

# ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

RELATING TO  
THE OLD TESTAMENT

*EDITED BY JAMES B. PRITCHARD*

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האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים  
המזרח הקדמון  
הספרייה

(other) side, saying: "Wait here until dawn. When the sun disc rises, I shall (vii 1) be judged with you in his presence, and he will turn the wicked over to the just, for I won't be with you ever [again]; I won't be in a place where you are—I shall go to the Valley of the Cedar!"<sup>7</sup>

NOW WHEN IT WAS DAWN AND A SECOND DAY HAD COME, the Re-Har-akhti arose, and one of them saw the other. THEN the lad argued with his elder brother, saying: "What do you (mean by) coming after me to kill (me) falsely, when you wouldn't listen to what I had to say? Now I am still your younger brother, and (5) you are like a father to me, and your wife is like a mother to me! Isn't it so? When I was sent to fetch us (some) seed, your wife said to me: 'Come, let's spend an hour sleeping (together)!' But, look, it is twisted for you into something else!" THEN HE let him know all that had happened to him and his wife. THEN HE swore to the Re-Har-akhti, saying "As for your killing (me) falsely, you carried your lance on the word of a filthy whore!" And he took a reed-knife, and he cut off his phallus, and he threw it into the water. And the shad swallowed (it).<sup>8</sup> And he (viii 1) was faint and became weak. And his elder brother's heart was very, very sad, and he stood weeping aloud for him. He could not cross over to where his younger brother was because of the crocodiles. . . .

THEN (the younger brother) went (7) off to the Valley of the Cedar, and his elder brother went off to his house, with his hand laid upon his head, and he was smeared with dust.<sup>9</sup> So he reached his house, and he killed his wife, and he threw her out (to) the dogs. And he sat in mourning for his younger brother. . . .

(The story continues with a number of episodes. The gods fashion a wife for the self-exiled Bata, but she has a wandering eye, and the Valley of the Cedar does not give her enough scope. She is taken to the Egyptian court, where she contrives the destruction of her husband. However, the elder brother, Anubis, receives a magic sign, journeys to the Valley of the Cedar, and brings Bata back to life. Bata assumes various forms, follows his wife to Pharaoh's court, and thwarts her contrivings. In a magic way, she conceives a son by Bata. This son, who is Bata himself, is accepted by Pharaoh as the Crown Prince. When Pharaoh dies, he succeeds to the throne.)

THEN ONE<sup>10</sup> said: "Have my chief officials brought to me, to his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—so that I may let them know all the things (xix 5) which have happened to me." THEN [THEY] brought him his wife,

<sup>7</sup> In the poem on Ramses II's battle at Kadesh on the Orontes, the Valley of the Cedar appears to be in or near the Lebanon. cf. p. 256 below. cf. *JEA*, xix (1933), 128.

<sup>8</sup> The mutilation was a self-imposed ordeal to support his oath to the sun-god. There was a familiar element in the swallowing of the phallus by the fish. In the Plutarch account of the Osiris myths, it is related that Seth dismembered Osiris and scattered the pieces. Then Isis went about and buried each piece as she found it. However, she could not find the phallus, which had been thrown into the river and eaten by certain fishes, which thereby became forbidden food.

<sup>9</sup> Thus showing his grief.

<sup>10</sup> A circumlocution for the Pharaoh, who was now Bata himself.

and he was judged with her in their presence, and there was agreement among them.<sup>11</sup> And his elder brother was brought to him, and he made him crown prince in his entire land. And he (spent) thirty years as King of Egypt. And he departed from life, and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of death.

IT HAS COME TO A happy ENDING. (Dedicated) to the *ka* of the Scribe of the Treasury Qa-gabu, of the Treasury of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—(to) the Scribe Hori, and (to) the Scribe Mer-em-Opet. Done by the Scribe Inena, the master of this writing.<sup>12</sup> As for him who may disagree with this writing, (10) Thoth<sup>13</sup> will be an opponent to him.

## THE JOURNEY OF WEN-AMON TO PHOENICIA

When the Egyptian Empire disintegrated, it left a vacuum in its place for a generation or two. Egyptians, Asiatics, and Africans continued to think in terms of an authority which was no longer real. In the following tale Egypt had already become a "bruised reed" but was continuing to assert traditional expressions of dominance. The Asiatics were beginning to express their scepticism and their independence of their great neighbor to the south.

The story is almost picaresque in its atmosphere and must be classed as a narrative. Nevertheless, it deals at close range with actual individuals and situations and must have had a basis of fact, here exaggerated by the conscious and unconscious humor of the narrator. It does represent the situation in Hither Asia about 1100 B.C. more tellingly than a document of the historical-propagandistic category could do.

Wen-Amon, an official of the Temple of Amon at Karnak, tells how he was sent to Byblos on the Phoenician coast to procure lumber for the ceremonial barge of the god. Egypt had already split into small states and did not support his mission with adequate purchasing value, credentials, or armed force.

The papyrus, now in the Moscow Museum, comes from el-Hibeh in Middle Egypt and dates to the early Twenty-first Dynasty (11th century B.C.), shortly after the events it relates. A transcript of some of the hieratic text may be seen in G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 29. The original publication, out of his own collection, was by W. Golenischeff, in *Recueil de travaux* . . . , XXI (1899), 74-102. Transcription into hieroglyphic is in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, I, Brussels, 1932), 61-76. A. Erman published a translation in *ZAE*, xxxviii (1900), 1-14, and again in *LAE*, 174-85. The present translation profited by photographs of the manuscript. The text is written in the colloquial of Late-Egyptian and is so translated.

YEAR 5, 4TH MONTH OF THE 3RD SEASON, DAY 16:<sup>1</sup> the day on which Wen-Amon, the Senior of the Forecourt of the House of Amon, [Lord of the Thrones] of the Two Lands, set out to fetch the woodwork for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, King of the Gods,

<sup>11</sup> As in other cases, the Egyptian avoids direct statement of the woman's condemnation to death.

<sup>12</sup> Qa-gabu was the master and Inena the pupil. cf. p. 259 below.

<sup>13</sup> The god of writing.

<sup>1</sup> The year was either that of the last of the Ramessids or of the kingless period following the twentieth dynasty. Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Heri-Hor are treated as effective rulers but not given royal titles. The month dates throughout the papyrus are in obvious confusion; only a drastic revision would provide chronological sense.



which is on [the River and which is named:] "User-het-Amon." On the day when I reached Tanis, the place [where Ne-su-Ba-neb]-Ded and Ta-net-Amon were,<sup>2</sup> I gave them the letters of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and they (5) had them read in their presence. And they said: "Yes, I will do as Amon-Re, King of the Gods, our [lord], has said!" I SPENT UP TO THE 4TH MONTH OF THE 3RD SEASON in Tanis.<sup>3</sup> And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon sent me off with the ship captain Mengebet,<sup>4</sup> and I embarked on the great Syrian sea IN THE 1ST MONTH OF THE 3RD SEASON, DAY 1.

I reached Dor, a town of the Tjekker, and Beder, its prince, had 50 loaves of bread, one jug of wine, (10) and one leg of beef brought to me.<sup>5</sup> And a man of my ship ran away and stole one [vessel] of gold, [amounting] to 5 *deben*, four jars of silver, amounting to 20 *deben*, and a sack of 11 *deben* of silver. [Total of what] he [stole]: 5 *deben* of gold and 31 *deben* of silver.<sup>6</sup>

I got up in the morning, and I went to the place where the Prince was, and I said to him: "I have been robbed in your harbor. Now you are the prince of this land, and you are its investigator who should look for my silver. Now about this silver—it belongs to Amon-Re, (15) King of the Gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded; it belongs to Heri-Hor, my lord, and the other great men of Egypt! It belongs to you; it belongs to Weret; it belongs to Mekmer; it belongs to Zakar-Baal, the Prince of Byblos!"<sup>7</sup>

And he said to me: "Whether you are important or whether you are eminent—look here, I do not recognize this accusation which you have made to me! Suppose it had been a thief who belonged to my land who went on your boat and stole your silver, I should have repaid it to you from my treasury, until they had (20) found this thief of yours—whoever he may be. Now about the thief who robbed you—he belongs to you! He belongs to your ship! Spend a few days here visiting me, so that I may look for him."

