

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NO. 33

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LATE RAMESSIDE LETTERS



BY EDWARD F. WENTE

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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PREFACE

PROFESSOR JAROSLAV ČERNÝ'S *Late Ramesside Letters*, published in 1939 as Volume IX of "Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca," made available to students of Late Egyptian a series of letters which are philologically and historically significant. To date, no translation and commentary for this entire group of letters has appeared in print. The present study represents an attempt to fill temporarily this lacuna and to stimulate criticism so that eventually a more masterful treatment of this correspondence may be forthcoming.

The fundamental work has already been achieved by Černý himself in his careful transcription of the difficult hieratic hands of these letters. Without his transcriptions and without his numerous contributions to Late Egyptian philology, I would not have attempted to translate the letters. I wish this study, therefore, to stand as a token of my sincere appreciation of the leading authority on Late Egyptian, for his knowledge and for his extreme generosity in sharing it.

During my student days I read a number of these letters under the tutelage of Professor Hans J. Polotsky, who initiated me in the study of Coptic and Late Egyptian, and Professor William F. Edgerton, my constant adviser in matters pertaining to the later phases of the Egyptian language. To them I owe an especial debt of gratitude for their guidance. Others who assisted me in the course of the preparation of this monograph are Professors Keith C. Seele, Charles F. Nims, George R. Hughes, and John A. Wilson, and I express to them my warmest thanks. It was through the kind efforts of Professor Robert M. Adams, the Director of the Oriental Institute, that funds were made available to defray the cost of publication. Both his assistance and the arduous labor of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, the editorial secretary of the Oriental Institute, who has been responsible for the elimination of errors and inconsistencies on my part, are greatly appreciated.

It is assumed that the reader will have Černý's *Late Ramesside Letters* at hand. For details regarding the individual documents Černý's informative introduction should be consulted. In the present volume the unidentified parenthetical items in the notes to the translations indicate the pages and lines of Černý's work; thus "(14/8)" refers to page 14, line 8, of that work. Other abbreviations are explained in the list given below on pages ix-xii.

EDWARD F. WENTE

CHICAGO
July 1966

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>AAWB</i> | Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, <i>Berlin</i> . Philos.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen (Berlin, 1908—). |
| Amenemope | H. O. Lange. Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope, aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum hrsg. und erklärt (Det Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XI 2 [København, 1925]). |
| Anast. I | Papyrus Anastasi I. Hieroglyphic transcription and translation in Gardiner, <i>EHT</i> , pp. 1*-30* and 2-80. |
| Anast. II | Papyrus Anastasi II. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 12-20. |
| Anast. III | Papyrus Anastasi III. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 20-32. |
| Anast. IV | Papyrus Anastasi IV. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 34-56. |
| Anast. V | Papyrus Anastasi V. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 56-72. |
| Anast. VI | Papyrus Anastasi VI. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LEM</i> , pp. 72-78. |
| <i>ASAE</i> | Egypt. Service des antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900—). |
| <i>BASOR</i> | American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin (South Hadley, Mass., 1919—). |
| <i>BIFAO</i> | Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901—). |
| BM | British Museum. |
| Botti and Peet, <i>Giornale</i> | Giuseppe Botti and T. Eric Peet. Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe (I papiri ieratici del Museo di Torino [Torino, 1928]). |
| Cairo, <i>Cat. Gén.</i> | Cairo. Musée des antiquités égyptiennes. Catalogue général (Le Caire etc., 1901—). |
| Camino's, <i>LEM</i> | Ricardo A. Camino's. Late-Egyptian miscellanies (Brown Egyptological studies I [London, 1954]). |
| Černý, <i>Graffiti</i> | Jaroslav Černý. Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine (<i>DFIFAO</i> IX [1956]). |
| Černý, <i>LRL</i> | Jaroslav Černý. Late Ramesside letters (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IX [Bruxelles, 1939]). |
| C. ost. | Jaroslav Černý. Ostraca hiératiques. I. Text. II. Plates (Cairo, <i>Cat. Gén.</i> Nos. 25501-25832 [1935]). |
| <i>Chr. d'Ég.</i> | Chronique d'Égypte (Bruxelles, 1925—). |
| <i>DFIFAO</i> | Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Documents de fouilles (Le Caire, 1934—). |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DM ost. Jaroslav Černý. Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh. Nos. 1 à 456 (*DFIFAO* III–VII [1935–51]). Serge Sauneron. Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh. Nos. 550–623 (*DFIFAO* XIII [1959]).
- Doomed Prince The tale of the doomed prince, from Papyrus Harris 500, verso. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 1–9.
- d'Orb. The tale of the two brothers, from the d'Orbiney Papyrus. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 9–30.
- Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* Adolf Erman. *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1933).
- FIFAO* Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Fouilles. Rapports préliminaires (Le Caire, 1924—).
- Gardiner, *AEO* Alan H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian onomastica* (3 vols.; Oxford, 1947).
- Gardiner, *EHT* Alan H. Gardiner. *Egyptian hieratic texts transcribed, translated and annotated. Series I. Literary texts of the New Kingdom. Part I* (Leipzig, 1911).
- Gardiner, *LEM* Alan H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian miscellanies* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* VII [Bruxelles, 1937]).
- Gardiner, *LES* Alan H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian stories* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* I [Bruxelles, 1932]).
- Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* Hermann Grapow. *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen I–IV* (*AAWB*, Jahrgang 1939, No. 11, Jahrgang 1940, No. 12, Jahrgang 1941, No. 11, Jahrgang 1942, No. 7 [1939–43]).
- Great Abydos Inscription Henri Gauthier. *La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos* (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. *Bibliothèque d'étude* IV [Le Caire, 1912]).
- Harris Magical Pap. H. O. Lange. *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Det Kgl. Danske videnskabernes Selskab. *Hist.-filol. Meddelelser* XIV 2 [København, 1927]).
- Hieratic Papyri BM* British Museum. *Hieratic papyri* . . .
Third series. Chester Beatty gift. I. Text. II. Plates. Edited . . . by Alan H. Gardiner (London, 1935).
Fourth series. Oracular amuletic decrees of the late New Kingdom. I. Text. II. Plates. Edited . . . by I. E. S. Edwards (London, 1960).
- Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* Fritz Hintze. *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (*VIO* II and VI [Berlin, 1950 and 1952]).
- HO Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner. *Hieratic ostraca I* (London, 1957).
- Horus and Seth The contendings of Horus and Seth, from Papyrus Chester Beatty I, recto. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 37–60.

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- James, *Heḡanakhte* T. G. H. James. The Heḡanakhte papers and other early Middle Kingdom documents (New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Publications of the . . . Egyptian Expedition XIX [New York, 1962]).
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
- JNES* Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942—).
- Kadesh Poem Charles Kuentz. La bataille de Qadech (*MIFAO* LV [1928]) pp. 212–326.
- L.E. Late Egyptian.
- Maxims of Ani Papyrus Boulaq IV. Facsimile in Auguste Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq I (Paris, 1871) Pls. 15–28.
- Mayer A and B T. Eric Peet. The Mayer Papyri A and B (London, 1920).
- MDAIK* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, *Abteilung Kairo*. Mitteilungen (Augsburg etc., 1930—).
- M.E. Middle Egypt, Middle Egyptian.
- Mes Alan H. Gardiner. The inscription of Mes (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens IV 3 [Leipzig, 1905]).
- MH* The Epigraphic Survey. Medinet Habu (7 vols.; Chicago, 1930–64).
- MIFAO* Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Mémoires (Le Caire, 1902—).
- MIO* Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Berlin*. Institut für Orientalforschung. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1953—).
- Nauri Decree F. Ll. Griffith. The Abydos decree of Seti at Abydos. *JEA* XIII (1927) 193–208.
- OIP* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
- Pap. Papyrus.
- Pap. Bologna 1086 Walther Wolf. Papyrus Bologna 1086. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches. *ZÄS* LXV (1930) 89–97.
- Pap. Bologna 1094 Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 1–12.
- Pap. Lansing Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 99–116.
- Pap. Leopold II Published by Alan H. Gardiner in *JEA* XXII (1936) 169–93 and Plates X–XVI.
- Pap. Mallet Facsimile in *Recueil de travaux* I (1870) Pls. III–VI.
- Pap. Turin B Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 125–28.
- Peet, *GTR* T. Eric Peet. The great tomb-robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty. I. Text. II. Plates (Oxford, 1930).
- Pleyte and Rossi Papyrus de Turin. Facsimilés par F. Rossi de Turin, et publiés par W. Pleyte de Leide (2 vols.; Leide, 1869–1876).
- RAD* Alan H. Gardiner. Ramesside administrative documents (London, 1948).
- Rev. d'Ég.* Revue d'Égyptologie (Le Caire, 1933—).
- SAOC* No. 12 Historical records of Ramses III. The texts in *Medinet Habu* Volumes I and II translated with explanatory notes by William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson (Studies in ancient oriental civilization, No. 12 [Chicago, 1936]).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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| Sethe, <i>Verbum</i> | Kurt Sethe. Das aegyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neu-aegyptischen und Koptischen (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1899-1902). |
| Sinuhe B | Berlin Papyrus 3022. Hieroglyphic transcription in A. M. Blackman, Middle-Egyptian stories, Part I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II, 1 ^{er} fasc. [Bruxelles, 1932]) pp. 7-41. |
| Spiegelberg, <i>Correspondances</i> | Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres publiées avec autres fragments épistolaires de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1895). |
| Spiegelberg, <i>DP</i> | Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Die demotischen Denkmäler. II. Die demotischen Papyrus. Tafeln (Cairo, <i>Cat. Gén.</i> 1906). Text (Cairo, <i>Cat. Gén.</i> 1908). |
| <i>Urk.</i> | Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums . . . hrsg. von Georg Steindorff (Leipzig, 1903—). |
| <i>VIO</i> | Akademie der Wissenschaften, <i>Berlin</i> . Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichungen (Berlin, 1950—). |
| <i>Wb.</i> | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache (7 vols.; Leipzig, 1926-63). |
| <i>Wen.</i> | The misfortunes of Wenamün, from a papyrus now in the Moscow Museum. Hieroglyphic transcription in Gardiner, <i>LES</i> , pp. 61-76. |
| <i>ZÄS</i> | Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863-1943; Berlin, 1954—). |

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LETTERS

ALTHOUGH for the sake of convenience I have presented the letters in their order of appearance in Černý's edition, an attempt should be made to place them in their appropriate chronological and historical setting. I must confess that my primary interest in translating these letters has been philological rather than historical, so that the following suggestions are far more tentative than perhaps they would be if a thorough study of all pertinent historical data, both published and unpublished,¹ had been undertaken. Such adjustments as are to be made I leave to others more conversant with the history of the end of the Ramesside period and the beginning of the 21st dynasty.

Unfortunately for the historian, Egyptian epistolographers did not make a practice of dating their letters. Of some fifty letters with which we are concerned, only Nos. 9 and 37 mention a year date, and in neither is there any indication as to whose reign or what era is involved. Consequently, in attempting to arrange the letters in some sort of chronological scheme one must resort to comparing the titles and names of persons mentioned with those found in documents whose dates have been established and to interrelating the letters on the basis of their contents.

The letter which with a fair degree of certainty one may place at the beginning of the series is No. 47, probably written by the well known scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose² to a certain individual whose name perhaps begins Es. . . . Since (Seth) the Ombite is mentioned at the beginning of the letter, it seems reasonable to assume that the writer was in the vicinity of Ombos, approximately 20 miles north of Thebes on the west bank of the river, where he was farming taxes in grain, an activity in which Dhutmose was engaged during Ramesses XI's twelfth year according to the Turin Taxation Papyrus.³ Since the scribe of the Necropolis Efnamon is mentioned in letter No. 47, it

¹ As Černý (*Graffiti*, p. vi) remarks, a collation is needed of the inscriptions published in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti aus der thebanischen Nekropolis* (Heidelberg, 1921). The Khonsu temple, as yet inadequately recorded, demands serious consideration, for it is the major source of documentation bearing upon the high priest and king Herihor. In addition, various inscriptions of the transverse axis of the Karnak temple must be re-examined.

² Cf. John A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1958) p. 279, and Alan H. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII (1941) 23 and 25.

³ *RAD*, p. 37, line 3, and *passim*.

should represent the period when he⁴ and Dhutmose⁵ were the two incumbents of this office, which was filled by only two incumbents at any one time.⁶ Therefore this letter can be placed in the period spanned by Years 1⁷ to 19⁸ of Ramesses XI. Since the two doorkeepers, Dhutmose and Khonsmose, named in this letter are also mentioned in the Turin Taxation Papyrus,⁹ it is tempting to place letter No. 47 at about the same date, Year 12 of Ramesses XI.

Less certain is the assigning of letter No. 46 to about Year 12 of Ramesses XI. The names of both the writer and the addressee are lost; but, since there is mention of the chief taxing master, whom Helck plausibly suggests is the Mayor of the West of Ne Paweraa,¹⁰ this letter may belong with the other papyri of Year 12 of Ramesses XI which relate to the collecting of taxes in grain. There is mention of an Efnamon, but whether he is the Efnamon of letter No. 47 is not ascertainable. The chantress of Amon Henuttawi in the Turin

⁴ Efnamon appears as scribe of the Necropolis in BM 10068 verso vii 8 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XVI), a text dated to a year 12, which Peet (*GTR* I 86) thought was of the *Whm-mswt* era or later. This correlation can hardly be correct, for our letter No. 47 (cf. n. 8 below) indicates that Efnamon was an early contemporary of Dhutmose. I would date BM 10068 verso ii-viii to Year 12 of Ramesses XI, a dating implied by Černý in *Chr. d'Ég.* XI (1936) 249. A scribe Efnamon is mentioned on the verso, text *a*, line 7, of the Turin Journal of the Year 3 (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 63). This section of the papyrus is dated to a year 1, almost certainly of Ramesses XI, and I am inclined to regard this Efnamon as scribe of the Necropolis since the line contains a reference to the "left" section of the Deir el-Medineh crew of workmen and continues "by the hand of the scribe Efnamon." Thus Efnamon probably was scribe of the Necropolis as early as Year 1 of Ramesses XI.

⁵ The earliest date so far known to me for Dhutmose as scribe of the Necropolis is Year 12 of Ramesses XI in the Turin Taxation Papyrus (*RAD*, p. 37, line 3), and he continued holding this post into the *Whm-mswt* era.

⁶ Cf. Peet, *GTR* I 13-14, and Černý in *Chr. d'Ég.* XI 247-50.

⁷ On the verso, text *a*, line 10, of the Turin Journal of the Year 3 (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 63) the scribe Khaem. . . is mentioned. I strongly suspect that this is the scribe of the Necropolis Khaemhedjet, who would then have been serving together with Efnamon in the function of scribe of the Necropolis in Year 1 of Ramesses XI (cf. n. 4 above). Khaemhedjet was definitely scribe of the Necropolis as late as Year 3 of Ramesses X; cf. Turin Journal of the Year 3, recto ii 21 and iv 13 (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pls. 53 and 57). Thus letter No. 47 can be no earlier than Year 1 of Ramesses XI if we assume that its writer was the scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose.

⁸ Letter No. 47 can be no later than Year 1 of the *Whm-mswt* (= Year 19 of Ramesses XI) because in BM 10052, dated to Year 1 of the *Whm-mswt*, the two scribes of the Necropolis are Dhutmose (v 14 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII]) and Esamenope (i 19, v 17 and 21 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pls. XXV, XXVIII, and XXIX]).

⁹ *RAD*, p. 40, lines 8 and 14. As early as Year 17 of Ramesses IX Khonsmose is attested in BM 10053 recto i 7 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XVII) and possibly Dhutmose in the Turin Journal of Year 17, B verso vi 19 (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 37), where only the element *Dhwtj* is preserved, following the title of doorkeeper.

¹⁰ Hans Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* ("Probleme der Ägyptologie" III [Leiden, 1958]) p. 432.

Taxation Papyrus, who is presumably the wife of the scribe Esamenope, may well be the Henuttawi of letter No. 46.¹¹

While Dhutmose continued to function as scribe of the Necropolis, Efnamon's title of scribe of the Necropolis was transferred, probably owing to Efnamon's death, to Esamenope, this transfer occurring no later than Year 19 of Ramesses XI (= Year 1 of the *Whm-mswt*; see n. 8). It is doubtful whether Esamenope continued as scribe of the Necropolis beyond Year 25 of Ramesses XI (= Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt*) since a letter was written by the scribe Butehamon in conjunction with the chief workmen and workmen of the Necropolis to the high priest of Amon Herihor,¹² whose demise apparently occurred in either Year 6 or Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt* (i.e., either Year 24 or Year 25 of Ramesses XI),¹³ and we know from our letters that Dhutmose and his son Butehamon served together as the two scribes of the Necropolis.

¹¹ Cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 26.

¹² C. ost. No. 25744 (Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* I 90*). Although Butehamon is here labeled simply "scribe," it seems highly probable that he actually is scribe of the Necropolis in view of the fact that his title and name precede the mention of the chief workmen.

¹³ Cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961) p. 305. Charles F. Nims in *JNES* VII (1948) 161 suggested that the oracular text of Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt* may have been carved at a later date, so that the titles given Paiankh in the inscription may not have corresponded with his actual position in Year 7, when the oracular decision was made. Nims noted too that in the body of the text Paiankh is called simply "general" while the title "high priest of Amon-Re" is found only in the legend accompanying his depiction; but this evidence does not bear much weight, for in our late Ramesside letters Paiankh was frequently called simply "general" at a time when he was definitely high priest of Amon. Some evidence for the notion that Paiankh may not have taken over all the ecclesiastical and military titles simultaneously from his father, Herihor, may possibly be found in the undated C. ost. No. 25745 (Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* I 90*), where Paiankh is given a long series of administrative and military titles but not the title "high priest of Amon." If this text has any significance, it perhaps indicates that Herihor as king did not first relinquish the high priesthood to his son but that he might have held on to his ecclesiastical post while turning over to Paiankh the other functions. Although Peet in *JEA* XIV (1928) 65, n. 4, believed that in the dockets on the coffins of Seti I and Ramesses II, dated to Year 6 (certainly of the *Whm-mswt*), the title of vizier does not apply to the high priest Herihor, I am of the opinion that in these dockets all the titles apply to Herihor. In the Seti I docket we have "Vizier, general (*imy-r mšc*), and high priest of Amon-Re, King of the gods." In Daressy's photograph of the docket (*Cercueils des cachettes royales* [Cairo, *Cat. Gén.* 1909] Pl. XVIII) I can discern a trace, at some distance to the left of the vague *mr* in line 1, which fits the form of *mšc* such as is known elsewhere for this period (cf. Gardiner in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXXI [1909] 7 and Černý in *JEA* XXXII [1946] 26, n. 3). This sequence of three titles accorded to Herihor is that found in C. ost. No. 25744. In the case of the Ramesses II docket I suggest that the titles are "Vizier (in spite of the "King" of Daressy, *op. cit.* p. 32, which I suspect), Generalissimo (*imy-r mšc wr*) of the entire land, and high priest of Amon-Re, King of the gods." Thus in Year 6 of the *Whm-mswt* Herihor was vizier, and therefore C. ost. No. 25745, in which Paiankh is given the title of vizier, cannot predate Year 6 of the *Whm-mswt*.

There is no more compelling reason to accept an anachronistic interpretation of the oracu-

In letters Nos. 36 and 37 the scribe of the Necropolis Esamenope appears as writer and addressee respectively. No. 37 actually contains, in verso 1, two strokes of a year date that Černý has read as "Year 2." If Černý is correct, the date must be Year 2 of the *Whm-mswt* era, that is, Year 20 of Ramesses XI.¹⁴ In this letter Esamenope is absent from Thebes and is engaged in collecting grain, and his unnamed father, possibly Dhutmose himself, is absent from Thebes as well, having won a lawsuit against a certain Preunemef in Pharaoh's presence.¹⁵ In letter No. 36 Esamenope appears to be south of Thebes. Among the instructions he transmits is an order to issue payment for fifteen weapons, a prelude perhaps to the warlike activities that were to ensue in Nubia some years later. To just what year of the reign of Ramesses XI this letter should be assigned is uncertain. It can be no earlier than his twelfth year because Esamenope was not yet scribe of the Necropolis prior to that year.¹⁶

lar text of the Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt* than the questionable assumption that Herihor became king upon Ramesses XI's death. Herihor as king, with his name in cartouches, appears only at Karnak in the Khonsu temple and once in the Great Hypostyle Hall (cf. Paul Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* [Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire" XXI (Le Caire, 1962)] p. 60) and on a fayence vase of unknown provenience (Fr. W. von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe* [Cairo, *Cat. Gén.* 1902] p. 61, No. 3795). A problem that must be investigated is the length of time that would have been required to decorate the sections of wall on which Herihor appears as king in the Khonsu temple, for, as Dr. Nims has pointed out to me, two inscriptions in the portion of the Khonsu temple that was decorated when Herihor was king relate to his having constructed a new river-barge of Amon-Userhat. Since, in the account of Wenamon, dated to Year 5 of what is generally believed to be the *Whm-mswt* era, the reason for Wenamon's journey is to procure pine lumber for this very barge, Herihor's inscriptions in the Khonsu temple actually stating that he made a new barge of pine used in the Feast of Opet can hardly predate Year 5 of the *Whm-mswt*. Dr. Nims, one of the epigraphers engaged in recording scenes and texts of Herihor the king in the Khonsu temple for the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey Expedition, does admit the possibility that these scenes and texts could have been executed within a year's time. He also informs me that he is currently inclined to accept Gardiner's date for Herihor's demise.

¹⁴ Further evidence for dating this letter to Year 2 of the *Whm-mswt* is the mention of the overseer of the Treasury and overseer of granaries Menmaarenakht, who we know held these titles during the first year (BM 10052 i 4 and iv 1 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pls. XXV and XXVII] and Mayer A i 6) and the second year (BM 10383 i 3 [Peet, *GTR* II Pl. XXII]) of the *Whm-mswt*. The unnamed vizier would then most probably be Nebmaarenakht, attested for Year 2 of the *Whm-mswt* in BM 10383 i 2. One interesting feature that emerges is the mention of the *wab*-priest of the temple of Mut Paunesh, who apparently was functioning quite normally and freely although he had been implicated in the tomb robberies in Year 1 of the *Whm-mswt* (Abbott Dockets B 14 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXIV] and BM 10052 xi 17 [*ibid.* Pl. XXXII]) and Year 2 (Mayer A viii 2 and xii 15).

¹⁵ The normal assumption is that this pharaoh is Ramesses XI.

¹⁶ In Year 12 of Ramesses XI Efnamon (BM 10068 verso vii 8 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XVI]) and Dhutmose (*RAD*, p. 37, line 3, and *passim*) were the two scribes of the Necropolis. Gardiner (*JEA* XXVII 31), in discussing the Turin Taxation Papyrus of Year 12 of Ra-

In the fragmentary letter No. 42, written by an unknown person to the chantress of Amon Henuttawi, the scribe Esamenope is mentioned. If this Esamenope is the scribe of the Necropolis, the letter should probably be assigned to an early year of the *Whm-mswt* era.

We now enter that period at the end of the 20th dynasty during which Dhutmose and his son Butehamon served as the two scribes of the Necropolis and from which the bulk of the letters derive. This phase, I believe, began while Herihor was still alive, though not possibly before Year 2 of the *Whm-mswt* since Esamenope still functioned as scribe of the Necropolis at that time.¹⁷ For our discussion we may divide these letters into three categories: (1) those composed when Dhutmose was north of Thebes, (2) those composed while he was at home in Thebes, and (3) those composed while he was south of Thebes. This topographical division is based on the assumption that Dhutmose made only one journey north and one journey south. Since the number of letters belonging to the first category is relatively small, we encounter no serious problem in assigning them all to one episode in his career. On the other hand, the assumption that all the letters written by Dhutmose from the south relate to a single expedition is tentative. There is a series of letters that definitely form a closely knit unit,¹⁸ as we shall see below, and I have rather arbitrarily grouped the other letters of the third category around this core.

The major obstacle to assigning all the letters of the third group to a single episode is the relationship of Nos. 4 and 3 (see pp. 12–13), No. 3 being the first of the core group. In letter No. 45, which I suppose was addressed to Dhutmose in Nubia, it is stated in recto 15 that the addressee is on a second expedition with his superior, doubtless the general Paiankh.¹⁹ The implication, then, is

messes XI, stated that the Esamenope who appears in this document was doubtless Dhutmose's colleague as scribe of the Necropolis. If my dating of the list of houses on the verso of BM 10068 to Year 12 of Ramesses XI is correct (cf. n. 4 above), Esamenope, who appears simply as scribe in the Turin Taxation Papyrus (*RAD*, pp. 37, line 9, and 38, line 13), could not have been one of the scribes of the Necropolis. Helck, in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* III (1959) 129, has shown that the regnal year of Ramesses XI began in the fourth month of the third season between day 18 and day 24. Since the date of the list of houses is given as Year 12, third month of the third season, day 13 (BM 10068 verso ii 1 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XIV]), and the scribe of the Necropolis Efnamon is one of the home-owners (verso vii 8), it is impossible for Esamenope to have been a scribe of the Necropolis as early as the Year 12 of the Turin Taxation Papyrus, which is earlier than that of the list of houses.

¹⁷ According to BM 10403 i 2 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVI) and our letter No. 37.

¹⁸ Hereafter referred to as "core letters" or "core group," they are Nos. 3, 8, 2, 50, 9, 16, 10, and 28.

¹⁹ I am inclined to relate letter No. 45 to the basic core of Nubian correspondence. The writer's statement (recto 16–verso 1) "I am inquiring about you . . . [from] all persons who come north therefrom" indicates that the recipient was south of Thebes and probably in

that the previous expedition was the one made by Dhutmose with the general in Middle Egypt and therefore that the letters of the first group were written earlier than those of the third group.²⁰ The reader is warned, however, that this conclusion is based on my assumption that Dhutmose made only one trip to Nubia. If this assumption is not correct, we are faced with a highly complicated situation with regard to the relationship of the letters one to another, and perhaps one for which no simple explanation is possible at the present stage of our knowledge regarding Dhutmose's activities.

The letters of the first group, written when Dhutmose was on a trip north of Thebes to Middle Egypt, begin with No. 1. That it was not Dhutmose's first letter home, however, is indicated by his statement in recto 7 that he had sent several letters home without having received any reply. One of the addressees of letter No. 1 is a prophet Amen. . . , who, I suspect, is the prophet of Amenophis Amenhotep. Having received letter No. 1 in Thebes, the prophet presumably composed letter No. 14 in reply. Although the words in recto 8-10 of letter No. 14 that purport to be a quotation from a letter by Dhutmose—"Give your attention to the scribe Butehamon, the chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Shedemdua and the children"—do not exactly correspond to what Dhutmose actually wrote in letter No. 1 concerning Butehamon and Shedemdua, I think the similarity is sufficient to indicate that these two letters are related. From both letters it is obvious that Dhutmose is north of Thebes.²¹

Since in letter No. 5 Dhutmose is replying to certain matters communicated to him in a letter from home, No. 5 must postdate No. 1. And because the vessels of smaragdus are mentioned in both No. 5 and No. 44, these two letters would seem to be related. No. 44 was composed by a chantress of Amon, and it may possibly be the letter to which No. 5, addressed to Butehamon and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua, was the direct reply.

If the general mentioned in letter No. 14 is Paiankh, as I assume, this letter and the letters connected with it cannot antedate the time when Paiankh took

Nubia. I suspect that the three papyrus letters referred to in verso 3-4 of letter No. 45 as having been sent to Butehamon include some of the earlier core letters. From No. 45 it seems fairly certain that Pentahunakht is located at Thebes, and No. 10, one of the core letters, substantiates this conclusion.

²⁰ If I am correct in placing letter No. 4 before letter No. 3 of the core group, then Dhutmose's statement (recto 7 of No. 4) that his superior gave him bread and beer as previously would imply that the earlier occasion for his having been provisioned by his superior was the expedition he made north of Thebes with the general Paiankh.

²¹ Indicated by the fact that in letter No. 1 Middle Egyptian gods are invoked at the beginning and by the sentence "I was ill when I arrived north" in verso 3-4. In letter No. 14 the clue is in verso 6-7: "You (i.e., Dhutmose) are not to cease writing to me about your condition through whatever people shall come south."

over the function of general from his father, Herihor, in Year 6 or Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt*. The fact that the chief workman Amennakht, who is one of the addressees of letter No. 1, began his career as chief workman at least as early as Year 3 of Ramesses X,²² who according to Parker may have reigned for nine years,²³ suggests that these related letters date from the earlier part of Paiankh's tenure of office.²⁴

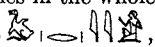
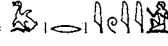
The second group of letters representing the time when the two scribes of the Necropolis were Dhutmose and Butehamon are those written while Dhutmose was in Thebes, and they may be divided into three subgroups: (a) those composed when the writer was north of Thebes, (b) those composed when the writer was south of Thebes, and (c) those composed when both the writer and the recipient were in Thebes or its immediate vicinity.

To subgroup *a* belong only letters Nos. 23 and 24, addressed to Dhutmose and composed by the second prophet of Amon-Re Heḳanufe, Paiankh's second son.²⁵ Both the letters contain a postscript by Penhershefi. The similarity of the two letters strongly suggests that they are nearly contemporary, and that the second prophet is to the north of Thebes is indicated by a sentence in recto 6-7 of No. 24: "As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall not cease

²² See Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 56, for recto iv 6 and 10 of the Journal of the Year 3.

²³ See Richard A. Parker in *Rev. d'Ég.* XI (1957) 163-64.

²⁴ The other chief workman mentioned in the inner address of letter No. 1, Bak(en)mut, must have begun his career as chief workman no later than Year 19 of Ramesses XI, for a chief workman Bakenmut appears in Turin Papyrus 2021 (recto iv 11; see Černý and Peet in *JEA* XIII [1927] Pl. XV), which was drawn up when the two scribes of the Necropolis were Dhutmose (recto iv 9) and Efnamon (recto iv 10). Černý and Peet have suggested that the name was Efenkhons, but I suspect that the name Efnamon is to be read instead. Efnamon functioned as scribe of the Necropolis prior to Year 19 of Ramesses XI (cf. n. 8 above).

