

The Presence and Involvement of Women in Religious Practice of the Nineteenth Dynasty

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Declaration

I, Meg Lisle, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Summary

This thesis is an examination and discussion of the areas in which women engaged in religious practice during the Nineteenth Dynasty period of ancient Egyptian history. Based on literary, inscriptional, archaeological, artistic and iconographic evidence, this thesis identifies the numerous feminine religious titles that were in use during the Nineteenth Dynasty, including the *šmꜥ.yt* and the *wr.t hnr.wt*, and examines their associated roles and actions in relation to religious worship and celebration, as well as the social status and family connections of the title holders and the development, frequency and distribution of the titles themselves. The thesis also examines the roles and significance of female mourners in mortuary ritual – specifically the funerary procession and the rites performed before the tomb door, and the presence of women in the tomb itself is discussed, with particular consideration paid to the significance of the types of women who appear, where they appear, what they are depicted doing and what information about them is recorded.

Other acts of female personal piety, such as the involvement of women in religious festivals and the adoration of deities through dedicatory stelae, both in conjunction with their male relatives and on their own, are also addressed. A prosopographic index of women who held feminine religious titles in this period has also been assembled, with each entry containing the name, titles and family members of the women, as well as an approximate date, source monument and publication details.

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Abbreviations

BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar.
BM	British Museum.
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
KRI	Kitchen, K. A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Historical and Biographical Vol. I-VIII</i> (Oxford, 1975-1990).
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
PM ²	Porter, B., and Moss, R. L. B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , Second Edition, 7 vols. (1960-).
RITA	Kitchen, K. A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations Vol I-VIII</i> (Oxford, 1993-2012).
RITANC	Kitchen, K. A., and Davies, B. G., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments Vol. I-III</i> (Oxford, 1993-2013).
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
Wb	Erman, A., and Grapow, H., <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptische Sprache</i> , 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 - The Research Project and its Aims

The major aim of this study is to identify the ways in which non-royal women engaged in religious practice during the Nineteenth Dynasty. It will discuss, based on inscriptional, archaeological, literary and iconographic evidence, a number of areas where early Ramesside women, both titled and non-titled, were present and involved in cultic activities. The project's examination of titled women, which includes women designated as *šm^c.yt*, *wr.t hnr.wt* and *hsyt*, will discuss the types of women who held the title, and their status, the number of times the titles occur and the range of cults they were attached to, and their roles and duties as attested primarily through wall scenes. Another section of the work will look at women and their roles as mourners, in both funerary scenes and religious festivals, while the place of women in the private tombs of the period will also be addressed. The means through which Nineteenth Dynasty women engaged with their gods and expressed their personal piety will be discussed in its own chapter.

In order to effectively identify the ways in which women engaged with religious practice in the period studied, the following research questions were asked:

- What religious titles were held by women in the Nineteenth Dynasty?
- Who held these titles and how often are they attested?
- What duties or roles did these titled women undertake as part of their service?
- In what ways were women involved in funerary ritual?
- Where do women appear in the private tombs of the period?
- How did women, titled or not, express their own personal piety?

These research questions formed the basis of the study's structure and are addressed in their appropriate chapters.

1.2 - Previous Literature

Within Egyptology, the sub-discipline of Women's History is an ever growing area of study. Encouraged, in part, by the emergence of the First and Second Wave feminist movements, there has been an increase in the publication of literature focused on Egyptian women of royal, elite and non-elite status. This collection of works, amongst which this research project can be counted,

aims to construct a more complete and accurate understanding of ancient Egyptian society and culture.

General, overview works on ancient Egyptian women are plentiful, covering topics such as childbirth, marriage and the family, education and literacy, occupations and the roles of women in manufacturing, and the lives and actions of well-known royal women. This category of studies, which includes Barbara Watterson's *Women in Ancient Egypt* and Barbara Lesko's, *The Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt*, is generally aimed at a non-specialised audience, and while they succeed as introductions to the topic of ancient Egyptian women, their length, language, structural approach and occasional lack of referencing means they are less useful as a scholarly source.¹

Gay Robins' 1993 study on Egyptian women, however, is one of the more extensive, and research based, examinations of female presence and status.² The main aim of Robins' work was to provide a study on Egyptian women that could be used by both specialists and the general reader. The work's extensive bibliography, as well the suggested 'further readings' provided at the end of each chapter, not only demonstrates the breadth of research done, but is also particularly useful to scholars interested in the topic. Robins covers many of the same topics discussed in the overview works, but in greater detail, expanding on what was provided by earlier publications. She devotes two chapters on various aspects of Egyptian queenship and a number on women in relation to family, marriage and the household, while Chapters Eight and Nine examine women in association with the temple cults and their roles in funerary ritual and expressions of personal piety. Although still a general work, Robin's study provides an extensive, detailed and well referenced overview of women in ancient Egypt, and her language, format and included illustrations allows it to be accessible to a wide and varied audience.

Women have always been present, to some degree, in works on ancient Egyptian religion. Richard Wilkinson's work on Egyptian deities, for example, includes chapters on the priesthood and personal piety, and it is here that women are discussed, particularly in relation to the small local shrines of Deir el-Medina.³ In other works, such as Ann Rosalie David's *The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices* and John Baines' chapter in *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, women are

¹ B. Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1991); B. Lesko, *The Remarkable Women of Ancient Egypt* (Providence, 1987). Also see Z. Hawass, *Silent Images: Women in Pharonic Egypt* (New York, 2000) and J. Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994).

² G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993).

³ R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003) p. 48.

referenced throughout, mentioned as singers and dancers who accompanied the performance of temple rituals, as well as in relation to the rituals surrounding marriage and birth.⁴

One of the earliest, more specific works to deal with women and ancient Egyptian religion was published in 1921 by Alyward Blackman.⁵ Blackman's article aimed to address what he saw as an oversight in the understanding of female involvement in the temple cults by examining, based on wall scenes from temples and tombs, as well as other inscriptional evidence from stelae, the official titles held by women and their associated duties and actions. His work covers the period of Egyptian history from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period and looks at titles such as the *šmꜥ.yt*, the *ḥnywt* and the *s3dt*, as well as the *ḥm.t ntr n'Imn*, or 'God's Wife of Amun'. While the article succeeds in demonstrating the involvement and importance of women in the temples and other areas of religious practice, one major issue is his translation of many of the religious titles he mentions. Egyptian terms such as *šmꜥ.yt*, *ḥnywt* and *s3dt* are all translated as 'musician' or 'musician-priestess', which ignores the specific nuances and uses of the titles. Suzanne Onstine, in her 2005 work, for example, has identified that not only are the *šmꜥ.yt* vocalists, they are predominately associated with percussion instruments, which led her to characterise their style of singing as rhythmic, and so translates the title as "Chantress."⁶ (Blackman's translation of the title *wr.t ḥnr.wt*, and its significance within the tradition of its use will be discussed in Chapter 3.2, along with other significant studies published on the *ḥnr*).

Onstine's work on the *šmꜥ.yt* looks at the entire period of the title's use, from the Middle Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic period, and is based on a thorough examination of inscriptional and literary evidence that includes stela, tomb biographies, letters and literary stories. From this, Onstine reconstructs the historical development of the title, as well as its associated duties and organisation within the temple. Her prosopographical approach to the research also produced a detailed index of women, as well as men, identified as holders of the title *šmꜥy(t)*.

Another similar work on female involvement in Egyptian religion is Mariam Ayad's study of the title 'God's Wife of Amun'.⁷ Like Onstine's, Ayad's examination of a single religious title is based on a thorough analysis of the literary, inscriptional and artistic evidence, which allows for the construction of an historical narrative concerning the title's use and development. Her highly detailed study of the ritualistic roles of the 'God's Wife', along with her reliance on contemporary

⁴ A. R. David, *The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London, 1982); J. Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice" in B. E. Shafer (ed.) *Religion in Ancient Egypt. God's Myths and Personal Practice* (Cornell, 1991) pp. 123-199.

⁵ A. M. Blackman, 'On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy', *JEA* 7 (1921) p. 8.

⁶ S. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (Šmꜥyt) in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2005) p. 76.

⁷ M. F. Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)* (London, 2009).

evidence over assumptions based on modern ideas of Christian women makes this work particularly relevant to scholars interested in both Egyptian religion and women's history.

1.3 – Methodology

The scale of this research project was chosen based on a number of factors. The time period of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which lasted for approximately 110 years was selected for its wealth of inscriptional and artistic evidence for religious practice, which allows for an expansive and in-depth analysis of the period. As, stylistically, undated stelae from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty can be difficult to distinguish from stelae dating the end of the Eighteenth, modern suggestions accompanying translations will be considered. The Nineteenth Dynasty also follows a phase of the later Eighteenth Dynasty known as the Amarna period. Under the rule of the king Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV), Egypt saw dramatic political, social and religious change with the introduction of the Aten as chief god, and the movement of the country's capital to a site in Middle Egypt known as Akhetaten ("Horizon of the Aten"; modern day Tell el-Amarna). The rejection of Akhenaten and his changes, and the return to traditional religious practices, begun by the last rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was an important aspect of early Nineteenth Dynasty policy, particularly in relation to the priesthood of Amun. As a result, evidence for this period demonstrates significant changes and developments in both religious practice and religious administration. The study, therefore, of the distribution of particular titles, and the significance of their association with certain deities, as well the involvement of women in religious festivals, funerary ritual and offering scenes, will contribute greatly towards our understanding of both religious practice and female status during the Nineteenth Dynasty. The scale of this thesis necessitated the study of a limited time period, and so, a temporal boundary of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty was chosen, primarily as a neat, although modern constructed, end-point. Future research into the topic will hopefully be able to examine a broader time range, possibly beyond the New Kingdom period, which will enhance and build upon the findings and interpretations of this project.

The major source types utilised in this research project fall into two main categories. The first is inscriptional and literary evidence, which includes the inscriptions appearing on stelae, statuary, funerary and votive objects, and in tombs. These types of evidence provide the most information for the names, titles and family of the relevant women. The second category is iconographic evidence, under which falls the depictions of women in both stelae and statuary as well as in tomb

scenes. Iconographic evidence is useful in identifying common images and symbols associated with particular types of women, such as the dress and body language of female mourners that appear on wall scenes, and the typically associated instruments of the *šmꜣyt* and other musicians. Select wall scenes from private tombs also provide the most information on female involvement in religious festivals and processions.

The most significant issue relating to the primary sources used in this project are their “distance” from the women who are being studied. With the possible exception of letters and of certain types of female-made votive offerings (see Chapter 7.2 and 7.4), the majority of the evidence comes from a male-composed or male-dominated context. In general, the women being studied are appearing on monuments commissioned by, and focused on, men. Even when they appear in a scene or monument on their own, it is almost impossible to say how much influence these women had over their depictions. The intent behind these images, along with their context, is something that therefore needs to be carefully considered when using them as evidence. This is also relevant in the study of scenes depicting religious festivals, because although they appear in the tombs of those who had played a role in the celebrations during their lifetime, the focus of the scenes is on particular individuals associated with the tomb owner. While this can be useful for the study of the women included in this group of associates, it neglects significant aspects of the festivals, which must be taken into account when analysed.

Another source issue is the fact that the vast majority of the evidence comes from an elite context. The titled women of the Nineteenth Dynasty that are known to us today are primarily members of the upper classes who had the means and resources to create the monuments and artefacts through which their names survive. This means that discussions on the involvement of women in religious practice in this period is only able to focus on one section of the population, and while a lack of evidence for women of lower status does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of their involvement in religious practice, it limits what conclusions can be convincingly drawn.

1.4 – The Prosopographic Index

Prosopography is a methodological tool which involves the examination of individuals within a larger context and groups them together by a common feature, be it a title, location or time period. Prosopographic studies create a catalogue of persons relevant to the topic of study that includes the known biographical details of each individual. The term prosopography also refers to the analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

The core of this research project is a prosopographic study of female religious titles holders of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Based on a thorough examination of an extensive catalogue of inscriptional and literary sources dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty, an index of two hundred and sixty one women has been produced. Each of these two hundred and sixty one women held at least one religiously associated title, the two most commonly occurring titles being the *šmꜥ.yt* and the *wr.t hnr.wt*. Five anonymous entries have also been included. Although there is no name given for these women, they each have a title recorded for them in the monument where they appear, which is why they have been incorporated into the index. The index of women is included as an appendix to this work, and is presented as a table that contains the names, titles, family members, dates, source monuments and publication details for each woman identified. Specific titled women are discussed throughout this work, and for reference purposes, their names are followed by a bolded number in square brackets, which corresponds to their number in the index.





From the prosopographic index, numerous statistics for Nineteenth Dynasty titles and their holders were extracted. These include the number of titles holders attested in each reign, the deities these women were associated with and the occurrence of titles within and between families. These statistics were then analysed and incorporated into the project's wider discussions on the involvement of women in religious practice during this period. Given the restrictions surrounding this research project, namely time, length and resource limitations, the index of titled women has been made as complete as possible. Further research done into this topic could allow for an expansion of the database and new ways of utilising the data extracted.

Chapter 2: The Šmꜥ.yt

2.1 - Introduction

In the Nineteenth Dynasty, the most commonly occurring feminine title is the šmꜥy. The title, which is understood to designate a particular type of person, usually attached to the cult of a deity or king, involved in the accompaniment of rituals through music and percussion, could be held by both men and women.¹ In their capacity as šmꜥ.yt, these women were involved in the praising, worship and adoration of the gods at particular events primarily through music. The majority of evidence for the names, dates and biographical details of the šmꜥ.yt comes from tomb, stela and statuary inscriptions, while insight into the duties and actions associated with their office can be found in various wall scenes.

2.2 - Translation of the Term Šmꜥ.yt

During the Nineteenth Dynasty the title šmꜥ.yt, is represented, most commonly, by the hieroglyph of the sedge plant and forearm; M27 of Gardiner's sign list . It is then followed by the endings 'y' - either  or , although the 'y' is often not written, and 't' . The word šmꜥ is translated by Faulkner to mean 'to make music', or 'musician'.² This general translation of the word is reflected in a number of early works on the topic of female titles, including Aylward Blackman's 1921 article, where šmꜥ.yt is translated as 'musician-priestess'.³ A more specific translation can be found in the *Wörterbuch* where šmꜥ is translated as either 'to clap hands' or 'to sing', and šmꜥ.yt is translated in to English here, and in many publications, as 'songstress', 'singer' or 'chantress'.⁴ The Oxford English Dictionary defines a "chant" as a "measured monotonous song; the musical recitation of words...less tuneful than an air or song".⁵ As Onstine points out, the regular use of percussive instruments by the šmꜥ.yt implies a rhythmic, rather than melodic type of vocal music.⁶ Therefore, when not using the transliteration of the term, this work will refer to the holders of the šmꜥ.yt title as 'chantresses'.

¹ Male šmꜥy will not be discussed here. However, Suzanne Onstine discusses them in her 2005 study, and includes fifteen identified male šmꜥy in her appendix A. S. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (Šmꜥyt) in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2005) pp. 78-81.

² R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) p. 266.

³ A. M. Blackman, 'On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy', *JEA* 7 (1921) pp. 8, 15-16, 21-22, 25.

⁴ *Wb* IV, pp. 478-480.

⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary - Chant* < <http://www.oed.com/> accessed 09/10/2014.

⁶ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 10.

2.3 - Iconography: The Instruments Associated with the *šmꜥ.yt*

There are two instruments Chantresses are most often depicted with in statuary and wall scenes. One is the sistrum, a percussion instrument similar to a rattle, of which there were two main types. The first type is the *sššt*, or naos sistrum, which was in use as early as the Old Kingdom.⁷ Graeco-Roman texts from the temple of Hathor at Dendera reveal that the naos of the sistrum was seen as a gate through which the *ba* of the goddess could pass during the New Year.⁸ The second is the *šhm*, or loop sistrum, which appears to have replaced the naos sistrum for a time, up until the Ramesside period when they were in use together.⁹ The sound the sistra made when shaken was considered to be pacifying for the gods, which allowed them to be approached safely.¹⁰ Originally associated with the goddess Hathor, although the act spread into the cults of various other deities, this pacification is a reference to the myths in which the goddess, in her lion form, needed to be appeased and calmed.¹¹

The word *sššt*, here meaning “sistrum”, appears in the tomb of *Pi3y*, where on the left thickness the tomb owner’s wife [56] is described as *šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn Wb-ht ir.t sšš.ty n nb.w nḥḥ* – “Chantress of Amun, *Wb-ht*, who plays the sistra for the Lords of Eternity”.¹² This phrase is almost certainly a reference to *Wb-ht*’s duties as a *šmꜥ.yt*.

The other commonly seen object in connection to the *šmꜥ.yt*, one that is often paired with the sistrum from the New Kingdom onwards, is the *mnit*, or *menat*.¹³ This necklace, which was made of several strands of small beads attached to a counterpoise, would be held and shaken, much in the same way the sistrum was.¹⁴ Also like the sistrum, the *menat* had a close connection with the goddess Hathor, and was not only an important instrument in the celebration of her cult, but could be used as a representation of the goddess as well.¹⁵

The *menat* is also thought to have strong associations with birth/re-birth and fertility. Lise Manniche, for example, citing comparisons of the *menat* with the shape of a limestone drawing of the solar child from the Valley of the Kings, and myths in which the goddess Hathor takes on

⁷ N. de G. Davies, ‘An Alabaster Sistrum Dedicated by King Teta’, *JEA* 6 (1920) pp. 69-72.

⁸ L. Manniche, ‘The Cultic Significance of the Sistrum in the Amarna Period’, in A. Woods, A. MacFarlane and S. Binder (eds.) *Egyptian Culture and Society. Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati II* (Cairo, 2005) p. 14.

⁹ Davies, *Sistrum*, p. 71; Onstine, *Chantress*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe (eds.) *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996) p. 100.

¹¹ Manniche, ‘The Sistrum’, p. 14.

¹² *KRI III*, p. 381:16.

¹³ Manniche, ‘The Sistrum’, p. 14.

¹⁴ G. Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (New York, 2005) p. 65.

¹⁵ Manniche, ‘The Sistrum’, p. 15.

the role of mother to Horus, argues that the counterpoise of the *menat* is a representation of a woman's torso, the circular section being her womb.¹⁶ Other common decorative motifs found on *menats*, including scarabs, fish and lotus flowers, strengthen this association with fertility and re-birth.¹⁷

Examples of these instruments can be seen in TT 31, where three Chantresses shake their loop sistra and menats in adoration of Osiris (Pl I). The high level of detail in this scene reveals the Hathor-shaped handle and individual disks of the sistra as well as the beads of the menat-necklace, which was attached to an anthropomorphic counterweight in the shape of the goddess Mut. The sistrum and menat also appear together in the Tomb of *Dḥwty-ms* (TT 32), where the tomb owner's wife *ḳst* [4] shakes them before the symbol of Hathor (Pl. II)

2.4 - Who Held the Title?

Much of the evidence that preserves the names and families of the women who held the title of *šmꜥ.yt* comes from an elite context. Various tomb and stela inscriptions record the female relatives of the high officials and priesthood of the period, which means there is a significant lack of information for much of the Egyptian population. As a result, we cannot comment with authority on the existence of *šmꜥ.yt* from the lower classes. What can be commented on is the fact that even within the group of elite *šmꜥ.yt* whose names survive in the archaeological record, there is a level of variance in their status and the status of their male relatives, who were not always employed in the temples or the temple estates. In her work on the role of the *šmꜥ.yt* in ancient Egypt, Suzanne Onstine refers to these less illustrious families as members of a wealthy middle class who, as a result of the increasing piety of the period, had growing access to the position.¹⁸

Women who can be considered as members of the very high elite of the Nineteenth Dynasty include *Nḳḳ* [113], *šmꜥ.yt* of Amun, who was the daughter of *Pḳsr*, the Vizier of both Seti I and Ramesses II, as well as, from the same period, the wife of the High Priest of Thutmose I, *Hḳ.t-šps(t)* [153]. A woman by the name of *Tiw* [237] was another *šmꜥ.yt* of particularly high status. While she served in the cult of the god Re, her husband *Pḳ-rꜥms-ss* held, among others, the titles of Vizier and City-governor. It was also common for the female relatives of Viceroys to hold the title. *Nḳr-mwt* and *ḳ* [136 and 44], wife and mother of the Viceroy of Kush *Stḳw*, were *šmꜥ.yt* of Amun. *Nḳr-mwt* was also a Chantress of Nekhbet and the *wr.t ḥnr.wt* of Amun.

¹⁶ L. Manniche, 'In the Womb', *BACE* 17 (2006) p. 101, pl. 3.

¹⁷ Manniche, 'In the Womb', pp. 101-103.

¹⁸ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 30.

Other *šmꜥ.yt* who benefitted from the shift in the expression of piety and the emphasis on the individual that categorised the post-Amarna period include *N3w-š3ꜥt* [115], a *šmꜥ.yt* of Amun whose husband was the Overseer of the Gardens of the Ramesseum *Ndm-gr*, and *Twiw* [253], who served during the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I, and was married to the general *Nht*. Wives of *wab* priests who served in this office also occur more frequently in the Nineteenth Dynasty. *T3bs* [206], married to the priest *Hwy*, was one such woman, as was *B3k-3st* [66], who was married to a *wab* priest of the Ramesseum named *Ipy-t3*. There are even examples of *šmꜥ.yt* married to charioteers.¹⁹

There are also a handful of examples of the title of *šmꜥ.yt* being held by a member of the royal family. *Mryt-Imn* [107], daughter, and later Great Royal Wife, of Ramesses II and his queen Nefertari, held the title of *šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Itm.w*, while *Ti3* [252], daughter of Seti I and his queen Tuya, and therefore sister of Ramesses II, was a Chantress of Amun.

2.5 – The Title Within a Family

Although multiple *šmꜥ.yt* in a single family is a common trend in this period, there is no real evidence for a pattern of title inheritance. While more than one family member could serve in the cult of a particular deity, it was not the rule, and it is entirely possible for daughters to serve a different god to the one their mother served. As has been discussed, the occupations of the male members of the family did not necessarily impact on whether their female relatives held the title of *šmꜥ.yt*. In the case of *Wn-nfr*, while neither he nor any of his male relatives held a title associated with a cult, his mother, sister and two daughters were all Chantresses of Bastet.²⁰ Combined with the fact he had a son named *S3-b3stt*, it would seem the family had a close, personal affiliation with the goddess, and as *Wn-nfr*'s wife, *Iwy* was a *šmꜥ.yt* of Amun, her daughters appear to have made the choice to join the cult of Bastet, rather than that of Amun. Location is also a factor in the cults *šmꜥ.yt* chose to serve, as demonstrated in the case of *3st*, wife of *Dḥwty-ms*.²¹ While living in the town of Esna, *3st* was a Chantress of the local goddess Nebetu, a title which was also held by her mother-in-law *Hnwt-wdbw*. When the couple moved to Thebes, or possibly further north, she began serving as a Chantress in the cult of Amun, which is evidenced by the presence of both titles on her monuments. The couple were buried in Theban

¹⁹ KRI III, pp. 247:2-3.

²⁰ T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9* (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; KRI IV, pp. 123:11-124:1.

²¹ L. Kákósy, T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. I. Fábíán and E. Gaál, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes* (Budapest, 2004) p. 355.

Tomb 32, and their daughter is, in fact, referred to explicitly as a šmꜥ.yt of Amun-Re in Thebes, a reflection of the family's later involvement in the cult of Amun in Thebes.

2.6 - The Šmꜥ.yt Prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty

The earliest attestations of the title šmꜥ.yt date to the Middle Kingdom, and include a Twelfth Dynasty stela from Abydos which assigns the title to a woman by the name of Snw-ꜥnh.²² In this period, the title is held by both men and women, and of the twelve references identified by Onstine in her work on the šmꜥ.yt, only four are associated with a deity, which, she suggests, may indicate the title was not yet fully established, evolving over time as the title of ḥm.t ntr, “priestess” fell out of use.²³ The title became far more common in the Eighteenth Dynasty, with one hundred and three women identified by Onstine in the corpus compiled in her study, the majority of whom served in the cult of Amun.²⁴ During the Amarna period, only two women, Ḥ3t-šryt and 3st held the title of šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Itn.²⁵ As the Amarna period came to an end, the occurrences of šmꜥ.yt and particularly šmꜥ.yt of Amun are more frequently attested, with seventeen women given the titles on monuments dating to the Restoration period and a further sixteen dated to the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasties.²⁶

2.7 - The Šmꜥ.yt in the Nineteenth Dynasty

The beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty saw a dramatic increase in the number of recorded instances of the title. The prosopographic study undertaken for this project identified two hundred and forty individual women who held the title of “Chantress”, including four anonymous entries where only a title or partial title could be recognised. Jan Assmann has described the Ramesside Period as one pervaded by piety, and this is certainly reflected in not only the building program of the kings and the increased emphasis on religious themes in the decoration of private tombs of the period, but also in the increased accessibility of religious titles.²⁷ The cult of Amun is particularly well represented amongst the šmꜥ.yt of the period as a result of what was possibly an attempt at consolidating support for the new Ramesside dynasty, in much the same way the kings of the Old Kingdom, and perhaps even Hatshepsut had done.²⁸

²² H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo I* (Berlin, 1902) pp. 167-168.

²³ Onstine, *Chantress*, pp. 25-26.

²⁴ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 27.

²⁵ G. T. Martin, ‘Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period’ *MDAIK* 42 (1986) pp. 115-116.

²⁶ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 28.

²⁷ J. Assmann, ‘State and Religion in the New Kingdom’, in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (Yale, 1989) pp. 68-69.

²⁸ N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom* (Warminster, 1977) p. 69.

It should be noted, however, that these variations in the number of attested *šmꜣ.yt* may be a result of a bias within the archaeological record. As evidence for the Theban New Kingdom cemeteries is far more plentiful than that of the northern cemeteries at Saqqara, this may account for the higher representation of the cult of Amun within the study. While it is difficult to say for sure, this evidence issue must be carefully considered when drawing conclusions based on the collected data.

As can be seen in Table. 1, *šmꜣ.yt* of Amun are, by far, the most common feminine religious title of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Of the one hundred and sixty Chantresses of Amun identified, ninety seven date to the reign Ramesses II, and even amongst the other rulers of the period, with the exception of Siptah and Tawosret, as well as Amenmesse for whose short reign there are no certain instance of a *šmꜣ.yt*, Amun is the most commonly associated deity. Other deities for which there are a large number of *šmꜣ.yt* recorded for include Hathor, Montu, Khnum, Wepwawet and Bastet. *šmꜣ.yt* could also be attached to the mortuary cults of the kings, with two examples identified from the reign of Ramesses II. The first, *3st* [5], was a Chantress of Ramesses himself in his “Montu-in-the-Two-Lands” form, while the second, *B3kt* [70], was a *šmꜣ.yt* of Thutmose III. Throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty there are twelve women who are not associated with any particular deity.

<i>šmꜣ.yt</i>						
	Ram I	Seti I	Ram II	Merenptah	Seti II	Siptah/ Tawosret
Amun/ Amun-Re	6	30	97	22	5	
Anhur/Onuris			1			
Atum			1			
Bastet			3	4	1	1
Hathor		2	12		1	
Herishef			1	1		
Horus			1			
Isis		1	6			1
Khnum			8			
Khons						

Montu		1	13			
Mut						
Nebtu			2			
Neith						1
Nekhbet			1			
Osiris			2			
Re			4	4		
Sobek						1
Wepwawet		2	5			
Thban Triad – Amun, Mut and Khons	1	3				
Thutmose III			1			
Ramesses II			1			
No Deity Named	2	2	9		1	
Table 1 – The distribution of <i>šmꜥ.yt</i> between deities and reigns. In cases where a woman lived through more than one reign, she is represented in each relevant column. As women could be attached to the cult of more than one deity, she is also counted in each relevant row. As a result, the numbers included in this table do not equal the number of identified <i>šmꜥ.yt</i> stated above.						

2.8 - Duties of the *šmꜥ.yt*

Based on an inscription from a black granite statue in the Cairo Museum (CGC. 42122), it is possible that, much like the male members of the priesthood, the *šmꜥ.yt* served their particular cult in groups, known as phyles (*s3* in Egyptian), on rotation. The inscription dates to the reign of Seti I, and mentions the owner's wife as *Ḳwy* [26], "Chantress of Amun on the second phyle."²⁹ However, as this is the only mention of phyles in this period, it cannot be said for certain whether the *šmꜥ.yt* were structured in this way.

The best evidenced role of the *šmꜥ.yt* during this period is their involvement as accompaniment in religious festivals. The evidence comes predominately from a number of Nineteenth Dynasty private monuments that include images and descriptions of the festivals and religious processions their owner participated, and sometimes officiated, during their lifetime. It is from

²⁹ KRI VII, p. 25:13.

these scenes that details of the direct involvement of the *šmꜥ.yt* in this form of religious practice can be gained.