I spent nine days moored (in) his harbor, and I went (to) call on him, and I said to him: "Look, you have not found my silver. [Just let] me [go] with the ship captains and with those who go (to) sea!" But he said to me: "Be quiet! . . ." <sup>8</sup> I went out of Tyre at the break of dawn. . . . Zakar-Baal, the Prince of Byblos, . . .

<sup>2</sup> Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded was the *de facto* ruler of the Delta, with Tanis as his capital. Ta-net-Amon was apparently his wife. At Thebes in Upper Egypt, the High Priest of Amon, Heri-Hor, was the *de facto* ruler. Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Heri-Hor were in working relations with each other, and were shortly to become contemporary pharaohs.

<sup>3</sup> Irreconcilable with the date first given. See n.1.

<sup>4</sup> Not an Egyptian name.

<sup>5</sup> Dor is the town on the north coast of Palestine. The Tjekker (=Teukroi?) were one of the Sea Peoples associated with the Philistines in the great movements of the 15th to 12th centuries B.C. cf. p. 262. Their prince, Beder, considers it still necessary to show honor to an emissary from Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> This value—about 450 grams (1.2 lb. Troy) of gold and about 2.8 kilograms (7.5 lb. Troy) of silver—was to pay for the lumber.

<sup>7</sup> On the one hand, the gold and silver belong to the Egyptians who sent Wen-Amon. On the other hand, they belong to the Asiatics who would receive it. Beder thus has double responsibilities to recover them.

<sup>8</sup> The remainder of Beder's speech is badly broken but seems to combine reassurance and delay. Wen-Amon was apparently impatient, for the end of the broken context finds him in Tyre.

(30) ship.<sup>9</sup> I found 30 *deben* of silver in it, and I seized upon it.<sup>10</sup> [And I said to the Tjekker: "I have seized upon] your silver, and it will stay with me [until] you find [my silver or the thief] who stole it! Even though you have not stolen, I shall take it. But as for you, . . ."<sup>11</sup> So they went away, and I enjoyed my triumph [in] a tent (on) the shore of the [sea], (in) the harbor of Byblos. And [I hid] Amon-of-the-Road, and I put his property inside him.<sup>12</sup>

And the [Prince] of Byblos sent to me, saying: "Get [out of (35) my] harbor!" And I sent to him, saying: "Where should [I go to]? . . . If [you have a ship] to carry me, have me taken to Egypt again!" So I spent twenty-nine days in his [harbor, while] he [spent] the time sending to me every day to say: "Get out (of) my harbor!"

Now WHILE HE WAS MAKING OFFERING to his gods, the god seized one of his youths and made him possessed.<sup>13</sup> And he said to him: "Bring up [the] god! Bring the messenger who is carrying him! (40) Amon is the one who sent him out! He is the one who made him come!" And while the possessed (youth) was having his frenzy on this night, I had (already) found a ship headed for Egypt and had loaded everything that I had into it. While I was watching for the darkness, thinking that when it descended I would load the god (also), so that no other eye might see him, the harbor master came to me, saying: "Wait until morning—so says the Prince." So I said to him: "Aren't you the one who spend the time coming to me every day to say: 'Get out (of) my harbor'? Aren't you saying 'Wait' tonight (45) in order to let the ship which I have found get away—and (then) you will come again (to) say: 'Go away!'" So he went and told it to the Prince. And the Prince sent to the captain of the ship to say: "Wait until morning—so says the Prince!"

When MORNING CAME, he sent and brought me up, but the god stayed in the tent where he was, (on) the shore of the sea. And I found him sitting (in) his upper room, with his back turned to a window, so that the waves of the great Syrian sea broke against the back (50) of his head.<sup>14</sup>

So I said to him: "May Amon favor you!" But he said

<sup>9</sup> Somewhere in this break or in one of those which follow there was the statement of Wen-Amon's arrival at Byblos (Gabal) on the Phoenician coast.

