

INST. NEBRJJA

CLAS.:

10

COLOC.:

Eotici F-1

(161)



THE GREEK VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF TEFNUT¹

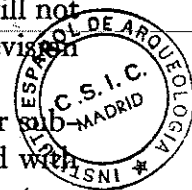
By STEPHANIE WEST

THE Greek version of the legend of Tefnut, preserved in a papyrus of the third century A.D. in the British Museum (Inv. no. 274), was identified and published by Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnutlegende, Sitzb. Heidel. Ak.* 1923; he himself never saw the papyrus, but used a transcript made by Crönert. Such a method of publication is obviously imperfect, and the text presents so many oddities that the reader is reduced to the conclusion that the writer was simply baffled by much of the text which he was supposed to be translating. The papyrus has received little subsequent attention; a few revised readings were published by Milne in his *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (No. 192: pl. XII), but the text was not included in Manteuffel's collection of Greco-Egyptian works, *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis*, Warsaw, 1930.² On re-examining the papyrus I found that, apart from minor improvements, some further joins could be made, which not only result in a better text of the passages in question, but also show that the column length was about 70 lines, not 80 or more as Reitzenstein supposed. Though I am well aware of the temerity of attempting to revise the text without a knowledge of demotic, the more modest alternative of a series of piecemeal notes on particular passages seems unlikely to render the text much more easily intelligible, not the least obstacle to clarity being the fact that Reitzenstein's line numbers will not provide a satisfactory frame of reference. The ideal would be a simultaneous revision of both texts: I offer what follows merely by way of a δεύτερος πλοῦς.

Though we have several Greek texts which must be either translated from or substantially based on Egyptian works, this is the only one which can be compared with its original: the latter was published from a Leyden papyrus of the second century A.D. by Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge*, Leyden, 1917. This is much better preserved than the Greek text, though both beginning and end are lost; its date of composition appears to be quite uncertain. The legend on which it is based was reconstructed by H. Junker ('Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien',

¹ In the preparation of this article I have incurred many debts; I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. F. T. Gignac, S.J., Dr. J. R. Harris, Mr. P. J. Parsons, Dr. E. A. E. Reymond, Mr. T. C. Skeat, and, especially, Professor J. W. B. Barns, without whose unflagging encouragement and help it would have remained unwritten.

² It is discussed by Rattenbury, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, III, ed. Powell and Barber (Oxford, 1933), 226-9; von Bissing, *Forschungen u. Fortschritte* 25 (1949), 227 ff.; Barns, *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses f. Papyrologie, Wien, 1955, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* 5 (1956), 34 n. 22; Brunner-Traut, *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 124-85; Gwyn Griffiths, *Class. Quart.*, N.S. 15 (1965), 76 f.



Abh. d. Kgl. Preuß. Ak. 1911); its substance is the mission imposed by Rēc on Thoth and Shu to conciliate Tefnut, his daughter, who as a result of a quarrel has assumed the form of a lioness and withdrawn to the Nubian desert; the two gods transform themselves into apes, pacify the goddess by the magic and eloquence of Thoth, and return with her to Egypt. In the Leyden papyrus there are a few variations on this basic story. Tefnut appears as a cat, though she temporarily transforms herself into a lioness in order to terrify Thoth. Shu is absent and Thoth undertakes the adventure alone, having apparently assumed the form of a wolf: though Spiegelberg translated the demotic term used to describe him as 'der kleine Hundsauffe' Dr. Reymond informs me that the only possible rendering is 'the small wolf (called) *kuf*', and this interpretation is confirmed by the word which the Greek translator uses, *λυκόλυγξ*, an *ad hoc* creation. It appears from the demotic text (col. XXII, 12) that Thoth has given the goddess the impression that he is not Thoth himself but his son; one naturally wonders whether the deception went further, whether the explanation of his presence which he must have given Tefnut was altogether true; certain oddities in the narrative might be accounted for by a carefully manufactured alias. This narrative forms a framework for Thoth's philosophical reflections.

In the Greek version Thoth is Hermes and Tefnut ἡ θεός: when Hermes has to address her he calls her δέσποτι or θεά. Rēc is generally equated with Zeus; in one place, however, he appears as ἥλιος.

The papyrus is written in a clear literary hand and is comparatively free from errors; the scribe has usually inserted punctuation in the form of a high or double point; change of speaker is also generally marked by a paragraphos. In two places he has added accents, in order to avoid misinterpretation. There are between 20 and 25 letters to a line, and about 70 lines to a column. Reitzenstein's system of numbering the columns seems to me misleading, and I have abandoned it. Supplements, except where otherwise stated, are those of the *editio princeps*; my own I have marked W.

Fr. A: col. I

25 [.....]ντ[
 [.....]ρισειεπ[
 [..... δ] μέν οὖν Ἑρμῆς ἦ[ν πε
 [ριχαρῆς, ᾧ]μοσεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ [θεὸς
 [οὐς ἠβούλ]ετο ὄρκους. ὁ δὲ [ἔφη
 30 [ναὶ τὴν κ]αλήν σου πρόσοψ[ιν, ναὶ
 [τὸν μεγ]αλόβουλον νοῦ[ν, ναὶ
 [τὰ σελα]σφόρα σου ὄμματ[α ...
 [.....]εγνώσαι εἰρηκα[....
 [.....δ]όσω αὐτοῦ αἰ οἰκ[ταί
 35 [οἰκοδομ]οῦνται ἵνα στολ[ίζ]...
 [τὴν τοῦ]του χάριν Νεῖλος [...
 [.....] πετηνοῖς πᾶσι σ[υν



- [.....]· ενεγωια χάρις [..
 [.....] καθ' ἡμέραν συγ[....
 40 [.....]γος τὰς τῶν θεῶν [...
 [.....] ἐπιτελεῖ· τὸ ζῆν [...
 [.....] Ἀραιψ{ε}ιν, ἔντροφ[ον
 [.. Τρωγλο]δύταις, αὐτοπ[....
 [.....]ασι πάντων ακ[...
 45 [.....]ον. ἀκούσασα [δὲ ταῦ
 [τα καὶ πάλιν γελάσασα ἔφη ..
 [.....]αξ με λυκόλυγξ....
 [.....]λυσιν εὐρεῖν το[..
 [.....]ν αἰνιγματῶδ[ους
 50 [.....]λον ἐπισφιγγ[...
 [.. ὁ δ' ἔφη]· πρὸς τῆς Τύχης [...
 [.....]εινεν τῶι στόματ[ι ..
 [.....]κτος ἄρτος ἐστι [..]α
 [.. γάλ]ακτος· ἡ καὶ τουτ[.] τρο
 55 [φ.....] ἐστίν· ὁμώμοκά σοι,
 [εἴρηκά] σοι. ἐπειδὴ οὐπω συν
 [ἦκας οὐτω] ὁμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ
 [ὀνόματο]ς τοῦ σου ἀδελφοῦ Ἄρε
 [σνούφιος]· ἐὰν ἔλθῃς μετ' ἐμοῦ
 60 [εἰς Αἴγ]υπτον, οὐκ ἐάσω σε ἄ
 [ναστρέ]ψαι εἰς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ
 [θεοῦ. ἡ] δὲ ἔφη αὐτῶν· μεθόρ
κωσόν μ]οι ὄρκον κατὰ τ[...]α
 [.....]ν Διός. εἰ [δ'] ἔξορκίζεις
 65 [..... ὁ δ' ἔφη]· δέσπ[ο]τι
 [.....]ον ἀδελφόν
 [..... ἐπίσταμ]αι ὅτι οὐ παρα
 [.....] μέγα ἐστίν
 [..... ἐξ οἴκον]ομίας θεοῦ
 70 [..... ἐκ]γεγέ[ν]νη|[ται

Thoth has told Tefnut the fable of the vulture and the cat who exchanged oaths that neither would take advantage of the other's absence to harm her young; this agreement was violated, and though the details of the story are not altogether certain, the outcome evidently demonstrated the awful consequences of perjury. Tefnut takes an oath, the content of which is not clear; Spiegelberg supposed that she swore to spare Thoth's life.

26. ρ: only the foot remains.

27. Cf. Sp. III, 22-3: 'Da erhob sie ihr Antlitz zum Horizont vor dem Geier und leistete einen Eid, das seinem (d. i. des Affen) Herzen Wohlgefällige zu tun.'¹

¹ Throughout this article I have quoted Spiegelberg's rendering of the demotic text freely, since the Greek

28. I have preferred ἡ θεός to ἡ θεά of the *ed. pr.*, since the writer normally uses θεός; fr. C, l. 68, where the vocative θεά occurs, is exceptional, and accounted for by the fact that the vocative which θεός acquired in the Hellenistic period is used exclusively in addresses to male divinities.

30. Cf. Sp. III, 24-7: 'Bei deinem Antlitz mit seinen schönen Augen. Bei dem, welcher in deinem Leibe ist mit seinen guten . . . ? . . . , bei deinen Blicken, welche von Glück glänzen, bei deinem Antlitz, dessen Freude groß ist, von dem die ganze Erde lebt, gleich den Blicken der großen Sonnenscheibe!'

33. ι: or η or ν: the upper part of a vertical is clear.

33-7. Cf. Sp. III, 28-9: 'Die in der du bist (d. h. die Gottheit in der du bist) alle Häuser sind gebaut um sie zu verbergen. Der Nil kommt, um sie zu bekleiden.'