²⁵ Cf. Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* ("Probleme der Ägyptologie" I [Leiden, 1953]) p. 167. I believe, for the following reasons, that Černý is correct in thinking that letters Nos. 23 and 24 were sent to Dhutmose: (1) The hieratic hand of No. 24 (partially published in Pleyte and Rossi, Pls. CXIV and CXV) is rather majestic and different from Dhutmose's more difficult script. (2) The spellings of Dhutmose's nickname in these two letters are the most aberrant ones in the whole body of letters. When Dhutmose writes his nickname, he normally spells it , the only deviation being in letter No. 10, where  appears twice (Černý, *LRL*, pp. 21, line 4, and 22, line 5). The other deviant forms are from the hands of persons other than Dhutmose himself. (3) The majority of the letters that have been preserved are addressed to people closely connected with the West of Thebes. No. 28 is the most notable exception, being addressed to the general Paiankh, but since the general was in Nubia accompanied by Dhutmose, it is probable that this letter was deposited in Dhutmose's box on board the boat along with the other letters sent up to Nubia from Thebes. If Dhutmose wrote letters Nos. 23 and 24 to the second prophet of Amon Heḳanufe, they should have been sent to Karnak, and in my opinion the probability that they would later have been forwarded to the west side to be deposited there is not very likely.

writing me about your condition through anybody who shall come northward." Since in the oracular inscription of Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt* Esamon is the second prophet of Amon,²⁶ Nos. 23 and 24 cannot be earlier than that year. Although these two letters cannot be more precisely dated, it is interesting to note that Paiankh's second son began his career as second prophet under his father and continued to hold that rank under his elder brother, Painutem, who succeeded to the high priesthood upon the death of Paiankh.²⁷

With the exception of letter No. 17, all the letters belonging to subgroup *b* were written by the general, who I again assume is Paiankh. From the contents of letter No. 20, which was sent to Dhutmose, we learn that the general is about to make a journey for which he needs cloth to wrap up men. The inference is that the general is expecting to have casualties among his ranks, and, since we know from the Nubian correspondence, which is dealt with below, that there was warlike activity in Nubia against Panehsi (see pp. 12 f.), I would place letter No. 20 just before the correspondence dealing with Dhutmose's trip upstream to join the general Paiankh. Because letters Nos. 21, 34, and 35 all deal with the same subject,²⁸ I assume that they were written from one locale, and because No. 21 was almost certainly composed while the general was in Nubia,²⁹ I assume that Nos. 34 and 35 also were written from Nubia. Furthermore, these three letters were probably written before Dhutmose's departure for Nubia, though it is possible that they were composed after Dhutmose returned from there.

Letters Nos. 18, 19, and 22, written by the general to Dhutmose with regard to various matters to be attended to at Thebes, do not contain enough data to enable us to place them with any degree of certainty. For want of evidence to the contrary, I provisionally assign them to the same period as the letters just discussed. Since the general's singer Pentahures appears from letters Nos. 8 and 31 to have been involved in the Nubian venture, letter No. 17, from Pentahures to Dhutmose, should probably be included with the letters written by the general himself.

To subgroup *c* are assigned letters Nos. 12, 27, and 26. In No. 12 Butchamon is referred to as scribe, and he is to be in charge of bringing back from Ne to

²⁶ Cf. Nims in *JNES* VII 158, line 3, and Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, p. 170, n. 4.

²⁷ Another indication that the function of second prophet was generally not a prerequisite to the high priesthood.

²⁸ See Adolf Erman, *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz in Ägypten* (AAWB, Jahrgang 1913, No. 1), and Gardiner in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1912-1913, pp. 57-64.

²⁹ In No. 21 is written: "As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land?" And "this land" I identify as Nubia.

the west side certain employees of the Necropolis. I would thus assume that he was actually serving as scribe of the Necropolis and that therefore this letter falls within the period when he and his father together held this post. A more precise date seems impossible to determine. It is with some hesitation that I assign Nos. 27 and 26 to subgroup *c* since it is equally possible that they were written before Butehamon became scribe of the Necropolis. However, because Kassu, who is mentioned in No. 27, appears to be the object of some concern in the Nubian letters Nos. 9, 16, and 50, where his name is spelled Kas or Kasy, I am tempted to assign No. 27 to a point in time not far removed from the Nubian venture. As for No. 26, composed by the Mayor of Ne whose name ends . . . atref, I can only suggest that it postdates Turin Papyrus 2021, where (recto iv 13³⁰) Esamenope, the probable predecessor of this mayor, is named as mayor in the list of witnesses. This Turin papyrus appears to have been written no later than Year 19 of Ramesses XI.³¹

We now turn to the letters which relate to Dhutmose's participation in a Nubian campaign, first dealing with the obviously interrelated core letters. The first letter of the core group is No. 3, written by the scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose to his son Butehamon and recording the former's arrival at a place (name no longer preserved) where he met his superior, in all probability the general Paiankh. A day 13 is mentioned, the date on which the meeting took place, and presumably the letter was composed on that date or very shortly thereafter. Dhutmose advises his son not to neglect the commissions in the fields, that is, to cultivate the grain and to plant the vegetables (recto 11–13). Butehamon is also directed to give his attention "to Shedemdua and her children and Hemesheri and her daughter as well" (recto 13–14).

Sometime after letter No. 3 reached Thebes, Butehamon composed letter No. 8 in reply;³² contained in it are two quotations from letter No. 3 dealing with the matters just mentioned. Letter No. 8 may also have been a reply to a letter of Dhutmose's that has not survived since it contains quotations regarding a certain woman in Ne and a red crown, neither of which is mentioned in the extant portions of letter No. 3. In verso 10 of letter No. 8 Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe are addressed and urged to take care of Dhutmose; these two men, therefore, are obviously in Nubia with Dhutmose.

Before letter No. 8 reached Dhutmose, however, he had written letter No. 2

³⁰ See *JEA* XIII, Pl. XV.

³¹ On the basis of my conjecture that the two scribes of the Necropolis mentioned in this Turin papyrus are Dhutmose and Efn[amon] (cf. n. 24). In Year 19 of Ramesses XI the man who appears in Efnamon's place is Esamenope (cf. BM 10052 v 17 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII]).

³² Černý, *LRL*, p. xxiii, expresses uncertainty about the authorship of this letter.

to his son Butehamon, as implied by his statement in recto 10 that he had not yet received one letter from his son. In recto 5 appears the date "fourth month of the second season, day 21." Therefore letter No. 2 was written either on that day or shortly thereafter. It is also apparent, from recto 7, that Dhutmose had proceeded south of Elephantine and had left somebody there in the company of Herere. In verso 10 he speaks of not neglecting the "Medjay . . .," and probably the name of Kas is to be restored since in other letters concern is expressed over him. In all likelihood "fourth month of the second season" is to be restored in the lacuna before "day 13" in recto 4 of letter No. 3, so that letter No. 2 was probably written approximately eight days later than No. 3.

Although the names of both the sender and the addressee of letter No. 50 are lost, they can safely be restored as Dhutmose and Butehamon respectively. In recto 21-22 Dhutmose refers to the matter of the Medjay Kas about which he says he had written in a previous letter; hence I have restored the name of Kas in letter No. 2. I would place No. 50 after No. 2, a sequence which is strongly supported by the fact that by the time No. 50 was composed Dhutmose had received at least one letter from Butehamon, whereas he had received none at the time he wrote No. 2. There is strong evidence for supposing that letter No. 16 is Butehamon's reply to letter No. 50. Recto 14 of No. 16 quotes verso 11 of No. 50 regarding the specification of spears ("I shall not be silent to you at all about the matter of the spears"), and in No. 16 the matter of the Medjay Kas is again referred to. Moreover, No. 50 must precede No. 16 because at the end of the former (verso 12) Dhutmose remarks that Butehamon had not yet sent the general a letter; letter No. 28, sent at the same time as No. 16, is a response to this remark. Letter No. 16 was sent up to Nubia by the hand of the Medjay Hadnakht, who at the same time carried letter No. 28 from Butehamon to the general Paiankh, to whom the letter is explicitly addressed. Letter No. 28 (verso 15) also gives the day on which Hadnakht left Thebes, day 29. That Hadnakht was carrying both No. 16 and No. 28 is further borne out by the fact that both of these letters mention Heramenpenaf's return to Thebes from Nubia on day 20 of the first month of the third season.

It would seem, however, that just after Dhutmose had written letter No. 50, in which he complains about the matter of the spears, he received a letter, no longer extant, from the guardian Karoy, which gave information concerning the status of the spears. Letter No. 10, addressed to Karoy and Butehamon, is Dhutmose's reply, but it apparently reached Thebes after letters Nos. 16 and 28 had been dispatched to Nubia.

We have next to determine the position of letter No. 9 in the core group of Nubian correspondence. It mentions (recto 6) the date—Year 10, first month of the third season, day 25—on which Dhutmose received a letter from Butehamon. Thus No. 9 was written no earlier than day 25, or, in other words, no more than four days before Nos. 16 and 28 were dispatched from Thebes. I rather doubt that even the maximum of four days was sufficient time for a letter to reach Thebes from Nubia³³ (and it is probable that the interval between the day on which No. 9 was sent north and day 29, when Nos. 16 and 28 were dispatched south, was shorter than four days). There is nothing in letter No. 16 to indicate that it was a direct reply to No. 9. Nonetheless, the fact that both of these letters mention Iunufe's son would suggest a close relationship in time, and both letters mention dates during the first month of the third season.

Further evidence that letters Nos. 16 and 9 are closely related is revealed by analysis of the movements of the Medjay Hadnakht, the Sherden Hori, and the two men Amenpanufe and Heramenpenaf. From letter No. 8 we learn that Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe are in Nubia with Dhutmose. From letter No. 50 (recto 16–17) we know that a Sherden, whose name is probably to be restored as Hori, as Černý has suggested, had arrived in Nubia, and according to letter No. 28 (recto 10–11) the Sherden Hori returned to Thebes on day 18, possibly bringing with him letter No. 50 from Dhutmose and the receipt written on the recto of letter No. 8. It is clear that when Dhutmose subsequently wrote letter No. 9 the Sherden Hori had not long before left for Thebes with a message from Dhutmose to send the Medjay Hadnakht to Nubia. On day 20, just two days after the Sherden Hori's arrival in Thebes, Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe appear in Thebes bringing a letter from the general Paiankh. Their arrival on day 20 is recorded in No. 28 (recto 15–20), and the arrival of Heramenpenaf alone is recorded in No. 16 (recto 14a). It is clear that at the time when Dhutmose wrote letter No. 9 Heramenpenaf had already been sent to Thebes with verbal messages (see verso 9 and 13). Although Amenpanufe is not mentioned, I think that when Dhutmose says in recto 12–13 of No. 9, "Do not worry about me because of the fact that the children who were with me have returned," he is referring to the departure of Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe.³⁴ The departure of Hadnakht for Nubia

³³ Cf. Gustave Lefebvre in *Chr. d'Ég.* XI 97–98 for pertinent remarks on river travel.

³⁴ Although it appears from letter No. 28 that Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe arrived together in Thebes from Nubia on day 20, I cannot say that they left Nubia together. In letter No. 50 there is mention of an Amenpanufe who, it would appear from the context, was back home in Thebes. There is no certainty, however, that this Amenpanufe was the man associated with Heramenpenaf.

on day 29, as recorded in letter No. 28, with letters Nos. 28 and 16, was prompted, then, by a written message through the Sherden Hori and a verbal message through Heramenpenaf. Although in letter No. 9 (verso 7) Dhutmose urges the dispatch of the Medjay Hadnakht to Nubia, this letter did not necessarily arrive before day 29, when Hadnakht actually did leave Thebes for Nubia.

There is little doubt that all these letters of the core group were written in Year 10, the year date given in letter No. 9, and that in this year the general Paiankh was high priest of Amon-Re as his titles in letter No. 28 indicate. The problem remains to determine the reign or era to which Year 10 applies. If the oracular inscription of Year 7 of the *Whm-mswt*³⁵ is taken at its face value, it is necessary to conclude that this era continued beyond the demise of Herihor into the period during which his son Paiankh was high priest. There is no evidence that events were ever dated in terms of Paiankh's own years as high priest of Amon.³⁶ The highest recorded year date for Ramesses XI is Year 27,³⁷ which would correspond to a theoretical Year 9 of the *Whm-mswt*. If we regard the Year 10 of letter No. 9 as being of the *Whm-mswt* era, it would be equivalent to a Year 28 of Ramesses XI, only one year beyond the highest date so far known for him.³⁸ This appears to me to be the most probable explanation of the Year 10, though I have been unable to prove to my complete satisfaction that a Year 10 of the Tanite ruler Smendes is entirely out of the question.

The core letters discussed above can certainly be assigned to a Nubian campaign of the general Paiankh in which Dhutmose participated in Year 10 of the *Whm-mswt*. There are a number of other letters which obviously have to do with this expedition but which I have been unable to place precisely in relation to the core group. Letter No. 4, written by Dhutmose and describing a meeting with his superior at Elephantine, I have tentatively assumed is concerned with the same campaign, directed, as we gather from recto 9, against a Panehsi who may well be the troublesome viceroy mentioned in earlier docu-

³⁵ See Nims in *JNES* VII 157-62.

³⁶ According to Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 317 and 447, all the datings during the 21st dynasty, with the exception of Year 48 of Menkheperre, belong to the Tanite kings.

³⁷ Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* III (*MIFAO* XIX [1914]) 221, No. VI; Auguste Mariette, *Abydos* II (Paris, 1880) Pl. LXII (left) and p. 55.

³⁸ Helck, in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* III 129, has demonstrated that the beginning of Ramesses XI's regnal year fell in the fourth month of the third season between day 8 and day 24 (cf. n. 16 above). If the date in the document referred to in n. 37 above is correctly read as "Year 27, fourth month of the third season, day 8," then the date in letter No. 9, "Year 10, first month of the third season, day 25," was somewhat over three-quarters of a year later than the highest date known for Ramesses XI.

ments of the *Whm-mswt*.³⁹ I have two reservations, however, concerning the relationship between letter No. 4 and the core group. The first is that letter No. 3 of the core group describes a meeting of Dhutmose with his superior on day 13. The second is that Amenpanufe and Heramenpenaf were present in Nubia at the time letter No. 8 was written and shortly after No. 3 was written, whereas these two persons according to letter No. 4 are in Thebes. Since I am reluctant to assume that Dhutmose made two trips to Nubia to participate in a military venture with the general Paiankh, the solution to this problem is probably to date No. 4 some time before No. 3. If this solution is correct, then shortly after the meeting between Dhutmose and the general at Elephantine, which is recorded in letter No. 4, the general departed to encounter Panehsi, leaving Dhutmose behind and rejoining him in Nubia on day 13, the date given in letter No. 3. At about the same time Amenpanufe and Heramenpenaf may have made their trip upstream to join Paiankh's ranks. This explanation is purely conjectural, and, after all, Dhutmose may have gone to Nubia on two separate occasions.

From letter No. 29, written by Butehamon to Shedsuhor, it is apparent that Dhutmose is just on the verge of making a journey. I suspect that this letter reached Dhutmose shortly before he departed for Nubia. Similarly, letter No. 15, from the prophet of Amenophis Amenhotep to Dhutmose, appears to have been composed at about the time Dhutmose was leaving for Nubia. It was probably written before letter No. 8 since according to No. 15 Heramenpenaf is still in Thebes and according to No. 8 he is in Nubia. Letter No. 30, written by the general Paiankh to the two chief workmen, the scribe Butehamon, and the guardian Kar, informs us of Dhutmose's and Shedsuhor's rendezvous with Paiankh at some unspecified locality in Nubia. Since it is apparent from the content of this letter that Heramenpenaf is still in Thebes, it too should probably be assigned to the Nubian correspondence that preceded letter No. 8.

Letter No. 45 (see p. 5) was written by an unknown functionary of the temple of Medinet Habu, probably to Dhutmose in Nubia. Since the writer mentions the fact that the addressee had sent three papyrus letters to Butehamon, I am inclined to place letter No. 45 fairly early in the Nubian correspondence.

My surmise is that letter No. 43 was written by Butehamon in Thebes to Shedsuhor, who accompanied Dhutmose to Nubia, since the wording resembles that of Butehamon's letter No. 29 to Shedsuhor. From letter No. 43 it is evident that the Medjay Hadnakht is in Nubia with Dhutmose. Therefore I sug-

³⁹ Mayer A xiii B 3; BM 10052 x 18 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXI); BM 10383 ii 5 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXII). I assume that the Panehsi mentioned in these documents is the viceroy of Kush (cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 302).

gest that this letter was written after Nos. 16 and 28, which record Hadnakht's departure from Thebes for Nubia.

Since in letter No. 31 Pentahures says (recto 6) that he addresses the gods of Elephantine on behalf of the addressees and mentions (verso 5) that he has submitted Dhutmose's name to the oracle of Khnum, this letter was sent from Elephantine to Butehamon and others in Thebes. From verso 2 we learn that Dhutmose had sent Pentahures a letter (no longer extant), and it is probable that he sent it from Nubia.

Letter No. 25 was probably sent by Dhutmose to the controllers of the Necropolis. In it he mentions Hadnakht and states that he has sent him to the men at home whom he is addressing. Therefore I would regard this letter as being subsequent to No. 43.

In contrast to Černý's opinion that letter No. 13 was written by Dhutmose, I believe that it was written by the stonemason Amenopenakht to Dhutmose, for the recipient is with the general Paiankh and the writer claims that he is on a tract of cultivable land, which I doubt Dhutmose would say if he were in Nubia. Because of the fragmentary nature of the letter it is difficult to ascertain its position in relation to the other Nubian correspondence, but the words "two full months . . . you did not send" (recto 14) suggest that Dhutmose had been away from home for at least two months. Whether the words "barge to the ground" (verso 5) bear any relation to the sunken transport boat mentioned in recto 24 of letter No. 28 is very doubtful. If, however, Černý is correct in assigning the very fragmentary letter No. 13 to the pen of Dhutmose, it should probably be included with those which he wrote when he was north of Thebes. The chief difficulty in determining the author of this letter lies in our inability to ascertain whether various isolated phrases which might yield a clue as to Dhutmose's whereabouts are the writer's own words or quotations from letters he has received.

From all the letters in which the guardian Kar (= Karoy) is named, it would seem that he was in Thebes during Dhutmose's sojourn south of Thebes. Therefore, I have tentatively placed letter No. 7, written by Dhutmose to Kar, with the Nubian correspondence, but its precise position in relation to the other Nubian letters cannot be determined.

From letter No. 2 (recto 7) we learn that Herere, Paiankh's maternal grandmother, was in Elephantine at the time that Dhutmose went up to Nubia. If letters Nos. 38 and 39, addressed by Herere to the troop-commander Peseg, were written during her stay in Elephantine, their dates may accord with Dhutmose's sojourn in Nubia. Peseg was clearly stationed on the West of

Thebes, where he was enjoined to deal with the workmen's rations. The lines penned by the general Paiankh to Peseg on the verso of Turin Papyrus 2021 (our No. 40) probably do not constitute a true letter and may have been written merely to try out a pen,⁴⁰ but perhaps they are to be connected with Nos. 38 and 39.

There remain a few letters and fragments thereof which I am unable to relate to any of the letters discussed above. Letter No. 6, addressed to Butehamon and Hemesheri, may have been written either while Dhutmose was north of Thebes or while he was to the south. I believe that No. 11, which Černý⁴¹ hesitatingly ascribed to Dhutmose, was more likely penned by the controller Heramenpenaf⁴² and sent to Dhutmose while he was away from home. The rather peculiar spelling of Dhutmose's nickname would accord with this assumption.

On the basis of the words "see the illness . . ." in letter No. 27A I would suggest that it was composed by Dhutmose, who elsewhere in these letters refers to his illness. However, since he was ill on both his northern and his southern journey, we cannot determine where the letter originated.

Letter No. 32, presumably written by the general Paiankh to the controllers of the Necropolis, could have been sent either while he was north of Thebes or while he was to the south. Letters Nos. 48, 49, and 51 contain too little information to permit any definite assertions regarding their authorship or chronological position. I suspect that No. 48 was sent to Dhutmose.

The last letter to be mentioned, No. 41, was written to Butehamon's son Ankhef (an abbreviated form of the name Ankhefenamon),⁴³ who was scribe of the Necropolis at the time. We know that the father and son functioned together as scribes of the Necropolis in a Year 12,⁴⁴ and I presume that Ankhefenamon took over this office from his grandfather Dhutmose.

No. 33, which Černý observed is not a letter, was included in his edition because of its possible connection with letter No. 32. If there is such a connection, No. 33 should date to Year 6 of the *Whm-mswt* or later.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Cf. Černý and Peet in *JEA* XIII 30.

⁴¹ *LRL*, p. xxiii.

⁴² For Heramenpenaf as controller of the Necropolis in Year 6 (of the *Whm-mswt*) see G. Maspero in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* I (Paris, 1889) 553.

⁴³ Cf. L.-A. Christophe in *BIFAO* LVI (1956) 184.

⁴⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, No. 1393.

⁴⁵ Cf. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, p. 431, regarding the uncertainty in dating this document.

TABULAR SUMMARY OF CHRONOLOGY

| LETTER NO. | WRITER AND LOCATION | ADDRESSEE AND LOCATION | DATE |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 47 | Dhutmose (Ombos) | Es. . . (Thebes W.) | ca. Yr. 12 of R. XI |
| 46 | ? (?) | ? (Thebes W.) | ca. Yr. 12 of R. XI |
| 37 | Henuttawi (Thebes W.) | Esamenope (?) | Yr. 2 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 36 | Esamenope (S. of Thebes) | Mutenope (Thebes W.) | ca. Yr. 2 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 42 | ? (?) | Henuttawi (Thebes) | early <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 12 | Dhutmose (Med. Habu) | Hori (Thebes E.) | Yr. 2 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 27 | Panufenufe (Thebes E.) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | early <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 26 | Mayor of Ne (Thebes E.) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | early <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 1 | Dhutmose (M.E.) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 6 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 14 | Amenhotep (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (M.E.) | Yr. 6 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 44 | Shedemdua? (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (M.E.) | Yr. 6 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 5 | Dhutmose (M.E.) | Butehamon and Shedem- dua (Thebes W.) | Yr. 6 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 23 | Hekanufe (M.E.) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 7 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 24 | Hekanufe (M.E.) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 7 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 20 | Paiankh (S. of Thebes) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 21 | Paiankh (Nubia) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 34 | Paiankh (Nubia) | Payshuuben (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 35 | Paiankh (Nubia) | Nuteme (Thebes E.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 18 | Paiankh (S. of Thebes?) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 19 | Paiankh (S. of Thebes?) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 22 | Paiankh (S. of Thebes?) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 17 | Paiankh (S. of Thebes?) | Dhutmose (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10(?) of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 4 | Dhutmose (Elephan- tine) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 3 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 8 | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 2 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 50 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| * receipt on recto of 8 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | ? (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 9 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 16 | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 28 | chief workmen and Bu- tehamon (Thebes W.) | Paiankh (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 10 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Karoy and Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |

* The core group of Nubian letters.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LETTERS

17

| LETTER NO. | WRITER AND LOCATION | ADDRESSEE AND LOCATION | DATE |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 29 | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Shedsuhor (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 15 | Amenhotep (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 30 | Paiankh (Nubia) | chief workmen and Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 45 | functionary of Med. Habu (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 31 | Pentahures (Elephantine) | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 43 | Butehamon (Thebes W.) | Shedsuhor (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 25 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | controller (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 13 | Amenopenakht (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 7 | Dhutmose (Nubia) | Kar (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 38 | Herere (Elephantine?) | Peseg (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 39 | Herere (Elephantine?) | Peseg (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 40 | Paiankh (Nubia) | Peseg (Thebes W.) | Yr. 10 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 6 | Dhutmose (?) | Butehamon and Hemesheri (Thebes W.) | Yr. 2 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 11 | Heramenpenaf (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose (?) | During <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 27A | Dhutmose? (?) | ? (?) | During <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 32 | Paiankh (?) | controllers (Thebes W.) | Yr. 6 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> or later |
| 48 | ? (Thebes W.) | Dhutmose? (?) | During <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 49 | ? (Thebes W.) | ? (?) | During <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 51 | Dhutmose? (Thebes W.) | ? (?) | During <i>Whm-mswt</i> |
| 41 | Bakenkhons (Thebes E.) | Ankhef (Thebes W.) | Yr. 12 of <i>Whm-mswt</i> (?) or later |

* Nubian letters whose precise relationship with the core group cannot be determined.

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

1. PAPYRUS LEIDEN I 369

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose (to) the chief workman Bak(en)mut and the chief workman Amen¹nakht¹, the prophet Amen. . . , the guardian Qadere, Pentaumte, Paby, Heramenpenaf, Pakhor, and all the workmen of the Necropolis. I tell Arsaphes, Lord of Heracleopolis, Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, and every god and [every] goddess by whom I pass^a to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age; and to give you favor before gods and men. How^b are you? How are your men? Indeed I am alive today; tomorrow is in God's hands. I am the one^c who wishes to see you and to hear about your condition daily. Indeed what is^d the good of my sending you these several^e letters whereas you have not sent (even) one? What have I done against you? (Even) if I have done millions of wrongs, have I not done one good thing^f (to) make them forgotten?^g For I am one who is good to you; I am not at all one who is bad to you.^h

Please tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Landsⁱ and Mereseger to bring me back alive (from) Yar^j of Namekhay and give your attention to Butehamon, Shedemdua, her children, and the men who are in the fields^k to prevent another from doing wrong^l to them.

Another matter for the citizeness Tanuteme, Nene, Henuaa, Irymut, Ese, Bakemut, Qerinufe, Tanuteme, Tasepa, the man who goes north,^m and all the men. Please tell Amon to bring meⁿ back. Indeed I was ill when I arrived north,^o and I am not at all in my (normal) condition. Do not^p set your mind(s) to anything (else). As soon as my letter reaches you, you^q shall go to the open court of Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands taking^r the children along with you and coax^s him and tell him to save me.

Address: The scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy to the scribe of the [Necropolis] Butehamon.

^a (1/5) Although *Wb.* III 456 (7-9) does not include any instance of *sn r* with precisely this nuance, one might quote *Wen.* ii 1, where the related verb *sš* is found with the object introduced by *r*.

^b (1/7) *Hr* ^c for *hy* ^c, "what is the condition of?" (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 342).

^c (1/8) For the phrase, cf. Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* III 92.

^d (1/9) For *iš š*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 169-70. Another example where it is followed by the first present is *iš š tw-š dit in-tw p³w hnw n nhš*, "What is the good of my sending that *hin* of sesame-oil?" (lines 1-2 of an ostrakon in my possession).

^e (1/10) On *hmn*, cf. most recently Jac. J. Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI (Leiden, 1960) 45, note *f*.

^f (1/11) Assuming an implied interrogative in *bw ir-i*. For *ir w^c nfr*, cf. *RAD*, p. 77, line 15.

^g (2/1) *Smh-w* is infinitive with suffix object following the verb "cause" (cf. Joachim Spiegel in *ZÄS* LXXI [1935] 67).

^h (2/1) Lit. "I am your good; I am not at all your bad" (cf. Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* IV 117, n. 11, and Gardiner in *ZÄS* XLI [1904/32]).

ⁱ (2/2) On Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands, cf. Wente in *JNES* XX (1961) 255-56 and Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* ("Analecta Orientalia" XXXVII [Roma, 1958]) p. 127.

^j (2/3) In view of the fact that here Yar appears to be located in Middle Egypt, the place from which Dhutmose is writing, and in two other cases (4/3 and 17/9) in Nubia, it would seem that Yar is not a genuine geographic locality but is used figuratively, perhaps corresponding to English "hellhole." It is tempting to see a connection with the word *r* of letter No. 46 (68/2), translated by Černý in *JEA* XXVII (1941) 108 as "out from." Perhaps *r* is prefixed by the particle *ii*³ and means something like "indeed to get out." If this speculation is correct, then *N³-mh³y* may perhaps best be regarded as in apposition to Yar. The possible meaning of *N³-mh³y*, "That of the Balance," may suggest an area near Memphis (cf. Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* III [Le Caire, 1926] 17).

^k (2/4) The absence of the definite article before *shwt* is regular in this common L.E. expression (e.g. Černý, *LRL*, pp. 5, line 16, and 9, line 14; d'Orb. i 3).

^l (2/5) On the meaning of *thi*, cf. William F. Edgerton in *JNES* VI (1947) 221, n. 11, and Gardiner in *JEA* XXXVIII (1952) 28.

^m (2/7) Taking the *n* of *n ht* as the genitive *n*, lit. "of ferrying north" (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [3d ed.; Oxford, 1957] § 305, for the construction). Alternatively, it is possible that the *n* is to be taken for *m* and that the translation should be "the man journeying north."

ⁿ (2/7) For the writing of the first person singular dependent pronoun as though it were a suffix pronoun, cf. Edgerton in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932) p. 62, n. 3, and Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960) p. 24.

^o (2/8) Cf. Kadesh Bulletin § 17 (Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* [*MIFAO* LV] p. 333) and for demotic usage see F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* III (Manchester, 1909) 356. For *n hd* as a simple directional expression parallel with *n rsy* see Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" VIII [Bruxelles, 1938]) p. 113, line 6.

^p (2/9) Unless an ellipse of the conjunctive *mtw-tn* is assumed before *tm*, we may have an early example of *tm* as negative imperative, which otherwise is unknown to me until it is used in Roman demotic (cf. Ronald J. Williams in *JEA* XXXVIII 62). In letter No. 15 (29/10) it seems preferable to assume with Černý the omission of *iw-k* before *tm*, though in Anast. V xx 3 an imperative *h³b* follows a similar *wmn* clause.

^q (2/10) Emending *iw-i* to *iw-tn* with Černý.

^r (2/10) Understand *iw t³y-⟨tn⟩*; for such use of the *iw sdm-f* form of *t³i*, translatable as a relative present circumstantial, cf. Wente in *JNES* XXI (1962) 306, n. 19.

^s (2/11) For *swwn* cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 28, and Anast. I xxiii 8, translated "coax" in Gardiner, *EHT*, p. 25*, as well as in Gardiner's more recent discussion of the word in *JEA* XLII (1956) 18.

2. PAPYRUS TURIN 1973

The scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose to the scribe [of the Necropolis] Buteh[amon and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua]. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods, residing in Elephantine. [I tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, and the gods] of the hills in which I am to have [me brought back] . . . , and I shall fill (my) embrace with you while I am alive. Quote:

. . . in the fourth month of the second season, day 21, with my superior^a . . . prospering as well. No harm has come to them. 'There [is no]'¹ . . . I left him in Elephantine in the company of Herere to cause . . .

How are you? How are Hemesheri, her daughter, the scribe . . . , the scribe Amenhotep, Takamene the younger, Shedsumut, and the men 'who' . . . ? [What means]^b your spending up until today without your having sent [me one? Write] to me about your condition, whether good or bad, through the men who will come . . . , and they will give it to the scribe Kēnkhnun. He shall send it up to me . . . [with] the men who come up from Elephantine. Indeed the . . . do not . . . , and your letter shall cause my heart to be elated^c (at) the words . . . 'first'. And do not be neglectful of them and send . . . to this daughter of Hemesheri.

Moreover, [do not neglect taking water to^d Amon of the Thrones of the] Two Lands and tell him to bring me back (from) Yar, the place where I am, for . . . [I do not]^e sleep either night or day, I being anxious about you. Moreover, [do not neglect taking water to] Amon, United with Eternity,^f and say to him, "Will you bring him [lit. 'me'] back prospering?" Moreover, [do not neglect sending]^g me a letter. Moreover, do not show neglect^h to your orders . . .

Another matter for the workman Amenhotep, Bakeamon, Henuaa, . . . , [I tell] Horus of Kuban *every day*ⁱ to give you life, prosperity, and health. Please tell Amon. . . , Amon of the Beautiful Encounter,^j and Mereseger to bring (me) back alive and I shall fill [my] embrace [with you in the open] court of Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

You are not^k to neglect the Medjay ['Kas'] . . . and give him an order seeing that^l a matter . . . and say to him, "There is no man employed^m" . . . with my superior. There is no . . .

