

Marina Escolano-Poveda

New Fragments of Papyrus Berlin 3024

The Missing Beginning of the Debate between a Man and his Ba and the Continuation of the Tale of the Herdsman (P. Mallorca I and II)

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Summary: P. Mallorca I and II are identified as part of the lost sections of P. Berlin 3024, belonging to the lost beginning of *The Debate between a Man and His Ba*, and to the lost sections of *The Tale of the Herdsman*. A detailed material analysis is done, and a hypothesis for the origin of the fragments is discussed, in connection to P. Amherst III. The edition of the text is presented, together with a tentative reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca II. Finally, a new interpretation of both the Debate and the Herdsman is proposed, based on a re-examination of the contents of both texts in connection with the new data provided by P. Mallorca I and II.

Keywords: Middle Egyptian – Literature MK – Dialogue of a Man and His Ba – Herdsman’s Story – Hieratic

1 Introduction

P. Berlin 3024 is a composite roll that contains two different texts, *The Debate between a Man and His Ba*, which is considered one of the masterpieces of ancient Egyptian literature, and *The Tale of the Herdsman*, an intriguing story that has received much less scholarly attention. In 2003 Richard Parkinson identified P. Amherst III as part of the lost beginning of P. Berlin 3024. At the end of his article, he expressed the hope that new fragments of P. Berlin 3024 could be located in other collections in order to improve our understanding of the text (Parkinson 2003, 133). In 1987, Jorge Ogdon had already voiced a similar hope concerning *The Tale of the Herdsman* (Ogdon 1987, 78).

In 2015 I began the study of a series of papyrus fragments kept in the Museu Bíblic of Mallorca (Spain), a small museum founded in 1913 by the priest and later bishop of Menorca Bartomeu Pascual Marroig, as a teaching collection of the context of the Bible. The collection of papyri contains fragments written in both hieroglyphs and hieratic. A study of the contents, size, palaeography, and

format of the text, has led me to the identification of the hieratic fragments as part of the lost sections of the two texts that compose P. Berlin 3024.

2 Material and palaeographical analysis

The collection of papyri is currently displayed in one frame, arranged in three sections, between glass and red paper as background¹. The frame is closed in the back by a series of wooden planks, which rest over some newspaper sheets presumably placed there as protection. It is not possible to tell if there is anything between the newspaper sheets and the red paper to which the papyrus fragments are glued. The collection is composed by 73 fragments that come originally from three different manuscripts. The first ten fragments correspond to a *Book of the Dead* written in cursive hieroglyphs with colored vignettes² (P. Mallorca III). The rest of the fragments, which are the object of this analysis, are written in Middle Kingdom literary hieratic, using black and red ink. The texture of the papyrus and the script indicate that the fragments correspond to at least two different manuscripts (here termed P. Mallorca I

¹ The person who arranged the fragments on the frame noticed the difference between the two manuscripts that compose the hieratic fragments, and tried to group them accordingly. The fragments also seem to be organized by size, with the larger fragments in the first section (corresponding to P. Mallorca I and Fr. 1 of P. Mallorca II), and the smaller ones in the bottom section. This person was not an Egyptologist, since the grouping of the fragments of the *Book of the Dead*, the text of which is clearly readable, is not correct, and many of the hieratic fragments are upside down.

² These fragments contain a section of chapter 18 of the *Book of the Dead* of a person probably called Mut, with vignettes that include a standing mummiform figure of Re-Horakhty, remains of another standing mummiform figure similar to that of Ra-Horakhty, which cannot be identified, two heads of the goddess Maat, crowned with her feather, a small standing mummiform figure of Osiris followed by the traces of another small standing figure wearing the divine beard. The text is organized in blocks of three columns and it is not retrograde. I will publish these fragments in a separate article.

and P. Mallorca II). In some cases, however, the fragments are so small that it is hard to determine to which one of the manuscripts they belong³. Thus, the following description concerns the larger sized fragments of each manuscript.

P. Mallorca I consists of 10 large and medium sized fragments⁴, and 21 small fragments⁵. The papyrus is thin and light brown in color. Fr. 3 shows on its right side a *kollesis*, right over left, of 1.25 cm. Fr. 6 also seems to have a *kollesis*, right over left. Although the surface of all the fragments was cleaned carefully, traces of palimpsest are visible in four horizontal ruled guidelines in Fr. 3, the first one placed at 1.75 cm from the preserved top, and the other three below at intervals of 2.25 cm, 2.25 cm, and 2.6 cm. Fr. 7 shows just one horizontal ruled guideline at ca. 1.9 cm from the unevenly preserved top margin. The scribe has used the top guidelines to place the beginning of the columns. The presence of these guidelines indicates that the papyrus previously contained accounts⁶. The brush dips in the text seem to correspond in most cases to natural units of text, mostly clauses (Cf. facsimiles for the indication of the brush dips with different tones of gray). The top part of Fr. 7 displays a darker color and the papyrus shows deterioration, only preserving the thicker fibers in some areas. This might have been created by humidity at some point in the history of the manuscript, probably in modern times, since the other fragments do not have similar damage.

The text is organized in vertical columns, which are 14.5–15 cm long, ca. 1.5 cm wide, and they are separated by a distance of 2 cm. The upper and lower margins are wide, of around 1.5 cm in Frs. 3 and 7, but of 3 cm in Fr. 9, which might be closer to the original size of the margin. The signs in them are distributed sparsely, written with clean brush strokes, with no or minimal ligatures. At the end of the columns, however, the scribe has condensed the signs more than in the rest (Cf. Fr. 3 col. 1; Fr. 7–5)⁷. The script is elegant and carefully done⁸. The text presents

some rubrics (Fr. 3 col. 3; Fr. 6 col. 2; perhaps some of the doubtful fragments with rubrics as well). The fragments show some smudges of ink on their surface, which can belong to the previous text, or have been done while the scribe was writing the text. A clue that supports the latter option is the fingerprint on the *b* and probably over the right part of *d* of *d3b.w* in Fr. 2–4 col. 1, which seems to be the cause of the stains of ink to the left of *j3rr.wt*. If the scribe was right handed, this could have happened as he moved on to the left to write the next columns. Under the determinative of *grh* in Fr. 2–4 col. 1 there are some traces visible, perhaps of a previous sign. Fr. 3 col. 2 shows an emendation or redrawing of the seated woman sign, with the previous sign still visible under the new one. The ink of Fr. 3 col. 1 is especially flaked in comparison with all the other columns. This column is written on the *kollesis*, which may have exposed the writing to more friction⁹.

P. Mallorca II comprises 7 large and medium size fragments¹⁰, and 15 small fragments¹¹. The overall appearance of the surface of the papyrus is darker than that of P. Mallorca I, and is covered in traces of palimpsest from the previous document, probably due to a less careful cleaning process. No ruled guidelines are visible in the fragments in this case. The fragments do not seem to preserve any *kolleseis*. The brush dips seem to respond to meaningful units, although in some cases, because of the difficulty of the text, it is not possible to identify the ends of these units clearly. The re-inking of the brush is visibly identifiable through the difference in the intensity of the ink (Cf. facsimiles).

The text is written in vertical columns, organized with less regularity concerning their distance, which ranges from less than 0.5 cm to about 1.2 cm. The columns are ca. 12 cm long, and ca. 1.2 cm wide. The preserved upper margin ranges from 0.5 cm (Fr. 16) to 1 cm (Fr. 20), and the lower margin from 1 cm (Fr. 16) to 1.5 cm (Fr. 1, Fr. 20). The text contains a series of rubrics (Frs. 16, 17, 20; and probably some of the doubtful fragments). The script is swift, and contains numerous ligatures. The signs are smaller and less regular than those of P. Mallorca I. Some signs have been redrawn, such as the seated man (A1) in Fr. 1 col. 3. Fr. 1 shows a series of spots of ink sprinkled over its surface, which might have dripped from the brush, or perhaps belonged to the previous text, although the first option is more likely.

³ Doubtful fragments are 10, 11, 12, 13, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, and 56.

⁴ Frs. 2–4, 3, 7–5, 6–6b, 9, 48, and 27.

⁵ Frs. 8, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34–34b, 35, 36, 38, 43, 44, 45, and 50.

⁶ Both sections of P. Berlin 3024 display these guidelines in some parts of their surface, which has been interpreted as evidence for a previous use of the papyrus for accounts, as indicated already by Gardiner (1909a, 6; cf. also Parkinson 2009, 88–89; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 11)

⁷ This is a characteristic of the scribe of *The Tale of the Herdsman*: cf. cols. x+14, x+19, and x+25.

⁸ The script of *The Tale of the Herdsman* in P. Berlin 3024 has been described as “careful” (Parkinson 2009, 89). However, Goedicke (1970b, 214) considered the text as “the product of an apprentice rather than an experienced copyist,” due to its lack of ligatures.

⁹ Cf. Reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca I and II *infra*.

¹⁰ Frs. 1, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 58.

¹¹ Frs. 24, 25, 26, 28–28b, 37, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, and 60.

The text seems to have been written in both cases only on the recto. However, an inspection of the verso of the fragments will not be possible until they can be removed from the frame and conserved. In the summer of 2015 I performed a direct examination of the fragments with UV light, which showed that, of the fragments located on the top section, numbers 1, 3, 4, 9 have traces of organic glue, applied as a fine line along the top edge of all of them. Some little drops of the same material are visible under Fr. 1. In the lower section, fragments 28–28b, 37, and 55 have their surface completely covered in a coat of this glue, and the lower left quarter of 26 also shows a coat of glue. Fragments 13, 17, 50, and 52 also display drops of the same glue. Visually, the fragments covered in glue show a whitish coloration, and in the case of Fr. 37 it seems to have covered completely some signs, of which only faint traces are visible. A close observation with magnifying glass also reveals drops of transparent glue, non-reactive to UV light, on fragments 7, 11, 10, and 12. This shows that the fragments were manipulated twice with two different types of glue. The presence of the organic glue on the fragments, and especially in the cases in which it covers their surface completely, might indicate the existence of writing on the verso, and the indecision of the person who put the fragments in the frame on which side to choose. It is important to note that, although there is no evidence for the existence of writing on the verso of P. Berlin 3024¹², P. Berlin 3025, which contains a copy of the second half of *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* from around the middle of the fifth petition, has a small area of writing on the verso (Parkinson 2009, 88; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 17). This text is now visible through a square window cut on the paper to which the papyrus is attached (Cf. Parkinson and Baylis 2012, photograph 13 P. 3025 C vso.).

3 Origin

The origin, acquisition, and date of accession of the papyri to the Museu Bíblic of Mallorca are unfortunately unknown, since the museum does not preserve any records concerning them in its archive. There is, nevertheless, a point of connection between the modern history of the Mallorca fragments and that of the Berlin Library and the Amherst fragments. Richard Parkinson has reconstructed the modern history of the latter ones in several publications (Parkinson 2003, 121–124; Parkinson 2004; Parkin-

son 2009, 77–83; Parkinson and Usick 2003; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 1–10). The four Berlin rolls were discovered in the decade of 1830 by Giovanni d'Athanasí, who offered them for sale at Sotheby's in London in March of 1837, indicating in the catalogue of the auction that they had been found in Thebes¹³. The rolls were acquired by Lepsius in 1842 with the permission of the Prussian King Wilhem IV, and they arrived to Berlin in 1843. Parkinson suggests that, at some point in this process, some fragments from the more fragile beginning of the rolls must have become detached from them, and were perhaps sold separately (Parkinson 2009, 78). In the 1837 auction catalogue the four Berlin rolls correspond to lots 268–271. Parkinson proposes that lot 274* in the same auction, described as “A large collection of portions of Manuscripts, and Papyrus, some with coloured figures.” might be a possible source of the Amherst fragments (Parkinson 2003, 122). Newberry had indicated that, when he published P. Amherst I–IV in 1899, the source from whom Lord Amherst had bought the fragments was already uncertain (Newberry 1899, 9).

Returning to the Mallorca papyri, the fragments of the three different manuscripts were at some point glued to a red background paper, and placed together in a frame. This framing must have happened already in Spain, since the newspaper sheets used to strengthen and protect the back of the frame, visible between the pieces of wood that form the back cover, are written in Spanish. Some of the fragments were also mounted at some point, perhaps before their inclusion in the frame, on a blue-greyish paper. M. Krutzsch pointed out to me that she has seen this kind of paper mostly in manuscripts that were mounted in France, which might indicate a middle point in the European transit of the fragments¹⁴. The most interesting point, however, is that P. Mallorca I and II are framed together with fragments of a *Book of the Dead* (P. Mallorca III) that contain, as the catalogue of the 1837 auction describes them, “coloured figures.” Therefore, the Mallorca fragments might have belonged, together with the Amh-

¹² This is currently impossible to check due to the nineteenth century paper to which the roll was attached.

¹³ Concerning the origin of the Berlin rolls in Egypt, Parkinson refers to 40 papyrus fragments found by Bietak in 1970, in excavations in the area of Bab el-Goria, where d'Athanasí had been digging (Parkinson 2009, 81 and n. 19). The fragments, which I have been able to examine through photographs kindly provided by R. B. Parkinson and J. Budka, are written in black and red ink and contain many A1 signs, pointing to a narrative in first person, and the word *ḥmw*, “Residence.” Parkinson has pointed out that the hand is very similar to that of the Berlin Library, but not exact (Parkinson 2009, 81 n. 19). The separation between columns in some fragments, and the hand, however, are similar to those of *The Tale of the Herdsman*. Unfortunately, I have not been able to inspect the fragments directly, but J. Budka will publish them.

¹⁴ Personal communication, Berlin, July 2015.

erst fragments, to lot 274*, being separated from it at some point before Lord Amherst acquired P. Amherst I-IV, and found their way to Spain, perhaps through France¹⁵.

4 Edition and philological commentary¹⁶

P. Mallorca II

Fr. 1

1. [...] *snw* *nj* *dns* [...]
2. *nh=tw m* *qd=s* *hlp m pr*
3. *s nn jb.tw r* *nh nj dj.n=s* *mr z(j)*
4. *mr.t=j* *hrw* [...] *dd.jn mr* [...]
1. [...] poverty(?), [it (?)] was not heavy(?)
2. when one was living in her area(?), the Setting One being in her house.
3. One does not wish to live. She cannot cause a man to desire
4. that which I desire [...] Then the sick one said [...]

¹⁵ If P. Amherst I–IV and P. Mallorca I–II belonged to lot 274*, a comparison between the groups of fragments shows that there might have been an attempt at an equal division. P. Mallorca I–II contains four fragments of larger size, with 3–4 complete or almost complete columns each (Frs. 1, 3, 16, and 20), and five of medium size (Frs. 2–4, 6, 7, 9). P. Amherst I–IV has four fragments of larger size (P. Amherst I A, B, and C; P. Amherst IV P), and seven of medium size (P. Amherst I D, E; P. Amherst III L, J; P. Amherst II F, G; P. Amherst IV N). The number of small fragments in P. Mallorca I–II is larger, but in general the division seems quite similar. One possibility that needs to be considered is that some of the smaller fragments in P. Mallorca I–II might belong to the other Berlin rolls. Further analysis in this sense, together with their conservation, will perhaps cast light upon this issue. P. Mallorca III might have been a third part of lot 274*, also bought by the same buyer of P. Mallorca I–II. The low number of fragments preserved from the beginning of P. Berlin 3022, despite the fact that the beginning of the surviving roll is much better preserved than that of P. Berlin 3024 (Cf. Reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca I and II *infra*), is probably a sign that lot 274* might have been divided into at least another part, where medium fragments of P. Berlin 3022 might have been included, together with some more fragments of P. Berlin 3025. Of course, it is also highly possible that many fragments were lost since their discovery and during their manipulation in modern times.

¹⁶ Throughout the transliteration, I avoid the use of question marks. I use half brackets instead for signs and words with doubtful reading. For the grammatical analysis, I follow the terminology of Allen (2010), although I use the traditional designation “second tense” instead of “non-attributive relative form.”

Commentary

1. *snw*: J. P. Allen has suggested to me the reading *snw* “poverty” (Wb. IV, 157.4, TLA lemma n. 136740) for the traces of the first four signs remaining in this column. The first stroke corresponds to the last part of what appears to be a vertical sign, followed by a space. This could correspond to the left stroke of a tall *s* (S29, Möller 1909, n. 432). The space located between the end of this stroke and the next horizontal one would leave enough space for the longer right part of the *s*. The horizontal stroke of the next sign was traced from left to right and points slightly upward as it moves towards the right. This is a typical feature of horizontal traces for the scribe of the *Debate*, and is consistent with the way he writes the waterline (N35, Möller 1909, n. 331). The remains of another sign located underneath the horizontal stroke are visible. There is not too much left of this sign. If we follow the reading as *snw*, these traces could correspond to a *nw*-pot (W24, Möller 1909, n. 495). This sign shows a lot of variation throughout the *Debate*, from quite elaborate ones (cols. *13, 60, 95, 104) to a circle (cols. 9, 63), or a simple trace similar to that used for the *t* (cols. 9 (2nd attestation), 16, 35, 45, 65, 70 (x2), 89, 103), resembling more an *r* towards the end of the text (cols. 117, 120, 135). Below these traces, and towards the left there is a sign that looks like a *d* (D46, Möller 1909, n. 115), an *r* (D21, Möller 1909, n. 91, cf. col. 125), or even a big *t*. The sparrow-sign (G37, Möller 1909, n. 197) normally has the upper trace slightly curved upwards (Cf. i.e. cols. *27, 15). The sign on this column resembles the sparrow-sign in col. 80, in which the upper trace is straight and shorter than usual, and its shape is more open. The *Dialogue of Ipuwer*, which is similar in theme to the *Debate*, preserves at the end of line 2.1 part of a word written *snj*, with bolt *s*, which has been interpreted as *snw*, “suffering, agony” (Enmarch 2005, 23; Enmarch 2008, 72).

nj dns: I owe the reading of *dns* to J. P. Allen. The negative arms (D35, Möller 1909, n. 111) show some variation in the *Debate* (compare i.e. col. 2, where the sign consists of a horizontal trace with a tick on top, with col. 3, where the top part of the sign looks more similar to a small *d* sign. Also, cf. Fr. 20, col. 3, where both versions of the negative arms are present). The remaining traces show a horizontal stroke with a tick on top, which fits the shape of the negative arms. The sign written underneath corresponds quite well with the general ductus for *d* in the *Debate*, with the two strokes that form the sign connected in an angle. Under this sign, we find the remains of two horizontal traces, which can correspond to the *n* and the bolt *s* (O34, Möller 1909, n. 366). There is a speck of ink under the second horizontal trace, but it appears to correspond to the traces of

palimpsest that run under this column. However, we can expect the presence of at least another or two signs at the end of this column, which could be the determinatives of *dns*: the pestle and mortar-sign (U32, Möller 1909, n. 402) and the stone (O39, Möller 1909, n. 357), or the book roll (Y1, Möller 1909, n. 538). The verb *dns* “to be heavy, to be burdensome” (Wb. V, 468.3–469.8, TLA lemma n. 179910) fits with the context of the Debate, and is well attested in the literature of the Middle Kingdom¹⁷. In this period, it is, however, consistently written with the tall *s*, the writings with the bolt *s* only appear in the New Kingdom. The verb form could be a negated perfective *sdm=f*, in which case we would expect a suffix pronoun in the lost area at the end of the column. This pronoun could be a third person masculine singular referring back to *snw*. Another reading for these traces could be *wnn*, in which the horizontal trace with a tick on top would form the ears of the hare, the lower angle being its body, and the two horizontal lines forming the two water lines (Cf. cols. *13, 145). However, it is difficult to connect *wnn* (+subject) with the beginning of the next column.

