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ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HIERARCHY

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.LITT.

THE pieces of information that I have gathered together in this article indicate, I think, that scholars¹ have hitherto laid too much stress upon the inferiority of the part played by women in the worship of Egyptian divinities. That they have done so is doubtless due in large measure to the well-known and oft-quoted assertion of Herodotus, ii, § 35 : *ἰρᾶται γυνή μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἑρσενος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων* "No woman exercises the priestly office either for a god or a goddess, but men in all cases."

Yet this assertion is in disagreement with what the ancient authority himself says in two other passages of the same book. In § 54 he speaks of two women, priestesses, being carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians, *ἱρείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθήναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων*, and again in § 56 he designates the same women *τὰς ἰρὰς γυναικας* "the consecrated (i.e., priestly) women."

Fig. 1. The *mrt* welcoming the king into the temple (after MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 30 a).

As is shewn by two inscriptions in the great temple of Horus at Edfu, all temples in Ptolemaic times had musician-priestesses attached to them called (*hnywt*) or (*šmcywt*), who are said to "rattle the sistrum before them," i.e., before the divinities they served. or to "make music for their kas²."

The same was clearly the case in earlier times as well. From the Fourth Dynasty onwards we meet with the *mrt*, a musician-priestess, whom the temple reliefs depict standing to receive the king, as he approaches a temple, with hand-clapping and welcoming cries of "he comes who brings, he comes who brings," (see Fig. 1)³, or as making music in the presence of divinities⁴. The *mrt* seems to be especially connected with the Sed-festival, and appears thereat in the company of another musician-priestess called the *s'dt*⁵. Her close association with the House of Gold⁶ (the sculptor's workshop), is possibly due to the fact that she played a leading rôle in the above-mentioned festival, which was an occasion for

¹ See, e.g., GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 84, n. 6; *Zeitsch. f. äg. Spr.*, 45, 110, n. 2; MASPERO in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 90; MAX MÜLLER, *The Mythology of All Races* (Egyptian), 191 foll.

² ROCHEMONTAIX, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, 329, 336; BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1358, 1368.

³ MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 30 a; SETHE ap. BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâhu-re*, II, 102; KEES, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, 104 foll.

⁴ KEES, *op. cit.*, 106, 226.

⁵ PETRIE, *Ehnasiya*, Pl. 20.

⁶ KEES, *op. cit.*, 107.

the making of statues and for the performing on them of the rite of Opening the Mouth, this taking place in the House of Gold¹. The division into an Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian *mrt*, which goes back to the Fourth Dynasty², is also probably due to this priestess participating in the Sed-festival, the representations of which are always divided into two halves, an Upper and a Lower Egyptian. Kees is very possibly correct in regarding the *mrt* as "hieroglyphic as it were" for the large body of musician-priestesses that actually participated in the performances depicted schematically in the temple reliefs—"an abstraction of them all³."

In the Middle Kingdom there were certainly musician-priestesses, (*hnywt*), attached to the temple of Osiris at Abydos⁴ and to the temple of Hathor at Cusae⁵. In the New Kingdom there were musician-priestesses, *šmꜥywt* or *hnywt*, of Osiris⁶, Isis⁷, Mut⁸, Hapi⁹, Horus of Anîbeh in Nubia¹⁰, Hathor of Denderah¹¹, the Great Ennead of Karnak¹², Upwawet¹³, and above all of Amenrē¹⁴, whom, judging from surviving monuments, almost every woman who dwelt in or near Thebes during the New Kingdom seems to have served as musician-priestess. Again an inscription of Ramesses II, and also Ramesses III's adaptation of it, speak of the "*great noble ladies of the temple of Ptaḥ and the Hathors of the temple of Atum*," who were evidently musician-priestesses, for they are spoken of as greeting the king (when he visited these temples) with jubilation and the beating of tambourines¹⁴.

An inscription in the great temple of Hathor at Denderah gives five titles of musician-priestesses of that goddess¹⁵. This doubtless means that there were five (chief?) musician-priestesses attached to the temple of Denderah in Ptolemaic times.

The two above-mentioned inscriptions at Edfu record, along with other information about the local cults, the special title assigned to the high-priest of the leading divinity of each of the forty-two nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. Immediately after the high priest's title with its accompanying attribute "*who officiates (ỉr lḥt) for him or her*," i.e., the nome-divinity, mention is made of a female officiant, likewise possessed of a special title which is followed by the attribute "*who rattles the sistrum in front of him or her*." That the title of

¹ SETHE, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, I, 114, line 11; DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, 58; BLACKMAN in *Journal*, v, 155, 159.

² SETHE *ap.* BORCHARDT, *loc. cit.*

³ KEES, *op. cit.*, 105 foll. *Mrt*, it is to be noted, is the title of the high-priestess of Thôth of Hermopolis (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1361), who, along with Horus, is so closely associated with the Pharaoh's ceremonial toilet in the House of the Morning, the temple-vestry (BLACKMAN, *Journal*, v, 156; *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXIX, 44 foll.). Was it as high-priestess, and perhaps therefore as wife, of Thôth (see below, pp. 11 foll.) that the *mrt* received the king on his arrival at a temple? However, in the pyramid-temple of Saḥurē¹⁴ (SETHE *ap.* BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, p. 102) the Upper Egyptian *mrt* seems to be identified with Eileithya (*Nḥbt*) of El-Kâb (*Nḥb*).

⁴ LANGE-SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, I, no. 20126.

⁵ BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, 22 foll., Pl. II; II, 24 foll., Pl. XV.

⁶ MARIETTE, *Cat. général des monuments d'Abydos*, 1174, 1175, 1179, 1187.

⁷ MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, 1189; WRESZINSKI, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, 16.

⁸ MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, 1190.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 1139.

¹⁰ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, III, Pls. 231 b, 232 b.

¹¹ DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, 95.

¹² DAVIES-GARDINER, *loc. cit.*

¹³ WRESZINSKI, *op. cit.*, 42.

¹⁴ DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, I, Pl. VIII, lines 6 foll.; NAVILLE in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VII, Pl. opposite p. 119, lines 5 foll.

¹⁵ DÜMICHEN, *Bau-Urkunden der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, Pl. VIII.

the female officiant should appear side by side with that of the high-priest indicates that she occupied the same position among the women who served in the temple, *i.e.*, the musician-priestesses, as he did among the men, and quite justifies our speaking of her as a high-priestess. However, we have other evidence than this that the female officiant with the special title was head of the musician-priestesses. Her title at Denderah, which according to the Edfu inscription was (*ḥnyt*), "Musician",¹ occupies the first place in the above-mentioned enumeration of musician-priestesses in the Denderah temple. According to our Edfu authority again, her title in the Heliopolitan sun-temple was , which is doubtless to be read *wrt ḥnywt* and translated "Chief of the female musicians".² Lastly her title at Thebes is given as (*dwꜣyt*), "Adorer." Now this Adorer, or Adorer of the God (*dwꜣyt ntr*) as she is more usually designated, who also bore the additional titles of God's Wife, God's Hand³, was, as we know, a high-priestess of Theban Amūn in every sense of the word—finally indeed usurping the title, if not exercising the functions, of Amūn's high-priest.

One would naturally expect the office of high-priestess to have been held as a rule by the wife of the high-priest, and there is some evidence of this having been actually the case.

Pepiḥonkh the Middle⁴, as nomarch of Cusae, was high-priest (*imy-rꜥ ḥmw ntr*) of the leading local divinity Ḥathor. His wife bore the title *ḥnwt nt Ḥthꜣr*⁵, "Musician-priestess of Ḥathor," which, as the oft-quoted Edfu inscription informs us, was the title of the high-priestess of this goddess. Pepiḥonkh's mother, wife of the preceding nomarch and high-priest Sebkḥotpe⁶, also bore that title⁷. According to an inscription on the coffin of Imḥotpe, a Ptolemaic high-priest of this same Ḥathor of Cusae, his mother Tihentet was high-priestess of the goddess. But Imḥotpe's father, Tihentet's husband, had likewise been high-priest of Ḥathor of Cusae, as is shewn by the following words which also occur on the coffin in question:—"The Osiris Dsr ḥꜥ Hr (title of the Cusite high-priest).....*this Imḥotpe the justified, son of a similar person*" (⁸). Again, the Chief of the Concubines of Amūn seems generally to have been the wife of the High-priest of Amūn⁹, occasionally his sister¹⁰ or daughter¹¹. Lastly we read that after having officiated in person, doubtless for political reasons, as high-priest of the ram-god of Mendes—in theory of course the Pharaoh was *ex officio* high-priest of every Egyptian divinity¹², the acting high-priest being

¹ ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, I, 339.

