

NOTES
ON
THE STORY OF SINUHE

BY

Alan H. GARDINER, D. Litt.



PARIS (VI^e)
LIBRAIRIE HONORÉ CHAMPION, EDITEUR

(Téléphone 828-20)

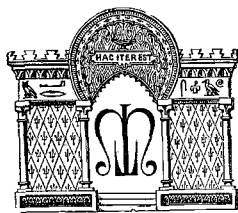
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1916

NOTES

ON

THE STORY OF SINUHE



TO

Bernard Pyne GRENFELL

in friendship.

PREFACE

The present work, save for the new English translation and the indices now appended, is reprinted from the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. 32-34, 36. The considerations that led to the inception of the task, and the debt I owe to Sir Gaston Maspero in connection therewith, are recorded in the opening pages; and it has been my pleasant duty to note, in their appropriate places, many valuable observations and corrections communicated by friends and colleagues who have kindly lent me their help. I have now to express my gratitude to Mr. Battiscombe Gunn for assistance in the revision of the translation, and to Mr. T. Eric Peet for undertaking the extensive indices and carrying them out in so admirable a fashion. To my publishers I am deeply indebted, not only for their patient tolerance of my repeated delays, but also for their extreme courage and obligingness in producing the book in times of unparalleled difficulty. The long intervals at which the different sections were written are responsible for many inconsistencies in the spelling of transliterated words and the like; for these I crave the reader's indulgence.

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NOTES

ON

THE STORY OF SINUHE

The plan of the series to which my recent volume on the Story of Sinuhe¹ belongs did not admit of a full commentary on the text. There are several excellent reasons, which need not here be specified, why Museums should restrict their publications to the bare communication of new material, leaving the elaboration thereof to private initiative; and this general principle was certainly rightly applied in the case of my book. The inclusion of a translation already passed beyond the strictly legitimate scope of such a work, but seemed justifiable on grounds of general utility and because of the small space it would occupy. I must confess it was this part of my task which cost me most labour and interested me most keenly, for not only did I spare no pains to investigate the sense of all the rarer words in the tale — here the materials of the Berlin Dictionary² stood me in good stead — but I also tried to reconstitute the text of the archetype, and not to adhere slavishly either to one or to the other of the manuscripts. By this means my translation came to differ considerably from the renderings of other scholars. I feel that I should be risking the charge of having made far too many and too daring innovations if I did not publish some defence of my views; and I hope it will become plain from the series of articles of which this is the first that I have not been guilty of ignoring the labours of my predecessors. I have found with some embarrassment that the work from which I have most often to dissent is one which a delicate attention on the part of its author

1. *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, 5 Bd. *Literarische Texte des mittleren Reiches*. Herausg. von A. ERMAN, II, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte*. Bearbeitet von ALAN H. GARDINER, Leipzig, 1909.

2. This essay was compiled away from Berlin. I am indebted to Herrn Grapow for verifying some references in respect of which my notes proved deficient.










had closely connected with my own name. Still, the occasions are very few on which free and open discussion is not both in place and of positive benefit; nor is so eminent a scholar as M. Maspero the one to discourage it. So far from that being the case, he has most readily consented to extend the hospitality of the *Recueil* to my remarks; an additional courtesy, for which I herewith sincerely thank him.

I shall begin with a discussion of the *primâ facie* view to be taken in the examination of particular critical details¹, and shall thence pass to the analysis of all the more difficult passages in the tale. This done, we shall be in a position to formulate a final judgement as to the respective value of the various manuscripts. The remainder of my essay will be devoted to the consideration of the literary and historical aspects of the tale.

I

PRELIMINARIES ON THE COMPARATIVE CRITICAL VALUE OF THE MSS.






It will be impossible to form an entirely correct estimate of the relative value of the two chief manuscripts B (the Berlin papyrus 3022) and R (the Ramesseum papyrus) until the individual readings of those manuscripts have been compared and tested one by one. This however is a task which itself requires for its proper carrying out an *a priori* judgement as to whether the authorities ought to be compared as equal with equal, or whether one should start with a decided preference, based on general considerations, for one source of testimony as against the other.

In this section therefore the ground will be cleared by the discussion of such matters as the date of the various manuscripts, and the relationship of the three later sources of the text to the two older ones. First with regard to the age of the papyri. That B is the oldest of them will hardly be disputed; in agreement with Möller I assign it to the very end of the 12th. or to the beginning of the 13th. Dynasty². As for R, I was at first tempted to claim for it the same antiquity as B, but subsequent study has convinced me that it occupies a position intermediate between B and the group of papyri which Möller, in his admirable book on hieratic palæography, regards as typical of the Hyksos period³. On the one hand a number of signs in R seem to attach that papyrus to the Hyksos group; such are  (15),  (38),  with dash at side (84),  (43) and  (55). On the other hand certain signs appear to link R no less decidedly with the papyri of the 12th. Dynasty; examples are  (25) and  (39), both of which have the dash at the side higher than is later usual; so too  (7) without a dot over it, and  (19) with legs

1. Even if I could accept the general position adopted by M. Maspero towards the critical problems of the tale, a new treatment of the matter would be necessary for two reasons: (1) because new portions of R have been found since M. Maspero wrote his book; and (2) because I have greatly improved upon my first transcription of R, as could hardly fail to be the case with closer study.

2. M. MASPERO (*Les Mémoires de Sinouhit*, p. 11) admits the possibility that B may even belong to the 14th. Dynasty.

3. *Hierat. Palæogr.*, I, p. 17, foll.

not clearly distinguished but represented by one stroke,  (*passim*) that has a form analogous to that found in the *Prisse* and the *Illahun papyri*. In the spelling of the verb *hw* "to strike"  is indeed no longer written as in the 12th. Dynasty, but has not yet become disintegrated, as in the *Ebers*, into two distinct signs¹. More important than such details is the fact that R shows no leaning whatsoever towards the elaboration of form affected by certain signs during the Hyksos period; in R  (161),  (86) and  (42) have simple hieratic equivalents, free from all superfluous strokes. Nor again does R display any taste for the rounded contours and flourishes which Möller holds to be the most prominent characteristic of the *Westcar* and its congeners². Möller's verdict on R, which deserves much respect, is that it is "etwas jünger" than B. For my part I am ready to concede a considerable latitude for error, and therefore content myself with maintaining, as I did before, that the latest possible date for R is some time before the writing of the *Rhind Mathematical*. M. Maspero seems to me to err when he compares R with the manuscripts of the early 18th. Dynasty³. It was hardly to be expected that he should accept without question my statement that all the other papyri emanating from the same find display an early type of writing; but that statement, for which the evidence is yet unpublished, cannot be disposed of by the brief comment that: "les bibliothèques renfermaient souvent des livres d'époques très différentes". It is surely significant that the objects found together in the same box with the *Ramesseum papyri* have been pronounced, on excellent and unbiassed archæological authority, to belong to the 12th. Dynasty. M. Maspero writes: "Si Gardiner adopte la chronologie réduite de Borchardt et d'Édouard Meyer, la distance est, somme toute, assez faible entre la date qu'il admet et celle que je propose." But unless I am mistaken, the reduced chronology is not accepted by M. Maspero. For him therefore the interval assumed between B and R may be a matter of considerable importance, and I believe that it has influenced him greatly in his hypothesis of two recensions, an early Theban (M. K.) and an Ahmesside (18th. Dynasty) recension. My conclusion as to the date of R, to put it briefly, is that that manuscript may be a hundred years or so later than B. But B was doubtless separated from the archetype by one hundred and fifty years, at the very lowest estimate. Judging from the criterion of age alone one might expect B to be a somewhat better authority for the text than R; but that criterion is, as textual critics are well aware, a very precarious guide to the value of manuscripts, and the relative value of B and R may be exactly the opposite. With regard to the date of the later texts M. Maspero's opinion is probably correct, or approximately so: G (the *Golénischeff papyrus*) he assigns to the middle of the 19th. Dynasty, C (the *Cairo ostrakon*) to the 20th., or at latest to the 21st., Dynasty, and L (the *ostrakon in the British Museum*) to about the same date as C.

The relationship of C and G is at once clear; C is the corrupt descendant of a

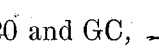
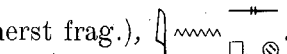
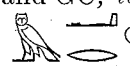
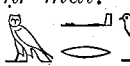


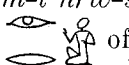

¹. See *A. Z.*, 44 (1908), 127.

². *Op. cit.*, p. 17.


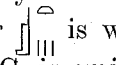
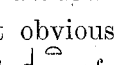
³. *Op. cit.*, p. v.

manuscript quite or almost identical with G. Wherever C and G differ from one another C is invariably wrong¹, a conclusion that may often be confirmed by comparing G with R or B². The value of C is therefore confined to such passages as are missing in G.

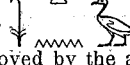
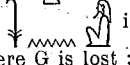

The common ancestor of C and G, which may here be named GC, was, as M. Maspero has also recognized³, more nearly related to R than to B. This is proved by the following evidence⁴:

- (a) R20 and GC, ; B (Amherst frag.), .
- (b) R25 and GC, *iw-f mdw-f*; B2, *iw-f hr mdt*.
- (c) R25,  supported by G ; B2, .
- (d) R33-34 and GC, *wrš-ni im m*; B9 omits *im*.
- (e) R43 and C, *r ptpt nmīw-š*⁵; B17 omits these words.
- (f) R44 and C (the latter with some transparent corruptions), *wršy tp inbw imy hrw-f*; B19, *wršyw tp h³-t im-t hrw-s*.
- (g) R45, , also indicated by  of C; B19, only .
- (h) R46, *hn-kiwi hr*, with C; B21 gives *r* for *hr*.
- (i) R84-85, *h³-f ʿbtīw*; *h³-f* is indicated by *h³b* in G; B60, *m³-f ʿb-t*.
- (k) R87 and G, *bh³ Pdtiw hr h³-t-f*; B63, *bh³ Pdtiw ʿwy-f*.
- (l) R90 and G, *it-nf m mrwt*; B66, without *m*.

Of these deviations (a), (c), (d), (f), (g), (i), (k), and (l) point clearly in favour of RGC as against B; in (b) the rival variants have about equal claims, and the other two cases (e) and (h) are doubtful.

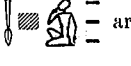
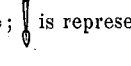
In the few instances where GC agrees with B against R, it is usually in order to correct obvious and unimportant errors in R: thus in R27  or  is wrong against  of B4 and GC; in R48 the verb *s³k*, attested by B24 and C, is omitted; in R49 *hrw* "sound" is left out, though present in B24 and C⁵; *ikm* and *titi* in R86 are somewhat inferior to *ikm-f* and *titi-f* in B61 and G; and similarly R88 seems to have only 'h³' where B64 and G have 'h³-f'. These insignificant differences hardly militate against the near relationship of GC and R that has been asserted above. The

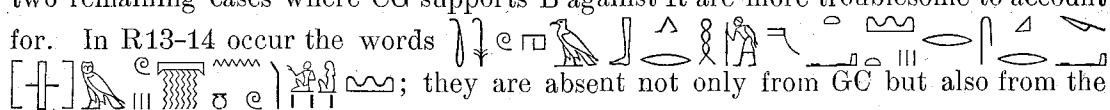
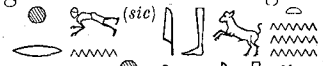

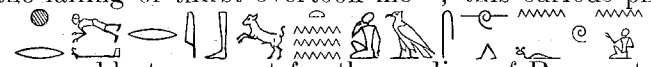
1. Instances are given by M. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii, and a long list might be made. It will suffice to quote one or two examples: *mry* (C1) for *mry-f* (G 2); *s³rw-f pt* (C 2) for *shry-f r pt* (G 5); *bs* (C 2) for *sb* (G 7); *n nis-ntw* (C 4) where G13 omits the negative; *psrh*, *sd³w-f* and *nftt* in C 4 for *psb*, *sd³w* (without suffix) and *nftt* in G 14. — A single case where C corrects G is in the passage corresponding to R32; G17 reads *nmi-ni r m³ʿwti*; C rightly omits the preposition but wrongly forgets *-ni* in *nmi-ni*.

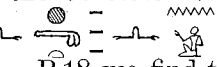
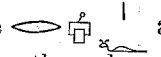
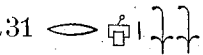



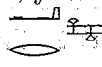

2. Thus for example  in G10 is confirmed by R18, while  in C, though in itself just defensible, is disproved by the agreement of G and R. — Similarly where G is lost: in B18 = R44 we find *m s³td m³ wršy* "for fear lest the watcher should see (me)"; C has here the easier reading , but the consensus of B and R makes it almost certain that this improvement is due to the scribe of C or to one of his immediate predecessors.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. xxvi, foll.

4. Obvious corruptions on the part of C are here ignored; for further details the notes on the passages quoted must be consulted.

5. In the facsimile of C clear traces of  are visible;  is represented by the stroke at the side.

two remaining cases where CG supports B against R are more troublesome to account for. In R13-14 occur the words ; they are absent not only from GC but also from the Amherst fragments of B. This sentence in R fits admirably into the context where it occurs, and both M. Maspero¹ and myself² have attempted to vindicate its authenticity. However if the affiliation of manuscripts here maintained be correct, we can escape the view of these words being an interpolation only by supposing that B and GC have independently fallen into the like error of omitting the sentence owing to the homoiarchon *tisw*. Another difficulty occurs in R47  "thirst fell and overtook me". B21 gives  which, as *s-nf* cannot refer to the feminine *ib-t*, can only be rendered "the falling of thirst overtook me"; this curious phrase seems to be supported by C  and must therefore be original. I am unable to account for the reading of R except as due to emendation.

Occasionally GC differs from both B and R; it may then generally be shown to be wrong. GC has *šmw-sn* or *šmt-sn* where B5 and R29 have *šmw-s*; no clear sense can be made of the former reading. The learning of the scribe of GC did not extend to the knowledge of the obsolete verb *hmt* "to think" in R30 = B7; he therefore substituted for it , understanding this as *n hm-ni* "I was not ignorant". In R44 = B18 we find the obviously correct reading *m b:t*; GC replaces the preposition *m* by the genitive exponent *ni(nw)*. G43 gives *šhm hr* or *šhm ib* instead of *wd hr* of B60 = R84; the latter seems the more forcible and preferable phrase. In B7 we find the phrase "I did not expect to live  after him", i. e. after the death of Amenemmes I. The pronoun here is rather obscure, and the reading of R31  "after these things" may be an attempt to remove the obscurity. A more clumsy expedient is adopted by GC, where the words are expanded into "after that good god", *ntr mnḥ*, being borrowed from a later passage B44 = R68³. In B17 = R42 *inbw hkḥ* is obviously the correct reading, and whether or not *itf-i* in the variant *inbw itf-i* in GC be due merely to the misreading of the hieratic *hkḥ*, there can be no doubt of the inferiority of GC here. In the very difficult sentence B5 = R28 all the texts are at fault; B has , R  and GC . I shall try to show that R is nearest to the original reading *iwḏ*, while the others are guessing. In R1 we do not find the titles "chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, unique friend", which occur in GC; M. Maspero may be right in regarding these words as part of the original text⁴, yet such an expansion of titles is no unlikely trait of later manuscripts⁵. R6 gives  where GC has , B being lost;

1. *Op. cit.*, p. xxx.

2. *Sitzb. d. kön. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1907, 145.

3. C reads *s; pft ntr pn (sic) mnḥ*; G has first a lacuna, then *ntr pn mnḥ*. M. Maspero takes a somewhat different view of these variants (*op. cit.*, p. xxix); his view does not seem to account for the genesis of the reading of GC.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

5. So too C has extended the word "harim" in the titles of R3. Moreover the newly-discovered text

here *r* is to be preferred, on the ground of its being the choicer word of the two.

The passages in which we have been able to consult more than two manuscripts with regard to the reading are so few, that it would be rash to base any very positive conclusions on a genealogical view of the various sources of testimony. However so far as the evidence goes, it is all in favour of the common source of R and GC, namely RGC. By checking R with GC and B several of the most careless blunders of R have been seen to have been absent from RGC, and conversely several mistakes shared by C and G have been disposed of by R. Where it has been possible to contrast RGC with B I have usually had to affirm — the proof remains to be given later in the notes — the superiority of RGC. But apart from these conclusions, based, I repeat, on too little evidence to be really cogent, the mere fact of the consensus of three manuscripts against one raises a distinct presumption in favour of the majority; the suspicion is at once suggested that the isolated witness contains an eccentric or faulty text. If GC, which is separated from R by a very considerable space of time, nevertheless shares most of the readings of the latter, it is probably because both were, in their common origin, not distantly related to the archetype. Thus to my mind the support given to R by GC may be reckoned as at least compensating for the later date of R as compared with B.

Though M. Maspero takes much the same view of the interdependence of the Mss. as that above outlined, the conclusions which he draws thence are very different from mine. From the agreement of GC with R as against B he immediately infers the existence of two "versions" or "redactions" of the text. The older of these, represented by B alone (*plus* the Amherst fragments of course) was, according to M. Maspero, the version current towards the middle of the first Theban period. The second version, known to us through R and the three posterior manuscripts G, C and L, is termed by him the Ahmesside edition. The flaw which I think I detect in this manner of presenting the case lies in the employment and implications of the words "version", "redaction" and "edition". All that can be fairly concluded from the mere agreement of GC with R as against B, without a subjective valuation of the readings involved, is that there are two "families" of text; nor does it of itself follow that the elder branch resembles the common ancestor more closely than the younger line of manuscripts; on the contrary I have pointed out that the inclusion of three members at least in the younger line gives *a priori* some support to the tradition of that line, sufficient to counterbalance the fact that B is of somewhat earlier date than R. This argumentation proceeds of course on the usual assumption of textual criticism that the bulk of the differences found in the Mss. is due not to any deliberate tampering with the text², but to the natural deterioration of the readings

parallel to the beginning of Prisse gives a good illustration of this; there the titles of Ptahhotp are much more elaborate than in the earlier manuscript; see *Rec. de Trav.*, 31, 146.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

2. Of course a very considerable number of variants is due to some conscious reasoning on the part of the scribes. But since they are as a rule due to a misunderstanding of the original they may be classed together with the automatic errors. As an example may be quoted *rnti p^tt* (C1) for *rp^tt*.

owing to the carelessness and ignorance of the scribes through whose hands the text passed. M. Maspero's theory of two successive "redactions" or "editions" implies, or at least seems to imply, that a *wholesale revision* of the text was undertaken at some date posterior to the writing of B, so that the direct tradition of the archetype (B) was abruptly changed and replaced by a new and artificial version (RGC). Now if such a revision were due to a conscientious modern editor, who spared no pains to ascertain the original readings, it might well turn out to be superior to the debased descendant of the archetype which it was designed to replace; but M. Maspero certainly does not intend ~~as~~ to think that R (or rather RGC, the common source of R and GC) was the work of so scrupulous a scholar, but seems rather to wish us to believe that certain apparent improvements of R are really the arbitrary and groundless emendations of a scribe. The conclusion hinted at by this "redaction"-theory is that the later redaction is necessarily less faithful to the archetype than the earlier one, and thus the agreement of the latest manuscripts with R and not with B is used, not as a point in favour of R, but rather as one against it.

Now though M. Maspero's hypothesis of two successive versions is no legitimate deduction from the premisses on which it is based, it is nevertheless a possible hypothesis. The probabilities are however against any editorial revision of the text on a large scale. We may perhaps concede that the Egyptians were in the habit of "editing" their religious texts¹; but the extreme corruption of most of the literary classics, such as the Instructions of Amenemmes I or the ironical letter of the Papyrus Anastasi I, makes it exceedingly unlikely that those compositions passed through several redactional stages. Nor is there, so far as I can see, any indication that RCG contained such artificial improvements as the theory seems to postulate. Such suspicious deviations from the text of B as R contains should probably be put down to the account of R alone and not to RGC; I have above mentioned the addition in R13-14 and the writing *ʒs-ns* for *ʒs-nf* in R47, where GC agrees with B against R. However these instances are to be explained they tell heavily against the "redaction"-theory. We may possibly have to admit that R was somewhat too free in transposing or interpolating sentences; but it must be remembered that this is only one of the two possible ways of regarding the complete divergence of B and R in certain passages (R65-66; R156; R190-193, etc.). At all events we must not be overhasty in assuming that the editor of R has improved his text, when R seems to give a smoother and more readily intelligible text than B. The principle of the *difficilis lectio* can very easily be misapplied, and where this is done textual criticism becomes impossible. I fancy M. Maspero falls into this error when, for example, he prefers his subtler and less obvious interpretation of the readings of B35-37 to the simple meaning that results from the text of R58-61.

I am not sure that I have not construed M. Maspero's remarks on the two versions more literally than he intended, for when we turn to his diagram of the genealogical

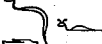
1. The Saitic recension of the Book of the Dead appears to be a real "recension"; but is this true of the *Todtenbuch* of the 18th. Dynasty?

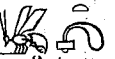
relations of the Mss.' we find no discontinuity of the tradition of the archetype marked above R². Nevertheless I have felt that a protest was needed, as the very phrase "Ahmesside edition" seemed to prejudice the authority of R from the outset. As I have said above, I do not myself believe that any very satisfactory result is to be gained from the genealogical arrangement of the Mss. of Sinuhe, the evidence being too slender to warrant any certain conclusions. I hope to have made it plain however that one should start with the hypothesis that R is probably as good a text as B; when we have compared both manuscripts, passage for passage, we shall be able to sum up our results and possibly to express a more decided opinion as to which is superior¹.

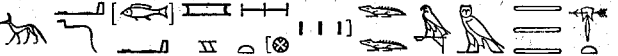
II

COMMENTS ON THE TEXT

Besides the abbreviations B. R. C. G and L above employed for the various Mss. I shall use the following : MASP., *M. S.* = MASPERO, *Les Mémoires de Sinouhit*; MASP., *C. P.* = MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires*, 3rd edition; GR. = GRIFFITH, *The story of Sanehat in Specimen pages of a library of the World's best Literature*, pp. 5237-5249; ERM. = ERMAN, *Das Leben des Sinuhe in Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen*, pp. 14-29; GARD., *Sitzb.* = GARDINER, *Eine neue Handschrift des Sinuhegedichts in Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1907, pp. 142-150.

R1-2. — The story opens with the titles supposed to have been attained by Sinuhe at the end of his career, followed by his name and the words  "he says". The analogy of this beginning with that of the autobiographical inscriptions found in the tombs is very striking⁴, and is shown by other details of the text not to be fortuitous. Above all this is clear from ll. 309-310, where the correct translation is : "I enjoyed the favours of the king until the day of death came". Again the introduction, by means of a new heading, of a royal decree granting Sinuhe permission to return to Egypt (l. 178) may be paralleled in the tombs of the Old Kingdom, cf. *Urkunden*, I, 60. 62. 128.

R1. — After *rp'ti h'ti-* G and C give the late Egyptian equivalent of . It is doubtful whether the archetype contained these titles, see above § 1.




R2. — R should be completed 

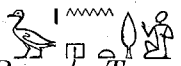
1. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

2. That I have *not* misinterpreted M. Maspero's meaning seems now clear from his latest utterance. (*Rec. de Trav.*, 31, 153) : "J'ai déjà montré, en éditant les *Mémoires de Sinouhit*, que, dans l'ensemble, les manuscrits du second âge thébain, tels que celui de Gardiner, ne s'éloignent pas trop des manuscrits du premier : les changements qu'on y remarque portent presque toujours sur des détails de grammaire, de vocabulaire ou d'histoire devenus peu compréhensibles, et pour lesquels on remplace la leçon première par une leçon plus conforme à la langue ou aux conditions politiques du moment."

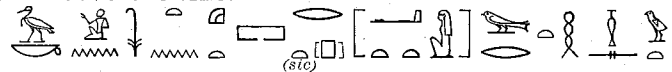
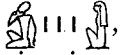

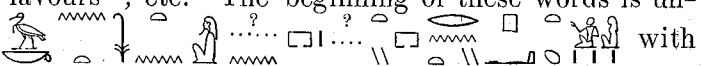
3. I have hitherto omitted all reference to the London ostrakon (L); later on I hope to show that even from its corrupt text some readings superior to those of B may be obtained.

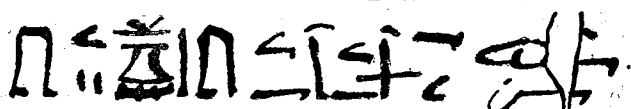
4. It might possibly be objected that the *Proverbs of Ptahhotep* (*Prisse*, 4, 2) have a somewhat similar beginning. But there *ddf* "he says" is shown by the preceding title to mean "he spoke to king Issi", which the Carnavon writingboard actually has, whereas here *ddf* is quite vague, as in the tomb-inscriptions.

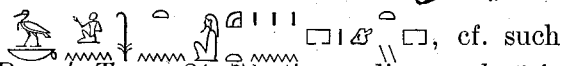
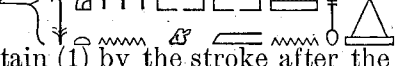


]. The fish as determinative of '(n)d is made probable by the traces and by the corrupt sign (like hieratic ) in C; G replaces the fish by . Both C and G spell out *ity*. On the title *s3b 'nd mr* followed by a geographical designation, see Sethe, in GARSTANG, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, p. 21, and for the meaning of these words as applied to Sinuhe see Maspero's interesting note *C. P.*, p. 60, footnote 2.


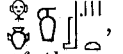
The name  occurs again in the *M. K. Pap. Kahun*, 9, 11; *Turin*, 10; *Turin*, 94 = *Rec. de Trav.*, 3, 122. Maspero is therefore not justified in using the name as evidence that the tale is wholly fictitious (*M. S.*, p. xxxv).

R2-3. — R and G rightly *šmsw šmsi nb-f*; C first omitted *šmsi* by haplography, but afterwards added it in red above the line.

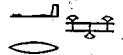
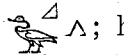
R3. — The reading of R is  , etc. There can be little doubt about the reading of  (sic), though the hieratic sign is not elsewhere known, unless it be in B204; and as we shall see, it is indirectly confirmed by C. The word *rp'tt* (the reading of R is unhappily incomplete) seems to be a genitive after *ip²-t štn*, so that the whole title would be "servant of the royal *harim* of the princess, great of favours", etc. The beginning of these words is unfortunately lost in G. C has  with



two indeterminate hieratic groups: 

The reading of C is clearly a corruption of , cf. such titles as , *Rec. de Trav.*, 21, 73; the reading *pr hnti* is made certain (1) by the stroke after the first , (2) by the shape of the corrupt sign, which closely resembles , and (3) by the termination *ti*¹. On the word *ip²-t* see my note *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1909), 127, and on the writing of *pr hnti* see *Admonitions*, p. 47.

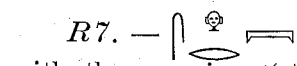
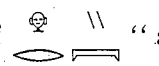
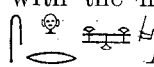
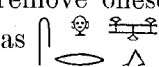
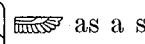
R4. — For the curious form of the titles of the princess Nofru see the parallels quoted by Sethe and Maspero, namely L., *D.*, II, 116 a; MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, 2; MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 360. — I had overlooked the fact that the name of the pyramid² of Sesostris I occurs actually at Lisht itself in the formula   (sic), GAUTIER-JÉQUIER, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 60, fig. 69; and now a new instance of the name (*Hnm-iswt- Hpr-k²-r^c*) has been published from a 12th. Dynasty decree in PETRIE, *Memphis*, I, 5.

R5. — Read probably "month 3" with G; so R, though not quite certainly. C wrongly "month 2".



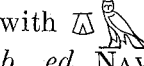

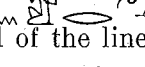

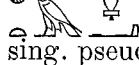
R6. — R , GC ; here the reading of R is, as being the rarer word of the two, preferable to that of GC. Note that 'r here means "to enter" not to "mount" "ascend"; see the remarks on *m 'rw* below B2.



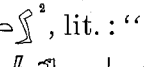
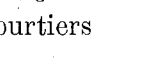

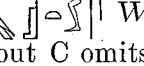
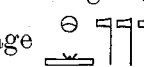

1. Possibly the Ms. from which C copied had simply  instead of . — Note too C's absurd interpretation of *rp'tt* as *rntt p't*.

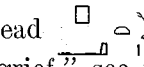
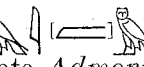
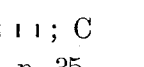

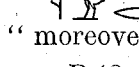
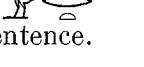
2. *Hnm-iswt* not *hntt-iswt* as Maspero reads (*M. S.*, p. xxxvii); the word to be supplied is the name of the king, which is of course masculine.

R7. —  is perhaps more probably the causative of  “above” with the meaning “to fly up” than an intransitive use “to remove oneself” of  “to drive away”; the inscription of Amenemheb has  in the same sense (l. 37), and *d'Orbiney*, 19, 3, gives  as a synonym for it.

R8. — On *sgr* see my *Admonitions*, p. 103.

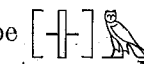
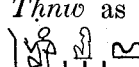
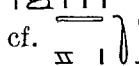


R9. — The word  has in G and C the determinatives , which connect it with  *Kahun veterinary papyrus*, 19; cf. too  *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 7, 3;  “I am in mourning”, *Famine Stele of Sehel*, 1-2. — At the end of the line R had possibly , not merely ; so C. MASP., *M. S.*, p. 1, gives *htm-ti*, but one must read the 3rd. masc. sing. pseudop., agreeing with a feminine dual substantive, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 42.

R10. — Restore in R ---, lit.: “the courtiers (sat) with head on lap”, i. e. in mourning; cf.  *Westcar*, 12, 20. The reading of *Amh.* agrees, so far as it goes, with R, but C omits , an omission which is paralleled by the late passage  *Festival songs of Isis and Nephthys*, 4, 17, and also to some extent by  *Sall. IV*, 16, 5.



R10-11. — In R we should probably read --; C has . On *im* “grief” see my note *Admonitions*, p. 35. — , which follows these words in C, may have arisen from  “moreover”, a gloss on, or variant of, *ist rf* at the beginning of the next sentence.

R12. — C reads *ms'* ‘s’; G is lost at the critical point, but as R and *Amh.* agree in omitting ‘s’ there can be little doubt but that it was a later addition.

R13. — It is very tempting to regard *tisw h'3b(w)* etc. as part of the original text; for not only does this sentence give the necessary explanation of the purpose of the expedition, but it also provides a reason for the adversative particle *hm* in *tisw hm* R13. However GC omits the words, and that *Amh.* did so too is shown by the size of the lacuna; in face of this agreement it is difficult to deny that the sentence may be an interpolation. See above § 1.


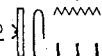
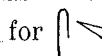
R14. — The damaged word can only be , but the expression *imiw Thnw* as a paraphrase for *Thnw* (R16) is strange. Note that the determinatives  do not necessarily apply to the land, but to the people living there, cf.  R12. 62;  C1;  *Admonitions*, 3, 1.

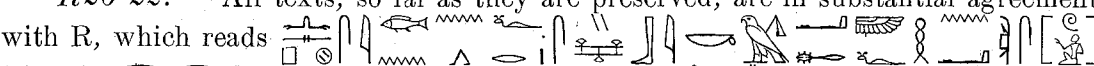




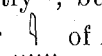

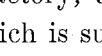
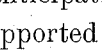

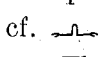
R16. — For *Thnw* of R we have  in C, apparently a cor-

1. In my transcription I gave , in deference to Möller's opinion, but myself believe the sign to be simply an ill-formed .

2. Here I unintentionally misled M. Maspero with regard to the reading of R.

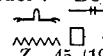
ruption of *Tmhi*, though that ethnic is correctly spelt in C a few words previously; or possibly a mixture of *Tmhi* and *Thnw* (?). In G and *Amh.* there are lacunæ.

R18. — C has *stn* for *s² stn* (R, G), of course wrongly; see above § 1. — C gives  for  of R; G has not room for *-sn*, which is meaningless and obviously faulty. —  both here and in B174 is masculine singular.

R20-22. — All texts, so far as they are preserved, are in substantial agreement with R, which reads . — The variant  of *Amh.* is instructive for the pronunciation *en* of  at this date; conversely *Peasant* B1, 2 has  for  in R'. — The first sentence is very difficult. Maspero, *C. R.*, renders: "n'est-ce pas le cas qu'il-fasse une hâte extrême", and Griffith "it was a time for him to hasten greatly", but it would not be easy to justify these translations grammatically. Retaining  of *Amh.*, one might possibly render: "the occasion pressed greatly"; but one would then expect *sin* (participle) instead of *sinn-f* (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 752); nor does *sin* mean "to press", but "to hasten", and G and C² both confirm the reading  of R. In my translation I have proposed: "never had he hastened (so) much" *scil.*, as he now did; but the sense is not very satisfactory, anticipating as it does the next clause, and the curious gemination *sinn*, which is supported by C  and by G , is not accounted for. I now believe that the determinative , characteristic of verbs of stopping or restraining (*grh*, *hd*, *win*), gives the real clue to the sentence. *Sinn-f* has nothing to do with *sin* "to hasten", but is the causative of *in* "to delay" of which I have elsewhere³ quoted an instance (LACAU, *Textes religieux*, ch. II = *Rec. de Trav.*, 26, 68-69). The sense would then be "he made no halt", a rendering which has a good deal of point when we recollect that the last words have related that "the messengers reached him at night-time". For the somewhat unusual sense of *n sp* "not a moment", "not at all" (reinforced by the adverb *rsy*, which here plays much the same part as the later *in an*, cf. for example *Urkunden*, IV, 1074), cf.  | *Hirtengeschichte*, 6.

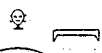
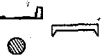

The next sentence "the hawk flew away⁴ with his followers, without letting his army know it" belongs to a type not uncommon in this tale, e. g. *smrw nw stp-s² h²b-sn*, R17; *wptw² hdd hnt r hnw ²b-f hr-i*, B94; *shr pn innf ib-k*, B185; it is only excep-

1. Vogelsang translates "tritt nicht auf meine Kleider!" Surely this is impossible (*n* instead of *tm-k*); we must render: "Be so kind, thou peasant! dost thou tread on my garments?"

2. C has .

3. Cf. *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1909), 60-61.

4. Not "at eventide", as Erm. and Gr. wrongly give. The point is that the king sped homewards away from the main body of his troops under cover of night.

5. For 'h of R we have 'h in *Amh.*, G and C. — Maspero is wrong in reading  in C (see *M. S.*, p. 2, note 6); the reading of C is , in which  is borrowed from 'h "to hang up".

tional insofar as *bik* is a descriptive epithet of the subject of the preceding sentence, so that here there is only a grammatical, but not a logical, change of subject. In English we may perhaps render : " a hawk, he flew away with his followers ". — I was formerly inclined to reject the idea that Sesostris fled away with a few followers so as to return as quickly as possible to Egypt (GARD., *Sitsb.*, p. 6, note 3); but M. Maspero's excellent remarks (*M. S.*, p. xxxvii-xxxviii) have convinced me that I was here in error.

R22. — is of course the *sdmw-f* form impersonally used (cf. SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 469); C and G have the *scriptio plena* .

R23. — C wrongly *mht mš pn* instead of *mht-f m mš pn* (R, G); and it falsely inserts before *nis-ntw* against *Amh.*, R and G.

B1'. — C has expanded *w im* (B, R and G) into *w im-sn*.

2. — B has while R, supported by G and C, has From a grammatical point of view there is nothing to choose between the two readings; see ERMAN, *Gramm.*³, § 243, where the following sentences are compared with one another : " a man on whose neck are swellings " Ebers, 51, 20; " if thou seest " Ebers, 25, 4.

the reading of R, is supported by G ; B has The usual translation " et je m'enfuis au loin " (*MASP., C. P.*), " I fled far away " is open to serious objections. On the philological side it may be argued (1) that 'r cannot bear the meaning here assigned to it, (2) that the well-supported 'rw must then be wrong (an infinitive would be needful, and indeed, for that matter, *hr* and not *m*), (3) that can only introduce, in a M. K. tale, a descriptive clause, not a principal sentence². Besides this, the psychological progression of the passage is spoilt by the old translation : the order of events clearly is first, that a secret is overheard by Sinuhe; second, that he is filled with dismay (*psb ib-i* etc.); and third, that he flees away (*nf^c-ni-wi*). My own proposal is : " as I was nigh at hand a little way off ". *M'rw* seems to mean " in the proximity " " near " or the like : cf. " words which this god speaks to them in nearing the gods of the netherworld ", JÉQUIER, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, p. 54; *Libro dei Funerali*, 56;

1. From here onwards the numbers of the lines of B are used at the head of the notes.

2. The writing of G shows that the scribe was no longer familiar with the obsolete construction *iwf sdm-f*. C has attempted to emend and has written ; *iw* is due to *sdm-ni* preceding and *iw* *m'rw* following, and is an excellent example of that type of corruption which I have called "assimilation of pronouns", *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1909), 64.

3. The narrative tenses employed by *Sinuhe* are : (1) *h'n sdm-nf*; (2) *sdm-nf*; (3) *sdmtf* (see below note on B4-5); and (4) *sdm-f* with emphatic subject preceding (see above note on R20-22).

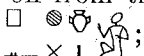


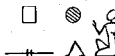

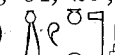
, *ibid.* Here 'rw is clearly a substantive meaning "nearness"; for its form cf. "the opposite quarter" in the common phrase *m ḥsfw* "opposite" and in *irt ḥsfw* "to go to meet" (below B250). In connection with this substantive it is necessary to observe that "to ascend" is neither the sole nor even the most common sense of 'r (what is the relation of 'r to ?); that verb often means "to approach", cf. above R6 and (sic) "he found that the water had drawn nigh to the walls", *Piankhi*, 89; so too, late 'r m, "to approach" ('r being here construed like), cf. *Louvre*, C 65; *Mission*, V, 625 (tomb of 'Ibi).

At this point we may pause to resume the difficult context of which the philological details have now been fully discussed. The messengers bringing the news of the old king's death found Senwosret, his younger partner on the throne, returning from the Libyan campaign. They came upon him at dead of night; but in view of the gravity of the situation, no delay was granted and Senwosret fled away towards Egypt with a handful of followers, leaving the army in ignorance of what had happened (R19-22). Thus far all is clear; but what follows is so obscurely expressed that it is difficult to escape the impression that the obscurity is intentional. The lively particle in R22 seems to imply some contrast with the preceding words: "but lo a message had been sent to the royal children who were with him in this army"; and, the text continues, "a summons was made to one of them" (*nis-ntw n w' im*, R24). It is hardly possible to regard *nis-ntw* as a mere synonym of *smi-ntw*, and the temporal nuance "it *was being* reported to one of them", which that supposition would demand, is not quite a legitimate interpretation of the simple narrative form *nis-ntw*¹. The most straightforward way of understanding these words is to suppose that one of the princes was incited to put himself forward as a claimant of the throne; this supposition has the advantage of giving *nis* its due and proper meaning "to call". The alternative is to conjecture that Sinuhe merely overheard the news of Amenemmes' death, which was communicated to the royal princes but not to the rank and file of the army. M. Maspero thinks it possible that such an offence, even though involuntary, may in Egyptian law have been punishable -with death (*C. P.*, p. 62, footnote 1); elsewhere he suggests that Amenemmes may have perished in a harem conspiracy, and that this was the ground why secrecy was -so imperative (*M. S.*, p. xxxiii-xxxiv). The objection to these hypotheses is first, the peculiar wording of the sentence *nis-ntw n w' im* and second, that Sinuhe is said to have overheard, not the voice of a messenger, but the voice of the prince himself²; the natural deduction is that the dismay of Sinuhe was caused less by the message brought from Egypt, than by the attitude adopted by the prince on hearing it. But as has been said before, the obscurity of the context was probably designed, and we

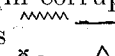








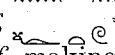
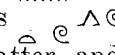


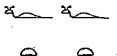
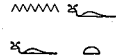
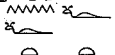
1. One would then expect *tw nis-tw*, or *iwtw nis-tw* or *iwtw ḥr nis*.


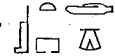
2. There can be no doubt about this; else there is no possible antecedent to the suffix of *ḥrw-f* in B1.

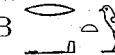



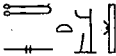
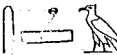
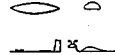
are therefore reduced to guessing. It is not the least attractive point about this fascinating tale that its very mainspring is so elusive.

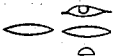
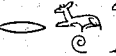
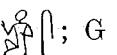
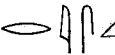
2. — The descriptive sentences that follow are marked off from the progressive narrative tenses *sdm-nf* by the use of the *sdmf*-form. — ; R. G *psb* , C quite corruptly . The verb is rare: it is used of the disarray of a person's hair  *Totb., ed. NAV., 17, 101* (cf. *ibid.*, 107), parallel with ; as a corrupt variant *ibid.*, 64, 28; 151 d (*Ani*, 34). Elsewhere only DÜM., *Geogr. Inschr.*, IV, 124 (Dendera)  “scattered with all kind of sacred plant”.



3. — B suppresses, in accordance with its wont, the suffix of *m 't-i nbt* “in my every limb” (R); the singular of R and B seems more literary than the plural “all my limbs” of G and (in corrupt form) C.



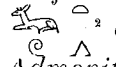
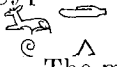

3-4. — R27 gives , lit.: “I removed myself in leaping”, i. e. “I leapt away”, with a rare word *nf* known elsewhere only from  *Pyr.*, 500 (variant from the tomb of *H' mh't* = *Miss.*, I, 125 ); B has wrongly . The readings of C and G are derived from a slightly corrupted form of  (R), in which  had been changed into  (an easy hieratic confusion when the sign is small) possibly under the influence of *nfst*: G omits the determinative  and the first , thus obtaining ; C gives , which is obtained by the transposition of *t* and *f*, making  of the latter, and by misinterpreting the first  as determinative of *iw* “to come”. — As Maspero has rightly seen, *nfst* is a formative in *n* of  “to spring” (*Br., Wörterb.*, 556; *Suppl.*, 498); cf. C  (N. B. ×!) and G .

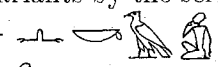
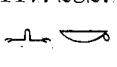

4. —  of R is a mistake for  B; see above § 1.

4-5. — B ; R . B, which frequently omits the suffix of the first person singular, shows a special tendency to do so before the absolute pronoun *wi*, cf. below *di-n(i)-wi* 200; *hm-n(i)-wi* 253; in this point it resembles the *Schiffsbrüchiger*, cf. ERMAN, *A. Z.*, 43 (1906), 2. — The *sdmtf* form (properly, according to Sethe, feminine infinitives absolutely used; cf. *Verbum*, II, § 357) is fairly often used in the tale of Sinuhe as a substitute for the narrative tense *sdm-ni*; cf. below 5  (so to be read too in 19);  15;  23; possibly  24;  86. 107.

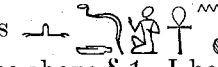
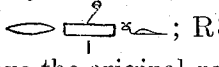
The second half of the sentence is difficult: “I placed myself between two bushes” ; R28-29 ; G ; C . The disagreement of B, R and GC here seems to show that difficulties were early felt as

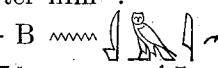
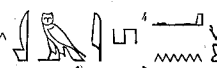
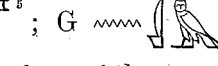

1. The first  has the curious additional stroke which initial  nearly always shows in N. K. hieratic.

to the sense of this phrase; each version has a different infinitive beginning with the letter *i*. With regard to the last two words, we may at once exclude *-sn* in GC owing to the agreement of B and R; and , as it is simply the isolated reading of the worst text C.  can only be the masc. sing. of the imperfect active participle; forms from the 3æ. infirmæ with *-w* written out are quoted by SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 882. But in this case *smw-s*, litt. "its goer", i. e. "him who was travelling upon it" must be the second object (*wst* being the first) of the preceding infinitive. Verbs taking two objects are in Egyptian by no means common, and one can hardly fail to emend  of R into  "to separate", on the construction of which see the note *Admonitions*, p. 41. The meaning would then be: "in order to separate the road from him who was going upon it" (i. e. myself), or, in other words: "in order that I might avoid the road". The extreme artificiality of this sentence is undeniable, but when one compares such expressions as "I gave a way to my feet" (16), "I gave the sand to those who are in it" (294), this objection vanishes; moreover Sinuhe is fond of referring to himself by an *epitheton ornans*, e. g. "a lingerer lingered through hunger", 151; "him whom he had chastened", 161; "him who works for himself", 216. I am unable to explain the meaning attached to their variants by the scribes of B and GC³; for the writing of  in B, cf. 117. 282.

6. —  of B is of course to be explained as equivalent to 
 R30 "I did not intend to come to the Residence"; for the construction see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 553.


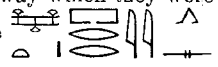

7. — For the variants of *hmt-ni* see above in § 1.




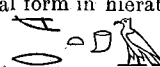
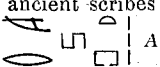
B has ; R31 ; GC <r> s³ *psî ntr pn mnḥ*. See above § 1; I believe the original reading to be that of B "after him", i. e. after the death of Amenemmes, a reading which GC has attempted to make clearer, and R to emend. In my German translation I have preferred the version of R and have rendered: "ich meinte ich würde danach nicht leben"; but perhaps one should understand: "I did not care ("hope", "consent", see the note *Admonitions*, p. 20) to live after him".

8. — B ; R31-2 ; G ; C . Gr. alone of the translators has had an inkling of the sense; he renders: "I wan-








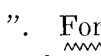

1. Grammatically it might also be a genitive; but "the way of him who went on it" can hardly be right!





2. My former suggestion for *uclt* "vermeiden" was a pure guess.





3. GC may have been intended to convey the meaning: "to linger behind (*isk*) the way which they were going". For an instance of  being construed as a masculine Prof. Sethe quotes me 
 Ebers, 52, 3 = 25, 4.





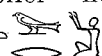

4. In my edition of the text I have read  here and in R43. 49, as is generally done. However there is no early hieroglyphic authority for this determinative, and its appearance in our transcriptions is due solely to the fact that  and  have an identical form in hieratic. The ancient scribes have been guilty of the same mistake when, for example, they write  for  *Admonitions*, 6, 7.


5. The final determinatives are probable, but not quite certain.

dered across my estate(?)".  means "to cross", "traverse" water; good examples *Pyr.*, 543. 544. 1224; *MAR., Mast.*, D10. Hence in early times often determined by , cf. too the  -boats *Weni*, 30. Metaphorically the verb is used of traversing (1) the heavens, and (2) the desert; the latter employment occurs only in the phrase , which therefore contains the same image as our "ship of the desert" for the camel. *Nmi* is never used of crossing land; the earliest instance of the determinative Δ in this word is *Brit. Mus.*, 614 = *Piers-Breasted stele* (dyn. XI). It must be carefully noted that *nmi* is quite distinct from  *nmti* "to traverse" (e. g. *Pyr.*, 325. 854. 889); cf. too  *Zauberspr. für M. u. K.*, Rs. 6, 3. — *M^wwti* must thus be the name of a lake or water-way; its location will be considered further on. The sign  in B is superfluous. The entire sentence may now be translated: "I crossed over the water *Mewoti* in the neighbourhood of the sycamore". For the variant  in B, not in R and C, one may compare "Hathor lady of  *MAR., Mast.*, D 61. 65; perhaps there was a well-known or sacred sycamore in the region referred to.

9. — RGC *wrs-ni im*; B omits *im*. The reading of RGC is clearly superior, as it must be meant that Sinuhe avoided the inhabited part of the "Island of Snofru", and spent the day in some pasture-lands there. — B ; G ; C ; R34 

10. — B ; R34  (wrong GARD., *Sitzb.*); GC . Here by common consent of the two oldest manuscripts, *hd* must be taken as a verb of motion, "I went forth at dawn, and it became day"; but such a derivative from *hd* "to be bright", which only means "to dawn" in conjunction with  (*hd-t* "the land became light"), is extremely curious.

10-11. — The words  are susceptible of several different renderings. Note first of all that on the showing of R *ri-wt-i*  is to be read, "in my way" or more vaguely "in meiner Nähe"; and that  (R35 ) means, not "to ask mercy of" nor "supplier" nor yet "grüssen", but "to stand in awe of" "respect", the old form being  (SETHE, *Verbum*, I, p. 144), and cf.  *MAR., Abyd.*, I, 20 c, 2; other good instances *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 38 a, 7; *Millingen*, 2, 12; *Munich, Bekenkhons statue, back.* *Hp-ni* might be translated: (1) "I went on", (2) "there came to me", or (3) "I met". (1) So MASP., *C. P.*: "..... je voyageai: un homme qui se tenait à l'orée du chemin me demanda merci, car il avait peur"; the construction of the last clause (emphasized subject followed by *sdm-nf*) might be supported by B142-3, but the brief "je voyageai" without further qualification, is not possible, (2) Erm. "es begegnete mir ein Mann, der am (?) Wege stand; er grüsste (?) mich

1. The translation "in meiner Nähe" is that of Sethe, who regards *ri-wt* as the equivalent of the Coptic $\rho\alpha\tau\eta$. In this case  *Peasant R49* can, I suppose, only be translated "the neighbouring bank". But is not *ri-wt* often merely an equivalent of *w?t*?

2. *C r trt* "at the time of"! — Other examples of the word are quoted by MAX MÜLLER, *Rec. de Trav.*, 31, 197.

und fürchtete sich"; an ungainly translation, which I have tried, with dubious success, to soften down into "ein Mann begegnete mir, und stand in meinem Weg; er scheute sich vor mir und fürchtete sich". (3) Better than these renderings is Gr.'s: "I came to a man standing" etc.; I doubted the transitive use of *bp*, but it seems clearly proved by *Hirtengeschichte*, 23.

The entire context should therefore be rendered: "I set out in the dawn, and it became day; I met a man standing in my path, and he was in awe of me and was afraid". Sinuhe's wild appearance strikes terror into the only man that he encounters.

12-13. — R, *dmi* ; C, *dmi* . It is not possible to decide with certainty whether B had or *dmi* : the writing with speaks perhaps somewhat in favour of *Ngz̄w*, since this spelling of (L., D., II, 3) is found elsewhere in the M. K. (below B120 but not R144; LACAU, *Textes Religieux*, I (A. C.) = *Rec. de Trav.*, 26, 64)¹. On the other hand in R and C we must translate: "the town of Gu"; for (never early written *ḡw*, so far as our evidence goes), cf. *Pap. Kahun*, 16, 14; 17, 2; *Ebers*, 22, 7.

13. — In my transcription of B I have an unfortunate *lapsus calami*, being written with instead of with .

14. — in R39 is confirmed by B, as now correctly mounted (see MÖLLER, *Lesestücke*, plate 7); B has . *Swt* is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; *ni* (not *nt*) shows it to be a masculine word.

(so too R; GC) is not a proper name, as it has hitherto been taken to be, but a word for "stone-quarry", cf. *Pap. Kahun*, 31, 25.




14-15. — C (supported for the first two words by G) shows that R40-41 should be restored which can only be translated: "in (the locality named) Lady of Heaven, mistress of the Red Mountain". Both the geographical name and the construction are well illustrated by *Rec. de Trav.*, 30, 214 (*temp.* Rameses II); and the indications of the same inscription afford definite proof that the Gebel Aḥmar in the neighbourhood of Cairo is meant.






16. — *Dmi-ni*, lit. "I touched", i. e. "I reached" or "passed beside".


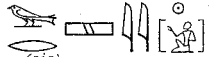
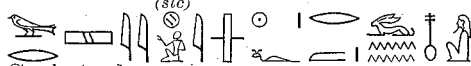
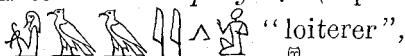


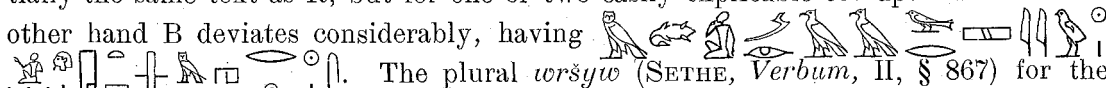
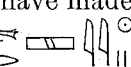







17. — "The walls of the Prince" (*inbw hk̄s*) are mentioned again in *Pap. Petersburg I*; see my remarks *Admonitions*, p. 112, footnote 2. I shall revert later, on B72-3, to the variant of GC.

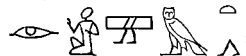
The additional words in R43 are also found in C [and G]; they are open, as Sethe points out, to the objection that walls, though they may be , "made to hold back the Asiatics",




1. The word seems to be derived from *nḡ*: "to be long" (cf. *Pyr.*, 504); the *nḡz̄w* or *ngw* is a long-horned species of bull, cf. L., D., II, 22.

cannot be said with equal propriety: "to crush the desert-farers". But perhaps this is pressing the literal meaning too far; and I am inclined to think that B72-3 must be interpreted in such a way as to dispose of Sethe's contention (see the note on that passage). Nevertheless it is not clear whether *r ptpt nmiw-s'* is here an interpolation of RGC from the later passage or whether it is original. — R has  for  of B; not so good a reading, since  is elsewhere reserved for the intransitive sense "to sail against the stream", "to go upstream". — *Nmiw-s'*, see above the note on B8.



17-18. —  (var. R44 ) must be literally "my crouching posture", cf. for example  "in obeisance", *Hatnub*, 8, 3. "I took my crouching posture" (so too MASP., *M. S.*, p. 170) is an artificial periphrasis for "I crouched down". — B and R give *m b3t*; GC incorrectly replaces the preposition *m* by the genitive exponent (G , C ).






18-19. — R44-5 has  "from fear lest the watchman of the day upon the wall should see (me)". The singular  "watcher" is a spelling that otherwise occurs only late, cf.  in the Theban tomb of *Ns-p3-nfr-hr* (copied by Sethe); however one may compare such forms as  "loiterer", B151;  "robber", *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 302. C gives  with substantially the same text as R, but for one or two easily explicable corruptions¹. On the other hand B deviates considerably, having . The plural *wrsyw* (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 867) for the rare singular *wrsy* (R) was the first faulty step taken by B; and C seems to have made the same blunder, though independently, unless the determinative of  is to be explained on the analogy of SETHE, *Verbum*, I, § 207. Next,  in B is due to the similarity of  and  in hieratic; some predecessor of B had the abbreviated writing  for *tp inb* of the archetype (cf.  B17), which was subsequently read  and regularised into . These errors entailed another: *wrsy* having been modified into a plural *wrsyw* and *inb* into a feminine *h3-t*, there no longer remained any masculine singular substantive for *imy hrw-f* to agree with; this was therefore changed in B to *imt-hrw-s* so as to suit the nearest substantive *h3-t*, though it is doubtful whether the scribe can have made any sense of the alterations for which he was responsible.


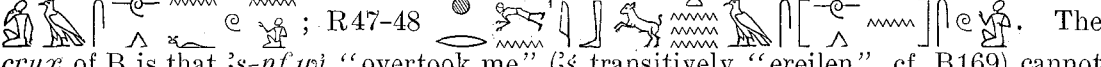
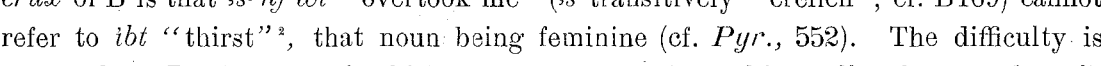
19. — B has , but the *sdm-f* form is not thus used in the tale

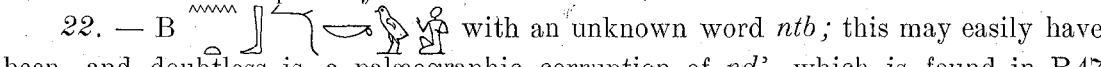
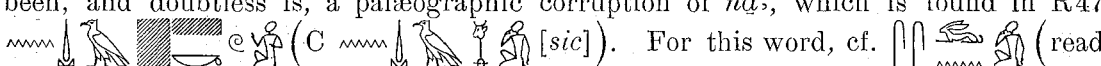

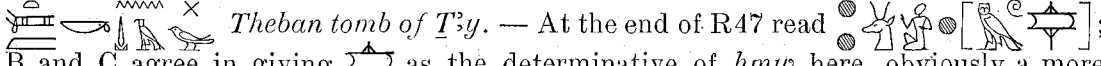
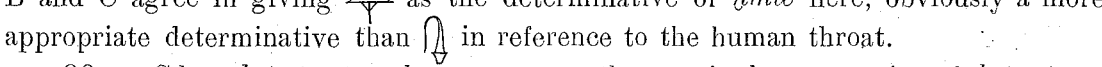

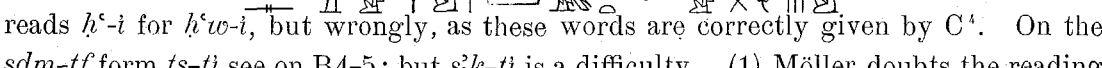


1. The pronoun in *m33-wi* is doubtless secondary, see above § 1. On *wrsy(w?)*, see below.  for  has arisen from just such a hieratic form of  as is found in R45. *In* for *inb* is a mere blunder: [MASP., *M. S.*, p. 3, footnote 3, is entirely wrong, and due to a confusion with the *inb* of B17. Here G. is lost].

2. Elsewhere *tp-h3t* is a compound word for "roof". MAX MÜLLER (*Asien und Europa*, 39) rendered "auf der Zinne", but rightly remarked that *h3-t* is here a very ill-chosen word.




as a narrative tense, see on B2, footnote. Read therefore  with R45 (C )¹, cf. above B5; for the *sdmtf* form, see the note on B4-5.


21. — R46 and C have  for  of B; there is little to choose between the two readings. — B and C agree in giving  *n Km-wr* “the island of *Km-wr*”, not “the lake () of *Km-wr*” as most translations have; cf. “the island of Snofru”, B9 = C5. G is missing here, and of the reading of R there is only a trace. MAX MÜLLER (*Asien u. Europa*, 39, footnote 2) proposes to emend “island”, which he recognizes to be the reading of B, into “lake” () ; in view of the consensus of B and C I doubt whether we should be justified in adopting this course. — For *Km-wr*, see ED. MEYER, *Gesch. d. Altertums*², § 227, note.