2. *nh=tw*: The scribe has written the *nh*-sign and the little trace to its left with the same brush dip coming from the previous column. The ligatured *n* and *h* are the first signs written with the next brush dip. Between the little trace and the lower part of the *h* there are remains of a previous sign, which might be traces of palimpsest or an element from a corrected sign. I cannot explain this little trace otherwise. *nh* is here an initial *sdm=f* form, which can be interpreted in a series of ways:

Imperfective *sdm=f* in an unmarked adverb clause of concomitant circumstance: “when one was living in her area.”

Subjunctive with future meaning: “One will live in her area.”

Subjunctive with optative meaning: “May one live in her area.”

Second tense: “It is in her area that one lives.”

qd=s: The first sign is formed by a vertical stroke crossed by a smaller diagonal stroke. This fits with *qd* (Aa28, Möller

1909, n. 488) in the *Debate* (Cf. cols. 62, 70). The sign is followed by *w*, and *s* as possessive pronoun. Generally, *qd* is followed by *d* and the *nw*-pot in most words. This orthography could correspond to *qd* “circumference, area,” without the walking legs determinative (Wb. V, 78.9–10, TLA lemma n. 162440), or the abbreviated writing of the word *qdw.t* “outline” (Wb. V, 81.2–9, TLA lemma n. 162550), but perhaps with the same meaning as the former.

htp: Wb. III, 188.2–192.10, TLA lemma n. 111230, Molen 2000, 363. The word *htp* is followed here by the divine determinative (G7, Möller 1909, n. 188), which appears in the *Debate* in the names of the gods Thoth (col. 23), Khonsu (col. 24), Ra (cols. 25, 73, 147), and Isdes (col. 27). It is also the determinative for more abstract concepts such as the word *r^c* followed by the plural strokes (col. 60), translated as “Suns” and conveying the daily emergence from the tomb as the sun rises (Allen 2011:63). This determinative also appears on col. 65 with *j^h.w* “sunlight” (Wb. III, 33.3, TLA lemma n. 20880). Both concepts are related to the Sun as a divine entity. Leitz registers *htp* as a god whose name can be translated as “the Resting One,” “the Satisfied One,” or “the Setting One” (LGG V, 566). He appears already in the *Pyramid Texts*¹⁸, and is attested for the Middle Kingdom in the *Coffin Texts*¹⁹ and in the tomb chamber of *hsw* the Elder, at Kom El-Hisn²⁰. The reference to Hetep places this section of the text in a netherworldly context, as will be discussed later (Cf. Interpretation *infra*), and of-

¹⁸ PT 470 is part of the spells for entering the Akhet, and in it the deceased was identified with Hetep (Neith; alternatively *nh* in Pepi I “the Living One”); PT 569 is part of the spells for entering and leaving the tomb, and in it the mother of the deceased appears identified as Hetep “Peaceful” (Allen 2015b, 179), described as giving birth to the deceased every morning; PT 603 is part of the spells for leaving the Duat, and in it Hetep, “the one at rest” (Allen 2015b, 126) appears giving his arm to the deceased. For individual attestations cf. LGG V, 566.

¹⁹ The Coffin Texts have a series of spells (Spells 464–468, and Spells 1047–1052 and 1159–1164 in the *Book of the Two Ways*) devoted to the god Hetep and the Field of Hetep (Cf. Lesko 1971–1972). In Spell 464 the deceased identifies himself with the god Hetep, and the works that the deceased is to do in the Fields of Hetep are described. Spell 465 describes Horus as a gigantic falcon who comes and goes in the Field of Hetep, and which is identified with Hetep himself. This image has been interpreted as having solar connotations (“solar falcon” in Lesko 1971–1972, 93). Spell 466 describes the districts of the Field of Hetep. Spell 467 continues the description of the activities in the Field of Hetep. Spell 468 is a variant of 467. Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead* is a later version of Spells 464–468. For individual references to attestations cf. LGG V, 566; Molen 2000, 363; On the Field of Hetep cf. Weill 1936; Bayoumi 1940; Robinson 2007.

²⁰ Hetep is mentioned in the texts of the west wall of the tomb chamber of *hsw* the Elder in Kom el-Hisn, register B, col. 354, (Cf. Silverman 1988, 81), in a series of columns introduced by *dd mdw jn* followed by the names of different gods.

¹⁷ It appears in the texts of the Berlin library: *The Tale of Sinuhe* B 169 (Allen 2015a, 112); *Peasant* B1 191, 240; *Peasant* B2 103 (Parkinson 2012, 162, 200, 296). Also in *The Story of Horus and Seth* from Kahun: P. UC 32158, x+2, 5 (Collier and Quirke 2004, 21 and image UC32158-LE) and *The Tale of the House of Life* x+2,2 (Parkinson 1999). Among wisdom literature, it appears in *The Words of Khakheperreseneb* rto. 10 (Gardiner 1909b, 101); the *Oxford Wisdom Text* B x+8 (Barns 1968, 76, plates XI, XIa); *Ipuwer* 4.10, 4.14 (Enmarch 2005, 31; Enmarch 2008, 99–103); *The Teaching of Duaf’s Son Khety* 25.1 (Helck 1970a, 130).

fers the first attestation known of this god outside of the funerary corpus, in a literary text. This goes in line with other references to the beliefs concerning the afterlife in the *Debate*, such as cols. 23–27, which refer to the final judgment.

pr: The stroke below the *pr* sign seems to have a trace of ink next to its top left section, which I do not think that belongs to the sign. This area of the papyrus has traces of palimpsest, and this spot might be part of the previous text. Therefore, I am taking the sign below *pr* as the ideographic stroke, and the *s* on top of column 3 as the suffix pronoun acting as possessive with *pr*. The division between a word and its suffix is attested in other parts of the *Debate* (Allen 2011, 13).

3. *nn jb.tw r nh*: The negative of the expression *jb.tw r sdm* (passive counterpart of *jb=f r sdm*) is not attested anywhere else. According to Polis and Stauder (2014, 227), this expression has to be analyzed as non-verbal morphosyntactically, despite the fact that its passive is formed as if it were verbal²¹. Thus, the expected negative of this adverbial predicate is *nn*, as appears in our text. The sentence would be translated as “One does not wish to live.” If, however, we take the construction as being verbal, *jb* would be a denominative verb (Gardiner 1957, § 292), in the subjunctive *sdm=f* with impersonal subject, with future meaning, negated by *nn* (Allen 2010, § 19.11.1). In this case, the sentence could be translated as “One will not wish to live.” Considering the analysis by Polis and Stauder, the first option seems more plausible.

nj dj.n=s: The interpretation of this section is complicated. The previous sentence seems to end with the infinitive *nh*. The scribe has dipped his brush after writing *nh* and has traced three horizontal signs, of which the first and the third are simple horizontal lines, and the middle one has its left end pointed upwards. I have interpreted the first and the third lines as water lines, and the second

one as the arm (D36, Möller 1909, n. 99), for *dj*. This reading, however, poses problems. If we read the first *n* as the preposition, then we need to attach the following sentence to the previous one. In this case, the reading of the perfect *dj.n=s* after the preposition *n* does not yield grammatical sense. The negative particle *nj* can be written as the preposition *n*, as appears in the stela of Wepwawetaa, on l. 21: *nj jr=j jw.t r rmt* “I did not do evil against people;” and l. 22: *sm.n=j n.tj nj sm.t(w)=f* “I provided for the one who was not provided for” (Leiden V4; Sethe 1928, 72, l. 21–22; Lichtheim 1988, 75–77; cited in Borghouts 2010, vol. 1, 121–122)²². This is not attested anywhere else in the *Debate*, but there might be an instance of it in *The Tale of the Herdsman*, col. x+5, which has been interpreted as *nj n^c n jwn=s* “her skin was not smooth” (Goedicke 1970, 249; Schneider 2007, 312; Darnell 2010, 104). If this is the case also here, we would have a negated perfect, with the nuance of negation of ability “she cannot cause.” Another possible reading would be to take the third horizontal line as another arm, and to read the group as *n^c.wj=s*, but this does not make clear sense in the context either: “One does not wish to live for her arms.”

zj: The simplified A1 sign (Möller 1909, n. 33B) in the word *zj* (Wb. III, 404.6–406.10, TLA lemma n. 125010) has been rewritten after the scribe had already written the ideographic stroke to its left, probably when he dipped his brush in order to write the beginning of the next column, since those signs do not show the intensity of the ink of the first strokes in other instances after dipping the brush again.

4. *mr.t=j*: When a *t* is written in the same line as another sign, both signs are written in a smaller size, and the *t* sometimes takes the shape of a simple tick, as in the *Debate*, cols. *13, 6, 7, 36, 54, 57, 61, 77, 81, 93, 97, 105, 137. Another way of understanding the trace to the left of the *r* is as a small version of the plural strokes, as in cols. 60, 62, 80, 104, 117. I interpret the form as a feminine (with neutral meaning) perfective relative form without antecedent, “that which I want,” acting as the direct object of the verb *mr* in column 3.

hrw: The following signs are broken (Cf. facsimile of Fr. 1 for suggested readings). The top sign might be a sun disk, which would have an ideographic stroke to its left. The sign below could be a *p*, similar to Fr. 20 col. 3. This could belong to the expression *hrw pn* “today,” but the traces under the *p* do not fit with an *n* or perhaps an *f* for the demonstrative *pf*. What we find next are a little

²¹ According to a recent study by Polis and Stauder (2014), the verb *jb* with epistemic meaning (“to think”), never written with the heart sign, has to be distinguished from *jb* in the volitional expression *jb=f r sdm*. In their article, they make a convincing argument for the interpretation of this expression as a non-verbal adverbial predicate, with *jb* being a noun and not a verb. According to them, there is only one attestation in Earlier Egyptian for this construction (a letter, P. UCL 32205 ro 9–10; Polis and Stauder 2014, 209), with no negative attestations. For the passive counterpart of the construction, which is the one present in Fr. 1, they register one attestation in Middle Kingdom literature (*The Teaching of Ptahhotep* 81–82 P; Polis and Stauder 2014, 217). They consider that this construction is “fully non-verbal morphosyntactically, yet expresses volitive modality – an agent-oriented category – and thereby displays a verbal feature on semantic level” (Polis and Stauder 2014, 227). I want to thank R. B. Parkinson for pointing out this reference to me.

²² Borghouts gives Boeser 1909 as reference for the stela of Wepwawetaa. I want to thank R. B. Parkinson for checking Boeser’s catalogue for me and identifying the source of the reference.

speck of ink followed by three curved lines and a horizontal stroke. The last curved line and the horizontal stroke might belong to a man with the hand in the mouth (A2, Möller 1909, n. 35), but the same interpretation is possible for the next speck of ink and horizontal trace.

dd.jn mr: The column has a short rubric, introducing the speech of a different speaker. The top traces clearly correspond to the verb *dd*, written in a very compact way (Cf. *Debate* cols. 1, 4, 76, 86, 100, 104, 109, 113, 116, 120, 123, 125, 127, 129, 150), followed by a reed-leaf, in a *sdm.jn=f* form, which is attested once in the *Debate* (col. 75), where the signs have the same disposition as here. The subject is nominal in our case. Under the reed-leaf we find a tall sign formed by a circular shape on top of a vertical stroke. This corresponds to *mr* (U23, Möller 1909, n. 484), which can appear with a little trace to the right of the vertical stroke (Cf. Fr. 16, col. 3; *Debate* col. 42) or without it (cols. 60, 131), like the one here. With the parallel of Fr. 16 col. 3, and *Debate* col. 131, we can supply here a ligatured *m* + *r*, and there is enough room for a sparrow (G37, Möller 1909, n. 197), since the *m* can be placed a little higher than the beginning of the *mr* sign, as the *n* from *jn* would be located next to the middle part of the reed-leaf. The word *mr* appears on line 131 as a noun with the meaning “a sick person” (Wb. II, 95.18, TLA lemma n. 71800). Interestingly enough, although this word is well attested as a verb in Middle Kingdom literature, it is only in this instance in the *Debate* and in *The Words of Neferti* 41 (Cf. Helck 1970b, 34) that it is used as a noun referring to a person²³. In col. 131 it has the seated man determinative, but it is not absolutely necessary. In our instance, it is the subject of the verb *dd.jn*, with the meaning “Then the sick one said.” This noun might designate the Man of the *Debate* (Cf. Interpretation *infra*). The rubric ends here, since the trace below it has been written in black ink. Since the rubrics of this text are not well preserved, it is not possible to know if the scribe was consistent in finishing the rubrics completely in red ink, or if he left words out corresponding to the rubric, like Ameni, the scribe of *The Shipwrecked Sailor*.²⁴

²³ The attestation in *Neferti* has been interpreted either as “sickness” or “the sick one.” Cf. note by Peter Dils and Heinz Felber in TLA, where they also discuss the lack of A1 determinative: <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/SO2?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&wc=173028> [last accessed on 09/07/2016]

²⁴ The scribe of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* seems to consistently only write a few words in red, leaving the rest of the sentence out of the rubric. For the rubric in the first column, Allen has indicated that the adjective *jq*r might have been written in black because it had a separate stress (Allen 2015a, 11). On the use of rubrics in Egyptian manuscripts, cf. Posener 1951b; Parkinson 2002, 115. For an analysis of the rubrics in *Sinuhe* and *Peasant* B1, cf. Parkinson 2009, 95–99, 103–106.

Fr. 16

1. *dd.jn n=f^rnh.t^r [...]*
2. *ntt dp.n=s (sj) nn gr=s jw*
3. *m³ s³=s sh³h=s mr [r]*
4. *^rmwt^r [...]*

1. Then Ankhet said to him: [...]
2. because she had experienced (it). She will not be silent.
3. Her back was seen, she hastening the sick one [to (?)]
4. death (?) [...]

Commentary

1. *dd.jn n=f*: The back trace of the *d*-snake is visible at the top of the column. The horizontal trace to the right of the lower part of the tail of the snake corresponds to an *n*, to the left of which would have stood a reed-leaf. This explains the distance at which *n=f* is located below this group of signs, leaving enough room for the body of the reed-leaf. The *d* of *dd* is written in a compact way inside the curve of the *d*-snake (Cf. Fr. 1 col. 4, and parallels in the *Debate* given there). For the shape of *n=f*, cf. cols. 12, 29, and 71. Two broken small pieces of papyrus sit partially on top of the lower part of the *dd.jn* group. The top fragment shows a straight red trace of ink, and the fragment underneath does not seem to have ink in its visible part. Their current position does not correspond to their original location. Conservation is necessary in this area to see if the rubric can be further reconstructed.

nh.t: I owe this reading to J. P. Allen. The papyrus shows the *n* and *h* ligatured, which we also see on Fr. 1 col. 2 and col. 3 in the word *nh* (this ligature only appears in the *Debate* in the word *nh*). If this sequence is compared with Fr. 20 col. 1 at the end, we find the form *dd.jn* again in the rubric, followed by *n* and *h* ligatured, and the remains of the abbreviated seated woman (B1, Möller 1909, n. 61B). The position of the word in its context identifies it as the subject of the verb *dd.jn*, and the female determinative indicates that it was probably a female name. Although the rubric has more signs in Fr. 16, it ends after the name in Fr. 20, so the name must be either *nh* or *nh.t*. Both are female names attested in the Middle Kingdom, the first one sometimes being an abbreviation of *nh-j* (Cf. *nh*, Ranke 1935, 62, n. 19; *nh.t*, Ranke 1935, 68, n. 14). The name Ankhet sounds interesting in the context of the *Debate*, since the general topic of the text revolves around death (Cf. Interpretation *infra*).

The rest of the rubric might have contained an object or a circumstantial complement. This introduces the pos-

sibility that the following text after the rubric may not be direct speech, but a narrative in third person.

2. *ntt*: This ligature can correspond to *ntt* (Möller 1909, n. XXII) or to the triple waterline (N35, Möller 1909, n. 333). If we take the ligature as *ntt*, we can interpret it as a marked noun clause with the perfect, either as object of a previous verb or of a preposition (especially after *n*, *hr* and *dr*), of which no traces have been preserved in the previous column. In this case, we would be missing the object of the transitive verb *dp* (Wb. IV, 443.7–444.15, TLA lemma n. 178970)²⁵. Another interpretation is as an indirect relative clause with a feminine antecedent, in which case, however, we would be missing a resumptive dependent pronoun (Cf. footnote 25). However, this type of clauses is not common, since Egyptian would prefer here just a perfect relative (Cf. Allen 2010, § 18.12). If we take it as the triple waterline, it might be the determinative of a word referring to a liquid mentioned at the end of column 1, in which case *dp.n=s* would be a relative going back to a masculine antecedent: “[liquid] which she had tasted.”

dp: Wb. V, 443.7–444.15; TLA lemma n. 178970. As Parkinson has noted, *dp* is often connected to the idea of experiencing misfortune. Cf. Parkinson 2012, 74, 205 for references. Add also with this meaning *Khety* 10.1 (Helck 1970a, 59; it appears as the subject of an adjectival sentence, in which the predicate is *mr* “to be sick, to be painful”). For a discussion of the possible interpretations of *dp* here, cf. note by Peter Dils in the TLA: <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/SO2?wc=198638&db=0> [last accessed on 09/10/2016], and *Ipuwer* 13.5 (Enmarch 2005, 53; Enmarch 2008, 193).

