

PhD-1976 - A MILLARD - VOL. 3.



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NOTESSECTION I - Part 1.

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

8 are royal monuments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 2

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

() Cairo stela 20051.

(3) Cairo stela 20547.

(4) Cairo stela 20581.

(5) Cairo stela 20581.

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

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

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

(9) Cairo stel 0636.

(10) e.g. Cairo stela 0543. The owner of this stela was the steward (imy-r pr) of 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 itw hnty t mwwt, great (by reason) of (her) male ancestors, outstanding (by reason) of (her) female ancestors.

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

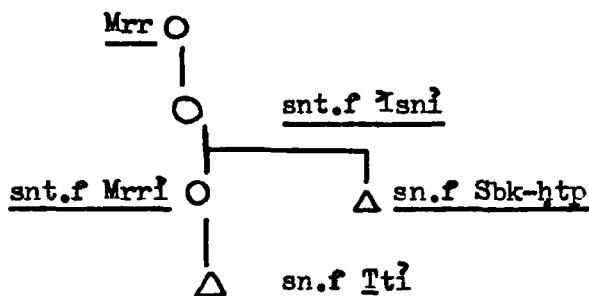
(12) Ranke, op. cit., vol. , p.84, no.24

(13) Černý, J.E.A., 1954, vol.XL, p.25 :"we can therefore conclude safely that before the 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 Guim t, B.3, pl.LVII;
Rec. de Trav., 18 2, v 1.III, p.122:XV/94; Alnwick Castle, pl.VIII, no.1939.

(16) e.g. St.Peter be g, pl.XXI, n .14. The m th r, father, two
grandm thers, and maternal great-grand other f the r of thi stela
are all named, yet th re are also three th r generations f relatives,
all said to be sn(t).f. The fir t to be named is snt.f Isni born of M.
Since Mrr was not the mother of the owner, Isni can be no more than his
half-sister. She is followed by snt.f Mrri and sn.f Sbk-htp, both b rn
of Isni, and finally comes n.f Tti born of Mrri.



Similar cases of the use of the term sn(t).f for several successive generations are to be found on Ciro 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) Verschiedene Sammlungen, pl. III, no. 3.

(18) Florence 2564, photograph 37.

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

possible th t sn(t).f n(t) mwt.f (or it.f) may have been used to denote relatives be ite those di cus ed in the text, n(t) having so many differe t meanings.

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

(1) Erman and Grapow, W"rterbuch der Aegypti ch Sprache, vol.III, ps. 94/5.

(22) Cair stela 20623.

(3) C iro stela 20653.

(24) e Gari D vies and Gardiner, Five Theban Tombs, pl. XXXIX and p.42, note 1.

Part 3

(1) In Hawaii in former times, for example, if a man committed incest with his sister he was put to death. But if a chief of high rank - who was therefore by reason of his rank kapu (sacred) - married his sister, he became still more sacred. An extreme of sanctity or untouchability attached to a chief b rn 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(10) Černý, op. cit., p. 6.

(11) Černý, op. cit., p. 7.

(12) Spelt variously  // and 

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(25)

and

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

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

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

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

SECTION II

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

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

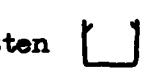
For comments on the significance of the title wb3yt, see Section III, p. 321.

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

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

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

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

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

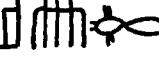
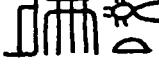
(8) For comments on the significance of the title mn't, see Section III, p.310.

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

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

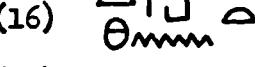
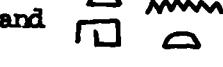
(11) For comments on the use of mrt.f without a kinship term, see Section III, p. 297.

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

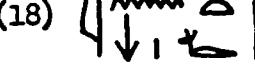
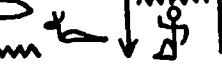
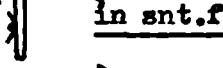
(13) Spelt variously  and  on this stela.

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

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

(16)   and  .

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

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

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

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

(20) Ranke, op.cit., vol.I, p.289, no.23.

(21) Although it would be more usual to refer to the sister of the owner as snt.f, if Nbt was the child of '3-k3.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).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(30) For comments on the significance of the title hkrt ns̄

see Section III, p. 274

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

(32) For comments on the significance of the title n̄st,

see Section III. p. 317.

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

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

(35) Erroneously written here,
but later written as

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

 , but I have examined the stela and I am satisfied that the word is
 , though the second is admittedly badly written.

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

(38) For comm ts on the titles rht ns̄w an hmt tr, see
Section III, ps. 272 and 282 respectively.

(39) The words hmt.f S3t-Inhr d ot appear in the Gayet
publication, but they are plainly visible in the photograph g erously
supplied to me by the Louvre M . The re ding rec iv s confirm ti
from an inscription in column D which again names hmt.f S3t-I b rn of
Huw.

(40) The inscription actually reads s3 .f b t the figure
is that of a mal-, and in th inscripti in c lumn D, s3.f is use .

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

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

(3) Spelt variously  , Nfrtyt, and

 , Nfryt, but they refer to the same woman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(53) The name is written as both I3w and I33 on this stela, but the former is only a variant of the latter, see Rank, op. cit., vol. I, p. 6, no. 1.

(54) See Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.79, no.16.

(55) Ranke, op. cit., vol.I, p.301, no.9, reads this as S'nb-R', but Smith and Dakin (see J.E.A., 139, vol.XXV, p.161, note 7) point out that on the Queen's College stela, the sign is A D and their reading has been added here.

(56) The reading is doubtful, see Ranke, op.cit., vol.I, p.312, no.27.

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

(58) Siegelberg and Pörtner read this name as Snt, but Ranke, op.cit., vol.I, p.317, no.25, considers it to be Shnt, and Smith and Dakin, op.cit., p.160, c, agree with his reading.

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

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

(61) For comments on the significance of the title hsyt, see Section III, p.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 Trv., 1910, vol.XXII, p.137, no.1/3.

(65) Ranke, op.cit., vol.I, p. 14, no.5.

(66) The name is written as both  and as  on this stela. Since Iwy 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.

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

(68) Rank, op. cit., vol. I, p. 94, no. 14.

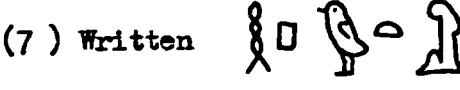
(69) Rn.s-s is an abbreviated writing of Rn.s-s b, see Rank, op. cit., vol. I, p. 51, column 2, note 1.

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

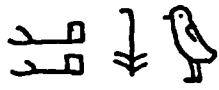
(71) For comments on the significance of the title hnmtt, see Section III, p. 314.

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

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

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

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

(76) The name is actually written Sbk-dd-sw, but Gauthier-Laurent (B.I.F.A.O., 1930, v 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.

(77) B.I.F.A.O., 1937, v 1.XXXVII. "Un nouvel exemple de vizier divinisé dans l'Egypte ancienne", p.105, note.5.

(78) The next words are illegible, but would have been "born of", then come the words  , smsw ddwt. On this stela, indeed, on all the monuments belonging to this group, the words "b rn 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 smsw, but they are all masculine, and this one does not appear among them. Either Sbk-htp was born of a mother with a unique name, or there has been an error on the part of the scribe, or Sbk-htp alone is identified by the rank (smsw, retainer) and name of his father. Since conclusive evidence to support either case is lacking, this parent has been entered into the family tree by the symbol .

(79) For comments of the significance of the title b3kt nt hk3, see Section III, p.273.

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

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

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

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

SECTION III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is placed only in relationship to the owner of the tomb or stel, 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, Hy the wife of Hnm(w)-htu the second.

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

(14) References to queens and princesses bearing this title have been excluded, except for those cases where the princess concerned married a commoner. However, it should be noted that, even within the royal family, by no means all the women assumed the title of iryt 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'Egypte*, vls. I and II; also de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (2 vols.); and Brunton, *Lahun*, vol.I, pl.XV.

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

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

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

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

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

(19) Other common translations for this title are Royal Concubine, Royal Ornament, and Court Lady. In a recent article on hkrt nsw it was suggested that the correct translation might be "One who is ornamented by the King", so it would apply to favoured noblewomen who had been awarded gold by the King, and they might be, though were not necessarily, concubines to him. See Nord, Serapis, v. 1.II, September 1970, p.12.

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

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

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

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

hkrt nsw, King's Favourite.

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

imyt-r shmh i nsw, Mistress of all the pleasures of the King.

hmh ib bity m swt,f bt, She who pleases the heart of the King of Lower Egypt in all his residences.

imy(t)-r ib3 ns, Chi f f th danc rs f th King.

imyt-r hnr ns, Chi f of th King's Hare .

m33t nfrw n nb.s r' b, She who ees the beauti s of h r Lord every day.

See Has an, Exc tions at Giza, Se on 1930/31, p.204.

(24) avill , The Elev th Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari, v l.II, pl.XVIII.

(25) S3dh and K3wit, Naville, op. cit., vol.II, p.6.

(26) Although it is of a much later ate, there is a passage in the Insinger Papyrus, which merits s rious consid ration in thi context: "He (th t is, god) has released the an belonging to the royal har m, who desir s an ther husband". See, Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, v l.I, p.104, 3 :20.

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

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

(9) See the d'scus 'on by Bl ckm an in "On the P siti of Women in the Ancient Egypti Hi r rohy", J.E.A. 19 l. v l.VII, p . 8/3 .

(3) The my tery play dealing with the pas ion of Osiris, which was performed et Abydos, must nece sarily have included important r les for women es Isi and Nephthys. F r ref re c t thi drama in the Mi le Kingdom, see Schäfer, Die Mysteri de Osiris in Abyd s unter König Ses stris III. For a recent translati n into English, Pritchard Ancient Near E tern T xts (3rd. editi) .3 9. Though f a later date, the text of one such play i a illab for tudy, e Fairman, The Triumph of Horus.

(31) Boe er, Beschreibung des Aegyptisch n Sammlung des
Nie erlandi chen Reichsm eums der tertium r in Leid . pl.XV, an Le mans,
A gyptische Monumentum van het ederlansche useum van Oudh d te Leyde ,
v l.II, 1. 3.

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

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

(34) The wig is detachable and Boeser (see above note 31) suggests
that it may be a later addit'on. 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 colour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, The
W man in Egyptian Art, pl.3), so the coiffure of Ty-mrt- b.s may well be
original.

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

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

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

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

performed by the king. "The princess' right arm is extended over the off ring (a small portion of which is still visible), the hand grasping the so-called hpr- or 'b3-' baton, i.e. she is represented as having received the stag in the proceedings when the officiant consecrated, or finally made over, the off ring to the god by performing the act known as extending the arm four times over or towards (hwyt ' sp 4 r) the offering".

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

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

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

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

(42) Faulkner, J.E.A., 1936, v 1.XXIII, p.122, I:3/5.

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

(44) According to the Wörterbuch, the verb hn means to make music with a sistrum, but these musicians may have played other instruments as well. See Erman and Grapow, op. cit., v 1.III, p. 6.

(45) The mww-dancers were men in the tombs of Antefokar, pl.XXII, 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 priests, suggest that they are at any rate, the dancers are women. They are shown wearing the tall headdress usually associated with mww-dancers.

(46) e.g. the statue of the nbt pr Snnwy which was found at Kerma, (see Reisner, Excavations at Kerma IV/V, Harvard African Studies, 1933, v.1.VI, pl.31) and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no.14.720).

(47) Engbach, 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 Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894, pls.XXII/XXV.

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

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

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

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

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

(54) In tomb 120 at Thebes.

(55) e.g. Beni Hasan, v.1.I, pls.XII and XXXII, and vol.II, pls.IV and XXIX; el Bersheh, vol.I, pls.VIII, IX, XVII and XX; el Kair, 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; Elephantine, pl.V.

(56) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pls.XVI and XXIX; 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.

Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.II, n . . The relationship between the woman making the off ring and the owner is n t recorded.

ritish Museum stela, vol.III, pl.48. A woman offers to h r father.

British Museum stela, v l.V, pl. O. A woman offers to her parents.

Louvre stel , C.138, pl.XVI. Two women offer to a third.

Louvre stela, C.15, pl.LIV. Two wom 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 acros 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, ph tograph 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, v l.XXIII, p.185. A woman offers a bird to a couple who may be her parents.

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

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

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

(6) Blackman, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt", J.E.A., l 26, vol.XII, ps. 176/185, the passages concerning British Muse stracon 56 , see pls.XXIV/XXXV.

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



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

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

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

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

women (see Gardiner, Notes on the story 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).

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

(67) Černý and Peet, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty", J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, pl.XIV, p.3, line 9 refers to Ink-sw-dm as a hbswt, while in line 11 the word hmt, wife, is used. This document concerns the settlements involved during the second marriage of Inn-h'iw, 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 nothing in the text to suggest this.

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

(69) J mes, op. cit., p.1.

(70) Lacau, "T xt s Religieux", Rec. de Trav., 1 . vol.

XXVI, p.67.

(71) Hayes "A much-copied l tter of the arly Middle Kingdom", J.N.E.S., 1948, v 1.VII, ps.1/10. For the use of the words hmt d s t, apparently ref rring to the s woman, s e pl.II, lin 10 and 14/15.

(72) Gard' r 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) Bri is Museum tel , vol.II, pl.44.

(74) el Kab, pl.VIII.

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

(76) Nfr was imy-r ms', Captain of the Host, or Ge ral, and Ntrw-htp was imy-r pr n d3tt, the Steward of the Est te.

Many f th examples qu ted here are from the tomb of Hm()-hto the second of Beni Ha an, b t it ust n t be imag' ed that this is becaus his m age was in any ay unusual. It is simply that most of the key ins ightor happen t be preserve in this t mb.

(77) J s, Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Bro klyn Museum, .145, I am ind bt'd to Mr.Jam s for allowing me t see his manusc i t before it went to pres .

(78) Hay s, op. cit., pl.II, line 9 ref rs to th
 , hnty.

(79) e.g. Smsw, Foll r, and imy-r or, Steward.

(80) This is t an inappropriate translation, c idering th t in the papyri concerned wit the great to b robberi s of he Twe ti th Dynasty, it is ap li to th wives of heralds, scribes, g ldw kers, w tchme , s rvant , f ld-l ourers, wor , pri ts and gardene .

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

(8) Th famili s of s ldiers and off cials n ctive service in bia, for exempl , woul be l gical can idates f r such ai , pecially in th vent of the ath of he head of the family ille he was ay. Retired min r officials and th ir famili are also ossible c i te especially if they did n t have large private estates. The rincipal could also be extend d to those who served the local administration, rath r than th monarch directly.

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

(84) D'odorus ays th t the pe alty for assaulting a married woman as cas r tion. Diod rus, I.78.3/4.

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

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

(87) .g. Mariette, Catalog d'Aby os, n s.1174, 1175 and 1187.

(8) .g. Bodil Hornemann, Typ s of Ancient Egyptian Statuar, Box no.V, nos.1260 and 1264 (Metropolitan Mus um of Art, New Yo , nos.24.1.1 and .1.49 respectively), 165a and 1265 (Brooklyn Mus um, nos.51.224 and 43.137 respectively) 1266 (Berlin M um .14073), and 127 (British Mus , no. 17056).

(9) Now in th tropolitan Museum of Art, N Yor , n .18.2.2. See Winlock, " Egyptian St tuett from Asia Min r", B.M.M. ., 1921, vol.XVI, ps.209/10.

(90) Süd utsch Sammlung n, vol.II, pl.V, n .8.

(91) de Garis D vi s, Th T of Rekh- i-re at The s, pl.LVII.

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

(93) British Museum stela, v.1.II, pl.44.

(94) See Bräckhardt, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlichen Hafes aus dem Ende des mittleren Reiches", ZÄS., 1890, vol.XXVIII, ps.65/103, and Griffiths, "The Account of papyrus no.18 of Bula", ZÄS., 1891, vol.XXIX, ps.102/116.

(95) de Garis Davies, The Tomb ofankheperrenre, Amenmose and another, p.15. See also by the same author, The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes, and The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes. Both these 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 Bersha, vol.I, pl.XXX.

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

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

(100) Glanville, The Instructions of Onchsheshqy, Part 1, ps.32/33, C 1.13:13.

(101) Glanville, op. cit., ps.32/3, Col.13:16/17.

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

(103) Glanville, op. cit., p. /21, C 1.7:18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(122) The occurrences 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 females.

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

(125) Though they are not specifically designated as such, the presence of Nubians is occasionally revealed in the paintings and models. Two Nubian servant girls appear on the sarcophagus of '3Syt, for example (see The Egyptian Expedition 19 0/ 1, Excavations at Thebes, Part II of the B.M.M.A. of November 19 1, p.43, fig. 19), and actual models of Nubian girls, dressed in their distinctive patterned skirts (see Section V, p. 428, and pl.XCII, G.3), were found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, their excavations in Thebes in 1925/ 6 (see Winlock, op. cit., pl.34).

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

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

(128) Chassinat, loc. cit.

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

(130) There were some 845 square metres of cloth in the tomb of the steward W3h, of which 375 square metres were on the corpse. See Winlock, Excavations at Beir el Bahri, ps.2 6/ 7.

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

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

(133) de Garsis D'vies, Five Theban Tombs, pl.XXXVII. For the reading of the name, see Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personnamen, vol.I, p.3 6, no.4.

(134) Hayes, 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.I, pl.XXVI.

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

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

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

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



(140) shty, Gardiner and Vogelsang, Die

Klagen des Bauern, in Erman, Literarische Texte des Mittl ren Reiches, vol.IV, pl.1/1A, line Rl.

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

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

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

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

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

(146) Roeder, D e Denkmäler d s Pelize us Museums, p.73, fig.18.

(147) See above n te 141.

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

(149) e.g. Antefokar, pl.XXIIIB.

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

(151) e.g. Antef kar, pl.XXIIIB; British Museum stelae, v l.I, 1.56 and v l.II, ls.41/ .

(15) e.g. Tylor and Griffith, The T b of Pah ri tel 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 masta a at Sakkara, which shows 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 Fischer, Art Treasures of the Cairo M um, ps.146/7.

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

(154) e.g. M 'alla, pl.XL; Meir, v 1.III, pl.VI, and v 1.VI, pl.XIII.

(155) e.g. Beni Hasan, v 1.II, pls.IV and XIII.

(156) e.g. de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Nef rhotepe 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 th adults, so the baby cannot e hers.

(157) e.g. de Garis Davies, The To 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 Davies, The T mb of the Vizi r Ramose, pl.XXV, and Th Tomb 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 Davies, Th Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, pl.XVII; Th Tomb of Two Soul tors at Thebes, pl.VII: The Tom of Rekh-mi-r at Thebes, pl.LXIV.

(161) e.g. de Garis Davi s, Tw Ramessi Tombs at The es, pl.VII, shows a young boy with a shaven h ad carrying a bouquet and a bird

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

(162) Breasted, Ancient Records, v 1.II, paragraph 131/ 6.

(163) Antef kar, pl.XXIII.

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

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

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

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

(168) Griffith, Z." . . , 1891, v 1.XXIX, ps.107/108.

(169) See reading, op. cit., v 1.I, paragr ph 294 for typical

xmpl. fr the Eld Kingd , and Briti h Mus um s. 1 , vol.II, l. 1,
for a Middle King xmpl .

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

(171) Lexa, Papyrus Insing r, v 1.I, p.56, 17:22/ 3.

(17) Wh ~~*tj-ms~~ wi h 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 .
Se S th , Urkund d r 13 Dynastie, vol.I, p.2, lines 14/15.

(173) e.g. Inyy, s e Mariette, Les Papyrus Égypt'ens du
Musé de Boulaq, vol.I, pl.16 (P pyrus 4) III:1.

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

(175) Müller, Die Lieb soesie 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 maic Period, in th
Briti h Mus um se ms t ve bee ab t 14 wh n sh marri d (see Ott ,
Di Biogra hisch n Inschrifte d r Ägyptisch S "tzeit, n .57, p .190/194)
In the firs half of the inete th Century .D. it a ars t h
cust for peas t girls at le s t marry wh a tl 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 hav= be in anci t
times, in pr ^tic there r al ays unions betwe persons of widely
arying age . The ntries on part of P pyrus Michig 2 , f r example
(oak, "Alim tary C trac fr T . . . ", J.F.. 1 6, v 1.XII,
ps.100/109) record s f husbands and wiv who re c tracting

parties in th s ttle ts, th s s ly s in re ing figures.

Column I, . The husband s a t 5 y ar ld r than his wif .

Column III, a. The husband was out 14 years ld r th hi wif .

Column III, g. The husband was a out 10 years lder than his wif .

Column III, l. The wife was abou yars older than her husband.

(176) This pass ge occurs in th petiti of P3-di-3st, se Griffith, A C tal gue of th Dem ic yri in the John Rylands Li rary, anch ster, v l.III, ps. 2/84 and 29/231, s ction 8:8/9:4.

Th re is a pass ge in th-htp (se Žá a, Le Maximes e Ptahhotep, p.5 lines P.457/459) which Žába interprets as a warning against s xual rel tions with a child, but whi h has recently been re-int rpr ted as a pr hibition on homos xual practices, see Faulkner in The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (d. Simpson), p.171, note 60, and Goedcke, " nres gnis d Sportings", J.A.R.C.E. 1967, v l.VI, ps.97/102.

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

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

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

(180) The phrase c mmonly ed is rdi X Y m (or r) hmt, to give Y to X as (or for) wife. e.g. de Linage, "L'Acte d'" abli t et le c trat de Mari ge 'un escl ve sous Thoutmè III", .I.F.A.O. 1939, vol. XXXVIII, p. 19, T xt 14.

(181) .g. Gardiner, " opti tr inary", J. . . 1940, v l.XXVI, pls.VI/VIA, line 21. Th w rd use h re is |||| □ ^.

(182) fr m hmt, to take as wif , .g. Gardiner, op.c't., pls.VI/VIA, lines 1/ 1.

(183) es man, Marriage and trim ial Pr per'y in Ancient Egypt, Chart , nos.1/7, claus e 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.

(15) Pe tman, op. cit., Chart A, clauses 14/15, and Chart B, clause 1 . Very occa ionally, the w man addresse 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, Col.22:4 and ps.5 /57, Col.25:;5 respectiv=ly.

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

(18) 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 2414", in Studi in Memoria di Ippolito Ro ellini nel primo centenario della morte, pl.XXXV, 3:4/5 and p.273.

(191) Glanville, op. c't., ps.36/37, Col.15:15.

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

(13) Žáb , . c't., p.32, lines L2. 07/ 14.

(194) Žá , . 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, 2:35.

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

During h r s j urn in Egypt in t e 19 0s, inifre lackman bs rve that, among the fellahin, th mo h r retained he high st plac in her on'

affections, we after marriage. When she cited this, she was told, in words that recall those of Inyy, that this was as it should be, considering what a mother had to endure to bring a child into the world and raise it, and her informant added that, whereas a wife might prove faithless, the love of a mother was unchanging. See Luckman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p.45.

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

SECTION IV

(1) On Paophi 5, 181 B.C., P3-di-Tm issued one deed of apportionment (sh dn ps) awarding two-thirds of his property to the son of his first marriage, and one-third to the son of the second marriage (see Thompson, *A Family Archive from Sait*, ps.57/62 and 35/45 respectively). However, a few days earlier, he had issued deeds of endowment (sh n s'nh) to his son wife (see Thompson, *op. cit.*, ps. 1/6), and to the daughter of both his wives (see Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 65/67), giving his second wife one-third of his belongings, plus a maintenance allowance, and his daughters an equal share in his holding of a house and land. Clearly the amounts received by the four children were unequal, for though the two girls received the same, the son and daughter of the second wife could probably eventually inherit her third share, so the boy might, in the end, receive nearly as much as the elder brother, while the girl would receive more than her elder sister unless the first wife had died, but divided, in which case her property would probably pass to her children one day.

The son (ibid., p.xxi) was no prepared to conclude that there was any legal litigation to divide the property in fixed proportions.

(2) Moret, "Distributions et fondations en droit Egyptien", Rec. de Trav., 1907, vol.XXIX, ps.57/95.

(3) Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol.I, paragraphs 192/199.

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

(5) Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, vol.I, ps.11/15.

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

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

(8) Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kanun and Gurob*, pl.XI, lines 10/27. Griffith discusses the meaning of imyt pr on ps.29/30. Others have also considered the meaning of imyt 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.LI, ps.237/296; Lacau, *Une Stèle juridique de Karnak*; Varille, *Mélanges Maspero*, vol.I, p.563,

(9) Griffith, op. cit., ps.31/35 and pls.XII/XIII.

(10) Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, pl.XIV.

(11) The word used here for "deed of gift" is  see Hayes, op. cit., p.114, for his comments on the meaning.

(12) de Linage, "L'Acte d'Établissement et le Contract de Mariage d'un esclave sous Thoutmès III", B.I.F.A.O., 1939, vol.XXXVIII, ps.217/234.

(13) Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes.*

(14) Černý, "The Will of Naumakhte", J.E.A., 1945, vol.XXI, ps.29/53.

(15) Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary", J.E.A., 1940, vol.XXVI, ps.23/29.

(16) Černý and Beest, "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty", J.E.A., 1927, vol.XIII, ps.30/39. An erroneous reading of

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

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

(1) Jélinková, "Sale of inh rited Property in the First Ce tury .C.", J. .A., 1957, vol.XLIII, ps. 5/5 , 1959, v 1.XLV, ps.61/74.

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

(20) Hayes, op.c't., pl.XIV, lines 17/19.

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

(2) e.g. The will of Wsr (see below, note 31). On reaching his maturity, the eldest son of Wsr t k over the direction of his family's affairs. Similarly on the death of P3-di-Itm, his eldest son administered both his own property, and that left t his y ung half-br ther, who was still a minor (see Thompson, op. cit., p.xiii). This situation is reflected in the St ry of Two Broth rs, where the younger brother, appalled by the amorous advances of hi sister-in-law, tr ed to impres on her that he saw her and his elder brother in the role of parents bec e th y, b ing old r than he, had brought him up (s e Gardiner, Late-Egyptian tries, ps.12/13, 3: /3:10. F r a rece t English rendering, see The Literature of the Aacie Egyptians, ed. W.K.Simpson, ps.9 /107).

(3) e.g. Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.VIII, line 13 and p. 7: "I di t wrong the daughter of th poor man. I did not oppre the widow". Als el rsh 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 th city and endowing children with land. similarly, the rald 'Intf' (Louvre stela, C.26, pl.XIX) claimed to have been th "husban of the wid , the shelter of the orphan", b sides being one who made th wee er rej ice.

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

(25) Griffith, op. cit., p.2 3, 6:9.

(26) Gardiner, "New Literary Works fro Ancient Egypt".
J.E.A., 1 14, vol.I, p.26, 12: 6/47.

(27) The harbouring of widowed and unatt che f male relatives may account for th num r of women living in the househ ld f Hk3-nht (s e James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pls.5/5A, lines 7/22 and p.32) Similarly, th household of the s ldier Snfrw contained his widowed m ther, p ternal gran oth r, and three of his father's sisters (see Griffith, Hieratic Pa yri from Kahun and Gur b, pl.IX, lines 2/7).

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

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

(30) The f rmula mploy d h re is snt ddt hr sn.s, "It is a sis r who speaks to her broth r". The couple have a son and, as th re is no evid nc that th man was merely a conc bine, it will be assumed for the purposes of this c mm ntary that she was his wife, but n t nece sarily also his sister by blood.

(31) Sethe, "Ein Pr ze surteil aus de alte Reic ", Z."S., 19 6, v 1.LXI, ps.67/79.

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

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

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

(35) On the death of her brother/husband, Tuthmosis II, Hatchepsut "conducted the affairs of the country, the Two Lands being in her control", according to one official (see Sethe, Urkund der 18 Dynastie 60:1/2). This particular incident ended in the assumption of the crown by Hatchepsut, 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 Queen Nefertari.

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

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

(38) de la Brosse, The Rock Tombs ofir el br'wi, vol.I, tom. 3, pls. 8/3.

(39) Griffith, The Inscriptions of S'ut and der Riff, pl.15, lines 33/ 8).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(48) If Mr' was lder than h r roth r Snbi, it is perf c ly
pos ible for her to have an s ult son, bef re h r brot r had an heir
of his body. The f ct that n wif or child nam d in the t of i oes
n t rule out th p ibility th t he have had wife an c ild who
pre-dec s d him.

(49) El ph tine, tom s 36, pl.6 31, pl.4 respecti ly.

(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 unc tain wheth r "broth r" and "ister" are used
h re of ibling , or wh th r t y should be interpr ted t me "rel ive",
th 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) Gardin 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. E.A., 1941, v 1.XXVII, ps.19/73. The passages concerning the activities of this couple are: p. 5 - 2, 10/11; p.29 - 3, 6/7; p.33 - 5, 3/ .

(5) Černý, Late Ram s i Lett rs, o.37 (Geneva D191) date, Late Rame ide Lett rs, in which the same numbering system is followed.

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

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

(61) Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopi , v 1.II, pl.96.

(6) d Gari D vi s and Faulker, "A Syrian Tracing Venture to Egypt", J.E.A., 1947, v 1.XXXIII, ps.40/46 and pl.VIII.

(63) de Garis Davies, Two Rameside Tablets at Thebes, pl.XXX.

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

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

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

(67) Gardiner, "A Label from the Purchase of Two Slaves", J.E.A., 1935, v 1.XXI, ps.140/146.

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

(6) Gardiner, "The Harim of Miwer", J.N.E.S., 1953, v 1. XII, ps.145/149.

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

(71) Černý, op. cit., and W. T., op. cit., no. 38 (Turin Papyrus, no. 2069), and no. 39 (Turin Papyrus 2069).

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

(73) Peet, The Mayer Papyri A and B. The case of Iwn-r'īj is on page A, page 3, lines 1/5.

(74) Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, pl. XXXI, British Museum Papyrus 1005, page 10, lines 11/15.

(75) Peet, op. cit., pls. XXXI/XXXII, British Museum Papyrus 10052, page 11, lines 4/8.

(76) Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester, vols. I/III.

(77) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 7.

(78) Revillout, Notice des Papyrus dans les collections archaïques, 1896, p. 05, and Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 16, no. 14.

(79) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 56.

(80) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 142.

(81) Griffith, op. cit., vol. III, p. 158.

(82) Shore and Smith, "Two Unpublished Demotic Documents from the Asyut Archive", J.E.A., 1959, vol. XLV, p. 5/60.

(83) Peet, op. cit., pl. XXXVII, British Museum Papyrus 10403, page 3 line 1/8.

(84) Peet, op. cit., pl. XXXVII, page 3 line 1/31.

(85) Gardiner, "Four Papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty from Kahun", Z.A.S., 1906, vol. XLIII, p. 7/7.

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

- (16) Anast i VI, 6 /6 , Gardin , op. cit., .77/78, and C in , op. cit., p . 96/300.
- (17) Thompson, A Family Archive fr Siut.
- (108) Th mp on, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10591, l. II, c 1.II, line 10 and ps.15/16.
- (109) Th mpson, op. cit., Briti h Museum Papyrus 1 591, pl.III, c 1.III, line 2 and p.17.
- (110) Th mp on, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10575, ls.XVII/XXII and ps.37/45.
- (111) Thompson, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 105 1, pl.VI, col.VI, line 11 and p. .
- (112) e.g. Revillout, *Précis du Droit Égyptien comparé aux autres dr its de d'Anti uité*, vob.II, ps.981/984.
- (113) Edgerton, N tes on Egyptian Marriage, chiefly in th Ptol maic Period, p.2, no.2.
- (114) Möller, Zwei aegyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaltischer Zeit, ps.30/31.
- (115) Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphi , p . 18/19, III:5/7. It is interes ing t te that the f 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 gyptians (5th edition), ps.15 /174.
- (116) Beni Hasan, vol.I, pl.XXXV, line 9.
- (117) Occasionally the house might belong t th wife, ee, f r xample, Černý an Gardiner, Hi ratic traca, ls.XXIII/XXIIIA, n . . This tr ca (Petrie 61), dated t the Nineteenth Dynasty, ought t saf - 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 'nht nt niwt Mwt-m-wi3 and her husband, who lived with her father. Mwt-m-wi3 gave evidence to the effect that, when her father found out that her husband had been involved in the tomb robberies, he forbade his son-in-law ever to enter his house again. It is not known if Mwt-m-wi3 divorced her husband, but she is found giving evidence implicating him in the robberies - see Peet, op. cit., British Museum Papyrus 10052, pl. XXXIII, p.13, lines 15/18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lines 7/ 3, and ps. 3 and 34/35. larger, more elaborate provision list, in this case for a royal household of the Thirteenth Dynasty is found on Papyrus Boulaq 18 - see Bräckert, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem Ende des mittleren Reiches", ZÄS. 190, v. 1.XVIII, ps. 65/103. Griffith, "The Account Papyrus number 1 of Boulaq", ZÄS. 1891, vol. XXIX, ps. 102/116; and Scharff, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie", ZÄS. 192, v. 1.LVII, ps. 51/68.

(126) e.g. Černý, "The Will of Naumahkte", JEA., 1945, vol. XXXI, ps. 29/53, and "La Constitution d'un avoir conjugal en Égypte", BIFAO., 1937. vol. XXXVII, ps. 41/48, which corrects an erroneous reading which Černý and Peet had published in their translation of this document in JEA., 1927, v. 1.XIII. The first document concerns the will of Niwt-nhti, the second refers to the settlement made by the priest ?Imn-h'iw 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) When Nhm-Mwt promised never again to physically mistreat his wife, he agreed that the penalty for breaking his oath should include the abandonment of his claim to a share in the increased value of their property, that he and his wife had acquired by their joint efforts, Černý, op.cit., s. 47/48.

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

(130) As man, 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 primary concern here.

(131) Berlin Papyrus 3048, s. cit., Chart A. n.1.

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

(133) Orie tal Institute P pyrus 17481, see Pestman, . cit.,

Chart C, n .1.

(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 's, 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 ntions that the article was s me 5¹ 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 c uld be descri as a wedding veil, s s me other translation m e s ought. It is poss'bl. th the 's was mat ri l of fine quality, perh ps use in the mak g of s f sal gar e.t, such as woul be suit ble for a wedding c l r t'on.

(136) Zá a, Les aximes d- Ptahhot p, p.41/43, lines L2. 3 5/338.

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

(138) Ta benschlag, Th Law of Gr.co-Roman Egypt in the Light f the apyri (nd. dit'on), p.1 0/121.

(139) The sag Tnyy has some sound racti al advice t off r on the best ay t pres rve arital harmony, and recommend 's re xr to avoid interf ing with th arrangeme ts f an efficient wif , and to avoid c tinually t ioning h r methods - "You sh ould look on sile tly and re cognis h r industry". A ove all, uarrels wer- to b void d (s e ari te, . cit., pl. 1, VIII:3/7). It s als Tnyy who painted the bt 'c ure of the care loving oth r lavish on h r childre (s ove p. 344).

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

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

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

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

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

(143) Herodotus, II.92.

(144) Diodorus, I, 80.3.

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

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

(147) Petrie, Athribis, pl. VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(159) In fact, a widow may have had a better chance of re-marrying than a divorcee, if many people agreed with 'nb-šenk, 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.

Type A,

(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.

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

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

(165) During the New Kingdom this would be her third or 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 shmt, or goods of equivalent value (Pestman, op. cit., Chart A, clause 28), and her yp (clause 25). Besides this her husband would sometimes undertake to pay compensation from his own property, or give her a share in the property acquired during the course of the marriage (clause 26), in which case it might amount to one half, or one third, of the goods in question.

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

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

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

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

(167) e.g. In the Westcar Papyrus, the guilty wife of Wb3-inr was burnt to death on the orders of the king, while her lover was carried off by a crocodile (see Erman, *Die Marchen 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'Orbigny, 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.XXIV, 1:7 and p.272. Pth-htp similarly warned his readers that, however beautiful the woman, the risks involved in the gratification of a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(175) e.g. 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 Niwt-nhti 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-di-Ita.

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

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

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

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

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

(182) e.g. Zaba, op. cit., p.51, lines L.2.197/198, and Posener "Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedef", Revue d'Égyptologie, 1952, vol.IX ps.109/117. Inyy added, "A man is fortunate whose family is large. He is esteemed in proportion to his children". See Mariette, op.cit., pl.16, III: 1/3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION V

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

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

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

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

late

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

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

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

(7) Antaeopolis, pl.XV.

(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.XII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(18) Beads definitely were sewn directly on to the cloth of some types of garment. An unpublished grave at Sedment (no.562), for example, contained the body of a child of about six, who was wearing what the excavator's notebook (now in University College, London, and marked 95b, Bedfont 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.Bouffrèau 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.

(19) Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, IV/V, Harvard African Studies 1923, vol.VI, ps19 and 301.

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

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

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

(23) Chassinat and Palanque, Une Campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assicout, pl.XXIII.

(24) I think the long-sleeved garments found by Petrie in graves at Deshasheh (see Deshasheh, p.31 and pl.XXX) 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-anhk-Amun, p.10 and pl.VII: F.

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

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

Servant Statues, pl.82.

(28) The woman wearing this skirt is entitled imy-r 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 Garis Davies and Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, pl.XX.

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

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

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

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

(34) Herodotus, II:81.

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

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

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

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

(39) Winlock, op. cit., p.223 and pl.51.

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

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

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

(43) From the Old Kingdom there is the famous statue of the rht nsw 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 Lisht*, 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 18), the occupant, a girl of about six, was wearing five strings of beads, which passed round the body from the left shoulder, round the right hip, and across the back to the left shoulder again.

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

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

(49) The statue of the rht nsw Nfrt (see above note 43)

clearly shows that she was wearing a wig over her own hair. Of an even earlier date is the stela of a s3t 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 Nfrw, now in the Brooklyn Museum No51.231), shows hairdressers pinning a lock of false hair on to the coiffure of their mistress, see Riefstahl, J.N.E.S., 1956, vol.XV, pls.VIII, IX and X. A similar scene occurs on the sarcophagus of Kywit, see Neville, The Eleventh Dynasty Temple, vol.I, pl.XX. Bundles of false hair have also been found, see, for example, The Egyptian Expedition 1930/31, The Excavations at Thebes, Section II of the B.M.M.A. for March 1932 fig.34 and p.35. The practice of using pieces of false hair must have originated at a very early date, because a false plait and a false fringe of hair were found in the tomb of Zer at Abydos, see Petrie, Abydos, vol.I, pl.IV:7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(64) J.N.E.S., 1956, vol.IV, pl.XIII.

(65) This head is now in the Cairo Museum (no.4232). For a good colour photograph of this piece, see Wenig, op. cit., pl.32.

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

(67) Even in the early Old Kingdom, this type of collar was so well-established that it was acceptable to illustrate it on funeral statues, e.g. the statue of the rht 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.

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

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

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

(71) e.g. Mace and Winlock, op. cit., Frontispiece, and Parag and Iskander, The Discovery of Neferwptah, pl.L.

(72) e.g.  'nh,  m, and  s3.

(73) See above note 69.

(74) Antaeopolis, pl.XXIV.

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

(76) Chassinat and Palanque, op. cit., pls. IX and X.

(77) e.g. Mace and Winlock, op. cit., pls. XXX/XXXI, and Parag and Iskander, op. cit., pl. LIII.

(78) The most comprehensive collection was found in the grave of Snbtisy, see Mace and Winlock, op. cit., pl. XXIX.

(79) e.g. Mond and Myers, Temples of Armant, pl. XCVI.

(80) e.g. Jequier, La Pyramide d'Ouljebten, 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 Smt, found in her tomb at Thebes were painted red, indicating presumably that they were made of dyed leather Antefokar, p. 2.

Excursions

(1) Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, vols. I and II. Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire.

(2) Since many of the statues and statuettes either were never inscribed, or have had their inscriptions badly damaged, the number of specimens available for study is relatively small.

(3) In his recent essay on the reign of Hatshepsut, Redford suggested that the queen was seeking "to modify the basis of Egyptian 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, pp. 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 Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, ps. 95/99, 6:4/5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(13) For example, there is a most interesting unpublished stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E.6.1909), belonging to the rnt nsw hmt nt Hthr Hni-R'. This stela, dated to the late Old Kingdom, is made in the form of a false door, and shows figures of Hni-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.XII, E.312.

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

(16) e.g. Cairo stela 20455.

(17) e.g. Cairo stela 20287.

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

(19) e.g. Cairo stela 20079.

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

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

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

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

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

(25) e.g. Cairo stela 20096.

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

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

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

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

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

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NUMBER OF STELAE SHOWING OWNER'S:		NUMBER OF STELAE SHOWING WIFE'S:	
Mother	911	Mother	202
Father	387	Father	19
Maternal grandmother	179	Maternal grandmother	19
Paternal grandmother	133	Paternal grandmother	5
Maternal grandfather	8	Maternal grandfather	3
Paternal grandfather	25	Paternal grandfather	1
Maternal great grandmother	24	Maternal great grandmother	2
Paternal great grandmother	16	Paternal great grandmother	0
Maternal great grandfather	1	Maternal great grandfather	1
Paternal great grandfather	3	Paternal great grandfather	0
Maternal aunt/uncle	78	Maternal aunt/uncle	6
Paternal aunt/uncle	31	Paternal aunt/uncle	0

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Maternal grandmother	42
Paternal grandmother	124
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Grandmothers	10
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CHART 2

CHART 4

WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOWN		
Object number Relationship to man opposite	hkrt nsw	hkrt nsw w'tt	hmt ntr Hthr	sar w'ty	hm ntr	Other principal titles
Cairo 20005 Wife		✓				<u>sdjw</u> bity (Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt) and <u>imy-r pr</u> (Steward)
Cairo 20010 Wife of mother		✓	✓	✓		<u>sdjw</u> bity and <u>imy-r pr</u> <u>sn</u> (Overseer of the Labour Establishment).
Cairo 20013 Wife		✓		✓		<u>shd n pr hd</u> (Inspector of the Treasury) and <u>imy-r knwt</u> (Overseer of the Granary).
Cairo 20058 Unknown	✓					Owned by a <u>s3t</u> nsw (King's Daughter).
Cairo 20322 One is his wife	✓✓ ✓					<u>imy-r tbw</u> (Overseer of sandal-makers).
Cairo 20373 and Wife 20778	✓					<u>imy-r n hwt ntr nt</u> <u>Inpw</u> (Overseer of the temple of Anubis).
Cairo 20486 One is his wife	✓✓ ✓✓					<u>s3b r Nbn</u> (Senior Warden of Nekhen).
Cairo 20507 Wife		✓		✓		
Cairo 20530 Wives	✓✓			✓✓ or Horus		
Cairo 20543	✓					She was a <u>hmt</u> nsw (King's Wife) and <u>s3t</u> nsw.
Cairo 20661 Wife	✓					<u>wr mdw</u> <u>Ša'w</u> (Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt).
Cairo 20668 Mother and sister.	✓✓					

CHART 4. CONTINUED

WOMAN'S TITLES				TITLES OF HER NEAREST MALE RELATIVE IF KNOW		
Object number Relationship to man opposite	hkrt nsw	hkrt nsw w'tt	hmt ntr Hthr	sar w'ty	hn ntr	Other principal titles.
Cairo 20732 Wife	✓					s3 nsw tpy (King's Eldest Son).
Cairo 20770 Owner of stela.		✓				
Louvre C.15 Wife		✓				
Louvre C.190 Wife		✓				Destroyed
Florence 6368 Wife		✓		✓		sd3w bity
Florence 6375 Wife		✓		✓	✓	
Süddeutschen Sammelungen, I, no.5. Wife	✓					s3 d3tt (Scribe of the estate) and s3 hwt ntr (Scribe of the temple).
Süddeutschen Sammelungen, I, no.12. Wife		✓				imy-r pr
Süddeutschen Sammelungen, I, no.18. Wife		✓	✓	✓		Among others, sd3w bity and imy-r ms'
Cinquantenaire 4985. Wife.		✓	✓	✓		imy-r wdhw (Overseer of the Offering Table).
Cinquantenaire 480. Daughters.	✓ ✓					Destroyed.

