

[Here begins the teaching which King /// made] for his son Merikare [///].

As for [///] his kinsfolk [///] the citizens [///] him, and his partisans are many in sum [///] enter [///] he is pleasing in the sight of his serfs, being firmly

A talker is a mischief-maker, suppress him, kill [him], erase his name, [destroy] his kinsfolk, suppress the remembrance of him and his partisans who love

A violent man is a confuser of the citizens who always makes partisans of the younger generation. If now you find someone belonging to the citizenry [///] and his deeds have passed beyond you, accuse him before the entourage and suppress [him], for he is a rebel indeed; a talker is a mischief-maker. Bend the multitude and drive out hot temper from it: [///] will not rise [in] rebellion by means of the poor man when he is made to rebel.

[The mind] of the underling is confused: the army [//]: put an end to it by mixing [//]. Many are apary, for men are put in the labour establish In eminaj of the underning's conjused; the army [///]; put an end to it of mixing [///], wany are angry, for men are put in the labour establishment. Be lenient [///] when you appose; when you fatten [herds, the people] are in joy. Justify yourself in the presence of God; then men will say [//] you [plan]. You shall contend against wrong [///] a good disposition is a man's heaven, but vilification by the ill-disposed man is dangerous. Be skillful in speech, that you may be strong; [///] it is the strength of [///] the tongue, and words are braver than all fighting; none can circumvent the

clever man [///] on the mat; a wise man is a [school] for the magnates, and those who are aware of his knowledge do not attack him. [Falsehood] does not exist near him, but truth comes to him in full essence, after the manner of what the ancestors said.

Copy your forefathers, for [work] is carried out through knowledge; see, their words endure in writing. Open, that you may read and copy knowledge; (even) the expert will become one who is instructed.

Do not be evil, for patience is good; make your lasting monument in the love of you. Multiply [the people] whom the city has enfolded; then will God be proised because of rewards, men will watch over your [///] and give thanks for your goodness, and your health will be proyed for [///].

Respect the areat: keep your people safe: consolidate your frontier and your patrolled area, for it is good to work for the future. Show respect [///] life respect the great, keep your people saje; consonance your journeer and you reprotesce area, join it is good to work you free journess area, snow respect (j/l) ingo for the clear-sighted, but the trusting man will suffer pain. Let men be sent [///] through your kindly disposition. Wretched is he who has bound the land to himself [///], a fool is he who is greedy when others possess. [Life] on earth passes away, it is not long; he is fortunate who [has a good] remembrance in it. No man goes straight forward, (even though) a million belong to the Lord of the Two Lands. [//] shall live forever; he who comes from the hand of Osiris shall depart, just as he who is self-indulgent shall be lost.

Make your magnates areat, that they may execute your laws : one who is rich in his house will not be one-sided, for he who does not lack is an owner of water your magnites great, and they may execute your laws, one who is not in in house will not be one-sided, one-sided toward the possessor of rewards. Great is the great one whose great ones are great; valiant is a king who owns an entourage; and august is he who is rich in magnates. Speak truth in your house, so that the magnates who are on earth may respect you, for a sovereign's renown (lies in) straightforwardness; it is the front room of a house that inspires the back room with respect.

Do justice, that you may live long upon earth, Calm the weeper, do not oppress the widow, do not oust a man from his father's property, do not degrade Do justice, that you may live long upon earth. Colin the weeper, do not oppress the widow, do not ust a man from his father's property, do not degrade magnates from their seats. Beware of punishing wrongdilly; do not kill, for it will not profit you, but thin with beatings and with imprisonment, for thus the land will be set in order, excepting only the rebel who has conspired, for God knows those who are disaffected, and God will smite down his evil doing with blood. It is the lenient man who [///] lifetime; so do not kill a man of whose ability you are aware, and with whom you once recited writings, but read in the account [///] because of God, and stride forward freely in a difficult place. The soul comes to the place which it knows, and it will not overstep the ways of the past; no magic can oppose it, and it will reach those who will give it water.