3. *jw mʹ sʹs*: The expression *mʹʹ sʹ* “see the back” appears in Middle Kingdom literature only in col. 103 of the *Debate*, with the meaning of someone leaving a place, in that case with the connotation of cowardice. The expression is probably similar to *rdj sʹ*, “give the back” (Wb. IV, 9.10–14, TLA lemma n. 125670 for *sʹ*), which appears in *Sinuhe* B 58 (Cf. Allen 2011, 89–90). The form here is not geminated, and follows the particle *jw*. The meaning is necessarily passive, so it can be interpreted as a *sdm=f* passive “her back was seen.” Another possibility could be as a perfective passive participle as subject of a subject-imperfective *sdm=f*, “the one whose back was seen was hastening/hastens the sick man to death (?)” Here the expression refers to a feminine character, perhaps Ankhet (Cf. Interpretation *infra*). If we take the sign to the

left of the reed-leaf at the end of col. 2 as an *r* instead of a *w*, similarly to the *r* from *nfr* in Fr. 20, col. 1, or *Debate* col. 109, then we can interpret the sentence differently, with *mʹ* as a participle in anticipatory emphasis, “As for the one whose back was seen, she hastened the sick man to death(?)” If we interpret *mʹ* as a *sdm=f* form after *jr*, it would be a conditional sentence and the form would be a subjunctive, with active meaning, which does not yield grammatical sense in this context.

shʹh=s: The causative verb *shʹh* (Wb. IV, 235.12–14, TLA lemma n. 141760) is attested for the first time in *The Tale of the Court of King Khufu* (10.8, 10.15, 10.23; Blackman 1988, 13–14 and plate 10), with *msw.t* “birth” (Wb. II, 140.16–141.13, TLA lemma n. 75070) as its object in every instance. Its regular form *hʹh* (Wb. III, 232.18–233.15, TLA lemma n. 114170) appears already in the *Peasant* (B1 243, B2 104; Parkinson 2012, 202, 296). The present one would therefore be the oldest attestation of the causative form. It is a transitive verb with the meaning “to hasten (something).” In this case, the subject is a 3rd person feminine singular suffix pronoun, and its object is the word *mr* at the end of the column.

mr: The *mr*-sign is clearly visible (U23, Möller 1909, n. 484; for its orthography, cf. Fr. 1 col. 4, note for *dd.jn mr* above) and an *m* to its left. Underneath we would expect the *r* and the determinative of the sparrow. There is still space below the whole group for another sign, in parallel to *jw* in the previous column. A faint trace under the vertical stroke of the *mr*-sign might be the arm of the seated man (A1, Möller 1909, n. 33). It seems to have been erased, perhaps in order to replace it with a different sign. Under the *m* there are traces of a previous sign. As in Fr. 1 col. 4, the noun “sick one” can be written without the seated man determinative. This space below *mr* could be occupied by a possessive pronoun, allowing the reading of *mr* as “pain, sickness” (Wb. II, 96.1–5, TLA lemma n. 71810), or a preposition (Cf. next point).

4. *mwt*: I owe this suggestion to J. P. Allen. The beginning of this column is very fragmentary, but the traces preserved on top could be identified with an *m* ligatured to a *t*, which would have the top part of the evil determinative written on top of its lower part (Cf. cols. 12, 132, 134, 136, 140). This would complete the reading *mwt* “death” (Wb. II, 166.10–17, TLA lemma n. 69310), which could be preceded at the end of the previous column by the preposition *r*: *shʹh=s mr r mwt* “she hastening the sick one to death.”

²⁵ This pronoun could have been a 3rd person feminine singular dependent pronoun, *sj*, sometimes written just as *s(j)*, which may have been omitted in writing since it is preceded by the feminine suffix pronoun *=s* (Cf. Gardiner 1957, § 62).

Fr. 17

1. [...] $\text{f(?) } \text{sdr}(\text{w}) \text{ m } [\dots]$
1. [...] he(?) spent the night in [...]

Fr. 18

1. [...] $\text{jm}^{\text{c}} \text{d}^3 [\dots]$
1. [...] there. Injustice [...]

Commentary

1. The fragment preserves the end of a rubric, composed by a vertical stroke and a diagonal fine stroke. Since this is the end of a clause, it is possible that they might be the preposition *m* used adverbially, *jm* “there”, with the *m* written in its abbreviated form (Cf. col. 142).

d^3 : Wb. I, 240.14–241.5; TLA lemma n. 42100. The full shape of the aleph (G1, Möller 1909, n. 192) appears in the *Debate* only in col. 74. Although this is the only instance of the word in the Berlin Library, it is also attested in wisdom literature, in *The Teaching of a Man for His Son* (P. BM EA 10775d 14, x+2, in a very damaged condition, Cf. Fischer-Elfert 1998, plate X; Fischer-Elfert 1999, plate § 14, 1-x+3), and *Ipuwer* (2.2, Enmarch 2005, 23; Enmarch 2008, 72).

Fr. 20

1. [...] $\text{r}^{\text{z}} \text{s} \text{dd} \text{f} \text{bw}^{\text{r}} \text{nfr} \text{dd} \text{jn}^{\text{r}} \text{c} \text{nh} \text{t}^{\text{r}}$
2. $\text{k}^3 \text{hr} \text{rmn} \text{hft} \text{j} \text{hr}^{\text{r}} \text{dd} \text{r/d}^{\text{r}} [\dots]$
3. $\text{r}^{\text{r}} \text{pn}^{\text{r}} \text{nn} \text{dj} \text{tw} \text{m} \text{s}^3 \text{z} \text{s} \text{nn} \text{tr} [\dots]$
1. [...] to her (?). He said good things. Then Ankhet said:
2. The Ka is on the side of the enemy, saying to [...]
3. this (?) [...]. It will not be placed after her. [...] is there not [...]

Commentary

1. [...] $\text{r}^{\text{z}} \text{s} \text{dd} \text{f} \text{bw}^{\text{r}} \text{nfr}$: The traces in the beginning of the column correspond to a horizontal sign with a pointed corner, which could correspond to *d*, some traces of another sign, a horizontal sign, perhaps *n*, and a vertical that could be *s*. These last two signs might be a dative with a 3rd person feminine singular suffix pronoun. The scribe dipped the pen in order to write the signs corresponding to the traces directly before the *w* of *bw*. This might indicate

that a new clause starts at this point. These traces fit with the shape of the *d*-snake and the corner of the *d* in *dd*. On top of the *w* of *bw* there is a small trace that could be the end of the *f* of the 3rd person masculine singular suffix pronoun. The expression *bw-nfr* (Wb. II, 254.28, TLA lemma n. 55220) although translated here as “good things”, has to be understood in the abstract sense of “goodness”. It appears in the *Debate* col. 109 as part of the Man’s second litany, describing the chaotic state in which the world is. Parkinson (2012, 190) has pointed out that *bw-nfr* can be equated with Truth in *Peasant* B1 271–3, 319, 341–2, which could be the intended meaning in this particular case, “He said the Truth,” referring perhaps to the Man’s monologue (Cf. Interpretation *infra*). It is a concept that appears with a very high frequency in Middle Kingdom literature, especially in wisdom literature (Cf. the examples in Parkinson 2012, 190; add to these and the previously cited: *Sinuhe* B 74–75 [Allen 2015a, 88–89]; *The Teaching for Kagemni* 1.6 [Gardiner 1946, 73 and plate 14]; *Ptahhotep* 5.1 [Žába 1956, 16]; *The Teaching of Amenemhat* I 1.11 [Helck 1969, 36]; *Neferti* 30, 31, 45 [Helck 1970b, 27, 37]).

dd.jn: Cf. commentary for Fr. 16 col. 1.

anh.t: Cf. commentary for Fr. 16 col. 1. The ligature *n + h* has been rewritten over previous traces.

2. k^3 : The clause starts with this word. Although the writings of the k^3 -sign in the *Debate* differ from this one, being smaller and with the two top traces forming an acute angle, we know from other texts that both shapes, the smaller and the bigger one, appear together in the same text (Cf. *Sinuhe* B 204 for the smaller form and *Sinuhe* B 206 for the bigger one; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, CD folder “Pap. Berlin P. 3022 *The Tale of Sinuhe* B,” image 14). For the concept of Ka, cf. Kaplony 1980; Bolshakov 1997, 123–213.

rmn: I owe this reading to J. P. Allen. The meaning of *rmn* (Wb. II, 418.1–16, TLA lemma n. 94240 and 94250) can be “shoulder” but also “half, side,” as a synonym of *gs*. With this latter meaning it is attested in Khufu’s Court 6.9 and 7.2 (Blackman 1988, 7–8; the second attestation has been translated as “shoulder” [Parkinson 1997, 111–112], or “half” [Lichtheim 1973, 218]), and in the *Coffin Texts* (Spell 114, CT. II 133c; Spell 131, CT. II 151e; Spell 362, CT. V 18a; Spell 764, CT. VI 394f; cf. Molen 2000, 279).

hft.j: The same orthography for *hft.j* (Wb. III, 276.12–277.5, TLA lemma n. 116800) appears in col. 115. This word has been written after dipping the brush again. Although with some exceptions, the scribe seems to be quite consistent in dipping the brush in order to write new clauses (Cf. Material and palaeographical analysis *supra*). This poses the question if *hft.j* continues the previous clause as a di-

rect genitive of *rmn*, or if it is the subject of its own clause (Cf. next point).

dd: The break in the papyrus in the middle of this column makes the details of the signs at the end more difficult to identify. After *hft.j* we have the preposition *hr*, followed by a snake-sign with a horizontal stroke below. The reading *dd* is possible, but it is hard to distinguish if the horizontal stroke doubles to create the two traces of the *d* or if it is just a single stroke. Another way of interpreting these signs is as an *f* and an *n* (Cf. col. 58 for the same shape of the *f*-sign). If we read it as *hft.j hr=f dd r/d* [...], there are different interpretations for this column. The whole column can be a sentence, formed by an adverbial sentence plus a pseudoverbal complement: “The Ka is on the side of the enemy, saying [...]” It can also be interpreted as two parallel adverbial sentences, following the indication of the dipping of the brush in *hft.j*: “The Ka is on the side, the enemy is upon it [...]” The last sign preserved at the end of the column could be different things, such as a *d* or a closed *r*. There is room below for another sign or two.

3. *pn*: The first sign of the column is difficult to identify, and might be a determinative of the word starting at the end of column 2. For the next two signs, we might be dealing with a *p* and an *n*, forming the masculine demonstrative *pn* as determiner of the previous word. The *p*-sign (Q3, Möller 1909, n. 388) here shows the central and right vertical traces connected, and the horizontal stroke points upwards, which is problematic.

nn dj.tw: The form here is a negated subjunctive *sdm=f* with the suffix *tw*, forming the passive. The subject is not expressed, perhaps because it is clear from the previous clause (Cf. Allen 2010, § 19.3). Allen (2011, 18) indicates six instances in the *Debate* of omitted 1st singular suffixes. In this case, the sentence would be: *nn dj.tw(=j) m s3=s* “I will not be placed after her.”

nn tr: This might be the beginning of a negated adjunct question with an adverbial predicate that would continue in the next column, with the enclitic particle *tr*. However, these sentences are not common. *tr* can also be used in non-interrogative sentences, but this use is rare (Cf. i.e. *Sinuhe* B 114; Allen 2015a, 99–100). The determinative of *tr* (A2, Möller 1909, n. 35) does not look like the other examples of this sign, being more similar to A1. The interpretation of the particle *tr* in col. 31 of the *Debate* has been the source of controversy (Cf. Allen 2011, 45–46).

Fr. 26

1. [...] *r/n md.t nb(.t) nfr(.t)* [...]
1. [...] to/for any fine speech [...]

Commentary

1. *md.t nb(.t) nfr(.t)*: The word *md.t* (Wb. II, 181.7–182.2; TLA lemma n. 78030) has the generic meaning of “thing,” but in the Middle Kingdom poetic corpus, when modified by the adjective *nfr.t*, it seems to invariably refer to “speech.” We find attestations in *Peasant* B1 349 (Parkinson 2012, 282–283); *Ptahhotep* 5.6, 5.7, 5.10 (Žába 1956, 19–20); and *Neferti* 7, 13 (Helck 1970b, 7, 11). This expression could be also seen in parallel with *bw-nfr* in Fr. 20, which appears in the context of the verb *dd*. The concept of *md.t nfr.t* “fine speech” distinguishes a particular type of discourse as superior to regular speech, which is an important aspect in the literature of the Middle Kingdom. The paradigmatic example is *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, the protagonist of which is characterized as *nfr mdw n-wn-m*^{3c} “one truly fine of speech” (B1 106–107; Parkinson 2012, 87–88). Whether *md.t nfr.t* in P. Mallorca II refers to the monologue of the Man remains as an open question.

Fr. 58

1. [...] *pr.r.t m pr* [...]
2. [...] *pn* [...]
1. [...] which was coming out from the house [...]
2. [...] this [...]

Commentary

1. *pr.r.t*: The imperfective active participle refers to a previously mentioned feminine element, which might be the same mentioned in Frs. 16 and 20.

pr: The *pr* sign is written with two traces, similarly to that on Fr. 1 col. 2. In the present case, the right trace extends a bit lower on its left end, but the ductus of the preserved part of that trace, and that of the right trace, are the same as in Fr. 1 col. 2.

P. Mallorca I

Fr. 2–4

1. [...] *r grh <r> jrr.wt d3b.w r s*
2. [...] *r/t jbh.w s r dq.w r q3h*

1. [...] more than the night, (more than) grapes and figs [...]
2. [...] her teeth (?) more than powder for gypsum (?)

Commentary

1. *m/r/n*: The fragment presents a trace at its top, that belongs to the sign preceding *grh*. It is the right end of a horizontal stroke traced from left to right. It could correspond to a preposition such as *m* “from/ in the night,” *r* “toward the night,” or *n* “to the night,” or to the genitive adjective *nj* “of the night.” Comparison of the text with the stela Louvre C 100 (Cf. Interpretation *infra*) indicates that it should be read as the comparative *r*.

jʒrr.wt: Wb. I, 32.12–14, TLA lemma n. 20830. The orthography is the common one in the Middle Kingdom, attested as well in *Sinuhe* B 82. The term seems to be used, by comparison with the stela Louvre C 100 (Cf. Interpretation *infra*) because of its color. A word *jr.t* is attested as “a blue material (for beads)” maybe faience (Harris 1961, 95; Meeks, 1977, 40). Harris records the word as *jjrrt* (sic) and identifies it as a hapax, perhaps related to *jʒrr.t* with some meaning as “the grape-coloured stone,” which Iversen suggested could be amethyst (attested in P. Harris I, 64b, 14 and perhaps 64c, 13, cf. Grandet 1994, vol. 1, 316, and vol. 2, pl. 65; Iversen 1955, 10; Andreu and Cauville 1997, 6 give “faïence, améthyste ?” for *jr.t*). It is interesting to note that *jʒrr.wt* and *dʒb.w* appear together in many contexts, such as in *Sinuhe* (B 81), or *The Shipwrecked Sailor* (cols. 47–48), in the description of bountiful lands. Their use in this description might add the nuance of richness apart from simply color. These fruits can also have a negative counterpart, reflected in P. Chester Beatty III, in which dreaming of figs or grapes means sickness (9.11a-b, TLA: Dokument DZA 20.169.790).

dʒb.w: Wb. V, 417.9–15, TLA lemma n. 177710. Same orthography and disposition of signs as in *Sinuhe* B 81. The clear writing of *dʒb.w* here indicates that the orthography *jdb* in the stela Louvre C 100 is corrupt (Cf. Interpretation *infra*). *jdb.w* written as “river banks” seems to be a mineral (Wb. I, 153.11, TLA lemma n. 34000; Harris 1961, 165), perhaps written in a sportive orthography, but the name of which would derive from the dark color of the figs, which is also the important characteristic of them in our text.

ˁsˁ: The horizontal trace below the determinative of *dʒb.w* can be interpreted either as the ligatured plural strokes, such as in *jʒrr.wt*, or as the preposition *n*. Comparison with the text in the stela Louvre C 100 (Cf. Interpretation *infra*) is not possible in this case, since this section of the stela is broken, but the context suggests that these signs should either be the end of this part of the comparison or the beginning of the next one. A single *s*, however, is hard to fit in the context, unless the scribe had divided a word in the middle. In most cases, he tries to fit the complete words in the column, even if he has to place them in

a little parallel column, but if we take the word between x+11 and x+12 in the *Herdsmen* as *m-ḥb* we would have a parallel case. He also separates determinatives from words in cols. x+12-x+13 and x+17-x+18. Another reading would be to take the end of the column as *n=s*, which could be part of the possessive construction *n X jmy* (Gardiner 1957, § 113.3; Allen 2000, § 8.10), in which *jmy* would be in the beginning of the next column, which is not preserved. This, however, does not correspond with the text in the Louvre stela.

