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Editorial Foreword:

Marginal Notes

> "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history, naval architecture, navigation, commerce, and agriculture in order to give their children a right to study paintings, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain."[1]

In this passage John Adams, ever the pragmatist, argued that various disciplines are of different relative worth and that some studies take precedence over others. Adams was, of course, writing in the eighteenth century before Egyptology even existed but it is easy to tell where it would fit in his hierarchy. Paintings, poetry, architecture, statuary, and porcelain or pottery are all things studied by Egyptology. Their study is viewed as a luxury rather than necessity. One need not agree with Adams, but many people, including many university and governmental administrators, would. To them, Egyptology is a marginal discipline rather than a core one.

One might wish to argue the point, but it might be rather foolish to do so. As Jan Assmann points out, compared to John Adams' day, "today we know infinitely more about Egypt than did the experts of the eighteenth century. But we are also infinitely less sure of what to do with that knowledge."[2] If we know not what to do with the knowledge we have, it is difficult to argue for either its utility or centrality. Furthermore, even a multicultural argument for Egyptology does little to help, for multiculturalism assumes a relativist position that any point of view is as good as any other and a pragmatist will push for modern studies rather than ancient ones as being more useful. No one needs to negotiate with an ancient Egyptian government, company, or individual. For the time being, let us assume that Egyptology is a marginal discipline. What are the implications of such a position?

In times of financial difficulty, marginal disciplines face hard times. When programs are eliminated they will be the first to be cut. If they are supported by endowments, those endowments tend to suffer the same loses as other endowments. Patrons who donated when times were good will have less money to donate and their donations will be curtailed or cut altogether. Museums too, being large repositories of paintings, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain, can be hit hard during periods of financial difficulties. Popularity and fascination that attracts many to marginal disciplines in times of plenty may not be a sufficient draw when resources are scarce. Hard times may fall on all, but they will tend to hit marginal disciplines harder.

Marginal disciplines can sometimes find a home in a different department that decides, for whatever reason, to foster it. This can be helpful and sometimes the discipline can flourish for a time

1 John Adams, quoted in David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 236-37.

2 Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, trans Andrew Jenkins (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 433.

in that place. Departments, or administrators over them, can decide that they need to realign the objectives of departments in ways inimical to the discipline. Exactly such a thing happened not too long ago to the Egyptology program in Utrecht. This can be disastrous to programs and those in subordinate positions usually lose their jobs. Even the jobs of professors in such cases may be saved only by virtue of their tenure.

Tenure too has drawn considerable fire in recent years. Why anyone deserves job security for life is a mystery to many people, not the least of which are campus administrators who, for all their other perks, do not have that luxury. The numbers and percentages of tenure-track positions are in decline in part because of the behavior of some of those who hold them. Tenured professors who abuse their positions or become involved in scandals of various sorts make it difficult to argue that tenure is an institution that should be kept. Unfortunately Egyptology has not been exempt. It behooves those in such privileged positions to behave in a seemly way. Given the number of graduates in a field such as Egyptology compared with the scarcity of jobs, it is inexcusable to uphold the tenure of an individual who refuses to do the job for which they were hired. Tenure itself will be of no avail if the granting institution fails.

When programs are cut, there is a tendency to summon colleagues and partisans to protest to keep some program or stop some change. Such protests have achieved only mixed results historically. They certainly fail when economic or other realities are against them. Protest letters and collegial will not suffice when what is needed is cash.

Such realities may be unpleasant but marginal disciplines cannot afford the luxury of taking the cash and letting the credit go; they need to heed the rumble of the distant drum.

What might but should not be forgotten is that marginal disciplines can proceed and even flourish without any institutional support whatsoever. There are no university positions in numismatics, for example, but that does not prevent the discipline from proceeding and even thriving. This is comforting indeed. We are all the beneficiaries of unremunerated volunteers who deserve more thanks than they receive.

This issue will unfortunately be the last with the capable assistance of Jean Revez as associate editor.

This journal would not have been possible without the dedicated effort of many individuals. We thank Lyn Green, Peter Robinson, and the peer reviewers, volunteers all.

John Gee

Of Heart Scarabs and Balance Weights: A New Interpretation of Book of the Dead 30B

John Gee

Abstract:

The translation of Book of the Dead 30B has been problematic. One of the key terms of the text, *mw.t* has multiple meanings. The article suggests that it be understood in this text in its secondary meaning of "balance weight." This meaning would make sense both of a frequent vignette to Book of the Dead 30B, the weighing of the heart, and its association with heart scarabs. A selection of heart scarabs is analyzed and a majority found to coincide in weight with standard balance weights.

Résumé:

Le chapitre 30B du Livre des Morts 30B s'est avéré difficile à traduire, surtout un des termes les plus importants du texte, mw.t. Cette étude suggère qu'ici il faut comprendre « poids », une signification secondaire du mot. Cette traduction éclaire non seulement une vignette fréquente du Livre des Morts 30B, la pesée du cœur (ou psychos-tasie), mais aussi l'association du Livre des Morts 30B avec les scarabées de cœur. Un groupe de scarabées de cœur est analysé, dont plusieurs sont égaux aux poids standards.

Key words:

Balance weight, Book of the Dead, Book of the Dead 30B, Book of the Dead 125, Heart Scarab, *mw.t*, *ḫprw*, Weighing of the Heart, Psychostasy, Textual Criticism,

Problem

Book of the Dead 30B—best known for its association with heart scarabs—and other variants of Book of the Dead 30 begin with a passage for which all the individual words are known, but the beginning of the text does not quite make sense when translated. As a consequence, the various translations alter the grammar or emend the text to make sense. The initial phrases that give such trouble are as follows:

ỉb=ỉ n mw.t=ỉ sp-2
ḥ3ty=ỉ n ḫprw=ỉ

The two phrases are commonly taken as vocatives with the *n* as an indirect genitive. The use of a suffix pronoun and a dative causes problems with making sense of the passage as both are understood as showing possession. This has been resolved a number of ways. Some, like E. A. W. Budge, eliminate the indirect genitive from the translation:

> My heart my mother, my heart my mother, my heart my coming into being![1]

Others, like M. Malaise and J. M. Galán, drop the first person suffix pronouns:

1 E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1895), 258.

> Oh, heart of my mother! Oh, heart of my (several) manifestations![2]

Still others, like T. G. Allen, in his editions, try to keep both possessives:

> My heart of my mother, my heart of my mother, my breast of my being.[3]

A similar tact is taken by A. H. Gardiner:

> O heart of my mother! O my heart of my mother! O my heart of my different ages (lit. my forms)![4]

Hornung's 1990 translation also follows this practice:

> Mein Herz meiner Mutter, mein Herz meiner Mutter, mein Herz meiner wechselnden Formen.[5]

Faulkner introduces a relative clause into his translation to make sense of the passage:

> O my heart which I had from my mother! O my heart which I had from my mother! O my heart of different ages![6]

Others simply drop the problematic passage altogether.[7] The passage has also served as the title of a popularizing book.[8] I shall propose a slight change in understanding the text that eliminates the need for emendation.

Textual Criticism

Published examples of the initial lines of Book of the Dead 30B show a few textual variants:[9]

L.Ipw (early D 18): [. . .] *ib n ipw n=i ib n mwt* [. . .][10]
pNu (T III-A II): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw=i*[11]
pM3i-hr-pri (A II): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw=i*[12]
TT 69 (T IV): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ib=i n ḫprw=i*[13]
pNb-sny (T IV-A III): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw=i*[14]

2 José M. Galán, *Four Journeys in Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2005), 40; Michel Malaise, *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1978), 20.

3 Thomas G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 115; Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 40; cf. Emily Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2003), 124-31: "My heart of my mother, my heart of my mother, my heart of my transformation(s)."

4 Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 268-69.

5 Erik Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich: Artemis, 1990), 96.

6 R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: British Museum, 1985), 27. Also followed in István Nagy, *Guide to the Egyptian Collection* (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 63.

7 Peter Eschweiler, *Das Ägyptsiche Totenbuch: Vom Ritual zum Bild* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999), 24.

8 Alison Roberts, *My Heart My Mother: Death and Rebirth in Ancient Egypt* (Rottingdean, East Sussex: North-Gate Publishers, 2000).

9 Although I have gone through the files of the Totenbuch Projekt of the Rheinische Freidrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, I am listing only published examples.

10 Irmtraut Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 2:Tafel 14.

11 Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu* (London: British Museum, 1997), plate 62.

12 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Tafel 121.

13 Mohammed Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1984), 63.

14 Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nebseni* (London: British Museum, 2004), plate 12.

TT C.1(5) (A III): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫpr=i*[15]
pIwi3 (A III): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw=i*[16]
TT 255 (Horemheb): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2* [. . .] *n ḫpr*[. . .][17]
Nakht (Horemheb): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty n wnn tp-t3*[18]
TT 111 (R II): *ib=i n mw.t*[. . .]*=i n ḫprw r=i*[19]
pAni (D 19): *ib=i n mw.t sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw*[20]
pBerlin 3002 (D 19): *ib=i n mw.t sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫprw=i*[21]
Berlin 2/63-3/63, 1/64-2/64: *ib=f n mwt=f ḥ3ty=f n wnn wndw=k*[22]
OIM 15024 (D 20): *n=i ib n mw.t ḥ3ty=i ḫpri*[23]
Cairo 59839 (D 20-25): *ib n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n ḫpri*[24]
OIM 15025 (D 20-26): *ib=i n mw.t*[25]
pGautseshen (D 21): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 3 ḥ3ty n ḫpri*[26]
pGreenfield (D 21): *ib=i n mw.t=i ḥ3ty=i n ḫpri*[27]
OIM (D 21-26): *ib=i mwt=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i ḫpr=i*[28]
Cairo 59840 (D 21-26): *ib=i mwt=i sp-2 ḥ3ty ḫprꜥw=i*[29]
OIM 14979 (D 25-26): *i ib ḫpr.t mw.t ḥ3ty=i sp-2*[30]
pMilbank (ptol): *ib=i m mw.t sp-2 ḥ3ty=i m ḫprw*[31]
pBerlin 10477 (ptol): *ib n mw.t nw.t mw.t ḥ3ty n m ḫpr m*[32]
pLouvre N 3079 (pt): *ib=i n mw.t sp-2 ḥty=i n wn ḥr-tp t3*[33]

15 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2: Tafel 59.
16 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2: Tafel 59.
17 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 64.
18 BM EA 10471+10473, in S. R. K. Glanville, "Note on the Nature and Date of the 'Papyri' of Nakht, B. M. 10471 and 10473," *JEA* 13 (1927): pl. XXI.
19 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 64.
20 *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day being the Papyrus of Ani*, ed. Eva von Dassow (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), plate 3.
21 Irmtraut Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Nacht-Amun aus der Ramessidenzeit (pBerlin P. 3002)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), Tafel 29.
22 Jürgen Settgast und Dietrich Wildung, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 4th ed. (Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1989) 108-9.
23 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 129.
24 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 128.
25 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 130.
26 Édouard Naville, *Le Papyrus hiératique de Katseshni au Musée du Caire* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1914), pl. XXXVII.
27 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1912), pl. XVIII.
28 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 124.
29 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 126.
30 Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 130-31. Teeter's translation seems to stand independent of the actual text written.
31 Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, plate LXIV.
32 Barbara Lüscher, *Das Totenbuch pBerlin P. 10477 aus Akhmim* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), Tafel 8.
33 Charles H. S. Davis, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Most Ancient and the Most Important of the Extant Religious Texts of Ancient Egypt* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), plate VIII.

pTurin 1791 (ptol): *ib=i n mw.t sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n wnn=i ḥr-tp t3*[34]
pBM 75044 (ptol): *ib=i n mw.t sp-2 ḥ3ty=i n wnn=i ḥr-tp t3*[35]
pRyerson (ptol): *ib=i n mw.t=i sp-2 ḥ3ty=i wn=i ḥr-tp t3*[36]

Although the term *ḫprw* "forms, transformations"[37] survives into Coptic as ϣπηρє "wonder, amazement,"[38] its meaning as "stages of life"—so nicely attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty biography of Ahmose son of Ibana[39]—disappeared, and is not used in Demotic.[40] So, in the case of Book of the Dead 30, *ḫprw* was glossed in the Ptolemaic period as *wnn=i ḥr-tp t3* "when I was on earth." One should note that this reading is attested as early as the reign of Horemheb which indicates that the sense of *ḫprw* had changed by that time. Gardiner recognized this meaning in his treatment.[41] Others have discarded the meaning,[42] in some cases despite the Ptolemaic rewording.[43]

Iconography

To most Egyptologists, the iconography of Book of the Dead 30B is associated with the heart scarab. Book of the Dead 30B is actually associated with two different vignettes, the heart scarab, on which it is found even in the Middle Kingdom, and in papyri with the weighing of the heart scene (also known as a psychostasy). It appears that the vignette of weighing of the heart originally was associated with Book of the Dead 30B and only later transferred to Book of the Dead 125. Thus the papyri of Maiherperi (18th Dynasty),[44] Theban Tomb 69 (18th Dynasty),[45] Nakht (19th Dynasty),[46] Hunefer (19th

34 R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), Tafel XVI.

35 Malcolm Mosher, Jr., *The Papyrus of Hor* (London: British Museum, 2001), plate 27.

36 Allen, Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum, plate XVIII.

37 *Wb*. III 265-266.

38 W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 581.

39 *ir.n=i ḫprw=i m dmi n nḫb* "I spent my life in the town of Elkab." *Urk*. IV 2.

40 Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 356. Examples include:

p3y=f šr rmṯ is p3 pr n pr-ᶜ3 ᶜ.w.s p3y ḫpryw n rmṯ m-šs p3y sm3-t3.wy-t3y=f-nḫt rn=f "his son is a man of the house of Pharaoh l.p.h.; he is a very marvelous man; his name is Sematawytayfnakht" P. Rylands IX 10/4, in Günther Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 1:42-43; F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands LIbrary Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1909), 1:pl. 27.

wn-n3.w ḥḏ nb g3 ḫpry p3 iw-wn-n3.w iiry pᶜ ḫl wᶜb šny n-im=y r-r=f "it was silver, gold, and marvelous thing which the young priest had asked from me for him." P. Spiegelberg 7/25-26, in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910), Tafel VII.

41 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 268-69.

42 Alan W. Shorter, "Notes on Some Funerary Amulets," *JEA* 21 (1935): 172-73.

43 Malaise, *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 22-23.

44 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 1: Photo-Tafel 79. Munro dates this manuscript on the basis of the vignettes of BD 1 to the reign of Thutmosis IV even though the name of Hatshepsut was written on the linen wrappings of the mummy and the tomb dates from the reign of Hatshepsut or Thutmosis III; Irmtraut Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie* (London: Kegan Paul Internaional, 1988), 4, 17-18, 278.

45 Mohammed Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtsgräbern des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1984), 63, 67.

46 Glanville, "Note on the Nature and Date of the 'Papyri' of Nakht, B. M. 10471 and 10473," *JEA* 13: 50-56, pl. XXI; Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 300.

Dyansty, **figure 3**),[47] Ani (19th Dynasty),[48] and Berlin 2/63-3/63 (19th Dynasty)[49] all match the weighing of the heart with Book of the Dead 30B. Although some have noted the change in vignette,[50] many Egyptologists failed to consider the text and have thus incorrectly identified the scene.[51]

Orthography

The crux of the translation is the word *mw.t*. This is written in the following ways in the various papyri:

 Vulture (G14) alone:

D 18: L.Ipw (but a lacuna starts after the vulture)[52]

Ptolemaic: pMilbank[53]

 Vulture (G14) and seated woman (B1):

D 18: pNb-sny[54]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement:

D 18: TT 69,[55] TT C.1(5),[56]

D 19: pAni[57]

Ptolemaic: pRyerson[58]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement and stroke (Z1):

D 19: pBerlin P. 3002[59]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement and seated woman (B1):

D 18: pM3i-hr-pri,[60] pNu,[61] pIwi3,[62] TT 255,[63]

47 Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 4, 302. The dating to the reign of Sety II derives from the mention of the king's name in his title. Photograph in Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1995), 30 (photo reversed) wrongly labeled as "the vignette associated with Chapter 125;" correct attribution in Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 302.

48 Eva von Dassow, ed., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), pls. 3, 30-31; Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 296.

49 J. S. Karig, "Die Kultkammer des Amenhotep aus Deir Durunka," *ZÄS* 95 (1968): 27-34; Settgast und Wildung, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 108-9.

50 Malaise, *Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 34.

51 Robert K. Ritner, "The Cult of the Dead," in *Ancient Egypt*, ed. David P. Silverman (London: Duncan Baird, 1997), 137; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: British Museum, 1985), 34-35; Shaw and Nicholson, *The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 30; Hartwig Altenmüller, "Zu den Jenseitsvorstellungen des Alten Ägypten," in *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit: Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1990), 14, 12-13, Abb. 5.

52 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Tafel 14.

53 Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, plate LXIV.

54 Lapp, *Papyrus of Nebseni*, plate 12.

55 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 63.

56 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 64.

57 von Dassow, ed., *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, plate 3.

58 Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, plate XVIII.

59 Munro, *Totenbuch des Nacht-Amun aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tafel 29.

60 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Tafel 121.

61 Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, plate 62.

62 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Tafel 59.

63 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 64.

D 19: TT 111,[64]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, circular determinative (either H8,[65] N33,[66] or O39):[67]

D 21: pGautseshen[68]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, circular determinative (either H8, N33, or O39), and seated woman (B1):

D 21: pGreenfield[69]

Ptolemaic: pLouvre N 3079,[70] pBM 75044,[71]

Lexicography

Although the term *mw.t* is normally translated "mother"[72] there is also a term *mw.t* "balance weight"[73] which is precisely what the heart is shown as in the scenes of weighing the heart. The term for balance weight appears on the walls of the tomb of Rekhmire,[74] and as late as the temple of Edfu. The best known example in context comes from Book of the Dead 125:

n wꜣḥ=i ḥr mwt n iwsw

"I have not added to the weight of the balance."[75]

The following spellings for *mw.t* are attested for published copies of Book of the Dead 125:

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, oval determinative (either N18, O39, or X4), and plural strokes (Z2):

D18: pM3i-hr-pri,[76] pNu,[77] pImn-htp Cd,[78] pNfr-wbn=f,[79]

D21: pNesikhonsu[80]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, stone determinative (O39), and plural strokes (Z2):

D18: pIwi3,[81] pNb-sny,[82]

64 Saleh, *Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern*, 64.

65 Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 146-47; Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), 2:21; 3:22.

66 Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, 164-65; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2:30; 3:31.

67 Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, 170-71; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2:32; 3:34.

68 Naville, *Papyrus hiératique de Katseshni*, pl. XXXVII.

69 Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, plate XVIII.

70 Davis, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, plate VIII.

71 Mosher, *Papyrus of Hor*, plate 27.

72 *Wb*. II 54.1-10.

73 *Wb*. II 55.3-5; Edward W. Castle, "A Structural Study of Bronze Age Systems of Weight," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2000), 11.

74 *Urk*. IV 1125.6, 1126.17, 1127.17.

75 BD 125 A 25, in Charles Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125)* (Caire: IFAO, 1937), 44.

76 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:Tafel 129.

77 Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 65.

78 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:pl. 108.

79 Suzanne Ratié, *Le papyrus de Neferoubenef (Louvre III 93)* (Caire: IFAO, 1968), pl. XVII; Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 282.

80 Édouard Naville, *Le Papyrus hiéroglyphique de Kamara et le papyrus hiératique de Nesikhonsou* (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1912), pl. XXVIII.

81 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2:pl. 65.

82 Lapp, *Papyrus of Nebseni*, pl. 88.

D21: pGautseshen,[83] pKamara[84]

Either of the previous two as the edition does not distinguish:

D18: pBM EA 9913,[85] pBM EA 9964,[86] pBM EA 9905,[87] pBrockelhurst II,[88] pLouvre N. 3073,[89] L.Louvre N. 3097,[90] pTnn3,[91] pNb-qd,[92] pBM EA 10009+9962,[93] pBM EA 9918,[94] pCairo Cd,[95] pCairo Ca,[96] pLeiden T2,[97] pLeiden T5[98]

D21: pBM EA 10490+10541[99]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, book roll determinative (Y1), and plural dots (N33x3):

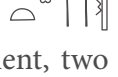
D18: pCairo 2512[100]

 Eagle (G1, probably a mistake for G14) with *t* (X1) complement, oval determinative (either N18, O39, or X4), and plural strokes (Z2):

D18: pImn-htp Cc[101]

 Phallus (D52) with *t* (X1) complement, stone determinative (O39), and plural strokes (Z2):

D18/19: pLeiden T2[102]

 Phallus (D52 with *t* (X1) complement, two throwsticks (T14) and bookroll determinative (Y1):

D19: pBerlin P 3006[103]

83 Naville, *Papyrus hiératique de Katseshni*, pl. LII.

84 Édouard Naville, *Le Papyrus hiéroglyphique de Kamara et le papyrus hiératique de Nesikhonsou* (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1912), pl. VII.

85 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 288.

86 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 289-90.

87 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 288.

88 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

89 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 291-92.

90 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 292.

91 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 286.

92 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 281-82.

93 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 290-91.

94 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

95 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

96 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

97 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

98 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

99 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Stephen G. J. Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1993), 47.

100 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2: pl. 156.

101 Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, 2: pl. 78.

102 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

103 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44.

 Sickle (U1) eagle (G1) quail chick (G43) with t (X1) complement and branch determinative (M3):

D18: pBM EA 9943[104]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, stone determinative (O39):

Ptolemaic: pTurin 1791,[105] pRyerson[106]

 Vulture (G14) with *t* (X1) complement, house determinative (O1, probably a mistake for O39):

Ptolemaic: pHor[107]

 Forearm with rounded loaf (D38) with *t* (X1) complement, and egg determinative (H8):

Ptolemaic: pQeqa[108]

There is some overlap in the spellings of *mw.t* in Book of the Dead 30B and Book of the Dead 125 but I could find no example in the Books of the Dead from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty in the files of the Totenbuchprojekt where the word is spelled the same way in both texts in the same papyrus.

The later spellings, however, may not matter much as Middle Kingdom examples of the spelling of the term on heart scarabs spell the term  *mi.t* (D38 + X1).[109] The writing of *mw.t* as though the term for "mother" seems to be a play on writing, examples of which are certainly known later.[110] E. W. Castle speculates that the term for *balance weight* derives etymologically from the term for *mother* and "might be conjectured to have originated in the use of official, standard weights as exemplars from which other weights might be produced."[111] There need not be any specific etymological connection, and some of the spellings indicate other etymologies.

Realia I: Balance Weights

Many examples of balance weights from ancient Egypt have been preserved. In the Old Kingdom[112] and the Middle Kingdom these weights take the form of "rectangular blocks of polished stone with rounded corners and rounded edges, graduated in size, but for the most part small."[113] In the New Kingdom weights are generally "of three types—rectangular, almond-shaped, and domed."[114] Weights, particularly

104 Maystre, *Déclarations d'innocence*, 44; cf. Munro, *Untersuchungenzu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, 289.

105 Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, pl. XLVI.

106 Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents*, pl. XXXIII.

107 Irmtraut Munro, *Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Hor aus der frühen Ptolemäerzeit (pCologny Bodmer-Stiftung CV + pCincinnati Art Museum 1947.369 + pDenver Art Museum 1954.61)*, Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuch 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), Tafel 13.

108 Martin von Falck, *Das Totenbuch der Qeqa aus der Ptolemäerzeit (pBerlin P. 3003)*, Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), Tafel 13a.

109 David Lorand, "Quatre scarabées de cœur inscrits à tête humaine," *CdE* 83/165-166 (2008): 23-24, 26 n. d, 28-29, 31 n. c.

110 Michel Malinine, "Jeux d'écriture en démotique," *RdE* 19 (1967): 163-66.

111 Castle, "A Structural Study of Bronze Age Systems of Weight," 11.

112 MMA 35.9.5, in William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 1:71-72.

113 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 1:297; Arthur E. P. Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes nos 31271-31670 (Caire: IFAO, 1908), xiv.

114 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 2:220.

Figure 1: Cairo CG 1930. A heart shaped balance wieght. From A. P. Weigall, *Weights and Balances* (Caire: IFAO, 1908), pl. IX.

bronze ones, take the form of various animals or animal heads,[115] such as calves,[116] geese,[117] rams,[118] cows,[119] or hippopotami,[120] as well as block forms, though these are said to be rare.[121] In Ptolemaic times, a square form of weight developed.[122] Balance weights also come "in the form of a heart" (**figure 1**)[123] and with a scarab inscribed on the upper surface (**figure 2**).[124]

Figure 2: Cairo CG 31613. Balance weight decorated with a sacrab. According to the inscription, this 5.18 kilogram weight weighs 60 kite. From A. P. Weigall, *Weights and Balances* (Caire: IFAO, 1908), pl. IV.

Weights based on the gold diban[125] standard used to measure gold come in the following sizes:

1000 diban[126]

115 Susan K. Doll, "Tiergestaltige Gewichte," in *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), 139.

116 MMA 04.2.23, in Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 2:220.

117 London, Science Museum 1935-421, in Regine Schulz, "Entenförmiges Gewicht," in *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 139.

118 London, Science Museum 1935-421, in Regine Schulz, " Widdergestaltiges Gewicht," in *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 139.

119 London Science Museum 1935-427, in Regine Schulz, "Gewicht in Form eines Rinderkopfes," in *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 139.

120 Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 5543, in Regine Schulz, "Nilpferdkopfgewicht," in *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 139.

121 Stephen Quirke and Jeffrey Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 170.

122 Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, xiv.

123 CG 1930, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 20, pl. IX.

124 CG 31613, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 45, pl. IV.

125 "As Egyptian *dbn* was written *ti-ba-an* in Akkadian, it should be vocalized diban." Castle, "A Structural Study of Bronze Age Systems of Weight," 10.

126 W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1926), pl. XXVIII no. 2213.

500 diban[127]
400 diban[128]
200 diban[129]
100 diban[130]
60 diban[131]
50 diban[132]
40 diban[133]
20 diban[134]
16 diban[135]
12 diban[136]
10 diban[137]
8 diban[138]
5 diban[139]
4 diban[140]
3 diban[141]
2 diban[142]
1 diban[143]
3/4 diban[144]
1/2 diban[145]
1/4 diban[146]
1/3 diban[147]
1/8 diban[148]
1/10 diban[149]
1/12 diban[150]
1/24 diban[151]

Weights based on the kite (*qdt*) standard which came in during the New Kingdom come in the following sizes:

500 diban (5000 kite)[152]
270 diban (2700 kite)[153]
300 diban (3000 kite)[154]
200 diban (2000 kite)[155]

127 CG 31494, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 6.
128 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2034.
129 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2018.
130 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2005.
131 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2031.
132 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2002.
133 CG 31320, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 2.
134 CG 31641, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 4.
135 CG 31332, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 3.
136 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2004.
137 CG 31284, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 2.
138 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2045.
139 CG 31631, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 2.
140 CG 31635, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 3.
141 CG 31444, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 2.
142 CG 31306, 31452, 31483, 31484, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 3, 4, 5.
143 CG 31309, 31408, 31610, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 4, 5, 6.
144 CG 31614, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 1.
145 CG 31415, 31622, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 5.
146 CG 31464, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 3.
147 CG 31601, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 1.
148 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXVII no. 2161.
149 CG 31475, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 2.
150 CG 31650, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 3-4.
151 CG 31618, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 4.
152 CG 31496, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 49.
153 CG 31652, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 10.
154 CG 31651, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 55.
155 CG 31495, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 12.

100 diban (1000 kite)[156]
60 diban (600 kite)[157]
50 diban (500 kite)[158]
40 diban (400 kite)[159]
30 diban (300 kite)[160]
250 kite[161]
20 diban (200 kite)[162]
150 kite[163]
10 diban (100 kite)[164]
6 diban (60 kite)[165]
5 diban (50 kite)[166]
4 diban (40 kite)[167]
3 diban (30 kite)[168]
25 kite[169]
24 kite[170]
2 diban (20 kite)[171]
12 kite[172]
1 diban (10 kite)[173]
5 double kite[174]
6 kite[175]
5 kite[176]
4 kite[177]
2 kite[178]
1 kite[179]

156 CG 31493, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 17.
157 CG 31613, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 45-46.
158 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIII no. 3133-34.
159 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIII no. 3102.
160 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXV no. 3838.
161 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIV no. 3319.
162 CG 31321, 31500, 31501, 31502, 31654, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 19, 26, 38, 42, 47.
163 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIII no. 3239.
164 CG 31421, 31499, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 37, 56.
165 CG 31357, 31399, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 21, 42.
166 CG 1930, 31355, 31356, 31397, 31636, 31644, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 20, 34, 36, 42, 50, 54.
167 Petire, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIV no. 3291.
168 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXXIII no. 3141.
169 Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures*, pl. XXIV no. 3370.
170 CG 31395, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 13.
171 CG 31297, 31314, 31323, 31330, 31331, 31334, 31342, 31343, 31344, 31354, 31394, 31604, 31637, 31639, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 9, 13, 15, 22, 26, 27, 30, 38, 39, 43, 44, 48.
172 CG 31333, 31336, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 35, 45.
173 CG 31290, 31302, 31304, 31305, 31312, 31313, 31315, 31317, 31325, 31326, 31335, 31337, 31338, 31339, 31340, 31341, 31345, 31346, 31347, 31348, 31349, 31350, 31351, 31358, 31359, 31385, 31386, 31387, 31388, 31391, 31392, 31443, 31634, 31642, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 51.
174 CG 31603, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 40.
175 CG 31352, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 47.
176 CG 31278, 31286, 31287, 31288, 31289, 31307, 31318, 31327, 31329, 31353, 31360, 31371, 31373, 31375, 31376, 31377, 31378, 31379, 31380, 31381, 31382, 31384, 31406, 31479, 31481, 31482, 31605, 31609, 31620, 31625, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 33, 35, 36, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54.
177 CG 31383, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 19.
178 CG 31281, 31283, 31319, 31324, 31362, 31363, 31364, 31365, 31366, 31367, 31368, 31370, 31400, 31401, 31402, 31403, 31404, 31405, 31406, 31449, 31450, 31451, 31453, 31454, 31485, 31486, 31656, 31657, 31658, 31659, 31660, 31661, 31662, 31663, 31664, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 55.
179 CG 31271, 31272, 31273, 31274, 31275, 31308, 31389, 31411, 31412, 31413, 31418, 31419, 31422, 31423, 31437, 31438, 31439, 31440, 31441, 31442, 31445, 31446, 31447, 31448, 31487, 31608, 31615, 31616, 31617, 31626, 31646, 31665, 31666, 31667, 31668, 31669, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55.

1/2 kite[180]
1/3 kite[181]
1/6 kite[182]
1/10 kite[183]
1/12 kite[184]

Whatever the ideal weight for a balance weight is, in practice, it varies both in individual examples and over time.[185] The actual weight of the kite varies from 7.92 grams to 10 grams.[186] The actual weigh of the gold diban varies from 11.5 grams to 13.95 grams.[187]

Realia II: Heart Scarabs

Although there is a typology of heart amulets,[188] one aspect that has not been studied about heart scarabs is their weight. The majority of the publications do not bother to give a weight,[189] so if there is an interaction between balance weights and heart scarabs, there is no way of knowing from the published corpus.

J. H. Taylor of the British Museum, however, has provided me with a list of weights of scarabs from the British Museum collection. About four out of five of these correspond to standard weight amounts. Corresponding to the gold diban standard are the following:

Museum Number	material	weight in grams	weight in gold diban	weight of diban (11.5-13.95 g)
EA 7934	stone	134	10	13.4 g
EA 7919	stone	124	10	12.4 g
EA 7917	stone	122	10	12.2 g
EA 7884	stone	120	10	12.0 g
EA 7908	stone	120	10	12.0 g
EA 7879	stone	68	5	13.6 g
EA 7883	stone	66	5	13.2 g
EA 7891	faience?	66	5	13.2 g
EA 7913	stone	62	5	12.4 g
EA 7915	stone	62	5	12.4 g
EA 7902	stone	60	5	12.0 g
EA 7898	stone	58	5	11.6 g
EA 7924	stone	58	5	11.6 g

180 CG 31410, 31416, 31417, 31424, 31425, 31426, 31427, 31428, 31429, 31432, 31433, 31434, 31435, 31436, 31456, 31458, 31459, 31460, 31488, 31630, 31647, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 52, 53, 54.

181 CG 31292, 31294, 31295, 31296, 31461, 31462, 31463, 31466, 31467, 31468, 31469, 31472, 31623, 31628, 31648, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 14, 15, 20, 23, 24, 31, 33, 34, 39, 41, 48, 52, 53.

182 CG 31297, 31298, 31299, 31476, 31477, 31606, 31619, 31624, 31649, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 14, 24, 35, 40, 46, 48, 50, 51, 56.

183 CG 31301, 31611, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 13, 28.

184 CG 31643, in Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 20.

185 This is nicely illustrated by the chart in Castle, "A Structural Study of Bronze Age Systems of Weight," 375.

186 Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 9, 56.

187 Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, 1, 6.

188 Rogério Ferreira de Sousa, "The Heart Amulet in Ancient Egypt: A Typological Study," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists / Actes de Neuvième Congrès International des Égyptologies*, ed. Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 1:713-20.

189 E.g. Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 124-43.

More numerous are those heart scarabs that correspond to the kite standard, which are as follows:

Museum Number	material	weight in grams	weight in kite	weight of kite (7.92-10 g)
EA 7928	stone	242	30	8.1 g
EA 7918	stone	198	20	9.9 g
EA 7929	stone	188	20	9.4 g
EA 7925	stone	180	20	9.0 g
EA 7927	stone	164	20	8.2 g
EA 7910	stone	108	12	9.0 g
EA 7920	stone	100	10	10.0 g
EA 7906	stone	94	10	9.4 g
EA 7914	stone	90	10	9.0 g
EA 7909	stone	84	10	8.4 g
EA 7921	stone	84	10	8.4 g
EA 7899	stone	82	10	8.2 g
EA 7905	stone	82	10	8.2 g
EA 7911	stone	82	10	8.2 g
EA 7912	stone	80	10	8.0 g
EA 7924	stone	58	6	9.7 g
EA 7897	stone?	52	6	8.7 g
EA 7903	stone	48	5	9.6 g
EA 7868	faience	46	5	9.2 g
EA 7869	faience	44	5	8.8 g
EA 7886	stone	40	5	8.0 g
EA 7892	stone	16	2	8.0 g
EA 7893	stone	8	1	8.0 g

All the scarabs correspond to actual balance weights. It should be noted that not all heart scarabs in the British Museum whose weights I have match known balance weight amounts. The following do not:

EA 7878 stone 108 g
EA 7880 stone 70 g
EA 7881 stone 28 g
EA 7885 stone 28 g
EA 7890 stone 22 g
EA 7894 stone 112 g
EA 7896 faience 22 g
EA 7901 stone 70 g
EA 7904 Egyptian blue? 32 g
EA 7907 resin? 72 g
EA 7922 stone 72 g
EA 7926 stone 150 g

The last three seem to match the Phonecian standard[190] weighing 5, 5, and 10 diban respectively.

A significant number of the samples of heart scarabs accord with the weights of known balance weights from Egypt, indicating that they could have served as weights.

The use of a scarab has caused some discussion and various esoteric theories have been put forward. A. W. Shorter, for example, connects the use of the term *ḫprw* in Book of the Dead 30B with the use in the transformation chapters in Book of the Dead 76-88.[191] For Shorter, "the expression 'heart of my transformations' can then only mean 'heart which wills or desires my

190 Weigall, *Weights and Balances*, VII-IX, 6-9.
191 Shorter, "Notes on Some Funerary Amulets," 171-73.

Figure 3: Chapter 30B from the Papyrus of Hunefer. This image has often been misidentified. BM EA 9901 sheet 3. © Trustees of the British Museum.

transformations'" and refers the reader to the Memphite Theology of the Shabako Stone.[192] So the heart scarabs have the shape they do because "in Spell 30 B, after saluting his heart as the organ which he received together with his whole body from his mother at birth, he goes on to address it as the source of the motive power to accomplish the god-like changes of form which he desires in the life after death."[193] A simpler view is that the use of a scarab (*ḫprr*) for the heart amulet plays off the text of Book of the Dead 30B reference to the heart representing the stages of life (*ḫprw*) of the individual. This also might explain why human headed scarabs for heart amulets are known.[194] Contrary to assertions that "le formule 30 ne se réfère à aucune substitution,"[195] the amulet is *n ḫprw=i* "for my stages of life." The use of the dative (if that is what the *n* is) should be taken as indicating that the one object is "for," "on behalf of,"[196] or "instead of" the other object. It replaces it. The heart represents both the balance weight and the deeds of an individual on earth. It could also be that the *n* represents some sort of indirect genitive of equivalence similar to the genitive used in the expression *wsir N* "Osiris of N".[197]

Interpretation

Book of the Dead 30B has been consistently mistranslated. The key word *mw.t* in this context

192 Shorter, "Notes on Some Funerary Amulets," 172.

193 Shoter, "Notes on Some Funerary Amulets," 172.

194 Hanane Gaber, "Les scarabées de coeur à tête humaine à la lumière d'une variante de la pesée du coeur," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1:743-48; Lorand, "Quatre scarabées de cœur inscrits à tête humaine," *CdE* 83/165-166: 20-40.

195 Gaber, "Les scarabées de coeur à tête humaine à la lumière d'une variante de la pesée du coeur," 743.

196 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 127.

197 Mark Smith, "Osiris NN or Osiris of NN?" in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*, ed. Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro and Simone Stöhr (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 325-37; cf. Mark Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London: British Museum, 1987), 75-79.

means not the more common "mother" but the rarer "balance weight." Thus Book of the Dead 30B can be translated as follows:

> My heart for my balance weight.
> My heart for the events of my life.
> Do not stand against me as a witness.
> Do not oppose me as a witness.
> Do not oppose me in the council.
> Do not tilt against me before the keeper of the balance.
> You are my memory in my body, and Khnum who heals my limbs.
> When you come forth to the good place in which we are equipped, do not make my name to stink to the companions who make men in their lifetimes.
> It is good for us just as it is good for him who obeys and joyous for the one who judges.
> Do not invent lies against me beside the great god, the lord of Abydos.
> Look, you were exalted when you were vindicated.

This sets up the rationale for the judgment scene that was used as a vignette for Book of the Dead 30B during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. When the individual's heart was placed on the balance, the individual's heart explicitly represents the stages of life (*ḫprw*) when the individual was on earth (*wnn=i ḥr-tp t3*). It is a summation of the deeds of an individual and it is weighed against Maat, the standard of conduct. The two should balance so that an individual's deeds are those of Maat. The standard of Maat is laid out in Book of the Dead 125, which is why the judgment vignette is later assigned to that text.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE

Ten Amarna Blocks in the Royal Ontario Museum

Lyn Green

(drawings by Lyla Pinch Brock)

Abstract:

The Royal Ontario Museum is home to a number of decorated blocks from the excavations of the central city of Tell el-Amarna in 1935/36. This article deals with several of those reliefs: ROM 966.81.1, ROM 966.81.2, ROM 966.81.3 and ROM 966.81.4, ROM 966.81.8 and ROM 966.81.9, ROM 966.81.11, ROM 966.81.14, ROM 966.81.16 and ROM 966.81.18. Although the blocks represent only portions of larger scenes, the theme of those reliefs can usually be determined. The subjects of the blocks discussed here comprise: animals in the desert; a procession with chariots; standard bearers or soldiers accompanying the royal couple; a princess following a queen; a kneeling man; the head of a Nubian charioteer; the sanctuary of a temple; a sphinx offering and a royal barge drawn up at a dock.

Résumé:

Le Musée royal de l'Ontario possède un nombre de blocs décorés qui proviennent des fouilles de 1935/36 au centre de la ville à Tell el-Amarna. Cet article analyse plusieurs de ceux-ci: ROM 966.81.1, ROM 966.81.2, ROM 966.81.3 et ROM 966.81.4, ROM 966.81.8 et ROM 966.81.9, ROM 966.81.11, ROM 966.81.14, aussi bien que ROM 966.81.16 et ROM 966.81.18. Bien que ces blocs ne représentent qu'une portion de scènes plus détaillées, le thème de ces reliefs peut souvent être déterminé. Les sujets discutés ici comprennent: des animaux dans le désert; un défilé avec des chars; des portes étendard ou des soldats accompagnants le couple royal; une princesse derrière une reine; un homme agenouillé; la tête d'un aurige nubien; le sanctuaire d'un temple; un sphinx faisant une offrande et un bateau royal accosté.

Key Words:

Amarna, Amarna blocks, Amarna palaces, boats, sphinx, Royal Ontario Museum, mooring posts

Dedication:

The late Nicholas Millet was a great influence on me throughout my student career and beyond. Some time before his death he gave me permission to study and publish the blocks discussed here. I would like this article to be a belated offering to his memory.

Introduction

As the British expedition to Tell el-Amarna in the 1930s came to an end, a number of institutions which had given financial and other support were granted items from the concession. The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada was one of these. In 1966 it finally received a number of blocks from the excavations of the central palace in the city. Except for brief mentions in *City of Akhenaten* III, virtually none have been published before now and only a few are on display. The 19 blocks are decorated with scenes which depict life both inside and outside the palace. About half of these blocks formed

Figure 1: ROM 966.81.1.

Figure 2: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.1 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

part of scenes illustrating activities in the palace interior. Those, including a non-representational architectural element, will be dealt with in a separate article. The rest, published here, are a miscellaneous group. They comprise portions of human figures, part of a desert scene, a portion of representation of a ship at dock, and a sphinx. Regrettably, many are are enigmatic due to the lack of context for what is represented.

ROM 966.81.1

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, London

Material: Limestone

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 22cm X 29cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment.

Provenance: From the Great Palace, Central Halls, west of axis. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951), 72, pl.69.7 [without excavation number or description]

Description: Most of the block surface is occupied by a portion of landscape, on whose summit is a small rounded cone-shape, perhaps a burrow. There is possibly an animal visible at the upper left corner of the block, perhaps a desert hare.[1] In the upper right hand corner a predator is depicted standing on a sloping ground line, sniffing at the mound. The object card describes this as a "cat-like" creature, but the muzzle is not quite the right shape and some other small desert predator is more likely the animal depicted. It may be a hyena.

Discussion: This block was undoubtedly part of a series of scenes depicting desert scenes with animals under the beneficent rays of the Aten. Some of the best known are from the corpus of Karnak talatat, but others in the same style as this piece come from Amarna. One such block, which was reused in the foundations of a gate of Ramses II at Hermopolis[2] shows a young antelope running alongside its dam.[3] Another fragment, perhaps from the same scene, shows antelopes or oryxes.[4] Unlike many of the reliefs from the palaces at Amarna, which have their closest parallels from the tombs, this scene is most reminiscent of a relief of a pair of hyenas from the Karnak talatat,[5] although the styles are somewhat different.

ROM 966.81.2

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone; traces of original red pigment. The top and bottom edges of the block survive but are worn and chipped.

1 According to notes on the object card in the Royal Ontario Museum, this animal is a "desert hare", but if so it is so damaged as to be almost undetectable from most angles. Examination of the block as it is displayed in the Egyptian gallery of the museum, as well as drawings and photos available, does not reveal the nature of this enigmatic creature – if creature it is.

2 Günther Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1969), 239, PC299B, and pl. 215.

3 Louvre E32559, Marc Etienne, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten : Nefertiti : Tutankhamen Tutankhamen*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999), no. 95.

4 Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis* , Nr. 439-VIII Tf. 99.

5 Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* vol. I,: *The Initial Discoveries* (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1976), pl. 83:1.

Figure 3: ROM 966.81.2.

Figure 4: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.2 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 22cm X 31cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: No excavation number. Presumably from the Great Palace, excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: None

Description: Chariot driver, facing right, at left edge of block, holding rein and whip in left hand, other reign in right hand. Directly in front of the driver are two figures holding the narrow ostrich feather fans, passengers in the chariot ahead. Traces of original red pigment remain on the driver.

Discussion: This block also depicts a portion of a scene found numerous times in tombs at Amarna,[6] and on other blocks from the palaces of the city[7] In those scenes a crouching driver steers a chariot containing high-ranking ladies of the court as passengers. The ladies are identifiable by the long ostrich-feather fans they hold. These fans are the mark of courtiers,[8] but particularly of the female members of the royal entourage. No matter the situation, these fans are ubiquitous in images of court ladies, both at Amarna[9] and in the Karnak talatat.[10] They are held as insignia by those of the highest rank: even Baketaten and several of the daughters of Nefertiti are shown brandishing them in the tomb of Huya.[11] A peculiarity of all the representations of female courtiers holding the fans while riding in chariots is that they hold them "bolt upright".[12]

ROM 966.81.3

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone The edges of the surface are damaged but survive on the top, left and bottom. Remains of original red pigment on face and arms.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 22cm X 30cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: From the Great Palace, Great Hall, southern section, rooms flanking Central Halls, east: TA 35/465. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951), 73 (listed, but not illustrated)

Description: The relief originally showed the upper half of a row of soldiers or fanbearers facing right, in overlapping perspective. ROM 966.81.3 shows their flexed arms holding standards, or spears in their hands. The men are shown on the right hand portion of the block, with empty space before them. The lower part of the face of one of the men is visible.

Discussion: Numerous reliefs from the tombs and palaces of Amarna show soldiers holding spears, staves or standards.[13] A similar

6 N. De Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Volume I. *Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir* no. 13 (London : Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), pl. xix, shows an almost identical depiction; Davies *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* Vol. II. *Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir* no. 14 (Egypt Exploration Fund: London 1905), pls. xiii, xv.

7 Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum in Association with the Viking Press, 1973), no. 73; John D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1965), no. 34.

8 Henry G. Fischer, "Facher und Wedel," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 82-3.

9 Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* I, pl. x; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* II, pl. vii, xiii; *Nofretete, Echnaton*, ed. H. W. Müller, J. Settgast (München : Haus der Kunst, c1976), Nr. 22, 77.

10 Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project,* vol. I (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1976), pls. 23:7, 41, 47:1, 48:1, 49.

11 N. De Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, vol. III, *Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir* no. 15 (Egypt Exploration Society: London, 1905), pl. ix.

12 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 73.

13 E.g. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* I, pls. x ,xv; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* III, pls. xxi, xxxix; N. De Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, vol. IV *Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir* no. 16 (Egypt Exploration Society: London, 1906), pls. xx, xxxi, xxii, xxvi; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 39.

Figure 5: ROM 966.81.3.

piece published by Cooney which depicts a row of faces of men holding staffs was identified by him as a group of soldiers.[14] However, representations of men holding fans or sunshades are equally numerous at Amarna.[15] Since fans, standards and sunshades may all be held in the position shown in this piece, it is possible that the men whose arms we see in this fragment are actually court attendants. Regrettably, it is unlikely that we will be able to match the ROM fragment with another block and solve the problem. The long jaw of the face just visible on this block is very similar to the face of a soldier on an unprovenanced block in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.[16] Also similar are the thin arms of the figures, suggesting these minor figures might be the work of the same artist.

ROM 966.81.4

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

14 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections* no.22.
15 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections* no.21.
16 Fitzwilliam Museum, EGA. 4514.1943: published in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, no. 107.

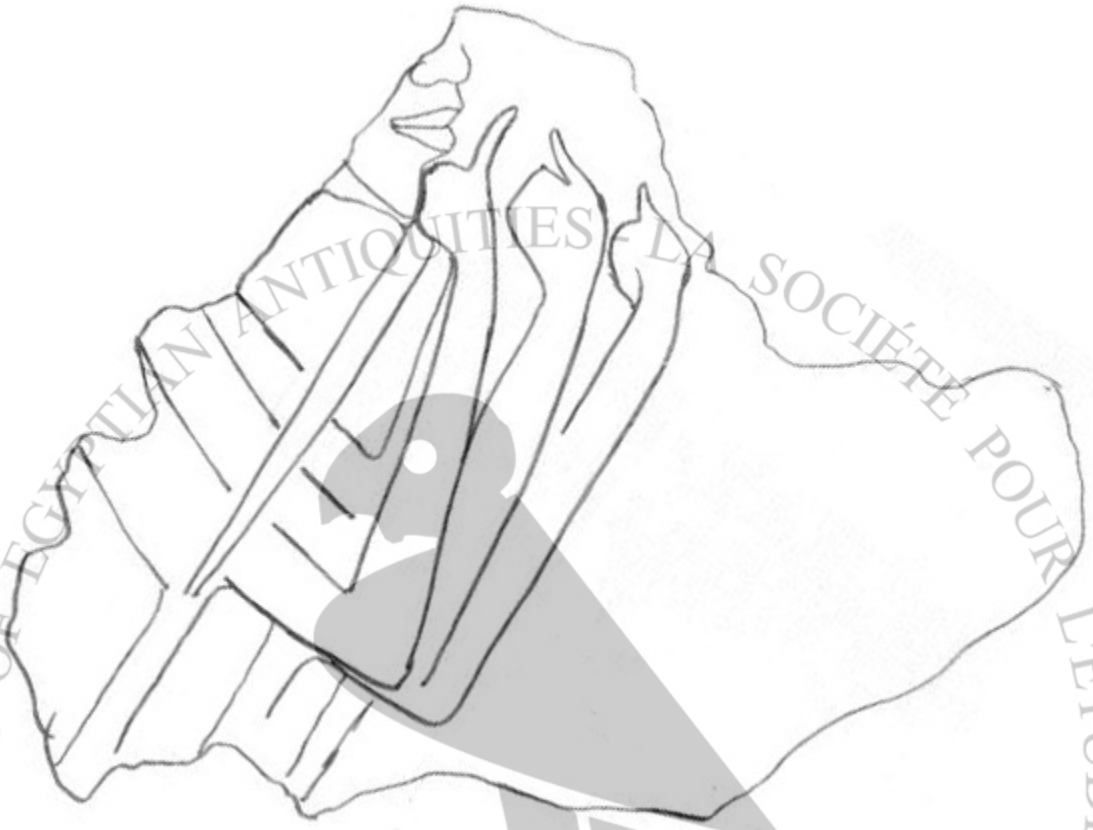


Figure 6: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.3 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

Material: Limestone; traces of original red, blue and white pigment

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 19 cm X 35cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: Excavation number missing but presumably from the Great Palace. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central City and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951).

Description: Only the torso, arm and thighs survive of a standing female figure in typical pleated Amarna gown, tied under the bust. A fragment of large-scale inscription is intact behind her: the word *dt* is visible. Some of the original red and white paint remains on the body and gown of figure. Blue pigment may be seen on the *t* and red on the *d*. The surface of the block is slightly rounded, suggesting that it originally came from a column.

Discussion: This relief represents an Amarna princess. The size of the female figure in comparison to that of the hieroglyphs suggests that the woman in question was a junior member of the royal family. In view of the preponderance of images and inscriptions referring to Nefertiti in the Central Palace, and the probable ending of

Figure 7: Detail of ROM 966.81.4.

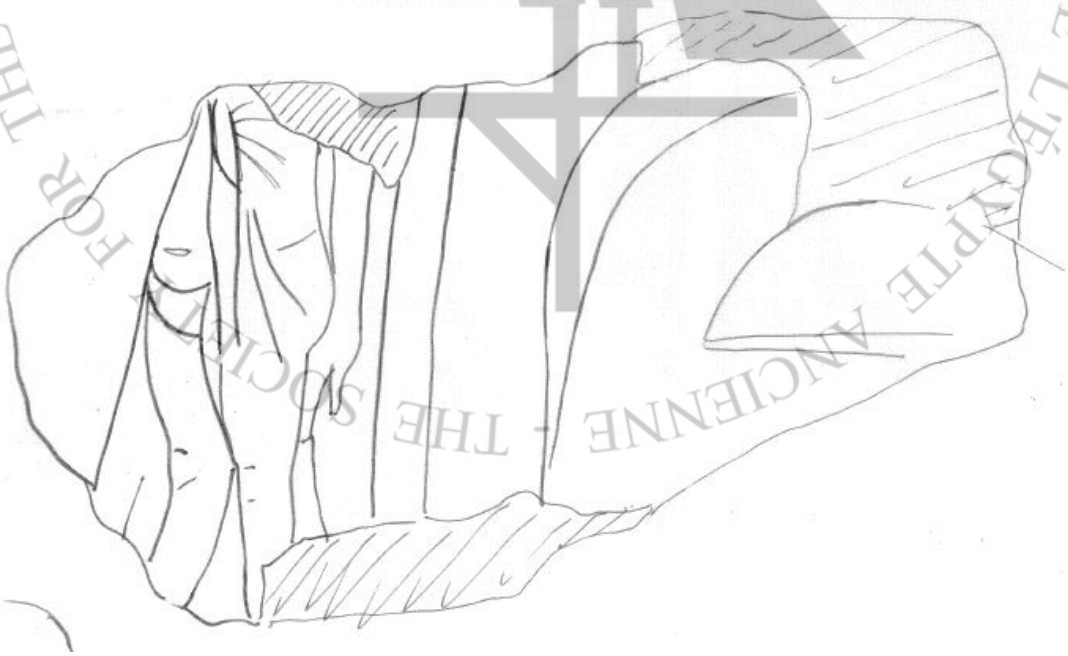


Figure 8: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.4 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

the titulary and epithets in *ḏt nḥḥ*, it is likely that this is a daughter of hers.[17]

ROM 966.81.8

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone, with traces of original yellow and red pigment. Original top, bottom and left edges of the block survive. Worn and pitted surface.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 16cm X 24cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: Excavation number missing, but presumably from the Great Palace. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: None

Description: The relief consists of the lower body and legs of a kneeling male figure, facing right. Apart from a portion of a bent outstretched arm at the right edge of the block, no trace of the upper torso of the figure is visible. Red paint survives on some of the visible parts of body: legs, arm and belly. The figure at first appears naked but the girdle and tie of a loincloth are discernable.

In addition to the human figure, the partial outlines of two unidentifiable objects may be discerned at the right and left edges. The traces of the rounded object on the right side of the block bear yellow pigment. The small object at the left-hand edge has no trace of colour.

Figure 9: ROM 966.81.8.

Discussion: It is somewhat difficult to find parallels for this relief because there are no useful traces behind the human figure to provide a context for its surroundings or actions. However, the position of the legs, with one knee advanced, recalls the sed-festival scenes in the Karnak talatat, in which palanquin bearers of Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted kneeling.[18] Alternately, the pose is reminiscent of the bound prisoners kneeling on the daises of Akhenaten and Nefertiti as shown in the Karnak talatat.[19] Kneeling prisoners have also been restored around the base of the Window of Appearance at Medinet Habu[20] with a representation of a traditional smiting scene above. Such a scene has been reconstructed in the Karnak temple by the French,[21] but there do not seem

17 The occurrence of the formula is too ubiquitous for more than one or two examples to be mentioned: e.g., Norman de Garis Davies. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* V. *Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir* no. 17 (Egypt Exploration Fund: London, 1908), pl. xv; Smith and Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project* I, pls. 32, 33.

18 Smith and Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project* I pl. 41.3 shows male palanquin bearers, but they exist only as heads; Jocelyn Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed Festival at Karnak* (London and New York: Kegan Paul 1992), 40.

19 Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic king* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1984), frontispiece; Smith and Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project* I, pl. 41.1, 41.2. These female foreigners are from the dais of Nefertiti.

20 Dorothea Arnold, "The Royal Palace: Architecture, Design and Furnishings" in *The Pharaohs*, edited Christiane Ziegler (Milan: Pompiani, 2002), 289.

21 Robert Vergnieux and Michel Gondran, *Aménophis IV et les pierres du soleil* (Paris: Arnaud, 1997), 126-127.

Figure 10: ROM 966.81.9.

to be any extant examples of such decoration on the Window of Appearance at Amarna despite numerous representations of this architectural feature.[22] In the Karnak talatat scene, only the upper halves of the blocks showing the prisoners have survived, making a direct comparison with the ROM 966.81.8 unfortunately impossible.

However, the position of the legs, with one knee advanced and its foot hidden by the calf of the second leg, even more closely recalls the scenes of "tribute" or durbar in the Amarna tombs.[23] There, representatives of various foreign nations can be found with arms upraised to the Aten.

ROM 966.81.9

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone, surface slightly pitted. The right and bottom edges of the block survive.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 10cm X 20cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

22 E.g., E.g., BMFA 64.521, published in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, no. 110; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* I, xvi; Davies, *Rock Tombs of Amarna* II, pls. xxxiii-xxxvi; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pl. xvii, xxix.

23 Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* II, pl. xxxvii.

Figure 11: ROM 966.81.11.

Provenance: From the Great Palace, southern section, central halls: TA 35/518. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951) p. 70 [described as "face in relief"]

Description: ROM 966.81.9 depicts the head of a man facing left and tilted slightly upward. Behind the human figure are what may be the head and shoulders of an animal (horse).

Discussion: In the object cards, this face is described as being that of a "Nubian". In style it most closely resembles a relief published by Cooney, and part of the Schimmel Collection.[24] However, the context seems to have been quite different, as the faces in that relief were part of a processional scene of soldiers or standard bearers. In this case the face may have belonged to a groom holding a horse.[25]

ROM 966.81.11

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

24 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections,* no. 22.
25 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections*, no. 26[BMFA62.319], no 32 and especially no. 31.

Figure 12: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.11 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

Material: Limestone; slightly pitted, worn at bottom. A diagonal fracture runs from top left. Right, top and bottom edges survive.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 22cm X 21cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: Excavation number missing, but presumably from the Great Palace. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951) .

Description: This reliefs shows (from right edge), a statue of the king, facing left, holding a tray of food offerings to the Aten. Five rays, terminating in hands, radiate from upper right but disk is not visible. In front of the statue of the king is a large altar laden with flowers and bread. Four of the Aten's hands reach out to touch the food on the altar, while the fifth reaches for the smaller tray of bread held by the statue. The statue is representing in a *khat* head-covering with uraeus and long skirt.

Discussion: This block is almost identical to a block in the Fitzwilliam Museum (2300.1943) which formed part of a heb-sed scene.[26] In that relief the statue of the king is shown on a slightly smaller scale than the altar.

Another, and better known, parallel may be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (63.961). However, the statues in that relief face away from the altars, and are not touched by the Aten's hands.[27] Several parallels exist in Amarna

26 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* , no. 11.
27 Aldred, *AN* no. 81; Cooney, no. 61; *Pharaohs of the Sun* no. 96.

Figure 13: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.14 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

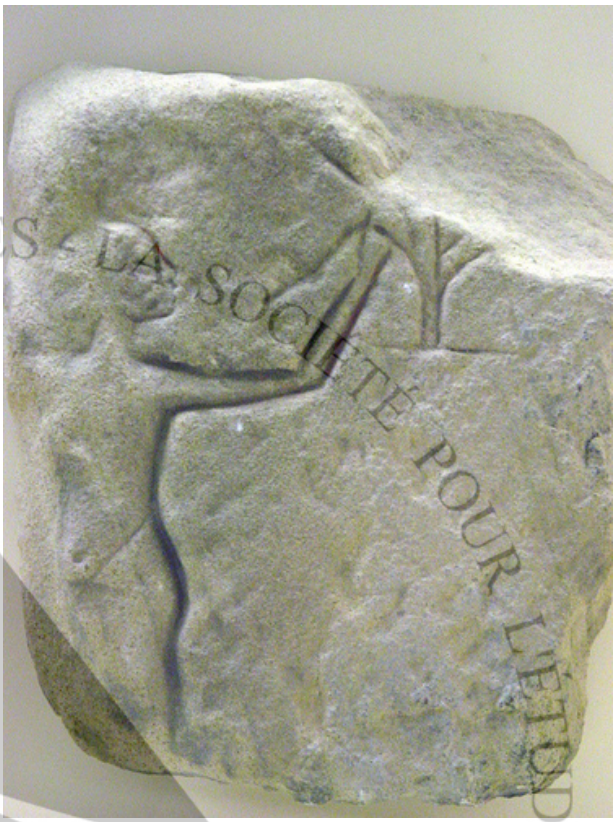


Figure 14: ROM 966.81.14.

tombs,[28] including variants in which statues of Tiye or Nefertiti are represented in the same manner within the sanctuary.

The obvious purpose of such statues is to stand in for the ruler when he or she cannot physically be present to make the offerings.[29] Actual examples of such statues exist.[30]

ROM 966.81.14

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada; Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone; worn and scarred.

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 23cm X 9cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: Presumably from the Great Palace; excavation number is missing. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

28 Davies *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* III, pl. xi, xxx.

29 Marianne Doresse, Une statuette d'Akhenaton d'époque amarnienne et le culte quotidien de l'Aton, *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-85): 89-102.

30 Cairo JE 43580, published in *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, ed. Mohamed Saleh, Hourig Sourouzian. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), no. 160; BM 935, published in Maya Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons* (Basel: Verlag für Ägyptologie, 1988), Tf. 16a-b, Teil I p. 74-5, Teil IV, p. 123.

Figure 14: ROM 966.81.16.

Previous publication: No excavation number; possibly published in J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951)

Description: This block shows an elderly male looking over his shoulder and raising his left arm towards the branch of a tree behind him. The tree is shown on a much smaller scale; the ground line for it is on a level with the servant's neck. There are traces of original red pigment on the face and arm of the figure.

Discussion: This male figure piece resembles certain other reliefs from Amarna, showing jubilant figures greeting an honoured courtier.[31] However, a fragmentary scene in the tomb of Huya may offer the closest parallel. On the lowest register of the east side of the south wall traces remain of an agricultural scene. In one section of the scene men are shown picking something from trees. The visible traces of one of the figures seems to show the trees at the same scale in relation to the human figures, as can be seen in this block. Moreover, from the extant portions of the figure in front of the tree, the arm of the man was in a similar pose. Regrettably, this is all that can be gleaned from the remains of the relief.

31 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* Part VI, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir no. 18 (Egypt Exploration Fund: London, 1908), pl. xxix.

Figure 15: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.16 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

ROM 966.81.16

Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 25cm X 34 cm

Provenance: From the Central Palace, Broad Hall, west of central pavilion (TA 35/204). Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951) p. 67 (not illustrated).

Description: This block, which shows damage and weathering, depicts the body of a sphinx facing left. Traces of an inscription and the top curve of a cartouche are visible. The excavators describe "[h]eavy blocks which clearly formed part of broken lintels for doors,"[32] on which were figures of sphinxes, or rather the king as a sphinx, offering cartouches to the Aten.

Discussion: Although the head of the sphinx is broken off, this relief undoubtedly was originally as described with the figure of the king making an offering to the Aten. There are a number of well-known parallels to this in various museums. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 64.1944[33] is the closest comparison to the cartouche-offering variant, while Kestner Museum

32 Cf. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl 68, nos. 3, 4 and pp. 57, 70 and 79.

33 Published in Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 99; *Pharaohs of the Sun* no. 89.

Figure 16: ROM 966.81.18.

1964.3[34] shows the royal androsphinx offering a vase.

Those reliefs mentioned above are inscribed with the earlier forms of the Aten's name. Regrettably, the ROM fragment does not retain enough inscription to let us know if this was the case for that block as well. In any case, the use of the sphinx as royal motif continued to be appropriate throughout Akhenaten's reign.[35] As Peter Lacovara has pointed out,[36] "the association of the sphinx with 'Horus of the Horizon' and the concept of liminality" made it an appropriate image for entryways, and insured the continuation of the motif of the sphinx in the Amarna Period. Pendlebury's excavations found a block

34 Published in Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 99; *Pharaohs of the Sun,* no. 90.

35 M. Eaton-Krauss, and W. Murnane, "Tutankhamen, Ay and the Avenue of Sphinxes between Pylon X and the Mut Precinct at Karnak", *BSEG* 80 (1994): 31-38.

36 Peter Lacovara in *Pharaohs of the Sun*, 231; for the association of the sphinx with liminality see Lynn Meskell, Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied lives: figuring ancient Maya and Egyptian experience* (London: Routledge, 2003), 84.

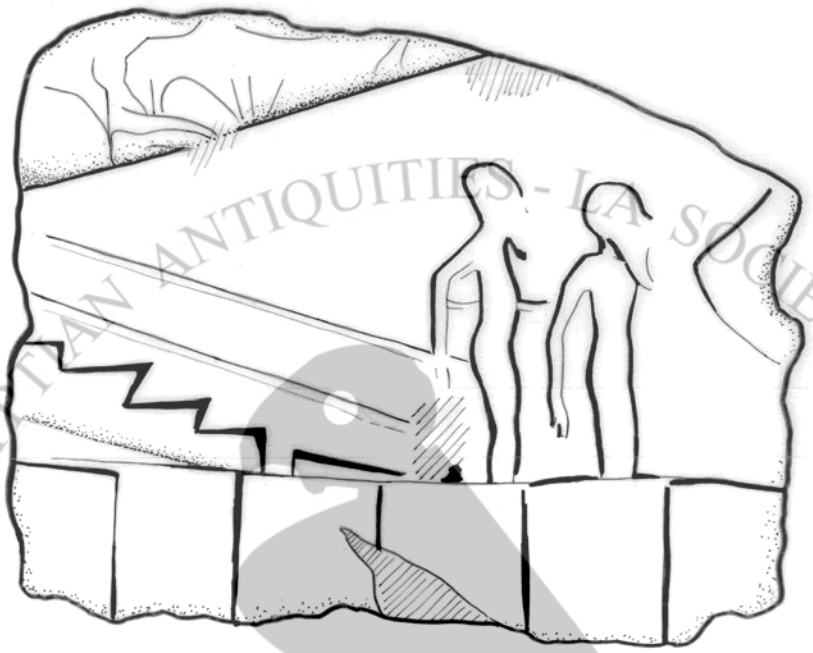


Figure 17: Line drawing of ROM 966.81.18 by Lyla Pinch Brock.

of this type *in situ* in a wall set off the central corridor of the Great Palace at Amarna.[37]

ROM 966.81.18

Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, through the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum

Material: Limestone

Dimensions (at greatest height and width): 22.2cm X 39 cm; original thickness uncertain, trimmed in London to thickness of approx. 9cm for shipment

Provenance: From the Central Palace, Central Hall. Excavated 1935-36 season by Egypt Exploration Society Mission to Tell el-Amarna.

Previous publication: J.D.S. Pendlebury et al, *The City of Akhenaten, Part 3, The central city and the official quarters:* part III (London : Egypt Exploration Society, 1951) p. 68, no. 8 and p. 72 (not illustrated).

Description: This block shows a scene from a quay or dock at Amarna. On the upper left corner of the block , the hull of ship is visible. A stepped gangplank leads from the ship to the dock and mooring posts in the shape of bound prisoners. Mooring ropes from the first ship are visible over the gangplank. The right hand side of the block shows a portion of another ship, perhaps the prow. A series of vertical lines which perhaps represent the wharf are visible in

37 Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, no. 313b, pl 68, nos. 3, 4 and pp. 57, 70 and 79.

the foreground. Barely visible on the ship's hull are a series of curved shapes which are probably the figures of kneeling enemies.

Discussion: There can be no doubt that this block comes from a scene depicting a royal barge docked at a quay somewhere in Amarna. The presence of the kneeling enemies and the mooring posts in the shape of bound prisoners are paralleled on more fully preserved representations of royal boats.

The block itself and the scene of which it would have formed a part can be paralleled in several well-known reliefs. The best known is perhaps that reconstructed some years ago for the John Cooney book *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections*.[38] The vessel shown on the block in the Royal Ontario Museum is very similar to the boats depicted on [no. 51],[39] although on that block, the details of the hull are much clearer. The prow and stern of the boats shown on [no. 51] are decorated with the figures of kneeling and standing suppliant enemies: their postures vary according to the curvature of the hull. As reconstructed by Suzanne Chapman two of the three royal boats in the scene are being rowed on a waterway, while the third is tied up at a dock. On each boat there is a small enclosure or cabin on both the fore and aft decks. This structure is decorated with a scene of a royal personage in a smiting pose. On one block it is clear that the smiting figure in the image is intended to be Nefertiti.[40] On another, a king is shown followed by a smaller female figure, probably Kiya. The depiction of the poop deck on the last block is incomplete and could be either female or male. If Chapman has reconstructed the scene correctly, the vessel with the suppliant enemies on the hull was equally likely to have belonged to Nefertiti as to Akhenaten.

Another important parallel for the block's original context may be found in the tomb of May at Amarna[41] where a royal boat is shown amongst many others pulled up at a quay. Similar diagonal lines indicate the presence of mooring ropes in the tomb relief. Verticals indicating the wharf itself may also be seen in the Amarna tomb image. The tomb also contains a text which mentions May as a "follower of the King in his august *bik*-vessel."[42]

Damaged blocks with very similar representations of royal vessels were found at Abydos[43] and Memphis.[44] The ship represented on the Abydos block also possessed a hull decorated with figures of suppliant foreigners.

In 1986 Edward Werner published an article in *JARCE*[45] dealing with the comparable scenes discussed above. He concluded, using the inscription in the tomb of May, that the ship represented in the scenes was of a type known as *bik*. Although not well-known the ship designation *bik* is attested at several periods in Egyptian history.[46] However, this term usually refers to ships associated with Montu in his role as a war-god. Werner argued that the militaristic iconography of the royal ships depicted on the blocks discussed above would indicate that these boats

38 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections*, no. 50, 51; Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, no. 57; *Pharaohs of the Sun*, nos. 110, 111, 112.

39 Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs in American Collections*, no. 51.

40 *Pharaohs of the Sun*, no. 110.

41 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna* vol. V, pl. v.

42 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna* vol. V, pl. iv.

43 W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos* II (EES Memoirs no. 24; London EES 1903).

44 R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI (London, 1915), pl. LIV.7.

45 Edward K. Werner, "Montu and the Falcon Ships" *JARCE* 23 (1986): 120-122.

46 Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1988), no. 28.

were a variation on the traditional *bik* , with the Aten substituting for Montu as tutelary deity and figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti replacing images of Montu.

There is no doubt in my mind that Werner's reasoning has merit and we are looking at a fragment of a lost scene which would have depicted another example of a *bik*-variant from the Amarna Period. This means that we can reconstruct the rest of the boat in this lost scene to have had a both a large and small deck-cabins. The smaller cabins at prow and stern would have been decorated with scenes of the destruction of Egypt's enemies. One feature seemingly unique to the Royal Ontario Museum relief, however, are the mooring posts.

In her unpublished Masters thesis,[47] Noreen Doyle discusses many aspects of nautical iconography, many of which are germane to a study of this block. For example, the mooring posts of the ROM relief appear quite large, but as Doyle notes, representations of mooring posts in ritual contexts are often exaggerated.[48] In this case, their size may have been exaggerated to make clear the details of the anthropomorphized posts. Doyle categorizes several types of mooring posts:[49] pegged, spurred, hooked and forked. In other[50] late 18th dynasty scenes of royal ships at dock appear the type she describes as "hooked." She has no examples of mooring posts in anthropomorphic form – at least none in the form of bound prisoners. In ritual scenes, some mooring posts are deified, and shown with human heads,[51] but they have no arms or other limbs. Since these were intended as objects of veneration, the reason for anthropomorphizing them was undoubtedly different from that intended for the prisoner-mooring posts on the ROM block. To the best I have been able to ascertain no other examples of mooring posts or stakes in this form have been found, making the ROM's relief a most interesting footnote to the iconography both of royal boats, and of depictions of pharaonic power in the reign of Akhenaten.

Conclusion:

The collection of the Royal Ontario Museum was greatly enhanced by this gift of the Egypt Exploration Society. The scenes represented on the gift of blocks, although occasionally enigmatic due to lack of context, represent a wide variety possible of themes and genres from Amarna art. At least one, 966.81.18 has a completely unique feature.

47 Noreen Doyle, *Iconography and the Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Watercraft* (Texas A & M University, 1998). This is available online at http://imrd.org/ndoyle/Doyle-MA1998.pdf . I would like to thank Pearce Paul Creasman for providing me with a link to this reference.

48 Doyle, *Iconography and the Interpretation*, 225.

49 Doyle, *Iconography and the Interpretation*, 220ff.

50 E.g. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs*, no. 50; Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* V, pl. v.

51 Doyle, *Iconography and the Interpretation*, 219, fig. 8-1.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE

Egypt is difficult to enter:[1] Invading Egypt - A Game Plan (seventh – fourth centuries BCE)

Dan'el Kahn and Oded Tammuz

Abstract

Between the beginning of the seventh century BCE and the third century BCE Egypt was invaded about thirty times. These invasions are documented in many sources of varied genres, origins, languages, and points of view. The present study is an attempt to evaluate the complexity of the war over Egypt in the discussed period.

Invading Egypt is a complex problem that challenged military leaders in ancient times. Nature had endowed Egypt with many defenses. Over the years, man-made defenses were added to the natural ones. In spite of these difficulties, many leaders tried to invade Egypt. Some of them were tempted by the spoil of war; others were compelled to invade by Egypt's own foreign policy that put their vital interests in danger.

In order to maximize their chances to succeed, prospective invaders had to put together an army larger and/or better trained and better equipped than that of the defender and to take into account all the obstacles both natural and man made.

Once in Egypt the invader found himself (in most cases) in a war against the local ruler. The opposing sides in this war had entirely different objectives: the invader's objective was a decisive victory over the defender. This includes: decisive victories in all field battles, the conquest of Memphis and, if needed, a pursuit after the Egyptian ruler southwards. Failing to achieve even one of these goals meant the failure of the entire campaign. On the contrary, all the defender had to do was to prevent the invader from achieving at least one of his goals. Achieving this, the defender compelled the invader to retreat. This dissimilarity dictated the tactics used by both sides: While the invader used (in most cases) brute force, the defender was inclined to use non-violent tactics as well.

During the period covered in this article one can observe, on the one hand, constant evolution in weapons, origin of the combatants and tactics, and on the other hand, abrupt changes that alter the balance of power between invaders and defenders. The evolution includes among others: The introduction of triremes, and later larger warships, the introduction of Greek and Carian mercenaries, and the use of elephants. The abrupt changes were the emergence of the Persian Empire and the upgrade of Egypt's line of defense by Chabrias.

Résumé:

Du début du 7ème siècle au 3ème siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, l'Egypte fut envahie une trentaine de fois. Ces invasions sont mentionnées dans de nombreuses sources de genres, d'origines, de langues et d'opinions divers. Cette étude tente d'évaluer le degré de complexité de ces guerres contre l'Egypte. Envahir l'Egypte présenta un problème complexe auquel se sont heurtés les chefs militaires de l'antiquité. L'Egypte est protégée par de nombreux obstacles naturels auxquels sont venus s'ajouter au cours des ans de nouveaux moyens de défense. Malgré cela nombreux furent les chefs militaires qui ont essayé d'envahir l'Egypte, certains attirés par des promesses de butin tandis que d'autres s'inquiétaient de la politique étrangère égyptienne qui mettait en danger leurs propres intérêts. Afin d'avoir de meilleures chances de succès, les envahisseurs se devaient de constituer une armée plus imposante, mieux entraînée, et qui possédait un équipement plus perfectionné que celle de l'ennemi, tout en tenant compte des obstacles naturels et des moyens de défense

1 Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.21.

du pays attaqué. Dans la plupart des cas, une fois en Egypte, l'envahisseur se devait de guerroyer contre un chef local. Dans une telle offensive, les deux camps avaient des objectifs tout à fait différents. Le but de l'envahisseur était une victoire complète, c'est-à-dire la victoire dans chaque bataille, la conquête de Memphis et, si cela s'avérait nécessaire, une campagne qui poussait vers le sud pour poursuivre le souverain égyptien en fuite. Echouer dans l'un de ces objectifs risquait de perdre la campagne complète. Inversement, le défenseur avait tout simplement de faire échouer l'attaquant dans au moins l'un de ses objectifs, obligeant ainsi ce dernier à se retirer. Cette diversité des objectifs explique la différence dans les tactiques. Tandis que dans la plupart des cas l'envahisseur n'utilisait que la force, le défenseur était aussi enclin à employer des tactiques non-violentes. Au cours de la période étudiée dans cet article, on peut observer d'une part une évolution constante dans les armes, les tactiques et l'origine des combattants, et d'autre part des changements brutaux venant altérer l'équilibre des forces offensives et défensives. Cette évolution couvre entre autres l'introduction des trirèmes et plus tardivement des vaisseaux de guerre plus imposants, l'emploi de mercénaires grecs et cariens et l'utilisation d'éléphants. Les changements brutaux sont l'émergence de l'empire perse et les améliorations apportées par Chabrias aux lignes de défense égyptiennes.

Key words

Alexander, Amyntas, Arabs, Artaxerxes, Ashurbanipal, Assyrians, Athenians, Babylonians, Chabrias, climate, defenses, diplomacy, Diodorus Siculus, Esarhaddon, field warfare, fortifications, Greeks, Herodotus, inundation, invading Egypt, Megabyzus, Memphis, military history, mobility, Navy, Nebuchadnezzar, Perdiccas, Persians, Pelusium, seaborne invasion, siege warfare, Sinai.

Table of contents

0. Preliminary Note

This paper is based on about thirty invasions of Egypt that took place between the seventh and fourth centuries BCE. These invasions serve as our case studies. This paper includes a discussion and a survey of the documented invasions. We refer to these cases by the name of the ruler

of the invaders and the year in which the invasion took place (i.e. Antigonus 306 BCE). If the date of the invasion is not known we use only the name of the invader as reference (i.e. Scythians). The reader is referred to the appendix at the end of the article for a survey for a description and sources of each of the known cases.

1. Introduction

The most important variable in any war is the lay of the land that is being invaded. This variable includes geology, main bodies of water, climate, fauna, flora, agriculture and domesticated animals, man-made structures and knowledge of how to survive in such an environment. Geology dictates the availability of roads and the volume of traffic that they can carry, thus determining the ease of passage, with mountainous regions generally harder to pass than low lands. Bodies of water are equally important: while seas are a natural barrier, they also enable an invader to supply his troops once a bridgehead is taken; rivers provide a supply of drinking water, serve as natural defense barriers and can carry high volume traffic; marshes are effective barriers and can also be used by defenders as a secured base for counter-attack as well as for communication and transportation. Climate limits military operations: excessive precipitation usually limits the use of roads and lack of precipitation can result in a potentially dangerous or deadly shortage of water; troops are effective only in temperatures suitable for the soldiers and their horses and pack animals; storms and winds also affect the operation of troops. Fauna can create problems as well.[2] Flora can be useful to the invader: trees can be used to build tools of war; agricultural products can feed both the invaders and their animals; and domesticated animals can serve as food and pack animals for the invading troops. The most important component, however, is knowledge of the lay of the land. Usually the defender is the only one to possess such knowledge - survival in a certain environment over the course of generations provides know-how, tools to cope with it and knowledge of how best to take advantage of it. The more hostile the environment is, the greater this advantage becomes. An invader can gain such knowledge through scouts and more importantly through the help of the local population.

Invading Egypt is a complex problem that challenged even some of the most brilliant military leaders. Nature has endowed Egypt's defenders with many advantages. The sea, the Nile and the seasonal marshes in Lower Egypt all serve as natural barriers. Excessive heat, lack of precipitation, the shortage of water, and quicksand in the Sinai desert and the Khamsin wind all serve as further hindrances. Thus, a king or general who attempted to invade Egypt undertook a major risk. The stakes were high, the chances for success were low and the consequences resulting from failure were immense. Some did so defensively - Egypt, if unchecked, tended to intervene in Palestine and Phoenicia. Others were tempted by the riches of Egypt, which were almost unsurpassed in ancient times.

In this paper we review: (a) The motives that inspired invaders to conquer Egypt; (b) Egypt's natural obstacles, strategies used to overcome them as well as the resistance of the Egyptian army; and (c) The strategies used by Egyptians in order to repel invasions.

2 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 141: Allegedly, rats were responsible for the failure of Sennacherib's campaign against Egypt. For snakes and fantastic creatures encountered during the crossing of Sinai by Esarhaddon, see: R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons König von Assyrien*, AfOB 9 (Graz: Ernst Weidner, 1956), 111-113, Frt. F. According to Diodorus Siculus (*Library* XVII, 36) , no less than one thousand of Perdiccas' combatants were eaten by the "beasts of the river" (crocodiles?) while trying to ford the Nile.

2. Time Limits

We confine ourselves to early antiquity – from the first attempts by the Assyrian Empire to conquer Egypt until the failed invasion by Antigonus in 306 BCE. The time frame is not arbitrary. The beginning of the reviewed period coincides with the emergence of the first of the "empires." The end is marked by the emergence of Alexandria as the new capital of Egypt. This event changed Egypt dramatically. The new nerve center was for the first time on the shores of the Mediterranean. This caused Upper Egypt to lose its importance and Egypt as a whole became more closely connected to the rest of the Mediterranean world.

3. Sources

The sources are varied by languages, genres and dates. Most of them are written in Greek; others in Akkadian, Latin and Egyptian. Only a small part of the sources used here are primary and/or contemporary. The main sources are:

The royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, kings of Assyria are contemporary with the time of events (seventh century BCE), but are propagandistic in nature.[3]

The Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.[4] These are the most reliable of sources used, for they are short, descriptive and devoid of any known bias. Their source is a matter of debate; however it is clear that when first written they were contemporary with the events described.

The lion's share of information comes from works by Greek and Roman historians and biographers. The most important sources for the present study are:

Herodotus, a Greek historian who lived in the fifth century BCE (c. 484 BC–c. 425 BCE). The reliability of his information is debated, as are his sources.[5]

Diodorus Siculus, a secondary source from the first century BCE. His information is based on earlier Greek sources, some of which are believed to be biased.[6]

4. Motives

Invading Egypt is a complicated undertaking that needs a strong motive. Thus in most cases, the motive(s) for this undertaking can be detected easily.[7]

4.1. Counter-Measures to Egypt's Policy in the Levant

Although invasion of Egypt is an offensive move, we believe the most frequent motive for it is defensive. Defense of the aggressor's own vital interest was the main motive to quell rebellions in Egypt. A successful rebellion could and often did show the way to other rebellions against a ruling empire.[8] This chain reaction, if unchecked, could

3 H .–U. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens, Teil I: Kommentare und Anmerkungen*, ÄAT 27 (Wiesbaden: 1994).

4 See: A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles,* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), hereafter *ABC*.

5 For the evaluation of the reliability of Herodotus, see: D. Kahn, "Notes on the Time-Factor in Cambyses' deeds in Egypt as told by Herodotus," *Transeuphratène* 34 (2007): 103-112 with earlier literature on p.108, nn. 20, 21.

6 For the evaluation of the reliability of the description by Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides and Ctesias, in the case of one invasion of Egypt, see: D. Kahn, "Inaros' Rebellion against Artaxerxes I and the Athenian Disaster in Egypt," *The Classical Quarterly* 58/2 (2008): 424-440.

7 However, see Cambyses 525 (Herodotus, *Histories* II, 1).

8 I.e. Artaxerxes III (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV 40; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 161) who faced rebellion in Phoenicia after his failed attempts to re-conquer Egypt. One can even suggest that the failed *coup d'etat* against Esarhaddon was instigated by the notion that the war in Egypt was not as successful as initially thought. See D. Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt (673-663 B.C.) and the Final Expulsion of the Kushites," *SAK* 34 (2006): 256.

have brought the ruling empire to the brink of destruction. The same motive was also the prime mover for invasions under other circumstances. A unified strong and independent Egypt was frequently an ally for Levantine kingdoms seeking to rebel against any empire that controlled the Levant. Having allies created a balance of power that was convenient for the Egyptians and problematic for their opponents. Egypt enjoyed two main advantages over its opponents:

(a) It is geographically close to the Levant and therefore it could dispatch troops there at short notice. The centers of the opponent empires (Assyria, Babylon and Persia) were not as close to the Levant.

(b) It is protected from retaliation by the desert.

Therefore, on the one hand, Egypt had to invest only meager resources in order to create tension or even rebellion in the Levant, on the other hand, the empire that ruled the Levant, had to invest a considerable amount of resources to deter and quell rebellions, or (as was done by the Babylonians) turn much of the Levant into ruins and deport much of its population. This situation created a strong motive for the kings that ruled the Levant to take care of the "Egyptian problem" once and for all. Their only other option was a long war of attrition that they were bound to lose.

4.2. Economic Motives

Other important motives are connected to the richness of Egypt. The immediate motive is to plunder all richness that is found in Egypt in large quantities:[9] metals,[10] luxury goods,[11] people,[12] and knowledge.[13] Additional motive was to extract considerable income that Egypt, (if properly managed), was able to produce.[14]

5. The Setting

Once the prospective invader decided to attack, he had to study the theater of operations. There were four such theaters: the sea, the desert, the borders of Egypt and Egypt itself. Each of these posed its own challenges.

5.1. Mediterranean Sea

Ships in ancient times were of two main categories: transports and war ships. The sources at our disposal reveal extensive use of war ships, but they are almost silent on the use of transports.[15] War ships had shallow draught. They were operated in shallow waters and could be beached almost anywhere.[16] They were propelled by both

9 Ezekiel 29:19.

10 Esarhaddon 671 BCE. See Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 25: K 8692.

11 Esarhaddon 671 BCE. See Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 25; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, 4-5.

12 Some examples of Egyptian deportees in Mesopotamia: Esarhaddon, 671 BCE, cf. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 31; Bu 91-5-9,218; Nebuchadnezzar 582 BCE or 567 BCE, cf. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar and B.J.J. Haring, "Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar," *JCS* 46 (1994): 59-72 and earlier bibliography there. Cambyses 525 BCE, cf. M. A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia: From Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626-331 BCE)* (De Kalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), 107 ff.

13 Esarhaddon 671 BCE, cf. D. A. Pingree, & E. Reiner, "A Neo-Babylonian Report on Seasonal Hours," *AfO* 25 (1974/77): 50-55.

14 Cf. Herodotus, *Histories* III, 91.

15 Transports are known to have participated in two invasions: one by Artaxerxes III (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 40.6) and a second by Antigonus in 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76). The transports that took part in the invasion of 306 were towed by warships.

16 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42). Polyaenus, *Stratagems* IX, 63 probably describes the same battle.

manpower and the winds. Therefore, they were not dependant on favorable winds and could be used everywhere in the Mediterranean and the Nile system. In the Egyptian arena they were used mainly to move and disembark troops.[17]

5.2. Sinai Desert

With the notable exception of three invasions that were exclusively seaborne and proved to be unsuccessful,[18] all the known operations against Egypt involved land forces that crossed the Sinai desert.

The Sinai Peninsula is a buffer between Egypt and the rest of the Fertile Crescent. In the period under discussion the only route that was used to cross Sinai was the fortified "Way of Horus" in the northern part of the peninsula.[19] Its length is *ca*. 250 Km. This route is not easy to cross because of the following reasons:[20]

1. Food and fodder were nowhere to be found in the desert and had to be carried by the invading army.[21]
2. Water is scarce.[22]
3. The climate is problematic. From March to June an invading army was likely to face the Khamsin winds that can last several days and render the advance impossible and survival questionable.[23]
4. A dangerous feature of the geography of the Sinai is quicksand.[24] An invading army without the necessary guidance was susceptible to this danger; in one known case, a considerable part of an invading army was lost because of an encounter with quicksand.[25]

5.3. The Entrance to Egypt

Egypt was well protected by nature. In the east, the Nile was a formidable barrier. A second barrier is the lagoons and marshes at the mouths of the Nile and at the entrance of Egypt.[26] An-

17 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 43) According to Polyaenus (*Stratagems* IX, 63) rowers in warships were trained combatants. They had their shields and swords stowed with them and were capable of engaging in battle immediately after having disembarked.

18 These were the Athenian invasion in ca. 460 BCE (Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE), Artaxerxes III 373 BCE, and Amyntas 333 BCE.

19 At an unknown date in the sixth/fifth century BCE an alternative route was made available for campaigning armies (though the fortresses on the route were not abandoned). This route passed through Mt. Cassium that may have made the pass easier and enabled the marching army to be in eye contact with the naval forces. The earliest source on this route is Herodotus (Histories III, 5). See a survey of sources: P. Figueras, *From Gaza to Pelusium,* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2000), 174-178; H. Verreth, *The Northern Sinai from the 7th century BCE till the 7th century AD: A guide to the sources*, (Leuven: Trismegistos, 2006), 981-1000.

20 It should be noted here that the Egyptian fortresses along the route (whenever they existed) were not meant to stop the advance of invading forces. On the contrary, a conquest of such a fortress could supply invaders with food and water.

21 I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B. C.* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 139-140; A. J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 34-37.

22 Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien,* 111-112. See also the unpublished stela from Qaqun (E. Weissert, Personal communication); on water supply for the Persian army (Cambyses 525 BCE) see Herodotus, *Histories* III 6, 9.

23 Cambyses 525 BCE (Herodotus, *Histories*, III, 26) and his campaign against the "long-lived Ethiopians" (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* III 3).

24 Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73).

25 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46.4-5).

26 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* I, 30; XVI 46; Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 1. 21. For a geological study of this lagoon, see: Stephen O. Moshier, "Paleogeography along the Ancient Ways of Horus (Late Bronze Age) in Northwest Sinai, Egypt," *Geoarchaeology* 23/4 (2008): 450-473.

other barrier is the Mediterranean Sea that protects Egypt from the north. These natural barriers were enhanced by man-made obstacles: fortifications, embankments and canals as well as mercenary troops.

5.4. Egypt

The most formidable feature of the Egyptian climate is its seasons. The seasonal problems were heat[27] and inundation.

In Egypt there are two seasons: a mild winter from November to April and a hot summer from May to October. In the coastal regions, temperatures range between an average minimum of 14° C in winter and an average maximum of 30° C in summer with great humidity. In Cairo the maximum temperature in summer is 34° C and further south, in Luxor the average temperature in summer is 43° C.[28]

As for the inundation - the Nile gets uneven supply of water throughout the year, with the lowest tide being from April to June. The inundation starts in July and lasts until October. It covers the valley floor.

The Delta is the most fertile and densely populated part of Egypt. It consists of coastal sands in the north, marshes and lagoons and areas that are flooded in the inundation season. Only few small parts remain above inundation levels during the whole year.[29]

6. Preliminary moves

6.1. Diplomacy (by Defender and Attacker Alike)

Wars were sometimes preceded by diplomatic moves. The two main purpose of these moves were (a) to avert war[30] and/or (b) to improve the chances for victory by (1) enlisting help of as many states and kingdoms as possible and/or (2) deprive the opponent from help by as many states and kingdoms as possible.[31]

The weapons in the arsenal of the diplomats were varied. The most straightforward was the use of a binding commitment either by a vassal[32] or by an ally in order to enlist their help. Another way to enlist a partner was to point out a mutual interest and offer a new alliance.[33] Other means were bribery,[34] deception,[35] and intimi-

27 Cf. Alexander's march to the temple of Amun, probably in Siwa Oasis, to receive an oracle from Zeus (=Amun). Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, vii 6-8.

28 The heat may have compelled the warring factions to move by night. The flat terrain of Lower Egypt made the march possible for them.

29 Inundated and marsh like areas are as a rule easier to defend and harder to conquer than dry land. See C. von Clausewitz, *On War* VI ch. 20.1, trans. M. Howard and P. Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 451 -457.

30 Allegedly, the Scythians (Herodotus, *Histories* I, 104-5) were offered payment by the king of Egypt. In return, they agreed not to invade Egypt.

31 I.e. Artaxerxes III 373 where Persian diplomats were sent to Athens to persuade the Athenians to call back the Athenian commander who was already in Egypt and to appoint another Athenian as a commander of the Persian invading troops.

32 Ashurbanipal 667 BCE; Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 116: Prism A I 69-74; C II 38-59 for a detailed list of the vassals.

33 Cambyses signed a formal treaty with the king of the Arabs and enlisted the latter's help. (Herodotus, *Histories* III, 7); Inaros, who rebelled against the Persians (Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE), enlisted the help of Athenians. He offered them an alliance against the common enemy (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71).

34 Psammetichus I, King of Egypt offered a bribe to the Scythians and Artaxerxes I, King of Persia (Artaxerxes I 363-358) did the same to the Spartans (Thucydides, *Histories* I, 104).

35 Amasis tried to deceive Cambyses by sending a daughter of his predecessor to be a concubine of the latter instead of his own daughter (Cambyses 525, Herodotus, *Histories* III, 1).

dation.[36] The help sought in these diplomatic efforts was varied as well: Indirect help such as to open another front against a common enemy,[37] and direct help: logistic support,[38] commanders to command land and naval forces,[39] and land or naval forces themselves.

Diplomats were sent to Greece, Phoenicia and Arabia.[40] The goal of the invaders' diplomatic efforts was the cooperation of the Greeks in order to achieve supremacy on the high seas; the help of the Phoenicians in the construction of ships, sea operations and gaining safe passage in their lands and the assistance of the Arabs whose help was paramount in the crossing of the desert.[41] The Phoenicians were easiest to persuade in most cases because they were mostly under vassalage of the invader.

There was also one instance where an Assyrian high official (Rab Mūgi) was sent to Egypt, possibly to prevent a war, or to prepare an invasion and look for collaborators in Egypt. The same official also had a mission, the purpose of which eludes us, to carry out in the Phoenician island state of Arwad on the way to Egypt.[42]

6.2. Additional Preliminary Moves - Invader's Side

6.2.1. Intelligence

The first stage in the war was the collection of information. Several scholars have suggested that this is what Esarhaddon did in his first campaign to the brook of Egypt. Intelligence was gathered by spies[43], traitors,[44] and defectors.[45]

36 Artaxerxes III (343 BCE) received the help of the cities of Phoenicia only after having leveled Sidon and having killed its king. (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 45).

37 Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 74).

38 Logistic support was provided in a number of occasions by the Arabs (I. e. Herodotus, *Histories* III, 9).

39 In the war during the 380s BCE Artaxerxes II sent three of his most renowned Persian commanders to conquer Egypt. According to Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 140) this mission failed because he did not use Greek commanders. No Greek commanders are known to have led a Persian expedition against Egypt before 373 BCE. Artaxerxes III asked the Athenians in 373 BCE to allow Iphicrates to be general over his mercenaries – (Nepos, *Iphicrates* 2.4 indicates that Iphicrates was entrusted with training recruits); 343 BCE - Artaxerxes III hired several Greek mercenary commanders which were accompanied by Persian trusted officers (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 44, 46); Mentor, a Greek mercenary, who betrayed Sidon, the city which hired his service, was over the commander of one of Artaxerxes' four contingents.

40 Artaxerxes I 463-458 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71): Inaros asked for help from the Athenians; Artaxerxes I tried to bribe the Lacedaemonians to attack the Athenians (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 74); Artaxerxes III (343 BCE, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 44) sent diplomats to Greek city-states to seek help for his coming war against Egypt and Phoenicia.

