

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF
 KING AMENEMHAT I
 TO
 HIS SON USERTESEN I.
 XIIIth DYNASTY.

BY

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TO establish a correct text of this important work I had at my disposal: 1st, *Papyrus Sallier* II. (pl. i., l. 1—pl. iii., l. 9), 2nd, the unpublished *Papyrus Millingen*, a fac-simile of which I owe to the kindness of M. Jacques de Rougé; 3rd, *Papyrus Sallier* I. (p. viii. verso); 4th, *Ostrakon* 3623; and 5th, *Ostrakon* 3638 of the British Museum. The manuscript 4920 of Louvre which contains at least the first half of the text is almost entirely illegible and was of no use to me.

Out of five available sources, only one contains a complete copy of *The Instructions of Amenemhat*, and

that most incorrectly, viz., *Papyrus Sallier II.* The *Papyrus Millingen* is correct enough, and when entire contained the whole of the work: it is unfortunately mutilated at the end, and fails exactly where it was most wanted. *Sallier I.*, *Ostraca 3623* and *3638.* have only portions of the text indifferently written by careless scribes. Taking *The Instructions of Amenemhat* to have been divided as they are in the *Papyrus Millingen* into fifteen verses, there is for each of them the following authorities:—ver. i–vii. *Pap. Sallier I.*, *II.*; *Pap. Millingen*; *Ostrakon, 3623*: ver. viii., *Pap. Sallier II.*; *Pap. Millingen*; *Ostrakon 3623*: ver. ix., *Pap. Sallier II.*; *Pap. Millingen*; *Ostraca 3623, 3638*: ver. x.–xii., *Pap. Sallier II.*; *Pap. Millingen*; *Ostrakon 3638*: ver. xiii.–xv., *Pap. Sallier II.*; fragments of *Pap. Millingen.*

Mr. Goodwin gave an analysis of the text in his paper in the *Cambridge Essays on Hieratic Papyri* (1858) and translated about six or seven lines of it.



INSTRUCTIONS OF AMENEMHAT.

- 1 The beginning of the Instructions, made by His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt RASH'OTE-PHET, Son of the Sun AMENEMHAT, deceased: He says in a dream, unto his son the Lord intact,¹ he says rising up like a god: "Listen to what I speak unto thee: Now thou art a King of earth,² rulest thou now over the three regions, act even better than did thy predecessors.³
- 2 Let concord be kept between the subjects and thyself,⁴ lest people should give their heart up to fear. Being amongst them, do not isolate thyself; let not (only) the landed lords and noblemen fill thy heart like brothers, and grant not access unto thee to people whose friendship has not been long tried.⁵
- 3 Apply thyself⁶ to strengthen thy heart, because there are no more servants, O man, in the day of thy need. As for myself, I have given to the humble and made the

¹ Neb-er-zer, "the lord intact," a title of Osiris in opposition with Sep, Sepi, Osiris dismembered by Set.

² Thus after *Sallier* I, l. 2, and *Pap. Mill.*, pl. i. l. 2.

³ Lit. "Act more than the Graces, *nowre*;" the word *nowre*, like our title "*Sa Grace*," being reserved to kings, gods, or men of high rank.

⁴ Lit. "and himself."

⁵ Lit. "Do not let men be coming in, not being duration of friendship."

⁶ Sic. *Pap. Mill.*, i. l. 5. The other texts give the first person, "I apply myself."

weak be ; I have given valour to him who had it not as well as to him who (already) had it.

4 From a subject¹ I have raised thee, I have given thee thy arms² that fear of thee should come of it, and I have adorned myself with my fine linen so that I looked like water-flowers of my (garden),³ I have anointed myself with essences (as largely) as if I spilt water from my store-house.

5 My images live in the middle of men, (because) I have made the afflicted ones unto (non)-afflicted whose (cries) were heard no more ;⁴ the great place of fight, it was seen no more, and yet it had been fought before (as if the land were) a bull forgetful of yesterday,⁵ and there was stability of fortune neither for the ignorant nor for the learned man.

6 After supper-time it was, when night was come, I took an hour of pleasure, I laid myself down on the carpets of my house, I stretched myself, and I began in my soul to follow sleep ; but lo ! there had been weapons gathered together to oppose me, and I became as helpless as the snake of the field.⁶

¹ Lit. "an eater of rations."

² *Pap. Mill.*, i. l. 7, "I have given him (thee) *my* arms."

³ Lit. "like my *shui*," the *shui* being reeds or water flowers.

⁴ My Image lives in the hearts of men, for I have made those that were afflicted free from their afflictions, and their cries are heard no more.

⁵ Thus after *Pap. Mill.*, i. l. 10. I take that phrase to signify that people had fought one against another as if they had forgotten all their old traditions.

⁶ Thus after *Pap. Mill.*, pl. ii. l. 1, 2. Probably the amphibæna or blindworm is here meant.

