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NOTES

SECTION 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 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) 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.
(9) Cairo stel 0636.
(10) e.g. Cairo stela 0543. The owner of this stela was the steward (ḥmr-pr) of the King's Daughter and King's Wife Nfrw-k3yt.

Referring to the honourable birth and status of his mistress, he says she was '3t ḫntyty mwǔ't, great (by reason) of (her) male ancestors, outstanding (by reason) of (her) female ancestors.

(12) Ranke, op. cit., vol. , p.34, no.24
(13) Černý, J.E.A., 1954, vol.XI, p.25: "we can therefore conclude safely that before the Eighteenth Dynasty wives were not called 'isters' of their husbands".
(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., pl.LVII; Rec. de Trev., 18 2, v.1,III, p.122: XV/94; Alnwick Castle, pl.VIII, no.1939.
(16) e.g. St. Peter's, pl.XXI, n.14. The wrath, father, two grandsons, and maternal great-grandmother of the stone are all named, yet there are also three more generations of relatives, all said to be sn(t).f. The first to be named is sn.f Tsnf born of M. Since Mrr was not the mother of the owner, Tsnf can be no more than his half-sister. She is followed by sn.f Mrrf and sn.f Shk-htp, both born of Tsnf, and finally comes sn.f Ttf born of Mrrf.

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Mrr
  \--- sn.f Tsnf
    \--- sn.f Mrrf
         \--- sn.f Shk-htp
             \--- sn.f Ttf
```

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) Vrschiedenen 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, t
possible that \( s_n(t) \cdot f \cdot n(t) \cdot m\cdot w\cdot t\cdot f \) (or \( I_t\cdot f \)) may have been used to denote relationships between those discussed in the text, \( n(t) \) having so many different meanings.

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


(22) Cairo stela 20623.

(3) Ciro stela 20653.


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 Ratcliffe-Brown, The structure and Function in Primit"ve Society, ps. 138/139.


(4) Thanks to the systematic excavations undertaken at Giza by Junker (Giza, v Is. I/XII), Reisner (Giza Necropolis, v Is. I/II and
and Mycerinus) and Hassan (Excavations at Gize, 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 Tt-śr 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.


(10) Černý, op. cit., p. 6.
(11) Černý, op. cit., p. 7.

(12) Spelt variously Ⲫ ⲣ Ⲧ and ⲫ ⲩ

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


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


(21) Rank, 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 Meryamun, III, ps. 1/2.

(24) For example, sn-t-m-n married Bkt-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 r (see Gardiner, Z.A.S., 1910, vol.XLVIII, ps.50/51).

(25) \[\text{Hieroglyphs}\]

(29) Alternatively, Danut may have been the first wife of Shtp-\(\text{\textit{b}}\)-R\(\text{\textit{m}}\), in which case, on her death, he married their daughter 'nht-\(\text{\textit{m}}\), and this would therefore be a father/daughter marriage.

SECTION II


(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 \(w\text{\textit{b}}3\text{\textit{yt}}\), see Section III, p. 321.

(3) For comments on the significance of the title \(w\text{\textit{r}}\text{\textit{tyt}}\), 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 \(\text{\textit{s}}\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}-\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{thr}}}\), so this really is the full name, and not \(\text{\textit{s}}\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}-\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{thr}}}\), accompanied by a defective writing of \(m\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{rw}}\), which is written correctly elsewhere on this stela. See Ranke, op. cit., vol. I, p. 91, no. 19.

(6) The name is actually written \(\text{\textit{m}}\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{rw}}\) here, but is undoubtedly a mistake and should be \(\text{\textit{m}}\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{rw}}\).

(7) Written \(\text{\textit{m}}\text{\textit{j}}\text{\textit{t}}\text{\textit{h}}\text{\textit{rw}}\), 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. II, 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) Rankes, op. cit., vol.I, p.261, no.24. This stela is the only example known to him.

(13) Spelt variously \[\text{\ldots}\] and \[\text{\ldots}\] 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) \[\text{\ldots}\] and \[\text{\ldots}\].


(18) \[\text{\ldots}\] in mn't.f \[\text{\ldots}\] sn.nn.f Sn.3-snb, his name is made to live by his sister, Sn.3-snb. It is possible that this might also be read as in sn.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. Rankes accepts the former reading (see Rankes, op. cit., vol.I, p.309, no.19), listing this
stela as an example of the use of the name Sn. 1-snb by a woman.

(19) Ranks, op. cit., v 1, I, p. 05, no.6.

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

(21) Although it would be more usual to refer to the sister of the owner as sn.f, if Nb t was the child of '3-k3.s 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 ).


(3) The name is so rare (see Ranks, 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 comments on the significance of the title hm.t, see Section III, p.325.

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

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

(28) For comments on the significance of the title hnw.t nt Itm, see Section III, p.288.

(29) The photograph of this stela is not completely 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 nw*
see Section III, p. 274.


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

(33) For comments on the significance of the title

*Knw wrxt*, see Section III, p. 284.

(34) Written \[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]
and not to be confused with *It*,
which is written \[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]

(35) Erroneously written \[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]
here, but later written as \[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]

(36) In the publication by Hall, this name looks more like 

\[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]
but I have examined the stela and I am satisfied that the word is 

\[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]
though the second  is admittedly badly written.

(37) The \[ \begin{array}{c}
- \\
- \\
\end{array} \]
*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 *rḫt nsw* an *ḥḥt tr*, see Section III, pp. 272 and 282 respectively.

(39) The words *ḥḥt fr Sjt-Tnḥr* do not appear in the Gayet publication, but they are plainly visible in the photograph generously supplied to me by the Louvre. The reading rec ives confirmation from an inscription in column D which again names *ḥḥt fr Sjt-T* b rn of *Hw*.

(40) The inscription actually reads *ṣj fr* b t the figure is that of a *mal*, and in the inscriptions in column D, *ṣj fr* is used.
(41) Although it might be considered an appropriate name for a man, as actually used for women also, see Ranke, op. cit., v I-I, p. 5, no.13. All the other people on this stela are identified by their mothers' names, so I presume Hr is also a common name.


(3) Spelt variously \(\text{Nfrt}\), and \(\text{Nfryt}\), but they refer to the same woman.

(44) Bosticco (Le Stele Egitiane, Parte I, p.39), who was working from the original stela, read \(\text{Nt'-nht}\).

(45) The determinative is \(\text{Nfnt}\), so this \(\text{Nwt-Ntp}\) was a woman.

(46) For comments on the significance of the title \(\text{Nht-nht}\) see Section III, p. 305.

(47) Actually written \(\text{Nfrt}\), but it is clearly a mistake for \(\text{Nfnt}\).

(48) Sometimes the name is written as \(\text{Nfrt}\) on this stela, but \(\text{Sjt-Ht}\) must be understood throughout.

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

(5) The words "born of" (whether \(\text{Ir}\) or \(\text{Mst}\)) must be supplied if the inscription is to make sense.

(51) Ranke, op. cit., col.1, p.344, no.3.

(5) The sign is not clear, but Wresinski suggested that \(\text{Hsht}\) was the intending reading.