21-22. — B ; C . R47-48 . The *crux* of B is that *ʿs-nf wi* “overtook me” (*ʿs* transitively “ereilen”, cf. B169) cannot refer to *ibt* “thirst”², that noun being feminine (cf. *Pyr.*, 552). The difficulty is removed by R, the text of which may be rendered: “thirst fell and overtook me”. But the agreement of B and C makes it probable that *ʿs-nf* is the more correct reading: if so, the antecedent of the suffix can only be *hr*, and this must be an infinitive substantivally used. B should therefore be rendered: “the fall of thirst overtook me”; an artificial expression, but one not wholly out of harmony with the style of the tale. C seems to have understood: “falling into thirst overtook me”, which is of course impossibly harsh. R’s text seems due to emendation.




22. — B  with an unknown word *ntb*; this may easily have been, and doubtless is, a palæographic corruption of *ndʿ*, which is found in R47  (C  [sic]). For this word, cf.  (read  L., *D.*, III, 140 b, 3;  *Theban tomb of Tʿy*. — At the end of R47 read ; B and C agree in giving  as the determinative of *hmw* here, obviously a more appropriate determinative than  in reference to the human throat.

23. — C has *dpt ni mt nn hrs*, an apparently meaningless expansion of *dpt mt nn*.


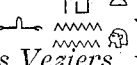
23-24. — B ; R omits *sʿk* and reads *hʿ-i* for *hʿw-i*, but wrongly, as these words are correctly given by C⁴. On the *sdm-tf* form *ts-ti* see on B4-5; but *sʿk-ti* is a difficulty. (1) Möller doubts the reading , and refers me to his *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 243, where he explains the hieratic form here as due to a confusion with No. 241 . I cannot agree: as noted in my palæographic comment, the crocodile would then stand too much towards the

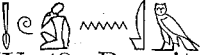
1. In my transcription of R  has been wrongly omitted.

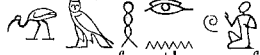
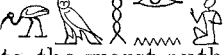

2. MASPERO (*M. S.*, XIII) assumes that *ibt* has changed gender: but (1) this is an unproven hypothesis in the case of this particular word, and (2) such a change is common in Coptic, and not rare in late Egyptian, but no example has yet been quoted from Middle Kingdom texts.

3.  in the original is due to a confusion between hieratic  and .






4. C gives however *ts-ni* for *tsti* and *sʿk-i* for *sʿkti*.

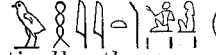






left. In answer to Möller's further objection, that my assumed \ominus has a wrong shape, I would refer him to the t in  B101; it is true, one might expect a rather different form, but it seems to me hypercritical to argue from so small and variously-made a sign. (2) Sethe has the grammatical objection to $s^3k\dot{t}i$, that the $sdm\text{-}tf$ form is found only with verbs that have a feminine infinitive, or with such verbs as may be suspected of having formerly belonged to a verbal class with feminine infinitives. The objection is certainly strong, and one might feel inclined to emend $s^3k\text{-}i$. But against this must be set the excellent parallelism of $s^3k\dot{t}i$ with $tst\dot{i}$, and it may be questioned whether the amount of our evidence for the $sdm\text{-}tf$ form warrants the generalization that this form cannot be found with a triliteral such as s^3k . The same doubt occurs in the case of  *Urkunden*, IV, 1090, which Sethe similarly rejects (*Die Einsetzung des Veziärs*, note 91).

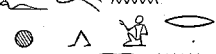
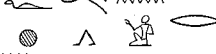

24. —  BC; cf. *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, 1, 6; *Amduat* (Sethos I), IV, 48; R omits hrw , an unimportant alteration, since the sense remains the same.


25. — Maspero (*M. S.*, ix and 7) reads  with C' against  of R49 and B, but I can see no reason for the preference thus given to the worst authority. The reading of C is surely another case of "the assimilation of pronouns" (see above on B2, footnote) due to following  (R50 = B25; note the strange writing s^3i for s^3 in B).




26. — *Mtn*, cf. B276 and Borchardt's note *Ä. Z.*, 29 (1891), 63; and for $p^3 wnn$ "who had formerly been", see my remarks *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 76.

27. —  is quite meaningless as it stands². Since the scribe of B writes  in 88, we should doubtless here emend  (following C ; R51 ); the error of B is due to some confusion of the radical f and the suffix f .

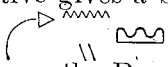
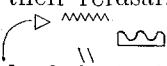
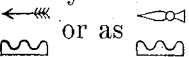

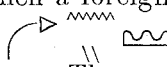
28. — The variations in the spelling of the collective noun  (so B94. 113;  240) seem to be groundless; R52 has characteristically the normal spelling , but in B we find  28,  200,  130 and  86. On the word, see LACAU, *Rec. de Trav.*, 31, 86.

29. — B has ; R53 . Fh as verb of motion again in  "I departed in the first month of summer" (WEILL, *Recueil de... Sinai*, 63, 16), where Δ prohibits the reading r^3k ; the sense in this passage is clear, $Hrwr\text{-}r^3$ having reached Sinai in the third winter-month and having started homewards in the first month of summer. In the Sinuhe context

1. In C itself \ominus in  was an afterthought, as is shown by its position and by the greater blackness of the ink.

2. MASPERO (*M. S.*, 6, note 3) writes: "Le  final du verbe  aura trompé le scribe et entraîné la chute fautive du pronom ". But the verb "to cook" is not to be read psf , but ps or fs , see SWENE, *Verbum*, I, § 216. Cf. too the correct writings of the verb, B83. 92.

the preposition *r* might mean "in the direction of" or "from" (cf. *w³r* "far from"); the latter alternative gives a better meaning, but philologically is less easy to defend.

The reading  "Byblos" in R53 was accepted without question in my preliminary paper on the Ramesseum papyrus, and von Bissing, Ed. Meyer and Sethe have expressed or implied adhesion to my view; Maspero and Weill refuse to admit that Sinuhe touched Byblos in the course of his wanderings, though they differ in the reasons which they give for their refusal. Three considerations seemed to me to militate strongly in favour of  and against the reading of B: (1) the general superiority of R over B both in text and in orthography; (2) the fact that R names a well-known place, as is obviously required, while the reading of B neither corresponds to any known locality nor yet is in harmony with the usual mode of spelling foreign names; and (3) that the signs in B may more readily be explained as corrupted from R's reading than *vice versa*. I will deal with these points in turn. (1) The first is denied by Maspero, who favours B as representing the oldest recension of the text. But as I have tried to show, M. Maspero's unfavourable estimate of R is due in some measure to his unfortunate use of the term "recension", and I have argued that B and R are entitled, on a cursory view, to about equal credence, so that the value of individual readings must be determined on the merits of each case, not in accordance with any theory prejudicial to one or other of the manuscripts. This seems to be the position on which we ought at present to take our stand; though later a general inference from our judgments in particular passages will enable us to assert the superiority of R and to use this verdict as corroborative evidence in a retrospective survey of the details. (2) Palæographically the reading of B might be interpreted as  or as , see note *h* on B29 in my volume on the text, plate 5a. But apart from the fact that no such place-names are known, the spelling of the name of a foreign locality without any of the usual phonetic signs would be quite contrary to custom; the sound of outlandish foreign names had obviously to find clear expression in the writing, and it is this necessity to which is later due the so-called syllabic writing. The only possible exception to this rule is when a foreign place happened to be exceedingly familiar to the Egyptians, as was  "Byblos", the spelling of which contains a somewhat uncommon sign. The very fact that the reading of B contains an unusual sign proves that it must conceal the name of some well-known place, not an unheard-of *swn* or an unauthenticated *hkr*. Moreover the context in the tale shows that some famous locality was meant. Here a contrast may be drawn between the story of Sinuhe and the ironical letter contained in the first Anastasi papyrus. The last-named text was composed in an age where every scribe with any pretence to erudition made it a point of honour to be familiar with hundreds of uncouth Syrian words, and these are enumerated with prolixity and relish whenever occasion arises. Not so in the twelfth Dynasty: Sinuhe is content to summarize weeks and months of travel with the laconic words "land handed me on to land"; what need to trouble his readers with a host of tiresome barbarian names? The corollary of this argument is that the places that Sinuhe does name must have possessed

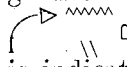
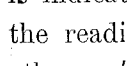
some meaning and interest for Egyptian ears; this is certainly true of Retenu, and is probably true of Kedme, a word of which the literal meaning could not fail to be known to anyone with the least smattering of a Semitic tongue; as a third name of equal celebrity none could be more appropriate than that of Byblos. (3) M. Maspero writes (*M. S.*, p. XLII-XLIII): "Je concéderais, à la rigueur, que le copiste de PB eût passé la syllabe $\overset{\text{~~~~~}}{\text{\\}} \text{néi, n\acute{e}}$, mais je comprends mal comment il aurait été entraîné à commettre cette faute, énorme pour un homme habile en son métier, de tourner la griffe \curvearrowright dans un sens contraire à celui qu'elle avait dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique. Ce que Gardiner dit de la direction du signe (I had pointed out [*Sitzb.*, 8, footnote 1] that the direction of the hieroglyph *kp* was variable), vrai pour les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, ne vaut pas pour l'hiéroglyphique: dans cette forme de cursive la direction ne varie jamais et les caractères sont toujours tracés de droite à gauche. La faute de transcription est donc de celles qui ne pouvaient même pas venir à l'esprit d'un scribe." The principle to which M. Maspero here appeals is undoubtedly sound, and for a moment his objection caused me, I admit, a certain unease. However the rule quoted, though correct as a generalization, does not apply in this particular instance. In a letter from Kahun (GRIFFITH, *Hieratic Papyri*, 28, 5) the name of Hathor, lady of Byblos, is written with an inverted \curvearrowright , such as would require but little alteration to become identical with the form of \curvearrowleft or \curvearrowright in B. This objection therefore is now categorically disposed of. But in any case M. Maspero's statement that the error is one such as could never have occurred to the mind of a scribe far overshoots the mark, as is proved by the fact that Prof. Spiegelberg³ actually conjectured $\curvearrowright \overset{\text{~~~~~}}{\text{\\}}$ for the \curvearrowleft of B long before the Ramesseum text was discovered; it is hardly to be supposed that a modern Egyptologist could have seen a similarity between the two writings if an ancient scribe would have been unable to do so. Now we have good evidence for the fact that the scribe of B knew the sign \curvearrowleft , but it is less certain that he was acquainted with \curvearrowright . There is no difficulty in the supposition that, having failed to recognize the name "Byblos", he corrupted the less-known sign into one familiar to him, and omitted the accompanying phonetic signs as unessential. The mistake is one not at all too grave for a man who was ignorant of the proper spelling of *Rtnw*, and who imagined that the king Kheperkere was an Amenemhet.

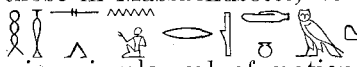
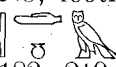
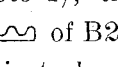
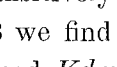
In the foregoing discussion I have tried to steer clear of all historical considerations, or at least of such as are open to dispute. Those who doubt whether the conditions of life described in the tale are applicable to the region of the Lebanon are free to maintain, if they choose, that the tale is worthless as evidence for *Kulturgeschichte*, but the reading $\curvearrowright \overset{\text{~~~~~}}{\text{\\}}$ \curvearrowleft may as little be called in question on this

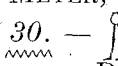
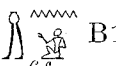

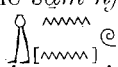

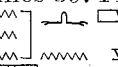

1. The writing of the sign for *kꜥp*, *kp* with a claw is, so far as I am aware, quite a late innovation (18th. Dynasty?). One form of the sign, given by Möller in his *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 516, seems to be a sack. But this is by no means the only ancient form: the hieroglyphs for *kp*, *kꜥp* deserve careful study.

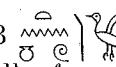

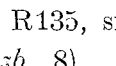
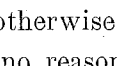
2. A reference to Möller's palaeographical work will convince anyone that neither \curvearrowright nor \curvearrowleft nor indeed any other sign than *kp* can here be read.

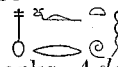
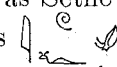
3. Prof. Spiegelberg informed me of his conjecture by letter on the appearance of my article in the *Sitzungsberichten*.

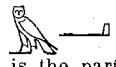
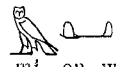

ground as the mention of Israël on the Merenptah stele. That the rejection of  is due in reality to objections of a historical, not of a philological order, is indicated by a theory put forward by M. R. WEILL (*Sphinx*, XI, 201-205), where the reading  is retained, but explained to mean, not Byblos, but some other *gebel* "de la région où l'on admettait jusqu'ici que l'écrivain avait placé son histoire". M. Weill quotes *Gebalene* and *Gobolitis* as proof of the frequency of the word *gebel* in Semitic geography. I will concede the proposed etymology of *Kbn*, *Kpny*, though I am told it is far from certain; but it will be a sufficient rejoinder to M. Weill that when I read of Boston, of Cambridge or of Frankfurt in an English newspaper I require some more conclusive evidence than the knowledge that these names belong to several towns apiece before I can believe that the places meant are not those in Massachusetts, in Cambridgeshire and on the Main respectively.


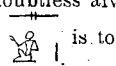
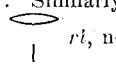
 "I approached Kedme". *Hs* in its intransitive sense is a simple verb of motion, "to approach" or the like, cf. LEGRAIN, *Annales du Service*, IV, 130 (Karnak, stele Amenotes, II, I. 9); *Millingen*, II, 10; R., *I. H.*, 248, 88. The literal sense may be "sich nähern", as was proposed by MAX MÜLLER (*Asien und Europa*, p. 265, footnote 1); transitively "to approach" a person, cf. *Rehmarra*, 2, 6. — For  of B23 we find  R59, showing that  B182, 219, is to be read *Kdmi*, קדמי'. On this country, see ED. MEYER, *Gesch. d. Altertums*², I, § 358 Anm.

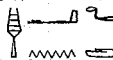




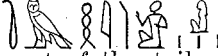






30. —  is *in-n-wi*, the *sdm-nf* form, cf.  B103 parallel to  in lines 39. 143. 185; R54 has the normal writing . — The spelling  *mwinsi* in R54 (cf. R169) is interesting as evidence for the value of  *si* (not *s²*); B30  *mwynsi* as in B143.


31. — B ; R55 must have had  the spelling that is actually found in R135, since otherwise  would not have been written above  (see GARD., *Sitzb.*, 8). I see no reason for believing that *Tnw* in B is a legitimate variant of *Rtnw*; it is far more probably an error due to the scribe's ignorance.

 "thou art happy with me"; see now for the construction my remarks *Admonitions*, p. 104, and for the sense of *nfr*, cf. below B75. 76. — "the language", a sense which I cannot quote from other texts; as Sethe points out, the use of *acne* in Coptic is somewhat similar. *Wenamou*, 77, has  in this sense, cf. *актотейнн*, *актрайкнае*; and the quotation well illustrates *sdm* = "to understand".


1. A *nisbe*-form? Note that  is here *-mi*, taken over from  (*i*)*mi* *μοι* (SKTBE, *Verbum*, II, § 538; another instance is the particle  *mi*, on which, see *Admonitions*, p. 105). Maspero is therefore wrong in transcribing *Qádoumâ* (*M. S.*, p. 171).

2. Had the word been *s²* it would doubtless always have been written . Similarly I have shown (*Admonitions*, 30, footnote) that  is to be read *si*; likewise I prefer to read  *ri*, not *r²*, the latter combination of letters not being known in any Egyptian word, though *sr* of course occurs.

pearing to me as the correct interpretation of the hieratic traces. Since however the sentences that follow *m iw-ms* clearly represent Sinuhe's words, it now became needful to assume that , or a similar equivalent, had fallen out between the end of R61 and the beginning of R62. This difficulty, coupled with M. Maspero's objections, led me to re-examine the original here with minute care. The result of the re-examination was to show that  is not a possible reading, but that  should be read; in fact precisely the same reading as we have in B37. In order to clear up this important point I must here go into palaeographical details. My earlier reading  was due to the fact that above  in  (R62) there is a very tiny trace, which I took to be the oblique part of the tail of ; the head of that sign seemed to be represented by a thick black stroke after . However if one examines the hieratic sign for  elsewhere in the papyrus, it will be seen that the head is always very thin (e. g. R70, 71, 72). Moreover the tail of  everywhere ends in a long thick, almost vertical stroke; of this some vestige would assuredly have been visible in the well-preserved line R62; had  been the true reading in R61. These are ample grounds for rejecting the reading *ddf'*. The only possible alternative, so far as I can see, is to read  as in B37; the black trace visible after *dd* may well be part of the ligature for *ni* that is found in R148-149, though it is rather thicker than we might have expected.

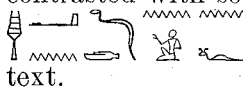
To turn now to the sense of the sentence, M. Maspero's rendering: "Je lui dis: 'Il n'en est rien'" will not bear the test of criticism. Here again the original error was mine; for in my preliminary article (*Sitzb.*, 3) I translated: "Er sagte zu mir: das ist nicht möglich." The objection to these renderings is twofold. (1) Though M. Maspero may be right in connecting *swt* etymologically with the old absolute pronoun (*M. S.*, p. xx)², in the language of the Middle Kingdom it is never anything but an enclitic particle, usually with adversative meaning (see below)³. (2) *M iw-ms* does not mean "pas possible" "unmöglich", but, as I have shown *Admonitions*, p. 22, is an adverbial expression appended to verbs of speaking with the sense "incorrectly", "falsely". Thus the real meaning of  both in B and in R can only be that assigned to it by Erman, namely: "Ich aber antwortete lügenerisch" (see *M. S.*, p. xx, footnote 2).

The *crux* of R59-61 consists in the appearance that we have there two consecutive speeches of Sinuhe. The solution of the difficulty is that *ddni swt m iw-ms* is a parenthetic addition, designed simply and solely for the purpose of marking the exact place at which Sinuhe's answer to Amuienshi's question begins to deviate from the strict truth. The parenthetic nature of these words may be proved by a nice grammatical point. *Swt*, as I have remarked above, is an enclitic particle. Now since *swt*


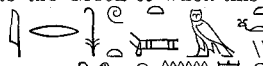
1. There remains the trace above  to be accounted for. I will admit that I cannot explain this away otherwise than by supposing it to be fortuitous.

2. Cf. the similar development of the Coptic $\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\varsigma$ "however".


3. Even if *swt* were still employed as a pronoun, it could not have the neuter sense "das" but could only mean "he".


is enclitic, the words *dd-ni* are included in the contrast which it expresses, not excluded from that contrast : we cannot translate : “I said, but falsely”, but only : “But then I said falsely”. In other words what Sinuhe said falsely (R62 foll.) must be contrasted with something that he has previously said truly (R60-61), i. e. the words  in R59 are no erroneous interpolation, but part of the original text.

This may be thought to be pushing logical analysis too far, and I shall probably make my case both clearer and more convincing by discussing the sense of the entire passage. I shall follow the text of B, except for the insertion of ‘*h'n dd-ni nf*’ (R59) in B36, and of ‘*h'n dd-nf hft-i*’ (R67) in B43. The dialogue between Amuienshi and Sinuhe is opened by a question put by Amuienshi : “Wherefore art thou come hither? Had aught happened in the Residence?” (B34-35). To the latter part of the query Sinuhe gives a direct and accurate answer, in which he recalls the state of affairs at the moment when he left the Libyan army² :—“Thereupon I said to him : Shetepebre had departed to the horizon (i. e. had died), and it was not known what had happened in the matter” (B36-37). The motives of Sinuhe’s own flight however needed more delicate handling, and in relating to the visitors of his tomb, many years after the event, the way in which this awkward point was evaded by him he does not shrink from admitting that he then prevaricated. “But then I said falsely : I had returned from the expedition to the land of Temhi, and a report was made to me (*whm-tw ni*); my reason was perturbed, my heart was not in my body, it took me away on the road of the desert” (B37-40). Now as B1-2 tells us, though in somewhat obscure language, it is not true that the news of Amenemmes’ death had been reported to Sinuhe himself; that news he had learnt only accidentally, by overhearing certain words, probably treasonable words, let fall by one of the royal children. Thus Sinuhe here deliberately misrepresents the real reason which led to his flight, and it is this misrepresentation that is alluded to by the parenthesis *dd-ni swt m iw-ms*. In the next sentences Sinuhe seeks to clear himself from a suspicion that would very

1. Note that  means rather more than merely “but”; it very distinctly contains a notion of *addition* besides that of *contrast*. Thus it corresponds to the Greek $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ when this has been preceded by $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in a previous clause : e. g. in such common phrases as  “but again he who shall not...”.

A good instance that will bring out my point is  *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 81 :

op. cit., R 129, paraphrases this with  , where *hn*^c

helps out the sense of addition already connoted by *swt*. Again, *op. cit.*, B1, 123 :  “Moreover thou art sated”, is instructive; there the sense of contrast is reduced to a minimum. In modern languages, the French particle “or” seems to me most nearly to correspond to the Egyptian *swt*. From these remarks it will be clear why I render : “But then I said falsely” — not merely : “But I said falsely”.

2. When I wrote my German translation, I had not yet realized that *rh-ntw* referred to this moment; my rendering “man weiss nicht, was dabei vorgefallen ist” employs the wrong tense, to the serious detriment of the sense.

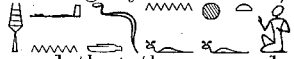
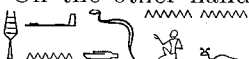
3. Or “of flight”.

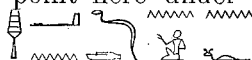
naturally arise in the mind of Amuienshi; he denies that his flight was due to any disgrace incurred by him whilst serving in the Egyptian army:—"I had not been talked of, none had spat [in] my [face], I had heard no word of reproach, nor had my name been heard in the mouth of the herald" (B40-42). He then sums up: "I know not what brought me to this land, it was as the counsel of God" (B42-43). Amuienshi does not appear to have troubled himself further as to Sinuhe's motives, but goes on to make enquiries about the more interesting question of political conditions in Egypt:—"Then he said to me: How fares that land without that excellent god, fear of whom pervaded the lands like (the fear of) Sekhmet in a year of pestilence" (B43-45). This query gives Sinuhe an opportunity of eulogizing the young king Kheperkere, which he does in a passage occupying nearly thirty lines.

The explanation of the context above set forth is, so far as I can see, the only one which satisfies both the requirements of philology and those of the sense. It is not a little different from the interpretation which I originally proposed, so that some of M. Maspero's objections no longer require an answer. I shall now deal briefly with his own view of the passage and with those of his criticisms which still apply to my revised translation. M. Maspero translates B34-39, ignoring the insertion in R59, thus:—"Il me dit: 'Comment se fait-il que tu en sois arrivé là? Est-ce qu'il serait survenu quelque chose à la cour, et Amenemhait serait-il allé au ciel sans qu'on sût ce qui s'est passé à ce propos?' Je lui dis: 'Il n'en est rien. Lorsque je vins dans cette armée du pays des Timahiou et que cela me fut annoncé, mon esprit s'échappa'." I have already shown that the translation: "Je lui dis: 'Il n'en est rien'" is philologically indefensible. The minimum of alteration with which M. Maspero's rendering can be made at all defensible is to substitute for these words the sentence: "Or, j'ai parlé d'une façon mensongère." With this change the sense is no longer very satisfactory: Sinuhe would then have passed over the allusion to the king's death in complete silence, a very strange proceeding, seeing what a large portion of Amuienshi's question is, on M. Maspero's view, devoted to it. Moreover, to construe the nominal sentence *Shtp-ib-r' wd;w r ihwt, n rh-ntw hpr-t hr-s* as a question is, to my mind, a very dubious possibility from a grammatical point of view; one might certainly have expected $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \sim \\ \sim \\ \sim \\ \sim \end{array} \right\} @$ by way of introduction to this sentence.

I repeat, I can see no loophole of escape from the conclusion that the words: "Shetepebre had gone to the horizon, and it was not known what had happened in the matter" belong to Sinuhe. That Sinuhe should give this information to the Syrian prince will not appear strange when it is noted that he later (B46), in answer to a question, relates the accession of Kheperkere. Above all things let it be remembered that we are dealing with a tale, and that the same respect for probabilities cannot be demanded from an imperfect work of fiction as from a sober narrative of facts. Still I will admit that so long as *ddf ni swt m iw-ms* was translated: "He said to me: that is impossible!" we were dangerously near the boundaryline of what is legitimate

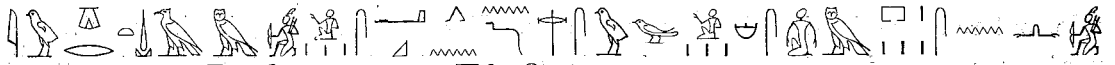
in this respect. The prince Amuienshi may have been, indeed seems to have been, rather ill-informed as to Egyptian affairs, but to make him deny or at least doubt Sinuhe's first-hand information is perhaps too crass an improbability even for a tale. With the change of the reading and the translation this objection, in which I consider M. Maspero to have been wholly justified (*M. S.*, p. xxii), is now happily disposed of.




Now how are the two omissions in B (our starting-point in this lengthy discussion) to be explained? With regard to the second, the omission of  in B 43, I have no suggestion to offer; but since scholars are agreed that these words must be either inserted or else understood in that line, we need scarcely trouble ourselves further with the question. On the other hand a very plausible reason at once suggests itself for the omission of  in B 36. The scribe of B was puzzled, as we have been ourselves, by the apparent anomaly of two successive speeches of Sinuhe, without an intervening question on the part of Amuienshi. He did not recognize, as I hope my readers now do, that *dd-ni swt m iw-ms*, is nothing but a parenthesis. So he thought to improve the text by omitting 'h'n *dd-ni nf*; the next words thus became a part of the question put by Amuienshi. The sense of the passage was spoiled (that at least is my opinion), but a correct alternation of question and answer was gained.

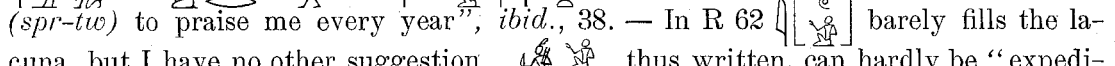
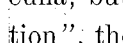
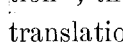
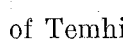
M. Maspero explains the second omission, in B 43, as not really an error at all. He considers (*M. S.*, p. xxiii) that the formula intimating a change of speaker need not, in a poetical work like the tale of Sinuhe, be actually inserted. It is my own impression that Egyptian taste would have required some consistency in such a matter; I feel it to be probable that the scribe of B, if he had *intended* to dispense with the formula 'h'n *dd-nf hft-i* in B 43, would have also omitted the phrases "he said to me" and "I said to him" in B 34 and B 45. But this is a matter of literary judgment, and in such questions we have the best of reasons for deferring to M. Maspero's opinion. I will only point out that if the change of speaker can be implicitly read into B 43 it can be so also in B 36, so that my attribution of B 36-37 to Sinuhe would, if we accept M. Maspero's decision on the point here under discussion, still be a possible theory even without the insertion of  from R 59.

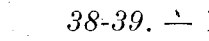


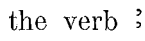
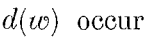
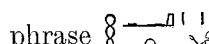
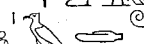
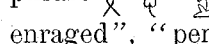

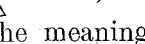
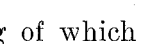
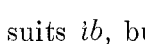

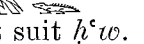

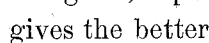
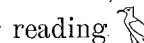
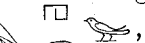
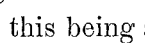
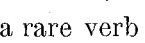
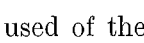
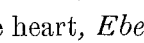

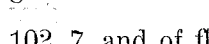
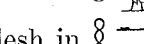


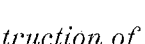
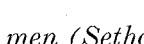
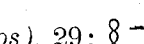

We must now turn our attention to the less crucial differences which B and R reveal in this passage. The version of B (with the necessary emendations) has already been given in translation; in place of it R has the following sentences:—"When [I was] in the army of the land of Temhi, a report was made to me; my reason was perturbed, it carried me away on the road of the desert (?). Yet had I not been [spat upon], men had not talked against my face (*sic*), but [it was as a dream (?)], as though a man of the Delta marshes should see himself in Elephantine, or a man of the swamps in Nubian land." Which of the two versions is to be preferred is more a matter of taste than a subject for serious discussion; both yield substantially the same sense¹, and both contain phrases absent from the other in this part of the

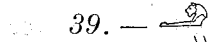

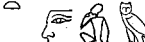
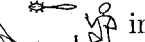
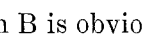
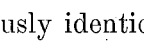
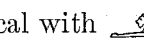


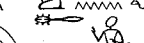
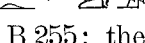
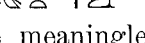


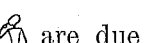

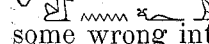
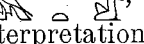
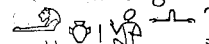

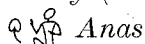
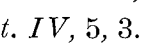
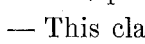
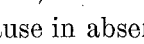
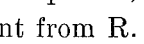

1. M. Maspero attempts to distinguish between the sense of the two versions (*M. S.*, p. xxii-xxiii) but to my mind wholly without success.

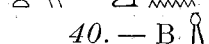
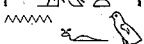
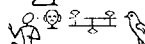
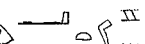
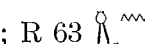




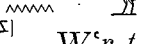
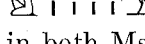
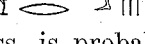
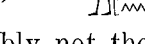
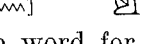
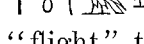

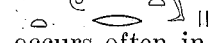
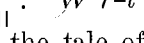
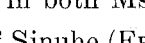
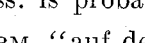
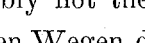
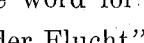
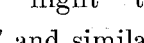

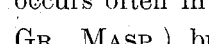
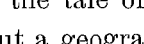
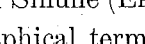
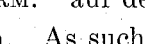
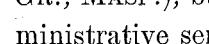
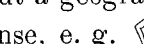
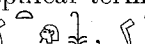
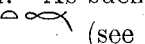
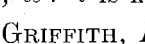
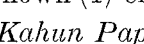
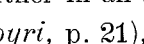

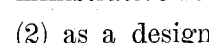
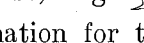

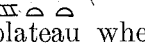

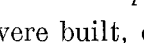




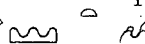
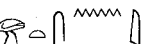
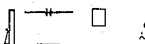
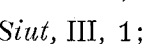
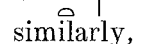

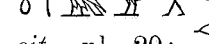


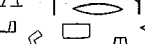

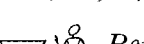
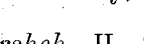

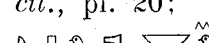


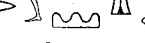


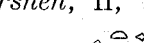


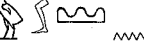
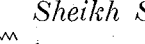
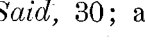
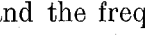
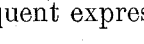
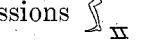

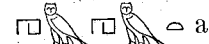


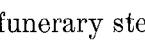
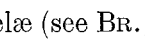
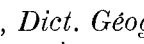
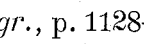

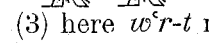
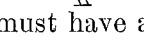
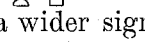
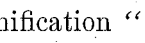
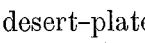
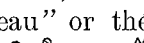
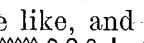

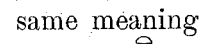
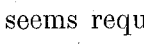
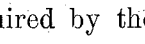
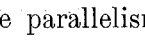
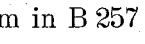






 “its troops entered amongst the common folk, and sat in their houses, they made no expeditions in (my?) time through (? read  for ) fear of the king's house”, *Hatnub*, 24 = *Blackden-Frazer*, 8;


 “when I made an expedition they came (*spr-tw*) to praise me every year”, *ibid.*, 38. — In R 62  barely fills the lacuna, but I have no other suggestion. , thus written, can hardly be “expedition”; though the Stuttgart stele above quoted has  in that sense. As a tentative translation I propose: “when I was in the army against (lit. “belonging to”) the land of Temhi.” B's text seems preferable.

38-39. — B     ; the verb *ʔd(w)* occurs elsewhere only in the phrase  B 255, and is not to be identified with  “to be enraged”, “perturbed”, the meaning of which suits *ib*, but does not suit *h'w*. R gives the better reading        , this being a rare verb used of the heart, *Ebers*, 102, 7, and of flesh in         *Destruction of men (Sethos)*, 29;         *R.*, *I. H.*, 145, 56. Had R been preserved in the passage corresponding to B 255, it would doubtless have been found to give *ʔhd(w)* in place of *ʔd(w)* the reading of B.

39. —         in B is obviously identical with         B 255; the meaningless determinatives   are due to some wrong interpretation of *ntf* (so too MASP., *M. S.*, p. viii). For the phrase, cf.         *Anast. IV*, 5, 3. — This clause is absent from R.

40. — B        ; R 63                . *W'r-t* in both Mss. is probably not the word for “flight” that occurs often in the tale of Sinuhe (ERM. “auf den Wegen der Flucht” and similarly GR., MASP.), but a geographical term. As such, *w'r-t* is known (1) either in an administrative sense, e. g.     (see GRIFFITH, *Kahun Papyri*, p. 21), or (2) as a designation for the desert-plateau where tombs were built, cf.         *Siut*, III, 1; similarly, *op. cit.*, pl. 20;         *Bersheh*, II, 21;         *Sheikh Said*, 30; and the frequent expressions         and         on funerary stelæ (see BR., *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 1128-9); (3) here *w'r-t* must have a wider signification “desert-plateau” or the like, and the same meaning seems required by the parallelism in B 257         “thou hast trodden the foreign lands, thou hast traversed the desert wastes”; whether the word         which seems to mean “desert” in *Salt 124*, 2, 7; *L. D.*, III, 140 b, 3 (Redesieh), should be read *w'r-t*, is rather uncertain. —         in R is obviously a superior reading to         of B.

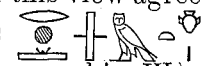
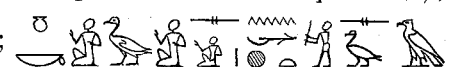
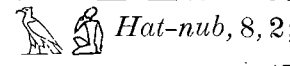
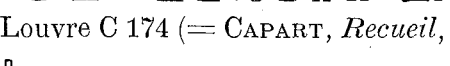

40-41. — B ; R 64 . The restoration of B is almost certain; the traces suit, and the reading *r hr-i* is suggested by R. — The rare word *wf* seems to mean “to talk about”; the clearest instance is *Rekhmere*, 8, 29, where my own collation of the original gives “I was the subject (“talk”, a substantive) of all conversation”. In *Piankhi*, 111, a somewhat obscure passage, the prince Peteese first appears to lay a curse upon whosoever should conceal his wealth from the king, and then goes on to say that he has done this in the consciousness that when his deeds have been examined and talked about, he will be found to have concealed nothing; “This have I devised (or “said”)', in order that ye may discuss this your servant in all that ye know concerning me; then shall ye say whether I have concealed from his Majesty anything belonging to the house of my father”. Further, *Prisse*, 5, 14, “do not keep silence, when he speaks evil; great will be the talk (of thee) on the part of the listeners, and thy name will be fair in the opinion of princes”. Lastly, *Eloquent Peasant*, B 108, is wholly obscure. From these examples it seems plain that *n wf*:-*twi*³ in B should be rendered: “I was not talked of”, the context showing that depreciatory talk, gossip, is here meant. — means “to spit” (*Pyr.*, *psg*), the later equivalent being *pgs* with metathesis, cf. *πασσε* “spittle”; and the text of B should therefore be translated: “no one spat in my face”³. — The first half of the version substituted by R *n [psg]-twi* “I was not spat at” is quite defensible, as the *Pyramidtexts* always give to *psg* the transitive sense “bespucken”, cf. *Pyr.*, 142; other examples, 521, 2055, 2056. However *wf*:-*tw r hr-i* yields no good sense.



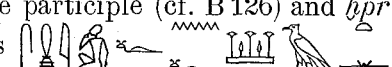
41-42. — B ; R lacks these words, which are reiterated in B 227-228. — *Ts-hurw* only here; the expression must mean “insult”, “reproach”, cf. the causative *shwr*; in *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 106, 168, 263 (= B2, 18) means “ignominy”, “disgrace”, or the like. — The exact meaning of the title *whmw* here is not clear; there were local functionaries (apparently vested with judicial powers *Pap. Kahun*, 34, 38)

1. BREASTED (*Ancient Records*, IV, 439) and GRIFFITH (*Egyptian Literature*, p. 5291) translate: “So be it to me”; I doubt whether this rendering is justifiable.

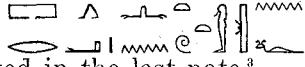
2. In R the passive ending *-tw* is everywhere written in full. B on the contrary always writes it defectively before suffixes (so here, 40, 53, 72, 198, 200, 233, 234); before nominal subject or impersonally the ending is sometimes fully (e. g. 37, 38, 183, 184, 191, 192), sometimes defectively (e. g. 90, 91, 181, 205, 227, 260) written.

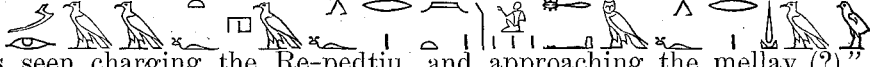

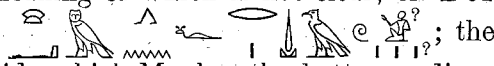
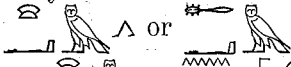
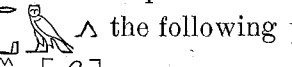
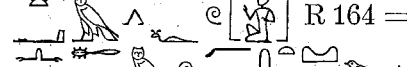

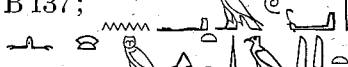
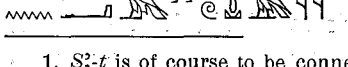
3. Surely M. Maspero is confounding *psg* with when he translates: “il ne me piqua point”, *M. S.*, p. xxii, and in the index *sub voce*.

(the next words are *ikr shrw, mnḥ wd-t mdw* "excellent of counsels, effective in commands") suggests that MASPERO'S rendering: "un maître de sagesse" is not far out (so too GR.). *S²-t* must be the infinitive of a verb 3æ infirmæ; (1) with this view agree the geminated forms (participles) found in the following instances  *Mission*, XV, 10, 3 (Luxor, epithets of Amenophis III);  Louvre C 167;  *Hat-nub*, 8, 2;  Louvre C 174 (= CAPART, *Recueil*, I, 22); further, cf.  Louvre C 26, 13. Less comprehensible examples of the geminated form occur also *Prisse*, 12, 10; 15, 12; *Leiden*, V 4, 5. 6. From the frequency with which the double 3 occurs the doubt arises as to whether *s³* is not a verb 2æ gem.; in this case *s³-t* in the *Sinuhe* and *Siut* passages could not well be connected with it. (2) The alternative is to translate, as ERMAN does, "der Sättiger", d. h. seines Volkes, deriving *s³-t* here from *s³w*, *cer*, saturare. This however does not give good sense.

50-51. — "He subdued the foreign lands, while his father was within his palace;  and he reported what had been commanded to him to be done." So B; *s³-t*, thus spelt, is probably passive participle (cf. B 126) and *hpr* is, as often, the passive of  (cf. *fieri*). R 75 gives  "and he (Sesostris) reported to him (Amenemmes) what he (A.) decreed should be done". The addition of *nf* certainly improves the text, but *s³t-nf* is urgently needed, whether this be construed as a passive participle ("what was decreed to him") or whether it be taken as the relative form ("what he had decreed").


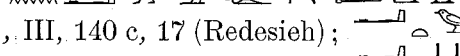
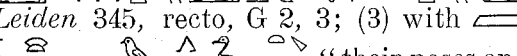


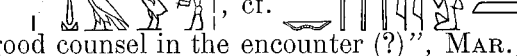

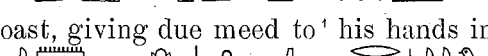
51-52. — , cf. , epithets of Thutmose III, *Urkunden*, IV, 809 (Wady Halfa).

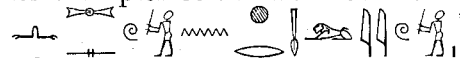
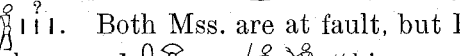

52. — , so too *Urkunden*, IV, 809, as continuation of the words quoted in the last note".

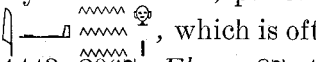
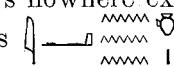
52-53. — B  "when he is seen charging the Re-pedtiu, and approaching the mellay (?)". R 77 gives, as usual, the fuller writing . *H³* transitively, cf. R 84, B 61; for *Ri-pdtiw*, a derivative of *pdtiw* the meaning of which is not clear, cf. B 61 = R 85. — Instead of *h³m-f ri-d³w* R 78 gives ; the obscurity of *ri-d³w* makes it impossible to decide which Ms. has the better reading. For  or  the following passages may be compared: (1) transitively, cf.  R 164 =  "he drew nigh me", B 137;  "evil came not nigh them", *Harris I*, 77, 10;  "nought hostile cometh nigh thee", *Anast. III*, 4, 6;

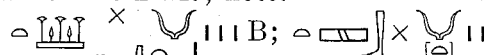
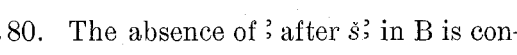
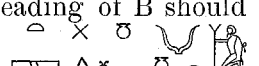
1. *S³-t* is of course to be connected neither with *st³* nor with *s³r-t*.

2. The Wady Halfa inscription writes ; the last  is derived from a misunderstood hieratic .

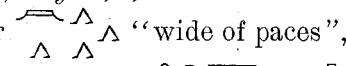



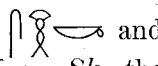
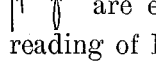

(2) with , cf.  "it shall be approached by no man", *L., D.*, III, 140 c, 17 (Redesieh);  "the evils that approach his heart", *Pap. Leiden* 345, recto, G 2, 3; (3) with  (like *tkn*, 'k', 'r', etc.), cf.  "their noses approaching the ground", *Inscr. dedic.*, 34. —  "captain of foreign troops, of good counsel in the encounter (?)", *MAR.*, *Abyd.*, I, 53;  "a king by whom men boast, giving due meed to his hands in encounter (?)", *Amada Stele*, 6; in the phrase  *Urkunden*, IV, 657, *ri-d;w* cannot be translated "mellay", "encounter" unless *m* be emended before it; otherwise, and if Sethe's restoration be correct, *ri-d;w* must here be an abstract word parallel to, and co-ordinated with, *phiti Stb.* No other examples of the word occur.

54-55. — B ; for the last word R 79 has . Both Mss. are at fault, but B is nearer to the archetype than R; we must clearly emend  "his enemies cannot order their ranks", for *ts skw* see my *Admonitions*, p. 20.

55. — , which is often found in the literal sense of "washing the face" (e. g. *Pyr.* 1443, 2067; *Ebers*, 87, 12), occurs nowhere except here in a metaphorical sense. Perhaps it has the same meaning as  "rejoicing", "exulting", on which see B 149, note.

 B;  R 80. The absence of 3 after s3 in B is contrary to rule; nevertheless the reading of B should be given the preference, as it is supported by later parallels, cf.  *PIEHL*, *Inscr. hiér.*, II, 104, and twice similarly in *NAVILLE*, *Mythe d'Horus*, 2. Spiegelberg quotes an instance of *royw* meaning "to smash", *Rec. de Trav.*, 23, p. 205; and *ts* is used of "grinding" corn to make beer *Destruction of Men* (Sethos), 18. — *Tsb* in R is an unknown word.



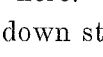



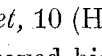
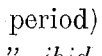

55-56. —  "none can stand in his presence", cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 187 (Thutmose III); *Piankhi*, 95; *Urkunden*, II, 14 (stela of the satrap); *ROCHEMONTEIX*, *Edfou*, I, 150.

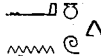
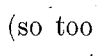
56. — For  "wide of paces", cf.  *L., D.*, II, 138 d (Hammamat, collated), —  "he destroys the fugitive", B; R 81 has  "he shoots (pierces) the fugitive".  and  are extremely similar in hieratic, whence the variants of our Mss. *Sk*, the reading of B, should be preferred, as it is supported by the Hammamat text above quoted; moreover the omission of *t* in  is unusual.


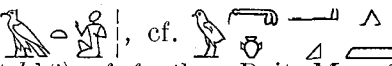

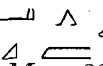
57. — "There is no end for him who turns his back to him", i. e. perhaps, the fugitive whom he pursues never reaches his goal of safety. *Di s3 n* "to turn



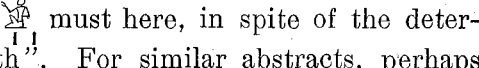



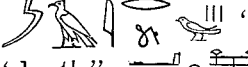
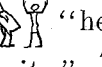
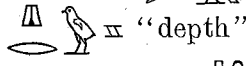

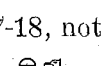

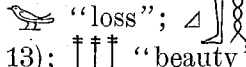
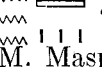
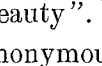

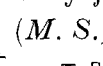
1. Lit. "equivalent to".



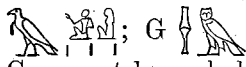
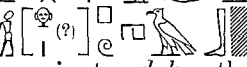


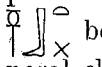


the back to", cf. L., *D.*, II, 136 h (Semneh stele); *Piankhi*, 13; *Urkunden*, II, 13 (stele of the satrap).


57-58. —  "he is persistent in the moment of driving back".  only here. S's's' is a transitive verb¹ possibly derived from s; "back", cf. "I travelled down stream in strength     to drive back the Asiatics", *Carnarvon tablet*, 10 (Hyksos period);    "I repulsed him, I destroyed his wall", *ibid.*, 14.




58. — For   (so too G) I can find no good parallel²; the probable sense is "he is one who always returns (to the fray), he does not turn his back".


58-59. —  , cf.   Louvre C 123 (Ptolemaic); for *wmt ib* (or *wmt h'i*), cf. further *Brit. Mus.* 334; R., *I. H.*, 206; *op. cit.*, 239, 34 = *Sall. III*, 3, 7; *Urkunden*, II, 13 (stele of the satrap).

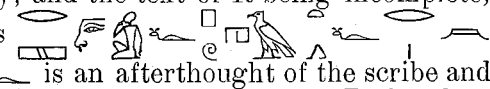

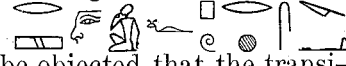


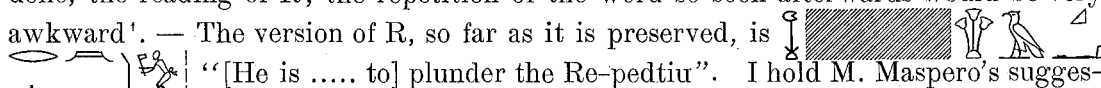

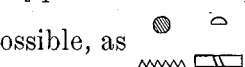
59. —  "he does not allow lassitude to enter his heart". The analogy of the sentence   (Urkunden, IV, 1077) shows that  must here, in spite of the determinative , be an abstract "lassitude", "sloth". For similar abstracts, perhaps ending in *-w* and therefore sometimes written as plurals, cf.  (see B 17-18, note),  "misery", *Urkunden*, IV, 1076;  "height";  "depth";  (see B 17-18, note);  "proximity";  "loss";  "cold";  "heat" (cf. *Admonitions*, 11, 13);  "beauty". — M. Maspero is hardly justified in regarding  as simply synonymous with  (*M. S.*, p. 128, 131).

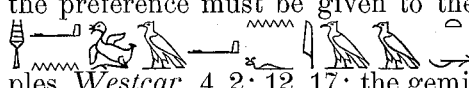

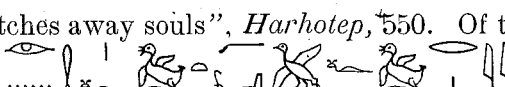
60. — B has ; R 84-5 ; G   . The reading *shm-hr* (or *ib*?) in G cannot be upheld against *wd hr*, the common reading of R and B. *Wd hr* occurs nowhere else; literally "thrusting forward the face", i. e. "eager" or "bold". In the following temporal clause the text of R should be accepted, and rendered: "when he attacks the Easterners"; for  transitively, see B 52-53, note, and *h'b* in G is probably a corruption of it (see below B 73, note). The version of B is untranslatable,  being an unknown word³; moreover for  we require in the temporal clause , cf. B 52. 59, and see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 253, 2.

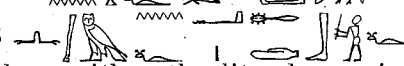

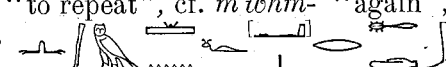
1. In one example (GOLÉN, *Hammamat*, 10, 2) s;s; might have an intransitive sense "to go forward (?)";  "its (the gazelle's) eyes looked straight ahead (?)" ; but it is also possible to retain the transitive sense here, and to render "its eyes seeing and driving back" (i. e. boldly confronting the people as it approached).


2. For   (the eye-brow); but the original seems to me here to have but an exaggerated form of , cf. *op. cit.*, no. 121, the examples from the *Lebensmüde* and the *Eloquent Peasant*.

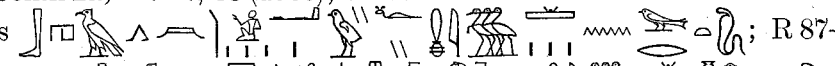
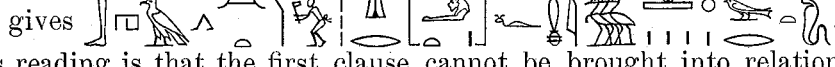
3. It can hardly be connected with  "to delay", as is done by GRIFFITH ("when he seeth hesitation"). I am ignorant of the grounds for the rendering "assaillir" (MASPERO, *M. S.*, p. 51).

60-61. — B and R here differ considerably, and the text of R being incomplete, it is impossible to judge between them. B has  "his joy is to attack the Re-*pedtiu*";  is an afterthought of the scribe and should in any case be omitted; for the construction, cf.  *Eloquent Peasant*, B 1, 176. To this version of B it may be objected that the transitive use of   occurred in the very last sentence, if we there accept, as we have done, the reading of R; the repetition of the word so soon afterwards would be very awkward'. — The version of R, so far as it is preserved, is  "[He is to] plunder the Re-*pedtiu*". I hold M. Maspero's suggestion  to be impossible, as  is never so spelt, nor does it seem to have acquired the meaning "to rejoice" in the time of the M. K. (see my note on the word, *Ä. Z.*, 45 [1909], 129).

61. — R 86 omits the suffixes in *ikm-f* and *ttit-f* of B, which is supported by G; the preference must be given to the latter. — For *t:w* in the Middle Kingdom, cf.  *Eloquent Peasant*, R 72 = B 1, 22; other examples, *Westcar*, 4, 2; 12, 17; the geminated form in the epithet of a god  "he who snatches away souls", *Harhotep*, 550. Of taking up, seizing, weapons, in N. K. texts, e. g.  *Ä. Z.*, 44 (1907), 38.

61-62. — B  "he does not repeat when (?) he kills"; note that  has neither the literal meaning "arm", nor yet a derivative sense "stroke", but *whm-* is an idiomatic compound for "to repeat", cf. *mwhm-* "again", *Urkunden*, IV, 4, 114. — R 86-87 has the reading  "he does not repeat to kill", i. e. he kills once and for all. Both versions are possible, but that of R seems more direct and for this reason superior.

62-63. — The sentences "there is none who can turn his arrow, there is none who can draw his bow" are omitted by R, but are probably part of the original text. It should be observed that  does not mean "to escape from" (ERMAN, "entgehen") but "to make to cease", "check" (MASP., "détourner", GR., "turn"). — The second clause recurs in the *Amada stele* (line 2), and recalls a passage of Herodotus (III, 21), see SCHÄFER, *Ä. Z.*, 38 (1900), 66-67.

63-64. — B has ; R 87-88, completed by G, gives . The objection to B's reading is that the first clause cannot be brought into relation with the king here described without the violent supplying of a conjunction at the beginning of the second clause; M. Maspero renders (*M. S.*, p. xvi): "Les archers libyens tournent dos, car ses bras sont comme les âmes de la grande déesse." The text of R: "the foreigners flee before him as (before) the might of the Great one" is in my opinion vastly superior.

1. It would hardly help matters to emend *m33-f* for *m3-f* in B 60 = *h3-f* in R 84; for there a similar objection would arise, since *m33-f* precedes in B 59.

64. — B ; R 88-89 ; the suffix in *h'f* being supplied from G. The reading of R (and G) gives a coherent sense "he fights without end", *m hmt* "without" being possibly spelt as in R 68 (see the note thereupon). The reading of B might be rendered: "he fights and plans the end", a meaningless translation'.

64-65. — B ; R, which is here damaged, had a similar text. The earlier translations followed by my own, render: "he spares not, and there is naught left over". But the sense "to spare" is not proved for *s'w* "to keep". One might perhaps suggest "he does not lag" (see below note on B 151). In the negative ought be written .

65. — in B is an unusual spelling; R 80 .

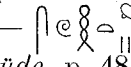
66. — B ; R 90 which is confirmed by G . In my translation I have followed B and rendered like my predecessors: "der sich Liebe erobert hat". This involves a questionable use of *it*, and it may be asked whether the preference should not be given to the reading of R, which might be interpreted either (1) "he has conquered through love" or (2) "he excels in love"; for *it* "to excel" with object, cf. *Anast. I, 5, 2*.

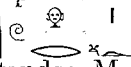
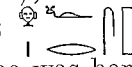
66-67. — B ; so too R 91-92, except that *sw nt* is lost and that *h'w* is replaced by the correct . The suffix *-sn* here is used *κατὰ σύνεσιν* owing to the collective sense of .




67-68. — "men and women go by (?), rejoicing over him, so long as he is king". In the first place it must be noted that *iwf m stn* cannot be taken as a principal clause, as has hitherto been done; "he is king" would be or ; the words are evidently a temporal qualification of the preceding sentence "while he is king", "so long as he is king". — must, as Sethe points out, be an abstract infinitival form like ; for the plural strokes, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 603. The simple verb from which it is derived is not common: cf. the but half-intelligible epithets of king Dudmose *Proc. S. B. A.*, 15 (1893), 495 (plate 5); "the southern shrine praises thee, the northern shrine extols thee", PETRIE, *Rifeh and Gizeh*, XIII, F; Griffith quotes a possible demotic example, *Rylands Papyri*, p. 366, and one may perhaps adduce the personal name . The

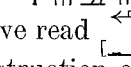

1. M. Maspero reads wrongly in B *hmt rn-f* (*M. S.*, p. 8).
 2. M. Maspero renders R: "il s'est emparé des affections" (*M. S.*, p. xiv), but I doubt if *m* can be used with *it* partitively, or on the analogy of *sh m m*.
 3. M. Maspero's criticism of the passage (*M. S.*, p. xv) fails through his erroneous reading for in B.
 4. Read .

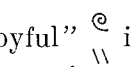

noun *rnwt* must thus mean “joy”, “exultation”, and is construed, on the analogy of *h'* “to rejoice” with a following *m'*. — The *crux* of the passage is in reality *sw?* ^{x₂}. Elsewhere *sw?* *hr* always signifies “to pass by”; this yielding no meaning here, it becomes necessary to separate *hr* from *sw?* and to assign to the preposition its frequent sense of concomitant action “engaged in” *sw?* being interpreted absolutely in a temporal sense³ “to go by”. Tolerable sense is thus obtained: “Men and women pass by (i. e. live and die), exulting over him, so long as he is king.”

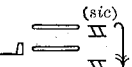
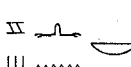

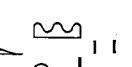
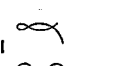
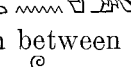
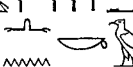
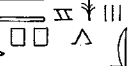

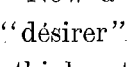
68. —  in B is a vicious spelling. — For the image employed, see ERMAN, *Lebensmüde*, p. 48.


69. —  is the reading of B, and is quite unintelligible as it stands; M. Maspero emends “<his diadems> are on him since he was born” (*M. S.*, p. xv); but “on him” instead of “on his head” is awkward. With the reading of R 93  “his faced was directed towards it (i. e. being king) since he was born” emendation becomes unnecessary.

 “he multiplies what was born together with him”, i. e. he leaves Egypt more populous than it was at the time of his birth”. Cf. the Horus-names  and .

70. — R 94 appears to have read ; this is less idiomatic than  in B, for the construction of which cf. B 187, note.

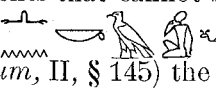




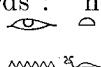
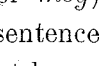
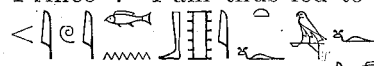
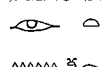
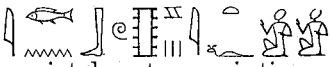
In  of B “how joyful”^e is an afterthought of the scribe; it is not supported by R 95  nor is an exclamation at all appropriate in this descriptive context.

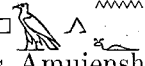

71-73. — B gives  (sic)    ; R is here much damaged, but seems to have had a sign between  and , and rightly interprets  of B as . Sinuhe has now reached the end of his description of Kheperke, and here goes on to speak of the policy that the new monarch will pursue; this is followed by advice to Amuienshi to cultivate friendly relations with Pharaoh. The translations of M. Maspero and Professor Erman are practically identical: “Il prendra les pays du Midi et ne désire-t-il pas les pays du Nord (ERM., “wird er nicht auch an die nördlichen Völker denken”)? Il a été créé pour frapper les Saatiou et pour écraser les Nomiou-shâiou.” Now a primary and insurmountable difficulty is that  does not mean “désirer” transitively, nor yet “denken an”; everywhere that it occurs it means “to think out”, “devise”, and though one can devise an action (infinitive) one cannot “devise countries”, or at


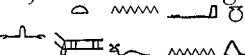

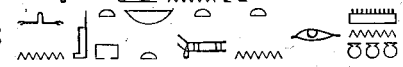
1. Dévaud discusses the word, *Sphinxæ*, 13, p. 85-88, identifying it with the hebrew . Curious as is the coincidence of meaning and sound, I do not consider it justifiable to offer an explanation from Semitic for a word that can be explained at least as well from Egyptian itself.

2. Not *phr* (so MASP., *M. S.*, p. 90) which, so far as I am aware, is never determined or abbreviated in this way.

3. The temporal sense of *sw?* is not uncommon, and is suggested by the following temporal clause, which qualifies it with precision.


all events that cannot be what is meant here. A further argument against connecting k^3 in  with k^3-t "to devise" is that after the negative  (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 145) the geminated form  would be required¹. Consequently the division of words to be adopted is $n nk^3-f$ and R 96 should probably be restored  ; $nk^3 m$, as I have shown, *Admonitions*, p. 101, means "to meditate upon". The most straightforward way of translating these words is to render: "he does not think about the northern lands". To interpret a negative sentence as a rhetorical question because the negation does not seem to fit is a dangerous expedient and one which must always excite suspicion. Here there is an obvious reason why Sinuhe should say that the king has no plans of aggression against Syria: he is no longer engaged in describing the prowess of Sesostris, but is forecasting the king's probable foreign policy²; this he does in a manner reassuring to Amuienshi. However if the next sentence be translated: "il a été créé pour frapper les Saatiou et pour écraser les Nomiou-shâou", it will be seen to stand in a quite intolerable contradiction to what precedes. To this translation I object on several grounds: (1) the description of the king ended *before* the words: "he will conquer the southern lands; why should Sinuhe return to it here? (2)  "he has been made" is strange both as an expression (one expects km^3 or msy) and in tense ("he has been made" would rather be ); (3) the last sentence so vividly recalls B 17 = R 43, that it is difficult to believe that there is not here also a reference to the "Wall of the Prince". I am thus led to conjecture that at a very early date some such words as  dropped out of the text before ; one may even guess that the variant  which C and G give for $inbw hk^3$ in B 17 is due not merely to mistaken transcription of the hieratic, but to an untimely recollection of this later passage. The sense obtained by this conjecture is good; that Kheperkere can afford to disregard his northern frontier would then be explained: "for the wall of his father has been built to smite the Asiatics and to overthrow the Sand-farers". I am aware that it is a venturesome course to emend the text where B and R are in agreement, as here; but for the present I see no other solution of the difficulties above specified.

73. — For  of B we have  in R.98. I prefer the latter reading, as Amuienshi could hardly be expected to leave his own country to visit the Pharaoh, though it might well be proposed that he should send him an embassy. For the confusion of h^3 and h^3b in Mss., cf. above B 60, note; *Admonitions*, p. 43, the note on 5, 10.



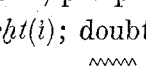
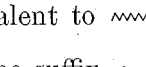
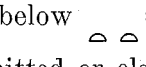


74. — $M šny$, $w^3 r hm-f$; for $w^3 r$, see my remarks, *Admonitions*, p. 53. —  "he never fails to do good"; the double negative (cf. the Greek οὐ μή) is a characteristic Egyptian idiom, cf.  *Urkunden*, IV, 519;  *Urkunden*, IV, 123; 


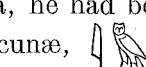
1. This observation I owe to Prof. Sethe.

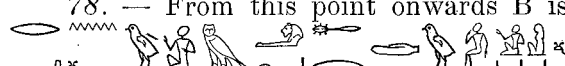
2. The change to the future tense marks the end of the descriptive passage.

 Louvre C 15; and with other negative words often in *Wenamón*, see ERMAN, *A. Z.*, 38 (1900), 8, footnote 1.


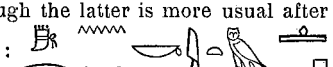

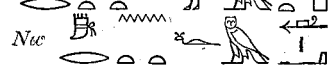
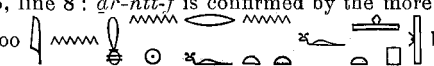
75-77. — The elaborate description of the young king Sesostris, extending from B 47 to B 72, somewhat obscures the drift of the dialogue into which it is inserted, and it will be well here to recall the main points. Amuienshi questions Sinuhe as to the cause of his flight from Egypt, and hazards the conjecture that some political event lay at the root of the matter (B 34-36). Sinuhe answers by telling the news of Amenemhet I's death, and then proceeds to give a distorted account of the occurrences which led to his own exile (B 36-43). To this Amuienshi, more interested in politics than in Sinuhe's disingenuous excuses, replies by asking how Egypt fares without its great ruler, of whose decease he has just heard (B 43-45). Sinuhe reassures the prince and announces to him the accession of Senwosret I, whose praises he loudly sings, concluding with the recommendation to Amuienshi to send an embassy for the purpose of conciliating his mighty neighbour (B 46-75). In answer to Sinuhe's long tirade Amuienshi expresses his satisfaction that Egyptian affairs have taken so happy a turn, and urges Sinuhe to remain with him.

76-77. —  “Well then, Egypt is happy in the knowledge that he (Senwosret) prospers”. — For *nfr* “happy”, see above B 31, note. —  *ntt-si' rht(i)*; doubtless  is to be understood as equivalent to  “because”, cf. below  B 168, where the suffix  should either be omitted or else emended to . — R seems here to have had a quite different text, but I can offer no explanation of the signs still legible in that manuscript.

77. —  “Behold thou art here; thou shalt remain with me”. So B; the thought seems to be, that Sinuhe might well be happy in Egypt, but that since he is now in Syria, he had best remain with the Syrian prince. — R 103 gives, in the midst of lacunæ,  “establish thyself here [with me]”; this provides a less suitable continuation, or rather contrast, to the preceding sentence, and the text of B is therefore preferable.

78. — From this point onwards B is often our sole authority. — The words  are repeated, with slight variants, in B 107-8.

78-79. —  “he allied me with his eldest

1. Note that *-s* here may be the suffix and not the absolute pronoun, though the latter is more usual after  (ERMÁN, *Æg. Gram.*², § 411); this is proved by the following examples:  “since thou art come in peace”, *Ä. Z.*, 19 (1881), 18;  *Nw*  “dilated is the heart of *Nw*, for that he is one of these”, BUDGE, *Book of the Dead*, 131, 3 (p. 236, line 8: *dr-ntt-f* is confirmed by the more corrupt version of this sentence, LACAU, *Sarcophages*, p. 213); so too  below B 162-3.

daughter". *Mini m* "to attach ... to" is a metaphor from mooring a ship to the mooring-post. So in a different sense "she attached me to (the cult of) the statue of her Majesty", *Urkunden*, IV, 30. Here of marriage, no doubt a deliberate piece of choice diction. — The giving of a determinative to is unusual, and it would not be quite fair to instance such writings as B 239, where *wr* is written with a word-sign. None the less *wr-t* here should undoubtedly be understood as "eldest", not as a proper name.

82. — For the dative in cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 150.

85. — "that which accrued to me". *Dmi* means "to touch", and is often construed with an accusative (e. g. B 16. 200); the construction with *r* is used to express a rather different nuance of meaning "to become joined to" and the like, cf. "Take it (the eye of Horus) upon thee that it may be joined unto thee, and joined unto thy flesh", *Pyr.* 844; *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 89, 1; *Ebers*, 86, 14. — (? read) "as the consequence (outcome) of my love" seems quite a likely phrase; however only here.

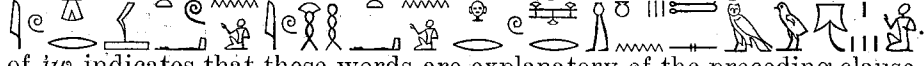
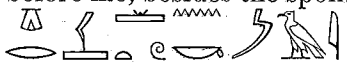
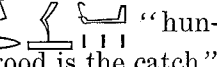

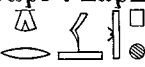
86-87. — For in B we find in R 114; the latter seems to be nothing more than an erroneous writing of *hk?*. — In the sentence "he made me chief of a tribe" the last words occasion some difficulty; hardly "in the best part of his land", which would demand as in B 80; more probably it is meant that the chieftaincy bestowed upon Sinuhe was "of the best in all his country", cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 28, "one hundred and fifty sailors were in it of the best of Egypt"; and similarly, *Beni Hasan*, I, 8, 12.


87. — *irw ni* "there were made for me", the passive form *sdm-wf*; so too below B 305 and see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 476. — is here in parallelism to *hrt-hrw* (B 88) and the word must mean "daily fare" or the like. It is obviously a derivative from "today" and it may be conjectured that for the determinatives should be read the sign being perhaps due to the proximity of Should not "daily offerings" also be compared?



89. — R 118 has in place of in B. Either reading may

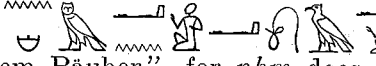

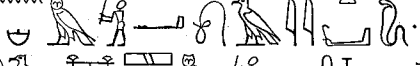
1. Professor Erman derives this word from "to remain", "persist" and speaks of it as "das sogenannte dauernde opfer", *Æg. Religion*,² p. 60; and in favour of this view it may be pointed out that is so spelt as early as the 12th. Dynasty, cf. NAVILLE, *Temple of the XIth. Dynasty*, 24. On the other hand the word definitely means "the daily offerings" and it would be natural to derive it from Cf. which is undoubtedly a related word, and for = *min*, cf. *mini*, = *Urkunden*, IV, 469.

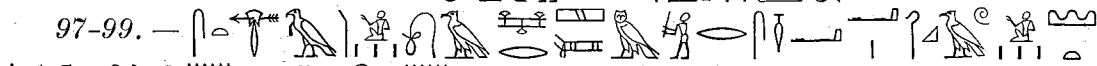

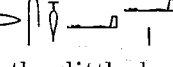
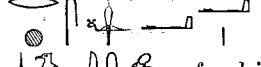

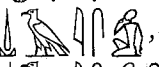
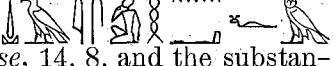
stand, but perhaps that of R is slightly better, since *hrw* recurs in B 90, the next line.

89-91. — None of the translators seems to have appreciated the grammar of the next sentence . The presence of *iw* indicates that these words are explanatory of the preceding clause, supplying the information how Sinuhe obtained his venison: — “for men hunted (*grg-t[w]*) for me, and laid (*w:h-t[w]*) before me, besides the spoils of my (own) hounds”. For *grg* “to hunt”, transitively, cf.  “lions are hunted for thee in the desert”, *Sall. II*, 14, 7 = *Anast. VII*, 11, 7;  “hunters” (without object), *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 153 A, 21;  “good is the catch” over fishermen drawing in their nets, *Thebes, tomb of Puemre*; cf. Coptic $\sigma\omega\sigma$: $\alpha\omega\sigma\alpha$ “to hunt” and $\sigma\epsilon\rho\eta\sigma$ “hunter”. The origin of the idiom seems to be  “to set a snare”, *Harris 500*, recto, 4, 2. 6. 9.

91. — M. Maspero restores the omitted word ; B has however ‘*s*’-*w*, masculine plural, not ‘*s*’-*t*. ‘*Iht*’ is occasionally treated as a masculine singular (*SETHE, Verbum*, II, § 14, 3) but I know of no instance where a masculine plural adjective agrees with it.

95. —  “tarried on my account”, i. e. with me. Perhaps one may compare  B 172-3. — *S*’*b*-*i* “I caused to tarry”; this causative only here.

97. —  cannot mean: “je réprimais le brigand”, “wehrte dem Räuber”, for *nhm* does not signify “to repress” but “to rescue”. Translate therefore: “I rescued him who was plundered”; this gives a better parallelism to the preceding sentence, “I gave water to the thirsty, and put the wanderer on his way”. Cf.  PETRIE, *Abydos*, III, 29; and further the name of the goddess .

97-99. —  “when the Asiatics became overbold (so as) to oppose the chieftains of the hill-tribes, I counselled their movements”. The construction of the first words, which do not fit into their place in the context unless translated as a temporal sentence, is not at all natural. *W*’*r*, see *Admonitions*, p. 53. — For *stm*, cf.  “the insolent man (?) comes to grief (?)”, *Prisse*, 11, 13. — For  perhaps  should be read. —  is evidently the little-known verb , of which the earlier instances may mean “to discuss”, “argue”; cf.  “argue (?) with him after a space”, *Prisse*, 14, 8, and the substan-

1. *Tnm* “to turn aside”, “go astray”, cf. *Pyr.*, 1695; *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 169, 23; *Eloquent Peasant*, B 1, 131. Not to be read *dnm*, as is done MASP., *M. S.*, p. 10.

tive "disputant", "speaker", *ibid.*, 5, 10. 13; 6, 1 (the utterly obscure *ḏis* in *Sut*, III, 7; *Rifeh*, I, 18, may be an entirely different word¹). In Greek times *ḏis* is frequently used in the sense of "utterance", "speech" (so already, BRUGSCH, *Wörb.*, 1693), cf. "I hear (*ntb-i*) thy utterances", ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 209, and similarly, *ibid.*, I, 75, 483; *ibid.*, I, 114; BUDGE, *Meux Collection*, 52, 20; "Isis..." ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 149. As a verb "to speak" *ibid.*, I, 327.

99-101. — "For this prince of Retenu caused me to pass many years as captain of his host"; indicates that this sentence is an explanation of what precedes.

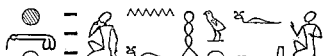
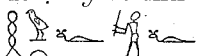
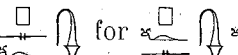
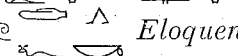

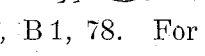
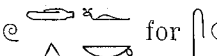
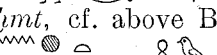
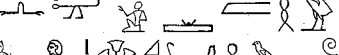
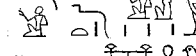


101-102. — (later inserted) ; the general sense is clear, but there are certain difficulties of detail. — "against which I went forth"; *rw-t-ni* is apparently the past relative form of "to run (?)", *Pyr.*, 743; cf. the pseudoparticiple in *Hirtengeschichte*, 20, and the obscure *Eloquent Peasant*, B 1, 255-6². — The later insertion of *iw* before *ir-ni ḥd-i* (cf. L., *D.*, III, 128 b; similarly, R., *I. H.*, 248, 85; *Piankhi*, 14) renders the construction extremely awkward, for what is required is clearly a principal sentence governing the emphatically-placed words *ḥs-t nb-t*, not a subordinate sentence. We must either omit *iw* or else assume an anacoluthon ("Every land to which I went forth — and I achieved my attack, and it was driven from [its] pastures and its wells")³. — It is not quite certain whether or should be read in 102; both are palæographically possible. In favour of *im-s* it might be argued that a prepositional phrase is required to take up the emphasized *ḥs-t nb-t*; but this appears to me unnecessary, the sense being quite clear without it, and *iw-s dr-ti* being obviously an easier construction than would result if *im-s* were read and *dr-ti* taken as a pseudoparticiple referring to the suffix of *im-s*. — That is a misspelling of (*dr-ti*, cf. B 182 = *pr-ti*, 2nd pers. masc. sing.) is, I think, evident⁴. — "away from" the Hebrew *לְמַעַן*, cf. such phrases

1. Or it may be derived from the same stem and mean "to contend", the determinative being that of a soldier.

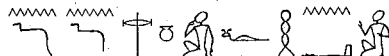
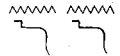
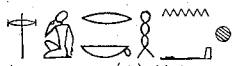

2. Probably to be distinguished from *rw-t* "to cease", "to make to cease", though that verb is written *rw-w* below B 152. — Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 43 (1906), p. 159, identifies *rw-t* here with an obscure verb *rw-tl*. This however is impossible grammatically, as the gender of *ḥs-t* would demand a form *rw-tl-t-ni*. Nor does the sense proposed by Prof. Spiegelberg "jedes Land, in welches ich foh", suit the present context.


3. A third possibility, though to my mind a very unlikely one, would be to construe *iw ir-ni ḥd-i* as an interposed temporal sentence: "every land against which I went, when I had made my attack, it was driven", etc. One objection to this is that *ir-ni ḥd-i* seems, from the analogy of *ḥd-f ḥpr*, to mean "I made a successful attack" not merely "I made an attack"; the former meaning does not fit into a temporal clause.


4. Maspero interprets as *ctwr tremor* (*M. S.*, p. 161). But *sdꜣdꜣ*, from which *ctwr* is derived, is not a feminine, nor does it ever lack its bird-determinative; and the omission of *ꜣ* is not usual at so early a date.

in B 124 below. The clue to the right reading is given by  "he planned to spoil me", which R inserts, not in the passage corresponding to B 111-112, but in the midst of the account of the combat (R 163). In R *hwtj* is infinitive, and therefore has the suffix as object: in B we must emend  the mistake being analogous to  for  in B 27;  for  in B 181;  for  *Eloquent Peasant*, B 1, 78. For the tense *sdm-f* after *hmt*, cf. above B 7. — *Hwtj* "to plunder" or "to seize as plunder", cf.  *Vienna, Saal I, no. 20* (sarcophagus);  MAR., *Karnak*, 37, 31-32;  *Urkunden*, IV, 138; compare too ⲉⲛⲉⲣ in Coptic. A faint recollection of our passage may be contained in the corruptly written sentence:  "I have repelled those who thought to plunder me", *Pap. Leiden* 347, 11, 10.

114-126. — The speech of Sinuhe is full of philological difficulties, which need discussion point for point. In order to prepare the way for the notes, I here give a translation of the passage as I understand it. "The prince conferred with me, and I said: 'I know him not; forsooth he is no comrade of mine that I should have access to his encampment. Or have I ever opened his gate, or overthrown his walls? (Nay), it is ill-will for that he sees me performing thy behest. Lo, I am like a roaming bull in the midst of a strange herd; the bull of the cattle charges him, the long-horn attacks (?) him. Is the humble man loved as a master? There is no foreigner who can associate with the man of the Delta (?). What can cause the papyrus (?) to cleave to the mountain? Doth a bull love combat (?) and then shall a strong bull love to sound the retreat (?) through the dread lest he might vie with him? If it be his will to fight, let him speak his desire. Is God ignorant of what is decreed for him, or how (else) shall it be known?'" Both Maspero and Griffith have divined the meaning of a part of the passage, but my version of the hardest sentences, from B 120 to B 124, differs entirely from theirs.

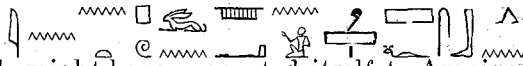
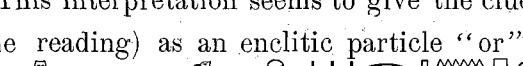
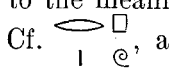

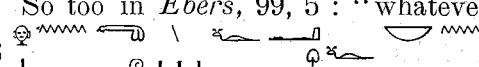
113-114. —  "he conferred with me", cf.   *Prisse*, 5, 8. Elsewhere *ndnd* seems always to mean (1) "to ask (about) something", e. g. *ndnd shrw* *Pap. Turin*, 18, 3; with other objects, *Anast. I*, 13, 6; 14, 4; (2) "to ask of () somebody", "to question somebody", e. g. *Anast. III*, 3, 11 = *Anast. V*, 8, 3; *Anast. I*, 12, 5; *R., I. H.*, 26, 12; (3) "to question somebody" (with direct object of person) *Harris* 500, verso 6, 8; *Pap. Leiden* 368, 11; *Max. d'Anii*, 3, 10.

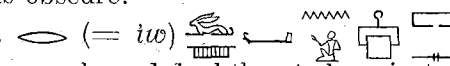
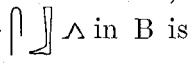
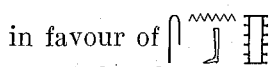
114. —  "pray", "forsooth" is not common except in interrogative sen-



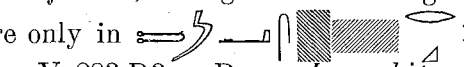
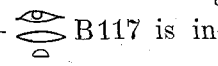
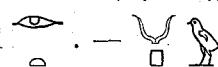
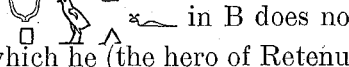
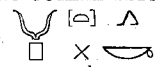

1. The first sign  is cancelled in the original by a stroke, and *shn-nt* "I caused to retreat" should probably be read.

tences, but some possible instances have been quoted by Spiegelberg (QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III [1907-1908], p. 81).


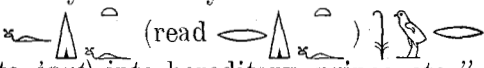

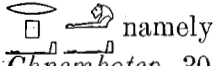



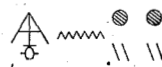
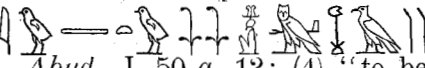
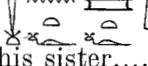
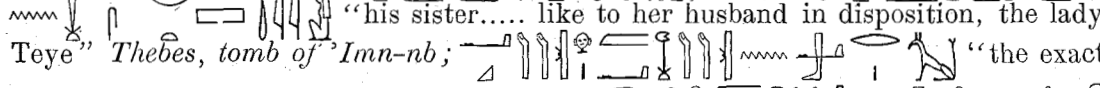

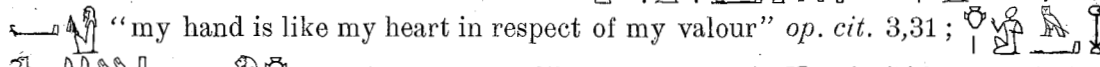
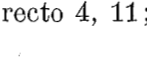
115. — The word *fʒy* is not known from any other source than the Story of Sinuhe (B115 = R140; B146; B201).

115-116. — I understand the sentence  as an alternative which might have suggested itself to Amuienshi's mind; the sense of 114-116 therefore, put as briefly as possible, is "I know him not; I am neither his friend nor yet his foe". — This interpretation seems to give the clue to the meaning of  (R140 has the same reading) as an enclitic particle "or". Cf. , and compare B 126  "Is God ignorant of what is destined for him (i. e. for the champion of Retenu), OR how should one know?" [The construction of *rh* in the latter sentence is obscure, but it is evidently contrasted with, and in that sense an alternative to, the preceding *hm*. I am inclined to view these words as a rather subtle way of expressing Sinuhe's confidence that he will win in the fight; Sinuhe puts his trust in God, who alone can know what fate awaits his enemy.] So too in *Ebers*, 99, 5: "whatever limb he touches, everywhere he feels the heart;  for its vessels (lead) to every member of his: or (i. e. in other words) it (the heart) speaks from out of the vessels of every member". The example *Rhind Math. Pap.*, 7 is obscure.

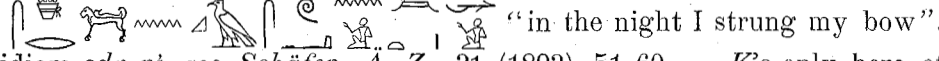
116. — S: "door" is uncommon; however cf.  (= *iw*) *Metternichstele*, 18. —  in B is an unknown verb, and doubtless to be rejected in favour of  "to overthrow" in R141; for *snb* cf. *Pyr.*, 1236; *Rifeh*, 7, 48; *Urkunden*, IV, 64; *Pianchi*, 95.

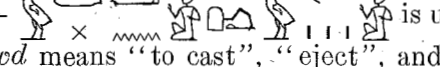
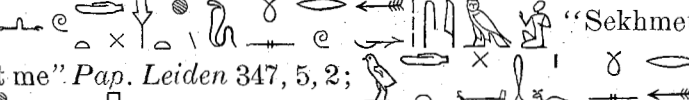
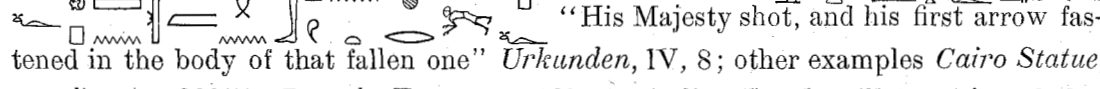
116-117. —  B;  R141-142. This sentence tells us the true reason for the challenge which Sinuhe received from the mighty man of Retenu; the latter was jealous, seeing Sinuhe so high in favour with Amuienshi. — *Rk-t ib*, elsewhere only in  "victorious....-ing the ill-willed" *Mission*, V, 283 P3 = PIEHL, *Inscr. hiér.*, I, 113 χ . —  B117 is infinitive, cf. B5. 282-3; R142 has the normal . —  in B does not make good sense; it can hardly mean "the commission which he (the hero of Retenu) ought to perform". The variant of R142  is obviously preferable; Sinuhe is talking to Amuienshi "it is ill-will because he sees me performing thy commission(s)". The suffix of *wptwt-f* in B is doubtless borrowed from the preceding , a striking example of the variety of corruption that I have called "the assimilation of pronouns" (see above the footnote to the comment on B2, and also B25, note).

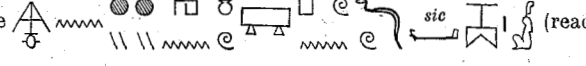
117-118. — For the particle *nhmn* see the note on B46.

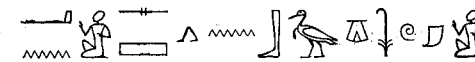
p. 80; "He divided the river-valley over its back  according to what was performed for the father of my mother by the utterance which went forth from the mouth of Amenemmes I.,  (read )  namely his making him (apposition to *iryf*) into hereditary prince etc.", *Chnemhotep*, 30. —  "to match", "equal" is plainly a denominative verb from  "the balance". Only here as a transitive verb in this sense; elsewhere (1) "to adjust", cf.  SCHIAP., *Libro d. funerali*, 57, etc. = *Pyr.*, 12. 13. 644; (2) "to counterpoise", cf.  "a level (*bb*) that makes level the two regions, a balance counterpoising the two lands", epithets of the Vizier *R'htp*, PIEHL, *Inscr. hiér.*, III, 82 (collated)'; (3) "to make level", cf.  "Tenen levelled its floor" MAR., *Abyd.*, I, 50 a. 12; (4) "to be like", followed by , cf.  "his sister.... like to her husband in disposition, the lady Teye" *Thebes, tomb of Imn-nb*;  "the exact counterpart of Baal" GREENE, *Fouilles*, 1, 5;  "my hand is like my heart in respect of my valour" *op. cit.* 3,31;  "my heart is like to thy heart" *Harris 500*, recto 4, 11; see too *Kuban stele*, 14-15.

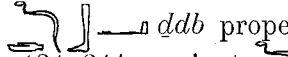
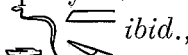
126-127. — This sentence has already been discussed, see the note on 115-116.


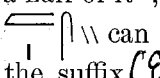
127. —  "in the night I strung my bow". — For the idiom *sdr-ni*, see Schäfer, *A. Z.*, 31 (1893), 51-60. — *K*'s only here of stringing a bow; elsewhere "to bind" an ox, DAVIES, *Ptahhetep*, II, 22; a person's arms, *Ani*, 1, 10; "to tie" a rope-ladder, *Pyr.*, 2079.

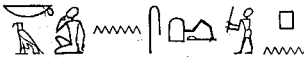
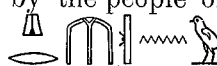
127-128. —  is usually rendered "I made ready my arrows". But *wd* means "to cast", "eject", and not "to prepare". It is specially used of shooting arrows, cf.  "Sekhmet does not shoot her arrows against me" *Pap. Leiden* 347, 5, 2;  "His Majesty shot, and his first arrow fastened in the body of that fallen one" *Urkunden*, IV, 8; other examples *Cairo Statue*, nr. d'entrée 36697; *Rec. de Trav.*, 13, 163, 12 (collated). It will be objected that the nighttime is hardly the fitting occasion to practise shooting; but as Herr Grapow has aptly remarked to me, neither is it the time for stringing the bow, which would naturally be done immediately before the fight in order that the bow-string might be perfectly taut. Thus Sinuhe seems to have tested his weapons while others slept.


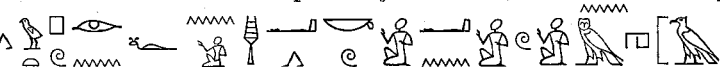
1. That *mb3t* is infinitive here seems proved by the parallelism; cf. the similar phrases from another portion of the same stele  (read *n wd3 M3-t*), BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 950.


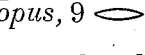


128. —  "I took out my dagger", i. e. out of the sheath; literally "I gave an opening to my dagger". There is no justification, so far as I can see, for the old rendering "I gave an edge to my dagger". — *Shkr* elsewhere "to decorate"; here obviously "to brighten" "burnish" weapons.

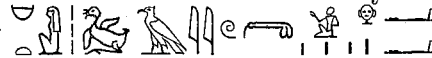
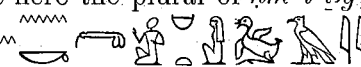
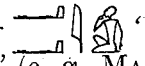
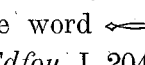
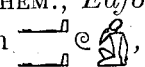
130. —  *ddb* properly means "to sting", of a scorpion, e. g. *Metternichstele*, 73. 134. 244; variant  *ibid.*, 189; here "to spur on" "incite".


130-131. —  "it had assembled the tribes of a half of it", i. e. perhaps, half of the surrounding tribes was present. As the text stands  can only be rendered thus, see SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 40 (1902), 94, for the writing of the suffix (*Erman, Grammatik*, 3147).


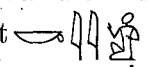
131. — The usual translation of  "when it thought of this fight, every heart was kindled for me" is rendered impossible by the reasons (1) that R156 inserts a new sentence after 'h' pn, and (2) that k' never means "to think" (*sh*'), but "to devise" or "to plan" (see above on B71-73). *K'-ns* is clearly parallel to *ddb-ns* and *shw-ns* (B130), and the point in all these sentences is that the rivalry between Sinuhe and his opponent had been schemed and fostered by the people of Retenu themselves; this too had already been implied by the words  B113. Translate therefore: "it had planned this combat".

At the end of R155 are traces possibly to be read as  in 'h' pn. R156 continues thus:  "He came to me where I stood, and I placed myself near him". This sentence provides an excellent transition to the narrative of the duel, and is doubtless derived from the text of the archetype.

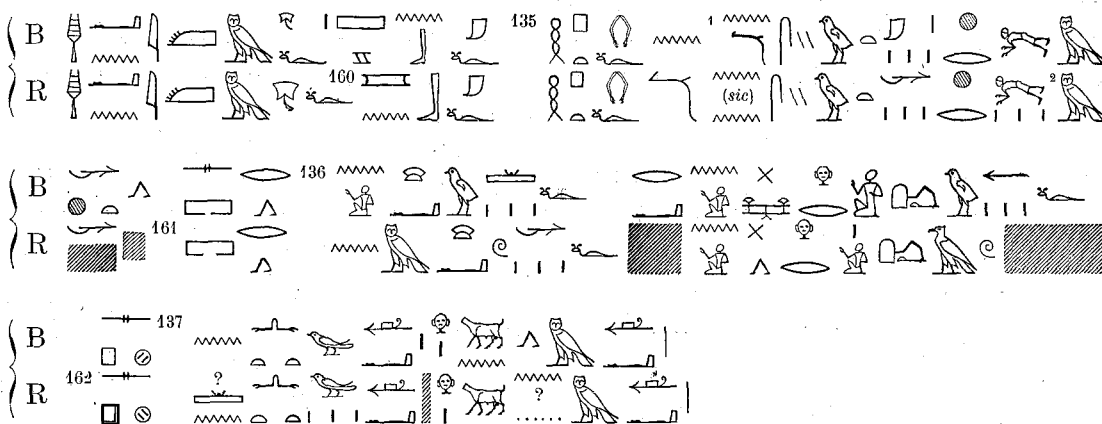
131-132. —  "every heart was kindled for me", i. e. was troubled. So in the *Decree of Canopus*, 9  (*iw*)  corresponds to the Greek *κηδεμονικώς*; on the other hand *Urkunden*, IV, 614  means "their hearts are consumed" with anxiety or fright.

132. —  "women shrieked". — All previous translators render *hm-wt t̄y-w* "men and women", a collocation always represented in Egyptian by *t̄y-w hm-wt* (cf. above B67); the inverted order "women and men" would be most unnatural. Doubtless we have here the plural of *hm-t t̄y*, a compound expression for "woman" known from  *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 125, 19, (similarly PETRIE, *Abydos*, III, 29). —  "to shriek" is a *ἀπὸ λέγόμενον*; the late word  "to rejoice" (e. g. MAR., *Dend.*, II, 61 d. 70 c.; ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 204) can hardly be related to it; nor can it be plausibly identified with , which is used of the beating of the heart, *Ebers*, 41, 21; 42, 9.

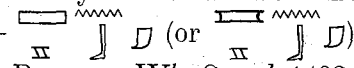
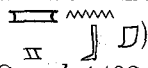
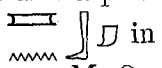








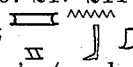

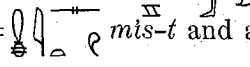
1. So too my German translation. The word  (MAR., *Dend.*, IV, 37, 61; DÜM., *Baugeschichte*, 32), *cr̄te*, *vomer*, cannot legitimately be quoted in support of the usual rendering.



133-134. — The words  have been very variously interpreted. (1) Erman translates: "Giebt es denn keinen andern Starken, der gegen ihn kämpfen könnte?" The sense of this is very poor, and the Egyptian does not say "keinen andern", but "einen andern", which makes all the difference. (2) Griffith's rendering "Is there yet another champion to fight with him?" is too ambiguous to be criticized. (3) Maspero's version is: "Y a-t-il vraiment un autre fort qui puisse lutter contre lui?" If I understand this rightly, it is meant that the men of Retenu cry out in wonderment at their champion's gorgeous panoply, asking "is there any warrior who can fight against such a one as him?" To my mind this is the right view, but it must be admitted that  is distinctly perplexing. Two thoughts seem to be confounded: (a) "is there any mighty man who can fight against him?" and (b) "is there another man as strong as he is?" Such confusions are common in every language.


134-137. — The early stages of the combat are exceedingly obscure; in order to facilitate the comparison of the two manuscripts I print the text of R underneath that of B:—















































Before proceeding to the discussion of these difficult sentences it will be well to devote some study to the less well-known words and expressions contained in them.







134. —  (or ) in B and  in R cannot be read *inb*, as is done by BRUGSCH, *Wb. Suppl.* 1403 and MASPERO, *M. S.*, p. 58, and for two excellent reasons: (1)  never (unless it be here) has the value *i* before the N. K., and then only in such words as are written in the so-called "syllabic" writing; (2) the value *i* is derived from  "island",  being in this case confused with  (); now in the M. K. these two signs are not yet confused, cf. B 9. 21. 211; R 33 for  and B 142 = R 168 for  (). Hence I had concluded that  must be read *minb*,  having the same value *mi* as in  *mis-t* and a





















1. At first  was written; then corrected into the right reading .





2. Or .

few other words'. With regard to the sense of the word   neither *Urkunden*, IV, 891 (*Imnmb*) nor *Harris 500*, verso 8, 4, permits us to do more than affirm that it is a weapon; Brugsch however suggests that it is identical with   (? read  ), which is mentioned together with 'n-t "the adze", *mnh-t* "the hammer" and *md-t* "the chisel" in the tomb of Sethos I (see BRUGSCH, *Wb. Suppl.*, 1403. 234). In this case the word must mean "an axe". To the kindness of M. Lacau I owe the following instances, which afford decisive evidence that both the reading and the sense assigned by me to   are correct. In *Mon. de Leide*, III, 24  occurs in a list of objects offered to the dead, in company with *mnh*, 'n-t and *md-t*, i. e. as in the tomb of Sethos I. The name of the axe is written   on the M. K. sarcophagus of *Nfri* (*Cairo*, 28088, n° 20)²; on the sarcophagus of     (Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, 37566) it is written  . The natural transliteration of these spellings would be *minib*, but possibly the employment of  was due to the fact that internal *n* is sometimes omitted in writing (so  for 'nd,  for *hnh-t*,  for *msnkt-t* [see LACAU, *Rec. de Trav.*, 25, 152]), as are not infrequently *i*, *w*, and *m*; in this case  *ib* for *i(n)b* would be analogous to  *mn* for *min* (see above on B87, footnote) or  *nw* for *nⁱw*, and   could still be read *minb*. This solution agrees better than any other with the obvious and unquestionable relationship of our word to the feminine *mi(n)b-t* in the description     above a scene of carpentering in the tomb of Ti (BAEDEKER, *Aegypten*, 142)³.

135. —          "his armful(?) of javelins(?)"; *hpt* is not found elsewhere in any similar sense ("embrace" below B143), and for *ns-wt* only one passage can be quoted, viz.      "seize your daggers(?)" *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 37, 17.

136-137. — *Sp n iwtt* (?) "in vain", "to no purpose", cf.      *Destruction of Mankind*, 27 (Sethos I). —  means "to approach", elsewhere only of persons and usually construed with *n*; with *m* (on the analogy of *tkn m*), *Rifeh*, IV, 45.

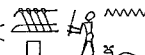




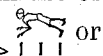
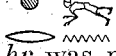
1. The number of words in which  is employed in the M. K. is astonishingly few in number, and from this fact alone it might be concluded that the sign is never merely initial *m*-, but always initial *mi*-. M. Dévaud has recently shown (*Sphinx*, 13, 157-158) that variants of     of   and of   prove for these words the readings *mih'-t*, *minh-t* and *mihw*. To my mind he does not go quite far enough in his demonstration, for he speaks of these readings as existing « à côté de *m'h'-t* », *m'nb-t* and *m'hw*. But the latter forms are not proved by such writings as   and      , where  is probably to be read *mi*. In order to prove that *mih'-t* was ever pronounced with *m'*, it would be needful to have good instances with  written out, dating from a time when  was not yet employed for *mi*. Of course I do not ignore the fact that *mih'-t* is derived from 'h'; but my contention is that *m'h'-t* is a purely theoretical form, and that for *m'hw* there is at present no ground whatsoever.

2. In his catalogue *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, II, 13, M. Lacau gives a reading which he now shows me to be false. The first sign on both sarcophagi is neither  nor , and must therefore be  ().

3. It is doubtful whether any importance ought to be attached to the -t in the above-quoted example from the tomb of Sethos I.


134-137. — We must now return to the question of the sense of this passage. In order to exhibit the diversity of the renderings hitherto proposed, I quote these *in extenso*.

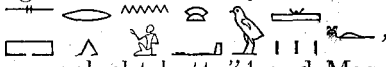
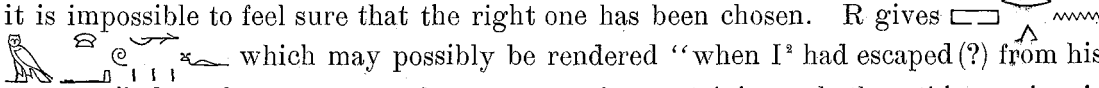
GRIFFITH	ERMAN	MASPERO
Then (he took) his buckler, his battle-axe, and an armful of javelins. But thereon I avoided his weapons, and turned aside his arrows to the ground, useless. One drew near to the other and he rushed upon me etc.	Da ergriff er sein Schild und seine Lanze und seinen Armvoll Speere. Aber nachdem ich seine Waffen herausgelockt hatte, so liess ich seine Speere neben mir vorbei fliegen, nutzlos auf die Erde, so dass einer auf den anderen traf. Da kam er auf mich los (?) u. s. w.	Voici, il prit son bouclier, sa hache, sa brassée de javelines. Quand je lui eus fait user en vain ses armes, et que j'eus écarté de moi ses traits sans qu'un seul d'entre eux tombât près de l'autre, il fondit sur moi, etc.

It will be noted that all versions assume the omission of  after , and make the next sentence begin with , a familiar collocation of particles. R however does not support this conjecture, which of course arose from the supposition that the verb of the first clause is missing. But is this really the case? It does not seem to have been observed that  may be, not a particle prefixed to the second clause, but the predicate of the first. In favour of this view several arguments may be urged: (1) the particle *hr* is elsewhere in B written without the determinative  (cf. B147; *hr hm* B75. 202)¹; (2) *hr m-ht* is, so far as I am aware, only used to usher in an entirely new paragraph or section; it thus corresponds to our “now after....”, as for example in the frequent phrase of Egyptian tales “now after many days had passed”; here therefore, in the midst of the description of the combat, *hr m-ht* would be quite out of place; (3)  or  of R160 is in either case wrong, but if it shows anything at all, it is that *hr* was not regarded as a particle. The cumulative weight of these arguments is considerable, at all events it is enough far to outweigh the alternative view of the passage.

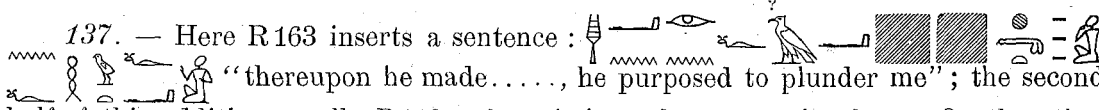

It is true (as was pointed out in the remarks on B71-73) that the agreement of B and R is no absolute guarantee of the accuracy of their text. But their combined authority is exceedingly high, and all other possibilities must be exhausted before recourse is had to conjecture. We shall see that the sense of the context is so obscure that this cannot here be made the decisive criterion as to the correct reading; we must therefore pin our faith upon grammatical analysis, and this demands that *hr* should be taken as predicate of the sentence.



It is however hard to see in what sense it might be said of the warrior of Retenu that “his buckler, his battle-axe and his armful(?) of javelins fell” or “had fallen”.

1. In B21 = R47  has been shown to be a verb.

The solution of this problem is of course dependent on the interpretation given to what follows. The difficulties of the sentence beginning with *m-ht* are quite insurmountable. B and R here differ in their text. B reads , which Erman rendered "nachdem ich seine Waffen herausgelockt hatte" and Maspero "quand je lui eus fait user en vain ses armes"; the causative *spr* occurs nowhere else, and its literal translation opens the door to so many possible interpretations that it is impossible to feel sure that the right one has been chosen. R gives  which may possibly be rendered "when I² had escaped (?) from his weapons", but there seems to be no way of ascertaining whether this version is superior to that of B or *vice versa*. — The next sentence "I caused his arrows to pass by me³, uselessly sped" is in itself perfectly clear, but it is not clear whether it is a principal clause, as Erman's translation assumes, or whether we should take it, with Maspero, as dependent on *m-ht*. The decision of this question is all-important for the meaning of *hr*, since on the former view *hr* refers to some incident previous to the failure of the Asiatic to direct his arrows to their mark, on the latter view *hr* expresses the consequence or sequel of that failure. On the whole I prefer to construe *rdi-ni sw³* as dependent on *m-ht*; it seems to me that a principal clause at this juncture would require to be introduced by *h⁴-n*.

My tentative translation of the passage therefore is as follows: — "Behold, his shield, his battle-axe and his armful (?) of javelins fell, when I had escaped (?) from (?) his weapons and had caused his arrows to pass by me, uselessly sped; while one approached the other⁴". The following sentences go on to describe how the champion of Retenu tried next to rush his adversary, and how he was slain in the attempt. All this throws but little light on *hr*. Can it possibly signify that the shield, battle-axe etc. had been let fall, in order that the bow and arrows might be used; and that when these had proved unsuccessful, the Asiatic attempted to close with his opponent without a thought of his accoutrements lying on the ground? If this be the sense of the passage, it must be admitted that the author has been extremely unfortunate in his attempt to convey it. I desist from discussing other possibilities, in the persuasion that no satisfactory or convincing conclusion is obtainable from our Mss.

137. — Here R163 inserts a sentence:  "thereupon he made, he purposed to plunder me"; the second half of this addition recalls B112, where it is perhaps more in place. On the other hand the last stage of the fight might appropriately be introduced by .

B has  for  of R164; the latter form is the better, see B52-53 note.

1. For the *sdmⁿf*-form after *m-ht*, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 366.

2. For the omission of the suffix of the 1st person singular, see the note on B106.

3. For the exceptional position of *hr-i* see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gramm.*², § 365.

4. It seems impossible to refer the last sentence to the arrows, as Erman and Maspero do. *Hn*, as we have seen above, is not used of inanimate objects, and its meaning is "to approach", not "tomber près" or the like.

138-139. — B "I transfiged him, my arrow fastened in his neck". R164-165 gives which I cannot complete. The objection to this is the presence of the verb *hr* "to fall", since it recurs in the following sentence "he fell on his nose". — *St-ni sw*, not "I shot at him" (GR.), but "I transfiged him"; *st* often means "to pierce" in hunting scenes, e. g. *Der el Gebrawi*, I, 3; II, 23; "to shoot at", on the other hand, is *st r*, cf. MAR., *Abyd.*, II, 55, 17; *Stele of the Sphinx*, 5. — For the use of *mn m* cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 8, quoted *in extenso* above in the note on B127-128.

140. — B omits the preposition in *shr-ni sw [m] minb-f*; it is correctly preserved in R166. That Sinuhe slays his foe with his own battle-axe is a characteristic trait. So too David cuts off the head of Goliath with his own sword (*I Sam.*, 17, 51); and so Benaiah despatches the Musrite with his own spear (*II Sam.*, 23, 21). — "I raised my war-cry"; *isnn* only here. *Wd* is not uncommonly used with (e. g. *Pap. Turin*, 132, 6) and, more clearly, with (e. g. L., *D.*, III, 195 a, 15; *Leiden* 350, recto 3, 5; *Metternich Stele*, 91, 206) for "sending forth one's voice"; by transference, to emit a sound, cf. *wd sbh* B265; "I emitted a cry" *Metternich Stele*, 170; "I shake them (the sistra) for thee, and they give forth a noise" ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 101.

142. — "his slaves mourned for him". probably means "to make a festival", whether one of joy or one of grief. Elsewhere it is only known in a stereotyped phrase with the former sense, cf. "the good god is come, he hath made a triumph with the chiefs of all lands" L., *D.*, III, 121 b; similarly *Mission*, XV, 12, 1 (Luxor, with the determinatives); *Abydos, inscr. dedic.*, 38 (det.); L., *D.*, III, 166 (Ramesseum, spelt). GR. probably connected *hb* here with *hb* "to catch (fowl)", his translation being "I and his vassals, whom he had oppressed, gave thanks unto Mentu"; but this is impossibly hard and circuitous.

146. — "I spoiled his dwelling". *Kf* means "to uncover", "unclothe" (also subsequently "to take off" clothes); thence metaphorically "to strip", "plunder", "deprive" (1) "never did I despoil a man of his possessions" *Urkunden*, I, 78; "I have not deprived cattle of their pasture" *Totb., ed. NAV.*, 125, *Eint.*, 18; (2) "to despoil", "strip" places, here and perhaps also "and he plundered the dwelling of the Pharaoh" *Salt*, 2, 7.

147-173. — The narrative of Sinuhe's victory and of the wealth which thence

1. My published transcription inadvertently gives for .

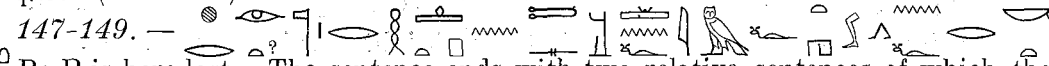
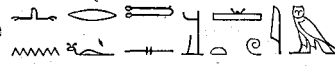
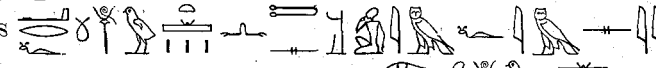

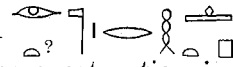


2. Note that the words *p; hrw n Hb;* following the last instance are not the object of *hb*, but the subject of the next sentence.

accrued to him is followed by a passage that has hitherto been but imperfectly understood. Sinuhe is usually supposed to be petitioning for his recall: "without any pause or introduction Sanehat begins to quote from his petition to the king of Egypt" (GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, p. 5242); "dies Gebet (i. e. that of B156) geht allmählich in eine Bitte an den König über und leitet zum zweiten Teil des Gedichtes — der Rückkehr — hin" (ERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note 4)¹. Were this view correct, the author of the tale could scarcely be criticized too severely; it may be doubted whether even the deficient literary sense of an Egyptian would have tolerated a petition to the Pharaoh that began "by degrees" and "without any pause or introduction". Nor can this interpretation be reconciled with Sinuhe's professed admiration (B205 and especially 214-216) of the king's intuitive powers in guessing, unaided, the exile's fondest wishes. It is true, this admiration is not very sincere, for it is hinted in B173-174 that Sinuhe had contrived to have his hopes made known to Pharaoh; as it is discreetly put in the Egyptian text "now it had been told the king Kheperkere concerning this condition in which I was". Erman has here an excellent comment, — one curiously contradictory of his remark above-quoted — "man muss sich denken", he writes "dass Sinuhe Mittel und Wege gefunden hat, einen Fürsprecher am Hofe zu gewinnen; dieser hat dem Könige die Hoffnungen und Wünsche des Greises vorgetragen, die in den vorhergehenden Versen ausgesprochen sind" (*op. cit.*, p. 22, footnote 3). When himself addressing the king, Sinuhe of course disguises his own initiative in the matter of his recall, and declares with true Oriental self-abasement that he had been afraid to voice the presumptuous wish which the king had accorded in so magnanimous and unforeseen a manner (B215-216).

The internal evidence of the passage B147-173 is quite decisive against its containing any direct appeal to Pharaoh. There is indeed an obvious avoidance of any such appeal which is not without a certain subtlety of feeling and psychological *finesse*. Sinuhe's wishes are communicated to the reader in the guise of reflexions on the happy issue of his duel. At length the anger of heaven has been appeased, and Sinuhe, heretofore a miserable fugitive, is now a man of wealth among the foreigners (B147-156). Sinuhe next expresses his secret hope that his new prosperity may be crowned by the permission to return to Egypt; "may the god who decreed this flight be gracious", may he bring the exile home, may he cause him to behold "the place where his heart dwelleth" (B156-158). For what, he asks, is more precious than to be buried in the land of one's birth (B159-160). One favour has already been granted — Sinuhe's defeat of the Syrian champion — may it now be followed by a like benefit, if it so be that the god is truly appeased (B161-163). "May the king of Egypt" — note the third person, and the unusual mode of referring to the king — "be gracious to me, may I live through his grace; may I do obeisance to the Lady of the Land who is in the Palace, and may I hear the commands of her children" (B165-

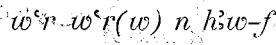
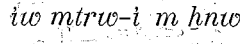
1. I find no explicit statement of Maspero's view of the passage.

167). In support of his request Sinuhe pleads that he is now old and must needs soon die; and lastly he begs that in death he may still be suffered to serve his mistress the queen (B168-173).

147-149. —  B; R is here lost. The sentence ends with two relative sentences of which the antecedent is (implicitly) Sinuhe, and the subject the god. (1) *N ts-nf im-f* cannot be rendered "for him who trusted in him"; apart from the fact that there is no authority for the translation "to trust in", this translation is open to the grammatical objection that "he who" can in Egyptian only be expressed by the participle (*n ts im-f*) or the *sdmti-fi*-form (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 742). For *ts m* cf. the incomprehensible  *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 124 (= R165-166), and the rather ambiguous examples  "combining offices, without...." *Bersheh*, II, 21, *supra*, 7;  "I performed many offices without its being grudged to me(?)", *op. cit.*, 21, *infra*, 6. The parallelism of this relative clause with that which immediately follows, and with several that we shall encounter in the next few lines, suggests that *ts m* may be an idiom for "to feel anger at", "bear a grudge against" or the like. (2) *Th-nf r k-t h's-t* "whom he had led astray into a foreign land", cf. B202. — It remains to explain . Sethe suggests that *ir-tw* (passive) should be read, and that the construction is the same as in B72, i. e. "the god is made to be gracious to him whom"; however this makes but poor sense, and I cannot accept the proposed view of B72 (see B71-73 note). If the reading  be correct I should prefer to take it as the *sdmtf*-form; otherwise  might be read. In either case the translation of the sentence will be: "(Thus) has the god done² in order to be gracious to him against whom he had been incensed(?), whom he had led astray into a foreign land."

149. — "For today is his heart satisfied"; *iw* represents the conjunction "for". A good collection of instances of the phrase *i'-ib* is given by MORET, *Rec. de Trav.*, 14, 120-123; the sense seems to vacillate between "to be pleased" and "to slake one's appetite".

149-154. — The lyrical character of the next sentences is apparent at a glance; there are four pairs of contrasted sentences, the contrast in the first and second being, as it seems, one of tense, and in the third and fourth pair between the noun *st* and the emphatic pronoun *ink*. The fourfold repetition of *n* in the first clause of all the pairs can hardly be reproduced in English, but should be noted.

 <i>w'r-w'r(w) n h'w-f</i>	These fled a fugitive in his season;
 <i>iw mtrw-i m hnw</i>	now the report of me is in the Residence.

1. I speak of purely verbal relative sentences; various circumlocutions with *nti* would be possible.
 2. Similarly MASP., *C. P.*³, p. 69.

sꜣ sꜣy n hkr

iw-i di-i t̄ n gsi-i

rww si t̄-f n hꜣy-t

ink hꜣ hbs-w pk-t

bt̄ si n gꜣw hꜣb(w)-f

ink 'sꜣ mr-t.

A lingerer lingered because of hunger;



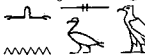
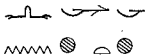
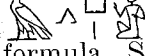




now give I bread unto my neighbour.

A man left his country because of nakedness;

but I am bright of raiment and linen.


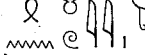
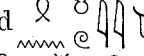



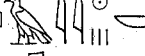



A man sped for lack of one whom he should send;


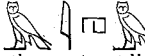
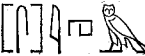
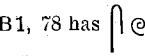
but I am the plenteous owner of slaves.



151. — The meaning of  has hitherto been mistaken; it clearly signifies "to go slowly", "linger", "delay"; cf.  "nay, linger here", *Eloquent Peasant*, B2, 127; so too probably *Pap. Kahun*, 3, 30;  parallel to  MAR., *Abyd.*, I, tabl. 1;  *Rec. de Trav.*, 26, 234 (religious text M. K.); not clear in the *swꜣbt̄*-formula, SPIEGELBERG-NEWBERRY, *Theban Necropolis*, 20, 24. 25. 26. It is just possible that this verb of the 3æ. infirmae class is, in its origin, nothing more than a development of *sꜣw* "to keep", "to beware"; at all events an additional notion of moving cautiously seems to be implied in the frequent epithet *sꜣ iwꜣt-fꜣ*, e. g.  *El Bersheh*, II, 13, 16;  *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20538;  *Thebes, tomb of Sennofer*. — For , probably a substantival form, see B18-19, note.


153. — For the epithet *hꜣ hbs-w*, see *Admonitions*, p. 27.

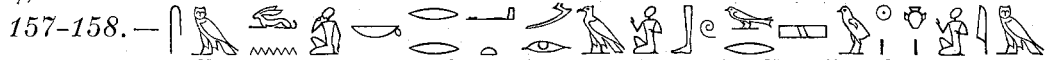

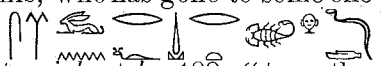
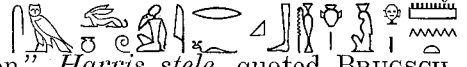
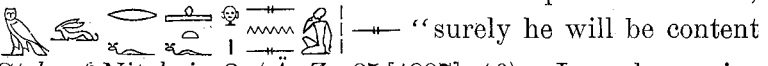
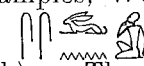
154. — For *bt̄* see the note *Admonitions*, p. 108; and compare *op. cit.*, 8, 3, for the sense.


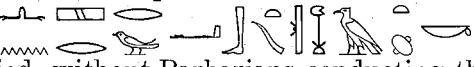

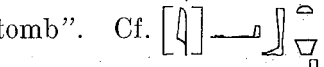
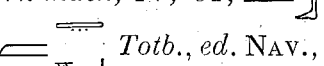
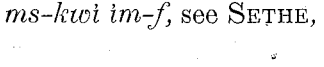
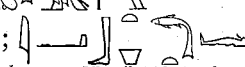
156. —  is explained by Sethe as *sdmwꜣf*-form, with assimilation of the ending *-w* to the suffix (*shꜣi-i* for *shꜣw-i*), see *Verbum*, II, § 458, *ad fin.* I prefer to regard *shꜣw* as a substantive (cf. *Prisse*, 15, 5) "my remembrance is in the palace", since the preceding sentences are nominal. Still Sethe is doubtless right in his explanation of the ending; cf.  *Hirtengeschichte*, 4 (so too read  for  *Sinuhe*, B201); possibly also  = , *Proc. S.B.A.*, 18, 197, l. 10, though this instance is rendered doubtful by the fact that  occurs *Siut*, 4, 31. — In  it is clear that  should be read for .

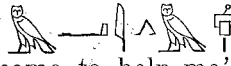
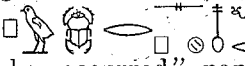
1. I take this opportunity of explaining another misunderstood word with the same meaning, namely . The decisive passages for this verb are  "do not linger, thou dost not haste", parallel to "do not be heavy, thou art not light" *Eloquent Peasant*, B2, 104; and  "hold him back", *op. cit.*, R123, where B1, 78 has  *swꜣf-k sw*.

2. That this verb is really the verb of motion is proved (1) by  *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20539; L., D., II, 138 e, and (2) by such variants as  *Rifeh*, 4, 29.

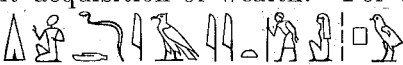

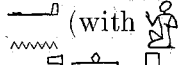

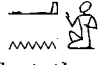
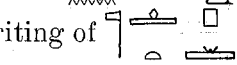
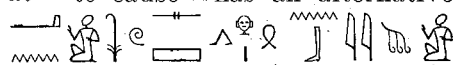
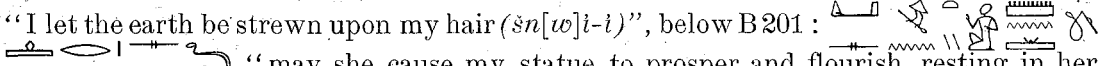
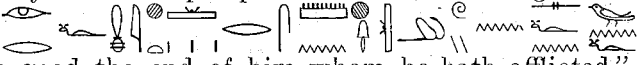
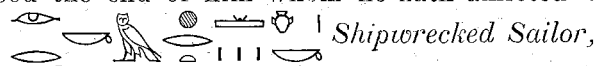
157. —  either (1) "may thou bring me home" or (2) "may thou bring me to the palace". On this ambiguity, see SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 44 (1907), 81.