² See SETHE in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 55, 67.

³ The God's Hand is identical with the God's Wife. To describe her as "below the 'God's Wife' in rank, but above the chief concubine," as I have done in my article *Priest, Priesthood* (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 297^a, is a mistake, which I take this opportunity of rectifying (see also below, p. 13).

⁴ See BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, 6, 10.

⁵ KAMAL in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, xv, 214, 238.

⁶ BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, I, 9.

⁷ KAMAL, *op. cit.*, xv, 214, where, according to my note-book, we should read *rḥt nswt*

⁸ KAMAL, *op. cit.*, xv, 202.

⁹ WRESZINSKI, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, 10, 12, 22, 28.

¹⁰ WRESZINSKI, *op. cit.*, 12, 19.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 11, 36. See also under *Thesen* on last page of WRESZINSKI's work.

¹² See the writer's article *Priest, Priesthood* (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 293 foll.

his delegate—Ptolemy II made his sacerdotal relations with the god complete by assigning to his wife, queen Arsinoë, the title *Wd̄-b̄f*, that of the high-priestess of this sacred ram¹.

The high-priestess seems not merely to have been the head of the musician-priestesses; in some temples, as her respective titles indicate, she bore a very close relationship to the presiding divinity. At Elephantine the high-priestess was entitled Satet², that is she was identified with, or impersonated, the goddess Satet the wife of Khnum, the god of the locality.

Horus, as is well known, was the king *par excellence*, every Pharaoh being regarded as his embodiment. The high-priestess of Horus of Edfu was entitled (hryt nst), "She who is upon the throne³." This suggests that she was regarded as the wife of the god, the sharer of his throne in his capacity of king, being of course identified with H̄athor, the consort of Horus of Edfu.

The high-priestess of Horus of Hierakonpolis, the capital of the twelfth Upper Egyptian nome, was entitled (hbst) "Wife⁴," i.e., wife of Horus, probably again being identified with H̄athor.

The high-priestess of Horus of Athribis in Lower Egypt was entitled (hwyt), "Protectress⁵," which is also the name of the local H̄athor⁶, the consort of Horus the chief local god⁷. Thus as in the preceding instances the high-priestess filled the rôle of the god's wife.

The relationship of his high-priestess with the Letopolite Haroëris was not that of wife but of mother, she being entitled "Mother of the god⁸," and again identified with H̄athor⁹.

At City of Apis, the capital of the Western or third Lower Egyptian nome, the chief divinity was H̄athor. Her high-priestess bore the title (snkyt), "She who gives suck¹⁰," i.e., she was identified with the goddess H̄athor, who either in human or bovine form, is so often depicted suckling the Pharaoh¹¹ (see Fig. 2), thereby imparting to him life, stability, and good fortune¹².

The outstanding instance of the high-priestess being the wife of the god is of course that of the high-priestess of the Theban Amūn, who bore as her title that of God's Wife, with the additional ones of Adorer of the God, Hand of the God¹³.

Fig. 2. H̄athor suckles Sethos I (after MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 25).

¹ BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, 630, 663.

² ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ See MÖLLER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 55, 95 foll.

⁵ ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, I, 332.

⁶ BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1392; BUDGE, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 432.

⁷ BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, 637.

⁸ ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, I, 330.

⁹ BUDGE, *op. cit.*, I, 467.

¹⁰ ROCHEMONTEIX, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ E.g., NAVILLE, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV, Pls. CIV foll.; MORET, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, 65, Fig. 10.

¹² See, e.g., SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 239, lines 9, 13, and 240, line 2.

¹³ ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 72; *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 296; BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 521, 942 foll., 958 c; LEGRAIN-NAVILLE, *L'Aile nord du pylône d'Aménophis III*, Pl. XI B.

In all the instances I have been able to cite of the high-priestess being regarded as the God's Wife, she has held that position owing to her identification with, or impersonation of, a goddess, who, with the exception, it would seem, of the goddess at Elephantine, was almost certainly Ḥathor. But this exception is probably only an apparent one, for certainly in the time of Ramesses II Satef was identified with Ḥathor¹. In quite early times Satis was brought into the myth about the sun-god's eye², and would thus have been associated with Ḥathor. She would surely, too, have been identified with Ḥathor in her capacity of Mistress of Heaven³, a position she naturally assumed on the ground of the identification of her consort Khnum with the Heliopolitan sun-god⁴.

We should expect, therefore, to find that at Thebes also the God's Wife was identified with a goddess, that goddess, moreover, being Ḥathor, and this, it would appear, is actually the case.

The earliest known instance of the wife of a Theban Pharaoh being assigned the title of God's Wife is that of Iahhotpe, the mother of Amosis I the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty⁵. The two earliest occurrences of the title Hand of the God, as applied to the queen, date from the time of Ḥatshepsut and Amenophis II⁶. In an inscription dating from the reign of Tuthmosis III both these titles are assigned to Ḥathor mistress of Ḥtpt⁷, that is the Heliopolitan Ḥathor the wife of the Heliopolitan sun-god.

Heliopolis, as, adopting Sethe's conclusions, I have maintained in previous articles in this *Journal*⁸, was at one time the political centre of predynastic Egypt. The predynastic king of Heliopolis was high-priest of the sun-god and was also regarded as his embodiment—Horus. The Heliopolitan queen, as wife of the sun-god's high-priest, would have acted as the sun-god's high-priestess⁹, and would also surely have been identified with the goddess Ḥathor the sun-god's wife, both in her capacity of high-priestess and also in that of wife of the embodiment of the sun-god.

Owing to the immense influence exercised by Heliopolis upon Egyptian theology and ideas in general, the king, even when Heliopolis ceased to be the political centre of Egypt, was still regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god,—a view that was naturally strongly maintained during the Third to Sixth Dynasties when the seat of government was fixed close to Heliopolis at Memphis.

The political ascendancy of the Heliopolitan sun-god induced his priests to identify a number of the local gods of Egypt with him. This would especially have happened when what was once a provincial town became the seat of government, as did Herakleopolis at the beginning of the Ninth, and Thebes at the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty.

Thus when Thebes became the capital of Egypt the local god Amūn became Amenrē. The Theban Pharaoh was of course Horus, the embodiment of the Heliopolitan sun-god,

¹ BRUGSCH, *Ägyptologie*, 289.

² SETHE, *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war*, 7.

³ ROEDER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* 45, 26 [3]; see also BUDGE, *op. cit.*, II, 55.

⁴ ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 57.

⁵ SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 29.

⁶ LEGRAIN-NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 62 b, respectively. See ERMAN in *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916, XLV, 1145.

⁷ ERMAN, *loc. cit.*

⁸ See V, 117 foll., 153 foll.; see also *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 57 foll., 85 foll.; *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXIX, 44 foll.

⁹ See above, p. 10.

while the Theban queen stood in the same relation to the sun-god as did the wives of the ancient Heliopolitan or Memphite rulers, being designated Adorer of the God, Wife of the God, Hand of the God, that is of the Heliopolitan sun-god. But as Amūn was identified with the sun-god, she was now regarded as Amūn's wife, *e.g.* queen Iahhotpe was designated God's Wife of Amūn¹.

This theory as to how the Theban Pharaoh's wife came to be regarded as the wife of Amūn is based upon the fact that the titles God's Wife, God's Hand, are, as Erman has recently shewn², frequently assigned to the Heliopolitan Ḥathor, while there is only one instance, and that Ptolemaic, of Mut, the actual consort of Amūn, appearing in this rôle—where also she is identified with Ḥathor of Heliopolis, being designated Mistress of *Htpt*³.

Unfortunately this theory, though a highly probable one, cannot be proved by evidence derived from temple reliefs and inscriptions of Old and pre-Middle Kingdom date from Heliopolis and Herakleopolis, or of Middle Kingdom date from Thebes,—such material being either non-existent or at the most very scarce.

We have evidence, however, for the Solarization of the Herakleopolitan cult of the ram-god Ḥarshef, which process doubtless dates from the time of the Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. One of the two pools attached to the temple of Ḥarshef was definitely connected with the sun-god⁴. Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, Introduction, line 21, places the Phoenix in Herakleopolis. Ḥarshef himself is addressed by one of his priests as "*Khnemrē, king of the Two Lands,.....whose right eye is the sun and whose left eye is the moon*"⁵, or as "*Ḥarakhti the Lord of All,.....Atum in the nome of the Nṣr-tree*"⁶.

