

PhD-1976 - A MILLARD - VOL.3.



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NOTESSECTION I - Part 1.

(1) Of the 780 stelae in the Cairo Museum, which form a good, and well-published representative selection of the available material, analysis shows that:

8 are royal monuments.

56 make no mention of women whatsoever, but of these 19 are so badly broken or mutilated that, in their original form, they may well have included the female members of the families of the owners.

50 other stelae name women whose kinship to the owners cannot be determined because insufficient data is recorded. Of these six are so badly damaged that much relevant information may have been lost.

(2) British Museum stela, vol.IV, pl.30.

(3) Dr. O'Connor has informed me in a private communication of September 25th., 1973, that on the recent Pennsylvania/Yale expedition to Abydos, co-directed by Dr.D.B.O'Connor and Professor W.K.Simpson, two different types of cenotaph were discovered, which made provision for the erection of several stelae. The first type was a rectangular building, which could have emplacements for anything up to four stelae, while the second type of cenotaph had only one niche, but was surrounded by clusters of tiny subsidiary chapels, which themselves had once contained stelae. Dr.O'Connor is of the opinion that each "cluster" probably represented a related group. See also the preliminary report of the excavation in Expedition, vol. 12, no.1, Fall 1969 and Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13.

For the discussion of the contents of the three stelae of Rn snb, see Section II p. 125 .

(4) e.g. Louvre, C. 2, pl.XII.

Part 2

(1) According to Černý ("A Note on the Ancient Egyptian Family", Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini et Roberto Paribeni, ps. 51/55, Milan 1957), š3m and šmt are the prot types for the Coptic w rds for in-laws, and they mean father- or son-in-law and mother- or daughter-in-law (see also Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 564). Engelbach (Ann. du Serv., 1922, vol.XXII, p.125) also suggests mother-in-law as the correct translation for šmt, quoting in s pport Horner, Coptic Version of the New Testament, Mark I:30, and Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, p.195.

() Cairo stela 20051.

(3) Cairo stela 20547.

(4) Cairo stela 20581.

(5) Cairo stela 20581.

(6) Guimet, C.8, pl.VII.

(7) Guimet, C.8, pl.VII.

(8) Rec.de Trav., 1887, vol.IX, p.62, 6/117.

(9) Cairo stel 0636.

(10) e.g. Cairo stela 0543. The owner of this stela was the steward (imy-r pr) of he King's D ughter and King's Wife Nfrw-k3yt.

Ref rring t the honour ble birth and status of hi mistres , he says she was '3t itw hntyt mwwt, great (by reaso) of (h r) male anc stors, out- tanding (by reason) of (her) female ancestors.

(11) Ranke, Die Agypti chen Personennamen, vol.I, p. 6, no. 0.

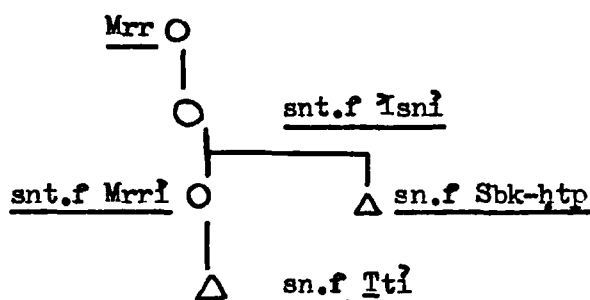
(12) Ranke, op. cit., vol. , p.84, no.24

(13) Černý, J.E.A., 1954, vol.XL, p.25 : "we can therefore conclude safely that before the Eighte nth Dynasty wives were n t call th 'isters' of their hus ands".

(14) e.g. Cairo stelae 0043, 20051, 92, 0156 and 0431.

(15) e.g. Cairo stela 0681: Guimet, C. , pl.VI; Florence 553, photograph 7; Leiden stela, pl.VI, no.6 and Guimet, B.3, pl.LVII; Rec. de Trav., 18 2, v 1.III, p.122:XV/94; Alnwick Castle, pl.VIII, no.1939.

(16) e.g. St.Peterberg, pl.XXI, no.14. The mother, father, two grandmothers, and maternal great-grandmother of the owner of this stela are all named, yet there are also three other generations of relatives, all said to be sn(t).f. The first to be named is snt.f Ḳsni born of M. Since Mrr was not the mother of the owner, Ḳsni can be no more than his half-sister. She is followed by snt.f Mrrī and sn.f Sbk-ḥtp, both born of Ḳsni, and finally comes sn.f Ṭti born of Mrrī.



Similar cases of the use of the term sn(t).f for several successive generations are to be found on Cairo stelae 20043, 0156 and 20457. If sn(t) was to be interpreted as literally as brother and sister, it would involve each family in a series of consanguineous marriages of great complexity.

(17) Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.III, no.3.

(18) Florence 2564, photograph 37.

(19) It must be acknowledged, however, that since sn(t) may be translated by several different English kinship terms, it is at least

possible that sn(t).f n(t) mwt.f (or it.f) may have been used to denote relationships beside those discussed in the text, n(t) having so many different meanings.

(20) Guimet, C.5, pl.IV.

(1) Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, vol.III, ps. 94/5.

(22) Cair stela 20623.

(3) Cairo stela 20653.

(24) de Gari Davies and Gardiner, Five Theban Tombs, pl. XXXIX and p.42, note 1.

Part 3

(1) In Hawaii in former times, for example, if a man committed incest with his sister he was put to death. But if a chief of high rank - who was therefore by reason of his rank kapu (sacred) - married his sister, he became still more sacred. An extreme of sanctity or untouchability attached to a chief born of a brother and sister who were themselves the children of a brother and sister. See Ratcliff-Brown, The structure and Function in Primitive Society, ps.138/139.

() Černý, "Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt", J.E.A. 1954, vol.XL, ps. 23/29.

(3) Most notably in "Notes on some genealogies of the Middle Kingdom", Ancient Egypt 1927, Part II (June), ps.45/51, and "Royal Marriages and Matrilineal Descent" in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1915, vol.XLV, ps.307/325.

(4) Thanks to the systematic excavations undertaken at Giza by Junker (Gize, vols. I/XII), Reisner (Giza Necropolis, vols. I/II and

and Mycerinus) and Hassan (Excavations at Giza, vols. I/VIII), all of which works have been consulted, it is possible to reconstruct a reasonably accurate family tree for the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty.

(5) Under the rule of the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty Egypt enjoyed a period of prosperity, great technical advancement and unparalleled artistic achievement. Similarly, the royal family which was descended from Tti-šri of the Seventeenth Dynasty, regularly contracted consanguineous marriages for successive generations, yet they produced some of Egypt's greatest rulers. This is hardly compatible with the popular belief that even one such marriage produces mentally and physically degenerate offspring. For an early comment of the medical evidence obtained from the royal mummies, see Ruffer, "On the Physical Effects of Consanguineous Marriages in the Royal Families of Ancient Egypt", Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1919, vol. XII (Section on the history of medicine), pp. 145/190.

(6) Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, p. 27.



(7) Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, Part I, The Story of Sinuhe, p. 2, line R5, names frw as a daughter of Amenemhet I.

(8) Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten, vol. II, nos. 381/382 and pl. 60 (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire).

(9) Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, vol. I, p. 400, no. 27.

(10) Černý, op. cit., p. 6.

(11) Černý, op. cit., p. 7.

(12) Spelt variously  || and 

(13) Meir, vol.VI, p.13.

(14) Rank , op. cit., vol.I, p. 93, n .17, reads this as "die Tochter des (Gottes?) Sn-mri".

(15) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.311, no.13.

(16) Cairo stela 0016, 20017, 0143 and 20398.

(17) Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol.XXXII, ps.141/146, Avignon, nos.5/7.

(18) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.214, no.6.

(19) See, for example, Newberry, P.S.B.A., 190 , vol.XXIV, ps.246/248; Brunner, Z.Ä.S., 1938, vol.LXXIV, ps.104/108; van de Walle, Chronique d'Égypte, 1968, vol.LXXXV, ps.36/54; Gauthier, Le Livre des rois d'Égypte, vol.III, p.102.

(20) Young, "A Possible Consanguineous Marriage in the reign of Philip Arrhidæus", J.A.R.C.E., 1965, vol.IV, ps.67/71.

(21) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.311, no.19 and note 1 - "Besser wohl meine Mutter ist meine Schwester".

(2) MacAdam, J.E.A., 1951, vol.XXXVII, ps.23 and 27.

(23) See Reisner and Smith, Giza Necropolis, v 1.II, ps.1/12, and Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, ps. 1/2.

(24) For example, Imn-m-h3t married B3kt-Imn, who was the s3t snt.f, daughter of his sister, and thus his niece (see de Garis Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet, p.4), and two brothers married their two nieces, the daughters of their other brother (see Gardiner, Z.Ä.S., 1910, vol.XLVIII, ps.50/51).

(25)  and 

(26) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p. 8, no.14.

(7) Meir, vol.I, ps.11/12.

(8) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.4000, no. 1.

(29) Alternatively, Dhnt may have been the first wife of Shtp-ib-R', in which case, on her death, he married their daughter 'nht-rn, and this would therefore be a father/daughter marriage.

SECTION II


(1) Snt-it.s, translated literally, means "The sister of her father". See Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, vol.I, p.311, no.13.



(2) It was customary to place the figures of servants in the bottom register of the stela, but here two female servants appear in prominent positions, usually reserved for members of the immediate family.


For comments on the significance of the title wb3yt, see Section III, p. 321.

(3) For comments on the significance of the title w'rtyt, see Section III, p. 315.



(4) The reading of this name is uncertain, see Lange and Schäfer, Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, vol.III, p.182.

(5) The name is written consistently throughout  so this really is the full name, and not S3t-Hthr, accompanied by a defective writing of m3't-hrw, which is written correctly elsewhere on this stela. See Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p. 91, no.19.

(6) The name is actually written  here, but is undoubtedly a mistake and should be .

(7) Written , so this is evidently a man, and one of the rare cases of a line being traced back to a male ancestor only. See Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.338, no.15.



(8) For comments on the significance of the title mn't, see Section III, p.310.

(9) Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., vol.I, p.76, read this name as  , but a close examination of the stela shows that the last sign in the name is a badly written  .

(10) The word 'nh has been destroyed, but these signs would fit the gap, and a Rn.f-'nh the younger can be expected to occur somewhere on this stela, because figure 11 is said to be Rn.f-'nh the elder.

(11) For comments on the use of mrt.f without a kinship term, see Section III, p. 297.

(12) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.261, no.24. This stela is the only example known to him.


(13) Spelt variously  and  on this stela.

(14) For comments on the significance of the title '3mt, see Section III, p.323.

(15) Or of his mother or daughter, since Htpt and Htp are only different writings of the same name.

(16)  and  and  .

(17) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.400, no.21.

(18)  in snt.f
s'nh rn.f Sn.i'-snb, his name is made to live by his sister, Sn.i'-snb. It is possible that this might also be read as sn it.f, by the brother of father, and a stela dedicated by a paternal uncle, presumably as the nearest surviving male relative, would also be of interest. Ranke accepts the former reading (see Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.309, no.19), listing this

stela as an example of the use of the name Sn. i-snb by a woman.

(19) Rankes, op. cit., v l.I, p. 05, no.6.

(0) Rankes, op.cit., vol.I, p.289, no.23.

(21) Although it would be more usual to refer to the sister of the owner as snt.f, if Nbt was the child of '3-k3.' by a second marriage, her position would be clarified by calling her "the daughter of his mother". A comparable situation is to be found on Carlsberg A684 (see p. 257).

(22) Rankes, op.cit., vol.I, p.223, no.6.

(3) The name is so rare (see Rankes, op.cit., vol.I, p. 189, nos.12 and 13) that its appearance here cannot be a co-incidence.

(24) For comments on the significance of the title 'h'yt', see Section III, p.322.

(25) For c mments on the significance of the title hmt, see Section III, p.325.

(26) For c mments on the significance of the title hryt pr, see Section III, p.315.

(27) For comments on the significance of the title 'kyt', see Section III, p.321.

(28) For comments on the significance of the title hnwt nt Imn, see Section III, p.288.

(29) The photograph of this stela is n t c mpletely legible because the stela has been damaged, but the texts alone have been published separately, see Liebelein, Die Aegyptischen Denkmäler in St.Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen, pl.XXIII, and Madsen, Revue Égyptologique, 1907, vol.XII, p. 18:III.


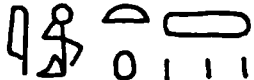
(30) For comments on the significance of the title hkrt nsw see Section III, p. 274




(31) Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 95, . 6.


(32) For comments on the significance of the title nšt, see Section III, p. 317.

(33) For comments on the significance of the title Mnw wršyt, see Section III, p. 284.

(34) Written  and not to be confused with It, which is written 

(35) Erroneously written  here, but later written as 

(36) In the publication by Hall, this name looks more like , but I have examined the stela and I am satisfied that the word is , though the second  is admittedly badly written.

(37) The , w, is not written, but Hmgw is probably the name intended, see Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 241, no. 4.



(38) For comments on the titles rht nsw and hmt tr, see Section III, ps. 272 and 282 respectively.

(39) The words hmt.f S3t-Inhr d do not appear in the Gayet publication, but they are plainly visible in the photograph generously supplied to me by the Louvre Museum. The reading records confirm this from an inscription in column D which again names hmt.f S3t-I b rn of How.

(40) The inscription actually reads s3 .f but the figure is that of a male, and in the inscription in column D, s3.f is used.

(41) , though it might be considered to be an appropriate name for a man, as actually used for women also, see Ranke, op. cit., v l.I, p. 5, no.18. All the other people on this stela are identified by their mothers' names, so I presume Hr is also a woman.

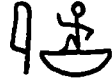

(42) Ranke, op. cit., v l.I, p.248, no.14.


(43) Spelt variously  , Nfrit, and  , Nfryt, but they refer to the same woman.

(44) Bosticco (Le Stele Egiziane, Parte I, p.38), who was working from the original stela, read Nwt-'nht.

(45) The determinative is  , so this Mwt-htp was a woman.

(46) For comments on the significance of the title 'nht nt niwt, see Section III, p. 305.

(47) Actually written  , but it is clearly a mistake for  .

(48) Sometimes the name is written as  on this stela, but S3t-Hi must be understood throughout.

(49) The reading is uncertain, see Ranke, op. cit., v l.I, p.30, no.3.


(50) The words "born of" (whether irt n or mst n) must be supplied if the inscription is to make sense.

(51) Ranke, op. cit., col.I, p.344, no.3.

(52) The sign is not clear, but Wresinski suggested that B3stt was the intended reading.

(53) The name is written as both and on this stela, but the former is only a variant of the latter, see Rank, op. cit., v l.I, p.6, no.1.

(54) See Ranke, *op. cit.*, v 1.I, p.79, .16.

(55) Ranke, *op. cit.*, vol.I, p.301, o.9, reads this as S'nh-R', but Smither and Dakin (see *J.E.A.*, 139, v 1.XXV, p.161, te 7) point out that on the Queen's College stela, the sign is  and their reading has been adopted here.

(56) The reading is doubtful, see Ranke, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.312, n .27.





(57) For comments on the significance of the title nmhyt nt niwt, see Section III, p.308.

(58) Spiegelberg and Pörtner read this name as S^vnt, but Ranke, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.317, no.25, considers it to be Shnt, and Smither and Dakin, *op.cit.*, p.160, c, agree with his reading.

(59) See Dyrff and Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Süddeutschen Sammlungen*, vol.II, p.9, note 2.

(60) For comments on the significance of the title s3t h3ty-, see Section III, p. 266.



(61) For comments on the significance of the title hsyt, see Section III, ps.289 and 319.

(62) This name is spelt variously   and   on this stela, but they are all versions of the same name. See Ranke, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.379, no.12.

(63) This is another variant of the name Twnn, see Ranke, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p. 05, no. 8.

(64) Moret, "Monuments Égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon", *Rec. de Trav.*, 1910, v 1.XXXII, p.137, n s.1/3.

(65) Ranke, *op.cit.*, v 1.I, p. 14, no.6.

(66) The name is written as both  and as  on this stela. Since Ḳwy is a common Middle Kingdom name (see Ranke, op. cit., col. I, p. 16, no. 15), it is the second version that is used throughout.

(67) For comments on the significance of the title šm'yt, see Section III, p. 289.


(68) Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 24, no. 14.


(69) Rn.s-s is an abbreviated writing of Rn.s-s b, see Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 51, column 2, note 1.

(70) This is an abbreviated writing of Ḳt.s-s b, see Ranke, loc. cit.


(71) For comments on the significance of the title hnmṯt, see Section III, p. 314.

(72) Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 293, no. 17, read this name as "Die Tochter des (gottes?) S -mrj". Of course, she might be the actual daughter of the man n-mrj, in which case she was the niece of her husband. But if s3t Sn-mrj is a statement of her position in the family, rather than a name, then her name has been omitted. It is more likely that she was one of the daughters of Dhwty, two of whom were called S3t-Sn-mrj, and thus she was the half-sister of her husband.

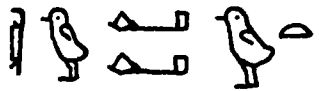

(73)  The reading of this name is uncertain. See Rank, op. cit., vol. I, p. 91, no. 5. Dakin (J.E.A., 1938, v 1. XXIV, p. 193, note 3) suggest that it is an erroneous writing of S3t-rrw.

(7) Written  . According to Dakin, op. cit., p. 194, note 6, this is an unusual phonetic writing of Htpw.



(75) See Rank, op. cit., vol. I, p. 223, no. 20.

(76) The name is actually written Sbk-dd-sw, but Gauthier-Laurent (B.I.F.A.O., 1930, v l.XXX, p.110, note 1) notes "D'après une communication de M.H.Ranke, il n'existe pas d'exemples de noms en  , construction d'ailleurs anormale". The name was probably intended to be Sbk-ddw, and this is the version used here.

(77) B.I.F.A.O., 1937, v l.XXXVII. "Un nouvel exemple de vizier divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne", p.105, note.5.


(78) The next words are illegible, but would have been "born of", then come the words  , šmsw ddwt. On this stela, indeed, on all the monuments belonging to this group, the words "born of" are followed by the names of the mothers, and one can only assume that the rule was observed here too. However, it must be admitted that names incorporating the ddw, or similar element, are usually theophoric. Ranke (see op. cit., vol.I, p.328, nos.15/20) does quote some names incorporating šmsw, but they are all masculine, and this one does not appear among them. Either Sbk-ḥtp was born of a mother with a unique name, or there has been an error on the part of the scribe, or Sbk-ḥtp alone is identified by the rank (šmsw, retainer) and name of his father. Since conclusive evidence to support either case is lacking, this parent has been entered into the family tree by the symbol  .

(79) For comments of the significance of the title bjkt nt ḥkꜣ, see Section III, p.273.

(80) G.Kminek-Szedlo (Catalogue di Antichita Egizie, p.180) reads snt.f, and a close examination of the phot graph in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, reveals the existence of the  of the  sign.

(81) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.18, no.17.

(82) See M.F.Laming MacAdam, J.E.A. 1951, vol.37, pl.VI.

- (83) Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, nos. 90/292.
- (84) MacAdam, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- (85) 
- (86) Ranke, *op. cit.*, vol.I, p.311, note 1.
- (87) MacAdam, *op. cit.*, p.23.
- (88) Ayrton, Currelly and Weigal, *Abydos*, v 1.III, p.48.
- (89) MacAdam, *op. cit.*, p.2, note 3.
- (90) Ayrton, Currelly and Weigal, *loc. cit.*
- (91) For the reading of this name see Engelbach, *Haragah*, p.28:93 and note 6, also Ranke, *op.cit.*, v 1.I, p.11, no.13.

SECTION III

(1) There are cases where a man may claim one woman as his wife (hmt), but has children by another woman, to whom no title or kin-term is applied. Attention was drawn individually to these stelae in Section II, and further comments appear on ps. 294/303.

(2) Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleute in Museum von Kairo*, v 1.II, pl.76, no.459 (*Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*). An apparently identical group was purchased "from Asyut" in 1911 by the Walters Art Gallery (see Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl.XII, n .50), and this has recently been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see the Ninety-seventh Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, *The Museum Year, 1972/3*, p.48).

(3) Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol.VI, ps.9/10.

(4) See, for example, Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and*

Private Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

(5) e.g. Cairo stela 20555. This is a perfect example of this point because the wife, mother, sisters, and daughters of the owner are all entitled nbt pr.

(6) Lange and Schäfer, Grabe-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs vols. I and II (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire).

(7) It is clearly impossible to find any exact English equivalents for most Egyptian titles, especially when, as in the case of h3ty-', the nature of the rights and duties of this rank are not fully understood. Local prince, count, mayor, and governor are only some of the translations offered for h3ty-' in English, but none of them are completely satisfactory.

(8) e.g. Fischer, J.A.O.S., 1956, v 1.LXXVI, ps.10 /105.

(9) e.g. Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and dêr Rîf h, pl.13, line 8.

(10) As with h3ty-', it is difficult to find an acceptable English translation for this title. Newberry (Beni Hasan, vol.I, p.11) says it is "a title believed to imply a right of inheritance, and Gardiner (Onomastica, vol.I, p.18*) referred to this as being "obviously not wide of the mark".

(11) The examples used here have been drawn from tombs and stelae, all of which belonged, not to the women concerned, but to one of the male members of their families. It is therefore the rank and titles of the man which are the primary concern, and when a woman is mentioned the emphasis

is placed on her relationship to the owner of the tomb or stela, not on her independent status, so her titles may have been omitted. In addition, the man's titles were recorded many times in his tomb, whereas the titles of the women of his family might only be mentioned in full once, thus the chances are that the passage of time will have obliterated the women's titles, though those of the owner may be reconstructed by fragments.

(12) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXXV, H y the wife of Hnm(w)-ht the second.









(13) Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., vol.III, ps. 60/61 for the occurrences of iry p't and ps. 62/63 for the occurrences of h3ty-'.


(14) References to queens and princesses bearing this title have been excluded, except for those cases where the princess concerned married a commoner. However, it should be noted that, even within the royal family, by no means all the women assumed the title of iry p't, an honour which may have reflected the rank of their mothers within the royal harem, and therefore their own status as heiresses. For occurrences of the title among the princesses of the Middle Kingdom, see Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, vols. I and II; also de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (2 vols.); and Brunton, *Lahun*, vol.I, pl.XV.

(15) This does not necessarily mean that these women exercised their administrative functions in person, though they may have done so. For further discussion on this point, see Section IV, p. 359.

(16) For examples from the families of the provincial nobility see Chart 3. For examples from the Cairo stelae, see Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., vol.III, ps.61/62.

(17) e.g. Cairo stelae 0504. and 20511.

(18) Most of the examples of these titles during the Middle Kingdom occur on stelae, many of which were either carelessly carved in the first place, or have subsequently suffered damage, so it is often difficult to establish whether the sign is , , , or even . The sign  is an accepted alternative for  (see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Sign List 30 and 31), but the sign  is probably a careless writing of .

The possibility that the sign  is to be read differently from the others is discussed in the text, see p. 277.

(19) Other common translations for this title are Royal Concubine, Royal Ornament, and Court Lady. In a recent article on hkrt nsw it was suggested that the correct translation might be "One who is ornamented by the King", so it would apply to favoured noblewomen who had been awarded gold by the King, and they might be, though were not necessarily, concubines etc. See Nord, Serapis, vol. II, September 1970, p.12.

(20) Hayes, J.E.A., 1946, vol. XXXII, p.3.

(21) Tylor, The Tomb of Sebeknekht, pl. VII.

(22) e.g. Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache vol. III, p.401; Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, p.205; Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (3rd edition) p.587.

(23) In her tomb at Gizah this woman, Nfr-srs, is said to have the following titles:

hkrt nsw, King's Favourite.

hkrt nsw w'tt, King's Sole Favourite.

imy-t-r shm-h i nsw, Mistress of all the pleasures of the King.

hm-h ib bity m swt, f bt, She who places the heart of the King of

Lower Egypt in all his residences.

imy(t)-r ib3 ns, Chief of the dancers of the King.

imyt-r hnr ns, Chief of the King's Harem.

m33t nfrw n nb.s r' b, She who sees the beauties of her Lord every day.

See Has an, Excavations at Giza, Season 1930/31, p.204.

(24) avill, The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari, vol.II, pl.XVIII.

(25) S3dh and K3wt, Naville, op. cit., vol.II, p.6.

(26) Although it is of a much later date, there is a passage in the Insinger Papyrus, which merits serious consideration in this context: "He (that is, god) has released the woman belonging to the royal harem, who desires another husband". See, Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, vol.I, p.104, 3:20.

(27) Helck, Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie, ps.70/71.

(28) Naville, op. cit., vol.I, p.8.

(29) See the discussion by Blackman in "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy", J.E.A. 1911, vol.VII, p. 8/3.

(30) The mystery play dealing with the passion of Osiris, which was performed at Abydos, must necessarily have included important roles for women as Isis and Nephthys. For reference to this drama in the Middle Kingdom, see Schäfer, Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesstris III. For a recent translation into English, see Pritchard Ancient Near Eastern Texts (3rd. edition) 39. Though of a later date, the text of one such play is available for study, see Fairman, The Triumph of Horus.

(31) Boeser, Beschreibung des Aegyptischen Sammlungs des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der tertium r in Leid . pl.XV, an Le Mans, Agyptische Monumentum van het Nederlansche useum van Oudh d te Leyde , v l.II, l. 3.

(3) Sander Hansen, Das Gottesweib des Amun, p.5.

(33) Clearly recalling early Middle Kingdom statuett s such as that of '3šyt, which is now in Cairo. See The Egyptian Expedition of 1920/ 1, Excavations at Thebes, Part II of th B.M.M.A. f r November 1921, fig.26. Like '3šyt, 'Ty-mrt-nb.s also has a well-defined and somewhat angular pelvis, a f ture that occurs regularly in wooden statuettes from the late Old Kingdom onwards into thē early Middle Kingdom. See, for example, Petrie, Sedment, vol.I, pls.VII/X, and ps.2/3.

(34) The wig is detachable and Boeser (see above note 31) suggests that it may bē a later addit'on. However, the wig is arranged in a known Middle Kingdom style, see Section V, p. 440 and pl. XCV, A.l g. There is a beautiful little wooden head in Cairo (no.423), which was f und by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, at Lisht in 1907, and this too has a detachable wig (for a good colour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, The Woman in Egyptian Art, pl.3), s the coiffure of 'Ty-mrt- b.s may well be original.

(3) The Lisht head (see note 34 above) als has these sm oth, full cheeks and originally had inlaid eyes, though the are now missing.

(36) Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, v l.I, p.9.

(37) Sander Hansen, op. cit., p.11.

(3) lackman, op. cit., p. 5, draws attention t a damaged reli f in the t b of the King's Great ife and King's Daughter, Nbt- 3wy, which shows her consecrating an offering, an act which is usually shown being

performed by the king. "The princess' right arm is extended over the offering (a small portion of which is still visible), the hand grasping the so-called hpr- or 'bj- baton, i.e. she is represented as having received the stag in the proceedings when the officiant consecrated, or finally made over, the offering to the god by performing the act known as extending the arm four times over or towards (hwyt 'sp 4 r) the offering".

A similar scene is to be found in the tomb of another King's Daughter, King's Wife of the reign of Ramesses II, where Mryt-Imn is shown facing Osiris and Isis, her left arm raised before her, her right arm lifted over her head. A shn-sceptre is grasped in her right hand. See, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol.III, pl.172, d.

(39) e.g. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, vol.I, p.11.

(40) Gardiner, *Z.A.S.*, 1911, vol.48, p.50, note 2.

(41) Thompson, *J.E.A.*, 1940, vol.XXVI, ps.68/78.

(42) Faulkner, *J.E.A.*, 1936, vol.XXII, p.122, I:3/5.

(43) For Griffith's comments on the possible identification of this area, see *The Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, p. 1, note 3a.

(44) According to the *Wörterbuch*, the verb hn means to make music with a sistrum, but these musicians may have played their instruments as well. See Erman and Grapow, *op. cit.*, vol.III, p. 6.

(45) The mww-dancers were men in the tombs of Antefokar, pl.XXII, and at el Kab, l.III, but at Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXIX, the hint of breasts, coupled with the pale skins of the dancers, which are in direct contrast to the dark skins of the male priests, suggest that here at any rate, the dancers are women. They are shown wearing the tall headdresses usually associated with mww-dancers.

(46) e.g. the statue of the nbt pr Snnwy which was found at Kerma, (see Reisner, Excavations at Kerma IV/V, Harvard African Studies, 1933, vol.VI, pl.31) and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no.14.720).

(47) Engelbach, Riches and Memphis, vol.VI, pl.VIII, no.2 is a typical example.

(48) The best of the large wooden statues of women would presumably have been comparable to the superb k3-statue of King Hor, see de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, pls.XXXIII/XXXV.

(49) e.g. the statuette of '3yt, see note 33 above.

(50) e.g. Naville, op. cit., vol.I, pls.XX and XXIII, and vol.II pls.XIII and XX.

(51) e.g. Naville, op. cit., vol.I, pl.XX, and vol.III, pl.III; Antefokar, pl.XXX; Mo'alla, pl.XLIII; el Kab, pls.V and VIII; J.N.E.S., 1956, vol.XV, pls.VIII/X; J.E.A., 1937, vol.XXIII, pl.XX.

(52) Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri, pl.8.

(53) e.g. el Kab, pl.V.

(54) In tomb 120 at Thebes.

(55) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pls.XIII and XXXII, and vol.II, pls.IV and XXIX; el Bersheh, vol.I, pls.VIII, IX, XVII and XX; Meir, vol.I, pl.II, vol.III, pls.VI and VII, and vol.VI, pls.XI and XIII; Mo'alla, pls. XIII and XL; Antaeopolis, pl.XXV; Elephantine, pl.V.

(56) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pls.XVI and XXX; Antefokar, pls.XVII and XX.

(57) e.g. Meir, vol.II, pl.XV.

(58) e.g. Ägyptische Sammlung, vol.I, pl.III, no.6. Two women are shown offering to a couple who are probably their parents.

Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.II, n . . . The relationship between the woman making the offering and the owner is not recorded.

British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.48. A woman offers to her father.

British Museum stela, vol.V, pl. 0. A woman offers to her parents.

Louvre stela, C.138, pl.XXVI. Two women offer to a third.

Louvre stela, C.15, pl.LIV. Two women make an offering to the owner and his wife. One of these officiants is also a wife of the owner.

Florence stela 6366, photograph 5. Two women face the owner across the offering table.

Florence stela 6372, photograph 55. A woman makes an offering to her husband.

Florence stela 638, photograph 50. A woman makes an offering to her husband.

Florence stela 7605, photograph 61. A woman makes an offering to her son.

Leiden stela, pl.18, no.18.

Alnwick Castle, no.193. A girl makes an offering to her parents.

Ann. du Serv., 1923, vol.XXIII, p.185. A woman offers a bird to a couple who may be her parents.

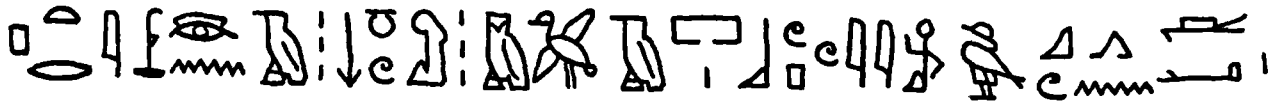
(59) Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, the Hu bowl, p.5 and pls.IV and IVA.


(60) Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., p.26.

(61) Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., The Oxford bowl, ps. 6/7 and pl.IX.

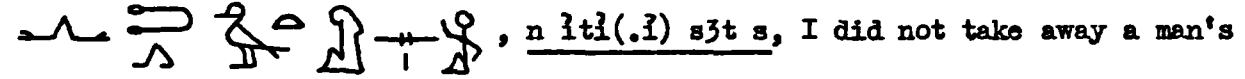
(6) Blackman, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt", J.E.A., 1 26, vol.XII, ps. 176/185, the passages concerning British Museum stela 56, see pls.XXXIV/XXXV.

(63) The man who wrote to his dead wife, protesting that she had no just cause to persecute him from the grave, ended his letter by pointing out that, since her death three years before, not only had he not married, but he not even entered into an association with any of the women of the household, which indicates that it might be considered that he had a perfect right to their favours.



 , ptr n3 anwt m p3 pr bwpw.i 'k n w'(t) im.sn , Behold these women in the house, I did not enter unto one of them (see Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., The Leyden Papyrus 371, pl.VIII, line 38).

It is difficult to decide how far this implied privilege over the women of the household extended, and whether or not it encompassed the peasant girls on an estate. Among the virtues on which Iti prided himself, is the statement:



n iti(.i) s3t s , I did not take away a man's daughter (see Cairo stela 20001). There is no indication as to whether this should be understood to mean that Iti did not abduct young peasant girls with a view to seduction, or whether he simply did not force them to labour in his fields.

(64) It may also be argued that some concubines have not been identified because, as yet, the significance of the terminology has not been appreciated. There is, for example, a passage in the story of Sinuh, which tells of his combat with a rival champion. Among the spectators were certain women, of whom it was said, "the hmwt t3yw were jabbering, every heart was sick for me". These are usually said to be married women, or even men and

women (see Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, B.19 and note 50), but it has recently been suggested (see Goedicke, "Unrecognised Sporting", J.A.R.C.E., 1967, vol.VI, .98) that a hmt t3y was a concubine. In the context of the Sinuhe story it would certainly make good sense if his concubines were especially anxious as to the outcome of the struggle, for if he lost, they might be forcibly transferred to the victor.

(65) "..... he who shall commit any act upon the person of my concubine, he is against me and I am against him. See! This is my concubine and it is known what should be done for a man's concubine Indeed, would any one of you be patient if his wife had been denounced to him?" (see James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pl.6/6A, lines 40/44). Elsewhere Hk3-nht chides his son for allowing one of the servants to "do evil" to the concubine, and ordered that the offending girl should be turned out of the house (see James, op. cit., pls.4/4A, lines 13/14).

(66) Beni Hasan, vol.I, p.7, referring to tomb 4.

(67) Černý and Peet, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty", J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, pl.XIV, p.3, line 9 refers to ʾInk-sw-dm as a hbswt, while in line 11 the word hmt, wife, is used. This documents the settlements involved during the second marriage of ʾImn-hʾiw, so it is just possible that ʾInk-sw-dm, whom he had decided to marry, had previously been his concubine, but, apart from the use of the word hbswt, there is nothing in the text to suggest this.

(68) The concubine of Hk3-nht. For the occurrence of hbswt in his letters, see note 65 above. For other occurrences of hbswt during the New Kingdom, see Miller, Z.A.S., 1918, vol.LV, p.95, and Varille, Kemi, 1930, vol.III, p.42, note 1.

(69) James, op. cit., p.1 .

(70) Lacau, "Textes Religieux", Rec. de Trav., 1 . vol. XXVI, p.67.

(71) Hayes "A much-copied letter of the early Middle Kingdom", J.N.E.S., 1948, v l.VII, ps.1/10. For the use of the words hnt and s t, apparently referring to the woman, see pl.II, line 10 and 14/15.

(72) Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., the Cairo text on linen, ps.1/3 and pls.I/IA, and the Hu bowl, p.5 and pls.IV/IV .

(73) British Museum tel , vol.II, pl.44.

(74) el Kab, pl.VIII.

(75) Beni Hasan, v l.I, pls.XXIX and XXXV.

(76) Nfr was imy-r mš', Captain of the Host, or General, and Ntrw-htp was imy-r pr n d3tt, the Steward of the Estate.

Many of the examples quoted here are from the tomb of Hnm()-htp the second of Beni Hasan, but it must not be imagined that this is because his name was in any way unusual. It is simply that most of the key inscriptions happen to be preserved in this tomb.

(77) James, Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, .145, I am indebted to Mr. James for allowing me to see his manuscript before it went to press .

(78) Hayes, op. cit., pl.II, line 9 refers to the

  , hnty.

(79) e.g. šmsw, Follower, and imy-r or, Steward.

(80) This is not an inappropriate translation, considering that in the papyri concerned with the great tomb robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty, it is applied to the wives of heralds, scribes, goldworkers, watchmen, servants, field-laborers, workers, priests and gardeners .

(81) Griffiths, Z."S., 191, vol.XXIX, .111.

(8) The families of soldiers and officials in active service in Asia, for example, would be logical candidates for such a study, especially in the event of the death of the head of the family while he was away. Retired minor officials and their families are also possible candidates, especially if they did not have large private estates. The principle could also be extended to those who served the local administration, rather than the monarch directly.

(83) Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124. British Museum 1055", J."A., 1929, vol.XV, ps. 43/258.

(84) Diodorus says that the penalty for assaulting a married woman was castration. Diodorus, I.78.3/4.

(85) For a general discussion of the various meanings of nmh see Bakir, Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, ps.48/52.

(86) Griffith, op. cit., p.21, note on line 4.

(87) e.g. Mariette, Catalogue d'Abydos, nos.1174, 1175 and 1187.

(8) e.g. Bodil Hornemann, Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary, Box no.V, nos.1260 and 1264 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, nos.24.1.1 and 24.1.49 respectively), 1265a and 1265 (Brooklyn Museum, nos.51.224 and 51.43.137 respectively) 1266 (Berlin Museum, no.14073), and 1267 (British Museum, no. 17056).

(9) Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, nos.18.2.2. See Winlock, "Egyptian Statuettes from Asia Minor", B.M.M., 1921, vol.XVI, ps.209/10.

(90) Südsüd-Deutsch Sammlung, vol.II, pl.V, no.3.

(91) de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-misere at Thebes, pl.LVII.

(9) For tails concerning the amount of impurities in Egyptian bread, and the effect on teeth, see Leek, "Teeth and Bread in Ancient Egypt", J.E.A., 197, vol.LVIII, ps.126/130.

(93) British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.44.

(94) See Borchardt, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlich-n Hessischen am Ende des mittleren Reiches", Z.Ä., 1890, vol.XXVIII, ps.65/103, and Griffiths, "The Account papyrus no.18 of Bubastis", Z.Ä.S., 1891, vol.XXIX, ps.102/116.

(95) de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Ankheperresonb, Amenmesu and another, p.15. See also by the same author, The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes, and The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes. Both these nobles were the sons of royal nurses.

(96) Frankfort, J.E.A., 1928, vol.XIV, pl.XX:1 and ps. 40/241, fig.2.

(97) e.g. el Bersheh, vol.I, pl.XXX.

(98) e.g. Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol.XXXII, p.149, side D, register 6.

(99) Griffith is undecided whether this word should be translated as nurse or as milkmaid, See Griffith, op. cit., ps.107/108.

(100) Glanville, The Instructions of Onchsheshy, Part 1, ps.32/33, Col.13:13.

(101) Glanville, op. cit., ps.32/33, Col.13:16/17.

(102) Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar. The story of Rwd-dt is in vol.I, ps.53/72 and vol.II, pls.IX/XII.

(103) Glanville, op. cit., p. 42/21, Col.17:18.

(104) Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, p.107.

(105) The domestic chapels in the grounds of the large villas of Tell el Amarna need not necessarily have been innovations of that era.

(106) e.g. Duell and others (The Sakkarah Expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago), The Mastaba of Mereruka, vol.I, pls.94/95.

(107) A blind harpist and a blind singer appear in the tomb of Wh-htp the son of Snb² at Meir. See Meir, vol.II, pl.III.

(108) e.g. The Egyptian Expedition, 1915/16, Supplement to the B.M.M.A. of May 1917, p.14, fig.11.

(109) e.g. Antefokar, pl.XXIII.

(110) e.g. Antefokar, pls.XXVII and XXIX.

(111) e.g. Antefokar, pl.XXIII.

(112) e.g. Antefokar, loc. cit.

(113) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXIX. The dancers here may even be performing some ritual combat, for one dancer has grasped another by the hair, and has a hand upraised, as if to smite the other. The pose is reminiscent of the scenes of the King clubbing a fallen enemy.

(114) e.g. Antefokar, pl.XV; Antaeopolis, pl.XXIV; Breasted, Egyptian Servant Statues, pls,84 and 85.

(115) Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, vol.I, p.388.

(116) Erman and Grapow, op. cit., vol.I, p.291.

(117) Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, vol.II, pl.XII, line 9.

(118) I have deliberately omitted all reference to the group of '3mw who appear in a tomb at Beni Hasan (see vol.I, pls. XXX/XXXI), because they were free tribesmen on a specific trading expedition.

(119) Hayes, op. cit., p.93.

(120) Hayes, op. cit., verso text B, pl.XIV, lines 2 /27.

(121) The author of the story of Sinuhe painted a peaceful picture of Egypt's relations with her neighbours across the Eastern frontier during the reign of Senusret I. There is a record of a campaign led by Senusret III, but the man Sbk-hwi- i from whose stela our information is drawn (see Garstang, el Arabah, pls. IV and V and ps.32/33, also Peet, "The Stela of Sebek-khu, the Earliest Record of an Egyptian Campaign in Asia", The Manchester Museum Handbooks, no.75) appears to have qualified for a reward for valour with the seizure of a single Asiatic, and there is no mention of the capture of numerous prisoners, such as occur regularly in the autobiographies of warriors of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Convincing evidence of large scale operations in Palestine and Syria is therefore lacking at present.

(122) The occurrence and significance of the various terms employed by the Egyptians to denote the different categories of those in servile, or near servile condition, have been tabulated and discussed by Bakir in Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, and, since there is little to be gained from a repetition of this evidence, the reader is referred to that work. Bakir himself concluded that, by the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, hm(t) "appears from all the evidence to have become the term for the slave proper", see Bakir, op. cit., p.31.

(123) Bakir, op. cit., p.30, draws attention to the fact that, on the stelae of the Middle Kingdom, there are no male slaves () named, only female.

(124) B.I.F.A. ., 1930, vol.XXX, p.iii.

(125) Though they are not specifically designated as such, the presence of Nubians is occasionally revealed in tomb paintings and models. Two Nubian servant girls appear on the sarcophagus of '33yt, for example (see The Egyptian Expedition 1907/1, Excavations at Thebes, Part II of the B.M.M.A. of November 1911, p.43, fig. 19), and actual models of Nubian girls, dressed in their distinctive patterned skirts (see Section V, p. 428, and pl.XCII, G.3), were found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, during their excavations in Thebes in 1925/6 (see Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl.34).

(126) e.g. Antefokar, pls.VIII, IX, and XI.

(127) The most comprehensive model of brewing and baking processes was found at Assiut. See Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, ps.49/50, and pl.XV:2.

(128) Chassinat, *loc. cit.*

(129) For a discussion of the use of additional flavouring in ancient Egyptian beer, see Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, ps.14/15 (4th edition).

(130) There were some 845 square metres of cloth in the tomb of the steward W3h, of which 375 square metres were on the corpse. See Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, ps.26/27.

(131) James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, pls.14/14A, lines 9/15.

(132) Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl.XXXII, lines 1/10.

(133) de Garis Daves, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl.XXXVII. For the reading of the name, see Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol.I, p.36, no.4.

(134) Hayes, *op. cit.*, p.108.


(135) Cailliaud, *Recherches sur les arts et metiers, les usages de la vie civile et domestique des anciens peuples de l'Égypte, de la Nubie et de l'Éthiopie*, pl.XVA.

(136) Lucas, *op. cit.*, p .85/90.


(137) el Bersheh, vol.1, pl.XXVI.

(138) For a collection of the terms used for agricultural workers through the entire pharaonic period, see Bakir, *op. cit.*, ps. 14/47.

(139) There are several biographies of noblemen of the Middle Kingdom which speak of transferring the services of peasants from one master to another, a practice which indicates a considerable degree of authority over these labourers. S3-Mntw-wsr, for example (see Florence stela 6365, photograph 18), spoke of giving his mrt to his son by means of an imyt-pr (see Section IV, p. 350). Hp'-df3 of Siût (see Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and d'ar Rifeh*, pl.6, line 71) and Hnm(w)-htp the second of Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXV, lines 86/88) both said that they had endowed (smh) their respective k3-priests with land and cattle and peasants. The word used by Hp'-df3 for the peasants was rmtt, while Hnm(w)-htp referred to them as mrt.

The word , dt, also denote a person of lowly status, see Erman and Grapow, *op. cit.*, vol.V, p.510, but not necessarily simply a peasant farmer, for in one of the *Kahun Papyri*, see Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl.X, lines 1/ and pl.XI, line 1) they appear as members of a priest's household. Some people designated dt passed into the service of a woman called S t, so they may not have been totally free agents, but it is also known that a dt could possess property of his own (see Griffith, *op. cit.*, p.27, note on line 7).

On British Museum stel , vol.I, pl.51, two women, b th said to dt, are shown bringing offering , and on pl.54 of the same volume, male and f male dt ag in bring offerings, though h re the women are also shown grinding grain and making beer, and one is clearly a personal servant of the wife of the owner, sinc sh is de icted with her, holding her mirror.

(140)  shty, Gardiner and Vogelsang, Die Klagen des Bauern, in Erman, Literarische Texte des Mittl ren Reiches, vol.IV, pl.1/1A, line R1.

(141) Pa yrus Anastasi V, 15:6/17:3. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, ps.64/65, and Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, ps.247/250.

(142) Gardiner op.cit., ps.65/66 and Caminos, op. cit., ps.250/253.

(143) Hayes, op. cit., pls.V/VII, line 63.

(144) e.g. Winlock, Models of Daily Life in Anc'ent Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Re at Thebes, pls.13/16 (the cattle insp ction) and p.17 (the cattle shed).

(145) Winlock, op. cit., pl.8, and Naville, op. cit., vol.I, pls.XIX and XX, and v l.III, pl.II.

(146) Roeder, D'ie Denkmäler d s Peliz us Museums, p.73, fig.18.

(147) See above n te 141.

(148) Beni Hasan, v l.II, pl.VII.

(149) e.g. Antefokar, pl.XXIII B.

(150) Beni Hasan, vol.II, pl.VII.

(151) e.g. Antef kar, pl.XXIII B; British Museum stelae, v l.I, 1.56 and v l.II, 1s.41/ .

(15) e.g. Tylor and Griffith, The T b of Pah ri t el Kab, pl.III. Thi ows a small, naked girl, gleaning in the fields, and there

is a block, probably of the Nineteenth Dynasty, from a mastaba at Sakkara, which shows two naked girls dancing. This block, which was re-used in the Serapeum, is now in Cairo (Journal d'Entrée 4872). An excellent photograph appears in Terrace and Fischer, Art Treasures of the Cairo Museum, ps.146/7.

(153) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, pl.XVII, and The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes, pl.VII.

(154) e.g. M'alla, pl.XL; Meir, vol.III, pl.VI, and vol.VI, pl.XIII.

(155) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.II, pls.IV and XIII.

(156) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nefertep at Thebes, pl.XXIII. Among the crowd shown in this scene are several women and a small girl, all with babies bound to them by special shawls or lengths of linen. The girl is clearly only meant to be a child herself, as she is only half the size of the adults, so the baby cannot be hers.

(157) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, pl.XXI, shows a man ploughing, while a small boy, presumably his son, follows behind sowing the grain; also Tylor and Griffith, loc. cit., which shows small girls accompanying their mother to the fields to glean.

(158) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose, pl.XXV, and The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes, pls.XXI and XXIII.

(159) e.g. Terrace and Fischer, loc. cit. This block shows eight grown women dancing with tambourines, while two young apprentice dancers ergotically play the clappers.

(160) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, pl.XVII; The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes, pl.VII: The Tomb of Rekh-mi-r at Thebes, pl.LXIV.

(161) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Ramesside Tombs at Thebes, pl.VII, shows a young boy with a shaven head carrying a bouquet and a bird

as an offering to Osiris, following his parents in a procession. On pl.VIII of the same volume, his small sister, who has a long side-lock of hair, worn on an otherwise bare head, is shown with her family taking part in the worship of the deific Tutmosis I. On pl.XXIV another girl is portrayed with her parents worshipping Osiris and Hathor.

(162) Breasted, *Ancient Records*, v l.II, paragraph 131/6.

(163) Antef kar, pl.XXIII.

(164) Gardiner and Sethe, *op. cit.*, pls.IV/IVA.

(165) Such evidence as there is for the education of girls is quoted by Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, ps.46/49.

(166) Brunner suggests that a scene in tomb 5 at el Bersheh (see el Bersheh, vol.II, pl.XIV) may show a dancing class at work, but the figure on the right with the stick is probably only keeping the beat during an ordinary performance, not instructing the performers in their art. Certainly it was more usual in a tomb to show the perfected dance, rather than the rehearsal, especially when, as in this case, the owner of the tomb is present.

(167) The presence of a palette bearing the name of the Prince Meritaten in the tomb of Tutankhame (see Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhame*, vol.III, pl.XXII) has been used in favour of literary among the women of the royal family, but the palette in question was more likely intended for painting as it has several different coloured pigments on it. A more telling argument in favour of the education of women is that success many of them had in participating in government, either directly or indirectly.

(168) Griffith, *Z.* . . ., 1891, v l.XXIX, ps.107/108.

(169) See *re* d, *op. cit.*, v l.I, paragraph 294 for typical

sample from the Old Kingdom, and British Museum vol. II, 1. 1,
for a Middle Kingdom sample.

(170) Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Sign List S.10, 2
and 3. This may be the occasion when the youthful side-lock was
and the adult style with full beard adopted.

(171) Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, vol. I, p.56, 17:22/3.

(172) Whiting, W-ms with stress how young he was when he
entered the army, he said that "I was (still) young and I had not taken a
wife", which would imply that it was customary to marry at an early age.
See Smith, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, vol. I, p.2, lines 14/15.

(173) e.g. Inny, see Mariette, Les Papyrus Égyptiens du
Musée de Boulaq, vol. I, pl. 16 (Papyrus 4) III:1.

(174) Glanville, op. cit., ps. 28/9, Col. 11:7.

(175) Müller, Die Liebeserziehung der Alten Aegypte, 3,
suggests that marriage was possible for a girl at 12 and for a boy at 15.
The girl who is named on a stela of the Ptolemaic Period, in the
British Museum seems to have been about 14 when she married (see Ott,
Die Biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit, n. 57, p. 190/194)
In the first half of the nineteenth Century A.D. it appears that
custom for peasant girls at least to marry when at 11 or 13, though they
may have been betrothed for some time before that (see Lane, History
of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, p. 156, 3rd. edit.).

No matter what the "ideal" difference in age may have been in ancient
times, in practice there were always unions between persons of widely
varying age. The entries on part of Papyrus Michigan 2, for example
(Cairo, "Alimentary Contract from Thebes", J. E. A. S. 16, vol. XII,
ps. 100/109) record several husbands and wives who were contracting

parties in the settlements, this is only seen in the ring figures.

Column I, . The husband is at least 5 years older than his wife.

Column III, a. The husband was at least 14 years older than his wife.

Column III, g. The husband was at least 10 years older than his wife.

Column III, l. The wife was about 10 years older than her husband.

(176) This passage occurs in the petition of P3-di-3st, see Griffith, A Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. III, pp. 2/84 and 29/231, section 8:9/9:4.

There is a passage in th-htp (see Žába, Le Maximes de Ptahhotep, p. 5 lines P.457/459) which Žába interprets as a warning against sexual relations with a child, but which has recently been re-interpreted as a prohibition on homosexual practices, see Faulkner in The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (ed. Simpson), p. 171, note 60, and Goedicke, "Neregnis d Sportings", J.A.R.C.E. 1967, vol. VI, pp. 97/102.

(177) inlock, excavations at Deir el Bahri, p. 39 and 43.

(178) inlock, op. cit., pl. 11.

(179) See Müller, Die Liebespoesie der Alten Aegypten.

(180) The phrase commonly used is rdi X Y m (or r) hmt, to give Y to X as (or for) wife. e.g. de Lánage, "L'Acte d'abli t et le contrat de Mariage 'un esclave sous Thoutmè III", J.E.A.O. 1939, vol. XXXVIII, p. 19, Text 14.

(181) e.g. Gardiner, "Optimetry", J. . . 1940, vol. XXVI, pls. VI/VIA, line 21. The word used here is rdi hmt.

(182) ir m hmt, to take as wife, e.g. Gardiner, op. cit., pls. VI/VIA, lines 1/1.

(183) Pesman, Marriage and Trial Property in Ancient Egypt, Chart A, nos.1/7, clause 11, also p. 5.

() The last available example is Papyrus Louvre 7846, which is dated to 548 B.C., see Pestman, op.cit., Chart A, no.7.

(15) Pestman, op. cit., Chart A, clauses 14/15, and Chart B, clause 1. Very occasionally, the woman addresses the man with the words "You have made me your wife", Chart A, clauses 12/13.

(186) Glanville, op. cit., ps.50/51, Col.22:4 and ps.5/57, Col.25:5 respectively.

(187) e.g. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, 1.8:8/9 - "Behold, a man (who obtains) a noble wife, her father protects him".

(18) Pestman, op. cit., p.15.

(189) Pestman, op. cit., p.16.

(190) Volten, "Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Papyrus Louvre 2414", in Studi in Memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte, pl.XXXV, 3:4/5 and p.273.

(191) Glanville, op. cit., ps.36/37, Col.15:15.

(19) Zába, op. cit., ps.60/63, lines p.564/17.

(13) Záb, op. cit., p.32, lines 12.07/14.

(194) Záb, op. cit., p. 9, lines P.167/172.

(195) Glanville, op. cit., ps.1/19, Col.6:6

(196) Volten, op. cit., pl.XXXIV, 1:14 and .27.

(197) Lexa, op. cit., p.4, 2:15.

(198) Mariette, op. cit., pls. / 1, VII:17/VIII:1.

During her sojourn in Egypt in the 1900s, infirm lackman observed that, among the fellahin, the mother retained the highest place in her own

affections, ve after marriage. When she c ted this, she was told, in wrds th t recall th se of Inyy, that this was as it sh uld be, c id ring what a m ther had t endure t bring a c il into the world and aise it, and her informant added that, whereas a wife might rove faithl ss, the love of a m ther was unchanging. See l ckman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p.45.


(199) Glanville, *op. cit.*, ps. 8/ 9, ol.11:19.

SECTION IV

(1) On Paophi 5, 181 B.C., P3-d1-1tm issued one deed of apportionme t (sh dn ps) awarding two-thirds of his property t the son of his first marriage, and one-third to the s of the second arriage (see Thomp n, *A Family Archive fr m Si t*, ps.57/62 an 35/45 res otively). However, a few days earlier, he had issued d eds of e down nt (sh n s'nh) to hi s con wife (e Tho s *op. cit.*, ps. / 6), and to the daughter of b th his wives (s e Th pson, *op. cit.*, p .65/67), giving hi second wife one-third of his belongings, plus a mainte ance allowance, and his daughters an equal share in his holding of a ho e and lan . Clearly th amounts receive by the four children were unequal, f r though th two girls received the same, the son and daughter of the second wif ould pr b bly eventually inherit her third share, so the boy might, in the end, rec iv nearly as much as the lder br ther, while the girl woul rec ive ore than her elder si ter unle th first wif a t d ad, but div rc d, in which case her p operty would pr bably pass t h r childre one day.

Th s n (.c't., .xxi) was no prã ared t conc that there was any legal ligation t 'vie the pr rt in fixed oportions.

() Moret, "D tions et fondations en droit Égyptie ", *Rec. de Trav.*, 1907, vol.XXIX, ps.57/95.

- (3) Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol.I, paragraphs 192/199.
- (4) Moret, *Une Nouvelle Disposition Testamentaire de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien*, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 1914, p.558 ff.
- (5) Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, vol.I, ps.11/15.
- (6) Sethe, *op. cit.*, ps.24/32.
- (7) Sethe, *op. cit.*, ps.115/117.
- (8) Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kanun and Gurob*, pl.XI, lines 10/27. Griffith discusses the meaning of imy pr on ps.29/30. Others have also considered the meaning of imy pr, see, for example, Seidl, *Einführung in die Agyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ps. 22/25, 47 and 58/59; Harari, *Ann du Serv.*, 1951, vol.LI, ps.237/296; Lacau, *Une Stèle juridique de Karnak*; Varille, *Mélanges Maspero*, vol.I, p.563,
- (9) Griffith, *op. cit.*, ps.31/35 and pls.XII/XIII.
- (10) Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, pl.XIV.
- (11) The word used here for "deed of gift" is  3wt
see Hayes, *op. cit.*, p.114, for his comments on the meaning.
- (12) de Linage, "L'Acte d'Établissement et le Contract de Mariage d'un esclave sous Thoutmès III", *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1939, vol.XXVIII, ps.217/234.
- (13) Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*.
- (14) Černý, "The Will of Naumakhte", *J.E.A.*, 1945, vol.XXXI, ps.29/53.
- (15) Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary", *J.E.A.*, 1940, vol.XXVI, ps.23/29.
- (16) Černý and Peet, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty", *J.E.A.*, 1927, vol.XIII, ps.30/39. An erroneous reading of


one-eighth for one-third was corrected by Černý in "La Constitution d'un air conjugal e Égypte", .I.F. .O., 1937, v 1.XXXVII, ps.41/48.

(17) Černý and Peet, *op. cit.*, p.3 and pl.XIV, lines 11/12.

(1) Jělinková, "Sale of inherited Property in the First Century .C.", J. .A., 1957, vol.XLIII, ps. 5/5, 1959, v 1.XLV, ps.61/74.

(19) Griffith, *op. cit.*, pl.XII, lines 9/10.

(20) Hayes, *op. cit.*, pl.XIV, lines 17/19.

(1) "I (hereby) make the people whom I have put on record freemen of the land of Pharaoh". The word used for freemen is , nḥyw, see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pl.VIIa, lines 2/3 and p.24.

(2) e.g. The will of Wsr (see below, note 31). On reaching his maturity, the eldest son of Wsr took over the direction of his family's affairs. Similarly on the death of P3-dī-Ḳtm, his eldest son administered both his own property, and that left to his young half-brother, who was still a minor (see Thompson, *op. cit.*, p.xiii). This situation is reflected in the Story of Two Brothers, where the younger brother, appalled by the amorous advances of his sister-in-law, tried to impress on her that he saw her and his elder brother in the role of parents because they, being older than he, had brought him up (see Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, ps.12/13, 3: /3:10. For a recent English rendering, see *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. W.K.Simpson, ps.9 /107).

