

Study Guide for the Story of Sinuhe

This presentation of the Middle Egyptian *Story of Sinuhe* is a simple reorganization of material created by Jon J. Hirst, published at Jenny Carrington's web site and used here by their kind permission. The main difference is that the hieroglyphics, transliteration, translation, and footnotes are put together in one place, line by line. This should make it easier to refer back and forth.

The story of Sinuhe takes place during the reign of king Senusret I (approximately 1917– 1872 BCE), who had taken the throne-name of Kheperkara, in the Twelfth Dynasty during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. The earliest surviving manuscript dates from around 1800 BCE. To put that in context, it is 700 years after the great pyramids were built, 470 years before the reign of Tutankhamun, and 1770 years before the death of Cleopatra VII.

The story is told in the first person by the main character (whose name is actually given as more like Senahat, and sometimes you will see this story referred to under that name). It is considered one of the classics of ancient Egyptian literature.

- Paul Dickson

Original notes

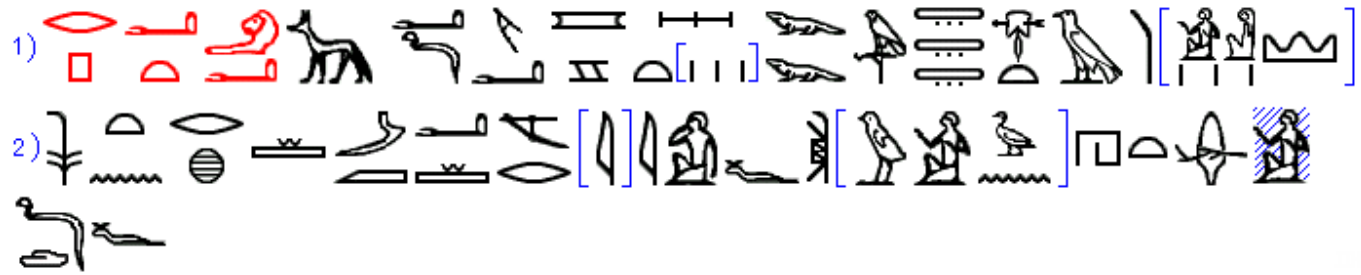
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Transliteration after Roland Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17, Brussels 1990, using the two principal sources (Berlin 3022 for the bulk of the text, and Berlin 10499, for the first section, missing in 3022)

The section divisions have been introduced here for convenience, based on those of Stephen Quirke, "Digital Egypt for Universities" Sinuhe pages for the University College London. After each section number are given the corresponding line-numbers in Berlin 10499 for the start, and Berlin 3022 from the point it is preserved Transliteration system following the Manuel de Codage

- **red**: part of the text written in red
 - Transliteration and text in (), indicates that it exists in B3022 only
-

1 (Berlin 10499, lines 1-2)



iry pat HAty-a sAb aD-mr ity m styw

Nobleman and overlord, governor and canal-cutter, sovereign
among the Syrians

rx nswt mAa mry.f Smsw sA-nhAt

One known to the king directly, his favourite, the Follower
Sanehat

Dd.f

He says:

Nobleman and overlord: this pair of phrases forms the principal expression of higher status among officials in the Middle Kingdom.

Governor and canal-cutter: this pair of phrases is a Middle Kingdom revival from Old Kingdom expressions of high status among administrators.

Sovereign among the Syrians: Egyptians of the time would probably have been startled by the use of the word sovereign for a person other than the king, even though the jolt is then softened by the qualifying phrase 'among the Syrians', removing the expression of sovereignty to a safe distance.

Follower: in accordance with regular Middle Kingdom practice, the official title of the man is placed immediately before his name. Follower is an official title designating a man who literally stood immediately alongside or behind his superior, either as attendant or as bodyguard.

2 (Berlin 10499, lines 2-5)



ink Smsw Sms nb.f bAk n ipt nswt

I am a Follower who follows his lord, a servant of the family-quarters of the king

irt pat wrt Hswt Hmt nswt snwsrt m Xnm-sw

Of the noblewoman, abounding in favour, King's Wife of Senusret in Khenemsut

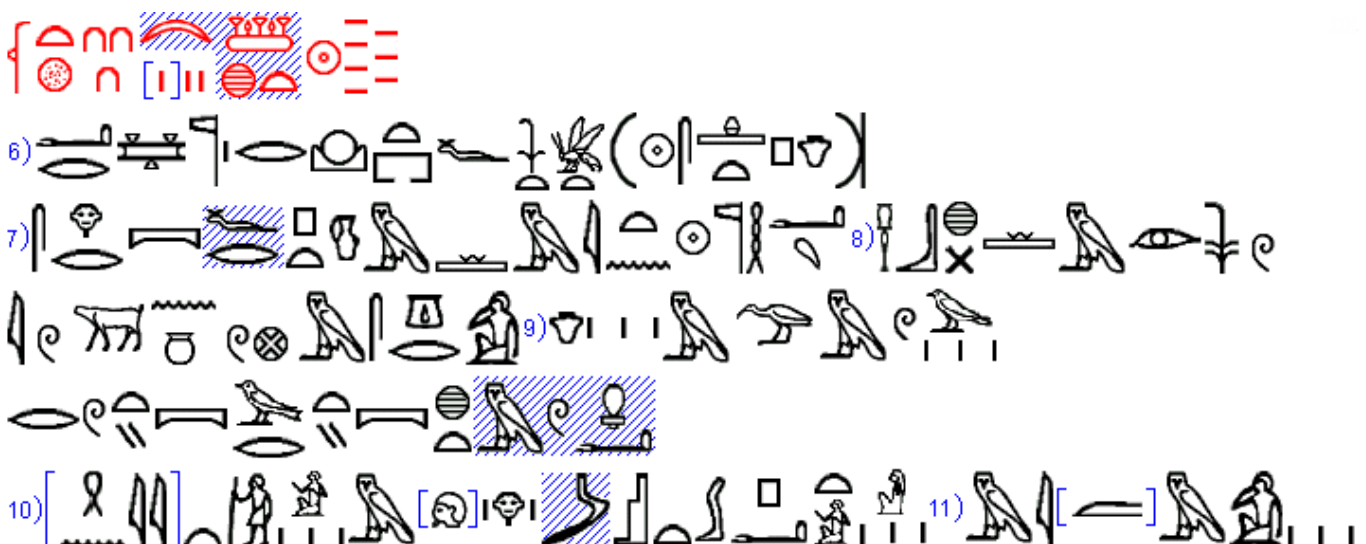
sAt nswt imn-m-HAt m qA-nfrw nfrw nbt imAx

King's Daughter of Amenemhat in Qaneferu, Neferu, lady of reverence

King's Wife of Senusret in Khenemsut: Egyptian has no single word for queen, using instead the compound phrase 'wife of the king'. Here the queen is identified as wife of king Senusret I, and her special religious status in the system of kingship is emphasised by mention of Khenemsut, the pyramid complex of that king at Lisht.

King's Daughter of Amenemhat in Qaneferu: Senusret I was son of king Amenemhat I, and therefore it seems from this phrase that his wife was his full or half-sister. However, in Egyptian 'daughter' might also designate 'daughter-in-law'. Her eternal religious role is emphasised again by mention of the pyramid complex of the king, in this case Qaneferu, the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht.

3 (Berlin 10499, lines 5-11)



rnpt-sp 30 Abd 3 Axt sw 7

ar nTr r Axt.f nswt-bity sHtp-ib-ra

sHr.f r pt Xnm m itn Haw-nTr Abx m ir-sw

iw Xnw m sgr ibw m gmw

rwt wrty xtmw

Snyt m tp-Hr-mAsty pat m imw

Regnal year 30, month 3 of Flood, day 7

The god ascended to his horizon, the dual king Sehetepibra

He fared up to the sky, joining with the sun-disk, divine
limbs merging with his creator

The Residence was in silence, hearts in sorrow,

The Double Gate sealed,

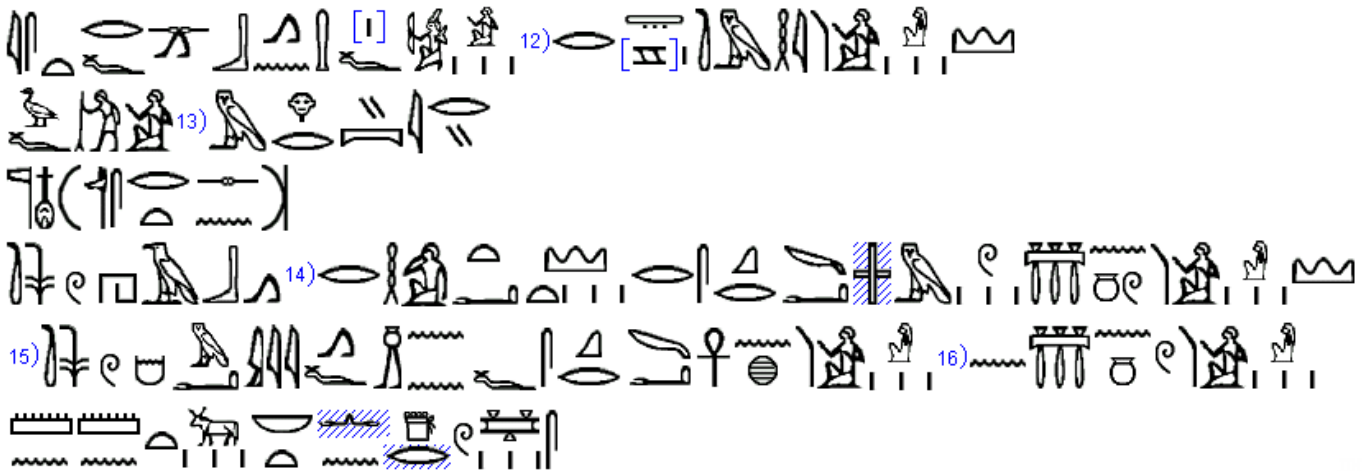
The court with head on knees, the nobles in lament

Dual king: literally 'he of the sedge and bee', obscure but common title for the king.

Sehetepibra: the throne-name taken by king Amenemhat I at his accession, and used here to identify him in preference to the ambiguous Amenemhat (there were four kings named Amenemhat in the Twelfth Dynasty).

Residence: the place from which the king ruled. The Residence of the Twelfth Dynasty was at Itjtawy, not identified on the ground, but probably at Lisht, where the pyramids of the first two kings of the Dynasty are sited. Itjtawy was founded by Amenemhat I, and its full name was Itjtwyamenemhat 'Amenemhat (I) has taken the Two Lands' i.e. Egypt.

4 (Berlin 10499, lines 12-16)



ist rf sb.n Hm.f mSa r tA-timHw

sA.f smsw m Hry iry

nTr nfr snwsrt

ti-sw hAb r Hw xAswt r sqrH

imyw THnw

ti-sw Hm iy.f in.n.f sqrw-anx n

THnw

mmnt nbt nn Drw.s

Now His Majesty had sent an army against the Land of the Timehu

With his eldest son as its commander,

The good god Senusret

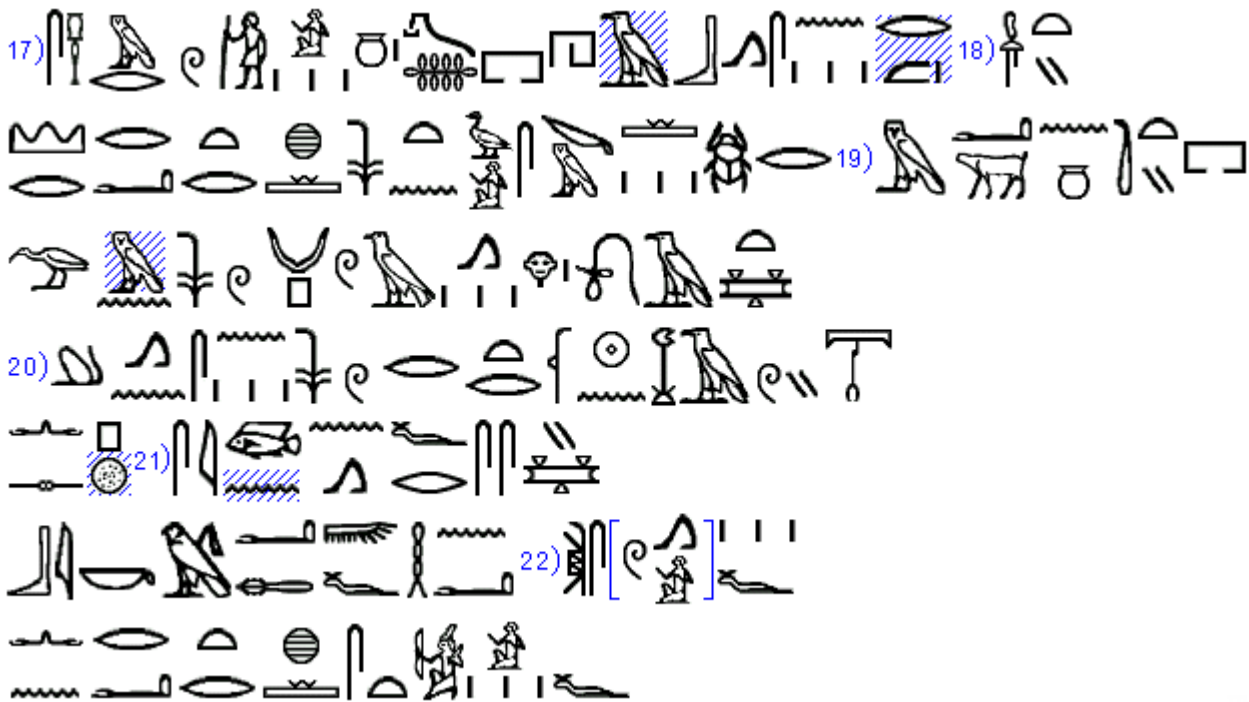
He was sent to smite the hill lands, to quell the inhabitants of Tjehenu

He was just on his return, and had brought the captives of Tjehenu,

And all the limitless herds

Timehu, Tjehenu: terms for the regions and peoples inhabiting the deserts to the west of the Nile Valley.

5 (Berlin 10499, lines 17-22)



smrw nw stp-sA hAb.sn r gs-imnty
r rdit rx sA nswt sSm xpr m a-Xnwtj
gm.n.sw wpwtyw Hr wAt
pH.n.sn sw r tr n xAwy
n sp sinn.fr-ssy
bik aXm.f Hna Smsw.f
nn rdit rx st mSa.f

The courtiers of the Palace despatched to the Western reaches,
 To inform the King's Son of the turn of events in the Chamber
 The envoys found him on the road,
 And had reached him at the time of dusk
 Not a slight moment did he delay,
 The falcon, he flew off with his followers,
 Without having his army informed of it

6 (Berlin 10499, lines 22-25, second half corresponding to Berlin 3022, 1-2)



ist hAb r msw nswt

wnw m-xt.f m mSa pn

nis.n.tw n wa im

ist wi aHa.kwi sDm.n.i xrw.f

iw.f mdw.f iw.i m ar wA

Now there was a dispatch with regard to the King's children

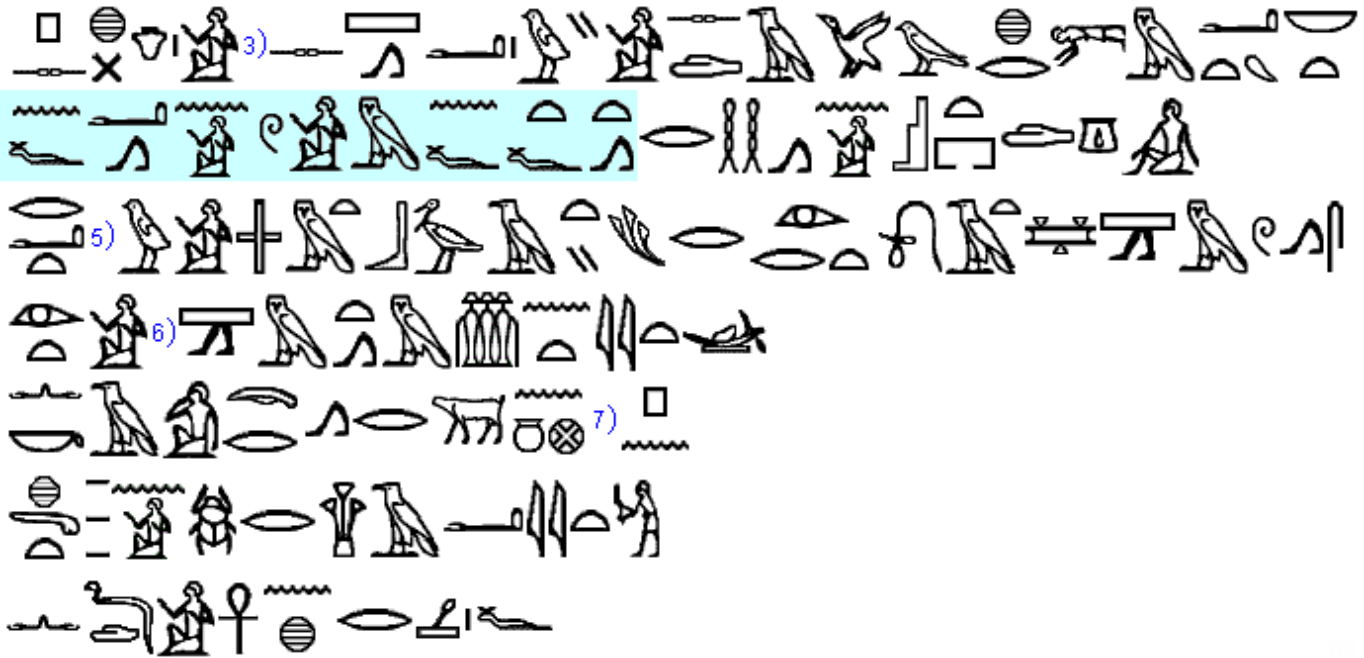
who were following him in this army

One of them was summoned

Now I was up, and heard his voice

When he was speaking - I was a short distance away

7 (Berlin 3022, 2-7)



psx ib.i sn awy.i sdA xr m at.i nbt

nfa.n.i wi m nftft r HH n.i st dgA

rdit wi imywt bAt, r iwt wAt Sm.s

irt.i Smt m xnty

n kA.i spr r Hnw pn

xmt.n.i xpr Haayt

n Dd.i anx r-sA nn

My heart stopped, my arms crossed, trembling fell through my whole body

I slipped back in starts to seek out a hiding-place,

To place myself between the bushes, to remove the way and its farer

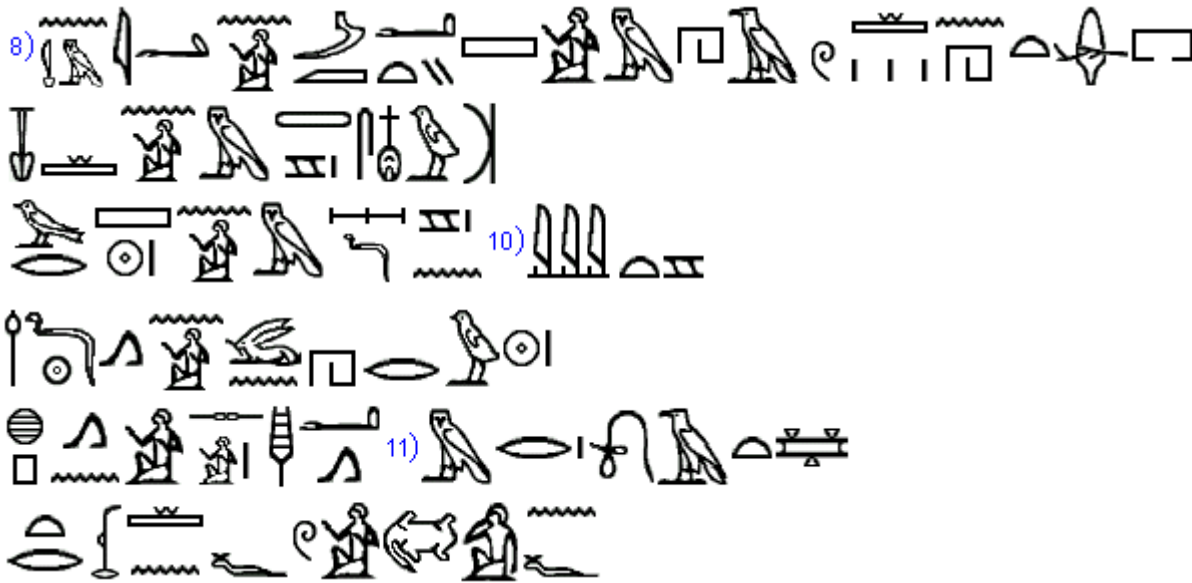
I made my way south

without thinking of approaching this Residence.

I imagined there would be bloodshed,

and I denied I could survive it

8 (Berlin 3022, 8-11)

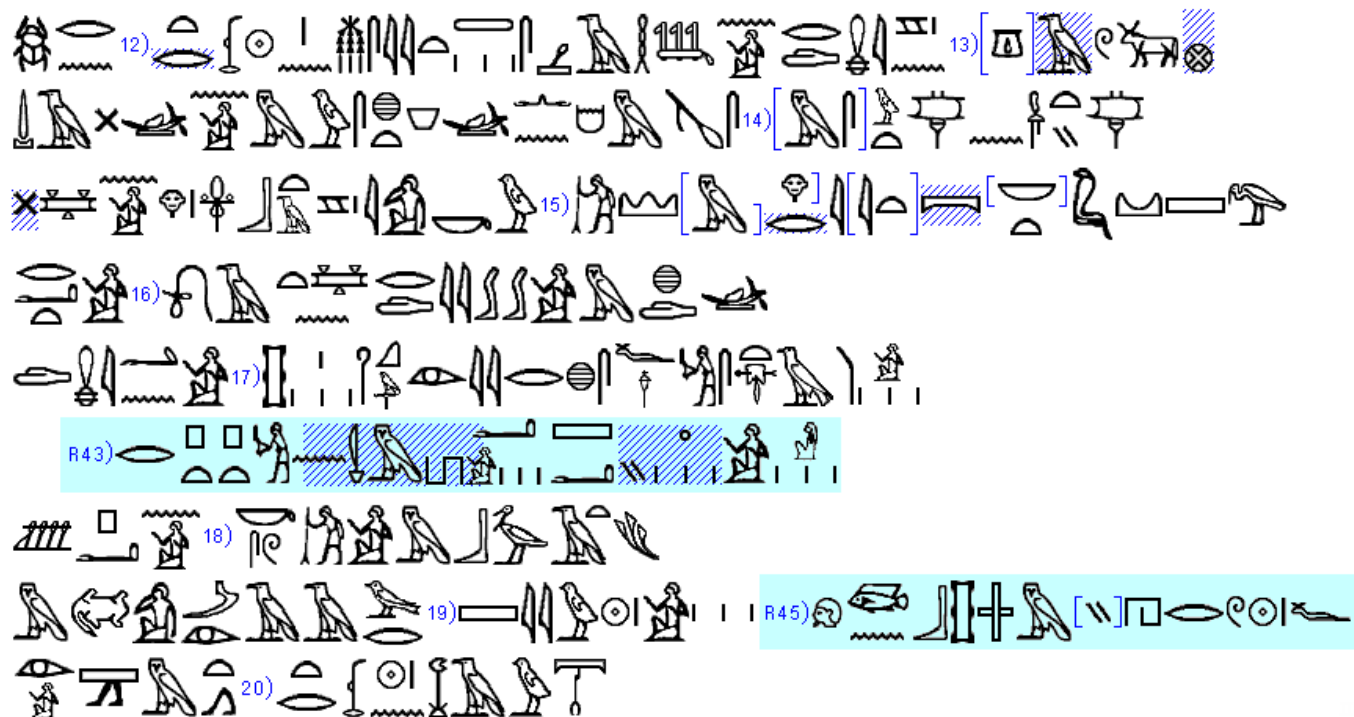


nmi.n.i mAaty m hAw nhAt
smA.n.i m iw-snfrw
wrS.n.i m aD n sxt
HD.n.i wn hrw
xp.n.i s aHa m r-wAt
tr.n.f wi snd n.f

I negotiated the Sea of Truth in the area of the Sycamore,
 And I made it to the Island of Sneferu
 I rested on the curb of the fields,
 And moved on when it came to day.
 I crossed a man standing at a fork in the road:
 He hailed me, but I feared him

The place-names in this part of the account of the flight have not been identified on the ground, and may be literary expressions for places given other names in non-literary sources. The Island of Sneferu might relate to Meydum or Dahshur, where there stand the pyramids built by king Sneferu of the Fourth Dynasty.

