the two forms of the legend.
And she spake unto the gardener of Seth: What herb is it that Seth doth eat here with thee?

And she spake unto the gardener: He doth not eat any herb here with me except lettuces. And Isis put the seed of Horus upon them.

And Seth came after his fashion of every day, and he ate the lettuces which he used regularly to eat.

And he arose pregnant with the seed of Horus.

And Seth went to speak unto Horus: Come, let us go, in order that I may contend with thee in the tribunal.

Thereupon Horus spake unto him: I will do so, verily I will do so.

Thereupon they twain went to the tribunal, and they stood before the great Ennead. And it was said unto them: Speak concerning yourselves.

Thereupon Seth said: Let there be given unto me the office of Ruler, for as to Horus, this same that standeth here, I have performed doughty deeds of war against him.

Thereupon the Ennead cried out aloud, and they belched and spat before the face of Horus.

Thereupon Horus laughed at them.

Thereupon Horus made an oath to God, saying: False is all that which Seth hath said. Let the seed of Seth be summoned, that we may see whence it will answer. And let mine own be summoned, that we may see whence it will answer.

Thereupon Thoth, the lord of divine words, the scribe of truth of the Ennead, placed his hand upon the arm of Horus, and he said: Come forth, thou seed of Seth!

And it answered to him from the water in the fen.

And Seth went to speak unto Horus: Come, let us go, in order that I may contend with thee in the tribunal.

Thereupon Thoth placed his hand upon the arm of Seth, and he said: Come forth, thou seed of Horus!

Thereupon Thoth spoke unto him: Where shall I come forth?

Thereupon Thoth spoke unto it: Come forth from his ear!

And it spoke unto him: Shall I come forth from his ear, I who am a divine effluence?

Thereupon Thoth spake unto it: Come forth from his forehead!

And it came forth as a sun of gold upon the head of Seth.

Dr. L. Keimer has proved in Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache, 59, 140, that the plant here mentioned is an Egyptian variety of lettuce (Lactuca sativa, L.), and that it is the plant regularly depicted behind representations of the ithyphallic god Min. Dr. Keimer rightly attributes the connexion between this god and the lettuce to the milk-like sap of the latter, the sexual properties of which will have been suggested partly by the natural appropriateness of milk as a symbol of fertility and partly by the resemblance of this sap to human seed. These notions are strikingly confirmed by the present passage. The reason why Seth, like Min, was addicted to the lettuce is obvious because it enhanced his sexual powers. But the swallowing of the seed of Horus together with the lettuce had the effect of making Seth pregnant. (For pregnancy induced by swallowing, cf. the chip of wood swallowed by the favourite in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers', d'Orbiney, 18, 4–5). Reference to this myth is found in two short ritual utterances accompanying the offering of the lettuce to Min in the Temple of Edfu, Rochemontes, Edfou, II, 82; II, 44; see on these Eram, Beiträge zur ägyptischen Religion, in Sitzungsber. d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1916, 1142, though the conclusions there drawn naturally require some little modification in the light of the present passage. See further below, p. 23, n. 1.

A more literal rendering would be 'works' or 'arts' of war, an expression which occurs in the sentence 'he performed all the arts of war, and excelled over his elder companions', Pop. Chester Beatty, no. II, 5, 1–2. In the present passage, however, the statement clearly refers to the supposed custom of violating defeated enemies. As evidence of this custom various Egyptian texts have been quoted, some wrongly, but others apparently rightly, see Eram, op. cit. (see above, n. 1), 1143; Keen in Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache, 60, 1; Hornblower, in Man, 1927, no. 97. Here, at all events, we have unmistakable evidence of the belief that such a practice existed, though of its actual performance there is no proof either in Ancient Egypt or, as Prof. Seligman informs me, anywhere else in Africa. The latter scholar possesses, however, evidence that the custom was generally talked about as practised in a recent Balkan war, the active party being deemed a very fine fellow, whereas the sufferer was regarded as utterly dishonoured.
§ 8  THE CONTENDINGS OF HORUS AND SETH

Thereupon Seth was exceedingly angry, and he stretched forth his hand to lay hold on the sun of gold.

Thereupon Thoth took it away from him, and put it as an ornament upon his head. 1

Thereupon the Ennead said: Horus is in the right, and Seth is in the wrong.

And Seth was exceeding angry, and he cried aloud when they said: Horus is in the right, and Seth is in the wrong.

And Seth made a great oath to God, saying: They shall not give the office unto him, until he hath been cast forth with me. And we will fashion for ourselves some ships of stone, and we will sail around, we twain. 2 And whoso shall prevail over his fellow, to him shall they give the office of Ruler.

Thereupon Horus fashioned for himself a ship of cedar, and he plastered it with gypsum, and he cast it upon the water at eventide, and no man who was in the entire land had seen it.

And Seth saw the ship of Horus, and he thought it was stone. And he went unto the mountain, and he cut off a mountain peak, and he fashioned for himself a ship of stone of one hundred and thirty and eight cubits.

Thereupon they went down into their ships in presence of the Ennead. Thereupon the ship of Seth sank in the water.

And Seth changed himself into a hippopotamus, and he caused to founder the ship of Horus.

Thereupon Horus took his barb, and he threw it at the Majesty of Seth. 3

Thereupon the Ennead spake unto him: Throw it not at him.

Thereupon he took the weapons of the water, and he placed them in his ship, and he fared down to Sais to speak unto Neith, the mighty, the god’s mother: Let judge-ment be pronounced upon me and Seth, forasmuch as these eighty years we have been in the tribunal, and none knoweth how to pronounce judgement upon us. 4 Yet hath he not been declared in the right against me, but for a thousand times before this I have been in the right against him every day. Nor yet doth he regard aught that the arbitrator but the actual issue of the seed of Horus may come forth from his forehead. The one important difference exhibited in our version of the tale is the statement that a sun of gold issued from the forehead of Seth, not the god Thoth himself; this sun of gold becomes associated directly with Thoth from Edfu, and that thou mayst be justified before the tribunal. 5 Min is here, of course, identified with Horus, and the common name of this combination, Min-Har-nakht, i.e. ‘Min-Horus-the-victorious’, may perhaps be in part the outcome of this legend. The shorter utterance from Edfu consists of the words ‘...[shorter text] thy seed into the body of the enemy (sicl, Seth), that he may conceive, and that thy see (sicl, Thoth) may come forth from his forehead.’ The one important difference exhibited in our version of the tale is the statement that a sun of gold issued from the forehead of Seth, not the god Thoth himself; this sun of gold becomes associated directly with Thoth only when the latter puts it upon his head as an ornament. Obviously the legend in its ancient form was too fantastic for our author; Thoth could not be at once the arbitrator of Horus and Seth and the offspring of Seth.

2 The next incident relating to the ships appears to be entirely new.

3 Reference is made to the hunting of the hippopotamus by Horus in a mythological text accompanying scenes depicting that pursuit in several Theban tombs, see Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet, pp. 28–30. It is curious that Neith is mentioned also there, but otherwise the resemblance to the present passage is but very slight.

4 A very similar sentence occurred above in 2, 13–14.
Ennead have said. I contended with him in the hall Way-of-truths, and was declared in the right against him. I contended with him in the hall Horus-prominent-of-horns, and I was declared in the right against him. I contended with him in the hall Field-of-reeds, and I was declared in the right against him. I contended with him in the hall The-field-pool, and I was declared in the right against him. And the Ennead spake unto Shu, the son of Rē: Right in all that he hath said is Horus, the son of Isis.

1 Speech was made by Thoth unto the Master of the Universe: Cause a letter to be sent unto Osiris, that he may pronounce judgement upon the two striplings.

2 Then spake Shu, the son of Rē: Right, a million times right, is that which Thoth hath spoken unto the Ennead.

Thereupon the Master of the Universe spake unto Thoth: Sit down and make a letter unto Osiris, that we may hear that which he shall say.


4 And after (many days) following upon these things the letter reached the king, the son of Rē, Great-of-abundance-lord-of-plenty. And he cried aloud when the letter was read out before him.

5 Thereupon he answered it very quickly unto the place where the Master of the Universe was together with the Ennead, saying: Wherefore shall my son Horus be defrauded, seeing that it is I who make you strong, and it is I who made the barley

1 See p. 15, n. 4 above.
2 See p. 16, n. 1 above, with my remarks on p. 11.
3 Field-of-reeds, Sekhet-earu, is the well-known name of the Elysian fields of the Egyptians, the place where the dead could pursue their agricultural avocations with great success and profit. As the designation of a particular tribunal the name occurs only here. Is the reference to the decision made in the Western Truth (8, 2-6)?
4 This judgement-hall is not known elsewhere. Since in 10, 12 the case is left undecided, the disputants being merely told to depart and live in peace with one another, the reference can only be to the trial of the seed, culminating in the verdict of 13, 1. Perhaps the name refers to the pool out of which the seed of Horsus answered (13, 6), which must be the same as that into which Isis had cast his polluted hand (11, 7).
5 Our story conceives of Osiris solely as a dead king, now ruling in the West, in the nether world. As such he has been mentioned already in 1, 6, where he is named Onnophris, Eg. Wn-nfr.w. Apart from the following passage, where his function and his powers are described with astonishing vividness, we learn practically nothing about him from the tale. In 1, 2-3 he is called 'the son of Ptah' (see p. 13, n. 3) and if, in contradiction of this, he is named 'son of Rē' in 14, 10, that is merely because he is receiving the titles of an earthly Pharaoh. The royal name or cartouche of 'Great-of-abundance-lord-of-plenty', given to him in 14, 10; 15, 10, refers to him as inventor of cereals, but is not found in this exact form outside our papyrus. It need hardly be said that the plot of our story pre-supposes as known the main outlines of his career and tragedy.
6 As in the letter to Neith (see p. 15, n. 6), only the titles of the sender, namely the sun-god, are given. To him is accorded the five-fold titulary of the Egyptian Pharaoh—the five names describing his qualities as manifested in the five traditional aspects of that monarch; for example, as king of Upper and Lower Egypt he is declared to have the qualities of the 'Bull-which-dwelleth-in-Heliopolis'. It is noticeable that for the ordinary Horus-name the title 'the Bull' is substituted, doubtless as abbreviation of the usual 'Horus-victorious-Bull' which, from the reign of Tuthmosis I onward, replaced the simpler title 'Horus' of earlier times. The nekhy (or Two-Goddesses) name and the Horus-of-Gold name (see my Egyptian Grammar, p.73) are introduced in the usual way. In order to preface the last name of the five, known to Egyptologists as the name to distinguish it from the fourth or prenomen, the ordinary 'son of Rē' could not be employed, since it would have been too bizarre to describe Rē as his own son. Accordingly 'son of Ptah' is substituted, in agreement with the general cosmogonic standpoint of our tale, see p. 13, n. 3.
7 The names themselves are strange and unexpected: lion-hunteth-for-himself is modelled on a Horus-name, panther-hunteth-for-himself, given to Menepthah at Amada, while protecting-the-gods-curbing-the-two-lands closely imitates a rather common Ramseside name protecting-Egypt-curbing-the-foreign-countries. To discuss the remaining names in detail would take us too far afield.

