



BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

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BIFAO 83 (1983), p. 213-248

Fayza Haykal

Papyrus Boulaq XIII [avec 9 planches].

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PAPYRUS BOULAQ XIII

Fayza HAIKAL

Papyrus Boulaq XIII was entered in the Special Register of the Cairo Museum under n° 648, where mention is made that it was found in the sand of Saqqara in 1859, folded and wrapped, broken along the folds. The dimensions of the folded papyrus were then 10×9 cm approximately. When unfolded, it resulted in 18 fragments, in a relatively poor state of preservation, and was mounted on two blue cardboard plates, each holding 9 fragments. It was then presented to the public by Mariette in 1872 on the facsimily plates of his *Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* II, pl. 6-8. Is it assumed that the fragments were stuck on the plates according to their original order although this is not mentioned anywhere.

The papyrus was referred to again in 1874 by Chabas in *Recueil de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, p. 124. He describes it as a tumultuous and eventful story with a tale of love where a man is trapped by a woman to live with her as « a man with his wife ». In *Records of the Past* VI (1876), p. 152, he says that the papyrus dates back to the Ramesside period, and then concludes by saying «there remains enough to awaken regret for the loss of a document which when entire, contained the most eventful romance yet found among the few remnants already known of the Egyptian Literature » ⁽¹⁾.

Later, in an aperçu on egyptian literary texts in *RdE* 6, p. 41, n° 46, Posener mentions the papyrus as being a literary composition of the New Kingdom « which has never been studied ». When Golénischeff planed the second volume of his *Papyrus Hiératiques* for the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, the papyrus, which then bore n° 7550 of the « Journal d'Entrée », was given n° 58041 A and n° 58041 B for the *Catalogue Général*. But that was as far as Golénischeff went in this respect, for it seems, from what remained in his manuscript in the Cairo Museum, that he never started working on it. The papyrus, nevertheless, continued to attract the attention of

⁽¹⁾ The idea of a romance is difficult to admit, totally. I suppose that Chabas got this idea but too little of the context is left to dismiss it from fragments III and V.

many other scholars : both Černý and his then student Bakir ⁽¹⁾, for example, started a transcription of the text, but never published it, because as much as the papyrus attracted scholars, its fragmentary state repelled them, whenever they tried to get anything out of it ⁽²⁾.

In the meantime the papyrus was deteriorating seriously, and in the autumn of 1981 an attempt was made to dismount it from its cardboard background in order to set it between glass. But the material had become far too fragile, and the attempt failed. The 18 fragments were then simply cut out of the large board with their cardboard support cleaned and set between glass to protect them from further decay.

At that point it seemed imperative to publish the papyrus, fragmentary and disconnected as its content may now be, with the hope that the fragments could still be of some use to further research in palaeography and linguistics and that new discoveries might help to understand its story.

The fragments are now dark beige and the original roll seems to have been rather coarse and uneven. Many darker spots and very faint traces indicate that the papyrus is a palimpsest. Although very fragmentary, it seems that the main damages occurred along the folds and that neither the top edge nor the bottom one have really been affected. The general height of the papyrus varies from 8,5 - 9,5 cm approximately ⁽³⁾. It is very difficult to assess the original length of the roll because both its beginning and its end have disappeared, and because the space eaten up between each fragment and the next one is difficult to evaluate. In their present state the fragments' total length amount to about 135-138 cm.

The text is written on the recto of the papyrus in columns of five to six lines. The ink is deep black in places and almost completely faded in others. The red ink of the rubrics is generally faded and sometimes it has completely disappeared.

⁽¹⁾ I owe these informations to Professor A.M. Bakir. My thanks are due to him for having drawn my attention onto this papyrus, as well as to Dr. M. Saleh, director of the Cairo Museum, for the photographs and the facilities of study which he has always offered to me.

⁽²⁾ My thanks are also due to Professor Posener for a most interesting discussion on this papyrus. He also mentioned the difficulty of the text due to the lack of a fuller context and seemed to

recall that the late Professor Sauneron had started a study of the fragments. Unfortunately I couldn't have access to these papers when preparing this article, or even make sure that they still exist, since all the late professor's manuscripts have been moved to Paris.

⁽³⁾ For rolls of such a small height see Černý, *Papers and Books*, p. 15 and *GLES*, p. x, on pap. Chester Beatty II.

Fragment I, as has already been mentioned, is not the beginning of the roll. It is about 10 cm large by 9 cm high and is very damaged, particularly on the left hand side to which many smaller fragments have been attached. It has six lines of writing in deep black ink. Two deep indentations have destroyed most of the last line and part of the first one, but it seems that nothing is missing on the right of the text, therefore it is possible that the fragment bore a column, or the right side of a column of the text.

Fragment II is less damaged, and measures about $9,5 - 10 \times 9$ cm. It has five lines of writing. A blank intercolumnal space is kept on the left and no trace of sign can be detected on the right. An indentation has destroyed a few signs on the left of the last line and three holes have damaged other signs in the first, third and fourth line. The ink is deep black and there is a rubric on the right side of the last line.

Fragments III, IV and V are of about the same size and of squarish shape ($8,5 \times 8,5$ cm). Each of them has five lines of writing, of which both beginning and end have disappeared. A deep indentation from the top edge of fragment III has destroyed a few signs in the first line. Fragment IV shows a join and the overlap is from right to left as usual. It has two holes at the level of the first line, but this does not affect the reading of the text. The ink is still quite black and there is a rubric on the left of the fourth line. Two little holes on fragment V do not affect the reading.

Fragments VI-X (about $6,5 \times 8 - 8,5$ cm) have each six lines of writing. On fragments VI, VII, IX and X the lines are incomplete on both sides while fragment VIII shows the left side of a column and the right side of the next one. The intercolumnal space is of about 1 cm. All these fragments have a large hole at the level of the third line, near the centre of the fragment. There are also other minor holes and fissures, particularly on fragment IX and X, but none of them really affects the reading. Fragment VIII bears also a join. The ink so far is quite black, and fragment X has a faded rubric on the right side of the fifth line.

Red verse points can be seen on these ten fragments.

Fragments XI-XVII (about $8 \times 8,5 - 9$ cm) have each again only five lines, incomplete on both sides, except perhaps for fragment XII, where there seems to be nothing missing on the left of the last three lines. This fragment is probably bearing a join. The ink is not always even on these fragments, going from fairly deep to quite faint. There are rubrics on the last line of fragment XIII, the second and fifth line of fragment XIV, and on the third line of fragment XVI, all of them being almost totally faded. The few holes, fissures or erasures occurring on these fragments do not really affect the reading.

As there was a join on fragment IV, VIII and possibly XII, another one was expected around fragment XVI, but nothing can be detected there. It could have been in the break between fragment XVI and XVII or XV and XVI.

Fragment XVIII is somewhat narrower than the others, particularly on the upper part and a large indentation on the right separates most of the first line from the rest of the text. It has six lines again, and the three bottom ones seem to be complete on the right. The ink here is uneven.

The writing throughout the papyrus is generally clear, although fairly irregular. On some fragments, particularly on the first part, the signs are carefully formed, the lines are regular and the interlinear space even. A deliberate effort for neatness and elegance can be noticed, space fillers and curves being added when needed for embellishment. But gradually the hand becomes bolder and the signs bigger, the writing looser and the interlinear space less regular. This inconsistency can be seen on fragment XVIII which, alone, is fairly representative of the whole papyrus : its first and second line are tidy and carefully drawn, then the signs get bigger and looser on the next lines.

The individual signs present a fair amount of variation of forms but are generally clear, and there are very few ligatures. This does not eliminate the difficulties of transcription, but these are mainly due to the weakness of the ink in parts, and to the fragmentary state of the papyrus which does not allow for any deduction, or guessing of a sign from the general meaning of a given context.

As has already been pointed out by Chabas, the palaeography shows that the text dates back to the ramesside period or a little earlier. This is confirmed by the few grammatical forms that one can trace in the text, such as the frequent use of the possessive adjective instead of the suffixe pronoun to express possession, the negation by means of *bw* or *bn* and the use of the pronominal compound as subject. Moreover the type of determinative used (𓆎 for 𓏏) and a number of words unknown to the *Wb.* or of a rather late form of spelling (*nḥp* III, 2; *krr* XI, 3; *īir*, XI, 3; *ph̄* XII, 2 for example) point to that same dating.

In establishing the transcription I have tried to respect the position of the signs on the fragments. This has sometimes lead to a somewhat unhappy result, since an impression of void couldn't be avoided on certain fragments, considering the difference of size, thickness and shape of the signs in hieratic and hieroglyphics. Brief notes on the palaeography are given on the plates.

These transcription plates will be followed by a translation of the fragments which will serve mainly as a framework to the words to be discussed. The fragments are now so disconnected, that the present publication can only be considered as an attempt to fix their contents before further losses or decay, and to present to the reader a considerable amount of words, some of them being totally new or yet unexplained by the *Wb.* or more recent studies, while others, more common, may offer interesting variants to what is already known.

FRAGMENT I

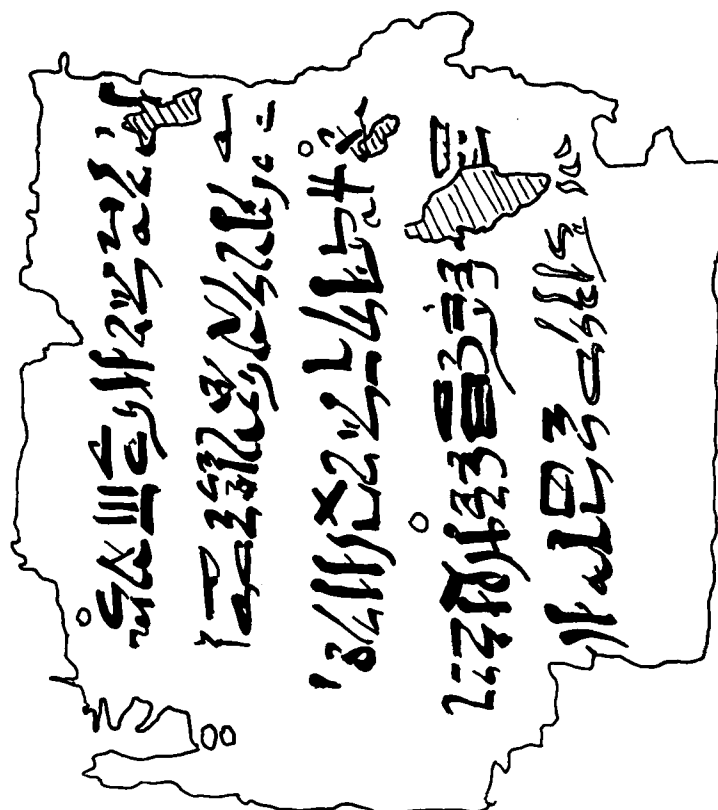
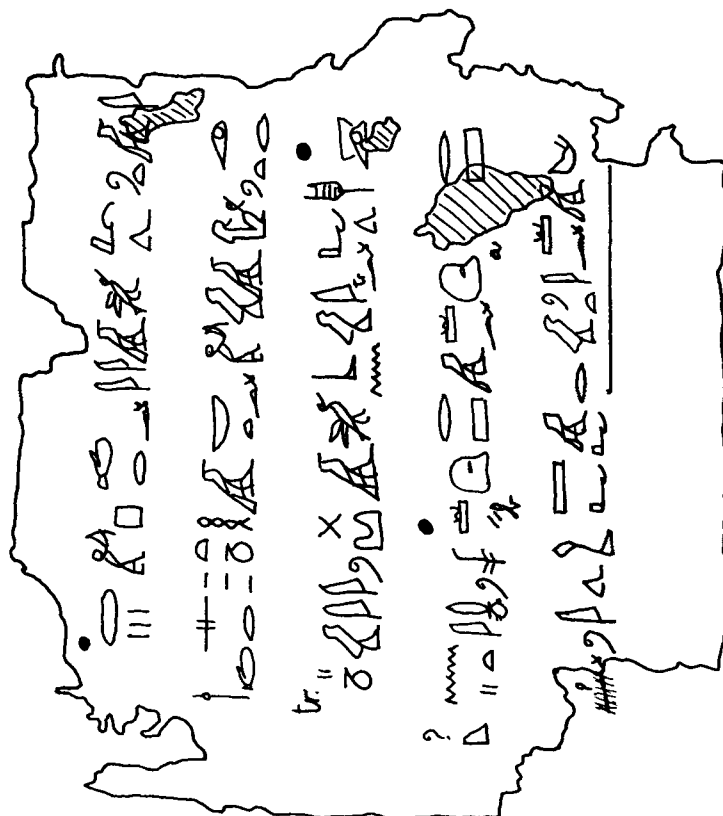


39

(Cf. Pl. XLIII)

a) traces probably belonging to the previous column. b) the traces suggest that the reading could also be *iw-tw*.

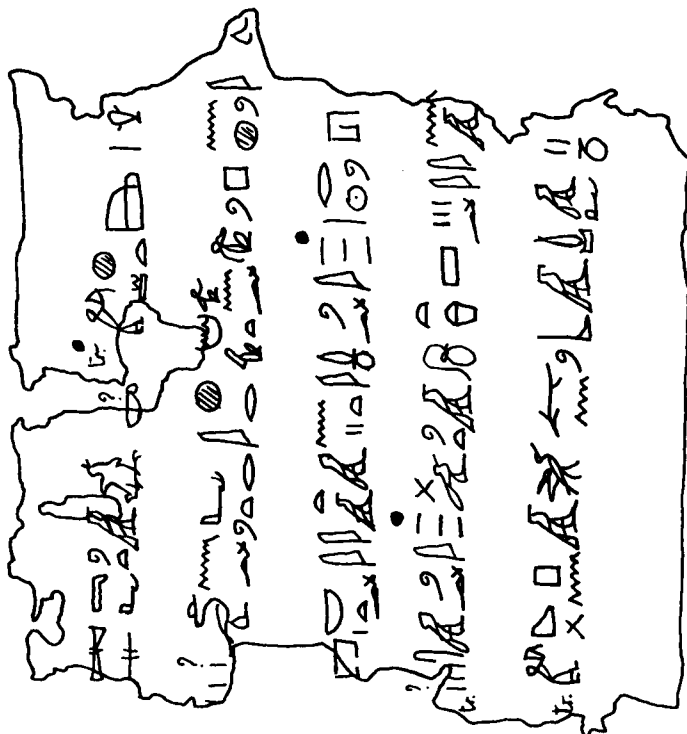
FRAGMENT II



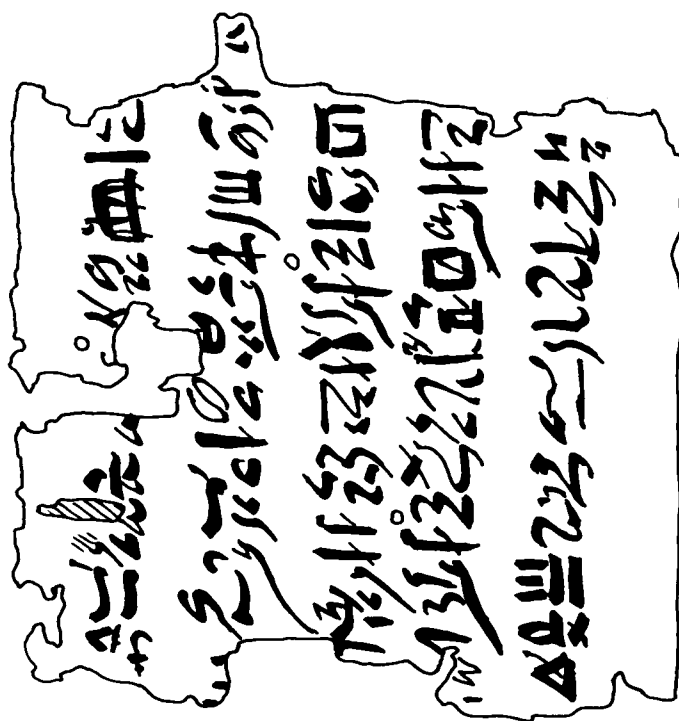
(Cf. Pl. XLIII)

- a) very faint traces near the hole, not wt.
- b) mere space filler.

