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Chapter 1

Introduction

Notes

¹ H. Gauthier, LR I, II, III,

² J. Buttles, Queens

³ W. Seipel, Königinnen

⁴ eg. Brugsch, ZÄS 24 (1886), pp.3ff; Gauthier, ASAE 24 (1924), pp.198 - 209; Guest, Ancient Egypt (1926), pp.46 - 50; Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), pp.99 - 110; Helck, Orientalia 19 (1950), pp.416 - 434; Montet, Kêmi 14 (1957), pp.92 - 101; Fischer, Orientalia 29 (1960), pp.184 - 190; idem. JEA 60 (1974), pp.94 - 99; Drenkhahn, SAK 4 (1976), pp.59 - 67; Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85; Kuchman, JSSEA 7 (1977), pp.9 - 12; idem. JSSEA 8 (1978), pp.21 - 25.

⁵ G. Jéquier, deux pyramides

⁶ S. Hassan, Giza IV, pp.1 - 35

⁷ W. B. Emery, GT II

⁸ N. Farag & Z. Iskander, Neferwptah

⁹ eg. Junker, MDAIK 3 (1932), pp.139 - 151; ASAE 38 (1938), pp.209 - 215; Altenmüller, CdÉ 45 (1970), pp.223 - 235.

¹⁰ C. Bleeker, The Sacral Kingship, p.262

¹¹ Seipel, Königinnen, pp.311 - 341

¹² G. Robins, Egyptian Queens

¹³ L. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary

¹⁴ Vandersleyen, Guerres, pp.129 - 196, CdÉ 52 (1977), pp.223 - 231, SAK 8 (1980), pp.237 - 241, GM 63 (1983), pp.67ff.

¹⁵Robins, GM 30 (1978), pp.71 - 76; GM 52 (1981), pp.71 - 77; GM 56 (1982), pp.71 - 78; idem., pp.79 - 87; idem. in Images, edd. Cameron & Kuhrt, pp.65 - 78; idem. GM 62 (1983), pp.70 - 78.

¹⁶C. Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 47 (1981), pp.15 - 19; GM 49 (1981b), p.17f; GM 54 (1982), pp.31 - 45; GM 60 (1982b), pp.7f; GM 61 (1983), pp.13 - 16; GM 68 (1983b), pp.37 - 39.

¹⁷L. Troy, GM 35 (1979), pp.81 - 91; GM 50 (1981), pp.81 - 96

¹⁸eg.Kuchman Sabbahy's conclusions concerning the title of s3t ntr (Titulary, p.358f.), the cults for queens (p.361), the priesthood of queens (p.374), and the queen's association with hmt ntr in the New Kingdom), etc.

¹⁹L. Troy, Queenship

²⁰ibid. pp.102ff.

²¹P. János, Pyramidenanlagen

²²János, MDAIK 41 (1989), pp.187 - 202

²³eg.János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.1 and n.1,2; pp.312ff., etc.

²⁴ibid. pp.312 - 318

²⁵ibid. pp.55 - 74

²⁶Troy, Queenship

²⁷The reason for treating this period as a unit suitable for survey is that the iconography and titulary of queens during this time present a remarkable unity, which ceases with the rise of the Thutmosid dynasty - the real beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

²⁸M. Gitton, divines épouses; E. Graefe, Göttesmahlin.

²⁹This has already been mentioned in the second paragraph of this chapter.

³⁰Robins, Egyptian Queens, p.1

³¹ loc. cit.

³² eg. A striking example of this phenomenon is Kmj, wife of H^c-^cnh, and the mother of three sons who became kings. Although Kmj is named as mwt nswt on several scarabs of the king she is not present on any monument, and it is particularly difficult to determine the role of the king's mother in this period.

³³ ibid. p.8; and Vol. 4, p.172

³⁴ Djoser's Heliopolis relief (Smith, HESPOK, fig.49); the kneeling wife beside the statue of King Djedefre (Chassinat, Mon. Piot 25 {1921/2}, p.59 fig.2); Jpwt with Pepy I on the Koptos stele (Goedicke, KD, p.43 fig,4); Mrj-R^c-^cnh.n.s II on the Sinai relief (Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai I, pl. IX).

³⁵ The Shatt el Rigal relief (Petrie, Season, pl. XVI) features Queen J^ch; Hnmt-nfr-^hdt II appears on a Medamud block (Cairo, JE 66569), and in triple statue groups with the king and her mother (BM 163/1145, BM 164/1146); Htp.tj is mentioned at Medinet Maadi (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 {1947}, p.350), as is Nfrw-Pth (ibid. p,508).

³⁶ Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI

³⁷ Queen H³-^cnh.s II appears with King Rahotep (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2 & 3); Ttj-šrj appears on a relief with Ahmose (UCL 14402), and on the dedicatory stele (CG 34002); J^ch-^htp II appears in a temple scene from Buhen (Randall-Maciver & Woolley, Buhen, pl. 35).

³⁸ British Museum EA 1835.

³⁹ Seipel, Königinnen, p.343

⁴⁰ Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.373) considered that it was first used at the beginning of the New Kingdom, but Mrt-sgr, wife of Senwosret III - see discussion in the Titles section of her prosopographical entry - and Queen Jnnj of Dynasty XIII were earlier than this.

⁴¹ Contra Kuchman Sabbahy, (Titulary, pp.233, p.239) who assigns the first example of the title to S3t-Sbk. She repeats her assumption on p.272, and couples its use with the use of the cartouche.

⁴²The use of hnmt nfr hdt, towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, seems to indicate the queen with pre-eminent rank, but the frequency with which this title is used is still questionable.

⁴³Thus we have four consorts who carry this title: Sšmt-k3, Sm3, W3d-nht, and Queen X.

⁴⁴Troy, Queenship, p.152

⁴⁵See discussion on this p.23 Chapter 2.

⁴⁶See p.216 Chapter 5.

⁴⁷See p.289 Chapter 7.

⁴⁸As does Troy's definition of the 'feminine prototype' for her particular study. See Queenship, pp.2ff., 53ff.

Chapter 2

The Titulary of Queens Dyns I - XVII

Notes

¹Troy (Queenship, p.181) prefers 'green of girl-hood'; Goedicke (SAK 15 (1988), p.112f.) prefers 'foster-daughter of the uraeus'.

²Nord (Serapis 2 {1976}, p.12) points out that the grammatical translation should be, 'one who is ornamented by the king', a passive participle. Perhaps a more convenient title is 'one adorned by the king'.

³This differs from nbt in that the word probably derived from hn, implies one who commands, whereas nbt is to be translated as 'one in possession of' (Lorton, Juridical Terminology, p.44).

⁴Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), pp.94 - 99

⁵Kaplony, IÄF, p.612

⁶Petrie, Tarkhan I, pl. 2

⁷This is an imperfect active participle which (commonly) does not need to display any special participial ending (Gardiner, Grammar #357).

⁸Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.27f.

⁹Kaplony, IÄF, pp.442f.

¹⁰Troy, Queenship, p.152

¹¹ibid. p.81

¹²W. Barta, Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit, p.182, citing as evidence PT 211b and 1715a.

¹³Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig. 8

¹⁴Emery, GT II, p.141

¹⁵ de Rougé, Recherches sur les monuments, pp.44f, 57 - 59.

¹⁶ As for example, Mr.s-^cnh III (west wall of chapel), Hknw-hdt (LD II.41b), Rht-R^c (Hassan, Giza III, fig.3), Nj-m3^ct-H^cp II (Reisner, Giza I, p.253), Nbtj-nwb (Mariette, Mastabas, D18 p.225) etc.

¹⁷ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.25

¹⁸ Troy, Queenship, p.64

¹⁹ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.23

²⁰ Petrie, RT II, pl. 27

²¹ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.19ff.

²² ibid. p.21

²³ ibid. p.22

²⁴ Petrie, RT II, pl. 27

²⁵ Troy, Queenship, p.79

²⁶ Emery, Hemaka, p.35 fig.8

²⁷ eg. Mertz, Certain Titles, p.33; L. Kuchman, SSEA Newsletter 7, No.3 (1977), p.10

²⁸ Troy, Queenship, pp.79 - 84

²⁹ WB 3, p.207, where the frequent translation 'gröss an Kunst' is explained as an error.

³⁰ A discussion on this ceremony on the macehead and other reliefs is to be found in Troy (op. cit. pp.81 and 84), who elaborates on the ritual significance of the hts sceptre and related items.

³¹ ibid. p.85

³² eg. Nfrw-R^c at Deir el Bahri - see illustration in Troy (op. cit. fig.55).

³³ eg. Petrie, History I, p.34; Reisner/ Smith, Giza II,

p.6.

³⁴Helck, CdÉ 44 (1969), pp.22 - 26

³⁵Meyer (SAK 11 {1984}, p.255) has shown that the iconographic examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty differ between the actual wife and the king's daughter (p.256).

³⁶Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), p.97

³⁷Kaplony, IÄF, fig.866

³⁸R. Faulkner, JEA 58 (1972), p.300

³⁹de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I, pl. LXII; Mariette, Mastabas, p.565.

⁴⁰Mr.s-ꜥnh III, Hatshepsut, and Princesses Nfrw-R^ꜥ, four daughters of Amenhotep III, and Mrjt-Jmn, daughter of Rameses in the New Kingdom.

⁴¹eg.Mr.s-ꜥnh III.

⁴²Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), pp.33 - 43

⁴³Nur-el-Din, Orientalia Lovaniensia 11 (1980), pp.93 - 97. Nur-el-Din has a number of misconceptions here, one of which concerns his view of the position of Queen J^ꜥh-hꜥp II of Dynasty XVII, and his opinion that she was the mother of Queen J^ꜥh-ms.

⁴⁴On the unusual writing of this title for certain queens see Callender, SAK 18 (1991), Appendix I.

⁴⁵KRI II, 846

⁴⁶Queen Nfr-hꜥp.s of Dynasty V has only one title recorded for her, that of mwt nswt, in the tomb of Pr-sn. If Hnt-(t..) were the mother of Weserkare then she, too, would be added to this group.

⁴⁷It is now evident that King Weserkare, present upon both the Abydos and Turin lists, and attested by two cylinder seals, reigned before Pepy did.

⁴⁸eg. Edel, MIO I (1953), pp.183f; Stadelmann, SAK 11 (1984), p.172, etc.

⁴⁹ On a flint implement found in the mortuary temple of Menkaure her name and the title of mwt nswt were inscribed (Reisner, Mycerinus, pl. 19a; the inscription in the tomb of Nj-m3^ct-R^c also suggests a link as the mother of Menkaure), but no king is named.

⁵⁰ For further discussion consult the prosopographical entries on these women.

⁵¹ Lorton (JARCE 11 {1974}, pp.98 - 101), however, does not share this view, considering that the issue was to do with financial malpractice. His view has been rejected by this writer, see Chapter 3 pp.127f.

⁵² Goedicke, JAOS 74 (1954), pp.88f., idem. JAOS 75 (1955), pp.180ff; Kanawati, CdÉ 56 (1981), pp.203 - 217.

⁵³ Kaiser, Festschrift Ricke, pp.87 - 105

⁵⁴ Contra Troy, Queenship, p.152, and others, who see her as the daughter of Djoser. The interpretation of the legends on the reliefs on which the two women are shown is ambiguous, but in my opinion reads, 's3t nswt Jnt-k3.s, m33t Hr, s3t nswt Htp-hr-Nbtj'.

⁵⁵ Firth, ASAE 25 (1925), p.149

⁵⁶ Smith, HESPOK, p.133 fig. 48

⁵⁷ Weill, Sphinx 15 (1911), p.17f., No.11; and Smith, op. cit. fig.50, where it is not drawn exactly, in the opinion of Kaplony, IÄF, p.423

⁵⁸ Kaplony, IÄF, p.424

⁵⁹ Robins, GM 62 (1983), pp.67 - 77

⁶⁰ Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid II, pls. 86f.

⁶¹ Junker, Giza II, pp.32 - 40

⁶² Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.46 - 102

⁶³ ibid. p.123f.

⁶⁴ eg. Nf^rt-k3 (Dyn. IV), daughter of Prince H^c.f-Hwfw, W^hm-nf^rt and Intt (Dyn. V), both daughters of Princess Wnst, H^c-mrr-Nbtj B and Mrjt-jt.s C (Dyn. V), were both s3t nswt and

daughters of Princess H^c-mrr-Nbtj A.

⁶⁵ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.131

⁶⁶ Mariette, Mastabas, D14

⁶⁷ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.112

⁶⁸ Seipel, Königinnen, p.213

⁶⁹ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.95

⁷⁰ Champollion, Monuments III, pl. CCCXXI.3; and KRI II, 926,4.

⁷¹ Meyer, SAK 11 (1984), p.258

⁷² Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.109

⁷³ LD I.16

⁷⁴ Daressy, ASAE 10 (1910), p.46

⁷⁵ eg. Htp-hr.s II is described as s3t nswt nt ht.f and s3t nswt on her own sarcophagus (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig.14) and all the others have legitimate titles of kings' daughters in other citations from their monuments.

⁷⁶ eg. Prince Nfr-R^c, on the Ghazouli Block (Posener-Krieger, Archives II, p.531) was clearly a true eldest son.

⁷⁷ Schmitz, S3-NSWJT, pp.95 - 98

⁷⁸ Jpwt II was entitled 's3t nswt smswt', not 'wrt', as Kuchman Sabbahy has recorded it (Titulary, p.117).

⁷⁹ As, for example, Htp-hr.s II on her sarcophagus, where both the extended and short titles are inscribed (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig.14).

⁸⁰ ibid. p.111

⁸¹ eg. Troy, Queenship, p.155

⁸² Reisner/Smith, Giza II, p.11 and fig.10

⁸³ Recorded on Hmt-R^c's sarcophagus, Urk. I.80; recorded

on Jntj's false door: Málek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pls. VI - VIII.

⁸⁴ Gift false door, Habachi, SAK 10 (1983), p.211. Both Troy (Queenship, p.195) and Habachi (p.210) translate 'wrt' as 'eldest'.

⁸⁵ Louvre E 15682

⁸⁶ See discussion in Chapter 8 pp.359f.

⁸⁷ Urk. IV.34

⁸⁸ Gauthier, LR II, p.302

⁸⁹ CG5113

⁹⁰ PM V, p.215

⁹¹ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.258ff., 278ff., 285f. and passim.

⁹² ibid. p.254

⁹³ The marriage with Cnh.s-n-p3-Jtn is not so secure - ibid. p.311; Helck, CdÉ 44 (1969), pp.24f; Meyer, SAK 11 (1984), pp.262f. Jst, daughter of Amenhotep III, was also a hmt nswt.

⁹⁴ C. Van Siclen III, JNES 33 (1974), pp.150 - 153; Grist JEA 71 (1985), pp.77 -81

⁹⁵ Meyer, SAK 11 (1984), pp.258f.

⁹⁶ B. van de Walle, CdÉ 43 (1968), figs.1 and 2

⁹⁷ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.309

⁹⁸ On the back of her chair, CG 51113.

⁹⁹ Reisner, Giza II, p.2

¹⁰⁰ Hassan, Giza IV, p.12

¹⁰¹ eg. Smith, CAH I/2, p.164

¹⁰² eg. Pepy II's ancestry is known; Neferkare was also clearly Pepy II's son.

¹⁰³ W. Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130

¹⁰⁴ Although Schmitz includes Jpwt in her discussion on the s3t ntr, it is questionable whether Jpwt uses the s3t ntr title. Schmitz based her interpretation on Gauthier, LR I, p.146, which gives the phrase . Firth & Gunn do not record this inscription.

¹⁰⁵ see p.90 of her prosopography (Vol. III).

¹⁰⁶ Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130

¹⁰⁷ Schmitz, op. cit. pp.134 - 140

¹⁰⁸ ibid. pp.138f.

¹⁰⁹ CG 1431

¹¹⁰ The claims of a third s3t ntr are also strong: Hnt-k3w.s I on an offering table (Hassan, Giza IV, pl.XXVIIc).

¹¹¹ Kaplony, Kleine Beiträge, fig.1114, and p.21

¹¹² Stadelmann, LÄ IV.993f.

¹¹³ Goedicke, Re-used Blocks, p.153

¹¹⁴ Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.80; see also idem, SAK 11 (1984), p.166

¹¹⁵ BAR I, #145

¹¹⁶ Stadelmann, MDAIK 36 (1980), Table 1, and pp.440f.

¹¹⁷ This is on evidence that the mastaba contains stone chips from the Meidum pyramid, which Stadelmann attributes to Sneferu, not Huni (Pyramiden, p.442).

¹¹⁸ Ziegler, RdÉ 31 (1979), pp.120 - 134

¹¹⁹ Stadelmann, op. cit. p.442 and Petrie, Medum, pp.11 - 13; idem. Meydum and Memphis, pp.3f. For a contrary discussion on these princes as 'eldest sons' see Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.23f, 65f.

¹²⁰ Since it is apparent that Khafre himself was a king by indirect succession, it is likely that, had his mother's records survived, she, too, would have been entitled s3t ntr.