(3) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.VIII, line 18 and p. 7: "I did wrong the daughter of the poor man. I did not oppress the widow". Also el-Rish, v 1.II, pl.XXII, Hat-nub graffito VIII, line 6, "I listened (?) to the cry (of her who was) left of her husband. I brought up the orphan"

and graffito XIII (pl. XXIII, lines 12/13) speaks of supporting the widows of the city and endowing children with land. Similarly, the rald 'Intf (Louvre stela, G.26, pl. XIX) claimed to have been the "husband of the widow, the shelter of the orphan", besides being one who made the weaver rejoice.

(24) Griffith, "The Teaching of ophis the s of Kanakht", J.E. ., 1926, vol. XII, p. 04, 7:15.

(25) Griffith, op. cit., p. 23, 6:9.

(26) Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt". J.E.A., 1914, vol. I, p. 26, 12: 6/47.

(27) The harbouring of widowed and unmarried female relatives may account for the number of women living in the household of Hk3-nht (see James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pls. 5/5A, lines 7/22 and p. 32). Similarly, the household of the soldier Snfrw contained his widowed mother, paternal grandmother, and three of his father's sisters (see Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurb, pl. IX, lines 2/7).

(28) Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, pls. IV/IVA and p. 5.

() Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., pls. I/IA and p. 1.

(30) The formula employed here is snt ddt hr sn.s, "It is a sister who speaks to her brother". The couple have a son and, as there is no evidence that the man was merely a concubine, it will be assumed for the purposes of this commentary that she was his wife, but not necessarily also his sister by blood.

(31) Sethe, "Ein Prozeßsurteil aus dem alten Reich", Z."S., 1906, v. LXI, ps. 67/79.

(3) Griffith, op. cit., pl. XII, line 14 p. 3.

(33) Collected together and commented on by P. Staman in *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*.

(34) The one indisputable case of a royal minority occurred at the beginning of the long reign of P. I. II of the Sixth Dynasty, but it is not known what powers were granted to his mother.

(35) On the death of her brother/husband, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut "conducted the affairs of the country, the Two Lands being in her control", according to one official (see Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* 60:1/2). This particular incident ended in the assumption of the crown by Hatshepsut, but the Eighteenth Dynasty offers examples of other royal widows who obtained authority, if not actual viceregal powers, without taking that final step, for example Ahhotep the first and Ahmes Nefertari.

(36) James, *The Hekanankhte Papers*, pl. 14:9/15.

(37) Though many tomb paintings of the Middle Kingdom show women with their husbands, receiving offerings, it is less common to find them portrayed watching over the activities of the agricultural year. In tombs 15 and 17 at Beni Hasan, however, a wife and a daughter are shown with their respective husband and father, observing the activities on their estates, and on these occasions they carry an unusual staff with a flared head, not to be confused with the real flowers that were often worn carrying. See section V, p. 467 and pl. CIII, H. 3).

(38) de S. Diez, *The Rock Tombs of Israel*, vol. I, text 8, appendix 8/3.

(39) Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Seti I at Rifeh*, pl. 15, lines 33/8).

(40) Beni Hasan, vol. I, tomb 3, also vol. II, tomb 1.

(41) Beni Hasan, vol. I, tomb 3.

(42) ni Has , ol.II, tom 23.

(43) i an, ol.I, .1.XXXII. For New rry's comments on the loc tion of this town, see v l.II, p.21.

(44) Meir, v l.VI, l.VI.

(45) Meir, v l.I, p.1.

(46) Meir, vol.III, pl.XXVII.

(47) Meir, v l.I, p.12.

(48) If Mr was older than his brother Snb, it is perfectly possible for her to have an eldest son, before his brother had an heir of his body. The fact that his wife or child named in the text of i does not rule out the possibility that he have had a wife and a child who pre-deceased him.

(49) Elphaine, tom s 36, pl.6 31, pl.4 respectively.

(50) Griffith, Article P yri frah and Gur b, pl.XXXIV, lines 16 to the end.

(51) Griffith, op.cit., p.79, no line 19.

(5) It is uncertain whether "brother" and "sister" are used here of siblings, or whether they should be interpreted to mean "relative", the degree of kinship being undefined. Gardiner was inclined to the latter view, The Inscription of , p. 2, note on line 6.

(53) Gardiner, op. cit., .13, n 10.

(54) Gardiner, op. cit., p.43. in s 5/6, the word he is s, literally the plough, to cultivate.

(55) Gardiner, The Ilbour pyrus, n .2 . 9; .39; 6.18; .5; 35.3 ; 6. 3; 3 . 4; . 5; 3 .3 ; 36. 5; 37. 5; 44. 7; 44. 6; 48.3 ; 51.1; 5 .7; 5 .8; 57.37; 59.5; 59. ; 6 .3 ; 75.44; 82.30; 82.97; 90.10; 96.8.

(56) Nos. 44.27 and 51.51.

(57) Gardiner, "Ramessid Texts Taxation etc. of C...", *J. E.A.*, 1941, v l. XXVII, ps. 19/73. The passages concerning the activities of this couple are: p. 5 - 2, 10/11; p. 29 - 3, 6/7; p. 33 - 5, 3/.

(58) Černý, Late Ramessid Letters, no. 37 (Geneva D191) and date, Late Ramessid Letters, in which the same numbering system is followed.

(59) Černý op. cit., and Wente, op. cit., no. 4 (Papyrus Turin 197) and no. 5 (Papyrus Leiden 1.370).

(60) Černý, op. cit., and Wente op. cit., no. 36 (British Museum 10412).

(61) Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen*, v l. II, pl. 96.

(62) de Gari Davies and Faulker, "A Syrian Trading Venture to Egypt", *J.E.A.*, 1947, v l. XXXIII, ps. 40/46 and pl. VIII.

(63) de Gari Davies, *Two Ramessid Tablets at Thebes*, pl. XXX.

(64) Griffith, op. cit., pl. XXXII.

(65) Griffith, op. cit., pl. XXXIX, line 1/13.

(66) Griffith, "A Contract of Year 5 of Amenhotep IV", *P.S.B.A.*, 1908, vol. XXX, s. 7 / 75.

(67) Gardiner, "A Letter Arriving from the Purchase of Two Slaves", *J.E.A.*, 1935, v l. XXI, ps. 140/146.

(68) Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahum and Gur*, pl. XXXIX, lines 4/3.

(69) Gardiner, "The Harim of Miwer", *J.N.E.S.*, 1953, v l. XII, ps. 145/149.

- (70) Černý, op. cit., and West, op. cit., no. 8 (British Museum 10375).
- (71) Černý, op. cit., and Nante, op. cit., no. 38 (Turin Papyrus, no. 38), and no. 39 (Turin Papyrus 2069).
- (72) Černý, op. cit., and West, op. cit., nos. 1, 34, and 35 (Berlin Papyri 10487/9 inc.).
- (73) Peet, The Mayer Papyri A and B. The case of Twn-r'iz is on papyrus A, page 3, lines 1/5.
- (74) Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, pl. XXXI, British Museum Papyrus 1005, page 10, lines 11/15.
- (75) Peet, op. cit., pls. XXXI/XXXII, British Museum Papyrus 10052, page 11, lines 4/8.
- (76) Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester, vols. I/III.
- (77) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 7.
- (78) Revillout, Notice des Papyrus demotiques archaïques, 1896, p. 05, and Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 16, no. 14.
- (79) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 56.
- (80) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 142.
- (81) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 158.
- (82) Shore and Smith, "Two Unpublished Demotic Documents from the Asyut Archive", J.E.A., 1959, vol. XLV, p. 5/60.
- (83) Peet, op. cit., pl. XXXVII, British Museum Papyrus 10403, page 3 line 1/8.
- (84) Peet, op. cit., pl. XXXVII, page 3 line 1/31.
- (85) Gardiner, "Four Papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty from Kahun", Z.A.S., 1906, vol. XLIII, p. 7/7.

- (36) nhsy(t). Gardiner, op. cit., . 9, line 12.
- (87) Gardiner, op. cit., p.30, lines 29/31.
- () Sethe, Urkunden des Alten Reichs, v l.I, p .9 /110.
- (89) de Buck, "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin", J.E.A., 1937, v l.XXIII, ps.15 /164.
- (90) de Buck, op. cit., p.155, V:l.
- (91) de Buck, op. cit., .156, VI:l.
- (2) Hayes, op. cit., pls.I/VII, line 63.
- (93) Gardiner, " Lawsuit Arising fr m the Purchase of Two Slaves", J.E.A., 1936, v l.XXI, pl.XV, lin 17/18.
- (94) Černý, "Restitution of, and Penalty Attaching t , Stolen Property in Ramesside Times", J.E.A., 1937, vol.XXIII, ps.186/189.
- (95) Peet, Mayer Papyri A and B, page 11, line 16.
- (96) Peet, op. cit., page 13, C.1/12.
- (97) Peet, Great T b Robber' s of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, pl.XXVII, British Museum Papyrus 1005 , page 3 lines 8/9.
- (98) Peet, op. cit., pl.XXIX, British Museum P yrus 10052, page 6.
- (9) Hayes, . cit., pl.XIV, lines 1/4.
- (100) Gardiner, The Inscription of es, lin s N3/4.
- (1 1) Gardiner, op. cit., line N7.
- (10) Černý, B.I.F.A.C., 1937, vol.XXXVII, p .47/48.
- (103) Gardiner, "The Dakhleh Stela, J.E.A., 1933, vol.XIX, ps.19/30.
- (104) Bologna 1094, 9:7/10:9. Gardiner, Late Egyptian M' c llanie , .9/10, and Camin , Late Egypti iscellani s, . / 8.
- (1 5) Anastasi V, 13: /14:6. Gardiner, op.cit., ps.6 / 3 and Caminos, .c't., ps.241/245.

- (16) Anastasi VI, 6/6, Gardiner, op. cit., 77/78, and
C in , op. cit., p. 96/300.
- (17) Thompson, A Family Archive from Siut.
- (108) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10591, l. II,
c 1.II, line 10 and ps.15/16.
- (109) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10591,
pl.III, c 1.III, line 2 and p.17.
- (110) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10575,
ls.XVII/XXII and ps.37/45.
- (111) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 1051, pl.VI,
col.VI, line 11 and p. .
- (112) e.g. Revillout, Précis du Droit Égyptien comparé aux
autres droits de l'Antiquité, vol.II, ps.981/984.
- (113) Edgerton, Notes on Egyptian Marriage, chiefly in the
Ptolemaic Period, p.2, no.2.
- (114) Möller, Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaitischer
Zeit, ps.30/31.
- (115) Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, p.
18/19, III:5/7. It is interesting to note that the festivities recorded
there bear a resemblance to those of Egyptians of the Nineteenth Century
A.D., as described by Lane in Account of the Manners and Customs of the
Modern Egyptians (5th edition), ps.15/174.
- (116) Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXXV, line 9.
- (117) Occasionally the house might belong to the wife, e.g.,
for example, Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri, ls.XXIII/XXIII A, n. . .
This papyrus (Petrie 61), dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, ought to safeguard
the right of a wife to go on living in her house, even should she be

divorced, because the house was hers, having been built by her father. Another interesting example is that of the 'nht nt nwt Mwt-m-wi3 and her husband, who lived with her father. Mwt-m-wi3 gave evidence to the effect that, when her father found out that her husband had been involved in the tomb robberies, he forbade his sons-in-law ever to enter his house again. It is not known if Mwt-m-wi3 divorced her husband, but she is found giving evidence implicating him in the robberies - see Peet, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10052, pl. XXXIII, p. 13, lines 15/18.

(11) Glanville, The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy, Part I, ps. 24/25, Col. 9:12.

(119) Mariette, Les Papyrus du Musée de Boulaq, vol. I, pl. 19, (Papyrus 4), VI:6/8.

(120) Lane, op. cit., p. 173.

(11) Glanville, op. cit., ps. 42/43, Col. 18:14.

(12) It should be remembered that it was not until the second half of the Nineteenth Century A.D. that the British Parliament passed a series of Married Women's Property Acts (1870, 1882, and 1893 respectively) which, for the first time in England, granted to married women rights of ownership over every kind of property, on the same terms as the unmarried.

(123) Moret, Rec. de Trav., 1907, vol. XXIX, ps. 71/73.

(124) Pestman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt, Chart A, no. 13. This is the first known document to tabulate the maintenance allowance and it was drawn up in Thebes in 315 B.C.

(1) In the Eleventh Dynasty for example, Hk3-nht drew up meticulous lists awarding provisions to the members of his household, according to their relative merits in his eyes - see James, op. cit., pl. 5/5A,

lines 7/ 3, and ps. 3 and 34/35. larger, more elaborate provision list, in this case for a royal household of the Thirteenth Dynasty is to be found on Papyrus Boulaq 18 - see Brecht, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem Ende des mittleren Reiches", Z.Ä.S. 190, v l.XVIII, ps.65/103. Griffith, "The Account Papyrus number 1 of Boulaq", Z.Ä.S. 1891, vol.XXIX, ps.102/116; and Scharff, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie", Z.Ä.S. 1902, v l.LVII, ps.51/68.

(126) e.g. Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte", J.E.A., 1945, vol.XXXI, ps.29/53, and "La Constitution d'un avoir conjugal en Égypte", B.I.F.A.O., 1937. vol.XXXVII, ps.41/48, which corrects an erroneous reading which Černý and Peet had published in their translation of this document in J.E.A., 1927, v l.XIII. The first document concerns the will of Niwt-nhtj, the second refers to the settlement made by the priest Imn-h'iw for his second marriage. In both cases all the contracting parties accept the two-thirds/one third ratio without comment or explanation, so the custom was clearly well-established and probably of long-standing.

(127) Besides the increase resulting from the combined labours of the married couple, there was the possibility that some partners might choose to make their contributions to the marriage fund in the form of slaves. In time, the females would breed, increasing the value of the endowment, as well as replacing the natural wastage due to advancing age and death.

(128) In Nhm-Mwt promised never again to physically mistreat his wife, he agreed that the penalty for breaking his oath should include the abandonment of his claim to a share in the increased value of their property, that he and his wife had acquired by their joint efforts, Černý, op.cit., ps.47/48.

(12) The will of ḥwt-nḥtī (see Černý, J.E.A., 1945, v 1.XXXI, pl.VIII/VIIIA, Col.4, lines 1/3) shows that, though she could dispose of her own third as she wished, she could not exclude her children, even though they were unworthy, from the two-thirds of their father, which was theirs by right. Similarly, when the priest ḥmn-ḥ'ī wished to endow his second wife, there was a special hearing, apparently before the vizier himself, to establish that he had correctly fulfilled his obligations to the children of his first wife (see Černý, B.I.F.A.O., 1937, v 1.XXXVII, ps.42/43). The first wife of ḥmn-ḥ'īw must have died, rather than been divorced, because their father also had to grant her children possession of property that had belonged to their late maternal grandfather, and which their father had presumably been administering on his wife's behalf. However, the children must already have received the third due to them from their mother, as it is not mentioned in the document. ḥmn-ḥ'īw appears to have dealt fairly with his children, as they acknowledged that they had received the slaves, which had constituted the two-thirds of their father's contribution to the first marriage fund, thus leaving him free to enter into a new endowment contract.

(130) Testaments, Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt. It should be remembered that the earliest document discussed by Pestman (Chart A, no.1) only dates from the Ninth Century B.C, and the majority are much later, dating mainly to the Ptolemaic era. Thus, though clearly of great interest, they do not necessarily reflect the customs prevailing through the greater part of Pharaonic history, which is the primary concern here.

(131) Berlin Papyrus 3048, see, . . . cit., Chart A, no.1.

(13) British Museum Papyrus 1012, see Pestman, op. cit., Chart B, .1.

(133) Oriental Institute Papyrus 17481, see Pestman, . cit., Chart C, n .1.

(134) The lies known example comes from Edfu and is dated to 364 B.C., see Pestman, Chart A, o.10.

(135) Practically every list includes a garment called the š, which was clearly of great importance, and is usually translated in English by "shawl" or sometimes even "wedding veil", although one document (see Pestman, loc. cit.,) mentions that the article was some 5¹ yards long, so shawl cannot be the correct translation, and, as far as is known, Egyptian women did not wear anything that could be described as a wedding veil, so some other translation must be sought. It is possible that the š was material of fine quality, perhaps used in the making of special garments, such as would be suitable for a wedding celebration.

(136) Závada, Les maximes de Ptahhotep, p.41/43, lines L2. 3 5/338.

(137) Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., Leyden Papyrus 371, pls.VI/VII and os.8/9.

(138) Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (2nd edition), p.10/121.

(139) The sage Inyy has some sound practical advice to offer on the best way to preserve marital harmony, and recommends his wife to avoid interfering with the arrangements of an efficient wife, and to avoid continually criticizing her methods - "You should look on silently and recognize her industry". Above all, quarrels were to be avoided (see Ariete, . cit., pl. 1, VIII:3/7). It is also Inyy who painted the best picture of the care-loving mother lavishing on her children (see above p. 344).

Even 'nh-ššnk suggested that one of the few occasions when one should borrow money was to get married, and was prepared to admit that a wise woman was an asset (see Glanville, op. cit., ps.38/39, Col.16: 9/12 and ps.22/23, Col.8:22 respectively). The latter sentiment is in accord with one expressed by the author of the Insinger Papyrus, who considered an efficient housewife a treasure, and he added that there were women whose natures were such that their every action was nothing less than a hymn to the Great God (see Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, vol.I, ps.24/25, 8:8/9).

Piety, cheerfulness, discretion and economy were all qualities to be looked for when choosing a wife, according to 'nh-ššnk, but he made it clear that he expected his readers to encounter the opposite (see Glanville, op. cit., ps.56/57, Col.25:17, ps.54/55, Col.24:6, ps.32/33, Col.13:16/18, and ps.30/31, Col.12:13/14 respectively).

(140) This is reminiscent of the observation of Winifred Blackman (see *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p.38) that, at the slightest provocation, even if it were only being thwarted of her desire for an ornament, a peasant woman would run back to the house of her father or brother, and stay there until her husband, fearing that she might incite her relatives to mischief against him, capitulated. This device may well have been one hallowed by antiquity.

(141) Volten, "Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414", in *Studi in Memoria di Ippolite Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte*, pl.XXIV, 2:8/9 and p.273.

(142) Including sororal polygamy. Pepi I, for example, married two sisters, who became the mothers of Marenre and Pepi II.

(143) Herodotus, II.92.

(144) Diodorus, I, 80.3.

(145) Gunn, "A Middle Kingdom stela from Edfu", *Ann. du Serv.*, 1929, vol.XXIX, ps.5/14.

(146) e.g. Hayes, *op. cit.*, pl.XIV; Gardiner Ostrakon 55 (Peet and Černý, *J.E.A.*, 1927, vol.XIII, ps.38/39); the settlement of Im-h'iw; the Siut archive.

(147) Petrie, *Athribis*, pl.VII.

(148) Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol.VI, tomb C, no.1.

(149) Though all of the nomarchs gradually began to exercise some powers that had once been in the hands of the central government, it was Wp-htp the sixth, more than any of his contemporaries, who also adopted many of the trappings of royalty for his own use. See, for example, Meir, vol.I, p.12, and vol.VI, ps.15, 26, 30/31, and 35.

(150) Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B. Mayer A*, p.13, C.6/7.

(151) Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty*, *British Museum Papyrus 10052*, pl.XXXIV, p.15, lines 7/8.

(152) Pestman, *op. cit.*, Chart A, Type A, clause 24.

(153) Edgerton, "A Clause in the Marriage Settlement", *Z.Ä.S.*, 1929, vol.LXIV, ps.59/62. For the opposite interpretation see Mustafa el Amir, "Monogamy, Polygamy, Endogamy and Consanguinity in Ancient Egypt", *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1964, vol.LXII, ps.103/107, where he bases his reading on Arabic parallels.

(154) e.g. the will of Niwt-nhti, see p. 354 no.5.

(155) e.g. the adoption of N3-nfr, see p. 352 no.15.

(156) e.g. the settlement of Im-h'iw, see above note 129 of this section. The only exception to this appears to have been if the mother chose to exclude her children from inheriting in her third share, as happened in the case of Niwt-nhti.

(157) It is interesting to note that, whereas ʿImn-ḥʿiw contributed nine slaves as his two-thirds of his first marriage settlement, his second contract was for only four slaves, but there was also an unspecified number of children, or perhaps the children that would be born to the four slaves, included. This may indicate that, having fulfilled his contractual obligations to the children of his first marriage, he was less wealthy than before, and so was forced to make a more modest endowment for the second wife.

(158) It would seem that, in some cases, family loyalty even extended to supporting criminal practices. After one robbery in the royal necropolis, one of the thieves was missing, presumably killed in action. His share was paid to his widow, but later, two of the thieves visited the widow and forced her to give back the loot. The widow, standing up for her rights, even though this did involve receiving stolen property and thus risking punishment, threatened the two robbers that her brother would not allow her to be molested in this way, so clearly she assumed he would be willing to act for her (see Peet, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10052, pl.XXIX, p.6, line 10). For comments on the financial support of dependent female relatives, see note 27 of this section.

(159) In fact, a widow may have had a better chance of re-marrying than a divorcee, if many people agreed with 'nh-šānk, for he specifically warned against marrying a woman whose ex-husband was still alive, since to do so was to run the risk of incurring his enmity. Glanville. op. cit., ps.22/23, Col.8:12.

(160) e.g. Pestman, op. cit., Chart A, ^{Type A,} clauses 24 and 27.

(161) Pestman, op. cit., Chart Z, Type Z.

(162) Pestman, op. cit., as note 157 above.

(163) There appears to be a case of this type recorded on Papyrus Bologna 1094, entry 13 (see Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, ps.9/10, and Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, ps.26/28, lines 9:7/10:9), which is a letter, written by a Chantress of Thoth, to her retainer (šmsw), Ymn-h'i(w), in reply to a previous letter of his, during the course of which he had asked "Wherefore have you rejected (h3', i.e. divorced, see Caminos, *op. cit.*, p.27, note on 9:9/10) this man for my sake?" The lady had apparently freed herself from one man in order to marry another, but her intended seems unsure of the wisdom of the step.

(164) Though 'nh-ššnk urged his readers not to abandon a woman who was barren, see Glanville, *op. cit.*, ps.34/35, Col.14:16.

(165) During the New Kingdom this would be her third of the joint marriage property, together with any increase in its value, but in the Late Period it varied according to the original terms of the settlement. Under contracts of Pestman's Type A, a woman was entitled to the nktw n šhst, or goods of equivalent value (Pestman, *op. cit.*, Chart A, clause 28), and her šp (clause 25). Besides this her husband would sometimes undertake to pay compensation from his own property, or give her a share in the property acquired during the course of the marriage (clause 26), in which case it might amount to one half, or one third, of the goods in question.

Types B and C allowed for the return of the hd n šr hst and the s'nh respectively, together with a woman's personal possessions.

(166) e.g. the law code of Hammurabi (clause 129), which decreed death by drowning for both guilty parties, unless the wronged husband decided to be merciful; also the Middle Assyrian laws (clauses 13 and 15)

and the Hittite laws (clause 197). See Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, where translations for the above law codes are provided by T.J.Meek and A.Goetze, Death for adultery was also the rule among the Hebrews, see Leviticus 20:110.

Admittedly Herodotus (II:111) says that unfaithful wives were rounded up and burnt, but then Diodorus says that the unfaithful wife might have her nose cut off, while her lover was beaten (I.78:3/4) but neither statement receives any confirmation from existing native Egyptian legal texts.

(167) e.g. In the Westcar Papyrus, the guilty wife of Wb3-inr was burnt to death on the orders of the king, while her lover was carried off by a crocodile (see Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, vol.I, ps. 22/31 and vol.II, pls.I/IV. In the Story of Two Brothers, the wife of the elder brother, having attempted to seduce her young brother-in-law, was killed by her husband and her body was thrown to the dogs, while the unfaithful and murderous wife of the younger brother was formally condemned by the chief officials, presumably to death, though the story does not say how (see Papyrus d'Orbiney, now British Museum Papyrus 10183, in Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, p.18, 8:7/8 and p.29, 19:5). In the Story of Truth and Falsehood, when the young son of Truth found out about his mother's misconduct he declared that her family ought to have thrown her to the crocodiles (see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p.33, 6:2).

There is no doubt that adultery was considered a serious sin, and it was included among the negative confessions in the Book of the Dead, chapter 125.

(168) Glanville, *op. cit.*, ps.52/53, Col.23:6/7 and Volten, *op. cit.*, pl.XXXIV, 1:7 and p.272. Pth-htp similarly warned his readers that, however beautiful the woman, the risks involved in the gratification of a

passing desire were too great and might result in death, and even if this ultimate catastrophe were avoided, many men had been ruined by their sexual indiscretions. Žába, op. cit., ps.37/39, lines P.277/297.

There is also the hint that adultery might give rise to a feud, during which vengeance might be exacted in kind, for "nh-ššnk warned that a man who went to bed with another's wife was likely to find his own wife ravished on the ground. Glanville, op. cit., ps.48/49, Col. 21:19.

(169) Glanville, op. cit., ps.32/33, Col.13:12.

(170) e.g. Lexa, vol.I, p.25, 8:14.

(171) e.g. Ḳnyy. See Mariette, op. cit., vol.I, pl.16, (Papyrus 4), lines 13/17.

(172) e.g. Lexa, op. cit., vol.I, p.7, 3:9 and p.23, 8:1 respectively.

(173) Ostrakon Louvre 8112 (see Edgerton, Notes on Egyptian Marriage, chiefly in the Ptolemaic Period, ps.19/20) records an oath to be taken by a woman at the gates of the temple of Montu. She was simply required to swear that she had lain with no man but her husband during the course of their marriage, in return for which, "he shall be without claim on her and shall give her 4 talents", the money presumably being what her husband was trying to avoid paying her. A similar case would appear to be referred to on Cairo Ostrakon 25227 (see Daressy, Ostraca, Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire), which includes an oath by Amun and the ruler to the effect that a certain woman had not committed adultery.

(174) References to divorce are very rare before this time, probably due to accidents of survival, but mention of divorce is to be found in some literary works such as the maxims of Pth-htp (see Žába, op. cit., ps.55/56, lines P499/506) and the Story of the Eloquent Peasant

(see Gardiner, "The Eloquent Peasant", J.E.A. 1923, vol.IX, ps. 5/25).

It is interesting to note that, in the latter work, the peasant, when appealing for justice, reminded the Chief Steward that he was supposed to be "the father of the orphan, the husband of the widow, the brother of the divorcee, and the apron of him that is motherless", thus including the divorcee among those unfortunates who were in need of special care and protection. This does not necessarily mean that the divorcee had fewer legal safeguards in the Middle Kingdom than later, but that a woman alone was often economically vulnerable (see above ps. 355 / 359).

(175) e.g. Ostrakon Gardiner 55, dated to the late New Kingdom (see Černý and Peet, J.E.A. 1927, vol.XIII, ps.38/39) which concerns an action brought by a woman against her former husband, alleging that he was in possession of goods which were her property. The man denied her claim, saying that all the goods in his house belonged to his second wife.

(176) In the New Kingdom the father's two-thirds of the joint marriage property were vested in the children, which was why Niwt-nḥtī could not prevent her unworthy children from sharing in their late father's goods. Marriage settlements of the Late Period often contained a clause acknowledging that the children of the marriage were to be their father's heirs, and that they would inherit his property (see Pestman, op. cit., Chart A, clauses 29/30).

(177) e.g. The wrangle between the offspring of the two wives of P3-di-īta.

(178) The wicked step-mother was apparently already a favourite literary device. In the Story of the Doomed Prince, for example, the hero, when wandering in Naharin, only had to produce an account of an unkind

step-mother to be assured of winning popular sympathy (see Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p.4, 5:11/13. For a recent translation into English, see *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Simpson, ps.85/91), while an even more extreme example occurs in the popular Setne stories, where one unpleasant female informs the hero that the price of her favours is that he has to kill his children by his first wife, so that they shall not be rivals to her own brood.

(179) Pestman, *op. cit.*, Chart Z, clauses 13/14, but see also note 156 of this section.

(180) e.g. Ostraca Strassburg D1845 (see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, ps. 10/18). The marriage in question was to last only for a period of 275 (or perhaps only 155) days. One payment had already been made to the bride at the outset, and another sum was being held in trust till the contract had expired, when it too would become her property, provided, of course, that she had faithfully observed the terms of the agreement. As Edgerton has pointed out, the short duration of the contract makes it unlikely that it was for the purposes of having a child, unless, of course, the woman was already pregnant, but the possibility of a child is nowhere mentioned in the document. He suggests that the arrangements may have been made by the girl to assist her male companion, who had been freed with her by the prospective bridegroom (lines 17/18).

(181) Part of the Lamentation of St. Anne, The Proto-evangelion of St. James the Lesser, III:2/3.

(182) e.g. Zába, *op. cit.*, p.31, lines L.2.197/198, and Posener "Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedaf", *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 1952, vol.IX ps.109/117. Inyy added, "A man is fortunate whose family is large. He is esteemed in proportion to his children". See Mariette, *op.cit.*, pl.16, III: 1/3.

(183) e.g. a small statuette representing a nude woman clasping a child, which is now in Berlin (inv. no.14517), bears a short inscription addressed to a dead father, asking that he should give his daughter Sh a child (see Schott, J.E.A., 1930, vol.XVI, p.23 and pl.X:4). There is a similar statuette in the Louvre (E.8000) asking for a child for one Tit, and this is prefaced by a simple htp di nsw prayer for the k3 of a man called Hnsw (See Desroches Noblecourt, B.I.F.A.O., 1953, vol.LIII, ps.37/40 and pls. IV and V).

A more elaborate inscription is to be found on a pottery vessel (Haskell Oriental Museum in Chicago, no.13945), which the writer placed in the tomb of his dead father. Sny, the wife of the writer, had no children, and he appears to have blamed this misfortune on the malice of two maidservants (b3kwt). He therefore wrote to his father, asking that the affliction should be removed and that his wife should bear a child. In the postscript, he also asked for "a second healthy male child for thy daughter". This could mean that Sny was married to her brother, but the arrangement of the inscription makes it more likely that the writer was asking for a child for his wife, and also a second child for his sister, who was married to someone else. See Gardiner, J.E.A., 1930, vol.XVI, p.20 and pl.X:1/3.

(184) Information is lacking concerning spells by which Egyptian women sought to induce pregnancy, but doubtless they had much in common with the fertility spells of their more modern descendants, described, among others, by Winifred Blackman in *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, Chapter VI.

(185) e.g. the code of Hammurabi, clauses 185/193, which laid down regulations for adoption.

(186) e.g. Shepenwepet I, daughter of Osorkon III, adopted Amenirdis, daughter of Kashta. Amenirdis I adopted Shepenwepet II, daughter of Pianky, and she in turn adopted Amenirdis II, the daughter of Taharica. Amenirdis II adopted Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I, and she adopted Ankhesneferibre, the daughter of Psamtik II.

(187) Genesis 30:1 and 3. A similar situation occurs in Genesis 16:1/5, where the childless Sarah presents her handmaiden, Hagar the Egyptian, to her husband, Abraham. See also the code of Hammurabi, clauses 144/147, which allow a natitum to present a slave girl to her husband for the purposes of obtaining a child.

(188) Anastasi IV, 11:8/12:5. See Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, ps.47/48, and Caminos, op. cit., ps.182/188,

(189) Černý and Peet, J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, pl.XIV, lines 11/12 and p.32.

(190) In the Story of Truth and Falsehood (see Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, ps.32/33, 5:4/6) the unfortunate son of Truth was plagued by his school fellows because he did not know who his father was, and clearly it was considered shameful to be able to say of a child, "he belongs to his rival", i.e. he was the son of someone other than the husband of his mother (Papyrus Berlin 3024, see Faulkner, "The Man who was tired of Life", J.E.A., 1956, vol.XLII, p.25, lines 99/101 of the text). In both cases, however, the dishonour lay in the irregular nature of the union, and such a stigma would not apply to the offspring of an officially acknowledged and regularised union, such as existed between a man and his concubine.

(191) Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXX. In this hunting scene all the sons of Hty stand in front of their father, while the son of T3t stands behind him. Also pl.XXXV, where T3t and her children stand behind Hty and her offspring.

(192) Beni Hasan, vol.I, p.7. Tomb 4, pls.XXXIX and XL.

(193) Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, pls.I/IA and ps.1/3.

(194) Pirenne, Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'ancienne Égypte, vol.III, ps.365/369.

SECTION V

(1) Meir, vol.VI, p.15.

(2) It is regrettable that the reliefs of W3h-k3 (B) at Qau are so badly damaged, because here too, great attention was paid to the details of the women's costumes. Such garments are also to be found on some wooden and faience statuettes, which will be referred to during the course of the discussion.

(3) Blackman suggests that it was because Wh-htp was High Priest of Hathor of Gusae, but the second and fourth Wh-htp were also imy-r hmw ntr, and their tombs are perfectly conventional, as is that of Hm(w)-htp the second of Beni Hasan, who was another imy-r hmw ntr, presumably also of Hathor, since his wife was a priestess of the local manifestation of that goddess.

An alternative explanation might be that Wh-htp the sixth was simply inordinately fond of the opposite sex, and that his tomb reflects this, and the ensuing desire to spend eternity surrounded by agreeable female companions. It may be of some significance that he was the only prince of Gusae to show himself surrounded by his harem, see Meir, vol.VI, pls.XIII, XVI, XVII, and XIX, and it must also be remembered that Wh-htp claimed certain royal prerogatives for himself, see above, Section IV, note 149.

(4) Dresses found in tombs dated to the/Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period at Deshashah have a single seam on the left side of the garment, but these may be typical since they also have sleeves (see pl. LXXXVII, A.4 d).

(5) Lange and Schäfer, Grab-und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs, vol.IV, pl.LXXXIV, no.431 (stela 20549).

(6) Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., vol.IV, pl.XLIX, stela 20642.

(7) Antaeopolis, pl.XIV.

(8) Caton-Thompson and Gardiner, The Desert Fayum, p.46.

(9) Petrie, Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt, p.147.

(10) Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty often show professional mourners and women of the household of the deceased in grey garments, many of which have been deliberately disarranged to reveal their breasts, e.g. de Garis Davies and Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Paintings, vol.II, pl.LXXXII, and de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes, pl.XII.

(11) e.g. Winlock, The Slain Soldiers of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, pl.XX.

(12) Winlock, op. cit., pl.XIX.

(13) Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries (4th edition, 1962, chapter VIII on Fibres, woven fabrics and dyeing.

(14) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Bekh-mi-re at Thebes, vol.II, pl.XIII.

(15) Crowfoot and de Garis Davies, "The Tunic of Tutankhamun", J.E.A., 1941, vol.XXVII, ps.113/130.

(16) Brunton and Caton-Thompson, Badarian Civilization, p.66, sample 9.

(17) I have not had the opportunity to examine this cloth personally, so I cannot state with certainty that this, or any other cloth which is said to be "pink", was not, in fact, faded red.

(18) Beads definitely were sewn directly on to the cloth of some types of garment. An unpublished grave at Sedment (no.562), for example, contained the body of a child of about six, who was wearing what the excavator's notebook (now in University College, London, and marked 95b, Sedment 1921, Hynes) describes as a "dress", and the accompanying sketch (reproduced on pl.CII) certainly shows a V-shaped line, which might represent the neck. On the other hand, no arm-holes or sleeves are indicated, and the notes record the decoration of the "top edge" and "bottom". The "top edge" definitely refers to the six rows of cylinder beads round the child's waist, so the garment was probably a kilt. Besides the cylinder beads round the waist, there was a row of disk beads round the hem.

Another unpublished grave, this time from Idsht (no.545), also contained the body of a child, which was wrapped in sheets, the inner one of which had a fringe. Over the head and breasts of the corpse was a "shawl", with a 7cm fringe and beads sewn on it. This shawl, now de-accessioned, went to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (no.15.3.376). Miss J.D.Bouffriau of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, who is engaged in a study of the Northern Cemetery of Idsht, informs me that several pieces of cloth from that site had similar bead edgings.

The beads on both these garments were sewn on, but they were only used to trim hems and edges, and are thus of an entirely different character to the decorations of dresses type A.4 a, where the nature of the designs suggest a web of beads strung together, after the style of bead shrouds.

(19) Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, IV/V, Harvard, African Studies 1923, vol.VI, p19 and 301.

(20) e.g. Meir, vol.VI, pl.XVIII.

(21) Photograph by Brugsch Pasha of linen found by de Morgan at Dahshur.

(22) Riefstahl, *Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt*, p.8, fig.7.

(23) Chassinat and Palanque, *Une Campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, pl.XXXIII.

(24) I think the long-sleeved garments found by Petrie in graves at Deshasheh (see Deshasheh, p.31 and pl.XXXV) must have been of this type, because they were so long that, without pleating, they could only have been worn by people well over six feet in height. For a discussion of garments of this type, see Riefstahl and Chapman, "A Note on Ancient Fashions", *B.M.F.A.*, 1970, vol.LXVIII, no.354, ps. 244/259.

(25) Similar to those which were attached to the head-cloth found amongst the embalming materials of Tutankhamun, see Winlock, *The Materials used at the Embalming of Tut-ankh-Amun*, p.10 and pl.VII: F.

(26) In the tomb of 'nh-m'-Hr at Sakkara, the figure of a woman winnowing is carved in profile. She is wearing a garment of this type, and the band under the breasts is shown tied at the back, see Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah*, pl.XXX.

(27) The female figures shown on the vases of the Gerzean Period all wear long skirts, but the figures are always blocked in in a single mass of colour, so it is not known how far up the torso the material extended. Predynastic female figurines, however, are painted in two or more colours, and from these it is quite clear that the women were wearing skirts of white material, presumably linen, which stretched from waist to ankle, leaving the breasts bare, e.g. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol.I, fig.11; Michalowski, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl.55 (Brooklyn Museum 07.447.505); Fazzini, *Images for Eternity*, p.7, no.1 (Brooklyn Museum 07.447.502); and Breasted, *Egyptian*

Servant Statues, pl.82.

(28) The woman wearing this skirt is entitled ḥny-r nrw, overseer of weavers. The figure has pendulous breasts and has the pale skin usually associated with females, but even so, it is possible that the figure was intended to represent a man. See, Aldred, Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt, pl.60 and his comments.

(29) e.g. de Garis Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, pl.XXX.

(30) Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri, p.207 and pl.38.

(31) de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes, pl.LXIV, and The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, pl.LIX.

(32) The garments were rectangular in shape with the sleeves attached to the top corners, see Crowfoot and de Garis Davies, op. cit., pl.XIV and p.115, fig.1.

(33) Petrie and Quibell, Nagada and Ballas, p.24 tomb 26. The remains of a piece of "knitted woollen" fabric brown and white in colour, were found in this grave. The grave had been "probably plundered", so the material may have been intrusive, though Petrie noted that he thought this was unlikely.

(34) Herodotus, II:81.

(35) e.g. Brunton and Caton-Thompson, op. cit., p.19:41.

(36) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Mastaba of Ptahhotep, pl.XVIII.

(37) Petrie. Objects in Daily Use, p.23 and p.XVIII.

(38) Petrie, op. cit., p.24 and pl.XIX.

(39) Winlock, op. cit., p.223 and pl.31.

(40) Winlock, op. cit., p.226.

(41) Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht, p.15.

(42) e.g. Borchardt, *Statues und Statuetten*, vol.II, pl.80, no.480, and Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, p.205, the figure on the right

(43) From the Old Kingdom there is the famous statue of the right new Nfrt, found in her tomb at Mejdum. It shows her enveloped in a cloak of this type, see Borchardt, *op. cit.*, vol.I, pl.1, no.4.

(44) The Egyptian Expedition 1933/34, The Excavations at Idisht, Section II of the E.M.M.A. for November 1934, fig.29. It has been suggested that, if these small figures represented concubines, rather than toys, the reason for terminating them at the knee might be to ensure that, in the Hereafter, the girls they represented would have no power to run away from their masters.

(45) The Egyptian Expedition 1922/23, The Excavations at Thebes Part II of the B.M.M.A. for December 1923, fig.15. Similarly the so-called paddle dolls, with their emphasis on the pubic triangle, are unlikely to be children's toys.

(46) Usually there are one or two long strings of beads represented, but in an unpublished grave at Sedment (see above note 18), the occupant, a girl of about six, was wearing five strings of beads, which passed round the body from the left shoulder, round the right hip, and across the back to the left shoulder again.

(47) The Egyptian Expedition 1922/23, The Excavations at Thebes Part II of the B.M.M.A. for December 1923, fig.20, and Winlock, *op. cit.*, ps.74 and 129/130.

(48) For an analysis of the various types of female figurine see Horablower, "Predynastic Figures of Women and their Successors", *J.E.A.*, 1929, vol.XV, ps.29/47, and Desroches Noblecourt, "Concubines du morts et mères de familles au Moyen Empire", *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1953, vol.LIII, ps.7/47.

(49) The statue of the rlt nsw Nfrt (see above note 43) clearly shows that she was wearing a wig over her own hair. Of an even earlier date is the stela of a sjt nsw found at Sakkarā. She is depicted wearing a coiffure so heavy and elaborate that at least some false tresses must have been required to produce the effect, see Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, pl.32a.

(50) Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, p.10.

(51) A fragment of relief from the tomb of the King's Wife Nfrw, now in the Brooklyn Museum No51.231), shows hairdressers pinning a lock of false hair on to the coiffure of their mistress, see Riefstahl, *J.N.E.S.*, 1956, vol.XV, pls.VIII, IX and X. A similar scene occurs on the sarcophagus of Kywt, see Naville, *The Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, vol.I, pl.XX. Bundles of false hair have also been found, see, for example, *The Egyptian Expedition 1930/31, The Excavations at Thebes, Section II of the B.M.M.A. for March 1932* fig.34 and p.35. The practice of using pieces of false hair must have originated at a very early date, because a false plait and a false fringe of hair were found in the tomb of Zer at Abydos, see Petrie, *Abydos*, vol.I, pl.IV:7.

(52) e.g. The statue of Sunwy, which is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (no.14.720). She is shown wearing the simplest and most popular of the styles discussed here. For two good photographs, see Wenig, *The Woman in Egyptian Art*, pls.28/29.

(53) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pls.X, and XXXV, and Cairo stela 20236.

(54) e.g. Chassinat and Palanque, *op. cit.*, pl.III. The mummy mask in tomb 17 had a wig made of beads arranged in layers representing curls. Unfortunately, it disintegrated on touch.

(55) The nearest parallel of this style comes from the New Kingdom and shows a single, elaborate plait, worn with short hair, e.g. Boreux, *La sculpture Égyptienne au Musée du Louvre*, pl.30.

(56) This method of dressing the hair went out of fashion among mortal women at the end of the Middle Kingdom, but was retained into the Graeco-Roman period as the distinctive hair style of the goddess Hathor, and was shown on the capitals of Hathor columns.

(57) e.g. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahshour Mars-Juin 1894*, pl.XX.


(58) For a recent analysis of Middle Kingdom scarabs the reader is referred to Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals*, principally of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

(59) Théodore Davis thought he had found one such crown in the so-called tomb of Queen Tiy, but in fact it was a funerary ornament. See Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, pl.XX.

(60) Such a structure would be well within the capabilities of the Egyptian goldsmiths. For a diadem requiring comparable precision in measurement and manufacture see Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*, pl.III.

(61) e.g. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, vol.III, pl.VII, The four guardian goddesses of the canopic shrine are thought to be carved in the likeness of Queen 'nh, s-n²-Imn. See also B.I.F.A.O. 1953, vol.LIII, pl.III, where the same head-cloth is worn by priestesses in a funeral procession.

(62) Winlock, *Materials used at the Embalming of King Tut-ankh-Amen*, p.10 and pl.VII:F.

(63) Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, p.43. It is suggested that this is a representation of the  . h3t-headdress.

(64) J.N.E.S., 1956, vol.XV, pl.XII.

(65) This head is now in the Cairo Museum (no.4252). For a good colour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, *op. cit.*, pl.32.

(66) Large hair rings of this type were certainly worn in the New Kingdom as actual examples have been found, e.g. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses*, pl.VI.

(67) Even in the early Old Kingdom, this type of collar was so well-established that it was acceptable to illustrate it on funeral statues, e.g. the statue of the ḥt nsw Kfrt (see above note 43). By the early Middle Kingdom these broad collars had acquired the status of popular cult objects, and fifteen different named types are to be found in the friezes of the painted coffins of the period.

(68) Beads from the grave of Hmt at Dahshur have been reassembled in the Cairo Museum into an open-work collar with hawk-headed clasps.

(69) e.g. Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, p.57, note that, "The bead collars, for instance, would not have stood hard usage, and the bracelets and the anklets were not made to go all the way round, but were just laid in position and kept in place with the bandages".

(70) It is surprising that no pectoral was found in the grave of Sbty. Either she did not possess one, or her heirs were reluctant to part with it.

(71) e.g. Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, Frontispiece, and Farag and Iskander, *The Discovery of Nefertah*, pl.L.

(72) e.g.  'nh,  ān, and  , s3.

(73) See above note 69.

(74) Antaeopolis, pl.XXIV.

(75) e.g. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, vol.II, Frontispiece.

- (76) Chassinat and Palanque, *op. cit.*, pls. IX and X.
- (77) e.g. Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII/XXIII, and Farag and Iskander, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII.
- (78) The most comprehensive collection was found in the grave of Snbṭisy, see Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX.
- (79) e.g. Mond and Myers, *Temples of Amant*, pl. XCVI.
- (80) e.g. Jequier, *La Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, p. 26, fig. 33, and p. 30, fig. 37.
- (81) Jequier, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 3.
- (82) e.g. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 49.
- (83) e.g. Garstang. *op. cit.*, fig. 99.
- (84) The sandals on the statue of Snt, found in her tomb at Thebes were painted red, indicating presumably that they were made of dyed leather Antefokar, p. 2.

Excursuses

- (1) Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten in Museum von Kairo*, vols. I and II. *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*.
- (2) Since many of the statues and statuettes either were never inscribed, or have had their inscriptions badly damaged, the number of specimens available for study is relatively small.
- (3) In his recent essay on the reign of Hatshepsut, Redford suggested that the queen was seeking "to modify the basis of Egyptian kingship and succession" so that "the succession itself, and not merely the power to legitimise succession, was now to pass through the queens" See Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, ps. 84/85.

(4) Taking the definition of matriarchy to be a society where women hold the wealth and power, where matrilineal descent only is recognised, and where matrilocal or avunculocal residence is preferred, probably together with a strong avunculate, then matriarchy, in its strictest sense, is, in fact, never found, though some groups, such as the Khasi of Assam, approach close to it. See Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p.189f.

(5) The practice of constantly dividing an inheritance, the custom of young couples establishing themselves in houses of their own on marriage, and the settled and stable nature of life in Pharaonic Egypt, so influenced the evolution of the family and society that, whatever the emotional ties binding members of a family, and whatever the strength of local loyalties and rivalries that united members of a village community, ancient Egyptian society as a whole was not subject to the rigidity of the tribal and clan organisation, which has dominated the lives of many peoples.

(6) Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p.27, 6:4/5, and Caninos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, ps. 95/99, 6:4/5.

(7) Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, pl.5, line 10

(8) Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, pl.XII, line 13.

(9) Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, p.40, line P304.

(10) Černý, *J.E.A.*, 1954, vol.XI, p.27.

(11) e.g. *J.E.A.*, 1961, vol.XLVII, pl.III. The owner of this stela is named Imny, and his mother is Nbt-It.f, while their 3rd servant rejoices in the name of Snb-Imny-Nbt-It.f, i.e. "Imny and Nbt-It.f are healthy". Similar, though simpler, examples occur elsewhere, such as on Metropolitan Museum of Art stela 63.154, where the owner is Rn-snb and his servant is Snb-Rn-snb, see Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* pl.81.

(12) This might be likely if the woman was of foreign origin. For comments on the names of Asiatic servants in Egypt, see Hayes, A Papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, ps.92/99.

(13) For example, there is a most interesting unpublished stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E.6.1909), belonging to the ḥnt nsw ḥnt nt Hḥr Hm-R'. This stela, dated to the late Old Kingdom, is made in the form of a false door, and shows figures of Hm-R' alone, making no reference to any member of her family. Besides the regular prayers for food offerings, the inscriptions also record the formulae, often found on stelae and in the tomb biographies of certain male officials, which claim that the owner was one who fed the hungry and clothed the naked.

(14) A ḥnt is portrayed kneeling with her son on a stela from el Arabah, but this is an exceptional case, and it has been suggested that she could have been the concubine of the owner of the stela, see above p. 235 , el Arabah, pl.XIII, E.312.

(15) e.g. the four stela belonging to the imy-r mš' wr Imy, see above p. 115.

(16) e.g. Cairo stela 20455.

(17) e.g. Cairo stela 20287.

(18) e.g. Cairo stelae 20139 and 20541.

(19) e.g. Cairo stela 20079.

(20) e.g. British Museum stela, vol.I, pl.53.

(21) e.g. Cairo stela 20534, Leiden, pl.II, no.3, and Louvre stela C.167, pl.LV.

(22) e.g. Louvre stela C.173, pl.XXIX, Guimet, C.7, pl.VI, and Cairo stelae 20092 and 20322.

(23) e.g. J.E.A., 1939, vol.XV, pl.XXI:3.

(24) e.g. Leiden stela, pl.XIII, no.30.

(25) e.g. Cairo stela 20096.

(26) e.g. British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.15, Louvre stela C.15, pl.LIV and Leiden stela pl.XXVIII, no.38.

(27) e.g. Cairo stelae 20475 and 20535. In both cases the woman behind the chair is drawn on a smaller scale than the seated couple.

(28) e.g. Leiden stela, pl.XI, no.12.

(29) e.g. Cairo stelae 20025, 20152, and 20255. On Florence stela 2553, photograph 34, the owner has three wives, one of whom stands behind his chair, while the other two are represented kneeling in the register beneath them.

(30) Even on the very rare occasions when one wife is said to be m3't hrw and the other is not, it cannot be assumed that this means the former woman was dead at the time the stela was commissioned and the other was alive. On Cairo stela 20535, for example, the wife standing behind the owner's chair is said to be m3't hrw, while the wife seated with him is not. An examination of the actual stela shows that there is no room round the seated figure for more hieroglyphs. Both women are said to be art.f. On Leiden stela pl.XXVIII, no.38, the wife seated with the owner is said to be hnt.f art.f im3hyt Hp, while the woman facing them across the offering table is hnt.f art.f im3hyt Snt m3't hrw. One daughter is shown standing behind Hp, and three sons follow Snt. This certainly could be interpreted to mean that Snt was the first, deceased wife, but here too, lack of space may have caused the omission of the words m3't hrw.

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Mother	911	Mother	202
Father	387	Father	19
Maternal grandmother	179	Maternal grandmother	19
Paternal grandmother	133	Paternal grandmother	5
Maternal grandfather	8	Maternal grandfather	3
Paternal grandfather	25	Paternal grandfather	1
Maternal great grandmother	24	Maternal great grandmother	2
Paternal great grandmother	16	Paternal great grandmother	0
Maternal great grandfather	1	Maternal great grandfather	1
Paternal great grandfather	3	Paternal great grandfather	0
Maternal aunt/uncle	78	Maternal aunt/uncle	6
Paternal aunt/uncle	31	Paternal aunt/uncle	0

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Maternal grandmother	42
Paternal grandmother	124
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Grandmothers	10
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CHART 3

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CHART 4

WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number Relationship to man opposite	hkr̄t nsw	hkr̄t nsw w'tt	hmt ntr Hthr	sar w'ty	hm ntr	Other principal titles
Cairo 20005 Wife		✓				sdjw bity (Seal- bearer of the King of Lower Egypt) and imy-r pr (Steward)
Cairo 20010 Wife of mother		✓	✓	✓		sdjw bity and imy-r pr šn (Overseer of the Labour Establishment).
Cairo 20013 Wife		✓		✓		shd n pr hd (Inspector of the Treasury) and imy-r šnwt (Overseer of the Granary).
Cairo 20058 Unknown	✓					Owned by a sjt̄ nsw (King's Daughter).
Cairo 20322 One is his wife	✓✓ ✓					imy-r tbw (Overseer of sandal-makers).
Cairo 20373 and Wife 20778	✓					imy-r n hwt ntr nt Inpw (Overseer of the temple of Anubis).
Cairo 20486 One is his wife	✓✓ ✓✓					sjb r Njn (Senior Warden of Nekhen).
Cairo 20507 Wife		✓		✓		
Cairo 20530 Wives	✓✓			✓ of Horus		
Cairo 20543	✓					She was a hmt nsw (King's Wife) and sjt̄ nsw.
Cairo 20661 Wife	✓					wr mdw Šm'w (Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt).
Cairo 20668 Mother and sister.	✓✓					

CHART 4. CONTINUED

WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number Relationship to man opposite	hkr̄t nsw	hkr̄t nsw w'tt	hmt ntr Hthr	sar w'ty	hm ntr	Other principal titles.
Cairo 20732 Wife	✓					s3 nsw tpy (King's Eldest Son).
Cairo 20770 Owner of stela		✓				
Louvre C.15 Wife		✓				
Louvre C.190 Wife		✓				Destroyed
Florence 6368 Wife		✓		✓		sḏ3w bity
Florence 6375 Wife		✓		✓	✓	
Süddeutschen Sammlungen, I, no.5. Wife	✓					sḏ ḏ3tt (Scribe of the estate) and sḏ hwt ntr (Scribe of the temple).
Süddeutschen Sammlungen, I, no.12. Wife		✓				imy-r pr
Süddeutschen Sammlungen, I, no.18. Wife		✓	✓	✓		Among others, sḏ3w bity and imy-r mš'
Cinquantenaire 4985. Wife.		✓	✓	✓		imy-r wihw (Overseer of the Offering Table).
Cinquantenaire 480. Daughters.	✓ ✓					Destroyed.

CHART 4. CONTINUED

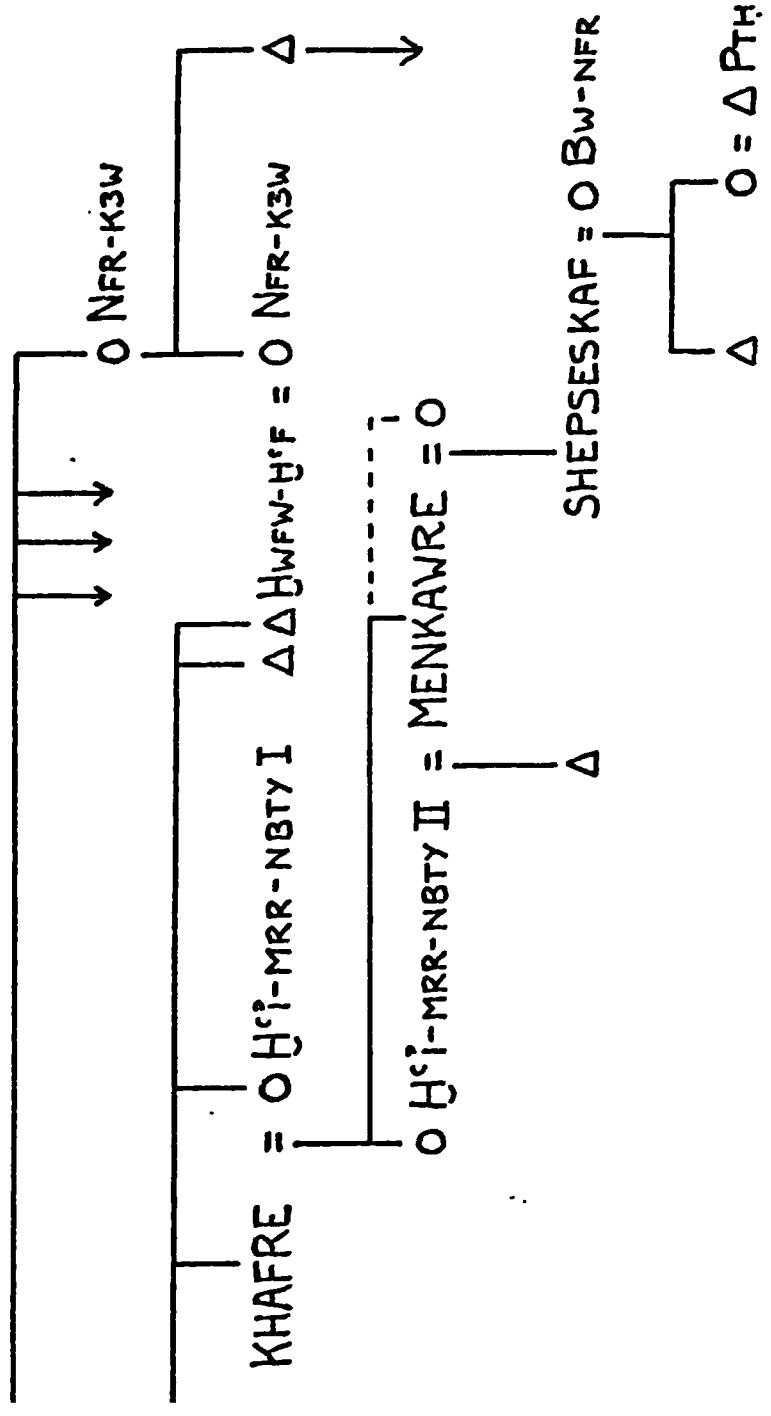
WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number. Relationship to man opposite	hkrt nsw	hkrt nsw w'tt	hmt ntr Hthr	smr w'ty	hm ntr	Other principal titles.
Brit. Mus., III pl.32. Wife		✓	✓			sd3w b3ty and hry-hb (Lector priest).
Brit. Mus., IV pl.19. Wife	✓					sš hwt ntr
Bolton, 10/20/ 12. Wife	✓					rj nsw (King's Acquaintance).
Berlin 7512. Wife		✓	✓	✓		
Berlin 7287 Mother	✓					s3b r Nhn
Berlin 13774/5.		✓	✓			Coffins. Male relatives unknown.
Athens, pl.III no.10. Wife and 2 daughters.	✓✓ ✓					wr mdw Šm'w
Field 31679 Wife	✓					w'rtw n jt hk3 (Controller of the Ruler's Table).
el Arabah pl.XIII, E.172. Wife.	✓					w'rtw n jt hk3.
J.E.A., vol. XXXIII, pl.II. Wives of a father and son.	✓ ✓				✓ ✓	Both shd tpy hmw ntr Hr Nhn (Chief Inspect- or of Horus of Nekhen) and imy-r 3ht (Over- seer of the fields).
J.E.A., vol. XLVII, pl.I Wife.		✓		✓		wdpw (Butler) and imy-r aftw nw pr Hww. (Overseer of Slaughterers of the house of Khuu).

WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number. Relationship to man opposite	hkrt nsw	hkrt nsw w'tt	hnt ntr Hthr	smr w'ty	hm ntr	Other principal titles.
M.D.I.K., vol. IV, Abb. 11 Mother and wife.		✓✓	✓		✓	
B.I.F.A.O., vol. XXXVII, p. 101, no.8, Wife.		✓	✓		✓	sd3w bity.
B.I.F.A.O., vol. XXXVII, p. 108, no.21. Sister.	✓					w'rtw n tt hk3. Their father was an iny-r m3'.
Rec. de Trav., vol. VII, p.180 no.6. Wife.	✓					w'rtw n tt hk3.
Zagreb, ps.18/9, no.6. Unknown.	✓					Joint owners both nfw (Sailors).
Mo'alla. Wife of 'nh-tify		✓	✓			Provincial nobleman with usual titles.
el Kab. Concubine ?	✓					Provincial nobleman with usual titles.
Ekhnfa no.26 Wife.		✓	✓			Provincial nobleman with usual titles.
Ekhnfa no.4.		✓				She owns the tomb. No known male relatives.
Ekhnfa no.14 Wife.		✓				Provincial nobleman with usual titles.
Ekhnfa no.18.		✓				Owner of the tomb. No known male relatives.

CHART 4 CONTINUED

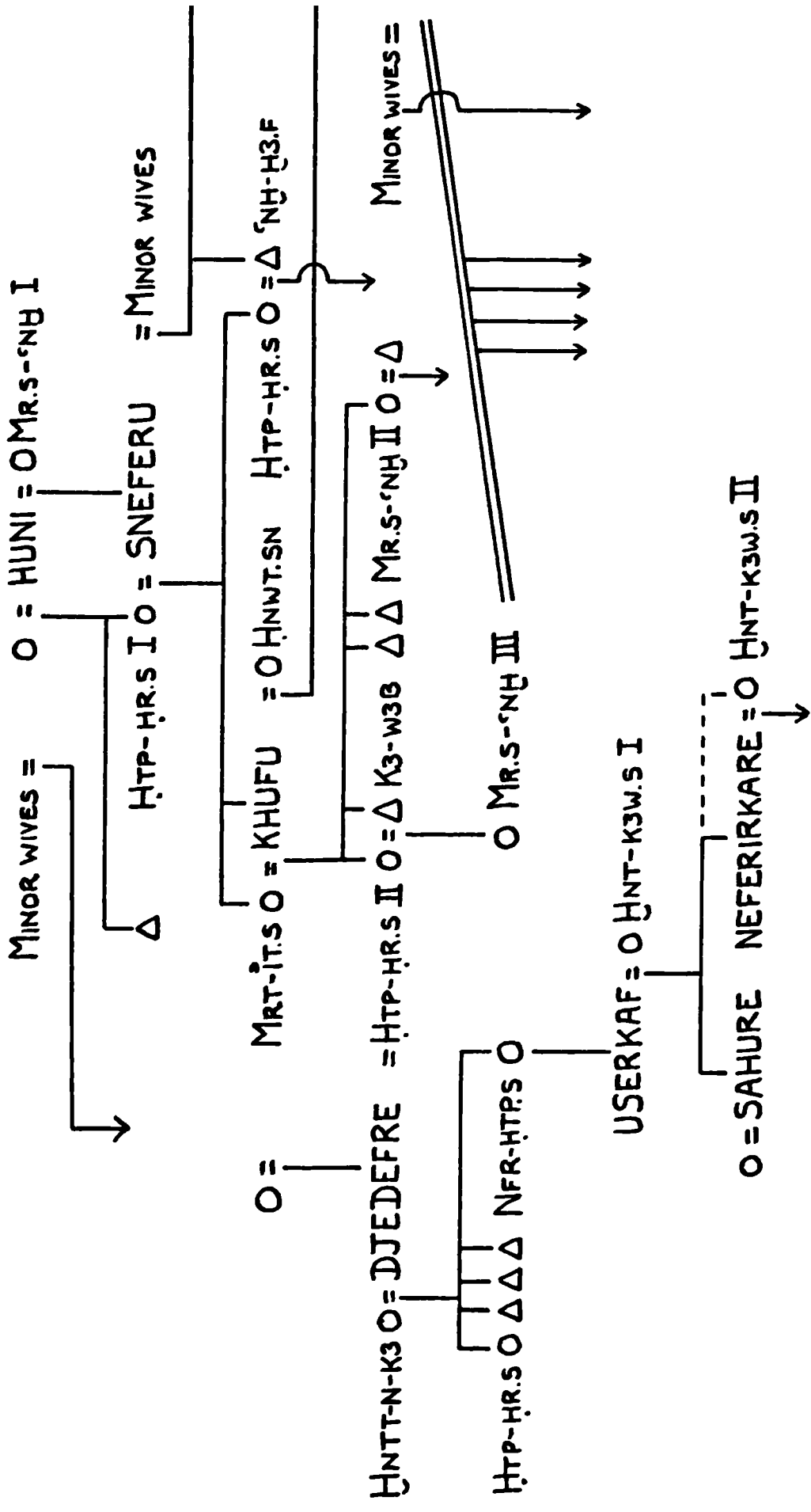
WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number Relationship to man opposite	<u>hkrt</u> nsw	<u>hkrt</u> nsw w'tt	<u>hmt</u> ntr Hthr	<u>smr</u> w'ty	<u>hm</u> ntr	Other principal titles.
Siut and Rifeh pl.13. Wife or mother.		✓	✓	✓		hry-tp '3 (Great Chief)
D.XI temple at Deir el Bahari Wives or concubines.	✓✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓✓ ✓	✓✓ ✓✓ ✓			The Pharaoh Nebhepetre Mentuhotep
Lacau, Sarcophages 28001 28002 28006 28008 28010 28011 28013 28015 28017 28018 28025/6 28030	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓			Since all these are coffins, the names of husbands do not occur.

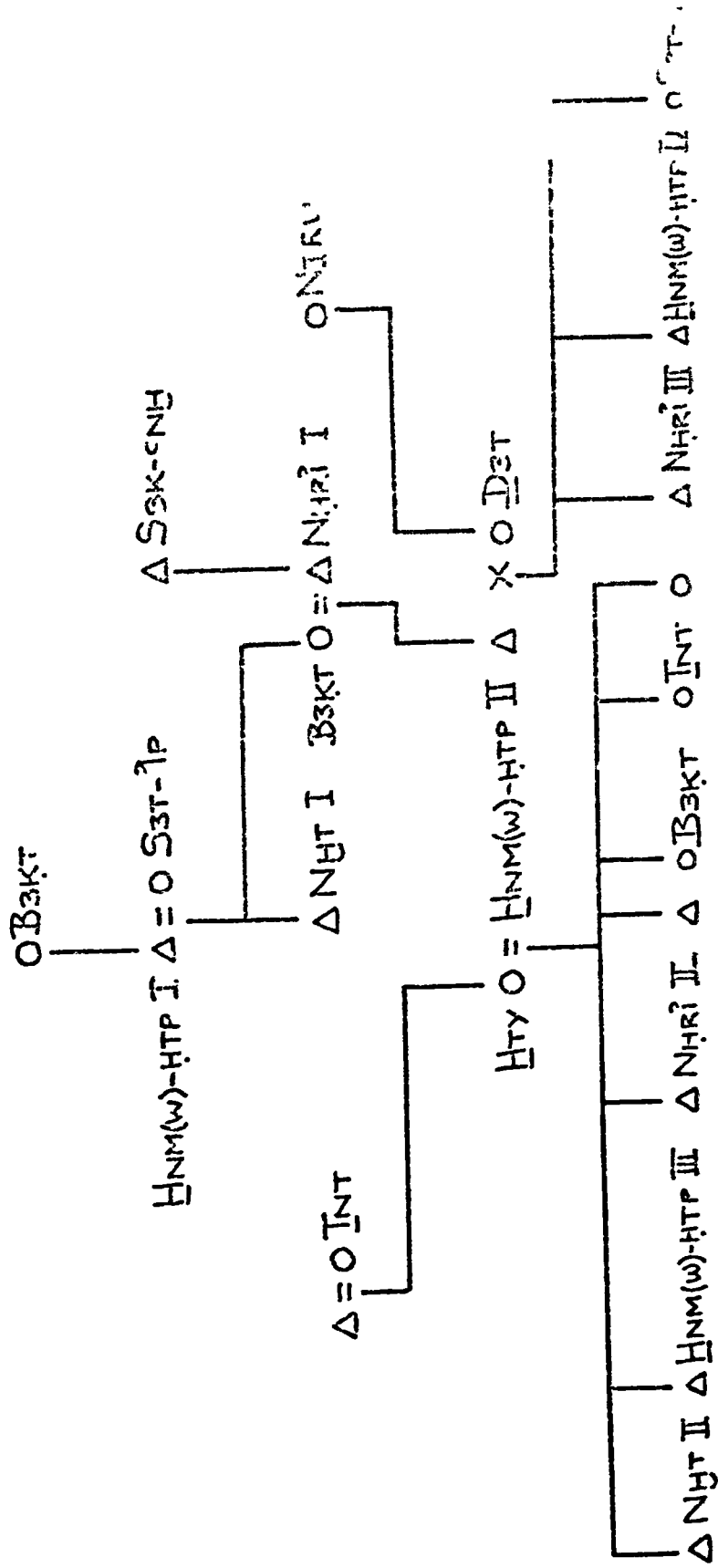
40 38 26



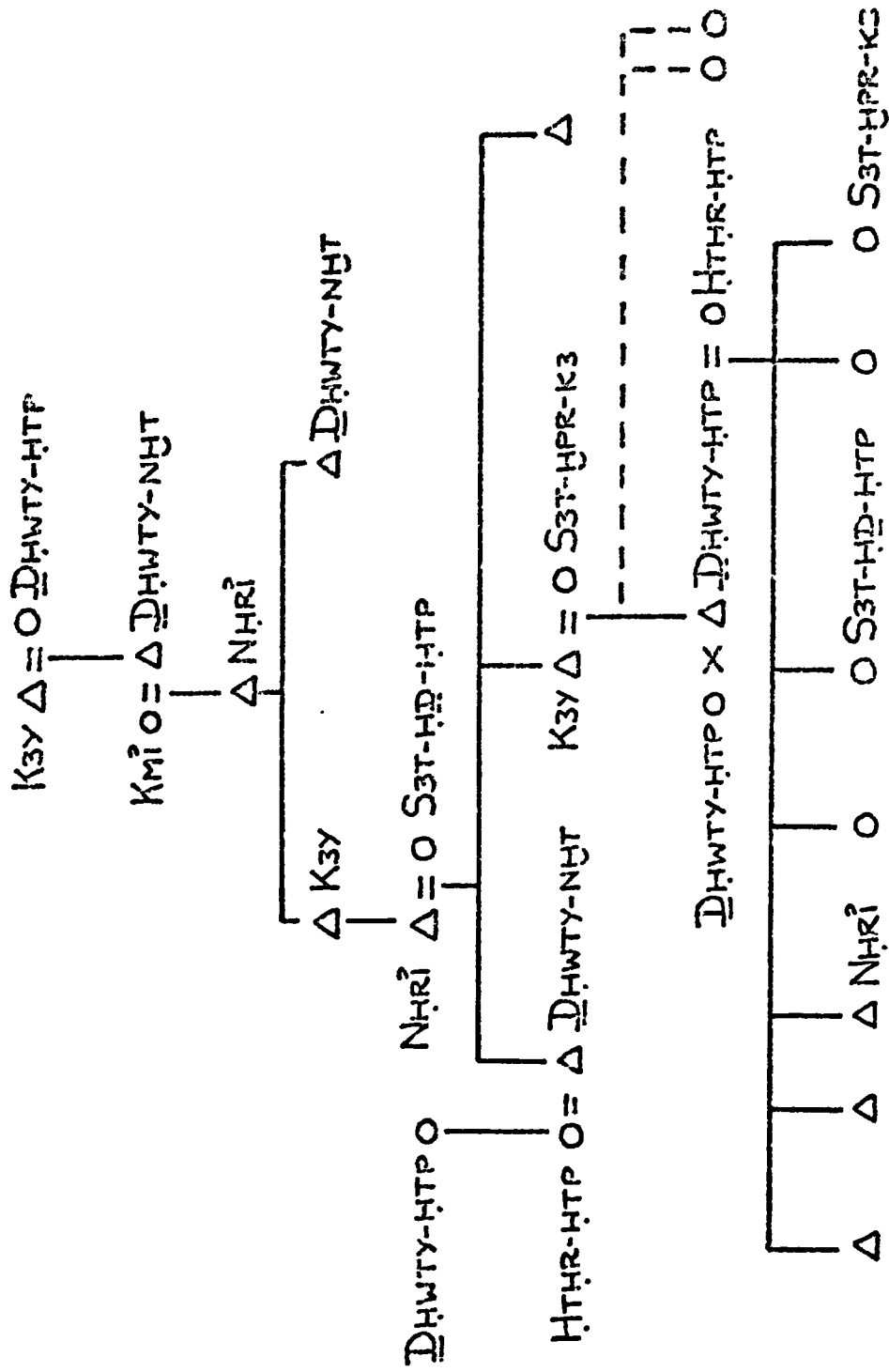
Pl. I

The Royal Family of the Fourth Dynasty

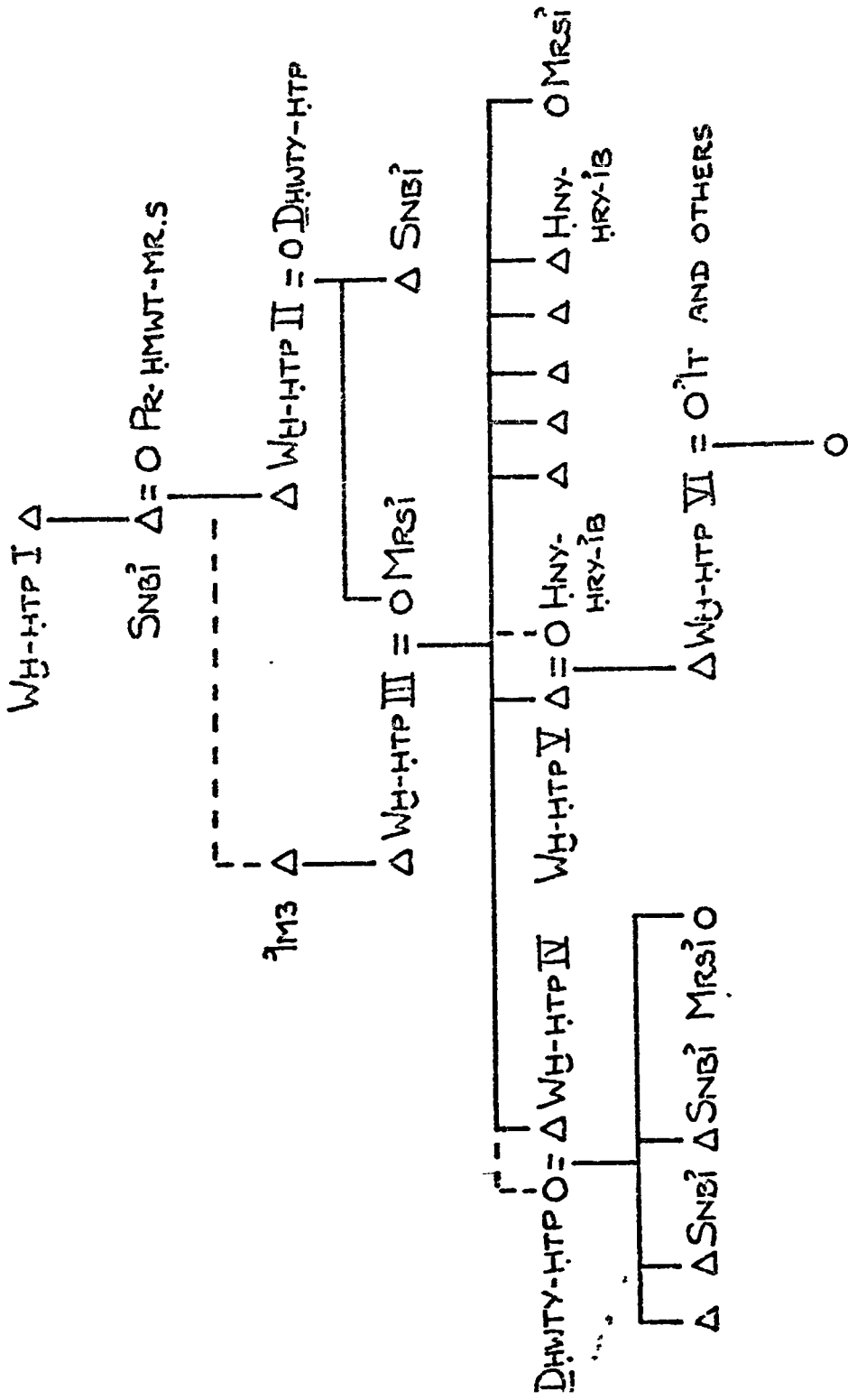




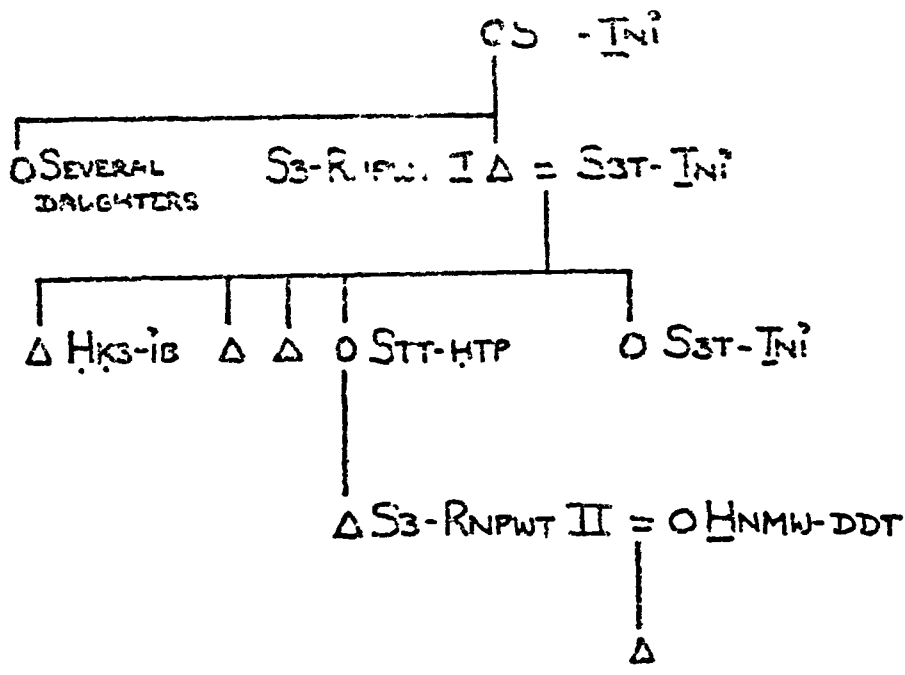
The Family of $\overline{HNM(w)-HTP II}$ of Beni Hasan



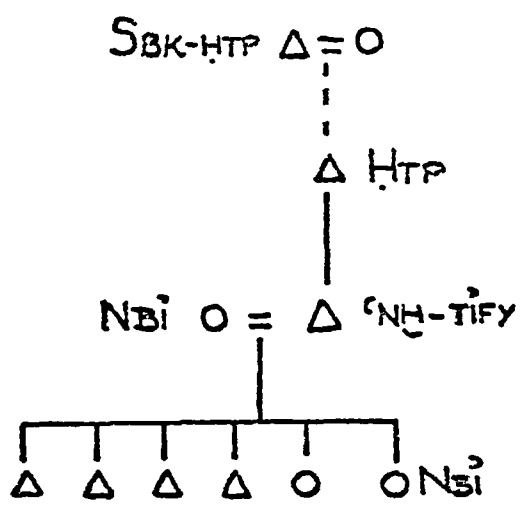
The Family of D̄HWTY-HTP of e1 Bersheh



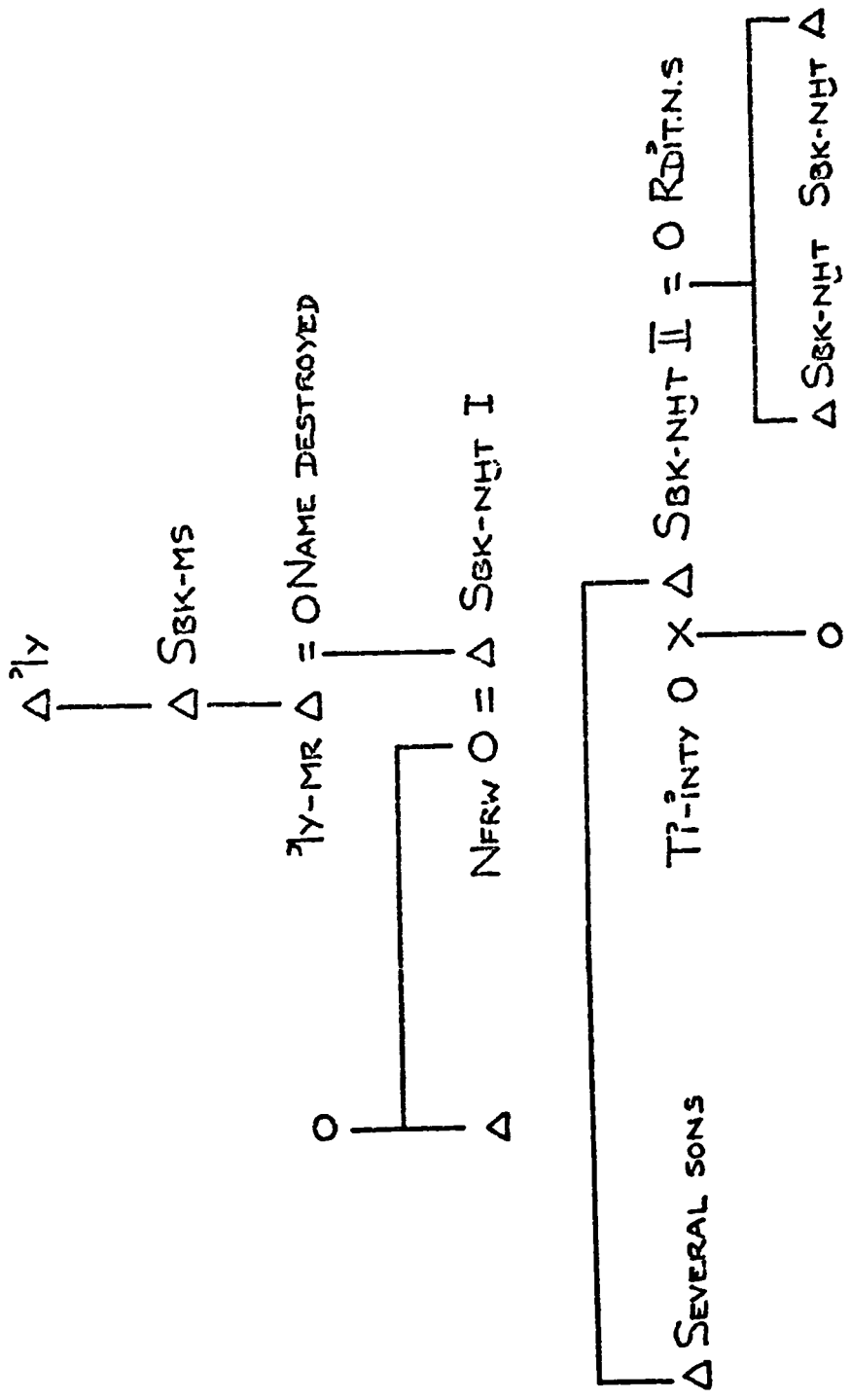
The Family of Wh-hTp VI of Meir



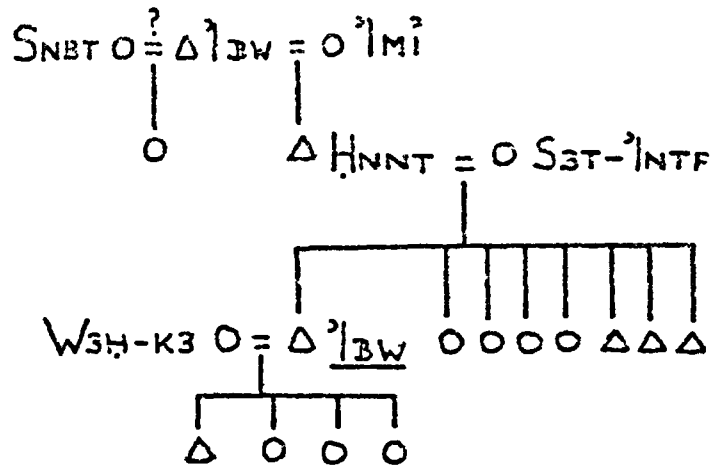
The Family of S3-Rnpwt II of Elephantine



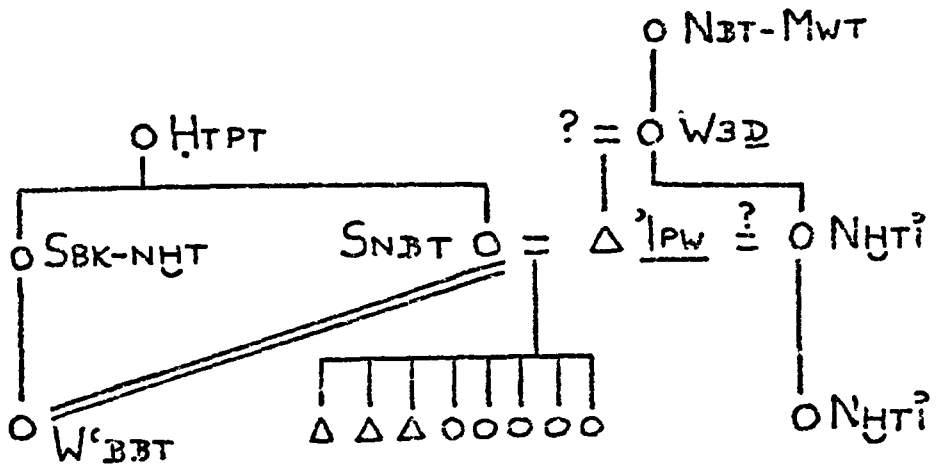
The Family of 'nh-tify of Mo'alla



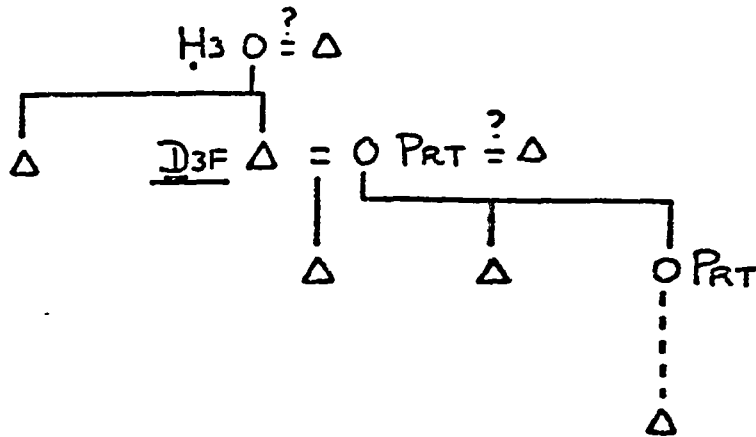
The Family of Sbk-nht II of el Kub



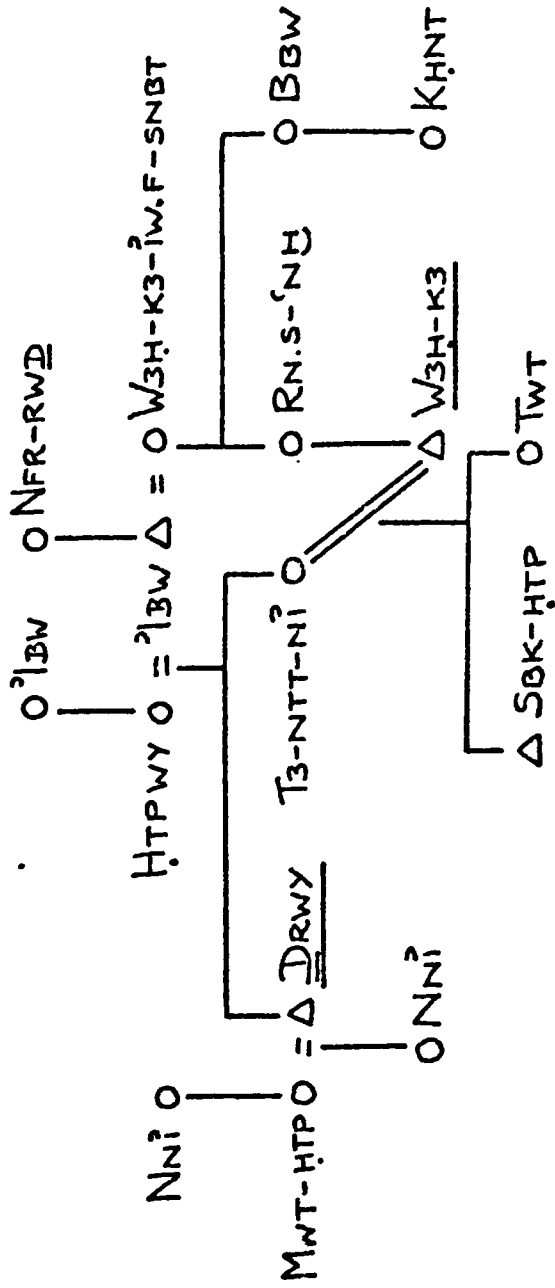
Cairo stela 20022



Cairo stela 20025

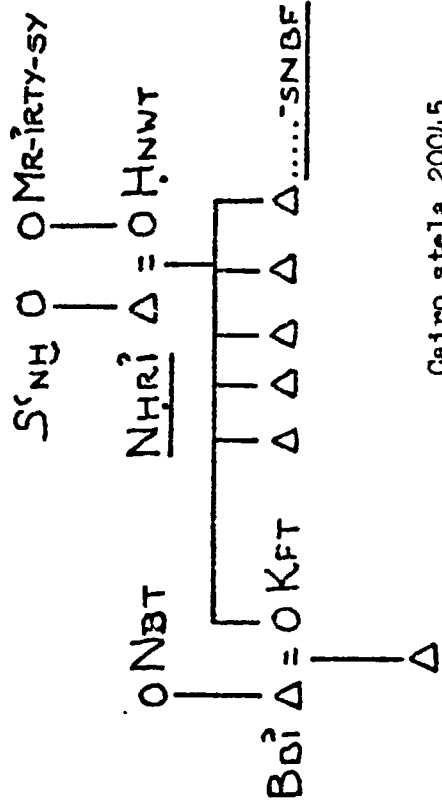


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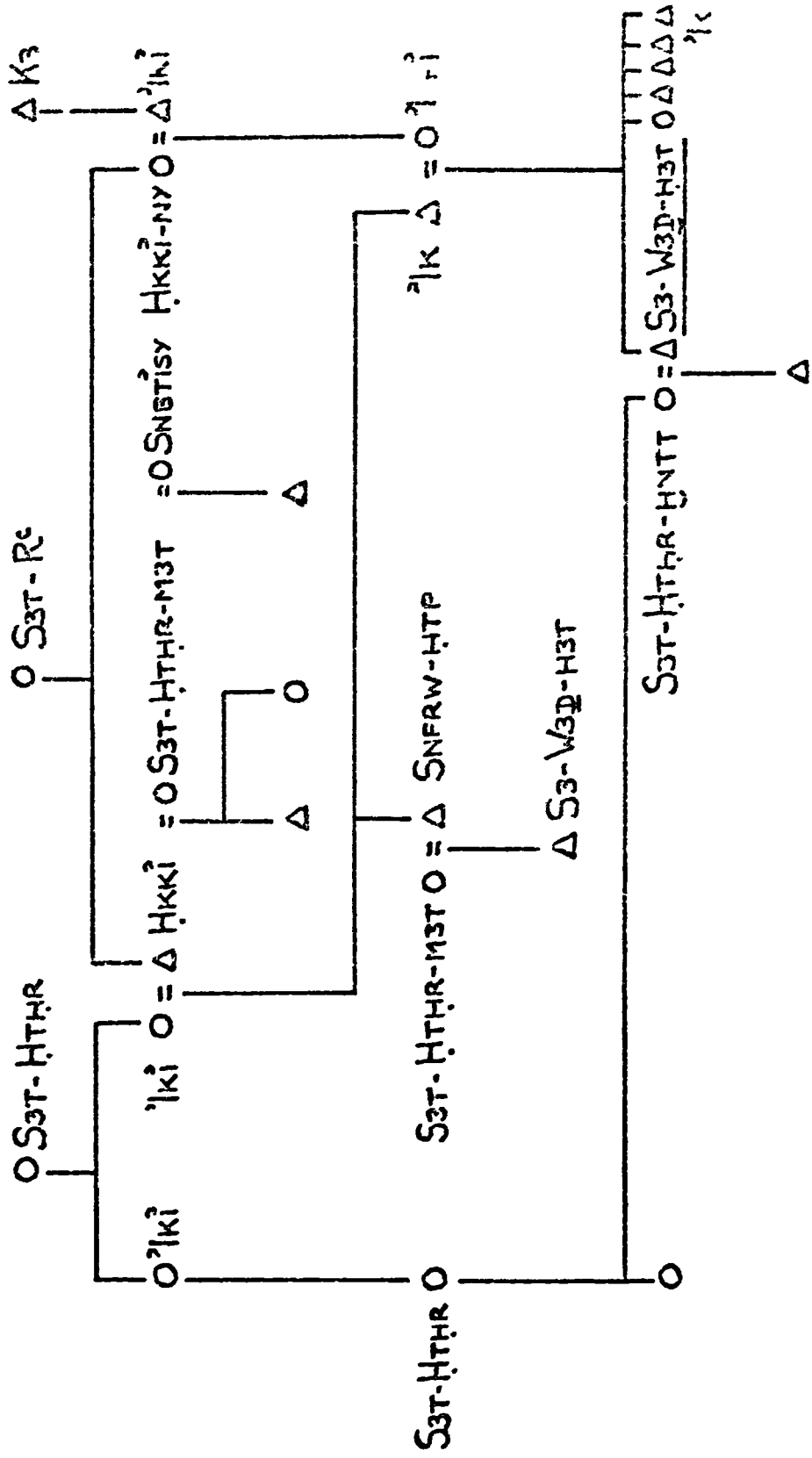


Cairo stela 20043

and 20681

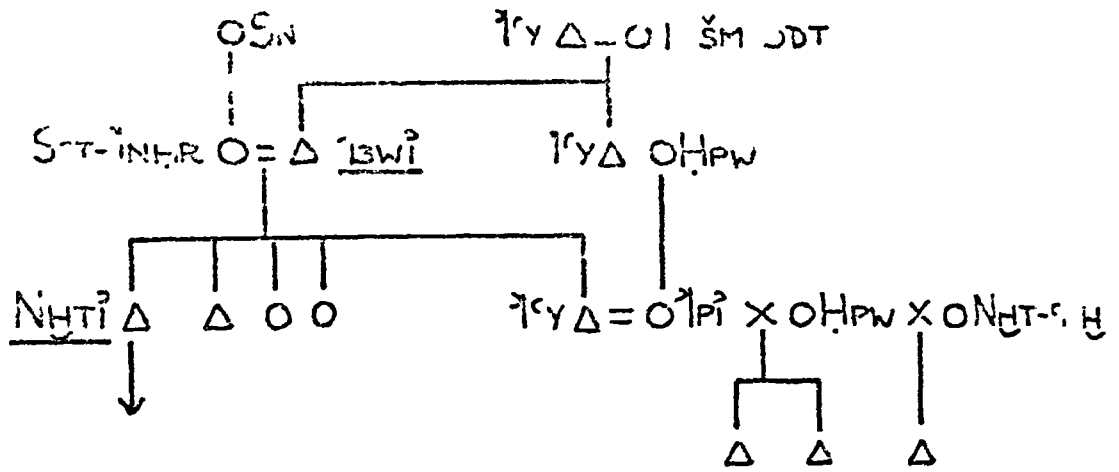


Cairo stela 20045

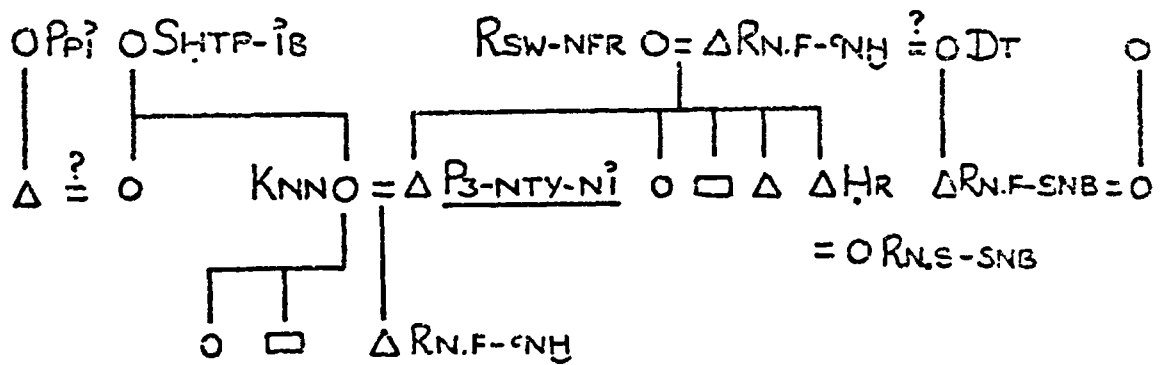


20

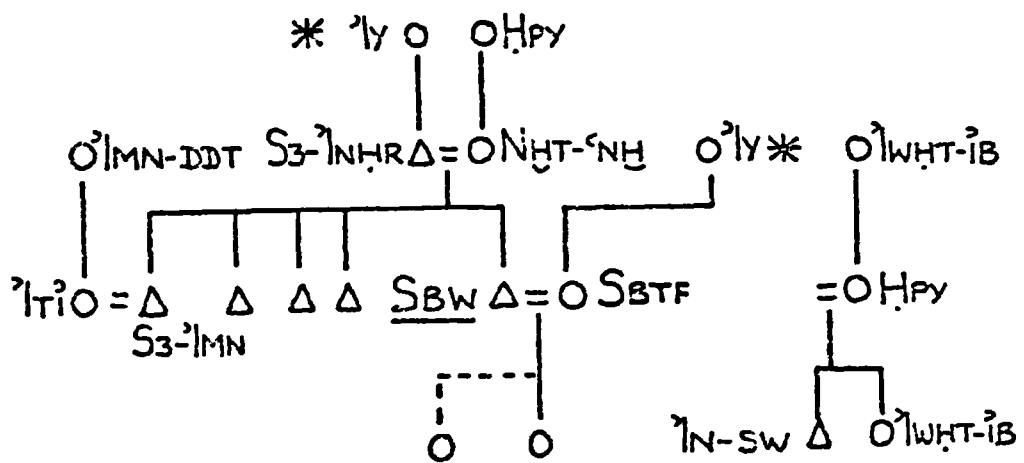
Сайт сайта 20051



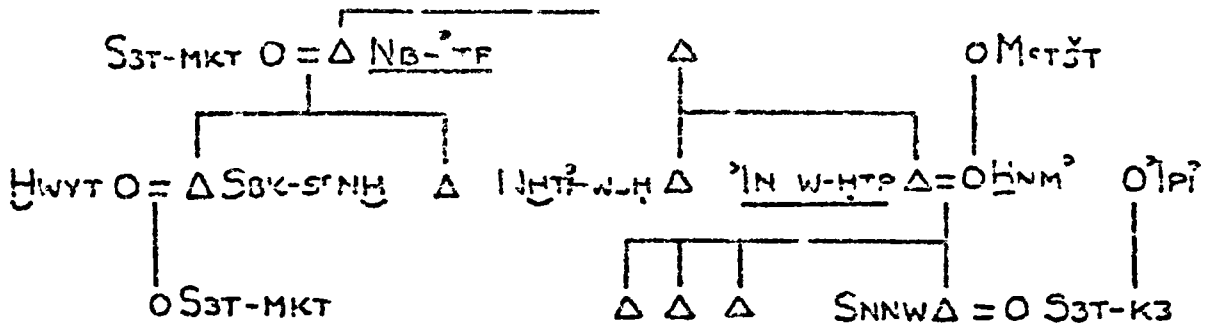
Cairo stela 20057



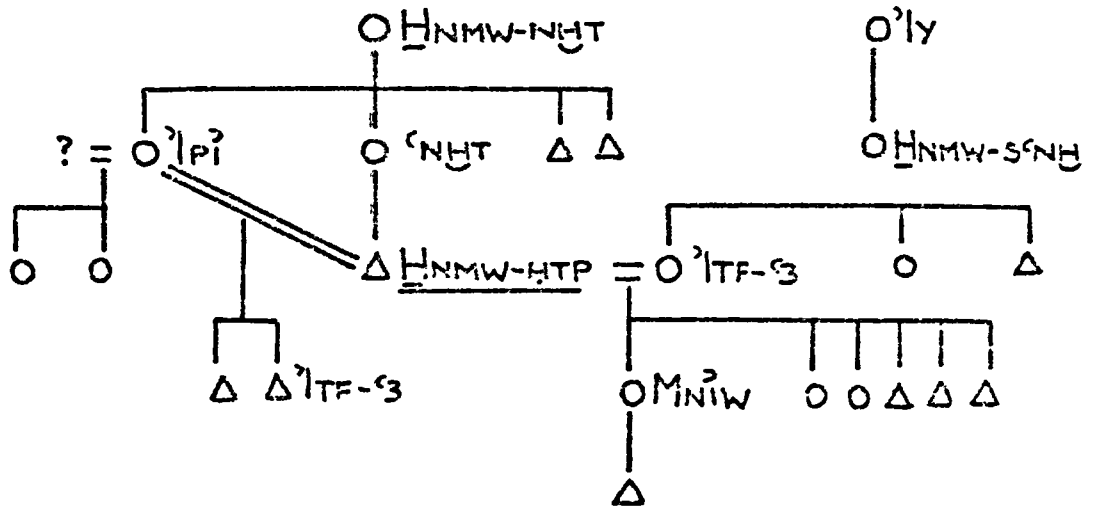
Cairo stela 20062



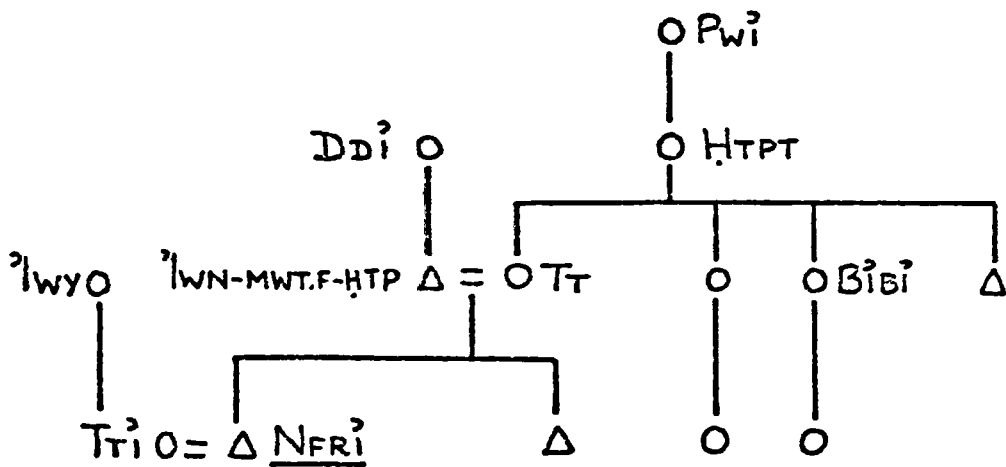
Cairo stela 20079



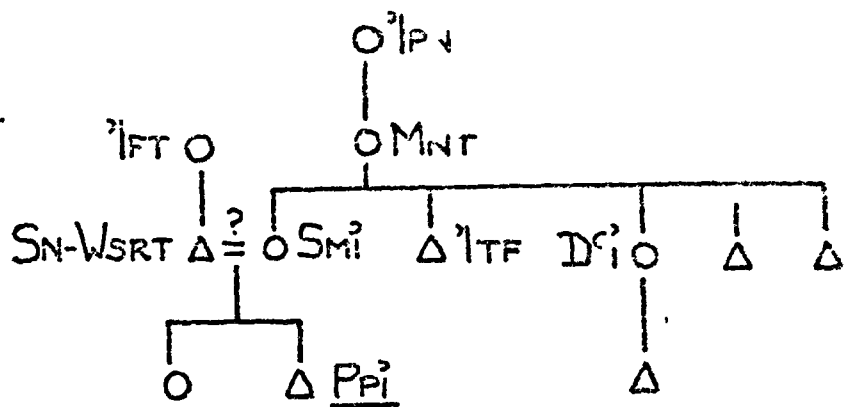
Cairo stela 20091



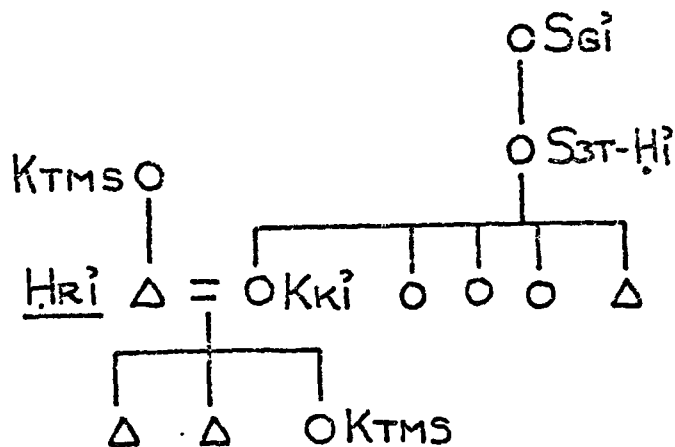
Cairo stela 20092



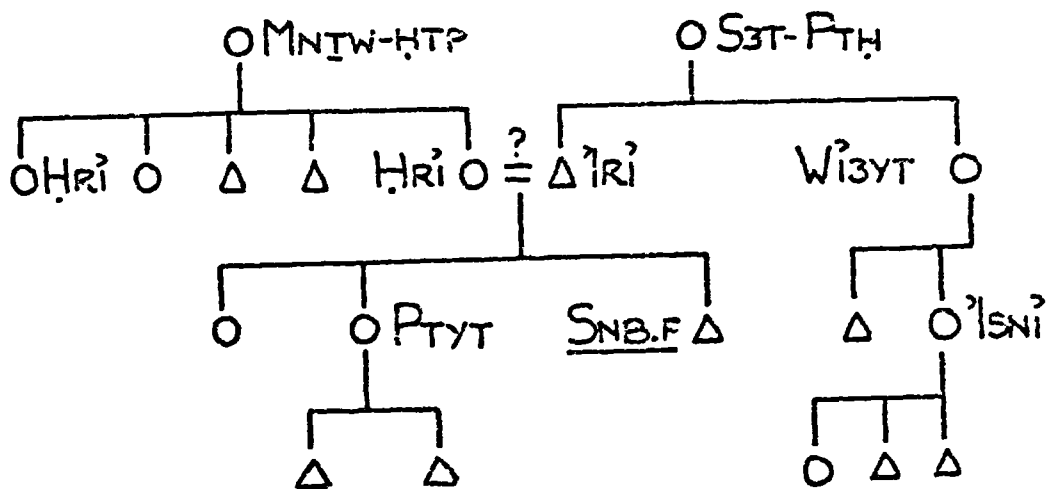
Cairo stela 20109



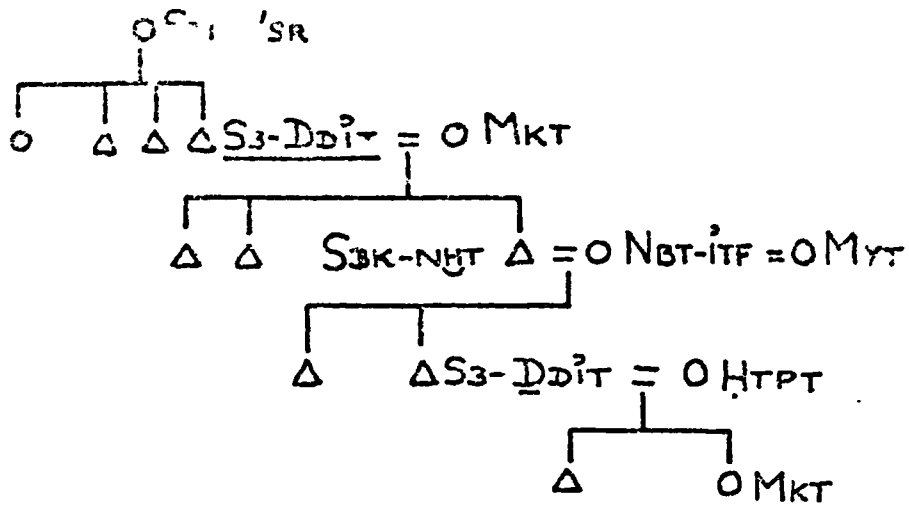
Cairo stela 20123



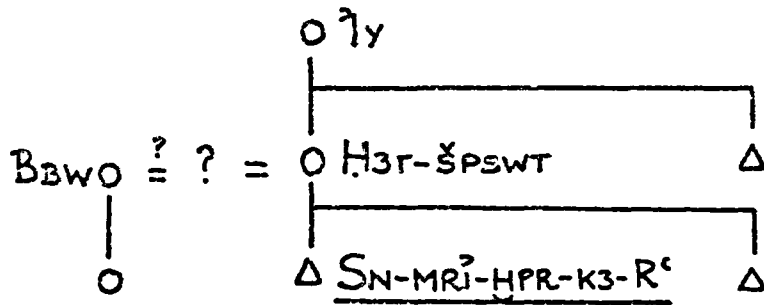
Cairo stela 20126



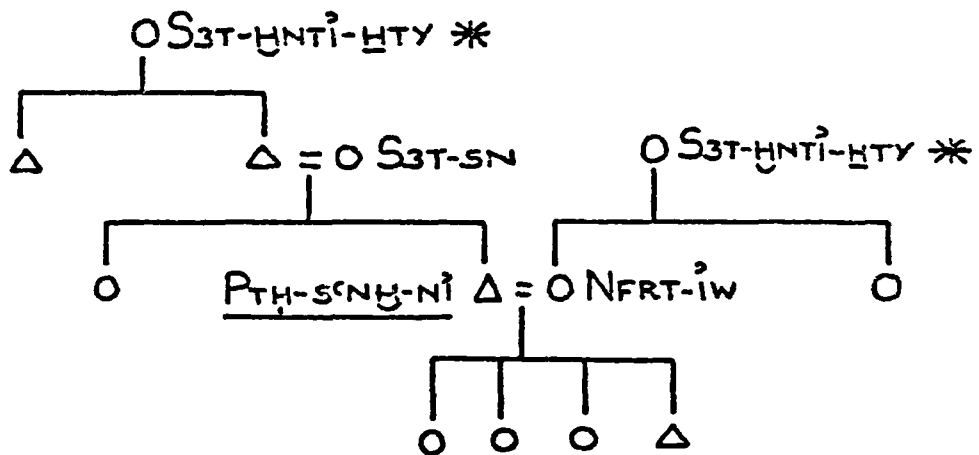
Cairo stela 20134



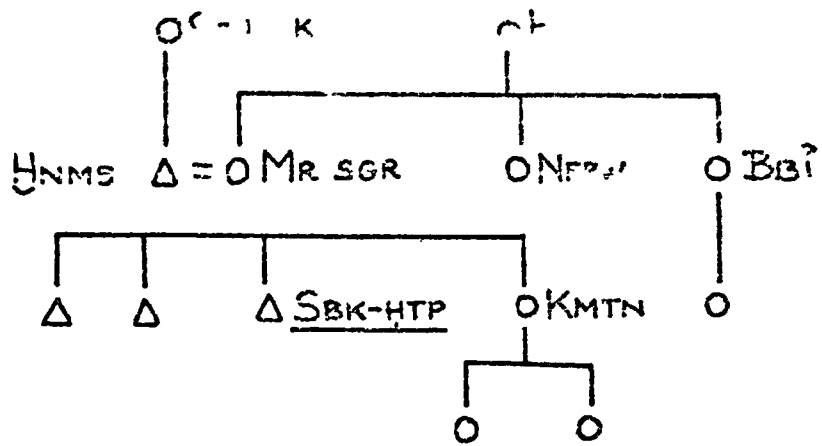
Cairo stela 20139



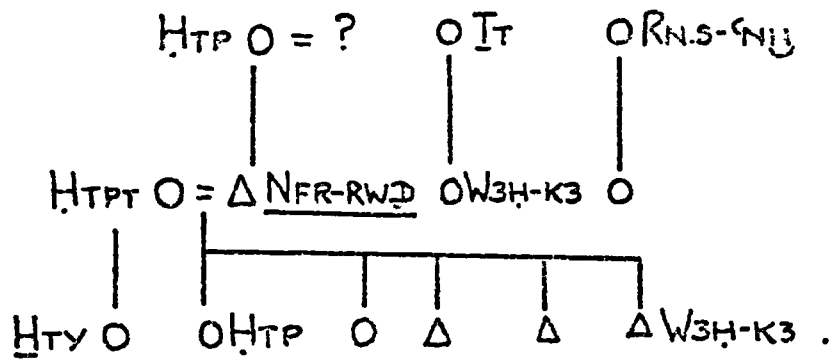
Cairo stela 20141



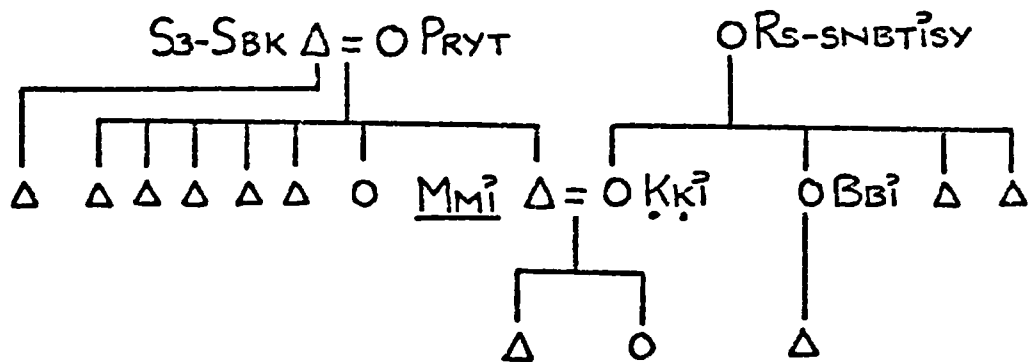
Cairo stela 20153



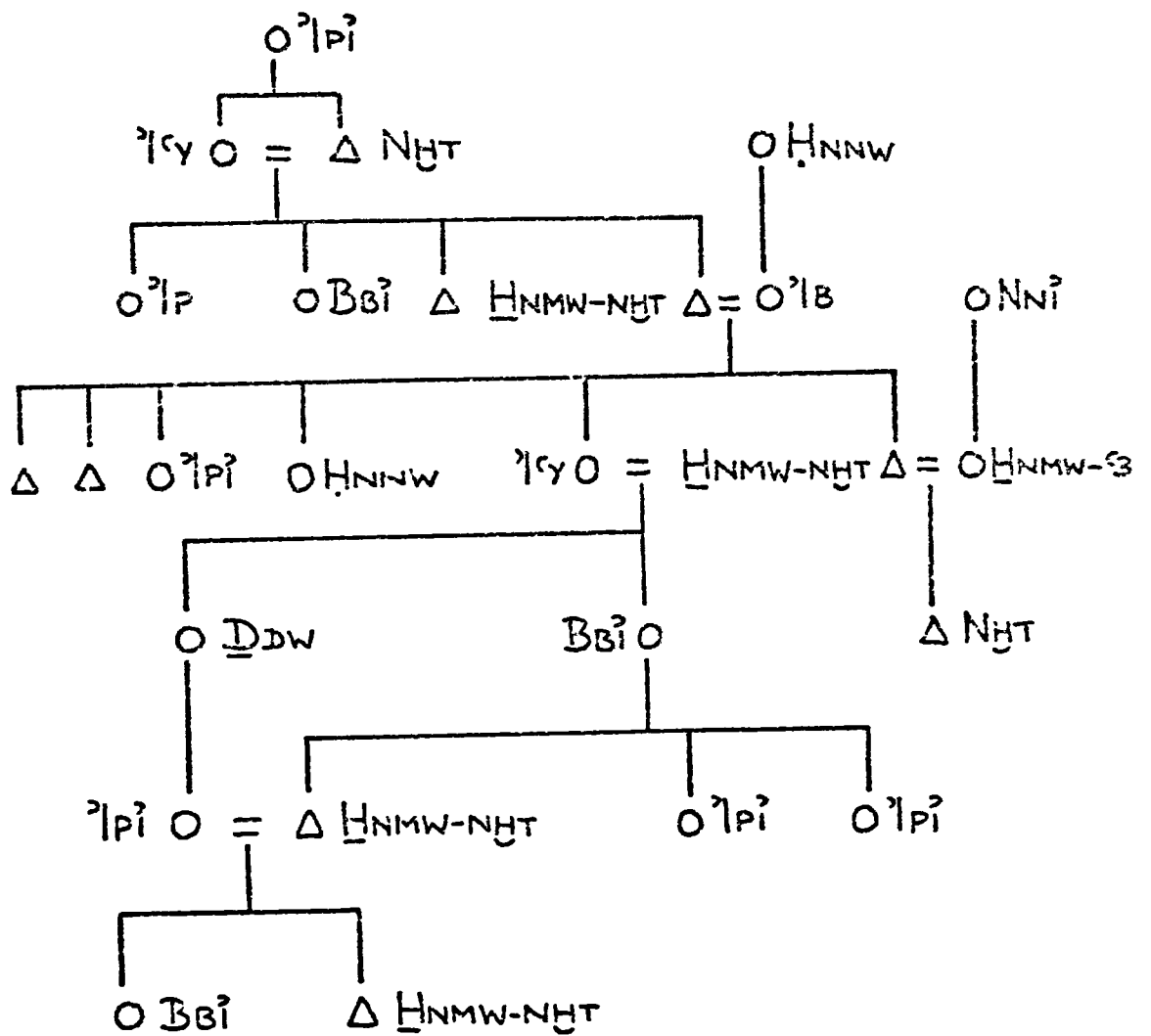
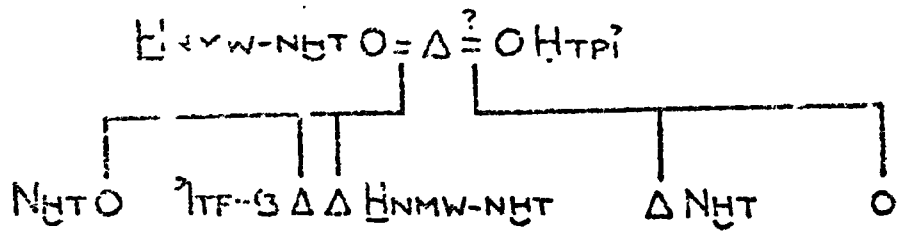
Cairo stela 20156