As for the tribunal which judges the needy, you know that they will not be lenient on that day of judging the poor; in the hour of exercising (their) In the fundamental manages are needy, you man to the fundament of man and you for place plant in the most of execusing (their) function, whether is he who is accused as a wise man. Do not put your trust in length of years, for they regard a lifetime as on hour; a man survives after death, and his deeds are laid before him in a heap. Existence yonder is eternal, and he who complains of it is a fool, but as for him who attains it, he will be like a god yonder, striding forward like the lords of eternity.

Raise up your young troops, that the Residence may love you. Multiply your partisans as neighbours; see, your towns are full of newly settled folk. It is for twenty years that the rising generation is happy in following its desire, and neighbours come forth again; he who is caused to enter goes in for himself by means of children [//]. Ancient times have fought for us, and I raised (troops) from them at my accession. Make your magnates great, promote your (variors), Increase the rising generation of your retainers, they being equipped with knowledge, established with lands, and endowed with cattle. Do not distinguish the son of a man of rank from a commoner, but take a man to yourself because of his actions, so that every craft may be carried on [///] for the possessor of strength.

Guard your frontier, marshal your fortresses, for troops are profitable to their master.

Guard your frontier, marshal your fortresses, for troops are profitable to their master.

Construct [fine] monuments to God, for it means the perpetuation of the name of whoever does it, and a man should do what is profitable to his soul, (namely) monthly service as priest and the wearing of white sandals. Enrich the temple, be discreet concerning the mysteries, enter into the sanctuary, eat bread in the temple, richly provide the altars, increase the revenues, add to the daily offerings, for it is a profitable matter for whoever does it; maintain your monuments in proportion to your wealth, for a single day gives to betenity, an hour does good for future, and God is aware of him who serves him. Dispatch your statues to a distant land of which they shall not render an inventory, for he who destroys the goods of an enemy will suffer.

The enemy cannot be quiet (even) within Egypt, but troops shall subdue troops, in accordance with the prophecy of the ancestors about it, and men fight

Do not destroy ancient buildings with a destruction through action; I acted thus and so it happened, just as he who had transgressed likewise did against

Do not deal ill with the Southern Region, for you know the prophecy of the Residence about it, and it has happened [even as] this shall happen; they shall not transgress as they said [//]. I turned back [to] Thinis [//] its southern boundary at Tower, and I captured it like a cloudburst, though King Mer-[//]re did not do it. Be lenient about it ///. [//] renew contracts. There is no pure reason who is caused to be hidden, and it is good to act on behalf of posterity. You stand well with the Southern Region, for the bearers of loads come to you with produce; I did the same as the ancestors, and there was none who had corn who gave it. Be kindly to those who are weak toward you, and satisfy yourself with your own bread and beer

Granite comes to you without hindrance, so do not destroy someone else's monuments. Hew stone in Tura, but do not build your tomb of what has been thrown down. (or of) what has been made for what is to be made. See, the king is a possessor of joy: you can be drowsy and you can sleen through your strength of arm ; follow your desire through what I have done, for there is no enemy within your frontie

I rose as ruler in my city, but I was anxious about the Delta from Het-shenu to Sembaka, its southern boundary being at the Canal of the Two Fishes. I pacified the west as far as the sand dunes of the Fayum; it labors and yields meru-wood; men see wan-wood (once again) and yield it to us. **But the east** is rich in foreigners, and their taxes are [withheld]; the Middle Island is turned about, (and also) everyone in it. (yet) the temples say of me: O Great One, men salute vou. See, [the land] which they destroyed is made into districts and every areat city (is restored). The governance of (each) one is in the hands of ten men, a magistrate is appointed who will levy [//] the amount of all taxes. The priest is provided with a farm, and men work for you like a single

gang. How is it that disoffection does not occur? (Because) you will not suffer from a Nile which fails to come, and the revenues of the Delta are in your hand. See, the mooring post which I have made in the east is driven in from the limits of Hebnu to Road-of-Horus, settled with towns and full of people of the pick of the entire land, to repel enemies from them. May I see a brave man who will imitate it and who will do more than I have done [///] by the