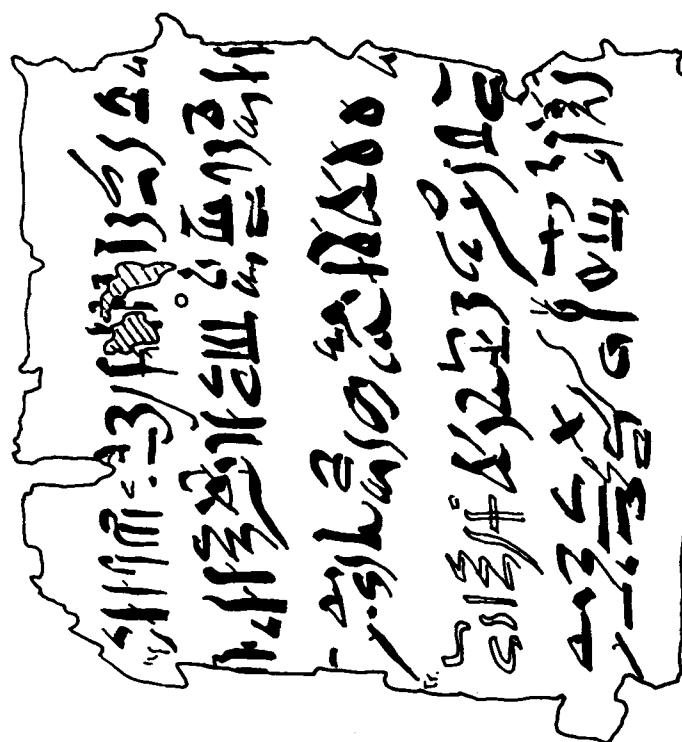
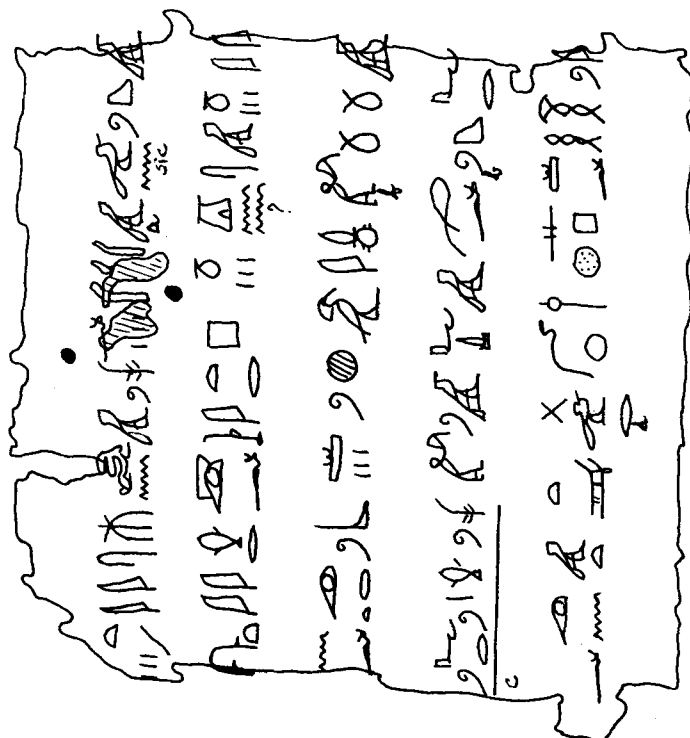
FRAGMENT III



(Cf. Pl. XLIV)



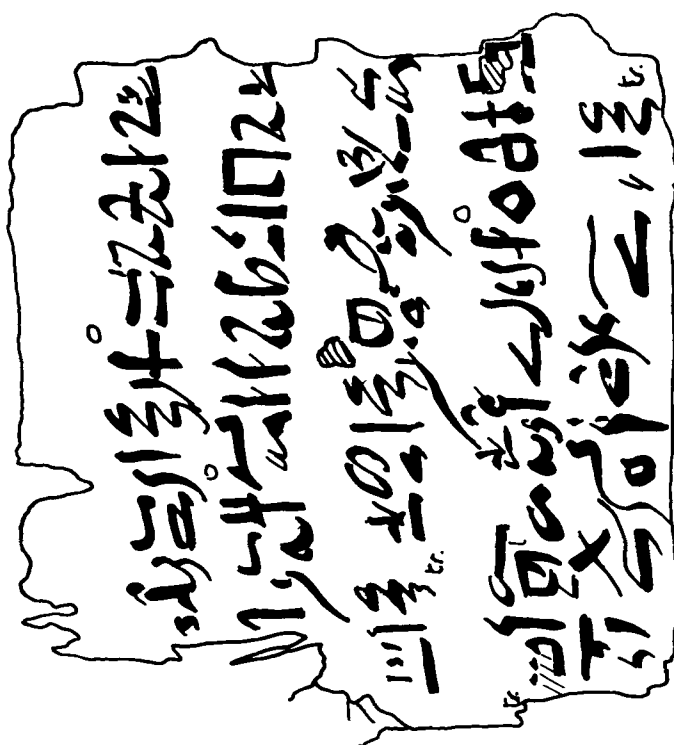
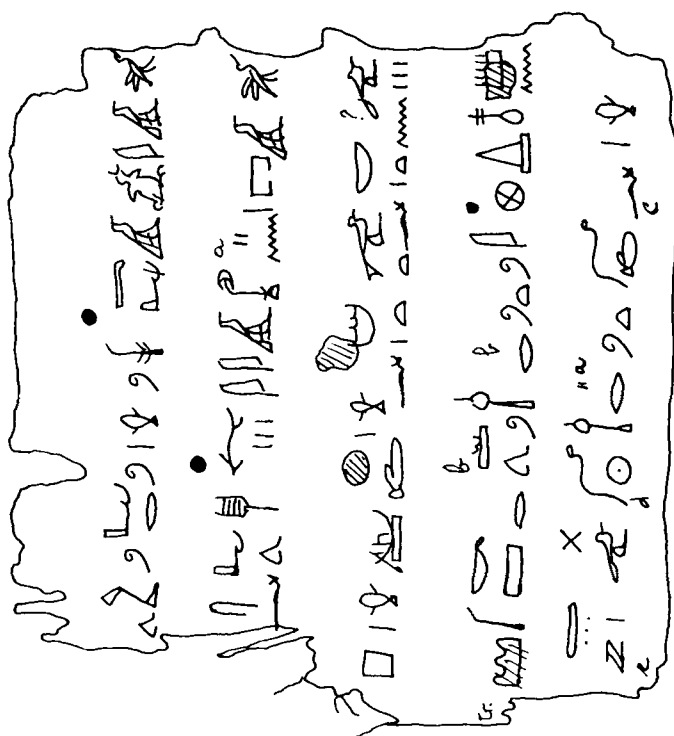
FRAGMENT IV



(Cf. Pl. XLIV)

- a) the overlap is clearly visible after *m* down to the lower edge of the papyrus.
- b) traces of washed off ink under the signs.
- c) the red ink is very faint on the last signs.
- d) *r* is written below the line.

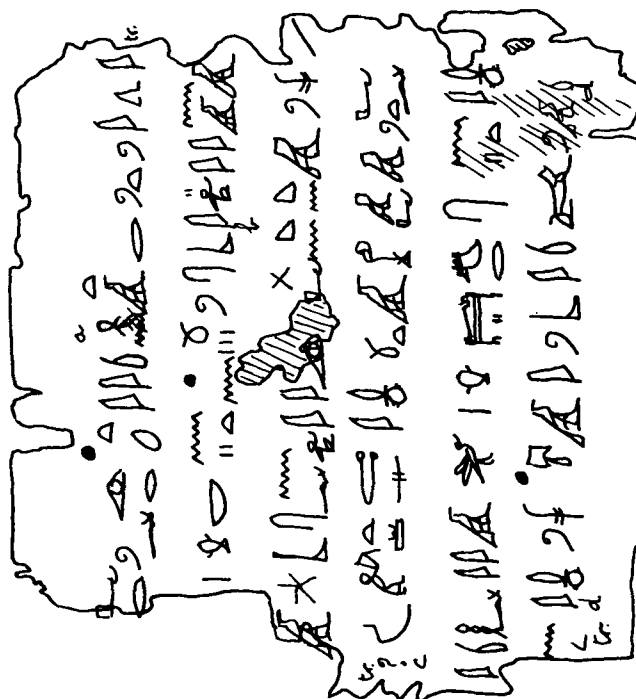
FRAGMENT V



(Cf. Pl. XLV)

- a) space filler, cf. note b on fragment II.
- b) traces of red on the *r* and the papyrus roll; the strange shape of the last sign is also to be noted.
- c) the tail of the snake has disappeared.
- d) traces of washed off ink under the *d*.
- e) there is hardly any space between this line and the lower edge of the roll.

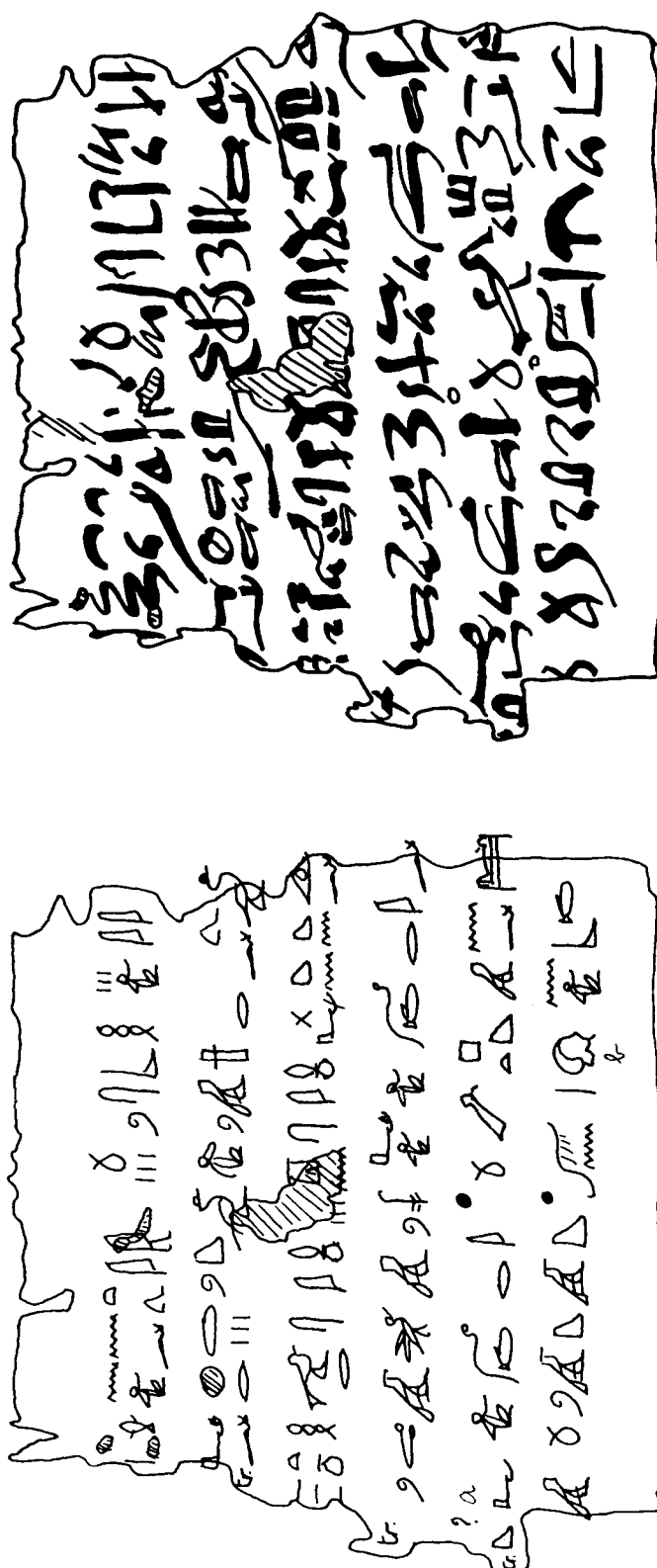
FRAGMENT VI



(Cf. Pl. XLV)

- a) reading uncertain. the ink is very weak.
- b) *hbs* was expected here but the reading *ib* is clear.
- c) I cannot read this sign.
- d) reading uncertain,