Address: The scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy to the scribe B[utehamon and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua.]

^a (3/5) I have followed Černý's suggestion in deleting the first person suffix; otherwise begin a new clause with *p3y-i hry*.

^b (3/10) Restoring *ii3 ih* at the end of the lacuna.

^c (3/16) As George R. Hughes has pointed out in *JNES* XVII (1958) 9-10, ^{c3} *h3ty* conveys not so much the concept of patience as of firmness of heart.

^d (4/2) Restoring here and in verso 3 (4/5) *tm nn it³ mw n* as in letter No. 3 (5/14). For this construction after *hr m-di*, cf. *Wb.* II 177 (17).

^e (4/3-4) Immediately before *kd* restore *bw ir-i*, which, however, does not account for the entire lacuna after *hr*.

^f (4/5) I.e., the Amon of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (cf. Harold H. Nelson in *JNES* I [1942] 127-55).

^g (4/6) Restoring *tm nn m h^{3b}* after *hr m-di*.

^h (4/7) In favor of my translation, in which *nn* is taken as infinitive object of *h^{3c}* rather than as co-ordinate with *h^{3c}*, is letter No. 8 (15/3), where the dative with suffix precedes *nn* as is normal in Egyptian word order. A translation "moreover, do not leave and neglect your orders" seems unlikely since it is questionable whether Egyptian would permit the single writing of the object of two verbs only one of which takes a genuine direct object while the other has its object introduced by a preposition.

ⁱ (4/9) On the position of *r^c nb sp sn*, cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI (1951) 126.

^j (4/10) More properly written with the genitival *n* before *thn* as in *HO*, Pl. XLVI 2, recto 14. For the god, cf. Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, 3. partie (*FIFAO* XVI [1939]) p. 87, and *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)* (*FIFAO* XX [1952]) 3. fasc., p. 37, and his *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (*MIFAO* LVIII [1930]) p. 155.

^k (4/12) This use of the conjunctive seems to be identical with the independent usage with injunctive force in demotic as recognized by Nims in *JEA* XXIV (1938) 77-78. Cf. also Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* ("Ägyptologische Abhandlungen" I [Wiesbaden, 1960]) p. 336, and Miriam Lichtheim in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky* (Jerusalem, 1964) pp. 4-8.

^l (4/13) On *hr r-c*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 178. Another example appears in letter No. 50 (73/10).

^m (4/13-14) Or "No man orders . . ."

3. PAPYRI BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 199,5-9+196,V+198,IV

[The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis] of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, l. p.h., [Dhutmose] to the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon . . . [I] every day [tell] Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets . . . [to give] you life, prosperity, and health and to give you favor before gods and men . . . [fourth month of the second] season, day 13. I reached my superior at . . . He took (me) in charge^a and did every (sort of) good thing for me. He [said to me " . . . if you had not] come¹,^b I would put up a fuss with you; but^c good . . . goodness in your heart,^d and you came." He said to me, "You shall . . . " . . . [bre]ad and beer daily. He took me to my . . . great because of^e an offense before my superior.

. . . me prospering. Moreover, do not neglect [tak]ing water to his open court and pray to him to save me.^f Moreover, do not [ne]glect any commission of mine which is in the fields, namely,^g to cultivate^h the grainⁱ and (to see) to the plan[ting]^j for me of the vegetables as well. You are to give your attention to Shedemdua and her chi[ldr]en and (to) Hemesheri and her daughter as well. Do

not proceed^k [I to do^l w]rong against them, or^l I will regard it against^m you as a great offense. 'It is like today that a man is seen to be.'ⁿ

Now as for the matter of the two *ḳite* of gold which [I] told [you] to put into the *pī*t, you did not put them there. Indeed I returned to . . . , and I did not find them. This which you have done is not good.

You are to give^o your attention [to] . . . and look after her affliction, and . . . send her a letter, and you shall say to her, "Do not . . . them (to) the fowlers in the town of Edf[u]^p . . . ," [you] shall say to her. And you are to send me a letter through the one who . . . her daughter and Hemesheri as well . . . Shedemdua and her children . . . Tainuteme, Paadjadja the younger, and everyone . . . [I tell every god and every goddess by] whom [I pass]^q *every day* to give you life, prosperity, and health. Quote:


. . . I am alive. Do not worry about me. . . . No harm has come to them. Do not cease . . . 'the^l bread-rations which I have had.'^r And write about the matter of . . . his 'hand^l.

^a (5/8) There is considerable doubt as to whether *šsp n-ḥꜣt*, which occurs also in letter No. 5 (9/16), Wen. ii 81, and the Marriage Stela of Ramesses II (Charles Kuentz in *ASAE* XXV [1925] 215; the Karnak version has *šsp ḥꜣt-sn* for the Abu Simbel *šsp n-ḥꜣt-sn*), is identical with *šsp ḥꜣt(t) nt*, "receive the prow-rope of," in its figurative use with the connotation "welcome." The latter phrase has been discussed by Gardiner in *AEO* I 53, n. 9, and in *ZÄS* XLIII (1906) 160, where he too queried the identity of the two expressions. The absence of a rope determinative in the writing of *ḥꜣt* in the first expression would seem to indicate that the two are not the same, though there is at least one example of the second expression written without the rope determinative: *šsp ḥꜣt dpt-nṯr* in the tomb of Kheruef (see Ahmed Fakhry in *ASAE* XLII [1943] 465, line 10). Wilson's translation of the Wenamon passage (in James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [2d ed.; Princeton, 1955] p. 29), "take me in charge," would fit the several occurrences of the first expression quite well since it is non-committal as to the nature of the reception, whether good or bad. I am not certain from which of the two expressions is derived the demotic *šp ḥꜣ* before noun (I Khamuas iii 6; see Spiegelberg, *DP*, Pl. XLIV) or *šp ḥꜣt*= before suffix (II Khamuas vi 12 and vii 8; see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* [Oxford, 1930] *Atlas*, Pls. VI and VII); the absence of a determinative suggests a connection with the first phrase.

^b (5/9) The *wn iw-f sdm* construction, serving to express the *irrealis* (cf. Walter Till in *ZÄS* LXIX [1933] 112-17), suggests the restoration of a negative unfulfilled conditional clause; *iw-f* [*ḳḏ n-ṯ r ḳḏ hn bwpw-k*] *ii* would perhaps fill the lacuna, *bwpw-f sdm* being the negative counterpart of *sdm-f* in L.E. (cf. B. H. Stricker in *Acta Orientalia* XVI [1937] 81-82).

^c (5/10) For the use of *ḥr* after a *wn iw-f sdm* clause, cf. Černý and Peet in *JEA* XIII 34-35.

^d (5/10) Perhaps restore something like "you found (*gm-k*) goodness in your heart." One expects a verbal form with past meaning preceding *iw-k ii*, which I take to be an example of the *iw-f (ḥr) sdm* construction continuing a verb form with past meaning (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXV [1949] 29; Adriaan de Buck in *JEA* XXIII [1937] 161; Stricker in *Acta Orientalia* XVI 82-83).

^e (5/13) For *m-di* with the meaning "because of," cf. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 624, 3, and *SAOC* No. 12, p. 53, n. 15b. For the writing , cf. BM 10053 verso iii 22 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXI), and BM 10052 vi 4 (*ibid.* Pl. XXIX).

^f (5/15) *Šd-f* is either infinitive with suffix object (*-f* for *-i*, a common substitution in indirect speech) or a *šdm-f* form with omission of the dependent pronoun *wi*, "that he should rescue (me)" (cf. 72/7-8). Somewhat in favor of the latter alternative is that we might expect more properly *šd-tw-f* for the infinitive with suffix in the case of a *Šae infirmæ* verb, though this is by no means always the case; cf. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 408, and Siegfried Morenz in Bertold Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Ägyptologie* (Leiden, 1952) p. 102, n. 1.

^g (5/16) For *m* meaning "namely," cf. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 605 (17), and *MH* I (*OIP* VIII [1930]) Pl. 28, line 51.

^h (6/1) *Sk³* may here have the meaning "sow" as it apparently does in Pap. Lansing vi 8-9. In the case of cereals the plowing was done simultaneously with the sowing of the seed, as in present-day Egypt (cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, p. 18). Cultivation by plowing is not practiced once the grain has germinated.


ⁱ (5/16) *N³* it is grain in general (cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 119 f and *JE* XXVII 24, n. 3). For grain treated as a plural, cf. Pierre Lacau in *BIFAO* LVI (1956) 168-69.

^j (6/1) Although the translation of *t³ dg³* seems certain, the presence of the feminine definite article is somewhat puzzling. Even if the infinitive of *dg³* is regarded as feminine in form through analogy with the *Šae infirmæ dgì* (on the relationship of III ³ and III ⁱ verbs, cf. Gerhard Fecht in *Orientalia* N.S. XXIV [1955] 288-95 and 395-402), in L.E., as in Coptic and even certain 11th-dynasty letters (cf. James *Hekanakhte*, p. 103), such infinitives are treated as masculine. Sethe, *Verbum* II, § 592, however, does draw attention to the fact that substantively used infinitives of *Šae infirmæ* verbs retained their feminine gender; in this case *dg³* could be a noun with its gender derived through analogy.

^k (6/3) *Šm* would appear to have auxiliary force here as in letters Nos. 30 (50/12) and 36 (56/3), Anast. V xi 6 ("What are you going to do to this man?"), Pap. Mallet iv 2 and 4, and possibly Kadesh Poem § 83.

^l (6/4) The conjunctive here expresses the consequence of what would happen if the activity of the preceding clause were carried out, and hence I use the conjunction "or" (cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I [London, 1931] Pl. XXIII, line 2).

^m (6/4) On the dative of disadvantage, cf. Edgerton in *JNES* VI 227, n. 64a, where references are given. Note the M.E. example in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* I (*OIP* XXXIV [1935]) 322 b, where variants have *r*.

ⁿ (6/4-5) This passage is to be considered in conjunction with letter No. 43 (64/10) and Pap. Bologna 1094 vi 8-9, which Caminos (*LEM*, p. 18) with reservation translates "Now, look, such is man(?) today." This translation, in spite of its good sense (cf. Gardiner's rendition of the passage in *The Wilbour Papyrus* II [London, 1948] 163: "But behold, man is like (that) today(?)"), is not supported by the simple  of letter No. 43 (64/10). In our passage (6/4-5) we have a second tense construction and therefore should expect an adverbial extension upon which the emphasis is placed. This adverbial extension I would take to be *m mitt p³ hrw*, "like today"; cf. *mitt p³ hrw*, "like today" (Kadesh Poem § 185), and *nn sf mī p³ hrw hr ʿwy ntr*, "Is not yesterday like today in God's hands?" (Williams in *JE* XLVII [1961] 104). I am at a loss as to what was

in the lacuna; *r-ḡd*, "that," does not fit the surviving trace very well. The possible meaning of this apparent aphorism is that man is short-lived.

^o (6/8) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^p (6/11) In the light of Hans Goedicke's comments in *JEA* XLIII (1957) 79 on the meaning "river-bank" for *dmi* in certain M.E. passages, one wonders whether Dhutmose does not intend the harbor area of Edfu. Cf. also Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, p. 29.

^q (6/15) The context demands some such restoration as [*tw-i ḡd n nṯr nb nṯrt nb(t) nty tw-i sn ḥrḥr*].*w* (cf. e.g. 9/4-5 and 13/3-4). The trace before *w* may be that of a *hr*-sign, apparently without the accompanying stroke.

^r (7/2) So far as I can discern, *wn* + adverbial predicate in non-literary L.E. texts does not have simple present meaning (cf. A. de Buck in *JEA* XXIII 160 and Wente in *JNES* XXI [1962] 307, n. 22). My translation, "which I have had," or possibly "which I had," at any rate past and not present, is further supported by demotic usage (cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* [Heidelberg, 1925] §§ 237-40, and František Lexa, *Grammaire démotique* III [Praha, 1947] § 523 [*sic*, for § 528] p. 469, exs. 4-8).

4. PAPYRUS TURIN 1972

The scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose to the scribe Butehamon and the chantress of Amon Shed[emdua.] In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I tell the gods of the land every day to give yo[u life, prosperity, and health, a lo]ng [lifetime], and a good ripe old age; to give you many favors and to let [me] return [and fil]l (my) [em]brace with you. Quote:

I have reached my superior. Indeed I found^a that he had sent a *tsm*-boat to take me. They found me in the midst of^b Edfu. I met him at the town of Elephantine,^c and he said to me saying, "Another time you need not come,"^d said he to me. He gave me bread and beer according to my previous custom (i.e., as previously). He said to me, "May Montu favor (you)."^e Now we are moored at Elephantine, and he has been saying,^f "I shall go up to meet^g Panehsi at the place where he is," so he has been saying.

Please tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands, my lord, to bring me back prospering and give your attention to the children 'and servants of^{1h} Shedemdua and <give>ⁱ some^j oil^k to let the children 'of the Southern Province^l consume^l it. Do not let them lack.^m And give your attention to this daughter of Khonsmose; do not neglect her either.ⁿ Now do not worry about me. My superior has done every (sort of) good for me. You are to give your attention to the conscript soldiers.^o Do not let them run off, nor let^p them become hungry.

Another matter for the workman Amenhotep, Heramenpenaf, Paby, Pentaumte, Sedjaa, Shedsuamon, Irymut, Ese, Bakamon, Ikhtay, and the overseer of the ergastulum Penpawenher, to wit:

Please tell Amon and the gods of the Temple (of Medinet Habu) to bring me back alive from the enemy also.^a

The scribe Kēnkhnum to the scribe Butehamon and Amenpanufe: I tell Amon *every day* to give you life, prosperity and health. Quote:

Tell Amenpanufe to write a letter about what has been done, saying, "Let the man receive it from him."^s

Another matter for the scribe Butehamon and Heramenpenaf

^a (7/11) For the second tense with *gm̄t*, cf. demotic usage (Williams in *JNES* VII 225).

^b (7/12) When I discussed the problem of the compound preposition following *gm̄t* in *JNES* XX (1961) 256–57, I overlooked Černý's note to his transcription (*LRL*, p. 7a, n. 12b), in which he states that although the hieratic group actually resembles *t̄* more than *m*, *m* is demanded in the composed preposition *m mtr*, "in the vicinity of." I am inclined now to accept *t̄* as the correct transcription and assume the omission of *m* in writing before it. Thus we have (*m*) *t̄ t̄ mt-t n* meaning "in the midst of" (cf. Coptic *Ⲛⲧⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄* in W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [2d ed.; Oxford, 1962] p. 191 a, and the demotic equivalent in W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Kopenhagen, 1954] p. 191).

^c (7/13) Cf. n. *p* to letter No. 3 (6/11).

^d (7/13) This negative third future is translated by Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* IV 111, n. 12.

^e (7/15) Cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 117–18 and Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* III 97–98.


^f (7/15–16) The force of the two *hr*'s is not entirely clear. I suspect that they may indicate the near simultaneity of the two first present clauses (cf. the two simultaneous clauses each introduced by *hr* in Amenemope xii 11). For other examples of *hr . . . hr*, cf. Erman, *Neuäeg. Gr.* § 674; to his references add Maxims of Ani vi 9 and Berlin Stela No. 23077 (Erman in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* XLIX [1911] 1094, top line). For *hr* with the first present containing an infinitive predicate, cf. e.g. Pap. Salt 124 verso ii 3–4 (Černý in *JEA* XV [1929] Pl. XLVI) and a Cairo letter published in Georg Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1927–35) III 8, No. 3, line 8. In both examples, "he has been killing" and "its rental has been collected from me year to year," continuous activity is probably envisaged.

^g (7/16) Professor Edgerton has suggested that *ph* is to be taken in a hostile sense, "attack."

^h (8/3) Both Černý and Spiegelberg (*Correspondances*, p. 34) transcribe *h̄mw*, "servants," but I wonder whether we do not have rather a writing of the name of *H̄mt-šrt*, about whose daughter Dhutmose usually expresses concern along with concern for Shedemdua's children.

ⁱ (8/3) For the omission of *di*, "cause," in the conjunctive, cf. Černý in *JEA* XV 249, n. 41; another possible example is found in letter No. 30 (51/6).

^j (8/3) For *nkt n* meaning "some," cf. *Wb.* II 347 (10).

^k (8/3) *Sgnm*, "oil," is used for anointing and lighting but not for eating (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 312). Therefore , if it is a writing of *wmn*, would have to mean "con-


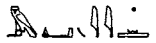

sume" in the broader sense of the word as, e.g., in BM 10052 iii 19 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVII).

^l (8/4) On ^c *rsy* as a designation of Upper Egypt, cf. Kurt Sethe in *ZÄS* XLIV (1907) 4 and 7; Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LI (1913) 122; William C. Hayes in *JEA* XXXIV (1948) 48, n. 4; Caminos, *LEM*, p. 33.

^m (8/4) On *ty* (= *id*), "lack," cf. Gardiner in *Hieratic Papyri BM, Third Series*, I 49, n. 7, *JEA* XXXIV 24, and *LEM*, p. 19, lines 8 and 9.




ⁿ (8/5) For *m mitt* meaning "either" following a negative, cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 127 j.

^o (8/7) Cf. Raymond O. Faulkner in *JEA* XXXIX (1953) 45.

^p (8/7-8) In spite of the fact that after *hr* we have  and not , I am inclined to consider the former as identical with the latter (cf. 22/14). A less likely alternative would be to regard  as a writing of the conjunction *m-dr*, "when" or possibly "if," and translate the clauses "do not let the conscript soldiers run off, when (or 'if') they have become hungry." In such a rendition the particle *hr* presents a problem. I know of no instance of *hr m-dr* with the possible exception of Amenemope xviii 18 (cited in Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 665), and here I am inclined with Sethe (*ZÄS* LXII [1927] 8) to regard *hr m-drty* as a writing of *hr m-di*, "and do not let."

^q (8/12-13) For *p³ ky*, Coptic *ⲡⲕⲉ*, cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 240, and J. Martin Plumley, *An Introductory Coptic Grammar* (London, 1948) § 113. It is possible that the seated-man determinative of *hrwy* is spurious and that the word is actually *hrwyw*, meaning "war," "conflict," "rebellion" (cf. BM 10052 xiii 24 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXIII] and Gardiner in *JEA* XIX [1933] 24).

^r (8/14-15) There are two alternatives up to this point: (a) "tell Amenpanufe to write a letter about what has been done, saying," or (b) "tell Amenpanufe to write a letter to him about whom (I) have said." In both interpretations *h³b* is considered as an imperative (cf. Anast. V xx 3). In the first alternative (a), *ir* is taken as a passive participle; compare the similar writings of the passive participle in BM 10052 viii 19 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXX) and Pap. Bologna 1094 vi 8. In alternative b, a periphrased relative form is understood: *ir·(i) r-dd*, with *r-dd* for *dd* as occasionally elsewhere in these letters (e.g. 30/1 and 5, 32/5, 33/3, 45/5). In either case the absence of the definite article appears somewhat unusual, but there are other instances where it is lacking before a nominally used participle or relative form (e.g. Wen. ii 4-5). I am inclined to accept a as the more probable alternative since it does not demand that *r-dd* be taken for *dd*, although one might have expected *hr*, "concerning," instead of the genitival *n* before *ir*.

^s (8/15-16) Depending upon which of the alternatives discussed in the preceding note is accepted, the clause beginning with *imi* is either a direct quotation introduced by *r-dd* (as in alternative a) or, as we might render it, an indirect quotation containing in *n-f* the expected resumptive pronoun belonging to the relative form (as in alternative b). After *imi* I suggest with some hesitation reading *r-k*, the enclitic particle occasionally found after the imperative in L.E. (cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* §§ 360 and 707). One possibility is to take *imi* as meaning "let" followed by the nominal subject of a subjunctive clause whose predicate consists of *r* (written ) + infinitive (cf. *Wb.* II 468 [15] and Pap. Salt 124 recto ii 5 [*JEA* XV, Pl. XLIII]), unless   is itself a writing of

the infinitive with the preposition *hr* to be understood before it, in which case the construction is related to *rdi*, "cause," + noun + *hr* + infinitive (see Wentz in *JNES* XXI 126 for references). For *išsp*, or more properly *išp* at this period, as infinitive, cf. letter No. 8 (16/14). The other possibility is to take *imi* as meaning "send" (cf. this meaning for *rdi*, discussed in n. *i* to letter No. 21) and translate "Send the man to receive it from him." *Šsp n*, "receive from," is well attested in L.E. (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 60, n. 7). It is possible that instead of "from him" we should translate "from me," regarding *f* for *i* as a confusion through *oratio obliqua*. The preferred translation of these lines given on p. 25 reflects my belief that what is involved is the relay of letters to Dhutmose stationed in Nubia. The scribe Kēnkhnum, who appears as one of the relayers in letter No. 2 (3/13), has here appended a note concerning the transmission of a letter at the end of Dhutmose's own letter, and quite possibly the *p³ rmt* (8/16) refers to Dhutmose himself. One might draw attention to the use of *p³ rmt*, "the man," in Pap. Leiden I 365 recto 4 and 5 (see Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI 37).

5. PAPYRUS LEIDEN I 370

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose to the scribe Butehamon and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua. In life, prosperity, and health, and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell Amon-Re-Harakhti, Arsaphes, the great god, Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, and every god and every goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age. Q[quote]:

I have noted all matters concerning which you have written me through the messenger^a Esamon, (namely) your having stated^b the matter of the vessels of smaragdus^c and two flagons^d which you said you are having finished,^e as well as the matter of the donkeys which you said you have given to the *wab*-priest Tjaumehi(em)heb^f to transport the grain, as you said. It is all right, this which you have done. If he has finished transporting the grain,^g you shall receive it enregistered in full^h and enter it into its granary. And you shall give them (i.e., the donkeys) to the chief of the Medjay Sermontu to transport his grain which is in the fields, it (i.e., the grain) not being (part) of that which is stowed in the settlements,ⁱ for it is from that which is scattered about in the fields that you shall have (grain) brought in,^j whereas that which is in the magazines is left to remain (in) its place. As soon as^k this water^l floods, you shall receive in charge^m this transport boat which I have sent to you and give it to the fishermen and the Medjay.ⁿ And they shall bring the balance^o of it (i.e., the grain); and you shall receive it fully enregistered, the scribe Pentahunakht, the son of Sobeknakht, being with you for he shall supervise for you;^p and you shall enter it. And you shall receive this transport boat, its oars, its mast, and the joinery^q and take care of it,^r for you shall find it (useful)^s to do your jobs with it, along with the wood and the charcoal to have them transported;^t and you shall enter (them) into their (proper) place, along with the wood which [the]

men [will] cut;^u and you shall take (it) to my house. Indeed day is^v there before you.^w

You are to look after^x the children and take care of them well just as this daughter of Hemesheri, her mother, and her nurse. And you shall look after their need.^y And you shall look after the conscript soldiers and guard them very well. And you shall give your attention to the men who are in the field and cause them to perform their field-labors^z very well. And you shall not allow the children who are in the school to cease from writing. And you shall look after the men who are in my house and give them clothing. Do not let them become naked.^{aa} And you shall demand the three garments which Pakhor has.^{ab} And you shall look after these three riparian plots^{ac} of ours^{ad} and cause the trees^{ae} which are on their mound(s)^{af} to be cleared^{ag} just as the holding^{ah} which Esmontu used to cultivate.^{ai} And you shall clear their trees beginning from the district of Pre down to the well of the district.

And you shall see this daughter of Khonsmose and have her write a letter and send it^{aj} to me. And you shall not let Hemesheri be lacking in anything nor Shedemdua and her children.

And you shall say to Tapeses that I have found Paturaa on the northern promontory.^{ak} And you shall write to me the house in which you have found the . . . , and you shall write to me whether^{al} you have handed over Hori's grain to him. And you shall have this upper chamber^{am} finished and protected^{an} with stone patchwork.^{ao} And you shall look after the yoke of oxen which the herdsman Esamon, the son of Djahy, has,^{ap} and you shall give them to Paydegesh.

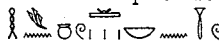
And you shall take water to Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands and tell him to save (me). And you shall not neglect . . . Paykamen, my brother. And you shall give your attention to my orders. Do not neglect them . . . my day of arrival.^{aq} And you shall tell Amon to remove this illness which is in me.^{ar}

^a (9/7) For *šmsw*, "messenger," cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXIII (1947) 57 and Jac. J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs (Oudheidkundige Mededelingen, "Supplement" to XLII [Leiden, 1961])* p. 24.

^b (9/7) There are two alternatives with regard to *p3 qd iir-k*. The first is to take the phrase in apposition to *mdwt nb* of the preceding line and translate "I have noted all matters . . . (namely) your having stated the matter of the vessels of smaragdus and two flagons which you said you are having finished, as well as the matter of the donkeys which you said you have given to the *wab*-priest . . ." In this translation I have rendered as indirect quotations the two clauses following *idd-k*, thereby changing the pronoun from "I" to "you," and have taken *hr m-di* as a conjunction, "as well as" (cf. Battiscombe Gunn in *JEA* XLI [1955] 91 and Erman, *Neuäeg. Gr.* § 196). According to this interpretation it is Butehamon who is seeing to the completion of the vessels. The other alternative (cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 126 b) is to assume that *p3 qd iir-k* stands in anticipatory emphasis, not being linked grammatically with what precedes it, and to translate "(As for) your having stated the matter of the vessels of smaragdus and two

flagons which you said you are having finished and as for the matter of the donkeys which you said you have given to the *wab*-priest . . . , it is all right."

^c (9/8) Instead of Černý's dot over the book-roll I would determine *hnmw* with a jar sign (cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* [2d. ed.; Leipzig, 1927-36] II, ligature XLII). The same phrase occurs in letter No. 44 (65/6) and in BM 10068 recto vi 20 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XII), which Peet (*GTR* I 92) has rendered "vessels of offering," regarding the second group as *wdhw*. *Hnmw n wdhw* does exist fully written in BM 10054 recto ii 9 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. VI), but I believe that in our passage the word intended is *w³d*, "smaragdus"; cf. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (*VIO* LIV [1961]) pp. 102-4. This assumption seems to be substantiated by DM ost.

No. 108 verso 2-3, where in  there is little doubt that *w³d* indicates the material of which the vessels were made. *Wb.* III 107 (8 and 10) is therefore correct in distinguishing the two expressions. For this method of indicating the material of which an object is made, cf. Spiegel in *ZÄS* LXXI 61.

^d (9/8) For the translation of *rhb* as "flagon," cf. William A. Ward in *JNES* XX 40. The reference of *Wb.* II 442 (2) to *rhb* has now been published by Helck in *MIO* IV (1956) 167 (Abb. B, 2); there they are of silver.

^e (9/9) The *w* of *grh.w* I take to be an example of the use of the third person plural to express the passive, as in demotic and Coptic (cf. Wente in *JNES* XXI 310, n. 36, and *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. III, lines 53-55, and *passim*).

^f (9/10) For the name *T³w-mhyt-(m)-hb(?)*, cf. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Hamburg, 1952) II 368 (in reference to *ibid.* I 193, No. 14.)


^g (9/11) For this conditional clause introduced by *inn*, cf. Černý in *JEA* XXVII 108.

^h (9/12) Cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 60, n. 6.

ⁱ (9/14) Lit. "that which is stowed in the settlements not being (part) of it," *im* being used partitively with *w* referring to *n³ it* in line 11 (cf. the similar clause in Pap. Leopold II iii 1-2). For *w³h* with the meaning "stow," cf. Aylward M. Blackman in *JEA* XVI (1930) 63.

^j (9/14) *Tw ir-k di* is a circumstantialized form of the second tense (cf. H. J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* [Le Caire, 1944] pp. 75-76).

^k (9/16) *Wn* for *wnn* (cf. Černý, *LRL*, p. 2, line 9; DM ost. No. 115 recto 7 and No. 121 recto 1; Taking of Joppa ii 8 [Gardiner, *LES*, p. 84]).

^l (9/16) I am uncertain whether we are to understand *p³y mw*, as is written, or *p³ mw*, "the water," since the same expression occurs in Pap. Lansing v 8 with merely *p³ mw*. In the three letters dealing with the disposal of the bodies of two Medjay in the Nile waters there is a similar ambiguity: in letter No. 34 (54/2) *p³y mw* is written; in No. 21 (36/10), ; and in No. 35 (54/13), simply *p³ mw*. Černý, *LRL*, p. 54a, n. 2c, believed that "an article is required, not the demonstrative pronoun." In demotic, *p³ mw* is the usual expression for the inundation (cf. A. de Buck in *Orientalia Neerlandica* [Leiden, 1948] pp. 3-4 and postscript, p. 5).

^m (9/16) Cf. n. a to letter No. 3 (5/8).

ⁿ (10/1) Possibly this is an example of *badal*-apposition and should be translated "the Medjay fishermen" (cf. *ipwty rmt*, "human envoy," in Wen. ii 56). Or are we to understand "the fishermen of the Medjay"?

^o (10/2) On *mn*, "balance," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 49, n. 2, and in *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 183 ff.

^p (10/3) For the *iwiw-f sdm* construction, cf. Wenté in *JNES* XX 120-23. The translation "supervising" for *nw n* seems to be demanded by the context and appears preferable to "look after," as rendered by Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 522. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 134, gives references to occurrences of *nw n* with somewhat different nuances, however.

^q (10/5) Spiegelberg, *Correspondances*, p. 45, has suggested relating *sm³w* to *sm³yt* (*sm³wt*) of the Book of the Dead, chap. 99. Cf. also A. de Buck *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* V (*OIP* LXXIII [1954]) 192 g. My translation "joinery" follows Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (*OIP* LXXXII [1960]) p. 172, note *ax*. Attention should be drawn, however, to the fact that in a list of household furnishings published by Philippe Virey in *Recueil de travaux* VIII (1886) 171, *sm³y* with mat and wood determinatives appears as distinct from *sm³y* with wood determinative.

^r (10/5) *³ty n*, "take care of" (cf. Gardiner in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Third Series, I 49, n. 7).

^s (10/5) For the pregnant use of *gmḷ*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 84.

^t (10/6) For the use of *w* to express the passive, cf. n. *e* (9/9) above. The construction *iry-f sdm* is generally recognized as serving to periphrase verbs of more than three radicals and foreign verbs. There are, however, cases that do not conform to this generalization: *iry-w šm* (DM ost. No. 324 verso 2-4); *iry-k h³y* (C. ost. No. 25132; see Wilson in *JEA* XVII, Pl. XXXVIII, where the Medinet Habu parallel has *ir-k h³y*); *iry-n šm* (Pap. Mallet iii 8); *iry-f rwi* (Maxims of Ani vii 1); *iry-k mr* (*HO*, Pl. I, recto 4); *iry-tw s³w.w* (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 15, line 22); *iry w³ im t³y* (Černý, *LRL*, p. 52, line 8); *iry-f r-ivd-k* (Anast. II vii 2; Pap. Chester Beatty IV verso iii 12 [*Hieratic Papyri BM*, Third Series, II, Pl. 19] omits *r*); *iry-i q³* (BM 10052 xii 21 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXIII]); *iry-tw šḫḏ* (Černý, *LRL*, p. 11, line 2); *iry-i nh[st]* (Legend of Astarte ii x + 6; see Gardiner, *LES*, p. 78); and possibly *iry-f hr* (sic) *h³y* (Pap. Turin B verso i 5). Cf. also Wenté, "The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1959) pp. 6-8. *RAD*, p. 79, line 2, should be considered in connection with this periphrasis of the verb *hni*. Possibly we have to do with a noun *hnw* rather than a verb.

