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Egyptian Society during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty

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Chapter 10

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John Gee

Egypt in the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. is often considered the last high point of pharaonic civilization.[1] Called the Saite (pronounced say-ite) renaissance because the country's capital was at Sais in the Delta, the period of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty is noted for its magnificent artwork and its attempt to capture the grandeur of the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms.[2] The Saite period is most noted for its archaizing and canonizing tendencies. The artwork and inscriptions were archaizing because the scribes of that period tried to copy materials from more than a thousand years before, though in the artwork, the canon of proportions of the human figure was altered because the earlier canons had been lost,[3] and some of the vernacular language inevitably appears in the inscriptions.[4] Canonization appears when practices that earlier had been variable now became standardized. For example, before the Saite period, it seems not to have mattered which organ went in which canopic jar,[5] and the Book of the Dead had little regularity in either the selection of the chapters or their ordering,[6] but beginning in the Saite period, both were standardized. Though the Book of Mormon gives evidence of Israelite cultural contact with

Egypt (1 Nephi 1:2; Mosiah 1:2–4; Mormon 9:32–33), it provides no evidence whether Lehi or any of his family members had ever actually been to Egypt. What follows is a brief overview of Saite history and society that allows the reader to draw parallels with scriptures and determine their relevance.[7]

History[8]

The Saite period was generally one of peace and prosperity for Egypt.[9] After the Assyrian conquest of Egypt drove out the Twenty-fifth Dynasty invaders from Nubia, Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.) was appointed by Assurbanipal to govern Egypt. When his Assyrian master left, however, Psammetichus (also known as Psamtik) allied himself with the Lydian king, Gyges, and revolted from the Assyrians. Psammetichus instituted a number of reforms, both economic and political, and lived to help bring about the downfall of the Assyrians. Under Psammetichus's son, Necho II (610–595 B.C.), Egypt's major foreign opponent was Babylon, and when Josiah, king of Judah, tried to interfere with Egyptian strategy, he was then an enemy as well. After killing Josiah in battle and removing Jehoahaz (who had been chosen by the inhabitants of Judah and who had reigned only three months), Necho II saw to it that the succeeding king of Judah, Eliakim (who was renamed Jehoiakim), was allied with him (2 Kings 23:29–35). Necho II's son, Psammetichus II (595–589 B.C.), was most noted for his invasion of Nubia in his third regnal year (593 B.C.) with the aid of Greek mercenaries who left the first dated Greek graffito in Egypt on the leg of a statue of Ramses II at Abu Simbel.[10] Apries (589–570 B.C.) also opposed the Chaldeans from Babylon and allied himself with Zedekiah of Judah. Unable to control his army, Apries lost his life when his mercenary troops turned on him and elected a successor, Amasis (570–526 B.C.), probably the same capable Egyptian general who had defeated the Nubians twenty-three years earlier and burned

their king.[11] Amasis was able to repel the Babylonians and secure the Egyptian borders. His short-lived successor, Psammetichus III, died trying to hold off the Persian invasion under Cambyses in 525 B.C.[12]

Society

From several ancient sources, it is clear that the basis of Egyptian society was the family, and even Egyptian society on a larger scale imitated the institutions of the home.[13] The home began with a marriage between husband and wife that involved an oath[14] made in the presence of a religious official.[15] The marriage was seen as a partnership.[16] Ninety-one percent of the Egyptians lived in families of some sort,[17] and of those who lived alone, most were older and "were probably most often the sole survivors of their families, living alone because they had been unable to marry or their marriages had ended."[18] This was true of both urban and rural areas, with the major difference being that rural families were more likely to contain extended families living together.[19] The average household contained about five people.[20]

At the age of twelve, women began to marry.[21] Men came of age when they turned fourteen years old.[22] Both men and women were liable for taxes, though the tax rates for women were less than those for men.[23] By age twenty, sixty percent of women were married, and virtually all would have been married by the age of thirty.[24] Sixty percent of adult women from ages fifteen to fifty were married at any given time.[25] Men seemed to marry a little later, starting in the late teens,[26] following the proverb: "Take a wife when you are twenty years old so you can have children while you are still young."[27] About half the men were married by the age of twenty-five, and virtually all would have been married by their early fifties.[28] On the average, husbands were seven and a half years older than their wives.[29] "Long-term stable marriages

are ubiquitous,"[30] but broken homes, usually caused from divorce or death of a spouse, were also known.[31] In case of divorce, the children usually remained with the father.[32] The death of a spouse was a very real possibility since "if a man aged 25 married a woman aged 15, . . . [there was] better than one chance in four that one or both spouses [would] die within ten years."[33] Widowers remarried more often than widows, and divorced men remarried more often than divorced women;[34] all told, men were twice as likely as women to remarry after divorce or the death of a spouse.[35] An Egyptian proverb reveals a cultural basis to this phenomenon: "Do not marry a woman whose husband is alive, lest you make an enemy for yourself."[36] Marriage within the same village was encouraged: "Do not let your son take for himself a wife of another village, lest he be taken from you."[37] Illegitimacy was relatively low (about three to five percent of births),[38] but mortality rates for children were high. One-third of all females born would not live through their first year; over half would not reach the age of ten, and only a third would reach the ripe old age of thirty.[39] Slightly under one-third of all males born would die in the first year, about half would attain their coming of age at fourteen, and less than one-third would reach the age of forty.[40] The mortality rate is also reflected in such popular names as *ḏd-ptḥ-iw=f-ʿnḫ* (pronounced by the Greeks Teephthaphonuchos) "Ptah said 'He will live,'"[41] and *ḏd-bȝst.t-iw=s-ʿnḫ* "Bastet said 'She will live.'"[42] Burials of the rich were characteristically in rock-hewn chapels, above-ground tomb chapels, or deep-shaft tombs with oversized anthropoid coffins,[43] and burials of the poor were simply in the ground, sometimes with a clay coffin and sometimes with nothing.[44]

We also know something about the governmental hierarchy at this time. The pharaoh ruled all of Egypt from Sais, but the main government functioned from Memphis.[45] Under the pharaoh were the vizier, and then the harbor master, followed by

the chief of the Ma, a Lybian title.[46] Also under the vizier were the generals who commanded the army and navy, which also doubled as police forces.[47] Native Egyptians in previous centuries having been frozen out of the possibility of rising through the ranks of the army,[48] the Egyptian army was generally mercenary, mostly Greek.[49] The Egyptians also had a navy.[50]

The priestly hierarchy was dependent on the particular temple with which it was associated. The three major grades of priests were (1) the *it-nṯr,* or god's father; (2) the *ḥm-nṯr,* or prophet; and (3) the *wʿb,* or priest.[51] The lower ranks of priests seem to have been lay workers in the temple, who were organized into four groups, called phyles. Each phyle served one month and then took three months off, during which time the priests had another job. To advance in the priestly ranks, one had to have the approval of the king or his representative,[52] as well as an initiation.[53] Associations of priests had an overseer (*mr-šn, lesonis*) who "functioned as a temple president"[54] and who worked through an agent (*rd*).[55]

Literacy

Education was a family affair. Knowledge of reading and writing was passed down from father to son.[56] Education in writing was done by copying models,[57] often of didactic content.[58] Additional education was provided by senior officials mentoring junior ones (usually immediate family members)[59] through correspondence and memoranda.[60] Temple libraries loaned out books and made copies of particular rolls for the benefit of others.[61]

Literacy rates for ancient Egypt are normally estimated to be below one percent of the population,[62] although more recent evidence indicates that over half the population may have been literate.[63] Egypt also exported some scribes, since they are attested as far away as Nimrud in the Assyrian empire.[64]

As literate members of society,[65] priests served as public notaries and experts on law as well. The legal codes were kept in temple archives.[66] Priests served as judges,[67] and judgment took place at the gate of the temple.[68] Priests who were in the courtyard of the temple served as witnesses to documents, often including their priestly titles in their signatures.[69]

A variety of scripts were employed in Egypt at Lehi's time: (1) Hieroglyphs were still employed in stone.[70] (2) Hieratic was still used on papyrus[71] but (3) was also used on stone, which is both harder to carve and to read.[72] (4) A cursive form of hieratic called either late Theban cursive or abnormal hieratic was used in the south part of the country but was being phased out at this time,[73] being replaced through "the reforms of Psammetichus"[74] by (5) Demotic,[75] a different variety of cursive hieratic that developed in the north at a time when the two ends of the country had been politically separate; since the Saites who reunited Egypt came from the north of the country, the business script of their area became the standard for the country. Additionally, (6) some religious manuscripts used a script called linear hieroglyphs that was midway between hieroglyphs and hieratic. (7) There is at least one example of a historical text of this time period consisting of a Semitic language being written in a Demotic script, as well as quotations from one of the psalms of the Hebrew Bible.[76] Egyptian scripts are noted for various playful writings,[77] as well as for plays on words.[78] Sometimes even the Egyptians themselves could not read their own writing correctly.[79]

A typical temple library from the Saite period would likely have the following types of books in it: king-lists, annals, chronicles, prophecies, books of nomes (books describing the sacred places and deities local to a given area), medical texts, wisdom literature, hemerologies (books of lucky and unlucky days), oneiromancies (books for the interpretation of dreams),

astronomy texts, lexical texts, ritual rolls (containing festival procedures and temple liturgies), hymns, lists of religious utensils, calendars, construction manuals, painting and sculpture manuals, inventories, property list instructions, oracle texts, priestly correspondence, temple day books, and account texts.[80] The Saite period is not particularly noted for its literary productions, although some stories known from Ptolemaic and Roman copies are thought to have been composed in the Saite period.[81]

Economy

The Egyptian economy in ancient times was based primarily on the abundance of the Nile and on farming. Egypt also served as a conduit for goods from locations further south in Africa,[82] to the Aegean, Greece, Phoenicia, and the Levant (see Isaiah 45:14),[83] not to mention within Egypt itself.[84]

Although private farms probably existed, we know the most about the farms connected with temple land endowments. Kings, and for some reason especially Saite kings, donated parcels of land to temples to furnish endowments to fund the positions of priests and run the temple.[85] The temple or individual priests would lease the land for a year to tenant farmers who would return between one-fourth to one-half (usually one-third) of the crop for the opportunity to work the land and feed their own families.[86] The resulting economic endowments often provided an immense amount of wealth to those individuals who held the corresponding priestly offices or priesthoods.[87] These priesthoods were generally passed from father to son, with attendant quarreling among the sons over the rights to inherit the priesthood and its attendant endowment.[88] Priests tried to accrue several priesthoods because that increased their income.[89]

Information on prices during Saite times is harder to obtain. Rental agreements on land specify only the percentage of the harvest for rent and do not record the amount paid. Legal

agreements only rarely give prices. We know that a marriage dowry was usually about two deben of silver and fifty khar (sacks) of emmer[90] and that the penalty for defaulting on the sale of a cow was five kite (half a deben).[91] Prices are available from other time periods, notably Ramesside (1295–1069 B.C.)[92] and Ptolemaic (332–32 B.C.),[93] but they show too much variation within individual time periods to provide much of a reliable guide to Saite times. Marketplaces are also poorly attested at this time. Although we know of marketplace activities from the Old Kingdom showing the sale of fruits and produce, no contemporary scenes are attested from the Saite period. The marketplaces themselves are largely unexcavated, either lying under the floodplain or being swallowed up by the eastward drift of the Nile river that washed away the previous settlements.[94]

Religion

Egyptian religion centered on the temple. The activity of the priests in the temples included both daily and periodic rituals. One of the daily rituals was the care of the cult statue.[95] Offerings were prepared before dawn, and all the offerings, as well as the priests, were purified with soap, water, and incense. All the offerings were brought to the offering table. After lighting a lamp, the priest entered the temple proper which, having no windows, was dark. Then the priest entered the holy of holies,[96] the seal was broken,[97] and the bolt was drawn back on the door of the shrine.[98] The statue was taken out,[99] washed,[100] censed,[101] clothed,[102] anointed,[103] presented with the offerings,[104] and returned to its shrine. Finally, the door was closed, bolted, and resealed, and the priest swept his footprints away as he left. Another of the daily rituals was the execration ritual. A wax figure of an enemy was spat upon, trampled under the left foot, pierced, bound, chopped in pieces, and cast into the fire.[105]

Periodic rituals included a large number of festivals[106] and the consultation of oracles. For example, on the eleventh month of the year, the statue of the goddess Hathor "left her temple at Dendera and sailed upstream to meet Horus at Edfu. . . . En route, the goddess went ashore at several places, including Thebes, to visit the resident gods and goddesses. Throngs of pilgrims streamed to one of these towns or to Edfu, and official deputies were sent from Elephantine, Hierakonpolis, and Kom Mer, and perhaps other places as well."[107] This festival of Reunion (*ḥb n sḫn*)[108] was depicted on both the temples of Edfu and Dendera.[109] During such festivals—the only time the image of the god left the holy of holies and became accessible to the common folk—oracles occurred.[110] Oracles were the most important source of revelatory guidance on such things as whether a child would live[111] since normally seeing the god was a privilege only of the prophets and not even of the priests.

Egypt and Judah

The kingdom of Judah during the late seventh century shared much in common with her superpower neighbor to the south in culture, religion (see Jeremiah 7:17–20; 44:15–28), and foreign policy, but many of these things were not in Judah's best interests, however much they may have been in Egypt's. Despite warnings to the contrary, Judah allied herself with Egypt and, lacking the other country's natural defenses and military assistance, succumbed to the Babylonian onslaught. The natural defense afforded by the extensive high deserts to either side of the Nile was just one of the many differences between Judah and Egypt. Other differences include Egypt's use of a continuous water source from the Nile and its annual rejuvenating inundation as opposed to Judah's lack of rainfall (less than 100 millimeters annually) that made farming a marginal endeavor relying on the

blessing of sufficient rain in order to produce a crop to sustain the populace. Although many of the demographic features of Saite Egyptian society might be shared with preexilic Judahite society, care should be exercised in concluding that anything that was true of Saite Egypt was necessarily true of Judah.

Saite period Egyptian society bears some similarities to earlier and later periods of Egyptian history. Its distinguishing characteristics include being the highpoint of archaism, systemization, and canonization and the use of a greater number of native scripts. In many ways, Egypt continued "eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage," much as it always had, "as in the days of Noe" (Matthew 24:37–38). At the beginning of the Saite period in 664, the Egyptians and the Jews were allies with a similar point of view; at the end of the Saite period, however, the opposite was the case. In between these dates, Lehi and his party departed Jerusalem, avoiding Egypt, but carrying with them certain memories and cultural influences common to both spheres.

Notes

1. This is perhaps unfair to the Greco-Roman period but is indicative of the bias of most Egyptologists; see Robert K. Ritner, "Implicit Models of Cross-Cultural Interaction: A Question of Noses, Soap, and Prejudice," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond,* ed. Janet H. Johnson (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992), 284–86.

2. Jaromir Malek, *Egyptian Art* (London: Phaidon, 1999), 355, 363–74; Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 210–29; W. Stevenson Smith and William Kelly Simpson, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt,* 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 232, 239 (2nd ed., 395, 408).

3. Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 160–81.

4. See Peter Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994).

5. See Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 2:245*–49*.

6. For which, see Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu* (London: British Museum, 1997), 36–49; Malcolm Mosher, "Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 143–72.

7. I have tried, insofar as possible, to cite sources from the Saite period. Sources from other periods have been used if there has been no compelling reason not to.

8. Summaries of historical information are readily available in, for example, Alan B. Lloyd, "The Late Period (664–332 B.C.)," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 369–83; Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt,* trans. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 354–66.

9. For specific dates, events, and people of this period, see Robert F. Smith, "Book of Mormon Event Structure: The Ancient Near East," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 5/2 (1996): 110–28.

10. The inscription reads: "When king Psammetichus came to Elephantine, this was written by those who went on by boat with Psammetichus, son of Theocles; they came beyond Kerkis, as far as the river allowed; Potasimto commanded the foreigners and Amasis, the Egyptians. Archon, son of Amoibichos and Pelekos, son of Eudamos wrote this." *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1923–), 16:863; P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer,* 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 7. For Egyptian records of the expedition, see Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past,* 333–71. The expedition brought back 4,200 prisoners, and the Nubian king was burned. Another view of this campaign appears in Herodotus, *Histories* 2.30.

11. See the sources in the previous note.

12. For which, see Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "The Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses," *Transeuphratène* 25 (2003): 9–60.

13. Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "A Model for the Political Structure of Ancient Egypt," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer,* ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1994), 45–53; Dorothy J. Crawford, "The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposiums 27–29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1978), 200.

14. John Gee, "Notes on Egyptian Marriage: P. BM 10416 Reconsidered," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 15 (2001): 19–22, 25.

15. All the marriage documents that we have were written by scribes, who filled a religious office in Egypt; Sven P. Vleeming, "Some Notes on Demotic Scribal Training in the Ptolemaic Period," in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists,* ed. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 1994), 185; Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), 248. For the role of the scribe in the marriage documents, see ibid., 247–53.

16. Eugene Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents: A Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1985), 92.

17. From Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 60, table 3.1, and 67, table 3.2. While information in this source is taken from censuses of Roman Egypt, it is likely indicative of Saite Egypt as well, with one possible exception. In the Roman period, as single men aged twenty to twenty-four outnumbered single women in the age range of fifteen to nineteen by about forty percent, there was "an appreciable 'surplusage' of younger males unable to marry and begin a family of their own." Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 121. The change in the ratio of males to females is likely to have taken place in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods with the importing of large numbers of soldiers (males) serving in the army who were brought into Egypt—there they settled without bringing in any significant number of additional females.

18. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 60.

19. Ibid., 67.

20. Ibid., 67–68. This, like many of the other statistics from the Roman period, may not be entirely accurate for the Saite period.

21. Ibid., 112. Suggestions that the early age for Egyptian women marrying was based on Aristotle's political theories seem unlikely; Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Family History in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists,* 595, but see 597.

22. Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri 332 B.C.–640 A.D.,* 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 167, 178; Pestman, *New Papyrological Primer,* 151.

23. Pomeroy, "Family History in Ptolemaic Egypt," 594.

24. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 113.

25. Ibid., 115.

26. Ibid., 116.

27. P. Onch. 11/7, in S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, Volume II, The Instructions of ʿOnchsheshonqy* (London: British Museum, 1955), pl. 11.

28. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 116.

29. Ibid., 118–19.

30. Ibid., 122.

31. Ibid., 123–24; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyri* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1923), 1–19; P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 71–75.

32. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 124–25.

33. Ibid., 123.

34. Ibid., 126–27.

35. Ibid., 126.

36. P. Onch. 8/12, in Glanville, *Instructions of ʿOnchsheshonqy,* pl. 8.

37. P. Onch. 15/15, in Glanville, *Instructions of ʿOnchsheshonqy,* pl. 15.

38. Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt,* 155.