41 Sennacherib (Herodotus, Histories II 141); Esarhaddon: 671 BCE**,** see**:** R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, 112. Frg. F. and the Qaqun Stele (unpublished). See: I. Eph'al, "Esarhaddon, Egypt, and Shubria: Politics and Propaganda," *JCS* 57 (2005): 109; Cambyses 525 BCE (Herodotus, *Histories* III, 7-9), Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX 73). Cf. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs*, 137-142.

42 Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34: 253.

43 We have no information on this, however the Assyrian Empire is known to have built and operated intelligence networks in foreign kingdoms (i.e Urartu). The Persians (Cambyses, 525 BCE) gathered information about the "long-lived Ethiopians" (Herodotus, *Histories* III 17, 19-25).

44 According to many scholars Udjahorresnet was an Egyptian naval officer, possibly the commander of the entire Egyptian military fleet, who crossed the lines and defected to the Persian side. See: A. B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament," *JEA* 68 (1982): 166-180; W. Huss, "Ägyptische Kollaborateure in persischer Zeit," *Tyche* 12 (1997): 131-143. However, it is not clear if Udjahorresnet was a military commander or a bureaucrat who continued to perform his old job in the service of the new masters. See: J. C. Darnell, "The *Kbn.wt* Vessels of

6.2.2. Recruiting the Invading Forces

Invaders recruited soldiers from the provinces of their empire,[46] and from vassal kingdoms.[47] Some of them relied on allies and/or hired mercenaries (see below). Organizing the necessary force to invade Egypt could take anywhere between several days to several years.[48]

6.2.3. Sizes and Capabilities of the Army

The invader had to have a sizable army because of two reasons:

(a) As demonstrated by Von Clausewitz defense is an easier form of war than attack.[49]

(b) The invader had to be prepared for loss of part of his army's capabilities on the way to Egypt.[50]

It follows that an attacking army had to be superior to a defending one in numbers[51] and/or training and/or armament. Once in Egypt the invader lost the initiative. It was the privilege of the defender to choose between staying within his fortresses and facing the invader in a field battle. Thus the invading army had to be prepared for both forms of war: siege and pitched battle.[52] However, due to limitations of land-transportation capabilities, usually only light siege equipment was carried to Egypt.[53]

6.2.4. Mobility on Land and by Sea

Ashurbanipal's forces marched from Memphis to Thebes in pursuit of Taharqa, the Kushite king, in 667 BCE a distance of *ca.* 700 km in hostile territory in a month and 10 days, cover-

the Late Period", in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. H. Johnson, SAOC 59 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992), 81-84.

45 Phanes (Cambyses 525 BCE, Herodotus, *Histories* III, 4); Tennes (Artaxerxes III 343 BCE - Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI 43.2). In the latter case, the defector was executed by the king he wished to serve.

46 Ashurbanipal 667 BCE (Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 97: Prism E, IV, l. 13) Artaxerxes I 462 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71); Artaxerxes III 351 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42): The Satraps of Cilicia and Syria joined the marching Persian forces toward Egypt.

47 Ashurbanipal 667 BCE (Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 97: Prism E, IV, l. 14).

48 Artaxerxes I 463-458 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71, 74); Artaxerxes II 373 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV 41); Artaxerxes III 343 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46.7).

49 von Clausewitz, *On War* VI, ch. 1, 357-359.

50 Artaxerxes III (343 BCE) lost part of his troops to quicksand (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46); Antigonus (306 BCE) lost part of his fleet to storms (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 74-76).

51 Artaxerxes I 462 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71; Ctesias, *Persica* §37; no number of Persian soldiers is given in Thucydides' account. He just notes that their army was large); D. Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34; Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46) four contingents consisting of naval forces, cavalry, infantry and elite troops. We have information also on the size of Perdiccas' army (321 BCE Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 34.5).

52 Esarhaddon 671 BCE (Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 24: Sinçirli Stela ll. 40-45); Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46, 49). The Thebans in the Persian army fought against the defenders of Pelusium in a pitched battle for a whole day without decision. The army of Nectanebo II retreated and prepared for a siege in Memphis (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48). Perdiccas (320 BCE) was engaged in a siege when Ptolemy arrived with his army and was compelled to begin a field battle. Ptolemy entered the fortress and engaged in siege battle (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33.6, 34). Cf. I. Eph'al, "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 98.

53 Ashurbanipal, 667 BCE or 664 BCE see: H. Brunner, "Ein Assyrisches Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung," *AfO* 16 (1952-3): 253-262; Perdiccas (320 BCE, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33.6); however, in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49 siege engines are mentioned; catapults were used by Antigonus in 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 75).

ing every day more than 17.5 km.[54] Alexander left Gaza and crossed the Sinai desert in six days. On the seventh day he camped in Alexander's camp in the vicinity of Pelusium. The distance covered every day by the marching army was about 40 km.[55]

Perdiccas' army marched during two nights after a field battle,[56] and surprised the Egyptian defenders. They avoided the day's heat, marched along the flat banks of the Nile and arrived opposite of Memphis.[57] According to Diodorus' account, Perdiccas' army covered about 225 km in two nights, marching an average of 112.5 km per night!

Warships were built for one purpose only: attack the enemy warships, military transports or merchantmen and sink or capture them. However, only two naval battles are known to have occurred off the coast of Egypt.[58] The main attested use of warships in Egypt was to transport infantry troops across the Nile and its branches.[59]

It seems that in earlier periods the naval forces were used at a late stage of the war, when a bridgehead in Egypt was already established.[60] In later times the navy accompanied the marching army across the Sinai desert and might have supported the army with food and water supplies. On arrival in Egypt the navy may have participated in the different stages of the battle over Egypt.

Warships were the fastest means of transportation save a horse and his rider. They cruised at a speed of ca. 8 knots[61] and were operated during night as well as day.[62]

Their capacity was limited. Morrison and Coates claimed that a trireme mobilized normally only 14 soldiers and under special circumstances could mobilize as many as 40 soldiers.[63] In one case Diodorus' account suggest that *ca.*

54 Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 105: Large Egyptian Tablets Vs, 34'. These forty days probably included days of rest and battles. The marching itinerary of Esarhaddon across Sinai in 671 BCE is a literary topos and should not be treated as historical. See: Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, 111-112; A. Baruchi-Unna, "Crossing the Boundaries: Literary Allusions to the Epic of Gilgameš in the Account of Esarhaddon's Egyptian Campaign," in *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies Presented to Israel Eph'al*, edl M. Cogan and D. Kahn (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2008), 54-65.

55 Alexander 332 BCE (Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, vii, 2; Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* III, 1.1).

56 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33.5; 34.

57 Perdiccas 320 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33.5; 34).

58 A battle between Athenians, who aided the Egyptians, against Phoenicians (?) who fought on the Persian side. Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Ctesias, *Persica* 36). The Second naval battle occurred when an Athenian relief squadron arrived at Egypt not knowing that their compatriots had already been defeated (Atraxerxes I 463-458 BCE). Immediately upon landing they were attacked by the Persians from land and the Phoenicians on sea. Only few warships were able to flee and return to Athens (Thucydides, *Histories* I, 110).

59 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42).

60 Ashurbanipal (667 BCE) used ships only in the second stage; see: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 105, LET Vs. 15', 29'-30': first stage was conducted under the Turtānu. The commander of the second force was the *Rāb Reši*. The forces at his disposal were those of the vassal kings from the Levant and governors of provinces. These forces included infantry and ships. The ill fated war ship from Mitelene (Herodotus, *Histories* III, 13) is the only ship, that is mentioned in the invasion by Cambyses (525 BCE).

61 J.S. Morrison and J.F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme: the History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 103-106.

62 Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 74.1; 75.4-5).

63 Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme,* 225-26.

62.5 soldiers were transported on each warship.[64] In one attested case, rowers had a double duty. Once the ship was anchored they put on their arms and operated as combatants.[65]

6.3. Defender's Side

The defender's primary advantage was that Egypt could not be attacked by surprise. Thus, when faced with an imminent threat of attack the defender had to begin his preparation for the war.

6.3.1. Recruiting Commanders

One of the most important factors that decided the capability of the defending army was the choice of commanders. In several cases commanders were recruited in Greece.[66]

6.3.2. Recruiting Forces

The army of the defender included local Egyptians and/or Libyans and/or Nubians and/or Carians and/or Greeks.[67] It had to be as large as possible, as trained as possible and as heavily equipped as possible. If it was similar or close to similar in size, training and equipment to the army of the invader the latter would have no chance of winning and would not have invaded at all. Since this never occurred, the question is what were the limitations on the size of the force recruited by the defender? The answers are as follows:

a. A soldier recruited by the defender costs more than one recruited by the invader. The reason is that a soldier recruited by the invader can be paid either up front or by promise (real

64 According to Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48 one of the commanders at the service of Artaxerxes III, Nicostratus the Argivian, was given 5000 elite troops and eighty triremes. This force sailed on the Nile system and disembarked up stream. This means that all the troops embarked on the 80 triremes. That gives us a ratio of 62.5 men per trireme. The difference between this figure and the one suggested by Morrison and Coates is that the main limit of the number of troops that can be carried on a trireme depends on rolling (Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme*, 225-26). This problem does not exist on a river.

65 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Polyaenus, *Stratagems* IX, 63). Morrison and Coates (*The Athenian Trireme*, 115) state that "Only in exceptional circumstances was an oarsman used as a fighting man on land." Morrison and Coates list three attested cases in which light or even heavily armed troops boarded a trireme with the intention to row the ship to the battleground where they put on their arms and fought on land. These three attested cases as well as the additional one referred to here show that a trireme has the necessary installations to stow the arms and shields of its oarsmen. We find it hard to share Morrison and Coates' observation that oarsman were just "too valuable to risk in battle." (Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme*, 115). It seems to us unlikely that any commander would leave 170 able-bodied armed people behind and go to wage a battle with 14 professional soldiers he had on board.

66 Ctesias, *Persica* F14 § 36: Charatimides commanded the Greek naval force (Inaros 462 BCE); Achoris, King of Egypt, recruited Agesilaus king of Sparta and Chabrias an Athenian general, (who was later recalled by the Athenians under Persian political pressure. See: Nepos, *Chabrias*, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 29.2).

67 Amasis before the invasion of Cambyses in 525 BCE: Mercenaries from Halicarnasos, Greece and Caria (Herodotus, Histories III, 4, 10); Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, Library XI, 71, 74); The Putu-Yaman that appear in the Babylonian chronicle, are commonly identified as Greeks from Libya, but in a recent article the identification of Greeks stationed in a fortification in the Eastern Delta, *Ỉmt/ Pr W3ḏ.t*/Buto (not to be mistaken for Buto in the Western Delta), see: I. A. Ladynin, "The Elephantine Stela of Amasis: Some Problems and Prospects of Study," *GM* 211 (2006): 39-44; Inaros recruited Egyptians, Libyans and Greek forces (Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE, Ctesias, *Persica* § 36; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI 74; Thucydides, *Histories* I 104); Nectanebo II (Artaxerxes III 343 BCE, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47). Nibian warriors are attested in Egyptian (25th and 26th dynasties. Cf. Jer. 46,9) and Persian armies. Cf. Herodotus, *Histories* VII 69; R. Morkot, "Nubia and Achaemenid Persia: Sources and Problems," in *Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in an New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991), 327-28.

or implied) that he would receive a share of the booty in money, slaves or valuables;[68] on the contrary, a soldier recruited by the defender has to be paid up front in full.

b. A local soldier (including recruits from Libya or Nubia) can desert more easily than a mercenary from Greece or Caria/Lydia.[69] Once the battle has been lost local soldiers tend to go back home to return to civilian life.[70] Mercenaries depend on one another for their survival. They are less likely to desert and more likely to keep discipline because their survival depends on it. On the other hand they do switch sides at times in an organized manner.[71]

c. Although most of the sources at our disposal are Greek and are biased or even propagandistic,[72] we are convinced that a Greek soldier was superior in training and/or equipment to a non-Greek one.

It follows that the defender had to invest more effort in recruiting Greeks than non-Greeks. Thus, another question arises: What were the limitations on the number of Greeks recruited by the defender? Since Egypt did not need a large standing army in times of peace,[73] we believe that they began to assemble an army after having learned that an invasion was imminent. The number of Greek or Carian soldiers in Egypt was accordingly limited by either (a) the funds at the disposal of the king of Egypt or (b) the capacity of the vessels that brought these Greeks to Egypt.[74]

6.3.3. Defenses

The defending side had a few noticeable advantages; one of them was that the defender could decide whether to change the geography of his country. Altering the geography of Lower Egypt consisted of two types of changes:

(a) Changes that make the country easier to defend and harder to invade; these include the building of fortifications at the entrance between a narrow spit of land and the lagoons to block access to Egypt from the Sinai desert,[75] the building of embankments on the shore to make

68 According to Herodotus, Histories III, 13 Cambyses distributed 500 minas of silver among his troops. From the same campaign a Babylonian documents attests that a Babylonian soldier sold in Babylon an Egyptian woman and her daughter as "the booty of his bow." Cf. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia*, 107 ff; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49 informs about Lacrates, a Theban commander at the service of Artaxerxes III (343 BCE) signed a treaty with the Greek mercenaries who were defending Pelusium. Each of the Greek defenders was allowed to carry his personal possession on his back and return to Greece. Persian soldiers that arrived to take over the citadel and were probably ignorant of the treaty ignored the mission that was assigned to them in favor of a more important one: to relieve the Greeks of their possessions. See also Ezekiel 29:19.

69 Jeremiah 46: 16.

70 Cf. 1 Kings 22:36. Artaxerxes I 458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77.3); this behavior was exploited by Mentor, the Rhodian, who commanded a force of Artaxerxes III (343 BCE). Mentor allowed Egyptian soldiers to desert from besieged cities and return to their home. By so doing he created suspicion and mistrust between the Egyptian soldiers whose interest was to desert and survive and Greek mercenaries who did not have that option (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49).

71 I.e. Mentor, the Rhodian, was sent to Phoenicia by his employer, the king of Egypt, together with 4000 mercenaries. He moved over to the Persian side and returned to Egypt with his troops as part of the Persian army.

72 Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 161.

73 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 141.

74 However, many Greek, Carian, Aramean, Jewish and Phoenician mercenaries are attested as residing in colonies in Egypt, and some of them are known to have participated in the defense of Egypt against invaders and internal insurrections alike (cf. Herodotus, *Histories* II, 154). See: G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 97 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003).

75 For Necho II's fortifications, see: D. B. Redford, "New Light on Egypt's Stance towards Asia, 610-586 BCE," in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible. Essays in Honour of John Van Seters*, ed. S. L. McKenzie and T. Römer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 185-186.

landing from the sea difficult,[76] and the blocking of the mouths of the Nile by fortifications on their shores and lift-bridges that block the entrances from the sea;[77]

(b) Changes that make the country harder to defend but much harder to invade; these included mainly the inundation of roads.[78] This last measure did not limit the defender as much as the invader because the former had a large fleet of river boats at his disposal.[79]

6.3.4. Mobility

Although in earlier times Egyptian troops were trained in long distance running,[80] the most important mean of transportation was a very large number of river boats. These boats were used for all military tasks: patrolling the Nile and river mouths and guarding potential landing shores,[81] moving troops and supplies, engaging in river-battles on the Nile,[82] and sending officials near enemy soldiers in order to entice them to switch sides.[83]

6.3.5. Size and Capabilities of Army

The defender had in most known cases a smaller army than the attacker.[84] One exception is Amyntas (333 BCE) who tried to conquer Egypt with 4,000 Greek soldiers. [85] The soldiers had to be trained to withstand siege and also for field battle.

7. Entering Egypt

Invasion of Egypt could take place under one of three circumstances: (1) unopposed; (2) a war already takes place in Egypt and one of the sides was an ally of the invader; (3) Egypt in its entirety is held by the defender.[86]

In the first case the political situation in Egypt left the country without a leadership that was able to organize an opposition against the invader or with a leadership that had already decided to submit to the invader without a fight.[87]

76 Artaxerxes II 380's: defenses built by the Greek general Chabrias (Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2.33; XVII, 1.22); Artaxerxes II 373 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42); Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46,4-5): Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 75).

77 Cf. the defenses against the naval invasion of the "Sea-People" in the eighth year of Ramses III. See: A. J. Peden *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty,* Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 3 (Jonsered, Sweden : Paul Åströms förlag, 1994), 31; Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42).

78 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42).

79 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47)

80 A. M. Moussa, "A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur", *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 331-337; H. Altenmüller, and A. M. Moussa, "Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahaschurstrasse," *SAK* 9 (1981): 57-84.

81 Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 76).

82 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47.6).

83 Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 75).

84 See above. See also Thucydides, *Histories* I, 104, 110; Ctesias, *Persica* 36; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71; for partial numbers on the army of Nectanebo II (Artaxerxes III 343 BCE), see: Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47.

85 See: Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV. i. 27. In other cases the defenders knew they were going to face an army much larger then the one they had at their disposal. According to the sources we have, Nectanebo II was not intimidated by the multitude of forces at the disposal of his opponent Artaxerxes III. (Artaxerxes III 343 BCE, see: Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47).

86 Esarhaddon 673 BCE, 671 BCE: Artaxerxes III, 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, Library XVI, 46-47).

87 In the first case the Persian governor of Egypt had a small garrison. He used this garrison to defend Memphis alone. Therefore, the invasions of Amyntas was not met by any defenders on the border of Egypt (333 BCE Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV i 27-33); Later, when Alexander invaded, that same Satrap, notwithstanding the differences in his force and that of Alexander, was left with no option but to submit. (Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, vi 30- vii 5).

In the second case the invasion was made easy by the existence of an ally within Egypt.[88]

It was very important for an invader to know which set of circumstances he was going to meet in Egypt; not knowing this proved disastrous for an Athenian squadron that came to help their countryman since they did not know that they were already defeated by Megabyzus.[89]

In case of a forceful invasion the season of entry and its specific features had to be taken into account.

Arrival in Egypt by sea between October and May, when winter brings coastal navigation in the Mediterranean to a standstill, was risky.[90] No naval activity is attested in January or February.[91] When already in Egypt, warships operated in the Nile system the whole year around.

Land forces had to consider the summer heat, sand storms, and inundation. The sparse information at our disposal attests campaigns in autumn,[92] winter[93] and early spring,[94] thus clearly avoiding the inundation season in Egypt (corresponding also to the summer season) and in most cases also the Khamsin season.

We attribute the success of the Assyrian summer campaign of Esarhaddon during the inundation season (Tammuz/June-July)[95] in 671 BCE to the fact that the Assyrian army was well trained in crossing rivers and operating in the marshes of Babylonia. Thus, the Assyrians were able to cross the Nile in the beginning of inundation season and operate in the Nile delta during that season. It is even possible that the choice of this period to invade Egypt took the Egyptian side by surprise. In another case it was inundation that played in favor of the Egyptian side and compelled the invaders to withdraw after having

88 Esarhaddon 670-669 BCE. See: Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34: 256-257; The Athenians in 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 74.3)

89 Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Thucydides I, 110.4).

90 Nebuchadnezzar 567 BCE (See: Amasis Stele cols. 14-15 in E. Edel, "Amasis und Nebukadrezar II.," *GM* 29 (1978): 13-14); Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76).

91 Cf. O. Tammuz, "Mare Clausum? Sailing Seasons in the Mediterranean in Early Antiquity," *Mediterranean History Journal* 20 (2005): 145-162.

92 Esarhaddon died in 669 in the month of *Marcheshvan* (*ca.* October-November) on the way to Egypt. See Grayson, *ABC*, 1 iv 30-31. 30-31; *ABC* 14, rev., 28-29; Ashurbanipal arrived in Egypt in 667 in October at the earliest. See Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34: 258; Ashurbanipal, 664 BCE, arrived in August at the earliest. See Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34: 264; Demetrius (Antigonus, 306 BCE), embarked on his journey to Egypt late in the year (November) after the Pleiades had already set. (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73).

93 The failed attempts of Nebuchadnezzar to conquer Egypt are dated to the month of Kislev (December-January) of 601/600 BCE, and between 12.1.567 (Beginning of year 4 of Amasis) and 12.4.567 BCE (End of year 37 of Nebuchadnezzar, most probably on 21.3.567 BCE as this date heads the description of a battle against Asiatic infantry and a disaster, which happened to their navy). See I. Eph'al, "Nebuchadnezzar the Warrior: Remarks on his Military Achievements," *IEJ* 53 (2003): 188, n. 16 and Edel, "Amasis und Nebukadrezar II.," *GM* 29: 13-20. For calculating the exact date, use P. W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^er^* (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 177.

94 Esarhaddon tried to invade Egypt for the first time in March 673. *ABC* 1 iv 16. Cambyses probably entered Egypt between January 525 and the end of May. See J. von Beckerath, "Nochmals die Eroberung Ägyptens durch Kambyses," *ZÄS* 129 (2002): 1-5. Cf. D. Kahn, "Notes on the Time-Factor in Cambyses' deeds in Egypt as told by Herodotus," *Transeuphratène* 34: 104.

95 Note that according to *ABC* 14: 26 the battle took place on the third day of the month of Tishri. Is this a mistake for Du'uzu (Tammuz) or does this information pertain to an additional battle, or the second stage of the war, aimed against Upper Egypt?

defeated the Egyptians and having established a bridgehead on the Mendesian branch.[96]

8. The Battle over Egypt

8.1. Invader's Side

When the invader managed to overcome the obstacles at the entrance of Egypt, the defender had to decide if he would risk a field battle or prepare for a siege at Memphis.[97] As can be seen from the study-cases, several times the invader proceeded directly to Memphis.[98] In other cases he gained control over one of the mouths of the Nile and allowed his navy to operate in the Delta.[99] If the invader had enough troops, he could split his army and achieve both goals simultaneously.[100] Victory was sometimes achieved by the surrender of Memphis without a fight.[101]

8.2. Defender's Side

In the battle for Egypt, the defender had a considerable advantage: his objective was not to achieve victory but to inflict enough damage on the invader so that the latter would remain with one option only: to retreat. A battle that ended with any result other than the defeat of the defender was a major step on the way to the invader's retreat.[102] Since the objective of the defenders was not to defeat the invaders but to cause them to retreat, they used non-violent means whenever they considered them effective. These included bribery of a whole army [103] or individuals within it,[104] deception,[105] allowing the defeated invaders

96 Artaxerxes III 351 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 43).

97 Cf. the actions taken by Taharqa in face of the Assyrian onslaught. See: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 105: LET Vs, 19'-20'. Psammetichus III retreated to Memphis after a pitched battle near Pelusium. Herodotus, *Histories* III, 11-13. Diodorus Siculus, Library XVI, 48; Nectanebo II prepared for a siege after the first incursions of the Greek mercenaries of the Persian army on the other bank of the Nile.

98 Esarhaddon advanced in 671 BCE from Išhupri, the place of entrance to Egypt, to Memphis, conducting three pitched battles on the way. See Grayson, *ABC,* 1, rev. 24, 23-28. For other Akkadian sources, see H. –U. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 18; *ABC* 1 iv, 23-28; 21; *ABC* 14, 25-26; Sendjirli Stela; 25-26 K 8692; 31-32, Bu-91-5-9, 218; Similar cases are: Ashurbanipal (667 BCE and 664 BCE) Prism E, III, 6-V, 39, see: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 94-101; op. cit. 104-115: Large Egyptian Tablet; Onasch, 119-123: Prism C and A; Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, Library XI 71, 77); Perdiccas 320 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, Library XVIII 34.6-7); Alexander 332 BCE (Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV vii 3-5).

99 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE: One of the Persian forces under the command of the Greek Mentor, conquered Bubastis and other cities in the Delta; Cf. the ravage in Tell Tebilla G. Mumford, "A Preliminary Reconstruction of the Temple and Settlement at Tell Tibilla (East Delta)," in *Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald. B. Redford*, ed. G. N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch, Probleme der Ägyptologie 20 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 267-286; I. Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš(ꜣ)*: His Name and Deeds According to the Satrap Stela," *CdE* 80 (2005): 89. Note that Cambyses (525 BCE) went to Sais only after the conquest of Memphis. (Herodotus, *Histories* III 16).

100 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49).

101 Cambyses 525 BCE (Herodotus, Histories III, 13); Artaxerxes I 460-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77).

102 Nebuchadnezzar 601/600: *ABC* 5 rev. 5-7.

103 According to Herodotus, (*Histories* I, 104-105), Psammetichus bribed the Scythians and convinced them not to continue their journey to Egypt.

104 Antigonus 306 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 74-75).

105 Perdiccas 320 BCE (Frontinus, *Strategemata* iv). The text reads: "When Ptolemy with a weak force was contending against Perdiccas's powerful army, he arranged for a few horsemen to drive along animals of all sorts, with brush fastened to their backs for them to trail behind them. He himself went ahead with the forces which he had. As a consequence, the dust raised by the animals produced the appearance of a mighty army following, and the enemy, terrified by this impression, was defeated." Sextus Julius Frontinus, *Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome,* trans. Ch. Bennett (London: W. Heinemann, 1925), 315-7.

to leave Egypt unharmed,[106] and even supplying them with food and other necessities.[107]

9. Retreat

9.1. Invader's Retreat

A commander who decided to retreat from Egypt took upon himself a task that is even more complicated than invading it.[108] Although a retreat must have been a challenging undertaking, most of the invaders succeeded in it.[109] A retreat, even a successful one, added a new difficulty for the invader: the confidence of the defender.[110] This left the invader with no alternative but to invade Egypt again. Some of the invaders were able to keep their strength and to initiate a new invasion within a short time.[111] Others had to reassemble their army and return to Egypt only after many years, or never returned at all.

9.2. Defender's Retreat

In case of defeat at the entrance of Egypt or at Memphis, the defender had to retreat. The Delta-based rulers found refuge in the Delta marshes.[112]

When the defender retreated to Upper Egypt the battle over Egypt entered a new stage, but the rules of the game remained more or less the same. On the one hand the defender had to invest very little effort to destabilize the new regime established by the conqueror in Lower Egypt;[113] on the other, the invader had either to regroup and follow the defender to Upper Egypt,[114] or to go back home believing that Lower Egypt is secured, only to find out after a short while that it had been lost again.[115] In these cases, the invader had to return to Egypt to rectify the situation. The march south was not without risks. In several cases, when Egypt was fragmented, while the invader marched south to defeat the defender, rebellions broke out in the North.[116] These had to

106 Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77).

107 Perdiccas 320 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 36).

108 The reasons for retreat are varied: In most cases it was defeat inflicted on the invaders by the defenders (I.e. Esarhaddon, 673 BCE; the Athenians having been defeated by Megabyzus) but even failing to defeat the enemy was a good reason to retreat (Nebuchadnezzar 601/600). Another good reason to retreat was that the season suitable for military operations had just ended (Artaxerxes III 351 BCE, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49, 50).

109 An interesting exception is the fate of the Athenian troops and sailors who were compelled to retreat after having lost their vessels. According to Thucydides I, 110 they suffered loss of many lives on their way back to Athens (Artaxerxes I 458/7 BCE). According to the pro-Athenian description of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77 most of the Athenians survived and returned home.

110 Artaxerxes II 380's BCE (Isocrates, *Panergycus* 140).

111 Esarhaddon was defeated in Egypt in 673 BCE and returned in 671 BCE. See: I. Eph'al, "Esarhaddon, Egypt and Shubria," *JCS* 57: 99-100.

112 For the opposition of the Delta rulers during the days of Esarhaddon (671-669 BCE), see: Kahn, "Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *SAK* 34: 255-257; on the war against Artaxerxes I (463-458) see: Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77; Thucydides, *Histories* I 109, 110.2.

113 This was done by Taharqa before Ashurbanipal's invasion in 667 BCE (See: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 105: Large Egyptian Tablet, Vs. 6'-12') and by Tanutamun before the Ashurbanipal's campaign in 664 BCE (Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 123: Prism A II, ll. 23-26).

114 Ashurbanipal pursued Taharqa in 667 BCE (See Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 105: Large Egyptian Tablet, Vs. 23'-36') and followed Tanutamun in 664 BCE (Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 123: Prism A II, ll. 30-35) to Thebes.

115 Esarhaddon 671 BCE; Ashurbanipal 667 BCE. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* 117, 119-121: Prism A, I, ll. 54 ff.; 90-128.

116 See: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 91, 99-101.

be quelled immediately. Even the loss of Thebes did not change the rules of the game very much. When relations between Egypt and Nubia were good, the defender could retreat to Nubia[117] and continue his operations from there.[118] In several cases the stronger army preferred to come to terms with the weaker party and not to annihilate it.[119]

10. Evolution of the War for Egypt

During the centuries of war over Egypt surveyed here, some innovations were introduced to the battlefield. Some (like the large warships, and elephants) were not so successful on the Egyptian battleground and did not present new challenges to the opposing side. Others (like the building of fortresses at points of possible invasion) presented the opposing side with challenges and compelled it to seek counter-measures.

10.1. The Navy

The earliest invasion that used an auxiliary fleet took place in the time of Ashurbanipal. His fleet probably consisted of biremes.[120] Triremes were probably introduced later at the time of Necho II.[121] They continued to serve as the only type of war ship until the late fourth century BCE. At that time larger vessels were put to use. The new vessels are known to have towed transports.[122]

In the early campaigns Egypt was first invaded on land. Naval forces were utilized only in the second stage of the invasions, if at all.[123] In later periods naval forces were utilized from the beginning. We attribute this change to the fact that most later invasions were planned, commanded, and carried out with a considerable involvement of Greeks, who were more inclined to use naval power than the Assyrians and Babylonians. The main task of warships was to move foot soldiers in the Nile system. On the one hand, this way of mobilizing troops limited soldiers to the capacity of the warships. On the other, it was quick, safe and sometimes also surprising to the defenders. The use of cavalry in the later campaigns (320 BCE and 306 BCE) rendered this tactic obsolete (see below). The defenders' fleet that consisted of river boats probably remained unchanged.

10.2. Field Warfare

One cannot see an evolution typical to Egypt in field warfare. Egypt was no different than

117 For Taharqa, (Ashurbanipal 667 BCE), see: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* 96-99; Tanutamun (Ashurbanipal 664 BCE) fled to Kipkipi. See Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens,* 123; Nectanebo II (Artaxerxes III 343 BCE) fled to Kush (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI 51 and the dream of Nectanebo in the Greek and Demotic versions). See: J. D. Gauger, "Der 'Traum des Nektanebos' – die grieschische Fassung," in *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-romischen Ägypten*, ed. A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 189-220 and K. Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis," in *Apokalyptik und Ägypten*, 221-242.

118 This was done by Tanutamun before Ashurbanipal's second invasion (664 BCE). See: Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 123: Prism A II, l. 37.

119 Megabyzus allowed the Athenians to leave Egypt (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77); see also Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49-50).

120 According to the Assyrian bas-relief from the time of Sennacherib, the Phoenician warship had two rows of rowers on each side. See J. M. Russel, *The Final Sack of Nineveh,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pls. 54-55.

121 Triremes were built in Egypt in the time of Necho II (Herodotus, *Histories* II, 159). It seems that between 701 BCE and Necho's reign (610 – 595 BCE) biremes were replaced by larger triremes. See A. B. Lloyd, "Triremes and the Saïte Navy," *JEA* 58 (1972): 268-279; Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme*, 38.

122 Antigonus 306 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76); Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme,* 25-48.