35. στολ[ί]ωσιν Milne: the singular, with 'the Nile' as subject, would correspond more closely to the demotic; if we supply στολ[ί]ηι here we should probably restore a parallel purpose clause in 33-4, ἵνα στέγῳσι or something similar.

36-7. πλημ(μ)υρεῖ, πληθύει, ἀναβαίνει are the usual verbs for the Nile flood.

37-40. Cf. Sp. III, 29-30: 'Sie fliegt jeden Tag zum Himmel mit den Vögeln. Sie ist täglich in dem Wasser mit den Fischen.'

38. The initial traces would suit, for example, the right foot of α. γ: or τ; Reitzenstein conjectured ἐνεστῶσα.

39. Fishes were no doubt mentioned at the beginning of the line.

40-1. γ: or τ; the right end of the cross-stroke is visible. [διαδοχὰς] ἐπιτελεῖ would be nearer to the sense of the demotic than Reitzenstein's [εὐεργεσίας], but however we supplement the lacuna this is clearly a paraphrase of a passage where exact translation would have been bizarre: 'Sie läßt die Barke der Nachtsonne Südwind machen, indem sie die Barke der Tagessonne Nordwind machen läßt.'

41-3. Cf. Sp. III, 32: 'Ihr Leben ist unter den Hgr-Völkern, ihre Speise ist in dem Lande Arabien.' I am responsible for the supplements in 42 and for the restoration of the Troglodytes in 43; ἐντροφος is a rather poetic word, but the sense is excellent and I do not think there is any alternative.

43-5. The demotic text elaborates this theme: 'Ihr Nachtlager ist in . . . , sie verbringt den Tag unter den Äthiopen, ihre Stätte ist bei den Kefto-Leuten und dabei ist sie (auch) in Ägypten zu jeder Zeit.' There is not room for all this in the Greek text.

43. The last letter is certainly π, not τ as in the *ed. pr.* Mr. Parsons suggests αὐτοπ[τ]; the sense is no doubt 'all-seeing but unmoving'.

44. π]ᾱσι *ed. pr.*

44-5. Perhaps something like ἀκ[ίνητον ἀεὶ μέν]ον stood in the lacuna. In the demotic text Thoth apparently mentions some sort of food which he wants Tefnut to eat; it seems to be a magic food, as its effects, which are later described, evidently go beyond mere nutrition. Nothing in ll. 30-45 seems to refer to this, but the Greek text is so fragmentary in 43-5 that we cannot definitely say that it was absent from this version. Bread and milk are mentioned in Thoth's next speech, but the point is not clear.

47 ff. The interpretation of the corresponding demotic passage is evidently very uncertain: 'Das, worüber du so zornig bist, nachdem du es nicht gelöst hast, das willst du (gewaltsam) zerreißen.' Reitzenstein suggested the following restoration: ποιεῖν πειρ]ᾱι με λυκόλυγ[ξ μὴ δυνάμενος] λύσιν εὔρειν το[ύτου <τοῦ> λόγου το]ῦ αἰνιγματώδ[ους τὸ εἰρημέν]ον ἐπὶ Σφιγγ[ός]; the association text is scarcely intelligible without it; I have used an underline to indicate places where he himself regarded the rendering as uncertain. On some passages where there were obvious discrepancies between the Greek text and Spiegelberg's translation I have consulted Professor Barns or Dr. Reymond, and included the information which they were good enough to give me.

of the sphinx with riddles is, as he himself observed, a purely Greek idea.¹ The conclusion that the Greek translator here introduced something for which there was no basis in his original is not absolutely irresistible: we could instead restore some part of the verb ἐπισφίγγω. But in either case it is hard to detect any point of contact with the version given in the Leyden papyrus, which is perhaps the less surprising in that the latter is scarcely appropriate as a comment on what Thoth has just said.

47.]αϛ: bases only; Ϝ might be ι.

50.]λ: or δ or ν.

51. The supplement is due to Milne.

51 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 5-9: 'Ich bin in der Hand des Psais. Ich sehe, daß es der Eid eines Kindes ist. Du bist, wie wenn man sagt, du seiest ein Bettler, [während] Milch und . . . dir als Speise sind. Du kennst nicht seine Hitze und seine Kälte, das heißt sein Leben (und) seinen Tod, als ob du sagtest, du seiest arm. Das, was ihn erwärmen wird und erkalten macht, das ist die Furcht, die bei ihm [ist].' Reitzenstein's restoration of 52 ff. is scarcely satisfactory: [τοῦτό μοι] ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματι (ἢ δ)· [εὐμα]κτος ἄρτος ἐστί, ν[αι] ἄ[ρτος εὐμ]ακτος. ἦ καὶ τοῦτ[ο] τρο[φιμόν] ἐστιν. In 52]ην is impossible; the papyrus has]ειν; we should probably articulate]ειν ἐν, but]εινεν (from the aorist of, e.g., μένω or τείνω) cannot be excluded. The trace of the last letter of 53 is very uncertain. εὐμακτος is not attested; Dr. Reymond tells me that the demotic version specifies fresh bread, and so we might restore νεομάλα]κτος ἄρτος in 52/3: for νεομάλακτος, cf. Sch. Theocr. IV, 34; the reference to milk in the demotic points to γάλα]κτος in 54. ἦ or ἦ? Professor Barns suggests ἦ καὶ τοῦτ[ο] τρο[φή σου], but though this is attractive there are apparently at least two letters missing between τούτ and τρο, and the supplement is on the short side for the initial lacuna in 55. But the sense is so uncertain that there is little point in trying to restore these lines.

55 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 9-12: 'Ich leiste einen Eid vor dir. Ich habe es dir gesagt. Die kleinen . . . Seine Stimme ebenso. Nachdem du ihn nicht so gefunden hast, so nenne den Namen des Schu, deines befreundeten Bruders. Wenn du nach Ägypten, deinem Gebiet, zurückkommst, werde ich dich nie wieder zu jenen Gottesländern zurückkehren lassen.'

55-6. What has Thoth sworn? We can only speculate. The scribe has not inserted a stop after σοι in 56, but the demotic text shows that ἐπειδή starts a new sentence. The following phrase in the demotic text, which Spiegelberg renders 'Seine Stimme ebenso', apparently a direction for reading aloud to indicate that the reader should imitate the character's voice, normally marks the beginning of a new speech: cf. col. III, 23 f.; IV, 4, 22, 33; V, 10; X, 1; XIII, 1; XVI, 13; cf. V, 7 f.; there are, however, a few exceptions: V, 21; VI, 30; XVII, 7/8.

57. οὔτω Barns; μου ed. pr.

58-9. Aresnuphis--'the good comrade': 'Von ägyptischen Götternamen ist in dem erhaltenen Stück einzig ein Beinamen des Gottes Schu beibehalten, vielleicht, weil der Verfasser einen entsprechenden griechischen Namen nicht finden konnte und durch eine irreführende Bezeichnung des Bruders nicht falsche Vorstellungen von der Göttin erwecken wollte, die er namenlos lassen mußte' (Reitzenstein).

59-62. Why does Thoth say this? It seems undiplomatic to remind the goddess at this moment that she is committing herself irrevocably to a course of action which she may regret. On the other hand, we might expect the content of the oath to be specified: even if this had already been stated, it would be reasonable for Thoth to repeat it here, since he cannot afford to take chances with Tefnut. Can this, then, be what the goddess is to swear: 'If you, wolf-lynx, come with me, Tefnut, to Egypt, I shall not let you return to Nubia'? Odd though this seems, Thoth apparently has, as

¹ Cf. Plut. *De Iside* 9 πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἐπεικῶς ἰστάντες ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχοῦσης; Clem. *Str.* 5, 5 (p. 346, 22; M. 9, 56 A) Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἰδρύνονται, ὡς αἰνιγματώδους τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀσαφοῦς ὄντος



we have seen, an assumed personality to keep up; it requires no great exercise of the imagination to devise the sort of story he might have told Tefnut, in the light of which all this would be perfectly natural, and Tefnut might well prove more amenable if she were under the impression that she was in charge. But there can be no certainty here.

61 f. τοῦ [θεοῦ is nearer the demotic than Reitzenstein's τοῦ[τους.

62 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 13-14: 'Willst du mir nicht einen Eid schwören bei Phre, meinem Vater, dem Stier der Vulva, aus dem ich hervorgegangen bin?' Reitzenstein restored μεθόρκ[ωσόν μ]οι ὄρκον κατὰ τ[οῦ ὀνόματος το]ῦ Διός. τ[οῦ ὀνόματος is slightly uncertain: at the end of l. 63 is a trace which would suit the right foot of α, and there seems to be room for only three letters between τ[and]α; Mr. Parsons suggests κατὰ τ[οῦ π]α[τρός μου]. But the rest of the supplement is convincing. μεθορκώω is otherwise attested only in Appian, B.C. 4, 62, where it means 'bind by a different oath': ὁ Κάσσιος τὴν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου. If this is the sense it bears here, the Greek text does not correspond to Spiegelberg's rendering of the demotic; it is therefore suggested in L.S.J. that μεθόρκωσον means 'swear with me'; but why should the translator have preferred this verb to the familiar συνόμνυμι? The interpretation of the demotic text is evidently uncertain, and as it stands Thoth and Tefnut appear to be talking at cross-purposes; if we give μεθόρκωσον the sense the verb has in Appian, the Greek text is at all events coherent and clear: Thoth says, 'Swear to me by Shu'; Tefnut replies, 'Make me swear instead by Rē'; and if you make me swear . . .', and Thoth answers, 'I know you will not violate an oath by Shu'.