Speak thus concerning the barbarian: As for the wretched Asiatic, unpleasant is the place where he is (with) trouble from water, difficulty from mit trees, and the roads thereof awkward by reason of mountains. He does not dwell in one place, being driven hither and yon through want, going ab [the desert] on foot. He has been fighting since the time of Horus; he never conquers, yet he is not conquered, and he does not announce a day fighting, like a thief whom a community has driven out.

But I lived, and while I existed the barbarians were as though in the walls of a fortress; [my troops] broke open [//]. I caused the Delta to smite them, I carried off their people, I took away their cattle, until the detestation of the Asiatics was against Egypt. Do not worry about him, for the Asiatic is a crocodile on his riverbank; he snatches a lonely serf, but he will never rob in the vicinity of a populous town. Dig a mout against [//] and flood the holf of it at the Bitter Lakes, for see, it is the novel-string of the desert dwellers; its walls and its soldiers are many and the partisans in it know how to take up arms, apart from the freemen of the camp; the region of Died-esut totals ten thousand men consisting of free untaxed commoners, and magnates have been in it since the time of the Residence, "its" boundary is established, its garrison is brave, and many northerners irrigate it to the limits of the Delta, they being taxed in corn like freemen; it is /// the face of him who made it, and see, it is the door of the Delta. They made a moat for Ninsu, for a populous city is /// Beware of being surrounded by the partisans of an enemy; watchfulness is what renew years.

When your frontier to the Southern Region is troubled, it is the barbarians who have taken the belt. Build castles in the Delta, for a man's name will not be liminished by what he has done, and a well-founded city cannot be harmed. Build castles [///], for an enemy loves disturbance, and his actions are mean The late King Akhtoy ordained in a teaching: "Be inactive about the violent man who destroys altars, for God will attack him who rebels against the temples. Men will come about it according as he does it; he will be satisfied with what is ordained for him, (namely) a trap for him; no one will use loyalty toward him on that day of coming.

Protect the altars, worship God, and do not say: "It is weakness of mind"; do not let your arms be loose. As for him who makes rebellion against you, it is

to destroy the sky. Prosperity means a year of monuments; even if an enemy knows, he will not destroy them, through the desire that what he has done may be embellished by another who comes after. There is not one devoid of an enemy, but the ruler of the Two Banks is a wise man, and a king who possesses an entourage cannot act stupidly. He is wise from birth, and God will distinguish him above millions of men.

The kinaship is a goodly office: it has no son and it has no brother who shall make its monuments endure, yet it is the one person who ennobles the other in a man works for his predecessor, through the desire that what he has done may be embellished by another who shall come after him. A mean act was committed in my reign; the territory of Thinis was devastated. It indeed happened, but not through what I had done; I knew of it only after it was done. See, the consequences exceeded what I had done, for what is damaged is spoiled, and there is no benefit for him who restores what he (himself) has ruined, who demolishes what he has built and embellished what he has defaced; beware of it! A blow is repaid by the like of it, and all that is achieved is

One generation of men passes to another, and God, who knows character, has hidden Himself. There is none who will oppose the possessor of a hand, and he is an attacker of what the eyes see, so worship God upon his way. Things are made of costly stone and fashioned in copper; the mud flat is replaced with water; there is no stream that can be made to hide, for it means that the dike in which it hid itself is destroyed. The soul goes to the place it knows and does not stray on yesterday's road. Beautify your mansion in the West, embellish your place in the necropolis with straightforwardness and  $just\ dealing, for\ it\ is\ on\ that\ which\ their\ hearts\ rely\ ;\ more\ acceptable\ is\ the\ character\ of\ the\ straightforward\ man\ than\ the\ ox\ of\ the\ wrong doer.$ 