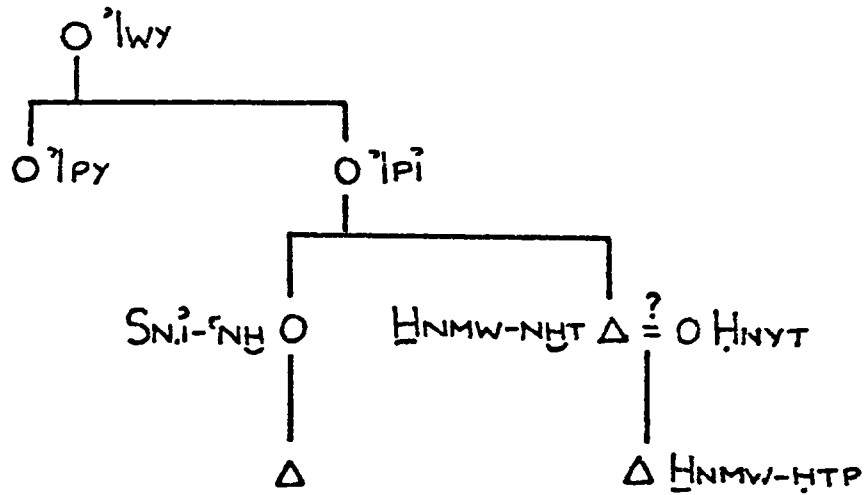
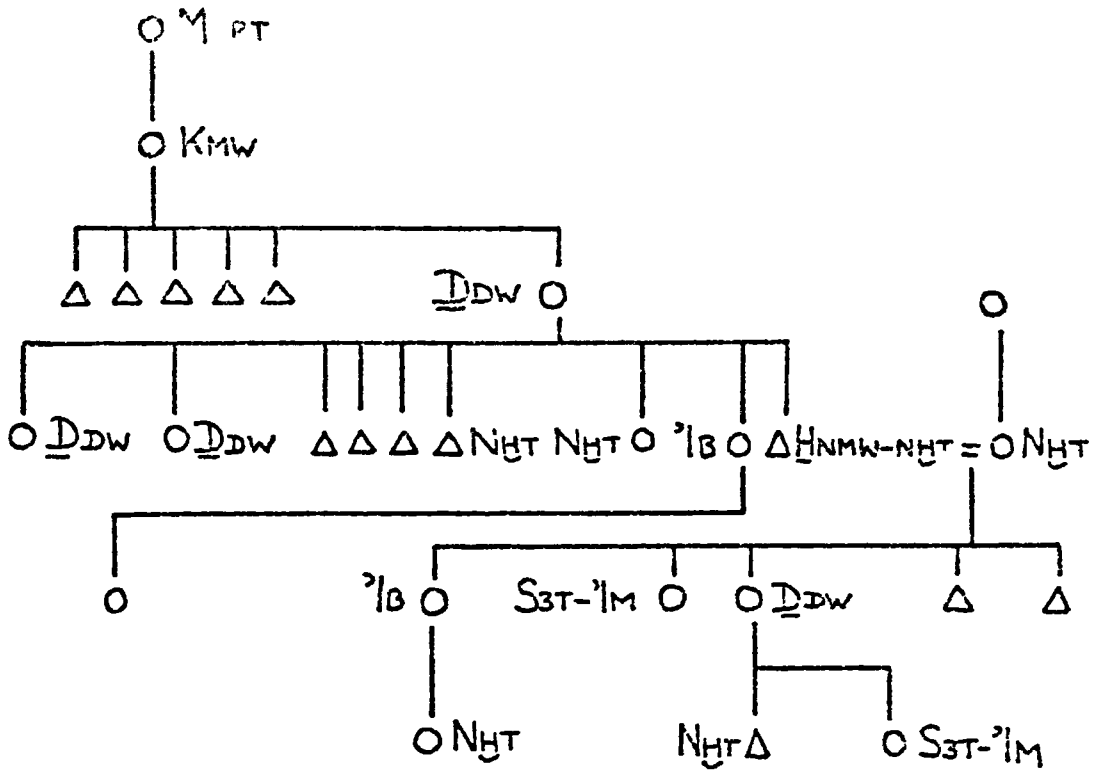
Cairo stela 20158



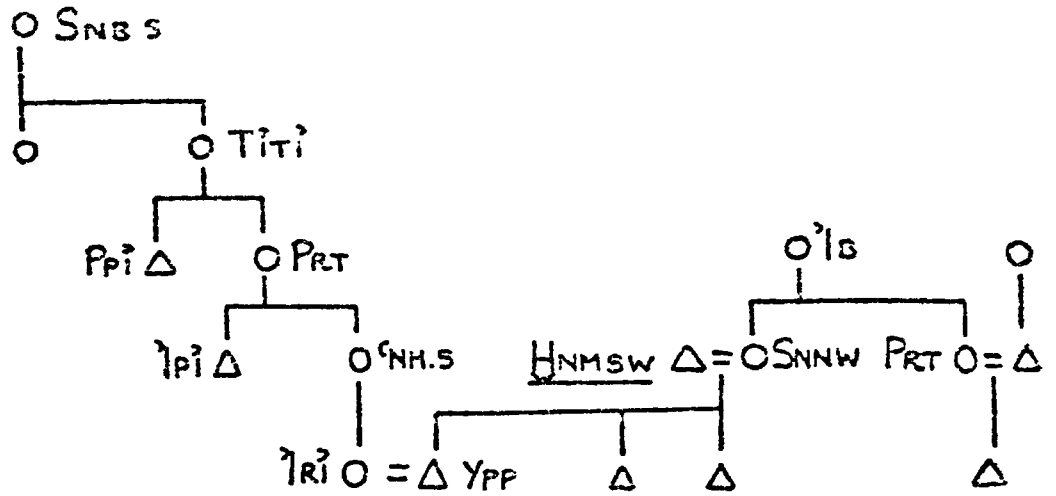
Cairo stela 20159



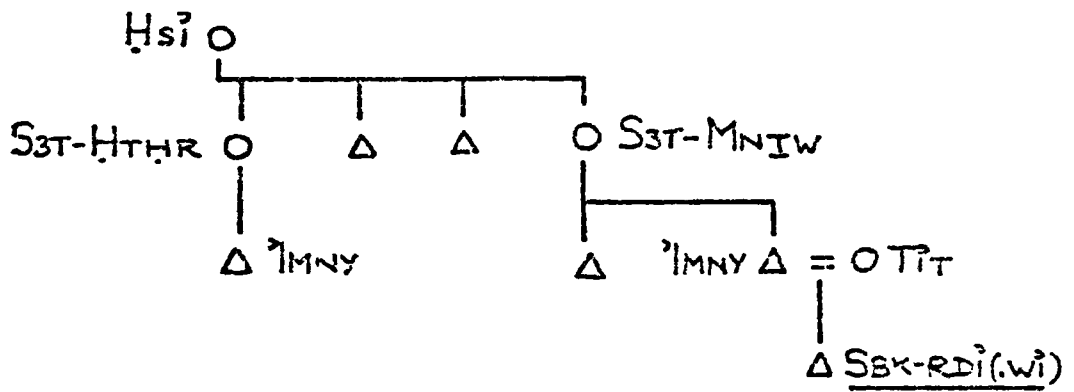
Cairo stela 20161



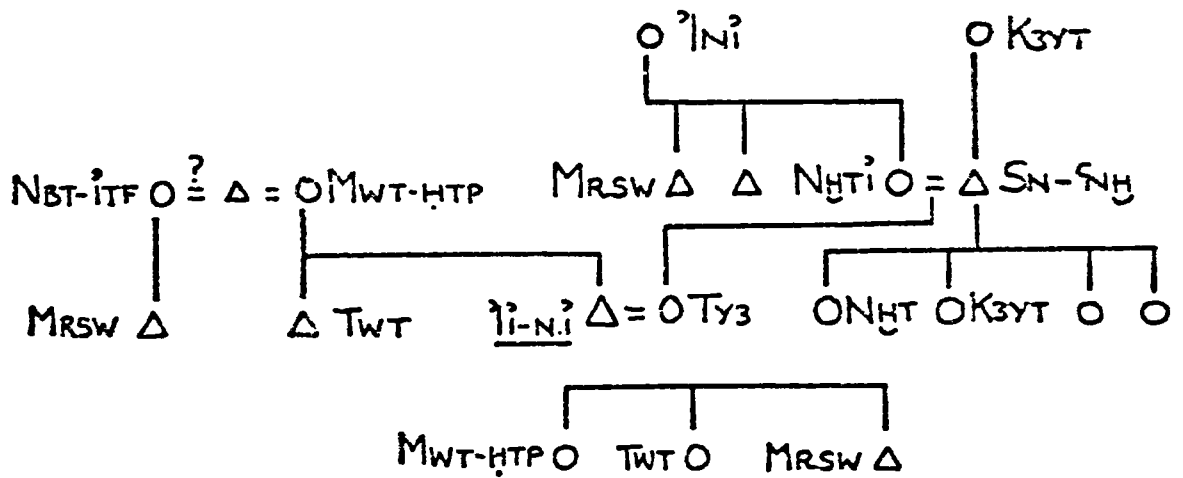
Cairo stela 20161 continued



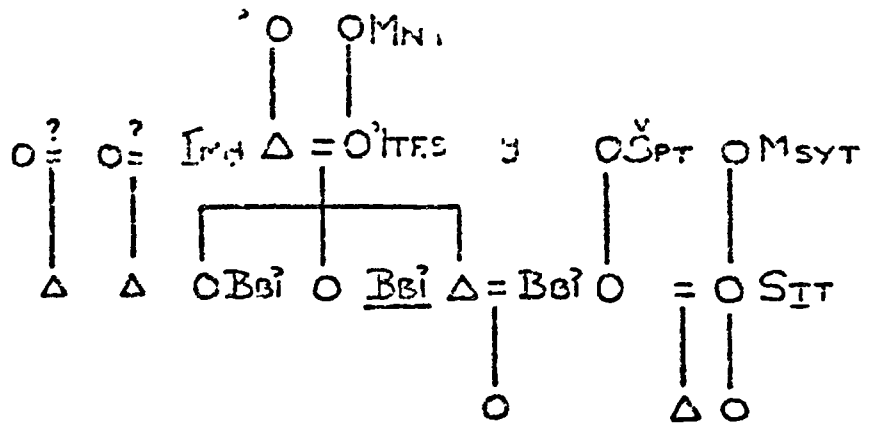
Cairo stela 20167



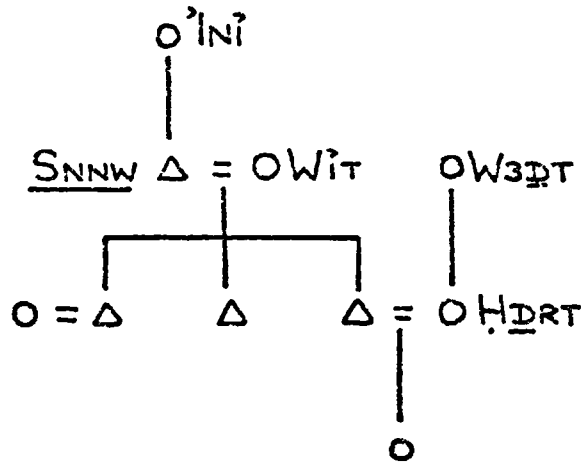
Cairo stela 20244



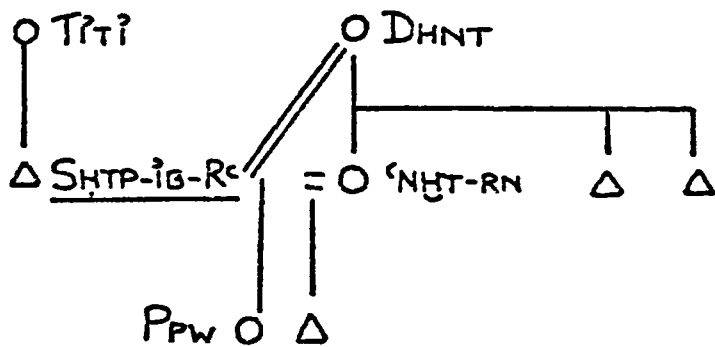
Cairo stela 20245



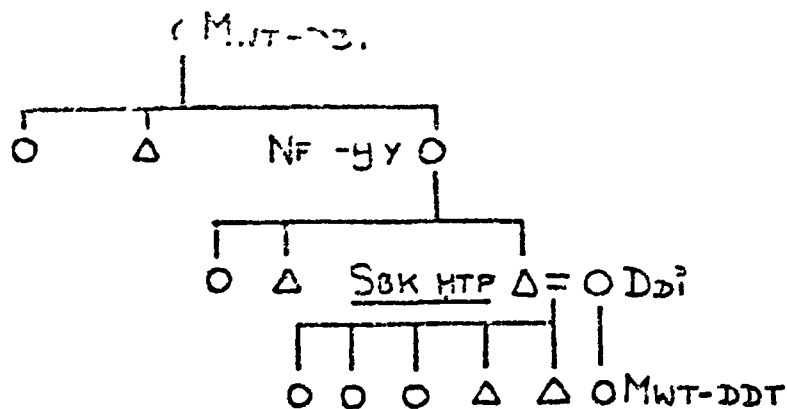
Cairo stela 20255



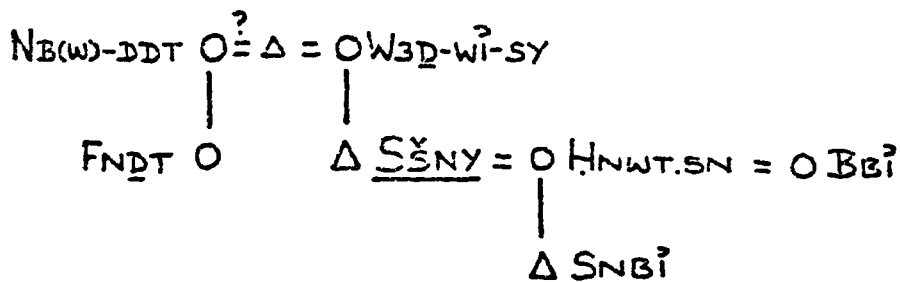
Cairo stela 20260



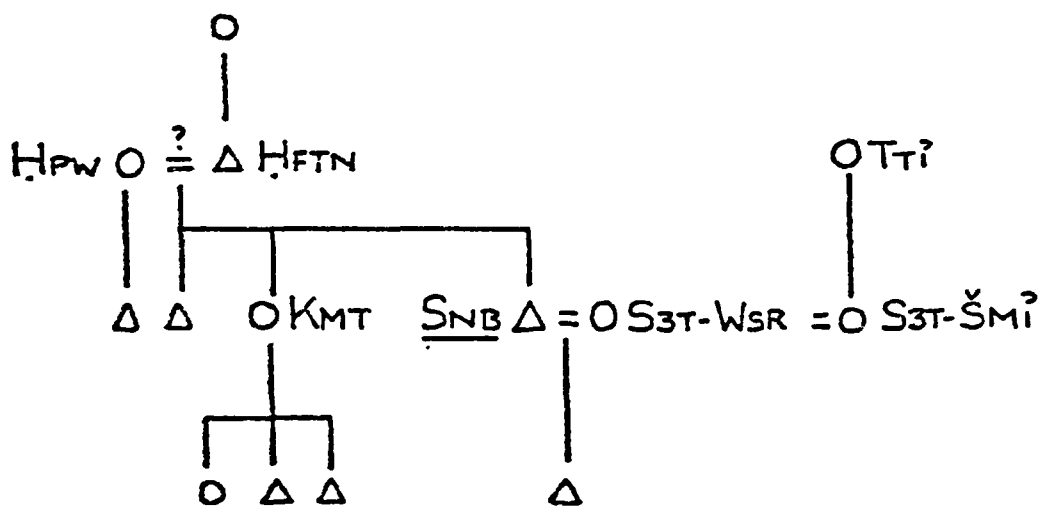
Cairo stela 20270



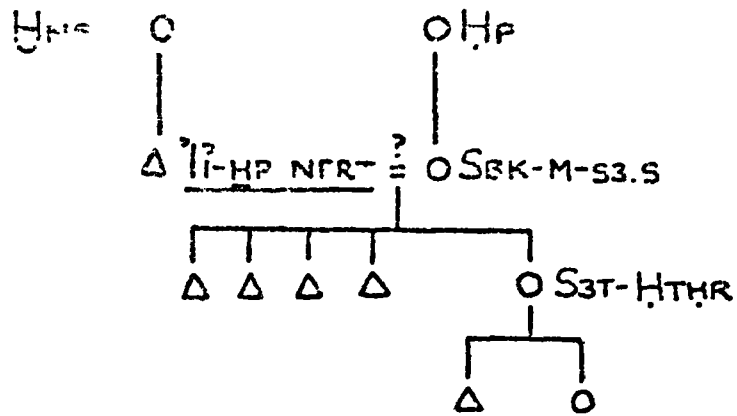
Cairo stela 20271



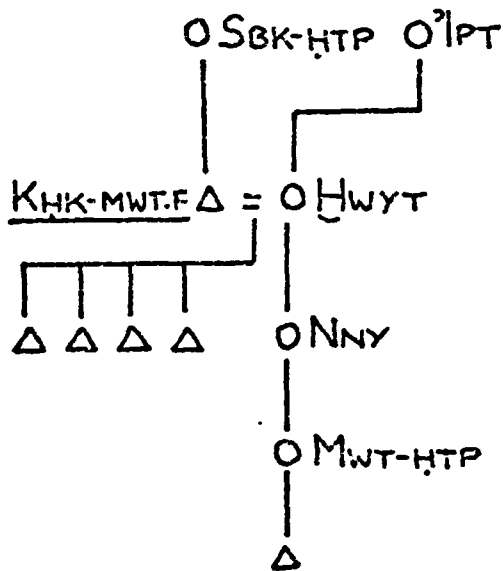
Cairo stela 20273



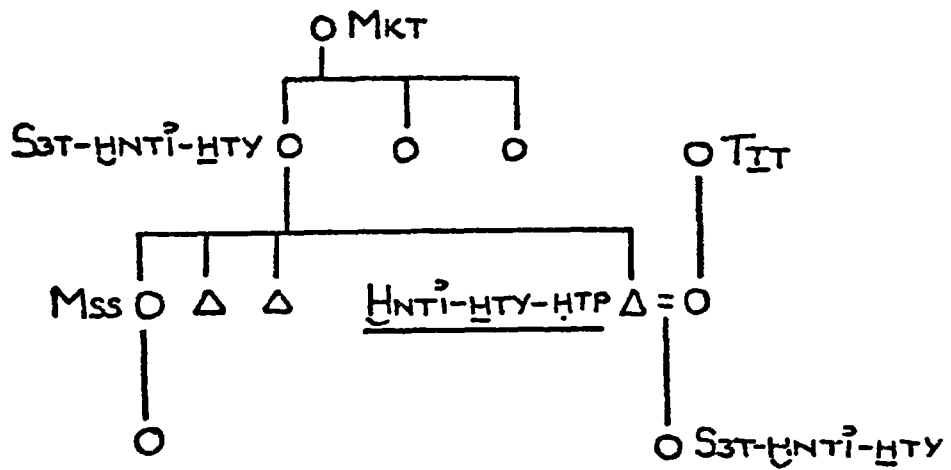
Cairo stela 20296



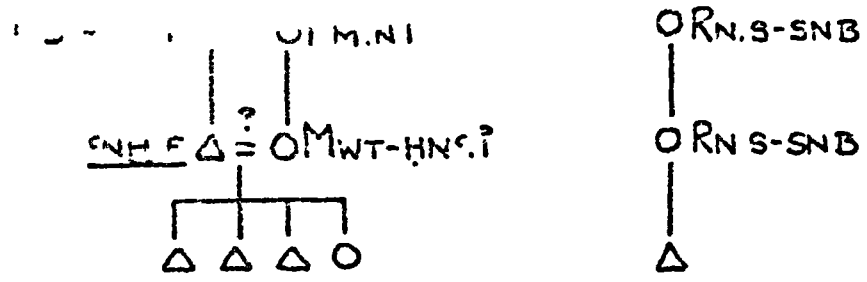
Cairo stela 20310



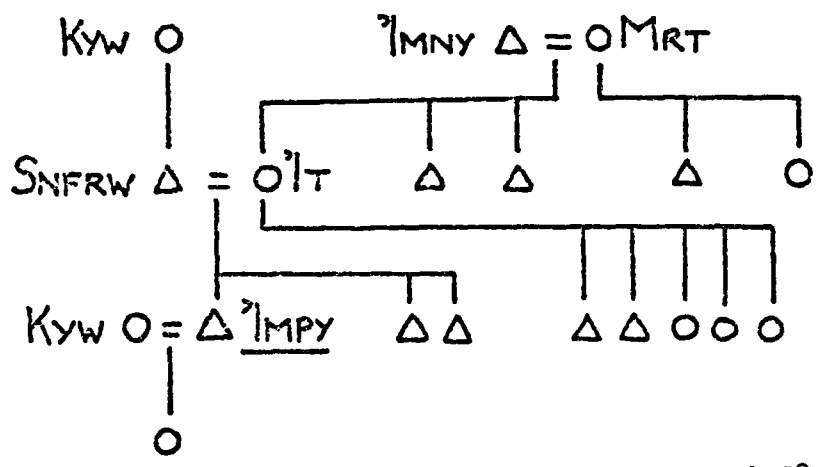
Cairo stela 20313



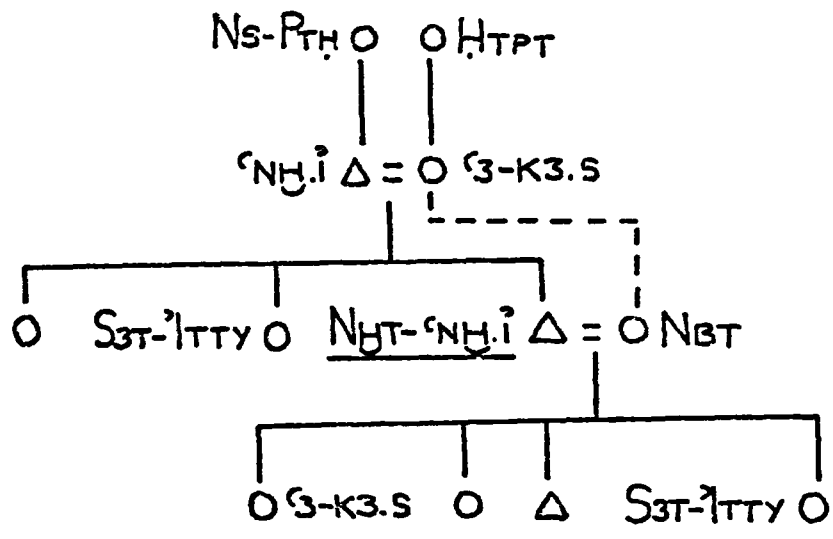
Cairo stela 20325



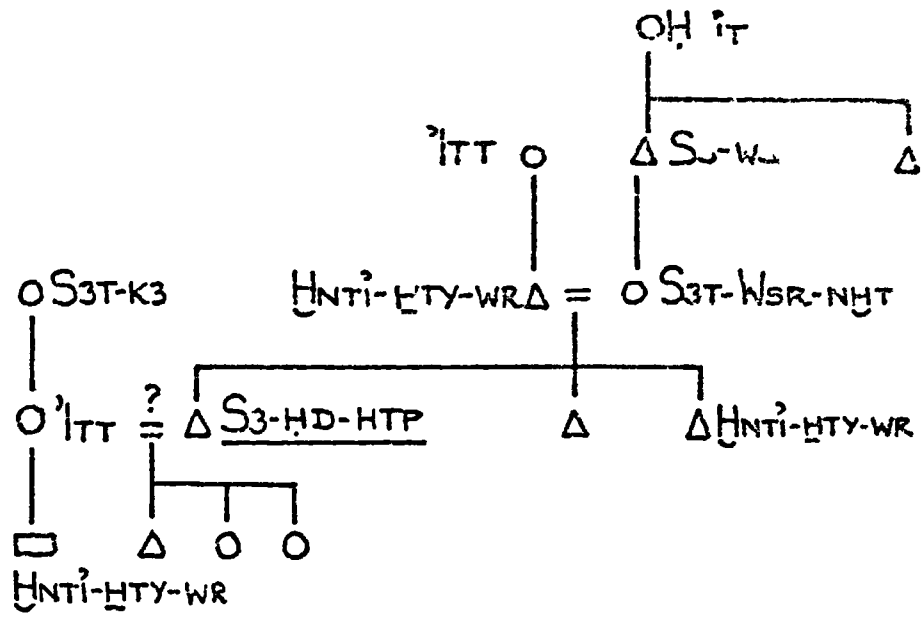
Cairo stela 20331



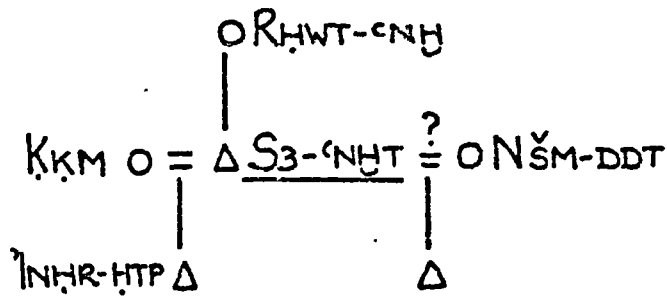
Cairo stela 20338



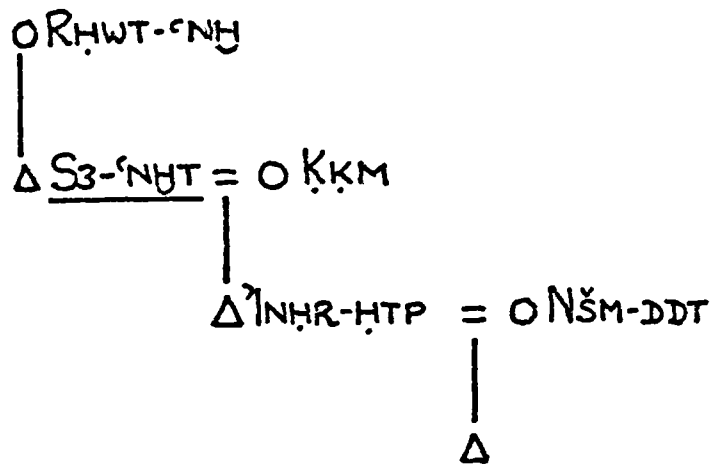
Cairo stela 20341

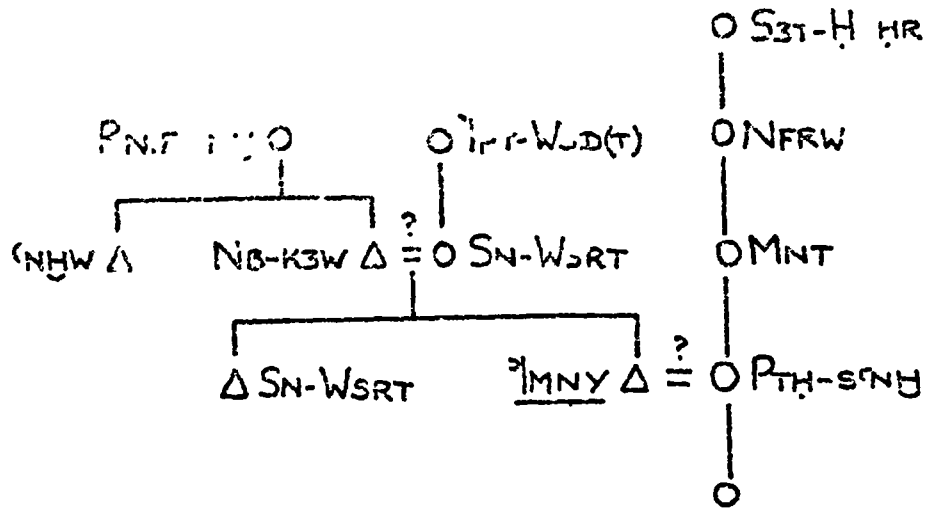


Cairo stela 20346

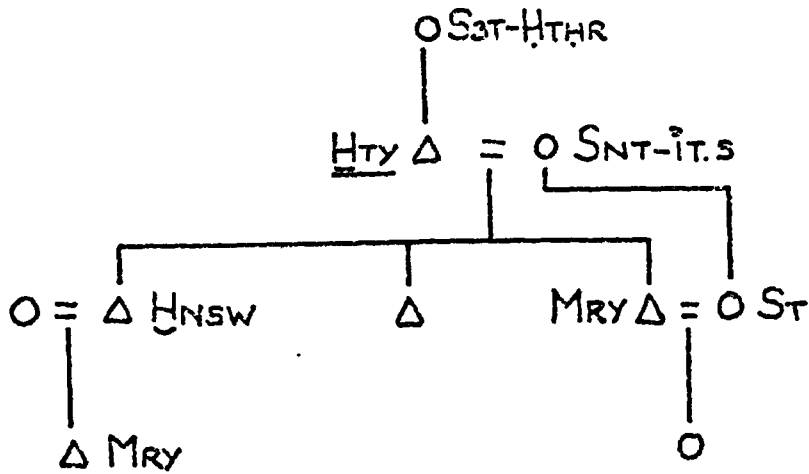


Cairo stela 20351

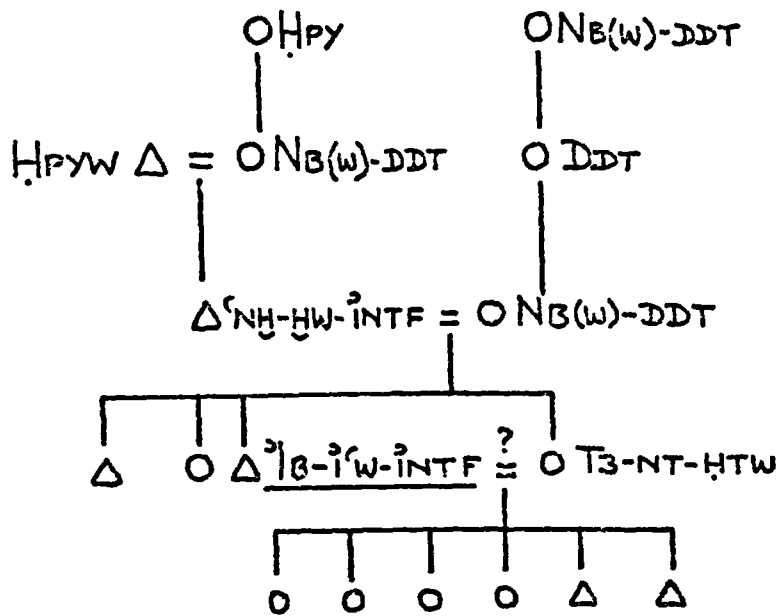




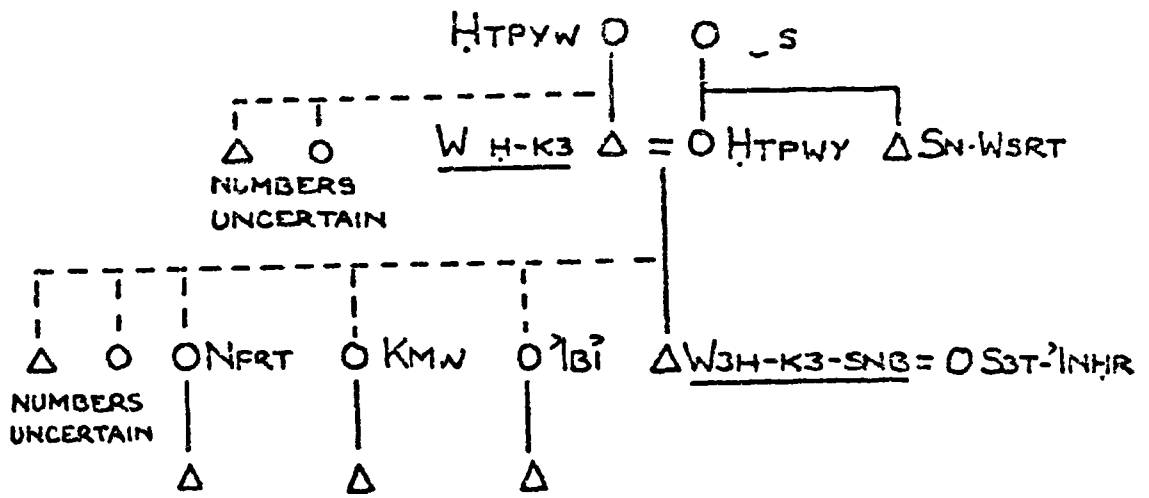
Cairo stela 20393



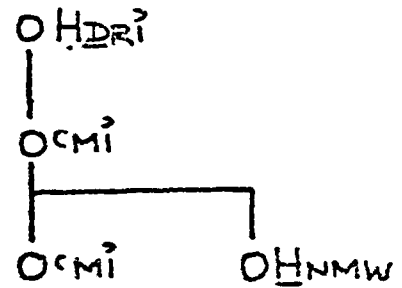
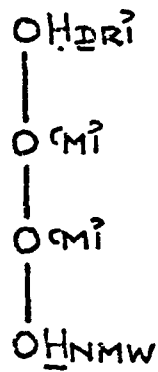
Cairo stela 20393



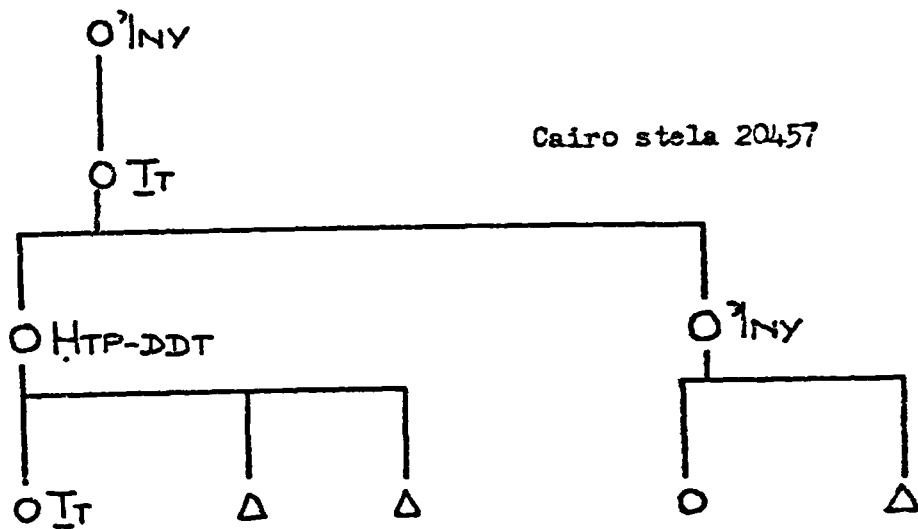
Cairo stelae 20429 and 20430



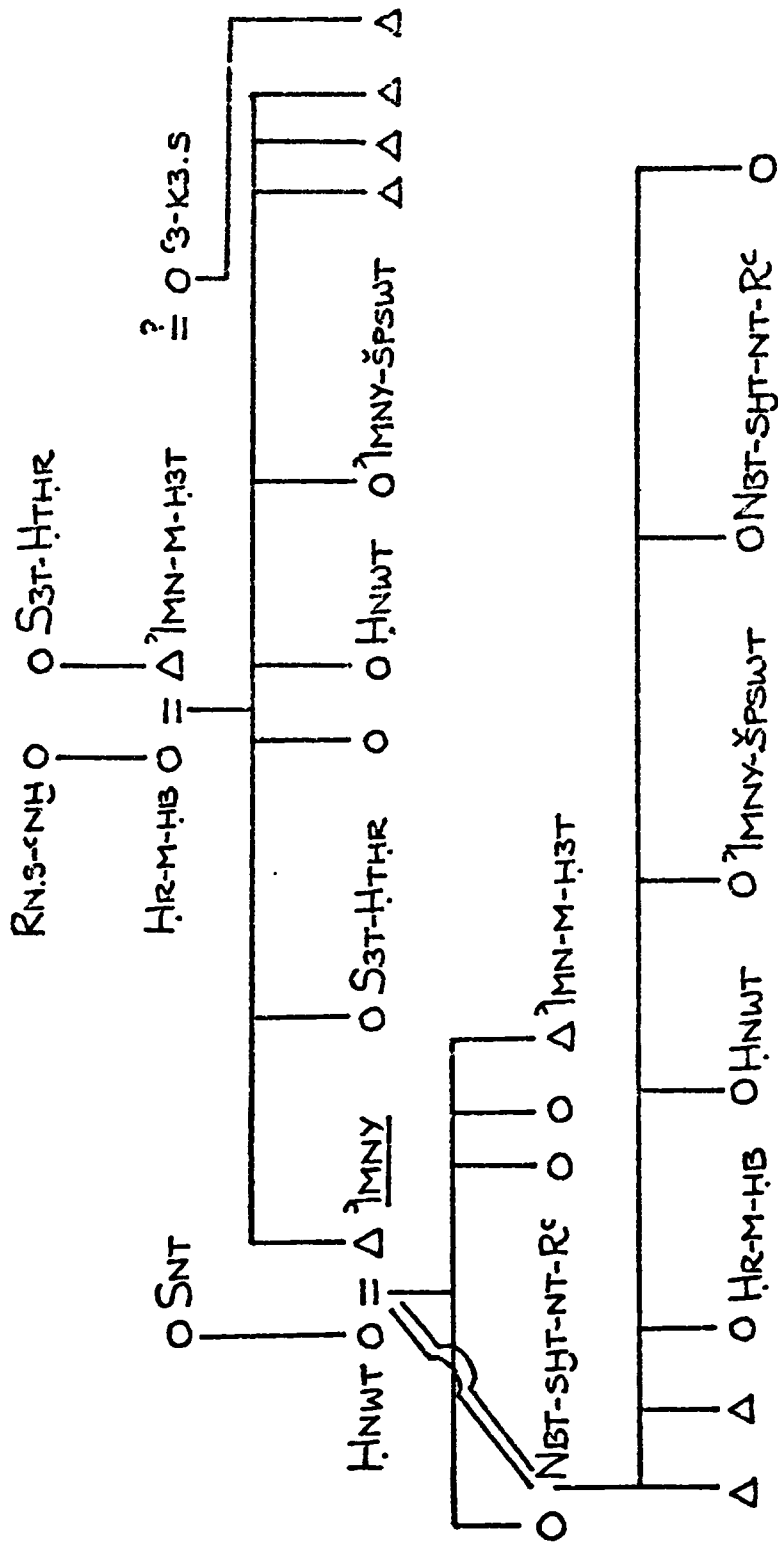
Cairo stela 20431



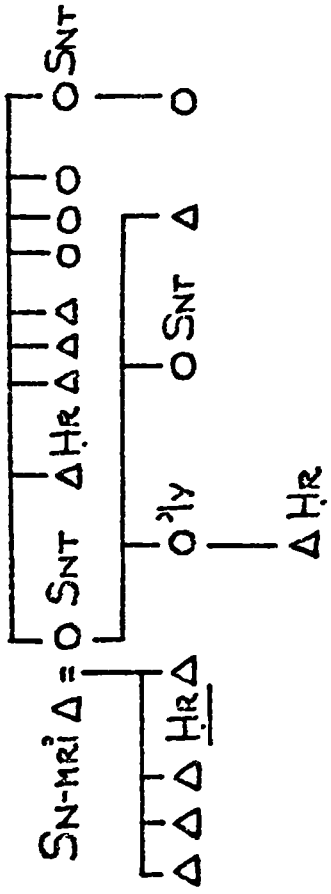
Cairo stela 20452



Cairo stela 20457

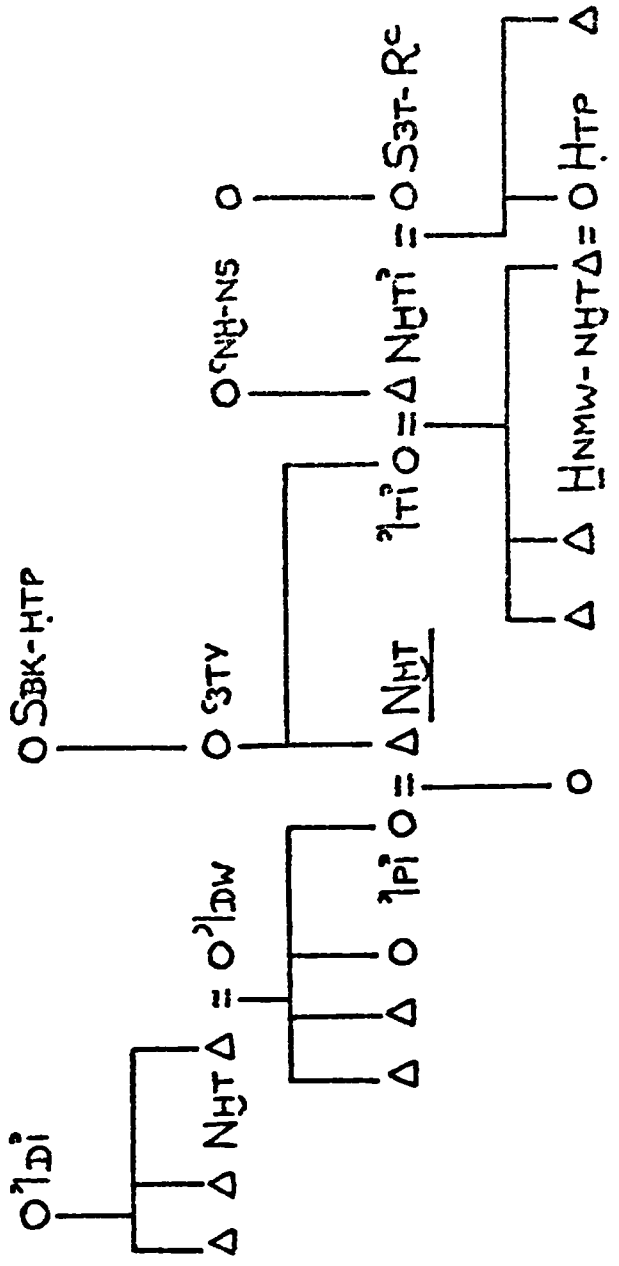


Cairo stela 20455

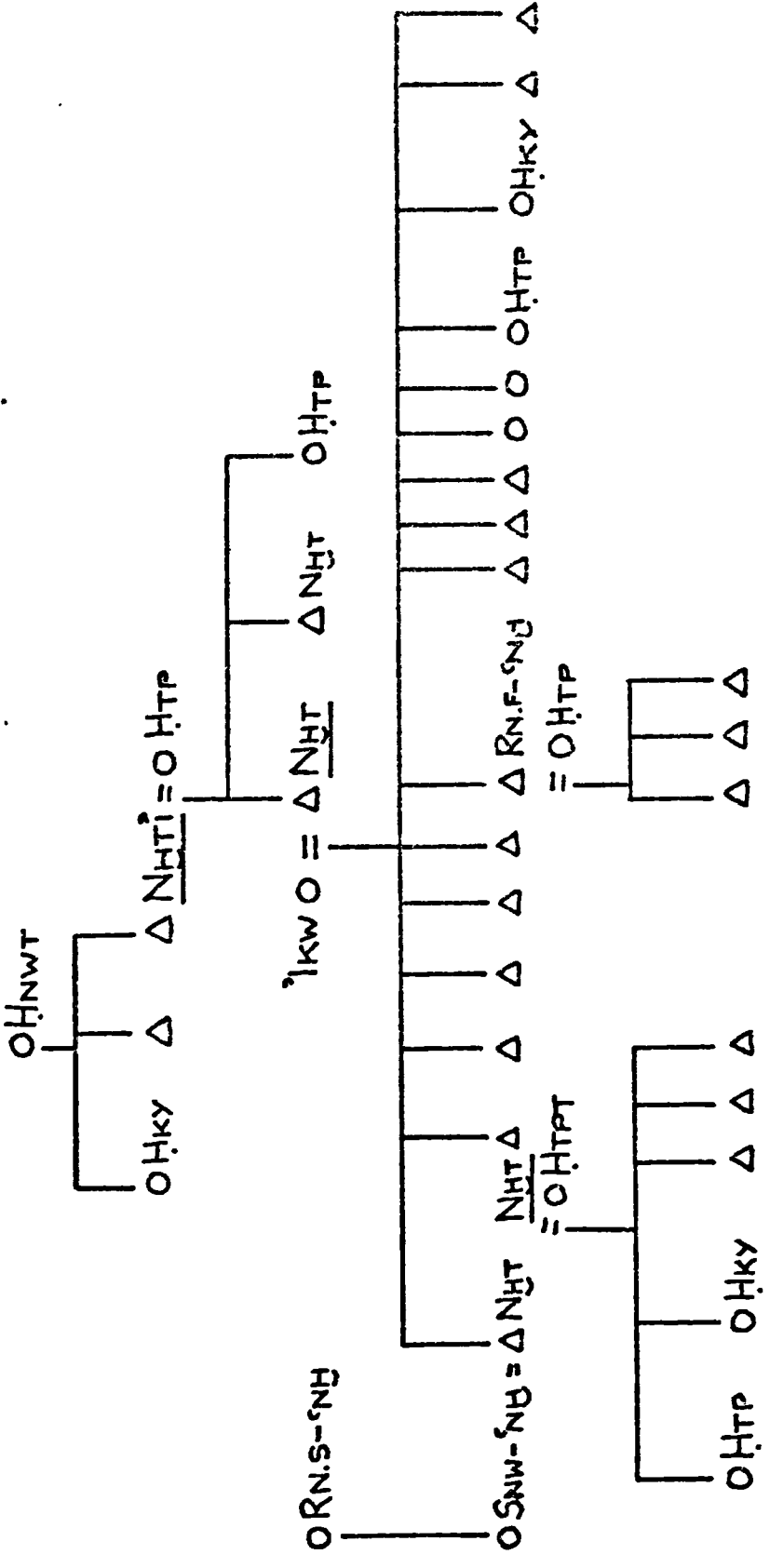


Cairo stelae 20473

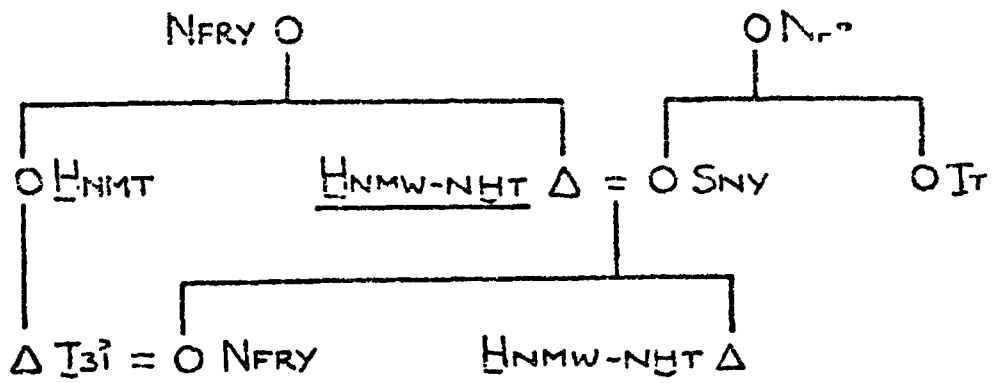
and 20474



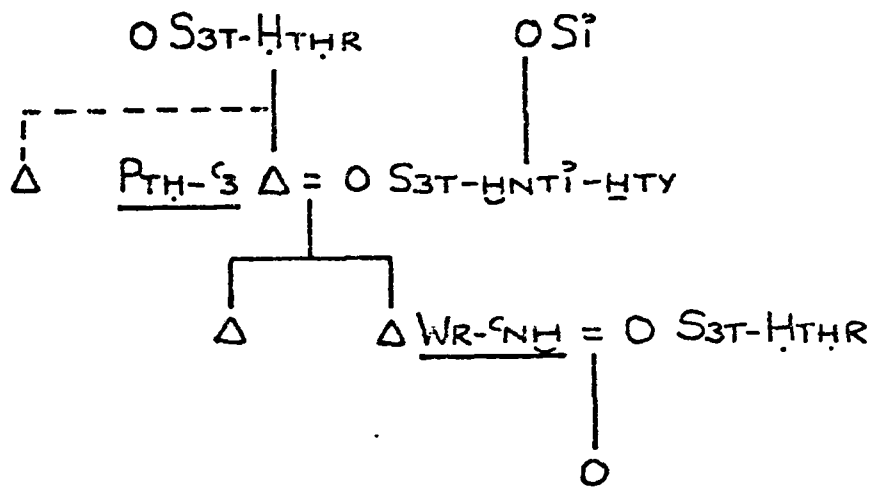
Cairo stela 20482



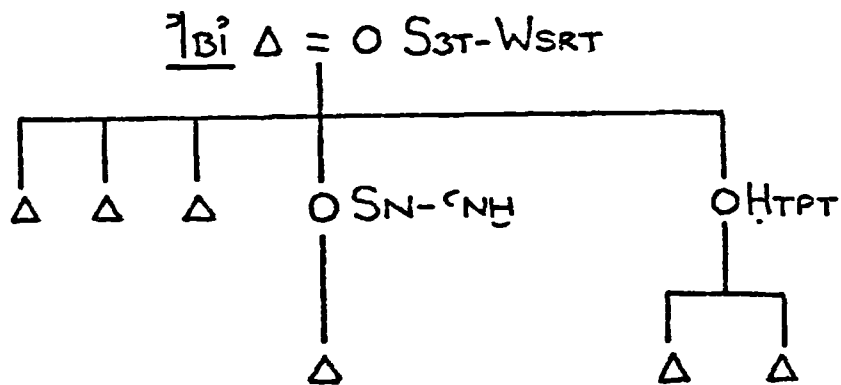
Cairo stela 20515, 20526 and 20751



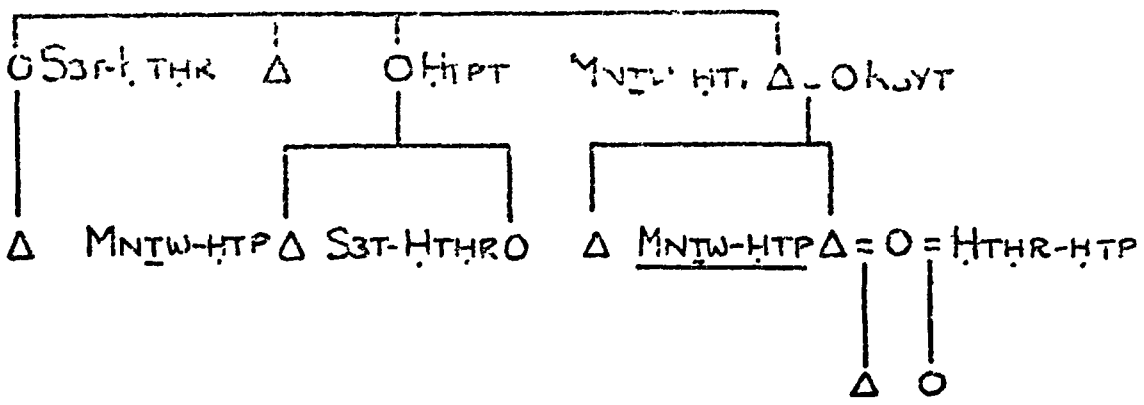
Cairo stela 20518



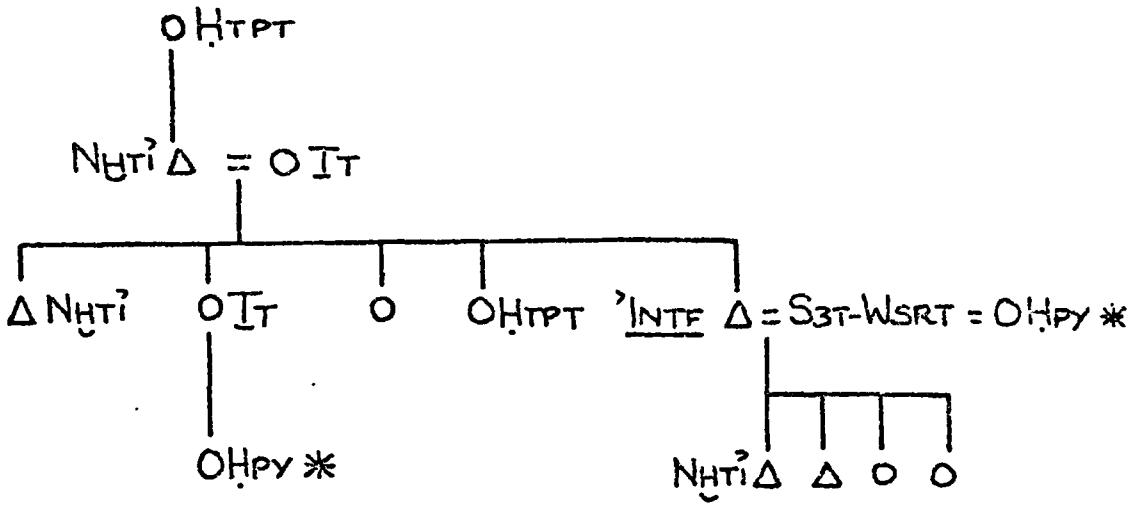
Cairo stela 20523



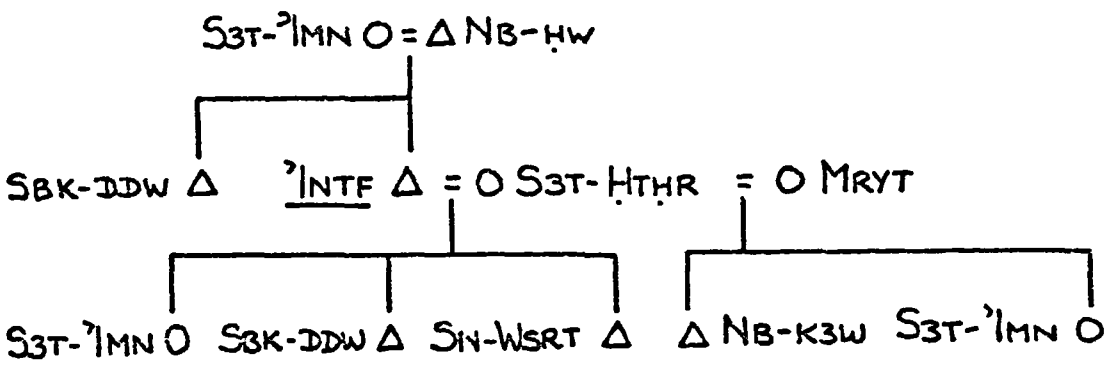
Cairo stela 20525



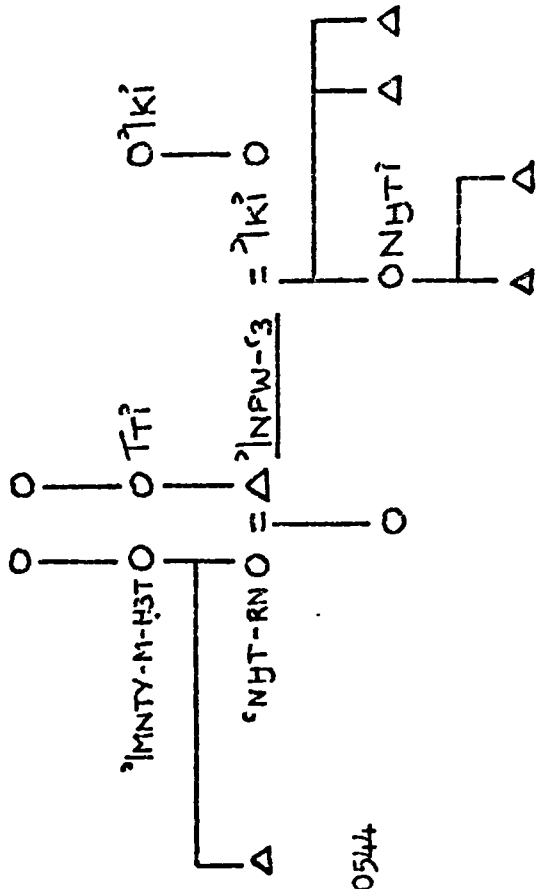
Cairo stela 20534



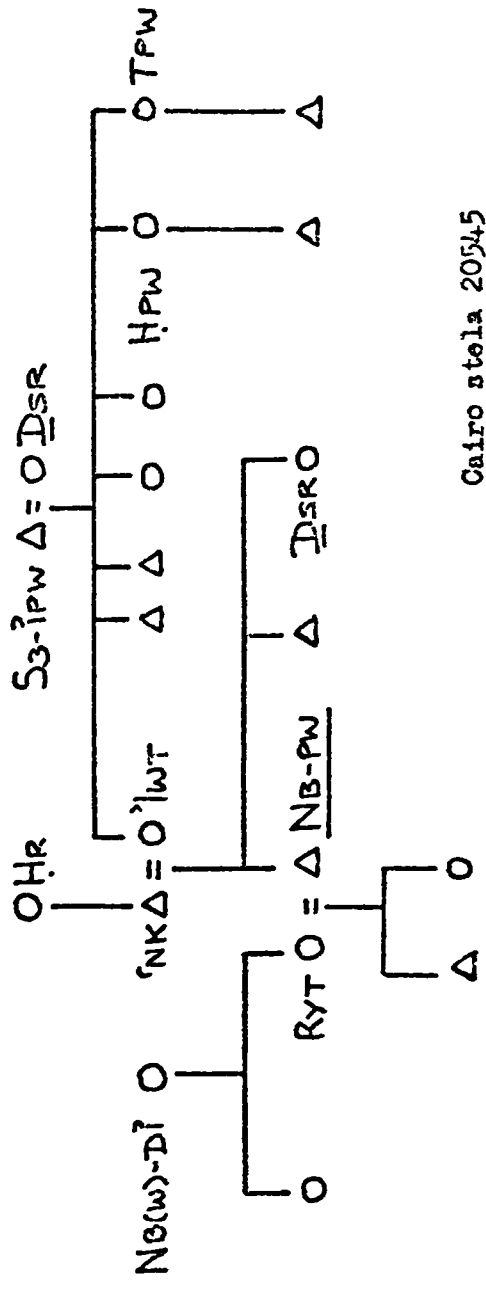
Cairo stela 20535



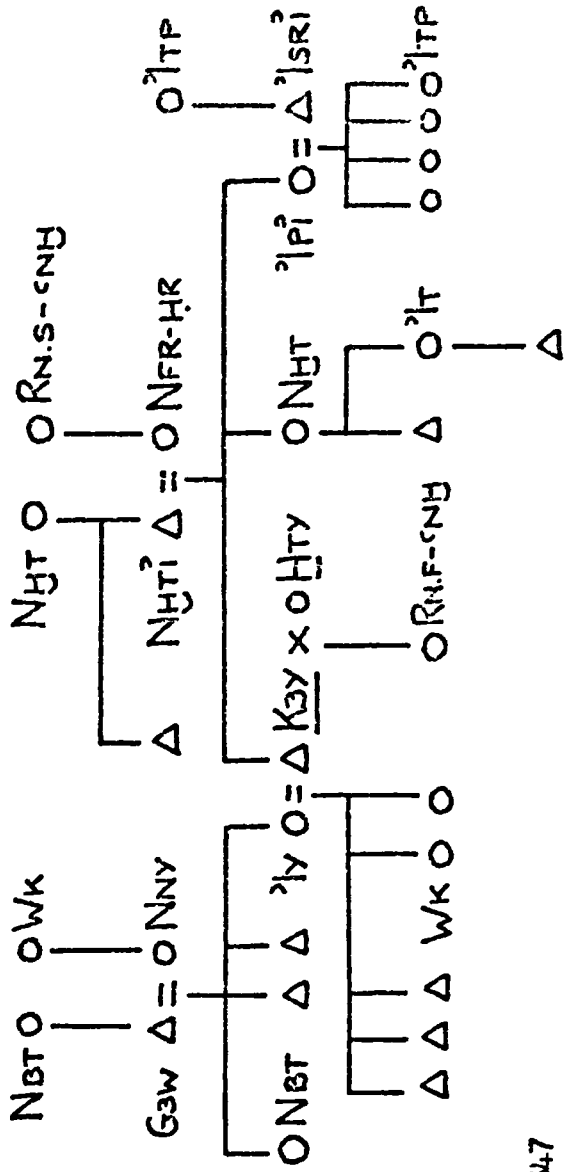
Cairo stelae 20542 and 20561 and Louvre stelae C.167 and C.168