64. There is no punctuation in the papyrus after Διός, nor does anything in the demotic text correspond to the sentence beginning εἰ [δ'] ἐξορκίζεις.

65 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 14-16: 'Da sagte er: Meine Herrin, was Schu deinen befreundeten Bruder anlangt, so ist deine Liebe größer als er. Ich weiss, du willst ihn nicht kränken. Groß ist der, welcher auf einen göttlichen Wink mit dir hervorgegangen ist.' Reitzenstein suggested the following supplement: ὁ δ' ἔφη· σ]ύ, δέσποτι, [ἐπεὶ περισσότερον τ]ὸν ἀδελφόν [σου ἀγαπᾷς, οἴμ]αι ὅτι οὐ παρα[νομήσεις εἰς αὐτόν.] μέγα ἐστὶν [ὁ ἅμα σοι ἐξ οἴκον]ομίας θεοῦ [ἐκ]γεγέννη[ται. In 65 the traces before δέσποτι are very uncertain, but are probably the remains of a double point. ἐπίσταμ]αι would be nearer the demotic than Reitzenstein's οἴμ]αι; however,]α is not entirely certain, and δίοτι might be restored instead. For another pagan example of this quasi-theological use of οἰκονομία in the sense of 'providence, divine dispensation' (L.S.J. 1, 6) cf. Heliodorus IV, 9 τὴν ἐκ θεῶν οἰκονομίαν.

Fr. A: col. II

δ[.]οσσω[
 ε.[. . .]ογω[.]απρο[
 ται· εκ. αρουετ[
 50 ηι δέ ὁ Ἐρμῆς· δέ[σποτι
 σεαυτῆς κέκρισαι [.
 πάντα <τὰ> προενηνεγμ[ένα ἵνα εἰ
 δῆις ὅτι τὰ ὄντα πάν]τα οὐδέν
 ἀγαπᾷ μείζον οὐ ἐγ[γέγονε
 55 τόπου· ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας π[ατρίδος
 ἰσχύει καὶ εὐπαθεῖ καὶ ἐ[ὔρο
 εἰ ἕκαστον. ἵνα δὴ ὁ λέγω [πρό
 δηλόν σοι γένηται, ἄκουσ[όν

60 μου· πᾶν ὄρνεον ὅπου γέ[γο
 νεν εὐλιπές ἐστίν καὶ χ[. . . .
 πᾶν ἀγριμαῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ[ίας
 νομῆς εὐσαρκεῖ· τὰ ἄνθη [ὅπου
 γέγονε γῆς ἕκαστον εὐχρ[οεῖ·
 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χωρίοις καθ'
 65 ἕκαστον χαίρει· τὰ ἔνυδ[ρα
 [ο]ὐκ ἐν παντὶ ὕδατι ὡς ἂν [ἔχη
 διαζῆμι [. . . .] εἰς ἄλιμ' ἠ ωγ[
 τεραγ[. . . .]. ἀλμυρωδε[. ἦ
 λιμνω[δε. . .]ον ἐφ' οὗ καὶ [. . .
 70 [γ]εννη[. . . .]αι πασ[. . .]

47-9. The lines no doubt correspond to Sp. V, 8-10: 'Es sagte ihm die äthiopische Katze, "Bekanntlich ist der Ort, aus dem man hervorgegangen ist, auch der Leib, aus dem man geboren ist. Der Gott hat nichts lieber auf der Welt als dieses."'

48-53. The reading of these lines was greatly improved by Milne, who joined to the main fragment a small piece which Reitzenstein had been unable to place (fr. A in *ed. pr.*).

49. After κ is the foot of a vertical, γ or ι. α: or ο.

50/1. Obscure, as is the corresponding demotic sentence: 'Du bist Sieger für dein eigenes Herz'; this seems to mean that Tefnut has reached this conclusion independently, without any prompting from Thoth.

51 ff. Cf. Sp. V, 11-12: 'Wahrlich, ich will die genannten Geschichten vor dir erzählen, damit du sie kennst.' At the end of 51 we might supply *διέξειμι*.

53-5. Cf. Sp. V, 12-13: 'Denn was auch auf Erden ist, nichts liebt man mehr, als meine Geburtsstätte, d. h. den Ort, an dem ich hier geboren bin.' The restoration I have suggested is slightly closer to the demotic and palaeographically more satisfactory than Reitzenstein's τὰ π[άν]τα πάν[τως ζῶια] ἀγαπᾶ μείζον οὐ ἐγ[ένετο] τόπου.

From this point onwards the way in which the theme is elaborated is completely different in the two versions.

57. The scribe has not inserted any punctuation.

60. χ[αίρει *ed. pr.*

64. The line was omitted in the *ed. pr.* but read by Milne.

66 f. [ἔχη W; Reitzenstein unnecessarily conjectured *ὦι* for *ὡς*.

67. αλιμ is a more likely reading than]καιμ of *ed. pr.*, and ἄλιμ(α) 'belonging to the sea' evidently fits the context.

68 f. ἀλμυρῶδες or ἀλμυρῶδει, λιμνῶδες or λιμνῶδει.

How much is lost between this and the next fragment is uncertain.

Fr. B

ρη[
 . . .[. . .].
 τραχη[
 πλευρ[
 5 σοντ[

....[
 σοι ο.[
 τετ..[
 φαγερο[
 10 κήγνοει[.]αψ[..... εἰς Αἴ
 γυπτον επι[
 ..πιστηστ[
 [πα]τριδα κα[
 .ων τῶπων ερα[
 15 λέγῃς εἰσερχ[..... πρόσ
 σρες διηγῆσο[μαι
 ἐνεστῶσι οικ[
 χῆν' ἰκτεῖν π[
 [κα]ὶ ἔ[π]οψ αὐτο[ὶς
 20 [... εἰ]πίσταμαι [
 [...]α τοῦ μύθου [
 [...]μοι προσχη[
 [...]γοῖς δὲ ενε[
 [...]. ἤμελλεν δ[
 25 [...]σκοντα μ[
 [...]ν αὐτόν [
 [...]εμφιλ[
 [...]αὐτου[
 [...]ετο πυ[
 30 [...]μμα[
 [...]μπν[
 [...]τηι σ[
 [...]απρο[
 [...]βα[

The fragment was left unplaced by Reitzenstein.

Cf. Sp. XII, 1-20: 'Du Edle, wende dein Antlitz (wieder) Ägypten zu, laß Jubel bei dir und Jauchzen vor dir sein, sei heiter! Möge man mit dir ein Fest feiern! Auch ich bleibe hier, bis die Vergeltung von mir satt ist. Du liebst dein Land, wie auch ich mich nach dem meinigen sehne. Mögest du rufen: Komm mit mir nach Ägypten! Höre eine Fabel! Ich will sie vor dir erzählen, indem sie auf uns beide paßt. Freundschaft schloß (einst) der Weih mit dem Geier, indem der Kukuk¹ sich zu ihm gesellte. Ich weiß, daß du es gehört hast, wenn <du> dein Ohr mir zugewendet hast, als ich mit dir kam. Du bist es, mit dem das Hören von Anfang an festgesetzt worden ist. Man hat nicht viel, o Hörvogel, zu einem anderen außer dir gesagt. Es geschah, daß der kleine Hundsaffe sein Gesicht erheben wollte, um die übrigen Geschichten zu berichten, die er erzählt hatte. Es wußte die äthiopische Katze, daß er alle Dinge erzählt hatte, um sie zur Reise zu bestimmen, weil sie in

¹ Professor Barns has pointed out to me that this is a mistranslation; the bird is in fact not a cuckoo but a hoopoe.

seiner Wüste bleiben wollte. Da wollte meine Herrin ihn in Furcht setzen. Ihre kleine Zaubereien. Sie verwandelte sich in ihre schöne Gestalt einer wütenden Löwin, die eine ebenmäßige Gestalt hatte, indem sie dazu stimmte an Breite und Länge. Sie warf ihre Mähne vor sich. Ihr Fell rauchte von Feuer. Ihr Rücken hatte die Farbe von Blut, ihr Antlitz glänzte wie die Sonnenscheibe, ihr Auge glühte von Feuer. Ihre Blicke loderten, wie eine Flamme, indem sie Feuer auswarfen, wie die Sonne am Mittag . . . Sie glänzte davon ganz. Alle, die in ihrer Nähe waren, fürchteten sie wegen ihrer Kraft.'

1. ρ is very uncertain.
4. ψ : only the foot remains.
10. $\alpha\psi$: or $\lambda\phi$.
12. There is more space than normal between η and σ : unless σ is wrongly read, the only thing which would account for this would be a high point now rubbed away.
14. The space and the vestigial traces suggest $\sigma\omega\nu$ rather than $\tau\omega\nu$. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, or something similar.
19. The supplement is due to Professor Barns; ρ might be ω .
22.] μ : or λ .
23. γ : or τ .
- 29f. Very likely the sense of these lines was 'her eyes blazed with fire'— $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}$, $\delta\eta\mu\mu\alpha[\tau\alpha$.

There are two points which I find mysterious here. First, what does Thoth mean by the sentence which Spiegelberg renders 'Auch ich bleibe hier, bis die Vergeltung von mir satt ist'? Secondly, though we expect Tefnut to be capricious and impatient, there seems no sufficient motivation for her horrendous fury. What apparently rouses her wrath is the realization that Thoth's edifying conversation has simply been intended to induce her to return home. But why does this strike her at this moment? Thoth has made no secret of his intentions, yet her reaction suggests that she has suddenly divined a trick. Both these puzzles would no doubt be solved if we had the beginning of the story. But at all events they point to a certain embellishment of the familiar pattern of the narrative.