2. *r/t*: The first preserved traces of column 2 are very faint. The ink of the rest of the column is much darker, including that corresponding to the first signs located immediately below these traces. This seems to rule out a deterioration of the area, and perhaps points more to a sign that was erased in order to be corrected, but the new sign was never added. The first sign preserved, of small size, could either be an *r* like that of *hpr.t(j)* on Fr. 3 col. 1, or a *t* like that in *hm.t* on Fr. 3 col. 2. Towards the left of this sign there is a speck of ink located high in the line with respect to the latter. Below these signs the walking legs sign is placed under the *r/t*, perhaps indicating the existence of another sign to its left. Its shape is like that of the walking legs in the *Herdsmen* x+1. All these elements point to the interpretation of these signs as a verb of movement determined by the walking legs.

jbh.w: Wb. I, 64.2–4, TLA lemma n. 23830. I owe this interpretation to J. P. Allen. *jbh* can be written in an abbreviated way only with the tooth sign (F18, Möller 1909, n. 160), as indicated in the Wörterbuch. The sign below it is similar to the small plural traces from *jʒrr.wt* (Fr. 2 col. 1). The location of this sign towards the right in the column, and its small size, seem to indicate that there was another sign to its left. Another interpretation would be to consider it as the form of the plural sign in two traces that appears in *qʒh* below in this column, which would solve the problem of the hypothetical existence of another sign towards its left. Below this sign, a tall *s* is also displaced toward the right, but we see this displacement with a single tall *s* on Fr. 3 col. 2. The parallel text on the stela Louvre C 100 (Cf. Interpretation *infra*) shows that the traces before the tooth determinative seem to correspond to the sign V14, which Bardinet reads as *tʒz.t* (Wb. V, 409.9–12, TLA lemma n. 177060; Bardinet 1990, 85–86). In our case, however, the traces before the tooth determinative do not seem to fit those for *tʒz.t*, and therefore I have opted for the reading *jbh.w*, first proposed for the Louvre stela by Müller (1899, 44).

dq.w r qʒh: The reading of these words (*dq.w* “powder”, Wb. V, 494.15–495.5, TLA lemma n. 180940; von Deines and Grapow 1959: 582–583; *qʒh* “earth, mortar”,

Wb. V, 12.9–12, TLA lemma n. 159410; Harris 1961, 205–206) is clear. The meaning of *q³h* has been debated, but its association with teeth in a positive comparison must indicate that it is a white material. This would indicate that the orthographies *q³h* and *qh* (Wb. V, 67.1, TLA lemma n. 162110; Harris 1961, 90) would be graphic variations of the same word, with a range of meaning from earth to gypsum. In this case, since it seems to designate a white material, the translation as “gypsum” seems to be the most appropriate one.

Fr. 3

1. *hpr:n w^cr:s r smh jw:s hpr:t(j)*
2. *m hm.t jw dbh.n:s rh jh(.w)*
3. *[...]zj [...] s [...] ^ch^c.n ...*

1. It happened that she rushed to the skiff. She transformed into
2. a woman. She requested to know the cattle(?)
3. [...] Then (?) ...

Commentary

1. *hpr:n*: The subject of the perfect *hpr:n* is the unmarked noun clause introduced by the second tense *w^cr:s*. On this construction, cf. Wb. III, 262.23, TLA lemma n. 116230; Allen 2010, § 25.3.4.

w^cr:s: Wb. I, 286.8–20, TLA lemma n. 44680. Apart from its primary meaning as “to flee,” the verb *w^cr* can have the connotation of moving quickly, without the nuance of escaping from something. The element emphasized in this case is the direction towards which the movement happens, with the preposition *r*. For *w^cr* cf. Parant 1982, 18–38; Parkinson 2012, 199).

smh: Wb. IV, 140.2–4, TLA lemma n. 135530, Jones 1988, 144 n. 62. This type of boat is attested since the Old Kingdom, and appears in the *Pyramid Texts* (PT 519, Pyr. § 1209a, § 1209c, part of a series of spells for summoning the ferryboat). It appears in *The Tale of the Herdsman* (P. Berlin 3024, col x+11) as the boat used to direct the cattle when crossing the river. It is also attested as the papyrus boat used for fishing and fowling in *The Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* (P. Moscow w/o. Nr. A2.2, B1.15, C2.x+12, C3.7, Fr. 9.2; Caminos 1956, 7 and plate 1–1a, 9 and plate 2–2a, 18 and plate 5–5a, 18 and plate 6–6a, plate 7–7a), and in the *Coffin Texts* (Spell 820, CT. VII 21d; Spell 1135, CT. VII 480h; Molen 2000, 496–497).

hpr:t(j) m: The verb *hpr* is here the 2fs stative followed by the preposition *m*, with the nuance “to transform into”

(Wb. III, 261.15–21). This construction is used especially to express the transformation of a dual entity between two different natures (Cf. Interpretation *infra*).

2. *hm.t*: Wb. III, 76.16–77.19, TLA lemma n. 104730. The term *hm.t* means in essence the idea of woman, and it is used in compounds to add a feminine nuance. It is also used with the meaning of married woman (Cf. Allen 2011, 85–86). In the present case, the text indicates that the feminine character referred to in the previous column with feminine singular pronouns transformed into a woman from a previous form (Cf. Interpretation *infra*).

jw dbh.n:s rh: The verb *dbh* is generally followed directly by its object (Wb. V, 439.8–16, TLA lemma n. 178750), in this case *rh*, which can be interpreted as an infinitive or as a subjunctive *s_{dm}z* in which the subject has been omitted (*rh<zs>*), since it is the same as that of the main verb. The TLA does not show attestations of *dbh* with *rh* as its object²⁶. However, the verb *dbh* is attested with another verb in the subjunctive as its object in the *Pyramid Texts* (PT 215, Pyr. § 149a; PT 510, Pyr. § 1128a, § 1128c, § 1129a; PT 534, Pyr. § 1275b, § 1276b). In the Middle Kingdom poetic corpus, it is attested in *Debate* 80 (Cf. Allen 2011, 75), and *Neferti* 40, 67 (Helck 1970b, 34, 56), where its object is a noun in every case.

jh(.w): Wb. I, 119.15–120.4, TLA lemma n. 30410. The traces preserved below the ligature of *r + h* correspond to the book roll as determinative of the verb *rh*, followed by the right end of two diagonal lines, and a trace forming an angle pointing left, which has a little flake in the middle. The shape of this sign resembles that of the cattle sign (I owe this suggestion to J. P. Allen). This sign has caused problems in other attestations in the *Herdsman*. The doubtful sign in x+12 and x+18 (Gardiner left it blank and suggested either E1 or E3; cf. Gardiner 1909a, plate 16a, note a) has been interpreted as the cattle sign (Morenz 1996, 128; Darnell 2010, 112). Goedicke (1970, 251–252) took it as *w_{ts}*, “prop” to support the skiff on land; and Schneider (2007, 314) as *rs*, “guard.” This last reading had already been proposed by López (2005, 23, n. 9). It is interesting to note that these are the only two instances in the text in which the sign appears written alone, only accompanied by the plural strokes²⁷. The sign appears also in the *Herds-*

²⁶ http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?u=guest&f=0&l=0&il=*178750&wt=y&lr=0&mo=1&db=0&of=0 [last accessed on 05/28/2016]

²⁷ Allen (2015a, 363–364) has taken the two previous signs in col. x+12 as phonetic signs spelling the name of a noun *qb.w*, meaning “cattle” according to his translation, which, he admits is not attested elsewhere. He transliterates *qb.w* as well for col. x+18. I consider that Goedicke’s reading of the first sign of col. x+12 as W10 (Möller 1909, n. 492) instead of Gardiner’s suggested *q* (N29, Möller 1909, n. 319),

man in the word *kʿ* “bull” (x+8, x+11; *Wb.* V, 94.7–96.8, 97.1–98.2, TLA lemma n.162930), *bḥz* “calf” (x+9; *Wb.* I, 469.4–10, TLA lemma n.56890), and *ʿw.t* “herd” (x+10; *Wb.* I, 170.7–171.1, TLA lemma n.35870). The shape of the sign in Fr. 3 col. 2, which does not have any phonetic signs preceding it, seems to fit the traces of the cattle sign, with perhaps a flake in the curve corresponding to the front leg of the bull. If we accept that this is the cattle sign writing the word *jḥ(.w)* and that it is similar to the instances in which it appears accompanied by phonetic signs, we can either consider the instances in x+12 and x+18 as a variant of the sign, or as a different sign (in which case, I would be more inclined towards Schneider’s interpretation as *rs* “guard”). In favor of the first option, x+18 is part of the water spell, which also appears in the spell 836 of the Coffin Texts (CT VII 36n), where the word is written with the phallus and the bull (D52+E1). Nevertheless, if the model for Spell 836 was *The Tale of the Herdsman*, this writing might be a misinterpretation of the sign due to the pastoral context of the text²⁸. Another reading for the sign in Fr. 3 col. 2 could be *hnw* (F26, Möller 1909, n.165; x+18). The traces in Fr. 3 col. 2 are not exactly like those of sign F26, since it has two specks of ink on top of the lower trace that forms the front leg of the animal.

3. *ʿh^c.n* ...: I owe this reading to J. P. Allen. The rubric shows the remains of a vertical sign that can be identified as a simplified version of *ʿh^c* on top of a horizontal line (*n*), as the formula *ʿh^c.n*. Below these signs there are the remains of a horizontal sign, followed underneath by a *p* and the arm with the stick as determinative, which is commonly written without the line for the stick (Möller 1909, n.105).

Fr. 6–6b

1. [...]
2. [...]^r *kʿ* *šzp n p^r.^r t^r.*
1. [...]
2. [...] take [...]

as a spelling for *m-ḥ* “together with” (*Wb.* I, 174.5–9, TLA lemma n.64580), is reasonable (Goedicke 1970b, 251). This reading is followed by Schneider (2007, 313), Darnell (2010, 112), and Dils (TLA: <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/SO2?wc=129122&db=0> [last accessed on 05/28/2016]).

²⁸ The spell is only attested in the Coffin of Buau, T 9 C, CG 28027, cf. Gilula 1978; Morenz 1996. I have not been able to check the original coffin, but Ogdon (1982, 62, n.5) puts the word “bull(s)” in half brackets, saying that the spell is here corrupted.

Commentary

2. Fragment 6 starts with two traces of the last signs of a rubric. The second trace is similar to the tail of a *k* sign. The text preserved in this column corresponds to its lower section, since the bottom margin is visible at the end.

šzp: *Wb.* IV, 534.1–2, TLA lemma n.157160. The verb *šzp* is clear in the beginning of the sentence after the rubric, composed by the *šzp* sign, followed by a *p* and the arm with the stick.

Fr. 7–5

1. *wšb.n mnj.ww ḥr-sʿ jn.n=f^r ʿtw jw^r*
1. The herdsman answered, after the supervisor of the livestock had brought ...

Commentary

1. *mnj.ww*: *Wb.* II, 74–75.10. The word appears with the same orthography on cols. x+10, x+13, x+14 of the *Herdsman*. The sign A47 (Möller 1909, n. 47–48) on Fr. 7–5 has its lower trace written as a curve that starts on the left going down and then up, as in the *b* from *wšb* above in the column. This sign shows some variation in the three instances in the *Herdsman*. On cols. x+10 and x+11 the lower trace is almost flat, and on col. x+14 it curves upwards and has a diagonal tick. On the reading of this orthography as *mnj.w* “herdsman” cf. Gardiner 1905; Fischer 1996.

ḥr:j-sʿ: Gardiner 1957, §803. Compound preposition followed either by the imperfective *sḏm=f* or the perfect second tense. The preposition *ḥr* has been written with the curl *w* instead of with the ideographic stroke. *ḥr:j-sʿ* is also a name for a type of cattle (*Wb.* III, 135.7, TLA lemma n.108820). A different reading for this sentence could be “The herdsman replied: the *ḥr:j-sʿ* cattle which the official of the livestock brought for him ...”

ʿtw: *Wb.* I, 23.14, TLA lemma n.338 (old *w^r.tw*, *Wb.* I, 288.9–14; Meeks 1977, 10; Meeks 1978, 11; Meeks 1979, 6). This word designates some kind of administrator, although its exact meaning is not clear (Jones 2000, 3, n.14: “tutor (?), palace-official(?), provincial administrator(?)”). The sign D26 (Möller 1909, n.122) appears also on Fr. 3 col. 1. However, there the top of the sign is a zigzag line, whilst here the sign looks very similar to A47 in *mnj.ww* above. The *t* has a flaked section in its upper part. Meeks (1978, 11) includes the meaning “surveillant, responsable,” which seems to be the best fitting in this case.

ʿjwʿ: Of the two signs below ʿj.t.w, the left one is clearly the curl w. The one on the right is more problematic. Its shape could correspond with that of the baby bubalus (E9, Möller 1909, n. 143). The meaning of jw with this orthography is not certain, but the context of its attestations seems to point to some kind of livestock (Wb. I, 47.12, TLA lemma n. 21950). This meaning, as the area of specialty of the official, would make sense in the context. This orthography is also attested as a personal name (Ranke 1935, 16.8), but it is not clear how this would fit in the story, since none of the characters are named. Another interpretation is to take it as a p. The *Herdsmen* does not preserve any smaller versions of the p sign in combination on the same line with another sign. In the *Debate*, nevertheless, we find four instances of this sign (cols. 20, 57 [x2], 58), in which the sign is written with two traces in an angle below the horizontal with three traces of the regular sign. The faint trace visible under the horizontal line of the sign could correspond to those traces, although the break in that area allows no certainty. Other interpretation of the sign is as the flying duck (G40 or G41, Möller 1909, n. 221, 222), but this does not make sense in the context.

Fr. 9

1. r h³b ʿm-ʿ nʿ [...]
 1. in order to bow with pity(?) ...

Commentary

1. h³b: Wb. III, 229.7–11, TLA lemma n. 11382. This orthography is attested in the Middle Kingdom in P. Prisse, *Ptah-hotep* 13.12 (Žába 1956, 51), where its object is q³h “arm, shoulder” (Wb. V, 19.6–14, TLA lemma n. 159830).

ʿm-ʿ nʿ: This sequence of signs is far from clear. The first sign is an m written in three traces, with the lower one detached from that forming the body of the owl. Below this sign there are three horizontal signs that can be transcribed as the arm, the water line, and the arm. If we take m as the preposition, the rest of the signs can be interpreted as ʿ or dj plus a word beginning with nʿ, or as ʿ word beginning with ʿnʿ. In the first case, both ʿ and dj can be combined with m to form the compound prepositions m-ʿ “together with, in the possession of, from, through, because of” (Gardiner 1957, § 178) and m-dj “from, with, in possession of” (Wb. II, 176.14–177.19, TLA lemma n. 600056), or the nominal second tense of the verb rdj as object of the preposition m. The dj-arm appears in the *Herdsmen* either with a tick on its right part to distinguish it from the simple arm

or without it (Cf. rdj in x+12 and dj in x+24). As for the interpretation of the following signs, below the second arm sign two small traces are visible. They fit the traces of the eye with makeup (D5, Möller 1909, n. 83), which appears on Fr. 2 col. 1 as well. There is a verb, nʿi “to be mild, to pity” (Wb. II, 206.4–6, TLA lemma n. 80340). The sign of the eye with makeup can appear only with the right upper trace, as it seems to be the case here (Cf. CT VII 36i). In this case, it could be interpreted as a noun, “pity,” indicating the circumstance in which the action of the verb h³b happened. This verb, however, is not attested in the Middle Kingdom, and it does not appear until the 18th Dynasty. A verb that appears in the description of the goddess in the *Herdsmen* is nʿc “to be smooth” (x+5; Wb. II, 208.2–9, TLA lemma n. 80460). However, this verb has the scribal palette as determinative, which does not seem to fit the traces under the second arm sign of the column. If we consider ʿnʿ as the next word after m, most of the words attested with this orthography have another n after the second arm, which does not fit with the traces. Another option is to consider that there has been a metathesis, from ʿn to nʿ. The traces under the second arm fit those of the horizontal finger (D51, Möller 1909, n. 118), which could be interpreted as ʿn.t “nail, claw” (Wb. I, 188.1–7, TLA lemma n. 38130) with the last arm sign perhaps as a mistake for the t, or as an extra determinative and with the t omitted, although I admit the difficulty of this reading. It would be attractive if it referred to the goddess in animal shape: “in order to bow, with (her) claws (?)”.

Fr. 48

1. mnḥ.j [...]
 1. papyriform [...]

Commentary

1. mnḥ.j: Nisbe of mnḥ “papyrus” (Wb. II, 83.8, TLA lemma n. 71010) as adjective describing something, located in the previous column. It is attested in the Pyramid Texts (PT 509 Pyr. § 1125b, PT 554 Pyr. § 1371b, PT 731 Pyr. § 2262b, PT 733, cf. Allen 2015b for new numbering system), always used as an adjective describing the ʿb³-scepter (Wb. I, 176.17–18, TLA lemma n. 36480). The present attestation is the only one in the Middle Kingdom poetic corpus, but the noun mnḥ “papyrus plant” (Wb. II, 83.8–11; TLA lemma n. 70930) is attested in the stela of Intef, son of Tjefi, dating to the late 11th Dynasty (Cf. Fischer 1960), and in the *Coffin Texts* (Spell 62, CT I 269c; cf. Molen 2000, 169).

5 Reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca I and II

The four rolls of the Berlin Library have been studied in detail by R. B. Parkinson in a series of publications, so I will be relying much in his conclusions as a starting point for my analysis (Parkinson 2003a, 125–129; Parkinson 2009, 84–112; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 11–18). The state of preservation of the rolls indicates that they were probably found in a tomb. Their outer coils had suffered damage, and pieces of them seem to have crumbled away. These fragments are now P. Amherst I–IV and P. Mallorca I and II (Cf. Origin *supra*). In order to propose a new reconstruction, in this section I reexamine P. Berlin 3024, paying especial attention to the pattern of breaks of its beginning, which as far as I know has never been done before. According to this analysis and the observation through photographs of the fiber pattern of the Mallorca and Amherst fragments, I propose a placement of them in the roll. The next issue that is addressed is the placement of P. Mallorca I with respect to *The Tale of the Herdsman*, both as it was originally, and as it may or may not have been incorporated to P. Berlin 3024. Considering all the previous conclusions, I propose a history of the roll. Finally, some aspects concerning the different hands of the Berlin Library are explored.