^u (10/7) For the construction with Černý's proposed restoration of *ir*, cf. Pap. Turin A verso iv 2 (Caminos, *LEM*, p. 508) and Gunn in *JEA* XLI 91 (§ V 6) and 95 (§ XI 2).

^v (10/8) For *wn* + undetermined subject, cf. Eberhard Otto in Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I 85 and 88.

^w (10/9) Taking *dy* as equivalent to Coptic **ⲧⲏ**, "there," though actually we may have epistolary inversion of "here" and "there" as discussed by James, *Heḳanakhte*, pp. 109-10. On the other hand, Černý proposes understanding *r-h³t-n*, "before us"; in this case the translation would be "Day is here before us" (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXI [1945] 38).

^x (10/9) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^y (10/11) *³ty* (old *i³dt*), "need"; cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXXIV 24 and Jean Leclant in Otto Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955) p. 201.

^z (10/13) Cf. *Wb.* IV 217 (9).

^{aa} (10/16) I know of no exact parallel for such a writing of the verb *h³y*, "be naked," but *Wb.* III 14 gives a somewhat similar writing from the late period for *h³j-tj*, "the naked one." One might compare the spelling of *h³w*, "time," in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. XIII, line 98.

^{ab} (10/16–11/1) Or “search for the three garments which belong to Pakhor.” For *m-di*, “belong to,” cf. Pap. Turin 2021 iii 3 (Černý and Peet in *JEA* XIII, Pl. XIV and p. 34, n. 14) and Horus and Seth vii 7.

^{ac} (11/1) Cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 26.

^{ad} (11/2) *ʾInn*, “of ours” (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXVII 107).

^{ae} (11/2) Since wood was and still is so costly in Egypt, it is possible that *šnw* may be rather “brush,” if the clearing was achieved through burning.

^{af} (11/2) *šty* (old *št*), “mound,” “*kôm*” (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXXIV 15, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 33, and *AEO* II 24*). The preposition *m* with the meaning “on” is attested elsewhere before this word; cf. Horus and Seth xv 1; Amice M. Calverley *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* IV (London and Chicago, 1958) Pl. 51 (“Thou hast become high on the mound”); Gustave Lefebvre in *ASAE* LI (1951) 196; Alexandre Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Institute français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, “Bibliothèque d’étude” XIX [Le Caire, 1953] p. 28).

^{av} (11/2) *Šhd*, “clear” (cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 32). The word occurs again in the following line and in letter No. 36 (56/4) as well as in Pap. Mallet iii 7 (above the line). The determinative in letter No. 5 suggests clearing by burning. Cf. n. *t* (10/6) above for the *iry-f sdm* construction.

^{ah} (11/3) For the masculine gender of *šht*, “field,” “holding,” cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d’Ég.* VI 119–20 and Caminos, *LEM*, p. 274. Certain possible 11th-dynasty examples of masculine *šht* have been noted by Klaus Baer in *JNES* XV (1956) 116, n. 10, and by James, *Hekanakhte*, p. 85.

^{ai} (11/3) For *ʾwn-f (hr) sdm* as the relative construction to express past custom, cf. Gardiner in *JNES* XII (1953) 148 h and Wente in *JNES* XXI 307, n. 21.

^{aj} (11/6) For the construction of *rdi in sw* involving *rdi* + infinitive, cf. Spiegel in *ZÄS* LXXI 67. *Sw* is for *št*, referring to the feminine noun *št*, “letter.”

^{ak} (11/8) It is quite possible that “the northern promontory” is the el-Hibeh crag (cf. Gardiner, *AEO* II 93*, and Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LIII [1917] 2).

^{al} (11/10) For *inn*, “whether,” cf. Černý in *JEA* XXVII 109, where this passage is cited.

^{am} (11/10) On *rt*, “upper chamber,” Semitic *רִתְּ*, cf. Max Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen* II (Leipzig, 1910) No. 279; Gustave Jéquier in *BIFAO* XIX (1921) 12–13; Gardiner, *AEO* II 210*; Christophe in *Mélanges Maspero. I. Orient ancien (MIFAO LXVI)* 4^{me} fasc. (1961) p. 22.

^{an} (11/11) For the use of the verb *mkī*, “protect,” in connection with a structure, cf. Pap. Leopold II ii 11 and Gardiner’s comment thereon in *JEA* XXII 178. Note the use of the wall determinative in both cases. In our passage, *mk* is probably old perfective.

^{ao} (11/11) *M bʾk sʾktī*, lit. “with work of stone-patcher.” For *sʾktī*, cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 73*, where he mentions two possible writings for this noun, one with and one without the ending *-i*. The word *sʾk*, “shaper” (of incense), is written *sʾktw* in BM 10052 iv 25 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII). A similar use of the *nomen agentis* after *bʾk*, “work,” is found in Pap. Abbott iii 2 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. II) in the phrase *m bʾk hrty*, “by quarrying,” lit. “by work of quarryman.”

^{ap} (11/12) Or “which belongs to”; cf. n. *ab* (10/16–11/1) above.

^{aq} (11/15–16) I.e., “on the day when I return.”

^{ar} (11/16) Read *nty im-i* (cf. 18/3–4).

6. PAPYRUS GRIFFITH

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose to the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon and to the chantress of Amon Hemesheri. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I every day tell the gods who are in my vicinity to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a great old age and to give you favor in the presence of gods. Quote:


I am all right. I am in health. Do not worry about me. You are the one whom I wish to see and about whose condition (I wish) to hear daily. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall tell Amon to bring me back alive.

Another matter for the chantress of Amon Baky and the chantress of Amon Shed(em)dua. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King (of the gods). I every day tell the gods who are in my vicinity to give you^a life, to give you health, and to give you favor in the presence of gods and men. Quote:

I am all right. I am in health. Do not worry^b about me. You are the ones about whose condition I wish to hear daily. As soon as my letter arrives, you shall tell Amon to bring me back. May your health be good.

Address: The scribe . . . Tja[roy] to the scribe Butehamon and to the chantress of Amon Hemesheri.

^a (12/10) *N-n* for *n·tn* (cf. e.g. Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pls. 53, line 17, and 55, lines 16 and 25).

^b (12/12) The  is for *·tn* (cf. 12/13 and 15/8).

7. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 197,IV

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Year(s) of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose to the guardian Kar. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell every god and every goddess by whom (I) pass to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age, and to give you favor before gods and men. Quote:

(I) have noted your having written to look after my condition. It is Amon, Pre, and Ptah who shall look after your condition^a and do good for you. Please give your attention to Shedemdua and her children to prevent another from doing wrong to them.^b And tell Amon to bring me back sound (from) Yar,^c the place where I am aband[oned].

Another matter for the chantress of Amon Tauhenu. I tell Amon and all the gods to give you life, prosperity, and health. How are you? How are my people? Please write^d me about your (pl.) condition.

May your health be good.

Address: It is for the guardian of the Necropolis Kar.

^a (13/6-7) *M* + nominal subject + *ir-f sdm* is a future construction corresponding to M.E. *in* + nominal subject + *sdm-f*. Cf. Battiscombe Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924) p. 57, where a similar example is quoted from Pap. Bologna 1086, line 6. Other examples occur in letters Nos. 8 (15/9) and 48 (70/14-15), Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 53, line 17, and probably Pap. Turin A verso iv 2-3 (Caminos, *LEM*, p. 508). It is to be noted that our example is one of the rare cases of a second tense lacking an adverbial adjunct upon which stress is normally placed.

^b (13/8) Cf. n. *l* to letter No. 1 (2/5).

^c (13/9) Cf. n. *j* to letter No. 1 (2/3).

^d (13/12) Since the supposed examples of *ih* + imperative given in Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 356, Anm., are dubious, *ih h3b-t* is to be understood as the *sdm-f* form with second person feminine singular suffix subject omitted.

8. PAPYRUS GENEVA D 407

The scribe [of] the great and noble Necropolis [of] Millions of Years [of] Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose [from] the scribe [of] the Necropolis Buteh[amon]. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I say *every day* to Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, [Khonsu], and all gods of Thebes,^a to Pre-Harakhti when he goes forth and when he sets, to Amon of the [Throne(s)] of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak, to Amon-Userhat and his Ennead, and to every god and every goddess whom I see daily to give you life, prosperity, and health and very many favors before the general, your lord. And may Amon bring you back sound and I fill (my) eye with the sight of you, and you fill your eye with Amon of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands, your protector^b and great shield,^c to whom you bend your back;^d and may your brethren and your wards^e see you having returned, alive, prospering, and healthy and fill their embrace with you. Quote:

As for your having written saying, "Do not be neglectful in any matter of mine or any commissions which are in the fields, to cultivate the grain and to [plant] the vegetables as well," so you said, I have given As for the vegetables, they are planted, and as for the grain, I do not remove (my) feet therefrom.

"And you are to give your attention to the chantress of Amon Shed(em)dua and her children and (to) Hemesheri and her daughter," you said. I will do, I will do^f whatever I shall be able to do for them. Indeed they are alive [today; to]morrow is in God's hands. You are the one whom they wish to see.

Now as for your having said to me the matter of the woman in Ne, saying, "Do not show neglect to her ['like']^g the chief brewer^h Khonspatjau, who was a man who showed neglect to his own sister,"ⁱ I, for my part, will do whatever you shall say. Do not worry about them.

Now as for your having written to me about the matter of this Red Crown,^j "Do you have it? Or has it become lost?" you said. It has not become lost; I have it.^k

Now as for your saying, "Do not be neglectful in writing to me about your^l condition," what could happen^m to us while you remain alive?ⁿ It is you who should write^o to us about your condition. Indeed the messengers . . . with you daily, going and coming.^p Now the messengers who come (to) this side are in Ne, while I am (on) this (side).^q They are others who receive the letters^r (on) this side and send^s them to me. Do not cease writing [to] me about your condition. May your health be good.


Another matter for Heramenpenaf, Amenpanufe, Amenopenakht, and the [sing]er of the general Pen[tahures]. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes to give you life, prosperity, and health and very many favors before gods and men, and to let [me find] you alive, prospering, and healthy and fill [my] embrace with you. Indeed I am alive today; tomorrow is in God's hands. You are the concern that is in my heart. I am writing^t to let you know that your people are alive, prospering, and healthy . . . [Do] not worry about them.

Another matter for Heramenpenaf and Amenpanufe. Do not neglect the scribe Tjaroy. We know that a man is ill who has never made^u a [journey]^v . . .



Address: The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose from the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon.

Note at top of recto:

My receipt^w of the 17 spears which the guardian Karoy sent south. Your 'receipt in full, remitted' to their coppersmith.^x 8 large spears, each one 2 *deben*, amounting to 16 *deben*. 9 small spears, each one 1½ *deben*, amounting to 13½ *deben*. Total: 17 spears amounting to 29½ *deben*.

^a (14/2-3) In translating *ntrw nbw W³st* as "all gods of Thebes" I have run counter to the generally preferred "the gods, lords of Thebes (or other locality)" given in *Wb.* II 231 (9), in Caminos, *LEM*, p. 18 and *passim*, and by Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI 40 and *passim*. The rule in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) § 86, certainly supports the latter interpretation; and when we find, e.g., *ntrw nb(w) imntt* in an Old Kingdom inscription (e.g. Jean Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* [Bruxelles, 1907] II, Pl. XI), it can only be translated "the gods, lords of the West" (cf. *ntr c³ nb imntt*, "the Great God, lord of the West," *ibid.*) Certainly such a meaning survived, and I have no doubt that there are examples in Ramesside texts where *nbw* is to be taken as the noun "lords" rather than the adjective "all." However, I am rather inclined to see in the hieratic examples from the Ramesside period an altered interpretation. A cursory search through Gardiner's *LEM*, through the letters published by Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI 35-39, and through Černý's *LRL* reveals that *nbw* in this expression is always written without a divine determinative. Although  is found in hieratic as a writing of *nbw*, "lords" (e.g. Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 116, line 3), I would expect at least one example of *nbw* determined with the divine determinative in the expression under discussion, for the singular *nb*, "lord," when it refers to a god, is often so determined in hieratic (e.g. Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 25, line 15, and *passim*).

On the other hand, $\overline{\text{e}}_{111}$ is also a writing of the plural “all”; cf. Erman, *Neuäeg. Gr.* § 220, Anm., to which add Anast. III i 5, Pap. Sallier I viii 8 (Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 86), and esp. *nṯrw nṯrwṯ nbw* of Pap. Sallier IV verso xvi 4 (*ibid.* p. 97). Gardiner was so influenced by his belief that *nbw* is “lords” in the expression under discussion that in two places in his *LEM* (p. 8a, n. 12a, and p. 125a, n. 13a), he questioned the texts as they stand. I would tend to consider these two passages as evidence for regarding *nbw* as the adjective, the first (Pap. Bologna 1094 ix 2) being “I say to Horus, Isis, and all the gods and goddesses” and the second (Pap. Turin B verso i 4–5) being “to all the gods and goddesses of (taking the sign as the indirect genitive *n* and not as a space-filler) the earth.” The explanation of the absence of the indirect genitive *n* in L.E. hieratic examples of the expression may well be that the adjective written *nbw* may actually in speech have ended in *n* or *m* depending on the dialect. Some support for my position is found also on a Berlin bowl of probable 11th-dynasty date published in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928) Pl. V, where $\overline{\text{e}}_{111}$ $\overline{\text{e}}_{111}$ $\overline{\text{e}}_{111}$ $\overline{\text{e}}_{111}$ is found in line 2. Through some error Gardiner and Sethe (*ibid.* p. 7) failed to render *nb*, which in this case is less likely a writing of *nbw*, “lords,” than of the adjective “all,” yielding the translation “all the gods of the Thinite nome.”

^b (14/8) In spite of the writing *ndnd* and the accompanying determinative, I am inclined to dismiss the possible “your counselor” in favor of “your protector,” *p3y.k ndty* being understood. Some support for this interpretation is found in the writing of the verb “protect” in , “I have come unto you to protect on your behalf” (unpublished inscription from the tomb of Prince Khaemwase; cf. also Günther Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* [Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, “Les temples immergés de la Nubie” XXI (Le Caire, 1938)] p. 54, line 1). It is possible that  of Édouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1886) II 372, is a writing of “protect,” as Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, “Bibliothèque d'étude” XIII [Le Caire, 1942]) p. 40, has taken it. The fact that in our letter the expression is followed by “great shield” further supports my contention.

^c (14/8) For Amon as a shield, cf. Meneptah's Great Karnak Inscription, line 27 (W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I [Washington, D.C., 1906] Pl. 22).

^d (14/8-9) In addition to this example of *nty sdm-f* and those given in Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 847, I can cite only letter No. 28 (45/7), Helck in *ZÄS* LXXXIII (1958) Pl. III, line 10, and Mes S, line 9. For the meaning of the expression *h³n ³t*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 46, where references are given.

^e (14/9) Gardiner in *JEA* XLII 17 translated this passage “thy brothers and thy offspring(?),” but in view of the occurrence of *šḫpr* in non-literary texts with the meaning “acquisition,” “gain” (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 140), it seems likely that in our passage the word may refer not to blood descendants but rather to persons perhaps acquired through adoption. In this connection one might quote Berlin P 10627, lines 9–11 (Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* III [2d ed.] 9): “As for the one who has no children, he acquires for himself another (i.e., as a substitute), an orphan (in order to) rear (*šḫpr*) him.” The most recent discussion of *šḫpr* is by Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 9, n. 13.

^f (14/16) The *sdm.f* form of *iri* with first person suffix subject used to express future volition is found frequently in L.E.: e.g. letter No. 28 (45/5–6 and 14); Pap. Bologna

1086, line 23; Horus and Seth ii 9, xi 2, xii 1; Anast. III i 6; Anast. IV viii 9; *MH* I, Pl. 29, line 57. The volitional nature of *iry-i* is nicely illustrated in BM 10052 viii 21-23 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXX): "The vizier said to him, 'Look, pray, you have received these beatings. If another comes and accuses you, I will act (*iry-i*).' He said, 'If another comes and accuses (me), you will make (*iw-k ir*) every (sort of) terrible punishment against me.' " The protases in both sentences are the same, but the apodoses differ. In the first instance the *sdm-f* form expresses volition on the speaker's part ("I will" instead of "I shall"), whereas in the second the apodosis is conceived of as the logical outcome of the fulfillment of the condition.


^a (15/3) Restoring the preposition *mi* (written perhaps *mitt*) in place of Černý's suggested *m-di*, which could be translated either "nor" (lit. "together with") or "because of."




^b (15/3) *thw*, "brewer" (cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 65*).

ⁱ (15/4) Or does *snt* have the meaning "wife" (cf. Černý in *JEA* XL [1954] 27-28)? I have assumed the omission of a suffix *-f* after *h^c* and construed *ink* with the following clause, a parallel for such anticipatory use of *ink* not introduced by the particle *ir* being Wen. ii 81 (cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, p. 288). In spite of the difficulty involved in assuming the omission of the suffix *-f*, I believe that my translation is preferable to one based on the separation of clauses suggested in Černý's edition, "his sister of my own body," which presumably could be an expression indicating that Khonspatjau's wife was a blood relative of Dhutmose.

^j (15/6) I am at a loss as to what masculine word was intended by the logogram for the Red Crown; possibly it was *ini* of *Wb*. I 92 (4).


^k (15/7) *St* written for *sw* (cf. 28/11).


^l (15/8) For , cf. n. b to letter No. 6 (12/12).

^m (15/8) *Ir wn* is a very rare combination, the only other occurrence known to me being in Pap. Strassburg xxxiii 8 (Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LIII 8 and again in *ZÄS* LXII 43, where he remarks in n. 6: "Die Konstruktion *ir wn* ist freilich seltsam."). My translation "could" is suggested by the context. One wonders whether this *ir* is not somehow linked with the writing of the third future with nominal subject and the *irrealis* *wn iw-f sdm*, for which I know only of examples with pronominal subject (cf. the examples given by Till in *ZÄS* LXIX 112 ff. and Černý, *LRL*, p. 5, line 9). It is possible, of course, that in our passage  is to be read as *ptr*, "see," for in this letter the scribe has twice (14/7 and 8) confused the eye signs  and . It is also possible that a second tense formation is involved, the emphasis being placed on the following *iw* clause; cf. Coptic *ε* used as a second tense element before *ΟΥΝ* (Till, *Koptische Grammatik* [2d ed.; Leipzig, 1961] § 334, and Polotsky in *Orientalia* N.S. XXIX [1960] 409-10).

ⁿ (15/9) For this meaning of *h^c*, cf. *HO*, Pl. LXXX, verso 15.

^o (15/9) Cf. n. a to letter No. 7 (13/6-7).

^p (15/10) *Šm-ii*, Coptic ; cf. letter No. 49 (71/8), Amenemope xii 10, and Goedicke in *MDAIK* XVIII (1962) 32.

^q (15/11) Assuming omission of the preposition *m* before *t3y* and ellipse of *rit* following the second *t3y*. Professor Edgerton has suggested to me that this second *t3y* might be a writing of Coptic *ⲧⲁⲓ*, "here," which also would make sense, though I know of no exact parallel for such a writing of this adverb in L.E. One might compare  in line 6 of the Nauri Decree.

^r (15/11) Assuming a different division of the clauses from that given by Černý. I believe that we have a participial statement of the type *m* (= *in*) + noun + periphrased participle, parallels for which are to be found in d'Orb. iv 7, Wen. ii 61, BM 10403 iii 26 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVII), Mayer A iv 10, BM 10335 verso 17–19 (see Warren R. Dawson in *JEA* XI [1925] Pl. XXXVIII).

^s (15/12) On the conjunctive here, cf. Wentz in *JNES* XXI 306.

^t (16/4) On *iw-ī h3b*, cf. Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 122 w and Stricker in *Acta Orientalia* XVI 83, where the use of *iw-f (hr) sdm* as a synchronous present is discussed.

^u (16/8) One of my students, Mr. John Callender, has suggested the plausible rendition "We know that (he is) a sick man who has never made . . ."

^v (16/9) In place of the questionable *mhn* I suggest *mšc*, "trip," "journey," construed with *ir*, "make," as in letter No. 20 (35/15).

^w (16/14) For the writing of the infinitive with prothetic *i*, cf. n. s to letter No. 4 (8/15–16), and for the meaning "receipt," cf. Pap. Ambras ii 2 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVIII). Could writings of the infinitive with the prothetic element reflect an early substitution of the imperative for the infinitive? On this problem, cf. Edgerton in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 66–67, and Gardiner in *JEA* XLII 18.

^x (16/15) Or perhaps "Your payment has been received and remitted to their coppersmith."

9. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10326

[The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions] of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., [Dhutmose to] the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon, the chantress of Amon Shedemdua, and Hemesheri. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes. [Quote]:

I tell Horus of Kuban, Horus of Aniba, and Atum, the lord of the earth, to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age and to let Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands, my good lord, bring me back alive (from) Yar,^a the place where I am abandoned in this far-off land, and let me fill [my] embrace with you. Quote:

This letter of yours reached me by the hand of the messenger Dhuthotep in year 10, first month of the third season, day 25. I received it and inquired about^b you from him, and he said to me that you are alive and that you are all right. My heart became alive; my eye(s) opened, and I raised my head^c whereas I had been ill.

Now as for your having said the matter of the letters of yours about which you said, "Have they reached you?" so you said; they have reached me all except this letter which you gave to the foreigner Seti, the brother of the fisherman Panufeemneb. This is what^d has not been^e brought to me.

Now I am *all right* with my superior; he does not neglect me. He has caused one *mdkt*-jug to be fixed^f for me charged to five days (i.e., every five days), five 'normal' loaves^g daily, and one *nw*-jar, he receiving five *hin* of beer daily in his wages. Now it (i.e., the beer) has removed^h the illness which was in me.

Do [not] worry about me because of the fact that the children who were with me have returned.ⁱ

And say in (your) heart(s), “. . . ,”ⁱ so you shall say. Indeed I know the nature of your heart. Do not worry about me in any matters. I am all right. Tell Amon, United with Eternity, Amenophis, Nofretari, Mereseger, my mistress, and Amon, Holy of Place,^k to bring me back alive. And place (me) before^l Amon, United with Eternity, and Amenophis and say to them, “You shall bring him back alive.” And tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands to save (me).

‘Weave^l many ‘loin-cloths’^m which are to be for my . . . with him in the mountains.

Now you have wished to speak saying,ⁿ “I am aware of the matter of the documents which are deposited (in) the ‘house of the stairway.’”^o Now as for the documents onto which the sky rained in the house of the scribe Horsheri, my (grandfather), you brought them out, and we found that (they) had not become erased. I said to you, “I will unbind them again.” You brought them down below, and we deposited^p (them) in the tomb of Amennakht, my (great-grand)father. You have wished to say, “I am aware.”

You are not to neglect^q your ‘brethren’ nor your commissions concerning which your superior has written to you together with the foremen who are with you. And take care^r to reprimand^s any man who has quarreled^t with another, until Amon brings (me) back prospering.

Now as for your not having written to me what you have done for the son of Iunufe, as soon as I return, his matter will be partly in my charge.^u Moreover, do not show neglect to the Medjay Kas and give him rations and cause him to weave the fabrics.^v And give your attention to the chariot donkeys^w and to the men who are in the field as well. And dispatch the Medjay Hadnakht and send him to me quickly. And do not let him delay. (I) have written to you for him^x already^y through the Sherden Hori. And I have spoken as well with Heramenpenaf saying, “Send him to me.”

You are to command^z the coppersmith to make spears, you forming a single party^{aa} with Kar. You have copper there. You are to write to me whatever you shall do in writing concerning the commission of your superior and concerning all matters about which [I have written] you.

And you shall tell the craftsman Amenhotep ‘son of’^l . . . , “Make^{ab} the shaft which I told you to make. I will give you its payment,” so you shall say to him.

Now I have spoken with Heramenpenaf concerning the commission of your superior. Let him also speak with you, (but) you (two) shall hold it secret^{ac} from me. And do not speak in the presence of another, for it is because of your not speaking^{ad} with^{ae} one who comes^{af} that you shall rejoice.

You are to look after Nofreti's ass's foal and 'train^{la} it. And give your attention to the daughter of the fowler and do for her all that which ought to be done.^{ah} And tell her my condition and say to her, "Tell Amon to bring him (lit. 'me') back."

(I) have testified to let you know that I am aware (concerning) the copper which I gave to the coppersmith Hori and from which he has made^{ai} the four spears and the balance of which I told you to make as the 'overlays to be fitted^{ai} to the top¹ which I gave him. He said, "I will make it at its proper place," concerning the 19½ (*deben*) of copper which I gave him. Kar gave him 10½ (*deben*) 'when you gave^{la} him a job. May your health be good.

Now as for the stick which you have placed inside a letter, I have placed it there again (to) have it brought back to you again.

Address: The scribe [of] the great and noble Necropolis Tjaroy [to] the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua.

^a (17/9) For *Ycr*, cf. n. *j* to letter No. 1 (2/3).

^b (17/11) *Nḏnd* with the meaning "inquire about" is also found in letter No. 45 (66/15) and in Doomed Prince vi 8.

^c (17/13) On *f3y d3d3* as an expression meaning "be cheered," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XLII 20.


^d (17/16) Grammatically I prefer reading *ir* rather than *in* and would compare the sentence with ones of similar structure in letter No. 21 (36/12), Mes N, lines 34–35, d'Orb. viii 3 (cf. Sethe, *Nominalsatz im Ägyptischen und Koptischen* [Leipzig, 1916] p. 33), Gardiner ostrakon No. 55 verso 1–2 (see Černý and Peet in *JEA* XIII 38–39), Pap. Turin A verso iv 1–2 (Caminos, *LEM*, p. 508). BM 10052 iv 24 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII) provides a close syntactic parallel: *ir p3 m3c nty iw-i dd-t-f*, "The truth is what I shall say." On such equational sentences after *ir*, see Williams in *JEA* XLVII 101. As Edgerton has pointed out (*BASOR* No. 122 [1951] p. 10), the phenomenon of direct juxtaposition is one of the characteristics of L.E. that links it with O.E.

^e (17/16) For the use of *w* to convey the passive, cf. n. *e* to letter No. 5 (9/9).

^f (18/1) In a translation utilized by Leslie Greener in his *High Dam over Nubia* (London, 1962) p. 203, I had rendered *mn* by "be left," but Professor Klaus Baer has suggested the meaning "be fixed," referring me to Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 49, n. 2.

^g (18/2) Baer has pointed out to me the occurrence of *kw n wnmw*, "normal loaves(?)," in Pap. Leiden I 350 verso ii 8 (cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 26).

^h (18/3) Accepting Baer's improvement upon my translation that was used by Greener, *loc. cit.* I cannot, however, quite believe that Baer's suggested "one *nw*-jar holding 5 *hin* of beer" is correct. Would *šsp* ever have been so used in describing how much a vessel contained? My impression is that inanimate objects do not appear as subjects of the verb *šsp*.

ⁱ (18/4–5) Lit. "because of this returning which the children . . . have made," deleting the  after *ir*.

^j (18/5–6) The meaning of the quotation completely eludes me. Could it be "There has been a reproach against Tja[roy]"?

^k (18/9) I.e., the god of the 18th-dynasty temple at Medinet Habu; cf. Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens" XVI [Berlin, 1952]) pp. 71-72.

^l (18/9) Understand *w³h.(i) m-b³h*. For this expression, which also occurs in letters Nos. 13 (25/6) and 14 (28/4), cf. Černý in *BIFAO* XXXV (1935) 42. Presumably a written petition bearing the individual's name was deposited before the god; cf. Černý in Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* ("Brown Egyptological Studies" IV [Providence, 1962]) p. 45.

^m (18/11) Assuming very tentatively the reading *d³iw*, "loin-cloth," after *shl* (cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, Pl. 26, line 7). It is quite possible that the word "clothes" understood generically is preferable (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 3, and Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, pp. 73-74).

ⁿ (18/13) A translation "now you have wished to speak in order that I be aware of the matter," while yielding good sense, is not supported by the use of the first present with old perfective after *r-dd*. The use of *r-dd* to express purpose is, to my knowledge, limited to cases where it precedes the *sdm-f* form (cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 429).

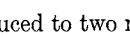
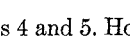
^o (18/13-14) The translation of *r-^crdwy* is a mere guess; the *r-^crd* of C. ost. No. 25521 verso 5 does not seem to be of help (cf. Černý in *ASAE* XXVII [1927] 198). Although *t* in L.E. generally means "house" and not "room" (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXVI [1940] 129, n. 4), it is possible that an underground tomb chamber is referred to here.

^p (18/16-19/1) *Tw-k in-w* and *iw-n w³h.(w)* could also be construed as future, continuing the words of Dhutmose.

^q (19/2) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^r (19/4) For the expression *ib r-k*, cf. Gardiner in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 2, and Jozef Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte* (Louvain, 1959) pp. 135-41.

^s (19/4) *Mdw m-di*, lit. "speak with," may have the nuance "reprimand," "interfere with"; cf. letter No. 16 (32/13) and BM 10052 vi 10 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXIX).

^t (19/5) The writing of the prothetic *i* before *ttt* suggests that the verb at this period had been reduced to two radicals; cf. the writings  and  in *HO*, Pl. LXX 2, lines 4 and 5. However, there are occasional examples of verbs of three or more radicals that have participles with prothetic *i* (e.g. *ismtr* in Turin Judicial Pap. iv 2 [cited from Sethe, *Verbum* II § 895]) or relative forms with prothetic *i* (e.g. *rtks* in *RAD*, p. 72, line 7, for which see Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 119 g; *rshn* in *HO*, Pl. CXV 4, recto 5; *isdm* in Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 393). Edgerton (*BASOR* No. 122, p. 11, n. 8) has explained such anomalies through analogy.

^u (19/7-8) Lit. "I shall return, his matter being half in my hand." For *m-drt* meaning "in the charge of," cf. letters Nos. 36 (56/4) and 47 (69/10) and BM 10068 verso ii 4 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XIV); see also Peet, *GTR* I 70.

^v (19/9) For *nwt* with the meaning "fabrics," cf. Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 286-87.

^w (19/10) The translation "chariot donkeys" was suggested to me by Professor Edgerton and seems to be supported by the absence of the definite article before *mrkbt*. So far as I can determine, *mrkbt* refers only to war chariots or chariots of state and never to carts or wagons (cf. Hilde von Deines in *MIO* I [1953] 14). It is possible that these were donkeys used to transport chariots, an assumption that may have some support in Pap. Koller i 3 (Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 116), where chariots are mentioned in conjunction with asses in connection with the preparation for a Syrian expedition; cf. perhaps also *MH* II (*OIP* IX [1932]) Pl. 75, line 28.

