

A SOURCEBOOK

FOR WORLD
INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
TO 1300

EDITED BY DAVID MIANO



**SNEAK
PREVIEW**

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IDEAS IN THE MAKING

A SOURCEBOOK FOR

WORLD INTELLECTUAL HISTORY TO 1300

READINGS FROM ANCIENT, CLASSICAL, AND POSTCLASSICAL TIMES

ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM
THE PRIMARY SOURCES
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

SELECTED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED

BY

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, *SCHOLA ANTIQUORUM*



SAN DIEGO
COGNELLA
2014

Ideas in the
Making



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Preface

This book is designed to set before the student a sufficient amount of documentation to illustrate the most important features of the world's intellectual history. In my own classes, I have observed that students find the study of history far more valuable to them on a personal level when they are given a chance to see how ideas were formulated over time and how those ideas impacted or influenced the future. They thus can perceive more clearly the origins of their own ideas. Specifically I have chosen readings that deal with questions of ethics, morality, justice, community, political philosophy, historiography, and the understanding of the self and of humanity. It is hoped that by examining how the ancients tackled questions related to these issues, students can get a true sense of how thoughts trigger events. They will also begin to see that there have been, and still are, many different ways to look at a particular issue.

This volume has been prepared for beginning students. It is not designed for “hard” study, but for *reading*. It is therefore stripped of the learned notes, citations, references, etc., which are rightly expected by the scholar. The introductions and footnotes serve merely to make the selections comprehensible to readers who have little experience in historical issues. I have chosen deliberately to keep my commentary brief, as I have found that students are inclined to rely heavily on such secondary information when answering questions rather than on what they read in the sources, and I wish to avoid this problem.

This sourcebook should make an excellent daily companion to any standard textbook in World History. Then again, it can stand all on its own. I

am aware that some teachers hold the opinion that undergraduates merely need to get an overall picture of history and are not ready to engage critically with primary sources. However, I favor the view that even students who have no plan on becoming historians should begin learning the historical method right away. They need to see exactly how historians do their jobs—how sources fit together to shed light on the past and how those sources must be critically analyzed. In other words, an effective teaching plan will allow the student to *do* history, rather than simply to *hear* history, and one cannot *do* history without source documents. On a utilitarian level, historical exercises can provide the student with invaluable skills: how to find facts, how to evaluate testimony, how to differentiate good information from bad, and how to present a case in a coherent and persuasive way. Not only that, but reading primary sources immerses one in the times being studied. The student who gets ahold of this volume is sure to breathe in more of the atmosphere of the past than from any possible study of a conventional textbook.

In compiling a work of this kind, a great number of translations have been requisitioned from various sources. In order to keep the book affordable, most of these are from the public domain and therefore quite old, but care was taken to make sure that the translations are in step with current research and that they will be easily understood by a modern audience. In many cases I have made alterations to the wording after diligently comparing the translation with more recent ones. One notable series of changes that I have made is the updating of Chinese

names from the old Wade-Giles transliteration system to that of the Pinyin, which is preferred today. The translations from the Bible are my own and were made especially for this book.

Because history does not unfold in an organized fashion, professors must impose some sort of artificial organization upon the material in their courses to assist their students in remembering and comprehending the past. However, no two professors are alike, so it would be impossible for me to present these readings in an order that would please everybody. I am aware that some sourcebooks out there are arranged topically, and others geographically. The problem with a topical arrangement is that it usually pleases the editor, but not many others, and it may force an instructor to follow a scheme that he or she is not otherwise inclined to follow. The problem with a geographical arrangement, in my opinion, is that it makes comparative study more difficult. I have chosen instead to run in strict chronological order, what I perceive to be the most neutral form of presentation. The readings can be assigned in whatever order the instructor prefers without doing any damage to the book's pedagogical system.

Some may be curious why I chose to end the book at the year 1300, considering that it is common for the first half of world history sequences at colleges and universities to end at 1500 or 1650. There are plenty of sourcebooks that end at 1500 or later, and I see little reason to add yet another to the list. The value of this text is in its *fuller coverage of earlier sources*. Like most ancient historians, I do not believe that 1500 is a fair dividing line between World History 1 and 2, much less 1650. Typically beginning around 3500 BCE, the first half of a world history sequence must survey 5,000 years of human history (if going to 1500), while the second half of world history need only cover one tenth of that time. This certainly does not do ancient history much justice. Sadly, that is why most sourcebooks for "World History 1" do not provide a sufficiently representative selection of readings from the ancient period. There simply

is not enough room! This is a shame, because the roots of our modern culture extend much further back than a few hundred years. Profound influences on various aspects of our lives—social patterns, forms of government, philosophical ideas, law, art, architecture, entertainment—can be traced back not merely centuries, but millennia. If I had my druthers, World History 1 courses would end at 600 CE (the end of the ancient period), but alas, we ancient and medieval historians are outnumbered. A cutoff at 1300 is a compromise and works well in my classes. Speaking approximately, it falls at the end of the High Middle Ages in Europe (just before the Italian Renaissance), the end of the Crusades, the end of the Abbasid Caliphate in the Middle East, the end of the Mamluk dynasty in India, the end of the Mongol Empire across Asia, and the end of the Kamakura period in Japan.