Serve God, that he may do the like for you, with offerings for replenishing the altars and with carving; it is that which will show forth your name, and God is aware of whoever serves Him. Provide for men, the cattle of God, for He made heaven and earth at their desire. He suppressed the greed of the waters, He gave the breath of life to their noses, for they are likenesses of Him which issued from His flesh. He shines in the sky for the benefit of their hearts; He has made herbs, cattle, and fish to nourish them. He has killed His enemies and destroyed His own children, because they had planned to make rebellion; He makes daylight for the benefit of their hearts, and he sails around in order to see them. He has raised up a shrine behind them, and when they weep, He hears. He has made them rulers even from the egg, a lifter to lift (the load) from the back of the weak man. He has made for them magic to be weapons to ward off what may happen. Be watchful over it by night as by day. How has He killed the disaffected! Even as a man strikes his son for his brother's sake, for God knows every name.

Do not be distressed (at) my utterance even when it gives laws concerning the king. Instruct yourself, that you may rise up as a man; then you will attain to my repute without anyone who accuses you. Do not kill anyone who approaches you, but favour him, for God knows him. He who flourishes on earth is one of them, and they who serve the king are gods. Instill the love of you into all the world, for a good character is what is remembered /// is perished, and it is said of you: "He who will destroy the time of suffering by those who are at the bock in the House of Akhtoy, in proving for him who will come today". See, I have told you the best of my immost thoughts, which you should set steadfastly before your face. René Dussaut, Yahvé, fils de El :

Nous avons précisément un excellent exemple de cet usage dans Gen., xiv, 22, où trois divinités, Yahwé, El et 'Elyon sont juxtaposées. Quoi qu'il en soit, M. Eissfeldt admet que la primauté est passée peu à peu de El à

Yahwé. Cela répond à une loi naturelle que l'humanité a appliquée aux divinités où il est constant que le fils supplante le père. Déjà El a supplanté 'Elyon, Yahwé supplantera El. Le texte ougarite VI AB, IV, 13-14 a été ainsi traduit par M. Virolleaud :

Et répondit El, bienveillant et compatissant « Le nom de mon fils est Yw (fils de) Elat. »

Que le nom de Yahwé ait été répandu chez les Sémites de l'Ouest en dehors d'Israël, l'A. T. lui-même nous en conserve un témolgnage sans équivoque, bien que sous une forme légendaire, dans le cas de Bala'am qui ne peut transgresser, dit-il, « l'ordre de Yahwé, mon Delu, en aucune chose, petite ou grande ».

M. K. G. Kuhn a montré que le vocable yw s'est graphiquement élargi en yhw, puis en

yhwh. On a en ougaritique l'exemple de bt élargi en bht et dans l'A. T. celui d'Abram en Abraham. L'exemple le plus remarquable est celui de El devenant 'elh (Eloah) et 'elhm (Elohim) déjà attestés à Ras Shamra.

ll ne faut pas être surpris si l'on a généralement écarté le rapprochement de Yw ave ahwé. Toutefois on n'a pas pris garde que l'A. T. lui-même certifie la filiation avec El. suffît de citer Deutér., xxxn, 8-9

Lorsque 'Elyon départagea les nations, lorsqu'il répartit les hommes, Il fixa les frontières des peuples selon le nombre des fils de El. La part de Yahwé fut son peuple Jacob, son héritage fut Israël

Amorite texts

llu Amurru (<sup>D</sup>MAR.TU) 'shepherd', son of Anu, husband of Ašratum.

hêlu šadī or hêl šadê. 'lord of the mountain'

dúr-hur-sag-gá sikil-a-ke, 'He who dwells on the pure mountain' kur-za-gan ti-[la], 'who inhabits the shining mountain

ì-li a-bi-a, 'the god of my father' ramān 'thunderer'.

bārigu 'hurler of the thunderbolt'

Adad ša a-bu-be 'Adad of the deluge'

'il abīka "God of your father", 'il abīni "God of our father"

Tôru 'Ēl ("Bull Ēl" or "the bull god").