9 (Berlin 3022, 11-20)



xpr.n tr n msyt sAH.n.i r dmi ngA

Evening fell as I trod on to the mooring-point of the horned bull

DA.n.i m wsxt nn HMw.s m swt n imnty

I ferried across in a cargo-boat without a rudder, thanks to a breeze from the west

sn.n.i Hr iAbtyw ikw m Hryt nbt Dw-dSr

I crossed by the east of the quarry in the ascent of the Goddess of the Red Mountain

rdit.i wAt n rdwy.i m xd

I forced my legs to move on northwards

*dmi.n.i inbw-HqA iry r xsf styw r ptpt
nmiw-Sa*

I reached the Walls of the Ruler, made to repel the Syrians and trample on the nomads

Ssp.n.i ksw.i m bAt

I took my shelter in the bush

m snd mAA wrSy tp inb imy hrw.f

From fear of being seen by the guard on the wall who was on duty

ir.i Smt tr n xAwy

And made my way at night

Red Mountain: Gebel Ahmar (Arabic for 'red mountain'), the quartzite outcrops north-east of modern Cairo.

Walls of the Ruler: military defence installations along the land roads to Sinai, perhaps a single fortress, not identified on the ground.

<i>sDm.n.i xrw nmi n mnmnt</i>	I heard the sound of lowing of cattle
<i>gmH.n.i styw</i>	And sighted Syrians
<i>siA.n wi mtn im pA wnn Hr kmt</i>	I was spied out by one of their scouts who had been in Egypt
<i>aHa.n rdi.n.f n.i mw ps n.i irtt</i>	Then he gave me water, and milk was cooked for me
<i>Sm.n.i Hna.f n wHyt.f nfr irt.n.sn</i>	I went with him to his people. What they did was good.

12 (Berlin 3022, 28-31)



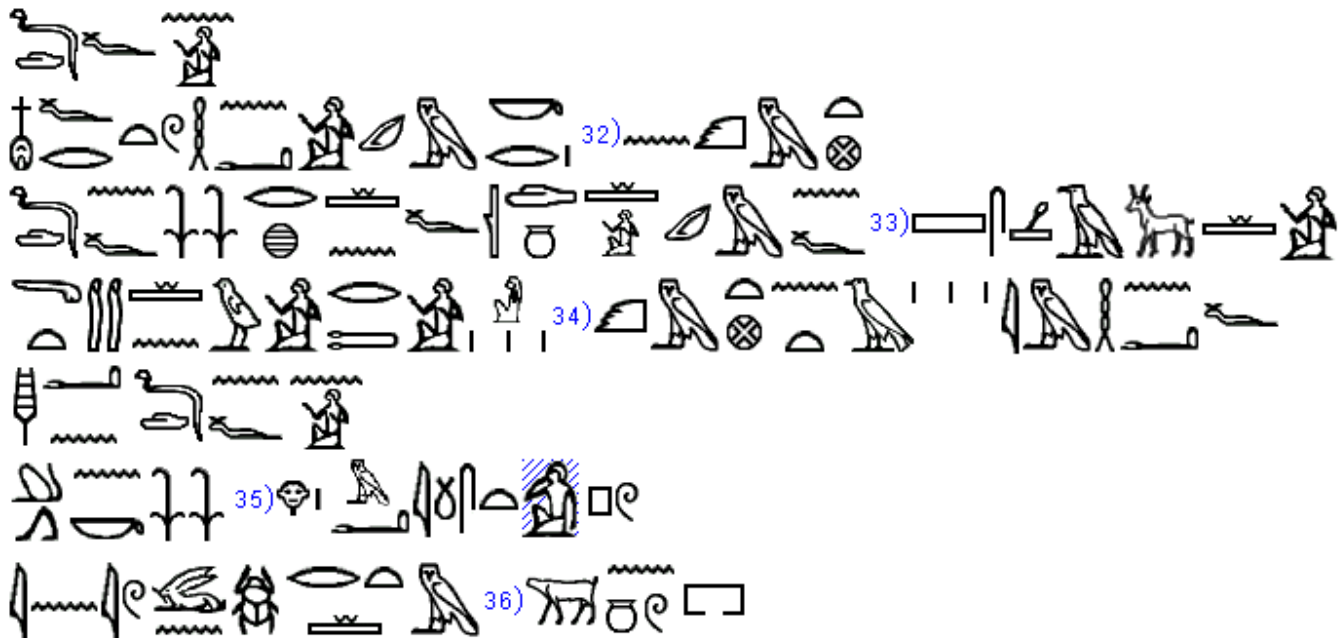
<i>rdi.n wi xAst n xAst</i>	Hill-land passed me to hill-land
<i>fx.n.i r kpny Hs.n.i r qdmi</i>	I wound up in Byblos, and travelled up to Qedem
<i>ir.n.i rnpt wa gs im in wi</i>	I had spent a year and a half there when Amunenshi fetched
<i>amw-nnSi</i>	me,
<i>HqA pw n rtnw Hrt</i>	He being a ruler of the hinterland of Syria

Hill-land: in the Egyptian landscape the flat Nile river valley and Delta lie beneath hilly desert terrain, and the outside world began with those hills. Hill-land thus refers both to the desert heights on either side of the Nile, and by extension to all foreign lands beyond.

Byblos: eastern Mediterranean harbour city in what is now Lebanon.

Qedem: town in the Levant, apparently here expressing the farthest reach of Egyptian knowledge of Syria.

13 (Berlin 3022, 31-36)



Dd.fn.i

nfr tw Hna.i sDm.k r n kmt

Dd.n.f nn rx.n.f qd.i sDm.n.f SsA.i

mtr.n wi rmT kmt ntyw im Hna.f

aHa.n

Dd.n.f n.i

pH.n.k nn Hr-sy iSst

in iw wn xprrt m Xnw

He said to me

You would be well with me, you can hear Egyptian

He said this because he knew my character, and had heard of my talent

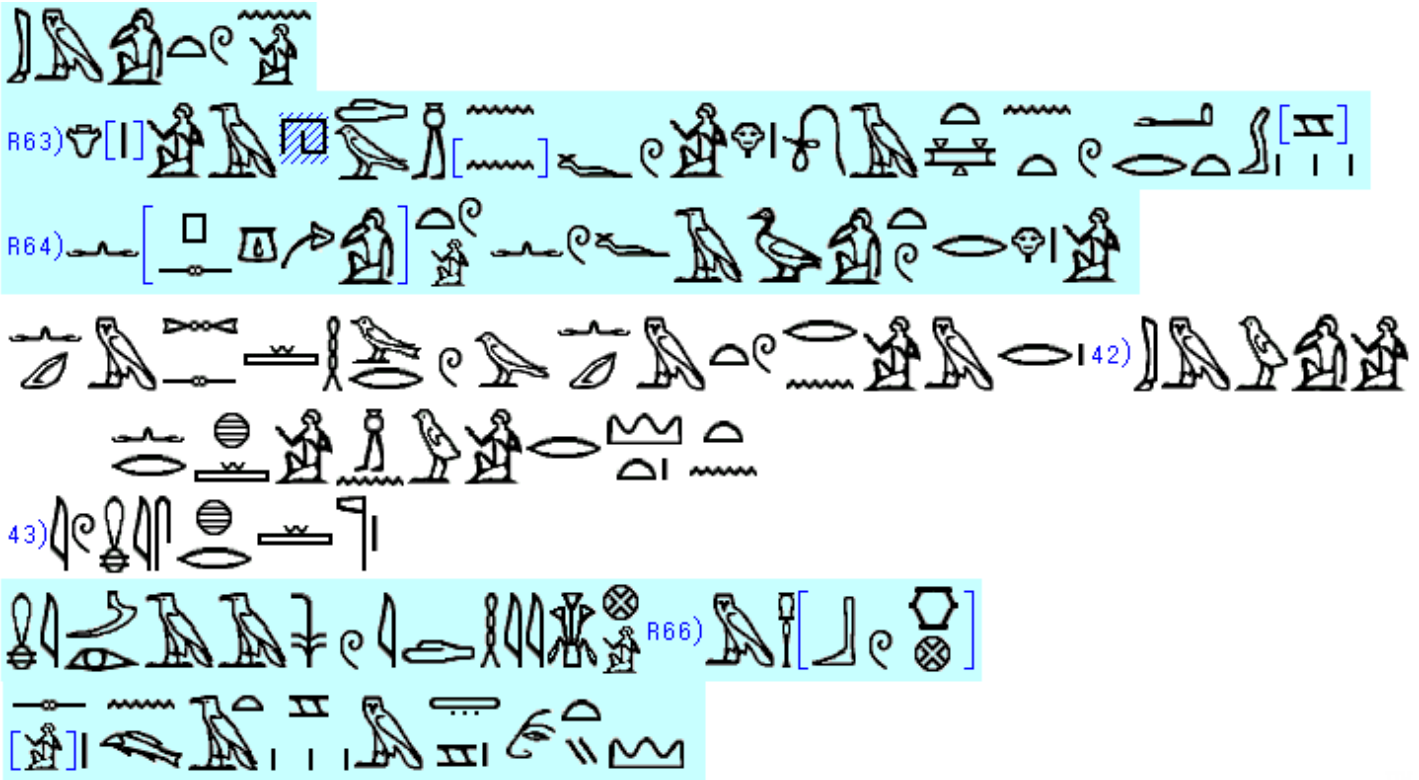
The Egyptians who were there with him had given witness for me

Then he said to me

How is it that you have reached these parts,
Has something happened in the Residence?

14 (Berlin 3022, 36-43)





aHa.n Dd.n.i n.f

nswt bity sHtp-ib-ra wDA r Axt

n rx.n.tw xprr Hr.s

Dd n.i swt m iw-ms

ii.n.i m mSa n tA-timHi

wHm.tw n.i

ib.i Ahd in.n.f wi Hr wAt nt wart

n psg.tw.i n wfA.tw r Hr.i

*(n sDm Ts-Hwr n sDm.tw rn.i m r
wHmw n rx.i in wi r xAst tn)*

iw mi sxr nTr

mi mA sw idHy m Abu

s n Xat m tA sty

Then I said to him,

The dual king Sehetepibra has gone to the horizon,

How it happened is not known.

But I was told indirectly.

I was coming with the Timehi-land army

When it was reported to me

My heart failed, and brought me on the road of flight

Though I had not been implicated and no accusation had been made
against me

(though so slander had been heard, and my name had not been
mentioned by the reporter - I do not know what brought me to this
hill-land)

It is as if a slight of the god,

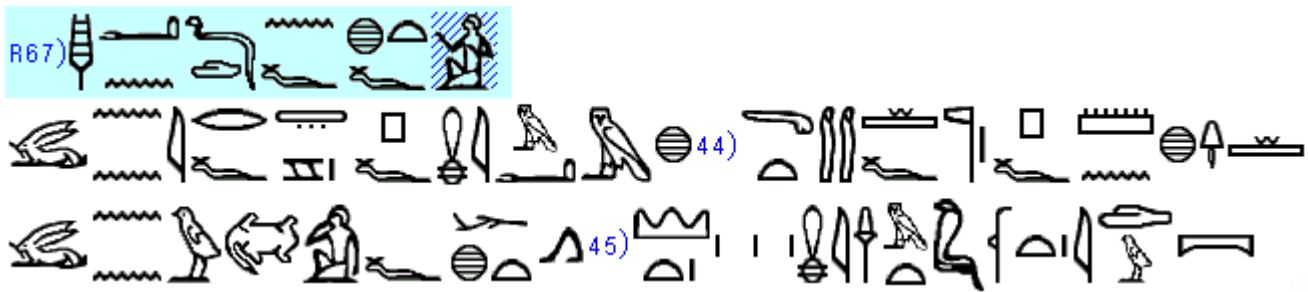
As a Delta-man seeing himself in Abu

Or a marsh-man in the Land of the bow

Delta-man seeing himself in Abu: Abu is the town on Elephantine island, facing modern Aswan, on the southern border of Egypt with Nubia, at the opposite end of the land to the Delta in the north.

Or a marsh-man in the Land of the bow: the Land of the bow refers both to Nubia and to the first province of Upper Egypt, centred on Abu. This phrase reinforces the preceding.

15 (Berlin 3022, 43-45)



aHa.n Dd.n.f n.i

*wnn irf tA pf mi-m m xmt.f nTr pf
mnx*

*wnnw snd.f xt xAswt mi sxmt rnpt
idw*

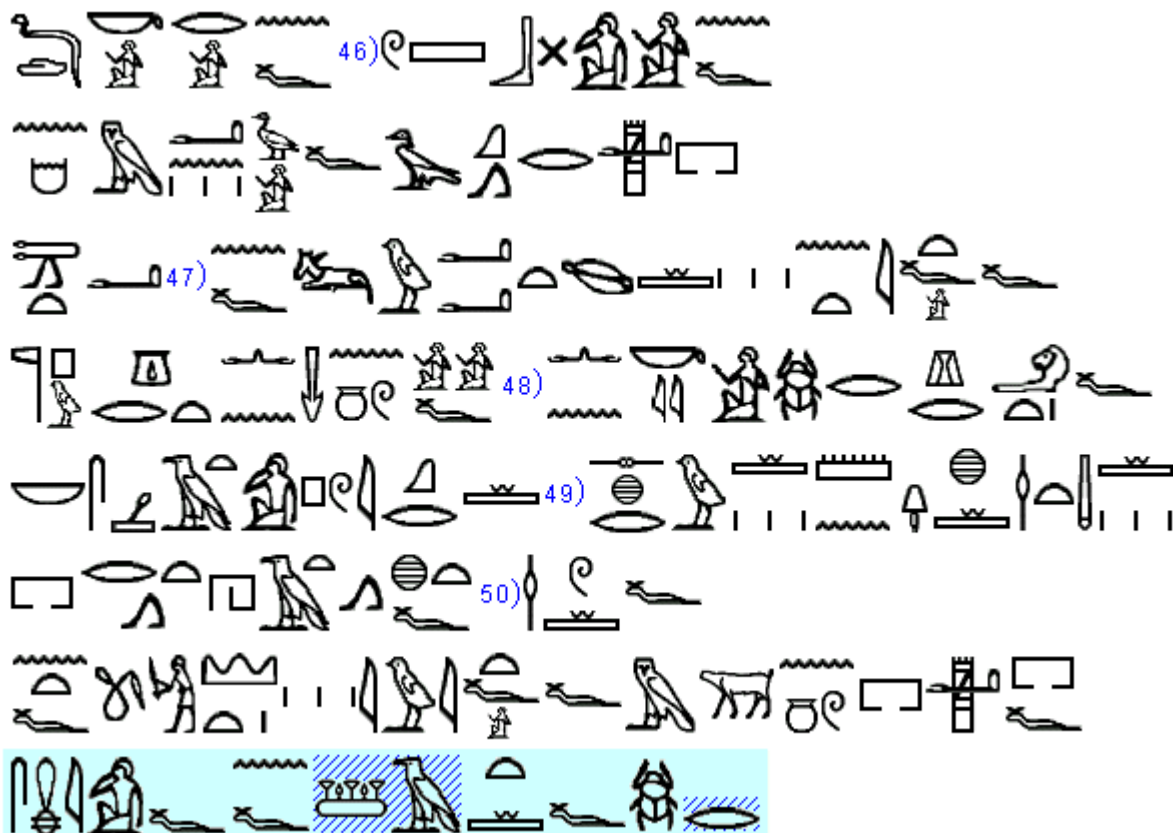
Then he said to me

How will that land be now, without that effective god

Whose fear permeated the hill-lands like Sekhmet in a year of
plague

Sekhmet in a year of plague: Sekhmet is the destructive goddess, who attacks enemies of Ra the sun-god. She is seen at work in the devastation caused by plague.

16 (Berlin 3022, 45-51)



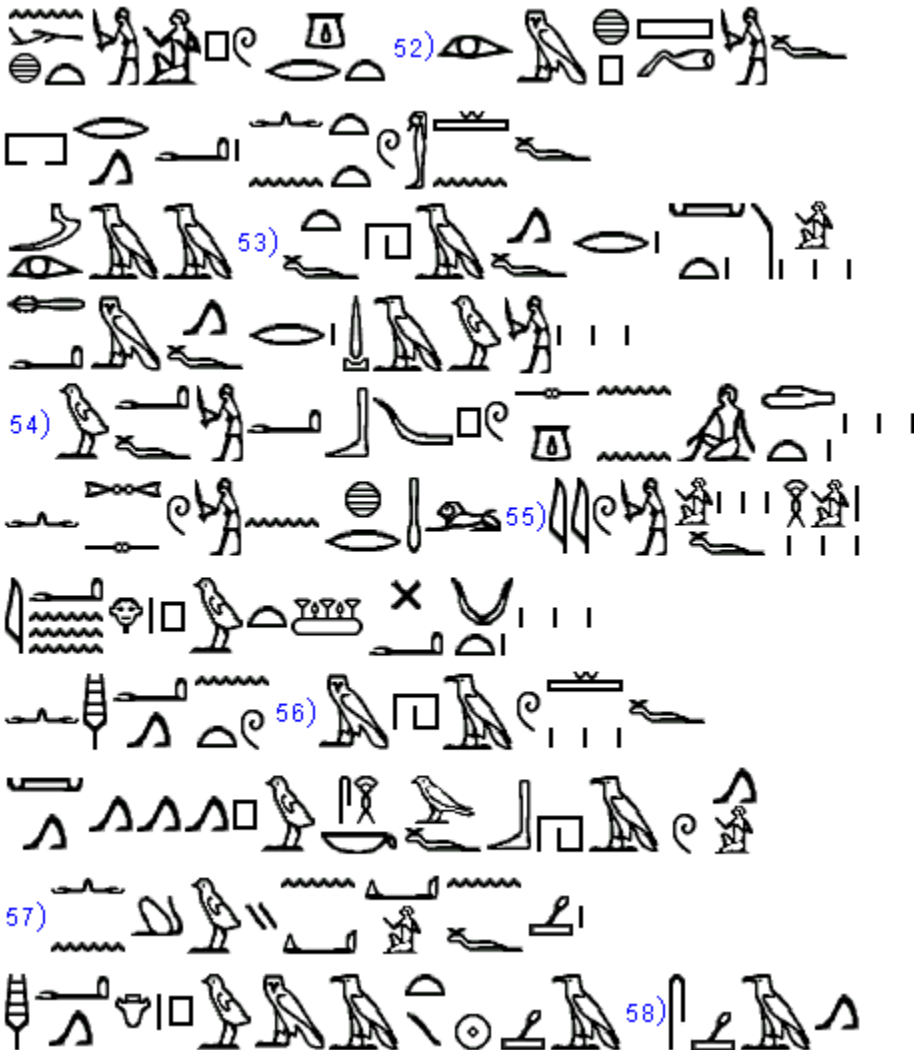
Dd.kA.i r.i n.f wSb.i n.f
nHmn sA.f aq r aH
iT.n.f iwat nt it.f
nTr pw nn snw.f nn ky xpr r Xr-HAt.f
nb sAt pw iqr sxrw mnx wDwt

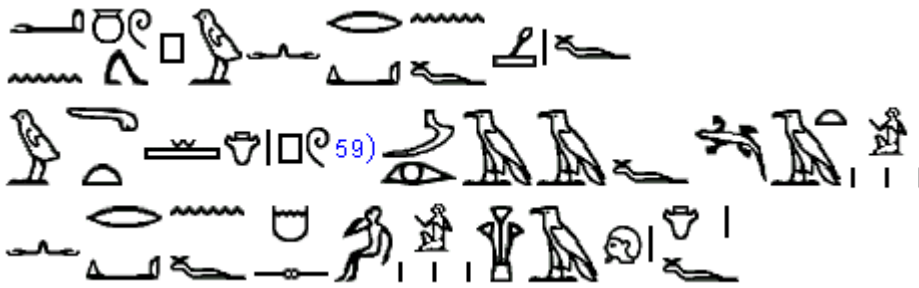
prt hAt xft wD.f
ntf dAir xAswt iw it.f m Xnw aH.f

smi.f n.f sAt.f xpr

Then I addressed myself to him in reply to him
 Why, his son is entering the palace
 And has taken up the inheritance of his father
 He is a god without equal, with no other existing before him
 He is a master of far-sightedness, excellent in planning, effective in
 decrees
 Coming and going follow his decrees
 He is the one suppressing the hill-lands while his father was within
 his palace
 And reporting to him that whatever he ordained has come to pass

17 (Berlin 3022, 51-59)

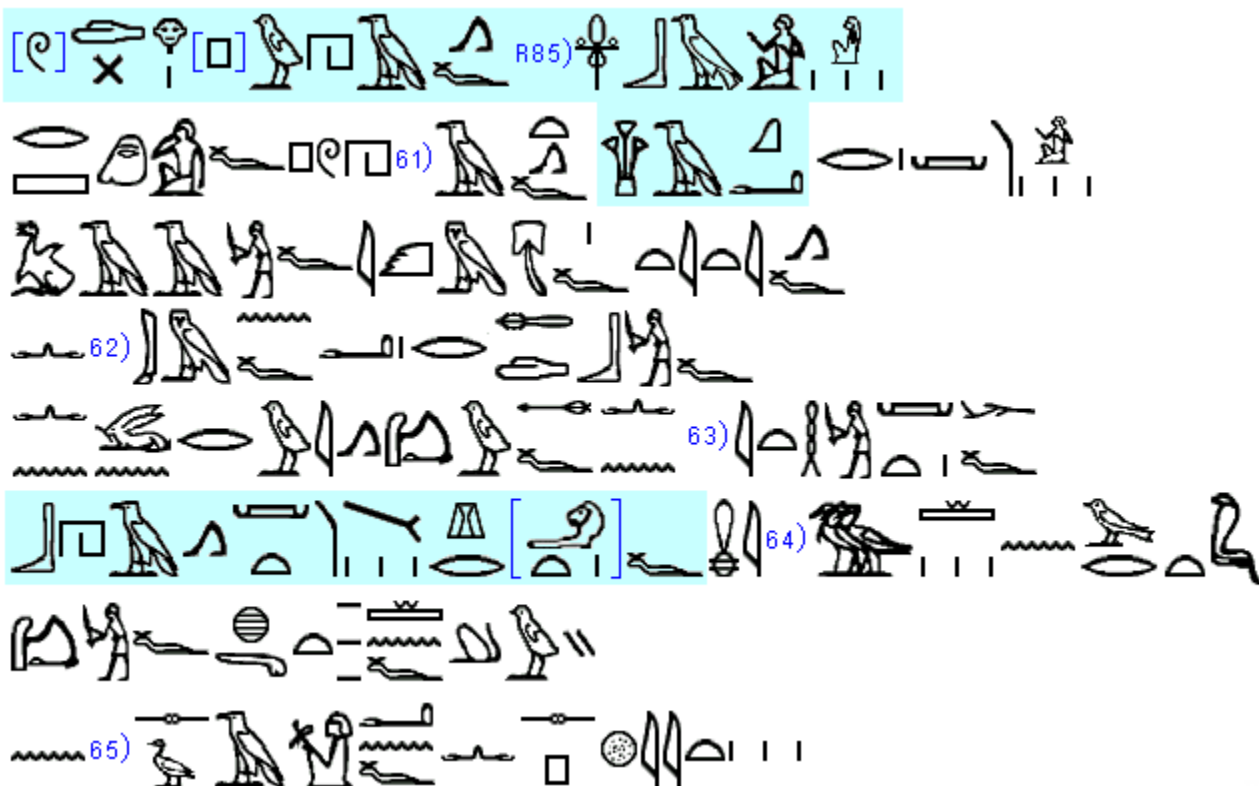




*nxt pw grt ir m xpS.f
 pr-a nn twt.n.f
 mAA.tw.f hA.f r-pDt
 Xam.fr-Daw
 waf ab pw sgnn drwt
 n Ts.n xrwy.f skw
 ia-Hr pw tSb wpwt
 n aHa.n.tw m hAw.f
 pd nmtwt pw sti.f bhAw
 nn pHwy n dd-n.f-sA
 aHa-ib pw m At sAsA
 anw pw n rdin.f sA.f
 wmt-ib pw mAA.f aSAt
 n rdi.n.f Hms HA ib.f*