(53) The name is written as \(\text{Hs}\) and \(\text{H35}\) on this stela, but the former is only a variant of the latter, see Rank, op. cit., v I-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.XV, p.161, 7) point out that on the Queen's College stela, the sign is Δ in their reading has been mentioned 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 nmbyt nt mwrt, see Section III, p.308.

(58) Spigelberg and Förtner read this name as Shnt, but Ranke, op.cit., vol.I, p.317, no.25, considers it to be Shnt, and Smither and Dakin, op.cit., p.160, 6, agree with his reading.


(60) For comments on the significance of the title s3t b3ty-t, see Section III, p.266.

(61) For comments on the significance of the title b3yt, 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 Tr v., 1910, v 1.XXIII, p.137, n s.1/3.

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

For comments on the significance of the title , see Section III, p.289.


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

This is an abbreviated writing of It.s-s b, see Rank, loc. cit.

For comments on the significance of the title , see Section III, p.314.

Ranks, 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 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 Dwty, two of whom were called Sjt-Sn-mrj, and thus she was the half-sister of her husband.

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 Sjt-rw.

Written . According to Dakin, op. cit., p.194, note 6, this is an unusual phonetic writing of Hpw.

See Rank, op. cit., v 1.I, p.223, no.20.
The name is actually written Sbk-dd-sw, but Gauthier-Laurent (B.I.F.A.O., 1930, v 1.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.


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 .

For comments of the significance of the title bḥkt nt ḫ₃, see Section III, p.273.

G.Kminek-Szedlo (Catalogue di Antichita Egizie, p.130) reads snt.f, and a close examination of the photograph in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, reveals the existence of the of the sign.


See M.F.Laming MacAdam, J.E.A. 1951, vol. 37, pl.VI.
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 König und Privatleute in Museum von Kairo, v 1.II, pl.76, no.459 (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire). An apparently ide tical group was purchased "from Asyut" in 191 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).


(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.


(7) It is nearly 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. LXXVI, ps.10 /105.

(9) e.g. Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and dár 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, n t t the women concerned, but to one of the male mem rs of their families. It is therefore the rank and titl s of the man which are the primary concern, and when a w man is me tio:d the emphasis
is placed with respect 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 Hnum(w)-ht to the second.

(13) Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., v.1.III, ps. 60/61 for the occurrences of ḫty p't and ps. 62/63 for the occurrences of ḫty-t'.

(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 ḫryt 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.
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.

Other common translations for this title are Royal Consort, Royal Ornament, and Court Lady. In a recent article on it was suggested that the correct translation might be "One who is ornamented by the King", as it would apply to favoured noblewomen who had been awarded gold by the King, and they might be, though not necessarily, no bines to. See Nord, Serapis, vol. II, September 1970, p. 12.


Tylor, The Tomb of Sebeknekht, pl. VII.


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 Sol Favourite.

lmyt-r amn l nsw, Mistress of all the pleasures of the King.

bity m swt, She who pleases the heart of the King of Lower Egypt in all his residences.
m33t nfrw n nb.s r' b, She who sees the beauty 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, v 1.II, pl.XVIII.


(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 son belonging to the royal har a, who desires another husband. See, Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, v 1.I, p. 104, 3:20.

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


(30) The mystery play dealing with the passion of Osiris, which was performed at Abydos, must necessarily have included important roles for women as Isi and Nephthys. For reference to this drama in the Middle Kingdom, see Schäfer, Die Mysterien de Osiris in Abydos unter König Seqenenrestris III. For a recent translation into English, Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts (3rd. edit.), p. 39. Though of a later date, the text of one such play is a lab for study, e Fairman, The Triumph of Horus.
(31) Boe er, Beschreibung des Aegyptisch n Sammlung des
Nie erlandi chen Reichsm eums der tertum r in Leid . pl.XV, an Le mans,
Aegyptische Monumentum van het Aderlensche museum van Oudh d te Leyde ,
v 1.II, 1. 3.

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

(33) Clearly recalling arly Middle Kingdom statuetts such as
that of '3i3yt, which is now in Cairo. See The Egyptian Expedition of 1920/ 1,
Excavations at Thebes, Part II of th B.M.W.A. f r November 1921, fig.26.
Like '3i3yt, Ty-mrt-nb.s also has a well-defined and somewhat angular pelvis,
a feature that occurs regularly in wooden statuettes from the late Old Kingd
onwards into the early Middle Kingdom. See, for example, Petrie, Sediment,

(34) The wig is detachable and Boeser (see above note 31) suggests
that it may be a later addition. However, the wig is arranged in a known
Middle Kingdom style, see Section V, p. 440 and pl. XCV, A.1 g. Th re is a
beautiful little wooden head in Cairo (no.423 ), which was f und by the
Metrop litan Museum of Art, New York, at Lisht in 1907, and this too has a
detachable wig (for a good c lour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, The
W man 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.


(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- mw, 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 ring (a small portion of which is still visible), the hand grasping the so-called \textit{hpr} or \'b3- baton, i.e., she is represented as having reached the stag in the proceedings when the officiant consecrated, or finally made ov r, the offering to the god by performing the act known as \textit{extending the arm four times over or towards} (\textit{hwyt ' sp hr}) 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 \textit{Mryt-Amn} is shown facing Osiris and Isis, her left arm raised before her, her right arm lifted over her head. A \textit{sym}-sceptre is grasped in her right hand. See, Lepsius, \textit{Denkmäler}, vol.III, pl.172, d.

(39) e.g. Sethe, \textit{Urkunden des Alten Reichs}, vol.I, p.11.
(41) Thompson, \textit{JEA}, 1940, vol.XXVI, ps.68/78.
(43) For Griffith's comments on the possible identification of this area, see \textit{The Hieratic Papyri from Kahum and Gurob}, p. 1, note 3a.
(44) According to the \textit{Wörterbuch}, the ve b \textit{hp} means to make music with a sistrum, but these musicians may have played their instruments as well. See Erman and Grapow, \textit{op. cit.}, v 1.III, p. 6.
(45) The \textit{mmw}-dancers were men in the tombs of Antefokar, pl.XXXII, and at el Kab, 1.III, but at Beni Hasan, v 1.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 riasts, suggest that here at any rate, the dancers re women. They are shown wearing the tall headdress usually associated with \textit{mmw}-dancers.
(46) e.g. the statue of the nbt pr Snawy which was found at Kerma, (see Reisner, Excavations at Kerma IV/V, Harvard African Studies, 1933, v 1.VI, pl.31) and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no.14,720).

(47) Eng 1baeh, Ri qeh and Memphis, vol.VI, pl.VIII, n.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 Mignon, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, pl.XXIII/XXV.

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

(50) e.g. Naville, op. cit., vol.I, pls.XX and XXXIII, 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.XXIII; 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.3.

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

(54) In tomb 120 at Thebes.

(55) e.g. Beni Hasan, v 1.I, pls.XII and XXXII, and vol.II, pls.IV and XXIX; el Bersheh, vol.I, pls.VIII, IX, XVII and XX; eir, vol.I, pl.II, v 1.III, pls.VI and VII, and vol.VI, pls.XI and XIII; Mo'alla, pls. XIII and XL; Antaeopolis, pl.XXV; Elephantein, 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. 'Uddeutschen Sammlung, vol.I, 1.III, no.6. Two men are shown offering to a couple who are probably their parents.