39. Ibid., 77.

40. Ibid., 100.

41. Erich Lüddeckens, Heinz-Josef Thissen, W. Brunsch, Günter Vittmann, Karl-Th. Zauzich, *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden:

Reichert, 1980–2000), 17:1365; Jan Quaegebeur, "Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teëphthaphônukhos," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 4 (1973): 85–100. For the problems with the pronunciation, see Jan Quaegebeur, "The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription," *Onoma* 18 (1974): 403–20.

42. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch,* 17:1364. Other similar names occurring at the time are *ḏd-imn-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Amun said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1362), *ḏd-in-ḥr-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Onuris said 'He will live'" (ibid.), *ḏd-is.t-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Isis said 'He will live'" (ibid.), *ḏd-wp-wȝ.wt-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Wepwawet said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1363), *ḏd-wsir-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Osiris said 'He will live'" (ibid.), *ḏd-bȝst.t-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Bastet said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1364), *ḏd-mw.t-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Mut said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1365), *ḏd-mnṯ-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* (Gr. Kamentebonch) "Montu said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1366), *ḏd-ḥr-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Horus said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1370), *ḏd-ḥr-bn-iw=f-th.ṯ=f* "Horus said, 'He will not be harmed'" (ibid.), *ḏd-ḫnsw-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* (Gr. Chensephonuchos) "Khonsu said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1374–75), *ḏd-tȝ-wry-iw=s-ꜥnḫ* "Thoeris said 'She will live'" (ibid., 1375), and *ḏd-ḏḥwty-iw=f-ꜥnḫ* "Thoth said 'He will live'" (ibid., 1376).

43. A. Jeffrey Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 106–8, 185–92, 230–31, 240–41.

44. Gustave Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du moyen empire* (Cairo: IFAO, 1933), 49; A. Niwinski, "Sarg NR-SpZt," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–90), 5:456; Bezalel Porten and John Gee, "Aramaic Funerary Practices in Egypt," in *The World of the Aramaeans II,* ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 270–71.

45. Alan B. Lloyd, "The Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 332.

46. Robert K. Ritner, "The End of the Libyan Anarchy in Egypt: P. Rylands IX. cols. 11–12," *Enchoria* 17 (1990): 105–8.

47. Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 333.

48. Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 309, notes that "most, if not all, of the warrior class originated from Libyan mercenaries who

had settled in Egypt during the New Kingdom or had subsequently infiltrated the country where they were probably permitted to take up residence on condition that they provided military service to the Crown when called upon to do so." See also Lloyd, "Late Period (664–332 B.C.)," 372.

49. Lloyd, "Late Period (664–332 B.C.)," 372–73; Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 284; Erik Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 139; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt,* 354–55.

50. See John C. Darnell, "The *Kbn.wt* Vessels of the Late Period," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society,* 67–89; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt,* 361–63.

51. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica,* 1:30*–31*, 47*–55*; Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 306–7.

52. P. Berlin 13540, in George R. Hughes, "The So-called Pherendates Correspondence," in *Grammatika Demotika* (Würzburg: Zauzich, 1984), 78; Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 303.

53. See Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIIIèmes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs a l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Louvain: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989).

54. Lloyd, "Late Period, 664–323 B.C.," 306.

55. See Heinz-Josef Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu: Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Sommerhausen: Zauzich, 1989), 43–44; Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1986), 152–54.

56. Vleeming, "Demotic Scribal Training," 186. For the relevance of Vleeming's article to the Saite period, see ibid., 185: "The premise from which I start is that the scribal tradition among demotic notary scribes was a continuous one from the Saite into the Roman period."

57. Georges Posener, "Quatre tablettes scolaires de basse époque (Aménémopé et Hardjédef)," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 18 (1966): 45–65; Georges Posener, "Une nouvelle tablette d'Aménémopé," *Revue d'Egyptologie* 25 (1973): 251–52; Crawford, "Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt," 197. For later examples, see Edda Bresciani, Sergio

Pernigotti, and Maria C. Betrò, *Ostraka demotici da Narmuti I* (Pisa, Italy: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1983).

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59. Vleeming, "Demotic Scribal Training," 186.

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66. Bernadette Menu, "Les juges égyptiens sous les dernières dynasties indigènes," in *Acta Demotica = Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 218–19; Vleeming, "Demotic Scribal Training," 185–86.

67. Menu, "Les juges égyptiens sous les dernières dynasties indigènes," 218–19.

68. Jan Quaegebeur, "La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit," in *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès,* ed. Christian Cannuyer and Jean-Marie Kruchten (Brussels: Association Montoise d'Égyptologie, 1993), 201–20; Menu, "Les juges égyptiens sous les dernières dynasties indigènes," 219–20.

69. Vleeming, "Demotic Scribal Training," 185–86.

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72. John Gee, "Two Notes on Egyptian Script," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 5/1 (1996): 164–65, 174–76.

73. Michel Malinine, *Choix des textes juridiques en hiératique anormal et en démotique* (vol. 1: Paris: Champion, 1953; vol. 2: Cairo, IFAO, 1983), 1:iv–xvi; Gee, "Two Notes on Egyptian Script," 162–64, 166–74. To the literature cited there, add Günter Vittmann, "Ein kursivhieratisches Wörterbuch," in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography,* ed. Sven P. Vleeming (Louvain: Peeters, 1987), 149–51; Depauw, *Companion to Demotic Studies,* 22.

74. Ritner, "End of the Libyan Anarchy in Egypt," 102.

75. For an overview, see Depauw, *Companion to Demotic Studies,* 22–23.

76. For bibliography, see John Gee, "La Trahison des Clercs: On the Language and Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6/1 (1994): 96–97 n. 147, to which now add Depauw, *Companion to Demotic Studies,* 39–41, and for historical aspects, Grant Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1992), 19–20, 96 n. 157, 109, 131 n. 1, 137, 140, 154–55, 239 n. 150.

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82. Indicative (although it applies to the Ptolemaic period) is François Daumas, "Les textes géographiques du trésor D' du temple de Dendara," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Louvain: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 2:689–705.

83. Lloyd, "Late Period (664–332 B.C.)," 374–76; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt,* 355.

84. George R. Hughes, "Are There Two Demotic Writings of šw?" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 14 (1956): 80–88.

85. The basic work is Dimitri Meeks, "Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East,* 2:605–87. Of the actual donation stele, by my count thirty-five percent come from the Saite period.

86. George R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 3–5, 74–75; for the rates, see the individual documents published in ibid., 9–10, 18, 28–29, 51–52, 68–69.

87. Such financial excesses may stand in part behind the Book of Mormon condemnation of "priestcraft." In addition, the association of the term *priesthood* with the idea of "priestly office" may account for the Book of Mormon usage that similarly connects the term *priesthood* with the office of the high priest. Thus, the text speaks of the fact that "Alma delivered up the judgment-seat to Nephihah, and confined himself wholly *to the high priesthood of the holy order of God,* to the testimony of the word, according to the spirit of revelation and prophecy" (Alma 4:20), while at the same time explaining: "Now

Alma did not grant unto [Nephihah] *the office of being high priest over the church,* but he retained the office of high priest unto himself; but he delivered the judgment-seat unto Nephihah" (Alma 4:17–18). Thus the phrase *the office of . . . high priest over the church* is equivalent here to the phrase *high priesthood of the holy order of God.*

88. To list the most famous examples: P. Rylands IX; see F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1909), 1:pl. XXIII–XLVII; 2: pls. 21–42; 3:60–112; Günter Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998). For the Battle over the Prebend of Amon, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910); Bruno H. Stricker, "De strijd om de praebende van Amon," *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 29 (1948): 71–83; Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Die Länge des P. Spiegelberg," in *Acta Demotica = Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 145–55; Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des Papyrus Spiegelberg—Ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," in *Hundred-Gated Thebes,* ed. Sven P. Vleeming (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 43–60; Depauw, *Companion to Demotic Studies,* 88.

89. Janet H. Johnson, "The Role of the Egyptian Priesthood in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker,* ed. Leonard H. Lesko (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 78–79.

90. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge,* 12–17.

91. Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents,* 17–18, 19–20, 26–27, 31; for half price for half a cow, see ibid., 15.

92. Jac J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

93. Perhaps the best source is Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge,* 288–304.

94. Karl W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 34–36 and chart on p. 15.

95. This section relies extensively on six documents: (1) The ritual for the daily cult of Amon (Third Intermediate Period), P. Berlin 3055, in Adolf Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*

(Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 1:Taf. I–XXXVII; (2) the ritual for the daily cult of Mut (Third Intermediate Period), P. Berlin 3014+3053, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. 38–66; (3) the daily cult ritual of the temple of Horus at Edfu (Ptolemaic Period), in Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées,* 2 vols. (Cairo: IFAO, 1949–54); (4) P. Bremner Rhind (Ptolemaic Period), in Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188)* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933); (5–6) the Abydos execration ritual in P. Louvre 3129 and P. BM 10252, both in Siegfried Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929–1939), VI 4–59.

96. P. Berlin 3055 2/4–3/3, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. II–III; P. Berlin 3014 1/5–2/6, in ibid., 1:Taf. 38–39.

97. P. Berlin 3055 3/3–8, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. III; P. Berlin 3014 2/6–10, in ibid., 1:Taf. 39.

98. P. Berlin 3055 3/8–4/6, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. III-IV; P. Berlin 3014 2/10–3/10, in ibid., 1:Taf. 39–40.

99. P. Berlin 3055 26/2–10, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXVI; P. Berlin 3053 21/2–22/6, in ibid., 1:Taf. 54–55.

100. P. Berlin 3055 26/9–27/7, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXVI–XXVII.

101. P. Berlin 3055 27/7–10, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXVII.

102. P. Berlin 3055 27/10–30/8, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXVII–XXX.

103. P. Berlin 3055 30/8–32/8, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXX–XXXII.

104. P. Berlin 3055 37/6–8, in Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus,* 1:Taf. XXXVII.

105. *Schott, Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts,* VI 5, 37–53; P. Bremner Rhind 22/2–23/16, in Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind,* 42–47. For these actions in their larger ancient Egyptian context, see Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963), 1:12, 15, 21, 28, 105, 120, 124–26, 163–65, 188–90; 2:26, 29–30, 48, 132–34, 158–59, 180–82; Erik Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 17–29; Anthony Leahy,

"Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 199–206; Georges Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), 32–33, 75–77; Anthony Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989): 43, 45 n. n; Erik Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher der Ägypter* (Zürich: Artemis, 1989), 61, 65, 70–71, 73, 77, 82–83, 88, 102–3, 112, 116–17, 119–21, 127, 130–32, 134–35, 142–43, 149, 154–55, 159–60, 164–65, 168–69, 174–75, 179–81, 183–84, 186–87, 191–92, 206–7, 227, 254–55, 268, 270–73, 278–79, 282–83, 299–301, 314–15, 361, 404–5, 407, 454–55, 459, 477, 490–91; Harco Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Moʿalla Inscription 8)," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990): 37, 40–41, 46–47, 49–51; Scott Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the History, Structure and Use of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1991), 81, 96–109, 115, 132–33, 135; Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought,* trans. Elizabeth Bredeck (New York: Timken, 1992), 99–102; Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 82–88, 113–36, 142–44, 157–59, 163–71; Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.) with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1995), 53–55.

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107. Ragnhild B. Finnestad, "Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Byron E. Shafer (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 225–26.

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