7 See above, n. 5.
and the spelt to nourish the gods, and even so the living creatures after the gods, and no god nor any goddess found himself able to do it. And the letter of Osiris came unto the place where Prê-Harakhti was, as he sat with the Ennead at the bright moment in Xois. So then it was read out in presence of him and of the Ennead. And Prê-Harakhti said: Answer thou for me this letter very quickly unto Osiris, and speak unto him in respect of this letter: Suppose thou hadst never come into existence, suppose thou hadst never been born, the barley and the spelt would still exist. Thereupon the letter of the Master of the Universe reached Osiris, and it was read out before him. Thereupon he sent unto Prê-Harakhti again, saying: Exceeding good is all that thou hast done, thou inventor of the Ennead in very truth, whilst Justice hath been suffered to sink within the nether world. But look thou at the matter thyself also! As for this land in which I am, it is full of savage-faced messengers, and they fear not any god nor (any) goddess. I will cause them to go forth and they shall fetch the heart of whosoever doeth evil deeds, and they shall be here with me. Moreover, what signifies it that I be resting here in the West, whilst ye are without, all of you? Who is there among them stronger than I? But behold they have invented falsehood in very truth. Is it not so that when Ptah, the great, south of his wall, the lord of 'Onkh-towi, made the sky, did he not speak unto the stars which are in it: Ye shall go to rest every night in the place where king Osiris is. And after the gods, nobles and plebeians shall go to rest also in the place where thou art—so said he. And after (many days) following upon these things the letter of Osiris reached the place where the Master of the Universe was together with the Ennead.

1 The explicit statement that Osiris made the corn seems to be unique, the connexion of the god with the crops being usually expressed in a different way. It was an old belief that Osiris was identical with the grain; he is declared to be none other than Neper, the grain-god (Lacan, Textes Religieux, no. LVIII; Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 141, l. 7), and the Osiris-beds of vegetable earth and corn deposited and left to sprout in the tombs, together with the similar images made during the festivals of Khâbâk, exemplify the same view, which moreover is definitely testified to by Plutarch, de Iside, ch. 65, and by other classical writers (Porphyry, Firmicus Maternus). This aspect of the god has been elaborately studied and explained by Sir James Frazier in Osiris, Atis, and Adonis, see especially vol II, pp. 89 foll.; see too Journ. Egyp. Arch., ii, 121–5; and A. Moret, La mise au mort du dieu en Egypte. The commoner view in Graeco-Roman times was that Isis discovered the corn, but that the use and cultivation of it were spread by Osiris; see in particular the accounts of the reign of Osiris given by Plutarch, de Iside, ch. 13; Diodorus Siculus, i. 14, and the lines of Tibullus, I. 7, 29, l. primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris; et tenenam ferro sussidavit humum. For Isis as finder of the corn, see too W. Pek, Der Isahanymus von Andros und verwandte Texte, pp. 125, l. 71, 126, l. 5; 135, l. 1; Herodotus (II, 59) already identifies her with Demeter. Perhaps it is solely through this identification that the attribute of Osiris came to be transferred to Isis.

2 Xois, in Egyptian ḫer'ān, is the modern Sakha, near Kafr-es-Shiekh, somewhat far north in the centre of the Delta. Two passages allude to this town as a royal residence of Rê, namely Lepsius, Denkm. III, 234 (tomb of Rameses IX) and Brugsch, Recueil, IV, 59 (Edito). The elsewhere unknown phrase "at the bright moment" probably refers to a specific time of day, perhaps noon-tide.

3 The concept of 'messengers' (cf. Greek ἀγγέλοι, the origin of our 'angels') who performed the behests of the gods is known from the Book of the Dead and elsewhere, e.g. Pyramid Texts, ed. Sjursen, 152, 3. Particularly relevant to the present passage is Chapter 29 of the Book of the Dead (ed. Budge), which begins: 'spell for not allowing the heart of a man to be taken from him. Get thee back, thou messenger of any god. Hast thou come to take away this heart of the living? It shall not be given unto thee, this my heart of the living... A Louvre papyrus shows as vignette to Chapter 28 a demon standing before the deceased knife in hand, Resouf, Book of the Dead, Pl. 22. See too A. Franks, Le Coeur dans les textes égyptiens, pp. 68–9.

4 Here we seem to have the West, or nether world, conceived of as a place of exile for the wicked only, a place in fact analogous to the Christian Hell. This is certainly not the usual, or even a common Egyptian conception, see n. 7 below.

5 Note the clumsy change from 'psou to 'theik'.

6 For Ptah as creator of the world, see M. Stolz, Ptah, p. 13; the most comprehensive claim thus made for him is at the beginning of the Hood and Golénischef's glossaries.

7 Cf. in a poem of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 35, 168) the following description of the Necropolis (the West): 'All our kinsfolk rest within it from the earliest moment of time. Those who shall be born, even millions upon millions, come only is all of them. None may stay in Thumér (i.e. Egypt), not one there is that dwelleth not nigh unto it.' So too in the late demotic tale of Khaunsa (Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, pp. 46–8) all the dead are represented as coming to the Amenu to be judged by Osiris, the wicked being delivered over to a monster named Ama ('the devourer'), while the virtuous find a place among the exalted spirits that serve Osiris.
Thereupon Thoth received the letter, and read it out before Pre-`Harakhti I and the Ennead.

Thereupon they said: Right in all that he hath said is he the Great-of-abundance-lord-of-plenty.  

Thereupon Seth said: Let us be taken unto the Island-in-the-midst in order that I may contend with him.

Thereupon he went unto the Island-in-the-midst, and Horus was declared in the right over him.

Thereupon Atum, the lord of the two lands in Heliopolis, sent unto Isis, saying:

Bring thou Seth, he being made fast with bonds.

Thereupon Isis brought Seth, he being made fast with bonds and as a prisoner.

Thereupon Atum spake unto him: Wherefore hast thou not allowed judgement to be pronounced upon you, but hast taken away for thyself the office of Horus?

Thereupon Seth spake unto him: Not so, my good lord! Let Horus, the son of Isis, be summoned, and let be given unto him the office of his father Osiris.

Thereupon they brought Horus, the son of Isis, and they set the White Crown upon his head, and he was set in the place of his father Osiris. And they spake unto him:

Thou art the good king of To-meri, thou art the good lord of every land for ever and ever.

And Isis cried aloud unto her son Horus, saying: Thou art the good king, my heart is in joy that thou enlightenest the earth with thy comeliness.

Thereupon Ptah, the great, south of his wall, the lord of "Onkh-towi, said: What is that which shall be done unto Seth, for now behold, Horus hath been set in the place of his father Osiris?

Thereupon Prer-`Harakhti said: Let Seth, the son of Nut, be given unto me, that he may dwell with me and be as my son, and he shall thunder in the sky, and men shall fear him.

Thereupon they went to speak unto Prer-`Harakhti: Horus, the son of Isis, is arisen as Ruler.

And Prer was in joy exceedingly, and he spake unto the Ennead: Jubilate ye! To the ground before Horus, the son of Isis!

Thereupon Isis said: Horus is arisen as Ruler, the Ennead is in holiday, heaven is in joy! Then they took wreaths, when they saw Horus, the son of Isis, arisen as great Ruler of Egypt. The Ennead, their hearts were content, the entire earth was in rejoicing, when they saw Horus, the son of Isis, the office of his father Osiris, the lord of Dedu, having been allotted unto him.

IT HAS COME TO A HAPPY ENDING

1 The royal name of Osiris; see above, p. 74, n. 5.
2 For this locality see above, p. 17, n. 4.
3 The "roaring" of Seth is often mentioned from the Pyramid Texts (e.g. 1150, c) onwards, and this, combined with much other indirect evidence, has led scholars to regard him as the god of the thunder, see Roeder, art. Set, in Roscher, Lexikon, IV, 754; Kees, art. Seth, in Pauly-Wissowa, 1910. The present reference to thunder is, however, more explicit than any previously known.
4 The story ends with a colophon of the usual type. Only the last words cause difficulty; the hieratic text seems to show the reading = 36, J. 50, 1; but the plural strokes are questionable. Nothing is known of a "place of Th," and he would be a bold scholar who would venture to find in this the origin of the Greek designation of the Southern Capital, namely Thebes. (On the reasons usually given for this identification, see Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache, 45, 128, footnote.) A god Th or Thi is named in one passage of the Pyramid Texts (290), and a place in-Thi, earlier in-Tho, occurs in Ch. 85 of the Book of the Dead. I can see no better alternative than to emend in-Thi to Th-i-Thi, 'the place of Truth,' a well-known name for the western necropolis, particularly the royal necropolis, see Cavan's article in Revue de l'Egypte antique, II, 200. We should have to assume that in the expression 'Thebes, the place of Truth' first the wider geographical term was given, and then the narrower. The emendation is, it must be admitted, very precarious and only a pis aller. One can, indeed, imagine that the top of j in the archetype was misinterpreted as - and placed in front of the vertical stroke of the sign, this being construed as j1; but such a conjecture would be in the highest degree speculative.
CHAPTER III
THE LOVE-SONGS

It has needed an entire century of decipherment and the combined efforts of four generations of scholars to bring home to the modern public the fact that mumification was not the sole interest of the Egyptians. But even now when this ancient people stands revealed as a laughter-loving folk, greatly addicted to sport and feasting and music, a certain sense of rigidity and impersonality still appears to invest them, fostered partly no doubt by the static poses of their statues and their sculptured reliefs, and partly by the love of stereotyped phrases and conventional formulas evidenced in their literature. The fact is that we view ancient peoples through the medium of their art, and in art ease of movement and personal expression are the very last things to be developed. But now and again the studied pose is abandoned, and individuals of flesh and blood live before us. Nowhere more so than in the few Egyptian love-songs that have been preserved, of which the Chester Beatty papyrus presents us with by far the most perfect and most intelligible specimens.

