

## 4. Juvenile Misbehaviour in Ancient Egypt

Erika Feucht

University of Heidelberg (Fed. Rep. of Germany)

### ABSTRACT

Sources on juvenile delinquency are scarce in ancient Egypt. As the Egyptian believed in *maat*, a term which comprises the world-order, righteousness, justice, and truth, they evaded mentioning anything that went against *maat*. Thus we cannot expect to find many references to criminal offences committed by minors. The only sources which may yield data are such as the teachings of a father to his son while he is growing up, and letters written for school purposes of a type in which a teacher admonishes his pupil to keep to his studies and to avoid anything that might distract him. The conduct described in these documents may be seen as juvenile misbehaviour, though it may not have been punishable if committed by an adult.

As we have no records of trials or any other kind of legal record concerning the offences of young people, it would appear that they were under the supervision of their father or teacher and subjected to their authority in case of misbehaviour. Nothing points to the existence of a higher authority to whom the culprit would be surrendered. Similarly, a young person entering upon his career had to submit to the authority of his superior, —either a workman, a craftsman, a priest, an officer, or an official under whose instruction he was trained or prepared for his future craft or profession.

### Attitude towards children

The official attitude of the Ancient Egyptian towards children was of a high ethical standard. We can not say if the treatment of children in daily life came up to that standard. As in all times this would have depended on the individual person.

As far as we can determine, the child was considered as innocent inasmuch as it was still in a state of ignorance. Already in the late 6th Dynasty (the last century of the 3rd millenium B.C.) the wise Ptahhotep states:

"No one is born wise,"<sup>1</sup>

and in the Coffin texts which were recorded at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the deceased refers to himself as being unknowing and childlike in order to plead his innocence during the Judgement of the dead.<sup>2</sup> Many centuries later the deceased admits to having committed blasphemy only as an unknowing child,<sup>3</sup> and in the 6th century B.C. the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre refers to her childish innocence, should she be found wanting in her praise of god:

"No one has taken offence at an unknowing soul,  
(many things) one can not know because of (ones) youth."<sup>4</sup>

The child was considered as faultless because of its innocence:

"I am young, one who has no faults yet,"

a priest declares in the Late Period,<sup>5</sup> and at the same period in texts of children who died early the ignorance and thus the innocence of the child who appears in front of the judge of the dead is often emphasized.<sup>6</sup>

According to mythological texts the punishment of innocent children was considered an injustice.<sup>7</sup> According to the Greek author Diodorus Egyptian law protected a pregnant woman from the death-penalty until her confinement, as the unborn child was not to suffer any punishment.<sup>8</sup> A text from the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. reflects the hope that a god should become well-disposed through the prayers of innocent children,<sup>9</sup> and Greek authors mention that in Egypt prophetic abilities were attributed to children because of their innocence.<sup>10</sup>

According to the Papyrus Insinger, which dates to the Ptolemaic Period (the last century B.C.) the first ten years of life were considered as the time of childhood:

"He (man) spends ten <years> as a child before he understands death and life."<sup>11</sup>

Small children were to be treated with special care and indulgence, as we understand from the letters of Hekanakhte and Djehutimose to their eldest sons who managed their households during their fathers absence from home.<sup>12</sup> The little son of Hekanakhte was not to be forced to do anything:

"Whatever else he wants, you should let him enjoy what he wants."<sup>13</sup> But the very fact that Hekanakhte had to admonish his eldest son over this, shows that it was not self-evident. And, when we hear that a son fled from the brutality of his own father,<sup>14</sup> and that two little children had been cast out by their father who married anew after the death of their mother,<sup>15</sup> we can assume that the reality did not always correspond to that ideal.