The pedagogical features of this book include source analysis questions at the end of every reading, which can be assigned as homework, and essay questions, placed at the end of the book, for longer writing assignments. The questions have been developed to guide students in working through the sources and to help them cultivate critical analysis skills. Exposure to the sorts of questions historians might ask, and experience in answering them, will shake the students of any assumption that what is printed in a textbook is a series of proven facts. They will be able to see that historical investigation is limited to a weighing of probabilities about the past, rather than a quest for absolute truth.

If, while using this volume, you come across an error of fact in my commentary, or if you otherwise have a suggestion for improvement, please contact me and let me know your thoughts. My email address is dmiano@sdccd.edu.

Happy teaching!
David Miano

Introduction

As a student of history, it is necessary not only for you to learn history, but also to learn how history is learned. How exactly do historians arrive at their conclusions? As you might surmise, they do *not* do so by reading a textbook. History textbooks merely report, in summary form, what the current state of knowledge is. They generally do not tell you where the information came from, nor do they explain how that information has been interpreted. You can get a better sense of what a historian does by reading a scholarly book. What the present volume does, however, is allow you to go even further than that. It is designed to put you into a historian's shoes, to give you a feel for the techniques and guidelines used by historians by doing what they do.

Why is this book full of readings? It is because historical knowledge is built upon the knowledge of previous "knowers." Every historian must turn to the writings of persons from the past in order to gain information. We cannot travel into the past literally, but we can do so in spirit by reading documents from the times. These sources of information must then be evaluated, organized, and interpreted in accordance with a historical method.

Each reading in this book may be used as a *primary* source by a historian or student of history. Primary sources are, generally speaking, the most valuable of all sources, because they come directly from the time and place being studied and may even be written by witnesses of an event or series of events that today's historians wish to understand. Primary

sources are to be distinguished from *secondary* sources, which are further removed from an event being studied, either by time or by circumstance. When reading one of the sources in this book, you must keep in mind that, in one sense, it could be functioning as a primary source and in another sense as a secondary source. Be able to discern when it is functioning as one or the other. Yes, it is possible for a source to be both primary *and* secondary. It all depends on the historical question being asked. Thus, for example, if I am reading Sima Qian's account of the reign of King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty, I would consider it a secondary source of information about King Wu, who lived many centuries before the account was written, but a primary source for the first century BCE, when Sima Qian wrote the account. Even though Sima Qian may not directly speak of his own times in his story of King Wu, he may reveal his own ideas and values in the way he tells the story.

A primary source does not interpret or analyze itself. That work is up to the historian, or under the present circumstances, up to you. The sad truth is, the writers of times past often adjust, skew, or even mutilate a story, intentionally or unintentionally, so if you want to find out what really happened, you can't simply take their words at face value. To assist you in analyzing each source, I have provided a brief introduction, which lets you know where and when the source was composed and who may have written it (if such information is available) and even

more importantly, questions you can ask yourself about the source. These questions are the sort that a trained historian asks automatically, such as:

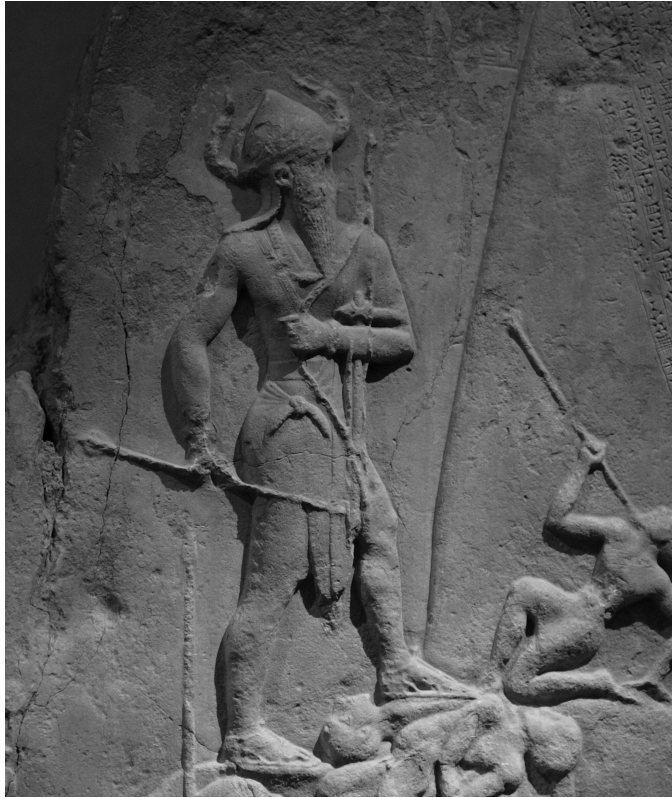
- Why was this source written? What is its purpose?
- What unspoken assumptions does the source contain?
- How does the author's gender and socioeconomic background compare to those about whom he or she is writing?