P. Berlin 3024 is currently a 365 cm long roll, composed as a pastiche of three parts that come originally from reused papyrus rolls²⁹. The height of the sheets is between 15.9 and 16.4 cm tall, but the upper and lower edges have probably been trimmed. The sheets (10 preserved in total) are between 11.8 and 45.8 cm. The roll is composed by three parts that come originally from full size rolls that were cut in half and attached. It is not possible to know if the parts come from the same original roll (Cf. diagram in Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 16). Focusing on the first part, which corresponds to cols. 1–55 of the *Debate*, it is formed by three sheets, of which the remains of the first one measures 20 cm. Parkinson indicates that the original rolls seem to have had accounts, and remains of ruled guidelines are still visible (Gardiner 1909a, 6; Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 15). He attributes the worse state of preservation of its surface to the heavy cleaning process that the scribe had to perform on it, which matches the state of the surface of P. Mallorca II. This first part corresponds to the outer coils of the roll when it was stored. An exam-

ination of the pattern of breaks in this section of the roll provides clues as to its damage process. The roll presents damage in its first section up to column 52 (the first *kollesis* appears between cols. 55 and 56). This section shows a pattern that is repeated from the beginning of the roll to the left in intervals of approximately 20 cm. In the first two sections, in the area between cols. 13–15 (with col. 14 partially lost), and cols. 26–28 (with col. 27 partially lost), the papyrus shows a vertical break, with a similar shape. The next two sections (cols. 38–40 with 39 partially lost, and cols. 50–51) are still connected in the lower half of the papyrus. From col. 51 to the left there is no damage in the roll. The similar shape of the pattern of breakage shows that each section of ca. 20 cm corresponds to a coil of the roll, which get slightly more damaged as they get closer to the outer part of the roll. In the first section there is also a break in the middle (col. 8, partially lost). A closer inspection of this section shows that the part on the right also shows more internal damage. If each coil had a length of ca. 20 cm, the roll would have had a diameter of ca. 6.4 cm³⁰. In each coil, the area that shows more damage, a strip of around 4 cm, must have been the one more exposed, and one side of the roll, corresponding to the right part of the 20 cm coil, seems to have been more damaged than the other side. This might be a hint to the position of the roll when it was deposited in the tomb, or during the storage of all the rolls of the Berlin Library by d'Athanasī³¹.

Parkinson has studied the losses in the beginning of all the Berlin rolls (Parkinson 2003, 126–127). Using P. Berlin 3022 and 3023, of which the total of columns lost is known, he has suggested a loss of a sheet and a half from each roll. This corresponds to 19 lines from the beginning of P. Berlin 3022 plus a margin of 21 cm (equivalent to 12 lines); and 30 lines in P. Berlin 3023 plus a margin of 13 or 40 cm (depending on the sheet length) (Parkinson 2003, 127). Comparing these data with P. Berlin 3024, Parkinson proposes a loss of one and a half sheets, with a margin of 13–40 cm, which would give an interval of 16–34 lines lost in the beginning of the text (Parkinson 2003, 127). Looking at the larger fragments in P. Mallorca II and P. Amherst III, an approximation to the number of columns preserved is possible. Frs. 1, 16, and 20 preserve the remains of 11 columns. P. Amherst III L and J–K contain the remains of 8

²⁹ The numerical data about P. Berlin 3024 given in this section is from Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 11–18.

³⁰ Parkinson calculated the diameter of P. Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*) in 4.5 cm, saying that it had been “moderately tightly rolled up” (Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 11).

³¹ Parkinson indicates that d'Athanasī probably stored the papyri in a house in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna after they were discovered. He suggests that it was presumably during this period when the fragments from the beginning of the rolls became detached (Parkinson 2009, 77–78).

columns. This would make a minimum of 19 columns preserved. An important consideration before proceeding to the reconstruction of the beginning of P. Berlin 3024 is that this roll, as indicated above, includes significant damage in its first 20 cm (52 cols.), while a comparison with the beginning of P. Berlin 3022 and 3023 shows much less damage. The reconstruction of the fragments of P. Amherst I + P. Berlin 3023 (Parkinson 2005, xiv) shows that they are separated by one column or even less. In the case of P. Berlin 3022, not many fragments are preserved (Cf. footnote 15). This comparison shows that in the case of P. Berlin 3024 the state of the beginning of the roll can be expected to be more fragmentary than that of these other two rolls³².

With these considerations in mind, it is possible to propose an approximate placement for some fragments from P. Mallorca II and P. Amherst III. In his reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024, Parkinson matched the fibers of fragment Amherst III J-K with those from the lower part of the first sheet of P. Berlin 3024 (Parkinson 2003, 126, fig. 1). He considered that Fr. L corresponds to a different sheet due to its color and wider fibers. He proposed that Fr. H belongs to the same sheet as Fr. J-K, and Fr. I to that of Fr. L due to their similarity in color and fiber pattern. In the case of P. Mallorca II, I have limited my analysis to Frs. 1, 16, and 20 (Cf. Suggested reconstruction of the beginning of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca II)³³. Fr. 1 and Fr. 16 show the same pattern of breakage if they are placed one on top of the other, which indicates that they may have been in the same position in two contiguous coils of the roll. The fibers of Fr. 1 seem to match those of the beginning of P. Berlin 3024. Since the observation of the first section of P. Berlin 3024 shows that the right part of the coil seems to have been exposed to more damage, and Fr. 1 is quite complete, we can propose a placement of this fragment on the left part of the 20 cm coil that would have been immediately to the right of the beginning of P. Berlin 3024. If we superpose this fragment on top of the first preserved coil of P. Berlin 3024, its shape fits that of this part of the coil. Since Parkinson identified P. Amherst III J-K as belonging to this same sheet, it may have been located on the lower part of the right section of the coil,

which is consistent with the pattern of breakage of the first section of P. Berlin 3024. An observation through photographs of P. Amherst III L, which Parkinson placed on a different sheet, seems however to match the top part of Fr. 1. The horizontal fiber pattern of the top of this sheet is quite different than that of the bottom, with wider separation at the top, which matches the fiber pattern of these two fragments in these positions. Even if the vertical fibers of the two Amherst fragments did not match, there is still enough room to place both in this sheet. The similar shape of Fr. 16 and Fr. 1 suggests a placement of the former in the same position as the latter in the next coil. The observation of the fragments through photographs does not allow matching the fibers of Fr. 16 and Fr. 20. This might indicate that Fr. 20 belonged to another sheet. This would make the sheet containing Fr. 16 a short one. Since the first part of P. Berlin 3024 only preserves three sheets of different measurements, it is not possible to know if the sheets of this roll were regularly of 40 cm, as those in the second part of the roll. It is also unclear if parts 1 and 2 of P. Berlin 3024 were originally the upper and lower part of the same account roll. Furthermore, as a result of the thorough erasure of the papyrus in this area, some sections of the roll might have been especially damaged, being removed by the scribe, creating shorter sheets³⁴. The placement of the smaller fragments of P. Mallorca II and P. Amherst III has not been possible yet.

The presence of the fragments corresponding to *The Tale of the Herdsman* and their connection to P. Berlin 3024 is intriguing. The last part of the roll corresponds to 95 cm that originally belonged to another roll of accounts that was cut in half. It is composed by three sheets with *kolleseis* right over left (Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 15–17). Eight columns of text, four in the beginning and four at the end, have been erased, leaving only 25 columns. The presence of this section attached at the end of the *Debate* has been the cause of much controversy³⁵. Parkinson considers that the scribe of the *Debate* cut a section of the roll that contained the *Herdsman* and erased the four columns

³² The state of preservation of P. Berlin 3024 and P. Berlin 3025, which is by far the one that has suffered more damage, probably indicates that these two rolls were more exposed either after their placement in the tomb where they were presumably found, or during the time d'Athanasios had them in storage.

³³ The reconstruction presented in this section is tentative, since it has been based on comparison of photographs. P. Mallorca I-II have been photographed through the glass of the frame that contains them, without having been conserved and their fibers straightened. Thus, issues of color have not been considered in this analysis.

³⁴ The scribe of *Sinuhe* seems to have removed a section of the papyrus, resulting in shorter sheets on either side of the join. Parkinson suggests that he may have encountered an area that was too damaged or where the traces of palimpsest were too visible (Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 12). Bolshakov (1993, 257) noted the same process in P. Hermitage 1115 (*Shipwrecked Sailor*): “Ameni did not simply use an old papyrus, but assembled the new roll by recutting and rejoining at least some of the sheets – apparently in order to remove damaged areas. As a result, the sheet length varies in P. Hermitage 1115 greatly.”

³⁵ Initially it was thought that the *Debate* had been written on the roll that had originally belonged to the *Tale of the Herdsman* (Gardiner 1909a, 6; still followed by Barta 1969, 9).

at the beginning and at the end. He then attached it to the roll where he intended to write the *Debate* (Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 17). This has been explained as an addition in case the text required more space, left after the text was copied as a quite long strengthening strip without erasing the rest of the text (Parkinson 2009, 89). A detailed observation of the manuscript reveals elements that raise more questions. The papyrus shows two pairs of symmetric holes made by insects at intervals of 11 cm, the first set at 3.5 cm from the top of the roll, and the second at 4.5 cm from the bottom³⁶. They appear first on the edge of the roll, and reappear towards the right seven times, progressively disappearing, with the right hole of the lower pair being the last one to disappear. This indicates that at least this section of the papyrus was rolled with its left part outside at some point in ancient times. The symmetric disposition of the holes is intriguing, and perhaps points to a fold in the roll. When the papyrus was rolled this way, its diameter was of 3.5 cm, which is a little more than half the diameter of the complete roll as estimated from the other end (the beginning of the *Debate*). Another element to consider is that the last section of the roll shows damage especially in its upper edge. The papyrus was clearly damaged when the four columns of the end were erased, and this made it less resistant to damage.

The comparison of this section of the *Herdsmen* with P. Mallorca I shows that the margins of the latter are much wider than those preserved in P. Berlin 3024. The margins of the *Herdsmen* section of P. Berlin 3024 are mostly straight, which indicates that they were cut at some point. This may have happened already in ancient times, when the scribe of the *Debate* assembled the *Herdsmen* section to the rest of his roll. This is an important consideration, because if the scribe cut the margins of the roll to make it uniform once he had assembled all its parts, this would discard the use of P. Mallorca I as a strengthening strip in the beginning of the roll. The margins of the whole roll may have been cut in modern times, once the papyrus arrived to Berlin³⁷, but the different height of the best preserved fragments of P. Mallorca I and II seems to rule out this option³⁸. P. Mallorca I must have been preserved together with the Berlin Library, but somehow independently. An-

other interesting element is that there is no evidence of the insect holes in P. Mallorca I, which indicates that they were made after the original *Herdsmen* roll had been cut. Thus, they are probably the result of an instance in which the manuscript was rolled with its end outside. This would have originated the damage in the last 10 cm of the roll.

Another question is the reconstruction of the original *Herdsmen* manuscript. The roll seems to have had a height of originally around 18 cm, with wide margins that complement the generous width between columns. P. Mallorca I Fr. 3 has a *kollesis* in its right edge. The story in this fragment mentions the skiff (*smh*) and the goddess transforming into a woman (Cf. Edition and philological commentary *supra*, and Interpretation *infra*), and therefore seems to continue with the action as it ends in P. Berlin 3024. An examination through photographs of the fibers of the thin strip of papyrus from the previous sheet present in Fr. 3 seems to match the fibers at the end of P. Berlin 3024, thus indicating that it would be the continuation of the story after the four erased lines. However, since the match is not absolutely certain, there is also the option that the preserved fragments could be part of the story before the section preserved in P. Berlin 3024. P. Mallorca I Frs. 2 and 4 seem to correspond to two consecutive columns (Cf. Interpretation *infra*), and their fiber pattern is similar to that of Fr. 3, therefore belonging to the same sheet. Fr. 6 has a *kollesis*, which indicates that there are at least three sheets attested in P. Mallorca I (including the thin strip of papyrus in Fr. 3).

This said, and returning to the connection between the *Debate* and the *Herdsmen* in the manuscript, apart from the interpretation in which the *Herdsmen* section is simply considered as recycled writing material, other scholars have argued for a thematic connection between the two texts in P. Berlin 3024. Derchain (1975, 71) pointed out that the fact that the text has been preserved together with a masterpiece of Egyptian literature indicates that it was considered to have literary merits. Goedicke (1970b, 266) has indicated that their association in the same manuscript is not accidental, since both “are intended to convey the message that there is hope in a desperate situation.” Morenz (1996, 124) also considered that the contents of both texts are coherent. This connection is doubtful. However, since the section of the story preserved is that corresponding to the water spell and its context, the scribe of the *Debate* might have considered the text important enough to keep it in his library. The reason why he decided to attach it to the rest of the roll is unclear, and the section might even have been used independently before it was attached. This might explain the disposition of the insect

³⁶ These insect holes are already visible in Lepsius’ facsimile of the papyrus, although as far as I know they have not been commented by scholars (Lepsius 1859, VI, pl. 112).

³⁷ The appearance of the papyrus in Lepsius’ facsimile is basically the same as nowadays (Cf. Lepsius 1859, VI, pls. 111–112).

³⁸ P. Mallorca II Frs. 1, 16, and 20 measure respectively 14.9, 14 and 14.4 cm, while P. Mallorca I Fr. 3 measures 17.9 cm. The height of the *Herdsmen* section of P. Berlin 3024 at the end is 16 cm. The height of the columns of text, however, is roughly the same.

holes, indicating that it was stored folded at some point.³⁹ He may have kept the rest of the manuscript, preserved now in P. Mallorca I, for a future use, and it ended up deposited together with the rest of his personal library in his tomb.

A history of the stages of P. Berlin 3024 and the *Herdsmen* manuscript may be reconstructed as follows. An account roll was cut and erased in order to write the *Tale of the Herdsman*. Later, an account roll was cut and erased in order to write the *Debate*. Presumably after a period of use, the roll of the *Herdsmen* was cut. At this point there are different possibilities. A first possibility is that the section preserved in P. Berlin 3024, which contains the water spell, might have been kept independently for a period of time. Perhaps during this time, it was folded, pierced by insect holes, and its upper section damaged. After some time, the scribe of the *Debate* decided to attach it to the end of P. Berlin 3024, maybe in order to preserve it this way. The remaining sections of the original *Herdsmen* roll were also preserved with the rest of the Berlin Library. A second possibility is that the *Herdsmen* was attached after the *Debate* was written as an intentional addition, or that it was attached before the *Debate* was written, to be used if needed to complete the text of the *Debate*. Within these options, four cases are possible. The roll of the *Herdsmen* could have been erased before it was attached, with the roll that would contain the *Debate* already erased or to be erased; or it was erased once it had already been attached, the *Debate* roll being already erased or not at that time. Parkinson has noted that there are traces of ink along the join between the two rolls, which he interprets as evidence that the lines were erased after cutting the papyrus but before joining it to the roll (Parkinson 2009, 89 n. 41), which makes him think that the *Herdsmen* was cut, then erased, and then joined to the roll. Once the roll was assembled, its upper and lower margins were cut evenly. Within these scenarios, the double holes of the *Herdsmen* section can be explained if, at some point of its use, the manuscript was rolled with the *Herdsmen* section outside. At the death of their owner, the four Berlin rolls were placed in his tomb, together with the discarded section of the *Herdsmen* (P. Mallorca I). This ends their ancient history, and their modern history begins with their discovery by d'Athanasi. They spent some time stored in a house in

Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, and later they were sent to London to be auctioned. At this point they were still rolled. Lepsius bought the four rolls in 1842 and they got to Berlin in 1843. The fragments from the beginning of the rolls ended up in a different lot, mixed with other texts. This lot was bought by an unknown person, divided into at least two parts, and sold to two different people, one part ending up in Lord Amherst's collection, and the other eventually in Mallorca (Cf. Origin *supra*). As for P. Berlin 3024, once it arrived to Berlin it was unrolled and cut into different sections (visible already in Lepsius' facsimile), which do not correspond to the modern frames. At this point it was pasted to a brown paper, and its columns were numbered on it. In a second conservation process, the papyrus was divided into the seven glass frames in which it is preserved nowadays, with a brown thick cardboard background. The brown paper of the original conservation was cut, and only the lower part of the numbers corresponding to cols. 30, 35, and 37 are preserved.

I conclude this section with a note concerning the different hands in the Berlin Library. Parkinson (2009, 84) has considered that all the hands are very similar in style, and that the same scribe copied P. Berlin 3022 (*Sinuhe*) and P. Berlin 3023 (*Peasant B1*), and acquired P. Berlin 3025 (*Peasant B2*). Concerning P. Berlin 3024, he has proposed two possibilities and stressed different aspects of each in his publications. In 2003 he indicated that P. Berlin 3024 could have been copied by the same scribe, whose hand is also similar to P. BM EA 10371/10435 (*Ptahhotep L1*) (Parkinson 2003, 125). In 2004 he pointed out that perhaps the differences in the hands could be due to the different manuscripts having been written by the same person in different stages of his life or with a different writing instrument (Parkinson 2004, 54). He also proposed that P. Berlin 3024 could have been acquired from a colleague. In 2009, he instead stressed that P. Berlin 3024 "was almost certainly assembled and written by a different person – but perhaps someone who had a similar training and was working in a similar context to the *Sinuhe*-scribe" (Parkinson 2009, 89). The find of the fragments of P. Mallorca I preserved with the rolls might support the idea that the manuscripts are the result of a process of copy of manuscripts extended over the scribe's life. Goedicke (1970b, 244) saw the hand of an apprentice in the *Herdsmen* manuscript, due to its lack of ligatures. Despite this difference, the shape of the signs in the *Herdsmen* and the *Debate* is very similar (Cf. Palaeographical tables), which could indicate that the *Herdsmen* was copied in an early stage of the scribe's life. The *Debate* would be a more mature work. This, however, has to remain in the realm of speculation.

³⁹ It is tempting to see in the preservation of this particular section a connection with the copy of the water spell in the coffin of Buau, but there is currently not enough evidence to prove any direct connection. Morenz (1996) proposed that Buau could have been the owner of the Berlin Library, but this interpretation has not been generally accepted (Parkinson 2002, 300 n. 9).

6 Interpretation

P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca II

The Debate between a Man and His Ba has received much scholarly attention since its first edition by Erman in 1896, being the subject of numerous studies⁴⁰, even from outside of Egyptology⁴¹. Because of the incomplete state of P. Berlin 3024, the only copy of the text that has arrived to us⁴², the interpretations presented in all these studies are sometimes diametrically opposite. This is due to the difficulty of the text itself, but especially because of its missing beginning. The incorporation of P. Mallorca II allows a new approach to some of the main issues that have been central in the analysis of the text. In this section I will examine these issues: the character of the lost beginning of the text, and the theme of the whole composition according to this interpretation of the beginning.

