

## DYNASTY XI

### QUEEN NFRW-K3JT

Temp. Intef II. The dating of this queen is uncertain (Kees, Orientalia 20 [1951], pp.501f.). Schenkel and Arnold thought she might belong to the First Intermediate Period. Although it is not a secure date, she has been assigned in the present work to the time of Kings Intef I and II (see discussion in the prosopographical section below).

Tomb: not known; from Dendera comes a stele of an official named Rdjw-Hnmw (CG 20543) with all the information we have on Nfrw-k3jt. Perhaps her tomb lay in this region.

Titles: s3t nswt, hmt nswt mrt.f, nbt t3wj, hnwt hkrt nswt, krht hnwt Sm<sup>c</sup> jw<sup>c</sup>t.s n mwt.s, h3tjt-<sup>c</sup> rmt r Jbw pht-r W3dt; King's Daughter, King's Wife his beloved, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of the hkrt nswt, Foremost serpent spirit of Upper Egypt, which she inherits from<sup>[1]</sup> her mother, Chief of the people from Elephantine reaching to the Aphroditopolite nome.

The stele of Rdjw-Hnmw was found by Petrie at Denderah, from which the titles above have been taken. This official had been in service to the queen, whom he praises in his inscription. We gather from this that Nfrw-k3jt had great prestige among the courtiers of her time.

The text is not always easy to read, and there are differences between one translation and another. Thus, while Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.160) and Troy (Queenship, p.78) accord her the title of hkrt nswt, Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.181) says that it is an epithet, not a title. The present writer reads this particular collection of hieroglyphs as hnwt hkrt nswt, for which there is discussion in Chapter 2 p.102. Troy's statement (Queenship, p.78) that Nfrw-k3jt is entitled 'hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt' is incorrect.

In addition to the above titles she has a number of epithets: 'Great in her kas, Foremost in her places, Great of

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<sup>1</sup> See Faulkner, Dictionary, p.12, for the translation of this phrase.

fathers, She who protects heaven for her noble fathers'.

Other idiosyncracies are that her titles of s3t nswt and hmt nswt lack the normal honorific transposition, and both this title and the title of hmt nswt have the m of predication before both s3t and hmt (Petrie, Denderah, pl. XV, line 9).

Significantly, this is the first occasion on which the Middle Kingdom title nbt t3wj is recorded. It was to become one of the chief titles of the queens from this time onwards.

According to Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.181) the usual title 'hkrt nswt' is here not a title, but an epithet, which Rdjw-Hnmw was using in his praise of his patroness. Although Schmitz has omitted the preceding noun hnwt the title should be read as hnwt hkrt nswt - 'Mistress of the ornaments of the king'. One would associate this title with female courtiers, but it also looks forward to the more familiar hnwt hmwt, 'Mistress of women', which later queens carried.

On the same stele Nfrw-k3jt is named 'Chief of the People from Elephantine to Aphroditopolis'. Such a title would imply that her status was unusually high; there is no similar title for any other queen until the times of Jcḥ-ḥtp II. Perhaps Nfrw-k3jt was the sole heiress to a nomarch parent whose territories increased those of Intef's kingdom - as the title 'Heiress of the South Country' suggests. Stock (Erste Zwischenzeit, p.73) has suggested that she was 'die letzte Fürstin von Abydos', since it was shortly after this period that Seher-towy Intef II took control over the Tenth Nome. According to this same stele Nfrw-k3jt also had some pre-eminence among the women of Egypt and the governors of cities and nobles of the land (Petrie, Denderah, p.52).

In addition to these titles Nfrw-k3jt is referred to by a number of unusual epithets by Rdjw-Hnmw. She is one who is 'Great in her kas, Great of fathers, Eminent of mothers, Support of this heaven for her noble fathers, Most eminent of this land'. After praying that her ka might endure on the great throne for a long time, Rdjw-Hnmw petitions the gods that, like the kings, Nfrw-k3jt might be, 'living for millions of years, like Re' (line 21 of the stele inscription). These are the sorts of expressions we associate with kings, rather than with queens, and they underline the pre-eminence of Nfrw-k3jt's position during her lifetime.

Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.181) does not accept that she could be the daughter of Mentuhotep Tpj-c, due to her claim of being a

King's Daughter. If she were a daughter of King Intef I, then she is unlikely to have married his brother, Intef II, since only one previous uncle/niece marriage is known for the royal family (that of Queen Mr.s-ḥ III and her half-uncle, King Khafre). It was not a common practice.

Schmitz has shown that the title of s3t nswt is not given in Middle Kingdom to any female who was not a born princess. For this reason discussion about her floruit needs to take this title into account. From archaeological evidence there is only one s3t nswt known for the First Intermediate Period, this is Nbt, wife of Šm3j of Koptos. (She seems to have been granted the title by special decree.) Nfrw-ḳ3jt is the earliest known princess after Nbt, wife of Šm3j. The (unnamed) mother of King Merikare is entitled 's3t ḥkr', [2] but she does not seem to have been a s3t nswt.

For this period in Egyptian history there is uncertainty about when the Theban nomarchs assumed the title of king. Not until their sovereignty was accepted could their daughters claim the title of s3t nswt. This is the terminus a quo for Nfrw-ḳ3jt's title of queen.

If Nfrw-ḳ3jt was indeed the wife of Intef II, she does not claim to have been mwt nswt, and we need to ask, who was the mother of Intef III?

Prosopography: On Rdjw-Ḥnmw's stele, CG 20543, the queen is linked with a King Intef. Her ancestry is unknown, but there are a few suggestions that could be considered.

a) She might have been the daughter of King Intef I, whose reign lasted only eight years. As he was the brother, not the father of King Intef II, [3], it would then be unlikely for her uncle (Intef II) to be her husband.

b) Although Queen J<sup>c</sup>ḥ (see below) was the wife of Intef III, it is possible that Nfrw-ḳ3jt had been the senior wife of this king - this option is preferred by Troy (Queenship p.156). Nfrw-ḳ3jt's titles (see above) are unique, and ones we would expect to find being held by the pre-eminent wife, should the king have had two wives.

<sup>2</sup> E. Blumenthal, Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches I, p.150 and D1.7.

<sup>3</sup> Habachi, ASAE 55 (1958), pp.176 - 181 discusses this.

c) Perhaps she was a daughter of one of the Herakleopolitan kings. War between Thebes and Herakleopolis was frequent in the time of Intef II, and some sort of marriage policy might have been tried to solve the unrest in the southern nomes.

Against a) we can suggest that, as this king does not seem to have adopted royal titles himself (his only records come from later times), any daughter of his is unlikely to be called s3t nswt. It should be noted that Intef II's mother, Nfrw, has no title in the several inscriptions mentioning the filiation. The usurpation of royal titles by the southerners is favoured by Gardiner to occur some time during the reign of Intef II (Gardiner, EOP, p.119 ult.).

Against b) it should be pointed out that, to date, the Intef kings do not seem to have had more than one wife each. (However, our restricted records in regard to family relationships, may be due to losses among the source material.)

Newberry (ZÄS 72 [1936], p.121) remarks on the style of Rdjw-Hnmw's stele, which he says 'is identical with that of the stele of Thethi which is dated to the reign of Intef [II],'. Particular attention should be given to the ms sign, which is peculiar to the reign of Intef II. The King's Mother, Nfrw, is also named on the stele of Itj (BM 100), and on the stele of the royal treasurer, Hnj (Musée Roumiantseff, 18 17/III 78, Moscow), again with the same peculiar msw sign. Newberry also draws attention to the places named in Rdjw-Hnmw's monument, noting that they are the identical places named on the stele of Zari (temp. Intef II), and on Intef's own tomb stele (ibid., p.122).[4]

A third feature to be considered is the inscription giving the affiliation of Intef III, 'Horus Wahankh, nswt bjtj, S3 R<sup>c</sup>, Jntf msw Nfrw'. As the wife of Intef II must have been called Nfrw, Nfrw-k3jt could well be a candidate for that position. Perhaps the 'k3jt' of Nfrw-k3jt's name is properly the epithet, 'exalted', rather than a secondary part of her name.

Against c) is a lack of evidence, but the theory would satisfactorily explain the queen's s3t nswt title; it would also

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<sup>4</sup> Note that in Newberry's discussion the king's Horus name must be taken into account, as Newberry's numbering of the Intef kings differs from Gardiner et al.

explain Nfrw-k3jt's other remarkable titles and epithets, especially the most unusual invocation for the queen on Rdjw-Hnmw's stele, asking that she have millions of years, like Re, for eternity. Finally, it does not distort the inscriptional evidence, and fits in well with the claim made by Hayes (CAH I/2A, P.467) that there was quite a long truce (broken by Mentuhotep I in Year 14 of his reign) between Herakleopolis and Thebes at this time.

Newberry, who also considers that Nfrw-k3jt could be a Herakleopolitan princess says that 'her name Nefru-kayt suggests a Memphite origin' (ZÄS 72 [1936], p.121 fn.20] He proposes that her putative marriage was designed by the Herakleopolitan king to consolidate his control over the South, while the Theban lord 'evidently married this heiress of Middle Egypt so as to ensure his legal right to the Kingdom of the Lower Nile Valley'.

Nfrw-k3jt's children have not been identified. She does not carry the title of mwt nswt, so she might not be the mother of King Intef III but, since Intef II had a fifty-year reign, there is every likelihood that she died before Intef III came to the throne. This might explain the absence of the title mwt nswt. The seal-bearer, Itj, who served both Intef II and III (BM 100), says that Intef II was 'born of Neferu', and that Intef III was also born of a mother named Nfrw. Perhaps this was an abbreviated form of her name, as 'k3jt' could function there as an epithet.

Thus, although Winlock considers that Nfrw-k3jt might be the same person as Nfrw I, wife of Mentuhotep I, her link with King Intef suggests otherwise. She seems more likely to have been the wife of Intef II and the mother of Intef III, although Stock (Erste Zwischenzeit, pp.47, 76) rejects any possible marriage of Nfrw-k3jt with either Intef I or II, as he believes that her genealogical position would have been enshrined in the memory of later kings.

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Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.160.

Newberry, PSBA 35 (1913), p.121.

ZÄS 72 (1936), p.121f.

Petrie, Denderah, pl. 15, and pp.51f.

Schenkel, Memphis-Hierakleopolis-Theban, pp.112 - 115, 150.

Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.181f  
 Stock, Erste Zwischenzeit, pp.46ff.  
 Troy, Queenship, pp.76, 156.  
 Clère & Vandier, Textes, pp.13, 15, 16.  
 Winlock, Rise, p.27.

#### QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>H

Temp. Intef III - Mentuhotep I

Tomb: her burial has been presumed to be within that of her husband's tomb at Thebes. There are no remains to date.

Titles: s3t nswt nt ht.f, mwt nswt mrt.f, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; King's Daughter of his body, King's Mother his beloved, priestess of Hathor. Petrie considered that, as J<sup>c</sup>H is not hmt nswt on the Shatt er Rigel relief she must have been a commoner. The title is damaged on the relief, but in arguing for Intef as her royal husband Gardiner has shown that she was the wife of the king.

Prosopography: As J<sup>c</sup>H was born a princess, she is likely to have been the daughter of King Intef II, since she has been identified as the wife of Intef III and mother of King Mentuhotep I. She is shown with her son in the Shatt er Rigel bas-relief. Queen J<sup>c</sup>H may also have been the mother of Queen Nfrw, the wife of Mentuhotep I (see discussion under Nfrw's Prosopography).

Earlier scholars thought that the Shatt er Rigel relief indicated that the Intef appearing there was her grandson, but Gardiner (MDAIK 14 [1956], pp.45 - 47) has demonstrated that this Intef is her husband.

#### Bibliography:

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     Onomastica I, p.50  
 Gauthier, LR I, pp.223, 236.  
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PM V, p.207.

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Winlock, Rise, pp.62f., pls. 12, 36.

## QUEEN NFRW

### Temp. Mentuhotep I

Tomb: No.319, Deir el Bahri: the excavation report appears in Winlock's several articles from BMMA: see also Newberry (ZÄS 72 [1936], p.120, Thomas, Necropoleis, pp.12 - 16, and Arnold, Tempel des Könige Mentuhotep I, p.18f.). Her tomb, near Mentuhotep's mortuary complex, has a small entrance courtyard, lined with brick. A short corridor leads to the square chamber cut into the cliff. Her tomb was completed before the final form of Mentuhotep I's great mortuary temple was reached, some time prior to the erection of the brick wall lining Mentuhotep's great court (Thomas, Necropoleis, p.16). The decoration of the burial crypt, which imitates the interior of a wooden sarcophagus, is also considered archaic (loc. cit.). It is therefore considered that the queen died in the middle years of Mentuhotep's reign (Ward, Feminine Titles, p.105).

In later times the chapel of Nfrw was visited by numbers of Egyptian tourists (Winlock, BMMA 22 [1927], p.12), giving us some indication of the esteem which this Middle Kingdom queen possessed in the eyes of later generations. Romer (MDAIK 32 [1976], p.191ff.) has suggested that the pattern of her tomb became the model for royal tombs (male and female) of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Nfrw's chapel was lined with fine limestone masonry, which was elaborately decorated with painted reliefs (examples in Hayes, Scepter I, p.159f., and Riefstahl, JNES 16 [1956], pls. VIII - XIII) which draw their inspiration from Old Kingdom models. In the corridor were sunk reliefs, one of which shows a male figure lifting up a funerary boat above his head (Hayes, Scepter I, fig.95). A similar funerary boat was found in the courtyard of Queen Nt, of Dynasty VI.

The reliefs contain examples of hairdressing in Dynasty XI. Riefstahl considers it likely that these hairdressing scenes

might have some connection with the cult of the goddess Hathor, rather than being simple domestic scenes (*ibid.* p.17). A similar hairdressing scene is found on the sarcophagus of K3wjt (see below), and its position between the representation of a sarcophagus and a milking scene on the upper outside register would endorse Riefstahl's suggestion.

In the south-west corner of the chapel is a passage which leads to a false burial chamber. Under the floor of this dummy burial chamber a low corridor leads 40 metres down to the real sepulchre, which was blocked off by a huge sandstone slab. The tomb itself had been extensively damaged by thieves looking for hidden passages - now restored (photographs in Winlock, *BMMA* 22 [1927], p.5). The crypt was decorated with the queen's titulary, and texts that are similar to the Coffin Texts of the time.

The tomb was of further interest because it contained the earliest examples of ushabtis (some of wax, others made of unbaked clay) so far discovered. While some of the mud ushabtis were quite rudimentary, others were carefully modelled to represent the naked figure of a woman. All the ushabtis were placed in little coffins and covered with linen palls.

Other items of interest found in her tomb were sheets made under Chancellor Htj's direction, together with a finely-pleated skirt of linen (Winlock, *BMMA* 22 [1927], p.8).

Titles: rp<tt, s3t nswt, s3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt mrt.f, nbt jm3hwt; Hereditary Princess, King's Daughter, King's Eldest Daughter of his body, King's Wife, his beloved, Honoured Lady (sarcophagus).

rp<tt, hmt nswt, s3t [nswt], mrt.f, m33t Hr Stš, w3dt sdtt, hnwt hmwt, nbt jm3hwt; Hereditary Princess, King's Wife, [King's], Daughter, his beloved, She who sees Horus and Seth, Foster child of w3dt, Mistress of the women, Honoured lady (wall of the tomb). These titles were recorded by Gabet (*Rec. Trav.* 12 [1892], p.217). His error of 'hmt nswt wrt' has been pointed out by Kuchman (*JSSEA* 9 [1978], p.23, n.5).

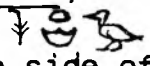
Two items of Old Kingdom usage are present here: the use of the m33t Hr Stš title for funerary monuments, and the title of w3dt sdtt (discussed below). Both titles date from the time of Pepy II.

On her sarcophagus the epithet, nbt jm3t bnrt mrt (Lovable possessor of charm), was recorded and, on her tomb wall, sn<sub>dm</sub> m



w3h mstj jdt.s (Pleasing in the columned hall by the smell of her fragrance) was written. In Dynasty VI ḥnh.s.n-Ppj received the title of w3dt sdt in connection with her s3t ntr title, and this phrase - perhaps a title in its own right - also appears with Nfrw's name. Troy (Queenship, p.157), translates the phrase as w3dt sdtjtt, 'Green of Girlhood', but Goedicke (SAK 15 [1988], p.12) prefers 'Foster-daughter of the Uraeus'. (See Chapter 2 (R5.4) for further discussion.)

Nfrw is the first queen known to have epithets added to her titles. In addition to w3dt sdt, the phrases, nbt jm3hwt, sndm m w3h mstj jdt.s, and nbt jm3t bnrt mrt, also appear. Kuchman (JSSEA 9 [1978], p.24f.) suggests that these additions may be due to her being the sister/wife of the king and having, perhaps, a more favoured position at court.

It has been claimed that Nfrw was the first queen to carry the title hmt nswt wrt, but this was Gabet's error due to the curious writing  (King's Wife and Daughter) which appears on both the side of her sarcophagus, and on the wall of her tomb. This particular title variation does not appear in Troy's list of titles for royal women (Register B), but it does appear from time to time throughout the pharaonic period. It appears to have been a 'short-hand' recording of two titles, and seems to have derived from a desire for artistic balance.

Prosopography: Queen Nfrw was the daughter of a woman called Jhw. Although Winlock (Egyptian Expedition, BMA 19 [1924], pp.12f.) thinks she is to be identified with Mentuhotep I's mother, Queen Jḥ, the names may not refer to the same person. Ward (Feminine Titles, pp.104, 145f.) points out that Nfrw's mother does not carry any title in her daughter's tomb, and he therefore thinks Jhw is unlikely to be the mother of Mentuhotep I. But Nfrw is recorded in her tomb as 'King's Daughter', so it is almost certain that her mother would have been royal, whether she carries a title or not in her daughter's tomb. Nfrw's father is likely to have been King Intef III, and therefore Jhw and Jḥ might be the one person. There is still the possibility, however, that Nfrw may have been an Herakleopolitan princess. Her husband was Mentuhotep I.

From the date for her tomb, it would seem that this queen died between Years 20 - 39 of her husband's reign (Ward, Feminine Titles, p.104f.). No children are known.

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 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.173 - 175.  
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     BMMA 22 (1927), pp.8 - 13.  
     Excavations at Deir el Bahari, pp.56, 87, 101,  
     fig.8, pls. 13, 14.  
     Rise, p.27.

#### QUEEN TM

##### Temp. Mentuhotep I

Tomb: a dromos tomb, cut in tafl, No.15, Deir el Bahri; this was found by Naville within the complex built by Mentuhotep I at Deir el Bahri. Her rock-cut tomb is large. A short, sloping passage leads to the undecorated burial chamber. It contained a large, coarse sarcophagus made up of five slabs, a white limestone floor, a broken alabaster lid, and four coarse alabaster sides which were mounted on a sandstone base (Cyril Graham, quoted in Thomas, Necropoleis, p.22). It is the largest sarcophagus of its type for the XIth Dynasty. There was once an inscribed band, written in greenish ink, along three sides of the coffin. The queen's titles were recorded on this. Rainwater has since washed off the inscription (Winlock, Rise, p.43).

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, hmt nswt bjtj, mwt nswt bjtj, hst ntrw, hts wrt, mwt nswt bjtj jm3hwt, hdt wrt; King's Wife his beloved, Wife of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, praised of the gods, great one of the hts sceptre, honoured King's mother, (She of) the Great White Crown.

These titles were written in greenish ink inscribed on three sides of the queen's sarcophagus (Maspero, ZÄS 21 [1883], p.77). Daressy (Rec. Trav. 14 [1894], p.11) records: mwt nswt bjtj, hmt nswt bjtj from the west side of her sarcophagus, mwt nswt, hmt nswt mrt.f, wrt h3t [sic.], wrt hts on the north wall of her sarcophagus, and hmt nswt mrt.f, mwt hst ntrw, on the east side

of her sarcophagus. Since the inscription has been obliterated by rainwater the discrepancy between the two recordings cannot be resolved.

Tm appears to have been the first queen to refer to the Great White Crown of Egypt. Later queens developed this phrase into the more familiar hnmt nfr hdt, 'She who is united with the Great White Crown' - for the meaning of which see Chapter 2 (C9).

Another title which is unique is that of hmt nswt bjtj (Maspero, ZÄS 21 [1883], p.77). (The title is not recorded in Troy's Register B.) Its significance is unknown at present, but its similarity to the writing of Tm's mwt nswt bjtj title has its parallel in the titulature of Queen Jpwt of Dynasty VI, whose title of mwt nswt bjtj and s3t nswt bjtj were similarly written.

Tm was the first mwt nswt bjtj since Old Kingdom times; her title suggests that there may have been a earlier heir-apparent (see p.36). It is noteworthy that her title, like that of Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II, was written with the mwt inserted between the nswt and bjtj hieroglyphs. Both queens also used the unusual hst ntrw epithet, as does Cnh.s.n-Ppj on her false door (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.53, fig.31).

Prosopography: Queen Tm did not use the s3t nswt title, so it is likely that she was a commoner. She was the wife of Mentuhotep I and the mother of his successor, Sankh-kare Mentuhotep II. No other offspring are known. She seems to have survived her husband (contra Ward, Feminine Titles, p.108) as is indicated by her title of mwt nswt bjtj, suggesting that she died in her son's reign.

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Trois années de fouilles, p.134.  
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op. cit. Vol. II, pp.3, 6, 13, 21, pl. VIII.  
 PM 1/2, p.657.  
 Thomas, Necropoleis, pp.22.

Troy, Queenship, p.157.

Ward, Feminine Titles, p.105.

Winlock, Rise, pp.43, 48.

#### The women of Mentuhotep's court

A number of women who were thought to belong to the harim of this king also have their tombs at Deir el Bahri. At least four of these six females, buried within the king's great mortuary complex, claim the title of king's wife. They were considered concubines by earlier historians because they also bore the title hkrt nswt, a title which this present work would prefer to see as pertaining to those who were courtiers. Although the women were not entitled hmt nswt on their sarcophagi the remains from some of the chapels retain the title of hmt nswt, and hmt nswt mrt.f, and thus at least some of them are considered to be wives by the present writer.

These six females were all youthful, the youngest being about five years of age, the eldest being about twenty-two. Although no cause of death has been ascertained the presumably simultaneous burial of all six might indicate some accident or epidemic had been responsible for their demise. The nature of their deaths could be the clue to the unusual circumstances relating to their burials.[5]

Their exact relationship to the king has been the subject of protracted debate. One suggestion is that they formed a religious harim, similar to the one assigned to the god Min in which their duties were 'to serve the king as god on earth' (Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.170f.) Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested this because of two graffiti from the island of Konosso, where Mentuhotep I has been depicted as the god Min in a relief in which the king's name is attached to the ithyphallic figure. Another proposal is that the six belonged to a special category of priestesses of Hathor and were part of her harim (Arnold, Temple I, p.83f., and p.83, n.368) The role of Hathor as protectress of the Theban necropolis in general, and of the king in particular, had been established in the time of King Intef Wah-ankh (Allam, Hathorkult, p.58). Under Mentuhotep Hathor was given even greater importance. She appears many times

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<sup>5</sup> Whether the burials were simultaneous, or whether only the cutting of their tombs was, has not been established.

on the walls of Mentuhotep's temple (*ibid.* p.59) and, more significantly, the King associates himself with the goddess in a cartouche reading, 'Son of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, Mentuhotep' (*ibid.* p.60). Mentuhotep's own mother may have been both hmt nswt and hmt ntr Hwt-Hr (BM 1819),[6] while Queen Nfrw-k3jt also had her association with the hkrt nswt, and Queen Jnnj was also entitled hmt ntr Hwt-Hr, and špswt. She may also be an Eleventh Dynasty consort. Thus, there are other links between the cult of Hathor and the female members of the royal family. It is possible that the young women at Deir el Bahri were part of a ritual involving the king and this goddess, but their religious and courtly titles need not discount them as members of the family of Mentuhotep I.

Ward (*Feminine Titles*, pp.111f.), on the other hand, considers that these females were high-born women of the court, possibly the wives of officials, whose services included waiting on the queen, and serving the king through the cult of Hathor. He proposes that they might have been considered to be eligible as wives of the king, and that the title of hmt nswt 'reflects not a reality but a possibility that never came to pass' (*ibid.* p.113). The greatest difficulty in accepting this hypothesis, however, lies in the absence of other examples throughout Egyptian history.

The suggestion put forward by the present work is that the girls might have been partners in hostage-marriages contracted by the king in his effort to reunite Egypt at the commencement of Dynasty XI (See p.288); the alleged Nubian origin of C3š3jt would strengthen the likelihood of this supposition. This unusual collection of graves for the king's wives is paralleled by the Dynasty XVIII tomb in Wadi Gabbanet el Kurrud of the three consorts of Thutmose III. Both sets of burials were of women entitled hmt nswt, and perhaps in both instances they were tombs for less-important wives of the king. The later queens, whose names were Syrian, must have been partners in diplomatic marriages with the king. It is tempting to consider the royal burials at Deir el Bahri as a similar circumstance; marriages with these girls being contracted at a time when the pacification of Egypt was only just being established by Mentuhotep I.

Each of the six females buried at Deir el Bahri had a

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<sup>6</sup> A block found in Mentuhotep's complex; the title mwt nswt is not present on this inscription, so the J<sup>C</sup>h concerned could be a daughter.

chapel, a burial shaft and chamber. Although their chapel remains are very fragmentary, their general appearance has been reconstructed (Naville, Dynasty XI Temple I, pls. 11f.). Their chapels were included within Mentuhotep's mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri, where they were placed in a row at the rear of the main temple. Their off-centre position indicates that the tombs were not originally an integral part of the king's temple plan, but were incorporated into this later building. All these burials had been made before the main structures of Mentuhotep's temple was erected, since the chapels display the first of the three Horus names Mentuhotep I used (Winlock, BMMA 16 [1921], p.38), and since the later structures of the temple were built over them (Winlock, Rise, p.26; Arnold, Temple I, pp.64f.).

Each of the little chapels was the same. A single door opened onto a statue niche with a false door to the rear. The statues kept inside these shrines were apparently made of wood. The floors of the chapel show that these statues were dragged out frequently to take part in religious rites, for the limestone floors are heavily scored by the tracks of the statues' sleds (Winlock, Rise, pp. 25f.).

From the remains it is apparent that the face of each shrine was similar to the others. Remains of titulary and artwork suggest this. The chapel owner sat at a table of offerings and servants were in attendance. The king was shown sitting with his arm around the deceased. Such an unusual scene for the chapel of a queen encouraged scholars to assume that the women must have been concubines, for a parallel was drawn with the Migdol scenes in the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

These scenes are unusual in the Eleventh Dynasty, but they are not unique. Fragments from the mortuary temple of Sahure feature a similar embrace for that king, who puts his arm around the neck of his wife, Nfrt-h3-Nbtj (Borchardt, Sa3-hu-Re II, pl.48). Since these women were buried within the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep I, perhaps the purpose of the illustrations was the same. For further discussion see Chapter 7, p.288.

Several of these female burials had been undisturbed in the past, although the tombs themselves had been robbed - in Winlock's estimation, about four hundred years after the interment, during the Second Intermediate Period (Winlock, BMMA 16 [1921], p.46). Although the materials and structure of each burial differed from the others, four of the sarcophagi had inscriptions that were similar (M3jt's sarcophagus was uninscribed). The other young females were entitled hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>-ttj, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; 'Sole royal favourite, Priestess of

Hathor'.

#### QUEEN HNHNT

Tomb: Pit tomb 11, one of six shrines behind the square, central structure of Mentuhotep's complex at Deir el Bahri. Hnhnt's tomb was excavated by Naville. It lies next to that of Kmst. Her plain, limestone sarcophagus and mummy are today in the Metropolitan Museum, New York - discussion and photograph in Hayes, Scepter I, p.161. The cover of her sarcophagus was usurped from that of Queen K3wjt, according to Winlock (JNES 2 [1943], p.265). Her remains indicate that she had Nubian blood (Rise, p.27).

Titles: hmt [nswt] mrt.f, hkrt nswt, hkrt w<sup>c</sup>tt nswt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr (Inscriptions in Clère & Vandier, Textes, pp.29f.) (Both Kmst and Hnhnt hold the titles hkrt nswt and hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt.); [King's] wife his beloved, royal favourite, sole royal favourite, priestess of Hathor.

Although Ward (Feminine Titles, p.110) has not included Hnhnt as a hmt nswt mrt.f one inscription fragment from beneath a picture of the princess does read 'hmt mrt.f' (Clère & Vandier, Textes, p.29 B.2), the honorific 'nswt' no longer remaining.

Prosopography: Wife of Mentuhotep I.

#### Bibliography:

- Arnold, Tempel I, pp.53f, 83f.  
 BM 1450  
 Clère & Vandier, Textes, pp.29f.  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.251.  
 Hayes, Scepter I, pp.160f.  
 Kuchman, JSSEA 9 (1978), pp.21f.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.165 - 171.  
 MMA 08.1231.53; 07.230.1 A-B 1 - 4.  
 Naville, Dynasty XI Temple I, pp.50f., pl. XXI.  
 PM II p.388.  
 Thomas, Necropoleis, p.17.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.73.  
 Ward, Feminine Titles, pp.102 - 114.  
 Winlock, BMA 16 (1921), pp.38f., 46.  
Rise, p.25ff.

#### QUEEN KMST

Tomb: TT 308 was excavated by Naville. It is the only one of the six which featured interior decorations on the burial chamber

walls (BM 1450). These decorations imitated those on the sarcophagus (BM 43037).

Within the burial pit (No. 10) was a fine stone sarcophagus, carved on the exterior and painted on its interior. Winlock (Rise, p.26) considers its workmanship the best of all, but thieves had smashed it in antiquity. Today the remains are in the British Museum.

Titles: hkrt nswt, hkrt w<sup>c</sup>tt nswt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; Royal favourite, sole royal favourite, priestess of Hathor.

Although Kmst does not have the title hmt nswt preserved in any of her chapel fragments the title is assumed, due to the presence of the king's portrait and name (Naville, XI Dynasty Temple II, pl.XX), together with the remains of the queen's portrait and name on some of the chapel fragments (Clère & Vandier, Textes, p.32).

Prosopography: Presumed wife of Mentuhotep I. Ward (Feminine Titles, p.110) has reserved judgement on her relationship to the king. She is named in a procession of royal women, together with Queen K3wjt, but her title of 'King's wife' is restored (Clère & Vandier, Textes, p.43). The parallel text of K3wjt, however, does suggest that the two women held an equivalent status.

#### Bibliography:

Arnold, Temple I, pp.53f; 83f.

BM 1450, BM 43037

Clère & Vandier, Textes, pp.32ff.

Kuchman, JSSEA 9 (1978), pp.21f.

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.165 - 171.

Naville, XI Dynasty Temple, Vol. III, pls. II, III.

PM II, p.386, 389.

Ward, Feminine Titles, Ch. Six.

Winlock, BMMA 16 (1921), p.46.

Rise, p.25f.

#### QUEEN K3WJT

Tomb: Her burial pit, No. 9, was excavated by Naville. It contained a magnificent stone sarcophagus, finely carved on the exterior. This is now in Cairo Museum.

Mummy remains show her to have died in her early twenties.

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; King's wife his beloved, sole royal favourite, priestess of Hathor.



Prosopography: Wife of Mentuhotep I.

Bibliography:

- Aldred, Egyptian Art, p.112.  
 Arnold, Tempel I, pp.53f; 83f.  
 Kuchman, JSSEA 9 (1978), pp.21f.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.165 - 171.  
 Naville, XIth Dynasty Temple, p.47.  
 Ward, Feminine Titles, Ch. Six.  
 Winlock, BMMA 16 (1921), p.39, 46.  
Rise, p.25f.

QUEEN S3DH

Tomb: Neither sarcophagus nor other remains were found in her burial pit (No.7) (Winlock, BMMA 16 [1921], p.40). Her shrine, however, was easier to reconstruct than the others. This reconstruction gives us some idea of the chapel type for the other women buried in this complex of six (Naville, Arch. Report, pl. IV, no. 7).

Titles: hmt nswt, hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr, jm3hwt hr Wsr;  
 King's wife, sole royal favourite, priestess of Hathor, honoured by Osiris.

Prosopography: Wife of Mentuhotep I.

Bibliography:

- Arnold, Tempel I, pp.53f.  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.251.  
 Kuchman, JSSEA 9 (1978), pp.21f.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.165 - 171.  
 Naville, Archaeological Report of the EEF for 1904 - 1905, pl. IV, no.7 discusses a block from her chapel.  
 Ward, Feminine Titles, Ch. Six.  
 Winlock, BMMA 16 (1921), p.39f, p.46.  
Rise, p.25f.

QUEEN C3Š3JT

Tomb: Her chapel was discovered by Naville; her burial pit (No.17) was excavated by Winlock. In the pit were found a magnificently carved stone sarcophagus with a wooden coffin resting on top of it; the coffin belonged to a lady named Kmst (not the other hmt nswt). This had been pillaged.

C3Š3jt had been placed first of all in a rectangular wooden coffin, which had a band of inscription running around the sides.

The interior of the coffin lid was painted with tables showing the times during the night when certain stars and constellations would rise. This motif does not appear again until the time of Queen Hatshepsut, when Senenmut also had his tomb ceiling decorated with astronomical motifs.

C3š3jt's wooden coffin had been placed in a massive stone sarcophagus. The sarcophagus was intact and its removal presented a great difficulty for the American team which supervised its extraction, for they had to take care not to damage either the carvings or the delicate painting on the interior faces of the monument. The exterior was finely carved, the inner surfaces painted vividly with scenes of C3š3jt being waited on by her attendants.

Within this pit Winlock found small ushabti figures made out of wax. Together with the figurines found in the tomb of Queen Nfrw I, these are the earliest ushabtis yet discovered.

Originally, C3š3jt had been covered with a mummiform cartonnage, now badly damaged. It is the earliest such funerary item known (BMMA 16 [1921], p.50). Thus the burial of this woman provides us with evidence for further developments in funerary customs, and one would suspect that C3š3jt's burial post-dated the others.

C3š3jt's bodily remains had been roughly handled by the robbers, but sufficient remained to suggest that this queen had been tattooed, and that she had Nubian blood (Rise, p.27). Winlock (BMMA 22 [1927], p.10) also writes that 'The pictures of Aashait on her sarcophagus give her a rich chocolate Nubian complexion' - a practice not usually given in female representations. The unusual colour, however, probably indicates a desire for regeneration, rather than the African origins of the queen.

It has been estimated that C3š3jt died in her very early twenties.

Inside the wooden coffin Winlock found a bundle of sheets that had been used as a final wrapping for the queen. Inscriptions on the sheets reveal that the famous chancellor, Htj, had ordered them to be made. Inside the sheets was a wooden statuette either of the queen, or of a servant to accompany her in the afterlife (BMMA 16 [1921], fig.26). The costume of the figure did not differ from those of the maidservants of that era.

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, hmt nswt, hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr,

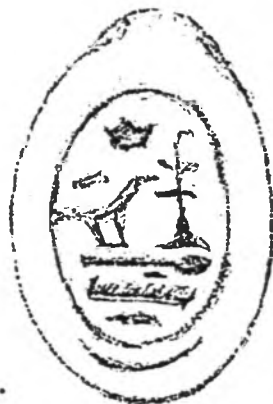
jm3hwt hr Wsr; King's wife his beloved, King's wife, sole royal favourite, priestess of Hathor, honoured by Osiris.

Although Troy (Queenship, p.157) lists hmt nswt wrt as one of this queen's titles I do not think this should be the reading from her scarab (see the sketch of the scarab, fig. 20). The position of the wr bird, without its usual 't' accompaniment, would be a very unusual recording of such a title. The indistinct photograph suggests that a careless 3 (usually written in the name of the queen) might have been the bird intended. The title of hmt nswt wrt did not appear until the Thirteenth Dynasty.[7]

Prosopography: C3š3jt's name is preserved elsewhere. The scarab BM 40855 (Hall, Cat. Scarabs, pl. 6) featuring this queen's name with the legend 'hmt nswt' provides further evidence for the marital status of the queen. We have no information other than this about her.

#### Bibliography:

- Arnold, Tempel I, pp.53f, 83.  
 BM 40855.  
 Buttles, Queens, p.25.  
 Clère & Vandier, Textes, pp.23 - 29.  
 Gauthier, LR I, pp.237 and 364.  
     RT 40 (1923), p.202.  
 Griffith, PSBA 14 (1891), p.41f.  
 Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.6, No.60 [BM 40855].  
 Kuchman, JSSEA 9 (1978), pp.21f.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.165 - 171.  
 Naville, XIth Dynasty Temple I, p.7; II pp.23f., 28,  
     pls. 11, 14, 15, 18.  
 PM II p.387.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.157.  
 Winlock, BMMA 16 (1921), pp.40 - 52.  
     BMMA 22 (1927), p.10.  
     Rise, p.26f.



Sketch of  
the scarab.

- Hall, Cat.  
Scarabs,  
p.6, No.60

fig. 20

#### M3JT

Tomb: Deir el Bahri; her chapel remains were found by Naville, but her burial pit (No.18) was discovered and excavated by Winlock. It is unknown what titles (if any) she carried. Her chapel doors were too fragmentary to preserve much at all.

<sup>7</sup> See the Prosopographical entry for Queen Mrt-sgr, p.232 below.

M3jt's coffin had remained almost intact up to the time of Winlock's discovery (BMMA 16 [1921], p.51). Her huge stone outer coffin was uninscribed. On a second, whitewashed coffin there was a central strip with funerary formulae, but there were no titles in the inscription (see fig. 28 loc.cit). Within the coffin were the remains of a five-year old child. Her mummy had been decorated with five simple necklaces, her only sign of wealth. A simple plaster mask covered her face.

M3jt's age raises a problem about her actual status. Winlock has suggested that she could have been the daughter of the king, although he is inclined more to the view that she was a daughter of some aristocratic family which had given the girl in marriage to the king (Winlock, BMMA 16 [1921], p.48). Ward (Feminine Titles, p.114) has asked whether she may have been the child of Queen Nfrw. Troy does not include her in her register of royal women, but a number of scholars group M3jt with the other women who are buried in the Deir el Bahri shrines, and she is included here because her position is uncertain.

Prosopography: While Ward (Feminine Titles, p.114) has suggested that M3jt may have been the child of Nfrw, we do not know what her position was within Mentuhotep's court. She may have once carried similar titles to those of these early wives mentioned above, or she may indeed have been the child of any one of them, or of Nfrw. We know of no prosopographical connections.

#### Bibliography:

- Cooney, Five Years, pp.50f. pl. 82.  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.160 and 161.  
 James, Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, pp.37f.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.166.  
 Ward, Feminine Titles, pp.112, 114.  
 Winlock, BMMA 16 (1921), pp.41 46, 48, 51 - 53.  
Rise, pp.25f.

JMNT: Although she has been classed by some scholars as a wife of King Mentuhotep she was not (see titles below). The reason for the incorrect identification may have been due to the vulture headdress that was part of this woman's funerary mask: it gives the impression of a queen's portrait. Masks such as this became more common as the Middle Kingdom progressed, as is apparent from EA 29770, now in the British Museum.

Tomb: Deir el Bahri - perhaps pit No.25 (? PM I/2, p.655). This intact grave (the only one found at Deir el Bahri) was found by

Grebaut, but its site is now unknown. Her body was tattooed. Jmnt's mummy bandages suggest that she might have been part of the royal household as they make reference to a Princess Jdh, whom she, and another three other hkrt nswt, may have served (Grebaut, Musée de Gizeh, Notice sommaire, p.78).

Titles: hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt mrt.f, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; King's only courtier, his beloved, priestess of Hathor.

The titles of Jmnt, with its additional 'mrt.f', could have misled Grebaut into considering that she was a royal wife, for her titles are similar to those of the other wives listed above. This feature, together with the vulture headdress on her mask, may explain the error. She does not appear to have been a queen.

#### Bibliography:

- Arnold, Temple I, p.79 n.321.  
 Daressy, Rec. Trav. 14 (1894), p.166.  
     Sphinx 17 (1913), p.99.  
 Grebaut, Musée de Gizeh, Notice sommaire, Cairo (1892) pp.78f.  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.162.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.176.  
 Lacau, Sarc. ant. II, pp.61 - 65.  
 Thomas, Necropoleis, pp.24f.  
 Winlock, Deir el Bahri, p.85ff.  
     Rise, p.43.

#### (?) QUEEN JMJ

Temp. Mentuhotep II - III

Tomb: unknown

Titles: mwt nswt: Mother of the King.

Given as part of the king's title in a rock inscription at Wadi Hammamat (Cuyat & Montet, Ouadi Hammamat, p.97).

Prosopography: Mother of Mentuhotep III. Other relationships are unknown, but it is very likely that she could have been the wife of Mentuhotep II.

#### Bibliography:

- Cuyat and Montet, Ouadi Hammamat, p.97.  
 PM VII, p.331.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.157.

## QUEEN JNNJ I

Temp. uncertain but, probably from the Eleventh Dynasty because of her titles. Although we have no personal item belonging to this queen, she is mentioned on the false door of an official called Hnjms-ndm-jb (Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.538). Mariette placed the stele in the Twelfth Dynasty, but the titles, which are similar to those of the early wives of Mentuhotep I, would suggest that her floruit was the earlier dynasty. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.159) places her tempus within the First Intermediate Period.

Tomb: unknown.

### Bibliography:

Mariette, Cat. Abydos, pp.93f.

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.159

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, špswt nswt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr; King's wife his beloved, Noblewoman of the king, Priestess of Hathor.

The titles are found on the false door of an official named Hnjms-ndm-jb from Kom es-Sultan. Although Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.159) thinks hers is the only time a queen carries the title of špswt, this is not so. Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II of the late Seventeenth Dynasty also has the title (for which see her prosopographical entry). Kuchman Sabbahy considers that the titulary of this woman is indicative of prominent women from the First Intermediate Period adopting titles of royal women. In my opinion the titles have a close affinity with Mentuhotep I's wives.

Prosopography: The queen's image and inscription appear on Hnjms-ndm-jb's false door. The official is accompanied by his daughter, Msnt, and the queen, who kneels at his feet. No indications of his relationship to her are given.

From the same area of the site of Kom es-Sultan another stele of a woman with the title of špswt was found (Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.536). She was named Snbt, and her daughter was called Jnnj. Perhaps there may have been a link between the queen and this namesake.

## DYNASTY XII

### ? QUEEN DJDJT[1]

Temp. Thought to be circa Amenemhat I, but see below.

Tomb: unknown; her genealogy comes from a stele (Munich, GL 41) of her daughter Nfirt A, who has been thought to be either the later Queen Nfirt I, daughter of Amenemhat I, or a like-named sister.

Titles: snt nswt jr.t.n S3t-Hwt-Hr; King's Sister, engendered by Sat-Hathor.

By implication, as the mother of Nfirt A, a snt nswt, Djdjat has been considered a wife of King Amenemhat I (Gauthier, LR I, p.264 n.2; Hayes, Scepter I, p.177; Troy, Queenship, p.157), but she does not carry the title of hmt nswt.

Djdjt's relationship to Amenemhat has been the result of assuming that, as she was a snt nswt, and as she was the mother of a snt nswt, nbt pr Nfirt, this latter woman must have been the daughter of Amenemhat. Against this view is the lack of the s3t nswt title for Nfirt. Her title of nbt pr is not held by any born princess, however, and it is most probable that this stele comes from the Thirteenth Dynasty, when the title of snt nswt first appears, and when many sisters of kings lacked the title of s3t nswt.

Prosopography: Djdjat was the daughter of a woman called S3t-Hwt-Hr, and her only title indicates that she was sister to a nameless king. If she had been the sister of Amenemhat I she could not have been his full sister, for she was the daughter of S3t-Hwt-Hr, while he was the son of a woman called Nfirt. The inscription is more suggestive of a Thirteenth Dynasty family relationship, and the name of her mother, S3t-Hwt-Hr, is found frequently in this period.

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<sup>1</sup> My sincere thanks to Professor M. Verner (Prague), for supplying a photograph of the stele, which was impossible for me to obtain from Australia.

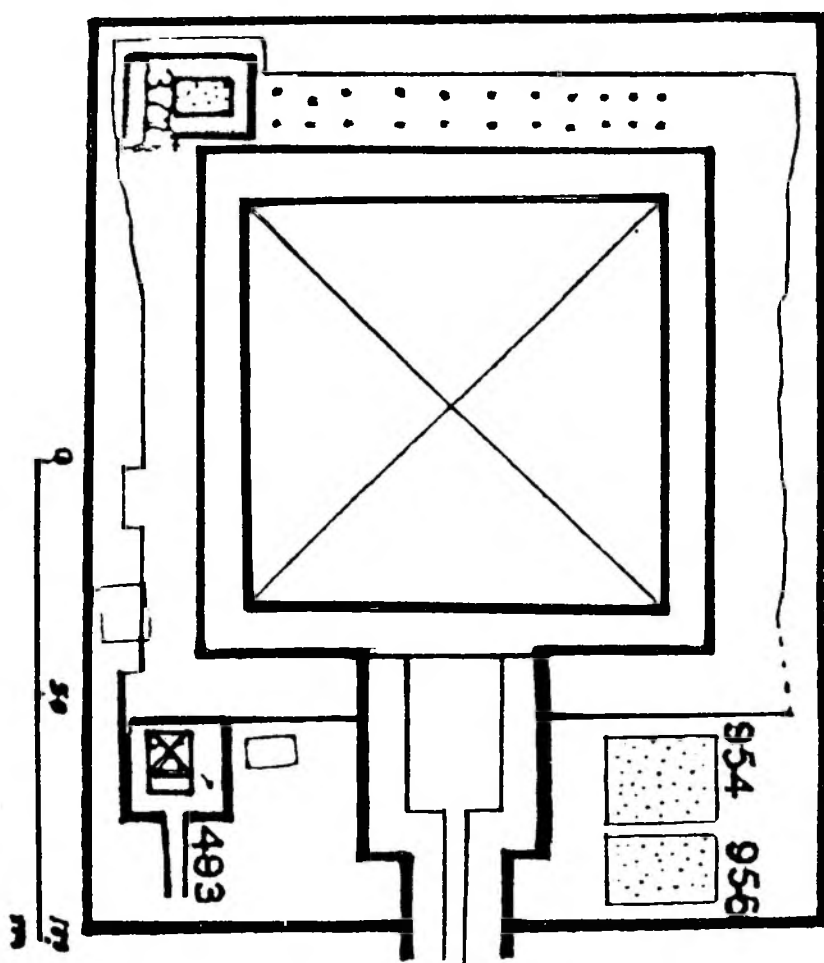


fig. 21 The complex of Amenerhat I at Lisht.

- derived from Dodson, ZÄS 115  
(1988), p.127, fig. 1(a)



Another stele (Berlin, Egyptian Museum No.7280, published in Drenkhahn et al. Nofret II, p.42) carries the name of a Nfret, daughter of Djdt, whose mother was S3t-Hwt-Hr. This stele has also been classified as belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty, but the women lack any titles. The two males mentioned in the stelae are Jmnj-šrj (GL 41), and Jdj (7280), neither of whom appears to have been a relation of the women mentioned on the stele.

#### Bibliography:

Federn, WZDKM 42 (1935), pp.182f.

Gauthier, LR I, p.264, n.2

Hayes, Scepter I, p.177

János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.75

Spiegelberg, Dyroff and Pörtner, Ägyptische Grabsteine II, No.5 and pl.IV

Troy, Queenship, p.157

#### QUEEN NFRJ-T3-TNN

##### Temp. Amenemhat I

Tomb: unknown; it has been thought that Nfrj-t3-tnn would be buried in one of the family mastabas that were placed around the pyramids of Amenemhat I (Mace, BMMA 16 [1921], p.15f.). No inscription concerning her has been found at Lisht, although Mace (BMMA 17 [1922], p.12) submitted that a stone fragment containing the name of Princess Nfrw-šrj, found in a shaft at Lisht, might indicate the tomb of that princess. As János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.75) has pointed out, however, the finding of a name fragment in the loose fill of the shaft does not necessarily provide secure identification of the tombs.

Although János (ibid. p.75) thinks that the Twelfth Dynasty model for the arrangement of Amenemhat I's complex at Lisht differs from the Old Kingdom models for the placement of tombs for the queens, Dodson (ZÄS 115 [1988], p.129f.) has argued otherwise. He sees the placement of tombs 954 and 956 (fig. 21) as being positioned as Nbt and Hnwt's mastabas were in relation to the king's pyramid. He points to the anonymity for the tombs, suggesting that they are more likely to be close members of the king's family. He also thinks it possible that Tomb 493, attributed to the Steward, Nht, might be the likely site of Nfrj-t3-tnn's monument. He bases his theory on the similar position of tombs for queens in Old Kingdom times, as well as the model of Senwosret I's complex, and therefore suggests that the tombs 954, 956, and 493 could all have been queens' tombs (ibid. p.130). As the burial chamber for Tomb 493 is still

inaccessible, due to subterranean water, no evidence has yet been found to endorse Dodson's theory. János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.76) considers it possible that the queen's burial may yet be discovered within the pyramid of the king.

Titles: mwt<sup>msw</sup>/nswt: Mother of the King's children.

The queen's title comes from a statuette once in the Louvre; this was stolen during the 1830 revolution in France (Gauthier, LR I, pp.263f.). It was inscribed, nswt Snwsrt mswj n nswt Jmmh3t mwt msw nswt Nfrt-t3-tnn. One assumes that she would have been hmt nswt as well. Her title of mwt msw nswt is the only known record of this title after the time of Nj-m9<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I.

Prosopography: Nfrj-t3-tnn was the consort of Amenemhat and the mother of his son and heir, Senwosret I. No other relationships are known.

#### Bibliography:

- Brugsch et Bouriant, Livre des rois, No.152.  
 Champollion, Precis du système hieroglyphique, p.248f.  
 Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), pp.129f.  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.263.  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.176f.  
 János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.75f.  
 Lepsius, Königsbuch, No.178.  
 Mace, BMMA 16 (1921), pp.12 - 17.  
       BMMA 17 (1922), pp.5 - 17.  
 de Rougé, Notice des monuments, p.16 No.16.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.157.

QUEEN NFRT I (sometimes referred to as Queen Nfrw.[2])

Temp. Senwosret I

Tomb: The queen might have been buried in a satellite pyramid (No. 1) erected in the area surrounding Senwosret's pyramid at Lisht, since a number of fragments containing her name and titles were found here (Hayes, Scepter I, p.194).

The entire area surrounding Senwosret's own complex is thought to be devoted to the female members of Senwosret's

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<sup>2</sup> The Story of Sinuhe (Blackman, Stories, p.2f.) mentions Queen Nfrt I as 'Nfrw', whose servant Sinuhe claims to have been.

family, although no definite identification of the tomb-owners has been possible, as most of those graves have been stripped bare of all material. Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.76 n.355) draws attention to this complex's architectural links with the complex of Pepy II, and he mentions an observation by M. Bietak that Senwosret's complex has similarities with Pepy's cemetery arrangements, and the typical royal burials for women during the First Dynasty.

The tomb thought to belong to Queen Nfret is one of the largest of all these satellite pyramids, the second structure in the row (see Arnold, Senwosret I, pl. 74). Some of these pyramids were not contemporaneous with the king's pyramid (ibid. p.78). The superstructure of these satellite pyramids is pitched at 63°, a much steeper angle than the pyramid of the king. There are the remains of a mortuary chapel on the eastern face of the pyramid (Lansing, BMMA 15 [1920], pp.9f., fig. 1) and an offering-chapel on the north. A temenos wall encloses the pyramid.

Titles: s3t nswt nt ht.f, mwt nswt; King's daughter of his body, Mother of the King.

These titles were found on the remains of a black granite pedestal of a throne that had once featured the seated figure of the queen, from the area near the pyramid thought to be hers (Hayes, Scepter I, p.194).

hmt nswt, hnwt hmwt nbwt, nbt jm3hwt; King's wife, Mistress of all the women, honoured lady.

These titles remained on a basin, broken from off a pedestal, found at Lisht (MMA 34.1.10; PM IV, p.79). These two groups of titles evidently were contemporary.

Her titles, snt.f rp<sup>c</sup>tt hmt nswt appear on a large slab from Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner et al., Sinai I & II, p.86, No.71), thus giving further identification of Nfret as Senwosret's sister. Troy (Queenship, p.159) has considered the queen to be "Neferu V, wife of Amenemhet II", but this is a misreading of Gardiner, since the queen's titles run directly under the cartouche of Kheperkare (Senwosret I) on the block, and not Amenemhat II, as Troy and others have supposed.

rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hst, hmt nswt Snwsrt m Hnmt-jswt, s3t nswt Jmmh3t m Q3j-nfrw, s3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt, hnwt hmwt nbwt, mwt nswt, snt.f; Hereditary Princess, Great of praise, King's Wife of Hnmt-jswt (the pyramid of King Senwosret I), his

Daughter of Q3i-nfrw (the pyramid of King Amenemhat I), King's Daughter of his body, King's Wife, Mistress of all the women, Mother of the King, (King's) sister.

Most of this queen's titles are not contemporary records, but come from the several versions of Sinuhe. Amongst these, Pap. Berlin 10499 lines 3ff., "C." (in Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, pp.2f.). It is interesting to see revived with this queen the title of King's Wife, and King's Daughter of his pyramid.

Pyramid titles made their appearance in the Sixth Dynasty, and the titles were held in respect of mothers, daughters, and wives of the king. The last record of a pyramid title was that of Queen Ḥnh.s.n-Ppj, mother of King Neferkare (which one is uncertain). The re-introduction of the title at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty might have been designed as a propaganda device to shore up the reign of Senwosret I. Amenemhat I seems to have been the victim of an assassination, and the queen's pyramid titles (as daughter of the dead king, and wife of the new ruler) may have been introduced to show the interdependence of the royal family. The title in respect of her father emphasises the queen's loyalty to that monarch and, similarly, the title in respect of her husband buttresses his claim to the throne. There may, perhaps, have been some suspicion attached to Senwosret concerning the death of the old king, thus necessitating a measure of this sort. The measure would appear to be an archaising one, typical of the Twelfth Dynasty kings. On the other hand, the source for these titles is not contemporary, and the scribe may have been responsible for the composition of the queen's titulary.

Queen Nfrt I was the earliest king's wife to have a cartouche, although this did not enclose her name, but her title of hmt nswt. The inscription (which comes from an ostrakon containing some of the Story of Sinuhe) is a Nineteenth Dynasty work, not contemporary with Nfrt I, and is thus likely to be a corruption.

Prosopography: Nfrt I was the daughter of Amenemhat - one of the few princesses to name her father. The name of her mother is unknown. It is possible that she may have been the full sister of Senwosret.

Queen Nfrt was the mother of Amenemhat II, as is known from a bowl found at Lisht (Mace, BMA 16 [1922], p.12). It would seem from the Sinai block that she would have been the mother of Princess Dj.f-sb3t. Sinuhe mentions her children on

several occasions.

At the beginning of this century Maspero suggested that the plot to kill Amenemhat I had been devised by his son, Senwosret I, so that the latter could assume sole rule. Volten (Analecta Aegyptiaca 4 [1945], pp.123f.) took this idea further, suggesting that it was Nfirt I who was the instigator of the plot. Posener (Littérature et Politique, p.83, n.7) has pointed out that such an hypothesis rests on slender arguments, although he did not dismiss the suggestion. More recently, Foster (JEA 67 [1981], p.46) has also accepted Volten's view, although his claim that the text of Sinuhe was designed to persuade contemporaries of Senwosret I to accept the new king's accession (*ibid.* p.47) causes his hypothesis to run counter to probability. Simply, there is insufficient evidence to support this theory.

Grdseloff has suggested that a papyrus fragment mentioning a Princess Jt-nfrw is to be identified with Nfirt, but the names are not written identically, and the papyrus is dated to Dynasty XIII. There was a princess of that name living at that time, as a stele from Cairo attests (CG 20690). Posener (*op.cit.* p.68 n.8) inclines to the view that this latter identification is a better one.

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 Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai I & II, p.71, fig.71  
 Gauthier, LR I, pp.264f., 283  
 Gautier & Jéquier, Fouilles de Licht, pp.46 - 49, fig.41f.  
 Grdseloff, ASAE 51 (1951), pp.147 - 151  
 Griffith, PSBA XIV (1891), p.45  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.194  
 Janosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.77  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.183  
 Lansing, BMMA 15 (1920), pp.6, 9f.  
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 Lythgoe, BMMA 10 (1915), pp.5f, figs 3, 5.  
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 Maspero, Rec. Trav. 23 (1906), pp.61, 64  
 PM IV, p.79  
 Posener, Littérature et Politique, p.83 and n.7.  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.190  
 Troy, Queenship, p.157

Volten, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 4, pp.123f.

(?) QUEEN JT-K3JT

Temp. Amenemhat I - Senwosret I

Tomb: Her tomb appears to be one of the nine satellite pyramids (No. 2) surrounding the tomb of Senwosret I at Lisht. Like the other little pyramids, this tomb is outside Senwosret's temenos, but within a second enclosure wall (see plan Plate 75 Arnold, Senwosret). It was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum expedition of 1933/4, with more recent investigations led by Dieter and Dorothy Arnold. Although the first volume (Senwosret I) appeared recently, the second volume, which will contain the queens' pyramids (ibid. p.16) is not to hand at present.

Queen Jt-k3jt's pyramid was built at the steep angle of 63 degrees. It consisted of coarse limestone and was cased in a finer-grained limestone. It had a mortuary temple (from which reliefs bearing her name and titles have come) on the eastern side. 'Fragments of fluted columns showed that the chapel was more elaborate than those of the small pyramids north of the king's pyramid. The decoration had not been confined to the usual offering ritual but had probably included scenes of the chase, for some of the fragments pictured birds flying in the marshes.' (Lansing, BMAA 29 [1934], p.5). A second, smaller chapel was found on the northern side, and the burial shaft led down from that. A temenos wall enclosed the complex.

In the small burial chambers beneath these nine satellite pyramids, were once housed very tightly-fitting stone sarcophagi. Traces of these sarcophagi still remain, although all have been damaged. The cramped circumstances were obviously designed to frustrate robbers but few remains have been found. Jt-k3jt's chamber had no trace of a sarcophagus, and the chamber itself had been carelessly made. Because of this rough finishing, Lansing thought she may have died early.

Lansing (ibid. p.9 n.5) has suggested that, as these tombs of queens and princesses contained nothing, they might not have been real tombs, but merely cenotaphs, yet he records the finds of one of the nameless tombs as if an actual burial had taken place there (ibid. p.6), and he mentions the finding of a shattered sarcophagus and canopic chest (ibid. p.8 and fig. 10) which he thought might belong to 'a royal son or daughter - more likely the latter in view of its similarity to the pyramid of the

Princess Ita-kayet'.

Titles: Hereditary princess, Countess, Great of Grace,  
Great of Favour, She-who-beholds-the-Horus-Seth, King's Own Beloved  
Daughter.

These titles were recorded on her damaged stele and reliefs from her chapel. Hayes' translation is given because the titles have only been published in translation.

Amongst these titles Jt-k3jt is not named as king's wife; it is for this reason that she is usually referred to as a princess. She does, however, bear other queenly titles, m33t Hr Sth, rp<tt, wrt hts and wrt hst, titles which were used previously by Queen Nfrw I of the Eleventh Dynasty. Since Jt-k3jt's titulary contains only some titles of a queen, it has created problems, and opinion is divided on whether or not Jt-k3jt was a queen.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, pp.215 -221) has offered an admirable solution to the difficulties of Jt-k3jt's titles, suggesting that she may have been married to the co-regent, but died before Amenemhat II became sole ruler. Kuchman Sabbahy proposes that if there were two queens, some distinction between their titularies could have been made by the use of some of the titles of a queen for a coregent's wife, thus leaving the use of hmt nswt for the senior queen. Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested (loc. cit.) that it may have been the need to accommodate the queens of coregents which prompted the revival of the Old Kingdom title of m33t Hr Sth for this queen - although Nfrw I's use suggests that the title may still have been current in the Middle Kingdom.

This suggestion provides the best explanation so far for the problem of the unusual titulary of the three Twelfth Dynasty royal women. Further support for Kuchman Sabbahy's solution also seems forth-coming from the burial arrangements of Jt-k3jt. We know from a scarab (Newberry, Scarabs, pl. 6.20) that Jt-k3jt was the daughter of Amenemhat I, yet she was buried beside Senwosret I, which would suggest that she had been his wife. Had she been only the daughter of Amenemhat I at the time of her burial, one would expect her to have been buried in her father's cemetery.

Prosopography: Although Troy (Queenship, p.158) lists her as a daughter of Senwosret I, this is unlikely to be correct (see previous paragraph). Since she once was buried in the mortuary complex of Senwosret, and, since (unlike the other princesses) she carried some of the titles of a queen, Jt-k3jt probably was

the wife of Senwosret I, as Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested. The position of the pyramid thought to be hers could suggest that she was the first wife of the king. She has no known offspring. For comment on the suggestion that she was likely to be the wife of the king, see the section 'Titles' (above).

#### Bibliography:

Edwards, Pyramids, p.206

Fakhry, Pyramids, p.215

Hayes, BMMA 29 (1953), p.195

Scepter I, p.195

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.77

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.204f; 215 - 221

Lansing, BMMA (1934), pp.4 - 7

Newberry, Ancient Egyptian Scarabs, pl. 6.20

Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.191

Troy, Queenship, p.158

#### (?) QUEEN K3-NFRW

Temp. Amenemhat II

Tomb: unknown at present. It is possible that the queen could have been buried within the pyramid of the king, as de Morgan's report on this badly destroyed pyramid showed that some areas had been left unexplored.

#### Bibliography:

Brunner, ZÄS 115 (1988), pp.171 - 173

Titles, ḥnwt ḥmwt nbwt; Mistress of all women.

The only evidence for this royal woman comes from a greenish- glazed steatite cylinder seal discovered recently in a private collection in Tübingen. Next to the columns referring to the queen there is the cartouche of Amenemhat II. Similar seals are known for other members of this king's family (Newberry, PSBA 27 [1905], pp.105f.).

The title of ḥnwt ḥmwt nbwt is usually found with women who were queens, but there are two exceptions to this generalisation. The first is S3t-jp, the wife of a nomarch at Beni Hassan (Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 46; Brunner, op. cit. p.172 and n.5). S3t-jp's use of the title is in keeping with the adoption of royal epithets by the Beni Hassan nomarchs. (See also Ward, Feminine Titles, p.45f., for a discussion on other titles (such as rp<sup>c</sup>tt, and h3tjt-<sup>c</sup>) taken by these women.) S3t-jp's



title echoes that of s3t nswt Nbt of Dynasty VIII: tjpt-<sup>c</sup> n kt hnwt nswt. The other title-holder for hnwt hmwt nbwt is a (?) Princess Hnmt.. (de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig.182), but her titles and name are imperfectly preserved and the possibility exists that they might have referred to a queen.

K3-nfrw is not identical with Troy's 'Queen Neferu V' (Queenship, p.158). Gardiner et al. (Sinai I, p.86f. No.71), cited by Troy as the source for Neferu V, refers instead to Queen Nfrt I, wife of Senwosret I, as Brunner (ZÄS 115 [1988], p.172) has also pointed out. There is no evidence for Troy's queen.

Prosopography: K3-nfrw was a member of the family of Amenemhat II as is attested by the cylinder seal. She was probably his wife - although there remains the less likely possibility that she was his daughter.

#### QUEEN KMJ-NWB

Temp. considered (eg. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.185; Troy, Queenship, p.158) to be during the time of Amenemhat II, but see prosopography below.

Tomb: She was buried at Dahshur, in part of the complex built by Amenemhat II. Her tomb was excavated by de Morgan in 1894. It lay at the end of a long, vaulted corridor on the western side of Amenemhat's own pyramid, and within the temenos wall that surrounded it (see plan in Dahchour II, pl. II). The corridor provided access to two sepulchres which were separated by a stone wall.

Each sarcophagus was placed parallel to the corridor in a niche little bigger than the sarcophagus itself. One niche was occupied by Kmj-nwb's burial, the other by sd3wtj bjtj, smr w<tj, jmj-r htm Jmn-htp (de Morgan, Dahchour II, figs.113ff.). The burials may not have been contemporary with each other: János, (Pyramidenanlagen, p.81 n.381) identifies this person with a Thirteenth Dynasty official of similar name and titles (see also Franke, Personendaten, No.87A).

Kmj-nwb's tomb had been completely despoiled by tomb-robbers, and just a few of her sarcophagus fragments remained. Only one title was preserved on these (de Morgan, Dahchour II, figs.116f.).

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife - the inscriptions are greatly damaged, and no other titles were apparent (de Morgan, Dahchour

II, fig.116).

Prosopography: Apart from her burial within the king's complex, no connection to Amenemhat II is attested, but it has been assumed (by Kuchman Sabbahy and others) that Kmj-nwb was the wife of this king.

Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.79f.), on the other hand, considers that she may not have belonged to Amenemhat's family at all. He notes the unusual features of her tomb and burial, and the marked difference between the architecturally costly burial of the king's daughters and the poorer one for the king's alleged wife (*ibid.* p.81). He feels that, whereas the tombs themselves may have been contemporary, the queen's burial itself could have been made at a later date. Taking the type of hieroglyphs on her sarcophagus remains into consideration Jánosi (*ibid.* p.82) has suggested that she might have been buried during the second half of the reign of Amenemhat III.

In a more recent article Dodson (ZÄS 115 [1988], p.131) has opted for a burial in the time of Amenemhat II, due to ceramic evidence and other considerations relating not to the burial of Kmj-nwb per se, but to the burial of the princesses. In regard to Kmj-nwb's burial there are other circumstances that need to be considered, however.

The hieroglyphic remains from Kmj-nwb's sarcophagus have distinctive, mutilated hieroglyphs which are recognised as being characteristic of the late Twelfth Dynasty (Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.195 n.5; Fischer, LÄ II, 1195; Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.81). The princesses' inscriptions from Amenemhat II's complex at Dahshur are not written in this fashion, and therefore Kmj-nwb's burial is unlikely to have been contemporaneous with them.

The inscriptions from Amenemhat III's site at Dahshur are also interesting. There is the burial of Princess Nwb-ḥtp-ḥrd, thought to be a daughter of King Hor (de Morgan, Dahchour I, pp.107 - 117; PM III p.238).[3] The circumstances of burial, the similar sarcophagi, and identical hieroglyphic script (de Morgan, Dahchour I, pl. XXXVI especially) do suggest that they were related. Her name has one element similar to the name of Kmj-nwb but, more importantly, Nwb-ḥtp-ḥrd's hieroglyphs, too,

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<sup>3</sup> Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.195 sees her as daughter of Amenemhat III.

are mutilated in the same way.

Jánosi (ibid. p.80), has also drawn attention to the name of Kmj-nwb, considering it atypical for Dynasty XII, but having some resemblance to Queen Kmj of Dynasty XIII.

Another example of similar name from the later period was a rp<sup>c</sup>tt, s3t nswt, Kmj (LD IV, p.126, and Petrie, S & C, pl. XVIII) for the reign of Neferhotep I. A Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>tp.tj was known as the mother of Sebekhotep V (Newberry, PSBA 36 [1914], pl. X; and idem. Scarabs pl. XVIII). All of their names have elements in common.

The inscriptions for King Hor also featured mutilated hieroglyphs. Given the latter monarch's evident respect for Amenemhat III, as can be seen in regard to Hor's burial site, the use of Amenemhat III's seal, and name for his presumed daughter, Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>tp.tj-hrd, it seems likely that this scribal mutilation could have been another example of deliberate archaism used by King Hor, and its use in the queen's inscriptions could suggest that her burial, at least, might have been contemporaneous with his reign.

Mutilated hieroglyphs on burial equipment appear at several points in the Middle Kingdom and later. All the birds and snakes were mutilated on the sarcophagus and canopic boxes of h<sup>c</sup>krt nswt Hns and her companion Snb.j.n.j (CG 28028/9 and Moscow I.i.a 5358/9), for example. Berlev (JEA 60 [1974], p.110) dates these items to the time of King Sewahenre (Second Intermediate Period, No.53 on the Karnak list). These items were found at Qurna (ibid. p.107), but the Dahshur material for Kmj-nwb is unlikely to belong to that period. Rather, as has been suggested, Kmj-nwb's burial has more affinity with the period of King Hor than either with Sewahenre, or late Amenemhat III. Unfortunately, so little of her funerary remains were preserved that it is impossible to compare her sarcophagus with those of King Hor and his presumed daughter, as Bruce Williams has done with other burials of this nature (Serapis 3 [1975/6], pp.41 - 58). But the similarity of her burial to those of the Thirteenth Dynasty, her Thirteenth Dynasty companion (whose funerary items appear to have been the same as hers), and the idiosyncratic script that belongs not only to the time of Amenemhat III, but also to King Hor, suggests that her burial fits the Thirteenth Dynasty better than the Twelfth.

#### Bibliography:

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Gauthier, LR I, p.293

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.79 - 82

de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour II, pp.68 - 71; fig.116f.

PM III.2, pp.885f.

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.185

Troy, Queenship, p.158

Wildung, LÄ I, p.985

### QUEEN SNT

Temp. uncertain, either Dyn XI or XII, the latter being more likely. The titles bear a similarity to those of the Theban dynasty, and Gauthier thinks that this queen could be the wife of Mentuhotep III. As the third Mentuhotep was the son of Queen Jmj, the second the son of Tm, and the first the son of J<sup>ch</sup>, Queen Snt could not belong to the Eleventh Dynasty. Maspero would place the queen at the commencement of Dyn. XII, and Wiedemann at the end of it, but the latter admits that there is difficulty fitting her into the genealogy of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Tomb: Somewhere between Tell el Birkeh and Tell el Qirqafah workers had dug a canal and, in so doing, uncovered a great number of mummy fragments, terracotta vases and the remains of a sarcophagus. Maspero says that local tradition, preserved in the name of the tell, indicates that a palace was believed to have occupied the area in earlier times. Twelfth Dynasty remains of a temple were found here. A short distance from that place a seated, but headless figurine in black granite was found. The inscription revealed that it was a funerary statuette for Queen Snt. In spite of the funerary remains found in these places, it seems unlikely that any Twelfth Dynasty queen would have been buried so far from the funerary complex of the king.

Further information about Snt comes from a limestone statuette found at Karnak, and another at Khatannah.

Titles: rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, hmt nswt, mwt nswt;  
Hereditary Princess, Great Favourite, Great of Praise, King's  
Wife, Mother of the King.

Two lines of inscription on her Khataanah statuette provide us with the queen's titles. They are all titles typical of Dynasty XII.

Prosopography: Snt was not a s3t nswt, but carried the titles of rp<sup>c</sup>tt and rp<sup>c</sup>tt wrt. Schmitz's studies have led her to conclude (S3-NJSWT p.201) that, when the rp<sup>c</sup>tt title was accompanied by s3t nswt in one of its forms, such women were the most senior Hereditary Princesses, or 'Heiresses'. Those without the title of s3t nswt are seen by Schmitz (ibid. p.200), to have been commoner wives of the kings. Snt would then fall into this latter category.

While it is clear which queens were the mothers of most of the kings of Dynasty XII,[4], is more likely to have been mother of Amenemhat IV than of Amenemhat III, but the identification is unsure.] the mothers of Senwosret II and Amenemhat III are as yet unknown. Snt's titulary has more in common with the period of Senwosret II than it does with Senwosret III. (The titulary of the latter's wives is much richer, and they carry the title of hnmt nfr hdt - which Snt lacks.) Neither Kmj-nwb, nor K3-nfrw is clearly identified as the wife of Amenemhat II, whereas Senwosret III is known to have had at least four wives. Thus, Snt seems more likely to belong to the former family: the wife of Amenemhat II and the mother of Senwosret II.

#### Bibliography:

- Borchardt, Statuen II, p.31 pl. 69.  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.250, n.2.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.201.  
 Maspero, ZAS 23 (1885), p.12.  
 Naville, Goshen, pl. IX B  
 PM IV, p.9.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.159.  
 Wiedemann, Geschichte, Supplement, p.29.

#### (?) QUEEN NFRT II

Temp. Senwosret II

Tomb: Petrie noting (Lahun II, p.8) that the name of 'Atmu

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<sup>4</sup> Queen Htp-tj, who appears at Maadi (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.348 Scene O.

(-neferu?)' was present at this site, thought that perhaps a subsidiary pyramid within Senwosret II's pyramid complex at Lahun could have belonged to Nfrt II. The name is misleading, however, for 'Atmu' was not a name, but the titular element, tm, in the title hnwt t3wj tm (S6.6). The fragment found does not carry the name of Nfrt, and she is not known to have carried this rather rare title. On the other hand, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I did carry the title and, as the wife of Senwosret II, the chapel is likely to have been a memorial for her.

The so-called 'Queen's pyramid' was quite large - a little over 107 feet along each side - and pitched at 54 degrees 21'. Brunton calculated that the height of the pyramid would have been nearly 61 feet, and the whole structure had been set out with foundation deposits and carefully fitted surrounding pavement. It seems to have been a cenotaph at which the wife of Senwosret II was worshipped for, on the northern side of the pyramid a painted shrine, with an altar of black granite, had been erected. Petrie comments that 'It is certain that the queen was worshipped here, as there were remains of her statue, altar and list offerings.' (*ibid.* p.9). However, her name was not present, so it must remain doubtful whether or not Nfrt II was the queen concerned in the material Petrie found.

It is unlikely that this structure was a tomb. Brunton's exhaustive attempts to locate any subterranean features went unrewarded. The row of mastabas adjacent to the satellite pyramid are (with one exception) dummy tombs cut into the marle, and it is very unlikely that the satellite pyramid was intended for a burial. On the opposite side of the king's pyramid, however, the tombs of four members of Senwosret's family (and the cache of Princess S3t-Hwt-Hr's jewellery) were discovered (see discussion under Queen Nfrt-hnwt).

Petrie (Petrie, Brunton & Murray, Lahun II, p.18), in offering an explanation for the absence of substructure for the satellite pyramid, suggested that Tomb 621 might have provided this, being separated from the pyramid in order to protect the burial. The tomb has a long entrance passageway leading to a T-shaped unit of three chambers. In the easternmost chamber a beautiful sarcophagus was found. Dodson (ZÄS 115 [1988], p.131) has agreed that this tomb does have much in common with the pattern for a royal tomb of the late Old Kingdom, but is doubtful whether it had been used.

The substructure of 621 is rather similar to that provided in the pyramid of Khendjer's two queens (Jéquier, Deux pyramides, pls. I & VIII) some time later. And the sarcophagus, which was

discovered in the burial crypt, is of the type used by both Queen Nfrt-hnwt (de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig. 117) and Queen C3t (Arnold, MDAIK 36 [1980], p.20), and may well have been intended for the burial of a queen. Not all queens received a sarcophagus of this type: C3t's nameless companion queen buried with her at Dahshur had no such palace-facade decoration (Arnold, op. cit. p.19), while the other sarcophagi for the period are no longer preserved. But, whether or not Tomb 621 was intended for any queen is unknown; no inner coffin was found, although the sarcophagus lid had been removed and lay beside the main part, suggesting that the tomb had been robbed (Dodson, ZÄS 115 [1988], p.131 n.79).

From the site at Tanis two life-size statues of Nfrt were found (Borchardt, Statuen II, Nos. 381 & 382). The granite statues portray the queen seated on a box throne. Both statues carried Nfrt's titles on the front panels of each side of the throne. In Sourouzian's opinion (The Egyptian Museum, No.93) the statues are representative of a new form of artistic expression 'whose primary emphasis is power. This tendency is well illustrated by the statues' large face, enormous, almost detached ears, oversized limbs and powerful stature.' As such it makes a break with the traditional statuary of queens, but this cannot be pushed too far. It is obvious that the sculptor had transferred to the female image iconography used for the statuary of kings at this time.

Titles: rp<tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, sm3jt mrjt Hr H<-hpr-R<, hnwt t3wj, s3t nswt...: Hereditary princess, Great one of the hts sceptre, great of praise, Beloved one who joins Horus Khakheperre [Senwosret II], Mistress of the Two Lands, King's Daughter.

These titles were on the right side of the queen's box throne.

rp<tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, sm3jt mrjt Nbtj, hnwt hmwt nbwt, s3t nswt nt ht.f; Hereditary princess, Great one of the hts sceptre, greatly praised, Beloved one who joins the Two Ladies, Mistress of all the women, King's daughter of his body. These titles were written on the left side of the throne.

Most of the queen's titles were engraved on a pair of statues found in Tanis (Petrie, Tanis II, pl. XI), now in Cairo Museum. The titles were published by Brugsch (ZÄS 9 [1871], p.125). The title hnwt t3wj tm given in Troy's register (Queenship, p.158) is not recorded by Brugsch, Borchardt (Statuen, Nos.381, 382) or Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.186).

Troy (Queenship, p.158) attributes the title hmt nswt to the queen, based on the stele of s3t nswt H3t-špswt (CG 20394). There is no evidence confirming that Nfrt II was the queen named on the stele of this princess, who was married to a commoner, a practice more in keeping with the Second Intermediate Period. Nfrt II does not carry the title of hmt nswt on remains published so far.

Nfrt II had a greater number of titles than any other queen in the Twelfth Dynasty and this seems evidence for great esteem. The divinity of the queen is suggested by the unusual hairstyle seen on her Tanis statues (Borchardt, Statuen I, Nos.381/2), the style associated with the goddess Hathor (Brugsch, ZÄS 9 [1871], p.124).

Prosopography: Nfrt II is linked to Senwosret II by an inscription on the pectoral lying on the neck of her statue; the inscription on her chair also cites her as the partner of the king (Borchardt, Statuen, pp.1f.) - sm3jt mrjt Nbtj - but not hmt nswt, as Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.186) has pointed out. Perhaps she, too, may have been the consort of a coregent, rather than the wife of the senior king (see discussion p.289f. Chapter 7).

As she was a s3t nswt nt ht.f it has been assumed that Nfrt was the daughter of Amenemhat II, but Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested, equally plausibly, that she may have been the daughter of Senwosret II. She has been affiliated with Amenemhat I by Troy (Queenship, p.158), and Maspero (Histoire I, p.501), which may be due to a confusion with Nfrt I. This affiliation is not correct.

Kuchman Sabbahy rightly questions Nfrt II's lack of hmt nswt, and raises doubts about her being the wife of a king. But another title carried by Nfrt, sm3jt mrjt Nbtj, (and its related forms) has never been found in association with anyone who was solely a princess. Every other title holder was the wife of a king. Its literal meaning implies one who shares the king's throne. Because it appears only with queens it is probable that Nfrt II was also the wife of the king. Nfrt II was the only Middle Kingdom queen to possess this title - which was not used again until the time of Queen Hatshepsut. The reason for its use with Nfrt is unknown, but it is consistent with the use of Old Kingdom titles during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.

In referring to Nfrt's title of sm3jt mrjt Nbtj, and the parallel title containing the name of Senwosret, Fischer (JEA 60 [1974], p.96) observes that mrjt does not appear in any Old



Kingdom title. He proposes that its use here 'probably represents a reinterpretation of the older form, which permitted the replacement of Nbtj by the king's name in the Middle Kingdom'.

It has been suggested (Gauthier, LR I, p.300; Troy, Queenship, p.158) that from a stele (CG 20394) Nfrrt appears to be the mother of Princess H3t-špswt A, the first royal woman of that name (Wiedemann, Geschichte, p.283). This filiation has been rejected by Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.225 n.3), who assigns that Queen Nfrrt to the Second Intermediate Period. As the husband of Princess H3t-špswt was only entitled 3tw n tt-hq3, Schmitz is likely to be correct in her attribution, for no known princess was the wife of a lower-ranking official during Senwosret's reign. We know of no other children for Queen Nfrrt II; the mother of the king's heir was Queen Hnmt-nfr-hdt I.

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The Egyptian Museum, No.93  
 Troy, Queenship, pp.116, 120, 134, 158  
 von Bissing, Denkmäler, pls.XX and XXII  
 Wiedemann, Geschichte, p.249, 283

QUEEN HNMT-NFR-HDT (WRT) I

## Temp. Senwosret II

Tomb: Unknown - perhaps one of the southern shaft tombs in Senwosret II's complex. Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.83) has remarked that a fragment containing the queen's name was found in the mortuary temple of King Senwosret II, and Brunton (Lahun II, p.15) thought she could have been the queen represented by a statue base found in the tomb of S3t-Hwt-Hr-Jwnt (No. 8 at Lahun). From the latter find Brunton suggested that Hnmt-nfr-hdt I may have occupied Tomb No.7.

Titles: hmt ntr Sbk nb Smnw, hmt nswt: Priestess of Sobek, lord of Semenu, King's wife - inscription on a cylinder seal (Brunton ASAE 49 [1949], p.101).

rp<sup>c</sup>tt, s3t Gb, hmt nswt, mwt [nswt]; Hereditary princess, Daughter of Geb, King's wife, [King's] mother - inscription on a statue (BM 163/1145).

rp<sup>c</sup>tt, hnwt t3wj tm, ... hmt nswt, mwt [nswt]; Hereditary princess, Mistress of the entire Two Lands, ... King's wife, King's [mother]. Inscription on a statue (BM 164/1146). All the above titles are given in Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85.

The name of this queen is a title in itself: 'She who is united with the White Crown'. It is a title first appearing with Princess Jt-wrt, a daughter of Amenemhat II. Although Queen Hnmt-nfr-hdt I is entitled rp<sup>c</sup>tt she does not possess the title of s3t nswt and therefore is unlikely to have been a princess, according to the criteria of Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.200).

Gauthier (LR II, p.127) gives the name of this queen as 'Wrt', because of the presence of this word on a cylinder seal in the collection of Insinger, at Luxor. This adjective is present on a triad statue of Senwosret, his wife and his mother (BM 163/1145). Perdu (RdÉ 29 [1977], p.71) sees the adjective as an 'epithète de discrimination' which was used to avoid confusion with Hnmt-nfr-hdt II. Titulary which includes discriminating epithets (as 'wrt' and 'šri') is in evidence throughout the pharaonic period whenever like-named queens appear together (as they do in BM 163/1145).

Her title, 'Daughter of Geb', had last been held by Vizier Nbt, of Dynasty VI. It appears to have been a title bestowing honour on a woman of non-royal descent.

This queen is the only known priestess of Sobek in the Middle Kingdom, although two of these hmt ntr Sbk inscriptions do

not mention which of the Queen Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt women is intended, so the junior queen might also have held that title. Kuchman Sabbahy's claim (Titulary, pp.190) that Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt I was the first queen to serve as a cult priestess since Fourth Dynasty times is incorrect. Not only did Hnt-k3w.s I and II, Mr.s-ḥnh IV and Sšsšt serve as cult priestesses during the Fifth Dynasty, but other queens had been priestesses of Hathor during the Eleventh Dynasty.

Prosopography: The queen, apparently of non-royal origin, was the wife of Senwosret II and the mother of Senwosret III. The origin of her unusual name might lie in her being the mother of the king's heir. The name suggests linguistic parallels with the Mrj-Rḥ-ḥnh.n.s sisters, and the name of the daughter of Mr.s-ḥnh II, who was called Nbtj-tp-jt.s.

Delia (Senwosret III, pp.11f.) has suggested that Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt wrt could be identified with a s3t nswt of that name, whose cylinder seal has been published by Newberry. However, neither of the Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt queens, displays the s3t nswt title, and there is some doubt whether the queen is the person referred to on the seal. Their possession of the S3t Gb title suggests that this was an alternative title for a queen who lacked the s3t nswt title. The title was held first by Vizier Nbt, then by Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt I and II, and, lastly, by Queen Jḥh-ms, the mother of Hatshepsut, none of those women being daughters of kings, as far as we know. Later, it was adopted by the God's Wife, ḥnh.s.n-nfr-jb-Rḥ, of the Saite Dynasty, then by Arsinoe II and Kleopatra VII.

Petrie (Illahun, Kahun & Gurob, p.5. pl. XII No.6) thought that the fragmentary title of the nameless queen found near the satellite pyramid at Lahun was for Queen Nfrt II. However, this pyramid cult is more likely to have been established for Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt I. This is because Nfrt II does not appear to have held the title of hnwt t3wj tm (the title found by Petrie), while Hnmt-nfrt-ḥdt I did.[5]

In addition to the two statues of Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt now in the British Museum, there is an unpublished black granite statue of the queen from the tomb of Hk3-jb at Aswan, and another black

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<sup>5</sup> See Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), p.74 for a discussion on the title. Troy (Queenship, p.158) lists her as having the hnwt t3wj tm title; Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, pp.186f.) does not. The titles are not identical.

granite statue base now in Tonbridge School (Brunton, Lahun I, p.21, pl. XV).

Although Troy (Queenship, p.158) includes in her Register 'Queen Weret' (12.20), as well as Queen Hnmt-nfr-hdt I, Wrt is identical with Hnmt-nfr-hdt wrt, and not another queen.

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de Meulenaere, Pyramid Studies (ed. Baines), pp.68 - 72

Gardiner, Onomastica I, p.18.

Gauthier, LR I, p.301.

János, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.82f.

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#### QUEEN NFRT-HNWT

Temp. Senwosret III

Tomb: This is at Dahshur, in the northern sector of the complex of Senwosret III, within the temenos of the main pyramid. Her inscribed sarcophagus and some of her remains were found there in an underground gallery-grave. The location of the gallery-graves in the northern sector suggests that the king's complex to some extent provided the model for the complex of Amenemhat

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<sup>6</sup> For discussion on Djoser's step pyramid as a model for

## III.[6]

The queen was interred in the upper gallery of what evidently was the mausoleum of the king's family. (De Morgan referred to the tomb-owners as 'princesses', but most of the finds were without inscription.) From the names and titles remaining it appears that Nfrt-hnwt was buried in the well-dressed, limestone-clad upper gallery (perhaps designed for queens?), while eight other tombs (those of the princesses) were located in the lower gallery. There were noticeable differences in the architectural quality of the upper and lower galleries which might suggest that the better quality was considered more appropriate for royal consorts (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.85).

The sarcophagus of the queen (de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig.117) is of granite and similar in type to the sarcophagus used for the burial of Amenemhat III and for his queen (Arnold, MDAIK 36 [1980], p.20, pl. 12a). Its lid is curved with rectangular ends, and the palace-facade pattern forms a border in the lower third of the body of the sarcophagus. The border bears a striking resemblance to Djoser's enclosure wall, and perhaps served the same religious purpose in defining a sacred enclosure.

Although Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.238) alludes to a queen's pyramid in the north-east corner of Senwosret's complex, Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.86 - 88, fig.20) has suggested that these remains represent the cult pyramid of the king and, if Queen Nfrt-hnwt were to be connected to any of these three tumuli (presumably satellite pyramids), then she would be more likely to have a cultic link with the north-western tumulus, rather than the north-eastern one.

De Morgan's report is extremely sketchy concerning Queen Nfrt-hnwt. He does, however, include a brief account of the remains of the queen found within her sarcophagus. Fouquet's report, unfortunately, only mentions her skull, which was incomplete. The presence of three large molars were consistent with a woman aged between 40 and 45 years of age (Dahchour I, p.151).

Titles: rp<sup>c</sup>tt, hmt nswt, hnmt nfr hdt; Hereditary princess, King's wife, She who is united with the White Crown.

The queen's titles were inscribed on her sarcophagus (ibid. figs. 117f.) She was the first queen to use the title,

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Senwosret's complex see Arnold, MDAIK 35 (1979), pp.1 - 9. Note especially Arnold's comment on the use of galleries and 'Prinzessinenschachte' in all three complexes (ibid. p.4).

hnmt-nfr-hdt. This title usually immediately precedes the name of the queen - as it does on the sarcophagus of Nfrt-hnwt.

Above ground, in the vicinity of one of the four mastabas located above the galleries, de Morgan found a couple of fragmentary inscriptions (*ibid.* pp.77, fig.182). He thought they came from a stele for the person concerned. The inscriptions might have belonged either to a hnwt hmwt s3t nswt nt ht.f Hnmt .., or may have been a fragment relating to this queen, originally reading: 'hnwt hmwt s3t nswt nt ht.f, hnmt nfr hdt Nfrt-hnwt'. The remains of a large m33 sign preceding the main inscription is tempting to interpret as part of the queenly title 'm33t Hr Sth', which was in use during the Twelfth Dynasty.

Using the criteria of Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.200f.), Nfrt-hnwt appears to have had non-royal origins, as the title of rp'tt without s3t nswt might indicate, but her single inscription is too brief to judge. She might be the owner of the s3t nswt nt ht.f hnwt hmwt referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Prosopography: Nfrt-hnwt's burial within the complex of Senwosret III would suggest that she was the wife of that king, although no material has been found as yet that would provide the link to Senwosret III. No offspring are known. Forensic evidence suggests that the queen died between 40 and 45 years of age.

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 PM III.2, p.883.  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.200 n.2.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.158.

#### QUEEN MRJT-SGR

Temp. Senwosret III

Tomb: unknown - perhaps in the queens' gallery of the complex of Senwosret III (see above for Nfrt-hnwt).

Titles: hmt nswt, hmt nswt wrt; King's wife, King's great wife.

The queen's titles are found on several items. She is mentioned on BM stele 846 (where the king's name is damaged), and at Semnah (Urk. IV,193 - 6), where Senwosret III is being given offerings by Thutmose III. On this rock, hmt nswt wrt Mrjt-sgr is mentioned in the list of offerings. Her name also appears on an alabaster kohl pot of unknown provenance, its inscription reading: 'hmt nswt wrt Mrjt-sgr'. Perhaps only the kohl pot may be contemporaneous with the queen (Delia, Senwosret III, pp.12f.).

Mrjt-sgr also may have been named on a damaged stele of late New Kingdom date, mentioned by both Barns and Dunham. The alleged attribution, however, is not only uncertain, but the suggested reading given by Save-Söderbergh for this inscription is unlikely (ibid. p.13). 'Nswt bjtj H3-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> Mrjt-sgr' (given by Save-Söderbergh) would normally appear as 'nswt bjtj H3-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>, hmt nswt Mrjt-sgr' - see, for example, examples of the naming of the king's children with his cartouche in Gauthier, LR I, p.294. In practice, the queen was seldom linked to a named king - which is why establishing family connections is frequently so difficult.

The title of hmt nswt wrt is also questionable. If this is a contemporary inscription, Mrjt-sgr would then be the earliest queen to be assigned the title but, with the possible exception of the kohl pot, none of the inscriptions mentioning this title is contemporary. Furthermore, after this isolated example, the title does not appear prior to the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty (time of Sobekhotep V), a considerable length of time to elapse between the first and second occasion of its usage. Delia's claim that the title was not frequent until Dynasty XVIII, however, (Senwosret III, p.12, n.4) is not correct, for it is commonly found among queens of Dynasties XIII, XV. and XVII - for which see the various prosopographies of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Prosopography: Mrjt-sgr has been considered the wife of Senwosret III, due mainly to BM 846 and the Semneh relief. Contrary to Hayes (Scepter I, p.236) it is unknown whether Mrjt-sgr were a daughter of Senwosret II, since she does not carry the title of s3t nswt. Most references to this queen are late, as Delia has pointed out; neither he (Senwosret III, p.14), nor Sabbahy (Titulary, p.225 n.47) think she was the wife of Senwosret at all.

Delia's doubts about the position of Mrjt-sgr as the wife of

Senwosret III are certainly justifiable, but there are factors present which may endorse her relationship with Senwosret III. In spite of the evidence showing that the name is uncommon[7] before the New Kingdom (Bruyere, MIFAO 58 [1930], pp.21ff.) there is sufficient evidence to provide the link between the queen and Senwosret III (BM 846; Urk. IV.196,3), even if these items are of later date. While some citations might be seen as referring to the goddess, the goddess is not referred to elsewhere as either hmt nswt, or hmt nswt wrt for any other monarch. On the other hand, there are many examples from late Dynasty XVII, where royal women were correctly attributed to Ahmose and Amenhotep I, but recorded in the late Nineteenth Dynasty. Although later records of titularies may, on occasion, contain spurious items, we need not expect that the later inscriptions were grossly inaccurate merely because they were later records. One would think that if Thutmose III were to make provision for 26 hk3t of grain each year to be given to the shrine of hmt nswt wrt Mrjt-sgr, information confirming her existence must have been available then - otherwise there would have been an unnecessary waste of resources.

While it is surprising to see the title 'hmt nswt wrt' being attributed to Mrjt-sgr in Dynasty XII, two solutions to the enigma offer themselves. Either the title had been hers (in which case she was the first to carry the distinguishing epithet of the most important royal wife), or the later scribes, accustomed to the title by then, expected the queen to hold that title, and therefore gave it to her. The presence of the inscription on the kohl pot of unknown date and origin does suggest, however, that the queen could have possessed the title during her lifetime.

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 Dunham, Semna I, pp.124f., pl. 92D  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.316  
     Rec. Trav. 40 (1923), p.176f.  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.198; 236  
Hieroglyphic Texts, p.8

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<sup>7</sup> Delia, op. cit., p.14 n.1 cites one MK example of the name:  
 CG 20156



LD III, p.12, 55a  
 PM VII, p.148 and 440  
 Petrie, History I, p.183  
 Troy, Queenship, p.159  
 Urk. IV,193 - 6

QUEEN HNMT-NFR-HDT (ŠRJ) II

Temp. Senwosret III

Tomb: unknown, but presumably at Dahshur, in one of the pyramids surrounding the king's own pyramid.

Titles: rp<tt, s3t Gb, hmt nswt; Hereditary princess, King's wife, Daughter of Geb.

The titles above are present on a triad of Senwosret III and his wife and mother (BM 163 [1145]).

rp<tt, wrt hts, hmt nswt; Hereditary princess, Great one of the hts sceptre, King's wife.

These titles are on Cairo JE 66569, a block from Medamud (Perdu, RdÉ 29 [1977], p.75).

Like her statue-companion, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I, this queen has been given the title of Daughter of Geb (BM 163 [1145]), and Hereditary princess (see previous comments). She is given the addition of Šrj, (or perhaps it should be Šrjt) as an 'epithète de discrimination' (Perdu, RdÉ 29 [1977], p.71, 80). There is a similar circumstance in Dynasty XVII, when two princesses named J<h-ms were distinguished by the adjectives wrt and šrj.

Concerning the situation relating to the priesthood of the god Sobek, Delia (Senwosret III, p.11) has correctly pointed out that, of the three seals and a bead giving the legend: hmt ntr Sbk nb Smnw hmt nswt Hnmt-nfr-hdt, two can be assigned to the elder queen, Hnmt-nfr-hdt wrt. However, the bead (Drioton, ASAE 45 [1945], p.52), and one of the cylinder seals (James, Hieroglyphic Inscriptions I, p.64 No.148) do not feature the distinguishing adjectives, so it is possible that both women might have been priestesses of the god.

Prosopography: This queen was the wife of Senwosret III. She may not have been the daughter of a king as she lacks the title of s3t nswt. Instead, she carries the s3t Gb title of a commoner wife.

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(?) QUEEN ŠDT-JT.S

Temp. uncertain: between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, to judge by the remains from Ehnasya temple (Petrie, Ehnasya, p.20).

Tomb: unknown; her titles come from two blocks of Twelfth Dynasty work, reused in the Eighteenth Dynasty at Herakleopolis Magna.

Titles: [hmt nswt] mrt.f, hsjt.f, wrt hst, wrt hts; [King's wife] his beloved, One praised by him, Great of praise, Great one of the hts sceptre.

The titles come from two fragments of Middle Kingdom work from Ehnasya temple. The longer inscription is given above.

The top of the block, where the title hmt nswt should appear, is almost completely destroyed, but the lower section of the nswt sign and part of another hieroglyph, perhaps 't', can be seen. From the position of remaining signs and the presence of the rest of the familiar formula, either the title s3t nswt, or hmt nswt might be interpreted. Troy (Queenship, p.127) reads this as 's3t nswt'. Petrie (Ehnasya, p.20) gives 'hmt nswt'. Preference for 'hmt nswt' might be given because the phrase 'hmt nswt mrt.f' is very common in Middle Kingdom inscriptions, whereas 's3t nswt mrt.f' is only once recorded elsewhere for Nfrw-Pth. Attention also might be given to the Twelfth Dynasty preference for writing s3t with the 't' behind the head of the goose (eg.de Morgan, Dahchour I, p.26 fig. 36, p.28 fig. 44, p.56

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<sup>8</sup> She appears as 'Šryt' in Kuchman Sabbahy's discussion.

figs. 122, 123, p.57 figs. 125, 126). Given the Twelfth Dynasty habit of recording mwt nswt with the 't' below the vulture, one could also consider the title 'mwt nswt', but for the 'mrt.f' phrase, which is seldom recorded with this title.[9]

Gauthier commented that it is difficult to know where the queen's name begins and her titles end on the block. If her name does follow the titles above then perhaps it could read: 'Shedit is her father'.

Prosopography: The remains of this block were found with other material from the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III; the latter had added to a building of his father's in this place. The name fits in well with the irrigation works of the Twelfth Dynasty kings, and is echoed by the use of Šdtj with the titles of Queen Sbk-nfrw.

#### Bibliography:

Gauthier, LR II, p.127  
Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.198  
Petrie, Ehnasya, p. 20, pl. XIV  
Troy, Queenship, p.127

#### (?) QUEEN JTJ

Temp. Dyn. XII (?). Weill suggests this period because of an unusual pattern in the border of one of this queen's scarabs. The decorative spirals terminate in loops at the top of the scarab, producing a design reminiscent of two serpents. This distinctive motif only appears on scarabs from the period of Senwosret III to Amenemhat IV (Weill, XII Dynastie, p.91), but as the orthography shows the degenerative writing of the 'n', the scarabs might belong to the later part of this period. It is suggested by Weill that she be placed sometime between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat IV.

The hieroglyphs, however, have more in common with Dynasty XIII scarabs than with the usual Dynasty XII models, and Newberry, (JEA 18 [1932], pp.141f.), while noting the different design on the scarabs, has assigned her a place within 'the

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<sup>9</sup> It appears first in an inscription for Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt I which reads: ḥmt nswt mwt mrt.f (Naville, Ahnas el Medinah, pl. IV C5 - the name of the queen is missing). The use of ḥmt nswt has apparently conditioned the following epithet.



fig. 22 (a)



(b)



(c)

- Newberry, JEA 18 (1932),  
p.142 fig. 2



(d)

- Reisner, Harvard, p.522  
fig. 344.43

fig. 22 Various writings of the name of Queen Jtj.

Second Intermediate Period, perhaps to the Hyksos group'. Troy (Queenship, p.160) lists Jtj as the mother of an early Thirteenth Dynasty king.

Closer examination of the scarabs highlights their differences. The writing of 'n' differs from the other scripts in fig. 22 (a) and, not only the size and border decoration are vastly different, but the queen's name is written differently. That on the left reads 'Jtjtj'; those on the right 'Jttj'. The wand from Kerma, fig. 22 (c), gives another variation. Perhaps we are dealing with two different queens from different periods who had a similar - but perhaps not identical - name.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: mwt nswt: King's mother.

Her only title appears on three scarabs (fig. 23) and an ivory wand (Reisner, Harvard A, p.522).

Prosopography: Jtj lacks the title of king's wife but, if she belongs to the Twelfth Dynasty she could possibly be the mother of Amenemhat III (and therefore the wife of Senwosret III). Jtj's name fits into this period of the Twelfth Dynasty, and Amenemhat III's mother is at present unknown.

Alternatively, she could have been the mother of Amenemhat IV. If she were a Thirteenth Dynasty queen she might not have been the wife of a king at all.

Reisner (Harvard A, p.522) identifies the name of Jtj with 'King's Daughter Yattikayt, daughter of Senwosret II. Perhaps Amenemhat would be her son.'

#### Bibliography:

Newberry, JEA 18 (1932), pp.141f.

Reisner, Harvard A, p.522

Troy, Queenship, p.160

Weill, XII Dynastie, p.91

#### QUEEN C3T

Temp. Amenemhat III

Tomb: Her tomb was at the end of a corridor (no.10 on the plan in Arnold, MDAIK 38 [1982], fig.1) within the pyramid of King Amenemhat III at Dahshur. The mummy of C3t was found here,

together with two other mummies, one of which appears to have been that of another queen. These burials within the pyramid of the king signal a return to burial practices evident in Djoser's pyramid at Saqqara. See Arnold, MDAIK 35 (1979), pp.1 - 9, for discussion on the similarities between the pyramid complex of Djoser and that of Amenemhat III.

Amenemhat's wives had been destined to accompany him in the afterlife. Not only were their sepulchres designed originally as part of the pyramid, but interconnecting corridors linked the king's burial chamber with those of his wives. A separate entrance on the western side of the pyramid allowed the burial of the queens to take place at times independent of the king's burial.

C3t's limestone canopic chest was discovered in a separate canopic chamber (Arnold, MDAIK 38 [1982], p.20, pl. 7a) on the eastern side of the entrance corridor. In the immediate vicinity was found her alabaster canopic vase which bore the name and titles of the queen (*ibid.* pl. 7b). It had once been walled up in a niche near the stairway-entrance to the burial chamber, but graverobbers had shattered it into pieces which became part of the fill.

A stairway led up to the main chamber where the queen's highly polished, rose granite sarcophagus (which closely resembled that of the king) was found. On the lower section of the sarcophagus was a border imitating the palace-facade, very reminiscent of Djoser's boundary wall. A number of alabaster food-containers, shaped like ducks, were found in the burial chamber, as well as two maceheads, some unguent jars and a few pieces of jewellery.

Analysis of the queen's remains disclosed that she had died when she was about thirty-five years of age. Arnold (Amenemhet III, pp.93ff.) considers it likely that she died a few years after the burial of the anonymous queen from chamber 7. János ( Pyramidenanlagen, pp.90ff.) has argued against this suggestion, proposing that she must have been buried within the Dahshur tomb prior to the burial of the nameless queen. The latter's tomb was unfinished in parts, whereas C3t's funerary apartments had been completed. It would have been most odd for a deceased queen to be temporarily housed elsewhere when a completed sepulchre (virtually identical to that intended for the dead queen) lay unused, according to János. His argument is persuasive.

In a mudbrick structure north of the causeway an offering shrine for the queen was established (Arnold, Amenemhet III,

p.94), and de Morgan found part of her stele and her offering table there (de Morgan, Dahchour II, figs. 147, 148). Part of the relief shows C3t seated before a table; she is wearing the vulture crown. This is the only Twelfth Dynasty representation of this headdress.

Titles: rpCtt, hmt nswt mrt.f, hnmt nfr hdt; Hereditary princess, King's wife whom he loves, She who is united with the White Crown.

These titles were found by de Morgan on a fragment of her offering table (Dahchour II, fig.148).

hmt nswt mrt.f, hnmt nfr hdt, C3t, hnwt t3wj; King's wife whom he loves, She who is united with the White Crown, Aat, Mistress of the Two Lands.

These other titles were inscribed on her alabaster canopic jar (Arnold, MDAIK 38 [1982], pl. 7b).

Prosopography: This queen's importance is signalled by her burial within the king's pyramid and her sarcophagus which so closely resembles that of her husband. Her only known relationship to date is that of a wife to Amenemhat III.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.199) considers it likely that Queen C3t is to be identified with the Medinet Maadi temple reference to an 'anonymous' queen (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.350), but this could refer to the next queen in this register.

#### Bibliography:

- Arnold, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.18 - 20  
MDAIK 38 (1982), pp.17 - 23  
Amenemhet III, pp.37 - 47, 93 - 99  
 Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), p.99ff.  
 de Morgan, Dahchour II, pp.100f., figs.147, 148  
 Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.135  
 Donadoni, Orientalia 16 (1947) p.350  
 Edwards, The Pyramids, pp.213f.  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.336  
 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.89 - 92  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.199  
 PM III/2, p.887  
 Strouhal, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.324 - 328  
 Troy, Queenship, p.159  
 Vallogia, RdÉ 21 (1969), p.112f.

# QUEEN (?) HNMT-NFR-HDT III

Temp. Amenemhat III

Tomb: Chamber No.7 on the plan in Arnold (MDAIK 38 [1982], fig.1), part-way along a corridor leading to the king's chambers in the Dahshur pyramid.

The queen seems to have died at about 25 years of age, a few years after building of the pyramid at Hawara had been commenced - about Year 15 (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.90; Arnold, Amenemhet III, pp.93ff.). The provision for her tomb had been considered after the tomb of C3t had been constructed, and in places it shows signs of rushed workmanship (Arnold, op. cit. p.49f.). Most of the queen's burial offerings had been robbed in antiquity, but obsidian vases, circled by gold bands, and three duck-shaped, alabaster containers for food had been left behind, together with some fragments of jewellery, and granite and alabaster maceheads (Edwards, Pyramids, p.213).

Her polished rose granite sarcophagus is not identical to that of Queen C3t, for it lacks the palace facade decoration, and has not the decorated foot frieze of C3t's sarcophagus (Arnold, Amenemhat III, p.51).

Titles: rpCtt, hnwt t3wj, hmt nswt; Hereditary princess, Mistress of the Two Lands, King's Wife.

The titles appear on the lid of an alabaster canopic vessel found in the queen's canopic chamber (Arnold, MDAIK 36 (1980), p.20 pl. 15). After these titles comes hnmt nfr hdt, without a name. Arnold (loc. cit.) treats this as a title (which it may well be) but, given the analysis of this title by Perdu (RdÉ 29 [1977], pp.68 - 85), we are aware that this phrase can at times be the name of the queen, rather than a title. This is particularly likely here, since this title is in an inappropriate position. Here it would follow, rather than precede, the relationship title of hmt nswt. This would be a peculiar usage for the times. (See discussion in Chapter 2 (C.9). For this reason the queen has been tentatively named Hnmt-nfr-hdt III. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.366) has remarked that, 'Hnmt-nfr-hdt seems to have been held by only one queen and one princess in each reign..' so, if both C3t and this queen held that title, this would be an exception to Kuchman Sabbahy's generalisation.

Prosopography: Wife of King Amenemhat III.



### Bibliography:

- Arnold, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp.18 - 20.  
MDAIK 38 (1982), pp.17 - 23.  
Amenemhet III, pp.93 - 99.  
 Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), p.99ff.  
 Edwards, Pyramids, pp.212f.  
 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.89ff.

### QUEEN HTP.TJ

#### Temp. Amenemhat III

Tomb: unknown. Queen Htp.tj is mentioned in the temple at Medinet Maadi begun by Amenemhat III and completed by Amenemhat IV (Maspero, Histoire I, p.520; Donadoni, Orientalia 16 (1947), p.350), where the inscription reads: 'rp<sup>c</sup>tt, hnwt t3wj, mwt nswt, hnmt nfr hdt Htp.tj'. It is this inscription which Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.199) sees as belonging to an anonymous queen. Donadoni's interpretation of the queen's name seems preferable here, since 'htp-tj' is not a title. Kuchman Sabbahy (p.225, n.53) also admits the possibility of htp.tj being a name. Apart from this, the Medinet Maadi titulary includes mwt nswt, a title not held either by rp<sup>c</sup>tt or hnmt-nfr-hdt III.

Titles: rp<sup>c</sup>tt, mwt nswt, hnwt t3wj, hnmt nfr hdt; Hereditary princess, Mother of the king, Mistress of the Two Lands, She who is united with the White Crown.

These titles were inscribed on the wall of the Medinet Maadi temple of Amenemhat III/IV (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.350). The title of hmt nswt is absent from the list of this queen's royal titles, perhaps due to an incomplete inscription - part of her name may also be missing, as Donadoni has indicated.

Prosopography: Htp.tj was the mother of a king - presumably either Amenemhat IV or Queen Sebekneferu, although these suggestions are not confirmed by any known inscription.

Schmitz suggests that Htp.tj might have been the mother of Princess Nwb-htp.tj-hrd, because of the similarity of the names, and because the writing of the princess' titles places her as a daughter of Amenemhat III, (but see prosopographical discussion for Queen Kmj-nwb concerning Nwb-htp.tj-hrd's floruit).

The queen may not have been born a princess, since she lacks the title of s3t nswt.

Bibliography:

- Donadoni, Orientalia 16 (1947), p.350  
 Edwards, Pyramids, p.212f.  
 Maspero, Histoire I, p.520  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.200  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.195 n.4  
 Vallogia, RdÉ 21 (1969), p.111  
 Troy, Queenship, p.159

(?) QUEEN NFRW-PTH

Temp. Amenemhat III. It has been concluded (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, p.105) that Nfrw-Pth died during the reign of Amenemhat III since, not only does she seem to have first been buried within his Hawara pyramid (Petrie, Kahun, pp.16f.), but texts from objects (eg. inscription on the silver vase from the pyramid tomb: Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, p.18) in both burial chambers give the name of Amenemhat III, rather than other rulers.

Tomb: two are known. The first tomb prepared for her was in Amenemhat III's pyramid at Hawara; discovery and report by Petrie (Kahun, pp.12 - 17). In the antechamber of this sepulchre were found her alabaster offering table and some duck-shaped bowls. Her uninscribed quartzite sarcophagus was found within the king's sepulchre, and this revealed that the burial of the princess had been an afterthought to the original part of the king's plan for his pyramid (Petrie, Kahun, p.17). Whether she was buried there or not is debatable. Petrie implies from certain remains that both Amenemhat III and Nfrw-Pth were interred there (ibid. pp.16f.). Two canopic chests and fragments of two large canopic jars belonging to Nfrw-Pth were also found (ibid. p.17, pl. V).

The circumstances of her apparent double burial appear to be borne out by the structure of the second tomb (near the Wahbi Canal) which was built over her already-deposited sarcophagus. The tomb structure is atypical for a pyramid and, as no access shaft was present, bears out Farag's conclusion that the tumulus was heaped over the burial.

The second tomb, which lies about two kilometres south-east of the Hawara pyramid, was discovered in 1959 by Farag. It is likely to have once been a mud-brick pyramid, evidently cased

with limestone blocks (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, p.2; Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Orientalia 42 [1973], p.357), with a base length of c.76 cubits (39.75 m). As all casing blocks are now missing this may not have been a pyramid at all but, since it possessed a square base, and since the mastabas of this period were rectangular, it is likely to have been a pyramid. Maragioglio and Rinaldi believe that there was almost certainly a mortuary chapel on the eastern side of the pyramid (ibid. p.359).

The burial crypt lay in the centre of the pyramid. It consisted of a rock-cut chamber lined with small limestone blocks. After the insertion of Nfrw-Pth's sarcophagus the chamber was roofed with huge limestone blocks which were still in position when Farag discovered the tomb - for further details of the tomb structure see Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, pp.1 - 5; additional information on the monument has been provided by Maragioglio & Rinaldi (Orientalia 42 [1973], pp.357 - 369).

Within the burial chamber a partition wall divided off the offering chamber from the burial crypt. The smaller chamber held a black granite offering table, pottery of different types, and a silver ḥs vase - another two silver vases were found in the burial chamber. The granite offering table is similar to the alabaster offering table of Nfrw-Pth which Petrie found in the Hawara pyramid (Petrie, Kahun, pp.8, 17 and pl. V), except for certain changes in the inscriptions, the most important being the recording of Nfrw-Pth's name within a cartouche. No canopic chest or vessels were found.

Nfrw-Pth's sarcophagus in this tomb was made of red granite, her name being inscribed on the upper north-east side (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, p.5); two wd3t eyes were engraved below her name (which was in a cartouche) and dedication. The inscription featured the mutilated hieroglyphs which are characteristic of the reign of Amenemhat III, and of certain later kings (see discussion in the prosopography of Kmj-nwb). The sarcophagus (ibid. p.18f. figs.13, 14) is similar to that of Queen C3t, Queen Nfirt-hnwt and King Amenemhat III, with a 68 cm base border of palace-facade design. The sarcophagi of other princesses lack this distinctive pattern, which might suggest that Nfrw-Pth had at one time held a queenly position (for discussion see Titles section below).

When opened, the sarcophagus was found to be almost full of water, some of which was drawn off for analysis (ibid. p.22). Although the results of the analysis were not as rewarding as had been expected, they did reveal some body cells and portions of linen and resinous material, allowing the archaeologists to

conclude that 'the mummy of Neferwptah had been originally buried in the sarcophagus, although some of the bones completely perished and no traces of them could be found' (ibid. pp.110, 124).

At the bottom of the sarcophagus remained a muddy deposit containing alabaster fragments, beads and a great amount of gold leaf. No bone fragments remained, but jewellery, a bead-apron, an alabaster mace-head, linen cloth, and gesso that had once been on an interior coffin did remain (ibid. pp.27 - 44). Ceremonial staves, a flail, and a pair of sceptres were deduced as having once been present (ibid. pp.83 - 87.). Using all these remains the excavators reconstructed the original appearance of the burial (ibid. p.46 fig. 29), which they considered might have once contained both an anthropoid coffin and a rectangular one. However, Maragioglio & Rinaldi (op. cit. pp.360f.) have pointed out that the internal space within the sarcophagus is too small to have permitted the two interior coffins suggested by Farag & Iskander. They suggest that the substitution of a funerary mask for the anthropoid coffin would remove this difficulty.

In a papyrus remnant from Kahun (Griffith, Hieratic Papyri, p.80: Pap. Kahun V.1,1.34) a hwt of the princess (her name again in a cartouche) is mentioned. Both Vallogia (RdÉ 21 [1969], p.112) and Maragioglio & Rinaldi (op. cit. p.364) consider this refers to her tomb. Given the established practice of a hwt ntr for certain important queens (such as Hnt-k3w.s I), it is more likely that the reference is to a cult, rather than simply a tomb.[10]

Titles: s3t nswt; King's daughter. This title was inscribed on her offering table found in the Hawara pyramid by Petrie (Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, pl. V). The princess' name has Nfrw preceding the god's name; her name is not written in a cartouche. This tablet appears to have been earlier than the offering slab found in the Wahbi Canal tomb.

rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, s3t nswt nt ht.f, mrt.f,  
(Nfrw-Pth); Hereditary princess, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, King's daughter of his body, his beloved (Nfrw-Pth).

These titles appear on Wall S of the Medinet Maadi temple, lines 14 and 15. Most significant is the use of the cartouche.

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<sup>10</sup> It is probably not a hwt k3, since this is not designated.

The titles combine those of a queen with those of a princess. Similar titles appear on a statue base from Elephantine (Weigall, ASAE 8 [1908], p.48).

snt ntr, s3t nswt nt ht.f, mrt.f, (Nfrw-Pth), Cnh.tj dt;  
King's daughter of his body, his beloved (Nfrw-Pth), may she live forever.

This second string of titles appears on a reused block first noticed by Daressy (Rec. Trav. 10 [1888], p.142).

The titles of Nfrw-Pth mark a change from those of previous princesses. Not only does she have the extended titles of the Old Kingdom princesses, but her name is occasionally written in a cartouche. In addition to this, her name is accompanied by the 'dj Cnh dt' formula (usually reserved for kings) on the south wall of the shrine of the temple at Maadi (Donadoni, Orientalia, 16 [1947], p.508 [S 13, 15]). Attention has already been drawn to a similar epithet for Nfrw-k3jt (Cnh dt mj R: see , p.188).

Nfrw-Pth is also the first to have the title: 'Sister of the god'. Although there has been discussion on the meaning of this title (see Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.209; Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.197, 199), no firm conclusions have been drawn concerning it.[11]

Nfrw-Pth is one of the royal women who has a titulary comprising both the titles of a princess and some of a queen. She lacks, however, the title of hmt nswt, as did (?) Queens Jt-k3jt and Nfrt II. All these royal women have a number of titles, and a number of omissions in common (see Appendix 1). Each of these women are entitled s3t nswt nt ht.f, but are the only princesses of the Middle Kingdom to be given this title. All are entitled rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, titles held by the queens of Dynasty XI as well. None has the title of hnmt nfr hdt, but only Nfrw-Pth lived at a time when that title was used. Additionally, all these women have some other anomaly present in their titulary: eg.Jt-k3jt has the titles h3tjt-C and m33t Hr

<sup>11</sup> Vallogia's statement that '...le titre snt-ntr et l'epithète Cnh.t(i) son significatifs at les exemples paralleles son nombreux' (op.cit. p.111) is not borne out by the references he cites (loc. cit. n.1), which only pertain to the phrase 'Cnh.tj', not snt ntr. Prior to Nfr-Pth, the title is not known.

<sup>12</sup> Queen Nfrw I of Dynasty XI also held the same title of m33t

sth (Hayes, Scepter I, p.195), [12] Nfrt II carried the title sm3jt mrjt Nbtj, and Nfrw-Pth was the first woman for whom contemporary evidence shows her name in a cartouche, and for whom the title s3t nswt nt ht.f mrt.f was used. Thus each princess carried an idiosyncratic title - usually borrowed from Eleventh Dynasty or Old Kingdom models. Queen Snt had a number of these characteristics in common with the above princesses, but she also carried the titles hmt nswt and mwt nswt (Maspero, ZÄS 23 [1885], p.12). Thus, although the titulary of the unusual princesses lacked the title of hmt nswt, and although each carried an idiosyncratic title, the remainder of their individual titularies was no different from those of other queens.

Kuchman Sabbahy has offered a solution that might explain the anomalies presented by the 'mixed' titulary of these women:

'If in each case, the princess with such a titulary is [the] wife of the co-regent, then she would be both princess and queen, exactly what is expressed by the mixed titulary. Although such a solution is speculative, it merits discussion because it explores a facet of the co-regency which has not been considered before, that is, its effect on the queenship. ... If we are to accept the titulary of certain princesses as reflecting their position as co-regent's wife, then we must also accept a brother-sister or brother-half-sister marriage in each co-regency.' [Titulary pp.218]

Kuchman Sabbahy then suggests that this mixed titulary, without the title of hmt nswt, was provided for the coregent's wife, to avoid confusion with the titulary of the queen consort (ibid. p.220f.). The example provided by Queen Snt (supra), who also has the old titles of wrt hts and wrt hst, as well as the titles of hmt nswt, and mwt nswt, would seem to provide some support for Kuchman Sabbahy's suggestion that these older titles might distinguish the wife of a coregent.

Prosopography: There have been many suggestions concerning the relationships of Nfrw-Pth. Maspero (Histoire I, p.520), Grdseloff, (ASAE 51 [1951], p.148) and Desroches-Noblecourt (BSFÉ 23 [1957], p.22) considered her to be the wife of Amenemhat III. Vallogia (RdÉ 21 [1969], p.111) has argued convincingly against this suggestion.

Maragioglio & Rinaldi (Orientalia 42 [1973], p.365) have

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Hr Sth.

suggested that the two sets of titles in her Hawara records and those of her pyramid are due to the separate burials of two like-named women, both linked to Amenemhat III. One they see as Amenemhat III's daughter, dead at an early age and buried within the king's pyramid; she does not possess the cartouche. The other is her sister, possibly married either to King Hor, or to Amenemhat IV, and provided with an honorary cartouche. This woman, they believe, was buried within the pyramid near the Wahbi Canal. For much of her funerary material here Nfrw-Pth's name appears in a cartouche, but not on her alleged inner sarcophagus which, they propose, had been prepared much earlier in her lifetime. On the absence of the hmt nswt title they adopt Newberry's theory suggesting that, as her brother-husband King Hor was buried in a modest tomb in the environs of Amenemhat III's pyramid, she must have died during his coregency with Amenemhat III, and therefore was buried in the grander tomb.

The arguments of Maragioglio and Rinaldi are not as secure as they might be: the distinction between the 'due dame omonime' is seriously weakened by the evidence from the sarcophagus in the Wahbi Canal tomb. This contains the name of the princess in a cartouche on the exterior (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, p.24), while the gold leaf inscriptions (from either a second coffin, or an anthropoid cartonnage), fragmentary though they are, clearly indicate that the name of the occupant Nfrw-Pth (written both with honorific transposition, and with the idiosyncratic ideogram 'nfrw' first) was written without this cartouche (ibid. p.49). Thus the evidence for these two women, one with and one without the cartouche comes together in one tomb, and seems a substantial reason why we should accept the hypothesis of Farag and Iskander about the transferred burial of a single princess.

Newberry, Maragioglio & Rinaldi also based part of their arguments on the theoretical coregency of Hor and Amenemhat III. That hypothesis has now been abandoned by many scholars (eg. Helck, Geschichte, pp.118f.; von Beckerath, LÄ I, 191; Vallogia, RdÉ 29 [1969], pp.113 - 133) because there is no evidence for it: King Hor is known to have ruled several decades later. These factors further weaken the case built up by Maragioglio and Rinaldi.

Many scholars have considered Nfrw-Pth to be the daughter of Amenemhat III, but only one inscription implies this relationship: a fragment of a black granite sphinx which contains part of Amenemhat III's name, together with that of Nfrw-Pth entitled 's3t nswt' (Newberry, PSBA 25 [1903], p.359; Legrain, ASAE 4 [1904], p.133; Vallogia, RdÉ 21 (1969), p.110). von Beckerath (LÄ IV, 382 n.3) considers this evidence to be

shaky. On her silver vases found within her pyramid tomb the princess' cartouche appears in a dedicatory inscription (Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah, pp.12 - 15) which includes the name of Amenemhat III, this time grouped with other gods, suggesting that the king himself was dead by this time. The hs vases carry the legend: 'King's daughter of his body, Nfrw-Pth, respected lady' on their caps, while the bodies of the vases carry an offering dedication: 'An offering that the king gives to Nymaatre, Geb, Ptah-Sokar, Osiris the Fayumite, residing in the Fayum ... to the hereditary princess, the king's daughter, Nfrw-Pth' (ibid. p.12). A letter referring to her as s3t nswt, and sealed with a damaged seal of Amenemhat III may also provide confirmatory evidence (Newberry, loc. cit.), but there is other circumstantial evidence.

In one badly damaged relief in the temple at Maadi the princess stands in front of Amenemhat III, who is making an offering to the goddess Renenwetet. She is there entitled, rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, nb dr mrjt, s3t nswt nt ht.f, mr(t).f (Nfrw-Pth) snh.tj dt (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.508). Had she been his wife, we would expect the title of hmt nswt to have appeared on this wall. While all this could suggest that she was the daughter of Amenemhat, it really only confirms that Nfrw-Pth was a highly-esteemed royal daughter who lived during Amenemhat's reign. Given the well-attested custom of the presence of a king's mother, wife, or daughters fulfilling the role of assistant in ceremonies we should be cautious in this case of assuming that Nfrw-Pth must have been Amenemhat III's daughter.

Her burial within the Hawara tomb, which has been seen sometimes as an exceptional honour for the king's daughter or, as an indication that she later became the wife of the king, may not indicate either, since the filling in the floor, and the end pieces mentioned by Petrie (Kahun, p.17) show clearly that the insertion of her sarcophagus was a later adaptation made in Amenemhat's burial chamber. It may have been done prior to the burial of the king (if indeed he was buried there), but it was not part of the original plan for this chamber.

Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested (Titulary, p.218) she might have been the wife of Amenemhat IV but lacked the title of hmt nswt because she was only the wife of the co-regent, and not the wife of the king, at the time when she died. She suggests that the kings' daughters who incorporate some titles of queens in their titulary were exhibiting a ranking system in which the title of hmt nswt remained only with the senior king's wife



(ibid. pp.218 - 220).

The suggestion that she was the wife of a coregent is not new. Newberry (JEA 29 [1943], p.74) was the earliest scholar to put forward this idea. Vallogia (RdÉ 29 [1969], p.113) has also argued for her being the wife of Amenemhat IV before he ruled alone. It has been suggested that her husband would have been either King Hor or King Amenemhat IV (eg. Farag & Iskander, Neferwptah p.107 - also citing Habachi - Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Orientalia 42 [1973] p.357; Desroches-Noblecourt, BSFÉ 23 [1927], p.22). Although it was an early theory (de Morgan, Dahchour I, p.128; Erman, ZÄS 33 [1895], p.143; Drioton & Vandier, L'Égypte, p.281), it has never been demonstrated that King Hor was the coregent of Amenemhat III. With Hor's re-positioning within the Thirteenth Dynasty his alleged coregency with Amenemhat III is improbable. The only known coregent who might have been married to Nfrw-Pth then would have to be Amenemhat IV, as Vallogia has suggested.

There are other relationships which could be considered for this princess. It has been indicated by von Beckerath (LÄ I.190) that, due to the long reign of Amenemhat III, his successor was perhaps a grandson, rather than a son. Perhaps Nfrw-Pth might have been the mother of Amenemhat IV - although Queen Htp-tj has been preferred by this author (see inscription and suggestion of period in Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.350). It is equally possible that she was not the daughter, but the sister of Amenemhat III - in which case, Amenemhat IV could have been either a nephew, or grand-nephew of the old king.[13]

Nfr-Pth's title of snt ntr suggests that she was seen as the sister of some god. It is very probable that Amenemhat III was the god in question, since Nfrw-Pth appears to have died during his time. He is also one of the gods mentioned on her funerary vases placed in her second tomb. Indeed, the specific naming of the king on her vases seems to be a unique funerary occurrence. In later times Amenemhat III was considered a god of the Faiyum region (Erman, Der Religion der Ägypter, p.352), but these vases suggest that even at the time of Nfrw-Pth's reburial he was numbered among the gods. There is also a fragmentary relief from a column (Habachi, ASAE 52 [1954], plate 15a) of a temple built by Queen Sebekneferu which represents Amenemhat III as a god. Perhaps the reburial of Nfrw-Pth took place in her time, when

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<sup>13</sup> But see the comments above concerning the relief depicting Renenwetet.

Amenemhat's cult had already been established.

Although considerable discussion has concentrated on whether or not the princess had been reburied near the Wahbi Canal, we also need to ask why the reburial took place at all. The answer to this question is integral to the date of that reburial.

The reburial may have occurred because of the desecration of the Hawara pyramid burials that occurred after Amenemhat's burial - although such an event seems unlikely for the later years of the Twelfth Dynasty. Alternatively, a re-assessment of Nfrw-Pth's own status might have prompted the move. One would expect that the removal, carried out by the king's officials, would either be for reasons of safety, or for propaganda purposes. Certainly, the form of Nfrw-Pth's new tomb has significance; the pyramidal form for the mother of a king is known to have had a long tradition (János, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.100 - 103). Although the use of the pyramid for a queen had not appeared since the time of Senwosret I, it was present in a number of complexes (see especially Dodson, ZÄS 115 [1988], pp.123 - 136), and was used for the wife (or wives) of King Khendjer, some time later. Was this second burial symbolic of a queen mother's tomb? The peculiar, isolated site for Nfrw-Pth's tomb, its traditional significance, her name in a cartouche, and the title of snt ntr all point to a symbolic elevation of this princess after her death.

Perhaps this suggested elevation was due to her being the wife or mother of a monarch who reigned at some period after the death of Nfrw-Pth. If so, it would be an unlikely situation for the reigns of either Amenemhat III or IV. Had Nfrw-Pth held such a position during their time one could be sure that the inscriptions in the second tomb at least would record this status for her name had appeared in a cartouche on wall S (Donadoni, Orientalia 16 [1947], p.508) of the Maadi temple - and therefore likely to post-date Amenemhat III, at least. That no title of mwt nswt is recorded in the temple, nor on the objects within her second tomb does cast doubt on her alleged relationship to Amenemhat IV.

If she did not have either of those positions, what circumstances existed that had given her the unprecedented honour of being buried beside Amenemhat III - to be then given a pyramid (and possibly a hwt ntr) of her own? Why was she buried in a sarcophagus of a type used only by the king and his most important wives, and also given the title of snt ntr? None of the other princesses were honoured in this way. Perhaps, in addition to her title of s3t nswt, she was the princess royal,

acting the rôle of the queen in traditional ceremonies (such as the inauguration of the Maadi temple) during the time after the deaths of Amenemhat III's two wives.[14]

More particularly, the introduction of the cartouche, and its symbolism must have been especially significant to Nfrw-Pth's contemporaries. It conferred upon this princess the privilege given only to the king. The only women to have had their names within the cartouche prior to her time were Queen Neitkrety and Queen Nfrt I, but the evidence for these queens, post-dates their separate historical periods. Nfrw-Pth's cartouche was a near-contemporary honour.

In attempting to discover the reasons why such extraordinary honours should have been given we need to look at those who might have benefited by Nfrw-Pth's elevation in status. Immediate choice might fall on the successors of Amenemhat III, but Amenemhat IV does not appear to have been her son, and Sebekneferu's mother is unknown. Perhaps if she were Sebekneferu's mother, and the sister of Amenemhat III, some of these unusual circumstances might be explained. If Sebekneferu were the daughter of Nfrw-Pth (their names have a common element and form), the title, snt ntr, could be explained as a device emphasising the sacral nature of the relationship between Amenemhat III and Nfrw-Pth. The use of the cartouche could imply that the shared burial in the Hawara pyramid represented a shared dominion during the life of Nfrw-Pth. It would be in the interest of a successor to draw attention to this implication, particularly should this successor's claim to the throne have been shaky.

While Queen Sebekneferu (perhaps a daughter of Nfrw-Pth), or some later king who may have been a descendant, accorded the cartouche for her. There is every reason for acknowledging that the Thirteenth Dynasty rulers drew their inspiration (and probably legitimacy) from Amenemhat III and his family. The use of mutilated texts in Nfrw-Pth's second tomb could indicate that either, the reburial took place shortly after the death of Amenemhat III or, it was carried out during the reign of King Hor, for whose burial the mutilated hieroglyphs were also used (de Morgan, Dahchour I, figs 117ff.). The form of her sarcophagus, however, is very different from that of King Hor and his companion, as it is from other Thirteenth Dynasty sarcophagi

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<sup>14</sup> who died before Year 15 of the king's reign (see Jánosi, op. cit. p.92).

(Dodson, ZÄS 114 [1987], p.38f.). This would make the late Twelfth Dynasty attribution more probable.

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QUEEN SEBEKNEFERU (or NFRW-SBK)

Both Valloggia (RdÉ 16 [1964], p.50) and von Beckerath (LÄ IV, 1050) have drawn attention to the translation of her name, commenting that, in particular, the rock inscription from the second cataract, indicates that 'nfrw' should be considered as a substantive, rather than an example of the old perfective. Aufrère (BIFAO 89 [1989], p.2f.) argues that the name of Sebekneferure should be restored. He thinks it should be considered as her throne name, not birth name. Other alterations to the queen's throne name are further discussed (ibid. p.13).

Temp. Amenemhat III - Sebekneferu, her latest known date was Year 3, month 10, day 24 on the Turin Papyrus; the regnal year is confirmed by an inscription from the second cataract (Reisner, BMFA 22 [1924], p.21).

Tomb: unknown. It was suggested by Mackay (in Petrie et al. The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh, p.54) that her tomb was one of the pyramids at Mazghuneh, but later reconsideration of these pyramids assigned them to a period sometime during the Thirteenth Dynasty (eg. von Beckerath LÄ IV, 1051; Dodson, ZÄS 114 [1987], p.40). However, both Edwards (Pyramids, p.223) and Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.247) think it possible that the pyramids could have been built for Amenemhat IV and Sebekneferu, because of the similarities of their interiors with that of Amenemhat III.

An interesting difference between the Mazghuneh pyramids is that, while the southern pyramid was of mud-brick construction overlaid with stone, that of the northern pyramid appears to have been entirely stone (Petrie et al., Mazghuneh, p.54), but the superstructure of this pyramid, has been destroyed. If Sebekneferu's tomb was one of the Mazghuneh pyramids one would expect her to be the owner of the northern pyramid (which is less complete than the southern one), since her reign was briefer than that of Amenemhat IV.

In his re-examination of the tombs of the Thirteenth Dynasty rulers Dodson (op. cit. pp.39f.) has drawn attention to the development of the sarcophagi, as well as the tomb interiors. The charts he provides show a marked similarity between the sarcophagus in the northern Mazghuneh pyramid and the sarcophagus of the recently-discovered King Ameny-Qemau. The sarcophagus from the southern pyramid at Mazghuneh, however, shows a greater similarity to the sarcophagus of Khendjer, so the owners of the two Mazghuneh

pyramids might not be as contemporaneous as previously thought.

Titles: Hr Mrjt-R<sup>c</sup>, Nbtj S3t-shm, nbt t3wj, Hr-nbw Ddt-h<sup>c</sup>w, nswt bjtj Sbk-K3-R<sup>c</sup>, s3t R<sup>c</sup>, Sbk-nfrw, (or Sbk-nfrw-šdtj), nb jrt ht; Horus Mrjt-R<sup>c</sup>, The Two Ladies S3t-shm lady of the Two Lands, Horus of Gold Ddt-h<sup>c</sup>w, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sbk-K3-R<sup>c</sup>, Daughter of Re Sbk-nfrw, Lord of action.

Sebekneferu's titles are present on a number of monuments (see the articles by Vallogia and Habachi), but are best shown together on the faience cylinder seal now in the British Museum (BM 2639 - line drawing in Petrie, History I, p.197).

Sebekneferu's titles differ from those of previous queens because she was a reigning monarch. Matzker (Könige, p.19) considers all other queens only acted as regents. No inscription is known which shows her as the wife of a king, but there is a possibility that a statue made of a Princess Sbk-nfrw discovered in 1974 at Gezer refers to the Queen before her accession (Weinstein, BASOR 213 [1974], p.51). That the statue was not a funerary one is indicated by its legend s3t nswt nt ht.f Sbk-nfrw ḥnh.tj. Weinstein draws attention to three possibilities concerning the statue, a) it could refer to Princess Sbk-nfrw, daughter of Senwosret I; b) it could refer to Queen Sebekneferu, or c) it could belong to another, hitherto unknown, princess. The dating of the find shows that the already-broken statuette of the princess was found in a fill that dates to the late 13th century BC at Gezer, together with other earlier and later material. Only one factor tipping the balance slightly in favour of the statuette being that of this queen is that Egyptian figures and scarabs are better represented in Palestinian finds for the time of Amenemhat III and later than for earlier periods of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. Weinstein points out (*ibid.* p.56), however, that it is unlikely that the statuette arrived in Palestine during the Twelfth Dynasty; he thinks it was more likely to have been imported into Palestine by Palestinians as a souvenir, rather than the result of a diplomatic exchange of presents.

If the statuette is that of this queen, then it is one of the few representations of a queen as a princess known to date. Even in later times such representations were rare. It is interesting that a similar statue of Princess Hnmt-nfr-hdt was found at Ras Shamra (*ibid.* p.51). In this case we have two like statuettes of princesses who may have later been queens. One could envisage that statuettes no longer current might be more easily exchanged with traders than those on which the titular was current.

Sebekneferu's titles also present us with the oldest, complete royal titulary for a female monarch. Like Sebekneferu, Queen Neitkrety has her cartouche in the Turin Canon, but unlike Sebekneferu, no other titulary of Neitkrety's has been found to date. The earlier queens Nt-htp and Mrjt-Nt have only their serekhs.

The queen's titles alternate between the male and female versions within the titulary. Thus, on the remnants of a life-size statue of the queen on her throne, the titles read, 'The female Horus ... the Lord of action ..' (Habachi, ASAE 52 [1954], p.460). On a reused block from Herakleopolis the queen calls herself 'Daughter of Re, Sbk-Sdjt-Nfrw', and similarly, on a plaque found at the Labyrinth (Valloggia, RdÉ 16 [1964], p.45 and 49). On the relief, and elsewhere, the queen's Horus name is always accompanied by the feminine 't', even though her nswt bjtj inscriptions are always masculine. Only one Horus inscription seems doubtful, that on the headless sphinx of the queen found by Naville (Goshen, pl. 9c). Here the legend appears without a 't', but the inscription is so worn that the reading is unclear.

Valloggia (RdÉ 16 [1964], p.53) has shown that the form of her name, 'Sebekneferure' (as given in the Turin Canon) is posterior to her reign. Aufrère (BIFAO 89 [1989], pp.2f.) disputes this. He also suggests (ibid. p.13) that her throne name underwent a progression of changes.

Prosopography: Syncellus' epitome of Manetho states that Sebekneferu was the sister of Amenemhat IV (Fragment 34). Other historians consider that Sebekneferu might have been both the sister and wife of Amenemhat IV but (except for Manetho's remark) no other family relationships have been attested by evidence.

It is most likely that Sebekneferu was the daughter of Amenemhat III. The broken sphinx of s3t nswt Sbk-nfrw found in Israel may refer to the monarch, although identification is difficult (see above, under 'Titles'). Her completion of the Hawara mortuary temple (known for centuries as the Labyrinth), and the close association of her name with Amenemhat on a column (Habachi, ASAE 52 [1954], pl. 15a) from a building now long-destroyed, indicate that the queen drew support from her links with Amenemhat III. No other connections have yet been established.

Drioton and Vandier's comment that she was the wife of Amenemhat-Sebekhotep, first king of Dynasty XIII is unlikely as

King Wagaf is more likely to hold this position (von Beckerath, JNES 17 [1958], p.267).

Newberry's theory of a coregency with Amenemhat III has also been discounted by Habachi (ASAE 52 [1954], pp.464f.). Similarly, theories of a family feud (Gardiner, EOP, p.141) are unlikely to be correct, since these theories were based on a misinterpretation of the evidence concerning the alleged coregency of the queen with Amenemhat III.

Habachi (op. cit. p.464 - 467), in his study of the queen's monuments from Khatana, has suggested that the queen's unusual inscription (ibid. pl. 15a) indicates that her reign might not have been as secure as she would have liked. The Horus serekhs of Amenemhat III and Queen Sebekneferu which appear facing one another, could suggest the unique symbolism of Amenemhat as a god, blessing his daughter's reign. Habachi suggests that the queen might have deified her father and relied upon his prestige to lend support to her own suzerainty (op. cit. p.465f.). Her Golden Horus name, 'One whose appearance-in-glory is stable' also suggests a desire to convince her public of the stability of her accession. The reign, however, was no more than three years, ten months and twenty-four days in duration.

Sebekneferu was the first monarch with the theophoric name of Sebek, but later rulers, their wives and subjects were to follow her example. Habachi (ibid. p.470) has drawn attention to her name, Sebekneferu, often with the word Sdtj attached, sometimes within her cartouche, sometimes immediately following it. This writing follows the pattern set by King Amenemhat I in his attachment to Jt-t3wj (Wilson, JARCE 2 [1963], p.55 Table 1), and also Amenemhat III's inscriptions containing references to Sdtj (identical to those of Sebekneferu) in the Maadi temple (Donadoni, Orientalia, 16 [1947], Scenes H, P, Q). Aufrère, (BIFAO 89 [1989], pp.12f.) considers these occurrences to mark a new departure point in the cult of dynastic divinities.

In commenting on the preponderance of statues and monuments within the general region of the Faiyum, Habachi thinks that her especial attachment to the area and its god might be due to her having been born and resident in the area. If this were so, we should have to assume the same about Amenemhat III. (It does not appear to have been true for Amenemhat I, however.) Perhaps both rulers had palaces within that centre.

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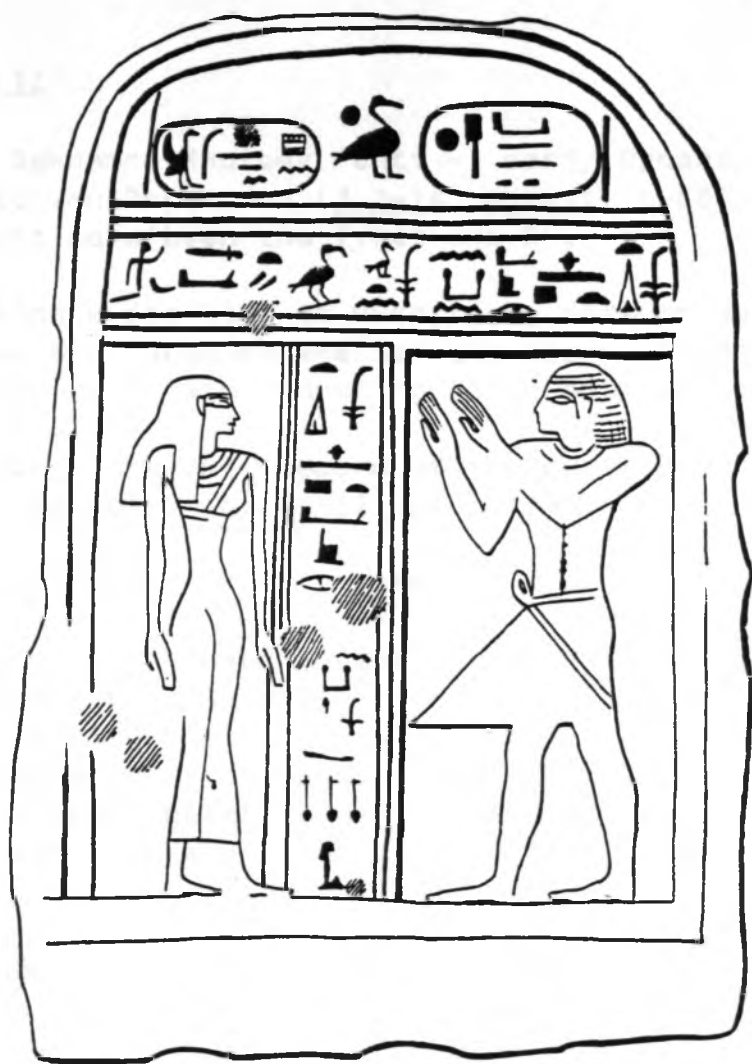


fig. 23 Stele of Prince Dhwtj-ḥ3, from Abydos.

- Petrie, Abydos II, pl.XXXI

## DYNASTY XIII

### QUEEN NFRW II

Temp. King Sekhemre-Khutowy Penti - early Dynasty XIII according to von Beckerath (2.Zwischenzeit, p.35), who suggests that he might have been the first Shm-R<sup>c</sup>.

This king's position is uncertain, and von Beckerath (ibid. p.36) raises the question whether the stele on which the queen is mentioned may be a late honouring of an esteemed ancestor.

Tomb: unknown; the only record of the queen is on a stele from Abydos (Petrie, Abydos II, pl.XXXI) - see fig. 23. 2

Titles: [hmt?] nswt; King's wife.

Prosopography: The queen appears to be named on the stele of Prince Dhwtj-<sup>c</sup>3 (BM 282/630). Prince Dhwtj-<sup>c</sup>3 is depicted on the stele, raising his hands in greeting to a woman in a shift. Her only decoration is a broad collar. She is separated from the prince by an inscription reading: 'A gift that the king gives Osiris ... for the ka of King's ... Nfrw' (Petrie, Abydos II, p.44.).

Although Petrie translates the damaged title as 'King's daughter (?) Neferu' (loc. cit.), the position of the remaining part of the sign next to nswt almost certainly does not allow this reading. The only other title appropriate here would be hmt, as rht nswt is also very unlikely, given the remains of the sign on the stele. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.236) accepts Petrie's tentative translation without his query.

Queen Nfrw II was probably the wife of the king whose damaged name is recorded on the lunette of the stele and, very likely, she could have been the mother of Prince Dhwtj-<sup>c</sup>3, the owner of the stele.

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Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.236

HT IV, 26

### QUEEN NB-HTP-DJ

Temp. early Dyn. XIII, probably Sankhtowe Sekhemkare Amenemhat V. This king has been assigned to the fourth place in the Thirteenth Dynasty by von Beckerath (LÄ I.192). It is the identification of his Horus name with some little cubes of bronze found in the Tanis temple that provides us with some of the members of his family, including his wife, Queen Nb-ḥtp-dj (Mariette, Mon. divers, pls. 103; 104).

Mariette found these cubes in a temple fill dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty. They had been put there (together with other material) when the kings of that dynasty repaired the temple. Since the other material came from Dynasty XXI, and since, in his opinion, the workmanship was reminiscent of work from that period, the cubes were assigned to that dynasty by their discoverer. Mariette did not recall a king of that name, and thus assigned the cubes 'à la XXIIe dynastie, plutôt même à l'époque saïto-persane' (ibid. p.30).

While PM IV, p.23 accepts that the cubes may have been made in the late period, their source is thought to have been of Thirteenth Dynasty origin. Gauthier (LR II, p.5 n.1) has suggested they belong to the period of King Sankhtowe Sekhemkare because of the Horus name (the only king with this name known to date). Three other reasons argue for this placement.

Firstly, only the queen's name is in cartouche, yet the cartouche was used for both queens and some royal children by the beginning of Dynasty XVIII. In Dynasty XII and XIII, however, there are other instances of the cartouche for a few important royal females (Nfrw-Pth, Jnnj, Nwb-ḥtp.tj, ḥnh-m-R<sup>c</sup>, and Snb-ḥn<sup>c</sup>.s I). The lack of cartouche for the king's children on the cubes then, irrespective of their similarity with later artwork, are more likely to predate Dynasty XVIII.

Secondly, none of the names on the cubes is current for any princess or queen for several dynasties prior to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and no known princess or queen carries any name even reminiscent of those on the bronze cubes in either Dynasty XXI, or in any other dynasty that followed it. It is thus unlikely that the royal family belongs to these later dynasties.

Thirdly, the names born by the queen and her daughters are names typical of Dynasties XII and XIII. The names on the cubes are, Queen Nb-ḥtp-dj, Princess Ḥsjt, Princess Nb-ḥtp-dj, Princess .. hm, Princess (Ḥsjt)-mst-djw .. b - the name is very difficult to interpret, as Gauthier has remarked (LR II, p.5 n.3) - and Prince Nb-ḥtp-dj - the latter perhaps might be a

misspelling for the princess of this name. The elements htp, htp.tj and nb are present in the names of several princesses from Dynasty XII, and the next known queen of Dynasty XIII is Nwb-htp.tj; Princess Nwb-htp.tj-hrd (whose burial in Amenemhat II's complex has already been mentioned) was also from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The latter may have been the daughter of King Hor, so that the names alone would suggest locating the royal family mentioned on the cubes in this general period.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

Prosopography: The queen (who is not included in either Kuchman Sabbahy's or Troy's lists) was the wife of King Sankhtowe (probably Amenemhat V) as is indicated on one of the bronze cubes. By implication with other cubes found in the same place, she could be the mother of Princess Hsjt, Princess Nb-htp-dj, Princess .. hm, Princess (Shsjt)-mst-djw .. b, amd, possibly, a Prince Nb-htp-dj (see comment above).

Brunton's remarks concerning the name of Hnsw on these cubes (ASAE 49 [1949], pp.108f.) are surely inaccurate. He thinks that this name could refer to the later queen, but the cube inscriptions seem more likely to refer to the god - see also comments by Gauthier (LR II, p.121 n.1).

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 Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), pp.108f.  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.5  
 Mariette, Mon. divers, p.30f. and pls. 103 and 104  
 Wiedemann, Geschichte, p.266

#### QUEEN NWB-HTP.TJ

Temp. Sebekhotep (?) II

Tomb: unknown, although Vercoutter (RdÉ 8 [1975], p.233 n.30) identifies her burial with that of Princess Nwb-htp.tj-hrd, interred near King Hor in Amenemhat III's complex at Dahshur. However, it seems unlikely that a queen mother would have been buried with the titles of a princess only, and not those of a king's wife and mother. For this reason, and because there is no sure identification of Nwb-htp.tj-hrd with Nwb-htp.tj, they are treated in this register as distinct persons. On the other

hand, the name of the princess suggests that she was named after another woman, and hrd was added to distinguish between the two females.

Titles: hmt nswt, mwt nswt; King's wife, King's mother.

The titles hmt nswt and mwt nswt were found on a portion of the slate statuette of a female discovered at Semna, in Nubia. Another scarab also entitles her 'King's wife and mother' (BM 40699).

hmt nswt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's Wife, She who is united to the beautiful White Crown.

The hnmt nfr hdt title appears with that of hmt nswt on one scarab (Weill, XIIe Dynastie, p.116 fig.180). Another scarab carries the legend, 'Son of Re, Sebekhotep, born of the King's mother Nwb-htp.tj' (loc. cit. fig.181).

hmt nswt wrt; King's great wife.

This title appears on yet another scarab (loc. cit. fig. 181), and this appears to be the earliest contemporary evidence for this title.

Prosopography: The queen is described as the mother of a King Sebekhotep, although which Sebekhotep is uncertain. As the mother of Sebekhotep III is known to be Jwh.t-jbw, while that of Sebekhotep IV was Kmj, and Queen I3n was the mother of Sebekhotep V, Queen Nwb-htp.tj cannot have been the parent of any of these kings.

The remains of a slate statue of the queen was found at Semna. As Egypt seems to have withdrawn from Nubia by the later reigns of Sebekhotep VI and his two like-named successors (Save-Söderbergh, JEA 35 [1949], pp.50 - 58), they are unlikely to have been associated with this queen. This means she is more likely to have been either, the mother of Sebekhotep I or, the mother of Sekhemre-Khutowe Amenemhat Sebekhotep II. Since the latter has the longer reign (which would coincide with the more numerous records of this queen), she may have been the mother of Sebekhotep II, as Vercoutter (RdÉ 8 [1975], p.233 n.50) has proposed, a proposal endorsed by Spalinger (LÄ IV.1037).

If the above identification is correct, Nwb-htp.tj will have been the wife of some prior king - perhaps Sedjefkare-Kay-Amenemhat, or even King Awibre Hor. There is the distinct possibility that, were she the wife of King Hor, her daughter

might well have been Princess Nwb-ḥtp.tj-ḥrd, as the name of the princess does imply.

Vercoutter (loc. cit.), however, identifies this queen with Princess Nwb-ḥtp.tj-ḥrd, seeing in her the daughter of King Awibre Hor. This princess is likely to have been a contemporary of King Hor. But Queen Nwb-ḥtp.tj, unlike this princess, does not carry the s3t nswt title on either her statuette or her seals, and therefore may not be identical with the princess, who lacks the prestigious hmt nswt and mwt nswt titles borne by the queen.

#### Bibliography:

- von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, p.39  
 Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), p.102  
 Dunham-Janssen, Semna-Kumma, p.28, pl. 87  
 Gauthier, LR I p.319  
 Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.21 No.205  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.343, 344, fig.226.  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.267  
 Newberry, PSBA 36 (1914), pl. X  
 Petrie, S & C, pl. XVIII  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160  
 Vercoutter, RdÉ 8 (1975), p.233 and n.50  
 Weill, XIIe Dynastie, p.116

#### QUEEN JJ

Temp. Sebekhotep II

Tomb: unknown; the queen appears with a prince and a number of female members of the royal family in connection with rations, in Pap. Boulaq 18. This document has in recent times been shown to refer to the court of King Sebekhotep II (von Beckerath, JNES 17 [1958], pp.263 - 286)

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife

Her name and title appear in Pap. Boulaq 18, where the daily rations given to her were recorded.

Prosopography: von Beckerath (Zwischenzeit pp.48f.) has established that Pap. Boulaq refers to the wife of King Sebekhotep II of Dynasty XIII. She may have been the mother of Prince R<sup>c</sup>.n.f, who is mentioned with her in the papyrus (Borchardt, ZÄS 28 [1890], pl. 26). Three princesses are also mentioned, but they are not named, although the king's sisters

are. On each occasion the order list puts the queen at the head, followed by Prince R<sup>C</sup>.n.f, then three princesses, and finally, the king's sisters. It would appear that the list thus preserves the social hierarchy that existed at the court in Sebekhotep II's time.

Pap. Boulaq 18 also reveals that Jj had her own household and estate from which these rations seem to have come, the variety of food from it was rich.

Another record connected with the queen is found in a stele from the Wagner Museum in Wurzburg (Berlev, Palestinskij Sbornik 25, pp.26 - 30) which suggests that the queen was related to the son-in-law of the vizier, C<sub>nhw</sub>. (See also Komorzinski, Archiv für äg. Arch. I [1938], p.261.) From C<sub>nhw</sub> and other viziers of the Thirteenth Dynasty we know that some of the viziers (such as Jj, Jbj and C<sub>nhw</sub>) were at times related in some way to the kings' wives. Their power base seems to lie in their duration of office, as the kings themselves, on the whole, had very brief reigns. It was not uncommon for the vizier to span several reigns, as Jbj and C<sub>nhw</sub> did, and this in turn might explain why so many of the queens are given prominence (such as cartouche and family stelae) in this period.

#### Bibliography:

- von Beckerath, JNES 17 (1958), pp.263 - 286  
     2.Zwischenzeit, pp.47 - 49  
 Berlev, Palestinskij Sbornik 25, pp.26 - 30  
 Borchardt, ZÄS 28 (1890), pp.70, 79, 86  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.126  
 Komorzinski, Archiv für äg. Arch. I (1938), p.261  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.234  
 Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée Boulaq II, pl. XIV; XXIV  
 Pap. Boulaq 18  
 Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders, pl. XIX, fifth row  
 Quirke, Administration, Chapters 1 and 4.  
 Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), p.206  
 Spalinger, RdÉ 32 (1980), p.103 n.33  
     LÄ V.1037

#### QUEEN JNNJ II

Temp. unknown, but as her name was written in a cartouche, similarly to the queens mentioned above, and, as her seal impression was found at Kerma, in Nubia, it is possible that she belongs to the time of Sebekhotep II. Save-Söderbergh (Ägypten und Nubien, p.109) has commented that, 'Während die Königen Innj



mit grosster Wahrscheinlichkeit noch in die 13. Dynastie gehört, sind alle anderen [remains], in die Hyksoszeit anzusetzen, und zwar wohl etwa in die Periode, wo der Hyksos Einfluss in Oberägypten am stärksten war und sich die Opposition seitens der 17. Dynastie und deren Vorläufer noch nicht auszuwirken begann'. As Dunham and Janssen (Second Cataract Forts Vol. II p.iii) have demonstrated, the Second Cataract forts were not only garrisoned, but refortified during the Thirteenth Dynasty at least up until the time of Sebekhotep IV. Therefore, it would appear from this that Queen Jnnj should be confined to the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, rather than the latter half, where most scholars have placed her. Petrie (S & C, p.23) allocates her scarab to the reign of King Ay. Beckerath (2.Zwischenzeit, p.63) has placed her in the time of Mershepsesre Jnnj because of the similarity of the names. Another Queen Jnnj, who is mentioned on a false door found at Abydos, appears to have been even earlier than this queen.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united to the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

Eleven scarabs bearing the name of this queen have been discovered, some with the cartouche enclosing her name (Fraser, A Catalogue, p.8, n.61; Wiedemann, Kleinere aeg. Inschriften, No.113), and some without (Louvre scarab No.456; Petrie, HS, p.12 No.353; Berlin Reg.9079). Her name always appears as hmt nswt wrt, and usually this title is accompanied by hnmt nfr hdt. Brunton (ASAE 49 [1949] pp.103f.) provides a list of the latter, giving their current location.

Prosopography: Jnnj II may have been the wife of one of the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings for whom no wife is known. Those kings with longer reigns would be more likely, since those with ephemeral reigns have not left numerous records.

#### Bibliography:

- von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, p.63 n.6
- Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), pp.103f.
- Fraser, A Catalogue, p.8 No.61
- Gauthier, LR II, p.122
- Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.21
- Newberry, Scarabs, pl. xii, 5
- Petrie, Historical Scarabs, No.353 pl. 12
- Scarabs and Cylinders, pl. XIX; p.23
- Pierret, Recueil d'inscr. II, p.112
- Save-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien, p.109

Troy, Queenship, p.160

Weill, XIIe Dynastie, pp.117f.

Wiedemann, Geschichte, p.283

Kleinere äg. Inschriften, No.112

QUEEN CNH-MC-RC

Temp. Newberry (JEA 18 [1932], p.142) places her in the same time span as Queen Jnnj, due to the similarity of their scarabs.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> white crown.

The queen's name and titles appear on a single glazed, steatite scarab in the Blanchard Collection in Cairo. Her name appears within a cartouche.

Prosopography: None known. Since her name appears in cartouche, with similar writing and titles to the other queens of this period, she probably belongs to the period of Queen Jnnj II, as Newberry has suggested.

Bibliography:

Newberry, JEA 18 (1932), p.142

(?) QUEEN SN[B-HNC.S] I

Temp. Khendjer

Tomb: perhaps the subsidiary pyramid attached to the mortuary complex of King Khendjer, at south Saqqara. For plans and discussion see, Jéquier, Deux pyramides du moyen empire, Edwards, Pyramids, pp.226, 228, Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.250. 252, Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.94f.

The subsidiary pyramid tomb of Khendjer's wife or

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<sup>1</sup> Jánosi (op. cit. p.95) has suggested that the other pyramid chambers might have provided a cultic burial for the ka of the queen, although the two offering stelae in the chapel are suggestive of a double burial, as Jánosi also observes (loc. cit. n.452).

wives[1] was never used as a tomb. The pyramid had been sealed with its ceiling slabs still in the open position (Edwards, Pyramids, p.228). One would suppose from this that Khendjer predeceased his consorts, who were then not in a position to claim their tomb. Dodson (ZÄS 114 [1987], p.42) has suggested that many of the tombs of the royal members of the Thirteenth Dynasty might be sought in the numerous shaft tombs around the regions of Dahshur and Lisht.

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

Both Jéquier (Deux pyramides, p.28 n.2) and János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.94) have called attention to an alabaster canopic fragment with the inscription hmt nswt Sn[b-hn<sup>c</sup>.s], found in the area south of the king's pyramid. This fragment might carry the name of Khendjer's wife. Both scholars stress the insubstantial nature of the identification, a stress which is repeated here.

Jéquier also considered that the fragment could have belonged to Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s, wife of Sebekhotep III. Against this identification, we should ask why a canopic fragment of the later queen would be found within Khendjer's cemetery. It would be odd for such an item to have found its way to Khendjer's burial site and, since the canopic chests within the satellite pyramid were empty, the fragment is more likely to have come from this tomb than Jéquier might have believed. It is for this reason that the queen is included here in this list.

Prosopography: A small number of scarabs are known for queens named Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s (Weill, Ile Dynastie, figs.185, 186; Petrie, Scarabs, pl.XVIII). Three carry the name and some titles of a queen, but only one of them has the queen's name in a cartouche (Petrie, Scarabs, pl.XVIII, third from left in the top row). Since the time of Khendjer is close to that of Sebekhotep II, when the cartouche appeared with names of queens attributable to that period (see above), perhaps this isolated scarab belongs to the queen whose burial was intended for Khendjer's complex. The cartouche does not appear elsewhere for the wife of Sebekhotep III.

#### Bibliography:

- Dodson, ZÄS 114 (1987), p.41  
ZÄS 115 (1988), p.136  
 Edwards, Pyramids, pp.226, 228,  
 Janosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.94f.  
 Jequier, Deux pyramides, pp.28, 35 - 38. pl. II  
 Stadelmann, Pyramiden, pp.250, 252

QUEEN NNJTemp. Sebekhotep IIITomb: unknownTitles: hmt nswt, nbt jm3hwt; King's wife, revered lady.

The queen's titles are engraved on a stele (Louvre C 8) found at Koptos (Petrie, History I, p.211 fig.121), showing her two daughters adoring Min.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.235) has observed that a fragmentary inscription above the head of a woman in a long wig on the Nag Hammadi rock-cut stele (Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI) might belong to this queen. Her titles are: rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst .. nb ..j m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw.

The reason for Kuchman Sabbahy's suggestion is that one of the other female figures has the title and name of s3t nswt mrt.f Jwht-jbw. On Louvre Stele C 8 a princess of this name, a daughter of Sebekhotep III, cites Nnj as her mother. Since the Nag Hammadi woman carries the same set of titles (apart from hmt nswt and hnwt t3wj tm) as Queen Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s, who appears in the register above, the possibility of Queen Nnj being that unnamed queen seems very strong. These coincidences are further strengthened by the remains of the M17 (reed) hieroglyph at the end of the unidentified woman's obliterated name.

As this woman has the phrase 'm3<sup>c</sup>t hrw' immediately following M17 on the Nag Hammadi stele, one might suppose that she was Sebekhotep's deceased wife, shown with her children. Queen Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s, on the other hand, appears in the upper row with the king, and her name is followed by the phrase 'nh.tj'.

Prosopography: If the interpretation of the stelae information given above is accurate, Nnj was the wife of Sebekhotep III and the mother of Princess Ddt-<sup>c</sup>nqt and Princess Jwht-jbw. Perhaps neither of these young girls is likely to have been a born princess, since their father's reign seems to have been no more than five years in length.

Concerning Louvre C 8, it is remarkable that Princess Jwht-jbw is not only shown considerably larger in size than her sister, but also that her name is in a cartouche. This princess and Princess Nfrw-Pth II of Dynasty XII are the only princesses

to receive this sort of recognition before the 18th Dynasty. However, Jwht-jbw's cartouche here is the only recorded instance of her name being written in this way. Perhaps the reason for her cartouche was the same as for Nfrw-Pth.

While Spalinger (LÄ V.1040 - 1042) would also agree with the above genealogical pattern, Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, pp.208 - 211) interprets the evidence differently. She sees in the alleged sons and daughters of the king on the lower register of the Nag Hammadi stele the brothers and sister of the king. The major factor telling against this interpretation is that sisters of kings throughout this period might carry the rp<sup>c</sup>tt title, but they do not carry the other titles held by the nameless woman on the Nag Hammadi inscription.

Nnj was one of two known wives of Sebekhotep III; from the Nag Hammadi relief we know that he was also married to Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s, who does not appear to have had any children. From the m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw epithets on the Nag Hammadi and Louvre inscriptions, it would appear that both Nnj and her two daughters died before Sebekhotep did (Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), p.22), and it is likely that the king's marriages were consecutive, rather than polygamous.[2],

The king himself is known to have been a commoner, whose mother was Jwht-jbw and whose father was Mntw-htp. Nothing is known about the antecedents of Nnj.

#### Bibliography:

- von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, p.100f.  
 Budge, Book of Kings I, p.71  
 Gauthier, LR II, pp.21f.  
 Habachi, JEA 37 (1951), pp.17 - 19  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.235  
 Macadam, JEA 32 (1946). p.60  
                   JEA 37 (1951). pp.20- 28  
 Pierret, Recueil d'Inscriptions, p.107  
 Petrie, History I, p.211 and fig.121  
 Prisse d'Avennes, Monuments, pl. 8  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.208 - 211, 249

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<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the princes were also dead for, even though the inscription is fragmentary, the m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw phrase has been perceived by Macadam. This may be why Mntw-htp (and possibly his wife) is mentioned in the lower register, for all seven appear to have been deceased by the time the rock inscription was made.

Spalinger, LÄ IV.1040f.

Troy, Queenship, p.159

Wild, JEA 37 (1951), pp.12 - 16

## QUEEN SNB-HN<sup>c</sup>.S II

Temp. Sebekhotep III

Tomb: unknown

Titles: rp<sup>c</sup>tt, wrt hts, wrt hst, hnwt t3wj tm, hmt nswt, hnmt  
nfr hdt; Hereditary princess, Great one of the hts sceptre, Greatly praised,  
Mistress of the Two Lands in their entirety, King's wife, She who  
is united to the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

The titles of Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s bear a close similarity to those of Sebekhotep III's wife Nnj - if indeed it is she who appears in the Nag Hammadi inscription (see discussion under 'Titles' in previous prosopographical entry). The title of 'Mistress of the Two Lands in their entirety' recalls the title given to Hnmt-nfr-hdt I. It is seldom recorded but, when it is, it frequently distinguishes one queen from another who held otherwise identical titles - as on this relief.

All Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s' titles are recorded on the Nag Hammadi relief, but two scarabs, now in the British Museum, also repeat the hmt nswt and hnmt nfr hdt titles; two more scarabs (9518; 10977) are in the Berlin Museum (Gauthier, LR I, p.124).

Prosopography: Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s was the wife of Sebekhotep III. No other relationships are known. It would seem from the iconography of the Nag Hammadi relief that this queen might have been the second of Sebekhotep's wives. It is possible that Queen Nnj, who may be depicted on the stele in the lower register, was deceased prior to the king and his second wife (see discussion in Queen Nnj's prosopographical entry above).

One significant iconographical item in the appearance of Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s and her mother-in-law on the Nag Hammadi relief is that both wear the šwtj feathers above their platform crowns. Both also wear the vulture cap. Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s II also appears to have the uraeus on this crown, but Jhwt-jbw's decoration is too indistinct to determine. It is possible that she carries the vulture, instead. Princess Jhwt-jbw also wears a cobra, but the detail on the relief of her sister (?) is indistinct. On Louvre C8 both princesses wear the cobra uraeus. They are the earliest records to date of a princess with uraeus, but the

Twelfth Dynasty cache buried with S3t-Hwt-Hr-Jwnt reveals that that princess is likely to have worn that headdress.

This is the earliest relief depiction yet known for the distinctive šwtj crown. Its significance is that it serves both 'as a symbol of kingship' (Troy, Queenship, pp.126ff.), and as a symbol of the gods, Min, Amun, and Montu. The two feathers are equated with the uraei in Coffin Text IV.202f., and would suggest a symbolic elevation of the queen by this period. Whether this symbolism was an expression of the queen's participation in governmental affairs, or whether it was connected with previous priestly associations with these gods is unknown. The implications of the queen's use of the šwtj crown, and the king's use of the 3tf feathers in their separate crowns (ibid. p.126) is significant, particularly in relation to these two types of feathers as symbols of Lower and Upper Egypt (Abubakr, Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen, Glückstadt [1937], p.43; and Troy's illustration, p.128 fig.91). In her section concerning the significance of the šwty crown Troy concentrates on the parallelism between the feathers and feminine duality,[3], but it would also appear probable that the feathers were an outward sign of the queen's rôle as a functionary of the gods. This rôle was evident as early as the Fourth Dynasty with the cults of the male fertility gods Thoth, Bapef and Tjasepef. With the queen's adoption of the feathered headdress of Amen, Montu and Min we see an extension - or replacement - of the queen's rôle vis-à-vis the male fertility cult. Thus it would appear that, even as the king was the only true priest of the gods (all other priests being merely his deputies), so the queen became the chief female equivalent - a rôle that developed not only into the establishment of the powerful God's Wife of Amen in later times (see Chapter 8), but led to the visibly prominent position of Queen Nfrt-jtj as priestess of the Aten during the Amarna period (see J. Wilson, JNES 32 [1973], pp.235 - 241; D. Wildung, BSFÉ 102 [1985], pp.9 - 26).

#### Bibliography:

- Gauthier, LR II, p.124  
 Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pp.24f and pl. VI  
 Newberry, PSBA 22 (1902), p.252  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1040 - 1042  
 Troy, Queenship, p.159

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed treatment of the religious implications see Troy loc. cit.

QUEEN RSW-NFR

Temp. Some time close to that of Sebekhotep III, according to Petrie (S & C, p.22), who deduces this from the queen's scarab. Her scarab has closest affinity with that of Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s II.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's Great Wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> white crown.

These titles are preserved on the queen's sole scarab of glazed steatite, now in the British Museum (no.32291).

Prosopography: no connections known.

Bibliography:

BM 32291

Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.21, No.203

Petrie, S & C, pl. XVIII

QUEEN SNB-SN

Temp. Neferhotep I

Tomb: unknown, however, the queen may be the person of this name mentioned in Tomb No.9 el Kab (Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte, p.21), so perhaps her tomb lay in that area.

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

The queen's only title comes from a relief at Seheil (LD IV, p.126; de Morgan, Cat. Abydos, p.87, No.44).

Prosopography: This queen is almost certainly mentioned in a tomb at el Kab (PM V p.184; Weill, XIIe Dynastie p.33; Spalinger, RdÉ 32 [1980], p.103), where part of her family network is indicated. The genealogy there shows descent from her sister, Nfr-htp, according to Ward (Fem. Titles, p.51), who reads '[s]nt', instead of 'nt' before her name. Other scholars are uncertain about this relationship (Spalinger, op.cit. p.105 n.39). Ward's suggestion for this problematic word is both logical and typical of relationship links given on stelae for the period, but it is a problem that he interprets the hieroglyphs as



'snt' and not the more familiar snt.s.

The prosopography of those mentioned in the inscription is complex and has been subject to several alternative theories (eg. Weill, XIIe dynastie, pp.33ff., Smither (JEA 25 [1939], p.35), Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.276f.), Spalinger (RdÉ 32 [1980], p.105), Berlev, VDI 3 [1961], pp.100 - 107), mainly because an inscription for a descendant of Queen Snb-sn had been read by earlier scholars as hmt.f, when she may have been smt.f 'mother-in-law' (Spalinger, LÄ V.1047, n.42.). Berlev deduced that this queen seems to have been identical with the wife of Neferhotep I, a view that Spalinger (LÄ V.1041 and 1047, n.42) later accepted. In his earlier article (RdÉ 32 [1980] pp.105f.), however, Spalinger had rejected Berlev's theory. The genealogy chart in Spalinger, (RdÉ 32 [1980], fig.1) shows his earlier suggested connection between Queen Snb-sn and Queen H<sup>c</sup>.s-nbw.

Berlev and Spalinger accept the notion that Snb-sn was the wife of King Neferhotep I, the mother of his daughter, Nfr-ḥtp, and she might have been the mother of Prince H<sup>c</sup>-ḥnḥ.f and Princess Km as well, if Habachi has correctly interpreted the Seheil inscription (Habachi, Studies, p.78 fig. 4).

More recently, Ward (Fem. Titles, pp.49f.) has put forward a different proposal for the family relationships given in Tomb 9 at el Kab. Although he admits that it might be possible to identify Snb-sn with the wife of Neferhotep I (ibid. p.52), he feels that to try to identify the husband of either Snb-sn or Nwb-H<sup>c</sup>.s I is a fruitless exercise.[4]

The major difference between Ward's interpretation and that of Spalinger/Berlev is that the former sees a difference of two generations between these related queens (Ward, Fem. Titles, p.51), while Spalinger and Berlev think that the queens may have been near contemporaries (Spalinger, LÄ V.1045).

#### Bibliography:

- Berlev, VDI (1961), pp.100 -107  
 British Museum No.397  
 Budge, Book of Kings I, p.73  
 de Morgan, Cat. Abydos, p.87  
 Dewachter, RdÉ 28 (1976), p.69

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<sup>4</sup> It is curious that Ward does not mention the discussions by Spalinger and the other scholars mentioned above concerning the various relationships.

Gauthier, LR II, p.28  
 Habachi, Studies, MFA, pp.77 - 81  
 Hayes, CAH II/1, p.11  
 Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte, p.21  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.238  
LD III, 62a, Text IV, pp.55, 126  
 PM V, p.184  
 Smither, JEA 25 (1939), p.35  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1041(lower chart)  
RdÉ 32 (1980), p.103ff.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160  
 Ward, Fem. Titles, pp.49 - 53  
 Weill, XIIe dynastie, pp.33ff.  
 Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), p.276f.

# QUEEN T3N[5]

Temp. Sebekhotep IV

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

The queen's title is given on an ebony box, in which her name, that of her husband, and part of the name of their son '....hṭp', are preserved (JE 34407 - published in Newberry, PSBA 25 [1903], p.358).

Prosopography: T3n is stated to be the wife of Sebekhotep IV and the mother of Prince [...]ḥṭp on an ebony box in Cairo Museum (No.34407). A faience vase now in the Ashmolean Museum also states that she was the mother of Princess Nbt-jwnt (Newberry, PSBA 27 [1905], pp.101f.). Other children of this king were H<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.f, S3-Hwt-Hr, Sbk-ḥṭp and Sbk-ḥṭp-d3d3 - one of these last two becoming King Sebekhotep V (Spalinger LÄ V.1042; Dewachter, RdÉ 28 [1976], p.67 n.12; Simpson, MDAIK 25 [1969], pp.154 - 158). The prince [Sbk(?)]-ḥṭp on the ebony box mentioned is unlikely to have been the heir to the throne, since his name is written without a cartouche subsequent to the death of Sebekhotep IV.

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<sup>5</sup> Although Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.240) thought the queen's name on the ebony box had probably been destroyed, the complete inscription of her name on the faience vase in the Ashmolean Museum indicates that this is the full spelling of her name.

### Bibliography:

- von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, pp.57f, 246 - 250  
 Dewachter, RdÉ 28 (1976), pp.67f.  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.38  
 Goyon, Nouvelles inscriptions, p.101, No.87  
 Newberry, PSBA 25 [1903], p.358  
     PSBA 27 [1905], pp.101f.  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1041f.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160  
 Vercoutter, RdÉ 27 (1975), p.233 and n.50

### QUEEN NWB-H<sup>C</sup>.S I

Temp. Neferhotep - Sebekhotep V. On the complexities surrounding the tempus of this queen see the entry under Queen Nwb-h<sup>C</sup>.s II.

Tomb, unknown

Titles: rp<sup>C</sup>tt, wrt j3mt, hnwt hmwt nb[w]t, hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt, hnwt hmwt nbwt nswt, Cnh, w3d, snb; Hereditary princess, Great one of the jm3t sceptre, Mistress of all the women, King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown, Mistress of all the King's women, Given life, happiness, health!

The queen's extensive titulary is found on Louvre stele C 13 (Pierret, Recueil, p.5). Spalinger (RdÉ 32 [1980], pl. 8) provides a photograph. Note the closing formula, which parallels the closing formula used in inscriptions referring to kings.

Nwb-h<sup>C</sup>.s I's titulary is thought to be the first to introduce the title wrt jm3t, 'Great one of the jm3t sceptre'. It is a title not easy to interpret. Mertz has suggested that the sign is the result of confusion between hts and jm3t, but Troy (Queenship, p.83) considers it is a belief in the jm3t tree as a manifestation of the goddess Hathor, for whom it is a symbol. The earliest expression of that idea can be found in Coffin Text VI.160, while the distinct title continues until the Amarna period, when the variation nbt jm3t is introduced (*ibid.* pp.83f.). In reviewing the history of this title we might also consider the difficult inscription from the stelae of Queen Nht-Nt, and Queen Sšmt-k3 of Dynasty I (see Prosopography p.9f.). Perhaps this is an instance where an old title was resurrected in the Thirteenth Dynasty.

There is a representation of the queen on Louvre C 13. She

wears a simple, tight gown with shoulder-straps. On her head is a very detailed vulture crown.

Prosopography: The husband of Queen Nwb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s I is not known, and her place is difficult to decide. As a result, a number of suggestions have been put forward concerning her tempus.

Von Beckerath (2.Zwischenzeit, p.174) first was of the opinion that Nwb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s I lived at least one generation prior to King Neferhotep, then he favoured King Sebekhotep IV. This last suggestion is a valid option, even though Queen I3n was wife to this king.

Spalinger (RdÉ 32 [1980], p.114, and LÄ V.1045) suggests that either King Wahibre Iayeb, or Sebekhotep V, have the strongest likelihood of having been her husband. Berlev (VDI 3 (1961) p.107) considered King Sobekemsaf I at one time, but later altered his opinion (OLP 6 - 7 [1975], pp.39 - 41).

There are problems with each of those suggestions. Berlev's earlier argument is weaker than Spalinger's because the queen's family network was vast and the men in it were officials frequently associated with the names of the kings they served. Sobekemsaf I belongs not only to Dynasty XVII, but to several generations removed from the floruit of the queen.

Spalinger's suggestions are better placed. Queen Nwb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s' uncle, Nb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>nh, served Neferhotep I, and one would expect the queen to have been a member of the succeeding generation.

Spalinger himself (LÄ V.1048) and Dewachter (RdÉ 28 [1976], p.67) prefer King Waibre as the queen's putative husband, but King Sahathor also would be another valid choice. The circumstances of his accession to the throne are curious (eg. Dewachter, RdÉ 28 and 35; see also his lack of royal title on the Wadi Hammamat stela after his death, (Habachi, Studies, p.78 fig. 8). His reign was very brief and either this factor, or the questionable accession (or both) could have been reasons why the queen did not name her husband on Louvre C 13. Spalinger (RdÉ 32 [1980], p.115) has said that, 'This lack of identity better suits the lesser known and more ephemeral rulers after the dynasty of Neferhotep I - Sahathor - Sobekhotep IV - Sobekhotep V than the illustrious line itself.' Wahibre's reign, however, was lengthy, suggesting a strong, important ruler - one not likely to have been ignored.

The queen's relationship to vizier Nb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>nh would also seem a more suitable link with the family of Sahathor, since Nb-ḥ<sup>c</sup>nh is

ubiquitous in his monumental inscriptions for Neferhotep I at Seheil (see Habachi, Studies, p.78). If Sahathor was persona non grata with the other members of his royal family it would be politic for Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I to omit mention of his name on her family stele. In her lack of sons on Louvre C 13 we might also have part reason for the succession of Sebekhotep IV.

Franke (JEA 76 [1990], pp.229f.) has commented on Ward's genealogical suggestions, which he finds unsatisfactory. Franke's suggested family tree (ibid. p.230) seems the best published so far.

Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I came from a family of middle-ranking officials; all but one of her brothers had an office of some sort, and her father was a wr mdw Šm<sup>c</sup>. Her uncle Nb-<sup>c</sup>nh, however, was much more distinguished and may have assisted his niece in her marriage. Whether he did or not, it is his family which received much more attention from the queen in her dedicatory stelae, and from this we can see just how extensive was the network of relationships that was considered significant by this queen (see the genealogy of Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I in Franke, {JEA 76 [1990]. p.230}).

The queen had three daughters, Hnsw, Bbj-rs and Dw3t-nfrt. The first of these women married the vizier Jj, who belonged to a distinguished family of viziers, and she herself was the mother of two viziers and the grandmother of another two. Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I was a political lynch-pin in Egyptian political history during the Thirteenth Dynasty.

#### Bibliography.

- von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, pp.173ff.  
 Berlev, OLP 6 - 7 (1975), pp.39 - 41  
     VDI 3 (1961), p.100 - 107  
 Buttles, Queens, pp.37 - 40  
 Dewachter, RdÉ 28 (1976), p.67  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.76  
 Lacau, SASAE 13 (1949)  
 Mertz, Titles, p.33  
 Pierret, Receuil Insc. Louvre II, p.5  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.246, 258f.  
 Schenkel & Sledzianowski, GM 3 (1972), pp.21 - 24  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.215f.  
 Smither, JEA 25 (1939), p.35  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1048  
     RdÉ 32 (1980), pp.95 - 116  
 Troy, Queenship, pp.2, 75, 83, 160  
 Vercoutter, RdÉ 27 (1975), p.233 n.50

Vernus, RdÉ 23 (1971), pp.193 - 199  
 Weill, XIIe Dynastie, pp.388 - 406  
 Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), pp.268f., 276f.

#### QUEEN HNSW

Temp. She is provisionally placed by Petrie (HS, 343) as the daughter of King Sebekhotep V. There is doubt over her tempus, however. Lepsius suggested she could be the wife of Intef III; Brugsch and Bourriant assign her to King Sankhnes-wadj-tu-Re, thirtieth king of Dynasty XIII in Gauthier's list (LR II, p.46). Brunton (ASAE 49 [1949], p.102) thinks she could belong to the Second Intermediate Period.

Her scarab (Petrie, HS, 343) has close stylistic affinities with those of Princess Rdjt-n-Pth (ibid. 355), Queen W3dt (ibid. 348), Queen Nwb-hpt-tj (Petrie: S & C, pl. XVIIIq), and Queen Snb-hn<sup>c</sup>.s II (Weill, XIIe Dynastie, fig. 185). Of all of these names, only the last one has a secure floruit, she was the wife of Sebekhotep III. Her name is also known for this general period.

The scarab is similar to the scarabs of the unplaced King Neferankhre (Niccacci, Hyksos Scarabs, No.14; Petrie, S & C, pl. XVIII, second row), as well as several of the scarabs made in the reign of King Nubkheperre Intef of Dynasty XVII (Niccacci, op. cit. Nos. 91, 92). Such a wide range of material makes it impossible at this stage to suggest her floruit. As O'Connor (World Archaeology 6 [1974], fig.13) has shown, scarab designs were often current for a very long period. In the case of Hnsw's uninterrupted running spiral the design was in evidence during Dynasty XIII, became popular during Dynasty XV, and was occasionally used until mid-Dynasty XVII. The date of the queen's scarab is thus uncertain.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

Prosopography: There is confusion in Gauthier's records over this queen, whom he places in two different periods. The confusion has arisen because of the similar name for a Princess Hnsw on Louvre Stele C13 (Pierret, Recueil II, p.5). The Princess Hnsw mentioned on this stele is not the queen in question, since the latter's husband was the well-known Vizier Jj.

Brugsch & Bourriant (Livre des rois, No.206) consider that Hnsw was the consort of Sankhenre Swadjtowe. Brunton (ASAE 49 [1949], p.108) thought this queen might have been one of the persons mentioned on the bronze cubes featuring Queen Nb-htp.dj's name. This is unlikely, as the Khonsu referred to there is the god.

#### Bibliography:

Brugsch and Bourriant, Livre des rois, No.206

Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), pp.102, 108

Gauthier, LR I, p.250

LR II, p.46 and n.4; p.126

Lepsius, Königsbuch, No.158

Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XIV.19

Petrie, HS, No.343

S & C, pl. XVIII, top row

#### QUEEN S3T-SBK

Temp. uncertain, her name seems best to fit the Thirteenth Dynasty. Her scarabs display an affinity with those of Merkheperre, late Thirteenth Dynasty (von Beckerath, Abriss der Geschichte, No.46).

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt, hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's wife, King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

Four scarabs contain the simple hmt nswt title with the queen's name; the fifth contains the other titles (Givon, RdÉ 30 [1978], p.164).

Prosopography: unknown. Kuchman Sabbahy's suggestion (Titulary, p.239) that the difference between the simple and complex titulary may indicate another queen of this name may not be valid. As is apparent from many other examples, space or purpose could result in the use of simple titulary for a queen. Her reasoning (that the use of hmt nswt wrt was introduced in the Seventeenth Dynasty) is invalidated by other queens of Dynasty XIII who held this title - eg.Nb-htp.tj, wife of Sebekhotep

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<sup>6</sup> Most of these queens cannot be dated exactly, but all of them appear to have been pre-Hyksos, and therefore pre-Dynasty XVII.

II(?), Jnnj (pre-Hyksos), Cnh-mC-RC, Nwb-hC.s I.[6]

Bibliography:

- Giveon, RdÉ 30 (1978), p.164  
 Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.21 No.201  
 Hayes, Scepter I, p.344  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.239  
 Matouk, Corpus du Scarabée Egyptien I, p.36, 205  
 Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XII.6  
 Petrie, S & C, pl. XVIII, top line

QUEEN S3T-HWT-HR

Temp. unknown; her name is suggestive of the Twelfth Dynasty, but Petrie (S & C, p.36) thought she might belong to the time of Nehesy. S3t-Hwt-Hr's name is enclosed by a cartouche. The cartouche for queens was in use in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and towards the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty. A snt nswt S3t-Hwt-Hr, who belongs to the time of Sebekhotep II, is recorded among the recipients of rations in Pap. Boulaq XVIII.26, 19; 27,7. Perhaps S3t-Hwt-Hr flourished at this time, when other queens were also given the cartouche.

Tomb: unknown.

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

The damaged scarab on which her name and title appear (Petrie, S & C, pl. XIX.14a) does have room for the hnmt nfr hdt title, but this is the area which has been erased.

Prosopography: Nothing is known about this queen, apart from her titulary on her two scarabs. One is very badly damaged, preserving only her title and name in cartouche; the other scarab is described by Petrie as being 'in Paris'. No bibliographical reference is given. Perhaps the Paris scarab provided him with the queen's name, for this is almost unreadable in Petrie's print.

The only royal relative with this name was a King's Sister, S3t-Hwt-Hr in Pap. Boulaq 18 (temp. Sebekhotep II), but there may have been no connection.

Bibliography:

- Petrie, S & C, pl. XIX.14a



DYNASTY XVQUEEN J<sup>c</sup>H-ŠW.TJ (?)

Temp. uncertain; Hyksos period. Petrie (HS, p.4) places her at the end of the Old Kingdom, but Gauthier points out that the provenance of the find makes it more likely that she was a Hyksos queen.

Tomb: unknown; the scarab was found at Tell el Yahudiya, making it likely that her original tomb lay somewhere here.

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

Petrie's suggestion of an Old Kingdom date for this queen (HS, 100) is unlikely. The presence of a cartouche for the queen, and the site at which it was found make Gauthier's suggestion of a Hyksos date is much more acceptable (LR II, p.149). The queen's name is present on two glazed steatite scarabs, both in the British Museum. BM 20824 has the name in a cartouche; BM 37721, where the hieroglyphs are arranged a little differently, is without cartouche.

Her name has given problems, perhaps because its origin could be Hyksos. Fraser (A Collection, p.23) proposes reading her name as 'Shakhashuta', while Gauthier suggests 'Irshuta'. Her name anticipates the late Seventeenth Dynasty names with the theophoric element of J<sup>c</sup>h. The pool sign makes an unusual addition for this element, but appropriate for a woman from a Delta dynasty.

Prosopography: wife of a Hyksos ruler, presumably, but which one is unknown. Neither Troy nor Sabbahy include her in their lists.

Bibliography:

- Budge, Book of Kings I, p.101  
 Fraser, A Collection, No.172 in British Museum  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.149  
 Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.34  
 Hayes, Scepter II, p.8  
 Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXIII.17  
 Petrie, HS, No.100  
S & C pl. XIX, row 7 (hand-drawn copy)

QUEEN S3T-QN<sup>c</sup>

Temp. Hyksos period

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the White Crown.

The queen's title appears on a glazed white steatite scarab of Hyksos Shesha type in the Blanchard collection (Newberry, PSBA 36 [1914], pl. IV.6).

Prosopography: None known.

Bibliography:

Newberry, PSBA 36 (1914), p.38 and pl. IV.6

QUEEN TTJ

Temp. Hyksos period

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt wrt; King's great wife.

The queen's name and title appears on an unglazed steatite scarab of Shesha type. The present whereabouts of the scarab is unknown, Newberry (PSBA 26 [1914], p.170) only mentioning that it was one he saw in the shop of a Cairo merchant.

Prosopography: none known.

Bibliography:

Newberry, PSBA 26 (1914), p.170 and pl. X

QUEEN W3DJT

Temp. Hyksos period, most likely being the time of King Aaweserre Apopi. Petrie (S & C, p.22) placed her scarab to the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Against this placement is her name, which is atypical for that period. The name of W3djt would be most appropriate for a queen from the Hyksos period, for there is a cracked scarab in the British Museum (No.32319) bearing the name of a King Wadjed from the same period. From the photograph

one would think an 'r' to be present. Hall identifies this king with Manetho's Aseth (Hall, Cat. Scarabs, p.26). See further notes in prosopographical section below. Von Beckerath (2.Zwischenzeit, p.224) gives Wadjet as the second king of the Sixteenth Dynasty - a Hyksos vassal king.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

The queen's title is known from three scarabs (Aberdeen, BM 32319 and Cairo), each of them giving her the title of King's wife.

mwt nswt: King's mother.

The title of mwt nswt is almost certain on a writing palette (Berlin 7798) which had been made for King Apopi. Part of its inscription reads, '... his mother, W3djt, self-controlled on the day of fighting, more famous than any king.' (Goedicke, CdÉ 63 [1988], p.45). The phrasing is ambiguous, for either the queen mother, or the king might be the object of the remark. Similar praises concerning fighting involving a queen mother are found in the Karnak stele dedicated to J<sup>ch</sup>-htp II (CG 34001; Urk. IV.21). However, the person concerned in this palette inscription could be the king.

Prosopography: This queen seems to have been the mother of King Apopi, and the wife of a previous king - perhaps Seweserenre Khyan, or perhaps the newly-placed Yanassi (Jdn), who preceded Apopi (Bietak, AJA 88 [1984], p.474, n.25). There may have been some connection of this queen to the person who owned the scarab BM 32319, but no monuments with the name of such a person has been found so far.

#### Bibliography:

Gauthier, LR II, p.147  
 Goedicke, CdÉ 63 (1988), pp.42 - 56  
 Newberry, Scarabs, pl. XXIII.18  
 Petrie, HS, No.350  
     S & C, p.22 pl. XVIII top row  
 Sabbahy, Titulary, p.241

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One other Queen-mother has been suggested for this time,

P-R<sup>c</sup>, the mother of Aasehere (?) Khamudy (Gauthier, LR II, p.145), who has been confirmed as the last of the Hyksos kings by Bietak's work in the Delta (Bietak, AJA 88 [1984], p.474). The inscription comes from an obelisk Khamudy erected in her honour (Mariette, Mon. div. pl. 103 D.4). As she does not have the title of King's wife on this monument her status is dubious.

## DYNASTY XVII

### QUEEN NFRJT

Temp. uncertain, but Patch (Reflections of Greatness, p.38) thinks she belongs to the early Seventeenth Dynasty. Patch has suggested that she might have been the mother of Intef the Elder, although the suggestion is very tenuous. The provenance of the inscription is not known.

Tomb: unknown.

Titles: hnmt nfr hdt; She who is united with the beautiful white crown.

The title of hnmt nfr hdt after Dynasty XIII also accompanied hmt nswt wrt, so this title is likely for Nfrjt.

Prosopography: Patch (ibid. p.38) suggests that she may have been the mother of Intef V, but her grounds for making this statement rest only on the coincidence that Nfrjt has the hnmt nfr hdt title carried by the mother of Intef V.

### Bibliography:

Patch, Reflections of Greatness, p.38

### QUEEN SBK-M-S3.F A[1]

Temp. Nubkheperre Intef V[2]

Tomb: Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.233) thought that the queen was probably buried at Edfu. Engelbach (ASAE 22 [1922], pl. I.6) had found part of a broken relief there, which apparently shows the queen with some members of her family, and it is thought that

<sup>1</sup> See von Beckerath, 2.Zwischenzeit, p.170 on this masculine name.

<sup>2</sup> So von Beckerath (Abriss, p.66); Málek (Atlas, p.36) and Hayes (CAH II/1, p.818), who list him as Intef V; Gardiner (EOP, p.442) lists five Intef kings prior to this one, and Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.248) gives 'Inyotef VII'.

the queen's tomb might be in that region. However, Engelbach says that the area he examined there seemed to him to be one for commemorative shrines for departed relatives, rather than tombs as such.

Since most of the burials of queens for this dynasty seem to have been within, or near to the tombs of their husbands, the idea that the relief was set up in a cenotaph (similar to one erected for Queen Ttj-šrj) seems preferable. As the Intef kings of a little later were found at Thebes in proximity to their wives (see Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies, pp.48f.), it is much more likely that Queen Sbk-m-s3.f was also buried at Thebes.

The grave of a Queen Sbk-m-s3f was well-known in the time of Ahmose, as we know from a stele now in Cairo (CG 34009). Its inscription commemorates the repair of the tomb carried out by Queen Jḫ-ḥtp II of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Winlock adds that the general area at Edfu was plundered again at the turn of the nineteenth century, after which the material relating to this queen was collected by Engelbach.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

Her above titles are preserved on a gold pendant, (Newberry, PSBA 24 [1902], p.289). On a wooden headrest (BM 23068) and part of an armlet spacer, her name and these same titles, together with the name of King Intef (ibid. pp.285 - 9), are preserved.

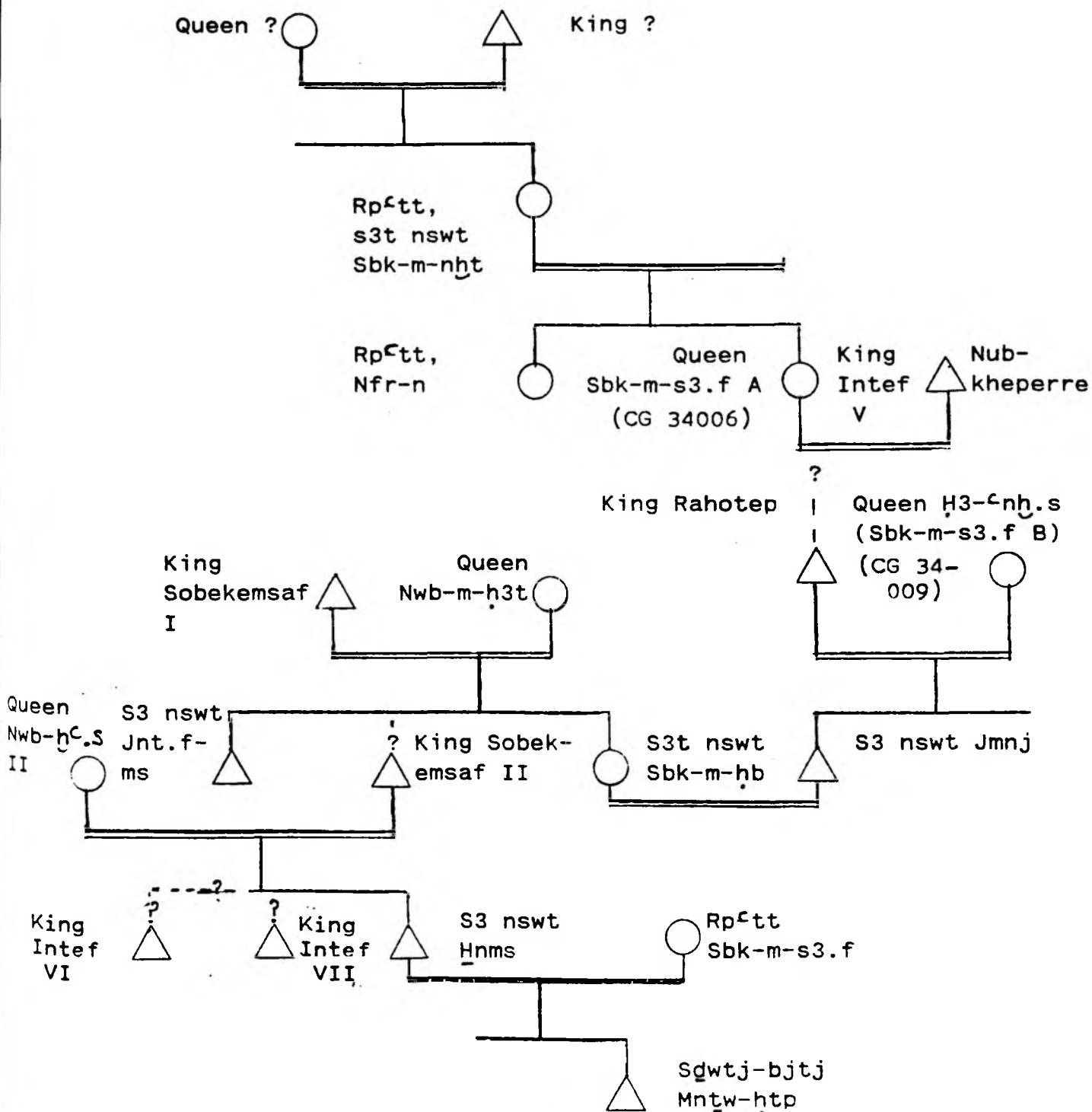
hmt nswt; King's wife.

On a broken stele (CG 34006) of the Eighteenth Dynasty from Edfu (Engelbach, ASAE 22 [1922], pl. I No.6) the above title appears, together with information about Queen Sbk-m-s3.f's origins.

hmt nswt, snt nswt, s3t nswt; King's wife, King's sister, King's daughter.

On another stele, erected by Jḫ-ḥtp II, a queen named Sbk-m-s3.f is given the titles of hmt nswt and snt nswt. The Edfu material is much earlier than the stele of Jḫ-ḥtp II (CG 34009), however, and its inscription acknowledges Sbk-m-s3.f as the daughter of an official from this place. On CG 34009 Queen Sbk-m-s3.f has the title of s3t nswt. These two records are in conflict if they refer to the one queen. Sbk-m-s3.f from Edfu is unlikely to have possessed the titles of s3t nswt and snt nswt in her lifetime, as she was only the grand-daughter of a king. It

### A SUGGESTED GENEALOGY FOR THE LATER INTEF KINGS



Genealogy based on A. Spalinger, LA IV.1033f. (with additions).

is possible, however, that the scribe might have been reverting to the Old Kingdom custom of entitling granddaughters as s3t nswt (without the nt ht.f distinction). If so, it is the only known example of the practice. Schmitz has shown that all titles of s3t nswt from Dynasty XI onwards were held only by actual princesses.

There might be another explanation for this atypical titulary of Sbk-m-s3.f. If the Edfu material refers to Sbk-m-s3.f A, who has no s3t nswt title, Sbk-m-s3.f B might well be the daughter of an unknown king.

Prosopography: Sbk-m-s3.f A's identity has been confused with that of Sbk-m-s3.f B, who is usually referred to as H3-<sup>c</sup>nh.s (under which name she is referred to in this work, to avoid confusion).

65

Sbk-m-s3.f A was the wife of Intef V, as the inscription on her armband insertion states. It is thought by Spalinger (LÄ V.1032) and others that she could have been the mother of King Rahotep, but there is no evidence for this.

Sbk-m-s3.f's links with other relatives are thought to come from the broken stele found at Edfu, and it is considered that she might have originated from that place (Winlock, Rise, p.123). The queen is shown on that relief walking between her brother and sister. From this material we know that she was the daughter of a rp<sup>c</sup>tt, s3t nswt called ..-nht; she was thus presumably the grandchild of a Thirteenth Dynasty king. Her name belongs to that era, even though the members of the royal family are very poorly attested in the latter half of that Dynasty. Sbk-m-s3.f's sister, entitled rp<sup>c</sup>tt, was a woman called Nfrn, and her unnamed brother was a hrp-wsht. We know nothing more about that part of the queen's family, and there is the possibility that the Sbk-m-s3.f in question might instead be the queen known as H3-<sup>c</sup>nh.s/Sbk-m-s3.f B (see above).

On the stele in which Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II records her repair of Sbk-m-s3.f's tomb she honours that queen as if she were one of her ancestors. Although this reference strengthens the likelihood that Sbk-m-s3.f was a progenator of the royal line, no definite links are known as yet to connect J<sup>c</sup>h-htp's family with that of Sbk-m-s3.f. Lieblein's idea (PSBA 10 [1888], p.303) that Sbk-m-s3.f was the mother or grandmother of J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II is no longer tenable, since we know the lineage of the latter queen.

#### Bibliography:

BAR II, 109 - 114



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Palestinskij Sbornik 13 (1935), pp.15 - 31  
 BM 23068  
 Bourriant, Rec. trav. 9 (1887), p.92f.  
 Buttles, Queens, pp.45f.  
 Engelbach, ASAE 22 (1922), p.116; pl. I fig.6  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.222  
                   LR II, p.124  
 Hayes, CAH II/1, p.71  
                   JEA 33 (1947), pp.9f.  
 Lacau, Steles I, pp.16f. pl. VI  
 Legrain, Répertoire généalogique I, No.36 p.23f.  
 Lieblein, PSBA 10 (1888), p.302  
                   Dict. des nomes propres, No.1921  
                   Recherches sur l'histoire, p.130f.  
 Maspero, Mission français I, p.626  
 Newberry, PSBA 24 (1902), pp.285 - 289  
 PM V, p.203  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.248  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.222f.  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1032, 1034  
 Thomas, Necropoleis, p.38  
 Troy, Queenship, pp.112, 160  
 Urk. IV.29f.  
 Weill, Fin du Moyen Empire, p.372  
 Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), p.233 and note 5  
                   Rise, p.112f., 123

QUEEN H3-<sup>c</sup>NH.S - also known as SBK-M-S3.F (B)

Temp. Rahotep

Tomb: unknown - perhaps in Dra abu el-Naga area. In the region of Koptos a stele was found showing the queen behind King Rahotep (Petrie, Koptos pl. XII.3), where remains of her name as [Sbk]-m-s3.f can be read. On another stele fragment from Koptos (ibid. XII.2) the queen is named H3-<sup>c</sup>nh.s. Berlev has shown (OLP 6 - 7 [1975], pp.31 - 41) that this queen probably had Sbk-m-s3.f as a second name. This use of double names was a trait common to both men and women in mid-Dynasty XIII and Dynasty XVII (see Vernus, RdÉ 23 [1971], pp.193 - 199).

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

The remains of the queen's titles are preserved on a fragmentary stele from Koptos (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2)

Prosopography: This queen has been thought to be the wife of Sebekhotep V (Troy, Queenship, p.160), but her association with Rahotep is established by the Koptos relief (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2), where she is entitled 'hmt nswt'.

Because Queen H3-Gnh.s had a second name, Sbk-m-s3.f (see discussion under the Prosopography section of Sbk-m-s3.f A, above), this has led to confusion with Queen Sbk-m-s3.f A in earlier work. CG 34009 probably refers to her, and she was daughter and sister of a king. Berlev (OLP 6/7 [1975], pp.36 - 41; Spalinger, LÄ V.1032f.) has shown that she is likely to have been the mother of Prince Jmnj, who married Princess Sbk-m-hb.

#### Bibliography:

- Berlev, OLP 6/7 (1975), pp.39 - 41  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.126  
 Hall, HT IV, No.283; pl. 24  
 Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2; p.12  
 PM V (1951 edn), p.129  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.226  
 Spalinger, LÄ V.1032; 1034  
 Stock, der 13. bis 17 Dynastie, pp.99f.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160  
 Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), pp.217 - 277  
     Rise p.123

#### QUEEN NWB-M-H3T

Temp. Sobekemsaf I

Tomb: unknown, presumably at Dra abu el-Naga, with that of her husband.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt; King's great wife.

Since the title of hnmt nfr hdt went with the title of hmt nswt wrt, we can suggest that this title for the queen is almost certain.

Prosopography: Nwb-m-h3t was the wife of King Sobekemsaf I. She was also the mother of his daughter, Sbk-m-hb. Some scholars (such as Petrie, Gauthier and Troy) have suggested that she might be the wife of Sebekhotep V. Some of those who attached her to her correct husband considered Sobekemsaf I to have been a ruler from Dynasty XIII (which is where Troy places this queen), because he built several monuments in the Medamud area, where those kings had been active. The queen is now established as an

early Dynasty XVII queen.

The association with Hathor, as evident in her name, is attested by a stele found at Dendera (UCL 14326; Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte, p.63 No.93; Berlev, Bi.Or. 38 [1981], p.319). Two fragments of the stele give the family details of the queen.

King Sobekemsaf I appears to have had two sons, Sbk-m-s3.f and Jntf.ms, and only one wife, therefore Queen Nbw-m-ḥ3t might have been the mother of these princes, too. It is suspected, but not proven, that Prince Sbk-m-s3.f became the second king of that name.

#### Bibliography:

- Berlev, Bi. Or. 38 (1981), p.319  
Palestinskij Sbornik 13 (1965), pp.15 - 31  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.41  
 Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte, p.63 No.93  
 Petrie, History I, p.218  
Qurnah, pl. 30.3  
 PM VII, p.191 Kawa stele  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.226  
 Spalinger, LÄ IV.1032 and 1034  
 Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, p.18 No.79; pl. 15.2  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160

#### QUEEN MNTW-HTP

Temp. Djehuty (?). Griffith thought Mntw-ḥtp might belong to the Eleventh Dynasty, because of the similarity of her name with the first king of that dynasty, and Erman adopted this idea, but her title of hnmt nfr ḥdt would make a mid-Twelfth Dynasty the earliest possible period for her. Other material suggests a later date still.

Borchardt assigned her to the Thirteenth Dynasty, placing her in the reign of Sobekemsaf I (who was, until recently, positioned in mid-Thirteenth Dynasty times). Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.270f.) at first believed that the two items (see below, under 'Titles') on which the name and titles of Mntw-ḥtp were written came from different burials, arguing that there were two queens of this name, one related to Vizier Snb-ḥn<sup>c</sup>.f and his wife rp<sup>c</sup>tt Sbk-ḥtp, the other Mntw-ḥtp being the wife of King Djehuty. In his later work, however, (Rise, p.142f.), Winlock revised his opinion, concluding that there was but one queen Mntw-ḥtp, who belonged to Djehuty's time.

Tomb: The tomb, which had been plundered by robbers, and visited by both Passalacqua and Wilkinson, existed somewhere in the Theban west bank area, around Dra abu el-Naga. Winlock believed that he could pinpoint the site of the tomb but, due to an unfortunate accident that occurred on the spot, the tomb has not been excavated (Rise, p.145; JEA 10 [1924], pp.271ff.). The suggested location for the tomb is 'just north of the Ta'o tombs', according to Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.272). Thomas (Necropoleis, p.37) thinks it should be further north still from Winlock's suggested site.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the White Crown.

The queen's titles have been found on two objects, remnants of a coffin, and an inscription on a canopic box that had once belonged to King Djehuty. Goodwin (ZÄS 4 [1891], p.53) gives a transcription of these, together with a list of the particular chapters from the Book of the Dead inscribed on the coffin. The transcript of the coffin (itself now lost) appears in Budge, Hieroglyphic Papyri, pls. 39 - 48.

On the coffin the queen's name is inscribed without a cartouche, but on the canopic box her name does have the cartouche. It was this feature (together with a misunderstanding about the coffin found by Passalacqua) which led Winlock to suppose that there were two queens of this name from different periods. One interesting feature of the queen's title, hnmt nfr hdt, is that for the first time this is written with the mace sign (T3) on both funerary pieces. This is one item which seems to confirm the opinion that both items refer to the one queen.

Prosopography: From the inscription on her coffin, we know that Queen Mntw-ḥtp was the daughter of a member of the royal family, rpꜥtt Sbk-ḥtp, and the vizier, mayor of the city and director of the six great houses, Snb-ḥnꜥ.f[3]

From the inscription on the canopic chest, most scholars would accept that this queen was the wife of King Djehuty, although Schorer (Familienblatt VI, p.784) raised an objection to

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<sup>3</sup> Although Strudwick, (Administration, p.176) says that the title of jmj-r prw 6 was unique for Nj-ꜥnh-Ppj km of Meir in mid-Dynasty VI, Mntw-ḥtp's father apparently also held a similar office.

this some time ago. Mntw-ḥtp appears to have predeceased her husband, as she is described as m3<sup>c</sup>t ḥrw on the chest at the time when the king gave her his own canopic chest in which to store her make-up.

It has been thought that Princess Mntw-ḥtp, whose name was on a wand found at Dra abu el-Naga, could have been a daughter or grandchild of the queen (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], p.271 n.2; Spiegelberg, PSBA 28 [1906], p.160). Since Queen Mntw-ḥtp was never a s3t nswt, and since the wand of the princess was found at Dra abu el-Naga, where the queen was buried, there is a strong possibility that this princess was related to Queen Mntw-ḥtp.

#### Bibliography:

- Borchardt, ZÄS 32 (1894), p.26  
 Budge, Facsimiles of Hieratic Papyri in the BM, pls. 39 - 48  
CAH II/1, pp.68f.  
 Erman, ZÄS 30 (1892), pp.46f.  
 Gauthier, LR II, p.123  
 Goodwin, ZÄS 4 [1866], p.63  
 Griffith, PSBA 14 (1891), pp.39 - 44  
 Grote, Allgemeine Weltgeschichte II, p.54  
 Habachi, SAK 11 (1984), pp.113 - 126  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.247  
 Lepsius, Königsbuch, No.155  
 Meyer, Geschichte (First edn), p.149  
 Passalacqua, Catalogue raisonne, pp.25; 154  
 Petrie, History I, p.144  
 Schorer, Familienblatt VI, p.784  
 Thomas, Necropoleis, p.37  
 Troy, Queenship, p.160  
 Weill, Fin du Moyen Empire, p.341; 407  
 Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), pp.269ff.  
Rise, pp.142f.

#### QUEEN S3T-MWT[4]

Temp: uncertain, but as the acknowledged wife of a King Mentuhotep the tempus is confined to three kings of that name

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<sup>4</sup> The name of this queen has been recorded as 'S3t-šrjt (?)' by Griffith (PSBA 14 [1891], p.41). I am grateful to Dr. Stephen Quirke of the British Museum for recent information about this piece, and for his reading of the queen's name, which is extremely difficult (see fig.24).



fig. 24 Coffin fragment of S3t-iwt.

-photograph courtesy of Dr. S. Quirke, British Museum. No. EA 29997.

within the broad Middle Kingdom period. Griffith (PSBA 14 [1891], p.41) remarks that her few known inscriptions had great similarities to those of Queen Mntw-ḥtp. Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], pp.269 - 272) has suggested that Mntw-ḥtp was probably the wife of King Djehuty, whose cosmetic box was given to her, and this helps locate S3t-Mwt's place to the early Seventeenth Dynasty.

Quirke has confirmed this date by the coffin inscription whose palaeography resembles the hieratic signs catalogued as 'Hyksoszeit' in Möller's Palaeographie.<sup>[5]</sup>

Tomb: unknown, but probably at Dra Abu el-Naga.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt; King's great wife.

Queen S3t-Mwt's titulary is recorded on a coffin fragment (BM EA 29997) by her son, h3tj-C, sdwtj bjtj, s3 nswt Hrw-nfr. Her name is almost unreadable and Griffith (loc. cit.) himself questioned his reading of S3t-Šrjt. The unpublished fragment appears in fig. 24. Her correct name appears to be S3t-Mwt, as I am advised by Dr. Quirke.

Prosopography: S3t-Mwt was the wife of Mentuhotep VII, and the mother of his son, Hrw-nfr. Whether she had any connexion to King Swadjenre Neberaw I, successor of Mentuhotep, is unknown.

#### Bibliography:

BM EA 29997[6],

Griffith, PSBA 14 (1891), p.4

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.263

#### QUEEN NWB-H<sup>C</sup>.S II

Temp. Sobekemsaf II. The tempus of this queen, like her namesake of the Thirteenth Dynasty, has been thought to belong to different periods. After a misunderstanding by Macalister (PSBA 9 [1887], p.126), Queen Nwb-h<sup>C</sup>.s I was assigned King Sobekhotep VI as husband. Bergmann then re-assigned her to Sobekemsaf II (Jahrbuch des Allerhochsten Kaiserhauses, Bd XII, Wien [1891], as

<sup>5</sup> In a letter dated 2/2/1990; see preceding note.

<sup>6</sup> Advice from Dr. Quirke. Griffith had cited the number as 6656 a.

cited in Schenkel, GM 3 [1972], pp.23f.). This re-assignment was also incorrect because it replaced Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II with Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I. The confusion has arisen because of the identical names of the two queens, and because the first queen of this name does not mention her husband on Louvre stele C 13. The second queen is not represented on any known monument.

It was recently suggested (Schenkel & Sledzianowski, GM 3 [1972], pp.21f.) that Sbk-m-s3.f, the brother of Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I, should be assigned to the Seventeenth Dynasty, but this creates another confusion, for the complicated genealogical relationships of C 13 (untangled by Spalinger in RdÉ 32 [1980], pp.97 - 116, and LÄ V.1034ff; Franke, JEA 76 [1990], p.230) do not extend to the era of King Sobekemsaf II and his wife. While Komorzynski may be incorrect (Schenkel & Sledzianowski, op. cit. p.23) concerning the husband of Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I,[7] he has correctly dated the Viennese statue of Sbk-m-s3f to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Tomb: Dra abu el-Naga; the ancient records for this grave are quite substantial. Later sections of the Amherst Papyrus reveal that the king and queen had been buried in a tomb with a superstructure dominated by a pyramidion; the hypogeum consisted of more than one chamber. Further evidence for this type of tomb was found in a mutilated pyramidion associated with one queen of this period (BM 478).

In carrying out inspections on the tombs of the kings and queens buried at Dra abu el-Naga the Dynasty XX priests discovered that the tomb of King Sobekemsaf II and his wife had been plundered, and their bodies shamefully abused. The simple account of the Abbott Papyrus states that the tomb was ransacked, but the Amherst Papyrus gives details of the actual appearance of the queen's burial as seen by the robbers, providing vital information about the arrangements for the burial of royal consorts in this period:

'We found the burial-place of the royal wife Nubkhaas .. It was protected and ...ed with plaster and covered with ... We forced it open also and we found her lying there likewise. We opened their outer coffins and their inner coffins in which they lay. We found this noble mummy of this king equipped like a warrior. A large number of sacred-eye amulets and ornaments of gold was at his neck,

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<sup>7</sup> His identity is still unknown, although suggestions have been made.



and his headpiece of gold was on him. The noble mummy of this king was all covered with gold, and his inner coffins were bedizened with gold and silver inside and outside with inlays of all kinds of precious stones... We found the royal wife likewise and we appropriated all that we found on her too.' [Peet, Tomb Robberies, pp.48f.]

It is interesting to observe that Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II was buried in the tomb with her husband - a practice that may have been characteristic of the Seventeenth Dynasty royal families, and which perhaps had its origins in the reign of Amenemhat III.

The papyri accounts of the queen's tomb are particularly valuable since the tomb itself has not been discovered in modern times. We do not know the details of its size or appearance apart from the descriptions given above.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt; King's great wife.

The single title recorded for this queen comes from the Amherst Papyri but, as hmt nswt wrt this queen might be identical with the mwt nswt, hmt nswt wrt, [hnmt nfr hdt....], of the pyramidion from the tomb of Intef VII at Dra abu el-Naga (Budge, HT IV, pl. 29). It is seldom that a monarch had two wives with the title of hmt nswt wrt so, for this reason, the nameless queen of the pyramidion has been omitted in this register. Both Troy (Queenship, p.160 [17.2]) and Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.255) include Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II and the queen on the pyramidion in their registers of queens.

It cannot be established at present that Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II was related to the Intef kings. The first Intef of the Seventeenth Dynasty has been placed by von Beckerath at the commencement of the dynasty (Abriss, p.66), while Gardiner groups the three Intef kings together in the middle of the same period (EOP, p.442). Dependent upon which order one follows, the queen may (von Beckerath), or may not (Gardiner), have been in a position to have been the mother of the two Intef brothers. This register follows the ordering suggested by von Beckerath.

Spalinger has remarked on the similarity of the name and titles of this queen with Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s I of Dynasty XIII. However, if the titles on the pyramidion are discounted for Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II, the two queens would only hold the title hmt nswt wrt in common. The second queen is merely mentioned in the Abbott and Amherst Papyri and, unless the pyramidion is hers, we

do not have a contemporary titulary for her. From this material Spalinger (LÄ V.1034f.) has proposed that the Queen Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II might be connected with either the family of the earlier queen, or the locality of el Kab itself.

Prosopography: The queen was the wife of King Sobekemsaf II, as the three papyri mention.

Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s II seems likely to have had at least one son, who is known from his own son's stele. Prince Hnms married a rp<sup>c</sup>tt Sbk-m-s3.f, and they had a son, Mntw-htp, who was a seal-bearer for the king. Hnms acted as the overseer of the queen's temple (imj-r mr gs pr), which was a particular post held by only one other of the princes at this time, according to Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.243). Because of the infrequency of this office it has been difficult to decide whether or not such princely officials were true princes, or merely honorary ones. As Hnms' record itself is inconclusive (although Nwb-h<sup>c</sup>.s is named, parentage is not claimed in the inscription), it is impossible to decide whether or not he was the son of this queen.

Should the pyramidion (BM 478) of Sekhemre Wepmaatre Intef VI refer to Nwb.h<sup>c</sup>.s II, then the queen would have been the mother of this king and his brother.

#### Bibliography:

- Abbott Papyrus
- Ambras Papyri
- Amherst Leopold II Papyrus
- von Beckerath, 2 Zwischenzeit, p.175 n.1
- Berlev, VDI 3 (1961), pp.100 - 107
- BM 478
- Budge, Egypt under the Amenemhats and Hyksos, pp.127ff.
- Budge, HT IV, pl. 29
- Gauthier, LR II, p.76f.
- Guest, Ancient Egypt (1926), p.47
- Hayes, CAH II/1, pp.67f.
- Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.246
- Peet, The Great Tomb-robberies, pp.48f.
- Petrie, Antaeopolis, pl. 4
- History II, p.224f.
- Satzinger, GM 5 (1973), pp.17 - 20
- Schenkel & Sledzianowski, GM 3 (1972), pp.21 - 24
- Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.243, 260
- Spalinger, LÄ V.1034ff.
- RdÉ 32 (1980), pp.97 - 116
- Thomas, Necropoleis, p.37
- Troy, Queenship, p.160

Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), pp.234f; 237 - 239; 242

Rise, pp.124; 133; 138 - 141

Wiedemann, PSBA 9 (1887), p.191

### QUEEN NFRT III

Temp. uncertain, but the existing records point to a period located somewhere in the Second Intermediate Period. From the writing of her name, she is unlikely to have been identical with Queen Nfrjt, mentioned in an earlier entry in the Seventeenth Dynasty. One of the clues to the tempus of this queen is given by the official title of her son-in-law, Jw, who was an overseer of an administrative area, perhaps a temple of the queen's. The title jmj-r gs pr first appears during the Second Intermediate Period. It was an office of great importance, sometimes given to both real and titular King's sons (Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.260). Queen Nfrt, then, is most likely to have had her floruit at this time.

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt; King's wife.

Prosopography: Queen Nfrt is known only from a stele of her son-in-law, Jw, who states that his wife H3t-špswt was born of the king's wife Nfrt (CG 20394). Nfrt's grandchildren, four girls and a boy, were not given distinguished titles.

Gauthier (LR I, p.301) places her amongst the family of Senwosret II, because of the similarity of names with those of the queen and her daughter, but this date must be rejected (Schmitz, ibid. p.225).

A scarab, thought to belong to this Princess H3t-špswt, is known (Settgast, MDAIK 18 [1963], p.52).

### Bibliography:

Buttles, Queens, pp.41f.

CG 20394

Lange-Schäfer, Grab und Denkstein I, p.390f.

Gauthier, LR I, p.301

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.241

Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.769

Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.225

## QUEEN TTJ-ŠRJ

### Temp. Senakhtenre to Ahmose

Tomb: Although we know that the queen had both a tomb and a cenotaph her tomb has as yet not been identified. Thomas (Necropoleis, p.171) considers it possible that she was originally buried in KV 41 - see her map, fig.15 p.159. This tomb, whose owner has not been identified, has been selected by Thomas because of its tomb type, as it is simpler in design than other queens' tombs.

Her original grave is likely to have been in Dra abu el-Naga, but the queen's body was removed from this place and put into the tomb of Queen Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj at the end of Dynasty XX. Her mummy has been identified as that of 'Unknown Woman B' (CG 61056). This identification was made from mummy bandages naming the queen and her parents (Daressy, ASAE 9 [1908], p.137), and from the fact that the mummy in question was that of a little old woman with white hair, the known longevity of Ttj-Šrj made her the most likely person to have such an aged mummy, according to Smith (Royal Mummies, No.61056).

Harris and Wente (Atlas, pp.244f.) have estimated that Ttj-Šrj would have been about 70 years of age at the time of her death if one takes the historical sources into consideration. However, the age of her alleged son, King Tao, as calculated by Wente, is discrepant with the estimate given more recently by Bietak & Strouhal (Annalen Naturhistorisches Museum, Wien 78 [1974], p.44), based on anatomical data; thus, the mummy of Queen Ttj-Šrj may have been younger than Wente anticipated. X-ray analysis also revealed that much of her brain still remained at the back of her skull, indicating an early stage of New Kingdom mummification.

The queen suffered from severe malocclusion (Harris & Wente, Atlas, p.241), as did others of her descendants. Her upper jaw projected 'almost a centimeter more than what would be considered normal or average occlusion' beyond her mandible. Her teeth showed signs of advanced wear, and periodontal health was poor (ibid. p.333). Cluster analysis (ibid. pp.354f.) indicated that Ttj-Šrj was most closely related to the mummy of Queen J-h-ms-nfrrt-jrj.

Ttj-Šrj's tomb has not yet been identified, but the site of her commemorative chapel at Abydos has. A stele (CG 34002) found

near this chapel reports the decision of King Ahmose and his wife J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj to erect this commemorative chapel. The inscription reveals that 'her tomb-chamber and her cenotaph [were], present upon the soil of the Theban and the Thinite nomes', and we may conclude from this that the queen had a tomb at Thebes, a cenotaph at Abydos, and that Ahmose and his wife planned to erect the brick pyramid-chapel that was found there in modern times by Ayrton's team (Ayrton, et al. Abydos III, p.35).

The pyramid and memorial chapel erected by her grandson at Abydos consisted of a long, narrow room at ground-level, beneath the mass of a crude brick pyramid, pitched at a 60° angle. Most of the pyramid has now been destroyed. At the rear of the chapel the stele mentioned above was set up by Ahmose and his sister-wife (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], p.273).

Titles: mwt nswt; King's mother (UCL 14402).

hmt nswt, hmt nswt wrt, mwt nswt; King's wife, King's great wife, King's mother (CG 34002).

The queen's titles all date from the time of King Ahmose, in whose reign she died. The earliest stele (UCL 14402) shows Ttj-šrj following King Ahmose, apparently during some temple ceremony. There she is entitled 'mwt nswt'. The stele is broken, however, and any other titles she may have had are missing (see discussion in Winlock, Ancient Egypt [1924], pp.14ff.). The fullest titulary appears on the Abydos stele (CG 34002), where each of the titles above appears.

During her lifetime Ttj-šrj's only inscribed title was that of King's mother, and because of this Weill has disputed her marriage to a king. But Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.246) has shown that Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II, daughter of Ttj-šrj, was a s3t nswt, so that Ttj-šrj herself must have been the wife of a king. The other titles come from the Abydos stele and were recorded after the death of the queen, but her position as a king's consort seems certain.

A scarab in the name of Great wife of the king, Ttj has been listed as perhaps belonging to a Hyksos queen (see p.281 of this Prosopography). Vandersleyen (LÄ V.458) has questioned whether this might more appropriately be assigned to Ttj-šrj. This is possible, but it seems more likely that the diminutive was added to Ttj-šrj's name precisely to distinguish her from another queen named Ttj. Queen Ttj-šrj's name is always written in full (although other queens with diminutive, like Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt šrj, were sometimes referred to without the discriminating adjective.

Even in the household papyrus (Erman, ZÄS 38 [1900], p.150 - see below), where an abbreviation might be more likely, the queen's name appears as 'Ttj-šrj', so the two names have been kept separate in this register of queens.

Prosopography: Ttj-šrj was the daughter of two commoners, Nfrw and her husband Inn, a local dignitary of the rank, s3b. Helck (Geschichte, p.138) has suggested that her father might have been identical with a priest of Amen who had the same name. Her parentage was recorded on her original mummy bandages, together with her single title of 'mwt nswt'. No brothers or sisters are known.

She was married to a king, most likely King Senakhtenre (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], p.246). The case for this identification has been argued cogently by Redford (History and Chronology, pp.34f.) and others.

At least three children of this marriage are known, while others have been tentatively ascribed to the queen from time to time. She was the mother of J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II and her husband (a king unnamed on the Abydos stele, but probably Seqenenre); she was the grandmother of King Ahmose and Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfwt-jrj. A Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ms also seems to have been the daughter of Ttj-šrj and her husband (Hayes, Scepter II, p.11, 170, and MMA Stele 25). Although King Kamose has been seen as her son (eg. Redford op. cit. p.39), this connection cannot be proven either. Genealogy chart 6 sets out a possible network of relationships for this family.

66

Ttj-šrj was left a widow fairly early, and her husband was succeeded by Seqenenre - thought to be her son. It was suggested by Winlock (Ancient Egypt [1921], p.16) that Ttj-šrj might have been a regent for this king. There is no real evidence to support this claim.

After Seqenenre's brutal death the throne passed to King Kamose (perhaps a son of Seqenenre's by another wife) and, after the brief reign of Kamose ended, Ahmose became the next king. It has been suggested by Winlock, and accepted by Vandersleyen (LA V.458), that Ttj-šrj acted as regent for Ahmose for the earlier part of his reign. Evidence for this theory about the regency is found on a much-damaged stele (UCL 14402), where Ttj-šrj is found immediately behind Ahmose in a relief commemorating the building of a wall for a temple for Montu in Thebes (Winlock, Ancient Egypt [1921], p.15). In itself, the relief does not suggest a regency, for it only shows the queen following Ahmose during a temple ceremony. Such scenes featuring

royal woman had become increasingly frequent after Dynasty XI and not only mothers, but wives or daughters appear as the king's female companion in them. It would be risky to suggest a regency on this evidence alone, but the youth of Ahmose has not only been convincingly argued by Vandersleyen (Guerres, pp.198f. and passim), but has been endorsed by the anatomical evidence (Smith, Royal Mummies, p.16f; Harris & Wente, Atlas, p.333 and passim). A regency is thus quite possible, although it is difficult to see why this should have been given to Ttj-šrj when the mother of Ahmose, Jꜥḥ-ḥtp II, was available.

Vandersleyen proposes that there was a court hierarchy in which Ttj-šrj was considered the senior queen and, therefore, the one most appropriate to take on the regency (Guerres, p.196, 199). For the known regencies of Mrj-Rꜥ-ḥnḥ.n.s II, Hatshepsut and Twosret, it was usually the senior wife of the previous king who took on this role. But, in view of Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's clear evidence for control over Egypt (Urk. IV.21) perhaps it was only she who was regent for Ahmose.

As with many queens of this family line, Ttj-šrj was the owner of large estates. A re-used papyrus of the period gives a partial list of foodstuffs for the households of Ttj-šrj and Princess S3t-K3ms, in which quantities of corn for the feeding of 790 female and 990 male geese are mentioned (Erman, ZÄS 38 [1900], p.150). As Erman points out, these provisions are for living recipients, they are not offerings for the dead, so the numbers refer to the queen's own holdings. The size of the estate must have been enormous to have provided for such flocks of birds (other products are not mentioned). These estates are known to have been in the region of Abusir, territory that had evidently been recently released from their Hyksos supporters (Winlock, Ancient Egypt [1921], p.14).

A pair of statuettes inscribed with the name of Ttj-šrj are known, one in the British Museum (No.22558), the other was in Cairo IFAO (Gauthier, BIFAO 12 [1912], pp.128 - 130, pl.11.6) but has since disappeared (Davies, BM Paper 36, p.3). Although the Cairo piece was missing its upper portion, it preserved the dedicatory text. The British statuette was complete, and much admired as a work of ancient Egyptian art. In two studies, however, Davies has now shown that the BM statuette is almost certainly a forgery.

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#### QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>h-HTP I

Temp. Intef VII - Seqenenre In the past, material pertaining to this queen has been confused with that of J<sup>c</sup>h-HTP II (eg. Butts, Queens pp.47, 60; Seipel, LÄ.I.98f: Gardiner, EOP, p.173; James, CAH II/1, p.307 etc.). Vandersleyen (CdÉ 52 [1977], pp.237 - 241, and SAK 8 [1980], pp.237 - 241), Troy (GM 35 [1979], pp.81 - 91), Blankenberg-van Delden (GM 54 [1982], pp.35 - 39), and Robins (GM 56 [1982], pp.71 - 77) have now separated the evidence regarding these women (one of whom was supposed to have been the wife of King Amenhotep I). The



identity of Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's husband has not as yet been ascertained (see last paragraph of her 'Tomb' entry for further discussion). A suggested genealogy chart has been given (Chart 6).

Tomb: Thomas (Necropoleis, p.170f.) considers that Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's tomb may be in the cliffs behind Dra abu el-Naga, Tomb AN A (HC 238) - see her map, fig.15 p.159. Her conclusions are based on tomb type studies from the west Theban area. No identification has been found as yet for the tomb owner.

Although her actual tomb has not been identified, Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's sarcophagus (JE 28501), and mummy were discovered at Dra abu el-Naga, together with other members of the Seventeenth Dynasty royal family. The existence of two mummies named Jꜥḥ-ḥtp make it difficult to accept Eaton-Krauss' interesting argument concerning the coffins of Jꜥḥ-ḥtp I and II (CdÉ 65 [1990], pp.195 - 205). The fact that this coffin was not in the Deir el Bahri cache with other members of the Ahmosid royal family (ibid. p.204) is again suggestive of her distance from the family of Seqenenre. The suggestion that she may have been the wife of another king (either Kamose, Senakhtenre or one of the Intef kings) may find some support in this fact.

The queen's sarcophagus was a large, originally gilded wooden coffin, one of several of a type that appeared for a short period of time, never to re-emerge again. A general, but graphic description of this is in Buttles (Queens, p.50f.). The coffin is in two parts, an anthropoid shell with a close-fitting lid. The lower half of the coffin is painted a greenish-blue, while its interior is coated with bitumen. The lid was once thickly gilded on its exterior. Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's portrait on the upper lid features the Hathor wig that was popular with queens from the Middle Kingdom onward. It suggests an identification of the queen with the goddess, Hathor, who had a close association with the funerary cult (Troy, Queenship, pp.59f). The eyes are metal with stone inserts, and the ears are attached by wooden pegs.


It is this coffin type which has presented us with the most useful clues for dating this particular queen (Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 [1982], p.35). Jꜥḥ-ḥtp's coffin belongs to the same type as those of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef, Nubkheperre Intef, and Seqenenre (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], pp.274f., pls. XVI, XVII). In her sarcophagus were found a number of ornaments which carried the names of Kamose and Ahmose, together with weapons of war, both real and ceremonial. The royal names found on these would also provide evidence for the tempus of Jꜥḥ-ḥtp I, except that there is doubt about the actual circumstances of her treasures. They may have been recovered from a cache and

collected up with the mummy and sarcophagus prior to being seized by Mariette (see Dewachter, RdÉ 36 [1985], pp.43 - 66, and reference to J<sup>ch</sup>-htp's cache on p.64). In this case, the sarcophagus of the queen may well belong to the period of King Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef VII, with whose sarcophagus hers has great affinity. That her coffin was found with his in the cache is certainly suggestive of an original proximity of burial. Some of the tortuous unravelling of the mystery of the find is provided in Winlock (JEA 10 [1924], p.254), but Dewachter's research has followed the trail back even further, and called into doubt the evidence suggested by the treasure found with the queen.

Although the sarcophagus lid still survives, the mummy of the queen was destroyed shortly after it had been excavated in the nineteenth century.

A damaged statue in London (UCL 16877) may represent this queen. Sourouzian (MDAIK 37 [1981], p.450) has drawn attention to the similarity between the sarcophagus of the queen and the statue, both lacking the customary vulture cap worn by queens of the period. Sourouzian uses the older identification of the queens J<sup>ch</sup>-htp, thinking that J<sup>ch</sup>-htp I was the mother of Ahmose.

Titles: hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united with the white crown.  
beautiful

The titles of this queen, present on her sarcophagus (CG 28501) found by the locals at Dra abu el-Naga, distinguish her from her later namesake. Vandersleyen has shown (Guerres, p.210) that the lunar sign  used for her name is earlier than the sign which is used at times by J<sup>ch</sup>-htp II. No other record of her name or titles has been verified.

Prosopography: J<sup>ch</sup>-htp I was the chief wife of a king, but which king is open to debate. Scholars have suggested in turn, Senakhtenre, Seqenenre, Kamose and Sekhemre-Wapmaat Intef as possibilities, but there has been no confirmation for any of these, although there have been some promising hypotheses. Wiedemann (Geschichte, p.302) named her as the wife of Kamose when their coffins were found together at Dra Abu'l Naga. Her armbands bearing that king's name might have confirmed this. The cache also had other valuable objects bearing the name of King Ahmose (in whose time the queen might have died). Like other scholars, Wiedemann thought that she was the mother of Ahmose, but her sarcophagus is clearly earlier than the sarcophagus of J<sup>ch</sup>-htp II, who carries the title of mwt nswt, while J<sup>ch</sup>-htp I does not. That she may have been the wife of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef VI was first suggested by Blankenberg-van Delden, (GM 54

[1982], p.35) and, in the light of Dewachter's recent study, this may be the most likely suggestion. The fact that her titles on the sarcophagus indicate that she was the chief wife of the king, but had no male issue (as far as the inscription testifies), may have been the reason why Intef VII succeeded his brother. But this is speculation: the queen's husband has not, as yet, been established.

No other relationships of J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I are known, although some historians have thought that there might be a connection between J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I and Queen Sbk-m-s3f (loc. cit.). However, stele CG 34009, which prompted this idea, refers to J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II, not J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I. Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp on the K3r.s stele is entitled 'mwt nswt', and that inscription must refer to J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II who carries this title. No immediate links between those two queens is as yet known.

A funerary statuette in the Louvre (Vandier, Manuel III, p.294 and pl. XCVI.2) portrays a Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp. There are marked iconographical similarities with Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp's sarcophagus, but this princess could not be the queen since the queen is never entitled s3t nswt; in addition, the statuette is inscribed m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw, so this further removes the identification from J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I, who was a queen before her death. However, this young woman could have been related to the family of the queen. Blankenberg-van Delden (GM 54 [1982], p.38) has suggested that she might have been J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I's daughter.

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#### QUEEN JcH-MS-MRJT-JMN

Temp. Kamose - Ahmose: the material concerning this queen has been confused with other persons of similar name. The matter has not yet been resolved to the satisfaction of all scholars, but the outlines of this queen's position in the dynasty are set out below. For further discussion see Chapter 8.

Tomb: unknown; a coffin, seen and copied by Wilkinson (Materia Hieroglyphica II, pl. V.1 - see fig. 2 Chapter 8), provides her titles, while a mummy from the Deir el Bahri cache (Maspero, Momies royales, pp.538 etc.) may be that of this queen - both Vandersleyen (CdÉ 52 [1977], p.239f. n.5) and Robins (Egyptian Queens, pp.41f.) are convinced that Wilkinson's coffin inscription and the mummy (CG 61052) belong to the same person, and Robins demonstrates that the separation of the sarcophagus and its owner was not an isolated instance for those mummies in the Deir el Bahri cache (ibid. p.42 and n.128). Her argument about the date of this mummy is less convincing.

In view of the argument raised by Vandersleyen, Robins, Troy and Blankenberg-van Delden concerning this queen (see the Prosopography section below), the opinion of Smith on the date of this mummy is of great interest. He notes that the embalming wound, which is on the left flank of the mummy, and the presence of pads of resin-soaked linen 'are customary in the times of the Dynasty XVIII. The fact that the rima pudenda is not hidden, as in later XVIII Dynasty practice, indicates an early date' (Smith, Royal Mummies, p.7). Smith considered that mummy belongs to the time of Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj and Seqenenre. Maspero, however, thought that the mummy could belong to an earlier Dynasty (XII or XIII) since the embalming position is atypical of the times of Queen Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj and King Seqenenre (Momies, pp.620), but the fact that the mummy has pierced ears also makes a Middle Kingdom date unlikely (Robins, Egyptian Queens, p.39).

Titles: s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt ntr, hmt nswt wrt, hnwt  
t3wj tm; King's daughter, King's sister, God's Wife [of Amen],

King's great wife, Mistress of the Two Lands in their entirety.

These titles come from the sarcophagus inscription copied by Wilkinson and published in Materia Hieroglyphica, pl. V.1. Facsimile copies are to be found in Vandier (Manuel III, p.294) and in Blankenberg-van Delden (GM 54 [1981], p.45, and see fig. 2 Chapter 8 of the present work).

J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn holds the significant title of hmt ntr, or God's Wife of Amen (Wilkinson, loc. cit.; Lepsius, Königsbuch, pl.xxiii.329 c and d). Gitton, in his study of the holders of this office (divines épouses, pp.23 - 26), advanced the hypothesis that the earliest incumbent of the office was Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfirt-jrj. Just prior to Gitton's publication Blankenberg-van Delden published some papers (see the list below, in the Bibliography) which called for a re-assignment of the position of Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn, to a period of time much earlier than the time of Amenhotep I, where Gitton had placed her. Gitton (ibid. p.52) had believed his God's Wife to be identical to Queen Mrjt-Jmn, the wife of Amenhotep, and thus later, not earlier than J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfirt-jrj. A consequence of this relocation (for which discussion, see below, in her prosopography) is that J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn would appear to be the earliest queen to have been given the title of God's Wife. For further discussion on this issue see Chapter 8 of this work.

Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn also carried the distinct title hnwt t3wj tm, which only a few royal women had in their titularies. Neither Kuchman Sabbahy nor Troy have differentiated between this title and that of hnwt t3wj but, the addition of 'tm' does seem to have been used to discriminate between the hnwt t3wj title of some royal women within the family of several kings (see Chapter 2, p.104).

Prosopography: The family relationships for this queen are still in doubt, and Genealogy 6 should be regarded as tentative. Several considerations should be given, however.

1) This queen does not to have been identical with Queen Mrjt-Jmn found by Winlock. The latter was the chief wife of Amenhotep I. Their names were differentiated in their own times by the omission of the J<sup>c</sup>h-ms element from Queen Mrjt-Jmn's name, and by the different titles they held. Queen Mrjt-Jmn does not hold the title of hnwt t3wj tm; she holds the alternative title of nbt t3wj.

2) She does not seem to have been identical with the daughter of Thutmose III, also named Mrjt-Jmn, for the latter was never a

queen.

The name of this queen gives us some clue as to her parentage. It has been remarked that each child in the family of King Seqenenre was named J<sup>c</sup>h-ms (Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 [1982], p.32). All the females of this generation had secondary names, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrrt-jrj, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nbt-t3wj, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-t3-mrj. J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn would fit this pattern, and it is therefore suggested that she could have been a child of Seqenenre's.

Both Robins and Troy have argued against the claim that the Mrjt-Jmn women mentioned above should have those three separate identities. While the debate may not be settled, Blankenberg-van Delden's case does seem stronger than those mounted by her critics, for she does satisfactorily answer their objections to her initial proposal. The specific title of hnwt t3wj tm found by Wilkinson on the coffin fragments would suggest that there do appear to have been two queens Mrjt-Jmn, the first (whose identity is uncertain), carries the prefix of J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, and the other, who is Queen Mrjt-Jmn, wife of Amenhotep I. The presence of the mummy (CG 61052) from the Deir el Bahri cache, inscribed by the priests of Dynasty XXI with the name Mrjt-Jmn, also lends some support to Blankenberg-van Delden's argument, since the mummy of Queen Mrjt-Jmn, wife of Amenhotep I, was discovered in a different tomb. (The priests also left out the J<sup>c</sup>h-ms element in their inscription on the bandages of Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-hnwt-t3-mhw (Maspero, Momies, pp.543f., fig.13.) Although Blankenberg-van Delden places little emphasis upon it, the mummy does show signs of having been of a date earlier than that of the time of Amenhotep I. She could thus not be Princess Mrjt-Jmn who was mentioned above. The identification of the mummy by the priests could be inaccurate, however, as the labelling of other royal mummies has been called into question (eg.Harris, 'The Mummy of Amenhotep III (Egyptian Museum)', lecture given at the Fifth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo).

Blankenberg-van Delden has also strongly defended her initial thesis that Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn should be considered as the wife of King Kamose, but there is insufficient evidence to conclude one way or another whose husband Kamose is likely to have been. A further, so far unmentioned, complication could be that Kamose had more than one wife, as other kings in this family clearly did.

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#### QUEEN J<sup>ch</sup>-HTP II

Temp. Seqenenre - Amenhotep I. The queen must have been close to seventy years of age when she died, sometime around Year 10 of the reign of Amenhotep. She is mentioned as being ḥnh.tj at that time on a dated stele belonging to an official named K3r.s from that time (Piehl, ZAS 26 [1888], p.117f.).

Tomb: unknown, but Gitton (divines épouses, p.21) believes it is in the Dra' abu el-Naga region. The queen's sarcophagus (CG 61006) was in the Deir el Bahri cache. The wooden sarcophagus is almost identical with that of J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nfrt-jrj. The queen's mummy was not in its sarcophagus - a circumstance that misled Schmitz (CdÉ 52 [1978], pp.208f.) into supposing that the sarcophagus of J<sup>ch</sup>-ḥtp I (CG 28501) might have made up the remainder of this burial. This is an impossibility, since the two sarcophagi cannot fit into each other (Maspero, Momies, p.545). (See also the entry for J<sup>ch</sup>-ḥtp I on the discussion of the two sarcophagi, and Eaton-Krauss' suggestion.) Thomas (Necropoleis, p.260) has suggested that the mummy of J<sup>ch</sup>-ḥtp II might be CG 61076. She is uncertain about the site of her tomb (ibid. p.262), no doubt because she identifies this queen as the wife of Amenhotep I.

Titles: (a) nbt t3wj, ḥnwt jdbw Ḥ3w-nbwt; Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of the lands of Haunebwet (Urk. IV.21, 3f.).

For a discussion on the title ḥnwt jdbw Ḥ3w-nbwt see Vandersleyen (Guerres, pp.168 - 176), who identifies the region with Phoenicia.

(b) hmt nswt, snt [nswt], jtj, s3t nswt, mwt nswt, špswt:  
King's wife, King's sister, Regent, King's daughter, Mother of  
the king, Noblewoman.

This titular string appears on the Karnak stele of Ahmose (CG 34001) - Urk. IV.21,7f. Very unusual is the title of jtj, which both Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.251) and Troy (Queenship, p.161) consider to be 'snt jtj'. This unusual title again appears with Queen J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj (Urk. IV.25,5). The first part of the title is written for J<sup>ch</sup>-h<sup>tp</sup> II as  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  on the twenty-fourth line of the stele. On line 25 the new title of jtj, followed by A40 (the god with a beard), and the traditional formula: ꜥnh, wd3, snb, appears. A strong possibility is that the title at the end of line 24, and the title at the beginning of line 25 could be separate. Thus, the title of hmt nswt, followed by snt might belong together, as we occasionally find written in the titles of queens from time to time (eg. Nfrw, Dynasty XI, has inscribed on the walls of her tomb the phrase: hmt nswt, s3t [nswt] (Gabet, Rec. Trav. 12 [1892], p.214; see also Kuchman, JSSEA 7 [1978], p.23 n.3 on Gabet's misinterpretation of those titles).

Support for this different reading of the inscription is suggested by the writing of the same title for Queen J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj (Urk. IV.25,5), where her similar sequence of titles reads: s3t nswt, snt nswt, jtj, on line 8 of that stele. In her case the extra nswt sign is placed before the snt sign and cannot be interpreted in any way other than a reading of 'snt nswt', followed by jtj. In her case there is no determinative to suggest that the sovereign concerned might be the king.

Hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt; King's great wife, She who is united  
with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown.

These titles were recorded on her sarcophagus (CG 61006), evidently made during her husband's lifetime, since the title of mwt nswt is absent.


Hmt ntr n Jmn; God's wife of Amen.

This last title is present on the stele of Jw.f (CG 34006) found at Edfu and by this time the queen is described as 'm3<sup>c</sup>t hrw' (Urk. IV.29,14). For this reason Sander-Hansen (Gottesweib, p.3). Troy (GM 35 [1979], p.84), Gitton (divines épouses, p.21), and Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.253) all consider this title to have been bestowed posthumously. Two scarabs, however, also display this title with J<sup>ch</sup>-h<sup>tp</sup>'s name and are more likely to have been contemporary pieces (Petrie, Scarabs, pl. 24, 18.2.44 - 45).



This writer does accept their record as having belonged to the queen's lifetime (further discussion on this title infra).

A complete list of sources for the name and titles of this queen are found in Troy, GM 35 (1979), pp.87 - 91. These titles come from several sources: there are eleven scarabs bearing her name and titles, her sarcophagus (found in the Deir el Bahri cache), the stele of K3r.s at Dra abu el-Naga, the sandstone stele of Jw.f at Edfu (CG 34006), an inscription on a stele that King Ahmose caused to be erected at Karnak (Urk. IV.21), and from Tomb 79 at Sheikh abd el-Gurneh (LD III, p.282). The last mentioned item is a later inscription, and there are other numerous dedicatory inscriptions on later stelae and in tombs of the Ramesside period. In addition, a contemporary relief showing the queen in vulture headdress, and with the titles hmt nswt, mwt nswt, is on the architrave of a door in the north temple at Buhen (Randall-Maciver & Woolley, Buhen VII, pl. 35).

The titulary of Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II is much richer than that of other queens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. In addition to the usual titulary of a queen for this period, J<sup>c</sup>h-htp was given the special title of 'Mistress of the lands of Hau-nebwet'. She was the only queen to be so entitled. Vandersleyen (Guerres, pp.139 - 176) discusses the title in detail, identifying Hau-nebwet with the lands of the Palestinian littoral, where the mouths of the rivers broke the land into portions (signalled by the  sign of the title). Meyer's suggestion (Geschichte, pp.54ff.) that this title may have indicated a marriage with the king of Crete is no longer accepted.

Troy (Queenship, p.135) sees hnwt jdbw H3w-nbwt and all the titles on the Karnak stele in a symbolic, rather than political sense. To her they are 'a clear echo' of the king's own titulary. Vandersleyen also remarked upon the similarity between the titulary of the king and the queen. In his view, however, the title of hnwt jdbw H3w-nbwt is one of real political significance over territory, long known by the Egyptians, but now theirs to dominate for the first time (ibid. p.175). Vandersleyen stresses that J<sup>c</sup>h-htp's authority was not nominal, but required the queen to actively exercise power over the region. The evidence for this suggested activity is limited to the information on the Karnak stele, however, and it is difficult to discern much detail in that.

Desroches-Noblecourt (Les femmes au temps des Pharaons, p.51), expressing the idea that the jewellery from sarcophagus of Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp I had originally belonged to J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II (ibid.

p.284), considers that J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp's military leadership resulted in her being the first female to win the 'gold of valour' in the shape of the necklace of golden flies found in JE 28501. The burial equipment of this queen seems unlikely to belong to J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II, however, as J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I, by her remains, was of an older generation from the queen honoured by Ahmose. Whereas one could imagine the older equipment being included in the sarcophagus of the younger queen, it is more difficult to imagine the accoutrements of the later queen being given to the earlier J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp; the reconstruction of events suggested by Desroches-Noblecourt (loc. cit.) thus seems unlikely. Dewachter (RdÉ 36 [1985], p.64) has shown that the jewellery found with J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I may have had nothing to do with the original burial of this queen, so that the use of the jewellery in reconstructing this queen's history is dubious.

Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II and Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj are the only queens who carried the title of snt jtj. Perhaps this is connected with their presumed regencies, since both queens appear to have acted in the capacity of regents during their times.

One of the other titles still in dispute is that of hmt ntr. In a recent study Gitton has come to the conclusion that the earliest incumbent of this office is likely to have been Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj (divines épouses, pp.23 - 26). He did not consider that J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II held that title in her lifetime (ibid. p.21), a view also held by both Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.253) and Troy (GM 35 [1979], p.84). It has been possible to provide broad dates for material containing Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp's name by the type of lunar element given in each instance (Vandersleyen, Guerres, pp.205 - 228), and the authors cited have used this dating mechanism in coming to their conclusion that the title was not used in her lifetime.

The earliest datable posthumous record comes from the stele of Jw.f who, together with his son, appears on a stele honouring both Queen Sbk-m-s3.f and Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp. Jw.f, who had repaired the chapel of Sbk-m-s3.f, had been made a priest of the cult of J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II, and later served J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, wife of Thutmose I, in the same capacity. His stele was cut some time after he was installed in his second post and, by that time, Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms was also dead. In Gitton's opinion, J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp was by then considered such a prestigious queen that she was given the honorary title of hmt ntr, even though she had not held this during her lifetime (ibid. p.22).

Another type of evidence comes from a sarcophagus from Dynasty XXI (Gauthier, LR II, p.209. #9). There, J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp's name

is written with the inverted moon sign that would indicate a very early date. This increases the likelihood that some older inscription had been copied by the later scribe but, since the coffin itself is so late, this evidence is not reliable.

More difficult to analyse are two small items of uncertain date. There is a scarab and a blue-green prism which also record the title hmt ntr for J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II (Petrie, Scarabs, pl. 24.18.2.44 - 45),

but Gitton thinks that it could post-date her death (*ibid.* p.23). Evidence for these scarabs being posthumous is lacking.

Thus, it would appear that although the evidence for J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp's use of hmt ntr during her lifetime is limited, some doubt about her possession of the title does remain. But, if she held the title during her lifetime, why was it not used on her monuments? One answer to this could be that the office of God's Wife, which may have been introduced as early as the time of J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-mrjt-Jmn, had not attained its full eminence during J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II's lifetime (for further discussion see Chapter 8). Another, more likely explanation, is that she passed on the office to her daughter during her lifetime - as we know Hatshepsut was later to do. Such an explanation would allow the scarab and later evidence to be acceptable, at the same time avoiding the difficulties encountered by Gitton (eg. divines épouses, pp.48f.) in his work.

Rowe (ASAE 40 [1940], p.58) cites J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II in his list of royal personalities who were venerated as gods in later times (Champollion, Monuments II, CLXXXIV). She is included as a deified queen in all the Theban necropolis lists (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], p.220).

Prosopography: J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II's position in the royal genealogy of the Seventeenth Dynasty has been restudied, and realigned during the past decade. Originally, she was seen as the wife of Amenhotep I (eg. James, CAH II/1, p.307; Seipel, LÄ I.99). Although Schmitz (CdÉ 52 [1978], pp.207 - 221) thought that J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp I and II were the same person, the material evidence for J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II has now been sifted from that of her namesake (Vandersleyen, SAK 8 [1980], pp.237 - 241; Troy, GM 35 [1979], pp.81 91; Robins, Egyptian Queens, pp.49 - 54; Blankenberg-van Delden, GM 54 [1982], p.35). We think that she is likely to have been the wife of Seqenenre (see Winlock's argument in JEA 10 [1924], p.246). She was also the daughter of Ttj-šrj and a king (probably Senakhtenre). She was the mother of King Ahmose, Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nbt-t3wj, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-T3-mrj and, it has been claimed by several scholars, mother of the king's eldest son,

Prince J<sup>c</sup>h-ms of a once missing statue (see below).

A Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp is associated with King Seqenenre on this statue (Winlock, op.cit. pl. XX; Louvre E 15682), and there she carries the titles of s3t nswt wrt and hnmt nfr hdt. Her J<sup>c</sup>h element is written with the oldest moon sign for this dynasty. Winlock (ibid. p.251) was the first to question the identity of this woman, asking whether or not a third J<sup>c</sup>h-htp might be the woman referred to on the statue. Thinking that three women of that name might present too much of an encumbrance in the family genealogy, he decided to assign the parentage of the prince to J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II and Seqenenre, and this construct has generally been accepted.

While s3t nswt smswt is a common title for princesses, the title of s3t nswt wrt (as present on this statue) had only been used once before, in Dynasty VIII, by Princess Nbt of Koptos, and it is odd to see it resurfacing at this time. On the same statue there are two princesses named, s3t nswt wrt J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, and s3t nswt J<sup>c</sup>h-ms srj. Perhaps the title of s3t nswt wrt marks the senior princess among like-named children in a king's family.

In the Middle Kingdom example of Queens Hnmt-nfr-hdt wrt and srj we have another parallel to the examples on the Louvre statue. In that earlier instance it is apparent that the discriminating adjective was used precisely to distinguish two like-named queens associated with King Senwosret III. The same idea seems to have been put into operation in this instance, all the queens J<sup>c</sup>h-htp can be shown to have some connexion with King Ahmose.

Alternatively, it may have been a New Kingdom convention designed to discriminate which of the king's daughters was the most senior in rank at court. In all the later examples of the s3t nswt wrt title (Nfrw-R<sup>c</sup>, J<sup>c</sup>rt, and S3t-Jmn, daughter of Amenhotep III), those women do seem to have been the princess royal.

J<sup>c</sup>h-htp is not called 'King's wife' on the statue, yet she has the royal title of a queen. Robins (GM 56 [1982], pp.71) has correctly observed that, from the Thirteenth Dynasty onwards, the title of hnmt nfr hdt is only carried by queens who were hmt nswt wrt, and this should permit us to view the Louvre J<sup>c</sup>h-htp also as the Great wife of a king.

Although most scholars have taken the J<sup>c</sup>h-htp of the J<sup>c</sup>h-ms statuette (eg. Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.220; Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.251; Troy, Queenship, p.160) to be J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II,

Winlock appears to be more hesitant. Robins (GM 56 [1982], p.71) has gone further than Winlock, and pointed out that J<sup>ch</sup>-htp II never carries the title of s3t nswt wrt, and hnmt nfr hdt seems to have been given to her after the death of her husband (ibid. p.73). In the light of Winlock's hesitation, and Robins' argument, this present work records the queen on Louvre statue E 15682 as Queen J<sup>ch</sup>-htp III (below).

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### (?) QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>h-htp III

Temp. Seqenenre

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hnmt nfr hdt, s3t nswt wrt; She who is united with the beautiful White Crown, Great daughter of the King.

Scholars have reacted differently to the inscription on the Louvre statue, E 15682. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.251) has given the queen's titles to J<sup>c</sup>h-htp I, whom she sees as the mother of King Ahmose. She has also incorporated material from Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II in compiling her titulary of this queen. Troy (Queenship, p.160) incorporates her titles with the woman she lists as 'Ahotep I', whom she identifies as the mother of Ahmose. Robins (Egyptian Queens, p.54; GM 56 [1982], p.71) considers that she is a different queen altogether, since her titles on the Louvre statue do not fit into the normal pattern of entitling a queen. She suggests that she is Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp III.

In connection with the lack of the hmt nswt title for this queen, Robins also points out that, after the Thirteenth Dynasty, women carrying the title hnmt nfr hdt would also possess the title hmt nswt wrt. Perhaps the presence of the s3t nswt wrt was considered to have been more prestigious than the title of King's great wife at the time when the statue was made. If this were true, one would imagine that J<sup>c</sup>h-htp III had been the eldest daughter of the previous king, Senakhtenre, and may have been the daughter of his hmt nswt wrt (who does not appear to have been Ttj-šrj) during the lifetime of the king - see Robins (Egyptian Queens, pp.58f.).

Prosopography: If the Louvre statue (Winlock, JEA 10 [1924], pls. XVIII - XX: Louvre E 15682) indeed represents this queen and her family (see discussion in previous prosopographical entry), then she was the wife of Seqenenre, mother of his son

Prince J<sup>c</sup>h-ms (not the later king), and two princesses, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, s3t nswt wrt, and J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-šrj. The prince, to whom the funerary statue was dedicated, was deceased at that time and thus, could not be identical with the later King Ahmose. It is suggested elsewhere (Chapter 8, p.356f.) that s3t nswt wrt J<sup>c</sup>h-ms was the first royal woman to be a God's Wife of Amen and, as this title always went to a princess born of the King's Great Wife, Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp III is likely to have been the senior wife of King Seqenenre.

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#### QUEEN S3T-DHWTJ

Temp. Seqenenre

Tomb: unknown; there is a reference to her on the mummy bandages of Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, found in Tomb 47 in the Valley of the Queens (Schiaparelli, Relazione I, pls. 6f.). (The queen may have been buried in one of the nameless tombs there.) S3t-Dhwtj is recorded on these bandages as being the mother of Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, and the daughter of Seqenenre.

Titles: s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt nswt; King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife.

The titles were found on the mummy bandages of Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, daughter of the queen (Schiaparelli, loc. cit.; Chiantore, Relazione, p.20, fig.16).

Prosopography: On the fragment of linen from QV 47, Princess J<sup>c</sup>h-ms names herself as the daughter of Seqenenre and Queen S3t-Dhwtj. The queen was thus the wife, and the sister - or half-sister - of Seqenenre. Her other siblings are indicated on Genealogy 6.

Blankenberg-van Delden (GM 60 (1982), p.7) has suggested that S3t-Dhwtj could be the mother of King Kamose, since his parents are unknown. In that case, one would expect that the queen's title mwt nswt would have taken priority over hmt nswt in the titles on the linen piece mentioned above, but perhaps the princess predeceased her father.

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QUEEN S3T-K3MS

Temp. uncertain - she appears to have belonged to both the generation of King Ahmose and King Amenhotep I. Robins (Egyptian Queens, pp.36f.) argues strongly for S3t-K3ms being a member of the family of Ahmose. The known siblings of Ahmose all possessed the name of J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, in addition to the subsidiary name the women possessed. This could be an argument against placing her in the immediate family of King Ahmose. On the other hand, her name suggests that she may have been the daughter of Kamose, as Vandersleyen (CdÉ 52 [1977], p.241) suggests, and Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.292) endorses. S3t-K3ms appears on monuments from the reigns of both Ahmose (Vandersleyen, op. cit. p.242f.) and Amenhotep I (Daressy, Rec. Trav. 22 [1900], p.142).

Tomb: unknown; her mummy (CG 61063) was found within the coffin of a chantress of Amen from the Twenty-second Dynasty. This coffin was part of the Deir el Bahri cache.

The preparation method for the queen's mummy was similar to that of other mummies of the Ahmose - Amenhotep I period included in the Deir el Bahri cache in that she was smeared over with a black, resinous paste. This technique would confirm her dating given above. The queen was unusual among the royal ladies in being 'a large, powerfully- built, almost masculine woman, about 1.620 metres in height' (Smith, Mummies, p.19). She had fair skin and wavy, dark chestnut hair. Smith considered that she was no more than thirty years of age when she died.

Titles: s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt nswt wrt; King's daughter, King's sister, King's great wife.

The titles s3t nswt, snt nswt and hmt nswt wrt, were on the queen's mummy bandages (Maspero, Mummies, p.541). On the mummy she is named both 'S3t-K3[sic.]', and 'J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-s3t-K3ms', the only time her name is written this way.



Hmt nswt, hmt ntr; King's wife, Wife of the god.

The title of hmt ntr comes from the British Museum stelae Nos. 297 and 355, as well as in the Ramesside tomb of H<sup>c</sup>j-bhnt, and on the Cairo stele of Jmn-mn, the date of which is uncertain, but not anterior to the time of Thutmose III (Gitton, divines épouses, p.48 n.25). All of these records are of late date, and are thought by Troy and Robins to be dubious evidence for the titles of the queen during her lifetime.

Gitton is also unsure whether the title of hmt ntr was held by this queen (*ibid.* p.48), partly because all of the monuments mentioning this title are late documents. It should be noted that Gitton himself has difficulty in establishing whether she preceded or followed J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrrt-jrj in possession of this office, finally suggesting as an alternative that S3t-K3ms perhaps might have been given the title posthumously (*ibid.* p.49).

Prosopography: The relationship of this queen to other members of the Ahmosid family is questionable. Her name has prompted some scholars (eg. Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 [1977], p.241; Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.292) to see her as the daughter of King Kamose. Because she has the title 'King's sister', however, Gitton and others have drawn the conclusion that she could not be the daughter of King Kamose, since he had no son to succeed him and thus S3t-K3ms could not then claim the title of snt nswt - which appears on her mummy bandages. Her title of snt nswt, however, is explicable within the kinship terms of the Egyptian language, as snt was a known term for a brother's daughter (Robins, CdÉ 54 [1979], pp.202 - 204), and this might explain her title if Ahmose was the brother of Kamose, as has been accepted by many scholars.

A further complication arises from her title of hmt nswt wrt. Usually, only one wife of a king holds this title. Both King Ahmose and King Amenhotep have great wives who are well known, yet S3t-K3ms (whose mummy reveals preservation techniques typical of this period (Smith, Mummies, p.19) must surely belong to their times and be the hmt nswt wrt of one of them. If she were the daughter of Kamose, one would expect that her husband would be Amenhotep I, rather than Ahmose, as Gitton and others prefer, but it is conceivable that (if she had been the daughter of Kamose) she may have been married Ahmose to strengthen his dynastic claim to the throne.

F. Schmitz has suggested that she was the daughter of Queen

Jḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj and King Kamose, and that after the latter's death, Jḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj married his brother, Ahmose, and brought her daughter into the new family. With this adoption into the family of Ahmose (perhaps on a parallel with Queen Mr.s-ḥnh III of Dynasty IV) Schmitz (Amenophis I, p.49) explains the reason for both the simple and the double-barrelled name of this queen as given on her mummy bandages.

Although more recent work prefers to see her as the wife of Ahmose, (and again the parallel of Queen Mr.s-ḥnh III suggests a precedent for a marriage between uncle and niece), a marriage with one of her own generation would be more likely. S3t-K3ms could thus have been the wife of King Amenhotep I, as suggested in Genealogy 6. If this construct happens to be correct, one would suggest that she must have been the first Great wife of the king, since Queen Mrjt-Jmn also carries the title. S3t-K3ms' mummification procedures suggest an earlier period than those used on the mummy of Mrjt-Jmn.

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QUEEN JN-H<sup>c</sup>PJ (also referred to as Tnt-H<sup>c</sup>pj)

Temp. Sequenre - Ahmose

Tomb: Deir el Bahri No.320. The tomb is in a valley in

the general region in which lie many tombs of women of this dynasty. Winlock (JEA 17 [1931], p.110) remarks that the tomb was typical of tombs of the queens of this period, being hidden in a mountain gorge, and located high up on the cliff-face.

Tomb 320 was used by the priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty to conceal the mummies of other members of the royal families of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The tomb was so altered in the Twenty-first Dynasty to accommodate the numerous sarcophagi of these royal families that Romer believes its original design will never be known (MDAIK 32 [1976], p.193). Thomas (Necropoleis, p.177), however, considers that the original design was similar to that of KV 41 (an uninscribed tomb). She thinks that the tomb 'perhaps first consisted of the shaft and a single room cut into the gebel'. It was later enlarged - probably in the Twenty-first Dynasty - when it was decided to remove the royal mummies to safer quarters.

Although Dewachter (BSFÉ 74 [1975], p.32) does not think that this tomb belonged to Queen Jn-Ḥꜥpj, Winlock, Thomas and Romer consider that it did. The dockets that accompanied the transferred sarcophagi, all marked for the destination of her tomb, would appear to indicate that the tomb was indeed hers. Jn-Ḥꜥpj herself was found in Hall E of the plan. As she was discovered within the sarcophagus of R3j (CG 61004), the nurse of Jꜥḥ-ms-nfrt-jrj, it is evident that her tomb had been robbed in antiquity.

The mummy that is said to be that of Jn-Ḥꜥpj shows rather primitive embalming techniques, suggestive of the time of Seqenenre (Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 [1977], p.243 n.1), whose wife she was. In life the queen was plump, and her hair was braided in imitation of ears of wheat (Smith, Royal Mummies, p.8f.).

Titles: s3t nswt, hmt nswt; King's daughter, King's wife.

The queen's titles come from two sources, the first being from mummy bandages used for the mummy of Queen Jꜥḥ-ms-T3-mḥw, who says she is a daughter of 's3t nswt Tnt-Ḥꜥpj' (Maspero, Momies, p.543f.). Tnt-Ḥꜥpj is considered by some to be identical to Queen Jn-Ḥꜥpj (Daressy, ASAE 9 [1908], p.95), for this queen is shown with a princess named Jꜥḥ-ms-ḥnwt-T3-mḥw on Theban Tomb Stele No.53 (Hermann, Stelen, p.61 fig. 8). It is on this stele that Jn-Ḥꜥpj is entitled hmt nswt.

Since she was a s3t nswt, it is supposed that Jn-Ḥꜥpj was also the sister of the king, although this title has not been associated with her.

Prosopography: Although the names of her father and husband have not been recorded, from the formation-type of her alleged daughter's name Jn-Hꜥpj may have been a daughter of King Senakhtenre. Her unnamed husband might have been Seqenenre, as Vandersleyen (CdÉ 52 [1977], p.244) and Troy (Queenship, p.160) have suggested. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.293) prefers to see her as a sister-wife of King Ahmose.

Robins (Egyptian queens, pp.48f.) is not convinced that Jn-Hꜥpj was identical to Tnt-Hꜥpj, and has suggested that these women might have been sisters. At this stage there is no material which would incline one to either theory, since the arguments are equally matched.

Although the inscriptional evidence is not entirely certain (see Gauthier, LR II, p.195f. and n. 1 p.96), Queen Jn-Hꜥpj appears to have been the mother of Princess Hnwt-T3-mḥw, who later became a queen herself (Daressy, ASAE 9 [1908], p.95). A stele from Tomb 53 shows the tomb-owner and his companion making an offering to the Princess Jꜥh-ms-hnwt-T3-mḥw, while a hmt nswt Jꜥh-ms ... sits beside her. A boy child sucks his thumb behind the woman's leg, and a female stands behind her chair. If Jn-Hꜥpj is the hmt nswt there, this is the only occasion on which the prefix 'Jꜥh-ms' is attached to Jn-Hꜥpj's name. The late date of the stele suggests that there may have been a scribal error here. The stele may represent Queen Jn-Hꜥpj and her alleged daughter (Hermann, Stelen, fig. 8). The lunette of this stele has a format similar to that of Queen Jꜥh-ḥtp II and Queen Sbk-m-s3f, however, and thus need not represent a royal mother and daughter.

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QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>h-MS-HNWT-T3-MHW

Temp. Ahmose

Tomb: Not known, her mummy was found in the Deir el Bahri cache (Daressy, ASAE 9 [1908], pp.95f; Maspero, Momies, p.543). Her linen bandages and sarcophagus carried her titles. In Tomb 78 at Sheikh abd el-Gurneh the tomb owner is shown making an offering to this queen and a hmt nswt Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj (LD III, pl. 8a). In Tomb 53, on the right wall of the lower hall, she appears again in the second register, as well as in the lunette of the stela from T.53.

The queen was an old woman when she died, and her mummy has hardly any natural hair left on her head. She covered up her baldness with false plaits. Her own hair was dyed red, but her false plaits were made with black hair (Smith, Royal mummies, p.19).

Titles: On her sarcophagus (Daressy, Cercueils de Cachettes royales, p.17 No.61012) she is entitled as: s3t nswt, snt nswt: King's daughter, King's sister.

On her mummy label (Maspero, momies, p.543) was written: s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt nswt; King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife.

J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-hnwt-T3-mhw's titles are more comprehensive in the list found on her mummy-bandages; being of late date, this inscription may not accurately record her status. In the tomb of H<sup>c</sup>-bhnt (LD III.2a) she is recorded as Great wife of the King. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.293), however, does not consider her to have carried the title of hmt nswt during her lifetime. Troy (Queenship, p.162) provisionally accepts her as the wife of a king. If Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj's marriage was to King Seqenenre, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-hnwt-T3-mhw would have been the half-sister of King Ahmose. The queen's title, 'King's sister' would thus provide another example of a half-sister being given full sibling status.

Prosopography: Both the queen and her mother had their names recorded in different hieroglyphic versions by the scribes, and Maspero and Robins have thought that there were four different persons altogether. Daressy suggested that there was a duplication here, due to the use of different hieroglyphs (ASAE 9 [1908], pp.95f.), but Gauthier, while recording the gist of Daressy's argument, (and on p.196 disagreeing with it) recorded each variant of the name as a different princess (LR II, pp.187, 195).

The queen's mother is likely to have been Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj. Neither her father nor her husband are named. Jn-H<sup>c</sup>pj was the wife of an unnamed king - Vandersleyen (CdÉ 52 [1977], p244) has suggested Seqenenre. If J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-hnwt-T3-mḥw (her alleged daughter) was a king's wife, she might have been the wife of Ahmose. This would fit in with the known schema (ibid. p.238) of the children of Seqenenre, who all have the J<sup>c</sup>h-ms element in their names. If J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-hnwt-T3-mḥw had any offspring they are not known.

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# QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>H-MS-NFRT-JRJ

Temp. Ahmose - Amenhotep I The queen lived during the years of the expulsion of the Hyksos, and indeed her putative father, Seqenenre, seems to have died in those wars (Bietak & Strouhal, Annalen Naturhistorisches Museum Wien 79 [1974], pp.28ff). When the land settled down at last to some peace and stability the number of royal monuments and inscriptions increased, and for this reason Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfirt-jrj is the best-attested queen up to this point in Egyptian history. Her records, and monuments mentioning her after her death, are too numerous to mention here, but a full catalogue of contemporary and posthumous documents has been compiled by Michel Gitton (Nefertary).

Tomb: Although it is not officially identified, the queen's tomb is thought by Thomas (Necropoleis, p.172) and Romer (MDAIK 32 [1976], esp. pp.202 - 206) to be the pit tomb behind Dra abu el-Naga. Ownership of that tomb has also been ascribed to Amenhotep I (Carter, JEA III [1916], pp.147ff.) There are more records of Nfirt-jrj's name than anyone else's in that tomb, although these finds may be circumstantial, rather than an indication of the owner. Romer suggests that it might be hers, not only because of the potsherds but because the architects of Queen Hatshepsut copied the design of that tomb. He thinks it likely that Hatshepsut took her inspiration for the model from some famous queen of former times. Since J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfirt-jrj was the name most famous before Hatshepsut's time, the tomb might have been hers, although Romer is aware of the slender nature of the evidence for his hypothesis.

The Dra abu el-Naga tomb had as its model the tomb of Queen Nfrw of Dynasty XI (ibid. pp.191f.). The Dra abu el-Naga tomb in its turn set an important precedent for all the royal tombs that followed Hatshepsut's model (ibid. pp.205f.).

On the edge of the cultivated land the queen and her son, Amenhotep I shared a mortuary temple, called Mn-st, 'the enduring place', from which a number of sandstone and limestone blocks still remain (Carter, JEA 3 [1916], pp.153f.). Although J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfirt-jrj never attained the status of an oracle, as her son did, she was never-the-less regarded as a god for the remainder of New Kingdom times. It is for this reason that the queen's face frequently is given a blue or black colour. Her figure appears on scores of stelae, and in numerous tombs as a goddess. Frequently she appears at the head of royal ancestors (eg.

Champollion, Monuments II, pl. CLXXXIV). On one occasion she actually takes precedence over the other kings in a relief from the right wall of the courtyard of Medinet Habu (ibid. pl. CLII); in another her image is carried in a sacred barque, like that of Amen (ibid. pl. CL).

Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj was interred in the Deir el Bahri cache, where her enormous sarcophagus, similar in style to the sarcophagus of J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II, was found. There are three known sarcophagi of this type, all very similar in workmanship, and all belonging to queens. Queen Mrjt-Jmn was the owner of the third coffin. The workmanship of all three must be roughly contemporary with each other, and all, apparently, belonging to the reign of Amenhotep I. We know from the stele of K3r.s that J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II died some time after Year 10 of Amenhotep, and we now know that Queen Mrjt-Jmn was the chief wife of Amenhotep, who died during his reign. Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj, however, appears to have been still alive in the earliest years of the reign of Thutmose I, for she and his wife J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, appear on a stele, announcing the new king's accession to the Nubians [Urk. IV.79 - 81].

The mummy of the queen was found within her sarcophagus in the Deir el Bahri cache. Her remains are those of an aged woman with pale skin, her scanty locks of hair were padded out with numerous little plaits of false hair. Like Ttj-šrj, the mummy of J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj showed severe malocclusion (Harris & Wente, Atlas, p.331), and her teeth showed extensive attrition. Cluster analysis (ibid. p.354) revealed close similarity between this mummy and the mummies of Queen Mrjt-Jmn and Ttj-šrj, quite compatible with their assumed relationship. The bones of the queen suggest that she died at the latest around about 35 - 40 years of age (ibid. p.208f.). Wente, however, provides estimates which range from a minimum of 28 years to a maximum of 50 (ibid. p.245) based on the historical material.

Titles: 1a) s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt ntr, hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt, mwt nswt, ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s, Hrjt-tp Rsj Mhw;

2a) hmt nswt wrt, mwt nswt, hnwt t3wj, hmt ntr n

Jmn;

3a) hmt ntr, hmt nswt wrt, nbt t3wj  
s3t nswt, snt nswt, mwt nswt, hnwt t3wj tm  
hmt nswt wrt, mwt nswt, nbt t3wj  
s3t nswt, snt nswt. iti.

4a) hmt ntr, drt [ntr],;



5a) rp<sup>c</sup>tt wrt, hmt nswt wrt, mwt nb t3wj, hnwt Šm<sup>c</sup> T3-mhw,  
(<sup>c</sup>nh.tj ddwj mj R<sup>c</sup>, dt r nhh).

1b) King's daughter, King's sister, <sup>beautiful</sup>Wife of the god, King's great wife, She who is united with the White Crown, All that she orders is done for her, Chief of the South and the North;

2b) King's great wife, King's mother, Mistress of the Two Lands, God's wife of Amen;

3b) God's wife, King's great wife, Lady of the Two Lands  
 King's daughter, King's sister, Mother of the king,  
 Mistress of the Two Lands in their entirety  
 King's great wife, Mother of the King, Lady of Lands  
 King's daughter, King's sister, Sovereign.

4b) .. God's wife, Hand of the god.

5b) Great hereditary princess, King's great wife, Mother of the lord of the Two Lands, Mistress of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, (who is given life, enduring like Re, for ever and ever).

These five collections of titles, each featuring some new element, are given separately because each appears on a separate item. The first set (1a) were written on the Donation Stele found at Karnak. Except for the last two, these titles were also found on the queen's coffin.

The second set (2a) were inscribed on her canopic vases. Set 3a) was found on a rock stele at Massara, her cartouche following each of the lines of inscription (Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.289). The text was cut in Year 22 of Ahmose (Urk. IV.25). The use of 'mwt nswt' in Year 22 of Ahmose has been taken to be an indication of a coregency between Amenhotep I and Ahmose (eg. Murnane, Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, pp.114f, Vittmann, JEA 60 [1974], pp.250f.).[1], In addition, the title of jtj is of particular interest, having been held also by Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp

<sup>1</sup> The usage is not unique, however, as Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.290) has described it. A stele from the reign of Thutmose II gives Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms the same title, while her daughter, Hatshepsut, carries only the title of hmt nswt wrt on the same stele (Wildung, Festschrift .. Berliner äg. Museums, pp.255 - 268)

<sup>2</sup> For discussion on this title see the entry for J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II, p.309.

II.[2], Both these queens have been seen as being prominent in political and religious activities during their time, and both are thought to have been regents for young sons. The use of Jtj, may acknowledge this prominence.

The fourth group of titles comes from a damaged Karnak block of the time of Amenhotep I (Lacau & Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout I, p.318, fig. 25). Her title hmt ntr was thought by Gitton to be the first given to a queen (but see discussion in Chapter 8). This is the first occasion on which the title of hmt ntr is combined with the title of drt ntr. This last-mentioned title is also carried by a queen for the first time, although the many examples of wands bearing the names of queens and princesses seem to suggest that the royal women had fulfilled this function from a very early period. It was not until Hatshepsut that this title appeared again in the titulary of a queen.

The fifth set of titles is from a later period, being found on a votive statue now in Turin Museum (see Orcurti). It is because they include the title of rp<sup>c</sup>tt wrt, and because she is given the same epithet as a monarch that this late inscription is recorded here. The inscription witnesses the standing in which this queen was held in later times. In similar vein, a private stele of the times of Thutmose I also says that an event occurred when 'the god's wife J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj, justified by the great god, lord of the west, flew to heaven' - an expression used in speaking about the death of kings. We have the impression that by then the queen indeed held a status similar to that of the kings.

Posthumously, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj was given many more titles, among which were, s3t R<sup>c</sup>, hnwt jdbw Hr, wrt hnr n Jmn; Daughter of Re, Mistress of the shores of Horus, Great one of the harem of Amen, and others. These are all listed and discussed by Gitton (Nefertary, Ch.XVI). It is interesting to observe that many of these titles and epithets appear for the first time and, although some of them were used for other, later queens, some remain unique titles of Nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj.

Prosopography: Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj was the daughter of Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-htp II and her husband (probably Seqenenre). Gitton (Nefertary, p.10) suggests that she was probably born towards the end of her father's reign, since a number of years seem to have elapsed before Nf<sup>r</sup>t-jrj herself was married. We can judge this by the youth of Prince J<sup>c</sup>h-ms, seen on the Donation Stele (which seems to have been cut between Years 18 and 22 of King Ahmose), and by the youth of Amenhotep I, her son.

Maspero (Histoire II, p.78), and others have thought that she could have been the wife of King Kamose. No evidence for this alleged marriage has been established so far. On the other hand, her marriage to Ahmose is well-attested.

She was the mother of the eldest son, Prince J<sup>ch</sup>-ms, who apparently died before he could become king. He appears with his parents on the Donation Stele (Gitton, BIFAO 76 [1976], pl. 14). (For discussion on this prince see Gitton, Nefertary, p.10). Prince J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-s3-p3-jr is portrayed in a Ramesside tomb painting with this queen (LD II, pl.188), but this does not necessarily mean that they were mother and son. It is possible, however, that Prince J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-s3-p3-jr might be identical to Prince J<sup>ch</sup>-ms of the Donation Stele. While suggestions have been made about her other children, only the king mentioned below is certain.

She was the mother of King Amenhotep I and, after her death, she shared with him the status of a god. For the next five centuries she was worshipped at Thebes, although there is little evidence of her cult beyond the region of this city. Many statues and paintings were made in her image, often commissioned by other royal women (Aldred, Artibus Aegypti, pp.7 - 14). She was regarded as a goddess, and appears in the company of other gods in some wall paintings. Other members of this family shared in the cultic adoration of Nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj, but it is by no means certain which of these princes and princesses were her own children.

Although many claims have been made about the political importance of J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj, the only document which gives us a practical grasp of her powers is the Donation Stele. This broken limestone slab is still disputed, with Menu (BIFAO 77 [1977], p.89 - 100) interpreting the document as the granting of the office of Second Prophet of Amen to the queen, and Gitton (divines epouses, pp.29ff.) convinced that it records the transfer of the office of the Second Prophet of Amen from this queen to Nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj's brother - presumably the king - a view first put forward by Harari (ASAE 56 [1959], pp.141 - 144 and pl.). In his discussion of this charter Kees was able to draw a parallel with a similar gift made at el Kab, which enabled him to discover that such religious offices could only be sold or transferred to a close family member - a brother, in both cases (Kees, Orientalia 23 [1954], p.58). Queen J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj, in her capacity as God's Wife of Amen, thus had considerable power within the priesthood of Amen, since she was the person who chose the incumbent for the office of Second Prophet. Her transfer of the office to her brother and his heirs was made after a transaction price had been agreed. In monetary terms, the transfer fee was substantial, involving amounts of gold, silver,

copper, land, clothing, corn and slaves (ibid. pp.61f.).

Apart from the wealth she received from the transfer of the office of Second Prophet, Nfrt.jrj had substantial property, animals and servants over on the west bank, in connexion with her office of God's Wife (Gitton, divines épouses, Part II, Ch.2). As the Great Wife of the king, too, she would have had her own lands and buildings, in addition to any private estate she might have received from her parents. Her financial resources being great, it is no wonder that her titles were accompanied by the phrase dd.s ht nbt jr.tw n.s 'All that she orders is done for her'.

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(?) QUEEN J<sup>c</sup>H-MS-NFR-TTJ

A faience fragment bought at Luxor and published by Legrain bears the name of a Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfr-ttj (Legrain, ASAE 6 [1905], pp.138f.). Legrain was of the opinion that the fragment might have turned up in the course of Naville's excavations at Deir el Bahri and, for that reason Legrain assigned her to the Eleventh Dynasty. The name is nowhere else attested, but Gauthier (LR II, p.127) has suggested that it could belong to the Ahmosid period. He is uncertain whether this cartouche implies a king or queen.

Since neither king nor queen is signalled by the fragment, the piece could just as easily belong to a princess, if it

belongs to the early New Kingdom period, so there is additional doubt about the name even referring to a queen. Much more likely is the possibility that it could simply be a misspelling for Queen J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrt-jrj.

#### 'QUEEN' S3T-JMN

The title of queen for this alleged daughter of King Ahmose is the result of Gauthier's compilation of titles from a number of sources (Gitton, divines épouses, p.56). The scarab for hmt nswt wrt S3t-Jmn (Petrie, Scarabs, pl. 28 No.852) is likely to be that of the daughter of Amenhotep III, who held that title. The S3t-Jmn from the Ahmosid period was simply entitled, s3t nswt, snt nswt, hmt ntr (Benson & Gourlay, Temple of Mut, p.297f., pl. XI), and was not a queen at all. Her name, as suggested by Blankenberg-van Delden (GM 68 [1983], pp.37 - 41) was J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-s3t-Jmn, which suggests she may have belonged to the generation of King Ahmose.

On the much-disputed Karnak statue remains of this God's Wife new information has been published recently (Blankenberg-van Delden, JEA 72 [1986], p.192f.). The statue remains, which are positioned beside those of a colossal statue of Amenhotep I, give the inscription, 'S3t-Jmn, mrt Jmn nb nswt t3wj, dj 'nh dt' on the side of her chair nearest her right leg. But, on the left leg, the cartouche is that of J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-s3t-Jmn, m3<sup>c</sup>t hrw. Blankenberg-van Delden raises the possibility that here might be two different princesses of similar name here (ibid. p.193) because of the different epithets. She suggests that whereas S3t-Jmn was living at the time, J<sup>c</sup>h-ms-s3t-Jmn was not. Clearly, Blankenberg-van Delden has taken the dj 'nh dt epithet to refer to S3t-Jmn, whereas it may more properly refer to the god Amen. It seems more likely, however, that, as there were not two statues, but merely two columns for each leg of the princess, we are dealing with one person whose name is written in two forms. The same phenomenon of two versions of her name appears on this princess' mummy bandages (Maspero, Momies, p.621).

#### QUEEN MRJT-JMN

Temp. Amenhotep I; the floruit of this queen, over whom there has been some confusion, was first questioned by Thomas (Necropoleis, p.175f.) Her arguments, based on the nature of the excavated evidence, do raise sound archaeological objections to Winlock's initial proposal, that she was the wife of Amenhotep II. The issue of the queen's tempus has more recently been

settled by Logan & Williams (Serapis 4 [1977/8], pp.23 - 29), some arguments along similar lines to those of Thomas, but also along others which differ. The sarcophagus type, featuring an upper portion which consists of cloisons, was identical with the sarcophagi of J<sup>ch</sup>-h<sup>tp</sup> II and J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj, even though the Mrjt-Jmn sarcophagus was of a later variety. Her title of hmt nswt wrt was also an indication of this Mrjt-Jmn being different from the princess of that name from the time of Amenhotep II (ibid. p.25). The authors were also able to demonstrate that Winlock's belief that the tomb had been cut after the commencement of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple was not correct (loc. cit.).

Two sarcophagi of the queen were found by Winlock within her tomb, and both are now in Cairo Museum. Both sarcophagi are almost identical in type with those of J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj's coffins. The inner anthropoid coffin, which had once been decorated with gold leaf and cloisonne work, had been restored after robbery by priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Saleh & Sourouzian, Egyptian Museum, No.127). The portrait of the queen is one of remarkable artistic sensitivity.

Tomb: Deir el Bahri No.358 (also known as T 65). The tomb was of a type similar to others of this epoch, having a hidden entrance, a long corridor with a sharp turn to the right (see Winlock, Mereyet-Amun, pls. I, II), a lozenge-shaped chamber on the left, an anteroom, a crypt and, surprisingly, a well. Apart from this last feature, this tomb is similar to the early tombs of other royal women of the Eighteenth Dynasty (see Romer, MDAIK 32 [1976], pp.191 - 206).

Titles: s3t nswt, hmt nswt, hmt nswt wrt, hnmt nfr hdt, snt nswt, hmt ntr, nbt t3wj; King's daughter, King's wife, King's great wife, She who is united with the <sup>beautiful</sup> White Crown, King's sister, Wife of the god, Lady of the Two Lands.

Most of the queen's titles are preserved on her coffins; hmt nswt is on her bandages (Winlock, Mereyet-Amun, pl. XVA). Troy (Queenship, p.162) accords her hnwt t3wj tm, a title not present on her sarcophagus inscriptions, but this may not be hers - see pp.342f. Mrjt-Jmn was the last queen to use the title of hnmt nfr hdt as a regular part of her titulary. Apart from a singular use for Hatshepsut (Winlock, JEA 15 [1929], p.60), the title disappeared after Mrjt-Jmn's death.

Prosopography: There is uncertainty about the parentage of Mrjt-Jmn, although most scholars think that she was the daughter of Queen J<sup>ch</sup>-ms-nf<sup>rt</sup>-jrj, and cluster analysis of the mummies of

these two queens endorses this supposition (Harris & Wente, Atlas, p.254). Robins (Egyptian Queens, p.41), however, lists her as a possible wife for Amenhotep II, as Winlock had done earlier.

The study by Logan and Williams (Serapis 4 [1977/8], pp.23 - 29) has demonstrated that Mrjt-Jmn was the daughter of King Ahmose, and both sister and wife of King Amenhotep I. If Queen S3t-K3ms was also a wife of Amenhotep, Mrjt-Jmn may not have been the chief wife of Amenhotep until some time after the death of S3t-k3ms, since the former also held the title of Great wife of some unnamed king.

No children are known for Mrjt-Jmn. The direct Ahmosid line of the Seventeenth Dynasty seems to have died out at this time. Had she had a daughter, it is likely that the girl would have inherited the title of hmt ntr n Jmn since, at this stage, the title appears to have been handed down to daughters of the king, not other women. As Gitton has shown (divines épouses, p.59ff.), there was no other hmt ntr after Mrjt-Jmn's death until the time of Hatshepsut. Since Thutmose I, successor to Amenhotep I was not his son, we assume that Queen Mrjt-Jmn either had no children, or that none survived her.

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