The Hand of the God as a title of the God's Wife is clearly of Heliopolitan origin, it being the sun-god's hand that is said to have given birth to Shu and Tefēnet, his first-born children. Thus we hear of "*the hand of Atum, which gave birth to Shu and Tefēnet*," "*the god's hand.....the mother of Shu and Tefēnet*"⁷. Furthermore a passage in the *Pyramid Texts* explicitly asserts that this marvellous occurrence took place in Heliopolis⁸.

The title *dwꜣt ntr* "Adorer of the God" is also suggestive of a Heliopolitan origin. As I have pointed out in a previous article in the *Journal*⁹, *dwꜣ* "to adore" may be connected with *dwꜣ* "to do something in the morning," "arise early," and I have there suggested that the verb *dwꜣ* "to adore" may have originally meant "adore in the morning," and have come into use because it was his priests' custom to adore the sun-god at dawn. I pointed out, too, that hymns to the sun-god are commonly prefixed by the words *dwꜣ Rꜥ*, "Adoration of Rē." It should be noted that when the priest had opened the doors of the shrine, preliminarily to performing the god's toilet, he was directed by the temple service-book to make a fourfold "adoration of the god"¹⁰, this adoration, according to one formula¹¹, actually

¹ SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 29.

² *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916, XLV, 1145 foll.

³ *Ibid.*, 1146.

⁴ See BLACKMAN in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 88 foll.; *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXIX, 75, n. 8.

⁵ SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 2 foll.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 5.

⁷ ERMAN, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 5, 8, and BRUGSCH, *Drei Festkalender*, Pl. V, II, line 11, respectively, both passages being cited by ERMAN in *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916, XLV, 1145. See also BLACKMAN in *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXIX, 71, n. 4, and 75.

⁸ SETHE, *Altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, § 1248.

⁹ v, 154.

¹⁰ See BLACKMAN in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918-1919, 34, 40, 52.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 49, Karnak Liturgy, episode VII, formula e.

taking place at dawn. It should also be stated in this connection that the sanctuary or naos, in which the cultus-statue of a divinity (originally of course of the sun-god) was kept, was not infrequently designated "heaven" or "the horizon¹." Thus the revealing of the god's image on opening the doors of his naos was equated with the rising of the sun-god at dawn.

Briefly to sum up the evidence that the God's Wife was in the first instance a Solar institution. As has already been shewn on pp. 11 foll., the high-priestess in several temples fills the rôle of wife of the god to whom the particular temple is dedicated. As such she is almost certainly in every case identified with Ḥathor the wife of the Heliopolitan sun-god, the god himself being either Horus, the sun-god, or else having been identified with the sun-god by his priests. At Thebes the queen was the earthly wife of the Solarized Amūn, and as such bore the titles, not of Mut, who was Amūn's wife in his pre-Solar capacity of local god of Thebes, but those of the Heliopolitan Ḥathor, the wife of the sun-god with whom Amūn was identified in his capacity of state god.

The goddess Ḥathor was especially connected with music and dancing, and the performances of musician-priestesses were a notable feature in her cult. The musical instrument particularly associated with Ḥathor was of course the sistrum². Her priestesses also wore a special bead-necklace named *mnit*, furnished with two metal counterpoises which hung down the back³.

These musician-priestesses, when dancing and rattling their sistra in her worship, consciously impersonated the goddess—those attached to the temple of Atum at Heliopolis being actually called Ḥathors⁴. During their performances they held out their sistra and bead-necklaces for their onlookers to touch, so imparting to them the blessing of the goddess—long life, prosperity, stability, health, and happiness⁵. The worshippers of Ḥathor were not merely brought into contact with her in the persons of her priestesses, but she was regarded as actually immanent also in her emblems, the sistra and bead-necklaces. Ḥathor, indeed, is not merely "Possessor of the *mnit*," but is herself the *mnit*⁶.

Owing to Ḥathor being assigned to the Heliopolitan sun-god as his consort, musician-priestesses were attached to the Heliopolitan sun-temple and their dancing and sistrum-playing thus became a feature of the sun-cult. This is shewn both by the title of the Heliopolitan high-priestess, as given in one of the two oft-quoted Edfu inscriptions, , "Chief of the Musicians⁷," and by the passage just referred to from the inscription of Ramesses II, which speaks of "*the Ḥathors of the temple of Atum*" being in festival, their hearts rejoicing, their hands holding tambourines, and of how they cry out for joy when they see the Pharaoh's beautiful form. Thus not only was the high-priestess of the sun-god identified with Ḥathor, but the musician-priestesses over whom she presided were designated Ḥathors also⁸.

¹ *E.g.*, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 159.

² See the article on sistra by N. DE G. DAVIES in this *Journal*, VI, 69 foll.

³ GARDINER, *Notes on the story of Sinuhe*, 100 foll.; BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, II, 37.

⁴ *I.e.*, in the passage from the inscription of Ramesses II quoted above on p. 9.

⁵ BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, I, 22 foll.; II, 24.

⁶ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, II, 76, 80.

⁷ See SETHE in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 55, 67; BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, 1368.

⁸ See also the inscription at Denderah (cited below, p. 23) which explicitly identifies with Ḥathor four of the five musician-priestesses therein enumerated.

I have already spoken in this article of the influence of Heliopolis upon the religious conceptions and usages of the rest of Egypt, and have also pointed out that for political reasons a number of provincial gods were identified by their priests with the sun-god. As a consequence, the worship of these gods, as also, indeed, the worship, as we know it, of all Egyptian divinities, was more or less a replica of the cult of the Heliopolitan Rē-Atum. The sistrum-shaking musician-priestesses, who were to be found in every temple, were surely, in view of the information set forth above, no less taken over from the sun-cult than were the temple-liturgy itself¹, the rite of the House of the Morning², the four "watches" (*sṯw*) or phylae of priests³, and cult-accessories such as the sacred pool⁴, boat-shrines⁵, and obelisks⁶.

Amenrē not only possessed a human wife but also a number of human concubines⁷ (*hnrtwt*, *hnywt*). At their head was a woman entitled Chief of the Concubines, who seems generally to have been the wife of the high-priest or else his sister or daughter⁸. Occasionally, as Wreszinski points out on the last page of his *Hohenpriester des Amon*, there may have been more than one Chief of the Concubines holding office simultaneously¹⁰.

The great temple at Luxor was possibly the headquarters of these concubines, its name being "Southern *Ḥarīm* of Amūn¹¹." It should here be noted that in the well-known inscription of Ibe mention is made of "his (*Amun's*) *ḥarīm* of his concubines¹²."

The generally accepted view is that the concubines (*hnrtwt*) of Amūn were no other than his musician-priestesses¹³, a view which finds some support in the fact that the last-named are definitely stated to have been attached to the house of the God's Wife¹⁴, and also in the fact that the wife of two high-priests of Amūn, instead of her ordinary title "Chief of the Concubines," bears in the one case that of "*hnywt*-musician of Amūn¹⁵," and in the other that of "*šmcyt*-musician of Amūn¹⁶." Moreover we know of

¹ BLACKMAN, *Journal*, v, 162 foll.; *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxix, 44 foll.; *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918-1919, 30.

² *Journal*, v, 148.

³ The four "watches" or phylae of priests bear the names of the four quarters of a ship. These names are assigned to the four watches into which the crew of the sun-god's heavenly ship are divided (SETHE in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* 54, p. 3, n. 5). It was evidently the sun-god's priests who were originally divided into four watches bearing these names, the sun-god being thought to traverse the sky in a ship and his priests, therefore, being regarded as his crew.

⁴ BLACKMAN, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xl, 88.

⁵ BLACKMAN, *Journal*, v, 156 with n. 8.

⁶ The obelisk, or rather its pyramidion at the top, being a replica of the sacred *bntn*-stone in the Heliopolitan sun-temple.

⁷ ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 295 foll.; *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 72.

⁸ See ERMAN, *Ägyptisches Glossar*, 95.

⁹ See above, p. 10 with notes 9, 10.

¹⁰ See, e.g., § 14 of that work.

¹¹ SETHE, *Urkunden*, iv, 409; see also GARDINER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 45, p. 127, n. 2.

¹² DARESSY in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 96.

¹³ ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 295 foll.; *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 72.

¹⁴ *Papyrus Abbott*, 3, 17 = BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, iv, § 521; see also ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, loc. cit.

¹⁵ WRESZINSKI, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, 9.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 37.

