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Papyrus Carlsberg Nr. VII

FRAGMENTS OF A HIEROGLYPHIC  
DICTIONARY

BY

ERIK IVERSEN



København 1958

i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard



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## 1. Provenance and Technical Description.

The fragments belong to the papyrus-collection of the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen, where they have the number Papyrus Carlsberg VII.

Very little can be said with any amount of certainty about their provenance, but there are indications that, together with the greater part of the collection, they belong to one single find and probably came from the vicinity of Tebtynis in the Fayyum.

It has even been suggested that the find as such was part of the ancient archives of the local temple dedicated to the crocodile-god Suchos (*Σοκρεβτυνις*).<sup>1</sup>

Of the present text only scanty fragments of two pages are left, together with three loose fragments, of which it has been possible to place one at the left hand side of page one in continuation of line 11, and another in continuation of lines 14—21 of the same page. A third fragment still remains without a likely place.

The papyrus, now mounted between glass, is of the very finest texture, very thin and still fairly flexible. Its colour varies from dark brown (Page 1), to very pale yellow (Page 2).

The height of Page One is now about 294 mm., and there are good reasons to believe that it did not contain more than the remaining 30 lines, as no traces of signs are to be seen at the bottom of the page where a margin seems to have been left, so that the original height of the whole sheet would have been a little more than 300 mm., which corresponds fairly well to the large dimension-rolls mentioned by ČERNÝ.<sup>2</sup>

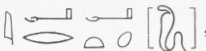

Unfortunately we are unable to determine the original length of the sheet and its lines. Page One, where it is broadest at line 13, measures about 195 mm., and considering ČERNÝ's observations that one of the standard lengths of late papyri was about 200 mm.,<sup>3</sup> it seems probable that this line is almost complete and represents the approximate original length of the sheet.<sup>4</sup>

The height of the remains of the second page is about 200 mm., and the fact that the two pages were found together makes it probable that it was in fact the second page of the original roll, although we are unable to prove it from textual evidence.

<sup>1</sup> ERICHSEN, *Demotische Orakelfragen*. *Hist. Filol. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 28, no. 3 (1942), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> ČERNÝ, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.* p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The last word of the line is  [𓂏], and the determinative  must at any rate be restored at the end of the line, as the next one begins with a new passage.

We are also unable to determine the original length of the papyrus as such, but if the horizontal breaks which run down Page One, represent the original folding lines of the roll, it would seem to have been fairly thick and consequently pretty extensive.

No other fragments of the text or the papyrus have ever, to the best of my knowledge, been found elsewhere.

## 2. The Date of the Text.

If we consider the date of the text itself, that is, the actual date of its composition or compilation, and the date of the present copy, separately as two independent problems, we are in the fortunate position that palaeographical evidence permits us to ascertain the latter date with reasonable accuracy.

It is written in a clear and concise, although not always easily readable hand, showing the characteristics of that peculiar form of hieratic used in religious and scientific texts from the time about the beginning of our era. This particular form of hieratic, with its concise and clear-cut sign-forms and its deliberate avoidance of ligatures and abbreviations, is probably traditionally related to and influenced by the cursive hieroglyphs used in religious texts from about the 21th dynasty. It has like these a tendency to efface the individuality of the different hands, and it has in its uniformity and rigid impersonality been aptly compared to our roundhand (Rund-schrift).<sup>1</sup>

The writing of our present text is closely related to that of the hieratic parts of papyrus Carlsberg I, which comes from the same find, and has been dated at the time about the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Also the so-called sign-papyrus from Tanis, which GRIFFITH has dated at Roman times,<sup>3</sup> shows great affinity to our text in sign forms and the general characteristics of its style, although it is not nearly as carefully and precisely written; but even closer related to our text is papyrus Berlin 7809, which I only know from Møller's reproduction.<sup>4</sup> This text is in itself so closely related to the sign-papyrus, as seen from a palaeographical point of view, that MØLLER quotes both under one heading in his *Paläographie*,<sup>5</sup> where he dates the Berlin text at about the first century.

It will be seen, therefore, that the palaeographical evidence is clear and unambiguous, and dates our text with great certainty at the time about the first century after Christ.

The orthographic evidence, although obviously more vague and less conclusive for dating purposes, corroborates also a late dating of the copy. The scribe uses typical

<sup>1</sup> MØLLER, *Paläographie*, III, 1.















<sup>2</sup> LANGE-NEUGEBAUER, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. I. Hist. Filol. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 1, no. 2 (1940), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> GRIFFITH, *The Sign-Papyrus from Tanis, Extra Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, IX. (London 1889), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> MØLLER, *Paläographie*, III, Tafel VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. No. 421.



Ptolemaic signs such as  for *dm* (line 9), and  for  (line 4). He writes  for *dd* (line 4 and passim,  for  (f. inst. line 9), and occasionally probably  for *e* (as f. inst. maybe in  = *ze*). He writes  for , and confuses *h* and *h*, in listing  under  (line 11), and he uses late spellings such as  for  for *zom* (line 19), all of which bear clear and unambiguous evidence of the late 'Ptolemaic' origin of the manuscript, although it is not in itself typical enough of any definite period to permit a closer dating.




When we turn to the question about the date of the text itself, we are at once faced with the problem whether the information of the introduction is correct, according to which the manuscript should be a copy of an older one, presumably found in a temple of Osiris, or whether the text is in fact contemporary with the manuscript.

The linguistic evidence upon which the answer to this question must necessarily be based, unfortunately is not very conclusive in itself, and it is difficult to decide whether the passage of the introduction is to be taken seriously, or merely as one of the well-known declarations intended to warrant the sacred and traditional origin of the text.

It is undoubtedly true that the late impression given by the writing and the orthography to a certain extent seems to be contradicted by the classical, or at any rate old-fashioned language in which the text obviously appears. The articles do not occur, and we find none of the auxiliary verbs or verbal constructions characteristic of the later periods of the Egyptian language, and the author uses the old negations.