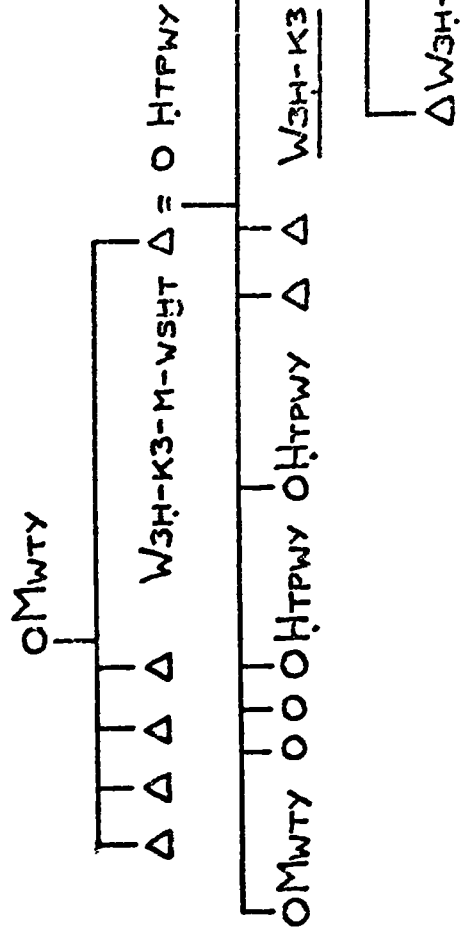
Cairo stela 20544



Cairo stela 20545

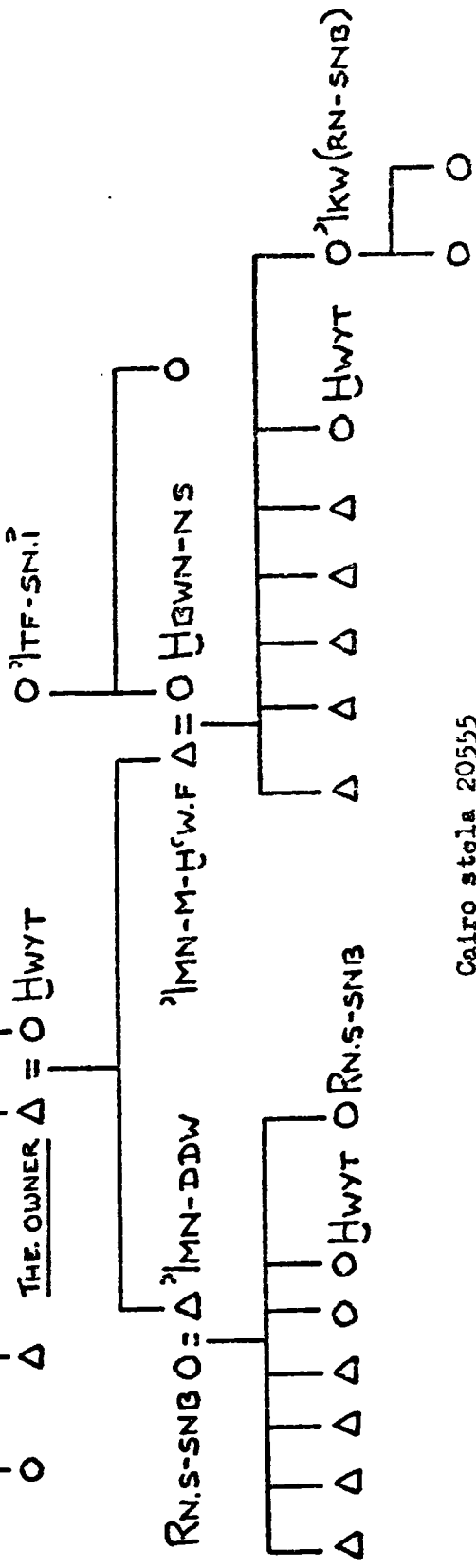
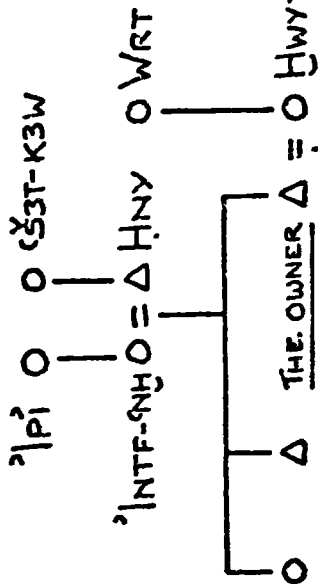
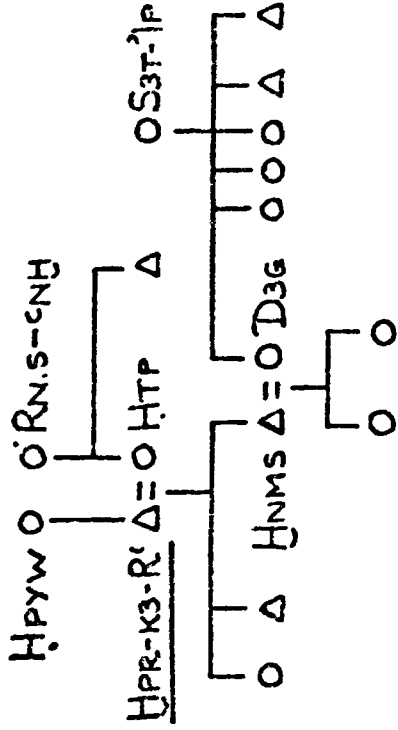


Cairo stela 2054.7

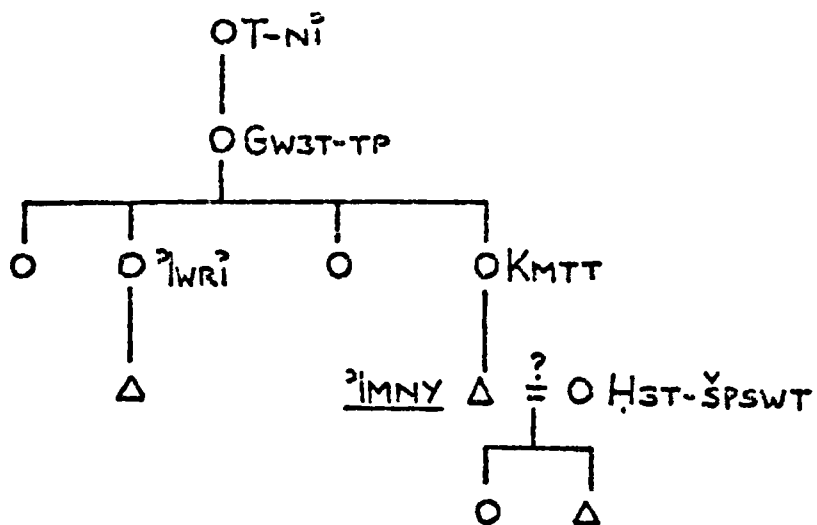


Cairo stela 2054.9

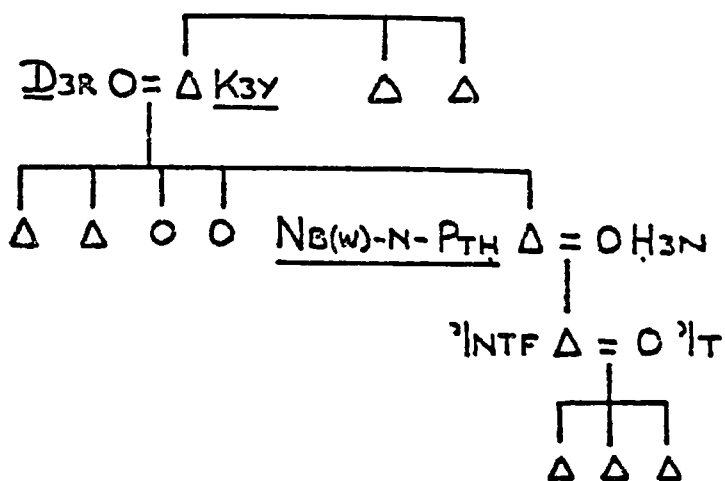
Cairo stela 20553



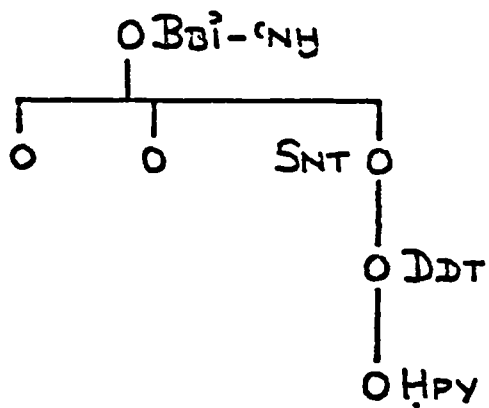
Cairo stela 20555

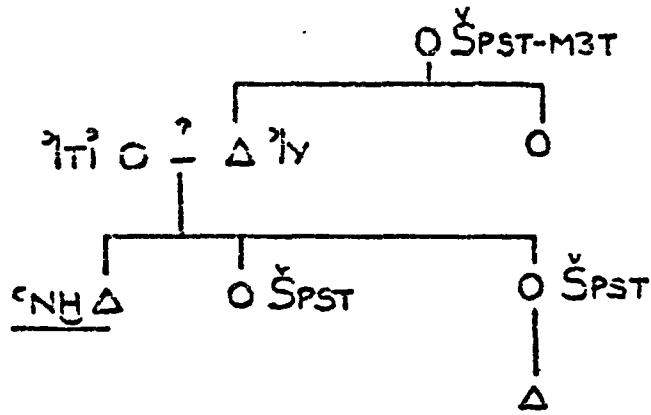


Cairo stela 20562

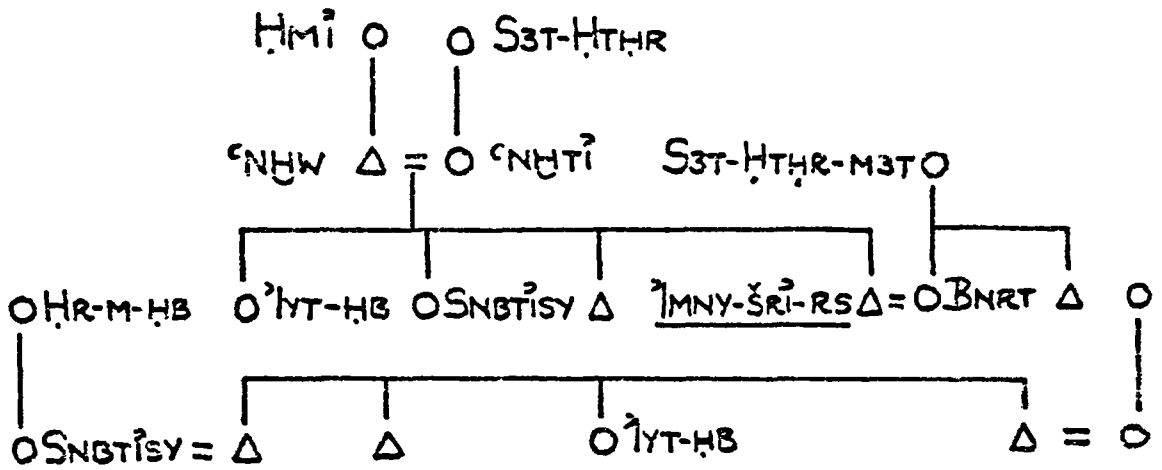


Cairo stelae 20567 and 20568

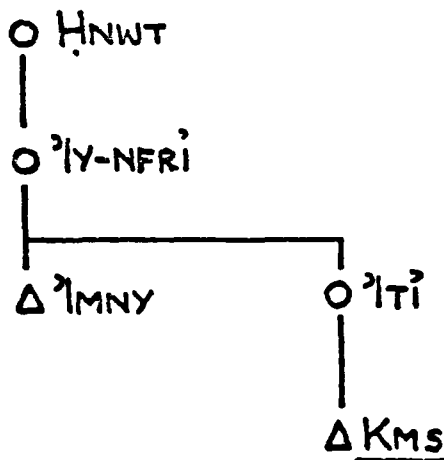




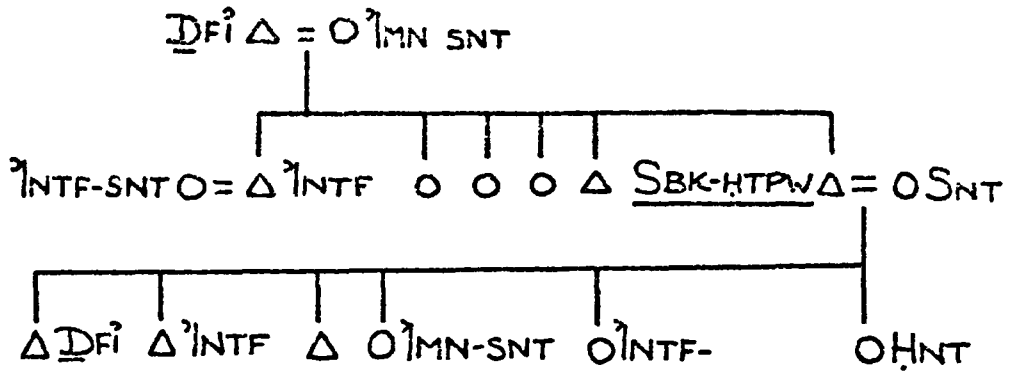
Cairo stelae 20571 and 20748



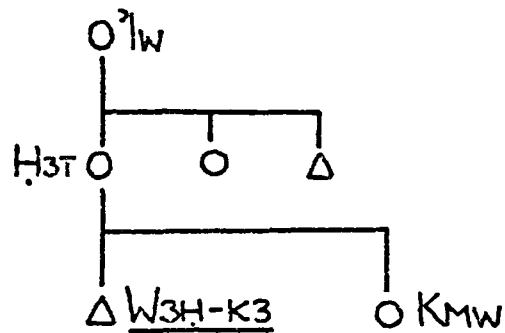
Cairo stela 20581



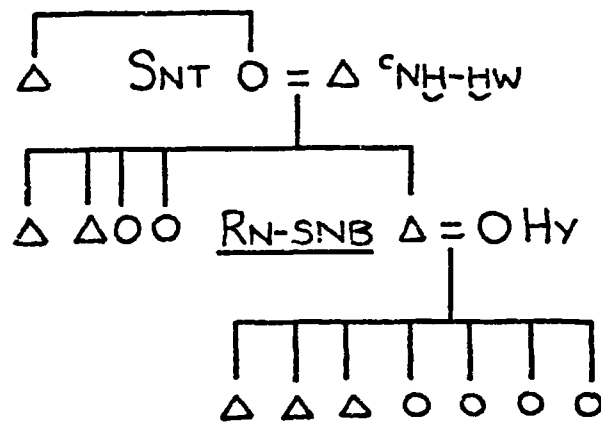
Cairo stela 20590



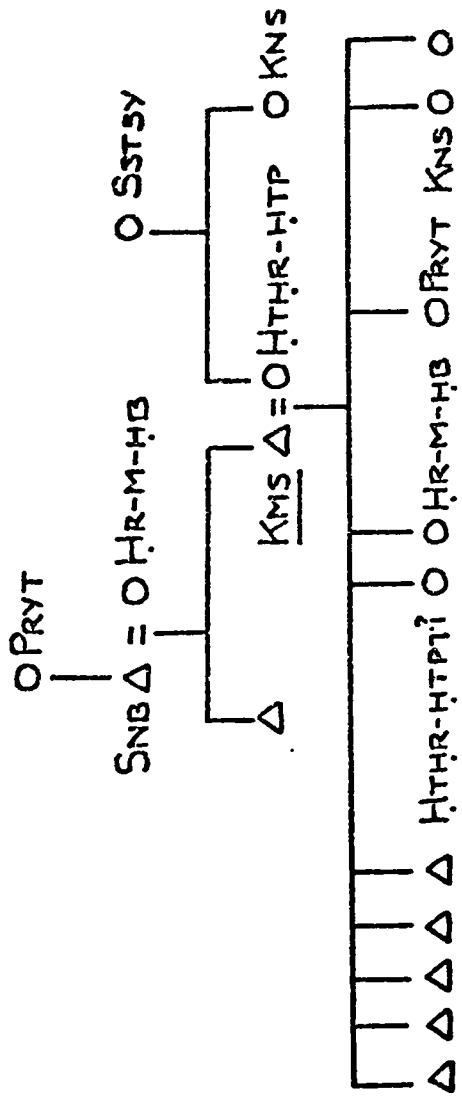
Cairo stela 20592



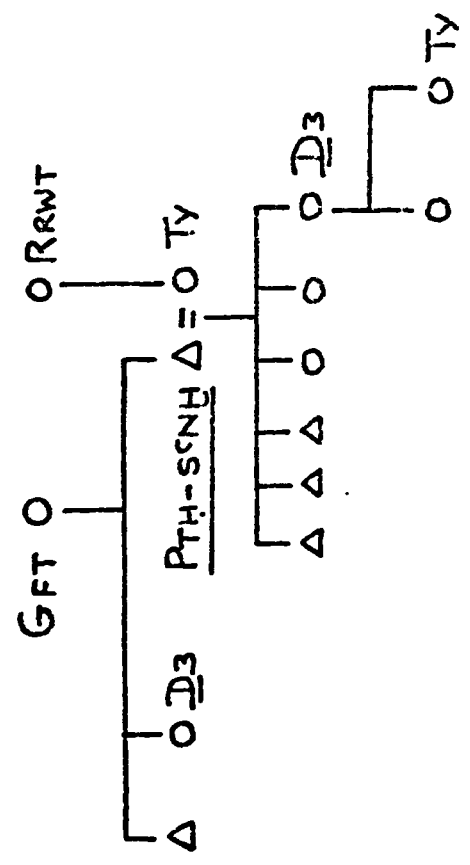
Cairo stela 20595



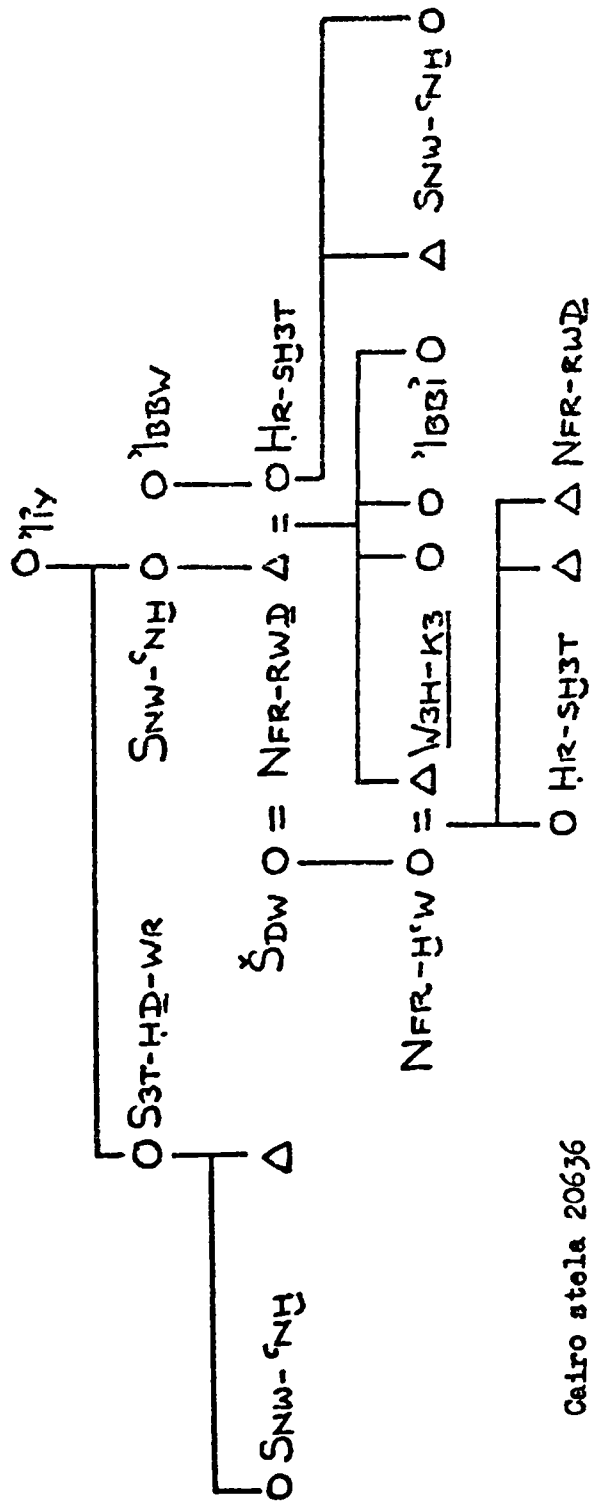
Cairo stela 20612, Metropolitan Museum stela 63.154, Carlsberg A690



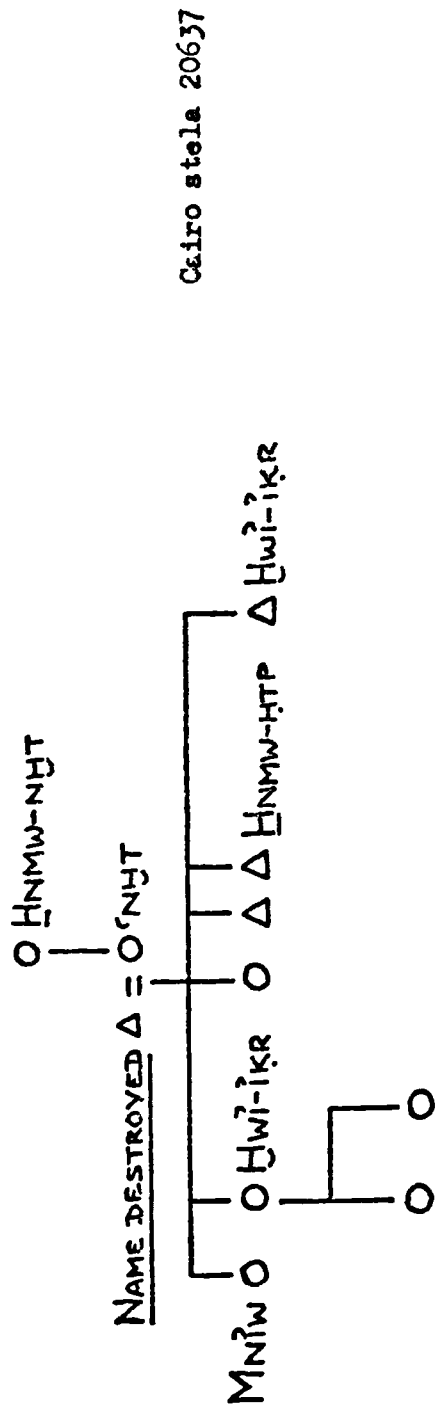
Cairo stela 20617



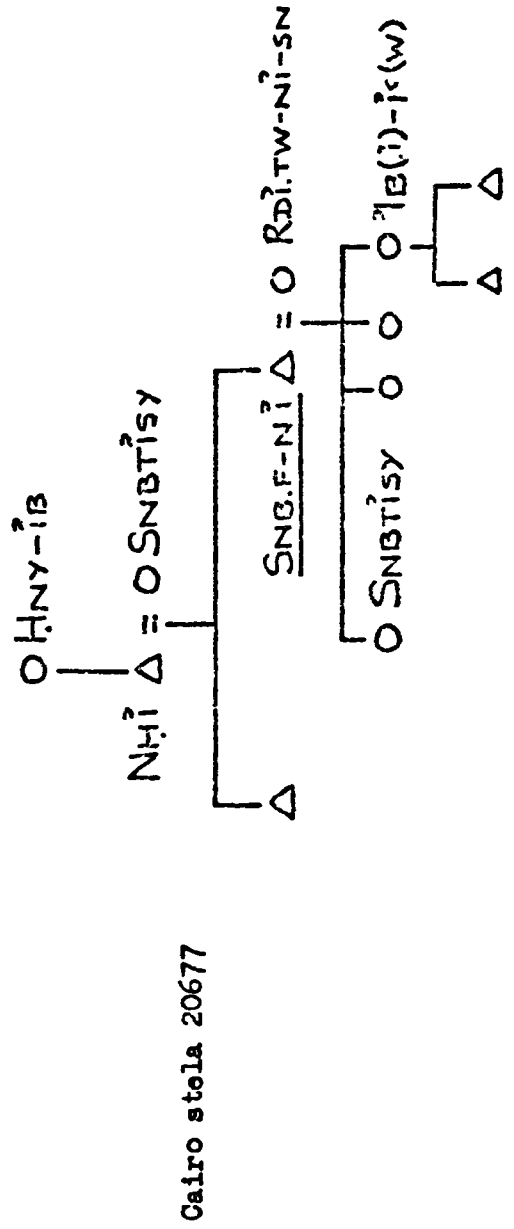
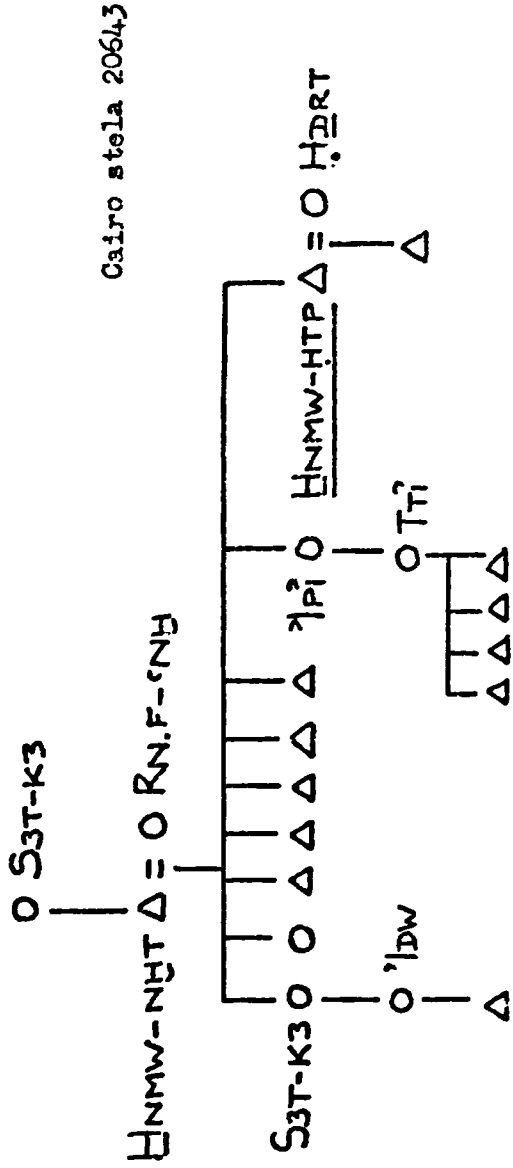
Cairo stela 20619



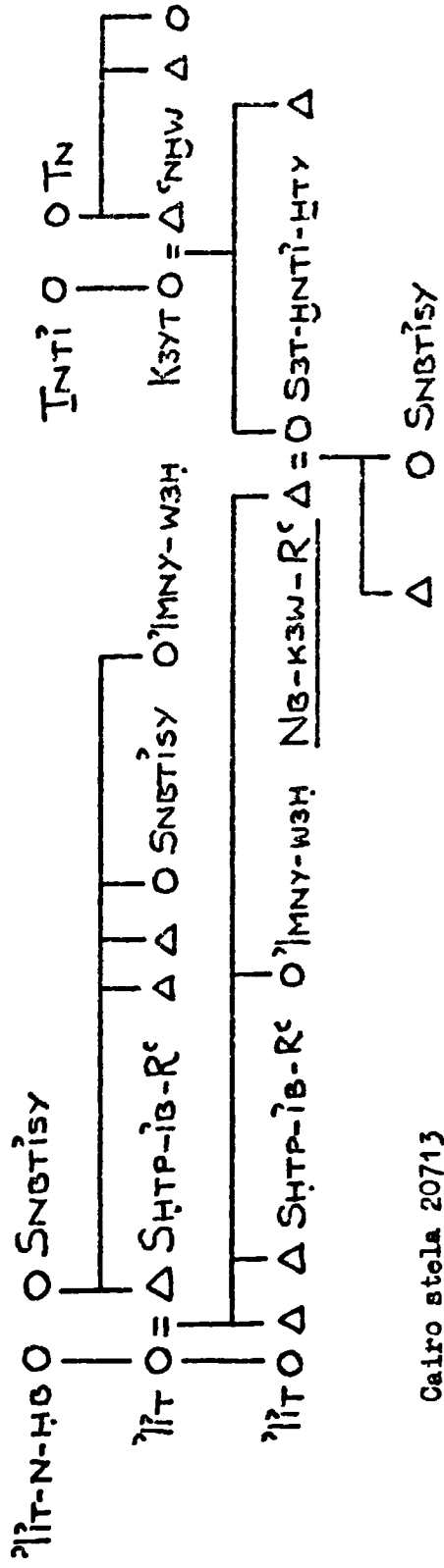
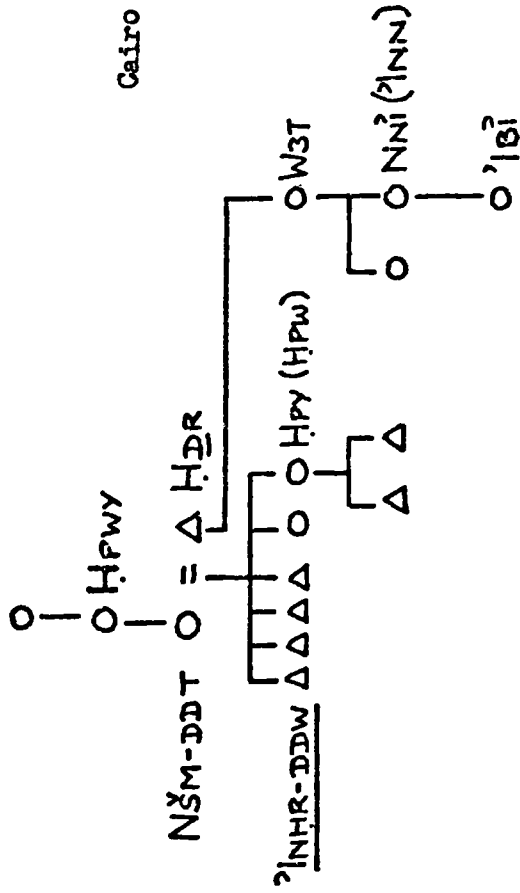
Cairo stela 20636



Cairo stela 20637

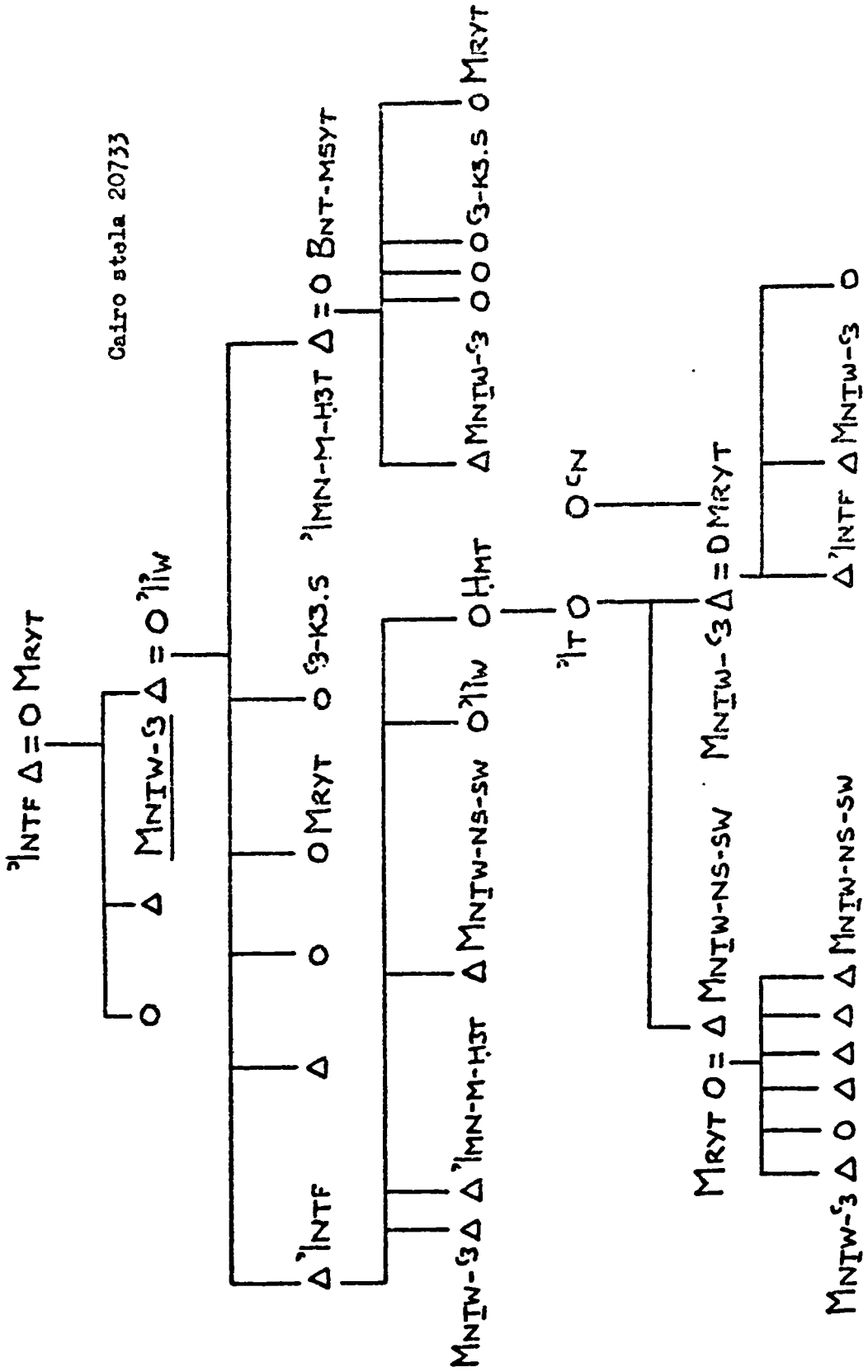


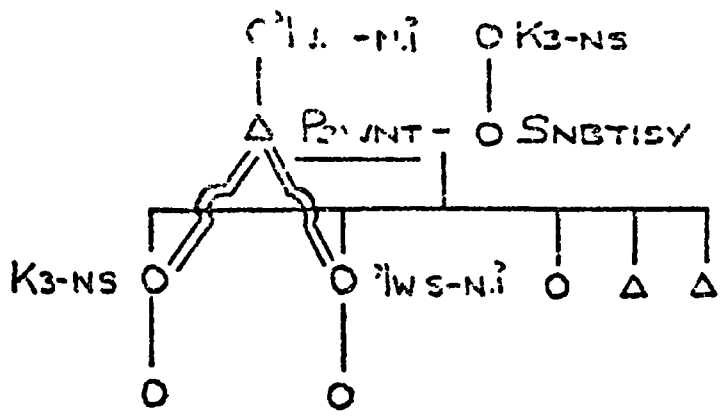
Cairo stela 20055 and 20679



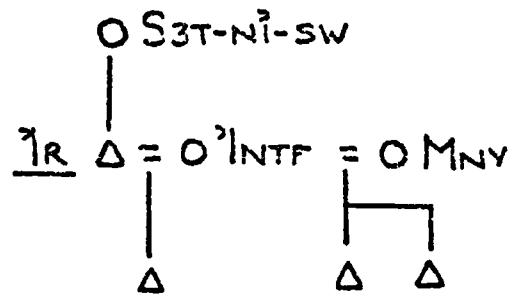
Cairo stela 20713

Cairo stela 20733

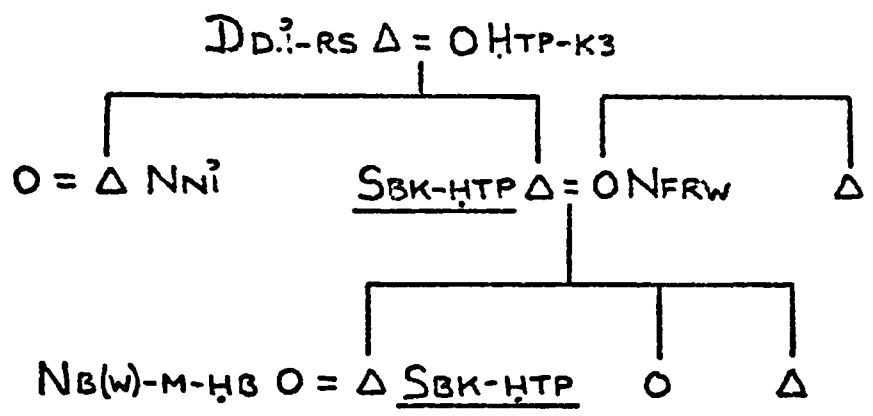




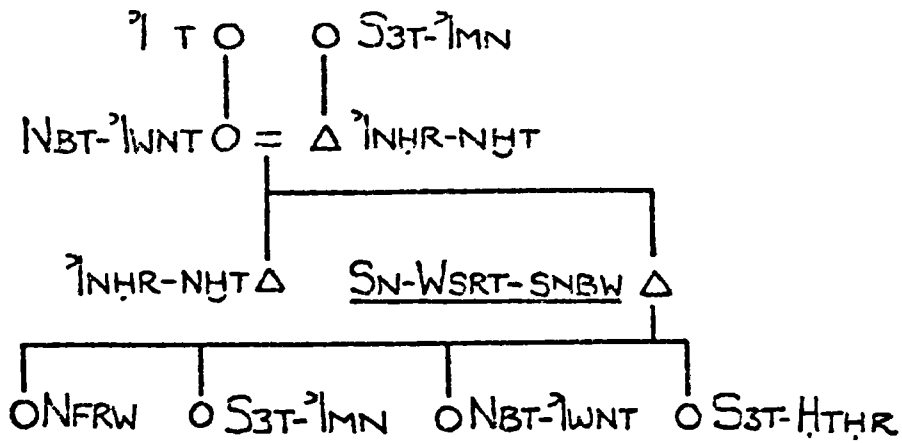
Cairo stela 20749



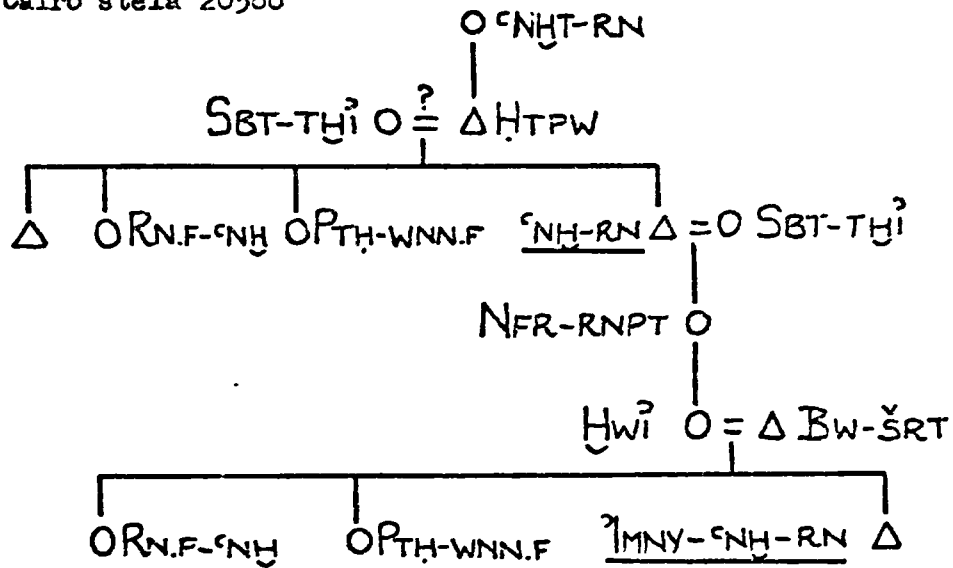
Cairo stela 20750



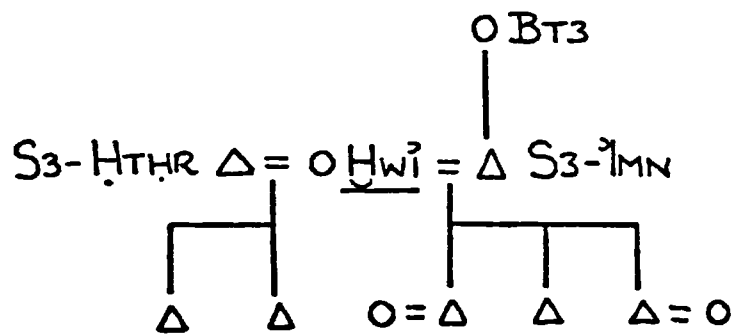
Cairo stelae 20373 and 20778



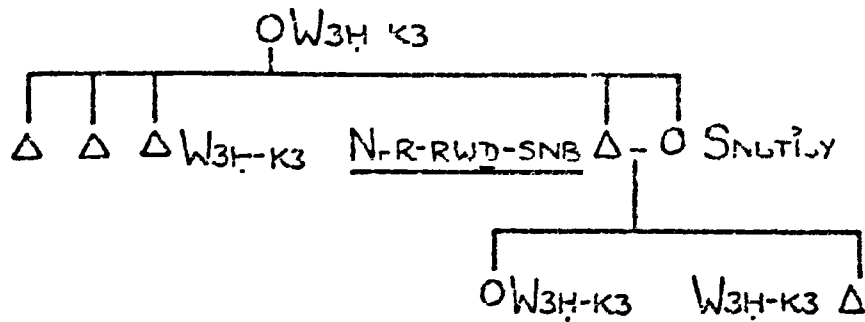
British Museum stelae, vol.II, pl.3 and vol.III, pl.25 and
 Cairo stela 20588



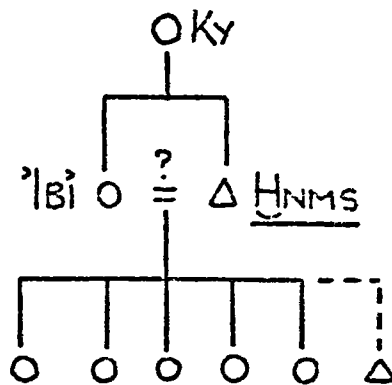
British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.12 and Cairo stelae 20033 and
 20458



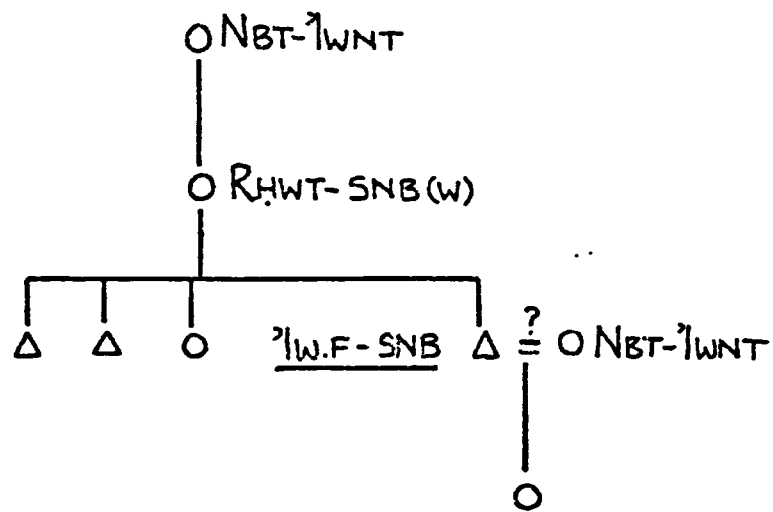
British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.16



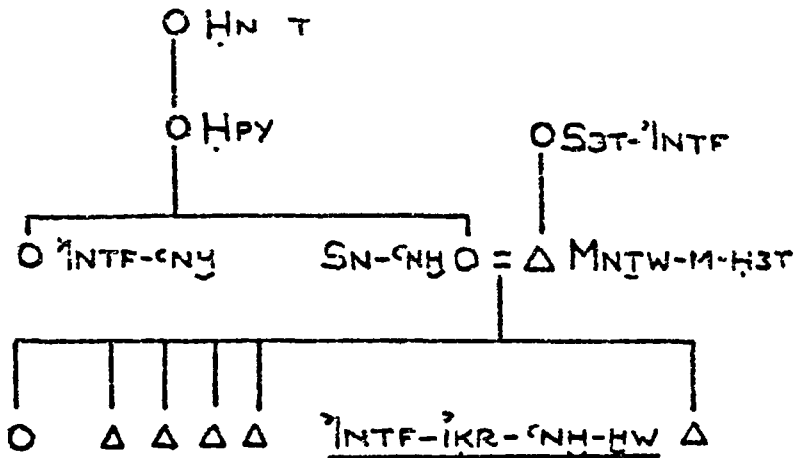
British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 7



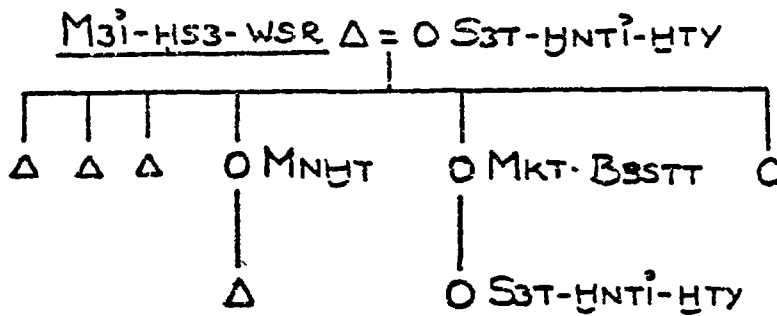
British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 15



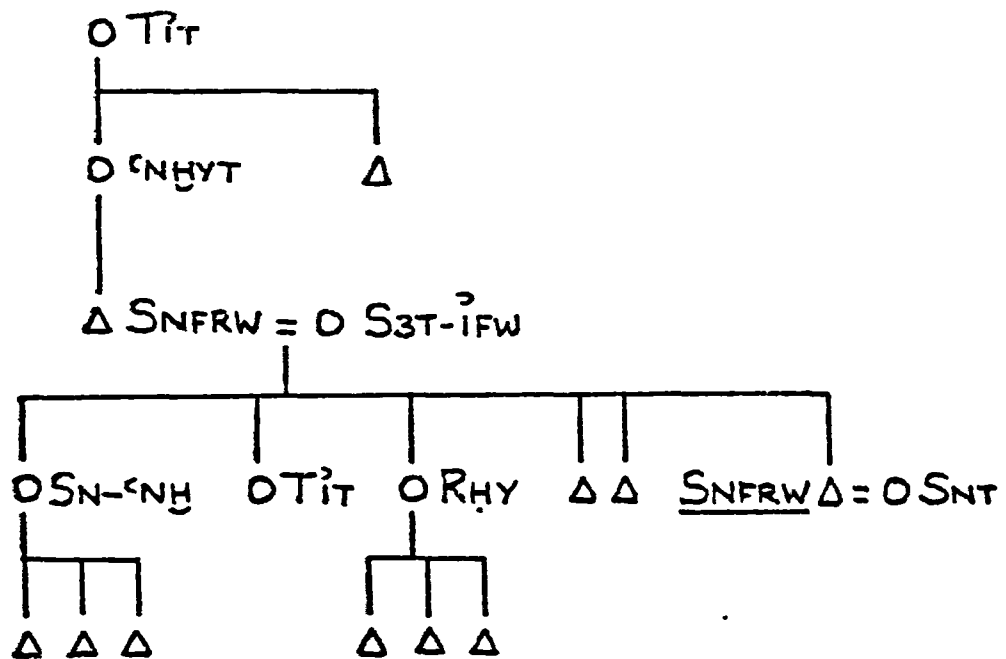
British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 24



British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.29

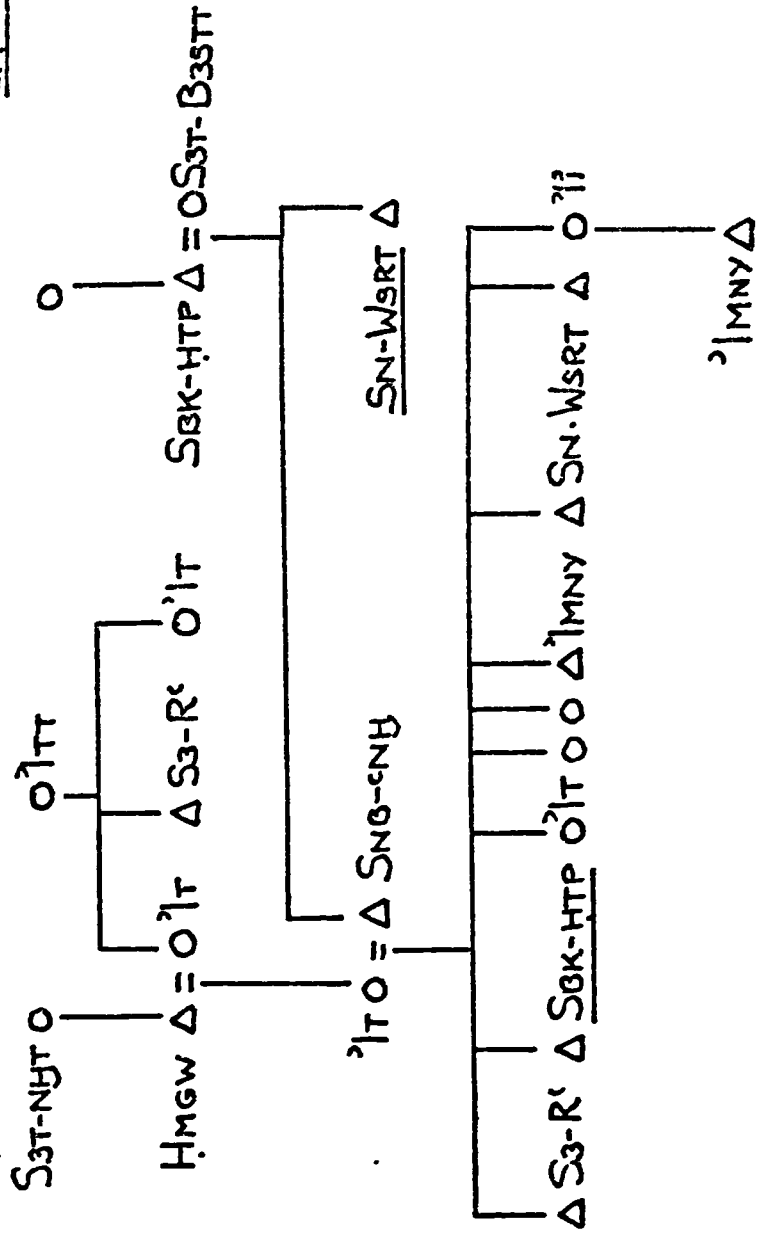
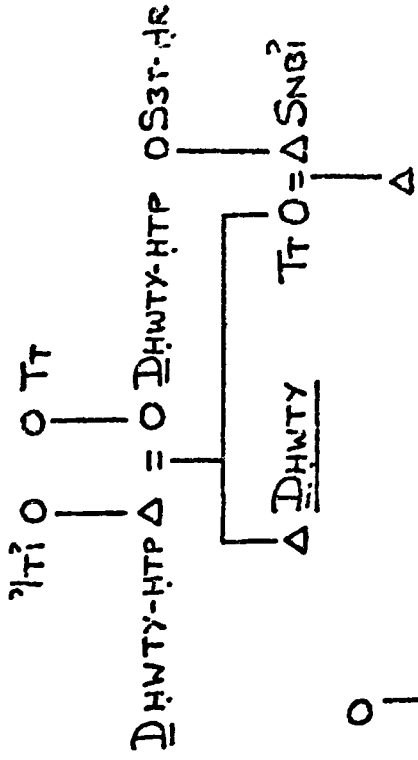


British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.37

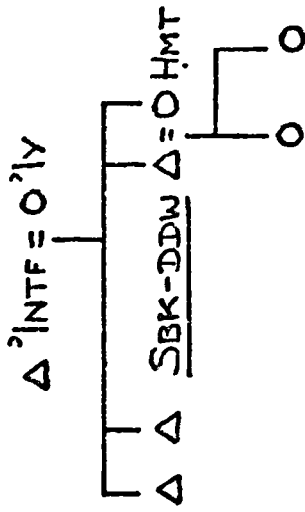


British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.38

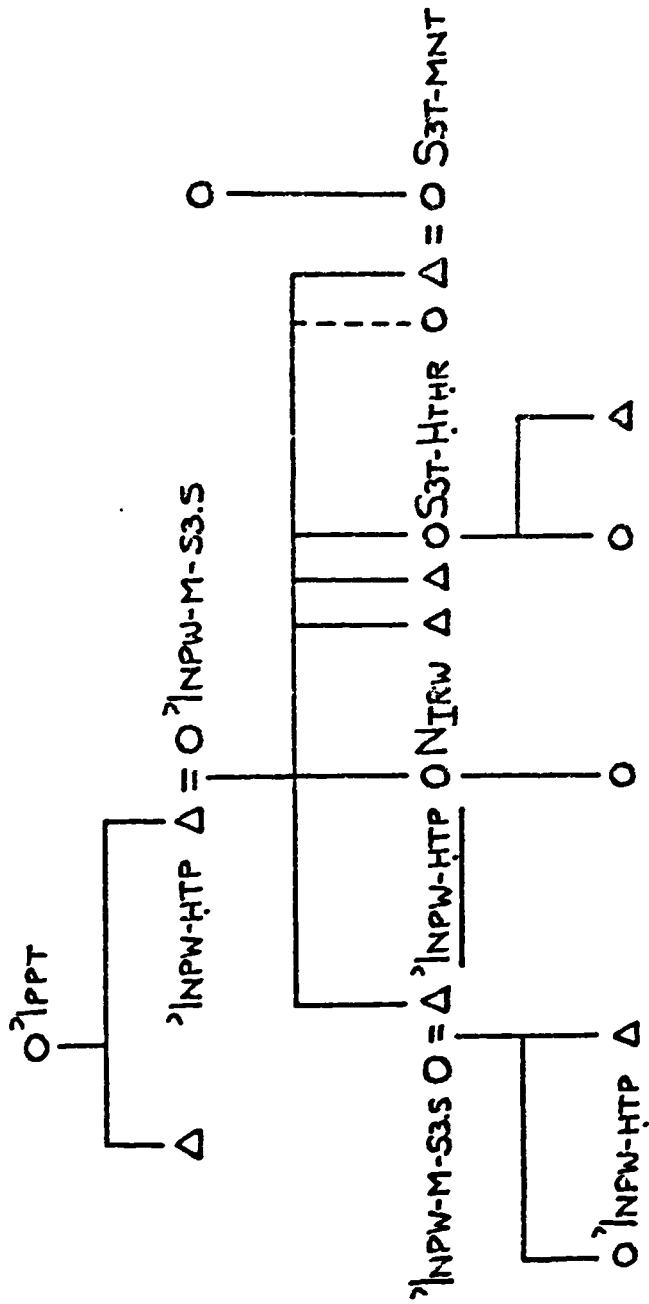
British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.40