^x (19/12) *H³b r*, "write for," "send for" (cf. A. de Buck in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 57–58).

^y (19/12) For *ⁿ* with the meaning "already," cf. Peet, *GTR* I 158, and Caminos, *LEM*, p. 244.

^z (19/14) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^{aa} (19/14) For the expression *m šm w^c*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 162, and to his reference add BM 10054 recto iii 5 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. VI). In this idiom we do not have the pseudo-verbal construction with *m* + infinitive, which is not found in the case of *šm* in L.E. (cf. Wentz, "The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian," p. 43); it is rather the noun *šm* modified by the adjective *w^c*.

^{ab} (20/2) Taking the first *ir* as an imperative. Cf. verso 18 (20/11); letter No. 35 (54/10); DM ost. No. 321 recto 2 (differing only in the omission of the slanting strokes); *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. XIII, line 97; Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 351. Because in Egyptian the pronouns in such cases are so frequently confused, it is difficult to decide to whom the "I" in *iw-i di* refers, to Butehamon or to Dhutmose.

^{ac} (20/4–5) I take this clause to mean that Butehamon and Heramenpenaf are not to communicate their discussion to Dhutmose lest someone else intercept the letter. I take the *-f* in *h³p-t-f* to be the neuter (cf. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 85). The presence of *-t* before *-f* is unusual since this verb does not contain a final weak radical, but exactly the same phenomenon appears in C. ost. No. 25556, line 8 (cf. Černý in *ASAE* XXVII 201–2): *m-tw-tn h³p-t-f m p³ hrw*. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 405, does give examples, such as *hdb-t-f* and *štp-t-f* (cf. *štp-t-w* of *RAD*, p. 83, line 6), for which he is probably correct in ascribing the presence of the *-t* to metathesis; but such an explanation cannot apply to the two cases of *h³p-t-f*, to *hn-t-f* in BM 10383 i 9 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXII), nor to *šsp-t-f* in Adoption Pap. recto 21 (*JEA* XXVI, Pl. VI). It had occurred to me that possibly in our text the verb *di*, "cause," was omitted before *h³p-t-f*, which could then be construed as a subjunctive *sdm-f* form with the passive in *-tw*; but it would be a bit hazardous to apply such an assumption to all cases. Dr. Nims has suggested to me that, since the final radical of both *h³p* and *šsp* is the labial *p* and the suffix *-f* is also a labial, the *t* may have been inserted to maintain the independence of the two consonants. However, Coptic affords no support for such an explanation.

^{ad} (20/5) For the circumstantialized form of the second tense, cf. n. *j* to letter No. 5 (9/14).

^{ae} (20/6) Or possibly *mdw irm* has the nuance "dispute with" (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XLVIII [1962] 60, n. 10).

^{af} (20/6) Taking *ir ir* as periphrasis of the participle. It is possible that the *ir-tw-f sdm* construction is involved, though incorrectly written, and that the translation should be "until (I) return." However, one can cite other occurrences of the periphrasis of the verb *ir* in the participial form; see e.g. Pap. Leiden 371, lines 11–12 (Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, Pl. VII, and cf. p. 23), and possibly Helen K. Jaquet-Gordon in *JEA* XLVI (1960) 16, line 16.

^{ag} (20/7) *Rim* is a hapax; the suggested translation "train" presupposes a metathetic spelling of *irm*, ancestral to Coptic **ⲭⲟⲣⲓ**, which is used in connection with horses or even a colt in the sense of "urge," "drive" (cf. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [2d ed.] pp. 785–86, particularly his reference to Cat 102). Also note the noun **ⲙⲁⲛⲭⲟⲣⲓ**, "training stable."

^{ah} (20/8) Cf. Horus and Seth iv 9 and Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. XVI, line 7 (cited by Gardiner in *JEA* XVI [1930] 232).

^{ai} (20/10) For *iw-f ir* continuing the relative form, cf. Stricker in *Acta Orientalia* XVI 82.

^{aj} (20/11) Or simply "as the regular overlays." My translation takes *mtr* as old perfective of result.

^{ak} (20/13-14) After *m-dr*, "when," a *sdm-f* form of the verb is expected. I share Gardiner's doubt (expressed in Černý, *LRL*, p. 20a, n. 13a-14a) about Černý's reading but can make no suggestion that suitably fits the traces; *m-dr wn·tn di* does not seem possible. The preceding clause I take to be past rather than future since in the case of the third future one would normally expect $\overline{\text{w}}$ and not $\overline{\text{e}}$ before the nominal subject (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXXII 101).

10. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 196,II

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis [of Million]s of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Tjaroy to the guardian of the great and noble Necropolis of Pharaoh, l.p.h., [K]aroy and to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Bu[te]lhamon. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods, your good lord. Quote:

I *every day* tell Khnum, Satis, and Anukis to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and to cause you to be rejuvenated. I had sent^a to you the letter which I had written to you concerning the spears before yours^b had been sent^c and come to me. You should not cease^d writing to me about your condition. Now if the scribe Pentahunakht comes^e to you saying, "Give it (to) Hori, who has been made to work,"^f you shall not give it to him. The general has said, "Cause him to work on the spears." You are to give him copper to let him work on the spears. May your health be good, 'favored one.'^g

Another matter from the scribe Kenkhnun (to) the scribe Bu[t]eh[amon. I] every day [tell the gods] of the land to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and to cause you to be rejuvenated. Quote:

[Indeed] what is the meaning of this your not having written to me what is (in) your heart? Amon is before you. Would that Hemesheri were here concealed!^h You have writtenⁱ to me, and <do not>^j cease writing me about your condition. May your health be good, 'favored one.'^l

Address: The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis [of Pharaoh, l.p.h.,] Tjaroy to the guardian of the great Necropolis Karoy.

^a (21/8) Read *iw·i h3b* as a second tense with the emphasis on the following *iw bw ir-tw* clause to which it stands in contrast. For $\overline{\text{w}}$ $\overline{\text{e}}$ as a writing of the auxiliary of the second tense, cf. letter No. 36 (56/12). Such superfluous strokes are occasionally found in writings of the active participle also (e.g. Harris Magical Pap. iii 10; Anast. VI, lines 85-86; d'Orb. i 2 and 3). The *iw-tw-f sdm* construction seems a less likely alternative, for it rarely appears as an initial clause (cf. the examples given by Gardiner in *JEA* XVI 232 ff.; an exception is Černý, *LRL*, p. 58, line 7).


^b (21/9) Taking *t3y·tn* as the equivalent of the Coptic possessive pronoun $\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$

(cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 179, and Wente in *JNES* XXI 127, last column). Its feminine gender indicates that "your letter (*š-t*)" is to be understood.

^c (21/10) I suggest translating *h³b* passively in accord with Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, chap. vi, though Erman in *ZÄS* L (1912) 105 and Lichtheim in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*, p. 4, analyze this passage somewhat differently.

^d (21/10) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^e (21/11-12) The first clause of the *wnn . . . iw . . .* sequence seems here to have conditional force, though more frequently it is best translated as a temporal clause. As parallels for the conditional rendering one may cite letter No. 46 (68/6), Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. XVI, line 3, and Pap. Abbott vi 22 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. IV), the last being closely related to a temporal clause.

^f (21/11-12) For *dd b³k-f* there are several possibilities. *Dd* can be taken as a passive participle with a retained object in the form of a noun clause, as I have translated it; or *b³k-f* may be taken as a noun with suffix and translated "Hori, whose work (or 'wages') has been given." For "his work" written *b³k-f*, see letter No. 33 (53/9) and Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* III (2d ed.) 8, No. 3, line 9. I am uncertain, however, whether *dd* can be taken as a passive participle, for of the two examples of *dd* given in Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 374, as passive participles, one, in Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. XLV, line 2 (not Pl. XLII, line 5), may well be active (cf. Edgerton in *JNES* X [1951] 140, n. 24); the other reference I cannot check. A  appears as a passive participle in Gardiner ostracon No. 55 verso 2 (see Černý and Peet in *JEÄ* XIII 38). If *dd* is an active participle (see Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 374, for examples), we should translate "Hori, who gives his work."

^g (21/14) I hesitatingly suggest the reading *hsy*; cf. Černý, *LRL*, p. 52a, n. 15a, and Pap. Ambras i 1 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVIII) and Peet's comments thereon (*GTR* I 178) with regard to cursive writings of this word.

^h (22/2) Regarding *h³p* as old perfective with omission of the feminine ending as e.g. in Anast. III v 3 and the examples given in Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 333.

ⁱ (22/3) Or, less likely, take *h³b-k* with optative force, though in this case the particle *ih* might be expected to precede it. One of my students, Mr. Robert Kennedy, suggests "so that you might write to me."

^j (22/3) Supplying the negative *tm* after *m-tw-k* as in recto 6 (21/10) and letters Nos. 14 (28/7-8), 23 (38/7 and 14), 24 (39/11 and 40/5).

11. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 197,II

[The scribe] of the Necropolis [Tj]araroy (from) the controller [of the] Necropolis Heramenpenaf. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I every day tell Amon-Re, King of the god[s], Amon-Re, King of the go[ld]s (*sic*), Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes to cause you to live, to cause you to be prosperous, and to give you [favor in] the presence of the general, and to let you return alive, prosperous, and healthy [and I fill] (my) embrace with you. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches you, [you shall] look for^a Amenkeni and seek him out.^b Now do not worry [about any pe]ople of yours. They are all right. You are to write to me about your condition.

Address: [The scribe] of the Necropolis, [Tja]raroy (from) the controller Heramenpenaf.

^a (22/14) For *ptr* with the meaning "look for," cf. letters Nos. 28 (47/11 and 16) and 38 (60/12).

^b (22/14) For *wh³* with the meaning "seek out," cf. Pap. Bologna 1094 v 5 and Pap. Valençay No. 2, line 5 (Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 133).

12. PAPYRUS BERLIN 10494

The deputy of the Estate of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Hori (from) the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy and the scribe of the army [of] the Temple of King Usermaare-meramon, l.p.h.,^a in the Estate of Amon Pentahunakht. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. We *every day* tell Amon, Pre, Ptah, and every god and every goddess who rest here to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a great old age, and to give you very many favors in the presence of Amon-Re, King of the gods, this one who looks after^b you. Quote:

We^c have heard that you have returned and have reached the town of Ne,^d that Amon has received you with a good reception and has done for you every (sort of) good. Now we are dwelling here in Medinet Habu (lit. the Temple), and you know the manner in which we dwell,^e both within and without.^f Now the young (employees) of the Necropolis^g have returned. They are dwelling in Ne, while I am dwelling here alone with the scribe of the army Pentahunakht. Please have the men of the Necropolis who are there in Ne assembled and send them to me to this side. List of them for you: Pennestitawi, Neferamon, Horimose, Wenamon, Panakhtenope the son of Panebaḳu, Amenhotep, and Ḳadjadja, a total of seven men. Place them under the supervision of^h the scribe Butehamon. Send them *in haste*. And do not let them delay at allⁱ—together with Pakhor and Audjar, a total of nine men.

And write to us about what you have heard to cause our hearts to be elated.^j Now do not let a youth, whom you shall send^k to dwell here with us like Hereferniutef, take thought or (any) other like him too (an arrival^l of the Meshwesh here is not yet known), who shall speak with^m him. You know that as for whoever comes, it is to this wallⁿ that he turns his face before being handed over.^o Have you given further payment^p to the pilot there?^q

Address: The deputy of the Estate of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Hori (from) the scribe Tjaroy and the scribe of the army Pentahunakht.

^a (23/5) I.e., Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.

^b (23/9) Taking *ptr* to mean "look after" rather than "see" (cf. e.g. 10/15).

^c (23/9) Taking *.tn* for *-n* (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXI 38 and *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. II, *verso* 18 and 21, where *iw.tn* is for *iw-n* [cf. *ibid.* I 2, n. 7]).

^d (23/10) Cf. Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 133, n. 5; for the *badal*-apposition, cf. Spiegel in *ZÄS* LXXI 65 ff.

^e (23/11–12) Lit. “our manner of dwelling in which we are.”

^f (23/12) Cf. *n hnw n bnr* in Pap. Leopold II ii 15.

^g (23/12–13) On *ms-hr*, cf. most recently Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 13, n. 7.

^h (24/1–2) *R-h3t* here has the nuance “under the supervision of” (cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 646, 1; to his example add *RAD*, p. 83, line 6; Černý, *LRL*, p. 45, line 13; Pap. Leiden I 368, line 11 [Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen XLI* 39]).

ⁱ (24/2–3) On *chc . . . m chc nb*, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 261–62.

^j (24/4) Cf. n. *c* to letter No. 2 (3/16).

^k (24/5) Cf. Wentz in *JNES* XX 120–21.

^l (24/6) *Ph* may possibly have the nuance “attack,” the reference being in all likelihood to invasions by marauding bands of Libyans who had already been terrorizing the countryside in the reign of Ramesses IX (cf. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 281, and Peet in *JEA* XII [1926] 258). *Ph* may be either a noun followed by the genitival *n* or an infinitive with *n* for *in* (cf. Caminos in *JEA* XXXVIII 57, n. 49, and to his references add *HO*, Pl. LXVIII 4, verso 1–2, where *n* is definitely written for *in*).

^m (24/7) Or perhaps *mdw irm* means “dispute with”; cf. n. *ae* to letter No. 9 (20/6).

ⁿ (24/8) A similar writing of *inb*, “wall,” is found in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. I, line 8. Perhaps there is in our passage a reference to popular worship of representations of gods on walls (cf. Nims in *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge* [London, 1955] pp. 79–80).

^o (24/9) Taking the verb as *swd* (cf. 11/10 and 53/8) and the form as infinitive used passively, though “before handing over” without an expressed object might just be possible (cf. Anast. III vii 1). Another alternative is to take the verb as *sw3d* and translate “before being made to prosper.”

^p (24/9) On *rdi h3w*, cf. Goedicke in *MDAIK* XVIII 22–24.

^q (24/9) Taking *dy* as corresponding to Coptic **ⲧⲏ** (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XLII 12).

13. PAPYRUS TURIN, UNNUMBERED

The scribe of [the great and noble Necropolis] on the West of Thebes Dhutmose [from] the stonemason Amenopenakht. [In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of A]mon-Re, King of the gods. I [tell Amon-Re-Har]akhti when he rises and sets to cause you to live, to cause . . . this tract of cultivable land^a on^b which I am, to cause . . . , [and I fill] (my) embrace with you. Indeed I have become [impoverished],^{1c} not having made . . . [Shedem]dua saying, “[You have] not sent me one [I am] waiting for^d the [messen]gers. I am send[ing] . . . a servant (to) those who come north saying, “I . . . look after^e this Buteh[amon] . . . and place [me] before^f the god so that [he] may make [for you] . . . the wrath^g from Amon, United with Eternity, . . . like the sending . . . reach you south, and you shall . . . [cause] Amenhotep to come to . . . two full months . . . you did not send You made him as . . . when I sent to you . . . , for I will^h . . . the [good] god, Amon, United with Eternity, . . . [fill] your embrace with me, ill . . . south, I awaiting himⁱ . . . barge to the ground. The town^j of . . . left him, I being delayed for you.^k

[Another matter [from]] . . . [Buteh]amon. In life, prosperity, and health

and in the favor of [Amon]-Re, King of the gods. I tell [Pre-Harakhti] when he rises and sets to . . . when he sails north and when he [sails south] . . . [whom] I see daily to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and [to cause] . . . in the presence of Pa(i)ankh, your lord, and everybody as well . . . good. I will rejoice 'extremely.'¹

^a (25/1) For *k³ht*, "tract," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 41; and for *iht*, "cultivable land," cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 66.

^b (25/1) For *m* with the meaning "on," cf. Henry G. Fischer in *Rev. d'Ég.* XIII (1961) 107, n. 3.

^c (25/2) *Šw³* may perhaps be identical with the verb of *Wb.* IV 435 (1).

^d (25/4) Taking *r-k³* as the compound preposition and what precedes it as [*tw-i ḥ*]-*k(wi)*; cf. Pap. Bologna 1086, line 24 (Wolf in *ZÄS* LXV [1930] 96).

^e (25/5) Or *ptr*, simply "see."

^f (25/6) Cf. n. *l* to letter No. 9 (18/9).

^g (25/7) *B³w* perhaps means "wrath" here rather than "might" (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XLVIII 62, n. 3). There is insufficient context for determining the proper meaning to be given to *m-dr* (= *m-di*); perhaps "through" or "because of" would be better.

^h (25/12) For *p³ wn*, "for," followed by the third future, cf. the examples in Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, pp. 301-2.

ⁱ (25/14) For *r-h³t*, "awaiting" the arrival of someone, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 202, and *Wb.* III 23 (7).

^j (25/15) Or *dmi* may mean "bank" (cf. Goedicke in *JEA* XLIII 79).

^k (25/16) Or "I awaiting you"?

^l (26/5) The reading *r spd sp-sn* and the translation are only guesses.

14. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10417

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose from the prophet of Amenophis, l.p.h., Amenhotep. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes. I *every day* tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and when he sets, Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Amenophis, l.p.h., Nofretari, l.p.h., Amon, United with Eternity, and his Ennead to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a great old age, and very many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, and before the general, your lord. And may Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands bring you back prospering and we fill our embrace with you. Quote:

I have noted all matters concerning which you have written me. As for your having said,^a "Give your attention to the scribe Butehamon, the chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Shedemdua and the children," so you said, they are all right. Do not worry about them. They are alive today; tomorrow is in God's hands. You are the one whom we wish to see.

I tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, to give you favor before the general, your lord, and may Amon bring you back prospering and I fill my embrace with you prospering, danger^b 'removed,'^{1c} Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands hav-

ing saved (you). You are his servant. I place you before^d Amenophis, l.p.h., at every time he appears. "I will protect^e him (lit. you); I will bring him (lit. you) back prospering. He (lit. you) shall fill his (lit. your) eye with the open court of mine,"^f says he. I am writing to let you know. May your health be good.

You are not to cease writing to me about your condition through whatever people shall come south so that our hearts may be elated.

Another matter for the scribe of the Necropolis Tjararoy. Do not worry about the daughter of Hemesheri. She^g is in health. No harm has come to her.

^a (27/12) I do not agree with Černý (*LRL*, p. 27a, n. 12b) that the prothetic combination *i* should be omitted before *dd*. The number of examples of infinitives with the prothetic *i* suggests that *idd* may also be a bona fide infinitive: e.g. *iš(s)p* in letter No. 8 (16/14); *iit*³ in DM ost. No. 244, line 2; *iir* (see Gardiner in *JEA* XXXIV 19); *r-ir* in DM ost. No. 317 verso 2. Whether such forms represent an early borrowing of the imperative for the infinitive I do not know; cf. n. *w* to letter No. 8 (16/14). The writing of the infinitive of *dd* as *r-dd* as in letters Nos. 15 (30/1 and 5), 16 (32/10, 32/12, 33/3), 22 (37/4), and 28 (45/10 and 46/5) perhaps deserves more serious consideration in this connection.

^b (28/3) Gardiner in *JEA* XLII (1956) 20 suggested that *hty* means "danger" and is identical with Coptic **ⲉⲓⲧⲉ**, "fear." The word occurs in letters Nos. 16 (31/15) and 43 (64/5) in similar context.

^c (28/3) The translation of *stn* or *shn*(?) is purely conjectural.

^d (28/4) Cf. n. *l* to letter No. 9 (18/9).

^e (28/5) *S³w* with the nuance "protect" as in letter No. 15 (29/13).

^f (28/6) If *p³ wb³-i* is to be read, we have the very rare construction of definite article + noun + suffix; cf. *p³ pr-f*, "the house of his," in DM ost. No. 303, line 8, *p³ ʿ³-w*, "the greatness of them," in Adoption Pap. recto 18 (see Gardiner in *JEA* XXVI, Pl. VI), and *p³ h^c-w-tn* in William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II* (Boston, 1965) Pl. 10A, line 3. A questionable example is *n³ mtr-i r h³* in Kadesh Poem § 275, which Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 13, rendered "the witnesses to me as regards the fighting"; but see my review of Gardiner's work (*JNES* XXII [1963] 206-7) for an alternative suggestion.

^g (28/11) *St* for *sw* (cf. 15/7).

15. PAPYRUS PHILLIPPS

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose from the prophet of Amenophis Amenhotep son of Amen-nakht of the noble Necropolis.^a In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I say *every day* to Amon-Re, King of the gods, the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak, Pre-Harakhti when he rises and when he sets, to Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, Khnum,^b who has fashioned the great and august Ogdoad who rests in the Promontory of Khefte-ḥi-nebos, l.p.h., and who has made for them the hills in which you are, to Amon of Djeme,^c to Hathor, mistress of the West,

to Amenophis, l.p.h., Nofretari, l.p.h., Amon of the Beautiful Encounter, the King, l.p.h., who wears the White Crown^d and who rests in Khefte-hi-nebos, l.p.h., to give to you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a good ripe old age, and very many favors before the general, your lord; and may Amon bring you back alive, prosperous, and healthy and we fill our embrace with you. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches you, do not^e go forth to see winnowing.^f Indeed you have not been abducted^g at all as a fugitive enemy,^h nor have you been abducted as a henchman. You have been taken in order that advice may be sought of you.ⁱ Stay in this boat. You shall protect yourself against arrow(s) and spear(s)

You are not to abandon us *all*. Indeed you know that you are the father of us *all*. There is no one here from whom we shall inquire about^j our sustenance.^k I am standing before Amenophis, l.p.h., daily, being pure, telling him to bring you back alive, prospering, and healthy. I am writing to let you know. Pennestitawi, Pentaumte, Paby, Heramenpenaf, Sedjaa, Pahertahanakht, and all your brethren, both male and female as well, tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands to bring you back alive, prospering, and healthy.

Another matter from the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon. I tell the gods of the land in which you are^l to bring you back alive, prospering, and healthy and hand you over^m to Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands. Indeed you are his useful servant. Now I do not neglect taking water to him. I am writing to let you know.

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall (write) me a letter in your hand-writing that (I) may know that you are alive. Indeed my eye is blindⁿ since it does not see you. Now all your people are alive, prospering, and healthy; no harm has come to them, from young to old (inclusive).

Address: It is for the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Tjaroy.

^a (28/15) My preference for the translation of *hr* as "Necropolis" rather than "Tomb" would seem to be supported here since it is more likely that the deified king Amenophis would be spoken of as being of the Necropolis rather than of the Royal Tomb. On *hr* as "Necropolis," see Elizabeth Thomas in *JEA* XLIX (1963) 57-63.

^b (29/2) For the local cult of Khnum at Thebes, cf. Ahmad Mohamad Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum* (Glückstadt, 1937) p. 48, and BM stela 153 (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, Part VI [London, 1922] Pl. 42).

^c (29/5) *D*³-*m*³*t* (also in 31/7) was correctly recognized as Djeme by Nelson in *JNES* I 135.

^d (29/7) For *t*³*y h**dt*, cf. Harris Magical Pap. viii 2.

^e (29/10) On *tm*, cf. n. *p* to letter No. 1 (2/9).

^f (29/11) I suspect that *hb* is here used figuratively since warlike, not agricultural, activity seems to be involved. For the word, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 357.

^g (29/11-12) According to Černý in *JEA* XXXI 41, n. *e*, *bn* + passive *sdm-f* does not exist in L.E. However, possible examples aside from the one there questioned by

him (Will of Naunakhte IV, line 3) are BM 10335 verso 21 (*JEA* XI, Pl. XXXVIII), which, however, is questioned by Černý in *JEA* XXIII 188–89, and Mayer A xii 26. It is, of course, possible that this last example as well as the ones in our letter are to be regarded as *bn* + infinitive + suffix object, *bn i³.k* being “there is not an abducting of you.” On the other hand, a fairly certain instance of *bn* + passive *sdm.f* is cited in Frida Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris, 1930) § 66. Professor Edgerton has suggested taking the forms as the future *bn sdm.f*, an idiom *i³ m*, “prevail over,” being involved. The translation of our passage would then be “Indeed you shall not prevail over a fugitive enemy, nor shall you prevail over a retainer.” In terms of the context such a rendition, particularly of the second clause, is not very satisfactory. Furthermore, the idiom for “prevail over” is *i³i m* (cf. Gardiner in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Third Series, I 4, n. 6, and Adolph Klasens in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen XXXIII* [Leiden, 1952] 93, n. 160) and not *i³ m* (cf. Blackman in *JEA* XIX 201). I believe that the writer of our letter is trying to boost Dhutmose’s morale by telling him that he has been taken south as an important individual and not as a mere henchman. In my translation I have tried to distinguish between *i³*, “take away by force,” “abduct” (cf. *Wb.* I 150 [17 and 18]), and *i³i*, “take,” without the connotation of force.

^h (29/11–12) For the construction of *w^cr n hrw*, “fugitive enemy,” cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) § 94 (1).

ⁱ (29/12–13) Lit. “to inquire of matters from you.” A close parallel appears in *HO*, Pl. XCII 1, recto 3.

^j (29/16) For the *iwiw.f sdm* construction here, cf. Wentz in *JNES* XX 120–23. It is possible that *n^cnd^c* may mean simply “ask for” (cf. DM ost. No. 235, line 6, Amenemope xi 19, Anast. I ii 6).

^k (29/16) For *n^ch*, “nourishment,” with suffix, cf. A. de Buck in *JEA* XXIII 159, where he comments on Doomed Prince v 2, and Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 27, n. 2. To translate “there is no one here from whom we shall take advice in order that we might live” would involve a rather unusual separation of *m-di* from *n^cnd^c*.

^l (30/6–7) This may be a reference to petitioning of Nubian gods depicted on temple walls. In the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu such petitioning could have taken place before the Nubian deities depicted at the west end of the south wall of the roof terraces of the temple proper; see *MH* VII (*OIP* XCIII [1964]) Pls. 564–66 and cf. Wentz in *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*, No. 43 (Sept. 1961) pp. 5–6.

^m (30/7) Reading *m-tw-w* in place of Černý’s *m-tw-i* (cf. 31/15–16).

ⁿ (30/11) Note that the word for “eye” is construed as masculine, perhaps *ir* or Coptic **ⲉⲁⲗ** (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [3d ed.] p. 450, Sign D 4).

16. PAPYRUS TURIN 1971

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Dhutmose from the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon and the chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Shedsu (*sic*) and the chantress of Amon Hemesheri. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. We say *every day* to Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes, Pre-Harakhti when he rises and when he sets, to Amon, Uni[ted] with Eternity, to Amon of Djeme,^a Amon of the Throne(s)

of the Two Lands, the great and august Ogdoad that rests in Khefte-*hi-nebos*, Mereseger, mistress of the West, Hathor, mistress of Deir el-Bahri^b and the mistress of the hills in which you are, Amenophis, l.p.h., Nofretari, l.p.h., and Amon of the Beautiful Encounter, I standing in his open court daily, unweakening,^c praying^d in their name(s) saying to give you very many favors before the general, your lord. "Indeed as long as he is favored^e with you (lit. them)," (I) say to them, "he shall become well-off in whatever place." And may the gods of the land in which you are save you from every danger^g of this land and hand you over to Amon of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands, your lord, and we fill our embrace with you. Quote:

I have heard all matters concerning which you have written me through the mouth of the workman Heramenpenaf saying, "Do not be neglectful in taking water to Amon of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands." I do (it) two to three times in the decade. I am not neglectful in taking water to him. Now it is good that you turn your heart to him^h so that he may turn to you his heart without becoming crossⁱ at all.

As for your saying, "I shall not be silent to you at all about the matter of the spears," so you said, I wrote the letter and gave it to the guardian Karoy for the 'specification'¹ of spears while he was dwelling in Ne. I said to him, "I will not forge for myself while I am dwelling here. I have made the 'specification' of spears. Find out^k the boat and the man to whom you shall give this letter and write his name on it," so I said to him. He said to me, "It is to Pa(y)shuuben that I handed them over," so he said to me. Am I to know what he has done with them?

As for your saying the matter of the Medjay of the Necropolis Kasy, nobody has interfered with him.^l He is working on his commission. Do not worry about him.

As for your saying the matter of this son of Iunufe saying, "You have not written me about his condition," I have treated his matter with his 'man.'^{1m} He is with them. Do not worry about him.

Now the children are all right. Hemesheri and her daughter are all right. No harm has come upon them. All your people are alive, prospering, and healthy. You are the one whom they tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands to bring back alive, prospering, and healthy, and we shall fill our embrace with you. I am writing to let you know through the Medjay Hadnakht.

First month of the third season, day 20, arrival of Heramenpenaf.

Address: The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Tjaroy from the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon.

^a (31/7) Cf. n. c to letter No. 15 (29/5).

^b (31/9) For *dsrt* designating Deir el-Bahri, cf. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces*, pp. 61-62.

^c (31/12) *Kn* for *gn*, comparable with *sknn* for *sgnn* (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 345).

^d (31/12) For the sail determinative of *sm*^{3c}, cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, Pl. XXIV, line 8, and Hellmut Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duauf* ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XIII [Glückstadt, 1944]) p. 33.

^e (31/13) Or possibly the *wnn* clause is better rendered as conditional; cf. n. *e* to letter No. 10 (21/11-12).

^f (31/13) The *w* of *m-di-w* refers to the gods and hence is equivalent to "you" in my translation.

^g (31/15) On *hty*, "danger," cf. n. *b* to letter No. 14 (28/3).

^h (32/4) Cf. Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* IV 117, n. 7.

ⁱ (32/5) *ty*, old *3d*; cf. *Wb.* I 24 (13).

^j (32/7) *Wb.* I 304 (14) suggests that *wp* is a designation for spear-maker, but this suggestion can hardly hold for letter No. 50 (72/11), where the word appears again. The word is probably identical with that found in the common expression *wpt-st*, which Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 29, n. 4, rendered "details of it." Gardiner (*ibid.* p. 50, n. 1) quoted a *p³ wp*, showing the masculine gender as in the letters. Note also the *p³ wp* . . . of BM 10054 verso iv 1 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. VIII; see also *GTR* I 71, n. 40). My translation "specification" is conjectural. Another possibility is "itemization."

^k (32/9) For the imperative of *rḥ* with this meaning, cf. Hermann Kees in *ZÄS* LVII (1922) 105.

^l (32/13) For *mdw m-di*, cf. n. *s* to letter No. 9 (19/4).

^m (32/16) Or possibly to be understood for *ṯ(ṯ)ṯ(ṯ)*, "disputant."

17. PAPYRUS GENEVA D 192

The singer of the general Pentahures to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose, the singer Hemesheri, and the chantress of Amon Shedemdua. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I every day tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets and every god and every goddess by whom I pass to cause you to live, to cause you to live (*sic*), to cause you to be prosperous, to cause you to be healthy, and to let us return alive^a and I fill my embrace with you.^b Quote:

I am all right today; tomorrow is in God's hands. Tell Amon, United with Eternity, and every god of my town to preserve me^c with my lord. And write through the messengers of my lord who come that my heart may be elated.

Address: The singer Pentahures to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose.

^a (33/16) For the *-tw* ending of the first person plural old perfective in L.E., cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 334, to which add *hn-tw* of BM 10053 verso iii 19 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXI).

^b (34/1) *Im-n* for *im-tn*; cf. letter No. 6 (12/10), where *n-n* is for *n-tn*, and cf. *tw-n* for *tw-tn* in Pap. Leiden I 365 verso 1 (Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI 37).

^c (34/3) Read *šd wi*; for this writing of the first person singular dependent pronoun, cf. n. *n* to letter No. 1 (2/7).

18. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 197,III

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe Tjararoy. Quote:

I have noted all matters about which you have written me. As for your having written saying, "I have accomplished all work and all commissions of my lord which were charged to me. I do not slacken," so you said. It is all right, what you have done. You should do thus^a *henceforth*.^b As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall accomplish all work and every commission of mine which are charged to you and do them. Do not let me find fault with you.^c Please take note of it.

Address: The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy.

^a (34/12) On the idiom *ir m mitt*, cf. Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. XLIX, line 5, cited in Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* IV 119, n. 12.

^b (34/12) On *m dwn*, "henceforth," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXII 176.

^c (34/14) The *n-k* is dative of disadvantage; cf. n. *m* to letter No. 3 (6/4).

19. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 196,I

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy. Quote:

What is the matter of the . . . s of the Necropolis who used to give bread-rations (to) the Meshwesh 'nearby'^a that you do not let^b them give them bread-rations now. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall see the one who used to give bread-rations to the Meshwesh 'nearby' and intrust them (i.e., the rations) to Akhmenu to have him withdraw bread-rations for the Meshwesh from them. Please take note of it.

Address: The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe Tjararoy.

^a (35/4) I have tentatively taken *rw* here and in verso 1 (35/6) as an adverb to be related to the noun *rw* meaning "proximity" (cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* [Paris, 1916] pp. 12-13). The spelling and the absence of plural strokes do not favor taking the word as an active participle of the verb "ascend."



^b (35/4) For the use of the conjunctive after *ih t3 mdt* ("what is the matter . . . that . . .?"), cf. letter No. 47 (69/1-2); see Wente in *JNES* XXI 304, n. 5, on the use of the conjunctive to express result.

20. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 197,V

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.[h., to] the scribe Tjaroy. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall send some cloth and many 'bound' rags^a And do not let them 'go to waste,'^b for they shall be made^c into bandages with which to wrap up men. You know about this journey which I am going to make.^d Haste them^e to me. Do not let them delay either on your part. Please take note of it.

Address: [The gen]eral

^a (35/13) On *isw*, "rags," cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 31. The following group, , occurs several times in BM 10068 recto ii 7 ff. (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. IX), and Peet (*GTR* I 99) suggests reading it as *m ʕk*, "bound." In *RAD*, p. 48, line 6, there appears , which is possibly to be rendered "one pair of sandals of twisted material." The *m* before *ʕk* in our letter and in BM 10068 is probably the *m* that may precede the participle (cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [3d ed.] § 393).

^b (35/14) I have no suggestion for the reading of the verb. The meaning is inferred from the context.

^c (35/14) For the *iwḥw-f sdm* construction here, cf. Wente in *JNES* XX 121.

^d (35/15) *Ncy* is here used as is the Coptic auxiliary *na*. I know of two other L.E. examples in which *ncy* has this force, Pap. Strassburg 24 V recto 5 and verso 2 (Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LIII 18–19), but not until it is used in Roman demotic does this construction reappear (cf. Wente, "The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian," pp. 37–38).

^e (35/16) For *ʕs* as a transitive verb, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) § 337 (1).

21. PAPYRUS BERLIN 10487

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy. Quote:

I have noted all matters about which you have written 'me.¹ As for your^a having said this matter of these two Medjay saying, "They said these^b words," join up with Nuteme and Payshuuben as well, and they shall send and have these two Medjay brought to this house and get to the bottom^c of their words in short order. If they find out that (it is) true, you shall place them (in) two baskets and (they) shall be thrown^d (into) this water^e by night. But do not let anybody of the land^f find out.

Another matter: As for Pharaoh, l.p.h., *how* shall he reach this land?^g And of whom is Pharaoh, l.p.h., superior still?^h Moreover, these three full months I have sentⁱ a barge, but you have not sent me a *deben* of gold or a *deben* of silver either.^j It is *all right*. Do not worry about^k this which he has done.

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall supply^l a *deben* of gold or a *deben* of silver and send it^m to me by barge.

Forwarding address: The general's controller Payshuuben to the general's scribe Kenkhnun.

^a (36/5) Over the *k* of *ir-k* I would read perhaps the book-roll; cf. letter No. 33 (53/14).

^b (36/6) For this writing of the plural demonstrative adjective, cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 122, *pace* Gardiner in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1912–1913, p. 59, n. 4.

^c (36/8) For *in phwy*, "get to the bottom of," cf. Pap. Abbott vi 19 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. IV). Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 513–14, takes this passage as having the nuance "put a stop to."

^d (36/10) Regarding the *w* of *mtw-w* as expressing the passive, cf. n. *e* to letter No. 5 (9/9).

^e (36/10) On *p³y mw*, cf. n. *l* to letter No. 5 (9/16).

^f (36/11) I am tempted to see in *rmt nb n p³ t³* the ancestor of the demotic expression meaning "anybody whatsoever," but Peet (*GTR* I 70) has been justifiably cautious in so translating the L.E. expression. Moreover, in the parallel passage of letter No. 34 (54/3) the demonstrative *p³y* is used in place of the definite article. However, in *HO*, Pl. XXIII 4, verso 2, the phrase comes very close to having the same meaning as the demotic expression. See also *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, II, Pl. V, verso 5, where (n) *p³ t³* has the meaning "whatsoever."

^g (36/11-12) Following Gardiner's translation in *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 314. I had at one time considered as a possible rendition an utterance casting aspersion upon the pharaoh's ancestry ("As for Pharaoh, *how* has he reached this earth?"), but *p³y t³* is, I believe, more likely the land of Nubia; cf. letter No. 16 (31/15), where *p³y t³* refers to Nubia.

^h (36/12) On the construction of this sentence involving direct juxtaposition after *ir*, cf. n. *d* to letter No. 9 (17/16).

ⁱ (36/13) The verb *rdi* occasionally has the meaning "send": of persons, Sinuhe B 157 and BM 10052 v 5 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII); of letters, Paul C. Smither in *JEA* XXXI 7, n. 9; and of boats, Černý, *LRL*, pp. 59, lines 11-12, and 72, line 13, and Wen. ii 63 (where I see no reason to assume the ellipse of a verb after *m-di* as Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, p. 190, n. 3, suggests). The emphasis of the second tense is upon the following *iw bwpw-k di* clause, and we might more idiomatically render the passage "moreover, these three full months, although 'I' have sent a barge, you have not sent."

^j (36/14) For the meaning of *m mitt* after a negative, cf. n. *n* to letter No. 4 (8/5).

^k (36/14) After *h³ty-k* perhaps assume only the omission of *m*; cf. letter No. 1 (2/9).

^l (36/15) For *r³r*, "supply," cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 452.

^m (36/16) *³In-f* is infinitive with suffix object; cf. n. *g* to letter No. 1 (2/1).

22. PAPYRUS TURIN 1975

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe of the 'great' Necropolis Tjaroy. Quote:

I have noted all matters about which you have written me. As for this your having written saying, "I have placed the papyrus-rolls before this great god in order that he may decide^a upon them with a favorable decision," so you said, it is all right, your having written (thus). As soon as [my] letter reaches you, you shall join up with Pentahunakht, this scribe, concerning the matter of this^b Akhmenu. (As for) what he will tell^c you to do, you are to assemble^d men for it and do it. Now as for your having written saying, "Let a job be given to this coppersmith," I have written (to) the scribe^e Pentahunakht (to) have him give (it)^f to him.

Address: The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy.

^a (37/6) For *wḏ*, "decide," cf. John W. B. Barns in *JEA* XXXV 71 and Goedicke in *MIO* VIII (1963) 339-67, where the Old Kingdom usage of the verb is discussed in detail.

^b (37/9) I prefer taking the p^3 as possibly for p^3y and translating "this Akhmenu," whose name occurs elsewhere in these letters (see Černý, *LRL*, p. 75, No. 1).

^c (37/9) I regard *nty iw:f dd* as in anticipatory emphasis, the clause being resumed by the pronoun *f* in the next line (*r:f* and *ir:f*). Such absence of the definite article before *nty* in L.E. is paralleled, e.g., in BM 10068 recto v 17 and vi 10 and verso i 25 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pls. XII and XIII), BM 10052 iv 24 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII), Turin Strike Pap. (*RAD*, p. 45, lines 1 ff.), a Cairo ostrakon (see Černý in *JEA* XV 196), Pap. Turin A verso iv 2 (Caminos, *LEM*, p. 508), Oriental Institute ostrakon No. 16987 recto 1 (see Černý in *JEA* XXIII 187).

^d (37/10) For this use of the conjunctive, cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^e (37/12) Assuming *h³b-i (n) sš*, though, if the dot following *h³b* is not to be taken seriously, *h³b* could also be taken as an imperative, "send the scribe."

^f (37/12) Taking *di-f* following *di* as the *sdm:f* form and assuming ellipse of the pronominal object after *di:f n:f*. On the other hand, it is possible that the *di* of *di:f* is to be taken as infinitive object of the preceding *di* with *f* being the suffix object of the infinitive (cf. n. *g* to letter No. 1), lit. "(to) cause the giving of it to him." For *di* as infinitive with suffix pronoun, cf. *di-w* in letter No. 43 (64/14 and 16) and *di-k* in Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, p. 1, line 6.

23. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10300

The second prophet of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Heḳanufe to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years Tjertja. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell every god and every goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a great old age, and very many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, your lord.

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, Amon, United with Eternity, and all gods of Thebes to save me and bring me back to Ne alive and I shall fill (my) embrace with you. You are not to cease writing to me about your condition. May your health be good.

Another matter for the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years Tjertja (from) the servant of the general Penhershefi. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets daily and every god and every goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a great old age, and very many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, your lord who looks after^a you.

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall tell Amon to bring me back. You are not to cease writing to me about your condition. May your health be good.

Address: The second prophet of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Heḳanufe to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjertja.

^a (38/13) On the meaning of *iptr*, cf. n. *b* to letter No. 12 (23/9). Although, as pointed out in n. *t* to letter No. 9 (19/5), there are examples of participles of verbs of more

than three radicals with the prothetic *i*, it seems possible that the writing *iptr*, which appears also in letters Nos. 37 (57/7) and 48 (70/14), is indicative of the loss of the radical *t* as in Coptic πωπε. Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti*, p. 78, points to the fact that *pr-f* is mistakenly written as *ptr-f* by two scribes. See also Gerhard Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur* ("Ägyptologische Forschungen" XXI [Glückstadt, 1960]) § 206.

24. PAPYRI TURIN 1974+1945

The second prophet of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Heḳanufe to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Tjuroy. In life, prosperity and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. [Quote]:

[I] every day [tell] Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets daily and every god and every goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a great old age, and many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, your lord, and let me see you^a when I have returned alive and fill my embrace with you. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall not cease writing me about your condition through anybody^b who shall come northward. And you shall tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, to bring me back.

The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis of Millions of Years Tjuroy from the servant of the second prophet of Amon Penhershefi. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets daily and every god and every goddess by whom I pass to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and to cause you to be in the favor of gods and men. Quote:

Hemesheri^c is alive; she is in life, [prosperity, and health]. Do not worry about her. You are the one whom she wishes to see and whose condition she wishes to hear about [daily]. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, to bring me back alive. You are not to cease writing me about your condition through whoever shall come. May your health be good.

Address: The second prophet of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Heḳanufe to the scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Tjuroy.

^a (39/9) Emending *i* to *k* with Černý, *LRL*, p. 39a, n. 9b.

^b (39/12) I do not believe that an emendation is absolutely necessary at this point, for *nty nb* by this time seems to have become an expression meaning "anybody" (cf. Gunn in *JEA* XLI 88).

^c (40/2) The writing of *·tw* in the name Hemesheri is strange and is possibly to be interpreted as the old perfective ending of the third person feminine singular.

25. PAPIRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 196,IV

. . . controllers of the Necropolis . . . all 'the favors'^a about which you have written me. As for their having said, "Give the money (to) Hori . . ." ". . .

the son of Amenpanufe, the *reis* of the crew," you said. They gave (to)^b me three *deben* of silver to pay for . . .

. . . 'violate'^c Hadnakht. I have sent him (to) you. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall . . . '[Shed]'suhor, the son of mine, and you shall do this work with him. Indeed . . . today.^d They gave (it) while it was (for) you that I was looking out. Do not let^e (me) return and find . . . you (to) do this work for . . . I will [not let]^f myself delay at all. See, (I) have written (to) make testimony (for) you.^g

Address: . . . 'from' the scribe Tjaroy.

^a (40/12) One expects *mdt nb*, which occurs frequently in these letters in the expression "I have noted all matters about which you have written me," but the existing traces do not favor this reading.

^b (40/15) The dative *n* is omitted before the suffix in two other cases in this letter, before *·tn* in recto 4 and verso 1 (41/1 and 7); cf. also letter No. 32 (53/5) and DM ost. No. 554 verso 5.

^c (40/16) Possibly restore the verb *thi*, "violate," before *Hd-nht*.

^d (41/4) For this writing of *hrw*, "day," cf. Gardiner, *LES*, p. 63a, note to Wen. i 21.

^e (41/4) Taking *m-di* as negative imperative, which seems likely in view of the fact that a conjunctive with first person subject immediately follows. However, we are then left with *iw iir-i nw·tn*, a circumstantialized second tense without an adverbial adjunct. I therefore suggest that we are to understand *nw n·tn* rather than *nw·tn* since the preposition *n* is omitted elsewhere before suffixes in this letter (cf. n. *b*). *N·tn* would then be the required adverbial adjunct. For *nw n*, cf. n. *p* to letter No. 5 (10/3).

^f (41/6) A negative is demanded (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 261). If the seated man after *·h^c* is to be taken seriously as the suffix *·i*, I would suggest the restoration [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] and translate "I will not let myself delay at all." If the seated man is not to be taken seriously, I would suggest the restoration *bn iw-i ·h^c*, "I shall not delay at all."

^g (41/7) Understand *ptr h3b·(i) (r) ir (n)·tn mtr* (cf. 70/3-4).

26. PAPYRUS GENEVA D 187

The steward, Mayor of Ne, and troop-commander of the troops . . . atref [to] the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King [of the gods, your lord], every day. Quote:

I have noted all matters about which you have written [me. As for your saying,]^a "I have caused this workman to say . . . although^b there is truth in his words," so you said, have you not heard . . . relate that right^c is one who has spoken in privacy? If your superior shall have returned^d . . . '[do not let]^e him depart from you. You shall send this man in 'the' . . . passes by^f and bring my retainer with you . . . If I find that this workman 'has been' right . . . [with regard to] his having beaten my retainer, I shall give to him . . . because of them. But if I find out that my [retainer] is right . . . beating him violently,^g I shall let you see what I shall do [to him] . . . him. Indeed the man

... 'has been neglecting'^h work, he being in mourningⁱ ... harvest is left to spoil.^j

Address: The Mayor of Ne and major-domo to the scribe of [the Necropolis] Tjaroy.

^a (41/13) Assuming omission of some words introducing the addressee's statement; restore perhaps *ir p³y-k dd* (cf. 32/14) or simply *p³y-k dd*, which may fit the lacuna better than *p³ dd ir-k*.

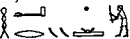
^b (41/14) *Hr iw* frequently means "although" (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 243). Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 120 notes that in all the examples he gives, *hr iw*, "although," is followed by the *sdm-f*, but it may also introduce non-verbal clauses (e.g. in Anast. VI 15, Pap. Sallier I iv 1 [Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 80], and the pseudo-verbal construction in Pap. Lansing iv 9-10). However, since *hr iw* does not always have concessive force (cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 288), it is also possible that "and there is truth in his words" is a proper translation.

^c (41/15) On *m³c-tw*, "right," cf. Wen. i x + 16, George Foucart, *Le tombeau d'Amon-mos* (*MIFAO* LVII, 3^{me} fasc.) 4^{me} partie (1935) Pl. XXXI, Gardiner's comments in *JEA* XIX 26, n. 9, and Černý's remarks in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, p. 42.

^d (41/16) Since *iw* rarely appears as an infinitive in L.E. (see Wente, "The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian," p. 130, n. 3, for the few certain examples), it is probable that *iw* here is an old perfective, and in my translation I have tried to convey the temporal quality of this form. I know of only one other example of *ir iw-f* + old perfective: *ir iw-k hd(b)-tw iw-k h³c-tw r p³ mw iw nim wh³-k*, "If you are killed and cast into the water, who will look for you?" (BM 10052 iii 16 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVII]).

^e (41/16) Perhaps restore *m-di*, "do not let," after *iw*.

^f (42/1) The lacuna seems too long for *m p³[y-f] sn*, "when he passes by."

^g (42/5) Possibly a better transcription would be , perhaps for *hwr^c*; cf. Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 10, n. 14, and *Wb.* III 56 (13).

^h (42/6) I do not understand the traces before *h³c(?)*. The construction appears to be the first present with infinitive. In some cases the first present with infinitive may be used to convey activity begun in the past but still being carried on, e.g., *iw-w dd n-f n³y-k rm^t t³w imnt*, "They said to him, 'Your men have been robbing the West'" (BM 10052 xii 4-5 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXII]); cf. Coptic usage of the first present as discussed by D. W. Young in *JNES* XX 115-19.

ⁱ (42/7) Taking *ihy* to mean "mourning" as apparently in C. ost. No. 25515 verso iii 6, though it can mean "rejoicing" as well. On the ambivalent nature of this word, see Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* III 54.

^j (42/7) Assuming the reading of *ik* with evil-bird determinative and the equation of *ik* with *3k*; cf. BM 10053 verso i 9 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XIX, and *GTR* I 120).

27. PAPYRUS TURIN 1979

The scribe of the treasury of the Estate of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Painufenufe to the scribe [of the Necropolis] Tja[roy]. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the fav[or] of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I every day tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes to give you

life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a good ripe old age, and very many [. . .] favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, your good lord. Quote:

The prophet of Sobek has gone forth^a from here^b to proceed to the country, you having come to an agreement with him concerning the matter of Kassu. Now see, (I) have heard that you have come in order that you might take him. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall let this man go until the prophet of Sobek has returned. Indeed he has gone forth from here having provided for his household.^c Now a brother of mine is this [man, and]^d I will write to him, and he shall come to take up his case^e with you. Yield! Do not make a claim^e against this man in opposition to^f me until he has come to take up his case with you.

Address: The scribe of the treasury of the Estate of Amon Painufenufe to the scribe Tjaroy.

^a (42/15) In spite of the several strokes following the *r* of *ir*, I believe that this is a writing not of the *ir-tw-f sdm* form but rather of the second tense. As mentioned in n. *a* to letter No. 10 (21/8), *ir-tw-f sdm* rarely appears as an initial clause, and it would indeed be strange to have it as an initial clause followed by a *iw sdm-f* form. A number of other examples may be cited as parallels for *ir-f sdm* followed by *iw sdm-f*: e.g. letter No. 4 (7/11), BM 10052 iv 10 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVII), Berlin P 8523 recto 5 (Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke* III [2d ed.] 12), Anast. VI 16–17, *RAD*, p. 54, line 17, *HO*, Pls. XLII 3, verso 3–4, and LXXI 1, recto 6–7. We might more idiomatically render the sentence as “When the prophet of Sobek went forth from here to proceed to the country, you had come to an agreement . . .”

^b (42/15) *Dy*, “from here”; cf. also recto 10 (43/3) and *RAD*, p. 54, line 16.

^c (43/4) On *pr*, “household,” cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, pp. 30 and 38. Or render the clause “he having left orders in his house.”

^d (43/5) Or “make his plea” here and below (43/7).

^e (43/6) The translation of *thm* as “claim” is a guess influenced by Peet’s rendition of Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. IX, line 4, in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, p. 126.

^f (43/6) This meaning of *m k³* also in letter No. 41 (62/7 and 10).

27A. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10433

. . . the scribe Tjaroy. Quote:

. . . see the illness . . . the guardian of mine who shall . . . remainder collected, and you shall make for him . . . You shall seek it out and write me . . .

Address: . . . the scribe Tjaroy.

28. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10375

The fan-bearer on the King’s right, royal scribe, general, high priest of Amon-Re, [King of the gods], Vice[roy] of Kush, overseer of the southern foreign lands, overseer of granaries of Pharaoh’s granaries, and [leader] of Pharaoh’s troops, [Pai]lankh (from) the two chief workmen, the scribe of the

Necropolis Butehamon, the guardian [Kar], and . . .^a In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. We say *every day* to Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes, Pre-Harakhti when he rises and when he sets, to Amon, United with Eternity, and his Ennead, the great and august Ogdoad that rests (in) Khefte-*hi-nebos*, Mereseger, mistress of the West, and the gods of the land^b in which you are to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime and a good ripe old age, to give you [very many] favor[s before] Amon-Re, King of the gods, your lord, l.p.h., and may Amon bring you back prospering and you fill your embrace with Ne and we fill our eye(s) with the sight of you when you have returned alive, prospering, and healthy. Quote:

We have noted all matters about which our lord has written us. As for this letter having been sent to us^c by the hand of Hori, the Sherden, this messenger of our lord, the scribe Butehamon^d ferried across and received it from^e him in the first month of the third season, <day> 18. I assembled the two chief workmen, the scribe Butehamon, the guardian Kar, and the workmen of the Necropolis. I stood in their midst and read it to them. They said, "We will do,^f we will do according to what our lord has said," including the oldest of them and the youngest of them. Now as I was going^g from Ne (to) bring back^h the men who had been dwelling there,ⁱ I found the workmen Amenpanufe and Heramenpenaf, these two men who used to be there^j in the company of their lord in the south land.^k They said to me, "We have returned. It is our lord who has sent us to the place where we are,^l he having caused us to bring a letter."

The scribe Butehamon received the letter. I summoned the two chief workmen, this guardian, and the men of the Necropolis who were under their supervision,^m including the oldest of them and the youngest of them, and I read it to them. They said, "We will do, we will do according to what our lord has said," it being in the first month of the third season, day 20, that this letter reached us.

Now we have noted our lord's having written us saying, "Do not be neglectful of this commission," so said he, our lord, (and he did not 'say',ⁿ "How^o have (I) written you previously when I was going south?")^p and saying,^q "Send some of the clothes that have been found.^r It is after I have departed that you shall send them after me," so said he, our lord.

Has not^s the scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose said report to you concerning our having searched for a transport boat^t and not having found (it) right away, for it had become sunk when we reached Ne and when it was said^u to him that you had departed^v before we reached^w our mistress? She said to the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy saying, "He said to you, 'Come after me.'^x " We handed over the clothes to our mistress. She said to the scribe Tjaroy, "Are

you not going with them, the clothes, for it is you who shall hand [them] over to your lord?" so said she, our mistress, to him. Now after (the manner of) ten-thousand servants of our lord who hearken to him like us, inde[ed] we are [ac]-complishing all commissions of our lord. We are heedful of him.^z Do we not respect^y all commissions of his which we are doing? Then Amon-Re, King of the gods, your lord, shall give us favor before^z you as well. If we do not work for you with our heart(s) and mind(s),^{aa} we shall write to let our lord know.

Another matter from the workmen of the great and noble Necropolis to our lord. We have noted all matters about which our lord has written us, our lord's having written us saying, "Go and do for me a commission^{ab} for which you have never yet^{ac} gone and seek it out until (I) reach you," said he, our lord. "What is this about^{ad} that (i.e., the place) which you know,^{ae} you having been in it already?^{af} Leave it alone. Do not tamper with^{ag} it," said he, our lord.

As for this scribe who used to be here before us, he being the one who gives, he knows an inspector^{ah} who is an influential man,^{ai} his father having testified concerning it.^{aj} He^{ak} is with you. Now as soon as he puts the testimony before us also, we shall spend from ten to twenty days while he looks for^{al} an inspector daily until he finds (one).

Now see you have written saying, "Uncover^{am} a tomb among the foremost tombs^{an} and preserve its seal until (I) return," so said he, our lord. We are executing commissions. We shall cause you to find it (still) affixed.^{ao} Made ready is that which we know. You are to dispatch^{ap} the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy to cause him to come so that he may look for an inspector for us. Indeed we get going^{aq} and go astray,^{ar} not knowing a place for our feet.^{as}

Now may Amon-Re, King of the gods, do for you every sort of good, and you shall not become lacking^{at} in anything.^{au} I am writing to let our lord know through the Medjay of the Necropolis Hadnakht—in the first month of the third season, day 29.

Address: The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., (from) the foremen of the Necropolis.

^a (44/6) In the lacuna after the restored name *K3r* I would expect *n3 rmf ist*, as below (45/4) and in letter No. 30 (50/4), but the scant traces at the end, as Černý gives them (*LRL*, p. 44a, n. 6c-7a), do not suit very well the seated-man determinative of *ist*.

^b (44/11) For "the gods of the land," cf. n. *l* to letter No. 15 (30/6-7).

^c (45/1) Or are we to read *p3 h3b iir-f n-n*, "as for his (i.e., our lord's) having written us"?

^d (45/2-3) Butehamon refers to himself in the third person. In *iw-i twt* corrected over *iw-f twt* (45/3) he uses the first person; then he refers to himself by name (45/4) and continues with the first person (45/5).

^e (45/3) *N*, "from," after *šsp* (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 60, n. 7).

^f (45/5-6) For this use of the *sdm.f* form of *iri*, cf. n. *f* to letter No. 8 (14/16).

^g (45/7) Understand *tw-i (m) ncy. Wb.* II 206 (12) gives only the meaning "aus"

for *m* after *n*^c*i*, but perhaps in this letter the meaning is "now while I was walking in Ne."

^h (45/7) Or, if the omitted preposition is *hr* rather than *r*, translate "bringing back" rather than "to bring back."

ⁱ (45/7) For the relative pronoun *nty* followed by the *sdm*-f, cf. n. *d* to letter No. 8 (14/8-9) and Grapow in *ZÄS* LXXXIII (1937) 52, n. 1. A different interpretation of *nty hms*-f is proposed by Wolf in *ZÄS* LXIX 112.

^j (45/9) For *dy* meaning "there," cf. n. *q* to letter No. 12 (24/9).

^k (45/9-10) The evidence here indicates that *t3 rsy* probably did not include Thebes; rather it refers to Nubia or a part thereof.

^l (45/11) Taking *nty tw-tn im* for *nty tw-n im* as in letter No. 12 (23/12); cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXI 38.


^m (45/13) (*R*)-*h3t*, "under the supervision of"; cf. n. *h* to letter No. 12 (24/1-2).

ⁿ (46/1) For the conjunctive with past meaning, cf. Gardiner in *JNES* XII 149 i, Helck in *MIO* IV (1956) 167 C 1, and Wente in *JNES* XXI 304, n. 3. I take the words beginning with *mtw*-f *tm dd* and continuing to *r-dd* of recto 22 (46/3) as parenthetical.

^o (46/1-2) For *ih m* + noun, cf. BM 10052 xiv 18 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXIV) and Wen. ii 79.

^p (46/2) Or *iw-i m hnt* may mean simply "when I was south" (cf. Wente, "The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian," pp. 134-35).

^q (46/3) I would take this *r-dd* as introducing what Paiankh actually said in his letter, which thus would parallel the quotation after *r-dd* in verso 20 (45/16) and like it be followed by *i-n*-f serving to mark the close of the quotation.

^r (46/3) Taking *gm* as a passive participle. One might quote  in BM 10068 recto iv 2 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XI) as a somewhat parallel writing of the passive participle of *gmi* without the double reed leaves that normally appear in the passive participles of *3ae infirmae* verbs in L.E. (cf. Sethe, *Verbum* II § 930). An alternative is "Send some of the clothes so that (I) may find that you have caused them to come after me." However, a serious objection to taking the *ir-tn di* clause as the object of *gm* is that so far as I know the second tense is not used as a noun-clause object of a verb. There are examples of *iw ir-f sdm* after *gmi* (e.g. Pap. Leopold II iv 8 and BM 10052 xiv 25 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXIV]), but they are not, strictly speaking, noun clauses.

^s (46/4) For the interrogative *ist* preceding *bw ir-f sdm*, cf. Pap. Bologna 1094 x 2, Wen. ii 54, and d'Orb. viii 2. The perfect for what becomes Coptic *μερσωτι* seems demanded by the context and is paralleled e.g. in Anast. V xi 5 and 6, Černý *LRL*, p. 72, line 13, and Kadesh Poem § 202.

^t (46/5) *k3*, "transport ship," here is masculine but elsewhere appears as feminine (*Wb*. I 234 [15] and BM 10054 recto i 5 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. VI]) and so also in demotic (cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 73).

^u (46/7) Taking the *w* of *dd-w* as expressing the impersonal subject; see n. *e* to letter No. 5 (9/9) for its use to express the passive.

^v (46/7) Assuming omission of the old perfective ending *-tw* after *wq*; cf. *tw-k nh*-(*tw*) in letter No. 15 (30/11). Probably the final radical of *wq*, which at this time had become *t*, was influential in this case.

^w (46/7-8) Taking *-tn* for *-n*; cf. n. *c* to letter No. 12 (23/9). For the construction *iw bw ir-f sdm*, cf. letter No. 50 (72/13), Anast. IV ii 7, and BM 10052 viii 12 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXX), though none of these examples has the nuance that seems demanded

here. Is it possible that the scribe intended *iw bw ir-tw-n ph* since *iw bw ir-tw-f sdm*, Coptic $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\tau\tilde{\zeta}\omega\tau\tilde{\eta}$, has precisely the same meaning?

^z (46/13) *S³w* followed by the preposition *n* is unknown to me elsewhere with the possible exception of Sinuhe B 65 (cf. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* [Oxford, 1952] p. 7 ii).

^v (46/14) Lange (*Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, p. 84) has suggested the meaning "reject" for *b^c* in Amenemope xvi 19 and xxi 2; and it would be possible to render our passage as a negative statement, "We do not reject any commission." However, in view of the occurrence of the verb in Pap. Harris I lxxix 10 (W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I* ["Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" V (Bruxelles, 1933)] p. 97), where it means certainly not "reject" but something on the order of "respect," and the uncertainty as to the import of the Amenemope passages, I prefer to translate the clause with an implied interrogative. It is possible that the particle *b^c* (*Wb.* I 446 [1]), which means something like "carefully," has been correctly linked with the verb *b^c* in *Wb.* I 446 (6).

^z (46/15) For *r-hr* with the meaning "before," cf. Horus and Seth vii 3 and possibly Černý, *LRL*, p. 63, line 11.

^{aa} (46/16) Černý in *JEA* XXVII 109, No. 26, has rendered this phrase "as we would have wished(?)," presumably lit. "with the desire of our hearts." A possible objection to my translation is that the suffix *-n* is attached to only the second of the two nouns and not to both as we would expect if they were co-ordinate (but cf. Sinuhe B 102).

^{ab} (47/4) Taking the *pr*-sign as a determinative of *shn*; cf. letter No. 47 (69/2 and 70/3).

^{ac} (47/4) For *cn* meaning "ever" or "yet" after a negative, cf. letter No. 29 (49/2 and 5) and Gunn in *JEA* XLI 88.

^{ad} (47/5-6) I have taken *iry-tw-f ih* as an example of an obscure expression that occurs several times in the tomb-robberies papyri (see Peet, *GTR* I 126, n. 4). In its construction our case most closely resembles that found in BM 10052 iv 17 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXVIII), where the expression is followed by a noun, and therefore I have adopted a rendition similar to Peet's (*GTR* I 147) for that passage.

^{ae} (47/6) Taking *tw-n* for *tw-tn*. The alternative is to take the following *iw wn-tn* for *iw wn-n* (cf. n. c to letter No. 12) and translate "What is this about that which we know, we having been in it already? 'Leave it alone. Do not tamper with it,' said he, our lord."

^{af} (47/6) For *cn*, "already," cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 244.

^{ag} (47/7) *M-ir hnw n-f* presents a problem which must be considered in conjunction with *HO*, Pl. LXX 1, verso 5, 6, and 8. On this ostrakon *hnw*, written as though it is the word for "interior," seems to function as a verb, for in line 6 it appears in the conjunctive's expanded form *mtw-f r sdm* (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXV [1949] 27), a construction in which only an infinitive can be used, and in lines 5 and 8 it appears in the negative third future, where I also would expect a verbal rather than an adverbial predicate. In our letter the verbal nature of *hnw* is suggested by the preceding *m-ir*, Coptic $\mu\pi\tilde{\rho}$, and a further similarity between our text and the ostrakon is the use of the preposition *n* after *hnw* (cf. lines 6 and 8 of the ostrakon). *Wb.* III 373 (11 and 16) supplies us with the verb *hn*, determined with walking legs and construed with the preposition *n*. In one of the examples cited in the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* III 373 (16), Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197, I, line 9 (published in transcription in Spiegelberg, *Correspondances*, pp. 56-57), $\overline{\text{𐩧𐩢𐩣}} \Delta$ appears in a negative third future clause in a context which sug-

gests that this is the same verb that appears in the negative third future in lines 5 and 8 of the ostrakon. Thus, in spite of the house determinative in both the ostrakon and our letter, I believe that the verb *hn*, "draw near," "approach," is involved. How it came about that the house determinative was used in place of the walking legs is uncertain. It may have been through phonetic association with the noun *hnw*, "interior," or perhaps somehow the notion of "approaching" was extended to that of "entering," thus resulting in an obvious association with the noun "interior." Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 121 q suggested a meaning "tamper with" for *hn n*, which I have used in my translation.

^{ah} (47/8) For *hy*, "inspector," cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 272.

^{ai} (47/9) Or perhaps *rmt* ^{c3} signifies "rich man," as in Černý's translation of BM 10052 x 6 (*JE* XXVII 107), though for the latter occurrence Professor Edgerton has quite plausibly suggested to me that *rmt* ^{c3} means something like "blessed dead" on the basis of demotic usage of this phrase (cf. Spiegelberg, *DP*, p. 114, n. 1).

^{aj} (47/9) *St* is either the neuter or possibly a writing of the dependent pronoun *sw*, "him," i.e., "vouched for him."

^{ak} (47/9) The *sw* of *sw irm-k* probably refers to “this scribe” of verso 6 (47/7).

^{al} (47/11) For *ptr* with the meaning "look for," cf. letters Nos. 11 (22/14) and 38 (60/12).

^{am} (47/12) *Wn* must here mean "reveal," "uncover," rather than simply "open" since in the following clause instructions are given to preserve the seal intact. One might compare the verb's use in the liturgical expression *wn hr*, "disclose the face" of the god; cf. Nelson in *JNES* VIII (1949) 206. Lichtheim in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*, p. 4, has taken *wn* as a passive *sdm.f* and translated the clause "one tomb of the forefathers' tombs has been opened," but such use of the passive *sdm.f* in recorded L.E. speech is highly questionable. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Paiankh in Nubia would have been writing to inform the men back home in Thebes that an ancestral tomb in the Theban necropolis had been opened. In spite of the absence of the prothetic *i* before *wn* (*iwn* > *ⲁⲟϥⲱⲛ*), I prefer to take *wn* as an imperative (cf. the Sahidic construct *ⲟϥⲛ-* and the bilateral imperative *gr* in Wen. i 23).

^{an} (47/12-13) It is problematical whether *ḥšwtyw* denotes "first" in regard to actual physical position, "first" in time in the sense of "previously used," or perhaps "choicest," but the last meaning is unlikely (cf. Blackman in *JEA* VI [1920] 58). There is the further possibility that it is to be taken as a noun, "the tombs of the leaders (or ancestors?)," though in this case we might expect the definite article before it. For *ḥ* indicating the plural after the determinative, cf. *ḥsw* in letters Nos. 16 (31/12) and 24 (39/8), *ḥ* *e* *m* *w* *t* *p* *e* *s* *e* in BM 10052 xv 11 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXV), and *ḥ* *c* *n* *e* in BM ostrakon No. 5624 verso 5 (see Blackman in *JEA* XII, Pl. XXXV).

^{ao} (47/14) Presumably the adverbial extension upon which the emphasis is placed in this second-tense construction is the old perfective *w3h*.

^{ap} (47/15) Cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^{aq} (47/16) My translation of *dī šm* is a guess.

^{ar} (48/1) Or *htht* may mean "retreat."

^{as} (48/1) Cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, Pl. XXIII, line 7, and p. 32, n. 1.

^{at} (48/2) On ³ty, cf. n. m to letter No. 4 (8/4).

^{au} (48/2) For *kt* as a writing of *nkt*, cf. *HO*, Pl. XLVI 3, lines 2 and 5, Nauri Decree, lines 93 and 106 (cf. Griffith in *JEA* XIII 204, n. 2), Louvre 3230a, line 8 (see *JEA* XII, Pl. XVII, and Peet's comment on p. 71, n. 2).

29. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10284

The prophet of Hathor, Lady of Agny, and troop-commander Shedsuhor from the scribe of the Necropolis Butehamon. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods, I tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets to give you life, prosperity, and health and very many favors before the general, your lord, and may Amon bring you back alive, prospering, and healthy down (to) Egypt^a and I fill (my) embrace with you, the gods of the land in which you are having saved (you); and may they hand you over (to) the gods of your town and you become satisfied with Ne and Ne become satisfied with you.

Indeed you are good, and to you belongs^b my father. Be a pilot for the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy. You know that (he is) a man who does not have his 'strength'¹ at all, for he has never before made the journeys on which he is. Assist him in the boat.^c Look with vigilance in the evening as well.^d You shall embrace him.^e Indeed you are journeying [. . .]. Now a man is 'restrained'¹ when he has become troubled, he never having seen a fearful face^f before.

Now your people are still alive. No harm has come to them. I am writing to let you know. May your health be good.

Address: It is for the scribe Tjaroy and Shedsuhor.

^a (48/12) *R hry (r) Kmt* occurs again in letter No. 50 (72/6).

^b (48/16) Taking *mntk* in its possessive use (cf. Erman, *Neuägypt. Gr.* § 110). If, on the other hand, the passage is translated "indeed you are good, for you are my father," *p³y-i it*, "my father," would have to be taken figuratively ("you are a father to me") since Dhutmose, not Shedsuhor, was Butehamon's father.

^c (49/2) Similarly in letter No. 43 (64/8); cf. Coptic **†TOOT=** with suffix as object (Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [2d ed.] p. 426 a).

^d (49/3) Cf. letter No. 43 (64/9).

^e (49/4) Or "surround him." One is reminded of Pepi II's instructions to Harkhuf on the precautions to be taken to guarantee the safe arrival of the pigmy (*Urk.* I 130).

^f (49/5) Cf. Peasant B 1, line 60 (F. Vogelsang and Alan H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern* ["Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin" IV (Leipzig, 1908)] Pl. 6).

30. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10100

Pharaoh's general [to] the two chief workmen, the scribe Butehamon, the guardian Kar, and all the workmen of the Necropolis. Quote:

The scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy and the troop-commander and prophet Shedsuhor have reached me; they have rendered report to me of all that you have done. It is all right, what you have [done], you joining up and doing this

work which I charged you to do and writing me about what you have done. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall fetch the remainder of the chariot-poles which are in the place wherefrom^a Shedsuhor obtained the poles for me. It is lying there outside your place that you shall <let> (me) find them upon my arrival from the South.^b But do not proceed^c to install a single one thereof there.^d

Now as for this matter of these five servants whom I gave, they are yours, all of them, from the foremen down to all the workmen. And do not let one tyrannize^e his fellow among you. And do not give to Heramenpenaf (any) of them, for I have given to him. Now if you have not received them, you shall go to the place where Herere is and receive them from her. You are not to be neglectful of any matters of mine. You are to preserve my letter so that it may be testimony for you.

Another matter for the scribe Butehamon and the guardian Kar. Please join up with Heramenpenaf and receive from him the copper and <send> it to the coppersmith Tutuy and the coppersmith Hori, when he finishes, and to the two coppersmiths of mine. And have them make this 'knife' and two *tk3*-vessels. You have tin^g there^h to add to the copper.

^a (50/10) If we accept *t3 st* as correct, then the following *im-w* would seem to be a writing of **ḥmwy** as perhaps also the *im-w* of recto 10 (50/12). Such a writing of **ḥmwy**, however, does not fall in line with the observations and conjectures of Elmar Edel in *ZÄS LXXXIV* (1959) 25–26.

^b (50/10–12) Since I am inclined to place this letter among those sent from Nubia to Thebes, the phrase *m p3y-i ii hr rsy*, "on my arrival from the South," probably refers to an event that had not yet taken place. Gunn (*JEA XXXII* 95) has translated this passage "they (the poles) were lying there outside your place *m p3y-i iyt* on my arrival (=when I came) from the South"; but in all the other examples that he gives the construction *m p3y-f sdm* does not have this past nuance, though a possible exception is Nevill Pap. verso 5 (see Barns in *JEA XXXV* 70). For the past the normal construction is *m p3 sdm iir-f* (cf. Gardiner in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 84–85). If our *m p3y-i ii hr rsy* expresses an event yet to take place, I can only make proper sense out of the preceding clauses by supposing that the scribe omitted the verb *di*, "cause," after *iir.tn* and by taking what immediately follows as a noun-clause object of *di*: *gm(i) sw-[sn]*, "let (me) find them." For the restoration of the dependent pronoun written *sw-sn* or *sw-st*, cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 97. Furthermore, if this emendation is not made and we translate the passage "you shall find that they were lying outside your place when I came from the South," we sacrifice sense; it would hardly have been necessary for Paiankh to have specified the place wherefrom Shedsuhor had previously obtained the poles if they were located just outside the addressees' place.

^c (50/12) For the auxiliary use of *šm*, cf. n. *k* to letter No. 3 (6/3).

^d (50/12) In fairness to Edel's position on **ḥmwy** and **ḥmooy**, it must be said that *im-w* here may well represent **ḥmooy** separated from *wc wcty* by *im* in the manner of his second example (*ZÄS LXXXIV* 25), where *qrt-f* intervenes.

^e (50/15) ^cg may be the equivalent of ^ck, for which Edgerton and Wilson (*SAOC* No. 12, p. 134, n. 4b) have suggested the translation "tyrannize" (cf. also Gardiner in *JEA* XLII 19 [5, 5]).

^f (51/6) Assuming that the scribe omitted *di*, "cause," in passing from one line to the next. On the omission of *di* in the conjunctive, cf. n. *i* to letter No. 4 (8/3).

^g (51/8) If the manufacture of bronze is involved, the word written *dh*t is probably to be understood as a writing of the word *dh*ty rather than *dh*, the latter being a rather rare word designating a metal which has not been identified (cf. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, pp. 66-67). *Dh*ty is the normal word for "lead," though, as Harris (*ibid.* p. 68) points out, it may also refer to tin. Either lead or tin was added to copper in ancient Egypt to produce an alloy. My preference here for the word "tin" is purely subjective, for apparently the Egyptian did not sharply distinguish between lead and tin until a later period.

^h (51/8) The 𓂏 is for *im*; cf. letter No. 9 (19/15).

31. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 196,III

The singer of the general Pentahu[re]s] . . . Amon, the scribe Butehamon . . . , the [confidant]^a Akhmenu, the craftsman . . . , [the chantress of Amon-Re], King of the gods, Hemesheri, and the chantress [In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor] of Amon-Re, King of the gods. Quote:

I say every day to Amon-Re-Harakhti when he [rises] and sets, to Khnum, Satis, Anukis, and all gods of Elephantine to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age. Quote:

You^b are to look after the children. Do not do wrong to them. And do not be neglectful of my father. And you shall cause this spear which (I) said to have made^c to be made. And you shall cause some^d confections^e to be prepared so that it produces one *mdkt*-jug(full) before his arrival.^f

Statement for the scribe Butehamon,^g quote:

Your father has sent me the letter saying, "Cause them^h to take it to you." He wrote me saying, "As for all letters which your brother has sent me, your name is on them," said he.ⁱ "Cause one there to take^j them to him," said he. Now (I) have caused him to be placed before Khnum.^k He has said saying, "He shall prosper," so he has said to the chantress of Amon Tuia and the scribe Hori. It is every brother of mine who turns the face (to) 'my'^l . . . to them. Receive Taymedjay . . . write to me about the children . . . before Khnum. He has said, "I shall 'seek'^m"

Address: The singer Pentahures

^a (51/12) With great hesitation I suggest reading the arm holding the bowl as *mḥnk*, "confidant"; cf. *Wb.* II 129 (7).

^b (52/1) Taking the seated man as standing for the seated woman here and in the conjunctive of the following line (cf. Erman, *Neuäeg. Gr.* § 68). On this use of the conjunctive, cf. n. *k* to letter No. 2 (4/12).

^c (52/4) I take the *f* of *iry-f* as referring to *p³y niwy*, "this spear," and since *iry* can-

not be passive *sdm-f* after *imi* it must be an unusual writing of the infinitive before the suffix (cf. Pap. Turin A verso iv 9 [Camino's, *LEM*, p. 510] for another example of such a writing of the infinitive). The literal rendition would then be "cause the making of it." It is less likely, in my opinion, that the *-f* refers to *p3y-i it*, "my father," in which case one could translate "And you shall cause this spear of which (I) said, 'Cause him to make (it),' to be made."

^d (52/4) For this use of *nkt*, cf. *Wb.* II 347 (10).

^e (52/4) The determinative does not suit *bnrw*, "date wine." I suspect that the word is *bnrt*, "confections"; cf. *Wb.* I 463 (13).

^f (52/5) For *r-h3t*, "before the arrival of," cf. n. *i* to letter No. 13 (25/14).

^g (52/5) After having directed his remarks to one of the female recipients of the letter, the writer now turns to Butehamon.

^h (52/6) Or perhaps the *-w* of *t3y-w* is another example of its use to express the passive; cf. n. *e* to letter No. 5 (9/9).

ⁱ (52/8) On *hr-f* here and in the following line, cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, p. 165, n. 1.

^j (52/8) For the unusual use of the auxiliary *iri* with a verb of less than four radicals, cf. n. *t* to letter No. 5 (10/6).

^k (52/9) For this clause and its oracular implications, cf. Černý in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, p. 45.

^l (52/10) On *w3h hr*, cf. Faulkner in *JEA* XLI 23.

^m (52/13) Tentatively reading *wh3*, "seek," after *iw-i*. For the form of what I take to be the *h3*-sign, cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II (2d ed.) Sign 277 (*Ndm-t*) and III, Sign 277 (Takelothis).

32. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 199,1

[The general] says to the controllers of the Necropolis. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall join up with the chief taxing master^a and wall in^b this pasturage.^c Do not be negligent.

Let it (i.e., the letter) be testimony (for) you.^d

^a (53/4) On *3n št*, cf. Keith C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes (OIP LXXXVI [1959])* p. 9, n. 69.

^b (53/5) Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, p. 432, and in *ZÄS* LXXX (1955) 123 suggests the translation "inspect" for the verb *inb*, which occurs in the Haremhab Decree also (*Urk.* IV 2155, line 11). On the other hand, Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) p. 23, regards the *inb* of the Haremhab Decree as meaning "wall off." Since the passage in the Haremhab Decree is badly damaged, it cannot be used for determining the meaning of the word. Faulkner's "wall off," which at least has an etymological connection with the noun "wall," seems to me to be the more probable of the two. A word written *inbw* occurs as a verb in a passage (*ZÄS* LXXXIII, Pl. II, line 21) which Helck renders "Ich . . . weise dir Stärke über die Neunbogen zu" (*ibid.* p. 33). I cannot accept this translation grammatically and suggest that the passage should be rendered "My strong arm has *inb*'ed for you the Nine Bows." Here *inb* cannot possibly mean "inspect"; I believe that it must mean "constrain," an extension of the basic meaning "wall in." Thus I find no evidence for taking the *inb* of our text as "inspect" and suggest "wall in."

^c (53/5) Taking *smw* as meaning "pasturage" or "pasture"; cf. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 225, and Nauri Decree, lines 63–64.

^d (53/5) Taking *·tn* for *n·tn*; cf. n. *b* to letter No. 25 (40/15).

33. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 199,2

Men who have been appointed cultivator(s) of the new land of Perdjadja^a and assigned to the chief taxing master . . . the Mayor of the West of Ne Paweraa to do his work:^b Eshor, the son of Efnamon, whose mother is Esmut, the young cultivator^c A. . . , the son of Omer, of the new land of Perdjadja, who was a foreigner, 'he' . . .

^a (53/8) Or "who have been assigned to cultivable land of the new land of Perdjadja" (for the translation I have used, cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 22). On *iht*, "cultivable land," and *mwt*, "new land," cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 66 and 27 respectively.

^b (53/9) Perhaps in the sense of "produce his revenue."

^c (53/10) I regard the *n*-sign under the seated child as a space-filler (cf. Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 13, n. 6) and read the seated child as *ms*, "young." For *ms* + noun, cf. Blackman in *JEA* XIX 203 and Edwards, *op. cit.* p. 13, n. 7.

34. PAPYRUS BERLIN 10488

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the controller Payshuuben. Quote:

(I) have noted all matters about which you have written. As for this your having said this matter of these two Medjay saying, "They said these words," join up with Nuteme as well as the scribe Tjaroy and send and have these two Medjay brought to my house and get to the bottom of their words in short order and slay (them) and throw them (into) this water by night. But do not let anybody of this land find out about them.

35. PAPYRUS BERLIN 10489

The general of Pharaoh, l.p.h., to the principal of the harim of Amon-Re, King of the gods, the noble lady Nuteme. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. Quote:

I every day tell every god and every goddess by whom I pass to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and to let (me) see (you) when I have returned and fill (my) eye with the sight of (you).

I have noted all matters about which you have written me. As for this your having said this matter of these two Medjay which you said they said, join up with Payshuuben and Tjaroy, this scribe, and have these two Medjay brought to my house and get to the bottom of their words in short order and have (them) killed and have them thrown (into) the water by night.

You are to write me about your condition. May your health be good.

Forwarding address: The principal of the harim of Amon-Re, King of the gods, the noble lady Nuteme to the scribe of the general K̅enykhn̅um.

36. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10412

The scribe of the [great and noble Necropolis of] Millions of Years of Pharaoh on the West of Thebes Esamenope to the chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Mutenope. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I say every day to Amon-Harakhti when he rises and sets and to every god and every goddess by whom I pass to cause you to live, to cause you to be in health, and to cause (you) to be rejuvenated. Quote:

The deputy of the Temple (of Medinet Habu) Essobek has written to the place where the prophet of Montu, Lord of Armant, is saying, "Let there be given to me an aroua of land in Peniufneri^a next to the house of the god's father of Montu Ahauaa so that I may have it farmed^b in fruit." He said, "I shall give it. Send one to receive it." As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall dispatch Sobeksankh to the place where the prophet of Montu is, and he shall receive from^c him this aroua of land, it being (on) the north of the house of Ahau(aa), the god's father of Montu, that he shall receive from him. And you shall give him ten *hin* of fruit and shall cause him to go with Sekhayeniot, and they shall 'plant'¹ it with fruit before the flood has soaked it,^d and it shall happen^e that it is after it is 'planted'¹ that the flood shall enter it.

You are to say to Sobeksankh, "Spend these five days together with Sekhayeniot in cutting wood for the chief taxing master and proceed to² finish with clearing^o in this land which is in your charge.^h It is when there is no (more) 'brush'¹ upon it that you shall have me (i.e., Esamenope) return from the south land,"ⁱ so you shall say to them. And you shall write Penhapi saying, "Have the calf milk-fed until I (i.e., Esamenope) return (to) take it to its owner."

And you are to cause the lead which belongs to me to be taken to Onery and receive this other from the scribe of the treasury Esamon, and he shall give it to him as well. And you are to say to the porter Ahautinufe, "Give me^k a *deben* of lead." As soon as he gives it to you, I¹ shall compensate^m Onery with a *deben* and five *kite* of lead for the job of the fifteen pieces of weapons which I told him to make. And you shall say to him, "It is whenⁿ you have finished with them^o that you shall succeed in^p having me^q (i.e., Esamenope) return from the south land," so you shall say to him. May your health be good.

Address: The scribe of the Necropolis Esamenope to the chantress of Amon Mutenope.

^a (55/9-10) On *Pn-ḫw-f-nri*, cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 12*, where *ḫw-f-(m)-nri* is rendered "low-lying shoal."

^b (55/11) For *iri* with the meaning "farm," "cultivate," cf. Berlin P 8523 recto 16 (Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* LIII 108), Blackman in *JEA* XVI 69, and Caminos, *LEM*, p. 168.

^c (55/13) For *šsp n*, "receive from," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXVII 60, n. 7.

^d (55/16-56/1) In *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 121 r, Gardiner translated this clause "though the

water has not yet soaked it." Since *iw bw ir-tw-f sdm* very rarely has concessive force (cf. Edgerton in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* XLVIII [1931] 39), I prefer the more normal translation of this verbal construction which is ancestral to Coptic ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲓⲥⲱⲧⲏ.

^e (56/1) For the impersonal use of the conjunctive with *hpr*, cf. Wen. ii 58, Nevill Pap. verso 5 (Barns in *JEA* XXXV 70), BM 10403 iii 6 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVII), and Mayer A vi 13.

^f (56/3) For *šm r*, "proceed to," cf. n. *k* to letter No. 3 (6/3).

^g (56/4) For *šd*, "clear," cf. n. *ag* to letter No. 5 (11/2).

^h (56/4) For *m-drt*, "in the charge of," cf. n. *u* to letter No. 9 (19/7-8).

ⁱ (56/5) The translation of *sw-m-stt* is a guess.

^j (56/5) For *ḥ rsy*, "south land," cf. n. *k* to letter No. 28 (45/9-10).

^k (56/10) On *iml tw*, cf. Erman, *Neuaeg. Gr.* § 357.

^l (56/10) Or "you shall compensate," if $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ is for $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ as above (56/8).

^m (56/10) For *mḥ*, "compensate," cf. Gardiner in *ZÄS* XLIII 34 (26) and in *JEA* XXII 181.

ⁿ (56/12) For the sequence *ir-f sdm . . . iw sdm-f*, cf. n. *a* to letter No. 27 (42/15).

^o (56/13) The *-f* in *mim-f* refers to $p^3 \text{ } ^c n \text{ } h^w$ 15 of verso 10 (56/11).

^p (56/12) For the auxiliary use of *spr*, "succeed in," cf. Goedicke in *MDAIK* XVIII 22, Anast. V x 7, and Pap. Boulaq No. 14, line 2 (Auguste Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* II [Paris, 1872] Pl. 9), where *spr-n-i r ii dy* is to be rendered "I have succeeded in coming here."

^q (56/12) I suspect that the questionable seated woman is for the suffix *-i*, referring to Esamenope, as in verso 5 (56/4).

37. PAPYRUS GENEVA D 191

The chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods, Henuttawi to the scribe of the Necropolis Esamenope. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. I *every day* tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets, Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a good ripe old age, and very many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, your good lord who looks after^a you.

I have noted all matters about which you have written me. As for your having said this matter of these 162½ *khar* of emmer about which you said, "Cause the scribe Pentahunakht to go and receive them together with the foremen, (but) they are not to draw it out by means of a large *oipe*-measure," so you said. Your letter reached the place where the vizier was. He dispatched the scribe Saroy together with the measurer. He caused them to come bringing^b an *oipe*-measure which was larger than the granary's *oipe*-measure (by) one *hin*. I went my own self and caused the grain to be received while I was there. It amounted to 146¼ *khar* by this *oipe*-measure. This young (employee) of the Necropolis^c and the fisherman said, "150 *khar* of grain is what we had measured for ourselves^d by the *oipe*-measure of the granary of the Estate of

Amon," so they said. I appraised^e the *oipe*-measures. I said to them,^f "I have my sack.^g I shall find the grain wherever it is," so said I to them.

You wrote me saying, "Receive the 80 *khar* of grain from this transport ship of the fisherman Iotnufe," so you said (in) writing. I went (to) receive them, and I found 72½ *khar* of grain with him. I said to him, "What is (the meaning of only) the 72½ *khar* of grain?" so said I [to] him, "whereas (it is) 80 *khar* that is in his letter." The men said, "Three completely full sacks is what we have measured for ourselves, they (each) having [2]½ *khar*, (thus) making (i.e., leaving) 72½ *khar* of grain," so they said. I became silent indeed thinking that until you shall have returned,^h Amon, United with Eternity, will have doneⁱ every (sort of) bad thing with me.

Attend to the grain of his. You shall cause^j (it) to be 'brought', for it does not exist, (not even) a *khar* of grain for his divine offerings. It is I who has given 30 *khar* of emmer for his [divine offer]ings beginning [with Year] 2, second month of the first season, [day] 27, until the third month of the first season, day 2, from the grain which was stored under my supervision^k . . . for the divine offerings.

Now Amon, United with Eternity, has caused the grain to be placed in a chest^l and has caused a seal to be placed upon it. See, you shall join up with Pasenyt, and you^m shall speak with the overseer of the granaries concerning the grain for Amon, United with Eternity. Indeed, it does not exist with him, not evenⁿ a single *oipe* for his divine offerings today. You are not to abandon^o him, either of the two (of you).^p

Now do not worry about your father. (I) have heard that his condition is very good. The steward of Amon and *wab*-priest Espamedushepes has written me saying, "Do not worry about him. He is all right; he is in health. No harm has come to him."

Now Preunemef has contended in court with^q your father in the presence of Pharaoh, l.p.h. The King (lit. one) has caused your father to be justified against him; and the King has charged the officials (to) make the examination^r of his men in order to give them to him. And Pharaoh, l.p.h., has said, "Give him men as is fitting."

Now the *wab*-priest of the temple of Mut Paunesh has written me saying, "Pharaoh, l.p.h., has dispatched your father, Pharaoh, l.p.h., his lord, having done for him every sort of good thing, whereas the officials did not leave for him [anything] good (in) the *kr*-ship^s which I had sent^t to him loaded (with) salt 'and' every 'entire share'^u of the northern region,^v Tjema having sent^w a scow^x with it and with his team without having left for him anything good." [And] he has said to me, "It was after he went forth with the overseer of the treasury and overseer of the granaries Menmaarenakht and the [scribe] of the offering table Hori that I returned therefrom."

"Now the general of the place 'Beloved of Thoth'^v has been sent," they say, "to take men to the Temple of Millions of Years (i.e., Medinet Habu) under the charge of the *setem*-priest and the major-domo^z to give 'the oil' . . .," they say. "And the King has given the office of prophet of Nebetuu to the god's father Esamenope, whom Pharaoh, l.p.h., has clothed with an apron^{aa} as is fitting," they say.

As soon as my letter reaches [the place] where [you are], you shall . . . Amon . . . and send 'him'^{ab} to me very quickly. Indeed the vizier has written me saying, "Cause . . ." They have . . . ed for them bread-rations, they going 'to[gether]'^l . . . dispatched your letter

^a (57/7) On *iptr*, cf. n. *a* to letter No. 23 (38/13).

^b (57/12) For the translation of *iw in-w*, cf. Edgerton in *JNES* X 140, n. 20, Wente in *JNES* XXI 306, n. 19, and Černý in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*, pp. 81-85.

^c (57/15) For *ms-hr*, cf. n. *g* to letter No. 12 (23/12-13).

^d (57/16) Or are we to take *n-n* for *n-tn*? Cf. n. *a* to letter No. 6 (12/10) and note the use of *mtw-n* for *mtw-tn* in letter No. 37 (58/14 and 16).

^e (57/16) *Tnf* here is a verb related to the noun *tnf*, which appears in the next line (58/1) and means "sack" or "basket"; see Edith A. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-Le-Sauveur* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Bibliothèque d'étude" XXIII [Le Caire, 1956]) p. 115, n. 8, for a discussion of the noun. The demotic descendant *dnf* may mean "measure," "appraise" (cf. Parker in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* II [1963] 115).

^f (58/1) I would expect *qd n-w*, and this emendation has been adopted in my translation. Or are we to take *iw-i qd* as a synchronous present and translate "I say to you," with *n-n* standing for *n-tn* (cf. n. *d* above)?

^g (58/1) *Tnf* is masculine, as is Coptic *xnoq*.

^h (58/7) This is one of the rare cases in which the *itr-tw-f sdm* construction stands in the initial position; cf. n. *a* to letter No. 10 (21/8).

ⁱ (58/8) On the construction *wn sdm-f*, cf. Michail Korostovtsev in *BIFAO* XLV (1947) 167. To his example add Černý, *LRL*, p. 69, line 10, The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* I (*OIP* XXV [1936]) Pl. 23 B, line 12 (=A, line 7), Great Abydos Inscription, line 45, and *wn* (participle) + *sdm-f* in C. ost. No. 25653 recto 6 and in BM 10052 xv 14 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXV). None of these examples has the nuance of a future perfect, though after *h(3)n*, "if," *wn sdm-f* may express the *irrealis* (cf., e.g., BM 10403 iii 29 and 31 [Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XXXVII]).

^j (58/9) Or, less likely in my opinion, *idi-k* is to be taken as a relative form: "the grain of his which you have caused to be brought."

^k (58/11) For *hr (wy)*, "under the supervision of," cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 25.

^l (58/12) For *mhn*, "chest," cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 68, Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956) Pl. XI, line 10, *HO*, Pls. XVIII 3, line 5 (where it is made of wood), and LXXV, verso 7, and Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 25, n. 34.

^m (58/14) Taking *mtw-n* for *mtw-tn* here and below (58/16); cf. *tw-n* for *tw-tn* men-

tioned in n. *b* to letter No. 17 (34/1). *Mdw m-di* may perhaps here have the nuance "reprimand"; cf. n. *s* to letter No. 9 (19/4).

ⁿ (58/15) *M*, lit. "namely."