<sup>10</sup> Nearly the same amount as the silver which had been stolen from him, without account of the gold.

<sup>11</sup> It is by no means certain that Wen-Amon appropriated this silver from the Tjekker. However, the restoration of the Tjekker in this context helps to explain their vengeful attitude later in the story (ii 62 ff.).

<sup>12</sup> Or "inside it," the tent. Just as images of gods led the Egyptian armies into battle, so the emissary of the temple had an idol, a "traveling Amon," to make his mission successful. The restoration "I hid" depends in part on a later statement that Amon-of-the-Road was to be withheld from public view. The divine image would have its daily cult and therefore its cultic apparatus. If the translation above is correct, this apparatus was stored within the hollow image.

<sup>13</sup> "A great boy of his great boys," perhaps a court page, was seized with a prophetic frenzy. The determinative of the word "(prophetically) possessed" shows a human figure in violent motion or epileptic convulsion.

<sup>14</sup> Pictorially, not literally. Wen-Amon gives his vivid first view of Zakar-Baal, framed in an upper window overlooking the surf of the Mediterranean. cf. H. Schäfer, in *OLZ*, xxxii (1929), 812-19.



to me "How long, up to today, since you came from the place where Amon is?"<sup>15</sup> So I said to him: "Five months and one day up to now." And he said to me: "Well, you're truthful! Where is the letter of Amon which (should be) in your hand? Where is the dispatch of the High Priest of Amon which (should be) in your hand?" And I told him: "I gave them to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon." And he was very, very angry, and he said to me: "Now see—neither letters nor dispatches are in your hand! Where is the cedar ship which Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded gave to you? Where is (55) its Syrian crew? Didn't he turn you over to this foreign ship captain to have him kill you and throw you into the sea? (Then) with whom would they have looked for the god? And you too—with whom would they have looked for you too?" So he spoke to me.<sup>16</sup>

BUT I SAID TO HIM: "Wasn't it an Egyptian ship? Now it is Egyptian crews which sail under Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded! He has no Syrian crews." And he said to me: "Aren't there twenty ships here in my harbor which are in commercial relations<sup>17</sup> with Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded? As to this Sidon, (ii 1) the other (place) which you have passed, aren't there fifty more ships there which are in commercial relations with Werket-El, and which are drawn up to his house?"<sup>18</sup> And I was silent in this great time.<sup>19</sup>

And he answered and said to me: "On what business have you come?" So I told him: "I have come after the woodwork for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, King of the Gods. Your father did (it), (5) your grandfather did (it), and you will do it too!" So I spoke to him. But he said to me: "To be sure, they did it! And if you give me (something) for doing it, I will do it! Why, when my people carried out this commission, Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—sent six ships loaded with Egyptian goods, and they unloaded them into their storehouses! You—what is it that you're bringing me—me also?" And he had the journal rolls of his fathers brought, and he had them read out in my presence, and they found a thousand *deben* of silver and all kinds of things in his scrolls.

(10) So he said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of mine, and I were his servant also, he would not have to send silver and gold, saying: 'Carry out the commission of Amon!' There would be no carrying of a royal-gift,<sup>20</sup> such as they used to do for my father. As

for me—me also—I am not your servant! I am not the servant of him who sent you either! If I cry out to the Lebanon, the heavens open up, and the logs are here lying (on) the shore of the sea!<sup>21</sup> Give (15) me the sails which you have brought to carry your ships which would hold the logs for (Egypt)! Give me the ropes [which] you have brought [*to lash the cedar*] logs which I am to cut down to make you . . . which I shall make for you (as) the sails of your boats, and the *spars* will be (too) heavy and will break, and you will die in the middle of the sea!<sup>22</sup> See, Amon gives voice in the sky, and he puts Seth near him.<sup>23</sup> Now Amon has (20) founded all lands. He has founded them, but he founded first the land of Egypt, from which you come; for skill came out of it, to reach the place where I am, and learning came out of it, to reach the place where I am. What are these silly trips which they have had you make?"<sup>24</sup>