Three collections of love-songs had hitherto been known, none older than the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty (circa 1300 B.C.). To this age we may assign the papyrus Harris 500 in the British Museum, a sadly threadbare and texto corrupt manuscript, wherein the sense is often less translated than divined. Shorter collections, likewise riddled with lacunae and likewise obscure, are found in a papyrus at Turin and on a large potsherd in the Cairo Museum. Such have been hitherto our scanty sources for the oldest love-songs which exist, and despite all their defects they have been recognized as of inestimable value, not merely for archaeology, but still more for the world-history of poetry and of lyric expression.

And now emerges a new papyrus which nearly doubles the bulk of Egyptian love-songs previously known, where lacunae are non-existent, and where philological difficulties, though by no means absent, are far fewer and less serious. The new love-songs fall into three series: first, a page and a half of short stanzas filling up the rest of the space available on the recto (16, 9–17, 13; translated below as III); second, an entire book of poems occupying the middle of the verso (C, pages 1–5; below, I); and lastly, two more pages on the verso comprising three poems full of splendid imagery, in some ways the most truly poetic utterances which Ancient Egypt has bequeathed to us (G, pages 1–2; below, II).

Let us examine the complete book first. I call it complete for the reason that it is a whole as it stands, and may well never have continued further. It consists of seven long stanzas, each possessing from sixteen to twenty-three verses. Every stanza is numbered, except the first, where the numbering is replaced by the general title of the collection. A more literal translation of the headings would be 'House the second', 'House the third', &c., but the rendering 'stanza' is the more acceptable since its own etymological meaning, as the present-day Italian use and the Spanish estancia both bear witness, was none other than 'house' or 'abode' (Late Latin *stantia). An extensive book of numbered 'stanzas' or 'abodes' was known to us from Ancient Egypt in the hymns to Amun preserved in a Rameside papyrus now in Leyden. In the latter papyrus, as well as in a Cairo potsherd of similar content, the curiously artificial device is adopted of making each stanza begin and end with a play on the name of the numeral in question. Our book of love-songs employs the same device; thus 'Stanza the second', the Egyptian equivalent of which may have been pronounced HS mštâve, has as its first and its last word the Egyptian word sun, 'brother'. May we conclude that the love-songs of this book, for all their simplicity, are

1 All these have been collected and edited by W. Max Möller, Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter, Leipzig, 1899. Later translations in A. E. Koenig, Die Literature of Ancient Egypt, pp. 303–313; English version by A. M. Blackman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, pp. 242–251.

2 Nevertheless, I am by no means sure that the parallel is a fair one. In the Egyptian the word for 'stanaa' or 'chapter' is definitely a metaphor from a dwelling-place which the words inhabit and by which they are cut off from other stanaas or chapters. Is this the case with the Italian term 'stanaa'? The etymological meaning is 'stopping-place', and it might well be that the term was used in reference to poetry solely on account of the pause at the end. Dr. Blackman reminds me that the Arabs use the word kha 'house' in the sense of 'stanaa', exactly like the Egyptian equivalent.

3 See A. H. Gardiner, Hymns to Amen from a Leiden Papyrus, in Zeitschrift für Ägypt. Sprache, 47, 12–42.

4 See G. Darby, Ostraca, no. 25220, in Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
a purely literary product? That individual love-songs were sung at Egyptian banquets we can hardly doubt, though the beginnings of the genre must be sought in the untutored serenadings of the simple fellah. From the serial character which we find, not only in the book of love-songs here edited, but also in those songs of the London and Turin papyri put into the mouths of different birds and trees, one seems to detect the studied manner of the scribe, rather than the disconnected improvisations of itinerant musicians. To the latter class may belong, however, some of the other love-songs which we possess. Those on the recto of our papyrus might in part, at least, have been fancies of the moment, heard at some feast and only secondarily deemed worthy of committing to writing.

The subject-matter of our seven-stanza book is perhaps a little more commonplace than that of the remaining poems, but the general character is the same. Lover and beloved are called 'brother' and 'sister' after the regular Egyptian custom. The first stanza, appropriately enough, paints a picture of the beloved, and here already we mark how purely physical was the gentle passion as felt by these ancient Orientals. Apart from this, the emotions expressed differ in no wise from those of lovers of all ages and climes. The trepidation of the maiden as she passes by the young nobleman for whom she cherishes a secret passion, the foolishness of the enamoured, the carelessness of public opinion which love engenders—such are some of the themes. In the fifth stanza is a panegyric to the goddess of Love. And the last contains an almost perfect expression of the time-honoured subject of love-sickness, closing with some verses which are Heine pure and simple:

Wenn ich in deine Augen seh,
So schwindet all mein Leid und Weh;
Doch wenn ich kusse deinen Mund,
So werd ich ganz und gar gesund.

But at the very end our Egyptian writer spoils his poem with a prosaic thought dictated by the necessity of finding a play of words upon 'seven', or else of using the word for 'seven' itself. This is not the sole place in which we become aware that the poet has cramped his style through the artificial literary form he has chosen.

And while I am speaking of the form adopted, the question of metre and of any further formal conventions may as well be dealt with once and for all. That all Egyptian love-songs were meant to be sung, and were accompanied by the flute and harp, seems probable from the pictures on the walls of the Theban tombs. In none of the new examples is there any trace either of sustained alliteration or of rhyme, though both devices were known to the Egyptians and on rare occasions employed by them.1 An analogy to the paronomasia already discussed is found in one section of the love-poems contained in the Harris papyrus, where the maiden passes in review the various flowers of her garden, the names of these suggesting to her on each occasion some new aspect of her passion. The problem of metre in Egyptian literature is wellnigh insoluble, seeing that we possess but the bare consonantal skeleton of the words, and are instructed concerning the vowels and accentuation only by indirect and uncertain evidence. The red verse-points correspond as a rule to a division into sentences, clauses, or phrases, but that they are rather more than mere punctuation is shown by the fact that they occur only, or chiefly, in poetical contexts.2 To call the words marked off by verse-points verses can, therefore, hardly be a misnomer, the more so since the lines thereby created are of approximately equal length. The number of lines composing a stanza has already been seen to vary. A comparison with later Coptic poetry, which is written in Greek characters, and consequently vocalized, suggests a consistent number of stresses in each line. There is no likelihood whatsoever of metre in the Latin or Greek sense, i.e. based upon quantity. One more point worth observing is that there is very little of the parallelism of members found in some other Egyptian writings, as also in Hebrew and elsewhere in the Orient. Those specially interested in this and the cognate topics cannot do better than consult the section devoted to them in Professor Erman's above-quoted book on Egyptian Literature.3

The two pages of love-songs remaining on the verso are written in the same hand as the complete

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1 For alliteration see A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten und Aegyptisches Leben*, p. 473; for rhyme, only once in a religious text of the Middle Kingdom, see *Zeitschrift für Ägypt. Sprache*, 54, 16.
2 There are some remarkable exceptions, however, e.g. the ‘Story of the Doomed Prince’ on the verso of Pap. Harris 500.
book, and comprise three stanzas, each beginning with the words ‘O that thou mayst come to the sister quickly’, an elaborate simile forming the continuation. The word-pictures of the royal envoy, of the steed from Pharaoh’s stables, and of the hunted gazelle bounding over the desert, display a degree of colour and a vivacity unknown elsewhere in pre-Hebraic writing. Nor are these pictures uninteresting from the standpoint of the student of ancient custom. Where else have we similar records of the colour and a vivacity unknown elsewhere in pre-Hebraic writing. Nor are these pictures uninteresting from the standpoint of the student of ancient custom. Where else have we similar records of the

In these three stanzas no verse-points are marked, but I have divided them into lines as the sense seemed best to demand.

I have left to the last the love-songs of the recto, since here there are philological perplexities and new words in abundance. Moreover, the text is evidently corrupt. After an unintelligible title, rendered still more unintelligible by the erasure of the part containing the original scribe’s name, there follow seven stanzas of varying lengths. The shortest is the fourth, consisting of four verses, and the longest is the last, consisting of twenty-two verses. The two first stanzas, which a common initial phrase shows to be related, are so obscure as to be almost untranslatable. If I have nevertheless offered a rendering, it is because the cause of future criticism is always best served if it has a definite butt to tilt at. Besides, a little light does shimmer through here and there, showing at least the kind of thoughts which the poet was seeking to express. In the third stanza the lover compares himself to an ox, completely subdued to the service of his inamorata; some unknown words prevent our full enjoyment of a witty poem. The little song that follows is charming in its epigrammatic description of reciprocated love. Here we discern, as already in the first stanza, a more licentious tone than in the love-songs of the verso. Stanza the fifth is Stygian darkness. That which follows it, depicting the anger of a thwarted swain, has some kinship in its idea with the last of the collection. This, more than double the length of any of the others, develops an amusing conceit with great elaboration. The lover, finding the door of his lady shut against him, cajoles the bolt and door-panels with promises of choice morsels from an ox which is being slaughtered within. But the best pieces of all, he adds, will be kept for the carpenter lad who will fashion him a bolt of papyrus and a door of straw. Faced by these less recalcitrant materials, he will have free access to his beloved, who will welcome him with greetings befitting the young prince that he feels himself to be.

Not to lay myself open to the charge of exaggerating the importance of the newly acquired poems at the expense of the old, I will mention one or two respects in which the latter showed an excellence unequalled by the former. In the Chester Beatty papyrus there is no trace of that delight in flowers, in trees, and in birds which is so charming a feature of the previously known love-songs. In these, moreover, there are many happy fancies which at least rival those of our new acquisitions. Hearken to the lover who sighs to be the signet-ring on the hand of the beloved, a thought not unlike one found upon the lips of Romeo. Equally pleasing is the description of the ‘little sycamore, which she hath planted with her own hand’, and ‘which slippeth a letter into the hand of the child, the daughter of the orchard-keeper’, charging her run and invoke the brother’s presence. But it is difficult to enjoy music heard only in snatches, and this is all that is possible with the damaged and corrupt texts which we hitherto have alone possessed. The love-poems here published for the first time have the inestimable advantages of completeness and intelligibility, and in placing so high a value upon them on these grounds and also for their intrinsic worth we are not called upon to decry the importance of our earlier treasures.

To conclude these introductory notes, a few words may be permitted concerning the language in which the poems are composed. The constructions are those of the classical period, but Late-Egyptian usage filters through at many points. The vocabulary is fairly rich, and there is a marked effort to sustain a high level of diction. Nevertheless in the poems of the verso the style is marred by many jarring repetitions of the same word in close proximity. This characteristic suggests that the complete book and the two further pages of love-songs on the verso may be the work of one and the same author. He might indeed even be the scribe who wrote our actual copy, since both collections are written in
the same hand. There are, however, a few errors and omissions which prohibit us from thinking that we have here the archetype. One sentence is common to the poems on the \textit{recto} and to those on the \textit{verso}, but this probably proves nothing, as the sentence in question may well have been a commonplace of the literature of love. That none of the poems in our papyrus are earlier than the Ramesside period seems almost certain, but it is probably mere chance that no Middle Kingdom examples have come down to us. There is no reason to think that the writing down of love-songs for literary purposes was an innovation of later times.

\section*{Translations and Notes}

The symbols and typographical devices employed are on the whole the same as in ‘The Contendings of Horus and Seth’, see above, § 5, p. 7. Here, however, there are occasional uncertainties of rendering which make the use of the note of interrogation indispensable. While confining the notes mainly to explanations of the meaning, I have quoted a few philological parallels and have even included some lexicographical notes when this seemed desirable in the immediate interest of students.

The three sets of poems are translated below in the following order:

I. The complete book, section C of the \textit{verso}, see Plates XXII–XXVI.
II. The remaining love-songs of the \textit{verso}, section G, see Plates XXIX–XXX.
III. The love-songs of the \textit{recto}, Plate XVI, 9 to the end of Plate XVII.

\section*{Love-Songs}

\subsection*{I}

\textit{Verso, C 1}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Beginning of the Words of the Great Dispenser of Entertainment},
One alone, a sister without her peer,
Comelier than all mankind.
\item Behold she is like the Star-goddess arising
At the beginning of a happy year;
Of sheen surpassing, of radiant skin,
\item Lovely of eyes \textit{wherewith to gaze},
Sweet are her lips \textit{wherewith to speak},
She hath not a word too much;
\item Long of neck and radiant of nipple,
\textit{Of true sapphire is her hair};
Her arm surpasseth gold,
Her fingers are like lotus-lilies,
\item Drooping of buttocks, firm-girt in her midst;
Her legs show forth her beauty.
Fair of gait she treadeth upon the earth,
\item She hath captured my heart in her embrace,
She maketh the necks of all men
to be turned away \textit{dazzled} at the sight of her.
\item Joyous is whoso embraceth her,
He is like the chiefest of lusty youths.
One regardeth her going forth abroad
\item Even as hers yonder, \textit{the only One}.
\end{enumerate}

\footnote{1 See above, p. 6.}
\footnote{2 ‘The Golden one hath decreed her unto thee’, \textit{recto}, 17, 1; \textit{verso}, G 2, 5; the same, but passively expressed, C 2, 3; compare also C 3, 6.}
\footnote{3 The first stanza begins with a general title to the book, which nevertheless, as we shall see, forms a coherent part of the poem it introduces. The words translated ‘the great dispenser of entertainment’ must contain the participle of a compound verb ‘to entertain’, ‘distract’, literally ‘make the heart forget’, which is elsewhere used of love-songs, cf.
STANZA THE SECOND

The brother troubleth my heart with his voice,
He maketh sickness to lay hold on me;
He is a neighbour of my mother's house,
Yet am I not able to go unto him.

Good is my mother in charging him (?) 1 thus,
Forgo seeing her,
For behold, my heart is vexed when he is remembered,
Love of him hath captured me.
Behold, he is foolish,
But I—I am like unto him.
He knoweth not my desire to embrace him,
Or he would send to my mother.

Brother—O, I am decreed unto thee
By the Golden song women.
Come unto me, that I may see thy beauty.
My father and mother will be glad,
All men will rejoice at thee with one accord,
They will rejoice at thee, O brother.'

STANZA THE THIRD

My heart purposed to see its beauty,
Sitting within it.
I found Mely a-riding on the road,
Together with his lusty youths.
I knew not how to remove myself from before him.

Should I pass by him boldly?

the two titles in Pap. Harris 500, namely (1) 'Beginning of the singing of beautiful entertainments of thy sister, beloved of thy heart' (recto, 4, 1–2) and then (2), simply the initial words of this (recto, 7, 3). In the title from the Harris papyrus just quoted the beloved seems to be conceived of as regaling her lover with songs, and that may also be the conception here. But the epithet 'great' possibly points to the goddess Hathor as the supposed author of our poems. In either case the rest of the stanza, beginning with the word 'such' in the sense of 'unique', is an elaborate description of the ideal beloved, perfect of limb and carriage, attractive to everyone. At the end the key-word 'such' recurs, now referring to the sole eye of heaven, the sun, see Pap. Leyden 230, 2, 71; Saller IV, recto, 1, 5–9.

C 1, 1, in 'comelier than' the adjective and preposition have wrongly changed place. The 'star-goddess' is of course Sothis, to whose rising in the morning twilight of the Egyptian New Year's Day (July 19th of the Julian calendar) allusion is often made. 'Radiant' in C 1, 2, 3 is elsewhere used of the sun, moon, eye, clean clothes, &c.; here it probably refers to sleekness rather than pallor, but a suitable English equivalent is hard to find. Before the infinitives 'great', 'sprightly' (C 1, 3) a preposition must be understood, whether ? or -. C 1, 4 'nipple' is Coptic euab. In rendering 'sapphire' in place of the more prosaic 'lapis lazuli' I have allayed my scruples by remembering that the true meaning of onbknq in Greek is 'lapis lazuli'; glossy black hair is intended, the same comparison occurring in Destruction of Men (Sethos I), 51; Todtenbuch, ed. Naville, 172, 12; and other places quoted Annals du Service, 25, 228. C 1, 4 'surpasseth', see Anas- tasi I, 5, 2; possibly also Anastasi III, 3, 6. C 1, 5, 'show forth' is a little doubtful. In the next verse 'is an easy and inadmissible corruption of 2; similarly Harris, 78, 9, see Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache, 65, 60. C 1, 7, 'lusty youth', literally 'lovers', in a very physical sense, as the determinative shows; that the word has a wider signification than 'lovers' is clear from C 2, 5–6; C 3, 8, 1. The maiden speaks. The key-word at beginning and end is 'brother', etymologically related to the numeral for 'two' with which it runs. 'Troubleth' (C 1, 8), causative of a verb used of troubled waters, in Coptic vweq, seeDupuy, Études d'Egyptologie copte, 22. The spelling of 'lay hold of me' (next verse) is slightly corrupt, but the sense is clear. C 1, 9, end, the MS. gives 'charging me', but the context clearly demands 'him' for 'me'. C 2, 2, 'foolish' in Coptic ry-knt, so too Israel stela 12 and elsewhere. C 2, 3 'Gold-of-women', i. e. Hathor, the goddess of love, occurs only once in a Ptolemaic inscription, Beromann, Hierogl. Inschriften, 8, 2; the name 'Gold', however, as designation of the same goddess is frequent below and also outside this papyrus. For English readers it seems essential to render 'the Golden one'. For parallels of the present sentence elsewhere in these love-songs see p. 30, n. 2.
THE LOVE-SONGS

Lo, the river is the road,
I know not a place for my feet.
Witless art thou, O my heart, exceedingly,
Why wilt thou brave Melyy?
Behold, if I pass before him,
I shall tell him of my turnings;
Behold, I am thine, I shall say unto him,
And he will boast of my name,
Of some one among his followers.

STANZA THE FOURTH

It fleeth away, my heart, quickly,
When I recall my love of thee,
Nor suffereth me to walk in human wise,
But is affrighted (from) its place.

It suffereth me not to don a tunic,
Nor to attire myself with my fan.
I put not paint upon mine eyer,
Nor anoint myself at all.

Bide not, but get thee home,
Saith it to me as often as I recall him.
Act not the fool, O my heart;
Wherefore playest thou the madman?
Sit calm, until the brother come to thee.

Let not the folk say concerning me,
A woman distraught with love.
Stand fast as often as thou recallest him,
O my heart, and do not flee.

1 The third stanza presents greater difficulty, but a relatively coherent sense is obtained if the word mhy, written like 'flax' in C 2, 5. 7, is interpreted as the name of a man, as Prof. Erman proposed to me by letter. In this case the stanza conjures up the picture of a maiden purposing a visit to some lovely spot which, curiously enough, is referred to in the first two verses only as 'at', 'at' (C 2, 5). On her way she meets her lover. He is perhaps a royal prince, for he is riding in a chariot accompanied by a band of companions. She is covered with confusion and knows not whether to advance or retreat. She fears to betray her feelings, for in that case Melyy will perhaps hold her cheap and boastingly hand her over to one of his followers. The key-word at the beginning is the verb 'to purpose'; at the end a remoter pun is used. C 2, 5, 'a-riding' is literally 'on horse', but as the Berlin dictionary points out, this phrase in Egyptian means 'riding in a chariot'; the custom of riding on horseback was very little practised in Ancient Egypt. C 2, 5-6, 'lusty youths', see on C 1, 2. C 2, 6-7, perhaps it is meant that the maiden cannot take another path, for there lies the river. A similar phrase, but still more obscure, below, G 2, 4. C 2, 7, literally 'place of my feet'. The verb translated 'brave' occurs transitively in Maximes d'Ashi, 6, 13. C 2, 8, 'turnings', i.e. perhaps hesitating movements. C 2, 9, 'hareem' is guessed; the word looks like a collective 'those who belong to the secret apartments'; almost certainly it has nothing to do with the word kpw meaning 'bird-catchers' (see my note, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, p. 9*, n. 14), since this is always determined with H 8.

2 In the fourth stanza the maiden describes the trepidation of her heart at the thought of her lover. Later she apostrophizes her heart directly, chiding it as cowardly and unable to stand its ground. Both at beginning and end the verb 'flee' provides the key-note; this verb is etymologically connected with 'four' in Egyptian, meaning properly 'to scamper away on all fours'; the same pun in Cairo Ostracum 25220, C 2, 10, 'love of thee'; the lover is here addressed, but later (C 3, 2-4) reappears in the third person, the song having developed into a dialogue between the sister and her heart. 'In human wise' is literally 'like a man (or person). Restore (w) before mktf, the technical term for the 'place' of the heart, similarly written, Cairo Love-songs, 6. C 3, 3, 'madman', see Israel stele, 12; Anastasi I, 1, 3. 2. In the next verse read kmr(k) and then sn instead of mktf; the scribe has written 'sister' for 'brother'
STANZA THE FIFTH

I adore the Golden one, I extol Her Majesty,
I exalt the Lady of Heaven,
I give praise unto Hathor,
And thanksgiving unto my Mistress.
I appealed unto her, and she heard my petition,
She decreed unto me my mistress,
And she came of her own accord to see me.
How great is that which hath happened unto me.
I rejoice, I exult, I am puffed up,
Ever since it was said, Hey, here is she!
Behold, she came, and the lusty youths did obeisance
For the greatness of their love of her.
I make prayer unto my goddess,
That she may give me the sister as a gift.
Three days it is to yesterday since first I made my petition
In her name, but she hath gone from me for five days.