In the tomb of Khons (TT 31), the tomb owner, who was the High Priest of both Montu and Thutmose III, depicts the processional festival of the god Montu from his sanctuary in Armant to his counterpart in Tôd, and back, as it took place in the reign of Ramesses II.³⁰ *Hnsw*, also known as *T3* or *T3y*, along with a number of his family members, officiated the festival, and their involvement is shown on the eastern, southern and western walls of the tomb's outer hall. The return of the boat carrying the shrine of Montu to Armant appears on the hall's southern wall (Pl. III) and here, while two men stand before the shrine and offer to the god, the boat is welcomed to shore by groups of priests and other worshippers who stand before piles of offerings. The offerings, two of which were dedicated by Ramesses II, are shown either piled out in the open air, or placed within a kiosk. *Hnsw* is depicted standing before the second kiosk of offerings and he is accompanied by his mother, *T3-wsrt* [204], his wife *Mwt-i3y* [87], his daughter *Rwy* and an unnamed girl. Both *T3-wsrt* and *Mwt-i3y* were *šmꜥ.yt*, with *T3-wsrt* belonging to the cult of Montu and *Mwt-i3y* serving in the cult of Amun. Along with *Rwy*, all three women are shown holding loop sistra decorated with the head of Hathor, which they use to create sound and rhythm. The first elder woman, most likely *T3-wsrt*, also holds in her right hand an anthropomorphic counterweight, while the second holds a flowering papyrus stalk. The young girl who stands directly behind *Hnsw*, and looks back at the elder women, is also holding a papyrus stem. In the register below, a group of five women feature before another pile of offerings. Two of these women, shown in simple dress with shaved heads, are identified as priestesses (see Chapter 4.4), while the other three are all given the title *šmꜥ.yt* of Montu. Two of the women hold the same loop sistra shown in the register above, and they too use them in welcoming and adoring the god.

TT 31 also contains a depiction of the processional festival of Thutmose III, where two groups of *šmꜥ.yt* are present, each with their own unique role (Pls. IV and V).³¹ The first group are part of the procession, and precede the image of Thutmose III as it sails along the canal towards what was most likely, based on the inscription included on the temple image, the Sixth Pylon of the Temple of Amun at Karnak. These eight women, all holding the title of "Chantress of Montu", are mourners, who grieve for Thutmose III with their arms raised and their hair loose. They are met by a group of five other mourners, who, although they do not hold a title, are associated with

³⁰ N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) pp. 12-17, pls. XI-XIII; *KRI* III, pp. 400:1-403:15.

³¹ Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 19; *KRI* III, pp. 406:1-407:4.

the Temple of Amun and are sent out to grieve the king with the others.³² The procession is welcomed to the temple by three women, who are identified as the šmꜥ.yt of Amun, *Mwt-i3y*, wife of the tomb owner, her mother-in-law *T3-wsrt*, šmꜥ.yt of Montu, and her sister-in-law *Tint-*iwnt** [283], šmꜥ.yt of Montu. Here the Chantresses adore the approaching boat with their arms raised and their right hands clutching a sistrum and flower. The role of the šmꜥ.yt as mourners is also discussed in Chapter 5

On the rear wall of the broad hall of TT 19, the tomb owner *Imn-ms*, in his capacity as High Priest, is depicted taking part in the feast and oracular procession of Amenhotep I.³³ He is accompanied in the celebrations by his wife, *Iwy*, who was both a šmꜥ.yt of Amun-Re, and the *wr.t hnr.wt* of Amenhotep I. *Iwy*, along with the Chantresses *H3t-šps(.t)* and *Imn-m-ꜥkwi* stand with *Imn-ms* and two other men before three piles of offerings. The female musicians presented in the scene carry drums, clappers, a double reed instrument and sistra, and play them in praise of Amenhotep I as his image passes by.³⁴ Although these scenes tend to focus on a select group of participants, comprised mainly of the relatives and close colleagues of the tomb owner, the inclusion of identified šmꜥ.yt taking part in the celebrations makes them significantly useful to this study.

Another possible example of the involvement of the šmꜥ.yt in festivals appears on a stela (Cairo, JdE 8774) from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, which depicts part of the festival procession of Ramesses II (Pl XIV).³⁵ The upper register of the stela shows the barque, containing the sacred image, being carried on poles, with a cartouche accompanying the barque identifying its occupant as <Meri>amun Ramesses. The bottom register is dedicated to the seven musicians who accompany the procession. Five of the women are shown playing drums, while the two others, who may have been younger members of group, as suggested by their smaller size, play a sistrum and lyre. Although none of the women are named, nor are they given any description or title, their identification as šmꜥ.yt is possible. The šmꜥ.yt, as has been demonstrated, were commonly shown playing music as part of the processions and the third woman in the procession is in fact holding a sistrum. The drummers may also be šmꜥ.yt, as a woman holding a frame drum as a hieroglyph sign can be used as a determinative for the word šmꜥ.³⁶ However, as there are no titles specified in the accompanying text, it is just as possible that these women were members of the *hnr*, a performance cohort that will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

³² Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 20.

³³ *KRI* III, pp. 395:5-396:4.

³⁴ *PM*² I, p. 34.

³⁵ *KRI* II, p. 550:14-16; A. Mariette, *Abydos: Description des Fouilles Vol. II* (Paris, 1880) pl. 52.

³⁶ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 4.

While not specifically referring to the *šmꜥ.yt*, based on an inscription from Abu Simbel, and a later copy by Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, Blackman suggested in 1921 that musician-priestesses would impersonate goddesses, particularly Hathor, during rituals and celebrations.³⁷ The inscription Blackman analysed and concluded this from mentions the “great ones of the temple of Ptah and the Hathors of the temple of Atum who are in festival, rejoicing and playing drums on account of seeing the king.”³⁸ The suggestion was repeated by Saphinaz-Amal Naguib in her 1990 study in relation to the *šmꜥ.yt* of the Twenty-First Dynasty.³⁹ Onstine has, however, rightly pointed out that her evidence refers more to the *hnr* and general “musician-priestesses”.⁴⁰ Representations of female musicians from the Ptolemaic Period in fact depict them as wearing unusual horned headdresses, similar to the horns associated with Hathor, and so it is possible that this was practised throughout all periods, including the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴¹

2.9 - Conclusions

In answer to the religious, social and political upheaval that occurred during, and in the wake of, the Amarna rulers, Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptians placed greater emphasis on the piety of the individual. Combined with the more frequent attestations of female titles, particularly those attached to the god Amun and his cult, in what was perhaps an attempt to ensure support for the new ruling family, this shifting religious mentality resulted in the dramatic increase of attested female *šmꜥ.yt*. These Chantresses, the majority of whom served in the cult of Amun, were no longer confined to the very highest levels of Egyptian society, although they are certainly still present. Instead, many *šmꜥ.yt* came from the families of stewards, *wab* priests and charioteers. *B3k-3st* [66], was one such woman, and was married to a *wab* priest of the Ramesseum named *Ipy-t3*.

Scenes from tombs and other private monuments indicate that the primary role of the *šmꜥ.yt* in this period was to provide music, using their frequently associated sistra, *menat*-necklaces and other percussive instruments, for various religious festivals and oracular processions. *Šmꜥ.yt* were not confined to appearing only in the festivals of their associated deities, and possibly served their cult on rotation, in much the same way the male members of the priesthood did.

³⁷ Blackman, *Position of Women*, pp. 9, 13.

³⁸ *KRI* II, p. 264:5-9.

³⁹ S. Naguib, *Le Clergé Féminin d'Amon Thébain à la 21e Dynastie* (Leuven, 1990) p. 237

⁴⁰ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 11.

⁴¹ L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991) fig. 38.

The involvement of the Šmꜥ.yt to such an extent in various religious occasions, as well as the frequent recording of their names and titles in both public and private monuments suggests that the office held a particular significance within the temple hierarchy. It is not entirely clear whether the significance of the title itself conferred status on the women who held it, or if it was generally only held by women from the upper levels of Egyptian society. It is possible that there were aspects of both involved. Ultimately, the fact that the title was held by a number of female members of the royal family, as well as relatives of the King's highest officials, strongly suggests that it was a particularly prestigious title in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Chapter 3: The *Wr.t Hnr.wt*

3.1 - Introduction

Although it is not recorded as commonly as the title *šmꜥ.yt*, the title of *wr.t hnr.wt* is an office attested to women multiple times in the Nineteenth Dynasty. While the precise translation of the title has undergone significant debate within scholarship, it is generally considered, now, to be associated with the performance cohorts that, like the *šmꜥ.yt*, were attached to the cults of both deities and kings.

3.2 - Translation of the Term

The translation of the term *hnr*, and by extension the title *wr.t hnr.wt*, has a long and problematic history. The *Wörterbuch* translates the word *hnr* as “harem”, and its inhabitants, the *hnr.t*, as “harem women”.¹ These translations are repeated in the *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, while Lesko and Lesko’s *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* gives a number of translations for the *hnr.t*, including “musician”, “woman of the harem” and “concubine”, although this last term is given as an uncertain reading.² As a result, many Egyptologists have applied the “harem” translation of the term *hnr* to the institution in all periods, including the New Kingdom, regardless of its connotations and the fact that the term’s use and context often argues for a different reading.

Del Nord’s 1980 essay titled ‘The Term *hnr*: ‘Harem’ or ‘Musical Performers’?’ is the first, extensive examination of the word’s association with music and dance.³ Focusing predominately on the use of the term in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Nord’s work presents a compelling argument for the identification of the *hnr* as a group of musicians. Based on the frequent depictions of dancers and musicians labelled *hnr.t* or *hnr.wt*, Nord argues that the term “harem” has too often been applied to the *hnr* with “little regard...to the suitability of such an interpretation.”⁴ The well attested existence of male *hnr.t* (the title written with the feminine ‘t’), such as those appearing in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Djau, are also put forward by Nord as

¹ Wb III, pp. 297-298.

² R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995) p. 605; L. H., Lesko and B. S., Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian Vol. I* (Providence, 2002) pp. 365-366.

³ D. Nord, ‘The Term *hnr*: ‘Harem’ or ‘Musical Performers’?’, in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981) pp. 137-145.

⁴ Nord, *The Term hnr*, p. 137.

evidence against the identification of the *hnr* as a harem.⁵ Nord does, however, still translate the New Kingdom title of *wr.t hnr.wt* to “Chief of the Harem-women”.⁶

The translation of the word *hnr* was further discussed by Betsy Bryan in 1982.⁷ While examining, primarily, the etymology of the word, Bryan comes to the same conclusions as Nord, stating that the group of entertainers known as the *hnr.wt*, first attested in the Fifth Dynasty, were attached to various religious, and secular, institutions, and their performances included dancing, singing, clapping and music-making.⁸ While Elfriede Reiser suggested in 1972 that, due to its roots in the word “restrain”, the term *hnr* must have some connection to a harem structure, Bryan rejects this idea, stating that not only are the duties associated with the *hnr* and *hnr.wt* purely of a musical and performing nature, the term “restrained” is never used to describe the condition of the women who were a part of it.⁹ Reiser’s views on the “harem” in ancient Egypt had been questioned earlier by Nord in a review of her doctoral dissertation. Nord states that there is an unfortunate “tendency to Islamicize the family structure of the ancient Egyptian” and that historians will often project conditions and concepts for which there is insufficient evidence, if any at all, back on earlier periods.¹⁰ Combined with the impact the inherent implications of a term such as “harem” can have on scholarly thought, these revaluations of the meaning of the word *hnr* is crucial to our understanding of feminine titulary.

The interpretation of the *hnr* as a group of musicians is one generally accepted by the majority of newer scholarship dealing with feminine religious titles. Suzanne Onstine, in her study on the *šmꜥ.yt*, identifies the institution as a musical troupe, and states in particular that, as most of the women attached to the *hnr* in the New Kingdom had husbands and children, it is highly unlikely they belonged to any sort of harem.¹¹ It is referred to as an “entertainment troupe” in Betsy Bryan’s chapter on feminine status and roles in a 1996 collection of essays on women in ancient Egypt, and in Dilwyn Jones’ Old Kingdom title and phrase index, the word *hnr.t* is said to identify a “member of a troupe of musicians”.¹²

⁵ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi Part II* (London, 1902) pl. 7; Nord, *The Term hnr*, p. 143.

⁶ Nord, *The Term hnr*, p. 140.

⁷ B. M. Bryan, ‘The Etymology of *Hnr* “Group of Musical Performers”’, *BES* 4 (1982) pp. 35-54

⁸ Bryan, *Etymology*, pp. 35-36.

⁹ E. Reiser, *Der königliche Harim in alten Ägypten un seine Verwaltung* (Vienna, 1972) p. 13.

¹⁰ D. Nord, ‘Der königliche Harim in alten Ägypten un seine Verwaltung by Elfriede Reiser’, *JNES* 34 (1975) p. 142.

¹¹ S. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (Šmꜥ.yt) in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2005) pp. 5-6.

¹² B. M. Bryan, ‘In Women Good and Bad Fortune are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Egyptian Culture’, in A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe, (eds.) *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996) p. 42; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom Vol. II* (Oxford, 2000) p. 689.

In her work on dancers in the Old Kingdom, Lesley Kinney attempted to establish an accurate, and encompassing translation for the *hnr* that could be applied to all members.¹³ Taking into account not only the term's association with music and dance, but also its apparent institutional and hierarchical nature, and the fact that both men and women could be associated with the title, Kinney describes the *hnr* as a “performance company”, similar in structure, she says, to modern theatre, ballet and opera companies. Although Kinney is drawing comparisons with modern institutions here, and acknowledges a perfect English translation of the term *hnr* is still to be decided on, the phrase “performance company” sufficiently expresses the associated actions, focus and hierarchical nature of the institution.

The title of *wr.t hnr.wt* has often been translated as “Chief/Great One/Principal of the Harem”, and Blackman, in his 1921 article, refers to the women who held the title as the “Chief of the Concubines”.¹⁴ In his discussion of the *wr.t hnr.wt*, Blackman states that the women who held the title were the head of a group of human wives, or concubines, assigned to a particular god.¹⁵ In relation to these “human concubines”, Blackman primarily references the god Amun, although he does mention *wr.t hnr.wt* attached to the cults of Anhur/Onuris, Khons, Min, Sobek and Osiris, among others.¹⁶ Blackman also makes reference to these women being involved in the cults of female deities, but simply passes it off as “strange”. In fact, the existence of *wr.t hnr.wt* for female deities is one of the more significant arguments against the term's association with the harem and sexual service. During the Old Kingdom, *hnr* were attached exclusively to the temples of female deities, and the existence of at least four *wr.t hnr.wt* of Hathor in the Nineteenth Dynasty makes it extremely unlikely that they were involved in the temple cults in the ways suggested by Blackman.¹⁷ As the translation of *hnr* to English as “performance company” is considered the most logical and encompassing term, the correct translation of the title *wr.t hnr.wt* would be “Chief of the Performance Company”.

3.3 - Who Held the Title?

Wrt hnr.wt appears to be the highest ranked feminine religious title during the Nineteenth Dynasty, and is attested almost exclusively to the upper echelons of Egyptian society, more so

¹³ L. Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2008) p. 23.

¹⁴ RITA III, pp. 216-217; Lesko and Lesko, *Dictionary*, p. 266; A. M. Blackman, ‘On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy’, *JEA* 7 (1921) p. 15.

¹⁵ Blackman, *Position of Women*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁶ Blackman, *Position of Women*, p. 16.

¹⁷ Kinney, *Performance Cohort*, p. 20.

than the title of *šmꜥ.yt*, which occurs at a far greater frequency and was held by a wider range of individuals. The women who held the title of *wr.t hnr.wt* were often the wives of the High Priest of their associated cult. The daughters and sisters of the High Priests are also common candidates for the title. *T3hꜥt* [216], for example, was the wife of a High Priest of Amun under Ramesses II named *Nb-wnnf* who held the title of *wr.t hnr.wt* of Amun. In addition, *T3hꜥt*, her sister-in-law *Try-nfrt* [41] and her daughter *Hw.t-Hr.w* [164] all held the title of *wr.t hnr.wt* of Hathor. Before he was made High Priest of Amun, *Nb-wnnf* had acted as High Priest of Anhur and High Priest of Hathor at Dendera, and as is the case with the pattern of title holders seen amongst the *šmꜥ.yt*, it would appear that location and family involvement played a major role in the cults the *wr.t hnr.wt* were attached to¹⁸. *T3hꜥt* served as Chief of the *hnr.wt* of Hathor when her husband was High Priest in Dendera, and would later become the *wr.t hnr.wt* of Amun when Ramesses II appointed her husband to the position of High Priest of Amun. Although there are no names or titles recorded for any husbands of *Nb-wnnf*'s sister and daughter, the fact that they were both *wr.t hnr.wt* of Hathor demonstrates the family's close relationship with the goddess and her cult. It is also interesting to note that *Nb-wnnf* and *T3hꜥt*'s son was made High Priest of Hathor, succeeding his father, in Year 1 of Ramesses' reign.¹⁹

The family of the Vizier *P3sr* includes three of the Nineteenth Dynasty's total attested *wr.t hnr.wt*. *Mryt-rꜥ* [108], the mother of *P3sr*, was the *wr.t hnr.wt* of Amun while her husband *Nb-ntrw*, also known as *Tri*, was the cult's High Priest. Her daughter, *Tiy* [229] was also the "Chief of the Performance Company of Amun", as was *P3sr*'s daughter *Tiy* [230]. Another *Tiy* [232] served the god Montu while her husband was his High Priest. However, the *wr.t hnr.wt* were not always the wives of men of high religious rank, as demonstrated in a stela from Abydos where the husband of *W3d-rnpt* [50], who is recorded as a *wr.t hnr.wt*, is a Company Commander by the name of *Wsr-hꜥt*, while their son, also named *Wsr-hꜥt*, is an Army Scribe.²⁰ An unnamed *wr.t hnr.wt* [258] of Wadjet is recorded as the wife of the Royal Scribe and Charioteer *Mrn-pth*. However, it should be noted that their son served as High Priest of Wadjet, although it cannot be said for certain if he was in the position concurrently with his mother.²¹

There are also examples from this period of the title being held by royal women. *Ti3* [252], daughter of Seti I and Tuya, and therefore sister of Ramesses II, was *wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) P3-Rꜥ.w*, as well as *šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn*. *Ti3*'s husband, also named *Ti3*, held the titles of "Treasury-Chief of the

¹⁸ KRI III, p. 283:5-7.

¹⁹ KRI III, p. 283:9.

²⁰ KRI I, p. 321:6-9; RITAC I, p. 213.

²¹ KRI III, p. 284:2.

Ramesseum” and “Chief-Superintendent of Cattle of Amun”. Ramesses II’s own daughter *Mryt-Imn* [107] served as a *wr.t hnr.wt* in the cult of the god Atum.

3.4 - The Performance Company Prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty

Members of the *hnr* are first attested in the Old Kingdom, appearing in the tombs of *Iy-mry* and *Pth-htp*, and from there, they are depicted frequently in dance scenes throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms.²² Kinney has identified a large number of roles associated with the *hnr* during the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.²³ These include mourners, dancers, ritualists, percussionists, rhythmists, singers and flautists, along with “Overseers” (*imy-r*), “Great Ones” (*imyt-wrt*), “Directors” (*hpr*) and “Supervisors” (*shd*) of various groups, many of whom were associated explicitly with a deity.²⁴

There are numerous attestations of these overseers, or supervisors, of the *hnr* throughout the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. The titles of *imyt-r hnr* and *shdt nt hnr* both appear in the tomb-chapel of Mehu at Saqqara, dating the Sixth Dynasty, while other Overseers of the *hnr* are known from the Fifth Dynasty through to the First Intermediate Period.²⁵ During the Middle Kingdom, however, the role of Overseer appears to have no longer been filled by women, and was instead exercised by male officials, often of high rank.²⁶ While the title of “Overseer of the *hnr*” was not held by Nineteenth Dynasty women, it was suggested by Fischer in 1956, that the *imyt-r hnr* may essentially be the same as the later New Kingdom title of *wr.t hnr.wt*.²⁷

3.5 - The *Wr.t Hnr.t* in the Nineteenth Dynasty

A total of twenty six women were identified by this project as *wr.t hnr.wt* in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Like the *šmꜥ.yt*, the majority of the attested *wr.t hnr.wt* served in the cult of Amun (Table. 2). While a stela from Abydos only gives a woman named *W3d-rnpt* the title of *wr.t hnr.wt*, with no associated deity, each of the other women attested from this period are attached to a cult.²⁸ Following Amun, Hathor appears to have been the second most popular deity, with four women belonging to her cult identified. Hathor is also one of only two female deities in whose cults a *wr.t hnr.wt* is evidenced to have served. While her husband held the title of High

²² Kinney, *Performance Cohort*, p. 20.

²³ Kinney, *Performance Cohort*, pp. 27-32.

²⁴ Kinney includes in her catalogue the titles of *hnwt ntr* “Musician-priestess of the Great God” and *imy-r B3t* “Overseer of the chorus of Bat”.

²⁵ Nord, *The Term hnr*, p. 142.

²⁶ Nord, *The Term hnr*, p. 144.

²⁷ H. G. Fischer, ‘A Daughter of the Overlords of Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period’, *JAOS* 76 (1956) p. 108.

²⁸ *KRI* I, p. 321:8.

Priest of Amenhotep I, a woman named *Twy* is recorded to have served as Chief of the Performance Company of Amenhotep I during the reign of Ramesses II, and possibly during those of Ramesses I and Seti I.²⁹

<i>Wr.t Hnr.wt</i>					
	Ram I	Seti I	Ram II	Merenptah	Seti II
Amun/Amun-Re	1	5	7		1
Anhur/Onuris			2	1	
Hathor		1	3	1	
Herishef			1		
Khons			1		
Montu			1		
Re		1	1		
Osiris			1		
Wadjet			1		
Amenhotep I			1		
No Deity Named		1			

Fig. 2 – Table showing the distribution of *wr.t hnr.wt* between deities and reigns. In cases where a woman lived through more than one reign, she is counted in all relevant columns. It was also possible for a woman to have served as *wr.t hnr.wt* in more than one cult. In such cases, she is counted in the relevant rows. As a result, the number of serving “Chiefs of the Performance Company” indicated in this table does not match the total given in the discussion above.

Evidence for the duties of the *wr.t hnr.wt* in the Nineteenth Dynasty is much scarcer than it is for the *šmꜥ.yt*. However, based on a small number of scenes and inscriptions, along with comparisons to earlier titles and institutions, it is possible to draw some conclusions on the ways these women may have engaged with the gods and with organised religious practice. In TT 19, which belonged to the High Priest of Amenhotep I, *Imn-ms*, the feast and oracular procession of Amenhotep I is depicted.³⁰ *Imn-mss* wife, *Twy* [29] is both a *šmꜥ.yt* of Amun and the *wr.t hnr.wt* of Amenhotep, and she is depicted, accompanied by her husband, as well as two other Chantresses and a dancer, adoring the image of Amenhotep I as it is carried from his temple.

²⁹ KRI III, p. 393:15-16.

³⁰ KRI III, pp. 395:5-396:4.

While these scenes do not explicitly state that her involvement in the occasion was connected to her role as *wr.t hnr.wt*, her presence at the festival of Amenhotep I, as the lead female in the cult of the celebrated deity, alongside her husband, the High Priest, is suggestive of her role's significance and involvement.

Onstine points out that as there is no specific title for female members of the *hnr* during the New Kingdom, apart from the *wr.t*, it is highly probable that the performance cohort in this period was comprised of Chantresses, sistrum players and other musicians.³¹ It was certainly possible for women who held the title of *wr.t hnr.wt* to also be a *šm.yt*, *ḥsy.t* or *sšš.yt*, often of different deities, which would suggest that the roles were separate from each other. The various types of musicians, performers and mourners that appear at religious occasions during the Nineteenth Dynasty are also present, although with varied titles, in the *hnr* of the Old Kingdom, as identified by Kinney, which suggests the institution may have served the same functions, in much the same ways. If that is the case, the *hnr* of the Nineteenth Dynasty was involved in the worship and adoration of the gods during processions and festival occasions primarily through music and dance.

3.6 - Conclusions

Despite a long, problematic translation history, the term *hnr* is considered by most current Egyptologists to refer to a performance cohort or company that could be attached to the cults of particular deities. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the second most common feminine religious title, after the *šm^c.yt*, was the *wr.t hnr.wt*, “Chief of the Performance Company”. Twenty six individual women were identified as having been the leader of a *hnr* during this period, and these women served a range of deities, the most popular being Amun. Throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty, the *hnr* itself appears to be made up of other titled musicians, including the *šm^c.yt* and the *sšš.yt*, and these women provided music and adoration for the gods during religious festivals and processions.

³¹ Onstine, *Chantress*, p. 8.

Chapter 4: Other Titles with Religious Associations

4.1 - Introduction

Although the titles of *šmꜥ.yt* and *wr.t hrn.wt* were common throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty, they were not the only feminine religious titles, or epithets, in use. All associated in some way with religious practice, generally through a direct affiliation with a deity, these titles vary in their number of attestations, with some titles occurring a handful of times, during different reigns, and others appearing only one or twice. Recorded in tombs and on statuary and stelae, the following collection of titles shed additional light on the range of ways women involved themselves in religious practice in an official manner.

4.2 - The *ḥsy*

One epithet, or title, that appears in Nineteenth Dynasty inscriptions a number of times is the *ḥsy*. When ascribed to a woman, the word is usually followed by *ʕ3.t n(.t)* [name of deity]. The translation of the phrase, however, can be difficult, as the word *ḥs* can mean “to praise/favour” or “to sing”.¹ As a result, the phrase is contradictorily translated as either “one greatly favoured of [name of deity]” or “singer of [name of deity]”.² As many instances of the word lack identifying determinatives or some other indicator of the woman’s occupation, translations can vary between publications.³ Suzanne Onstine notes that when the term *ḥsy* is used in relation to a man, it is more often than not translated as “favourite” or “favoured by”, except when the men are portrayed explicitly as musicians or singers.⁴

One instance of this particular title can be found in the tomb of Khons (TT 31), where the tomb owner’s wife is described as *ḥsy(t) ʕ3(.t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w*.⁵ The woman, *Mꜥ3y*, or *Mwt-i3y* [87], is known as a Chantress of Amun from elsewhere in the tomb, so a translation of “singer of Hathor” is possible, although not certain. Similarly, the wife of *Nfr-shrw*, *Nfrt-iri* [134], is named as both a *šmꜥ.yt* and *ḥsy(t) ʕ3(.t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w* in TT 296. In Turin stela N. 50066, a woman named *Mwt-m-wi3*, shown worshiping and offering to the deities Kadesh, Reshep and Min-

¹ L. H. Lesko and B. S. Lesko (eds.) *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian Vol. I* (Providence, 2002) pp. 329-330.

² One example from the tomb of Paneb (TT 211) names the tomb owner’s mother, *Iwy*, as *ḥsy(t) ʕ3.t n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w* which could be translated as “greatly favoured/praised one of Hathor” or “singer of Hathor”; *KRI* IV, p. 191:2.

³ Kitchen generally translates the phrase as “great favourite” or “one greatly favoured” and only occasionally as “singer” while Davies translates it as “the greatly praised one”. *RITA* III, p. 292; *RITA* IV, p. 137; N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) p. 18.

⁴ S. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (Šmꜥyt) in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2005) pp. 6-7.

⁵ Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, p. 18.

Amun-Re alongside her husband, is said to be *ḥsy(t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w.*⁶ This version of the phrase lacks the ‘greatly’ that appears in other instances, which may be an omission on the part of the scribe, by accident or choice, or simply another way of writing the title. Either translation of the word is possible here, as there is no clear way of differentiating the terms without determinatives or clearer context. “Singer” as a translation would make more sense here than it perhaps would in the other examples mentioned, as the text excludes the word *ʕ3.t*, but “praised” or “favoured” would make just as much sense.

Based on additional titles and the titles of family members, it would appear that the women who held the title of *ḥsy(t) ʕ3.t* could all be considered members of the elite. While the nature of the surviving evidence means that the types of women whose identities we have access to are generally confined to the upper classes of Egyptian society, and therefore we cannot say for certain whether the title was confined completely to women of this social status, the evidence that exists today places the women that we know of here. One woman, *Mʕ3y/Mwt-ḥ3y*, was married to the High Priest of Thutmose III, whose own father and brother were High Priests of Amenhotep II, while her mother-in-law and her daughter *Ḥ3y* were *šmʕ.yt*.⁷ The husband of another woman, *N3w-š3ʕt* [115], was the Superintendent of the Gardens of the Ramesseum and her daughter was, like her, a Chantress of Amun. During the reign of Seti I, a *ḥsy(t)* of Hathor named *Rnnwt* [152] was a Chantress of three different deities as well as *wr.t ḥnr.wt* of Hathor.