And I said to him: "(That's) not true! What I am on are no 'silly trips' at all! There is no ship upon the River which does not belong to Amon! The sea is his, and the Lebanon is his, of which you say: 'It is mine!' It forms (25) the *nursery* for User-het-Amon, the lord of [every] ship!<sup>25</sup> Why, he spoke—Amon-Re, King of the Gods—and said to Heri-Hor, my master: 'Send me forth!' So he had me come, carrying this great god. But see, you have made this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored (in) your harbor, although you did not know (it). Isn't he here? Isn't he the (same) as he was? You are stationed (here) to carry on the commerce of the Lebanon with Amon, its lord. As for your saying that the former kings sent silver and gold—suppose that they had life and health; (then) they would not have had such things sent! (30) (But) they had such things sent to your fathers in place of life and health!<sup>26</sup> Now as for Amon-Re, King of the Gods—he is the lord of this life and health, and he was the lord of your fathers. They spent their lifetimes making offering to Amon. And you also—you are the servant of Amon! If you say to Amon: 'Yes, I will do (it)!' and you carry out his commission, you will live, you will be prosperous, you will be healthy, and you will be good to your entire land and your people! (But) don't wish for yourself anything belonging to Amon-Re, (King of) the Gods. Why, a lion wants his own property!<sup>27</sup> Have your secretary brought to me, so that (35) I may send him to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon, the *officers*

<sup>15</sup> Wen-Amon's courteous salutation is set in contrast with the business-like brusqueness of the Phoenician.

<sup>16</sup> Zakar-Baal feels that Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded has scarcely acted in good faith in permitting Wen-Amon to come without proper credentials. He argues that the Delta ruler had turned Wen-Amon over to a non-Egyptian sailor, so that Wen-Amon and "Amon-of-the-Road" might disappear without a trace.

<sup>17</sup> A Semitic word for established trade contacts.

<sup>18</sup> Werket-El (= Birkath-El?) was apparently a Phoenician merchant resident in Egypt, trading particularly with Sidon. The "drawn to his house" would mean either drawn up on the shore at his Sidonian office or towed along the waterways of Egypt.

<sup>19</sup> Wen-Amon's wording shows his inability to answer Zakar-Baal's charge that there had been plenty of opportunity to supply him with credit and credentials.

<sup>20</sup> A Semitic word written *m-r-k*, either derived from *melek* "king," or else to be emended to *berakah* "gift."

<sup>21</sup> In Zakar-Baal's boast of independent power, he can make it rain logs.

<sup>22</sup> Zakar-Baal's argument is not clear here. Perhaps: you have no proper exchange value to pay for the cedar; if I take the tackle of your ships, you will not be able to sail back to Egypt.

<sup>23</sup> As god of thunder (see p. 17, n. 27 above). In these capacities, Amon and Seth were gods of all lands, not of Egypt alone.

<sup>24</sup> In contrasting Wen-Amon's meager mission with the glory of the Egyptian past, Zakar-Baal makes the remarkable statement that the god Amon founded (settled, first equipped) all lands, but Egypt first of all, and that skilled craftsmanship (technique) and learning (wisdom, education) had come to his land from Egypt.

<sup>25</sup> The Lebanon is merely the "growing-place" for the sacred barque of Amon.

<sup>26</sup> In contrast with the past, Wen-Amon has brought an actual god in "Amon-of-the-Road," so that there may be spiritual rather than material advantages for Zakar-Baal.

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps a proverb.



whom Amon put in the north of his land, and they will have all kinds of things sent. I shall send him to them to say: 'Let it be brought until I shall go (back again) to the south, and I shall (then) have every bit of the debt still (due to you) brought to you.' So I spoke to him.<sup>28</sup>

So he entrusted my letter to his messenger, and he loaded in the *keel*, the bow-post, the stern-post, along with four other hewn timbers—seven in all—and he had them taken to Egypt.<sup>29</sup> And in the first month of the second season his messenger who had gone to Egypt came back to me in Syria. And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon sent: (40) 4 jars and 1 *ḳak-men* of gold; 5 jars of silver; 10 pieces of clothing in royal linen; 10 *ḳherd* of good Upper Egyptian linen; 500 (rolls of) finished papyrus; 500 cowhides; 500 ropes; 20 sacks of lentils; and 30 baskets of fish. And she<sup>30</sup> sent to me (personally): 5 pieces of clothing in good Upper Egyptian linen; 5 *ḳherd* of good Upper Egyptian linen; 1 sack of lentils; and 5 baskets of fish.