## Attitude towards young persons

More was requested from the youth. He was not supposed to spoil himself. So we find in the maxims of the wise Ankhsheshonqi, which he wrote down for his son before the birth of Christ, the sentence:

"Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you be weak when you are old."<sup>16</sup>

The same idea is delivered to us on an ostracon from more than a thousand years earlier:

"Do not spare your body while you are a youth;  
food comes through the hands, nourishment through the feet,"<sup>17</sup>

and:

"Do not boast of your strength while you are young;  
you may find tomorrow as gall on [your] lips."<sup>18</sup>

The young fellow was to perform the work he was capable of doing:

"Do not spare your son work when you can make him do it."<sup>19</sup>

The surviving admonitions and letters of teachers to their pupils give us an insight into the education of the sons of officials, of the conduct which was demanded from a student, and the punishment which threatened him when he did not comply with the requirements.

On entering school the child had to fit in. A pupil complains bitterly about his nurse who rebukes him instead of comforting him, when he comes home from school crying.<sup>20</sup>

A son or pupil had to listen to his father or teacher. When he did not follow he was to be punished:

"But an offspring can make trouble:  
If he strays, neglects your counsel,  
disobeys all that is said,  
his mouth spouting evil speech,  
punish him for all his talk!"<sup>21</sup>

If nothing helped, a father was supposed to cast out his son, a thought which occurs in the teachings of Ptahhotep,<sup>22</sup> as well as three hundred years later, in the 19th century B.C., on a boundary stela of Sesostri III. who threatens not to acknowledge the son as his own who gives away the boundaries he set without a fight.<sup>23</sup> And in the last century B.C. we find the same thought in the Papyrus Insinger again.<sup>24</sup>

According to the late teachings of Ankhsheshonqi and the Papyrus Insinger the father as well is to be blamed if the son is ill bred:

"The children of the fool wander in the street,  
those of the wise man [stand before him]."

The father was to bring up his child with understanding, but he was not to

refrain from hidings if nothing else helped. The sense of shame was to be appealed to with an intelligent child. Beating was a common punishment in Ancient Egypt and the Ancient Near East, while education through shame was a new element.<sup>25</sup> With too much love the child as well as the father is harmed.

"A statue of stone is the foolish son whom his father has not instructed.

It is a son's good and blessed portion to receive instruction and to ask.

No instruction can succeed if there is dislike . . .

The fault in every kind of character comes from not listening.

Thoth (the god of scripture) has placed the stick on earth in order to teach the fool by it.

He gave the sense of shame to the wise man so as to escape all punishment.

The youth who has respect through shame is not scorned with punishment.

A son does not die from being punished by his father.

He who loves his spoiled son will spoil himself with him.

The stick and shame protect their owner from the fiend.

The son who is not taught, his <father> causes astonishment.

The heart of his father does not desire a long life (for him).

The sensible one among the children is worthy of life.

Better the son of another than a son who is a accursed fool."<sup>26</sup>

## Instructions

Instructions of wise men have been handed down to us from the middle of the third, the second half of the second and the end of the first millenium B.C. They contain advice regarding behaviour in public and private life.

The vizier Hardjedef (ca. 2600 B.C.) admonishes the student to be respectful, modest, reserved in speech and moderate at table,<sup>27</sup> virtues which are repeated two centuries later by the vizier Ptahhotep who also teaches his pupil humbleness, self-control in disputes, behaviour at the table and at an audience, love of the truth, discretion and to beware of transgressing the law.<sup>28</sup> Self-control in disputes, abstinence and honesty are repeated more than a millenium later in the maxims of Ani. New elements appear at this time—the demand for piety towards god and the dead parents, and respect for the old<sup>29</sup>—elements which are repeated a few centuries later in the Instructions of Amenemope. Besides self-control and silence in disputes Amenemope stresses modesty in material possessions and kindness towards

other especially the ailing and the old.<sup>30</sup> Respect for one's superior and for the old, humbleness, piety and honesty are virtues repeated in the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqi and the Papyrus Insinger, both dating from the end of the first millennium B.C.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the centuries gluttony seems to have been regarded as most detestable.<sup>32</sup> According to the author of the Papyrus Insinger all kinds of ailments are due to eating and drinking too much. The admonitions of the wise Ani remind us of the letters quoted below of teachers to their students (note 40 and 43):

"Don't indulge in drinking beer,  
lest you utter evil speech  
and don't know what you're saying.