Comparison with the demotic text suggests that very little is missing between this and the next fragment, which comes from the bottom of a column; they must surely both belong to the same column.

Fr. C

55]α[
 κο]μιορτὸν
]χνεγ[
]δ[.]ων δ[
]οσπο.[
]πιεπα[
60 ο]ὔτε ε[
]σκε.[
].νεχομ[εν
το]ὺς πόδα[ς



65]ντασμ[
]εγονα.[.]συγκ[
]ντας άγωνι[
]. μόγισ πολμή[σας εφη
 ειδ]όν σε, θεά, ειδόν σ[ε, θεά,
 ε]ιδον εστολισμέ[νην
 70 ο]ϊνοβρεχη, σα..[

54-67. Cf. Sp. XII, 20 ff.: 'Die Wüste machte Staub, wenn sie mit ihrem Schweif wedelte. Der Sand wirbelte auf, wenn sie mit ihrem Maule knirschte. Die Wüste warf Feuer aus, wenn sie ihre Krallen wetzte. Die Wälder von *huri*-Bäumen verdorrten, als ihre Nase Rauch ausblies. Sehr viele Fliegen kamen aus ihr (der Nase) hervor, und sie ließ ein brüllende Stimme ertönen mit der Kraft ihrer Stimme. Da öffnete die Wüste ihren Mund, (und) der Stein sprach mit dem Sand. Der Hügel erbebt zwei Stunden. Der Hundsaffe geriet in eine große, sehr starke Angst. In der Stunde, da er die Macht ihrer Worte sah, bedeckte die Wüste ihr Antlitz, (und) die Berge wurden schwarz. Die Sonne verfinsterte sich am Mittag, (und) er erkannte den Himmel nicht (mehr). Er preßte sein Fleisch an sich wie der Fiebernde (und) er glich einem Frosch. Er sprang wie eine Heuschrecke und verschlang seine Kraft, indem sein Leib wie der des Zwerges war. Er stand auf seinen beiden Füßen und hatte die Gestalt eines Affen der (Sonnen)barke vor der Göttin, indem er in großer Angst war und nicht (col. XIII) [irgend einen Ort der] Welt kannte, in dem er war.'

55. Read and restored by Milne.

56. Perhaps οὐκ ἴσ]χυν.

57.]δ: there is a stroke ascending to left. If a letter is in fact lost between δ and ων, space would allow only ι; ιδίων would neatly render 'wie der Fiebernde'.

66. τὰς άγωνί]ας ed. pr.; there are other possibilities.

68-70. Cf. Sp. XIII, 2 ff.: 'Siehe, [das sind die] Worte, welche er sprach: "Ich sehe dich, [ich] sehe dich, [ich] sehe dich (*oder* ich habe dich gesehen) Smithis-Sachmis. Ich sehe dich, du (Göttin) des Sumpfes von Jrh- Ich sehe dich in [deiner Barke] mit deiner Lotusknospe und deif[nen Blumen] der Zufriedenheit, indem du geschmückt bist mit deinem Halskragen mit Fayence-Besatz, indem dein Perlhalsband aus Grünstein ist [und dein . . .] aus Fayence, indem ihr Kranz us [. . .] Blumen an deinem Hals ist mit seinem [. . .] und deinem . . . aus [. . ., indem] deine Stöcke aus Ebenholz [gelegt sind] in die Hand deiner Aufseher mit [. . .]. Deine Rinderaufseher haben ihre [. . .] aus Gold. Deine Lautenspieler haben [ihre Lauten], indem ihre Kränze aus . . . , indem sie ein Fest veranstalten . . .". Thoth elaborates his theme at some length.

70. ο]ϊνοβρεχη was suggested to me by Professor Barns. The word is attested in only two other places, A.P. 7, 428, 18 and Cyrill. Alex. *ador.* 17 (1. 623 B) (-βραχ-).

Σάχμι could be read, but the last two letters are very uncertain.

Probably only one column is missing between this fragment and the next.

Fr. D: col. I

[. . . τήν ά]σπίδα εις θάλα[α]σ
 [σαν ε]χων κατέπητη. εἴπερ [. . .].
 [. . .].s εμου μάλλον ο[. . .].συ
 [. . .]αρ εμε και τὰ [έ]ν τῶι βυθῶι
 5 [. . .].ις ὡς λέγεις, [τί] τῆι άσπί
 [δι και τ]ῶι άετῶι έν [τῆ]ι θαλάσ

[σηι γέγ]ονεν λεγεται[...]ε Ὅρασις·
 [ἀληθῆ λ]έγεις ὅσα [...] εἴ]ρηκας
 [...] ε]στιν· τὸ[ν ἀετὸν] καὶ
 10 [τὴν ἀσπίδ]α συγκα[τ.....]ν
 [...] ε]χθὺς [...]πιεν
 [...]ρο. [...]απα
 [...]μ[.....]ροσεπε
 [...]ην[... ε]χθὺν δα
 15 [...]εσρ.[...]ς ἀμφο
 [τερ.....]ασα.[...]μῦαν ε
 [...]εικεσ[...]την γῆν
 [...]ει·ε[...]εδο
 [...]μ[.....]ελθε
 20 [...].....].ε

 [...]α[
 [...]φανε[
 [...]τεσορ[
 [...]ε· κατῆ[λθον
 25 [...].....]. πρὸς αὐτ[
 [...]μετρον φησ[
 [...]ν· φανερόν ε]στι
 [...]εν ἀπλῶς επ[
 [...]ευ τουτο[
 30 [...].....]. ναι οδ[.....]σ
 [...]καὶ προσ[.....]α
 [...]ώσαύτως [...].....].
 [...].....τ]οῦ λέοντο[ς.....]αι
 [...].....]. ατομνεχ[...].τε
 35 [...]..... ε]φη δ[ε] Ἀκοή· ἀληθῆ λέ
 [γεις θα]νάτου ἐστὶν εἰ
 [...].....]αι τὰ ὄντα πάν
 [τα.....]... το πάντα δα
 [...].....]ευπ[ο]μεῖται ὑπ' ἄλ
 40 [λ.....]ος ἐστὶν ἀε
 [τ.....]ως πυρίπνοος
 [...].....]ος ὑπόπτερον
 [...].....]ν τῷ στόματι
 [...].....].ωι ἀσπίδος φο
 45 [λίσι.....]ε αὐτῷ θάνατος
 [...].....]. πάντων κυριεύ[ει
 [...].....]. ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ .

[.....]ηρπασμένης μύ[α]ς
 [μέχρι το]ῦ λέοντος οὐ μείζον
 50 [οὐδέν] ἔστιν οὐδὲ δυναμικῶ
 [τερο]ν τετράπουν. πάντ' ἔφο
 [ῥαί ἢ]λιος καὶ δικάζει καὶ οὐ
 [δέν] λανθάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ὄν
 [τ]ων ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γίνο
 55 [μ]ένων. ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ ἀν
 ταπόδοσιν δίδωσιν. καὶ νῦν
 ἐγώ, μεγαλότιμε, εἰ καὶ τῆι πε
 ριοχῆι τοιοῦτός σοι φαίνομαι,
 ἀσθενῆς τις ὢν καὶ ἀγεννῆς,
 60 ὁ Ζεὺς ὡς σε ἐπιβλέπει κάμῃ
 κάφορᾷ. ἐν παντὶ ζῶωι πνεῦ
 μα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς
 τοῦ ὠιοῦ τίνα ἔστιν ἐπίσταται
 τὸν ὠιὸν συντρίψ[αν]τα ὡς
 65 φονέα μετέρχεται, ὃ δὲ φο
 γεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐγκεχά
 ρακται. ἴν[α δὲ μ]ὴ δοκῆις με
 ψεύδεσθα[ι, βλέπε] τὸν στολισ
 μὸν ὡς ἐγ[κεχάρα]κται. ἀσε
 70 βῆ αἰμ[α.....]ει ὄλωσ
 [τ]ῶν τ[.....]ατ' ἐτόλ

Col. II

μησεν ἐκ τῶν β[ρα]χέντ[ων]
 λίθων. μετὰ τελ[ε]υτήν ο[.....]
 σπῶντες τὰ αἰών[ια] περι.[...]
 α χαράσσουσιν. ἃ ζ[ῶν]τας ἀ[ποκα]
 5 λύπτει, ἀποθανοῦσιν συμ[μέ]
 νει αὐτοῖς. θεῶν <καὶ ἀνθρώπων> στολίσμα
 τα χαράσσεται, ἴν' εἰδό[τε]ς [θε
 οὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνω[νται
 ὅτι Ζεὺς πάντας με[τ]απορ[εύ]
 10 εται τοὺς καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ ἐλ]άχι[στον]
 ἁμαρτάνοντας, γινώσκον[τες
 ὅτι φόνου κηλῆς οὐδ[έποτε ἀνί]
 ησι. ἀλλὰ ζῶντι μ[έν].[.].η[...]
 ἀποθανόντι δὲ συμπ[αρ]αμέ[νει
 15 τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ στέλλοντα[ι...]
 τες τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτελεῖν. ἐπί[στα]
 μαι ὅτι ἀθάνατογ ὄρομά σ[ου]