'ahū hanī 'ili ("father of the gods")

'abū 'adami ("father of man").

aānivunu 'ôlam ("creator eternal"). hātikuka ("your patriarch").

malku ("King"), 'abū šamīma ("Father of years"), 'El gibbōr ("Ēl the warrior").

Dieu [Eloha] vient de Témân et le Saint du Mont de Parân ; sa majesté couvre les cieux sa louange emplit la terre. Son éclat est pareil à la lumière : deux rayons (cornes) sortent de ses mains : là se tient cachée sa puissance. Devant lui marche Daber [peste], et Resheph [fièvre] met ses pas dans les siens. Il s'arrête, et la terre tremble, il regarde et fait sursauter les nations. Les montagnes de toujours se disloquent, les collines d'autrefois s'effondrent, qui furent autrefois des routes pour lui.

Psaume 81 :

Psaume d'Asaf. Dieu(x) [Elohym] préside dans l'assemblée divine [de El]; au milieu des dieux [elohym], Il juge.

« Combien de temps jugerez-vous sans justice, soutiendrez-vous la cause des impies « Rendez justice au faible, à l'orphelin : faites droit à l'indigent, au malheureux !

« Libérez le faible et le pauvre, arrachez-les aux mains des impies ! »

5 Mais non, sans savoir, sans comprendre, ils vont au milieu des ténèbres : les fondements de la terre en sont ébranlés. 6 « Je l'ai dit : Vous êtes des dieux, des fils du Très-Haut [Flyon], yous tous [

« Pourtant, vous mourrez comme des hommes, comme les princes, tous, vous

Lève-toi, Dieu(x) [Elohym], juge la terre, car toutes les nations t'appartiennent

Sin or Suen (Akkadian : EN.ZU, pronounced Su'en. Sin) or Nanna (Sumerian : "ŠEŠ,KI, "NANNA) was the god of the moon in the Mesopotamian religions of Sumer. Akkad Assyria and Babylonia. Nanna is a Sumerian deity, the son of Enlil and Ninlil, and became identified with the Semitic Sīn. The two chief seats of Nanna's/Sīn's worship were Ur in the south of Mesopotamia and Harran in the north. A moon god by the same name was also worshipped in South Arabia.

The Semitic moon god Su'en/Sin is in origin a separate deity from Sumerian Nanna, but from the Akkadian Empire period the two undergo syncretization and are identified. The occasional Assyrian spelling of DANNA-ar Su'en-e is due to association with Akkadian na-an-na-ru "illuminator, lamp", an epitheton of the moon god. He is commonly designated as En-zu, which means "lord of wisdom". During the period (c. 2600–2400 BC) that Ur exercised a large measure of supremacy over the Euphrates valley, Sin was naturally regarded as the head of the pantheon. It is to this period that we must trace such designations of Sin as "father of the gods", "chief of the gods", "creator of all things", and the like. The "wisdom" personified by the moon-god is likewise an expression of the science of astronomy or the practice of astrology, in which the observation of the moon's phases is an important factor.

His wife was Ningal ("Great Lady"), who bore him Utu/Shamash ("Sun") and Inanna/Ishtar (the goddess of the planet Venus)

Nanna's chief sanctuary at Ur was named E-gish-shir-gal, "house of the great light" (cuneiform: e2-giš-šir-gal). Sin also had a sanctuary at the city of Harran, named E-hul-

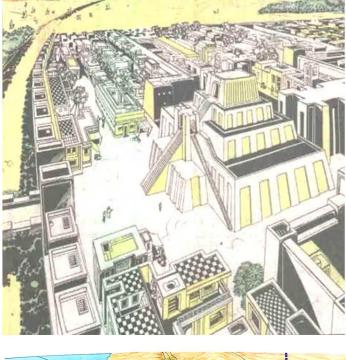
Flavius Josèphe, Guerre des Juifs, V, 379-381