157-158. —  "surely thou wilt allow me to see the place where my heart dwelleth". *Smwn* means "surely", "probably" as the following examples show;  "He is probably a peasant of his, who has gone to some one else beside him", *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 44 = R90-91;  "peradventure a scorpion has stung him", *Metternich stele*, 188; "turn thy face toward the North wind at the water's brink,  haply thy heart shall be cooled in its affliction". *Harris stele* quoted BRUGSCH, *Wörtl. Suppl.*, 1061;  "surely he will be content by reason of her praises", *Stele of Nitokris*, 2, (*Ä. Z.*, 35 [1897], 16). Less clear or instructive examples, *Westcar*, 4, 1; *Turin, statue of Horemheb*, 11; L., D., III, 140 b, 3 (Redesiyeh;  is a faulty transcription from the hieratic); L., D., III, 175 a, 7 (Silsileh). — The construction with a suffix is without a parallel.

159. —  "What can be more important than that I should be buried in the land in which I was born?" Cf.  "it is no little thing that thou shouldst be buried, without Barbarians conducting thee (to the tomb)", B258-259. To the Egyptian there was no dread more intolerable than that he might be interred far from his home, and this theme is insisted on in more than one passage below (see especially B190-199). Similarly among the good things that the serpent of the phantom isle wished for his shipwrecked guest is that he may be buried in his own city (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 169). — That *pw-tr* here and elsewhere in the tale can only be the interrogative pronoun has been demonstrated above, B121-122, note. — The expression *bt-ht* "burial" is a not uncommon synonym of  (below B193), with a similar idea at its base; *i'b* means "to unite", and the meaning of the phrase is therefore "the union of the body with the earth" or "the tomb". Cf.  *Urkunden*, IV, 64;  PETRIE, *Qurneh*, 30, 5;  *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 161;  *Paheri*, 8. — For the relative clause *ms-kwi im-f*, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 737, footnote.

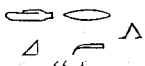

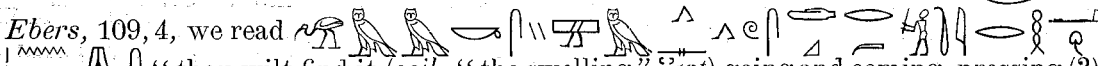
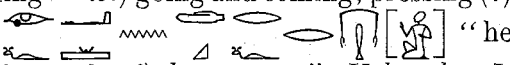
160-161. — The next sentences are difficult.  can hardly be construed otherwise than as a prayer to the god "come to help me", though I can produce no parallel to this use of *m-s-i*. —  "that which has occurred is a good event", i. e. "a happy event has occurred", namely Sinuhe's victory

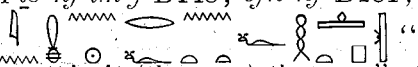

1. So too Sethe, correcting an alternative rendering *nonne?* which I had suggested. Griffith has proposed as an etymology *si-m-wn*, *Ä. Z.*, 34 (1896), 32.


over his adversary and subsequent acquisition of wealth. For the position of *pw* at the beginning of the sentence, cf.  "I caused old women to say: this is a happy event", NEWBERRY, *Life of Rekhmara*, 8, 23, corrected from my own copy. Sethe points out that the same construction of *pw* is found in the interrogative *pw-tr*, on which see above; perhaps also compare the proper name  possibly "I have caused God to be gracious". It is not certain, but at the same time a matter of indifference, whether  (with  erased) or  should be read at the bottom of B160. The writing of  suggests that the scribe was thinking of the word for "offerings"; but it is not absolutely necessary to emend *htp ntr*, as the verb *di* "to cause" has an alternative construction with object and pseudoparticiple, cf.  "I let the earth be strewn upon my hair (*šn[w]i-i*)", below B201:  "may she cause my statue to prosper and flourish, resting in her temple for ever" *Brit. Mus.*, 81'. —  "may he do the like so as to make good the end of him whom he hath afflicted". For the optative sense of the verb, cf.  *Shipwrecked Sailor*,



20. — *Mi-ih* is perhaps a synonym of , not found elsewhere. — *Sfn* is the causative of the rare word *fn* "to be infirm", see *Admonitions*, p. 101. R188 has preserved the words *r smh phwi n sfn-nf* with the significant variant .



In conjunction with one another the four short sentences analysed above yield a tolerably good sense, which may thus be paraphrased:— "Come to help me, o thou god. One good event has already occurred, and I have propitiated the god's anger. May he bestow a like favour in causing me to die and be buried in my own land."

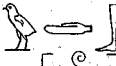
162. — "Pitying him whom he had expelled (?) to live in the desert." *'Ib-f mr*, cf. above B132-133.  is a very rare and obscure verb, perhaps meaning in its most literal sense "to press". In the scenes of spinning *Benihasan*, II, 4, 14, a process of a kind not easy to define is described by the word . In *Ebers*, 109, 4, we read  "thou wilt find it (*scil.* "the swelling" *šwt*) going and coming, pressing (?) against the flesh that is under it". Cf. too  "he makes a document to exclude (?) him from (the rank of) *ka*-servant", *Urkunden*, I, 13. — Whatever its exact meaning, it is plain that *dkr-nf* introduces a relative sentence of the type of *ts-nf im-f* B148; *sfn-nf* B161; etc.


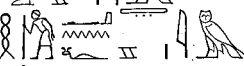
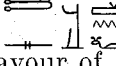

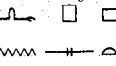

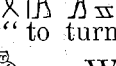


162-163. —  "is he really appeased today?" For the construction "is it (the case) that...." cf. .

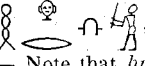
1. Another curious construction of *di* is exemplified in  "causing falsehood not to be said, and truth not to be divulged", literally "I caused falsehood, and (a man) did not say it, truth, and (a man) did not come with it", *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20539, line 8.


 "did this thy servant enter into the temple on the twentieth?" *Pap. Kahun*, 32, 6 (context obscure);  "has the *n't*-boat been taken upstream by Shetepebre?" *Pap. Kahun*, 33, 12. The suffix in *ntt-f* is discussed in the footnote to my comments on B76-77. The words in *min rj ntt-f htp* are virtually the protasis of a conditional sentence of which *sdm-f nh n w3* "let him hear the prayer of him who is afar" is the apodosis.

163. —  "prayer" here and in B213 is masculine, as is shown by the lack of the feminine termination¹ and by the possessive adjective . Elsewhere *nh-t* with feminine gender, cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 367; *Harris* 500, recto 7, 4.

163-164. — The sentences B162-163 are wanting in R, where the difficult sentence now to be discussed follows immediately upon *sfn-nf*. — The version of B is ;


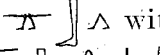


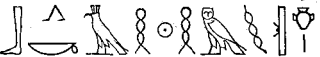

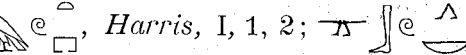
R188-189 gives . It seems clear from the outset that  must be a relative clause of the now familiar type of  (B148)², and this enables us at once to reject *hw-ni* in R in favour of *hw-nf* in B, and to construe "him whom he (the god) had.... (banished [?], oppressed [?])"³. *Hw t3 m* seems obviously an idiom for some penalty that can be inflicted upon a man, and several obscure illustrations of the expression can be quoted, cf.  "To whom speak I today? The oppressor (?) doth wrong, there is no end to it" *Lebensmüde*, 129;  "I do not partake of oppression (??)" *Pap. Leiden* 347, 6, 7;  below B198-199; a proper name , *Cairo stele M. R.*, 20066. — *Wdb*^c may be merely a synonym of *wdb* "to turn", cf. *whm*^c, *hsf*^c. — Before *hw-nf* (R-*ni*) *t3 im-f* B reads , but R . We expect *wdb* "to turn" to be followed first by *m* "from" and then by *r* "to", and the reading of R should therefore be accepted; the variant of B may be due to assimilation with the *r* in *rbw in-nf sw im*. — Grammatically therefore we may construe "may he (i. e. the god) turn from him whom he hath oppressed (??) towards the place whence he took him"; this would be, it must be confessed, a very strangely worded sentence. The conjectural sense is either: (1) may the persecuting god leave Sinuhe and return to Egypt; or (2) may the god guide Sinuhe back to Egypt.

1. This would not, in the Berlin manuscript, be conclusive of itself, cf. , B123-124, note.

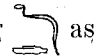

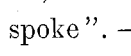

2. Unless this view be taken *sw* in *bw in-nf sw im* has no antecedent. — Note that *hw-nf t3 im-f* cannot mean "the place where...." without a preceding .


3. Sethe tentatively suggests "he for whom the earth quaked with him", *t3* being subject; *hw* is elsewhere used of more or less violent natural phenomena, cf. *hw* "to rain", "to flow". But (1) the combination of *nf* "for him" and *im-f* "with him" is exceedingly unnatural; (2) the analogy of *ts-nf im-f*, *sfn-nf*, etc., leads one to suppose that "the god" is the subject; (3) in B198-199, *t3* is clearly object of the infinitive, though the sense is obscure.

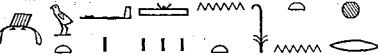
chral goddess, the counterpart of the masculine *nb r dr*; but he does not attempt to explain the next words *ih dd-i nfrw msw-s*, which indeed seem inexplicable on this hypothesis. *Nb-t r dr* is both here and in B274 evidently the queen (so too Erman and Griffith); as such it corresponds to the name *nb r dr* occasionally given to the king, cf. *Millingen*, 2; *Admonitions*, 15, 13.

172-173. —  "may she pass eternity beside (?) me". So MASP., ERM. rightly.  with an object denoting time always means "to pass", "spend"; cf. , *Urkunden*, IV, 54, and similarly 61; , *op. cit.*, 66; , *op. cit.*, 117, , *Harris*, I, 1, 2; , *Thebes, tomb of Nbwntf*. — *Hr-i* is however a serious difficulty, for which no parallel is forthcoming except *3b-f hr-i* B95. We might perhaps translate "may she spend eternity over me", i. e. enjoying my service; but this is a very dubious alternative.

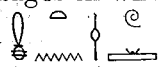

173-177. — Sinuhe's reflexions now give place to a few ceremoniously worded sentences relating how the Royal decree for his recall was brought to him.

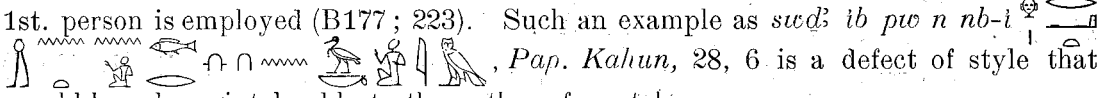
173-174. — Erman is, I think, certainly right in construing  as the passive form *sdmwf*: "now it had been told unto the Majesty of the king Kheperkere concerning this condition in which I was". For the construction, cf.  R22-23. GR., MASP., and my German translation less well: "now the Majesty of the king.... spoke". —  is of course an error for  — *Ssm pn*, see on R18.



174. — The construction *wn in.... hb-f* is the most ceremonious way of describing actions of the king, see ERMAN, *Äg. Gram.*², § 244; for another example, cf. , *Brit. Mus.*, 574 = SHARPE, *Eg. Inscr.*, I. 79.

175. —  "presents of the royal bounty". *3wt-c* cf. below B211. 245 (in 187 -c is wrongly omitted); the etymological meaning of the expression is "stretching out the arm".

178. — Sinuhe's narrative is here interrupted to give admittance to a copy of the royal rescript decreeing his recall from exile (B178-199). This is followed almost immediately by the "copy of the acknowledgement" sent by Sinuhe (B204-238), after which the story is continued in the first person until the end. That these two insertions in no wise militate against the view of the text as modelled on the biographical inscriptions in tombs has been proved by analogous cases dating from the Old Kingdom (R1-2, note). — From this point onwards B is our sole authority, except for two brief passages in which the evidence of late ostraca is forthcoming.


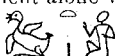
Mit(i) in  is a masculine substantive, as the following *ni* shows; similarly below B204; *Pap. Kahun*, 9, 2; 12, 1; in the N. K., cf. especially  *Sall. I*, 9, 1, a convincing proof of the masculine gender of

the word. — For *b3k im*¹ see BORCHARDT, *Ä. Z.*, 27 (1889), 122-124; SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 30 (1892), 126-127. In the best literary texts this expression is followed by the pronoun of the 3rd. person, if the pronoun is in close proximity or at least in the same sentence (so here; below B205. 213; *Pap. Kahun*, 28, 21 = 29, 12)²; otherwise the 1st. person is employed (B177; 223). Such an example as *swd3 ib pw n nb-i* , *Pap. Kahun*, 28, 6 is a defect of style that would have been intolerable to the author of our tale.

179-180. — The scribe of B has attempted (though with but partial success) to preserve the outward form in which royal rescripts were customarily written. From an examination of the decrees of the Old Kingdom (PETRIE, *Abydos*, II, 17. 18; *Ä. Z.*, 42 [1905], 4), it will be seen that the king's name and titles there occupy a vertical line to the right of the text: the latter begins in a horizontal direction with the words  (thus reversed), which are at once followed by the titles of the addressee (cf. also *Urkunden*, I, 60. 62. 128). Here the long titles of Senwosret I have overlapped into the horizontal line B180, and the words *w3d stn* have been connected with Sinuhe's title by the preposition . — The flagrant error³ *'Imnmh3t* for *Snwsrt* (B180) is an overwhelming proof of the ignorance of the scribe of B. — Sinuhe here receives the same title as he held at the time of his flight, namely that of "attendant", "follower" (cf. R2).

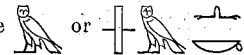

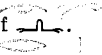
181-185. — The difficulties presented by the beginning of the decree have baffled all translators; Erman has at least rightly seen that the lines 183-184 allude to the privileges that Sinuhe had foregone through his absence from Court, but his conjecture as to the point of the adjacent context⁴ does not appear to me to lay the stress in the right place; the renderings proposed by Griffith and Maspero are open to serious philological objections⁵. The first sentences can be redeemed from utter platitudinous emptiness only by supposing their final words *hr sh n ib-k nk* to be strongly emphatic; on this view they acquire a real point, declaring that Sinuhe himself alone was responsible for all his toilsome wanderings. I therefore render: "thou hast traversed the

1. I fail to understand why *b3k* is often read instead of *b3k3*; surely this is an anachronism so far as texts of the O. K. are concerned.

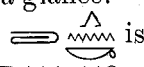
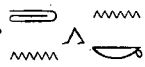
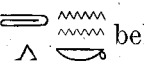
2. This argument alone would suffice to prove that  in B235 is not *33t-i* "my serfs (?)", but a mistake for  "the office of Vizier".

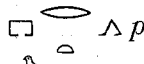
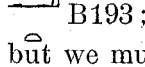
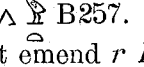
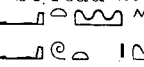
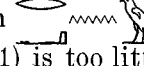
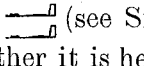
3. It is incredible that this should be anything else but a mistake. Maspero too views it as such (*M. S.*, p. xxxvi), but adds, to my mind quite unnecessarily: "Si pourtant elle (the combination of the cartouches of AI and SI) était préméditée, on pourrait dire que l'auteur, en accouplant ces deux cartouches dans un même protocole, a voulu indiquer le règne commun des deux princes." Apart from all else, Amenemhet was long since dead at the time of Sinuhe's recall.

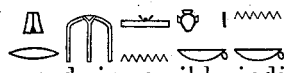
4. "Der Sinn der Sätze mag etwa sein: dein Vergehen hat sich selbst gestraft; fern von deinem natürlichen Wirkungskreis hast du dein Leben zugebracht", *op. cit.*, p. 22, footnote 7.

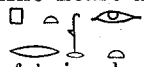
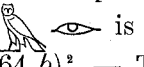
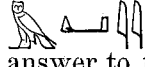
5. Both scholars translate *ptri* in 183 as an interjection. Gr.'s version of the next sentences is as follows: "thou hast not blasphemed, so also the accusation against thee hath been repelled. So also thy sayings have been respected; thou hast not spoken against the Council of the Nobles". But *mdw-k* can hardly mean "the accusation against thee"; *m sh n srw* must surely signify "in the Council", in spite of the idiom *mdw m* (*Ä. Z.*, 29 [1831], 49-52); nor does *ltn* mean "to respect". — MASP., *C. P.*³, p. 71, translates these same sentences as prohibitions, in which case  or  would be required in the place of .

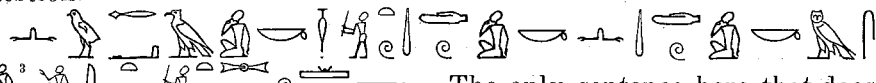
lands, and hast gone forth from Kedmi to Retenu, and land has handed thee on to land, by the counsel of thine own heart alone". The rhetorical question that follows urges Sinuhe to consider the benefits he has thus sacrificed by his folly: "what hast thou caused to be done unto thee?" The answer is: "thou dost not curse (?), yet (?) thy word is rejected; thou dost not speak in the Council of the Nobles, but thy utterances are thwarted." It may be held preferable by some to understand the verbs in these sentences as having past meaning, but even so this will not affect the fact that they refer to Sinuhe's self-deprivation of the advantages he would have enjoyed, had he remained in Egypt. In line 185 the point that Sinuhe alone is to blame is reiterated in a brief antithesis: "this choice carried away thy heart, it was not in (my ?) heart against thee". How well the sense above proposed suits the remainder of the decree will be apparent at a glance.

181. —  is probably for  *dbn-nk*, cf.  below B201, and the note on B111-112.

182. —  *prtī*, 2nd. masc. pseudoparticiples, thus defectively written like  B193;  B257. The following words can in B only be read *m Kdmi r Tnw*, but we must emend *r Rtnw*. — In the parallel passage to  the *sdm-nf*-form  was given (B28); the use of the form  (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 311) is too little known for us to be able to judge whether it is here rightly employed or not.

182-183. —  cf. *hr sh n whyt-f* B113. The strong emphasis upon these words is possibly indicated by the curious addition of *nk*; the literal translation "by the advice of thy heart to thee" certainly seems to imply that there had been but two actors in the entire drama of Sinuhe's flight and exile, namely himself and his own heart'. We shall therefore perhaps be justified in rendering "by the counsel of thine heart alone".

183. —  "what hast thou caused to be done to thee?" For the use of *ir* in place of *di* "to cause" a few rare parallels occur in the Pyramid-texts (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 150 b), and  is occasionally employed for  in the N. K. (*op. cit.*, II, § 164 b)². — The next words contain the answer to this question.

183-184. —  The only sentence here that does not contain difficulties of any sort is *n mdw-k m sh n srw* "thou dost not speak in the Council of the Nobles". There is just a possibility that the verb might be construed

1. This personification of the heart is quite Egyptian; cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 41-2, and the note thereon in my *Admonitions*, p. 104 ad fin.

2. My German translation "Was hast du da getan, und (was) tat man dir an?" assumes a clumsy and improbable ellipse. The renderings of GR. and MASP. give to *pw-trī* the sense of *ptri* "behold", an interjection not used before the N. K. (see note on B121-122).

3. On the strange hieratic determinative given by B to this and similar words, see *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, p. 5 top.

as a perfect "thou didst not speak", in which case the allusion would be to the occasion when Sinuhe's affairs were discussed at Court, himself not being present to defend his conduct. But it seems better to take the clause as a generalization, referring to Sinuhe's exclusion from the Council throughout the whole time of his absence.

— is a serious difficulty, since in the few instances where the word occurs it has always a *bad* sense. In the extremely effaced text *Rec. de Trav.*, 18, 183, line 33, the words apparently refer to the inundation of the temple of Luxor, and are probably rightly rendered by Daressy "cette situation est une grande malédiction, on ne se souvient pas (d'un fait semblable)"¹. So too *Piankhi*, 86 "There was none slain there saving the rebels who had blasphemed against God". In the course of the disturbances among the workmen of the Necropolis in the 29th. year of Rameses III a certain man "spent the night cursing the tombs", *Pap. Turin*, 43, 9; and among the sins of another man it is recorded that he "cursed a tomb on the west of the Necropolis", *Salt*, 124, verso 1, 1. Finally, Demotic makes it quite clear that this word is the prototype of the Coptic *ora* "blasphemia"²; see BR., *Wörb.*, 240; *Suppl.*, 323; *Sethon*, I, 5, 10 (with Griffith's note); *Pap. mag. Leiden*, 19, 15. Apparently the only possible way of preserving its usual sense to *w*³ here, is to construe the following words *hsf-tw mdw-k* as antithetic to it, i. e. "though thou dost not curse, yet is thy word rejected". — occurs

transitively only in one other passage, namely MAR., *Abyd.*, II, 30, 37 (stele of Nefhotep) "he who shall thwart what my Majesty commands"; with *m* "to oppose (?)", cf. *Prisse*, 13, 11

(perhaps similarly, 14, 3); *ibid.*, 15, 1. 6 are obscure passages. is used for "foes" NAV., *Deir-el-Bahari*, 84, 2; ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 150. 186. Perhaps "secret", "mystery", is connected with the same stem ("that which opposes itself to the searcher", "is elusive"?), cf. R., *I. H.*, 26, 12; *Rifeh*, I, 12; *Anast.*, I, 1, 7; *Louvre*, C 232.

185. — In the "blank-check" word *shr* refers to Sinuhe's unresisting acceptance of all the disadvantages above detailed; "this choice" perhaps renders the sense more closely than either "this counsel" or "this mode of life" would do. For the construction see R20-22. note, and for the *sdm-nf* form cf. *hk pn 'mwinsi rdi-nf-wi r hpt-f* B143. — *N ntf m rk* might be

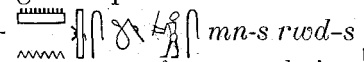
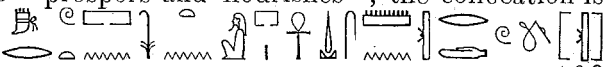



1. I quote from my own collation of the passage. Daressy's painstaking attempt to decipher the worn, scarcely visible, signs, is worthy of all commendation. During my recent visit to Thebes I made an effort to revise the text, and was able to correct the published copy in places; a really satisfactory transcript could not however be obtained without good squeezes.

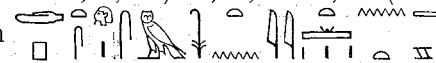
2. *Admonitions*, p. 53, is to be corrected accordingly.

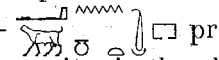
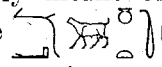




translated either (1) "it was not in (any) heart against thee" or (2) "it was not in my heart (*ib-i*) against thee". The latter version appears to me the more probable, the suffix 1st. sing. being often omitted in B.

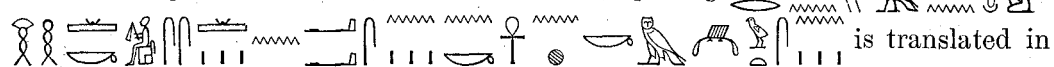
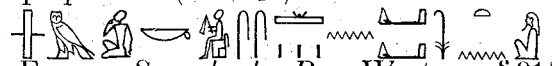

185-187. — While Sinuhe has been sojourning in a foreign land, the princess Nofru, his former mistress, has become queen of Egypt, her children have grown up and are received at Court. This the king narrates to Sinuhe, urging him to return to his own land, where the favour of the royal princes, Nofru's children, will be restored to him.

185. — *Pt-k tn* "this thy heaven", a very violent metaphor for "thy mistress", and a striking example of the artificial style employed in the tale.




186. —  *mn-s rwd-s* "prosperes and flourishes"; the collocation is a very common one, as for example in  *Admonitions*, 2, 11; cf. too a quotation contained in the note on B160-161.  is a unique and unfortunate spelling,  elsewhere being an abbreviation for *d:ir*, cf. above B50; *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 132. —  "today" like simple *min*, cf. *Lebensmüde*, 5; *L., D.*, II, 150 a, 16 (Hammamat, *Hnw*); *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 179, 3; etc.

In  the first word is utterly obscure, and almost certainly corrupt¹. The sense must be "she participates in the kingship of the land".

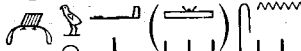
187. —  probably meant originally "interior" of a building, and has a wide meaning in the phrase . For the restricted sense "the Court", i. e. the apartment where the courtiers were received, cf. R19; B251. 282. 284;  *Loucre*, C174;  *Hatnub*, 9, 3. The erroneous writing with  becomes a habit in the N. K. and has given rise, in *Pap. Hood*, II, 10, to the monstrous spelling .

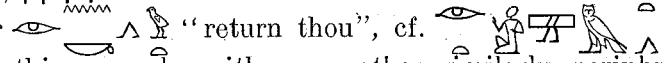
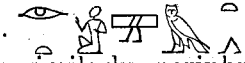

 is translated in my German version by "du sollst lange geniessen die herrlichen Dinge, die sie dir geben, du sollst von ihren Gaben leben", which differs but little from Erman's rendering. Erman however understands *w:h-k špss* as "du wirst an dem Trefflichen..... Überfluss haben". There is apparently no authority for this sense of *w:h*, and of the active meanings of that verb "to place", "to offer", "to add", "to leave" none is here suitable. The parallelism of the verbs *w:h-k* and *nh-k* strongly suggests that the former must here have its common intransitive sense "to endure", "live long", though in this case a preposition (*m* or *hr*) must be lost before *špss*. The sense will then be the same as  *Westcar*, 7, 21; for the construction see ERMAN, *Sprache des Pap. Westcars*, § 91². —  can hardly be

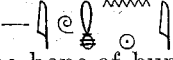
1. MASP.'s suggestion (*M. S.*, p. ix) appears to me far too venturesome.

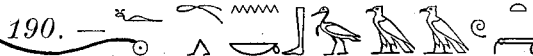


2. MASP., *C. P.*³, p. 71, renders « laisse les richesses qui t'appartiennent », reading  instead of  (= ); so too Gr. But even if *ntt* were palaeographically possible, it could not agree with *špss*, which requires either *ntt* or *ntw*; nor would it be easy to parallel the phrase *ntt-sn nk*.

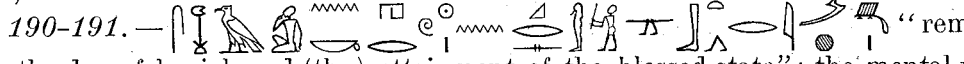


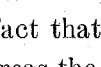
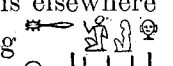
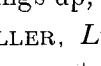
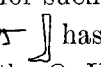
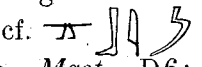

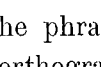
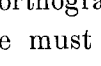
right as it stands, *wt* needing a determinative or complement of some sort; emend

 *wt*-*sn* as in B 175. 211. 245.

188. — For  “return thou”, cf.  B5-6. 19; Sethe however classes this example with some other similarly periphrastic imperatives (*Verbum*, II, § 497). — For the form  in a final sentence, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 252, 8, and cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 134. 158.


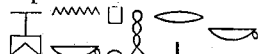



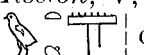
189. —  “for now verily”; here again, as in Sinuhe’s own reflexions (B159), the hope of burial in Egypt is held out as the chief inducement to return from abroad.

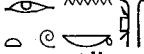
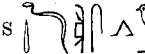


190. —  “thou hast lost thy virile strength”; for *fb-nk* cf. B170, note; *bwt* is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, for which Maspero ingeniously suggests , a postulated derivative of  (*M. S.*, p. 83).







190-191. —  “remember thou the day of burial, and (thy) attainment of the blessed state”; the mental picture here summoned up passes insensibly into a review of the customary rites of burial. —  is a common, but not quite easy, phrase; its general sense is very plainly indicated by the following quotation,  “I went forth from my house to my tomb, I attained the blessed state” *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20506. The grammatical difficulty consists in the fact that  must be given an intransitive meaning “to pass” (into a state), whereas the verb is elsewhere active “to send”, “conduct”, “pass (time)”, except in the proverbial tag  “one generation passes, and another springs up”, *MAR.*, *Abyd.*, I, 51, 36; *Inscr. dedic.*, 66; *Harris*, 500, recto 6, 3; M. MÜLLER, *Liebeslieder*, pl. I, 1. 2. The hypothesis of a confusion with  “to hasten” seems to win support from the occasional appearance of that verb as a variant in the phrase here discussed, cf. *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20506 (quoted above); 20005; and archaistically PETRIE, *Koptos*, 18, 3; *Louvre Apis*, 339 = *Rec. de Trav.*, 22, 178; and a motive for such a confusion might be found in the fact that a very similar phrase in which  has its regular active sense “to pass”, “spend” time, occurs in the mastabas of the O. K.; cf.  “spending the age of blessedness with his god”, *MAR.*, *Mast.*, D6; , *op. cit.*, D38. However against this suggestion must be set the fact that  is far more frequent than  in the phrase.... *r imsh*, and occurs in texts irreproachable in respect both of age and of orthography, cf. *Siut*, IV, 66; *Benihasan*, I, 24. 41; *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20458. We must content ourselves with the verdict *non liquet*.

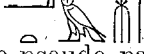


191-192. — 

1. It has been suggested that *r* is here omitted. But (1) the phrase *sb r imsh* is not attested before the M. K., nor has it even then the additional words *hr ntr-f*, *hr nb-f*; (2) the translation “spending the age of blessedness with his god (lord)” is clearly more likely than “passing into blessedness with his lord”.


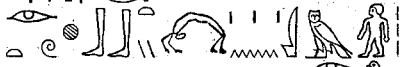
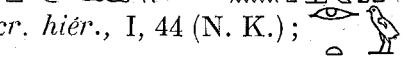
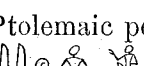
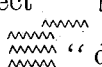
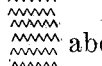
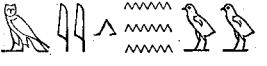






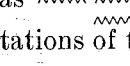
 "the nighttime is devoted to thee with oils and with wrappings (made) by the hands of *T:yt*". *Wd'* means properly "to sever"; thence "to divide the true from the false" and so "to judge" persons; lastly "to assign" to a person that which is adjudged to him or falls to his lot by right. For this sense cf.  "Ptah assigned to thee thy mouth on the day of thy birth" *Metternich stele*, 147;  "my fields are assigned to me in Busiris", *Totb.*, ed. BUDGE, 52, 5 = *ibid.*, 189, 6;  *Mission*, V, 283 (Amenemhet); similarly *Mission*, V, Neferhotep, pl. 3, second row, left. — The spelling  for  can be paralleled from *Pap. med. Hearst*, 11, 18; 12, 8. — The goddess *T:yt* is known to have been the patroness of weaving; the wish to be swathed in bandages of her making seems to occur in the much-damaged passage *Anast.*, I, 4, 1; and there is an obscure allusion of the same kind *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20565.



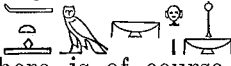

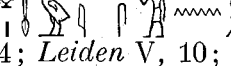
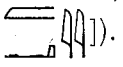
192-193. —  "a procession is made for thee on the day of interment". *Sms-wd'* is the technical term for the funeral cortège, in which all manner of emblems and strange images were borne upon the shoulders of the servants of the deceased; the words  are found in a scene depicting such a cortège in the *Theban tomb of Intf-ikr* (temp. Senwosret I.); in two other tombs  "a procession consisting of everything (i. e. with all the outfit of the funerary ritual) as is made for the chief courtier" is wished for the deceased, *Urkunden*, IV, 1200 (*Mnhpr*); *Rec. de Trav.*, 20, 214 (*Snnfr*); and in yet another tomb an attendant is depicted carrying the  "vessels of the funerary cortège", *Urkunden*, IV, 1023 (*Imnms*).


193. —  cf.  "the sarcophagus of fresh cedarwood, painted and carved with the finest (art?) of the *Pr-nfr*, the mummy-case of refined (?) gold, ornamented with real lapis lazuli", *Louvre*, C 15, 8; the word *wi* is known from no other source. — In the text of B  can hardly be correct as it stands; if  be the original reading, a suffix must be supplied to qualify it, *tp-f* "its head", i. e. the head of the mummy-case, or rather of the stucco and gilt covering of the mummy. But is it not more likely that *hkr* or some such word should be substituted for , as in the Louvre stele above quoted? — By  "the heaven above thee", scholars have considered that a canopy is meant, but the reference may possibly be to the conception of the lid of the sarcophagus as symbolizing the goddess Nut, see SCHÄFER, *Priestergräber*, p. 121.

193-194. —  "thou art placed in the portable shrine". For the writing of the pseudo participle *diti* see above B 182, note; the  is depicted *Der el Gebrawi*, II, 7. 10, and is mentioned again in the sentence  *CHAMP.*, *Not. descr.*, I, 836.


corrected on p. 160

194-195. — For  Wiedemann (*Rec. de Trav.*, 17, 2) aptly quotes two later monuments:  MAR., *Mon. div.*, 61 = PIEHL, *Inscr. hiér.*, I, 44 (N. K.);  *ibid.*, I, 73 (Ptolemaic period). On the evidence of these quotations it is tempting to correct  “the weary ones”, (i. e. the dead, see *Admonitions*, p. 56) into  “dwarfs”, this being the M. K. writing of the word *nm(i)* of later periods, cf.  above the heads of stunted dwarfs *Benihasan*, II, 16. 32; the passage would then allude, not to a *danse macabre*, but to a dance known as the “dance of the dwarfs”. Among the funerary scenes of the tombs a dance performed by men wearing curious reed-caps is not uncommonly depicted (e. g. TYLOR, *Tomb of Renni*, 12), and the accompanying inscriptions give as the description of these persons a word exceedingly like the term for dwarfs at *Benihasan*; cf.  *Thebes, tomb of 'Intf-ikr*;  *Thebes, tomb of the steward and scribe of the corn Amenemhet*;  *Paheri*, 5. Unfortunately for the hypothesis of a “dance of the dwarfs”, the phonetic writing *mw* occurs in a tomb of the M. K. behind the Ramesseum, where the  encourages the dancers with the words  (QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, 9). On the evidence above adduced one can only conclude that the archetype of the tale of Sinuhe, or the source from which the sentence was drawn, gave the reading  *mw-w*; this unfamiliar word was then misunderstood by the scribe of B, who substituted for it *nnyw*; other scribes however misinterpreted  as  “dwarfs”, of which a modernized spelling was adopted in later quotations of the passage. It is not without regret that we have to replace the “dance of the dwarfs”, with its suggestive bearing upon the question of Herkhuf’s dancing pygmy, by a “dance of the *Mw*” with its inexplicable and unenlightening name.


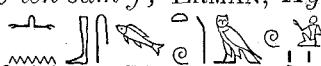
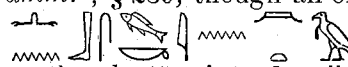
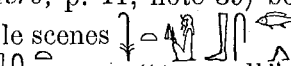
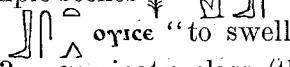
195. —  “the offering-table is invoked for thee”. Cf.  L., *D.*, II, 71 *b*; and similarly L., *D.*, III, 282 *d*; MAR., *Dend.*, I, 32. *Dbht-htp* is a term for the altar decked with funerary meal; in a quite concrete sense,  “an altar of gold and silver” *Urkunden*, IV, 22. The allusion here is of course to the  offerings, which the deceased comes forth to enjoy  “at the sound of the summons of the offerer” (cf. *Turin*, 104; *Leiden* V, 10; *Lowre*, A54. C74; *Mission*, V, 544 [*Thebes, tomb of* ]).

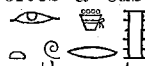
196. — The expression  “at the door of thy stelae” occurs nowhere else. The stele was itself a false door, and the phrase is therefore not

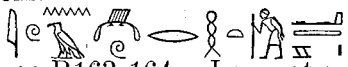

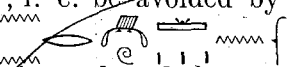
1. Sethe's explanation of *lr-tw hbibi* (*Verbum*, II, § 201) is clearly an oversight. These words cannot be a mere periphrasis of “es wird getanzt”, on account of the following substantive. *Hbibi* is here clearly a substantivally-used infinitive governing the genitive *nnyw*.

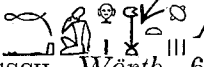

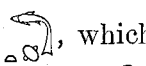



inappropriate, but the proximity of *r ri is-k* (B195) suggests that *r ri* may have been borrowed thence. Perhaps  should be read, and further the singular 'b³-k.

196-197. — “In the midst of the royal children” naturally means “in the midst of the pyramids” (B301) which the royal children had built for themselves around the sepulchre of the king.

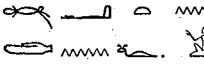
197. —  clearly means “thou shalt surely not die in a foreign land”; the construction possibly belongs to the type *wn sdm-f*; ERMAN, *Äg. Gramm.*, § 239, though an exact parallel is wanting. — For  cf.  B 259, where *bs* is the infinitive. These examples show that *bs* “to introduce”, “be introduced into” (instances are quoted by SETHE, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 11, note 39) belongs to the biliteral class, cf. too the frequent heading of temple scenes . This verb is therefore to be distinguished carefully from  *oyice* “to swell”, “flow forth”, which presents all the characteristics of the 3æ. geminatae class (the infinitive already L., D., II, 149 f, 3 [Hammamat, Dyn. 11.]). The meaning “to conduct” to the tomb exemplified in the passages from our tale occurs nowhere else.


198. — The allusion to the Asiatic practice of wrapping the corpse in the skin of a ram is interesting, but I find no archaeological confirmation. Maspero rightly quotes *Hdt.*, II, 81, in illustration of the Egyptian's repugnance to woollen burial garments, but at the same time cites a case in which this prejudice was disregarded (*C. P.*, p. 73, footnote 1). —  “when thy tomb is made(?)”; *dr* in this form is utterly obscure, see the note *Admonitions*, p. 28 on the various words from the same stem.

198-199. —  is another very difficult sentence. For *hwt-t* see the note on B163-164. I cannot escape from the impression that these words must summarize what has preceded, and that we ought to translate: “all these things will fall to the ground”, i. e. be avoided by thy return. It is true however that  (cf.  “all these years” *Admonitions*, 13, 2) would then have to be read, and the sense given to *hwt-t* lacks all support.

199. —  “take thought for (thy) corpse and return”. *Mh hr*, see BRUGSCH, *Wörb.*, 686-687 and *Lebensmüde*, 32. 78. —  is evidently the equivalent of , which is so written in the phrase  below B 259 (see B 159, note);  “illness” (BRUGSCH, *Wörb. Suppl.*, 884) would make but little sense here. —  is the *sdm-f* form optatively used, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 319.

199-204. — A brief paragraph describing Sinuhe's feelings on the arrival of Pharaoh's letter.

200. —  “it was read to me”; so GR. and ERM. rightly. Maspero

1. After  the emphatic form with gemination would be needful here if *bs* belonged to the 3æ. infirmæ class.


























renders "il me fut délivré, remis", giving to *šd* a sense for which I find no parallel; it is however to be remarked that in other old texts *šd* "to recite", "read" either is without a determinative or has ; later exceptionally e.g. *Anast. V*, 8, 3. — "I threw myself on my belly"; for the writing of *di-ni wi* see B4-5 note, and for the expression, cf. *Prisse*, 2, 6²; *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 161. 166; *Piankhi*, 34. 55. 71; and often. On hearing the words of Pharaoh Sinuhe behaves as though he were actually in the Royal presence. — "I touched the earth", i. e. lay prostrate on the ground; only here and *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 137-138.

201. — "I scattered it upon my hair". *Sto* refers to *s³tw* "earth" in the last sentence, the construction being that discussed in the note on B160-161. *Šnby* is, as it stands, a *vox nihili*, and should probably be emended to see on B156; the scribe was doubtless thinking of "breast", and Maspero actually gives in his critical edition (*M. S.*, p. 17, l. 2). — Δ is a word which we have already twice encountered (B3 and B128); at its third occurrence here the difficult question of the reading can no longer be shirked, and I will therefore outline the results to which a somewhat rapid examination of the examples contained in the Berlin dictionary has brought me. There is not the least doubt that Δ (or \times) should be read *sn(i)* in a number of cases, as has long been recognized (see [e. g.] *ERMAN*, *Aeg. Glossar*, 105); thus quite certainly (1) when the meaning is "to open", for which we have the old variants and . The determinative which appears to have been taken over from the word (some kind of bread or cake), has been confused with *s*, whence the writings \times and Δ for *sn(i)* have arisen. (2) "To pass", Coptic *cme*: a) absolutely, compare *Koller*, 5, 1, with from a collation of *Ros.*, *M. S.*, 125; b) absolutely, of time, compare *Canopus* 19 with *Piankhi*, 78; c) "to pass by" with direct object; in M. K. (and 18th. dyn.) always written e.g. *Beni Hasan*, I, 8, 8; *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 9; *L., D.*, II, 136, i; *Rec. de Trav.*, 15, 55, 14; in papyri of the N. K. always written e.g. *Pap. Turin*, 44, 11; 42, 6 (of walls); *Anast. V*, 24, 7; *Anast. I*, 21, 3; d) "to pass by" with ; the formula (*Pap. Leiden* 369, recto, 4; 370, recto, 3; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 197, 4, 2) offers as an exceptional variant *Pap. Turin*, 114; 115; e) "to surpass" with direct object, only examples

1. For the Egyptians themselves there was probably no conscious distinction between these two senses. Doubtless few except the professional scribes were able to read for themselves, so that for the great majority "to read" a letter was the same thing as "to speak it aloud". Similarly ω is later the usual word for "read"; thus Smendes causes his despatches to be "pronounced" (*s*) before him, *Unamon*, 1, 5. Similarly in the letters, "I have heard (*sdm*) that concerning which thou hast sent to me", i. e. I have noted the contents of your letter (*passim*).

2. The explanation of *Prisse*, 2, 6 given in *Ä.Z.*, 41 (1904), 90 can hardly be defended.

3. The sign in doubtless only a graphic modification of or just as for \odot *sp*.

with , e. g. *Urkunden*, IV, 102; BORCH., *Baug. d. Amontempels*, 45; *Anast. V*, 18, 4; *f*) “to transgress”; with direct object, only with , e. g. *Prisse*, 7, 4; *Sall. III*, 2, 4; R., *I. H.*, 239, 33. From these quotations it seems reasonable to conclude that  in the sense of “to pass” and in cognate meanings is identical with , , and that the variation in the spelling depends on the habit of a period or on that of an individual scribe or school of scribes; case *d*) is particularly illuminating. It is however extremely curious to note how the scribe of *Anastasi I* (to quote but one individual case) varies his writing of what we have concluded to be one and the same verb *sn(i)*; for “to pass by” with  he writes  3, 7; in an absolute sense we find  10, 4 (cf. *Koller*, 5, 1; *Pap. Turin*, 46, 15); in “the crossing of *D-r-m*” the spelling is  21, 3; in “the crossing to Mageddo” (23, 1) the scribe wrote  but then, apparently thinking this wrong, added  above the line (similarly  24, 1); in 24, 2  is found in an obscure context. The choice of spelling here seems to depend, not on any difference of grammatical form, but on the meaning. It is at first sight difficult to believe that  and  in *Anastasi I* can really be the same word, but the evidence that has been adduced from other sources seems to require that conclusion. (3)  “to spread”, “strew”: “to spread out” clothes, *Butler*, 33 = *Eloquent Peasant R*, 49; *Admonitions*, 14, 3; a bed, *Mission V*, *Nefrhotpou*, pl. 3; books, *Rekhmara*, 2, 2; with “extended” claws or wings, *ROCHEM.*, *Edfou*, I, 306; II, 55; abbreviated as , *ibid.*, II, 65; “thy love is spread throughout the lands”, *Cairo Hymn to Amon*, 5, 6; “his rays are extended over my breast (*šnb-t*)”, *MAR.*, *Abyd.*, I, 52, 23; and a number of other instances. With this meaning there is no evidence for the reading *sn*. But, as we saw above, particular meanings of the verbal stem *sn(i)* seem to have a specialized orthography of their own, “to surpass” and “to transgress” for example always being written with . We should therefore beware of too great haste in asserting that the reading of  “to stretch”, “spread” is *ss*, more especially as these meanings might be derived from a primitive meaning “to open”, and as we know for certain that the reading of the verb “to open” is *sn*. Provisionally it will be the most prudent course merely to state the two possible alternatives. — To turn now to the three instances in the story of Sinuhe. In R 26 = B 3  may be translated either “my arms opened” or “my arms were spread open”; the example well illustrates the close relationship of the meanings “to spread” and “to open”. In B128 I have proposed to render  as “I took out my dagger” (to examine it), lit. “I gave an opening to my dagger”,  in this case being *sn(i)* “to open”. It should however be noted that  is elsewhere an idiomatic phrase for “to appear”, “manifest oneself”, cf.  “appearing to every eye”, *Urkunden*, IV, 495;  “thou manifestest thyself in the Boat of the Dawn” *Pap.*

Berlin 3050, col. 3, 6; Miss., V 359 (collated); other examples, Cairo, Hymn to Amon, 4, 6; NAV., Goshen, 1, left; ROCHEM., Edfou, I, 110. 148. 231. In the present passage (B201) is "to spread" in the sense of "to scatter".

"I strode round my encampment". MASP. corrects into (M. S., p. 17, l. 2), but this leaves the first *n* unexplained. It is easier to read *dbn-ni*, see B 111-112 note; in B181 is more ambiguous. For *dbn* in simple narrative prose, cf. Westcar, 12, 3.









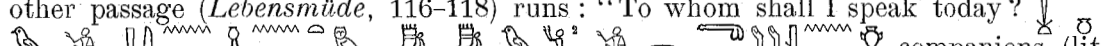
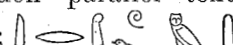
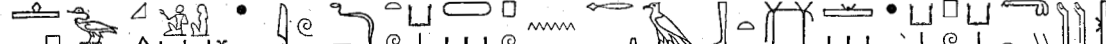


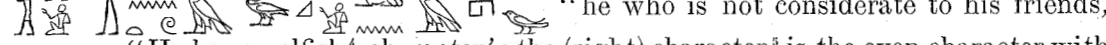
202. — "How is this done to a servant whom his heart has led astray into hostile lands?"



GR. translates "to the servant, whose heart had transgressed to a strange country of babbling tongue", a rendering which is grammatically defensible, the relative pronoun then being the suffix of (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 745). But the analogy of B 148-149 suggests a different explanation, since there can only mean "whom he (the god) led astray into a foreign land", see B 147-149 note.

It must be admitted however that the sense "to lead astray" is not supported by any further evidence; elsewhere *th* is "to err", "to transgress" or "to violate". — is understood both by GR. and by MASP. as meaning "of babbling speech", and hence "barbarians"; ERM. leaves the word untranslated.

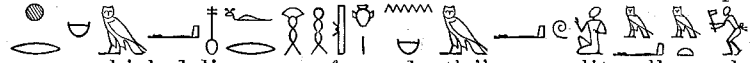
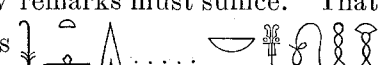
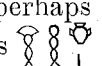

No importance is to be attached to the determinative, apparently without the arms, given to *drdr-yt* by the scribe of B; as pointed out in my edition of the text (p. 5) this scribe constantly confuses his determinatives, and especially those that represent human beings in various attitudes. When Maspero explains the word to mean "balbutians comme des enfants" (M. S., p. 183), he seems to attribute more weight to the determinative than it deserves. In all other passages where *drdri* occurs it has the determinative which connotes not only admiration and respect, but also on occasion fear and dislike (so for example sometimes in). The verbal stem *drdr* is rare, and the instances I have collected are all somewhat obscure; nevertheless the sense "to be hostile" seems applicable in every case. In *Sall. IV*, 3, 2 Isis attacks Seth, who has taken the form of a hippopotamus, with her harpoon, until he appeals to her sense of family ties with the words: (read

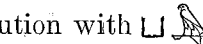
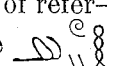

1. The original has a sign like but without arms; see below.
2. The grammatical objection to GR.'s rendering of B 148 "who deserted to a foreign land" is that Egyptian must here use the participle , not the relative-form . See SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 742, for the rule, to which there are no exceptions, so far as I am aware. An apparent exception is Brit. Mus., 614 (new no. 100) = *Piers-Breasted stele*, 8 (collated); Brit Mus., 159; here we may have a ready-made expression — "I was a he-loves-good-and-hates-evil" — analogous to the phrases and quoted by me *Rec. de Trav.*, 26, 14.


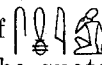
 "dost thou desire hostility against a maternal brother?"
 In the difficult passage *Max. d'Anii*, 5, 15-6, 2 advice is given not to speak evil against
 someone  "on the day of thy quarrelling; thou wilt
 find him good at the time of  thy friendship; 
 when troubles come, thou wilt find him ready to bear the(ir) hostility so that it
 ceases". The phrase  occurs twice in the same papyrus (6, 2; 6, 7)
 in an untranslatable context, where all that can be said is that *drdr* is an adjective,
 as in the *Sinue* passage. So too perhaps  in *Pap. mag. Vatican* =
Ä. Z., 31 [1893], 120', where it may be an epithet of Seth. In *Lebensmüde*, 116-118
 and 123-125, we find two similarly constructed passages, which seem to explain one
 another. One of these (123-125) runs as follows: "To whom shall I speak today?
 men have
 no intimates; a man is treated as a stranger according to (the measure of that) which
 has (previously) been made known to him", i. e. the greater the confidence which
 has been shown to a man in the past, the more he is now in these evil times treated
 as a stranger (*hmm*, perfect participle passive, see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 927). The
 other passage (*Lebensmüde*, 116-118) runs: "To whom shall I speak today?
 companions (lit.
 "brothers") are evil; men are treated as enemies according to (the measure of the
 affection(?)* (that once was felt for them?). That these two passages have been
 rightly interpreted seems to be confirmed by the new London parallel text
 to *Prisse*, II, 1-4, where consideration towards friends is preached; 



 "he who is not considerate to his friends,
 men say, "He has a selfish character"; the (right) character* is the even character with
 which men are satisfied. There is no one who knows his fortune when he plans for(?)
 to-morrow". If a second occasion finds him (lit. occurs) in luck, friends say to him

1. This instance I owe to the kindness of M. Dévaud, who also quotes an example from *Butler*, verso, 19.
 2. The arms of  are omitted by the scribe.
 3. The meaning of *mtt nt ib* is not yet established; in the instances at present known to me (*Urk.*, IV,
 96. 367. 489. 546) "affection", "sollicitude" "care" are senses which would all suit.
 4. The verb '3b means "to be pleasant" or the like, cf. *Eloquent Peasant*, R42 = *Butler*, 24; here ap-
 parently is meant the man who seeks only his own pleasure.
 5. Cf. the closely analogous sentence *sr pw sr sndw-nf*, *Urk.*, IV, 1091, where *sr* is pregnantly used like
k; here.
 6. Cf. the epithets  on a
 stele in the tomb of the royal butler *Dhwiti* (Assassif, discovered 1909).

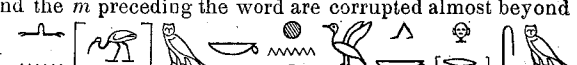
“Welcome”; the kindly man is not treated as an enemy, he is treated as a friend, if there should be calamity” (*Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 10509, 5, 13-15); here *drdri* is contrasted with *k* as it was contrasted with *snw* in the *Lebensmüde* passage.






202-203. —  “but verily good is the clemency which delivers me from death”; more literally perhaps “good is the benevolent one, who, etc.” — *Wʰh ib* is a difficult epithet, the complete elucidation of which would need a long discussion; here a few remarks must suffice. That the verb is intransitive, is shown by such examples as  N, “An offering which the king gives.... Osiris, may his heart be kindly towards.... N”, *Sheikh Said*, 19 (a second example on the same plate, and another *op. cit.*, 28); hence it follows that the comparison with the Hebrew *לֵב יָרֵם* is erroneous. *Wʰh*, in its intransitive sense, means “to be durable”, “lasting”; and hence *wʰh ib* may denote a steadfast, complacent attitude of mind. Here perhaps “benevolence”, “goodwill” would come nearest to the mark; cf. the epithets  “kindly, loving mankind”, *CAPART, Mon. ég. de Bruxelles*, fasc. II; *Louvre C 41; Anast. I*, 2, 6. So too in *Lebensmüde*, 51,  “be so kind, my soul, my brother, to become my heir¹, who shall make offerings and shall stand at the tomb on the day of burial”.

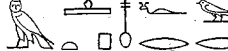

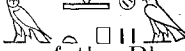
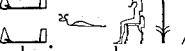

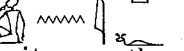
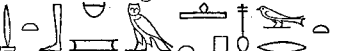
203-204. — *MASP., C. P.*, p. 77, translates excellently: “Car ton double va permettre que j’achève la fin de mon existence à la cour”. It should however be borne in mind that the circumlocution with  is merely a respectful way of referring to the Pharaoh; cf. below, B206; *Urk.*, I, 109, and often. — The phrase  occurs only here, but there is no reason to emend  or the like. — *M hniw* might also mean “at home”, see above the note on B157.

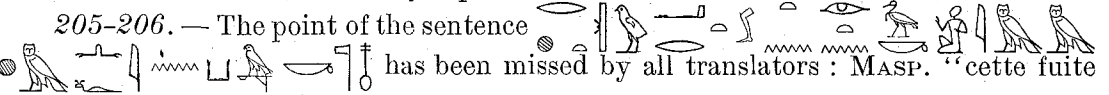
204. —  “Copy of the acknowledgement of this decree”; this is the heading of a long section extending from B205 to B238, the counterpart of the Royal decree in B179-199. — The meaning of  in the present context is obvious, but only one rather doubtful parallel can be quoted, see my *Admonitions*, p. 108.

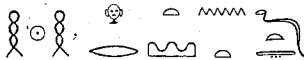


The main idea of the section is Sinuhe’s feigned astonishment that the great king of Egypt should have taken notice of the flight of a subject so humble as himself. The king is beloved of all the gods, and his power extends over all lands (B205-213); none the less he has discerned the wish of his servant, thus proving his all-wisdom (B213-218). Sinuhe next asks that certain chieftains may be brought to Egypt,

1. The original has here several imperfectly written signs, not recognized by Erman. The reading *iw’w* seems to me quite certain, though the determinative and the *m* preceding the word are corrupted almost beyond recognition. — In the preceding sentence 50-51 read  “thou wilt not find a place on which to rest in the Amente”; the traces in the original suit the smaller form of *gm* excellently.

Sinuhe is here needed. The hieratic sign in B is quite unreadable; as it stands it is neither  nor  nor, as was formerly read, . Possibly we should emend   'h' "the Palace"; this is Maspero's reading (*M. S.*, p. 17., l. 5).

205. —  "a very fair welcome", lit. "in most beautiful peace". The phrase *m htp* is an abbreviation of , the formula with which new-comers were greeted. In *Westcar*, 7, 23 the sage Dedi welcomes the prince Hardedef with the words    . So here the decree of the Pharaoh is welcomed just as though it were the person of Pharaoh himself². For the addition *nfr wr-t*, cf.  QUIBELL, *Ramesseum (Ptahhetep)*, pl. 39.

205-206. — The point of the sentence  has been missed by all translators: MASP. "cette fuite qu'a prise le serviteur ici présent dans son inconscience, ton double la connaît"; ERM. similarly; Gr.'s version³ is grammatically quite indefensible. To render as Maspero and Erman do is to put into Sinuhe's mouth a remark that is not only pointless but also impossible to connect with what follows. If *rh-tw wr-tn* etc. simply means "this flight is known to thee", clearly Sinuhe must be about to discuss "this flight" in some way. But on reading the next few lines we observe that Sinuhe's flight is entirely forgotten; instead of it we find first a string of epithets in which Pharaoh's favour with the gods is proclaimed, and then a section speaking of Sinuhe's desire for recall from exile and lauding that wisdom that has enabled Pharaoh to become aware of Sinuhe's wish. From a merely external examination of the sentence here discussed it is plain that it is not the words *wr-t tn* that are emphatic, but the verb *rh-tw* and the subject *in k-k* at its extreme ends. The points emphasized are (1) that Sinuhe's flight has become known⁴, and (2) that it has become known to

) which can be quoted in illustration of *Diodorus'* statement without recourse to *pr-dt*. Surely it is wiser to return to the old view of Goodwin (in CHABAS, *Mél. Ég.*, II, 255-256) and Brugsch (*Dict.*, 1684), and to translate *pr-dt* and its synonym *dt* as "heritable property", "domain". The "domain" of course would not exclude the lands and people set aside for funerary purposes, so that it is no argument to quote against this view such expressions as ; the "domain" of a prince would include not only villages, serfs and artisans, but also his *ka*-servants and even the tomb itself. On any other hypothesis it is difficult to account for the epistolary formula *b3k n pr dt*, in which the supposed reference to a funerary endowment seems exceedingly out of place. A still more convincing argument is to be found in the fact that the word  "serf", which is obviously derived from *dt*, has no connection whatsoever with the funerary cult; for this word cf. *Eloquent Peasant*, R40; *Sinuhe*, B240; *Pap. Kahun*, 10. 11; as title, MAR., *Mast.*, D11 (p. 199); *L., D.*, II, 30; *Berlin*, 1188. 14383.

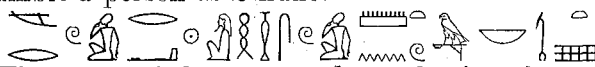
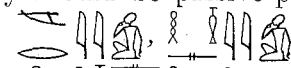
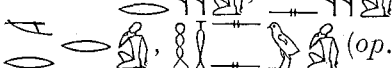

1. For the reading 'h or ih, not 'h', ih', see Dévaud's remarks, *Sphinx*, 13, 157.

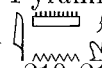
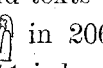

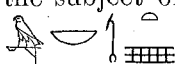
2. Similarly, when the despatch from Pharaoh is read to him, Sinuhe prostrates himself upon the ground as though actually in the Royal presence (see B200, note).