οὐδὲ δεινότητι ὑποπέιπτ[εις
 τῶ[ν τε]λεντῶν σου[.....]τοί[
 20 .α.[..].[...].τον γ[ινώ]σκω: η[...
 τε[...].[.....].ρα[.....].υτο εφ[
 ...[.....].υτ...[
 νη εἶπεν [.....]σει οὐ μ[ή
 σε ἀποκτεν[ῶ οὐδὲ π]οιῆσαι ἄ[λ
 25 λωι ἐπιτρέ[ψω·]τον γὰ[ρ ἐ
 μοῦ ἐστιν [ἄδικον] ἐπιγρ[α
 φῆναι, ἀγα[θὰ δὲ μ]ἄλλον [πολ
 λὰ ποιήσω· ε[ὕεργε]σίας ἢ ἀ[δικί
 as μάρτυς εἰμί. πῶ[ς] δέ σε ἀδ[ικῆ
 30 σαι προαχθῆ[σομαι
 μ' ἄχων ἀπ[έλυ]σας .ο[.....
 μου λύπην [....]επ[.....
 ξειρησαιαλ[...].χλ[..... πε
 πλήρ[ω]κας: ἐπιδυσ[.....
 35 εἰς Α[ἴ]γυπτον· ἀκο[ύσας δὲ ὁ
 θεὸς [ἰ]λαρῶς προέτ[ρεχεν αὐ
 τῆ[ς] ἢ δὲ χαίρ[ε]ι, ὥστ[ε
 το[...].]δε ἔφη· δέσπο[τι, ἦδε μὲν ἢ ὁ
 40 δὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὁ[δεύει, εἰ δὲ
 ὀδεύεις εἴκοσιν ἢ[μέρας ἐπ' ὄρε
 σι, διάνυσαι σε ποιῆ[σω. ἢ δὲ γε
 λάσσα[σα εἶ]πε· διὰ [τί
 ...[.....]κ[
 45 ερμ...[...].]λω[..... τὸ
 συμβά[ν]....[
 γὰρ ἐπὶ το[
 ενιονομο... αγγ[
 τῶι δὲ ἄλλωι ἰλάσκει[ο καὶ
 οὐκ ἀφίσταντο ἀλλήλ[ων, κατὰ δὲ
 50 δύο πάντοτε ἐαυτῶ[ν ἀχώρι
 στοι ἦσαν, κοινῶς ἐ[σθίοντες κ]α[ἰ
 ἅμα πίνοντες· ο[ὗτοι παρ' ὁ
 ρ[ε]ινὸν δένδ[ρ]ο[ν κεκ]λ[ι]μ[έ
 νοι, ἰδόντες λέ[ον]τα ὑπερ
 55 βολῆ[ι] μέγιστον ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 φ[ε]ρόμενον, ἀναστάντες οὐ
 κ [ε]φευχον ἀλλὰ ἔστησαν, ὁ δὲ
 λέων ἔφη αὐτ[ο]ῖ[ς· ἐπ]ερχόμε
 {μ[ε]}γον [έ]μέ ετ[... ἰ]δού, ἐ
 60 ζήτουν τὰ πρὸ[ς τὴν κ]υνηγί



αν· ἔρχομεν·[...].εν
 ἐνέβλεπετε πρ[.....] φερό
 μενον δρόμωι ἐθε[ω]ρήσατε·
 τί νοοῦντες ἔστητ[ε] μὴ φυγόν
 65 ·τες; οἱ δὲ τρέμοντες εἶπον·
 ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἰδόν[τ]ες [πρὸς
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐλογ[ισ]άμ[ε]θα ὅτι ἐὰν
 φύγωμεν καταλη[φ]θησόμεθα·
 πολλῶ<ι> οὖν βέ[λ]τ[ιόν] ἐστίν

We have here three fragments: (i) contains the upper parts of the two columns; (ii) preserves the lower parts; (iii), a fragment which Reitzenstein left unplaced, joins on to the upper part of (ii) col. I; I have underlined the letters which it preserves. Reitzenstein did not see that (i) and (ii) can be fitted together; this placing is confirmed by a stain on the verso, and shows that the column was about 70 lines in height.

The text begins half-way through Thoth's account of the philosophical conversation of *Ἀκοή* and *Ὀρασις*, represented in the demotic version as two birds, on the subject of the *lex talionis*: every creature in turn falls victim to a stronger: the fly is eaten by the lizard, which is consumed by a bigger lizard; the latter is swallowed by a snake, which is then carried off by an eagle.

1-6. Cf. Sp. XIV, 15 ff.: 'Der Adler warf die Schlange in das Meer. Da sagte der Hör-Vogel zu dem Seh-Vogel: Wenn du in das Meer siehst, und das siehst, was in dem Wasser ist, was ist der Schlange und dem Adler geschehen?'

1. ὁ ἀετός no doubt preceded.
2. εἰχων W; βρέχων ed. pr. There is no punctuation after κατέπητ in the papyrus.
- 2/3. [σὺ δέδορκα]s ed. pr.
3. The trace before σν suggests α or σ.
4.]αρ is much more likely than]αι of ed. pr. παρ' ἐμέ, 'by comparison with me', would suit the context.
5. ὀρᾶ]s ed. pr.
7. Does the sentence end with γέγονεν or with λέγε? There is no punctuation; though only the left tip of τ[is visible, it is impossible to interpret this as a high point. I cannot think of anything better than Reitzenstein's suggestion that we should punctuate after γέγονεν and assume that λέγετ[αι δ]ε was written by mistake for λέγει δέ. Alternatively, one might, I suppose, restore λέγε· τ[ἀδ]ε Ὀρασις, assuming the omission of ἔφη. λέγ'· ἔφ[η] cannot be read.

8f. Cf. Sp. XIV, 17-19: 'In Wahrheit, alle Dinge, welche du gesagt hast oder von welchen du erzählt hattest, die glaube ich. Sie sind alle vor mir wahr.'

For ἀληθῆ λέγεις cf. D, I, 35 f.; II, 66; it is simply a formula of agreement, and need mean no more than 'Yes indeed'. ὅσα [τε σὺ εἶ]ρηκας [πάντα εἶ]στιν ed. pr. Instead of πάντα we might consider φανερά or πρόδηλα.

9-24. Cf. Sp. XIV, 19-28: 'Siehe, die Schlange und der Adler, welche in das Meer gefallen sind, die verschlang ein ε-Fisch mit seinem Maul. Siehe, der ε-Fisch, ihn fraß auch (wieder) der η-Fisch, als er an das Ufer schwamm. Siehe, ein Löwe kam an den Fluß und zog den η-Fisch ans Land. Da roch (witterte) sie ein Greif und schlug seine Krallen in sie beide, indem er sie unter den Glanz der Sonnenkreise des Himmels trug. Dann legte er sie nieder und zerriß sie auf dem Berge

vor sich und verspeiste sie. Sollte ich eine Lüge sagen, so komm mit mir zu dem Wüstenberg! Ich lasse dich sie sehen, wie sie zerrissen und zerstückt vor ihm liegen, und er sie verspeist.'

10. *συγκα*: *συγκα Π* (not *σχηκα* as *ed. pr.*). *συγκα*[τέφαγεν or *συγκα*[τέπιεν would suit the context well. One might fill the rest of the lacuna with ε]ν [βαλάσση.

15. Probably the griffin, which drives its claws into both lion and fish (*ἀμφοτερ-*), is mentioned here.

16. *μῦαν*: a reference to the fly with which the whole process began: cf. below, 48.

18 f. Perhaps ε[ι δ' ἐμ]ε δο[κεῖς ψεύδεσθαι: cf. below, 67 f.

20. Fr. (iii) does not actually join fr. (i), though the interval between them cannot be more than the space between two lines; it is possible that the first line of fr. (iii) is in fact identical with the last line of fr. (i).

22. *φανερὸν*, perhaps.

23. *ορ*[: probably some case of *ὄρος*.

24-35. Cf. Sp. XIV, 28-33: 'Da eilten die beiden Geier zu [dem] Berge. Sie fanden, daß alles das, was die beiden gesagt hatten, Wahrheit sei. Da sagte der Seh-Vogel zu dem Hör-Vogel: Vernimm, es geschieht nichts auf Erden als das, was der Gott des Himmels bestimmen wird, er der (nur) Gutes tut. Wenn es (aber) zu ihm zurückkehrt, ist es etwas . . . Schlechtes. Ferner (sagte der Seh-Vogel zu) dem Hör-Vogel: 'Was wird mit dem Leichnam des Löwen geschehen, den der Greif überwältigt hat? Wohin legt man ihn?'

27-35. The speaker must be **Οραοις*; perhaps the speech begins in 26.

28. οὐδ' ἐν ἀπλῶς ἐπ[ὶ γῆς?

29. ἄν]εν τούτο[υ?

34. *νεγ*[: or possibly *νεπ*], not *νεκ*].