Βασιλεὺς ό τότε Νεχαὼς Αίγυπτίων, ό δ' αὐτὸς έκαλεῖτο καὶ Φαραώ, μυρία χειρὶ καταβὰς ἤρπασε Σάρραν βασιλίδα, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. Τἱ οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Άβραάμ, προπάτωρ δὲ ἡμέτερος; ἄρα τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἡμύνατο τοῖς ὅπλοις, καίτοι ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους ὑπάρχους ἔχων, δύναμιν δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστω τοὐτων ἀπειρον; ἢ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐρημίαν ἡγήνατο μὴ συμπαρόντος θεοῦ, καθαρὰς δ' ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὂν υῦν ἐμιάνατε χῶρον ὑμεῖς τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ἐστρατολόγησεν; Οὺ μετὰ μίαν ἐσπέραν ἄχραντος μὲν ἡ βασίλισα ἀνεπέμφθη πρός τὸ ἀνδορα, προκοινών δὲ τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰμαχθέντα χῶρον ὀμοφύλω φόνω καὶ τρέμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ φαντασμάτων ἔφευγεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀργύρω δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς Ἑβραίους ἐδωρεῖτος

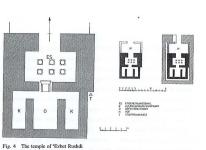
Le roi d'Égypte Néchao, appelé aussi Pharaon, descendu avec une innombrable armée, enleva la reine Sara, mère de notre race. Que fit alors son époux Abraham, notre incêtre ? Se vengea-t-il par les armes de l'insolent ravisseur, lui qui cependant avait trois cent dix-huit lieutenants, dont chacun commandait lui-même à des forces innombrables? Ne considéra-t-il pas tous ces hommes comme n'étant rien, sans l'assistance de Dieq ? Tendant ses mains pures vers le lieu que vous venez de souiller, il gagna à sa cause l'Allié invincible. Et le lendemain soir, la reine fut renvoyée sans tache à son époux. L'Egyptien, adorant le lieu ensanglanté par le meurtre de vos concitoyens et tremblant devant les fantômes de la nuit, prit la fuite; il fit des présents d'argent et d'or à ces Hébreux aimés de Dieu.