However, the discrepancy between the palaeographical and the linguistic evidence is maybe more apparent than real, and merely a natural result of the very nature of the text.

According to its title, the aim of the book is to explain the hieroglyphs and their use, and in conformity with the general principle of Egyptian science, all the material for any explanation and any commentary is taken from the traditional religious texts, which in accordance with the mythical conceptions of the Egyptians were supposed to contain the final solutions to all problems. An alliteration or a quotation which gave a mythical aspect to any problem, involved to the Egyptian mind eo ipso an explanation, and the commentaries of our text accordingly appear as direct quotations from traditional religious literature.

This must necessarily efface the individual linguistic features of the text, and endow it with the linguistic appearance of its sources. Its classical appearance, therefore, does not necessarily involve an ancient origin of the text, and it is unfortunately in too bad a condition to give a clear picture of those parts of it which are not quotations, although the fact that the author comments on signs which are undoubtedly of late origin such as f. inst.  and , and his use of such late idioms as , would rather indicate a late than an early origin of the text.

This point of view is also supported by the fact that the only related text, the Sign-papyrus from Tanis, is undoubtedly of very late origin, and the whole character of the text makes it a typical result of the scientific and filological interests which are so very characteristic the time after the Saitic revival.

An exact dating of the text itself is obviously not possible, but in spite of the colophon it would seem most natural to consider the compilation made some time between the 26th dynasty and the beginning of our era, and I can see no serious objections to consider the text and the copy more or less contemporary.

### 3. The Contents of the Text.

As we are in the fortunate position that the title of the book has been preserved there can be no doubt as to the aim and the general purpose of the treatise, which is stated to be 'an explanation of the use of the hieroglyphs', and we have seen that the authenticity and sacred traditional origin of the book was guaranteed by one of the usual statements that it was originally found in a temple of Osiris.

Unfortunately we are unable to judge the original length of the text, and unable to tell how many signs it originally contained, but it was arranged like our dictionaries, so that each page contained a rubric divided off by two vertical lines, in which the signs to be explained were inserted as cursive hieroglyphs, or at any rate as very carefully executed hieratic, in vertical columns to be read from above, while the accompanying commentary was written in hieratic in horizontal lines on the left. The text as such may claim special interest as being the only one hitherto found which deals systematically with the problems of Egyptian writing<sup>1</sup> and it distinguishes itself from other known lists already in the way in which the material is arranged.

Generally speaking the principles on which the signs and vocables have been arranged in the ordinary texts containing lists and enumerations of objects seem very loose and unsystematic, the signs being arranged rather vaguely in groups according to their ideographic meaning, as f. inst. in the Tanis Sign papyrus, which begins with signs representing human beings, and then proceeds to mammals, birds and reptiles, or else with the various objects classified into categories according to the practical aims of the different texts, such as f. inst. in papyrus Harris or papyrus Hood.

As far as the hieroglyphs are concerned, it has been generally accepted that no proper system of classification ever existed,<sup>2</sup> and this would to a certain extent seem to be confirmed by the present text, where the signs themselves seem to follow each

<sup>1</sup> For its relation to the sign-papyrus see below.





<sup>2</sup> Cf. GRIFFITH'S remarks on the sign-papyrus (op. cit. p. 1 col. 1, line 15), 'From the considerable care with which the list has been prepared, and from its extent, we must suppose that if any rigid method was customary, it would have been adopted here, and we are thus driven to conclude that the Egyptians possessed no such system'. Cf. also ERMAN-RANKE *Ägypten* (1923), 184 note 1, 'Die Ägypter selbst scheinen kein System der Anordnung ihrer Zeichen ausgebildet zu haben'.











other without any apparent principle or order at all, as far as their ideographical meaning or their shapes are concerned.



If, however, we consider the commentary, it will be seen that the first page contains 11 separate catch-words, the reading of which are given as respectively *h3bw*, *hrw*, *hnm.t*, *h*, *h3b*, *hmhm*, *hn*, *hmj*, *hnw*. As it is obvious that these words have nothing in common except the fact that they all begin with an *h*,<sup>1</sup> it would be most tempting to conclude that alphabetic considerations had determined their arrangement.

Unfortunately the condition of the second page does not permit us to draw any definite conclusions as to the arrangement of the signs there, as all the original readings of the catch-words except *k3* have been lost, and the phonetic value of several signs is ambiguous and doubtful.




The sequence of the first readable signs of the page does not speak for an alphabetic arrangement,<sup>2</sup> but the four last ones , , , and , might probably be read *k3*, *k3rj*, *km*,<sup>3</sup> and *km*.


It will be seen, however, that no definite conclusions can be drawn from this page, and one would have been most hesitant to attach too much importance to Page One, were it not for the fact that important evidence actually seems to speak for the existence of certain alphabetic conceptions, and for the existence of a tendency to arrange words and word-lists in accordance with their initials.

First of all we find certain fragments of a demotic text published by SPIEGELBERG,<sup>4</sup> and containing geographical names, some of which have been arranged on topographical principles, and others have been listed in groups according to an initial  or . It is obvious that this in itself cannot be used to support the idea of alphabetical arrangements, but on the verso of the papyrus we find a collection of proper-names beginning with some which have  as their first element. These are followed by names beginning with , after which we find one beginning with . Then follow names constructed with  and , and finally we find names beginning with .

It is obvious that the only reason why these names have been brought together in one list must be the fact that they all begin with an , which obviously seems to prove that the Egyptians somehow or other must have considered an initial  in a way which seems to correspond to our conception of an ordinary letter.

<sup>1</sup> *hnm.t* is no exception, the word having been listed under *h* owing to the assimilation of *h* and *h*.

