

*The Literature of Ancient Egypt*

*An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*

*New Edition*

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## The Tale of the Two Brothers

This story is based upon a myth that concerned two gods of the Cynopolite or Seventeenth Nome of Middle Egypt (see J. Yoyotte, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 9 [1952]: 157-59; J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* [Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, n.d.] pp. 45-46, 105-06; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2:103\*-06\*, and his *The Wilbour Papyrus* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948], 2:50-51) and may reflect an ancient conflict between two neighboring towns that became unified just as the two divine protagonists are reconciled. The elder brother, Anubis, is well known to us, mainly through his role as god of the dead and embalming, but the hero of the tale, Bata or Bet, is less often encountered in the documentation surviving from ancient Egypt. Bata seems originally to have been a pastoral god, whose cult image was in the form of a mummiform ram (the Old Kingdom evidence is discussed by Peter Seibert in *Die Charakteristik* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967], Pt. 1, pp. 59-67 and by Peter Kaplony in *Chronique d'Égypte* 44 [1969]: 27-59, and 45 [1970]: 240-43), but sources later than the Old Kingdom indicate that Bata was primarily a bull, one of the forms he adopts in the story. In a number of Old Kingdom tomb chapels Bata appears as the subject of a peasant's song, while from the late period the Papyrus Jumilhac provides a version of the myth in which Bata is identified with Seth, and Anubis is the hero.

Egyptian religious texts, such as the Pyramid Texts, contain many mythological allusions, but the absence of a running mythological account is striking. One form in which mythical concepts were transmitted as an expression of the Egyptian faith was the popular story which might be told by a raconteur in the marketplace. It is obvious that *The Tale of the Two Brothers* is not an "official" version of the myth as transmitted through the ages; its vernacular language and such a matter as Bata's appointment to be Viceroy of Kush betray the adaptation of the myth to a changing world. Through the mythically based short story, the commoner in ancient

Egypt was able to participate in a form of religious education. It would be wrong to view knowledge about the gods as the prerogative of a select class of priests; the public may have been far more knowledgeable in religious affairs than has often been maintained. For bibliographical references to this story, see Lefebvre, *Romans et contes*, pp. 140-42; Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians*, p. xxxii; F. Jesi, in *Aegyptus* 42 (1962): 276-96. See now, E. Blumenthal, in *ZÄS* 99 (1972): 1-17; Jan Assmann, in *ZÄS* 104 (1977): 1-25; B. Sledzianowski, in *GM* 4 (1973): 35-40.

1,1 Once upon a time there were two brothers, so the story goes, having the same mother and the same father. Anubis was the name of the elder, and Bata was the name of the younger. Now as for Anubis, he [possessed] a house and had a wife, [and] his younger brother was (associated) with him after the manner of a son, so that it was he (that is, the elder brother) who made clothes for him while he (that is, the younger brother) followed behind his cattle to the fields, since it was he who had to plow. It was he who reaped for him, and it was [he] who did for him every chore that was in the fields. Indeed, his younger brother [was] a perfect man: there was none like him in <the> entire land, for a god's virility was in him.

1,5 After many days following this,<sup>1</sup> his younger brother / [was tending] his cattle according to his daily habit, and he would [leave work] for his house every evening laden

1. This and similar expressions marking the passage of time occur throughout the story as conventionalized formulas that are not always to be taken literally. See Westendorf, in *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 65-68. In fact, this paragraph and the following one are not really part of the narrative proper but serve to provide the necessary background for the action of the story that begins following the statement about the increase in the size of the herd. See E. F. Wente, in *JNES* 21 (1962): 308-09.

[with] every vegetable of the fields, [with] milk, with wood, and [with] every [good produce of] the field; he would place them before his [elder brother] while he was sitting with his wife, and he would drink and eat, and [he would leave to spend the night in] his stable among his cattle [daily].

After dawn and the next day had come about, [he prepared foods] which were cooked, and he would place them before his elder brother, [and he would] give him bread for the fields, and he would drive his cattle to let them graze in the fields while he followed behind his cattle. [And th]ey [would] tell him: The herbage of such and such a place is good. And he would listen to all that they said and take them to the place / with good herbage which they were desiring. The cattle that were in his charge became so exceedingly fine that they multiplied their offspring exceedingly.