- What biases are detectable in the source?
- How do other sources compare with this one?

As you can see, when a historian reads, he or she is engaged in a kind of dialogue with the text. You also are encouraged to read actively, not passively, the sources provided you in this book. Understand the content, evaluate its usefulness, analyze its significance, and synthesize all that you have read into a coherent picture. Then it is hoped you will begin to appreciate what historians actually do.



The Early Bronze Age
(3300–2100 BCE)



Victory Stela of Naram Sin (Akkadian Empire)

The Early Bronze Age

B.C.E	3200	3100	3000	2900	2800	2700	2600	2500	2400	2300	2200	2100
South America				Norte Chico								
Northeast Africa			Proto-dynastic Period	Egyptian Early Dynastic Period			Egyptian Old Kingdom					
South Mesopotamia			Jemdet Nasr Period	Sumerian Early Dynastic Period						Akkadian Empire	Gutian Period	
South Asia								Indus Valley (Harappan) Civilization				

1. The Instructions of Shuruppak

Translated by Jeremy A. Black

The Instructions of Shuruppak comes from the Early Dynastic Period in Mesopotamian history (c. 2900–2270 BCE) and is written in Sumerian by an anonymous author. It consists of sayings that are designed to impart wisdom and virtue and thus falls into the genre called “Instructions in Wisdom.” Most works in this genre are presented as if a father is speaking to his son, and the present work is no exception. Here Shuruppak offers sage advice to his son Ziudsura. As far as we know, Shuruppak (translated in the following selection as Shuruppag) is a legendary figure from the ancient Sumerian city of the same name. Ziudsura, his son, is also a prominent character in Sumerian myth, as he is the one who is said to have survived the Great Flood by building a boat, in much the same way as the biblical Noah and the Babylonian Atrahasis/Utnapishtim. The following is a selection of some of the more interesting proverbs. The numbers on the side refer to the line numbers on the original tablets. Use them when citing this source. Ellipses (...) represent lacunae (gaps) in the text where a tablet is damaged.

1. In those days, in those far remote days,
2. in those nights, in those faraway nights,
3. in those years, in those far remote years,
4. at that time the wise one who knew how to speak in elaborate words lived in the Land;
5. Shuruppag, the wise one, who knew how to speak with elaborate words lived in the Land.
6. Shuruppag gave instructions to his son;
7. Shuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu
8. gave instructions to his son Ziudsura:
9. My son, let me give you instructions: you should pay attention!
10. Ziudsura, let me speak a word to you: you should pay attention!
11. Do not neglect my instructions!
12. Do not transgress the words I speak!
13. The instructions of an old man are precious; you should comply with them!
14. You should not buy a donkey which brays; it will split your midriff.
15. You should not locate a field on a road; ...
16. You should not plough a field at a path; ...
17. You should not make a well in your field: people will cause damage on it for you.
18. You should not place your house next to a public square: there is always a crowd there.

“The Instructions of Šuruppag,” *The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, ed. Jeremy A. Black, Graham Cunningham, Eleanor Robson, and Gábor Zólyomi; trans. Jeremy A. Black, pp. 284–291. Copyright © 2006 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

19. You should not vouch for someone: that man will have a hold on you;
20. and you yourself, you should not let somebody vouch for you.
21. You should not make an inspection on a man: the flood will give it back to you.
22. You should not loiter about where there is a quarrel;
23. you should not let the quarrel make you a witness.
24. You should not let yourself ... in a quarrel.
25. You should not cause a quarrel; ...
26. ... the gate of the palace ...
27. Stand aside from a quarrel, ... you should not take another road.
28. You should not steal anything; you should not ... yourself.
29. You should not break into a house; you should not wish for the money chest.
30. A thief is a lion, but after he has been caught, he will be a slave.
31. My son, you should not commit robbery; you should not cut yourself with an axe.
32. You should not make a young man best man. You should not ... yourself.
33. You should not play around with a married young woman: the slander could be serious.
34. My son, you should not sit alone in a chamber with a married woman.
35. You should not pick a quarrel; you should not disgrace yourself.
36. You should not ... lies; ...
37. You should not boast; then your words will be trusted.
38. You should not deliberate for too long; you cannot bear ... glances.
39. You should not eat stolen food with anyone.
40. You should not sink your hand into blood.
41. After you have apportioned the bones, you will be made to restore the ox, you will be made to restore the sheep.
42. You should not speak improperly;
43. later it will lay a trap for you.
44. You should not scatter your sheep into unknown pastures.
45. You should not hire someone's ox for an uncertain ...
46. A safe ... means a safe journey.
47. You should not travel during the night: it can hide both good and evil.
48. You should not buy an onager: it lasts only until the end of the day.
49. You should not have sex with your slave girl: she will chew you up.
50. You should not curse strongly: it rebounds on you.
51. You should not draw up water which you cannot reach: it will make you weak.
52. (line unclear)
53. You should not drive away a debtor: he will be hostile towards you.
54. You should not establish a home with an arrogant man:
55. he will make your life like that of a slave girl.
56. You will not be able to travel through any human dwelling
57. without being shouted at: "There you go! There you go!"
58. You should not undo the ... of the garden's reed fence;
59. "Restore it! Restore it!" they will say to you.
60. You should not provide a stranger with food; you should not wipe out a quarrel.