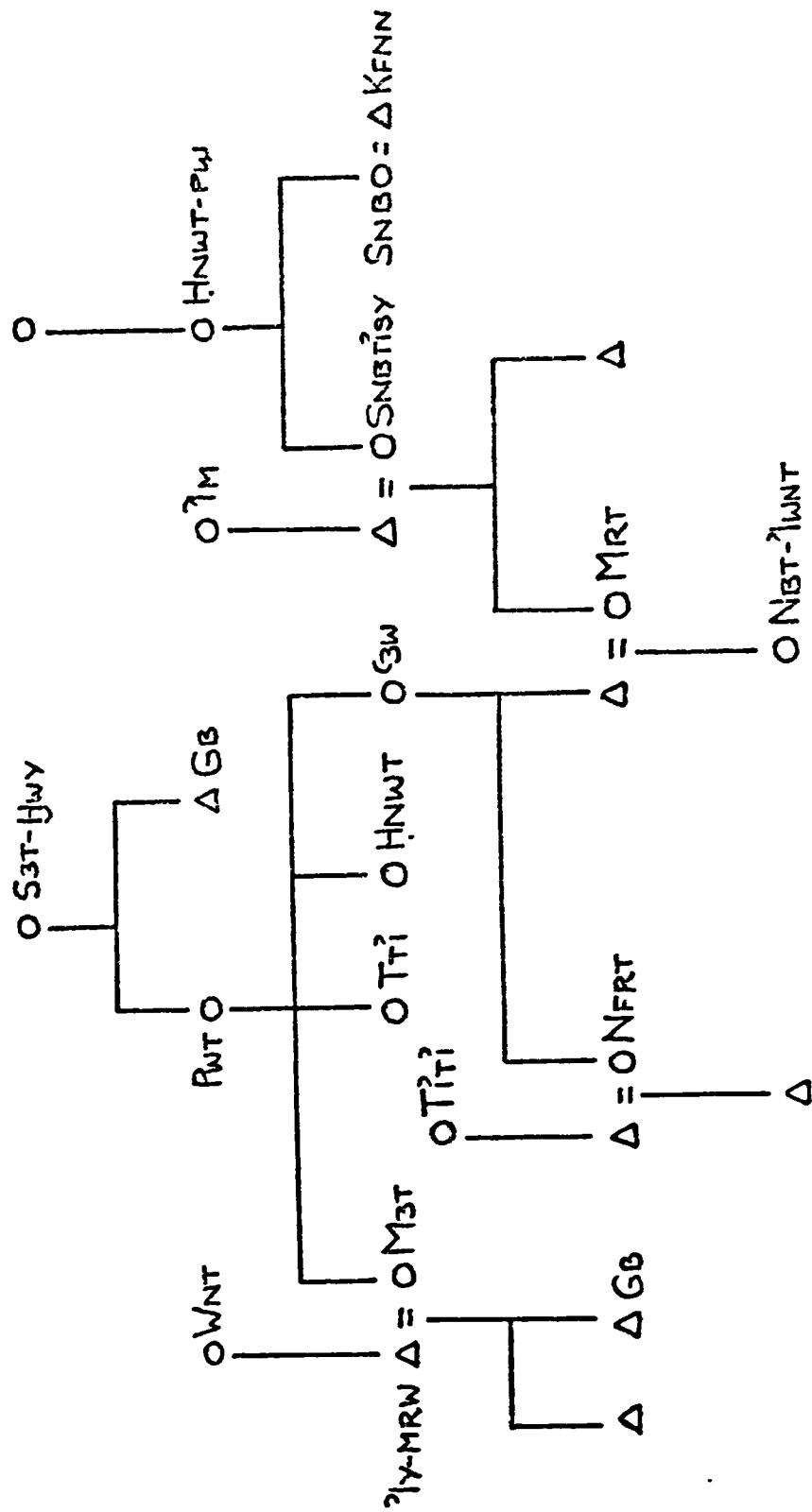
British Museum stela,
vol.IV, pls.12/13



British Museum stela, vol.IV, pls.36/37

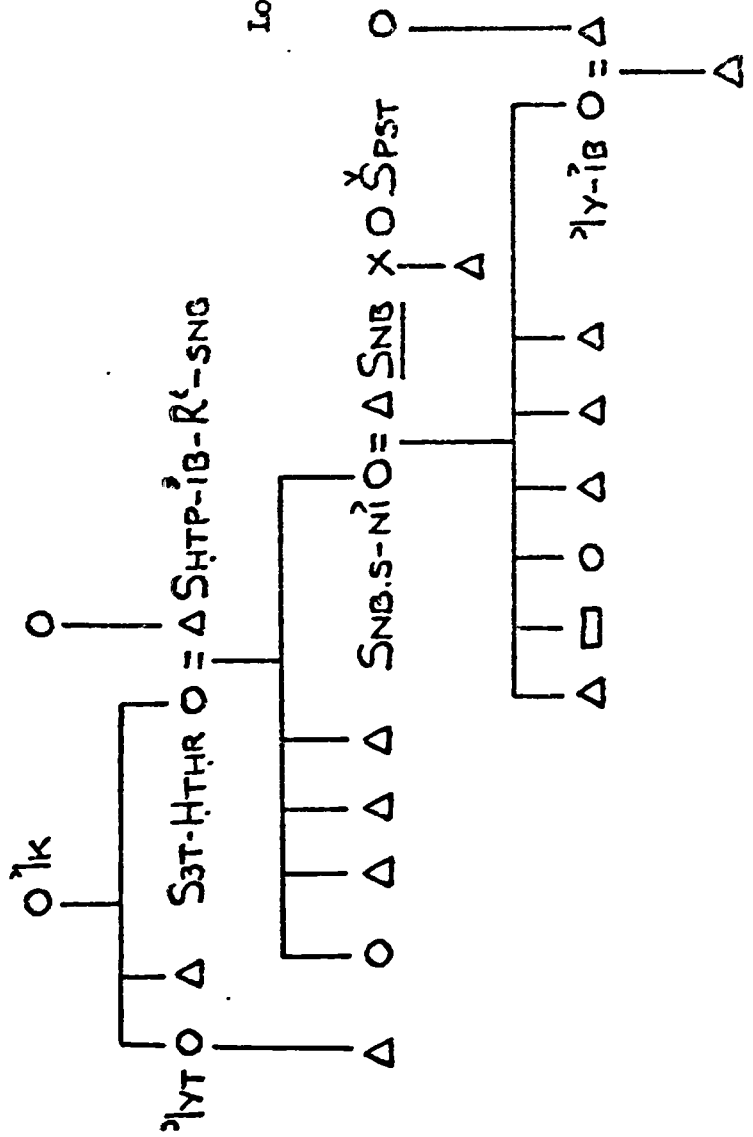
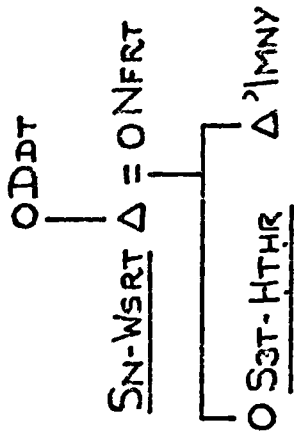


British Museum stela,
vol.IV, pl.39

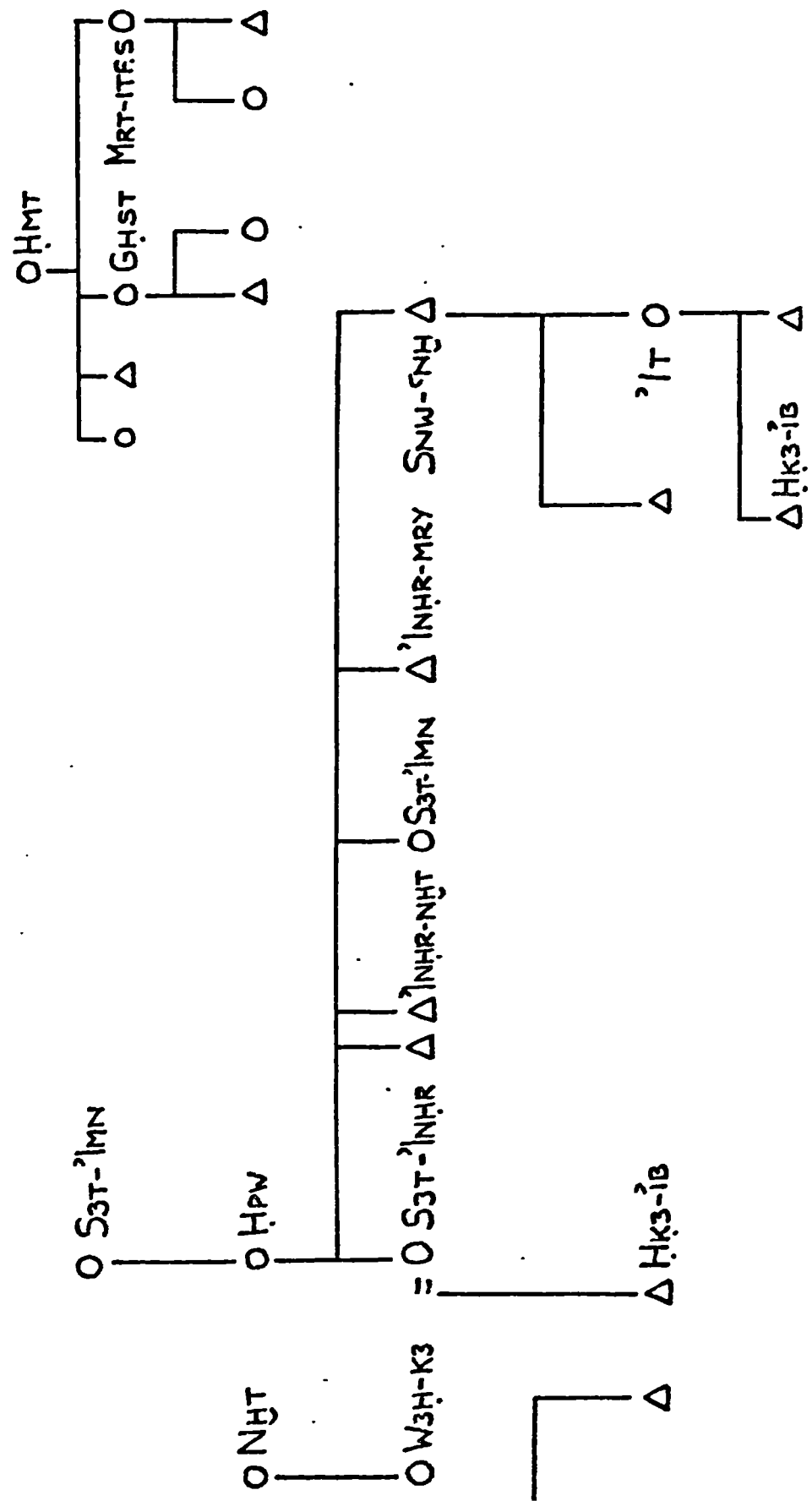


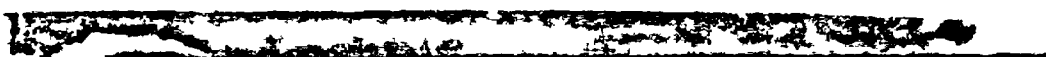
Louvre stela 0.6

Louvre stela C.22

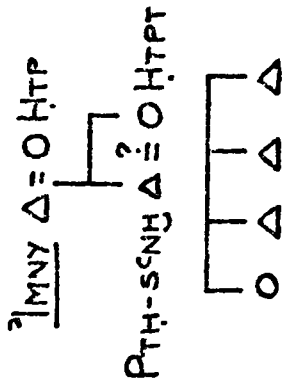
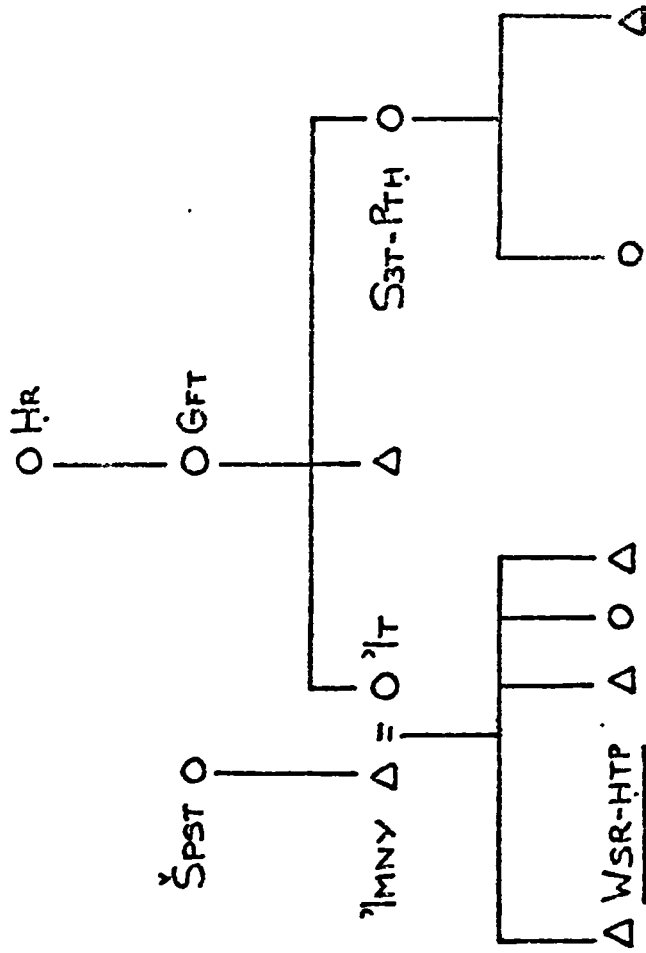


Louvre stela C.40

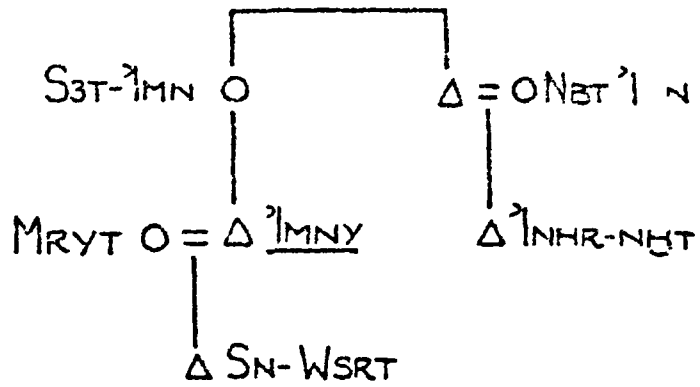




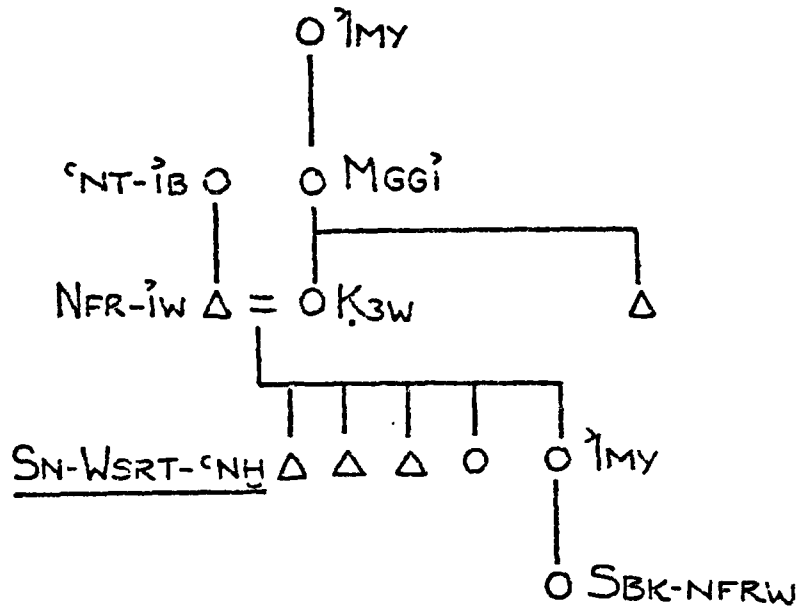
Louvre stela C.179



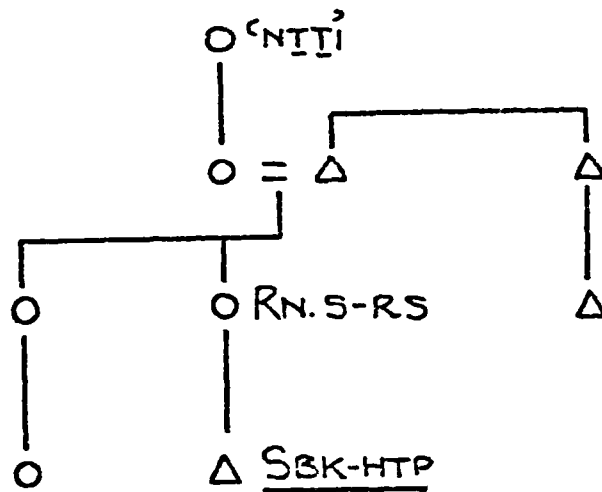
Louvre stela C.1.7



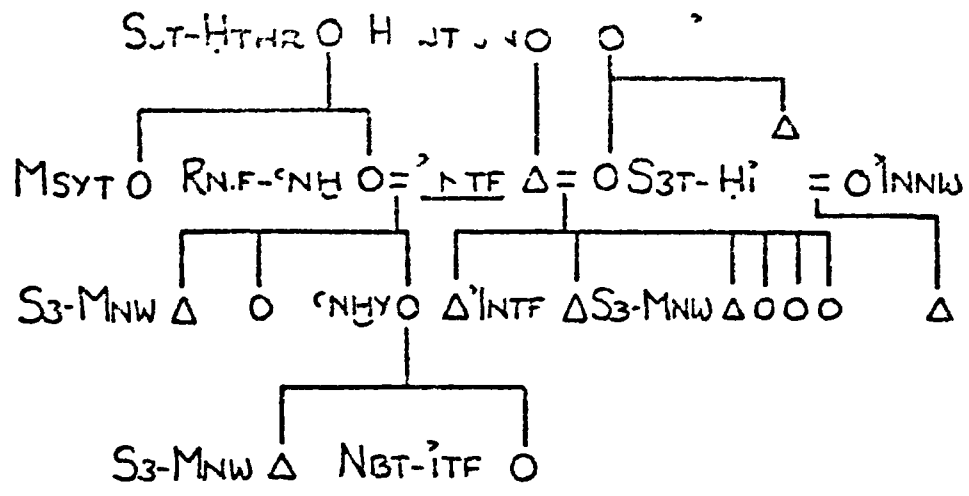
Guimet stela C.5



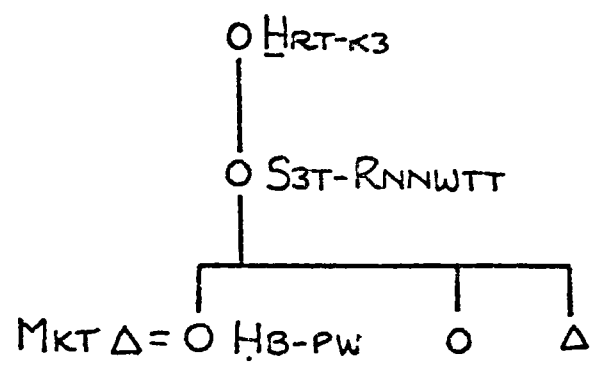
Guimet stela C.6



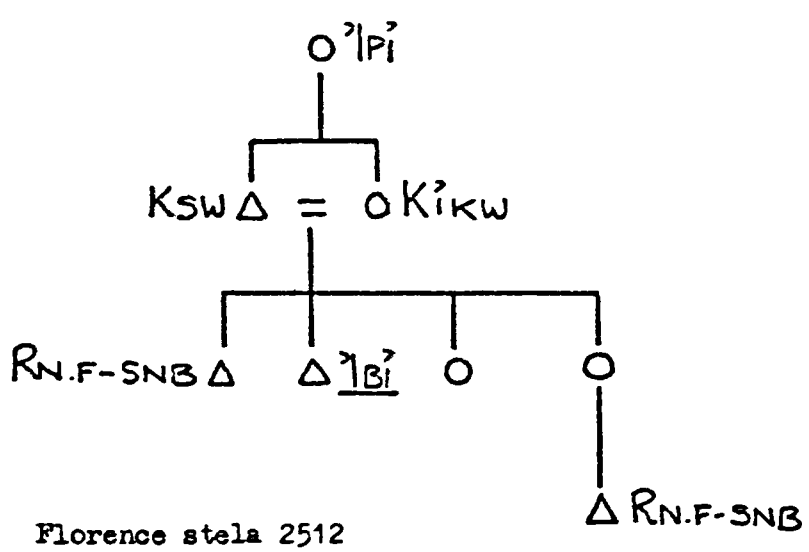
Guimet stela C.3



Florence stela 2504 and Cairo stela 20.64

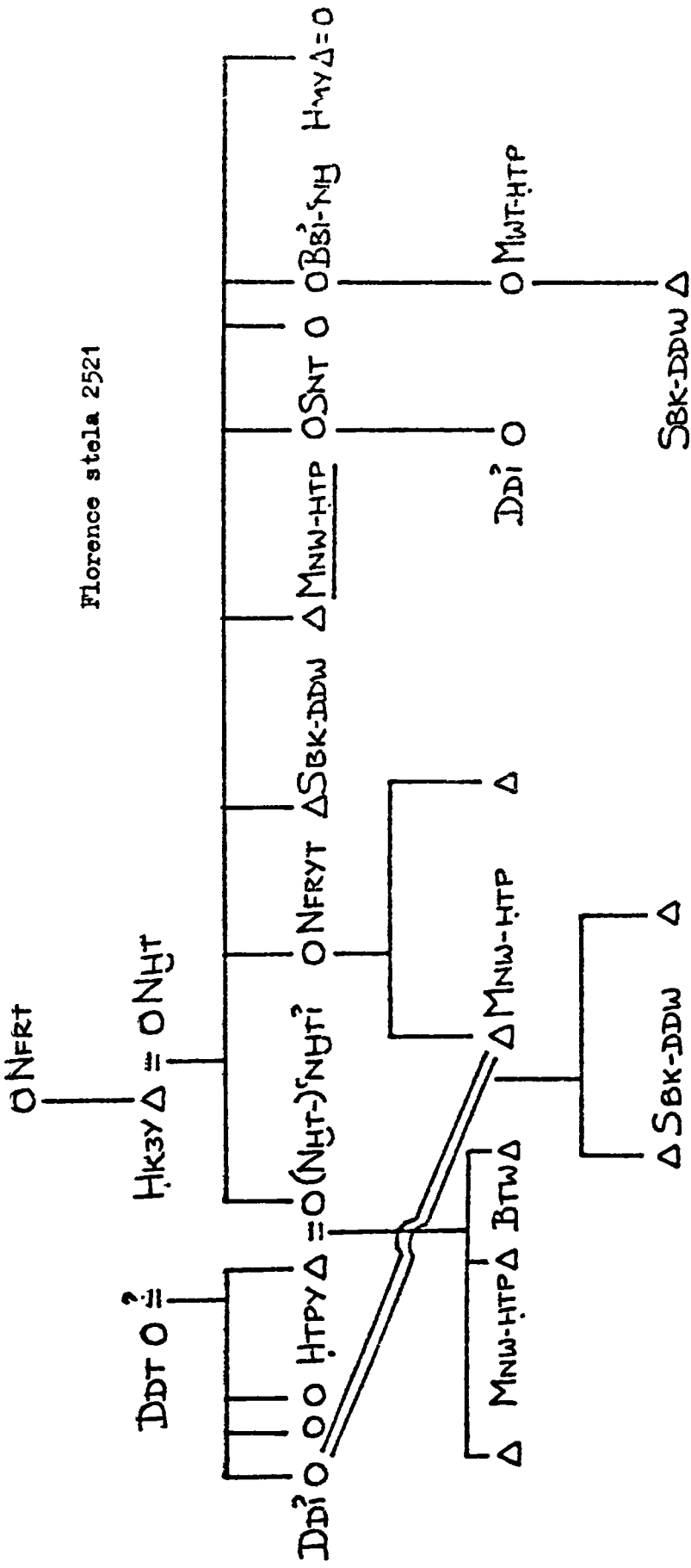


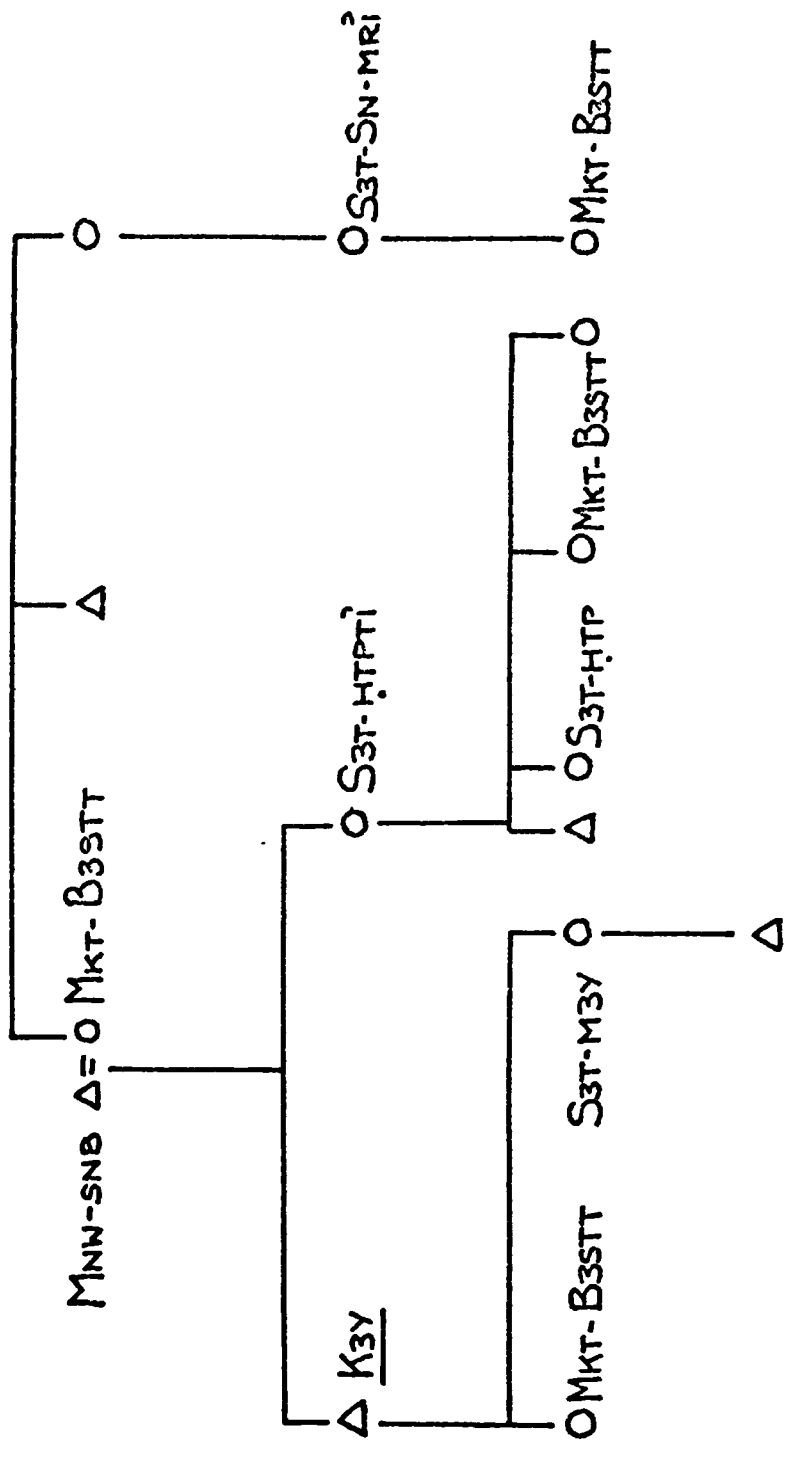
Florence stela 2564



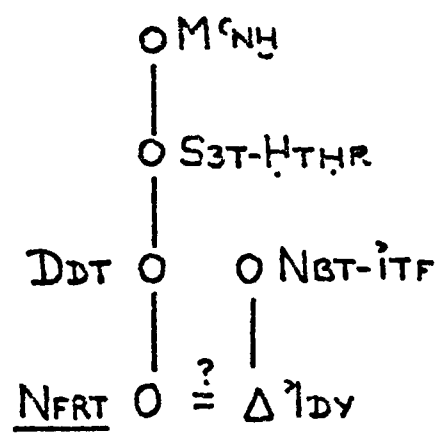
Florence stela 2512

Florence stela 2521

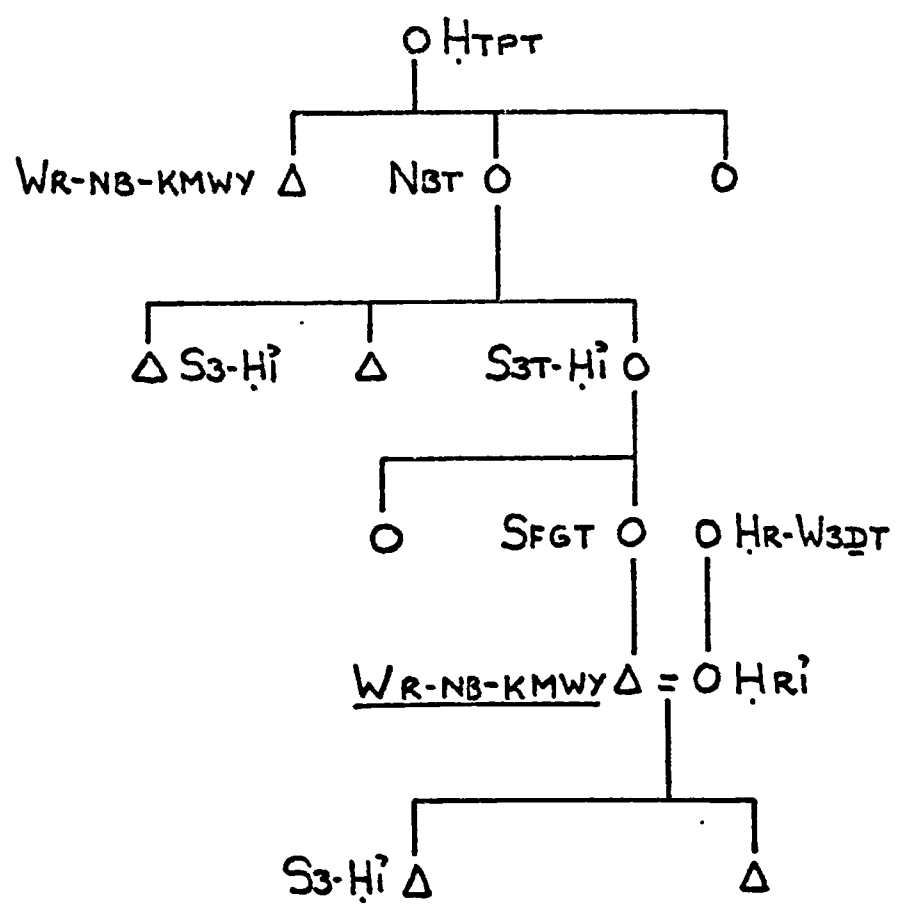




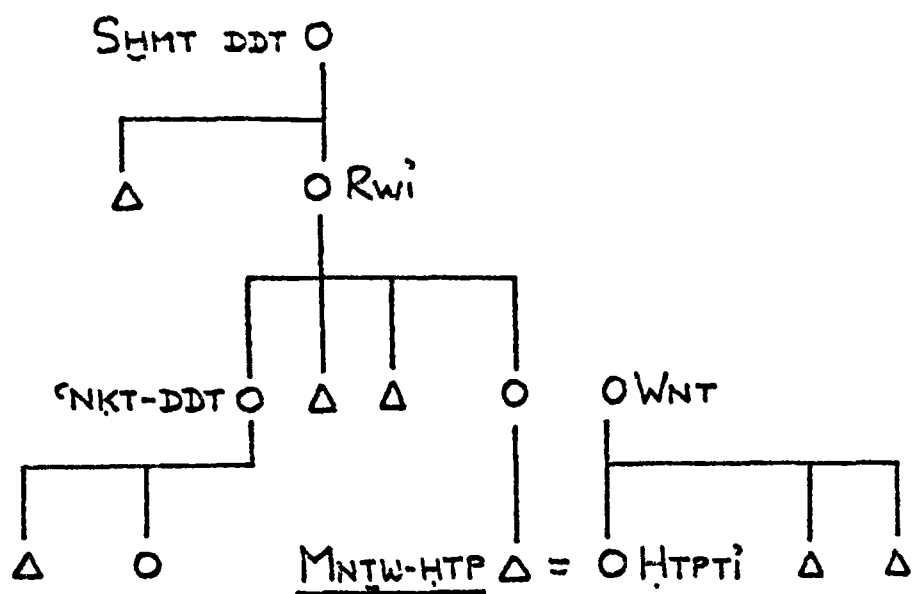
Berlin stela 1193



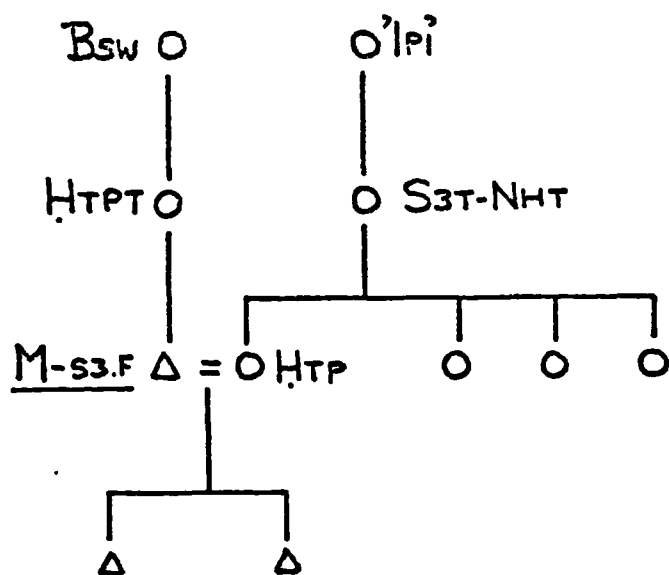
Berlin stela 7230



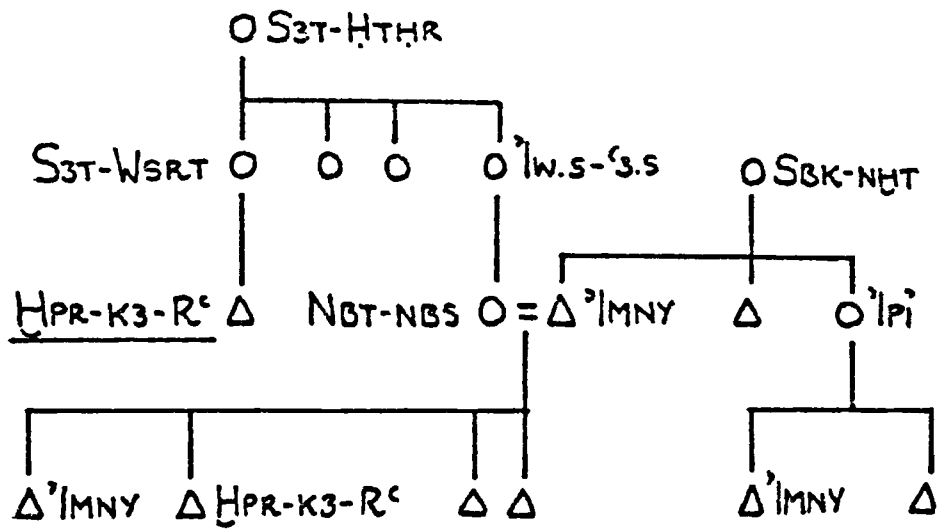
Berlin stela 7286



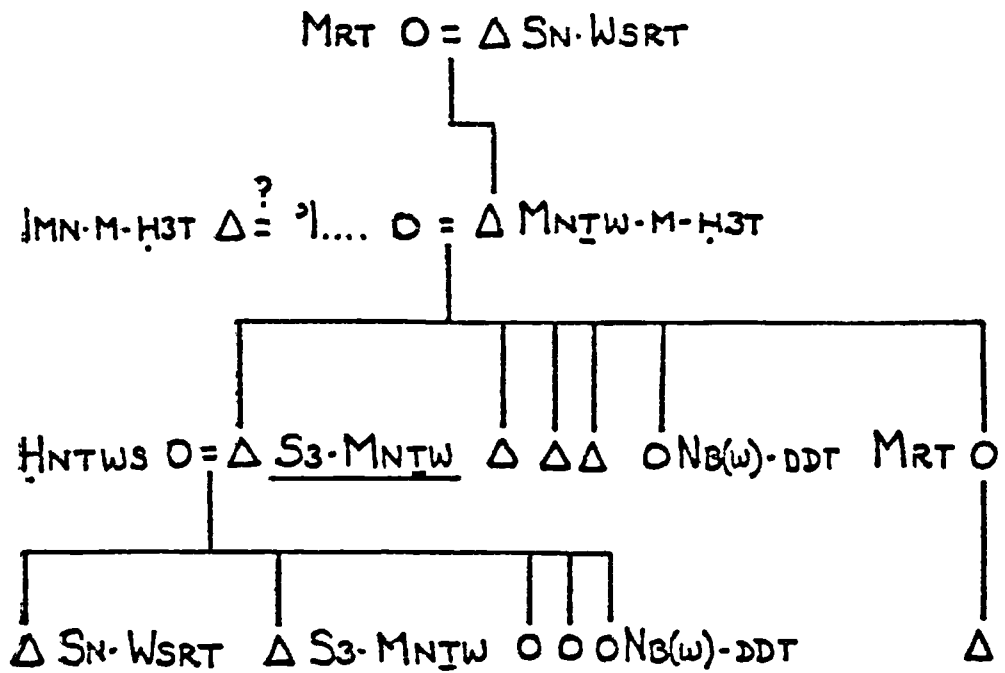
Berlin stela 7282



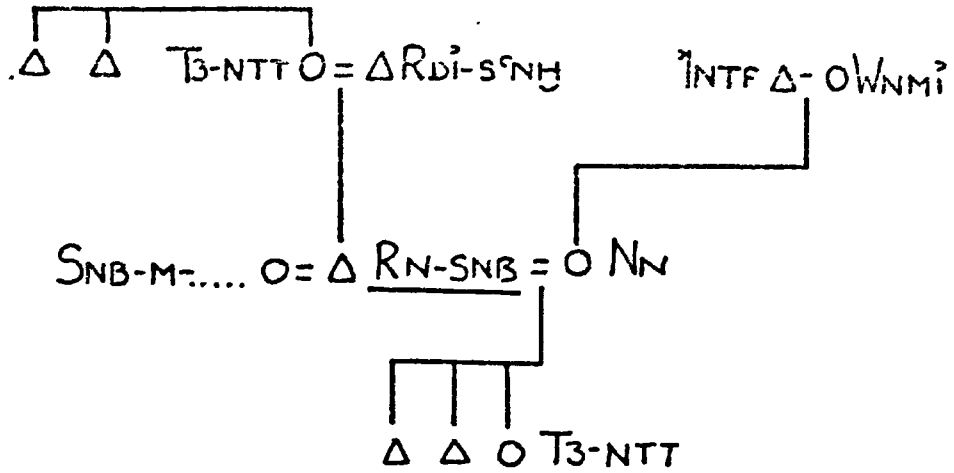
Hanover stela 2928



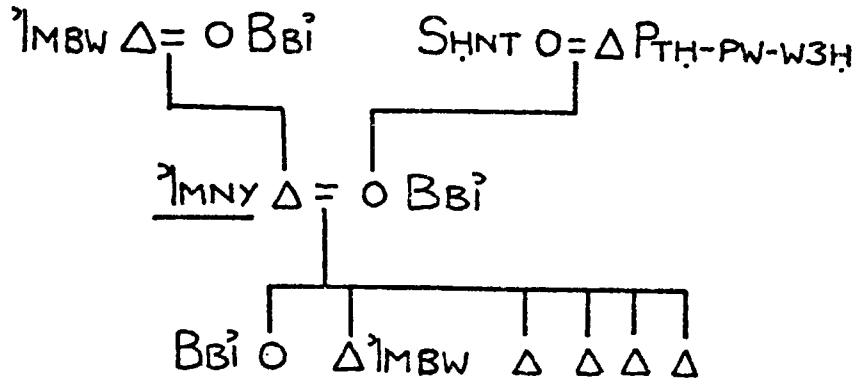
Hanover stela 2930



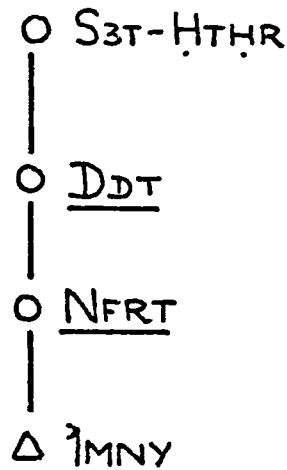
Hanover offering table 1926.191



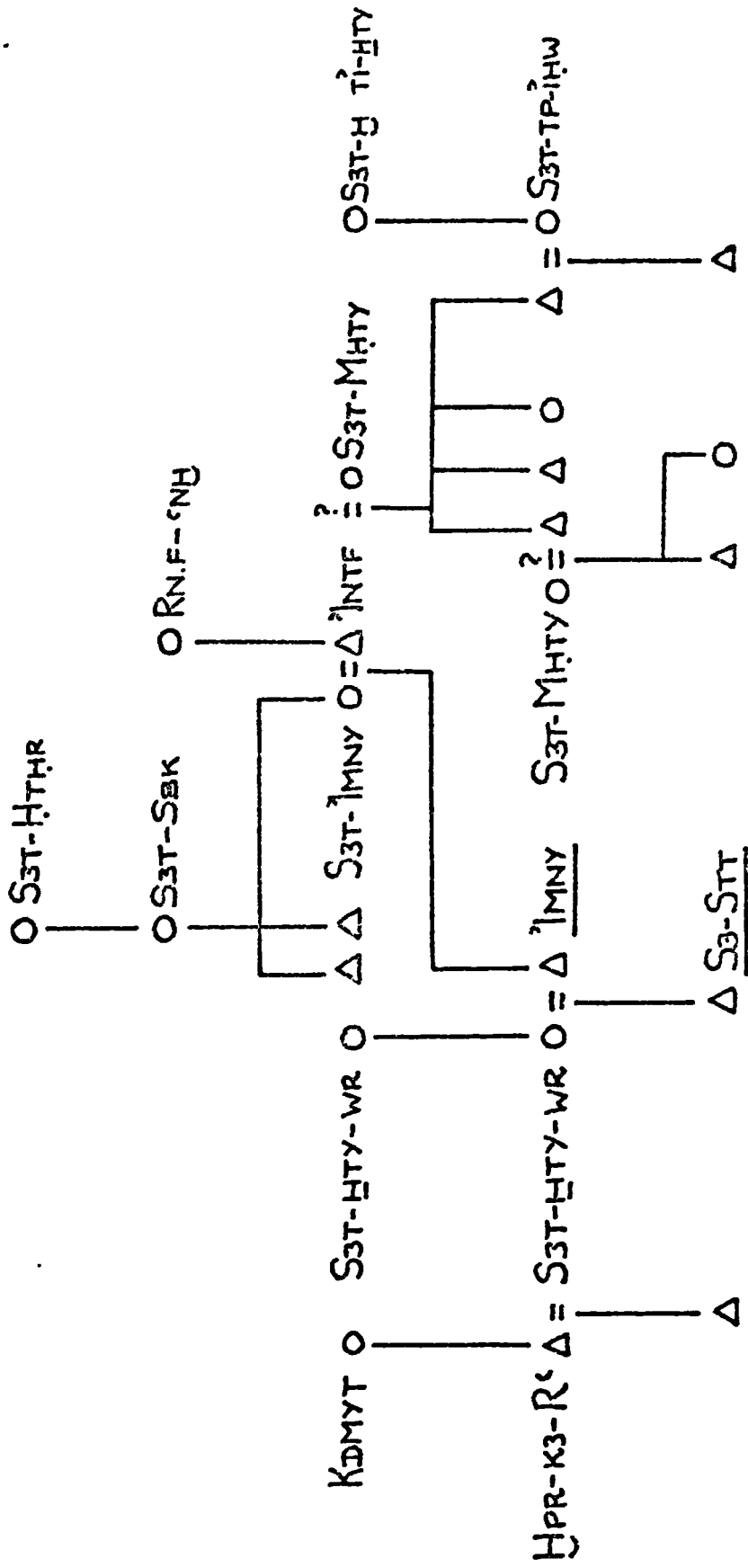
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.I, pl.I, no.2



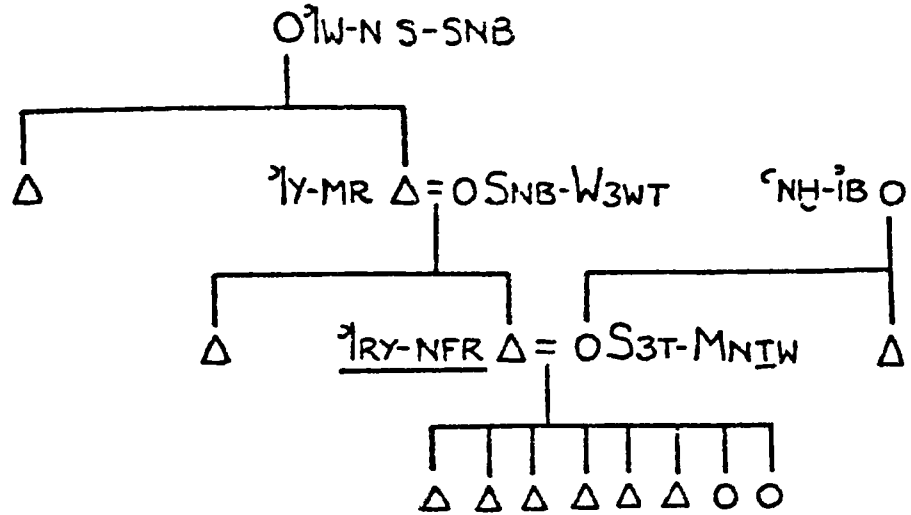
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.I, pl.II, no.3



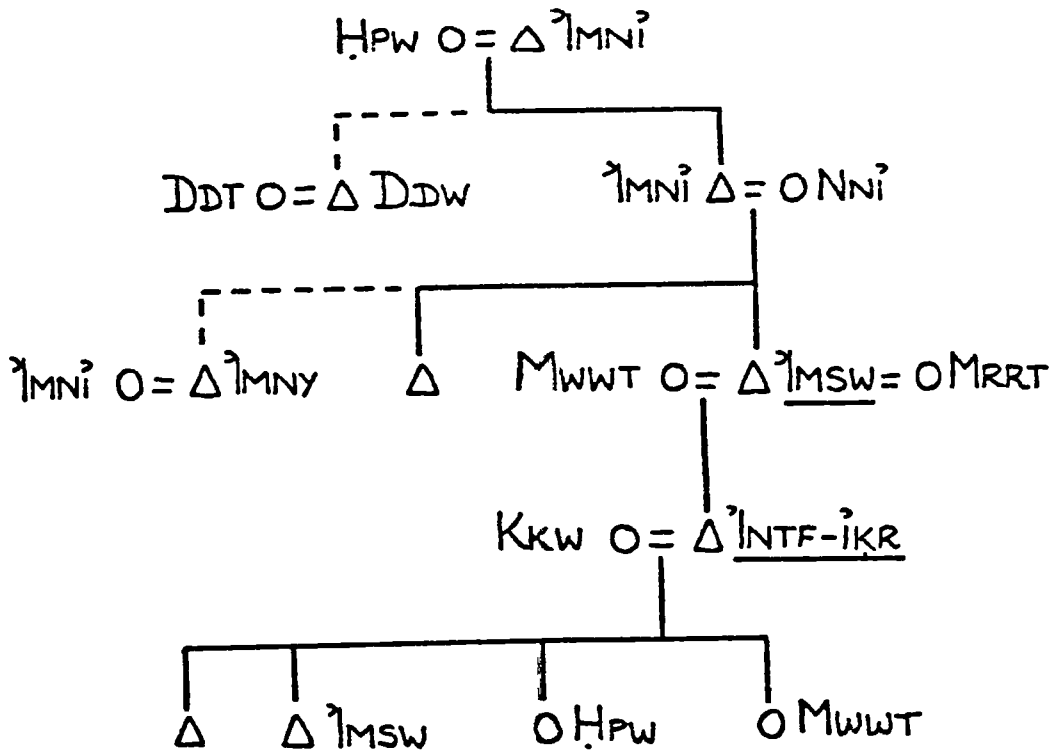
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.II, pl.IV, no.5



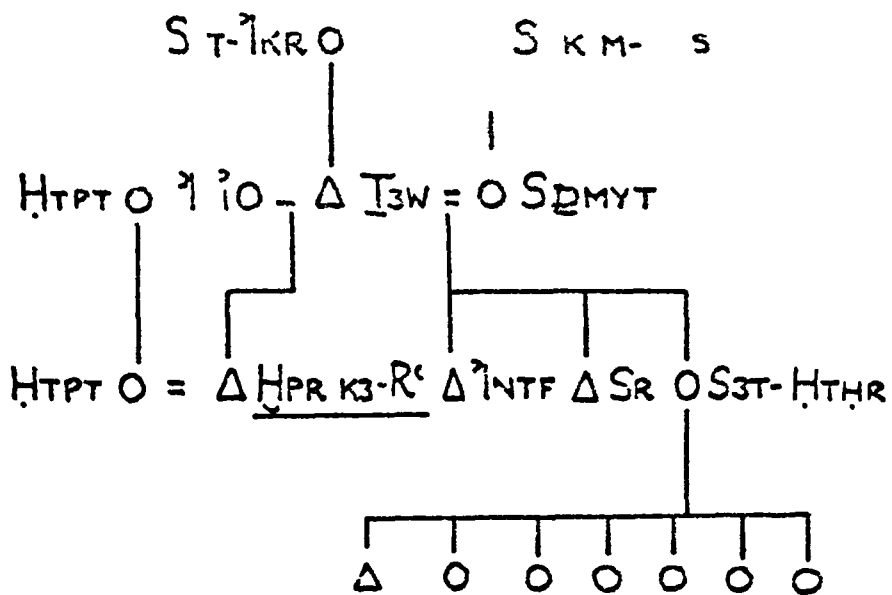
Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.I, no.1 and Louvre stela C.5



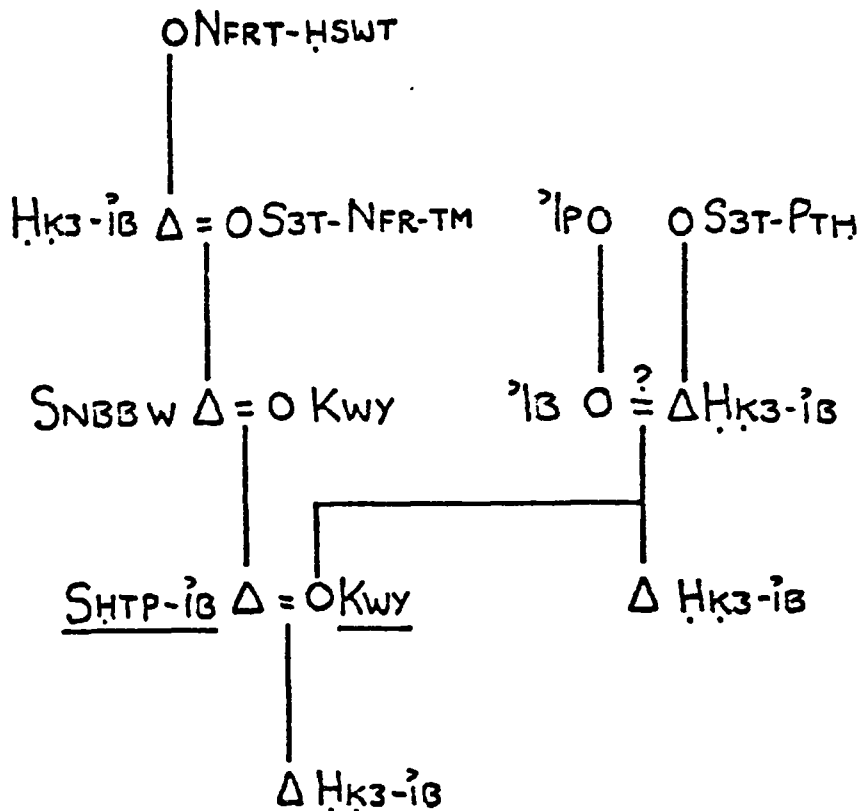
Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.III, no.3



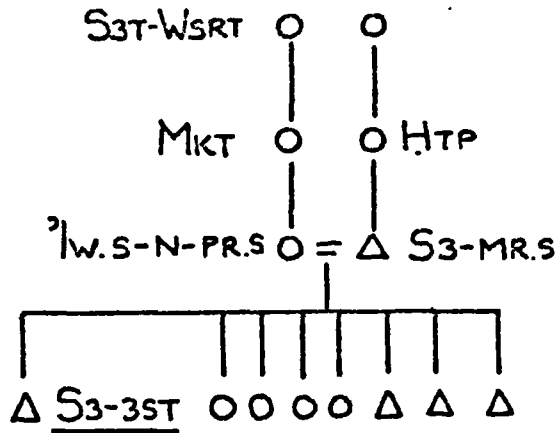
Leiden, pl.II, no.3



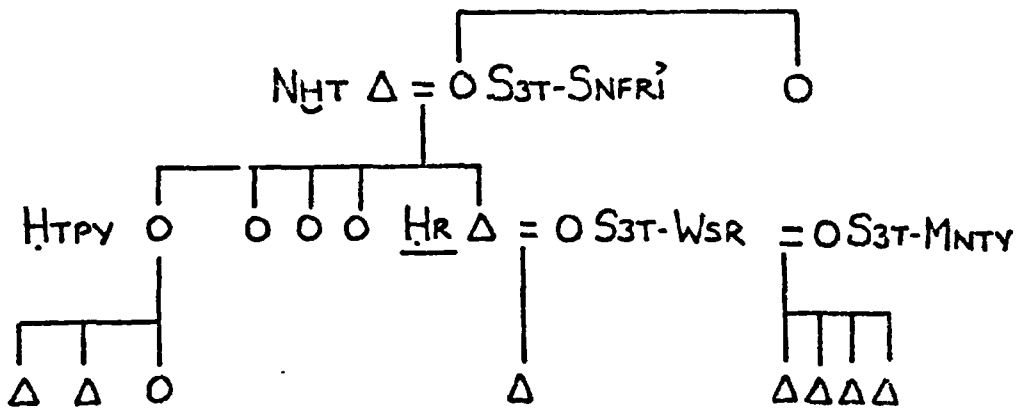
Leiden, pl.V, no.6, Cairo stela 20531 and Guimet stela B.3



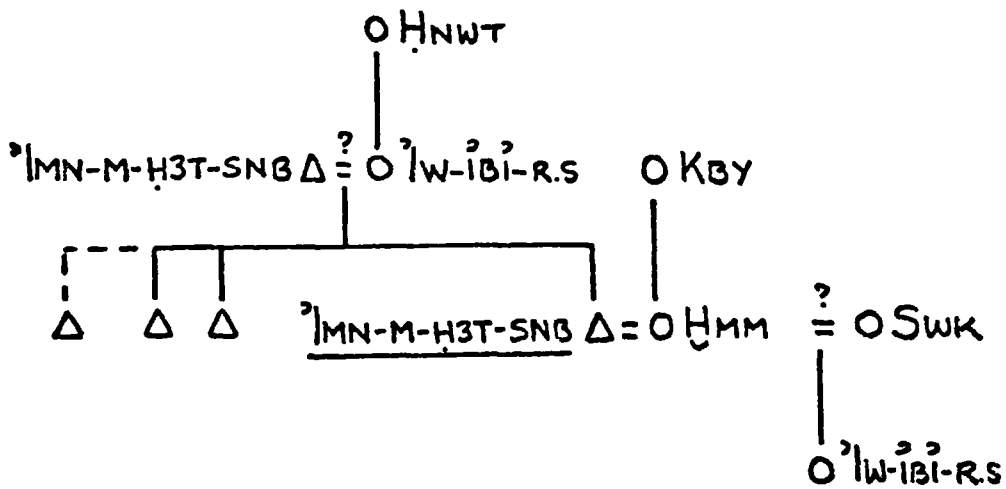
Leiden, pls.VIII and XIX, nos.9 and 10



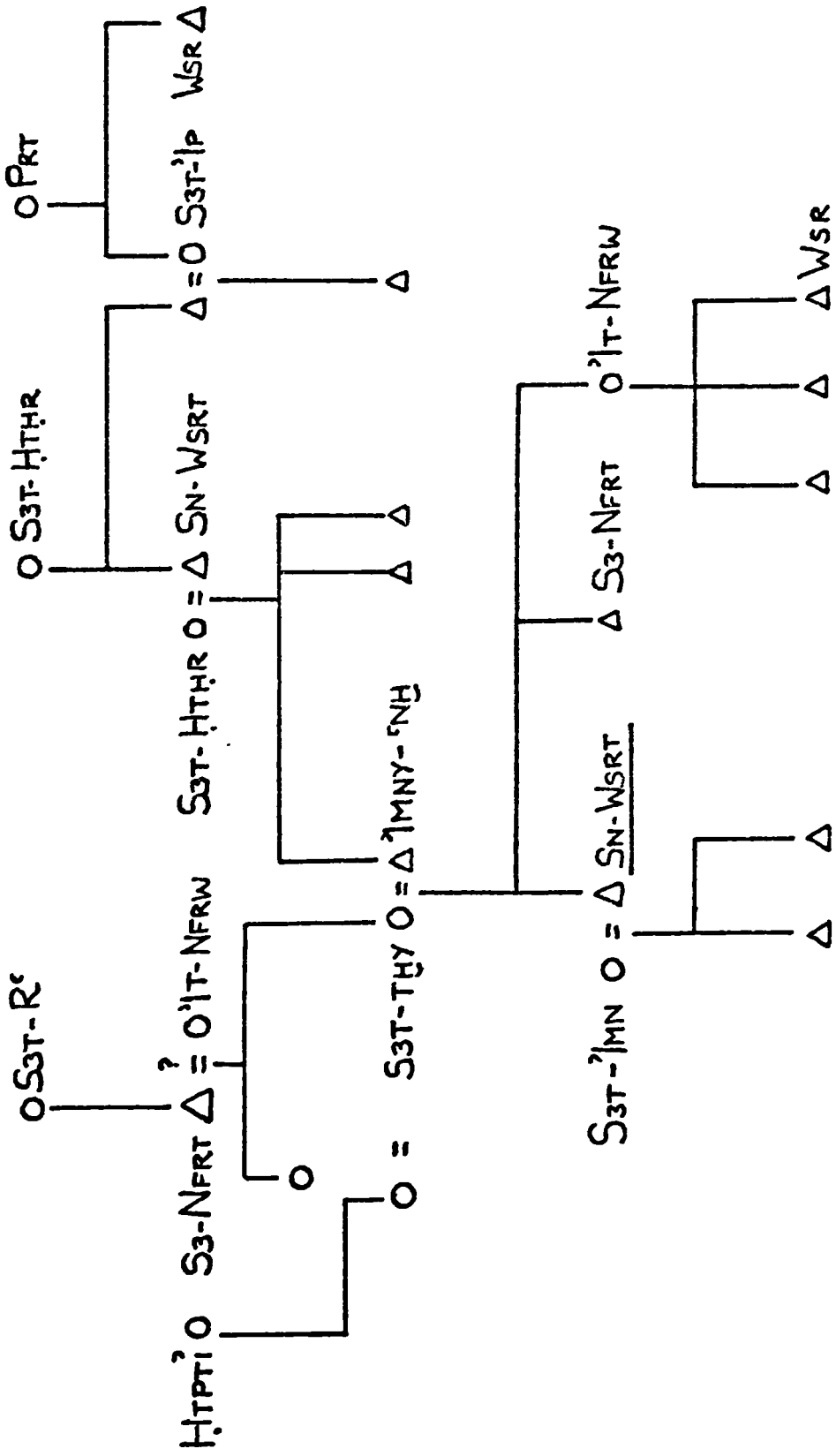
Leiden, pl.IX, no.10
and British Museum, vol.II, pl.15



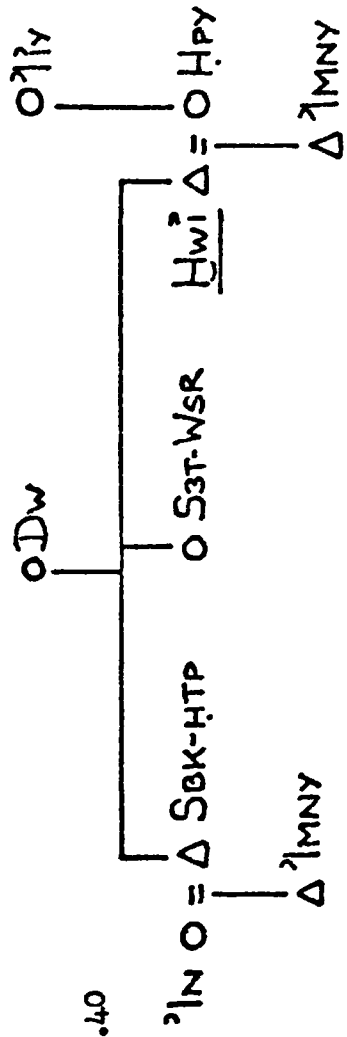
Leiden, pl.XI, no.12



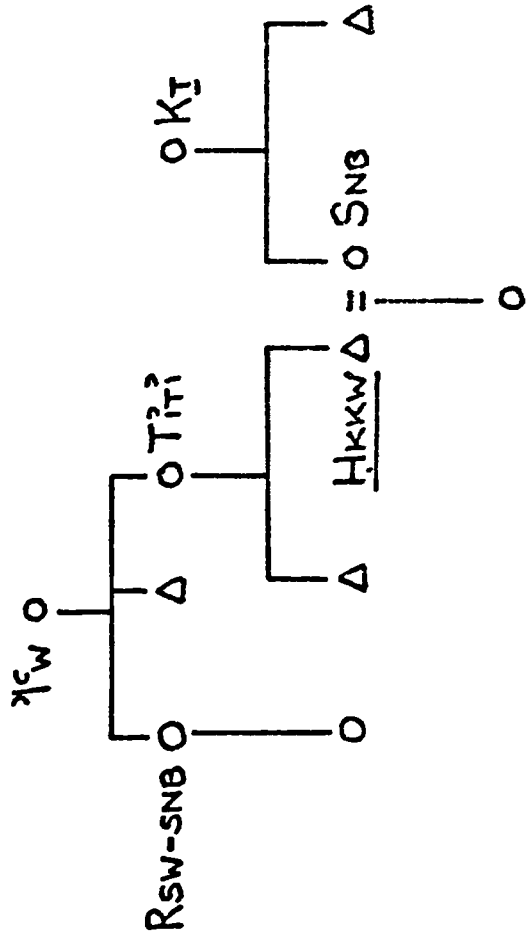
Leiden, pl.XXIII, no.24

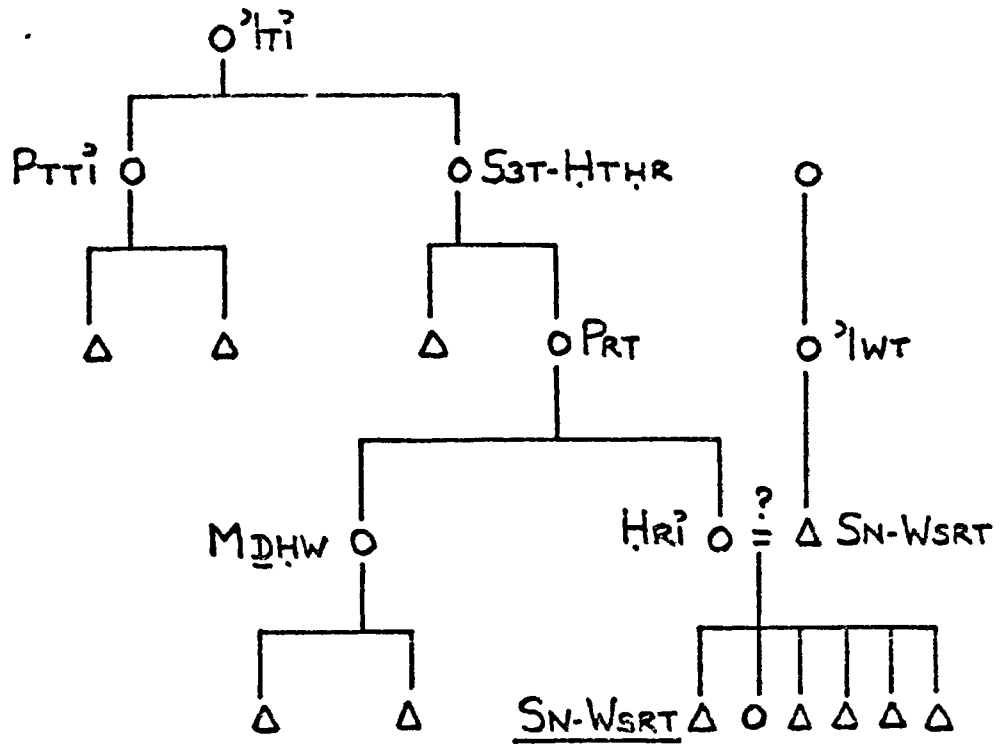


Leiden, pl. XXX, no. 40

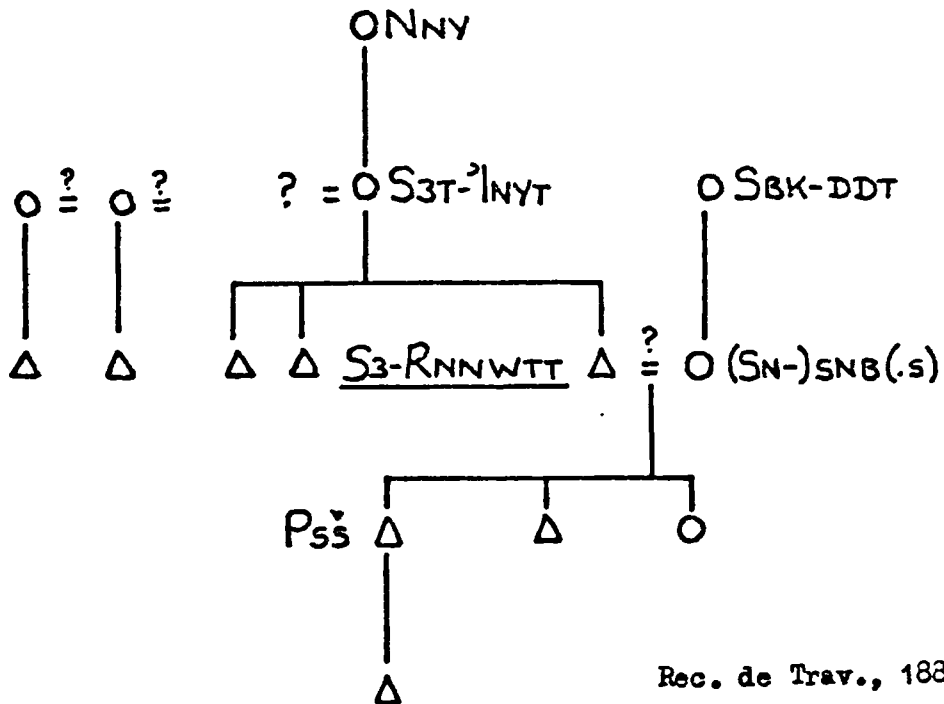


Leiden, pl. XXXV, no. 46

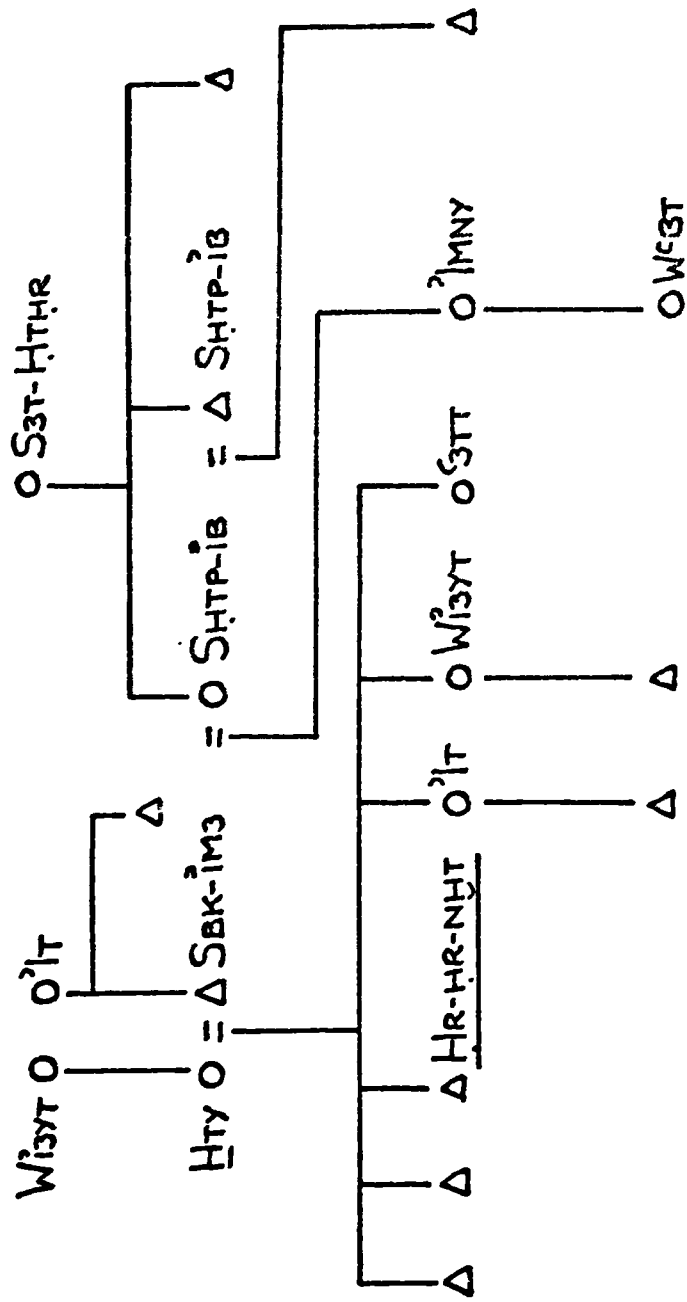




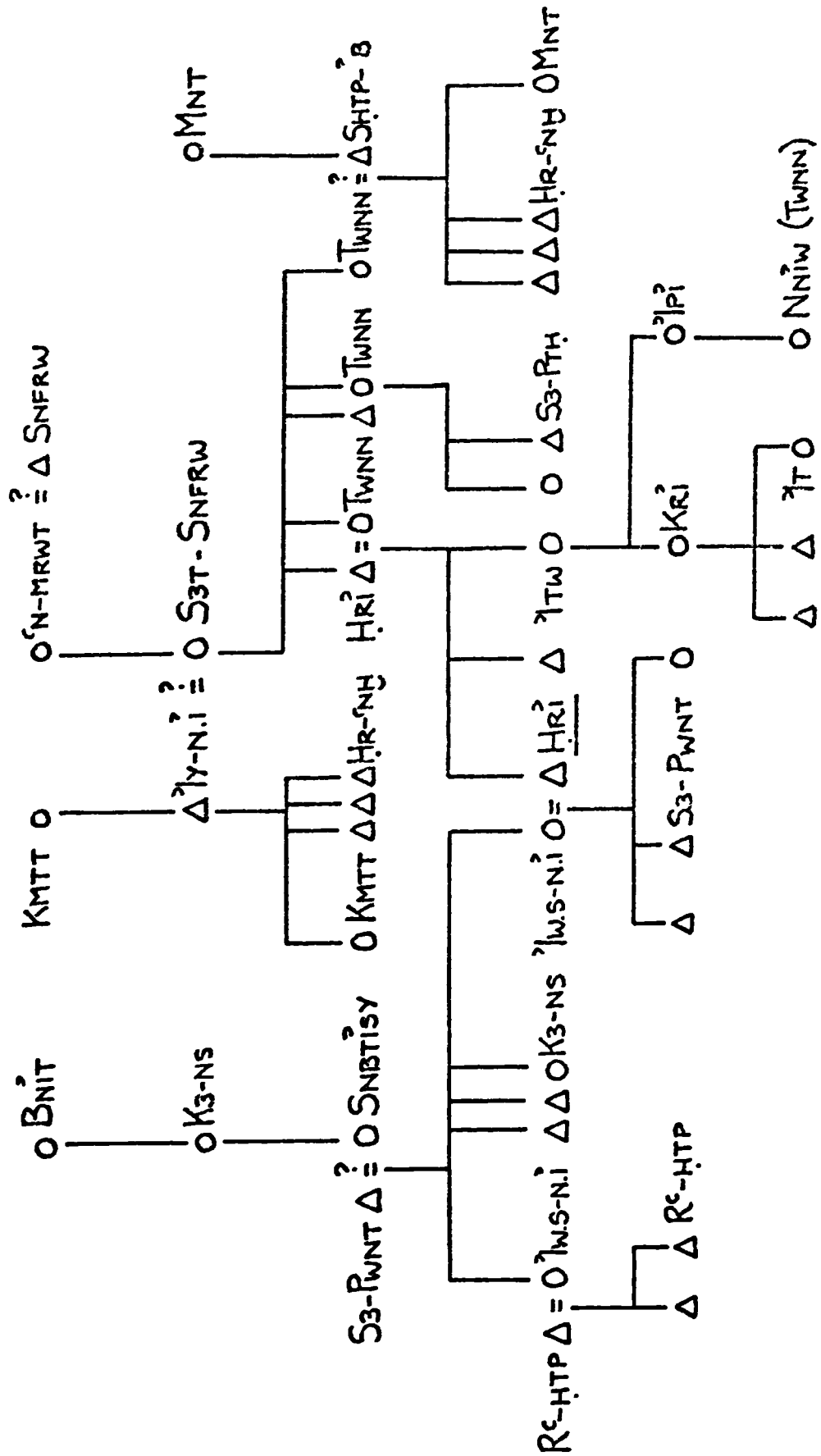
Leiden, pl. XXXVII, no. 48

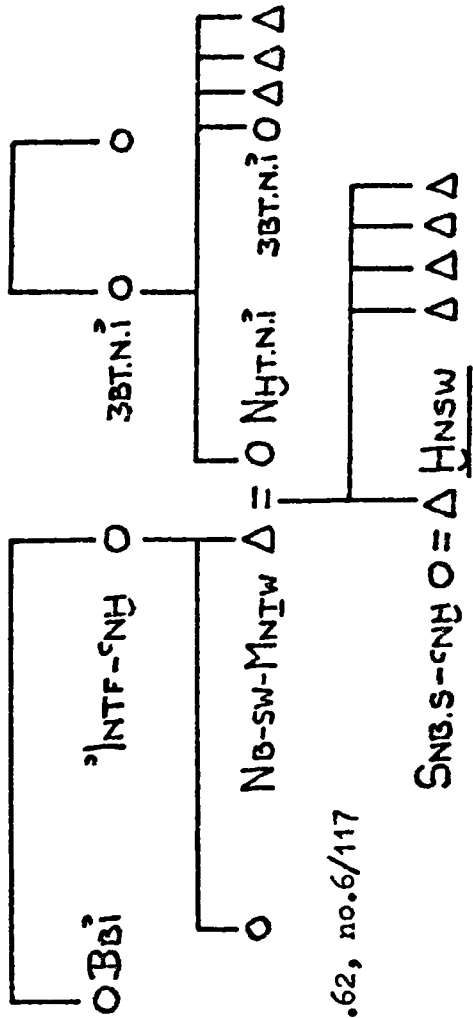


Rec. de Trav., 1832, vol. III,
p. 121, XIV/98

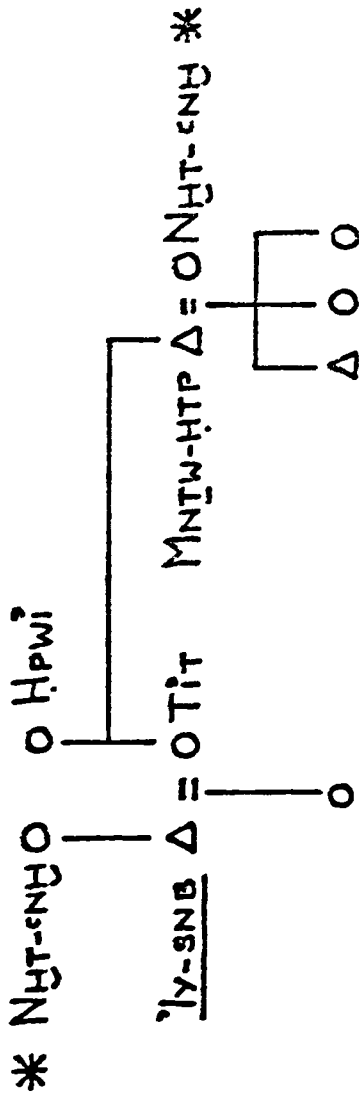


Rec. de Trav., 1882, vol.III, p.122, no.XV/34

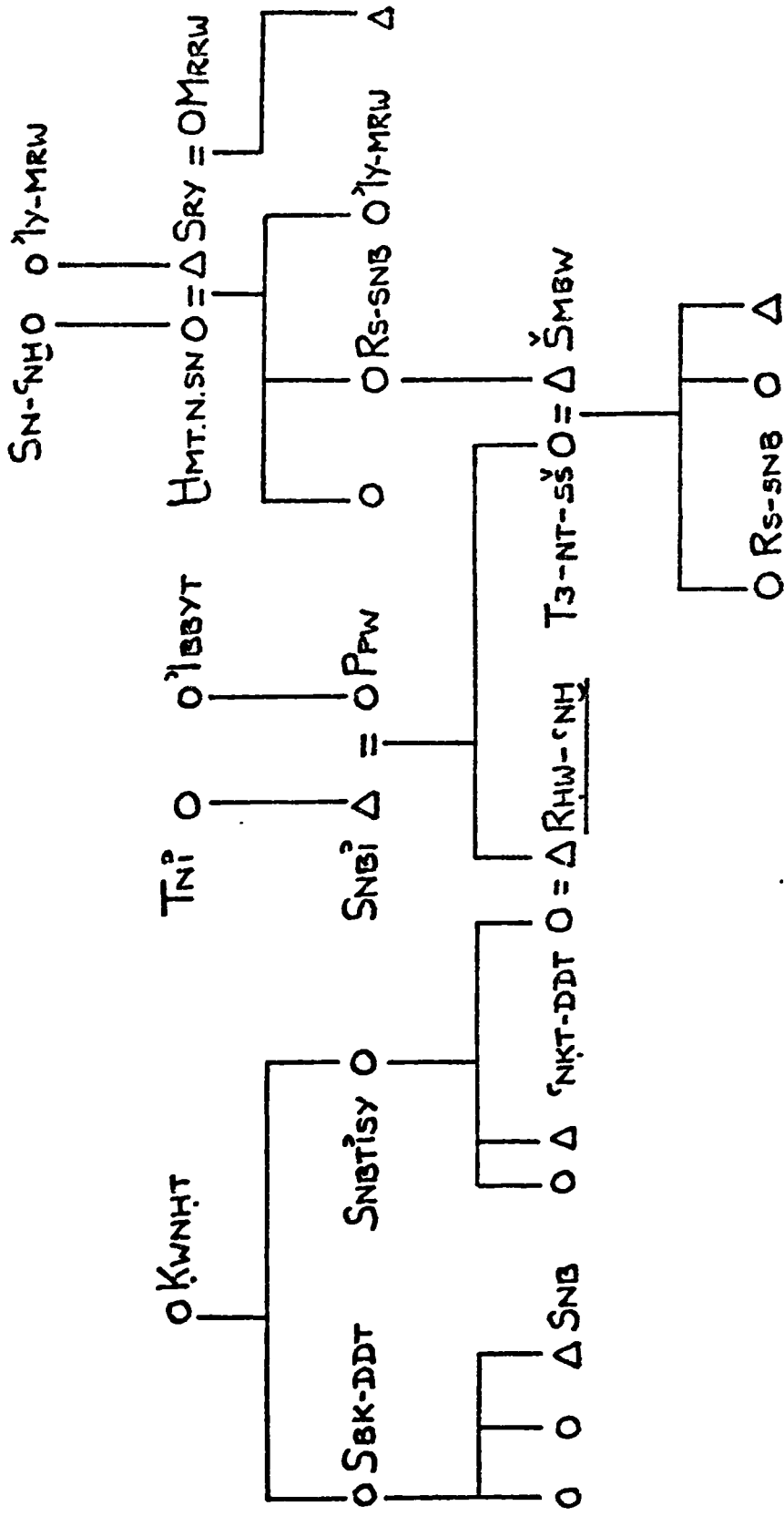


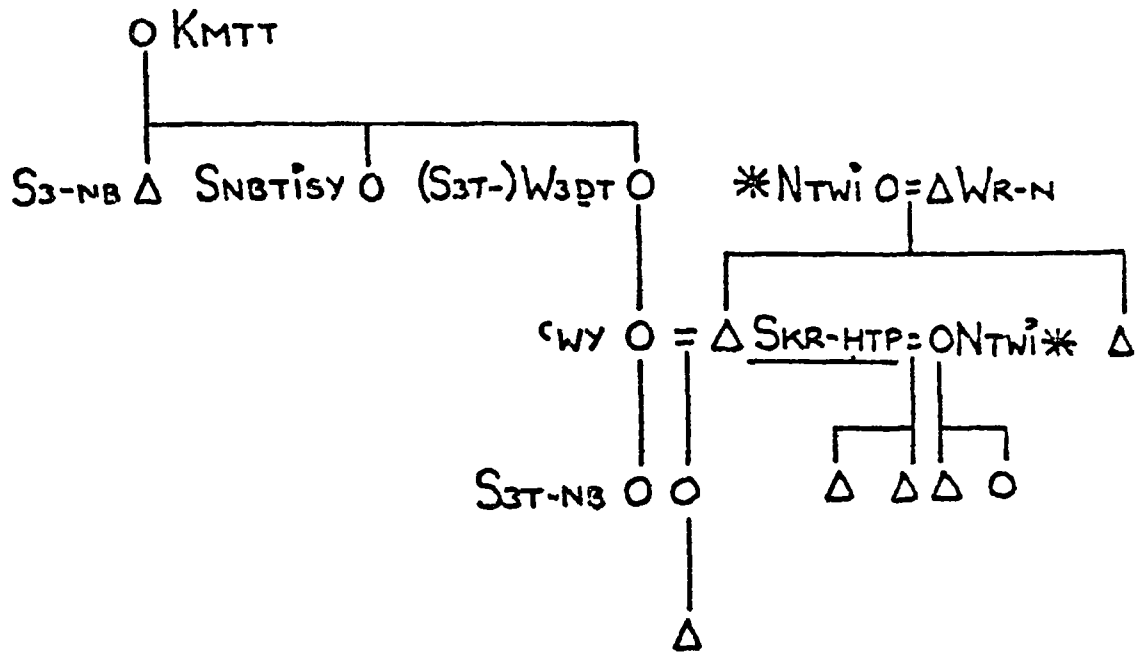


Rec. de Trav., 1887, vol.IX, p.62, no.6/117

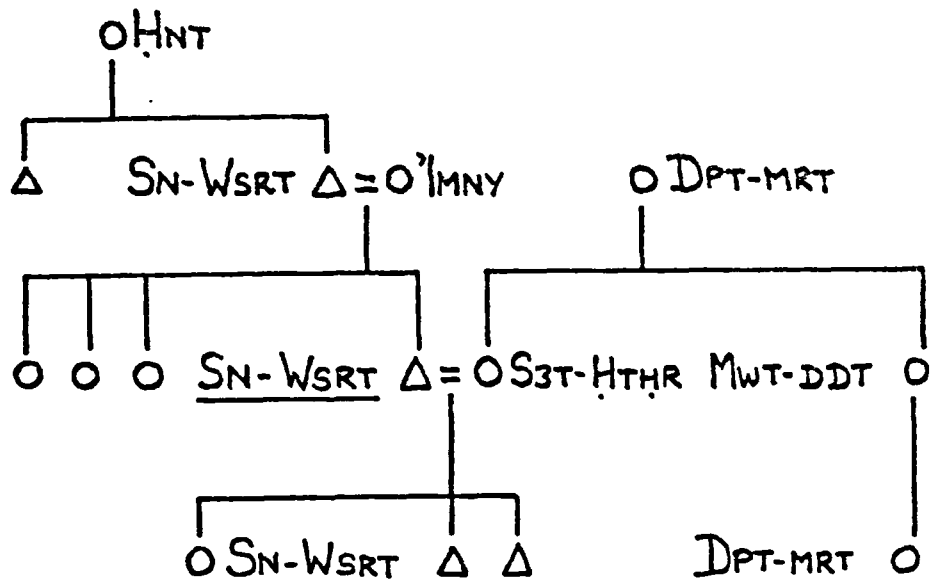


Rec. de Trav., 1903, vol.XXV, p.134, Toulouse 645b

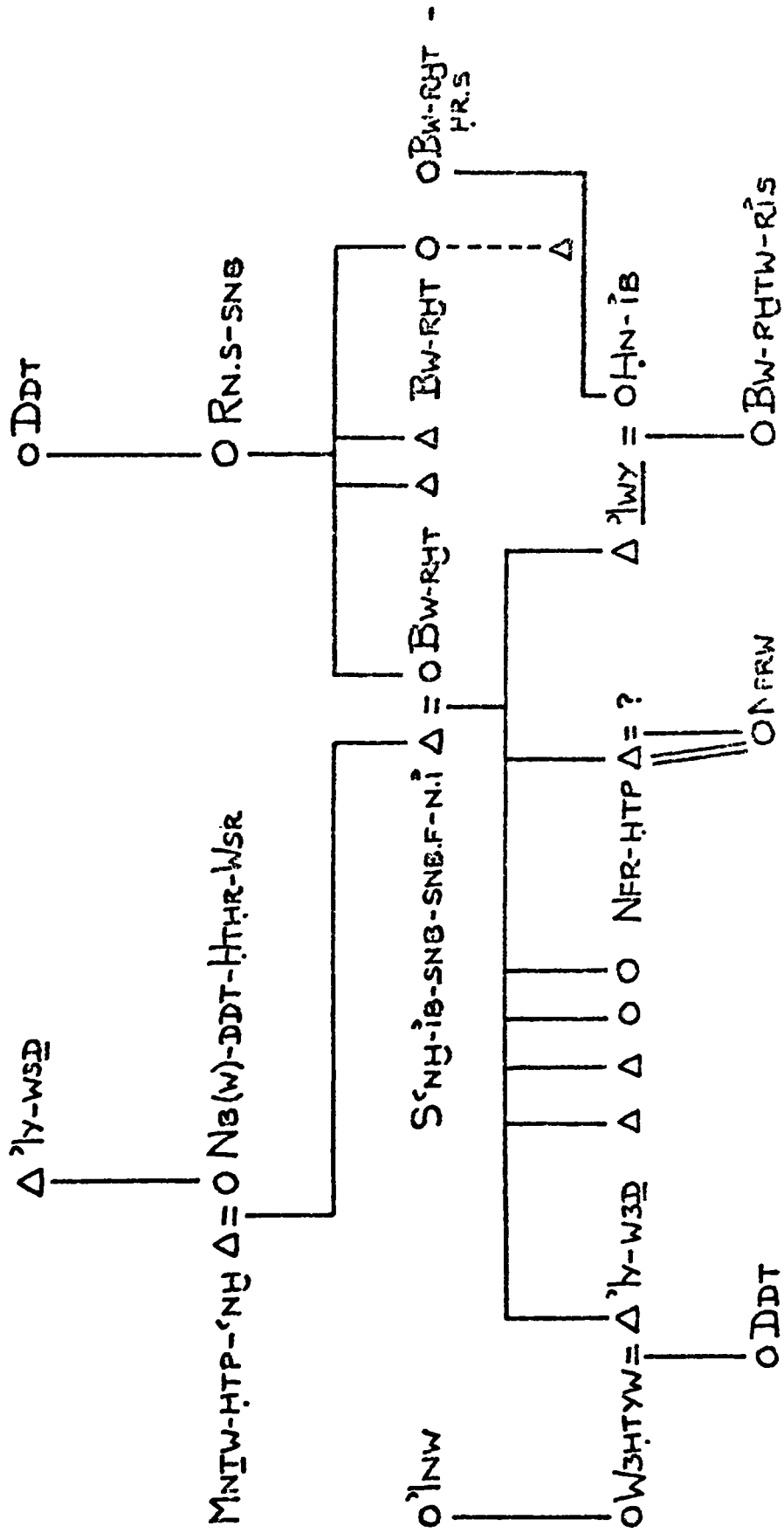


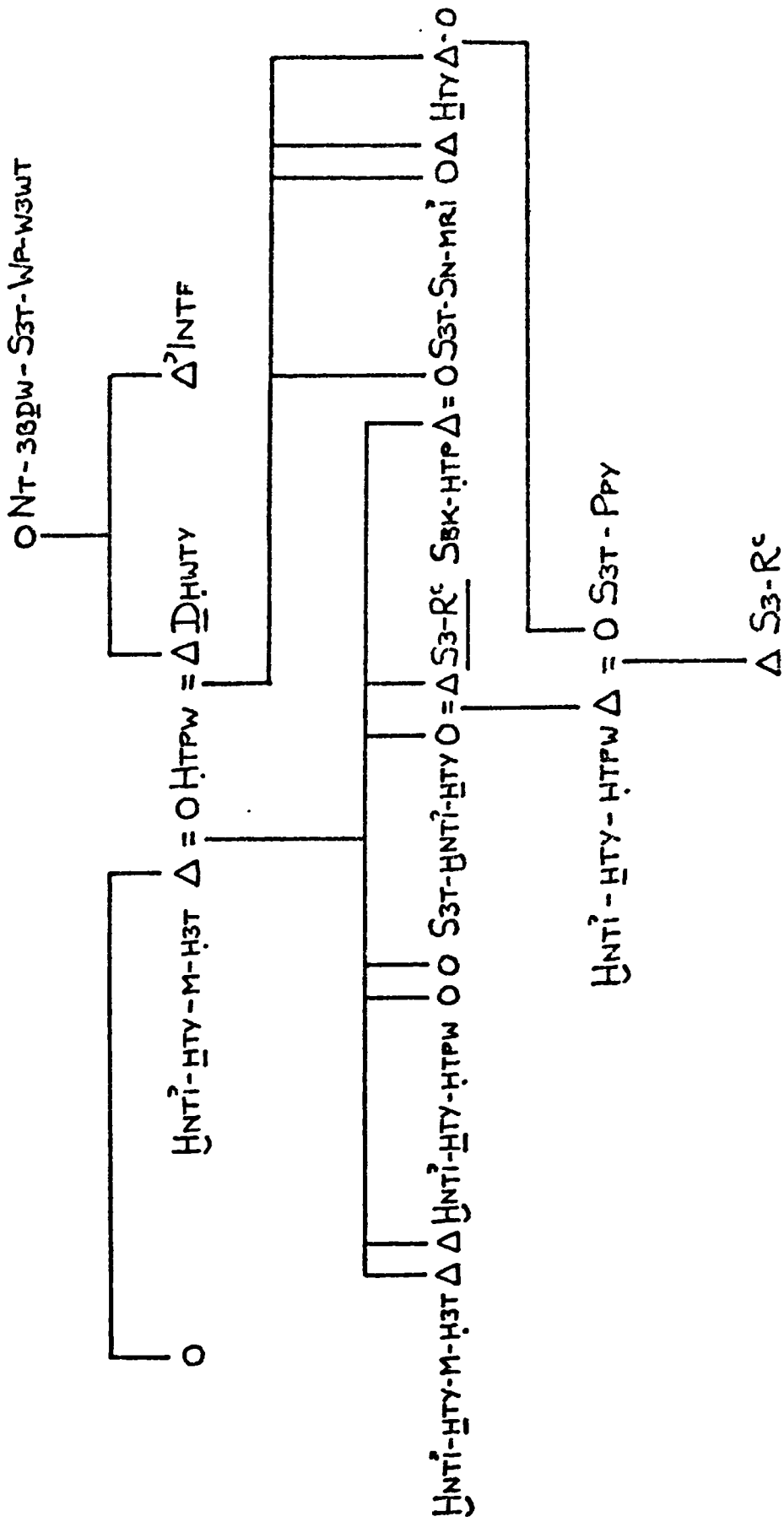


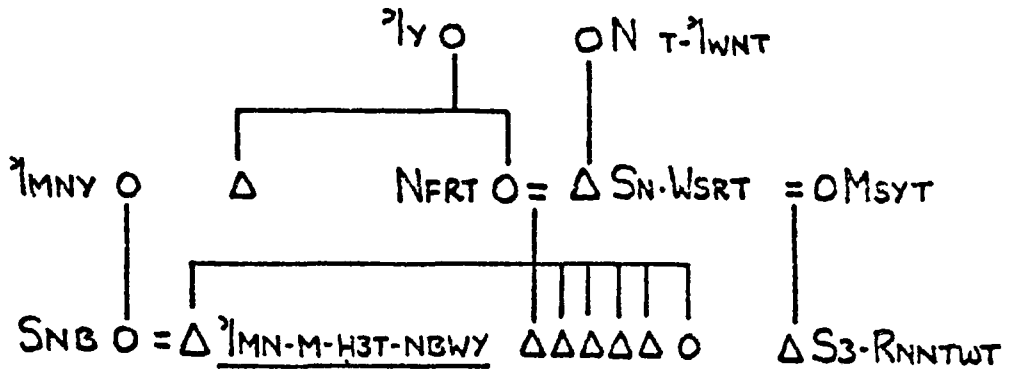
Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol. XXXII, p.141, Avignon 5/7



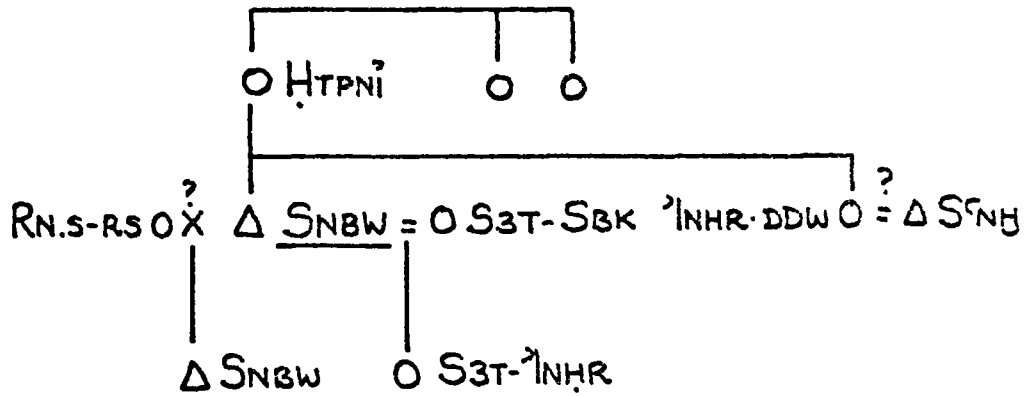
Stockholm stela, p.10, no.16



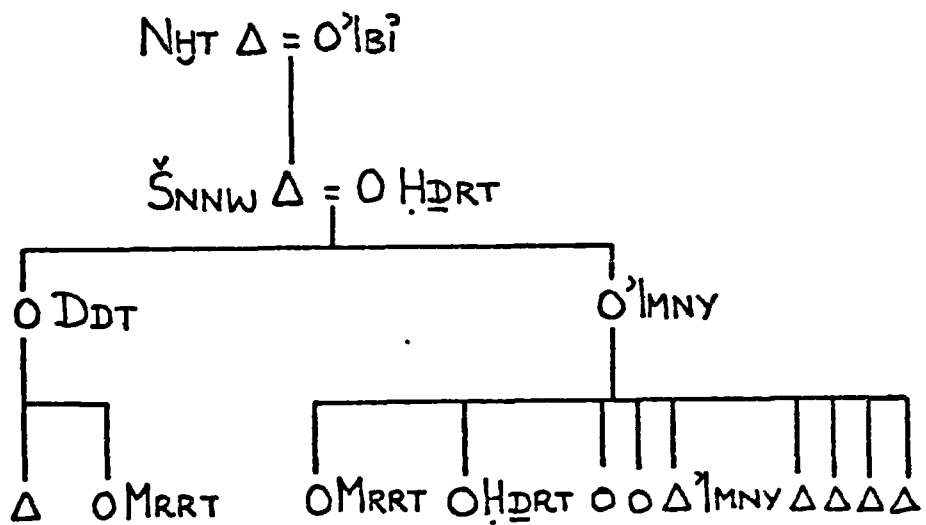




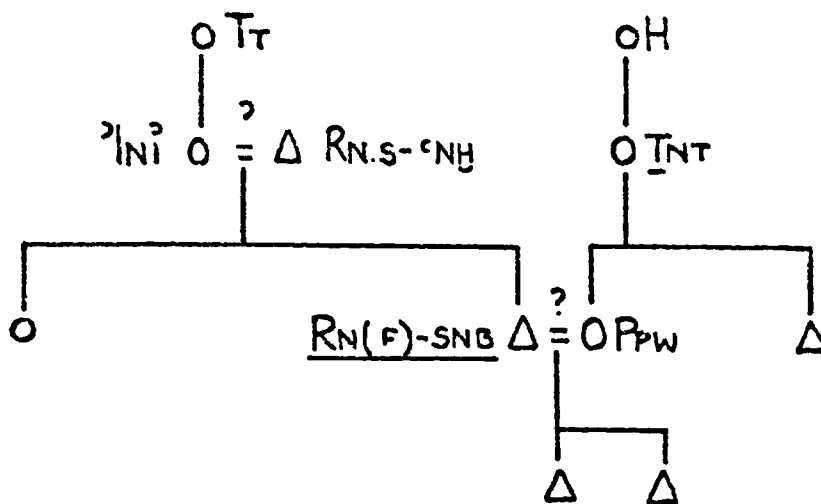
el Arabah, pl. VI, E.295



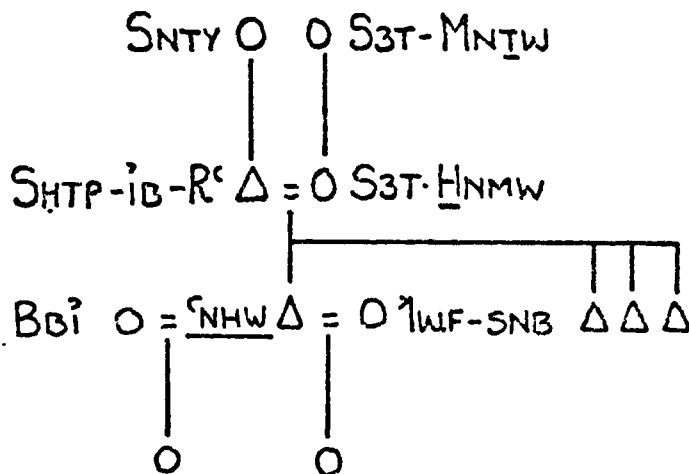
el Arabah, pl. XII, E.312



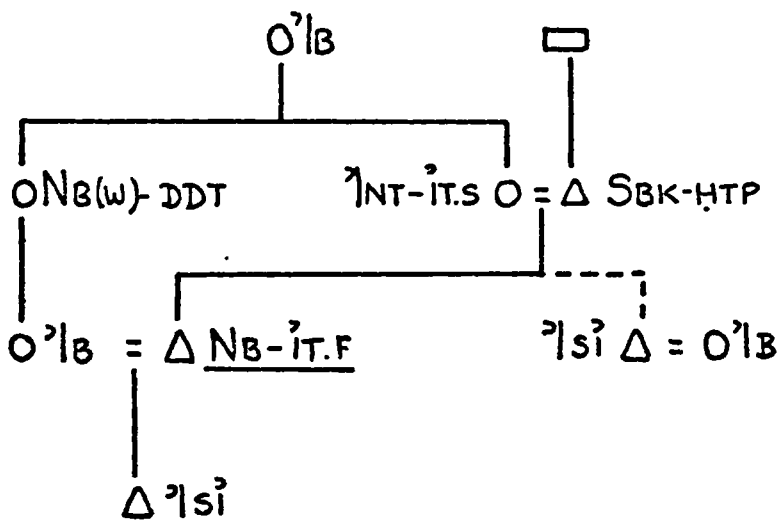
Tombs of the Courtiers, pl. XXVII



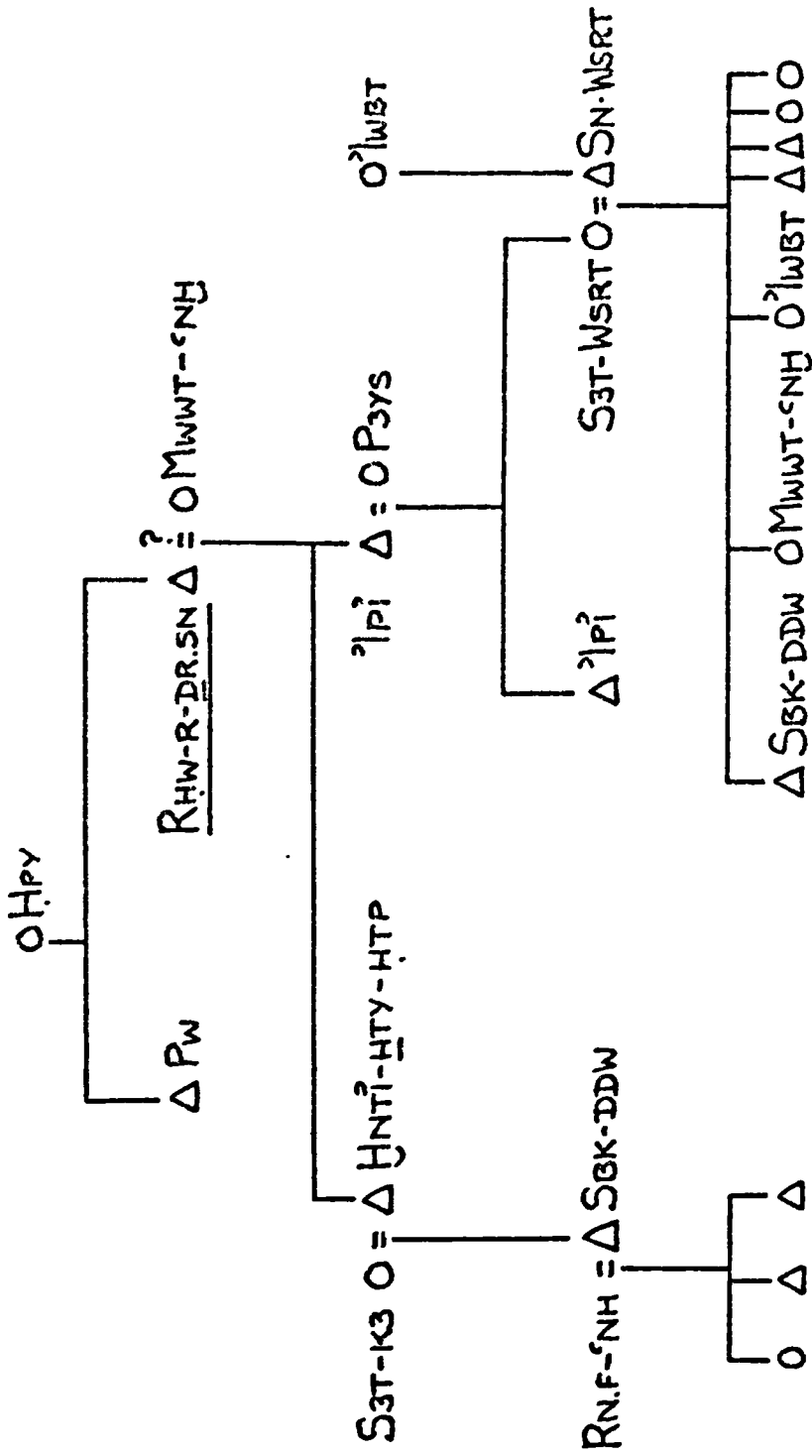
Keni, 1928, vol.I, pl.VII



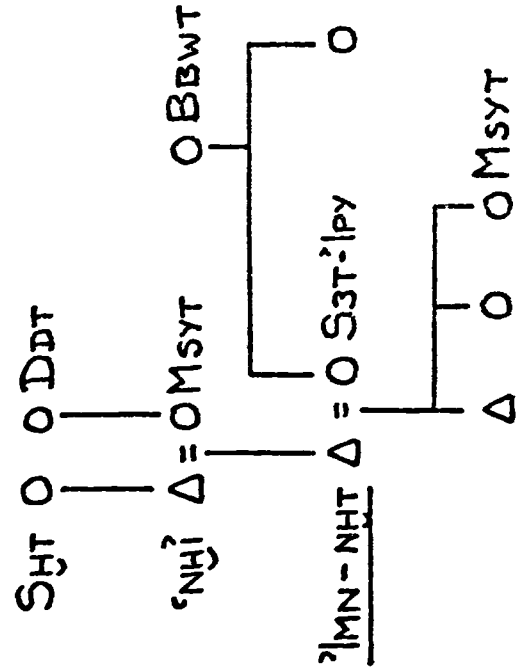
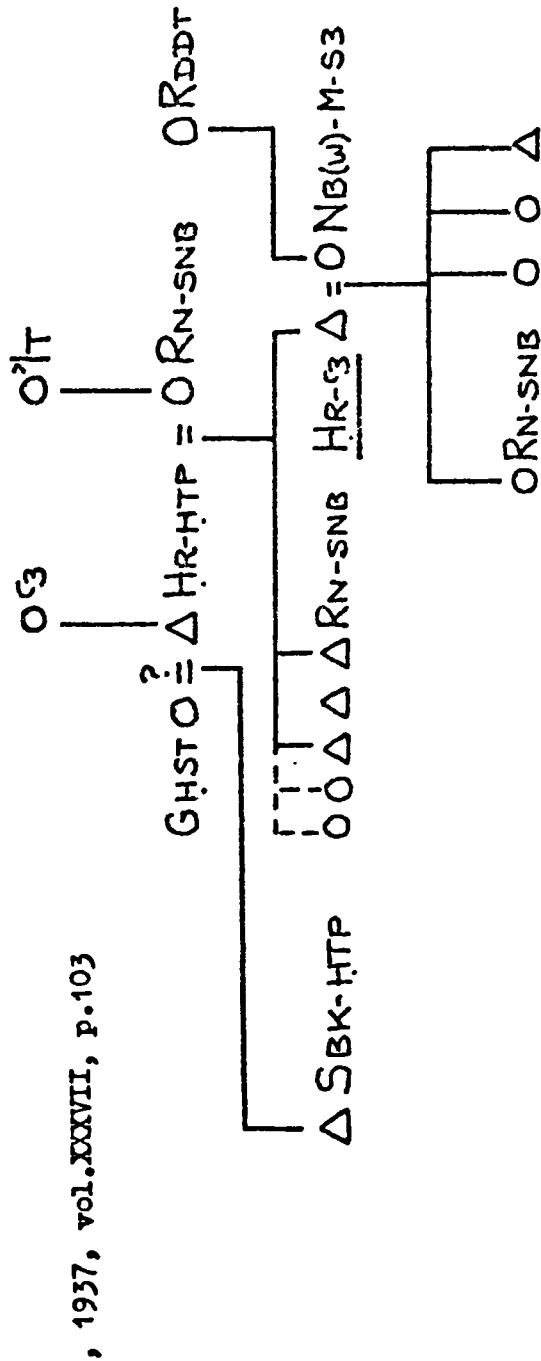
Musee Curtius de Liege



B.I.F.A.O., 1937, vol.XXXVII, p.98

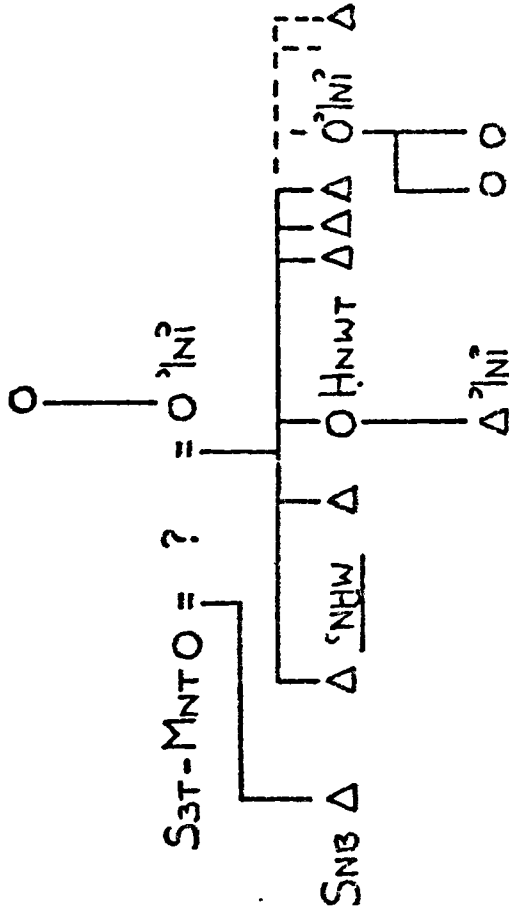
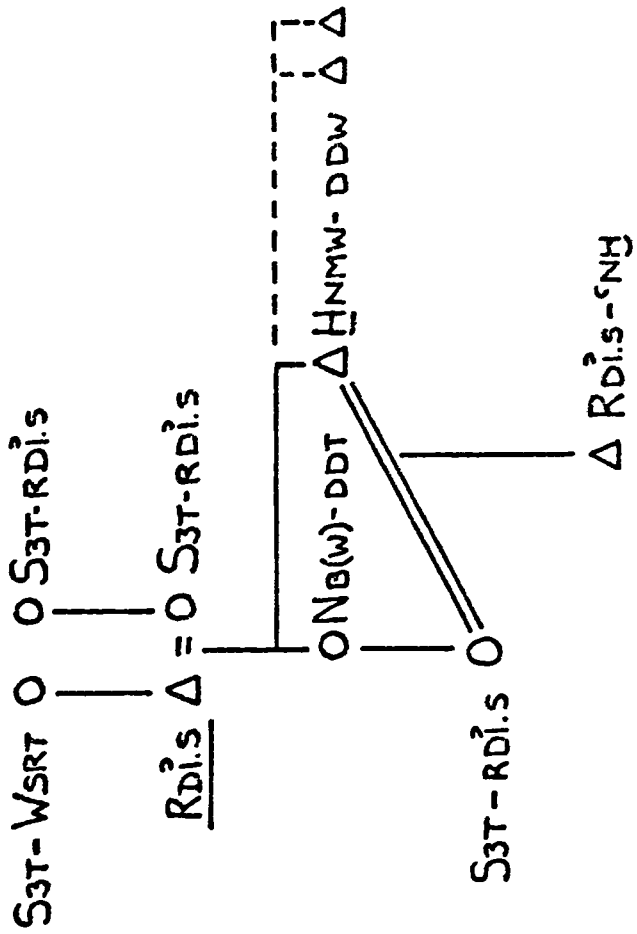