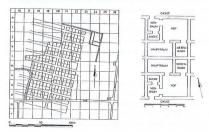
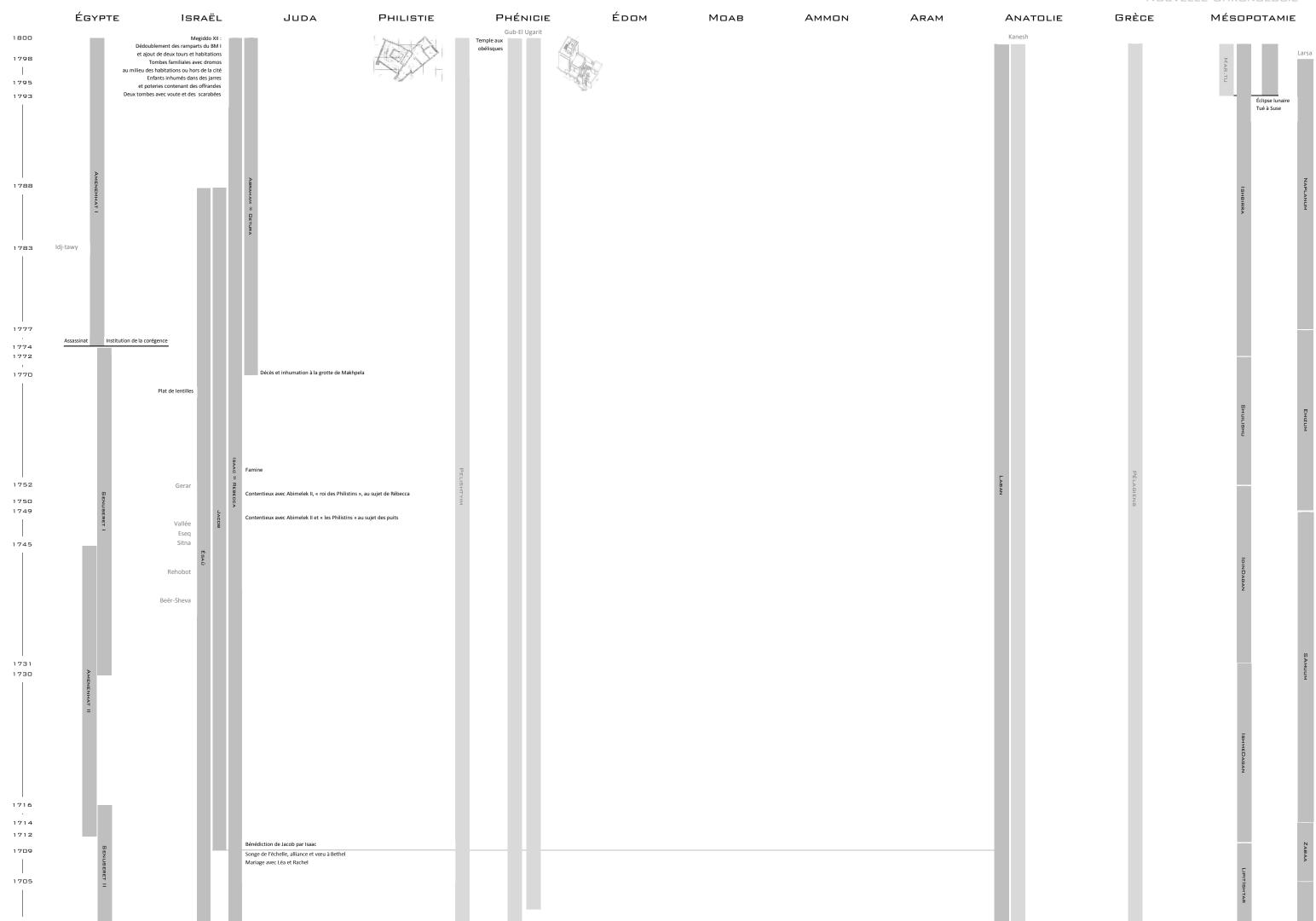
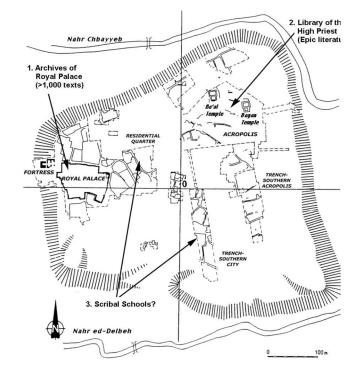


Fig. 5 Plan of the orthogonal settlement of the early 12th Dynasty.

Fig. 6 House belonging to the orthogonal settlement

Translation by R. O. Faulkner oson (ed.), The Literature of Ancient Egypt, New Haven and London, 1973, pp. 180-192

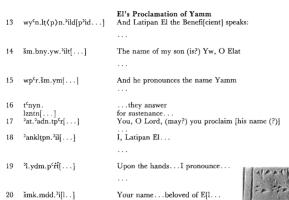












My house of silver which (?)...

In the hand of Aliyan B[aal]

Thus he reviles me (?)...

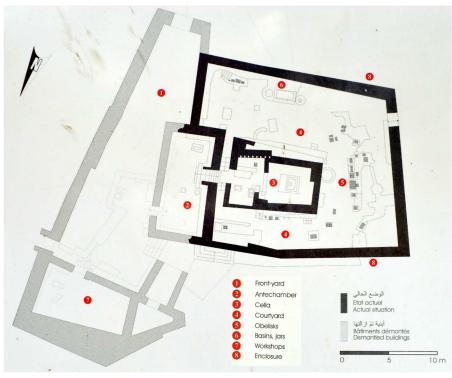
21 btkspy.dt[...]