STANZA THE SIXTH

I passed in the neighbourhood of his house,
And I found his door open,
And the brother standing beside his mother,
All his brothers and sisters with him;
Love of him captureth the heart of all who tread upon the road,
An excellent stripling, without his like,
A brother outstanding in virtues.
He looked at me when I passed by,
And I was alone to rejoice.
How exulted my heart with jubilation,
O brother, because of the seeing of me.
If only (thy) mother had known my heart;
Then had she gone indoors betimes.
O Golden one, put it into her heart;
Then will I haste unto the brother,
And will kiss him before his companions;
I would not weep at any one,
But would rejoice at their perceiving
That thou knowest me.

because he has wrongly interpreted the masculine pronoun as referring to the brother, not to the heart. An utterly unintelligible sentence follows; the literal rendering would be 'my eye many in likeness'. I have supposed a verse-point to be lost after 'concerning me'. C 3, 4, 'distraught', or perhaps 'paralyzed', an effect wrought by magic, see Pap. Rollin, i, Pop. Lee, i, 5; Pop. mag. Harris, 103, 10; i, 13.

The number 'five' in Egyptian practically desiderates the verb 'to adore' as the play of words upon it, see too Cairo Ostracoon 25220. Hence the fifth stanza is a hymn to Hathor, the goddess of love, not unlike those in Davies, The Tomb of Aaunfcher, Pl. 29. 'Golden one', see on C 2, 3. C 3, 6, 'decreed unto me', see p. 30, n. 2. That the word for 'mistress' in this line should refer first to the goddess, and then to the beloved, is very poor style. C 3, 8, 'lusty youths', see C 1, 7, note. In C 3, 9 should perhaps be taken as , 'gift', 'ration', which the Berlin dictionary reads , but as I believe wrongly, see my Egyptian Hieratic Texts, p. 16a, n. 7. For the last phrase, lamely introduced in order to bring in the word for 'eye', see below, C 5, 2. 'In her name' probably refers to Hathor, but the following 'she' must be the beloved.
I will make a festival for my goddess.
My heart is a-flutter to go forth,
To make the brother look upon me in the night.
How happy is it in the passing.¹

STANZA THE SEVENTH

Seven days it is from yesterday that I have not seen the sister,
And sickness hath crept upon me,
And I become all heavy in my limbs,
If the master-physicians come unto me,
My heart hath no comfort of their remedies;
The magicians, no resource is in them;
My sickness is not discerned.
That which I have said, behold it is what reviveth me,
Her name is that which can raise me up.
The coming and going of her messengers,
Is that which reviveth my heart.
More beneficial unto me is the sister than any remedies.
More important is she unto me than the entire compendium of medicine.
My salvation is her coming in from without.
When I see her, then am I well;
Openeth she her eye, then my limbs become young again;
Speaketh she, then I am strong.
And when I embrace her, she banisheth evil from me.
But she hath gone from me for seven days.²

¹ For the sixth stanza the verb 'to pass by' provides a suitable paronomasia, but this does not occur again either in the Leyden hymns or in the Cairo ostracon. The maiden describes the excellent qualities of her lover, and her pride at having been noticed by him. The MS. reading at the beginning is 'he passed by', but 'he' should clearly be corrected to 'I'; this is a good case of the type of corruption which I have termed the assimilation of pronouns. C 3, 10, 'brothers and sisters', in the Egyptian a single word, like German Geschwister. C 4, 5, 'alone to rejoice', i.e. perhaps, better able to rejoice because alone. 'Jubilation', an abnormal writing from the same stem as the word in G 1, 4. C 4, 3, 'because of the seeing of me' seems a probable rendering, since it continues the sense of what precedes; it is superior to 'because I saw (thee)' both for this reason and because no omission of a pronoun has to be assumed. 'If' is the same word as recn, 1, 5, 2, but in a different writing; the emendation 'thy mother' seems obvious. C 4, 4, the strange writing (m for rm), 'weep' (here 'feel regret' or the like), is not uncommon in Late-Egyptian manuscripts, e.g. Anastasi I, 16, 2; Amenemope, 5, 6; 22, 6; and here recno, 6, 144, 7, 1; 2 shall attempt an explanation elsewhere. C 4, 5, 'it is a-flutter to go forth', rather doubtful; one might render 'it is too flattered to go forth', but this gives poor sense after the boasts concerning her boldness made by the maiden in C 4, 4–5.

² At the beginning and end of the seventh stanza the writer uses the word 'seven' itself, and the theme is the absence of the beloved for that number of days. A closely similar poem describing the malady of love occurs in Pap. Harris 900, recto, 9–11, and runs as follows: 'I will lay me down indoors, and will feign sickness (others less well, 'will be sick for the wrong done me'). Then will my neighbours enter to see me, and the sister will come with them. She will make the physicians a laughing-stock, for she knoweth my malady.' C 4, 7, 'creeps upon', literally 'entered in upon me', but the reduplicated stem is always of hostile entry; for read Δ. C 4, 8, emend (a) before ph-:. 'Magicians', literally 'lector-priests'. 'Resource', literally 'way', i.e. method of curing me, cf. for this metaphorical use Saitt6, Urkunden, IV, 975, 12; 974, 10; Piankhi, 90. C 4, 10, 'is that which reviveth my heart', identically so Pap. Harris 900, recto, 5, 2. In the next verse the scribe has substituted 1/2, 'brother', for 1/2, 'sister'. The word for 'entire compendium of medicine' is literally 'collection', 'united (book)', and occurs only in this technical sense in the titles of extensive sections of the medical papyri. C 5, 1, the word for 'salvation' is literally 'health', 'soundness', but a semi-religious turn is given to it by the playful writing with the Sacred Eye ṣ, C 5, 2, the translation of the last words seems imposed by C 3, 9 combined with C 4, 6. To render 'and is (the evil) passed from me for seven days' would do scant justice to the poet's ardour as a lover.
II

O that thou mayst come to the sister quickly,
Like a royal envoy whose lord is impatient
And his heart is set upon hearing it;
An envoy for whom all the stables have been requisitioned,
And he hath horses at the resting-places,
And the chariot stands harnessed in its place,
Nor is there any breathing-space for him upon the road.
He hath reached the house of the sister,
And his heart jubilates.

O that thou mayst come to the sister quickly,
Like a horse belonging to the king,
Picked from a thousand steeds of every kind,
Chief of the stables.
It is distinguished above others in its provender,
And its lord knoweth its paces.
If it hear the sound of the whip,
It knoweth no restraining,
Nor is there any chief among the charioteers,
Who can draw level with it.
How well knoweth the heart of the sister.
That he is not far from the sister.

O that thou mayst come to the sister quickly,
Like a gazelle bounding over the desert,
Its feet reel, and its limbs are faint.
And panic hath entered into its limbs;
For a huntsman is after it,
And hounds are with him,
But they see not its dust,
For it hath seen a resting-place like a . . .,
It hath taken the river as a road (?)
Thou shalt attain to her grotto
In the kissing of thy hand four times,

1 The sister prays that her lover will come to her as speedily as a special messenger of Pharaoh sent to some foreign outpost or court. G 1, 1, the scribe has cancelled 'like', perhaps taking the following words as a vocative; the parallelism of the second and third stanzas shows that this word must be restored. 'Impatient', cf. 'I have not been impatient' in the Negative Confession, Todtenbuch, ed. Naville, 125, 31. G 1, 2, this line contains an ambiguity in the pronoun of the third person intolerable in English, but by no means rare in Egyptian writing. 'Requisitioned', literally 'yoked', the same word as is rendered 'harnessed' in G 1, 3; the first use appears unique, for this verb with 'chariot' as object cf. Pop. Harris 500, verso 4, 13. G 1, 4, the poet envisages the lover as having already arrived. As in the next stanza, the comparison passes over at the end into a complete identification: the lover is the royal envoy and it the Pharaoh's favourite chariot-horse.

2 The comparison here is with one of those 'chief great horses of His Majesty' often depicted on the walls of Ramesside temples like Karnak and Medinet Habu; cf. in another love-song, Pop. Harris 500, verso 1, 8, 'Haste thou to see thy sister like a horse on the battle-field'. G 1, 5, 'thou mayst come' is wrongly spelt, and the words 'in the sister quickly' are faultily omitted. G 1, 5—6, 'steeds', an unknown word. G 1, 6, 'distinguished above others in its provender', i.e. provided with special food. G 1, 7, read here, 'held back', 'check', see the Berlin Wetterbuch, I, 102. G 1, 8, the possibly Hittite word the means a warrior who drives in a chariot, though perhaps not the actual charioteer (kny); a man so called occurs in connexion with a word for 'chariot' in Mariettes, Mythis, II, text, p. 11; a fallen 'chief of the' is depicted among chariots in Lahun, Denkm., III, 165. 'Draw level with', 'overtake', see recto, 6, 6. G 2, 1, for the crude repetition of the word 'sister' see above, p. 29, n. 3.

THE LOVE-SONGS
The Love-songs

§ 10

1 Being in pursuit of the sister's love.
The Golden one hath decreed her unto thee,
O my friend.¹

III

9 Recto, 16

1 Beginning of the sweet sayings found while using a papyrus?—
composed by the scribe of the necropolis Nakhtsobk.²
Thou shalt bring it into the house of the sister,
When thou stormest (?) into her grotto;
1 It is made (?) like her . . .
A place of slaughter (?), it is (in) her bower (?).
Furnish her with songs of the throat (?);
Wine and strong ale are her protection,
That thou mayst confound her ¹ senses (?),
And mayst restore them (?) in her night.
She will say unto thee, Take me in thy embrace,
Day dawneth, and we (?) will be after this sort.²
Thou shalt bring it (into) the hall of the sister,
Alone and without another,
1 That thou mayst work thy pleasure with her . . . (?);
The porticoes will be a-blowing (?),
And the heaven descends in wind,
Ye shall this not remove it,

1 In this stanza, the first lines of which contain an even more vivid picture than the two preceding stanzas, there are some unknown words and some doubtful readings.