CHART 4 CONTINUED

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

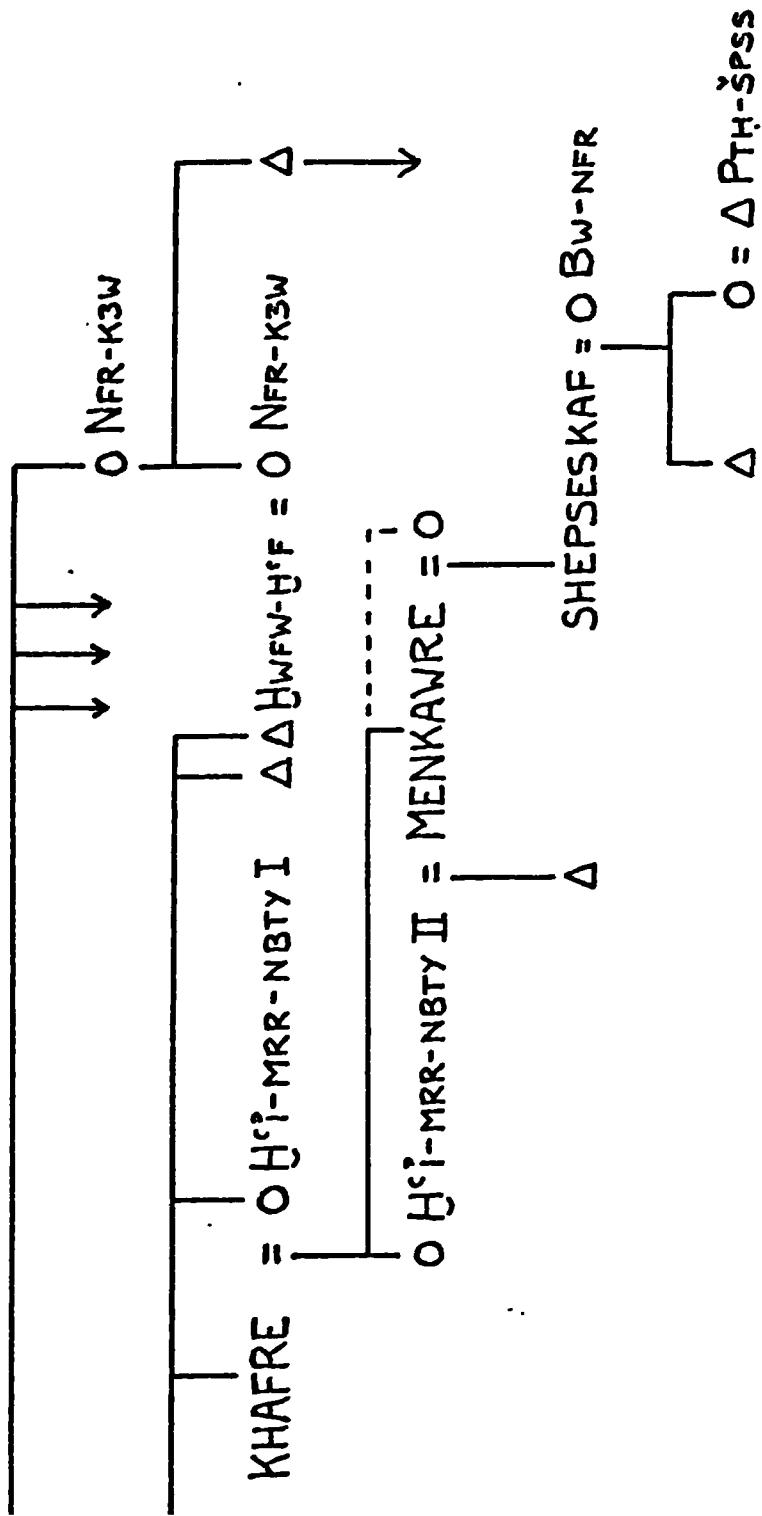
CHART 4 CONTINUED

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

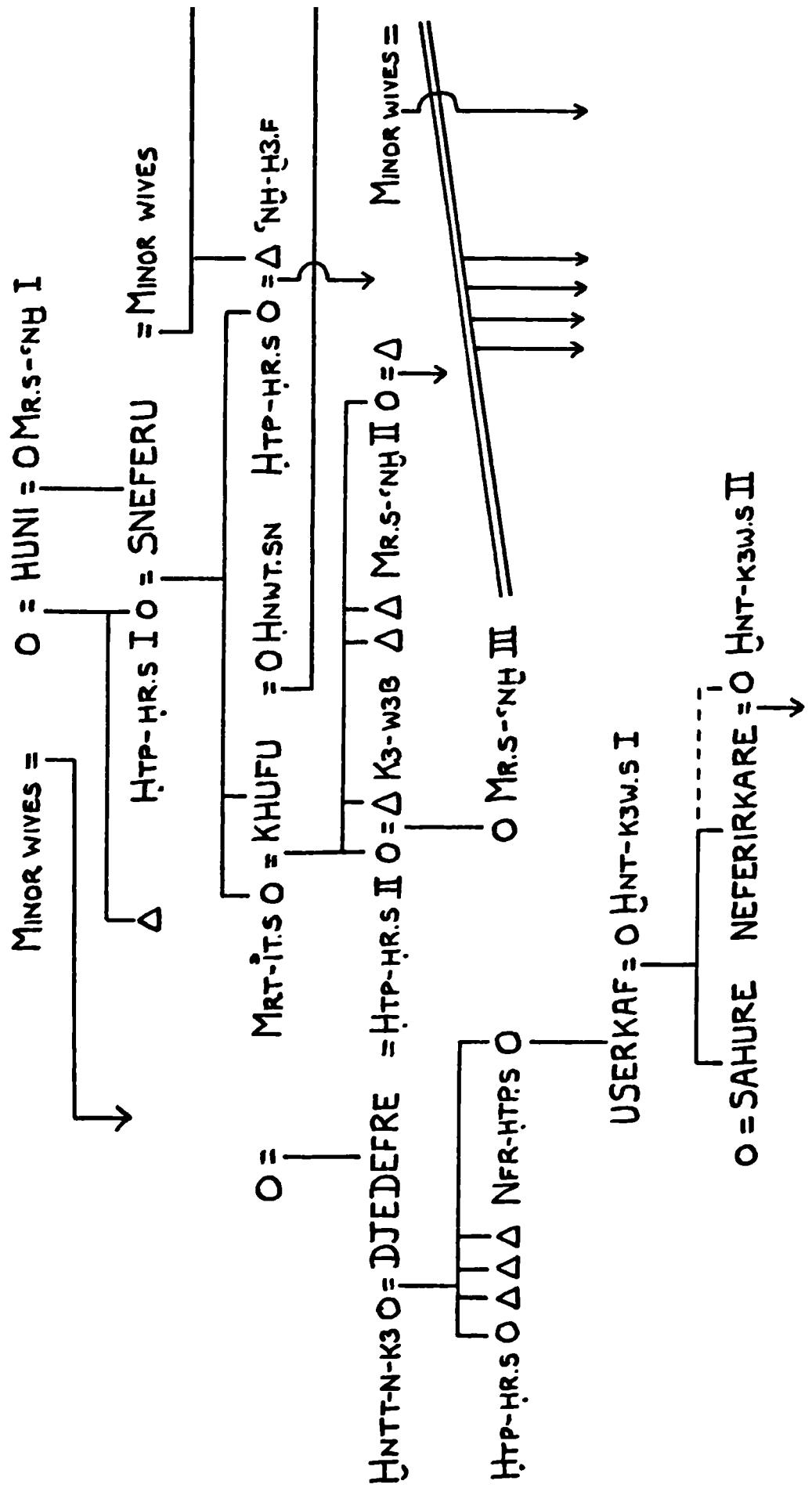
CHART 4. CONTINUED

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

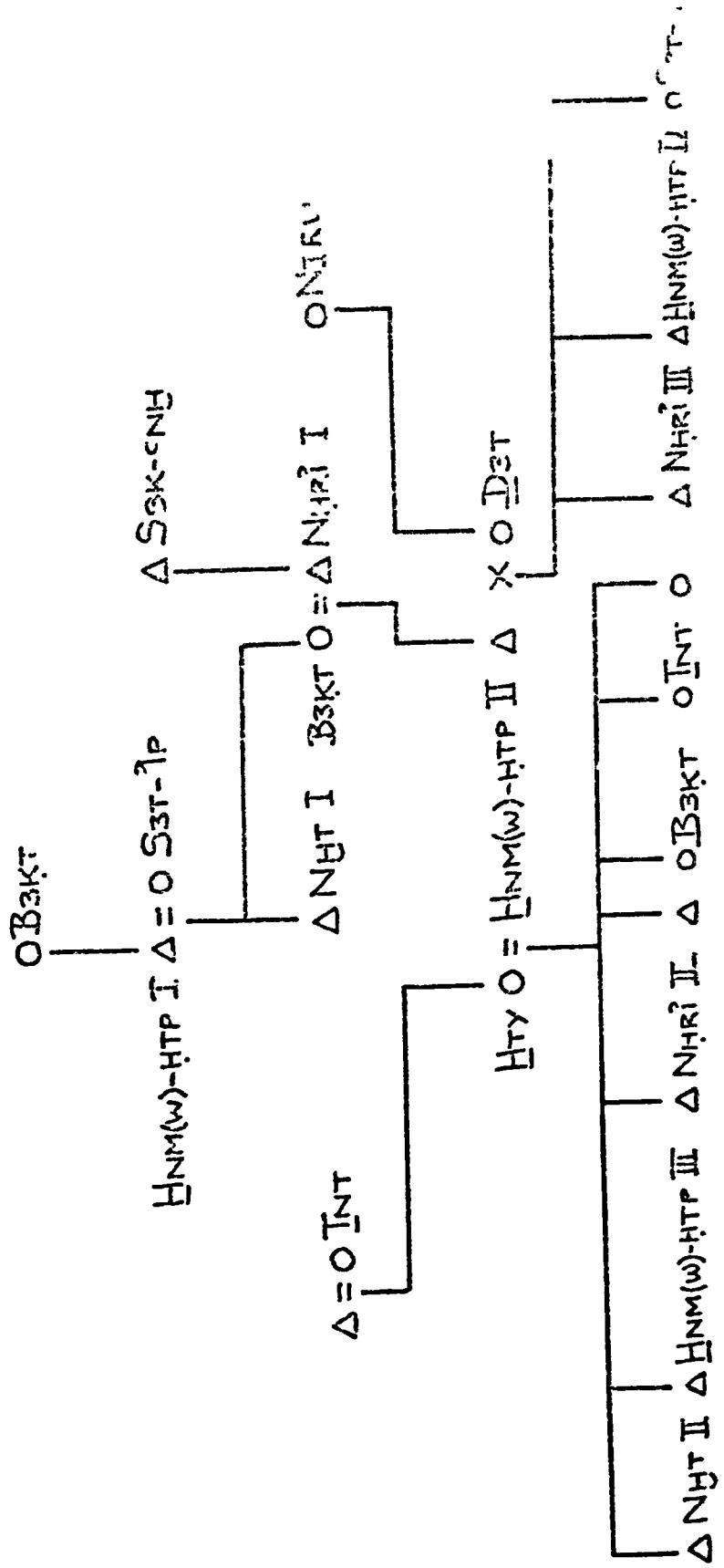
Pl. I



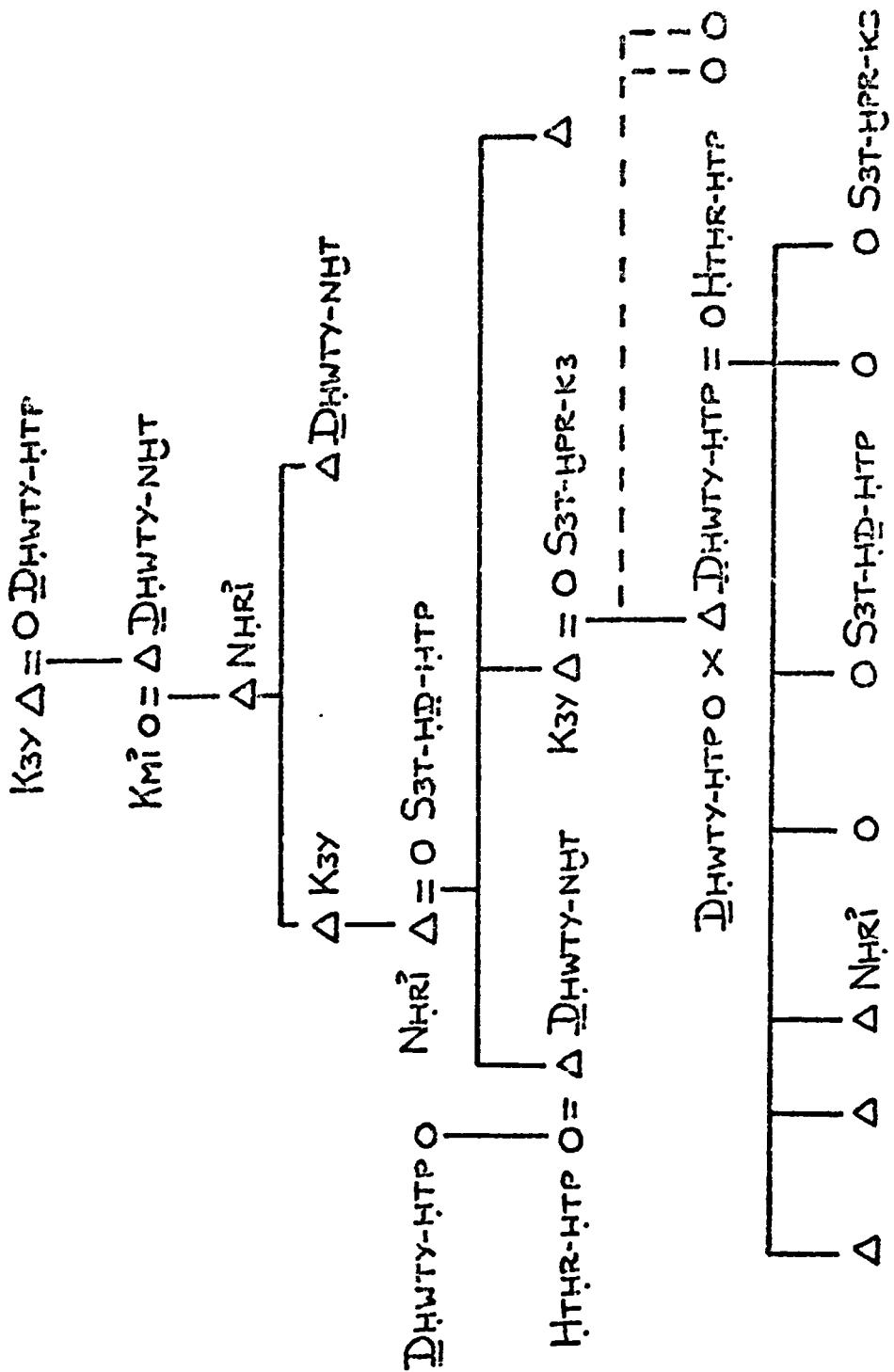
The Royal Family of the Fourth Dynasty

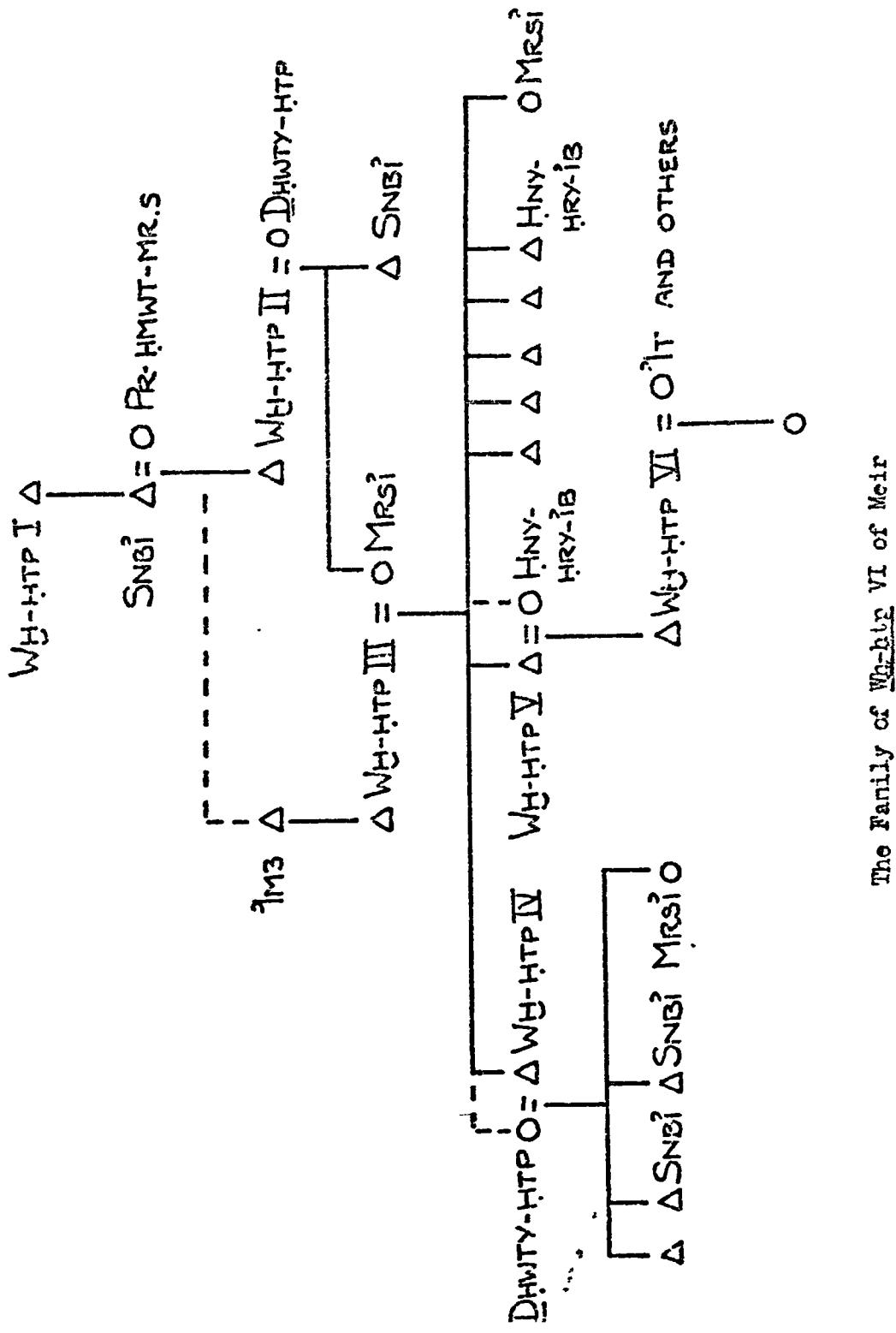


The Family of Hm(w)-Htp II of Bent Hasan

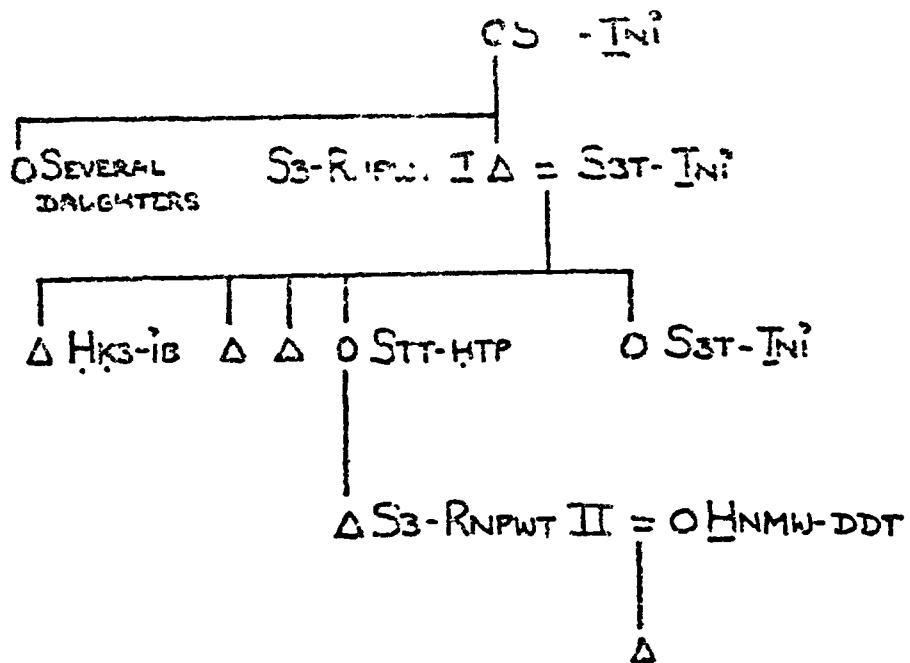


The family of $\overline{D}_{\text{HTR}}$ of el Bersheh.

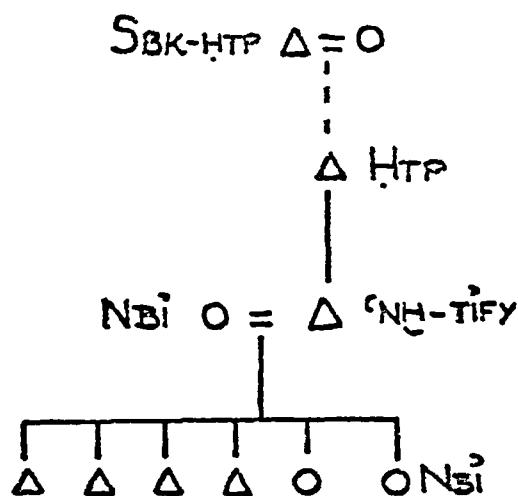




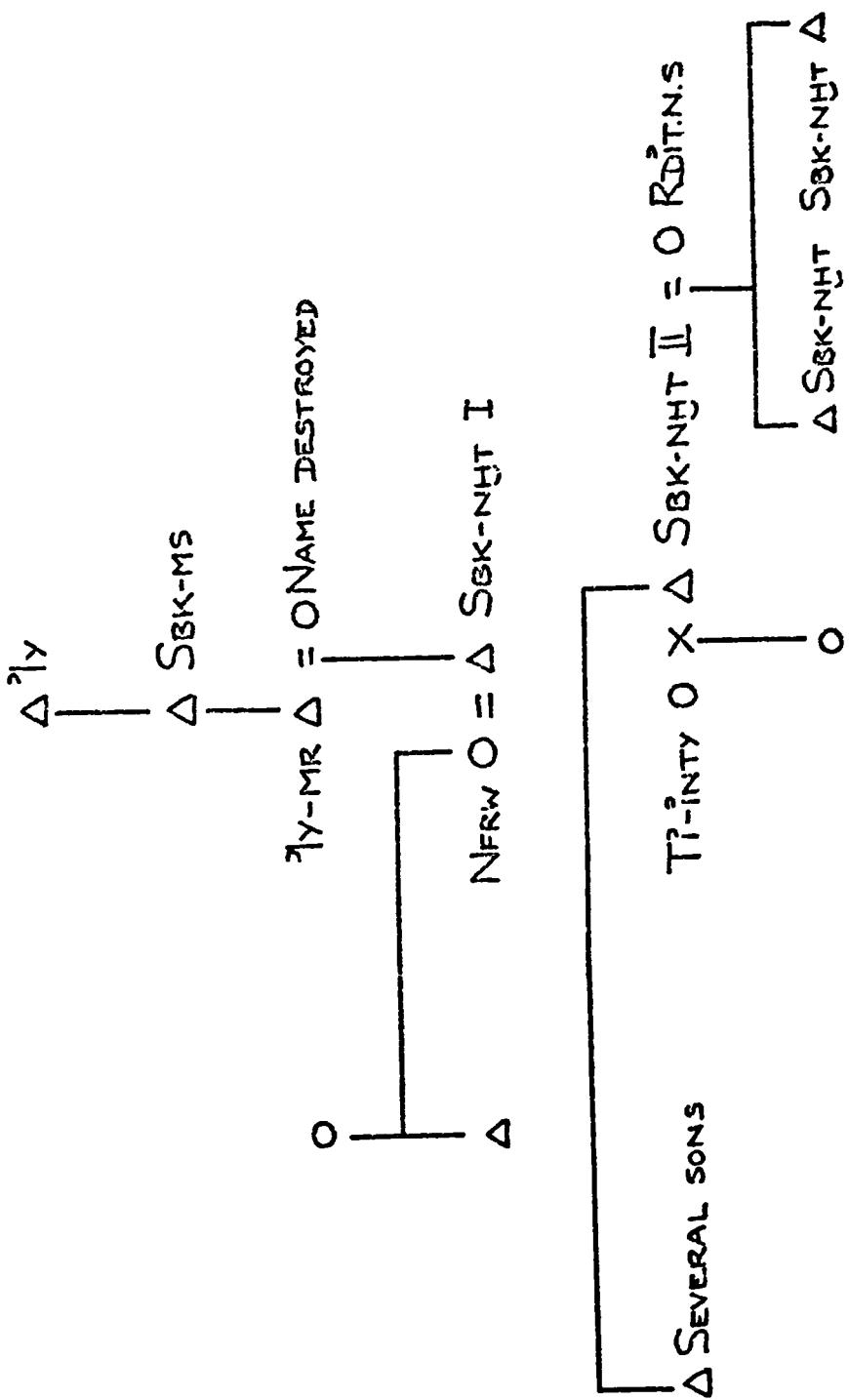
The Family of Wahiba VI of Meir



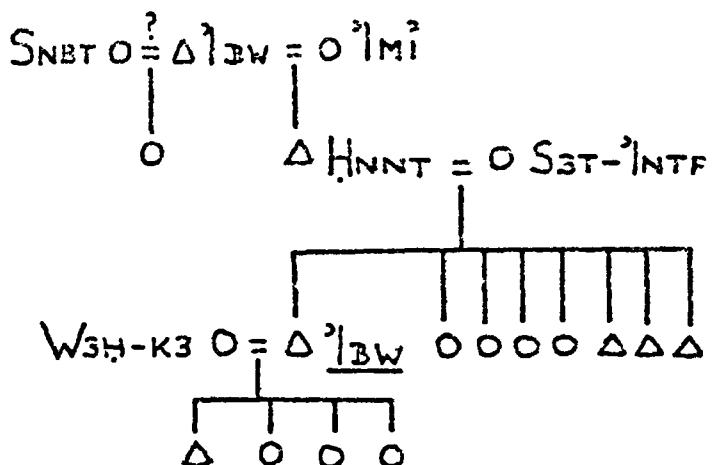
The Family of S3-Rnpwt II of Elephantine



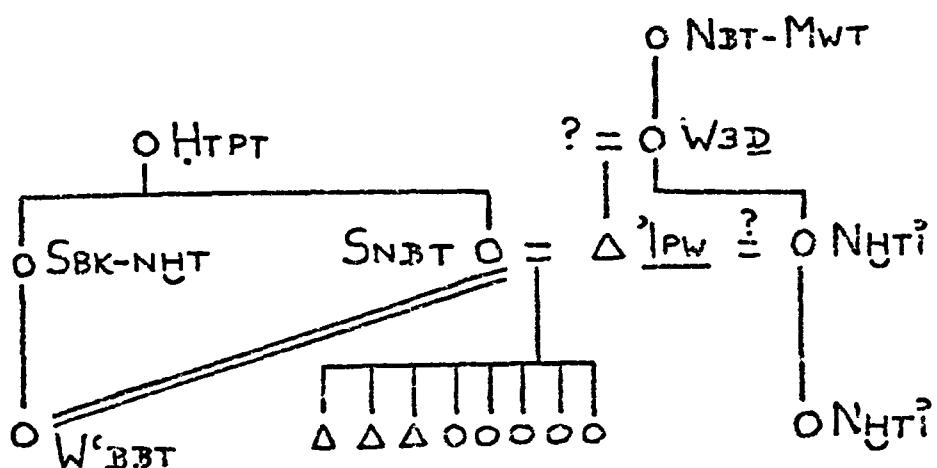
The Family of 'nh-tify of Mo'alla



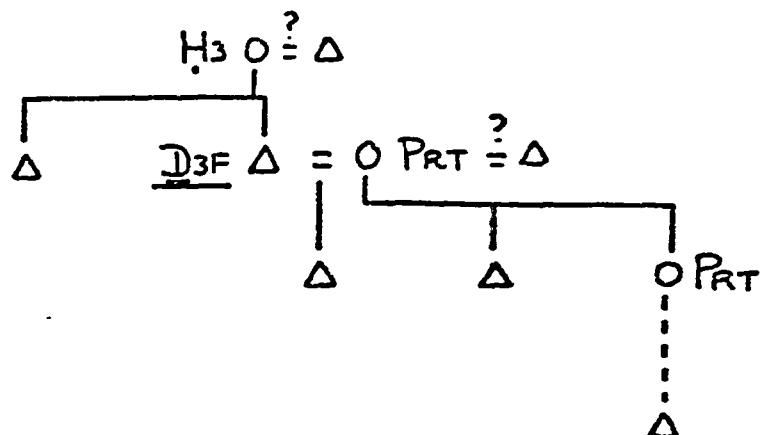
The Family of Sbk-nht II of el Kub



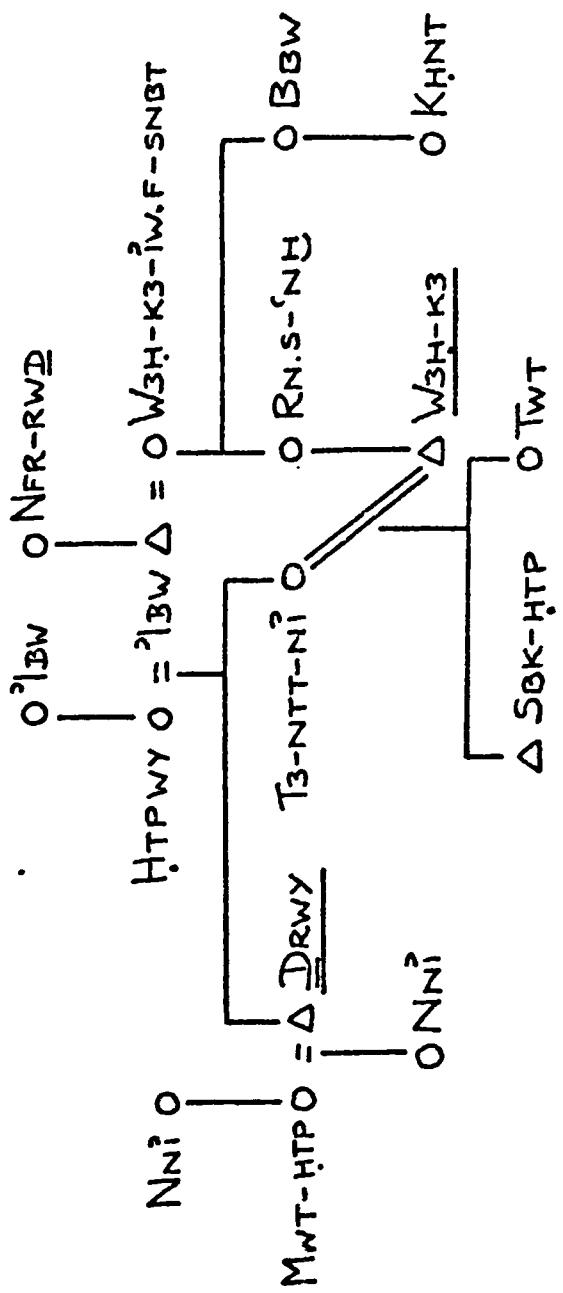
Cairo stela 20022



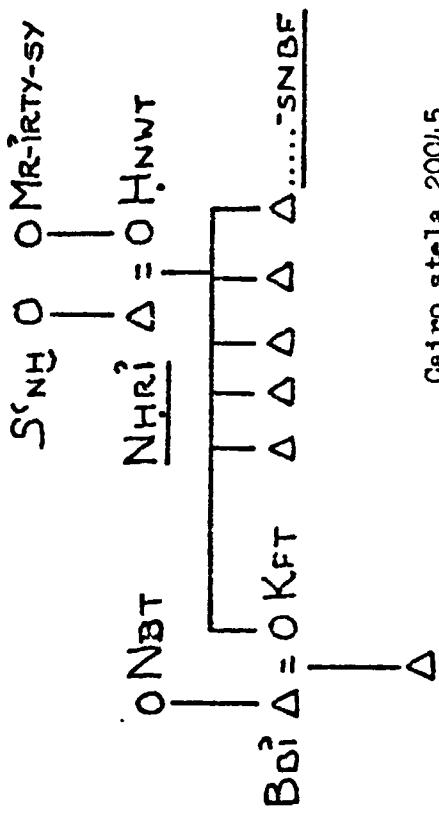
Cairo stela 20025

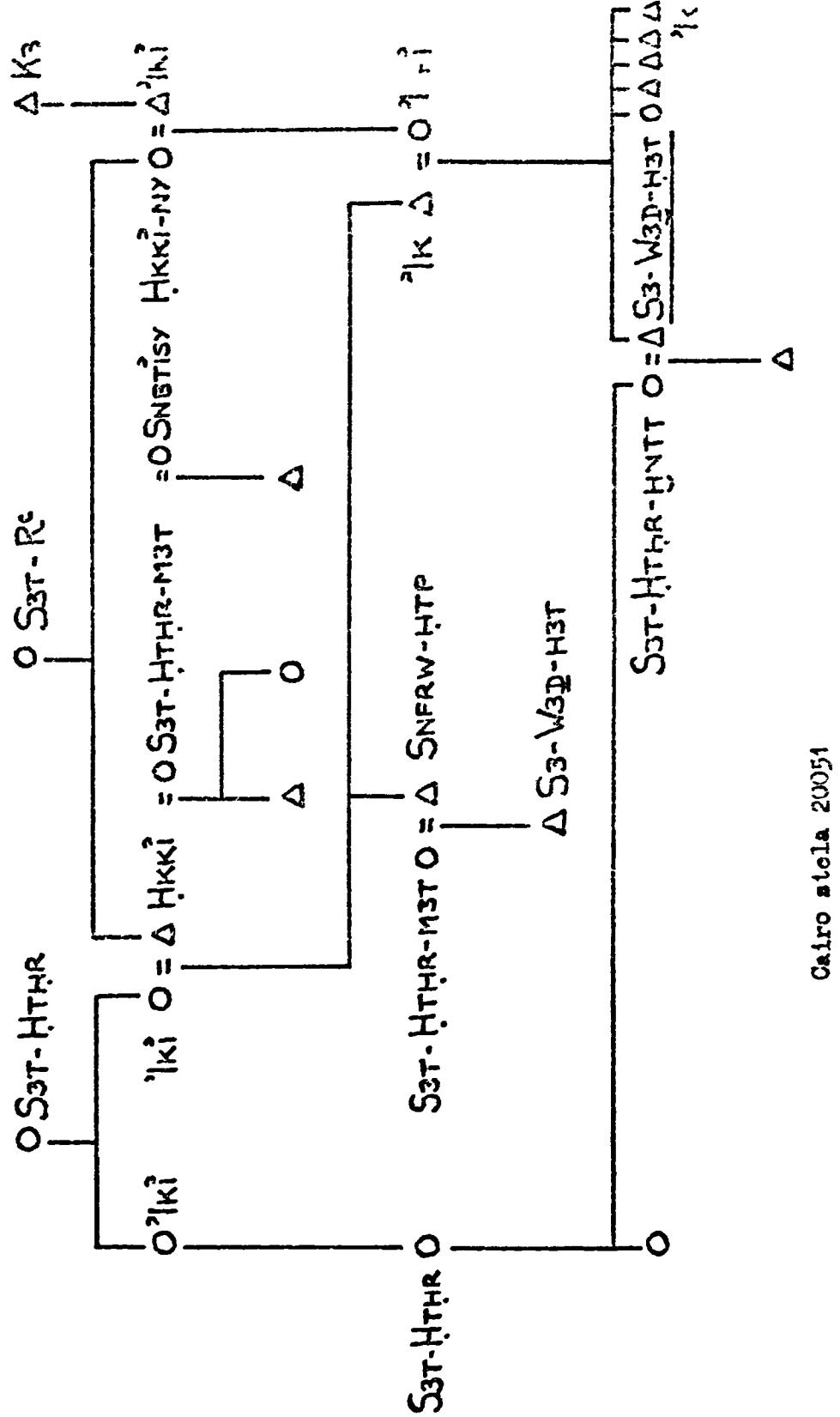


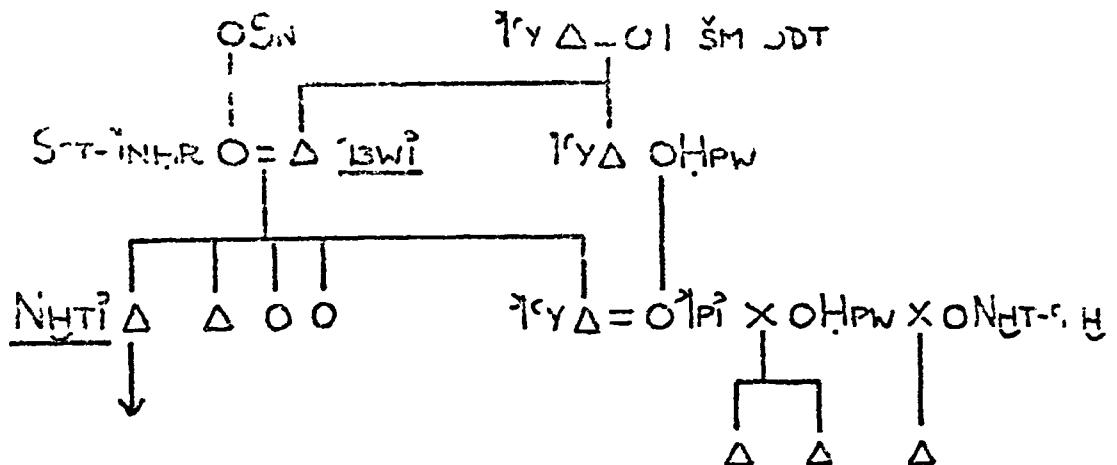
Cairo stela 20027



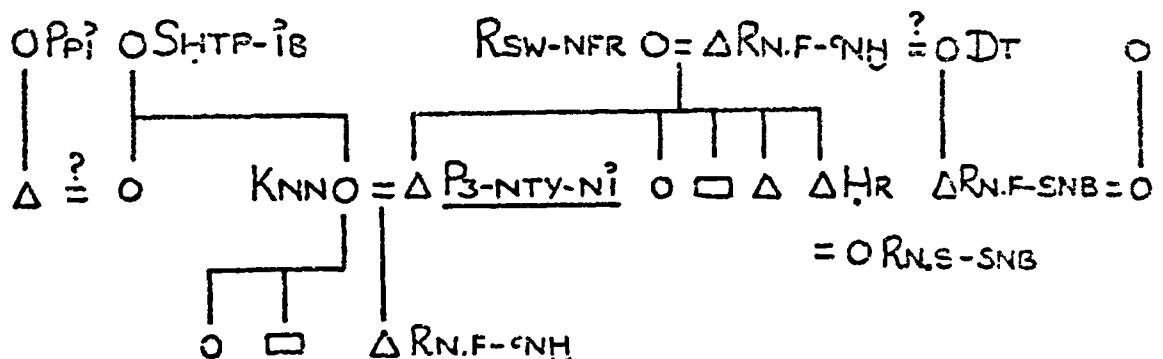
Cairo et al. 2004



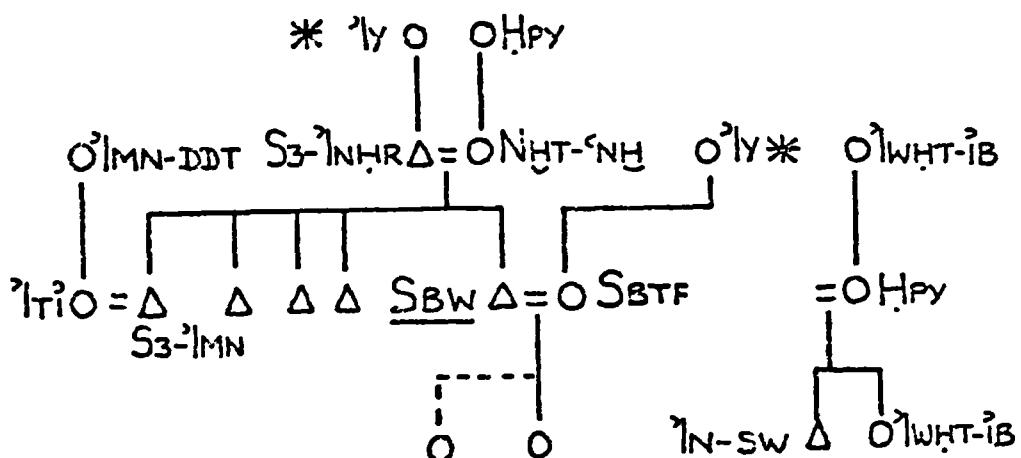




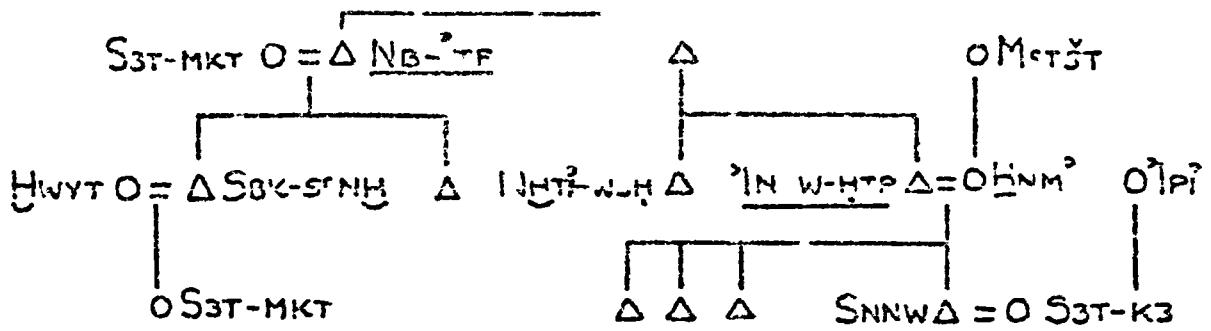
Cairo stela 20057



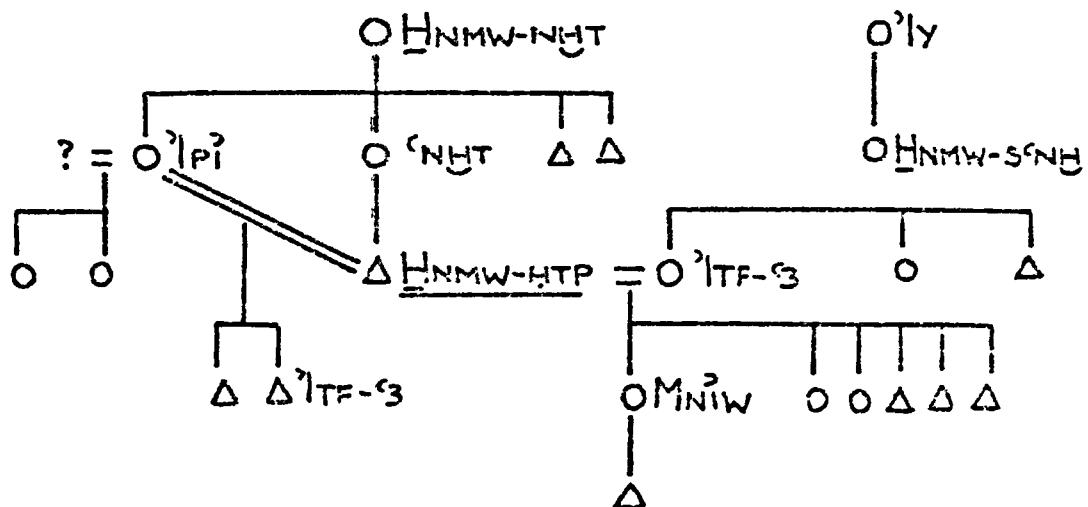
Cairo stela 20062



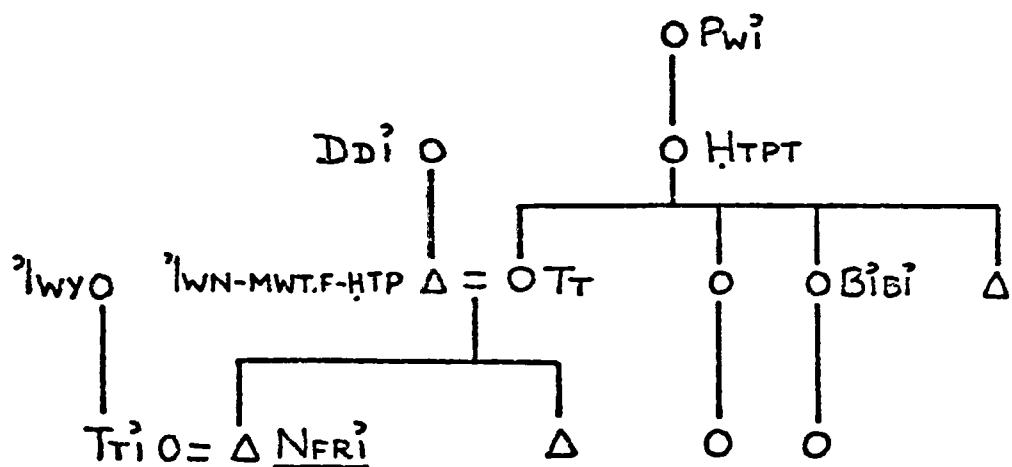
Cairo stela 20079



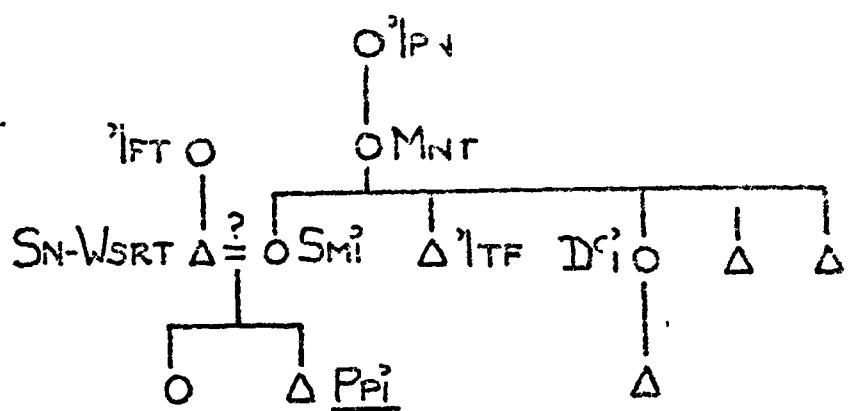
Cairo stela 20091



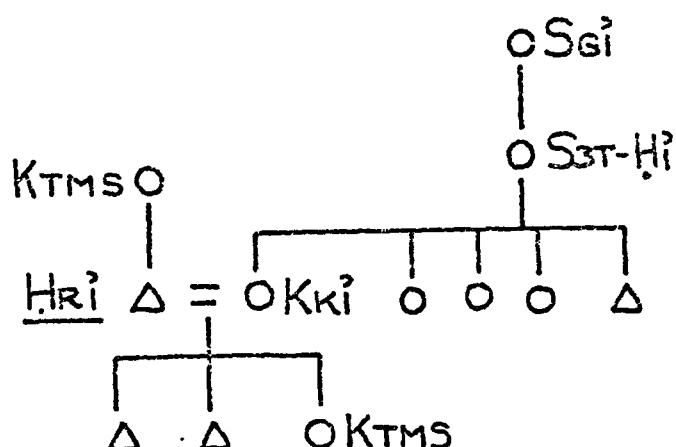
Cairo stela 20092



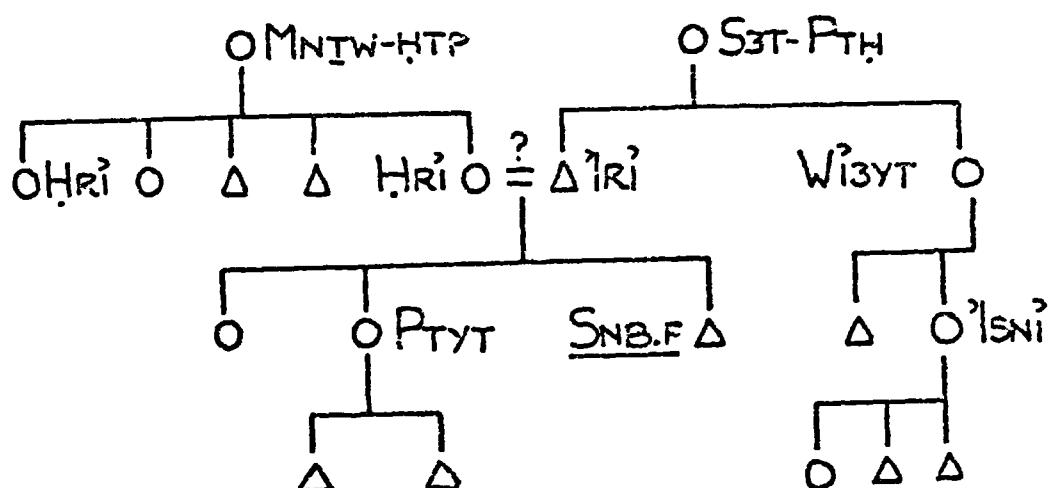
Cairo stela 20109



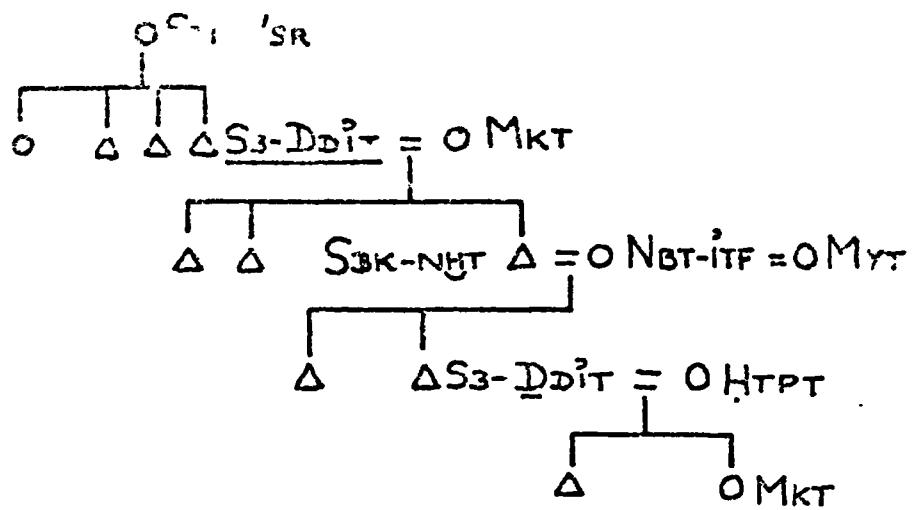
Cairo stela 20123



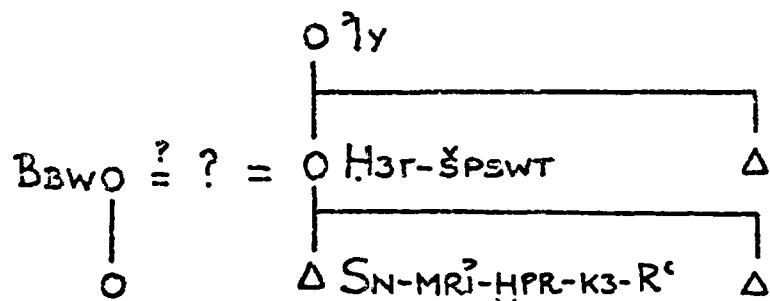
Cairo stela 20126



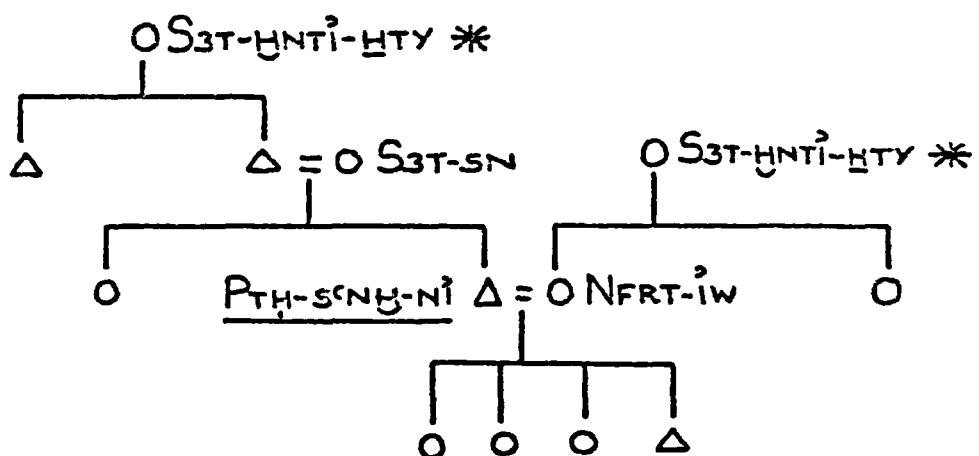
Cairo stela 20134



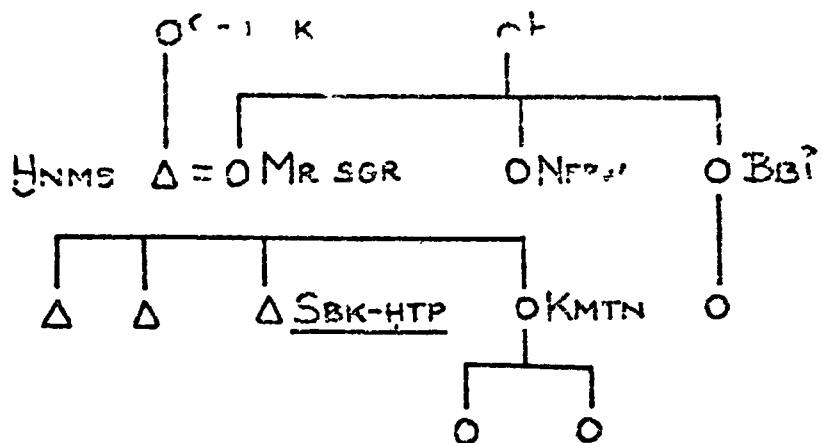
Cairo stela 20139



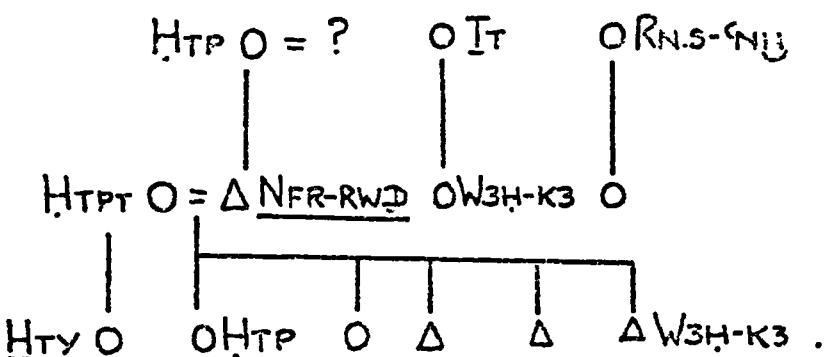
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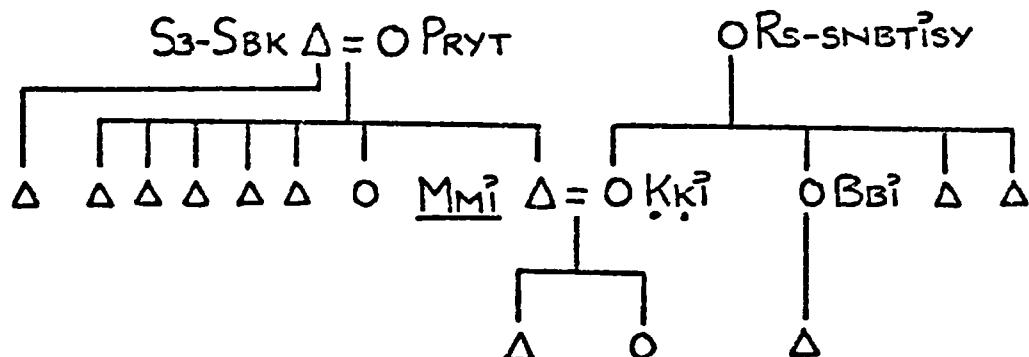
Cairo stela 20153