3. "Known is it to thy Ka that this flight of thy servant was made in innocence"; a primary objection is that *ir-tn* cannot be interpreted otherwise than as past relative form.




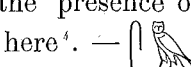

4. The point that *rh-tw* means "has been perceived", "recognized", not "is known", may perhaps be reinforced by a reference to Sethe's observation that *rh* in the sense of "to know" shows a marked preference for "perfektische Formen" (*Verbum*, II, § 761, 2); I should be inclined to reproduce MASP.'s rendering in Egyptian by the words *wr-t tn ir-tn. . . . , rh-n st K3-k, ntr nfr.*

Pharaoh. The sentence is in fact almost interjectional : "Become known is this flight, which thy servant made against his will, to thy Ka, thou Good God!" Thus already in the first sentence of the paragraph, already even in its first word the farsighted wisdom of Pharaoh is made an object for marvel, that wisdom which has enabled him to perceive the wish of one of the lowliest of his servants in a distant land. If this view be taken, the opening words join naturally on to the sentences B214 foll.; the intervening epithets serve to heighten the impression that is given of Pharaoh's sublime station, which makes it all the more wonderful that he has deigned to look upon so humble a person as Sinuhe.

206. — In  the forms *mrw* and *hsw* are puzzling. The sense of the context demands that they should be passive participles'; the perfect participle passive would however be  (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 928), the imperfect participle  (*op. cit.*, § 948). Possibly we have here consciously archaistic forms of the perfect passive participle, analogous to the form  found in the Pyramid-texts (see *op. cit.*, § 931).


206-211. — The list of gods beginning with  in 206 and ending with  in 210-211 is best taken collectively as anticipating the subject of ; to construe the names with  "praised of Month, lord of Thebes, of Amon etc." (so Gr.) spoils the balance between the two phrases "loved of Re" and "praised of Month, lord of Thebes". — The list of gods is a peculiar one; it appears to consist of (1) the gods of the reigning Dynastic family, Re, Month, Amon and Sobk², (2) the principal cosmic deities, Re, Horus, Hathor, Atum and his Ennead, and (3) certain other gods, most of whom are connected with distant lands.

206-207. — Month is here still the principal Theban god, while Amon is merely the god of Karnak³.

208. — The names  are closely connected with one another, and the three last might be thought to be epithets of Sopd were it not for the presence of the determinative  after each name. —  occurs only here'. —  is found as an epithet of Sopd in an inscription from Abydos of the time of Rameses II⁴,  *R.*, I. H., 29 = *Rec. de*


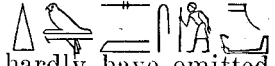




1. I hope to show elsewhere that the relative-form *sdmw-f* is nothing more than a syntactical development of the passive participles; this is the reason why that possibility is not separately mentioned here.

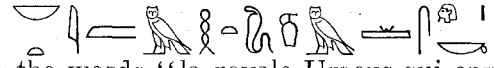

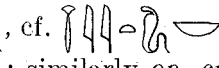
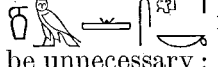
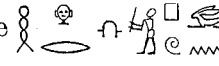
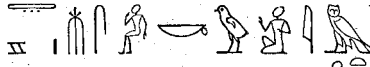
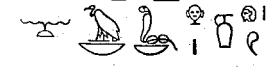

2. The prominent position given to Sobk may perhaps be used as evidence as to the date at which the story was given its present form. This is a point to which I shall later return.


3. The hieratic form of  *ns-t* in B now finds a welcome illustration in the *Carnarvon Tablet*, recto 1, where *ns-t* has a very similar shape.



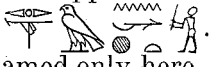
4. I am ignorant of the grounds for MASP.'s comment (*C. P.*, p. 74) : "on appelait ainsi une forme du dieu Toumou, plus connue sous le vocable de Nofirtoumou."



5. I am indebted to Herrn Grapow for this example.

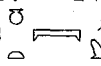

Trav., 11, 90. Another instance of the god  is to be found in *NAV.*, *Goshen*, 5, 4 where he is depicted as hawk-headed, and wearing the double feathers, like Sopd. *Smsrw* is evidently no mere writing of *smsw*, which is once found (perhaps as a corruption of *smsrw*) as an epithet of Sopd, cf.  MAR., *Dend.*, III, 12; were this the case, B would hardly have omitted the determinative . —  is mentioned in the *Golenischeff* (*Ritual M. K.*); as a form of Sopd,  *NAV.*, *Goshen*, 4, 6; 5, 3; Sopd is often called , e. g. *Pap. Kahun*, 13, 13.


208-209. —  is quite correctly paraphrased by Maspero with the words "la royale Uraeus qui enveloppe ta tête" (*C. P.*, p. 74), but neither he nor any other scholar seems to have appreciated the difficulty of the word *imh-t*. This elsewhere means a sepulchral cavern; it is hard to see why the royal Uraeus should be called *nb-t imh-t* "lady of the sepulchral cavern". Now Buto, the Uraeus goddess, enjoyed an important cult at Tell-el-Nebesheh, of which the ancient name was *Im-t*; it seems an obvious and practically certain conjecture here to emend , cf. , *Tanis*, II, 5 a (now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); similarly *op. cit.*, II, 11, 16 a; *Rec. de Trav.*, 22, 15; *MASP.*, *Mém. s. quelq. Pap.*, 81; MAR., *Dend.*, I, 39 e. — The phrase  is obviously a paratactic relative sentence, in which *nti* was felt to be unnecessary; other instances in *Sinuhe* are  B262;  B159-160. For *hnm tp*, cf.  *ROCHEM.*, *Edfou*, II, 69;  *Leiden*, K13.

209. —  "the council which is upon the flood" is the curious name given to the divinities attendant on the god of the waters; so in the Nile-stelae, L., *D.*, III, 175 a. 200 d. 218 d; also *Todt.*, ed. *NAV.*, 149, 98. 99.

 and  are doubtless related deities. As the inscriptions of the Wady Hammamat teach us, Min was worshipped in the Eastern desert; he was also identified with Horus under the name of . The god named "Horus dwelling in the foreign lands" seems to be named only here.

209-210. —  can be paralleled only by *NAV.*, *Deir el Bahari*, 8, 14 = *Urkunden*, IV, 345, where Sethe's collation gives as the reading . If this be right' we must in *Sinuhe* emend <*nb-t*> *wrr-t* <"lady of" the crown"; *wrr-t* "the Great one" is not rare as a designation of the Royal crown. In any case Hathor of Punt is here meant.

210. — Two celestial deities are named at the end of the list, the well-known goddess  Nut and the composite god  Har-uer-Re; the latter

1. Naville's edition gives a stroke — instead of the first ; I suspect there may be some correction or restoration in the *Deir el Bahari* text.

is not mentioned as a deity elsewhere, but occurs as a proper name *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20067. 20080. 20346; *Pap. Kahun*, 28, 4; WEILL, *Insc. du Sinai*, no. 63.

210-211. — “the gods of Egypt and of the islands of the sea”; emend and *tꜣ-mri* (as in B276). *Tꜣ-mri* is a name of uncertain derivation often given to the land of Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards; the earliest spellings outside the text of Sinuhe are = L., *D.*, II, 149 f; = L., *D.*, II, 149 d; *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20014. The name is preserved as Πτίμυρις in a fragment of Ephorus (no. 108) *apud* Steph. Byz., Δέλτα νῆσος Αἰγυπτου ὡς Ἐφορος, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους καλουμένη Πτίμυρις, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σχημάτος ὁμοιότητος : however the statement that Πτίμυρις was a name of the Delta does not agree with the hieroglyphic evidence, in which *tꜣ-mri* is always used for the whole of Egypt, cf. especially the *Decree of Canopus* (passim), where is rendered in the Demotic by the group for *KHAME* and in the Greek by Αἴγυπτος or ἡ χώρα. — By the “islands of the sea” the Mediterranean islands are obviously meant, cf. *Piankhi*, 130; though of course *w d-wr* does not always necessarily refer to the Mediterranean, cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 85, where an island in the neighbourhood of Arabia is intended.

211. — “they present life and strength to thy nose”, cf. NAV., *Deir el Bahari*, 21; CHAMP., *Not. descr.*, II, 54; the nose is here regarded as the organ of respiration which receives “the breath of life”, not as the organ of smell. — “they enrich thee with their gifts”, an usage of *hnm* not quite paralleled by any other passage; in such common phrases as *Urk.*, IV, 620 (similarly NAV., *Deir el Bahari*, 18. 94. 96) *hnm* means something more than “to furnish”, rather “to fill”, “endue”; the closest parallel is perhaps R., *I. H.*, 133, 15 (collated). — These sentences are better taken as statements of fact than as wishes (so all the translators), since they continue and amplify the relative sentences *mrw Rꜥ*, *hsw Mntw* in B206.

212. — “the fear of thee is bruited abroad”, lit. “repeated” (passive *sdmw-f*); so ERM., MASP. GR. “doubled”, a doubtful meaning of *whm*, and one which gives but poor sense, even if the sentence be construed as a wish.

213. — “Thou hast subjugated all that which the sun surrounds in his circuit”; is the earliest instance of a very common phrase, e. g. *Urk.*, IV, 82. 102. 283; cf. the almost equally common expression

213-218. — Griffith¹ and Maspero² regard the words as the conclusion of a paragraph, since the


1. “This is the prayer of the servant for his master, who hath delivered him from Amenti.”

2. “C'est la prière que le serviteur ici présent fait pour son seigneur, délivré qu'il est du tombeau.”

next words *nb sî*, *sî rhyt*, *sî-f* are written in red. In this case *nh pw* is taken as relating to what precedes, i. e. to the favours bestowed upon Pharaoh by the gods. On this hypothesis the following context becomes quite unintelligible; *sî-f* has now no object, and we are left in the dark as to the identity of "Lord of Perception", and as to what it was that he perceived. In the following clause (B215) the neuter pronoun *st* must necessarily¹ allude to Sinuhe's wish (*nh... n bîk im*) in B213, there being no other word to which it can refer; we thus are confronted with the amazing sentiment that Sinuhe fears to make heard his wishes on Pharaoh's behalf. The psychology of the passage here becomes so strange that we are forced to seek a different hypothesis.

Erman² restores sense to the passage by boldly disregarding the rubric in B214, whereby he is enabled to begin a new paragraph with *nh pw*. At first sight it might seem rash to attach no importance to the use of red ink in B214, but an examination of the words rubricized in B187. 225-226. 235. 245. 263 will show that the scribe of B as often as not marks his rubrics in the wrong place. *Nh pw n bîk im* may now mean "the wish of this thy servant" to return to Egypt; Sinuhe reverts to his own affairs, and it is high time that he should do so. The obscurity that the next lines present is due to Sinuhe's constant preoccupation not to formulate his petition in so many words³; the passage in which Sinuhe's desire to return home is first alluded to exhibits a precisely similar spirit (see the note on B147-173). We thus learn how Pharaoh in his great wisdom has perceived the wish of his servant (B213-214, cf. *rh-tw* etc. B205); how Sinuhe had always feared to speak it (B215); and how the Pharaoh, a god even as Re, has inspired him with wisdom to adapt his behaviour to the circumstances. Sinuhe explains in the last clauses of the paragraph why it is not needful for him actually to state his wish; "this thy servant is in the hand of one who takes counsel concerning him, I am placed under thy guidance; for thy Majesty is Horus the victorious, strong are thine arms over all lands" (B217-218).



213-214. — *Nh pw n bîk im n nb-f, šd m 'Imn-t* is on Erman's view, which I now regard as proved, the object by anticipation of *sî-f* (B214). *Nh* is a masculine substantive, see B163 note, and *pw* is not the copula, but the demonstrative pronoun as in *šnd pw špss* B237. — The construction of the words *šd m 'Imn-t* is difficult; *šd* might be imperative (so ERM.) or else an active participle (so GR.); hardly, as MASP., a passive participle agreeing with *bîk im*, owing to the intervening words *n nb-f*. We thus have to choose between the renderings "save (me) in (or "from") the West" and "who saves (me[?]) in (or "from") the West". Sinuhe's dread of being buried with barbaric funeral rites (cf. B197-199) seems to be alluded to, but the allusion is very obscure. Neither "in the West" nor "from the West" gives a very satisfactory sense for *m 'Imn-t*, and instead of *šd* we might expect *šd-wi*.

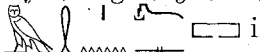
214. —  "lord of Perception", an epithet once applied to Amon

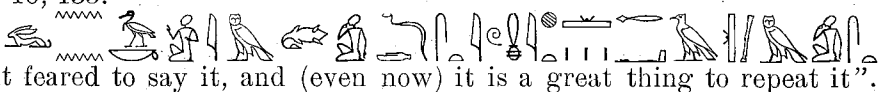
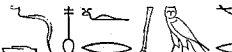
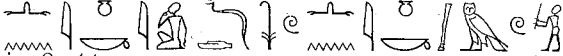
1. GR.'s translation is vitiated by a misunderstanding of the phrase *m hm n stp sî*.

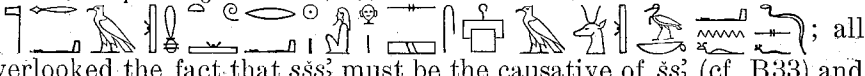
2. "Diese Bitte des Diener's da an seinen Herrn: errette mich aus dem land" — der Erkenner, der die Menschen erkennt, erkannte sie in der Majestät des Hofes."

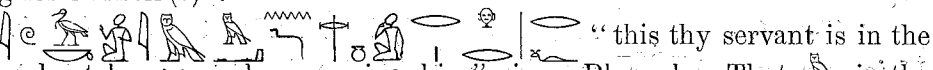

3. Even if *šd m 'Imn-t* be taken as an imperative this statement will not be contradicted; for the words *šd m 'Imn-t* are to say the least cryptic and ambiguous.

(Cairo, *Hymn to Amon*, 4, 5), is not found elsewhere in reference to the Pharaoh; but $S\dot{s}$ "Perception" is often named as an attribute of the king, see *Admonitions*, p. 85, for examples. —  "who perceiveth (his) subjects"; much obscurity attaches to the word *rhyt* in spite of Loret's interesting suggestions in *L'Égypte au temps du Totémisme*, p. 36. 38-40; for its use as a more stately synonym of  cf. for example *Urk.*, IV, 256. 257. 259. — Nb $s\dot{s}$, $s\dot{s}$ *rhy-t* is the subject of $s\dot{s}-f$, preceding it for the purpose of emphasis. Note the jingle with $s\dot{s}$, a common trick of Egyptian style, e. g. *hsy hss hsyw*, *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 69.

215. —  is a stilted phrase for "in the palace", lit. "in the Majesty of the palace"; cf. *Urk.*, I, 139 (Old Kingdom); *Urk.*, IV, 194. 651. 1021; *Ann. du Service*, 10, 153.



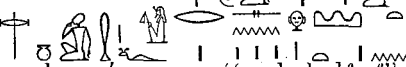
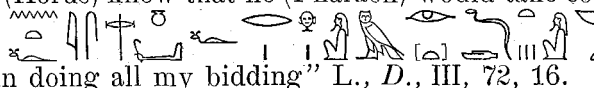


215-216. —  "this thy servant feared to say it, and (even now) it is a great thing to repeat it". The distinction of tense here indicated is not easy to prove, but seems likely from the context¹. For the construction *wnn-f* + pseudoparticiple (*snd-w*), see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gramm.*, § 373; for the infinitive after *snd* there seems to be no parallel. — *Dd*..... *whm*, cf. the common epithet  , e. g. *Urk.*, I, 132, and the frequent disclaimer in the magical texts  *Pap. Turin*, 136, 8; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 9, 11.


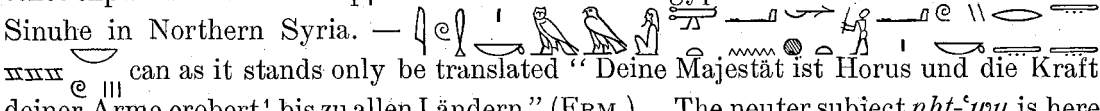

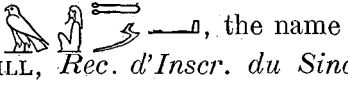
216-217. — ; all translators have overlooked the fact that $s\dot{s}s$ must be the causative of $s\dot{s}$ (cf. B33) and can therefore only mean "to render wise", "prudent". It follows from this that b^k-nf dsf must be a circuitous way of designating a person; the "great god" is obviously the Pharaoh, b^k-nf dsf can only be Sinuhe. B^k-nf dsf looks like a relative clause (cf. B147-149, note; B162, note), but b^k is not found in the sense to "make", "create" a person, so that we can hardly translate "whom he created himself"; this would give point to the comparison with Re, Sinuhe being regarded as a creation of Pharaoh, as mankind is the creation of Re. The only alternative is to take b^k as participle and to translate "one who works for himself", i. e., one who is thrown on his own resources. A final difficulty is the ambiguity of \dot{s} , which may either introduce the predicate of the sentence ("makes wise"), or else may define *mitw R* ("like Re in making wise"); in the latter case, which I prefer, *ntr* must be a vocative. Translate therefore "Great god, like unto Re in making wise one who was labouring for himself (?)".

217. —  "this thy servant is in the hands of one who takes counsel concerning him", i. e. Pharaoh. That \dot{s} is the preposition is obvious when once recognized². —  is "to ask the opinion




1. Erman renders parenthetically "es ist ja etwas das sich schwer erzählt", an interpretation to my mind very ill-suited to the style of the passage.

2. ERM. leaves the sentence untranslated; GR. renders \dot{s} "who?" giving to the following words an impossible sense; MASP.'s version is so free as to make criticism impossible.

of", "consult"; the example from the *Kuban stele* quoted below shows that  here means, not the "mouth" of the asker, but the "opinion" of him who is asked (*ri* as "saying", "language", "deposition" is well-known); thus the expression is quite analogous to *nd hr-t*. In *Millingen*, 2, 1,  means simply "talk about me"; cf. *Kuban stele*, 11-12,  "his Majesty questioned them about this desert". Elsewhere *hr* means "on behalf of", cf. "he (Horus) knew that he (Pharaoh) would take counsel on his behalf" *Urkunden*, IV, 807;  "he it is who taketh counsel for me in doing all my bidding" *L. D.*, III, 72, 16.  "I am placed under thy power". The ; in *ditwi* must be the particle the existence of which was first proved by VOGELSANG, *Die Klagen des Bauern* (Inaugural-Dissertation), p. 30-31. This particle is used in a number of well-defined cases (in *hwy*- ; , *h ;* - ; , after *iw*, etc.) but also in others which cannot be classified, as here and in  below B260; it seems practically meaningless. — *Hr sbr* "under (i. e. subject to) the power", "guidance", "control" of someone, e. g. *Bersheh*, II, 13, 12; 21, 10; *Siut*, V, 23; *Urk.*, IV, 96.

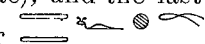
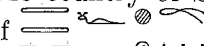
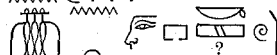
217-218. —  @ here means "for" (cf. B89-91, note; 99-101, note) and the sentence explains how it has happened that Pharaoh in Egypt is able to exercise control over Sinuhe in Northern Syria. —  can as it stands only be translated "Deine Majestät ist Horus und die Kraft deiner Arme erobert bis zu allen Ländern" (ERM.). The neuter subject *nht-wy* is here awkward, and *it* is never elsewhere construed with . The sentence is greatly improved if we emend , the name of the warlike Horus who smites his enemies (e. g. WEILL, *Rec. d'Inscr. du Sinai*, Nos. 7. 18; for *tm ;* , cf. *Urk.*, IV, 248); the sentence *nht-wy-k r tw nbw* "thy arms are strong over all countries" then construes quite easily, such amplificatory clauses being often found after the name of *Hr tm ;* .












219-224. — A very difficult little section, in which Sinuhe apparently asks that certain chieftains may be brought to Egypt as hostages for Retenu. As we shall see, the words usually translated "to bear witness for Retenu" are extremely uncertain; nevertheless the interpretation here given to the passage, which is that adopted by MASP., ERM., and GR.², seems necessary for two reasons: (1) *in-tw* (B219) can only mean "to be brought" to Egypt; (2) the final words "Retenu is thine, like unto thy dogs" cannot otherwise be brought into line with the preceding sentences.




219-221. —  must necessarily be emended to *in-tw* (passive), "may thy Majesty command to cause to be brought", i. e. to Egypt. — The names of the three chieftains are indicated as those of foreigners by the determinative . Of the three place-names the first  is known from other parts of the tale to have been

1. GR. "extendeth", MASP. "s'étend", giving to *it* a sense for which is no authority.

2. In my German translation I have wrongly suggested that Sinuhe is here asking pardon for three exiled chiefs; in so doing I have allowed myself to be misled by the name *Hnt-kšw*.

in the vicinity of Sinuhe's place of exile (see B29, note), and the last is familiar as a rather vague designation of the country of Syria; for , as we should undoubtedly emend in place of , see MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 208-212¹. The intermediate name  is unknown, but must, to judge from its position, be intended as the name of some part of Retenu².

221-222. — In the sentence  we must correct  into ; of Maspero's readings *mr-wt*  is improbable and  impossible. Instead of  all translators³ have read , this being understood by ERM. and GR. as a misspelling of ; but  without further determinative is a quite correct writing of *rn-w* "names". As the text stands it seems impossible to do otherwise than to regard (1) *mtrw rn-w*, (2) *hpr-w m mriwt-k* as parallel attributes of *hk³-w*, and *nn sb³* as a brief adverbial addition. *Mtr-w rn-w* is difficult; there is a well-known word  meaning "right", "exact", "regular", but it is a question needing careful examination whether this is not to be read *mti* and to be distinguished altogether from *mtr* "to be present", "to witness"⁴.  occurs as an epithet in *Brit. Mus.*, 572 = *Sharpe*, I, 80; we might guess "celebrated" as the meaning both there and in our tale. — "Who have been in thy love" seems a quite possible Egyptian phrase for "who have always loved thee". — *Nn sb³* "unremembered" (lit. "there is no remembering") i. e., they have always been well-disposed towards thee, though thou didst not know it.

222-223. — For   "Retenu is thine (*nk-im-s[y]*), like thy hounds" we have an excellent parallel in  "the myrrh belongs to me", *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 151; the idiom *nk imy* is well-known, see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gram.*³, § 237. — The comparison with hounds at their master's heels is found also in *Millingen*, 3, 1; *Piankhi*, 3.

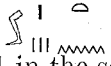






223-230. — Sinuhe excuses himself for his flight from Egypt, denying that it was premeditated or due to some unpleasant situation in which he was placed, but stating that on the contrary it was due to a sudden divine impulse. Compare the similar passage above B38-43.




1. The earliest mention of the *Fnhw* is in a 5th. Dynasty inscription quoted by SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 85. 140; von Bissing (*Rec. de Trav.*, 33, 18) is, I think, right in rejecting the comparison with Φοίνικες that is revived by Sethe.


























2. The name looks like a compound; for *hnt*, a difficult word which might mean (1) fortress, (2) prison or (3) *hartm*, see *Admonitions*, p. 48; *Kšw*, the reading of which is none too certain, can have nothing to do with *Kšs*, *Kšš*, Nubia.







3. The various renderings are as follows: — MASP. "qui sont des princes prêts à témoigner que tout se passe au gré de ton double, et que Tonou ne gronde pas contre toi" (*nn³; Tnw nk!*); GR. "these are chiefs as hostages that the Tenu act according to the desire of thy Ka, and that Tenu will not covet what belongs to thee in it" (reading *nn sb³(?) Tnw nk im-s*); ERM. "das sind Fürsten die für Tenu zeugen: es ist voll Liebe zu dir"

4. Cf. *mtj* in the title *mtj n s³*, and *mt-t* "accuracy"; in these words *r* is not written. Nevertheless the question is too complex to be decided without a careful sifting of the evidence.

223. — 'Is in  "behold, this flight" is rather doubtful, as  does not occur as first word in the sentence before the 18th Dynasty, e. g. *Paheri*, 3; from the 19th Dyn. onwards it is frequent, e. g. *d'Orbiney*, 4, 5; 13, 8; *Piankhi*, 17. 87. 152. In earlier times  is used, and it is possible that this should be emended here; though it should be remembered that the use of *ist* at the beginning of the sentence assumes a previous similar use of *is*, the particle from which it is derived (see *Rec. de Trav.*, 28, 186). — For  emend  —   *n hmt-i sy* "I did not intend it"; *hmt* in this sense is only here construed with a substantival object, elsewhere taking the infinitive, cf. above B111; *Urk.*, IV, 344. 502. Except in the present case, whenever *hmt* has a substantive as object, that substantive is a word expressing time and *hmt* means "to expect", "anticipate", cf. *Urk.*, IV, 481. 487; *Brit. Mus.*, 581 (with *iy-l*); *L., D.*, 149 f (*hnti*); *Urk.*, IV, 384 (*hh*); *ROCHEM.*, *Edfou*, II, 37 (*dt*); above B64 (*phwi*); in the same sense with *sdm-f*, above B6; *Urk.*, IV, 367; *Turin*, 154 = *Rec. de Trav.*, 4, 131; *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 179, 5.


223-224. —   *nn sy m ib-i* "it was not in my heart". When the absolute pronoun is used as the subject of a nominal sentence it is always enclitic. In affirmative sentences *mik*, *st* or *sk* is used to support the pronoun, cf. *ERMAN*, *Aeg. Gramm.*, § 365. 463. 464. In negative sentences the negation  precedes it, cf. *op. cit.*, § 515²; other examples *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 52. 74. 131; *Ebers*, 108, 20; *Pyr.*, 890 b. When the predicate is an adjective this precedes the pronoun, for references see *Admonitions*, p. 104; *ERMAN*, *op. cit.*, § 490 only quotes a very special case.

224. —   "I did not devise(?) it". For *kmd* in this sense only *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 30 B, 10 can be compared,         evidently meaning there "to invent lies in the presence of the god". This *kmd* is not to be confused with (1) the word "to mourn", written   in the Pyramid texts, but showing in later times a *d* in place of *z*, cf.   *SPIEGELBERG*, *Kunstdenkmäler..... Strassburg*, No. 15 a (18th-19th Dyn.);    *LIEBLEIN*, *Le livre que mon nom fleurisse*, p. xxv³; spelled     etc., in Ptolemaic times (see *BRUGSCH*, *Wörterb.*, 1457; *Suppl.*, 1250; and especially *JUNKER*, *Die Stundenwachen*, p. 31); nor yet with (2)     "heroic deeds(?)", *Millingen*, 1, 10.

      "I do not know what moved me from my place". We must read *iwd-wi*, not *iwdw-i*, since the participle takes as object the absolute pronoun. Egyptian says "who separated me" instead of "what separated me", see above the note on B42-43. The nearest parallel to *iwd* here is the reflexive use "to quit", *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 153.

224-226. — The next sentences occur in R65-66, though not in the corres-

1. Note that throughout this explanatory passage the *sdm-f* form is employed; the *sdm-nf* form is kept as the narrative tense.

2.  does not here mean "es ist nicht vorhanden" as Erman states, but simply "not".

3. I owe this example to the kindness of M. Dévaud.

ponding part of B (i. e. B41). Here B has ; R65-66 . *Mi ssm* is doubtless practically identical with *mi*; we may translate "after the manner of a dream"; R evidently had a different reading here. — 'Idhy, a nisbe-form from only occurring here. — is a word for "marshes" or "marshy pools", cf. "I did not fish for the fishes of their swamps", *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 125 (Einleitung), 19; except in this passage and in that of our tale it is found only in the phrase *h³-t idhw* "the Delta marshes", cf. *Kuban stele*, 30; ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 72. 94. 443; II, 66; DÜM., *Geogr. Inschr.*, IV, 122; one instance may be quoted where *h³-t idh* is opposed to *t Sty*, Turin, statue of *Horremheb*, 22. For the writing in B, cf. in B199 for B159. — *t Sty*, see *A. Z.*, 45 (1908), 128.

226-227. — "no one ran (*n shs-tw*) after me", i. e., persecuted me; cf. Boheiric *σοσι* *ἵκα*. For *shs m s³* "to pursue" in a quite different context, cf. "I ran after it (the mare) on foot", *Urk.*, IV, 894.

227-228. — is repeated from above B41-42, where it was lacking in the corresponding lines of R.

228. — "but my flesh quivered (?)". *Wp hr* as conjunction, see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gramm.*, § 455. The next word is evidently corrupt; MASP., emends comparing Δ of B4 = R27, but neither the sense nor the determinative agrees. Perhaps we should restore a reduplicated form of the well-known (see *Admonitions*, p. 44); or else possibly should be omitted and identified with the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* of *Hirtengeschichte*, 4, where must mean something like "my hair stood up" with fright.

229. — \square Δ is an unknown word. — For cf. *Urk.*, IV, 365.

230. — For the strange writing Δ parallels are to be found in

1. The rubric here is entirely senseless; see B213-218, note. — The sign on the *Piers-Breasted stele* = *Brit. Mus.*, 614 has been misunderstood by its editor and by von BISSING, *Rec. de Trav.*, 33, 23, footnote 3; it is obviously only the determinative of *šw* Elephantine, which has the same form PETRIE, *Denderah*, 15, 10; the hieratic shapes show a tendency to widen out in the same manner, see Möller, *Hier. Pal.*, I, No. 505. The Hathor on a block from Gebelén (*Rec. de Trav.*, 26, 133) is rather embarrassing, as a Hathor of Elephantine is not known from other sources.

Lebensmüde, 12. 70; the first of these two examples "behold my soul
 draws me towards death" also illustrates the sense of
the verb here.

230-231. — The next sentence is philologically obscure, but its sense may be
guessed with great probability from a consideration of the subsequent lines. There
Sinuhe first describes in flattering phrases Pharaoh's power over every land, and
then declares his readiness to yield up to Pharaoh "the office of Vizier" which he
exercises in Syria. Here therefore lit. "I am not high
of back" must mean, "I have not become presumptuous through the wealth and
position I have acquired in this country" (so too MASP.). For $h^3 s^3$, cf. "I am one
who represses..... in him whose back is high, putting to silence him of the loud
voice so that he does not speak", *Siut*, I, 229; "abasing the arm of him who is high of back", *Urk.*, IV, 968. — The next words
 are quite unintelligible to me; literally one might
translate "through the fear of a man who knows his land", but the sense of *hnt*
would be most unusual¹.

231. — For instead of *hryt-k* see B123-124.


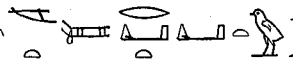
232-233. — The sense of has been cleverly guessed by Griffith, who renders, "Behold
me in thy palace or behold me in this place", still thou art he who doth clothe this
horizon". What is meant is that Pharaoh's displeasure can make itself felt whether
Sinuhe is in Egypt or whether he is in Asia. is a good instance of the
particle *mi*, the development of which has been excellently explained by Spie-
gelberg in *Rec. de Trav.*, 28, 185-187; he shows that the words "behold thou", "behold ye" are derived from an old particle (or imperative?) by
the addition of the absolute pronoun; hitherto it has been possible to quote only one
example with the pronoun of the 1st. pers. singular, namely "behold, I am this illuminated one", *Urk.*, IV, 547². — does not here
mean "to clothe" (GR.), nor yet "vêtement" (MASP.), but "to hide", "verhüllen"
(ERM.); for this sense, which is fairly common, cf. *Pap. Petersburg*, I, 174-175³;


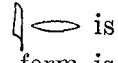
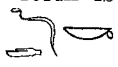
1. MASP.'s reading is impossible palaeographically on account of the clear , and would be hard
to account for in any case. ERM. apparently ignores *hnt* or *gr* altogether and translates as though the
sentence were a proverb: "und wer sein Land kennt, fürchtet sich"; this may be the right idea.

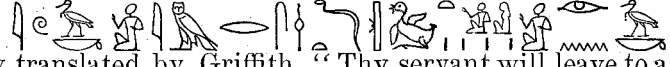
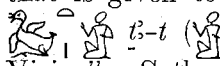


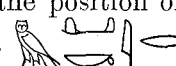
2. So too now MASP., *M. S.*, p. 100, though with the quite impossible reading

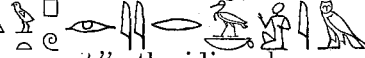

3. ERM. translates "Setze mich an den Hof! setze mich an diese Stätte", evidently thinking of the rare
imperative (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, §541). But that word means "take", "receive", not "place",
and the proposed sense is very poor.

4. Quoted by M. Golénischeff's kind permission from his unpublished transcription.

 GREENE, *Fouilles*, 3, 29;  *Urk.*, IV, 840; other examples *Amherst*, 2, 2; MAR., *Dend.*, III, 61 b; ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 509.

234. —  “if thou wilt”; the conditional sentence without  is usually written *mrr-k* (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 264, 9), but the shorter form is doubtless due to the position of the word at the end of the sentence. —  “when thou biddest”, a not uncommon sense of *dd*.

234-235. — The sentence  is brilliantly translated by Griffith, “Thy servant will leave to a successor the viziership which thy servant hath held in this land”. *T3t-i irn b3k im m is-t tn* was formerly rendered “my serfs whom I have acquired in this place” (so still ERM.)¹; but no parallel for *t3t* “serfs” has been produced, and the meaning “acquired” that is given to *irn* is impossible. We should evidently make the slight alteration  *t3-t* ( becoming determinative), omit , and translate “the office of Vizier”. Sethe has recently shown that titles are employed not only as such, but also exceptionally to express the position or functions that they involve (*Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 6. 39), e. g.  “behold the office of Vizier is not pleasant”, *loc. cit.* — Sinuhe’s position under Amuienshi is not unaptly compared with that of the Egyptian Vizier.




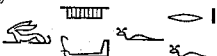
236. — The words  can only mean “thereupon men came to this thy humble servant”, the idiom here employed (see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 551)² being always used to introduce some noteworthy event or action in a narrative, cf. the other examples in the story, R156; B241. ERM.’s version, “Man ist zu dem Diener da gekommen — deine Majestät tue nach ihrem Belieben” skilfully conceals the difficulty; but it will be observed that in this translation the first sentence does not really mark a progression in the narrative, but is virtually causal (so MASP., *M. S.*, p. 87, paraphrases “puisqu’on est venu jusqu’au serviteur ici présent”). We have no authority for putting such a construction on the words *iw t pw iry r b3k im*, and even if we had, the sense would not be very apparent³; the only possible conclusion seems to be that the clause is out of place. This deduction is corroborated to some extent by the fact that some such words are imperatively needed before *rdi-tw iri-i* two lines lower down (B238), where Sinuhe’s narrative is resumed. The mistaken position of *iw t pw iry* must however be a very ancient error, since it occurs also in an ostracon belonging to Professor Petrie (No. 12) containing a duplicate of the present passage; in the *Petrie Ostracon* the further corruption  with *irn* for *iry r*, is found⁴.


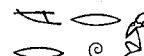
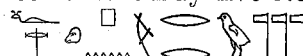
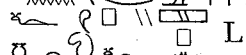
1. MASP., *M. S.*, p. 182 has a much more complicated emendation.

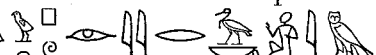
2. Sethe is mistaken in saying that with feminine infinitives we should expect *ir-tn* and *iry-t* instead of *ir-n* and *iry*. The relative form and participle here do not agree with the infinitive, but with *pw*. In the present case, literally “a coming it is which was made”, *iw t* is logically predicate, and *pw iry* subject.

3. I imagine that what is meant by this translation is: since Pharaoh has once deigned to notice his servant, let him now do as he pleases.


4. The *Petrie Ostracon*. 12 (P.) will be published in the Appendix. — Incidentally both B and P afford

With the omission of *wt pw iry r b3k im* the passage runs quite smoothly : "This thy servant will hand over the viziership which thy servant hath held in this place. May thy Majesty do as pleaseth him, for men live by the breath that he gives." Sinuhe resigns himself completely to the will of Pharaoh, who indeed was considered the arbiter of all men's destiny. — The words  are repeated below B263; for the optative form  see B160-161 note, and for the idiom  "to act according to" see my *Inscription of Mes*, p. 21, note 63. — The hyperbolic saying that men live by the breath that Pharaoh gives may be illustrated by many passages, e. g. *Urk.*, IV, 15. 324. 342. 662. 809; apparently it is the breath of Pharaoh's own mouth that is meant, if we may trust the words  "he opens his mouth giving breath to mortals," said of Rameses III, R., *I. H.*, 140, 12-13.

237-238. — Sinuhe's missive ends as it begins with the highly flattering assurance that the life of Pharaoh is under the protection of the gods. There is some slight difficulty here in the division of the sentences¹; the only likely view seems to be to take *fn-d-k pw špss* as the object of the *sdm-f* form , and  as a passive participle (or otherwise said, relative form) agreeing with *fn-d*. The literal translation therefore is : "Re, Horus and Hathor love this thy august nose, for which Month, lord of Thebes, wisheth that it may live eternally". For both expression and sense of the first clause, cf.  "this my nose loved of the gods", *Urk.*, I, 39, and for *špss*, cf.  L., *D.*, IV, 57 a (from collation); similarly ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 425; *Inscr. dédic.*, 92. — P has the variant "Re and Hathor", omitting the name of Horus.

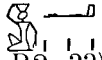

238. — At this point Sinuhe takes up again the story of his life, the first incidents related being the departure from Yaa and the journey to Egypt. — As it stands in the text of B, the resumption of the narrative is exceedingly abrupt; in place of the simple *sdm-f* form *rdi-tw*, a more detached and important mode of expression is required. The insertion of  from B236 greatly improves the flow of the passage; see above on B236.


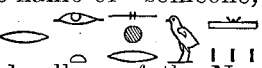
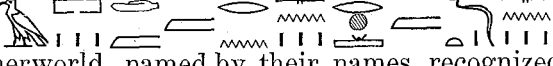

239. — "My eldest son having charge of my tribe"; *m s'* is probably a metaphor taken from the herdsman behind his cattle.



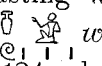
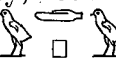
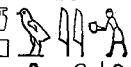
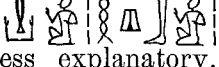
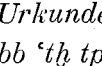
240. — MASP. (*M. S.*, p. 20, note 1) suggests that  is a ditto-graph; though the supposition is not absolutely necessary, I agree in thinking it

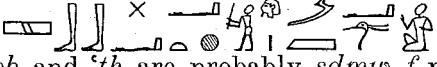


evidence in favour of the view here taken of *wt pw iry r b3k im*. In B the preceding words are rubricized, and though this fact is in itself of little importance (see B 213-218), yet in conjunction with the fact that the line B 235 is a short one, it is evident that the scribe believed he was beginning a new paragraph in B 236; or in other words *rdi-tw ir-y* in B 238 was connected by him with what precedes. So too P, which doubtless was meant to contain one section of the story and not fragments of two sections, begins with the words *wt*, from the point of view of the scribes of B and P therefore it would be more correct to say that the words *ir hm-k* 'nh-f dt (B 236-238) are those which are out of place.


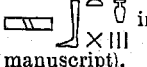
1. Gr. suggests, "O thou who art beloved of Ra, of Horus and of Hathor! It is this thy august nostril that Mentu, lord of Uast, desireth should live for ever." This would require a participle *mrrw* or *mry* or *mrw* (see B 206) instead of simply *mr*. — ERM. renders as I do, but optatively "mögen lieben".

—  *tpw*, similarly abbreviated, *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 70 (= R115); B1, 276 (= B2, 33). Below in B246  = *f³-ni*.

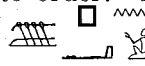
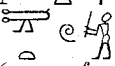
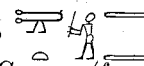
246. —  "I mentioned each one of them by his name", i. e., Sinuhe introduced all his Asiatic friends separately to the Egyptian officers. The usual expression is *dm rn n* "to pronounce the name of" someone, cf. below, B260; the construction found here occurs again only in  *  "to deal with the dwellers of the Netherworld, named by their names, recognized in their forms", *Am Duat*, *Sethos*, IV, 39;  "being called by thy name for ever", *DAVIES*, *El Amarna*, 2, 21.

The words  (repeated below B290) cannot be separated from  in B247, and I am now inclined to think that it is the latter which is out of place, since the feasting would naturally take place before starting on the journey, not during it. — For  *wdpw* "serving-men", "butlers", cf. the full writing  *Pyr.*, 120, 124; also  TYLOR, *Sebeknekht*, 8, 9 (collated). *Hr irt-f* "engaged in his duties", cf.  *Urkunden*, IV, 28. The introductory  is doubtless explanatory, and therefore *šbb 'th tp-m³-i* must be placed before this clause, not *vice versa*.



















247. —  "they kneaded and strained in my presence"; *šbb* and *'th* are probably *sdmw-f* passives impersonally used. The two words often occur together and express distinct operations in the making of beer (for the methods of brewing see BORCHARDT, *Ä. Z.*, 35 (1897), 130-131). Except in one passage (*Pap. Hearst*, 14, 10) *šbb* is always named before *'th*, cf. *Ebers*, 36, 11; 40, 3; *MAR.*, *Dend.*, III, 80 i (written *ššbb*); IV, 15 (*šbb*). Combining the hint which the root-meaning of the verb *šbb* gives ("to mix") with the evidence from a sculptured scene in the Cairo Museum (No. 1534), it seems clear that *šbb* indicates the kneading of the barley-bread mixed with water¹. — The verb *'th*, earlier  (DÉVAUD, *Sphinx*, 13, 159), refers to the straining of this softened bread-pulp into a jar, for which purpose a basket was generally used, see the scenes *Cairo*, 1534; HOLWERDA-BOESER, *Denkm. d. alten Reichs*, 10; BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Ne-user-re*, p. 124. — *Tp m³* a compound preposition² meaning literally "on the temples of", cf.  "boats manned and filled with provisions beside my troops of recruits, and soldiers in columns(?) beside it (the statue)", *Bersheh*, I, 14, 7; other examples *Rifeh*, 7, 16; DE MORGAN, *Cat. des Mon.*, I, 66, 11.



















































1. The paste thus obtained is called  *Destruction of Mankind*, 18; *Pap. Kahun*, 5, 48; *Ebers*, 52, 18; *Hearst*, 3, 2. This is to be distinguished from  in the medical papyri.




















2. First recognized as such by Erman (Berlin Dictionary manuscript).










































































246-247. — The words *šbb 'tḫ tp m^s-i* having been restored to their proper place in front of *iw wdp-w nb hr iri-f*, two emendations are still needed to bring the following sentence into order. In the first place we must read, with MASPERO (*Rec. de Trav.*, 30, 64),  instead of merely *šsp-ni*, which is meaningless alone. In the second place  must be changed into , as GR. first suggested; this town is known from the *Turin Royal Canon* (fr. 64), and from a number of stelae on which it is connected with the royal name Amenemhet (cf.


















                  *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20515;

                  *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20516) to have been the seat of the early kings of the 12th Dynasty; and since *Piankhi* 83 places it between



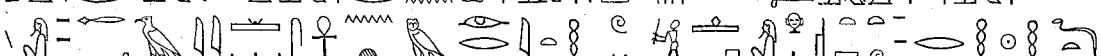

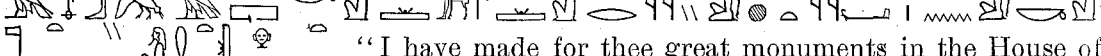
 (Médüm) and  (Memphis) it can obviously only be Lisht, where the Pyramids of Amenemhet I and Sesostris I have been discovered (see especially GRIF-FITH, *Kahun Papyrus*, p. 87-88). — For               *f^s-ni ḫw*, a fairly common idiom meaning “to sail”, literally perhaps “to carry the wind”, see DÉVAUD, *Sphinx*, 13, 94-97. —                  for the *sdmt-f* form see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 353, 13 d α; another instance                  *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 118.

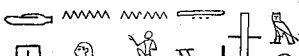
The entire sentence now runs as follows: —                    “I started forth and sailed until I came to the town of Ihtow”.









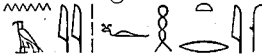

248. —                  cf. GOLZ, *Hammamat*, 8, 7; *Piankhi*, 20. 89. 100. 106. 147 (always with *hd* for *hdn*);           *Destruction of Mankind*, 34. How *sp sn* in this expression is to be understood is uncertain; I had conjectured that it was meant to indicate the reading *dw^s dw^sw* “the dawn dawned”, but                  means “early” or “very early” adverbially in *Ebers*, 27, 14; 48, 2; 108, 17; *Zaubersprüche f. Mutter u. Kind*, verso 2, 7. —                  “and they came and summoned me”; *iw* and *išš* are the *sdm-f* form without an expressed subject. — P here reads             a briefer but equally legitimate version.

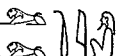
248-249. —                  “ten men coming, and ten men going, to bring¹ me to the palace”, i. e., ten men came to bring the message and ten escorted me to the palace. For the naive satisfaction of Sinuhe at having so many attendants sent to attend upon him compare the following quotation from the biographical inscription of a prince of Elephantine: “His Majesty caused to be brought to me a dish filled with all kinds of good things, with five uncooked geese upon it; and four men brought it to me”, *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 133. — *M* with the infinitive occurs as predicate only with verbs of motion, see *Ä. Z.*,

1. Lit. “in bringing me”. English idiom prefers to subordinate two such gerunds to one another, presenting the second as fulfilling the object of the first; so below “stood in the gateway to meet me” (*hr ir-t ḫšw-i*), B250; “they go out to illuminate him” (*hr ššḫt-f*), *Siut*, I, 278.


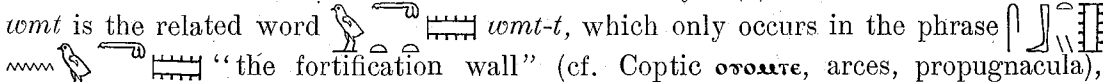

the sun-god then goes back at least as far as the 12th Dynasty. There is no ground for doubting that both views are right, but neither of them to the exclusion of the other; the sphinx depicts the solar deity incarnate in the king, or the king in the shape of the solar deity'. After what has been said, it seems obvious that the words *msw 'Itm* in *Harris*, I, 26, 3 must refer to the sphinxes that stood in the forecourt of the temple of Heliopolis; I quote the passage *in extenso* : —  —     "I have made for thee great monuments in the House of Re of gritstone, children of Atum (sphinxes), being great images excellently sculptured, dragged (thither) and resting in their places eternally in thy great august well-beloved forecourt, carved with thy divine name like heaven".

Thus the sentence in *Sinuhe*, after emendation, runs  and the correct translation is "I bowed my head to the ground between the sphinxes".

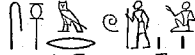
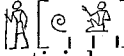
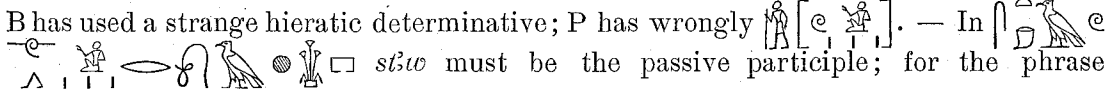
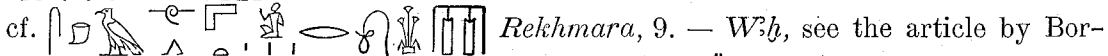
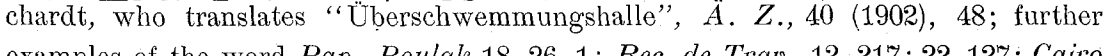
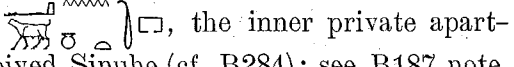
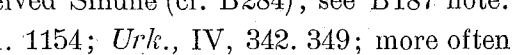
250. —  "the royal children standing in the gateway to meet me"; *wmt* and *hsf-w* would be better spelt  and . P has preserved only  —  has hitherto usually been translated "das tiefe Gemach", from  "thick" (Coptic *ογμαστ*) on the analogy of *wsh-t* "the broad hall"; so STEINDORFF, *A. Z.*, 34 (1896), 108; BORCHARDT, *A. Z.*, 40 (1902), 48. An examination of the other instances of the word proves that its real meaning is "gateway". (1) In several cases the word is written with the determinative of a gate, e. g.  L., *D.*, III, 257 a, 30. In the temple of Hibe the word  is used in a dedicatory inscription to describe a pylon, BRUGSCH, *Grosse Oase*, 10. In the great Harris papyrus *wmt* occurs together with words that are known to indicate the parts of gateways, cf.  "its (scil. "the wall's") door-posts (?) and gateways of stone of Ayn, with doors of cedar", *Harris I*, 57, 13; 58, 6; similarly 45, 4. A woman about whom prognostications are to be made should stand  "in the inner gateway of a portal" (read *sb*), *Pap. med. Berlin*, verso 2, 1 (so already rightly

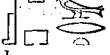

1. That  (already *Pyr.*) is a lion-god connected with Atum and hence with the sphinxes seems to me, as to Naville (*loc. cit.*), quite evident. Whether the great Sphinx is more solar deity or more Pharaoh is a question which the Egyptians themselves who made it could probably not have answered. Can it be regarded as in any way parallel to the boats of the sun at Abu Gurab?

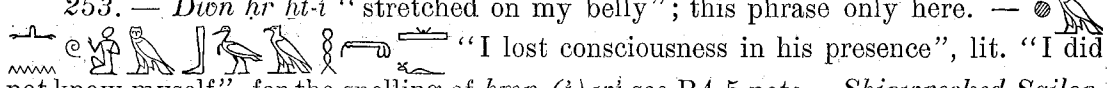
2. Another convincing argument against the rendering "das tiefe Gemach" is that *wmt* does not mean "deep", which is in Egyptian *md*, but "thick", "stout", i. e. it is employed in reference to materials of some consistency, but not to air or space.

Wreszinski). In this last instance, which is a particularly good illustration of the Sinuhe passage, *wmt* seems rather the inner part of the gate, the gateway, than the entire structure; and etymologically this must be the precise meaning, though it seems clear that the word was also used more widely. (2) Not to be confused with *wmt* is the related word  *wmt-t*, which only occurs in the phrase  "the fortification wall" (cf. Coptic *στοατε*, arces, propugnacula), *Urk.*, IV, 661. 767. 832. —  @ Δ "to meet", only here; cf. the frequent *m hsfw* "opposite" and the note on B2.

The sense here given to *wmt*¹ makes the description of Sinuhe's arrival at the Palace not only comprehensible but vivid. At the threshold he bows down between the sphinxes; and when he rises and passes on into the gateway he is greeted by the Royal children who have come thus far to meet him.

251. — "The courtiers who had been admitted into the Forecourt showed me the way to the Privy Chamber". In writing the word  the scribe of B has used a strange hieratic determinative; P has wrongly . — In  @  *st'w* must be the passive participle; for the phrase cf.  *Rekhmara*, 9. — *Wzh*, see the article by Borchardt, who translates "Überschwemmungshalle", *Ä. Z.*, 40 (1902), 48; further examples of the word *Pap. Boulak* 18, 26, 1; *Rec. de Trav.*, 12, 217; 22, 127; *Cairo stele M. K.*, 20065; *L., D., Text*, II, 192; *MAR., Dend.*, II, 27, 2; IV, 2, 9. Here doubtless is meant the open forecourt surrounded by columns near the main entrance of the Palace. — *Rdit hr wst*, see above B96-97. —   the inner private apartment of the Pharaoh, where he actually received Sinuhe (cf. B284); see B187 note.

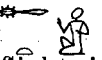
252. —  "throne", cf. *Pyr.*, 391. 1154; *Urk.*, IV, 342. 349; more often used of the thrones on which the gods sit. — *M wmt nt d'm* "in the golden gateway"; if the text is correct this must refer to a gateway leading out of the *h'nwti* into the private apartments of the Royal family. Borchardt has however pointed out to me that it would be unnatural for the King to sit in the doorway, and Sethe tells me he has long believed the words *m wmt* here to be borrowed from B250 above. This suggestion seems to me extremely plausible², the text running much better if we translate: "the courtiers..... showed me the way to the Privy Chamber, and I found his Majesty upon the golden throne"; cf.  *Urk.*, IV, 349.

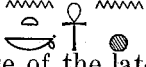
253. — *Dwn hr ht-i* "stretched on my belly"³; this phrase only here. —  "I lost consciousness in his presence", lit. "I did not know myself", for the spelling of *hmn-(i) wi* see B4-5 note. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 76 has an excellent parallel for this phrase, explained by me *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 63³. —

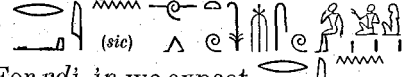
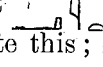
1. MASP., *M. S.*, p. 77 has half-recognized the true meaning of the word.

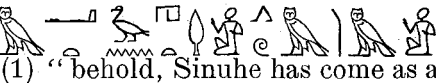

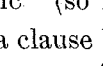
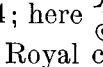
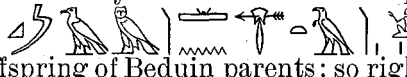
2. I also doubt *wmt* here because *nt d'm* would make it a feminine, whereas it is probably a masculine, the final *t* being radical.

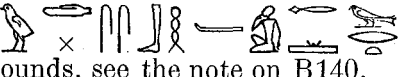
3. ERMAN (*Aeg. Gramm.*³, § 485) still adheres to the old view of this sentence, which, not to speak of other difficulties, rests upon a misunderstanding of *hnmw* (B254).

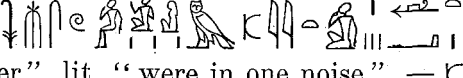
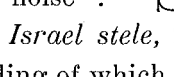
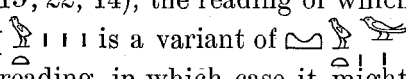

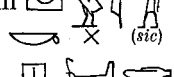
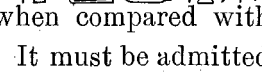
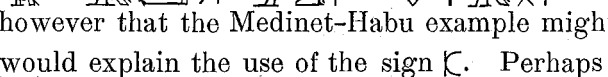

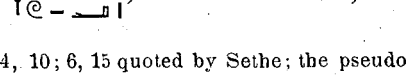
*  "It is the hand of God, like that which brought about the foredoomed flight, it is the fear which is in my body" — *Wnn-s* paratactically in the sense of a relative sentence, see B208, note.

263. —  more probably "to thee belongs life" than "thou art life"; for this sense of the later absolute pronouns see *Ä. Z.*, 34 (1896), 50; 41 (1904), 135. — *'Ir hm-k m mrt-f*, repeated from B236 above.

263-264. —  "they caused the Royal children to be admitted". For *rdi-in* we expect , and the position of the *n* in B suggests that the scribe had intended to write this; nevertheless it is not impossible that the ellipse is genuine and correct as it stands.


264-265. — The sentence  is grammatically susceptible of two translations: (1) "behold, Sinuhe has come as an Asiatic"; in this case  is the pseudoparticiple, cf.  B257; so GR.; (2) "behold, this is Sinuhe, who has come as an Asiatic" (so MASP., ERM.); for *mik* in the sense of the French "voici", followed not by a clause but by a substantive, see SETHE, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 28, note 134; here  can only be the perfect participle active'. The surprise of the Queen and the Royal children makes it quite clear that the latter alternative is the right one. —  can only mean "whom Beduins created", i. e., the offspring of Beduin parents; so rightly GR. In my German translation I took *k(m);m* as a substantive "form" (so MASP., *M. S.*, p. 170) and, emending *m k(m);m n Stiw*, rendered "in der Gestalt eines Beduinen" (for *k(m);m* "form" cf. *Rekhmara*, 7, 6. 13; *Kuban stele*, 18); this I now consider very unlikely, since it requires the further emendation of the plural *Styw* into the singular *Sty*².


265. —  "she gave a great cry"; for *w* of "emitting" sounds, see the note on B140.



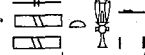


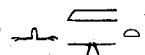

266. —  "and the royal children shrieked out all together", lit. "were in one noise". —  is a well-known word for "noise" (e. g. R., *I. H.*, 146, 61; *Israel stele*, 25; ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 212; NAV., *Mythe d'Horus*, 15; 22, 14), the reading of which is still doubtful. Since in *Eloquent Peasant*, R103  is a variant of  in B59 it seems possible that *dw-t* is the long-sought reading, in which case it might be derived from  "to call out"; and partial confirmation of this view might be found in  Ros., *Mon. Stor.*, I, 136 (Medinet Habu, collated by Sethe), when compared with  *Kuban stele*, 5. It must be admitted however that the Medinet-Habu example might easily be emended into *dni-t*, which would explain the use of the sign κ . Perhaps after all *dni-t* is the more probable solution of the problem. — For the use of *w* here cf.  *Urk.*, IV, 18;  *Petrie Ostrakon*, 38.

1. So too *hpr-t* in the examples *Westcar*, 4, 10; 6, 15 quoted by Sethe; the pseudoparticiple *hpr-tl* would have been written out fully in that papyrus.

2. ERM.'s rendering "und zum Beduinen geworden ist" is quite indefensible.

267. —  "o King, my lord", a common phrase, cf. *Westcar*, 9, 6; *Bersheh*, I, 15; MAR., *Abyd.*, II, 29, 6; *ity* written as here, *Prisse*, 4, 2.

268-279. — The Royal Children now make music before the Pharaoh, chanting a song that culminates in a petition for Sinuhe's liberty. It seems very probable that dancing formed some part of the entertainment, though not explicitly mentioned. At all events there must have some mimetic representation connected with the object called , whilst the sistra were shaken in the hand and produced a tinkling sound. The symbolic meaning of the performance has not hitherto been appreciated, and deserves all the more attention as the passage may claim, when rightly understood, to be the *locus classicus* for Egyptian musical entertainments of the kind. I shall try to show that all Egyptian music performed by females and involving the use of the sistrum and *mni-t* was dominated by one idea, namely that the performer is Hathor, the goddess of song and dance, who bestows her favours on the prince before whom the performance takes place.