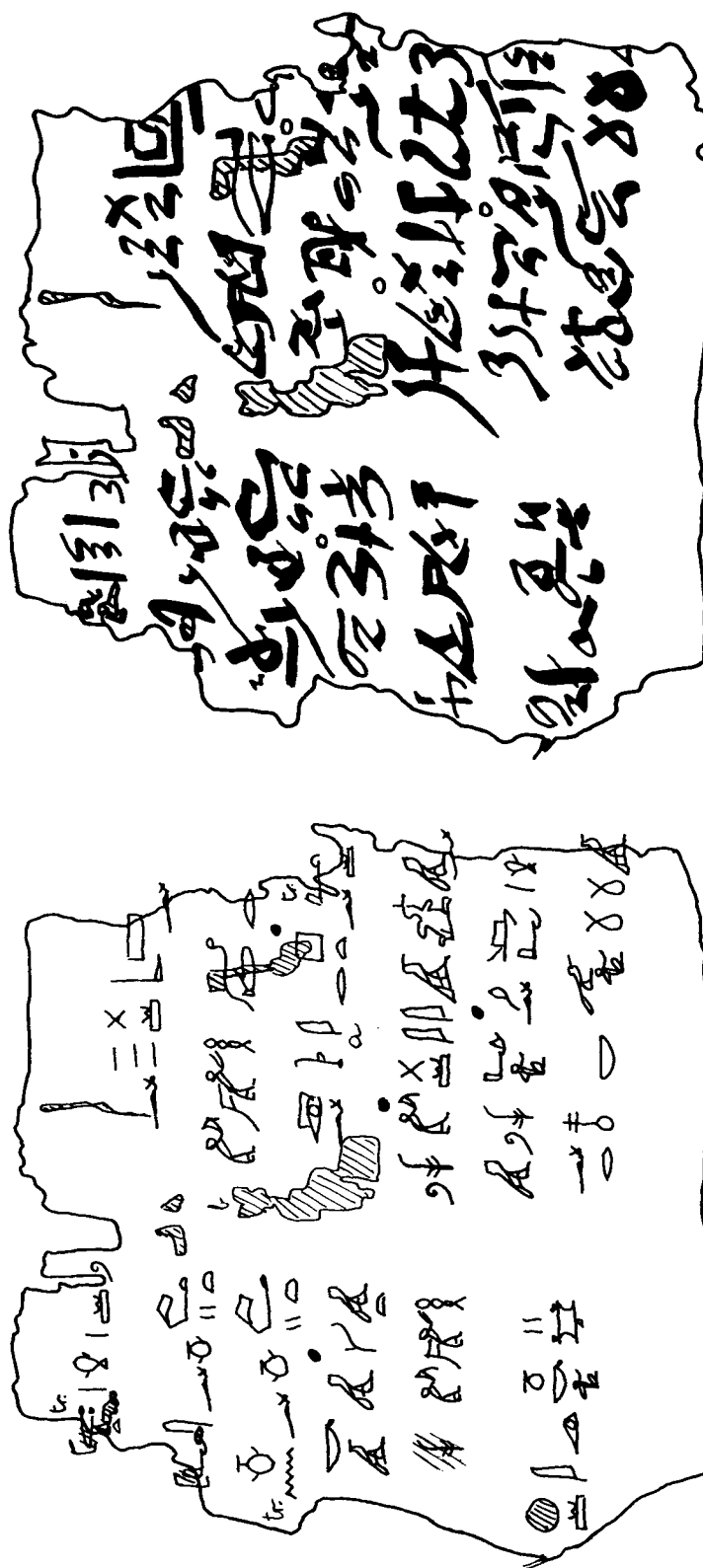
FRAGMENT VII



(Cf. Pl. XLVI)

- a) a very strange sign above the arm. like a shadow of the sign.
- b) the sign has been effaced and redrawn, the traces of the earlier one are clear on the right,

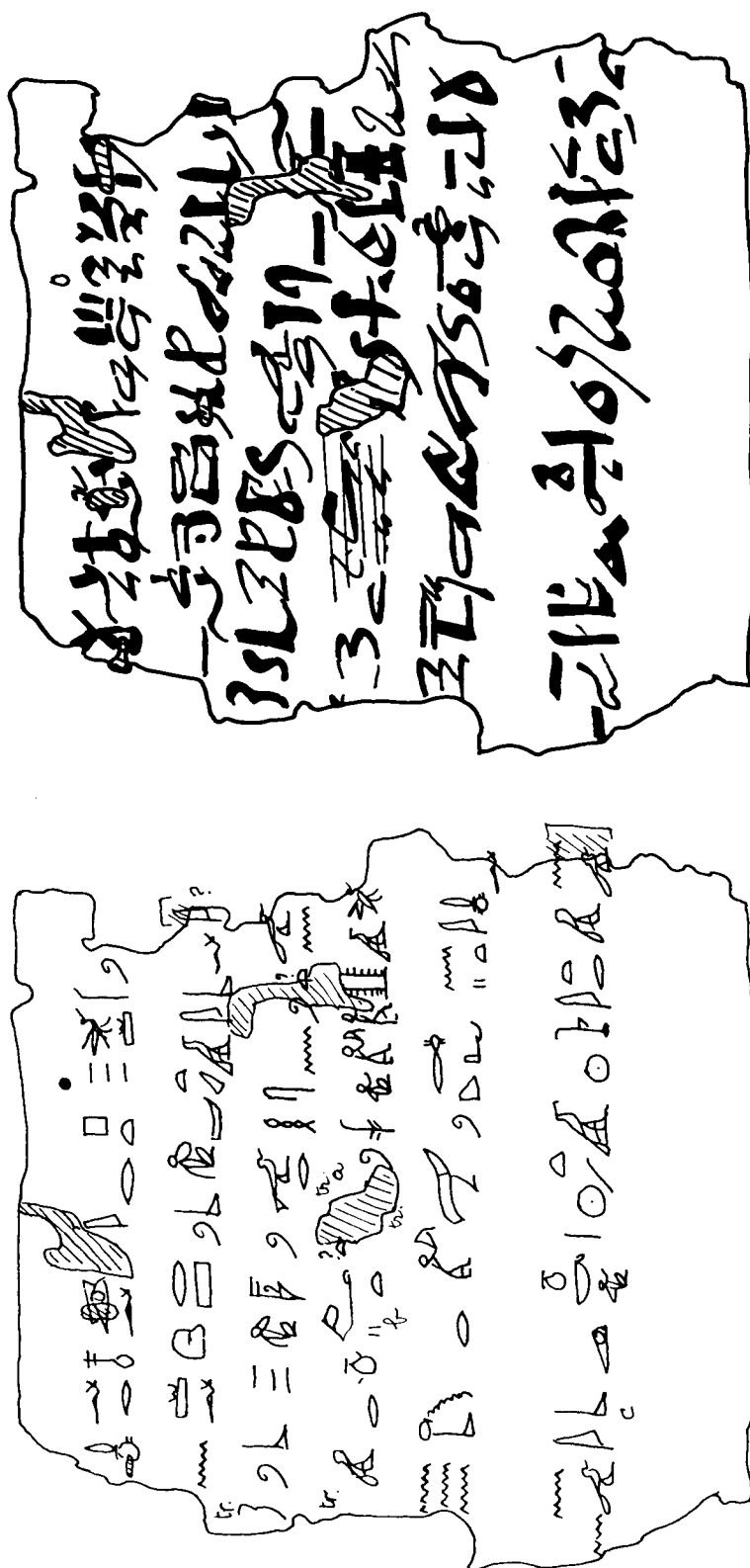
FRAGMENT VIII



(Cf. Pl. XLVI)

- a) the sign has been written, then corrected.
- b) the join can be seen at the level of the central hole.

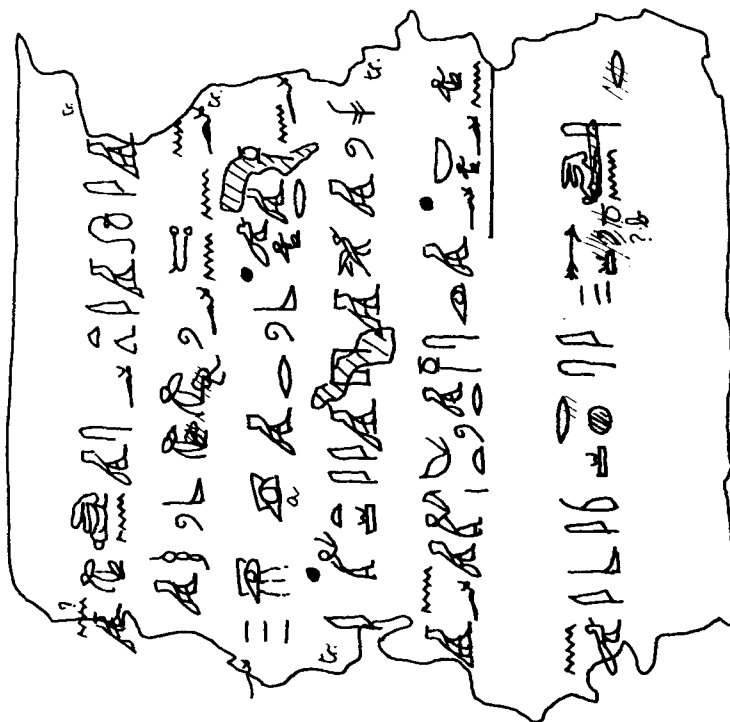
FRAGMENT IX



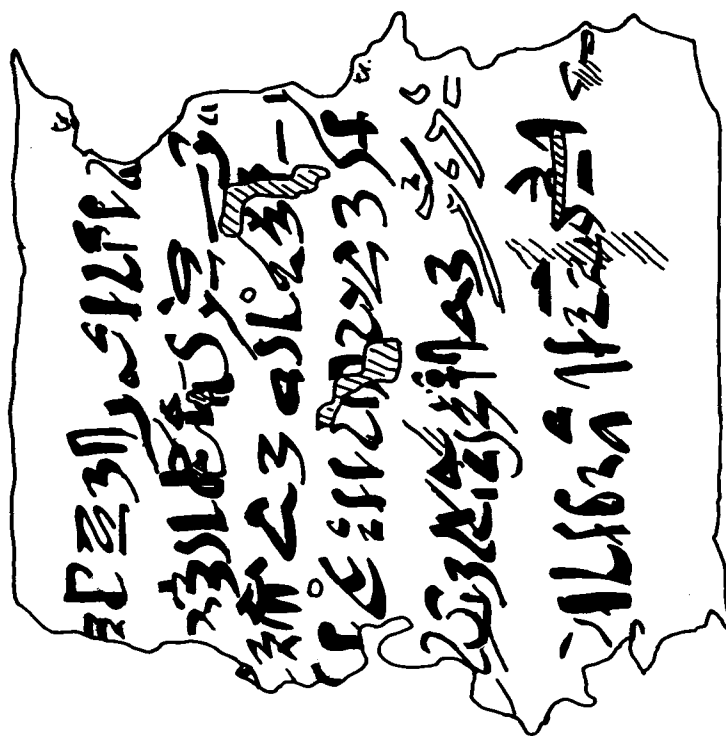
(Cf. Pl. XLVII)

- a) traces around the hole.
- b) the papyrus was badly washed off and a large stain is marking this part, blurring the signs.
- c) traces of ink under the sign.

FRAGMENT X

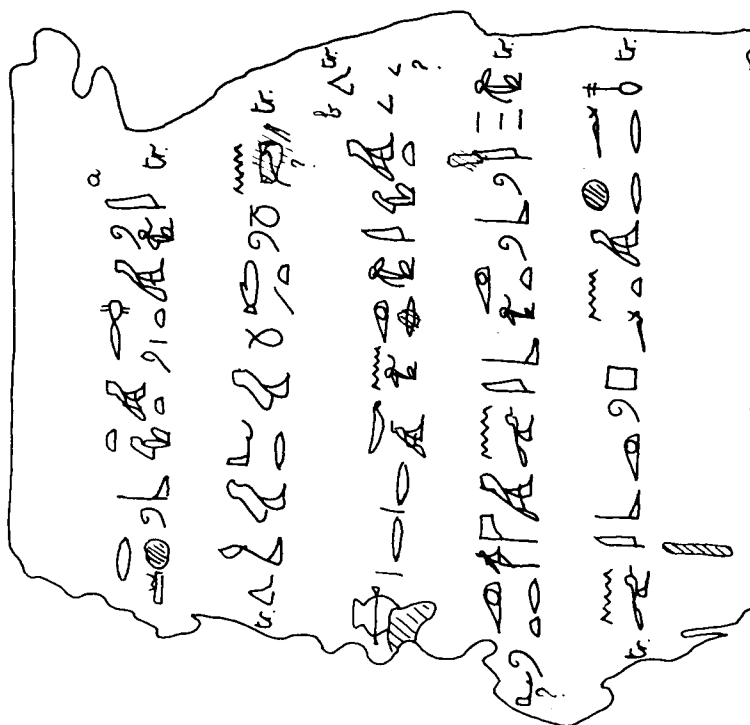


(Cf. Pl. XLVII)



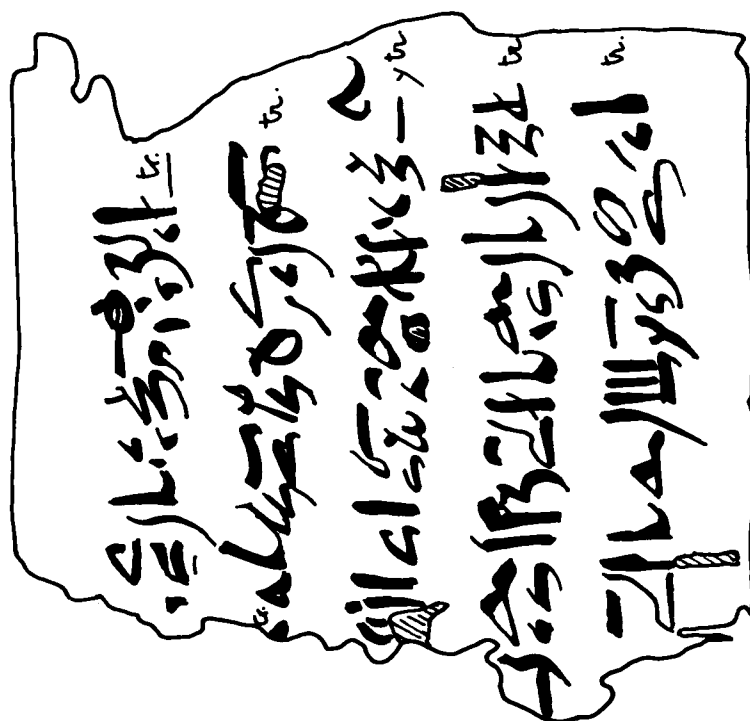
- a) smudged with ink.
- b) reading probable but the ink is too faint to be sure; the w must have been very small.