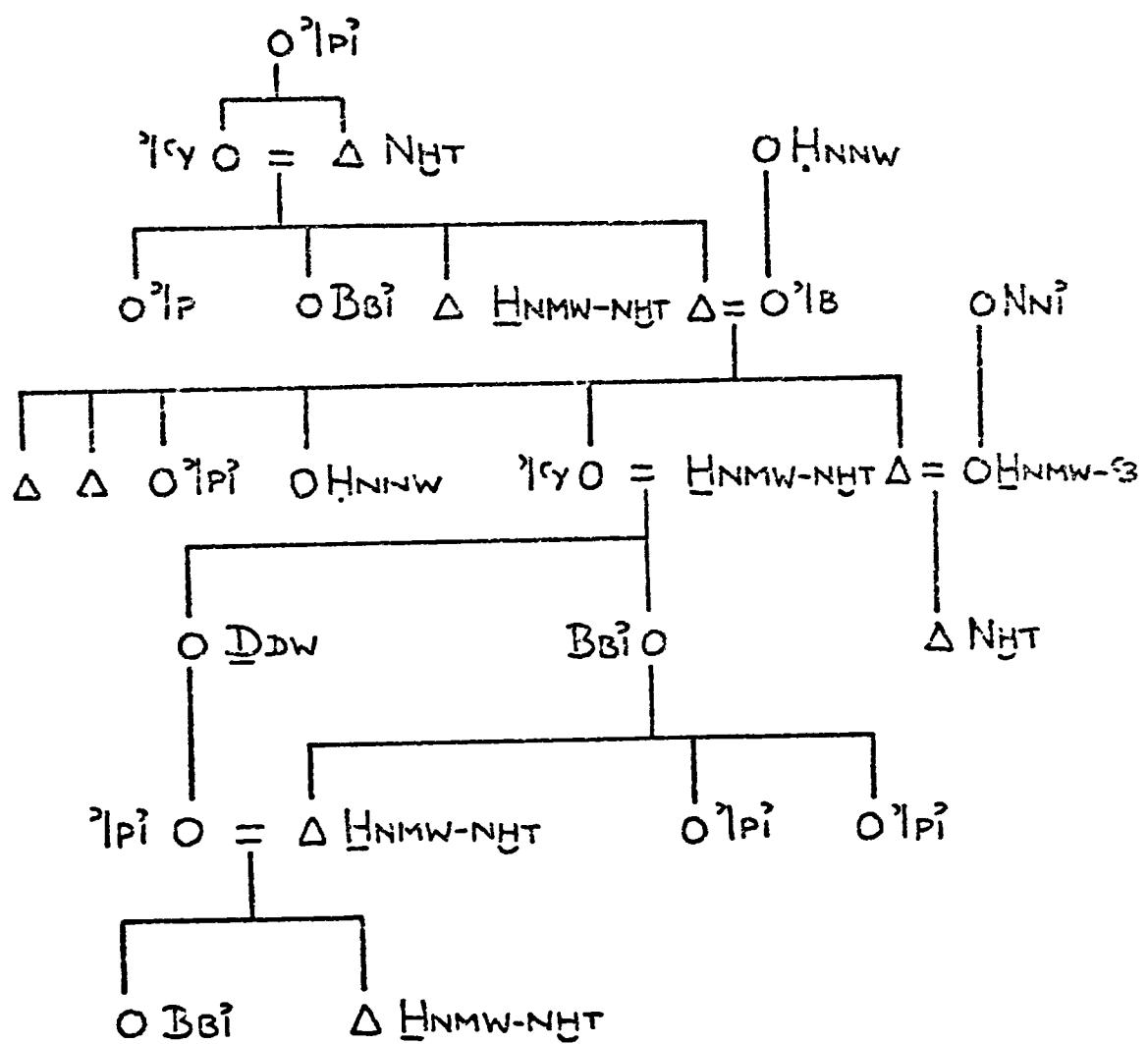
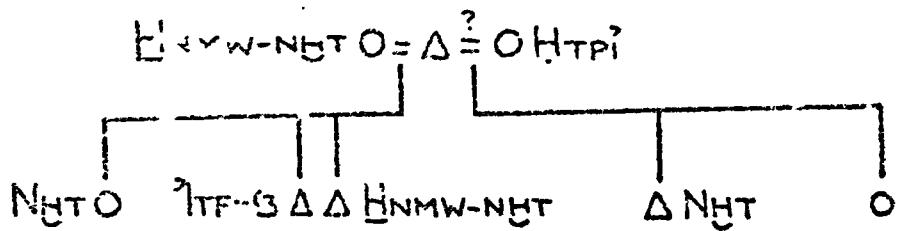
Cairo stela 20156



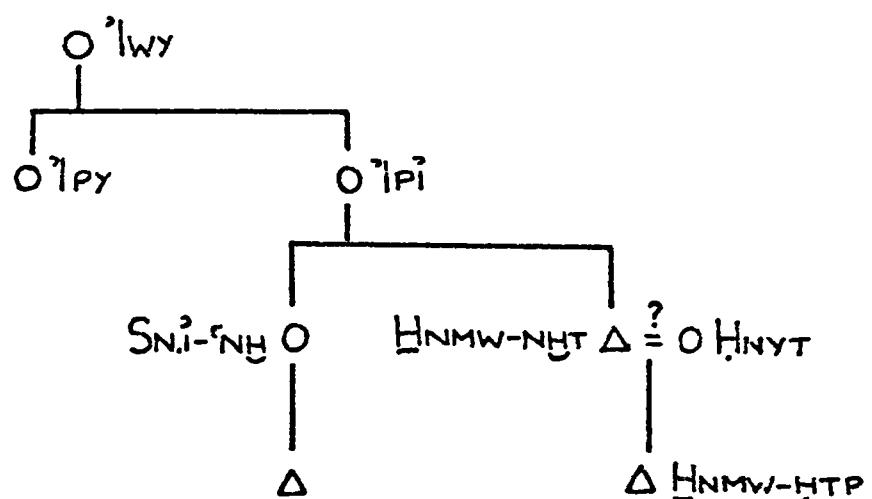
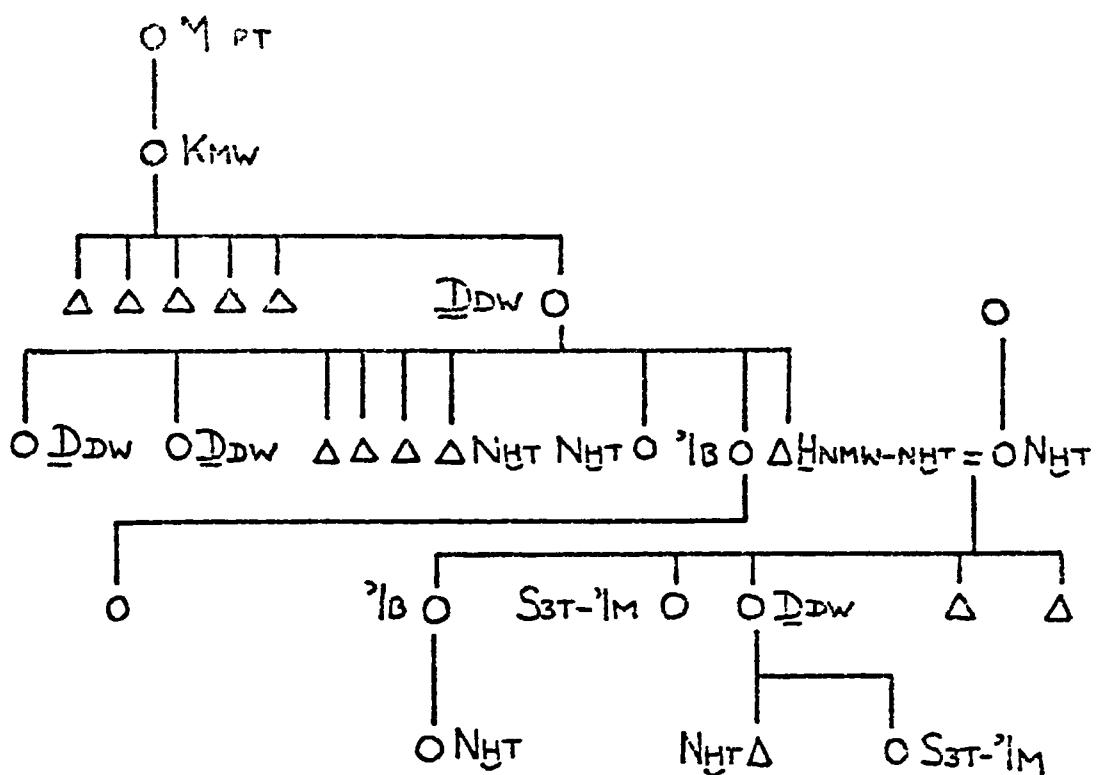
Cairo stela 20158



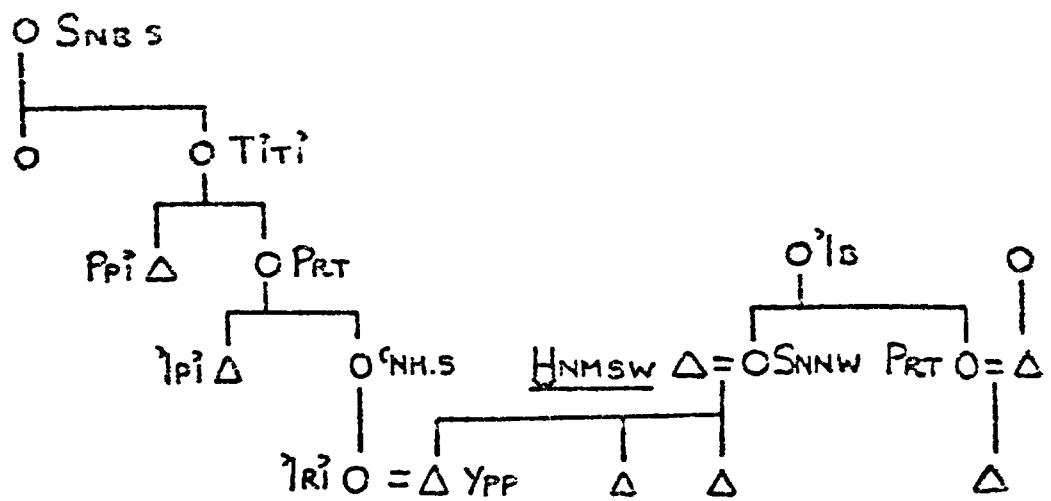
Cairo stela 20159



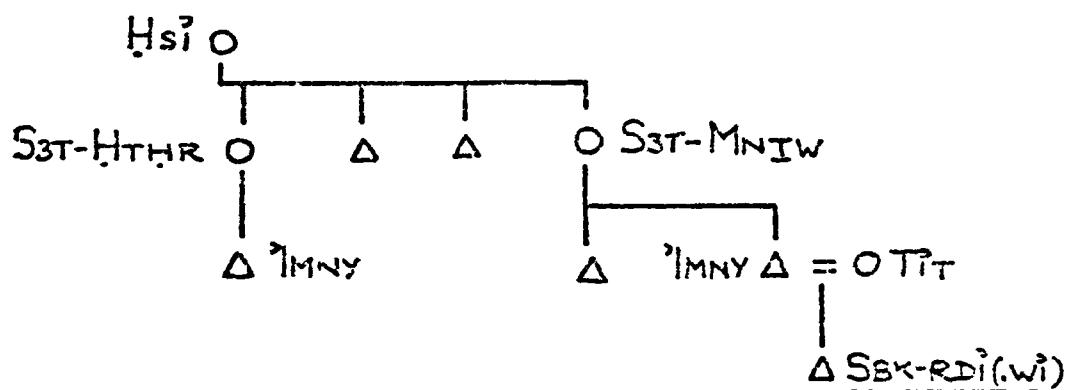
- X



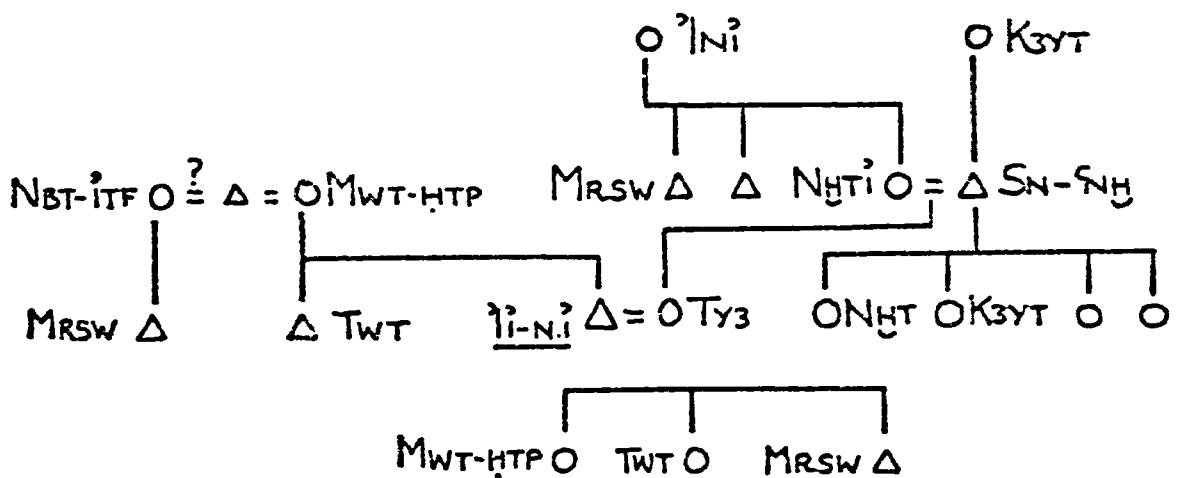
Cairo stela 20161 continued



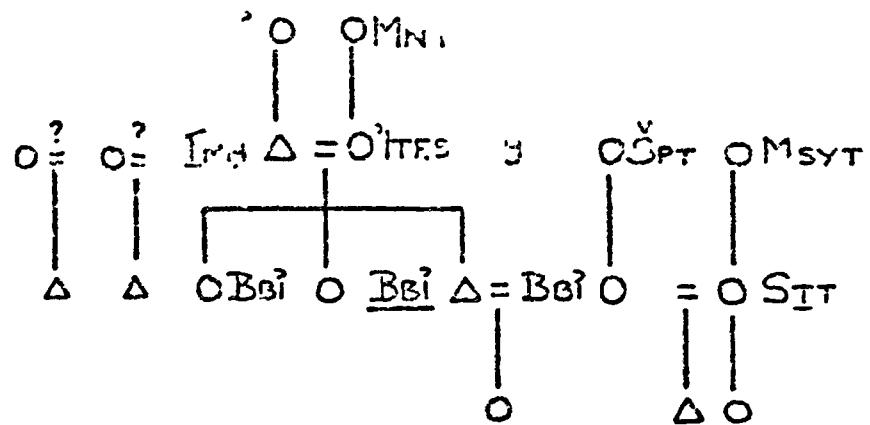
Cairo stela 20167



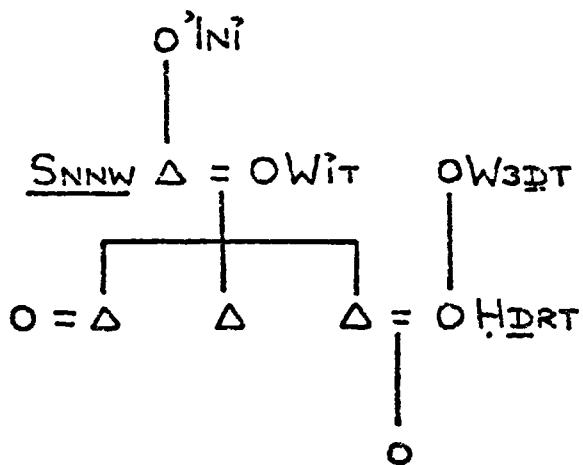
Cairo stela 20244



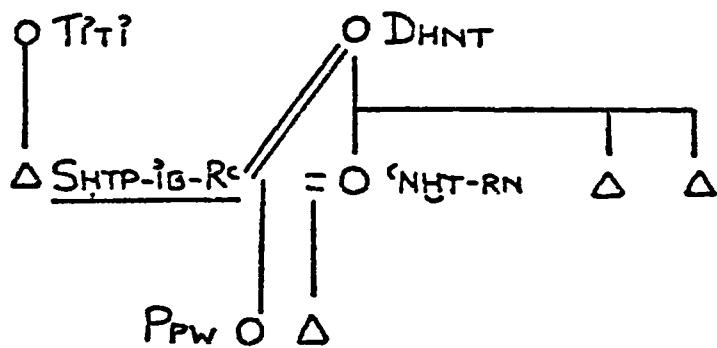
Cairo stela 20245



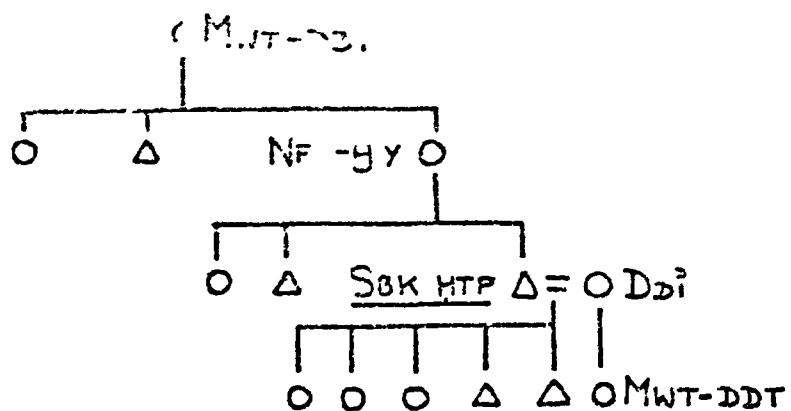
Cairo stela 20255



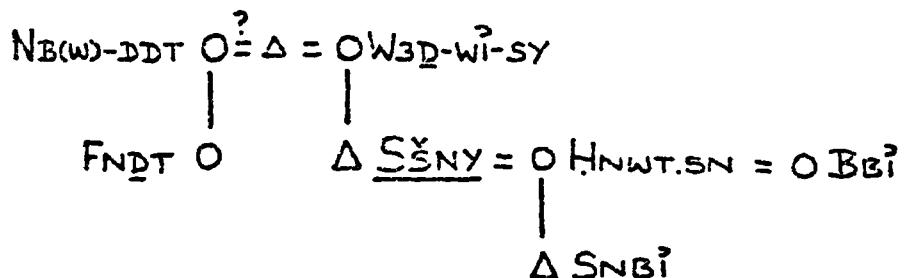
Cairo stela 20260



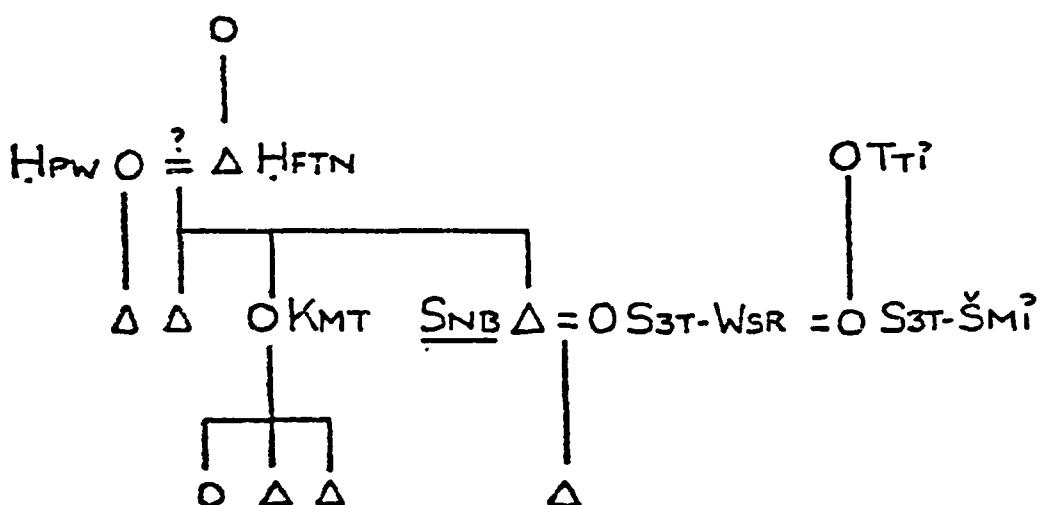
Cairo stela 20270



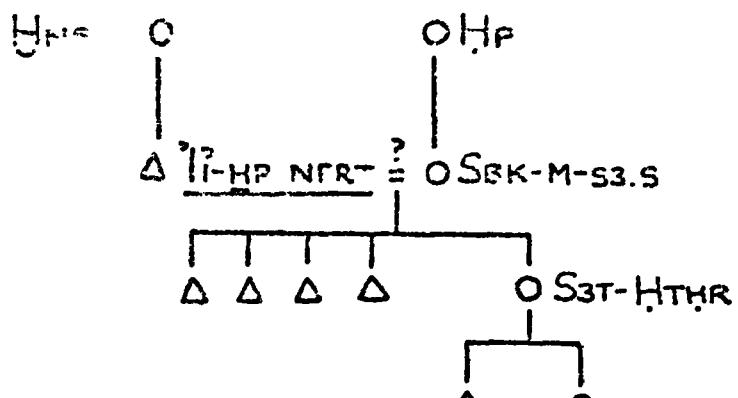
Cairo stela 20271



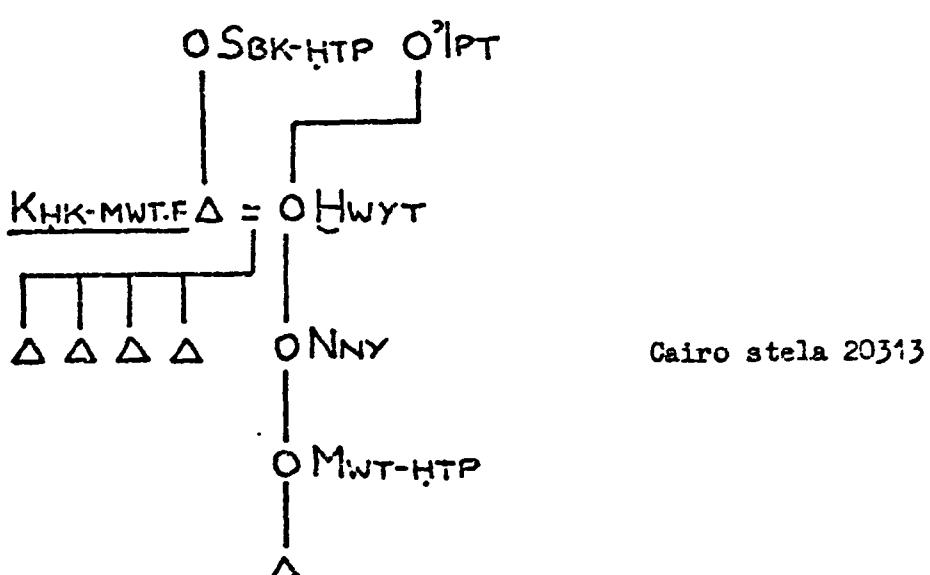
Cairo stela 20273



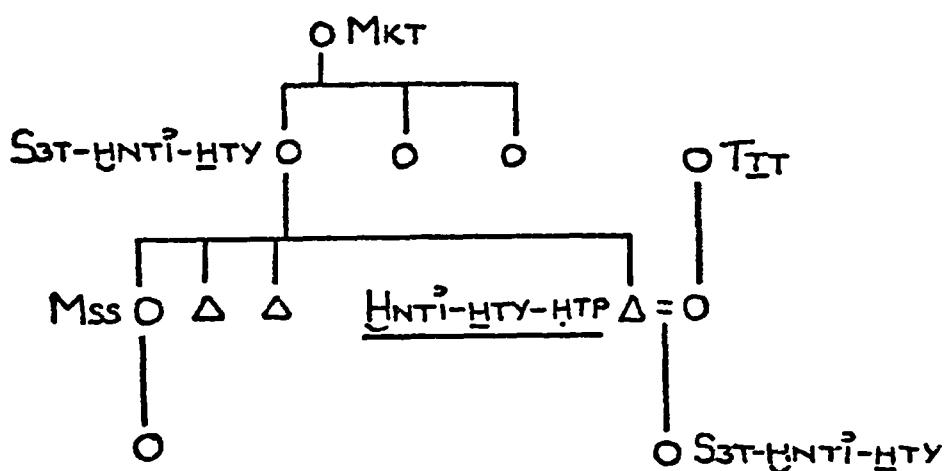
Cairo stela 20296



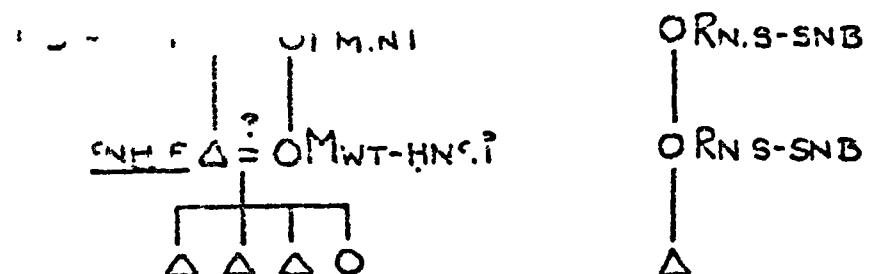
Cairo stela 20310



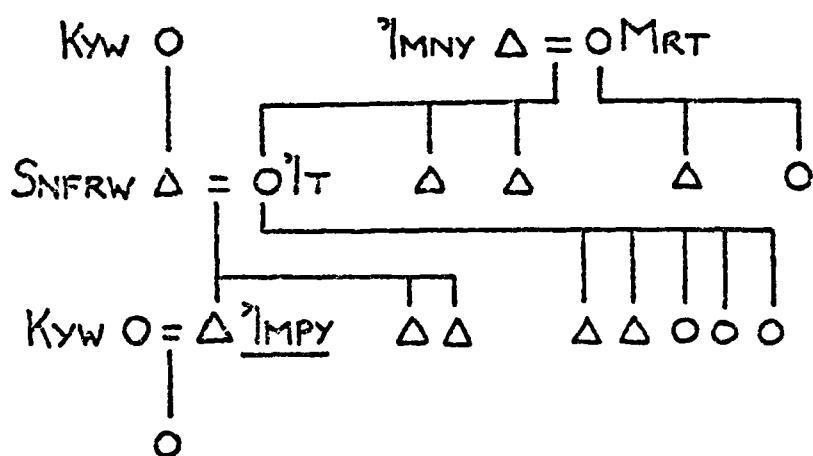
Cairo stela 20313



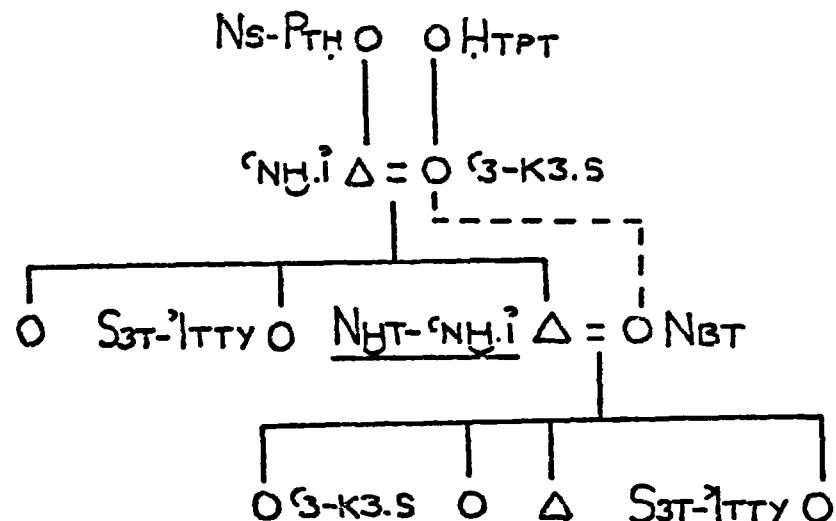
Cairo stela 20325



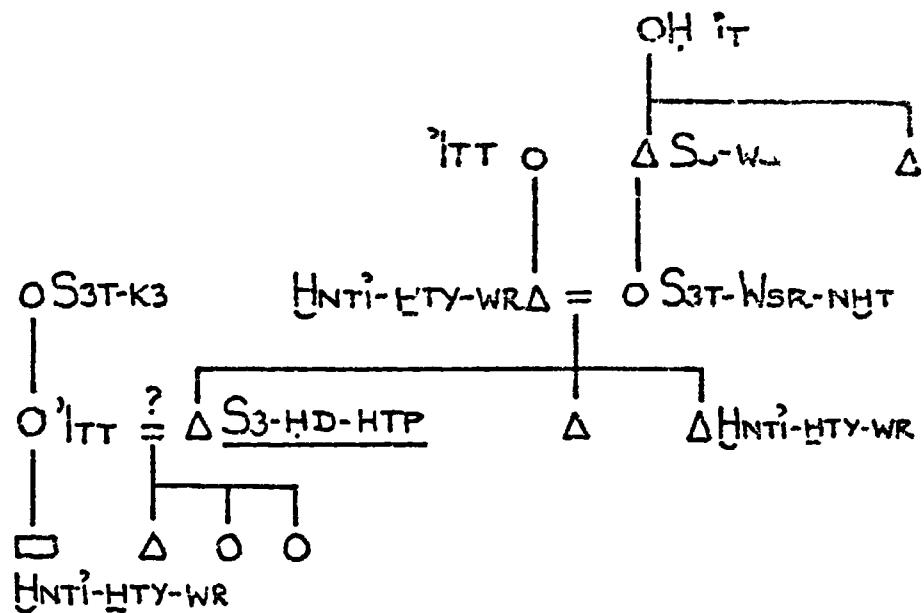
Cairo stela 20331



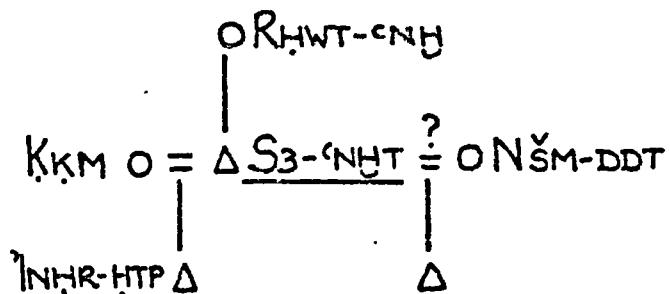
Cairo stela 20338



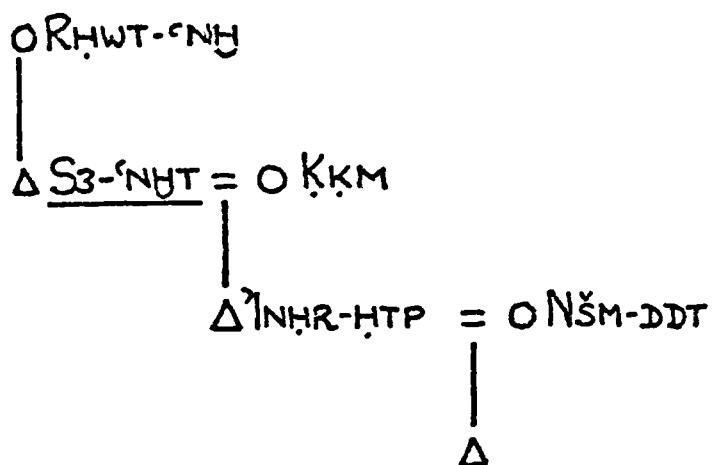
Cairo stela 20341

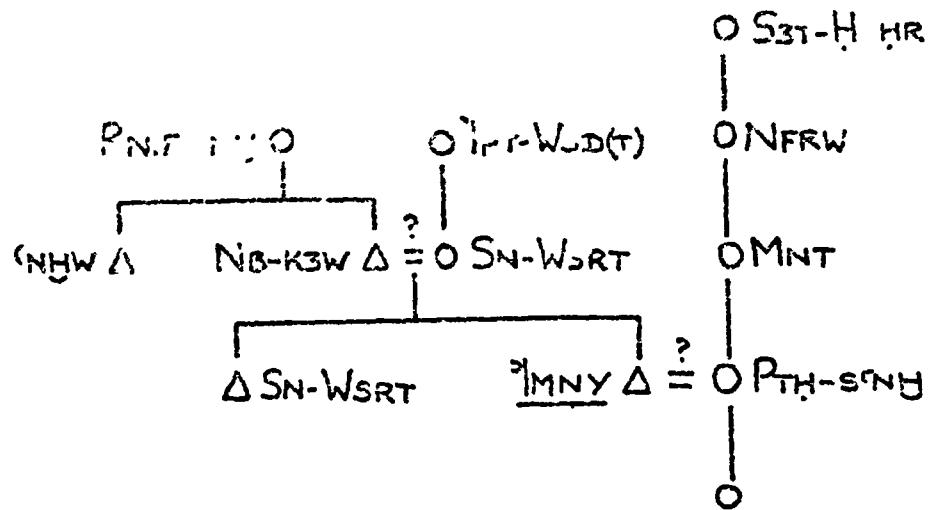


Cairo stela 20346

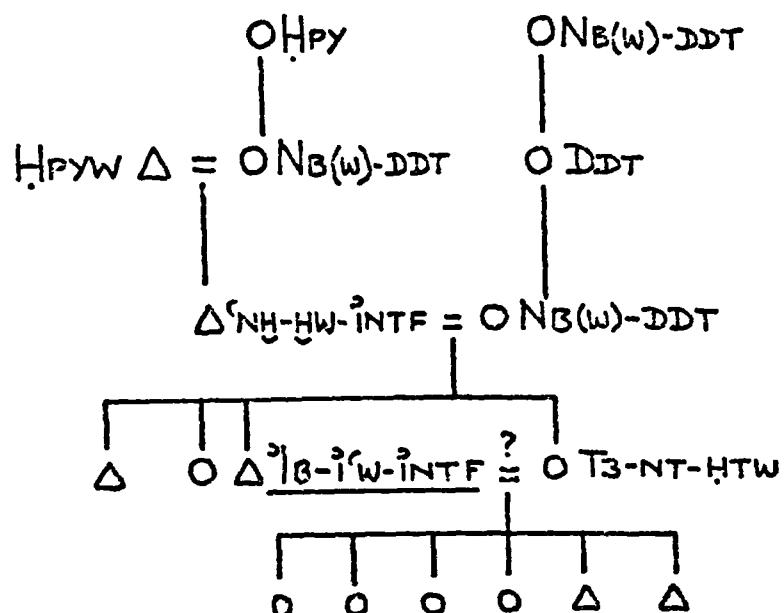
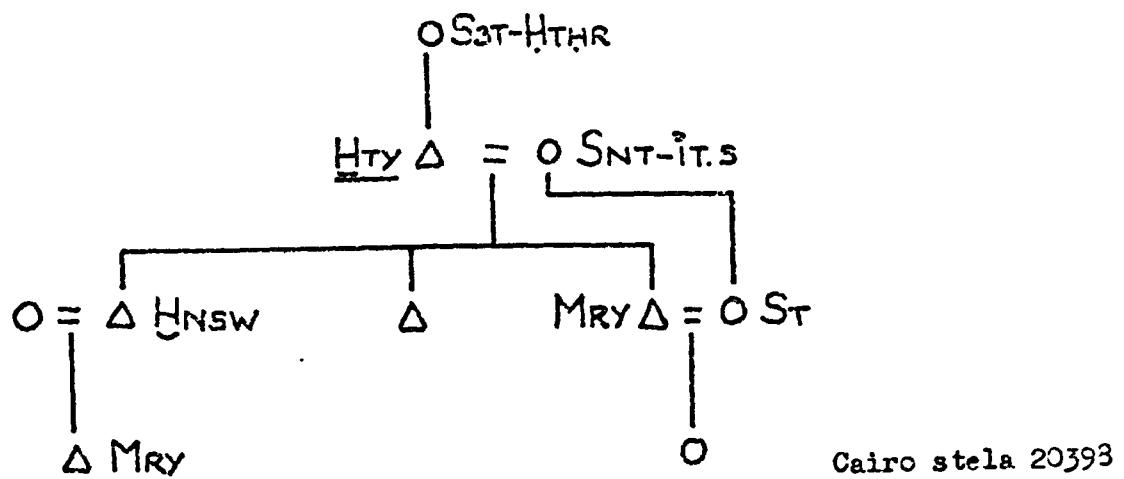


Cairo stela 20351

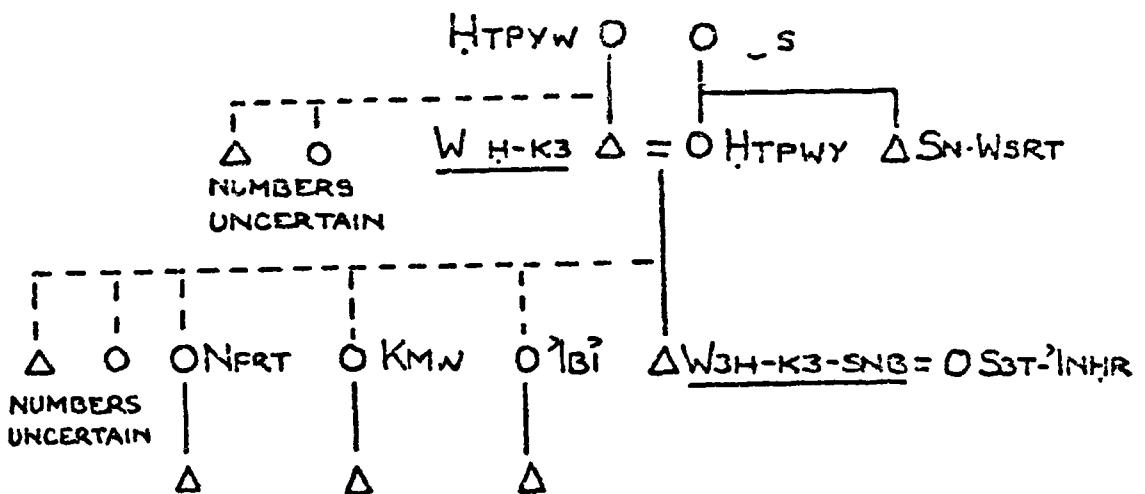




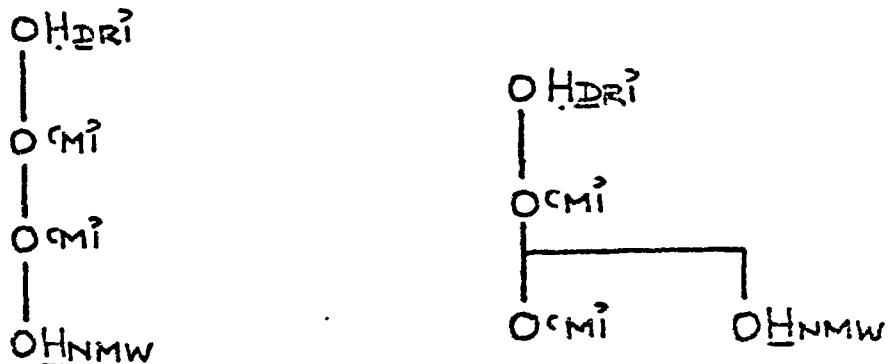
Cairo stela 20393



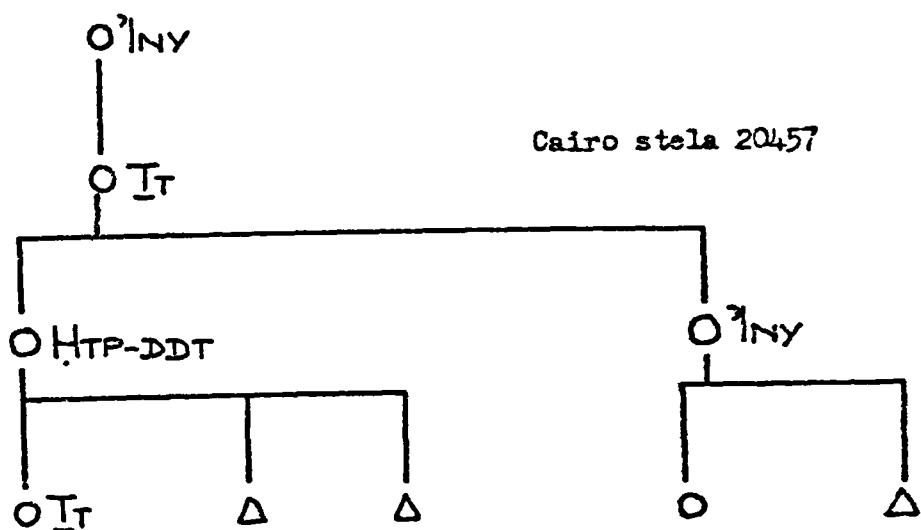
Cairo stelae 20429 and 20430



Cairo stela 20431

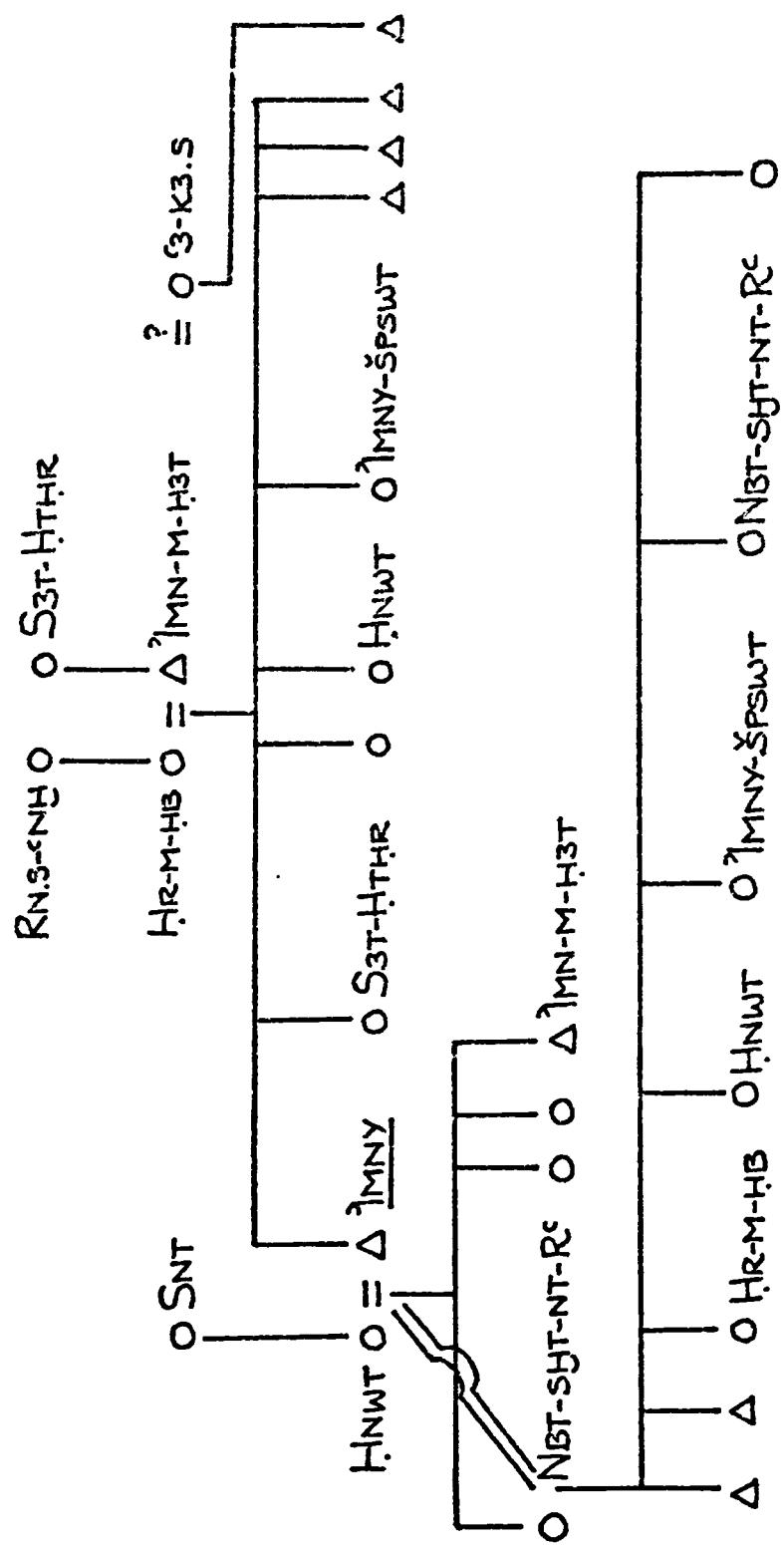


Cairo stela 20452



Cairo stela 20457

Fl.



Cairo stela 20455

$\Delta \text{NHT}_\Delta = 0, \Delta \text{O}_1 = 0$

OSBK-HTTP

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{O}_\text{NH-NS} \quad \text{O} \\
 | \\
 \text{H}^+ \text{O} = \Delta \text{NHT}^+ = \text{O} \text{S} \text{e} \text{t} \text{-} \text{R}^{\text{c}} \\
 | \\
 \text{H}^+ \text{H} \text{M} \text{W} - \text{NHT} \text{D} = \text{O} \text{H} \text{T} \text{P} \quad \Delta
 \end{array}$$

Cairo stela 20482

```

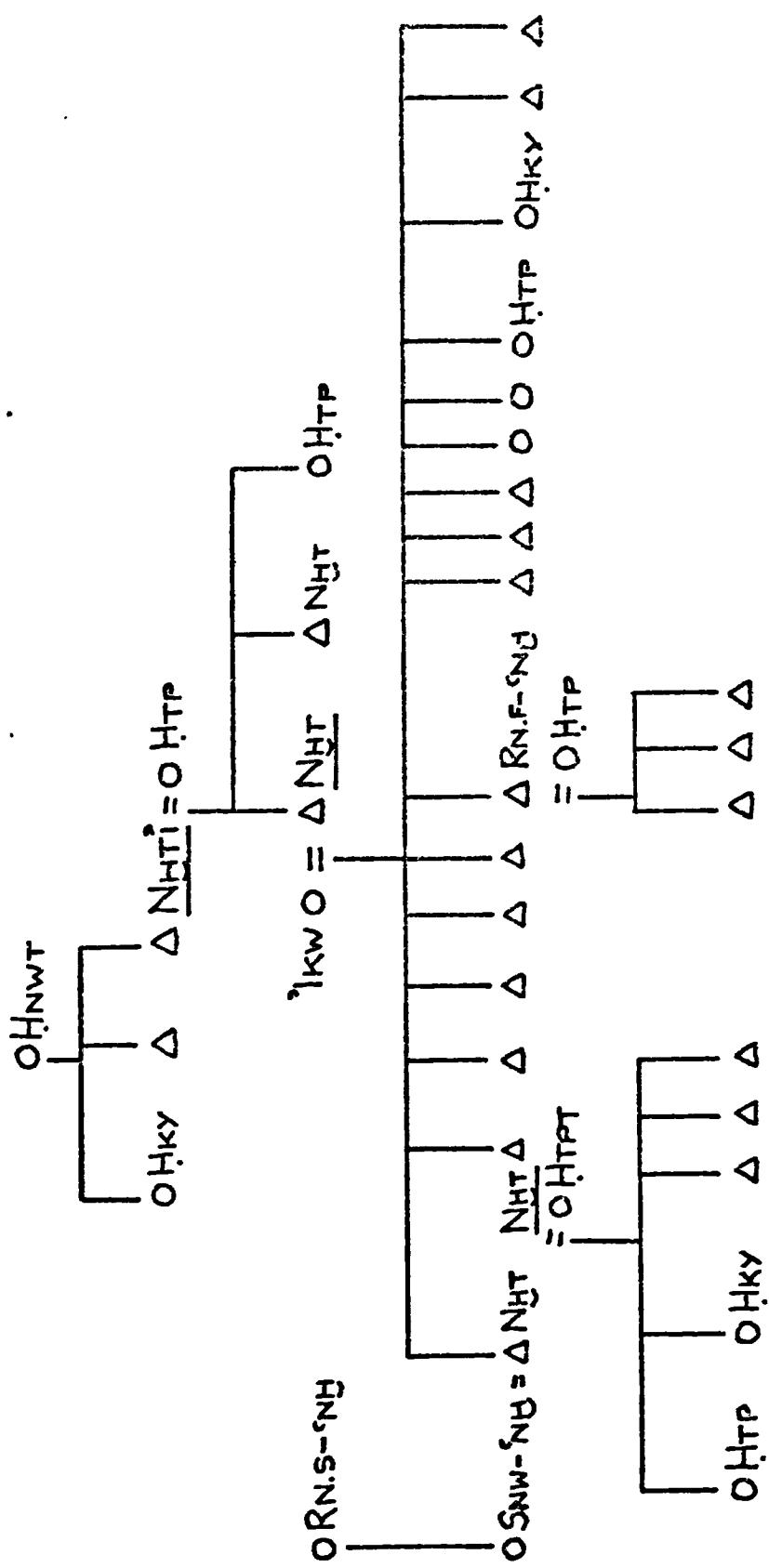
graph TD
    SNT["SNT"]
    SNT --- SNT_O["SNT_O"]
    SNT --- SNT_Delta["SNT_Delta"]
    SNT_Delta --- Delta_Hr["Delta_Hr"]
    SNT_Delta --- Delta_Hr_O["Delta_Hr_O"]
    Delta_Hr --- Delta_Hr_O
    Delta_Hr_O --- Delta_Hr_O_O["Delta_Hr_O_O"]
    Delta_Hr_O_O --- Delta_Hr_O_O_O["Delta_Hr_O_O_O"]
    Delta_Hr_O_O_O --- Delta_Hr_O_O_O_O["Delta_Hr_O_O_O_O"]

```

The diagram illustrates the hierarchical decomposition of the SNT metric. The root node is labeled "SNT". It branches into two main components: "SNT_O" and "SNT_Delta". The "SNT_Delta" component further decomposes into "Delta_Hr" and "Delta_Hr_O". The "Delta_Hr_O" component is shown as a box containing "Delta_Hr_O_O", which itself contains "Delta_Hr_O_O_O", which finally contains "Delta_Hr_O_O_O_O".