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. IV, pl. 0. A woman offers to her parents.

Louvre stela, C.133, 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.


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

(62) Blackman, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt", J.E.A., vol. XXXII, pp. 176/185, the passages concerning British Museum stracon 56, see pls. XXXIV/XXXV.
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.

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 ḫtī prided himself, is the statement: I did not enter unto one of them (see Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., The Leyden Papyrus 371, pl. VIII, line 38).

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 ḫyw were jabbering, every heart was sick for me". These are usually said to be married women, or even...
women (see Gardiner, Notes on the toery of inune, 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 Sinune 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).


(67) Ėrny and Peet, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty", J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, pl.XIV, p.3, line 9 refers to ink-sw-dm as a hbswt, while in line 11 the word hmt, wife, is used. This document contains the settlements involved during the second marriage of Im-h'lw, so it is just possible that ink-sw-dm, whom he had decided to marry, had previously been his concubine, but, apart from the use of the word hbswt, there is no thing in the text to suggest this.

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

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


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

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

(74) el Kab, pl.VIII.

(75) Beni Hasan, v.1.I, pls.XXIX and XXXV.

(76) Nfr was 2my-r mšt, Captain of the Host, or General, and Nfrw-htp was 2my-r pr n d3tt, the Steward of the Estate.

Many of the examples quoted here are from the tomb of Ḥmm( )-hṭp the second of Beni Hasan, but it must be imagined that this is because his m乃ge was in any way unusual. It is simply that most of the key inscriptions happen to be preserved in this tomb.

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

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

(79) e.g. ḫsw, Foll r, and 1my-r wr, Steward.

(80) This is an inappropriate translation, considering that in the papyri concerned with the great to b robbers of the Twelfth Dynasty, it is applied to the wives of heralds, scribes, goldsmiths, workers, servants, scribes, and gardeners.


(34) D'odorus says that the penalty for assaulting a married woman as causation. Diodorus, I.78.3/4.

(35) For a general discussion the various meanings of sese Bakir, Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, ps.43/52.

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

(37) z. Mariette, Catalog d'Abydos, nos.1174, 1175 and 1187.

(38) z. Bodil Hornemann, Typ s of Ancient Egyptian Statuar, Box no.V, nos.1260 and 1264 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Yo , nos.24.1, and 1.49 respectively), 165a and 1265 (Brooklyn Museum, nos.51.224 and 43.137 respectively) 1266 (British Museum, nos.14073), and 127 (British Museum, no.17056).


(40) Stadtsch Sammlung n, vol.II, pl.V, n.3.

(41) de Garis Davies, Th T of Rekh-ire at Thebes, pl.LVII.
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, v.1.II, pl.44.


(95) de Garis Davies, The Tomb of enkhpeperasonb, Amarna and another, p.15. See also by the same author, The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes, and The Tomb of Puymane at Thebes. Both these noblemen 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 Bersh h, 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.


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

(103) Glanville, op. cit., p. 21, C 1.7:13.

(104) Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom on in the Brooklyn Museum, p.107.
The domestic chapels in the grounds of the large villas of Tell el Amarna need not necessarily have been innovations of that era.

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

A blind harpist and a blind singer appear in the tomb of Wi-h-tp the son of Snub at Meir. See Meir, vol. II, pl. III.

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

e.g. Antefokar, pl. XXIII.

e.g. Antefokar, pls. XXVII and XXIX.

e.g. Antefokar, pl. XXIII.

e.g. Antefokar, loc. cit.

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 scene of the king clubbing a fallen enemy.

e.g. Antefokar, pl. XIV; Antaeopolis, pl. XXIV; Breasted, Egyptian Servant Statues, pls. 84 and 85.


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.

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-hw1- 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 tobiographies 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.

(125) Though they are not specifically designated as such, the presence of Nubians is occasionally revealed in t h b paintings and models. Two Nubian servant girls appear on the sarcophagus of '33yt, for example (see The Egyptian Expedition 190l, Excavations at Thebes, Part II of th B.M.M.A. of November 19 l, p.43, pl.19), and actual models of Nubian girls, dressed in th ir distinctive patterned skirts (see Section V, p. 428 , and pl.XCII, G.3), were found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, their excavations in Theb s 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 proce ses was found at Assiut. See Chassinat, Fouilles d'Assiout, ps.49/50, and pl.XV:2.

(128) Chassinat, loc. cit.


(130) There were s me 845 square metres of cloth in the tomb of the steward W3h, of which 375 s uare metres were on the corpse. See inlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahri, ps.2 6/ 7.

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

(132) Griffith, Hi ratio Papyri fr m Kahun and Gurob, pl.XXXXII, lines 1/10.

(133) de Caris D vies, Five Theban Tombs, pl.XXXVII. For the reading of the name, see Rankx, Die Ägyptischen P r on nnamen, vol.I, p.3 6, no.4.

(134) Hay s, op. cit., p.108.
(135) Cailliaud, Recherches sur les arts et métiers, 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 servants from one master to another, a practice which indicates a considerable degree of authority over these labourers. Sj-Mntw-wsr, for example (see Florence stela 6365, ph tograph 13), spoke of giving his mrt to his son by means of an imyt-pr (see Section IV, p.350). ḫp'-'df3 of Siût (see Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and d'r Riffah, pl.6, line 71) and Hnm(w)-ḥtp the second of Beni Hasan, vol.1, pl.XXV, lines 86/88) both said that they had endowed (smnt) their respective k3-priests with land and cattle and peasants. The word used by ḫp'-'df3 for the peasants was rmst, while Hnm(w)-ḥtp referred to them as mrt.

The word Ⲝ ⲟ ⲝ ⲝ, ḫt, also denoted 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 a yri, see Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gur b, pl.X, lines 1/ and pl.XI, line 1) they appear as members of a priest's household. Some people designated ḫt 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 ḫt could possess property of his own (see Griffith, op. cit., p.27, n.10 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, since sh is de icted with her, holding her mirror.

\( (140) \) \[ \text{mnty}, \text{Gardiner and Vogelsang, Die Klagen des Bauern, in Erman, Literarische Texte des Mittl ren Reiches, vol.IV, pl.1/1A, line 81.} \]

\( (141) \) Papyrus Anastasi V, 15:6/17:3. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanes, ps.64/65, and Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanes, ps.247/250.


\( (143) \) 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 inspection) and pl.17 (the cattle shed).

\( (145) \) Winlock, op. cit., pl.8, and Naville, op. cit., vol.I, pls.XIX and XX, and v 1.III, pl.II.

\( (146) \) Roeder, D'e Denkmälere des Peliznus Museums, p.73, fig.18.

\( (147) \) See above n to 141.

\( (148) \) Beni Hasan, v 1.II, pl.VII.