FRAGMENT XI

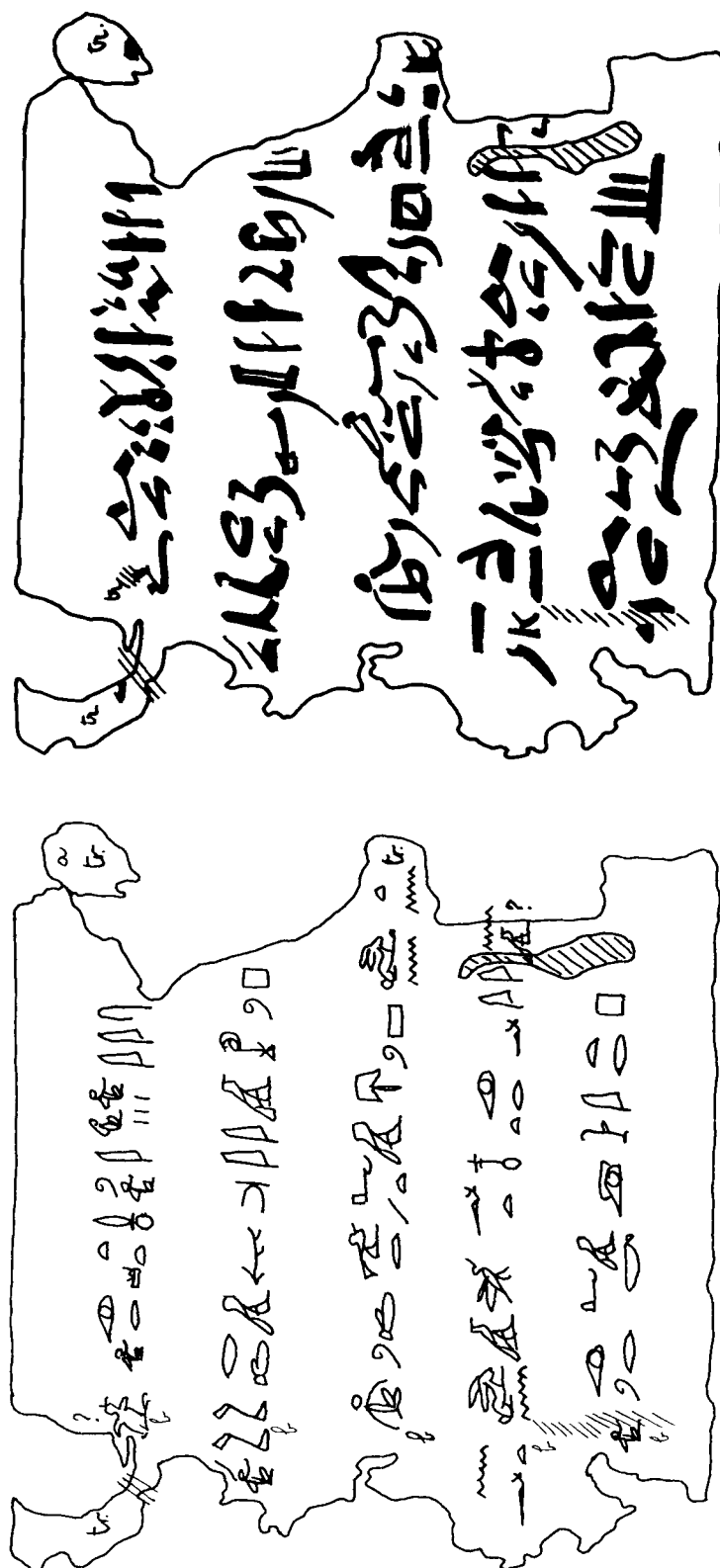


(Cf. Pl. XLVIII)

a) the ink is weak throughout, but particularly along the folds. b) the legs are drawn a little higher than the rest of the line.



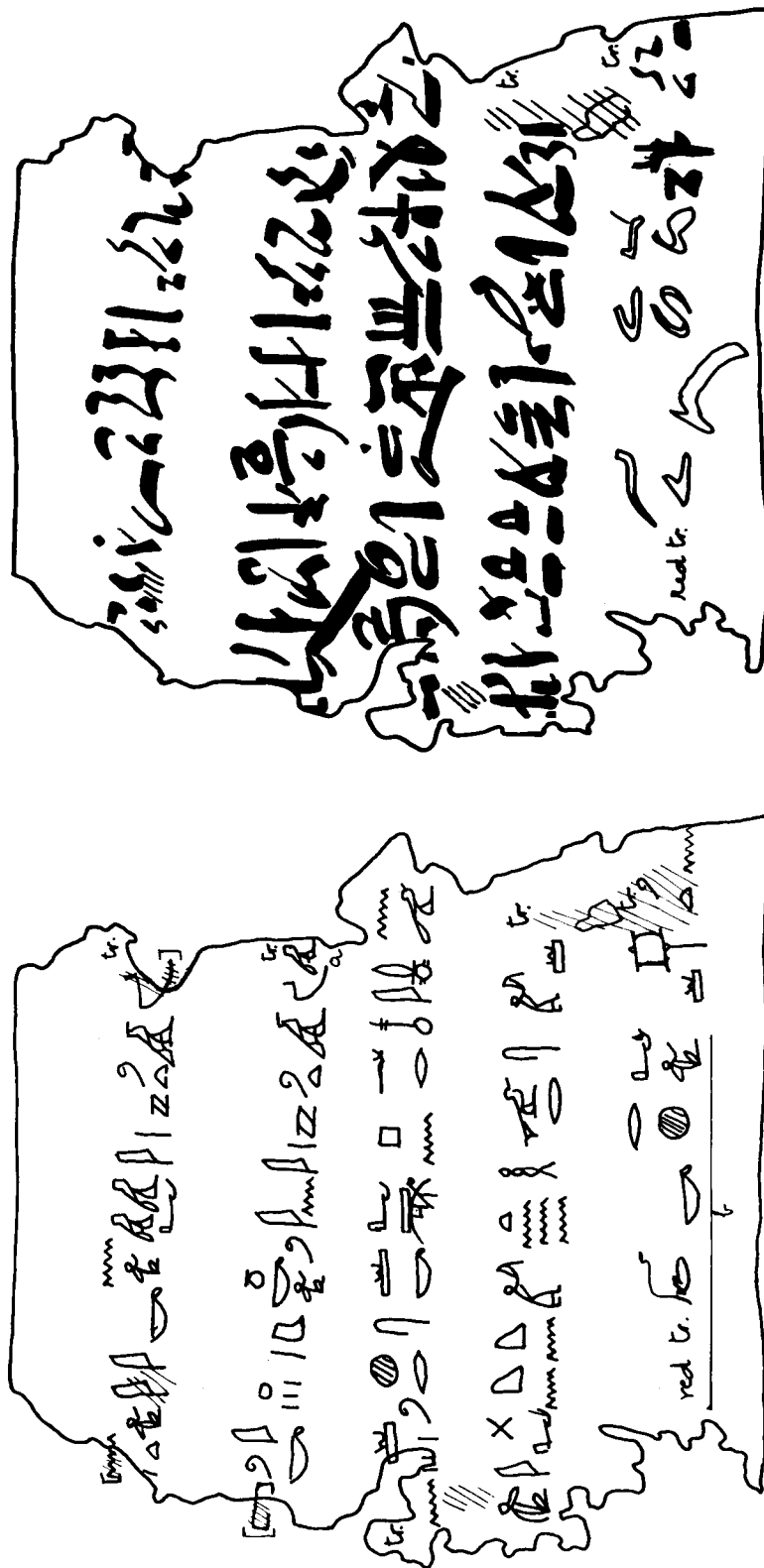
FRAGMENT XII



(Cf. Pl. XLVIII)

- a) this smaller fragment is detached from the larger one.
- b) the join here is clearly visible.

FRAGMENT XIII



40

(Cf. Pl. XLIX)

a) reading probable. b) the red ink is very weak.

De Kalb
 Fulton
 Clayton
 Spalding
 Cobb
 Douglas
 Wilkes
 Baldwin
 Wilcox
 Glynn
 McIntosh
 Ware
 Chattahoochee
 Appling
 Liberty

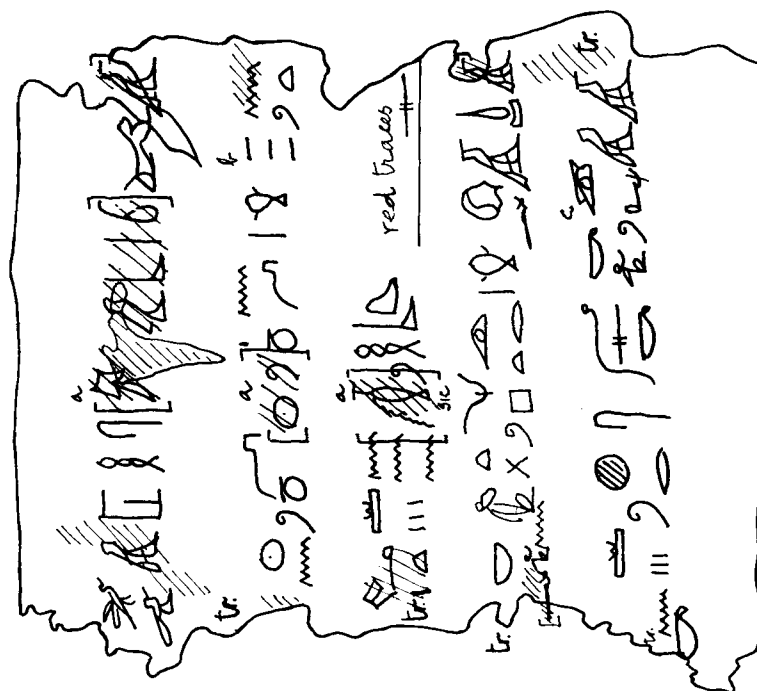
A hand-drawn sketch of the map of India, enclosed in a simple outline. The map is filled with various symbols and text, likely representing different regions or administrative divisions. The symbols include:

- Top left: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "a".
- Top center: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "b".
- Top right: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "c".
- Center: A large, irregular shape with a cross inside, labeled "d".
- Bottom left: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "e".
- Bottom center: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "f".
- Bottom right: A small square with a cross inside, labeled "g".

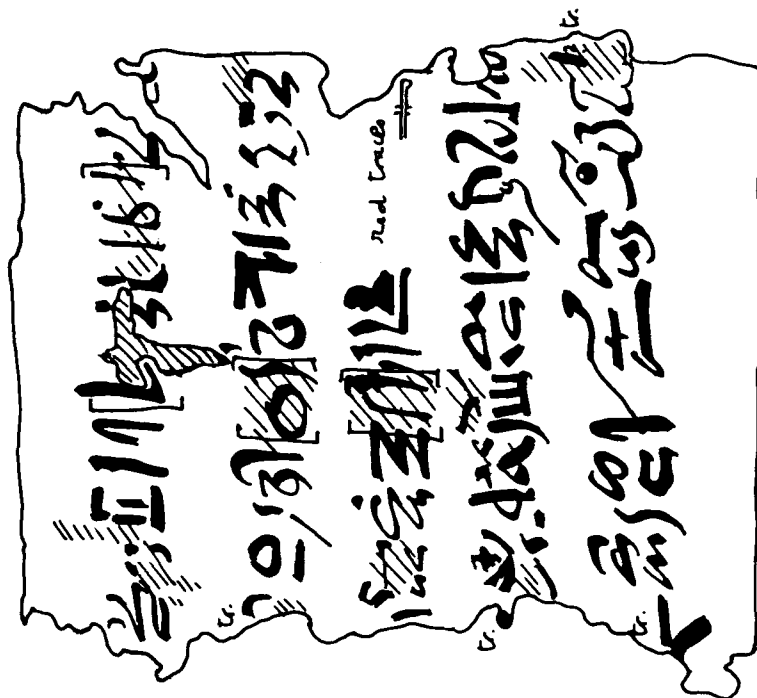
The symbols are drawn in a simple, hand-drawn style, and the text is handwritten in a cursive script.

- a) traces of badly washed off ink are seen throughout under the signs. b) reading possible.

FRAGMENT XVI

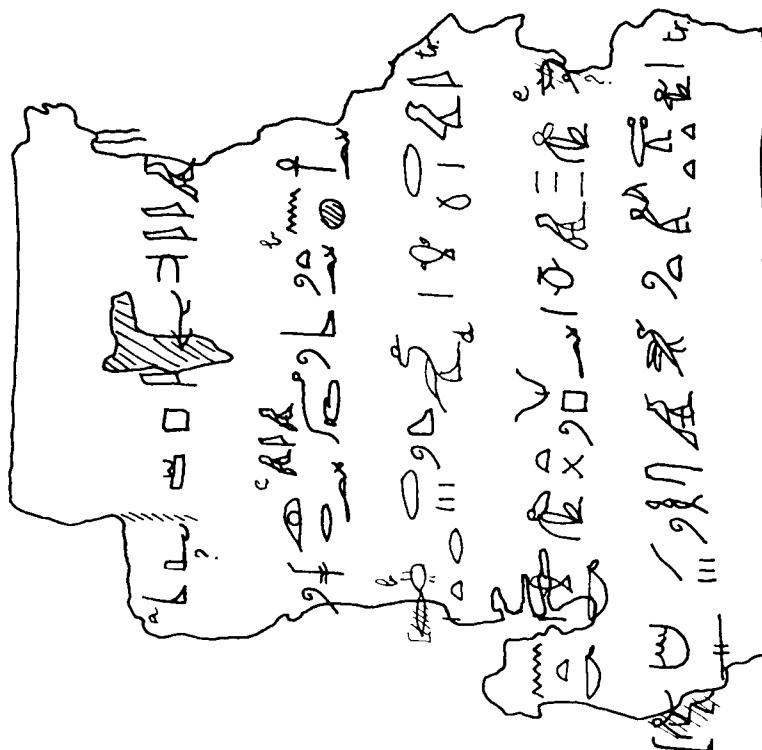


(Cf. Pl. L)



a) destroyed during the last attempt at cleaning and restoring. The photographs and fac-similies were made before the restoration.
b) reading certain in spite of the shape of the sign. c) the reading is most probable although the shape is unusual. It seems as if only the upper part of the eye had been drawn, cf. Möller, *Hieratische Palaeographie* II, n° 83.

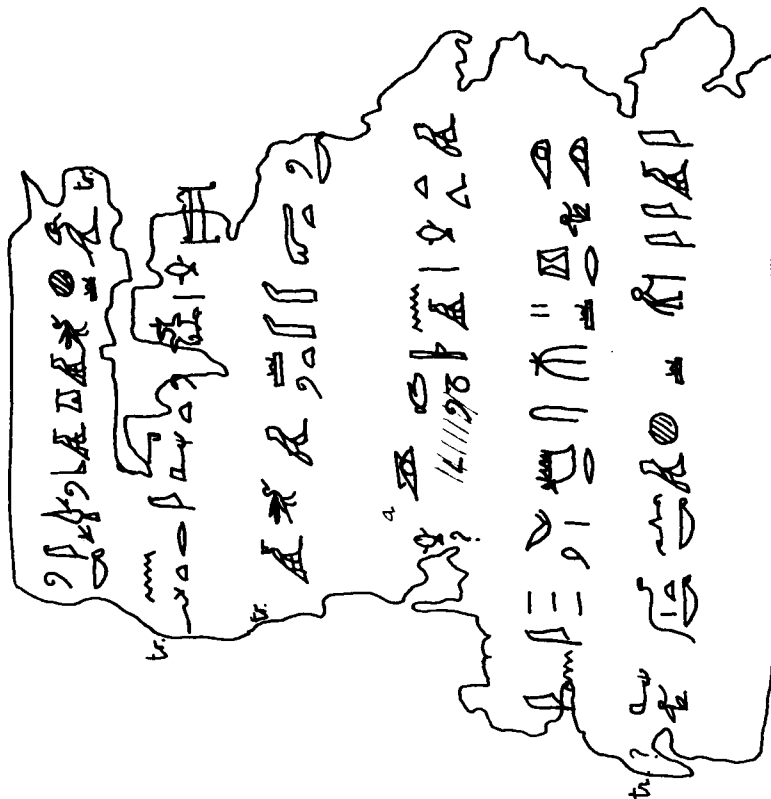
FRAGMENT XVII



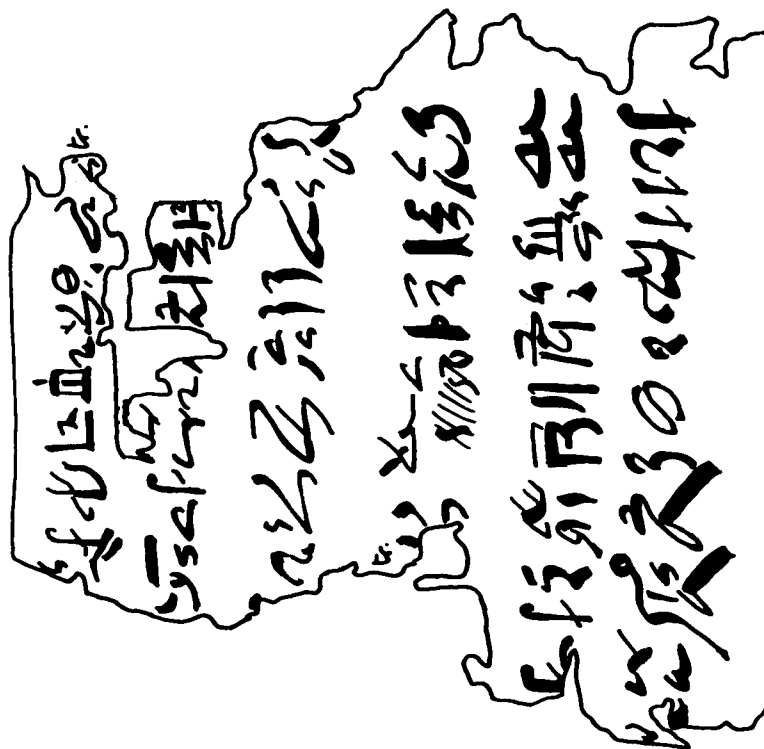
(Cf. Pl. LI)

- a) smudged and not certain; could be }.
- b) the ink is very weak.
- c) *m im* is written above the line.
- d) the legs of the 'k' bird are forming an *f*, cf. Möller, *op. cit.*, n° 215.
- e) reading probable.