<sup>2</sup> The first readable sign is , which in late inscriptions has the phonetic value *mj*. It is also used as an ideogram for *3m* and *3n'*. The next sign  is read *hnmw*, and the reading of  is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup>  is occasionally used as an ideogram for *km* in Ptolemaic texts.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. Gen. des Ant. du Caire, XVI, XXXIX, LXX. Die Demotischen Denkmäler, II, Die Demotischen Papyrus, Textband, p. 270. The text is older than ours and dates from Ptolemaic times.

We find the same principle employed in a small demotic vocabulary from Heidelberg,<sup>1</sup> where *h̄jw* and a sequence of words beginning with *h̄tr* are placed together because of their initial *h̄*.

Moreover the existence of what is actually called an Egyptian 'alphabet' is frequently mentioned by classical authors.<sup>2</sup>

It is definitely implied, if not explicitly stated by Plato in Philebus (VIII), where we are told that 'a certain Thoth from Egypt' was the first to classify the various sounds as consonants, vowels, and mute letters<sup>3</sup> and Plutarch states explicitly that the Egyptian 'alphabet', consisted of 25 letters.<sup>4</sup>

Considering that the first catch-word in our present text is actually *h̄bw*, 'the Ibis', another remark of his becomes even more surprising, for we are told that the Ibis was in fact the first letter in the Egyptian alphabet, and his explanation that the Egyptians had arranged it thus out of reverence for Thot, is obviously right.<sup>5</sup>

Considering this not very clear, but nevertheless irrefutable evidence, we are more or less forced to admit that the Egyptians had actually developed certain alphabetic conceptions, and that alphabetic considerations were responsible for the arrangement of the signs on the first page of our text.

However, how far these conceptions had been developed, and how far the Egyptians actually had developed a proper alphabet in our sense of the word is quite another question which at present we are unable to answer. It is not without significance, however, to see that in our text, □, which we should consider a proper 'letter', is in no way distinguished from the other signs with an initial *h*, and nowhere in the lists are there any indications that one-consonant signs were in any way regarded as a group apart, as one would expect if they had been considered ordinary letters in an alphabet. That they were not considered ordinary standard letters in our sense, is also supported by the fact that in late enigmatic writing when a greater need was felt for 'letters', i. e. signs which could be used for a single consonant in ordinary spelling, new 'letters' were created by using ordinary signs 'alphabetically', that is, with the alphabetical value of their initials.

As far as I can see, this constant reversion to initials instead of separate letters tends to show that in their alphabetical conceptions the Egyptians were bound to certain acrophonic principles from which they never escaped and which probably prevented them from developing a proper alphabet.

Turning now to the aim and practical purpose of the treatise contained in our text, we have already mentioned that the sign-papyrus from Tanis is its closest paral-

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica*, I. 7. 'Ein demotisches Vocabular'. *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akad.* (1925), Abhdl. 6. This fragment is more or less contemporary with our papyrus, and dates from about the middle of the first century. SPIEGELBERG mentions other examples of alphabetical arrangements on unpublished ostraca, *op. cit.* p. 25, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For a very useful collection of this material see PIERRE MARESTAING, *Les Écritures Égyptiennes et L'Antiquité Classique*, Paris 1913.



<sup>3</sup> If Eisler's commentary to this passage is correct it would imply that Plato regarded the Egyptian alphabet as consisting of 24 letters. See ROBERT EISLER, *Platon und das Aegyptische Alphabet*. *Arch. für Geschichte der Philosophie*. Bd. 34, Heft 1—2, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> de Iside, § 56.





<sup>5</sup> *Quaest. conv. lib. IX quaest. III, § 11.*



lel, the difference between the two texts being something like the difference between a mechanically compiled word-list, and an etymological dictionary in our terminology.

The purpose of the sign-papyrus is obviously to provide a list of the current hieroglyphs and their hieratic equivalents, together with a very summary commentary, generally confined to an explanation of the pictorial meaning of the various signs, such as e.g.  which is explained as  'a bent finger' (1 A 15.2), and

, which is said to be  'an eye turned upside down'.

Our text does not give the hieratic forms of the various cursive hieroglyphs separately, but to explain the ideographical meaning of the signs is obviously one of its aims, and it explains e.g. the hieroglyph <sup>1</sup> as 'a man steering' (l. 28), and  as 'a plough' (l. 16). In those cases in which the hieroglyph as such permits several readings or interpretations, the author comments on each separately, when e.g. he first reads  as *hrw*, 'the day', and afterwards explains the sign itself as 'the sun (*Rē*) rising in the morning' (1.8), or tells us that the ground plan expressed by the hieroglyph  (l. 14), can be explained as 'a poultry house' (*h3m*), as well as a 'field house' (*pr n sht*). What gives the text its main interest is its extensive commentary, which provides us with one of the comparatively rare glimpses of Egyptian methodical thinking at work.

It is evident that the fundamental problems of Egyptian thought and Egyptian logic cannot possibly be considered even in their vaguest outline within the scope of the present paper, but a few remarks are indispensable for the proper understanding of the method employed in our text, and I hope to be able to examine the problem more thoroughly somewhere else later.

It has often been pointed out that Egyptian thinking means mythical thinking in what is probably its highest development, but the epistemological implications of mythical thinking as such, and the special logic which governs it, has never been systematically exposed or illustrated from a methodical consideration of the Egyptian material. First of all it must be realized that the mythical material, as it appears as background to Egyptian religion, does not only govern the religious conceptions of the Egyptians, but to an extent which it is difficult for our way of abstract thought, and our post-aristotelian logic to conceive, it governs the whole conception of their cosmos and its nature.

The concrete manifestations, and the tangible, pictorial representations of the myths, and the legends which connects them, embody to the Egyptian mind a conception of the universe and the fundamental problems of existence, including the movements of the celestial bodies as well as the human rhythm of birth, life and death, in a living cosmography, which not only reflects and illustrates the various phenomena and coordinates them, but also involves their explanation; and the religious and cultural unity of the individual members of the Egyptian community becomes dependent on their submission to this mythical reality and the cosmography of the myths, and on the common belief in the magical nature of its dynamics.