He is truly a strong man made by his strong arm,
 A man of action - no one comes close to him
 He is to be seen as he descends for archery,
 Joining the fray,
 He is one who takes the horn, wearing down all hands
 so his enemies cannot gather their forces
 He is one cleansed in sight, cleaving foreheads,
 So no one can stand in his way
 He is one who strides ahead to shoot down those in flight
 Giving no quarter to the man who turns tail
 He is the stout-hearted in the moment of the charge
 He is the turner who never turns tail
 He is the broad-hearted one when he sees the multitude,
 Who never places rest behind his heart

18 (Berlin 3022, 60-65)



wd-Hr pw hA.f iAbtyw

rS.f pw Haq r-pDt

TAA.f ikm.f titi.f

n wHm.n.f a r Xdb

(nn wn rwi aHAW.f nn itH pDt.f)

bhA pDt Xr-HAt.f mi bAw n wrt

He is the forward mover when he descends to the Easterners,

His delight is the plunder of archery,

He takes his shield, tramples underfoot,

He never raises his arm twice for the kill

(his arrow never strays, his bow never strains)

The nomads are routed before him as at the might of the Great Goddess

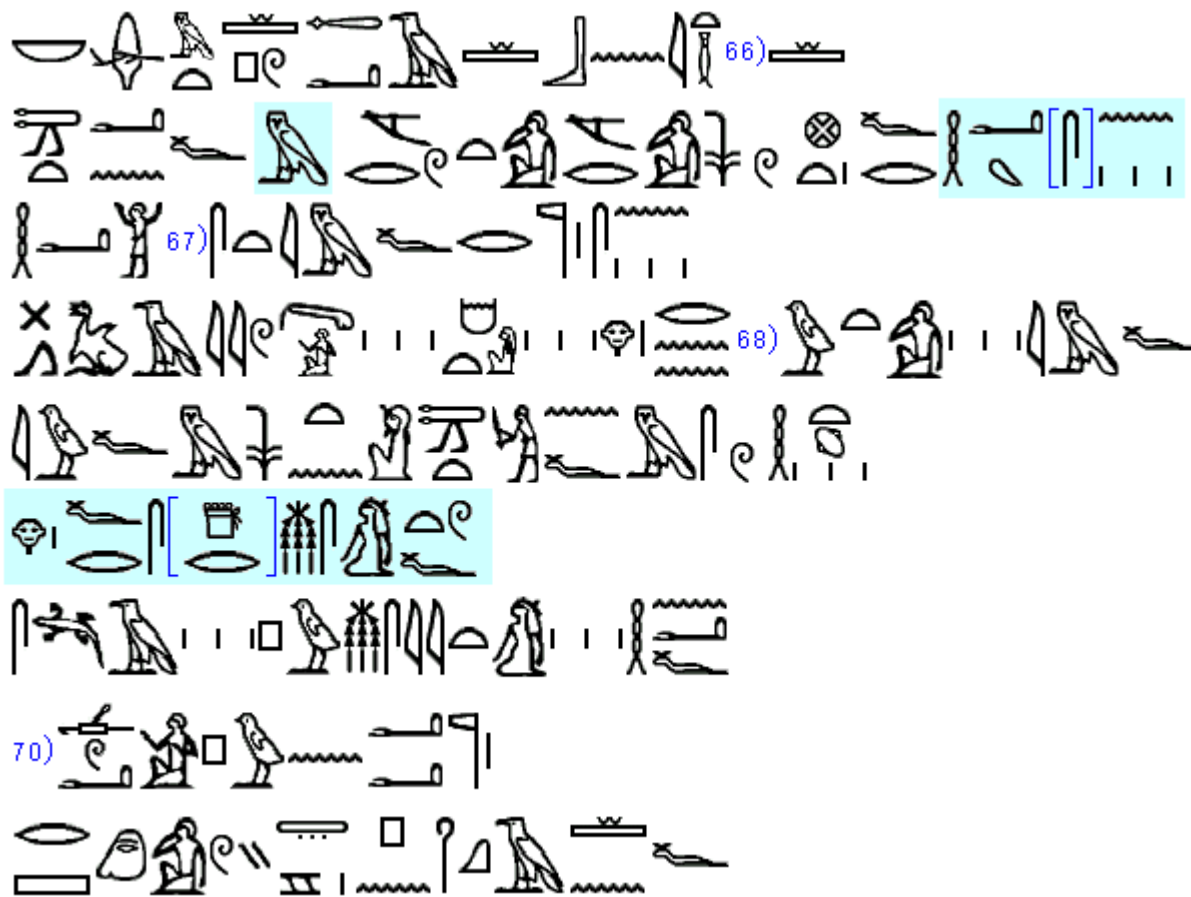
aHA.f xmt.f pHwy

n sA.n.f nn spt

He fights and plans the outcome,

He never guards, without event

19 (Berlin 3022, 65-70)



nb iAmt pw aA bnit

iT.n.fm mrwt mr sw niwt.fr Haw.sn

HA st im.fr nTr.sn

swA Tayw Hmwt Hr rnnwt im.f

iw.fm nswt iT.n.fm swHt

Hr.fr.s Dr ms.tw.f

saSA pw msyt Hna.f

wa pw n dd nTr

rS-wy tA pn HqA.n.f

He is a lord of mercy, full of kindness,

He has conquered by love, his citizens love him more than themselves

They rejoice over him more than over their god

Women surpass men in extolling him

As he is king, and he had conquered still in the egg,

His face was set to it from the moment he was born

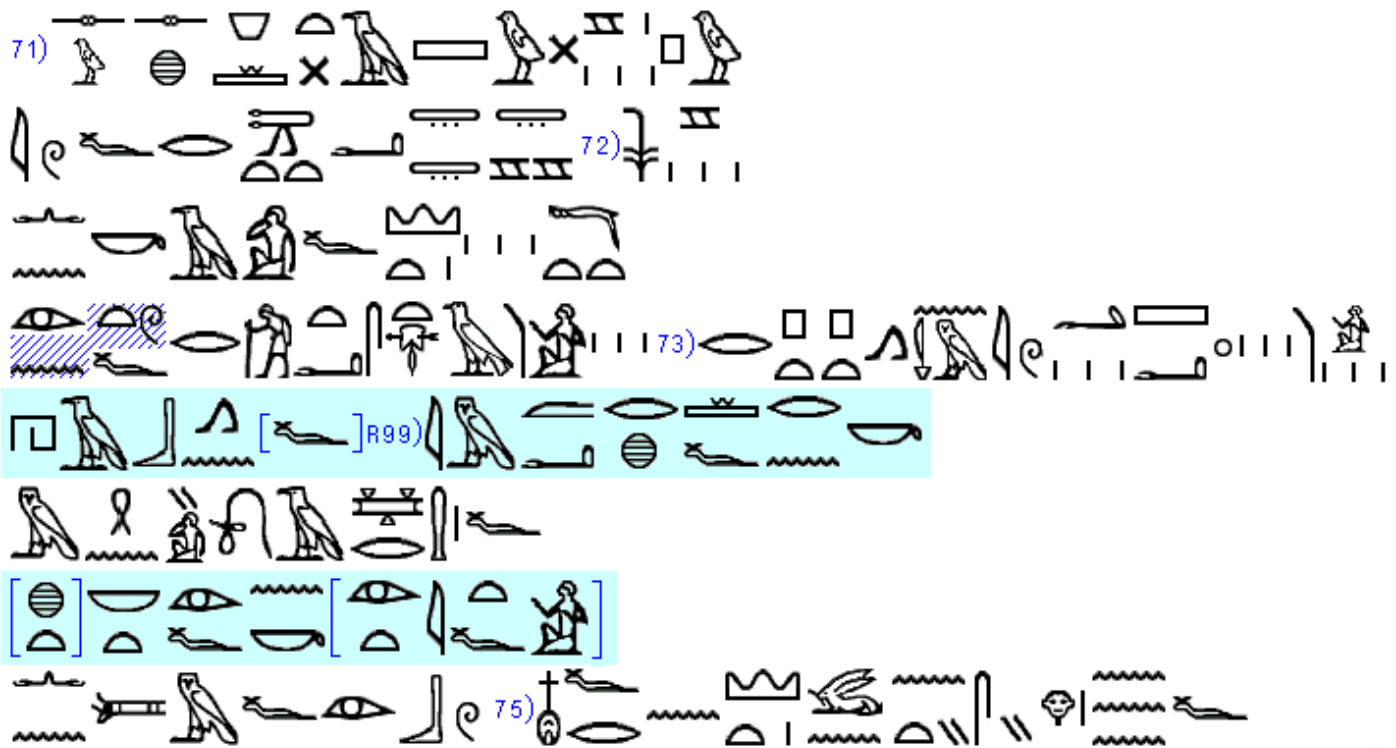
With him comes the increase in births

He is the sole one of the gift of god,

How joyful is this land that he has come to rule -

Still in the egg: that is, while still in the womb of his mother.

20 (Berlin 3022, 71-75)



swsx tASw pw

iw.fr iTt tAw rsw

nn kA.f xAswt mHtt

ir.n.tw.fr Hw styw r ptpt nmiw-Sa

hAb n.f imi rx.f rn.k

m Sn wA r Hm.f

[xt] nbt ir.f n.k [irt it.

f] nn tm.f ir bw nfr n xAst wnnty.sy

Hr mw.f

He is one who extends the borders

He will seize the southern lands,

Before considering the northern lands

He has been made to smite the Syrians and trample the nomads

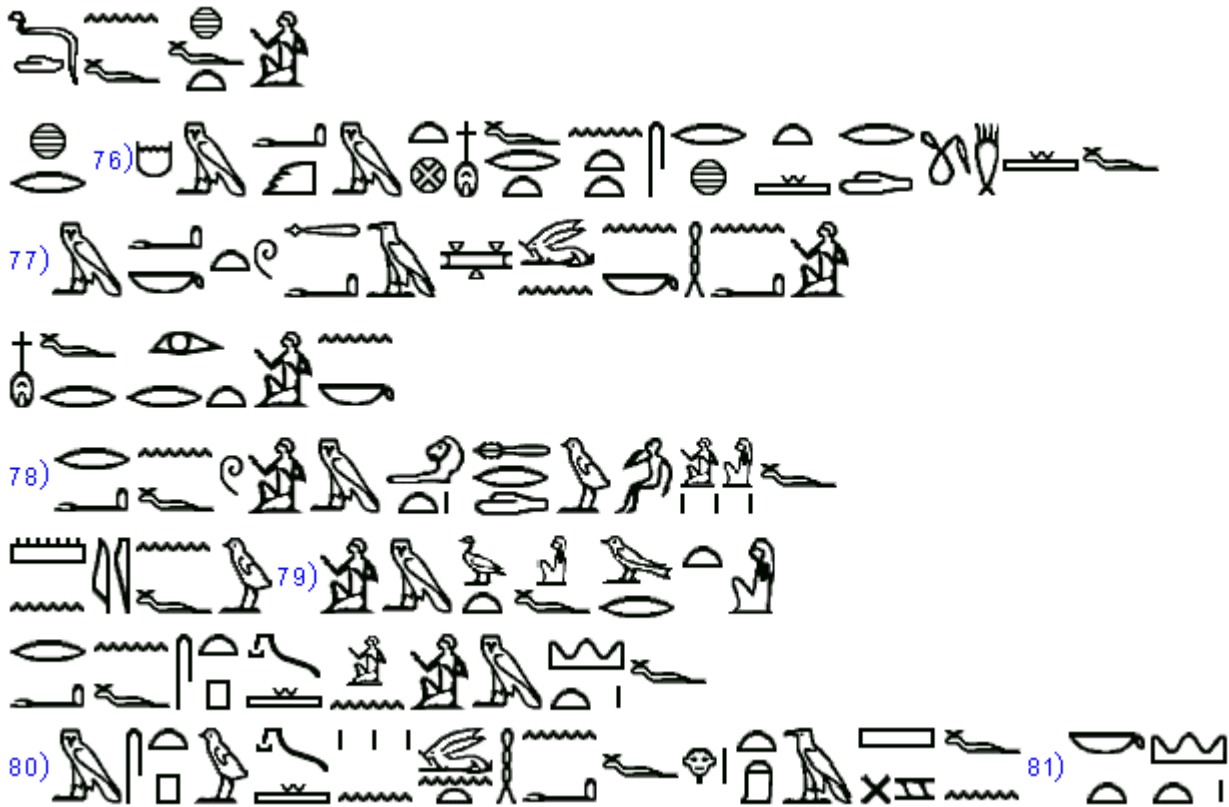
Send to him and let him know your name

Do not plot anything against His Majesty

He will do everything for you that his father did

He will not fail to do good for the hill-land that will be loyal to him

21 (Berlin 3022, 75-81)

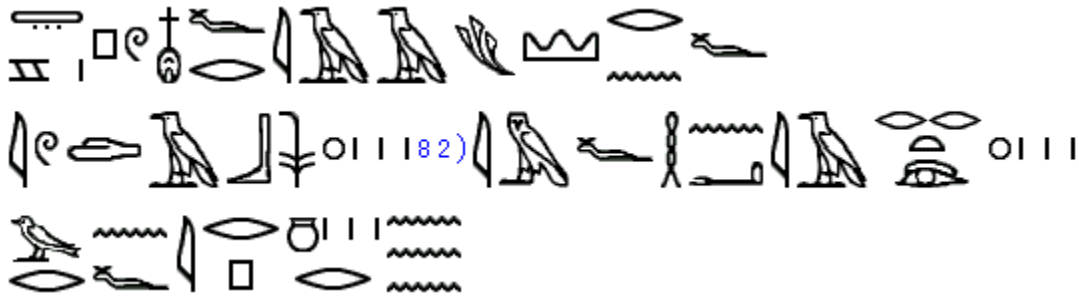


Dd.n.f xft.i
xr Hm kmt nfrt nts rxt rwd.f

mk tw aA wnn.k Hna.i
nfr irt.i n.k
rdi.n.f wi m HAt Xrdw.f
mni.n.f wi m sAt.f wrt
rdi.n.f stp.i n.i
m xAst.f m stpw n wnt Hna.f Hr tAS n kt xAst

He spoke before me:
 Then fair Egypt, she is indeed the land that knows his
 firmness
 You are here, though, and will be with me.
 What I do for you will be good
 He placed me at the head of his children
 He settled me with his eldest daughter
 And let me choose for myself from his hill-land,
 From the choicest of his surrounds on the border of the
 next hill-land

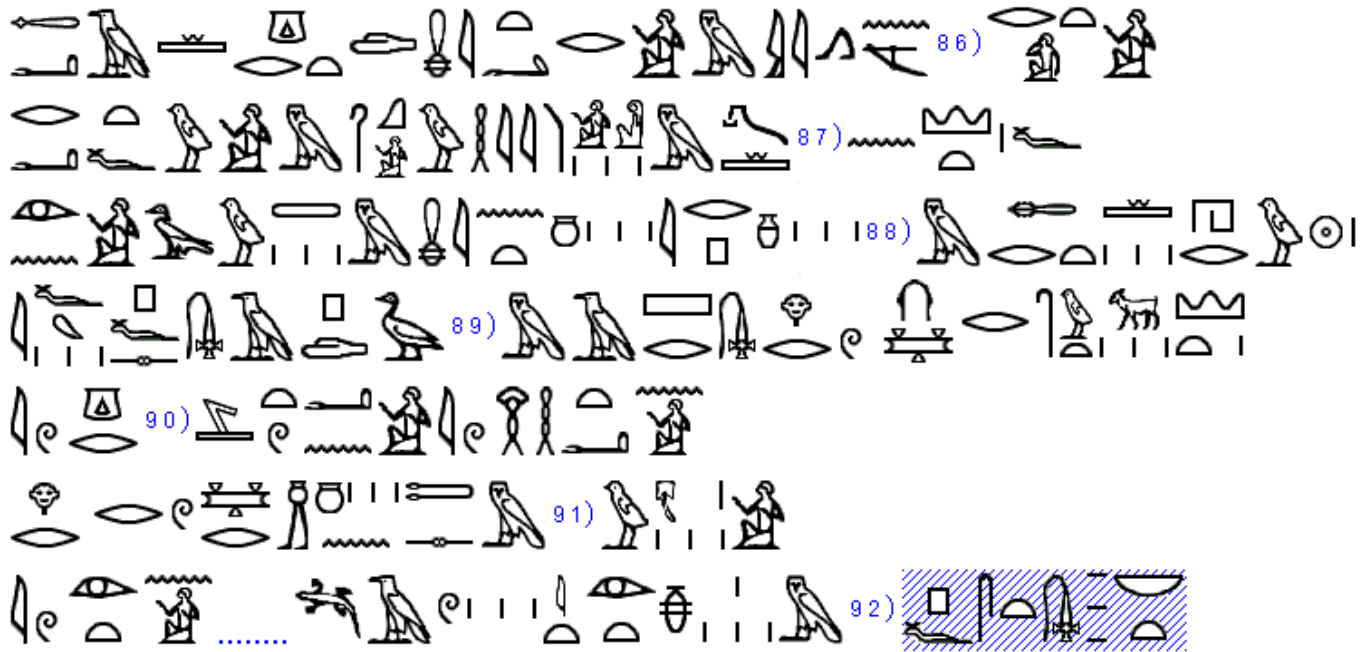
22 (Berlin 3022, 81-85)



tA pw nfr iAA rn.f
iw dAbw im Hna iArrt
wr n.firp r mw
aA bit.f aSA bAq.f
dqr nb Hr xtw.f
iw it im Hna bdt
nn Drw mnmnt nbt

It was a fair land, called Iaa
 There were figs there and grapes.
 It had wine more abundant than water
 Its honey was plentiful, its plant-oil innumerable
 On its trees were all kinds of fruit
 There was barley there and wheat,
 And unlimited cattle of every kind

23 (Berlin 3022, 85-92)



aA grt dmit r.i m ii n mrt.i

rdi.n.f wi m HqA wHy m stp n xAst.f

ir.n.i aqw m mint irp m Xrt-hrw

iwf psw Apd m Asr Hrw r awt

iw grg.tw n.i iw wAH.tw n.i

Hr r inw n Tsmw.

i iw ir.tw n.i ... aSAw irtt m pst nbt

Much also accrued to me as coming for love of me

He made me ruler of a clan from the most select of his hill-land

I acquired food, jars and wine in the course of a day

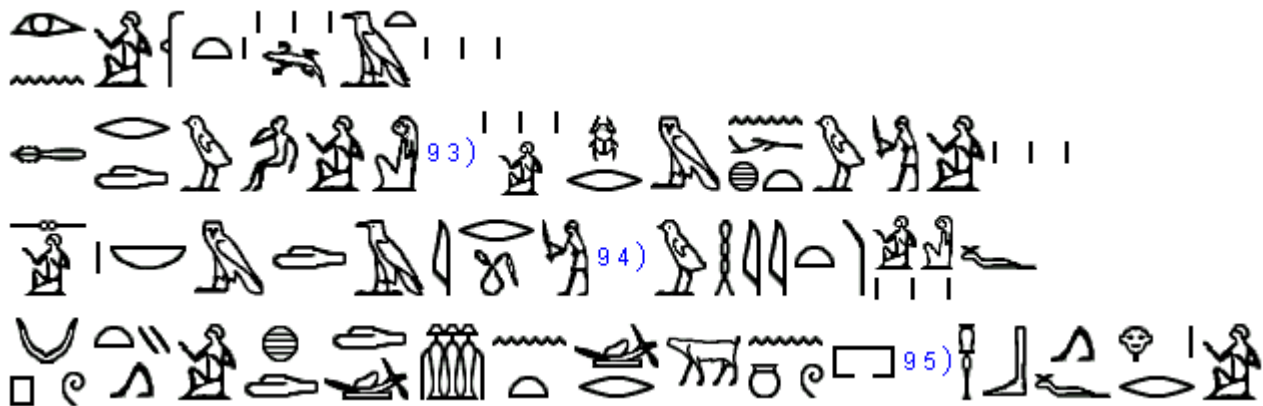
Meat was cooked, ducks roasted, as well as the livestock

They laid snares for me, and laid down the catch for me,

As well as the goods of my hounds

They made for me numerous [foods?] and milk in every kind of dish

24 (Berlin 3022, 92-99)





ir.n.i rnpwt aSA

Xrdw.i xpr m nxtw

s nb m dAir wHyt.f

wpwty xd xnt r Xnw Ab.f Hr.i

iw sAb.i rmT nbt iw.i di mw n ib

rDi.n.i tnm Hr wAt nHm.n.i awA

styw wA r Stm r xsf a HqAw xAswt

DAis.n.i Smwt.sn

I spent many years,

And my children had grown to adults.