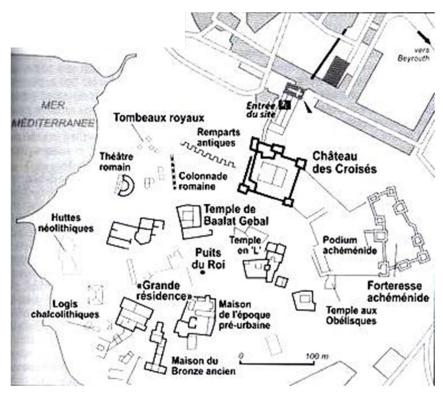
22 bd³aliynb[q..]

23 kdyn³aṣn[...]

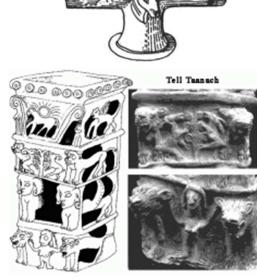














1–10) For (the goddess Asjamatom, daughter-in-law of the god An, the one suitable for ladyship, lady of voluptuous-ness and happiness, derly cared for in the mountain, lady with patient mercy, who prays reverently for her spouse, his lady.

11–13) for the li[fe] of Ḥammu-r[āpi], king of the Amo[rites],

14–20) Itūr-ašd[um], chief of the [S]ilakku canal (district), son of Šubāil[ān], the servant who re[verences her, set up] as a wonder a protective genius befitting her d[ivi]nity, [in her] beloved residence.

Tintir = Bābilu IV (K. 3089) 17 :

é.hi.li.kalam.ma = bīt daš-ra-tum

"House of the luxury of the land = temple of Ašratum"

Mystical Text, Borsippa, 138 B.C. (B.M. 34035):

gú.bar.ra: daš-rat : gú: ki-šó-du: bar: za-a-ri daš-rat šá é-zi-da şabītu (maš.dà) šú-ú u kišād-su zi-i-ri daš-rat šá é-sag-íl

dšar-ra-ḫi-tu 4: d inanna ! : ši-i : šá-ra-ḫi-i-tú : d aš-rat a-ḫi-i-tu 4 mul-ţu u mu-šá-lu šá ina qātē II-šú kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú muš-šu-lu šá múladda

eš.bar pu-ru-us-su-ú : eš: še-la-ša-a 4: bar: meš- li

ulta (ta) ud.15.kam d šar-rat LÁ-ma purussê (eš.bar) i-šak-kan

Gubarra: Ašrat. gú: neck. Bar: to hate.

Ašrat of Ezida is a gazelle, and she is shunned. Ašrat of Esagila is Šarrāḫītu, Inanna.

Šarrāḫītu (the proud one) is Ašrat the foreigner (*ašrat aḫītu*).

The comb and mirror in her hands—it is obtuse and obscure—is a representation of the corpse star.

eš.bar : decision. Eš : 30. Bar : half. It is from the 15th day that the divine queen... and makes the decisions

<sup>13</sup> Heureux ('ashrey) l'homme qui trouve la sagesse, et l'homme qui accède à l'intelligence! <sup>14</sup> C'est une bonne affaire, meilleure qu'une affaire d'argent, plus rentable que l'or. <sup>15</sup> Elle est plus précieuse que les perles, rien ne l'égale : <sup>16</sup> dans sa main droite, longueur de jours, dans sa main gauche, richesse et gloire l <sup>17</sup> Ses chemins sont chemins de délices, tous ses sentiers, des lieux de paix. <sup>18</sup> Pour qui la tient, elle est arbre de vie ; qui la saisit est un homme heureux [mé'oushshar]. <sup>19</sup> YHWH a fondé la terre avec sagesse ; il a établi les cieux avec intelligence. <sup>20</sup> C'est par sa science que les abîmes se sont ouverts et que, des nuages, perle la rosée.