<sup>1</sup> The actual hieroglyph shows a man in the boat.

This belief in the magical nature of things, and in magic as an elementary dynamic force, has been demonstrated once and for all by GARDINER in his incomparable article on Egyptian magic,<sup>1</sup> and it becomes of fundamental importance for the development of Egyptian logic.

It is obvious that no less than we are, the Egyptians were able to follow a simple and natural sequence of cause and effect, such as fundamental in our logic, and the difference between this and the Egyptian, does not arise from any mental deficiency of the Egyptians, and cannot be explained by any reference to their so-called 'primitivity'.

It consists in a different position of the problems, and in a different conception of the nature of the causes as such, because the Egyptian acknowledgement and acceptance of the magical causes, and their tendency to consider these the only true and dynamic ones, necessarily creates quite a different attitude towards all logistic problems.

The abstract 'truth', which is the final aim of our science and our theoretical thinking, becomes to the Egyptians a mythical truth, a truth which can only be expressed and conceived in mythical form, that is, magically connected or identified with a mythical manifestation. All Egyptian thinking therefore necessarily becomes mythical thinking, and the fundamental logistic problem becomes the establishment of the necessary connection between the 'practice' of the phenomena and the problems, and the 'theory' of the myths, a connection which is mainly established by means of metaphors and their linguistic equivalents, the alliterations.

In speculative, religious and scientific texts, these metaphors therefore are not merely poetical embellishments or stilistic ornaments, as they are mostly considered, but they are, as e. g. the syllogisms in scholastic thinking, active vehicles of thought, by means of which the divergent problems are connected and reconciled with the myths.

It must, however, be realized that it is not only in their function, but also in their very nature that these mythical metaphors differ from ours.

In his important paper 'Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen', GRAPOW has demonstrated the mental process generally employed in ordinary comparisons and metaphors,<sup>2</sup> and he has shown that the essential in them is what he has called 'das Vergleichsmittel', 'tertium comparationis', which is the abstraction on which the comparison is based, when e. g. we say 'the king is a lion', and transfer some abstract qualities of the lion to the abstract conception of a king.

But this conception of the metaphors, which in reality makes them all comparisons, because they are always used with the mental reservation, and the aprioric knowledge that the king is not a lion, does not correspond to the Egyptian conception of the metaphors and their use. Owing to their dependence on concrete pictures to express even what we should call abstract thoughts, and their general avoidance of abstractions the importance of the 'tertium comparationis' becomes reduced in the Egyptian metaphors, with which we are here concerned; and the two elements of comparison

<sup>1</sup> In HASTING'S Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

<sup>2</sup> GRAPOW, Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen. Leipzig 1924, p. 10.



are therefore to the Egyptian mind conceived as two independent concrete pictures, which, by and in the metaphor, are combined to form a magical identity.

This in itself very simple observation is not without importance for the understanding of the method employed in Egyptian theoretical thinking, and it explains why the method is essentially the same in religious and in scientific texts.

The purpose of the former, as illustrated e. g. by the commentary to the Book of the Dead, is to establish a mythical synthesis out of the heterogenous religious conceptions, and in the latter, of which papyrus Carlsberg I is a typical example, to give the mythical explanation of practical phenomena and problems.

The Egyptian mind was perfectly able to cope with the practical implications of empirical observations, but its conceptions of their theoretical nature was always magical, and as cosmic elements the phenomena could only be conceived and understood as mythical manifestations or identifications. It is unfortunate that the condition of our papyrus does not permit us to follow the method employed in the text in greater detail, but even from the scanty fragments preserved we are able to see that it conforms with the principles mentioned above.

The commentary on the hieroglyph ☉ (l. 8), is a typical example. The hieroglyph is first quite simply read *hrw* 'the day' in accordance with the ordinary ideographic use of the sign, but this reading is then followed by an explanation of the pictorial meaning of the hieroglyph which is explained as 'the Sun-God (*Rē*) in his rise in the morning, by means of whom everything is conceived'.<sup>1</sup>




This is followed by a new explanation after which it is said to be 'the Ennead', and the connection between the sun-disk and the Ennead is consequently explained by the statement that the eye (of the Sun-God) is called the Ennead, and that the sun-disk as represented in the hieroglyph, came into existence as, and is therefore identical with, the right eye of the God.

This, however, is not the only explanation, and in the following very badly damaged part of the text, several other identifications were apparently given, where the right eye with which the hieroglyph has been identified, is also said to be the Vulture-Goddess, and probably also the Diadem-goddess *N.t.*


This practice of giving several explanations of the same thing by means of different mythical identifications, which are often divergent and to our mind even contradictory, is typical of Egyptian thought and in strictest conformity with its logic, according to which each connection with the mythical material, and each new identification gave its own independent aspect on the mythical and cosmological significance of the problem.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the verb *rh*, and not an ordinary verb of seeing is used. Cf. 1.6, where a similar expression is used about Thot.

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be sufficiently stressed that to the best of my knowledge it has never been possible to demonstrate in any text from any period a misplaced epitheton or a mythical identification used haphazardly or out of place. On the contrary even the present fragments show with what consistency they conform to parallel passages from other texts, and whenever our unsatisfactory knowledge of Egyptian mythology permits us to follow the reasons for the connections, we always find them established in accordance with an inner logic, which should make us most reluctant to speak about confusion in Egyptian thought.

The other catch-words were treated in exactly the same manner. The hieroglyph  is read 'h<sub>3</sub>n<sub>3</sub>w', 'to jubilate', and the word is then explained as the rite performed by the mythical souls from Buto and Hieraconpolis (l. 21). The pictorial meaning of  is explained as a 'poultry house' or a 'field hut', and it is then connected with the mythical abode of the divine Ibis (l. 15).  is read h<sub>3</sub>w or h<sub>3</sub>m, and is then explained simply and practically as 'the gullet from which every sound is emitted', but this statement is subsequently mythically supported by a reference to the gullet of the Sun-God Rē' (l. 24).