Each man of them in control of his own clan,

And any envoy on his way to or from the Residence, he stopped by me

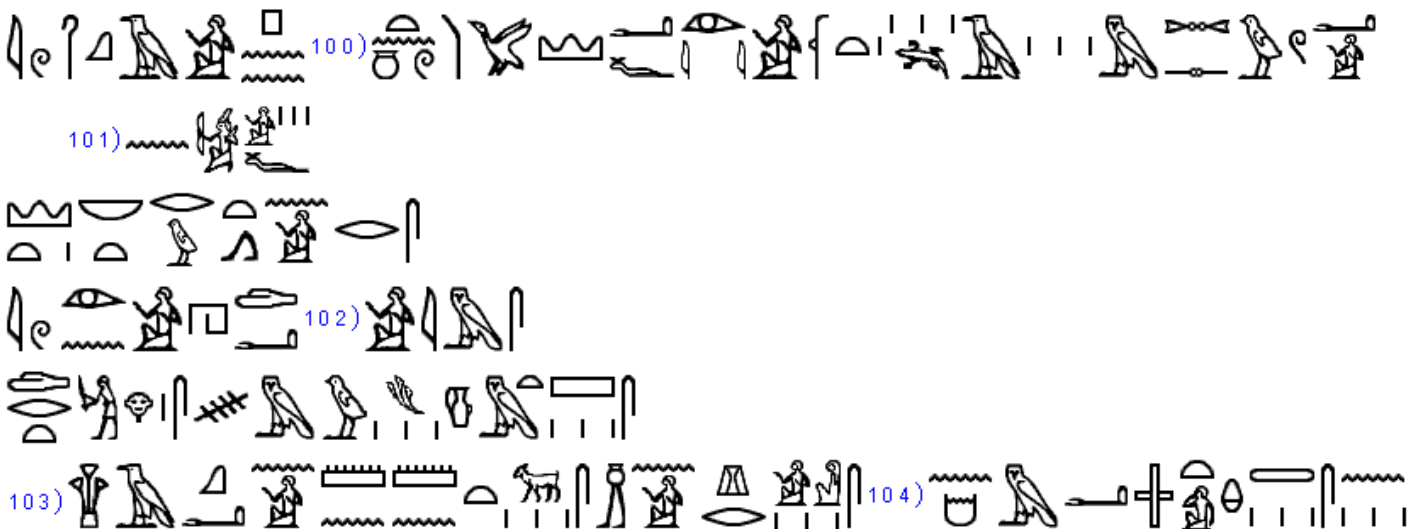
I sheltered everyone, I gave water to the thirsty,

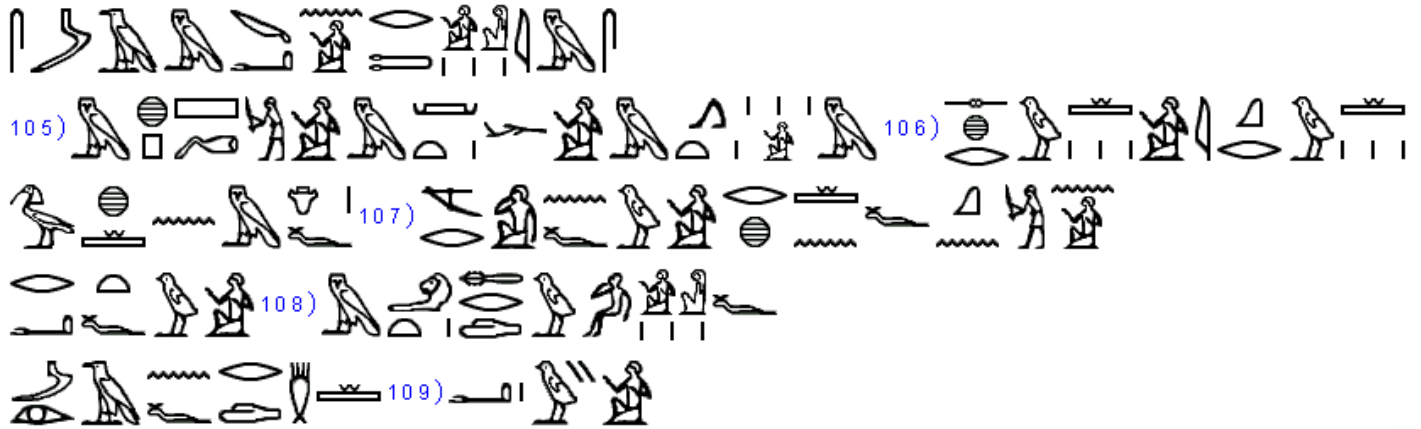
I placed the man who went astray back on the road, I rescued the afflicted,

Any Syrians who fell to fomenting strife and disturbing the rulers of hill-lands,

I challenged their movements

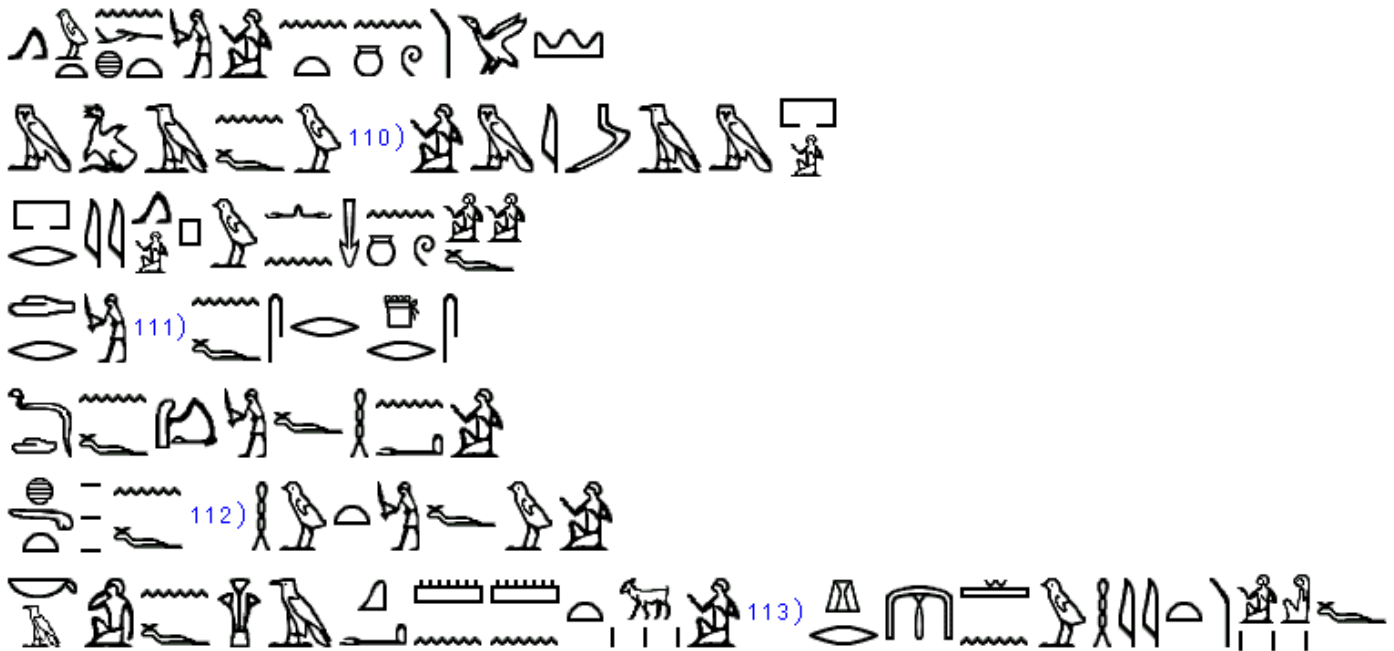
25 (Berlin 3022, 99-109)





<p><i>iw HqA pn n rtnw di.firy.i rnpwt aSA t m Tsw n mSa.f</i></p>	<p>This ruler of Syria made me spend many years as commander of his army</p>
<p><i>xAst nbt rwt.n.i r.s</i></p>	<p>Every hill-land I moved against,</p>
<p><i>iw ir.n.i hd.i im.s</i></p>	<p>I ensured I prevailed over it,</p>
<p><i>drt Hr smw Xnmwt.s</i></p>	<p>Removing down to the plants at its wells,</p>
<p><i>Haq.n.i mnmnt.s in.i Xr.s nHm wnmt.s</i></p>	<p>I captured its cattle, brought away its servants, removed their food</p>
<p><i>smA.n.i rmT im.s</i></p>	<p>And slew its inhabitants,</p>
<p><i>m xpS.i m pDt.i m nmtwt.i m srxw.i iqrw</i></p>	<p>by my right arm, by my bow, by my movements, by my excellent plans</p>
<p><i>Ax.n.i m ib.fmr.n.f wi rx.n.f qnn.i</i></p>	<p>I became invaluable to him, and he loved me, for he know how valiant I was</p>
<p><i>rdi.n.f wi m HAt Xrdw.f</i></p>	<p>He placed me at the head of his children,</p>
<p><i>mA.n.f rwd awy.i</i></p>	<p>For he saw the firmness of my arms</p>

26 (Berlin 3022, 109-113)



iwt nxt n rtnw

mTA.n.f wi m afA.i

pry pw nn snw.f

dr.n.f s r Dr.s

Dd.n.f aHA.f Hna.i

xmt.n.f Hwt.f wi

kA.n.f Haq mnmnt.i Xr sH n wHyt.f

There came a hero of Syria

who challenged me in my tent

He was an unrivalled champion,

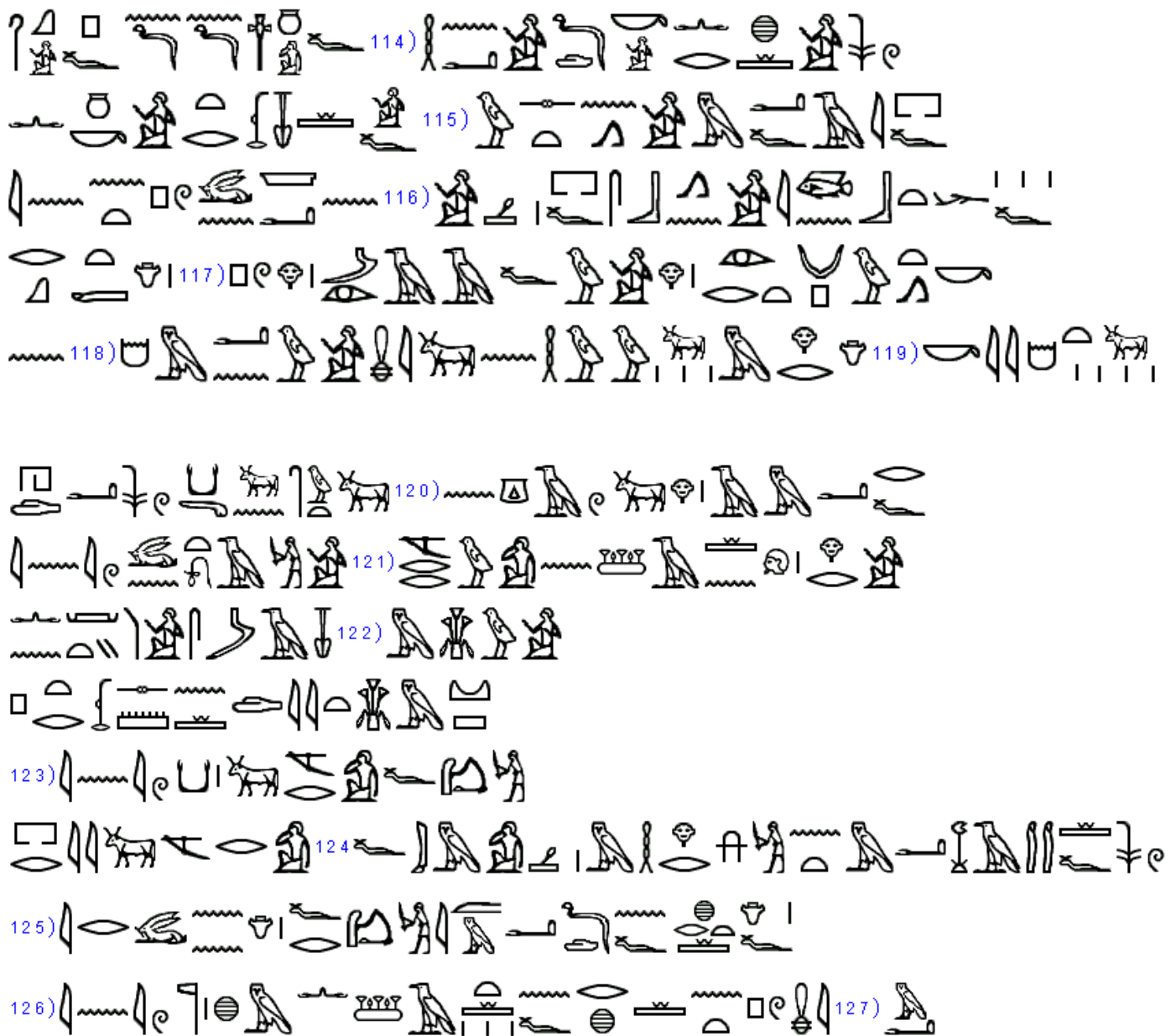
Who had prevailed over the entire region

He said he would fight me,

He intended to smite me,

He planned to carry off my cattle before the council of his clan

27 (Berlin 3022, 113-127)



<p><i>HqA pf nDnD.f Hna.i Dd.kA.i n rx.i sw</i></p> <p><i>n ink tr smA.f wstn.i m afAi.f</i></p> <p><i>in nt pw wn n.i sA.f snb.n.i inbwt.f</i></p> <p><i>rqt-ib pw Hr mAA.f wi Hr irt wpwt.k</i></p> <p><i>nHmn wi mi kA n Hww m-Hr-ib ky idr</i></p> <p><i>hd sw kA n awt ngA Hr Am rf</i></p> <p><i>in iw wn twA mrrw n SA n tp-Hr</i></p>	<p>That ruler was consulting with me, so I said I did not know the man,</p> <p>That it was not I who went to him and strode into his tent,</p> <p>Or was it I who opened his gate, and moved past his walls?</p> <p>He must have been tempted to it when he saw me carrying out your missions</p> <p>Well, I am like a bull of the strikers amid another herd of cattle</p> <p>The bull of the herd smites him, the horned bull assails him</p> <p>Does a lowly man become loved when fate makes him a master?</p>
---	--

nn pDty smA m idHy

ptr smn idyt m Dw

in iw kA mr.f aHA

pry mr.f wHm sA m Hr nt mxA.f sw

ir wnn ib.f r aHA imi Dd n.f xrt-ib.f

in iw nTr xm Sat.n.f rx nt pw mi-m

There is no desert-nomad who befriends a marshman

Does a marsh-reed flourish on the mountain-side

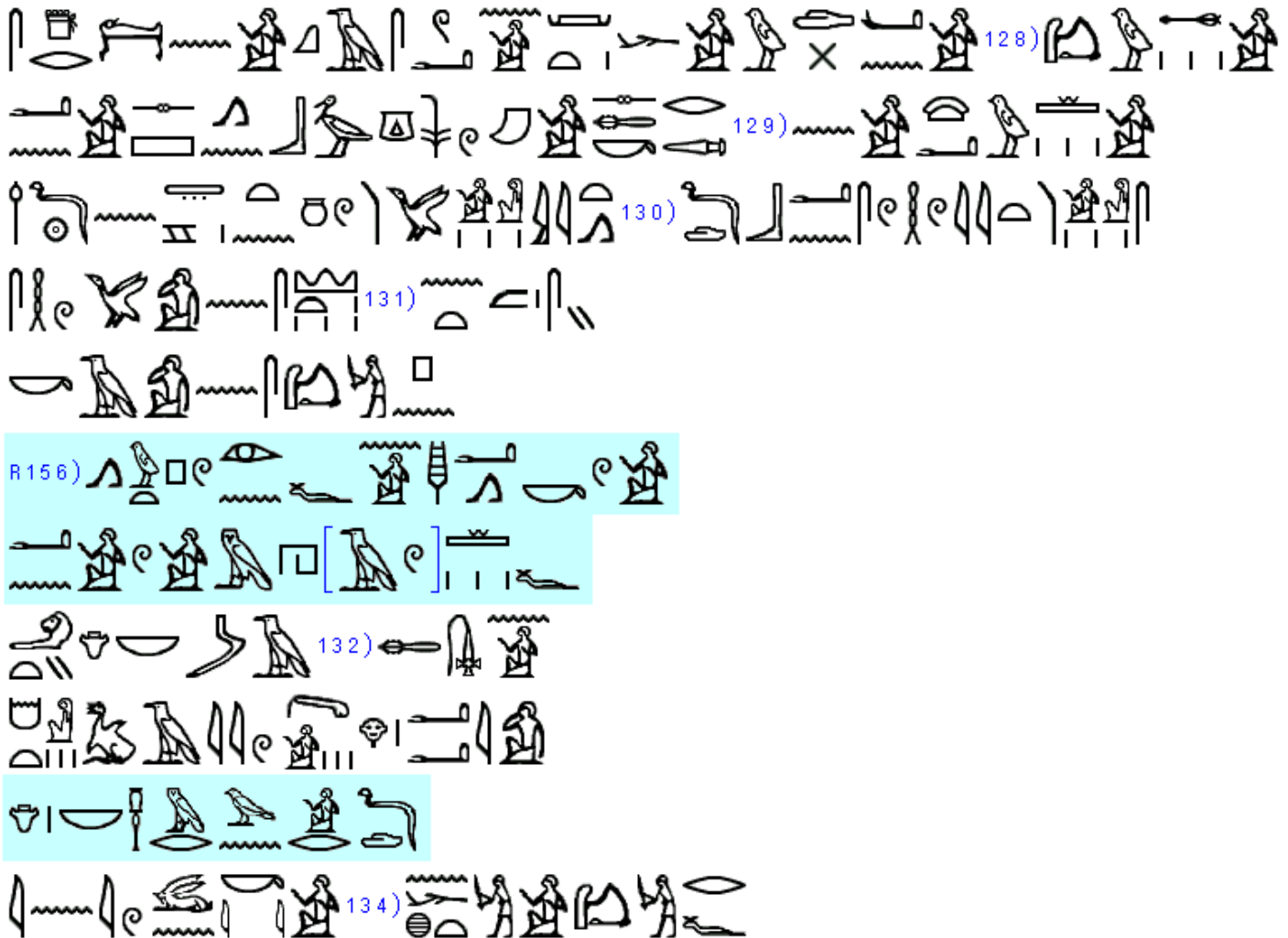
Does a bull love to fight,

Then should a herd-leader like to turn back in fear of being
matched?

If he wishes to fight, let him be told his wish

Does a god not know what he ordained? Or a man who knows
how it will be?

28 (Berlin 3022, 127-134)



sDr.n.i qAs.n.i pDt.i wd.n.i aHw.i

an.i sn n bAgs.w.i sXkr.n.i xaw.i

HD.n tA rtnw iyt Ddb.n.s wHyt.s

I went to rest, tied my bow, sharpened my arrows,

Whetted the blade of my dagger, arrayed my weapons

At dawn Syria came, it roused its people,

sHw.n.s xAswt nt gs-sy

kA.n.s aHA pn

iwt pw ir.n.f n.i aHa.kwi

di.n.i wi m hAw.f

HAty nb mAX n.i

Hmwt Tayw Hr aai

ib nb mr n.i r Dd

in iw wn ky nxt aHA r.f

It assembled the hill-lands on either side,

For it knew of this fight

He came toward me as I stood

And I placed myself next to him

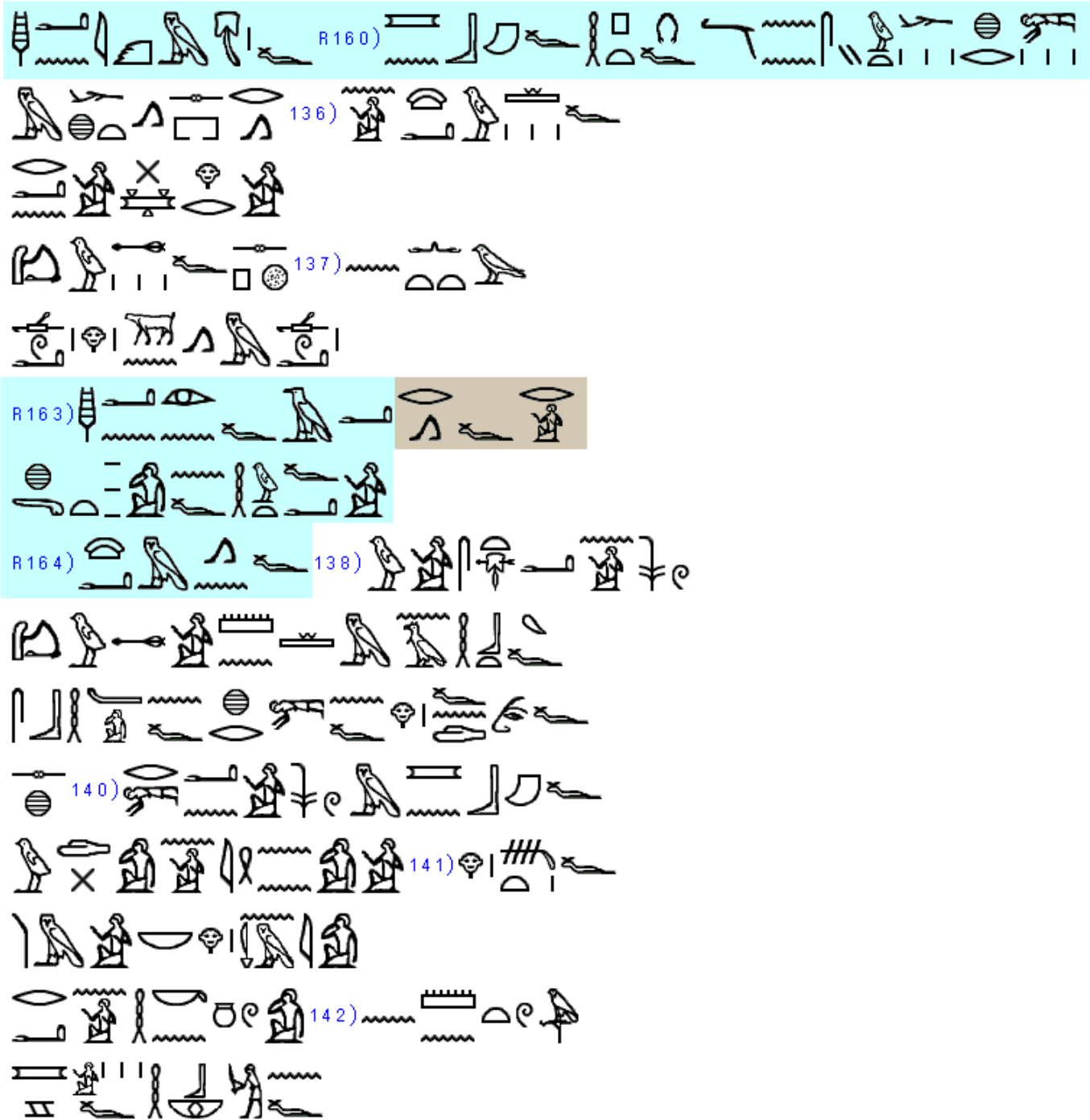
Every heart was burning for me

Women and men pounding

Every mind was willing me on,

'is there any hero that can fight against him?'

29 (Berlin 3022, 134-142)



*aHa.n ikm.f minb.f Hpt.f ns
n nyswt xr*

m-xt spr.n.i xaw.f

rdi.n.i swA Hr.i

aHAw.f sp n iwtt

waw Hr Xn m waw

And then his shield, his dagger, his armour, his holder of spears fell,

As I approached his weapons

I made my face dodge

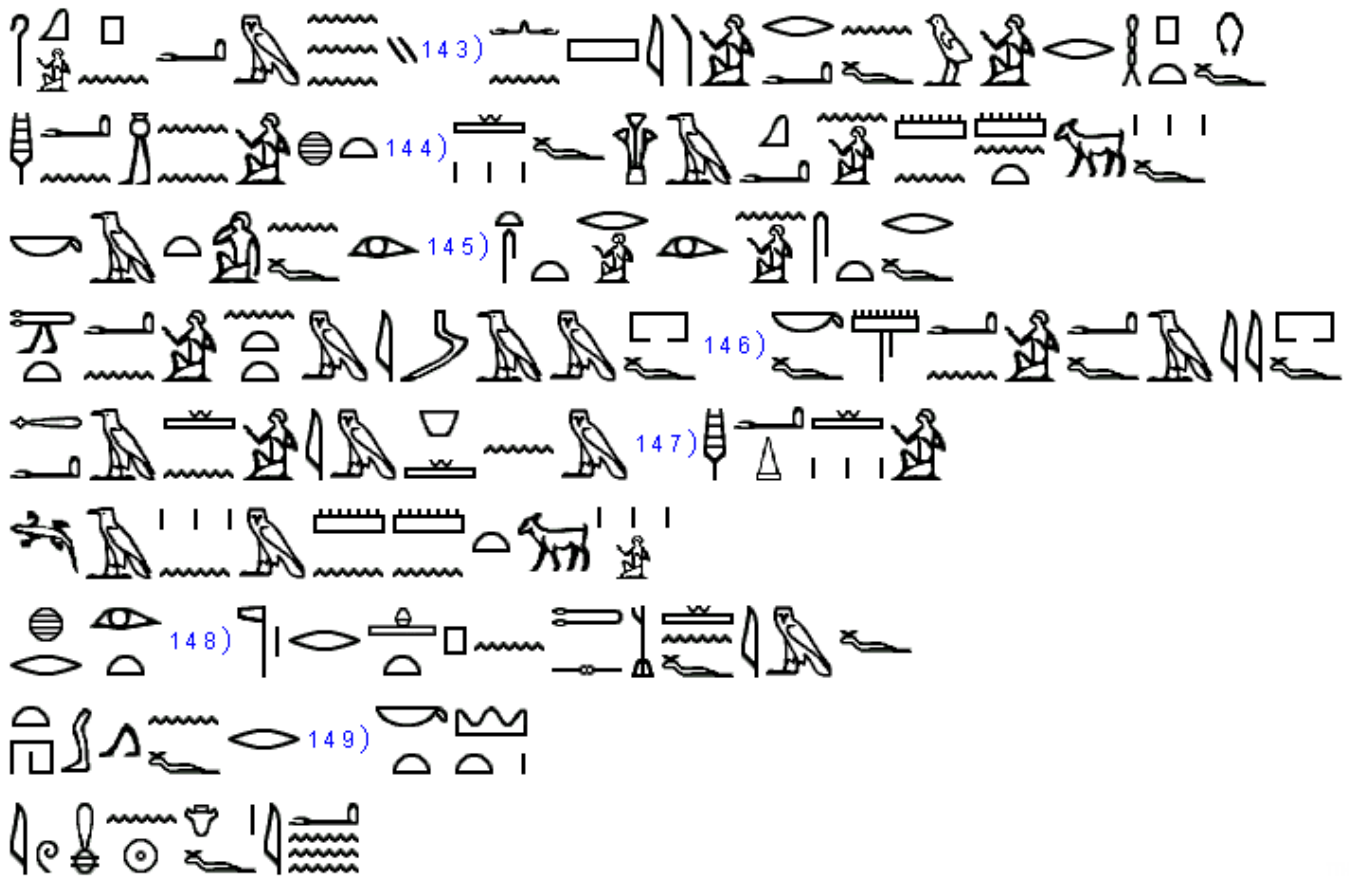
And his weapons were wasted as nothing

Each piled on the next

<i>aHa.n ir.n.f Aar.f r.i</i>	Then he made his charge against me
<i>xmt.n.f Hwt.f a.i</i>	He imagined he would strike my arm
<i>Xam.n.f wi sti.n.i sw</i>	As he moved over me, I shot him,
<i>aHAW.i mn m nHbt.f</i>	My arrow lodged in his neck,
<i>sbH.n.f xr.n.f Hr fnd.f</i>	He cried out, and fell on his nose,
<i>sxr.n.i sw m minb.f</i>	I felled him with his dagger
<i>wd.n.i iSnn Hr iAt.f</i>	I uttered my war-cry on his back,
<i>aAm nb Hr nmi</i>	Every Asiatic lowing
<i>rdi.n.i Hknw n mntw</i>	I gave praise to Mont
<i>mr.f Hb n.f</i>	As his servants mourned for him

Mont: a deity with temples in the province of Thebes in Upper Egypt, home of the first Middle Kingdom rulers. The Egyptians used the falcon to depict Mont in formal art: he is associated with kingly power over the neighbours of Egypt.

30 (Berlin 3022, 142-149)



<i>HqA pn amw-nnSi rdi.n.f wi r Hpt.f</i>	This ruler Amunenshi took me into his embrace,
<i>aHa.n in.n.i xt.f HAq.n.i mnmnt.f</i>	Then I brought away his goods, I carried off his cattle,
<i>kAt.n.f irt st r.i ir.n.i st r.f</i>	What he had planned to do to me, I did to him,

iT.n.i ntt m imA.fkfA.n.i afAy.f
aA n.i im wsx n.i m aHaw.i
aSA n.i m mnmnt.i
xr irt nTr r Htp n Ts.n.fim.f
th.n.fr kt xAst
iw min ib.fia

I seized what was in his camp, and uncovered his tent
 There I was in greatness, I was broad in my standing,
 I enjoyed wealth in cattle,
 Thus the god acted to make peace for the one he had cursed,
 The one he had led away to another hill-land
 Today his heart is appeased

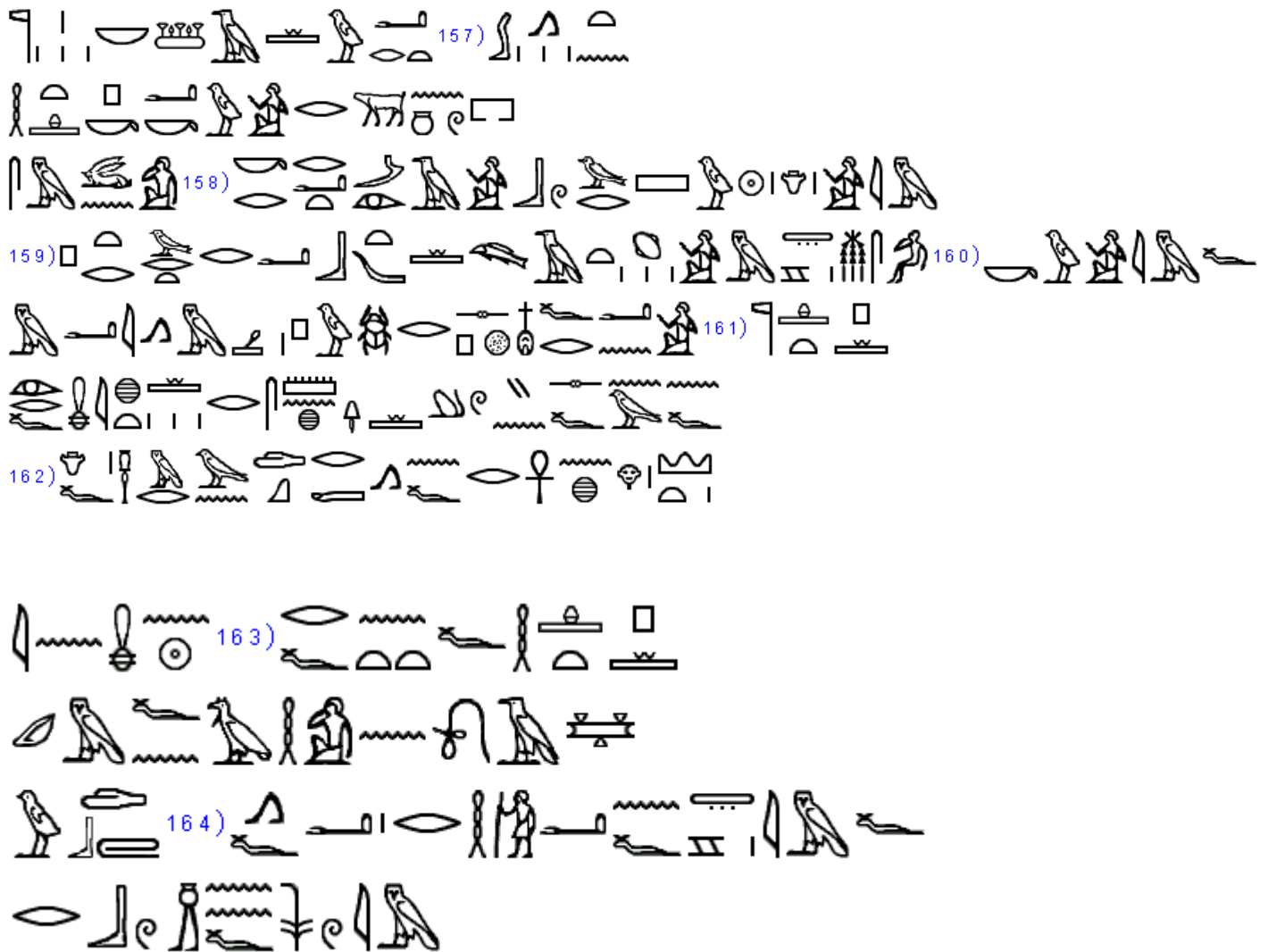
31 (Berlin 3022, 149-156)



war war n hAw.fiw mtr.i m Hnw
sAA sAAy n Hqr iw.i di.i t n gsy
rww s tA.f n Hayt ink HDt pAqt
btA s n gAw hAb.fink aSA mrt
nfr pr.i wsx st.i sxAwy.i m aH

The fugitive flees from his surrounds, but my right place is in the
 Residence,
 The deserter deserts from hunger, but I can give bread to my
 neighbour
 A man abandons his land from nakedness, but I, I own white linen,
 finest cloth,
 A man runs away for lack of one to send, but I, I own many servants
 My estate is fine, my place is broad, my renown is in the palace

32 (Berlin 3022, 156-164)



nTrw nb SA wart tn

Htp.k di.k wi r Xnw

smwn.k r rdit mA.i bw wrS ib.i im

ptr wrt r abt XAt.i m tA ms.kwi im.f

mi m sA.i pw xpr sp nfr di.n.i Htp nTr

ir.f mi xt r smnx pHwy n sfn.n.f

ib.f mr n dqr.n.fr anx Hr xAst

in min rf ntf Htp

Whichever god ordained this flight

Be at peace, give me back to the Residence

Have mercy on me and let me see the place where my heart resides

See how great it is to wrap my corpse in the land in which I was
born

Come in my defence, then, a good event has occurred, I have
appealed the god

May he act so as to bring right the end for one he afflicted

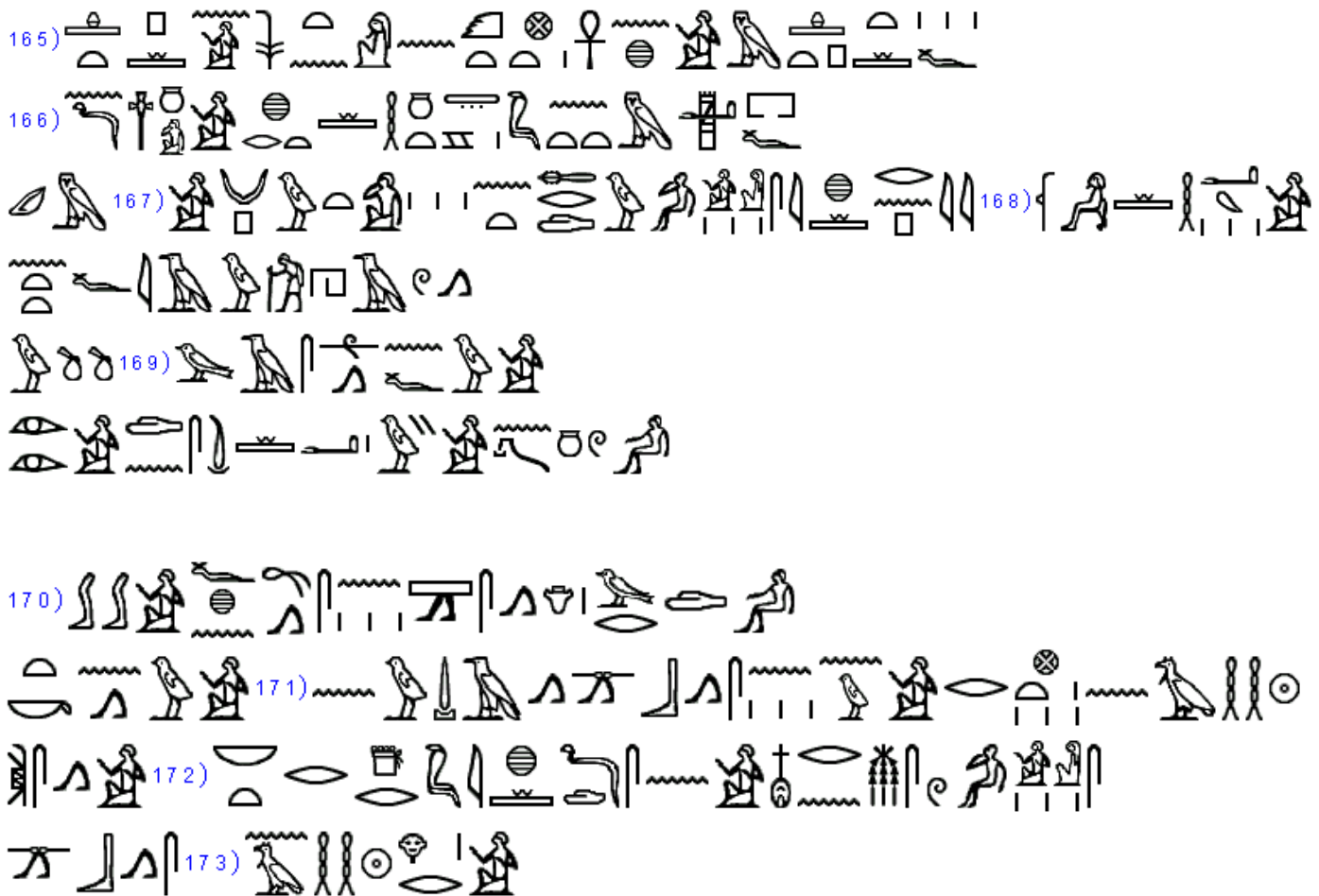
May his heart ail for the one he excluded to live on the hill-land

Today at last he is appeased

sDm.f nH n wA
wdb.f a r Hw.n.f tA im.f
r bw in.n.f sw im

Let him hear the prayer of the exile,
 May he bring back his arm for the one he forced over the land
 Back to the place he brought him from

33 (Berlin 3022, 165-173)



Htp n.i nswt n kmt anx.i m Htpt.f

May the king of Egypt be content with me, may I live in his
 pleasure

nD xrt Hnwt ntt m aH.f

Greeting the lady who is in his palace

sDm.i wpwt nt Hrdw.s ix rnpy Haw.i

May I hear the missions of her children, that my body be young

nt rfiAw hAw

For now old age has descended

wgg As.n.f wi

Sloth has overwhelmed me

irty.i dns awy.i nw

My eyes are heavy, my arms slack

rdwy.i fnx.sn Sms ib wrd

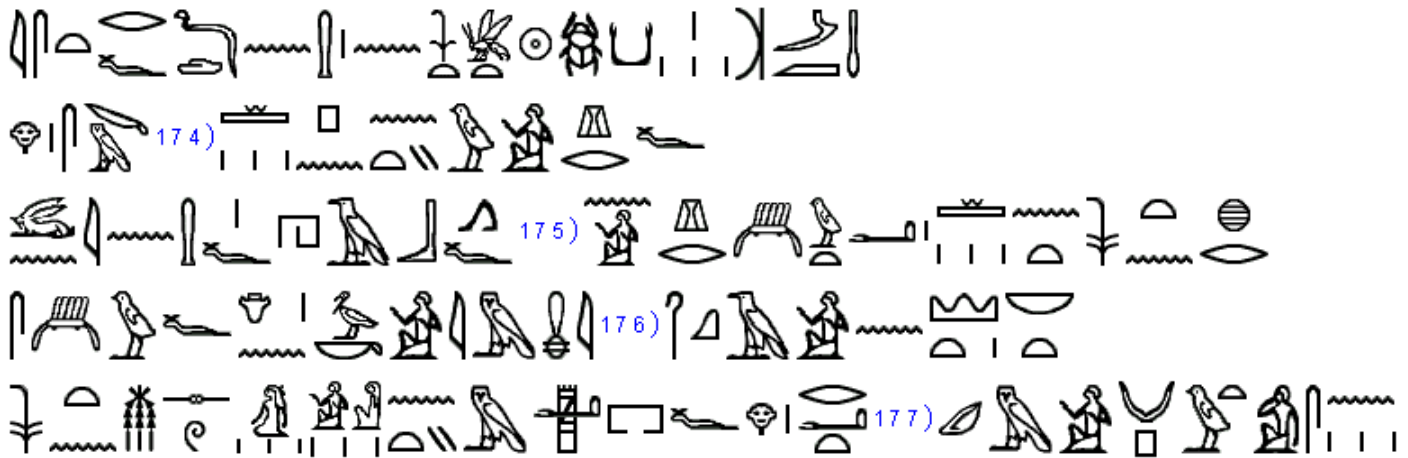
My legs are unstable, my heart seeks rest

tkn wi n wDA sb.sn wi r niwt n nHH

I am drawn close to departure, when they will bear me to the city

<i>Sms.i nbt-r-Dr ix Dd.s n.i nfr n msw.s</i>	of eternity May I follow the Lady of All that she may tell me what is good for her children
<i>sb.s nHH Hr.i</i>	May she draw eternity over me

34 (Berlin 3022, 173-177)



<i>ist rf Dd n Hm n nswt-bity xpr-kA-ra mAa-xrw</i>	Now report was made to the Majesty of the dual king Kheperkara justified
<i>Hr sSm pn nty wi Xr.f</i>	Concerning this condition I was suffering
<i>Wn.in Hm.f hAb.f n.i Xr Awt-a nt xr nswt</i>	Then His Majesty sent to me largess of before the king
<i>sAw.f ib n bAk im mi HqA n xAst nbt</i>	He extended his heart to this servant as to a ruler of any hill-land
<i>msw nswt nty m aH.f Hr rdit sDm.i wpwt.sn</i>	And the king's children who were in his palace let me hear their commissions

Kheperkara: the throne-name taken by king Senusret I at his accession, and used here to identify him in preference to the ambiguous Senusret (there were three kings named Senusret in the Twelfth Dynasty).

Of before the king: the extra preposition 'before' reinforces the separateness of the king.

35 (Berlin 3022, 178-187)

178) 

179) 

 180)



181) 



182) 

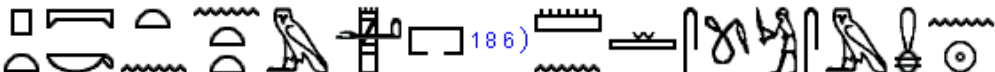
 183)





184) 

185) 

 186)



 187)

*mity n wD iny n bAk im Hr int.fr
kmt_*

Hr anx mswt nbty anx mswt

*nswt-bity xpr-kA-ra sA ra imm-m-
HAt anx Dt r nHH*

wD nswt n Smsw sA-nhAt

Copy of the decree brought to this servant concerning bringing him
to Egypt

The Horus living of births, he of the Two Ladies living of births,

The dual king Kheperkara son of Ra of Amenemhat living forever
eternally

Decree of the king to the follower Sanehat

*mk in.tw n.k wD pn n nswt
 r rdit rx.k ntt pXr.n.k xAswt
 prt m qdm rtnw
 dd tw xAst n xAst Xr sH n ib.k n.k

 ptr irt.n.k ir.tw r.k
 n waA.k xsf.tw mdw.k
 n mdw.k m sH n srw itn.tw Tsw.k

 sxr pn in.n.f ib.k nn rf m ib.i r.k

 pt.k tn ntt m aH mn.s rwd.s m-min
 dp.tw.s tp.s m nsyt nt tA
 msw.s m aXnwtj*

See this decree of the king is brought to you
 To inform you that you have travelled the hill-lands
 Going from Qedem of Syria
 Hill-land gave you to hill-land following the counsel of your heart to
 yourself

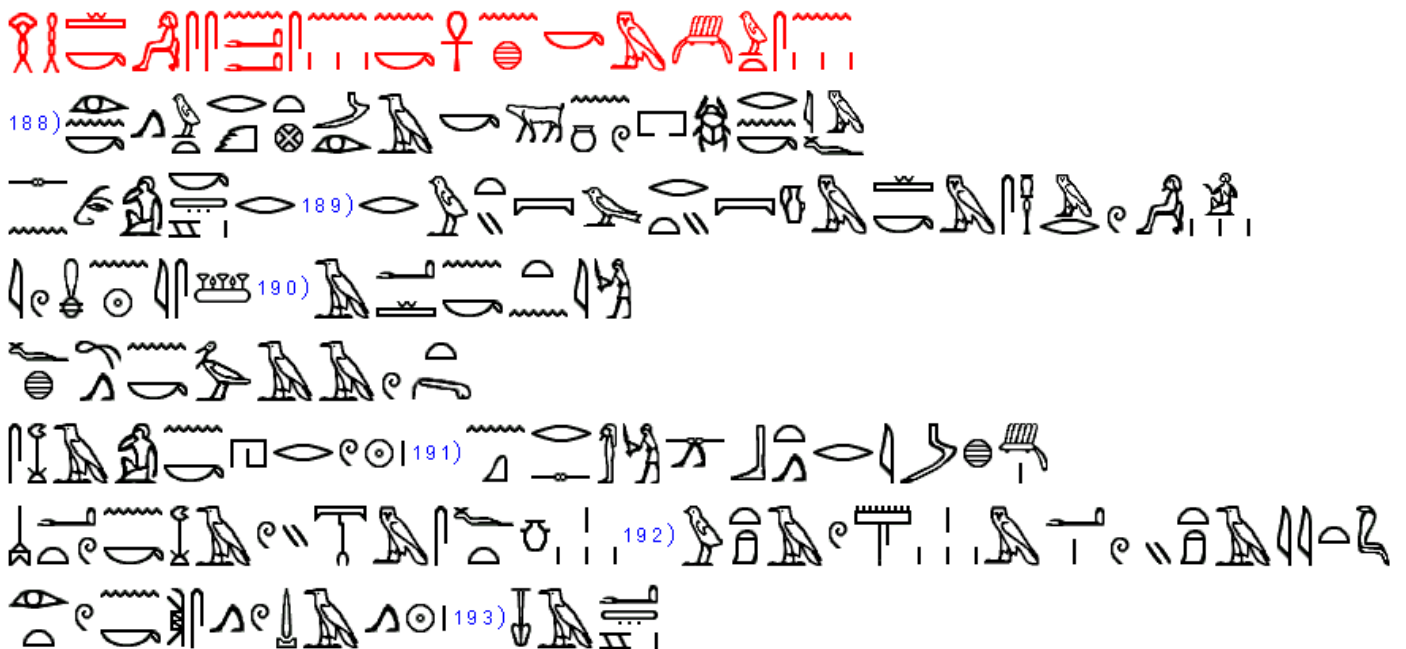
 What was it you had done, or had been done to you?
 You did not say wrong that your words be punished
 You did not speak in the council of officials that your statements be
 bound

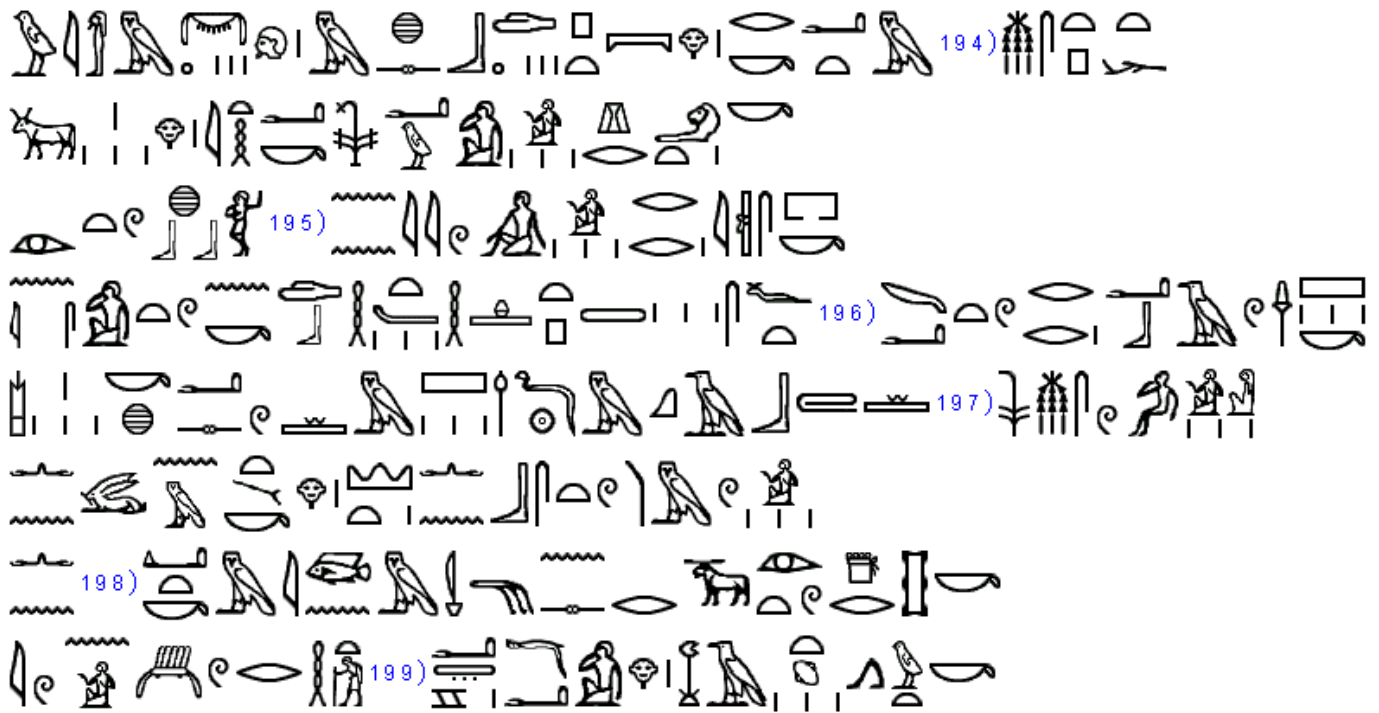
 This matter, it carried off your heart - there was nothing in my heart
 against you

 This your heaven who is in the palace, she is well and strong today
 Her head is adorned with the kingship of the land
 Her children are in the inner palace

Horus ... He of the Two Ladies: these are two of the five formal titles taken by each king at his accession. In the case of Senusret I, the first three of the five titles were followed by the same name, 'living of births' (the third kingly title, not given in this manuscript, was Horus of Gold).