At plowing time his [elder] brother told him: Have a team [of oxen] made ready for us for plowing, for the soil has emerged so that it is just right for tilling. Also, you are to come to the field with seed because we shall begin to cultivate tomorrow.<sup>2</sup> So he said to him. Then his / younger brother made all preparations that his elder brother had told him to [make]. And after dawn [and the next] day had come about, they went to the field carrying their [seed] and began [to] plow with [their hearts] exceedingly pleased about their project as [they] began to work.

2. In ancient Egypt the sowing of the seed for cereal crops was performed simultaneously with the plowing of the soil. Hence the word *sk3* can mean "plow," "till," or "cultivate." See T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962), p. 18.

After many [days] following this, while they were in the field, they needed seed. He sent his younger brother, saying: You shall go and fetch us seed from town. His younger brother found the wife of his elder brother seated plaiting her (hair).<sup>3</sup> He told her: Get up and give me seed / so that <I> may hurry off to the field, because it is for me that my elder brother is waiting. Don't cause a delay. Then she told him: Go, open the magazine and fetch for yourself what you want. Don't make <me> leave my hairdressing unfinished.

Then the youth entered his stable and fetched a large vessel, since it was his desire to take out a lot of seed. He loaded himself with barley and emmer and came out carrying it. Then she said to him: How much is it that is on your shoulder? And he told her: It is / three sacks of emmer and two sacks of barley, totaling five, that are on my shoulder. So he said to her. Then she [spoke with] him, saying: There is [great] virility in you, for I have been observing your exertions daily. For it was her desire to know him through sexual intimacy. She got up, seized hold of him, and told him: Come, let's spend for ourselves an hour sleeping (together). Such will be to your advantage, for I will make you fine clothes.

Then the youth became like an Upper Egyptian panther in 'harsh' rage<sup>4</sup> over the wicked proposition that she had made to him, and she became exceedingly fearful. He argued with her, saying: Now look, you are (associated) with me after the manner of a mother, and your husband

3. As the text stands, the translation should be, "His younger brother found the wife of his elder brother while one was sitting plaiting her (hair)." On the passage and its implications, see J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975): 137, and Ph. Derchain, in *SAK* 2 (1975): 55-59. point, a probable emendation of the text is: *hws hms.tw hr nbd.s*.

4. Reading perhaps *m knd dri*.

is (associated) with me after the manner of a father, for the one who is older than I it is who has brought me up.  
 4,1 What means/this great offense which <you> have said to me? Don't say it to me again. But I shall tell it to no one, for I will not let it escape my mouth to anybody. He picked up his load and went off to the field. Then he reached his elder brother, and they began to work <at> their project.

Afterward, at evening time, his elder brother left work for his house, while his younger brother was (still) tending his cattle and [would] load himself with all produce of the field and bring back his cattle/before him to let them spend the night <in> their stable, which was in town.<sup>5</sup> The wife of his elder brother was fearful <on account of> the proposition which she had made. She then fetched grease and fat and feigningly became like one who has been assaulted<sup>6</sup> with the intention of telling her husband: It's your younger brother who has assaulted <me>. Her husband left work in the evening according to his daily habit. He reached his house and found his wife lying (down), feigning (to be) sick, so that she did not pour water upon his hand(s) according to his custom, nor had she prepared lighting for his arrival, so that his house was in darkness as she lay vomiting. Her husband said to her: Who has quarreled with you? Said she to him: No one has quarreled with me except your/younger brother. When he returned to take  
 5,1 out seed for you, he found me sitting alone and said to

5. This sentence, which is also not part of the narrative proper, serves to explain how Anubis would customarily return home before Bata, thus setting the stage for the episode at the barn door; see Wente, *JNES* 21: 309-10.