Since the preserved section of P. Berlin 3024 starts already in the middle of one of the speeches, the character of the lost beginning of the text has been the object of speculation, with proposals that range from a narrative frame that would present the situation that leads to the debate to just a title⁴³. P. Mallorca II shows that the debate

was set into a narrative frame, a common feature of Egyptian didactic literature. At least two characters, a woman called Ankheth and a man referred to as “the sick one,” are mentioned in the third person in a series of rubrics (Fr. 1 col. 4; Fr. 16 col. 1; Fr. 20 col. 1). The rest of the *Debate*, however, is a monologue in first person of the Man, who relates an internal dialogue with his own Ba. According to the reconstruction presented above, P. Mallorca II Fr. 1 comes shortly before the first preserved columns of P. Berlin 3024, and thus there must have been a transition between the narrative frame there and the beginning of the Man’s monologue that constitutes the rest of the text. This does not need to be a long text, it could be just a rubric. A parallel case can be found in the beginning of *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, for which Bolshakov proposed in 1993 that originally the roll started with another sheet, now lost, which would have contained the frame story of the first-person narrative of the sailor⁴⁴. Of it, only a rubric in the beginning of the text is preserved, *ḏd.jn šms.w jqr* “Then the able follower said.” This shows that the frame

⁴⁰ Allen has pointed out that “it has been transliterated, discussed, and debated possibly more than any other Egyptian literary text” (Allen 2011, xi). For a description of previous studies on the *Debate*, cf. Allen 2011, 1–3; a more detailed description up to 1962 in Williams 1962; recent bibliography in Mathieu 2014.

⁴¹ Especially from psychology, already noted by Sainte Fare Garnot 1944, 29; Assmann 1996a, 172; Assmann 1998, 387.

⁴² Assmann has considered *The Debate between a Man and His Ba* as the most important text in Egyptian literature together with Akhenaten’s hymn to the Aten. He has expressed surprise at the fact that it was only preserved in one copy, almost contemporary to the time of its composition, and that it was not incorporated to the literary canon, for unknown reasons (Assmann 1996b, 77). Some authors have tried, although not very convincingly, to see a survival of the text in later traditions. Cf. Parkinson 1996, where he rejects a proposal by Depuydt, and Griffiths 1992, who comments on an alleged connection between the *Debate* and the medieval “Dialogue of the Soul and Body.”

⁴³ Most scholars who have studied the *Debate* have proposed hypotheses for its missing beginning: Erman (1896, 5, 6): Introductory story setting the situation and explaining the dialogue. From the content, he interprets the text as biographical, indicating that the Man might be suffering of severe illness. Another option that he proposes is that of suicide, which has been followed by many scholars. Suys (1932, 57–59): the Ba is convincing the Man of the benefits of suicide. He criticizes the interpretation that the debate is happening in the afterlife, proposed by M. Pieper and E. Peet. Scharff (1937, 8 and n. 1): The text does not have a narrative conclusion, so Scharff indicates that maybe this means that there was no narrative in the beginning. He also reacts against the afterlife setting (Scharff 1937, 66). Hermann

(1939, 350, n. 3): No specific reconstruction, but he proposes the hypothesis that the Man might be terminally ill. Weill (1947, 132): Lost initial discourse of the Ba, where he tells the Man to see death in a calm way and not to worry about the procedures related to it, which are not important. Jacobssohn (1952, 10): Agrees with Scharff’s critique of the divine tribunal hypothesis (already criticized by Suys), but does not propose any new interpretation. Williams (1962, 53 n. 1): Reference to the idea of O. Gardiner 369 as part of the missing introduction (Cf. new edition with commentary of the ostrakon in Allen 2011, 199–202). Brunner-Traut (1967, 10): The Man is bringing a burnt offering to Ra, and complains to this god about the injustice done to him. Barta (1969): No hypothesis, but the text refers to the First Intermediate Period. Goedicke (1970a, 39–40, 83–86): Not much text lost, he thinks that the dispute might have started “in medias res without introducing the actors or a detailed description of the setting,” but it may take place in front of the tribunal of the gods, to whom the two disputants have turned. Tobin (1991, 343–344 n. 12): It is better to analyze the text only through what it is actually preserved, and not to postulate any specific contents. Renaud (1991, 32, 37): First person narrator invoking his Ba. Assmann (1996a, 172; 1998, 388): Tribunal of the gods. Parkinson (1997, 152): Title, and presentation of the audience, perhaps gods, although he considers that the Man is alive. Parkinson (2002, 218–219; 2003, 132): Some sort of short title as introduction, based on the lack of narrative verb forms in P. Amherst III. Mathieu (2000, 20, 22): Final judgment in the Netherworld. The Man imagines himself in the Afterlife. Allen (2011, 19, 137–138): Introductory section, spoken by the narrator, setting the background of the debate, with perhaps indication of audience. The Man is going through a time of great difficulties. Barbotin (2012): Khakheperreseneb is the lost beginning.

⁴⁴ Based on his autopsy of P. Hermitage 1115, Bolshakov proposed that a thin strip of papyrus pasted on the beginning of the roll belongs to a lost sheet that would have been attached after the text had been written, since it slightly overlaps one of the signs of what had been considered as the first column of the text (Cf. Bolshakov 1993).

story was a narrative in third person, introducing a monologue in first person. It is possible that the *Debate* presented a similar structure. Another parallel can be found in *The Words of Neferti*, which starts with a frame narrative in third person, followed by the monologue of Neferti, after which the text ends directly with a colophon, without returning to the narrative frame. P. Mallorca II Fr. 1 ends with a rubric introducing the speech of the “sick man,” which might be the starting point of the Man’s monologue.

An issue that needs to be addressed is the lack of rubrics in the rest of the manuscript of the *Debate*, except for the colophon (cols. 154–155). Rubrics generally indicate changes in action or speaker, or important moments that make the narrative advance. All identifiable rubrics in P. Mallorca II correspond to *sdm.jn=f* forms introducing a speaker, which is also the case of most of the rubrics of the Ramesseum manuscript of *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Parkinson 2005, xxiv; Parkinson 2009, 161–162; Allen 2015, 229–325). The introductions of the speeches of the Man and the Ba in the Man’s monologue do not use these forms⁴⁵, and the only *sdm.jn=f* form in this monologue appears in col. 75, in the first parable of the Ba (*dr.jn=f* “so he ended up”). Since there is not a real change in the speaker during the Man’s monologue, the rubrics are limited only to the narrative frame, which in turn emphasizes the internal character of the debate. Furthermore, the disappearance of rubrics towards the end of a text is also not unusual⁴⁶, especially in cases like P. Berlin 3024, which seems to have been written in one sitting (Allen 2011, 14). It is also interesting to note that in *The Words of Neferti* the *dd.jn* forms are also limited to the narrative introduction (ll. 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15; Helck 1969, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12).

Concerning the characters, apart from the Man and the Ba of P. Berlin 3024, P. Mallorca II contains references to a feminine character called Ankhet⁴⁷, together with a feminine element that is referred to through pronouns. It is not possible to know if the two can be equated at any point. The presence of Ankhet points to the existence of

an audience, something that had been already proposed by several authors, based on the second person plural pronoun in *Debate* col. 11: *m=tn b3=j hr th.t=j* “Look, my Ba is leading me astray”⁴⁸. Parkinson indicated that the identity of the audience is not clear, and speculates that it could be a projection of the real audience of the text, or a tribunal (Parkinson 2002, 219). It has been proposed that the *Debate* actually takes place in the afterlife, in the final judgment of the deceased, with the Ba having separated from the Man after his death⁴⁹. However, a possible hint to the situation in which the narrative frame takes place may be found in Fr. 17: *[...]f (?) sdr(.w) m [...]* “[...] he (?) spent the night in [...].” Here a masculine character, which could be identified with the Man, spends the night or simply lies down and rests, perhaps while he reports his conversation with the Ba to Ankhet and to other individuals present at the scene. As for the identity of Ankhet, her name is quite symbolic in this context, since the *Debate* revolves around life and death. Although there is a goddess attested with this name, she only appears from the New Kingdom on (LGG II, 166). Thus, it seems more possible that she is a human female. Her presence adds an interesting feminine counterpart to an otherwise male-dominated text⁵⁰. With respect to the feminine pronouns that appear throughout Frs. 1, 16, 20, at least in the case of Fr. 1, if we follow the reconstruction of the beginning of the roll proposed in the previous section, P. Amherst III J-K would come before Fr. 1. Thus, the feminine pronouns in the latter might refer to the word *jmn.t* “the West,” which appears to be the object of the instruction introduced with the phrase *[...] m/j r=k sb3=j tw* “[C]ome, that I may teach you” (P. Amherst III J-K col. 2; cf. Parkinson 2003, 128–132; Allen 2011, 23; Mathieu 2014, 4; Allen 2015a, 328–329). This is supported by the contents of Fr. 1, in which it is said that the god Hetep is in “her house,” which agrees with the location of this god in a particular region of the Netherworld (the West), as described in the *Coffin Texts* (Cf. commentary on Fr. 1 col. 2).

The most important contribution of P. Mallorca II to the interpretation of the *Debate* refers to the situation of the Man, which has been the main topic of controversy among scholars over the last 120 years. The rubric in Fr.

⁴⁵ The introductions of the speeches of the Man and the Ba use the following phrases: *jw wp.n=j r=j n b3=j* “And I opened my mouth to my Ba” (cols. 3–4); *jw wp.n n=j b3=j r=f* “And my Ba opened his mouth to me” (col. 55). A parallel to these phrases appears in *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, in which the same expression, “to open the mouth,” is used by the sailor to introduce the first speeches of the snake (cols. 67–68, 81–82). This had already been noted by Renaud (1991, 31).

⁴⁶ “il n’est pas rare que l’encre rouge disparaisse avant la fin du papyrus” (Posener 1951b: 76, and examples in n. 5). On the inexperience of the scribes of the literary texts, cf. Posener 1951b, 76 n. 13, in which he shows that the end of the line and not the sense of the text determine the end of the rubrics in many cases. An example of this appears in *Peasant* B1 106 (Cf. Parkinson 2012, 104).

⁴⁷ Attested in Fr. 16 col. 1, and Fr. 20 col. 1. Cf. notes on Fr. 16.

⁴⁸ Allen (2011, 31) collects the different approaches to the explanation of this pronoun.

⁴⁹ As summarized in footnote 43, this idea was already proposed by Pieper and Peet, against whose interpretation Suys and Scharff reacted (Suys 1932, 57–59; Scharff 1937, 8, 66). Cf. also Assmann 1996a, 172; Mathieu 2000, 6.

⁵⁰ Parkinson 2009, 132: “The poems all embody a very male ethos [...] its *Tale of the Herdsman* is the only text on these rolls in which a female takes an active role, but even here the protagonist resists her advances, and then a scribe cut up and partly erased the episode!”

1 col. 4, refers to a “sick man,” who can be identified as the Man of the *Debate*. The word *mr* is attested as well in Fr. 16 col. 3. Thus, the reason for the entire *Debate* seems to be that the Man is sick and is pondering the benefits of life and death while being in that liminal situation. This interpretation had been proposed by several scholars as a hypothesis⁵¹, but so far there was no evidence to either support it or deny it. If read with this idea in mind, some phrases of the *Debate* can be seen in a different light, such as the refrain of the Man’s third litany: *jw mwt m hrzj mjn* “Death is in my sight today” (cols. 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140). It is interesting to note that the first comparison in this litany refers to a “sick man.” (cols. 130–131). This state between life and death might be the reason for the presence of the “death” determinative of *bʿ* throughout the text, which has been considered problematic (Goedicke 1970a, 5, 31; Allen 2011, 6 n. 6). Goedicke indicated that this orthography is only attested in *The Teaching for Merikare* (l. 52, 63, 127; cf. Helck 1977, 29, 38, 79; Quack 1992, 34, 38, 74), which he interprets as a connection between *Merikare* and the *Debate* (Goedicke 1970a, 5), and in *Khufu’s Court* (7.25; cf. Blackman 1988, 9). The orthography, however, appears also in *Sinuhe* B 255–256: *bʿzj zj.w hʿ.wzj ʿd.w hʿtjzj nj ntfm h.tzj rhzj ʿnh r mwt* “My Ba is gone, my limbs are weak. My heart, not it was in my body, that I may know life from death” (Allen 2015a, 136). The context both in the *Debate* and in *Sinuhe* is that of a liminal situation in which the Ba of a living person has come into being and become detached from the body before death⁵². The other attestations (*Merikare* and *Khufu’s Court*) might draw also from this nuance of liminality of the Ba, and its coming into being as marking effectively death as an event⁵³.

51 Erman already suggested in 1896 the possibility of the Man being sick (Erman 1896, 6). Hermann (1939, 350 n. 3) also proposed: “Geht dies auf die mögliche Gesundheit eines Kranken? Führte das Gespräch also ein im Sterben liegender Kranker?” Sainte Fare Garnot (1944, 19 n. 3) reacted against this approach.

52 Žabkar (1968, 118) makes a reference to the reaction of the Ba when a person drinks beer, “wandering away” or “being upset,” which might be connected to this idea of the Ba coming into existence or manifesting itself when the person is unconscious, because of drunkenness, panic, or sickness. Another case of coming into existence of the Ba because of panic appears in P. Anastasi I (Žabkar 1968, 118–119). M. V. Almansa-Villatoro, who considers that the Man is suicidal, has interpreted the manifestation of the Ba in the *Debate* as caused by a context of imminent danger (Almansa-Villatoro 2016).

53 On the evolution of the concept of Ba during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, as reflected in the Coffin Texts and didactic literature, cf. Žabkar 1968, 90–123; also Barta 1969, 68–100; Goedicke 1970a, 19–37; Tobin 1991, 353–363. For a summary of the different approaches to the idea of Ba, cf. Allen 2011, 6. Renaud (1991, 53) proposed that the Ba was an imaginary creation of the Man, which has been correctly rejected by Tobin (1993, 124), since it does

not correspond with the ancient Egyptian mentality. Assmann considers that the human being is a “constellative” person, in whom the Ba already exists during life, being dissociated from the self at death, or in situations of extreme fear (Assmann 1998, 384–387). The interpretation presented here rests unaffected either if the Ba only comes into being at death, or if it already exists during life and becomes separated at death. The manifestation of the Ba is what originates the debate, and it is triggered by the sickness of the Man, that approaches him to death.

54 Already suggested by Brunner-Traut (1967, 10). However, Parkinson (2002, 219) has noted that “From the way he speaks, looks like the Man is alive and it is possible that he is aged, like the protagonists of the teachings, or is preparing to die in despair.”

55 Renaud (1991, 46–49) indicated that the sickness of the Man (referring to Hermann’s 1939 proposal) is psychological. She considers the issue of suicide, indicating that if it is completely discarded, it is difficult to interpret how the internal debate would have started. My proposal here provides an answer to this issue, without requiring the problematic consideration of suicide.

56 The idea of the loss of the Man’s wealth was already pointed out by Williams (1962, 54). A hint to this might appear on Fr. 58, in which something (or someone) grammatically feminine is described as “coming out from the house.” I owe this suggestion to J. P. Allen.

57 The position of the rubrics does not seem to allow the identification of Ankhet with the feminine pronouns in Frs. 16 and 20.

58 Parkinson (2002, 222) has indicated that the images that appear in the litanies refer to previous parts of the text. Thus, all these images might be a reflection on the situation that led to the Man’s sickness. Guilmet (1973, 264), however, considers the parable a story

that have led to his sickness seem to be summarized in the phrase *jw n3 wr r3j m mjn* “This is too much for me today” (col. 5)⁵⁹. P. Mallorca II Fr. 20 col. 2 contains the sentence *k3 hr rmn hft.j* “the Ka is on the side of the enemy,” which reminds of Djedi’s wish of everything good for Hordedef in *Khufu’s Court*: *šnt k3k h.wt r hft(.j) rh b3k w3.wt ʿfd.(w)t r sbh.t n.t hbs-b3g* “May your Ka fight against an enemy, may your Ba know the ways which lead to the door of Hebes-bag” (7.25–26; cf. Blackman 1988, 9; Žabkar 1968, 116). In the case of our text, the Ka seems to have been doing the opposite to that which is desirable, perhaps leading to the Man’s demise. The exact role of the Ka in our text, however, is unclear.

As the above-mentioned example from Sinuhe B 255–256 shows, the ancient Egyptians thought that psychological distress could bring an individual towards death, provoking the loss of the senses and of consciousness, represented in the coming into existence of the Ba, which only occurs at death. Thus, the debate between the Man and his Ba seems to happen during a period in which the Man is unconscious, perhaps in a state of coma. In this liminal state, he can either go back to life, which seems to be what has happened in the text, allowing him to report his conversation to the audience, or walk towards death. This disjunctive is exactly the topic of the debate. The Man, in distress to the point of illness, seems to be initially scared of finding himself in that liminal situation, facing his own Ba. This struggle can be seen in the anguish of the Man in the initial columns of P. Berlin 3024, which might be a description of the process of creation of the Ba and his independent presence. Allen has pointed out that col. 9, which he translates as “since he is in my belly in rope net” indicates that the debate takes place with the Man being alive (Allen 2011, 6). If we follow this reading, the Ba, already in existence, seems to be still attached somehow to the body of the Man, as a bird in a net. Another interpretation is that the Man is keeping the Ba from leaving him, as the latter seems to intend to do this at first, in order to avoid his (the Man’s) destruction⁶⁰. As many scholars have pointed out, during the debate there seems to be an evolution and reversal in the positions of both

contenders (Allen 2011, 140; *pace* Parkinson 2002, 220)⁶¹. Once the Man has come to accept death as a solution, as indicated in the third litany, the Ba in his final speech reassures him that they will land together in the West once it is time, but not yet⁶². There is no need of a return to the narrative frame, since the reader already knows that the man is alive. The phrase [... *mjj r3k sb3j tw [...]* *3k jhr.w n jmn.t* “[C]ome, that I may teach you [...] you/your [...] the hostile nature of the West” (P. Amherst III J-K cols. 2–3; for the translation “hostile nature” for *jhr.w* cf. Parkinson 2003, 131–132) has been considered as part of a speech of the Ba. However, the placement of the fragments proposed here (Cf. Reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca I and II *supra*) locates this speech in the narrative frame, and therefore it must have been spoken either by the Man or by someone in the audience. Since the Man is the only one who has experienced that liminal state, it makes sense to consider this phrase as a reference to his following monologue. Part of this description, as mentioned earlier, can be the text in Fr. 1. A problem for this interpretation, however, is the rubric in Fr. 1 col. 4, which introduces the speech of the “sick one,” indicating that the previous speech has to belong to someone else. A further study of the fiber patterns may provide more clues on the reconstruction of the roll, the placement of the smaller fragments, perhaps clarifying some of these issues.