61. My son, you should not use violence; ...
62. You should not commit rape on someone's daughter; the courtyard will learn of it.
63. You should not drive away a powerful man; you should not destroy the outer wall.
64. You should not drive away a young man; you should not make him turn against the city.
65. The eyes of the slanderer always move around as shiftily as a spindle.
66. You should never remain in his presence; his intentions should not be allowed to have an effect on you.
67. You should not boast in beer halls like a deceitful man.
68. Having reached the field of manhood, you should not jump with your hand.
69. The warrior is unique, he alone is the equal of many;
70. Utu is unique, he alone is the equal of many.
71. With your life you should always be on the side of the warrior;
72. with your life you should always be on the side of Utu.

124. You tell your son to come to your home;
125. you tell your daughter to go to her women's quarters.
126. You should not pass judgment when you drink beer.
127. You should not worry unduly about what leaves the house.
128. Heaven is far, earth is most precious,
129. but it is with heaven that you multiply your goods,
130. and all foreign lands breathe under it.
131. At harvest time, at the most priceless time,
132. collect like a slave girl, eat like a queen;
133. my son, to collect like a slave girl, to eat like a queen, this is how it should be.

153. You should not beat a farmer's son: he has constructed your embankments and ditches.
154. You should not buy a prostitute: she is a mouth that bites.
155. You should not buy a house-born slave: he is a herb that makes the stomach sick.
156. You should not buy a free man: he will always lean against the wall.
157. You should not buy a palace slave girl: she will always be the bottom of the barrel.
158. You should rather bring down a foreign slave from the mountains,
159. or you should bring somebody from a place where he is an alien;
160. my son,
161. then he will pour water for you where the sun rises and he will walk before you.
162. He does not belong to any family, so he does not want to go to his family;
163. he does not belong to any city, so he does not want to go to his city.
164. He will not ... with you, he will not be presumptuous with you.
165. My son,
166. you should not travel alone eastwards.
167. Your acquaintance should not ...
168. A name placed on another one ... ;
169. you should not pile up a mountain on another one.
170. Fate is a wet bank;
171. it can make one slip.

172. The elder brother is indeed like a father; the elder sister is indeed like a mother.
173. Listen therefore to your elder brother,
174. and you should be obedient to your elder sister as if she were your mother.
175. You should not work using only your eyes;
176. you will not multiply your possessions using only your mouth.
177. The negligent one ruins his family.
178. The need for food makes some people ascend the mountains;
179. it also brings traitors and foreigners,
180. since the need for food brings down other people from the mountains.
181. A small city provides its king with a calf;
182. a huge city digs a house plot.
193. When you bring a slave girl from the hills,
194. she brings both good and evil with her.
195. The good is in the hands; the evil is in the heart.
196. The heart does not let go of the good;
197. but the heart cannot let go of the evil either.
198. As if it were a watery place, the heart does not abandon the good.
199. Evil is a store-room ...
202. A loving heart maintains a family;
203. a hateful heart destroys a family.
204. To have authority, to have possessions and to be steadfast are princely divine powers.
205. You should submit to the respected;
206. you should be humble before the powerful.
207. My son, you will then survive against the wicked.
208. You should not choose a wife during a festival.
209. Her inside is illusory; her outside is illusory.
210. The silver on her is borrowed; the lapis lazuli on her is borrowed.
211. The dress on her is borrowed; the linen garment on her is borrowed.
212. With ... nothing is comparable.
215. One appoints a reliable woman for a good household.
216. A woman with her own property ruins the house.
217. A drunkard will drown the harvest.
242. Nothing at all is to be valued, but life should be sweet.
243. You should not serve things; things should serve you.
246. You should not abuse a ewe; otherwise you will give birth to a daughter.
247. You should not throw a lump of earth into the money chest; otherwise you will give birth to a son.
248. You should not abduct a wife; you should not make her cry.
249. The place where the wife is abducted to ...
254. The wet-nurses in the women's quarters determine the fate of their lord.
255. You should not speak arrogantly to your mother; that causes hatred for you.
256. You should not question the words of your mother and your personal god.
257. The mother, like Utu, gives birth to the man;
258. the father, like a god, makes him bright.