4.3 - Other Titles Designating Musicians

Aside from the *šmʕ.yt* and the *ḥsy(t)*, a number of other terms can be used to denote a sistrum player, and also like the *šmʕ.yt* and the *ḥsy(t)*, these women are often attached to the cults of deities. As discussed in Chapter 2.3, the sistrum is a percussive instrument associated with the goddess Hathor, and often appears in the hands of female musicians in various religious contexts. *Mryt-Imn* [107] daughter, and Great Royal Wife, of Ramesses II, is referred to in inscriptions from her colossi at Akhmim as not only *šmʕ.yt* of Atum and the *wr.t ḥnr.wt* of Amun-Re, she is also a *sššt.y* of Mut and a *mnit* of Hathor. *Mryt-Imn* is therefore a sistrum player attached to the cult of Mut, as the word *sššt* is used to refer to either the naos sistrum itself, or to the playing of it.⁸ The inscription also indicates she was a *menat* player of Hathor - the *menat* being a necklace also

⁶ KRI III, p. 621:8-9.

⁷ KRI III, p. 404:8.

⁸ Onstine, *The Chantress*, p. 8.

closely associated with Hathor which could be held by the counterpoise and shaken, much like a sistrum.⁹

Another attestation of the *sšš.ty* title comes from Theban Tomb 157, in which the recorded titles of *Nb-wnnf*'s wife, *T3hꜥt* [216] are *šmꜥ.yt n(.t) 3s.t, wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Imn, wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w* and *sšš.ty n(.t) Mw.t*, making her, like *Mryt-Imn*, a sistrum player of Mut. Although examples of this particular type of sistrum player are few, the two examples mentioned makes it clear that the title could be held by both royal and non-royal women, although *T3hꜥt* should be considered a member of the higher class of Egyptians in this period, as she served as *wr.t hnr.wt* of two different deities and was married to the High Priest of Amun.

A second attested term for a sistrum player is *šhmyt*, after the word *šhm*, which in this context refers to a loop sistrum.¹⁰ An example of the title appears on a pair of statues from Pi-Ramesses and refers to a woman named *Tn-ipt* [249]. Here she is given the title of *sw šhmyt n(.t) Wsr-Mꜥ3.t-Rꜥ.w Štp-n-Rꜥ.w Mnt.w t3.wy* – “Royal sistrum player of Usermaatse Setepenre Montu in the Two Lands”, which indicates that *Tn-ipt* was a sistrum player in the cult of Ramesses II.

4.4 - Other Attested Titles

Another significant title appears on a stela from a museum in Voronezh, Russia where a couple, their names given as *Rꜥ-mss* and *Mwt-m-wi3*, are depicted kneeling and adoring the goddess Taweret.¹¹ In this inscription, *Mwt-m-wi3* is styled as *b3k.t n T3-wr.t* or “servant of Taweret”. In no other inscription is *Mwt-m-wi3* given this same title, although, as mentioned above, she is elsewhere referred to as *hsy(t) n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w*.¹² Without any other evidence it is impossible to say whether *Mwt-m-wi3* served the cult of Taweret in an official way, or if the epithet is specific to the stela as a way for her to express her dedication to the goddess she is shown worshipping.

In the tomb of *Hnsw*, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, we have two examples of the extremely rare, in the New Kingdom at least, title *hm.t ntr* – “priestess”.¹³ These two priestesses are depicted taking part in the festival procession of Montu, where the god travels from his sanctuary in Armant, to visit his counterpart in Tôd. One of the women is named *Rw* [149], and is a *hm.t ntr* of the goddess Tenenet in On, who was the consort of Montu and had her own dedicated

⁹ A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe (eds.) *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996) pp. 99-100.

¹⁰ Onstine, *The Chantress*, p. 8; *Wb* IV, p. 252; Lesko and Lesko, *Late Egyptian*, p. 70.

¹¹ *KRI* III, p. 622:10-16.

¹² *KRI* III, p. 621:8-9.

¹³ Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 15, pl. XII.

rooms in the temple of Montu at Tôd, and most likely at Armant as well.¹⁴ The second woman, partially named *Tint*[...] [240], is labelled simply as a *ḥm.t ntr*, although, considering she is taking part in a festival dedicated to Montu, and all of her named relatives are explicitly linked with that particular god, it is probable that she too was part of the cult. The accompanying inscriptions record the two as the daughters of the Chantress of Montu, *Mꜥi* [90].

The priestesses appear on the south wall of the outer hall welcoming back the barque that carries the god's image (Pl. III). Both women are depicted with shaved heads and wearing long, simple and unadorned dresses that cut close to the neck. *Rw* stands before a pile of offerings, while her mother and three sisters stand behind her. Although *Tint*[...] stands at the back of the group, her name and title is placed before those of her sisters *Nsi-nbw* and *ꜥti*, and Davies suggests that this may be a reflection of the title's importance, although with so few examples from this period, it is difficult to say where in the temple hierarchies they may have stood. However, the two priestesses present are both prominently placed and shown in equal size to the Chantresses and male officiants that appear alongside them. As a result, their inclusion in the scenes is evidence for both their involvement and their importance in this particular festival.

4.5 - Conclusions

When all the attested titles from this period are considered, it becomes apparent that music and performance in the adoration and celebration of the gods was the primary way in which women were able to enter into the temple hierarchies. From the *šmꜥ.yt* and the *wr.t ḥnr.wt* to the *sšš.ty* and other sistrum players, scenes depicted on tomb walls indicate that the female musicians attached to the cults of various deities during the Nineteenth Dynasty took part in numerous festivals to an extent that ensured their documentation. Primarily held by women from the higher levels of Egyptian society, occasionally even members of the royal family, these titles are evidence for the widespread, particularly in relation to the cult of Amun, direct involvement of women in religious practice at a state level, as well as for the way the women who held the titles were recognised and highly enough regarded by their contemporary society to ensure their name and image would be recorded.

¹⁴ Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 15.

Chapter 5: Female Mourners

5.1 - Introduction

One of the best attested roles women played in religious practice is that of the mourner. Appearing in private tomb scenes, stelae and funerary papyri, the female mourner, with her raised arms and unbound hair, is an easily recognised figure. The surviving depictions of these women are useful in the discussion of female engagement in religious practice as they are not only indicative of the explicit involvement of women in the funerals of the deceased; they are also evidence for the existence of a professional group of mourners, some of whom we can, in fact, identify by name.

5.2 - Types of Female Mourners

The type and identity of female mourners present and involved in the rituals depicted in funerary scenes varies greatly. The most commonly seen mourner is the deceased's wife, who is often shown kneeling and mourning at the feet of the mummy during the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony before the tomb. The wife of the deceased mourning her husband in such a way can be seen in the tomb of *Dhwti-ms* (TT 32), the tomb-chapel of *R'i3*, and the Papyrus of Ani, where the wife accompanies the mummy while it is transported in the barque and then kneels before it, lamenting, once the procession reaches the tomb.¹

The daughter of the deceased tomb owner is another common mourner, particularly when their mother, the wife of the tomb owner, is depicted as deceased and mummified herself. A woman named *T3-kri* is shown mourning her parents, the Sculptor of Amun, *Kn* and his wife *Nfirtiri* in both Tomb 4 (TT 4) and a stela in the Museo Egizio in Turin (N. 50074; old Cat. 1635).² Another example can be found in TT 250, one of three tombs built by *R'w-mss* and most likely intended for the parents of his wife *Mwt-m-wi3* and a number of female members of their household.³ In the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony depicted in this tomb, the five mummies, all women, are mourned by five kneeling women labelled "her daughter", and one

¹ L. Kákósy, T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. I. Fábián and E. Gaál, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes* (Budapest, 2004) pp. 37-38; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Raia at Saqqara* (London, 1985) p. 13, pls. XX, XXII; E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Penguin Classics Edition (London, 2008) p. 39.

² *KRI* III, pp. 681:5-6, 686:10.

³ *KRI* III, p. 617:1-2.

“her daughter’s daughter (i.e. granddaughter)”. Theban Tomb 219 involves the daughters, sisters and other female relatives of the deceased in mourning.⁴

The recurrence of these types of depictions indicate that the involvement of female relatives as mourners was a common, and significant part of funerary practice in this period, and, in fact, the group of mourners who make up part of the funeral procession have been described as the *h3w*, or ‘kindred’.⁵

A second type of mourner evidenced by funerary scenes are mourners who are unrelated to the tomb owner. These mourners are often referred to as “professional mourners”, and while it is uncertain as to whether these women were paid, or did this for a living, they appear in the funerary processions, usually in a group, and can be identified by a range of titles and epithets that separate them from the deceased’s relatives, one of which denotes them as “the people who cry/mourn in front”.⁶ In TT 335 there are three professional mourners depicted.⁷ They are given the title *tst*, which is usually translated as troop or battallion, and can be identified as *Iwy*, *Hmt-ntr* and her daughter *Iyi*.⁸ Tomb TT 250, mentioned above, also includes a group of three “professional mourners”.⁹ Their names are given as *Iwy* and *Hmt-ntr*, who appear in TT 335, and *T3-nhsy*. In this particular tomb, each woman is given the title of *wšb*. It is also possible that the Lady *Hmt-ntr* also appears as a mourner in TT 219, although it cannot be said for certain whether they are the same woman.¹⁰ Another possible “professional mourner”, as it cannot be determined with certainty whether she is relative of the deceased as no relationship is mentioned, is named in the tomb of *Nht-Imn* (TT 342). The woman, *Rʿi3*, (Pl. VI) a *šmʿ.yt* of Amun, appears as part of the funerary procession and walks in front of a group of eight women, who are more than likely themselves to be a troupe of professional mourners as they are given the designator “the people who mourn in front”.¹¹ *Rʿi3* herself is depicted wearing a long wig and a billowing dress. As the scene is damaged, however, the exact words of the mourners have been lost. A group of mourners involved in the funerary procession of Ramesses I are referenced in a stela dedicated by his son Seti I.¹² They are described here by Seti, who accompanies his father, as surrounding the deceased king with litanies and striking their faces with grief.

⁴ *KRI* III, p. 758:1-4.

⁵ *KRI* I, p. 315:10-12.

⁶ N. de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) p. 36, pl. XXVI; *KRI* III, pp. 342:9, 363:2-3.

⁷ *KRI* III, p. 672:14-15.

⁸ R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) p. 308.

⁹ *KRI* III, p. 616:10-11.

¹⁰ *KRI* III, p. 758:2.

¹¹ Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 36, pl. XXVI; *KRI* III, p. 363:2-3.

¹² *KRI* I, p. 112:13-14.

5.3 – Women in the Funerary Procession

Female mourners are a significant aspect of the funerary processions depicted in many Nineteenth Dynasty wall scenes and funerary papyri. In these scenes they often appear in a group, ranging in number, and are comprised of, as mentioned above, female relatives of the deceased and professional mourners. The age of the mourners in these groups can vary greatly, as evidenced particularly in the tomb of *Kyky/S3-mw.t* (TT 409), where groups of younger girls accompany the elder mourners in the procession (Pl. VII). The typical costume of female mourners is a long, white dress, often knotted to bare the breasts, and unbound or uncovered hair, which usually appears curly. Clear examples of this dress can be found in TT 31 and TT 341 (Pls. V, VI). In the tomb of Anhurmosé, from the reign of Mernptah, the loose strands of hair belonging to one of the mourners were painted on, rather than carved, and can still be seen in the damaged scene.¹³

As noted by M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed in his dissertation on the development of New Kingdom funerary beliefs, the female mourners of the early half of the Eighteenth Dynasty stand in rows of couples, sometimes even seated in two separate registers.¹⁴ It is in the reign of Thutmose IV that the women form a group, each showing a different stage of grief, and this is a stylistic choice that continues and appears in a number of Nineteenth Dynasty tombs. A good example of this can be found in the tomb of *R'ib*, where each woman is depicted in a different position (Pl. VIII).

As the commonly attested descriptive caption “the people who mourn in front” suggests, mourners in the funerary procession generally walk before the mummy. The exact location of the group, however, can vary from depiction to depiction. In the Papyrus of Ani, in the second register of the procession scene, there is a large group of mourners shown.¹⁵ The majority of the mourners face towards the tomb where the Opening of the Mouth is taking place, although they are separated from the officiating priests by a table of offerings. Two of the mourners face towards the procession as it approaches the tomb, although there is a group of male offering bearers between them and the bier. In the tomb of *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms*, a single female mourner, the rest of her group lost, stands before the oxen pulling the bier, while a second

¹³ B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh Part 1* (Sydney, 1988) p. 53, pl. 37.

¹⁴ M. A. Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966) p. 165. Examples come from Theban Tombs 81, 82 and 87.

¹⁵ Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 38.

group is depicted in front of the men carrying the chest of canopic jars.¹⁶ The wife of the deceased can also be shown lamenting beside the bier, as seen in the Papyrus of Ani (Pl. IX).¹⁷

5.4 – Women and the Rituals at the Entrance to the Tomb

The funerary procession ends at the tomb, which is where the final funerary rites, including the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, are performed, and women have a significant role in proceedings here as well. The Opening of the Mouth scene, as it is depicted in the tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, is an innovation of the reign of Thutmose IV, around the same time as the female mourners began to be depicted in groups, rather than couples.¹⁸ During the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, funeral offerings would be presented to the deceased, and his wife, in two separate scenes. After the reign of Thutmose IV, and through the Ramesside period, the Opening of the Mouth, the offerings and the libation over the mummy are all represented in one scene.

In these scenes, the women present include the mourners at the feet of the mummy, or coffin, and the mourners who stand behind the officiating priests, such as those seen in the tomb of *Rʿʿs* (Pl. VIII). The women mourning before the deceased are not always kneeling or crouched, as the depiction of this scene in the Tomb of *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms* has the mourner standing and embracing the mummy from the front.¹⁹ In the Book of the Dead papyrus of Hunefer, one of his two mourners also stands, although it has been suggested by Christina Riggs that the two figures are actually the same person.²⁰ The only label for the two female figures in this scene appears next to the standing woman and identifies her as the ‘Mistress of the House’. Riggs states that it is possible that the woman is being represented twice in order to demonstrate different mourning positions, similar to the way groups of mourners are depicted in different positions. In the tomb of *Hnsw*, the wife of the tomb owner stands before two mummies with one arm raised and the other reaching out to touch the coffins (Pl. X). Her daughter kneels at the feet of the coffins with her hands in a similar position. Behind the three officiating priests stand a group of both male and female mourners, two of whom are young girls who are depicted kneeling and bent at the waist. Other individual women involved in

¹⁶ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, pp. 52-53, pls. 36-37.

¹⁷ Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 38.

¹⁸ Muhammed, *Beliefs and Practices*, p. 166.

¹⁹ B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh Part II* (Sydney, 1990) pp. 18-19, pls. 24-25.

²⁰ Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 40; C. Riggs, ‘Mourning Women and Decorum in Ancient Egyptian Art’, in E. Frood and A. McDonald (eds.) *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines* (Oxford, 2013) p. 156.

these funerary rites include a woman in a blue dress depicted supporting the mummy of *Dḥwty-ms*.²¹

The words and laments of the mourners are often either lost, or not included in the scene at all. There are, however, a few surviving examples. One such example comes from the Tomb Chapel of *Nfr-sḥr.w* at Kom el-Ahmar.²² *Nfr-sḥr.w*'s wife, *Mw.t-nfr.t* sings two laments before the bier of her husband, and in them speaks of the grief caused by death and loss.

*First Lament*²³

“How depressing is descending into the land of silence! The man who was awake is now in sleep, he who slept not by night, he is lying weary (now) every day. The mourners, they say: “The abode of those who belong to the West, it is dee[p and d]ark, there is neither door nor window in it, and no [sun beam]s to illumine (it), no north wind to re[fresh] the heart. The Sun does not shine there – in darkness do they lie there every day. (...) thereof, (...) day(?) (...).” ”

*Second Lament*²⁴

“.....The guardian is taken away to the eternal land, the everlasting city. Remote are they who belong to the West, hard is their lot. People (‘they’) hold back from going to them! He (there) cannot tell (us) of his [state], but rests in his one eternal place, in darkness.”

The focus of the laments appears to be the deceased, rather than the ones left behind to grieve. The first lament describes the hereafter as a dark and depressing place, lacking wind and sunlight, while the second speaks of the dead being separated from the living in a place of darkness, unable to contact those on the other side. These laments provide insight into conceptions of the afterlife within the context of mourning. In them, the hereafter is not described as a paradise, instead it is a dark and isolated place where the deceased will spend eternity.

Similar images and ideas are reflected in the words of the mourners in the tomb-chapel of Mose, where, during the procession, they say “The multitude of people mourn for thee! He who has left behind all his family, he is gone to the land of eternity and of darkness in which

²¹ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 37-38.

²² *KRI* I, p. 305:9-16.

²³ *RITA* I, p. 248.

²⁴ *RITA* I, p. 248.

there is no light.”²⁵ The mourners depicted in a large relief from the Cairo Museum address the deceased directly, stating “O Noble, you are (bound) for the West, and (even) the gods are in lamentation.”²⁶ Another mourning song or chant is recorded in TT 335, where the kneeling women state “water is poured out on the earth for you, at the door of your tomb”, a reference, perhaps, to the purification rites performed on the mummy or to the presentation of offerings to the deceased to ensure their nourishment in the afterlife.²⁷

5.5 - Mourners in Festivals

The act of mourning by women was not confined to the funerary processions and rites depicted on the walls of private tombs. Scenes from the tomb of *Hnsw* make it clear they also played an important role in the festivals of the mortuary cults of deceased kings (Pls. IV, V).²⁸ *Hnsw*, or *T3*, was the High Priest of Thutmose III in western Thebes during the reign of Ramesses II, and he officiated the festival of Thutmose III while a number of his family members assisted. The wall scenes depict the sacred barque, carrying the image of the deceased king, towed along a T-shaped canal towards the temple harbour. As the temple pylons are inscribed with the name of Thutmose III and an image of him offering to Amun-Re, it has been suggested that it is, in fact, a representation of the sixth pylon at Karnak, which was built by the king and decorated in a similar manner.²⁹ The barque is welcomed to the temple by eight priests, many of whom were related to the tomb owner, each with their own offering.

These eight men are mirrored by the eight women who accompany the procession, mourning the deceased king. The women, many of whom hold the title of *šmꜥ.yt*, stand in pairs and are depicted with the typical loose hair and raised arms, with the exception of the first pair, whose arms are lowered. The accompanying text provides the names of seven of the women - [...]*i3y*, [...]*nfr.t*, *Mw.t[iꜥy?]*, *T3y-sn*, *Mꜥi3*, *Wrl* and *Hnt-nfr.t*. The women are met by another group of mourners coming from the temple, who are depicted in the same poses as the first group. Three of these five women are named in the text above the figures – *Mꜥi3*, *Wsri* and *Mꜥ3ny*, while the names of the other two are unfortunately lost. The mourners are then welcomed to the temple by three chantresses, who each hold a lotus flower and a sistrum.

²⁵ G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977) p. 16.

²⁶ *KRI* I, p. 315:11.

²⁷ *KRI* III, p. 672:14.

²⁸ Davies, *Seven Tombs*, pp. 19-21, pl. XV; *KRI* vol. III, p. 406:12-407:4.

²⁹ B. G. Davies, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments Vol. III* (Oxford, 2013), p. 20; de Garis Davies, *Seven Tombs*, p. 20, pl. XV.

5.6 - Conclusions

Based on the evidence provided by tomb scenes, funerary papyri and stelae, it is clear that the role of women as mourners in funeral processions and funerary ritual was a prominent one. The depictions of funerary rites allows for the identification of particular gestures associated with grief, such as the raising of arms and the pouring of dust over the head, as well as the identification of individual mourners recorded in the accompanying texts. Changes in the depiction and location of female mourners from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty through to the Nineteenth may also demonstrate an evolution in the roles and associated ideology of the women. Ultimately, the prominence of these lamenting women, and the existence of groups of women who appear as mourners in the funerary rites of unrelated tomb owners, could be considered evidence for the significance and essential nature of this particular role in funerary ritual and in wider ancient Egyptian ideology concerning death and rebirth, as well as for the importance this display of power transferred to the various women who enacted it.

Chapter 6: A Woman's Place in the Tomb

6.1 – Introduction

While it is the male owners who take the most prominent place in the private tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, their wives, and other female relatives, appear frequently in select types of scenes. These scenes of offering, both to relatives and to deities, as well as depictions of the afterlife, are included as a means of providing for the deceased after death, and the presence of women in such scenes can be seen as indicative of the ways in which they were thought to have been provided for in the hereafter.

6.2 – The Women Who Appear in the Tomb

A wide variety of women appear in the private tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The most commonly seen is, of course, the wife of the tomb owner, who appears in offering and worshipping scenes, as well as during the funerary rites of the deceased (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of mourners as depicted in tomb scenes). Daughters, mothers and sisters are also commonly portrayed, while some tombs include additional musicians and offering bearers who may be named, or left anonymous.

There are a number of cases in the Nineteenth Dynasty of tomb owners having multiple wives. The rate of appearance within the tomb between these wives can vary greatly, depending on circumstance. *T3-wrt-ḥtpt* [198], for example, was one of two wives of *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms*, and although she is mentioned on two other statues, she appears only once in the tomb, in Niche 2 where her statue is seated on the right of *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms*.¹ In an inscription from a limestone statue group depicting *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms* and his two wives (CGC. 1093), *T3-wrt-ḥtpt* is referred to as *nb.t pr.w=f ḥr-ḥ3.t* “his former lady of the house”, which has led to the suggestion that she was *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms*’ first wife, who had died.² *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms*’ mother *Iyi-m-wni/Iyi-m-w3i* [24] also appears in the tomb, as does his second wife, *Shmt-nfrt* [182], who appears frequently in positions of prominence.

6.3 – Scenes of Offering to Family and Ancestors

Offering to deceased relatives is a commonly depicted scenario in private tomb scenes, and the women in such scenes generally appear in one of two main roles, either presenting or receiving the offerings. The female relatives of the tomb owner who appear giving or receiving offerings in the Nineteenth Dynasty include his wife, his mother, his daughters and his sisters, as well as,

¹ B. O. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh I* (Sydney, 1988) p. 51.

² *KRI IV*, p. 146:3-4; Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, p. 12.

on occasion, relatives of his wife, and while this period saw an increase in the number of scenes in which the tomb owner receives offerings alone, the female members of the family are still present.³

A stela from the tomb-chapel of *P3-sr* at Saqqara depicts, in the lower register, the tomb owner and his wife *Py-pwy* seated and offered to by two rows of family members (Pl. XI).⁴ The relatives include their daughter, *Py-pwy*'s mother and grandmother, *Rꜥy* and *N3-šꜥyt*, as well as her sister of the same name and the sister of *P3-sr*. The women are all shown holding lotus flowers, and are said to offer to the deceased couple for the provision of their *kas*.

On the front wall of the transverse hall in TT 32, the tomb owner *Dḥwty-ms* and his wife *3st* appear in six separate panels seated before tables of offerings and an officiant.⁵ Although the scenes are damaged, the offerings in the second panel of the upper register can be identified as including lettuce, figs, onions, flowers and a goose or duck. These goods, combined with the "1000 of loaves, 1000 (jugs) is beer, 1000 calves, (and) fowl, 1000 of clothes, 1000 jugs of oil, 1000 of all good and pure things" given by the king to Geb, are offered to the couple for the nourishment of their *ka*.⁶

On the lower register of the rear wall, the couple are again shown seated together, and are accompanied by a girl who performs a harper's song, the words of which are recorded in twenty-eight columns between the lute-player and the couple.⁷ The general themes of the Harper songs include the sorrow and inevitability of death, and advice to enjoy life while possible, and the first theme is heavily present in the harper song of *Dḥwty-ms*, particularly when the girl sings of the afterlife, stating that "those to be born – million upon millions – will come [...] to it. There is no [lingering in the land of Egy]pt, there is no one who does not arrive (there)." ⁸ This scene is particularly significant in the discussion on female involvement in religious practice not only for its depiction of the tomb owner's wife receiving offerings of nourishment, but also as an example of a female musician performing, on her own, in a mortuary setting while wishing health and prosperity on the *kas* of the deceased. As the well-known songs of the harper from the

³ M. A. Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966) p. 10

⁴ G. T. Martin, *The Tomb Chapels of Paser and Raia at Saqqara* (London, 1985) p. 5.

⁵ L. Kákósy, T. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. Fábián, and E. Gaál, *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes (TT 32)* (Budapest, 2004) pp. 133-139.

⁶ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 134-135.

⁷ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 141-145. The song is also published in Z. I. Fábián, 'Harper's Song in the Tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32)', *SAK* 22 (1995) pp. 212-225.

⁸ V. A. Tobin (trans.) 'Love Songs and the Song of the Harper', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (Yale, 2003) p. 308; Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, p. 144.

tomb of *Nfr-ḥtp* (TT 50), a near contemporary of *Dḥwty-ms*, indicate, the performance of the harper songs were not associated purely with one gender.⁹

An interesting type of offering scene appears in the tomb of *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms* in El Mashayikh. On the south wall of the hall, *Shmt-nfṛt* welcomes her husband *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms* to the temple of Mehit and presents him with a bouquet of flowers (Pl. XII). Bouquets of flowers, when in the presence of a deity, could be transformed into an *ʿnh*, or “bouquet of life”, which is what the flowers presented by *Shmt-nfṛt* are described as in the accompanying texts.¹⁰ Bouquets could also be presented to those who had performed a service for the gods, much as *Ini-ḥr(t)-ms* had done through his involvement in the construction of the temple of Mehit.¹¹ That *Shmt-nfṛt* is the one to present the flowers is a significant example of female involvement in offering scenes.

The tomb of Anhurmosé also includes a number of scenes that depict anonymous and non-related women engaging with the tomb owner, his family and their funerary cult. In the lower registers of the south and west walls (Pl. XII), a line of fourteen female musicians stand behind the figure of *Shmt-nfṛt* offering to her husband. The majority of the women play Hathor-headed loop sistra, while some, although the scene is damaged in places, appear to be carrying offerings.

6.4 – Scenes of Adoration and Offering to the Gods

A second type of commonly depicted offering scene is that of the deceased offering, or worshipping, the gods. In these scenes, women are most often shown worshipping with their husband, or in some cases, on their own. Like scenes of offering to relatives, the offering and worshipping of the gods was intended to provide the deceased with blessings and provisions in the Hereafter.

One such scene can be seen on a stela (Pl. XV) from the south side of the antechapel of *P3-sr* where two women, possibly relatives of the tomb owner, are depicted offering to a seated Osiris.¹² In his publication of the tomb, Geoffrey Martin suggests that, along with blessings given by the specific god to whom they were offering to, the two women would have erected the stela in the antechapel in hopes of benefitting from the reversion of other offerings. In the adjacent tomb of *Rʿi3* (Pl. XVI), the tomb owner is accompanied in his worship of a recumbent

⁹ M. Lichtheim, ‘The Songs of the Harpers’, *JNES* 4 (1945) p. 178.

¹⁰ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, p. 28.

¹² Martin, *Paser and Raia*, p. 6, pl. 12.

Anubis by his wife *Mwt-m-wi3*, her sisters *Twy* and *K3i3*, and a female servant by the name of *Š3-nfr*.¹³

The wife of *Ini-hr(t)-ms*, *Shmt-nfrt* takes a particularly prominent position in their tomb at El Mashayikh. On the east side of the entrance doorway to the tomb, *Shmt-nfrt*, is depicted with her right arm raised in adoration and her left hand holding a Hathor-headed loop sistrum.¹⁴ In the scene, *Shmt-nfrt* recites a prayer to the goddess Mehit, and is mirrored on the western side by her husband, who is depicted praying to the god Re.¹⁵ Here *Shmt-nfrt* is not only of equal height with *Ini-hr(t)-ms*, a reflection of her importance in the scene, she is also addressing the deity directly on behalf of her husband, asking that favour be bestowed on him. *Shmt-nfrt* also appears on two pillar faces in the tomb's columned hall, in the most prominent position, facing the entrance doorway.¹⁶ While one pillar face is heavily damaged, the image on Pillar I shows *Shmt-nfrt* with her arms raised in praise of Osiris, asking for blessings and offerings for her *ka*. She also holds in her left hand a sistrum and two papyrus flowers.

A very similar image appears on a pillar in TT 32, where the wife of the tomb owner, *3st* [4], is shown adoring an elaborate Hathor-Menhit sistrum.¹⁷ *3st* herself holds a yellow Hathor-headed loop sistrum and a *menat* necklace decorated with a rosette and the cartouche of Ramesses II (Pl. II). In the text accompanying the scene, *3st* hails the goddess, and is in turn praised and blessed by her.¹⁸

6.5 – Scenes of Entering the Netherworld

The Nineteenth Dynasty was a period of Egyptian history that has been described as pervaded by piety, and this is certainly reflected in the private tombs of the period.¹⁹ While scenes of daily life disappear almost completely from tombs of the period, scenes adapted from the Book of the Dead, known to the Egyptians as the Book of Coming Forth by Day, are a significant theme in the decoration of Ramesside tombs.²⁰ Women, predominately the wives of the tomb owners, feature here heavily.

¹³ Martin, *Paser and Raia*, p. 14, pl. 24.

¹⁴ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, pp. 22-23, pl. 6.

¹⁵ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, pp. 20-23.

¹⁶ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs I*, pp. 56-57, 63-64, pls. XL, XLI.

¹⁷ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 180-181.

¹⁸ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, p. 182.

¹⁹ J. Assmann, 'State and Religion in the New Kingdom', in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (Yale, 1989), pp. 68-69.

²⁰ W. Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor* (London, 2003) p. 85.

Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, which depicts the judgement of the deceased before Osiris, is one of the best known, and perhaps most significant, ancient Egyptian religious scenes. In the scene, the deceased, who is more often than not accompanied by his wife, is led by the god Anubis into the Hall of Two Truths, where his heart is weighed against the feather of Ma'at. The outcome of the judgement is usually recorded by Thoth, while Ammit, a composite creature that was part lion, part crocodile and part hippopotamus, sits nearby, waiting to devour the hearts of those who do not pass. Once judged worthy, the couple are led, most often by Horus, into the presence of Osiris. The scene first appears in private Theban tombs during the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, and became particularly popular during the Nineteenth Dynasty.²¹

While the depiction of the judgement of the dead in the tomb of Anhurmosé is rather damaged, the figures of *Ini-hr(t)-ms* and his wife *Shmt-nfrrt*, can still be seen.²² The couple are both shown bowing, while *Shmt-nfrrt* appears to be holding a small jar in her right hand. Thoth stands in front of the couple, and the position of his arms indicate he was holding the reed pen and palette he would have used to record the judgement's outcome. The god Osiris sits at the far right of the scene, and in front of him, the four mummiform sons of Horus stand on a lotus flower.

The judgement of the dead also appears in the tomb of *Hnsw* (TT 31), although there are aspects of this particular depiction that differ from the traditional versions (Pl. X). In the scene, the heart of *Hnsw* is weighed against the feather of Ma'at, overseen by Anubis and Ma'at herself, while Thoth records the results.²³ *Hnsw*, however, is accompanied by his mother and son, and while the remains of another hand indicates they were followed by others, *Hnsw*'s wife is not present in this scene. *Hnsw*'s mother, in fact, is the one led towards Osiris once the judgement has been pronounced. The presence of his mother in these scenes, combined with her frequent appearances elsewhere in the tomb, may reflect the high esteem to which *Hnsw* held her, although this cannot be said for sure.

The fact that a woman will appear beside her husband during the weighing of the heart so often has led to the suggestion that, in some cases, having been together in life, it represents the couple's desire to remain together in the afterlife.²⁴ An Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (TT 255) in

²¹ Muhammed, *Funerary Beliefs*, p. 251.

²² B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh II* (Sydney, 1990) p. 23, pls. 36, 37. Ockinga and al-Masri suggest that, based on the deep gouge marks appearing on the wall, the centre of the scene, including the scales, was purposefully erased.

²³ N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) p. 21, pl. XVI.

²⁴ N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2002) p. 39.

fact shows the hearts of both the husband and wife being weighed against two feathers.²⁵ It is unclear, however, as to whether the couple were judged collectively for the deeds of both parties, or if they could stand alone.²⁶

Depictions of the deceased passing through the Gates of the Netherworld are another common scene type. Occurring frequently in Ramesside tombs, these scenes were taken and adapted from Chapters 144-147 of the Book of the Dead.²⁷ In the tomb of *Dḥwty-ms*, the tomb owner approaches fifteen gates, where he speaks the name of the personified gate and the gate keeper, before announcing his intention to pass through.²⁸ At two gates (Units 8 and 11), *Dḥwty-ms* is accompanied by his wife *ṯst*.²⁹ While Unit 8 is badly damaged, Unit 11 is well preserved, and depicts *Dḥwty-ms* and *ṯst* kneeling and worshipping the guardian *Mmnḥ*. The final scene of the sequence shows *ṯst* following her husband with her arms raised in adoration as they approach a seated Osiris, who is offered to by Horus on behalf of the couple.³⁰ Further depictions of *ṯst* accompanying her husband in the afterlife appear in vignettes from Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead on the ceiling of the transverse hall.³¹ Here the couple are shown kneeling and adoring before the *Rwty*-scene, Horus and the *Benu*-bird, the god Khepri and the “Seven Souls”. *ṯst* and *Dḥwty-ms* are also depicted engaged in a game of *senet*, while their *bas* sit above the tomb with an arm raised in adoration. Depictions of the game were well known as early as the Old Kingdom, and they became popular in the Nineteenth Dynasty where the tomb owner is often depicted making a move, with his wife sitting either beside or across from him.³²

The tomb owner and his wife adoring the tree-goddess is also a frequently attested scene type in Nineteenth Dynasty tombs. Vignettes of Chapter 59 of the Book of the Dead depict the deceased kneeling in a pool before the tree-goddess, who reaches out from a sycamore tree and presents the deceased with a tray of food and a jar of water.³³ This is the most common depiction of goddesses associated with the tree cults.³⁴ As tomb depictions of religious scenes and scenes of the afterlife gained prominence in Eighteenth Dynasty and through into the Nineteenth, the vignettes of the tree goddess were adapted to appear in the private tombs of the period. The

²⁵ Muhammed, *Funerary Beliefs*, p. 251.

²⁶ Muhammed, *Funerary Beliefs*, p. 251.

²⁷ M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984) p. 77.

²⁸ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, p. 71.

²⁹ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 79, 81.

³⁰ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, p. 86.

³¹ Kákósy, Bács, Bartos, Fábián, and Gaál, *Djehutymes*, pp. 196-199.

³² Muhammed, *Funerary Beliefs*, pp. 253-254.

³³ R. O. Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead. The Book of Going Forth by Day* (San Francisco, 1994) pl. 16.

³⁴ M. Buhl, ‘The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult’, *JNES* 6 (1947) pp. 91-92.

earliest depiction of the goddess appears in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Nakht, where she is shown standing either side of an offering table wearing a sycamore on her head.³⁵ Nineteenth Dynasty depictions of this scene involve the goddess standing in the tree while distributing offerings to the deceased.

Theban Tomb 341 includes a beautifully detailed version of this scene (Pl.XIII).³⁶ Here the goddess is shown leaning out of the tree and pouring water directly into the mouths of the deceased and his wife, who are both seated. The couple is also presented with plates of figs and bread, the plates themselves being made of branches of the tree. Another example can be seen in a somewhat damaged scene from the tomb of Anhurmosé, which depicts the tomb owner and his wife kneeling before the tree-goddess, whose arms are outstretched, most likely to present offerings.³⁷

Like many tomb scenes, depictions of the tree goddess are tied to renewal and nourishment, as by presenting the deceased with food and water, the goddess is providing for them.³⁸ The numerous attested instances of the tomb owner's wife in such scenes imply that she too benefitted from the goddess' gifts in the hereafter.

6.6 - Conclusions

The women who appear in the private tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty are primarily the relatives of the tomb owner. These include not only his wife, but his mother, his sisters and his daughters as well. It is also possible for the parents and siblings of the tomb owner's wife to be included, as is the case in the tomb of *P3-sr* at Saqqara.

There are three main scene types that women appear in in the tombs of this period. The first are the scenes of offering by family members for the provision of the deceased's *ka*, where women could either be the receiver of the offerings, or the one giving them. The second scene type involves the worship of the gods, through which women could also ensure the nourishment and blessing of their spirit in the hereafter. The final group of scenes come from the Book of the Dead, and include the judgement of the deceased, for which the tomb owner's wife was often present, and the movement of the couple through the afterlife.

³⁵ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 1917) pl. X.

³⁶ Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, p. 40, pl. XXIX.

³⁷ Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, p. 53, pl. XXXVI.

³⁸ N. Kanawati, *The Tomb*, p. 43.

All three scene types are concerned with the provisioning and nourishment of the dead in the afterlife, and the frequent appearance of women in such scenes suggests that the continued life and prosperity of a woman after death could be ensured by her presence in decoration of her husband's tomb.

Chapter 7: Female Acts of Personal Piety

7.1 - Introduction

The involvement of women in religious practice during the Nineteenth Dynasty extends beyond their presence in the tomb and the actions of the officially titled. Wall scenes, statuary, votive stelae and other artefacts evidence that women in this period expressed their piety in a number of ways, including observance and participation in festival processions, visiting the public shrines attached to the temples in order to speak and pray to the gods directly, and offering to deities through dedicatory stelae, statues and other votive objects.

7.2 - Festivals and Processions

The involvement of titled women in religious processions and celebrations has been addressed in previous chapters, but a discussion on the involvement of non-titled women, or women not directly attached to a cult, can still be had. In general, the religious rituals taking place in the temples of the Nineteenth Dynasty were closed to the majority of the population, with only the king, priests and some high officials granted access to the inner-most areas of the precinct.¹ There are, however, occasions where the general populace, and more specifically women, engaged to an extent, with both the festival celebrations and the deities.

In Theban Tomb 2, the procession of the sacred images of Amun and the deified Amenhotep I into the temple of Mut at Karnak is depicted on the front wall of the broad hall.² Two rows of sphinxes and trees line the processional way, while the entrance pylons of the temple of Mut are flanked by two royal colossi. The barques containing the sacred images sail on a u-shaped canal, and as they make their way towards the temple, they are adored by a number of figures lining the shore, two of whom are untitled women. Almost all of the adoring individuals are relatives of the tomb owner, so it is probable that the two women, whose names only partially survive, were too.

The appearing of Amenhotep I's sacred image is also mentioned in Deir el-Medina ostraca 132, where a woman named *3st* writes to her sister *Nbw-m-mw* in order to encourage her in the weaving of a new item of clothing.³ The piece of clothing is intended for *3st* to wear to the festival, and the urgency in which she encourages her sister to finish her work while "Amenhotep has not (yet) come" shows her excitement and the significance of the occasion.

¹ A. Spalinger, 'The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion', *JNES* 57 (1998) p. 241.

² *KRI* III, pp. 807:12-809:8.

³ *KRI* III, 558:9-13; E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990) p. 157.

The involvement of private individuals in religious festivals was not limited to the adoring of the sacred images while they were in procession. References are made in Theban Tomb 2 to the feasts of Sokar, where one couple in the tomb, their names given as *H^c-bhnt*, and his wife *S3ht*, are offered to, by their son, on the 25th day of the fourth month of the season of Akhet.⁴ On this night, which was known as the festival of Netjeryt, the deceased are presented with onions as an instrument of rebirth. Further offerings are given for the 26th day of the month, which is when the annual festival of Sokar was celebrated. The offering of onions as part of the Sokar festival cycle also appears in TT 296.⁵ On the east wall of Chamber A, the tomb owner *Nfr-shrw* and his wife *Nfrt-iri* are shown seated before a large stack of offerings. They are offered to by a sem-priest, while their daughter *3st* kneels before the offerings in mourning. The text which accompanies the scene states that the couple are being offered onions, and identifies the occasion as “the night of Baset, the first feast of Osiris”.

7.3 - Access to the Temples

Although the majority of the ancient Egyptian populace was, for the most part, unable to directly view or take part in the rites of the temples, certain architectural features, as well as inscriptions, suggest access to the temples was allowed in certain areas. The triple shrine of Seti II at Karnak, which was built along the temple’s east-west processional axis in the courtyard between the First and Second pylons, is one such area, and is described as a “place of honouring and praying to all the gods.”⁶ The forecourt of the Luxor Temple, as built by Ramesses II, is said in the dedicatory inscriptions to be a “place of supplication, of hearing the petitions of Gods and men”, which suggests that, much like the shrine of Seti II, this was a place where Egyptians could approach the gods with their prayers and oracles.⁷ The Eastern Temple of Ramesses II appears to be another area of popular access, as the structure is described as the “place where Amun-Re Ramesses hears petitions.”⁸

⁴ *KRI* III, p. 803:6-10.

⁵ *KRI* VII, pp. 148:3-6, 149:15-16.

⁶ *KRI* IV, p. 254:5-7; E. Teeter, ‘Popular Worship in Ancient Egypt’, *KMT* 4 (1993) p. 31.

⁷ M. A. El-Raik, ‘The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple I: The Texts’, *JEA* 60 (1974) p. 147; M. A. El-Raik, ‘The Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple II: Interpretation’, *JEA* 61 (1975) p. 128.

⁸ *KRI* III, p. 298:12. In Twenty-First Dynasty inscriptions from the site, the gods associated with the temple are said to be “residing in the Hearing Ear in the Estate of Amun”. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu Vol. I* (Chicago, 1979) p. 15.

7.4 - Offering to the Gods

While women could participate in state religious festivals, personal piety was expressed primarily through the dedication of votive objects, including stelae and statuary. On these objects, many of which were erected or left in temples and other religious sites, the dedicator is depicted adoring, or offering, to one or more deities. The dedicator may be accompanied by family members, who would then share in the benefits. The dedicators of such objects were generally men, although there are a number of surviving examples of women offering to gods in their own name.

When men dedicate votive stelae, the women who appear with them are usually their wives, mothers, sisters and daughters. In a stela from Saqqara (Berlin 7274) the scribe *Hrwi-mnw* is accompanied in his worship of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Anubis by his wife *My*, and while *Pn-t3-wrt* praises the deities Isis and Osiris in the top register of his stela, his wife, sister and mother appear in the bottom register, worshipping their son Horus directly.⁹ The deified Eighteenth Dynasty rulers Amenhotep I, and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari, whose cult flourished in Deir el-Medina, were common recipients of these votive stelae, as seen in a fragmentary stela from the villages Northern Chapel F, where the deities are asked to grant “life, prosperity and health, alertness, favour and love” to the spirits of the worshipping couple, *Inpw-m-hb* and his wife *Bd.t*.¹⁰

Statues are another means through which a private individual could offer to a god. On a black granite statue from the Cairo Museum (CGC. 42.122), a man offers to a range of deities including Amun, Mut and Khons, as well as the deified Ahmose-Neferatri, Amenhotep I and Thutmose III, and these offerings are given for the spirit of both him and his wife, *Iwy*.¹¹ In inscriptions on a statue group from the mortuary temple of Merenptah, offerings are dedicated by the owner *Hri* to Anubis, Isis and Mut for his wife, *Nfrt-iri*, so that they may give her “all things good and pure” in the afterlife.¹² The adoration and offerings made to Mut in particular are given so that the goddess may show her love and favour towards the deceased *Nfrt-iri*.

Perhaps more significant than the examples mentioned above, in regards to the autonomy of Nineteenth Dynasty women in the expression of their own piety, are the forms of dedicatory stelae in which they are the sole worshippers. While it cannot be said for certain whether the

⁹ *KRI* I, pp. 310:11-311:3; *KRI* IV, p. 103:5-10.

¹⁰ *KRI* IV, pp. 179:15-180:3; *RITA* IV, p. 132.

¹¹ *KRI* VII, pp. 24:12-25:4.

¹² *KRI* IV, pp. 136:8-137:5; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre I* (Paris, 1874) pp. 7-10.

women named and depicted in these stelae were the ones personally responsible for commissioning them, the fact that they can often appear unaccompanied by their husbands or fathers means they are the sole recipients of the mentioned deity's blessings and protection.

A stela from the Serapeum Apis burial in Year 30 of Ramesses II depicts, in its upper register, a woman by the name of *Shm-nfirt*, adoring the Apis bull.¹³ The inscription that accompanies the image states that *Shm-nfirt* had a hand in erecting the stela. The placement of her image in the prominent position of the upper register, combined with the explicit reference to her having “made” the stelae, indicates that *Shm-nfirt* was the stela's primary instigator. In the lower register two other women accompany a second dedicator, *Htp-ptḥ*, in the worship of the god Osiris. Another stela (BM 1388), most likely erected during the reign of Seti I, or possibly in the early years of Ramesses II, is said to have been made by a woman named *M^c-ḥȝy*, with possible assistance from another woman, *Hnt-wdbw*.¹⁴ In the stela's first register, the workman *Imn-ms* is shown offering to the goddesses Taweret, Hathor and Nekhtbet. As the stela is damaged, it is unclear whether *Imn-ms* is also credited with its creation, although, as he occupies the monument's primary position, he most likely was. In the second register, *M^c-ḥȝy* and *Hnt-wdbw* are accompanied by four other women, and the six of them are depicted standing with their left arms raised in adoration to the goddesses and holding a lotus flower or other offering jars with their right.

Two very similar offering stelae, housed in the Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, Germany, depict two separate women offering to a statue of Ramesses II, in his *Mnt.w m tȝ.wy* – “Montu-in-the-Two-Lands” form.¹⁵ The first stela (Hildesheim 380) depicts *ȝst*, a *šm^c.yt* of “Montu-in-the-Two-Lands”, standing before the statue of Ramesses, separated by a small table on which there sits an offering vase topped by a lotus flower (Pl. XVII). Both of *ȝst*'s arms are raised in adoration and in her right hand she holds a sistrum. In the second stela (Hildesheim 1080), the woman depicted is a *šm^c.yt* named *Kȝ-m-wiȝ*, and like *ȝst*, she stands before the statue with her arms raised and holding a sistrum, although there is no offering table depicted here (Pl. XVIII).

One particularly interesting stela (Pl. XIX), from the Egyptian Museum in Turin (Cat. 1450), depicts a seated Ahmose-Nefertari presented with a table of offerings by the maker of the stela, a

¹³ *KRI* II, p. 373:10-15.

¹⁴ M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10* (London, 1982) pp. 32-33, pl. 76.

¹⁵ *KRI* II, p. 451:8-11.

woman named *Hri*.¹⁶ In the lower register, a woman by the name of *Tyi* kneels with her arms raised in adoration, and the accompanying text makes it clear that the stela was made on her behalf in order to atone for an unmentioned sin. *Tyi* is said to have been struck by a “darkness”, and asks the goddess for her forgiveness and mercy. The significance of this stela in the discussion of female personal piety should not be underestimated. Not only is the stela a beautiful example of a votive dedication made by a woman, it is evidence for the ability of a woman to intercede on behalf of another with a deity. The stela also provides insight into the way common Egyptians viewed their gods – as powerful forces that would punish wrongdoings, but at the same time, merciful forces that could be forgiving when they were appeased.

Offerings also could be made to a deity by women through the dedicating of other inscribed objects. A dedicatory wooden vase, found in Deir el-Medina, depicts the mummiformed god Ptah adored by a kneeling woman named *Twy*, while an offering table and libation tank from Village House C. VI are inscribed with the *ḥtp di nsw.t* formula, asking for the blessings and favour of Osiris, Re-Horakhti, Atum and Anubis for the spirit of the owner *Tryt-nfrt*.¹⁷

7.5 - Conclusions

As evidenced by iconographic and literary sources, untitled women were able to worship and engage with the gods during various festival processions. Although they could not enter into the inner-most areas of the temples, inscriptions from the Karnak and Luxor temples indicate that the general Egyptian populace could approach and petition the deities during processions in specially built barque shrines, as well on other occasions in areas such as the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II.

Another way in which women of this period expressed their piety was through the dedication of votive offerings. These votive offerings most often took the form of stelae and statuary, although other dedicatory objects could be used. The majority of the dedicators were men, who could appear on the objects with relatives and colleagues, both male and female. Those accompanying the dedicator would then benefit from the god’s benevolence, particularly when the dedicator offers in their name. There are, however, a number of votive offerings whose dedicators are women. In these donations, the women appear in the monument’s most prominent position, and as a result, are the primary, or in some cases sole, receiver of the deity’s blessings. There are also examples of women dedicating stelae on behalf of other women in attempts to appease the deity

¹⁶ *KRI* IV, p. 338:14-16.

¹⁷ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1948-1951* (Cairo, 1953) p. 79, fig. 21:1.

the latter is believed to have wronged. These votive offerings, particularly the second type, are not only evidence for the ways in which Nineteenth Dynasty women expressed their personal piety, but are also indicative of the level of autonomy they held when it came to interacting with their gods.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 – Research Questions

The primary aim of this study was to identify the ways in which women of the Nineteenth Dynasty engaged in various forms religious practice during the period. This has been done by addressing the thesis' core research questions, which, as mentioned in Chapter 1, are:

- What religious titles were held by women in the Nineteenth Dynasty?
- Who held these titles and how often are they attested?
- What duties or roles did these titled women undertake as part of their service?
- In what ways were women involved in funerary ritual?
- Where do women appear in the private tombs of the period?
- How did women, titled or not, express their own personal piety?

These questions form the basis of the outline of this research project, and their answers can be found throughout Chapters 2 to 7.

8.2 – The *šmꜥ.yt*

The investigation conducted into the *šmꜥ.yt* of the Nineteenth Dynasty was based primarily on research questions 1, 2 and 3. The title of *šmꜥ.yt*, or “Chantress”, is the most frequently attested feminine religious title in this period. Two hundred and forty individual women were identified through this project's prosopographic analysis to have held the title of *šmꜥ.yt*. The majority of these women served in the cult of Amun, and appear to belong predominately to the upper levels of ancient Egyptian society, which included members of the royal family and a wealthy class of stewards, generals and priests.

Evidence for the roles and duties of the *šmꜥ.yt* comes primarily from the tomb scenes of private individuals. In these scenes, the *šmꜥ.yt* provide rhythmic accompaniment, using their frequently associated sistra and *menat*-necklaces, in various religious and oracular processions. Associated with research question 4, private tombs scenes indicate that Chantresses could act as mourners in the processions of deified kings. The involvement of the *šmꜥ.yt* in such religious occasions, as well as the recording of their names on private, and public, monuments, implies that they held a significant level of status, although it is unclear whether this was conferred by the title itself, or already associated with the women through their family connections.

8.3 – The *Wr.t Hnr.wt*

Similarly to the title of *šmꜥ.yt*, this study's examination of the title *wr.t hnr.wt* was based on research questions 1, 2 and 3. The project identified twenty six *wr.t hnr.wt* dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty, each, with the exception of one, attached to the cult of a deity or deified king. The most commonly attested deity is Amun, followed by Hathor, who, along with Wadjet, are the only goddesses in this period to have attested *wr.t hnr.wt*. The title appears to have been held by a more elite group of women than the title of “Chantress” was, as it is attested primarily to members of the royal family and the female relatives of Viziers, Viceroys and High Priests. The *hnr* itself, although the term does not appear to have been used in reference to its members in this period, was possibly composed of the musicians, ritualists and mourners, including the *šmꜥ.yt*, is presented as taking part in religious festivals in the wall scenes of private tombs.

The title itself has a long and problematic translation history, and was considered in the past to designate a harem and the harem-women who lived within it. This term has significant connotations attached to it that are not necessarily applicable to ancient Egyptian society, particularly in the earlier periods. Del Nord's 1981 essay was the first major re-examination of the term *hnr*, and her argument that the word in fact designates a performance group has been embraced by the majority of current scholarship.

8.4 – Other Religious Titles

Titles apart from the “Chantress” and “Chief of the Performance Company” are attested numerous times in Nineteenth Dynasty monuments. Using prosopography as a tool, this study identified six additional feminine titles associated, in some way, with a deity or form of religious practice. Two of these titles, the *hsyt*, translated as either “musician of” or “favoured of” and the *sššt.y*, “sistrum player”, are attested numerous times, while others, such as the *hmt ntr* and *shmyt*, appear only once or twice during this period. The examples collected imply a predominately elite status for the women who held them, but without a larger corpus of women, this is only a suggestion. Combined with the numerous attestations of the *šmꜥ.yt* and *wr.t hnr.wt*, it appears that music and performance were the main ways through which women gained entry into the temple hierarchies in this period.

8.5 – Mourners

Research question 4 was address in Chapter 5, in the study's examination of female mourners and their involvement in funerary ritual. Depictions of mourners in private tombs scenes, stelae and

funerary papyri speak to the prominence of their role, and two main types of mourning women have been identified. The first type consists of the female relatives of the deceased, which includes, commonly, the wives, mothers and daughters of the tomb owners. These women are most often depicted kneeling, or standing, before the coffin of the deceased. The second group of mourners consists of women unrelated to the tomb owner. These women have sometimes been called “professional mourners”, although there is no explicit evidence for this as a profession, apart from their apparent absence of a relationship to the deceased and the fact that many held additional titles. Female mourners are also attested as having participated in the festival processions of deceased kings, where they appear to have performed much the same role as they do in private funerary ritual, that being the lamentation of the deceased. The significance and essential nature of the female mourners’ involvement in funerary ritual is suggested not only by their prominence in artistic depictions, but also by the various ways their names and images have been recorded.

8.6 – Women in the Tomb

An examination of multiple Nineteenth Dynasty private tombs revealed that women, most commonly the relatives of the tomb owner, appear in three main scene types. These are scenes of offering by family members and ancestors, scenes of worship and offering to gods, and scenes adapted from the Book of the Dead, such as the Judgement of the Dead and the movement of the deceased through the underworld. All three scene types are concerned with the nourishment and provisions of the dead in the next life, and the frequent inclusion of women in these scenes indicates that the prosperity of a woman after her death can be ensured by her presence in her husband’s tomb.

8.7 – Female Acts of Personal Piety

The final research question posed by this study was concerned with the ways in which Nineteenth Dynasty women expressed their own personal piety. Certain architectural features of the great Theban temples suggests that access to the complexes, and to the images of the deities themselves, was wider spread than is generally considered. The triple barque shrine of Seti II, along with the Eastern Temple of Karnak, which was built by Ramesses II, are structures described in accompanying inscriptions as places where the gods could be prayed to, and addressed, by the people. These structures, although located in the temples, would have given members of the general population a more direct form of access to their gods without the priesthood having to act as intermediaries.

An extensive examination of votive donations including stelae and statuary, among other objects, also indicates that women could receive blessings from the gods through the donation and erection of such offerings. In votive offerings where women appear alongside the male dedicators, they are said to share in the blessings and favour of the god. These votive offerings and in particular the stelae and statuary in which a woman is the sole, or most prominent, dedicator, demonstrates a significant level of autonomy in the ways Nineteenth Dynasty women engaged with their gods and with religious practice.

Appendix: Prosopographic Index of Nineteenth Dynasty Woman with Religious Titles

	Name	Religious Titles	Known Relatives	Reign	Source	Publications
1	šmy	šm ^c .yt (n.t) Nt		Siptah-Tawosret	Silver Patera - Cairo JdE 38709, CGC 53263.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 373:5-7; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 271.
2	šh-mwt	šm ^c .yt	<i>Dḥwty-m-ḥb</i> - grandfather ; <i>B3k-ḥnsw</i> - grandmother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - great-grandfather ; <i>3st</i> - great-grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
3	3st	wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Imn	<i>Wnn-nfr</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-m-int</i> - son ; <i>Ḥri</i> - son ; <i>Ḥ^c-m-w3st</i> - son ; <i>Ḥnt-mḥyt</i> - daughter ; <i>Rm^c</i> - brother .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Family Monument - Naples Museum 1069; Statue from Hathor Temple at Deir el-Bahari - Luxor Museum 227.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 272:4-275:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 193-195; G. A. Reisner, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia', <i>JEA</i> 6 (1920) pp. 28-55.
4	3st	šm ^c yt n Imn; šm ^c .yt n(.t) Nb.tw	<i>Dḥwty-ms</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Ḥnt-wdbw</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - son ; <i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i> - daughter ;	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32); The Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183); Limestone Statue Group of Thutmose and Parents - Cairo CGC. 549.	L. Kákosy, T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. I. Fábán and E. Gaál, <i>The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes</i> (Budepest, 2004); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 182:6-185:12, 316:11-319:1; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 127-129, 229-230.
5	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Mnt.w-m-T3.wy		Ramesses II	Stela Hildesheim 308.	<i>KRI</i> II, p. 451:9; <i>RITA</i> II pp. 278-81

The Presence and Involvement of Women in Religious Practice of the Nineteenth Dynasty

6	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Wnn-nfr - husband ; Dḥwty-m-ḥb - son ; B3k-ḥnsw - daughter-in-law ; P3-nḥt-nipt - grandson ; Wsr-nḥt - grandson ; Wnn-nfr - grandson ; Pn-nswt-t3wy - grandson ; Wsh-nmtt - grandson ; Nḥt-mwt - grandaughter ; Tr-nfr-mwt - granddaughter ; Tiy-m-ḥb - granddaughter ; Nḥt-mwt - granddaughter ; Hnt-t3wy - granddaughter ; Wr-nfrt - granddaughter ; 3st-nfr - granddaughter .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
7	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Dḥwty-m-ḥb - grandfather ; B3k-ḥnsw - grandmother ; Wnn-nfr - great-grandfather ; 3st - great-grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
8	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) 3s.t	Mry-r ^c w - father ; Iniy - mother ; Hri - brother ; B3kn-Imn - brother ; Hr - brother ; Mry-m3 ^c t - brother ; Nfr-rnpt - brother ; Mwt-3st - sister ; Hrw-nḥt - brother .	Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 132.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) p. 58, pl. XLV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 375:10-376:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 272-273.

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9	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Nfr-šhrw - father ; Nfrt-iri - mother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nefersekeru (TT 296).	KRI VII, pp. 145:12-153:1; RITA VII, pp. 92-99.
10	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Hnmw	N3y3 - brother ; Wrt-nfrt - sister-in-law .	Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; KRI VII, pp. 409:8-410:1; RITA VII, p. 76.
11	3st	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	R ^c -ms-ss-m-pr-r ^c - husband .	Merenptah	Stela - Musée de Vienne NE. 1555.	KRI IV, p. 105:11-16; RITA IV, p. 82.
12	3st	šm ^c .yt (n.t) Imn		Seti II	Text in Forecourt of Merenptah's Temple - Surarieh.	KRI IV, p. 289:14-16; RITA IV, p. 208.
13	3st-m-ḥb	š ^c m.yt n(.t) Imn	Pn-t3-wr - husband .	Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 290.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) p. 63, pl. XLVIII; KRI III, p. 260:7; RITA III, p. 185.
14	3st-nfrt	šm ^c .yt n Imn		Seti I	Papyrus Northumberland I: Memphite Affairs "To the Scribe Yaya the younger"	KRI I, pp. 239:3-240:7; RITA I, pp. 204-205
15	3st-nfrt	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Dḥwty-m-ḥb - father ; B3k-ḥnsw - mother ; Wnn-nfr - grandfather ; 3st - grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); KRI III, pp. 353:13-356:16; RITA III, p. 254-257.
16	3st-nfrt	šm ^c .yt	Mn-ḥpr - father ; Hri - brother ; T3-3st - sister ; M ^c i3 - sister .	Ramesses II	Graffito - Sehel.	KRI III, p. 847:11-16; RITA III, p. 566.

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17	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
18	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pn-t3-wrt</i> - husband ; <i>ṣw-rti</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>R3-k3-š3</i> - sister-in-law .	Merenptah	Limestone Stela - Cairo TN 12/6/24/17.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 103:5-10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 80-81.
19	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.y(t) [...]</i>		Seti II	Text in Forecourt of Merenptah's Temple - Surarieh.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 289:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 208.
20	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Sbk</i>	<i>Swth-ms</i> - husband .	Siptah-Tawosret	Pair Statue - seen in trade.	<i>KRI</i> VII, p. 413:16-414:6; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 173.
21	<i>3s.t[...]</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i>	<i>K3-nḥt</i> - husband ; <i>Hri</i> - father-in-law .	Siptah-Tawosret	Statue-base - Abydos.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 378:1-4; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 274-275.
22	<i>T3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>Hnsw/T3/T3y</i> - father ; <i>M^c3y/Mwt-i3y</i> - mother ; <i>Wrs-mntw</i> - brother ; <i>H^c-m-w3st</i> - brother ; <i>Rwy</i> - sister ; <i>Twy</i> - brother .	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
23	<i>Ty3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
24	<i>Tyi-m-wni/ Tyi-m-w3i</i>	<i>... n(.t) Imn.w</i>	<i>Ini-ḥr(t)-ms</i> – son ; <i>P3-ni-nb(w)</i> – husband ; <i>Hwi</i> – grandson ; <i>P3-n(i)-nb(w)</i> – grandson ; <i>Shmt-nfrt</i> – daughter-in-law ; <i>T3-wrt-ḥtpt</i> – daughter-in-law .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Anhurmosé	B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh</i> (Sydney, 1988-1990).

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25	<i>Iy-m-wnwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father ; <i>Sn-snb</i> - mother ; <i>R3-k3</i> - brother ; <i>Hwt-Hrwt</i> - sister ; <i>Twī3</i> - sister ; <i>Inw-šfw</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pl. LVIII-LX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 126:13-128:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 86-88.
26	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Didi3</i> - husband ; <i>T3yt-wi3</i> - sister ; <i>Mryt-ptḥ</i> - sister ; <i>M^ci3y</i> - granddaughter .	Seti I	Two-sided Stela - Louvre C.50; Black Granite Block Statue - Cairo CGC. 42122 (JdE. 36957).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 327:9-329:13; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 24:9-26:3; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 265-267; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 18-20; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre I</i> (Paris, 1874) pp. 50-55.
27	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Pṯḥ-m^cy</i> - husband ; <i>Twy</i> - daughter ; <i>Imn-w3ḥ-sw</i> - son-in-law .	Ramesses II	Stela - Louvre C.210.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 306:6-307:13; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 220-221; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre II</i> (Paris, 1878) pp. 119-120.
28	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Imn-w3ḥ-sw</i> - husband ; <i>S3-mwt</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Wi3y</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>Twy</i> - mother ; <i>Pṯḥ-m^cy</i> - father ; <i>Hpt</i> - daughter ; <i>P3-ibty</i> - son-in-law .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Amenwashu (TT 111); Stela - Louvre C.210.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 302:12-305:7, 306:6-307:13; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 217-219, 220-221; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre II</i> (Paris, 1878) pp. 119-120.

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29	<i>Iwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-r^c.w; wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Imn- h^tp</i>	<i>Imn-ms</i> - husband ; <i>B3k-n3wy</i> - son .	Ramesses II (and possibly earlier during the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I)	The Tomb of Amenmose (TT 19).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 390:15- 396:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 283-287.
30	<i>Iwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Wn-nfr</i> - husband ; <i>T3-h^c</i> - daughter ; <i>Nfrt-iyti</i> - daughter ; <i>S3-b3stt</i> - son ; <i>Ry</i> - father-in-law ; <i>B3k(n)-wrl</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>Mrn-ptḥ</i> - brother-in-law ; <i>Hri</i> - brother-in-law ; <i>T3-ri3</i> - sister-in-law .	Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:5-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.
31	<i>Iwy</i>	<i>ḥsy^t ʿ3.t n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i>	<i>Nfr-m-snwt</i> - husband ; <i>P3-nb</i> - son ; <i>W^cb</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>Šr-it-r^cw</i> - granddaughter ; <i>ʿph^ty</i> - grandson ; <i>Iyi</i> - granddaughter .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Paneb (TT 211).	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 189:7- 193:12; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 136-138.
32	<i>Iwy3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, p. 124:8- 125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.

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33	<i>Ṭwn-wry</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n.t P3-rꜥ.w</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
34	<i>Ṭwnnw-n3</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṭmn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
35	<i>Ṭmn-m-ꜥkwi</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt</i>		Ramesses I and Seti I	The Tomb of Amenmose (TT 19).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 390:15-396:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 283-287.
36	<i>Ṭniy</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṭmn n(.t) Mw.t n(.t) Ḥnsw</i>	<i>Nfr-tiwi</i> - husband ; <i>Ṭmn-ipt/Ipiy</i> - son ; <i>Ndm-mt</i> - daughter-in-law .	Ramesses I and Seti I	The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 41).	J. Assmann, <i>Das Grab des Amenemope</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1991); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 308:7-316:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 221-228.
37	<i>Ṭniw-h3y</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt (n.t) nb.t nht rsy</i>	<i>Pth-ms</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	Statue - Walter's Art Gallery, Baltimore. 22.106; Statue - Japan (ex. Pitcairn Collection).	<i>KRI</i> VII, p. 113:13-14; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 65.
38	<i>Ṭnihy</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṭmn</i>	<i>Hw-nfr</i> - husband ; <i>P3-sr</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Ṭwi3</i> - mother-in-law .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 182:6-185:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 127-129.
39	<i>Ṭnw-h3y</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w/ Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w nb.t nh.t</i>	<i>B3-nꜥ3</i> - husband .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 149; Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 27-28, 29-30 pls. XXIII, XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 205:15-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 143-145.

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40	<i>In-h3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) nb.t nht rsy</i>		Nineteenth Dynasty	Pair of Seated Statues - Walters Art Gallery 22.106 and Pitcairn Collection, Pennsylvania.	G. Steindorff, 'Two Egyptian Statues of the Ramessid Period', <i>The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i> 5 (1942) pp. 8-17.
41	<i>Try-nfṛt</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i>	<i>Nb-wnnf</i> - father ; <i>T3ḥ^ct</i> - mother ; <i>Sm3-t3wy</i> - brother ; <i>Hwt-Ḥrw</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 283:1-291:2; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 201-208.
42	<i>Ir-nftw-mwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Dḥwty-m-ḥb</i> - grandfather ; <i>B3k-ḥnsw</i> - grandmother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - great-grandfather ; <i>3st</i> - great-grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
43	<i>Yy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt nb.t nh.t</i>	<i>N3khy</i> - brother ; <i>Ḥw.y</i> - father ; <i>Wr̄l</i> - mother .	Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 149; Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 27-28, 29-30 pls. XXIII, XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 205:15-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 143-145.
44	<i>ʿ3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>St3w</i> - son ; <i>Nfṛt-mwt</i> - daughter-in-law	Ramesses II	Statue, Kom el-Ahmar - Mulhouse Museum.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 85:6; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 59.
45	<i>ʿ3ti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>M^ci</i> - mother ; <i>Rw</i> - sister ; <i>Tint[...]</i> - sister ; <i>Nsi-nbw</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.

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46	ꜥw-rti	šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn	<i>Pn-t3-wrt</i> - son ; <i>R3-k3-š3</i> - daughter ; <i>3st-nfirt</i> - daughter-in-law .	Merenptah	Limestone Stela - Cairo TN 12/6/24/17.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 103:4-10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 80-81.
47	ꜥn-mwt	šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn	<i>Pꜥi3</i> - mother ; <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - brother ; <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - sister ; <i>Nfirt-iri</i> - sister ; <i>Hwt-Hrw</i> - sister ; <i>T3-wrt-m-hb</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pennsylvania University Museum, 61-13-1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 267:8-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 190.
48	ꜥn-mwt	šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
49	ꜥš3t-nbw	šmꜥ.yt Hnmw	<i>P3y</i> - husband ; <i>N3y3</i> - son ; <i>Tiy</i> - daughter ; <i>Wrt-nfirt</i> - daughter ; <i>B3k-ti3</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 76.
50	W3d-rnpt	wr.t hnr.wt; šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn	<i>Wsr-h3t</i> - husband ; <i>Wsr-h3t</i> - son .	Seti I	Stela - Abydos.	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 321:7-9; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 260-261.
51	Wi3y	šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn	<i>Imn-m-int</i> - husband ; <i>Hnt-mhyt</i> - mother .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Family Monument - Naples Museum 1069; Votive Vessel - Deir el-Bahari.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 272:4-274:6, 275:11-13; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 193-195, 195-196; G. A. Reisner, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia', <i>JEA</i> 6 (1920) pp. 28-55.
52	Wi3y	šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn	<i>S3.mwt</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-w3h-sw</i> - son ; <i>Twy</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>Hpt</i> - granddaughter ; <i>Hꜥ-m-ipt</i> - grandson .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Amenwashu (TT 111).	<i>KRI</i> vol. III, pp. 302:12-305:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 217-219.

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53	<i>Wi3y</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pi3y</i> - husband ; <i>Nfr-rnpt/Kn-r3</i> - son ; <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - daughter-in-law .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Neferronpet (TT 178).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 321:5-331:11; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 231-238.
54	<i>Wi3y</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i> ; <i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	Exact relationship to tomb owner unclear. Please refer to B. G. Davies' discussion on <i>Wi3y</i> 's parentage in <i>RITANC</i> III, pp. 303-308.	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
55	<i>Wꜥb</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3-nb</i> - husband ; <i>Šr-it-rꜥw</i> - daughter ; <i>ꜥphṯy</i> - son ; <i>Tyi</i> - daughter ; <i>Nfr-m-[...]</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Twy</i> - mother-in-law .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Paneb (TT 211).	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 189:7-193:12; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 136-138.
56	<i>Wb-ḥt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i> ; <i>ir.t sšš.ty n nb.w nḥḥ</i>	<i>Pi3y</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Piay (TT 263).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 380:5-383:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 276-279.
57	<i>Wnp</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Hnsw</i> - father ; <i>T3y-sn-nfṛt</i> ; mother ; <i>S3-3st</i> - brother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>H3-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>Mḥy-ḥꜥy</i> - sister ; <i>Nfṛt-3st</i> - sister ; <i>T3kt</i> - sister ; <i>Twiw</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pushkin Museum, Moscow No. I. 1a 5636 (4145).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 170:16-171:11; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 114.
58	<i>Wr-nfṛt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-m-ḥb</i> - father ; <i>B3k-ḥnsw</i> - mother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - grandfather ; <i>3st</i> - grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i>

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						III, pp. 254-257.
59	<i>Wr-nfṛt</i>	<i>šm̄.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i>	<i>Mn-m3̄t-r̄w-m-ḥb</i> - husband ; <i>In-ḥry-m-r̄w</i> - father-in-law .	Ramesses II	Naos Statue - Boston MFA, 00.690.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 465:9-467:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 330-332.
60	<i>Wrt-nfṛt</i>	<i>šm̄.yt n(.t) Hnmw</i>	<i>N3y3</i> - brother ; <i>P3y</i> - father ; <i>š3t-nbw</i> - mother ; <i>Tiy</i> - sister ; <i>B3k-ti3</i> - sister ; <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - nephew ; <i>N3y3</i> - grandfather ; <i>Wrt-nfṛt</i> - grandmother .	Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:6; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 76.
61	<i>Wrt-nfṛt</i>	<i>šm̄.yt n(.t) Hnmw</i>	<i>N3y3</i> - husband ; <i>3st</i> - sister-in-law ; <i>P3y</i> - son ; <i>š3t-nbw</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>N3y3</i> - grandson ; <i>Tiy</i> - granddaughter ; <i>Wrt-nfṛt</i> - granddaughter ; <i>B3k-ti3</i> - granddaughter .	Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:6; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 76.
62	<i>Wrl</i>	<i>šm̄.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w nb.t nh.t</i>	<i>Hw.y</i> - husband ; <i>N3khy</i> - son ; <i>Ywy3</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 149; Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 27-28, 29-30 pls. XXIII, XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 205:15-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 143-145.

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63	<i>Wr̥l</i>	<i>šm̥.yt n(.t) Mnt̥.w</i>		Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
64	<i>Wr̥li3</i>	<i>šm̥.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Seti I and Ramesses II	Top of Limeston Stela - National Museum, Copenhagen B.5(A.A.d 22).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 369:16-370:10; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 268.
65	<i>B3y3</i>	<i>šm̥.yt n(.t) Hr̥.y-š̥i=f</i>	<i>P3-ḥm-ntr̥</i> - son.	Ramesses II	Tomb Stela, Sedment - OIC. 11731.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 243:15-245:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 173-174; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Sedment II</i> (London, 1924) p. 27, pl. 68.
66	<i>B3k-3st</i>	<i>šm̥.yt (n.t) Imn</i>	<i>Ip̥y-t3</i> - husband; <i>ṛnh̥</i> - son.	Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo JdE. 29332(=?TN.21/3/2511).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 467:10;16 <i>RITA</i> III, p. 332.
67	<i>B3k-imn</i>	<i>šm̥.yt n(.t) P3-r̥.w</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
68	<i>B3k-(n)-wrl̥</i>	<i>šm̥.yt n(.t) B3st̥.t</i>	<i>Ry</i> - husband; <i>Wn-nfr̥</i> - son; <i>Mrn-pt̥h̥</i> - son; <i>K3-nḥbt̥</i> - daughter-in-law; <i>Tw̥y</i> - daughter-in-law; <i>Ḥri</i> - son; <i>T3-ri3</i> - daughter; <i>T3-ḥ̥̣</i> - granddaughter; <i>Nfr̥t-iyti̥</i> - granddaughter; <i>S3-b3stt̥</i> - grandson.	Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:6-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.

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69	<i>B3k-ḥnsw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Ḳmn/Ḳmn-R^c.w</i>	<i>Dḥwty-m-ḥb</i> - son ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - father-in-law ; <i>3st</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>P3-nḥt-nipt</i> - son ; <i>Wsr-nḥt</i> - son ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - son ; <i>Pn-nswt-t3wy</i> - son ; <i>Wsh-nmtt</i> - son ; <i>Nḥt-mwt</i> - daughter ; <i>Ḳr-nfr-mwt</i> - daughter ; <i>Ḳn-swni-w^c/Swti</i> - grandson ; <i>Ḳmn-ipt-nḥt</i> - grandson ; <i>P3-nb-nipt</i> - grandson ; <i>Tiy-m-ḥb</i> - daughter ; <i>Nḥt-mwt</i> - daughter ; <i>Ḳr-nftw-mwt</i> - grand-daughter ; <i>Ḳnt-t3wy</i> - daughter ; <i>Wr-nfrt</i> - daughter ; <i>3st-nfr</i> - daughter ; <i>3ḥ-mwt</i> - grandaughter ; <i>3st</i> - grandaughter .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
70	<i>B3kt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mn-ḥpr-r^c.w</i>	<i>Pn-nst-t3wy</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	Stela - Louvre (No number).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 120:13-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 82.
71	<i>B3k(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Ḳmn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
72	<i>B3k-ti3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Ḳnmw</i>	<i>N3y3</i> - brother ; <i>P3y</i> - father ; <i>Ḳ3t-nbw</i> - mother ; <i>Tiy</i> - sister ; <i>Wrt-nfrt</i> - sister ;	Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:6; <i>RITA</i> VII,

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			<i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - nephew ; <i>N3y3</i> - grandfather ; <i>Wrt-nfrt</i> - grandmother .			p. 76,
73	<i>B3kt-wrnw</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pn-nstw-t3wy</i> - father ; <i>Mꜥi3</i> - mother ; <i>Nḥt-mnw</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Pennesuttawy (TT 156).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 113:15-114:11; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 78.
74	<i>B3kt-wrl</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Hꜥ-m-ipt</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-w3ḥ-sw</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Ṭwy</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>Wrlry</i> - mother ; <i>Mntw-m-ḥb</i> - son .	Ramesses II	Stela of Khaemopet - Tübingen (formerly Stuttgart).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 305:10-306:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 219-220.
75	<i>B3kt-mwt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nb-sw-mnw</i> - husband ; <i>P3-sr</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Twī3</i> - mother-in-law .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 182:6-185:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 127-129.
76	<i>B3kt-mwt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nḏm-gr</i> - father ; <i>N3w-š3ꜥt</i> - mother ; <i>Hri</i> - brother ; <i>T3w-nḥwy</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nedjemger (TT 138).	E. Feucht, <i>Die Gräber des Nedjemger (TT 138) und des Hori (TT 259)</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 2006); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 383:12-387:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 279-281.
77	<i>B3kt-šḥmt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nb-mḥyt</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebmehyt (TT 384).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 359:6-11; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 259.
78	<i>Bwī3/Hꜥt-nsw</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) In-ḥr.y</i>	<i>Mnw-ms</i> - husband ; <i>Hw-nw-r3y</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	Sandstone Statue - BM 712.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 18-19, pl. XIV; <i>KRI</i> III, p. 65:7-14; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 45.
79	<i>Bdt</i>	<i>šꜥm.yt n(.t) Imn-rꜥ.w</i>	<i>Inwp-m-ḥb</i> - husband .	Merenptah	Stela Fragment - Northern Chapel F, Deir el-Medina.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 179:16-180:3; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 132.

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80	<i>Pipw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.
81	<i>Py-pwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
82	<i>Pwi3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - son ; <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - daughter ; <i>ḥn-mwt</i> - daughter ; <i>Nfrt-iri</i> - daughter ; <i>Hwt-Hrw</i> - daughter ; <i>T3-wrt-m-hb</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pennsylvania University Museum, 61-13-1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 267:8-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 190.
83	<i>Pwi^c</i>	<i>sm^c(.yt) (n.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>Pth-m^ci3</i> - husband ; <i>B3k-ḥ3</i> - brother-in-law	Ramesses II	Stela of Bak'aa - BM 164.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 25-26, pl. XXI; <i>KRI</i> II, pp. 386:10-388:3; <i>RITA</i> II, p. 215.
84	<i>Pwry</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp.

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						206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.
85	<i>Pwry</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 'Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
86	<i>Prwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>H^c-m-tir</i> - son.	Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
87	<i>M^c3y/Mwt-i3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 'Imn;</i> <i>ḥsy(t) '3(.t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i>	<i>Hnsw/T3/T3y</i> - husband; <i>Wrs-mntw</i> - son; <i>H^c-m-w3st</i> - son; <i>Rwy</i> - daughter; <i>Twy</i> - son; <i>Ty</i> - daughter; <i>T3-wsrt</i> - mother-in-law; <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> - father-in-law.	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
88	<i>M^cy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 'Imn</i>	<i>Ndm-mt</i> - daughter; <i>'Imn-ipt/Ipiy</i> - son-in-law.	Ramesses I and Seti I	The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 41).	J. Assmann, <i>Das Grab des Amenemope</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1991); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 308:3-316:6; <i>RITA</i> vol. III, pp. 221-228.

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89	<i>M^cy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i>	<i>Hrwi-mnw</i> - husband.	Seti I	Stela - Berlin 7274 (from Saqqara); Large Tomb Relief - Cairo Museum; Relief - Cairo JdE 8376; Relief of Deceased and Wife - Cairo JdE 8380.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 310:2-311:7, 315:5- 318:3; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 252-253, 256-259.
90	<i>M^ci</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>Rw</i> - daughter; <i>Tint[...]</i> - daughter; <i>Nsi-nb.w</i> - daughter; <i>3ti</i> - daughter.	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
91	<i>M^ci3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pn-nstw-t3wy</i> - husband; <i>Nht-mnw</i> - son; <i>B3kt-wrnw</i> - daughter.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Pennesuttawy (TT 156)	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 113:15-114:11; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 78.
92	<i>M^ci3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>Mn-hpr</i> - father; <i>Hri</i> - brother; <i>T3-3st</i> - sister; <i>3st-nfirt</i> - sister.	Ramesses II	Graffito - Sehel.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 847:10-13; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 566.
93	<i>M^ci3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>		Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
94	<i>M^ci3-nwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wsir;</i> <i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t;</i> <i>wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Wsir.</i>	<i>Mry</i> - husband; <i>Wn-nfr</i> - son; <i>T3</i> - father.	Ramesses II	Double Statue of Mery and Wennufer - Cairo JdE. 35257; Limestone Block Family Monument - Cairo JdE. 35258; Standing Statue with Standards and Hathor emblem - Athens National Museum 106; Standing Statue with Standard	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 447:14-458:5; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 318-326; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre I</i> (Paris, 1874) pp. 3-7; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Abydos I</i> (London,

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					- Louvre A.66; Stela of Year 42 from Abydos - Cairo CGC. 34505; Upper part of Sandstone stela from Abydos - Cairo JdE 32025; Granite Block Statue - Bolton Museum 46.03.35; Ebony Inlay-fragments - Shrine at Abydos.	1902) pl. 65: 5-7; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</i> (London, 1925), pp. 11-12, pl. 30:11-12, 31:5.
95	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	<i>ḥsy(t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w; b3k.t n T3-wr.t</i>	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Theban Tomb 7; Theban Tomb 250; Stela - Turin N. 50066 (Old Cat. 1601); Stela - Voronezh Museum, No. 165).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 612:12- 619:5, 621:5-622:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 419-425.
96	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pꜥi3</i> - mother ; <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - brother ; <i>ꜥn-mwt</i> - sister ; <i>Nfꜣrt-iri</i> - sister ; <i>Ḥwt-Ḥrw</i> - sister ; <i>T3-wrt-m-hb</i> - sister.	Ramesses II	Stela - Pennsylvania University Museum, 61-13-1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 267:8-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 190.
97	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Kn-r3/Nfꜣr-rnpt</i> - husband ; <i>Pi3y</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Wi3y</i> - mother-in-law.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Neferronpet- Kenro (TT 178).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 321:5- 331:11; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 231-238.
98	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Rꜥi3</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb-chapel of Raia.	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 167:5- 169:12, <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 112-113; G. T. Martin, <i>The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Raia at Saqqara</i> (London, 1985).
99	<i>Mwt-nfꜣrt</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nfꜣr-sḥrw</i> – husband.	Seti I	Tomb-chapel of Nefersekeru – Kom el-Ahmar.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 304:15- 305:16; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 248-249.

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100	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 183.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 19-20, pl. XV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 56:15-57:8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 39.
101	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mw.t</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	<i>T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.
102	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Ms-s - husband;</i> <i>Imn-m-ḥb - son;</i> <i>H3t-i3 - son;</i> <i>Mry-m3^ct - son;</i> <i>Tn-r3y - daughter.</i>	Ramesses II	Tomb-chapel of Mose.	G. A. Gaballa, <i>The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose</i> (Warminster, 1977); <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 165:11-166:7; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 111.
103	<i>Mwt-twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
104	<i>Mry</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nfr-mnw - husband.</i>	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nefermenu (TT186).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 162:10-163:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 108-109.
105	<i>Mry-m^c-tn</i>	<i>Wr.t hnr.wt Hw.t-Hr.w</i> <i>nb.t int.wy Inpw nb t3</i> <i>ḥd</i>	<i>Nḥt-mntw - husband;</i> <i>Imn-w3š-sw - son.</i>	Merenptah	Stela - Haremhab Speos.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 147:15-148:11; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 112.

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106	<i>Mry-nbw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 'Imn</i>	<i>3nwy</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Anuy (TT 168).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 300:14-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 216.
107	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) (I)tm.w; wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) 'Imn- R^c.w; sššt.y n(.t) Mw.t; mnit n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	Ramesses II - father (and husband).	Ramesses II	Colossi of Ramesses II and Merytamun - Akhmim.	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 106:11-107:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 59-60.
108	<i>Mryt-r^c</i>	<i>wr.t hnr.wt n 'Imn m 'Iwnw</i>	<i>Nb-ntrw/Tri</i> - husband; <i>P3sr</i> - son; <i>Titi</i> - son; <i>T3ti3</i> - son; <i>'Iniy</i> - father; <i>N3i3</i> - mother; <i>Tiy</i> - daughter.	Seti I and Ramesses II	Tomb of Paser (TT 106); Statue with Ptah, Temple of Ptah, Memphis, Cairo 630; Medamud, seated statue, BM 954; Deir el-Bahri, Double Statue of Paser and Mother, Cairo CGC 561; Western Thebes, Votive Stela.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 16-17, pl. XI-XII; <i>KRI</i> I, pp. 285:5-301:11; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 1:8-9:8, 11:13-15:4, 19:15-20:15, 23:7-8; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 232-246; <i>RITA</i> III pp. 1-12, 15-16, 18.
109	<i>Mrwt-t3di</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 'Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father; <i>Hnt-iwnw</i> - mother; <i>Hnt-n-m3^ct</i> - sister; <i>Hnt-bw-m-k3-mts</i> - sister; <i>H3t-špss</i> - sister; <i>Pn-^cnkt</i> - brother.	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pl. LVIII-LX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 126:13-128:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 86-88.
110	<i>Mrs-gr</i>	<i>wr.t hnr.wt n 'Imn</i>	<i>B3kn-hnsw</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Bakenkhons (TT 35)	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 293:16-295:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 210-212.

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111	<i>Mrt-r^c</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>H3-nfr</i> - husband ; <i>Hwy</i> - son .	Ramesses II	Stela of Stablemaster Bak'aa - BM 166.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 26-27, pl. XXII; <i>KRI</i> II, pp. 388:7-390:2; <i>RITA</i> II, pp. 218-219.
112	<i>Mhy-h^ct</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Hnsw</i> - father ; <i>T3y-sn-nfrt</i> ; mother ; <i>S3-3s.t</i> - brother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>H3-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>Nfrt-3st</i> - sister ; <i>Wnp</i> - sister ; <i>T3kt</i> - sister ; <i>Twiw</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pushkin Museum, Moscow No. I. 1a 5636 (4145).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 170:16-171:11; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 114.
113	<i>N3i3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3sr</i> - father ; <i>Tiy</i> - sister ; <i>Mryt-r^c</i> - grandmother ; <i>Nb-ntrw/Tri</i> - grandfather .	Seti I and Ramesses II	The Tomb of Paser (TT 106).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 285:5-301:11; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 1:8-9:15; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 231-246; <i>RITA</i> III pp. 1-8.
114	<i>N3š3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Hw-nfr</i> - husband .	Seti I	Book of the Dead - Papyrus BM 9901.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 306:13-307:9; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 249-250.
115	<i>N3w-š3^ct</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i> ; <i>hsy.t n Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	<i>Ndm-gr</i> - husband ; <i>Hri</i> - son ; <i>T3w-nhwy</i> - son ; <i>B3kt-mwt</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nedjemger (TT 138).	E. Feucht, <i>Die Gräber des Nedjemger (TT 138) und des Hori (TT 259)</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 2006); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 383:12-387:4; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 279-281.

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116	<i>N3-tiy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
117	<i>N3-tii</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
118	<i>Ni3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n Imn</i>		Seti I and Ramesses II	The Tomb of Paser (TT 106).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 285:5-301:11; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 1:8-9:16; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 231-246; <i>RITA</i> III pp. 1-8
119	<i>Niwt-m-ḥb</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nḥt-dḥwty</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nakht-Thuty (TT 189).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 348:16-353:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 252-254.
120	<i>Nbwt-m-wsḥt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Sbk</i>	<i>R^c-i3y</i> - husband; <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> - son; <i>T3-mi3t</i> - daughter-in-law; <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> - father; <i>T3-ḥ^ct</i> - mother.	Ramesses II	Stela - Louvre C. 148.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 219:12-220:9; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 154-155; D. A. Lowle, "A Nineteenth Dynasty Stela in the Louvre", in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen (eds.) <i>Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman</i> (Warminster, 1979) pp. 50-54, pl. I.
121	<i>Nbw-m-tkh</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>H3i3</i> - husband; <i>Ḥ^cy</i> - son.	Ramesses II	Family Stela from before Vizierate - Abydos.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 37:3-8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 26; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Abydos I</i> (London, 1902) p. 45, pls. LXV-LXVI.

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123	<i>Nb-m-wsh(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>Dḥwty-ms</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Shabtis of Thutmose and Wife - Tomb SA. 14, Aniba.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 124:15; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 85.
124	<i>Nb-ḥn-tw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Mry-ptḥ</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Meryptah (TT 387).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 319:6-320:10; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 230-231.
125	<i>Nb-t3-wy</i>	<i>šm^c.y(t) (n.t) Imn</i>	<i>B3k-ʿ3</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Stela of Bak'aa - BM 164.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 25-26, pl. XXI; <i>KRI</i> II, pp. 386:10-388:3; <i>RITA</i> I, p. 215.
126	<i>Nbt-wnnw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hnmw</i>		Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 76.
127	<i>Nfr-tyi</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i>	<i>Nb-s3</i> - husband; <i>Tint-iwnw</i> - daughter; <i>Wrt-nfrt</i> - daughter.	Ramesses II	Stela of Army-scribes Nebwa and Abu-remet - Ramesseum Area.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 389:12-390:9; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 282-283; J. E. Quibell and W. Spiegelberg, <i>The Ramesseum</i> (London, 1898) pp. 19-20, pl. 27:2.
128	<i>Nfrt-3st</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Hnsw</i> - father; <i>T3y-sn-nfrt</i> ; mother; <i>S3-3st</i> - brother; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - brother; <i>H3-nfr</i> - brother; <i>Mḥy-ḥ^cy</i> - sister; <i>Wnp</i> - sister;	Ramesses II	Stela - Pushkin Museum, Moscow No. I. 1a 5636 (4145).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 170:16-171:11; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 114.

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			<i>T3kt</i> - sister ; <i>Twiw</i> - brother .			
129	<i>Nfirt-iyti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Wn-nfr</i> - father ; <i>Iwy</i> - mother ; <i>T3-ḥ^c</i> - sister ; <i>S3-b3stt</i> - brother ; <i>Ry</i> - father-in-law ; <i>B3k-(n)-wrl</i> - grandmother .	Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:6-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.
130	<i>Nfirt-iry</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n.t Imn</i>	<i>Pšd</i> - husband ; <i>M33ni-nḥtwf</i> - son ; <i>Tint-imntt</i> - daughter-in-law ; - <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - daughter ; <i>Irw-nfr</i> - son ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - son .	Seti I	The Tomb of Pashedu (TT 323); Stela - Hermitage Museum, 8726; Jamb Fragment - House N.O XV, Deir el-Medina.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 392:4-395:4; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 322-325
131	<i>Nfirt-iri</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Imn-m-int</i> - husband .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Family Monument - Naples Museum 1069; Votive Vessel - Deir el-Bahari.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 272:4-275:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 193-196; G. A. Reisner, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia', <i>JEA</i> 6 (1920) pp. 28-55.
132	<i>Nfirt-iri</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) nb(.t) nh.t</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.

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133	<i>Nfṛt-iri</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṛmn</i>	<i>Pꜥi3</i> - mother ; <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - brother ; <i>ꜥn-mwt</i> - sister ; <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - sister ; <i>Hwt-Hrw</i> - sister ; <i>T3-wrt-m-ḥb</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pennsylvania University Museum, 61-13-1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 267:8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 190.
134	<i>Nfṛt-iri</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṛmn</i> ; <i>ḥsy(t) ʕ3(.t) n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i>	<i>Nfr-sḥrw</i> - husband ; <i>3st</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nefersekeru (TT 296).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 145:12-153:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 92-99.
135	<i>Nfṛt-iri</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṛmn</i> ; <i>ḥsy(t) n(.t) Mw.t</i>	<i>Hri</i> - husband .	Merenptah	Statue Group - Louvre A. 68.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 136:8-137:5; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 103-104; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre I</i> (Paris, 1874) pp. 7-10.
136	<i>Nfṛt-mwt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Ṛmn</i> ; <i>šmꜥ.yt n(.t) Nḥbt</i> ; <i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Ṛmn</i> ; <i>ḥsi.yt ʕ3t n nb.w W3b.t</i>	<i>St3w</i> - husband ; <i>ʕ3</i> - mother-in-law .	Ramesses II	Statue, Kom el-Ahmar - Mulhouse Museum; Sehel Island Graffiti - L. H. 30; Double Statue of Setau and Wife, Temple of Amenhotep III; Stela of Nofretmut, Temple of Amenhotep III - Aswan, Nubian Museum No. 15; Scene from Rock Niche, Faras; Statue of Setau - CGC. 1134; Stela - Louvre (No number).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 85:6-86:13, 99:4-8, 107:2-108:16, 120:13-16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 59-60, 68, 73-74, 82.
137	<i>Nfṛt-mwt</i>	<i>šmꜥ.yt (n.t) Ṛmn</i>	<i>Wsr-m3ꜥt-rꜥ-m-ḥb</i> - husband .	Seti II	Stela, Gurob.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 339:12-16; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 243-244; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Kahun, Gurob and Hawara</i> (London,

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						1890), pl. 22.
138	<i>Nhyt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>Hw-nfr</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Haunefer (TT385).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 163:11-164:5; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 109.
139	<i>Nht-m-wi3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
140	<i>Nht-mwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Dhwti-m-hb</i> - father; <i>B3k-hnsw</i> - mother; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - grandfather; <i>3st</i> - grandmother.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
141	<i>Nsi-mwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>B3k-wr</i> - husband.	Seti II	Tomb SA. 7 - Aniba.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 282:14-285:1; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 202-204.
142	<i>Nsi-nbw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>M^ci3</i> - mother; <i>Rw</i> - sister; <i>Tint[...]</i> - sister; <i>3ti</i> - sister.	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
143	<i>Ntib-p3rti3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Swti-m-hb</i> - husband; <i>Hh</i> - son; <i>T3-wsrt</i> - daughter-in-law.	Ramesses II	Stela - Abydos.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 246:3-12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 174-175; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courties and Oxyrhynchos</i> (London, 1925), pl. 31:2.

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144	<i>Ndm-mwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nfr-shrw</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nefersekeru (TT 296).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 145:12-153:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 92-99.
145	<i>Ndm-m.t</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Imn-ipt/Ipiy</i> - husband ; <i>Nfr-tiwi</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Iniy</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>M^cy</i> - mother.	Ramesses I and Seti I	The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 41).	J. Assmann, <i>Das Grab des Amenemope</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1991); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 308:7-316:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 221-228.
146	<i>R3-k3-š3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pn-t3-wrt</i> - brother ; <i>ʕw-rti</i> - mother ; <i>3st-nfirt</i> - sister-in-law.	Merenptah	Limestone Stela - Cairo TN 12/6/24/17.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 103:4-10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 80-81.
147	<i>R^ci3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	Possible relative of tomb owner <i>Nht-Imn</i> or leader of professional mourners.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 341).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 359:15-364:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 259-263.
148	<i>R^c-i3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn n(.t) Mw.t</i>	<i>Kyky/S3-mwt</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Simut-Kyky (TT 409).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 331:16-345:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 238-249.
149	<i>Rw</i>	<i>hm.t ntr n Tnnt n(.t) Twnw</i>	<i>M^ci</i> - mother ; <i>Tint[...]</i> - sister ; <i>Nsi-nbw</i> - sister ; <i>ʕti</i> - sister.	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.

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150	<i>Rnnwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Rwrw</i> - father ; <i>Šhmt</i> - mother ; <i>T3-wsrt</i> - sister ; <i>Nbw-ḥr-mr</i> - sister ; <i>Mrt-ptḥ</i> - sister ; <i>Niu-h3-yt</i> - sister ; <i>Ḥnt-iwnw</i> - grandmother ; <i>B^ck-3i3</i> - grandfather .	Seti I	Stela - Louvre C.92.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 307:13-308:9; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 250-251; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre II</i> (Paris, 1878) p. 20.
151	<i>Rnnwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-R^c.w</i> ; <i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Imn-ḥtp</i> - husband ; <i>Ṭwny</i> - son	Seti I	Tomb-chapel of Amenhotep - Deir Durunka, Asyut.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 350:16-352:6; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 286-288.
152	<i>Rnnwt</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i> ; <i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-R^c.w</i> ; <i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i> ; <i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i> ; <i>ḥsy t n.t Nb.t p.t</i>	<i>Ṭwny</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-ḥtp</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Rnnwt</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>Y3i3</i> - mother ; <i>T</i> <i>3-i^cy</i> - father .	Seti I	Double Statue of Inuy and Wife - Dei Durunka, Asyut. MMA 15.2.1.	W. C. Hayes, <i>The Sceptre of Egypt II</i> (New York, 1959), pp. 350-352, fig. 220; <i>KRI</i> I, pp. 352:10-353:7; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 288.
153	<i>Ḥ3t-šps(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn/Imn-R^c.w</i> ; <i>ḥsy n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i> ; <i>ḥsy n(.t) Mw.t</i>	<i>Wsr-ḥ3t</i> - husband ; <i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i> - mother .	Seti I	The Tomb of Userhat (TT 51).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 333:13-341:8; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 271-278; N. de G. Davies, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes</i> (New York, 1927).
154	<i>Ḥ3t-šps(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>K3-s3</i> - daughter .	Ramesses I and Seti I	The Tomb of Amenmose (TT 19).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 390:15-396:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 283-287.
155	<i>Ḥ3t-špss</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father ; <i>Ḥnt-iwnw</i> - mother ; <i>Mrwt-t3di</i> - sister ; <i>Ḥnt-n-m3^ct</i> - sister ; <i>Ḥnt-bw-m-k3-mts</i> - sister ; <i>Pn-^cnkt</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pl. LVIII-LX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 126:13-128:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 86-88.

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156	<i>Hw-nw-r3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w;</i> <i>wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Hr.y-</i> <i>ši=f</i>	<i>R^cw-htp</i> - husband ; <i>Mnw-ms</i> - father ; <i>Bwi3/H^ct-nsw</i> - mother ; <i>Mry</i> – son .	Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 183; Granite Statue-group of Vizier and Wife - Cairo Cat. 605; Great Naos; Sandstone Statue - BM 712; Statue - Villa Melzi.	<i>T. G. H. James,</i> <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> <i>from Egyptian Stelae</i> <i>etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 19-20, pl. XV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 56:16-57:15, 61:9- 61:7.; 65:7-66:9; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 109:15-110:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 39, 42-43, 45; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 63; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Sedment II</i> (London, 1924) p. 30, pl. 74.
157	<i>Hwn.w-r.w/</i> <i>Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Imn-im-ipt</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-im-ipt</i> - son ; <i>Hwnw-r3</i> - daughter ; <i>Mnw-ms</i> - son .	Seti I	Tomb of Amenemope (TT 215); Stela fragment - Deir el- Medina; Double Statue - Berlin 6910	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 381:5-388:6; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 313-319.
158	<i>Hw-rwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hnmw</i>		Ramesses II	Limeston Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> <i>from Egyptian Stelae</i> <i>etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) pp. 40-41, pl. XCIV; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 409:8-410:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 76.
159	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>šm^cyt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	pLeiden I.364.	J. J. Janssen, <i>OMRO</i> 41(1960) pp. 36-37, 42, figs. 8-9; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 231:12-232:7; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 164
160	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father ; <i>Sn-snb</i> - mother ; <i>R3-k3</i> - brother ; <i>Ty-m-wnwt</i> - sister ;	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> <i>from Egyptian Stelae</i> <i>etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pl. LVIII-

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			<i>Twi3</i> - sister ; <i>Inw-šfw</i> - brother .			LX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 126:13-128:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 86-88.
161	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>ḥsy.t ʕ3.t n Mw.t</i>	<i>Nb-imntt</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Penbuy and Kasa (TT 10).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 734:6-739:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 493-496.
162	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>šmʕ.yt n(.t) Imn</i> ; <i>šmʕ.yt n(.t) Hr.w</i>	<i>Imn-ms</i> - husband ; <i>Mʕhw</i> - son ; <i>P3-mr-mšʕ</i> - son ; <i>Nḥt-mnw</i> - son ; <i>Hʕpi</i> - son ; <i>3st-m-ḥb</i> - daughter ; <i>T3-wrt</i> - daughter ; <i>T3-ḥr-nḥ-ns</i> - daughter ; <i>Mrt-rʕw</i> - daughter ; <i>Twy</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	Lintel - BM. 1654; Stela - Turin 1645 (old 168).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 248:15-249:4, 444:4-16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 177, 316.
163	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>šmʕ.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Pʕi3</i> - mother ; <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> - brother ; <i>ʕn-mwt</i> - sister ; <i>Mwt-m-wi3</i> - sister ; <i>Nfirt-iri</i> - sister ; <i>T3-wrt-m-ḥb</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pennsylvania University Museum, 61-13-1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 267:8-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 190.
164	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	<i>Nb-wnnf</i> - father ; <i>T3ḥʕt</i> - mother ; <i>Sm3-t3wy</i> - brother ; <i>Iry-nfirt</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 282:16-291:2; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 201-208.

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165	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) [Hr.y-ši]=f</i>	<i>3tw-nfr</i> - son ; <i>3st-nfrt</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>Hwy</i> - husband ; <i>Pi3y</i> - son ; <i>Nht</i> - son ; <i>Hn-sw</i> - son ; <i>Py-pwy</i> - son ; <i>3st-h^cy</i> - daughter ; - <i>T3-miyt</i> - daughter .	Merenptah	Stela - Vienna, No. 140.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 122:3-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 93.
166	<i>Hpt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-r^c.w</i>	<i>P3-ibty</i> - husband ; <i>Imn-w3h-sw</i> - father ; <i>Iwy</i> - mother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Amenwashu (TT 111).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 302:12-305:5; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 217-219.
167	<i>Hmt-ntr</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Seti I	The Tomb of Pashedu (TT 323).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 392:4-394:4; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 322-324.
168	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>H3t-špsw(t)</i> - daughter .	Seti I	The Tomb of Userhat (TT 51).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 333:13-341:8; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 271-278; N. de G. Davies, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes</i> (New York, 1927).
169	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-R^c.w</i>	<i>Dḥwty-ms</i> - father ; <i>3st</i> - mother ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - grandfather ; <i>Hnt-wdbw</i> - grandmother ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32); The Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183); Limestone Statue Group of Thutmose and Parents - Cairo CGC. 549	L. Kákósy, T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. I. Fábián and E. Gaál, <i>The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes</i> (Budepest, 2004); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 182:7-185:12, 316:11-319:1; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 127-129, 229-230.
170	<i>Hnt-iwnw</i>	<i>šn^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Seti I	Stela - Louvre C.92.	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 307:13-308:9; <i>RITA</i> I pp. 250-251; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du</i>

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						<i>Louvre II</i> (Paris, 1878) p. 20.
171	<i>Hnt-wdbw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n.t Nbtw</i>	<i>Dḥwty-ms</i> - son ; <i>Imn-ms</i> - husband ; <i>3st</i> - daughter-in-law .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Djehutymes (TT 32); Limestone Statue Group of Thutmose and Parents - Cairo CGC. 549	L. Kákosy, T. A. Bács, Z. Bartos, Z. I. Fábán and E. Gaál, <i>The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes</i> (Budepest, 2004); KRI III, pp. 316:11-319:1; RITA III, pp. 229-230.
172	<i>Hnt-bw-m-k3- mts</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father ; <i>Hnt-iwnw</i> - mother ; <i>Mrwt-t3di</i> - sister ; <i>Hnt-n-m3^ct</i> - sister ; <i>H3t-špss</i> - sister ; <i>Pn-^cnkt</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pls. LVIII-LX; KRI III, pp. 126:13-128:6; RITA III, pp. 86-88.
173	<i>Hnt-mhyt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Wi3y</i> - daughter ; <i>Imn-m-int</i> - son-in-law .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Family Monument - Naples Museum 1069; Votive Vessel - Deir el-Bahari.	KRI III, pp. 272:4-274:6, 275:11-13; RITA III, pp. 193-195, 195-196; G. A. Reisner, 'The Viceroys of Ethiopia', <i>JEA</i> 6 (1920) pp. 28-55.
174	<i>Hnt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>		Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); KRI III, pp. 353:13-356:16; RITA. III, pp. 254-257.

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175	<i>Hnt-n-m3^ct</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>R3-k3</i> - father ; <i>Hnt-iwnw</i> - mother ; <i>Mrwt-t3di</i> - sister ; <i>Hnt-bw-m-k3-mts</i> - sister ; <i>H3t-šps</i> - sister ; <i>Pn-^cnkt</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Naos - BM 476.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982) p. 25, pls. LVIII-LX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 126:13-128:6; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 86-88.
176	<i>Hnt-t3wy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Dḥwty-m-ḥb</i> - father ; <i>B3k-ḥnsw</i> - mother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - grandfather ; <i>3st</i> - grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 254-257.
177	<i>H^ct-nsw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) In-ḥr.y</i> ; <i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n In-ḥr.y</i>	<i>Mnw-mss</i> - husband ; <i>Hri</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Inty</i> - mother-in-law .	Ramesses II	Black Granite Offering Table - Cairo 23095; Fragments of Tomb Chapel at Abydos; Shabti Figures of Minmose.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 472:3-475:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 335-337.
178	<i>S3wt-p3t3w</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Papyrus Leiden I. 365.	J. J. Janssen, <i>OMRO</i> 41(1960) p. 37, 42-43, pl. 9; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 232:10-233:9; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 164.
179	<i>Shmwy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-R^c.w</i>	<i>Nfr-sḥrw</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nefersekjeru (TT 296).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 145:12-153:1; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 92-99.

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180	<i>Shmt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Rwrw</i> - husband ; <i>Rnnwt</i> - daughter ; <i>T3-wsrt</i> - daughter ; <i>Nbw-ḥr-mr</i> - daughter ; <i>Mrt-ptḥ</i> - daughter ; <i>Niu-h3-yt</i> - daughter ; <i>Hnt-iwnw</i> - mother-in-law ; <i>B3k-3i3</i> - father-in-law .	Seti I	Stela - Louvre C.92	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 307:13-308:9; <i>RITA</i> I. pp. 250-251; P. Pierret, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre II</i> (Paris, 1878) p. 20.
181	<i>Shmt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Imn-m-ḥ3t</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	pSallier IV PMB 10184.	R. A. Caminos, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Oxford, 1954) pp. 333-370.
182	<i>Shmt-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n.t Imn.w-R^c.w</i> ; <i>wr(.t) ḥnr.wt n.t Ini-ḥr(.t)</i>	<i>Ini-ḥr(t)-ms</i> – husband ; <i>Hwi</i> – son (possibly) ; <i>P3-n(i)-nb(w)</i> – son (possibly) ; <i>Iyi-m-wni/Iyi-m-w3i</i> – mother-in-law ; <i>P3-ni-nb(w)</i> – father-in-law .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Anhurmoise; Limeston Statue Group - Cairo CGC. 1093; Limestone Block Statue - Cairo CGC. 1136.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 141:15-144:15, 146:3-147:6; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 226:6-232:10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 107-111; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 154-161; B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh</i> (Sydney, 1988-1990).
183	<i>Sty-k3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>		Ramesses II	pSallier IV PMB 10184.	R. A. Caminos, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (Oxford, 1954) pp. 333-370.
184	<i>St-mn-ti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 183.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 19-20, pl. XV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 56:15-57:8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 39.

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185	Šw-p3-tꜥw	šmꜥyt n Imn		Ramesses II	pLeiden I.365.	J. J. Janssen, <i>OMRO</i> 41(1960) pp. 37, 42-43, pl. 9; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 232:10-233:9; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 164.
186	Šrit-rꜥw	šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn		Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 183.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 19-20, pl. XV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 56:15-57:8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 39.
187	Šr-it-rꜥw	šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn	<i>P3-nb</i> - father ; <i>Wꜥb</i> - mother ; <i>ꜥphṯy</i> - brother ; <i>ꜥyi</i> - sister ; <i>Nfr-m-snwt</i> - grandfather ; <i>ꜥwy</i> - grandmother .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Paneb (TT 211).	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 189:7-193:12; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 136-138.
188	K3-iꜥy	šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
189	K3-m-wi3	šmꜥyt		Ramesses II	Stela Hildesheim 1080.	<i>KRI</i> II, p. 451:11; <i>RITA</i> II pp. 278-81
190	K3-nḥbt	šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn	<i>Mrn-ptḥ</i> - husband ; <i>Wn-nfr</i> - brother-in-law ; <i>Ḥri</i> - brother-in-law ; <i>Ry</i> - father-in-law ; <i>B3k-(n)-wrl</i> - mother-in-law .	Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:6-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.
191	Gmy or Nbwm[...]	šmꜥyt n(.t) Imn		Ramesses II	Papyrus Leiden I. 365.	J. J. Janssen, <i>OMRO</i> 41(1960) p. 37, 42-43, pl. 9; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 232:10-233:9; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 164.

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192	<i>T3-3st</i>	<i>šm^c.yt</i>	<i>Mn-hpr</i> - father ; <i>Hri</i> - brother ; <i>M^ci3</i> - sister ; <i>3st-nfrt</i> - sister .	Ramesses II	Graffito - Sehel.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 847:11-13; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 566.
193	<i>T3-iwnw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>K3-m-w3st</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Kaemwaset (TT 369).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 158:15-159:9; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 106-107.
194	<i>T3y-sn</i>	[<i>šm^c.yt n(.t)</i>] <i>Mnt.w</i>		Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
195	<i>T3y-sn-nfrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Hnsw</i> - husband ; <i>S3-3st</i> - son ; - <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - son ; <i>H3-nfr</i> - son ; <i>Mhy-h^ct</i> - daughter ; <i>Nfrt-3st</i> - daughter ; <i>Wnp</i> - daughter ; <i>T3kt</i> - daughter ; <i>Twiw</i> - son .	Ramesses II	Stela - Pushkin Museum, Moscow No. I. 1a 5636 (4145).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 170:16-171:11; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 114.
196	<i>T3-wr(t)-m-hb</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM. 139.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 24-25, pl. XX; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 124:8-125:6; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 94-95.
197	<i>T3-wrt-hrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) Imn-r^c.w</i>	<i>Mry</i> - husband .	Seti II	Tomb SA. 7 - Aniba.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 282:14-285:1; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 202-204.

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198	<i>T3-wrt-ḥtp</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n.t Imn</i>	<i>Ini-ḥr(t)-ms</i> – husband ; <i>Hwi</i> – son (possibly) ; <i>Tyi-m-wni/Tyi-m-w3i</i> – mother-in-law ; <i>P3-ni-nb(w)</i> – father-in-law .	Merenptah	The Tomb of Anhurmoise; Granite Block Statue - Cairo CGC. 1093; Limestone Statue Group - Cairo CGC. 1093.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 141:15-146:10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 107-111; B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh</i> (Sydney, 1988-1990).
199	<i>T3-wr-ḥtp-ti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>S3-r3</i> – husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Simut-Kyky (TT 409).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 331:16-345:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 238-249.
200	<i>[T]3-wr(t)-ḥtp</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.
201	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>Wsr-ḥ3t</i> – son .	Seti I	The Tomb of Userhat (TT 51)	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 333:13-341:8; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 271-278; N. de G. Davies, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes</i> (New York, 1927).
202	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Ḥḥ</i> – husband ; <i>Swti-m-ḥb</i> – father-in-law ; <i>Ntib-p3rti3</i> – mother-in-law .	Ramesses II	Stela - Abydos.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 246:3-12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 174-175; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courties and Oxyrhynchos</i> (London, 1925) pl. 31:2.
203	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	<i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n Ḥnsw</i>	<i>Imn-m-ḥb</i> – husband .	Rameses II	The Tomb of Amenemhab (TT 25).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 301:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 216-217.
204	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> – husband ; <i>Ḥnsw/T3/T3y</i> – son ; <i>Tint-iwnt</i> – daughter ;	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp.

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			<i>Ṭwy</i> - son ; <i>N3y</i> - son ; <i>Mntw-ḥtp</i> - son ; <i>Rwi3</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>Mṛ3y</i> - daughter-in-law .			399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
205	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>	<i>šmṛyt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Ḥri</i> - son ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - husband	Seti II - Siptah/Tawosret	pAnastasi I PMB 10247.	A. H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Hieratic Texts: Transcribed, Translaed and Annotated by Alan H. Gardiner. Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom</i> (Leipzig, 1911).
206	<i>T3bs</i>	<i>šmṛ.yt</i>	<i>Ḥwy</i> - wife .	Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo, TN. 26/8/15/1.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 131:1-4; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 88.
207	<i>T3mi</i>	<i>šmṛ.yt n(.t) Ṭmn</i>	<i>Pṛy</i> - husband (possible) .	Ramesses I and Seti I	Limeston Stela - Musée Guimet.	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 325:15; <i>KRI</i> VII, p. 430:7-9; <i>RITA</i> I, p. 263.
208	<i>T3-mi3t</i>	<i>šmṛ.yt n(.t) Ṭmn</i>	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> - husband ; <i>Rṛ-i3y</i> - father-in-law ; <i>Nbwt-m-wsḥt</i> - mother-in-law	Ramesses II	Stela - Louvre C. 148.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 219:12- 220:9; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 154-155; D. A. Lowle, "A Nineteenth Dynasty Stela in the Louvre", in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen (eds.), <i>Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman</i> (Warminster, 1979) pp. 50-54, pl. I.

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209	<i>T3-miwt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3-r^cw-m-ḥb</i> - husband ; <i>P3-nḥ-sy</i> - son .	Merenptah	Limeston Stela - Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. E. 195.1899.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 138:5-10; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 104-105.
210	<i>T3-mit</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
211	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Ḥrw-nḥt</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	Faience Stela for Tanodjmet - Penn Museum. E.14232.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 118:6-9; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 81.
212	<i>T3-ndm(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
213	<i>T3-ri3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>	<i>Ry</i> - father ; <i>B3k-(n)-wrl</i> - mother ; <i>Wn-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>Mrn-ptḥ</i> - brother ; <i>Ḥri</i> - brother ; <i>Ṛwy</i> - sister-in-law ; <i>K3-nḥbt</i> - sister-in-law .	Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:6-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.
214	<i>T3-rn-nw</i>	<i>š^cm.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3-nḥsy</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Panehsy (TT 16).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 396:10-399:5; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 287-289.
215	<i>T3ḥ^c</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) B3st.t</i>		Merenptah	Stela - BM 154.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 31-32, pl. XXVII; <i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 123:6-124:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 93-94.
216	<i>T3ḥ^ct</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i> ; <i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Imn</i> ; <i>wr.t ḥnr.wt n(.t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w</i> ; <i>sšš.yt n(.t) Mw.t</i>	<i>Nb-wnnf</i> - husband ; <i>Sm3-t3wy</i> - son ; <i>Ḥwt-Ḥrw</i> - daughter ; <i>Ṛy-nfrt</i> - daughter .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 282:16-291:2; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 201-208.

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217	<i>T3-sw-ri</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - BM. 167.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 29-30, pl. XXV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 206:16-207:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 144-145.
218	<i>T3-sw-riḥ</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P^cy</i> - husband (possible).	Ramesses I and Seti I	Limestone Stela - Musée Guimet.	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 325:15; <i>KRI</i> VII, p. 430:7-9; <i>RITA</i> I, p. 263.
219	<i>T3s-mnt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Kyky/S3-mwt</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Simut-Kyky (TT 409).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 331:16-345:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 238-249.
220	<i>T3kt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Wpi-w3.wt</i>	<i>Hnsw</i> - father ; <i>T3y-sn-nfrt</i> ; mother ; <i>S3-3st</i> - brother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>H3-nfr</i> - brother ; <i>Mḥy-h^cy</i> - sister ; <i>Wnp</i> - sister ; <i>Nfrt-3st</i> - sister ; <i>Twiw</i> - brother.	Ramesses II	Stela - Pushkin Museum, Moscow No. I. 1a 5636 (4145).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 170:16-171:11; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 114.
221	<i>T3k3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) Imn</i>	<i>Ḥr.w-nfr</i> - husband.	Seti I	Wooden Funerary Box - Louvre Inv. 4011.	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 331:10-15; <i>RITA</i> I, p. 269.
222	<i>T3k3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Merenptah	Stela - Leicester City Museum.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 99:14-15; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 78.
223	<i>T3-k3i-^cnti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>M^cy</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo TN. 14/10/69/1.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 280:8-281:3; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 199-200.
224	<i>T3k-m-^cy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.

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225	<i>T3[...]</i>	<i>wr.t [...] n.t Imn</i>		Seti II	Text in Forecourt of Merenptah's Temple - Surarieh.	<i>KRI</i> IV, p. 289:14-16; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 208.
226	<i>T3[...]_{p3-3s.t}</i>	<i>šm^c.yt (n.t) Imn</i>		Seti II	Text in Forecourt of Merenptah's Temple - Surarieh.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 289:14-16; <i>RITA</i> IV, p. 208.
227	<i>Ty</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) nb.t nht</i>		Late Eighteenth Dynasty - Early Nineteenth Dynasty	Block - Saqqara.	G. T. Martin, <i>Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt</i> (London, 1987) no. 38, p. 19, pl. 13.
228	<i>Ti3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
229	<i>Tiy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn; wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nb-ntrw/Tri</i> - father ; <i>Mryt-r^c</i> - mother ; <i>P3sr</i> - brother ; <i>Titi</i> - brother ; <i>T3ti3</i> - brother .	Seti I and Ramesses II	The Tomb of Paser (TT 106).	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 285:5-301:11; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 1:8-9:15; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 231-246; <i>RITA</i> III pp. 1-8
230	<i>Tiy</i>	<i>wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3sr</i> - father ; <i>N3i3</i> - sister ; <i>Mryt-r^c</i> - grandmother ; <i>Nb-ntrw/Tri</i> - grandfather .	Seti I and Ramesses II	The Tomb of Paser (TT 106).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 285:5-301:11; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 1:8-9:15; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 231-246; <i>RITA</i> III pp. 1-8
231	<i>Tiy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n.t Imn</i>	<i>Hr-m-ḥb</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	Fragments from Tomb-Chapel - Saqqara.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 187:16-191:5; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 131-133; J. E. Quibell, <i>Excavations at Saqqara (1908-10)</i> (Cairo, 1912) pls. 67:3, 68:1, 71:4, 72:1, 73:1-8, 74:10.
232	<i>Tiy</i>	<i>wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Mnt.w</i>	<i>Wsr-mntw</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Usermontu (TT 382).	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 302:3-4; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 217.

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233	Tiy	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Wsir; wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) Wsir	Wn-nfr - husband ; Hri - son ; Ywyw - son ; R ^c w-ms - son ; S3-3st - son ; Mry - son ; Šrt-r ^c w - daughter ; Wi3y - daughter ; 3st-nfrit - daughter ; Mwt-nfrit - daughter ; Bwi3 - daughter ; Kny - father ; Wi3y - mother .	Ramesses II	Double Statue of Mery and Wenufer - Cairo JdE. 35257; Limestone Block Family Monument - Cairo JdE. 35258; Standing Statue with Standards and Hathor Emblem - Athens National Museum 106; Standing Statue with Standard - Louvre A.66; Stela of Year 42 from Abydos - Cairo CGC. 34505; Sanstone 'Panel' Stela - Louvre C.97; Twin figures of Wenufer and Tiy - Peabody Museum 2657 (Yale 1937.213); Granite Block Statue - Bolton Museum 46.03.35; Kneeling Statue with Osiris Figure - Chicago OIC 7204; Limestone Stela - Abydos (Mariette's Excavations); Naophorous Statue - Louvre A. 67.	KRI III, pp. 447:14-456:7, 461:10-463:4; RITA III, pp. 318-325, 328-329; A. Mariette, Abydos: <i>Description des Fouilles II</i> (Paris, 1880) pl. 41; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Abydos I</i> (London, 1902) pp. 31, 44, pls. 65:5-7, 8, 9-10; W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Abydos II</i> (London, 1903) p. 46.
234	Tiy	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Hnmw	N3y3 - brother ; P3y - father ; ^c š3 .t-nbw - mother ; Wrt-nfrit - sister ; B3k-ti3 - sister ; Pn-t3-wr - nephew ; N3y3 - grandfather; Wrt-nfrit - grandmother .	Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 795.	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10</i> (London, 1982), pp. 40-41, pl. 94; KRI VII, pp. 409:8-410:1; RITA VII, p. 76.

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235	<i>Tiy-m-ḥb</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Dḥwty-m-ḥb</i> - father ; <i>B3k-ḥnsw</i> - mother ; <i>Wnn-nfr</i> - grandfather ; <i>3st</i> - grandmother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Thutemhab (TT 45).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> vol. III, pp. 353:13-356:16; <i>RITA</i> vol. III, pp. 254-257.
236	<i>Tiyt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn-r^c.w</i>	<i>T3[...]</i> <i>i3</i> - father ; <i>Wryt</i> - mother ; <i>H^c-m-w3s.t</i> - brother .	Ramesses II	Tomb-chapel of Mose.	G. A. Gaballa, <i>The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose</i> (Warminster, 1977); <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 165:11-166:7; <i>RITA</i> VII, p. 111.
237	<i>Tiw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>P3-r^cms-ss</i> - husband	Ramesses II	Stela of Era of 400 Years (Tanis), from Pi-Ramesse – Cairo, JdE 60539	<i>KRI</i> II, pp. 287:7-288:11; <i>RITA</i> II, pp. 116-118.
238	<i>Tint-iwnt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Mnt^c.w</i>	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i> - father ; <i>T3-wsrt</i> - mother ; <i>Hnsw/T3/T3y</i> - brother ; <i>Twy</i> - brother ; <i>N3y</i> - brother ; <i>Mntw-ḥtp</i> - brother ; <i>M^c3ny</i> - daughter ; <i>M^ci3</i> - daughter ; <i>Wsri</i> - daughter ; <i>Wsr-mntw</i> - son .	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
239	<i>Tint-p3-ipt</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nḥt-dḥwty</i> - husband .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nakht-Thuty (TT 189).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 348:16-353:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 252-254.
240	<i>Tint[...]</i>	<i>ḥm.t ntr</i>	<i>M^ci</i> - mother ; <i>Rw</i> - sister ; <i>Nsi-nbw</i> - sister ; <i>3ti</i> - sister .	Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.

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241	<i>Tity</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - BM 183.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 19-20, pl. XV; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 56:15-57:8; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 39.
242	<i>Ti-tti</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
243	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	<i>R^c-ms-ss-nht</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Relief - Brussels, E. 5183.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 198:12-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 138.
244	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w</i>	<i>H3t-i3y</i> - husband.	Ramesses II	Limestone Stela - Qurna.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 202-14:12; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 141.
245	<i>Twy</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>K3h3</i> - husband ; <i>T3-mhy(t)</i> - daughter.	Ramesses II	Twin Statues of Outer Court of Theban Tomb 216; Theban Tomb 360; Stela - BM. 191; House N. E. VIII - Deir el-Medina; Wooden Vase.	T. G. H. James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 9</i> (London, 1970) pp. 47-48; pl. XXXIX; <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 598:10-603:15, 605:4-6, 607:2; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 411-416.
246	<i>Twī3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>P3-sr</i> - husband ; <i>Nb-sw-mnw</i> - son ; <i>B3k-mwt</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>Hw-nfr</i> - son ; <i>Inihy</i> - daughter-in-law ; <i>P3-hry-pdt</i> - son.	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 182:6-185:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 127-129.
247	<i>Twī3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
248	<i>Twtwī3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Mry-r^c</i> - husband ; <i>Kyky/S3-mwt</i> - son (possibly).	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Simut-Kyky (TT 409).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 331:16-345:15; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 238-249.

Appendix: Prosopographic Index of Nineteenth Dynasty Women with Religious Titles

249	<i>Tn-ipt</i>	<i>sw šhmyt n(.t) Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c.w Stp-n-R^c.w Mnt.w t3.wy</i>		Ramesses II	Double statuette – in trade, Pi-Ramesses.	<i>KRI</i> II, p. 451:13; <i>RITA</i> II pp. 278-81
250	<i>Tnr</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) 3s.t</i>	<i>Mr-sw-itf</i> - servant	Ramesses II	Papyrus Leiden I. 360.	<i>KRI</i> III, p. 230:4-16; <i>RITA</i> III, p. 163.
251	<i>Tk3</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) nb.t nht</i>	<i>Hri</i> - husband ; <i>K3m^c</i> - son ; <i>T3-im.t</i> - daughter ; <i>T3-b3s</i> - daughter ; Prince Khaemwaset - father-in-law .	Seti II	Stela, Memphis - Michaelides Collection.	<i>KRI</i> IV, pp. 292:9-293:2; <i>RITA</i> IV, pp. 210-211.
252	<i>Ti3</i>	<i>š^cm.yt n(.t) Imn 3i nht.w</i> ; <i>wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) P3-r^c.w</i>	<i>Ti3</i> - husband ; Seti I - father ; Tuya - mother ; Ramesses II - brother .	Seti I and Ramesses II	Sandstone Block Relief - Royal Ontario Museum 955-79-2; Limestone Stela - Florence Inv. 2532; Stone Relief Fragment; Stela of Retainer Amenemhab-Pakhuru - Gulbenkian Museum, Durham N. 1965; Tomb Chapel - Saqqara.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 368:4-369:9, 372:3-16; <i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 162:15-163:16; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 266-268, 269-270; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 109-110.
253	<i>Twiw</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>	<i>Nht</i> - husband ; <i>T3-k3y</i> - daughter .	Ramesses I and Seti I	Book of the Dead - Pap. BM 10473 and 10471.	<i>KRI</i> I, p. 321:13-16; <i>RITA</i> I, p. 261.
254	<i>Dw3t-nfr(t)</i>	<i>šm^c.yt n(.t) Imn</i>		Ramesses II	Stela - Cairo CGC. 34517.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 220:13-221:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 155-156.
255	[...]i3y	[šm ^c .yt n(.t) Mnt.w]		Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.

The Presence and Involvement of Women in Religious Practice of the Nineteenth Dynasty

256	[...]nfrt	[šm ^c .yt n(.t)] Mnt.w		Ramesses II.	The Tomb of Khons (TT 31).	N. De Garis Davies, <i>Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah</i> (London, 1948); <i>KRI</i> III, pp. 399:12-410:8; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 289-297.
257	NN 1 * Title given, but no name.	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Wsr-ḥ3t - husband .	Seti I	The Tomb of Userhat (TT 51).	<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 333:13-341:8; <i>RITA</i> I, pp. 271-278; N. de G. Davies, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes</i> (New York, 1927).
258	NN 2 * Title given, but no name. The word <i>nb.t</i> may be the beginning of a name, or part of the title <i>nb.t pr.w</i> .	wr.t hnr.wt n(.t) W3d.t	Mrn-ptḥ - husband ; S3-w3dyt - son .	Ramesses II	Block Statue - Nebesheh.	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 247:16-248:12; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 176-177.
259	NN 3 * Title given, but no name.	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Hw.t-Hr.w	Nb-wnnf - brother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 283:1-291:2; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 201-208.
260	NN 4 * Title given, but no name.	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Imn-w3ḥ-sw – father ; Twy - mother .	Ramesses II	The Tomb of Amenwashu (TT 111).	<i>KRI</i> III, pp. 302:12-305:7; <i>RITA</i> III, pp. 217-219.
261	NN 5* Title given, but no name.	šm ^c .yt n(.t) Imn	Twr - son .	Ramesses II	O. Cerny 3 + O. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum (1).	<i>KRI</i> VII, pp. 190:5-191:16; <i>RITA</i> VII, pp. 123-124.

PLATES

Plate I



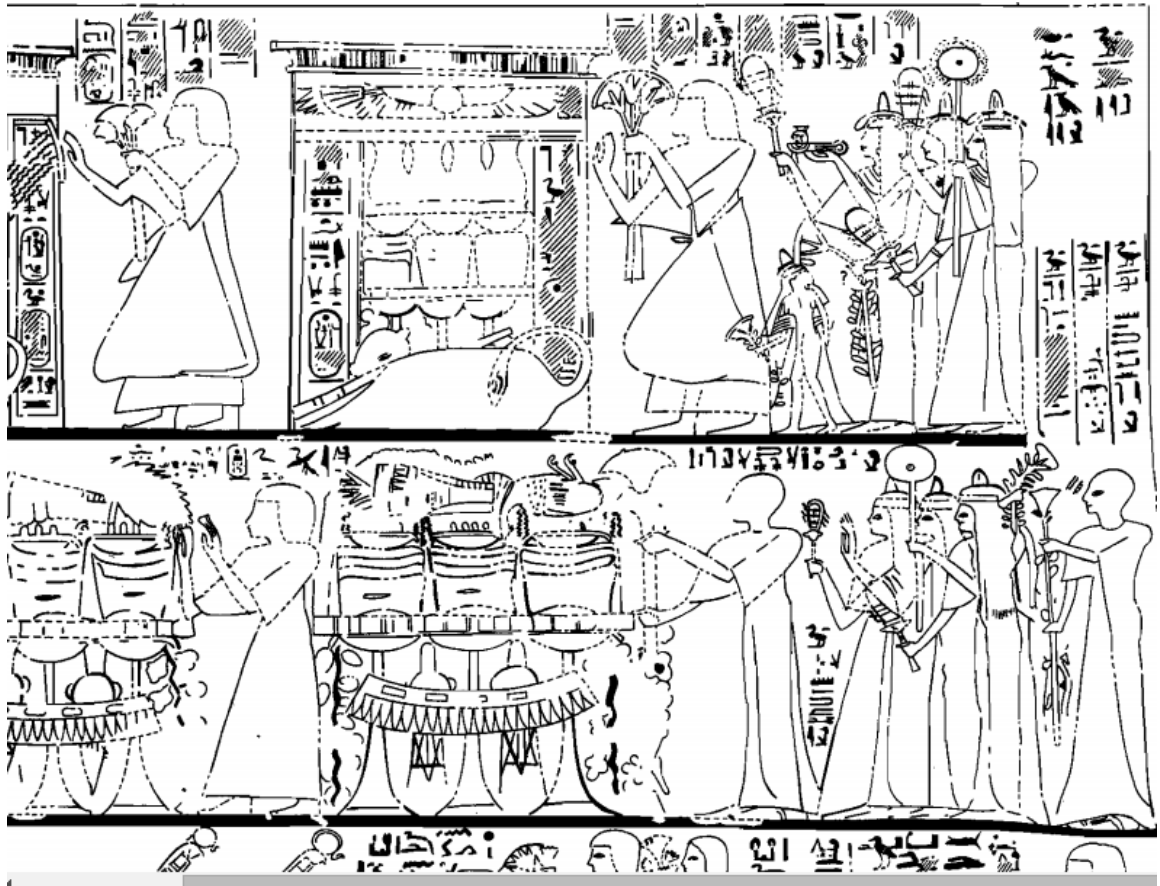
TT 31 – Tomb of Khons: Three *šmꜣyt* adore Osiris with sistrum and *menats*.

Plate II



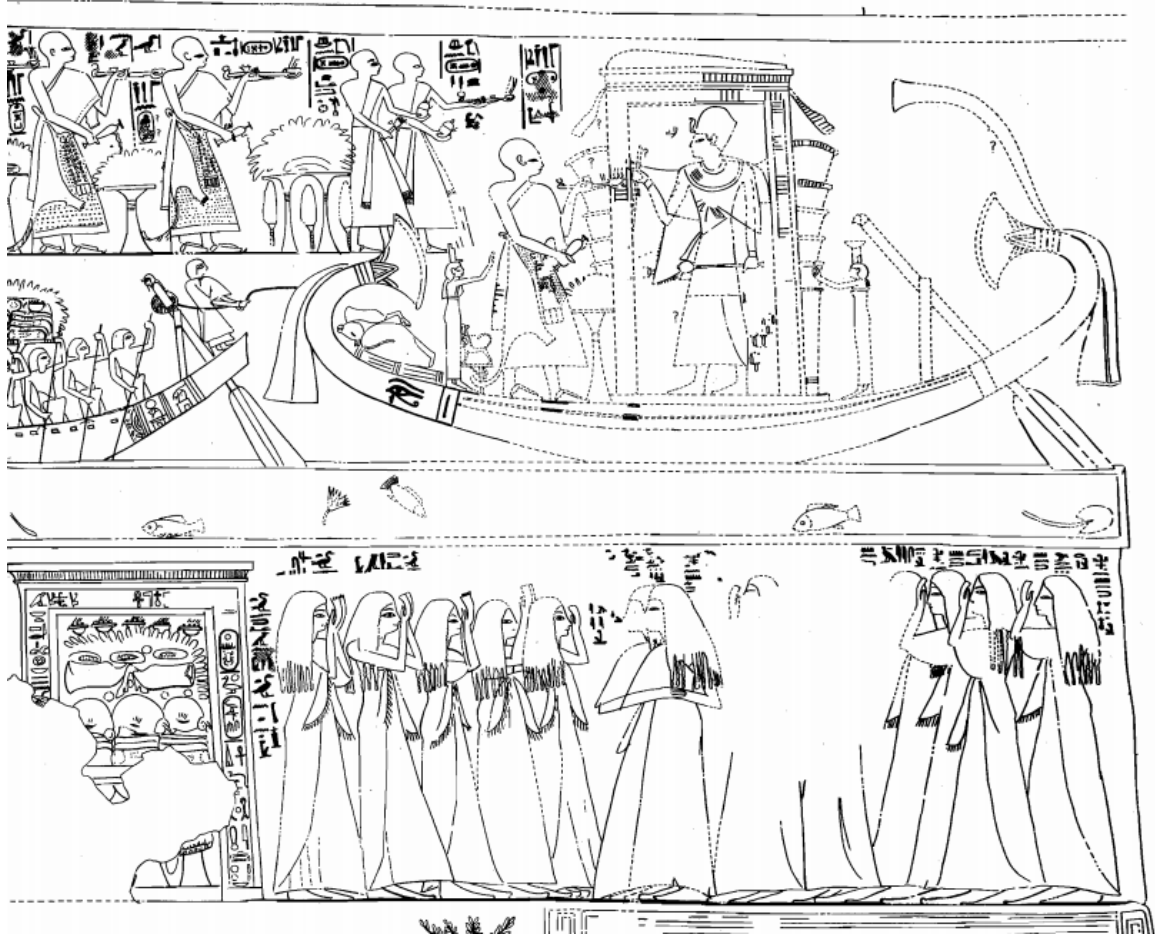
TT 32 – The Tomb of Djehutymes: Wife of the tomb owner *3st* adores Hathor-Menit with sistrum and *menat*.

Plate III



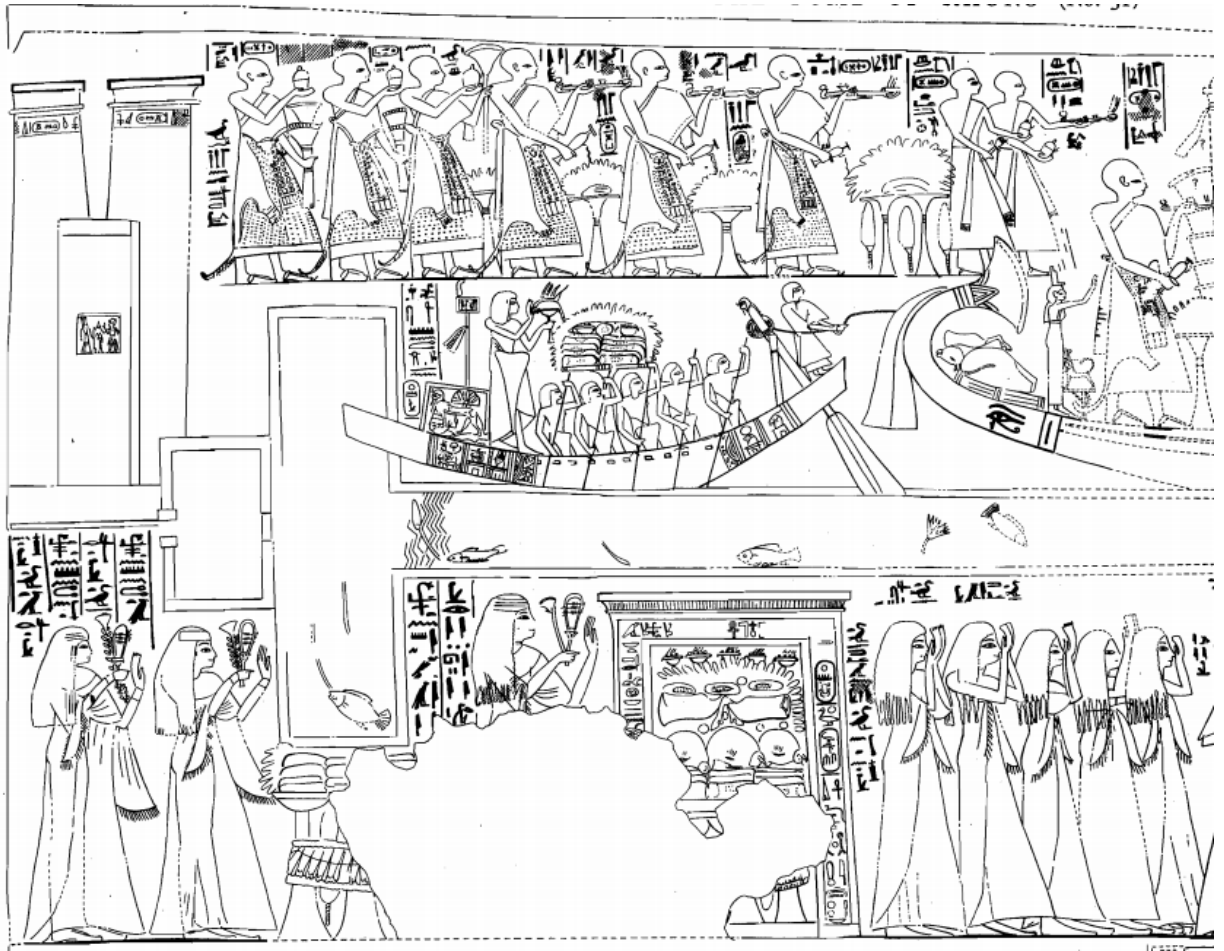
TT 31 – The Tomb of Khons: The barque of Montu is welcomed to shore during his processional festival.

Plate IV



TT 31 – The Tomb of Khons: Two groups of mourners take part in the festival procession of Thutmose III.

Plate V



TT 31 – The Tomb of Khons: Three *šmꜣyt* welcome the procession of Thutmose III to the temple of Amun at Karnak.

Plate VI



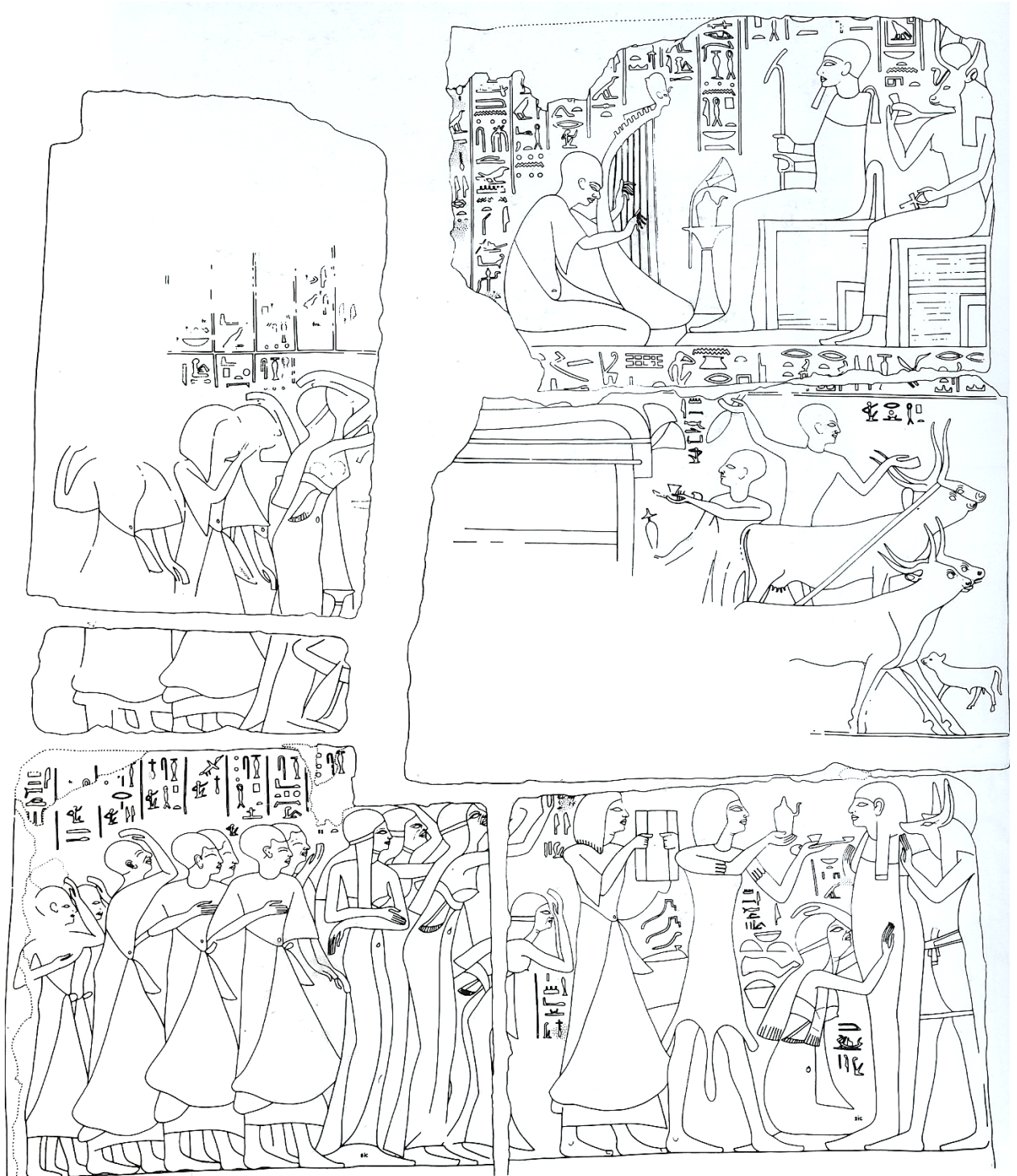
TT 342 – The Tomb of Nakhtamun: Mourners at the funeral of *Nht-Imn*.

Plate VII



TT 409 – The Tomb of Samut: Group of female mourners.

Plate VIII



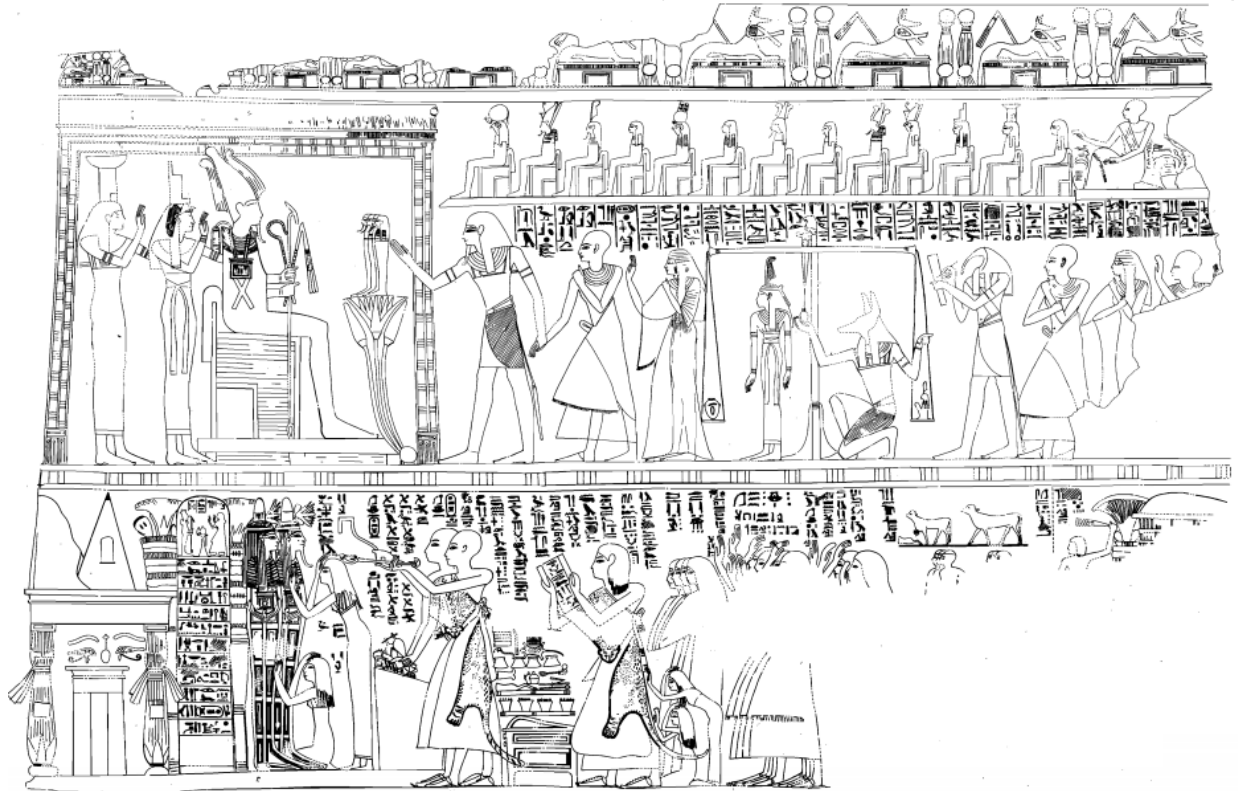
The Tomb-chapel of Raia: Groups of female mourners.

Plate IX



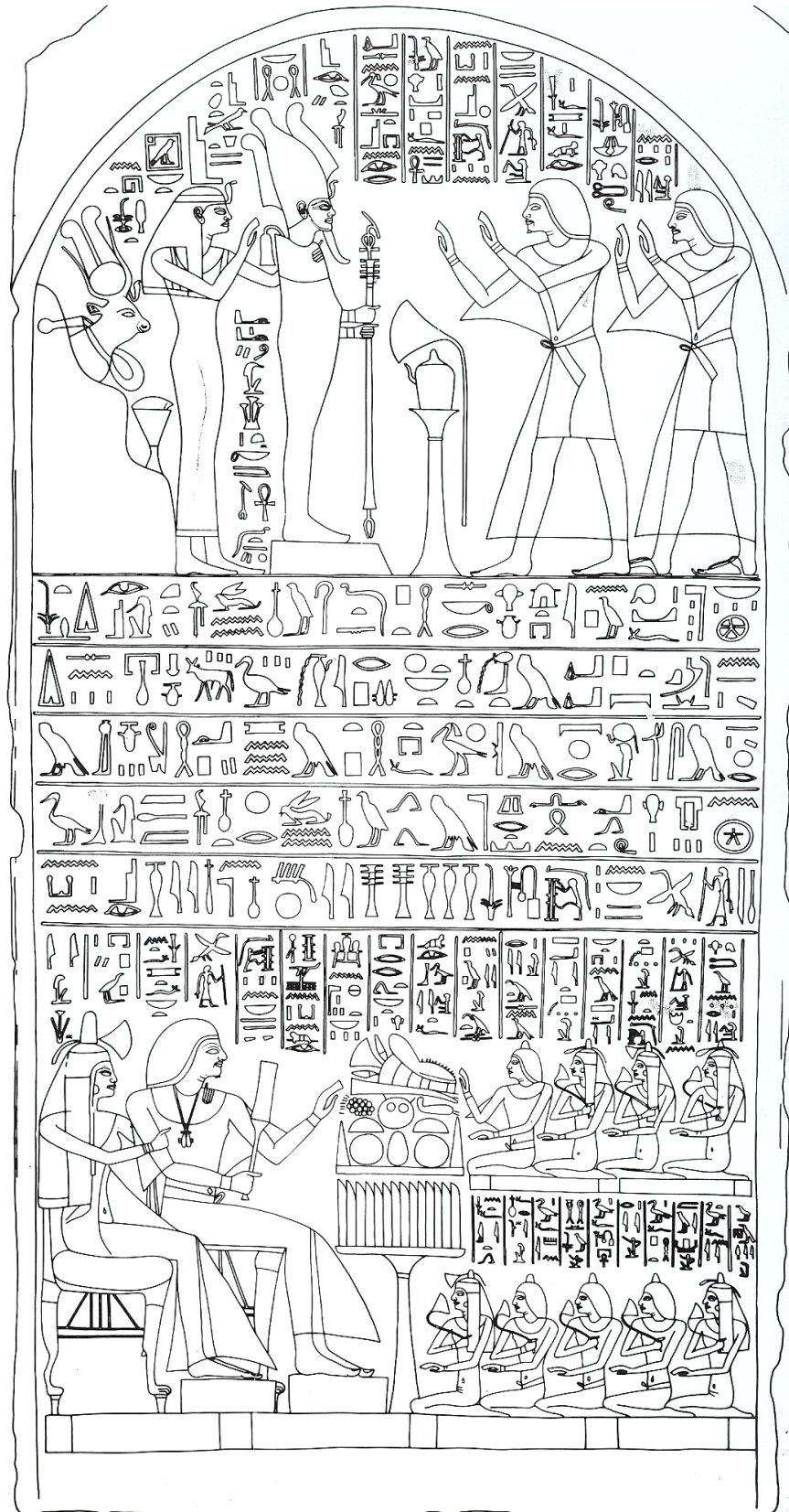
The Papyrus of Ani – Book of the Dead Chapter I: The mourning wife of Ani kneels beside the bier.

Plate X



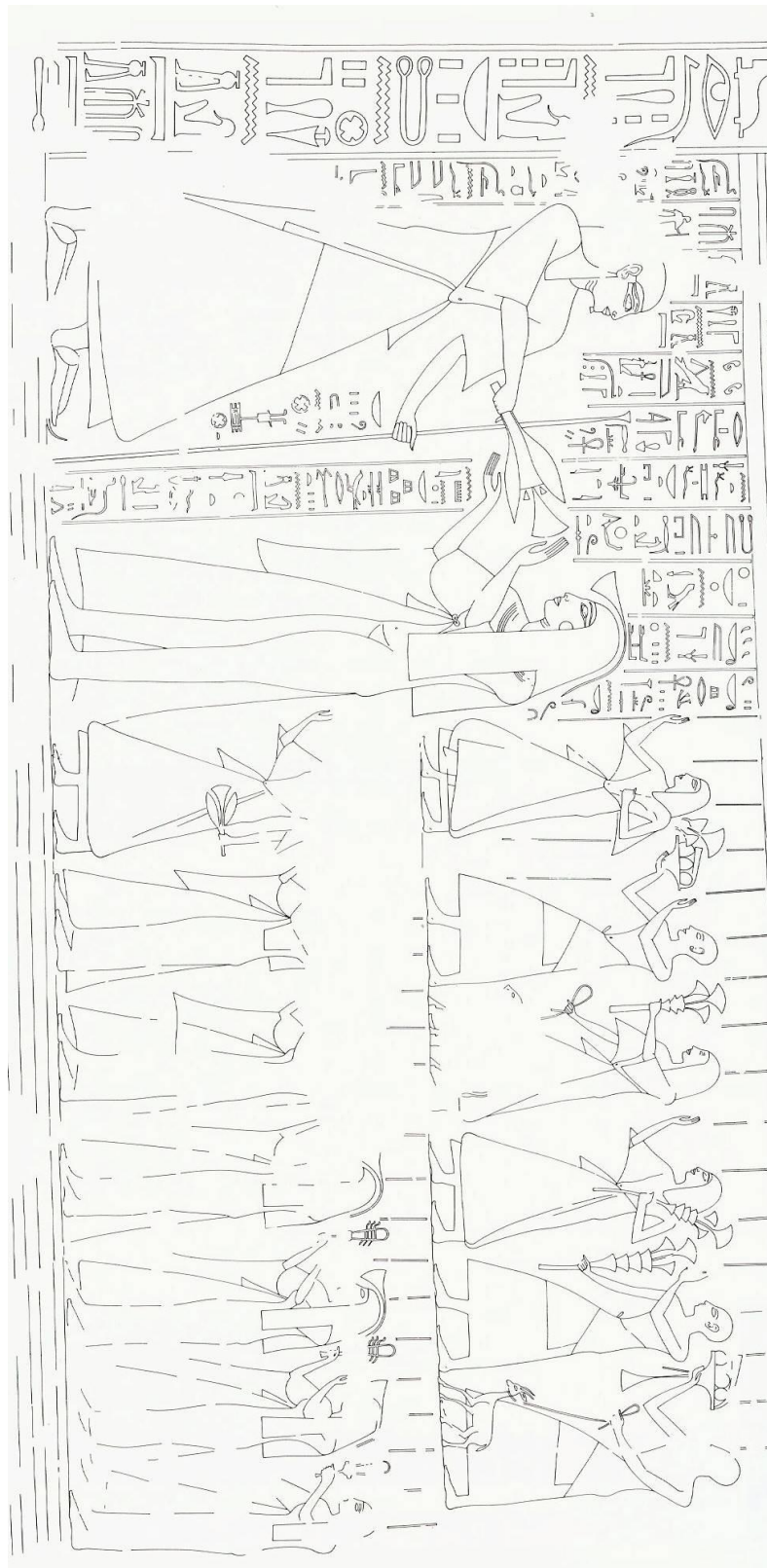
TT 31 – The Tomb of Khons: Judgement of the Dead and rites at the tomb entrance.

Plate XI



Tomb-chapel of Paser: Lower register depicts the tomb owner and wife offered to by relatives.

Plate XII



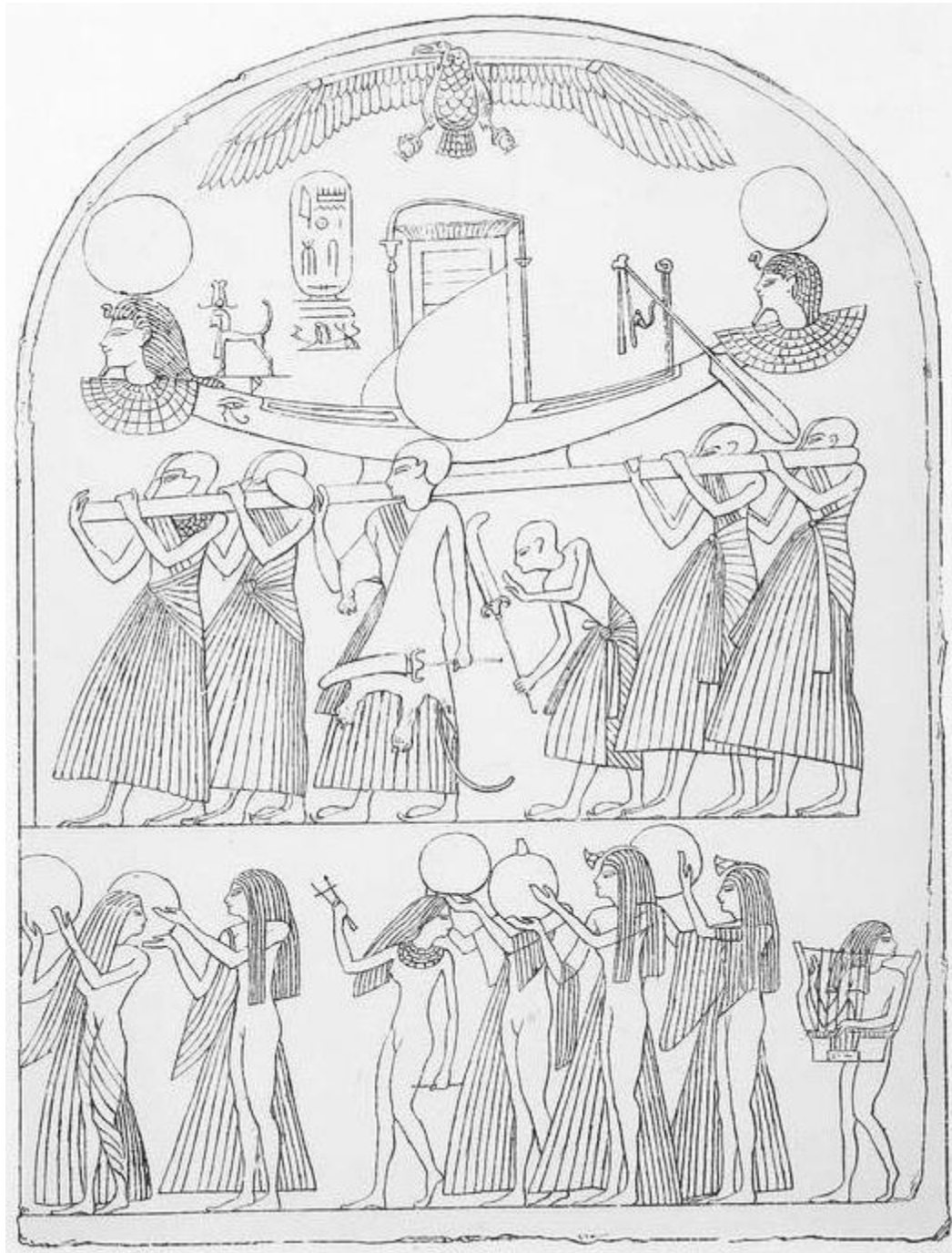
Tomb of Anhurmosé: Wife of tomb owner presents a bouquet of flowers.

Plate XIII



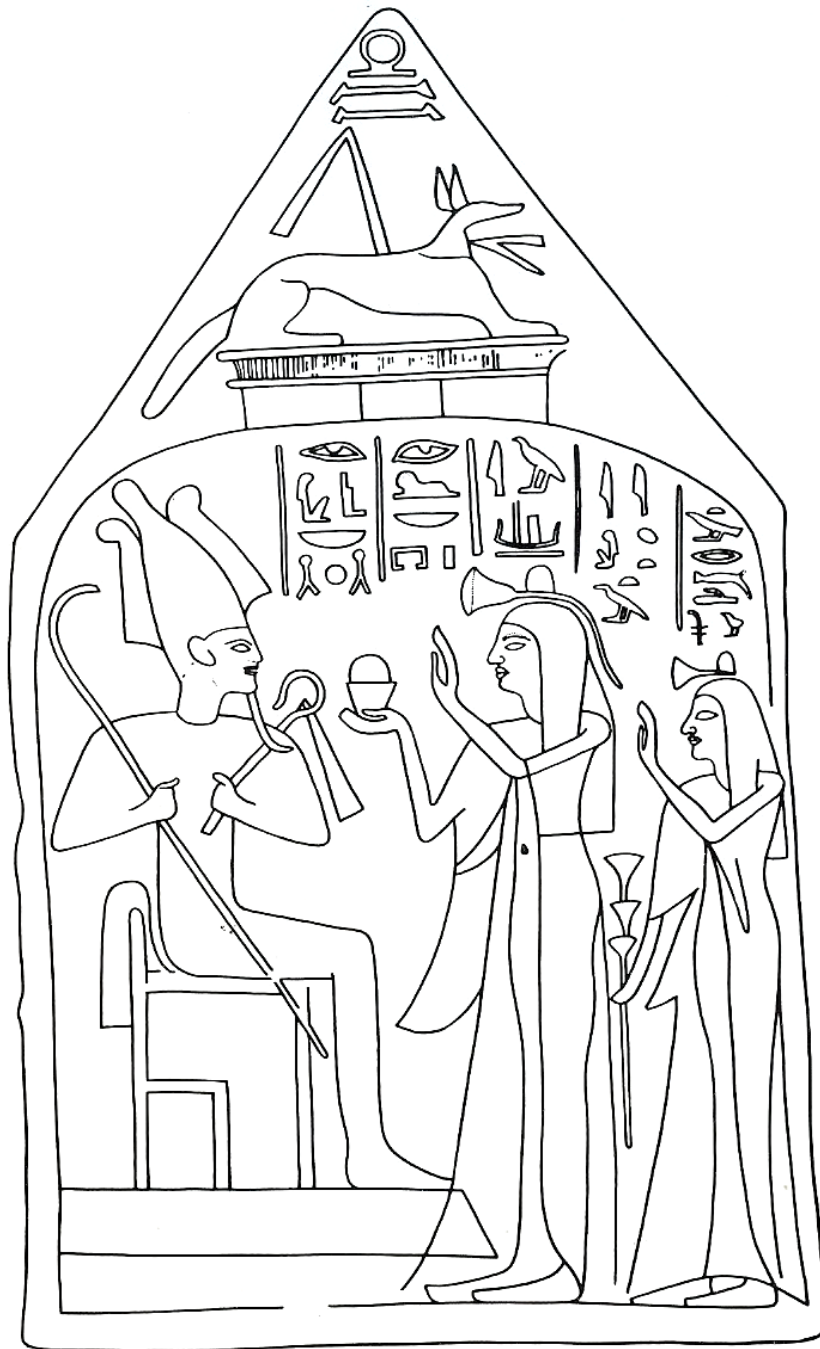
TT 341 – The Tomb of Nakhtamun: Tomb owner and wife are offered to by the tree goddess.

Plate XIV



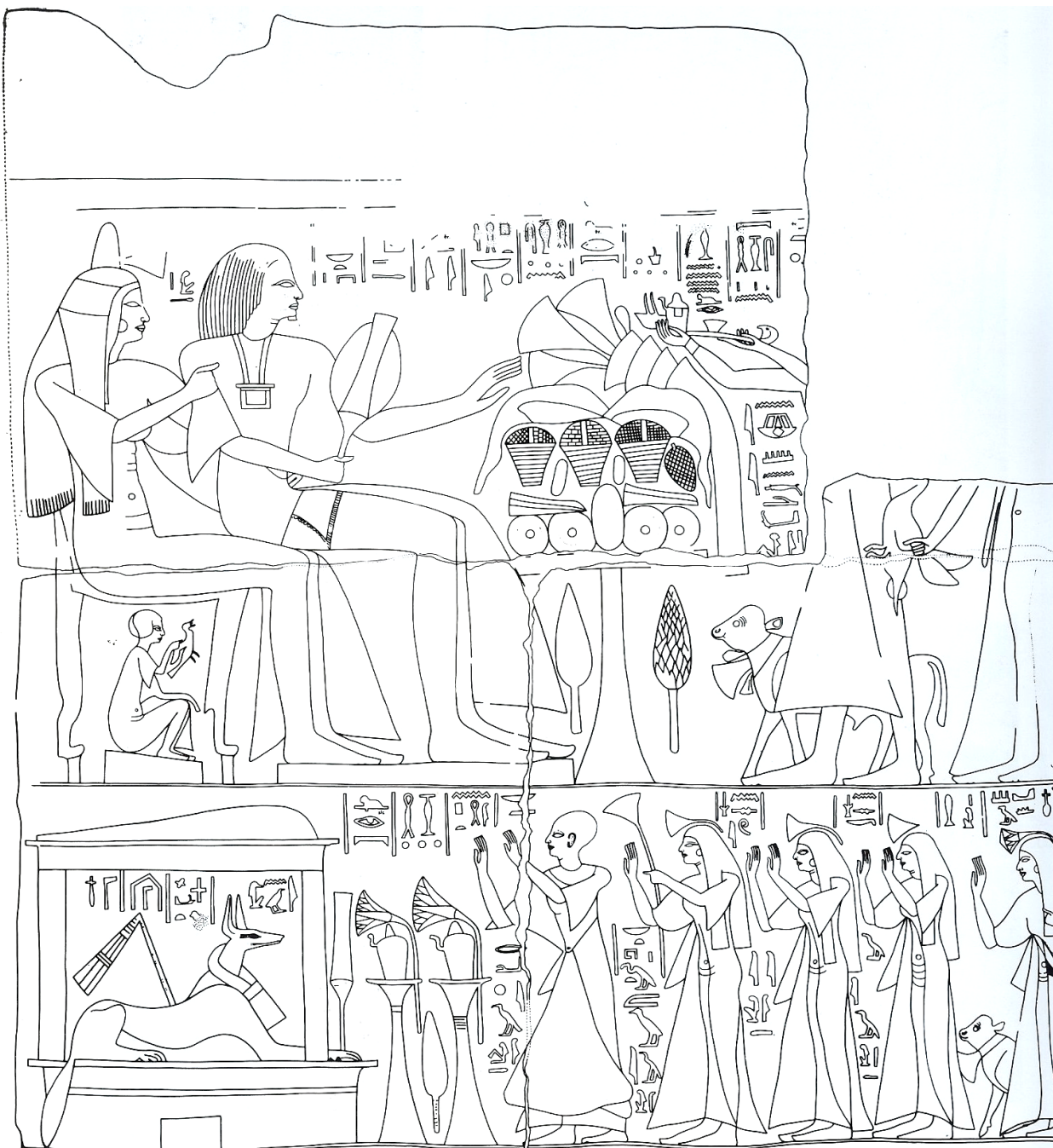
Stela from the Temple of Osiris at Abydos depicting the festival procession of Ramesses II.

Plate XV



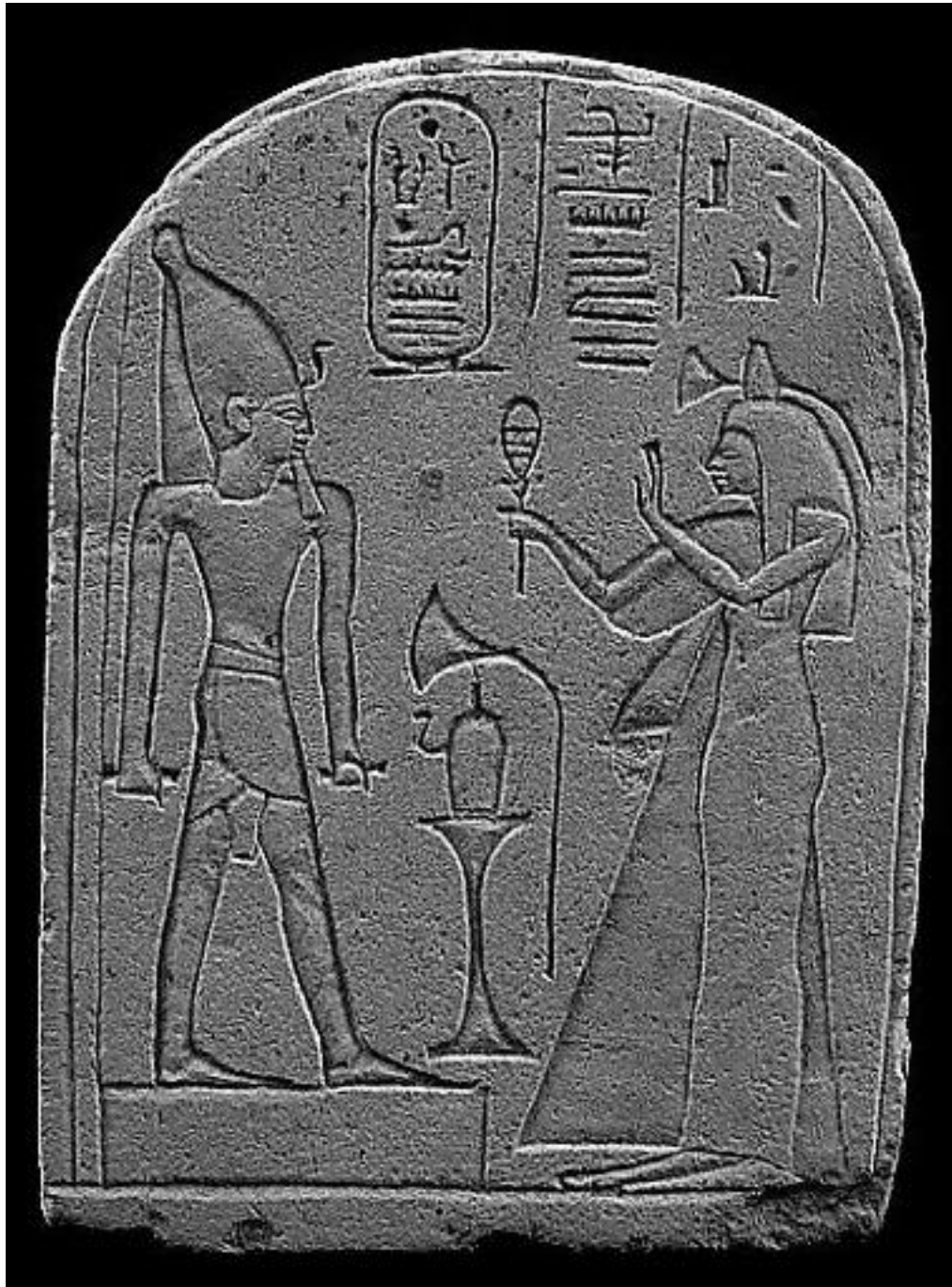
Tomb-chapel of Paser - Stela from the antechapel of *P3-sr*, depicting two women offering to a seated Osiris.

Plate XVI



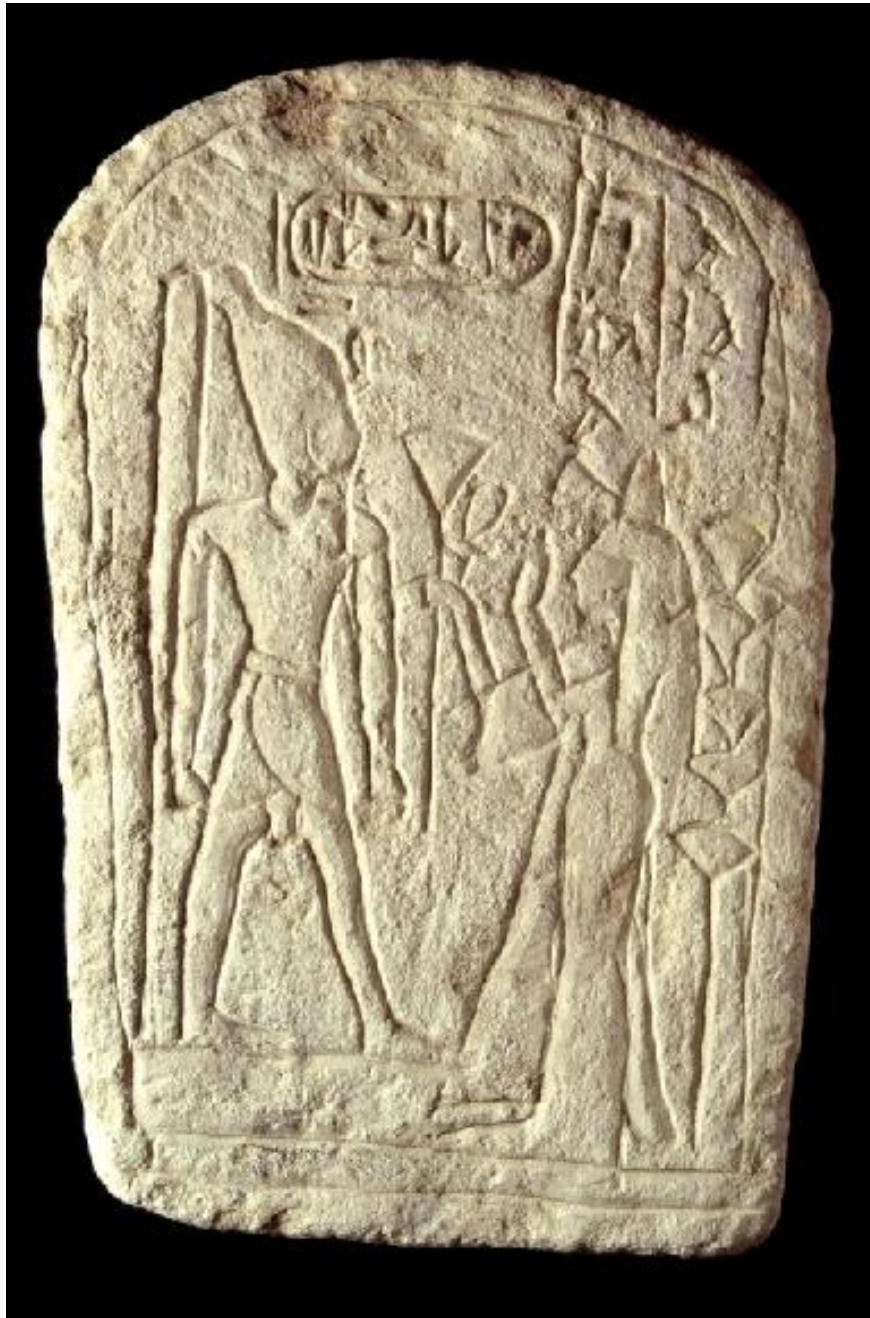
Tomb-chapel of Raia: The tomb owner, his family and a female servant worship a recumbent Anubis.

Plate XVII



Stela Hildesheim 380: The *šmꜥ.yt*, *3st*, offers to Ramesses II ‘Montu-in-the-Two-Lands’.

Plate XVIII



Stela Hildesheim 1080: The *šmꜥyt*, *K3-m-wi3*, adores Ramesses II ‘Montu-in-the-Two-Lands’.

Plate XIX



Stela Turin 1450 depicting a woman offering to Ahmose-Nefertari on behalf of another.

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