Scepter of Egypt, vol.I, p.333, fig.221

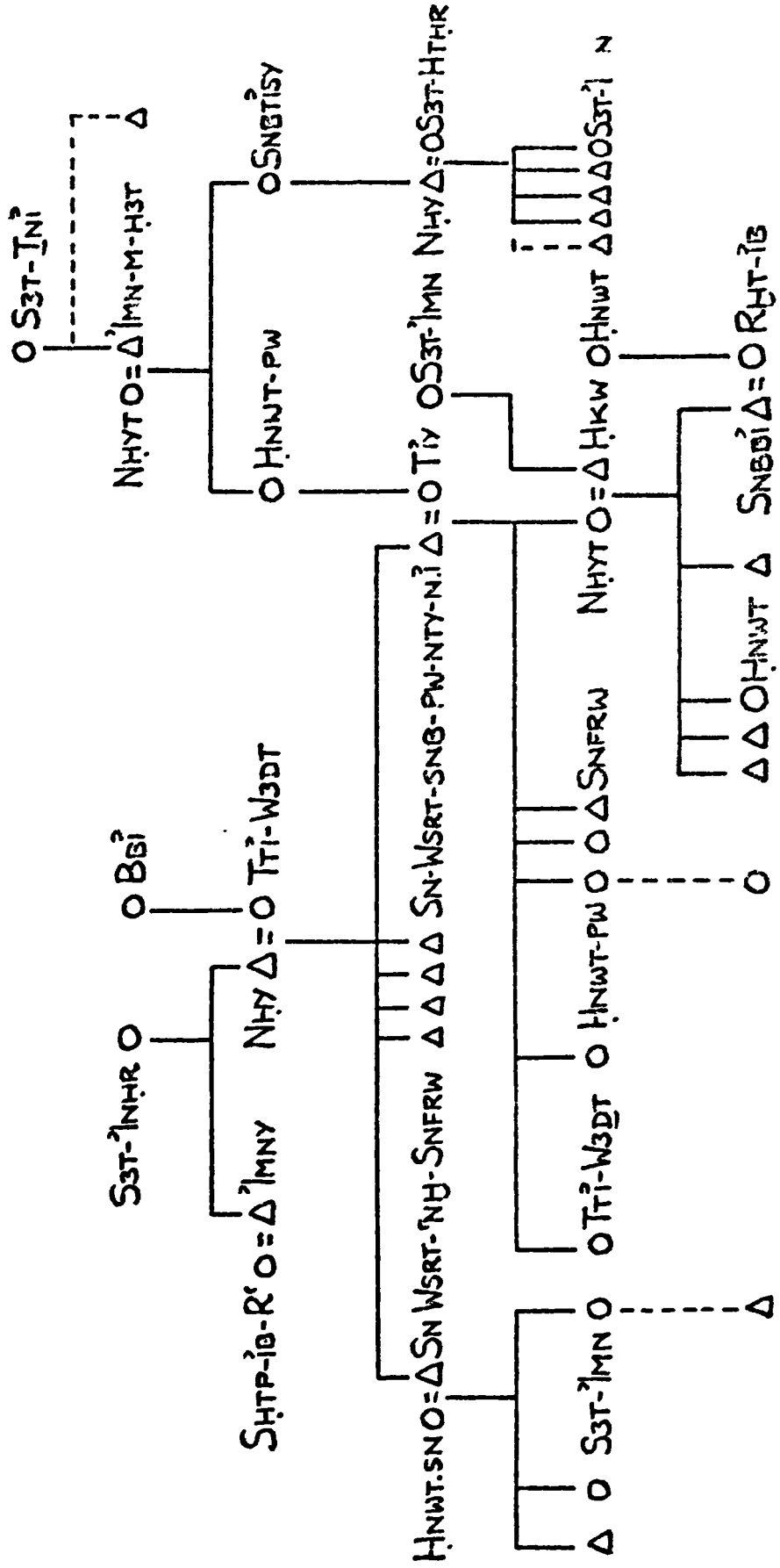


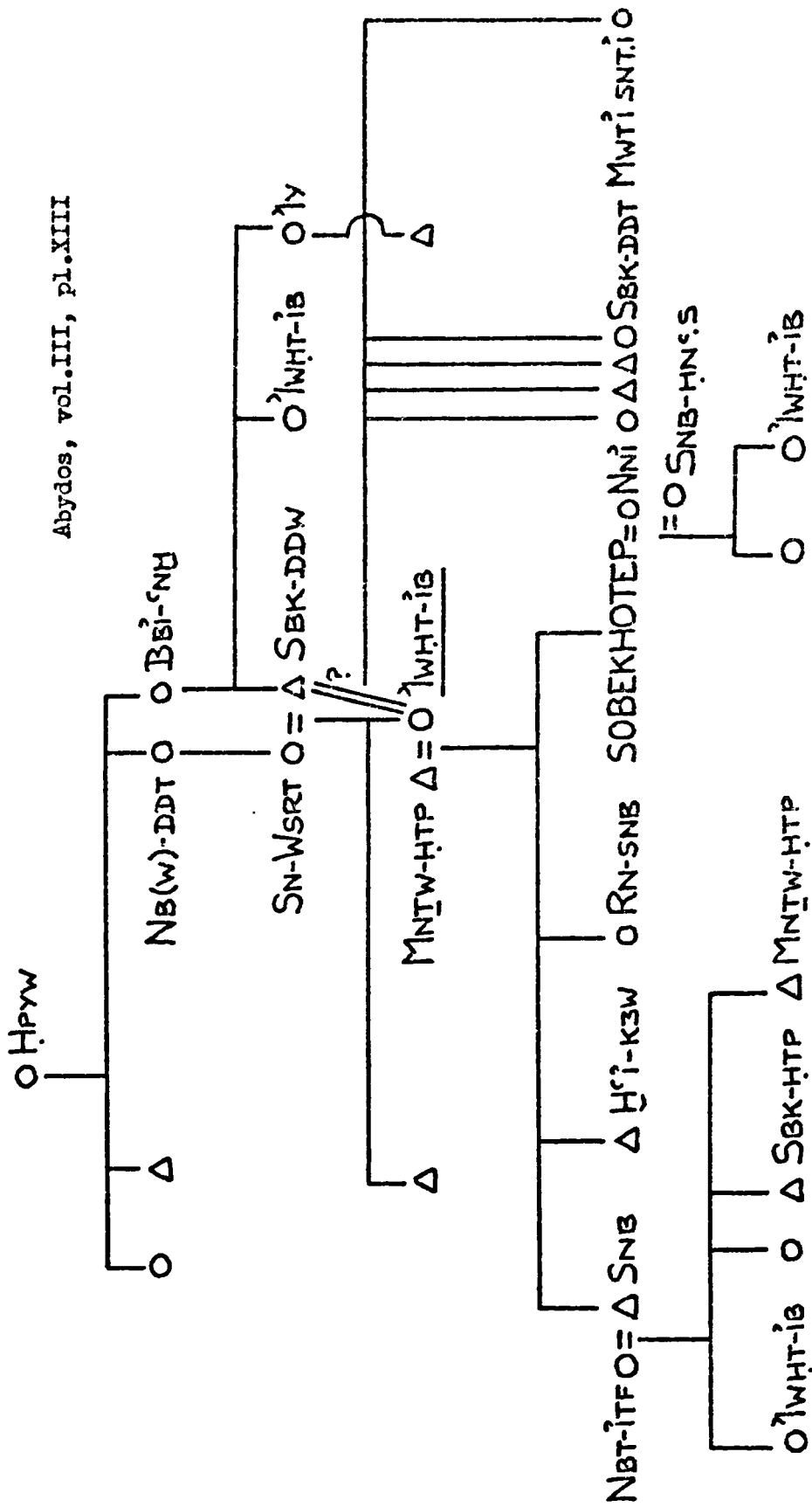
BoLogna 1904

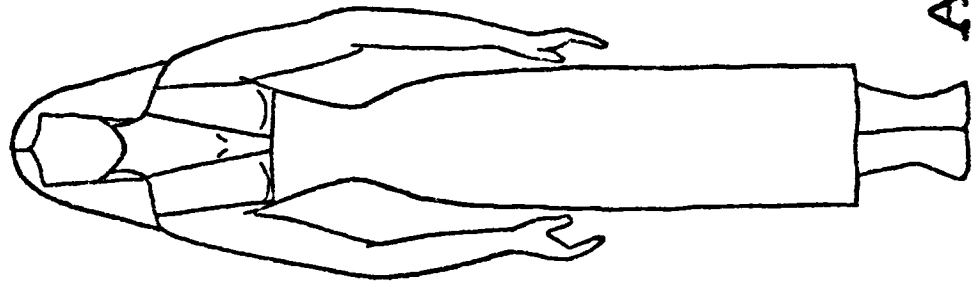
Almwick Castle, 1939



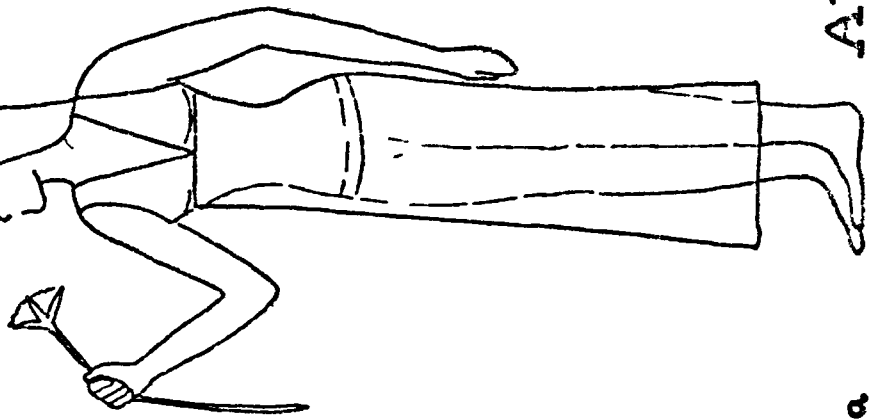
Heidelberg, pl.12, no.560



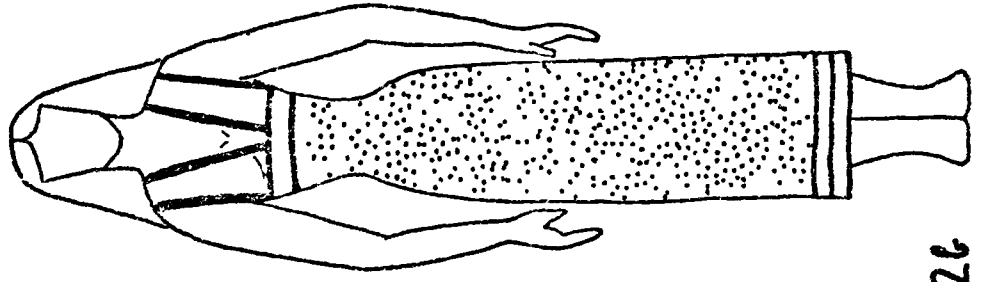




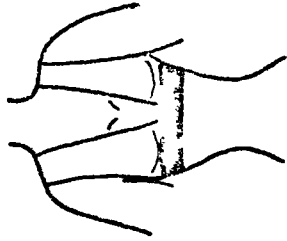
A1a



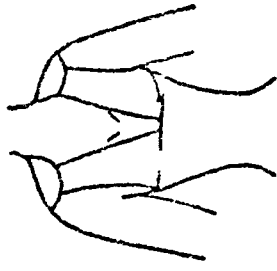
A1b



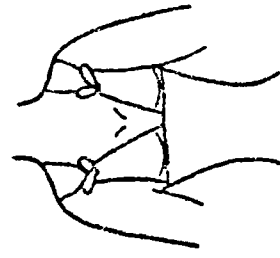
A2c



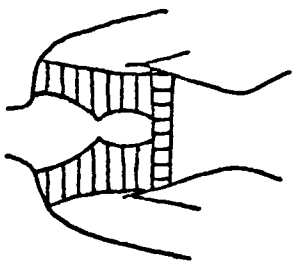
A2a



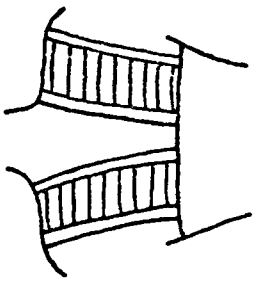
A3a



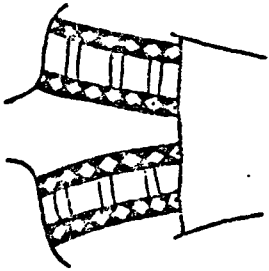
A3



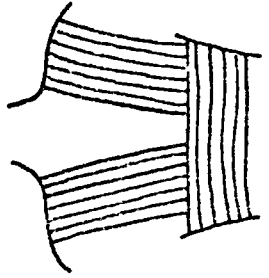
A3c



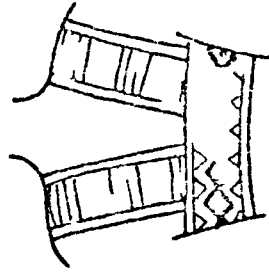
A3d



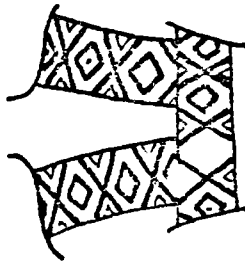
A3e



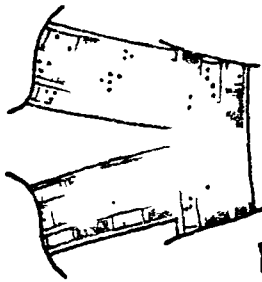
A3f



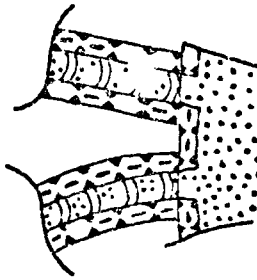
A3g



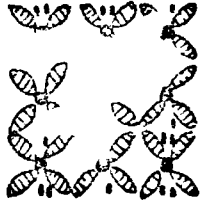
A3h



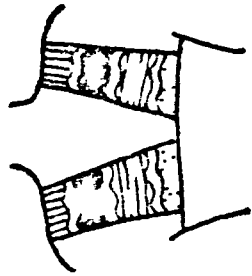
A3i



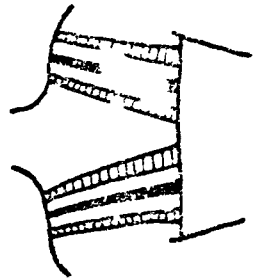
A3j



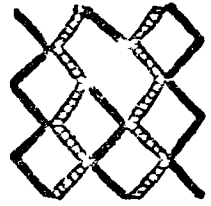
A4aI

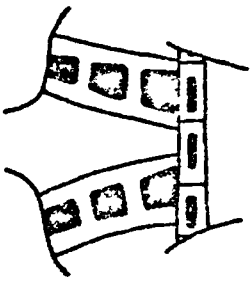


A4aII

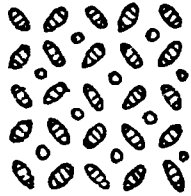
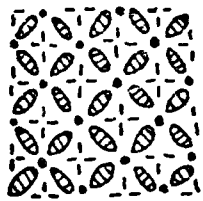


A4aIII

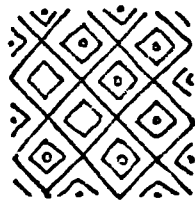




A 4a IV



A 4a V



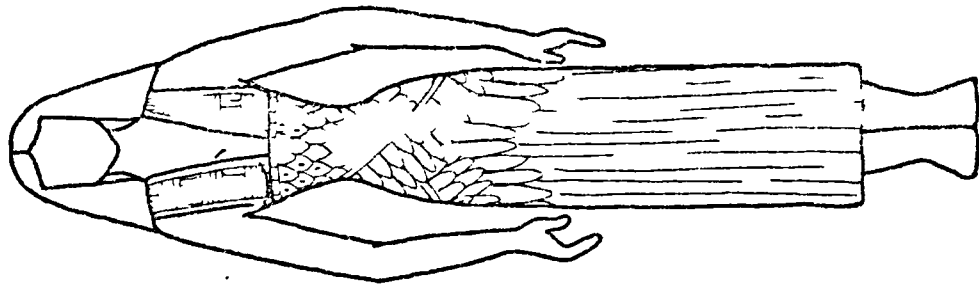
A 4a VI



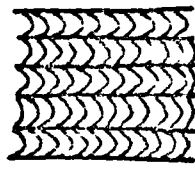
A 4b I

U

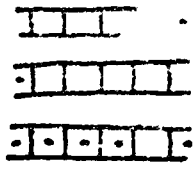
A 4b II



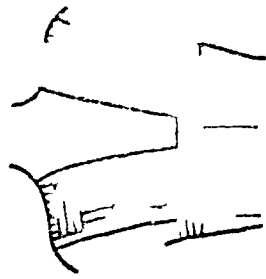
A 4c III



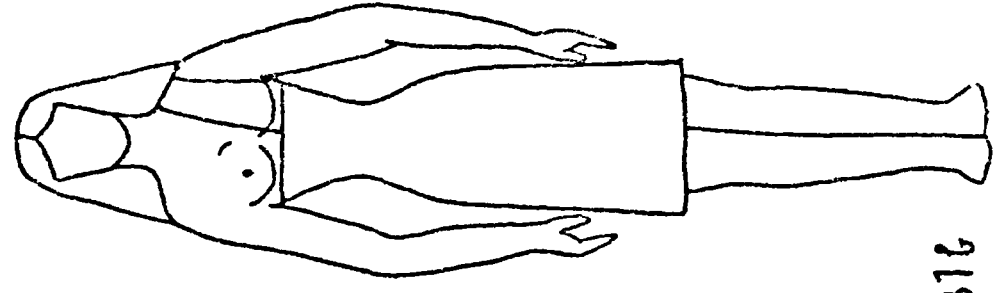
A 4c II



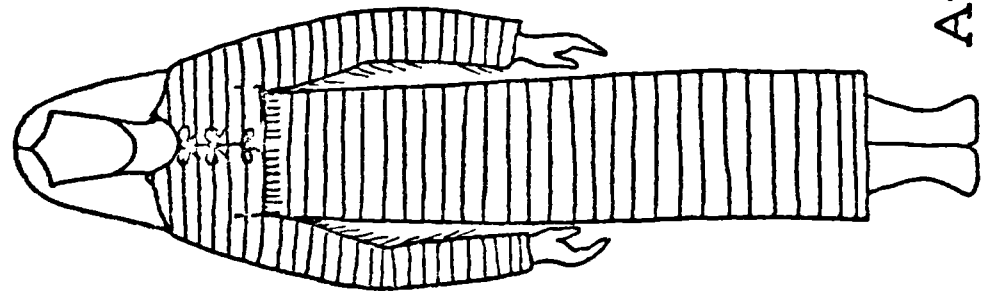
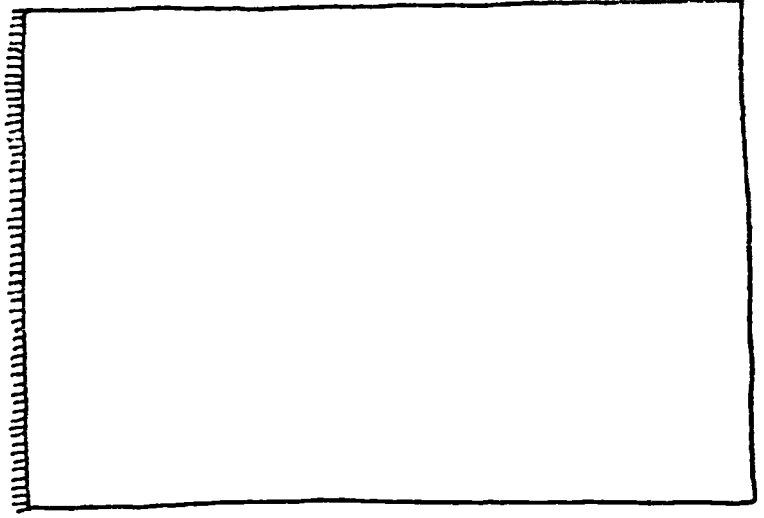
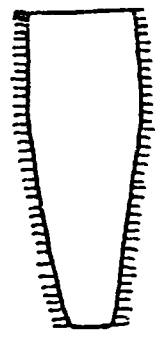
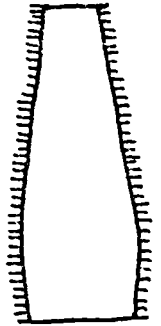
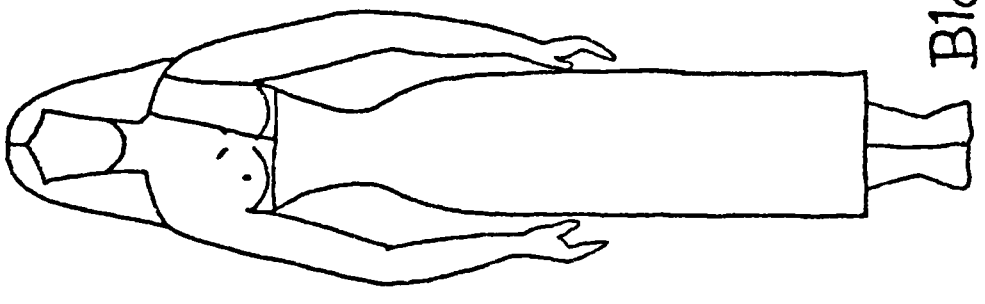
A 4c I



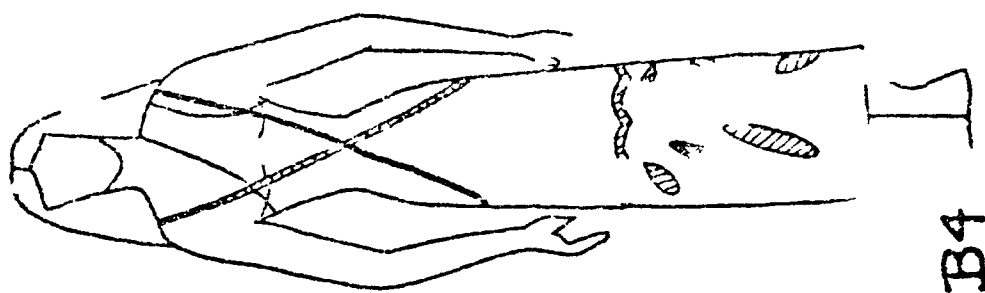
A c



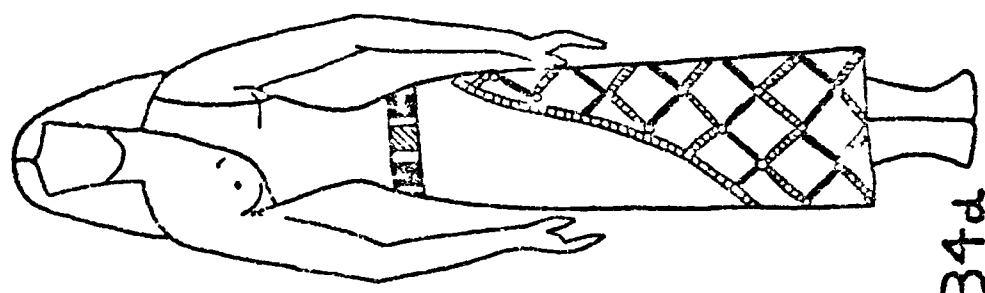
B1a B1b



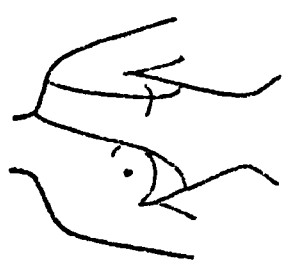
A4d



B4



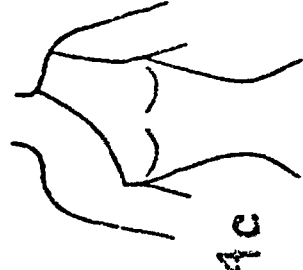
B4d



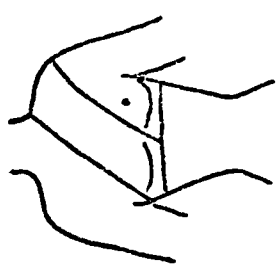
B4a



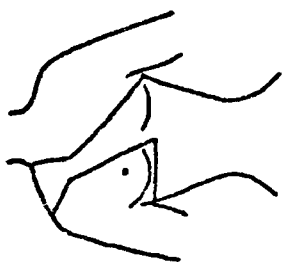
B4b



B4c



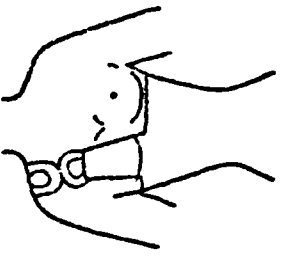
B3a



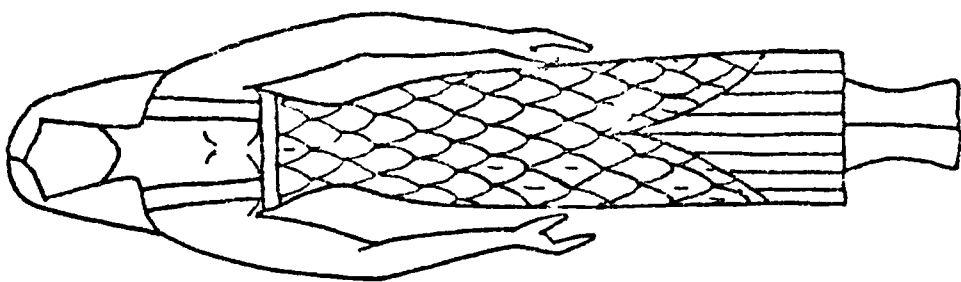
B3b



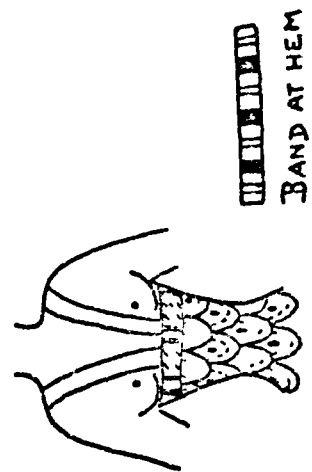
B2a



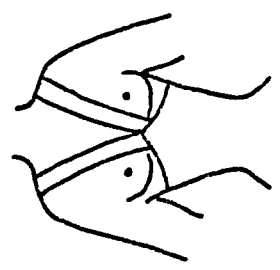
B2b



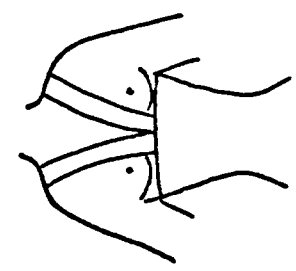
C3



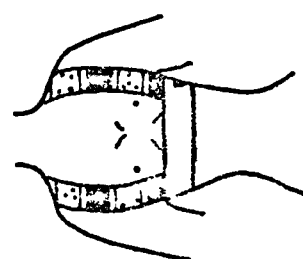
C2c



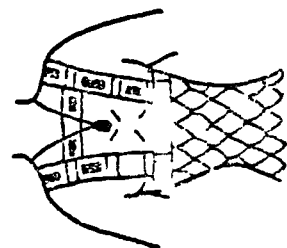
C2b



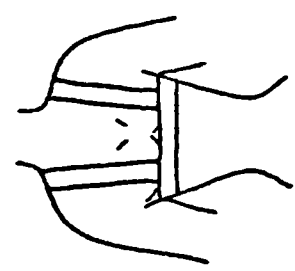
C2a



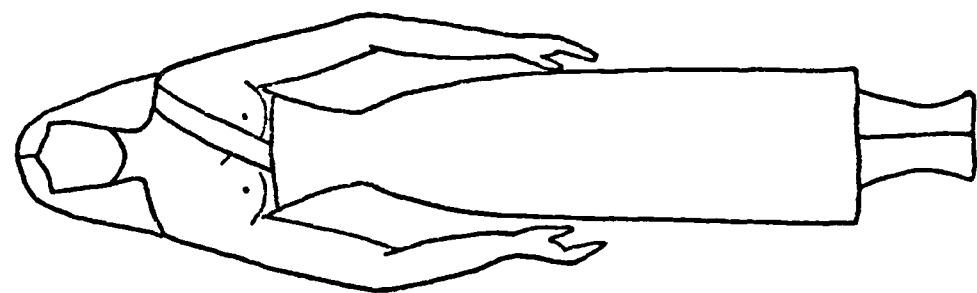
C3d



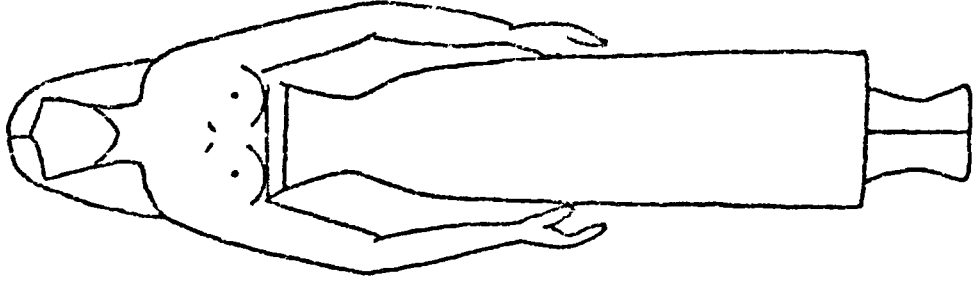
C3b



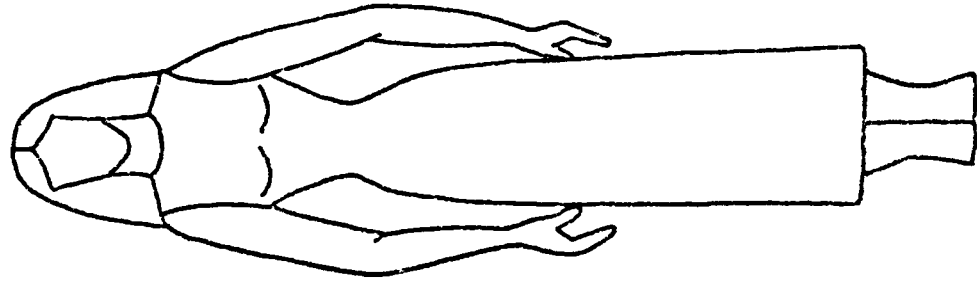
C3a



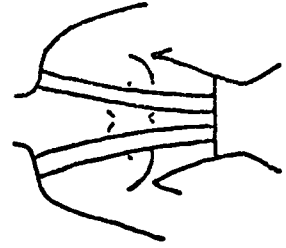
C1



E



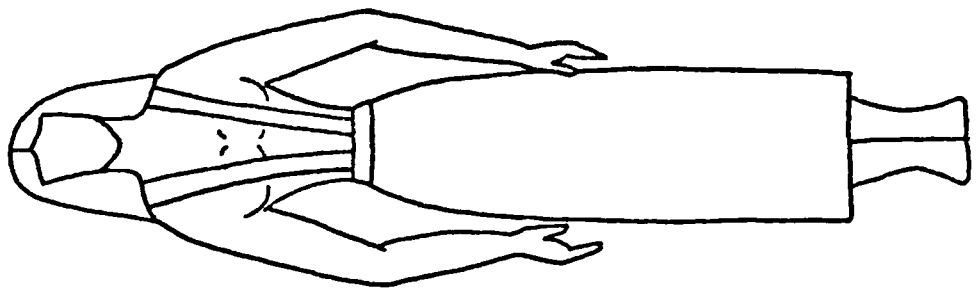
D



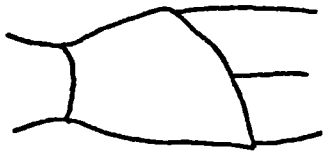
C4b



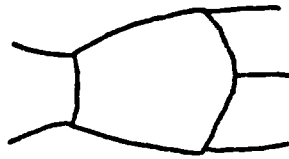
C4c



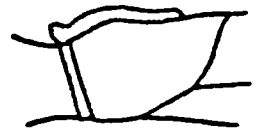
C4a



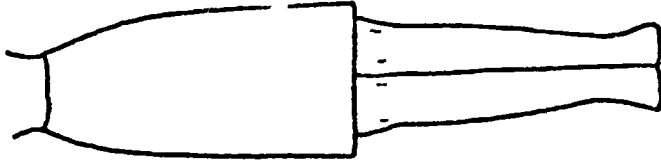
F1a



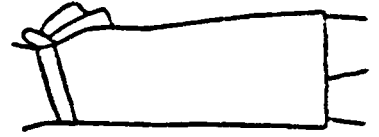
F1b



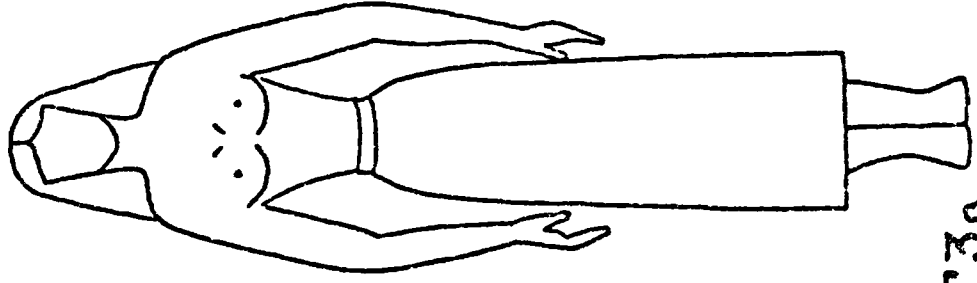
F1c



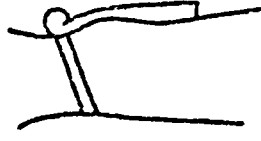
F2a



F2b



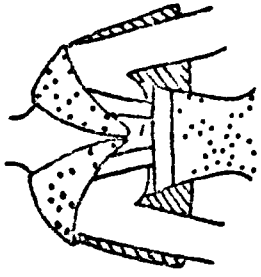
F3a



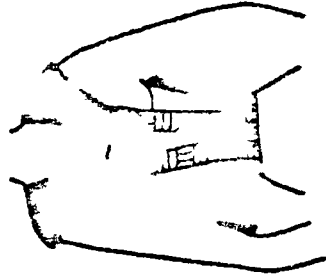
F3b



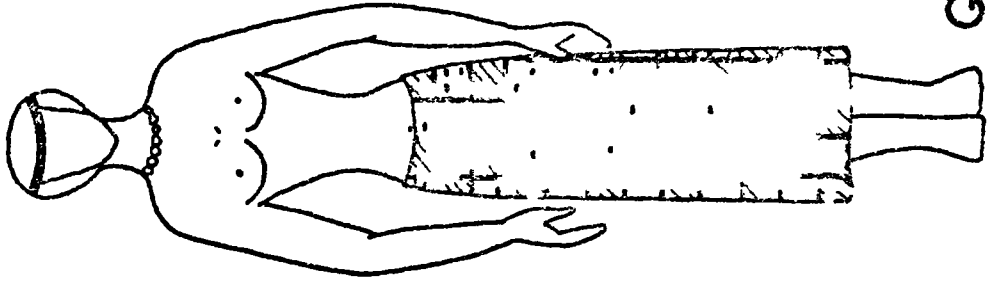
F4



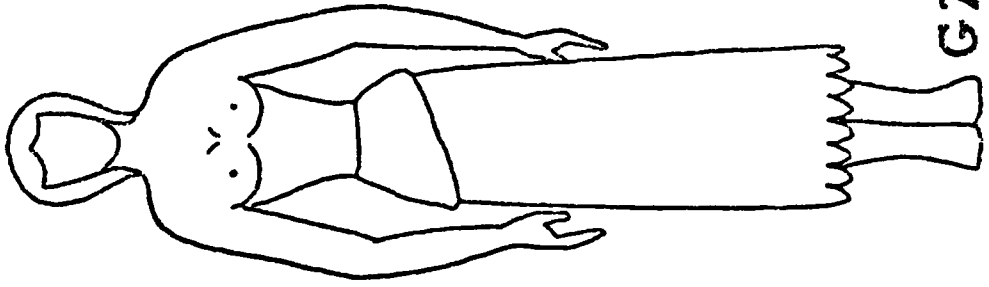
H1a



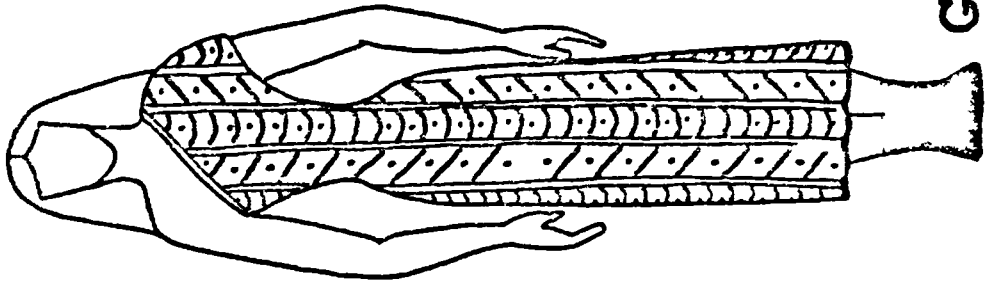
H1b



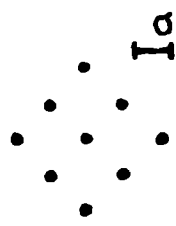
G3



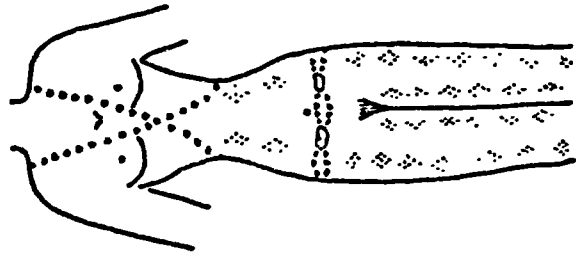
G2



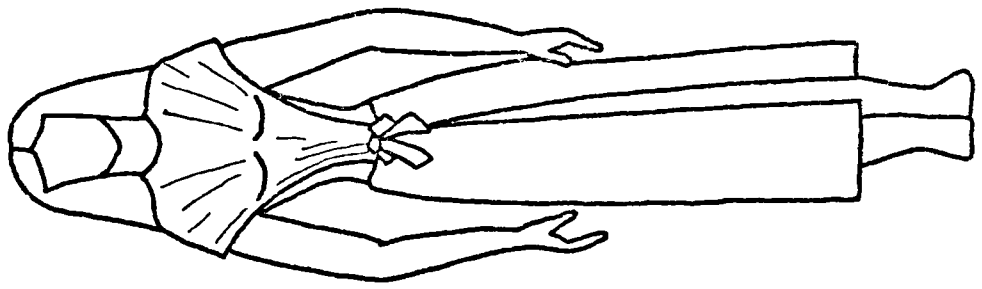
G1



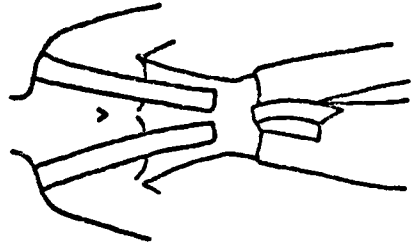
Ia



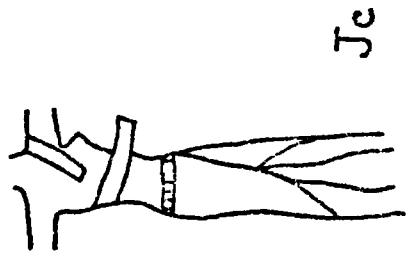
Ib



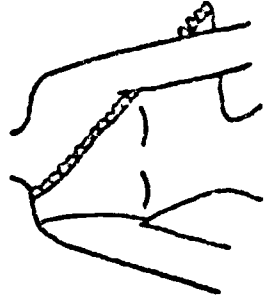
Ja



Jb



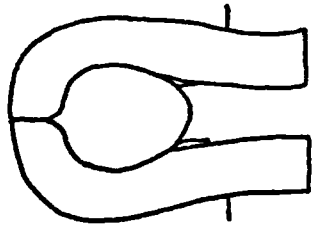
Jc



Ka



Kb



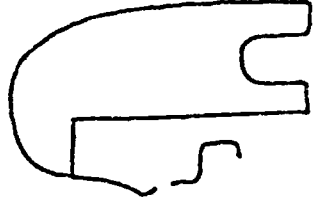
A1a



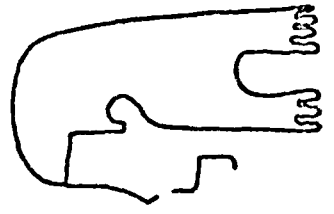
A1b



A1c



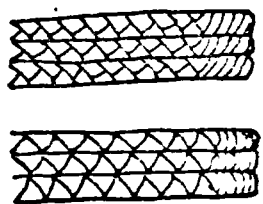
A1d



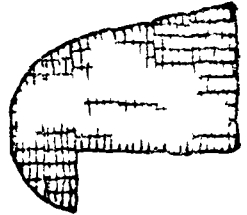
A1e



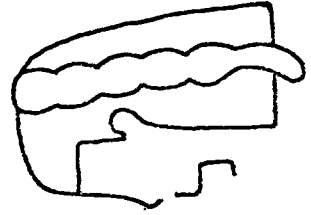
A1f



A1g



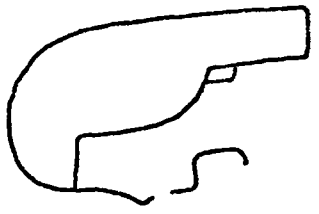
A1h



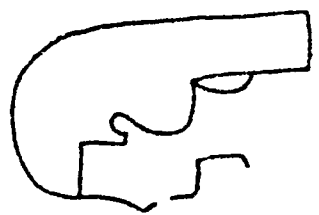
A2



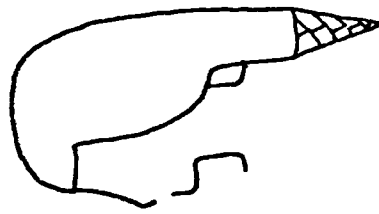
A3a



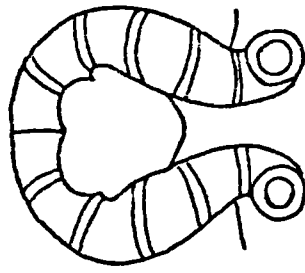
A3b



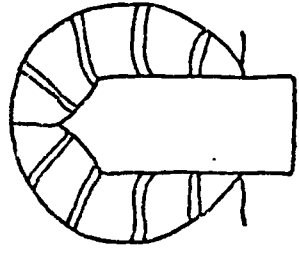
A3c



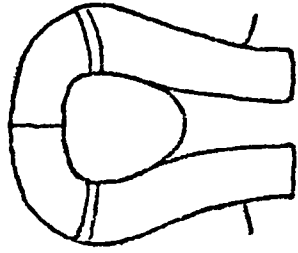
A3d



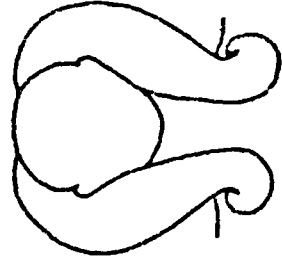
B1a



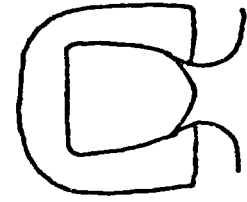
B1b



B2



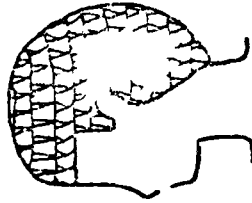
C1a



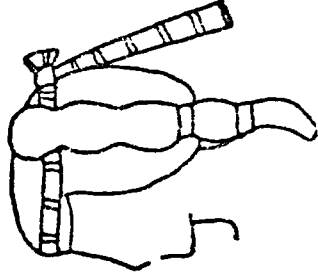
C1b



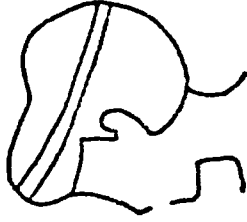
C1c



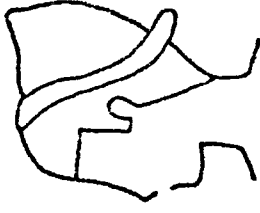
C1d

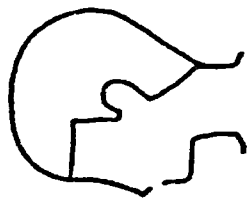


C2a

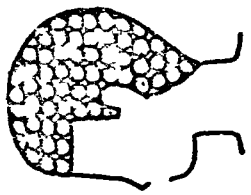


C2b

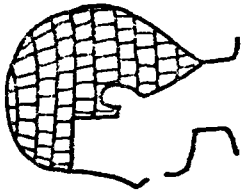




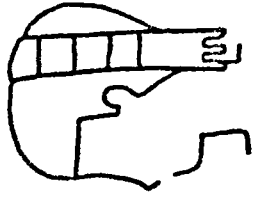
D1a



D1b



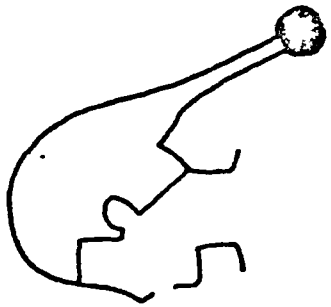
D1c



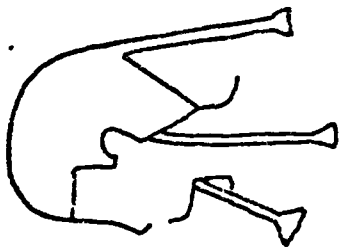
D2a



D2b



D2c



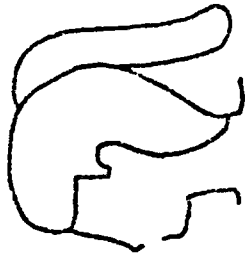
D2d



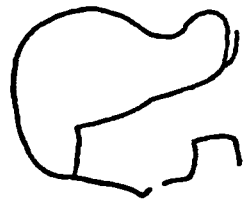
D2e



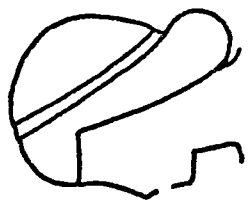
D2f



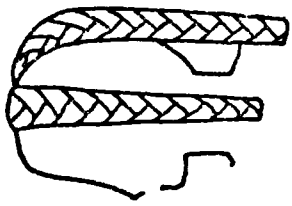
D2g



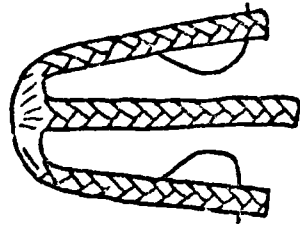
E_a



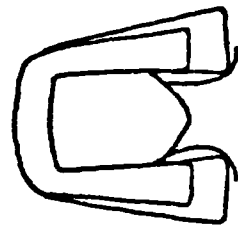
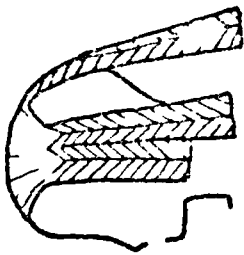
E_b



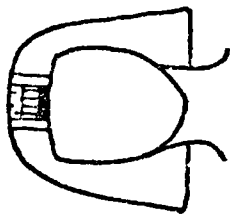
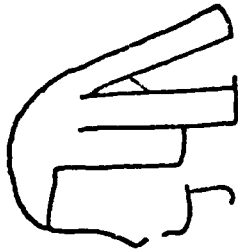
F_a



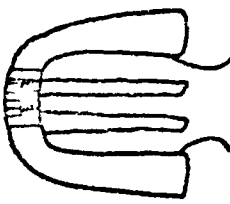
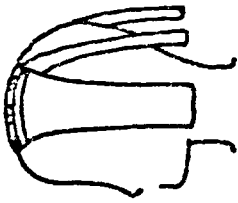
F_b

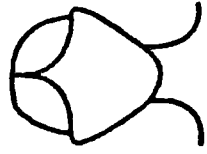


F_c

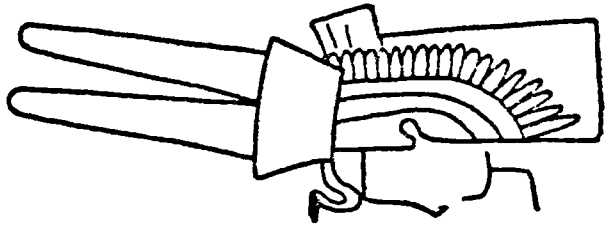
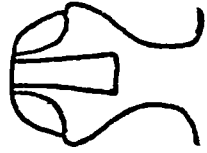


F_d

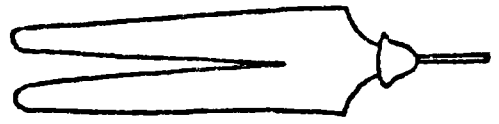




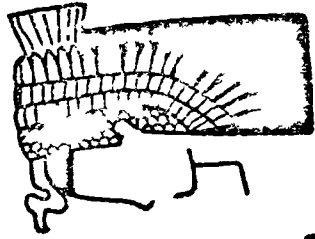
Fe



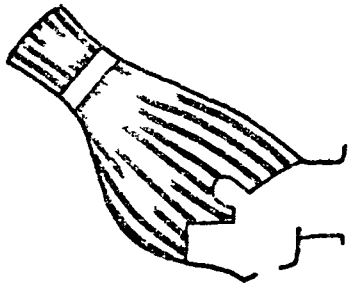
A1b/c



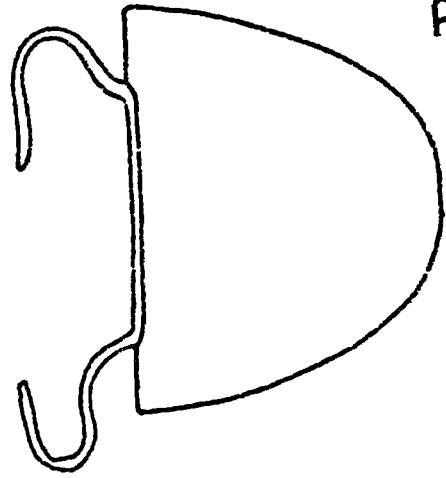
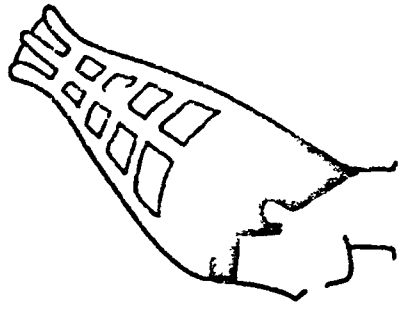
A1a



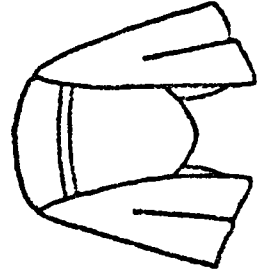
A2a

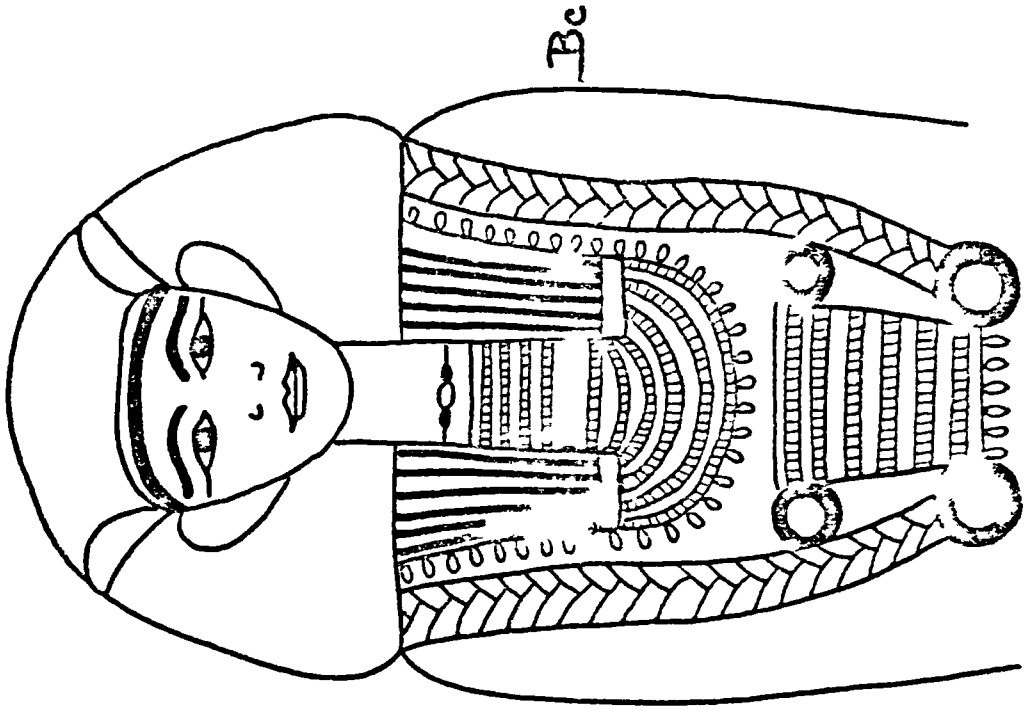


A2b

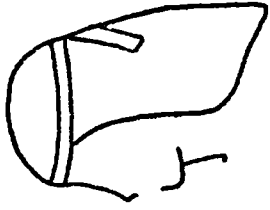


Ba

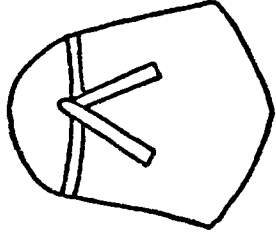




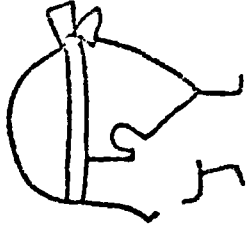
Bc



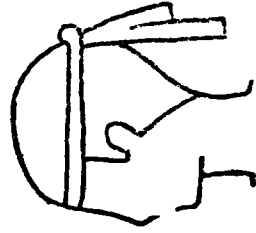
Bb



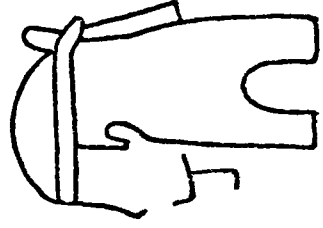
C1b



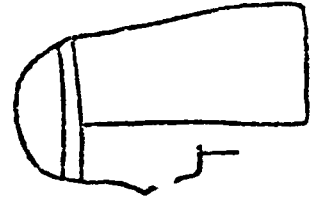
C1a

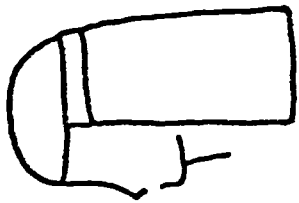


C1c

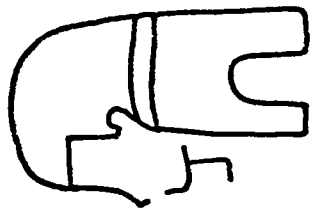


C1d

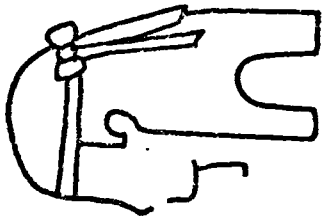




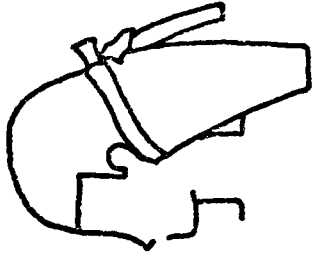
C1e



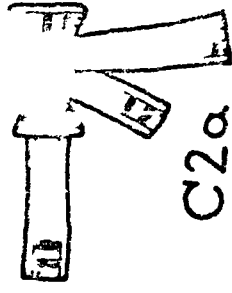
C1f



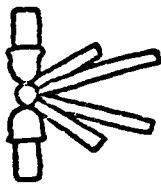
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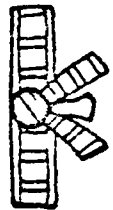
C1h



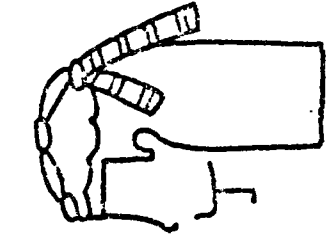
C2a



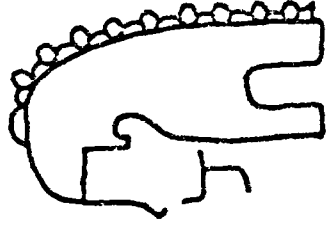
C2b/c



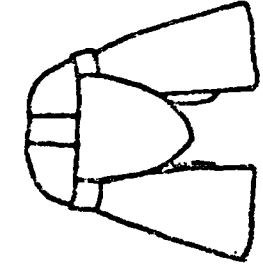
D2



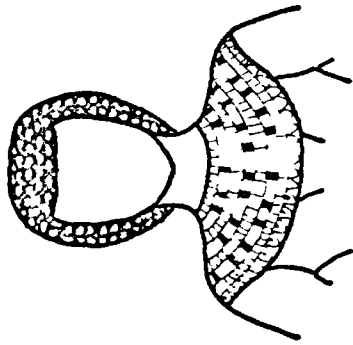
C3b



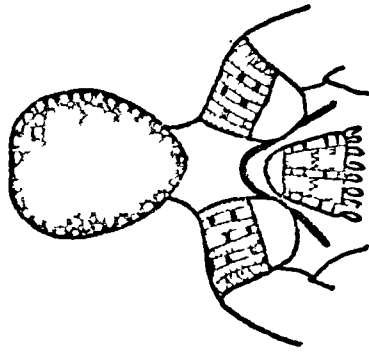
D1



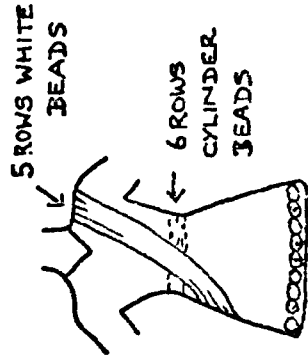
D3



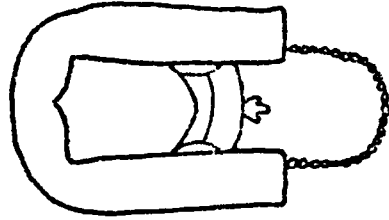
E1a



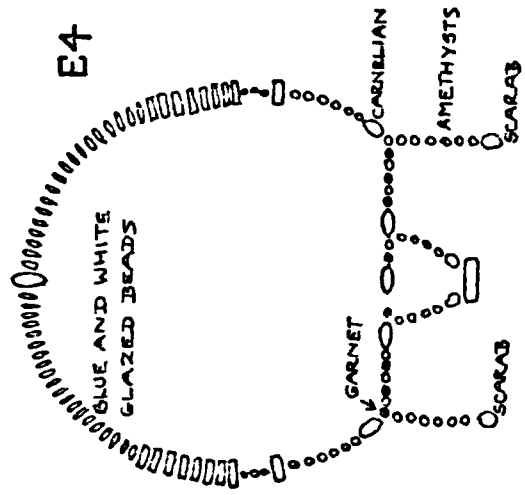
E1b



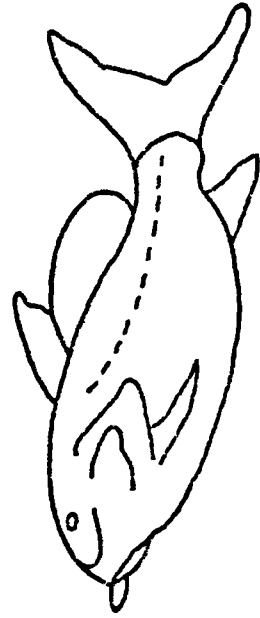
E6



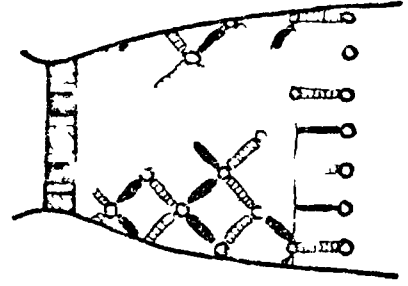
E5



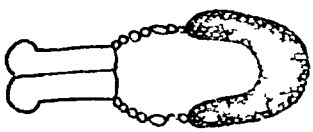
E4



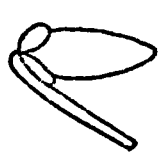
E3d



C2



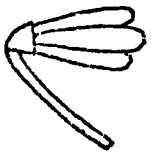
H1a



a



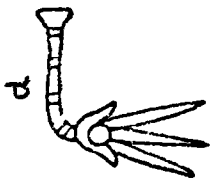
b



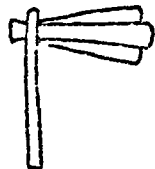
c



c

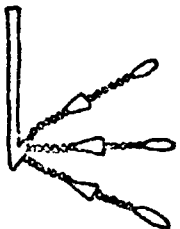


d

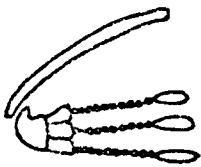


g

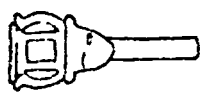
f



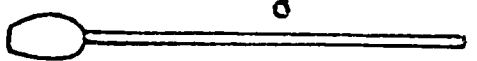
H2



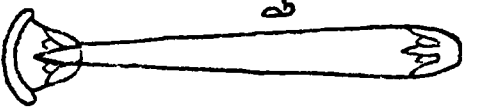
h



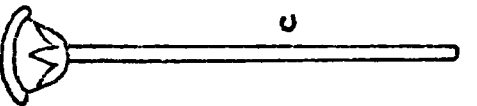
H1b



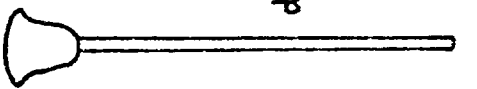
a



b



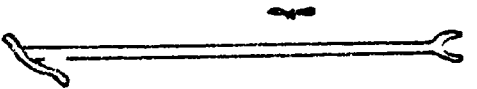
c



d



e



f

H3