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

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

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

\( (15) \) e.g. Tylor and Griffith, The Tobb of Pah rite el Kab, pl.III. Thi ows a small, naked girl, gleaning in the fields, and there
i a block, robably of the Nineteenth Dynasty, from a mast a at Sakkara, which hows two naked girls dancing. This block, which was r -used in the Serapeum, is now in Cairo (Journal d'Entrée 4872). An excellant ph t graph appears in Terrace and Fi cher, Art Treasures of the Cairo M um, ps.145/7.

(153) e.g. de Garis D vies, The Tomb of Nakht t Thebes, pl.XVII, and The T o of Two Sculptors at Thebes, pl.VII.

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

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

(156) e.g. de Garis Davi es, The Tomb of Nef rhotep 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 sp cial shawls or lengths of linen. The girl is clearly only eant to be a child herself, as she is only half the size of the adults, so the baby cannot e hers.

(157) e.g. de Garis Davi es, The T o of akht at Thebes, pl.XXI. shows a man ploughing, while a small boy, presumably his s, f llows behind sowing the grain; als Tylor and Griffith, loc. cit., which shows small girls accompanying their mother t the fi lds to glean.

(158) e.g. de Garis Davi es, The T mb of the Vizi r Ramose, pl.XXV, and Th T rob of Nefer-h tep at Thebes, pls.XXI and XXIII.

(159) e.g. Terrace and Fischer, loc. cit. Thi block shows eight grown women dancing with tambourines, while tw young appre tice dancers e rg tically play the clappers.

(160) e.g. de Garis Davi es, Th T rob of Nakht at Thebes, pl.XVII; Th T rob of Two Soul tors at Thebes, pl.VII: The Tom of Rekh-mi-r at Ghebes, pl.LXIV.

(161) e.g. de Garis Davi s, Tw Ramessi T oms at The es, pl.VII, shows a young boy with a shaven h ad carrying a bouquet and a bird
as an of ring to Osiris, following his parents in a roc sion. On pl.VIII of the same volume, his small sister, who has a long side-look of hair, worn on an th rwise have head, is shown with her family taking part in the w rshi of the deifie Tuthmosis I. On pl.XXIV an ther girl is portrayed with her parents worshippin Osiris and Hathor.


(163) Antef kar, pl.XXIII.

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

(165) Such evidence as ther e is f r the e ucation of girls is q ted by Brunner, Altypt'sche 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 w rk, b t the figure on the right with the stick is pr bably only keeping th b at during an orinary performance, not instructing th rformers 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 cas , the owner of the tomb is present.

(167) The pres ce of a palette bearing the nem f th Prince s Meritaten in the t b of Tutankhame (s e Carter, The Tomb of Tutankhame, vol.III, pl.XXI) has bee use in favour of litera y among the wome of the royal family, bu th palette in quest'on was more likely intended f painting as it has several diff re t cloured icements it. A ore tellin gume t in favour of th ed tion of m is th sccess many of them had in particip ting ' governmnt, eith r directly r indirectly.


(169) See r d, op. cit., v 1.I, paragraph 294 for typica
for a Middle King. xmpl.

(170) Gard, Egyptian Grammar, Sign List S.10, te 2 and 3. This may be he occasion when the youthful side-lock as reed and th adult styl with fill t adopted.


(17) Wh $st$-ms with t stress how young he was wh n he e tered the army, he aid that "I was (still) y ung and I had n t taken a wife", which would imply that it was customary to marry at an early ag.


(173) e.g. Inny, s e Mariette, Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musee de Boulaq, vol.I, pl.16 (P pyrus 4) III:1.

(174) Glanvill, op. cit., ps.93/9, Col. 11:7.

(175) Mullar, Die Lieb scoesie der Alten Aegypte, 3, suggests that arri ge was possible f r a girl at 12 and f r a boy at 15.

Th girl wh is named on a stel of th Ptol mai Period, in th Briti h Mus um se ms t we bee ab t 14 wh n sh marri d (see Ott, Di Biogra hisch n Inschrifte d r Agyptisch S"tzeit, n .57, p.190/194).

In the firs half of the inete th Century D, it a ars t h th oast for peas t girls at le s t marry wh a t 1 or 13, t ugh th y may ha been betr thed for som ti before that (see Lane, t of th Manners and Customs f th Mod rn Egyptians, p.156, 3rd. diti).

No matter wh t th "Ideal" diff renc in ag may have be in anci t times, in pr "tie there r al s unions betwe persons of widely arying age. Th entries on part of P pyrus Michig 2, f r example (oak, "Alim tary C trac fr T , J.*. 1 6, v 1.XII, ps.100/109) record s f husbands and wiv who re c tracting.
parties in this title, this tally is in recording figures.

Column I, a. The husband was 5 years older than his wife.

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

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

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


There is a passage in the htp (see ZA a, Le Maximes de Ptahhotep, p. 5 lines P.457/459) which Zaba 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 (d. Simpson), p. 171, note 60, and Goedicke, "Greek gymnastic Sportsings", J.A.R.C.E. 1967, vol. VI, pp. 37/102.

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

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

(179) See Müller, Di Liebesgesche der Alten Ägypten.

(180) The phrase commonly ed is rdi X Y m (or r) hmt, to give X to Y as (or for) wife. e.g. de Linage, "L'Acte d'ablation et le contrat de mariage 'un esoul ve sous Thoutmès III". J.E.A.O. 1939, vol. XXXVIII, p. 19, Tit. 14.

(181) g. Gardiner, "opti tr inary", J. . . 1940, vol. I, pl. VI/VIA, line 21. The word use here is dtt r dd.

(182) Ir m hmt, to take as wife, g. Gardiner, op. cit., pl. VI/VIA, lines 1/1. 
es man, Marriage and trim ial Pr per'y in Anci nt
eypt, Chart , nos.1/7, cla 11, also p. 5.

The last available example is Papyrus Louvre 7846, hi
is ated to 548 B.C., see Pest an, op.cit., Chart A, no.7.

(1 5) Pe tman, op. cit., Chart A, claus s 14/15, and Chart B, 
clause l . Very occa ionally, the w man address the an with the w rds
"You have made me your wif ", Chart A, clauses 12/13.

(186) Glanville, op. c't., ps.50/51, Co1.22:4 and ps.5 /57, 
Col.25:5 respectiv-ly.

(137) e.g. Gardiner, The Admonit'ons of an Egyptian Sage,
1.3:3/9 - "Behold, a man (wh ........ obtains) a noble wif , her fath r
protects him".

(13 ) Pestman, op. cit., p.15.
(189) Pest an, op. cit., p.16.
(190) Volten, "Die moralisch n Lehren des d motis h n Pa .
L uvre 24JJ", in Studi in Memoria di Ippolito Ro ellini nel primo centenari

(191) Glanville, op. c't., ps.36/37, Col.15:15.
(19 ) Zab a, op. cit., ps.60/63, lines p.56/1 7.
(13 ) Zab , . o.t., p.32, lines L2, 07/ 14.
(194) Zab , . cit., p. 9, lines P.167/172.
(195) Glanville, op. cit., ps.1 /19, Col.6:6
(196) Volten, op. cit., pl.XXIV, 1:14 and .27 .
(197) Lexa, op. cit., p.4, 2:15.

During h r s j urn in Egypt in t e 19 Os, inifre lackman be rve
that, among the fellahin, th mo h r retained he high st plac in her on'
affections, ve after marriage. When she o ted this, she was told, in w rds th t recall th se of &nny, that this was as it sh uld be, o id riny what a m ther had t endure t bring a o 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 1 ckman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, p.45. 
(199) Glanville, op, cit., ps. 8/9, cl.11:19.

SECTION IV

(1) On Paophi 5, 181 B.C., P3-dl-Ttn 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 ctively). However, a few days earlier, he had issued d ads of e dowm nt (sh n s'nb) 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 receiv- by the four children were unequal, f r though th two girls received the same, the son and daughter of the second wif could pr bly eventually inherit her third share, so the boy might, in the end, rec iv nearly as much as the older br ther, while the girl woul rec ive one than her elder si ter unle th first wif a t d ad, but div ro d, in which case her p operly would pr bably pass t h r children one day.

Th s n (. o't., .xxi) was no pr aed t conc that there was any legal lig tion t vie th pr rt in fixed oportions.


(4) Moret, Une Nouvelle Disposition Testamentaire de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 1914, p.558 ff.


(6) Sethe, op. cit., ps.24/32.

(7) Sethe, op. cit., ps.115/117.

(8) Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kanum and Gurob, pl.XII, lines 10/27. Griffith discusses the meaning of ˹miyt.pr˼ on ps.29/30. Others have also considered the meaning of ˹miyt.pr˼, see, for example, Seidl, Einführung in die Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, ps. 22/25, 47 and 58/59; Harari, Ann du Serv., 1951, vol.II, 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 ˹mwt˼, see Hayes, op. cit., p.114, for his comments on the meaning.


(13) Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes.


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

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


(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 µ¡£±¡µ, nḫyvw, see Gardiner, op. cit., pl.VIIa, lines 2/3 and p.24.

(2) e.g. The will of War (see below, note 31). On reaching his maturity, the eldest son of War took over the direction of his family's affairs. Similarly on the death of P3-3ỉ-3tm, 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 Treaties, 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 not wrong the daughter of the poor man. I did not oppress the widow". Also el rah h, v 1.II, pl.XXII, Hat-nub graffito VIII, line 6, "I listened (?) to the cry (of her who was) reft of h r hus and. I brought up the orphan"
and graffito XII (pl.XXIII, lines 12/13) speaks of supporting the widows of the city and endowing children with land. Similarly, the raider 'Intef (Louvre stela, C.26, pl.XIX) claimed to have been the "husband of the widows, the shelter of the orphan", beside being one who made the weepers rejoice.


(27) The harbouring of widowed and unattended male relatives may account for the number of women living in the household of the soldier Snfrw (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 Gurob, pl.IX, lines 2/7).

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


(30) The formula employed here is snt ḫwh sn.s, "It is a sister who speaks to her brother". The couple have a son and, as the bride 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.


(32) Griffith, op. cit., pl.XII, line 14, p.3.
Collected together and compiled by P. stamen in Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt.

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 other

On the death of her brother/husband, Tuthmosis II, Hatshpsut "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 Hatshpsut, 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.

James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pl.14:9/15.

Though many tomb paintings of the Middle Kingdom show women with their husbands, receiving off rings, 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 flower headdress, not to be confused with the real flowers that were often own carrying. See ct on V, p.467 and pl.CIII, H.3).

Griffith, The Inscriptions of the Memphites, pl.15, lines 33/3).

Beni Hasan, ol.I, to b.3, also v.1.II, om b.1.

Beni Hasan, v.1.I, to b.3.
(42) ni Has , cl.II, tom 23.
(43) an, cl.I, l.XXII. For New ry's comments on
the location of this town, see v l.II, p.21.
(44) Meir, v l.VI, 1.VI.
(46) Meir, vol.III, pl.XXVII.
(48) If Mr' was older than hr roth r Snb, it is perf cly
possible for her to have an s ult son, bef re hr broth r had an heir
of his body. The fact that n wif or child nam d in the t of ces
n t rule out th pibility th t he have had wife an cild who
pre-dec s d him.
(49) El ph tine, tom s 36, pl.6 31, pl.4 respecti
(50) Griffith, r tic P yri fr ah and Gur b,
pl.XXXIV, lin s 16 t the nd.
(51) Griffith, op.cit., p.79, no line 19.
(5 ) It i uno tain wheth r"broth r" and "ister" are used
h re of ibling, or wh th r t f should be interp rted t me "rel tive",
the degree of kinsh'p being und fined. Gardin was inclined t th latter
vi , The Ins r'ption of , p. 2, ote on line 6.
(53) Gardin r, op. it., .13, n 10.
(54) Gard r, op. cit., p.43. in s 5/6, th rd d he
is s 3, literally t plough, to cultiv te.
(55) Gardin r, Th 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 an 51.51.

(57) Gardiner, "Ramessid Texts Taxation to. of C ", J.A., 1941, v 1.XXVII, ps.19/73. The p. segs concerning the activities of this couple are: p. 5 - 2, 10/11; p.29 - 3, 6/7; p.33 - 5, 5/6.

(58) Cherny, Late Ram s i Letts, o.37 (Geneva D191) d te, Late Rame ide Letts, in which the same numbering system is followed.

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

(60) Cherny, op. cit., and Wente op. cit., n.36 (British Museum 10412).

(61) Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, v 1.XXI, pl.96.


(63) de Caires, "Two Ramesses ii Texts of the es", pl.3XX.

(64) Griffith, op. cit., pl.3XXXII.

(65) Griffith, op. cit., pl.3XXXIX, line 1/13.


(68) Griffith, Hieratic Papyrus from Kahun and Gurna, pl.3XXXIX, lines 4/3.

(70) Černý, op. cit., and W t, op. cit., no. 8 (British Museum 10375).

(71) Černý, op. cit., and nte, op. cit., o.38 (Turin Papyrus, no. umber), and no.39 (Turin Papyrus 2069).

(72) Černý, op. cit., and W t, op. cit., n. 1, 34, and 35 (Berlin Papyri 10487/9 inc.).

(73) Pe t, The Mayer Papyri A a d B. The case of Twm-r′f is on ayer A, page 3, lin s 1/5.

(74) Pe t, The Great Tomb Robberi s of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, pl.XXXI, British Museum Papyrus 1005, page 10, lin s 11/15.


(76) Griffith, Catalogue of the De otic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester, v II.I/III.


(84) Pe t, op. cit., l.XXXVII, p.3 lin 31.

(36) nhay(t). Gardiner, op. cit., p. 9, line 12.
(38) Sethe, Urkunden des Alten Reichs, v 1, I, p. 9/110.
(40) de Buck, op. cit., p. 155, VII.
(41) de Buck, op. cit., p. 156, VII.
(45) Peet, Mayer Papyri A and B, page 11, line 16.
(47) Peet, Great Tomb Robbers' of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, pl. XXVII, British Museum Papyrus 1005, page 3 lines 8/9.
(49) Hayes, op. cit., pl. XIV, lines 1/4.
(51) Gardiner, op. cit., line N7.
(1.6) Anast i VI, 6/6, Gardin, op. cit., 77/78, and
in, op. cit., p. 96/300.

(1.7) Thompson, A Family Archive fr 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 1591,
pl. III, c 1. III, line 2 and p.17.

(110) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10575,
pl.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 dr its de d'Antiquité, vol.II, ps.981/984.

(113) Edgerton, Notes on Egyptian Marriage, chiefly in th
Ptol. saio Period, p.2, no.2.

(114) Möller, Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaltischer
Zeit, ps.30/31.

18/19, III:5/7. It is interes ing t te that the s tiviti s record d
there ear a res blanc to th e of Egyptians of the Nin teenth Century
A.D., as described by Lane in Account of the Manners and Customs of the
Modern Egyptians (5th edition), ps.15 /174.


(117) Occasionally the house might belong t th wife, ee,
for example, Černý an Gardiner, His ra tic tracs, ls.XXIII/XXIIIA, n .
This tr ca (Petrie 61), dated t the Nineteenth Dynasty, ought t safe-
guard th right of a wife t go on livi in her house, eve ould h be
divorced, because the house was hers, having been built by her father.

Another interesting example is that of the "Nbt nt nwt Wwt-m-w3" and her husband, who lived with her father. **Wwt-m-w3** gave evidence to the effect that, when her father found out that her husband had been involved in the tomb robberies, he forbade his son-in-law ever to enter his house again. It is not known if **Wwt-m-w3** 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.


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


(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, 1872, and 1893 respectively) which, for the first time in England, granted 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 Conjugal 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, Rj3-nbt drew up meticulous lists awarding provisions to the members of his househld, 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 Bouslaq 18 - see Buhardt, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem Ende des mittleren Reiches", Z.Ä.S. 1 90, v.1.XVIII, ps.65/103. Griffith, "The Account Papyrus number 1 of Bouslaq", Z.Ä.S. 1891, vol.XXIX, ps.102/116; and Scharff, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie", Z.Ä.S. 192 2, v 1.LVII, ps.51/68.

(126) e.g. Cerny, "The Will of Naunehkete", J.E.A., 1945, vol.XXI, ps.29/53, and "La Constitution d'un avoir conjugal en Égypte", B.I.P.A.O., 1937, vol.XXVII, ps.41/48, which corrects an erroneous reading which Cerny and Peet had published in their translation of this document in J.E.A., 1927, v 1.XIII. The first document concerns the will of Nwtt-nht, the second refers to the settlement made by the priest Tmn-ḥt, for his second marriage. In both cases all the contracting parties accepted 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) Ṣen Mm-Mwt promised never again to physically mistreat his wife, he greed 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, Černy, op.cit., s.47/48.
(12) The will of Iwt-nht (see Ėrnf, J.E.A., 1945, v 1.XXXI, p1.VII/VIII, 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 Imm-h'iw 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 Ėrnf, B.I.F.A.O., 1937, v 1.XXXVII, ps.42/43). The first wife of Imm-h'iw must have died, rather than been divorced, because her father 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 the first wife, as it is not mentioned in the document. Imm-h'iw was to have dealt fairly with his children, and they acknowledged that they had received the slaves, who 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) Asman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt. It should be remembered that the earliest document discussed by Pestman (Chart A, n.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 pri-

(131) Papyrus 1012, see Pestman, op. cit., Chart B, n.1.

(13 ) British Museum Papyrus 1012, see Pestman, Chart A, n.1.
(133) Orie tal Institute P pyrus 17481, see Pestman, cit., Chart C, n.l.

(134) Th e lies known example c mes from Edfu and is dated to 364 B.C., see Pe tman, Chart A, o.10.

(135) Practically every list includes a garment c led the which was cl arly of great importance, and is usually transl ted in English by "shawl" or s metimes eve "w ding veil", alth ugh one document (s e Pestman, loc. cit.) m tions that the article was s me 5' yards long, s sh l cann t be the correct transl tion, and, as far as is known, Egyptian women did not wear anything th t could be descri ed as a wedding veil, s s me other translation m s ught. It is poss'bl th the was mat ri l of fine quality, perh ps use in the mak' g of s f s al gar e.t, such as woul be suit ble for a wedding cl r t'on.

(136) Zá a, Les aximes de Ptahhot p, p.41/43, lines L2. 3 5/333.

(137) Gardiner and ethe, op. cit., Leyd Papyrus 371, pls.VI/VII and oo.3/9.

(138) Ta benschlag, Th Law of Gr.-co-Roman Egypt in the Light f the apyri ( nd. dit'on), p.1 0/21.

(139) The sag Áwy has some sound racti al advice t off r on the best ay t pres rve arital harmony, and recommend 's re .r to avoid interf ing with th arrange ts f an efficient wif, and to avoid c tinually tiong h r methods - "You sh uld look on sile tly and re ognis h r industry". A ove all, warrels wer- to b void d (s e ari te, cit., pl. 1, VIII:3/7). It s als Áwy who painted the b t 'c are of the care loving oth r lavish on h r children ( s ove p. 344).
Even *nh-šēnk* 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.18:22 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 Leza, Papyrus Insinger, vol.1, 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-šēnk*, 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.


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

(143) Herodotus, II.32.

(144) Diodorus, I, 80.3.

(146) e.g. Hayes, op. cit., pl.XIV; Gardiner Ostracon 55 (Peet and Černý, J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, ps.38/39); the settlement of ūn-pḥ'w; the Siut archive.

(147) Petrie, Athribis, pl.VII.


(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 Ḫnp-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, Moir, vol.I, p.12, and vol.VI, ps.15, 26, 30/31, and 35.


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

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

(156) e.g. the settlement of ūn-pḥ'w, 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 Ḋwt-nḥt.
(157) It is interesting to note that, whereas ḫm-b'[n 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.XIII, 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-h'[n∃, 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/ clauses 24 and 27.

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

(162) Pestman, op. cit., as note 157 above.
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 (ḥāsw), ḫn-hš(w), in reply to a previous letter of his, during the course of which he had asked "Wherefore have you rejected (ḫš), 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.

Though ḫn-ḥšnk urged his readers not to abandon a woman who was barren, see Glanville, op. cit., ps.34/35, Col.14:16.

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 ṣḥt, or goods of equivalent value (Pestman, op. cit., Chart A, clause 28), and her ṣḥ (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 ḥd n ḫr ṣḥt and the s'nh respectively, together with a woman's personal possessions.

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. Goetse, 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 Wh3-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.IXIV, 1:7 and p.272. Ptb.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. Žāba, 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-hānḫ" 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. Xavy. 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) Ostracon Louvre 5112 (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 Ostraca 25227 (see Daressy, Ostraca, Cat. Cén. 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 Ptḥ-htp (see Žāba, op. cit., ps. 55/56, lines F499/506) and the Story of the Eloquent Peasant

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 divorsee, and the apron of him that is motherless", thus including the divorsee among those unfortunates who were in need of special care and protection. This does not necessarily mean that the divorsee 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. Ostracon 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 Nāwt-nḥtḥ 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 Pj-tš-šm.

(178) The wicked étep-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 Setae stories, where one un-
pleasant 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) Festman, 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. 10/12). 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. Хаб, op. cit., p.31, lines L.2.197/198, and Posener
"Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedef", Revue d'Égyptologie, 1952, vol.IX
ps.109/117. Чны 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.
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 a child (see Schott, J.E.A., 1930, vol.XVI, p.23 and pl.XI). There is a similar statuette in the Louvre (E.8000) asking for a child for one and this is prefaced by a simple htp pr3 msw prayer for the k3 of a man called (See Desroches Noblecourt, B.I.W.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.13915), 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 (b3kw). 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.

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.

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 Taharka. Amenirdis II adopted Mitoticris, daughter of Psamtik I, and she adopted Anhesneseribre, 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 naitum 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.


(190) In the Story of Truth and Falsehood (see Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, ps.32/33, 514/6) 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.XII, 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.XIX. 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.XXIV, where T3t and her children stand behind Hty and her offspring.

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


SECTION V

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

(2) It is regrettable that the reliefs of W31i-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-htpj was High Priest of Hathor of Ques, but the second and fourth Wh-htpj were also Ḥm w ntr, and their tombs are perfectly conventional, as is that of Ḥm(w)-htpj the second of Beni Hasan, who was another Ḥm w 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-htpj 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 Ques to show himself surrounded by his hares, see Meir, vol. VI, pls. XIII, XVI, XVII, and XIII, and it must also be remembered that Wh-htpj 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 Deshabashah 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. XXXIV, no. 431 (stela 20549).

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

(7) Antaeopolis, pl. XXV.

(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. LXXII, and de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes, pl. XXX.

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

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


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


(16) Brunton and Caton-Thompson, Bedarian 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 Lisht (no.545), also contains 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.Bouterius of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, who is engaged in a study of the Northern Cemetery of Lisht, 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.

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

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

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

(23) Chassinat and Palamque, 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-Amon, p.10 and pl.VII F.

(26) In the tomb of 'nh-m-'Fr 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 Gersean Period all wear long skirts, but the figures are always blocked in in a single mass of colour, so it is not know 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); Fassini, Images for Eternity, p.7, no.1 (Brooklyn Museum 07.447.502); and Breasted, Egyptian
Servant Statues, p.182.

(28) The woman wearing this skirt is entitled [myr mrw], 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 Caris Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, pl.XXX.

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

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

(32) The garments were rectangular in shape with the sleeves attached to the top corners, see Crowfoot and de Caris 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 Caris 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.


(41) Mace and Winlock, The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lidasht, p.15.
(42) e.g. Borchardt, Statues und Statuettten, 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 rḫt mw Nfrt, found in her tomb at Meydum. 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 Idasht, Section II of the B.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 13), 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.

(49) The statue of the rḥt nsw ḫrtyt (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 sḥḥ nsw found at Sakkara. 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 ḫrwy, now in the Brooklyn Museum No51.231), shows hairdressers pinning a look of false hair on to the coiffure of their mistress, see Riefstahl, J.N.S.E., 1936, vol.IV, pls.VII, IX and X. A similar scene occurs on the sarcophagus of ḫhwty, see Naville, The Eleventh Dynasty Temple, vol.I, pl.XI. 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.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 XXX, 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.XI.

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

(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 Tun-ankh-Amen*, vol.III, pl.VII. The four guardian goddesses of the canopic shrines are thought to be carved in the likeness of Queen *nh.t-em-h3m*. 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.


(63) Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, p.43. It is suggested that this is a representation of the ḫ.t-headdress.
This head is now in the Cairo Museum (no.4232). For a good colour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, op. cit., pl.32.

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.

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 rfr nsw Nfrt (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.

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

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".

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

e.g. Mace and Winlock, op. cit., Frontispiece, and Farag and Iakander, The Discovery of Neferwyptah, pl.I.

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See above note 69.


tw, ḫn, and ḫn, and s3.

See above note 69.

Antaeopolis, pl.XXIV.

Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, vol.II,
(76) Chassinat and Palanque, op. cit., pls. IX and X.
(77) e.g. Mace and Winlock, op. cit., pls. XIII/XXXI, and Farag and Iskander, op. cit., pl. LXXX.
(78) The most comprehensive collection was found in the grave of Sankhsy, see Mace and Winlock, op. cit., pl. XXX.
(79) e.g. Mond and Myers, Temples of Armant, pl. XVII.
(80) e.g. Jequier, La Pyramide d'Ouldjebten, 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 Sat, found in her tomb at Thebes were painted red, indicating presumably that they were made of dyed leather.

Excursuses

(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 Hatashepsut, Redford suggested that the queen was seeking "to modify the basis of Egyptian kinship 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 Casinos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, ps. 95/99, 6:4/5.

(7) Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, pl.5, line 16


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


(11) e.g. J.E.A., 1961, vol.XVII, 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 En-emb and his servant is Snb-En-emb, 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 nh pt nsw hm ntr Mht R. This stela, dated to the late Old Kingdom, is made in the form of a false door, and shows figures of Mht 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 Hmt 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 `mwy-r mśw wr `mwy, 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.IV.

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

(23) e.g. J.E.A., 1939, vol.XV, pl.XII: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.II, 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 prw 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 prw, 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 mrt.f. On Leiden stela pl.XXVIII, no.38, the wife seated with the owner is said to be mrt.f mrt.f lm3hyt Hp, while the woman facing them across the offering table is mrt.f mrt.f lm3hyt Snt m3't prw. 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 prw.
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<td>911</td>
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<td>387</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Maternal grandmother</td>
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<tr>
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<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternal grandmother</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paternal grandmother</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cairo 20005</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20010</td>
<td>Wife of mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20013</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20058</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20322</td>
<td>One is his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20373</td>
<td>and Wife 20778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20486</td>
<td>One is his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20507</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20530</td>
<td>WIVES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20543</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20661</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cairo 20668</td>
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<tr>
<td>Object number</td>
<td>Relationship to man opposite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20732</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo 20770</td>
<td>Owner of stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louvre C.15</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louvre C.190</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence 6368</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence 6375</td>
<td>Wife</td>
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<td>Süddeutschen Sammlungen, I, no.12. Wife</td>
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<td>Süddeutschen Sammlungen, I, no.18. Wife</td>
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<td>Cinquantenaire 4,985. Wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cinquantenaire 4,980. Daughters.</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Object number. Relationship to man opposite</td>
<td>hkrt nsw</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brit. Mus., III pl.32. Wife</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brit. Mus., IV pl.19. Wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolton, 10/20/12. Wife</td>
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<td>Berlin 7512. Wife</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin 7287 Mother</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>el Arabah pl.XIII, E.172. Wife.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN</td>
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<td>M.D.I.K., vol. IV, Abb. 11 Mother and wife.</td>
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<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> <img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> <img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> adjw bity.</td>
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<td>B.I.F.A.O., vol. XXXVII, p. 108, no. 21, Sister.</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> w'rtw n tt hk3. Their father was an İny-r mš'.</td>
</tr>
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<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> w'rtw n tt hk3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> Joint owners both nfw (Sailors).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo'alla. Wife of 'nh-tify</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> <img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> Provincial nobleman with usual titles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>al Kab. Conoumine?</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> Provincial nobleman with usual titles.</td>
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<td>Ekhaś no. 26 Wife.</td>
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<td>Ekhaś no. 4.</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> She owns the tomb. No known male relatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhaś no. 14 Wife.</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> Provincial nobleman with usual titles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekhaś no. 18</td>
<td><img src="%E2%88%9A" alt="Check" /> Owner of the tomb. No known male relatives.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object number</td>
<td>hkrtnsw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to man opposite</td>
<td>w'tth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>D.XI temple at Deir el Bahari Wives or concubines.</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lecau, Sarcophages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28001</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>28002</td>
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<td>28006</td>
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<td>28011</td>
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<td>28018</td>
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<td>28025/6</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28030</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 38 26
The Royal Family of the Fourth Dynasty

KHAFRE = 0 H'Q-MRR-NBTY I

ΔΔ Hwfw-H'F = 0 NFR-K3W

0 H'Q-MRR-NBTY II = MENKAWRE = 0

Δ SHEPSES KAF = 0 Bw-NFR

Δ

O = Δ PtH-ŚPSS
The Family of Hnm(w)-htp II of Beni Hasan
The Family of *Dhwy-htp* of el Bersheh
The Family of Wh-htp VI of Meir
The Family of S3-Rnpwt II of Elephantine

\[ S_{BK-HTP} \Delta = 0 \]
\[ \Delta HTP \]
\[ Nbi \ O = \Delta 'NH-TIFY \]
\[ \Delta \ \Delta \ \Delta \ \Delta \ \O \ \O \ N5\]

The Family of 'nh-tify of Mo'allla
The Family of Sbk-nht II of el Kab
Cairo stela 20091

Cairo stela 20092

Cairo stela 20109
Cairo stela 20139

Cairo stela 20141

Cairo stela 20153
Cairo stela 20156

Cairo stela 20158

Cairo stela 20159
Cairo stela 20161
Cairo stela 23161 continued
Cairo stela 20310

Cairo stela 20313

Cairo stela 20325
Cairo stela 20393

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{P.N.}\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 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Cairo stela 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{HPR-K3-R'} & \Delta = \text{O HTP} \Delta \text{ OS3T-1P} \\
\Delta \text{ HNMS} & \Delta = \text{O D3G} \Delta \Delta \\
\text{o} & \Delta \text{ o} \Delta \Delta \\
\text{O} & \Delta \text{ O} \Delta \Delta \\
\end{align*}
\]

Cairo stela 20553
1.

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 AE90
It

\[\text{Cairo stela 20636}\]

\[\text{Name destroyed } \Delta \text{ = } \text{CNYT}\]

\[\text{Cairo stela 20637}\]
Cairo stelae 20055 and 20079

\[ \text{Nsm-DDT} \quad \text{HFWY} \]

\[ \text{Inhr-DDW} \quad \text{Hpy (HPW)} \quad \text{WST} \]

\[ \Delta \Delta \Delta \quad \Delta \quad \Delta \quad \text{Nni (INN)} \]

\[ \text{IBI} \]

Cairo stela 20713

\[ \text{Pt-N-HB} \quad \text{SnbTisy} \]

\[ \text{Pt} = \text{Shtr-IB-Rc} \quad \text{Snbtisy} \quad \text{IMNY-W3H} \quad \text{KHET} = \text{NhFW} \quad \text{Tn} \]

\[ \text{Pt} \quad \text{Shtr-IB-Rc} \quad \text{IMNY-W3H} \quad \text{Ng-K3W-Rc} \quad \text{Snt-Hnt-Hty} \quad \text{Snbtisy} \]

Cairo stela 20713
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Cairo stele 20733} \\
\Delta \text{INTF} \Delta = 0 \text{ MRYT} \\
\Delta \text{MNIW-3} \Delta = 0 \text{ IIIW} \\
\Delta \text{INTF} \Delta \Delta \text{ MRYT} 0 \text{ G-K3S} \Delta \text{MNIW-M3T} \Delta = 0 \text{ BNT-MSYT} \\
\Delta \text{MNIW-3} \Delta \text{MN-M3T} \Delta \text{MNIW-NS-SW} 0 \text{ IIIW} \text{ OHMT} \\
\Delta \text{MNIW-3} 0 0 0 \text{G-K3S} 0 \text{ MRYT} \\
\Delta \text{IT} \Delta 0 \text{ CN} \\
\text{MRYT} 0 = \Delta \text{MNIW-NS-SW} \\
\text{MNIW-3} \Delta = 0 \text{ MRYT} \\
\Delta \text{MNIW-3} \Delta 0 \Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta \text{MNIW-NS-SW} \\
\Delta \text{INTF} \Delta \text{MNIW-3} 0
\end{align*} \]
Cairo stela 20749

Cairo stela 20750

Cairo stelae 20373 and 20778
British Museum stelae, vol.I, pl.56 and vol.II, pls.41/43
British Museum stelae, vol.II, pl.3 and vol.III, pl.25 and
Cairo stela 20588.

British Museum stelae, vol.II, pl.12 and Cairo stela 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
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 2564
Berlin stela 7282

Hanover stela 2928
Hanover stela 2930

Hanover offering table 1926, 191
Vienna stela, p.13, no.16
Vorschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.I, no.1 and Louvre stela 0.5
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 Mus um s el a,
vol. II, pl. 15

Leiden, pl. XI, no. 12

Leiden, pl. XXIII, no. 24
Leiden, pl.XXXVII, no.48

Rec. de Trav., 1882, vol. III, p. 122, no. XV/34
Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol. XXXII, p. 141, Avignon 5/7

Stockholm stela, p. 10, no. 16
Δ "ly-w3d

MNTW-HTP-εNH Δ = O Nb(w)-DDT-HTHR WSR

O Inw

S'NH-ib-snb-snb-f-ni Δ = O Bw-RHT Δ Δ Bw-RHT O Bw-RHT -

OW3HTYW = Δ "ly-w3d Δ Δ O O NFR-HTP Δ = ? Δ "wy = O HN-ib

ODDT O FRW O Bw-RHTW- Ris

Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol. XXXII, p. 146, Avignon 31
Tombs of the Courtiers, pl.XXVII


SNTY O O S3T-MNTW

STHP-IB-P Δ = O S3T-HNWW

Musee Curtius de Liege

0°IB

ONB(w)-DDT

INT-IT.S O = Δ SbK-HTP

O°IB = Δ NB-IT.F

Δ°Si

Scepter of Egypt, vol. I, p. 333, fig. 221
Alnwick Castle, 1939

S3t-Wsrt O 0 S3t-Rdls

Rdls Δ = O S3t-Rdls

O Nb(w)-ddt Δ HnMW-ddW Δ Δ

Δ Rdls-NH

S3t-Rdls O

S3t-MntO = ? = O'3lni

SnB Δ Δ 5nHW Δ 0 HnWT Δ Δ Δ O'3lni Δ

Δ'lni Δ

Δ'lni Δ

Heidelberg, pl.12, no.560
Mariette, Catalogue de Monuments