6. Or, "and became like one who has been criminally assaulted."

me, "Come, let's spend an hour sleeping (together). You shall put on your wig." So he said to me, but I refused to obey him. "Isn't it so that I am your mother, and that your brother is (associated) with you after the manner of a father?" So I said to him. And he became afraid and assaulted <me> to prevent me from making a disclosure to you. Now if you let him live, I'll take my life. See, as soon as he returns, 'don't . . . him', because I denounce this wicked proposition which he would have carried out yesterday.<sup>7</sup>

5,5 Then his elder brother became / like an Upper Egyptian panther, and he had his spear sharpened and placed it in his hand. His elder <brother> stood behind the door <of> his stable in order to kill his younger brother upon his return in the evening to let his cattle enter the stable. Now when the sun set, he loaded himself <with> all (sorts of) vegetables of the fields, according to his daily habit, and returned. The lead cow entered the stable and said to its herdsman: Look, your elder brother is standing in wait for you bearing his spear to kill you. You shall depart from his presence. He understood what his lead cow had  
 6,1 said, and / the next one entered and said it also. He looked under the door of his stable and observed his elder

7. A restoration that would permit the translation, "See, as soon as he returns, you are to kill him, for I am suffering from this wicked proposition which he would carry out yesterday," has been suggested by Klaus Baer, in *JEA* 51 (1965): 139 and 142, but his restoration of *mrw.k* is questionable on paleographic grounds. Although Horus and Seth, 3,10, may be cited in support of rendering *sn* by "suffer from," the determinative of the verb in Two Brothers is different and favors the verb *šnt*, "curse." The term *yesterday* is used because day was over at sunset, even though the Egyptian day began at dawn; see Siegfried Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1950), p. 20.

brother's feet as he was standing behind the door with his spear in his hand. He set his load onto the ground and hastened to run off <in> flight, and his elder brother went in pursuit of him, carrying his spear.

6,5 Then his younger brother prayed to Pre-Harakhti, / saying: My good lord, it is you who distinguishes wrong from right.<sup>8</sup> Thereupon Pre heard all his petitions, and Pre caused a great (gulf of) water to come between him and his elder <brother>, infested with crocodiles, so that one of them came to be on one side and the other on the other (side). His elder brother struck twice upon (the back of) his hand because he had failed to kill him. Then his younger brother called to him on the (other) side, saying: Wait there until dawn. As soon as the sun rises, 7,1 I shall / be judged with you in his presence, and he shall deliver the culprit to the just, for I will never 'again' be present in your company nor will I be present in a place where you are. I shall go to the Valley of the Pine.

Now after dawn and the next day had come about, Pre-Harakhti arose, and they observed each other. Then the youth argued with his elder brother, saying: What's the meaning of your coming in pursuit of me in order to kill <me> unjustly<sup>9</sup> without having heard what I have to 7,5 say? For I am still your younger brother, and / you are (associated) with me after the manner of a father, and your wife is (associated) with me after the manner of a

8. See Rudolf Anthes, in *JNES* 16 (1957): 180, n. 17, and John A. Wilson, in *JNES* 11 (1952): 78. P3 'd3 can mean either "wrong" or "the guilty one"; see Ricardo Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 237.

9. In the two occurrences of this expression, here and in 7,8, there is disagreement in the determinatives. In the second occurrence the writing suggests possibly, "in (all) readiness"; see Caminos, p. 180.

mother, isn't it so? When you sent <me> to fetch us seed, your wife said to me, "Come, let's spend an hour sleeping (together)." But see, it has been distorted for you as something otherwise. Then he informed him about all that had transpired between him and his wife. He swore by Pre-Harakhti saying: As for your <coming> in order to kill me unjustly, carrying your spear, it was on account of a sexually exhausted slut. He fetched a reed knife, cut off his phallus, and threw it into the water. The catfish 8,1 swallowed <it>,<sup>10</sup> and he / grew weak and became feeble. His elder brother became exceedingly grieved and stood weeping for him aloud. He could not cross over to where his younger brother was because of the crocodiles.

Then his younger brother called to him, saying: If you have recalled a grievance, can't you recall a kindness or something that I have done on your behalf? Please depart to your home and take care of your cattle, for I shall not stay in a place where you are. I shall go off to the Valley of the Pine. Now what you shall do on my behalf is to come and care for me if <you> find out that something has happened to me <when> I extract<sup>11</sup> my heart and put it on top of the flower of the pine tree. And if the 8,5 pine tree is cut down and falls to the ground, / you are to come to search for it. If you shall have spent seven years in searching for it, don't let your heart become discouraged, for if you do find it and put it into a bowl of cool water, then I will become alive in order that <I> may avenge the wrong done to me. Now you shall ascertain whether something <has happened> to me if a beaker of

10. For the god Bata's association with the catfish, see Seibert, *Die Charakteristik*, p. 63.

11. Supplying *m* before *p3y.i šd*.

beer is delivered to you in your hand and produces froth. Don't delay upon seeing that this comes to pass with you.