G 2, 1, 'mayst come', again faultily written. 'Bounding', a new word.
G 2, 2, 'reel', possibly the same verb, though differently determined, as is employed Anastasi IV, i, 8 and elsewhere with regard to the idle student who 'whirls around (?) in pleasures'; for in that context 'pleasures' is written with the sign Ⲯ, and this shows that the allusion is to dancing. At the end of the line the plural 'hounds' must probably be emended on account of 'they see' in the following verse; this is more satisfactory than to take 'they' as referring to the hunter and a single hound.
G 2, 3–4 contains great textual difficulties; perhaps the gazelle plunges into the river, cf. the similar phrase C 2, 6–7. G 2, 4, 'grotte', probably the same feminine word as Pap. Harris 500, recto, 3, 12, and as in our papyrus, recto, 9, 9 (corrupt), and cf. the name for a lion's den in the El Amarna texts; also the Coptic ♦C.Vcy 'girl' is feminine and possibly related. The disused tombs in the Theban necropolis will have given ample opportunities for amorous trysts. I take the curious phrase that follows to be the equivalent of our 'in the twinkling of an eye'; for the spelling of the verb 'to kiss', cf. C 4, 4. G 2, 5, again the stereotyped phrase commented upon above, p. 30, n. 2.

2 In this title the last few words are a later usurration, as explained in the first chapter, p. 1. 'While using a papyrus' is most uncertain, no such expression having been found elsewhere. In this case the author would be claiming to have extemporized the following stanzas. An alternative rendering would be 'found by (?) the carrier (or user) of the papyrus'.

3 This and the following stanza begin with the same words, and consequently belong together; they have also an equal length of ten verses, if the loss of a verse-point after nos (16, 10) be rightly assumed. To what 'it' in the opening phrase refers is quite obscure; the poem is addressed to the lover, so that 'him' is out of the question. Perhaps 'it' might be the papyrus roll mentioned in the title, but we must not forget that the interpretation chosen by us will have to fit into the second stanza as well. I am not quite certain that 'it' has not an obscene reference; only on this supposition can I imagine any sense for 'remove it' in 16, 12. There are many difficulties of vocabulary. In 16, 9, 'storm' as a verb is most doubtful; the first sign might even be Ⲯ, not Ⲯ. At the end of the line the word for 'grotte' (see on verso, G 2, 4) seems likely, the more so as all the adjoining verses close with a word designating a house or room of some sort; the faulty determinative is perhaps from an unrecorded original of Coptic ∆λαυρ 'girl'. 16, 10 starts with an evident corruption and an unknown word. 'Bever', rendering doubtful, is found in another love-song, Pap. Harris 500, recto, 5, 3. 'Throat', in 'songs of the throat', assumes ∆υ instead of ∆θ, but the latter form occurs again in the same phrase, Maximes d'Ant, 2, 7. 16, 11, the first word is unknown and looks corrupt. In the last sentence of the stanza perhaps Ⲭ Hiệp 'ewe' ought to be read or emended in place of Ⲭ 'they', and if so, the words of the sister will have continued down to the end; for the converse corruption see 17, 11. If any conjecture at all may be permitted as to the sense of the stanza as a whole, it must be that wine and song are to serve as a preparation for the night of love which is to follow.
That she may bring unto thee her fragrance,
Perfume ' spread abroad (so that) those present are intoxicated. Rech, 17

The Golden one hath decreed her unto thee as reward (?)
To cause her (?) to restore thy life. 1

1 How clever is she, the sister, in casting a noose (?),
She . . . eth not the inspection,
She casteth a noose (?) upon me with her hair,
She will catch me with her eye,
She will subjugate me with her ruddle (?),
That she may brand me with her seal. 2

When thou speakest 1 with thy heart,
Prithée after her, that I may embrace her;
By Amûn, it is I who come to thee,
My tunic upon my arm. 3

I found 1 the brother in the rill (?),
His foot placed upon the river.
He was making a day-time altar (?),
And (?) waiting for (?) the beer.
He taketh the skin of 1 my side (?),
It is longer than it is broad. 4

I For the beginning of the stanza see the last note. Here there is only one completely unknown word, but the logical nexus between the sentences is even more obscure, and I have used more imagination than is strictly legitimate in attempting to find a connexion between them. 16, 12, "work thy pleasure with", cf. G. LEBRAN, Statues de rois et de particuliers, III, no. 42208, c. 15. "Paricnues", apparently the old word for a columnar hall. 'A-throwing', a metaphorical sense which might possibly be deduced from the original meaning of the stem 'a winnow'. The conjectural sense of these verses is: however great the storm that rages throughout the house, the wind will not have force enough to sunder the lover from his beloved. 17, 1, 'spread abroad', literally 'inundating', for "emend = -a'. Those who are present' is misspelt; the poet must be generalizing concerning the sweet perfume exhaling from the person of the beloved; he cannot be referring to the particular occasion envisaged, since the lover has been told to present himself 'alone and without another'. For the stereotyped verse which follows see above, p. 37, n. 2. For the final phrase compare the statue of Bekenkhons in Th. DéVÉRA, Mémoires et fragments, I, p. 281; the MS. reading is 'îthu', but this is probably due to assimilation of the two pronouns, and 'she' should be emended. 2 The lover compares himself to a domesticated ox. 17, 2, 'how clever is she', the same word rendered 'how well known' in verse, G 1, 8, 'Cait a noose' here and later in the line is quite uncertain; one might have guessed 'throw provender (to)'; did not the preposition r suggest hostile action. The following verse, literally translated, yields 'she gives birth to the cattle-inspection', but what are we to make of this? 17, 3, 'subjugate', a verb best known from the derivative meaning 'courtiers', 'tribunal', but occurring Pap. Sollier II, 2, 10, and in the biography of Rekhmêrê, Zeitschrift für Ægypt. Sprache, 60, 68. The word guessed as 'ruddle' occurs as a medicament, but the present passage is the only one which suggests a clue to its meaning. The custom of branding cattle with a special mark is well known, see the little papyrus of Varzy (Nîevre), published op. cit. § (1867), 76, together with the picture in DAVIES, The Tombs of Two Officials, Pl. 31; 'mark' must be used figuratively here for 'brand' or 'mark'. 3 The maiden tells her lover that pursuit is superfluous, she is a willing quarry. The only difficulty is the ethical dative after an adverbial phrase with imperative force, but I believe my rendering to be nearly certain. 4 The most obscure of all the love-poems in the papyrus. 17, 5, 'rîll', the word occurs in the Goldnischefl glossary, but is of doubtful meaning. The following verse perhaps refers to the habit of using the foot to guide the Nile-water into the irrigation channels; cf. the description of Egypt as a land 'where thou sowest thy seed, and waterest it with thy foot', Deut. xi. 10. What follows conveys no sense to me, but I have conjectured she for sme. 17, 6, the last verse is easy to translate, but exceedingly difficult to interpret, unless here again there be an obscene reference.
When she went within,
Nor granted she me a fair relief,
Sharing in my night.

I passed by her house in the darkness,
I knocked, and it was not opened unto me.
It is a good night for our door-keeper.
O bolt, I will open;
O door, thou art my fate.
Art thou mine own good spirit?
One slaughtereth our ox within,
O door, exert not thy power,

1 That an ox may be slaughtered to the bolt,
A short-horn to the threshold,
A stout goose to the jambs,
Tender meat (?) to the . . . .
But all the choicest portions of our ox
Are for the carpenter lad
Who shall make for us a bolt of papyrus
And a door of straw (?),
That the brother may come at any time,
And may find her house open,
And may find a bed laid with fine linen,
And a fair maiden together with it (?),
And the maiden shall say to me (?),
This (?) house belongeth to the son of (?) the city-prefect.

1 The lover complains that the sister has shut her door in his face. 17, 6, shall I conceal it from her? cf. Turin Love-songs, 1, 6; Anastasi VIII, 3, 3; German can render more literally, soll ich es ihr verschweigen? 17, 7, 'relief' in a physical sense, only here. For the exact use of the verb dni in the next verse I can find no parallel, but the noun dnlw 'share' is well known.
2 The long concluding stanza turns upon the same theme as the last, and yields a coherent sense in spite of a few serious difficulties of detail. 17, 7, for swrk of the MS. read swrf; once again the scribe has assimilated two pronouns of like appearance, but on this occasion he has misinterpreted the second of them, the k of swrk being the 1st pers. sing. ending of the old perfective tense. 17, 8, 'knocked', a sense apparently unknown in Egyptian texts but common in Coptic νατγά. The next verse seems to imply that the door-keeper is fast asleep or is taking a holiday. The word rendered 'door' here and in 17, 9 appears to be unknown in this writing; I believe it to be identical with Ⅳ in Pop. Harris I, 4, 1, perhaps the Hebrew ? . 17, 9, the writer pretends that within the house an ox is being slaughtered, and that if the various parts of the door do their duty and admit him, sacrifice will be made to them. 17, 10, 'threshold', the Coptic ḫrs, see Devaud, Études d'Égyptologie copte, 59. 'Jamb', see Journ. Egypt. Arch., 4, 146; I am not convinced by the alternative rendering proposed by Dozy, Bull. de l'Inst. françois, d'archéol. orient., 26, 16. For 'tender meat (?)' see Lapirius, Denkm., III, 200, d; the word left untranslated is only known elsewhere as a reel to wind string upon.
17, 11, ? must be emended to see above on 16, 11. 'Papyrus', the word means properly a reed of some sort. 17, 2, the first two signs are probably corrupted from Ⅳ, ḫlt being a vegetable frequently mentioned in the medical papyri; I have given 'straw' as an approximate equivalent, the point being that the carpenter lad is to make a door which will offer no resistance. 17, 13, 'with it' is, in the MS., 'with them'; the pronoun is probably corrupt. Further on, emend Ⅳf. for Ⅳ and Ⅳf. for Ⅳf. Since the Plates were made, a twisted fragment of papyrus has been straightened and appears to give as the MS. reading Ⅳf.; this renders the translation of the last verse problematical. Note that the verse-points here and in 17, 10, sr ḏrns, are out of place.
CHAPTER IV
THE REMAINING LITERARY TEXTS

§ 11. FRAGMENT OF A HYMN

At the beginning of the verso are found the scanty fragments of a hymn in nine lines of bold writing (verso, A; Plates XVIII, XVIII A). I have set forth in Chapter I my reasons for thinking that this text was written by the scribe of the recto and that one or more pages of seven lines must be completely lost. What remains is extraordinarily obscure, and the translation attempted below is a mere servile rendering of the words, offered in the hope that others may succeed in finding an intelligible drift where I have found little or none. It is clear that a god is addressed, and since Thebes is mentioned twice he will presumably have been a god of that city, either Amun or Khons. The speakers employ the first person:

... overturned (?) quickly. Delay not at (?) the time of peace. ... him who is in ... Thebes (and) the people in their settlements. We ... the dog, enriching them in their houses ... strength (?) their glances (?). They flourish (?), killed ... us living. Let us be allowed to see thy sanctuary, and do thou ... father. They ... him who worshippeth thee. Let us be allowed to see the ... them; hundreds of thousands (?) are weak (?) because of that, ... ing and (?) mourning, mourning. Thou wilt be able to subjigate the youth of ... Thebes. O ...