259. The father is like a god: his words are reliable.
260. The instructions of the father should be complied with.
261. Without suburbs a city has no centre either.
262. My son, a field situated at the bottom of the embankments,
263. be it wet or dry, is nevertheless a source of income.
264. It is inconceivable that something is lost forever.
266. To get lost is bad for a dog; but terrible for a man.
267. On the unfamiliar way at the edge of the mountains,
268. the gods of the mountains are man-eaters.
269. They do not build houses there as men do; they do not build cities there as men do.

Think about it.

1. Considering that Shuruppak and Ziusudra weren't real persons, then what do you think the purpose of this document might be?
2. Which parts of these instructions surprise you the most and why?
3. What can we learn about ancient Mesopotamian values from these instructions?

c. 2200 BCE

2. The Precepts of Ptah-hotep

Translated by M. Philippe Virey

This work, known also as the Instruction of Ptahhotep and the Maxims of Ptahhotep, is a well-preserved Egyptian text of the “Instructions in Wisdom” genre (known as *sebayt* in Egyptian) containing ethical teachings. As with most texts from this genre, the “instructions” are presented by a father to his son. In this case the father purports to be Ptahhotep, a vizier who had worked under the pharaoh Isesi from the Fifth Dynasty in Egypt’s Old Kingdom. It is more likely that it is pseudepigraphal

“The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep,” *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East, Volume II: Egypt*, ed. Charles F. Horne, trans. M. Philippe Virey, pp. 62–78. Parke, Austin, and Lipscomb, Inc., 1917. Copyright in the Public Domain.

and was written in the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2325–2150 BCE), when the Instructions in Wisdom texts are more likely to have first appeared. It now exists in several versions with some slight differences between them. The oldest is in the Prisse Papyrus, which dates to the Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1991–1783 BCE). It is also the only complete surviving copy of the text. The Precepts are presented here in their entirety. Ellipses (...) represent lacunae (gaps) in the text where the papyrus is damaged.

*Precepts of the prefect, the lord Ptah-hotep,
under the Majesty of the King of the South
and North, Assa, living eternally forever.*

1. The prefect, the feudal lord Ptah-hotep, says: O Ptah¹ with the two crocodiles, my lord, the progress of age changes into senility. Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. A vexation weighs upon him every day; sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength dissolves without ceasing. The mouth is silent, speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion. Standing or sitting there is here a condition of ... Who will cause me to have authority to speak, that I may declare to him the words of those who have heard the counsels of former days? And the counsels heard of the gods, who will give me authority to declare them? Cause that it be so and that evil be removed from those that are enlightened; send the double ... The majesty of this god says: Instruct him in the sayings of former days. It is this which constitutes the merit of the children of the great. All that which makes the soul equal penetrates him who hears it, and that which it says produces no satiety.

2. Beginning of the arrangement of the good sayings, spoken by the noble lord, the divine father, beloved of Ptah, the son of the king, the first-born of his race, the prefect and feudal lord Ptah-hotep, so as to instruct the ignorant in the knowledge of the arguments of the good sayings. It is profitable

for him who hears them, it is a loss to him who shall transgress them. He says to his son:

3. Be not arrogant because of that which you know; deal with the ignorant as with the learned; for the barriers of art are not closed, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire. But good words are more difficult to find than the emerald, for it is by slaves that that is discovered among the rocks of pegmatite.

4. If you find a disputant while he is hot, and if he is superior to you in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let you destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that you are incapable of keeping yourself calm, when you are contradicted. If then you have to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. You have the advantage over him if you keep silence when he is uttering evil words. “The better of the two is he who is impassive,” say the bystanders, and you are right in the opinion of the great.

5. If you find a disputant while he is hot, do not despise him because you are not of the same opinion. Be not angry against him when he is wrong; away with such a thing. He fights against himself; require him not further to flatter your feelings. Do not amuse yourself with the spectacle which you have before you; it is odious, it is mean, it is the part of a despicable soul so to do. As soon as you let yourself be moved by your feelings, combat this desire as a thing that is reproved by the great.

6. If you have, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner of doing so that your own conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable, and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age

¹ Egyptian craftsman god.

of Ptah. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way before violence. Shall that which is below gain the upper hand, if the unjust does not attain to the place of justice? Even he who says: I take for myself, of my own free-will; but says not: I take by virtue of my authority. The limitations of justice are invariable; such is the instruction which every man receives from his father.

7. Inspire not men with fear, else Ptah will fight against you in the same manner. If any one asserts that he lives by such means, Ptah will take away the bread from his mouth; if any one asserts that he enriches himself thereby, Ptah says: I may take those riches to myself. If any one asserts that he beats others, Ptah will end by reducing him to impotence. Let no one inspire men with fear; this is the will of Ptah. Let one provide sustenance for them in the lap of peace; it will then be that they will freely give what has been torn from them by terror.

8. If you are among the persons seated at meat in the house of a greater man than yourself, take that which he gives you, bowing to the ground. Regard that which is placed before you, but point not at it; regard it not frequently; he is a blameworthy person who departs from this rule. Speak not to the great man more than he requires, for one knows not what may be displeasing to him. Speak when he invites you and your worth will be pleasing. As for the great man who has plenty of means of existence, his conduct is as he himself wishes. He does that which pleases him; if he desires to repose, he realizes his intention. The great man stretching forth his hand does that to which other men do not attain. But as the means of existence are under the will of Ptah, one can not rebel against it.

9. If you are one of those who bring the messages of one great man to another, conform yourself exactly to that wherewith he has charged you; perform for him the commission as he has enjoined you. Beware of altering in speaking the offensive words which one great person addresses to another; he who perverts the trustfulness of his way, in order

to repeat only what produces pleasure in the words of every man, great or small, is a detestable person.

10. If you are a farmer, gather the crops in the field which the great Ptah has given you, do not boast in the house of your neighbors; it is better to make oneself dreaded by one's deeds. As for him who, master of his own way of acting, being all-powerful, seizes the goods of others like a crocodile in the midst even of watchment, his children are an object of malediction, of scorn, and of hatred on account of it, while his father is grievously distressed, and as for the mother who has borne him, happy is another rather than herself. But a man becomes a god when he is chief of a tribe which has confidence in following him.

11. If you abase yourself in obeying a superior, your conduct is entirely good before Ptah. Knowing who you ought to obey and who you ought to command, do not lift up your heart against him. As you know that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Wealth comes only at Ptah's own good-will, and his caprice only is the law; as for him who ... Ptah, who has created his superiority, turns himself from him and he is overthrown.

12. Be active during the time of your existence, do no more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of your activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not lose the daily opportunity of increasing that which your house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens.

13. If you are a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to Ptah. If he conforms his conduct to your way and occupies himself with your affairs as is right, do to him all the good you can; he is your son, a person attached to you whom your own self has begotten. Separate not your heart from him. ... But if he conducts himself ill and transgresses your wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and

he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way.

14. If you are employed in the larit, stand or sit rather than walk about. Lay down rules for yourself from the first: not to absent yourself even when weariness overtakes you. Keep an eye on him who enters announcing that what he asks is secret; what is entrusted to you is above appreciation, and all contrary argument is a matter to be rejected. He is a god who penetrates into a place where no relaxation of the rules is made for the privileged.

15. If you are with people who display for you an extreme affection, saying: "Aspiration of my heart, aspiration of my heart, where there is no remedy! That which is said in your heart, let it be realized by springing up spontaneously. Sovereign master, I give myself to your opinion. Your name is approved without speaking. Your body is full of vigor, your face is above your neighbors." If then you are accustomed to this excess of flattery, and there be an obstacle to you in your desires, then your impulse is to obey your passion. But he who ... according to his caprice, his soul is ... , his body is ... While the man who is master of his soul is superior to those whom Ptah has loaded with his gifts; the man who obeys his passion is under the power of his wife.

16. Declare your line of conduct without reticence; give your opinion in the council of your lord; while there are people who turn back upon their own words when they speak, so as not to offend him who has put forward a statement, and answer not in this fashion: "He is the great man who will recognize the error of another; and when he shall raise his voice to oppose the other about it he will keep silence after what I have said."

17. If you are a leader, setting forward your plans according to that which you decide, perform perfect actions which posterity may remember, without letting the words prevail with you which multiply flattery, which excite pride and produce vanity.

18. If you are a leader of peace, listen to the discourse of the petitioner. Be not abrupt with him;

that would trouble him. Say not to him: "You have already recounted this." Indulgence will encourage him to accomplish the object of his coming. As for being abrupt with the complainant because he described what passed when the injury was done, instead of complaining of the injury itself let it not be! The way to obtain a clear explanation is to listen with kindness.

19. If you desire to excite respect within the house you enter, for example the house of a superior, a friend, or any person of consideration, in short everywhere where you enter, keep yourself from making advances to a woman, for there is nothing good in so doing. There is no prudence in taking part in it, and thousands of men destroy themselves in order to enjoy a moment, brief as a dream, while they gain death, so as to know it. It is a villainous intention, that of a man who thus excites himself; if he goes on to carry it out, his mind abandons him. For as for him who is without repugnance for such an act, there is no good sense at all in him.

20. If you desire that your conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep yourself from every attack of bad humor. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord, and there is no longer any existence for him who gives way to it. For it introduces discord between fathers and mothers, as well as between brothers and sisters; it causes the wife and the husband to hate each other; it contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. When a man has established his just equilibrium and walks in this path, there where he makes his dwelling, there is no room for bad humor.

