A COMPANION TO ANCIENT EGYPT

VOLUME I

Edited by

Alan B. Lloyd



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VOLUME I

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Corinna Rossi graduated in Architecture in Naples and specialized in Egyptology at Cambridge University under Barry J. Kemp. She is the author of a

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book and several articles on ancient Egyptian architecture and mathematics, and of regular field reports on her activity as co-director of the North Kharga Oasis Survey, an archaeological project focusing on a chain of Late-Roman military installations in the Kharga Oasis (Egypt's Western Desert). She currently works at the Collegio di Milano.

Jane Rowlandson is currently Honorary Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Classics, King's College London, where she was formerly Reader in Ancient History until retiring due to ill health. She is author of Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt (1996), edited Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook (1998), and has written articles on many aspects of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

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Anthony J. Spalinger is currently Professor of Ancient History (Egyptology) at the University of Auckland. His recent full-length works include War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom (Blackwell, 2004), Five Views on Egypt. (University of Göttingen: Göttingen, Studia monographica 6, 2006), and The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (Brill; in press). At present his major projects are connected with "Icons of Power" and the interlacing of Icon and Narrative in Ancient Egyptian pictorial representations.

Neal Spencer is a Curator in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum, with responsibility for the collections of the Late Period and Ptolemaic era. In addition to research on aspects of Late Period temples, he directs fieldwork projects at Kom Firin (western Nile Delta) and Amara West (northern Sudan).

Kasia Szpakowska is a Senior Lecturer in Egyptology at Swansea University. Her research focuses on personal religious practice in Egypt and its manifestation in the Near East, as well as daily life in the Pharaonic period. Her publications include Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt and Daily Life in Ancient Egypt: Recreating Lahun, and the edited volumes Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and

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Prophecy in Ancient Egypt and Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd.

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Helen Whitehouse is Curator of the Egyptian and Nubian collections in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Her particular areas of interest are Early Dynastic Egypt, the graphic arts of Roman Egypt, drawings after the antique, and the post-classical reception of Egyptian antiquities. Since 1995 she has worked on the recording of Roman wall-paintings on site with the Dakhla Oasis Project.

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Penelope Wilson studied Egyptology at Liverpool University, and her PhD was devoted to a study of the Ptolemaic Texts in Edfu Temple (Wilson, 1997). She has worked in the Department of Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and is now Lecturer in Egyptian Archaeology at Durham University. She has excavated in Egypt for some twenty-five years at sites including the Temple of Abydos and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and is currently Field Director of the Egypt Exploration Society/Durham University Mission at Sais (Sa el-Hagar).

Preface

The current *Companion to Ancient Egypt* is designed to fit into Blackwell's highly successful Companion series, several volumes of which have already appeared. However, since the time-scale of Egyptian civilization is so long, it has been decided that it would be appropriate for this publication to appear in two volumes rather than the standard one so that full scope can be given for the discussion of a civilization whose development lasted well over three and a half millennia and was certainly one of the most successful that the world has ever seen.

The purpose of the *Companion* is to provide up-to-date, readable, and, where apposite, well-illustrated accounts of the major aspects of Egypt's ancient history and culture as currently perceived. Since chapters are relatively long, it does not duplicate such compendia as the *Oxford Encyclopedia* but is intended to function as the next port-of-call. The coverage is also much broader than that of survey volumes like the *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. The target readership is academics, students, and the sophisticated amateur. For all these constituencies the chapters will provide as full a coverage of major topics as can be accommodated in the space permitted, but the level at which the chapters have been pitched is such that even professional Egyptologists will be able to find many chapters of value in areas where they do not have a major expertise.

In addition to meeting the agenda just described I have tried a little more – and something unusual. It is often a matter of comment that Egyptologists and students of Graeco-Roman Egypt do not talk to each other, despite the obvious fact that each has clearly much to learn from the other. I decided, therefore, that, wherever possible, coverage of particular topics should consist of linked Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman chapters which would certainly recognize differences but would also emphasize the continuities of Pharaonic Egyptian civilization and its extraordinary capacity to evolve and respond effectively to the many different stimuli and challenges with which it was confronted in its millennial historical career. This strategy, it is hoped, will provide valuable perspectives and data both to Egyptologists and Graeco-Roman specialists in their efforts to come to terms with historical phenomena within their specialist subject areas and encourage a closer synergy between the two constituencies. This

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inevitably means that there is, at times, an element of repetition, but I have not edited this out on the basis that each chapter should, as far as possible, be a self-contained entity. In the same inclusive spirit it seemed highly apposite, particularly in the light of current foci of research, to investigate the reception of this enormously varied culture not only within European contexts, ancient and modern, but also in the Islamic world in all of which very different cultures have responded to their vision of Ancient Egypt and processed it for their own distinctive purposes. The final part of the book has, therefore, been devoted to chapters by specialists in this field.

Whilst it must be conceded that all aspects of cultures interpenetrate each other in complex ways in order to serve the needs of their adherents, it is essential for the purposes of exposition to break down their activities into categories such as physical context, history, economic and social mechanisms, language, literature, and the visual arts. This I have done, and, generally speaking, such analytical categories have proved relatively unproblematic. Though many might find the fact surprising, the biggest problem has been presented by the historically orientated chapters. In this context authors have been encouraged not to provide bare reign-by-reign accounts of a string of dynasties or Hellenistic and Roman rulers but have been asked to try to present answers to the simple question: "What do I want people to know about this period of history?" This means that they have been encouraged to lay more emphasis on thematic issues than deliver plain narratives. Given the inadequacy of the evidence for many periods of Egyptian history this is often, in any case, the most effective approach, but such a process brings with it an orientation problem for those who are not familiar with Egyptian history, and I have, therefore, provided at the beginning of the first volume a chronological table fleshed out with some historical comment so that readers can locate each historical chapter in its overall context. However, the production of any chronological table for Egypt is fraught with peril since the evidence for allocating absolute dates to many periods is problematic. The reader should, therefore, treat the table as a framework only and should not be in the least disturbed if alternative dates appear either in the text of the Companion or in other publications. I have made no attempt to create consistency on this matter since consistency would not reflect the differing scholarly views, sometimes fiercely held, which characterize this area of Egyptian studies.

The inadequacies of our database present us with yet another problem. In all forms of historical enquiry differences of perception and opinion abound, and no definitive view can be presented, but, in the case of a culture as distant as that of Pharaonic Egypt, the problems can be acute. In addition, the unequal temporal distribution of material creates major problems, and difficulties in determining the precise meaning and significance of data are recurrent. All this means that differences of opinion abound, and I have made no attempt to conceal that fact by airbrushing such differences out of the picture to create a specious sense of consensus where I know perfectly well none exists or can exist. It is important for the reader to be aware that scholarly opinion is divided on many issues, frequently issues of great importance, and, if two or even three different interpretations appear in this *Companion*, I have left them that way; it is the nature of the beast!

Professor Alan B. Lloyd Swansea 26 May 2009

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The production of these large and wide-ranging volumes would not have been possible without the assistance of many friends, colleagues, and institutions. First, I should like to thank Chloe Driscoll and Jo McCrossan, two MA students at Swansea University, for translating the German version of Gerald Moers' chapter, and Philip Kiernan of UBC for the translation of the chapter by Ludwig Morenz and Lutz Popko, thereby saving me much time and effort, as did Michael Stammers of Swansea University who translated the French versions of the chapters of Michel Baud and Olivier Perdu. I should also like to acknowledge the services of my colleague Nigel Pollard who translated the Italian version of Paola Davoli's contribution. A particularly heavy debt of gratitude is due to the many colleagues and institutions for their assistance in collecting and granting permission for the use of photographic material. These include Dr Zahi Hawass (Supreme Council of Antiquities), Dr Wafaa el-Saddik (Director, Cairo Museum), Professor T. Hikade, Mr John Gooding, Professor David Braund, Professor R. S. Bagnall, Professor D. W. Rathbone, Professor J. Secord, Professor S. Burstein, Mr Robert Partridge, Google Earth Pro, NASA, The Louvre Museum, The Brooklyn Museum, The Trustees and Staff of the British Museum, L'Institut français d'archéologie oriental Cairo, The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, The Egypt Centre Swansea, The Manchester Museum, The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, The Royal Museums for Art and History Brussels, The Ashmolean Museum Oxford, The Museum of Fine Arts Boston, The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen, The Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, The Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, The National Archaeological Museum Athens, The Museo Gregoriano Egizio, The Victoria and Albert Museum, The National Trust, The Griffith Institute Oxford, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, The Egypt Exploration Society, The Oxford University Press, The Cambridge University Press, The Cambridge Archaeological Journal, The Hierakonpolis Expedition, The Tell el-Farkha Expedition, The Corning Museum of Glass NY, and The American Research Center in Egypt. Finally I should like to thank the staff of Wiley-Blackwell both in the USA and the UK for their support and patience and particularly my wife Patricia without whose superhuman forbearance this project could never have been completed.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for papyrological material are too numerous to be listed here. An excellent key entitled "Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets," which is regularly updated, can be conveniently accessed via the website of the American Society of Papyrologists: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

ÄA Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

AAASH Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

ÄAT Ägypten und altes Testament

ACE Australian Centre for Egyptology

AcOr Acta Orientalia

Acta AArtHist Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia

ADAIK Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.

Abteilung Kairo

AE L'Année épigrahique
Aeg Leod Aegyptiaca Leodiensia

ÄF Ägyptologische Forschungen

AH Aegyptiaca Helvetica

AIA Archaeological Institute of America

AIPMA Association international pour la peinture murale antique

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

Abbreviations xxv

Ä&L Ägypten und Levante

AM Ashmolean Museum (Oxford) ÄM Ägyptisches Museum (Berlin)

Ann. Annales (Tacitus)

ANRW Augstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANSE Associazione Napolitana di Studi Egittologici

Ant. Antonius (Plutarch)

AOF Altorientalische Forschungen

AOS American Oriental Series

APAW Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der

Wissenschaften

APF Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete

ARCE American Research Center in Egypt

ARG Archiv für Religionsgeschichte

ASAE Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte

ASE Archaeological Survey of Egypt
ASP American Studies in Papyrology

AV Archäologische Veröffenlichungen des Deutschen

Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

BACE Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology

BAe Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca

BAR British Archaeological Reports

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BASP Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists

BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

BdE Bibliothèque d'études, Institut français d'archéologie

orientale, Kairo

BEHE Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études (Paris)

Bell. Civ. Bella Civilia (Appian)

Berl.Inschr. Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu

Berlin. Hrsg. Von der Generalverwaltung. 2 vols. Leipzig

1913-24.

BHAC Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium

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BIE Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte

BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis

BJ Bellum Judaicum (Josephus)

BM British Museum

BMMA Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

BMRAH Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire (Brussels)

BSAC

Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte

BSAE

British School of Archaeology in Egypt

BSAK Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte

BSEG Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève

BSFE Bulletin de l'Institut français d'égyptologie

CAA Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CAI Cambridge Archaeological Journal

C.Ap. Contra Apionem (Josephus)

CCE Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne

CCGG Cahiers du Centre G.Glotz

CdE Chronique d'Égypte

CG Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée

du Caire

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Belin. 1863–

CNI Carsten Niebuhr Instituttet

CNRS Centre national de la recherche scientifique

CNWS Centre of Non-Western Studies

CQ Classical Quarterly

CRAIBL Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-

lettres

CRIPEL Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et

d'égyptologie de Lille

DE Discussion in Egyptology

De Alex. Fort. De fortuna Alexandri (Plutarch)

Abbreviations xxvii

DFIFAO Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français de archéologie

orientale du Caire

Diege. Diegeseis (M. Norsa and G. Vitelli. Διηγήσεις di poemi di

Callimaco in uno papiro di Tebtunis. Florence. 1934)

DOP Dakhleh Oasis Project

EA Egyptian Antiquities (British Museum)

EA Egyptian Archaeology

EEF Egypt Exploration Fund

EES Egypt Exploration Society

Ep. Epistulae (Pliny)

EPM Egyptian Prehistory Monographs

EPRO Études préliminaries aux religions orientales dans l'empire

romain

ERA Egyptian Research Account

ET Études et Travaux (Warsaw)

EVO Egitto e Vicino Oriente

FIFAO Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

Flacc. In Flaccum (Philo Judaeus)

GGH Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen

GHP Golden House Publications (London)

GIS Geographic Information System

GM Göttinger Miszellen

GOF Göttinger Orientforschungen

GRM Graeco-Roman Museum (Alexandria)

HA Historia Animalium (Aristotle)

HÄB Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge

HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik

Hist. Historiae (Tacitus)

Hist. Eccl.Historia Ecclesiastiaca (Eusebius)Hist. Eccl.Historia Ecclesiastiaca (Socrates)

I. Akoris Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akoris. E. Bernand. Cairo.

C.1988.

xxviii Abbreviations

I.Fay. Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum. E. Bernand.

Leiden. 1975-81.

I.Métriques Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine.

E. Bernand. Paris. 1969.

I.Philae Les Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. E. and

A. Bernand. Paris. 1969

I.Portes Les Portes du desert. A. Bernand. Besançon. 1984

I. Thèbes Syène De Thèbes à Syène. A Bernand. Paris. 1989.

Id. Idylls (Theokritos)

IFAO Institut français d'archéologie orientale

Il. Iliad

ILS Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae. H.Dessau. Berlin.

1892-1916

Isthm. Isthmian Odes (Pindar)

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JDAI Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Berlin)

JE Journal d'entrée (du Musée du Caire)

JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JEH Journal of Egyptian History

JEOL Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex

Oriente Lux

JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

JJP Journal of Juristic Papyrology

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Joann. Antioch. Joannes Antiochus

JRA Journal of Roman Archaeology

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

ISSEA Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

KÄT Kleine Ägyptische Texte

KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt