On deciphering the 8th sign of the 65th line in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor**

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1 Introduction

Almost the entirety of the papyrus manuscript of the Middle Egyptian tale known as *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* is extant, and its script is quite clear. In addition, the contents of the tale are also very clear, and the syntax employed is easy to understand. Because of these points, it is a well-known manuscript that is read by many who aspire to Egyptology.

However, it is a fact that there exists some difference of opinion over something as basic as the decipherment, or transliteration,[1] of certain glyphs in this manuscript, and even today it cannot be said that agreement has been reached within the field of Egyptology. However, concerning the difference of opinion over the reading of certain glyphs, given that differences of opinion often lead to differences in the confirmation of a word or morpheme, differences in interpretation of a glyph in the original document are a matter that cannot be overlooked. Concerning this type of problem, I earlier proposed a reading for the fifth glyph in the 179th line of the original manuscript (Nagai 2011). This paper

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[1] As to the notion of "transliteration", *see* Coulmas (1996: 510-512).

examines and proposes the best transliteration of the eighth glyph in the sixty-fifth line of the original document.[2]

2　Examining the conventional theories
2.1　Different theories concerning L065-Let08

In the history of the transliteration of Let065-Let08, opinion has been divided. The two interpretations are shown below (1) with the Gardiner Sign number and transliteration into the corresponding hieroglyph[3].

(1) The two readings of L065-Let08

a. D3;　　　　　　ⅢⅢ

b. D13 + Z4;　　　⌢
　　　　　　　　　//

Those who opt for (1a) regard L065-Let08 as a single grapheme, and read it as D3, which symbolizes "hair".

In contrast, (1b) regards L065-Let08 as two graphemes, and reads them as D13 and Z4, which symbolize "eyebrow" and "two diagonal lines", respectively.

Thus, the different viewpoints of (1a) and (1b) not only offer different readings, but also present the question of whether L065-Let08 should be read as a single grapheme, or as a sequence of two different graphemes. In addition, the results of both readings show differences in the method of writing a word as well as in transcription.

L065-Let08 is a glyph that accompanies the word *in(ḥ)*, "eyebrows", which is a masculine noun.[4] In the original manuscript, this word is followed by a third-person, masculine, singular suffix-pronoun, but because the suffix-pronoun =*fy* is added to a dual noun, *in(ḥ)* is treated here as a dual form. Given this, those

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[2] In this paper, the location of glyphs in the original manuscript shall be given in the form "L065-Let08", which indicates the sixty-fifth line, the eighth sign.

[3] The Gardiner Sign numbers are taken from Gardiner (1957: 442–543). I have given the hieroglyphs in the same orientation as the hieratic, which is written from right to left.

[4] In the original manuscript, the grapheme for *ḥ* is omitted, so I have given the word as *in(ḥ),* but as can be seen in Hannig (2003: 308), the usual form given in dictionaries is *inḥ*.

who opt for (1a) regard L065-Let08 as a determinative for *in*(*ḫ*)*,* "eyebrows", while at the same time expresses the viewpoint that the suffix *.wy* that is usually affixed to masculine dual nouns was not affixed to *in*(*ḫ*)*.*

On the other hand, those who prefer (1b) regard D13 as a determinative, see the following Z4 as the masculine dual suffix *.wy*. Moreover, Z4 can be explained as having two functions. The first is that Z4 represents the sound "*y*", which is the final element of the masculine dual suffix *.wy*. The second is that Z4 is a determinative indicating dual number. In the latter case, the existence of the determinative takes the place of the entire suffix *.wy*.

Those differences of opinion can be outlined as follows:

(2) The reading of L065-Let08 derived from the difference in the transcription
a. the transcription that arises when D3 is regarded as a determinative;
　　　　in(*ḫ*)*.*(*wy*)*,* (both) eyebrows; the dual suffix is completely omitted
b. the transcription that arises when D13 is regarded as a determinative + Z4
　1. *in*(*ḫ*)*.*(*w*)*y,* (both) eyebrows; part of the dual suffix is expressed with a
　　phoneme
　2. *in*(*ḫ*)*.wy,* (both) eyebrows; dual number is expressed with a determinative

2.2　Confirmation of the theories

Next, I examine whether the research up until now has chosen (1a) or (1b). Table 1, given in chronological order by date of publication, shows which transliteration of L065-Let08 was adopted.

As shown in Table 1, Golénischeff (1906) published the first transliteration of the tale, in which he read L06-Let08 as D3. Since the publication of a transliteration in Blackman (1932), except for Vikentiev (1936) and von Bombard (1999), everyone has read L06-Let08 as D13 + Z4.

Table 1: List of the transliterations of L065-Let08

Previous studies	Transliterations	
	D3	D13+Z4
Golénischeff (1906: 77)	+	
Erman (1906: 10)	+	
Gardiner (1908: 61)	+	
Golénischeff (1912: 3)	+	
Golénischeff (1913: 3)	+	
Blackman (1932: 43)		+
Vikentiev (1936: 17-23)	+	
de Buck (1941: 10)		+
de Buck (1948: 101)		+
Faulkner (1962: 23)		+
Foster (1988: 101)		+
Zonhoven (1992: 227)		+
Borghouts (1993: II, 256)		+
Lapidus (1995: 75)		+
Hoch (1996: 188)		+
Foster (1998: 19)		+
von Bomhard (1999: 60)	+	
Graefe (2001: 41)		+
Zonhoven (2001: 2)		+
Chioffi & Le Guilloux (2003: 22)		+
Le Guilloux (2005: 28)		+
Ockinga (2005: 140)		+
Schenkel (2005: 205)		+
Selden (2013: 270)		+
Allen (2015: 22)		+

　　So since Blackman (1932), D13 + Z4 has been the dominant choice, what was the basis for that choice? Blackman (1932) was the first to propose this reading, and this is the note he affixed to his transliteration:

(3) "As Messrs. R. S. Gleadow and M. F. Laming Macadam have pointed out to me, this and not 𝍥 . . . is clearly the right transcription." (Blackman 1932: 43a)

　　In (3), when Blackman (1932) says "this", he means his reading of D13 + Z4. Furthermore, Borghouts (1993) had this to say about it:

(4) "In other editions, ⁀∥ is transcribed as the determinative 𝍥 ; but the hieratic character ⸰ stands for ⁀∥ ." (Borghouts 1993: II, 287)

　　To the best of my knowledge, Blackman and Borghouts are the only ones who give any basis or reason for the reading D13 + Z4 for L065-Let08.

　　On the other hand, Vikentiev (1936) gives a very clear basis for his opinion that the reading is D3.[5] So I determined to verify this view with reference to photographs of the original documents.

3　An overview of the source text and investigation of the manuscript

The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor is the title that has been given to this literary work, and to give the source manuscript its full official name, it is *Papyrus Hermitage No. 1115* in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum of Saint Petersburg, Russia. Judging from the directionality of the writing and the form of the glyphs used, some (Burkard & Thissen 2003; Parkinson 2002: 299) have surmised that this manuscript was written in the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom

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[5] Since the research of Vikentiev (1936), von Bomhard (1996) is the one who has opted to read the glyph as D3. However, his work does not give the transliteration for the entire work, and he gives no basis for the reading of L065-Let08.

(ca. 1976–1793 BC). Also, from the types of glyphs used, it is thought by some (Golénischeff 1913: 2; von Bomhard 1999: 51) to have been written by the same scribe who wrote the *Papyrus Prisse.*

    The only publication that provides photographs of the hieratic text of the original manuscript is Golénischeff (1913), but those are black-and-white photographs, and it is rather difficult to use them in order to determine fine portions of the glyphs. Therefore, I decided to carry out an examination of the original papyrus *in situ* at the Hermitage, and also took photographs of it.

    "Examination of the Original Papyrus"

Date: March 17, 2006

Place: The State Hermitage Museum

With the cooperation of:

       Dr. Andrey O. Bolsakov (Curator, The State Hermitage Museum)

   Yuri Katō (Associate Professor, The University of Tsukuba)

Purpose: To view and photograph the original papyrus

From here on, I shall undertake an examination of the hieratic script using the photographs obtained during my research.

4   Examination of the hieratic script

4.1   L065-Let08 and Vikentiev's view

Figure 1 is a photograph of L065-Let08. The form of the glyph is such that it can be divided into two parts: Part A, which begins at the upper right and extends to the lower left; and Part B, which consists of two short lines beneath Part A. The view that it should be read as D3 joins these two parts to make a whole single grapheme. Thus, in this case, Part A and Part B are both sub-sections of a single grapheme. To read the glyph as D13 + Z4, one must take Part A and Part B as each representing an independent grapheme.
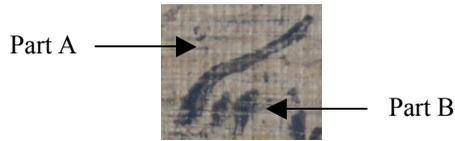
Figure 1: L065-Let08

Vikentiev (1936) is the only publication that stressed that the reading of L065-Let08 is D3, and he gave the following characteristics as the basis for his view.

(5) The Main Basis Given in Vikentiev (1936: 19–22)[6]

a. The style of Part A does not match that of glyph No. 89 in Möller (1909). No. 89 is written from the upper left down to the lower right, but Part A is written from the upper right to the lower left. (Vikentiev 1936: 19–20, (1-2))

b. The style of Part B is different from that of Z4. (Vikentiev 1936: 21–22, (3-4)).

c. In the original manuscript, nouns with the masculine, singular suffix-pronoun =fy are not written with the dual suffix .wy. (Vikentiev 1936: 22, (5))

d. The 63rd line[7] also contains the same glyph as L065-Let08, and this sign is read as D3. (Vikentiev 1936: 22 (5))

Concerning these points made by Vikentiev, I shall confirm the shape of the glyphs by using illustrations of the glyphs in the original source material in the following sections.

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[6] Vikentiev lists five separate bases (1–5) for his view, but in this paper I have given them as a–d and used the terms Part A and Part B in my explanation.

[7] It should be noted that Vikentiev (1936: 22) refers to the "53rd line", but this is a simple typographical error; it should read "the 63rd line".

4.2   Verification 1: A Comparison with Möller's List

Möller (1909) contains the standard paleographic list of hieratic glyphs. Blackman (1932) used No. 89 in Möller's list as his basis for reading L065-Let08. Therefore, let us first compare L065-Let08 with glyph No. 89 in Möller's list. The paleographic list in Möller (1909) assigns an original glyph code to each glyph, and that code is not the same as that used by Gardiner (1957) in his sign list. So let us first find the corresponding glyphs: No. 81 (Möller) = D3 (Gardiner), and No. 89 (Möller) = D13 (Gardiner).

Table 2 shows the rows in Möller's list for glyphs No. 81 and No. 89.

Table 2: Möller (1909)'s paleographic list of hieratic
(No. 81 [upper row]; No. 89 [lower row])

		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]
	Hierogl.	Abusir	Elephantine	Hatnub	Prisse	Ilahun	Sinuhe	Bulaq 18	Math.	Westcar	Golen.	Ebers
81.	Dyn 5.	Abusir V/B 13 Berlin			, 8,10.	Gr. Kah. V,31 (Med).	291. 63. Lebens- müder			5,16.	3,1	63,14. 45,17.
89.	Augen- braune						58 [1]				6,3	66,2 103,15.

Möller's No. 81 (upper row) has Part A extending from the upper right to the lower left. In comparison, in No. 89 (lower row), Part A is either horizontal or tends to curve slightly downward on the right.

Looking at the glyph in Figure 1, and comparing it with No. 89 in Table 2, one cannot accept that these two glyphs are the same. Rather, Part A and Part B taken together can be seen to be very similar to the example given for No. 81 from the *Prisse Papyrus* 8, 10 (Column [4] in Table 2) and *The Story of Sinuhe* (=*Papyrus Berlin 3022*), 63 (the lower example of Column [6] in Table 2). As mentioned in Section 3 above, the scribe who wrote the *Prisse Papyrus* is thought to have also copied *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, so if the example from the *Prisse Pa-*

pyrus shows that No. 81 = D3, then it is proper to also read L065-Let08 as No. 81 = D3.

The example of column [5] of No. 89 in Table 2, *The Story of Sinuhe*, 58, shows that the sign seems to be drawn from the upper right and to the lower left and this may cause us to think that Part A of L065-Let08 is represented by No. 89. However, as Vikentiev (1936: 20–21) has pointed out, Gardiner, who studied *The Story of Sinuhe,* determined that this glyph was D55 = Möller No. 121 (Gardiner 1916:35). Regarding this point, I cannot accept Möller's interpretation without question. In fact, even when looking at transliterated texts by those other than Gardiner, this character has been read as D55 (*see* Blackman 1932: 20; Koch 1990: 34). In the first place, concerning No. 89, the glyph from *The Story of Sinuhe* is the only example whose form and directionality differ from those of the other examples. Therefore, if this glyph is read as D55, uniformity is obtained for the shape of No. 89. For this reason, I would like to read the example taken from *The Story of Sinuhe* as D55.

Moreover, using Möller's list to examine the shape of L065-Let08, I could not find any similarities with No. 89, unlike the identification made by Blackman (1932: 32a). Rather, it seems more reasonable to read it as No. 81 = D3.

4.3   Verification 2: Part B of L065-Let08

In order to identify L065-Let 08 as D13 + Z4, one has to read Part A, sloping from the upper right to the lower left, as D13, and the other lines, Part B, as Z4. However, as I have already shown above in 4.2, Part A cannot be read as D13, so here he would like to compare the form of Part B with that of Z4.

Figure 2 shows L065-Let08 included in the hieratic script in the phrase *in(ḥ)=fy* "both his eyebrows". The upper arrow indicates Part B of L065-Let08, and the lower arrow, Z4. In comparing these two places, one can see that Part B of L065-Let08 seems to be written with thicker strokes.
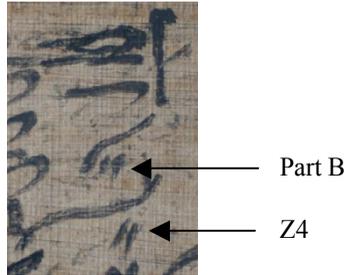
Figure 2: Hieratic script for "both his eyebrows" (line 65)

According to Vikentiev (1936: 21–22), Z4 has these characteristics: 1) the left-hand stroke is written higher than the right-hand stroke; and 2) the two diagonal strokes are either written parallel or in a zigzag pattern. Looking at Part B in Figure 2, the left-hand stroke is not written higher, and it is difficult to say that both diagonal strokes are really parallel. Furthermore, Z4 in Figure 2 maintains a certain degree of distance between itself and the previous character, and it is also written in the center of the line. In contrast, Part B is close to Part A, and its position is also shifted to the left-hand side of the line.

Considering the above points, it appears that it is not appropriate to identify Part B of L065-Let08 as Z4.

4.4　Verification 3: The method of writing a dual masculine noun

In *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor,* including the sixty-fifth line, there are six examples of dual masculine nouns. In Middle Egyptian, the masculine noun dual suffix was *.wy,* and when transcribing the consonants, this marker was always affixed to the word's stem. In hieratic, there were several methods of indicating a dual masculine noun. *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* employs three of those methods.

(6) The Methods of Writing a Dual Masculine Noun in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*

  a. *Method 1:* Write the determinative twice (1 example)

    rd.wy (both feet): D21(*r*)-D46(*d*)-D56-(det.)-D56(det)

<div align="right">

[L045-Let13–L 046-Let02]

</div>

  b. *Method 2:* Write the suffix *.wy* with phonetic glyphs (3 examples)

    ʿ*.wy* (both arms): D36(ʿ)-Z1(determinative)-G43(*w*)-Z4(*y*)

<div align="right">

[L054-Let06–L054-Let09]

</div>

    ʿ*.wy* (both arms): D36(ʿ)-Z1(determinative)-G43(*w*)-Z4(*y*)

<div align="right">

[L161-Let15–L161-Let18]

</div>

    ʿ*.wy* (both arms): D36(ʿ)-Z1(determinative)-G43(*w*)-Z4(*y*)-M17*2(*y*)

<div align="right">

[L087-Let05– L087-Let09]

</div>

  c. *Method 3:* Omit the suffix *.wy* when the 3rd-person masculine singular suffix pronoun = *fy* is used (1 example)

    gs(*.wy*)=*fy* (both of his legs): Aa16(*gs*)-Z1(determinative)-I09(*f*)-Z4(*y*)

<div align="right">

[L085-Let09– L085-Let12］

</div>

In terms of *in*(*ḥ*)*,* "eyebrow(s)", the word expressed by L065-Let05 – L065-Let08, it is immediately followed by the third-person masculine singular suffix pronoun =*fy.* Therefore, it is possible to consider that Method 3 above was used when writing the word *in*(*ḥ*)*,* "[both] eyebrows". In order to come to this conclusion, it is necessary to read D3 as a determinative, as outlined in (2a) above.

As Vikentiev has pointed out in (5), when considering the method of writing dual masculine nouns in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor,* it is appropriate to read L065-Let08 as D3.

4.5 Verification 4: Examples of D3 in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*

In *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor,* there are no instances of D13 other than possibly L065-Let08. On the other hand, there is one other instance of D3, the

reading of which is confirmed. It is L063-Let09, and is used as the determinative of the word *ḫbsw.t* "beard". Figure 3 shows L063-Let09.

Figure 3: L063-Let09

Among the works listed in Table 1, with the exception of Gardiner (1908), Faulkner (1962), and von Bomhard (1999), in which this part does not appear, all other scholars have determined that L063-Let09 should be read as D3. This has been the prevailing reading and no scholar has proposed that L063-Let09 should be read as D13.[8]

It is my belief that L063-Let09 and L065-Let08 are the same glyph; therefore, if L063-Let09 is read as D3, then L065-Let08 should also be read as D3.

4.6　Summary

Based on the above, as a result of examining the original manuscript of *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor,* no positive basis was found for reading L065-Let08 as D13 + Z4. Rather, I am of the opinion that L065-Let08, just as the example from the *Prisse Papyrus* 8, 10, *The Story of Sinuhe* (=*Papyrus Berlin 3022*), 63, and L063-Let09, should be read as D3.[9]

5　Conclusion

After the first publication of a transliteration by Golénischeff (1906), the eighth glyph in the sixty-fifth line of *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* was for many years accepted as D3. However, after the publication of another transliteration by

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[8] In addition to the works listed in Table 1, Sethe (1907: 83) and Dévaud (1917: 197) both read L063-Let09 as D3.

[9] The other example of D3 whose form is similar to that of L065-Let08 (Fig. 1) is seen in *The Heqanakht Papyri*, Letter V, line 21 (Allen 2002).

Blackman (1932), despite the superiority of Vikentiev's study, the transliterations published by all scholars read the glyph as D13 + Z4. Given this situation, after an examination of the original manuscript, it is my opinion that the eighth glyph of line sixty-five should be read as D3. If this is correct, then a correction to the predominant opinion during the more than eighty years since Blackman (1932) is required.

The main point of inquiry of this paper concerns the reading of a single glyph in the original manuscript, but through this detailed study, our analysis of the glyph extended to the word that contains it, *in*(*ḥ*)(.*wy*) "[both] eyebrows", and gave rise to the possibility that the suffix .*wy* was omitted by the scribe when writing the dual masculine form of the noun.

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「難破した水夫の物語」の 65 行目 8 番目の文字の判読案

永井　正勝

　「難破した水夫の物語」の 65 行目 8 番目の文字については、19 世紀に開始された本資料の研究当初より D3（聖刻文字番号）として判読されてきた。ところが、該当箇所について、これが単独の文字ではなく、D13 と Z4（聖刻文字番号）から成る文字列であるとの判読案が Blackman (1932) によって提示された。それ以降、多くの学者達が Blackman の判読案を支持してきた。ところが、本稿の筆者が原資料の神官文字を確認したところ、この文字を D3（聖刻文字番号）= No.81（神官文字）として判読するのが妥当であるとの結論に達した。

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