21. Be not of an irritable temper as regards that which happens at your side; grumble not over your own affairs. Be not of an irritable temper in regard to your neighbors; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbors, to be no longer master of one's words. When there is only a little irritation, one creates for oneself an affliction for the time when one will again be cool.

22. If you are wise, look after your house; love your wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back; these are the cares to be bestowed on her person. Caress her, fulfil her desires during the time of her existence; it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Be not brutal; tact will influence her better than violence; her ... behold to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards. It is that which fixes her in your house; if you repel her, it is an abyss. Open your arms for her, respond to her arms; call her, display to her your love.

23. Treat your dependents well, in so far as it belongs to you to do so; and it belongs to those whom Ptah has favored. If any one fails in treating his dependents well it is said: "He is a person ...". As we do not know the events which may happen tomorrow, he is a wise person by whom one is well treated. When there comes the necessity of showing zeal, it will then be the dependents themselves who say: "Come on, come on," if good treatment has not quitted the place; if it has quitted it, the dependents are defaulters.

24. Do not repeat any extravagance of language; do not listen to it; it is a thing which has escaped from a hasty mouth. If it is repeated, look, without hearing it, toward the earth; say nothing in regard to it. Cause him who speaks to you to know what is just, even him who provokes to injustice; cause that which is just to be done, cause it to triumph. As for that which is hateful according to the law, condemn it by unveiling it.

25. If you are a wise man, sitting in the council of your lord, direct your thought toward that which is wise. Be silent rather than scatter your words. When you speak, know that which can be brought against you. To speak in the council is an art, and speech is criticized more than any other labor; it is contradiction which puts it to the proof.

26. If you are powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not your heart be haughty, neither let it be mean. Do not let your orders remain unsaid and cause your answers to

penetrate; but speak without heat, assume a serious countenance. As for the vivacity of an ardent heart, temper it; the gentle man penetrates all obstacles. He who agitates himself all the day long has not a good moment; and he who amuses himself all the day long keeps not his fortune. Aim at fulness like pilots; once one is seated another works, and seeks to obey one's orders.

27. Disturb not a great man; weaken not the attention of him who is occupied. His care is to embrace his task, and he strips his person through the love which he puts into it. That transports men to Ptah, even the love for the work which they accomplish. Compose then your face even in trouble, that peace may be with you, when agitation is with ... These are the people who succeed in what they desire.

28. Teach others to render homage to a great man. If you gather the crop for him among men, cause it to return fully to its owner, at whose hands is your subsistence. But the gift of affection is worth more than the provisions with which your back is covered. For that which the great man receives from you will enable your house to live, without speaking of the maintenance you enjoy, which you desire to preserve; it is thereby that he extends a beneficent hand, and that in your home good things are added to good things. Let your love pass into the heart of those who love you; cause those about you to be loving and obedient.

29. If you are a son of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute your commission without knowing its meaning, and speak with firmness. Substitute not for that which the instructor has said what you believe to be his intention; the great use words as it suits them. Your part is to transmit rather than to comment upon.

30. If you are annoyed at a thing, if you are tormented by someone who is acting within his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more when he has ceased to address you.

31. If you have become great after having been little, if you have become rich after having been

poor, when you are at the head of the city, know how not to take advantage of the fact that you have reached the first rank, harden not your heart because of your elevation; you are become only the administrator, the prefect, of the provisions which belong to Ptah. Put not behind you the neighbor who is like you; be unto him as a companion.

32. Bend your back before your superior. You are attached to the palace of the king; your house is established in its fortune, and your profits are as is fitting. Yet a man is annoyed at having an authority above himself, and passes the period of life in being vexed thereat. Although that hurts not your ... Do not plunder the house of your neighbors, seize not by force the goods which are beside you. Exclaim not then against that which you hear, and do not feel humiliated. It is necessary to reflect when one is hindered by it that the pressure of authority is felt also by one's neighbor.

33. Do not make ... you know that there are obstacles to the water which comes to its hinder part, and that there is no trickling of that which is in its bosom. Let it not ... after having corrupted his heart.

34. If you aim at polished manners, call not him whom you accost. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives you all opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy rather; proceed not to drive him into a corner; do not ... the word to him; answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not; in order that in his turn he may not return to the subject, but depart to the profit of your conversation.

35. Let your countenance be cheerful during the time of your existence. When we see one departing from the storehouse who has entered in order to bring his share of provision, with his face contracted, it shows that his stomach is empty and that authority is offensive to him. Let not that happen to you; it is ...

36. Know those who are faithful to you when you are in low estate. Your merit then is worth more than those who did you honor. His ... , behold that which a man possesses completely. That is of more importance than his high rank; for this is a matter which passes from one to another. The merit of one's son is advantageous to the father, and that which he really is, is worth more than the remembrance of his father's rank.