7 Then I woke up to fight, feeling strong in my limbs,¹ but I soon found that it was to strike at (a foe) who did not stand.² If I caught a rebel with weapons in his hand, I made the coward³ turn back and fly :⁴ he was not brave (even) in the night, and no one fought. There never was a time of need (coming) that I did not know of;

8 and when my day came, without my knowing it,⁵ I had not listened to the courtiers (who wished) me to abdicate in thy favour, but I sat with thee, and lo ! I made designs for thee ; (and) lest there should be inconscious fear (spreading amongst them),⁶ I never wore a heart careless of what was for (my) servants.⁷

9 Whether locusts were drawn up to plunder, whether I were assaulted by seditions in the interior of my house, whether (the Nile) waters were (too) low and wells dry,⁸ whether (my enemies) took advantage of thy youth for their (wicked) deeds, I never drew back since the day

¹ Lit. "I woke up to fight, and I was in (or of) my limbs."

² The passage is restituted partly from *Pap. Mill.*, ii. l. 2, and partly from a correction: "*Qimna h'uniroh'er pu an-mennew.*"

³ *H'imtu*, a coarse epithet to be found in Pianxi's stele A, 16: "*An gem n memwiu zes-ew m h'imtu,*" "No army stands whose general is a coward."

⁴ Lit. "I made the coward turn round."

⁵ Lit. "When my passage came and I not knowing it." "*My passage*" seems to be an euphemism for *my death*.

⁶ Lit. "So that there be no fear, it not knowing itself."

⁷ The text of that phrase is most corrupt in all the existing MSS.: therefore the translation is not to be accepted without caution.

⁸ Restored from *Pap. Mill.*, ii. l. 5.

when I was born : never was the like since the time when the heroes did their deeds.¹

- 10 I have sent my messengers up to Abu² and my couriers down to Ath'u,³ I stood on the boundaries of the land to keep watch on its borders, and I brought to the boundaries men armed with the *khopesh*, being armed with the *khopesh* (myself) in (all) my forms.⁴
- 11 I am a maker of corn, the lover of NEPRA ;⁵ he granted me the rising up of the Nile upon the cultivated lands.⁶ There was no hungry (creature) through me, no thirsty (creature) through me, (because) every one took care to act according to my saying, and all my orders increased the love my people had for me.⁷
- 12 I hunted the lion and brought back the crocodile (a prisoner) ; I fought the UAUAI⁸ and brought back the MATSUI⁹ (a prisoner) ; I directed my efforts against the SATI,¹⁰ (so that) he came (to me) like a whelp.
- 13 I built myself a house adorned with gold ; its roof was

¹ Lit. "since the time of action of the heroes," viz., since the time before Menes.

² Elephantine.

³ Sic. after *Pap. Mill.*, ii. l. 6. *Abu* is Elephantine, *Athu*, Natho in the Delta.

⁴ After *Ostr.* ii. and *Pap. Mill.*, ii. l. 8.

⁵ The corn-god.

⁶ See negative confession in *Ritual*, cap. cxxv.

⁷ Lit. "What I ordered all (was) place for friendship."

⁸ The Nubians.

⁹ The *Μάζυες* of Hecatæus Milesius, in Lybia.

¹⁰ The Asiatics.

painted blue,¹ the walls in it, and the passages are of stones (connected with) metal-hooks; the bolts are of artificial *men*-metal. Made for eternity, time shrinks before it, (for) I possess all the everlasting virtues of the Lord intact.²

14 There are many devices of passages³ (in it); I (alone) know how to tell how to find my Grace,⁴ so that no one knows it except thee, O man USORTESEN, L. H. S.!⁵ Thy legs go, and thou thyself with thy own eyes thou seest me⁶ represented⁷ in a fortunate hour, amongst the *hammu*⁸ who do honour to thee.

15 The things I have made,⁹ I transferred to thee afterwards! (Now) I am the point at which (must) aim whatever is in thy heart, the statue on which to put the pschent¹⁰ and the signs of divinity, the seal of friendship! (for) I have begun for thee, prayers in the boat of RA. Behold! what made thee King is what I made be
 Raising up statues;

¹ Lit. "Its roof in *xesbet*." The *xesbet ma* is the lapis lazuli; the *xesbet ari* is the blue colour with which the Egyptians painted the roofs of their temples.

² The text is corrupt here.

³ Secret passage.

⁴ Lit. "his Grace."

⁵ Life, health, strength.

⁶ *Pap. Mill.*, iii. l. 5 has "(I) myself, with my own eyes, (I) see (thee)."

⁷ *Mesi*.

⁸ The *hammu* seem to be a kind of spirits who are often represented adoring the rising sun.

⁹ Lit. "The things I have made *before me*." Cf. *Baku xer h'ata*, "The servants *before me*" for "*my* servants."

¹⁰ The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

strengthening what thou grewest

[Here the Papyrus ends.]

(Dedicated) to the person of the wise Poet, the excellent
 above all, the Scribe of treasury, QAGABU, the Scribe of
 treasury, HORA, by the Scribe ENNA-ENNA in the first
 year, the second month of Pert, the 20th day.



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