268-269. — All the three objects which the Royal children (probably only the young princesses are meant) bring in their hands are usually considered to be musical instruments. This is certainly true of two of them, the  and the  (emend thus for , which are two different kinds of sistrum (see below). It was therefore not unnatural to suppose that the third object named, the , was likewise an instrument of music. This view seems first to have been explicitly taken by Prof. Erman, in his comments upon the passage *Westcar*, 10, 3, where the birth-deities came to the house of *R'wsr* and  "offered to him their bead-necklaces and their sistra". Erman translates, "und sie spielten(?) vor ihm ihre Ketten(?) und (ihre) Klappern(?)", quoting  *Piankhi*, 134 for the sense given to *ms*; this sentence however offers but slender support to the meaning "to play", as it may just as well be rendered "there being brought to me no harp", and the phrase for "to play the sistrum" is elsewhere , see BR., *Wörterb.*, 1316. Apart from the verb *ms* in the *Sinuhe* and *Westcar* passages not a particle of philological evidence has been produced in favour of the *mni-t* being used as a musical instrument, and that supposition rests merely on the fact that it is constantly mentioned together with the sistrum¹.

The truth is that the sistrum and the *mni-t* are always mentioned together, not because they are both musical instruments, but because they are both emblems of Hathor. In what seems to be the earliest picture in which *mni-t* and sistrum occur together (see the accompanying figure), the goddess Hathor stands before the Pharaoh

1. Read *bin-t* for *bsn-t*.

2. In *Sphinx*, V, 93-96, M. Loret tries to prove that the *mni-t* is really a kind of cymbals. He seems to be quite aware of the explanation of the *mni-t* as a bead necklace with a counterpoise, but strangely enough does not recognize the incompatibility of this view with his own.

Amenemhet III and offers to him these her emblems; in her right hand she waves the sistrum and with her left hand she lifts and stretches out towards the King the

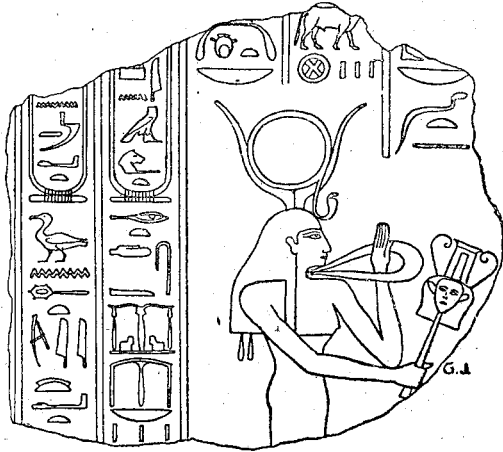



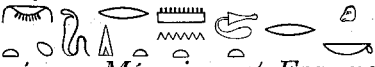
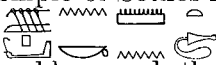
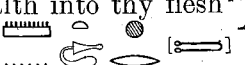


FIG. 1. — From JÉQUIER-GAUTIER, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 106, fig. 131.

bead-necklace *mni-t* that hangs about her neck'. This is clearly the gesture described in *Sinuhe* and *Westcar* by the verb  , perhaps the commonest meaning of which is "to present" something to some honoured person, gifts or tribute to the King or offerings to the dead or the gods. The point that the *mni-t* is offered to the King will be amply demonstrated in illustrating the first words of the Princesses' song; here we need only inquire into the meaning of this offering. It seems that the *mni-t*, as a precious ornament worn by the goddess herself, symbolises all the

benefits that she has in her power to bestow; in giving the *mni-t* she also gives life, prosperity and health. Thus to present the *mni-t* to a person is equivalent practically to offering him the  -sign. It is only when this has become clear that we can



understand the words  "the Golden one presents the *mni-t* to thy nose", DEVÉRIA, *Mémoires et Fragments*, pl. 2; there is no reason for believing that the *mni-t* was supposed to have a fragrant odour, but it is presented to a person's nose because it is synonymous with the breath of life. A similar idea is conveyed too by the words accompanying an unpublished scene in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos; the king receives the sistrum etc. from Isis, who says 




































"receive for thyself the bead-necklace and the sistrum, that they may infuse health into thy flesh". In a scene from Speos Artemidos, Pakht says to the queen: 







































































"the *mni-t* is with thee, making thy protection", *Urkk.*, IV, 287; this proves that the *mni-t* was supposed, as indeed is everything that comes into close contact with divine beings, to be imbued with magical power. In the light of these quotations it can of course be no accident that after begging the king's acceptance of the *mni-t*, the princesses of our tale go on to say "the Golden one (Hathor) giveth life to thy nostril, the lady of the stars unites herself with thee". Nay, from the last words we may perhaps even

1. Another good illustration of this gesture (one among many) is *Deir-el-Bahari*, 101, where *Wrt-hkꜣw* offers the *mni-t* to Amon. Sometimes the *mni-t* is not fastened round the neck of the goddess or the singer who represents the goddess, but is held out in the hand; see particularly the early example in the Louvre stèle C15 (GAYET, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, pl. 54), an admirable instance which is conclusive against the supposition that the bead-necklace was jangled to produce a noise as was the case with the sistrum. See too the scene from a coffin in the Bibliothèque nationale reproduced in DEVÉRIA, *Mémoires et fragments (Bibl. égypt.*, t. IV, pl. 2), which represents the deceased actually grasping the *mni-t* which the goddess holds out.





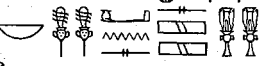
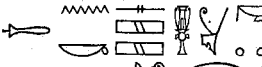
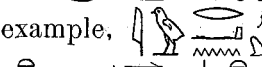



2. For this sense of *hnm* with object and *m*, cf. B211. However as Schäfer points out, it would be possible to render "unite themselves to thy flesh in health", so that taken alone this quotation would not be conclusive.








conclude that the goddess is actually inherent in the *mnī-t* herself; in the late Dendera texts Hathor is not only the  "possessor of the *mnī-t*" (e. g. MAR., *Dend.*, II, 17c; III, 420), but is herself actually  "the great *mnī-t* in the house of the *mnī-t*" (e. g., MAR., *Dend.*, II, 76. 80; III, 78f; IV, II; and often). Thus even on so purely secular an occasion as that narrated in the tale of Sinuhe song and dance might implicitly be a religious ceremony. Several instances from Theban tombs where Hathor is invoked by the musicians at private feasts will be quoted before we leave the subject.












The religious significance of the  as an emblem of Hathor has now been amply illustrated; it remains to prove that in itself it was no more than an ornament for the neck. As such it is described in several places; cf.  LACAU, *Sarcophages*, 28027;              *op. cit.*, 28092. 28087;                     MAR., *Abyd.*, II, 55, 25. The best graphic representations of the commonest variety are a relief from the tomb of Sethos I (BEREND, *Musée égypt. de Florence*, pl. I) and another from the temple of Deir el Bahari (ed. NAVILLE, pl. 101). It consists of a thick bunch of stringed beads that hangs heavily on the wearer's breast; before they reach the neck they are caught up and joined together, giving place to single or double strings that pass behind the neck; attached to these secondary strings are two weighed pendants that hang down, as equipoise to the beads on the breast, over the shoulders'. The different forms of the *mnī-t* depicted on the sarcophagi (LACAU, *op. cit.*, pl. 53. 54), as well as the manner in which the goddesses present it, prove that the beads are the essential part of the object; but the pendant is a remarkable enough part to be sometimes taken as characteristic of the whole, e. g. as determinative in MAR., *Abydos*, II, 55, 25, quoted above, and as amulet. — The fact that the *mnī-t* is a kind of necklace was known to Champollion, and has been often repeated since his time (see especially LEFÉBURE, *Proc. S. B. A.*, 13, 333-335); it is to be deplored that this obvious explanation has been obscured by other hypotheses for which there is hardly a vestige of evidence.




Among the appertenances brought by the Royal children there are mentioned beside the *mnī-t* two kinds of sistrum, the one written  (this reading is more probable than ) and the other  (for  we must substitute ). So too Thutmosis I offers to Osiris              *Urkunden*, IV, 98; and the three objects are several times mentioned together in the texts accompanying scenes of musicians, cf.                *Thebes, tomb of Kn-inn* (copied by. Sethe);                             BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 1191 (tomb of *Hriw-f*);          *Urkunden*, IV, 1059, (tomb of Amenemhet). This evidence already suffices to show

1. In some pictures where the *mnī-t* is brought to be presented to the king its two ends seem, curiously enough, to pass over one and the same shoulder, not to go round the neck. Contrast however the picture of Hathor as cow wearing the *mnī-t* round her neck (NAV., *Deir-el-Bahari*, 104).

that the object written  is the sistrum' of the shape , while the shrine-shaped sistrum  is called *sss-t*. The inscriptions in the Graeco-Roman temples amply bear out this distinction. For the *shm* sistrum², cf.  MAR., *Dend.*, IV, 26 c; and for the two contrasted, cf.  ROCHEM., *Edfou*, I, 167;  MAR., *Dend.*, II, 53 b. A good earlier example,  MAR., *Abyd.*, II, 55, 22. It would not be difficult to find instances where the determinatives of *sss-t* and *shm* are interchanged, but the bulk of the early evidence and the almost unvarying writing in Ptolemaic times leaves no room for doubt as to which sistrum is which. It is true that  is sometimes used as a hieroglyph for *shm* (e. g. PETRIE, *Koptos*, 8, 8), but this inaccuracy is not greater than when  *d'm* is written with  and not with the spiral sceptre *d'm*. That the sistrum is an emblem of Hathor, though not stated to be so by Plutarch in his well-known passage concerning the *σειστρον* (*de Iside*, 63), needs no proof; the sistrum is constantly depicted in Hathor's hands and almost every example bears the goddess' head upon the handle. It is an interesting and perhaps not universally known fact that the sistrum is still used at the present day in the churches of Abyssinia³.



269. —  is certainly for  "in their hands"; the writing  for  is probably a mistake, though some partial parallels (18th. and 19th. Dynasty) can be quoted, e. g.  NAV., *Deir el Bahari*, 56;  L., *D.*, III, 141 b;  L., *D.*, III, 140 c, 19.

269-270. — The meaning of the first words of the Princesses' song were totally unintelligible to me until Sethe pointed out that *hkry-t nt nb-t p-t* is an epithet of the *mni-t*; this point once settled, it forthwith became clear that the King is here asked to accept the *mni-t* borne by the musicians. Among the passages already quoted above we find this sense implied by various expressions:  "I offer to thee";  "to thy ka"; or  "receive thou". The reading of B is confused by hieratic corrections, but there can be little doubt that the correct text is  "thy arms upon the beauteous one", i. e., take the beauteous *mni-t* in thy arms. This view is confirmed on the whole by the corrupt words accompanying a scene at Abu Simbel, where the goddess Hathor stretches out the necklace *mni-t* towards Rameses II; before her are the words        CHAMP., *Mon.*, I, 38 bis, 1 (collated). In another similar scene from the

1. My translation "Stäbe" and Gr.'s rendering "wands" are accordingly wrong. — MASP. (*M. S.*, p. 22) reads *sss-sn sss-t-sn m's* "their sistra with which they play the sistrum"; but *sss* does not occur as verb (see above note on B268-269 *ad init.*). — The hieratic signs for  and  and  are identical with one another.





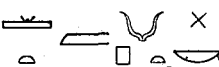

2. Already known to Brugsch (*Wörterb.*, 1292; *Suppl.*, 1108).

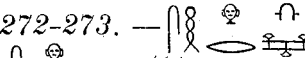
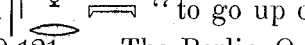
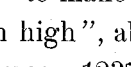

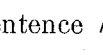
3. The Berlin Museum has a fine specimen of the modern sistrum brought back by Professor Littmann.

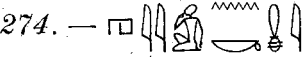
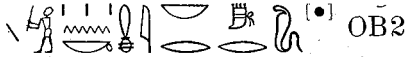


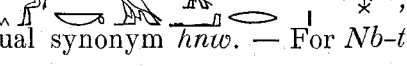
4. The sign at the end of B269 is probably , the  at the beginning of B270 being dittographed.

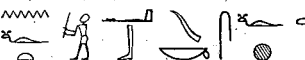

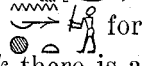


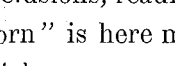
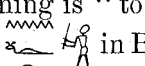

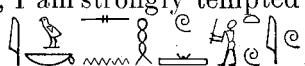
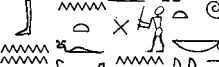

Not a partial, but an exact parallel, is to be found in Westcar, in similar situation (X, 7)

given to the King; but this is the only possibility unless we emend "in the name (*rn*) of" or "in the time (*rk*) of" or some similar expression.

272. —  can, as the text stands, only mean "the papyrus is set upon thy brow", which is meaningless. Both ERM. and MASP. rightly substitute "uraeus" for "papyrus"; we must then read  instead of , cf. 
 Totb., ed. NAV., 15 A, II, 15;  ROCHEM., Edfou, I, 45.

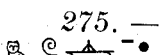


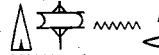


272-273. —  "to make distant", "remove", should not be confused with  "to go up on high", above R7. — , see the note on B120-121. — The Berlin Ostrakon 12379 (OB?) begins with the signs , which must be equivalent to  of B. The sentence *hṭp nk R^c nb ṭwi* was absent from OB2.

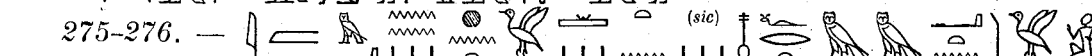

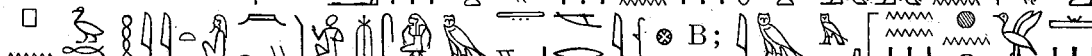

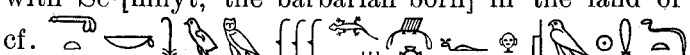

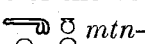
274. —  B;  OB2 "hail to thee and to the Queen". For *hy nk* cf.  Assasif, tomb of *Hrw-f* (no. 192), unpublished;  LANZONE, *Domicile des Esprits*, 12th. hour, top row;  *Ritual of Amon*, 19, 6; OB2 substitutes the more usual synonym *hnw*. — For *Nb-tr dr* as name of the Queen, see B171-173, note.

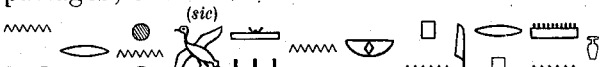
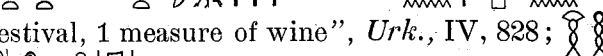

 B;  OB2. The renderings of GR. and MASP. presuppose the wrong reading  for  and may therefore be dismissed without discussion. For *sḥ ṣsr-k* there is a good parallel in the words  "lay to rest (?)² the bow, loosen the arrow", *Piankhi*, 12, in an exhortation to desist from warlike thoughts. The thought here too evidently is that Pharaoh should throw off for the moment his bellicose nature, and show a peace-loving and clement disposition by pardoning the exile Sinuhe. *Sḥ* is obviously imperative as in the *Piankhi* passage, and it seems to follow (1) that *nṣt* must likewise be an imperative, and (2) that the sense of *nṣt 'b-k* is likely to be closely similar to the sense of *šrm pd-t*. The newly-discovered text OB2 helps to support these conclusions, reading *wh^c 'b-[k]* "relax thy horn". I had already conjectured that 'b "horn" is here metaphorically used for "bow" like  in *Koller*, I, 8 (on which see my note), and the variant *wh^c*, i. e. a verb of which the primary meaning is "to loosen" or "slacken" a rope, is strong confirmation of my hypothesis.  in B is, as it stands, an unknown word; I am strongly tempted to read , a rare verb for "to unfasten", "unloose", cf. 
 "thou art bound, and not unloosed", *Pap. mag. Harris*, verso A6;
 "they unslung their waterskins", *Israel stele*, 6;

1. GR., "strong is thy horn; let fall thy arrow"; MASP., "ta corne est forte, ta flèche détruit".
 2. *Š-r-m* here only in this writing; clearly connected with שלם.


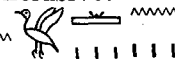


 (read ) “thou releasest the horse”, *Anast. I*, 24, 5-6;  “he who was bound is loosed and freed”, *Pap. Turin*, 18+73, 2.

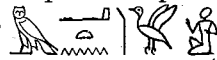
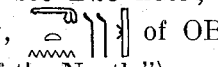
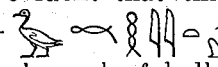
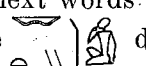
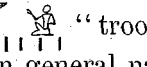
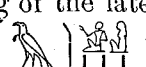
275. —  OB2. Neither text is free from error: in B we must restore an  before *nti*, and in OB2 the  is missing in *<i>tmw*. *Itmw* seems to be an abstract word meaning “suffocation” or the like, cf.  “giving breath to him who is stifled”, *Metternich stele*, 88;  “releasing him who is confined in suffocation”, *PETRIE, Koptos*, 20, 9. Cf. also the word *itm* in the sentence , *Pap. Leiden*, 345, recto I, 3.

275-276. —  (sic)  B;   OB2. The difficulty of these sentences resides in the uncertain meaning of the word *hn-t*; and there is also the problem, not quite an easy one, as to which of the two versions is to be preferred. The variants of OB2 are at all events useful as proof that I was on the right tack in translating, “Gib uns unser schönes Fest an diesem Nomaden”, etc.; the Royal children clearly demand that they shall be granted the freedom of Sinuhe as a reward for their song and dancing. This point is settled by the second clause in OB2, which may be rendered, “Reward us with Se-[mhyt, the barbarian born] in the land of Egypt”; for *mtn* “to reward” cf.  “thou (Amon) rewardest him with many years, that his heart may be glad on the throne of Horus like Re eternally”, *Urk.*, IV, 863; similarly  “he rewards thee [with] millions”, *Urk.*, IV, 562. Many examples of the verb *mtn* occur in the inscriptions of the temple of Luxor; the substantive  *mtn-wt* “reward” is found *Urk.*, IV, 377.


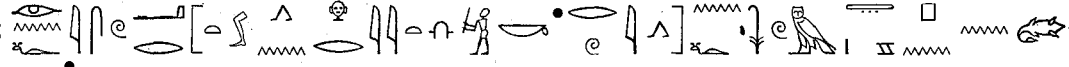
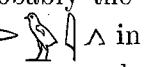
The *cru*x of the passage is, as I have said, *hn-t*. Erman translated *hn-t tn nfr-t* as “dieses Schöne”, a rendering for which there is no authority, though the masculine *hn pn nfr* could bear this meaning. MASP. and Gr. give respectively “grâce” and “favour”, meanings just as little susceptible of demonstration. It is clear that *hn-t* here is the same word as occurs in two other passages; one of these is in the list of the festival offerings instituted by Thutmosis III,  (sic)  “what is for the expenses (?) of this festival, 1 measure of wine”, *Urk.*, IV, 828;  “he instituted new expenditure (?) for his fathers the gods”, *Amada stele*, 11-12. The sense “expenses” would also suit both the versions of our manuscripts; in B we should translate, “Give us our goodly expenses in the nomad” etc., and in OB2, “Give us the expenses of this beautiful



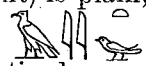

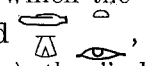
day”¹. However the fact that the word *hn-t* is in all the cases used in reference to festivals suggests that the meaning “expenses” is too wide; the word may mean specifically “festival outlay”, if indeed its sense is not to be sought along some altogether different line of thought. Our evidence is not conclusive.

In B  is evidently for , as in *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 7  is for *iswt-n* (see SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 44 [1907], 80) and as in *Eloquent Peasant*, B1, 7-8  is for *w:t-n*. — The use of the preposition *m* in the version of B strikes one as unnatural, but if *hn-t* really means “expenses” it might be intended to express what the expenses “consisted of”. The text of OB2 is obviously much clearer and better in style; we are here again face to face with the old question — is the easier or the more difficult reading to be preferred? To this question it is perhaps more prudent to give no answer in the present case.

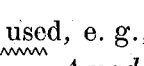
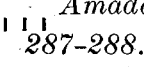
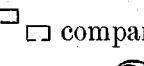
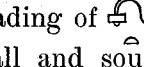
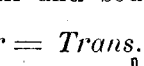
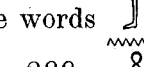
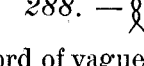
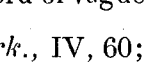
276. — For  of B see B26 note; it is evident that this word either suggested, or was suggested by,  of OB2. —  “the son of the North wind” (or simply “of the North”) appears to be a playful allusion to the name of Sinuhe on the one hand, and to his wanderings in Northern Syria on the other. A similar antithesis is expressed in the next words “the barbarian born in Ti-muri” (cf. too for the thought B265). Here  does not mean “foreign soldier”, as GR., doubtless thinking of the late Egyptian  “troop”, renders; it is evidently the singular of  the well-known general name for “foreigners”, “barbarians” (cf. B259); cf. *pdti* above B121. — *T?-mri* was discussed in the note on B210-211.

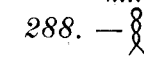
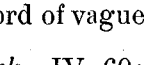
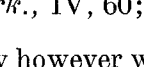
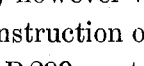
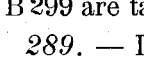
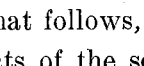
277-279. — The clauses “he fled through fear of thee, he left (this) land through dread of thee” are contrasted with two clauses that follow, “the face of him who has seen thy face does not blanch (?), the eye that has beheld thee does not fear”; Pharaoh, who seems so terrible from afar, is mild and gentle when one is actually in his presence.

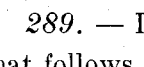
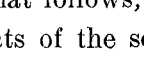
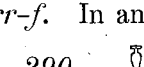
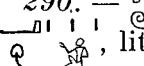
277-278. —  B;  was probably the version of OB2. There is not much to be said about these differences.  in the sense of “to leave” has been found above B152 (*rww*), and apparently occurs only in these two passages. The addition of *pn* improves the text, but [*rwi*]-*nfsu m* is cumbersome. For the writing of *hr[y-t]* in B see above B123-124, note.

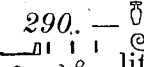
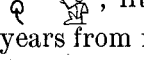
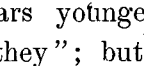
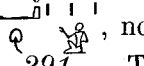
278-279. — That  in B is a corrupt writing of  (see my critical note on the text) is plain, though no confirmation is given by OB2, in which the words are lost. , is a *crux* and may be corrupt.  and , it should be noticed, are perfect participles — not “that sees (beholds) thee”, but “that

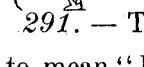
1. *Hrw nfr* here means “holiday”, “fête”, as often.

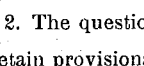
so used, e. g.,  *Urk.*, IV, 607;  *Amada stele*, 9; other examples, *Stele of Tutanchamon*, 15; *L., D.*, III, 140 c, 9.
 287-288. — For the position of *im-f* in the sentence  compare  B81-82'. — The reading of  "precious things" (e. g., *L., D.*, II, 22; *Mereruka*, C4, north wall and south wall; *Urk.*, IV, 515; and especially  *Turin altar* = *Trans. S. B. A.*, III, 112) is still quite uncertain²;  occurs as adjective in the words  *Weni*, 38.


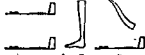
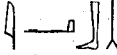
288. —  "clothes of Royal wear(?)";  is often a word of vague meaning very similar to  , e. g.,  *Urk.*, IV, 60;  *Urk.*, IV, 118; probably however we should emend  "of byssus", "fine linen" (Coptic *ḡmnc*). — The construction of *ḥbsw* etc. depends upon the way in which the words *ni-swt sꜣw mꜣꜣr-f* in B 299 are taken; see next note.




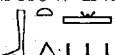
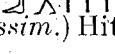

289. — In my German translation I separated the words  from what follows, taking these words and the preceding *ḥbsw nꜣw šs stn* as further subjects of the sentence  ; but to make the balance of the clause satisfactory some genitive is urgently needed after '*ntiw tp-t*'. In addition to this, the translation which in that case has to be given for *sꜣw ni-swt mꜣꜣr-f m -t nb-t* ("Beamte des Königs, die er liebte, waren in jeder Kammer") does not make very good sense. I therefore return to the old view which makes of *ni-swt sꜣw mꜣꜣr-f* genitives following '*ntiw tp-t*' ("frankincense and fine oil of the King and the courtiers whom he loves"); on this view *m -t nb-t* is predicate both to *ḥbsw nꜣw šs stn* and to '*ntiw tp-t stn sꜣw mꜣꜣr-f*'. In any case  must be emended to .


290. —  , repeated from B246 above. —  , literally "they let years pass over my flesh", i. e., I removed the grime of years from my skin; the goodly unguents and apparel of Egypt made Sinuhe appear years younger. —  is perhaps the *sꜣm-f* form with an ellipse of the subject "they"; but it might also be 1st. person singular, *rdi-i* "I caused". — For  , not "limbs" but "flesh", "skin", see MONTET, *Sphinx*, 13, 1-11.






291. — The words  are usually guessed to mean "I was shaved, and my hair was combed"³. This translation cannot be far wide of the mark, but both *t*² and "*b*" are unexampled in the senses here assigned


1. There is no reason to construe *nt-pr-ḥd* as a compound substantive meaning "things from the treasury", as was proposed by ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 34 (1896), 51.
 2. The question is not necessarily dependent on the reading of the title  . For the latter I prefer to retain provisionally the transcription *sꜣḥwti* proposed by Crum and confirmed by Spiegelberg; for Spiegelberg's new suggestion (*Proc. S. B. A.*, 27, 287) that *ḥtmwti* is to be read I see no ground whatsoever.
 3. As Spiegelberg has pointed out (*Sphinx*, IV, 141), it is related by Diodorus (I, 48) that the Egyptians let their hair grow long throughout their absence from Egypt. However I cannot see that this passage confirms the statement of the Greek historian; if Sinuhe's hair is long, it is because he has conformed to the habits of the barbarians.






to them.  elsewhere means "to pluck" or "to seize"; and here it might refer to depilation.  is probably akin to  "to join", "unite", and "to heap up (corn) with the aid of a pitchfork", references for which are given by SETHE, *Verbum*, I, § 148, and ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 46 (1909), 97.

291-292. — The sentence "a burden was given to the desert and clothes to the Sandfarers" is an amusing example of the artificial style often adopted by the author of our tale. The burden given to the desert is of course the dirt which Sinuhe's ablutions removed from him, and the clothes given to the Sandfarers are Sinuhe's discarded Asiatic garments. — Notice that a considerable number of the sentences from here onwards until the end of the tale begin with the word . Sinuhe is no longer relating his life progressively, but *describing* the favours he received.  is here, as below B295. 305, the passive form *sdmw-f*; contrast  "I gave" in B294. —  is elsewhere the freight of a ship (*Shipwrecked Sailor*, 162; *Anast. VIII, passim.*) Hitherto  has been the accepted reading, but in addition to the hieratic evidence, which is decisive, there is no good authority for such a feminine word with the meaning "dirt", "foulness"; cf. *pediculus, rubigo* (compared with *sb-t* here by ERMAN, *Aeg. Glossar*, p. 103) may well be the Coptic equivalent of  *Admonitions*, 2, 8 (see my edition pp. 26. 113).

For  "to clothe" (originally *sd*), cf. *Pyr.*, 416; *Copenhagen stele* = *Ä. Z.*, 34 (1896), 27; *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind*, 6, 7; MAR., *Abydos*, I, p. 40, b.

293. — For  cf.  MAR., *Abydos*, II, 33. Note that the verbs "to anoint" may be construed (1) either as here, cf. too *wrh im-s*, B295;  *Totb., ed.*, NAV., 125, *Nach-schrift*, 3; (2) or else with a direct object, cf.  *Urk.*, IV, 482;  *Leiden K9*; and similarly *Mission*, V, 426. 428.

294-295. — Here we have a sentence containing a similar thought to that of B291-292. The words "I gave the sand to those who are in it" is peculiar inasmuch as a phrase  is unknown; cf. however *hrw-s'*. — Are we to infer from the words *mrh-t n h-t n wrh im-s* that the Egyptians preferred for their bodies oil made from animal fat?

295-297. — The sentence  (Ms. ) presents difficulties. GR. takes  as a proper name, rendering "there was given to me the house of Neb-mer (?), which had belonged to a Companion". A better suggestion, in my opinion, is that of MASP., who gives as his version "on me donna la maison qui convient à un propriétaire foncier qui a rang d'ami", the sole objection to this being that the expression  occurs nowhere else. I am greatly tempted to substitute for it , a title which we know from R1 to have been conferred upon Sinuhe. — *M wn m' smr* means more probably "such a one as a courtier possesses" than "which had belonged to a courtier" (GR. and ERM.); for the text goes on to relate that "many workmen built it, and all its woodwork was

newly appointed". We must not allow ourselves to be misled either by *srwd* or by *m mꜣw-t* in B297. Both these words are ambiguous; *srwd* is indeed very often used of "restoring" buildings that had fallen into decay (e. g. *Sheikh Said*, 30; *Urk.*, IV, 102. 390. 879; *Harris I*, 9, 6; 49, 12), but sometimes appears to mean simply "to supply", "establish" (e. g. *Pyr.*, 1868; *Cairo stele*, *M. K.*, 20512); *m mꜣw-t* is rarely employed in the sense "anew" (of things renewed, cf. *Anast. I*, 26, 6), but far more frequently with the meaning "newly", "expressly" (*passim*). — The subject of the sentence "many workmen built it" is very confusedly written, and as the facsimile clearly shows, the first sign has been altered and partly deleted. There is very little reason for reading the hieratic sign as a ram (thus MASP., *M. S.*, p. 85; MÖLLER, *Hierat. Paläogr.*, I, no. 140, footnote). As it stands, the sign is illegible; but its lower part, which is intact, suggests that is to be read. Thus we should obtain as the reading , a not impossible variant of , the word which we should naturally expect in this context.

297. — Instead of we should probably read , the analogy of (B295) and (B300) requiring here the passive form *sdmw-f*; the reading given by SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 476 and MASP., *M. S.*, p. 24, is palaeographically impossible.

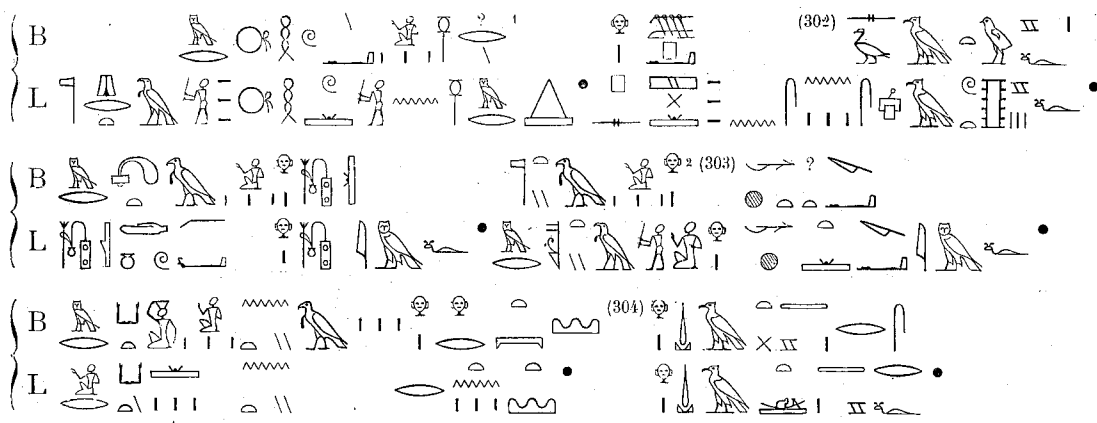
298. — "meals", cf. "there were given to me meals of meat and fowl", *Urk.*, I, 139; meals of meat and fowl"; "a bull was slaughtered for my meal", DYROFF, *Grabsteine aus..... München*, no. 3; and in the common formula of the funerary stelae, *Louvre*, C60; C55; C202; *Stockholm*, 55.








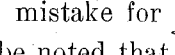

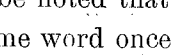




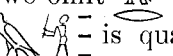
299. — For the phrase "to make delay" instances are quoted by SETHE, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 32, note 149.

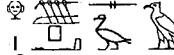
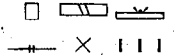


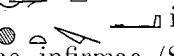
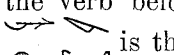
300-308. — There follows the description of the tomb which was built for Sinuhe. For this section there is a parallel text in the late Ostrakon no. 5629 of the British Museum (here called L). Of the numerous variations which L displays some are simple corruptions of the readings of B, but others are clearly derived from a different original text. In a few places, as we shall see, L has clearly preserved the better readings.

300-301. — B; L. The version of B, "a tomb was built for me", is perhaps rather more natural than "[my tomb was] built" in L, and *m kꜣb* in B might be preferred to *m hnw snw n* ("in the midst of the circle of") in L on account of its greater brevity.


301-304. — The respective readings of B and L will best be displayed by printing the two versions one above the other :—






It is apparent at the very first glance that L here corrects two glaring errors of B. That the "overseer of the treasurers" should draw designs in the tomb of Sinuhe is sheer nonsense, and hence  of L must take the place of  in B. In the next clause  is evidently a corruption of  (so L), due to the similarity of  and  in hieratic. On the other hand , which occurs in L not only here but once again later on, is a transparent mistake for , the hieratic  easily decomposing into . It will further be noted that B twice has the word  where it is absent from L, and L has the same word once where B omits it; at its fourth occurrence, in  both manuscripts are in agreement. The point of these sentences is probably that the best workers in each craft (i. e. the overseers) helped in the construction of Sinuhe's tomb, and therefore the word  ought perhaps to be retained throughout. It would possibly relieve the stiffness of the text thus obtained if we omit  in the first instance: this is quite plausible, as in the text of L  is qualified by the words "who build tombs", i. e. the workmen who constructed Sinuhe's tomb were practised hands.



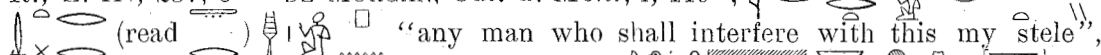

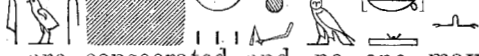

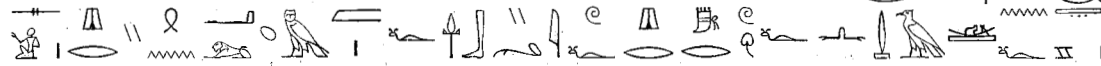
Let us now discuss the other divergences between B and L one by one. Neither  "took its ground" (B) nor  "they divided its walls" (L) gives good sense; but the composite reading  "divided up its ground", i. e. "plotted out its foundations", seems to yield a quite suitable meaning. The twofold  in L adds to the clearness of the text.  in B is quite a correct form, as the verb belongs to the class of the 3ae. infirmae (SETHE, *Verbum*, I, § 396); but  is the infinitive in *Admonitions*, 11, 3, as well as here in L. *Ntiw* in B is superior to the singular *nti* given by L. Between *hr hr-t* (B) and *r hr-t* (L) it is hard

1. Corrupt signs, from which the reading indicated seems recoverable.


2.  is repeated by ditography at the top of B303.




3. I have pointed out in my palaeographical note that  cannot be read, as MASP. and the other translators had supposed. Besides this the word *hrtic-nti* (literally "necropolis people") always means "stone-masons", not "sculptors".



to choose. Lastly,  of B is less easily explicable than  of L, which would refer to *mr* "the pyramid" (B300); perhaps for that very reason *rs* is the better reading.






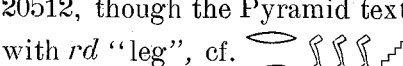
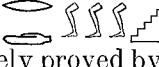

The sole difficulty of vocabulary in the passage is the phrase *hr d³-t t³ rs* (or *rf*), concerning which Dévaud has recently written in *Sphinx*, 13, 118-120. The translation "crossed the land concerning it", proposed by MASP. and ERM. and adopted from them by myself, is a correct literal rendering of the text (for *d³ t³* in this sense see e. g. *Pyr.*, 1215 a); but the passages quoted by Dévaud and others supplied by the Berlin dictionary show that we have here to do with a more indefinite metaphorical meaning "to occupy oneself with" something, or in a bad sense "to interfere with". For the good sense the only example seems to be that in our tale, which we must now translate "busied themselves with it". In a bad sense, cf. "As to this my tomb, let me be buried in it with my wife  "without any people being allowed to interfere with it", *Pap. Kahun*, 12, 12; the bird-catchers and salt-gatherers etc. shall be allowed to exercise their profession  "without interference from anyone" R., *L. H.*, 257, 6 = DE MORGAN, *Cat. d. Mon.*, I, 119';  (read ) "any man who shall interfere with this my stele", *Cairo stele*, M. K., 20458; the Theban temples,  "all their.... are consecrated and no one may interfere with them", L., *D.*, III, 257a, 24; lastly, with ellipse of , cf.  "if thou examine a man with an ulcer on his right side, under his ribs² but not interfering (with them)", *Ebers*, 41, 5-6.

The entire passage may now be conjecturally restored and translated as follows:—



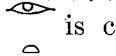


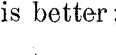
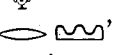





 "The masons who build tombs marked out its ground-plan, the master-draughtsmen designed in it, the master-sculptors carved in it and the master-builders who are in the Necropolis busied themselves with it".


304-305. — B has ; this is on the whole confirmed by the reading  of L, which has no variant of value.  here clearly means the funeral furniture³, such as was usually buried with men of

1. There is another rather similar instance in the tomo of Nebamon at Gurna (no. 90; *Brit. Mus. Add. Ms.*, 29823 sheet 84).
 2. *D³rc* is the "paroi costale" (cf. *d³r-t* "wall"), as I hope to prove elsewhere.
 3. *H³w* (written here as above B 129; outside *Sinuhe* B always with  not ) is of course very common with the meaning "weapons"; but it is also found signifying (2) the "tackle" of ships (e. g. *Mission*).


distinction.  can only be the imperfect passive participle (SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 954), the pseudoparticiple from this verb being written  in Middle Kingdom texts (SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, § 135); the predicate of *h'w nb* and the following words is therefore *ir(w) hrt-f im*. — The word here written  must be identical with , as no other *rwd* denoting a part of the tomb is known; for *rwd* “staircase”, “shaft” the writing with *w* is sometimes found, e. g.  *Pyr.*, 279 c:  *Cairo stele*, M. K., 20512, though the Pyramid texts already seem, curiously enough, to connect the word with *rd* “leg”, cf.  *Pyr.*, 1090 c. That *rwd* means the “shaft” of the tomb seems decisively proved by the words  *Siut*, I, 308. “Staircase” was doubtless the original meaning, and in fact the burial chambers of mastabas of the 1st to 3rd Dynasties are approached by descending staircases. Later when the staircase was replaced by a shaft, the word *rwd* was still retained, although its literal sense no longer applied; cf. our use of the word “pen”, French “plume”, etc.; so too the literal meaning of *mr* in B300-301 must not be pressed, mastabas being more probably meant than actual “pyramids”.


Translate therefore: “all kinds of furniture which are brought to the tomb-shaft, its (i. e. the tombs) requirements were supplied therewith”.

305-306. —  B;  L. It does not seem possible to derive any good readings from L;  is certainly a corruption of , but  in B is better;  is again here to be emended to , see above B301-304 note. — In B both  and  are doubtless the passive *sdmw-f*, and  that follows in each case is the dative. —  “tomb-garden”, see Maspero's instructive note *C. P.*, p. 82 and the examples of  in this sense quoted by me *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 129. — *M hnt r* I take to be a compound preposition “in front of”, though I can produce no other example of this²; after *dmi* we should probably understand the suffix of the 1st. person singular.

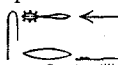



V, tomb of Neferhotep, pl. 3, *Pap. Turin*, 54, 15); (3) more rarely in a general sense “utensils”; thus the tree says to the beloved one, “Send out thy servants before thee 


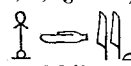
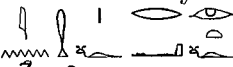
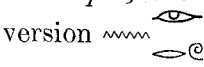

Turin Love-songs, 2, 9.

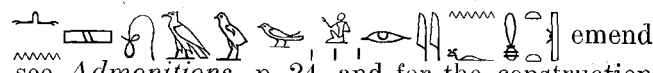
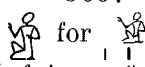

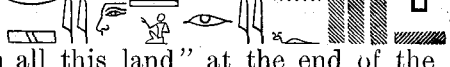
1. GR. translates, “and all the instruments applied to a tomb were there employed”. MASP., *C. P.*, p. 82 gives, “Je donnai le mobilier, faisant les agencements nécessaires dans la pyramide même”; but he seems to have changed his view, since in *M. S.*, p. 157 we find registered an otherwise unknown word  “les matériaux de choix (?)”. ERM. offers no explanation of the passage.

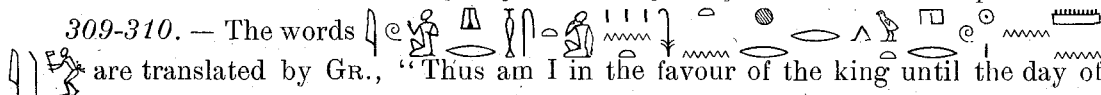
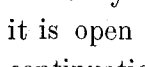

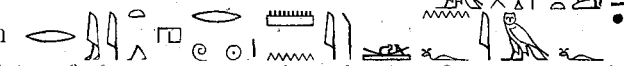
2. So ERM.; GR., far less probably, “the land in it better than a farm estate”. MASP. (*C. P.*, p. 82) renders “avec des terres prises sur les bois royaux et un bourg”, reading  in L in support of his version, but the spelling of *hnti-s* in B would be most abnormal, and this word, as I have shown in *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1908), 129 never means “estates” before the 18th. Dynasty, but is always a title.


307. — The phrase  recurs in an 18th. Dynasty text (*Urk.*, IV, 1200) quoted in the note on B192-193 above.

307-308. —  “overlaid” with gold, cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 64; *Harris*, I, 30, 5; perhaps too  *Deir el Gebrâwi*, II, 19;  *Benihasan*, II, 4. The word properly means to “sweep” or “brush over” something, cf. “Make her sit on  ground swept with the eaves of beer”, *Pap. Kahun*, 6, 15; other examples *Ebers*, 97, 17; 98, 7. An obscure metaphorical use in *Prisse*, 12, 3'; Sethe compares *caꜣꜣ* (*caꜣꜣ*) : *caꜣꜣ* *verrere* (*Verbum*, I, § 260).

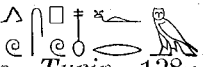

308. —  B; L gives the phonetic spelling  “its apron”. The metal *d^cm* is here apparently distinguished from *nb* “gold”. The theory of Lepsius that the word means electrum rests on no evidence whatsoever. In poetical texts *d^cm* is a simple synonym of *nb* “gold”. Here it might be meant that whereas the statue itself was only overlaid with “gold”, the apron was solid gold. The difficult question of the precise meaning of *d^cm* requires careful study. Some good criticism will be found already in CHABAS, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, 2nd. ed., p. 17-64. —  B; L has the inexplicably corrupt version  

309. — In the version of B  emend for . On the word *swꜣw* see *Admonitions*, p. 24, and for the construction of *iry nꜣ mit-t* see SETHE, *Verbum*, II, § 899. The sentence is quoted in the form  MAR., *Karnak*, 37b, 7 (statue of *Imnhꜣp* son of *Hꜣw*). L has here  and clearly read *m ꜣ pn rꜣ dr-f* “in all this land” at the end of the sentence, though there is not room on the ostrakon for the restoration of [*m ꜣ*] as well as [*mit-t*]. The addition is superfluous.

309-310. — The words  are translated by GR., “Thus am I in the favour of the king until the day of death shall come”; so too ERM. and MASP. It is plain however that this rendering is merely an attempt to avoid the difficulty of making Sinuhè recount his death; and it is open to the grave objection that a clause beginning with  must be the continuation of the descriptive passage that precedes¹. The difficulty disappears as soon as it is recognized that the story is written in the form of a funerary biography (see on R1-2); Sinuhe speaks out of his tomb, and there is therefore no reason why he should not narrate his own death. — L, which had the reading  instead of *hr hꜣwt*, continues with  thoughtlessly substituting *mini-nꜣ im-f* for *nꜣ mini*, though the first person is obviously required.

1. The determinative of the arrow is of course derived from *sꜣr*, *šꜣr* “arrow”, and we must beware of transcribing it , as done by MASP., *M. S.*, p. 25, by confusion with *šꜣkr* “to ornament”.

2. Otherwise we should have *hr wnn-i* or *hr mik-wt* or the like.

311. — B ends the text with precisely the same colophon as is found at the conclusion of the *Prisse*, of the *Lebensmüde* and of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*. L substitutes the formula characteristic of Ramesside manuscripts, namely  cf. *d'Orbiney*, 19, 7; *Sall.* II, 3, 7. 8; 11, 5; 14, 11; *Pap. Turin*, 138; *Anast.* III, 7, 10; *Pap. med. Berlin*, 21, 10.  here means "it has arrived", i. e. the book reached its conclusion; for the form *sdm-fpw*, see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gramm.*³, § 356.

III

THE DUPLICATE TEXTS

The story of Sinuhe has incidentally afforded striking confirmation of the proverb that it never rains but it pours. M. Maspero's edition first made known M. Golénischeff's papyrus fragments (G). The important Ramesseum papyrus R followed close at the heels of G, and laid upon M. Maspero the unpleasant necessity of remodelling part of his work when it had already gone to press. Before the appearance of my photographic facsimile other fragments of R emerged, and a few more annoying scraps have since, I regret to say, come to light so as to render my book incomplete. A few words on a Berlin ostrakon (no. 12341, published *Hierat. Pap. a. d. kön. Museum*, III, 42) were not at my disposal when I dealt with the passage to which they refer in the *Recueil de Travaux*. Two other ostraca discovered by me in the Berlin and Petrie collections respectively could fortunately be utilized for my commentary, while some other tiny fragments recently found among Professor Petrie's ostraca could not be so used. At the last moment, when the manuscript of this portion of my work was already in the hands of the printer, news came from Berlin of yet two more ostraca found in the course of this year's excavations (1913) at Der el Medineh. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Möller, not only for providing me with annotated photographs of these, but also for generously permitting me to publish them here.

A new list of Mss., replacing that contained in my former work, is necessitated by these recent accessions to our knowledge.

The Mss. of the tale now known are as follows:—

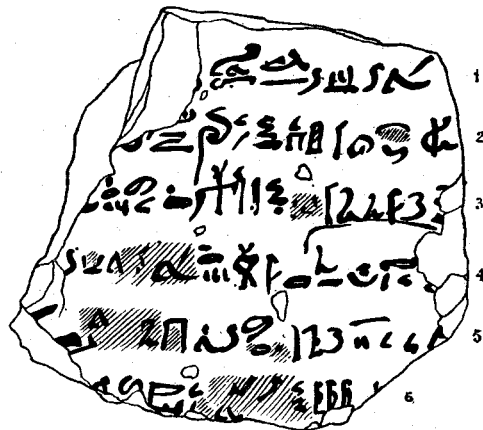
- B. — Pap. Berlin 3022, for all information concerning which see GARDINER, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, p. 4.
- A. — The Amherst fragments, really part of B; see *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- R. — The Ramesseum papyrus, see *op. cit.*, p. 3-4. More recently some new fragments have come to light, containing additions to R98-101 and R107-111; unpublished hitherto, but incorporated in the text below.
- G. — M. Golénischeff's papyrus, now in Moscow; see *op. cit.*, p. 5. Collated by me from a photograph in the Berlin Museum.
- C. — The Cairo ostrakon 27419, see *op. cit.*, p. 5. The original has been collated by me.



BERLIN OSTRACON 12379 (OB^a)



VERSO



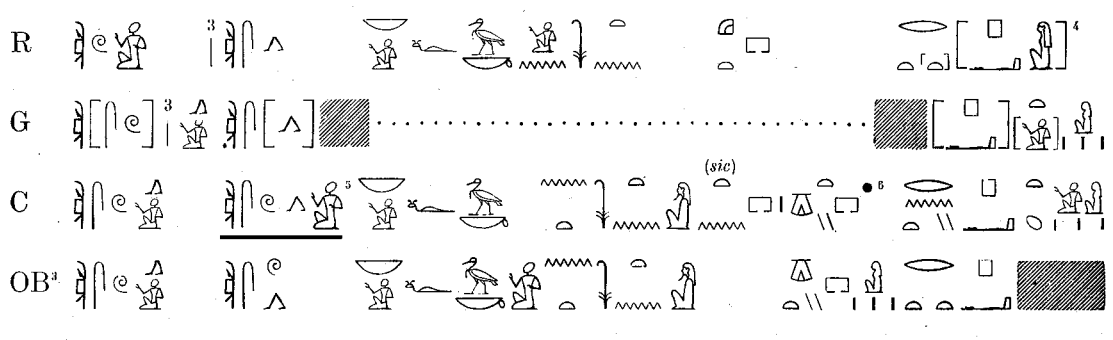
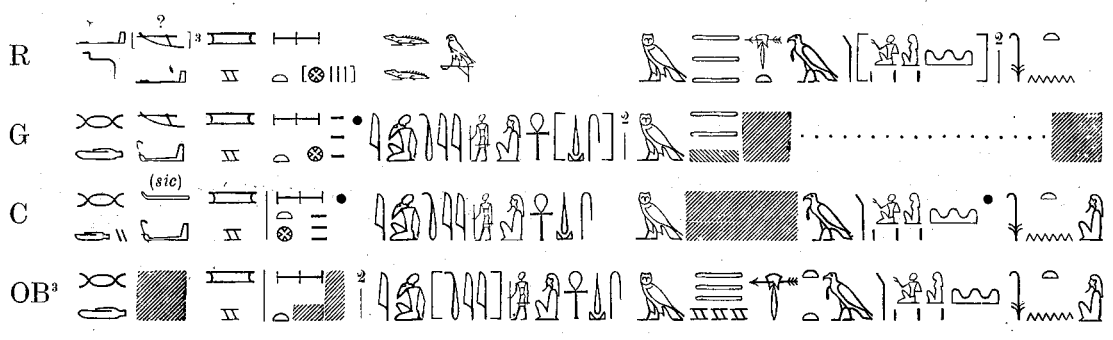
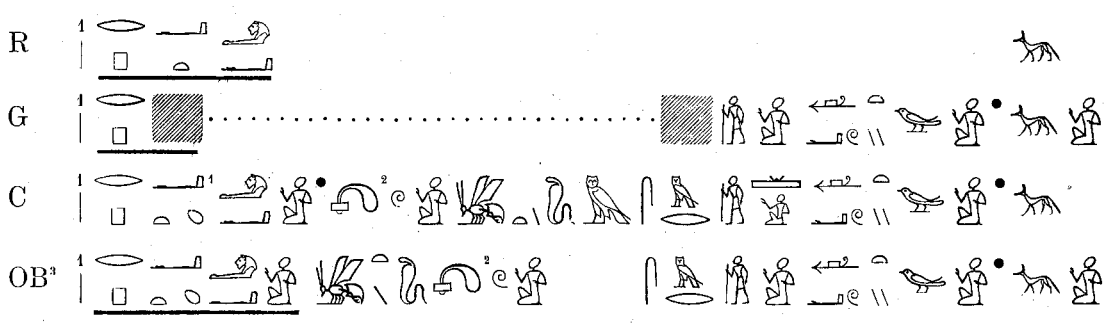
RECTO

PETRIE OSTRACON 12 (OP^a)

- L. — The London ostrakon 5629, see *op. cit.*, p. 5. Collated with the original in the British Museum.
- OB¹. — The Berlin potsherd or ostrakon P 12341, published in facsimile and transcription in *Hierat. Texte aus den königlichen Museen*, III, 42 (appeared in 1911). The *recto* contains accounts from about the end of the Hyksos period. The *verso* has, in the same writing, a few words from the much-disputed passage R58-60 = B34-36. This I discovered too late to utilize for my commentary as it appeared in the *Recueil de Travaux*.
- OB². — Berlin ostrakon P 12379, a piece of limestone discovered by me in July 1911 among the ostraca brought back by Dr. Möller in the preceding season. This bears in bold 19th. Dynasty hieratic a duplicate of parts of the passage B273-279. Utilized in my commentary, and published in facsimile in the accompanying plate.
- OB³. — Berlin ostrakon P 12623, a large piece of inscribed limestone found by Doctor Möller near the tomb of Sennozem (no. 1) at Der el Medineh (spring 1913). The writing is not unlike that of C, and belongs to a 19th. or 20th. Dynasty hand. The *recto* contains the greater portion of R1-19, and the *verso* a more damaged duplicate of R49-68 = B25-44. This valuable new document is published for the first time in the following pages, from photographs and notes provided by Dr. Möller.
- OB⁴. — Berlin ostrakon P 12624, a smaller limestone fragment discovered at the same time and place as the preceding, which it resembles in its handwriting. A duplicate of R38-51 = B13-27. Publication as last.
- OP¹. — A small fragment of limestone with a few words from the passage R47-50 = B22-25. From the Petrie collection (no. 58), date about Dynasty 19-20. Not utilized in the commentary.
- OP². — Petrie ostrakon 12, a small limestone fragment found among a large collection entrusted to me by Professor Petrie; soil-stained, and faint in places. The writing is of the 19th. or 20th. Dynasty; the *recto* contains portions of B236-245, the *verso* portions of B248-253. Utilized in my commentary and here published in facsimile.
- OP³. — A small chip of limestone, with some words from B250-256 discovered in 1913 among Professor Petrie's ostraca (no. 59). Probably 19th. or 20th. Dynasty. Not utilized in the commentary.

By the newly-discovered parallel texts the synoptic table of correspondences in my Berlin volume (*op. cit.*, p. 7) is rendered incomplete; but it is also rendered unnecessary by the text that is given in the following pages. This only includes those parts of the tale where duplicates exist. For the rest recourse must be had to my facsimile edition. A few errors in the latter are corrected below, and the reasons for the corrections are as a rule indicated in footnotes. Restorations are in square brackets. Signs underlined, as well as the verse-points, are in red.

This text includes only portions preserved in duplicate; all other portions must be sought in Berlin edition.



1. Here and in the corrupt writing of *rp'tt* below ○ is made like hieratic —
 2. The correct N. K. form, see MÖLLER, *Paläographie*, II, no. 423.
 3. See Additional Notes on R 1.
 4. So Sethe proposes to restore.
 5. Added in red above the line.
 6. My interpretation (see note on R 3) of the corrupt signs in C is proved by OB³ to be erroneous; see Additional Notes on R 3.

R

G

C

OB³

R

A(m)

G

C

OB³

R

A(m)

G

C

OB³

R


A(m)

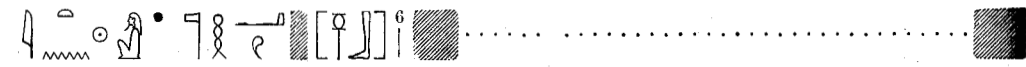
G


C

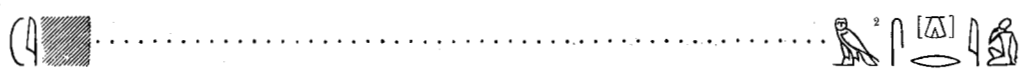
OB³


1. above the line.
 2. Originally then corrected in red into .

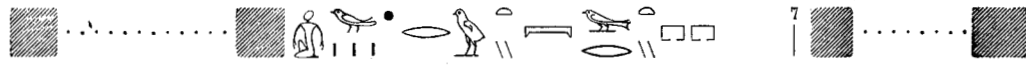
R  R

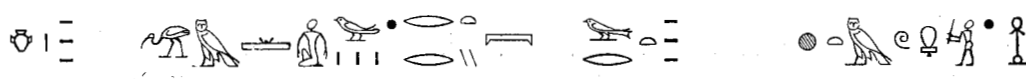
G 


C 

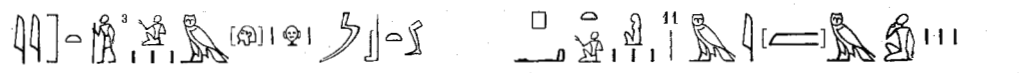
OB⁷ 

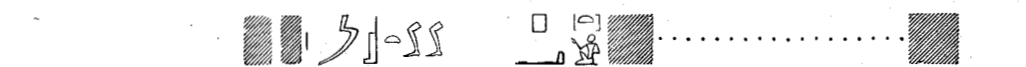
R  R

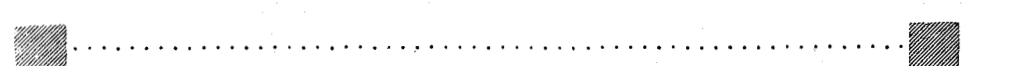
G 


C 


OB⁸ 

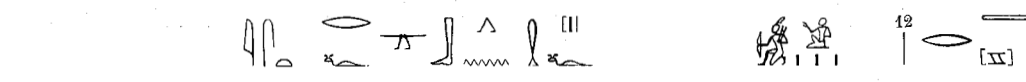
R  R

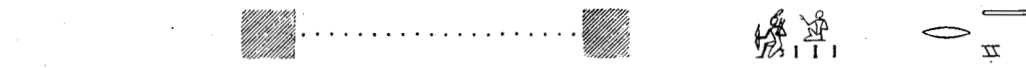
A(n) 


G 

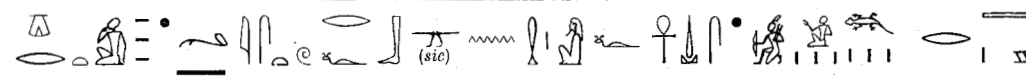
C 


OB⁹ 

R  R

A(n) 

G 

C 

OB¹⁰ 






1. Here no verse point.


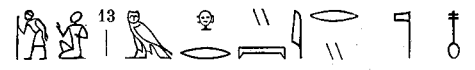
2. A tiny trace.




3. See Commentary on R10.



4. These signs on a flint in the limestone.


5. Added above the line in red.




6.  is here almost like a small .7. Above the line   , corresponding to the reading in C, is here added in red.



R  



A(n)   




G  


C 




OB³   

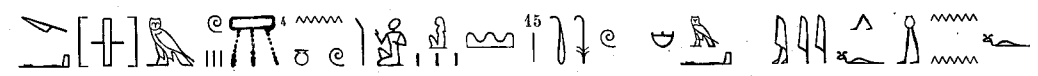
R  



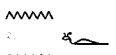
A(n)  


G   


C 




OB³ ¹⁰   

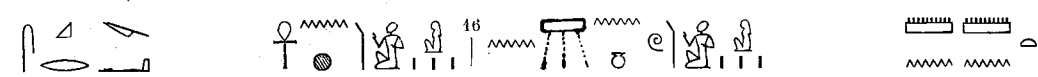
R 

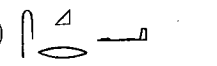


A(n)   





G 

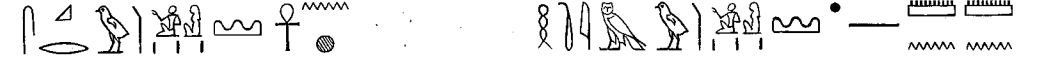
C 





OB³   


R 

A(n)   

G    

C 

OB³    

1. © is a red correction over black \\. — 2. No more than this can be lost. — 3. So, not 'nh wd? snb as Maspero gives. — 4. Quite a different sign from  R 69. — 5. This sign, which is borrowed from sdr(l), is surrounded by a number of red dots to indicate that it is an error.

R 17

A(n) ends.

G 10

C

OB³

R 18

A(o)

G

C 2

OB³ 12

R 19

A(o) ends.

G

C

OB³ end of recto.

R 20

A(p)

G

C

1. Like .
 2. This word is a correction.

R
 B
 G
 C


R
 B
 G
 C

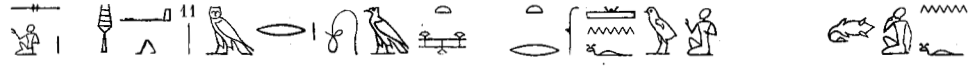
R
 B
 G
 C

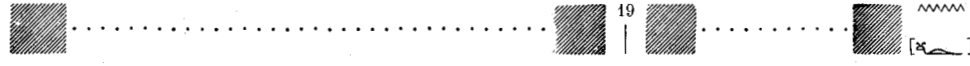
R
 B
 G
 C


R
 B
 G
 C

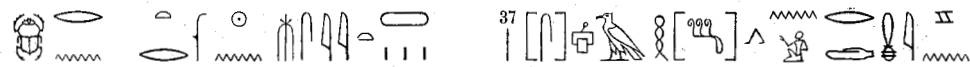
1. in red above the line. — 2. A ligature, and therefore just possibly for — 3. @ added later.

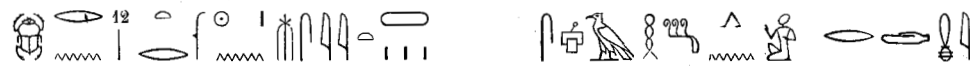
R  35 36


B  11


G  19

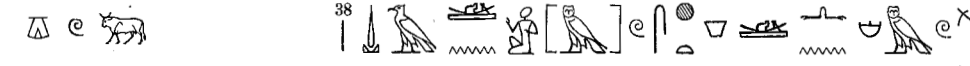
C 

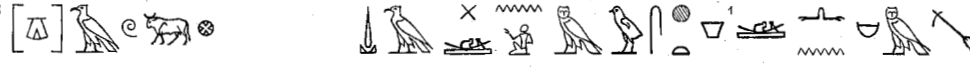
R  37

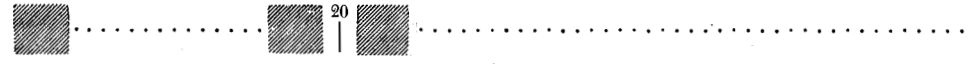
B  12

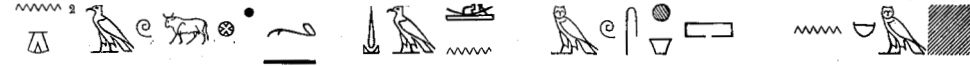
G 


C 

R  38

B  13


G  20


C  2

OB⁴  20 (sic)


R  39 40



B  14 15


G 

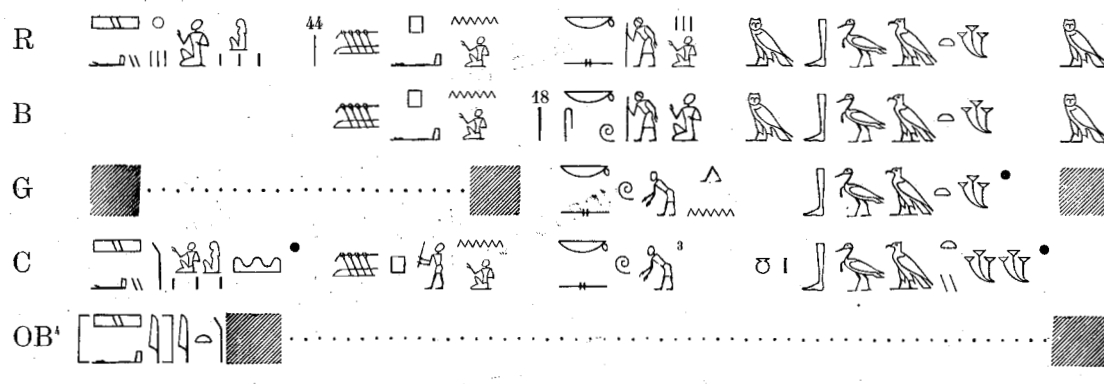
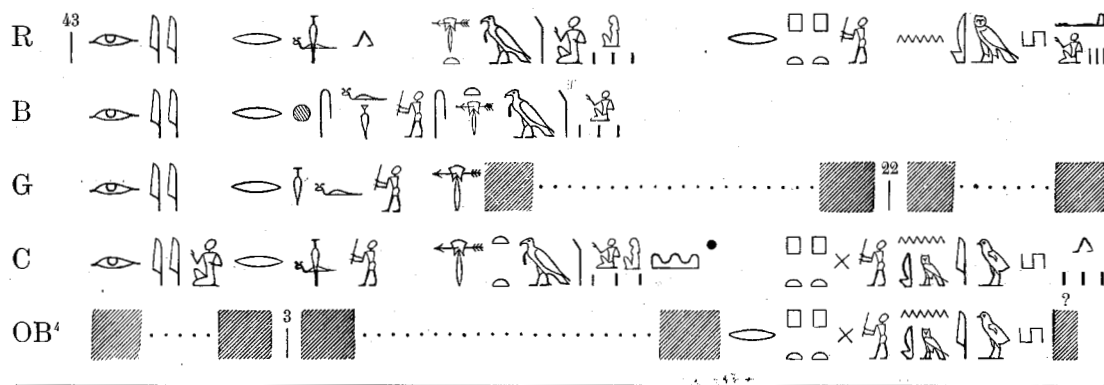
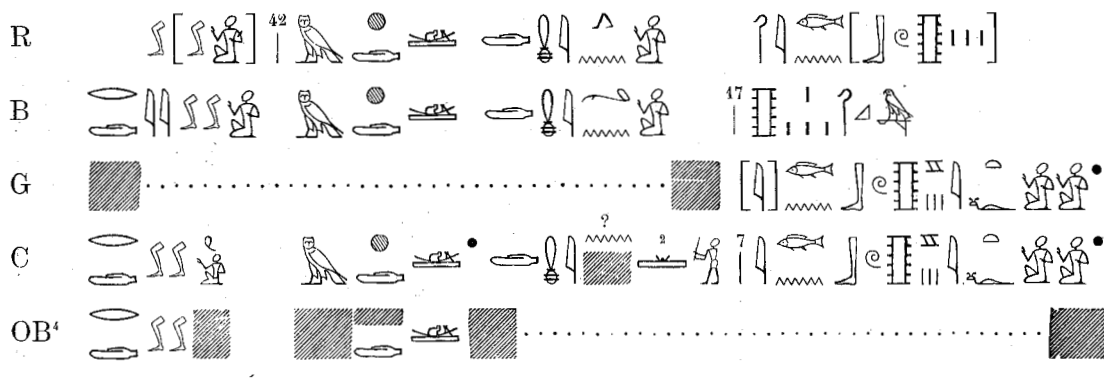
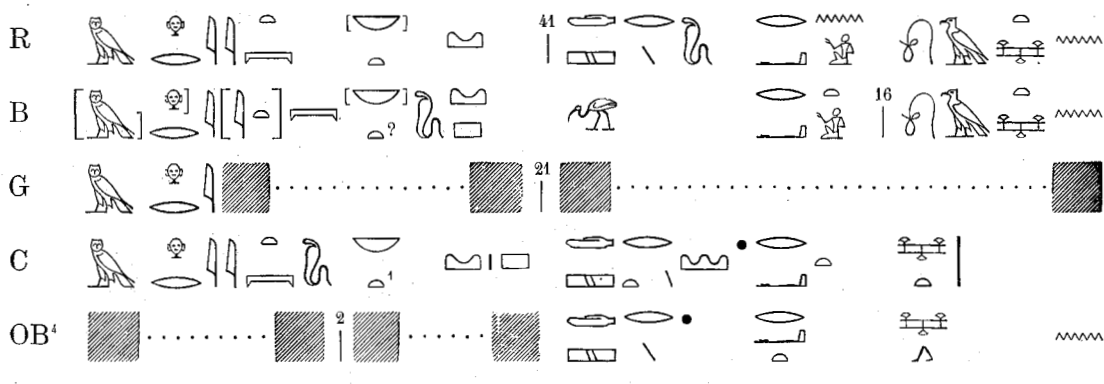
C 





OB⁴ 

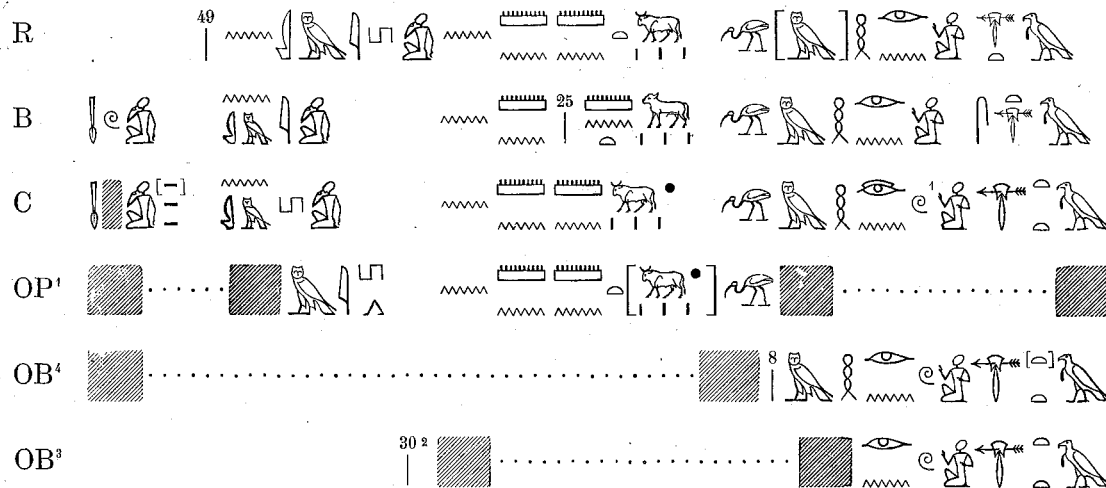
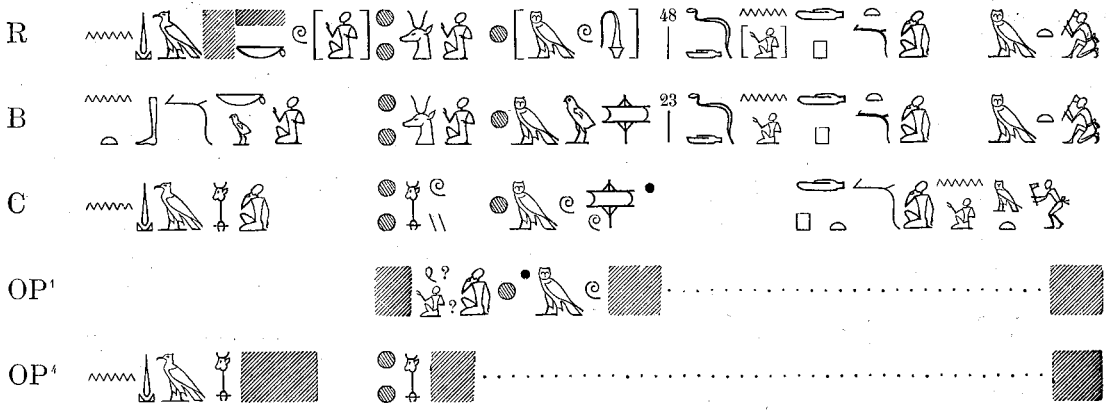
1. In my autographic transcription wrongly .

2.  is a correction, apparently out of ; but doubtful.

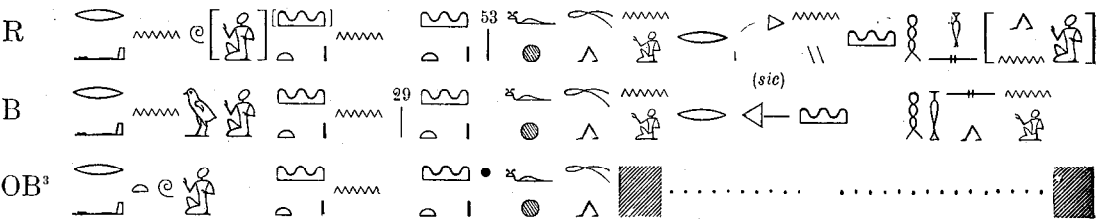
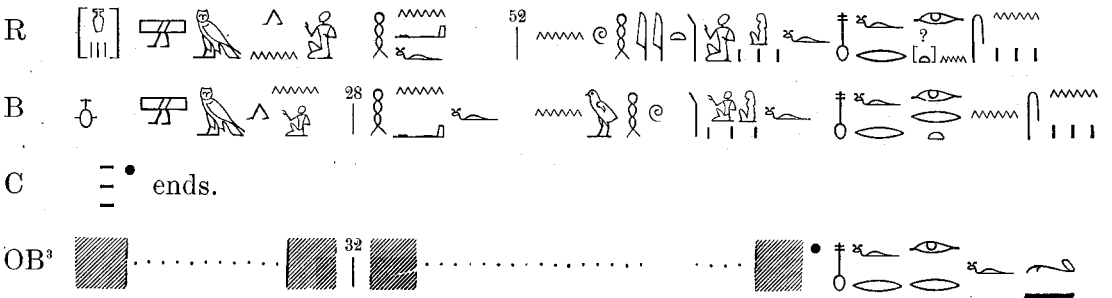
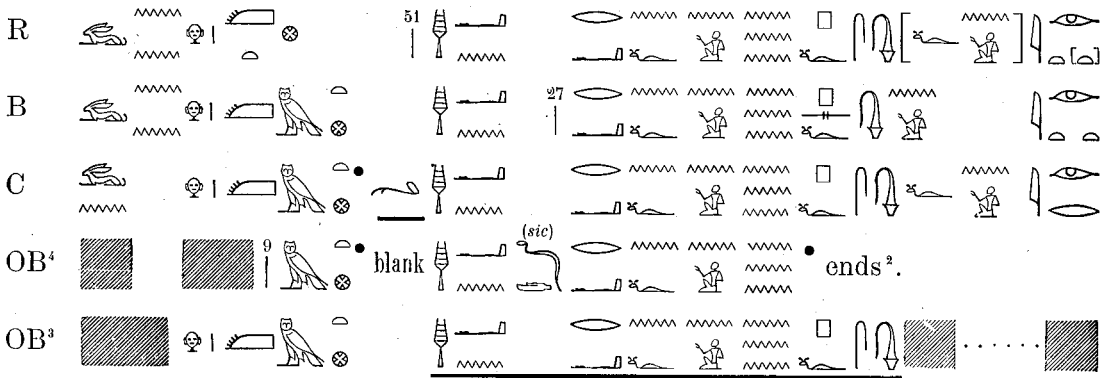
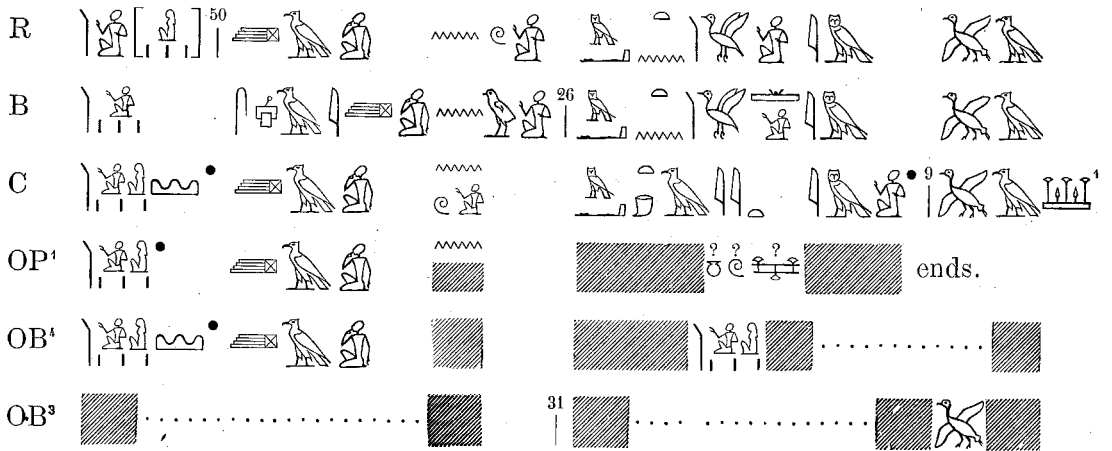
3. My former reading  (?) is less probable.





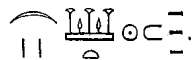
1. The  is a later addition, as the colour of the ink shows. — 2.  above the line. — 3. The lower part of the sign is much altered; beneath there is something like  — not .



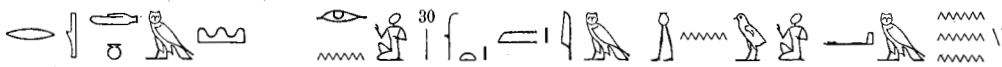




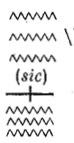


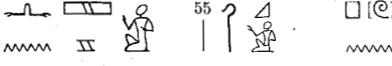
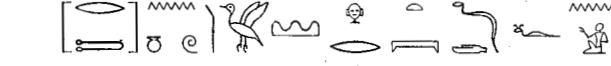
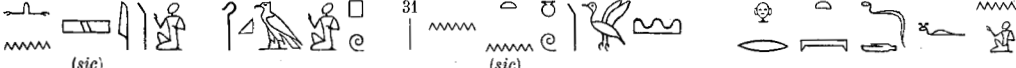
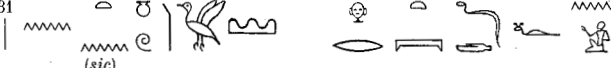




1. @ is an addition, as the blackness of the ink and the position show.
 2. A considerable number of lines are lost between the last line of the existing *recto* (l. 12) and the beginning of the *verso* (l. 29). Of l. 29 only a few illisible traces remain.

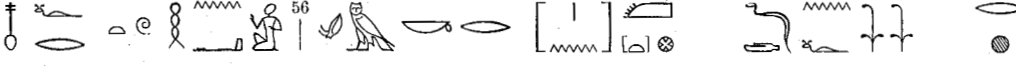

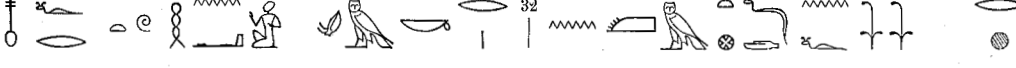

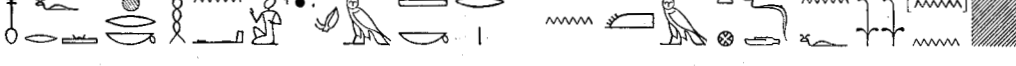


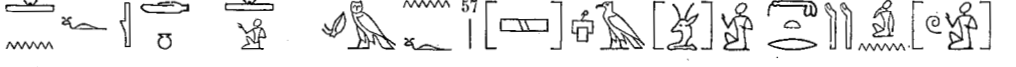

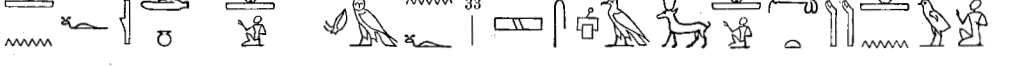




1.  has arisen from a corrupted dittograph of .

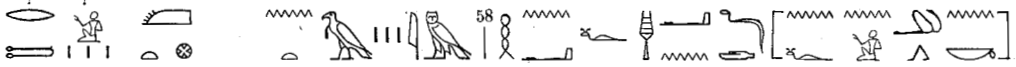
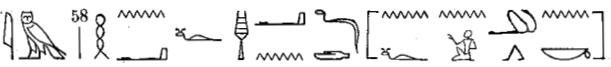
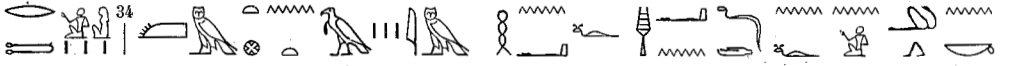
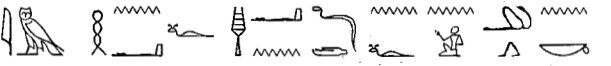
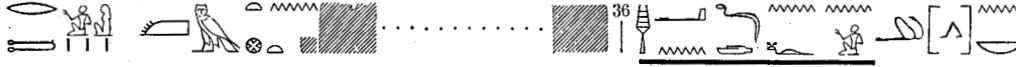




2. Here is added in red the date when the ostracon was written :- .


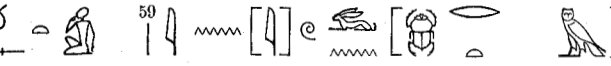
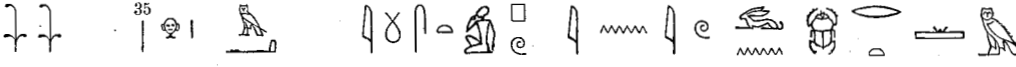
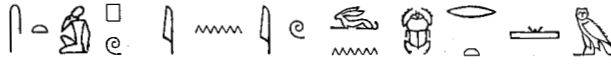

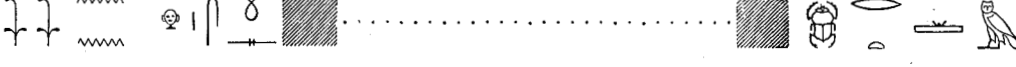
R [ ⁵⁴ ]
 B 
 OB³ ³³      (sic)



R  ⁵⁵ 
 B  ³¹ 
 OB³  (sic)  (sic)   ³⁴ 

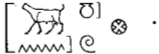

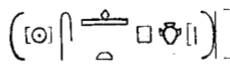
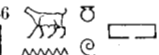
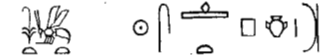

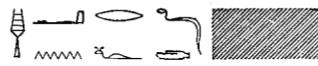
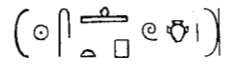

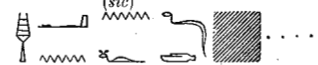
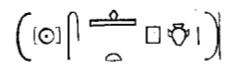
R  ⁵⁶ 
 B  ³² 
 OB³ 

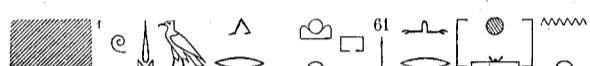






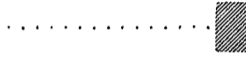


R  ⁵⁷ 
 B  ³³ 
 OB³   ³⁵ 

R  ⁵⁸ 
 B  ³⁴ 
 OB³    ³⁶ 
 OB¹ 








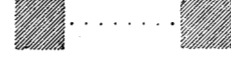
R  ⁵⁹ 
 B  ³⁵ 
 OB³ 
 OB¹ 

1.  is corrected out of .

R	[]		⁶⁰ [
B	³⁶ []		
OB ³	[]	³⁷ [	
OB ¹		 (sic)	

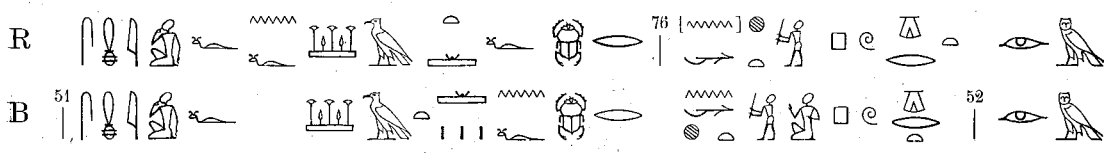
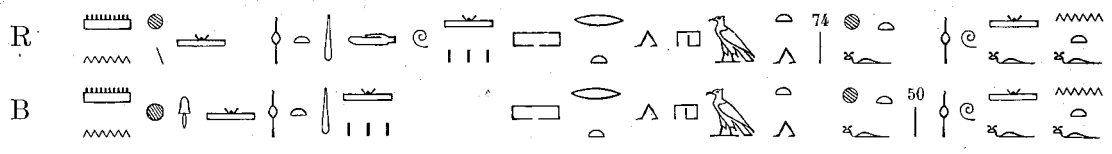
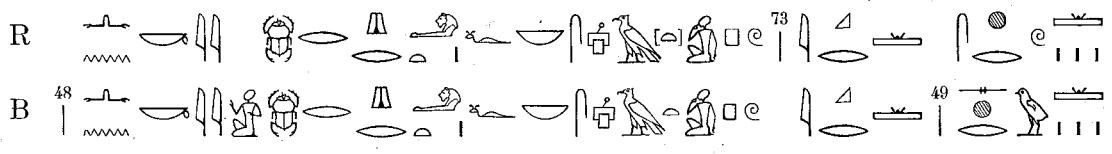
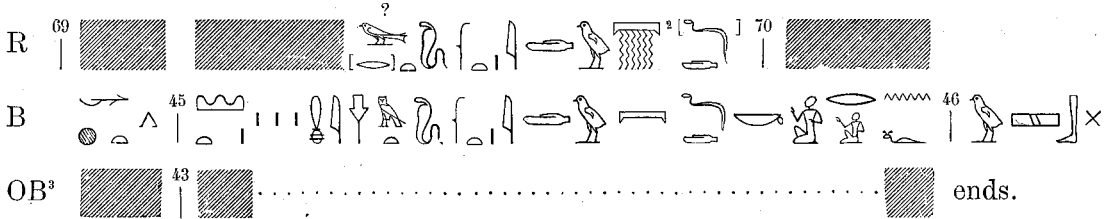
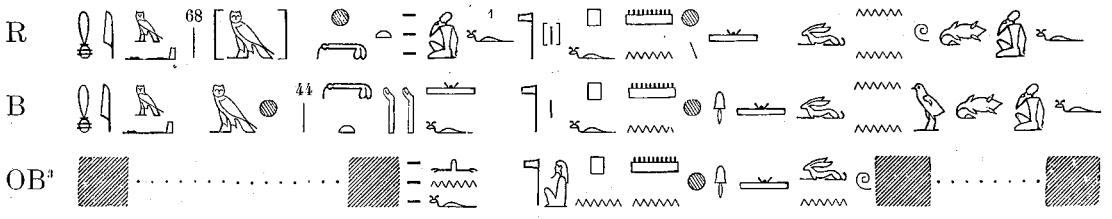
R		⁶¹ [	
B		³⁷ [	
OB ³			³⁸ [
OB ¹		ends.	

R		⁶² [	
B		³⁸ [	
OB ³			

R		⁶³ [	
B		³⁹ [	
			(cf. B 255 
OB ³			

R		⁶⁴ [
B		⁴⁰ [
OB ³	³⁹ [	

1. The lacuna is too small for [*m³-hrw*]; possibly restore [*pw*] as in OB³.
 2. Tail only.



1. A tiny, but certain, trace; not recognized in the photographic edition.
2. In the facsimile publication wrongly
3. Not sufficient space for exactly the same reading as B.
4. The actual sign in the Ms. is like hieratic

R 77
 B 53

R 78
 B 54

R 79
 B 55

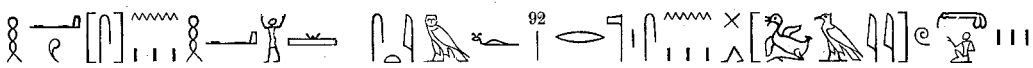
R 80
 B 56


R 81
 B 57

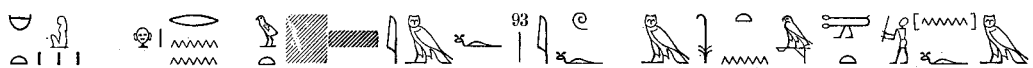
R 82 ? ? 83
 B 58
 G 42 59


R 84 ?
 B 59
 G 43

R 85
 B 60
 G 60

R  92

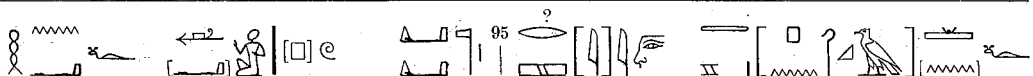
B  67


R  93

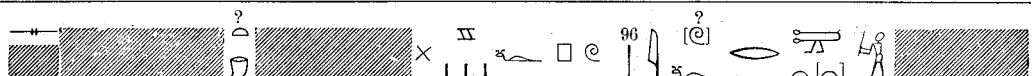
B  68


R  93 (sic)

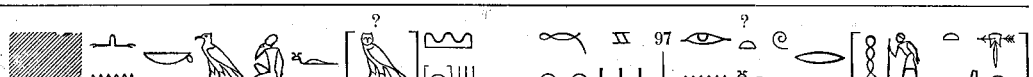
B  69

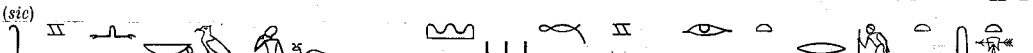
R  95


B  70

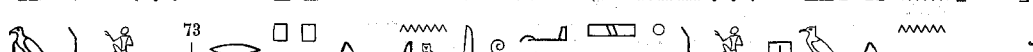
R  96

B  71 (sic)

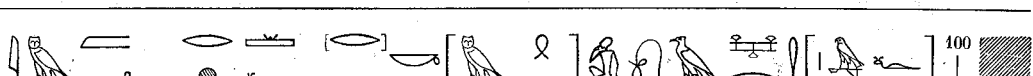
R  97

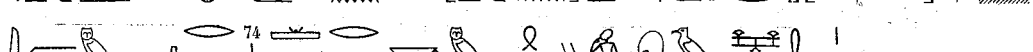
B  72 (sic)


R  98


B  73


From here to l. 111 are included fragments not in photographic facsimile

R  99

B  74

R  101

B  75

1. The large form employed above R 3, 4.
 2. In the sentences that follow (R 98-111) I incorporate the fragments of R. recently found and not included in my photographic edition. — 3.  is not quite certain.

R [] (lines 115 to 117 completely lost)..... []

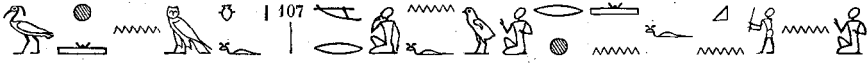
B  87

R [] [] 118 [] [] (lines 119 to 132 lost).

B  89

R 133-146 = B 106-122


R 133 [] [] 134 [] []

B 106  107

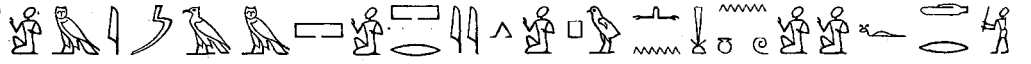
R [] [] 135 [] []

B  108

R [] [] 136 [] []


B 109  109

R [] []

B 110  110


R [] 137 [] []

B  111  112

R  138 [] []

B  113

R [] [] 139 [] []

B  114

R 140

B 145

R 141

B 146

R 142 143

B 147 148 149

R 144 145 146

B (sic) 147 148 149 150

R 145 146

B 151

R 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 lines 147 to 153 completely lost.

B 154 155 156

B 157

R 154-171 = B 130-145


R 155

B 130 131

1. M. Dévaud proposes to read *hucw*; see the Additional Notes on the passage.

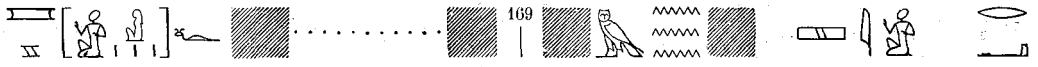
2. Or perhaps as in R 161

R 

B 


R 


B 


R 

B 


R 

B 

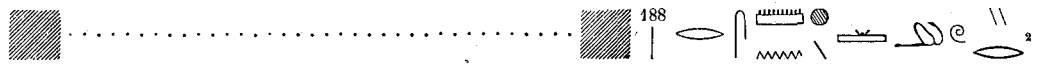
R 

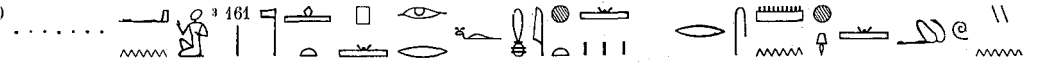
B 

R  lines 172-187 completely lost.

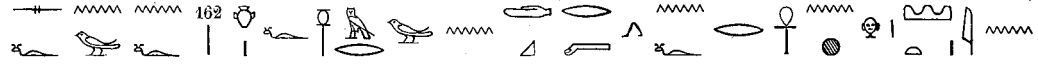
B 


R 187-202 = B 160-174

R 

B 

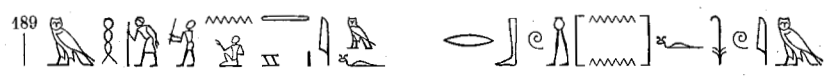
R 


B 

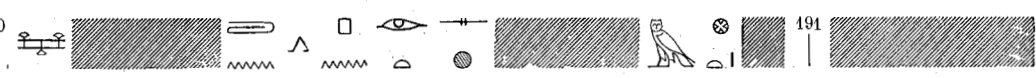
1. My autographed transcription gives erroneously .
2. So, and not *n* as given in the autographed transcription.
3. Apparently intentionally deleted.

R 

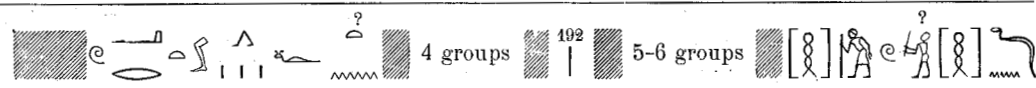
B 

R 

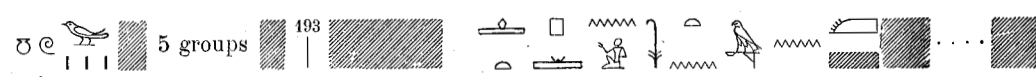
B 

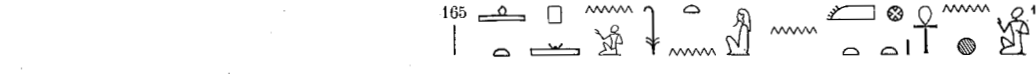
R ¹⁹⁰ 

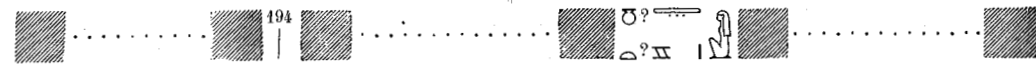
B

R 

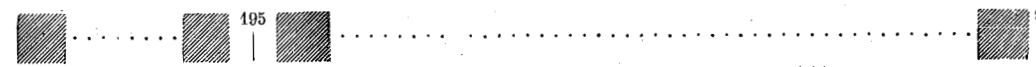
B

R 

B 

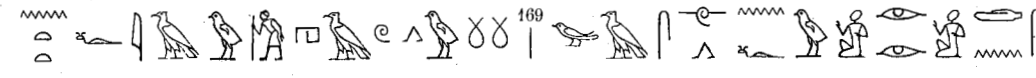
R 

B 

R 


B ¹⁶⁷ 



R 


B 


R 


B 

1.  not quite certain, added later.
 2. The lacuna is no larger than here indicated.



R  198  199

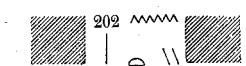
B  171


R  200

B  172


R  201

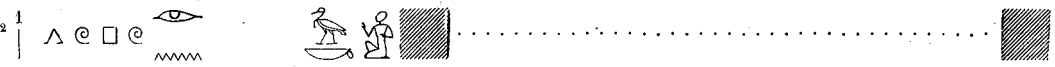
B  173  174

R  202 the remainder of R is lost.

B 

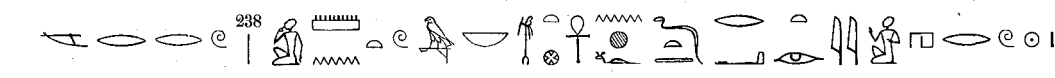
B 236-225 = OP² 1-14 and OP³ 2-5


B  236

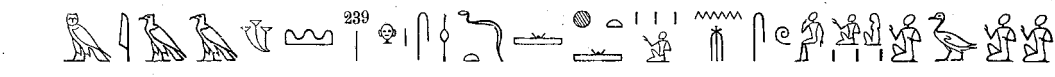
OP² 


B  237


OP² 


B  238

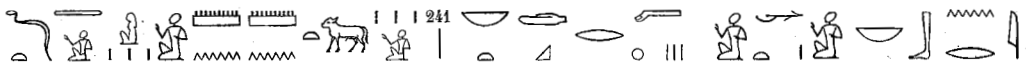

OP² 




B  239

OP² 

B  240

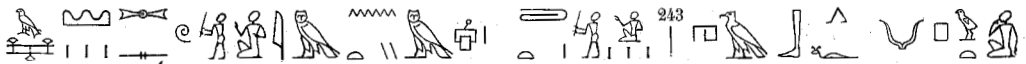

OP² 

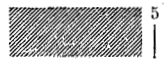







B  241 

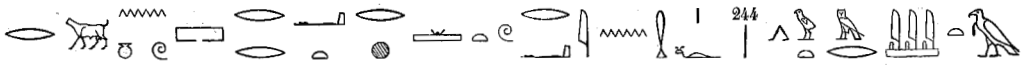

OP²   

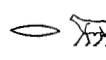



B  242 


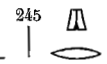
OP²   





B  243 

OP²        

B  244 

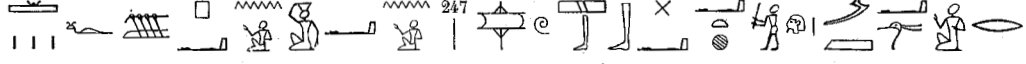
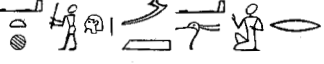
OP²    


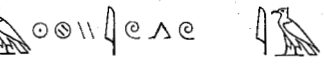
B  245 






OP²     7 Two (?) lines lost at end of recto.

B  246 

B  247 


B  248 

B  249 

OP²     

B  250 


OP²    


1. Autographed transcription wrongly ; see Commentary.
 2. Beginning of verso.

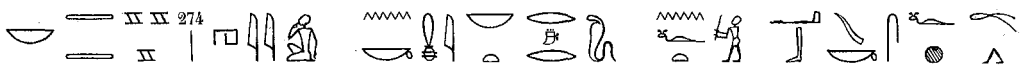
B  ²⁵⁵

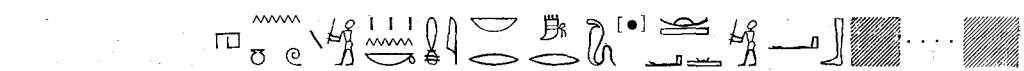
OB³  ends¹.


B 272-280 = OB² 1-7

B  ²⁷³


OB² 


B  ²⁷⁴

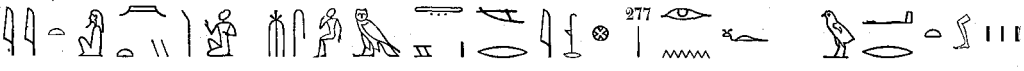
OB² 

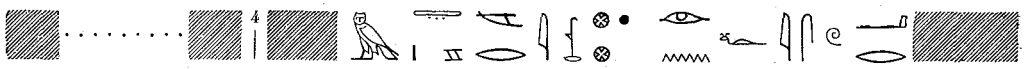
B  ²⁷⁵

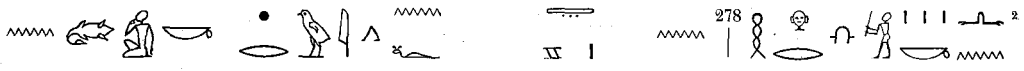
OB² 


B  ²⁷⁶

OB² 

B  ²⁷⁷

OB² 



B  ²⁷⁸

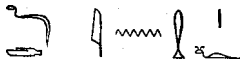



OB² [n hryt-k] 


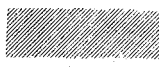

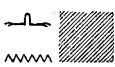

B  ²⁷⁹

OB² 


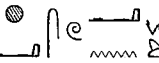

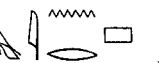


1. Illegible traces of a sixth line.


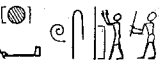

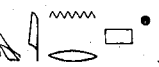

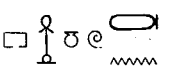
2. Ms. , clearly a corruption of .



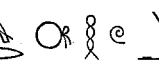


B   ²⁸⁰  


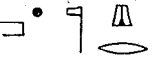

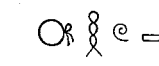
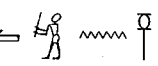

OB:  ⁷     ends.


B 300-311 = L 1-8

B     ³⁰¹  



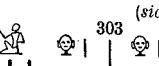
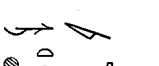


L      



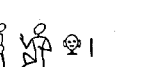
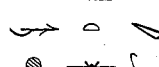

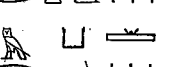
B      



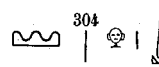
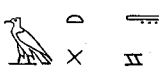
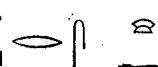
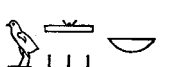
L      



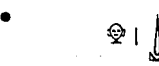
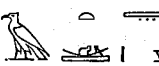

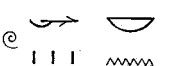
B   ³⁰²    

L      

B    ³⁰³ ^(sic)   


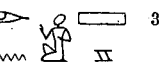

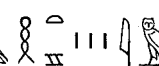


L      


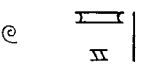
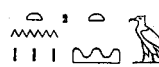
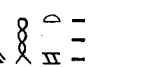


B    ³⁰⁴   


L      

B   ³⁰⁵    

L      

B   ³⁰⁶    




L      


















1. For the exact signs of the original see the facsimile and the transcription accompanying it.
 2. This is, in late-Egyptian B hieratic, an easy corruption of .

IV


ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS





In this chapter I gather together all the additional illustrative material, new ideas and corrections that have come before me since the Commentary began to be printed. I am particularly indebted to Professor Sethe and M. Dévaud for their helpful and valuable suggestions.



R1. — I do not now believe that the damaged sign in the title  (R) can be the fish; before the generic determinative  we should rather expect a specific determinative such as . The word should moreover be read 'd, not 'nd, see now ERMAN, *Zur ägyptischen Wortforschung*, III = *Sitzb. d. k. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XXXIX [1912], 959.—Note the position of the verse-point in G and C. Can it be that the scribes of these Mss. interpreted as two titles, "Territorial Governor and King in the land of the Asiatics"? If so, it need hardly be said their view must be secondary and erroneous.

R3. — The Theban tomb of  (no. 172; circa Tuthmosis III) contains fragments of an autobiographical stele in which the narrative begins , perhaps a conscious reminiscence of our tale; for  as the later writing of  see *Ä. Z.*, 45 (1909), 27.—The new Rameside text OB³ proves me to have erred in my emendation of the corrupt version of C. Evidently  ()    () as given by OB³ was the prototype of C's reading, the corruption of which into       was possibly due to the influence of the common expression  "Palace".

R4. — G and OB³ add the word *m'hrw* to the names of kings throughout; C is free from this addition to the original text.

R5. — The name of the pyramid of Amenemmes I at Lisht has long been known, cf.  a title on the stele C 2 of the Louvre, dated in the 9th year of Sesostri I (PIERRET, *Rec.*, II, 108 = PIEHL, *I. H.*, I, 4 = GAYET, *Stèles*, 2).

The Queen  was, it is interesting to note, the sister or half-sister of Sesostri I, being like him one of the children of Amenemmes I. It does not seem impossible that this may be the Queen whose tomb was found by Ebers at Deir el Bahri (see GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, II, 121-122); the titles in this tomb are    (from notes kindly lent to me by M. Golénischeff).

R7. — For *shr-f* Sethe suggests "er wurde entfernt", "raptus est ad cælum"; but there is nothing to indicate that the word is a *sdmwf* passive, and the determinatives are against identifying the word with  (B 272) "to remove". OB³, which deliberately corrects *shr-* into  shows that the latter was a

7. — Very probably *r s³-f* (not *pfy*) *ntr pn mnḥ* was the reading of G and of the Ms. from which C copied, *pfy* being an individual conjecture on the part of the scribe of C; cf. R 44 = B 68, where *ntr pfy mnḥ* is apposition to a suffix.

10-11. — I have discussed the word *ri-w³t* in connection with *sm³-t³ n ri-w³t* “a river-bank which served as a way” (*Peasant*, R 49) in my article *Proc. S. B. A.*, 35 (1913), 266, and have there shown that “way” differs from “road” only in having a more relative and less concrete sense. Translate “who stood in my way”.

12. — For *msy-t* “evening meal”, see ERMAN, *Lebensmüde*, p. 49-50.

14. — For the rare word OB' reads ; so too probably C, of which only is left. For *swḥ*, itself by no means a common word, see BRUGSCH, *Dict.*, 1177.

From *i³kw* “quarry” appears to be derived the title “quarryman”, that is common both at Sinai and in the Wady Hammamat. The spelling of these words raises interesting problems: (1) does the “syllabic” writing in indicate the reading *i³kw* (with ³)? (2) whence arises in these words? With regard to the latter question, there is no evidence of any word *ik*, *i³k* meaning “old” whence can have been transferred; nor again is it likely that is a corruption of some sign depicting a quarryman at his work. A third possibility remains, namely that has obtained its value *ik*, *i³k* (cf. *Ham-mamat*, 108 [Amenemmes I]; *ibid.*, 33 [M. R.]; *ibid.*, 123 [Sesotris I]) through the constant association of *k* with the stem *i³* “old” in the 1st person of the pseudoparticiples; cf. the extension of value of in *pds* from (see DÉVAUD in *Sphinx*, 13. 93); so too *d'r* in Δ from and, as I believe, *idn* in from “to be deaf”.

18-19. — The reading in C is shown by OB' to be a real reading, not simply a slip; the absence of the pronoun from B and R shows it to be secondary.

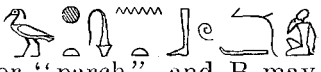
19. — For Dévaud compares CAPART, *Une rue de tombeaux*, 77.


21-22. — OB' supports the reading of C *hr r ib-t*; although this is certainly a later conjecture it provides some support for the reading of B, which doubtless means “the fall of thirst overtook me”.

21. — For *hn-kwi hr* (R), cf. DE MORGAN, *Cat. des Mon.*, I, 67 (Konosso, stele Tuthmosis IV).




22. — Dévaud points out that the verb *ntb* does exist, e. g. “thou art fallen before Osiris” *Pap.*

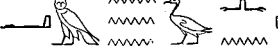






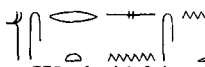
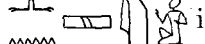
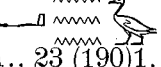
1. Of course is usually supposed to obtain its value *idn* from the Semitic word אִדְּן , אִדְּן ; if however such writings as BLACKDEN-FRAZER, *Hatnub*, 7, 4, prove to be invariable in the oldest period then my hypothesis will have to be given the preference.

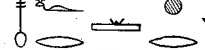
Brit. Mus. 10188 (Book of overthrowing Apophis), 24, 11;  *ibid.*, 24, 16; possibly the word means "to scorch" or "parch", and B may contain the original reading.—*Nd*; also *Rec. de Trav.*, 23, 167 (Dévaud).

23. — OB⁴ confirms C in its reading , a secondary addition.



25. — OB³ and OB⁴ confirm *gmhn-wi*, the reading of C, though without lending additional authority to it.


29. — For the land *Kdmi* (also below 182, 219) see a geographical list of the reign of Tuthmosis III at Karnak published by MAX MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches*, II, 81; in this list  and  occur beside one another, obviously reminiscences of the story of Sinuhe and without further historical value. Cf. too  *Brit. Mus.* 5630 = *Or. Lit.-Zeit.*, 2 (1899), 38.


30. — M. Dévaud has suggested to me that the name of the prince of Retenu (note *Rtn* in OB³) should be read  "Neshi the son of Amu" on the same principle as  in the *Eloquent Peasant* (SETHE, in *Ä. Z.*, 49 [1911], 95). Despite the fact that OB³ does not support this view, its probability seems to me to amount almost to certainty, for the sign \ after the biliteral  would be wholly meaningless². Mr. Battiscombe Gunn points out to me that this hieratic abbreviation of  has given rise to the hieroglyphic , an exact analogy to the origin of @ in the hieratic shortening of ; the earliest hieroglyphic instance of  seems to be  WEILL, *Recueil ... de Sinai*, 28, *temp.* Amenemmes III; half-hieratic instances, *Cairo M. K.*, *stele* 200003. M. Dévaud quotes another example in the colophon of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 189, where we should read "Ameno, son of Ameny". Of the two names thus obtained  is not known to me in this spelling, though a *Nši* occurs in the *Inscription of Mes*. On the other hand 'mw is a good Egyptian name, cf.  on the stele of Sesostris I at Wady Halfa, see *Proc. S. B. A.*, 23 (1901), pl. III, opposite p. 235. Thus the name of the Syrian prince would appear to be Egyptian; similarly in the funerary temple of Sahurē a Libyan prince has the Egyptian name Weni, cf. BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurē*, II, p. 73.


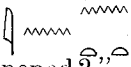
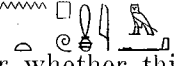
31. — OB³ has  by which perhaps *nfr hrt-k* "happy is thy condition" was intended. The consensus of B and R proves *nfr-tw* to be the original reading.

34-35. — OB¹ and OB³ confirm the reading of R *hr s isst* as against B's apparently inferior text.



36. — OB¹ and OB³ lend support to my argument that some words for "I spoke" should here be inserted. Whereas R has  the later version appears to have been .

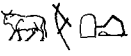
1. In the footnote (p. 23, footnote 1) I state that the combination of consonants *rʒ* is not found in any Egyptian word; cf. however the divine name , e. g. PETRIE, *Labyrinth*, 28.

2. In B 142 the shape of the sign favours its identification with ; in B 30 the sign was added later, an indication that it was regarded as of importance, which would hardly be the case with \.


115-116. — Sethe suggests, as I now think rightly, that  means "it is the case that". This sense suits well in the *Ebers* passage, and here forms a good parallel to the use of  below (see note on 162-163); render therefore, "Is it the case that I have opened?" In B 126  is a sentence in itself, lit. "how (is it) that it is?" It is not quite clear whether this is a direct or indirect question, see below on B 126-127.

116-117. — For the preposition *hr* followed by the *sdmf* tense, cf. *Peasant*, B 1, 12.


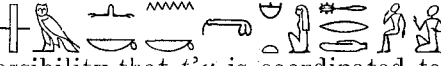
118. — Dévaud prefers to read  which is palæographically equally probable; he quotes the signs  above a bull which is being struck by a man, *Beni Hasan*, II, 7, but the division and interpretation of these words are highly problematic.

123. — Dévaud quotes the words  as epithet of Rē, *MARIETTE, Dendera*, II, 47.


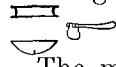


126-127. — In this very difficult sentence the last words have been explained in the Additional note on 115-116; the earlier part however still presents difficulties. (1) If, as Sethe believes, *nt pw mi mi* is an independent sentence, then it seems necessary to take *rh* as the infinitive after *s3t-nf* "what he ought to know"; however this construction, though known after the cognate substantive *s3w*, does not appear to occur elsewhere after the verb *s3*, except where it means to "command" (cf. B 51). (2) To take *rh* as pseudoparticiple, and parallel to *hm* ("is God ignorant of what is destined for him, or does he know [it]"?), is impossibly abrupt. (3) Perhaps, after all, *nt pw mi mi* may be the object of *rh* ("or does he know how the matter stands"?). Of the three alternatives the last is, I think, on the whole the most likely.

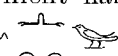
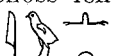
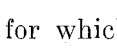
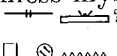
128. — For  see the note on 201.

131-132. — Other examples of *m3h-ib*: *Rec. de Trav.*, 19, 22; 23, 73 (Dévaud).

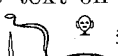
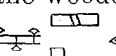
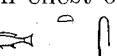
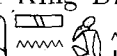

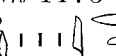
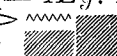
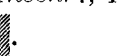
132. — The translation of  as "women" not "women and men" is, as Dévaud has shown me, open to serious objections: (1) if *hmt-t3y* exists at all as a compound expression (see below) it must mean "married woman" not simply "woman", and this meaning is out of place in the present context; (2) in the plural we should expect *hmtwt-t3y* and not *hmtwt-t3yw*. For these reasons it is preferable to regard *hmtwt t3yw* as an unusual, perhaps designedly unusual, variation of the phrase *t3yw hmtwt* "men and women". — The question remains as to whether the phrase *hmt-t3y* "married woman" really exists at all. The doubt, as Dévaud points out, is suggested by  *Prisse*, 14, 4, which gives some colour to the possibility that *t3y* is coordinated to *hmt* in the two very similar passages *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 125, 19, and *PETRIE, Abydos*, III, 29. Against this view may be urged (1) that *t3y*, after all, is much less likely in this connection than *hrd*, and (2) that if *t3y* were coordinated here we might expect *t3y hmt*, in this order, rather than *hmt-t3y*. Lastly, in the passage *Prisse*, 10, 3 (to which reference must be made by the reader) *hmt-t3y* seems very probably a phrase for "married woman". For

tj in the sense of "husband", see ERMAN, *Lebensmüde*, note on l. 98 (p. 55).


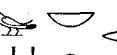



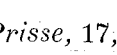

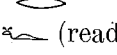
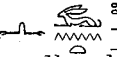
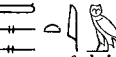
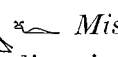
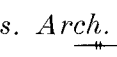
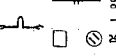
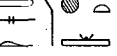


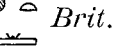
134. — Further variants of the interesting word *minb* (?), cf.  *Pap. Petersburg 1116 A*, recto, 95; and  quoted by Sethe from unpublished Græco-Roman inscriptions at Karnak. The meaning "axe" is given, I now find, though without proof, already by MAX MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches*, II, 182. As an analogy for the curious writing  Dévaud compares  *Mission Arch. franç.*, I, 201 = *mnnfrt*.

136-137. — Sethe, who does not seem to have read my discussion of this difficult passage, proposes (*Ä. Z.*, 50 [1912], 111-112) to divide as follows: *rdi-ni sw' hr-i 'h'w-f sp | n wot-t w' hr hn m w'*. His translation runs "aber nachdem ich seine Waffen hatte herausgehen lassen, seine übrigen Pfeile hatte an mir vorbeigehen lassen, weil einer dem anderen nicht nahe (genug) war, da griff er mich an, da schoss ich ihn"; he thus takes  as equivalent to the old expression  "because not", for which one might quote  in a rather obscure context *Siut*, III, 11 (*hr ntt* occurs *ibid.*, III, 14). I must confess myself very sceptical as to Sethe's new version, which (1) ignores the variants  in R, (2) isolates *sp* in a very objectionable way, and (3) postulates the possibility of a circumstantial clause after *n wott*, though we should certainly expect either a *sdmf* or a *sdmfnf* tense. For myself I have no new interpretation to advance.

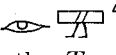
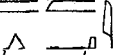

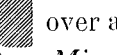
137. — For *hm'* instead of *h'm*, see the Additional note on 52-53.

140. — Just possibly the word *isnn* may recur in a very obscure phrase from a religious text on the wooden chest of King Dhout, *Berlin 1175* (= *Æg. Inschr.*, I, p. 253),        .



142. — For *hb* in the sense of "triumph", cf. already *Urkunden*, IV, 773 (Sethe); Sethe further suggests that *gñbe* "luctus" may be derived from *hb* in the sense "to mourn". *gñbe* is in *Gramm. de glazony*.

147-149. — For *ts m* Dévaud quotes the following additional instances:       *Prisse*, 17, 6-7;   (read *srh-f*)     *Miss. Arch. franç.*, I, 122; "I accompanied him to all the goodly places of his diversion"      *Brit. Mus.* 614 = *Piers-Breasted stele*, 13.

151. — For *s'* Vogelsang prefers to adhere to the old translation "wander" (*Kommentar*, p. 230), but he gives no reasons; to me it seems evident that in *Peasant*, B2, 127, this meaning is quite unsuitable.


160. — Dévaud quotes the words     over a scene of an attendant with flowers in the *Tombeau des Graveurs* (no. 181) = *Miss. Arch. franç.*, V, pl. 4; what the meaning of the phrase there is, is uncertain.

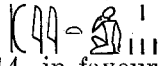
166. — Another example of *hnwt-tj*, *Siut*, IV, 11.

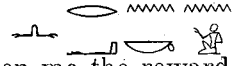
1. In my footnote *Rec. de Trar.*, 33, 83 (p. 60 of the offprint) I have made a serious blunder, misunderstanding  which is really equivalent to the preposition ; the mistake was pointed out to me by Sethe in a letter, and has been corrected in print by DÉVAUD, *Ä. Z.*, 50 (1912), 129-130.