36 (Berlin 3022, 187-199)





wAH.k Spss n dd.sn n.k anx.k m Awt.sn

May you add the riches of their gift to you, that you may live by their offerings

ir n.k iwt r kmt mA.k Xnw xpr.n.k im.f

Prepare your return to Egypt, that you may see the Residence where you were born

sn.k tA r rwty wrty Xnm.k m smrw

That you may kiss the ground at the Great Double Gate, and join the courtiers

iw min is SAa.n.k tni

Today now you have begun to age

fx.n.k bAAt

You have unravelled virility

sxA n.k hrw n qrs sbt r imAx

You are reminded of the day of burial, of passing to reverence

wDa.tw n.k xAwy m sft wtAw m-a tAyt

A night is cut for you with oils and wrappings from the Goddess Linen

ir.tw n.k Sms wDA hrw smA-tA

A procession of passing is made for you, on the day of rejoining the earth

wi m nbw tp m xsbd pt Hr.k di.ti m mstpt

A case of gold, a mask of lapis lazuli, the sky over you, placed in the bier

iHw Hr itH.k Smaw Xr-HAt.k

The oxen drawing you, chanters in front of you

ir.tw xbb nnyw r r is.k

Dances are made by the sacred dancers at the door of your tomb

nis.tw n.k dbHt-Htpw sft.tw r r abw.k

Offerings are pronounced for you, meat is butchered at the door of your chapel

iw nw.k xws m HD m qAb msw nswt

Your columns are enriched with silver in the midst of the king's children

nn wn mwt.k Hr xAst nn bs tw aAmw

You will not die upon the hill-land, the Asiatics will not inter
you

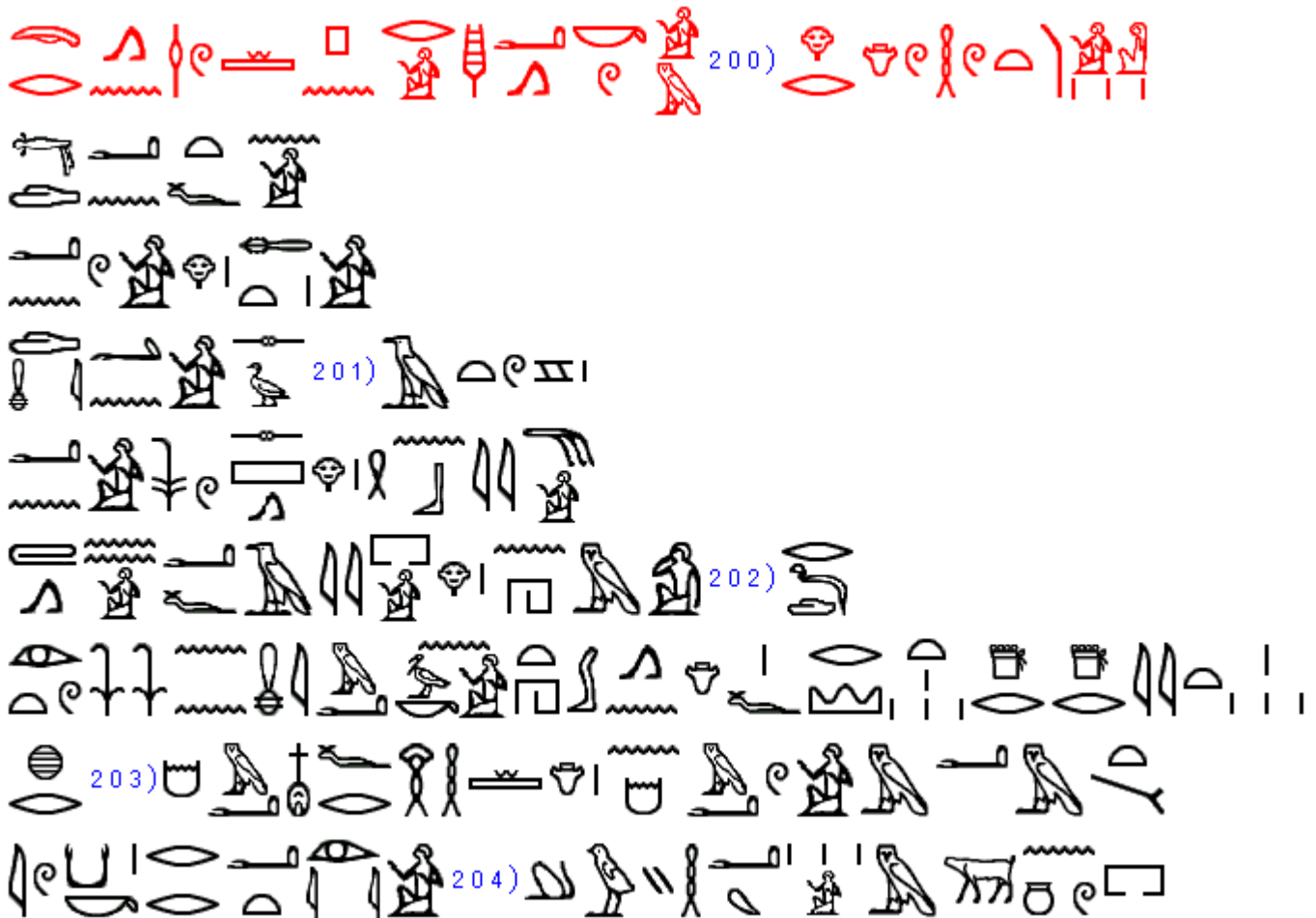
nn dit.k m inm n sr ir.tw Dr.k

You are not to be placed in a sheepskin as your enclosure is
made

iw nA Aw r Hwt tA mH Hr xAt iwt.k

It is too long for wandering the land, think of the corpse and
return

37 (Berlin 3022, 199-204)



spr.n wD pn r.i aHa.kwi m Hr-ib wHt.i

This decree reached me as I stood among my clan

Sd.n.tw.f n.i

It was read out to me

di.n.i wi Hr Xt.i

And I placed myself on my belly

dmi.n.i sAtw

I touched the ground

di.n.i sw sn Hr Snby.i

And put it strewn over my chest

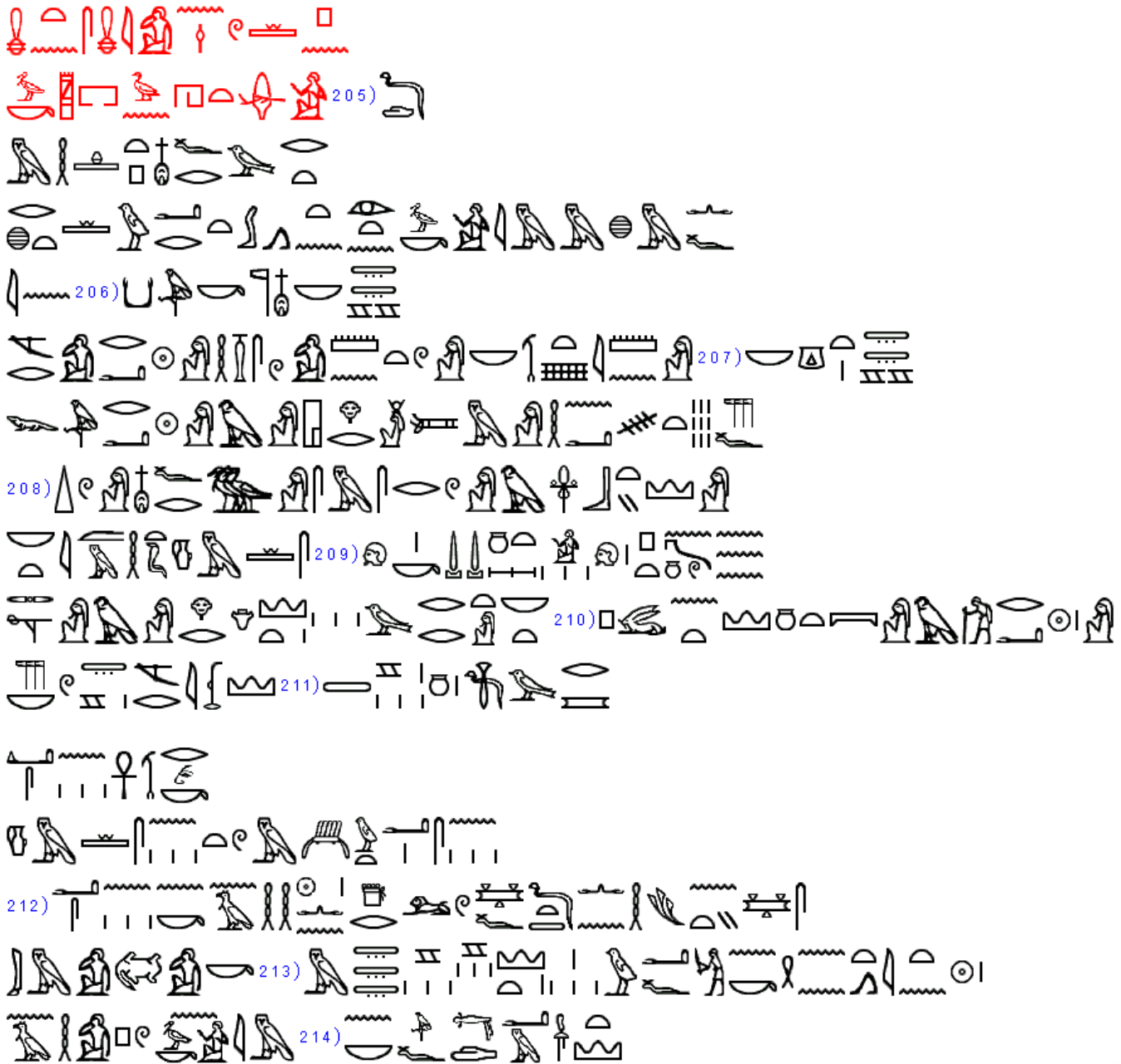
dbn.n.i n.i afAy.i Hr nhm r Dd

I went around my camp shouting aloud

ir.tw nn mi-m n bAk th.n ib.fr xAswt
DrDryt
xr Hm nfr wAH-ib nHm wi m-a mwt
iw kA.k r rdit iry.i pHwy Haw.i m Xnw

How is this done for a servant whose heart led him astray to
 foreign lands
 This is utter good, the mercy that rescues me from death
 Your spirit will let me spend the end of my bodily days in the
 Residence

38 (Berlin 3022, 204-214)



mity n smi n wD pn
bAk aH sA-nhAt Dd

Copy of the report to this decree
 The servant of the palace Sanehat says

<i>m Htp nfr wrt</i>	In peace very greatly
<i>rxt wart tn irt.n bAk im m xm.f</i>	Concerning this flight made by the humble servant in his ignorance
<i>in kA.k nTr nfr nb tAwy</i>	It is your ka, good god, lord of the two lands,
<i>mr ra Hs mntw nb wAst imn nb nswt tAwy</i>	Whom Ra loves, praised by Mont lord of Thebes and Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands,
<i>sbk-ra Hr Hwt-Hr itm Hna psDt.f</i>	By Sobek-Ra, Horus, Hathor, Atum and his nine gods
<i>spdw nfr bAw smsrw Hr iAbty</i>	Soped perfect of Might of Semseru, Horus the easterner
<i>nbt imHt Xnm.s tp.k DADAt tpt nw</i>	The lady of the cavern - may she join your brow, the tribunal at the front of the flood
<i>mnw Hr Hr-ib xAswt wrwt nbt pwnt nwt Hr-wr-ra</i>	Min-Horus amid the hill-lands, the great goddess, lady of Punt, Nut, Horwerra
<i>nTrw nbw tA-mri xAst iww nw wAD- wr</i>	All the gods of Egypt, of the hill-land, of the islands of the Great Green
<i>di.sn anx wAs r srt.k</i>	May they give life and power to your nostrils
<i>Xnm.sn tw m Awt-a.sn</i>	May they join you in their giving
<i>di.sn n.k nHH nn Drw.f Dt nn Hnty.sy</i>	May they grant you eternity without end and unbounded time
<i>wHm snd.k xt tAw xAswt waf.n.k Snnt itn</i>	Fear of you rebounds through lands and hill-lands, you grasp what the sun-disk circles
<i>nH pw n bAk im n nb.fSd m imnt</i>	This is a prayer by the humble servant to his lord for rescue from the west

Ra: the sun-god

Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands: Amun, god of Thebes, first important under the Middle Kingdom, with this title at his main temple at Karnak. His name means 'hidden', expressing the presence of divinity everywhere, seen or not, complementing the sun in the sky as a visible source of life and light.

Sobek-Ra: Sobek is the crocodile god, especially important in the late Middle Kingdom, as recognised in this fused form Sobek-Ra, divinity perceived simultaneously in Sobek and in the sun Ra.

Horus: god of kingship.

Hathor: god of sensual love.

Atum and his nine gods: the creator in his form before fissioning, with his 'nine gods', an expression for all the deities worshipped in his temple complex (nine being 3 times 3, and 3 being used graphically for plural in Egyptian writing: so 9 is 'plural of plural', beyond number).

Soped perfect of Might of Semseru: Soped is god of the east, here with an unclear epithet.

Horus the easterner: the god of kingship Horus, in his aspect as ruler of the east.

The lady of the cavern: goddess of flood waters? Uncertain.

the tribunal at the front of the flood: primeval gods and goddesses.

Min-Horus: Min is god of male potency, here combined with Horus god of kingship.

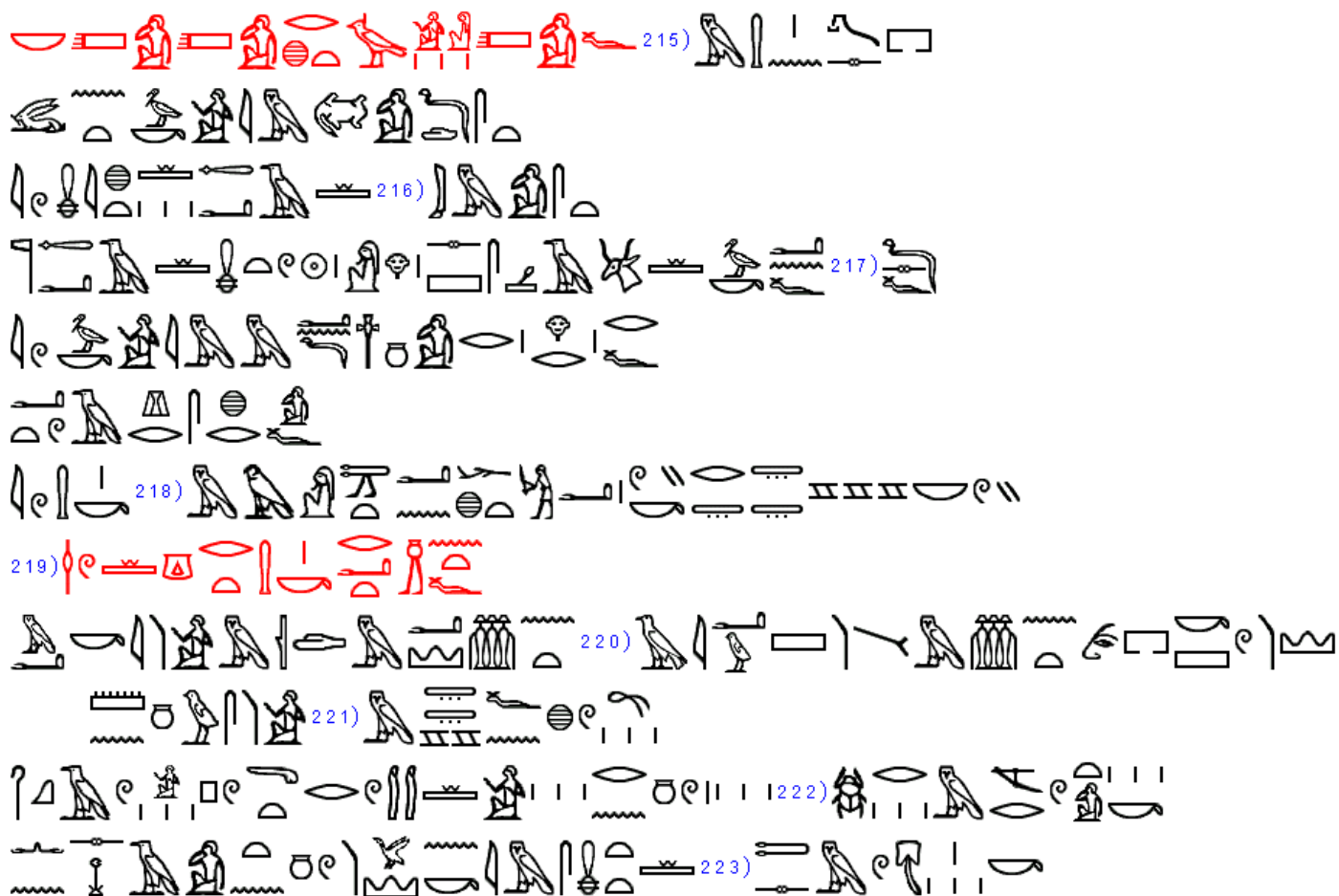
the great goddess, lady of Punt: possibly Ipy, the goddess of childbirth depicted as hybrid crocodile-hippopotamus, and known in the New Kingdom as Taweret 'the great goddess' - Punt is a land south of Egypt from which the Egyptians procured exotic materials including incense - it has not yet been identified.

Nut: goddess of the sky.

Horwerra: 'Horus the elder - Ra', fusing Horus god of kingship and Ra the sun-god.

the islands of the Great Green: originally the northern Delta areas of land among marshy waters, and by extension islands in the Mediterranean beyond the northern Delta shores.