P. Berlin 3024 + P. Mallorca I

The Tale of the Herdsman has received much less scholarly attention as compared to the *Debate*. It was first published in facsimile, together with the rest of P. Berlin 3024, by Lepsius (1859, VI, pl. 112), and the first edition was done by Maspero in 1886, including a hieroglyphic transcription of the text, a translation, and a short commentary on the meaning of the story. Interestingly enough, Maspero’s edition has been ignored by most scholars working on the text, who cite Gardiner’s 1909 publication, which includes the first collotypes of the manuscript, together with a new hieroglyphic transcription and translation, as

about a situation worse than that of the Man, told in order to cause resignation in him.

⁵⁹ Brunner-Traut (1967, 7–8) already pointed out that cols. 5–10 refer to a bad thing that had happened to the Man during his life (“Unglück”). She proposed a reconstruction of the identity of the Man through the fourth litany as a wise man and a priest against whom injustice has been committed (Brunner-Traut 1967, 9). The idea that the Man is a priest had already been proposed by Scharff (1937, 66).

⁶⁰ On the departure of the Ba and its consequences, and its connection to a state of anxiety, cf. Žabkar 1968, 119.

⁶¹ Renaud proposes a diagram of the structure of the text, indicating the different attitudes of the Man and the Ba in each stage of the debate (Renaud 1991, 43).

⁶² The evolution of the attitude of the Man during the debate, and the role of the Ba, appear very similar to what people who have experimented near-death experiences (NDE) report, filtered through the ideas of life and death that an educated Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom would have had. The term near-death experience was created by the psychiatrist Raymond Moody (Cf. Moody 1975).

the first edition of the text⁶³. Since then, translations of the text have been included in several anthologies in different languages⁶⁴, and it has also been discussed in analyses of Egyptian literature⁶⁵. The most recent transcription, transliteration, translation and short grammatical commentary was published by Allen in 2015 (Cf. Allen 2015a). The main studies of the text are those by Goedicke (1970b), Morenz (1996), Schneider (2007), and Darnell (2010), while there has been special interest in the connection of the water spell with the *Coffin Texts*⁶⁶. Throughout these publications, the main issues of discussion have been the identity of the goddess, the general argument of the story, and the insertion of the water spell in the text. P. Mallorca I offers new information on the goddess and an interesting textual connection, which allow a reinterpretation of the story and its significance in the history of Egyptian literature. This reinterpretation also puts the context of the water spell in perspective.

The first point that needs clarification is that referring to the physical appearance of the goddess. The preserved text of the *Herdsmen* in P. Berlin 3024 describes two successive encounters of the main character with a female divine entity. The completely human form of the goddess in the second encounter seems quite clear from the text, while the controversy concerning her appearance in the first encounter revolves around the interpretation of the word *srw.w* (col. x+5) and the expression *n n^{cc} n jwn=s* (col. x+5-x+6)⁶⁷. Scholars have suggested interpretations that range from a completely human appearance, to a mixed form of woman and animal (with woman's head and animal body, and vice versa), and completely animal appearance. The two latter interpretations would presume the double nature of the goddess, and have made scholars connect her to Hathor-Sekhmet in her form of the Sun's

Eye⁶⁸. P. Mallorca I Fr. 3 cols. 1–2 preserve the expression *jw=s hpr.t(j) m hm.t* “she transformed into a woman.” The verb *hpr* is the one used to express the transition between the two forms of a dual being, be it a woman, as in Maxim 18 of *Ptahhotep* (l. 286, absent from P. Prisse; Troy 1984, 78), or a divine entity, as in *The Story of a King and a Goddess*, which says *jw jry=s t hpr.w=s t m w^c šrjw nfr.f.t* “making her form into that of a beautiful girl” (P. Vienna vso. x+13; Gardiner 1932, 97.15; cited in Goedicke 1970b, 261). The opposite transformation, into a lion, appears in some fragments of papyrus found in the tomb of the steward Amenemhat, called Surer (TT48), which might belong to the same story: *[jw jry=s t hpr.w]=s t m m³jw h[s.s.t]* “[She made her form] into a fu[r]ious lioness” (A 9; cf. Posen-er 1951a, 47–48). The presence of this verb used similarly in P. Mallorca I confirms the duality of the goddess, and supports a zoomorphic or semi-zoomorphic shape for the goddess in the first encounter.

P. Mallorca I provides further information about the appearance of the goddess. Fr. 4 contains a column that preserves the following text: *ʿjbh.w=s r dq.w r q³h* “her teeth more than powder for gypsum(?)” The association of the words *dq.w* and *q³h* only appears in another text, the stela Louvre C100, which dates to the Third Intermediate Period⁶⁹. The text of the stela describes the princess and

63 On the different approaches to the edition of texts by Maspero and Gardiner, cf. Parkinson 2009, 237–238. I want to thank R. B. Parkinson for pointing this reference out.

64 Cf. the bibliography on Goedicke 1970b, 214. Add since then, among others, Parkinson 1997, 287–288; Quirke 2004, 180; López 2005, 19–24. It is significant that the story has not been included in two very widely used anthologies, such as Lichtheim 1973 and Simpson 2003.

65 Parkinson 2002, discussed in different places, esp. 300; Parkinson 2009, in different places, esp. 89, and translation in 321–322; Burkard and Thissen 2012, 173–176.

66 First noted by Gilula (1978), followed by Ogdon (1982; 1987; 2004), and Morenz (1996, 124–141). Cf. also Allen 2015a, 363–365. Baines considers Ogdon's proposal that the spell depends from *The Tale of the Herdsman* “uncertain” (Baines 1996, 368).

67 For a study of these terms, add Derchain 1975 to the previously cited bibliography.

68 Goedicke considered that the goddess had a double nature, with the appearance of a female sphinx in the first encounter, and of a beautiful woman in the second. This, together with the titles that appear in the water spell, *wsr.t* and *nb.t-t³.wj*, made him interpret the goddess as Hathor, particularly in her form as the Sun's eye (Goedicke 1970b). Naguib follows Goedicke in this interpretation (Naguib 1990, 13). Morenz reacted to this idea proposing that she is a goddess with fully human form in both encounters, but accepted Goedicke's suggestion of Hathor, from the use of *š/šf.t* as the reaction she inspires in the protagonist, together with the epithets (Morenz 1996, 133–134). Both Schneider and Darnell follow this line of interpretation for the goddess, but go back to her dual form. Schneider interprets the first description as that of a female creature completely covered in fur (Schneider 2007, 311–312), and proposes an interesting connection at the end of his study with the Libyan goddess and a Berber narrative of an ogress. Darnell, on the other hand, considers that the description of the goddess in the first encounter refers to a mixed creature with animal head but woman's body, perhaps a lion-headed goddess (Darnell 2010, 105–108). He also points out a possible connection with the form of the statuette of Ahat/Beset found with the Ramesseum Papyri (Manchester n. 1790, cf. Darnell 2010, 117; cf. also Parkinson 2009, 144–145). Allen considers that the goddess is either Isis or Nephthys, with her head covered by a pelt used in a religious ceremony (Allen 2015a, 362). Cf. also Velde 1997.

69 First published by Maspero (1879, 53–54). The dating of this stela is still problematic, due to the erasure of the cartouches, which makes its reading difficult. On this topic cf. Yoyotte 1989, esp. 117–118; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 382–383; and bibliography in Mathieu 1998, 36, n. 34.

priestess of Hathor Mutirdis in a small poem. Its last stanzas compare different parts of her body to other elements, and the last line contains the comparison of some part with *dq.w n q3h*. Different authors have speculated about the identity of that part, and Müller identified it as “teeth,” which has been followed by several authors since then. He reconstructs the word *hḏ* in the lacuna before the expression, rendering it as “[Weisser waren?] ihre Zähne (?) als der Splitter von Feuerstein an(?) der Säge(?)” (Müller 1899, 44, and pls. 16, 18). The text in Fr. 4 confirms the reading “teeth” (either *jbh.w* or *l3z.wt*) for the Louvre stela. On the previous line, the darkness of her hair is compared to the darkness of the night, and to two words written as *jrr.w* and *jdb*. If we compare this sequence to P. Mallorca I Fr. 2, we can see that it contains a very similar phrase, and an analysis through photographs of Frs. 2 and 4 indicates that they go together. Thus, it seems that the stela Louvre C100 contains a later attestation of the description of the goddess in *The Tale of the Herdsman*. The text in the Louvre stela can therefore be used to complete the description in P. Mallorca I⁷⁰. The fact that it was used on the stela to describe a princess indicates that the description of the goddess in this instance was done in a positive way, and therefore it must correspond to the description of her form as a woman. The preserved text in Fr. 2–4 starts with the word *grh*, followed by *j3rr.wt* and *d3b.w*, which according to the Louvre stela are used to describe the darkness of the hair. The description would have contained the word *km* before *grh* at the top of the column, and it would have been preceded by the beginning of the comparison in a previous column, now lost. It is impossible to tell how much of the text in the Louvre stela comes originally from the description in the *Herdsman*⁷¹.

Another point of controversy is the reaction of the protagonist towards the goddess. Most authors have contrasted the first encounter, in which the herdsman is clearly in awe (*šfšf.t*) in the presence of the goddess, with the second. They see in them the opposition Sekhmet-Hathor, indicating that the protagonist approaches the goddess the second time with a positive disposition, since the goddess has been pacified (Cf. Goedicke 1970b, 265; Schneider 2007, 315; Darnell 2010, 114). The attitude of the protagonist towards the goddess in the second encounter, how-

ever, is never specified in the text⁷². This interpretation is completely dependent from the contrast between the first and second encounters as being mediated by a *šhtp* ritual of the goddess (presumably the water spell), who would transition from aggressive to peaceful. We do not know, however, what the attitude of the goddess towards the protagonist is in the second encounter. If Fr. 3 comes right after the last preserved part of P. Berlin 3024, she would still be insistent in her intentions. The understanding of her intentions is also dependent from the interpretation of the sentence *nn zp jryzj dd.t.nzs* “I would never do that which she said” (col. x+6). As far as I know, every author who has studied the text has interpreted this proposal as sexual, based on the appearance of the goddess in the second encounter. However, this sentence is pronounced after the first encounter. Nothing in this encounter talks about a sexual proposal, and the text does not clearly state that her attitude is positive in the second encounter. Thus, a different approach to the meaning of the sentence in x+6 might provide a more reasonable explanation for the attitude of the protagonist, including his instructions for the crossing of the cattle and the recitation of the water spell.

At the end of his edition of the text, Maspero included a reference to a story told by the Egyptian medieval author Murtadha ibn al-‘Afif, in Pierre Vattier’s French translation of the text⁷³. The story says that, during the reign of king Gebir⁷⁴, while he was building Alexandria for queen Charoba, a shepherd of his entourage was grazing the herds that gave milk for the royal kitchen by the sea. One afternoon, the shepherd, who was exceptionally handsome, left the herds in the care of the other shepherds. He saw a woman coming from the sea, who addressed him in a very polite way, asking if he wanted to play a game. If he won, he could do whatever he wanted with her, but if she won, then she would have an animal from the herd. The shepherd accepted and ended up losing a great part of the herd. In the end the king himself intervenes and defeats the woman, recovering the animals. Maspero thought that the woman in the *Herdsman* could have made

⁷⁰ I am preparing a more detailed analysis of both texts in parallel, to be published elsewhere. It is interesting to note that Müller, in the introduction to his translation of the stela, correctly pointed out that “die Stelle ist gewiss einem älteren Text entnommen. Ich vermute ein Original des mittleren Reiches” (Müller 1899, 44).

⁷¹ A useful comparison in this respect is the transmission of the water spell to the *Coffin Texts*, cf. footnote 66.

⁷² Quirke indicates that “the next day, his fears are realized as the woman appears to him,” and therefore understands that the protagonist is still scared in the second encounter (Quirke 2004, 180). Allen introduces in his translation the conjunction “but,” indicating the action of the goddess’ approach to the herdsman as not expected by the latter, and probably not welcome.

⁷³ Vattier 1666:142–146, cited by Maspero 1886, 79–80. This reference has never been mentioned again by any author, and Maspero’s article is not even cited in the most recent studies of the text, such as Schneider 2007 or Darnell 2010. Parkinson refers to Maspero’s article briefly in his description of the publication history of the Berlin Library (Parkinson 2009, 230). The edition I am using is Wiet 1953.

⁷⁴ Clearly Alexander the Great (kebir = great) is meant here.

a similar proposal to the protagonist. Schneider, at the end of his article, also makes a connection of the story in the *Herdsmen*, in this case with a Berber legend in which an ogress or lioness “speaks gently to the people she meets and tries to catch them with craftiness” (Schneider 2007, 318). It is interesting to note that P. Mallorca I, Fr. 3, col. 2, preserves the sentence *jw dbh.n-s rh jh(.w)* “she requested to know the cattle(?),” in which the verb used is *dbh*, which has the connotation of polite request (Wb. V, 439.6–440.1)⁷⁵, an element highlighted in the manners of both the woman in Murtadha’s story, and in the ogress of the Berber legend. The object of interest of both female characters in those stories is focused on the cattle (or the herdsmen in the case of the ogress, but as food). Thus, if we assume some kind of continuity between *The Tale of the Herdsman* and these later traditions, the request that the goddess makes to the protagonist would not be of a sexual character. She would only be interested in the cattle. The sexual approach that she makes to the protagonist in the second encounter would be a way to seduce him and convince him to give her the animals, as the woman in Murtadha’s story does, offering herself to the shepherd in case he wins the game. This interpretation provides the reason why the protagonist of the *Herdsmen* immediately takes measures to protect the cattle, and makes the *rh.w-h.wt n.w mnj.w* “the wise men of the herdsmen,” recite the water spell. Despite all these measures of protection, she approaches him again the next morning, and the text does not indicate that the protagonist had changed his attitude towards her.

In conclusion, the new sections of the text preserved in P. Mallorca I provide more clues on the character of the story. Their placement before or after the 25 columns of text in P. Berlin 3024 is still tentative (Cf. Reconstruction of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca I and II *supra*), and will need further analysis once the fragments of P. Mallorca I have been conserved, allowing a closer study of their fibers in parallel to those of P. Berlin 3024. In any case, the dual character of the goddess and her ability to shift shapes are now confirmed. An interesting element is the use of the description of the goddess as a woman to portray a princess in the Third Intermediate Period, which points to some kind of survival of this section of *The Tale of the Herdsman* beyond the Middle Kingdom. A reexami-

nation of the story with the new fragments seems to shift the focus from a sexual interest on the part of the goddess to a focus on the cattle. It is reasonable that a herdsman in charge of a large herd (which is proved by the fact that it is conducted by several herdsmen subordinate to him) would be mostly concerned about the animals. This reinterpretation of the text does not contradict the understanding of the goddess as a dual-natured divinity connected to the myth of the Sun’s eye. In fact, the use of the portrayal of the goddess in *The Tale of the Herdsman* to describe a priestess of Hathor in a stela that also mentions Mut prominently, and which was probably found in the Temple of Mut in Thebes (Yoyotte 1989, 118) strengthens the argument of the association of the goddess in the story with the myth of the Sun’s eye. It also shows, perhaps, a connection between the myth and local pastoral traditions of the marshes, connected to the disappearance of cattle.

7 Conclusion

The work with P. Mallorca I and II is far from being finished. The most imperative need at the moment is the conservation of the fragments. This will allow a better analysis of their fibers, and might make possible a more precise reconstruction of the whole manuscript. The discovery of P. Mallorca I and II and their identification with *The Tale of the Herdsman* and *The Debate between a Man and His Ba* add some new elements that allow a more nuanced analysis of some aspects of both poems, which lead to new interpretations of the compositions as a whole. Independently of the acceptance of these interpretations, the most important point is that the new fragments open new spaces for discussion about both texts, which will definitely enrich our knowledge of Middle Kingdom literature. As Parkinson stated in 2003, further improvements in our knowledge of the texts might come from the discovery of more fragments resting still unknown in other papyrological collections, as was the case with P. Mallorca I and II until recently.

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⁷⁵ Parkinson notes that *dbh* is also a word used for invoking funerary meals (Parkinson 2002, 221). These are called *dbh.w* “that which is necessary” (Wb. V, 441.9, TLA lemma n. 178840; Molen 2000, 790), which are placed on the offering table, *dbh.t* (Wb. V, 441.8, TLA lemma n. 178810). The request of the goddess could be interpreted as a sort of offering.

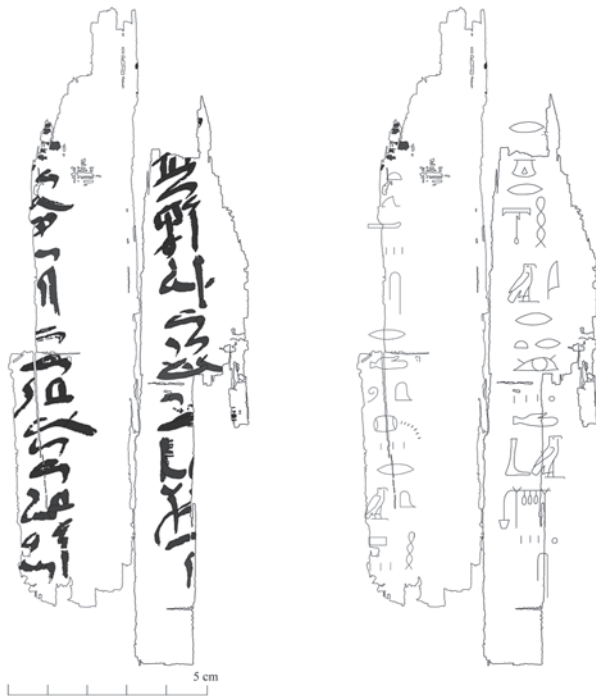
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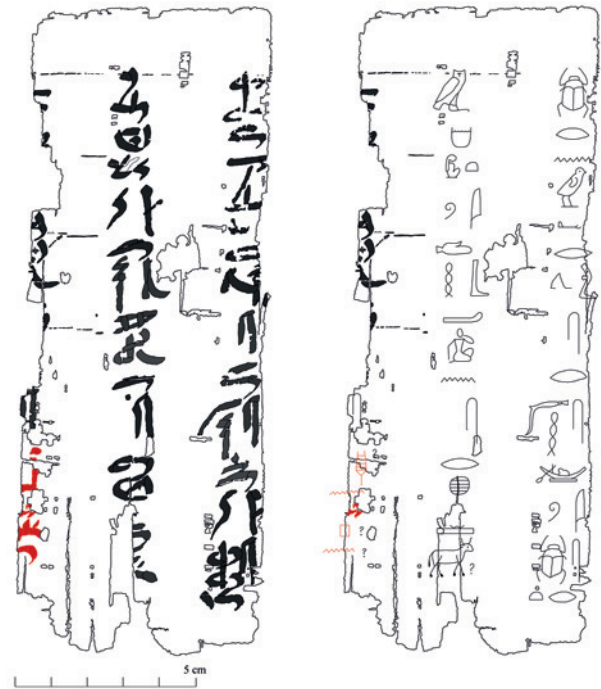
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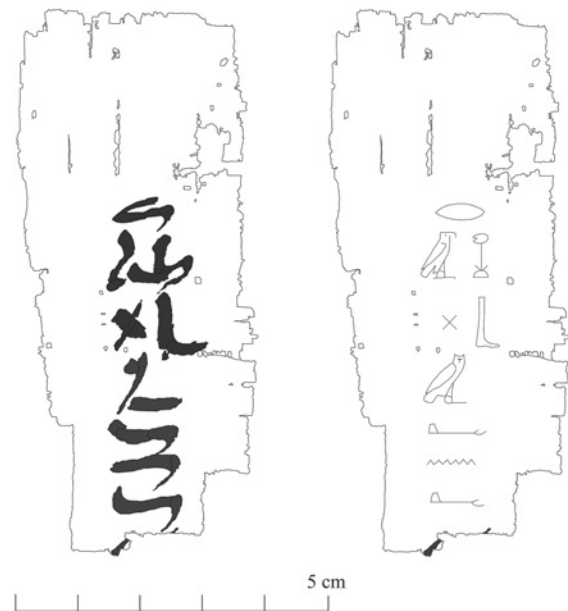
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P. Mallorca I, Frgt 3.



P. Mallorca I, Frgt 6–6b.

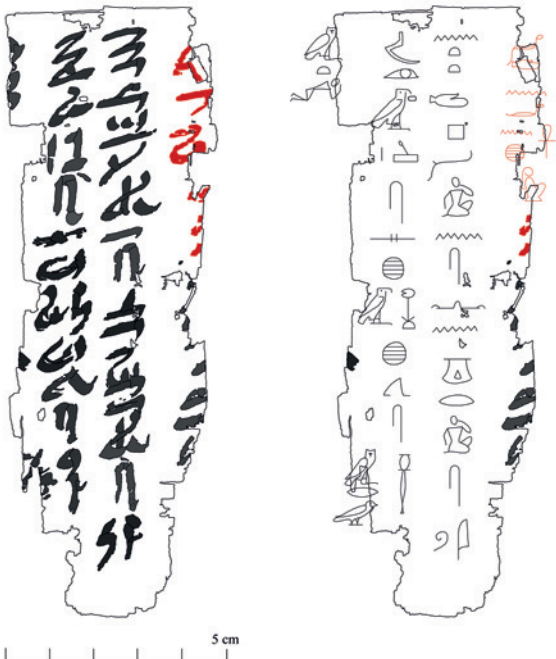


P. Mallorca I, Frgt. 9

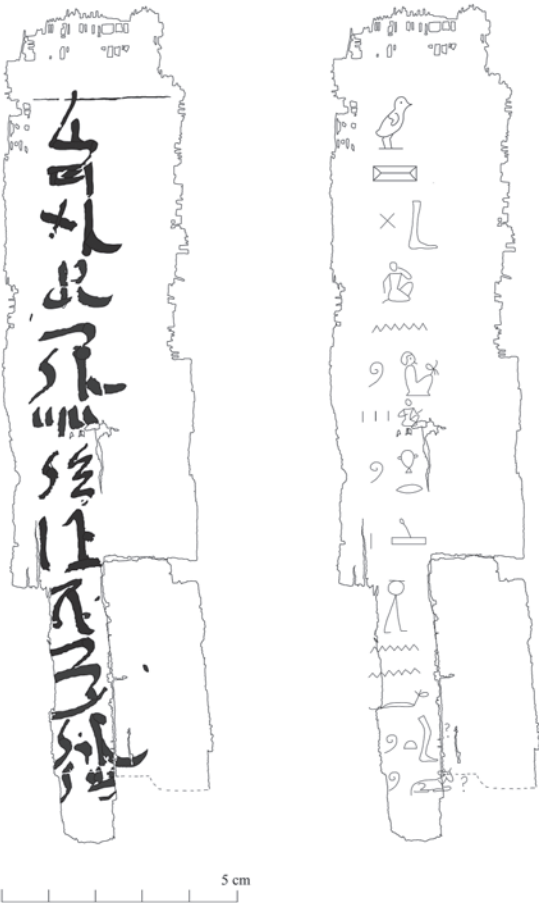
76 All facsimiles by the author.



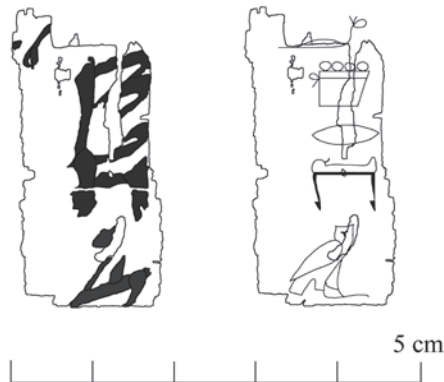
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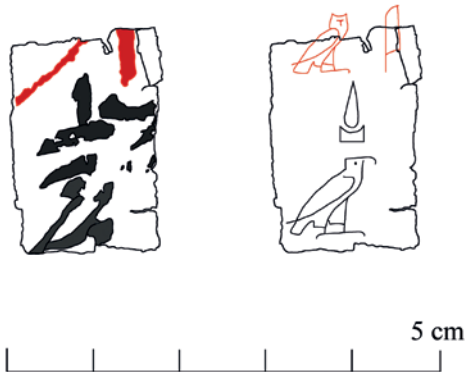
P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 16.



P. Mallorca I, Frgt 7-9.



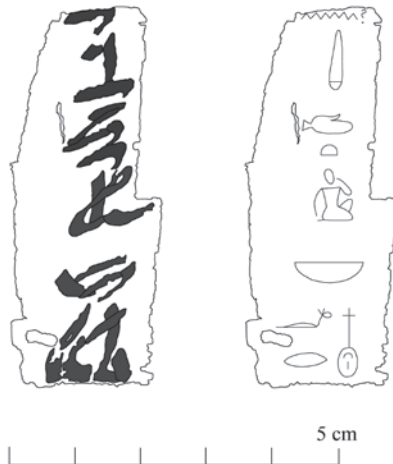
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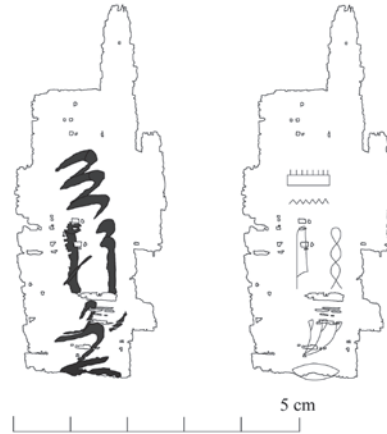
P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 18.



P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 20.



P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 26.



P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 48.



P. Mallorca II, Frgt. 58.

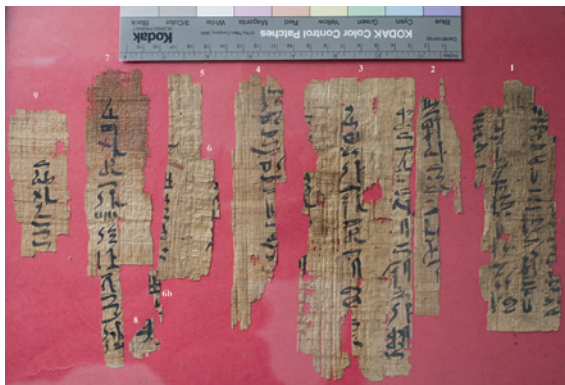


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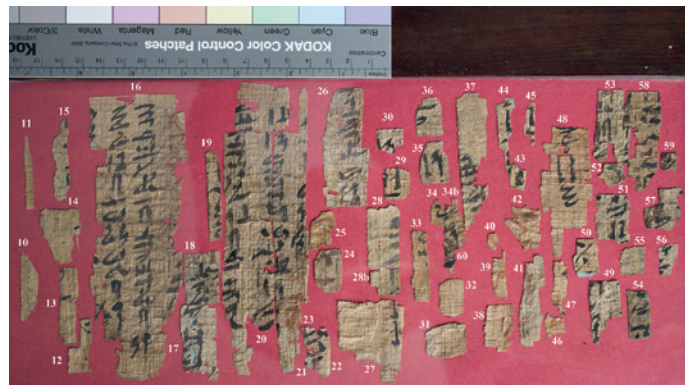













































































Photo Fragments 10–60 (by Sergio Carro Martín).






























































Suggested reconstruction of the beginning of P. Berlin 3024 + P. Amherst III + P. Mallorca II (by the author).





PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLE: P. MALLORCA I

Note: In the first column, I have included all the signs that appear in the fragments presented in the edition of the text. In the second column, I have selected some examples from P. Berlin 3024 for palaeographical comparison.

SIGN	P. MALLORCA I	P. BERLIN 3024
 A1	 (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+13)
 A2	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+13)  (x+19)  (x+21)
 A47	 (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+13)  (x+14)
 B1	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)	 (x+3)
 D5	 (Fr. 2)	D4  (x+6)  (x+23)
 D21	 (Fr. 2)    (Fr. 3 col. 1)   (Fr. 4 col. 2)  (Fr. 9)	 (x+2)   (x+4)
 D36	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 6–6b col. 2)   (Fr. 9)  (x+1)  (x+5)	
 D46	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)	
 D54	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)	 (x+1)  (x+25)
 D56	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 7–5)	
 D58	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 7–5)  (Fr. 9)	 (x+12)  (x+25)
 E1	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)	 (x+9, see commentary to Fr. 7–5)  (x+12, see commentary to Fr. 7–5)
 E9	 (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+21)
 F18	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)	 (x+9)
 G1	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 9)	 (x+1)  (x+8)  (x+19)
 G17	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 9)	 (x+1)  (x+19)
 G43	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+1)
 I9	 (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+2)  (x+3)
 L1	  (Fr. 3 col. 1)	
 M2	 (Fr. 48)	





























































































SIGN	P. MALLORCA I	P. BERLIN 3024
 M12	 (Fr. 9)	
 M17	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 48)	 (x+2)  (x+3)  (x+24)
 M43	 (Fr. 2)	
 N3	 (Fr. 2)	
 N29	 (Fr. 4 col. 2)	 (x+12)  (x+19)
 N35	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 7–5)  (Fr. 9)	 (x+2)  (x+5)
 N37	 (Fr. 7–5)	 (x+20)  (x+21)
 N41	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)	 (x+3)
 O39	 (Fr. 4 col. 2)	
 O42	 (Fr. 6–6b col. 2)	
 P1	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)	 (x+11)
 P6	 (doubtful, Fr. 3 col. 3)	
 Q3	 (Fr. 6–6b col. 2)	 (x+2)  (x+6)
 S29	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 3)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)	 (x+3)  (x+5)  (x+5)
 U9	 (Fr. 4 col. 2)	
 V22	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)	 (x+11)













































































































SIGN	P. MALLORCA I	P. BERLIN 3024
 V28	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)  (Fr. 48)	 (x+7)  (x+11)  (x+13)
 V31	 (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+2)
 W25	 (Fr. 7-5)	
 X1	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)  (Fr. 6-6b col. 2)  (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+2)  (x+3)  (x+25)
 Y1	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)	 (x+4)  (x+8)  (x+12)
 Z1	 (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+10)
 ZZ	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)  (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+1)  (x+4)  (x+13, in combination with A1 in <i>mnj.w</i>)  (x+14)
 Z7	 (Fr. 3 col. 1)  (Fr. 3 col. 2)  (Fr. 4 col. 2)  (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+2)  (x+3)  (x+25)
 Z9	 (Fr. 7-5)  (Fr. 9)	
 Aa17	 (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+10)  (x+16)
 D2 + D21	 (Fr. 7-5)	 (x+13)
 D21 + Aa1	 (Fr. 3 col. 2)	 (x+12)
 D21 + X1	 (Fr. 2)  (Fr. 3 col. 1)	 (x+21)

















































































SIGN	P. MALLORCA I	P. BERLIN 3024
 Y5 + N35	 (Fr. 48)	
 W11 + D21	 (Fr. 2)	




















PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLE: P. MALLORCA II

Note: In the first column, I have included all the signs that appear in the fragments presented in the edition of the text. I have not included some of the very doubtful and fragmentary signs. In the second column, I have preferably selected examples closer to the beginning of the text.

SIGN	P. MALLORCA II	P. BERLIN 3024
 A1	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 1 col. 4)	 (7)  (11)  (58)  (74)
 A2	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)   (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (doubtful, Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 26)	 (3)  (16)  (18)
 A13	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (115)
 A55	 (Fr. 17)	
 B1	 (Fr. 20 col. 1)	 (74)  (78)  (81)
 D21	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 2)  (doubtful, Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)	 (5)  (12)  (13)  (17, both col. 2)  (ligatured)  (41)
 D28	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (62)  (69)
 D35	 (doubtful, Fr. 1 col. 1)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (2)  (3)  (5)  (9)  (59)
 D36	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 18)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (2)  (3)
 D41	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (121)  (151)
 D46	 (doubtful, Fr. 1 col. 1)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 2)  (Fr. 26, ligatured to X1)	 (3)  (5)  (18)  (21)  (58)
 D54	 (Fr. 16 col. 3)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)	   (7)
 F20	 (Fr. 16 col. 2)	 (3)
 F34	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)	 (38)  (42)  (57)
 F35	 (Fr. 26)	 (62)  (67)  (68)

SIGN	P. MALLORCA II	P. BERLIN 3024
 G1	 (Fr. 16 col. 3) Full form:  (Fr. 18)	 (3)  (18)  (37)  (87) Full form:  (74)
 G7	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)	 (24)  (25)  (60)  (65)  (73)
 G17	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 16 col. 3, ligatured to D21)  (Fr. 17)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)	 (5)  (42, ligatured to D21)  (72)  (74)
 G37	 (doubtful, Fr. 1 col. 1)	 (15)  (18)
 I9	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (53)  (55)  (70)
 M12	 (Fr. 16 col. 3)	 (13)  (18)
 M17	 (Fr. 1 col. 4)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)	 (6)  (34)  (36)  (75)
 N5	 (Fr. 1 col. 4)	 (15)  (25)  (90)
 N35	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 1)  (Fr. 20 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (2)  (3)  (34)
 O1	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)  (doubtful, Fr. 58 col. 1)	 (17)  (37)  (71)  (77)
 O34	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 3)	 (31)  (56)
 Q3	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)	 (16)  (20, with w)  (90)
 R4	 (Fr. 1 col. 2, ligatured to X1)	
 S29	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 16 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (19)  (62)  (68)  (69)  (77)
 S34	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)	 (18)  (21)  (32)  (80)
 S43	 (Fr. 26)	 (5)  (25)
 U7	 (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 1 col. 4)	 (64)  (75)  (91)  (97)

SIGN	P. MALLORCA II	P. BERLIN 3024
U23	 (Fr. 1 col. 4)  (Fr. 16 col. 3)	 (42)  (61)  (131)  (141)
U28	 (Fr. 18)	 (54)
V28	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)	 (9)  (18)  (91)
V30	 (Fr. 26)	 (33)
W11	 (Fr. 16 col. 2, ligatured to D21)	 (6)  (26)
X1	 15 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 2, ligatured to R4)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 26, ligatured to D46)	 (11)  (19)  (22)
Y5	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (14)
Z1	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)	 (11)  (12)  (42)
Ʒ27	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 2)  (Fr. 20 col. 1)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (3)  (34)  (79)  (87)
⊖Aa1	 (Fr. 16 col. 3)	 (18)  (21)  (24)
⌒Aa17	 (Fr. 16 col. 3)  (Fr. 20 col. 3)	 (28)  (84)
⌒Aa28	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)	 (60)  (62)  (70)
⊖D2 + D21	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (11)  (12)
⊖D21 + X1	 (Fr. 1 col. 4)  (Fr. 58 col. 1)	 (6)  (71)  (77)
⊖I9 + D21	 (Fr. 20 col. 1, in <i>nfr</i>)  (Fr. 26, in <i>nfr</i>)	 (61)  (67)
⊖I10 + D46	 (Fr. 1 col. 4)  (Fr. 20 col. 1)  (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (1)  (4)
⊖M36 + D21	 (Fr. 17)	 (75)  (142)
⊖N35 + I9	 (Fr. 16 col. 1)	 (29)  (71)

SIGN	P. MALLORCA II	P. BERLIN 3024
 N35 + X1 + X1	 (Fr. 16 col. 2)	 (28)
 N35 + Aa1	 (Fr. 1 col. 2)  (Fr. 1 col. 3)  (Fr. 16 col. 1)  (Fr. 20 col. 1)	 (18)  (21)  (37)  (80)
 U1 + D4	 (Fr. 16 col. 3)	 (71)  (79)
 Aa1 + X1	 (Fr. 20 col. 2)	 (115)