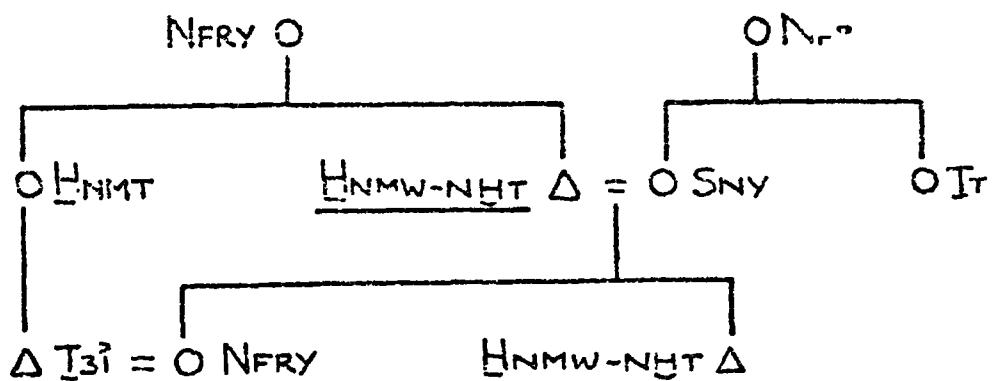
and 20474

Cairo stolae 20473

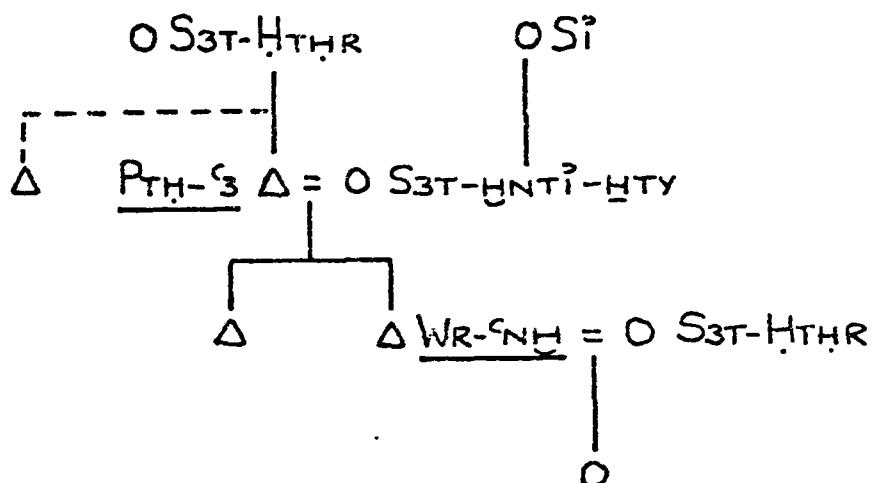


Cairo stela 20515, 20526 and 20751

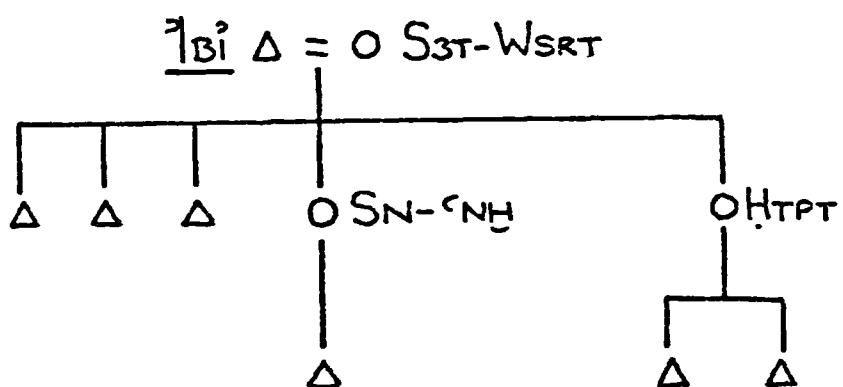
xx



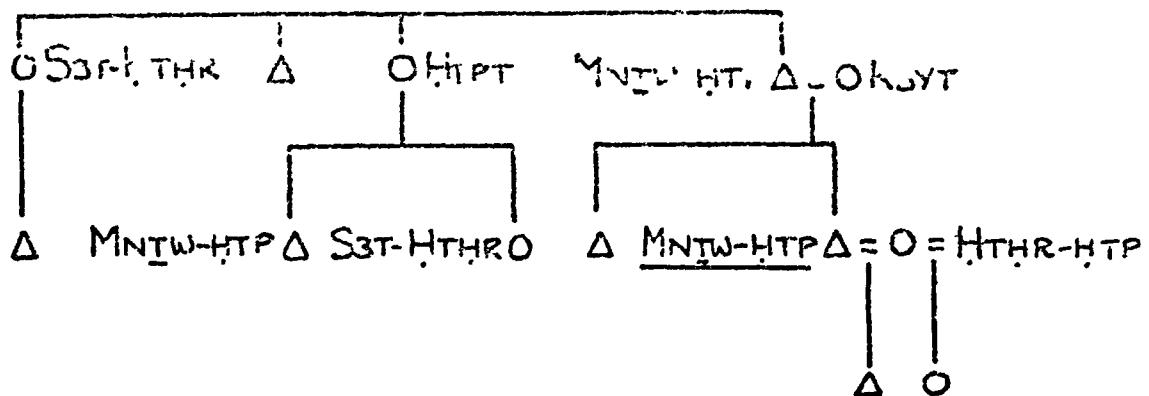
Cairo stela 20518



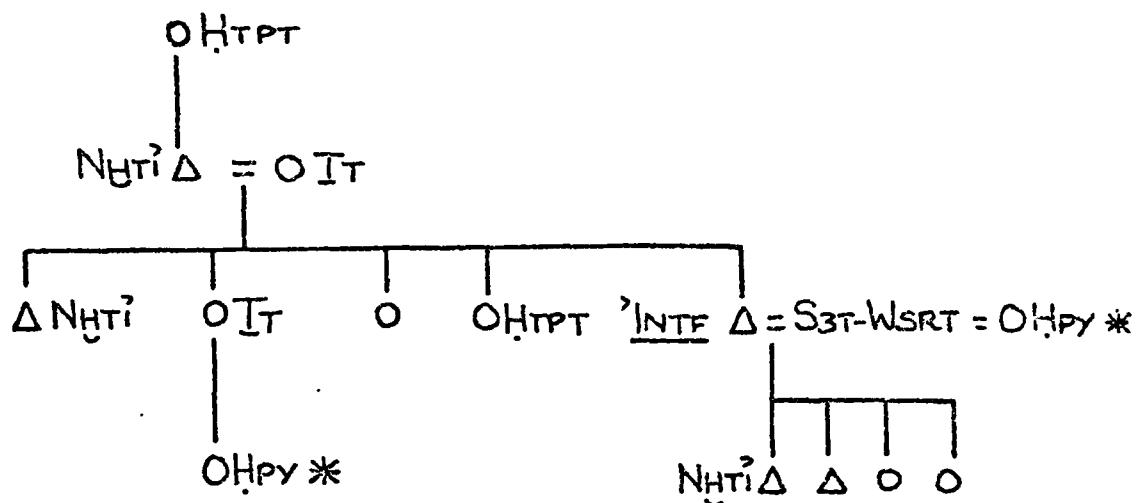
Cairo stela 20523



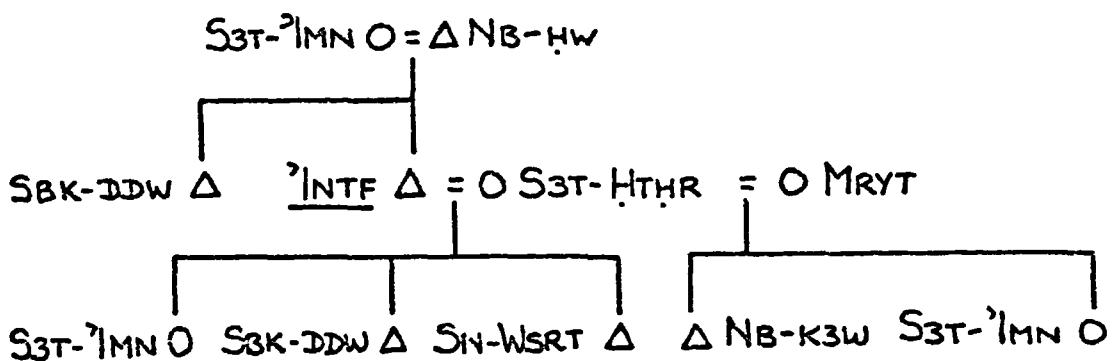
Cairo stela 20525



Cairo stela 20534

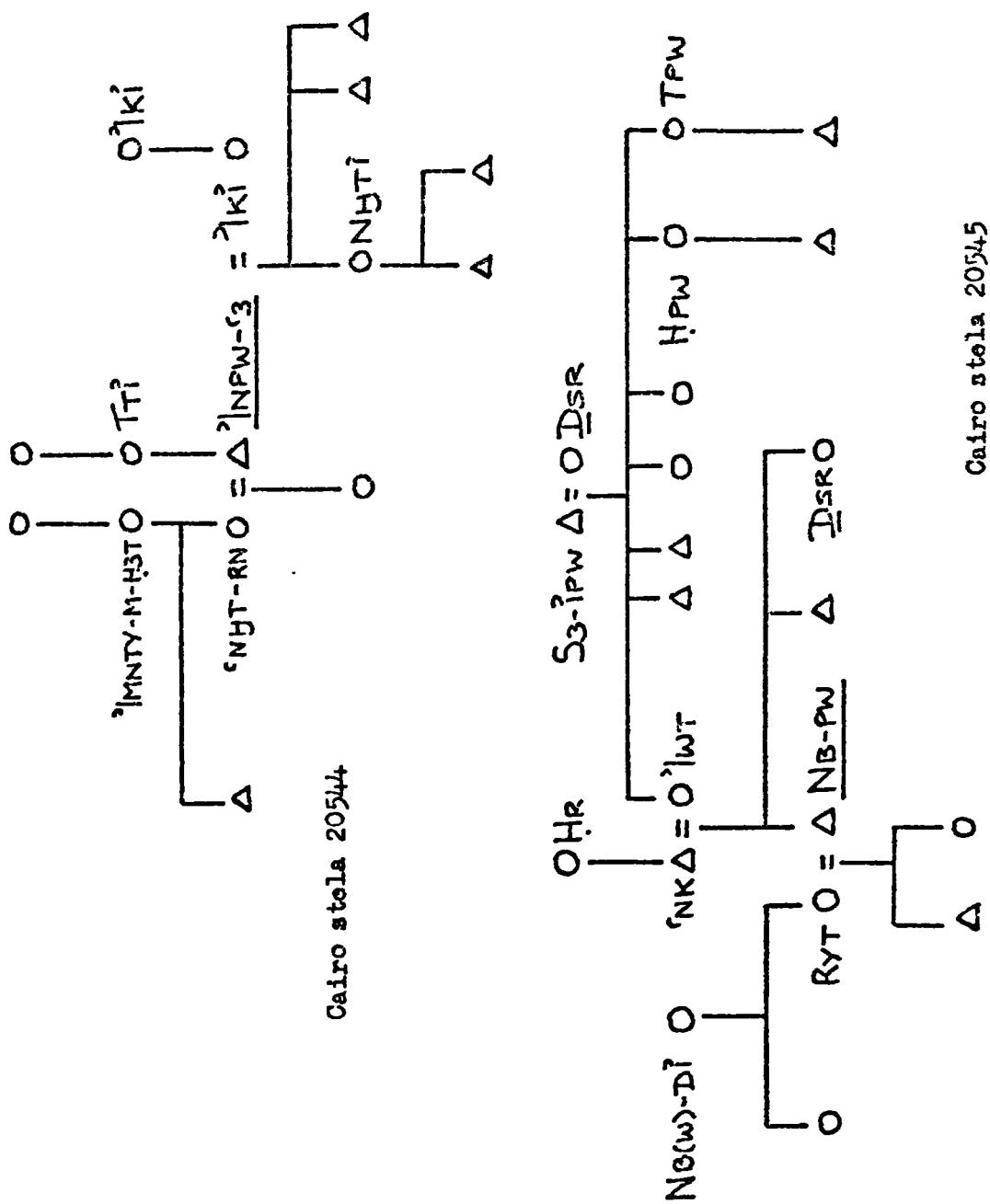


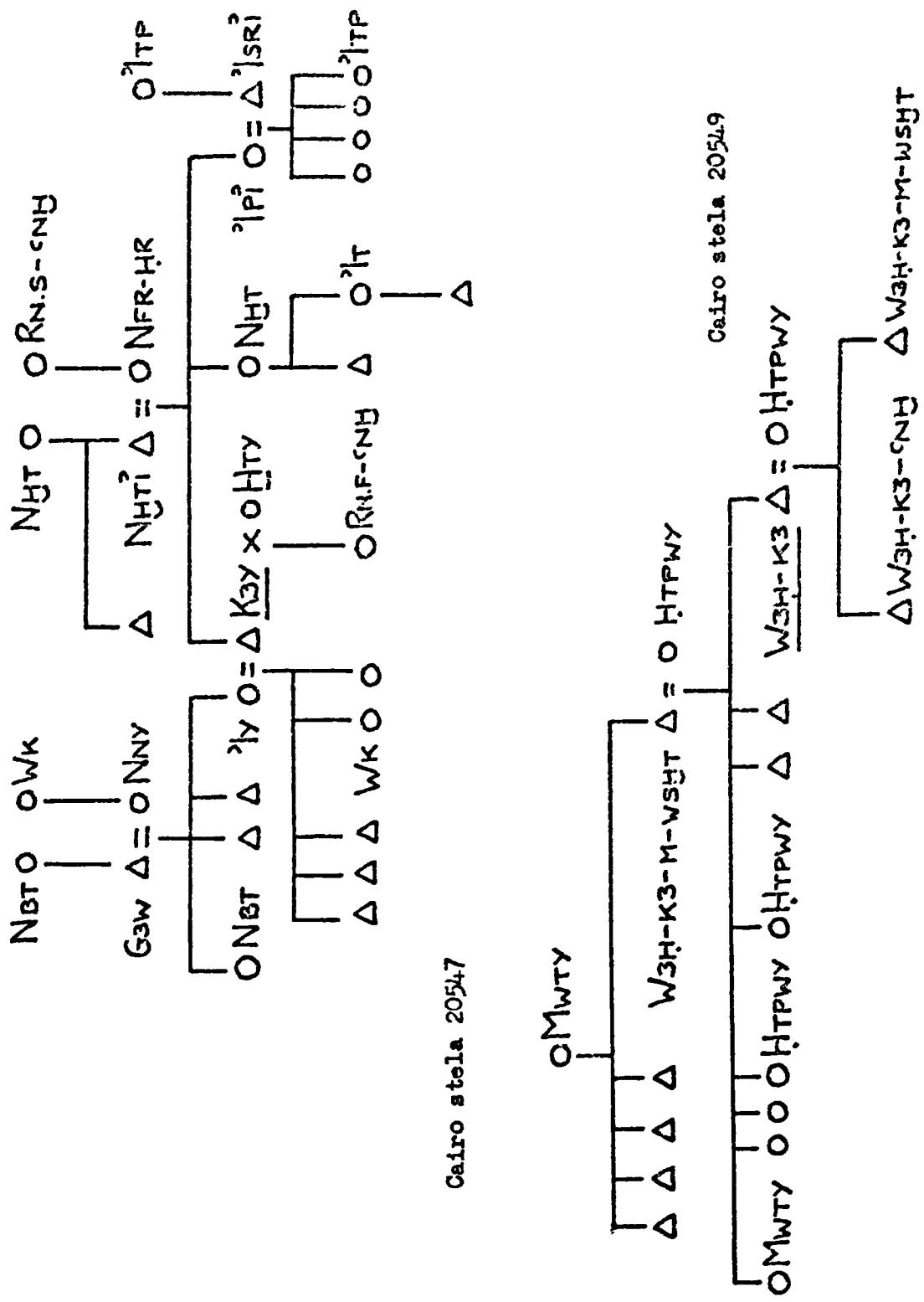
Cairo stela 20535

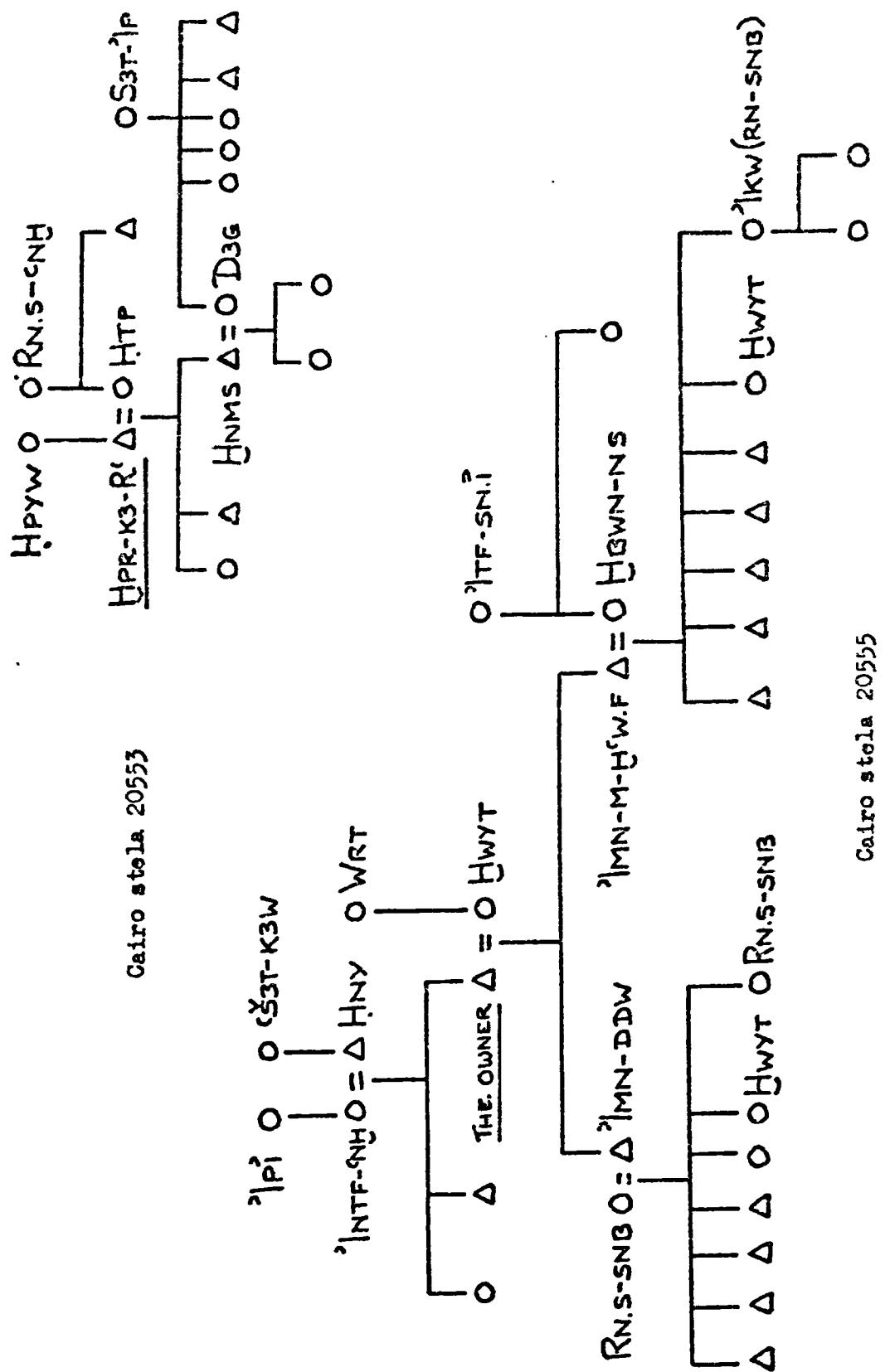


Cairo stelae 20542 and 20561 and Louvre stelae C.167 and C.168

H

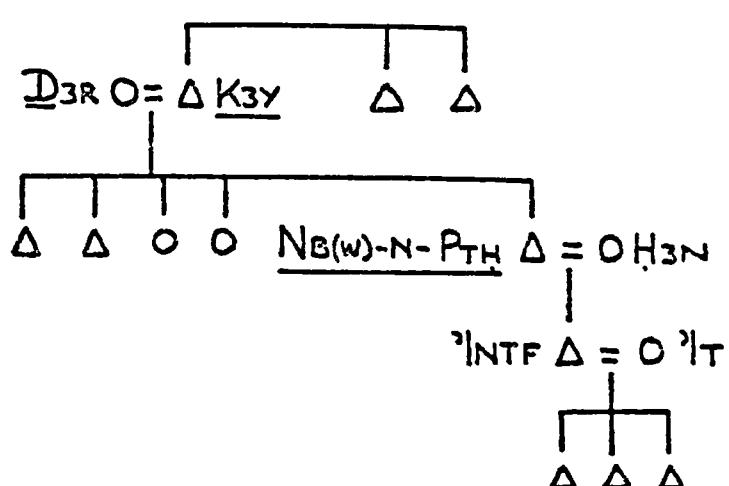
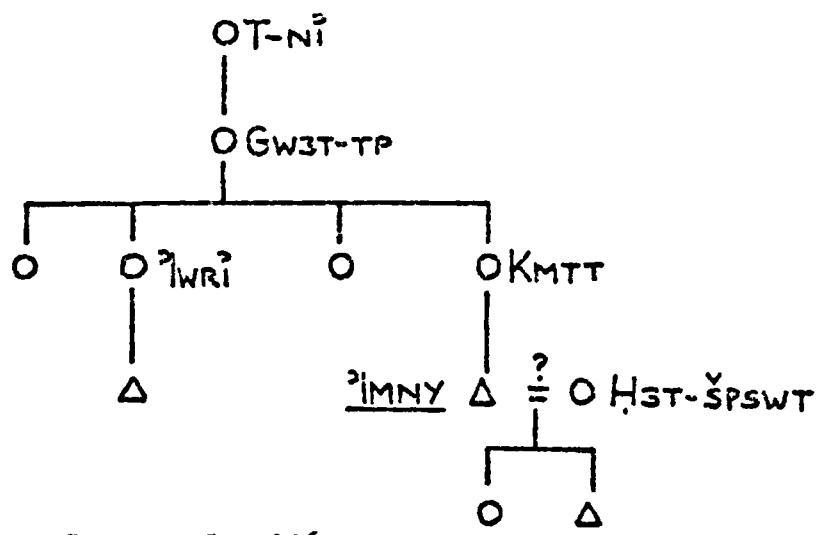




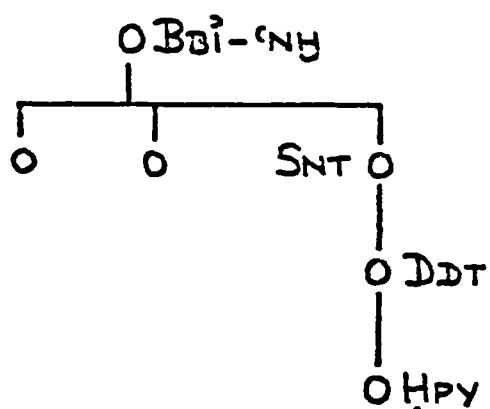


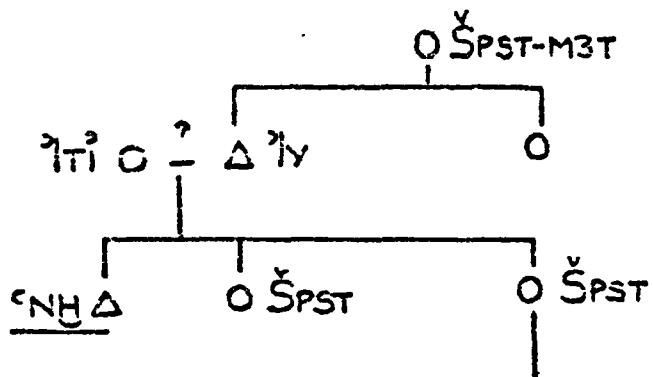
Calro stola 2055

1.

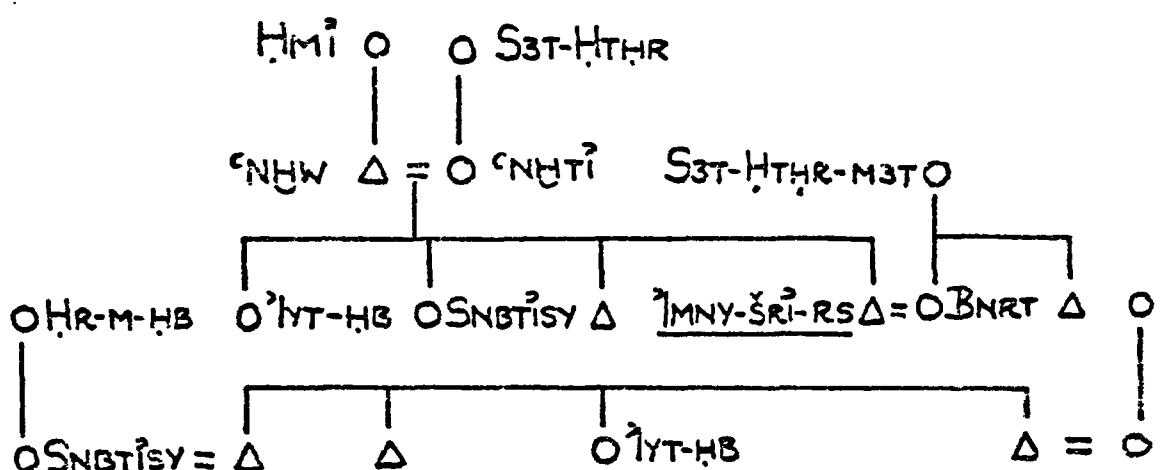


Cairo stelae 20567 and 20568

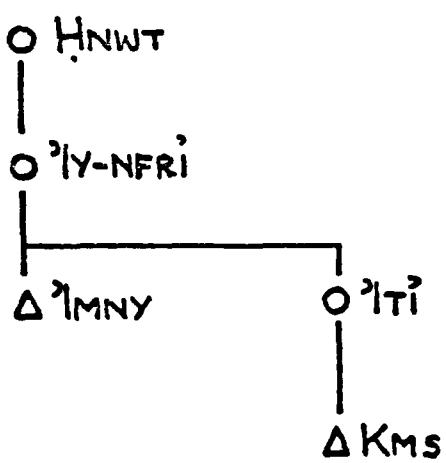




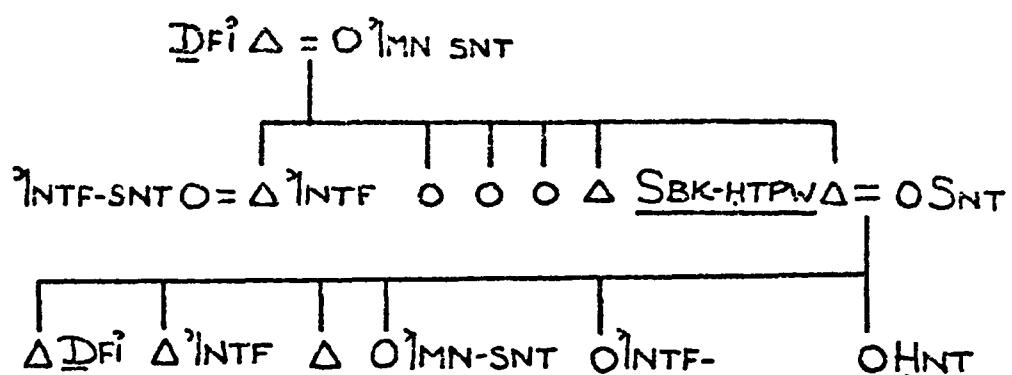
Cairo stelae 20571 and 20748



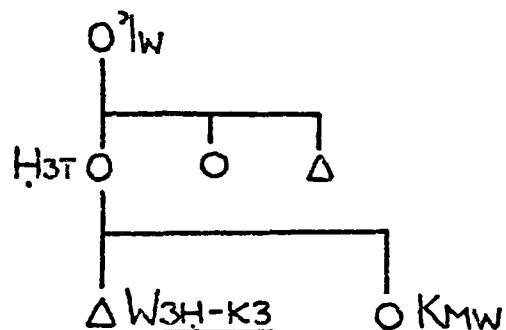
Cairo stela 20581



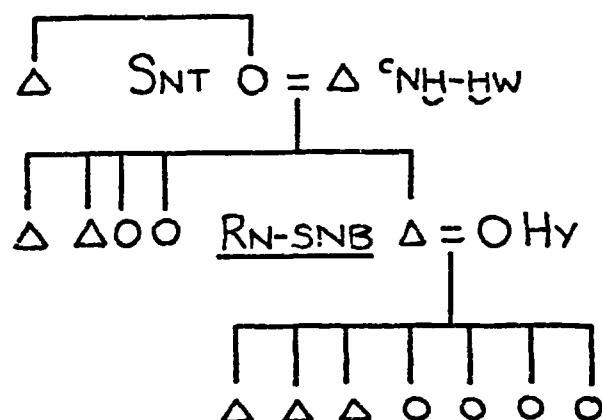
Cairo stela 20590



Cairo stela 20592



Cairo stela 20595



Cairo stela 20612, Metropolitan Museum stela 63.154, Carlsberg A690

OPRYT

O.SST.

KMS $\Delta = \text{OHTHR-HTP}$ OKNS

Cairo stola 20617

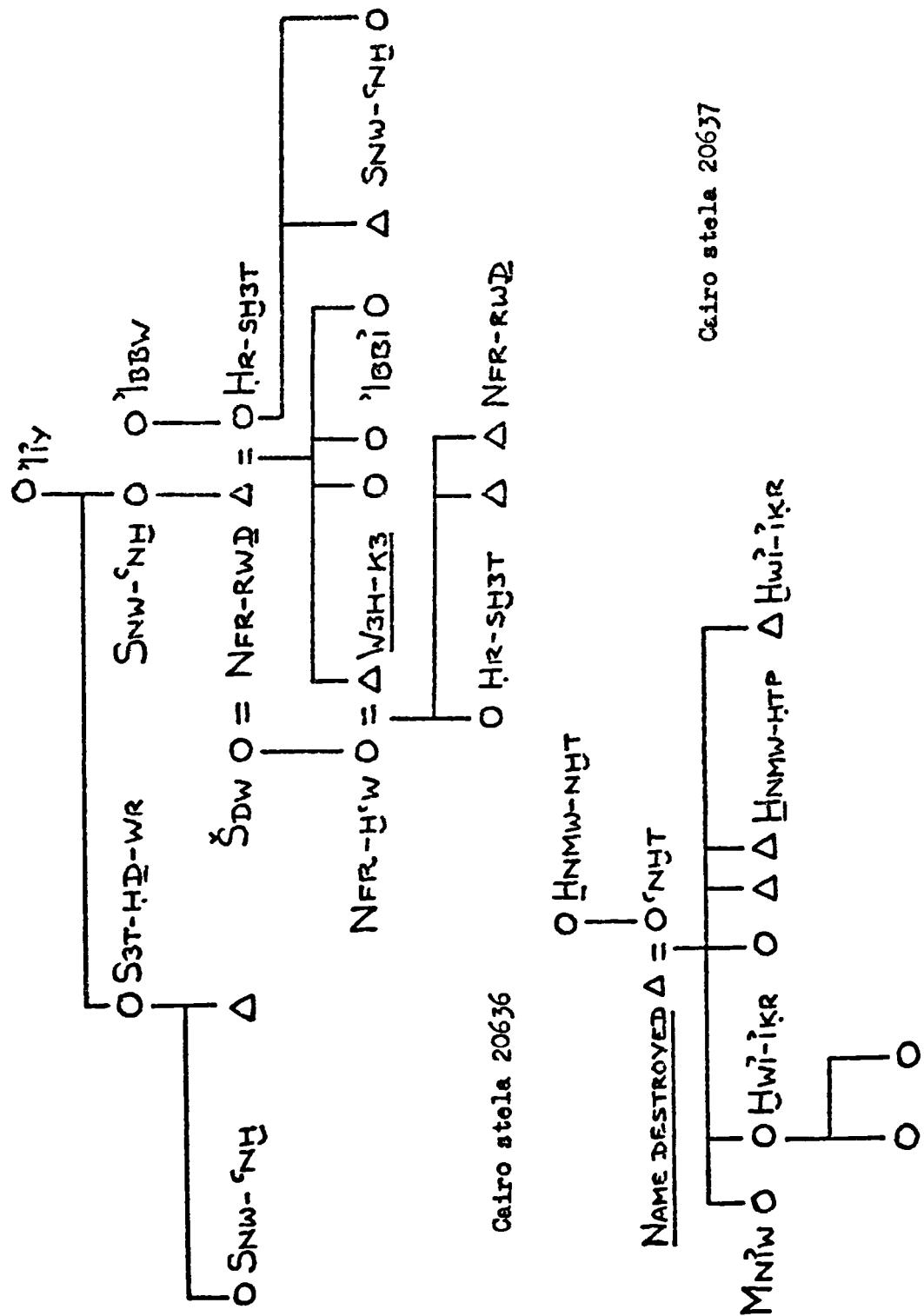
△△△△ HTHR-HTP1 O OH-R-M-HB ORYT KNSO O

GFT O RWT

Cairo stela 20619

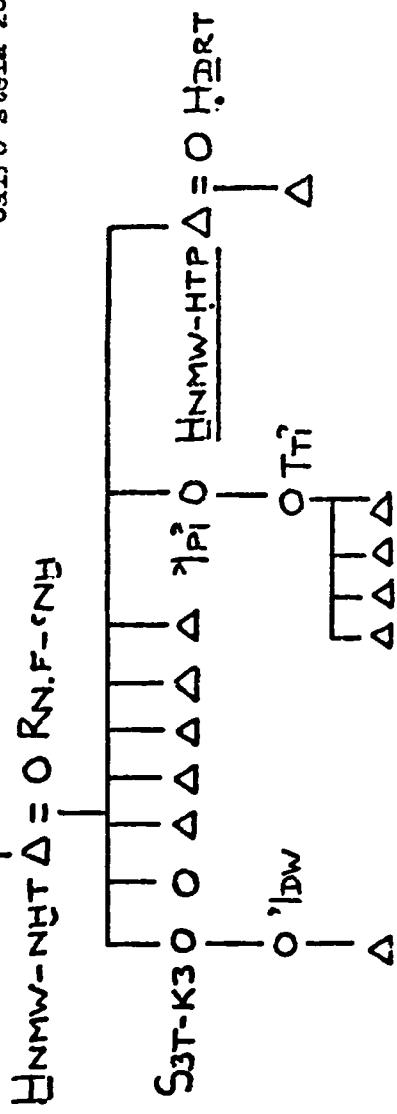
P_TH-SCNH_nΔ=O Ty

A graph showing the relationship between D_3 and T_y . The vertical axis is labeled T_y and the horizontal axis is labeled D_3 . The curve is a step function that increases from 0 to 1 at $D_3 = 0$, remains constant at 1 until $D_3 \approx 0.5$, and then drops back to 0.



O S_{3T}-K3

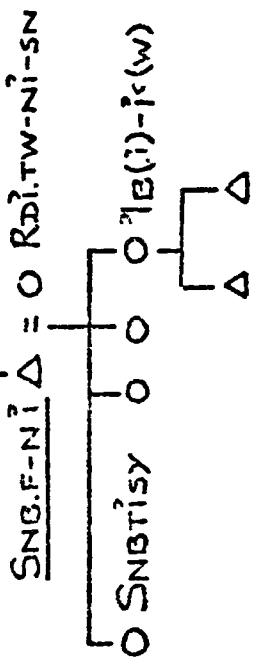
Cairo stela 20643

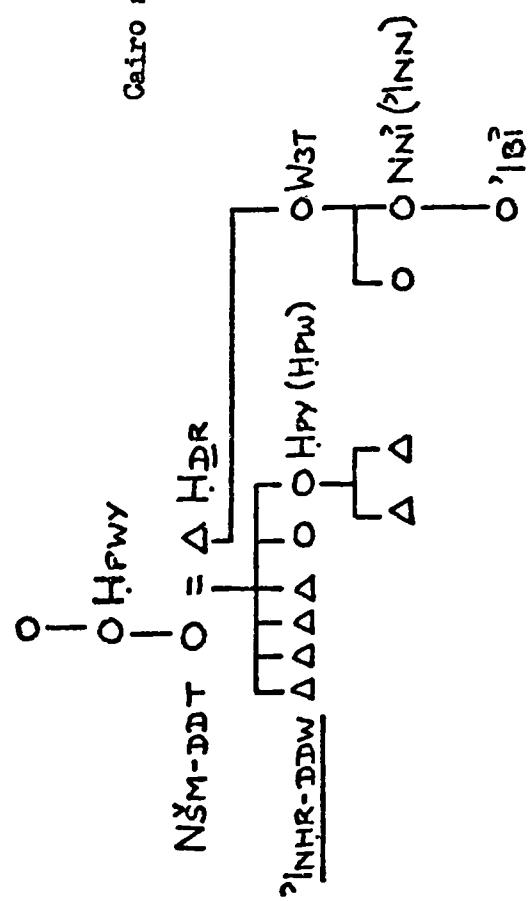


O H_{Ny}-i_B

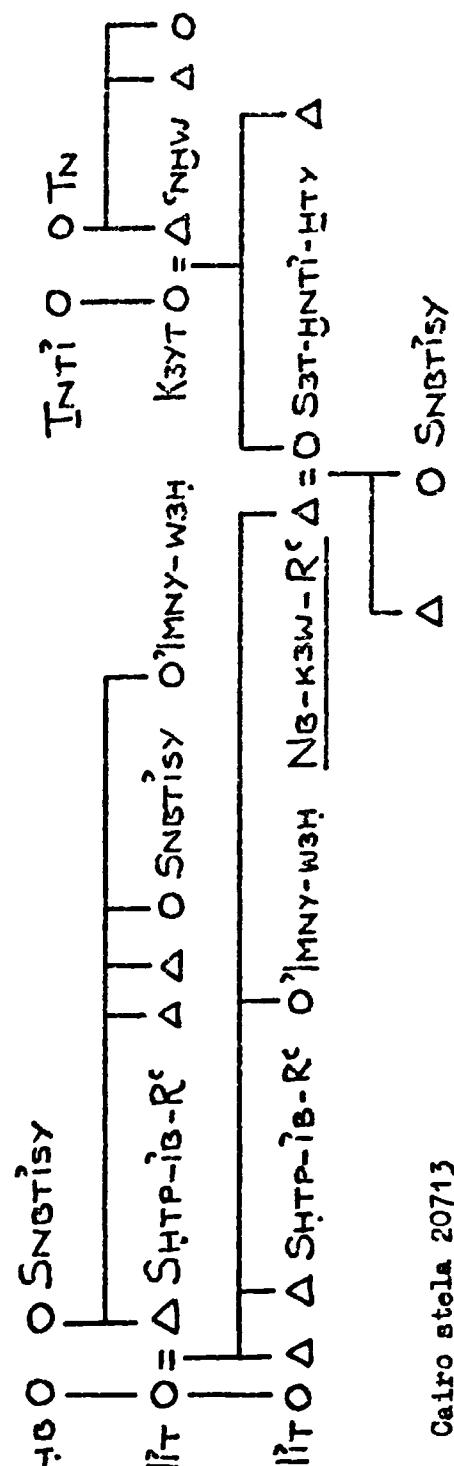
N_{ti} Δ = O S_{nbtis}γ

Cairo stela 20677

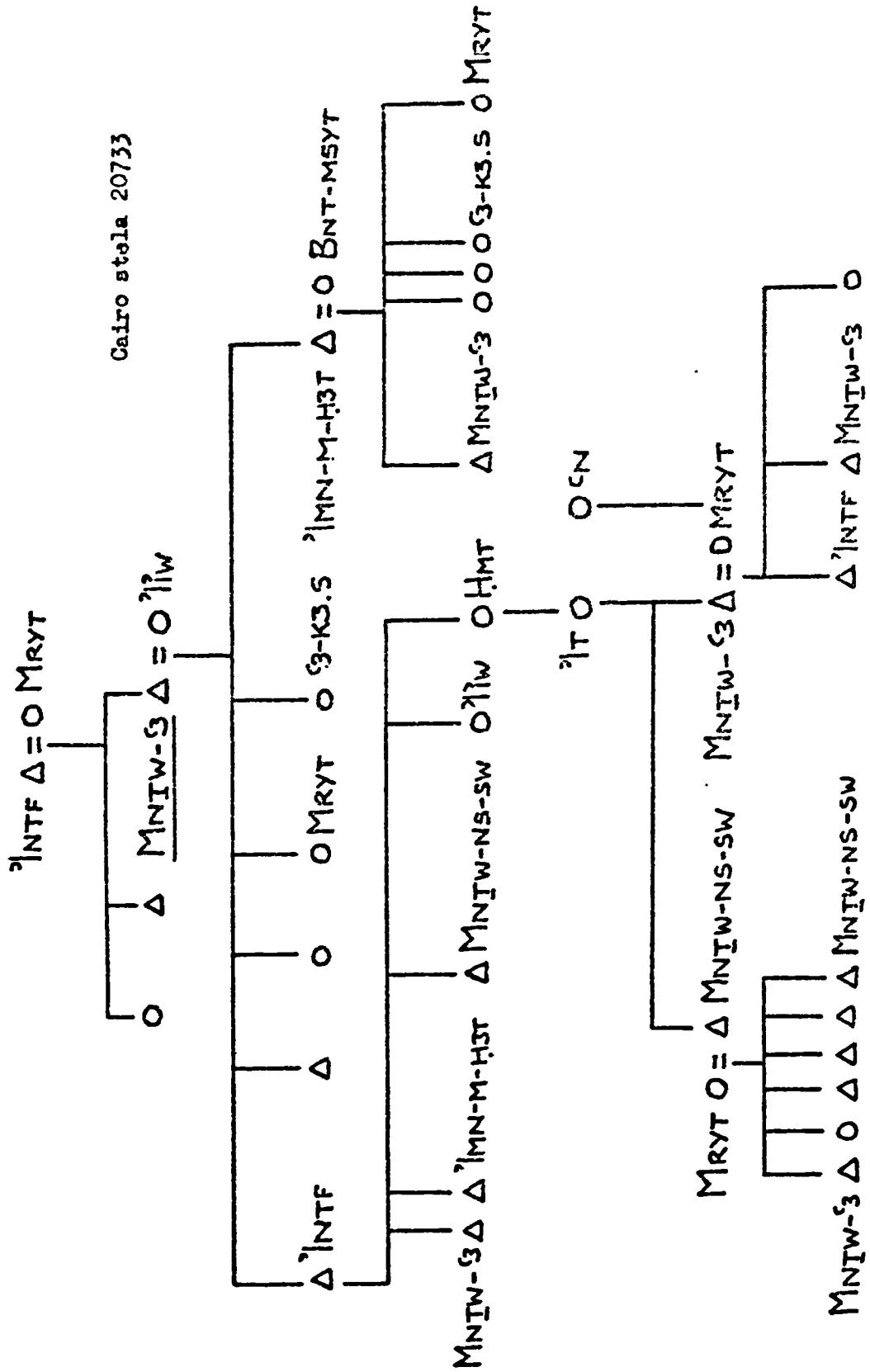


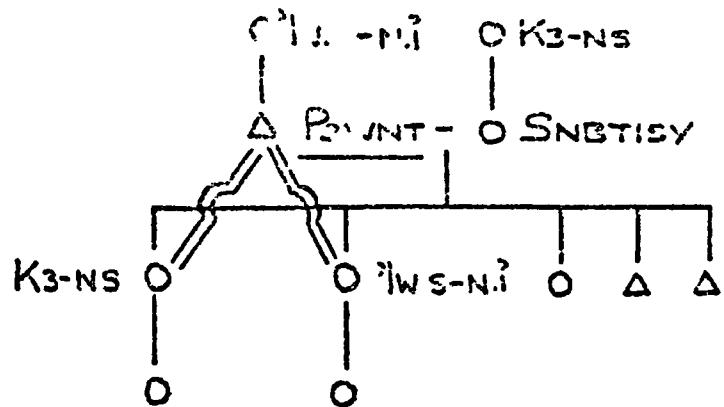


Cairo stelae 20055 and 20679

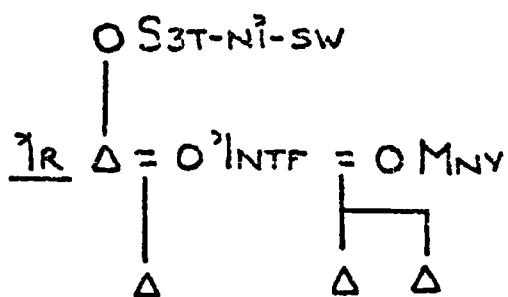


Cairo stela 20713

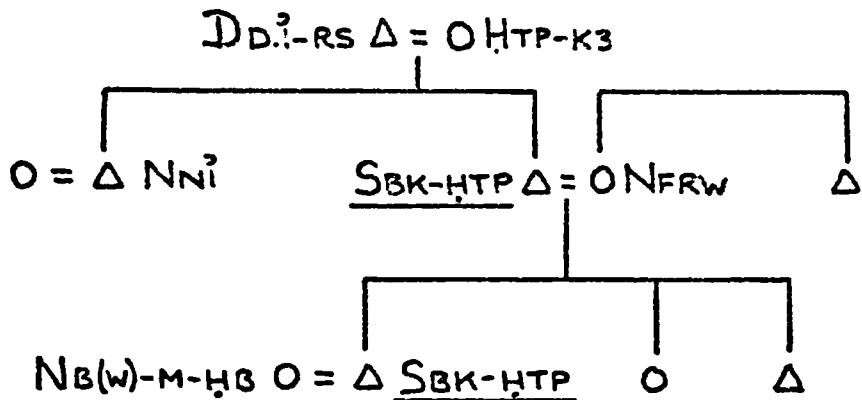




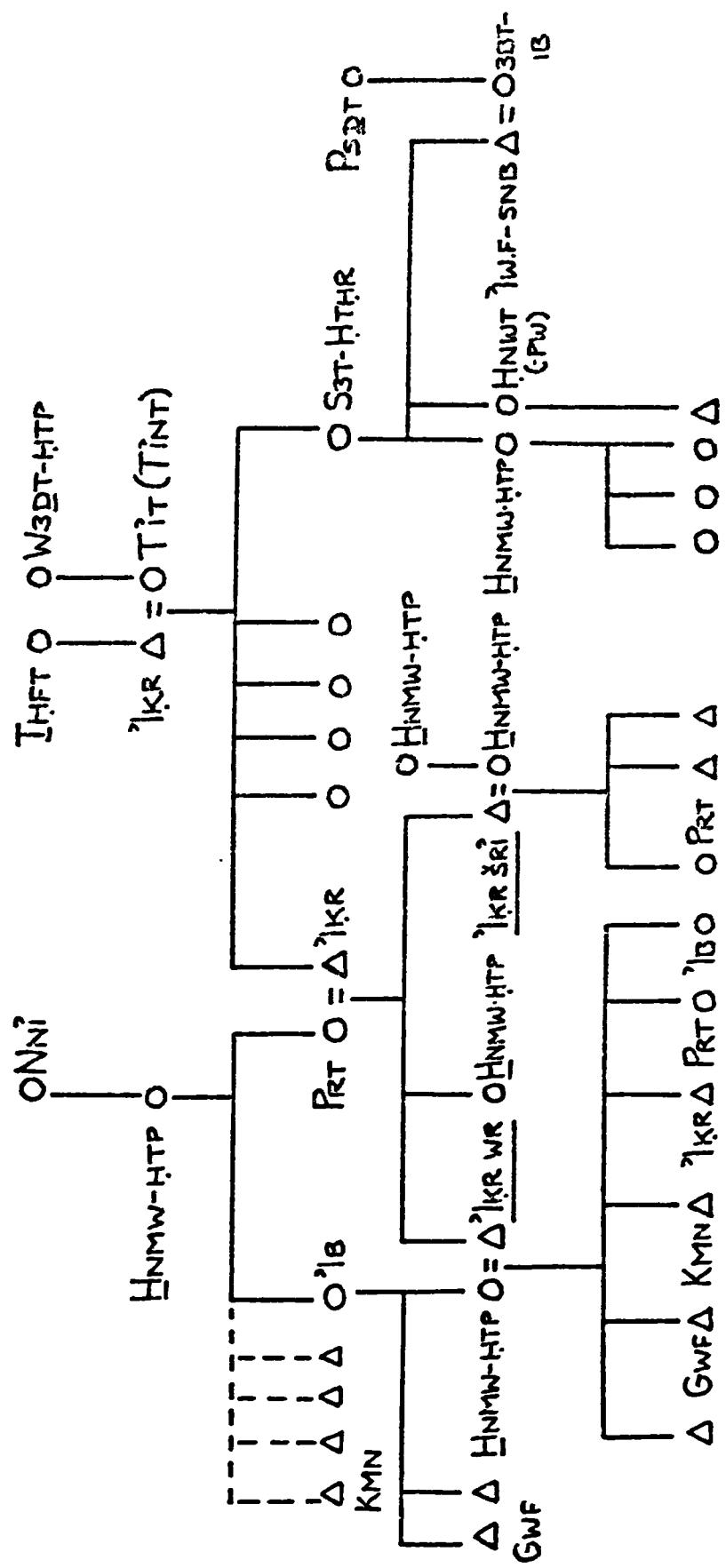
Cairo stela 20749

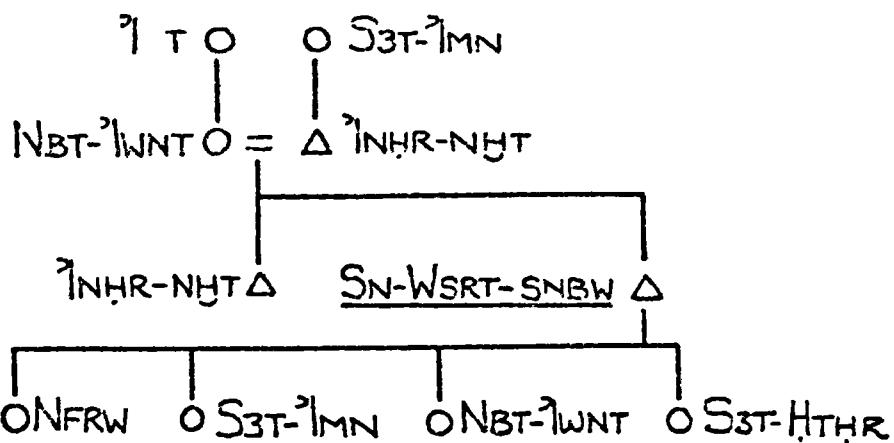


Cairo stela 20750

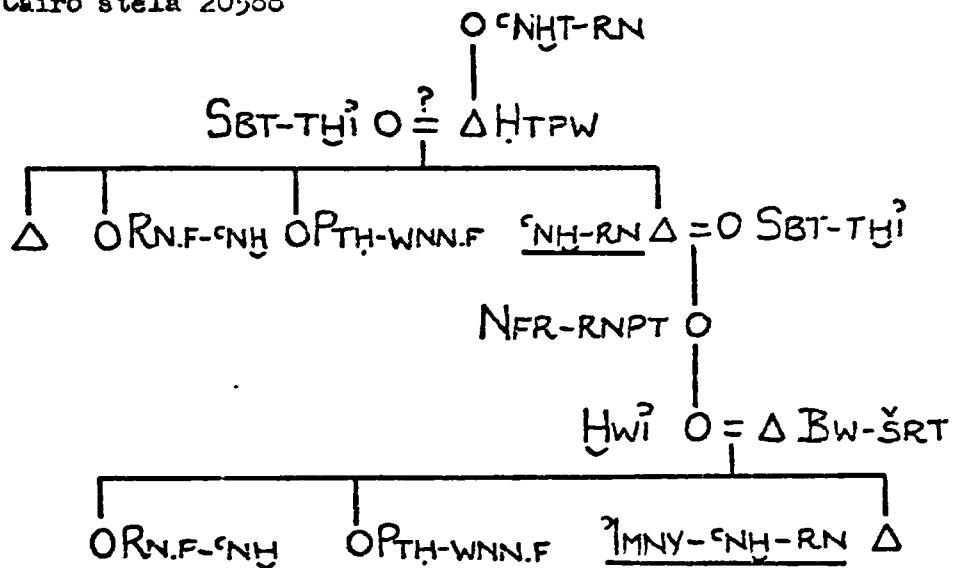


Cairo stelae 20373 and 20778

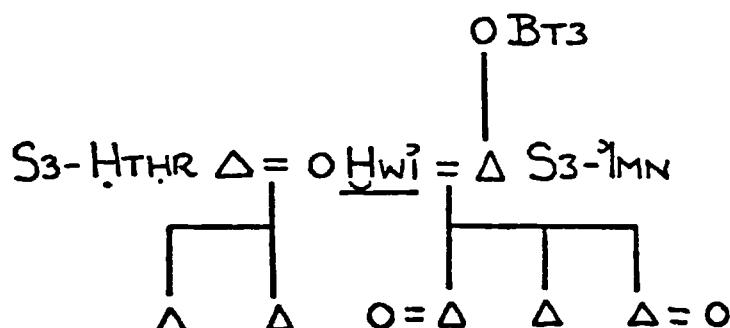




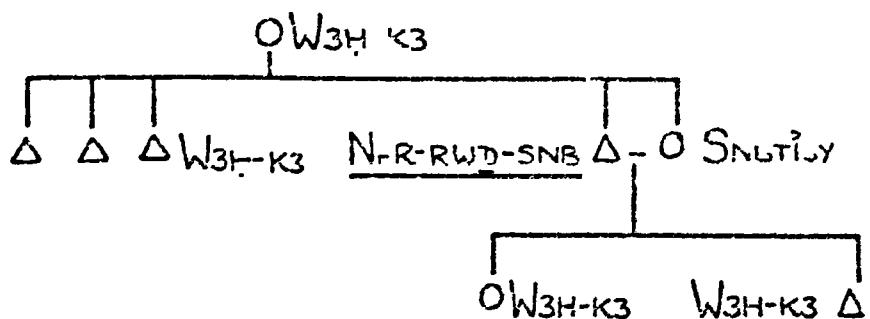
British Museum stelae, vol.II, pl.3 and vol.III, pl.25 and
Cairo stela 20588