And the Prince was glad, and he detailed three hundred men and three hundred cattle, and he put supervisors at their head, to have them cut down the timber. So they cut them down, and they spent the second season lying there.<sup>31</sup>

In the third month of the third season they dragged them (to) the shore of the sea, and the Prince came out and stood by them. And he sent to me, (45) saying: "Come!" Now when I presented myself near him, the shadow of his lotus-blossom fell upon me. And Pen-Amon, a butler who belonged to him, cut me off, saying: "The shadow of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—your lord, has fallen on you!" But he was angry at him; saying: "Let him alone!"<sup>32</sup>

So I presented myself near him, and he answered and said to me: "See, the commission which my fathers carried out formerly, I have carried it out (also), even though you have not done for me what your fathers would have done for me, and you too (should have done)! See, the last of your woodwork has arrived and is lying (here). Do as I wish, and come to load it in—for aren't they going to give it to you? (50) Don't come to look at the terror of the sea! If you look at the terror of the sea, you will see my own (too)!<sup>33</sup> Why, I have not done to you what was done to the messengers of

Kha-em-Waset, when they spent seventeen years in this land—they died (where) they were!"<sup>34</sup> And he said to his butler: "Take him and show him their *tomb* in which they are lying."

But I said to him: "Don't show it to me! As for Kha-em-Waset—they were men whom he sent to you as messengers, and he was a man himself.<sup>35</sup> You do not have one of his messengers (here in me), when you say: 'Go and see your companions!' Now, shouldn't you rejoice (55) and have a stela [made] for yourself and say on it: 'Amon-Re, King of the Gods, sent to me Amon-of-the-Road, his messenger—[life], prosperity, health!—and Wen-Amon, his human messenger, after the woodwork for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, King of the Gods. I cut it down. I loaded it in. I provided it (with) my ships and my crews. I caused them to reach Egypt, in order to ask fifty years of life from Amon for myself, over and above my fate.' And it shall come to pass that, after another time, a messenger may come from the land of Egypt who knows writing, and he may read your name on the stela. And you will receive water (in) the West, like the gods who are (60) here!"<sup>36</sup>

And he said to me: "This which you have said to me is a great testimony of words!"<sup>37</sup> So I said to him: "As for the many things which you have said to me, if I reach the place where the High Priest of Amon is and he sees how you have (carried out this) commission, it is your (carrying out of this) commission (which) will *draw out* something for you."

And I went (to) the shore of the sea, to the place where the timber was lying, and I spied eleven ships belonging to the Tjeker coming in from the sea, in order to say: "Arrest him! Don't let a ship of his (go) to the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the letter scribe of the Prince came out to me, (65) and he said to me: "What's the matter with you?" And I said to him: "Haven't you seen the birds go down to Egypt a second time?<sup>38</sup> Look at them—how they travel to the cool pools! (But) how long shall I be left here! Now don't you see those who are coming again to arrest me?"

So he went and told it to the Prince. And the Prince began to weep because of the words which were said to him, for they were painful. And he sent out to me his letter scribe, and he brought to me two jugs of wine and one ram. And he sent to me Ta-net-Not, an Egyptian singer who was with him,<sup>39</sup> saying: "Sing to him! Don't let his heart take on cares!" And he sent to me, (70) to say: "Eat and drink! Don't let your heart take on

<sup>28</sup> Wen-Amon proposes that Zakar-Baal appeal to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded to advance the payment against Wen-Amon's ultimate return to Egypt.

<sup>29</sup> Zakar-Baal was sufficiently trustful to advance some of the timbers for the barque of Amon.