§ 12. THE ENCOMIUM OF RAMESSES V

Following closely upon the hymn discussed in the last section, and written in stately characters obviously adapted to the scribe’s high estimation of his theme, comes a panegyric of the reigning Pharaoh, not impossibly an improvisation made on the very day named in the introductory line. Little is known of Ramesses V save that he was the successor of Ramesses IV, and the second successor of Ramesses III.1 Records from his reign mention the fourth year, and he was followed by yet another Ramesses, the sixth of that name, who usurped his tomb and strangely adopted the same name Ramesses-Amenkhopshef for the principal element of his nomen or second cartouche.2 The adulatory epithets

1 The first word must be emended as ... but how this is to be understood is uncertain; to render ‘twice thee away’, as in the Pyramids, seems improbable. A 5, ‘settlements’, a rather rare word, but well authenticated. A 3, ‘the dog’ might equally well be the subject of ‘enriches them’, but the sense eludes me completely. A 4, ‘sec’, would more naturally be taken as subject to bḥb following, but this leaves the preceding verb rwd unaccounted for. A 5, 6, the preposition mḥ, twice used to introduce the object after pḥl, seems an early anticipation of the common Coptic use; for its origin see Rec. de Trav., 25, 34. A 8, for this future construction, see B. Gunn, Studies in Egyptian Syntax, p. 57.

A careful re-examination of the original makes it necessary to correct the transcription given in the Plate to ...; there is just a possibility that this should be construed as a vocative, since the interjection ḫḥy is found after its vocative in verso, C 2, 3; C 4, 3. In that case, however, the f of wrf (for analogous writings see recto, 4, 11, 14, 7) would have to be taken as doing double duty (1) for the third radical of wrf, and (2) for the suffix pronoun. On this hypothesis the translation would run: ‘Thou wilt be able to subjigate him, O thou youth of Thebes!’ the ‘youth of Thebes’ would almost necessarily be Khons. There is no trace of writing after ḫḥy, and whether or not we possess the end of the hymn depends upon which we choose of the two alternative interpretations above set forth.

2 For the latest discussion see T. E. Peet, The Chronological Problems of the Twentieth Dynasty in Journ. Egypt. Arch., 14, 52 foll. I do not feel that the last word has yet been said with regard to the list of kings in the temple of Medinet Habu, but though the relationship of Ramesses III to his immediate successors is still in doubt, their order is not. A title of new evidence comes from the tomb of Amenemope at Dra’ Abu ‘n Naga (no. 148) where, as my own copies show, three kings and no others are mentioned, namely Ramesses III, IV, and V.

3 In the case of Ramesses V this name does not seem to occur fully written out elsewhere than in our papyrus, but the correct transcription has been known at least since the days of E. de Rouge. The ... occurring in some cartouches could there only be combined with the monogram ḫḥ, i.e. Amun holding the khaque-smittar so as to yield ‘Amenkhopshef’. It is not impossible that already at this time the preposition bḥ (ḥḥ) had become merged into the following word, in which case ‘Amenkhopshef’ would be a more accurate rendering; in our papyrus the preposition is regularly omitted. The nomen of Ramesses V differs from that of Ramesses VI in that the former usually ends with the epithet ‘beloved-of-Amun’, while the latter appends the phrase ‘the-god-Ruler-of-Heliopolis’.
here heaped upon Ramesses V are not calculated to teach us anything new about him, unless perchance it is that he was a mere youth (see on B 25); and, if the truth be told, this panegyric or Encomium belongs to the very least instructive and dullest types of Egyptian composition. Formally, the whole is an address to the Pharaoh, one or other of whose cartouches recurs from time to time as a sort of rallying-point for the surrounding epithets. This recurrence at intervals of the cartouche or royal name-ring seems to have been an innovation of Ramesside times; we find it, for example, in various commemorative stelae of Ramesses II and his successors. Since most of these stelae are dated, we obtain thence an alternative possibility of explaining the date at the head of the present effusion; it might be supposed that this date is simply borrowed from some Theban monument of which we have here the copy. But against such an hypothesis we should have to set the fact that the second person is employed, contrary to the custom usual in such commemorative stelae, where the third person is the rule. I therefore incline to the view that the date states the time at which the text was written, whether as an improvisation of the moment or whether as a copy from some other papyrus. To turn now to the contents, in line 19 a fresh start seems to be made with the opening words 'Thou good god' of line 2, so that the whole might be thought of as divided into two long stanzas of which the second breaks off suddenly and inexplicably not far from its presumable end. But is the Encomium a poem? That the phraseology was intended to be poetic is clear, though there is hardly a striking or original expression to be noted. I doubt whether the composition is a poem in the strict sense, for it seems impossible to split it up into verses of approximately equal length, as was easy in the case of the love-songs above translated. Hence I have been compelled to present my version as prose. To the layman it will read very turgidly, and many individual phrases will be incomprehensible. To have explained them all would have been to write a treatise on the commonplace laudation, and my notes have had to fulfil a more modest purpose. I hope at least to have attempted the elucidation of all those points which might present difficulty to the Egyptologist.

6 This epithet is chiefly that of Amen-Re; perhaps Atum is thought of as identical with Amen-Re.
7 Or 'of his scimitar.'
O Ramesse-Amenhikhopshef-beloved-of-Amūn, thou Ruler who destroyest the Nine Bows.  

Thy father Min giveth unto thee his might; Baal giveth unto thee strength, thou divine king, beloved, who seizest the two lands by thy strength. Every body is full of thy beauty, all troops rejoice; all generations who come into being by every body—they come and pray for jubilees for thee every day, thou herdsman of To-meri, Ramesse-Amenhikhopshef, thou stripping son of Buto, good god, lord of power, great of strength over every land to slay Kharu, and to crush Kush. He hath destroyed Neharin, he the greatly feared, he the frequent of roaring, the awe of whom is in the hearts of the Nine Bows. The land of Wawat is united to be appended to the White crown the land of Egypt is glad because of thy time when thou seatest thyself upon the throne. They rejoice at thy noble name even as at that of Horus, Lord-of-the-Two-Lands. They are glad, united in jubilation at the youthful Ruler, a good Nile coming in thy time when thou unitest thyself with Right. Thou art like unto the charm of Horus, the son of Isis, whose strength is like the son of Nut whose strength is like Montu, having power over multitudes. He hath assumed the White crown, and hath taken anew the Atef-crown; the land of Egypt is glad because of thy time when thou seatest thyself upon the throne. They rejoice at thy noble name even as at that of Horus, Lord-of-the-Two-Lands. They are glad, united in jubilation when they saw Amenihikhopshef appearing upon the seat of Horus; Thoth
telling the good tidings in the presence of the Master of the Universe, and prophesying unto thee kingship. The Nine Bows come unto thee to Egypt bearing presents unto thy might. Thou cryest aloud unto the Lebanon and it writheth in birth-pangs. The ebony...

1 Doubtless the Hebrew אֱלִיָּה 'blessing,' 'gift;' the writing with א occurs several times, that with מ only Wenamun, 2, 11; strange as this substitution of מ for א is, there seems to me but little chance of its being a different word, as assumed by Max Müller, Orientalische Litteraturzeitung, 3, 208; Burkhardt, Altkanaanischen Fremdworte, no. 481, and the Berlin dictionary, II, 113. Perhaps the pronunciation of מְרִית, 'chariot,' had already the initial א which appears in Coptic ἕρεμωγγε, and may have influenced the writing of this word for 'gift.'

2 The phrase 'cry aloud unto the Lebanon' occurs again in Wenamun, 2, 13-14, but is there spoken by the prince of Byblos, not by the Pharaoh or ruler of Egypt. However, the sequel in that passage 'the sky will open, the wood lying here on the sea-shore' makes it probable that the verb מל has really in our text the meaning 'writhes in birth-pangs' which its determinative suggests; Pharaoh has only to cry aloud for the Lebanon to produce the wood required for the Egyptian ships. However, in its other rare occurrences at Medinet Habu the context contains no hint that tribute is alluded to, see for example Nelson, Medinet Habu, I, 28, 65; Piem, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 156. Still, that meaning is not altogether excluded and the determinative מ is invariable. The Berlin dictionary (IV, 43) gives 'tremble' as the meaning, but suggests that the original reference was to birth-pangs.
CHAPTER V
THE BUSINESS MEMORANDA

§ 13. PRELIMINARY SURVEY

It now remains only to translate and annotate the meagre business jottings on the verso of our papyrus. These, as I have explained in the introductory chapter, are the last residue of a mass of entries of the same kind which from time to time turned to practical account the entire portion of the verso unoccupied by its literary texts. Evidently the last possessor of the papyrus contemplated further use of his valuable writing material, for considerable areas have been cleaned and only vestiges of signs remain to testify to their previous occupation. It seems idle to speculate upon the contents of the lost texts, but to what has already been said on p. 4 and indicated in the diagram of p. 3 I will add that the central space between section D and the second page of section G clearly recorded some numbers, as the long tails of the signs for the hundreds are discernible here and there. In the erased line close to section H I think I can see the signs |।|; in the three-line entry below and to the right of the entry just mentioned l. 1 ends with |।| and in l. 3 I fancy I detect |।| . . . ‘...treasury, he made (?)...’ Lastly, at the end of the second line of the deleted memorandum nearest to the inner margin of the roll I see |।| . None of these signs are on parts of the papyrus shown in the Plates.

This tribute having been paid to the somewhat pedantic ideal of completeness, I turn to the four memoranda which the last owner, for reasons obscure to us, left unerased. Of these the earliest is section D (Plate XXVII), the four lines of which are the original writing in the place where they stand, though immediately following beneath them is a palimpsest region. It is uncertain whether its date in ‘Year 4’ belongs to Ramesses V or to one of his successors; the latter view is the more probable, as the love-songs preceded the writing of section D and are from a different hand than the Encomium of the second year of Ramesses V. We must not forget that the reign of Ramesses III was followed by a number of quite short reigns, to any of which these low datings may belong. Whether sections E and F (Plate XXVIII) are anterior to section H (Plate XXX) is problematic. The two former, which name the same persons and are the work of the same scribe, are dated in ‘Year 2’, while section H is from ‘Year 3’. The position of section H farther towards the middle might suggest a date later than sections E and F, but this argument loses most of its force when we remember that all the sections in question are written over previous deletions. I have an impression, but it is no more than such, that section H may have been written by the same scribe as section D. If so, its ‘Year 3’ is likely to come from a reign later than that of section D, and the ‘Year 2’ of sections E and F from a still later reign. The writing of sections E and F is of a cursive character which recalls the papyri of the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. It is on such grounds that I have hazarded the guess (p. 7) that sections E and F are the latest entries in the papyrus.