Side by side with these 'radical' mythical identifications we find their linguistic counterparts, the mythical ethymologies established by means of alliterations.<sup>1</sup>

Only a couple of examples are found in the preserved parts of our text, but these are typical and correspond in construction as well as in function to the alliterations found elsewhere in other Egyptian texts.<sup>2</sup> As already mentioned the first catch-word is the hieroglyph , which in accordance with the general principle employed is read h<sub>3</sub>bw in the first paragraph of the commentary. This reading is then followed by an etymology, which in accordance with the Egyptian conceptions does not only explain the origin of the word as such, but also the origin of the object expressed by it,<sup>3</sup> and it is given in the form of an alliteration with the phrase h<sub>3</sub>-z̄b, which means 'a heart descends'.

This alliteration is used as an explanation of the word h<sub>3</sub>bw, because, as the text has it, 'Rē' said about it (the Ibis) that it should descend as a heart'. We find similar alliterations connecting 'the descending heart' with the Ibis of Thot elsewhere in the texts,<sup>4</sup> and they refer to the well-known myth according to which Rē' sent out his heart in the shape of an Ibis to appease the wrath of the Goddess Sakhmet.

This, however, is not the only etymology offered of the word, and in the following it is explained by an alliteration with the phrase h<sub>3</sub>-b; 'a soul descends'. From what has already been said it will be seen that this is not to be taken merely as another possibility or another suggestion, but each alliteration in accordance with the principles mentioned above represents a new aspect on the origin of the word, and is supposed to give a new and independent explanation of the mythical origin of the object it represents.

It is obvious, however, that in spite of our terminology, these Egyptian etymologies are fundamentally different from ours, not only from a methodical point of view, where our linguistic attitude towards the problems would obviously have been absolutely foreign to the Egyptian way of thinking, but mainly because the aim and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BRUGSCH's remarks on 'die Tendenz zu linguistischen Theorien' in his 'Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypter', Leipzig 1891, p. 41.





<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. in particular Pap. Salt, ed. BUDGE, Facsimilies of the Egyptian Hieratic Pap. in the B. M. Sec. Ser. 1923. 31—32.

<sup>3</sup> This is very typical of Pap. Salt where the origin of a considerable number of different substances and their names are explained in accordance with the same principles.


<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 17.
















(a) The sign undoubtedly looks exactly like , but the context, and the use of the word *wh?* later in the line makes it clear that what the scribe intended to write was in fact  . Owing to the fact that it was the first word of his text, the scribe obviously elaborated slightly on the sign, and combined its two extremities with a dotted line which gave it the appearance of .





(b) The restoration is fairly certain; cf. Wb. I, 348, 12.

(c) For the form of  compare the sign-papyrus IV, 2. (GRIFFITH's ed. pl. I).

(d) The reading of the gloss is fairly certain.  is clear. The sign read  in the gloss is read  in the text itself.

The hieratic sign can be read either way, but  is obviously the better reading.

(e) The sign transcribed as  looks very much like . To transcribe it thus is not possible, however, as the sign after  is clearly  and not . It would be impossible to read *hr.sn* anyhow, as the preposition should be  in front of the suffix.  is therefore the only probable transcription, and line 13 and Møller's Paläographie III, 26 must be compared for the hieratic form of the sign.

(f) Obviously the two heraldic emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt must be read, but the actual form of the two hieratic signs is somewhat strange. The first is undoubtedly , maybe combined with  and the second must necessarily be  or maybe . The hieratic form of the sign is strange, however, and MøLLER does not seem to have a corresponding variation.

(g) I am indebted to Sir ALAN GARDINER for the reading of the sign , which has a strange form.

(h) The name of the locality in which the actual papyrus was found must be restored after *m* (not *T?–wr*).


*Explanation of the employment<sup>(1)</sup> of the signs, explanation of the difficulties. Disclosure of the things hidden, explanation of the obscure passages. . . . . by their noble protection<sup>(2)</sup>.*

*Explanation of what emanated from the Gods<sup>(3)</sup>, the noble ancestors<sup>(4)</sup>, the sacred traditions<sup>(5)</sup> from the nomes<sup>(6)</sup> of Upper and Lower Egypt. . . . . (found on<sup>(7)</sup>) a leather-roll in the temple of Osiris, the first of the Westerners, the great God, Lord of Abydos, in. . . . .*

(1) It is obvious that *b;k* here means 'to employ', 'to apply', a meaning already suggested by GRIFFITH in his edition of the Demotic magical papyrus (p. 132, line 25).

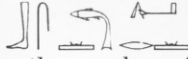






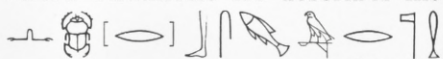
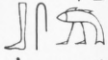

ČERNÝ tells me that the word is frequently used in N.K. texts dealing with the hire of donkeys, in the same sense.



(2)  is the usual late writing of *kj dd*, 'varia lectio'. Cf. MØLLER, Pal. III, No. 613 and Note d.

(3) For *gš*, Demotic *gš*, and Coptic  $\sigma\omega\psi$ , 'to spill', 'to pour out', cf. GARDINER, Onomastica V, 236.

(4) *tpjw*-<sup>c</sup> is an apposition to *ntrw*.