<sup>30</sup> Ta-net-Amon.

<sup>31</sup> Seasoning in the mountains.

<sup>32</sup> The meaning of the butler's grim jest is lost to us. The word "lotus-blossom" has the determinative of a lotus leaf and also a hide. It probably was a sunshade of lotus design. At any rate, the shadow of something personal belonging to Zakar-Baal accidentally fell upon Wen-Amon. Zakar-Baal's butler, whose name should make him an Egyptian, steps in to cut Wen-Amon off from this shadow and maliciously says that it is the shadow of pharaoh of Egypt. Zakar-Baal curtly tells the butler not to pursue the matter. Perhaps we have to do with the blight of majesty. The butler's jest has point if the shadow of pharaoh was too intimate and holy to fall upon a commoner. Or see A. L. Oppenheim in *BASOR*, no. 107 (1947), 7-11.

<sup>33</sup> If you use wind or weather as excuses for delay, you will find me just as dangerous.

<sup>34</sup> We do not know who this Kha-em-Waset was. This was one of the names of Ramses IX, but is not here written as royal. The same pharaoh had a vizier of this name, which was quite common in Thebes at the time. At any rate, there is an implicit threat in the reference.

<sup>35</sup> This should rule out the possibility that Kha-em-Waset was Ramses IX, as Wen-Amon would probably not refer to a pharaoh a "a man."

<sup>36</sup> A libation to help maintain the dead.

<sup>37</sup> We cannot be sure whether the irony was conscious or unconscious.

<sup>38</sup> Wen-Amon had been away from Egypt for more than a year, seeing two flights of birds southward.

<sup>39</sup> Egyptian women who entertained or participated in cult ceremonies in Asia are known, for example, in the inscriptions on the Megiddo ivories (p. 263 below). cf. also p. 246, n.30.



cares, for tomorrow you shall hear whatever I have to say."

When morning came, he had his assembly<sup>40</sup> summoned, and he stood in their midst, and he said to the Tjeker: "What have you come (for)?" And they said to him: "We have come after the *blasted* ships which you are sending to Egypt with our opponents!"<sup>41</sup> But he said to them: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon inside my land. Let me send him away, and you go after him to arrest him."<sup>42</sup>

So he loaded me in, and he sent me away from there at the harbor of the sea. And the wind cast me on the land of (75) Alashiya.<sup>43</sup> And they of the town came out against me to kill me, but I *forced my way* through them to the place where Heteb, the princess of the town, was. I met her as she was going out of one house of hers and going into another of hers.

So I greeted her, and I said to the people who were standing near her: "Isn't there one of you who understands Egyptian?" And one of them said: "I understand (it)." So I said to him: "Tell my lady that I have heard, as far away as Thebes, the place where Amon is, that injustice is done in every town but justice is done in the land of Alashiya."<sup>44</sup> Yet injustice is done here every day!" And she said: "Why, what do you (mean) (80) by saying it?" So I told her: "If the sea is stormy and the wind casts me on the land where you are, you should not let them take me *in charge* to kill me. For I am a messenger of Amon. Look here—as for me, they will search for me all the time! As to this crew of the Prince of Byblos which they are bent on killing, won't its lord find ten crews of yours, and he also kill them?"

So she had the people summoned, and they stood (there). And she said to me: "Spend the night . . ."

(At this point the papyrus breaks off. Since the tale is told in the first person, it is fair to assume that Wen-Amon returned to Egypt to tell his story, in some measure of safety or success.)

### THE LEGEND OF THE POSSESSED PRINCESS

This text is a pious forgery of the end of the pharaonic period. The priests of a temple at Karnak wished to enlarge the fame of their god, composed a circumstantial tale of his ancient success as a healer, cast the tale back into the reign of Ramses II, and installed the inscription in their temple. Ramses II had reigned in the 13th century B.C., whereas this text may have come from the 4th or 3rd century B.C. However, it drew successfully on traditional elements of Egypt's past: the far reach of the Egyptian Empire, the reputation of Egyptian physicians in other countries, and the marriage of Ramses II to the daughter of the Hittite king.