¹²¹ Drioton, BSFÉ 16 (1954), pp.41 - 49

¹²² The Abydos list has only the six familiar names.

¹²³ Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.140

¹²⁴ Smith, CAH I/2A, p.178

¹²⁵ Jéquier, Studies, p.11

¹²⁶ It is uncertain which of the three kings of this name he may have been.

¹²⁷ Stadelmann, SAK 11 (1984), pp.167 - 169

¹²⁸ Lichtheim, Literature I, p.52

¹²⁹ ibid. p.53

¹³⁰ For a more detailed discussion, see Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press).

¹³¹ Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt, the One and the Many (trans. J. Baines), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1982) p.54

¹³² Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130.

¹³³ Princess Nfr-ḥtp.s, Princess N-sdr-k3, Princess Ḥtp-ḥr.s D; Princess Ḥmt-R^c B was the ḥmt ntr of the mrt temple of Teti, in addition to being a ḥmt ntr Ḥwt-Hr.

¹³⁴ Princesses Sdt, Wnst, Ḥtp-ḥr.s D, Ḥtp-ḥr.s C (a titular princess) and Ḥmt-R^c B.

¹³⁵ Blackman, JEA 7 (1921), p.12

¹³⁶ Hassan, Giza III, p.181; Smith, CAH I/2A, p.177.

¹³⁷ Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des alten Reiches, pp.73ff., in which the author shows that, of the religious cults in Old Kingdom times, 109 people were her priests, compared with far fewer numbers for the cults of Horus or Re.

¹³⁸ Blackman, op. cit. p.12; Allam, Beiträge, p.12, 121f., and *passim*; Troy, Queenship, pp.21ff., 53 - 72 and *passim*.

¹³⁹ Concerning Bw-nfr's alleged priesthood see the Titles section of her prosopography.

¹⁴⁰ On a block from Deir el Bahri (BM 1819).

¹⁴¹ Guest, Ancient Egypt (1926), p.46

¹⁴² Helck, Geschichte, p.99

¹⁴³ Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.538

¹⁴⁴ Blackman, op.cit. p.9

¹⁴⁵ Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, Otto, Stierkulte, p.9; idem, LA IV.607f.

¹⁴⁶ Wainwright, JEA 19 (1933), pp.42 - 52

¹⁴⁷ ibid. p.42

¹⁴⁸ Most of the Pyramid Texts he refers to are interpreted by Faulkner as being references to the dead king as a bull (Pyramid Texts, p.65 n.14 etc.).

¹⁴⁹ eg. ibid. p.47. Wainwright's explanation of the sickle shape in front of the bull is also questionable. It is clear even from his illustration (p.50 fig.10) that the instrument is the hpš scimitar, a pun for the bull's foreleg that was provided in the offerings.

¹⁵⁰ PT 280, 283, 293, 332 etc.

¹⁵¹ Kaplony, IÄF, p.456

¹⁵² Otto, Stierkulte, p.9

¹⁵³ Kaplony, RdÉ 22 (1970), p.106

¹⁵⁴ eg. Htp-hr.s II and Mr.s-ḥnh III; Hḥ-mrr-Nbtj I and II.

¹⁵⁵ Kaplony, CdÉ 44 (1969), pp.32f.

¹⁵⁶ The evidence has been generously supplied by Professor Verner in a private letter 23/11/1987. The material is so far unpublished.

¹⁵⁷ Quibell, Excavations, pl. 54.4. See comments under 'Titles' in her prosopography.

¹⁵⁸ In the Amarna period Queen Nfrt-jtj was depicted on the four corners of the sarcophagus of Akhenaten in the pose of the Isis working her magic to restore the dead Osiris to life, which again links the queen to the resurrection of the king.

¹⁵⁹ Kaplony, RdÉ 22 (1970), p.108

¹⁶⁰ ibid. p.106; the same association is offered as an explanation of Vizier Nbt's titles, s3t Gb, s3t Dhwtj, s3t Mrh.

¹⁶¹ For instance, it is he, not Osiris, who declares the deceased m3<t hrw.

¹⁶² See P* 10, Vol. III.

¹⁶³ Kaplony, RdÉ 22 (1970), pp.106f.

¹⁶⁴ Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, pp.156f.

¹⁶⁵ Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), pp.94 - 99

¹⁶⁶ ibid. p.94. Fischer is uncertain where the feminine 't' appears for Mrjt.jt.s' title, but it does seem to fit the first of these words better than the others.

¹⁶⁷ ibid. p.97

¹⁶⁸ Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, pl.XVII a - b

¹⁶⁹ It seems less likely to me that her title should be the hapax legomenon (A3/13) suggested by Troy (Queenship, p.183).

¹⁷⁰ Gauthier, ASAE 24 (1924), p.206

¹⁷¹ Gardiner, Grammar, #327

¹⁷² ibid. #178.4

¹⁷³ See Strudwick, Administration, table 9 p.184

¹⁷⁴ Helck, Beamtentiteln, pp.47f., 121

- ¹⁷⁵Strudwick, op. cit. p.185
- ¹⁷⁶McFarlane, GM 121 (1991), pp.85f.
- ¹⁷⁷ibid. pp.206f.
- ¹⁷⁸Junker, Giza II, pp.189 - 191
- ¹⁷⁹Kaplony, RdÉ 22 (1970), p.107
- ¹⁸⁰J. Vandier, Mo-alla, La Tombe d'Ankhtifi, IFAO Le Caire (1950) IV,98
- ¹⁸¹Dunham and Simpson, op. cit. fig.14
- ¹⁸²Málek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pp.229 - 241
- ¹⁸³Both the identity and number of Khafre's wives are uncertain. The titles of some of his alleged wives are incomplete.
- ¹⁸⁴Troy, Queenship, p.88
- ¹⁸⁵loc. cit.
- ¹⁸⁶CG 34002
- ¹⁸⁷See the frequencies listed in Troy, Queenship, p.191.
- ¹⁸⁸Troy, Queenship, pp.152, 183
- ¹⁸⁹Sethe, in Garstang, Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf, p.23
- ¹⁹⁰Troy, Queenship, p.183
- ¹⁹¹Garstang, Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf, p.23
- ¹⁹²Kees (Götterglaube, pp.249ff., 270 - 278) has suggested that several gods represent the Wr of the title; Junker (Giza II, pp.45ff.) suggests a universal god; Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.91f.) proposes that it indicates one in the service 'of any one of several deities, including the king as Horus'.
- ¹⁹³McFarlane, GM 121 (1991), p.86: Jwn-R^c, son of Khafre was the earliest title-holder.
- ¹⁹⁴cnh-jr.s, CG 310, Baer, Rank and Title, p.63.

¹⁹⁵ See discussion in the Temp. section of their respective prosopographical entries.

¹⁹⁶ eg. Kanawati, Rock Tombs I, fig.16; idem, Rock Tombs II, figs.11 & 12

¹⁹⁷ Brugsch, ZÄS 24 (1886), pp.2 - 4

¹⁹⁸ CG 1578

¹⁹⁹ ibid. p.3

²⁰⁰ Helck, Orientalia 19 (1950), pp.426 - 434

²⁰¹ Mrj-R^c-Cnh.n.s. II, whose regency is practically certain, lacks the title, but see remarks made in this dissertation regarding the regency of queens (p.170f).

²⁰² Gabet, RT 12 (1892), p.217

²⁰³ ibid. p.422

²⁰⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this see arguments in the prosopography of Mrj-R^c-Cnh.n.s I.

²⁰⁵ Mariette, Cat. Abydos, p.87; Stock, Zwischenzeit, p.7; Fischer, JAOS 76 (1954), p.105 (but he has second thoughts in Varia, p.75); Baer, Rank and Title, p.110.

²⁰⁶ Fischer, JAOS 76 (1954), p.104

²⁰⁷ Fischer, Varia, p.75

²⁰⁸ loc. cit. n.36

²⁰⁹ Borchardt, Denkmäler II, p.60

²¹⁰ Fischer, JAOS 76 (1956), p.105 n.30; Baer, Rank and Title, p.110.

²¹¹ Abydos list, A42, A43, A45, A49, A51.

²¹² Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.250f.

²¹³ Robins, Egyptian queens, p.258

²¹⁴ Troy, Queenship, p.134

²¹⁵loc. cit.

²¹⁶eg. Queen Snt, for which see her Prosopography.

²¹⁷eg. Snb-ḥnꜥ.s - for details of whom see her prosopographical entry.

²¹⁸eg. Rn-snb, sister of Sebekhotep III.

²¹⁹R. Engelbach, ASAE 22 (1922), p.126ff.

²²⁰Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.200f.

²²¹Troy, Queenship, pp.88f, with reference to epithets listed as B4/4 - 9 in her book.

²²²All of them were queens, except for God's Wife Jmn-jr-dj.s, who carried a number of titles previously confined to queens alone.

²²³Unless the Abusir fragments also refer to Ḥnt-k3w.s II.

²²⁴Edgerton, JAOS 60 (1940), p.483; and discussion on this in Robins, Egyptian queens, p.273

²²⁵Donation stele, Gitton, BIFAO 76 (1976), p.100

²²⁶Robins, loc. cit.

²²⁷ibid. p.274

²²⁸Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.30), and Troy (Queenship, p.98).

²²⁹Petrie, RT II, pl. XXIV

²³⁰Robins, Egyptian queens, p.275

²³¹Fischer, Orientalia 29 (1960), pp.186f.

²³²Edel, Das Akazienhaus, p.17

²³³ibid. pp.30ff

²³⁴Fischer, Orientalia 29 (1960), pp.185 - 190

²³⁵ Fischer, Varia, p.71 n.17

²³⁶ ibid. p.186

²³⁷ ibid. fig. 7

²³⁸ ibid. pp.187 - 190

²³⁹ Emery, AE, p.59 fig. 21

²⁴⁰ ibid. p.183f. Strudwick (Administration, p.316) gives further details, together with a similar title.

²⁴¹ On an unpublished fragment, 36/A/78, from Abusir; Professor M. Verner of Prague has generously given his permission to use this material.

²⁴² Daressy, ASAE 10 (1910), p.46

²⁴³ Montet, Kêmi 14 (1957), pp.92 - 101

²⁴⁴ Lefebvre, RdÉ 5 (1946), pp.45 - 50

²⁴⁵ Montet, op. cit. p.101

²⁴⁶ Málek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pp.237 - 239

²⁴⁷ Mariette, Mastabas, C 15

²⁴⁸ Hassan, Giza II, pp.206, fig.226 and pl. 78

²⁴⁹ ibid. p.204

²⁵⁰ Junker, Giza II, p.111

²⁵¹ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.70f.

²⁵² Allam, Beiträge, pp.15f. Allam has here accepted Hassan's misreading of hkr nswt named here for a sš hkr nswt. There are no male hkr nswt (Nord, Serapis 2 {1976}, p.11), although there are male officials in charge of hkrt nswt.

²⁵³ Drenkhahn, SAK 4 (1976), pp.59 - 67 - especially p.64 and n.17

²⁵⁴ Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), pp.1 - 16

²⁵⁵ Brack draws attention to two New Kingdom cases where

he suggests the title's connection to the harim seems apparent (SAK 11 {1984}, pp.183 - 186).

²⁵⁶ Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), p.6

²⁵⁷ Troy, Queenship, p.78 prefers to retain the translation of 'ornament' for the title since this has greater relevance for the religious aspect of her discussion on hkrt nswt.

²⁵⁸ For further discussion on the harim see Chapter 3.

²⁵⁹ Jequier, Oudjebten, p.16

²⁶⁰ Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), p.12

²⁶¹ Strudwick, Administration, p.286

²⁶² Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), p.2

²⁶³ ibid. p.11

²⁶⁴ ibid. p.12

²⁶⁵ loc. cit.

²⁶⁶ Troy, Queenship, p.78

²⁶⁷ Drenkhahn, SAK 4 (1976), pp.59 - 67, and especially p.64 and n.17.

²⁶⁸ ibid. pp.61, 63f.

²⁶⁹ Brack, SAK 11 (1984), pp.183 - 186; the present author does not consider these instances to have destroyed Drenkhahn's argument, as Brack suggests - see discussion in Chapter 3.

²⁷⁰ No titles were present in the damaged reliefs of Mjw't's chapel.

²⁷¹ Three princesses/queens are known, Jt-k3jt, Nfrt II, and Nfrw-Pth - discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 pp.289 f.

²⁷² Petrie & Brunton, Lahun I, pp.20f; idem. ASAE 49 (1949), pp.99 - 110

²⁷³ Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), p.99

- ²⁷⁴ D. C. Patch, Reflections of Greatness, No.26, p.38
- ²⁷⁵ de Morgan, Dahchour II, p.68
- ²⁷⁶ Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85
- ²⁷⁷ de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig.118
- ²⁷⁸ Robins, Egyptian queens, p.277
- ²⁷⁹ loc. cit.
- ²⁸⁰ Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), p.60
- ²⁸¹ Robins, op. cit. Vol. I, p.279
- ²⁸² eg. Seal from Lahun, Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), figs.1 & 2; statue of Prince J^ch-ms, Louvre E 15692 (Urk. IV.12); bead of J^ch-ms-nfirt-jrj, Petrie, S & C, pl. 23; Hayes, Scepter II, p.45 (reference only).
- ²⁸³ Urk. I.298
- ²⁸⁴ Robins, Egyptian queens, p.276
- ²⁸⁵ Troy, op. cit. pp.134f.
- ²⁸⁶ Lorton, The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts, p.44, n.21
- ²⁸⁷ J^ch-ms-nfirt-jrj is the notable exception.
- ²⁸⁸ eg. See Chapter 8 p.341.
- ²⁸⁹ Troy, op. cit. p.135
- ²⁹⁰ ibid. p.76
- ²⁹¹ Brunner, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.72
- ²⁹² Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 46
- ²⁹³ Maasara inscription, Urk. IV.25,4f.
- ²⁹⁴ BM 163 and 164
- ²⁹⁵ Gitton, divines épouses, p.88

²⁹⁶ Hnmt-nfr-hdt I, Nfrt II, Snb-hn^c.s II, J^ch-ms-nfrt-jrj, Hatshepsut, Tj^c. It is not held by Mrjt-Jmn I, wife of Amenhotep I, as claimed by some. The relevant title belongs to Queen J^ch-ms-Mrjt-Jmn. See their specific entries.

²⁹⁷ LD III.12

²⁹⁸ Delia (Senwosret III, pp.12 - 14) argues that Mrt-sgr mentioned in the records is the goddess, and that there is no queen of this name - see her prosopographical entry for discussion on this issue.

²⁹⁹ As has been clearly demonstrated by both Troy and Robins in their several articles in GM during the years 1979 - 1982 (see Bibliography), later attestations of titles are frequently suspect.

³⁰⁰ LD IV.33a

³⁰¹ Robins, Egyptian queens, p.8

³⁰² Robins (Egyptian queens, p.225) suggests that they were not real queens. This is not the position of the present author.

³⁰³ loc. cit.

³⁰⁴ Pap. Boulaq 18: Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), pp.51ff.

³⁰⁵ Arsinoe III, at Edfu (LD IV.33a).

³⁰⁶ Gauthier, LR I, pp.264, 265, 283.

³⁰⁷ Troy, Queenship, p.157

³⁰⁸ For a more detailed discussion on this item see the prosopographical entry for Djdt, Dynasty XII.

³⁰⁹ eg. 's3t nswt, snt nswt J^ch-ms-mrjt-Jmn' on a broken wooden fragment: Winlock, Meryet-Amun, p.23 fig. 8 (Cairo JE 55170).

³¹⁰ Lepsius, Auswahl, pl.XI

³¹¹ Maasara rock relief, Urk. IV.25.4

³¹²Gauthier, LR IV, p.417

³¹³For which, see the prosopographical entry of J^ch-htp II and J^ch-ms-nfrr-jrj.

³¹⁴Numerous examples in Petrie, S & C pls.24 and 25.

³¹⁵Graefe, L'Égyptologie I, p.134

³¹⁶CT VI.62

³¹⁷Troy, GM 35 (1979), p.90: coffin lid of Cn-C3t, Hermitage, I:C2.

³¹⁸Urk. IV.225,6

Chapter 3

Hnr and Jpt nsswt - the nature of the harim

Notes

¹ Due to the variant spellings from the original evidence scholars differ in their transliteration. Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz, pp.20; 45 and passim uses hnr, as does Nord; Bryan, BES 4 (1982) pp.35 - 53 prefers hnj/r; Ward Fem. Titles, pp.69 - 80 prefers hnr.wt.

² For a discussion on this term see E. Reiser, Harim, pp.14 - 16; and D. Nord, hnr; Ward, Fem. Titles, pp.69 - 80

³ S. Quirke, RdÉ 39 (1988), p.96

⁴ Steindorff, Ti, pl.60

⁵ S. Wenig, Die Frau im Alten Ägypten, pl.19

⁶ N. Kanawati, El Hawawish I, fig.12

⁷ Kanawati, El Hawawish II, fig.22

⁸ eg. LD II, pl.52; Wreszinski, Atlas III, 29; Nord, hnr, p.141f.