^o (58/16) Or, if *mtw-n* is not for *mtw-tm*, translate "let us not abandon," though I prefer the translation I have adopted.

^p (58/16) For the phrase *m p³ s 2*, cf. Pap. Leopold II iii 1.

^q (59/4) For *dd im*, "contend with," cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XLVIII 60, n. 10.

^r (59/6) Or "the officials who made the examination."

^s (59/10) For the *kr*-ship, cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 440, and Barns in *JEA* XXXIV 39.

^t (59/10) For *hn* without suffix after *di*, cf. d'Orb. xi 7.

^u (59/11) *Pš kd.f nb* is difficult, and the suggested translation is a mere guess.

^v (59/11) On ^c *mhty*, cf. Kees in Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, Fachgruppe I, *Nachrichten*, 1936/38, N.F. II 1, p. 8.

^w (59/11) For *di* meaning "send," cf. n. *i* to letter No. 21 (36/13).

^x (59/12) For *br*, "scow," cf. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 156, *SAOC* No. 12, p. 54, n. 20b, and Georg Möller in *ZÄS* LVI (1920) 78.

^y (59/15) On "the place 'Beloved of Thoth' " as a military establishment, cf. Jean Yoyotte in *Rev. d'Ég.* VII (1950) 63-66 and Hughes in *MDAIK* XVI (1958) 154, n. 1.

^z (59/16) On ³ *n pr*, "major-domo," cf. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II 131 and *AEO* II 267*. For the major-domo of Medinet Habu, cf. BM 10053 recto iii 13 (Peet, *GTR* II, Pl. XVII).

^{aa} (60/2) On the *mss*-garment, cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 74, where the translation "apron" is suggested. Janssen (*ibid.* pp. 92-93) discusses the price of such a garment.

^{ab} (60/4) Or "send one"?

38. PAPYRUS TURIN, UNNUMBERED

The principal of the harim of Amon-[Re, King of] the gods, Herere to the troop-commander Peseg. Quote:

What (is this about) the men^a of the [great] and noble Necropolis [concerning whom] I have written you [saying], "Give them rations," that you have not given^b to them yet?^c [As soon as my let]ter reaches you, you shall look for^d the grain concerning which [I have written you] and give them rations from it. Do not let . . . complain to me again. Cause them to be made ¹(for)¹ men . . . commission them. You know . . . I am writing to let [you] know. . . .

Address: The principal of the harim of Amon-Re, King [of the gods], Herere to the troop-commander Peseg.

^a (60/10) On *ih* + noun, cf. Grapow, *Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten* IV 32-33.

^b (60/11) *Hr mtw-k tm di* either serves to continue the clause *ih n³ rmt*, as translated, or, less likely in my opinion, it forms part of the quotation following the restored *r-dd*: "Give them rations, but do not give to them again."

^c (60/12) For this meaning of ⁿ, cf. n. *ac* to letter No. 28 (47/4).

^d (60/12) For *ptr* with the meaning "look for," cf. letters Nos. 11 (22/14) and 28 (47/11 and 16).

39. PAPYRUS TURIN 2069

The principal of the harim and chantress of Amon-Re, [King of the gods, Herere to] the troop-commander Peseg. Quote:

[As soon as my letter reaches] you, you shall look after^a the men of [the Necropolis about whom I have written] you to give them rations. Now see . . . until today. Do not give grain . . . again and bring them (to) the . . . which you have been told^b to do. Now s[ee he has written me ab]out them saying, "Let them hasten . . . [Do not let them]^c delay at all," said he writing to me. I shall dispatch . . . see . . . this side . . .

Address: The principal of the harim and chantress of Amon [Herere to the troop-commander Peseg].

^a (61/6) For *ptr*, "look after," cf. letter No. 5 (10/15).

^b (61/8) *Ḳdd.tw* is either a relative form with the indefinite subject "one" or an active participle with *.tw* serving to indicate the final radical of the verb (cf. Černý, *LRL*, p. 41a, n. 15a-b, and Erman, *Neuäeg. Gr.* § 376). In the latter case the translation would be ". . . who has told you to do it."

^c (61/9) For the restoration, cf. letter No. 12 (24/2).

40. PAPYRUS TURIN 2021 VERSO

The general and leader of Pharaoh's troops Paiankh to the troop-commander of Pharaoh's troops Peseg. Quote:

As soon as my letter reaches . . .

41. PAPYRUS CAIRO 58061

The *wab*-priest of Khonsu and scribe of the King's virtuals^a Bakenkhons to the scribe of the Necropolis Ankhef. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re, King of the gods. May he give you life, prosperity, and health and favor before gods and men every day.^b Quote:

I have heard the story^c of the words which you wrote in opposition to^d this false testimony^e which I had said to^f this man, it being speech countering him.^g Do not make me write you millions of words. You are to . . . see to them. Let your hand be firm with these 16 bread-rations. Let them be withdrawn and do not listen to (any) words which they shall say to you in opposition to them.

May your health be good.

Address: The *wab*-priest of Khonsu and scribe Bakenkhons to the scribe of [the Necropolis] Ankhef.

Palimpsest:

The *wab*-priest of Khonsu and scribe Bak(en)khons to the chantress . . . scribe . . . *wab*-priest . . . [to give] you life, prosperity, and health, a long life-time . . . favor . . . many . . . before gods and men every day. Quote:

As soon as [my] letter [reaches] . . .

Address: The *wab*-priest of Khonsu and the general's scribe Bakenkhons to the *wab*-priest of Khonsu and scribe Dikhonsiry.

^a (62/4) In addition to Černý's references to *ḥw-nsu* (*LRL*, p. 62a, n. 4a-b), cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) p. 201, Exercise XX a.

^b (62/6) Gardiner in *Rev. d'Ég.* VI 126 (a) expressed the belief that *r^c nb*, "every day," in the lengthy introductions of letters is to be construed with "I say," and I have followed his suggestion in my translations. However, the evidence afforded by this particular letter seems to be against such a view, unless we are to assume the ellipse of "I say."

^c (62/6) Only the first of Černý's references (*LRL*, p. 62a, n. 6b-c) is valid (cf. Černý in *JEA* XXVII 109, No. 25).

^d (62/7) *M k3*, "in opposition to," also in line 8 (62/10-11) and letter No. 27 (43/6).

^e (62/7) Lit. "testimony of falsehood."

^f (62/7) The *n* before *p3y rml* is possibly the dative of disadvantage, for which see n. *m* to letter No. 3 (6/4), and perhaps the rendering should be "which I said against this man."

^g (62/8) For the grammar of *n tkn-f*, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed.) § 305, and for the meaning "counter," "repulse," cf. Edgerton in *JNES* VI 222, n. 19.

42. PAPYRUS BRITISH MUSEUM 10430

... [to the chantress of] Amon-Re, King of the gods, the noble lady Henuttawi ... the Palace, l.p.h. Give you life, prosperity and health, a long lifetime ... every day. Quote:

I am all right. I am in health. ... see them. Say to Amon-Re, King of the gods, ... I am summoned before Pharaoh, l.p.h., ... speak to us. I am immersed ... today. All mention of the ... 'ever delay again^{1a} lest ... [the place] where we 'shall be', he having said to the scribe Esamenope ... [se]nd to us. And we shall not ... And I shall cause them to reach the ... the cultivation of the fields ... the Noble Staff^b 'before^c him precisely¹ ... bring them to me.

Now as for the copper ... I said to this lad, "Give your attention ... male calf.^d And I shall say to ... slaughter it on his feast, and you shall ... "

^a (63/6) Taking *Δ* for *n*.

^b (63/11) Or part of personal name Espamedushepes; cf. letter No. 37 (59/2).

^c (63/11) For *r-kr*, "before," cf. n. *z* to letter No. 28 (46/13).

^d (63/13) For *ms* + noun with the meaning "young ...," cf. n. *b* to letter No. 33 (53/10).


43. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 197,VI

... the servant in the Place [of Truth] ... [In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amon-Re], King of the gods. We tell Amon-Re, King of the gods, to bring you back^a saved^b from all danger^c which is in the land above^d in which you are [living].^e

Write us about your condition, whether you are alive. [And write us] about the condition of the scribe of the Necropolis Tjaroy through the Medjay

Hadnakht. And assist Tjaroy^f in the boat. And look after him . . . the evening vigilantly.^a And be a pilot for him; then Amon shall be a pilot for you. See, man 'is like' today.^h Now youⁱ are hisⁱ man. I am writing to let you know through Akhmenu.

What is the meaning of this your having written me saying, "It was when Hemesheri was here that you sent a letter"? You would not write me falsely. (I) have written you two letters. They have failed to give them to you^k like those which I caused to be taken to the scribe Tjaroy and which they did not give him.

^a (64/5) Taking  as a writing of the second person masculine singular dependent pronoun (cf. Great Abydos Inscription, line 69). Note the similar writing of the old perfective ending used for the same person in *nḥ-tw* (64/6).

^b (64/5) In *iw šd-k* I take *šd* as the passive *sdm-f*. Alternatively it is perhaps possible to understand *in wi iw-(i) šd-k(wi)*, "bring me back saved," or *in wi iw šd-k (wi)*, "bring me back you having saved (me)," with omission of the dependent pronoun object as in letter No. 50 (72/7-8). Either of these alternatives, however, entails a switch from the first person to the second person *tw-k* at the end, and, moreover, the first person appears quite improbable at this point.

^c (64/5) For *ḥty*, "danger," cf. n. *b* to letter No. 14 (28/3).


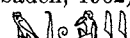
^d (64/5) *P³ t³ ḥryw* I take as a reference to Nubia.

^e (64/5-6) Restoring some such verb as *ḥms-tw* (old perfective).

^f (64/8) For *dī drt*, cf. n. *c* to letter No. 29 (49/2).

^g (64/9) I have translated *rs-tp* adverbially. It may be an imperative, though this seems less likely in view of the fact that after *ih³b* in recto 4 (64/6) a series of conjunctives is used to continue the initial imperative.

^h (64/10) For this clause, which appears to be an adage of some sort, cf. n. *n* to letter No. 3 (6/4-5).

ⁱ (64/10) For the writing of the independent pronoun as *mtwk* rather than *mntk*, cf.  in Oriental Institute ostracon No. 24302, line 1 (unpublished), and Goedicke and Wentz, *Ostraka Michaelides* (Weisbaden, 1962) Pl. XV, line 3; see also *mtwn* for *mntn* in Černý, *LRL*, p. 71, line 14, and  for *mntt* in *HO*, Pl. XXIII 4, recto 3.

^j (64/11) The *f* in *py³f rmt* may refer to either Dhutmose or Amon.

^k (64/14-15) Lit. "A not giving them to you is what they have done."

44. PAPYRUS BOURNEMOUTH

The chantress of Amon-Re, King of the gods . . . [to] . . . the Necropolis. In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of [Amon-Re, King of the gods. I] every day [tell Amon-Re; King of the gods], Mut, Khonsu, and all gods of Thebes to give you [life, prosperity, and health] Quote:

I have noted all matters [about which you have written me. As for your having said] the matter of the vessels of smaragdus^a which you [said] "I have caused the coppersmiths to be brought before . . . ,” says he, the vizier.

They said to me, "As for the vessels . . . 'them' wax (on) the mouth(s) of the vessels. We . . . their š-vessels and their $\overline{d}3\overline{d}3$ -jars . . . the matter of the oxen before Amon . . . to this side in the second month of the first season, day 19."

Give . . . look after the matter of the foreigner . . . 'three . . . to the *setem*-priest who has punished'^b . . . Tabake. They shall intrust her^c to the chantress of Amon] . . .

^a (65/6) For *hnmw n w3d*, cf. n. c to letter No. 5 (9/8).

^b (65/12) In view of the lacunae the rendering of these words is highly uncertain. *N* might be the genitive rather than the dative; and *ihd* might be a passive participle rather than active. The traces after *hd* do not suit the reading of the name *Hd-nht*. *Stm* might perhaps be a personal name (cf. Černý, *Graffiti*, p. 34).

^c (65/12) Or "it."

45. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 198,I

. . . [the Temple] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaaremeramon [in the Estate of A]mon. In life, prosperity, and health and [in the favor] of Amon-[Re, King of the gods]. I say *every day* to Amon-Re, King of the gods, to [Mu]t, Khonsu, and all the gods and goddesses of Thebes, to Amon, United with Eternity, and to his Ennead, to Mereseger, mistress of the West, to Amon, Holy of Place,^a the Lord of the West, and to every god and every goddess whom I see daily, to Amon of Luxor at each and every decade when he comes (to) offer water (to) the Great Living Ba's, who rest in the place of Amon, United with Eternity, resident in the place of the appearance of the decade,^b to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a good ripe old age, and very many favors before the general, your lord, and to preserve you in his charge.^c And may Amon-Re, King of the gods, bring you back prospering and alive and (I) fill (my) embrace with you. Quote:

You have written to the general's scribe Pentahunakht saying, "Take thought^d concerning my people and my personnel^e as well," so you said. Your people are all right. They are alive, prospering, and in health. Do not worry about them. You are the one whom they wish to see and about whose condition they wish to hear daily.

Now see, (it is now) the second expedition that you are with your superior, and you have not yet written me about your condition. I am inquiring about/you . . . [from] all persons who come north therefrom, and they say to me that you are all right. "He is happy before his superior," they say to me testifying to me.

You have sent^g three papyrus letters^h to the scribe Butehamon, but you have not written me about your condition. As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall write me about your condition through the messenger Pentahunakht.

May your health be good.

Address: . . . '[of] the Necropolis'.

^a (66/3) "Amon, Holy of Place," is the Amon of the 18th-dynasty temple at Medinet Habu.

^b (66/4-6) As far as I know this is the earliest reference to the trip that the ithyphallic Amon of the Luxor temple made every ten days to the area of Medinet Habu. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (AAWB, Jahrgang 1929, No. 4) § 112, dealt with the later texts pertaining to this event; from these texts, the earliest of which is the Achoris inscription on the northeast column of the 18th-dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, it is clear that the Luxor Amon went to the 18th-dynasty temple to visit Amon, the Primeval One of the Two Lands, and that he offered water. However, from the text of our letter it seems that the object of his visit was one of the sanctuaries of Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, the god of which was Amon, United with Eternity. We have no evidence that this Amon had any connection with the 18th-dynasty temple nearby.

The visit that Amon of Luxor made every decade, I believe, is to be connected with the public appearance that the ithyphallic Amon made every ten days in the first court of the Luxor temple. In an unpublished inscription on the east wall of this court Ramesses II describes this part of the temple, which he had built. He states that it was constructed "so that his (Amon's) festival outlay (*hnt*) might be made there at the beginning of each decade." Although the text does not explicitly state that the ithyphallic Amon entered the court, the scenes on the east wall would seem to indicate that he did. On a stela of Ramesses III at Luxor (published by Daressy in *Recueil de travaux* XVI [1894] 55-56) there is a more direct reference to this processional feast of the Luxor Amon. The text concerns the erection of a small temple, now lost, by Ramesses III at Luxor and states that this Amon was to rest in it at the beginning of each decade. Herbert D. Schaedel, *Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris* ("Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien" VI [Glückstadt, 1936]) pp. 25-26, surmised that the lost structure was situated somewhere between the Ramesses II court and the Nile. If so, it may have served as a resting place, or riverside chapel, where the god stayed after his procession through the Ramesses II court and before his journey across the river to the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.

It is difficult to determine which place in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III is described by the passage in our letter. One possibility is the mortuary chapel of the king, with its vaulted ceiling on which are represented the decans, though I find it difficult to see how the "Great Living Ba's" would be associated with this room. In the Re chapel are representations of the Ba's of Re, and possibly it is the place referred to.

^c (66/8) For *šd m-drt*, cf. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (Leipzig, 1924) 188, line 7.

^d (66/11) On *ib r-k*, cf. n. r to letter No. 9 (19/4).

^e (66/11) For *smdt*, "personnel," cf. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs*, p. 23.

^f (66/15) For *nḡnd* with the meaning "inquire about," cf. n. b to letter No. 9 (17/11).

^g (67/1) Or, if we accept Černý's sentence division, "It has been pointed out to me that you have sent . . ."

^h (67/1) Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* I 12, n. 6.

46. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 198,II

. . . I every day tell Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, a good ripe old age, and very many favors before Amon, your lord. Quote:

I have heard that you are wroth.^a You have caused me to 'be contemptible'^b through reproaches on account of^c this joke which I told the chief taxing master in this letter,^d it being Henuttawi who said to me, "Say some words of humor to the chief taxing master in your letter." You are the case^e of the wife blind in one eye who had been in the house of a man for twenty years; and when he found another (woman), he said to her, "I divorce you,^f for you are blind in one eye," so they say (i.e., as the story goes). She said to him, "Is this what you have (just) discovered^g in these twenty years that I have spent in your house?" Such am I and such is the sporting which I have made with you.^h

Now if you say, "Out from here," I shall be a (mere) pauper,ⁱ Esamon will 'jest'^j with me, and I shall take them. (But) shall I take them from him now while I am an official who has been hired as a great official? It is from each and everyone that (I) have taken 'jesting', even from^k his elder brother. You are in the right against me. If I mention^l your name again, 'by golly',^m you will put up a fuss. Look, please,ⁿ it was when I was in the house that you were born. Say, please, (any) vilifying words that I have said against you in the presence of your father. You do not know the nature of my heart, that (it is) concerned about you, that my desire is to have your 'soul' remembered for your sake daily.

If you should be vizier, I would not go down into your ships. [By golly], also, do not let yourself reveal^o weakness^p because of the fact that Efnamon, your elder brother, fixed blame^q (on) the things that you have done. No fault shall be found behind my back in (any) matters,^r 'by golly'. May your health be good.

Address: . . . 'of the Necropolis.'

^a (67/10) For *hḏn*, "be wroth," cf. Blackman in *JEA* XI 251, n. 4.

^b (67/10) *Šfy* (cf. *Wb.* IV 455 [7]) is unknown to me elsewhere.

^c (67/11) For *hr-st-r* with the meaning "on account of," cf. d'Orb. vii 8 and xv 10 and Pap. Leiden 371, lines 12 and 37 (Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, Pls. VII and VIII).

^d (67/11-12) For *hr ḏy šꜥt*, cf. Horus and Seth xv 2 and Gardiner's note thereto in *LES*, p. 57a.

^e (67/13) A close parallel for *t3 sm* with this meaning is found in *HO*, Pl. LXXIX, verso 6, translated by Gardiner in *JEA* IX (1923) 25.

^f (67/15) For *h3c* with the meaning "divorce," "repudiate," cf. P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* ("Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava" IX [Lugdunum Batavorum, 1961]) p. 60. The clause is either a synchronous present (cf. n. *t* to letter No. 8) or the third future.

^g (67/16) Lit. "Is this the discovery which you have made . . . ?"

^h (68/1-2) Cf. Coptic *ⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲏ*, "sport with," in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (2d ed.) p. 321 a.

ⁱ (68/2) My translation of this line closely follows that by Černý in *JEA* XXVII 108. For the adverbial use of *n3*, "here," cf. James, *Heḳanakhṭe*, p. 112.

^j (68/3) Although there are rare examples of *iw* before nominal subject in the third future (cf. Gardiner in *JEA* XXXII 101), 𐀓 is the generally preferred form before nouns. Therefore I am inclined to take this clause not as a third future but as continuing the apodosis of the conditional clause.

^k (68/5) I accept Černý's alternative reading in *LRL*, p. 68a, n. 5b-c, and regard *hr irm* as the rare compound particle discussed by Caminos, *LEM*, p. 459. From Pap. Turin A verso iv 4 (*ibid.* p. 509) it is clear that *irm* in this combination does not have its pure prepositional force, so that in our text the presence of the preposition *n* after *hr irm* is not too disturbing grammatically. Perhaps here the literal meaning is "even including from" or "even in the case from." The alternative reading *hr idd-w* would yield the translation "now they will say to his elder brother" (for the construction, cf. Černý in *JEA* XXXI 40).

^l (68/6) For *wnn* introducing a conditional clause, cf. n. *e* to letter No. 10 (21/11-12).

^m (68/6) The translation of *idd nb nh-tw* is makeshift; could it literally mean "every-one who says, 'Live thou' "?

ⁿ (68/7) I know of no parallel for the enclitic particle *my* prefixed by the prothetic *i*.

^o (68/11) On the confusion in the writing of the verbs *kfc* and *kfi*, cf. Edwards in *Hieratic Papyri BM*, Fourth Series, I 4, n. 30. Although Edwards is inclined to take *kfc* with Δ determinative as the verb *kfc*, "capture," in the oracular papyri, this meaning seems unlikely in our passage, and I prefer to regard the verb as *kfi*, "uncover," "reveal."

^p (68/11) For *wiwi*, "helpless," cf. *Wb.* I 272 (9-10), Wilson in *JEA* XVII 213, n. 1, Caminos in *JEA* XLIX 35, and *HO*, Pl. LXVII 1, recto 4.

^q (68/11) *W3h mdw*, "fix blame," occurs in letter No. 47 (70/3) also.

^r (68/12) Or "because of words."

47. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 198,III

... Es. . . [I] every day [tell] . . . the Ombite, who is before the Universal Lord,^a the great god of the first occasion, to give you life, prosperity, and health and very many favors before Amon-Re, King of the gods, [your lord]. Quote:

Indeed what is the matter with you that you do not listen^b and are idle (in) this commission^c of Pharaoh, l.p.h., your good lord, in which you are? Now one *m*^c binds a thousand sticks; but, see, it is you who unbinds them. As for the men who are dwelling there confined, give . . . them as well. There has been no work, and there is no work for the men. Now (I) have said to you, "Dispatch Essobek, your scribe. Cause him to go with the doorkeeper and guardian Dhutmose and the scribe Efnamon. Cause the grain to be fetched." [You] have not obeyed me.

The fishermen came to the place where the men of the Necropolis were saying, "We have been sitting till today," and saying,^d "We are confined in your charge."^e Now they had thought^f to break through when the sky was low in elevation,^g saying, "You have taken our men at the beginning so that you might take work. See, you have taken the men again so that you might take work. We shall spend today here and return^h to where the vizier is tomorrow," so they said.

See, you do not obey me. Amon is before you. If your commissions are too many for you, you will not be able to accomplish this commission from Pharaoh, l.p.h.ⁱ Dispatch your scribe together with Efn[amon], the scribe of the Necropolis, and the doorkeeper Dhutmose or the doorkeeper Khonsmose. Let them go to fetch the grain lest the men hunger and become idle in the commission of Pharaoh, l.p.h., and fix any blame upon you.^j

See, (I) have written to make testimony for you through the watchman Wenamon.

^a (68/15-16) This epithet of Seth refers to his role in the prow of the solar bark.

^b (69/1-2) For this use of the conjunctive, cf. n. b to letter No. 19 (35/4).

^c (69/2) For the *pr*-sign determinative of *shn*, cf. letter No. 28 (47/4). In view of *shn n Pr*-^{c3} in verso 4 (69/15-16) it seems unlikely that "commission of the House of Pharaoh" is the proper rendition.

^d (69/10) Or possibly *r-dd* is here used as is Coptic *xe* to introduce a causal clause (cf. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna*, § 46 h 3).

^e (69/10) For *m-drt*, "in the charge of," cf. n. u to letter No. 9 (19/7-8).

^f (69/10) On the construction of *wn dd-w*, cf. n. i to letter No. 37 (58/8).

^g (69/11) Perhaps this obscure expression refers to the early morning mist, which would provide good camouflage for an escape.

^h (69/13) Taking *mtw-tn* for *mtw-n* (cf. Černý in *JEA XXXI* 38).

ⁱ (69/15) This passage is translated by Černý in *JEA XXVII* 108, No. 17.

^j (69/16-70/3) This passage is translated by Gardiner in *JEA XXVII* 23 and by Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 279.

48. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 199,III

. . . . [We] every day [tell ever]y god and [ever]y goddess to give you life, prosperity, and health and many favors before . . . [your] superior. Quote:

We have noted all matters about which you have written us. As for [your] having said [the] matter of the grain and the *hmy*^a which you told me the vizier is enregistering, we rejoice . . . that you know this damage which has happened to it. You shall 'determine its loss'^b . . . and write to instruct us to store^c all that we have found there.

Now [we] are engaged in this commission until it is done.^d It is you who sees the . . . grain. And it is you who shall render report to the vizier concerning it. May your health be good.

^a (70/10) *Hmy*, which is also found in *HO*, Pl. XXXVI 1, verso ii 8, and *DM* ost. No. 556 recto 5, has to my knowledge never been identified.

^b (70/12) I know of no parallel for this nominal use of *mn*, "there is not," and my rendition is purely conjectural.

^c (70/12) For *wḥ* with the meaning "store," "stow," cf. Blackman in *JEA XVI* 63 (3).

^d (70/13) Emending *īr-tw* to *īr-twtw*.

49. PAPYRUS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE 199,IV

... [you being] alive, prosperous, and healthy, and I shall fill my embrace [with you] It was after I had spoken . . . that you went forth^a thither from Ne. . . . daughter of this slave-woman

[As soon as my letter] reaches you, you shall not forget . . . general. Now if you find out . . . her to be brought back, and she shall be with you also like . . . which you shall do. Do not wander about

^a (71/3) For the *ir:f sdm* construction followed by *iw sdm:f*, cf. n. a to letter No. 27 (42/15).

50. PAPYRUS TURIN 2026

[The scribe of the great and noble Necropolis Dhutmose to] . . . [and the chantress of Amon Shed]emdua. In life, prosperity, and health and (in) the favor of Amon-Re-Harakhti when he rises and sets. I *every day* tell [Horus of Kuba]n, who dwells in [thi]s mountain to give you life, prosperity, and health, a long lifetime, and a good ripe old age, to have [Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands], my lord, save me^a and I return and fill my embrace with you, while I am alive. Indeed you^b are (the object of) my prayer^c . . . I am here in their vicinity. And may I find that Amon has saved you . . . 'I' . . .^d one of you, you being alive, prospering, and healthy. Quote:

How are you? How are [Hemesheri and her daugh]ter? How are the scribe Meniunufe, the scribe Amenhotep, Takamene the younger, Shedsumut, . . . , Tainuteme, and Tapeses . . . ? Tell Amon of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Mereseger, Amenophis, [Nofretari, Amon of the] Beautiful [Encounter], Hathor, mistress of the West, Amon, Holy of Place, the great and [august] Ogdoad . . . , "[Bring] him back prospering and let him reach home^e down (to) Egypt/ from the far-off land [in] which he is, [and you will s]ee him standing in your open court, you having rescued (him),"^g so you shall tell them.

Another [matter for the scribe But]ehamon. Look, please. What is the meaning of the things that you say to me, they being words of reply . . . ? You [have not] explained (any) of them. As for the coppersmith Hori's job which you and I received . . . , you [have not] written me concerning it, namely its 'specification'^h consisting of the 17 spears which you said. I have caused . . . the place (where) the general is. Now you have spoken about the matter of the spears, but you have not sentⁱ the boat You have not yet named^j the man to whom you intrusted them, the matter of the spears,^k while it is the Sherd[en Hori who brought] it (or them?) to me, and (I) do not know the man to whom you gave them nor do (I) know the boat which . . . a letter bearing the general's name concerning them. What is the meaning of this? I will not be silent to you about it. . . . 'me' while I was in Paḥedj. . . 'meḥty'. I received them,

and I found the . . . all being in good condition. But the matter of the spears is what I have (i.e., is my concern), for it is not all right. . . . to write a letter like this again.

Now as for the matter of the Medjay Kasy about whom (I) [wro]te you, you have not answered^l me whether what you have done for him is like the matter of the . . . you Amenpanufe for whom you have not written me about what you have done, whether you have brought him or whether you have not brought [him]

Now you should give your attention to my mother, Tanettabekhen, the daughter . . . 'take' her . . . all the children. Do not neglect . . . their . . . neglect Shedemdua, seeing that^m God gives . . . 'in them,'^l I would be like "one who is there" (i.e., dead). You know that . . . , and you shall look after the children who are in your [house] and cause them to be brought . . . delay, but you have not joined up with him 'concerning greatness' . . . letter to your superior. It is all right, this which you have done.

Now as soon as you find out [that he is writing you, you shall se]nd (it) to him also. He should write you a letter first, for it is better if you do not [write 'the'] letter first until he has written you. Now as soon as you find out that he is writing you,ⁿ you shall [send (it) to] him. Indeed I shall not be silent to you about this matter of the spears [about] which you have not written . . . it to him.

Nor have you written a letter in your handwriting to be sent (to) the general, your [superior] . . . which (bears) the controllers' names as well . . . so that it may be (for) you a [testimony] . . . 'for us' as well.

May your health be good.

^a (71/13) For the writing of the first person singular dependent pronoun as though it were the suffix, cf. n. *n* to letter No. 1 (2/7).

^b (71/14) On *mtwn* as the second person plural independent pronoun, cf. n. *i* to letter No. 43 (64/10).

^c (71/14) For the writing *nhbt* for *nhṯ*, "prayer," cf. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gases*, p. 15.

^d (71/16) Perhaps before the questionable seated man restore a form of the verb *iri* and translate "so that I may be one of you."

^e (72/6) For *pḥ*, "reach home," cf. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1955) II 237.

^f (72/6) *R hry (r) Kmt* occurs also in letter No. 29 (48/12).

^g (72/7-8) The dependent pronoun *wi* is omitted after *iw šd-in*. Note the translation of the first person pronoun as the third person (in 72/5-8) to accord with English usage.

^h (72/11) For *wp*, "specification" or "itemization," cf. n. *j* to letter No. 16 (32/7).

ⁱ (72/13) For *dī* with the meaning "send," cf. n. *i* to letter No. 21 (36/13).

^j (72/13) Or read simply *bw ir-k dd*, regarding the strokes as superfluous rather than as the *-tw* of a *bw ir-tw-f sdm* construction.

^k (72/14) Taking *t3 mdt n n3 niw* in apposition to the preceding pronoun *st*; cf. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 20 (P96). Regarding *t3 mdt* as the beginning of a new sentence ("As for the matter of the spears, it is the Sherden Hori who brought it to me") does not do justice to the circumstantializing *iw* before *m* (= *in*).

^l (73/5) For *hsf*, "answer," cf. Janssen in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* XLI 43.

^m (73/10) For *hr r-c*, cf. n. *l* to letter No. 2 (4/13).

ⁿ (74/1) Or perhaps we are to regard the *sw* as referring to *šct*, "letter," and translate "as soon as you find out that it has been sent to you." The only objection to this alternative is the omission of the feminine old perfective ending after *h3b*, but there are other instances of its absence in L.E. (cf. Erman, *Neuæg. Gr.* § 333).

51. FRAGMENT BELONGING TO A. H. GARDINER

... [the scribe] of the Necropolis [Tj]aroy . . . Amon-Re, King of the gods, in life, [prosperity, and health . . . I] every day [tell Amon]-Re, King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu . . . favors . . . see 'you' Quote:

You 'shall' . . . concerning the matter of the [As soon as] my letter reaches [you] . . . its matter saying, "It is for the . . . payment. And you shall . . . good you You [have ne]ver done it

Address: . . . [the scribe] of the [Necropolis Tj]aroy