39 (Berlin 3022, 214-223)



nb siA siA rxyt siA.f m Hm n stp-sA

wnn bAk im snd Dd st

iw mi xt aA wHm st

nTr aA mitw ra Hr sSsA bAk.n.fDs.f

Lord of insight, who perceives the populace, whose insight is the Majesty of the palace

This humble servant is in fear of saying it

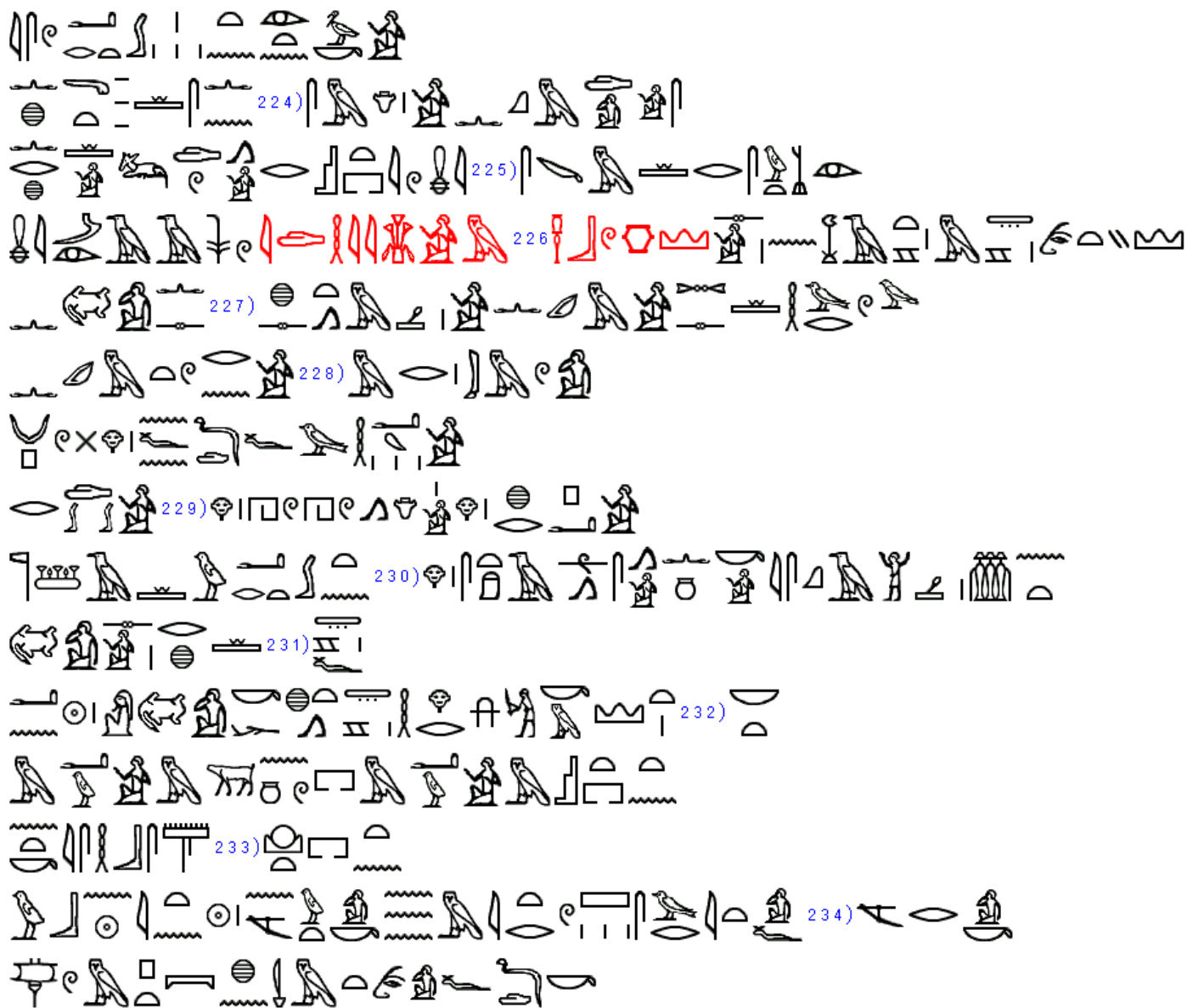
It is like a matter too great to be repeated

Great god, equal of Ra, in informing the one who has worked for him himself

<i>iw bAk im m-a nD-r Hr.f</i>	This humble servant is in the hand of the one consulting about him
<i>di.tw A Xr sXr.f</i>	It has to be placed under his care
<i>iw Hm.k m Hr iT nXt awy.ky r tAw nbw</i>	Your Majesty is Horus who seizes, your arms are stronger than all lands
<i>wD grt Hm.k rdit int.f</i>	Now your Majesty decrees that he be brought,
<i>mki m qdm xntyw-s m xnt kS mnws m tAw fnxw</i>	And Meki in Qedem, the mountain-men leading Kesh, Menus from the land of Fenkhu,
<i>HqAw pw mtrw rnw xprw m mrwt.k</i>	These are the rulers by their exact names who have come into your affection
<i>Nn sxA rtnw n.k im.s mitt Tsmw.k</i>	Without mentioning Syria, as much yours as are your dogs

Meki in Qedem, ... Kesh, Menus ... Fenkhu: Qedem and Fenkhu are names of places in the Levant, Kesh presumably also; as names for rulers in the area, Meki and Menus are perhaps literary fictions to give a precise flavour to the passage, rather than historical persons, though that is also possible.

40 (Berlin 3022, 223-234)



is wart tn irt.n bAk

n xmt.s nn s m ib.i n qmd.i s

r rx.i iwd.i r st.i iw mi sSm rswt

*mi mAA sw idHy m Abw s n xAt m tA-
sty*

*n snD.i n sxwst m-sA.i n sDm.i Ts-
Hwrw*

n sDm.tw rn.i m r wHmw

wpw-Hr nf n Ddf Haw.i

As for this flight made by this servant

It was not planned, it was not in my heart, I did not plot it

I do not know what separated me from my place, it was like a
dream

It is as if a **Delta-man** saw himself **in Abu**, a marsh-man in the
Land of Nubia

I did not fear, I was not persecuted, I heard no accusation

My name was not heard in the mouth of the reporter

And yet my limbs went cold,

<i>rdwy Hr hwhw ib.i Hr xrp.i</i>	Legs panicked, my heart took hold of me
<i>nTr SA wart tn Hr stA.i n ink is qA sA xnt</i>	The god who decreed this flight led me away: I am not the arrogant, not I
<i>snd s rx tA.f</i>	The man who knows his land, he fears
<i>di.n ra snd.k xt tA Hr.k m xAst nbt</i>	Ra has set fear of you throughout the land, the dread of you in every hill-land
<i>mi wi m Xnw m st tn</i>	Place me in the Residence or in this place,
<i>ntk Hbs Axt tn</i>	You are still the one who clothes this horizon
<i>wbn itn n mrt.k mw m itrw swrit.f mr.k</i>	The disk shines for love of you, water is in the river to be drunk at your desire
<i>TAw m pt xnm.tw.f Dd.k</i>	The air in the sky, it is breathed in when you say so

41 (Berlin 3022, 234-241)

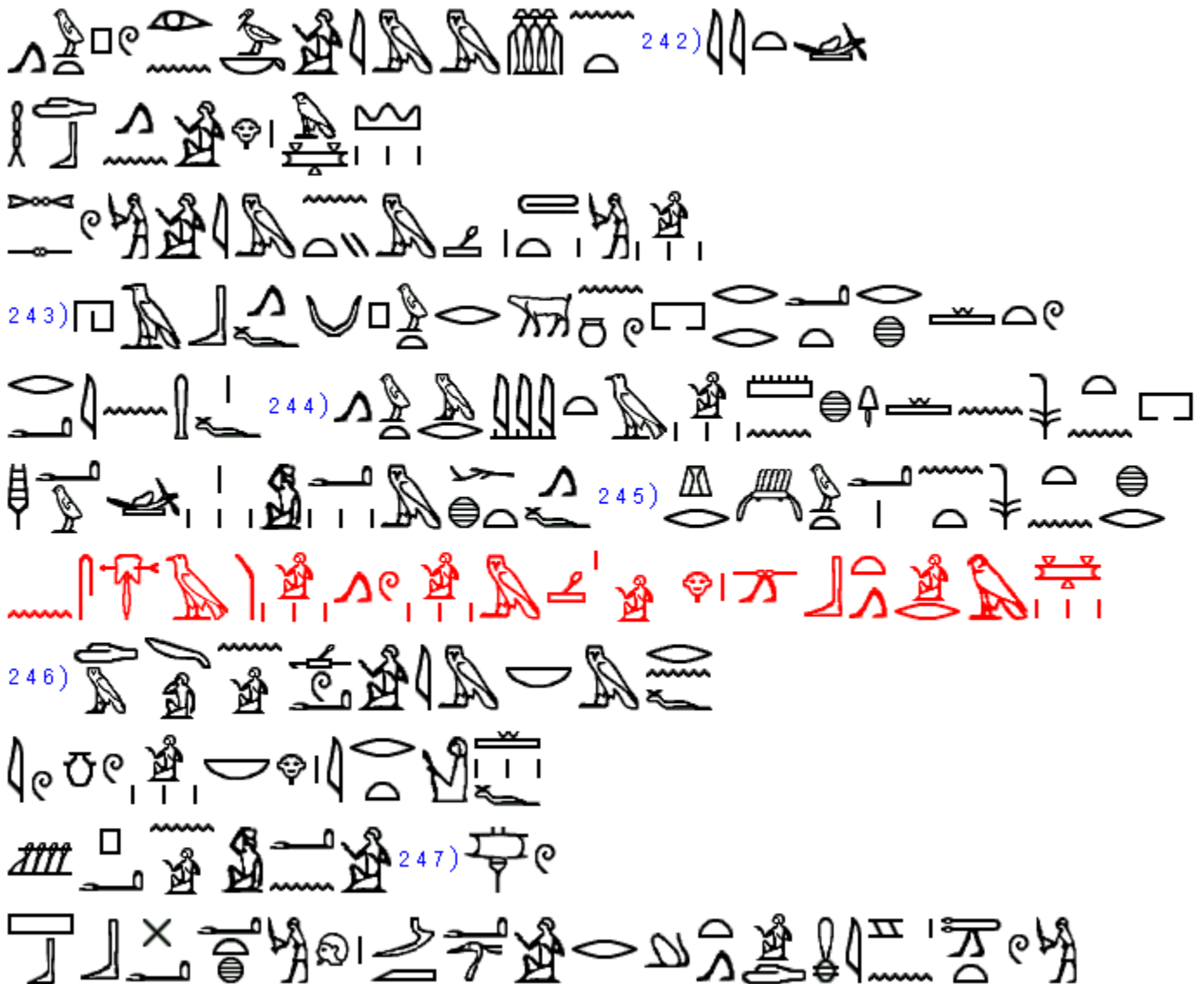


<i>iw bAk im r swDt TAt ir.n bAk im m st tn</i>	This humble servant is to hand over the staff acquired by this servant in this place
<i>iwT pw iry r bAk im ir Hm.k m mrr.f</i>	Then this servant will be returned as your Majesty permits in his desire
<i>anx.tw m TAw n dd.k mr ra Hr Hwt-Hr fnd.k pw Spss</i>	We live by the breath of your gift, as Ra, Horus and Hathor love this your noble life
<i>mrrw Mntw nb wAst anx.f Dt</i>	As Mont lord of Thebes wishes that it live forever
<i>rDi.tw iry.i hrw m iAA Hr swDt xt.i n msw.i</i>	I was permitted a day in Iaa to hand over my things to my children

sA.i smsw m-sA wHyt.i wHyt.i xt.i nbt
m-a.f
Dt.i mnmnt.i nbt dqr.i xt.i nb bnri

With my eldest son in charge of my clan, my clan and all my
 things in his hands,
 My servants, all my cattle, my fruits, all my sweet trees

42 (Berlin 3022, 241-247)



iwt pw ir.n bAk im m xnty
Hdb.n.i Hr wAwt Hr
Tsw im nty m-sA pXrt
hAb.f wpwt r Xnw r rdit rx.tw

This servant arrived south,
 I touched on the ways of Horus,
 And the commander there who was organising patrols
 Sent a message to the Residence to inform them

*rdi.in Hm.f iwt imy-r sxyw mnx n pr
nswt*

Then his Majesty sent the good overseer of foragers of the King's House

*aHaw Atpw m-xt.f Xr Awt-a nt xr nswt
n styw iww m-sA.i Hr sbt.i r wAwt Hr*

Followed by ships laden with the gifts of before the king
For the Syrians who came along with me to bring me to the ways of Horus

dm.n.i wa im nb m rn.f

I pronounced each of them by his name

iw wdpww nb Hr irt.f

All the cupbearers were busy at their tasks

Ssp.n.i Atp n.i nfw

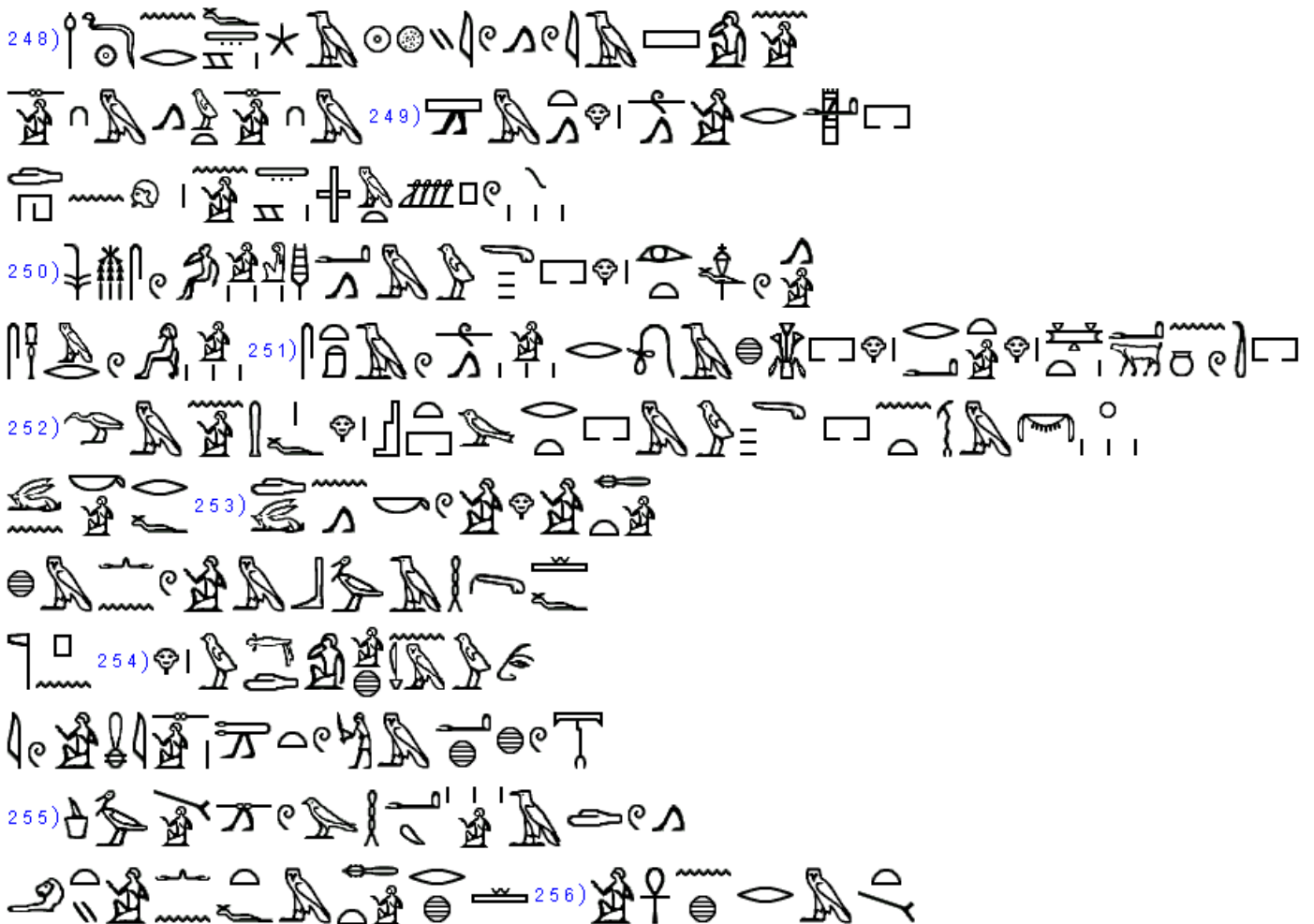
I received and the captain loaded for me,

Sbb atx tp-mAa.i r pHt.i dmi n iTt

And there was kneading and straining beside me until I reached the landing of Itj(tawy)

Overseer of foragers: this is the official apparently entrusted with guaranteeing palace supplies of the materials brought in from outside the agricultural economy. The title is relatively rare in sources for the Twelfth Dynasty administration.

43 (Berlin 3022, 248-256)



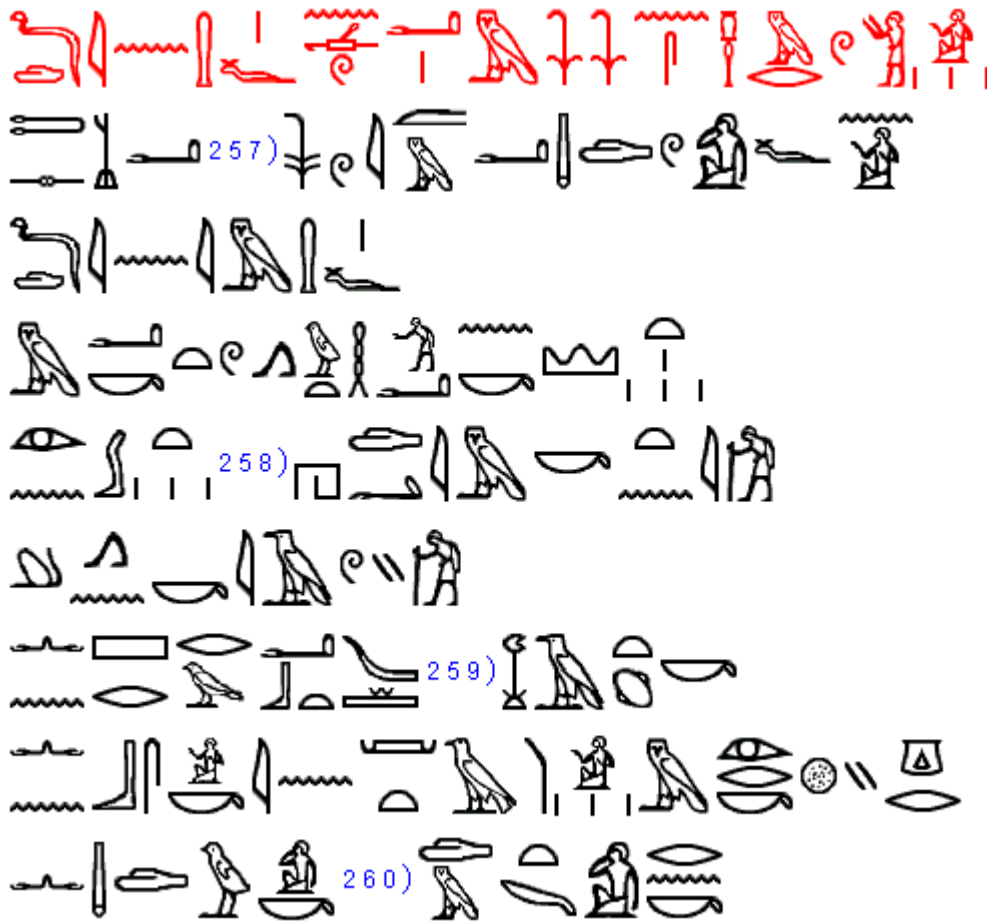
HD.n rftA dW A dW A iw iw AS n.i
 s mD m iwt s mD m Smt Hr sTA.i r aH
 dh.n.n.i tA imywt Sspw
 msw nswt aHa m wmtw Hr irt xsfw.

i smrw stAw r wAx Hr rdit.i Hr wAt
 aXnwty
 gm.n.i Hm.f Hr st wrt m wmt nt Dam

wn.kwi rf dwn.kwi Hr Xt.i
 xm.n.i wi m bAH.f
 nTr pn Hr wSd.i xnms
 iw.i mi s it m axxw
 bA.i sbw Haw.i Adw
 HAty.i n ntf m Xt.i rx.i anx r mwt

Very early at daybreak there came the summons for me
 Ten men coming, ten men going to lead me to the palace
 I touched the ground between the dawn rays
 As the king's children stood on the walls at the conduct of
 my approach
 The courtiers were led to the audience hall as I was placed
 on the way to the inner palace
 I found His Majesty on the great throne on a podium of
 electrum
 Then I was stretched out on my belly
 I lost myself in his presence,
 This god addressed me friendlily
 As I was like a man seized in pitch black
 My soul had gone, my body trembled
 My heart was no longer in my body - could I know life from
 death?

44 (Berlin 3022, 256-260)



Dd.in Hm.fn waw m nn n smrw

Ts sw imi mdw.fn.i

Dd.in Hm.f

mk tw iwt Hw.n.k xAswt

ir.n wart hd im.k tni

pH.n.k iAwy

nn Srr abt xAt.k

nn bs.k in pDtyw m ir.k sp sn gr

n mdw.k dm.tw rn.k

Then His Majesty said to one of those courtiers

Raise him and let him speak to me

Then His Majesty said

Look at you, on return from travelling the hill-lands

The flight has worked its impact on you, you are grown old

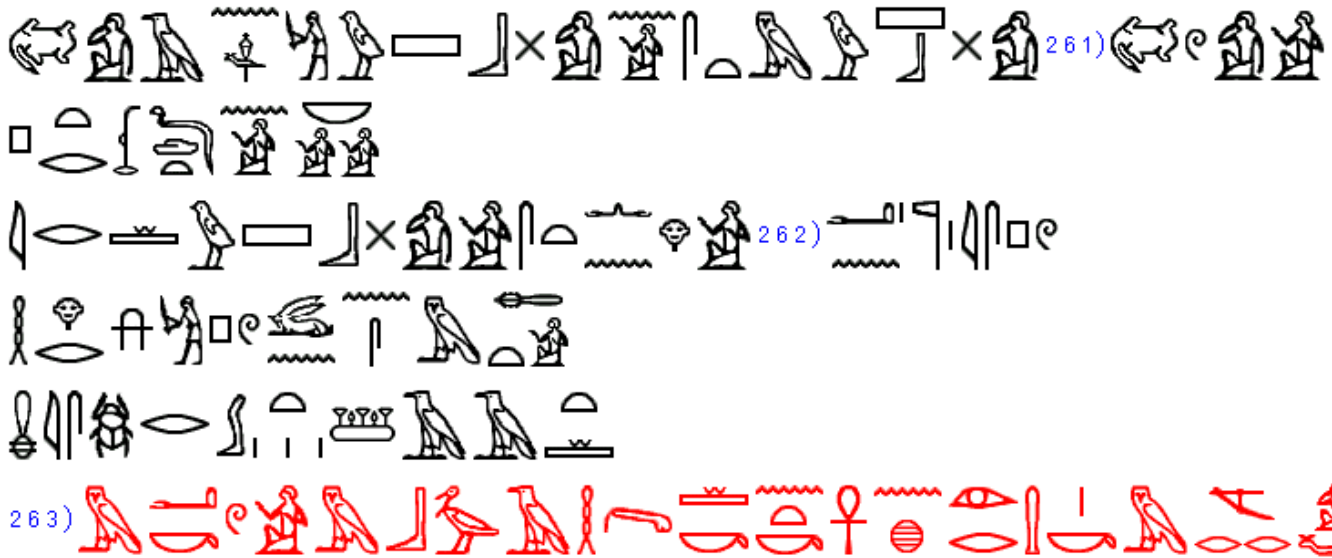
You have reached old age

It is no trifle that your body will be purified,

That you will not be interred by nomads - do not, do not be silent

You have not spoken, though your name is pronounced

45 (Berlin 3022, 260-263)



snd A n xsf wSb.n.i st m wSb sndw

Fearing the hand of punishment, I answered with the answer of the fearful

ptr Ddt n.i nb.i

What has my lord said to me

ir wSb.i st nn Hr.i a n nTr is pw

That I might answer it - there is no slight to the god in this

Hr pw wnn.s m Xt.i

It is terror that resides in my body

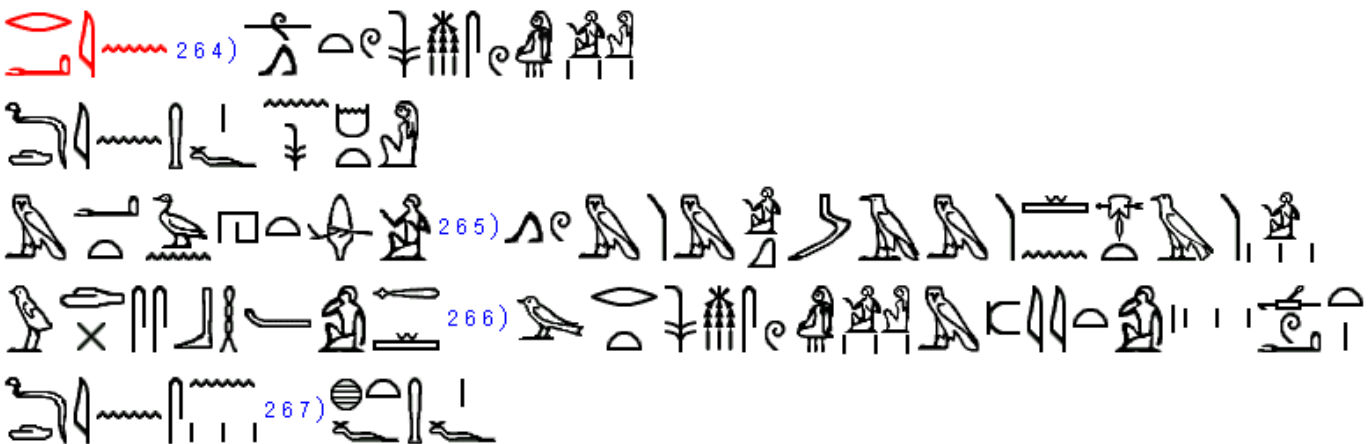
mi sxpr wart SAAt

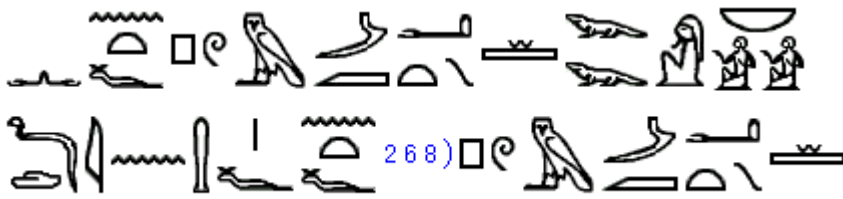
Just as the fated flight came to be

mk wi m-bAH.k ntk anx ir Hm.k m mrr.f

See me before you - you are life, may your Majesty do as he desires

46 (Berlin 3022, 263-268)