Now the god Iunmutef, frequently impersonated by a human officiant, was a form of Horus and closely connected with the kingship from remote times¹, *e.g.*, it is he who is always depicted burning incense in front of the king in the procession to the House of the Morning. He has also connections with Heliopolis other than his association with the early kingship and his identification with Horus. Chapter 172 of the *Book of the Dead* places him in the Heliopolitan sun-temple and asserts that he is there seen supporting Rē^c upon his head—that is he was, as his name implies, one of the supports of his mother the celestial cow-goddess, across whose belly sailed the sun in his ship².

That an essentially non-Theban god should be assigned earthly concubines before the time of the Middle Kingdom suggests that they were not primarily a Theban institution. That the god in question should be so closely connected with Heliopolis and the sun-cult suggests that they were a Heliopolitan institution. With this agrees the form of the title, which, as pointed out three paragraphs back, is distinctly early.

To return to the God's Wife. From the Fifth Dynasty onwards, or, as the writer maintains, from the period in the predynastic age when Heliopolis was the seat of government, the king was regarded as the physical son of the sun-god—"son of Rē^c of his body³." According to the well-known series of scenes and inscriptions in the temple of Hatshepsut at Dêr el-Bahri and of Amenophis III at Luxor, Amūn, identified with the Heliopolitan sun-god, incorporated himself in the reigning Pharaoh, had intercourse with the queen, and so begat the heir to the throne. The queen was thus the God's Wife in every sense of the word.

The account of this wondrous happening as given by the priestly scribes of the New Kingdom is as follows:—"This august god Amūn, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (*i.e.* Karnak) came, when he had made his mode of being (hpr'f) the majesty of this her husband, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Okheperkerē^c. They (*i.e.* the combination of god and king) found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She awoke because of the savour of the god, and she laughed in the presence of his majesty. He came to her straightway. He was ardent for her. He gave his heart unto her. He let her see him in his form of a god, after he came before her. She rejoiced at beholding his beauty, his love it went through her body. The palace was flooded with the savour of the god, all his odours were as (those of) Punt. Then the majesty of this god did all he desired with her. She let him rejoice over her. She kissed him.....⁴"

There is a most remarkable fayence statuette in the Cairo museum representing the God's Wife, Amenirdis I, sitting on the lap of her divine lover Amūn, their arms being flung round one another in close embrace. Such *abandon* is entirely unexpected in Egyptian art of this period, indeed, as Legrain asserts, it finds no parallel in all Egyptian art outside the productions of certain of the artists and sculptors attached to the court of Akhenaten at El-Amarna. Legrain gives a very appreciative description of this statuette in *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxi, 139 foll., and publishes two excellent photographs of the same in his *Statues de rois et de particuliers* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), III, Pl. VII.

¹ See the writer's article *Priest, Priesthood* (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 295.

² BLACKMAN in *Journal*, v, 122.

³ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, III, Pls. 4 e, 5 d, and *passim*.

⁴ SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 219 foll.

The temple of Luxor, as already pointed out, was called the Southern *Harim* of Amūn. Was the union of the god with the queen supposed to take place therein? If so that would account for the scenes of the begetting and birth of the Pharaoh being depicted on the walls of one of the rooms of the temple. We should thus also have an early parallel or prototype for the birth-chapel adjoining temples of the Ptolemaic age, the chapel in which ceremonies were performed celebrating both the confinement of the goddess, the wife of the god to whom the temple was dedicated, and also her giving birth to a son, the third person of the divine triad¹.

As we have seen, the first actually recorded God's Wife is Iahhotpe, the mother of Amōsis I (see above, p. 12) and the wife of Kemōse, the last king of the Seventeenth Dynasty². Occasionally, as apparently in the case of the Chief of the Concubines of Amūn, there seem to have been two simultaneous holders of the title God's Wife, *i.e.* Ḥatshepsut and her little daughter Nefrurē both bore the title³.

After the fall of the Twentieth Dynasty about the year 1090 B.C., Thebes became a more or less independent principality under the rule of the high-priests of Amūn. But from the reign of Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty, about 720 B.C., to that of Psammetikhos III of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, about 525 B.C., Thebes was ruled, not by the high-priests, but by a succession of five God's Wives. The God's Wife was now no longer the wife of the Pharaoh; a princess of the reigning house was assigned the title and had to adopt a daughter to succeed her.

The first of these sacerdotal princesses of Thebes was Shepenupet, Osorkon III's daughter. When the Nubian king Pi'onkhi⁴ became Pharaoh he compelled her to adopt as her daughter his sister-in-law⁵ Amenirdis⁶, the daughter of Kashta, and this Amenirdis in her turn adopted Shepenupet II⁷, Pi'onkhi's daughter and her (Amenirdis') niece. Shepenupet II first adopted Taharka's daughter, Amenirdis II, but, nine years after his accession, Psammetikhos I made her adopt his daughter Nitokris, who later on adopted Enkhnesneferibrē⁸ the daughter of Psammetikhos II⁹. There were thus five, not six, successive sacerdotal princesses of Thebes, for Shepenupet II was not dead at the installation of Nitokris and so Amenirdis II never held office.

The adopted daughter was called "the Great Daughter⁹," but Nitokris, because she in reality supplanted Shepenupet II, her adoption as daughter being merely a political expedient, was straight away styled God's Wife, Adorer of the God¹⁰. Enkhnesneferibrē on the other hand did not receive the title God's Wife, Adorer of the God, till Nitokris her mother by adoption was dead¹¹.

¹ See CHASSINAT in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, x, 191 foll.

² BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, II, § 33.

³ SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 396, 406.

⁴ For this vocalization see MÖLLER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 56, 77.

⁵ Mr Griffith informs me that Pi'onkhi married a daughter of Kashta. He was therefore the brother-in-law of Amenirdis.

⁶ For a statue of Amenirdis see LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, III, 6 foll., Pl. VI.

⁷ For a statue of Shepenupet II, see LEGRAIN, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. VIII.

⁸ BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 477 foll., 503 foll.; ERMAN in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 35, 28 foll.

⁹ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, IV, §§ 942, 946.

¹⁰ DARESSY in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 95; BREASTED, *op. cit.*, IV, § 958 c; see also § 942.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, § 988 H.

While Thebes was governed by these sacerdotal princesses, the high-priest of Amūn, e.g. Harkhab who held that office in the time of Shepenupet II and Nitokris, played a very minor political rôle. He seems, indeed, to have been nothing but a religious figure-head, all real power being in the hands of individuals of minor sacerdotal importance such as Mentemhēt¹, who, though only fourth prophet of Amūn, was Bâsha of Thebes and Governor of the whole South². Ibe, the chief steward of Nitokris, must also have carried considerable political weight³. Finally, on the occasion of her adoption by the God's Wife Nitokris, the first prophetship of Amūn was bestowed upon 'Enkhnesneferibrē⁴.

It must have been to these God's Wives, or rather to their less exalted successors during the Persian domination, that Herodotus referred when he spoke of the woman who "*lies in the temple of Theban Zeus*." The whole passage in question is as follows: "*And in the uppermost tower (he is speaking of the tower with diminishing stories in the precincts of Zeus Bēlos at Babylon) there is a large sanctuary, and in this sanctuary is set a large couch well upholstered, and beside it stands a golden table. No statue whatever is set up there, nor does any man pass the night there; but a woman only, one of the natives, whomever the god may choose out of all—as the Chaldaeans who are the priests of this god tell one. And these same say, although I credit them not, that the god himself comes to the temple and reclines on the couch, just as the Egyptians say is the case in Egyptian Thebes. For there too a woman lies in the temple of Theban Zeus. Now both these women are said to have no intercourse with any man*".

Legrain⁵ points out the discrepancy between what Herodotus tells us about the earthly consort of Amūn and the following statement of Strabo: τῷ δὲ Δίῳ, ὃν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐεδουστὰτή καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱερᾶται, ἣς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παλλακᾶς⁷. αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γένηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδεται πρὸς ἄνδρα· πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἄγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακείας καιρόν. "*As for Zeus, whom they especially revere, a maiden of exquisite beauty and most illustrious family serves him as priestess, (one of those maidens) whom the Greeks designate concubines. She acts as concubine to, and has intercourse with, whom she will, until her (first) menstrual purgation takes place. After the purgation she is given to a man in marriage. But before she is so given, mourning is made for her after the season of concubinage has expired*".

As Legrain observes, the God's Wife, according to Herodotus, had nothing to do with any man, while Strabo says she might pick up with any man she fancied down to the time of her first menstrual purgation, which in the case of girls of the Thebaid would, Legrain says, occur at the age of nine. But the sacerdotal princesses seem to have held office to an advanced age, unless they happened to be supplanted. Nitokris was installed as Wife of the God in the ninth year of Psammetikhos I and did not die till the fourth year of Apries⁸, when she had been sacerdotal princess for sixty-three years. 'Enkhnesneferibrē⁹ held office into the reign of Psammetikhos III, when she was at least eighty years old¹⁰.

¹ *Op. cit.*, § 937; MASPERO in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 90.

² ERMAN, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 35, 18, lines 20 foll.; BREASTED, *op. cit.*, iv, § 949.

³ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, iv, §§ 958 A foll.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, iv, § 988 D; MASPERO, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, viii, 306 foll.

⁵ HERODOTUS, Book I, §§ 181 foll.

⁶ *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxi, 140 foll.

⁷ MSS. παλλαδάς.

⁸ STRABO, *Geographica* (ed. G. Kramer, Berlin 1852), book xvii, § 46.

⁹ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, iv, §§ 938, 944, 988 G.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, § 988 B.

Accordingly Legrain tries to reconcile the conflicting accounts of the two classical authors in the following way. He suggests that when Herodotus visited Egypt, *circa* 484–425 B.C., the women consecrated to Theban Amūn lived just as he relates; but that when Strabo went to Thebes four hundred years or more later in the reign of Augustus, he actually did find a woman who might be described as a *παλλακή* installed as Wife of the God, and discharging that office in a very different manner from that in which it was discharged by the great sacerdotal princesses of Thebes—Shepenupet, Amenirdis, Nitokris, and Enkhnesneferibrē. “Should we,” asks Legrain, “see in this change of conduct a normal decline of the Theban religion, which was just at the point of expiring, or rather the consequences of the deliberate policy of the Ptolemies, who, as much as they could, strove to annihilate the once formidable power of the Theban clergy, and to discredit their cult by letting it wallow in the depravity of the cults of Syria?”

To come to the point raised at the beginning of the paper. What actually were the functions of these Egyptian priestesses, and could they exercise the priestly office for a divinity?

The chief functions of the God's Wife at Thebes, as also of the other high-priestesses, were, it would seem, to rattle the sistrum and to sing in honour of the divinity or divinities during the performance of the temple services. As we have already seen, the special designation of each of the high-priestesses in the two Edfu inscriptions is followed by the attribute “*playing with the sistrum before him or her.*” The God's Wife Enkhnesneferibrē is said to be “*pure-handed when holding the sistrum*” and to “*content Amūn with her voice*¹”; she is also spoken of as “*carrying flowers in the temple*².” The word *ihyt*, the title of the high-priestess of Amūn of Napata, is determined with a woman rattling a sistrum, thus indicating what was considered to be a characteristic duty of this officiant. The temple-reliefs constantly depict the queen, in the capacity of high-priestess, shaking a sistrum while the king, in the capacity of high-priest, burns incense or pours out a libation before a divinity³. Similarly Ani's wife accompanies his hymn of praise to Osiris, by rattling her sistrum⁴. The royal daughters likewise rattle their sistra while king Akhenaten and his queen make offering to or worship the solar disk⁵.

One of those, unhappily very rare, detailed representations of episodes in the temple liturgy, *viz.*, a relief in the temple at Luxor⁶, depicts the king and the high-priestess of Amenrē bringing up the rear of a procession of priests who are carrying boxes of clothing, wherein, doubtless, the god's cultus-image is to be arrayed. The king holds out the *hrp*- or *ḥb*-bâton and is said to be “*extending the arm four times,*” *i.e.* he is consecrating⁷ the clothing. He clearly, however, forms part of the procession, for between him and the high-priestess are the words “*Bringing Clothing,*” (*hrp mnht*). We must here have, pictorially combined in one, what were really two distinct actions, namely a procession of priests (at the tail end of which walked the king and high-priestess), conveying the clothing into the sanctuary, and the consecration of that clothing by the king, the high-priestess' part in the proceedings being either to sing a hymn or chant a formula (see next paragraph).

¹ MASPERO, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, VIII, 309 = *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 92.

² MASPERO, *op. cit.*, VIII, 301 = *Annales du Service*, v, 85.

³ MASPERO, *Dawn of Civilization*, ed. 1894, p. 272.

⁴ BUDGE, *Book of the Dead*, Translation, Pl. VI, facing p. lxi.

⁵ DAVIES, *El Amarna*, II, Pls. V, VII, VIII; v, Pls. III, XXXIII.

⁶ GAYET, *Temple de Louxor*, Pl. LI, Fig. 104. ⁷ See KEES, *Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, 59.

In another similarly detailed relief in the same temple the high-priestess of Amen-rē^c is shewn standing behind a male officiant¹—a *Sem* or Pillar-of-his-Mother—who is engaged in summoning² Amūn and the cotemplar divinities to their repast with the words: “*Come to your bread, to your roast meat of the evening meal, which your son Amenophis.....has given you.*” The high-priestess’ right hand is raised in adoration, palm outwards, and she is doubtless supposed to be chanting, simultaneously with the priest, the formula of summoning the divinities (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. (After GAYET, *Temple de Louxor*, Pl. XXXV, Fig. 138).

The high-priestess would of course have been assisted in the execution of her musical performances by the musician-priestesses (*šmꜥywt* or *hnywt*), who at Thebes, as we have already learnt, are definitely stated to have been attached to the house of the God’s Wife, and with whom, at Thebes and elsewhere, the concubines (*hnrwt*) are probably to be identified. Thus the Decree of Canopus directs that Berenike be “*adored by the musician-priestesses* (*šmꜥywt*) *chosen to serve the gods, being crowned with the diadems of the gods in whose service they officiate*”³. A relief in one of the tomb-chapels at Meir depicts a festival of Ḥathor in process of being celebrated. The *ihwey*-priests click their castanets and the musician-priestesses shake their sistra in company with, not in this case Ḥathor’s high-priestess, but high-priest, who himself holds a large and elaborately formed sistrum⁴. A relief at Karnak depicts a band of male and female musicians taking part in a religious celebration, apparently a procession. First in order come three musician-priestesses (*šmꜥywt*) singing and clapping their hands. Next to them are three musician-priests (*šmꜥyw*) wearing close-fitting skull-caps and short kilts, and likewise singing and clapping their hands. A number of *wēeb*-priests and prophets (*wēeb* *sic*), with the right hand held before the face and the left hanging at the side, bring up the rear⁵. It might here be noted that, in addition to musician-priestesses, the Decree of Canopus speaks of choirs of male and female musicians (*šmꜥywt* *šmꜥyw*), by whom Berenike was hymned daily and also on the occasion of festivals and processions. The hymns used on these occasions were composed by the hierogrammateis of the House of Life and handed over to the choir-master, a copy of them being entered in the books of the House of Life⁶.

The rattling of the sistrum was supposed to keep at a distance what was evil or inimical to the gods. Thus we read: “*I dispel what is hostile by means of the sistrum in my hand*”⁷. The king heads the procession of priests carrying divinities, sacred emblems, etc. up to the roof of the temple of Denderah on New-Year’s morning. Beside the king walks the queen, rattling two sistra. An accompanying text represents her as saying: “*I have taken the sšš-sistrum, I grasp the šhm-sistrum, and drive away him who is hostile to the Mistress of Heaven*”⁸. Again the little Ḥarsamtōwi, as he rattles his sistrum in front of his mother

¹ GAYET, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXV, fig. 138.

² See MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, Pls. 40 a, 51 b.

³ SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 151.

⁴ BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, II, Pl. XV.

⁵ MASPERO, *Études de mythologie et d’archéologie*, VIII, 353 = *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXII, 88.

⁶ SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, 151 foll.

⁷ BRUGSCH, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, 1649.

⁸ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, IV, Pl. 18.

Ḥathor, exclaims: “*I drive away what is hostile every day without ceasing*¹.” Completely consonant with this conception is the statement of Plutarch: τὸν γὰρ Τυφῶνά φασι τοῖς σείστροις ἀποτρέπειν καὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι, “*For they say they repel and beat off Typhon with sistra*².”

In the New Kingdom women of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were attached as musician-priestesses to some temple or other. Kerōme, the daughter of king Takelōt II, served as a musician-priestess in the temple of Amūn at Karnak³, and so too did the daughter of a high-priest of that god⁴, the wife of a *Sem*-priest of Sokar at Thebes⁵, the sister of a high-priest of Mont who was both daughter-in-law of a high-priest of Amūn, and also sister-in-law of a high-priest of Amūn and of a Viceroy of Nubia⁶.

Tekha⁷, the wife of Pennē the administrator of Anībah, is entitled “*musician-priestess* (šmꜣyt) *of Horus lord of Anībah*,” i.e., she rattled the sistrum and danced and sang in the local temple⁷. The same lady is also designated “*musician-priestess of Amūn*,” which, if not purely an honorific title, probably means that there was a temple of Amūn at Anībah. All the female relatives, or wives of relatives, depicted in Lepsius’ *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, III, Pl. 230, are musician-priestesses, and of the four wives of relatives shewn on Pl. 231 *b* of the same volume of that work, two are musician-priestesses of Amūn and the other two musician-priestesses of Horus of Anībah.

A woman, apparently unmarried, and of no particular standing, was a musician-priestess of Osiris⁸, as were also two wives of weavers⁹. A superintendent of craftsmen had five daughters who were musician-priestesses of Amūn¹⁰. Such, too, was the wife of a shoemaker¹¹.

Dr Gardiner¹², discussing a scene in the tomb-chapel of Amenemḥēt, paints a very pleasant picture of the doings of Ḥathor’s priestesses on the occasion of her festival, which was observed all over Egypt on the first day of the fourth winter month. There would probably have been a special celebration in every temple followed by a procession through the town, after which the musician-priestesses, who, as we have seen, were closely associated with Ḥathor, would have paraded the streets, stopping at one house after another in order to bestow the goddess’ blessing on the inmates. As they danced and sang they held out to their audience—perhaps that they might touch them—the emblems of Ḥathor, the sistra and the *mnit*-necklaces, which bestowed life, stability, health, and happiness. The above-mentioned scene in the tomb-chapel of Amenemḥēt depicts such a performance taking place in a private house. The officiants are the musician-priestesses (*hnywt*) of Amūn of Karnak, of the Ennead which is in Karnak, of Ḥathor mistress of Denderah, and the *ihwey*-priests of Ḥathor mistress of Denderah. Evidently, owing to the proximity of the one city to the other, actual priests and priestesses from Ḥathor’s temple at Denderah came to Thebes for the celebration of the goddess’ festival there,—sure that considerable gains would accrue to them from their performances in the thronged streets of the immensely wealthy capital of Imperial Egypt.

The functions of Egyptian priestesses, so far as we have discussed them, might well be

¹ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, I, Pl. 68.

² *De Iside et Osiride*, chapter 63.

³ BREASTED, *Records*, IV, § 755.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, § 641.

⁵ LIEBLEIN, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, no. 905.

⁶ LIEBLEIN, *ibid.*

⁷ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 232 *b*.

⁸ MARIETTE, *Catalogue d'Abydos*, no. 1179.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, nos. 1175, 1187.

¹⁰ LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, no. 944.

¹¹ MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, no. 1174.

¹² DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemḥēt*, 94 foll.

said to be of secondary importance, consisting merely in singing the praises of divinities,—perhaps chanting offering-formulae as well—playing on musical instruments, and dancing. Herodotus, therefore, would seem to be justified in asserting that no woman exercised the priestly office.

But their functions, even if purely musical, were far from being as unimportant as might appear at first sight. The musician-priestesses impersonated a goddess, namely Ḥathor, and in that capacity were able, as we have seen, to confer divine favours and graces on that divinity's devotees. To such an extent was this impersonation carried that the priestesses in the sun-temple at Heliopolis were actually spoken of as Ḥathors¹. Thus a number of musician-priestesses, in the guise of Ḥathors, are occasionally depicted beating tambourines while the priest-king makes an offering². One out of seven such Ḥathors is reproduced as

Fig. 4. A musician-priestess in the guise of Ḥathor (after MARIETTE, *Denderah*, III, Pl. 59).

Fig. 5. Ḥathor as a mn̄t (after MARIETTE, *Denderah*, II, Pl. 80).

Fig. 4. Moreover out of five titles of musician-priestesses recorded at Denderah, three are clearly designations of Ḥathor herself. These three titles are: “*Great Mn̄t-necklace, mistress of the sšš- and šm-sistra*”; “*Divine Mn̄t-necklace, royal wife, Isis*”; “*She who unites with the red cloth, she who is upon her throne*”³. With regard to the first and second titles, Ḥathor, as has already been pointed out on p. 14, was entitled , “the Mn̄t-necklace,” and was indeed actually visualized and depicted in that form (see Fig. 5)⁴. It is hardly necessary to comment on the mention of Isis in the second title, she and Ḥathor being regularly identified with one another, especially in the late period. As for the third title, the goddess with whom the ceremonial red cloth (īns) is usually identified is Uto “the eye of Rē”⁵. But

¹ See above pp. 9 and 14.

² LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, IV, Pl. 26 ; MARIETTE, *Denderah*, III, Pl. 59 ; see also WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, I, 465.

³ DÜMICHEN, *Bau-Urkunden der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, Pl. VIII.

⁴ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, II, Pl. 80. ⁵ MORET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, 185.

Ḥathor is also the eye of Rēʿ, and Uto and Ḥathor are constantly identified with one another¹. For an example of the actual association of the red cloth with Ḥathor see ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, I, 57, where she is designated "*Mistress of the red cloth*."

Again, we have seen that in several temples the high-priestess was identified with the wife or mother of the god to whom the temple was dedicated, the goddess being in every case a form of Ḥathor. Such a rôle can hardly be described as secondary or unimportant, even if in that capacity the functions of the high-priestess, no less than those of her subordinates, were primarily musical, for the goddess impersonated was herself a musician and dancer in one, and that a very prominent, aspect.

But there is some evidence for supposing that priestesses could execute other than musical functions.

In the city of Apis, for example, the high-priestess was entitled "she who suckles²." As stated above on p. 11, Ḥathor, either as a cow or a woman, is constantly represented suckling the king. At Apis, when the sacred cow was not used for this purpose, the high-priestess herself, impersonating or identified with the goddess, may, as her title implies, have offered her breast to the king and so imparted to him life, stability, and good fortune.

Female members of important families during the Old and Middle Kingdoms often bear the title "prophetess," it being generally the goddesses Ḥathor and Nēith whom they served in this capacity³. Occasionally, however, a lady was prophetess of a god or a king. Thus in the Old Kingdom the *rht nswt* Hetepheres, besides being a prophetess of Ḥathor and Nēith, was also a prophetess of king Kheops⁴. Queen Meresconkh was a prophetess of Thōth⁵. The *rht nswt* Nofret was a *wbt*-priestess of Upwāwet⁶. In one of the Middle Kingdom *Kahun Papyri* mention is made of the widow of a soldier who was a *wbt*-priestess⁷. According to a Middle Kingdom stele in the Cairo Museum, Sment, mother of the scribe Neferhotpe, was a *wbt*-priestess of Khons⁸. In Saitic times Nitemhē was assigned by her father Peteēse, high-priest of Amūn of Teuzoi, "the share of the prophet of Khons," who was also worshipped at Teuzoi⁹, and to ʿEnkhnesneferibrēʿ, on her adoption by the God's Wife Nitokris, was made over the first prophetship of Amūn¹⁰. Lastly, as late as the Ptolemaic period we hear of the daughter of a "father of the god" who was a *wbt*-priestess of Amūn and a prophetess of Zēme¹¹.

Griffith, commenting on the assignment of a prophetship to Nitemhē, refers to the statement of Herodotus cited at the beginning of this article, and presumes "that Nitemhē did not act as prophet of Khons: she only received the stipend, while the duty would be performed by her husband¹²," who was a prophet in Teuzoi temple. Maspero takes the same view with regard to the first prophetship of Amūn held by ʿEnkhnesneferibrēʿ, supposing

¹ *E.g.*, BUDGE, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 431 foll.

² BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 1368 = ROCHEMONTEIX, *Edfou*, I, 330.

³ ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 290. The wives of the Beni Ḥasan princes were prophetesses of Pakhet as well as of Ḥathor (NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, 14, 43).

⁴ MARIETTE, *Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, 90.

⁵ MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, 183.

⁶ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 100 b.

⁷ GRIFFITH, *Kahun Papyri*, text, 32 foll.

⁸ LANGE-SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, I, no. 20056.

⁹ GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 84.

¹⁰ MASPERO in *Annales du Service*, V, 85, 89 = *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, VIII, 301.

¹¹ GRIFFITH-WILCKEN, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 45, 110.

¹² GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 84, n. 6.

that it was only an honorific title and that "the princess had beside her a priest who performed the rites for her, those at least which a man only had the right to perform¹."

This view of Griffith and Maspero finds support in a passage in the Decree of Canopus which designates the musician-priestesses (*šmꜣywt*) as *wꜣwt*². Perhaps, therefore, all the above-mentioned prophetesses and *wꜣwt* are to be regarded as exercising no other than musical functions, except possibly the high-priestess in the city of Apis.

But on the other hand Nekḥonkh, an Old Kingdom noble and high-priest of Ḥathor of Reṣōne, appointed all his children, one of whom was a girl, to act as priests of that goddess. Nekḥonkh does not differentiate between the functions of the daughter and the sons; she receives the same stipend as they do, and like them she is to perform by rotation her priestly course of a month's duration³.

The Ethiopian queen-mother *Nnsrw*s and the princess *Hb*, both of whom filled the office of high-priestess (*ihyt*) of Amūn of Napata, are depicted not merely rattling sistra

Fig. 6. Queen Nebttōwi making offering (after LEPsius, *Denkmäler*, III, pl. 172 f.).

before the god, but also pouring out libation⁴—a very important priestly function⁵. Thus at the installation of the high-priestess of Amūn of Napata, we are informed, a silver pail for libations was placed in her right hand and a silver sistrum in her left⁶.

A relief in the tomb-chapel of Princess Nebttōwi in the Valley of the Queens at Thebes (see Fig. 6), shews her "*causing every good and pure offering to be produced*" for "*the lords of the necropolis* (*īgrt*).⁷ The princess' right arm is extended over the offering (a small portion of which is still visible), the hand grasping the so-called *hrp*- or *ꜣb*-bâton, *i.e.* she is represented as having reached the stage in the proceedings when the officiant consecrated, or finally made over, the offering to the god by performing the act known as "*extending the arm four times over or towards*" (*hwy*t ꜣ sp 4 r) the offering⁷. This is in every sense of the word a sacerdotal act, being always, if he were present, performed by the king himself in

¹ MASPERO in *Annales du Service*, v, 90 = *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, VIII, 307.

² SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 150 foll.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 24 foll.

⁴ SCHÄFER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 33, 103, Pl. IV; cf. SCHÄFER, *Äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, Pl. I.

⁵ BLACKMAN in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 50, 69 foll.

⁶ SCHÄFER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 33, 107.

⁷ See e.g. GAYET, *Temple de Louxor*, Pl. XL, Fig. 132; see also above, p. 20.

his capacity of high-priest, even when the other ceremonies connected with the presentation of food- and drink-offerings were carried out by assisting priests¹. When the king is depicted as performing the act he regularly holds the above-named bâton in his right hand, the hand of the arm extended. According to a relief in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos², the bâton was dispensed with when an ordinary priest consecrated an offering. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that the princess should be shewn holding it.

A scene in the tomb of the Nineteenth Dynasty king Amenmesses³ depicts his mother(?) Tekhaft offering wine to a divinity⁴,—an act of the priest-king constantly occurring among the reliefs on the temple walls⁵.

On the first day of every dekad Isis, we are told, went from Philae to Bîgah to make libation to Osiris in his sacred grove⁶. This rite would surely have been performed by a female officiant impersonating Isis.

The very passage in the Decree of Canopus that gives the musician-priestesses the title of *wcbwt* not only directs that they are to make music in honour of Berenike, but also ordains that when the Early Sowing comes they are to carry ears of corn into the temple and present them to the deified princess' image⁷.

Moreover, according to the same decree, at the celebration of the Kikëllia in the fourth winter month, before the periplus of Osiris, the young girls of the priests were "to make ready another image of Berenike queen of Maidens" and were to offer a burnt-sacrifice to it and perform the other rites that were customary on the occasion of this festival⁸.

We know definitely that, at least in the Ptolemaic period, there were female funerary libationers (*χοαχύτιδες*)⁹, they and the male libationers (*χοαχύται*) playing the rôle of the ka-servants (*ḥmw-kʿ*) of earlier times, *i.e.* they were responsible for the upkeep of the tombs, the safety of the mummies interred therein, and for the performance of those ceremonies upon which the welfare of the dead was thought to depend¹⁰. As their names indicate, one of their chief duties was to pour out libations to the dead, the ancient daily funerary liturgy having degenerated into little more than the recitation of certain formulae accompanied by the pouring out of water¹¹.

Judging from the way the compound *ḥmw-kʿ* is determined in two Old Kingdom inscriptions¹², the ka-servants at that period, like the "libationers" of Ptolemaic times, were of both sexes. The functions of a ka-servant included the burning of incense, the pouring out of libations, and the presenting of food- and drink-offerings, a formula being recited at the performance of each act. It should be noted in this connection that a deceased Old Kingdom noble left explicit directions for his wife to "come forth unto the voice" for him with certain barley, spelt, and clothing, due to him from the king's house¹³.

¹ See *e.g.*, GAYET, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXIV, Fig. 139, XXXV, Fig. 138.

² MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 48, *b*.

³ GAUTHIER, *Livre des rois d'Égypte*, III, 129.

⁴ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 202 *f*.

⁵ See *e.g.* BLACKMAN, *Temple of Derr*, Pl. V, 2; LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, Pl. 46, *a*.

⁶ BLACKMAN in *Journal*, III, 32.

⁷ SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 150 foll.

⁸ SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, 142 foll.

⁹ OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 102 foll.; GRIFFITH-WILCKEN in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 45, 104; GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 27–30.

¹⁰ OTTO, *op. cit.*, I, 100.

¹¹ BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, III, 33.

¹² SETHE, *Urkunden*, I, 11 foll., 36.

¹³ MORET, *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: comptes rendus*, 1914, p. 541, lines 1 foll.

In the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms two female officiants impersonating Isis and Nephthys took part in the procession of the corpse to the embalmer's workshop and in some of the ceremonies performed therein, and also in the procession to the tomb on the day of burial¹.

In the face of all this information, and especially that regarding the priestly functions of Nek'onkh's daughter, we really have some justification for maintaining that Egyptian priestesses of the higher grades such as prophetesses and *w'bt*-priestesses, besides impersonating goddesses and making music and offering flowers, did sometimes perform actual sacerdotal duties (*ἱερασθαι*) in the temples, *i.e.*, make offerings to divinities, burn incense, pour out libations, in short act as chief officiant in the daily temple liturgy.

With respect to the position of women in the funerary hierarchy, we can definitely assert that in addition to playing the rôle of mourning goddesses such as Isis and Nephthys, female officiants could, at least in Ptolemaic times, perform the funerary liturgy, there being, moreover, indications that this last-mentioned practice was not a Ptolemaic innovation but one that can be traced back to the Old Kingdom.

* * * * *

Egyptian priestesses had to undergo the same purification as priests before taking part in a temple service. A fragmentary relief dating from the reign of Hatshepsut² shows a priest and a priestess standing in a shallow tank, while water is being sprinkled over them by a lustrator (figure broken away) standing behind either of them. Compare the word-sign for *w'eb*-priest , and also the well-known representation in the tomb-chapel scenes of the washing of a funerary officiant's hands by another officiant standing behind and pouring water on them from over his head³. To the right of this scene of ablutions, and separated from it by two lines of inscription, are two pairs of officiants, one above the other. The first of the top pair is the God's Wife, the remaining three persons are "fathers of the god." The inscription refers to both groups of figures and reads as follows: "*Going down to wash by the prophets and the God's Wife, the God's Hand, in the Cool Pool*⁴ (and then) entering into the temple."

The female wailers who impersonated Isis and Nephthys and other goddesses at the annual re-enactment of the embalmment of Osiris had to purify themselves "*four times for seven days to seven days*" before standing in the door of the Broad Hall⁵. These women, we learn, washed their mouths and chewed natron and fumigated themselves with burning incense so that their beatifications of Osiris might be pure⁷. In their lament uttered at the first hour of the night they say: "*Ah! I have washed my mouth, I have chewed natron, I have fumigated myself with burning incense. I am pure, clean, and censed, with natron that has come from El-Kâb, with incense that has come from Punt, the sweet perfume that*

¹ BLACKMAN in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1917-18, 12 foll.; DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 45 with n. 4, p. 49, and *Tomb of Antefoker*, 20 foll., Pls. xvii foll., xxi foll.

² LEGRAIN-NAVILLE, *L'Aile nord du pylône d'Amenophis III*, Pl. XI B.

³ VON BISSING, *Gemnikai*, II, Pl. XIX; BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, III, Pl. XXIII.

⁴ Cool Pool is also the name of the sacred Solar Pool at Kher'eha (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 88, n. 97).

⁵ JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 199, (10).

⁶ MARIETTE, *Denderah*, IV, Pl. 44 c; JUNKER, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, 6.

⁷ Cf. *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxvi, 6, where we read that the *B'w I'wnw*, welcoming the Pharaoh on his arrival at the House of the Morning, say, in anticipation of the purification he is to undergo therein, "*what issues from his mouth is pure*."

*has come from the eye of Horus. How pure are the beatifications of Osiris-Khentamenthes among the Gods the Worshippers of Horus! How goodly are the beatifications of Osiris-Khentamenthes! How festive are the beatifications of Osiris-Khentamenthes!*¹ It is said with regard to the two female mourners (*drty*) who, impersonating Isis and Nephthys, bewailed Osiris in the House of Osiris from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth day of the fourth winter month, that their bodies must be pure and the hair of their bodies removed².

High-priestesses, like high-priests³, seem to have been appointed to their offices by the king himself. Thus king Aspalta appointed a member of the reigning family to be high-priestess (*ihyt*) of Amūn of Napata, as his predecessor Anlaman had done⁴. Similarly each of the sacerdotal princesses of Thebes was appointed by the reigning sovereign⁵.

With regard to the appointment of women to priestly offices below that of high-priestess, such appointments, as in the case of men, were probably made by the king or by his representative the local governor and high-priest, or they might be purchased, conveyed by deed of transference, or bequeathed to descendants.

Accordingly we find Peteēse, as representative of the king, writing his daughter Nitemhē “*a title to the share of the prophet of Khons*”⁶, i.e. he assigned her the prophethip of that god and the emoluments attaching thereto.

Certainly the office of funerary priestess (χοαχύτις) could both be purchased and inherited⁷, for we find that in the year 136 B.C. a certain Taēsi made over to another woman called Shakhpēre, in return for a stipulated sum of money, “*the emoluments, the tombs of the persons which have fallen to me in the name of the woman Taēsi daughter of Hōr, my mother, and of Wennofri, son of Hōr, my husband*”⁸.

Existing records apparently give no account of any performance that might be called an induction or investiture in the case of ordinary prophetesses or *wēbt*-priestesses. But we know something about such a performance in the case of the high-priestess (*ihyt*) of Amūn at Napata and of the God's Wife at Thebes.

The Nubian king Aspalta had all his chief officers of State and the priests of Amūn lined up in the temple and informed them that he had appointed his daughter to the office of high-priestess. The actual ceremony of installing the princess as high-priestess, as stated on p. 25, consisted in putting a silver pail for libation into her right hand and a silver sistrum into her left⁹.

The installation of the Theban God's Wife was evidently a very impressive ceremony. We are told how she “*went into the house of Amonrasōnther, the prophets, wēceb-priests,*

¹ JUNKER, *op. cit.*, 70 foll.

² *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, Title and Rubric = *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Pl. I, Hieroglyphic Transcripts, p. 1.

³ See the writer's article *Priest, Priesthood* (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 300.

⁴ SCHÄFER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 33, 107.

⁵ ERMAN in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 35, 28 foll.; BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, iv, §§ 935 foll., 988 A foll.

⁶ GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 84.

⁷ For such transactions in the case of priests' offices see my article *Priest, Priesthood* (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, x, 300.

⁸ GRIFFITH-WILCKEN in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 45, 104.

⁹ SCHÄFER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 33, 107 foll.

lectors—the temple-staff of Amūn—following her, the great courtiers (smrw ʕw) in front. She did all that was customary at the induction¹ into the temple of a God's Adorer of Amūn. The scribe of the god's book and nine² wēʕeb-priests of this temple fastened on for her the amulets and all the ornaments of a God's Wife, God's Adorer of Amūn." She was then crowned with the double-plumed diadem and "appointed Mistress of the whole circuit of the solar disk," after which her titulary was enunciated. We are informed that "all the customary things were done for her as they were done for Tefēnet (daughter of the sun-god) in the first instance³."

Certainly from the time of the New Kingdom onwards musician-priestesses, like the priests, were divided into phylae or watches (sʕw), with a female phylarch at the head of each⁴. According to Reitzenstein⁵, a priestess of the Graeco-Roman period who married a priest remained in her original phyle.

I will bring this paper to a close with an account of what we know about the payment of Egyptian priestesses.

The prophetship of the daughter of Nekʕonkh who lived in the Fifth Dynasty, was endowed with five arouras of land, as were the prophetships of ten of her twelve brothers. In addition she and her brothers seem to have had equal shares in any donations which might be made to the temple⁶. Nitemhē, prophetess of Khons of Teuzoi, evidently received yearly, as did the rest of the prophets attached to that temple, one hundredth part of the income derived from the temple-endowment⁷. Besides this there were occasional fees and the additional "things...from the temple the field and the town," enumerated as linen, incense, oil, bread, ox-flesh, goose-flesh, wine, beer, lamp, herbs, milk⁸. These items, as Griffith points out, "might be offered to the deity or used in the ceremonies, and afterwards enjoyed as perquisites by the priests⁹."

The high-priestess of Amūn of Napata, we are informed, received a daily allowance, presumably from the temple store-house, of ten loaves of bʕʕ-bread and five loaves of white bread; a monthly allowance of fifteen jars of beer; while yearly she received three oxen. On festivals she was granted an extra supply of beer¹⁰. One must certainly agree with Schäfer in regarding this stipend as a very modest one. The bread would have supplied the needs of only a very small household, while the beer would seem to have been barely enough for the princess alone, fifteen jars a month being the equivalent of only half a jar a day! According to the Eloquent Peasant one ds-jar of beer and three loaves of bread were

¹ So *Annales du Service*, v, 85. The version given in *Études de mythologie*, VIII, reads "six."

² MASPERO in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v, 85 foll. = *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, VIII, 301.

³ LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I, nos. 42122, d, line 11; 42223, c, line 4, d, line 1; OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 35, 92.

⁴ *Zwei religiöse geschichtliche Fragen*, 19.

⁵ SETHE, *Urkunden*, I, 24 foll.; *Ägyptische Inschrift auf den Kauf eines Hauses aus dem alten Reich in Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Vol. 63 1911, part 6, p. 149.

⁶ GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 65, n. 4, 90, n. 5.

⁷ GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, n. 14.

⁹ SCHÄFER in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 33, 108 foll.

sufficient for an ordinary man's (daily) needs¹, though, as a matter of fact, Rensi allowed the peasant, during his detention, two *ds*-jars of beer and four loaves a day².

The stipend of the high-priestess of Amūn in Saitic times was on a very different scale. She was endowed with 3300 arouras of land situated in seven nomes in Upper and four nomes in Lower Egypt. From various temples, mostly in Lower Egypt, and also from the first, third, and fourth prophets of Amūn, the wife of the fourth prophet, and also from the inspector of the prophets (*shd hmw-ntr*) she daily received an aggregate of 2100 *deben* (= 6300 ounces³) of bread. From the daily offering laid before the god in the Heliopolitan sun-temple she was apportioned every day two *khar* of spelt. In addition to all this she daily received eleven *hin* of wine, $2\frac{1}{6}$ *šc*-cakes, $2\frac{2}{3}$ bundles of vegetables, and monthly three oxen, five geese, and twenty *hbn*-jars of beer⁴.

The emoluments attaching to the funerary priesthoods held by women⁵ (see above, p. 28) were almost certainly derived from tomb-endowments, as they were in the case of funerary priesthoods held by men, *e.g.* Psammeth-menkhe gave so many arouras of land to Esamūn, a choachyte in the necropolis of Thebes, as endowment for the tomb of his mother Tsenenḥōr⁶.

Finally, we learn from the Decree of Canopus that the wives of priests were granted a (daily) allowance of loaves of bread⁷, which the decree directs are to be specially shaped and to be called henceforth the Bread of Berenike⁸. This decree also directs that the daughters of priests from the day of their birth are to be assigned rations derived from the temple endowment, namely rations apportioned by the Councillor priests in all the temples in proportion to the (respective) endowments⁹.

¹ See VOGELSANG, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, 88 foll., and GARDINER's remarks on the passage in question, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxxiv, 273 foll.

² VOGELSANG, *op. cit.*, 79 foll.; GARDINER, *loc. cit.*

³ GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, III, 80, n. 7.

⁴ BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 949 foll.

⁵ See GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, III, 29 (54).

⁶ GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, III, 22; see also *op. cit.*, 29 (54). For similar endowments in the earlier periods, see SETHE, *Urkunden*, I, 11 foll., 35 foll.; BREASTED, *op. cit.*, I, §§ 535 foll., 630 foll.; PEET in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, VII, 81 foll.

⁷ That the wives of priests received a *daily* allowance of bread is indicated by the Adoption Stela of Nitokris, according to which the wife of the fourth prophet of Amūn gave the God's Wife 100 *deben* (300 ounces) of bread a day *i.e.* from her own *daily* allowance (BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 951).

⁸ SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 153.

⁹ SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, 152 foll.