123 Nebuchadnezzar 567 BCE is an exception.

any other arena. Similarly to other places, new means and strategies were introduced to Egypt. Among the known ones are use of cavalry and elephants[124]

10.3. Siege Warfare

Since Egypt was defended so well by nature and was not invaded for a long time before the days of Esarhaddon, it seems that its main cities were not as fortified as elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[125] Thus, the Assyrian invaders, who were used to carry their battering rams with them, took only ladders on their campaign to Egypt.[126] During the surveyed period, invaders learned how to cope with the limitations of nature. Therefore, the Egyptians had to enhance their defenses by embankments and fortifications. These defensive preparations reached a new zenith, when in 373 BCE the Egyptians prepared for war against Artaxerxes III. Nectanebo, King of Egypt, assigned the protection of his kingdom to the Athenian commander Chabrias. The latter fortified the mouths of the Nile.[127] The Egyptians took special care to fortify Pelusium. This undertaking was done probably under the watchful eye of Chabrias, and the fortress built near Pelusium was named "Chabriou Charax."[128] This put the invading commander in a complicated situation in which he had to decide between three bad options: (a) Try to take Pelusium by storm; (b) lay a siege on Pelusium; (c) leave Pelusium behind and advance to Memphis. Pelusium itself became a formidable fortress. This compelled the invaders to bring with them the most advanced siege equipment they had.[129]

10.4. Large Scale Water Diversion.

The use of water diversion as a means of war requires a large number of willing workers. It was introduced by Megabyzus as the only measure to counter the Athenian naval superiority.[130]

However, water diversion in the Nile system proved to be a risky business. The fortifications of Pelusium, as built by Chabrias, included a canal. This compelled the invaders to divert it before trying to take the city by storm or lay siege to it. This undertaking was complicated by the fact that the canal was connected to the Nile system. A surge of water in the Nile proved disastrous for the unsuspecting invaders.[131]

11. Conclusions

In the time frame that we used, most of the main features of the battle over Egypt remained unchanged. The high number of known invasions in that period and the variety of sources that documented them enables us to observe moves, which increased or decreased the chances of the opposing sides to prevail in the battle for Egypt and sometimes also their chances to

124 Antigonus 306 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 33).

125 However, Egyptian cities were fortified already in the eighth century BCE (if not earlier), as can be learned from the Piankhy/Piye Stela. See M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 3:66-80.

126 Brunner, "Ein Assyrisches Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung," *AfO* 16: 256-257.

127 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42.

128 See sources and discussion in Verreth, *The Northern Sinai*, 1011.

129 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48-50); Antigonus 306 BCE. (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76).

130 Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77, Thucydides, *Histories* I, 110); and see as well Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49).

131 Perdiccas 320 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33).

survive after a defeat. Not all the moves taken by the opposing sides can be evaluated.

One of the most important ones – the selection of generals – does not lend itself to an evaluation. This is mainly because of the nature of the sources available to us. On the one hand, cuneiform sources are not interested in the role of the individual (save that of the king). On the other hand, Greek sources that are interested in the role of the individual are works of historians and as such they already passed their judgment on the generals and kings in the field.[132]

In the following we review: (1) "productive" and "counterproductive" moves by invaders and defenders and (2) long term changes that made their mark on the battle for Egypt.

11.1. Invader's Side

The invader should not attempt a seaborne invasion. Seaborne invasion was attempted three times and failed in all of them. The main difficulty in a seaborne invasion is the capacity of the warships. In their military operations in the Nile, the Athenians operated in pirate like tactics of "hit and run." They were protected by the Nile. Thus they were able to engage the Persians at will. Although Inaros and his Athenian allies conquered Egypt in its entirety, they failed to conquer the Persian main stronghold in Memphis. When Megabyzus deprived the Athenians from the shelter in the Nile, all that remained for them to do was to burn their ships, accept Megabyzus' proposal for a settlement, and withdraw to Libya.

The same is true in the second case (Artaxerxes 373 BCE). This time the invaders landed with 3000 men. They achieved an initial success but this was short lived. The defenders gathered superior force and the invaders boarded the warships and withdrew.

In a third seaborne invasion (Amyntas 333 BCE), the invaders failed to take Memphis after their initial victory and were massacred by the defenders.

The invader should secure the help of the Arabs in crossing the Sinai. The importance of the Arabs for a successful crossing of the Sinai desert cannot be underestimated. Suffice it to say, that in Herodotus' account of Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt, the latter is called "the king of the Arabs and the Assyrians."[133] The Arabs had control over the wells in the desert and the means to carry water for the use of the invading army.[134]

The invader should learn the limitation imposed on him by nature and calculate his moves accordingly. Navy can be used safely only between May and October. Inundation season is to be avoided except by an army trained to operate in marshes.[135] Otherwise, military operations during the inundation season are doomed to fail.[136] Operating in the desert during Khamsin season can be dangerous.

132 Artaxerxes III 343 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47). Nectanebo II appointed himself as the commander of his troops. According to Diodorus Siculus, Nectanebo II brought upon himself a defeat by trying to act as a general.

133 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 141.

134 Esarhaddon 671 BCE (Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 111-112: Frg. F.; Cambyses 525 BCE; Herodotus, *Histories* III 9).

135 Esarhaddon 671 BCE (*ABC* 1 iv 23-28).

136 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 42), Perdiccas, 320 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33).

The invader should seek a field battle with the defender. One of the better-known truisms of war is that time works against the invader. He has limited time to accomplish his task.[137] The invader has to initiate a pitched battle and not wait until the defender attacks him at the time suitable for the former. Inaros waited until his Athenian allies arrived and only then attacked Achemenes, the Persian Satrap of Egypt.[138]

The invader should concentrate his efforts on Memphis. Memphis was the capital of Lower Egypt (until the inauguration of Alexandria), its nerve center and its bank. With the fall of Memphis the war over Lower Egypt was decided. Any other city or fortress should be put under siege and conquered only if it serves the main purpose – taking hold of Memphis and its bank. Memphis was conquered together with Lower Egypt by Esarhaddon (671 BCE), Ashurbanipal (667 BCE and 664 BCE), Cambyses (525 BCE), and Artaxerxes III in 343 BCE. More informative are the failures, especially that of Pharnabazus, the Persian commander who did not heed the advice of Iphicrates, the Athenian who shared the command with him, to proceed from the mouth of the Mendesian branch straight to Memphis and by so doing he doomed the invasion to fail.[139]

The invader should retreat at the first sign of difficulty. None of the invaders who suffered a defeat,[140] or even failed to defeat the enemy[141] in a pitched battle succeeded in his mission afterwards. They all had to retreat. Most of those who were quick to retreat preserved their military strength and returned to Egypt to try their luck again.[142] On the contrary, those who continued their mission after having failed to win a pitched battle, suffered a greater loss: their army and their life.[143]

When the invader emerges as a winner he should allow the Greek mercenaries to retreat and the Egyptian soldiers to desert. Greek soldiers that wished to leave should be allowed to do so. There is no reason for bloodshed if the objective can be achieved without it. Megabyzus' move allowing his enemies to leave Egypt without a fight saved the blood of his soldiers while having completed his mission (458 BCE). Lacrates, the Theban commander at the service of Artaxerxes III, having been approached by Greek mercenaries besieged in Pelusium, reached a settlement with them. Each of the mercenaries was allowed to leave with all the possession he could carry on his back.[144] Mentor, another Greek commander at the service of Artaxerxes III allowed Egyptian soldiers to desert and return to their home. By so doing he saved bloodshed and created a rift between the Egyptian soldiers and their Greek allies.[145]

The invader should pursue the defender to Upper Egypt. If the defender retreats to Thebes, the invader should pursue him. Otherwise, the

137 In von Clausewitz's words, "time which is allowed to pass unused accumulates to the credit of the defender. He reaps where he did not sow. Any omission of attack-whether from bad judgment, fear or indolence- accrues to the defenders' benefit." von Clausewitz, *On war,* VI ch.1, 357.

138 Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 72).

139 Artaxerxes III 373 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 42).

140 Esarhaddon 673 BCE (*ABC* 1 iv 16).

141 Nebuchadnezzar 601/600 BCE.

142 I.e. Esarhaddon and Artaxerxes III.

143 Perdiccas 320 BCE .

144 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 49.

145 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 50.

latter might return to Memphis a short time after the former leaves it.[146]

11.2. Defender's Side

When an empire takes over the Levant, the defender should not take any steps to entice local kingdoms to rebel against that empire or challenge its rule over the Levant. When faced with an opposing force that controlled the Levant, the rulers of Egypt intervened in order to create hardships for that opponent at an inexpensive price for themselves. This objective was pursued either by diplomacy,[147] or by a small number and/or lightly armed troops. These troops were sent to the Levant in order to create difficulties for the opponent.[148] In some cases their mere presence was enough to disrupt a siege laid by their opponents.[149]

In the short run this policy proved to be beneficial for Egypt. All that the opponent's force could do to retaliate was to impose an embargo on timber, and even this measure was tried only once.[150] However, in the long run, this Egyptian policy proved disastrous. What looked to the kings of Egypt as harmless, inexpensive, no-risk policy compelled the opponents to invade Egypt and put an end to this policy together with Egypt's own independence. In resorting to these measures the kings of Egypt were working against their own interests. The kings of Egypt returned to this policy time and again even when its negative implications should have been understood.

The defender should fortify the mouths of the Nile, especially Pelusium and its vicinity. The defenses built by Chabrias in 373 BCE added to the security of Egypt. Since that time five violent attempts were made to conquer Egypt (373 BCE, 351 BCE, 343 BCE 320 BCE and 306 BCE). Thanks to these defenses, only one of them ended with success.

The defender should not retreat from Memphis before losing a pitched battle but should retreat from Memphis after losing one. An army that has not suffered losses was capable of pursuing the retreating defender to Thebes. On the contrary, an army that suffered losses even if it won a pitched battle needed to regroup before pursuing the defender.

Most of the known cases are in accord with this rule: Taharqa retreated from Memphis after a pitched battle against Esarhaddon (671 BCE) was able to continue the war from his new base in Thebes; his son did not retreat with him and was caught by the Assyrians; in 667 BCE Taharqa retreated again after having lost a pitched battle to Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria , and regained control over Lower Egypt after the Assyrians' departure; Psammetichus III who did not retreat from Memphis after having lost a battle to Cambyses was caught by the latter; Nectanebo II retreated after having lost a battle to Artaxerxes III and saved himself and most of his possessions (although he lost his kingdom).

146 This was done by Taharqa after his defeat by Esarhaddon (671 BCE). The latter was compelled to organize a new campaign to Egypt (669 BCE). Tanutamun, Taharqa's successor, re-conquered Lower Egypt immediately after ascending the throne in 664 BCE.

147 I. e. 2 Kings 17:4.

148 The Egyptian involvement in the Levant will be discussed extensively in a future paper.

149 I.e. Jeremiah 37:5; cf. Esarhaddon's queries to Shamash about the possibility that Kushite and Egyptian forces will be found near Ashkelon. D. Kahn, "Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians," *JSSEA* 31 (2004): 110, n. 19.

150 Letter of Qurdi-Ashur-lamur (ND 2715), see: H. W. F. Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 155-58; J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 390-93; H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952 – Part II," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 127-128.

Exceptions to this rule are seaborne invasions. When faced with a seaborne invasion, and after being defeated by the invaders, the defender should seek refuge in a fort. This is because the invader does not have enough manpower and/or equipment to conquer it.

The defender should allow his defeated enemy to retreat. In his book von Clausewitz advocated to abandon defense in favor of attack at the right point in time. He wrote:

"If defense is the stronger form of war, yet it has a negative object, it follows that it should be used only so long as weakness compels, and be abandoned as soon as we are strong enough to pursue a positive object."[151]

Egypt is an exception to that rule. This is simply because the defender has no positive object to pursue. One can think of two possible positive objects that can be pursued by attack: (a) inflicting damage on the enemy and (b) gaining ground. The first is not applicable to Egypt; a defeated enemy had to return back home, be it Persia, Assyria or Babylon, and rebuild his army.[152] Only then could he decide whether or not to launch a new campaign against Egypt; damage inflicted on the invader during retreat has only little effect on his might after having rebuilt his army. Therefore it is not worth the effort. The second object is not applicable to Egypt either. All the defender can gain by pursuing the invader is desert that can be conquered with less effort once the invader completed his retreat. It is because of this reason that defenders **never** pursued their enemies.

11.3 Long Term Changes

Checked according to the principles of the *longue durée*,[153] three main stages in the war over Egypt are observed:

734 BCE – 539 BCE - Tiglath-Pileser III's campaign to Philistia, created a new situation: for the first time in the first millennium BCE, Egypt was faced by a formidable opposing force that could stage an invasion. However, the natural obstacles that protect Egypt made such an invasion hard to carry out and in case of a successful invasion, Egypt's size made it hard to govern. As a result, invasions were few and most of them were unsuccessful.

539 BCE – 373 BCE - The emergence of the Persian Empire was a radical change for the geopolitical situation in the ancient Near East and beyond. Especially important is its unsurpassed richness in funds and manpower. The geology of Egypt (unlike that of Greece) does not limit the size of the troops that are mobilized in it and therefore it was easy for the Persians to overpower the defenders. Thus most of the invasions in this period were successful.

373 BCE – 300 BCE – For an Egyptian leader in the beginning of the fourth century BCE, it was clear that nature alone could not defend his country, and it needed to be enhanced with fortresses along the Mediterranean coast. Chabrias' undertaking to fortify Pelusium and to upgrade the line of fortifications that was built by Necho II on Egypt's eastern border, countered the difference in the size of the troops and enabled the defenders to regain their advantage. Most of the opposed invasions in that period were unsuccessful and some were even disastrous for the invaders.

151 Von Clausewitz, *On war*, VI, Ch. 1 p. 358.
152 I.e. Nebuchadnezzar in 599 BCE. See: *ABC* 5 : 5-8.
153 F. Braudel, *On History*, trans. S. Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 25-54.

Appendix: The Cases under Discussion

Sennacherib 701 BCE?

According to Herodotus, Sennacherib, King of the "Assyrians and the Arabs," tried to invade Egypt but was repelled thanks to divine intervention.[154] This invasion is unknown otherwise and it probably never happened.

Esarhaddon 673 BCE

According to the Babylonian Chronicle,[155] in 673 BCE Esarhaddon invaded Egypt. A decisive battle took place in Egypt on the fifth of Addaru the Assyrians were defeated, and retreated.[156]

Esarhaddon 671 BCE

According to the Babylonian Chronicle,[157] and Royal Inscriptions,[158] the Assyrian army invaded Egypt in Tammuz (June-July) 671. The text continues as follows:

> On the third, sixteenth (and) eighteenth days of the month Tammuz. Three times-there was a massacre in Egypt. (Variant: It was sacked and its gods were abducted.) On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured (and) abandoned by its king. His (the king's) son and bro[ther were taken pr]isoners. (The city) was sacked, its inhabitants plundered, (and) its booty carried off.

Esarhaddon 669 BCE

According to the Babylonian Chronicles, Esarhaddon advanced against Egypt but died on the way on the tenth day of the month of Marcheshvan (October/November 669).[159]

Ashurbanipal 667 BCE

According to his inscriptions,[160] Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, marched against Egypt and Nubia. On his way Ashurbanipal was assisted by armies and ships of the kings of the seashore and Cyprus. A field battle took place and Taharqa, king of Egypt and Kush, was defeated by Ashurbanipal. Taharqa left Memphis and retreated to Thebes. Ashurbanipal followed Taharqa to Thebes and conquered Thebes as well.

Ashurbanipal 664 BCE

Ashurbanipal marched against Egypt after Tanutamun, King of Egypt and Kush, re-conquered Egypt several months earlier. Ashurbanipal's army marched to Egypt. No mention of vassals or provincial governors is made. When

154 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 141.

155 *ABC* 1 iv 16.

156 The battle in Egypt does not appear in the Esarhaddon Chronicle. It reads: "On the Tenth day of Addaru (five days after the defeat in Egypt) the army of Assyria [*marched*] to ^{URU}Ša-LÚ(amîlê)^{meš}." This was explained in two different ways:
(1) ^{URU}Ša-LÚ^{meš} is a city in southern Babylonia. The Assyrian Chronicler substituted an embarrassing report on defeat in Egypt with an insignificant campaign in Babylonia that took place at the same time.
(2) ^{URU}Ša-LÚ^{meš} may be an Assyrianized form of Sile the city on the border of Egypt.
The first of these explanations is weak. If the Assyrian Chronicler wanted to ignore the defeat in Egypt he could have done so without going into the trouble of finding substitutions. Moreover, the Assyrian army is not known to have conducted multiple war campaigns simultaneously. It follows that the Assyrian Chronicler ignored the defeat but mentioned a march (back!) to Sile on its aftermath. Cf. Eph'al, "Esarhaddon, Egypt, and Shubria," *JCS* 57: 99, n. 1.

157 *ABC* 1 iv 23-28.

158 Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen,* 18; *ABC*, 1 iv, 23-28; *ABC* 14 25-26; Sendjirli Stela; 25-26 K 8692; 31-32, Bu-91-5-9, 218 and previous literature there.

159 Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen,* 18; *ABC* 1 iv 30.

160 Prism A I 52ff. Prism B 50ff, Prism C II 16ff. and K 6338 1ff. R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1996), 17-20 and passim.

Ashurbanipal's armies entered Egypt, Tanutamun fled to Thebes. The Assyrians marched to Thebes and conquered it. Tanutamun fled to the south, to an unidentified place called Kipkipi. After the return of the Assyrians to Nineveh, Tanutamun returned and regained control over Upper Egypt.[161]

The Scythians

Date unknown (Second half of the seventh century BCE). There are two somewhat contradicting reports about a Scythian invasion to Egypt. According to Herodotus,[162] the Scythians were met on their way by Psammetichus king of Egypt at Ashkelon. The latter convinced them not to continue their war campaign against Egypt. According to Justinus, the king of Egypt fled from the invading Scythians leaving his army and supplies behind. The invading Scythians were stopped by the Egyptian marshes and retreated to Asia.[163]

Nebuchadnezzar 601/600 BCE

According to the Babylonian Chronicles,[164] the king of Babylon took the lead of his army and marched against Egypt. A field battle took place in Egypt in December 601/January 600 BCE. There was no clear winner and the king of Babylon returned to Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar 582 BCE?

According to a garbled version preserved in Josephus:

> Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, was about to make an expedition against the Egyptians… On the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (582 BCE), he made an expedition against Coilesyria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all these nations under subjection, he attacked Egypt in order to overthrow it; he slew the king that then reigned and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon.[165]

It seems that this information pertains to Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Egypt in 567 BCE.

Nebuchadnezzar 567 BCE

Two sources describe this invasion: the badly weathered Elephantine Stela of Pharaoh Amasis II[166] and a Babylonian cuneiform fragment.[167] Amasis who was a general in the Egyptian army, started a war against Apries, the reigning Pharaoh. The latter, after having been defeated in a battle (dated between October 10, and November 10, 570 BCE)[168] found refuge on an island, the identity of which is unknown (The suggest-

161 Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen*, 123, 125.
162 Herodotus, *Histories* I, 104-105.
163 Justinus, *De Historiis Philippicis* II, iii 8-15.
164 *ABC* 5 rev. 5-8. This incident is probably referred to also in Herodotus, *Histories* II 159. See E. Lipiński, "The Egyptian Babylonian War of the winter 601-600 B.C.," *Annali dell'Instituto Orientale di Napoli* 32 (1992): 235-241.
165 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* X 180-182.
166 A. Leahy, "The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries," *JEA* 74 (1988): 183-199; J. A. Spalinger, "The Civil War between Amasis and Apries and the Babylonian attack against Egypt", in *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptologists*, ed. W. F. Reineke, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 14, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1979), 593-604 Edel, "Amasis und Nebukadrezar II.," *GM* 29: 13-20; See recently: I. A. Ladynin, "The Elephantine Stela of Amasis," *GM* 211 (2006): 31-56.
167 *NBK* 329 (BM 33041).
168 Elephantine Stela cols. 1-13.

ed locations are: Cyprus, Memphis or the Greek Buto, *Ỉmt*, in the Eastern Delta). In Amasis' fourth year on 21 March 567 the final battle took place.[169] It was reported that "millions" of Asiatics crossed the ways of Horus in order to invade Egypt. Warriors in *ḥꜥ.w*-warships also participated. The identity of these sailors is disputed and it is not clear if these were Babylonian naval forces or Aegean mercenaries of Apries. This naval operation failed because a storm caused the warships to capsize. Apries, who probably died in battle, was buried with the honor of a pharaoh.

Cambyses 525 BCE

According to Herodotus,[170] Cambyses secured the help of the Arabs before crossing the Sinai Peninsula. Pelusium may have been conquered by the Persians upon their entrance.[171] A field battle took place in Egypt and the Persians prevailed. Other Egyptians retreated to Memphis. The Persians sent a Mytilanean ship to Memphis and offered its defenders to submit. The defenders killed the crew of the ship. The Persian put a siege on Memphis and conquered the city after a while. They captured the king of Egypt. After the fall of Memphis the Persians conquered Upper Egypt with no further Egyptian resistance. According to late sources, the invading troops committed atrocities in several cities in Egypt including Heliopolis, Sais, Thebes and possibly Elephantine.[172]

Darius 519-518 BCE?

Egypt is listed in the Behistun inscription among the satrapies which rebelled against Persia immediately after the death of Cambyses in 522 BCE and was not subdued until Darius' third regnal year (the latest date mentioned in the inscription). Darius is first attested on an Apis stela dated to his fourth regnal year.[173] His third regnal year is mentioned on the reverse of the Demotic Chronicle in a legal account.[174] Nothing is known of the Persian re-conquest.

Xerxes 486 BCE

At the end of the reign of Darius I Egypt rebelled again. According to Herodotus,[175] Darius planned to quell the rebellion but died before he could execute this plan. Xerxes quelled the rebellion in the year after his father's death. Nothing is known about the details of this campaign.

Artaxerxes I 463-458 BCE[176]

According to Diodorus Siculus,[177] a rebellion occurred in Egypt immediately after Xerxes'

169 Elephantine Stela cols. 14-18.

170 Herodotus, *Histories* III, 1-38. D. Kahn, "Notes on the Time-Factor in Cambyses' deeds in Egypt as told by Herodotus," *Transeuphratène* 34: 103-112.

171 The siege on Pelusium, as described by Polyaenus (*Stratagems* IX, 63), seems to contain some anachronisms (Catapults) and other details that appear imaginary: The use of sacred animals as a shield could not have dissuaded the Carian and Greek mercenaries from protecting Pelusium. One may also doubt the existence of Pelusium at that time, let alone it being fortified.

172 See the historical sources cited in Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Quellen zur Eroberung Ägyptens durch Kambyses," *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies offered in Honor of Ernö Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, ed. T. A. Bács (Budapest: ELTE, 2002), 309-319 and earlier bibliography there.

173 C. Tuplin, "Darius' Suez Canal and Persian Imperialism," *Achaemenid History* 6 (1991): 264-266.

174 D. Devauchelle, "Un problème de chronologie sous Cambyse," *Transeuphratène* 15 (1998): 9-17 suggested to Identify Darius, mentioned in the text as Darius II.

175 Herodotus, *Histories* VII, 1-5, 7.

176 D. Kahn, "Inaros' Rebellion against Artaxerxes I and the Athenian Disaster in Egypt," *The Classical Quarterly* 58/2 (2008): 424-440.

177 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71.

death. Inaros, the leader of that rebellion, sent to Athens for help. The Athenians voted to send 300 warships to Inaros' aid.[178] In the mean time Artaxerxes, the King of Persia sent his uncle Achemenes to Egypt with a large army.[179] Achemenes invaded Egypt and camped near the Nile. The Egyptians waited until the Athenians arrived and only then engaged the Persians in a field battle. The Persians were defeated. The surviving Persians sought refuge in a fortress which was either in the vicinity of Memphis[180] or a part thereof.[181] According to Ctesias,[182] a naval battle also took place and the Athenian navy defeated the Persian one. All the Persian ships were either captured or sunk.

The king of Persia sent an envoy to Sparta. His assignment was to bribe the Spartans and have them attack Athens in order to pressure the Athenians and compel them to retreat from Egypt. This mission failed.[183]

> "Then, the king of Persia appointed Artabazus and Megabyzus as commanders of the Persian army. Their mission was to re-conquer Egypt. Their first move was to conscript a navy from Cyprus, Phoenicia and Cilicia. The Navy that was assembled included only triremes. No supply ships were conscripted."[184]

The Persian army took the land route to Egypt while the navy accompanied it sailing along the shore. Upon their arrival to Egypt the Persians hurried to Memphis were their compatriots were still under siege. The Persians broke the siege.[185]

The Athenian navy was moored on an island in the Nile, protected by the river from the Persians. The Persians diverted the water of the Nile and thus rendered the Athenian triremes useless. The Athenians were allowed to leave Egypt to Libya. According to one of the sources,[186] most of them perished on the way; another source suggests that most of them returned to Athens.[187]

In the meantime the Athenians, who were ignorant of the defeat of their army in Egypt, organized a relief squadron of 50 triremes and sent it to Egypt. The Athenian squadron landed in the Mendesian mouth of the Nile and was attacked from land by the Persians and from the sea by the Phoenicians. Most of the Athenian ships were destroyed. The rest were able to flee and return to Athens.[188]

Artaxerxes II 404 BCE

In 404 BCE Egypt rebelled against the Persian Empire. Persia finally lost control over Egypt several years later.[189]

178 So Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71; Ctesias, *Persica* 36: "forty ships."

179 The figures given by Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 71 and Ctesias, *Persica* 36-37 (300,000 and 400,000 respectively) are evidently exaggerated. According to Ctesias, Achemenes had also 80 ships at his disposal.

180 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 74.

181 Thucydides, *Histories* I, 104.

182 Ctesias, *Persica* 36.

183 Thucydides, *Histories* I, 109, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 74.

184 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 75.

185 Thucydides, *Histories* I, 109, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 75.

186 Thucydides, *Histories* I, 110.

187 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XI, 77.

188 Thucydides, *Histories* I, 110.

189 P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 619

Artaxerxes II 380s BCE

Sometime in the 380s[190] the Persians made an attempt to re-conquer Egypt. They invaded Egypt and were compelled to retreat after a long war. This attempt is mentioned in passing in Isocrates.[191]

Artaxerxes III 373 BCE

In 373 BCE the Persians and Egyptians prepared for war. The king of Egypt appointed an Athenian commander, Chabrias, at the head of his fleet and a Spartan at the head of the land forces.[192] Chabrias accepted the appointment without having asked for the permission of his state. The Persian commander Pharnabazus, sent ambassadors to Athens in order to convince the Athenians to recall their commander, who had already left for Egypt, and to send another Athenian commander to lead the Persian army to Egypt. The Athenians granted both requests. Chabrias was called back to Athens and Iphicrates was sent to lead the Persian army of mercenaries.[193]

It seems that both sides had enough time to prepare for war.[194] The Egyptians fortified all the Nile mouths and blocked them by lift bridges, embankments were built off the shore to make landing difficult, the eastern border was fortified, the eastern roads were inundated and canals were dug between the fortifications.[195]

The Persian army assembled in Acre and began to move probably in early June. The land force advanced the main route in Palestine commonly referred to as *via maris* while the navy sailed near the coast line. When they approached the borders of Egypt they assessed the Egyptian fortifications. They decided to use their navy and attempted landing from the sea.

While the main part of the Persian army still encamped in front of the Egyptian fortifications, Greek warships set sail on the Mediterranean Sea in order to attack Egypt from the north by surprise. They landed in the Mendesian mouth with 3000 men. The defenders decided to leave the fortress and engaged the invaders in the open field. The invaders defeated the defenders in the field battle, broke into the fortress and leveled it.

At that stage, an argument broke out between the invading commanders. Iphicartes suggested to proceed immediately toward Memphis. Pharnabazus decided to wait. In the meantime the defenders gathered a force and sent it to the Mendesian mouth. Another force was sent to Memphis to defend it. Nature also added to the difficulties of the invaders. The inundation season had just begun and as Diodorus Siculus puts it "the Nile which was filling up and flooding the whole region with the abundance of its waters, made Egypt daily more secure."[196] The invaders retreated.

Artaxerxes III 351 BCE

Artaxerxes III, King of Persia, invaded Egypt again in 351 BCE. A public debate broke out in Athens on the question which side to support.[197] The Egyptian army was commanded by

190 Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 652
191 Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 140, 161.
192 Nepos, *Chabrias* II-III.
193 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 29, 41; Nepos, *Chabrias* II-III, Nepos, *Iphicartes* II.
194 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 41.
195 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 42.
196 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XV, 43.
197 Demosthenes, *Lib. Rhod.* 5.

an Athenian and a Spartan.[198] The Persians were defeated.[199]

Artaxerxes III 343 BCE

The Persian defeat in Egypt in 351 BCE caused a revolt in Phoenicia and Cyprus.[200] The Phoenicians formed an alliance with the Egyptians and began hostilities against the Persians: They destroyed the royal park and burned the fodder stored in Phoenicia for the Persian army.[201]

The Satraps of Cilicia and Syria tried to quell the rebellion with their own troops but were repelled by a small army of mercenaries that was sent from Egypt.

The Persian army assembled in Babylon. The king marched to Phoenicia and leveled Sidon. The remaining Phoenicians kingdoms changed sides and went over to the Persian side.[202] In Phoenicia the Persian army was joined by allies from Argos and Thebes and continued its march to Egypt.

The Persian army consisted of infantry (Greek and other), cavalry and warships.[203] In order to help them navigate in the Nile, the invaders used local guides whose families were kept as hostages.[204]

The Egyptian force consisted of infantry (Greek, Libyan and Egyptian) and an "incredible numbers of riverboats, suited for battle and engagements on the Nile."[205]

Near Pelusium, part of the Persian army was lost in quicksand.[206] Upon the entrance of the invaders a battle took place outside of Pelusium between Beotians in the service of the king of Persia and Spartans in the service of the king of Egypt. This battle ended without a clear winner.[207]

The king of Persia divided his army in four: One part consisted from Beotians and Persians; a second part consisted of Argivians and Persians; a third part consisted of Greek mercenaries who were serving the king of Egypt but moved over to the Persians, and Persians; The king of Persia left a fourth part as reserve in his own camp.[208]

The first force laid siege to Pelusium. The canal that protected the city was diverted and dried. Siege engines were brought to the walls.

Meanwhile the second invading force sailed southward on a canal, disembarked and set up a camp and fortified it. The Egyptians assembled a force and a field battle took place. The Egyptians were defeated. The king of Egypt decided not to face the Persians in battle and retreated to Memphis.

198 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48.

199 Isocrates, *Phillipus* 101, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 40, Demosthenes, *Lib. Rhod.* 11-12; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 682.

200 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 40, Isocrates, *Phillipus* 102. According to Isocrates (Isocrates, *Phillip.* 102), Cilicia also joined the Rebellion. But, the active role of its satrap in the quelling of the rebellion in Egypt (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 41) makes this unlikely.

201 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 41.

202 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 45.

203 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47. No transport ships are known to have participated and the first stage of the invasion.

204 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48.

205 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 47.

206 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46.

207 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 46.

208 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48.

Later, Pelusium fell before the first army of the invaders and the third army conquered the camp of Bubastis.[209]

Nectanebo II, the King of Egypt, decided not to stay in Memphis. He took the lion's share of his movable possessions and retreated to Upper Egypt.[210]

Amyntas 333 BCE

In 333 BCE a Macedonian commander, Amyntas deserted Alexander's navy and tried to conquer Egypt for himself. He sailed from Cyprus to Egypt with a small force and landed in Pelusium. He advanced further to Memphis and defeated the Persian local force. The Persians withdrew to the safety of the city of Memphis. Amyntas and his troops plundered Egyptian property wherever they found it. Thereupon the Persians organized a counter attack and slew Amyntas and his troops to the last man.[211]

Alexander 332 BCE

In 332 BC, Alexander marched from Gaza to Egypt while his fleet advanced in the same direction along the coast. He camped in a place named "Alexander's camp", the location of which is unknown but probably in the vicinity of Pelusium, and sailed from there to Memphis. Alexander did not take the main part of the army with him but sent it to Pelusium. Alexander was met in Memphis by the Satrap of Egypt and received from him a large amount of precious metals, luxury goods as well as Egypt itself according to Quintus Curtius.[212]

According to Arrianus,[213] Alexander marched from Gaza to Egypt while his fleet sailed in the same direction along the coast. Alexander arrived on the seventh day. When he arrived at Pelusium his fleet was already anchored there.