35-51. Cf. Sp. XIV, 33-XV, 11: 'Da sagte der Hör-Vogel zu dem Seh-Vogel: "In Wahrheit, weißt du nicht, daß der Greif der . . . [. . .] ist, der Hirt von allem, was auf Erden ist, der Vergelter, dem kein Vergelter vergilt? Sein Schnabel ist der des Adlers, seine Augen die eines Menschen, sein Leib der eines Löwen, seine Ohren wie die des *Chenfi*-fisches¹ oder des *ibh*-Fisches des Meeres, sein Schwanz der einer Schlange. Die fünf Lebewesen sind auf [ihm]. So sieht er aus. Er hat Macht über alle Dingen auf Erden gleich dem Tode, dem Vergelter, welcher auch der Hirt von allem ist, was heute auf Erden ist. Wahrlich, der, welcher tötet, wird (wieder) getötet. Wer den Tod befiehlt, dessen Untergang wird befohlen werden. Ich habe die genannten Worte gesagt, um es in dein Herz gelangen zu lassen, daß es kein [Ding] gibt, das dem Gotte verborgen bleiben kann, Phrê, der Sonne, dem Vergelter der Götter. [Er] übt Vergeltung an allem, was auf Erden ist, von der Hundsfliege an, dem kleinsten Wesen, das existiert, bis zu dem von ihm am meisten verabscheuten, dem Greif,² dem größten Wesen [auf Erden]."'

35. The supplement is due to Milne.

36/7. Professor Barns suggests εἰ[κῶν or εἰ[δωλον.

39. π: or τ; ε: or ν; but π[ο]ιεῖται seems the only possible restoration. Mr. Parsons suggests ἀν]επιποιεῖται.

39 f. ἀλ[λων or ἀλ[λου.

40 ff. For detailed descriptions of griffins cf. Philostratus, *VA* 3, 48; Aelian, *NA* 4, 27; Paus.

1, 24, 6.

44. Before ωι there is apparently the foot of a vertical.

44 f. Reitzenstein restored *τιμωρεῖ δὲ] τῶι ἀσπίδος φῶ[νωι*, but nothing in the demotic

¹ Here again I am indebted to Professor Barns, who has exploded the Chenfi-fish idea: the clause should be translated 'its ears are as the scale of the *ibh*-fish of the sea'.

² Evidently a scribal error; the lion must be meant here.

corresponds to this. Professor Barns suggests that we have here some case of *φολῖς* 'scale' (of a reptile): presumably this forms part of the description of the griffin's tail.

45. *ὄνομα δ]ἐ αὐτῶι θάνατος ed. pr.* But in the demotic text the griffin and death remain distinct, and perhaps we should rather restore something like *σὺν δ]ἐ αὐτῶι* or *ἄμα δ]ἐ αὐτῶι*.

47. *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* would fill the initial lacuna; *ἀπὸ τῆς* Barns. The trace of the last letter is very indistinct: *ἄ[σκαλάβου?* Barns.

48–50. Here again the supplements are due to Professor Barns.

61. *κάφορῶι W: κλοῖλαι I. καθορῶι ed. pr.*

65 f. *φονεύς W.*

67–col. II, 16. Cf. Sp. XV, 16–24: 'Wenn ich eine Lüge sage, so sieh (die Spur) auf dir. Seine Spur ist auf deinen Kleidern. Das Blut der Feinde, die gemordet haben, das man nicht heimgesucht hat an ihnen, das schreit [nach ihrem Leben]. Nachdem sie gestorben waren, hat man nach ihren Gebeinen geforscht, um an ihnen Rache zu nehmen nach ihrem Tode, indem die Kleider der Götter und der Menschen durch ihr Blut gezeichnet sind, um ihr Herz zu erfreuen. Denn die Vergeltung nimmt Rache an dem, dem vergolten werden soll. Sie hat ihre Kleider bezeichnet, um die Erdenbewohner vor ihnen zu bewahren. Denn die Spur des Mordes wird in Ewigkeit nicht abgewaschen, da sie (die Vergeltung) hinter dem ist, der ihn verübt hat, ob er lebt oder tot ist. Nie entfernt sie sich wieder von ihm.'

69 ff. The scribe has inserted no punctuation between col. I, 67 and col. II, 13; however, comparison with the demotic indicates that there should be a stop after *ἐγκεχάρακται* in 69 and that *μετὰ τελευτήν* in col. II, 2 begins a fresh sentence. The intervening lines are puzzling, but presumably form a single sentence. *ἀσεβῆ* seems certain, but the position of *β* would suggest that it is the second letter of its line; perhaps the scribe made a mistake; or the line ranging with this one in the preceding column may have extended further to the right than usual. Reitzenstein supplied *ἀσεβῆ αἰμ[ατα]*, which would, I suppose, have to be translated 'wicked deeds of bloodshed', an incredibly Aeschylean-sounding expression. Since *ἀσεβῆ* may just as well be masculine accusative singular as neuter plural, it seems better to keep an open mind as to what follows. In 71 a letter is almost certainly lost at the beginning of the line; *τῶν τ[εθηκότων]* suggests itself. There is no need to follow Reitzenstein's assumption that the scribe wrote *τετόλμησεν* by mistake for *τετόλμηκεν* if we articulate the letters slightly differently. *τῶν βραχέντων λίθων* is odd: is the idea that the stones have been drenched in the victims' blood?

Col. II, 2 ff. The subject of the sentence is apparently left unexpressed. The last visible letter of 2 is *α* or *ο* or *ω*. Reitzenstein's *ἀ[να]||σπῶντες* produces rather a short line and I would therefore restore *ὄ[σῳ] ἀνα||σπῶντες*, in view of the reference to bones in the demotic text.

3. Reitzenstein emended *περι* to *παρα* and supplied *παρασημεία*, but if one restores, e.g., *περιβλήματα* or *περιβόλαια* a reasonable sense emerges—'they mark their shrouds for ever'.

4. Without a stop after *χαράσσουσιν* the sense is chaotic.

6. We must punctuate after *αὐτοῖς*. Something seems to be missing in the papyrus: Reitzenstein inserted *οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν* before *θεῶν*; it would perhaps be better to add *(καὶ ἀνθρώπων)* after *θεῶν*.

7. Since the writer uses both *χαράσσω* and *ἐγχαράσσω* there is no reason to alter *χαράσσεται* here.

10. The supplement is Milne's.

15. *στέλλονται*, for which Reitzenstein conjectured *στέλλωνται*, presumably means 'they are appointed' or something similar. *πάν]τες ed. pr.*

16. *τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτελεῖν*, I suppose, means 'to exact vengeance' here, but it is the sort of safe but empty phrase which one might well use in translating if one were not wholly certain of the meaning of the text before one. No punctuation is visible after *ἐπιτελεῖν*, but the surface is in poor condition.

16-30. Cf. Sp. XV, 24-33: 'Ich weiß, daß die Katze dein Name ist. Denn sie ist die, über welche die Vergeltung keine Macht hat. Ich weiß, daß sie das Glied des Todes und auch die ist, welche nie stirbt. Du bist das Glied der Vergeltung und der Rache, nämlich die Tochter des Phrê. Man nennt dich die Flüster-Katze, denn sie ist es, welche in das Ohr der Erdenbewohner flüstert. Da lachte sie, nämlich die äthiopische Katze. Ihr Herz war fröhlich über die Worte, welche der kleine Hundsaffe gesagt hatte. Sie lobte ihn sehr, indem sie sagte: Ich werde dich nicht töten und dich nicht töten lassen. Mein Abscheu ist es, Zeuge einer Schlechtigkeit zu sein, vielmehr soll man dir nur Gutes tun. Was soll es, daß ich dir Gewalt antue, da du mir nichts Schlechtes getan hast, sondern nur Gutes? Du hast mein Herz von Trauer befreit, du hast es wieder in Freude hervor-gehen (erstrahlen) lassen.'

17. σ[ο]υ: σ[ο]ι or σ[ο]ν would also be possible. ἀθάνατος ὠρομάσ[αι] cannot be definitely excluded.

18 f. οὐδὲ δεινότητι ὑποπίπτ[ο]ν τῷ [τε]λευτῶν σου *ed. pr.*, which Reitzenstein explains thus: 'δεινότης ohne den Zusatz τῆς εἰμαρμένης, τοῦ θανάτου oder dergleichen und τὸ τελευτῶν σου für den Infinitiv oder das Substantiv mag auf Übersetzung orientalischer Formeln zurückgehen.' But nothing in the demotic text would account for this oddity. The second letter of 19 could easily be ω, and τῶ[ν] τε]λευτῶν suits the space slightly better; this provides the required genitive after δεινότητι and eliminates the strange τὸ τελευτῶν σου; the meaning presumably is 'the terror of mortality'. One might be tempted to insert τῇ at the end of 18, but this would produce an unusually long line.

23-9. The beginnings of these lines are preserved on fr. (ii), the latter parts on fr. (i); Reitzenstein did not realize that the two fragments overlap.

23. θαρ]σει, perhaps; ;, however, might be a double point. οὐ μ[ή] or οὐ μ[ή]ν W.

25. μήκιστον? Cf. Philodemus, *Rh.* I, 270 S: μήκιστον ἀφέστηκεν τοῦ πείθειν. γὰρ W.

26. ἄδικον Barns, ἐπιγραφῆναι W.

28. ε[ὐ]εργε]σίας ἢ W; ἢ after a word not implying comparison is rare but quite in order: see L.S.J. s.v. ἢ B 1.

29-31. The supplements are my own. μ' ἄχων seems more likely than μάχων, though ἄχος is rare in prose. In 29 no stop is now visible after εἰμί, but the surface is in poor condition.

33/4. πε]πλήρωκας W; the ι which the editors read after this is in fact a double point. 'You have filled me with happiness' or something of the sort.