Then he went off to the Valley of the Pine, and his elder brother went off to his home with his hand(s) placed upon his head and his (body) smeared with dirt. Presently he reached his home, and he killed his wife, cast her <to> the dogs, and sat down in mourning over his younger brother.

After many days following this, his younger brother was in the Valley of the Pine with no one with him while he spent all day hunting desert game. He returned in the evening to spend the night under the pine tree on top  
9,1 of whose flower his heart was. And after / many days following this, he built for himself a country villa with his (own) hands <in> the Valley of the Pine, filled with all (sorts of) good things, with the intention of establishing a home for himself.

Presently he went out from his country villa and encountered the Ennead<sup>12</sup> as they were walking (along) governing the entire land. The Ennead spoke in unison,<sup>13</sup> saying to him: Oh, Bata, Bull of the Ennead, are you alone here having abandoned your town before the face of the  
9,5 wife of Anubis, your elder brother? / See, <he> has killed his wife, and thus you will be avenged upon him <for> every wrong done against you. For they were exceedingly sorry for him. Pre-Harakhti told Khnum: <sup>14</sup> Please fashion a marriageable woman for Bata so that he does not (have to) live alone. Thereupon Khnum made for him a house-

12. The company of the major gods.

13. Taking *n w<sup>c</sup> im.sn* for *m w<sup>c</sup> im.sn*, lit. "as one among themselves." But perhaps the passage is to be rendered, "spoke (first) among themselves and (then) said to him."

14. A creator god represented as shaping man on a potter's wheel.

companion who was more beautiful in her body than any woman in the entire land, for <the seed of> every god was in her. Then the seven Hathors<sup>15</sup> came <to> see her and said all together: It is by an execution knife that she shall die.

Then he proceeded to covet her exceedingly while she  
10,1 was dwelling in his house and while he spent all day / hunting desert game, bringing (it) back, and putting (it) down before her. He told her: Don't go outside lest the sea carry you away, for I will be unable to rescue you from it, because I am a female like you and my heart lies on top of the flower of the pine tree. But if another finds it, I will fight with him. Then he revealed to her all his inmost thoughts.<sup>16</sup>

After many days following this, while Bata went to  
10,5 hunt according to his daily habit, / the maiden<sup>17</sup> went out to stroll under the pine tree which was next to her house. Thereupon she beheld the sea surging up behind her, and she hastened to flee from it and entered her house. Then the sea called to the pine tree, saying: Seize hold of her for me. And the pine tree removed a curl from her hair. The sea brought it to Egypt and deposited it in the place of the launderers of Pharaoh, l.p.h. Then the scent of the curl of hair appeared in the clothes of Pharaoh, l.p.h., and the king wrangled with the launderers of Pharaoh, l.p.h., saying: Scent of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh, l.p.h. The king came to wrangling with them  
11,1 daily, but / they didn't know what to do. The chief

15. The goddesses who determine an individual's fate; see *The Doomed Prince*, n. 1.

16. On the passage, see Hellmut Brunner, in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 (1954 / 55): 140-41.

17. Bata's wife is still a virgin.

launderer of Pharaoh, l.p.h., went to the bank with his mind exceedingly vexed as a consequence of the wranglings with him daily. Then <he> stopped still and stood by the seashore opposite the curl of hair that was in the water. He had someone go down, and it was brought to him. <Its> scent was found exceedingly fragrant, and he took it away to Pharaoh, l.p.h.

Then the learned scribes of Pharaoh, l.p.h., were brought.  
 11,5 They told Pharaoh, l.p.h.: As for this braid of hair, / it belongs to a daughter of Pre-Harakhti in whom there is the seed of every god. Now it is a tribute 'to you' <from> another country. Send envoys forth to every foreign country in order to search for her. As for the envoy who will go to the Valley of the Pine, have many men go with <him> in order to fetch her. Then His Majesty, l.p.h., said: What you have said is very good, very good. And (they) were sent off.

After many days following this, the men who had gone to a foreign country returned to render report to His Majesty, l.p.h., whereas those who had gone to the Valley of the Pine failed to return, for Bata had killed them leaving (only) one of them to render report to His Majesty, l.p.h. Then His Majesty, l.p.h., again sent forth many soldiers as well as chariotry in order to fetch her,  
 12,1 there being / a woman among them through whom all (sorts of) beautiful feminine adornments were presented to her.<sup>18</sup>

The woman returned to Egypt with her, and there was jubilation for her in the entire land. Then His Majesty, l.p.h., proceeded to love her exceedingly, and the king

18. On the passage, see Hellmut Brunner, in *ZÄS* 80 (1955): 75, and Sergio Donadoni, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Roma), 28 (1953): 143-48; L. Manniche, in *GM* 18 (1975): 33-35.

appointed her to be Chief Lady. The king spoke with her in order to have her describe the nature of her husband, and she said to His Majesty, l.p.h.: Have the pine tree cut  
 12,5 down and hacked up. The king sent / soldiers bearing their copper (implements) in order to cut down the pine tree, and they reached the pine tree. They cut off the flower upon which was Bata's heart, and he fell dead at the very same moment.

After dawn and the next day had come about and after the pine tree had been cut down, Anubis, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house and sat down and washed his hand(s). He was handed a beaker of beer, and it produced  
 13,1 froth. Another of wine was handed him, and it turned bad. Then he took his / staff and his sandals as well as his clothes and his weapons, and he hastened to journey to the Valley of the Pine. He entered the country villa of his younger brother and found his younger brother lying dead upon his bed. He wept when <he> saw <his> younger brother lying in a state of death, and he went to search for his younger brother's heart beneath the pine tree  
 13,5 under which his younger brother slept in the evening. / He spent three years in searching for it without finding it. Now when he had commenced the fourth year, his heart desired to return to Egypt, and he said: I shall depart tomorrow. So he said in his heart.

After dawn and the next day had come about, he began walking under the pine tree and spent all day searching for it. He gave up in the evening. Again he spent time in order to search for it, and he found a (pine) cone. He left for home with it. It was really his younger brother's heart. And he fetched a bowl of cool water, dropped it into it, and sat down according to his daily <habit>.

14,1 After darkness had fallen, / his heart absorbed the water,



and Bata shuddered over all his body and began looking at his elder brother while his heart was (still) in the bowl. Anubis, his elder brother, took the bowl of cool water in which was his younger brother's heart and <had> him drink it. His heart assumed its (proper) position so that he became as he used to be. Then each embraced the other, and they conversed with one another. Then Bata  
 14,5 said to his / elder brother: Look, I shall become a large bull that has every beautiful color and whose sort is unparalleled, and you shall sit upon <my> back. As soon as the sun rises, we shall be where my wife is that <I> may avenge myself, and you shall take me to where the king<sup>19</sup> is, for every sort of good thing shall be done for you and you shall be rewarded with silver and gold for taking me to Pharaoh, l.p.h., because I shall become a great marvel, and there shall be jubilation for me in the entire land, and (then) you shall depart to your (home) town.

15,1 After dawn / and the next day had come about, Bata changed into the form which he had mentioned to his elder brother. Then Anubis, his elder brother, sat down upon his back until dawn, and he reached the place where the king was, and His Majesty, l.p.h., was informed about him. He saw him and became exceedingly joyful over him. He served him a grand oblation, saying: It is a great marvel that has come to pass. And there was jubilation for  
 15,5 him in the entire land. Then / his weight was made up in silver and gold for his elder brother, who (again) took up his abode in his (home) town. The king gave him much personnel and a lot of goods, for Pharaoh, l.p.h., preferred him exceedingly over anybody (else) in the entire land.

19. Here and following, the Egyptian uses the term *One* in reference to the king.

Now after many days following this, he entered the kitchen and stood in the place where the Lady was. He began speaking with her, saying: See, I'm still alive! She said to him: Who are you, I ask? And he told her: I am Bata. I realize that when you caused the pine tree to be hacked up for Pharaoh, l.p.h., it was on account of me,  
 16,1 to keep me from staying alive. See, / I'm still alive, but as a bull.