Perdiccas 320 BCE

In May 320 BCE Perdiccas arrived in Egypt. His army consisted of infantry (shield bearers and ladder carriers), elephants and cavalry. He encamped in front of Pelusium. His first effort was to divert the canal that protects Pelusium. This effort failed. Perdiccas then advanced along the Nile and tried to storm a fortress referred to as the "Fort of Camels." When his troops were engaged in the fight for the fort, Ptolemy appeared at the head of his troops and the battle turned into a field battle. The battle ended with no clear winner. Perdiccas broke camp at night and continued to advance southward; he reached a place near Memphis and attempted to cross the Nile and camp on an island. This attempt proved disastrous; once a part of the army had crossed, the river became deeper because of unknown reasons, and much harder to cross. Perdiccas decided to have those who had already forded the river to return. Many of his troops lost their lives trying to cross the river. This disaster instigated a rebellion against Perdiccas, who was eventually killed by his own troops.[214]

Antigonus 306 BCE

In 306 BCE Antigonus and his son Demetrius advanced against Egypt. Antigonus commanded the land forces and his son Demetrius com-

209 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 48-50.

210 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVI, 51. See I. Ladynin, Nectanebo in Ethiopia: A Commentary to Diod. XVI.51.1 (Forthcoming).

211 Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, 1, 27; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVII, 48 – see also Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* 13.3.

212 Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* IV, 7, 3-5.

213 Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* III, 1,1.

214 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XVIII, 33-36.

manded the navy. The land forces included foot soldiers (phalanx, bowman, and sling throwers), cavalry elephants and wagons that carried heavy ballistic artillery;[215] the navy included warships (Triremes, quadriremes and quinqueremes) and cargo ships that were towed by the warships.[216]

The defenders manned the fortifications on all landing places in the mouth of the Nile and had also a mobile force that used river boats.

Before departing from Gaza, Antigonus secured the help of the Arabs and their camels.

Once the fleet embarked on its way the pilots noticed the setting of the Pleiades. This was a well known sign for ancient mariners.[217] Its meaning was that from this point on in time the sea was dangerous for sailing. The news were brought to the attention of Demetrius. Demetrius decided to ignore the news and continue advancing. After a few days the north wind blew and the fleet had to fight the wind at sea. Some of Demetrius' ships were separated by the storm from the main fleet. After the storm, the land and sea forces met near the Pelusian branch of the Nile, which was in possession of the defenders.[218]

The hard predicament, in which the invaders found themselves, was known to the king of Egypt. He sent heralds on small boats to try and entice the invaders to move over to his side, offering them rich rewards. Antigonus assigned catapults, sling throwers and bowman to keep these heralds beyond hearing range.[219]

The main problems of the invaders were the following: Inundation was at its height;[220] the navy became useless because all the entrances of the Nile were fortified and well guarded; the army was running short of fodder for the animals. The only logical move was to retreat back to Palestine.

215 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76.
216 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX, 73, 76.
217 Among many others Vegetius IV, 39.
218 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX 74-76.
219 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX 74-75.
220 Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XX 76.

Notes on the Form and Use of Didactic Language in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Narrative Works

Nikolaos Lazaridis

Abstract:

Sayings, proverbs, and didactic passages were often employed in ancient literature to convey ethical messages, support arguments and portray prudent characters. In this essay I present the first results of a project on the uses of didactic language in ancient Egyptian and Greek literature. The project is funded by the Netherlands Foundation for Scientific Research (NWO) and is hosted by the Radboud University of Nijmegen. The points of comparison discussed in this essay concern the forms and functions of didactic material identified in ancient Egyptian and Greek literary narratives, such as the stories of *Sinuhe* and of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, which are compared to Greek prose or verse narratives, such as Heliodorus's *Aithiopica* and Apollonius's *Argonautica*. The aim of this study is to define a cultural phenomenon (that is, the production and literary usage of such didactic material) common to ancient Egypt and Greece and interpret it in terms of its contribution to the making of literature in these two civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean.

Résumé:

La littérature de l'antiquité utilisait souvent les dictons, les proverbes et les leçons pour communiquer des instructions morales, nourrir des controverses et dresser un portrait des personnages prudents. Dans cet article l'auteur offre les premiers résultats d'une recherche portant sur les utilisations de la terminologie didactique dans les littératures de l'Egypte et de la Grèce antiques. Cette recherche, qui est subventionnée par la Fondation des Pays-Bas pour la Recherche Scientifique (NWO), est menée dans le cadre de l'Université Radboud de Nimègue. Les points de comparaison discutés portent sur les formes et les fonctions de l'appareil didactique identifié dans des textes narratifs de la littérature de l'Egypte et de la Grèce antiques, par exemple les histoires de Sinouhe et du Naufragé qu'on compare à des oeuvres en prose ou à des épopées grecques, par exemple les Ethiopiques d'Héliodore et les Argonautiques d'Apollonios. Le but de cette étude est de définir un phénomène culturel (précisément la composition et l'utilisation littéraire d'un tel appareil didactique) commun à l'Egypte et à la Grèce antiques et de l'interpréter en fonction de sa contribution à la production littéraire de ces deux civilisations du monde méditerranéen antique.

Keywords:

Saying, proverb, literary narrative, comparative literature

I. Introduction

In this essay, in which I present the first results from my research project 'Wisdom sayings in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Literature,'[1] I identify sayings, proverbs, and related didactic passages in the corpus of the so-far published

1 The project is funded by NWO, the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research, is hosted by the Radboud

Egyptian and Greek literary narratives and examine and compare the roles this didactic material plays within its textual context. The latter task includes a comparative study of the relationship of the identified sections with other modes of literary language (such as narrative passages, metaphorical sentences, or elaborate comparisons), with the overall structure of the text in which they are found, as well as with the general profile of that text, including features such as its purpose, audience, or authorship.[2]

The only scholarly studies that compare sayings, proverbs or didactic passages employed in ancient Egyptian and Greek literary works are Lichtheim's *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* and the author's *Wisdom in Loose Form*.[3] Otherwise, Egyptological and classical studies examining such material have been restricted only to specific works from their own field.[4] Intercultural links to such works have in some cases been brought forth, aiming at determining literary influences and the origins of the texts in question.[5]

In contrast to such scholarly studies, the primary aim of this project (and consequently of the analysis presented in this essay) is not to identify parallels between bodies of ancient Egyptian and Greek literary material and to explore potential historical contacts.[6] Instead, this project mainly functions as a work of Comparative Literature, targeting at comparing the character and development of a cultural phenomenon (that is, the production of didactic material and its usage in literature) that was common in these

University of Nijmegen, and is run by the author and André Lardinois, Professor of Greek in the Radboud University. The aim of this project is to study the use of sayings and other didactic material in a number of genres of Egyptian and Greek literature (see http://www.nwo.nl/projecten.nsf/pages/2300136975). This essay is a modified version of a paper I delivered in the Xth International Congress of Egyptology, held in Rhodes, Greece in May-June 2008. I would like to thank André Lardinois, Marwa Helmy, and Mark Smith for their valuable comments and corrections.

2 "Audience" and "authorship" are terms that for centuries now have been caught in the crossfire of scholarly debates. In this essay I will be using them and their derivatives to conventionally refer to the presence of a composer and a targeted receiver of the material under study, as felt or implied within this very body of literary material.

3 M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions*, OBO 52 (Freiburg/Schweiz and Göttingen: Freiburg/Schweiz U. P. and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983); N. Lazaridis, *Wisdom in Loose Form: The Language of Egyptian and Greek Proverbs in Collections from the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Mnemosyne, Supplements 287 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

4 See, for instance, W. Guglielmi, "Zur Adaption und Funktion von Zitaten," *SAK* 11 (1984): 347-364; the articles in *Proverbia in Fabula: Essays on the Relationship of the Fable and the Proverb*, ed. P. Carnes, Sprichwörterforschung 10 (Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York and Paris: P. Lang, 1988); H. Morales, "Sense and Sententiousness in the Greek novels," in *Intertextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations*, ed. A. Sharrock and H. Morales (Oxford and New York: Oxford U.P, 2000), 217-235; D. Cuny, "Les sentences héroïques chez Sophocle," *Revue des études grecques* 117 (2004): 1-20.

5 So, for example, P. Walcot, "Hesiod and the Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy," *JNES* 21.3 (1962): 215-219; B. Gemser, "The Instruction of 'Onchesheshonqy and Biblical Wisdom Literature," in *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, ed. J.L. Crenshaw (New York: Ktav, 1976), 134-160; N. Shupak, *Where can Wisdom be found? The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, OBO 130 (Freiburg/Schweiz and Göttingen: Freiburg/Schweiz U. P. and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). In general, classicists have paid more attention to connections between Greek and Near Eastern works of literature, often ignoring the corpus of Egyptian literature; e.g. M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); R. Lamberton, "Ancient Reception," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, ed. J. Miles Foley, Blackwells Companions to the Ancient World (Malden MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 164-165; W. Burkert, "Near Eastern Connections," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, 221-301.

6 Cf. N. Lazaridis, "A description of the project 'Wisdom sayings in Ancient Egyptian and Greek Literature' and its significance as a comparative study," forthcoming in *Proceedings of the Xth International Conference of Egyptology*, ed. P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (Leuven: Peeters).

two civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean.[7] The advantage of this approach over a more history-oriented one is that since it treats Egyptian and Greek literary works as products of evolving literary language and traditions, rather than as sources for historical information,[8] it allows the study to focus on the works and their multi-leveled relationship with their own, or other, literary genres (or better, models of literary writing), rather than restricting itself to specific, and often uncontextualized, parallels. Accordingly, in the framework of this project similarities and differences identified between the two literatures are interpreted as integral elements of the making of literature in ancient Egypt and Greece.

II. Corpus

Since this project is a comparative study that focuses on types of literary language and their usage, the corpus of pre-Christian Egyptian and Greek literary works has been selected and divided on the basis of corresponding Egyptian and Greek genres[9] rather than of chronology, as a study investigating intercultural influences and historical contacts would do instead. Hence, the corpus of Egyptian and Greek works examined for this essay consists of prose and verse compositions whose main body of text and focus is a narration of fictional events.[10] Under this conventional umbrella of narrative[11] one finds a combination of Egyptian tales with Greek epics and novels, whose dates range from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom (*Tales of Wonder*) to the 3rd century AD (Heliodorus' *Aithiopica*).[12]

The identification of the didactic material in these works has been based upon: (a) its explicit or implicit purpose to instruct about a general matter, and (b) the correspondence of its form and language with those in the material included in the corpora of Egyptian and Greek wisdom literatures (that is, the genre that consists

7 For a discussion of what is Comparative Literature and what are its subjects and methodology of study, see S. Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 1 ff.

8 For the complex relationship between literature, social setting, and historical information, see the recent study of R. Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 3 ff, as well as Parkinson's earlier discussions in his *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Near Eastern Studies (London and New York: Continuum, 2002).

9 For the problems in defining Egyptian literary genres and associating them with the genres of classical, and later western, literature, see Parkinson *Poetry and Culture*, 32-36.

10 Thus my Egyptian corpus excludes the *Story of the Eloquent Peasant*, although scholars, such as Richard Parkinson, would have considered it as a narrative. The reason for this exclusion is that the main body of this story consists of the nine didactic petitions rather than its narrative proper. For the complex literary form of this work, see R. Parkinson, "Literary Form and the "Tale of the Eloquent Peasant," *JEA* 78 (1992): 163-178. For Egyptian literary narratives, in general, see S. Quirke, "Narrative Literature," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. A. Loprieno, Probleme der Ägyptologie 10 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1996), 263-276; G. Burkard and H.J. Thissen, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I: Altes und Mittleres Reich*, Einführung und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 1 (Berlin: LIT, 2007), 263 ff. For Greek narratives, in general, see *Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, ed. P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox, 8th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P, 1985), 42-116 and 683-699; T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (London: Blackwell, 1983).

11 For the conventional nature of literary genres, in general, see the discussion in J. Frow, *Genre*, The New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 10 ff.

12 For earlier comparative studies discussing connections between ancient Greek and Oriental narratives, see, for instance, J.M. Sasson, "Comparative Observations on the Near Eastern Epic," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, 219-222; R. Jasnow, "The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian Literature," *JNES* 56 (1997), 95-103; H.-J. Thissen, "Homerischer Einfluss im Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus?," *SAK* 27 (1999), 369-387.

mostly of Instructions and proverb and gnomic collections).

Furthermore, definitions of what is a saying and what a proverb abound in encyclopedias, dictionaries, and studies on ancient and modern literatures.[13] Thus, for example, Kindstrand has stated that "a proverb is defined according to three qualities: (1) it is popular in character, (2) it has a definite form, and (3) it is an expression of wisdom. These qualities distinguish it from proverbial expression that has (1) and from γνώμη and ἀπόφθεγμα that have (2) and (3).[14] Another definition comes from Wilson's study of Jewish wisdom, stating that "a proverb is a linear, prose saying originating with the 'folk' in a largely oral setting, while a maxim is a bilinear creation of a wise sage originating in some scholarly or scholastic setting…maxims are more poetic and literary, more didactic and less metaphorical than proverbs".[15]

On the basis of such definitions, and in combination with the two aforementioned criteria, I re-define and examine in the following sections the didactic material that I have identified in this corpus of literary narratives:

a. Egyptian narratives	**b. Greek narratives**[16]
1. Tales of Wonder[17]	1. Xenophon of Ephesos *Ephesiaca*[18]
2. Sinuhe[19]	2. Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautika*[20]

13 See, for instance, the definitions offered in B. Gunn, "Some Middle-Egyptian Proverbs," *JEA* 12 (1926), 282-284; K. Horna, "Gnome, Gnomendichtung, Gnomologien," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung von G. Wissowa *et al*, Supplement VI (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1935), 74-90; *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*, ed. W. Mieder and A. Dundes (New York and London: Garland Pub, 1981); C.R. Fontaine, *Traditional Sayings in the Old Testament: a contextual study* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982); J. Russo, "Prose Genres for the Performance of Traditional Wisdom in Ancient Greece: Proverb, Maxim, Apothegm," in L. Edmunds and R.W. Wallace, *Poet, Public, and Performance in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P, 1997), 49-64. For difficulties in defining and distinguishing the different types of didactic material, see N. Lazaridis, "Labelling Wisdom: What makes the sentences of Demotic and Greek wisdom texts proverbs and what not?," in *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques*, ed. M. Chauveau, D. Devauchelle, G. Widmer (Cairo: IFAO, forthcoming).

14 J. Kindstrand, "The Greek Concept of Proverbs," *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana* 76 (1978): 71.

15 W.T. Wilson, *Love without Pretense: Romans 12.9-21 and Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom Literature*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, Reihe 46 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 12.

16 Note that the Homeric poems (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) and Hesiod's *Theogony* will not be included in the discussion of this article, although they contain numerous instances of didactic language. The reason for this is a practical one: due to the large number of sayings, proverbs and didactic sections incorporated in the narrative of these epic poems, their analysis deserves a separate publication (as in A.P.M.H. Lardinois, *Wisdom in Context: The Use of Gnomic Statements in Archaic Greek Poetry*, unpublished dissertation, Princeton University (1995)). Hence, the genre of epic poetry will be only represented in this article by the much later poem of Apollonius Rhodius.

17 Published and translated in D. Bagnato, *The Westcar Papyrus. A Transliteration, Translation and Language Analysis* (Vienna: Atelier, 2006). The language and style of this work have recently been re-examined in V. Lepper, *Untersuchungen zu pWestcar: Eine philologische und literaturwissenschaftliche (Neu-)analyse*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 70 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008).

18 Published in G. Dalmeyda, *Les Ephésiaques* (Paris, 1926); translated in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. ed. B.P. Reardon (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: California U.P, 1989), 349-588.

19 Published in R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhes*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17 (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1990); translated in W.K. Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (Cairo: American Uiniverity Press, 2003), 54-66.

20 Published in H. Fränkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961).

a. Egyptian narratives	**b. Greek narratives**[16]
3. The Shipwrecked Sailor[21]	3. Chariton *Callirhoe*[22]
4. Two Brothers[23]	4. Longos *Daphnis and Chloe*[24]
5. Horus and Seth[25]	5. Achilles Tatius *Clitophon and Leucippe*[26]
6. Wenamun[27]	6. Pseudo-Callisthenes *Alexander Romance*[28]
7. Destruction of Mankind[29]	7. Pseudo-Lucian *Lucius or the Ass*[30]
8. Ghost story[31]	8. Pseudo-Lucian *True Stories*[32]
9. Setne stories[33]	9. Heliodorus *Aithiopica*[34]
10. Petese stories[35]	10. Life of Aesop[36]

21 Published in A.M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1932), 41-48; translated in Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 45-53.

22 Published and translated in G.P. Goold, *Chariton: Callirhoe*, The Loeb Classical Library (London, Cambridge MA: Harvard U.P, 1995).

23 Published in A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elizabeth, 1932), 9-30; translated in Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 81-90.

24 Published in M.D. Reeve, *Longus Daphnis et Chloe*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1986).

25 Published and translated in M. Broze, *Mythe et Roman en Égypte ancienne: les aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le papyrus Chester Beatty I*, OLA 76 (Brussels: Peeters, 1996).

26 Published and translated in S. Gaselee, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 2nd rev. ed, The Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge MA: Harvard U.P, 1969).

27 Published in Gardiner *Late Egyptian Stories*, 61-76; translated in Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 116-124.

28 Published and translated in H. van Thiel, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonen. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L*, Texte zur Forschung 13 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlische Buchgesellschaft, 1974).

29 Published and translated in E. Hornung, *Der Ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 46 (Freiburg/Schweiz and Göttingen: Freiburg/Schweiz U. P. and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

30 Published and translated in M.D. MacLeod, *Lucian vol. VIII*, The Loeb Classical Library (London, Cambridge MA: Harvard U.P, 1967), 52-145.

31 Published in Gardiner *Late Egyptian Stories*, 89-94; translated in Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 113-115.

32 Published and translated in U. Rütten, *Phantasie und Lachkultur: Lukians 'Wahre Geschichte* Classica monacensia 16 (Tübingen: Narr, 1997).

33 Instances are found only in the so-called *Setne II*. This is published in F.L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) and is translated in E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia dell'Antico Egitto: Cultura e societá attraverso i testi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1969), 627-641.

34 Published in R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb, *Les Ethiopiques*, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935-1943); translated in G.N. Sandy, *Heliodorus*, Tawyne's World Authors Series (New York: Tawyne, 1982).

35 Published and translated in K. Ryholt, *The Story of Petese Son of Petetum and Seventy Other Good and Bad Stories*, The Carlsberg Papyri 4 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1999); K. Ryholt, *The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*, The Carlsberg Papyri 6 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006).

36 Published in B.E. Perry, *Aesopica: A series of texts relating to Aesop or ascribed to him or closely connected with the literary tradition that bears his name* (Urbana: Illinois U.P, 1952), 35-107.

a. Egyptian narratives	b. Greek narratives[16]
11. Amasis and the Skipper[37]	11. Iolaos (fr.)[38]
12. Myth of the Sun's Eye[39]	12. Ninos (fr.)[40]
13. Inaros/Petubastis (Amazons)[41]	13. Metiochos and Parthenope (fr.)[42]
14. Inaros/Petubastis (P. Krall)[43]	14. The Love Drug (fr.)[44]
15. Inaros/Petubastis (P. Spiegelberg)[45]	

In total, I have identified 546 instances (63 Egyptian and 483 Greek) of didactic material. The frequency of usage of such material differs from work to work, ranging from a single instance – for example, in *Amasis and the Skipper* and *Iolaos*, to more than forty instances – for example, in *Alexander Romance* (47) and Heliodorus' *Aithiopica* (161). Although calculating the percentage of the text including such didactic material may be useful for determining the didactic character of a work, it must be kept in mind that a simple quantitative analysis cannot on its own indicate the general attitude of Egyptian and Greek authors towards the usage of this type of literary material. Their attitudes can be sketched out only by combining the results of thorough linguistic, stylistic, and contextual analyses, one of the major tasks of this research project that, however, cannot be fully treated in this article. Instead, the analysis here focuses in categorizing and discussing the identified didactic material on the basis of four criteria: (a) their form and style; (b) their source and authorship; (c) their speaker; and (d) their function within their immediate and wider textual contexts. These types of categorization are selected from a multitude of possible approaches to this material as a solid starting point for discussing the material's language and form, authorship, and literary usage.

III. Analysis

1) Categorization by form

On the basis of the first aforementioned criterion the wisdom material is identified in these works according to its form, contents, style, and usage. Thus, one may observe that, firstly, the identified *sayings* are mainly short statements or admonitions conveying a widely applicable

37 Published in W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Papyrus 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris*, Demotische Studien 7 (Leipzig, 1914), 26-28; translated in Simpson *et al. The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 69-71.

38 Published and translated in Stephens and Winkler *Ancient Greek Novels*, 368-374.

39 Published and translated in F. de Cenival, *Le Mythe de l'oeil du soleil*, Demotische Studien 9 (Sommerhausen: Zauzich, 1988).

40 Published and translated in Stephens and Winkler *Ancient Greek Novels*, 32-71.

41 Published and translated in F. Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neue Bearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri, PVindob. D 6165 und P.Vindob. D 6165A*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 24 (Vienna: Hollinek, 1995).

42 Published and translated in Stephens and Winkler *Ancient Greek Novels*, 82-94.

43 Published and translated in F. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros : Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) 26 (Vienna: Hollinek, 1996).

44 Published and translated in Stephens and Winkler *Ancient Greek Novels*, 176-178.

45 Published and translated in F. Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des Papyrus Speigelberg – Ein Versuch zur Wiederhestellung," in *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27 (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1995), 43-60.

didactic message, most frequently in literal language. In some cases they are attributed either to one of the wise characters of these works, or to a famous wise man who does not, otherwise, appear in the works. Sayings are the most common type of didactic language used in the examined Egyptian and Greek works. Examples of these are:[46]

a. statements as sayings

E1: Horus and Seth, 1,4
m3ʿ.w nb wsr
Justice is a ruler of Power.

G1: Ephesiaca, 3.11.4.5
δεισιδαίμονες δὲ φύσει βάρβαροι
Barbarians are superstitious by nature.

The Egyptian instance here is a statement uttered by the god Shu and incorporated in his address of the god Amun. The statement is employed as a didactic saying, since it supports Shu's pleading for granting Horus, instead of Seth, the throne of Egypt.

Similarly, the Greek instance is also a didactic saying. By contrast to the Egyptian saying, however, it is a parenthetical statement, ascribed to the narrator's persona and offering an (perhaps ironic) explanation for the fact that the Indian prince, Psammis, who bought Anthia as his slave, believed the lie she told him about her being dedicated by birth to Isis until she reached her age to marry and thus stopped at once his attempts to force himself on her.

b. admonitions as sayings

E2: Wenamun, 2,32-2,34
m-ir mr n=k nkt n imn-rʿ <nsw> ntrw
Do not covet over the possessions of Amun-Re, king of the Gods.

G2: Clitophon and Leucippe, 2.4.5
ὅρα μὴ καταψεύδῃ τοῦ θεοῦ
Beware of lying to the god (i.e. Eros).

The Egyptian admonition here is uttered by Wenamun addressing the prince of Byblos and instructing him about how he should venerate Amun above all gods. This is an integral part of a long speech by Wenamun in which he is trying to convince the foreign prince that he should give him the requested amount of timber in exchange of Amun's blessings, rather than wishing for the gold and silver Wenamun lost on his way to Byblos![47]

The Greek admonition is uttered by Satyros, a servant of Clitophon, and is part of his attempt to encourage Clitophon to take action and fight for his love for Leucippe. The admonition here probably means that Clitophon should not pretend he is not in love with Leucippe before Eros so that he avoids acting on it, since according to Satyros' earlier praises Eros was a god always ready for action (e.g. lines 2.4.3-4).[48]

c. rhetorical questions as sayings

In addition to these two main formal categories of Egyptian and Greek sayings, there have been identified a small number of rhetorical

46 The reading and translation of all the examples given in this article are the author's and have been based upon the works' publications listed in the previous notes to the corpus. The numbering of lines in the case of the Greek text is in accordance with the online editions on Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, available at http://www.tlg.uci.edu.

47 For a study of irony in the report of *Wenamun*, see C.J. Eyre, "Irony in the Story of Wenamun," in *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, ed. J. Assmann and E. Blumenthal (Cairo: IFAO, 1999), 232-252.

48 For this episode, see brief comments in G. Zanetto, "Archaic Iambos and Greek Novel: A Possible Connection," in *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, ed. S. Panayotakis, M. Zimmermann and W. Keulen, Mnemosyne Supplements 241 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 322.

questions that also convey didactic messages in literal or metaphorical language.[49] Instances of this type are:

E3: Shipwrecked Sailor, 184-186
in-m rdi.ti mw n ȝpd
ḥḏ tȝ n sf̱t=f dwȝ
Who would give water to a goose at daybreak
when it is to be killed in the (same) morning?

G3: Aithiopica, 4.7.7.2-3
Οὐ γὰρ καὶ παιδὶ γνώριμον ἔφη
ψυχῆς εἶναι τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν νόσον ἔρωτα λαμπρόν;
"For doesn't even a child know," he said, "that love is an affection of the soul and a great sickness?"

The first rhetorical question revolves around a vivid image used metaphorically, a feature that one finds most often in figurative proverbs rather than in literal sayings. Its position in the story of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* is pivotal, since these are the last words of the until-then silent listener to the story narrated by the sailor, just before he is off to meet the Pharaoh and report on his mission. With this obviously ironic question the captain/listener casts doubts not only on the reliability of the sailor's account, but also on the worth of the sailor's advice towards him. Indeed, this rhetorical question is strong enough to shift the tone of the whole narrative and question its status as a didactic piece of literature. Given, however, firstly, that the captain/listener, who asks this question, calls it neither a proverb nor a saying, and secondly, that this sentence is not found in any other ancient Egyptian text, one cannot determine its nature with certainty and categorize it with either the sayings or the proverbs in this study.

The second rhetorical question is emphatically used in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* as a saying stressing the similarities between a physical sickness and love. The semi-ironic tone of the saying here is enhanced by the fact that it is uttered by an actual physician who was summoned by the father of Charikleia to treat the infatuation of his daughter.

d. pseudo-sayings

Furthermore, some statements and admonitions in this corpus of works bear the form of wise sayings, but their messages lack the sayings' unique semantic attribute of wide applicability. Two instances of such pseudo-sayings are:

E4: Wenamun, 2,78-2,79
iw irw tw grg n dmy nb i irtw mȝʿt n pȝ tȝ n irsȝ
Although injustice is done in every town, in the land of Alasiya justice is done.

G4: Ephesiaca, 2.3.8.2-3
τὸ γὰρ ἀντειπεῖν τῇ βαρβάρῳ σφαλερόν, τὸ δὲ ἀποζεῦξαι Ἀβροκόμην Ἀνθίας ἀδύνατον
To refuse a barbarian woman is a dangerous thing, but to separate Habrocomes from Anthia an impossible one.

In the case of the strong statement uttered by Wenamun before the princess of Alasiya, what eliminates the wide applicability of its message is its specific reference to Alasiya, befitting the specific context of utterance. Similarly, the statement uttered by Rhode before Leucon in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* is weighed down by the

49 For the rhetorical question in ancient Egyptian and Greek literature, see D. Sweeney, "What's a Rhetorical Question?," *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 315-331; H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation of Literary Study*, trans. M.T. Bliss, A. Jansen and D.E. Orton, ed. D.E. Orton and R.D. Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 1997), §767-770. For rhetorical questions in Egyptian and Greek wisdom literature, see Lazaridis *Wisdom in Loose Form*, for instance, 78 and 104-105.

reference to Habrocomes and Anthia, the two protagonists of this Greek novel. Once again, the semantic applicability of this statement is anchored deeply in the contents of this work and cannot be used outside it without the user knowing enough about the characters and their love bond. Overall, such statements could acquire the status of a saying or a proverb, if the specific foci of their references became, at some point, well known and proverbial.[50]

It should also be noted here that in these two examples the pseudo-sayings consist of a real, general saying ('injustice is done in every town' and 'to refuse a barbarian woman is a dangerous thing') with a specified statement making specific references ('in the land of Alasiya justice is done' and 'to separate Habrocomes from Anthia is an impossible thing'). In addition to this type of "a saying + a non-saying" combination, there are also instances in which two different sayings are combined, or in which one type of saying is embedded in a different type of saying, constructing a longer than usual didactic sentence. Both possibilities can be illustrated in this Egyptian example:

> **E5**: Setne II, 2/21-22
>
> *gmṯ r ḥꜣṯ=k pꜣy=y iṯ stnpꜣ ḏd pꜣ nt mnḫ ḥr pꜣ tꜣ iw=w mnḫ n=f ḫn imntỉ iw pꜣ nt wyh(ꜣ) iw=w why(ꜣ) n=f*
>
> Take it to your heart, my father Setne, that the one who is beneficent on earth, they are beneficent to him in the West, while the one who is evil, they are evil to him.

One may characterize this case as an admonition employed as a saying, since through the use of the introductory imperative Si-Osire instructs his father, Setne, about the afterlife and the way a person's actions during his lifetime may affect his faring in it. However, the core of this admonition consists of two statements: 'the one who is beneficent on earth, they are beneficent to him in the West' and 'the one who is evil on earth, they are evil to him in the West.' Hence in this instance one finds a combination of two sayings that are syntactically embedded within an admonition.

f. proverbs

Similarly to the sayings, the identified proverbs are also short statements or admonitions conveying didactic messages. The difference with the sayings lies in that the proverbs convey their message most commonly in figurative language and that when they are recognized as proverbs within these works, they are attributed to the people, in general, rather than to a specific wise man. Examples of this type of didactic language come only from the Greek corpus:

> **G5**: Lucius or the Ass, 18,15-16
>
> τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, παλινδρομῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ
>
> κακῶς δραμεῖν
>
> And (after) I galloped around a bit, I decided what the proverb says: *better to head back than head wrong*.

The italicized proverb is uttered by the narrator Lucian, who, in the form of a donkey, was being chased by dogs.[51] The proverb is not employed in this case to instruct (although it does, generally, convey a didactic message), but to summarize in figurative language the state in

50 This is the case, for example, of quotations from, or references to, the Homeric epics, a great number of which are found in works such as Chariton's *Callirhoe* (5.5.9) or Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (e.g. I.8).

51 The quoted proverb comes from a lost play (cf. MacLeod *Lucian*, 81, note 1).

which Lucian was, as well as to support his decision for running away from the dogs.

g. elliptical proverbial phrases

Also, in the corpus of Greek narratives a small number of elliptical proverbial phrases have been identified, functioning like small streams of figurative language contributing to the general flow of narrative with their well-known allusions, echoes of popular stories and scenes. Examples of such phrases are:

G6: Lucius or the Ass, 45.32-34

κἀκ τότε ἐξ ἐμοῦ πρώτου ἦλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὁ λόγος

οὗτος, Ἐξ ὄνου παρακύψεως

And so it was originally because of me that came to be used among men this proverb: *because of a donkey peeping in*.

G7: Clitophon and Leucippe, 2.2.2

οἶνον οὐκ εἶναί πω παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οὐ τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν…οὐ Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης…

In early days men had no wine: neither the dark, fragrant (kind)…nor Chian *from a Laconian (cup)*…

In the first case the author/narrator mentions the italicized proverbial phrase[52] considering it as a result of a comic situation he found himself in: after he was magically turned into a donkey and after he was bought by a gardener who, because he had assaulted an army officer, was hiding with the author in the attic of a friend's house, the author-donkey gave away their hideaway by noisily peeping into the street and out of curiosity. An interesting point in this case is that the absurdity of a situation is taken as the hypothetical source for the making of a proverb, an indication of the generally complex, and often contradictory, genesis of proverbs in ancient Greece.

The proverbial phrase italicized here is part of a didactic passage on the origins of Greek wine that digresses from the overall description of the banquette offered at Leucippe's house.[53] It probably denotes luxury and is always employed in association with wine consumption.

h. didactic passages

Finally, didactic passages are groups of didactic statements and admonitions instructing a specified audience within the text and/or the audience of the work as a whole about general matters. In these passages, which are rare in the Egyptian corpus, but quite common in the Greek one, chains of logical arguments are often formed and thus the shortness of sayings and proverbs is abandoned in this case for longer discussions. In contrast to sayings and proverbs, didactic passages are never attributed to the people or to a specific wise man. Examples of such passages are:

E6: Myth of the Sun's Eye, 17,3-17,6

ḥrḥ [*r-ḥr=t pȝy=*]*t ṯȝw my wḏȝ=f pr-ḥḏ n rmt ʿȝ msḏr.wy=f my ir n=t msḏr.wy* […] *wḏȝʿ.t n tȝy nty iw ir dy.t* […] *ḥr.t my ir=f n=t rhn.t tȝ* […] *pȝ šʿy pȝ ntr wr ḥp* [*n-im=s*] *rmt rḫ pȝ nty swn=s*

Guard yourself(?)! Your breath, let it thrive! A treasury for a great man is his ears. Let (your) ears act for you as guarantee for that which your face hopes(?). Let them be a protection for you. The [things that] Fate, the great god, hides the wise man knows.

52 The proverbial status of this phrase is established by the fact that it is attested in an earlier Menandrian fragment and in a later proverb collection (cf. MacLeod *Lucian*, 125, note 1).

53 Cf. Gaselee *Achilles Tatius*, 59, note 3.

G8: Aithiopica, 3.13.1.2-6

θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες εἶπεν ὦ Κνήμων, ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀποφοιτῶντες εἰς ἄλλο μὲν ζῷον ἐπ᾽ ἐλάχιστον εἰς ἀνθρώπους δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἑαυτοὺς εἰδοποιοῦσι, τῷ ὁμοίῳ πλέον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν φαντασίαν ὑπαγόμενοι…

…and said: The gods and other heavenly powers, Cnemon, coming and going from us, change themselves seldom into the likeness of other creatures, but commonly into men, that we, supposing by the likeness of their figure, that what we saw was a dream, may be so beguiled…

The first passage is part of the dialogue between Thoth and Tefnut, in which the former is trying to convince the latter to return with him to Egypt. Thoth's discourse consists, often in this story, of sayings, fables, and didactic passages that are used to entertain and also instruct the stubborn goddess.

The Greek passage is, on the other hand, an integral part of the dialogue between the priest Kalasiris and Cnemon, a well-embedded discourse in the narrative. Kalasiris, using his deep knowledge of religious matters, instructs the young Cnemon about the appearances of gods in human forms, an instruction triggered by an earlier appearance of this sort before the priest.

2) Categorization by authorship

The second sort of categorization divides identified instances of sayings and proverbs into: (a) anonymous, non-attributed type of material, and (b) attributed popular material or attributed quotations.[54]

a. non-attributed didactic material

Under the first type one encounters sayings and proverbs that are uttered by one of the characters of the works, but are not attributed to a famous wise man or to popular wisdom. Such is the case with all the identified examples in the Egyptian corpus of narratives,[55] in addition to the majority of examples from the Greek corpus. An instance from the latter is:

G9: Callirhoe, 1.7.1

ἀνερρίφθω κύβος·

Let the dice be cast!

This is a popular proverb, attested not only in many other Greek sources, but also, translated as '*alea iacta est<o>*' in Latin sources.[56] Here the proverb is used as such (meaning 'let's do it!') by Theron, the captain of the pirates who were to capture Callirhoe, while deciding to take advantage of a situation.

b. attributed didactic material

The second type of categorized didactic material includes a much smaller number of instances. These are also uttered by one of the characters of the works, but in this case they are attributed either to popular wisdom or to a specific famous wise man. All examples of this type come from the corpus of Greek narratives:

G10: Alexander Romance, 1.13(β).35-36

ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ πληροῦται τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι παροίμιον, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἀγαθοῦ πέφυκε κακόν.

54 For a study of quotations and their role in narrative, see G. Manuwald, "Zitate als Mittel des Erzählens – zur Darstellungetechnik Charitons in seinem Roman *Kallirhoe*," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 24 (2000), 97-122.

55 Compare the case of the story of the *Eloquent Peasant* where acknowledged instances of popular didactic material can be contrasted to unacknowledged ones: e.g. contrast the acknowledged saying in lines 109-110 to the unacknowledged proverb in line 184.

56 Cf. references in Goold *Chariton*, 55, note b.

This then shows the truth of the Greek proverb (saying) that *close to good stands evil*.

G11: Aithiopica, 3.12.2.5-6
ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημάων
ῥεῖ᾽ ἔγνων ἀπιόντος, ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοί περ
Quickly I knew the marks of his fair feet,
for gods are easy known, when men they meet.

If G10 is seen in comparison with the aforementioned G5, one may observe that these are two instances containing uses of recognized proverbs: in the first case the proverb is introduced as a piece of Greek wisdom,[57] while in the second case it is called λόγος, a common word that can be translated in this context either as 'saying' or as 'proverb.'[58] The former is uttered by Philip II, the father of Alexander, referring to Alexander's legendary horse 'Bucephalus', while the latter is uttered by the primary narrator/author, after having assumed the form of a donkey, comically commenting on his current grave situation of being chased by dogs. Finally, the last instance (G11) includes a saying, italicized here, coming from a quotation that is introduced as being the words of wise Homer (ὁ σοφὸς Ὅμηρος αἰνίττεται) and is uttered by the knowledgeable Calarisis, addressing young Cnemon.[59]

3) Categorization by speaker

We now turn to the categorization of the didactic material on the basis of the identity of their speaker.[60] According to that, the material can be divided into: (a) utterances spoken by a literary character within a dialogue section or within the narrative proper; and (b) utterances spoken by the acknowledged or unacknowledged voice of the primary narrator/author.

a. spoken by literary character

To the former type belong all the identified Egyptian sayings. They are all, thus, employed to characterize their speaker/protagonist as a wise man – e.g.:

E7: Sinuhe, B122-123
in iw kꜣ mr=f ꜥḥꜣ
pry mr=f wḥm sꜣ m ḫr nt mḫꜣ=f sw
If a bull wants to fight,

57 Here the epithet 'Greek' seems to refer to the *Hellenes* as opposed to the Macedonians (cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions, and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 19-21).

58 Cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, new edition revised and augmented by H.S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), s.v. λόγος, 1059.

59 The original text of the quotation comes from the *Iliad*, 13.71-72.

60 Compare, for example, the study of the speakers of Homeric sayings in Lardinois *Wisdom in Context*, 154-167. For a discussion of the relationship between author, narrator, and Egyptian narrative, see R. Parkinson, "Teachings, discourses, and tales from the Middle Kingdom," in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. S. Quirke (New Malden, Surrey: SIA, 1991), 91-122; P. Derchain, "Auteur et société," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, ed. Loprieno, 83-94; C. Suhr, "Zum fiktiven Erzähler in der ägyptischen Literatur," in *Definitely: Egyptian Literature – Proceedings of the symposion "Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms," Los Angeles, March 24-26. 1995*, ed. G. Moers, Lingua Aegyptia - Studia monographica 2 (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 1999), 91-129. For similar discussions in respect of Greek narratives, see, for example, G. Puccini-Delbey, "Figures du narrateur et du narrataire dans les oeuvres romanesquesde Chariton d'Aphrodisias, Achilles Tatius et Apulée," in *Les personages du roman grec. Actes du colloque de Tours, 18-20 novembre 1999*, ed. B. Pouderon, C. Hunzinger and D. Kasprzyk, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen 29 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen-J. Pouilloux, 2001), 87-100; *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature*, ed. I.J.F. de Jong, R. Nünlist and A.M. Bowie, Mnemosyne Supplements 257 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

would a champion (bull) want to retreat so that he is not treated as an equal?'

Here the saying is uttered by Sinuhe, while he is under great psychological pressure, as the saying comes from a section of the narrative in which Sinuhe is unexpectedly challenged by a great foreign champion. Although under stress, Sinuhe does not lose his self-control and therefore is still able to speak elaborately in metaphorical sayings. Apart from evidence for self-control, the use of this saying at this point, and followed by a show of Sinuhe's eagerness to fight that champion (B124: 'if he wishes to fight, let him do so'), illustrates bravery and strength that corresponds to Sinuhe's earlier bragging about his total success in the Asiatic lands as a political and military leader, as well as a rich family man.

A similar case from the Greek corpus in which the saying is uttered by the main protagonist is:

G12: Argonautica, 1.298
πήματα γάρ τ' ἀίδηλα θεοὶ θνητοῖσι νέμουσιν·
…for unseen are the woes that the gods mete out to mortals.

In this instance the saying is part of a mellow scene in Apollonius's *Argonautica*: it is time for Argos, the boat that would carry the heroes to Colchis, to begin its journey and its crew is being recruited. The leader of this crew, and the main protagonist of Apollonius's poem, is Jason, who utters this saying before the tearful eyes of his mother, Alcimede. This is a didactic statement that is followed by the admonition 'be strong to endure thy share of them though with grief in thy heart' (I.299) and together they become a tragic utterance that speaks of the inevitable misfortunes a mortal man is bound to face in the course of his voyage of life, a theme well-known from other Greek wisdom sources.[61] Hence, here this saying enhances the sad tone of this passage and also portrays Jason as a wise man who knows and accepts the tragic nature of human fortune.

b. spoken by narrator

The second type of didactic material incorporated in the narrative proper contains instances only from the Greek works:

G13: Callirhoe: 1.4.2
γυνὴ δὲ εὐάλωτόν ἐστιν, ὅταν ἐρᾶσθαι δοκῇ.
'A woman is an easy victim when she thinks she is loved.'

Here the primary narrator, best identified with Chariton himself, comments on the easy seduction of Callirhoe's maid by a rogue hired by the ruler of Acragas, who, together with other princes and noblemen, was conspiring against Chaereas, the lucky favourite of Callirhoe. The saying, which was also attested in a Menandrian play,[62] is possibly also used here with a soft sense of irony at the expense of women's naivety and easy surrender to flattery expressed by a multitude of gifts and the taking of pretentious oaths of eternal love and happiness.

61 See, for instance, the saying μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον 'You shouldn't reproach a misfortune, for (our) fate (is) common and the future invisible' (Φιλοσόφων Λόγοι, 36-7. The text is published in J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Regiis*, vol. 1, repr. of first edition of 1829 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 120-126).

62 Cf. Goold *Chariton*, 43, note a.

4) Categorization by function

Finally, one reaches the last type of categorization: that by function.[63] Most of the identified Egyptian and Greek instances significantly contribute to their immediate (namely, the text surrounding the instances) and wider context (that is, the works containing the instances). Their contribution is actualized in three ways: (a) by supporting an argument; (b) by making an ironic or a comic observation; and (c) by placing emphasis on a personal impression and comment. Instances illustrating these three functions are:

a. supporting an argument

E8: Shipwrecked Sailor, 182

sḏm rk [*n rꜣ*]*=i mk nfr sḏm n rmṯ*

Listen to my [words]; *it is good for men to listen*.

G14: Callirhoe, 8.4.2

ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη νενίκηκα παρὰ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ δικαστῇ· πόλεμος γὰρ ἄριστος κριτὴς τοῦ κρείττονός τε καὶ χείρονος

…but I have already won in the eyes of the most impartial judge: *for war is the best arbiter between better and worse*.

The saying from the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, italicized here, ends the narration of the sailor (see discussion of E3 above). The sailor admonishes the captain to learn from his story. Given that the captain remains anonymous and in the background throughout this narrative, one could assume that this admonition is probably also addressing the audience of the text, admonishing them to take the story seriously and learn from it, thus indicating that the main purpose of this narrative was didactic. This is the contribution of the saying to the general context, while its contribution to its immediate context is the support of the preceding admonition ('listen to my words').

The instance identified in Chariton' *Callirhoe* functions in a similar way as the previous Egyptian saying, supporting, that is, an argument made in its immediate context. Specifically, the instance here is a saying that is included in a letter Chaereas sends to the Persian King and that supports the argument of the preceding sentence. In addition, this saying contributes to the projection of Chaereas' character (wider context), and especially of his prudence, which is proved not only in words, but also in actions, since this letter is the result of his decision to let the Persian Queen, whom he captured in the course of the battle, return home.

b. making an ironic or a comic observation

E9: Tales of Wonder, 8,11

nisw pw iy ity ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb nis r=i mk iw ii.kwi

'*It is (only) the one who is summoned who comes*, o my sovereign. I was summoned and I have come.'

Two examples of the second kind of contribution are the functions of this saying from the *Tales of Wonder* and the aforementioned instance G8, which is an acknowledged popular proverb used in *Lucius or the Ass*. The Egyptian instance is a saying annexed to the short reply of the magician Djedi to the Pharaoh's question: 'How come, Djedi, I have never got to see you before?' (8,10). The sense of irony in this reply is apparently enhanced by the use of the saying, given that through it Djedi points out to the Pharaoh, in a formal tone (contrasted to the Pharaoh's informal language), the obvious reason for his absence (immediate context). The

63 Compare, for instance, the study of Homeric sayings in Lardinois *Wisdom in Context*, 64-79, 117 ff.

ironic response contributes to the projection of the eccentric character and status of Djedi, who earlier was described as a 110-year-old man who never gets sick, while he consumes 500 loaves of bread and half an ox every day (wider context)!

A similar function characterizes the Greek proverb in G8, which concludes a scene featuring Lucius as a donkey. The proverb obviously enhances the absurdity of the scene, linking the morale of the story to a piece of popular wisdom, whose obscure origins the protagonist, Lucius, attempts comically to interpret (immediate context). It also refers to a reservoir of contemporary popular wisdom that was meant to be shared by the work's audience, thus establishing in this way a link between the author and his audience (wider context).[64] Moreover, the use of this proverb here also illustrates the wittiness of Lucius, which is a significant trait of his character for the development of further comic scenes (wider context).

c. placing emphasis

E10: Sinuhe, B121-122

nn pḏty sm3 m iḏḥy

No Asiatic makes friends with a Delta man.

G15: Life of Aesop, 13.8-9 G

ὡς πονηρὰ παραδεδομένη δουλεία

What an evil thing to be a slave to a slave!

Turning to the last kind of contribution, these are two examples of sayings employed to emphasize observations or personal comments and feelings. The former is uttered by Sinuhe and is employed here to emphasize the fact that the protagonist is a very different man from the Asiatic champion who has just challenged him to fight (immediate context). The same emphasis continues in the following rhetorical question, 'What would make a papyrus plant cleave to a mountain?' (in B122), while it is also preceded by another rhetorical question that may imply the superiority of Sinuhe over this champion: 'Is an inferior beloved when he becomes a superior?' (in B120-121). Furthermore, as was the case with E7 discussed above, this saying reflects positive attributes of Sinuhe's character.

An emphasis upon a preceding observation is also placed through the use of the Greek saying here. This is uttered by Aesop, as he is losing his temper over the constantly unfair treatment he has been suffering by the steward of the house, who is also a slave (immediate context). The saying is followed by a detailed account of how many things he is ordered to do every day, being a victim of the steward's unkindness, thus enhancing the emphasis over Aesop's feelings and mood. As far as the general context is concerned, this instance is one from a multitude of sayings sketching out the extremely witty character of Aesop, who, as one of his fellow-slaves remarks, 'since he's changed, he speaks like a weirdo' (ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο <η καταστροφή> λαλεῖν περίεργος γέγονεν 23.7-8 G)!

IV. Comparison and Conclusions

Now we may connect the various points made in the course of this comparative study of the status and role of the Egyptian and Greek didactic material and examine what they reveal, in general, about the features of narrative writing in ancient Egypt and Greece, as well as about its relationship with other contemporary genres.

Firstly, we have noted the reasonable variety of expressions and linguistic structures employed within ancient Egyptian and Greek narratives to

64 Compare the brief comments on Longus' usage of sayings in J. Morgan, "Longus," in *Narrators, Narratees*, 511-512.

convey wisdom. Examples from all these categories, except for the last sub-case of elliptical proverbial phrases, are used both in ancient Egyptian and Greek narratives. This corresponds to the types of didactic material found in the Egyptian and Greek works of wisdom literature, in which sayings, proverbs, proverbial questions, and didactic passages are employed. In addition, the exceptional case of elliptical proverbial phrases also corresponds to a minimal percentage of such phrases found in the Egyptian works of wisdom.[65] Thus one may propose that the formal similarities observed in most of these modes of Egyptian and Greek didactic language are linked to the existence of a common literary phenomenon: that is, the production and use of sayings and proverbial sentences.

The best representatives of this phenomenon, as mentioned above, are the works of Egyptian and Greek wisdom literature, whose collected material reflected the available reservoirs of popular and intellectual wisdom. Hence one would expect a special relationship between contemporary wisdom literature and literary narrative in ancient Egypt and Greece, given that the two genres shared a common usage of didactic material.[66] However, on the basis of the works examined here one may conclude that, although the typology of the material in use was the same, the material itself was, in most cases, not shared.[67] Of course, a relationship between literary genres (representing the access an author had to works of different genres, to different models of literary writing) is, generally speaking, not exclusively manifested in the use of straightforward quotations, but can also take the form of mimetic instances (as would be the case of an author inventing original didactic material that resembled that found in wisdom traditions) or of indirect borrowings, such as reproduced ideas and styles.[68] Hence the apparent complexity of this situation makes the capture and understanding of the relationship between different genres (or models) of writing an impossible task. Nevertheless, one may assume that the authors of the Greek literary narratives, who acknowledged some of their quotations and borrowings, showed preference for drawing material from the Homeric epics, for instance, to reproducing sayings and proverbs they found in works of their native or a foreign wisdom literature (although they could be reproducing

65 For this, see Lazaridis *Wisdom in Loose Form*, 118 and 176.

66 One must bear in mind here that the discussion of relationships between ancient genres should not insinuate conscious genre identification, similar to the current treatment of literary genres among modern writers and scholars. This is especially the case with ancient Egypt, where literary genres were not strictly defined or distinguished as ancient Greek works were from the time of Aristotle onwards. For Egyptian genres, see R. Parkinson, "Types of Literature in Middle Kingdom," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, ed. Loprieno, 297-312; W.J. Tait, "Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres," in *ibid*, 175-187. For Greek genres, see the articles in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. M. Depew and D. Obbink (Cambridge Mass: Harvard U.P, 2000).

67 Exceptions are, for instance, a proverb found in the story of the *Amazons* and the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (see R. Jasnow, "Serpot 9/8 = Onkhsheshonqy 11/8?," *Enchoria* 15 (1987), 205) and the proverbial phrase of G7 found in Achilles Tatius and in Athenaeus' didactic *Deipnosophistae* (see note 53 above). Compare, for instance, the considerable number of borrowings among Egyptian Instructions and between such Instructions and Egyptian funerary biographies (cf. H. Brunner, "Zitate aud Lebenslehren," in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, ed. E. Hornung and O. Keel, OBO 28 (Freiburg, Schweiz and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and Freiburg U.P, 1979), 106-171; see also the discussion of similar moral principles reproduced in Instruction and funerary biographies in M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, OBO 120 (Freiburg, Schweiz and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and Freiburg U.P, 1992).

68 Compare the study of the relationship between ancient Greek epic and other literary genres in R. Scott Garner, "Epic and Other Genres in the Ancient Greek World," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, 389 ff.

sayings and proverbs that we take as *hapax legomena*, but that were, in fact, circulating orally or in works that we have not yet discovered). If this assumed preference was true, then it could be the result of: (a) restricted circulation and accessibility of wisdom literature; and/or (b) considering the available wisdom traditions as less appropriate sources for drawing literary material than the Homeric epics or other classical works of Greek literature.[69]

In the case of the Egyptian works, as observed under the *categorization by authorship*, the communication between the genre of literary narrative and other genres of literary or documentary writing, on the basis of their employment of common didactic material, was minimal,[70] since no traces of acknowledged or unacknowledged transactions have been identified. This low degree of intertextuality, however, characterized most works of Egyptian literature and thus can be taken as a general, defining trait of Egyptian literary writing.[71]

Secondly, a difference in the overall frequency of use of sayings and of related expressions has been observed between ancient Egyptian and Greek literary narratives. If one takes sayings and proverbs as signs for literariness, given that they almost always involve uses of literary figures, poetic language, metaphors or vivid imagery,[72] one would say that most of the Egyptian narratives seem to be less literary than their Greek counterparts, resembling in this way more historiographical and other documentary texts rather than "hard-core" literary compositions. The inclination towards historiography at the expense of literariness may also explain why Egyptian narratives like the New Kingdom *Capture of Joppa* or the story of *Seqenenre and Apophis*,[73] which are two examples of literary works scholars tend to call *pseudo-historical* (because they seem to describe situations involving historical figures and events) do not contain any sayings, proverbs, or didactic passages. The same argument may also be used to explain the small number, or in some cases the total absence, of didactic material in Greek *pseudo-historical* works, like the fragmentary *Babyloniaka* of Iamblichos (no instances) or the

69 Compare the observations on the way the frequency of Homeric quotations may reflect preferences of the ancient Greek audience in *Cambridge History of Classical Literature I*, 35, 42-43.

70 Contrast the fact that there are examples of Egyptian narrative and wisdom works copied side by side on the same papyri, as is the case, for instance, of parts of the story of *Sinuhe* that survive on the Middle Kingdom Pap. Berlin 10499, together with the didactic story of the *Eloquent Peasant*. For the social context of literary writing and the grouping of literary texts in ancient Egypt, see Parkinson *Poetry and Culture*, 67 ff.

71 For this, see discussion in A. Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, ed. Loprieno, 51-53. For an exception, see H.-J. Thissen, "«Wer lebt, kennen Kraut blüht!» Ein Beitrag zu demotischer Intertextualität," in *Res Severa Verum Gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, ed. F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen, Studia Demotica VI (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 583-594. The weak presence of intertextuality in Egyptian literature could have been part of the overall "decorum" of literary writing, which is briefly discussed in Parkinson *Poetry and Culture*, 29-30. On a general discussion of intertextuality in ancient Greek literature, see C. Calame, *Masks of Authority: Fiction and Pragmatics in Ancient Greek Poetics*, trans. P.M. Burk (Ithaca NY and London: Cornell U.P, 2005), 7-9.

72 Contrast Aristotle's treatment of proverbs and maxims in *Rhet*. 2.21.

73 For the former, see H. Goedicke, "The Capture of Joppa," *CdE* 43 (1968), 219-233; and for the latter, see H. Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (San Antonio: Van Siclen, 1986). The latter text has also been recently discussed in C. di Biase-Dyson, "Two Characters in Search for an Ending: The Case of Apophis and Seqenenre," in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Egyptologists*, ed. P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

pseudo-Lucian *True Stories* (three instances of which two are doubtful). However, more work needs to be done in this area, so that the validity and range of applicability of this correlation can be proved.

By contrast, what can be said with certainty is that sayings, proverbs, and didactic passages are more frequently used in ancient Greek narratives, because their authors tended to voice more often their thoughts and knowledge, while the voice of their Egyptian peers was not meant to intervene in their narrative compositions and thus only a small quantity of such material was employed.[74] Therefore the Greek authors are more present in their stories than the Egyptian authors and they are characterized by the sayings they choose to insert in their works.[75] In addition, the Greek authors, as mentioned above, occasionally employ acknowledged popular proverbs or quotations by popular Greek sources, showing off an equal knowledge of high and popular culture and thus reaching out to different kinds of audiences, with different educational backgrounds and social profiles.[76] If pieces of popular wisdom or of intellectual literature are used in the Egyptian narratives, they are never acknowledged as such by their authors (contrast the acknowledged instances from the story of the *Eloquent Peasant* mentioned in note 55). Thus their authors and their characters, in this way, take on the full credit for the didactic messages conveyed in the narratives.

The credit for making wise observations and giving valuable advice goes, in the case of the Egyptian literary narratives, always to literary characters, and especially to protagonists, such as Sinuhe or Wenamun. By contrast, the Greek authors do not hesitate to put such wise utterances in the mouths of primary narrators, who in most of the cases, by a silent agreement with the audience, are representing their creators.[77] The use of didactic language brings up always

74 The minimal intervention of an authorial voice (resulting in what has been called *objective narration*) in Egyptian narratives has been previously noted by Egyptologists like John Baines, in the course of his analysis of the report of *Wenamun* (J. Baines, "On Wenamun as a Literary Text," in *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung zum Gedenken an Georges Posener 5.–10. September 1996 in Leipzig*, ed. J. Assmann and E. Blumenthal, Bulletin d'Egyptologie 127 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1999), 209-233), or, more recently, by Richard Jasnow, who analyzed the stylistic devices employed in Demotic narratives, such as the aforementioned *Stories of Setne Khamwas* (R. Jasnow, ""Through Demotic Eyes": On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives," in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, ed. Z. Hawass and J. Richards, Annales de la Societé des Antiquités de l'Égypte Cahier 36 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2007), 433-448).

75 For the authorial presence in Greek works of literature, see M.W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the* Iliad (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins U.P, 1987), 29 ff; K. Stoddard, *The Narrative Voice in the* Theogony *of Hesiod*, Mnemosyne Supplements 255 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 34 ff; A.D. Morrison, *The Narrator in Archaic Greek and Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 45 ff.

76 Compare the remarks on the *Life of Aesop* in *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature*, ed. W. Hansen (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 109.

77 The bibliography on the complex relationship between the primary narrator of a narrative and its author is vast. Some good representatives of this ongoing scholarly discussion are: M.L. Ryan, "The Pragmatics of Personal and Impersonal Fiction," *Poetics* 10 (1981): 517-539; W.F. Edmiston, "Focalization and the First-Person Narrator: A Revision of the Theory," *Poetics Today* 10/4 (1989): 729-744; J.A. Garcia Landa, *Acción, Relato, Discurso: Estructura de la ficción narrative* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998); R. Walsh, *The Rhetoric of Fictionality: Narrative Theory and the Idea of Fiction*, Theory Interpretation Narrative (Columbus: Ohio State U.P, 2007). This complex relationship was acknowledged and exploited by Greek authors, such as Lucian, who used it as a playground on which he experimented with his combined status as an author and narrator (cf. T.J.G. Whitmarsh, "Lucian," in *Narrators, Narratees*, 465-476).

positive attributes and makes the audience admire the prudence and intelligence of the speakers of such wisdom. It also greatly contributes to the plot progress, as well as to the overall tone of the work, as in many cases the wisdom of the protagonists is tragically contrasted to their mistakes and misfortunes (see, for instance, the case of prudent Sinuhe with his unreasonable flight from Egypt, or the case of prudent Jason who is unable to escape the misfortunes Fate causes, during the journey of the Argos).

Finally, with regard to the contribution of the identified didactic material to their works, a number of parallel uses of didactic material in the Egyptian and Greek narratives have been discussed above, illustrating the two-fold function of this material within their immediate and wider context. Indeed, sayings, proverbs, and didactic passages are an integral part of these works' making, expressing logical and emotional shifts, as well as characterizing, through their frequency, messages, and usage, the personal style of each author.

Overall, didactic veins ran through most of the genres of ancient Egyptian and Greek literature, watering a large area where ideas about man and his relationship with rulers, gods, nature, and life blossomed; an area within which the producers and the audience of ancient literature built together and shared a common culture. The literary cultures of ancient Egypt and Greece followed parallel routes of development, hence, in our case, both involving uses of didactic material in the making of their literary narratives. Although we cannot determine, especially with regard to the early stages of development of literary writing, whether, and if so to what extent, the two cultures did interact and influence each other, we can say with certainty that it was these early basic similarities that paved the way for a later smooth interaction (taking place during the Hellenistic and Roman times) on the multiple levels of production and circulation of ancient Egyptian and Greek works of literature.

List of identified sayings, proverbs and didactic passages[78]

Tales of Wonder: 5,22?; 8,11
Sinuhe: B47-50?; B119; B120-121; B121-122; B122-123; B127; B190-191?; B213?; B220?; B235?; B236-237?
The Shipwrecked Sailor: 124-125; 182; 184-186
Two Brothers: 6,5?; 8,2?
Horus and Seth: 1,4; 2,5?; 4,6-4,7(=8,6)?; 4,7-4,8?; 6,12-6,13(=7,9)?; 8,1?
Wenamun: 2,23-2,24; 2,30-2,31; 2,33-2,34; 2,70?; 2,78-2,79?
Destruction of Mankind: 11?; 12?
Ghost Story: 2,14?; 3,17-18; 4,18
Setne II: 1/19; 2/22
Petese: (P. Petese II) fr. D7.2.12? / (P. Petese II) fr. D11.x+3-4? / (P. Petese Tebt. A + B) 5.12-13?
Amasis and the Skipper: 3?
Myth of the Sun's Eye: 4,25; 5,12-5,13; 5,14-5,21; 6,22; 6,22-6,23?; 6,31-6,33; 7,2-7,4; 7,5-7,6; 7,9; 8,1-8,2; 8,2-8,3; 15,8-15,9; 16,3; 17,3-17,4; 17,3-17,7; 18,30-18,31
Inaros/Petubastis: (Amazons) 9/8; 4/8? / (P. Krall) 5,10-5,11; 12,14-12,15 / (P. Spiegelberg) 11,21-11,22; 11,22-11,23; 11,23

78 For a list of such passages from Homer and Hesiod, see Lardinois *Wisdom in Context*, appendix A.

Ephesiaca: 1.1.5.5.6?; 1.2.1.1; 1.14.3.3-4?; 1.15.5.1-4?; 2.3.8.2-3?; 2.5.1.4-5?; 3.8.5.3-4?; 3.10.2.1-2?; 3.11.4.5; 4.2.3.4-5?; 5.1.12.5; 5.5.5.2-4?
Argonautica: 1.82; 1.298; 1.1035-1036; 1.1098-1101?; 2.172-174?; 2.250-251; 2.314-316; 2.338-339; 2.468-470?; 2.1132-1133; 2.1179-1180; 3.16; 3.188-190; 3.192-193; 3.429-430; 3.526-527; 3.932-935?; 4.411-412; 4.445-447; 4.794-795?; 4.1081-1082; 4.1165-1167; 4.1261-1262; 4.1336; 4.1556-1557?; 4.1673-1675?
Callirhoe: 1.1.6?; 1.1.12?; 1.2.5; 1.3.7; 1.4.2; 1.7.1; 1.7.4?; 1.7.5?; 1.9.4; 1.9.7?; 1.10.6?; 1.10.7?; 1.12.6; 1.12.8?; 1.13.11; 2.1.5?; 2.3.7; 2.3.10; 2.4.8; 2.5.8; 2.6.4; 2.8.3; 2.10.3; 3.2.4; 3.2.6; 3.2.7; 3.3.8; 3.3.16; 3.4.1; 3.4.13; 3.9.3; 3.9.4; 4.1.3?; 4.4.9; 4.7.2; 4.7.6; 5.1.4; 5.8.4; 6.4.4-5?; 6.1.9; 6.3.7; 6.3.7; 6.4.3; 6.5.1; 6.5.5?; 6.7.12?; 7.1.4; 7.1.11? 7.2.4; 7.3.4; 7.5.9?; 7.5.15?; 7.6.10?; 8.2.2; 8.4.2; 8.5.14; 8.6.5?; 8.7.4?
Daphnis and Chloe: proem 3.4-6?; proem 4.1-2; 1.12.2.1-2; 1.17.4.4-5?; 2.2.6.2-3; 2.7.7.1-3; 3.5.4-3-4; 3.14.1.3-4?; 3.14.3.1-5?; 3.18.4.6; 3.26.4.1-3?; 3.31.1.1-3; 4.17.4.2-3?; 4.17.7.1-4?; 4.18.1.2-3; 4.23.2.3-4; 4.24.3.2-3; 4.26.3.1-3
Clitophon and Leucippe: 1.3.2.4-3.4; 1.4.4.2-4; 1.5.6; 1.6.2-4; 1.7.4.5-6; 1.8.3.4?; 1.8.7.1-2; .8.8.3-5; 1.9.3.1-4; 1.9.5.5-6-6.2; 1.9.6.5-7; 1.10.1.2; 1.10.2-6; 1.13.2.5-6; 2.2.2.4?; 2.3.3.5; 2.4.1.3-4; 2.4.5.1-4; 2.4.5.5; 2.8.1.5-2.5; 2.8.3.2-3?; 2.13.1.4-6; 2.22.7.4-5?; 2.25.2.2-3; 2.29.1-5; 2.34.7.1-2?; 2.35.3.2-4?; 2.35.5?; 2.36.1-3; 2.36.4.1; 2.37.1.2-4; 2.37.6-10; 3.3.5.5; 3.4.4.4-5.3; 3.10.2.3-5; 3.11.1-2; 3.14.3; 3.22.1.1-2; 4.6.1.2; 4.6.3.2-3; 4.7.3.1-3?; 4.7.5.1-2; 4.7.8.4?; 4.8.2.1-3.2; 4.8.5.1-6.3; 4.10.1.1-5; 4.10.2.4-5; 4.10.3.3; 4.12.1.4-5; 4.12.4.1; 4.14.9.3-6; 5.5.1.1-2; 5.5.2.3-5?; 5.5.7.3-6; 5.5.6.2-3?; 5.8.2.2-6; 5.11.1.3?; 5.12.1.2-5; 5.13.3.3-4.6; 5.14.4.5?; 5.15.6.1-3?; 5.16.2.4-5?; 5.16.3.2-3; 5.21.7.1-2; 5.22.3.5-6?; 5.25.7.2; 5.26.2.5; 5.27.1.1; 5.27.4; 6.5.5.1-2; 6.6.2; 6.6.3.4-5; 6.7.1-2; 6.7.4-6; 6.10.4-5; 6.13.4.1-3; 6.16.3.1-2?; 6.17.4.1-3; 6.17.5.2-4; 6.18.3; 6.19.1-7.3; 6.21.2.2-3; 7.2.3.2-5; 7.4.4-5; 7.6.4.4-5; 7.9.2.2-3?; 7.10.4.6-7; 7.10.5.3-4; 7.16.3.1-2; 8.9.11.2?
Alexander Romance: 1.2(β).14-16; 1.13(β).35-36; 1.14(β).19?; 1.14(β).20; 1.16(β).11; 1.18(β).23-24; 1.19(β).23-24; 1.22(β).17; 1.25(β).19-22; 1.25(β).25; 1.30(β).4; 1.31(β).23-25?; 1.32(β).7-8?; 1.35(β).20-21?; 1.37(β).5-7?; 1.37(β).24; 1.38(β).8-11?; 1.42(β).31?; 1.44(β).13-14; 2.7(β).32-34; 2.9(β).18-19; 2.10(β).7-8?; 2.12(β).12; 2.14(β).28-30; 2.15(β).10-11; 2.15(β).18; 2.16(β).9-12; 2.17(β).27-28; 2.20(β).32-35; 2.21(β).55-56?; 2.39(β).; 2.41(β).7-8?; 2.41(β)41-42?; 3.1(β).21-22; 3.2(β).6?; 3.2(β).21-25; 3.2(β).30-31; 3.2(β).36-37?; 3.5(β).10?; 3.6(β).1-21; 3.6(β).39-50; 3.17(β).42; 3.22(β).33-34; 3.23(β).21-22; 3.24(β).10-12; 3.30(β).4; 3.33(β).14-15
Lucius or the Ass: 1.6; 5.11-12; 11.20-21; 18.15-16; 42.20-22; 45.32-34; 56.35-38
True Stories: 1.1.1-2.1?; 1.30.6-7; 2.27.I4-5?

Aithiopica: 1.2.9.1-5; 1.4.3.3-5; 1.8.4.5; 1.14.4.4-9; 1.14.5.6-7; 1.15.3.6-8; 1.15.8.4-8; 1.21.2.3-5?; 1.21.3.9-10?; 1.22.6.1-6?; 1.26.3.1-8; 1.26.4.4-6; 1.26.4.5-6; 1.30.6.1-2; 1.32.4.1-3; 2.6.4.1-3; 2.8.1.1-3?; 2.16.6.1-5?; 2.20.5.7-9?; 2.23.3.3-6; 2.23.5.9-10; 2.24.4.3-5; 2.24.7.1-6; 2.27.3.8-9; 2.29.5.5-6; 2.31.1.5-8; 2.31.3.3-5; 2.33.5.3-4; 2.36.2.2; 3.1.1.6-7; 3.4.1.4-6; 3.4.8.8-9; 3.5.4.3-4; 3.7.3-5; 3.8.2.4-7?; 3.10.5; 3.12.2.5-6; 3.13.1-2; 3.16.2-4; 3.16.5.5-6?; 3.17.5.6; 3.18.3.6-7; 4.1.2.8; 4.2.3.4-6?; 4.3.2.4-5; 4.4.3.2-4; 4.4.4.5-7; 4.5.7.6-10; 4.7.7.2-3; 4.9.1.7-8?; 4.10.5.5-6; 4.10.6.2-4; 4.13.5.1-4?; 4.16.3.1-4; 4.18.4.2-6; 4.19.3.7-8; 4.21.1.6-8?; 5.1.5.3-4; 5.4.1.3-4; 5.4.1.7-8; 5.4.7.1-2; 5.4.7.9-10; 5.7.1.10-11?; 5.7.3.4-6; 5.12.1.3-6; 5.12.1.9?; 5.13.3-4; 5.15.2.6-8; 5.17.2-3; 5.19.1.1-2; 5.20.1.7; 5.20.7.4-6?; 5.25.1.3; 5.25.2.2-3; 5.29.4.3-4; 5.33.4.3-4; 6.5.2.6-9; 6.5.4; 6.7.3.5-7; 6.7.8.3-4; 6.9.3.5-7; 6.10.2.3-5; 6.10.2.6-7; 6.14.7.5-10?; 6.15.1.6-7; 7.5.5.3-5; 7.6.4.7-8; 7.7.5.3-5; 7.9.5.7-8; 7.10.5.10; 7.12.2.6-7; 7.12.4.10-12?; 7.13.2.7-9; 7.20.4.2-5?; 7.20.5.3-4; 7.21.3.4-6; 7.21.4.6-7?; 7.21.5.2-3?; 7.21.5.4-5; 7.25.4.1-3; 7.26.9.5-8; 7.26.10.4-5; 7.28.2.2-4?; 7.29.1.2-3; 8.3.8.3-5; 8.4.1.4-2.3; 8.5.1.2-5; 8.5.3.2-4; 8.5.4.5-6; 8.5.7.5-6; 8.5.9.3-10.2; 8.5.10.7-8; 8.5.12.4; 8.6.1.1-3; 8.6.9.2; 8.9.4.3-4; 8.9.21.5-6; 8.10.2?; 8.11.5.2-4?; 8.13.4.6-7; 8.15.5.4-5; 8.17.1.7-10?; 9.1.5.8-10; 9.2.1.6-8?; 9.3.8.2-3; 9.5.4.2-3; 9.5.5.6; 9.5.6.5-7; 9.5.7.1-2; 9.6.6.3-6?; 9.18.2.7-8; 9.19.5.3-6; 9.21.1.6-7?; 9.21.4.3-4? 9.23.5.3-4?; 9.24.3.5-4.3; 9.24.8.3-7; 9.25.2.2-3; 9.15.2.6-7?; 9.15.3.6-8; 9.15.5.7-9; 9.17.1.5-6; 10.4.2.9-12?; 10.7.8.2-4?; 10.9.7.1-3; 10.10.3.4-7; 10.10.4.3-5; 10.12.4.1-3; 10.12.4.5-6; 10.14.6.4-5; 10.14.7.2-4; 10.15.2.5-6?; 10.17.2.4-6?; 10.18.2.7-9; 10.22.1.4-7?; 10.26.3.1-3?; 10.29.4.5-8; 10.33.3.3-5?; 10.37.2.4-6; 10.39.1.2-4; 10.39.1.6-7
Life of Aesop: 3.20-21 G; 5.6-7 G ?; 5.8-9 G; 8.5 G ?; 10.12-14 G ?; 13.5-7 G ?; 13.8-9 G; 19.14-15 G ?; 23.5-6 G ?; 23.6-14 G + W; 24.24 W ?; 25.12 G; 26.8 G; 26.13-14 G ?; 26.17 G; 26.19 G; 28.9-10 G; 28.11-15 G; 32.13-16 G; 32.24 G; 33.4 G; 35.12 G; 36.6 G ?; 36.7-8 G; 37.1-16 W; 38.3-4 G; 39.9-12 G; 43.10-11 G; 47.2-4 G; 48.1-9 G; 53.5-9 G; 55.4-6 G; 5.8 G ?; 67.4-10 G; 68.5-8 G; 68.12-13 G ?; 69.3-4 G; 77.15 G ?; 77a.6 W ?; 81.12-13 G; 88.2-9 G; 89.1 G ?; 109.1-110.10 G; 115.10-12 G; 124.7 G; 128.7 G; 128.9-10 G ?
Iolaos: 40-44
Ninos: A.2,31-35; A.3,3-6; A.3,18-19; A.3,26-30?; A.5,21-23
Metiochos and Parthenope: 2.60-62
The Love Drug: 14-15

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE

Book Reviews

Sally-Ann Ashton, *Cleopatra and Egypt***. Carlton, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. ISBN: 978-1405113908. 240 pp. $94.95 US. $113.99 CDN.**

Sally-Ann Ashton has become perhaps the dominant voice on Ptolemaic Queens, specifically on Cleopatra VII. No fewer than 18 entries in the Bibliography of *Cleopatra and Egypt* are the work of the book's author. While this illustrates the extent of the author's work in the subject area, it does create problems of another sort when it comes to citations. For example, in Chapter 4, Ashton makes a number of remarks concerning the use of the double uraeus by queens after the Amarna Period. As someone who has long had an interest in the iconography of queens, I had strong reactions to some of the author's statements. When I sought clarification in the parenthetical documentation, I was referred only to an article by the author which had appeared in the *Current Research in Egyptology* proceedings, although I would have hoped for more detailed references. The anthropology style of bracketed citation used in this book has many drawbacks, not least of which is that it does not seem to allow for clarification and is restricted to only one or, at most, two sources. This can lead to unfortunate impressions on the part of the reader. As already mentioned, for arguments in which the author refers back to his or her own research for supporting evidence can make a scholar's theories seem rather too self-referential. Since Dr. Ashton is in fact very well read in this field, this impression is erroneous and detracts from the overall impression of the scholarship of the work.

Another issue with referencing in this manner is that controversial assertions can sometimes seem to be laid at the door of a scholar who has merely commented upon the ideas. A prime example of this is the reference in Chapter 1.3 to the use of Cleopatra's [putative] "mixed origins" by scholars "as proof that contamination of the Macedonian bloodline led to the Dynasty's downfall". The bracketed reference says "Bianchi 2003", and refers to his essay in *Cleopatra Reassessed*. The bald juxtaposition of idea and citation gives impression that this somewhat eyebrow-raising assertion was made by Robert Bianchi himself. In fact, his contribution to *Cleopatra Reassessed* included a commentary on such statements made by scholars of earlier eras. So, while it may have seemed to the publisher that a lack of notes at the bottom of the page or the end of the chapter might be more appealing to the general readership (and allows more words to be crammed economically onto the page), Harvard-style parenthetical documentation has many drawbacks. The example of Gay Robins' *Women in Ancient Egypt* and numerous other publications show that popular books can be written with some sort of endnotes without losing their attractiveness to the general public.

In this book, Ashton is trying to put Cleopatra back into her Egyptian context. However, as is clear from her introduction, she wishes to establish a connection between Cleopatra and "Africa"—or rather, with the African-American traditions regarding Cleopatra. These traditions derive from literary rather than historical

sources and, as noted by Scott Trafton in *Egypt Land*, are part of the discourse of modern Afrocentrism and Egyptomania. In this discourse, modern Egypt and its perceptions of its past has often seemingly little role to play. It seems to this reviewer that this is perhaps the case in this book. This is regrettable, although the author has discussed the pharaonic precedents for Cleopatra's titulary and iconography at length.

In order to make this connection with Africa, Dr. Ashton could have concentrated on comparisons and connections with the great empire of Meroe and its powerful queens, who were contemporaries of Cleopatra. Personally, I would have greatly enjoyed a comparison of Cleopatra's interactions with the Romans with those of the unnamed Candace [Kentake] of Meroe who held off Augustus's army. Instead, there is a short reference to the role of royal women in Dyn. 25 and a very brief comparison of the public relations strategy and attitude of the Kushite rulers.

Ashton has chosen to assert that Cleopatra was of "mixed origins". As in all other cases where people have chosen to accept this viewpoint, Dr. Ashton has taken the blank or fuzzy areas in Cleopatra's lineage and filled them in with her chosen missing links. To her, these links are "Egyptian," although this contention is really unsupported by any evidence other than the argument *ex silentio* of Cleopatra's unidentified grandmother. In comments to the popular press, the author has said that it would be suprising if Cleopatra's family had not picked up some elements of Egyptian heritage. She has even been connected to a facial reconstruction of Cleopatra to illustrate this theory. There is, of course, nothing wrong with filling in the blanks in Cleopatra's family tree, but it should be acknowledged that is is speculation and not fact.

In this book, she further develops this theory by stating that ethnicity "is about choice" and that Cleopatra has chosen to have an Egyptian identity. Given the number and prominence of Cleopatra's Egytianized representations, this is an inarguable point. However, to say that "Cleopatra was only shown as a European when her audience necessitated it" is as problematic as it would be to assert the opposite. Hellenized representations of Cleopatra are numerous and widespread. As has been noted in various scholarly studies, both Hellenized and traditional Egyptian-style or Egyptianizing representations of most of the Ptolemaic rulers existed from the beginnings of the dynasty. Are we meant to believe that images of Cleopatra VII in regalia represent self-identification as ethnically Egyptian, while images of Ptolemy I in pharaonic guise are meaningless, or represent something quite other? Any study of the portraiture and iconography of the Ptolemaic rulers cannot help but note that even those Ptolemies with closest connection to the dynasty's Macedonian origins were at pains to create official images representing them in the traditions of both their original and adopted homelands. Both Paul Stanwick (*Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek King as Egyptian Pharaohs* [Austin, 2002]) and Ashton herself (*Ptolemaic Royal sculpture from Egypt. The Interaction between Greek and Egyptian Traditions* [London, 2001]) have recently analyzed the reasons for the creation of images in one tradition or another to to serve specific purposes, following on the work of numerous other scholars. In these most recent scholarly works, it is acknowledged that both halves of the Ptolemaic identity are being served throughout the dynasty's history.

In chapter 1.2 Ashton states "It seems that there is a deep-rooted suspicion of those who are deemed to have minority agendas." It is a suspicion that the author obviously does not share, as she acknowledges the influence of her work with British-Caribbean communities on her perspective. This is obvious not only in her reconstruction of family history, but when she uses her own belief in Cleopatra's partly Egyptian origins to castigate an unknown father of Greek origins

for telling his sons that Cleopatra was of solely Greek descent. While she is unarguably correct in saying that views of Cleopatra in the scholarly world have been overwhelmingly Eurocentric, replacing one agenda with another may not be the best solution to the problem.

The bulk of this book is taken up with a readable study of Cleopatra in her context as an Egyptian, and specifically a Ptolemaic queen. This is followed by a recounting of the final years of the queen's life, especially her relationship with Antony. The biographical sections, however, are not primarily concerned with Cleopatra's emotions, as is sometimes the case in biographies of the queen. Rather, they concentrate on the political implications of her relationships.

This book, part of Blackwell's "Ancient Lives" series, is intended according to the publisher to be an "engaging, accessible account" of an influential figure of antiquity which will stand in contrast to "abstract and analytical" scholarly writing. Given that this is the stated intent of the book, we should keep this in mind when assessing it. Would the book be engaging and accessible to a non-scholarly audience? Very likely. Does it offer food for thought to a scholarly audience? Most definitely.

Lyn Green

M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun***, incorporating the records made by Walter Segal. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-900416-89-7. 148 pp. + 75 drawings and plates. $150.00 US.**

This volume is the most recent in the series on Tutankhamun's tomb published by, and the third volume in the series authored by Marianne Eaton-Krauss. Her previous volumes on items from the tomb (*The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, with Graefe, and *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun*) have offered significant insights into the objects they have studied. Therefore, it is with considerable expectations that one approaches *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. The objects covered by the book range from the frequently illustrated and iconic (the golden throne) to the little-known and obscure items of furniture. Organized in the form of a catalogue, the entry for each object includes a description of the findspot, conservation measures carried out, measurements and description of the structure and decoration, discussion/analysis of the object, including translation and commentary on any inscriptions, and a bibliography. The bibliograpy comprises not only previous scholarly discussion of the artefact, but summary of Carter's notes and Segal's dossier.

The notes on construction and the scale drawings of Walter Segal, a German-English architect who studied the objects in the Cairo Museum in 1935, are the basis of the book, along with photographs by Harry Burton, Segal and Eaton-Krauss herself. The photos made during the clearance of the tomb are of course an invaluable historical record but in some respects they are unrevealing of details of the decoration and construction of the thrones and other furniture. Only black and white photographs are in the publication, but this reviewer could not help wishing for a few more colour photographs, such as appear in her article on the thrones in *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* (Marianne Eaton-Krauss, "Seats of Power: The Thrones of Tutankhamen," *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 19/2 (Summer 2008): 18-33). After all, in ancient Egypt colour was an important element in symbolism.

The four chairs identified as thrones are the focus of much of this study: the inlaid ebony

throne, the gold-covered throne, the cedar throne and the "child's throne". Dr. Eaton-Krauss devotes a fair chunk of her book to an analysis of the golden throne [JE62028]: 30 pages in total. She is particularly interested in interpreting the scene on the back of the throne, in which the queen gently touches the seated king. This action has been variously interpreted as a reference to the queen anointing the king, perhaps in reference to his coronation, but Eaton-Krauss wishes to reinterpret this to show the queen as the king's cupbearer and to relate it to scenes of feasting. She suggests that this throne could have stood in for the king during banquets, as unoccupied thrones do in scenes on the Karnak talatat. In a separate article in *Discussions in Egyptology*, Nicola Harrington also connected the scene on the backrest of this throne with banquets, although she believes that the queen is anointing the broad collar around her husband's neck (Nicola Harrington, "A new approach to the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun," *Discussions in Egyptology* 63 (2005): 59-66). Like Eaton-Krauss, Harrington compares the depiction on the back of the throne with representations on the small golden shrine. However, she connects many of the depictions on the shrine to the motif of banqueting and compares the individual scenes to the decorative scheme of private 18th dynasty tombs. Taking this interpretation of the shrine's decoration in conjunction with its lack of Atenist symbolism, she theorizes that the shrine was intended for funerary use. By extension, one might assume that she would interpret the scene on the back of the throne as also derivative of private mortuary iconography, and thus suggestive of a funerary purpose for this object. This is an intriguing possibility, but the analysis put forward by Eaton-Krauss is slightly more convincing. Dr. Eaton-Krauss is at pains to clarify the identifiction of the royal couple represented on the back of the throne. The original identification of the pair represented on the throne back with Tutankhamen and Ankhsenamen has more recently been questioned by Claude Vandersleyn, Marc Gabolde and others. In this work, Eaton-Krauss re-asserts the identification as Ankhsenamen and Tutankhamen, basing her theory on many factors, including physical examination of the artefact.

By contrast with the pages allotted to the golden throne, discussion of the other throne-chairs is much briefer, but by no means cursory. The author has important insights to deliver on the cedar throne [JE 62029], suggesting that it was made for a specific location in the palace at Memphis. Her commentary on other items is similarly thorough and insightful. This book performs a valuable service, as it draws attention to many items which have been ignored in the past, even when included in exhibition catalogues. In summary, this book is an important resource for those interested in the Amarna Period, in the history of Egyptian craftsmanship and many others.

Lyn Green

Pamela Rose. *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna.* **EES Excavation Memoir, no. 83. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007. ISBN 978-0-85698-179-1. 301 pp. $130.00 US.**

This monograph, written by one of the leading experts on ancient Egyptian ceramics, deals with the pottery corpus from Amarna. Despite the significance of Amarna as a late 18th Dynasty type site and the long history of archaeological investigations there, this is the first book dedicated solely to the study of ceramics from that site.

The introductory chapter sets out the historical background of the excavations at Amarna and the scope of the present volume. The book is primarily descriptive in nature, as the analysis of quantified data and the discussion of vessel function will be presented in a separate volume (p. 5). The corpus presented here also focuses on the late 18th Dynasty materials only (p. 6).

The second chapter deals with the pottery fabrics. The fabric typology employed at Amarna is based broadly on the Vienna System, but it is more detailed. For example, Marl D of the Vienna System is here subdivided into six different types based on inclusions, colours, and other physical properties. Variants of Nile B2 are by far the most common, and these were presumably mostly manufactured locally (p. 12). It is to be noted that Lower Egyptian marls are much more common than Upper Egyptian marls at Amarna (p. 13). In addition to the Nile silts and marl clays, the typology includes fabrics from the Western Desert and the Levantine coast (pp. 15-16). Each type is described fully, and the concordance with the fabric classifications used at other contemporary sites, such as Memphis, is given when appropriate. The book, however, does not include photographs of the fabric types, so the reader might like to have Bourriau and Nicholson, *JEA* 78 (1992) and Bourriau, et al., *New Kingdom Pottery Fabrics* (2000) at hand for visual reference.

In Chapter 3, the author describes different methods of surface treatment. Slip is the most common form of surface treatment at Amarna (p. 17). Red slip is generally used for silt vessels, while cream slip is usually reserved for marl vessels (p. 17). Similarly, polishing tends to be associated with silt vessels, while burnishing usually occurs on marl vessels (p. 17). Prefiring painting can be monochrome, bichrome, or blue-painted. In all cases, the author points out that the "red" and "black" are often difficult to distinguish since both colours employ red ochre as the main ingredient, and depending on the amount of manganese and thickness of the paint, they can appear as various shades of brown (pp. 18, 26). In the discussion of blue-painted decoration, the author describes the execution and placement of various decorative elements as well as the sequence in which they were painted. Intriguing "painter's marks" and the issue of overpainting are also mentioned. Pottery with relief decorations is relatively rare at Amarna so far (p. 28). Post-firing painted decorations are usually poorly preserved, but a careful examination reveals that they employed a wide range of colours, including yellow and green (p. 31).

The fourth chapter on the pottery typology is by far the longest and most detailed chapter of all. The vessels are first classified into four series based on the fabric and the manufacturing technology: wheelmade silt wares (S), wheelmade marl wares (M), handmade wares (H), and non-Nile Valley wares (N). Handmade wares are mostly made of Nile silt (p. 33). Each series is then divided into basic shape groups based on the Aperture Indices and the Vessel Indices, as defined by David Aston (pp. 8, 34). For example, wheelmade silt wares are divided into hollow stands (SA), lids and stoppers (SB), "firedogs" (SC), dishes (SD), bowls (SE), deep open forms (SF), slender jars (SG), tall jars (SH), globular jars (SI), and miniature vessels (SJ). Each shape group is then divided into form class and finally into types based on the vessel contour, shapes of the rim and the base, and the size. The typology has been modified over time. Consequently, some shape groups, form classes, and types have been removed and now appear as "empty" to avoid confusion. Even disregarding these "empties," the current system includes some 370 types and can be expanded as new types are created. The type description is followed by the description of real examples (701 in total) from Amarna, all of which are illustrated in the plates.

Often more than one example is listed under one type to demonstrate the variation within the type (p. 10). The chapter ends with a useful table that shows the correlations between the current corpus and previous designations.

The final chapter describes the evolution of different pottery recording methods and typology systems employed at Amarna during the older EES excavations. The original pottery recording system at Amarna was created in 1921 by P.L.O. Guy (p. 169), and this system is presented in Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten,* Part 1 (1923). Guy's system was expanded and modified slightly by S.R.K. Glanville and D. Greenlees, and it remained in use until 1927 (pp. 170-171). In 1929, J.D.S. Pendlebury devised a new pottery recording system, which lumped together many types that were distinguished previously but seemed to be insignificant chance variants (p. 171). After some reorganization, Pendlebury's system was published in Frankfort and Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten,* Part 2 (1933), and it remained in use until 1937. The author discusses the achievements and shortcomings of each system and also provides a table summarizing the concordance between them.

In addition to numerous figures, 110 pages of plates are provided at the end to illustrate the corpus. They are arranged in the same order as the typology presented in Chapter 4. The excellent 1:4 drawings prepared by Andrew Boyce capture even the most complex pottery shapes (e.g. "firedogs") and subtle textures (e.g. burnishing) accurately and effectively.

The use of technical terms and the repetitious format of the pottery catalogue suggest that this monograph is not aimed for laypersons. However, serious students and researchers of Egyptian archaeology, particularly those interested in New Kingdom ceramics, will find the book absolutely indispensable both in the library and in the field.

Kei Yamamoto

Patricia Spencer, ed. *The Egypt Exploration Society – the early years.* **EES Occasional Publication, no. 16. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007. ISBN 978-0-85698-185-2. x + 262 pp. 167 ills. $44.00 US. $47.53 CDN.**

This book was published to mark the 125th anniversary of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which is now known as the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). It is meant to be "a companion volume" (p. vii) to T.G.H. James' *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, and it has certainly succeeded in this regard. One main difference is that this one focuses on archival images. Furthermore, it covers the organization's history only up to 1915 when the EEF was renamed to the EES, but the reader will be delighted to learn that another volume on the post-World War I era may be published in the future.

The book is divided into eight chapters: 1) Naville at Bubastis and other sites (Neal Spencer); 2) Petrie in the Delta (Patricia Spencer); 3) The Archaeological Survey (Christopher Naunton); 4) Deir el-Bahari (T.G.H. James); 5) Abydos (Barry Kemp); 6) El-Amrah, el-Mahasna, Hu and Abadiyeh (Joanne Rowland); 7) Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayum (Dominic Rathbone); and 8) Deshesheh, Dendereh and Balabish (Andrew Bednarski). Each contributor selected about twenty images for the respective section and provides fascinating insights into their content and backgrounds. Each chapter begins with a brief but effective introduction to the archaeological site(s) under discussion and the principal Egyptologists who worked there. The text is written in a simple language which makes it easy even for begin-

ners to understand the significance of the EEF's early contribution to Egyptology.

The first two chapters deal with the EEF's earliest expeditions. It is interesting to see the early archaeologists' living conditions, ranging from Naville's camping tents at Bubastis (p. 3) to Petrie's simple mud-brick house at Tanis (p. 40). One may note that the workforce included women (pp. 13, 23) in the Delta, which is still the case today. It is astounding to see how much of the mud-brick structures and *tells* still remained at some of the Delta sites and Ehnasya in late 19th century. The second chapter includes an interesting anecdote about Petrie's trusted *reis* and his fall from grace (pp. 64-65).

The third chapter concerns the archaeological and epigraphic surveys that Griffith, Newberry, Fraser, Blackden, Carter, and Brown conducted at Beni Hasan, Deir el-Bersheh, Sheikh Said, and Deir el-Gebrawi. The images include not only black-and-white photographs but also colour paintings, which are particularly delightful additions since the original publications do not do justice to their beauty. The contributor discusses the surveyors' main accomplishments, challenges in survey, as well as variation in artistic styles which reflect the difference in their theoretical and methodological interests (p. 81).

The fourth chapter deals with Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahari. The Coptic monastery over the temple of Hatshepsut no longer exists, so its photographs are valuable records (pp. 97, 100, 114). Most photographs from the clearance of the temple of Hatshepsut appear here for the first time, and they illustrate how the Decauville railway was employed to expedite work (pp. 99, 114, 115). This chapter also includes two beautiful colour paintings by Carter (pp. 105, 107).

Almost all photographs in the fifth chapter on Abydos appeared in the original excavation reports, but their inclusion is welcome because they are now reproduced at a much larger scale and higher quality. The photographs include relatively well-known images of Djer's arm (p. 136) and Khufu's statuette (p. 135), as well as perhaps less well-known views of Senwosret III's tomb (pp. 143, 145, 147) and Ahmose I's temple (pp. 151, 153). The photographs of theodolite (p. 154) and sherd drawing equipment (p. 138) confirm the notion that Petrie was a good archaeologist. The sixth chapter intends to deal with four Pre-dynastic and Early Dynastic sites near Abydos, but Ayrton and Loat's Cemetery F (pp. 188-197), which the contributor identifies as part of el-Mahasna, is actually part of Abydos. Almost all photos of this cemetery are published for the first time.

The seventh chapter highlights the EEF's activities at a number of Greco-Roman sites, and almost all photographs in this chapter appear in publication for the first time. Some readers may be surprised by the images of Grenfell and Hunt's "papyrus mining" operations at Oxyrhynchus (pp. 219, 221), which contrast sharply with the more careful excavation and recording techniques employed by Petrie and his students. Generations of scholars have worked on the translation and publication of the papyrus documents that Grenfell and Hunt excavated, yet the collection is so large that the work still continues today. The chapter also includes an interesting anecdote about the discovery of papyri inside crocodile mummies at Tebtunis (p. 204).

The final chapter focuses on three other sites, including Balabish which is perhaps one of the less well-known sites that the EES has excavated. Most images appeared in the original excavation reports, but they are reproduced here at a larger scale and better quality. The photographs in this chapter include those of Petrie's wife, Hilda (pp. 231, 239), and of the director of the Balabish excavation, Wainwright (p. 247).

The book lacks references, but Naunton provides a useful selected bibliography for each chapter at the end. A few slips of the pen were

noted. The column capital on pp. 16-17 is in the form of Hathor, not Bastet. The beginning of the first sentence on p. 40 is missing. Omit the word "of" between "birds" and "was" in line 1 of p. 78. Insert the word "centuries" between "first" and "BC" in line 7 of p. 204. The "image on p. 204" mentioned on p. 212 refers to the photograph on p. 205. *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh* is Excavation Memoir 5, not 4 (p. 257), while *Tanis. Part II* is Excavation Memoir 4, not 5 (p. 258). Despite these very minor shortcomings, the book is a welcome volume to both serious Egyptologists and interested members of the public. The second instalment, which covers the history of the EES after the First World War, is eagerly awaited.

Kei Yamamoto