(5) The same phrase, which must here be regarded as an apposition to the verb. *gš*, is found as  in a tomb from Scheik-Abd-el Gournah (Ä.Z. 21, 1883, 129). The orthography of our text is obviously influenced by the word  (written  Mariette, Dendera IV, 75) and translated 'geheimes Gestalt o. ä. by Wb. (I, 474). The exact meaning of the phrase is not quite clear, and the translation of Wb. *bs*, 'Geheimes' o. ä. (I, 473) is not quite satisfactory. The word must obviously have a more specific meaning, as the translation 'Geheimnis', 'geheime Gestalt' would undoubtedly make such expressions as  (Wb. I, 473, 21) and  Ikhernofret (3) pleonastic.



The original meaning of the verb is undoubtedly 'einführen', 'herbeiführen', as Wb. has it (I, 473), but it has a specific use, which seems significant for the meaning of the noun. In certain cases it is without doubt used with the meaning 'to consecrate', 'to initiate'. This is clear e.g. in Urk. IV, 157, 9, where Thutmosis III describes his career, and states that certain events took place  'before my initiation as a priest had taken place'. In the same way the phrase  which Wb. translates in general terms as 'zum König einsetzen'—must mean 'to consecrate, to initiate as king', just as the phrase  means 'consecrated or initiated, and therefore legitimate king'.

The meaning of the noun has undoubtedly its origin in this specific employment of the verb, and it is used about that which is consecrated or initiated, or belonging to the cultic and ritual traditions. We find it used directly about the cult e.g. in Urk. IV, 484, 11:  'there was not one ritual or cultic secret which I disclosed outside (the temple)', and in the same way we find it used about the consecrated objects of the cult, such as statues and other cult-implements, e.g. in the inscription of Ikhernofret (Sethe, Lesestücke, 70, 16—17), where the king commands him go to the temple of Osiris at Abydos  'to repair his secret cult-objects with fine gold and ordinary gold'.




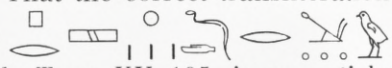








(g) For the form of this sign compare the sign-papyrus IX, 1.



(h) The scribe always uses a filling point which looks like  under the  in *hpr*. Cf. l. 7.

*I.e.*<sup>(1)</sup> *An*<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibis*. *I.e.* 'A heart descends'<sup>(3)</sup>, in accordance with what *Re*<sup>c</sup> said about it: 'It descended from the body'<sup>(4)</sup>. *I.e.* A *Ba*<sup>(5)</sup> descends. *I.e.* . . . . . Everything is perceived through him. It is a 'hjn', 5...?...<sup>(6)</sup>. It is the ancient one<sup>(7)</sup>, who emerged from the box<sup>(8)</sup>. It is the palette . . . . . Everything in this land is perceived through the treatises<sup>(9)</sup> and the utensils, which came into existence through him. It is his finger . . . . .<sup>(10)</sup> . . . . . Thot, the chief of the marvels in the house of clothing<sup>(11)</sup>, who regulates<sup>(12)</sup> the entire land. the ...?...<sup>(13)</sup> comes into existence through him<sup>(14)</sup>.

(1)  is the well-established abbreviation of *dd*, also used in the gloss above line 2 in  *kj dd*, 'varia lectio'.  occurs here, as far as I am aware, for the first time. It is used to introduce explanatory remarks, with the obvious meaning of 'that is', 'id est'. That the correct transliteration is in fact *dd r*, is proved by hieroglyphic parallels as  'prš, that is the seed (?) of the w'n-tree' (Rec. de Trav. XV, 105. in an article by LORET, unfortunately without further reference).

(2) As already pointed out above, the sign here transcribed  is probably just a filling point. The context would undoubtedly demand  and not  if the suffix 1 sg. was to be read.

(3) For a similar etymology of the word 'Ibis', cf. 'Destruction des Hommes', (Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology IV, (1875) pl. D I. 71).  'I will cause you to send out one greater than yourself . . . . ., thus came into existence the Ibis of Thot'.

It is obvious that both etymologies refer to the well-known connection between the heart of *Re*<sup>c</sup> and Thot, who is frequently called  'the heart of *Re*' (MARIETTE, Dendera III, 19 n., and with Thot as determinative  *ib*. II, 65 a., from BOYLAN, Thot, Appendix B). Horapollon explains this identification thus: 'When they would denote the heart, they delineate the Ibis, for this animal is consecrated to Hermes, the lord of every heart, and of reasoning. The Ibis also is in itself in its own shapes like the heart, respecting which great discussions are maintained by the Egyptians'. (The translation is from ALEXANDER TURNER CORY, The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon Nilus, London 1840).

We find the mythological explanation of these connections in the text quoted above, where we are told how  $R\bar{e}^c$ , to appease the wrath of the Goddess Sakhmet, sent out his heart as a messenger, in the shape of the Ibis of Thot. That the heart in this connection is identified with reason, is well-known from elsewhere.

(4)  $\bar{v} \triangle \bar{q}$ , which occurs again in line 10, seems to be a Ptolemaic writing of  $\bar{v} \bar{q}$  'body'. It is a well-established fact that the sign  $\bar{v}$  is used for  $\bar{v}$  (GARDINER, Grammar, Sign-list W. 6. 7), but  $\bar{v}$  is occasionally used for  $\bar{v}$  in late inscriptions (CHASSINAT, Le Temple d'Edfou II), 221, and passim  $\bar{v} \bar{q}$  (cf. CHASSINAT, Un Papyrus Medical Copte, p. 35). We should then have  $\bar{v} \triangle \bar{q} = \bar{v} \bar{q} = \bar{v} \bar{q}$ . The meaning body is clear from line 10. For  $\bar{v}$  see p. 16 Note a.

(5) For Thot as the Ba of  $R\bar{e}^c$ , cf. BOYLAN, Thot, p. 85, quoting Turin Pap. 23, 2—5 (P—R):  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$ , as one of the epithets of Thot.

(6) I do not understand this passage at all. In another context one would probably quite simply read  $hnw pw 5 dbn$ —the last damaged sign could be taken for  $\square$ —and translate something like 'it is a  $hjn$ , 5 deben'. (cf. Rec. V, 86, col. 102, and JUNCKER, Grammatik der Denderatexte 88 c, p. 70  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$  'das Hin zu 5 Deben'), but I fail to see the relation of this statement to the present context.