37. Distinguish the superintendent who directs from the workman, for manual labor is little elevated; the inaction of the hands is honorable. If a man is not in the evil way, that which places him there is the want of subordination to authority.

38. If you take a wife, do not ... Let her be more contented than any of her fellow-citizens. She will be attached to you doubly, if her chain is pleasant. Do not repel her; grant that which pleases her; it is to her contentment that she appreciates your work.

39. If you hear those things which I have said to you, your wisdom will be fully advanced. Although they are the means which are suitable for arriving at the maat, and it is that which makes them precious, their memory would recede from the mouth of men. But thanks to the beauty of their arrangement in rhythm all their words will now be carried without alteration over this earth eternally. That will create a canvass to be embellished, whereof the great will speak, in order to instruct men in its sayings. After having listened to them the pupil will become a master, even he who shall have properly listened to the sayings because he shall have heard them. Let him win success by placing himself in the first rank; that is for him a position perfect and durable, and he has nothing further to desire forever. By knowledge his path is assured, and he is made happy by it on the earth. The wise man is satiated by knowledge; he is a great man through his own merits. His tongue is in accord with his mind; just are his lips when he speaks, his eyes when he gazes, his ears when he hears. The advantage of his son is to do that which is just without deceiving himself.

40. To attend therefore profits the son of him who has attended. To attend is the result of the fact that one has attended. A teachable auditor is formed, because I have attended. Good when he has attended, good when he speaks, he who has attended has profited, and it is profitable to attend to him who has attended. To attend is worth more than anything else, for it produces love, the good thing that is twice good. The son who accepts the instruction of his father will grow old on that account. What Ptah loves is that one should attend; if one attends not, it is abhorrent to Ptah. The heart makes itself its own master when it attends and when it does not attend; but if it attends, then his heart is a beneficent master to a man. In attending to instruction, a man loves what he attends to, and to do that which is prescribed is pleasant. When a son attends to his father, it is a twofold joy for both; when wise things are prescribed to him, the son is gentle toward his master. Attending to him who has attended when such things have been prescribed to him, he engraves upon his heart that which is approved by his father; and the recollection of it is preserved in the mouth of the living who exist upon this earth.

41. When a son receives the instruction of his father there is no error in all his plans. Train your son to be a teachable man whose wisdom is agreeable to the great. Let him direct his mouth according to that which has been said to him; in the docility of a son is discovered his wisdom. His conduct is perfect while error carries away the unteachable. Tomorrow knowledge will support him, while the ignorant will be destroyed.

42. As for the man without experience who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal, in this fashion. His food is evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment. That which the great know to be mortal he lives upon every day, flying from that which would be profitable

to him, because of the multitude of errors which present themselves before him every day.

43. A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lesson to his children. Let none innovate upon the precepts of his father; let the same precepts form his lessons to his children. "Verily," will his children say to him, "to accomplish what you say works marvels." Cause therefore that to flourish which is just, in order to nourish your children with it. If the teachers allow themselves to be led toward evil principles, verily the people who understand them not will speak accordingly, and that being said to those who are docile they will act accordingly. Then all the world considers them as masters and they inspire confidence in the public; but their glory endures not so long as would please them. Take not away then a word from the ancient teaching, and add not one; put not one thing in place of another; beware of uncovering the rebellious ideas which arise in you; but teach according to the words of the wise. Attend if you wish to dwell in the mouth of those who shall attend to your words, when you have entered upon the office of master, that your words may be upon our lips ... and that there may be a chair from which to deliver your arguments.

44. Let your thoughts be abundant, but let your mouth be under restraint, and you shall argue with the great. Put yourself in unison with the ways of your master; cause him to say: "He is my son," so that those who shall hear it shall say "Praise be to her who has borne him to him!" Apply yourself while you speak; speak only of perfect things; and let the great who shall hear you say: "Twice good is that which issues from his mouth!"

45. Do that which your master bids you. Twice good is the precept of his father, from whom he has issued, from his flesh. What he tells us, let it be fixed in our heart; to satisfy him greatly let us do for him more than he has prescribed. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of Ptah, a son who does even better than he has been told to do. For his master he

does what is satisfactory, putting himself with all his heart on the part of right. So I shall bring it about that your body shall be healthful, that the Pharaoh shall be satisfied with you in all circumstances and that you shall obtain years of life without default. It has caused me on earth to obtain one hundred and ten years of life, along with the gift of the favor of

the Pharaoh among the first of those whom their works have ennobled, satisfying the Pharaoh in a place of dignity.

It is finished, from its beginning to its end, according to that which is found in writing.

Think about it.

1. According to the introduction, what are the sources of good instruction?
2. To what audience are these instructions directed—all Egyptians, or a certain class in particular?
3. What similarities do you see between this document and The Instructions of Shuruppak (reading #1)?