If you fall and hurt your body,  
none holds out a hand to you;  
your companions in the drinking  
stand up saying: 'Out with the drunk!'

If one comes to seek you and talk with you,  
one finds you lying on the ground,  
as if you were a little child."<sup>33</sup>

The opposite of the above-quoted virtues are hot temper, gluttony, drunkenness, lack of piety, pretension with regard to strength or knowledge, intemperate behaviour, scheming, disrespect for one greater than oneself or for the old and ailing, avarice and talkativeness. All this is regarded as bad behaviour not subject to any kind of punishment other than the disapproval by fellowmen, which might have its effects on the social or professional life of the malefactor. In the case of impiety, punishment by the god is threatened. While cheating, robbing the poor and any other kind of transgression of the law are considered as criminal acts no punishment is ever cited. In the lawsuits which have come down to us the age of the culprit is never mentioned. But as far as we can see they only concern grown-ups. None of the legal records seem to deal with offences committed by children or youths.

Limits are set to sexual behaviour. In the Negative Confession in which the deceased protests before the god that he has not committed any crime he declares:

"I have not committed adultery . . .

I have not been unchaste . . .

I have not done wrong sexually, I have not practiced homosexuality."<sup>34</sup>

Adultery is one of the offences against which the young boy, growing up, is warned in the instructions of the wise. Severe punishment, even death, threatens the one who has intercourse with a married woman.<sup>35</sup>

### Teachers' letters to their students

Letters written by teachers and pupils, reflecting the students life, were used as teaching materials which the schoolboys had to copy. Some of them have survived, allowing us to get a glimpse of the daily life of a student. Diligence and obedience were asked for at school. The student who did not live with his parents was supposed to look after his clothes himself. All his thoughts should be set on becoming a scribe.<sup>36</sup>

Attention, assiduousness and perseverance were asked for; the student was not to give in to any kind of dissipation. If he slackened in his work he had to be aware of punishment. He would be tamed as animals could be tamed:

"O scribe . . . Spend no day of idleness or you shall be beaten. The boy has a back, and he hearkens to the beating of him . . . Apes are taught to dance and horses are tamed; a kite can be placed in a nest and a falcon be caught by the wings . . ."<sup>37</sup>

The profession of a scribe is placed above all other occupations which are full of hardship and danger and which the student will be subjected to if he gives up learning. In the *Satire of the Trades* eighteen of these laboring professions are described in the brightest colours warning the student of the life he might have to expect. One of them is quoted in a letter:

"Apply yourself to writing zealously; do not stay your hand. Mark the things which the Ruler does. All his designs are stern. All subjects are mustered, and the finest of them are taken. The grown man is put to be a soldier; a stripling to be a skirmisher; the child, he is brought up (only) to be taken away from his mother's bosom. He reaches manhood, his bones being battered. Are you an ass?"<sup>38</sup>

But the student does not feel like paying attention and learning all day. He roams about neglecting writing and the teaching.<sup>39</sup> He prefers to go hunting in the marshes or spend his time with idlers, drinking beer and wine, dancing and visiting prostitutes.<sup>40</sup>

The teacher tries to admonish him:

"Love writing, shun dancing . . . Turn your back on throw stick and chase."<sup>41</sup>

If this does not help, the school-boy is beaten with sticks or hippopotamus-thongs or even put in stocks and imprisoned in the temple<sup>42</sup> But, in some cases even the stocks did not keep the student safe. He breaks them or sets them afire, scrambles over the wall and either runs to his parents to be comforted and justified, or roams about the streets assailing passers-by and ending in a public house where he gets totally drunk.<sup>43</sup> Here the power of the teachers ends and we do not read anything about another authority to which

the youngster may have been surrendered for his assaults, excepting of course to his parents.

### Attitude towards the parents

Children were to honour their parents.<sup>44</sup> They were to look after them when they were old and helpless.<sup>45</sup> If they failed they could be partly or totally disinherited.<sup>46</sup> Of greatest importance to the Egyptian was the burial and the cult of the dead. The eldest son or any other of the children were obliged to bury their parents and to perform the necessary rites during and after the burial.

"Libate for your father and mother,  
who are resting in the valley."<sup>47</sup>

The child who buried had the right of inheritance, a right which is once called a "law of pharaoh."

"I am their eldest son, their heir,  
I have buried them in the necropolis,"<sup>48</sup>

we read in tomb inscriptions. If the children did not fulfil the demands they lost all their rights of inheritance. Lawsuits in which persons fight for their heritage give evidence of that law.<sup>49</sup> We cannot say from which age on a child had to care for its parents' well-being. The law suits in question seem to deal with grown-ups.

## Notes

- 1 Ptahhotep, 56 (Lichtheim II, 63).
- 2 CT I, 24 (Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts I*, Chicago 1935, 24).
- 3 Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1, Mainz 1983, 70, 1. 91–92.
- 4 C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchesneferibre*, Kopenhagen 1937, 1. 128ff.
- 5 CG 22151, 1. 16 (Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Steles Ptolémaïques et Romains I–II*, Cairo 1904–1905).
- 6 M. Gustave Lefébvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris I–II*, Cairo 1924, Inscr. Nr. 56; translation: Eberhard Otto, *Die Biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 2, Leiden 1954, 175, Inscr. 46. Stela Leiden V, 55 (Erman, in: *Fs. Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 107f.).
- 7 Urk. VI, 89, 17; Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base*, in: *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen N.R.* 33, 1952, Spell IV, M 170. 172. 189d 5. M 189 d 7. M 189 e 1.
- 8 Diodorus I, 77, 9.
- 9 pLeiden I, 369, 1. 3ff.; translation: Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 33, Chicago–London 1967, 18.
- 10 Plutarch I, 14.
- 11 Lichtheim III, 199.
- 12 T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, New York 1962, 14, letter I, vso 5f. and I, vso 12f.; Wente, *op. cit.*, 28 and 67.
- 13 James, *op. cit.*, 33, letter II, 35f. Feucht, *op. cit.*, “Sorge des Vaters um das Kind”.
- 14 pSalt 124 (Černý, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, 1929, 245).
- 15 R. G. Hughes, *The Cruel Father*, in: *Studies Wilson* 1968, 43ff.
- 16 6, 19 (Lichtheim III, 165).
- 17 oPetrie 11, vso 1 (Lichtheim, *Wisdom*, 7).
- 18 oPetrie 11, recto 5 (Lichtheim, *ibid.*).
- 19 Ankhsheshonqi 7, 3 (Lichtheim III, 165).
- 20 Brunner, *Erziehung*, Q XXI.
- 21 Ptahhotep, 12 (Lichtheim I, 67).
- 22 Zbyněk Žaba, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, Prag 1956, 80, 1. 213f.
- 23 Lichtheim I, 120:  
     “*But he who abandons it (the boundary), who fails to fight for it,  
     he is not my son, he was not born to me.*”
- 24 9, 15 (Axel Volten, *Ein demotisches Weisheitsbuch*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* II, Kopenhagen 1941, 181; Brunner, *op. cit.*, Q LIXb).
- 25 Ankhsheshonqui 18, 11 (Lichtheim III, 173). *Education by punishment and through shame has its parallels in the Near East and the Hellenistic world* (Lichtheim, *Wisdom*, 158ff; cf. *Proverbia* 13, 24). Sextus 254 and 256 too mentions that badly bred children cause more sorrow than none at all (*ibid.*, 190).
- 26 Ankhsheshonqi 8, 22–9, 15 (Lichtheim III, 192); c. f. pInsinger 2, 15 (Lichtheim III, 187).
- 27 Lichtheim I, 59f.
- 28 Lichtheim I, 63f.
- 29 Lichtheim II, 136ff.: Ani 3, 9–10 (“*Observe the feast of your god . . .*”) and 4, 1–2. 4, 4. 4, 6ff. 5, 5ff. 6, 11. 6, 15f. 7, 11. 7, 12f. 7, 15. 8, 4. 8, 12. 8, 17.
- 30 Lichtheim II, 150ff.: Amenemope V, 10. VI, 1 (“*As for the heated man in the temple, he is like a tree growing indoors . . . The truly silent, who keeps apart, he is like a tree grown in a meadow . . .*”) XI, 13. XIV, 5 (“*Do not covet a poor man’s goods . . .*”). XV, 9 (“*Do not desire a noble’s wealth . . .*”). XV, 20ff. (“*Do not cheat a man through pen on scroll, the god abhors it . . .*”). XXIV, 8ff. (“*Do not laugh at a blind man, nor tease a dwarf, nor cause hardship for the lame . . .*”), cf. III, 4ff. (“*Beware of robbing a wretch, of attacking a cripple; don’t stretch out your hand to touch an old man . . .*”) and XXV, 8ff. XXV, 17ff.
- 31 Lichtheim III, 170ff. (Ankhsheshonqi 13, 23. 14, 10. 14, 14. 14, 19. 17, 10. 17, 17. 17, 25.



18, 8. 19, 19. 20, 18. 21, 9. 21, 11–12. 21, 17); *ibid.*, 187ff. (pInsinger 3, 1–14. 9, 12–11, 21 etc.). *ibid.*, 198. 200f. and 206f.

32 Lichtheim I, 59f. (Kagemni I, 3f.); Lichtheim I, 65 (Ptahhotep, 7); Lichtheim III, 171 (Anksheshonqi 15, 20); Lichtheim III, 189ff. (pInsinger 5, 12 f. and 6, 6–7, 10).

33 Lichtheim II, 137 (Ani 4, 6ff.).

34 Book of the Dead 125 (Th. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, SAOC 37, Chicago 1974, 98). Cf. Lichtheim III, 170 (Anksheshonqi 13, 24: "Do not take a youth for your companion.").

35 Lichtheim I, 68 (Ptahhotep 18:

"Beware of approaching the women . . .

A short moment like a dream,

Then death comes for having known them.")

Lichtheim III, 177 (Anksheshonqi 23, 6:

"Do not make love to a married woman.

He who makes love to a married woman is killed on the doorstep.").

(cf. Anksheshonqi 8, 12. 21, 18 = Lichtheim III, 166 and 176; Ostrakon Deir el Medineh = Lichtheim, *Wisdom*, 103; demotic Papyrus Paris 2414, I, 7 = Lichtheim, *Wisdom*, 94; pInsinger 3, 9 and 7, 11 = Lichtheim, *Wisdom*, 198 and 203). The young man is also warned of women of the street (Ani 3, 13 = Lichtheim II, 137; Anksheshonqi 22, 6 = Lichtheim III, 176).

36 pAnastasi V, 22, 6–23, 7 = Caminos, LEM, 262–263.

37 pAnastasi V, 8, 1–9, 1 = Caminos, LEM, 231–232. Cf. pBologna 1094, 3, 6–10 = Caminos, LEM, 15 and pLansing, 11, 1–3 = Caminos, LEM, 410.

38 Anastasi V, 10, 3–7 = Caminos, LEM, 235. Cf. pAnastasi V, 15, 6ff. = pSallier I, 6, 1. ff. = Caminos, LEM, 247.

39 pLansing, 2, 3–4 = Caminos, LEM, 377 = Lichtheim II, 168; plansing 3, 4–4, 1 = Caminos, LEM, 381 = Lichtheim II, 169f.

40 pLansing, 8, 3–7 = Caminos, LEM, 398ff. = Lichtheim II, 171 ("The march thicket is before you each day . . . You follow the path of pleasure; you make friends with revellers. You have made your home in the brewery, as one who thirsts for beer. You sit in the parlor with an idler. You hold the writings in contempt. You sit with the whore. Do not do these things! . . .").

41 pLansing, 1, 8–2, 2 = Caminos, LEM, 374 = Lichtheim II, 168.

42 pLansing, 2, 8–9 = Caminos, LEM, 377 = Lichtheim II, 169 and pSallier I, 7, 10–8, 2 = Caminos, LEM, 319f. ("My heart is sick from speaking advice . . . I shall give you 100 blows, and you will disregard them all . . .") and pAnastasi V, 17, 3–18, 5 = Caminos, LEM 250–251 ("I have heard that you whirl around in pleasure and have neglected what I said . . . I shall cause your feet to desist from walking in the streets, you being beaten with hippopotamus-thongs . . . When I was of your age I spend my life in the stocks. It was they that tamed my limbs. They stayed three months with me. I was imprisoned in the temple . . .").

43 pAnastasi IV, 11, 8–12, 5 = Caminos, LEM, 182 (" . . . You have been found scrambling over a wall, after you broke the stocks, men running away before you after you have inflicted wounds upon them. If only you knew that wine is an abomination . . . Now you are seated in the house, and the harlots surround, now you are standing and bouncing . . . Now you are seated in front of the wench, soaked in anointed-oil, . . . and you drum upon your belly. Now you stumble and fall upon your belly, anointed with dirt!"). Cf. pKoller, 2, 2–3 = Caminos, LEM, 437; pSallier = Caminos, LEM, 312 and pTurin A, 1, 5–2, 1 = Caminos, LEM, 451.

44 Urk. I, 216, 6ff.; Satire of the Trades 10. 5 (Lichtheim I, 191: „Do not tell lies against your mother. The magistrates abhor it.") Anksheshonqi 10, 21 (Lichtheim III, 162); pInsinger, 2, 14 (*ibid.*, 187); Brunner, *Erziehung*, 84, note 87: "I have never provoked my father, never annoyed my mother" (Kemit).

45 Feucht, *op. cit.*, "Beziehungen zwischen Mutter und Kind"; Ani VI, 17ff. (Lichtheim II, 141); Siegfried Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder*, Zürich 1950, 51 no. 2 and 148 no. 119; Adolf Erman, *Der Brief eines Kranken an seinen Sohn*, *Amtl. Ber. Preuss. Staatsmus.* XL, no. 3, 1918.

46 Feucht, *op. cit.*, "Freies Verfügungsrecht der Mutter über ihr Erbe" and "Pflichten des Vaters den Kindern gegenüber und Pflichten der Kinder den Eltern gegenüber"; Černý, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31, 1945, 29ff.; P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property*

- in *Ancient Egypt*, PLB IX, Leiden 1961, 162ff.; Theodoridès, in: RIDA, 3. series, XIII, 1966, 37; Tanner, in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXVI, No. 3-4, 1969, 158; Seidl, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107, 1957, 275.
- 47 Ani 4-5 (Lichtheim II, 137).
- 48 Urk. I, 164, 2-3. Cf. Urk. I, 8, 14f. I, 64, 5. I. 267, 9f. Polotsky, in: *JEA* 16, 1930, 195.
- 49 Feucht, *op. cit.*, "Erbrecht nach Bestattung der Mutter" and "Versorgung nach dem Tod"; Urk. I, 164, 2-3; Jac. J. Janssen-P. W. Pestman, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XI, 2, Leiden 1968, 137ff.; Theodorides, in: RIDA, 3. series, XVI, 1969, 141ff.; Seidl, *op. cit.*, 273 and 280f.; Erwin Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 20, 1956, 66.

## Abbreviations:

o ostracon = shard (eg. oPetrie)

p papyrus (e. g. pLeiden)

Brunner, *Erziehung*: Hellmut Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden 1957.

Caminos, LEM: Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, *Brown Egyptological Studies* I, London 1954.

Feucht, *op. cit.*: Erika Feucht, *Die Stellung des Kindes nach Altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen*, forthcoming (quoted by the headlines of the chapters).

Lichtheim I: Mariam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume I, The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1973, 21975.

Lichtheim II: *ibid.*, Volume II, *The New Kingdom*, 1976.

Lichtheim III: *ibid.*, Volume III, *The Late Period*, 1980.

Lichtheim, *Wisdom*: Mariam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context, A Study of Demotic Instructions*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52, Freiburg-Göttingen 1983.

Urk. I: Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I*, Leipzig 21933.

Urk. VI: Siegfried Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1929-1939.