The Lady became exceedingly fearful because of the revelation which her husband had made to her. Then he left the kitchen, and His Majesty, l.p.h., sat down and made holiday with her. She poured (drinks) for His Majesty, l.p.h., so that the king was exceedingly happy in her company. Then she said to His Majesty, l.p.h.: Swear to me by god as follows, "As for what <the Lady> will say, I shall grant it to her." And he heard all that she  
 16,5 said: Let me eat of the liver of this bull, / for he never will amount to anything. So she said speaking to him. The king became exceedingly vexed over what she had said, and Pharaoh, l.p.h., was exceedingly sorry for him.

After dawn and the next day had come about, the king proclaimed a grand oblation as an offering to the bull,<sup>20</sup> and the king sent a first royal cupbearer of His Majesty, l.p.h., to sacrifice the bull. And subsequently he was sacrificed. While he was upon the shoulders of the men, he trembled in his neck and caused two drops of blood to be shed beside the two doorposts of His Majesty, l.p.h., one landing on one side of the great portal of Pharaoh, l.p.h.,  
 17,1 and the other on the other side. They grew into / two large Persea trees, each one of which was choice. Then someone went to tell His Majesty, l.p.h.: Two large

20. Or possibly, "as a sacrifice of the bull."



Persea trees have grown this night as a great marvel for His Majesty, l.p.h., beside the great portal of His Majesty, l.p.h. And there was jubilation for them in the entire land, and the king presented an offering to them.

After many days following this, His Majesty, l.p.h., appeared at the audience window of lapis lazuli with a wreath of every sort of flower on <his> neck, and he  
17,5 <mounted> a chariot of electrum / and came out from the palace, l.p.h., in order to inspect the Persea trees. Then the Lady came out in a chariot following Pharaoh, l.p.h. His Majesty, l.p.h., sat down under one Persea tree, <and the Lady under the other Persea tree. And Bata> spoke with his wife: Ha, you liar! I am Bata. I'm alive 'in spite of' you. I realize that as for your having had <the pine tree> cut down for Pharaoh, l.p.h., it was on account of me. And I became a bull, and you had me killed.

After many days following this, the Lady stood pouring (drinks) for His Majesty, l.p.h., so that the king was happy in her company. She told His Majesty, l.p.h.: Swear to me by god as follows, "As for what the Lady will tell me, I shall grant it to her." So you shall say. And he heard  
18,1 / all that she said, and she said: Have these two Persea trees cut down and made into fine furniture. Then the king heard all that she had said, and after a brief moment His Majesty, l.p.h., sent skilled craftsmen, and the Persea trees were cut down for Pharaoh, l.p.h. The queen, the Lady, observed it (being done), and a splinter flew up  
18,5 and entered the Lady's mouth. / She swallowed <it> and became pregnant in the space of a split second, and the king made out of them <sup>21</sup> whatever was her desire.

After many days following this, she bore a son, and

21. Referring to the Persea trees.

someone went in order to tell His Majesty, l.p.h.: A son has been born to you. Then he was brought, and nurse and maids were assigned to him. There was jubilation <for him> in the entire land, and the king sat down and made holiday and proceeded to hold him on his lap.<sup>22</sup> His Majesty, l.p.h., cherished him exceedingly immediately,  
19,1 and the king appointed him / Viceroy of Kush.

After many days following this, His Majesty, l.p.h., made him crown prince of the entire land. And after many days following this, when he had completed many [years] as crown prince in <the> entire land, His Majesty, l.p.h., flew up to the sky.<sup>23</sup> Then the (new) king<sup>24</sup> said: Have my great officials of His Majesty, l.p.h., brought to me  
19,5 that I may inform them regarding every situation / that I have been involved in. His wife [was] brought to him, and he was judged with her in their presence. A consensus was reached among them.<sup>25</sup> His elder brother was brought to him, and he appointed him crown prince in the entire land. He <spent> thirty years as King of Egypt. He departed from life, and his elder brother acceded to his throne on the day of death.

Thus it concludes happily and successfully.

22. Following the interpretation of Hellmut Brunner in *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pp. 205-06.

23. A common expression used to refer to the death of the king; see above, *The Story of Sinuhe*, R 6.

24. I.e. Bata. The relationship of this story to the Egyptian concept of royal succession has been discussed by Helmuth Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1939), pp. 13-15; G. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1960), pp. 92-93, and Brunner, *Die Geburt*, pp. 205-06.

25. The implication is the condemnation of Bata's unfaithful wife, whose death by execution had been fated by the seven Hathors.