§ 14. THE SALE OF A BULL

To be quite precise, section D (Plate XXVII) is the dated record of the price received by a scribe named Pen-anuke for his bull, together with a list of the actual articles handed over in payment. The text may be translated as follows:

1. Year 4, second month of the Inundation season, day 20: the day when payment was 1 Ferso D received by the scribe Pen-anuke for his bull.

1. Upper Egyptian linen, 4 loin-cloths; coloured stuff, 1 tunic, makes copper, 60 deben; 2 Corn, 10 sacks and 3|’| hekat; 1 cow, makes 20 deben; 1 end-pieces (?) of a necklace, 3 pair (?), makes copper, 30 deben. Total, copper, 120 deben.

1. Given to him another 2 tunics, makes copper (?), 10 deben. Total, 130.

1. On re-examination I am not absolutely certain that there was any writing deleted below Section H. If not, this section might possibly be earlier than section D.

1. 2
A full commentary upon this interesting little text would open up the entire question of prices and money-values in which our lamented colleague Wilhelm Spiegelberg was the pioneer. Another friend and colleague, Jaroslav Černý, has collected a mass of new data upon the subject, and although he has generously placed the results of his researches at my disposal, it is more fitting that these should be set forth at length in another context. Here I will merely state the relevant facts at present available, adding a little new information from my own collections.

Černý quotes Ostr. Brit. Mus. 5494, verso 1, which gives 119 deben of copper as the price of a bull, and Ostr. Turin 9753 which gives 120 deben. These prices agree well with that of 120 deben in l. 3 of our record, and then in l. 4, doubtless as the result of some haggling, 130 deben. But other Ramesside sources quoted by Černý give 50 deben and even 44 deben as alternative prices, and for a very young bull only 30 deben. In the case of the 44 deben animal, Černý thinks that possibly a loan, not a sale, may be in question. This seems to me unnecessary; the price of a bull will have varied greatly according to its age and its condition. In the Chester Beatty papyrus we evidently have the top price.

In the Twentieth Dynasty commodities were quoted either in terms of bullion or in terms of grain. In l. 2 the 10 and a fraction sacks of corn are reckoned, as the total 120 shows, as equivalent to 10 deben of copper (60+10+20+30 = 120); then (l. 4). 120+10 = 130). The red ink in which the amount of corn is written doubtless indicates that this was actually handed over in kind, and is no mere indication of value. That the deben of copper and the sack of corn were of approximately the same value is shown by an unpublished letter, now in Cairo, discovered by Professor Borchardt at Abusir (Dyn. XIX); here we find the passage 10 + 3/10 S = 12 deben of copper (80+10+20+30 = 120). In the Turin ostracon above quoted. This price seems disproportionate to that of the tunic if the word dite really means a loin-cloth, as I have always translated it. Perhaps the word signifies a mantle of some kind, but it is also possible that 'loin-cloth' may be correct and that the higher price may be dependent on the finer kind of material.

Philologically, only a few notes require to be given. After the date, the literal rendering would be: 'day of receiving the silver by the scribe Pen'atnâke in exchange for his bull'. The name Pen'atnâke occurs Plewty and Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, 57, 1. For the word hyty in l. 3 Černý quotes the ostracon published Journ. Egypt. Arch., III, 195, where we find 'J immediately after the passage 12 deben of copper (60+10+20+20+10+10 = 120). Griffith there conjectured that hti might mean 'row (of beads)', but I think the fact of there being two of them points rather to the meaning 'end-pieces' or 'shoulder-pieces', although k(?)by appears to signify 'necklet', 'necklace', and not a 'collar' where such end-pieces usually occur. If 'end-pieces' be the right rendering, then the dot-like sign and stroke after k(?)by may be for 'one pair'. In l. 4 the m before hti is superfluous.

These two entries (Plate XXVIII) are closely similar both in their subject-matter and in their mode of expression. Before commenting upon them I will give an English rendering:

**Verso E** 1 | Year 2, third month of the Inundation season, day 26: the day when the box was given to the scribe Phtowentamûn of the House of Amûn, 1 to the general Meryre of the War Office of Pharaoh, 1 and to Pfan'ân(?)

**Verso F** 1 | Year 2, third month of the Winter season, day 26: the day when the box was given to Phtowentamûn and 1 to the general Meryre.

It is significant that the same persons (except for the addition of Pfan'ân in E) are mentioned in both memoranda, and that the same act is recorded for the same day of the month, though with an interval of four months between the two entries. Černý makes the suggestion, which certainly holds good of another very interesting passage quoted by him (Ostr. Berlin P 12654, verso 6–8) that the reference is to a bakshish given to the officials in question. Against this may be urged that the corresponding dates are.

1 See W. Spiegelberg, Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setts I, Text, pp. 87, foll.
§ 15  THE BUSINESS MEMORANDA  45
point rather to a regular administrative act rather than to an illicit bribe. We might suppose the box to be a box-full of accounts or the like which were examined by the officials in question at the end of every four-month season. The dates agree well with this suggestion, for in each case the season had but four more days to run. The actual persons here mentioned do not seem to be known from other sources.

§ 16. SECTION H

Most problematic of all is the last memorandum of the four (Plate XXX). In translation it reads:

1. Year 3, first month of winter, day 18: day when the hundreds of the House of Usūmrē-miamūn (in) the estate (of Amūn?) were sent forth by the hand of the youths of . . . .

1. The herdsman Pyow, 50—1; the herdsman Amenhotpe, 50—½; 1 the herdsman 2, 3 Nefy, 50—½.

For the interpretation of the word 'hundreds' here we have no clue beyond what is provided by the text itself. Since three herdsmen are subsequently named, it appears likely that cattle or herds of some kind are meant. But why and to whom these were 'sent forth' or 'issued' is not divulged. The temple in question is mentioned three times in the great Harris papyrus (5, 7; 10, 4; 12 a, 2), and once reference is made to it as having a staff of 34 employees in charge of its cattle (10, 10). Gauthier (Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, II, 72) states that this is the name of the small temple of Ramesses III in Karnak, but such does not appear to be the case, that temple having another name (Pop. Harris I, 5, 4; Champollion, Notices descriptives, II, 12-14). Nor yet, apparently, is it the southern temple of Ramesses III in Karnak, the name of which is perhaps given in Pop. Harris I, 5, 6.

Philologically, this short text is not without its serious difficulties. I have assumed that what is written after the cartouche is a garbled corruption of ḫayy, but the presence of the definite article ẖ in ḫayy is hard to explain. It looks as though l. 1 were intended to be continued into a second line, and in point of fact the present entry in l. 2 is set back on account of a clumsy erasure of which I can decipher nothing. The oblique stroke after the three numerals for '50' is quite obscure, as is also the signification of the following symbols for '1' and '3' respectively.
CORRIGENDA TO THE PLATES OF TRANSCRIPTION

Pl. I, l. 1. At the last moment a fragment of the opening rubric was unexpectedly identified, and shows that instead of \( \text{Σ} \) 'judgement', \( \text{Ψ} \) is to be read; see the annexed cut. Before \( \text{Ψ} \), which I had correctly read is a trace high up, which might belong to a number of different signs. It seems to me too large in the horizontal direction for the top of \( \text{Θ} \), which would have desiderated the restoration \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Ψ} \) \( \text{Ο} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Ψ} \) \( \text{Β} \) \( \text{Ι} \) \( \text{Ο} \) \( \text{Η} \) '[Beginning of] the adjudging'. It might possibly belong to \( \text{Ο} \), in which case it would be necessary to adopt \( \text{Θ} \) instead of \( \text{Θ} \) which I had previously proposed. In the doubt which subsists it is better to confess our ignorance, and to give as the beginning of the story the reading \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \). It is satisfactory to find that my conjecture 'the adjudging' proves correct, \( \text{Σ} \) being merely replaced by its synonym \( \text{Ψ} \).

Pl. I A, l. 3. Near the end I have written \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) for \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) by a lapsus calami.

Pl. I A, l. 7. The rendering suggested in the text demands \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) instead of \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \) \( \text{Θ} \). But both sense and expression are highly problematic.

Pl. I A, l. 12. The collotype Plate had been made for the second time when a new fragment was discovered confirming \( \text{ό} \) before \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \).

Pl. XI A, l. 11. Just before the rubric the sign given as \( \text{ό} \) is of quite indeterminate shape. I am now convinced that \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) was the reading of the archetype.

Pl. XVII A, l. 13. In re-mounting an edge of the papyrus has been re-adjusted, and appears to yield \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \).

Pl. XVIII A, l. 8. For \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) read \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \) \( \text{ό} \).
PLATES
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Recius, page 1
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Recto, page 2
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Reed, page 4
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Recto, page 5
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No.1

Recto, page 7
Plate VIII

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Recto, page 8
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No.1
Redb, page 9
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No.1
Recol, page 10
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Recto, page 12
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Reetz, page 13
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Refo, page 14
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verse, section A

[Handwritten notes and translation]

All doubtful; 1 for l, if l?
6.6.6.6.6. I would suit the traces better, but yields no word; the position of the fragment is not quite certain.

Tiny traces which suit 7.
Plate XIXa

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verse, section B, lines 1-11
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verso, section B, lines 1-11
Plate XXIA

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verso, section B, lines 24-33

Here a smudge.  b Corrected out of iii  c The continuation deleted.
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verso, section C, page 1
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verso, section C, page 4

a A later addition. b So too for z in rmi "weep" recto 6.14.72. c A mere blot?
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Verso, section C, page 5

*Doubtless the ligature for ḫ by confusion with ḫrē. *v/ faint but probable. "Unusual form, but hardly ḫv."
Plate XXVII

For the hieratic form, see Rossi e Neile, Papirs de Turin, Pl. 10, l. 8.

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1

Verso, section D
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verse, sections E and F
Plate XXIX

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No.1
Verso, section G, page 1
The first signs might be interpreted as reading suggested by C.6-7, but uncertain; a brown spot, not ink, above right. The (Moff. Hier. Pl. II no 65) by mistake for the (op. cit. I no 65), if 'Arastyli.

1 Be without dot. 2 Or simply 3. 4 Braced signs.

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verse, section G, page 5, and section H
THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, No. 1
Verso, section G, page 2, and section H