The paragraphos under 34 marks the end of Tefnut's speech. In the demotic text the goddess continues with various moralizing reflections (XIV, 33-XVI, 1); a second speech (XVI, 2-8), which is also assigned to Tefnut, consists partly of further commonplaces of the same sort and partly of a eulogy of Egypt. There is nothing corresponding to this section in the Greek version.

34-43. Cf. Sp. XVI, 8-12: 'Es bewirkte die schöne Rede, daß ihr Antlitz Ägypten (wieder) gnädig wurde. Da trat er eilig vor die Göttin, um sie zu belustigen, so daß ihr Herz sehr froh war. Er sagte zu ihr: Meine Herrin, der Weg des Gehens nach Ägypten ist dieser. Nicht ist es das Wüsten-gebirge, auf dem du deine Reise viele Tage machst. Ich will sie dich in zwanzig Tagen mach[en] lassen. Da lachte sie, indem sie sagte: Weshalb hast du das nicht von Anfang an gesagt?'

35/6. W ([ε]λαρῶς Milne).

37/8. We might supply ὥστ[ε] 'Ερμῆς] το[ι]ά]δε ἔφη.

38. ἦδε μὲν ἢ W; αὐτῇ <ἢ> *ed. pr.*

39. δε W; γὰρ *ed. pr.*

41. Reitzenstein restored διανύσεις (διανύσεις II) ἐπ' οἴκου. The supplement I have suggested makes emendation unnecessary and is slightly closer to the demotic, though there Thoth's proposed itinerary seems not to involve a journey over the mountains of the desert at all.

42-4. The beginnings of these lines are in very bad condition; no paragraphoi are now visible.



42. εἶπε: Milne.

42 f. διὰ [τί μοι πάλαι οὐ]κ [εἶρηκας; ed. pr.

44-69. Cf. Sp. XVI, 13-26: 'Es öffnete der kleine Hundsaffe [seinen] Mund. Er sprach, indem er sagte: Wohlan! Höre die Geschichte, welche zwei Schakalen begegnete. Es waren nämlich zwei Schakale in der Wüste, welche sehr befreundet waren, so daß sie eifersüchtig waren, [indem einer zum] andern sagte: Wirst du etwa gehen und mit einem andern Freundschaft schließen? Und nicht verließ ein Schakal den andern, indem sie tranken und aßen [miteinander] zu zweit . . ., zu ihnen, indem sie sich abkühlten unter dem Wipfel eines Wüstenbaumes. Da sahen sie [einen] wüten[den Löwen], der auf Beute ausging, wie er auf sie zurannte. Da blieben sie stehen [und wagten nicht zu] fliehen. Da holte der Löwe die beiden Schakale ein. Er sagte: Wahrlich, [eure Glieder] sind alt geworden. Seht ihr nicht, wie ich auf euch zukomme? Warum flieht ihr nicht vor mir? Da sagten sie: In Wahrheit, unser Herr, wir sahen dich in Wut. Da überlegten wir, daß wir nicht vor dir fliehen wollten. Wenn du uns einholst, so ist es besser, daß du uns frißt, wenn unsere Kraft noch auf uns ist, ohne daß wir Not gelitten haben, als daß du uns ermüdet verzehrst.' (The lion is so taken with this reply that he spares their lives; Thoth then points out the application of this fable to their own case, though unfortunately this is not entirely clear.)

44. The traces of two letters after ερμ would be consistent with ης. λ: only the right leg is visible.

44 f. τὸ συμβὰ[ν τοῖς δυοῖ λύκοις· οὗτοι] γὰρ ed. pr.

46. τοῖς ὄρεισι? W.

47. Scarcely ἐν<α>ιον: the papyrus is almost free from orthographic errors of this sort, and the word is found only in poetry. ὁμό[νοι]αν?

50. The traces favour δύο, which would be nearer to the demotic than διό of ed. pr.; probably εἰς δέ] or κατὰ δέ] stood at the end of 49.

52. What I have interpreted as a high stop after πίνοντες might be part of a letter.

52/3. ὀρ<ε>ιδόν Barns.

53/4. κεκλ[ι]μ[ε]νοι W: παρωκλασ[μέ]νοι ed. pr.

58. αὐτ[ο]ψ[ι]ς can be read as easily as αὐτ[ο]ψ[ι]ς of ed. pr., and makes it unnecessary to insert πρὸς.

58 ff. I have not arrived at a satisfactory restoration of this passage; Reitzenstein suggested the following: ἐπερχόμε⁵⁹μενον ἰδόντες με ἔθε⁶⁰ά[σ]ασθε ζητοῦντα <τὰ> πρὸς κ⁶¹υνηγίαν· ἐρχομένου [οὐ μέμ]ηλεν, ἐνεβλέπετε πρ[οθύμω]ς, φερόμενον δρόμωι ἔθε[ω]ρήσατε.

ἐπερχομεμενον: it seems more likely that there was a dittography of με than that ἐρχομαι was mis-spelt ἐρχομε; but the final ν, if that is what it is, is very odd. What followed was certainly not ἰδόντες. τ[ι]: or π[ι]. At the end of 59]δουε seems a more probable reading than]ασ.ν of the ed. pr.; the interjection ἰδού would obviously be in place and if we read ἐζήτουν instead of Reitzenstein's ζητοῦντα it is unnecessary to insert another τα before πρὸς. In 60 we must supply τήν before κυνηγίαν in order to fill the space. At the end of 61 an adverb ending in -θεν such as πρόσθεν or πόρρωθεν seems most likely. In 62 one might guess at πρ[ότερον] or πρ[οπετεῖ].

65. Reitzenstein, believing that the papyrus read τρέχοντες, conjectured τρέμοντες; this was in fact written.

68 f. The last letters of these two lines may be preserved on the left edge of the next fragment, E (col. I); there seems no reason for Reitzenstein's assumption that these line ends must belong to the following column, which would mean, as he himself observed, that the Greek text was much fuller than the demotic at this point.

In the lacuna Thoth starts to tell another story: there was once a lion which lived in the desert and in the course of his wanderings met various animals—a panther,

a horse, a bear, a cow, and finally another lion—which all bore the marks of ill-treatment; the lion inquired the cause, and the answer in each case was 'Man'. The next fragment deals with the meeting of the two lions.

Fr. E: col. II

[.....]. [
 [.....]νθ[
 60 [.....]ε[.]καιε[.....] λέ
 [οντα ἔτε]ρον ὑπὸ ξ[ύλον]
 [.....]μενον καὶ μὴ δ[υνά]με
 [νον] ν πορίζειν καὶ
 [.....] δ]ιὰ τί καὶ σοι γε
 65 [.....]τω κατα
 [.....] ὃ δὲ ἕτερος λέ
 [ων ἔφη· ἄνθ]ρωπος· σεαυτὸν ἂ
 [πὸ τοῦ ἀνθρ]ώπου φύλαξον· ἂ
 πρὸ τοῦ [γ]ένους σεαυτὸν τη
 70 ρεῖ· λο[ι]μὸν ζῶιόν ἐστιν

Cf. Sp. XVII, 33–XVIII, 2: 'Da traf er einen Löwen, der zwischen einem Wüstenbaum [(so) eingeklemmt war,] daß das Holz über seiner Tatze geschlossen war, indem er sehr [traurig] war, da er nicht weglaufen konnte. Da sagte ihm der Löwe: Wie kommst du in diese schlimme [Lage], in der du bist? Wer hat dir das getan? Da sagte ihm der Löwe: <Es ist der Mensch.> Hüte dich. Traue ihm nicht. Der Mensch ist schlecht.'

59. θ: or perhaps ε.

60. κ: right half only; only the lower part of ε can be seen, but if it were τ some of the cross-stroke should be visible.

60/1. λέοντα ἔτε]ρον W.

61. ξ[ύλον] W; ξ[ύλου] *ed. pr.*

61/2. ξ[ύλον] ὀρειὸν κατεχθ]μενον would probably give the sense.

63. ἀπόλυσι]ν perhaps.

64 ff. [ἔρωτᾷ αὐτὸν· δ]ιὰ τί καὶ σοὶ γέ[γ]ονε κακόν; τίς σε οὐ]τω κατα[κείσθαι ἐποίησεν; *ed. pr.*

67. ἔφη W; λέγει *ed. pr.*, which is rather long. The scribe has not inserted any punctuation after ἀνθρώπος.

69. <τούτου> τοῦ *ed. pr.*

70. There is no need to emend λοιμὸν, since the word is used as an adjective in Hellenistic and later Greek: see L.S.J.

Thoth describes how the lion swore to take vengeance on man. We come now to a fable within the fable, the famous story of the mouse and the lion (Aesop, fable 155, Hausrath):¹ the lion one day found under his paw a mouse which he would have eaten without further thought, but he was so much amused by the mouse's suggestion that if he let it go it might one day be able to save his life that he spared it; when soon

¹ As Spiegelberg noted, the fable is also known from India: see Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, B 371.1.

after he fell into a hunter's net the mouse was able to rescue him by gnawing a hole in it. Thoth evidently detects a certain similarity between the mouse's role and his own. Reitzenstein suggested that the few surviving words from the bottom of the next column, to which nothing in the demotic text corresponds, come from the second encounter of the lion and the mouse.

Fr. E: col. III

60	δι[λε.[εν[[[
65	[ι[.]οδ[κις[ανε[.....]..ωσ[θεός [ὁ π]αντεπόπτ[ης και παμ
70	μέγιστος και ἡλι[ος

70. ἡλι[ος Milne.