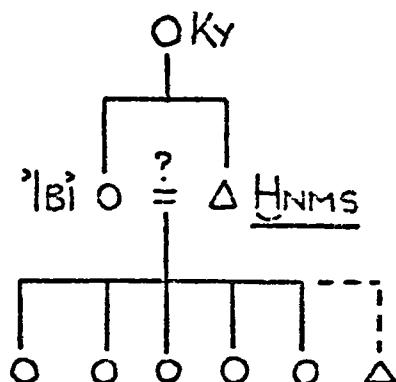
British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.12 and Cairo stelae 20033 and
20458



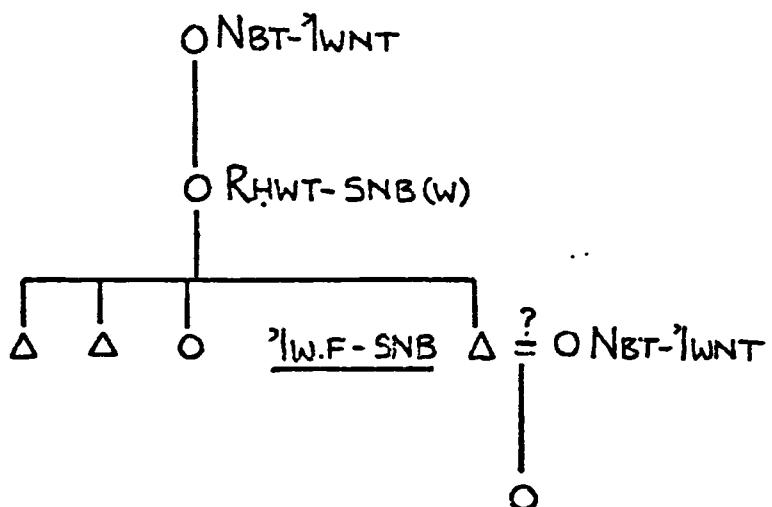
British Museum stela, vol.II, pl.16



British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.7

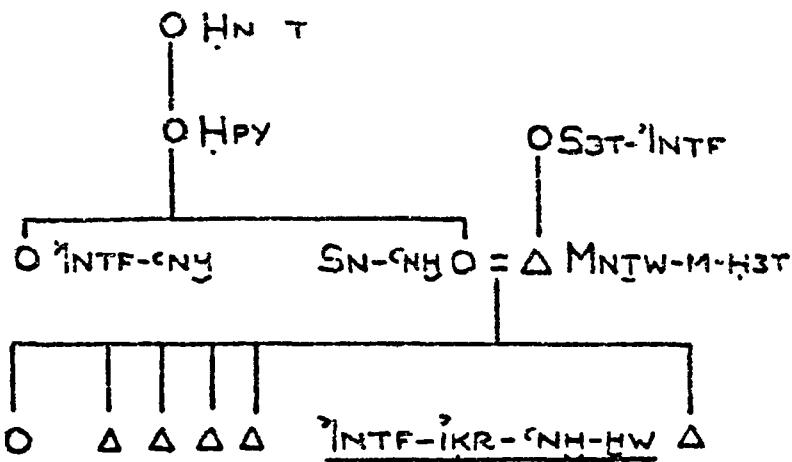


British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.15

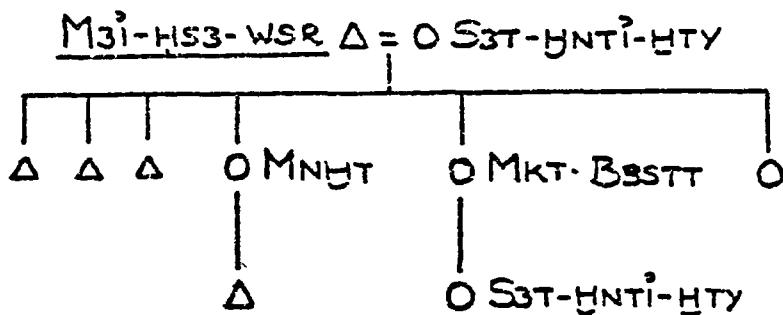


British Museum stela, vol.III, pl.24

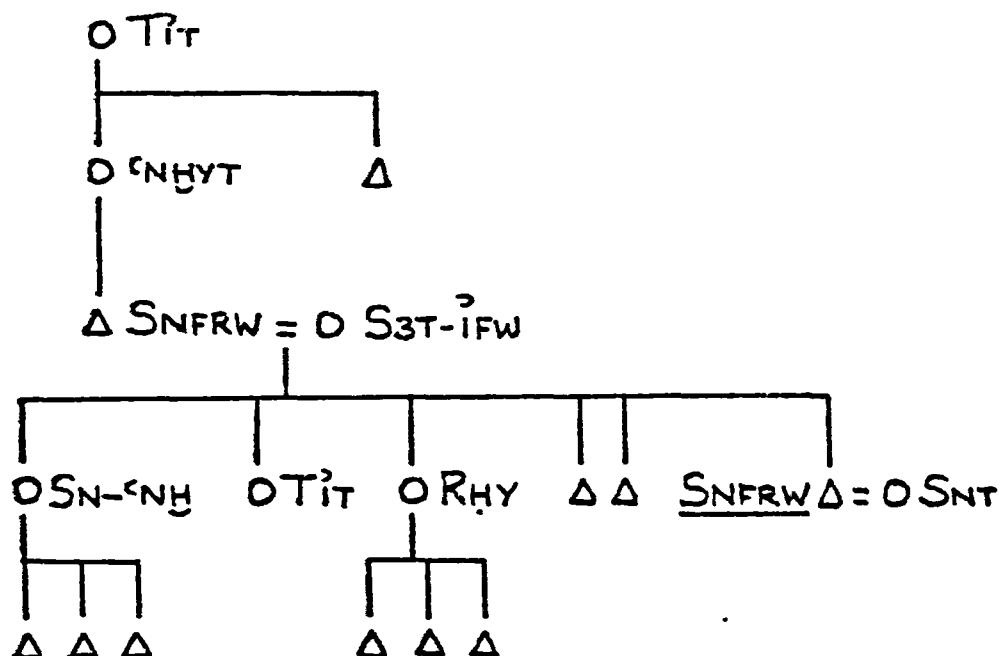
Pl.



British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 29

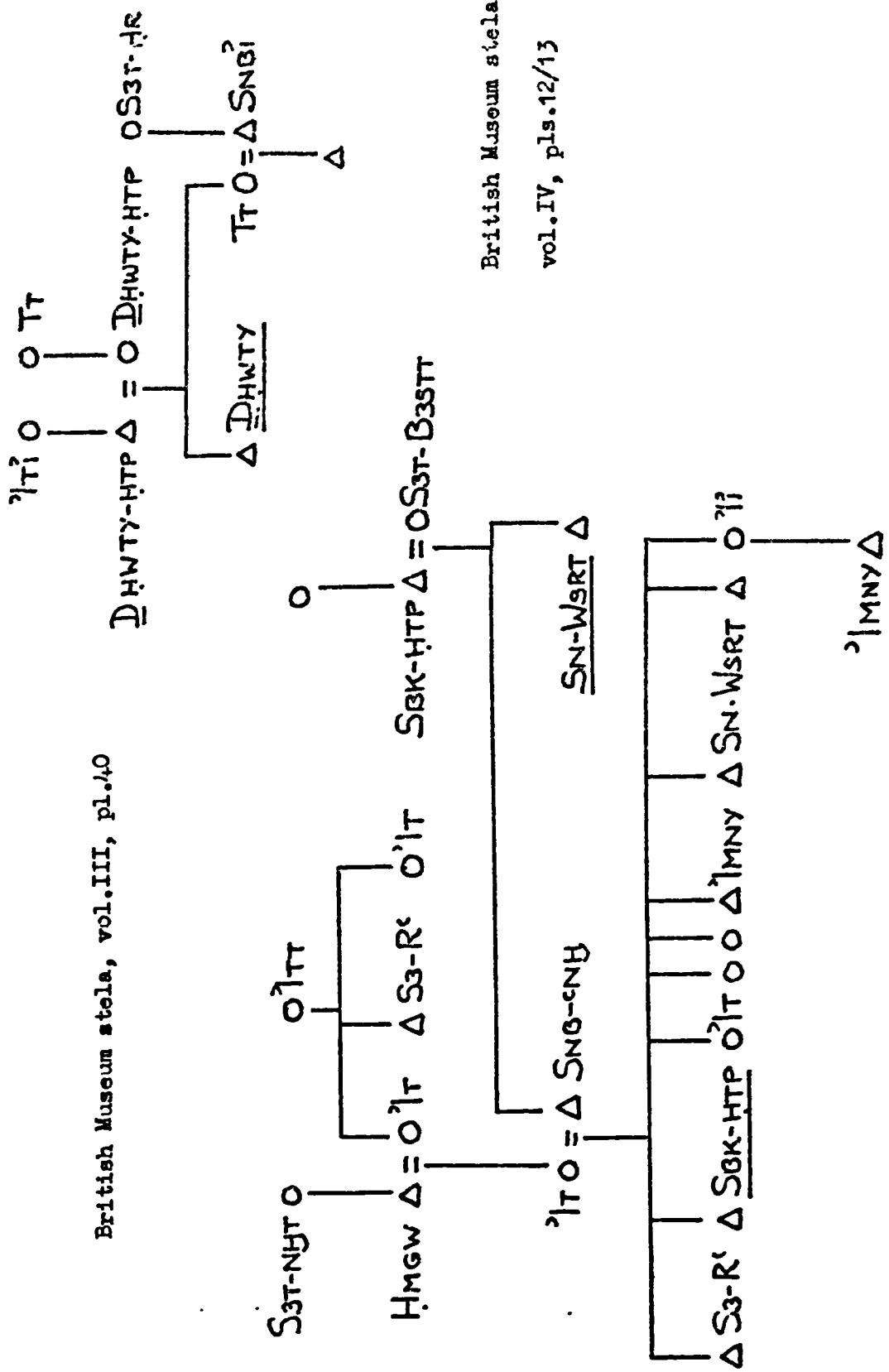


British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 37



British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 38

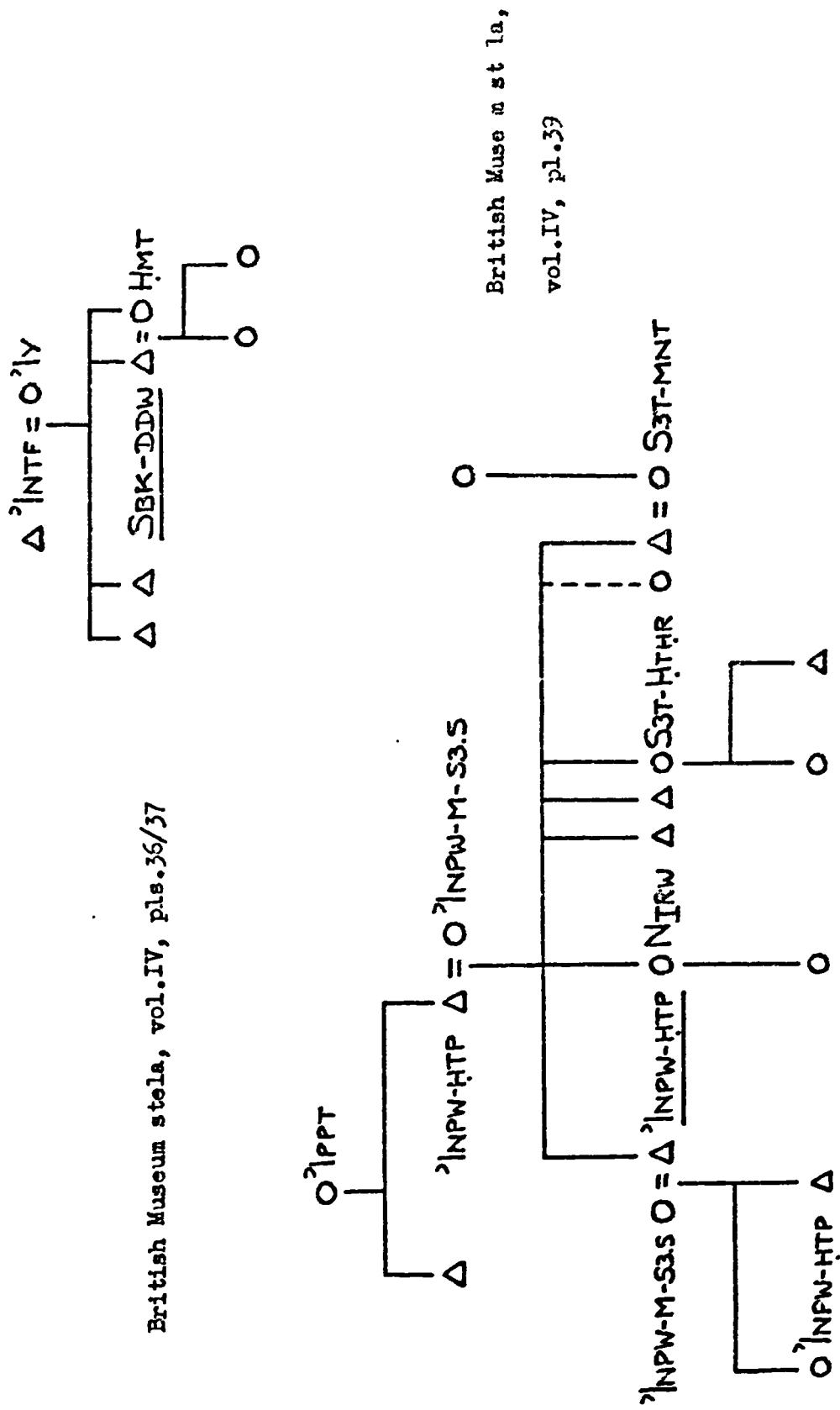
British Museum stela, vol. III, pl. 40



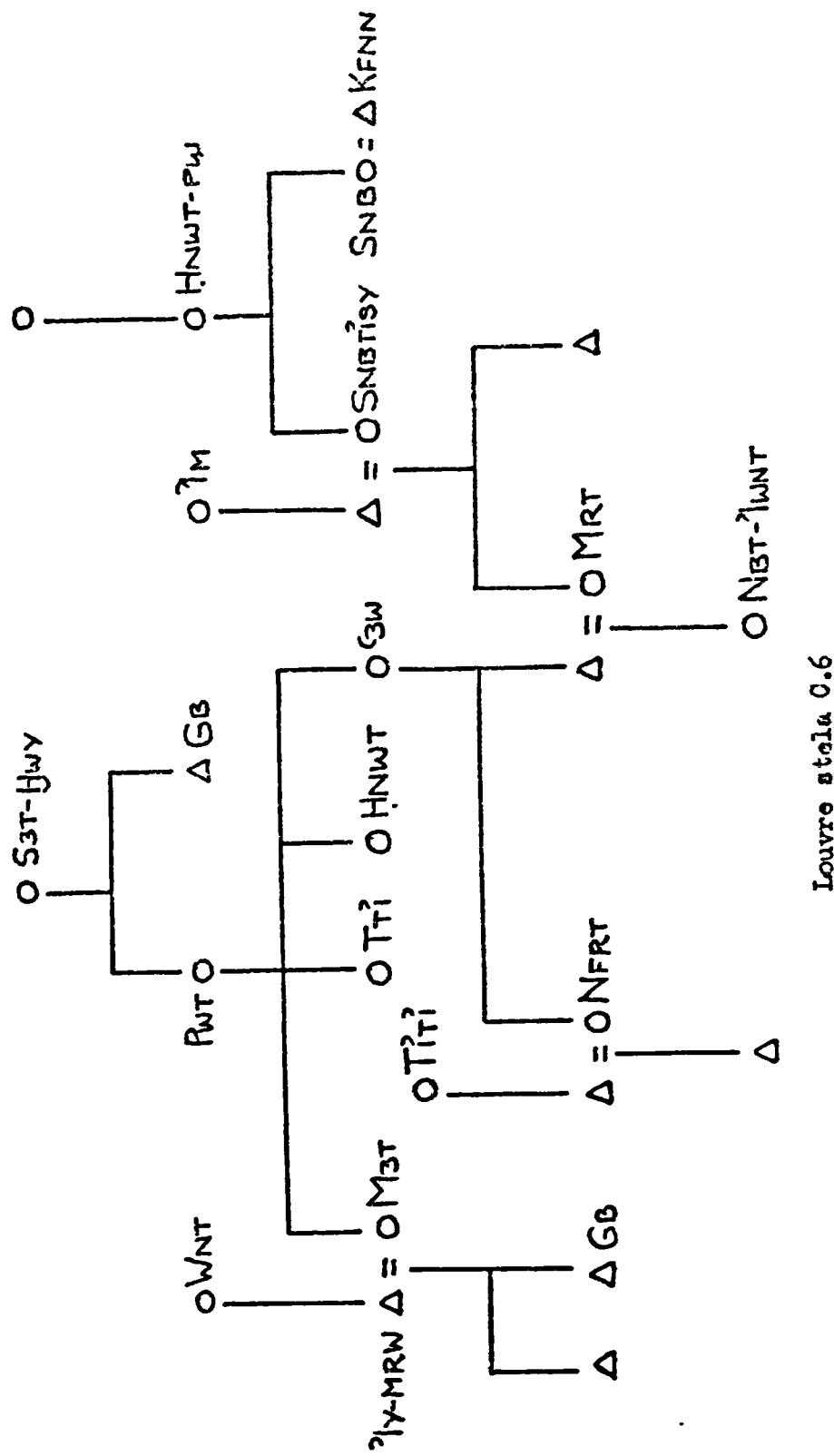
British Museum stela,

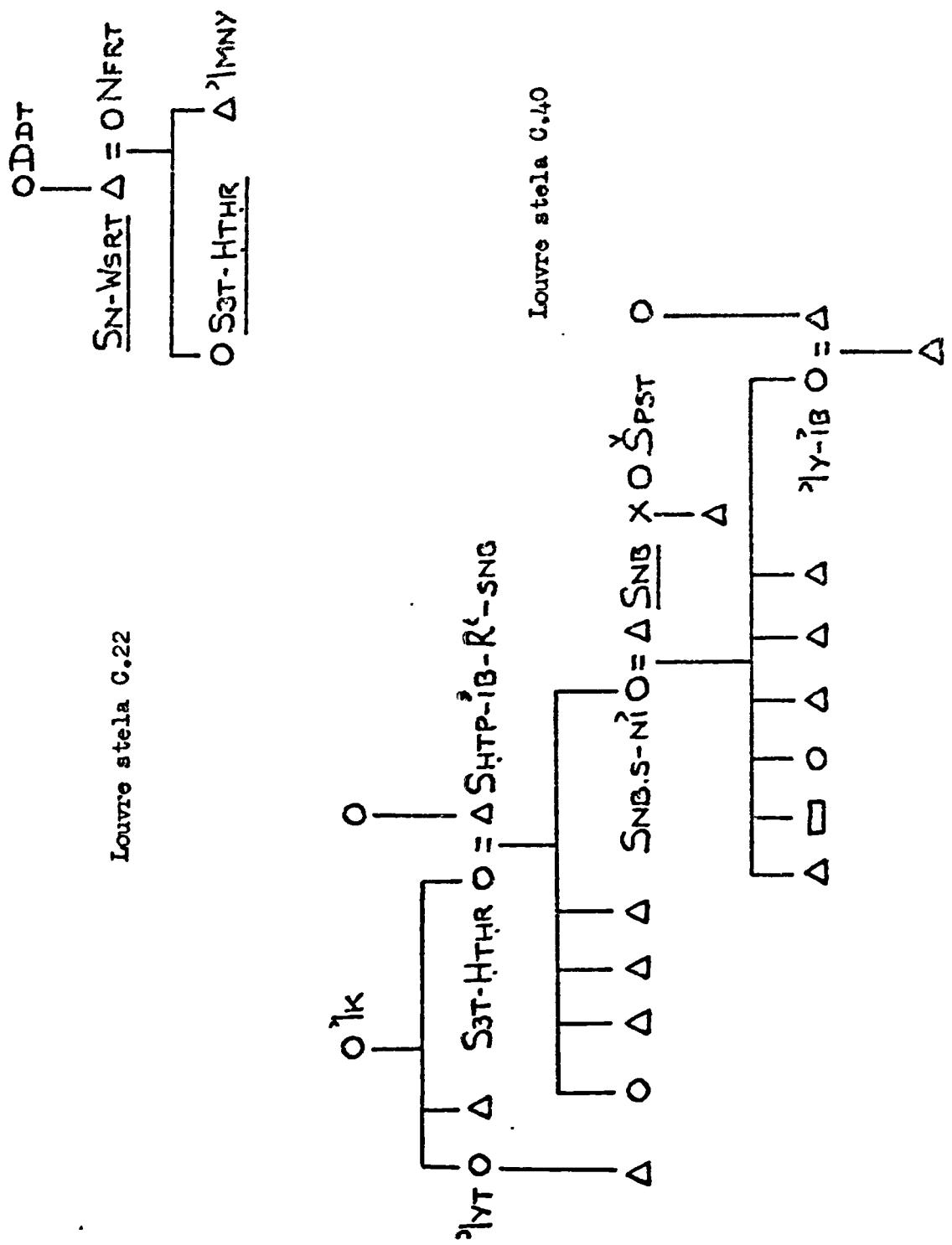
vol. IV, pls. 12/13

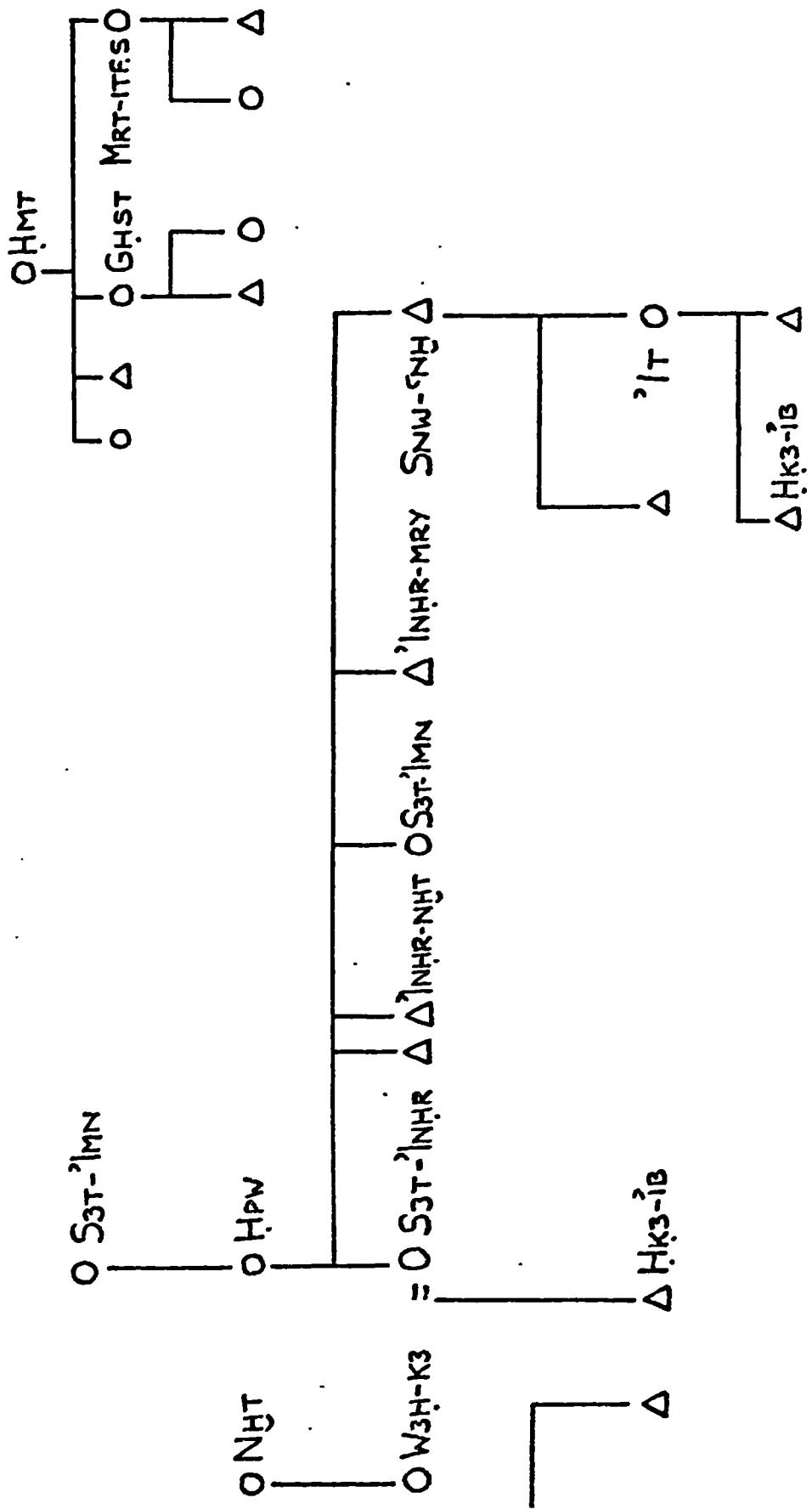
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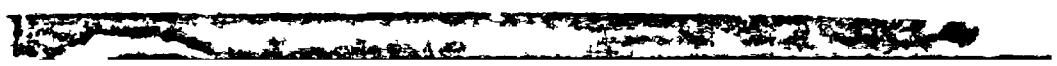


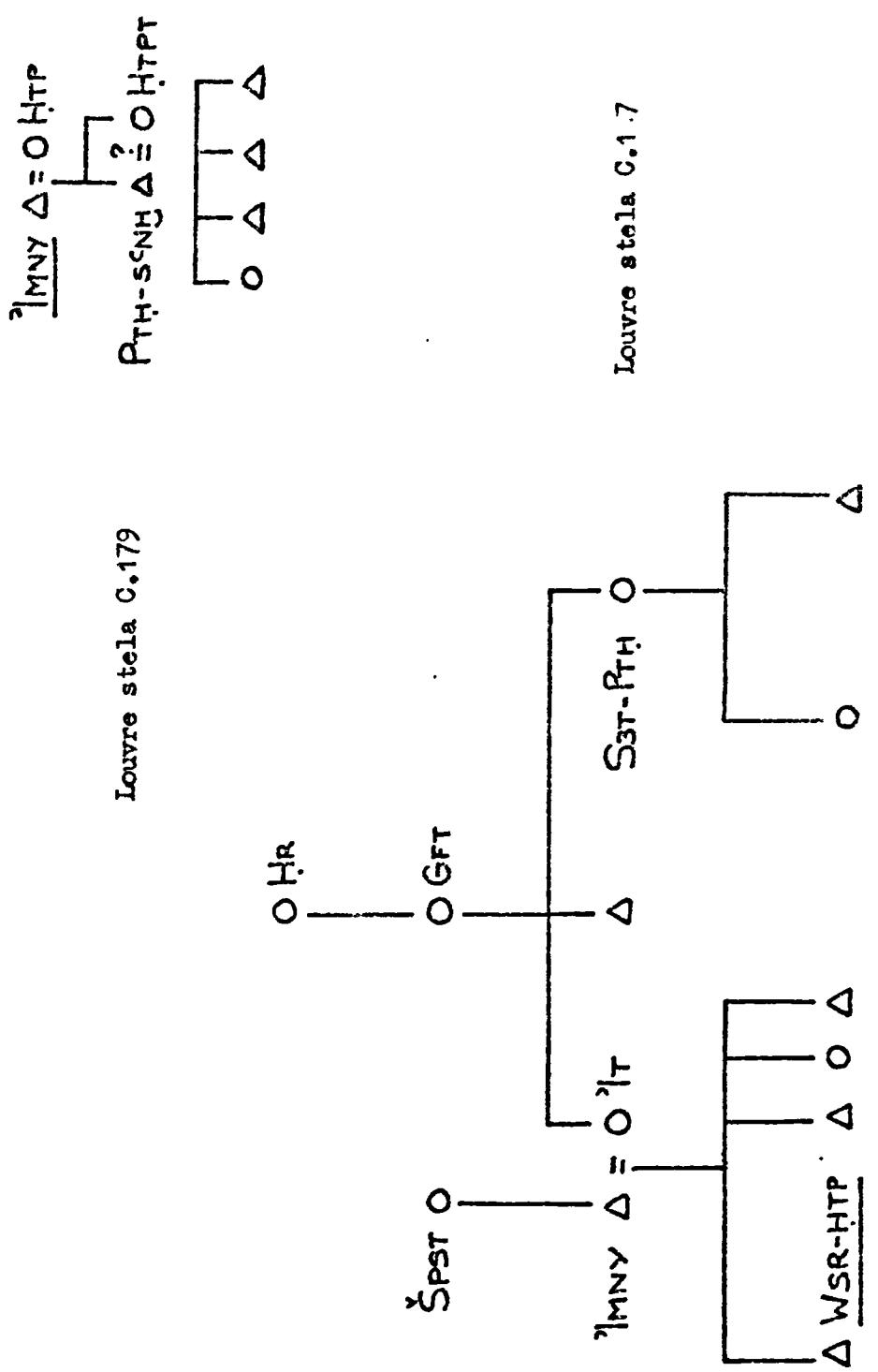
Pl. XL.

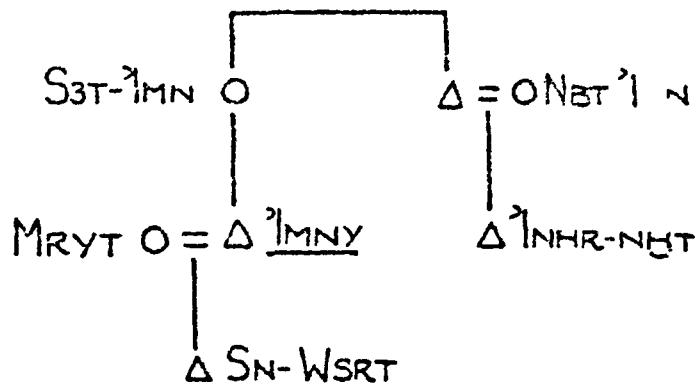




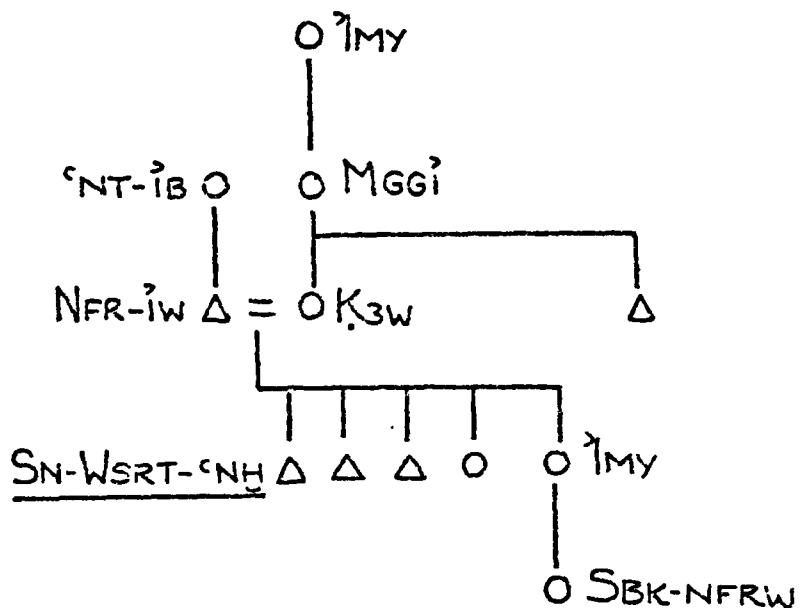




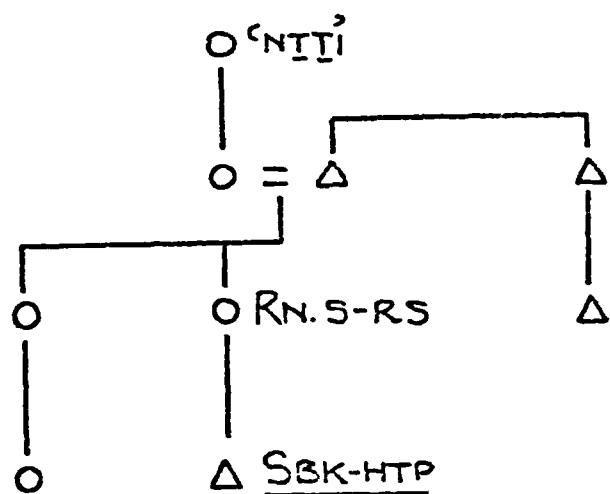




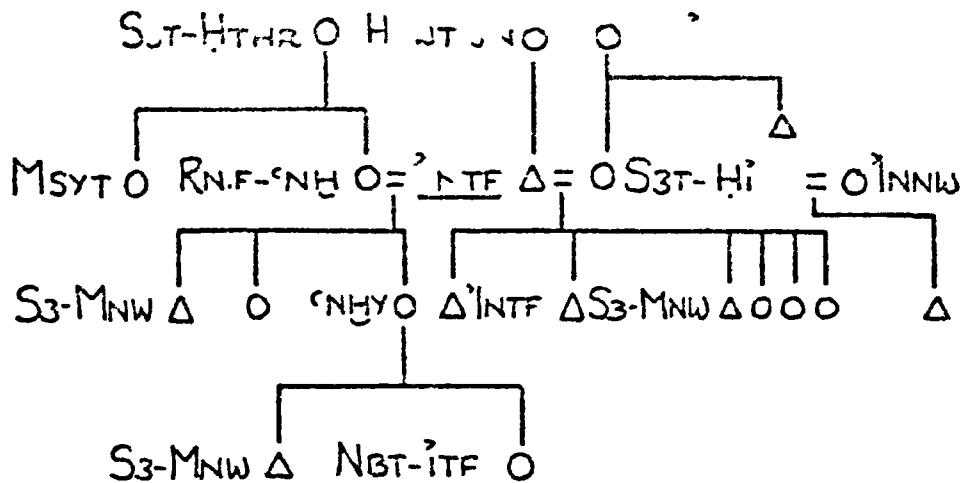
Guimet stela C.5



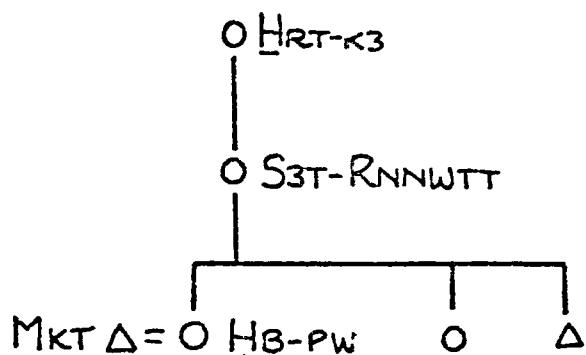
Guimet stela C.6



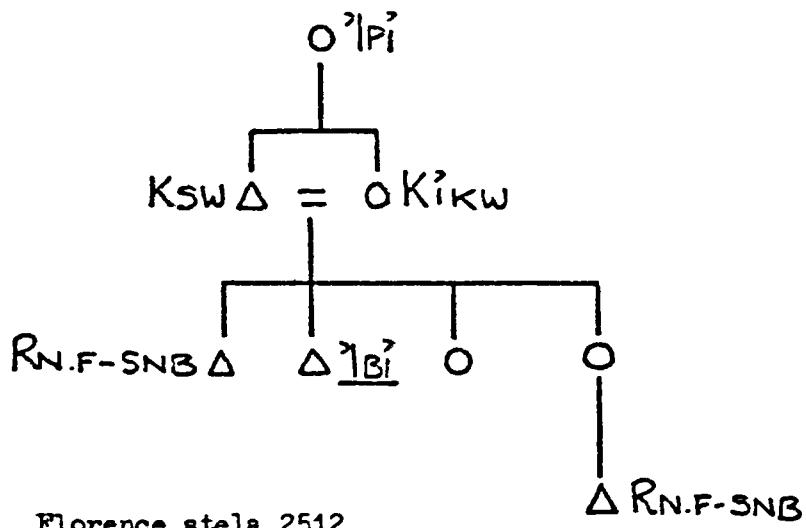
Guimet stela C.3



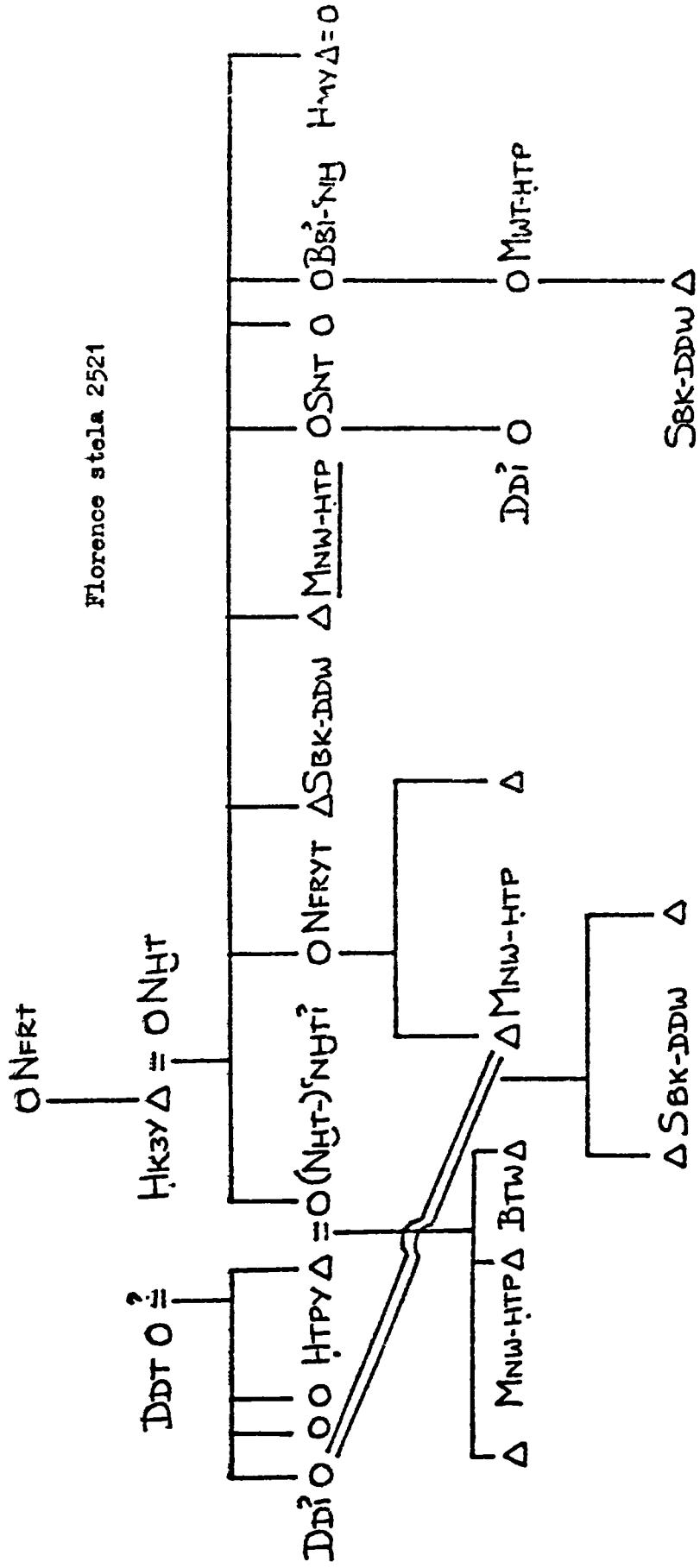
Florence stela 2504 and Cairo stela 20-64



Florence stela 2564

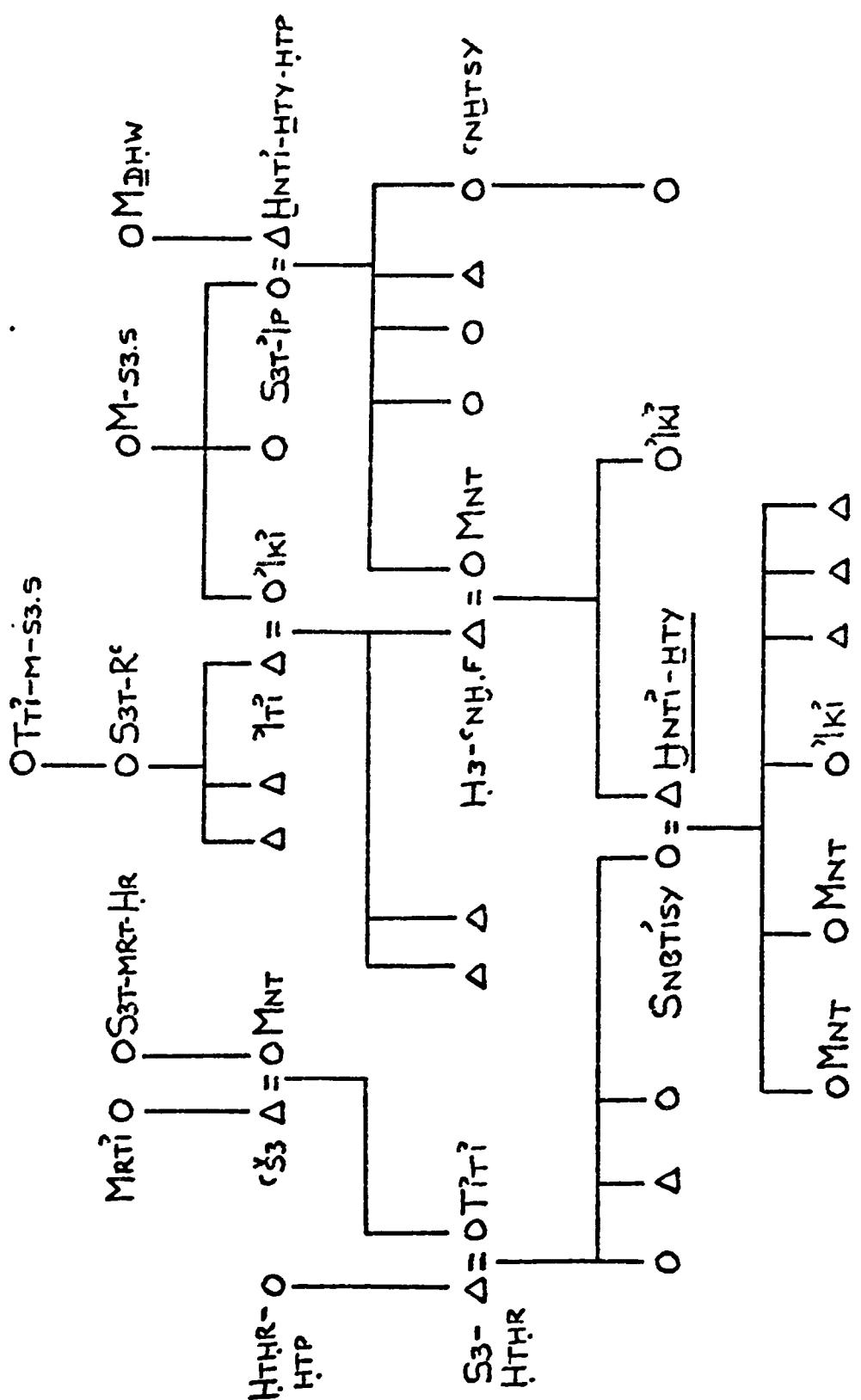


Florence stela 2512

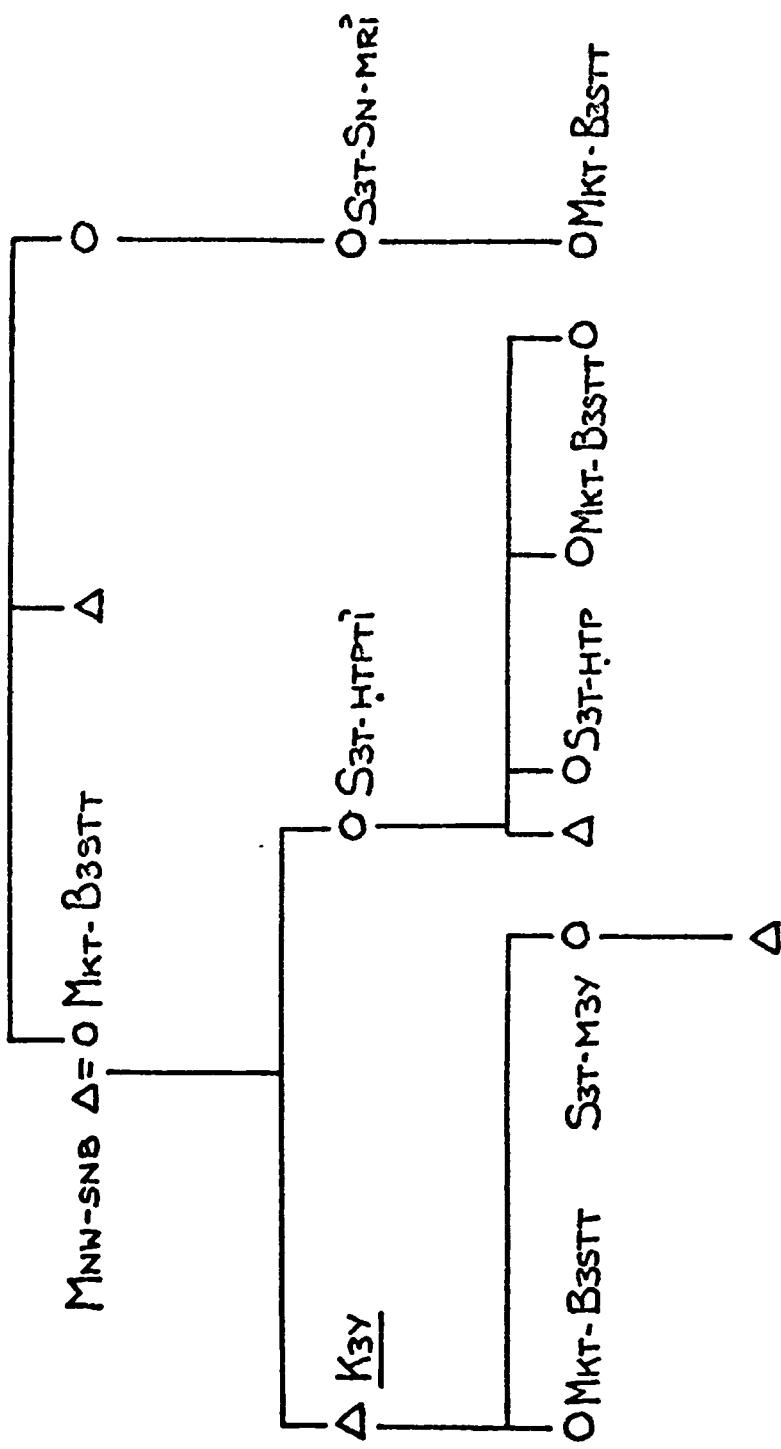


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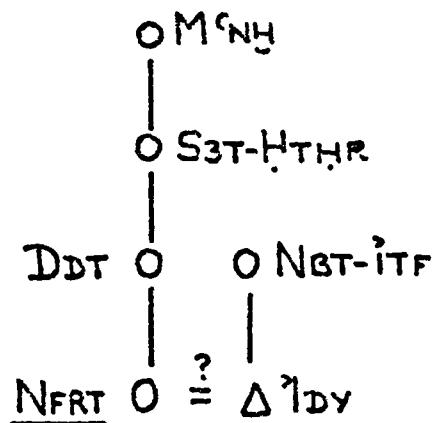
P1 L