<sup>40</sup> The word used is the same as Hebrew *mō'ed*. e.g. Num. 16:2. cf. J. A. Wilson, in *JNES*, iv (1945) 245.

<sup>41</sup> "The belabored, belabored ships which you send to Egypt by our companions of quarreling." This either means that Wen-Amon's ships should be smashed up or is an abusive term like English "blasted."

<sup>42</sup> Zakar-Baal's apparently cynical abandonment of Wen-Amon has its jurisdictional justification, since Wen-Amon's appropriation of Tjeker property apparently took place somewhere between Tyre and Byblos.

<sup>43</sup> Egyptian *I-r-s*, probably Cyprus.

<sup>44</sup> Diplomatic exaggeration, rather than a quotation.

"The Bentresh Stela" was discovered near the Temple of Amon at Karnak, and is now Louvre C 284. It was published by E. Ledrain, *Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1879-81), Pls. xxxvi-xliv. It has been translated by Breasted, *AR*, III, §429-47. See also the comments of G. Posener in *BIFAO*, xxxiv (1934), 75-81.

The Horus: Mighty Bull, Pleasing of Appearances, Enduring of Kingship like Atum; Horus of Gold: Powerful of Arm, Repelling the Nine Bows;<sup>1</sup> the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re; Son of Re, of his body: Ramses Meri-Amon, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and all the Ennead of Thebes. . . .

Now his majesty was in Naharin<sup>2</sup> according to his custom of every year, while the princes of every foreign country were come, bowing down in peace to the glory of his majesty (from) as far away as the marshlands. Their tribute of gold, [silver], lapis lazuli, (5) turquoise, and all the woods of God's Land<sup>3</sup> was on their backs, each one leading his fellow.

Then the Prince of Bekhten<sup>4</sup> caused that his tribute be brought, and he set his eldest daughter at the head thereof, giving honor to his majesty and asking [*the breath*] from him. And the woman was exceedingly pleasing to the heart of his majesty, beyond anything. Then her name was formally fixed as: the Great King's Wife, Nefru-Re.<sup>5</sup> When his majesty reached Egypt, she fulfilled every function (of) King's Wife.

It happened that, in the year 23, 2nd month of the third season, day 22,<sup>6</sup> while his majesty was in Thebes, the Victorious, the Mistress of Cities, performing the ceremonies of his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, at his beautiful Feast of Southern Opet,<sup>7</sup> the place of his heart's (desire) of the first times, one came to say to his majesty: "There is a messenger of the Prince of Bekhten who has come bearing much tribute for the King's Wife." Then he was introduced into the presence of his majesty with his tribute. He said, in giving honor to his majesty: "Praise to thee, O Re of the Nine Bows! *Behold*, we live through thee!" Then he spoke and kissed the ground before his majesty. He spoke again in the presence of his majesty: "I have come to thee, O sovereign, my lord, on behalf of Bint-

<sup>1</sup> Although the two names which follow are those of Ramses II, the composer of this text has ignorantly used names of Thut-mose IV for the preceding names.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps written Naharaim here, Mesopotamia, or, for the Egyptians, the region of the Great Bend of the Euphrates.

<sup>3</sup> The east in general, the land of the rising sun.

<sup>4</sup> Not identifiable and perhaps legendary. This tale puts it at 17 months' journey from Egypt. It has been suggested that this might be a corrupted writing for Bactria.

<sup>5</sup> In Ramses II's 34th year, he married the eldest daughter of the Hittite king; cf. pp. 256-258 below. The Hittite king sent his daughter at the head of abundant tribute. She pleased the king very much, and he fixed her formal name as "the King's Wife Maat-nefru-Re." The similarity of situation and name in our text is more than a coincidence. The priestly editor drew upon a remembered past.

<sup>6</sup> The dates in this text are so carefully constructed as to appear circumstantial. See notes 11, 17, and 21 below.

<sup>7</sup> Or "in Southern Opet," which was Luxor. This was probably Amon's "Feast of the Valley," which fell in the third season of the year.