⁹ Ward, op. cit. pp.69 - 75, who does not include Hnt-H^cp. Kaplony (IÄF, p.605) reads Hnt-H^cp's name as 'the musician of Apis'. He rejects Weigall's suggestion that the name meant 'harim woman', on the grounds that a concubine was a lowly status for the mother of a king.

¹⁰ All Old Kingdom examples of the word spell it in this way; later variations include the final 't', or 'wt'.

¹¹ eg. A. Badawy, Ānkhmāhor pl.67; Dbḥn in Hassan, Giza 4, fig.122.

¹² Hmt-R^c A from Saqqara (Mariette, Mastabas, C15); Nfr.s-rs of Giza (Hassan, Giza II, pp.204 -208)

¹³ See Nord, Serapis 2 (1970), pp.1 -16; Bryan, BES 4

(1982), p.52; Lorton, JARCE 11 (1974), p.101; Ward, Fem. Titles, p.77, all of whom endorse this view.

¹⁴ Lacau, Sarc. ant., CG 28006 coffin of Hntj.

¹⁵ Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Part II, Stela UC 14312 mentioning Nfr-B3t's title, in Fischer, JARCE 1 (1962), pl.I

¹⁶ See Montet, Kêmi IV (1942), p.29

¹⁷ Firenze No.60, quoted in Ward, Fem. Titles, p.74.

¹⁸ Fischer, JAOS 76 (1956), pp.106f.

¹⁹ D. Arnold, Tempel I, p.83 n.368; Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.171 n.21. There is no doubt that Hathor, usually under her name of 'the Golden One', is invoked by these dancers, but I have been unable to find the direct evidence of a hnr for Hathor.

²⁰ Edgar, Le Musée Égyptien (ed. Maspero), Vol. III, fig. 5 and pl. 35

²¹ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.77

²² eg. Reiser, Harim, passim.; Kemp, ZÄS 105 (1978), pp.122-133; Lorton, JARCE 11 (1974), p.99, 101

²³ Quirke, RdÉ 39 (1988), p.83

²⁴ For a discussion on the history of the signs for this word see Kaplony, IÄF, I pp.501f. for the early period, and Reiser, Harim, pp.1 - 11; and p.16, for the later history. Ward's views are found in Fem. Titles, Ch. 5.

²⁵ eg. Reiser, Harim, pp.7, 11, 14f; Seipel, LÄ II, 982. Lorton (JARCE 11 {1974}, p.101) considers it to be a collective of women 'taken literally as "the (female), accounted ones of the king," ie., "the women belonging to the king".' His argument is rather confused here.

²⁶ Faulkner, Dictionary, p.16

²⁷ Gardiner Grammar, p.497. This idea was expressed by Blackman, JEA 17 (1931), p.56; Junker, Giza 11, p.127 n.2; Firth and Gunn, TPC I, p.133 n.4.

²⁸ Firth and Gunn, TPC I, pl.54

²⁹Troy, Queenship pp.79f.

³⁰eg. Gardiner thought it was a domed building (Grammar, p.497); Reiser (Harim, pp.7; 32) felt it was a round hut; Troy (Queenship, p.80) that it was the queen's carrying chair.

³¹Nord, JNES 32 (1975), p.144

³²Ward, Fem. Titles, pp.93f.

³³W.A. Ward, Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, Beirut (1982), p.2, who takes his reading from Lorton in JARCE 11 (1974), pp.98ff.

³⁴Lorton, op. cit. pp.98ff.

³⁵ibid. p.83

³⁶P. Lacau and J-P. Lauer, La pyramide à degrés, Inscriptions, Vol. IV, pl.22, pp.121f.

³⁷Kaplony, IÄF, p.515

³⁸Ward, Fem. Titles, p.83

³⁹R. Weill, Recherches 1, pp.229f; Lacau and Lauer, op. cit. Part 2, p.60.

⁴⁰Smith, Art and Architecture, pl.14

⁴¹Ward, Fem. Titles, Appendix C

⁴²ibid. p.86 - 8

⁴³ibid. p.86

⁴⁴loc. cit.

⁴⁵ibid. especially pp.81, 83, 94.

⁴⁶Mariette, Mastabas, p.70

⁴⁷Davies, Amarna VI, pl.XXVIII

⁴⁸Pap. Boulaq 18 X11II.2, 11 - 15; for discussion see A. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1919), p.60. Later literature mentions specifically the royal wives, daughters, sisters and women of the

jpt (Urk. III.34), as a group entity.

⁴⁹Kemp, ZÄS 105 (1978), p.132

⁵⁰Petrie, Kahun, pl. XIX; XXII.6

⁵¹Urk. I. 51,13; 98,12; 253,18. See also Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), pp.114 - 120. Whether the educators were the women, as Grdseloff thought (ibid. p.118), has never been established.

⁵²Ward, Fem. Titles, p.91

⁵³Nord, JNES 34 (1975), p.145

⁵⁴Nord, Serapis 2 (1970), pp.1 - 16; idem., hnr, pp.137 -145; Bryan, BES 4 (1982), pp.35 - 54.

⁵⁵BAR IV, #416ff.

⁵⁶as Grdseloff first suggested (ASAE 42 {1943} p.118), by his interpretation of the title 'wrt hts' as 'educatrice'; see Urk. I.51,13, where Špss-Pth says that he was educated with the royal children within the jpt of the royal residence; Wnj's biography also implies that he was one of the palace children (Urk. I.98,12).

⁵⁷Kaplony, IÄF, p.501

⁵⁸A.H. Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents 14 - 15, London (1948), pp.20 - 26; A.P. Thomas, Gurob, a New Kingdom town, Aris and Phillips, Warminster (1981), p.17

⁵⁹Lorton, JARCE 11 (1974), p.101

⁶⁰ibid. p.100

⁶¹Papyrus Wilbour, B 19,8

⁶²Emery, GT III, pl.38.43

⁶³See also Kaplony's doubts, IÄF, p.501

⁶⁴eg. that of S3-Pth, Dynasty XII (Mace, JEA 7 (1921), pl. VIII No.6),; Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, Abydos III, pl.XXXIX.3.

⁶⁵Ward, Fem. Titles, p.92

⁶⁶Reiser, Harım, p.73, who cites 'Hr-Mın' as an example.

Others are in Hassan, Giza III, pl.25; Mrrw-k3, (Saqqara Expedition, Mereruka, pl. 217b); 3ht-htp (Mariette, Mastabas, p.70).

⁶⁷ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.88, fig.5.

⁶⁸ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.87

⁶⁹ Fischer, Varia, p.73

⁷⁰ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.94

⁷¹ Hassan, Giza II, fig.226

⁷² See Ward, Fem. Titles, pp.88, 90, for examples.

⁷³ His reading of this name seems doubtful. Perhaps Dbjt or Dbt would be more likely. I am grateful to Professor Kanawati of Macquarie University for this suggestion.

⁷⁴ Kaplony, IÄF, p.670. Kaplony does not seem to distinguish between the jpt and the hnr/wt, discussing the grave stelae of the women as pertaining to 'der Harem' (pp.372 -374 and passim.).

⁷⁵ Kaplony's reading for this difficult inscription (ibid. p.373) equates hnrt with snrt.

⁷⁶ The assumption has been made by many scholars from time to time. eg. Recently, Desroches-Noblecourt and Vercoutter in Un Siècle de fouilles francaises en Égypte, p.9, 'le courtisan (ou compagnon), Fed'. See Kaplony's illustration No.197.

⁷⁷ eg. Gardiner, EOP, p.122; Drioton & Vandier, L'Égypte, p.248 etc.

⁷⁸ Drenkhahn, SAK 4 (1974), pp.59 - 67

⁷⁹ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.165 - 169; Troy, Queenship, p.157

⁸⁰ The sixth burial, that of the child Mjw, has no titulary on either of her coffins, while any chapel inscriptions or reliefs she might have had have been completely destroyed. It is thus impossible to make a statement about her status.

⁸¹ See Chapter 7, p.311.

⁸²Ward has come to a similar conclusion (Fem. Titles, pp.112f.), although he thinks that they were wives-designate, rather than actual wives, at the time of their deaths.

⁸³Arnold, Tempel I, p.83 n.368. Arnold relies upon evidence for a harim for Hathor on information in Fischer (JAOS 76 {1956}, p.106f.), which does not support the idea that the hnr in question was one dedicated to Hathor.

⁸⁴Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.170ff. Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested this because of two graffiti from Konosso, where Mentuhotep I has been depicted as the god Min in a relief.

⁸⁵Winlock, Treasure of the Three Egyptian Princesses, MMA, New York (1948), p.41

⁸⁶See Prosopography entry for Queen ḥ3šjt P*203.

⁸⁷Hall, Cat. Scarabs, pl.6; BM 40855

⁸⁸Queen ḥ3šjt was also tattooed (Winlock, Rise, p.27).

⁸⁹Daressy, Sphinx 17 (1913), p.99; Winlock, Rise, p.43.

⁹⁰Hayes, Scepter I, p.162

⁹¹Winlock, BMMA 19 (1924), pp.8 - 10

⁹²Lacau, Sarc. ant. II, pp.61 - 65; CG 28025 - 28026.

⁹³Maspero, Dawn, p.153; Hayes, Scepter 1, p.162.

⁹⁴Lacau, op. cit. p.87; CG 28030 (coffin), CG 28109 (mask). Unlike Jmnt, Nwb-ḥr-dj was only a hkrt nswt.

⁹⁵Winlock, BMMA 19 (1924), pp.12f, Hayes, CAH I/2A, p.478

⁹⁶Ward, Fem. Titles, p.104 and n.111a and 112.

⁹⁷ibid. pp.113f.

⁹⁸Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.200

⁹⁹ibid. p.14

¹⁰⁰loc. cit.

¹⁰¹Ward, Fem. Titles, p.107f.

¹⁰² Written in the same way as the titles of Queen
Mrj-R~~c~~-~~c~~nh.n.s II.

¹⁰³ G. Maspero, ZÄS 21 (1883), p.77 is more correct than
Daressy (Rec. Trav. 14 {1893} p.30), according to Kuchman. SSEA
Newsletter 9 (1978), p.23. Kuchman, however, gives 'hst ntrw'
instead of the 'hdt wrt' given by Maspero.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.6 No.60 (BM 4085). This scarab,
mounted in a gold ring, is particularly interesting. Hall reads,
'hmt nswt wrt, c3šjt', a title not attested prior to Dynasty
XIII. Either, the bird is a poor example of the 3 which sometimes
precedes her name (Clère & Vandier, Textes, p.25), or else the
scarab belongs to another queen of like name from Dynasty XIII.

¹⁰⁵ Gauthier, LR I, p.237 n.1

¹⁰⁶ W.K. Simpson, JEA 60 (1974), pp.100 - 105; N. Kanawati,
CdÉ 51 (1976), especially pp.250f; idem, SAK 4 (1976), pp.149
-165; idem, SAK 5 (1977), pp.123 - 129.

¹⁰⁷ Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, p.2

¹⁰⁸ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.99; see also fig.7 on p.96.

¹⁰⁹ Ward (loc. cit.) thinks that where the jpt sign is
needed in hieratic the scribe 'simply reproduced the hieroglyph'.

¹¹⁰ Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, Abydos III, pl.XXXIX No.3

¹¹¹ ASAE 36 (1936), pp.161ff. pl.4.121, 134; pl.5.148.

¹¹² A.C. Mace, JEA 7 (1921), p.36; pl.VIII.6, 16. Whilst the
former title has the  hieroglyph, the latter uses the 
hieroglyph used as a determinative for the jpt in the New Kingdom
period.

¹¹³ L. Borchardt, ZÄS 28 (1890), p.86

¹¹⁴ A. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1919), p.64 and passim.

¹¹⁵ Pap. Boulaq XVIII.26,19; 27,7.

¹¹⁶ Scharff, op. cit. p.64

¹¹⁷ loc. cit.

Chapter 4

Royal Women in the Early DynasticPeriodNotes

¹ Helck, Geschichte, p.24

² Prioton & Vandier, L'Égypte (6th edition, 1984),
p.135

³ P. Kaplony, IÄF, Vol. I, pp.90 - 94, 592 and passim.

⁴ B. Kemp, JEA 52 (1966), pp.13 - 27; idem, Antiquity
41 (1967), p.30

⁵ Hallo & Simpson, The Ancient Near East, p.208

⁶ W. Kaiser, MDAIK 38 (1982), p.259

⁷ Málek, Shadow, p.34

⁸ R. Stadelmann, großen, p.43

⁹ H. Kees, OLZ 53 (1957), pp.12 - 20

¹⁰ A. Gardiner, EOP pp.410f

¹¹ N.M. Postoskaya, CdÉ 38 (1963), p.251

¹² Edwards, CAH I/2A, pp.18ff.

¹³ J-P. Lauer, BIFAO 80 (1980), pp.45f

¹⁴ Emery, GT II, p.142; idem, AE, p.62, 135, 152. He suggests that poison was used, since there were no marks of violence upon the remains.

¹⁵ To date, no known tomb of a Second Dynasty queen has been identified.

¹⁶ Helck, Beamtentiteln, p.86f.

¹⁷ Helck, LÄ IV, 394f.

¹⁸ Seipel (Königinnen, pp.29 - 31), has pointed out that Mrjt-Nt's serekh also displays a variation in her usual depiction of her name.

¹⁹ Kaplony, IÄF, p.590

²⁰ W. Kaiser, Mélanges, Vol. II (ed. P. Posener-Kriéger), p.25

²¹ Kaiser, MDAIK 38 (1982), p.258; in Kaiser's opinion, there are equal arguments favouring either the Naqada, or Aha's Saqqara monument 3357, as being the prototype for the huge, niche-decorated monuments that were built after this time (Mélanges, p.27)

²² J. de Morgan, La Préhistoire orientale II, p.166

²³ Emery, AE, p.230

²⁴ It is larger, for example than Saqqara 3357.

²⁵ Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.19

²⁶ De Morgan, op. cit. p.183; Emery, AE, p.49; Drioton & Vandier, L'Egypte (1984 edn), p.134

²⁷ Kaplony, IÄF, p.592; Helck (Helck, Beamtentiteln, p.87f.) also shares this view.

²⁸ eg. ivory lid, BM 35512. Kaplony (IÄF, n.8), takes this title to be the name 'Zm3 nbwj', a son of Aha and Nt-ḥtp. As Seipel (Königinnen, pp.11 - 16), has shown, Kaplony's argument is not at all strong.

²⁹ Kaplony, op. cit. p.591

³⁰ R. Weill, Recherches I, p.346f.

³¹ Gardiner, EOP, p.411

³² Kaplony, op. cit. p.734

³³ Helck, Beamtentiteln, p.87 fn.60; and LÄ IV, 395

³⁴ Helck (Geschichte, p.30f.), and Seipel (Königinnen,

p.14), also hold this opinion, as does Schulze (Frauen, p.206).

³⁵ Helck, ibid. p.30 n.4

³⁶ Discussion on pp.6 P*

³⁷ L. Habachi, ASAE, 52 (1954), p.460

³⁸ Inscription on the west side of the Karnak obelisk, BAR II, #309

³⁹ H.S.K. Bakry, Revista degli Studi Orientali 46 (1971), pl. VIII, titulary on a headless statue of the queen from Medinet Nasr.

⁴⁰ eg. Helck, Beamtentiteln, p.86f; Kaplony, IÄF, pp.590f; Seipel, Königinnen, p.10.

⁴¹ Kaplony, loc. cit.

⁴² eg. Ttj-šrj, J^ch-ms-nfrrt-jrj, Tjjj, Nfrrt-jtj.

⁴³ See Kaplony, LÄ I, 95f. - although earlier (IÄF, p.591), he had interpreted it as a sign for the Lower Egyptian palace domain of Nt-ḥtp.

⁴⁴ G. Callender, "Female Officials" (in press).

⁴⁵ Helck, Geschichte, p.30; Seipel, Königinnen, p.14; N. Grimal, Histoire de l'Égypte Ancienne, p.62

⁴⁶ We might thus assume that Manetho and his epitimators were not aware of any differentiation where a regent was employed - ie. that Egyptian annalists did not record them.

⁴⁷ In her case there are few instances where her name appears within the serekh; for the majority of inscriptions her name is written without a serekh.

⁴⁸ Emery, GT III, pp.78f.

⁴⁹ I do not mean to imply that this stone provides evidence for the Palermo hiatus; merely that it might suggest a coregency sometime during the Early Dynastic period.

⁵⁰Petrie, RT I, p.2

⁵¹Sethe, altesten Geschichte, p.29

⁵²Petrie, RT I, p.5; Emery, AE, p.65; Schulze, Frauen, pp.207f.

⁵³Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25; Simpson, The Ancient Near East, p.208.

⁵⁴Emery, GT II, pp.129 - 170

⁵⁵Emery, AE, p.65

⁵⁶Emery, GT III, fig.227 p.169 and passim.

⁵⁷A. Weigall, A History, p.46

⁵⁸Sethe, altesten Geschichte, p.47.

⁵⁹Reisner, TD, p.26; 46

⁶⁰Helck, Geschichte, p.33

⁶¹Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.26

⁶²For more detail on the theories concerning Mrjt-Nt's dating see pp.5f. of the Prosopography.