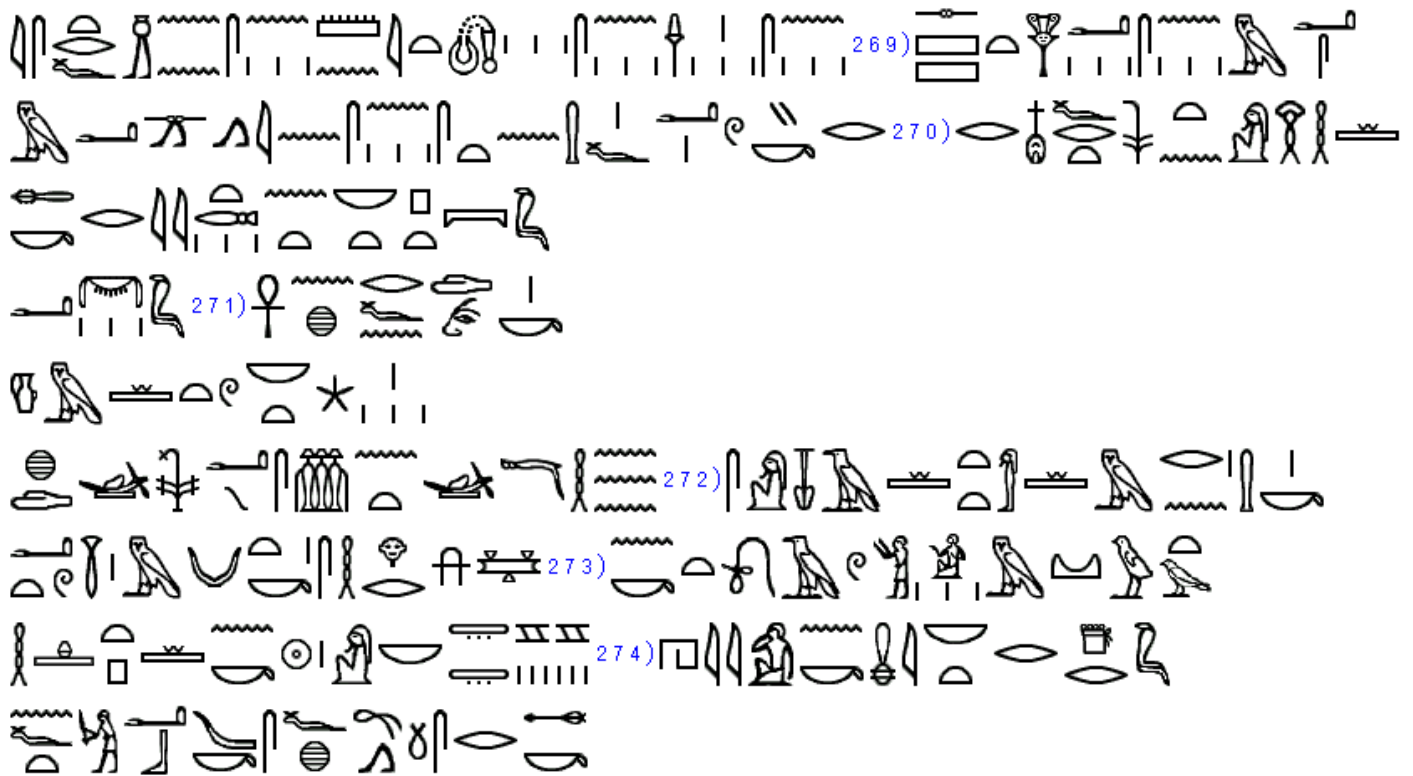


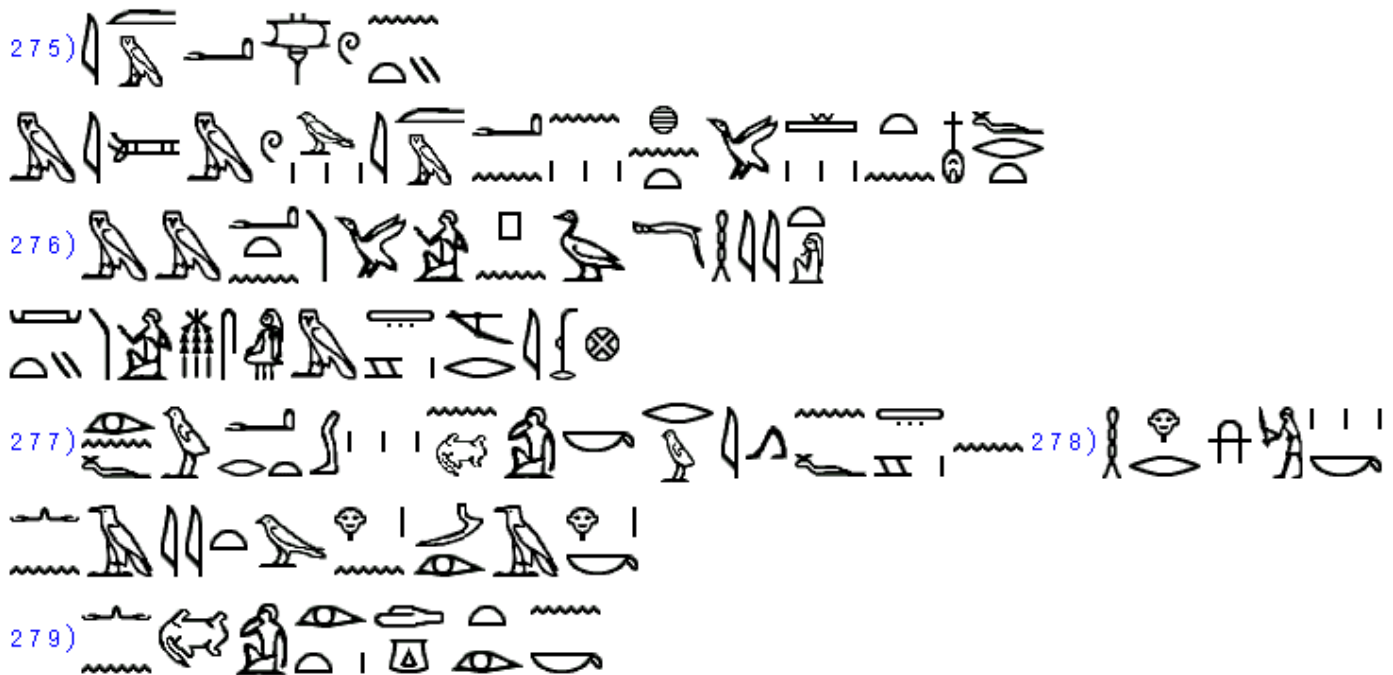
rdi.in sb.tw msw nswt
Dd.in Hm.f n Hmt nswt
mt sA-nhAt iw m aAm qmA n styw
wd.s sbH aA wrt msw nswt m dnyt wat

Dd.in.sn xft Hm.f
n ntf pw m mAat ity nb.i
Dd.in Hm.f ntf pw m mAat

Then the king's children were brought in
 And His Majesty said to the king's wife
 Here is Sanehat, returned as an Asiatic, remade as a Syrian
 She uttered a very great cry, and the king's children in one
 outburst
 They said before His Majesty
 It cannot truly be him, sovereign my lord
 And His Majesty said, it is truly he

47 (Berlin 3022, 268-279)





ist rf in.n.sn mnit.sn sxmw.sn sSt.sn m-a.s

At that they brought their counterpoises, their images, their
sistra in their hands

*ms.in.sn st n Hm.f awy.k r nfrt nswt wAH
Xkryt nt nbt pt*

They waved them at His Majesty
Your arms are for the good, O king enduring

di nbw anx r fnd.k

The adornments of the lady of heaven

Xnm tw nbt sbAw

The goddess Gold gives life to your nose

xd Sma.s xnt mH.s smA twt m r n Hm.k

The lady of the stars unites with you

di.tw wAD m wpt.k sHr.n.k twAw m Dwt

The south crown fares north, the northern south, united as one
in the way of your Majesty

Htp n.k ra nb tAwy hy n.k mi nbt-r-Dr

The cobra is set at your brow, you have removed the weak
from evil

nft ab.k sfx sr.k

Ra lord of the two lands is pleased with you, praise to you as
to the Lady of All

imi Taw n nty

Rest your bow, untie your arrow, give breath to the one in
lifelessness

m itmw imi n.n xnt tn nfrt

Allow us this good turn

m mtn pn sA mHyt

This wayfarer, son of the north wind,

pDty ms m tA-mri

The nomad born in Egypt

ir.n.f wart n sndw.k rwi.n.f tA n Hr.k

He took flight for fear of you, he abandoned the land in dread
of you

nn Ayt Hr n mA Hr.k

There will be no destruction for the face that sees your face

nn snd irt dgAt n.k

There will be no fear for the eye that looks at you

Counterpoises, images, sistra: the counterpoise was originally a functional ornament used to weigh down a heavy necklace at the back, and it became a symbol of beauty and the sensuous, and thus a separate religious emblem in its own right; the meaning of images in this context is not certain; the sistrum is a rattle with metal bands or disks on bands, used to provide a rhythm to chanting, like the modern metronome and base beat.

Goddess Gold: a reference to Hathor, goddess of sensual love.

Lady of All: a reference to the king's wife, as the king might be called Lord of All, a title of the creator.

48 (Berlin 3022, 279-290)

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𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 281) 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏

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Dd.in Hm.f

nn snd.f n di.f r Hr

iw.f r smr m-m srw

r di.tw.f m qAb Snyt

wDA.tn r aXnwty

Then His Majesty said

He shall not fear, nor be given over to terror

He is to be a courtier among the officials,

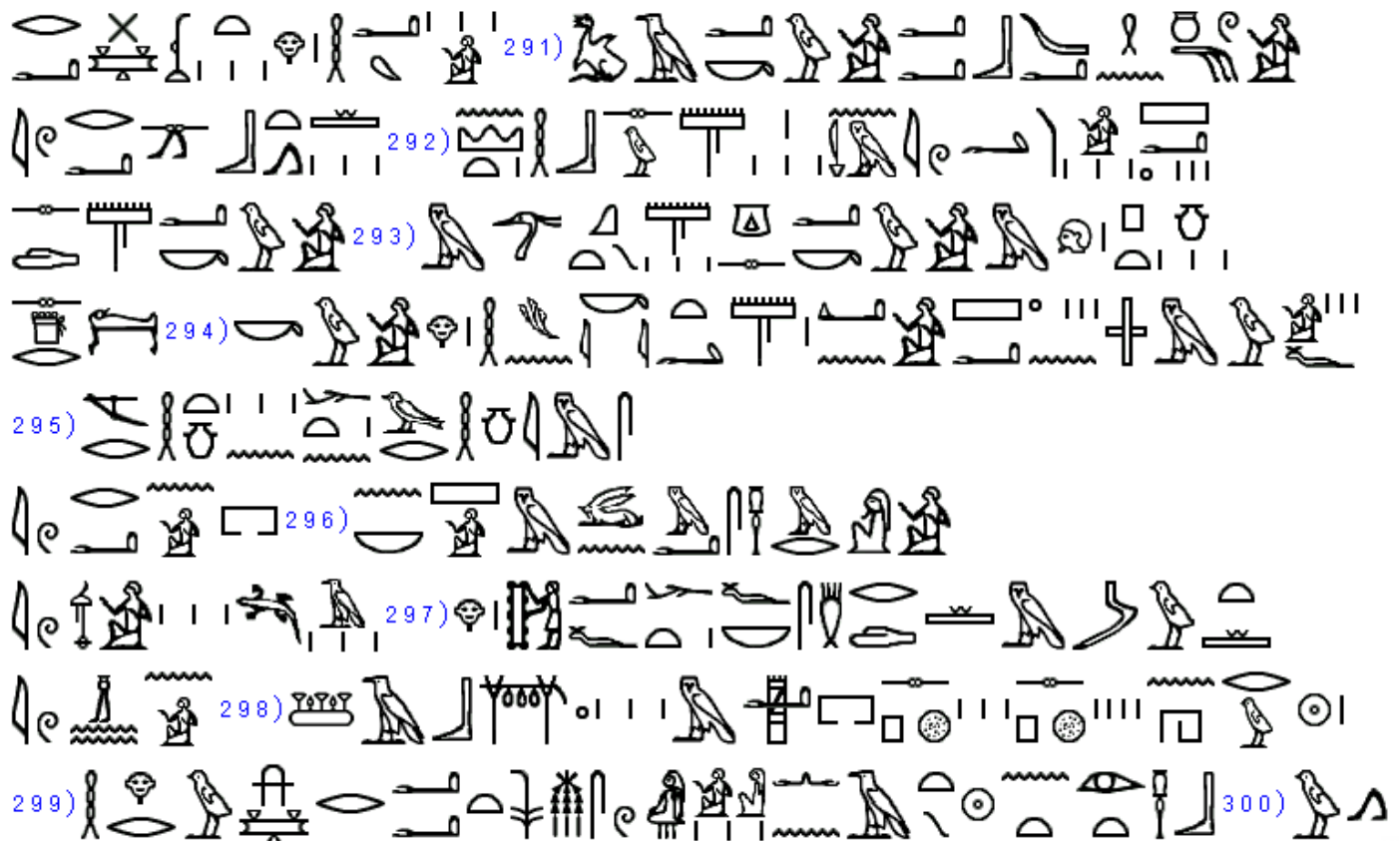
He may be placed in the midst of the court

Proceed to the inner palace,

<i>sbAt r irt aHaw.f</i>	For instruction in appointing his standing
<i>prt.i rfm-Xnw aXnwty</i>	So I went inside the inner palace
<i>msw-nswt Hr rdit n.i aw.sn</i>	The king's children giving me their arms
<i>Sm.n.i m-xt r rwty wrty</i>	I went then to the Great Double Gate
<i>rdi.kwi r pr sA nswt Spss im.f</i>	I was installed at the house of a king's son, full of riches
<i>sqbby im.f aXmw nw Axt</i>	With a bathroom, and images of the horizon
<i>xtmt im.f nt pr-HD</i>	With valuables from the treasury
<i>Hbsw nw Ss-nswt</i>	- clothing of royal linen
<i>antyw tpt srw nswt mrr.f m at nbt</i>	and ointment of the first for the king's officials whom he loves
<i>wdpw nb Hr irt.f</i>	Every cupbearer was busy at his task

Images of the horizon: phrase of uncertain meaning, interpreted by some commentators as a term for 'mirrors'.

49 (Berlin 3022, 290-300)



<i>rdi swA rnpwt Hr Haw.i TA.kwi aab Snw</i>	Years were made to fall from my body, as I was shorn, my hair combed
<i>iw rdi sbt n xAst Hbsw nmiw-Sa</i>	The load was returned to the hill-land, the garments to the

sd.kwi m pAqt gs.kwi m tpt

sDr.kwi Hr Hnkyt di.n.i Sa n imyw.f

mrHt n xt n wrH im.s

iw rdi n.i pr n nb S m wn m-a smr

*iw Hmwtyw aSAw Hr qd.fxt.f nb srwd m
mAw*

iw inn n.i Sabw m aH sp xmt sp fd n hrw

Hrw-r dd msw nswt nn At nt irt Abw

nomads,

I was arrayed in fine linen, and anointed with first quality oil

I lay down on a bed, and returned the sand to its dwellers

And the tree-oil to those who anoint themselves with it

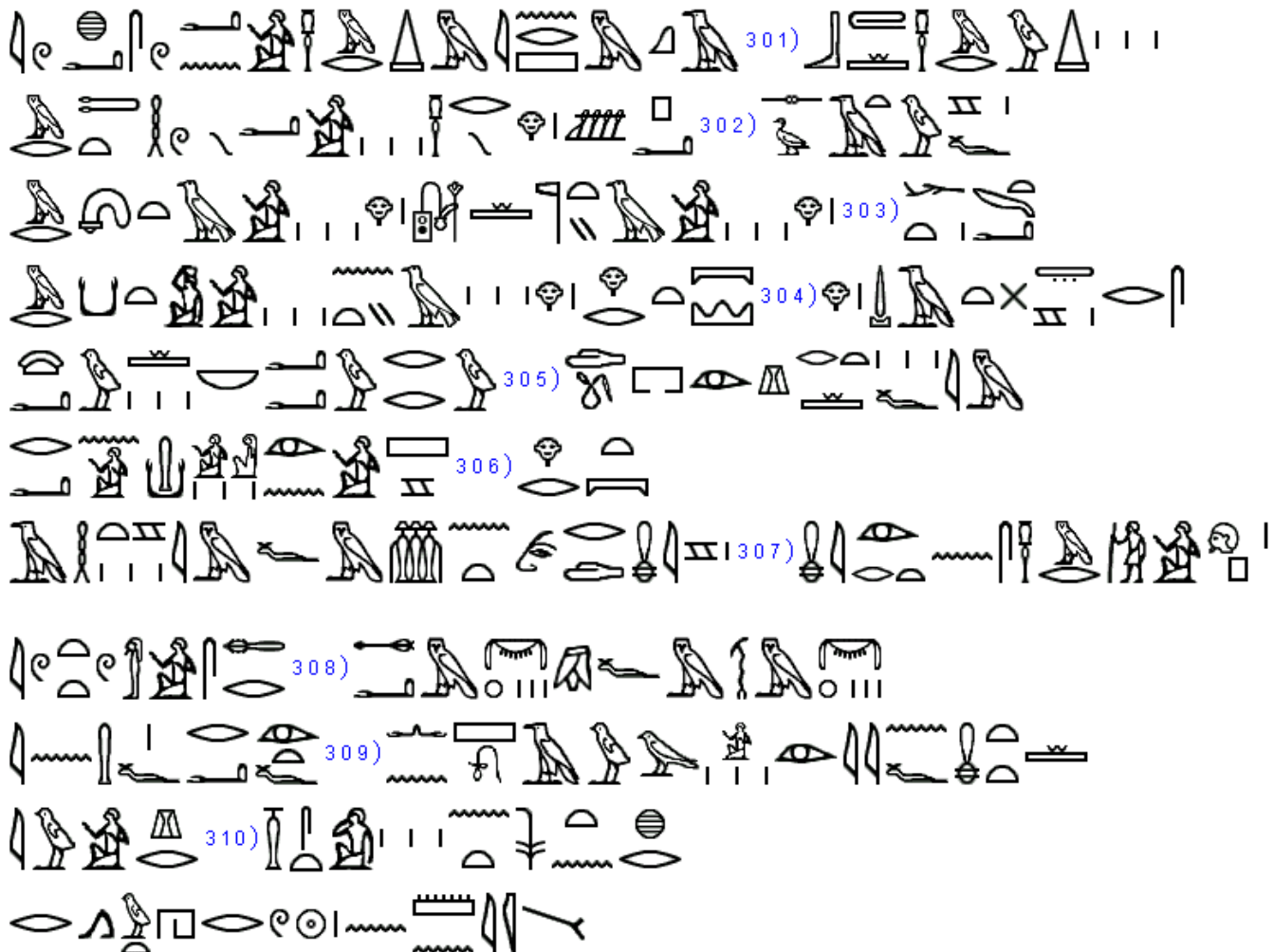
I was given the house of a lord of an estate, as a gift from a
courtier

Numerous craftsmen built it up, everything was strengthened
anew

Foods were continually delivered to me from the palace, 3 or
4 times a day

Besides the gifts of the king's children without a moment of
pausing

50 (Berlin 3022, 300-310)



iw xws n.i mr m inr m qAb mrw

A pyramid-chapel of stone was built for me amid the pyramids

<i>imy-r THntyw mr Hr Ssp sAtw.f</i>	The overseer of glazeworkers of the pyramid procured its ground,
<i>imy-r xtmtyw Hr sS gnwtwy Hr xtt</i>	The overseer of sealers did the drawing, the sculptors did the cutting,
<i>imyw-r kAt ntyw Hr Hrt Hr Dat tA r.s</i>	The overseers of works who were at the pyramid temple ferried for it.
<i>xaw nb ddw r rwd ir Xrt.f im</i>	Every tool that is set to the temple-terrace, it found its task there.
<i>rdi n.i Hmw-kA ir.n.i S Hrt</i>	I was given spirit-servants, and I made an estate for the cult,
<i>AHwt im.f m xnt r dmi mi irt n smr tpy</i>	Containing fields as endowment at the landing-stage as is done for the foremost official
<i>iw twt.i sXkr m nbw Sndyt.f m Dam</i>	My image was adorned with gold, its kilt in electrum,
<i>in Hm.f rdi irt.f nn SwAw iry n.f mitt</i>	It is His Majesty who had it done. No poor mortal ever received such treatment
<i>iw.i Xr Hswt nt xr nswt</i>	I am in the favour of before the king
<i>r iwt hrw n mni</i>	Until the coming of the day to moor

pyramid-chapel: in the Middle Kingdom there are no examples of pyramidal monuments for persons other than the king and women of his family. There appear to be two ways of explaining the term here: (1) the chapel of Sinuhe is of pyramid form, a claim that would have struck the Middle Kingdom audience as hard as the title sovereign in section 1, (2) the chapel is not 'of pyramid form' but 'of the pyramid' in the sense that it was constructed in the pyramid complex.

The overseer of glazeworkers of the pyramid procured its ground: the title here is unclearly written, and the sole New Kingdom source for this passage gives the title as 'necropolis-workers sculpting the pyramid'. If the Middle Kingdom papyrus Berlin 3022 is taken at face value at this point, it would be a reference to the use of artificial blue or green paste ('ground') to fill hieroglyphs and figure outlines on white limestone.

The overseer of sealers did the drawing: the New Kingdom parallel gives the title as 'draughtsman', reasonably enough. However the Middle Kingdom manuscript Berlin 3022 may also provide a reasonable reading, if the overseer of sealers was in charge of the artists and treasury equipment needed for drafting designs and inscriptions. If this and the preceding point are accepted, the focus of the final passage would fall on the inscription on the tomb-chapel walls - possibly intended as a self-reference to the composition itself, as the Tale of Sinuhe is introduced as if a tomb-chapel inscription.

Every tool that is set to the temple-terrace: a reference to hieroglyphic monuments at temple precincts, most famously that of Osiris, god of the dead, at Abydos.

spirit-servants: regular title for a person employed in making food and drink offerings in the cult of a specific dead person.

Image: cult-statue as the focus for making food and drink offerings to the dead.

Electrum: alloy of silver and gold.