FRAGMENT XVIII



a) the ink is very faint.



(Cf. Pl. LI)

PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLE I

Ref. MÖLLER Vol. II	SIGNS	FORMS	Ref. MÖLLER Vol. II	SIGNS	FORMS
33			575		
15			366		
80			511		
82			319		
115			335		
105			331		
99			250		
574			263		

PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLE II

Ref. Müller Vol. II	SIGNS	FORMS	Ref. Müller Vol. II	SIGNS	FORMS
192		 I,4 II,1 III,3 IV,4 V,1 VI,6 VII,7 VIII,8 IX,9 X,10 XI,11 XII,12 XIII,13 XIV,14 XV,15 XVI,16 XVII,17 XVIII,18 XIX,19 XX,20 XXI,21 XXII,22 XXIII,23 XXIV,24 XXV,25 XXVI,26 XXVII,27 XXVIII,28 XXIX,29 XXX,30	197		 III,4 IV,1 V,5 VI,5 VII,5 VIII,5 IX,4
		 XIV,4 XV,1 XVI,1 XVII,1 XVIII,1 XIX,1 XX,1 XXI,1 XXII,1 XXIII,1 XXIV,1 XXV,1 XXVI,1 XXVII,1 XXVIII,1 XXIX,1 XXX,1	198		 I,4 II,4 III,3 IV,3 V,3 VI,3 VII,3 VIII,3 IX,3
196		 I,4 II,5 III,5 IV,5 V,5 VI,5 VII,5 VIII,5 IX,5 X,5 XI,5 XII,5 XIII,5 XIV,5 XV,5 XVI,5 XVII,5 XVIII,5 XIX,5 XX,5 XXI,5 XXII,5 XXIII,5 XXIV,5 XXV,5 XXVI,5 XXVII,5 XXVIII,5 XXIX,5 XXX,5	215		 III,2 IV,2 V,2 VI,2 VII,2 VIII,2 IX,2 X,2 XI,2 XII,2 XIII,2 XIV,2 XV,2 XVI,2 XVII,2 XVIII,2 XIX,2 XX,2 XXI,2 XXII,2 XXIII,2 XXIV,2 XXV,2 XXVI,2 XXVII,2 XXVIII,2 XXIX,2 XXX,2
		 I,3 II,3 III,3 IV,3 V,3 VI,3 VII,3 VIII,3 IX,3 X,3 XI,3 XII,3 XIII,3 XIV,3 XV,3 XVI,3 XVII,3 XVIII,3 XIX,3 XX,3 XXI,3 XXII,3 XXIII,3 XXIV,3 XXV,3 XXVI,3 XXVII,3 XXVIII,3 XXIX,3 XXX,3	124		 I,3 II,3 III,3 IV,3 V,3 VI,3 VII,3 VIII,3 IX,3 X,3 XI,3 XII,3 XIII,3 XIV,3 XV,3 XVI,3 XVII,3 XVIII,3 XIX,3 XX,3 XXI,3 XXII,3 XXIII,3 XXIV,3 XXV,3 XXVI,3 XXVII,3 XXVIII,3 XXIX,3 XXX,3
200		 I,3 II,3 III,3 IV,3 V,3 VI,3 VII,3 VIII,3 IX,3 X,3 XI,3 XII,3 XIII,3 XIV,3 XV,3 XVI,3 XVII,3 XVIII,3 XIX,3 XX,3 XXI,3 XXII,3 XXIII,3 XXIV,3 XXV,3 XXVI,3 XXVII,3 XXVIII,3 XXIX,3 XXX,3	525		 III,2 IV,2 V,2 VI,2 VII,2 VIII,2 IX,2 X,2 XI,2 XII,2 XIII,2 XIV,2 XV,2 XVI,2 XVII,2 XVIII,2 XIX,2 XX,2 XXI,2 XXII,2 XXIII,2 XXIV,2 XXV,2 XXVI,2 XXVII,2 XXVIII,2 XXIX,2 XXX,2
		 I,2 II,2 III,2 IV,2 V,2 VI,2 VII,2 VIII,2 IX,2 X,2 XI,2 XII,2 XIII,2 XIV,2 XV,2 XVI,2 XVII,2 XVIII,2 XIX,2 XX,2 XXI,2 XXII,2 XXIII,2 XXIV,2 XXV,2 XXVI,2 XXVII,2 XXVIII,2 XXIX,2 XXX,2	292		 I,2 II,2 III,2 IV,2 V,2 VI,2 VII,2 VIII,2 IX,2 X,2 XI,2 XII,2 XIII,2 XIV,2 XV,2 XVI,2 XVII,2 XVIII,2 XIX,2 XX,2 XXI,2 XXII,2 XXIII,2 XXIV,2 XXV,2 XXVI,2 XXVII,2 XXVIII,2 XXIX,2 XXX,2
222		 I,5 II,5 III,5 IV,5 V,5 VI,5 VII,5 VIII,5 IX,5 X,5 XI,5 XII,5 XIII,5 XIV,5 XV,5 XVI,5 XVII,5 XVIII,5 XIX,5 XX,5 XXI,5 XXII,5 XXIII,5 XXIV,5 XXV,5 XXVI,5 XXVII,5 XXVIII,5 XXIX,5 XXX,5	91		 I,4 II,4 III,4 IV,4 V,4 VI,4 VII,4 VIII,4 IX,4 X,4 XI,4 XII,4 XIII,4 XIV,4 XV,4 XVI,4 XVII,4 XVIII,4 XIX,4 XX,4 XXI,4 XXII,4 XXIII,4 XXIV,4 XXV,4 XXVI,4 XXVII,4 XXVIII,4 XXIX,4 XXX,4
224		 I,1 II,1 III,1 IV,1 V,1 VI,1 VII,1 VIII,1 IX,1 X,1 XI,1 XII,1 XIII,1 XIV,1 XV,1 XVI,1 XVII,1 XVIII,1 XIX,1 XX,1 XXI,1 XXII,1 XXIII,1 XXIV,1 XXV,1 XXVI,1 XXVII,1 XXVIII,1 XXIX,1 XXX,1	98		 III,2 IV,2 V,2 VI,2 VII,2 VIII,2 IX,2 X,2 XI,2 XII,2 XIII,2 XIV,2 XV,2 XVI,2 XVII,2 XVIII,2 XIX,2 XX,2 XXI,2 XXII,2 XXIII,2 XXIV,2 XXV,2 XXVI,2 XXVII,2 XXVIII,2 XXIX,2 XXX,2

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

FRAGMENT I

- 1) ... *him (?) in ... he (?) ... like one who ...*
- 2) ... *he received ninety strokes. He was like ...*
- 3) ... *with the copper. He (?) did not grieve ...*
- 4) ... *a day. One increased ...*
- 5) ... *drank water in his (?) ...*
- 6) *He ...*

Line 2 begins with ... *p* which is probably the end of a verb of which « ninety strokes » is the object; possibly *šsp* « to receive » (a payment) *Wb.* IV, 531, 1, the ninety strokes being the payment « received » or « deserved » for a certain action.

L. 3 : the rendering « grieve » may suit a context which mentions beating. *nḥp* would be a variant of *nḥp* « to grieve » or « lament », *Wb.* II, 284, 17 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2139.

L. 4 reads *hrw tw·tw swr t3...*; for *swr* « to increase » see *Wb.* IV, 70, 4-9.

L. 5 : the first word is certainly *swr* « to drink ».

FRAGMENT II

- 1) ... ? *his provisions ...*
- 2) ... *to make all his protection (?) . The fields (?) which were let to grow ...*
- 3) ... *He stood, the jar not being ...*
- 4) ... *he rejoiced greatly. He was like one who ...*
- 5) ... *he heard that one would travel. I ...*

L. 1 : I cannot figure out what precedes *drp*; for this word meaning « provisions » see *Wb.* V, 477, 1-5 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.5075.

L. 2 is most puzzling. Should we read *ir·tw s3wt·f nbt* with *s3wt* meaning « guard » or « protection » (*Wb.* III, 418, 5-6) or *irt s3wt nb·f* with a transposition of the suffixes and a reading of \angle as \angle which is also possible, *s3wt* thus meaning « keep watch on » (his

master) (*Wb.* III, 418, 6 in *tr s3wt*), or something else? The lack of context is most confusing. On the same line we have *3ht srd* (?). The word *3ht* is determined with a pot, and should therefore mean some sort of cake for offerings (*Wb.* I, 12, 10-13). I have translated « fields », and considered the determinative as erroneous because of the word « *srd* » which follows, the combination of the two words being attested by *Wb.* IV, 205, 3, meaning « to let the field grow »; see also Meeks, *ALex* 77.3731 and 78.3687. *srwd* also means « to establish offerings » (*Wb.* IV, 194, 14) and the translation could be « the offerings which were established » or something similar. The meaning of the whole line remains obscure.

L. 3 : for *ḡwjw* « vessel » or « jar » see *Wb.* V, 551, 6 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.5175, 77.5178 and 78.4893. In *ZÄS* 105, pl. X, fig. 11 an alabaster elongated vessel is labelled *ḡwjw nfr*, which according to Verner, indicates the type of the vessel. For Goedicke (*RdE* 11, 69) the word is an indication of the capacity of the vessel, which filled to the rim equals 100 ccm; for *ḡwjw* as a measuring vessel see also *Arch. Abousir*, I, 375-76.

L. 4 : lit. « he rejoiced in joy » ...

FRAGMENT III

- 1) ... on gathering ... He (?) has stolen clothes ...
- 2) ... I designated for him a wife, then bread was given to him ...
- 3) ... days. He was like one who is with his wife ...
- 4) ... his misery (?). He was ...
- 5) ... the bailer for the bailing ...

L. 1 : for *sht* meaning « to gather » see *Wb.* IV, 266, 1 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.3782. The line ends with *ts*. ... I suggest *tsn* « clothes » or « garments » (*Wb.* V, 410, 11 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.4727), because the context below (fragments VI and VII) is dealing with a theft of clothings.

L. 2 : the word *nḥp* is unknown to me. The context suggests something like « I chose for him a wife » since we have, in the next line, *mi nty m t3yf nbt pr*; cp. *nḥp* with *nḥb* « to fix » of *Wb.* II, 307, 10-15 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.2196. For the correlation between *b* and *p* see Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Egyptien*, p. 19 ff.

L. 3 : lit. he was like one who is with his mistress of the house.

L. 4 : the word *štw* or *štwšt*, written as it is there, is not attested anywhere. Could that be a variant for *štw* « bandages » of Von Deines-Westendorf, *Wb. der med. Texte*, II, 871? One also wonders if this could not be a compound word *š-twšw* formed with a prefix *š* and the word *twšw* « poor » (*Wb.* V, 248, 1), to mean something like « misery ». For a similar prefixation of *š* see James, *HTBM*, pl. 25, n° 994 and *BIFAO* 77, 116.

L. 5 : for the words *mqšbt* and *pnq* see *Wb.* II, 189 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.1945 and *Wb.* I, 510, 12-13 = *ALex* 78.1455; these terms are used in connection with boats.

FRAGMENT IV

- 1) ... *ruined in his fingers. He was (?)* ...
- 2) ... *with oil. He examined the gunnels (?)* ...
- 3) ... *destroyed (?) as if (by) magical spells* ...
- 4) ... *He swore falsely. He ran away* ...
- 5) ... *he laid down the goods which had been damaged in order not to make for him* ...

L. 1 : the first word may be for *šqw* « destroyed » (*Wb.* I, 21, 11-20 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.0092). The second part of the line reads *sw m wn-msyt*, *wn-msyt* being a word or a construction that I completely fail to understand.

L. 2 : Here again the lack of context is confusing. Is *hryt* here for « gunnels » (*Wb.* III, 148, 20 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2815), or for « terror » (*Wb.* III, 147, 14 - 148, 12 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2812 and 78.2785)? Both terms are related to the sea and to boats.

L. 3 : the first word is probably for *wggt* « damage », « destruction » (*Wb.* I, 376, 15 - 377, 4 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1086), but here used as a verb or a participle. For *šhw* « magical spells » see *Wb.* I, 15, 4-9 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.0060.

L. 5 : for this meaning of *hq* see *Wb.* III, 212-213, 16 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2941.

FRAGMENT V

- 1) ... *the thief. He ran away* ...
- 2) ... *the (store)-house of the gunnels. He stood* ...
- 3) ... *of his great mistress. His wife sailed northwards* ...
- 4) ... *Memphis. One will send to Kush* ...
- 5) ... *concerning what was said until morning* ...

L. 2 : For the word *ḥȝy* see *Wb.* III, 22', 3-4 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2966; *p³ pr n ḥȝy*, lit. « the house of the gunnels » could be a storing place in the boat; cp. also with Meeks, *ALex* 77.2964.

L. 5 : the *·f* after *ḥr* is probably superfluous and so is the determinative after *ḥd* in *ḥd t³*.

FRAGMENT VI

- 1) ... *one will (report) (?) to the šntjt-goddess (?)*, *he ran away* ...
- 2) ... *my garments to anyone who* ...
- 3) ... *him with beating. I executed a penalty against him* ...
- 4) ... *he put you (?) in bonds like binding*
- 5) ... *like one who was sleeping on his bed* ...
- 6)? *He was like one who* ...

L. 1 : the reading *šntyt* is not certain, but the feminine article and the egg for determinative point to a female divinity, may be some kind of divine judge who recognises robbers. On *šntyt* see Meeks, *ALex* 78.4162.

L. 2 : for *ibs* « head-dress » see *Wb.* I, 64, 18 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.0232. Here this may also be an error for *ḥbs* « clothes » or « garments » more generally as we have it in fragment VII, 1. The punctuation dot which follows this word is misplaced.

L. 3 : for this meaning of *ir sbȝyt* see *Wb.* IV, 86, 8 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.3427.

L. 4 : the reading of the group preceding the preposition *m* is uncertain, the most probable being *rdi·f tw*; a reading *·f ty* would also be possible, but such a word meaning « brewer » (*Wb.* I, 183, 9-10 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.0701) would require a determinative. For *mḥȝt* « bonds » see *Wb.* II, 130, 3-4 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1838 and see 77.4970 for *ṯs* « to bind ».

L. 5 : the last word is certainly for *ḥ·t* « bed » (*Wb.* III, 43, 15 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.2602).

L. 6 : The first word is unintelligible. Is that the name of an animal as suggested by the determinative? A destructive power in the form of some sort of lion as can be gathered from the writing of the word? This word occurs again on fragment XVI, 1 accompanied by *šḥtm* « to destroy » (*Wb.* IV, 223, 10 - 224, 7); see below.

FRAGMENT VII

- 1) ... *my clothes. He came to me concerning* ...
- 2) ... *he entered to eat (his) ration then he gave (?)* ...
- 3) ... *he beated with oil and ointment* ...
- 4) ... *when I said that I put it (or him) in the* ...
- 5)? *in fine linen. When I said* ...
- 6) ???

L. 3 : the reading *sgnn* is probable because of *swrht* which follows and which is probably a causative of *wrht* « ointment » (*Wb.* I, 335, 4-7); on this word see Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, p. 36. *mi* here may be for *m*; otherwise, translate « like oil and ointment ». The connection between beating and ointment which occurs again on fragment XIII, 4 is not very clear. Does it imply a special way of beating, like when making ointment for example if this is done so, or are oil and ointment used during the beating?

L. 4 : the word beginning with *tw* at the end of the line is perhaps for *twfy* « papyrus mat » (*Wb.* V, 359, 6-9), since a bed (*h't*) is mentioned in fragment VI, 5. Linking the fragments together we would have something like « I placed him on the papyrus-mat ... he was like one who is sleeping on his bed ... ».

L. 6 : unintelligible, although the reading is certain.

FRAGMENT VIII a

- 1) ... *he mixed him up (?)*
- 2) ... *saying : « strike »*
- 3) ... *he saw*
- 4) ... *in secret. He*
- 5) ... *him alone. I put him in*
- 6) ... *all my weakness (?)*. *The riches*

L. 1 : one wonders whether *šb* here is for « to possess » (Meeks, *ALex* 77.4136), or for « to mix up » (*Wb.* IV, 436, 4-14 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.4134).

L. 2 : a reading *r ddhw* « to imprison » (*Wb.* V, 635, 6-10) is doubtful because of the writing with *ꜥ*.

L. 6 : the first word is probably for *wg*³ « weakness » (*Wb.* I, 376, 13 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1085); the suffixe which follows is puzzling, since possession, in this papyrus, is usually expressed by means of the possessive adjective. If a verb, cp. with Meeks, *ALex* 78.3407 « to be childish » or « naïve » and 78.3408 « to harm »; but if so, *nb* can no longer be taken as an adjective.

FRAGMENT VIII b

- 1) *in the midst of ...*
- 2) *his heart ...*
- 3) *his heart ...*
- 4) *dead. It is ... who ...*
- 5) *striking. He ...*
- 6) *here. What shall I do ...*

FRAGMENT IX

- 1) *... ? he examined well like ...*
- 2) *... he ... marvels. He did not rejoice ...*
- 3) *... of maledictions ...*
- 4) *... the builder. He ...? in ...*
- 5) *... like one who shaved for purification ...*
- 6) *... evil (?) in an instant. It is I who did evil to ...*

L. 1 : *nfr* here seems to be used adverbially.

L. 2 : for the various possible ways of translating *bišt* see *Wb.* I, 440, 1 - 441, 11 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1208-11.

L. 3 : *šḥwr* « to curse » (*Wb.* IV, 213, 4-6) is probably used here as a substantive.

L. 4 : after *sw* the writing is blurred, smudged with ink, and the reading is doubtful.

FRAGMENT X

- 1) *... he kept far (?). Surely ...*
- 2) *... (because of) drinking. He (?) was not happy ...*

- 3) ... *of my illness. He did not weep* ...
- 4) ... *he was in the gang* ...
- 5) ... ? *do not cause pain to the deputy unjustly* ...
- 6) ... *to trade. It is known that it is bad* ...

L. 1 : *w3iw3it·f* is probably a reduplication of *w3i* « to move » (*Wb.* I, 246, 13 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.0805), either erroneous, or meant to express a stronger movement (Gardiner, 3rd ed., § 274).

L. 2 : *tnf* may be a variant of *Wb.* V, 380, 10 « to drink ».

L. 4 : for *h3yt* « gang » see *Wb.* II, 475, 8 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2461. This term is known essentially from north-egyptian documents (Arch. Abousir II, 428a) and one wonders whether it was not the northern equivalent of *ist* which is the term used for « gang » of workers in Thebes (Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, p. 99 ff.), particularly that mention of a « deputy » is made in the next line, to be paralleled to the deputy of the gang in Thebes (*ibid.* 133 ff.).

L. 5 : the determinative of *smr* « to cause pain » (*Wb.* IV, 139, 9), is missing.

L. 6 : the reading *swnw* is probable; for the meaning « to trade » see *Wb.* IV, 68, 3-13.

FRAGMENT XI

- 1) ... *I was in (my) mother's womb. (Her children) do not know* ...
- 2) ... *(in) babies' napkins. (I?) ran away* ...
- 3) ... *(my) mother who made for me a jar* ...
- 4) ... *although I did not do evil. It is the god who did* ...
- 5) ... *good, for it is he who did evil* ...

L. 1 : on *bw rh* to express the present tense see Černý and Groll, *Late Eg. Gr.*, § 20.5.7. For the possibility of « her children » as subject see fragment XII, 1 which is closely related to this one and may have been part of the same page in the story.

L. 2 : *nwd* is probably here for « babies' napkins » (*Wb.* II, 225, 12) as the « mother's womb » has just been mentioned. The speaker is probably defending himself against an accusation and says that he was then too young to do whatever he was accused of.

L. 3 : *krr* is a vessel (*Wb.* V, 135, 8) probably to hold unguent; see note on fragment XII, 3.

L. 4 : for *iw bw ir·i* ... as a *bw sdm·f* form to be used in a subordinate clause, see Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, § 361; in *m ntr ir*, *m* is for *in*.

FRAGMENT XII

- 1) ... *children. I, likewise, I did* ...
- 2) ... *fetters on my feet* ...
- 3) ... *of raisins on the tired members*
- 4) ... *his doing well, because he*
- 5) ... *see. Behold I did.*

L. 1 : the first word is probably for *msw* « children »; see note on fragment XI, 1.

L. 2 : *ph³* is a variant of *Wb.* I, 543, 17 « fetters ».

L. 3 : *wnš* here is certainly « raisins » (*Wb.* I, 325, 5-7 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.0947); the erroneous determinative comes from *wnš* « wolf » (*Wb.* I, 324, 14-18); for a similar writing see papyrus Berlin 3038 (ed. Wreszinski) 119 and 136. For the healing virtues of raisins in medical preparations, see Grapow, *Wb. der Äg. Drogennamen*, 136-7; Westendorf, *op. cit.*, 195 and Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical Copte*, 248-55. If fragments XI and XII were parts of the same page as suggested above (fragment XI, 1), the *krr*-jar of XI, 3 would be to contain the *wnš* preparation.

FRAGMENT XIII

- 1) ... *the new land. Give me another man who* ...
- 2) ... *anew. Is the copper (not) mine (while) you* ...
- 3) ... *evil (?) or good. You have turned the conditions (of the deal) upside down* ...
- 4) ... *anointing and beating* ...
- 5) ... ? I have caused you to know that ...

L. 1 and 2 : both lines start now with *mšwt* or *m mšwt*, but whether this stands for « new land » or « island » (*Wb.* II, 27, 8 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1605), or for « newness »

or « anew » (*Wb.* II, 26, bottom), is impossible to tell without a fuller context, since both can be written in the same way.

L. 2 : this passage shows a dispute about belongings and the division of goods, probably copper or any metal, and a house between two persons. The speaker here claims that the metal is his, while the house is due to his comrade. He adds in XIII, 3 that the latter has twisted the conditions of the deal. See also fragment XV, 1.

L. 3 : the translation of a word like *shr* so pregnant of meanings (*Wb.* IV, 258, 10-260, 16 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.3822 and 78.3774) is difficult without a fuller context. I translated « conditions » of a deal on the bases of the *n* which follows *shr* and because of the dispute that is carried out in the text.

L. 4 : for *swrh* see note on fragment VII, 3; here, nevertheless, it is probably used as a verb, because of the determinative.

L. 5 : on the construction *di·i rh·k (r) dd* « I caused you to know that » see *Wb.* II, 444, 15.

FRAGMENT XIV

- 1) ... *can delay the plan (?)* ...
- 2) ... *his master, he said that you are boasting* ...
- 3) ... *you said the truth in ending* ...
- 4) ... *took away his clothes* ...
- 5) ... *after he was found escaped* ...

L. 1 : for the construction *rh* with infinitive meaning « to be able to ... », see *Wb.* II, 444, 12-14.

L. 2 : the last word is probably for *swhi* « to boast » (*Wb.* IV, 71, 11-17).

L. 3 : for *dd (m) m3't* « to say the truth » see Meeks, *ALex* 77.1590; *s'rq* is probably a variant of *Wb.* IV, 48, 9 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.3406 « to put an end to »; this writing is unusual.

L. 5 begins with a faded rubric.

FRAGMENT XV

- 1) ... *Is the house (not) mine? When you went back ...*
- 2) ... *you are growing richer through your thefts ...*
- 3) ... *which I stole. You knew the porters ...*
- 4) ... *all the things which he had seized from ...*
- 5) ... *beating (?) The barber did ...*

L. 1 : for the beginning of the line see note on fragment XIII, 2. The verb following *iwk* is either *twh³* (*Wb.* V, 225, 5) or *rwh³* (*Wb.* II, 409, 7) both meaning to « return in the evening ».

L. 2 : for *s'³* « to grow rich » see *Wb.* IV, 41, 13 = Meeks, *ALex* 78. 3343.

L. 3 : for *f³i* « porter » see *Wb.* I, 574, 5-6 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.1539.

L. 5 : the first word is probably for *qnqn* « to beat »; on *h'q* « barber » see *Wb.* III, 365, 3 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.3197.

FRAGMENT XVI

- 1) ... *the spotted lion (?) destroyed ...*
- 2) ... *they spent the time ...*
- 3) ... *I sat refreshing (my) heart ...*
- 4) ... *his head, doing the mission of his master ...*
- 5) ... *you informed me yourself of the matter of ...*

L. 1 : on this word see above note on fragment VI, 6. Could it be a divinity related to *rw-bw* of *Wb.* II, 403, 9 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.2335?

L. 2 : *nw nw* is probably a verb (*Wb.* II, 219, 16) followed by a substantive (*Wb.* II, 219, 1-4; 11), a verb *nwnw* written like here being unknown so far; the first *nw* would be used instead of *ir* in *ir nw* « to spend the time ».

L. 3 : the rubric is faded. For *qbh* « to refresh oneself » see *Wb.* V, 26, 12 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.4385.

L. 4 : the first word must stand for d^3d^3 « head » (*Wb.* V, 530, 5).

L. 5 : the first word stands probably for 'm « to know » or « inform », « reveal », (*Wb.* I, 184, 16-22 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.0711).

FRAGMENT XVII

- 1) ... *the fetters and examined (?)* ...
- 2) ... *keep him alive (?)*. *He did not say who made it* ...
- 3) ... *clothes and rations for the body* ...
- 4) ... *(he) feared in his heart the mission concerning you. You* ...
- 5) ... *the garment was taken (while) (you?) were sitting* ...

L. 1 : the first word is probably ph^3 , cp. with fragment XII, 2. For the various meanings of *ip* see *Wb.* I, 66, 1-21.

L. 2 : the group $\cdot tw$ between 'nh and the suffix $\cdot f$ is unusual; may have been originally $s'nh\cdot tw\cdot f$ or the like.

L. 3 : could the first word stand for d^3iw « material for clothings » (*Wb.* V, 417, 3-7 = Meeks, *ALex* 77.4991), in spite of the determinative which suggests some sort of ointment? For the preposition *r* meaning « for » or « destined to » in *r ht*, see Meeks, *ALex* 77.2307; 78.2339.

L. 5 : *shw* is probably a variant for *sw* « garment » or « kilt » (*Wb.* IV, 72, 3 = Meeks, *ALex* 78.3704).

FRAGMENT XVIII

- 1) ... *the stick was useful* ...
- 2) ... *spending the night stealing. As for him* ...
- 3) ... *you were recognised in the* ...
- 4) ... *on dreams* ...
- 5) ... *my eyes under the effect of ears. I* ...
- 6) ... *the elders. You fainted and I caused* ...

L. 1 : for *gbw* « stick » see *ALex* 78.4441; could also be for g^3bt « green leaves » (*Wb.* V, 154, 7).

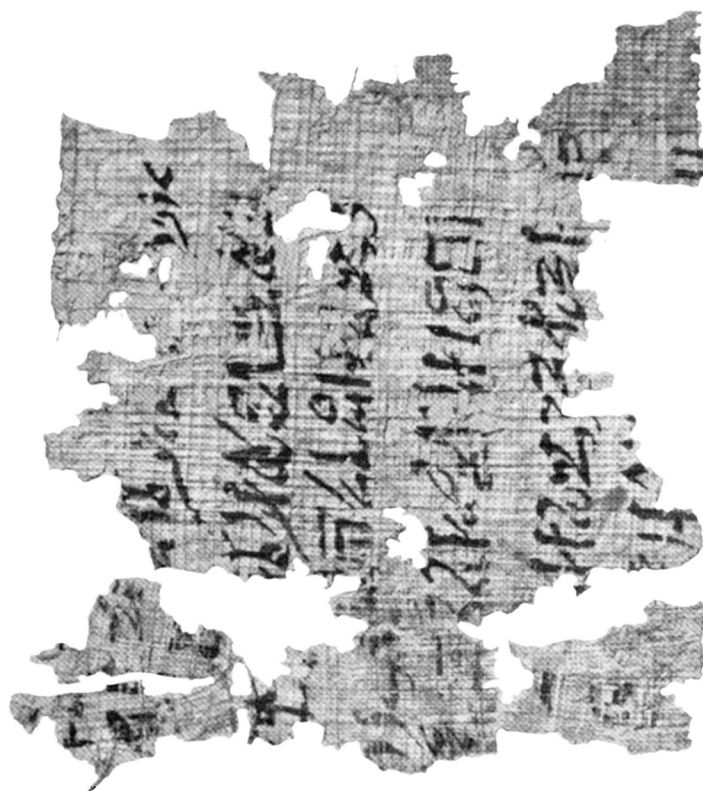
L. 5 : for *hry* « under the effect of » see Meeks, *ALex* 78.3224.

L. 6 : for *hm dt* « to faint » see *Wb.* III, 279, 7-8 and Meeks, *ALex* 78.3012.

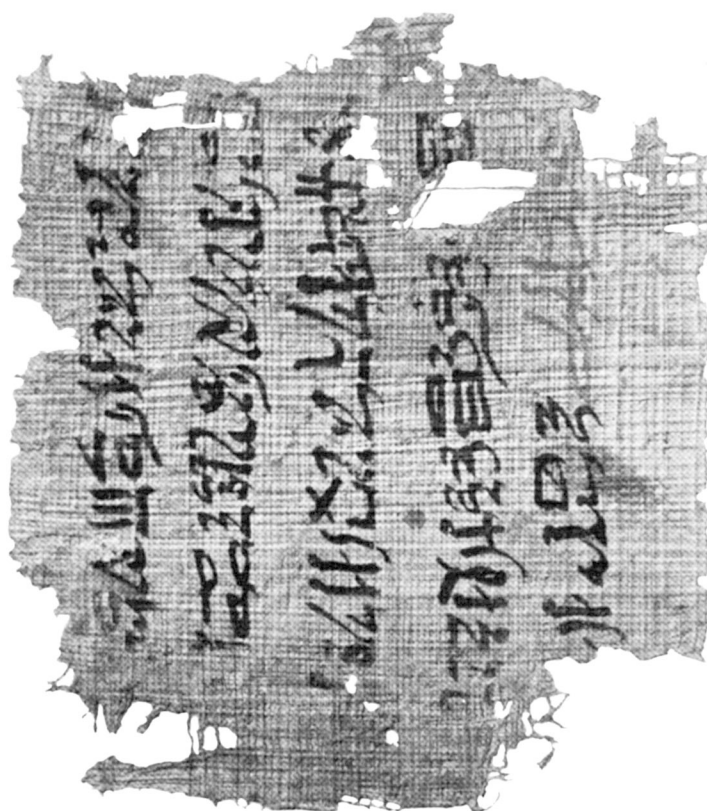
CONCLUSION

From the little that one can make out of these fragments it is clear that the story is situated among workers, as mention is made of a builder (IX, 4), a gang of workers (X, 4), a deputy (X, 5), porters (XV, 3) and a barber (XV, 5). It must have been located in, or near, a port, as we have several naval terms in the beginning of the story (*pnq* and *md³bt* in III, 5; *hryt* in IV, 2; *h³y* in V, 2; *hd* in V, 3), or, otherwise, the story started with a shipwreck, followed by a destruction of goods (IV, 5) and a theft of belongings. Then comes along an accusation which is denied by the speaker who claims that he was too young, at the time, to perform any evil action. Nevertheless he was caught, perhaps later, and probably imprisoned, since he had to run away with fetters on his feet, and his mother had to make for him a preparation based on raisins, to reinvigorate them (XI and XII). We then have an argument about the ownership of a house, and of some metal, and a deal which does not seem to have been respected.

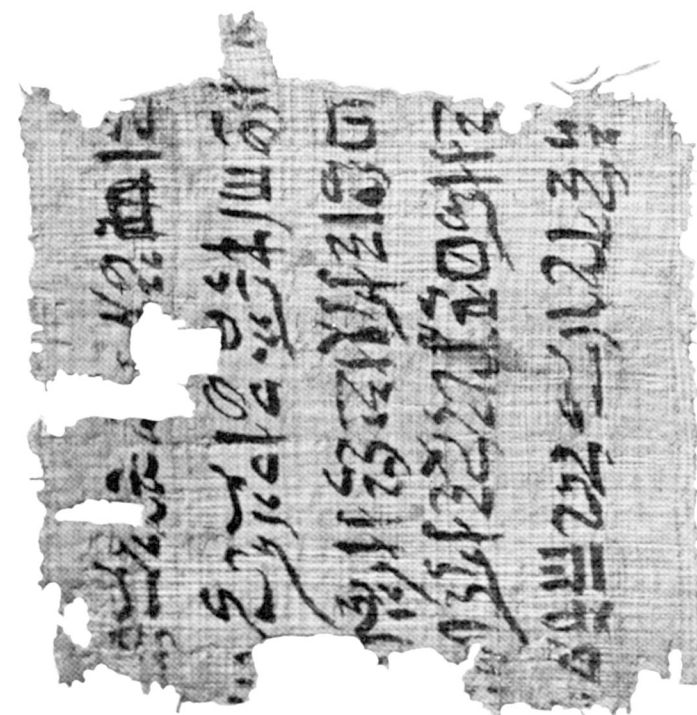
It would be very difficult to give a fairly certain reconstruction of the papyrus now, the study of its fibres being no longer possible, since it has been irreversibly stuck on cardboard; but from the general aspect of the fragments, their size, location of holes and fissures, colour of ink, number of lines, eventual beginning or end of a column, and finally content, one could group fragments together, to try and establish the original pages of the papyrus. But even so, the content remains too disconnected to reconstruct them with certainty, and to have a consistent, or really intelligible account of the story. One remains under the impression that large parts of the roll have disappeared, in addition to what has been destroyed along the folds. I prefer, therefore, to leave the question open, hoping that future finds will help reconstruct the story in a more certain way.



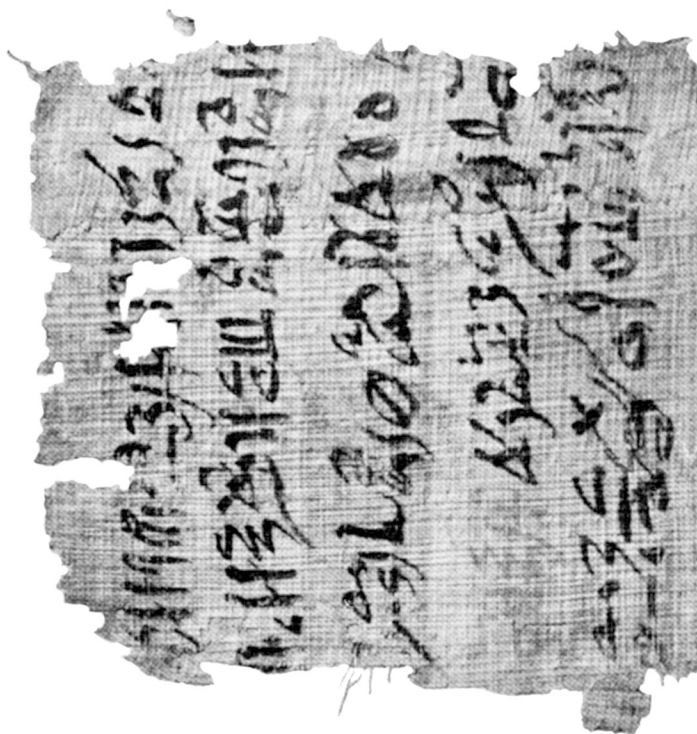
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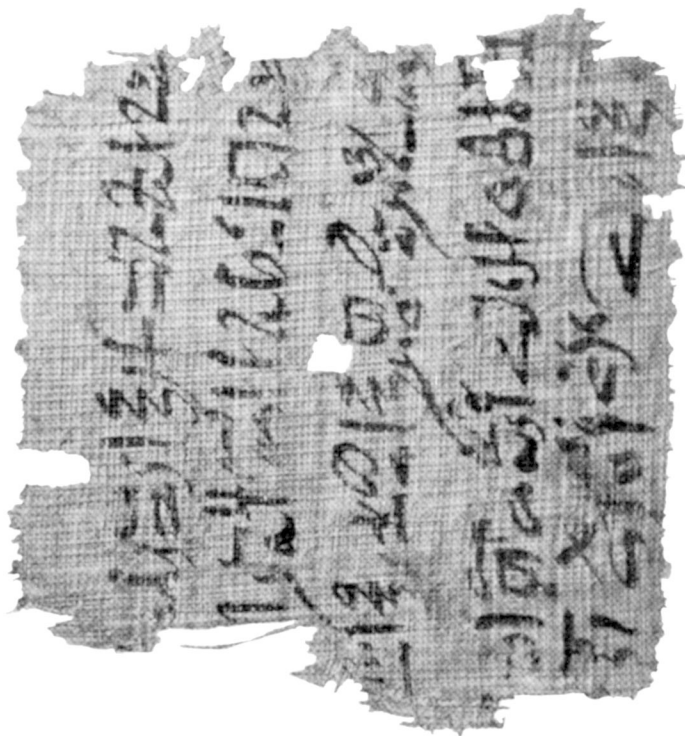
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Fragment III.



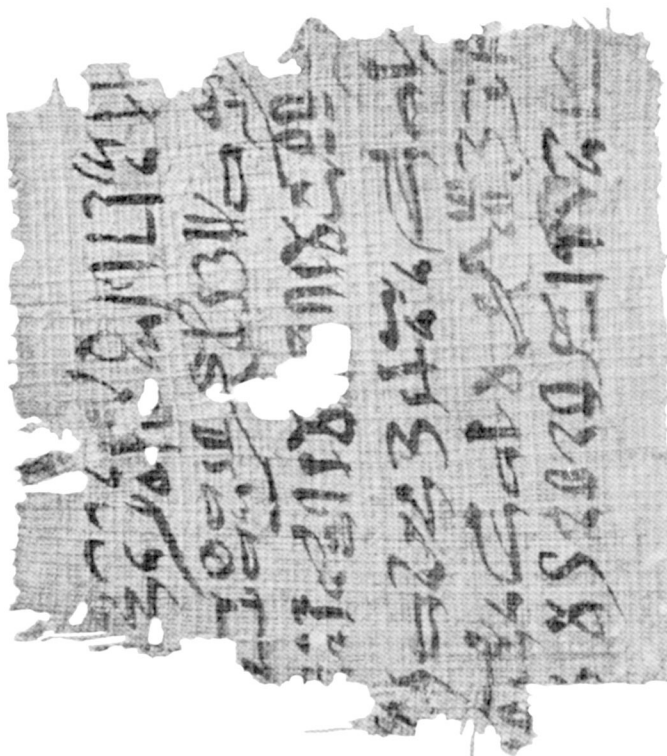
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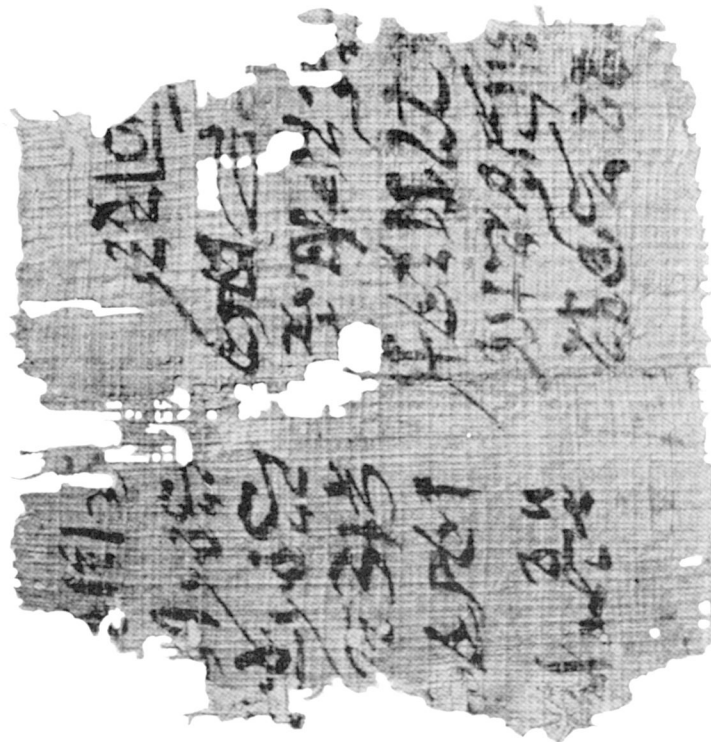
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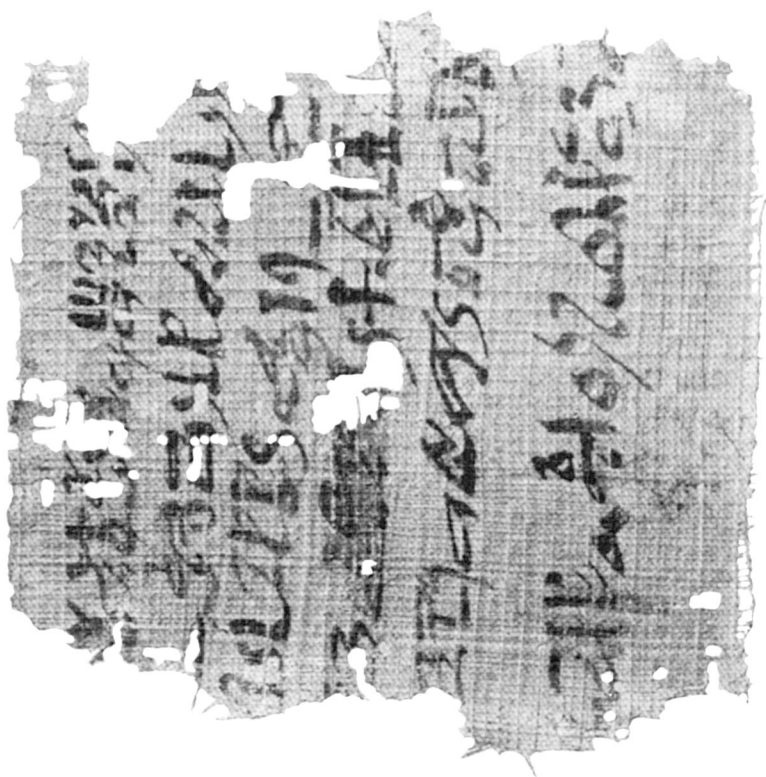
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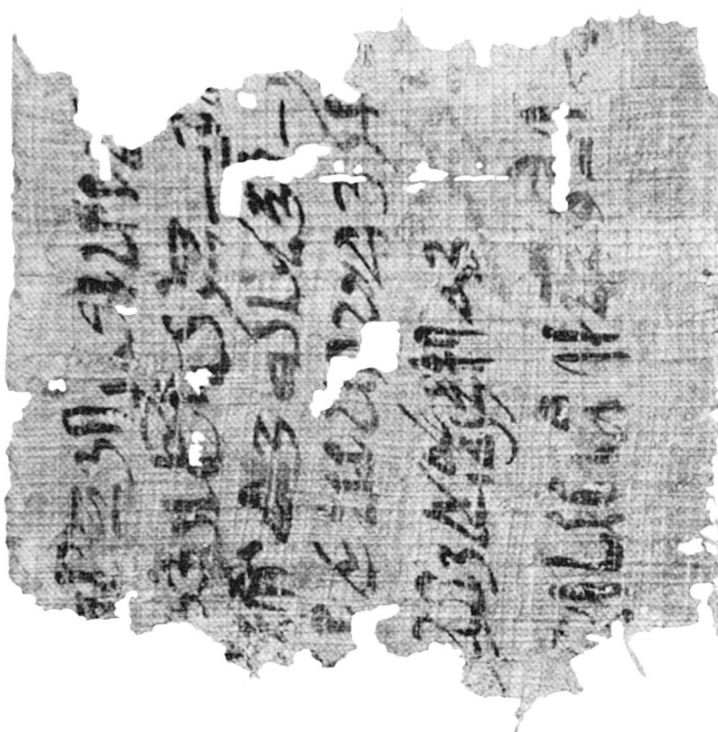
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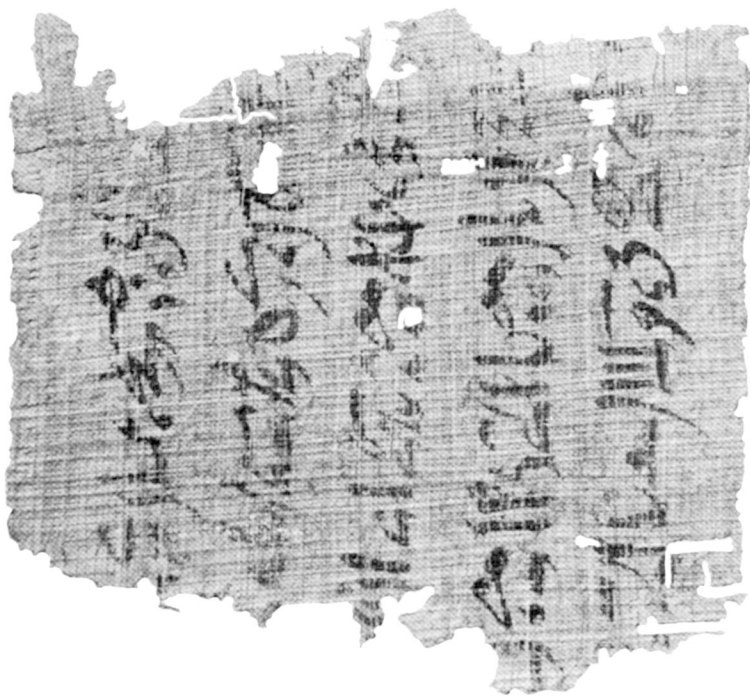
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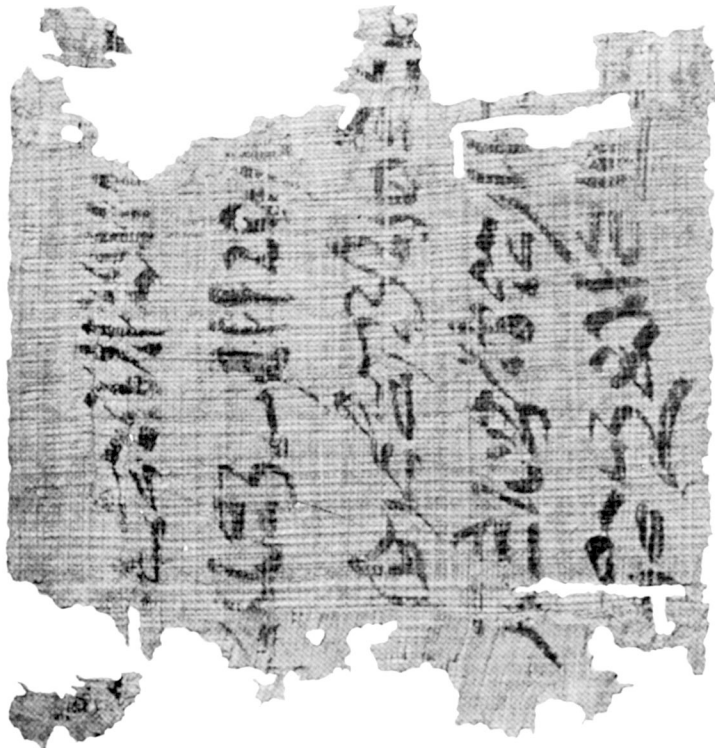
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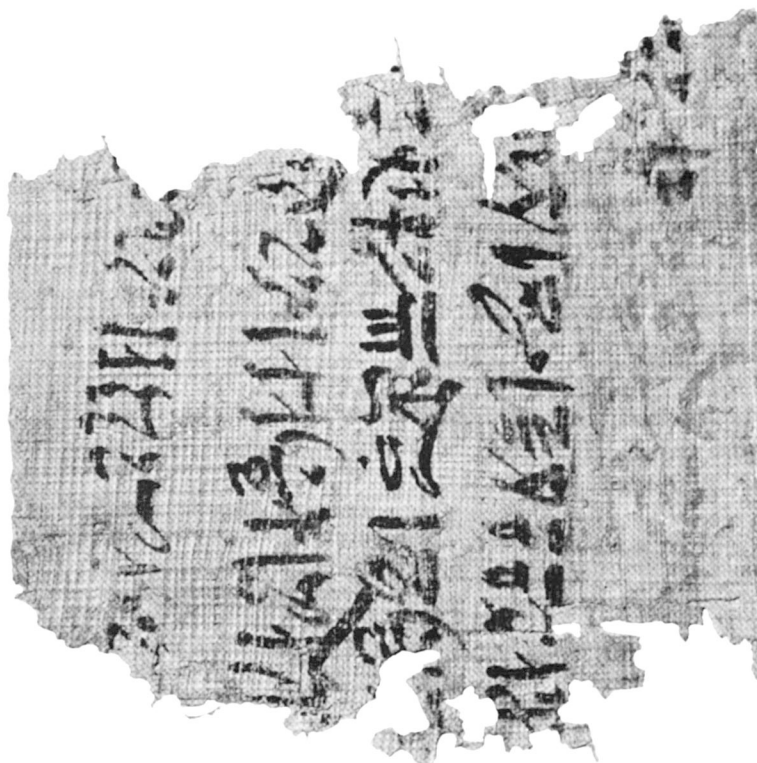
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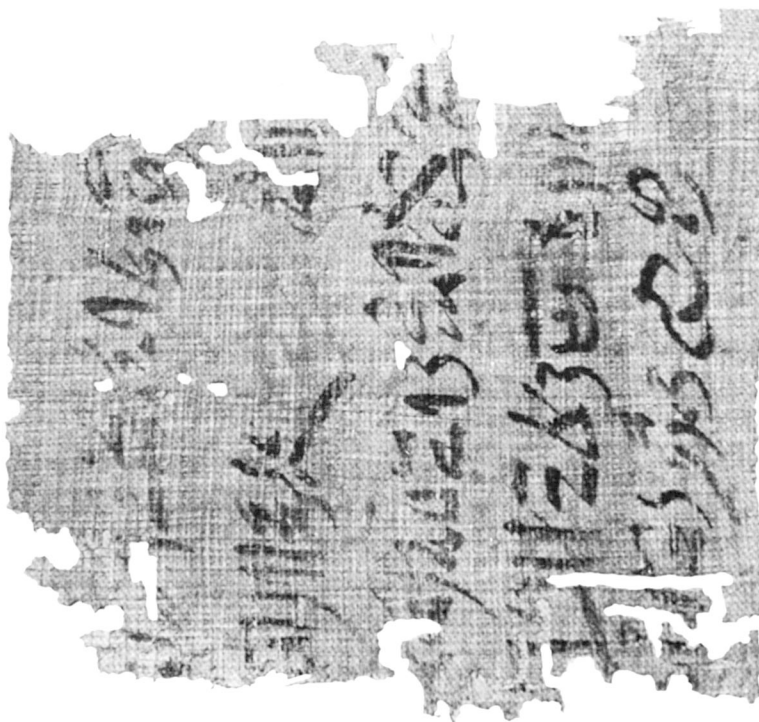
Fragment XI.



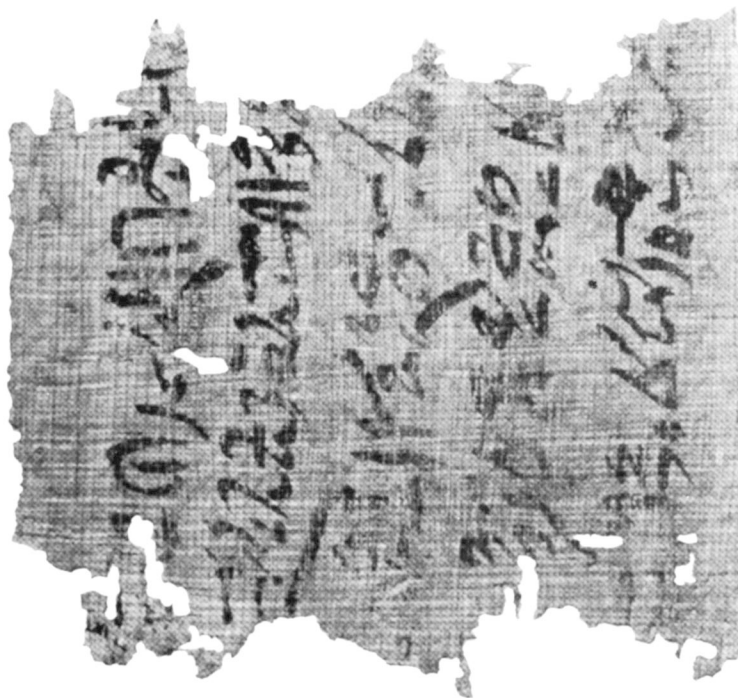
Fragment XII.



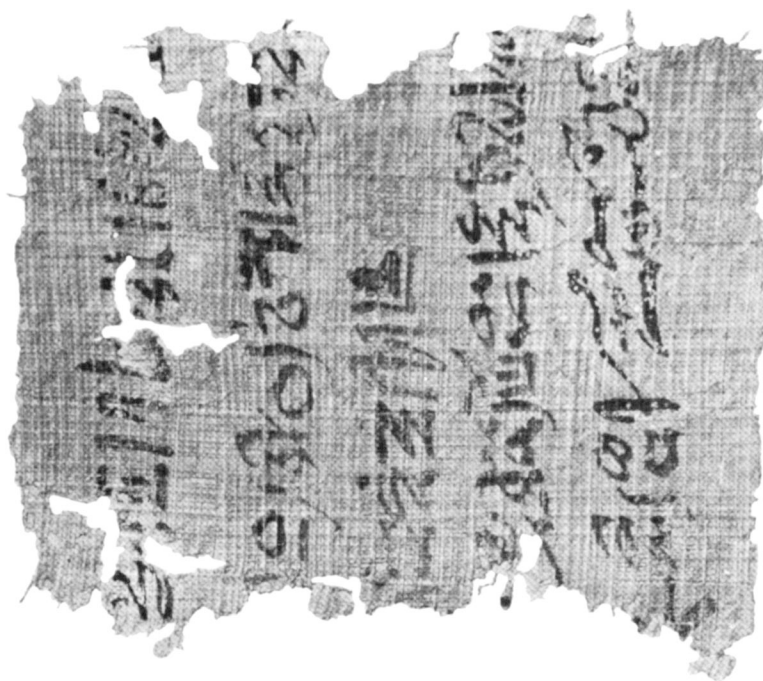
Fragment XIII.



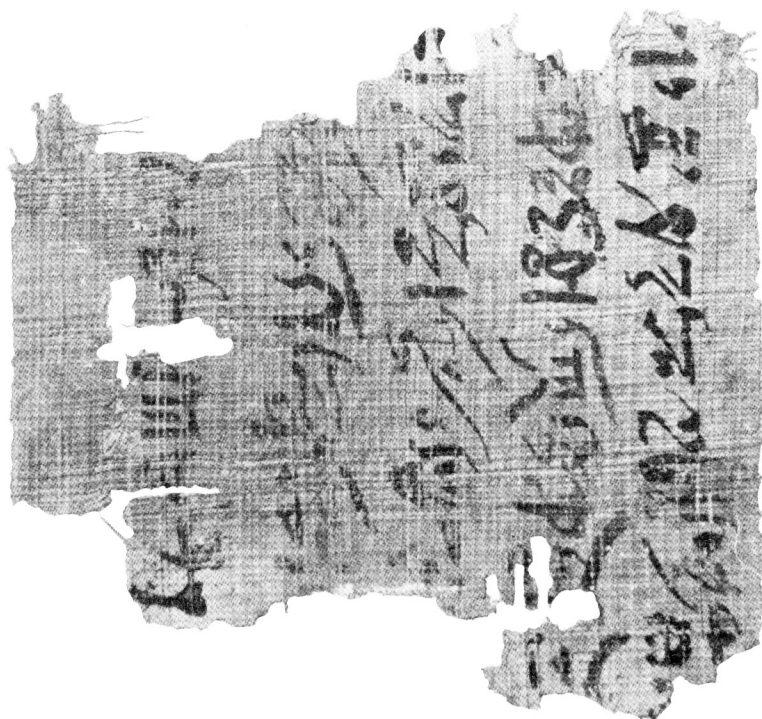
Fragment XIV.



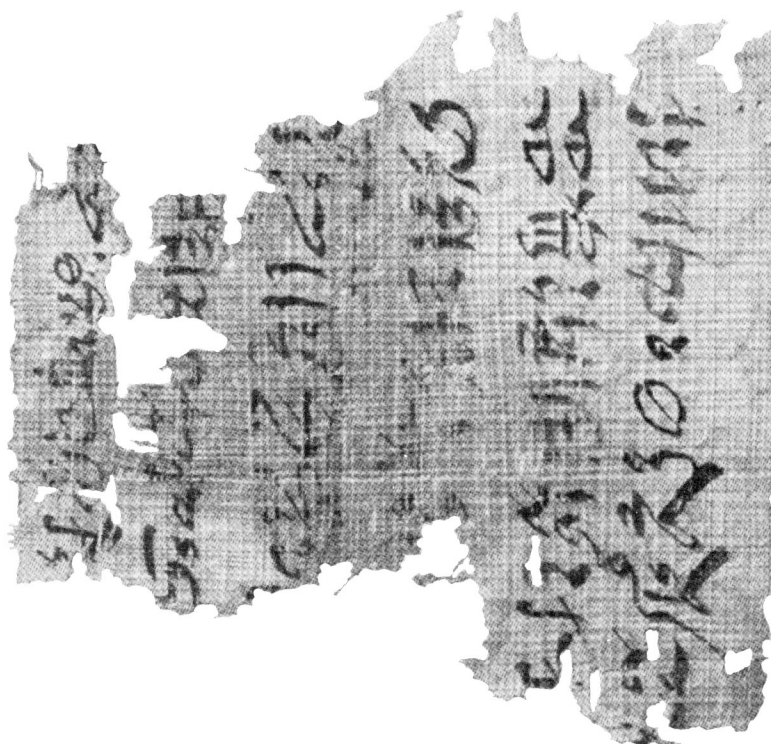
Fragment XV.



Fragment XVI.



Fragment XVII.



Fragment XVIII.