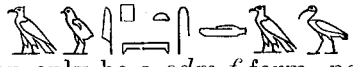
have the epithet *'nh* applied to them; in other words a sphinx of stone may be termed *sšp*, but never *sšp 'nh*.

252. — The new text OP³ does not favour the suggestion that *nt d'm* in this passage should be omitted.

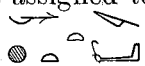
259. — Vogelsang suggests "Handele nicht weiter so gegen dich, ohne zu reden, wenn dein Name genannt wird", *Kommentar*, p. 102. This is perhaps not quite impossible, though the sense "weiter" for  instead of "also" is not properly authenticated.

266. — Vogelsang (*Kommentar*, pp. 69-71) quotes many examples¹ of  and adduces important evidence from *Totb.*, ed. NAV., 125, Schlussrede 14, in favour of the reading *dw-yt*.

275-276. — For the sense, cf.  "thou hast not given me the reward of these beautiful words", *Eloquent Peasant*, B 1, 318.

278. — Dévaud suggests that  might be connected with *ꜥwi* in the sentence  *Pyr.*, 924, but this suggestion is difficult since *ꜥyt* can only be a *sdm-f* form, not a feminine substantive.

282-283. — Kees has produced abundant evidence to show that *pr-dwꜥt* really refers to a toilet-chamber (*Rec. de Trav.*, 36, 1 foll.), but he prefers Erman's translation of *ḥnwty dwꜥt* in the present passage. I must confess I am unable to agree with this view; it seems obvious to me that Sinuhe is sent off to have a bath, and not to have "his position at Court assigned to him".

301-304. — The infinitive  occurs *Pap. Petersburg 1116 A*, recto, 131.

V

FURTHER NOTES ON THE COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE MSS.

The discovery of the new ostraca makes it necessary to re-open some of the questions discussed in the first section. In the first place I wish freely to admit that there is more evidence for an "édition Ramesside" that I was formerly disposed to allow. The ostraca OB³ and OB⁴ possess features in common with C (and possibly with G) which place the entire group in a distinct contrast to R and B. OB³ has a better text² than C, though it shows a few individual mistakes of its own³. Its agreements with C are of more consequence:—

R 1 = C 1. — OB³ agrees with GC against R in the amplification of titles.

R 6 = C 2. — OB³ first hand agrees with all old texts in giving *šhr-f*, second hand *s'rw-f* with C.

1. See too GUIEYSSE, *Rec. de Trav.*, 10, 64-66, who offers no certain reading for the sign.

2. A few examples will suffice:—OB³ omits *m* in C 1 before *smr*; corrects C 1 in its corruption of *bꜥk n(t) ipt nsu-t*; inserts the preposition *m* before *sgr* and *gmw* (C 2); omits *uw grt* in C 2, and rightly gives *sb* for *bs*; etc., etc.

3. E. g. *nfrw-f* for *Nfrw*, l. 4; *uw* for *ist(w)*, l. 9; wrong determinative for *škri*, l. 10.

R 11 = C 2. — OB³ first hand *i[m]* as R, second hand *3m* as C.

R 49 = C 8. — OB³ has *gmh-nwi* with C against *gmh-ni* of B and R.

In a similar way OB⁴ agrees with C against the earlier Mss. in several passages¹ : —

R 39 = C 6. — OB⁴ has *swh* probably with C against B and R (*swt*).

R 44 = C 7. — OB⁴ has *m³³-wi* with C against B and R (*m³³*).

R 47 = C 8. — OB⁴ supports *hr r* of C as against *hr n* of B and R.

R 48 = C 8. — OB⁴ adds *hr-st* with C against B and R.

R 49 = C 8. — OB⁴ *gmh-nwi* like OB³ and C, while B and R have *gmh-ni*.

In every case good reasons can be shown for regarding the Ramesside readings here to be secondary and inferior, see the Commentary. It seems however clear that, whether it be through the influence of the schools, or whether it be really due to the influence of one particular manuscript, the Theban text of the Ramesside period is uniform enough to be called a Ramesside "edition" or "recension".

There is no new evidence as to the position of G, but it is still clear that the Ramesside group *plus* G belong together as against R on the one hand and against B on the other, and again that the Ramesside group *plus* G can be legitimately ranged with R against B. Two certain conclusions can be drawn, namely (1) that the consensus of B and R against the later Mss. is conclusive, and (2) that the consensus of B and the later Mss. against R proves the latter to be in error, whether the error be due to carelessness or to conjecture².

I am less satisfied than I was that the agreement of RGC (with OB³, OB⁴, etc.) is strong evidence against B. It may well be, for example, that the unsupported *ntb-kwi* of B 22 is older than *nd³-kwi* of the other Mss.; or that the omission of *r ptp nmiw-s^c* in B 17 may possibly be in accordance with the archetype. Here we are on subjective ground, and all that can be said is that R is a good manuscript the readings of which are stronger when they are supported by the Ramesside ostraca than they are without them. Thus the support given by OB⁴ and OB³ to *hr s isst* in R 58 and to *'h'-n dd-ni* in R 59 is certainly in favour of R, but still is not conclusive in respect of it; the proof in favour of R here, to my mind, lies in the philological and literary arguments that can be adduced on its behalf.

It does not seem to me profitable to go more deeply into these questions. After all, except in the few cases discussed above our decision between two readings will in practice rest on other grounds than the affiliation of the texts. I would only caution the student against too great a contempt of the ostraca containing duplicates of later parts of the text. It seems obvious that OP³, OP², OB³ and L all belong to that Theban Ramesside recension the existence of which has been vindicated above. This recension, though very corrupt in its worst form (as in C), seems often to have retained readings forgotten by B. In brief, my conclusion is that all variants must be examined and judged on their merits.

1. OB⁴ has several individual mistakes, e. g. *Pprt* for *Ptny*, l. 5; *dd* after *'h'n*, l. 9.

2. As for example in *ii-ni*, B 38 (+ OB³) against *ii[wi]* of R 62.

VI

SUNDRY ASPECTS OF THE TALE

§ 1. *The literary aspect.* — The great popularity of the Story of Sinuhe throughout the Theban period is now well established, and if Egyptologists regard it as the classic of classics in their domain they should not be found guilty of a deficient sense of perspective. By the rough and ready test afforded by the number of extant manuscripts our tale is seen to have enjoyed a greater popularity than any other literary Egyptian text except the *Instruction of Amenemhêt I* and the *Satire on the Trades*. Direct allusions to the story are found in the words of the Puntites among the sculptures of Deir el Bahari¹, and in a list of foreign countries of the time of Tuthmosis III at Karnak², and probably these allusions escaped no ancient visitor capable of reading the hieroglyphic inscriptions of these temples. To the young scribes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties the adventures of Sinuhe were doubtless as familiar as those of Robinson Crusoe to the English child.

It will not be seriously contended that the story is one of those world-masterpieces of literary skill which stand out for all time as the perfect expression of some side of universal human experience or feeling. None the less I maintain that for us too the Story of Sinuhe is and must remain a classic. It is a classic because it marks a definite stage in the history of the world's literature; and it is a classic because it displays with inimitable directness the mixed naiveté and subtlety of the old Egyptian character, its directness of vision, its pomposity, its reverence and its humour. To those students of Ancient Egypt whose culture is not of that narrow type that makes them insensible to what is simple and unsophisticated, the vicissitudes of Sinuhe's wanderings must be full of charm. There is plenty of variety in these three hundred lines; the brief but lofty description of the old King's death; the graphic narrative of Sinuhe's flight; the terrors of the desert and the hospitality of Beduin tribes; the adulatory but not unpoetic encomium of Sesostris I. In the account of the duel with the mighty man of Retenu we breathe the atmosphere of the Old Testament, and the passage describing Sinuhe's longing for Egypt is as perfect a revelation of Egyptian character as may be found anywhere. Then there is Pharaoh's letter of pardon, with its characteristic insistence on the all-absorbing theme of burial rites; and Sinuhe's reply, in which a very lively terror of Pharaoh is blended with a wholly artificial and calculated flattery. There is nothing more vivid in the tale, I might almost say in *any* tale, than the picture of Sinuhe's reception of Court. As by a magic touch we are carried back four thousand years to witness Sinuhe's abject panic as he flings himself on the ground at Pharaoh's feet, and to behold the tolerant *bonhomie* of Pharaoh as he half-ironically introduces the dust-stained wanderer to the Queen; we can almost hear the Queen's incredulous shriek of surprise, almost see the twinkling feet of the little princesses as with dance

1. See note on B 34-35.

2. See Add. note on B 29.

and song they plead that the stranger may be pardoned. The story ends with the conventional description of an old age spent amid luxury and honours, a description that serves to remind us of the strongly materialistic bent of the Egyptians, that love of good cheer and magnificence which is indeed the key-note of the civilization of Ancient Egypt.

The form in which the tale is cast is that of a sepulchral autobiography; and among other peculiarities shared with the inscriptions inscribed upon the walls of tombs¹ it concludes by relating the death of Sinuhe, although it is Sinuhe himself who speaks. So too the famous warrior Amosis of El Kab ends his autobiography with the words ". . . . and I rest in the tomb which I made for myself"². Among Egyptian tales that of Sinuhe stands alone in employing this form; and we cannot positively assert that the choice was dictated solely by literary considerations, for the story might really be based on an actual tomb-inscription, as we shall see.

The diction of the tale is prose, simple and direct (though without baldness) in the narrative portions, but becoming rhetorical and even poetic as occasion demands. The vocabulary employed is large, and if fault can be found with the author's style it is not on the score of clumsy repetitions or a poverty-stricken choice of words. Foreign to our own taste is the use of elaborate metaphor, as when Sinuhe "gives a way to his feet northwards"³ where we should be content with "I turned northward", or when "the fall of thirst overtook" him⁴ where it would suffice to say that he became thirsty. This exaggeration of style is characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom, and is on the whole a healthy symptom, for it indicates an increased attention to delicacies of language. It must be admitted too that some of these affectations, which are not too lavishly strewn, have a certain picturesque humour of their own, as when Sinuhe, ridding himself of the accumulated dirt of years (such appears to be the conceit) is said to give "a load to the desert, and clothes to the Sandfarers"⁵.

§ 2. *Geography*. — The topography of Sinuhe's flight is not unattended by difficulties, most of the places-names mentioned being unknown. The discovery of the correct rendering "I crossed (the lake) Mewōti"⁶ in B 8 is of some importance. The sheet of water here named cannot be any portion of the Nile, and must therefore, as it appears to me, refer to one of the great lakes in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, probably Lake Mareōtis. On this supposition the army of Pharaoh will have been returning from the Libyan campaign against the Temhi and Tehenu along the Mediterranean litoral. Here Sinuhe takes to flight; he turns (B 6) southward before he reaches the lake, and it is probably the southern end of this across which he wades or swims. This brings him to the cultivation, and he spends a whole

1. See the notes on R 1-2, B 179-180, B 309-310.

2. Cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 10.

3. B 15-16.

4. B 21-22.

5. B 291-292.

6. Not, of course, to be confused with the *iw Mꜣꜣty*, sometimes written *š-t Mꜣꜣty*, which Brugsch (*Dict. géogr.*, 248-249) thought to be the name of a sacred lake near Heracleopolis Magna; Grapow has shown (*Götting. Gelehrt. Ans.*, 1913, nr. 12, p. 743) that this is simply the "Island of the Just", a name for Abydos.

day in the open fields near an unknown place called the "Island of Snofru". We are not able to identify the town of Gu which Sinuhe, skirting the edge of the western Delta, reached on the following evening. This must however have lain near the apex of the Delta not far from modern Cairo, for here Sinuhe drifts across the Nile in a barge and quickly comes to the quarries of the Gebel Aḥmar over against Heliopolis (B15)¹. At this point he turns definitely northwards, (B16) and in the course of a few hours reaches the "Wall of the Prince", the well-known wall doubtless near the entrance to the Wady Tumilat which Amenemmes I had built to keep off Beduin encroachments². The rest of the day was spent hiding in a thicket, Sinuhe fearing to be detected by the watchers upon the walls. The fortifications having been passed at dead of night, Sinuhe flees along the depression of the Wady Tumilat, reaching Petny³ in the early morning. Thence he soon comes to the region of the Salt Lakes, where at the time of the Pyramids there had been a fortified outpost of the name of Kem-wēr⁴. This district is in the story of Sinuhe called the "Island of Kem-wēr", we cannot tell why, and the absence of any mention of a garrison there makes it extremely probable that the old outpost had been abandoned in the period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. There was evidently no canal in the Wady Tumilat at this period, for Sinuhe finds himself overcome with thirst on arriving at the "Island of Kem-wēr". Here he is fortunate enough to fall in with Beduins, whose treatment of him is so kind that he sojourns with them for a space.

Sinuhe's subsequent itinerary is exceedingly curious. "Land", he says, "handed me on to land; I set forth (?) towards Byblos, and penetrated (?) to Kedme". There he spent half a year, after which the prince of Upper Retenu⁵ Enshi son of Amu (?) took him, married him to his daughter, and gave him a tract of land called Yaa rich in fruits of all kinds and growing both wheat and barley, where Sinuhe lived for many years as the prince's general and chief counsellor. In spite of the mention of wheat and barley the life described is more that of a pastoral than that of an agricultural tribe. Herds of cattle and possibly flocks of sheep and goats were the chief possession of these Syrians, who lived not in cities but in encampments⁶. Sinuhe mentions fruit-bearing trees⁷ among his belongings, and it is clear that the life of his tribe was not nomadic, though it may well have been of that half-nomadic type usual on the borderland between desert and cultivation⁸.

How far can this picture of tribal life be considered a faithful account of conditions in Syria in the twentieth century before Christ? It is impossible to read the

1. See the note on B 14-15.

2. See *Pap. Petersburg 1116 B*, recto, 66.

3. Petny is not mentioned elsewhere; Brugsch's identification with a supposed region called Pat (*Diet. géogr.*, p. 53) is a groundless guess.

4. See KÜTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 33-34, with whose account of the geography of the tale I am in entire agreement.

5. "Upper Retenu" is doubtless here, as later, the name of "das Bergland von Palästina" (ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*², I, § 289); I go no further here into this debated question.

6. The word is 'šy, on which see Add. note on B 115; Sinuhe speaks of his "tent", B 110.

7. See B 83; B 241.

8. See ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*², I, § 333.

story without gaining the impression that the writer describes a kind of life that he has seen and with which he is familiar; but it is also impossible to silence the suspicion that he has transferred to Northern Syria an account of conditions that only holds good for the half-nomadic tribes of Southern Palestine. "Land handed me on to land"—is it not highly suspicious that the writer has no more to tell us of the great tract of country that separates Egypt from Byblos? Even as early as the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty there were many fortified towns in Palestine of which a few, such as Lachish, Gezer and Megiddo, have been excavated by archæologists; in the tale of Sinuhe not a word is breathed of the existence of towns in Syria. Is it not further highly suspicious that with the exception of the more or less vague word *Kedme* (*i. e.* "the East") the only place named should be Byblos¹, a place which the Egyptians knew well not from their journeys by land through Syria, but from their constant intercourse with it by sea? Sinuhe thus arrives by the land-route at the one place towards which the Egyptian ships habitually made. The coincidence is remarkable, especially if we remember that Sinuhe was fleeing from Egypt, and will presumably have wished to avoid any place where Egyptians were likely to be found. If the introduction of the name of Byblos be purely and simply a literary artifice, the motive for this is quite explicable: a sense of reality is conveyed by the mention of a genuine Syrian place-name. I am inclined therefore now to take a very sceptical view of the value of our tale as a source of authentic knowledge of conditions in Northern Syria at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty².

Sinuhe's return journey followed the "way of the land of the Philistines", at a later date the regular military road to and from Syria. He reaches the frontier of Egypt at the garrison-town of Wawet-Hor "The ways of Horus", now known to have been situated near El Kantara on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile³. Here he is met by an escort of ships which convey him to the Court at Ethet-toui, the modern Lisht, where the pyramids of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I still stand.

§ 3. *The historical aspect.* — Doubt has been cast in the preceding section on the value of our tale as evidence of the state of culture in Northern Palestine at this period. Hence we are led on to the question whether the tale is to be regarded as pure fiction, or whether and to what extent it contains a historical nucleus. That the author was well-acquainted with the history of the time about which he writes is clear; he knows the names of the pyramids of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I, the length of the former's reign, and the name of the Queen Nofru. The eulogy upon Sesostris is such as would be likely to be composed by a contemporary writer, and indeed there is nothing in the tale which in the least suggests a later date. Further, the manuscript B is evidently some distance removed from the archetype, and yet can itself hardly be placed later than the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. I have stated

1. Yaa is very possibly a wholly fictitious name.—That *Kpny* was the reading of the archetype I think to have established by irrefutable evidence, see the note on B 29.

2. In other words I recant the view expressed by me in *Sitzb.*, p. 8-9.

3. See note and Add. note on B 242.

elsewhere my belief that Egyptian literary documents should be assigned to the date to which they purport to belong, unless cogent reasons can be adduced to the contrary¹. Both on general and particular grounds, therefore, it seems probable that the story of Sinuhe was written in the reign of Sesostris I, and is therefore contemporary with the events that it relates.

The form of the tale so closely resembles other autobiographies that have been found on the walls of tombs that it seems quite likely that its nucleus may be derived from the tomb of a real Sinuhe, who had led a life of adventure in Palestine and was subsequently buried at Lisht². Needless to say we are here on speculative ground, and in such a case no proof or disproof is strictly possible, unless an amazing chance should restore to us the tomb of Sinuhe himself. Even in this case we should doubtless find that literary elaboration had greatly changed the expression and the character of the original narrative, so that in its finished state the story could not claim to be more than "founded on fact".

VII

TRANSLATION

The following English version seeks, so far as possible, to preserve the mingled simplicity and artifices of the original, and is based on an eclectic text. Notes of interrogation, comments and alternative renderings have all been omitted, as foreign to the present purpose.

The hereditary prince and count, governor of the domains of the Sovereign in the lands of the Setiu, true acquaintance of the king, beloved of him, the henchman Sinuhe; he says: —

I was a henchman who followed his lord, a servant of the Royal harīm attending on the hereditary princess, the highly-praised Royal Consort of Sesostris in the Pyramid-town of Khnem-esut, the Royal Daughter of Amenemmes in the Pyramid-town of Ka-nofru, even Nofru, the revered.

In year 30, third month of Inundation, day 7, the god attained his horizon, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibrē. He flew to heaven and was united with the sun's disk; the flesh of the god was merged in him who made him. Then was the Residence hushed; hearts were filled with mourning; the Great Portals were

closed; the courtiers crouched head on lap; the people grieved.

Now His Majesty had despatched an army to the land of the Temhi, and his eldest son was the captain thereof, the good god Sesostris. Even now he was returning, having carried away captives of the Tehenu and cattle of all kinds beyond

1. A consideration of *Pap. Petersburg 1116 A*, the *Story of Wenamun*, and the *Proverbs of Ptahhotp* points in this direction; see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I, pp. 35-36.

2. Professor Spiegelberg takes a similar view (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912, Nr. 14, p. 861). M. Maspero thinks the composition too artificial to be a real biography (*Les Mémoires de Sinouhit*, p. xxxv). It is clear that the original biography, if such it was, has been greatly modified; but M. Maspero is not justified in arguing from the name of Sinuhe, see the note on R 2.

number. And the Companions of the Royal Palace sent to the western border to acquaint the king's son with the matters that had come to pass at the Court. And
 R. 20 the messengers met him on the road, they reached him at time of night. Not a moment did he wait; the Falcon flew away with his henchmen, not suffering it to be known to his army. Howbeit, message had been sent to the Royal Children who
 B. 1 were with him in this army, and one of them had been summoned. And lo, I stood and heard his voice as he was speaking, being a little distance aloof; and my heart became distraught, my arms spread apart, trembling having fallen on all my limbs.
 5 Leaping I betook myself thence to seek me a hiding-place, and placed me between two brambles so as to sunder the road from its traveller.

I set out southward, yet purposed not to approach the Residence; for I thought there would be strife, and I had no mind to live after him. I crossed the waters of Mewōti hard by the Sycamore, and arrived in Island-of-Snofru. I tarried there in
 10 the open fields, and was afoot early, when it was day. I met a man who rose up in my path; he showed dismay of me and feared. When the time of supper came, I drew nigh to the town of Gu.

I ferried over in a barge without a rudder, by the help of a western breeze; and
 15 passed on by the East of the quarry in the district Mistress-of-the-Red-Mountain. I gave a road to my feet northward and attained the Wall of the Prince, which was made to repel the Setiu and to crush the Sandfarers. I bowed me down in a thicket through fear lest the watcher on the wall for the day might see.

I went on at time of night, and when it dawned I reached Petni. I halted at the
 20 Island-of-Kemwēr. An attack of thirst overtook me; I was parched, my throat burned, and I said: This is the taste of death. Then I lifted my heart, and gathered
 25 up my body. I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle, and espied men of the Setiu.

A sheikh among them, who was aforetime in Egypt, recognized me, and gave me water; he boiled for me milk. I went with him to his tribe, and they entreated me kindly.

Land gave me to land. I set forth to Byblos, I pushed on to Kedme. I spent
 30 half a year there; then Enshi son of Amu, prince of Upper Retenu, took me and said to me: Thou farest well with me, for thou hearest the tongue of Egypt. This he said, for that he had become aware of my qualities, he had heard of my wisdom; Egyptian folk, who were there with him, had testified concerning me. And he
 35 said to me: Wherefore art thou come hither? Hath aught befallen at the Residence? And I said to him: Sehetepebrē is departed to the horizon, and none knoweth what has happened in this matter. And I spoke again dissembling: I came from the expedition to the land of the Temhi, and report was made to me, and my
 40 understanding reeled, my heart was no longer in my body; it carried me away on the path of the wastes. Yet none had spoken evil of me, none had spat in my face. I had heard no reviling word, my name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. I know not what brought me to this country. It was like the dispensation of God.

Then said he to me : How shall yon land fare without him, the beneficent god,
 45 the fear of whom was throughout the lands like Sakhmet in a year of plague? Spake
 I to him and answered him : Of a truth his son has entered the Palace and has taken
 the inheritance of his father. A god is he without a peer; none other surpasses him.
 A master of prudence is he, excellent in counsel, efficacious in decrees. Goings
 50 and comings are at his command. It is he who subdued the foreign lands while his
 father was within his Palace, and reported to him what was ordered him to do.
 Valiant is he, achieving with his strong arm; active, and none is like to him, when
 he is seen charging down on Ro-pedtiu, or approaching the mellay. A curber of
 55 horns is he, a weakener of hands; his enemies cannot marshal their ranks. Venge-
 ful is he, a smasher of foreheads; none can stand in his neighbourhood. Long of
 stride is he, destroying the fugitive; there is no ending for any that turns his back
 to him. Stout of heart is he when he sees a multitude; he suffers not sloth to
 60 encompass his heart. Headlong is he when he falls upon the Easterners; his joy
 is to plunder the Ro-pedtiu. He seizes the buckler, he tramples under foot; he
 repeats not his blow in order to kill. None can turn his shaft or bend his bow.
 The Peditiu flee before him as before the might of the Great Goddess. He fights
 65 without end; he spares not and there is no remnant. He is a master of grace, great
 in sweetness; he conquers through love. His city loves him more than itself, it
 rejoices over him more than over its god. Men and women pass by in exultation
 concerning him, now that he is king. He conquered while yet in the egg; his face has
 been set toward kingship ever since he was born. He is one who multiplies those who
 70 were born with him. He is unique, god-given. This land that he rules rejoices. He
 is one who enlarges his borders. He will conquer the southern lands, but he heeds not
 the northern lands. He was made to smite the Setiu, and to crush the Sandfarers.
 Send to him, let him know thy name. Utter no curse against His Majesty. He
 75 fails not to do good to the land that is loyal to him.

Said he to me : Of a truth Egypt is happy, since it knows that he prospers. But
 thou, behold, thou art here; thou shalt dwell with me, and I will entreat thee kindly.

And he placed me even before his children, and mated me with his eldest
 80 daughter. He caused me to choose for myself of his country, of the best that be-
 longed to him on his border to another country. It was a goodly land called Yaa.
 Figs were in it and grapes, and its wine was more abundant than its water. Plentiful
 was its honey, many were its olives; all manner of fruits were upon its trees. Wheat
 85 was in it and spelt, and limitless cattle of all kinds. Great also was that which fell
 to my portion by reason of the love bestowed on me. He made me ruler of a tribe
 of the best of his country. Food was provided me for my daily fare, and wine for
 my daily portion, cooked meat and roast fowl, over and above the animals of the
 90 desert; for men hunted and laid before me in addition to the quarry of my dogs.
 And there were made for me many dainties, and milk prepared in every way.

I spent many years, and my children grew up as mighty men, each one con-

95 trolling his tribe. The messenger who fared north, or south to the Residence, tarried with me, for I caused all men to tarry. I gave water to the thirsty, and set upon the road him who was strayed; I rescued him who was plundered. When the Sétiu waxed insolent to oppose the chieftains of the deserts, I counselled their
 100 movements; for this prince of Retenu caused me to pass many years as commander of his host. Every country against which I marched, when I made my assault it was driven from its pastures and wells. I spoiled its cattle, I made captive its in-
 105 habitants, I took away their food, I slew people in it; by my strong arm, by my bow, by my movements and by my excellent counsels. I found favour in his heart and he loved me, he marked my bravery and placed me even before his children, when he had seen that my hands prevailed.

110 There came a mighty man of Retenu and flaunted me in my tent. He was a champion without a peer, and had subdued the whole of Retenu. He vowed that he would fight with me, he planned to rob me, he plotted to spoil my cattle, by the counsel of his tribesfolk. The prince communed with me and I said: I know him
 115 not, forsooth I am no confederate of his, nor one who strode about his encampment. Yet have I ever opened his door, or overthrown his fence? Nay, it is envy because he sees me doing thy behest. Assuredly, I am like a wandering bull in the midst of
 120 a strange herd, and the steer of those cattle charges him, a long-horn attacks him. Is there a humble man who is beloved in the condition of a master? There is no Pediti that makes cause with a man of the Delta. What can fasten the papyrus to the rock? Does a bull love combat and shall then a stronger bull wish to sound
 125 the retreat through dread lest that one might equal him? If his heart be toward fighting, let him speak his will. Does God ignore what is ordained for him, or knows he how the matter stands?

At night-time I strung my bow, and tried my arrows. I drew out my dagger,
 130 and polished my weapons. Day dawned and Retenu was already come; it had stirred up its tribes and had assembled the countries of a half of it, it had planned this fight. Forth he came against me where I stood, and I posted myself near him. Every heart burned for me. Women and men jabbered. Every heart was sore for me, saying: Is there another mighty man who can fight against him? Then his
 135 shield, his battle-axe and his armful of javelins fell, when I had escaped from his weapons and had caused his arrows to pass by me, uselessly sped; while one approached the other. I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He cried aloud,
 140 and fell on his nose. I laid him low with his own battle-axe, and raised my shout of victory over his back. Every 'A'am shrieked. I gave thanks to Montu, but his serfs mourned for him. This prince Enshi, son of Amu, took me to his embrace. Then carried I off his possessions, and spoiled his cattle. What he had devised
 145 to do unto me, that did I unto him. I seized what was in his tent, I ransacked his encampment.

I became great thereby, I grew large in my riches, I became abundant in my

flocks. Thus God hath done, so as to shew mercy to him whom he had condemned, whom he had made wander to another land. For today is his heart satisfied.
 150 A fugitive fled in his season; now the report of me is in the Residence. A laggard lagged because of hunger; now give I bread to my neighbour. A man left his country because of nakedness; but I am clad in white raiment and linen. A man
 155 sped for lack of one whom he should send; but I am a plenteous owner of slaves. Beautiful is my house, wide my dwelling-place; the remembrance of me is in the Palace.

O God, whosoever thou art that didst ordain this flight, show mercy and bring me to the Residence! Peradventure thou wilt grant me to see the place where my heart dwelleth. What matter is greater than that my corpse should be buried in
 160 the land wherein I was born? Come to my aid! A happy event has befallen. I have caused God to be merciful. May he do the like again so as to ennoble the end of him whom he had abased, his heart grieving for him whom he had compelled to live abroad. If it so be that today he is merciful, may he hear the prayer of one afar off, may he restore him whom he had stricken to the place whence he took him.

O may the King of Egypt show mercy to me, that I may live by his mercy. May I salute the Lady of the Land who is in his Palace. May I hear the behests of her children. O let my flesh grow young again, for old age has befallen, feebleness has
 170 overtaken me, mine eyes are heavy, my hands are weak, my legs refuse to follow, my heart is weary, and death approaches me, when they shall bear me to the city of Eternity. Let me serve my Sovereign Lady. O let her discourse to me of her children's beauty. May she spend an eternity over me!

Now it was told the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkerē concerning
 175 this pass wherein I was. Thereupon His Majesty sent to me with gifts of the Royal bounty, and gladdened the heart of this his servant, as it had been the prince of any foreign country. And the Royal Children who were within his Palace caused me to hear their behests.

COPY OF THE DECREE WHICH WAS BROUGHT TO THIS HUMBLE SERVANT CONCERNING HIS RETURN TO EGYPT

Horus, Life-of-Births; Two Goddesses, Life-of-Births; King of Upper and
 180 Lower Egypt, Kheperkerē; Son of Rē, Sesostris, living for ever and ever.

A Royal decree unto the henchman Sinuhe. Behold, this decree of the King is brought to thee to instruct thee as following: — Thou hast traversed the foreign lands and art gone forth from Kedme to Retenu; land gave thee to land, self-counselled by thine own heart. What hadst thou done, that aught should be done against thee? Thou hadst not blasphemed, that thy words should be reprov'd. Thou hadst not
 185 spoken in the council of the nobles, that thy utterances should be banned. This deter-

mination, it seized thine own heart, it was not in my heart against thee. This thy Heaven, who is in the Palace, is established and prospereth daily; she hath her part in the kingship of the land, her children are at the Court.

190 Mayest thou long enjoy the goodly things that they shall give thee; mayest thou live by their bounty. Come thou to Egypt, that thou mayst see the Residence where thou didst grow, that thou mayst kiss the earth at the Great Portals and have thy lot among the Companions. For today already thou hast begun to be old, thy manhood is spent. Bethink thee of the day of burial, the passing into beatitude: how that the night shall be devoted to thee with ointments, with bandages from the hands of Tayt; and a funeral procession shall be made for thee on the day of joining the earth; the mummy-shell of gold, with head of lazuli; and a heaven above thee; and thou placed upon the hearse, oxen dragging thee, musicians in front of thee; 195 and there shall be performed the dance of the Muu at the door of thy tomb; and the offering-list shall be invoked for thee and slaughterings made beside thy stele; thy columns being shapen of white stone amid the tombs of the Royal Children. Thus shalt thou not die abroad. 'A'amu shall not escort thee. Thou shalt not be placed in a sheep-skin, when thy mound is made. Yea, all these things shall fall to the ground. Wherefore think of thy corpse, and come.

200 This decree reached me as I stood in the midst of my tribesfolk. It was read aloud to me, and I laid me on my belly and touched the soil, I strewed it on my hair. And I went about my encampment rejoicing, and saying: How should such things be done to a servant whom his heart led astray to barbarous lands? Fair in sooth is the graciousness which delivereth me from death; inasmuch as thy ka will grant me to accomplish the ending of my body at home.

COPY OF THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THIS DECREE

205 The servant of the harim Sinuhe says: — Fair hail! Discerned is this flight that thy servant made in his witlessness, yea even by thy ka, thou good god, lord of the two lands, whom Rē loves and Montu, lord of Thebes, praises. Amūn lord of Karnak, Sobk, Rē, Horus, Hathor, Atūm with his Ennead, Sopdu, Neferbau, Semseru, Horus of the East, the Lady of Imet who rests on thy head, the Conclave 210 upon the waters, Min in the midst of the deserts, Wereret lady of Punt, Har-uer-rē, and all the gods of Ti-muri and of the islands of the sea: they give life and strength to thy nose, they endue thee with their gifts, they give to thee eternity illimitable, time without bourn; the fear of thee is bruited abroad in corn-lands and desert-hills, thou hast subdued all the circuit of the sun.

This thy servant's prayer to his lord to rescue him in the West, the lord of 215 Perception, who perceiveth lowly folk, he perceived it in his noble Palace. Thy servant feared to speak it; now it is like some grave circumstance to repeat it. Thou

great god, peer of Rē in giving discretion to one toiling for himself, this thy servant is in the hand of a good counsellor in his behoof; verily I am placed beneath his guidance. For Thy Majesty is the victorious Horus, thy hands are strong against all lands.

220 Let now Thy Majesty cause to be brought Maki from Kedme, Khentiaush from Khentkesh, Menus from the lands of the Fenkhu. They are renowned princes, who have grown up in love of thee, albeit unremembered. Retenu is thine, like to thy hounds.

But as touching this thy servant's flight, I planned it not, it was not in my
225 heart, I conceived it not, I know not what sundered me from my place. It was the manner of a dream, as when a Delta-man sees himself in Elephantine, a man of the marshes in Ta-seti. I had not feared. None had pursued after me. I had heard no reviling word. My name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. Nay,
230 but my body quivered, my feet began to scurry, my heart directed me, the god who ordained this flight drew me away. Yet am I not stiff-backed, inasmuch as suffering the fear of a man that knows his land. For Rē has set the fear of thee throughout the land, the dread of thee in every foreign country. Whether I be at home or whether I be in this place, it is thou that canst obscure yon horizon. The sun riseth at thy pleasure, the water in the rivers is drunk at thy will, the air in heaven is breathed
235 at thy word. Thy servant will hand over the viziership which thy servant hath held in this place. But let Thy Majesty do as pleaseth thee. Men live by the breath that thou givest. Rē, Horus and Hathor love this thy august nose, which Montu, lord of Thebes, wills shall live eternally.

Envoys came to this servant, and I was suffered to spend a day in Yaa to hand
240 over my possessions to my children, my eldest son taking charge of my tribe, all my possessions being in his hand, my serfs and all my cattle, my fruit and every pleasant tree of mine. Then came this humble servant southward and halted at Paths-of-Horus. The commander who was there in charge of the frontier-patrol sent a message to the Residence to bear tidings. And His Majesty sent a trusty head-
245 fowler of the Palace, having with him ships laden with presents of the Royal bounty for the Setiu that were come with me to conduct me to Paths-of-Horus. And I named each several one of them by his name. Brewers kneaded and strained in my presence, and every serving-man made busy with his task.

Then I set out and sailed, until I reached the town of Ithtoue. And when the land was lightened and it was morning there came men to summon me, ten coming and ten going to convey me to the Palace. And I pressed my forehead to the ground
250 between the sphinxes, the Royal Children standing in the gateway against my coming. The Companions that had been ushered into the Forecourt showed me the way to the Hall of Audience. And I found His Majesty on a throne in a gateway of gold; and I stretched myself on my belly and my wit forsook me in his presence,

275 *albeit this god greeted me joyously. Yea, I was like a man caught in the dusk; my soul fled, my flesh quaked, and my heart was not in my body, that I should know life from death.*

Thereupon His Majesty said to one of those Companions: Raise him up, let him speak to me. And His Majesty said: Lo, thou art come, thou hast trodden the deserts, thou hast traversed the wastes; old has prevailed against thee, thou hast reached old age. It is no small matter that thy corpse should be buried without
260 *escort of Pedtiu. But do not thus, do not thus, staying ever speechless, when thy name is pronounced.*

But verily I feared punishment, and answered him with the answer of one afraid: What speaketh my lord to me? Would I might answer it, and may not. Lo, it is the hand of God, yea the dread that is in my body, like that which caused this fateful flight, Behold, I am in thy presence. Thine is life; may Thy Majesty do as pleaseth thee.

The Royal Children were caused to be ushered in. Then His Majesty said to
265 *the Royal Consort: Behold Sinuhe, who is come as an 'A'am, an offspring of Setiu-folk. She gave a great cry, and the Royal Children shrieked out all together. And they said to His Majesty: It is not really he, O Sovereign, my lord. And His Majesty said: Yea, it is really he.*

Then brought they their necklaces, their rattles and their sistra, and presented
270 *them to His Majesty:—Thy hands be on the Beauteous one, O enduring King, on the ornament of the Lady of Heaven. May Nub give life to thy nose, may the Lady of the Stars join herself to thee. Let the goddess of Upper Egypt fare north, and the goddess of Lower Egypt fare south, united and conjoined in the name of Thy Majesty. May the Uraeus be set upon thy brow. Thou hast delivered thy subjects out of evil. May Rē, lord of the lands, show thee grace. Hail to thee, and also to*
275 *our Sovereign Lady. The horn of thy bow is slacked, thine arrow loosened. Give breath to one that is stifled, and grant us our goodly guerdon in the person of this sheikh Si-mehyt, the Pedti born in Ti-muri. He fled through fear of thee; he left this land through dread of thee. But as for the face of him who sees Thy Majesty, it blanches not; as for the eye that regardeth thee, it fears not.*

280 *Then said His Majesty: Nay, but he shall not fear, he shall not dread. For he shall be a Companion among the magistrates, he shall be set in the midst of the nobles. Get you gone to the Chamber of Adornment to wait upon him.*

So when I was gone forth from the Hall of Audience, the Royal Children
285 *giving me their hands, we went together to the Great Portals, and I was placed in the house of a Royal Son. There was noble equipment in it, a bathroom and painted devices of the horizon; cosily things of the Treasury were in it. Garments of Royal stuff were in every chamber, unguent and the fine oil of the King and of the courtiers*
290 *whom he loves; and every serving-man made busy with his task. Years were caused to pass away from my flesh, I was shaved and my hair was combed. A burden*

was given over to the desert, and clothing to the Sandfarers. And I was clad in soft linen, and anointed with fine oil; by night I lay upon a bed. I gave up the
 295 sand to them that dwell therein, and oil of wood to him who smears himself with it. There was given to me the house of a provincial governor, such as a Companion may possess; many artificers built it, and all its woodwork was new appointed. And meals were brought to me from the Palace three times, yea four times, a day, over
 300 and above that which the Royal Children gave, without remiss.

And there was constructed for me a tomb of stone in the midst of the tombs; the masons that hew tombs marked out its ground-plan; the master-draughtsmen designed in it; the master-sculptors carved in it; and the master-architects who are
 305 in the Necropolis bestowed their care upon it. And all the gear that is placed in a tomb-shaft went to its equipment. And ka-servants were given to me, and there was made for me a sepulchral garden, in which were fields, in front of my abode, even as is done for a chief Companion. And my statue was overlaid with gold, and its apron was of real gold. It was His Majesty caused it to be made.

310 There is no poor man for whom the like hath been done; and I enjoyed the favours of the Royal bounty until the day of death came.

IT IS FINISHED, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END, ACCORDING AS IT WAS FOUND IN WRITING.

POSTSCRIPT

Egyptian philology is progressive, fortunately, and my *Additional Notes* (§ IV) themselves already require a few brief additions.

132. — For “i “to jabber”, “to babble in a foreign tongue”, see *Proc. S. B. A.*, 37 (1915), 123.

151. — For a decisive instance of *s*3 meaning “to creep”, see LACAU, *Textes Religieux*, 51, 27.

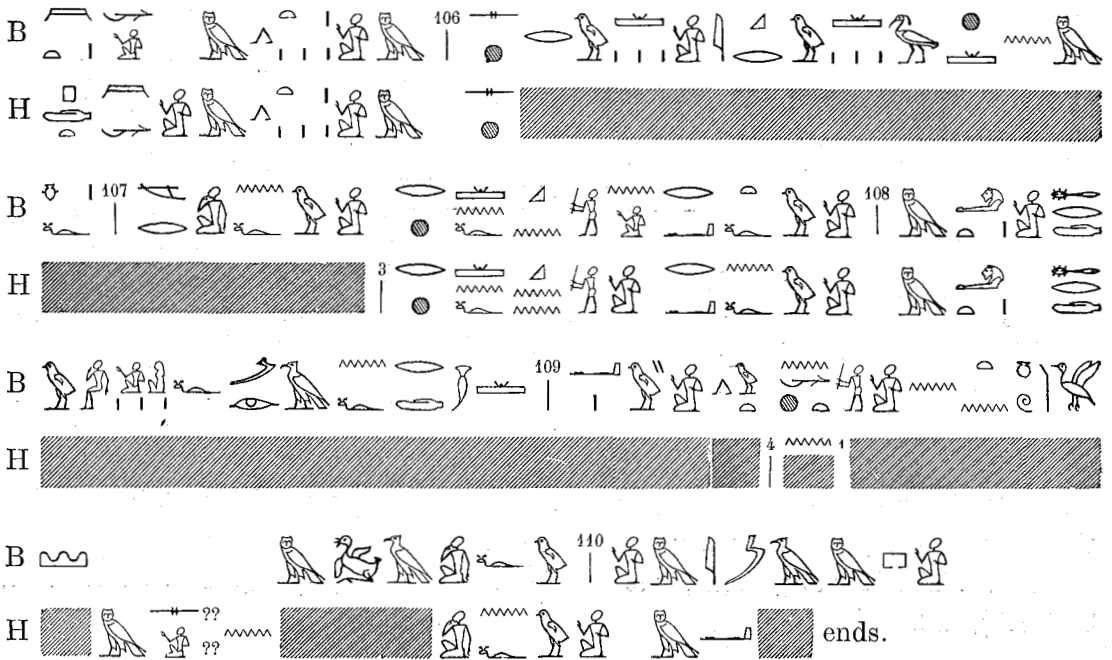
285. — In my translation I have ventured to translate *m ht*, not temporally “afterwards”, but as meaning “together”, “in company”. The preposition is not rare in this sense, but no similar instance of the adverb is known to me.

306. — Mr. Battiscombe Gunn proposes to understand *dmi* here as a name for the tomb. This makes better sense, and *dmi* appears to be so used in the *Lebensmüde*, see ERMAN'S edition, p. 34. — For *hrt* see already Piehl in *Ä. Z.*, 23 (1885), 58-59.

Additions to § III, *The Duplicate Texts* (pp. 118-151).

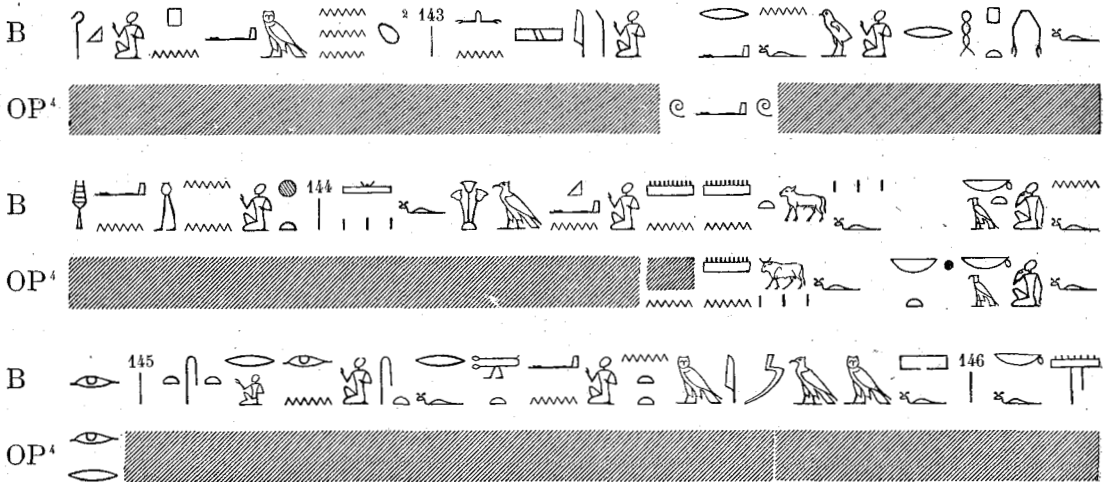
In the excavations carried out by Prof. PETRIE at El-Haragah in the Fayûm a scrap of yellow-brown papyrus (15×8 cm.) was found, bearing the upper portions of four vertical columns in a semi-uncial hieratic hand of the kind familiar from the Kahûn papyri. On examination this proved to contain a duplicate of B 103-109, and I am permitted to publish it here by the kind consent of Professor Petrie. The new fragment, which is probably older than any Ms. of the tale except the Berlin papyrus (B), I have designated by the letter H.



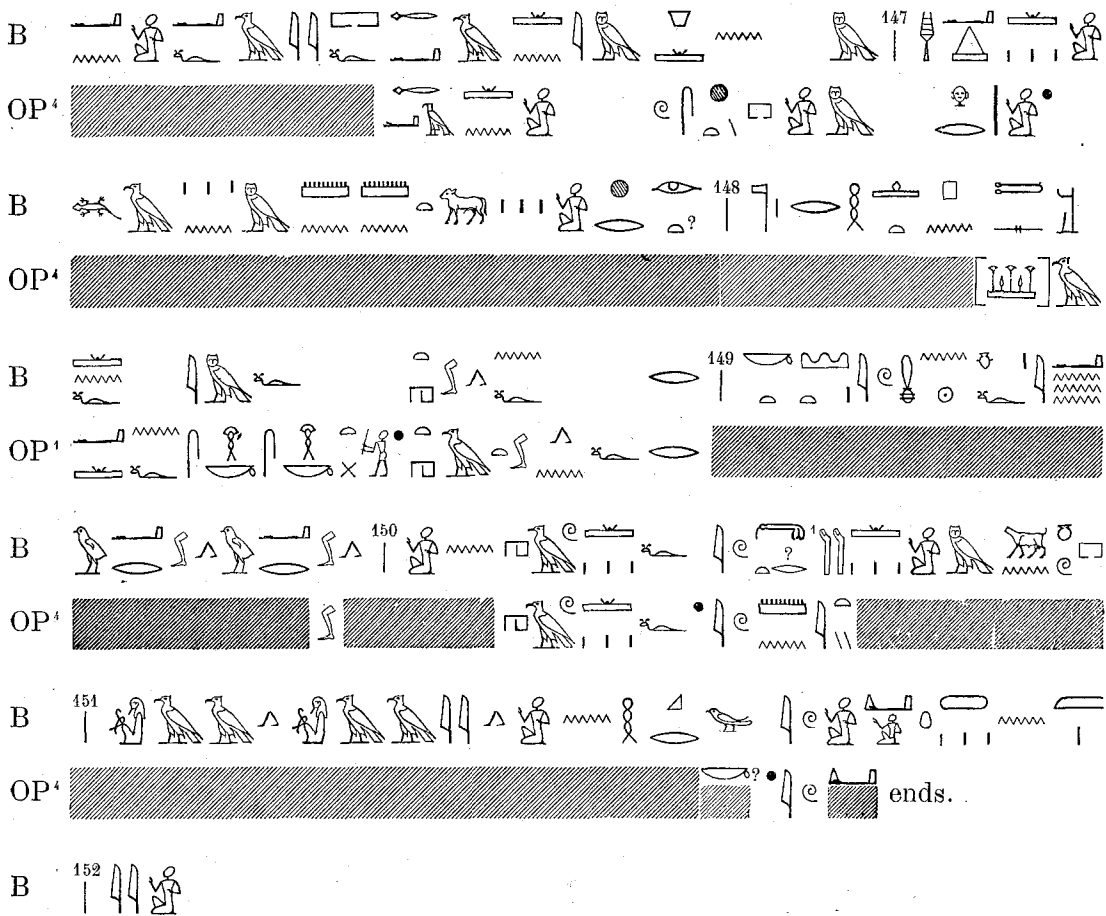


Except in the last line, where it is impossible to reconstitute the readings of H, this Ms. agrees closely with B. It corrects B in its writings of *in-ni*, *knn-i* and *h3t hrdu*. The variants *rdi-nf* for *rdi-tf*, and *[mt3]-nf* for *mt3-f* are quite legitimate; the last word of H was probably *f3i-i*, cf. B 115, 201.



A small and fragmentary limestone chip of Ramesside date, inscribed in a hand perhaps identical with OP³ (see the Plate, p. 119) has recently been identified among the Petrie ostraca now in my hands. Petrie Ostrakon 66, here called OP⁴, contains fragments of a widely divergent text of B 142-151.



1. It is not certain that this *n* is the first letter of *nbt*.
 2. See Additional Notes on B 30 (p. 155).





The variations in this short passage are considerable, but owing to the much damaged condition of OP⁴ little use can be made of it. In the part corresponding to *ts-nf im-f* of B 148 the ostracon gives *s3'-nf sksk* "whom he had begun to destroy", a variation not only in the choice of words but also, apparently, in the sense. The substitution of *mnity* "field-labourer" for *mtr-t* (B 150) is strange and inexplicable.

1. So, or , seems more probable than , my former reading.

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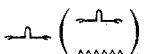
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
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
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









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


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
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pgs 'to spit', 31.

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

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
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
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

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
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







mtn 'to reward' a person with () 106.






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






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



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- sdm* 'to understand' (a language), 23.
- sdr* 'to spend the night' doing something, 49.
- si*, not *š*?, value of , 23, with note 2.
- št hrt* 'tomb-garden', 116.
- š'w* 'value', whence perhaps *n š* with infin. = 'apt to', 'fit for', *n š*: *n* with noun 'in the capacity of', 47.
- š'b* 'meal', 113.
- šw*: 'a poor man', 117.
- šbb* 'to knead' barley-bread and water in the making of beer, 92.
- šbbt*, the kneaded bread-paste used in the making of beer, 92 (note 1).
- sbt*, a drug, distinct from *šbbt*, 92 (note 1).
- špssw* 'splendid things', 'luxuries', 110.
- šmw* 'a goer', 15.
- šm*-s, name of crown of Upper Egypt, 104.
- šms wd*: 'funeral cortège', 69.
- šnw* 'hair', 58, 72.
- šnw nb n itn* 'the whole circuit of the sun', 81.

- šnby*, read *šnw-i* (?), 58, 72.
šnnt itn 'that which the sun surrounds in his circuit', 81.
šrm 'to lay to rest (?)', 105.
šs, general word for 'things', 'articles', 111.
šs niswt 'byssus', 'fine linen', 111.
šsp 'statue', 'image', derivatively 'sphinx', 94, 161-2.
štm 'to oppose' (?), 42, 157.
šd (det. ) 'to read', 71-2.
- kʒ sʒ* 'presumptuous', 88.
kʒw 'height', 35.
kʒmdt 'heroic deeds' (?), 86.
kʒs 1) 'to bind', 'tie', 2) 'to string' a bow, 49.
kʒhw 'cold', 35.
kʒmʒ, as substantive, 'form', 99.
kʒmʒ 'to mourn' (Pyr.), 86.
kʒmd 'to devise', 86, 161.
kʒmd, later form of *kʒmʒ* 'to mourn', 86.
kʒdmi, the land Kedme, 23, 65, 84.
- kʒ* 'to intend', 15; 'to think out', 'devise'; not 'to think of', 38-9, 50.
kʒ (det. ) used in respectful reference to the Pharaoh, 76.
kʒ-mr-hʒ 'bull loving battle', epithet of Rē, 158.
Kpny, Byblos, 21-23.
kʒ 1) 'to uncover', 'unclothe'; 2) 'to plunder', 'deprive' a person; 3) 'to despoil', 'strip' a place, 55.
Kmw, an island, 19.
ksw, subst., 'a bending (or crouching) posture', 18, 35.
- Gw*, a town, 17, 166.
gmw 'mourning', 10, 153.
gr, in sense of 'further' (?), 162.
- grg* 'to hunt', 42.
gs 'to anoint', constructions of, 112.
- Tʒ-mry* 'Egypt', 81.
tʒw fnhw 'the lands of the Fenkhu', 85.
Tʒyt, goddess of weaving, 69.
tʒw 'heat', 35,
tisw, origin of, 153.
twʒ 'man of low station', 'inferior', 47, 105.
twr 'to respect', 16.
tp mʒ, compound preposition, 'on the temples of', 'in the presence of', 92.
tp-hʒt 'a roof', 18 (note 2).
tp hry 'a master', 'superior', 47.
Tnw, variant (incorrect?) of B for *Rtnw*, 23, 44, 65.
tnm 'to go astray', 42 (note).
tr 'to respect', 16.
tr 'pray', 'forsooth', 45-6.
th 'to err', 'transgress', 'violate', 74; 'to lead astray', 74, 161.
tʒʒ (*tʒ*) 'to grind', 'smash', 34.
tʒb, unknown word, 34.
- tʒ* 'to seize' a weapon, 36.
tʒ 'to pluck', 'seize', 'shave (?)', 111-2.
tʒy 'husband' (see also *hmt tʒy*), 50, 158.
Tʒrw, the town of Tharu, 91.
tʒt, in sense of 'viziership', 89.
tʒt (det. ) corrupt (?), 89.
tmʒ 'strong of arm', epithet of Horus, 84.
Thnw, 10-11.
ts, in phrase *ts hwrw* 'an insult', 'reproach', 31.
ts, in phrase *ts skw* 'to order the ranks', 34.
ts (det. ) *m* 'to feel anger at', 'to bear a grudge against', 57, 159.
tsw, used of military captains, especially commanders of fortresses, 91.

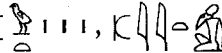
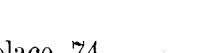
dit 'to cause', followed by object and pseudoparticiple, 60; reflexively 'to place oneself', 'lay oneself' (*hr ht*), 72.

dyt (det. ) a writing of *dt* (?), 48.

dwꜣ sp-sn 'early', 'very early', 93.

dwꜣt, see *pr dwꜣt* and *hnwti dwꜣt*.

dwi 'to call out', 99.

dwt, dyt, reading of ,  'noise', 99.

dbn 'to go round', a place, 74.

dbht htpw, the altar decked with the funerary meal, 70.

dpts, corrupt(?), 67.

dm, 1) *dm rn n* 'to pronounce the name of' a person; 2) *dm... m rnf* 'to mention (a person) by his name', 92, 98.


dmi, with accusative, 'to touch'; with *r*, 'to be joined to', 'accrue to', 41.

dmi, used of place, 'to reach' 'pass beside', 17.

dmi sꜣtw 'to touch earth', i. e. prostrate oneself, 72.

dhn tꜣ 'to touch earth with the forehead', 94.

dkr 'to press (?)', 60.

dg 'to see' (with ) , 107-8.

dꜣ tꜣ r 1) 'to be occupied about', 2) 'to interfere with', 115.


dꜣis 'to discuss', 'argue', 42.

dꜣisw 'utterances' late variant of *tsiw*, 43, 157.

dꜣisw 'disputant', 'speaker', 43.

dꜣdꜣt tpt nwt, the gods attendant on the god of the waters, 80.

dꜣm, a kind of gold, 117.

dꜣr, reading of  by extension from *dꜣ*, 154.

Dw dꜣr 'Red Mountain', part of place-name *Hryt nbt dw dꜣr*, 17.

dr 'mound' (form obscure), 71.

drw, the 'paroi costale' of the body, 115 (note 2).

drdr 'strange', 'foreign', 'hostile', 74-6, 161.

drdri 'hostility', 74-5.



dt 'estate', see *pr dt*, 77 (note 2).



dt 'serf', derivation of, 77 (note 2).



dd, in sense of 'to bid', 89; in sense of 'to consent', 'hope', 15.



ddb, usually 'to sting'; here 'to spur on', 'incite', 50.

ddf (?) 'to quiver' (?); of hair 'to stand on end', 87.

 and  confused in hieratic, 15 (note 4).

  as adjective, 111.

  reading of, unknown, 111 (note 2).

  'precious things', 111.

III. Coptic words.

ⲁϩⲟⲙⲉ 'eagle', 110.

ⲁⲚⲟⲙⲉ 'eagle', 110.

ⲙⲟ 'take', 'receive', 88 (note 3).

ⲙⲟⲓ, 23 (note 1).

ⲙⲓⲧⲣⲁⲓⲛⲕⲏⲁⲉ, 23.

ⲙⲓⲧⲣⲁⲓⲛⲕⲏⲁⲉ, 23.

ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ, 29.

ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'however', 25 (note 2).

ⲡⲁⲖⲥⲉ 'spittle', 31.

сег 'to sate', 33.

сгъ, 'pediculus', 'rubigo', 112.

сиге 'to pass', 160, 72.

сте 'vomer', 50 (note).

стаен, S. : спяни, B. 'to walk up and down', 160.

срче = , 156 (note 1).

сѡс 'evertere', 157.

стѡт 'tremor', 43 (note 4).

сѡр (сѡр), S. : сѡрѡ, B., 'verrere', 117.

тѡщ 'to smash', 34.

отѡ 'blasphemia', 66.

отисе 'to swell', 71.

отѡмте 'arces', 'propugnacula', 96.

отѡт 'thick', 95.

щис 'byssus', 111.

щѡщ 'spargere', 161.

гнѡе, 'luctus', derived from *hb* in the sense of 'to mourn', 159.

сѡрнѡ 'hunter', 42.

сѡрѡ, S. : ѡрѡ, B., 'to hunt', 42.



ERRATA

P. 7, l. 9. *For as read us.*

P. 8, last line. *For R 2 read R 1.*






P. 16, footnote 1. *For ραππ read παππ.*

P. 30, note on 39, last line. *For in read is.*



P. 30, line 10 from bottom. *For  read .*

P. 35, line 19. *For see B 17-18, note read see B 2, note.*





P. 38, line 9 from bottom. *For Kheperke read Kheperkeré.*





P. 46, note on 116-117, first line. *Read     .*



P. 61, line 15 from bottom. *For flicted read inflicted.*





P. 68, note on 190, first line. *For  read .*

P. 83, line 2 from bottom. *For takes read takes.*

P. 95, line 9 from bottom. *For   read  .*

P. 115, line 16. *For   read  .*

P. 115, line 21. *For  read .*

P. 117, first line. *For   read  .*

P. 117, line 6. *For eaves read lees.*

P. 133, line 2, end. *For \ read o; see p. 155.*

P. 141. Insert after line 4 the new parallel text published on p. 178.

P. 144, line 6. *For \ read o; see p. 156.*

P. 144, line 7. Here add the new parallel text published on p. 177.

P. 155, line 13. *For Neshi read Enshi.*

P. 157, last line. *For submergés read immergés.*

P. 159, line 7. *For mnnfirt read mnfirt.*

P. 160, line 12. *For w³ read w².*

The word for 'king', transcribed *stn*, e. g. p. 9, l. 16, should everywhere be read *niswt* or *nsw*.