⁶³R.D. Long, ZÄS 103 (1975), pp.30 - 48

⁶⁴ibid. p.36

⁶⁵Haya Ritter Kaplan, JNES 38 (1979), pp.23 - 27

⁶⁶J. Quibell, Archaic Mastabas, p.15

⁶⁷R. Amiran, BASOR 195 (1969), p.50

⁶⁸Kaplan, op. cit. p.24.

⁶⁹ibid. p.25

⁷⁰Kaiser, Mélanges II, p.27

⁷¹Reisner, TD, p.26

⁷² See Petrie, RT I, pls. IV, V, VI, X as comparison, for example.

⁷³ Petrie, Tarkhan II, p.2 ult.

⁷⁴ ibid. p.3, p.16

⁷⁵ R. Weill, Recherches I, p.344

⁷⁶ eg. Newberry and Wainwright in Ancient Egypt (1914), pp.154f; Kaplony, op.cit. p.495; LÄ IV, 93 - for the remainder see the prosopographical entry on this queen, p.5.

⁷⁷ See the collected records of each recording of her name in Seipel, Königinnen, pp.39f. n.13.

⁷⁸ G. Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.36 and pls. 5 and 6.

⁷⁹ Kaiser, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.119

⁸⁰ Kaiser, op. cit. pp.115 - 119

⁸¹ ibid. p.119

⁸² ibid. p.118

⁸³ ibid. p.119 and, especially n.16.

⁸⁴ loc.cit.

⁸⁵ Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.35

⁸⁶ Kaiser, op.cit. p.119

⁸⁷ Dreyer, op. cit. p.35

⁸⁸ See Kaiser, op. cit. p.119 n.18.

⁸⁹ Emery, GT II, p.169 fig.226

⁹⁰ See discussion above pp.151f. on the implication of serekhs and sovereignty and the use of tutelary gods for serekhs.

⁹¹ On this subject see Petrie, Courtiers; Kemp, JEA 52 (1966), pp.13 - 22; O'Connor, JARCE 26 (1989), p.57 and

passim. Against this view see Kaiser, MDAIK 25 (1969), pp.1ff; idem. 42 (1986), p.118.

⁹²Petrie, RT I, pl. V; and comments by Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25.

⁹³See p.151 *supra* for discussion on this point.

⁹⁴Emery, GT II, p.169

⁹⁵Vandier, Manuel I, Part 1, pp.989f.

⁹⁶Kaplony, IÄF, p.495, fig.730

⁹⁷Vandier, op. cit. p.990

⁹⁸Emery, op. cit. p.169

⁹⁹Petrie, RT I, pl. XXI, impression 28

¹⁰⁰Kaplony, op.cit. fig.106

¹⁰¹Petrie, RT I, pl. V.2

¹⁰²loc. cit. pl. V.7

¹⁰³ibid. pls. V.2, V.3, IV.10 at Abydos, and others at Saqqara; Emery, GT II, p.141 (Fig.205).

¹⁰⁴Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25

¹⁰⁵ibid. p.495

¹⁰⁶This sort of burial stands in strong contrast to those of the sacrificed queens from Djer's cemetery.

¹⁰⁷ibid. p.1108

¹⁰⁸Lauer, BIFAO 80 (1980), p.53

¹⁰⁹Petrie, RT I, pl.V

¹¹⁰Emery, GT II, p.141

¹¹¹loc. cit.

¹¹²eg. Canopy poles found in the tomb of Htp-hr.s I;

canopy poles shown in the tomb of Mr.s-^cnh III (Dunham & Simpson, Queen Mersyankh III, fig. 8), and also Queen Nfrrt-jrj-mrr-n-Mwt, in her Theban tomb; the canopy poles and carrying chair (eg. op. cit. fig. 5, and the tomb of Htp-hr.s I), seem to have had special ritual significance for queens. See Troy, Queenship, pp.79f.

¹¹³ Emery, GT II, pl.XL

¹¹⁴ Emery, AE, p.68

¹¹⁵ The two boat burials beside G 1a and G 1b at Giza, and the boat trench of Hnt-k3w.s I, may have been provided for a queenly burial, but we are not entirely certain about the identity of the owners of the Giza pyramids, and Hnt-k3w.s may be a special case.

¹¹⁶ Helck, Geschichte, p.33; idem. LÄ IV, 93.

¹¹⁷ Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25

¹¹⁸ N. Grimal, Histoire de l'Égypte Ancienne, p.65

¹¹⁹ Kaiser, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.118 n.13

¹²⁰ The lack of records for Sebekneferu and Neitkrety do leave the issue still open to doubt, as neither is established as having first been a regent.

¹²¹ While claims have, at times, been made for male regencies (eg. Helck, Orientalia 19 (1950), pp.422f; idem. Geschichte, p.72, p.177), there is no written or iconographical evidence which would clearly support those particular claims.

¹²² Brooklyn Museum 39.119

¹²³ Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, pl. 9 No.17

¹²⁴ Wildung, BSFÉ 102 (1985), pp.20 - 23

¹²⁵ ibid. p.22

¹²⁶ Nofret I, No.36, p.84

¹²⁷ loc.cit.

¹²⁸loc. cit.

¹²⁹cf. Smith, Art and Architecture, figs. 301, 302.

¹³⁰LD III.62c

¹³¹Newberry, JEA 14 (1928), pl.XII

¹³²G. Martin, Mélanges II, pp.111 - 124

¹³³eg. Redford, Akhenaten, pp.80f.

¹³⁴J.R. Harris, Acta Orientalia 35 (1973), pp.5 - 13; idem. 36 (1974), pp.11 - 21; idem. GM 4 (1973), pp.15 - 17; idem. SAK 2 (1975), pp.95 - 101.

¹³⁵J. Samson, CdÉ 50 (1976), pp.30 -36; idem. JEA 63 (1977), pp.83 - 97; idem. Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti - Nefertiti as Pharaoh; idem. GM 53 (1982), pp.51 - 53 etc.

¹³⁶See especially Harris, Acta Orientalia 36 (1974), 20f. Samson, L'Égyptologie II, pp.291 - 297.

¹³⁷J. von Beckerath, JEA 48 (1962), pp.70 - 74, pl.I

¹³⁸ibid.

¹³⁹Petrie, RT II, p.23

¹⁴⁰eg.The reliefs of the queen and her coregent in the Red Chapel give eloquent testimony here (P. Lacau, Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, IFAO, Cairo 1977/9).

¹⁴¹Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25

¹⁴²eg.Helck, Geschichte, p.30; Grimal, Histoire, p.62; Schulze, Frauen, pp.206f; Seipel, Königinnen, p.16.

¹⁴³Kaplony, IÄF, p.592

¹⁴⁴Helck, Beamtentiteln, p.87f; idem. LÄ IV, 395.

¹⁴⁵And (should the Harris-Samson argument prove correct), the circumstances surrounding the alleged regency and reign of Nfirt-jtj are different again.

¹⁴⁶Schulze, Frauen, p.208

¹⁴⁷Emery, GT III, p.73; 94 - 97, and Illustrated London News, June 2nd 1956.

¹⁴⁸Petrie, RT II, pls.V.5, VIIIA.9; Amélineau, Nouvelles Fouilles Vol. III, pp.68; 358; pls. 21; 25.

¹⁴⁹Emery, GT III, p.73

¹⁵⁰Emery, GT III, p.73

¹⁵¹Helck, Geschichte, p.31 n.5

¹⁵²ibid. pp.79f.

¹⁵³ibid. pp.3, 73

¹⁵⁴ibid. p.75

¹⁵⁵ibid. p.73

¹⁵⁶ibid. pl.107. Petrie, (RT II, pl.VIIIA.9) found a stone bowl fragment with the hntj sign and the name of Hr-Nt. This is her sole title to date.

¹⁵⁷loc. cit. 107.7

¹⁵⁸loc. cit. pl.107.11

¹⁵⁹Kaplony, IÄF, pp.560, 730 and passim.

¹⁶⁰Kaplony, IÄF, p.443

¹⁶¹Emery, GT III, pl. 107.7

¹⁶²Emery, op. cit. p.80; pls. 102, 107

¹⁶³Petrie, Stone Vases, pls. I, VI, XVI; p.6.

¹⁶⁴ibid. pl.XXV, p.8

¹⁶⁵A. Labrousse, Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 146/7, (Marz-Avril 1990), pp.80 - 89

¹⁶⁶Lauer, BIFAO 80 (1980), p.48

¹⁶⁷Emery, GT III, p.12

¹⁶⁸See discussion under the Prosopographical entries on Nht-Nt and Sšmt-k3.

¹⁶⁹If Hr-Nt was a queen (as the presence of the hntj office beside her name could indicate), we do not know where she was buried. There was only one occupant in S 3507.

¹⁷⁰Kaplony, IÄF, p.443

¹⁷¹That is, if Kaiser's contention is accepted (MDAIK 43 {1986}, pp.117f.) Otherwise, she could have been the wife of Djet, as in Dreyer's opinion (ibid. p.36).

¹⁷²Petrie, RT I, pl.V

¹⁷³Helck, Geschichte, p.32

Chapter 5

A Survey of the Old KingdomNotes

¹The only complete one of these found to date has been published by Mohamed Ibrahim Aly, JACF 3 (1989/90), p.27f.

²Whether queens or princesses is uncertain. Later figures in the carrying chair are entitled 'msw nswt'. Only those of Akenaten are known to be king's daughters, but the gender is considered female on other grounds. See Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.287 - 289.

³M.I. Aly, JACF 3 (1989/90), p.28 comments that these stones were all found on the eastern side of the pyramid complex, and he wonders whether they served the purpose apparent for the stelae of non-royal persons, which were also placed on the eastern side of the mastaba.

⁴Troy, Queenship, pp.109ff.

⁵Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1980), pp.287 and 289

⁶ibid. figs.1, 2 pp.264f.

⁷eg.ibid. fig.1.5, fig. 2.1, 2, 3 and 4; Kaiser, 'Die Kleine Hebseddarstellung', in Festschrift Ricke (1971), fold-out line-drawing of the Huldungsszene I and II.

⁸Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), fig.1.2 and 4

⁹Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.96, 312

¹⁰Z. Goneim, Horus Sekhemkhet I, pp.13f.

¹¹J-P. Lauer, Rev. Arch. II (1961), p.5 and 15. Lauer suggests that either sites could have represented the place of origin for the queens or, that they could have been cenotaphs.

¹²Dreyer & Kaiser, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.45 - 58

¹³Lauer, op. cit. p.6

- 14 Maragioglio and Rinaldi, Pyramide Menfite IV, pp.26 - 28;
44 - 48
- 15 A. Fakhry, The Bent Pyramid p.90
- 16 Dreyer & Kaiser, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.57 - 59
- 17 Stadelmann, MDAIK 39 (1983), p.240; Pyramiden, pp.86; 95
- 18 Macadam, in Petrie, Meydum and Memphis, p.12f.
- 19 János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.99
- 20 See M. Lehner, Hetep-heres, p.41 (and p.84 for his argument that the queen might have been buried in G 1b).
- 21 See the discussion on her tomb in the Prosopography. There is also the possibility that she may have been buried in one of Menkaure's satellite pyramids.
- 22 For discussion of this see M. Verner, 'Das "Chentkaus - Problem"' in Festschrift Korostovtzev, in press.
- 23 Reisner & Smith, Giza II p.4 fn.5, and fig. 4
- 24 R. Stadelmann, SAK 11 (1984), pp.165 - 172; H^c.f-Hwfw's mastaba was later joined to the complex of this satellite pyramid to provide a noticeable cult unit - see Jones & Milward, JSSEA 12 (1982), fig. 1 and p.147.
- 25 In contrast, however, is the evidence of mwt nswt bjtj Hnt-k3w.s I, whose Giza burial site was a separate tomb complex that was linked by a yellow plaster wall to the valley temple of Menkaure - who may have been her father.
- 26 A. Fakhry, The Pyramids, p.136
- 27 E. Edel, MIO II (1954), p.334
- 28 Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.33 - 40
- 29 Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.39
- 30 Very probably Menkaure - see the Prosopography of H^c-mrr-Nbtj I for a discussion of this issue.
- 31 For the implications of this see Chapter 2 pp.50f.

³²Edel, MIO II (1954), p.334. The inscription is badly damaged, but Edel's suggested reconstruction leaves little doubt that this was the original meaning.

³³ - unlike the scattered evidence available in later periods - see Chapter 7 pp.277f.

³⁴Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.102f.

³⁵Verner, ZÄS 107 (1980), p.159, where he refers to the date 'rnpt 5, 3bd 4 (n), 3ht, sw 4', and n.2.

³⁶M. Verner, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.170

³⁷Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl.56.1

³⁸Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.41f.

³⁹H. Smith, JNES 11 (1964), pp.126f.

⁴⁰See discussion on this in the 'Tomb' section of her prosopography.

⁴¹Seipel, Königinnen, pp.176ff.

⁴²Although Fakhry, Baer, and the present writer see this complex as one likely to be that of a queen, Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.36, 314) rejects this claim.

⁴³See Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.316ff.) for a summary of the differences evident between the two types of mortuary complex.

⁴⁴M. Verner, ZÄS 117 (1990), pp.72 - 78

⁴⁵The later 'Instruction of Ani' advises the young man to "Double the food your mother gave you, Support her as she supported you" etc..

⁴⁶Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.103

⁴⁷Quibell, Sakkara, p.112

⁴⁸Leclant, Orientalia 40 (1971), p.233; Leclant, Temple Haut de Pepi Ier p.8f.

⁴⁹Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.98f

⁵⁰J. Leclant, Archéologie 2 (1988), p.2; A. Labrousse, Les

Dossiers d'Archéologie 146/7 (1990), pp.80 - 87; Leclant, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut, pp.211 - 219.

⁵¹ Labrousse, op. cit. p.87; Leclant, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut, p.213.

⁵² From a now lost text once held in ^{the} Berlin Museum (No.7495 in Roeder's catalogue), it would appear that Cnh.s.n-Ppj too was provided with Pyramid Texts, although the original location of these is not known.

⁵³ For the term see J. Wilson, Culture p.116, although Wilson does not mention that it was the queens who this time were given the initiative.

⁵⁴ This was at Giza - see Hassan, Giza IV, p.5.

⁵⁵ H. Goedicke, KD, pp.41 - 54

⁵⁶ Petrie, Abydos II, pp.31, 42

⁵⁷ Goedicke, KD, pp.158 - 162

⁵⁸ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.358 has said of this era that, 'more new titles appear than at any other time. The high point in lengthy titulary is reached by Queen Htp-hr.s II and her daughter Mr.s-Cnh III who, using variations on almost all of the standard titles, held sixteen and twenty titles respectively.'

⁵⁹ For this reason the women buried around the tombs of Djer and Den who carry often only one title are referred to as kings' wives in this dissertation.

⁶⁰ Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig.4

⁶¹ Donadoni & Roveri, Sarcofagi Egizi, pls.XXX, XXXI

⁶² Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig. 6

⁶³ loc. cit.

⁶⁴ loc. cit.

⁶⁵ loc. cit.

⁶⁶ Hassan, Giza III, fig.150

⁶⁷ ibid. p.190 fig.152

⁶⁸ ibid. p.196 fig.159

⁶⁹ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.69 Abb.14

⁷⁰ Firth & Gunn, TPC I, p.13 fig.7

⁷¹ Baer, Rank and Title, pp.12, 39

⁷² Queen Mr.s-Ĝnh III provides a useful example of variation in the method of clustering her titles.

⁷³ Dynasty IV, Htp-hr.s II (sarcophagus, west side and east side, Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, pl.XV); H^c-mrr-Nbtj II (entrance architrave, Daressy, ASAE 10 {1910}, p.46); Rht-R^c (doorpost, Hassan, Giza III, fig. 3); Mr.s-Ĝnh III (entrance architrave inscription, Dunham & Simpson, op.cit. fig.2; and left side of entrance fig.3b, and architrave fig.7).

⁷⁴ Dynasty V, Nfrrt-h3-Nbtj (relief block in Borchardt, Sahure II, p.116 fig.11); Hnt-k3w.s II (pillar, Verner, ZÄS 107 {1980}, p.160 fig.4); Nbtj-nwb (architrave, Mariette, Mastabas, p.225); Mr.s-Ĝnh IV (false door, ibid. p.183); Hwjt I (corridor, ibid. p.208), Nbt (false door, Fischer, JEA 60 {1974}, fig.1).

⁷⁵ Dynasty IV, (all the references are the same as given above for each queen) Htp-hr.s II, H^c-mrr-Nbtj II, (also H^c-mrr-Nbtj I has this string after her titles as king's mother) Mr.s-Ĝnh III (all three places).

⁷⁶ Hnt-k3w.s II, Nbtj-nwb, Hwjt I, Mr.s-Ĝnh IV, Nbt.

⁷⁷ H^c-mrr-Nbtj I, H^c-mrr-Nbtj II (all references are from the same sources as before); Mr.s-Ĝnh III (on the west wall architrave, Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig. 7 only).

⁷⁸ Quibell, Saqqarah (1909), pl.LIV

⁷⁹ Htp-hr.s II (sarcophagus inscriptions on both occasions, Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, pl.XV).

⁸⁰ Mariette, Mastabas, p.183

⁸¹ eg. Nbt's false door, Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), fig.1.

⁸² eg. H^c-mrr-Nbtj I and II (Daressy, ASAE 10 {1910}, p.46); Mr.s-Ĝnh III (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, figs. 2, 3b); Nbt (Fischer, loc. cit.); Rht-R^c (Hassan, Giza III, fig.3); Htp-hr.s

II (Dunham & Simpson, op.cit. pl.XV), etc.

⁸³ Reisner & Smith, Giza II, fig.34

⁸⁴ Hwt II fragmentary inscription (Loret, BIÉ III {1899}, p.94).

⁸⁵ The Mrj-R^c-nh.n.s sisters on D^cw's stele are introduced as hmt nswt + pyramid title (CG 1431), and the regent's titles on the Wadi Maghara inscription are the hmt nswt + pyramid title, followed by her mwt nsw bjtj title + the pyramid of her son.

⁸⁶ eg. Queen Nt (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.4, fig.1; ibid. p.11 fig.4); Jpwt II (ibid. p.42 fig.22; ibid. p.43 fig.24); Wdp-tn (Jéquier, Oudjebten, p.9 fig.3; p.16 fig.9; p.18 fig.16, 18; p.22 fig. 28).

⁸⁷ H^c-mrr-Nbtj I in Menkaure's temple (Reisner, Mycerinus pl. 19a); Nfr-htp.s (tomb of Pr-sn, Mariette, Mastabas, p.300); Hnt-k3w.s I (Abusir papyri, Posener-Kriéger, Archives, p.528f.); Sšsšt (Mhw's offering list, Jaquet-Gordon, Domaines funéraires, p.422); Jpwt I (offering table, vertical inscription on the right side, Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl.55.2); both Mrj-R^c-nh.n.s I and Nt (Goedicke, KD, fig.15).

⁸⁸ Not, as Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.97), states, 'All the other Old Kingdom examples of mwt nswt are always found in connection with s3t ntr'.

⁸⁹ For details of these title-holders, and discussion on both titles see Chapter 2 pp.34 - 38 .

⁹⁰ Hmt-R^c and Jntj.

⁹¹ But see Nbt-bbj as an exception, discussion in the 'Prosopography' section of Mrj-R^c-nh.n.s I.

⁹² Like the pyramid titles for royal women, these were introduced for higher officials in the time of Wenis (Baer, Rank and Title, p.257; Strudwick, Administration, p.317). Prior to that religious titles connected with royal institutions appeared in the titularies of lower-ranking officials.

⁹³ J. Malek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pp.237ff.

⁹⁴ Baer, Rank and Title, p.257

⁹⁵ Most queens held both forms, but Queen Nt held three, for

Pepy I and II, and for Merenre. Wdb-tn held only one - presumably because she was not the mother of a king, and not a born princess.

⁹⁶ James, Corpus I, pl. IV

⁹⁷ Hayes, Scepter I, p.129f. Fig 79

⁹⁸ Baer, op.cit. p.257

⁹⁹ Jéquier, Les pyramides, fig.51

¹⁰⁰ Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II pl. IX

¹⁰¹ Jéquier, Les pyramides, fig.31

¹⁰² Mr.s-nh III was the only OK queen who had a priesthood for the goddess Hathor; this was possibly to do with her original status as an honorary s3t nswt.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 2 pp.67 f.

¹⁰⁴ Contra Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.361), who says that they were not held after this time by queens, except for Queen Wrt of Dynasty XII.

¹⁰⁵ Hmt ntr B3-pf was later held by Queen Tj^c of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who has a large component of archaic titles not held by other queens of the New Kingdom.

¹⁰⁶ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.362

¹⁰⁷ Baer, Rank and Title, p.247fff. - see discussion above.

¹⁰⁸ Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.4 and pls.VII, VIII, XIV, XVII

¹⁰⁹ ibid. p.4 n.3; Montet, Kêmi 14 (1957), p.94; Gardiner, Onomastica I, p.16

¹¹⁰ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.136

¹¹¹ Borchardt, Denkmäler II, No.1578

¹¹² Concerning Nbt's alleged relationship as mother of Pepy I's two wives, see Prosopography entry for Mrj-R^c-nh.n.s I. The use of this later orthography does incline me to agree with Fischer's original impression (JAOS 76 {1956}, p.105 n.30) that the stele belongs to a later period.

¹¹³Gitton (divines épouses, p.88) gives a transcription of Tj^c's titles from a statue base now lost; Tnt-t3's title is on Louvre IM 4034

¹¹⁴Fischer, Orientalia 29 (1960), pp.183f.

¹¹⁵Strudwick, Administration, p.316

¹¹⁶NB. Fischer, Varia, p.71 n.17, where he alters his translation of jm3t to šndt, following Edel, Das Akazienhaus, pp.28ff.

¹¹⁷The title was revived for Queen Tj^c of Dynasty XVIII, and Queen Tnt-t3 of Dynasty XXVI (PM III/2 p.798).

¹¹⁸Petrie, RT II, p.54, pl.XXIV

¹¹⁹For her suggested family relationships see her 'Prosopography' entry in the register.

¹²⁰Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.30; Troy, Queenship, p.98.

¹²¹de Rougé, Inscriptions hieroglyphiques I, pl.LXII

¹²²Davies, Amarna II, pls.5, 7, 8 etc.

¹²³Mwt nswt appeared in Dynasty I in association with Queen Mrjt-Nt (Dreyer, MDAIK 43 {1986}, pp.33 - 43).

¹²⁴See discussion in Chapter 2 pp.34 ff.

¹²⁵See previous section for details.

¹²⁶Jéquier, Les pyramides, pp.14 - 28, pls.VII - XXXII

¹²⁷ibid. p.47, pls.XXXVIII - XXXIX

¹²⁸Jéquier, Oudjebten, pp.5 - 8; idem. La pyramide d'Aba, Appendice pp.33ff., pls.XXVII - XXIX

¹²⁹Roeder, Äg. Inschriften, No.7495

¹³⁰Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, pl.IX

¹³¹For a detailed analysis of this queen's status see Chapter 6.

¹³²Gardiner, Canon, Fragment 43; see also J. Málek, JEA 68

(1982), pp.95f.

¹³³Waddell, Manetho, Fragments 20, 21 (a), and the Armenian version of Eusebius, Fragment 21 (b).

¹³⁴Herodotos, Histories, II.100

¹³⁵Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.287ff.

¹³⁶ibid. fig. 1, 2 pp.264ff.; idem. Festschrift Ricke, unnumbered foldout line drawing, registers I and II.

¹³⁷Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.287ff.

¹³⁸Borchardt, Sa-hu-re II, pl.65

¹³⁹von Bissing & Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-weser-Re II, pls.3, 18; and Vol. III pl.14

¹⁴⁰For a detailed discussion on the interpretation of this iconography, see Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.261 - 296.

¹⁴¹E. Chassinat, Mon. Piot 25 (1921/22), p.39 fig.2 (Louvre E 1152).

¹⁴²Both statue groups are nameless.

¹⁴³Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid, pl.63

¹⁴⁴Boston 11.738 - see Aldred, Egyptian Art, fig.35.

¹⁴⁵Working women figurines are an exception to the general canon that the woman's feet are usually placed together, the man's usually striding, left foot forward.

¹⁴⁶Aldred, Egyptian Art, p.73

¹⁴⁷U. Hölscher, Das Grabdenkmal der Königs Chephren, pp.102f. figs.140, 141, 142, 143, 144. The head is only 12cm high.

¹⁴⁸JE 48856

¹⁴⁹Indeed, Wildung (BSFÉ 102 {1985}, p.21), asks whether we should view here the mythological idea of Isis alongside the purely historical intention.

¹⁵⁰E. Martin-Pardey, Nofret (1985), p.30

¹⁵¹ Aldred, Egyptian Art, p.96. For a discussion on an ivory sketch of a similar motif from Dynasty I, see Chapter 4 p.175f.

¹⁵² J. von Beckerath, JEA 48 (1962), pp.70 - 74, pl. I

¹⁵³ Wildung, BSFÉ 102 (1986), pp.20f.

¹⁵⁴ Martin-Pardey, Nofret (1985), p.30

¹⁵⁵ Further discussion on the idea of regency is to be found in Chapter 4 pp.170f.

¹⁵⁶ Smith, HESPOK, fig. 48

¹⁵⁷ Reisner & Smith, Giza II, fig.30

¹⁵⁸ eg. H^c-mrr-Nbtj I, Hnt-k3w.s I and II, Nfr-htp.s, Jpwt I, the Mrj-R^c-nh.n.s sisters, and Nt.

¹⁵⁹ Hölscher, Das Grabdenkmal der Königs Chephren, pp.102f.

¹⁶⁰ This description is not corroborated by Daressy's copy of the lintel inscription, but is given in Kamal, ASAE 10 (1910), p.119, who corrects Daressy's error.

¹⁶¹ Kamal, ASAE 10 (1910), p.119; he corrects Daressy's determinative.

¹⁶² Reisner, Mycerinus, pl.19. There is the possibility that ^{the} statue had originally been that of a goddess, although it is more likely to have been a statue of a royal woman.

¹⁶³ Hassan, Giza IV, p.16 fig.2

¹⁶⁴ Verner, ZÄS 109 (1982), p.158 fig. 3; the print is very dark and details are impossible to discern.

¹⁶⁵ Jéquier, Les pyramides, pl.V

¹⁶⁶ Brooklyn 39.119

¹⁶⁷ CG 1431

¹⁶⁸ Gardiner et al., Sinai II, pl.IX

¹⁶⁹ Petrie, Abydos II, pl.XX

¹⁷⁰ Cairo J 506.16. This sort of neaddress is also worn by

Neferefre on some of his statuary (Verner, BIFAO 85 {1985}, pls.XLIV, XLVII, LVIII), and by the small copper statue thought to represent King Merenre (J 33035).

171 Jéquier, Oudjebten, fig.9

172 eg.Labrousse, Lauer & Leclant, Temple haut Ounas, figs.44, 45, 148, 153

173 Jánosí, Pyramidenanlagen, p.312

174 ibid. p.317

175 Málek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pp.237f.

176 Urk. I.4,9

177 Information kindly supplied by Professor Verner in a letter dated 26/1/91.

178 Goedicke, KD, p.43 fig.4

179 ibid. fig.15

180 ibid. fig.7

181 ibid. p.154 fig.13

182 Such a reason may lie behind the frequent use of the mwt nswt bjtj title for the queen mother.

183 Manetho, Frag. 20; H. Goedicke, JAOS 74 (1954), pp.88f; idem. SAK 15 (1988), pp.111f; N. Kanawati, CdÉ 56 (1981), pp.203 - 217; idem. GM 83 (1984), pp.31 - 38; idem. Governmental Reforms, p.32

Chapter 6

The Problem of Queen Hnt-k3w.sNotes

¹ H. Junker, MDAIK 3 (1932) pp.123 - 149

² B. van de Walle, L'Antiquité Classique, Vol. 3 (1934) pp.303 - 312

³ L. Borchardt, ASAE 38 (1938) pp.209 - 215

⁴ S. Hassan, Giza IV, pp.1 - 67

⁵ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, piramidi menfite, Vol. VI, pp.10 - 15

⁶ H. Altenmüller, CdÉ 45 (1970) pp.223 - 235

⁷ M. Verner, SAK 8 (1980) pp.243 - 268; idem. Festschrift Korostovtzev, Moscow (1990 in press). I am indebted to Professor Verner for a pre-publication copy of his paper.

⁸ For a discussion of the tomb consult the prosopography information, pp.87f.

⁹ eg. Edwards, Pyramids, p.145

¹⁰ Stadelmann, Pyramiden, fig.47

¹¹ see Stadelmann's photograph, Pyramiden, pl.39a

¹² Maragioglio & Rinaldi, pyramide menfite VI, p.186

¹³ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.41

¹⁴ See Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.156 fig.48

¹⁵ ibid, p.158

¹⁶ ibid. p.146

¹⁷ Arnold, Amenemhat III, pp.99ff. p.102 fig.49

¹⁸ Junker, Giza I, p.28

¹⁹ Hassan, op. cit., pp.63 - 65

²⁰ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT "Königssohn", p.137

²¹ Smith, CAH I/2A, p.179

²² Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press)

²³ Lauer, Les Pyramides (sixth edition), p.57. The use of a pyramid for this queen would suggest at this time that she was the mother of a king (see János, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.96ff). As inscriptions in Pr-sn's tomb indicate, she is likely to have been the mother of Sahure.

²⁴ J. Málek, JEA 68 (1982), pp.93 - 106; Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-books, pp.234 - 242

²⁵ eg. See Smith, CAH 1/2A, pp.179f, Gardiner, EOP, p.84.

²⁶ B. Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), pp.69f. considers that Nfr-htp.s was the mother of this king. See infra.

²⁷ The meaning of each of the titles of Hnt-k3w.s is given under the separate title-headings in Chapter 2.

²⁸ L. Borchardt, ASAE 37 (1937), pp.209 - 215

²⁹ H. Junker, MDAIK 3 (1933), pp.123 - 143

³⁰ Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), pp.68f.

³¹ Mariette, Mastabas, D 45

³² Grdseloff, op.cit. p.69

³³ ibid. p.70. To date, however, there is no evidence for B3-k3 having been the priest of any god, other than the king.

³⁴ ibid. p.68

³⁵ ibid. p.70

³⁶ ibid. p.54 and n.11

³⁷ Leclant, Orientalia 48 (1979), p.359; idem. Orientalia 49 (1980), p.362; idem. Orientalia 51 (1982), p.64

³⁸ Lauer, Les Pyramides de Sakkara (Sixth edn), p.57

³⁹ Málek (Shadow, p.124) estimates 64 years.

⁴⁰ Redford (Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books, pp.25f., 237f.) does not include some of the Fourth Dynasty kings accepted by other scholars.

⁴¹ See p.103 of the prosopography for further discussion.

⁴² It is generally accepted that the three non-traditional names are those of these three kings (see Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, p.222, n.7).

⁴³ Altenmüller, op. cit. p.230

⁴⁴ ibid. pp.232ff.

⁴⁵ If the two queens were related we are ignorant of that relationship. The second queen is not entitled s3t nswt, so presumably was not a royal daughter. Her mother is not known.

⁴⁶ Hassan, Giza IV, pp.4f.

⁴⁷ M. Verner, ZÄS 107 (1980), p.161 fig.5

⁴⁸ Verner, SAK 8 (1980), pp.259 - 268

⁴⁹ Personal communication from Professor Verner, who is here thanked for his generous discussion of the problems concerning the two Queens Hnt-k3w.s.

⁵⁰ Verner, SAK 8 (1980), p.259, pl.XVIa, b.

⁵¹ ibid. pl.XVI

⁵² ibid. pl.XV, which includes the double nswt bjtj that is associated with the first Queen Hnt-k3w.s.

⁵³ Kaplony, Orientalia 41 (1972), pp.37, 50f., 60ff.,

201; Posener-Kriéger, Archives, Vol. II, p.527; idem. JSSEA 13 (1983), pp.51 - 57.

⁵⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, p.531

⁵⁵ Private communication dated 3.9.88

⁵⁶ Contra Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.137. It might also be pointed out that in her Giza tomb Hassan found part of a relief with the title s3 nswt n ht.f smsw (Giza IV, p.22 fig.23 - which he read, in error, as, 's3t nswt nt ht.f'), which also suggests the queen's royal marriage.

⁵⁷ Verner, ZÄS. 107 (1980), p.162

⁵⁸ Hassan, op. cit. p.5

⁵⁹ See prosopographical section in the Register entry for Hnt-k3w.s for further discussion on this institution.

⁶⁰ Hassan, Giza IV, p.5

⁶¹ See discussion in the final section of Chapter 5 of the present work.

⁶² eg. Altenmüller, CdÉ 45 (1970), *passim*; Smith, CAH I/2A, p.179

⁶³ eg. Stadelmann, Pyramiden, pp.135; 137; 148; 154 etc; Edwards, Pyramids, (3rd edn. 1985), p.129 and *passim*.

⁶⁴ For its significance, see Chapter 2, and Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press).

⁶⁵ Maragioglio & Rinaldi, pyramide menfite VI, Observation 12, p.194

⁶⁶ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.316f. I would also like to thank both Professor Verner and Dr Jánosi for their observations regarding these issues.

⁶⁷ Maragioglio & Rinaldi, op. cit. pp.180ff.

⁶⁸ eg. The presence of at least one solar boat pit, the curved ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber (*ibid.* p.176), and the antechamber with six niches (*ibid.* p.188; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.157; Arnold, Amenemhat III, pp.101f.).

⁶⁹ Hassan, Giza IV, pp.53ff.

⁷⁰ Stadelmann, op. cit., p.158

⁷¹ Apart from the layout, the rooms of the later tombs were lined with limestone and featured a gable roof (Stadelmann, op. cit. p.161).

⁷² eg. Smith in CAH I/2, p.179; Seipel in LÄ III, 930-932; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.156, etc.

⁷³ Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re^c II, pls. 32, 33; and Vol. I, p.13

⁷⁴ Although Sahure had at least four sons (Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re^c II, pl. 49) none of these succeeded him. The circumstances are curious and reminiscent of the succession pattern between Djedefre and Khafre.

⁷⁵ On the name of this king see Verner, BIFAO 85 (1985), pp.281 - 284.

⁷⁶ Verner, ZÄS 107 (1978), p.161

⁷⁷ Personal communication from Professor Verner.

⁷⁸ L. Habach, ASAE 55 (1958), p.125.

As the sarcophagus BM6652 reveals, the Intef kings VI and VII were also brothers, whose unnamed mother was entitled *mwtnswt*.

⁷⁹ K.A. Kitchen, JEA 68 (1982), p.125

⁸⁰ Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press)

⁸¹ Hassan, Giza IV, pl.XXVIIc. See discussion in the 'Tomb' section of her prosopographical entry.

⁸² The connection is plain to see in the continuation of the yellow plastered temenos wall that encompasses her tomb and ends at the portal of this little temple.

⁸³ See the relevant sections in Chapter 2 for arguments for the use of these titles.

⁸⁴ The relationship of Thamphthis to Shepseskaf is unknown, so it could be feasible that he was not the designated heir to that king but, none-the-less, a son of *Hnt-k3w.s* I. In such an instance she also would have carried those titles. *Htp-hr.s* I is a case in point.

⁸⁵ Callender, SAK 18 (1991), 'conclusion'.

⁸⁶ Seipel, Königinnen, pp.176ff.

⁸⁷ Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.137

⁸⁸ Seipel, Königinnen, p.195

⁸⁹ Kaplony, Kleine Beiträge, p.21 and fig.1114

⁹⁰ I am indebted to Professor Verner for permission to reproduce this fragment, 36/A/78; see p.⁹³ of the queen's entry in the Register, under the 'titles' section.

⁹¹ A recent fragment (201/A/78) suggests that there may have been two princes of this name, for it has nds attached to his name. Notice of this discovery was provided by Professor Verner (3/9/88).

⁹² Kaplony, Orientalia 41 (1972), pp.50f.

⁹³ ibid. p.201

⁹⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Archives, p.530f.

⁹⁵ ibid. p.531

⁹⁶ Hassan, Giza IV, p.22, fig.23

⁹⁷ Since the work of Schmitz we have learned to be cautious of this title but, as she indicates (S3-NJSWT, p.160), when the titles are without bureaucratic posts, s3 nswt n ht.f is likely to be a true prince.

⁹⁸ See Verner, ZÄS 117 (1990), pp.72 - 78 for discussion on this.

⁹⁹ Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press).

¹⁰⁰ Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, pp.527 - 533

Chapter 7

A Survey of the position of queens from Cynasties XI - XVIINotes

¹ eg. Queens $\epsilon nh-m-R^c$, $S3t-Hwt-Hr$, etc., and those queens who might belong to the Hyksos period.

² Queen K3-nfrw - see Brunner, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.171.

³ eg. Queen Snb- $\epsilon nh^c.s$ I, $I3n$, $H3-\epsilon nh.s$, etc.

⁴ The earlier wives of Mentuhotep I were buried in such tombs.

⁵ eg. The satellite burials in the complex of Senwosret I at Lisht, some of which may be those of queens.

⁶ eg. Queen Nfirt- $\epsilon nhwt$ was buried in one of the gallery graves of Senwosret III at Dahshur.

⁷ eg. K3-nfrw, $Hnmt-nfr-hdt$ I & II, $Mrt-sgr$, Jtj and all the Thirteenth Dynasty wives, apart from Snb- $\epsilon nh^c.s$ I and $Kmj-nwb$, have no known burial site.

⁸ eg. The wives of Mentuhotep II and III, Amenemhat IV, and most of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties. The names of many of the early Seventeenth Dynasty royal wives are also unknown.

⁹ A good example is the series of scarabs for $J^c h-ms-nfirt-jrj$ (Petrie, HS, pl. 27.781 - 785), in comparison with her titles on the monuments (eg. the inscription on her Karnak statue located between Pylons IV and V).

¹⁰ eg. Queen $H3-\epsilon nh.s$ II, wife of Rahotep appears on such a stele (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2); $J^c h-ms-nfirt-jrj$ appears as the mother of the king (together with his wife) on the Qasr Ibrim stele (BM E1835).

¹¹ eg. $Nfrw-Pth$ in the Maadi Temple scene (Farag & Iskander, Neferw-Ptah, pl. 48).

¹²As Ttj-šrj, grandmother of King Ahmose, does (UCL 14402).

¹³eg. Queen Jčh, on the Shatt er Rigal relief of Mentuhotep I, the Nag Hammadi track relief depicting the family of Sebekhotep III, Jj as a member of a group on a stela of an official, or the broken stelae featuring Queen Šdt-jt.s from the Seventeenth Dynasty remains at Ehasyna.

¹⁴Oriental Institute, The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192, University of Chicago (1980), pl. 26, where the queen's throne side panel depicts her as a sphinx trampling an enemy.

¹⁵J.D. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, Brooklyn Museum (1965), pl. 51, where the queen is shown within a booth on the boat raising a khepresh sword against an enemy. On a talatat from Pylon IX at Karnak she is shown assisting in the slaughter of enemies, Traunecker, BSFÉ 107 (1986), fig. 1.

¹⁶eg. Nofret I (1984), p.63 mentions a seated statue of Queen Twj which had been usurped from a Twelfth Dynasty statue (Cairo JE 37484).

¹⁷eg. The two granite statues of Queen Nfirt II, the statue of Queen Snt (CG 424), and two seated statues of Sebekneferu (Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), pls. VII B, VIII) are some examples.

¹⁸BM 163, 164/1145, 1146

¹⁹eg. CG 424, and the statues of Sebekneferu.

²⁰H. Sourouzian, MDAIK 37 (1981), p.449

²¹Vandier, Manuel III, pl.XC

²²eg. Vienna 5753, Brooklyn 56.85, Paris, BN 24, Moscow 1013, Cairo JE 64770.

²³Habachi, SAK 10 (1983), pp.205 - 213

²⁴Winlock, BMMA (1921), p.45, fig.20

²⁵Arnold, Tempel I, pp.35f; 53f. Arnold assigns these alterations to Phase C (c. Years 14 - 39). The roughly inked inscription from Tm's sarcophagus could indicate that another queen had been destined for this tomb, which is otherwise

uninscribed.

²⁶ János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.79

²⁷ ibid. p.85

²⁸ This was thought to be the N-E satellite pyramid in the complex of Senwosret II at Lahun, where a fragment containing her name was found in that area (Brunton, Lahun II, p.15), but no substructure has been found for this pyramid.

²⁹ Some of the pyramids appear to be of later date (János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.78

³⁰ Jéquier, Deux pyramides, pp.28 for Queen Snb-hn^c.s I; de Morgan, Dahchour II, pp.68 - 71 for Kmj-nwb, whose tempus is questionable, but seems to have belonged to Dynasty XIII (see her prosopography).

³¹ A. Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.136

³² Arnold, Amenemhet III, pp.100f. suggests that the type of burial for the wives of Amenemhat III had its forerunners in the pyramid complexes of Senwosret I and other Dynasty XII kings.

³³ Arnold, op. cit. pp.99ff. demonstrates how elaborate the preparations were for the security of the queen's burial, and shows how the origins of these elaborate room systems were extensions of ideas found in the substructure of the royal tombs of Dynasties V and VI.

³⁴ See the argument of Dodson, op. cit. pp.129f.

³⁵ ibid. p.129; János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.77

³⁶ See the prosopographical entry for Queen Kmj-nwb. Although she is classed as a Twelfth Dynasty royal wife by Troy (Queenship, p.158), Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.185), and Dodson (ibid. p.130), the evidence suggests closer affinities with early Thirteenth Dynasty burials.

³⁷ The only woman likely to have been his wife is K3-nfrw, whose one title, hnwt hmwt nbwt, is recorded on a cylinder seal bearing the name of this king (Brunner, ZÄS 115 {1988}, pp.171 - 173).

³⁸ Petrie, Lahun II, p.15

³⁹ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.93

⁴⁰ Arnold, Amenemhet III, p.99

⁴¹ ibid. p.101

⁴² Arnold, MDAIK 35 (1979), pp.1 - 9

⁴³ Those of Snb-ḥnꜥ.s I and Kmj-nwb.

⁴⁴ For further details see discussion in the 'Tomb' section of her prosopographical entry.

⁴⁵ Deir el Bahri No.358

⁴⁶ Winlock, Mereyet-Amun, Appendix I

⁴⁷ Winlock, op. cit. pl. 1

⁴⁸ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.85, 93

⁴⁹ Arnold, MDAIK 35 (1979), p.4

⁵⁰ Jánosi, op. cit. p.93

⁵¹ While the best known of these burials is that of King Hor, the burials of Queen Kmj-nwb and the sd3wtj bjtj Jmn-ḥtp (de Morgan, Dachour II, fig.113ff.) in Amenemhat II's temenos has already been mentioned.

⁵² See Dodson, ZÄS 114 (1987), pp.36 - 45

⁵³ ibid. p.79

⁵⁴ Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.93; Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.136

⁵⁵ L. Habachi, SAK 10 (1983), p.211

⁵⁶ BM 1819, block from Deir el Bahri with the title hmt nṯr Hwt-Hr: the identity of the Jḥ on this block is not certain.

⁵⁷ Km-st's titles do not preserve the hmt nswt title; the child M3jt has no titles amongst her extant monuments.

⁵⁸ E. Guest, Ancient Egypt (1926), pp.46 - 50, lists

those that are known.

⁵⁹ Hnmt-nfr-hdt I is a confirmed title holder, but the second queen of this name may also have held a similar priesthood, since most of the material mentioning the queen has only her name without the discriminative adjective that distinguishes these two queens.

⁶⁰ Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.538

⁶¹ Urk. IV.21

⁶² BM 1662; KRI II, 766

⁶³ Ward, Fem. Titles, p.114

⁶⁴ Arnold, Tempel I, p.83 fn.368

⁶⁵ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.171

⁶⁶ For more detailed discussion on the issues see p.96f, Chapter 2.

⁶⁷ W. Simpson, JEA 60 (1974), pp.100 - 105 discusses Middle Kingdom evidence; N. Kanawati, CdE 51 (1976), pp.235 - 251, idem, SAK 4 (1976), pp.149 - 160, and SAK 5 (1977), pp.123 - 129, gives probable examples of polygamy in the Old Kingdom.

⁶⁸ ibid. pp.216f.

⁶⁹ Kuchman Sabbahy sees Senwosret as the father of Jt-k3jt, suggesting that she had been the wife of Amenemhat II. There seem to be difficulties in accepting this attribution - see the prosopography of Jt-k3jt.

⁷⁰ eg. Queen Nfrw I, wife of Mentuhotep I uses all of those titles; Snt, Hnmt-nfr-hdt II, Šdt-tf.s, Snb-hn^c.s II, etc., all use the wrt hts (and usually the wrt hst) title.

⁷¹ For discussion on this last title see Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), p.96, and reference to his observations on p.125 of the Prosopography.

⁷² Jt-k3jt and Nfrt II need not cause concern because the title had not been introduced for their generations.

⁷³ Hayes, Scepter I, p.195

⁷⁴ Maspero, ZÄS 23 (1885), p.12

⁷⁵ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.215 -221

⁷⁶ loc. cit.

⁷⁷ Newberry, Ancient Egyptian Scarabs, Plate 6.20

⁷⁸ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.366, considers that the title was held by only one queen and one princess in each reign. The title only appears for two princesses (allegedly, from the reign of Amenemhat II), however, not a princess in each reign.

⁷⁹ ibid. p.194

⁸⁰ Maspero, ZÄS 21 (1883), p.77; Daressy, Rec. Trav. 14 (1893), p.30, does not include this title.

⁸¹ Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85

⁸² de Morgan, Dahchour I, p.54 fig.118

⁸³ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.193

⁸⁴ But see B. Williams, Serapis 3 (1975), pp.41 - 58, who finds their burials having strong similarities to those of Thirteenth Dynasty burials - argued against by Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), pp.130f. In favour of Williams' theory is the apparent architectural similarity of all of the tombs in the court of Amenemhat II, but the inscriptions of Queen Kmj-nwb are mutilated, whereas those of the princesses are not.

⁸⁵ Although both Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.193) and Troy, (Queenship, p.158) have listed 'Nb-mn' as a s3t nswt, hnmt nfr hdt, the reading is the more common 'nb(t) jm3ht' appearing after the title (Perdu, RdÉ 29 {1977}, p.69). It could, therefore, refer either to a princess who held this title or, it could be a proper name.

⁸⁶ de Morgan, Dahchour II, p.68; Montet (Kêmi 7 {1945}, p.180f.), thought it possible that 'hnmt' was an abbreviation for the title hnmt nfr hdt. Perdu (op. cit. p.82), shows that it is not.

⁸⁷ de Morgan, Dahchour II, p.68, 74; Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.192; Troy, Queenship, p.158.

⁸⁸Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), p.82

⁸⁹On a cylinder in the Timins Collection: Newberry, The Timins Collection, p.11 No.9

⁹⁰Kaplony-Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften I, pp.2f.

⁹¹de Morgan, Dahchour I, pp.56, fig.122; p.59 fig.126

⁹²Arnold, MDAIK 36 (1980), p.18f.

⁹³Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.91ff.

⁹⁴Arnold, Amenemhet III, p.94

⁹⁵She may have been the wife of either Amenemhat III or IV. Her title is preserved in Maadi temple (Vallogia, RdÉ 21 {1969}, p.111).

⁹⁶I would like to thank Dr Dieter Arnold for discussion on the possibility of this idea (letter dated 4/1/1989).

⁹⁷Queen Mrt-sgr is the earliest queen attested with this title, but the record for it is on a later inscription. Later scribes often added titles to those held by the queen at the time, and the instance here is thus suspect.

⁹⁸Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.233

⁹⁹Borchardt, ZÄS 28 (1890), p.86

¹⁰⁰Troy, Queenship, p.157

¹⁰¹Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, p.86

¹⁰²Gauthier, LR I, p.264

¹⁰³Hayes, Scepter I, p.177

¹⁰⁴Troy, Queenship, p.157

¹⁰⁵GL 41, published in Spiegelberg, Dyroff & Poertner, Ägyptische Grabsteine II, No. 5 and plate IV.

¹⁰⁶I. Müller, Nofret II, No.111: the persons concerned on both stelae might be the same, but neither stele has a known provenance.

¹⁰⁷ Gauthier, LR I, p.264 n.1

¹⁰⁸ Mace, BMMA 17 (1922), p.12

¹⁰⁹ Sobekhotep II's sisters all lacked the s3t nswt title, for example, and in Dynasty XV I3nj is twice recorded as a snt nswt without the accompanying title of s3t nswt (J. Wilson, CdE 34 {1959}, pp.234, 238).

¹¹⁰ They were, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I, Nfrt II, Snb-hn^c.s I, J^ch-ms-Mrjt-Jmn and J^ch-ms-nfrt-jrj.

¹¹¹ Troy, Queenship, p.135, however, sees this as a title parallel to the title of King Ahmose as lord of the lands of the northern isles, which is given on a parallel hymn for the king at Karnak.

¹¹² Both Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, pp.252, 289) and Troy (Queenship, pp.161f.) record J^ch-htp II and J^ch-ms-nfrt-jrj with the title as 'snt itj'. It is clear from Urk. IV.25,5 however, that the title of snt nswt has been conflated by these authors with jtj.

¹¹³ Winlock, Ancient Egypt (1921), p.15

¹¹⁴ Junker, MDAIK 3 (1932), p.136; Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.209.

¹¹⁵ It is not a title for which there are numerous parallels, as Vallogia seems to imply (RdE 21 {1969}, p.111 n. 1).

¹¹⁶ His name appears with those of other gods on two silver hs vases in her tomb (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, pp.12ff.). For further discussion see her prosopographical entry, 'Prosopography' section.

¹¹⁷ Had she been so her second burial would surely have revealed this title, since her burial equipment was remade for this reburial.

¹¹⁸ Manetho, Fragment 34.7, refers to 'Skemiophris' as the previous king's sister, but it is equally possible that she was his half-sister, his wife - or even his aunt! The term snt.f is used of Hatshepsut in relation to Thutmose III, for example (Urk.IV.60,1).

¹¹⁹Donadoni, Orientalia 16 (1947), p.508 (S 13, 15).

¹²⁰See CG 20543 (Stele of Rdjw-Hnmw) line 21.

¹²¹Brooklyn 44.123.75 - for discussion, see her prosopographical entry.

¹²²eg.Princess Jt (de Morgan, Fouilles II, p.47, 48), Jt-wrt (ibid. p.73), S3t-Hwt-Hr-mrjt (ibid. p.75). This last-mentioned woman lacked the title of s3t nswt on her burial equipment, but has all other religious formulae used on the burial equipment of other princesses.

¹²³Louvre stele C 8

¹²⁴Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, p.16.

¹²⁵Petrie, Denderah, pl.15

¹²⁶Gabet, Rec. Trav. 12 (1892), p.217

¹²⁷Maspero, ZAS 21 (1883), p.72

¹²⁸As for Nfrw, Snt, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I and II, <3t.

¹²⁹As for Nwb-htp.tj, Jnnj, Rsw-nfr, Mntw-htp, and J^c-h-htp I.

¹³⁰As, for example, J^c-h-htp II, S3t-Dhwtj, S3t-K3ms.

¹³¹eg.Tomb of Ttj-kj (TT 15).

¹³²For detailed discussion on this question see her prosopographical entry under 'Tomb'.

¹³³Naville, Goshen, plate 9b, p.22

¹³⁴That hnmt nfr hdt is also missing from the titles of Jt-k3jt and Nfrt II is not as important as Kuchman Sabbahy supposes (ibid. p.216), for it was a title not introduced for queens before the reign of Senwosret III.

¹³⁵Nag Hammadi relief of Sebekhotep III

¹³⁶So Troy, Queenship, p.160.

¹³⁷See the photograph of the stele in Spalinger, RdÉ 32 (1980), p.96.

¹³⁸ Urk. IV.21

¹³⁹ Daressy, Cercueils, p.9 No.61006

¹⁴⁰ ibid. p.4 No.61003

¹⁴¹ Petrie, A Season in Egypt, pl. XVI no.489

¹⁴² Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.318

¹⁴³ O. Berlev, in Young (ed.), Studies Presented to Jakob Polotsky, pp.361 - 377

¹⁴⁴ ibid. p.366

¹⁴⁵ ibid. p.365

¹⁴⁶ ibid. pp.368f. Berlev acknowledges the Papyrus Westcar IX - XI tale, but questions the date of its origin (p.368).

¹⁴⁷ eg. Drioton & Vandier, L'Égypte, p.248; Hayes, Scepter I, pp.160f; Gardiner, EOP, p.122.

¹⁴⁸ Arnold, Temple I, p.83 n.368

¹⁴⁹ For which see M. Eaton-Krauss & E. Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine.

¹⁵⁰ Those reliefs, however, differ sharply in their depiction of the women who, apart from a thin girdle about their hips, are naked. The Deir el Bahri women are elaborately clothed, with a tunic of feathered design, and an attractive shawl which folds over the breast, and joins the band under the bust (BM EA 1450; Naville, Deir el Bahari I, pl. XVII).

¹⁵¹ L. Habachi, MDAIK 19 (1963), pp.16 - 52

¹⁵² ibid. fig. 19

¹⁵³ ibid. fig. 20

¹⁵⁴ ibid. fig. 21

¹⁵⁵ ibid. p.52

¹⁵⁶ Arnold, Tempe I, p.83 n.368, who suggests the wives at Deir el Bahri form a harim for Hathor, rather than the king.

¹⁵⁷ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.168ff., who would associate them with a harim of the king, even as the god Min had a harim.

¹⁵⁸ Kuchman Sabbahy (op. cit. p.171) thinks that this sort of situation would explain the affectionate scenes on the chapels of the women.

¹⁵⁹ E. Riefstahl, JNES 15 (1956), pp.10ff.

¹⁶⁰ Borchardt, Sa3-hu-re II, pl.48: note that the decoration on the woman's dress is identical to that of the Deir el Bahri queens in their reliefs.

¹⁶¹ Arnold, Tempe I, p.79 n.321; Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.168fff; Franke, JEA 76 (1990), p.231.

¹⁶² See discussion p.1f. on this issue.

¹⁶³ Arnold, Tempe I, pp.64f.

¹⁶⁴ The tomb of the soldiers of Mentuhotep may have some similarities here.

¹⁶⁵ Robins, Egyptian queens, p.8

¹⁶⁶ The sole example is of Queen C3t, on part of the decoration from her false door (de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig.147).

¹⁶⁷ Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI

¹⁶⁸ CG 28109 in Lacau, Sarcoph. ant. II, p.87 and pl.23

¹⁶⁹ C. Andrews, Egyptian Mummies, British Museum (1984), fig.28

¹⁷⁰ de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig.147

¹⁷¹ eg. Nfirt II, and sphinx statues of queens and princesses with and without names.

¹⁷² Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI

173 See Aldred, Jewels, pp.33f.

174 ibid. pl. 20

175 Williams, Serapis 3 (1975/6), pp.41 - 58

176 Troy, Queenship, p.122

177 Troy, Queenship, pp.126ff.

178 For which see discussion in Chapter 5 on the titulary of queens for the Old Kingdom.

179 Troy, Queenship, p.126

180 Abubakr, Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen, Glückstadt (1937) p.43; and Troy's illustration in Queenship, p.128 fig.91.

181 For a detailed treatment of the religious implications of the šwtj feathers see Troy, Queenship, p.128.

182 See especially J. Wilson, JNES 32 (1973), pp.235 - 241; D. Wildung, BSFÉ 102 (1985), pp.9 - 26.

183 eg. The statues of Nfrt from Tanis (CG 381, 382), Queen Snt (CG 424).

184 Saleh & Sourouzian, The Egyptian Museum, No.93

185 eg. The damaged quartzite triple statues of Hnmt-nfr-hdt I and II with Senwosret III (BM 163, 164/1145, 1146).

186 Troy, Queenship, p.64

187 loc. cit.

188 The position of Nfrt as king's wife, however, is problematic - see her prosopography.

190 Traunecker, BSFÉ 107 (1986), p.22, 'Cette association d'un roi et d'une reine apparaissant à égalité sous une forme aussi monumentale que chargée de signification regaliennne est unique en Égypte.'

¹⁹¹ A. Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens II, (1872); L. Borchardt, ZÄS 28 (1890), pp.65 - 103; A. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), pp.51 - 68. A modern edition of the two papyri concerned is in preparation by Shafik Allam.

¹⁹² S. Quirke, Administration, pp.36 - 50

¹⁹³ Which may be a subdivision of the jpt nswt (Quirke, op. cit. p.40). The jpt nswt is not mentioned by name in Pap. Boulaq, and Quirke has suggested that the term may have been specific to the main residence. Alternatively, it may refer to the collection of persons who resided within the k3p.

¹⁹⁴ ibid. pp.37f. See also the paradigm in Quirke, op. cit. p.41.

¹⁹⁵ Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), p.64

¹⁹⁶ The number is Quirke's, following the publication by Scharff (ZÄS 57 {1922}, pp.51 - 68).

¹⁹⁷ Komorzynski, Archiv für äg. Archäologie I (1938), pp.260f.

¹⁹⁸ Thus, for example, Nb-^cnh, a most ubiquitous official, who frequently used the title rh nswt in monuments naming the king, was the uncle of Queen Nwb-^h^c.s I (Habachi, Studies, p.77 and p.78 figs.2, 3, 4, 5). The daughter of Nwb-^h^c.s I was married to the vizier Jj.

¹⁹⁹ As Quirke (Administration, pp.51 - 71) has already pointed out, however, there is little evidence of a council of higher officials governing the country during this period; the king as a mere figurehead is not evident in extant records (p.121).

²⁰⁰ Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), p.150

²⁰¹ Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, p.34 n.50 lists some of that property. As many of these documents refer to the office, rather than the queen, and post-date the queen, they may not refer to her personal estates.

²⁰² Gitton, divines épouses, p.30 believes that the transfer of the office of second prophet meant that she would be assured of a steady revenue. Menu, however, considers that the queen had been granted the right to the office (Recherches

sur l'histoire juridique, p.214).

²⁰³ Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, p.12f.

²⁰⁴ For which see her prosopographical entry under 'Titles'.

²⁰⁵ Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, p.13

²⁰⁶ ibid. p.14

²⁰⁷ eg. H3-nh.s accompanying King Rahotep (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.3; Ttj-srj accompanying Ahmose (UCL 144002); J^ch-htp II's figure and titles above the architrave of the temple at Buhen (Maciver & Woolley, Buhen VII, pl. 35), etc.

²⁰⁸ Urk. IV.21

²⁰⁹ For J^ch-htp II, Urk. IV.21; for J^ch-ms-nf^rt-jrj, Urk. IV.25

²¹⁰ Hermann, Die Stelen, fig.8; Lacau, Steles, plates 22, 24; Boeser, Beschrijving, pl. 24 etc.

²¹¹ eg. Champollion, Monuments II, pls. CLIII.3, 4; CLXX.1; CLXXXIV.2

Chapter 8

Hmt ntr n JmnNotes

¹ L. Troy, GM 50 (1981), pp.88f.

² loc. cit.

³ C. Vandersleyen, Guerres, pp.129 - 196

⁴ E. Wente and C. Van Siclen III, 'A Chronology of the New Kingdom', pp.217 - 225

⁵ Gauthier, LR II, pp.193f.

⁶ The issue was made more difficult because the mummy of J^ch-htp I had perished shortly after its discovery, leaving only her jewellery and sarcophagus as evidence of her existence.

⁷ Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), pp.237 - 244

⁸ L. Troy, GM 35 (1979), pp.81 - 91

⁹ Vandersleyen, SAK 8 (1980), pp.237 - 241.

¹⁰ ibid. p.238

¹¹ Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), p.243

¹² cf. Schmitz, CdÉ 53 (1978), pp.207 - 221 who suggested that the two Queens J^ch-htp might have been erroneously derived because the two sarcophagi belonged to only one queen. Since these sarcophagi could not have gone together (because of their respective measurements, as Maspero had indicated in Momies, p.545), Schmitz's theory lacked support.

¹³ eg. Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 (1982), pp.31 - 45; idem, GM 60 (1982), pp.7ff; idem, GM 61 (1983), pp.13 - 16; idem, GM 68 (1983), pp.96 - 107; idem, JEA 72 (1986), pp.192f; Logan & Williams, Serapis 4 (1977/8), pp.23 - 29; Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp.71 - 77; idem, JEA 73 (1987), pp.272 - 276.

¹⁴Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp.71 - 77

¹⁵Lepsius, Königsbuch, pl.xxiii.329 c and d. The Lepsius record may not have been dependent upon Wilkinson. Not only does Lepsius omit the 'tm' element of hnwt t3wj in one inscription, but he records a snt nswt J^ch-ms-mrjt-Jmn which is absent from Wilkinson.

¹⁶Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica II, (1830), pl.v.1

¹⁷This would not necessarily be a major difficulty. The stele of Mrjt-jt.s has also disappeared, but Mariette's copy is not considered dubious.

¹⁸Florence, Invoice No.2392, photograph in Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 61 (1983), p.16.

¹⁹Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), pp.239f. n.5

²⁰Blanken-van Delden, GM 68 (1983), pp.37 - 42; idem, JEA 72 (1986), pp.192f.

²¹Maspero, momies, p.540 (for S3t-K3ms), and p.541 (for J^ch-ms-s3t-K3ms).

²²Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 47 (1981), pp.31 - 40

²³See Vandersleyen, Guerres, p.226

²⁴Although Blankenberg-van Delden at one stage points out that the Wilkinson copy might refer to another queen {GM 61 (1983), p.14}, she does not remark on the dating clue provided by the Wilkinson and Lepsius copies.

²⁵Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp.82f.

²⁶W. Helck, GM 53 (1982), p.23

²⁷eg. Her inscriptions lack the snt nswt sign repeatedly used in the Wilkinson copy, and Mrjt-Jmn possesses other titles, such as hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr, wrt jm3t, wrt hswt, hnwt rsj mhw, that are not present on the Wilkinson piece.

²⁸Troy, GM 50 (1981), pp.81 - 95; idem. Queenship, pp.161

²⁹ibid. p.83

³⁰Robins, JEA 73 (1987), p.272

³¹Gitton, divines épouses, p.18

³²Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), p.244; see also Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 (1982), pp.31 - 45, for further arguments.

³³Troy, however, would prefer to locate the older mummy among the royal families of a pre-Ahmosid period (without saying when this might have been).

³⁴G.E. Smith, The Royal Mummies, p.9

³⁵Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 47 (1981), p.17

³⁶Troy, GM 50 (1981), p.86

³⁷Troy, GM 35 (1979), p.84

³⁸Blankenberg-van Delden provides a detailed argument for the affinity of these coffins - see GM 54 (1982), pp.35f.

³⁹that the mummy of J^ch-ms-mrjt-Jmn showed more primitive mummification techniques, and that the J^ch-ms element of the queen's name was not a determining factor in assigning her to the generation of King Ahmose.

⁴⁰Maspero, momies, pp.539f.

⁴¹Smith, Royal Mummies, p.7

⁴²eg. J^ch-ms-s3t-Jmn, J^ch-ms-s3t-K3.

⁴³eg.S3-Jmn, S3t-Jmn, Mrjt-Jmn, Amenhotep.

⁴⁴Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), p.244

⁴⁵Vandersleyen, Guerres, p.213

⁴⁶Among the earliest names holding this title are s3t nswt J^ch-ms, S3t-Jmn, S3^ct-K3-ms, etc.

⁴⁷eg.J^ch-htp II, J^ch-ms-nfirt-jrj, Mrjt-Jmn.

⁴⁸eg.J^ch-htp II to J^ch-ms-nfirt-jrj, and the latter to Mrjt-Jmn.

⁴⁹ M. Gitton, divines épouses, Paris (1984)

⁵⁰ Gitton, Ahmès Nefertary, Paris (1975)

⁵¹ Gitton, divines épouses, p.28 and passim.

⁵² eg. Robins, Troy, etc.

⁵³ Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), pp.239 - 241 n.5

⁵⁴ Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 (1982), p.39

⁵⁵ Gitton, op. cit., pp.51 - 55

⁵⁶ not 'hnwt t3wj', as recorded in Gitton (ibid. p.51).

⁵⁷ BM 164

⁵⁸ Nag Hammadi track relief of Sebekhotep III.

⁵⁹ LD III a, b.

⁶⁰ The following ideas arose from a discussion I had with Dr. J. Walker of Macquarie University, and I would like to acknowledge his observations here.

⁶¹ See Troy (Queenship, pp.134f.), citing the example of Sn-snb and J^h-ms in Hatshepsut's temple. Another example is provided by Hnmt-nfr-hdt I - evidently to distinguish her from her later namesake. Snb-hn^c.s was also given the tile hnwt t3wj tm, while the titular inscription of the queen (possibly Nnj) in the register below her records the traces of 'nbt t3wj'.

⁶² Gauthier, LR II, p.209 #9

⁶³ Gitton, op. cit. p.22

⁶⁴ In Gitton's opinion (divines épouses, p.23) 'La forme des signes est évidemment celle du début de la 18^e dynastie mais pas nécessairement des toutes premières années, il peut donc s'agir d'un document posthume.'

⁶⁵ ibid. pp.44 - 73; Troy, Queenship, p.141.

⁶⁶ Blankenberg-van Delden, JEA 72 (1986), pp.192f. and pl.XVIII.2

⁶⁷R. Tefnin, JEA 69 (1983), pp.102 - 105

⁶⁸Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.289 n.2

⁶⁹D.E. Derry, ASAE 39 (1939), pp.411 - 416

⁷⁰Gitton, divines épouses, pp.23f.

⁷¹ibid. p.24; Gitton can only suggest that the Hanover Stele from Year 18 has a purpose which escapes him, but which evidently looks forward to a time when she will be given the title. This is not a particularly convincing explanation.

⁷²Maspero, Momies, pp.542, 623

⁷³This would mean that S3t-K3ms would have been the consort of her own uncle. It would not be the first time that an uncle/niece marriage had taken place, but the instances are extremely rare.

⁷⁴Gitton, op. cit. p.47. He has come to this conclusion because the oldest inscription relating unequivocally to this queen is a stele loosely dated to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The queen's only other titular record is found on her mummy bandages, where the title of hmt ntr does not occur.

⁷⁵Newberry, Scarabs, pl.26.17

⁷⁶Thus, the title of hmt nswt, mwt nswt, s3t ntr etc., appear in the titulary of queens who no longer were holding those actual positions.

⁷⁷Gitton, divines épouses, p.58

⁷⁸Although Tefnin's article suggested that one of the royal women was J^ch-ms-mrjt-Jmn (JEA 69 {1983}, pp.102 - 105), recent inspections by Dr. Lanny Bell and Dr. William Murnane have confirmed Sethe's original opinion that the woman referred to is J^ch-ms-s3t-Jmn (Blankenberg-van Delden, JEA 72 {1986}, pp.192f.)

⁷⁹Tefnin, op. cit. pp.104f; as does Troy, Queenship, p.111.

⁸⁰Gauthier, LR II, p.193; Gitton, op. cit. p.57.

⁸¹ eg. The colossal group of Amenhotep III, Tiye and S3t-Jmn in Cairo Museum, Amenhotep I, J^ch-ms-nfrt-jrj and S3t-Jmn (Cairo stele 34029).

⁸² eg. Hnmt-nfr-hdt I and II with Senwosret III (two group statues), Amenhotep III's colossal statues on the west bank at Luxor.

⁸³ D. Wildung, Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museums, pp.255 - 268

⁸⁴ See also the opinion of Blankenberg-van Delden, JEA 72 (1986), p.192.

⁸⁵ Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), p.244

⁸⁶ Adult depictions, however, are not always an indication of maturity, as we know from representations of Nfrw-R^c, daughter of Hatshepsut, being shown as an adult while she was still a child.

⁸⁷ Helck, Geschichte, p.151

⁸⁸ Note, for example, that J^ch-ms, wife of Thutmose I, was not a s3t nswt, and did not carry the hmt ntr title, even though her daughter Hatshepsut did.

⁸⁹ The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg and P. Newberry, Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis, p.17, pl.16.3

⁹⁰ I reject the Louvre statue 'evidence' for Nfrt-jrj's name being shortened to J^ch-ms, as cited by Gitton (divines épouses, pp.25f.), and propose another identification for that person, as will be seen in the text below.

⁹¹ Gitton, Ahmès-Nefertary, p.6

⁹² eg. H. Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), p.256; Gitton, divines épouses, p.26.

⁹³ Winlock, ibid. p.251

⁹⁴ Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp.71 - 73

⁹⁵ O. Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85

⁹⁶ Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp.71 - 77

⁹⁷ ibid. p.71

⁹⁸ P. Newberry, PSBA 23 (1901), pp.221f.

⁹⁹ Gitton, divines épouses, p.6

¹⁰⁰ A non-royal God's Wife of Min is known from the Middle Kingdom period (ibid. p.5).

¹⁰¹ It is pertinent to note that, in his earlier work (Ahmès Nefertary, p.5 and n.2) Gitton admits that 'on peut hésiter à reconnaître notre reine quand elle est simplement désignée sous le nom de 'J^ch.ms.'

¹⁰² On the Donation Stele, where the queen's name appears as J^ch-ms-nfrrt-jrj (I. Harari, ASAE 56 {1959}, pls.I, II.

Chapter 9

Summary

Notes

¹ eg. the pyramid of Nfr-ḥtp.s, the tombs of Nj-m3ḥt-Ḥḥp II, Nwb-Nbtj, Mr.s-ḥnh IV, the pyramid alleged to be that of Djedkare Isesi's wife, the mastabas of Nbt and Hnwt, the pyramid (?) tomb of Queen Hw{jt} II, for which see their prosopographical entries.

² Chapters 4, 5 and 7

³ eg. the several wives of Pepy I and II. Merenre's wife is at present unknown, although Queen Nt is thought by her pyramid title rpḥt .. ḥḥj-nfr-Mr-n-Rḥ to have been his wife (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.4).

⁴ János, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.183 - 311

⁵ ibid. p.316

⁶ - as was the hm k3 cult of Nj-m3ḥt-Ḥḥp I, and as was the cult of Hnt-k3w.s I at Abusir, and the cult of Queen Hnwt, wife of Wenis: see the Prosopography sections of their entries in the register.

⁷ Amenemhat I may have done (Dodson, ZÄS 115 {1988}, pp.126, 129); Senwosret II may have had mastaba cenotaphs at the Lahun site; Senwosret III had external mastabas in his complex, but these were linked by underground gallery graves.

⁸ János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.78

⁹ Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.136

¹⁰ Arnold (Amenemhet III, pp.100f.) suggests that the type of burial for the wives of Amenemhat III had its antecedents in the pyramid complexes of Senwosret I and other Dynasty XII kings.

¹¹ ibid. pp.99ff.

¹²Arnold, MDAIK 35 (1979), pp.1 - 9

¹³On the position of Nfrw-Pth, see her prosopographical entry. This writer accepts Kuchman-Sabbahy's proposal that Nfrw-Pth may have been the wife of a coregent who died prior to Amenemhat III.

¹⁴For details on the excavation of this tomb see Farag & Iskander, Neferw-Ptah, pp.105ff; further discussion on the transfer of her tomb is to be found in her prosopographical entry.

¹⁵An alabaster canopic vase found near this pyramid names a Queen Sn{...}, suggested by Jéquier to be Snb-ḥn.s (Jéquier, Deux pyramides, p.28). It is presumed that she was the owner of the pyramid.

¹⁶Jéquier, ASAE 31 (1931), pp.33ff; idem, Deux pyramides, pp.35ff. Either, two queens may have been intended for this particular pyramid, or else, the second set of chambers may have been for the ka burial of a single queen, as in the pyramid for the wives of Amenemhat III.

¹⁷Concerning the difficulties surrounding this burial, see the following note, and consult Kmj-nwb's prosopography.

¹⁸de Morgan (Dahchour II, p.68) assumed her to be the wife of Amenemhat II, and this has been accepted by all except János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.80), who thinks it possible that her burial took place in the second half of the reign of Amenemhat II (ibid. p.82).

¹⁹Dewachter (BSFÉ 74 {1975}, p.32), does not think Jn-Ḥꜥpj's tomb is attributable to her, although the consensus opinion is to the contrary - see discussion in the 'Tomb' section of her prosopography.

²⁰Winlock, Meryet-Amun, pp.5ff. pls.1, 2

²¹For discussion see her prosopographical entry.

²²Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), p.193

²³Also interesting is the parallelism concerning the siting of both tombs, each being excavated near the peribolos wall of the king's mortuary complex.

²⁴eg.K3-nfrw, Hnmt-nfr-ḥꜥt I & II, Mrt-sgr, Jtj and all

the Thirteenth Dynasty wives, apart from Snb-hn^c.s I and Kmj-nwb, and the queens from Dynasty XIV - to the time of Seqenenre.

²⁵eg. the wives of Mentuhotep II and III, Amenemhat IV, and most of the Thirteenth, Fifteenth Dynasties, and early Seventeenth Dynasty.

²⁶See Arnold, Amenemhet III, pp.93 - 103, and MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.18 - 21; MDAIK 38 (1982), pp.17 - 23.

²⁷Carter, JEA 3 (1916), pp.147ff; Thomas, Necropoleis, p.172; Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), pp.202 - 206.

²⁸Hatshepsut's shared burial is one exception, Tjjj's interment with Amenhotep III is also suspected.

²⁹Seipel (Königinnen, p.10 and passim.) ignores the sm3 nbwj sign in his discussion on the titulary of all the queens, evidently following the opinion of Helck (cited below). He includes Nt-htp and Mrjt-Nt as queens because both used serekhs.

³⁰Present on items which carry the names of Nt-htp,  and Hr-Nt.

³¹Helck, ZÄS 79 (1954), p.31: Helck sees it as 'kein Königinnentitel, sondern ein Frauennamen'. The frequency of this title with different female names, however, seems more indicative of a title. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.27f.) considers the title to be sm3 Nbtj.

³²Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.356

³³This appears to be the reading on the stele of Nht-Nt (Petrie, RT II, pl. 27, no. 95). The signs are poorly executed, however, and there have been various readings - see Nht-Nt's prosopographical entry for further discussion.

³⁴Petrie, loc. cit. on the stele of Sšmt-k3, stele 96. Similar comments apply.

³⁵Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), pp.43 - 46, and fig. 2.

³⁶Chapter 2 pp.104f.

³⁷Kuchmann Sabbahy (Titulary, p.358) has said of this era that: 'more new titles appear than at any other time. The

high point in lengthy titulary is reached by Queen Htp-hr.s II and her daughter Mr.s-^cnh III, who, using variations on almost all of the standard titles, held sixteen and twenty titles respectively.'

³⁸ especially the First Dynasty sm3 nbwj title, and ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s.

³⁹ eg. m33t Hr, smrt Hr, wrt ht, ht Hr, rpct.

⁴⁰ One prominent example of this dubious parallelism is the title of hrpt sšmt šndt. Another example is in the use of the pyramid title held by the queen.

⁴¹ For further discussion on these problems with the titulary of Mentuhotep's wives see pp.287f. and P^{*}198f.

⁴² While not attested elsewhere during the Twelfth Dynasty, Jt-k3jt's title of m33t Hr Sth was present in the titulary of Queen Nfrw I of Dynasty XI.

⁴³ See discussion in Chapter 7 p.289f.

⁴⁴ Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.215 -221

⁴⁵ ibid. p.194

⁴⁶ Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85

⁴⁷ de Morgan, Dahchour I, p.54 fig.118

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2 p.99f. for further discussion.

⁴⁹ Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), p.60

⁵⁰ Quirke, Administration, pp.215f.

⁵¹ It could be possible that Nfrw-Pth's reburial was carried out in the Thirteenth Dynasty, when the use of the cartouche was sometimes used for the queen.

⁵² The mothers of Sebekhotep III, IV and V are known so, presumably, this queen was mother of either the first or second Sebekhotep. See her prosopography for discussion.

⁵³ Vercoutter, RdÉ 8 (1975), p.233

⁵⁴ Spalinger, LÄ IV.1037

⁵⁵ Turin, Cat.6921

⁵⁶ See discussion on the title-holders in Chapter 8.

⁵⁷ E. Graefe, Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesmahlin des Amun von Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit; Gitton, divines épouses, etc.

⁵⁸ Robins, GM 62 (1983), pp.67 - 77

⁵⁹ Gitton, divines épouses, pp.23 - 26

⁶⁰ See Chapter 8.

⁶¹ ibid. p.364. Also, see Robins, Egyptian queens, Vol. 1, p.288.

⁶² On the Donation Stele, and rock stele at Maasara (Urk. IV.25).

⁶³ See the list of title-holders in Robins, Egyptian queens, Vol.1 p.281.

⁶⁴ Apart from the unlabelled females, who could be either consorts or msw nswt (Kaiser, MDAIK 39 {1983}, p.287ff.) on the Scorpion and Narmer maceheads, the earliest two dimensional representation of a queen may be on an ivory fragment from the First Dynasty (Petrie, RT II, pl. V.a). See discussion in Chapter 4 pp.23f. Another relief representative of a king's consort comes from Djoser's damaged Heliopolis monument from Dynasty III (Smith, HESPOK, p.136, fig. 52).

⁶⁵ eg. Htp-hr.s II and Mr.s-^cnh III (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, numerous pls.); Rht-R^c (Hassan, Giza VI, part iii, pp.5 - 8); Bw-nfr (Hassan, Giza III, pp.176 - 199); Mr.s-^cnh IV (Mariette, Mastabas, p.60 fig. 47); Sšššt (Quibell, Saqqarah, pl.LIV); Jpwt I (Firth & Gunn, TPE, fig.7).

⁶⁶ Nfrt-h3-Nbtj (Borchardt, Sa3hure^c II, pl.48); Hnt-k3w.s II (Verner, ZÄS 109 {1982}, p.158 fig. 3).

⁶⁷ The broken statue of Djedkare and an unnamed female kneeling by his side (Louvre N 54); remains of a female statue wearing the vulture cap from the mortuary temple of Khafre (Hölscher, Chephren, pp.102f. figs. 140ff.); the dyad of Menkaure and wife (Boston 11.1738).

⁶⁸ Statuette of Mrj-R^c-^cnh.n.s II (Boston B 13.119)

⁶⁹ As has been argued in Chapter 5 p.230.

⁷⁰ Which of the two queens seems impossible to determine, as both are mentioned in the papyri - although Posener-Kriéger (JSSEA XIII {1983}, p.51) considers the papyri fragments refer to Neferirkare's mother, not wife.

⁷¹ ibid. p.52

⁷² ibid. p.53

⁷³ Smith, HESPOK, p.136 fig.52

⁷⁴ The only item perhaps worn by queens alone could be the 'pointed cloak', but it is difficult to decide if this is the same garment as that worn by Nfrt from Meidum (Smith, HESPOK, pl. 6c). Staehlin (Tracht, p.172) thinks it possible that the pointed cloak could be a stylistic representation.

⁷⁵ de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig.147

⁷⁶ eg. all of the wives of Mentuhotep I appeared only in wigs.

⁷⁷ eg. Snb-hn^c.s II on the Nag Hammadi track relief, and Nwb-h^c.s I on Louvre C 13.

⁷⁸ eg. Nfrt II, the sphinxes of princesses. See also J^ch-htp I's sarcophagus (JE 28501), statuette of a princess (Vandier, Manuel III, pl.XCVI.2), and numerous statue remains of queens in the New Kingdom.

⁷⁹ The Hathoric headdress was also used by non-royal women in their statuary, and this may represent another example of the democratisation of religion.

⁸⁰ See Altenmüller, SAK 6 {1978}, pp.21ff. As the Eye of Re, she had the power of recreation and regeneration (Troy, Queenship, pp.24f.); the queen was the earthly complement of that divine role (ibid. p.72).

⁸¹ The queen's function as hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr B3-pf, hmt ntr I3-spf, and hrpt sšmt šndt also suggest this (Otto, Stierkulte, p.9). Later there were the pyramid titles for the queens which assert the family roles of the Sixth Dynasty

royal women in the king's afterlife.

⁸²Troy, Queenship, p.50

⁸³Allam, Hathorkulte, p.131

⁸⁴The statue of Queen Snt (CG 424) for example, is similar to the colossal statue of Queen H^c-mrr-Nbtj II from Dynasty IV.

⁸⁵An unnamed female sphinx was found in the Fourth Dynasty complex of Djedefre (Smith, HESPOK, p.33). To date, the only named sphinxes are those of princesses; no sphinx with the name of a queen has yet as been identified.

⁸⁶Troy, Queenship, p.64

⁸⁷Perhaps the identification of the royal women with the leonine sphinx was due to the myth of Hathor in her rôle as Sakhmet.

⁸⁸Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), p.462

⁸⁹Turin 18.53/4

⁹⁰Troy, Queenship, p.66

⁹¹Winlock, El Lahun, pl.s II - IV

⁹²Troy, Queenship, pp.126ff.

⁹³There are also examples where the goddess Hathor is depicted with the šwtj feathers, rather than her usual ostrich variety, but these appear to have been later than the period covered by this dissertation - see Malaise, SAK 4 (1976), p.216f.

⁹⁴eg. Queen Mrjt-Jmn, wife of Amenhotep I.

⁹⁵As witnessed by the burial provisions of those women entitled m33 Hr < Sth.

⁹⁶Allam, Hathorkulte, p.131; it is noticeable that during this era in particular the queen was becoming more closely identified with Hathor.

⁹⁷There are exceptions to the general distribution and composition of titles for both Queen J^ch-htp II and

Jḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, and in their respective prosopographical entries.

⁹⁸Pap. Boulaq 18, S33, mentions the estate of Queen Jj; the estates of Ttj-šrj and S3t-k3ms appear on another papyrus fragment (Erman, ZÄS 38 {1900}, p.150); part of Jḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj's financial income is mentioned on the Donation Stele, and she had other estates besides.

⁹⁹For Jḥ-ḥtp II see Urk. IV.21; for Jḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj see Urk. IV.25.

¹⁰⁰Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, pp.12ff.

¹⁰¹See Chapter 7, p.326.

¹⁰²Urk. IV.21,16. Other aspects of Jḥ-ḥtp's sovereignty are detailed in this document.

¹⁰³See discussion Chapter 4 p.180.

¹⁰⁴Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai I, pl. 9

¹⁰⁵eg. Jḥ-ḥtp II (Urk. IV.21).

¹⁰⁶eg. the tomb of Queen Nfrt-jrj, wife of Rameses II.

¹⁰⁷This process is most noticeable in the iconographic examples of Nfrt-jtj - particularly her blue headdress, similar to that of Tefnut.

¹⁰⁸eg.Champollion, Monuments II, pls.CLIII.3, CLIII.4, CLXX.1, CLXXXIV.2.

ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS

Ag. Abh.	<u>Ägyptische Abhandlungen</u>
AH	<u>Ancient History (formerly, Ancient Society)</u>
AJSLL	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</u>
ASAE	<u>Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Égypte</u>
BACE	<u>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</u>
BASOR	<u>American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin</u>
BIE	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</u>
BIFAO	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut français archéologie orientale</u>
BMFA	<u>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</u>
BMMA	<u>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</u>
BSFE	<u>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</u>
CG	<u>Catalogue General du Musée Caire</u>
CdE	<u>Chronique d'Égypte</u>
DE	<u>Discussions in Egyptology</u>
EEF	<u>Egypt Exploration Fund</u>
EES	<u>Egypt Exploration Society</u>
GM	<u>Göttinger Miszellen</u>
IFAO	<u>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</u>
JACF	<u>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
JARCE	<u>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</u>
JEA	<u>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</u>
JHS	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>
JNES	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u>
JSSEA	<u>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</u>
LA	<u>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</u>
LD	<u>Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</u>
MAS	<u>Münchener ägyptologische Studien</u>
MDAIK	<u>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Kairo</u>
MIO	<u>Mitteilungen der Institut für Orientforschung</u>
Mon. Piot	<u>Monuments Piot</u>
NAWG	<u>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</u>
PSBA	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</u>
Rev. Arch	<u>Revue d'Archéologie</u>
Rec. Trav.	<u>Recueil de travaux relatif à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</u>
RdE	<u>Revue d'Égyptologie</u>
SAK	<u>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</u>
SERAPIS	<u>Student Forum on the Ancient World</u>
SSEA	<u>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</u>

Urk.	<u>Urkunden des Alten Reiches</u> - see Sethe, K. below.
WZKM	<u>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</u>
ZÄS	<u>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</u>
ZDMG	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</u>

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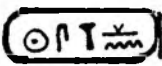
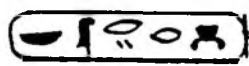
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