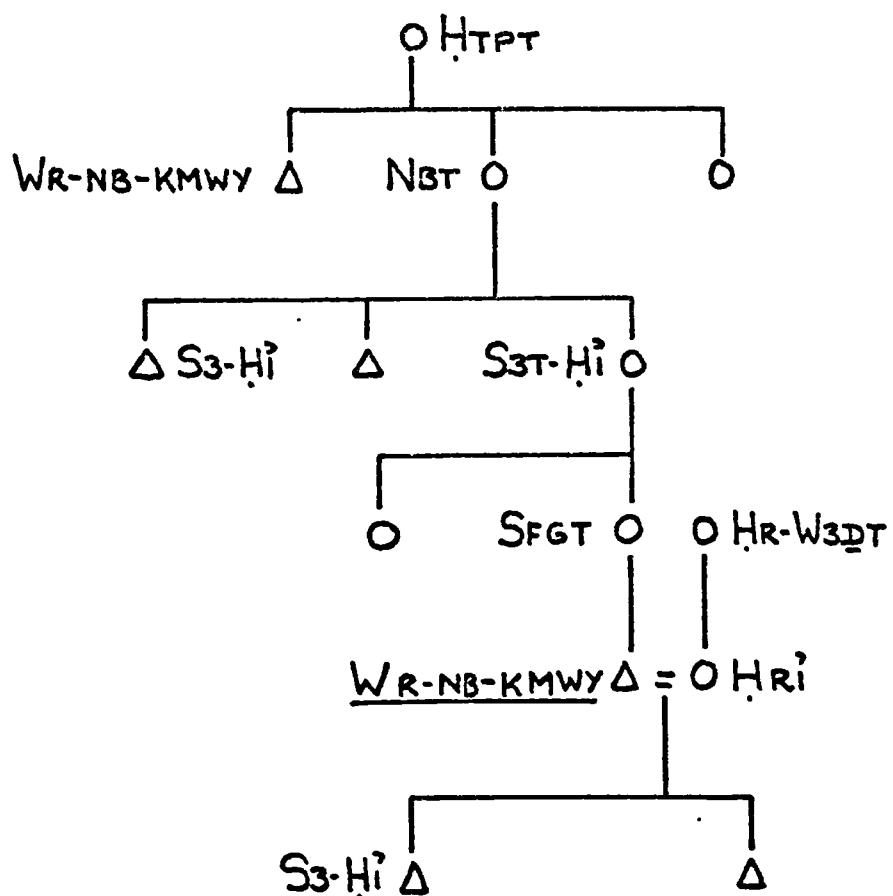
Florence stela 2564



Berlin stela 1183

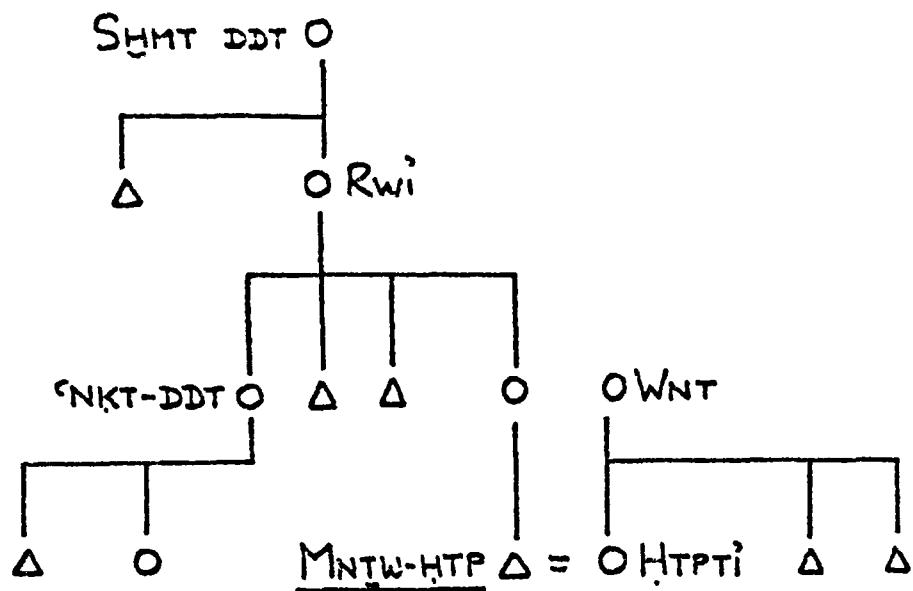


Berlin stela 7230

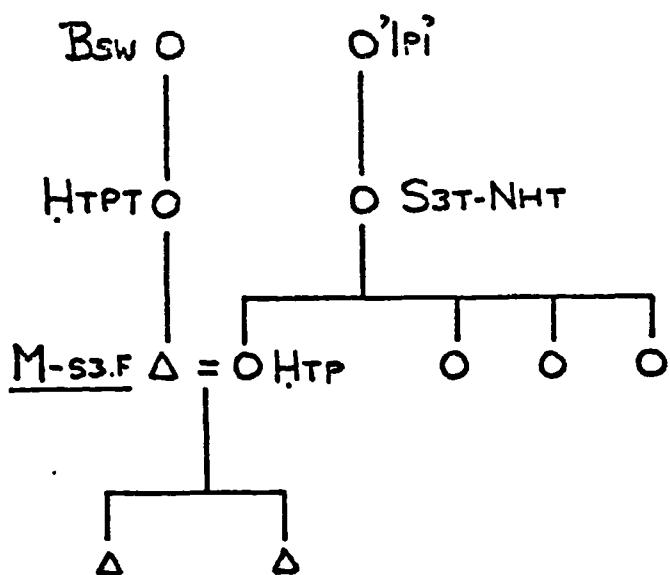


Berlin stela 7286

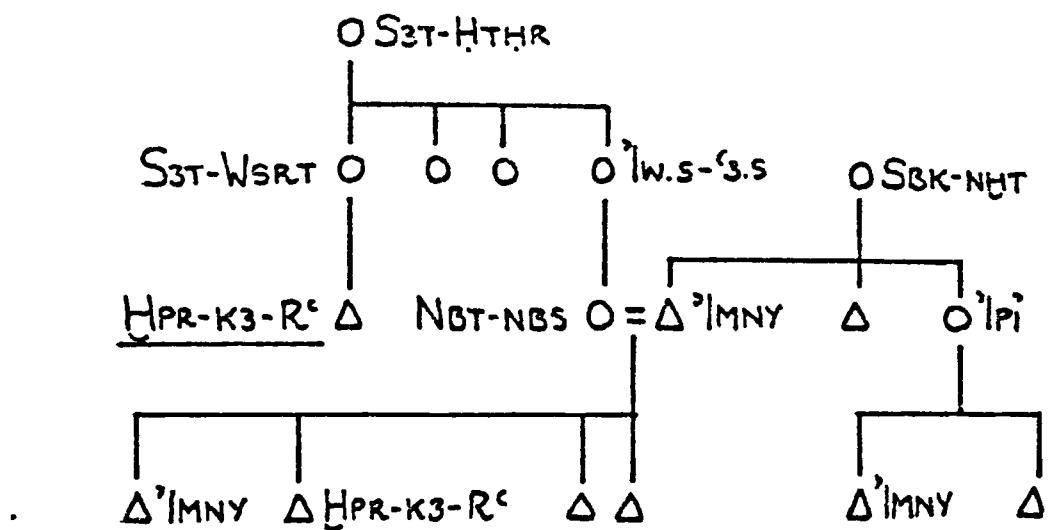
1.LDx



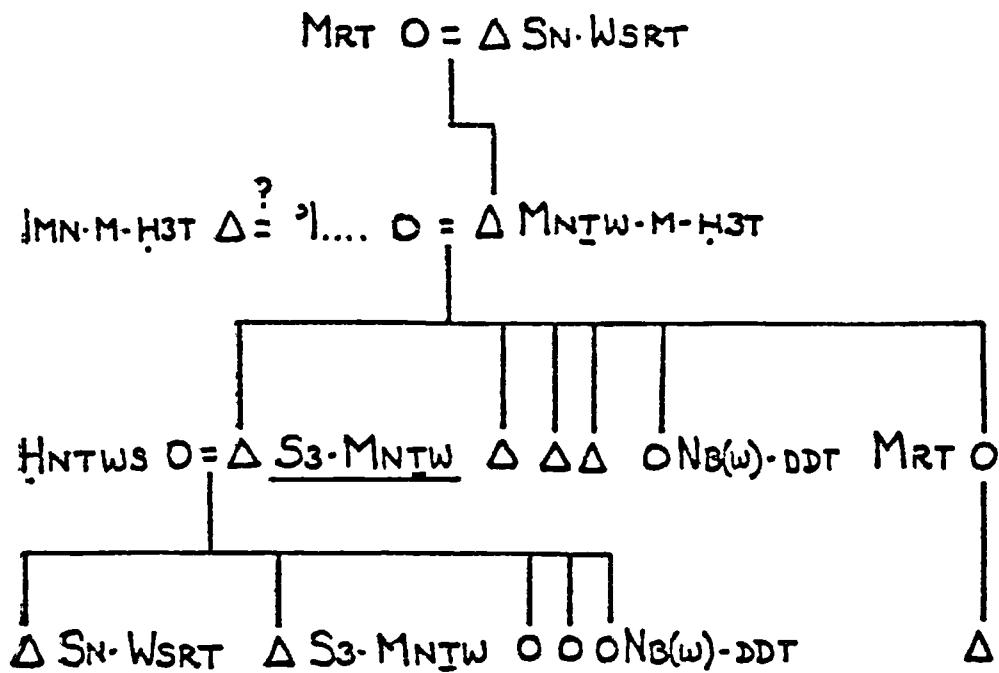
Berlin stela 7282



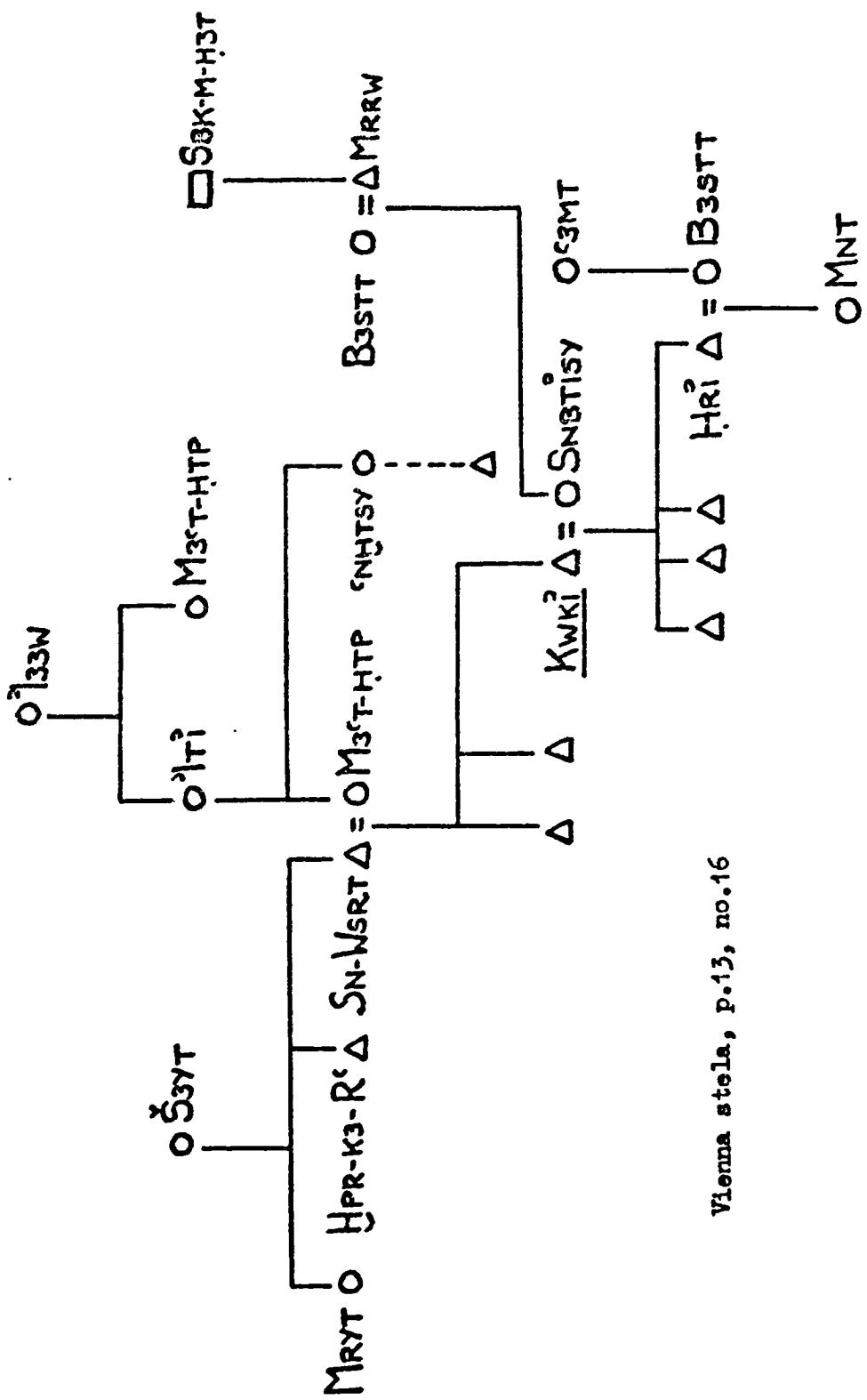
Hanover stela 2928



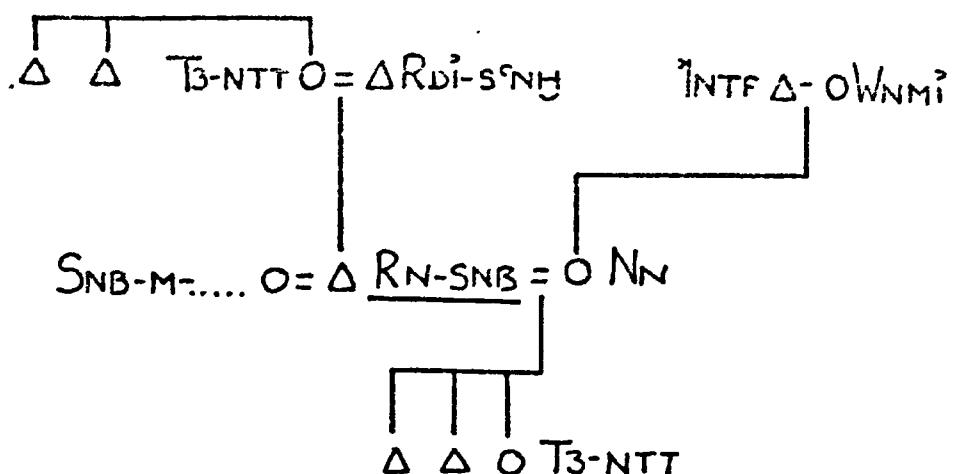
Hanover stela 2930



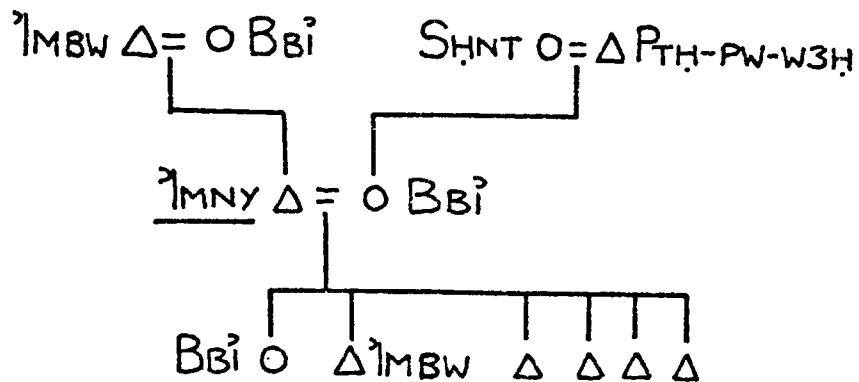
Hanover offering table 1926.191



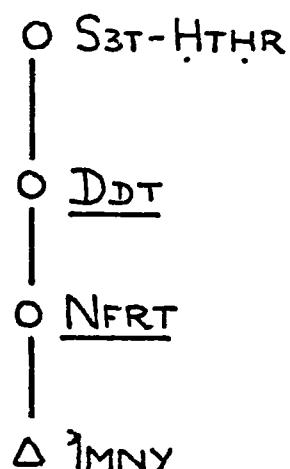
Vienna stela, p.13, no.16



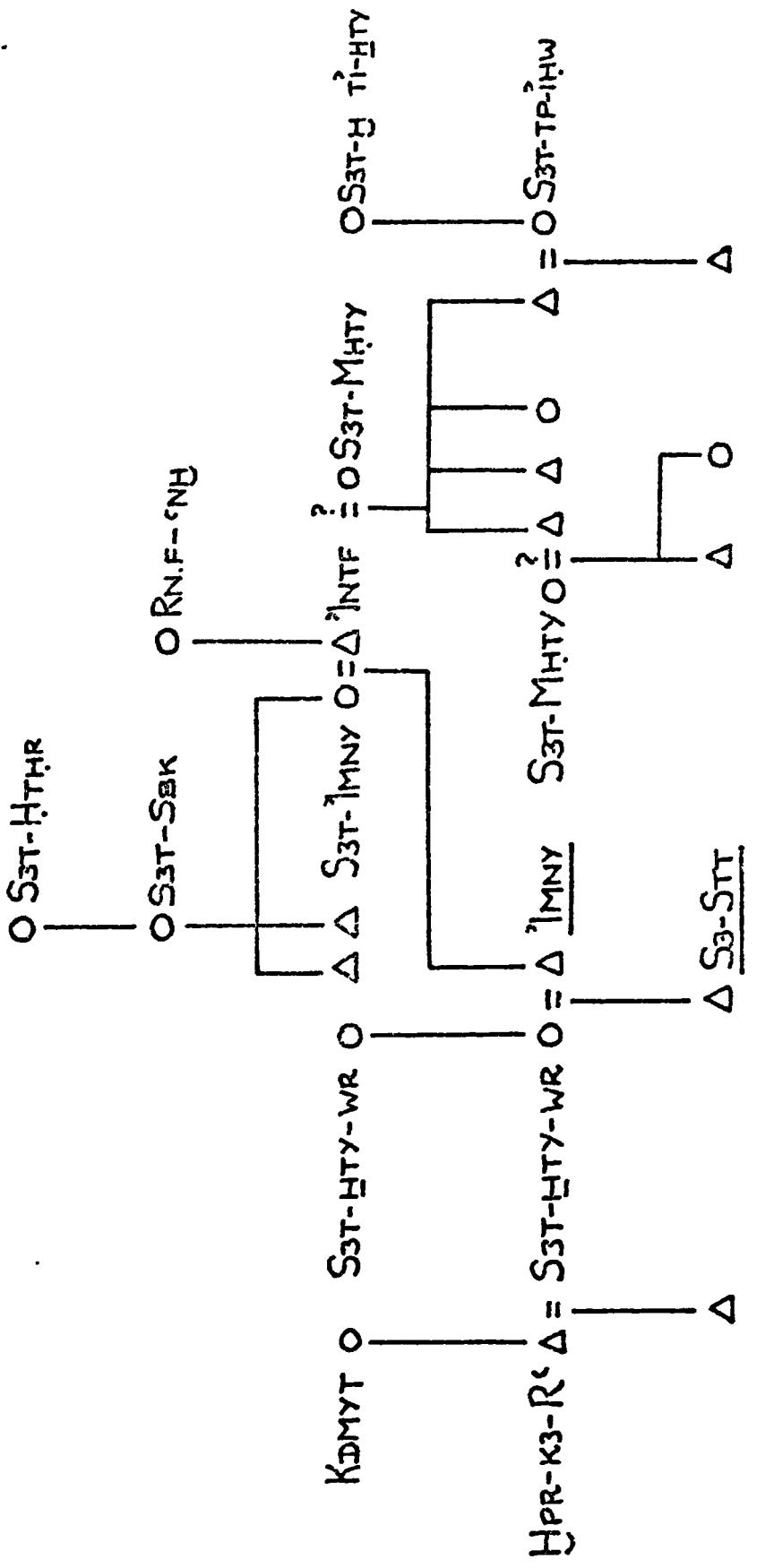
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.I, pl.I, no.2



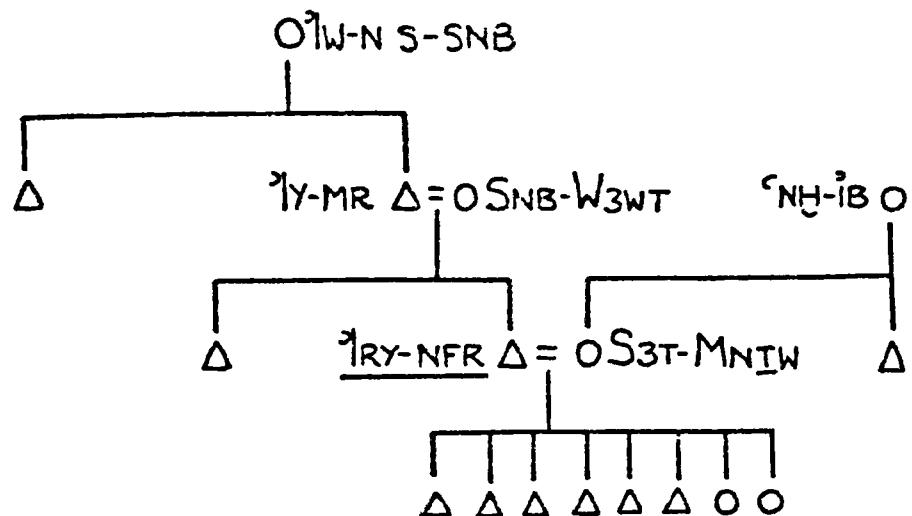
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.I, pl.II, no.3



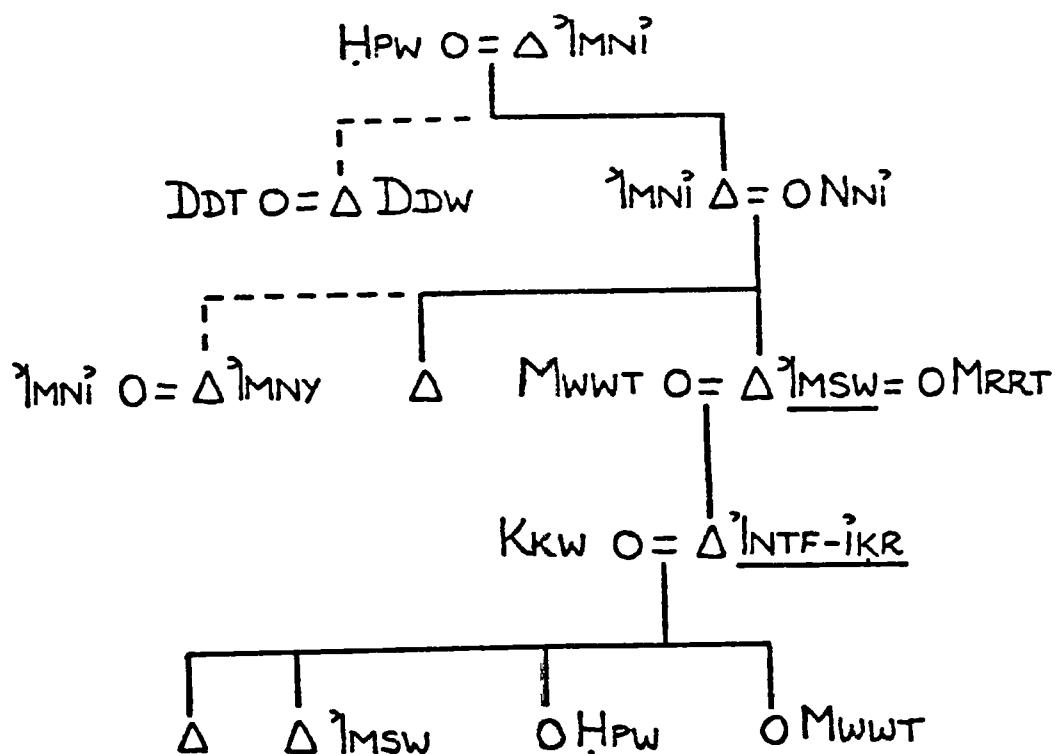
Suddeutschen Sammlungen, vol.II, pl.IV, no.5



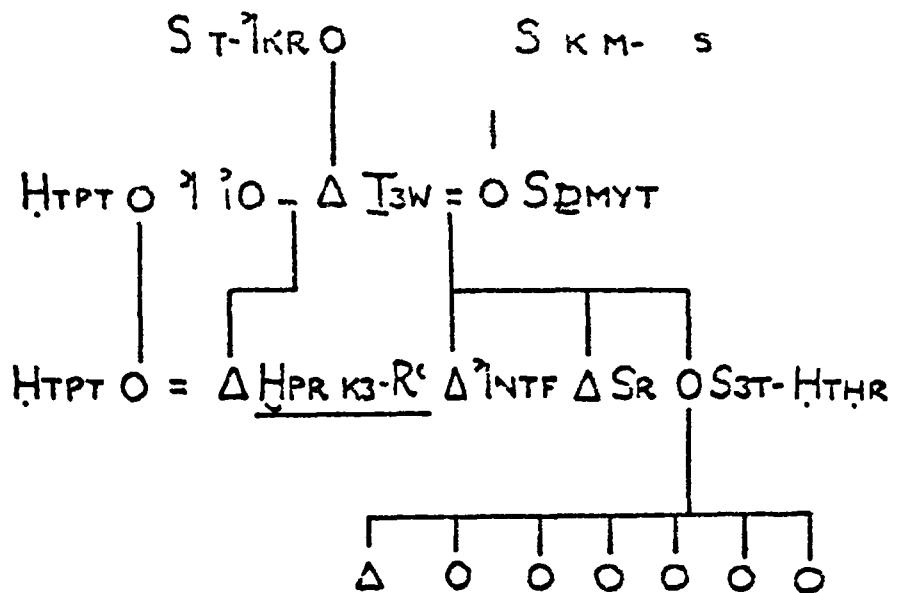
Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl. I, no. 1 und Louvre & table C.5



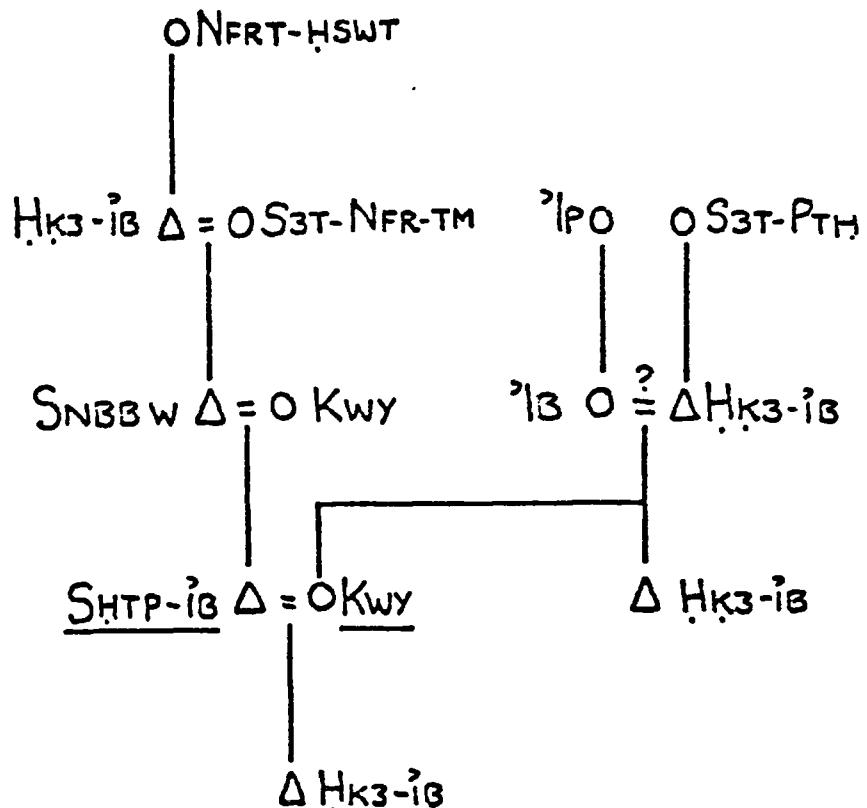
Verschiedenen Sammlungen, pl.III, no.3



Leiden, pl.II, no.3

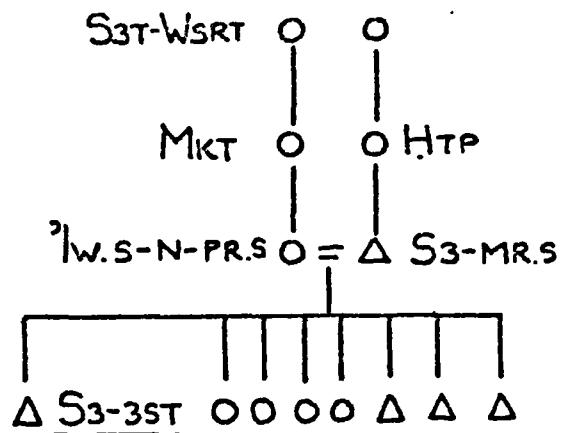


Leiden, pl.V, no.6, Cairo stela 20531 and Guimet stela B.3

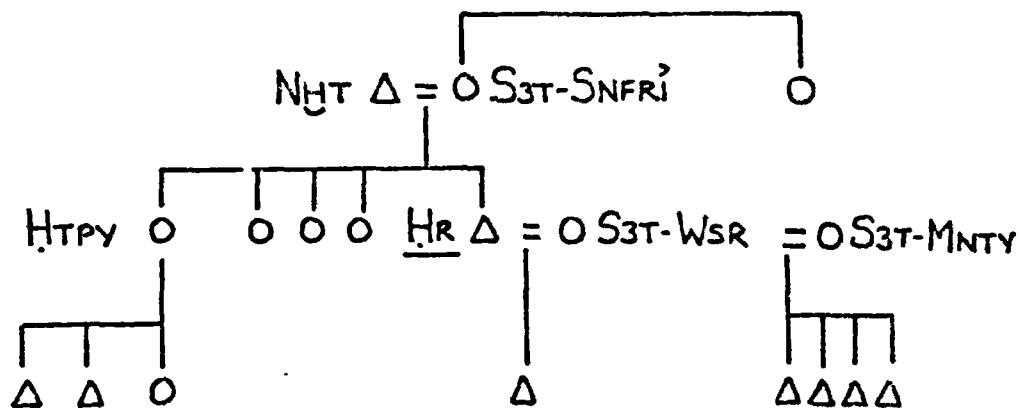


Leiden, pls.VIII and XIX, nos.9 and 10

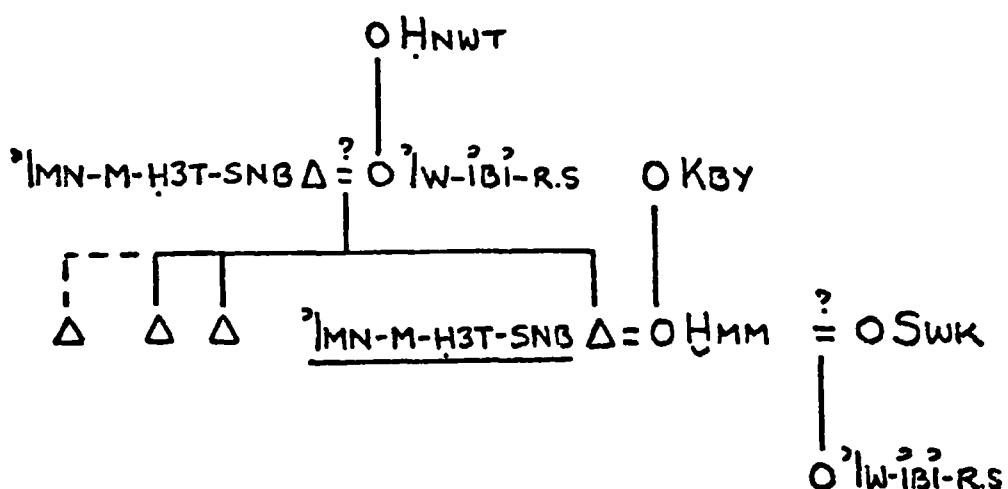
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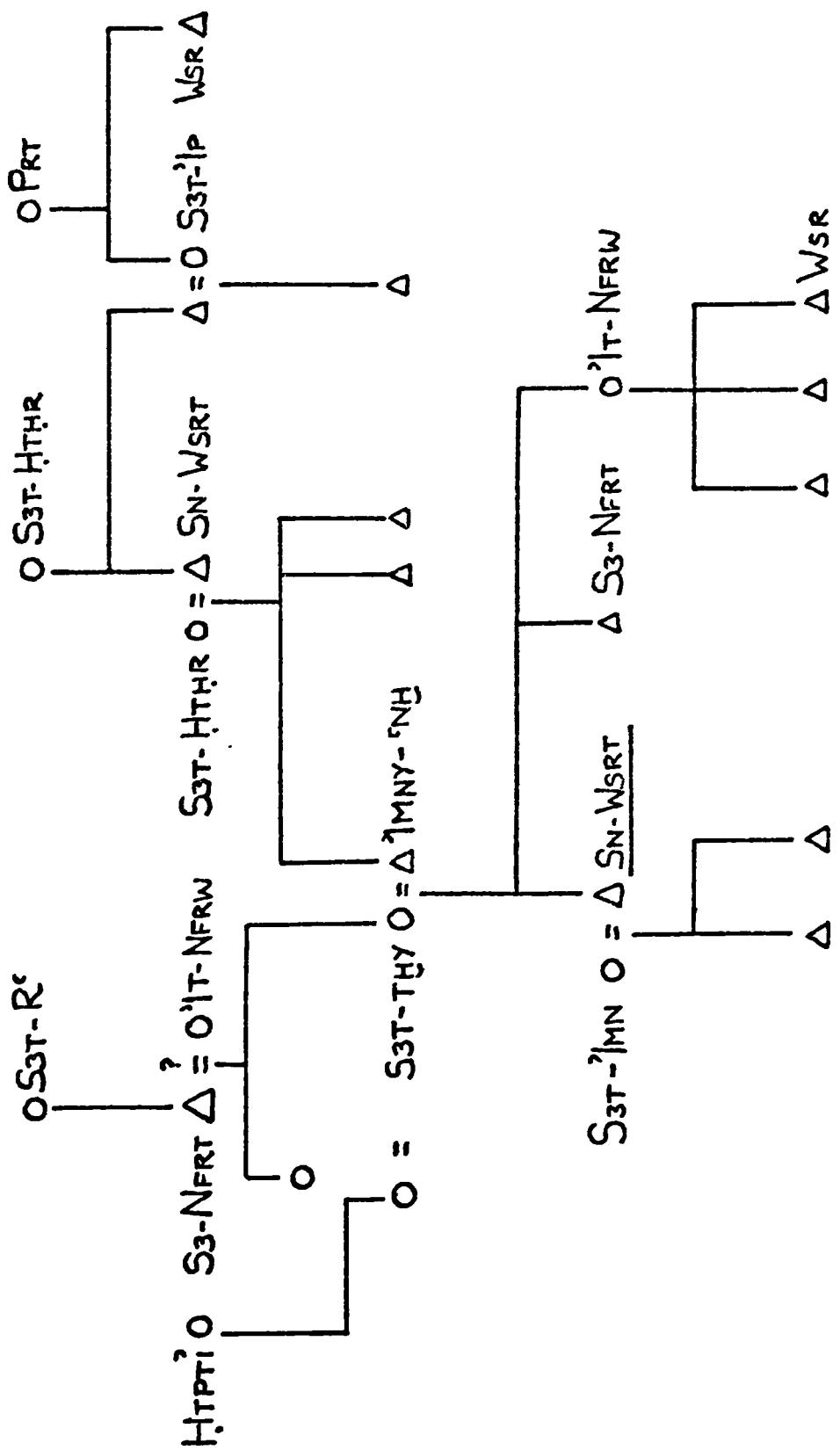
Leiden, pl.IX, no.10
and British Mus um sela,
vol.II, pl.15



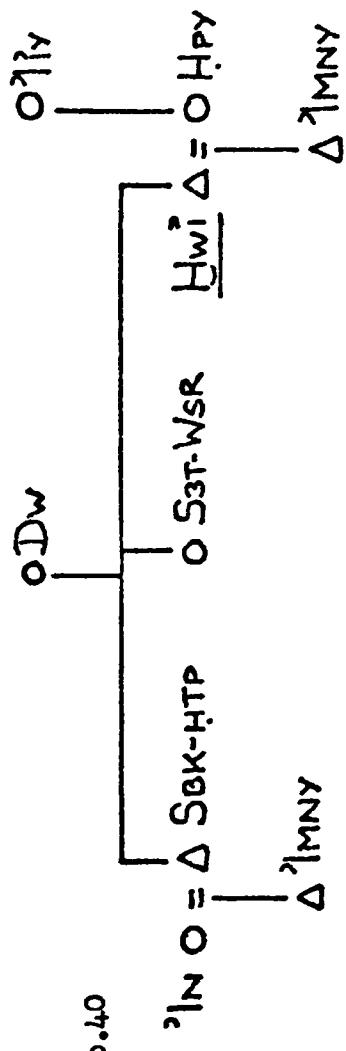
Leiden, pl.XI, no.12



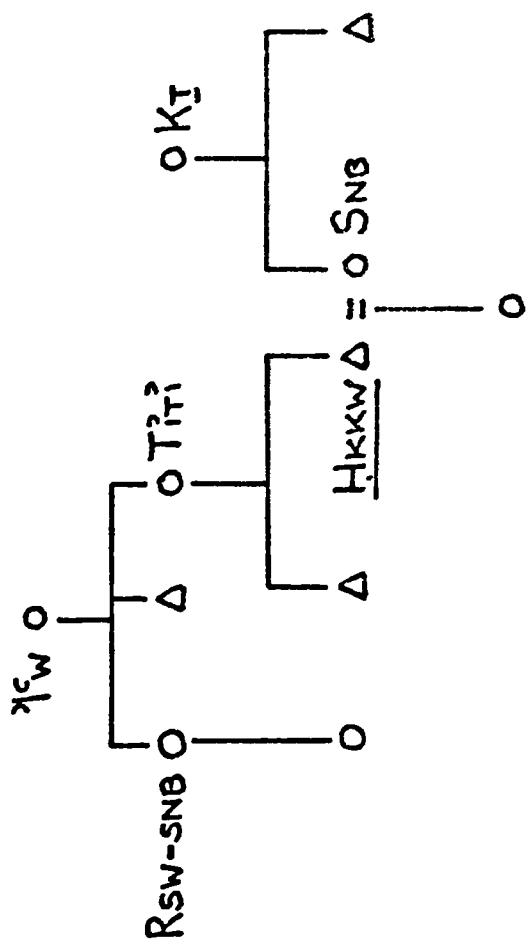
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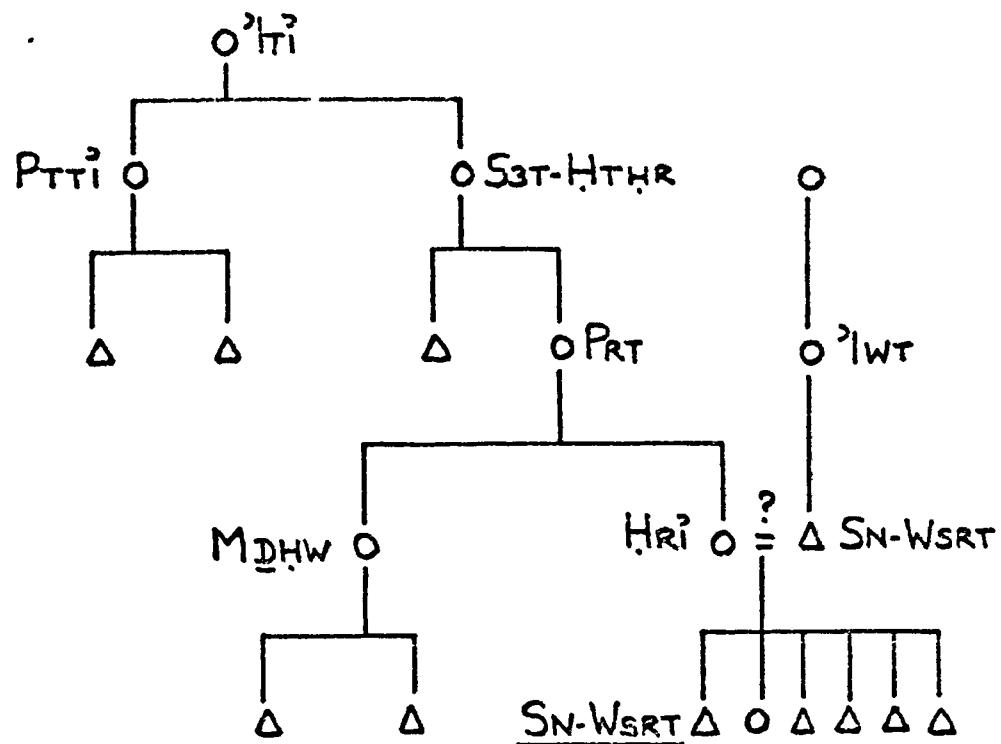


Leiden, pl.XXX, no.40

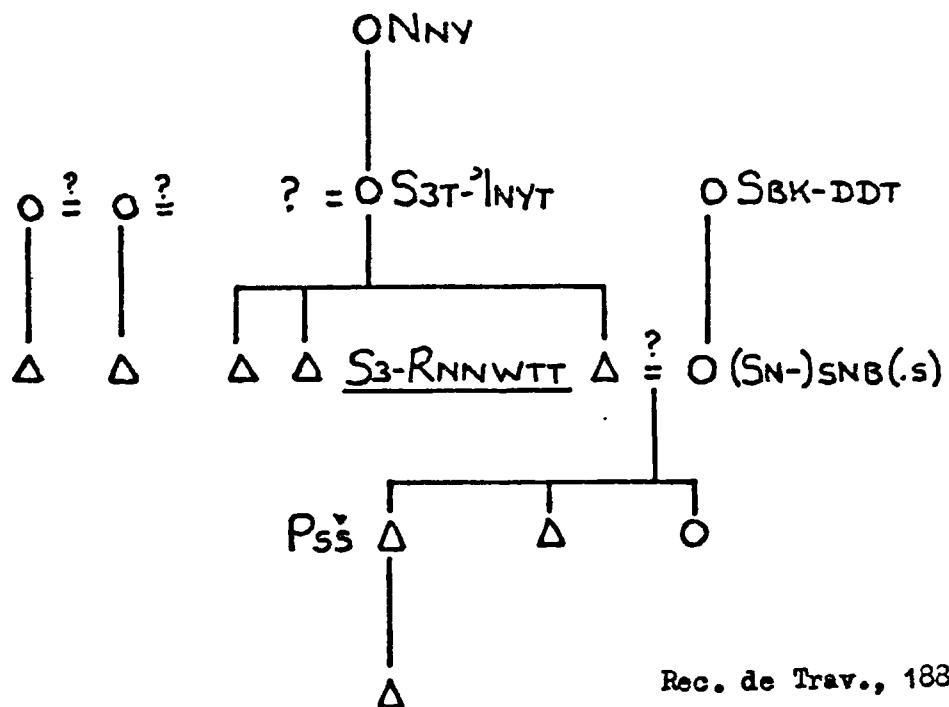


Leiden, pl.XXXV, no.46

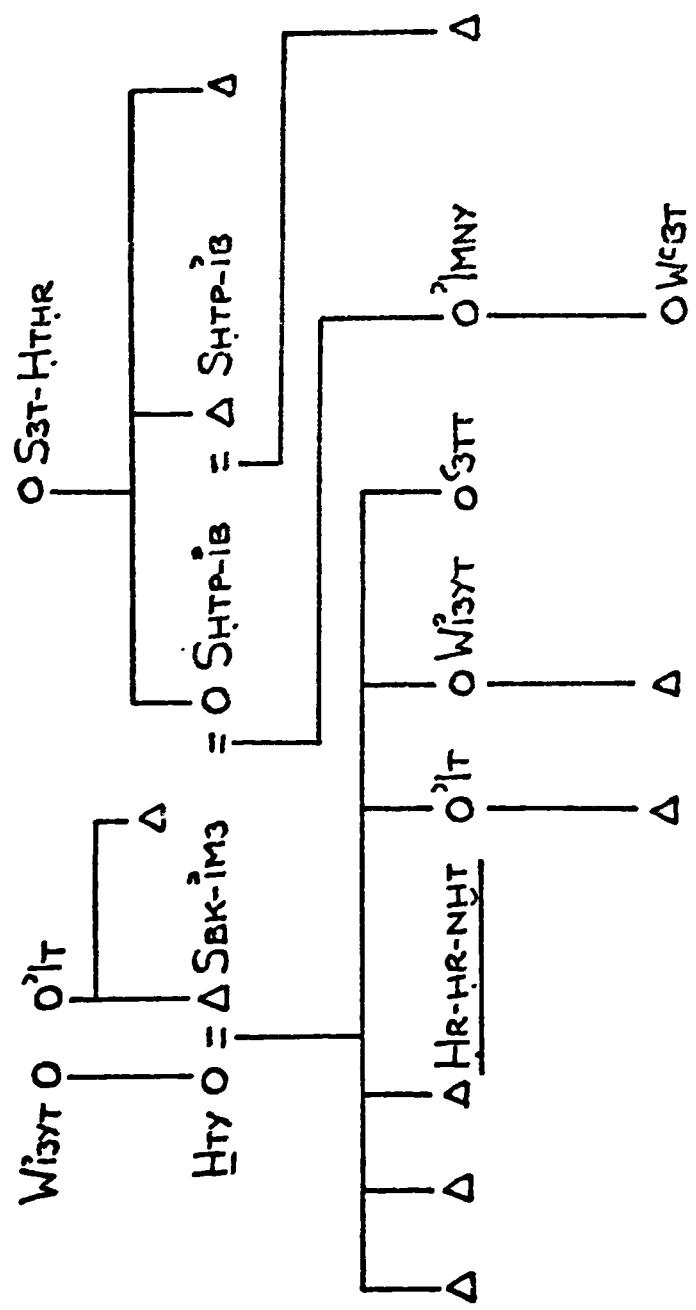




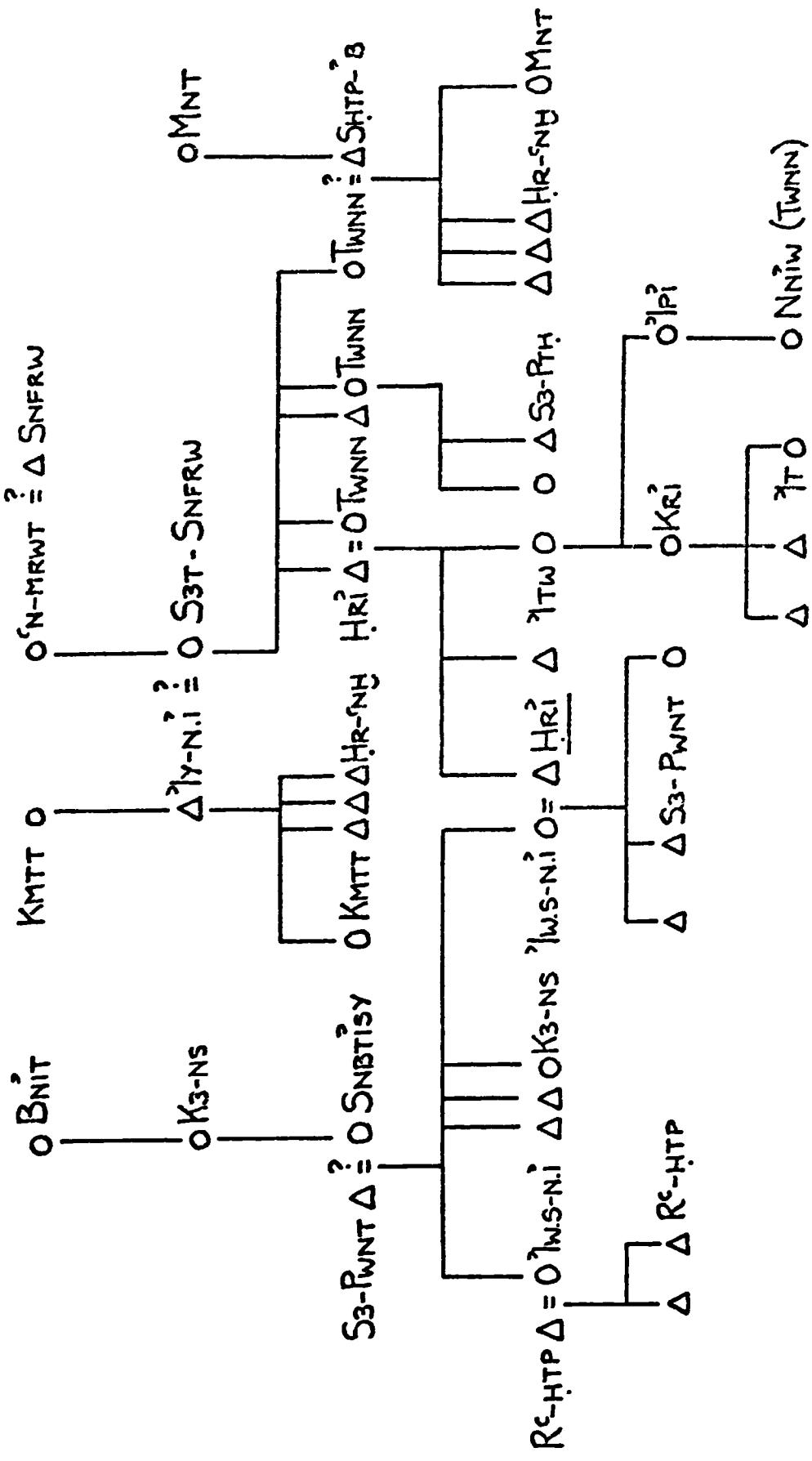
Leiden, pl. XXXVII, no. 48

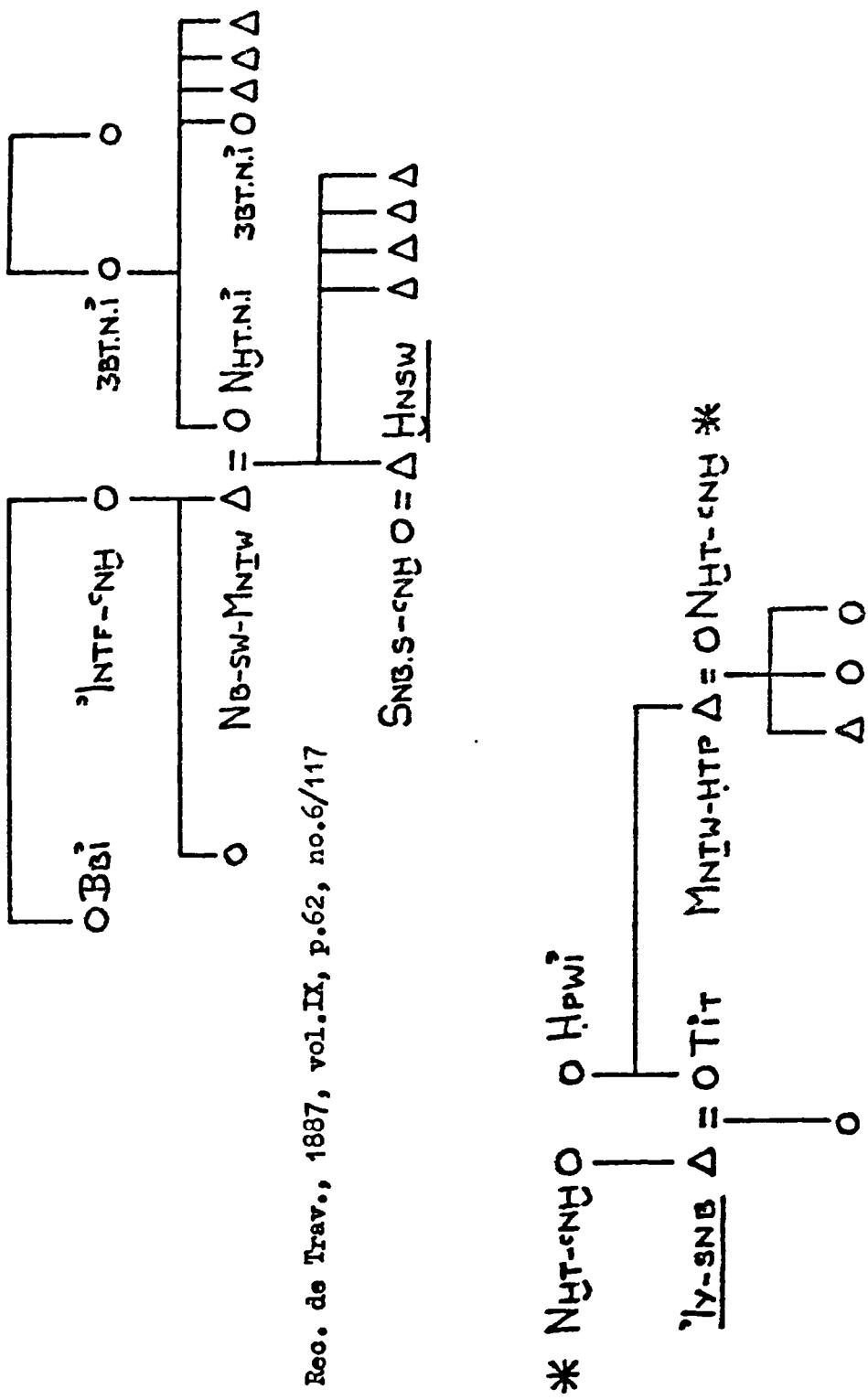


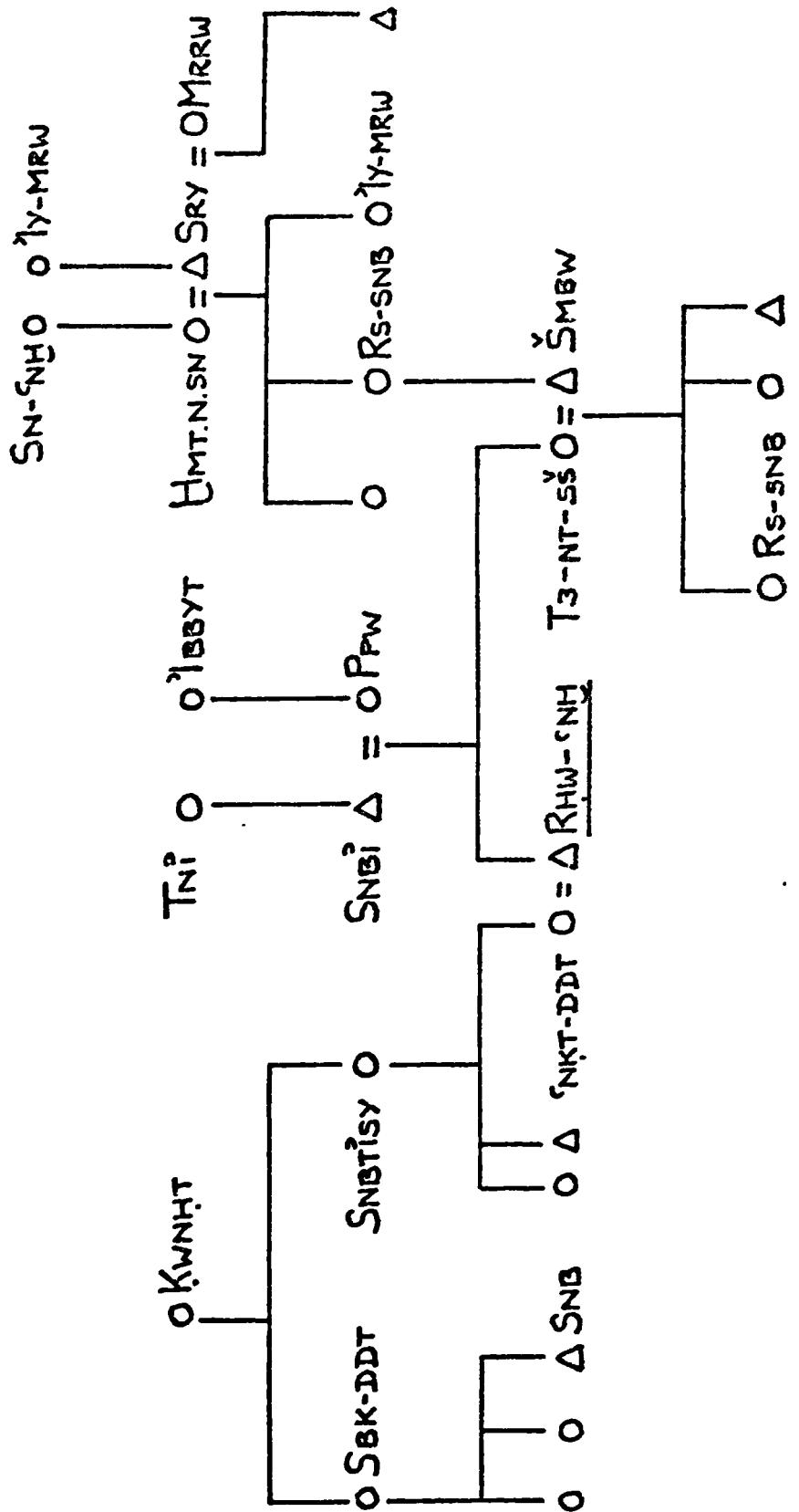
Rec. de Trav., 1882, vol. III,
p. 121, XIV/98

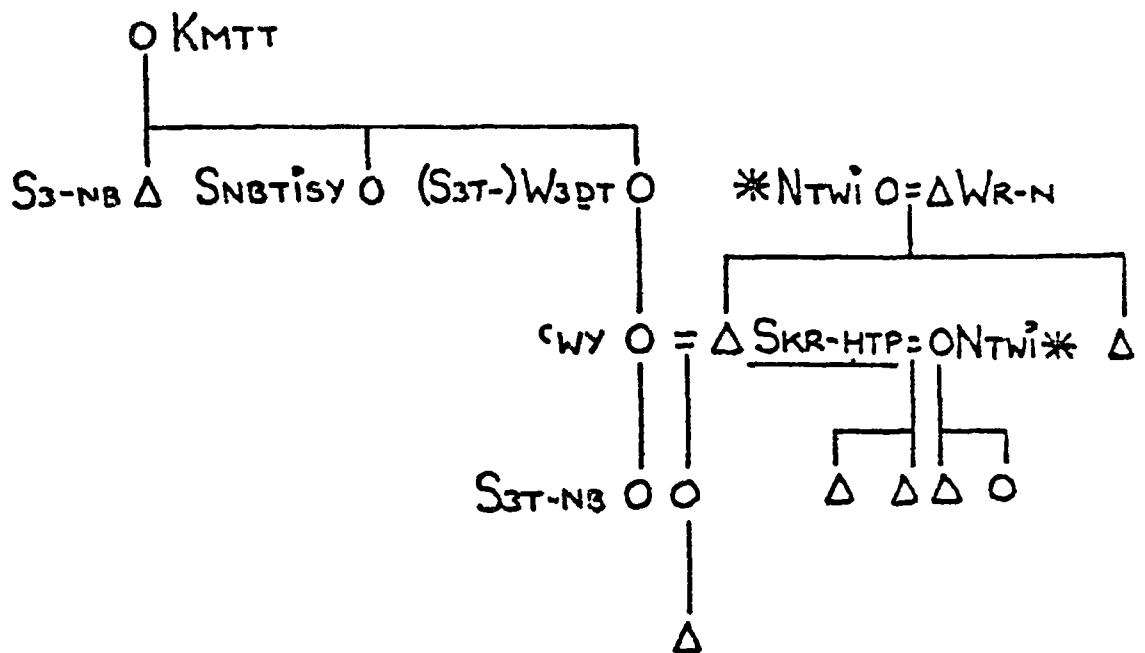


Rec. de Trav., 1882, vol.III, p.122, no.XV/34.

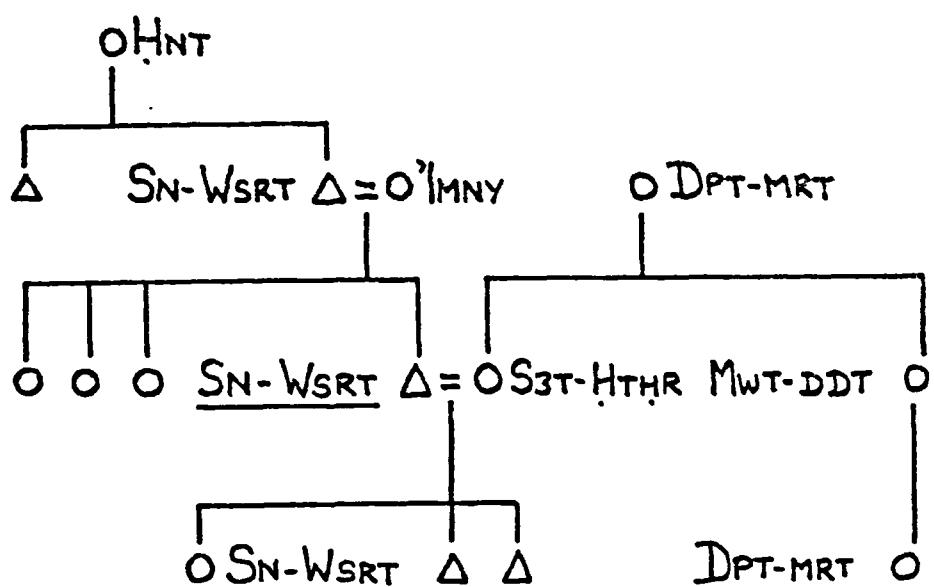




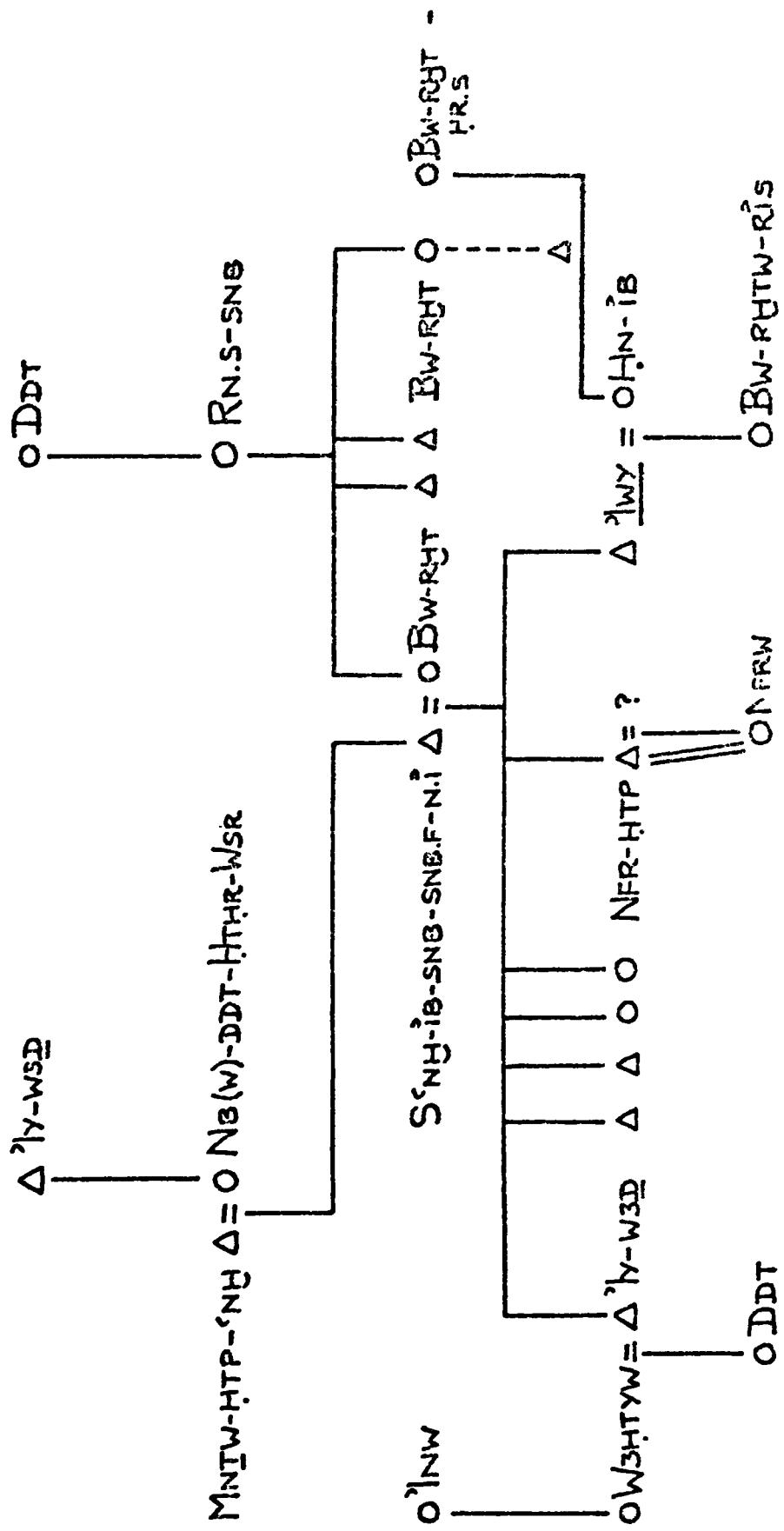


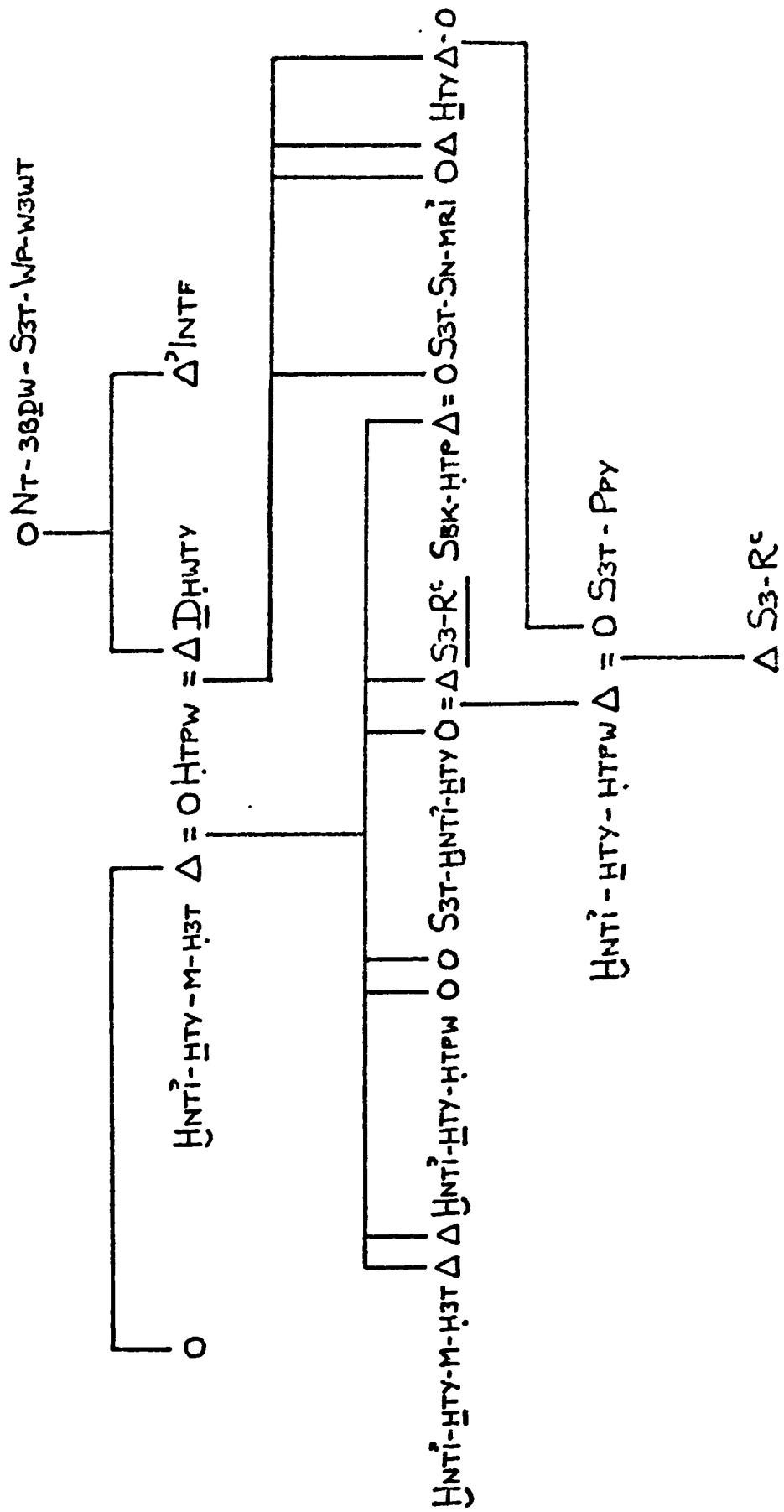


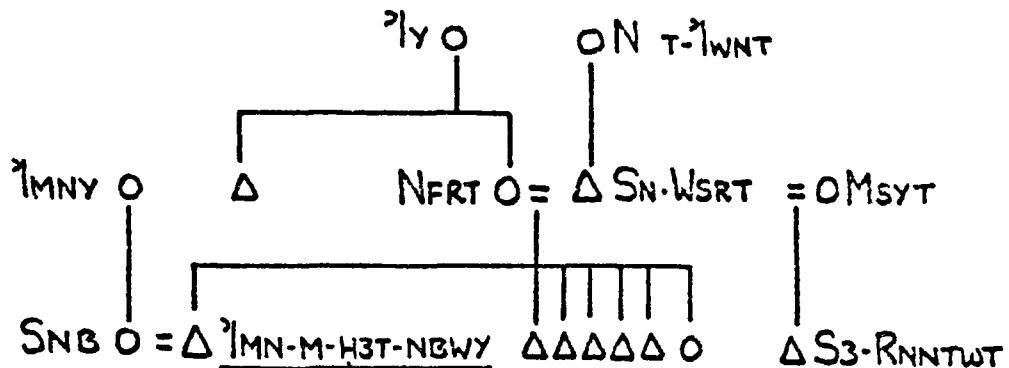
Rec. de Trav., 1910, vol. XXXII, p. 141, Avignon 5/7



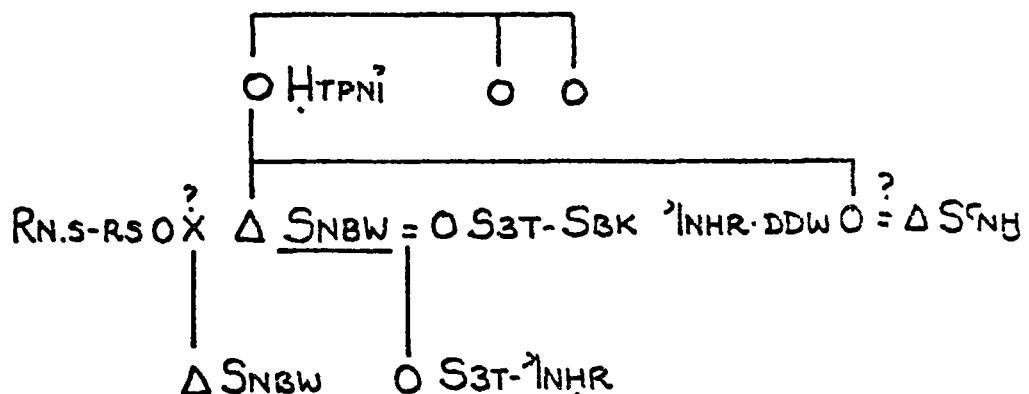
Stockholm stela, p. 10, no. 16



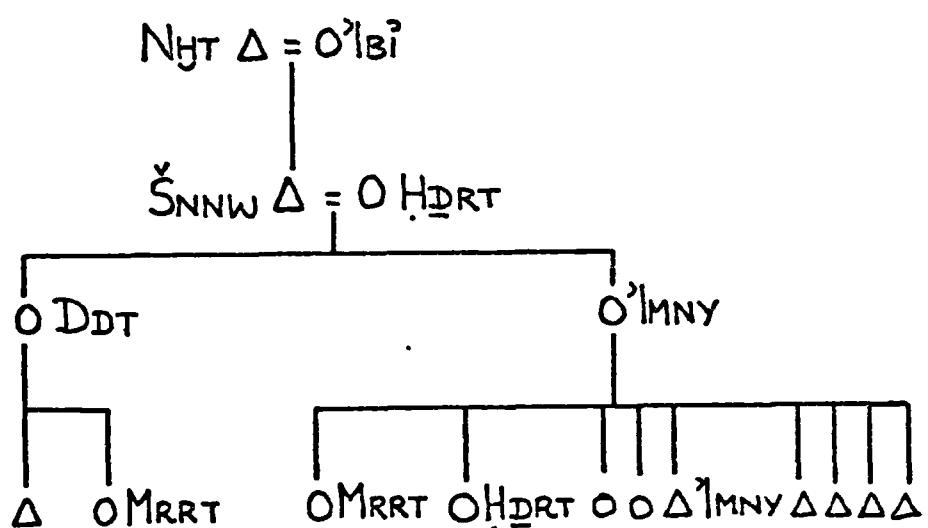




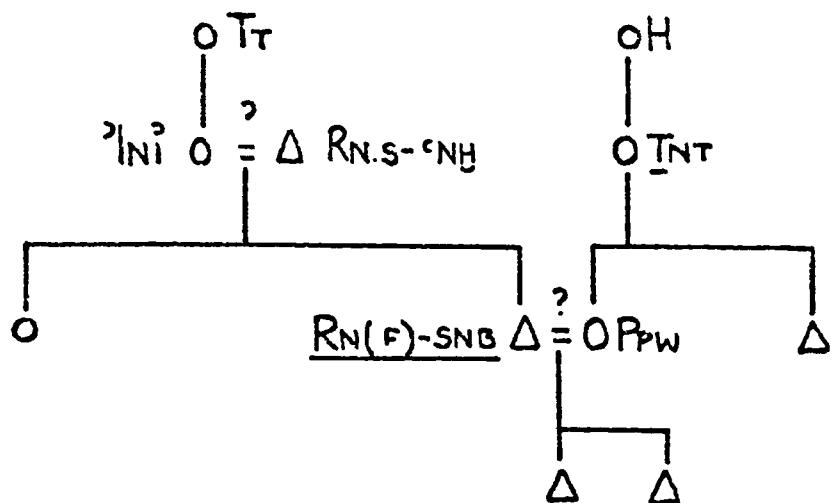
el Arabah, pl.VI, E.295



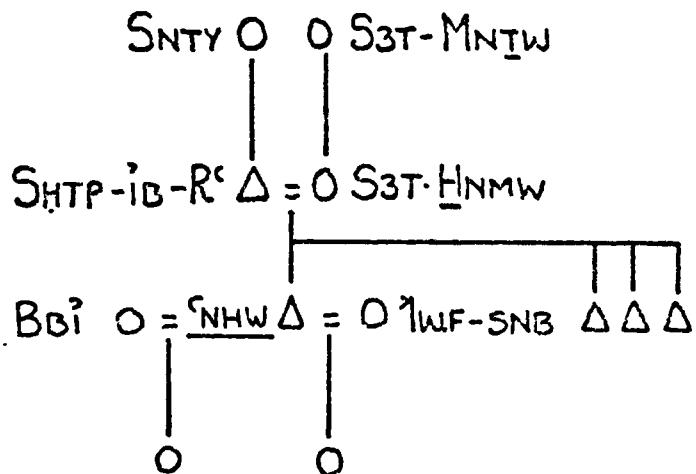
el Arabah, pl.XII, E.312



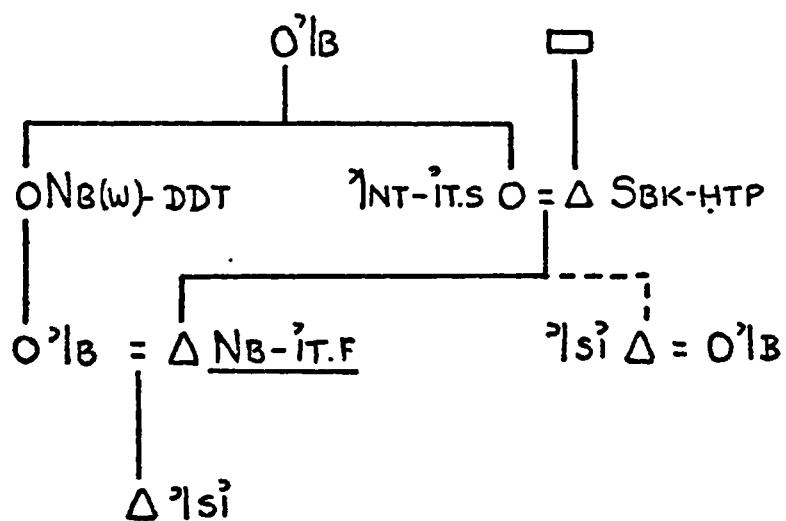
Tombs of the Courtiers, pl.XXVII



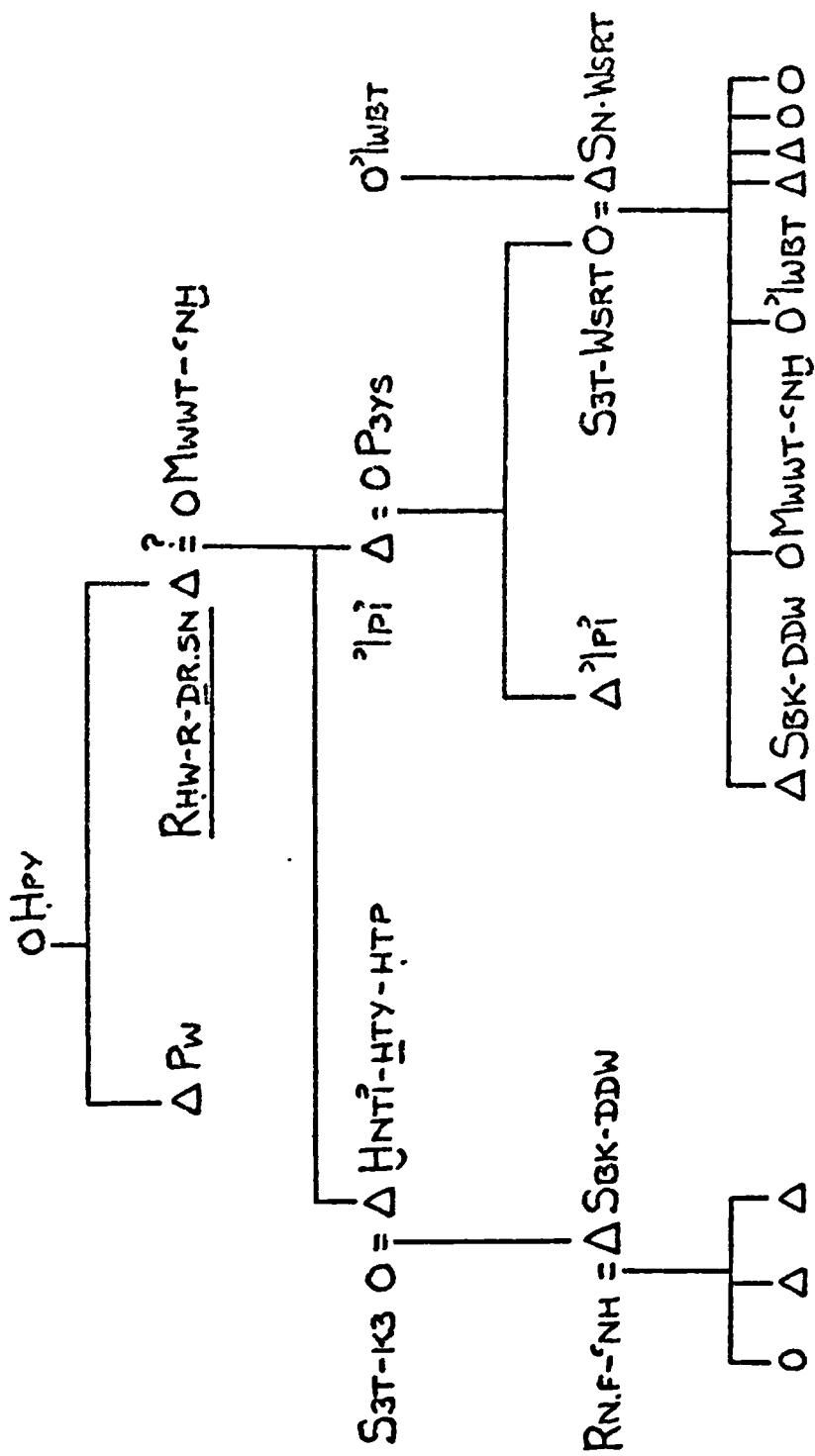
Kemi, 1928, vol.I, pl.VII



Musée Curtius de Liège

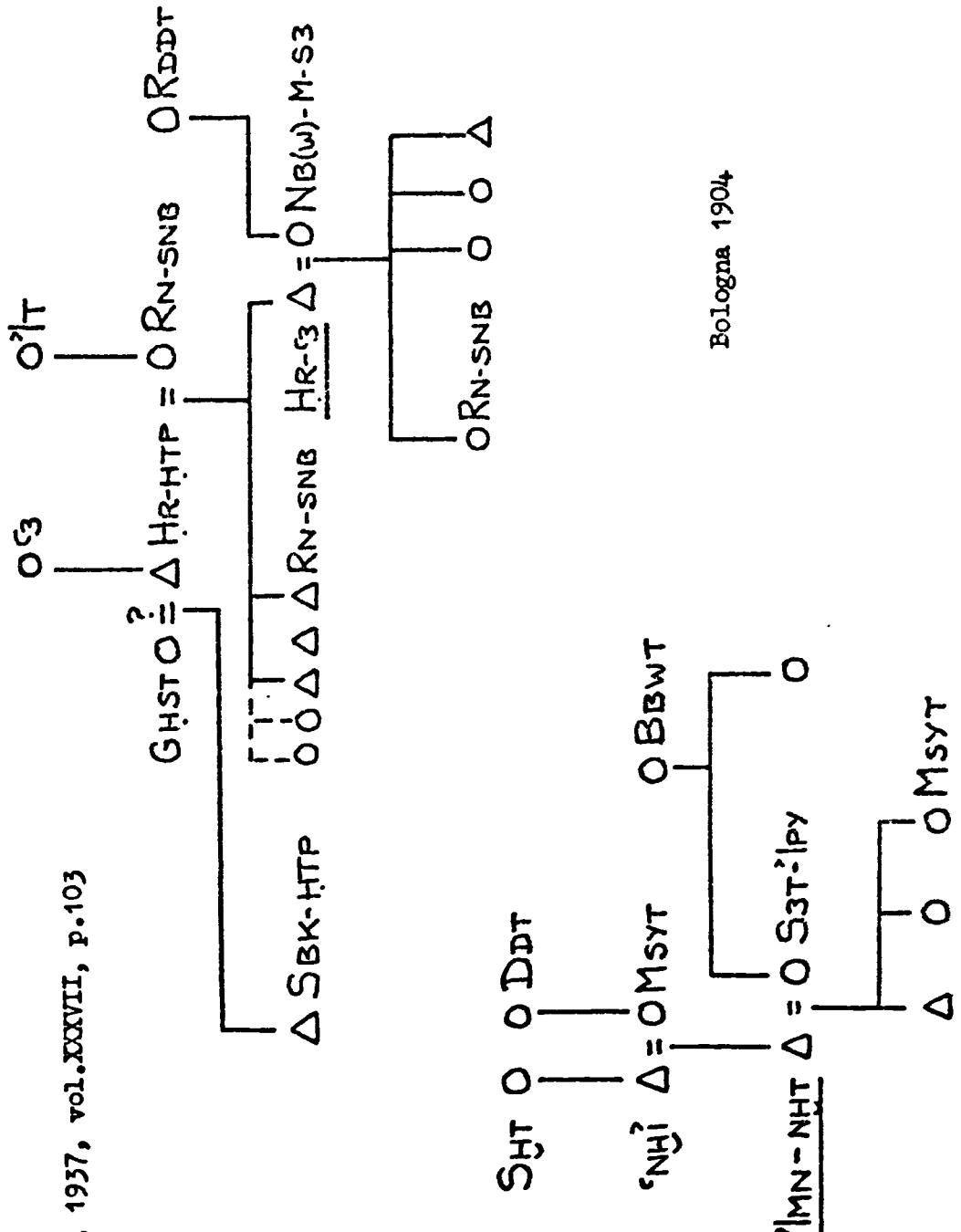


B.I.F.A.O., 1937, vol.XXXVII, p.98



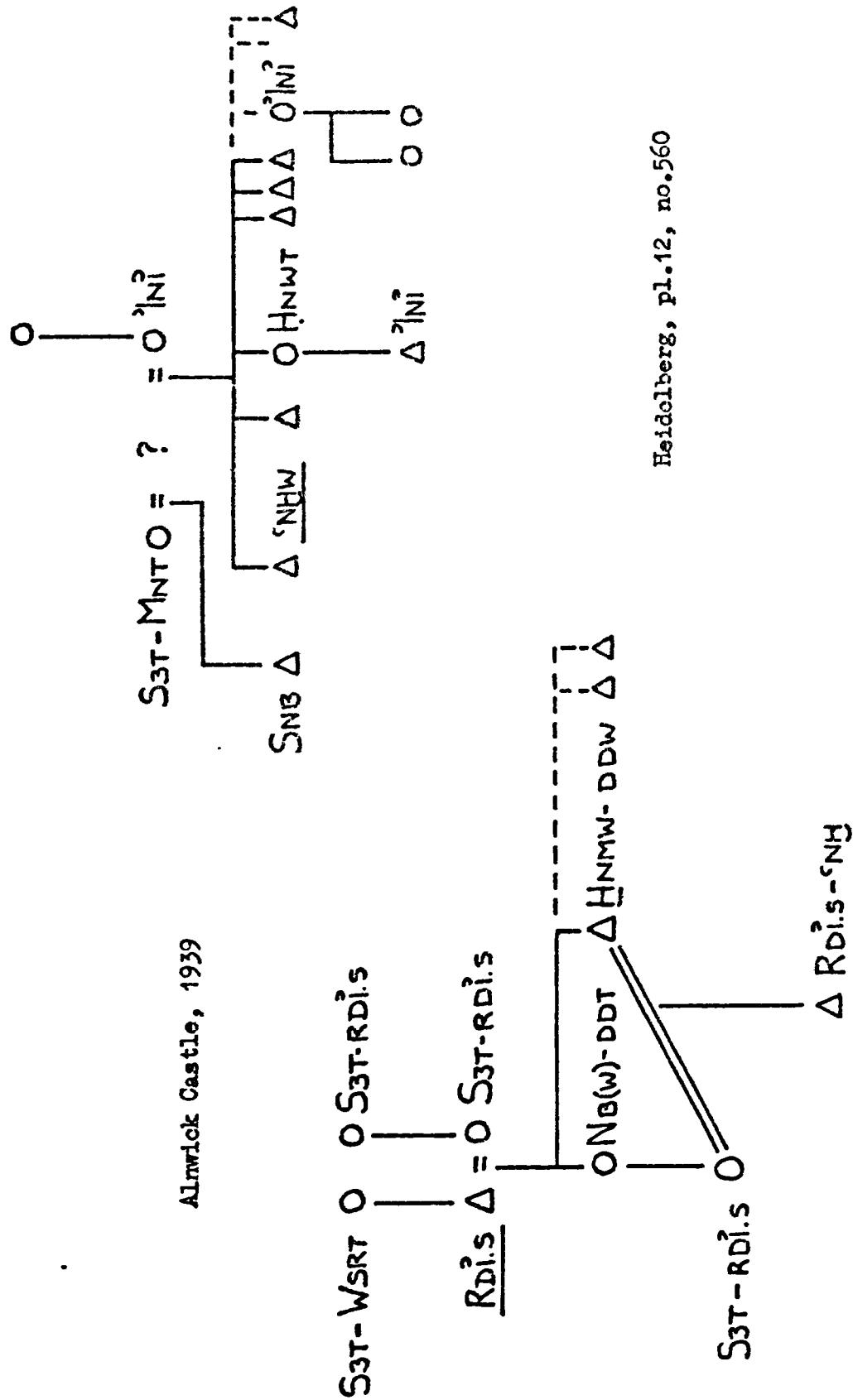
Scepter of Egypt, vol.I, p.533, fig.221

B.I.F.A.O., 1937, vol. XXXVII, p.103

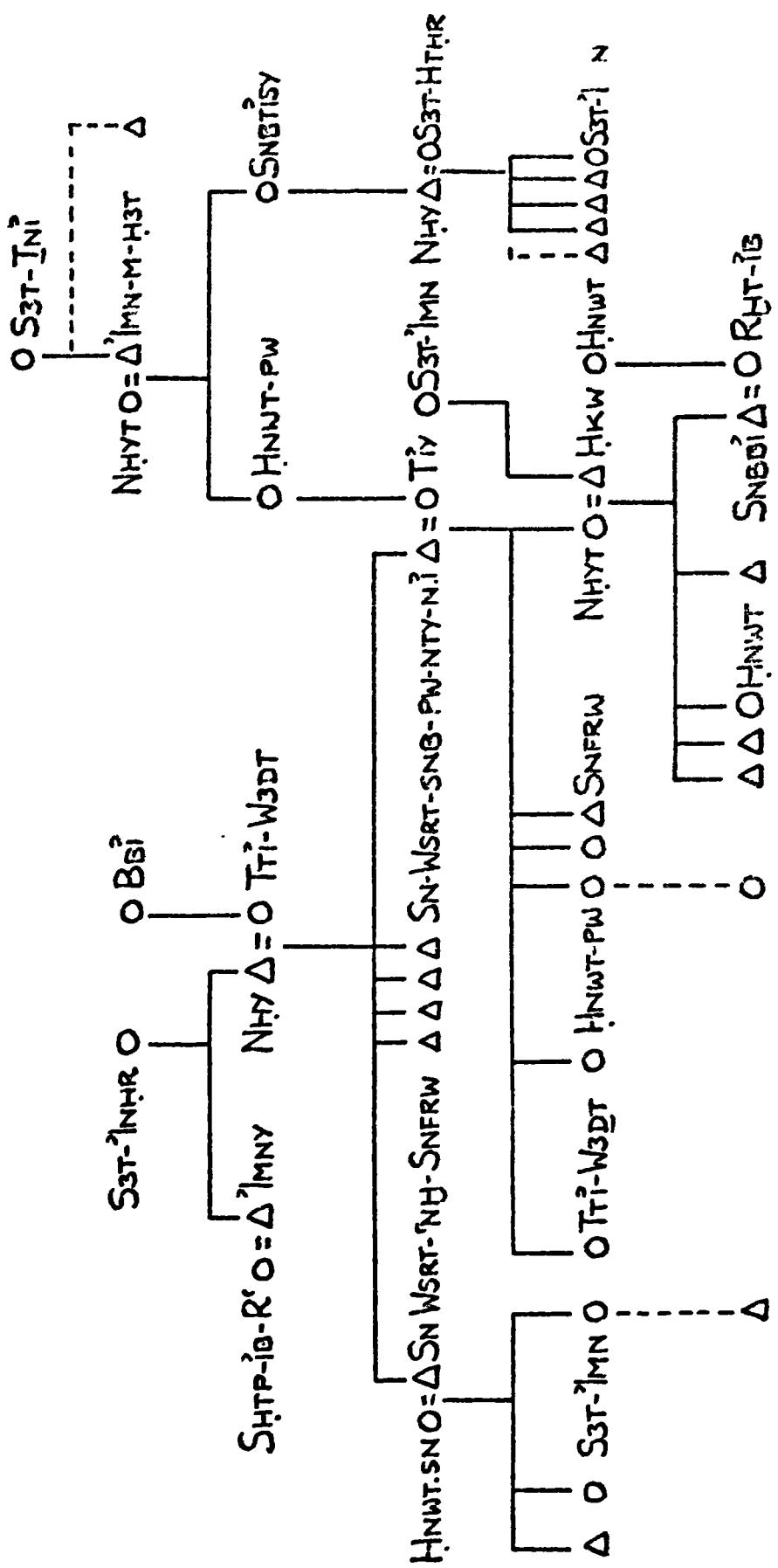


Pl.

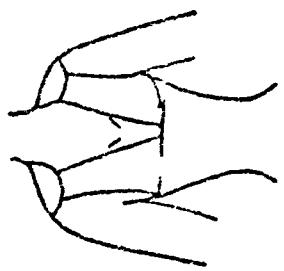
Fig.



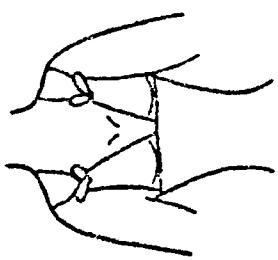
P1.L



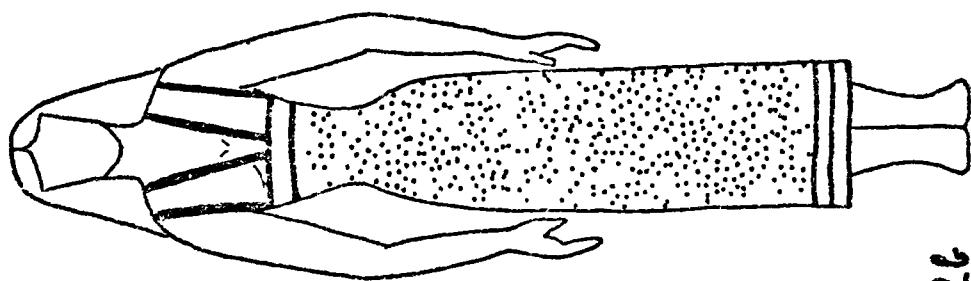
Ο ΗΡΥΩ
 ΝΒ(ω)-ΔΔΤ Ο ΒΕΙ-ΝΑ
 ΣΝ-ΩΣΡΤ Ο = Δ ΣΒΚ-ΔΔΝ
 ΜΝΤΩ-ΗΤΡ Δ = Ο ΛΩΗΤ-ΙΩ
 ΝΒΤ-ΙΤΦ Ο = Δ ΣΝΒ Δ ΗΓΙ-ΚΖΩ Ο ΡΝ-ΣΝΒ ΣΟΒΕΚΗΤΕΡ=ΟΝΝΙ Ο ΔΔΟΣΒΚ-ΔΔΤ ΜωΤΙ ΣΝΤΙ Ο
 Ο ΛΩΗΤ-ΙΩ Ο Δ ΣΒΚ-ΗΤΡ Δ ΜΝΤΩ-ΗΤΡ
 Ο ΛΩΗΤ-ΙΩ Ο ΡΝ-ΣΝΒ ΣΟΒΕΚΗΤΕΡ=ΟΝΝΙ Ο ΔΔΟΣΒΚ-ΔΔΤ ΜωΤΙ ΣΝΤΙ Ο
 Ο ΛΩΗΤ-ΙΩ Ο ΡΝ-ΣΝΒ ΣΟΒΕΚΗΤΕΡ=ΟΝΝΙ Ο ΔΔΟΣΒΚ-ΔΔΤ ΜωΤΙ ΣΝΤΙ Ο



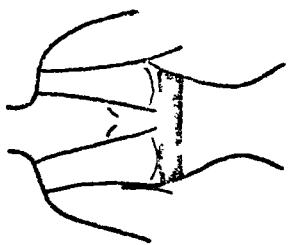
A_{3a}



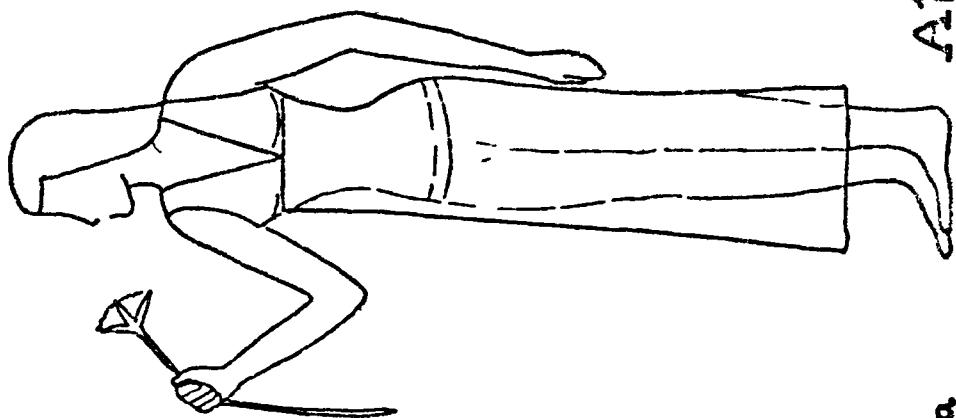
A₃



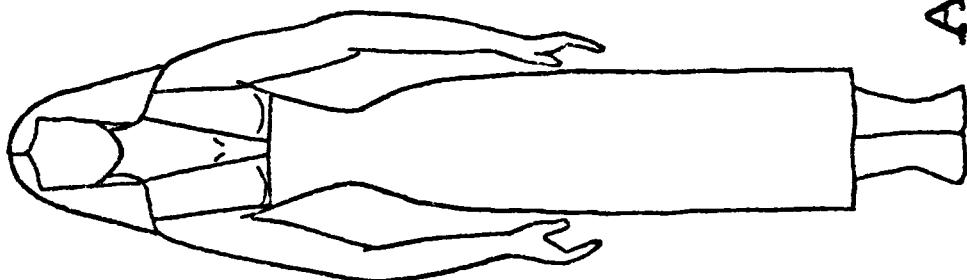
A_{2b}



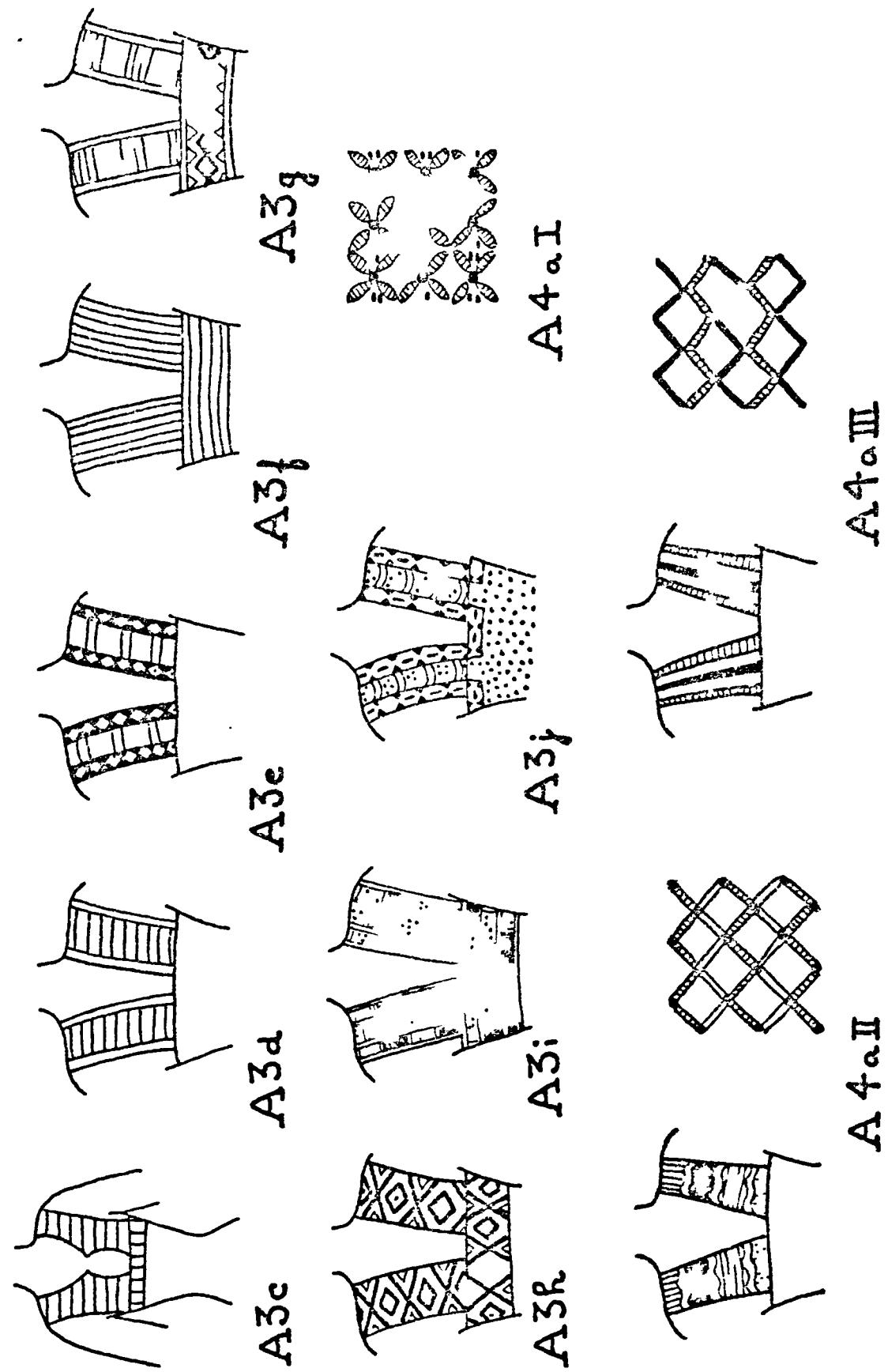
A_{2a}

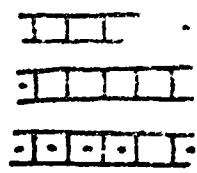


A_{1b}

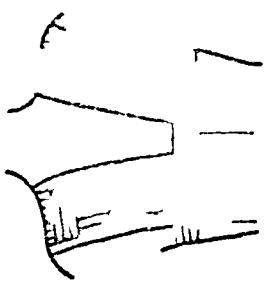


A_{1a}





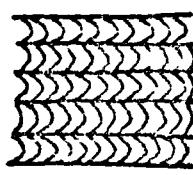
A 4c₊



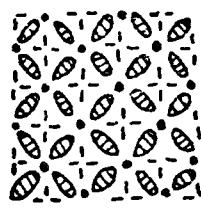
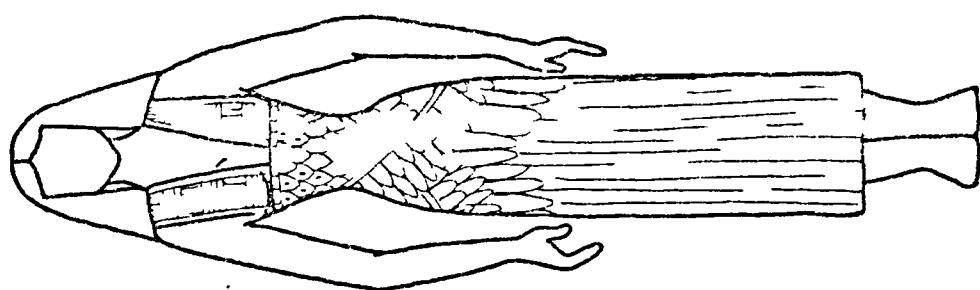
A c



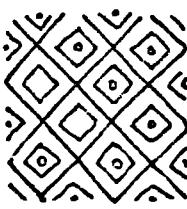
A 4c III



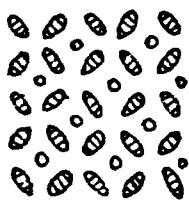
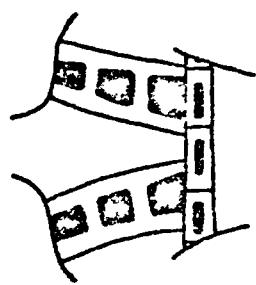
A 4c II



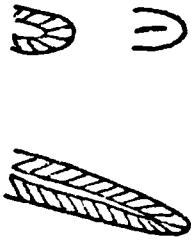
A 4a IV



A 4a VI

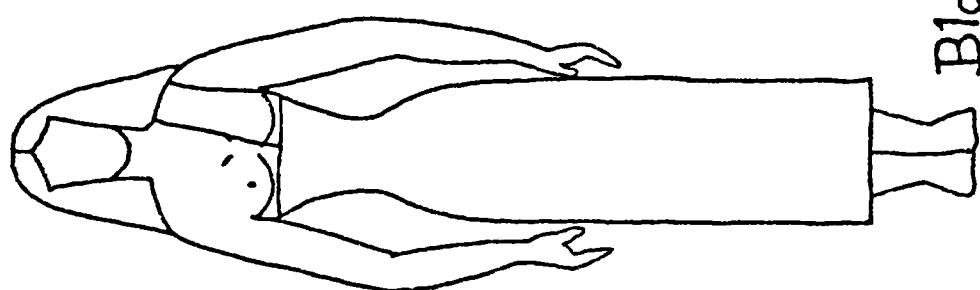
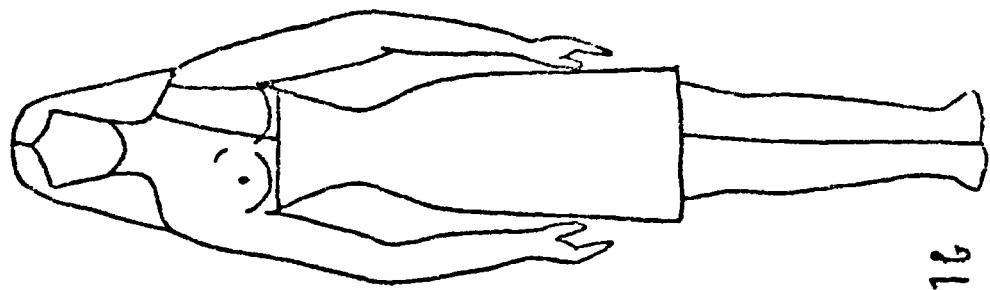


A 4a V

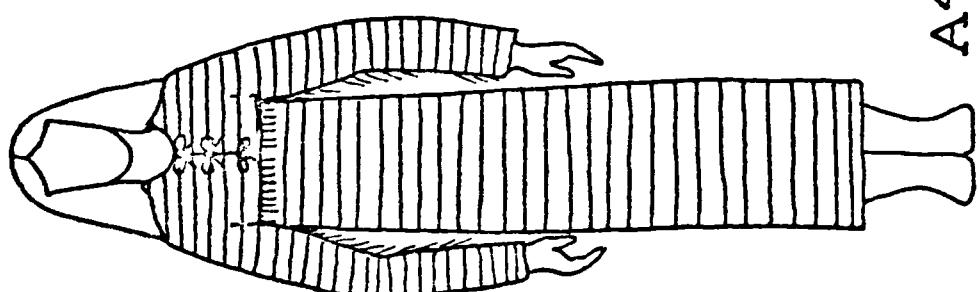
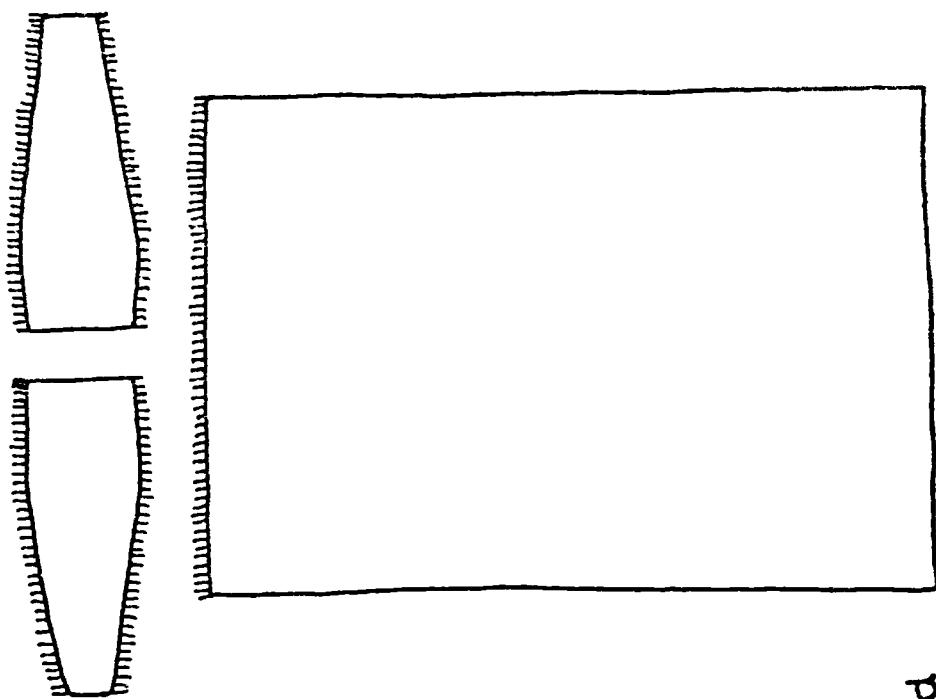


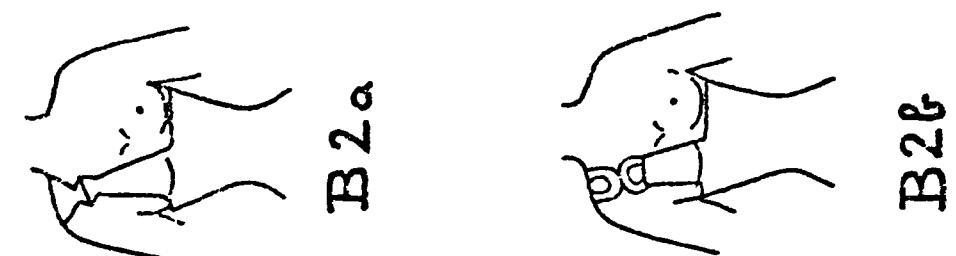
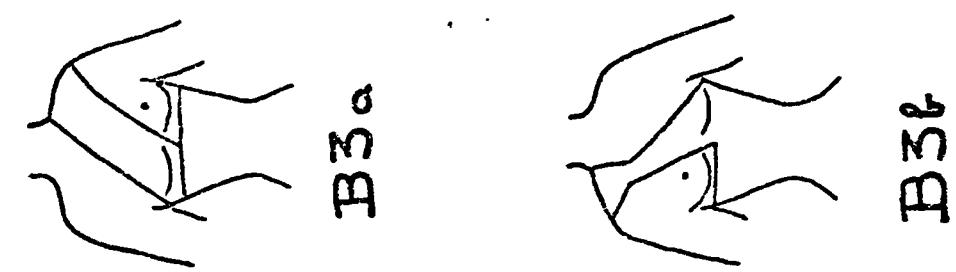
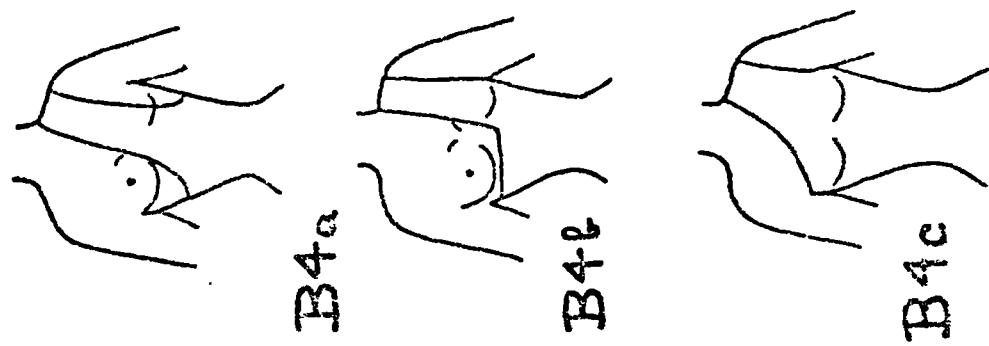
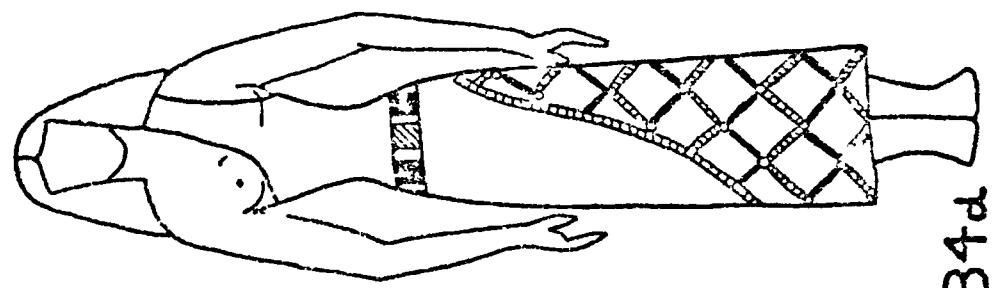
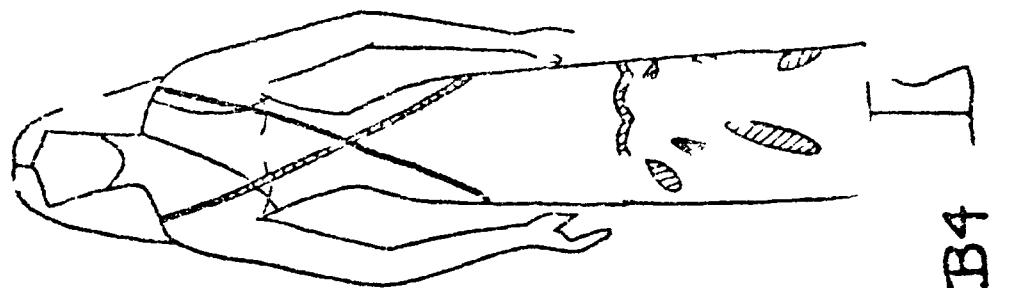
A 4b I

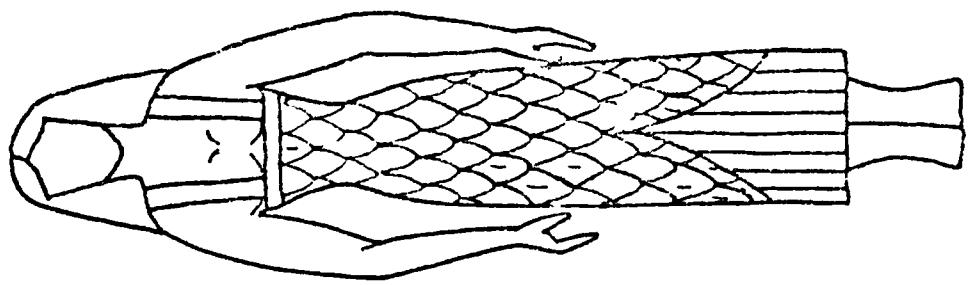
A 4b II



B1g

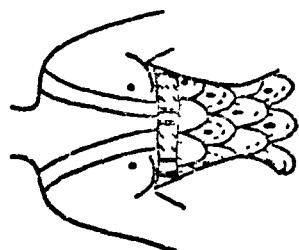




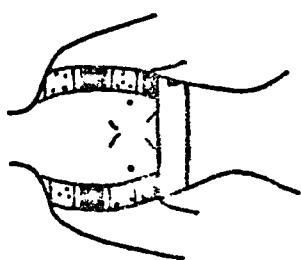


C3

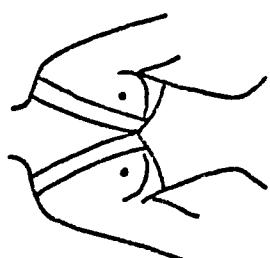
BAND
AT HEM



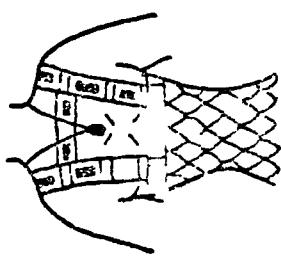
C2c



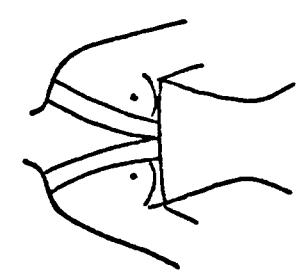
C3d



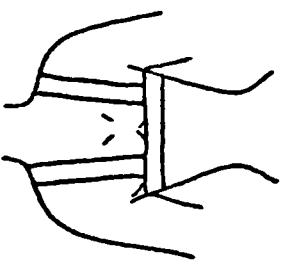
C2b



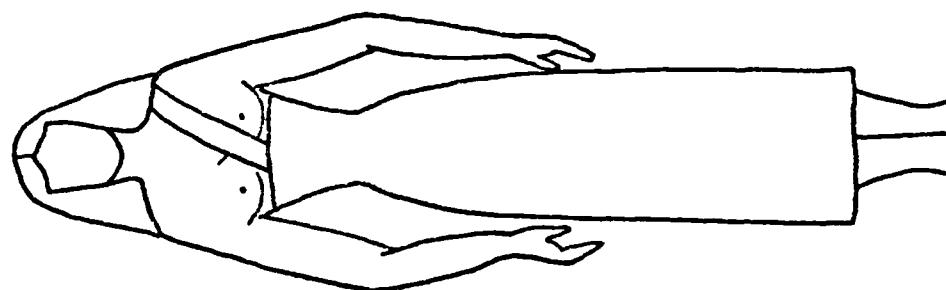
C3e



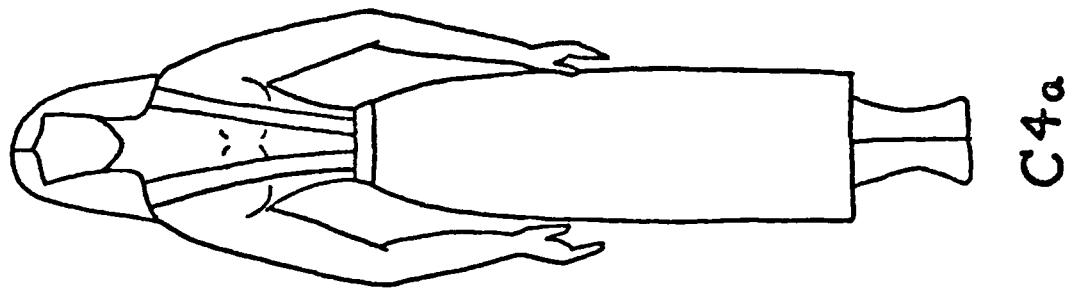
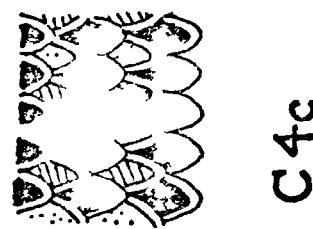
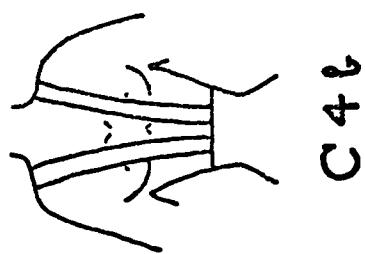
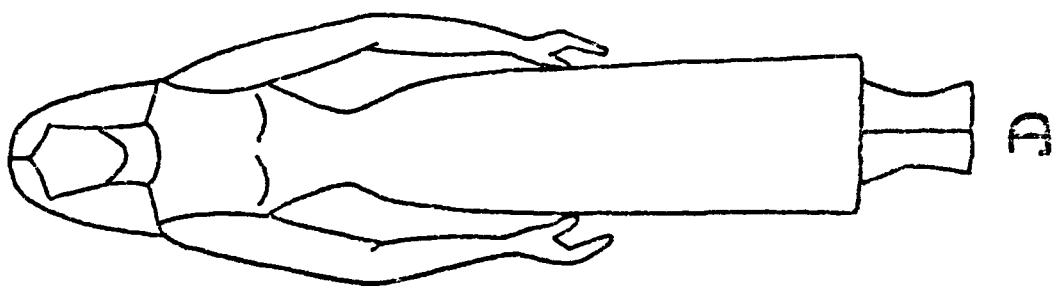
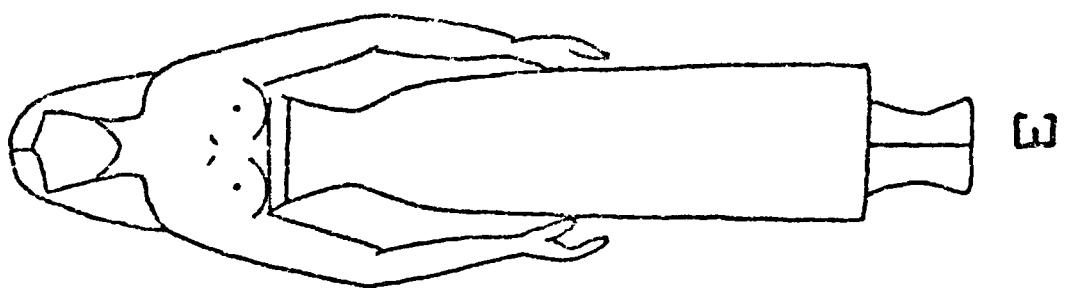
C2a

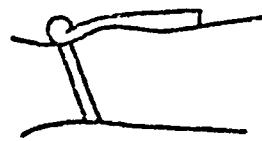


C3f



C1

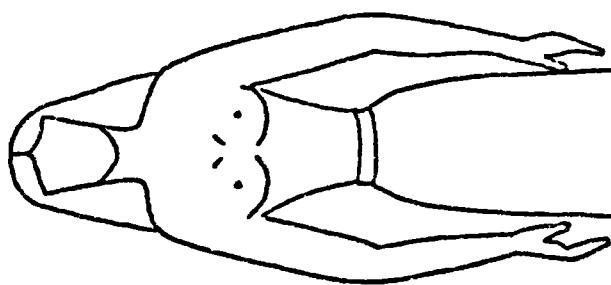




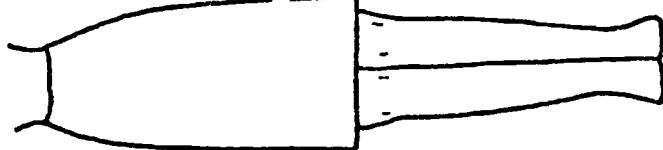
F3b



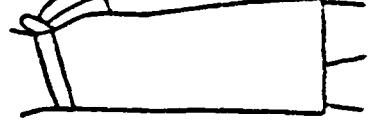
F4



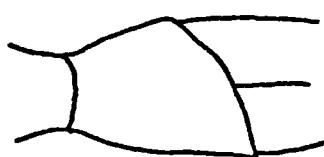
F3a



F2a



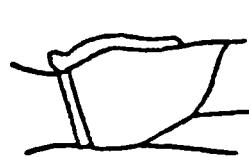
F2b



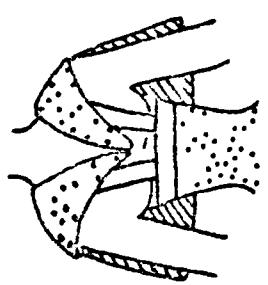
F1a



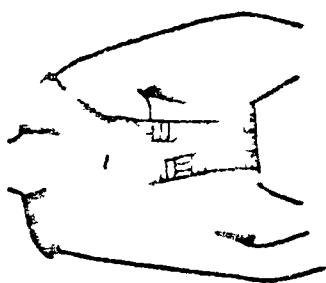
F1b



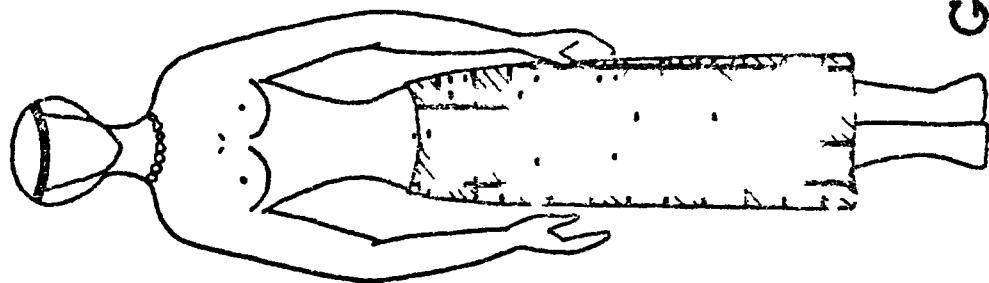
F1c



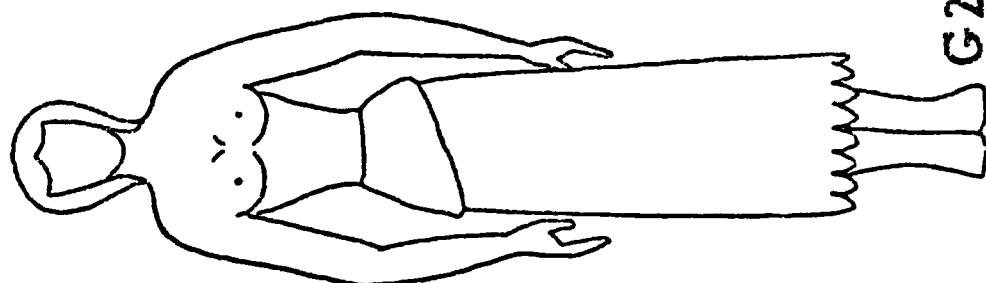
H1a



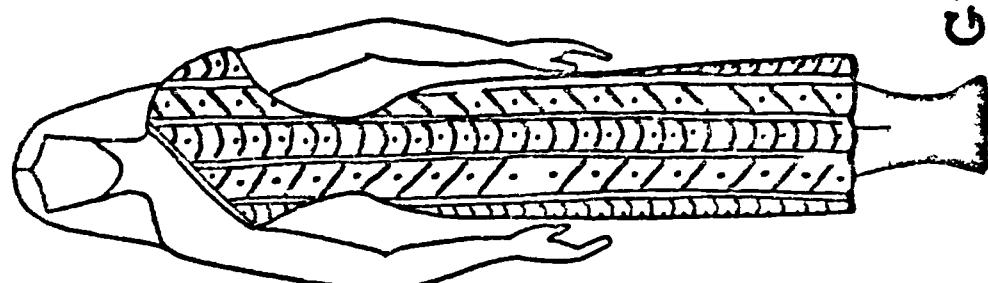
H1b



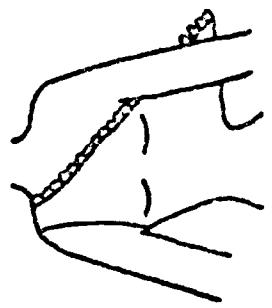
G3



G2



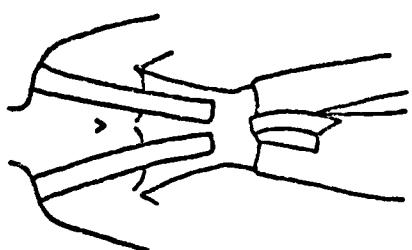
G1



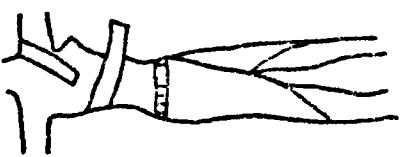
K_a



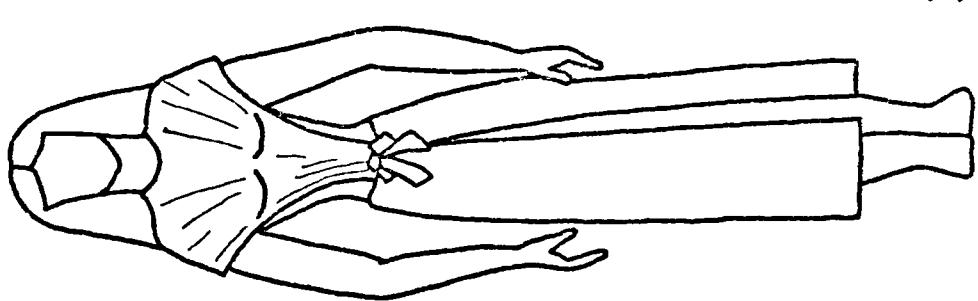
K_b



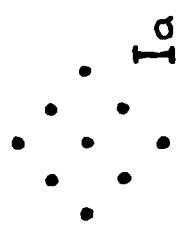
J_b



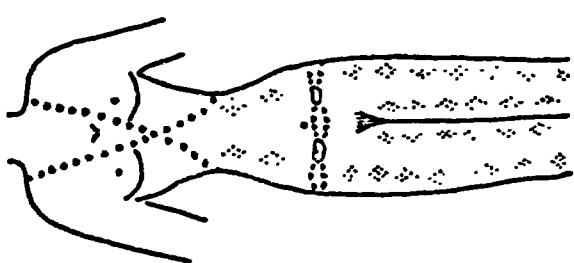
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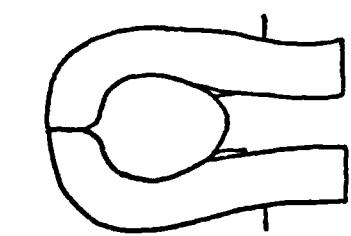
J_a



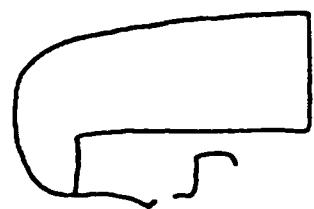
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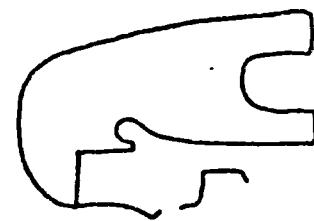
I_b



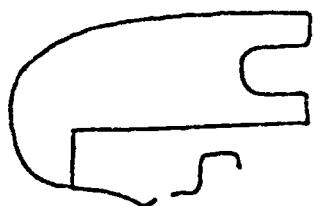
A1_q



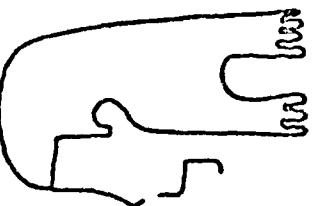
A1_g



A1_c



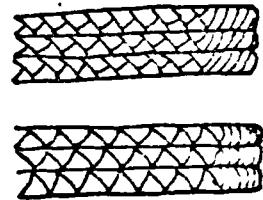
A1_d



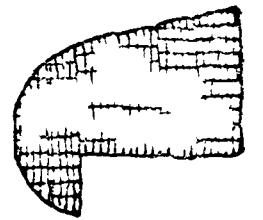
A1_e



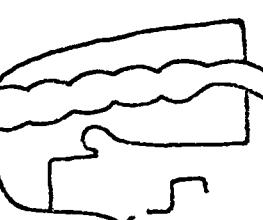
A1_f



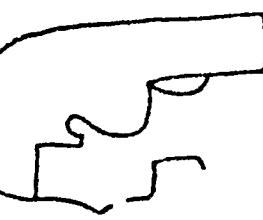
A2



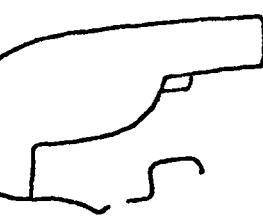
A3_a



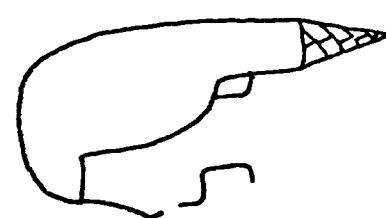
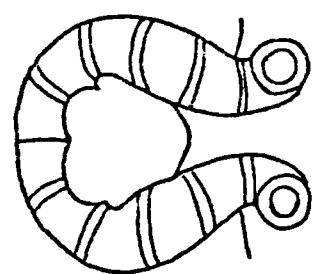
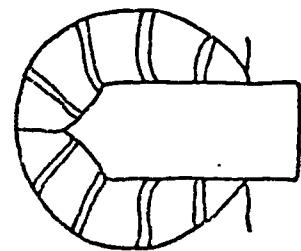
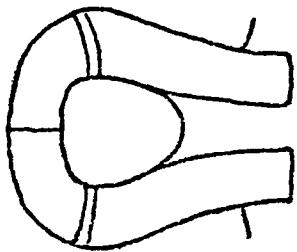
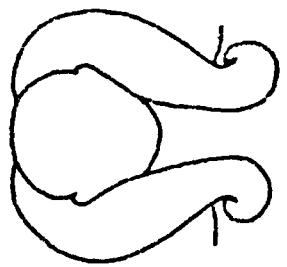
A3_b



A3_c



A3_d



B2

B1 δ

B1 α

A3 α

C7 β

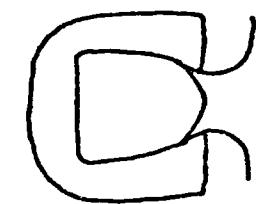
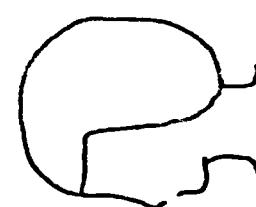
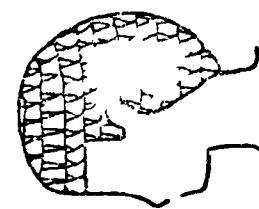
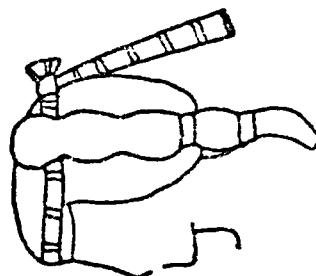
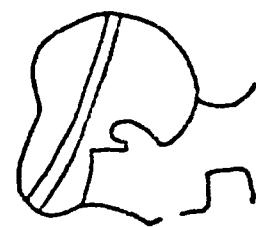
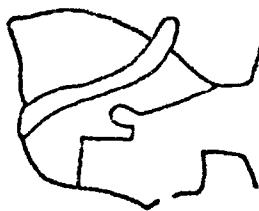
C2 α

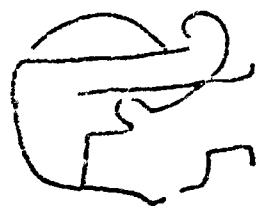
C1 α

C1 δ

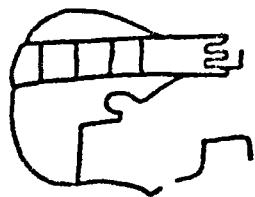
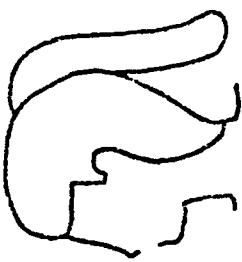
C1 δ

C1 α

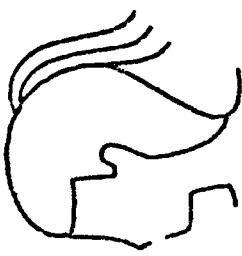




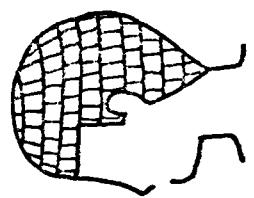
D2b



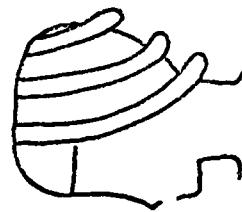
D2a



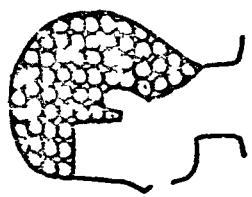
D2b



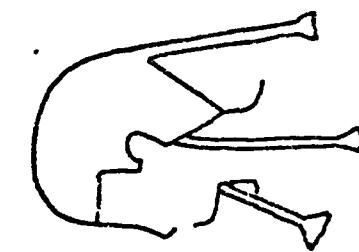
D1c



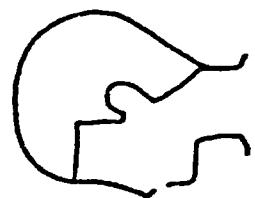
D2c



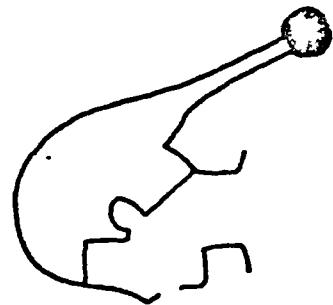
D1b



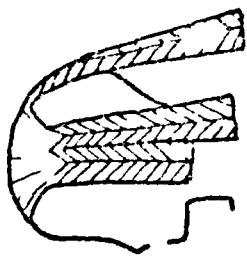
D2d



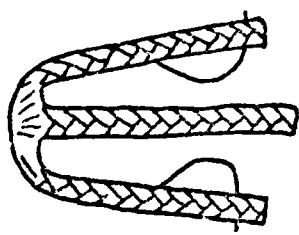
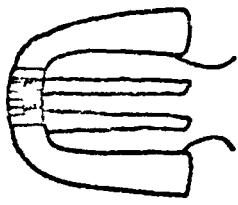
D1a



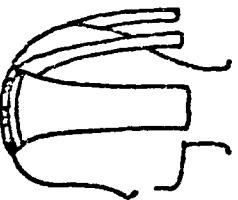
D2e



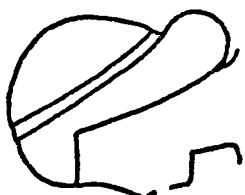
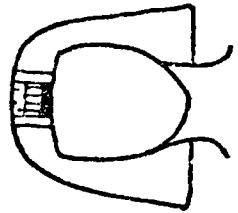
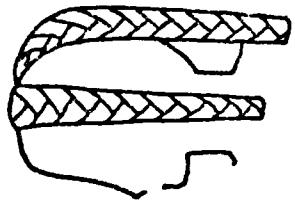
F_g



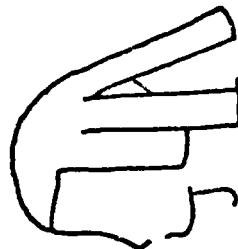
F_a



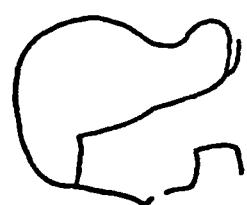
F_d



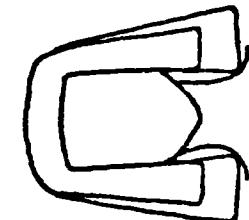
E_c

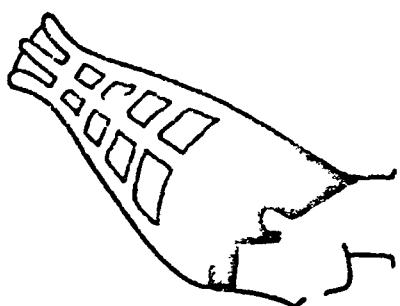


F_c

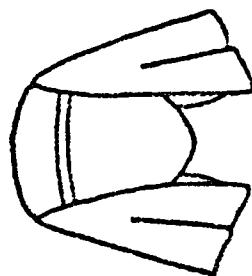


E_a

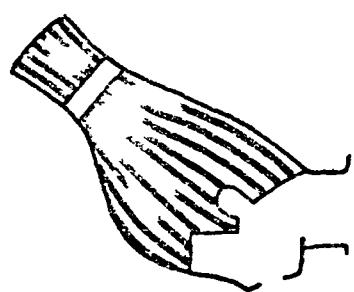




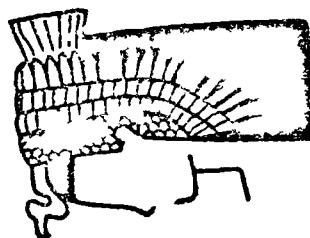
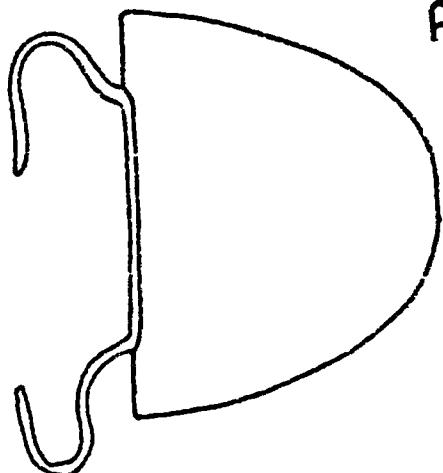
A2b



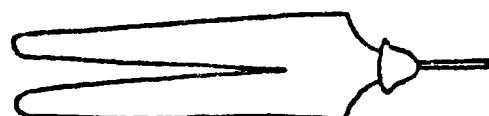
B'a



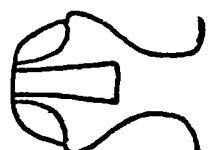
A2a



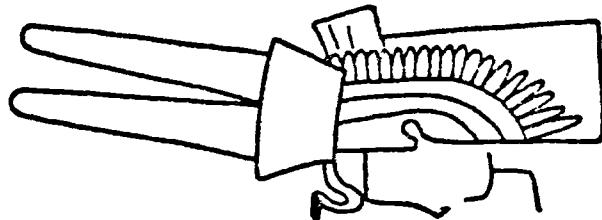
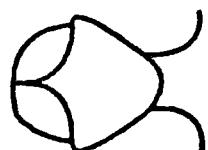
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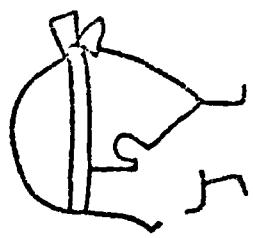


A1b/c

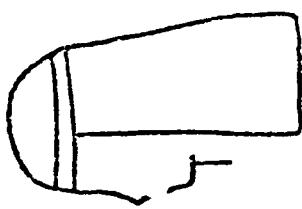


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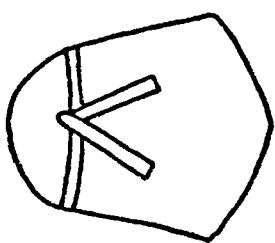




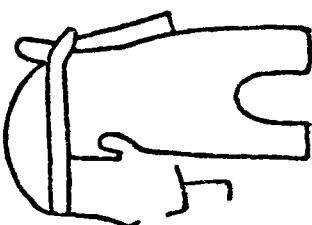
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C1d

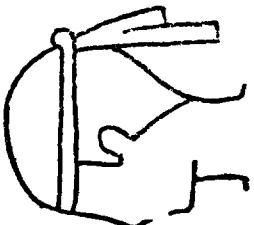


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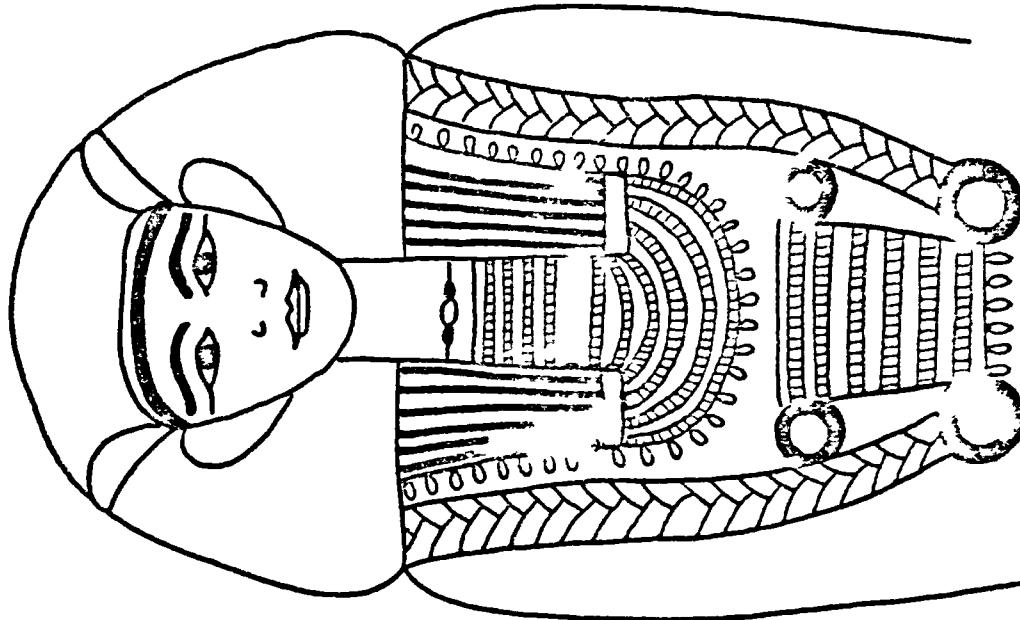


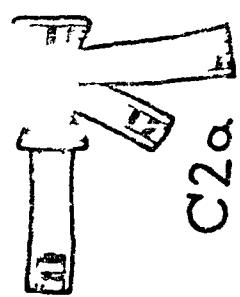
B8

C1e



Bc

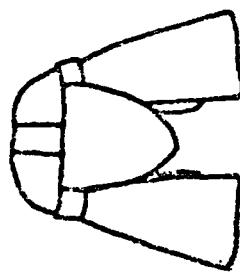




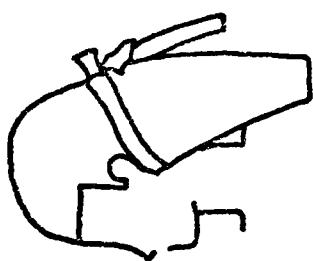
C₂a



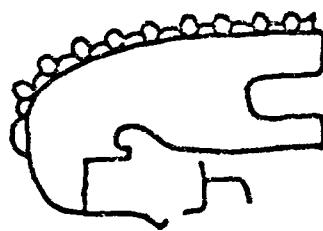
D2



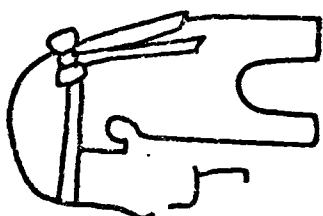
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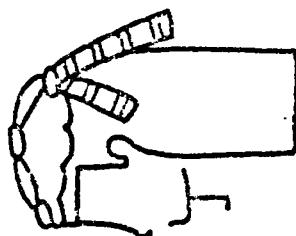
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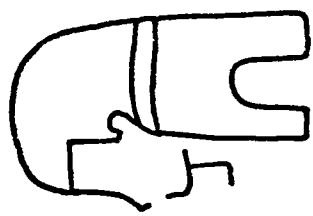
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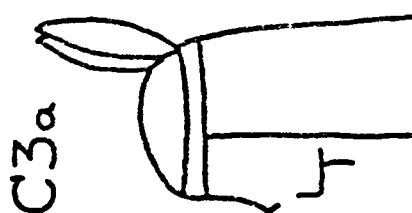
C1g



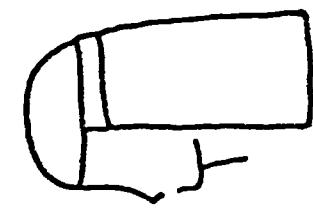
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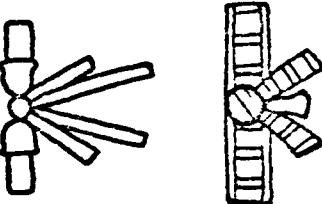
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C3a

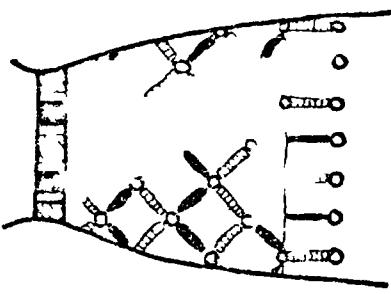


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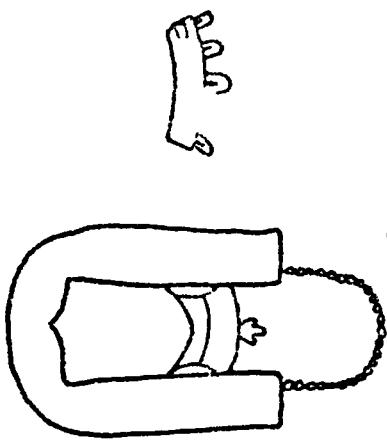


C2g/c

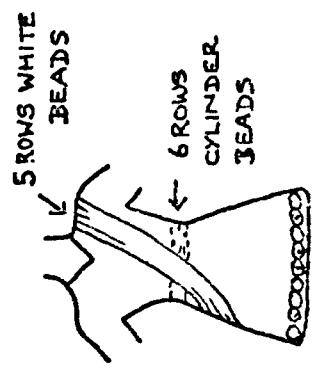
E2



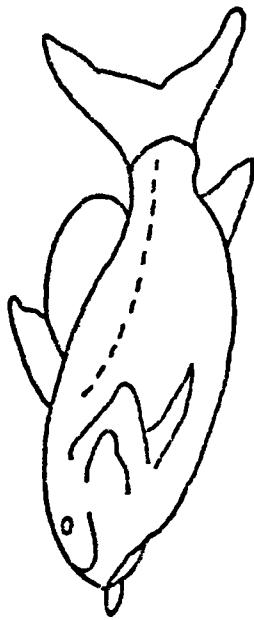
E5



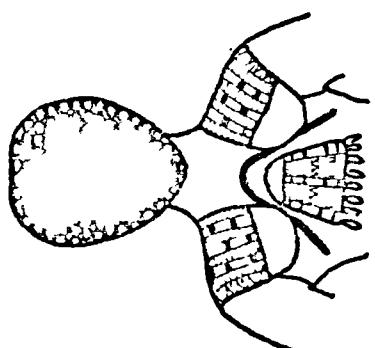
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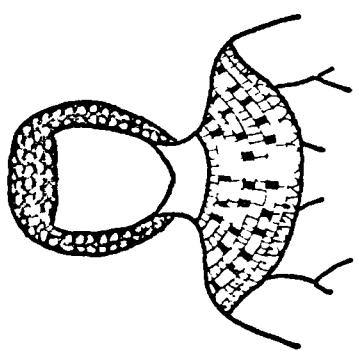
E3 d



E1 b



E1 a



E4