(7)  $Wr$  as well as  $\bar{v}w$  were used as epithets to Thot. Cf. BOYLAN, *op. cit.* p. 180, where he quotes Pap. Berlin 3049 col. 17, 2—3.—The text seems to have  $\bar{v} wr$ , before  $\bar{v} w$ , cf. Hieratische Papyrus aus Berlin II, 24. Pap. 3049 verso XVII, 3.










(8) For the chests of various Gods cf. Wb. II 491, which mentions the chest of Anubis and the chest of Nut, but the whole passage is most enigmatic anyhow.






(9) The transcription as well as the reading of the sign is dubious.  $\bar{v}$  is read  $\bar{v}$  in the sign-papyrus, and the following  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$  would make it tempting somehow or other to connect the word with the well-known stem  $spr$ , 'to approach', 'to petition', as these words are used together in such common phrases as  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$ . The following  $hpr im.f$ , makes such a connection improbable, and tends to show that the two words must stand for substantial, material objects.


























$\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$  is therefore most probably the word for 'Gerät' (Wb. V 440—1), and the development from  $dbh$ , 'to beg for', 'to request', to  $dbh$  'Bedarf' and  $dbh$  'Gerät', 'instrument', 'utensil', may be compared with the parallel development from 'requirere' to 'requisita'—'Bedurfniss', and to e. g. modern Danish 'rekvisit' = 'instrument'.

Taking  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$  as a writing of  $\bar{v} \bar{q} \bar{v}$ , the late word for 'book' or 'treatise'





is based on the fact that  can be used for š<sup>c</sup> in late inscriptions, cf. Wb. V, 416  
  or   for    .

(10) The condition of the text does not permit a reconstruction of the passage, and I do not understand the following *m ts.t*, but it is worth noticing that parallel passages from Edfou quoted below in Note 11, which follows this part of our text pretty closely, has      (Chassinat, Mammisi Tabl. Fs. 2d. VI 9. p. 76-77). The finger of Thot as a creative medium was therefore probably also implied in our text.

(11)     is the name of a temple dedicated to Osiris in the XVth lower-Egyptian nome (Hermopolites inf.) cf. CHASSINAT, Mammisi p. 21, (Tabl. As. 3d. II 2) where Thot is called                        






(a) This restauration would fill the lacuna exactly.

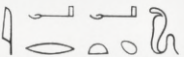
(b) There is no room for  or , which one would expect.


(c) The hieroglyph (No. 492 in BRUGSCH's sign-list in his Hieroglyphische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1872, p. 132) represents two pieces of cord 'bound together', and it is therefore used ideographically for the word *dm*, 'to bind', 'to unite'. It is used phonetically for *dm* as well as *tm*. It occurs in the sign-papyrus, ed. cit. II A 13 (Pl. VII).

(d) One would undoubtedly expect  *tjw*, but the sign seems actually to be .

(e) The reading  is certain.














































(f) There are faint traces of what seems to be the upper part of ; It is definitely not . See the note to the text below.

(g) For the reading see line 13, where the red crown is also called .

(h)  is doubtful but probable.

(i) See note c line 4 p. 16.

*I.e. The day, I.e. Rē<sup>c</sup> in his rise in the morning, by means of whom everything is perceived. I.e. The Ennead..... The eye is called the Ennead<sup>(1)</sup>. The sun-disk came into existence from the right eye of Rē<sup>c</sup>. It is the Vulture-Goddess<sup>(3)</sup> who binds<sup>(?)</sup><sup>(4)</sup> the bows, and who binds..... It is Ta-tenen, the male one<sup>(5)</sup>. The Uræus came into existence from the right eye<sup>(6)</sup> of Rē<sup>c</sup>; it is the crown of Lower Egypt<sup>(7)</sup> who unites it with her body<sup>(8)</sup>.*

(1)  = , and *ddr* with the meaning 'to call'. For similar constructions cf. l. 19                      'the wave is called the roaring one';                       'Man nennt ihn Ta-tenen' (Hymn to Amun from Leyden ch. 15 (4.13) quoted by JUNCKER, Die Götterlehre von Memphis p. 31);












The fact that the female determinative is often left out deliberately in all these words, may not be without significance for the understanding of the theological conception of the position of women in the Egyptian state and society.

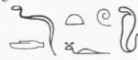
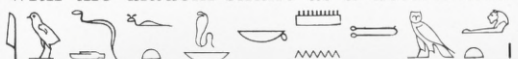
(2) The preceding gloss gave the explanation of the word *hnmm.t*, while this one gives the explanation of the hieroglyph  itself.




The explanation 'Aton..... he who emits its rays', would be most appropriate, provided that we can connect *ntf stj.f* with *itn*, in spite of the uncertain length of the lacuna. For  cf. MØLLER'S remarks (Palæographie III, 88, note 4). It should probably be taken as a determinative of *stj* and should not be read *ir.tj*.

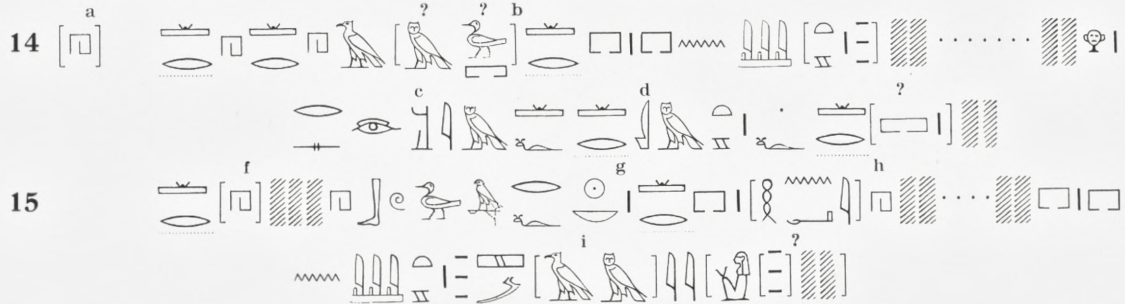
(3) One of the nocturnal rituals connected with the cult of Osiris was apparently mentioned in the lacuna.


(4) One of the relics of Osiris seems to be alluded to.



(5)  is here the red crown identified with the Uræus as in line 10.

(6) In spite of the strange orthography, the word is obviously *ddf.t*, Copt. *Ⲭⲁⲧⲫⲉ*, for which Wb. registers such spellings as  (V, 633). It is explicitly used about the Uræus, and with the diadem-snake as a determinative (cf. Belegstellen of Wb. V 109 (633.7)):  'Your snake is fixed on your forehead'.



As there are no traces of an  to be seen below the line, ČERNÝ has suggested the reading with  instead of my original reading with .



(a)  must be restored in the lacuna.

(b) There are faint traces of a sign above ; it is probably .

(c) The sign is almost obliterated, but quite clear on the original.

(d) For the form of the sign cf. MØLLER, Palæographie III, 585. Theoretically  was naturally also possible, but  makes better sense.













(3) Like Coptic ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ (CRUM, Dict. 704, b), *hrw* would seem to mean 'sound' as well as 'voice'.

(4) This passage would seem to refer to the above-mentioned myth (Line 4, note 3) in which Thot is sent out as a messenger on the command of *Rē*<sup>c</sup>, or in accordance with Černý's proposal was created by *Rē*<sup>c</sup> from his throat, in which case Thot would be considered as the utterance of *Rē*<sup>c</sup>.



(a) The sign does not correspond to the ordinary form of the hieroglyph *hn*, cf. GARDINER's Sign-list Q, 5—6. It looks more like W, 1, but GARDINER points out that the shape of the sign for *hn* varies considerably according to the various forms of chests.

(b) The sign—no. 387 in the Paläographie—is quite clear in the original.

(c) There are traces which look like two small  $\triangle$ . Underneath the first there are traces of a round sign like  $\odot$ , and after the second traces of a horizontal sign like  $\sim$ . ČERNÝ suggests that  $\odot$   $\sim$  'Ibis', might be the word to be restored, but the sign between  $\odot$  and  $\sim$  is puzzling.

(d) There are traces which would fit a  $\ominus$ .

(e) This reading is certain; the sign  $\sigma$  is very large as in *knw* in the following line.

(f) There are traces of a vertical sign at the beginning of the lacuna, and the tail of  $\sim$  can be seen below the line.

(g) I am unable to identify the traces at the beginning of the line, in the lower part of the square before  $\ominus$  there is a sign which looks like  $\uparrow$ .

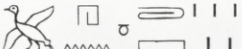
(h) There are some strange and apparently superfluous curlicues at the upper left side of  $\uparrow$ , the form of which is peculiar although easily recognisable.

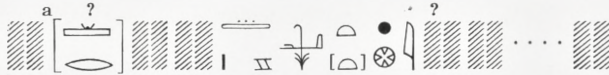
*I.e. A chest I.e. Khnum of the two lands*<sup>(1)</sup> *I.e. The house of..... in its name of..... I.e. A throne*<sup>(2)</sup>, *I.e. a chair of olive-tree*<sup>(3)</sup>, *which is in the room..... his numerous..... without lie in Lower Egypt.....*

(1) *Hnmw-tj.wj* occurs also in line 24. The connection between this word and the word for chest is utterly incomprehensible to me.





(1) The passage apparently indicated the relation between the Hin-measure ( $1/10$  *hkt.t*) and one of the smaller units of the ordinary measure of capacity. Cf. the passage quoted above  'the Hin of five deben', (line 5, note 6).




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
(a) There seem to be faint traces of a sign in the column reserved for the catch-word, which seem to indicate that a new word is commented upon in this line. I do not know which, however, and only a few signs can be read in the line itself.



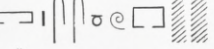












## The Second Page.

It has already been mentioned that the remaining fragments of the second page of our text measures about 200 mm. in height. It contains the remains of the beginnings of 21 lines, which compared with the height of 300 mm., and the 30 lines of page one, would indicate that about 10 cm. and 9 lines are missing. We are unable to tell whether these lines were above or below the preserved ones, as the top as well as the bottom of the page are lost, and only a very narrow strip—nowhere exceeding about 3 cm.—is left of the hieratic commentary on the left hand side of the column reserved for the catch-words.

This column contains the traces of about 13 catch-words, 8 of which can be identified with certainty, the first being , the second  and the third .

Then comes a gap in which only unrecognizable traces of several signs can be seen, and after this we find , , ,  and .

It has already been pointed out that as all the original readings, except *kʒ*, have been lost, we are unable to tell with certainty which readings the ancient author of the treatise commented upon, and we are consequently unable to tell whether the signs were arranged in accordance with the same acrophonic principles as on page one.  is generally read *mj*, but it is also used ideographically for *ʒm* and *šn*<sup>1</sup>,  is generally read *hmnw*, and a  is actually found in the commentary. The correct reading of  is unknown and the only readable words in the commentary are    <sup>1</sup> and   . The reading of  is also doubtful in the present case, but the following signs could probably be read *kʒ*, *kʒrj*, *km* and *km*. *Kʒ* is the only original reading preserved, and it is tantalizing to know that we should have had authentic readings of signs like  and first-hand explanations of words like *Ka*, were it not for the damaged condition of the papyrus.

As it is, we can only hope that better preserved specimens of similar texts will eventually be found, now that the present fragments have established the existence of an original Egyptian lexicography.

<sup>1</sup> meaning: 'of skin' or 'of leather'.





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