Unless the Greek version was much fuller than the demotic here, fr. F, col. I, which corresponds to Sp. col. XIX, followed E III immediately. This section of the narrative is puzzling: the two travellers have now left the desert and are, apparently, obstructed by a series of trees, beginning with the date-palm, which attempt to delay them. It is curious that it is Thoth who is the more easily distracted from the journey.

Fr. F: col. I

60	[.....]α [.....]οροσ [.....]θεός: κα [.....]βα [λαν.....]ο.ψω [.....]δι.καν
65	[.....]εν βαλανι [.....]βα]λανίνωι [.....]εστιν: εα [.....]ητος ενη [.....]ογα θέλω
70	[.....]ματα ἐφησ

Cf. Sp. XIX, 11-23: 'Eine Dattelpalme [kam] ihnen entgegen. Da lief der kleine Hundsaffe zu der Palmfrucht. Es geschah, daß [er] die Palme [. . .] und die Palmfrucht aß, indem sein Gesicht an seinem Finger lag, indem er nach seinem Land schaute. Da sagte die Göttin zu ihm: Komm

herab! Ich habe gegeben, daß du Dattel trinkst. Ich habe gegeben, daß du Dattel ißt. Ich habe gegeben, daß du von Datteln trunken bist unter dem [. . .] Schatten eines Palmbaumes, indem du mit Palme (Palmöl) gesalbt bist, indem du von [dem Saft der] Palme trinkst, indem ein Kranz von Palm(blättern) an deinem Leibe ist, indem Palme dein Haupt bekränzt, indem du [mit] dem [Blatt] der Palme [geschmückt bist.] Da sagte er zu ihr: Laß ab von mir! [Du hast gegeben], daß ich von [ihr] satt bin, meine . . . Palme, indem ich nach meinem Land schaute, nach meiner [Wüste . . .] kommen in ein fernes Land. Nicht können Millionen von Palmen des [Landes . . .] in einer [. . .].¹ Wenn ich sie esse, ist mein Herz fröhlich, [wenn ich sie trinke,] ist mein Herz froh, und ich schaue nach meinem Land, indem ich Ägypten [. . .] Mund [. . . Sand] auf meine Füße, indem er kam [. . .], um sie zu belustigen, indem ihr Gesicht nach Ägypten gerichtet war, indem ihr Herz sehr froh war.'

61. ἔφη δὲ ἡ θεὸς· κά[τε]λθε, perhaps. The goddess's speech evidently continues to 66.

67. Presumably Thoth is the speaker.

In the demotic version there are three more such encounters, occupying the rest of col. XIX and col. XX; the translation was evidently more concise. Then Thoth and Tefnut come to Egypt, first to El-Kab, the city of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet (Eileithyia), where Tefnut appears as a vulture. Fr. F, col. II deals with events at their next stopping-place, the name of which is lost.

Fr. F: col. II

[...]λε[.]ρ.[
 [...]δο[.]ει[
 ...[έ]βη δὲ .δ[..... δορκά
 60 δος τρόπον, με[τέ]βα[λε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς
 καὶ οὐκέτι λυκόλυγξ ἀ[λλὰ
 λυγξ ἦν ὀραῖσθαι κοιμηθε[ί
 σης δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπεναν[τί
 65 ον Διοσπόλεως ἀσεβῶν [πλή
 θος ἀφνω ἐπέστη καὶ ὡς δορ
 κάδα κυνηγεῖν ἡμελλον
 τῆν δὲ ὁ λυγξ ἐγείρας, ἐναλ
 λόμενος τὸ προθμεῖον παρ
 ὠρμισεν, τῆς δὲ ἐναλλομέ
 70 νης ἀφώρμισεν καὶ διέσω
 σεν· ἐν δὲ τῶι προθμείωι ε



Cf. Sp. XXI, 8-15; as most of this fragment is perfectly straightforward I shall quote only the beginning and end of his rendering: 'Sie verwandelte sich in eine Gazelle. Siehe, sie [war] sehr [froh,] während der Affe vor ihr jubelte. . . . 14 f. Es geschah aber, als sie in dem Fährboot war, da dachte sie an die Worte, welche ihr der kleine Hundsaffe in der Wüste gesagt hatte.'

58. Only the feet of the first three letters remain: μετέβη suggests itself.

60. λυκόλυγξ: λυκολυγγ II. No such metamorphosis is described in the Leyden papyrus.

¹ 'Ergänze etwa "Nicht können Millionen Palmen Äthiopiens sich mit einer ägyptischen Palme messen"': Spiegelberg.

67. The spelling *προθμείον* is very common in papyri.

69. ἀφώρμισεν: ἐφώρμισεν Π.

70 f. ἐ|||μνήσθη *ed. pr.*

There is a further fragment preserving some letters from the tops of two adjacent columns, which Reitzenstein placed first as he believed that it came from an earlier part of the narrative where the demotic version is lost; he saw in col. II a reference to the magic food which Thoth offers Tefnut: see note on A I, 45. But this location is anything but secure. It is conceivable, but no more, that these are the tops of the columns of which fr. F preserves the bottoms; *τροφιμωτερ*[would suit the topic of dates.

Fr. G

col. I

]εισαιγυ

]ουκα

]η

]ε

]α

col. II

βελτειοναγη[

τροφιμωτερ[

σοι και υ[.]ηρ[

μετε[.]ψτ[

γ[

I, 1-3. *εις Αἴγυ[πτον ὅταν ἔλθω μετὰ σοῦ] οὐκ ἀ[ναστρέψω ed. pr., cf. A I, 59 ff.* But obviously there are other possibilities.

II, 4. *ψτ*: a tall vertical followed by a horizontal stroke.

All in all, one cannot but be impressed by the general competence of the translator. Whether the Greek version is always a correct rendering of the demotic I cannot say, but it is coherent and intelligible; the translator was at all events aware of the principle that nonsense is never right. It is clear, however, that in places the Greek text differs substantially from that of the Leyden papyrus. Does this mean that the demotic text which the translator had before him differed correspondingly,¹ or is the Greek version rather a paraphrase than a translation?² The riddling sphinx of A I, 48 ff. has been cited as a demonstrably Greek element, but this restoration is not certain; though Reitzenstein firmly laid the responsibility for the striking divergences of A II, 55 ff. at the door of the Greek translator,³ there is nothing in the passage which could not go back to an Egyptian original. I take it that the author did not shift at random from exact translation to free paraphrase; it seems rather that his intention was to produce a readable version free from the oddities of its zoolatrous original

¹ On the textual fluidity of the more popular types of Egyptian prose fiction cf. Barns, loc. cit.

² Cf. the introduction to a translation of the life of Imuthes-Asclepius, P.Oxy. 1381, 174-81: *καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀλη γραφῇ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον προσεπλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περισσεῖον ἀφείλον, διήγημα δὲ που μακρολογούμενον συντόμως ἐλάλησα, καὶ ἀλλαττολογο[ύμενον] ἀπαξ ἔφρασα.*

³ 'Statt der echt ägyptisch empfundenen Aufzählung von Einzelbeobachtungen die nach Kategorien geordnete Übersicht über alle Lebewesen (vgl. etwa bei Achilles Tatios die Schilderung, wie die Liebe in der ganzen Natur waltet). Einen richtigen Eindruck von dem Umfang der Umgestaltung wird freilich nur der Leser empfangen, der sich selbst aus der Übersetzung des ganzen demotischen Textes einen Eindruck von der Fülle seltsamer Formeln und Schilderungen gewinnt, welche der Übersetzer überspringen mußte, weil sie seine Leser zu fremdartig berührt hätten.'

which might puzzle or scandalize a Greek reader, and that the element of paraphrase in the composition does not much exceed what was strictly necessary to this purpose.

Von Bissing suggested that the translator was Eudoxus of Cnidus: cf. D.L. VIII, 8, 89: φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν (sc. Eudoxum) Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Βάτωνα (FGrH 241 F22) καὶ Κυνῶν διαλόγους συνθεῖναι· οἱ δὲ γεγραφέναι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους τῆι αὐτῶν φωνῆι, τοῦτον δὲ μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι; see Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos* (Berlin, 1966), fr. 374. This view seems to me so very implausible that I should have ignored it had it not met with approval elsewhere. No dogs are mentioned anywhere in the papyrus; Thoth appears not as a dog or dog-headed ape, but as a wolf-lynx. Nor would anyone, however vague or confused his memory, describe Thoth's story of the two jackals and the lion (D II, 44 ff.) as a dialogue of dogs: this is obviously a fable, not a dialogue, and though we do not know what word the Greek translator actually used for these animals, Greek does not lack a word for 'jackal' and it is temerarious to suppose that the translator turned them into dogs. For a much more probable view of the *Κυνῶν διάλογοι* see Gwyn Griffiths, loc. cit. Moreover, though this is not the place for a detailed analysis, vocabulary and style suggest that the translation was made much nearer to the date at which the papyrus was written. For some reason there was in the second and third centuries a demand for this Greco-Egyptian literature, and most of the papyri containing translations or adaptations of Egyptian works were written then—the Invocation of Isis, P.Oxy. 1380, the Life of Imuthes-Asclepius, P.Oxy. 1381, the three copies of the Oracle of the Potter, P.Graf, P.Rain. Inv. 19813, P.Oxy. 2332, and the fragments of other such prophecies, P.S.I. 760, 982. The coincidence should not be pressed, since the date of composition may be considerably earlier; I merely note it for what it is worth.

→ Pock² 2483
 ↳ Pock² 2635 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας