1 Introduction p.1
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3 'HNR', 'JPT', and the nature of the Harim p.22
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7 A Survey of queens from Dynasties XI - XVII p.56
8 Hmt nṯr n ḫmn p.70
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Notes

1. H. Gauthier, LR I, II, III,

2. J. Buttles, Queens

3. W. Seipel, Königinnen


5. G. Jéquier, deux pyramides

6. S. Hassan, Giza IV, pp.1 - 35

7. W. B. Emery, GT II

8. N. Farag & Z. Iskander, Neferwptah


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

11. Seipel, Königinnen, pp.311 - 341

12. G. Robins, Egyptian Queens

13. L. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary


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

L. Troy, Queenship

ibid. pp. 102ff.

P. Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen


eq. Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p. 1 and n. 1, 2; pp. 312ff., etc.

ibid. pp. 312 - 318

ibid. pp. 55 - 74

Troy, Queenship

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

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

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

Robins, Egyptian Queens, p. 1
A striking example of this phenomenon is Kmj, wife of Hc-cnh, and the mother of three sons who became kings. Although Kmj is named as mwt nswt on several scarabs of the king she is not present on any monument, and it is particularly difficult to determine the role of the king's mother in this period.

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

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

Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI

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

British Museum EA 1835.

Seipel, Königinnen, p.343

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

Contra Kuchman Sabbahy, (Titulary, pp.233, p.239) who assigns the first example of the title to S3t-Sbk. She repeats her assumption on p.272, and couples its use with the use of the cartouche.
42 The use of ḫnmt nfr ḫdt, towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, seems to indicate the queen with pre-eminent rank, but the frequency with which this title is used is still questionable.

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

44 Troy, Queenship, p.152

45 See discussion on this p.23 Chapter 2.

46 See p.216 Chapter 5.

47 See p.289 Chapter 7.

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


Chapter 2

The Titulary of Queens Dyns I - XVII

Notes

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

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

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

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

5 Kaplony, IAF, p.612

6 Petrie, Tarkhan I, pl. 2

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

8 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.27f.

9 Kaplony, IAF, pp.442f.

10 Troy, Queenship, p.152

11 ibid. p.81

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

13 Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig. 8

14 Emery, GT II, p.141
As for example, Mr.s-²-nḫ III (west wall of chapel), Hknw-ḫdṛt (LD II.41b), Rḥt-RC (Hassan, Giza III, fig.3), Nj-m3²t-H cf-p II (Reisner, Giza I, p.253), Nbṭj-nwb (Mariette, Mastabas, D18 p.225) etc.

17. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.25
18. Troy, Queenship, p.64
19. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.23
20. Petrie, RT II, pl. 27
22. ibid. p.21
23. ibid. p.22
24. Petrie, RT II, pl. 27
25. Troy, Queenship, p.79
26. Emery, Hemaka, p.35 fig.8
27. eg. Mertz, Certain Titles, p.33; L. Kuchman, SSEA Newsletter 7, No.3 (1977), p.10
28. Troy, Queenship, pp.79 - 84
29. WB 3, p.207, where the frequent translation 'gröss an Kunst' is explained as an error.
30. A discussion on this ceremony on the macehead and other reliefs is to be found in Troy (op. cit. pp.81 and 84), who elaborates on the ritual significance of the hts sceptre and related items.
31. ibid. p.85
32. eg. Nfrw-RC at Deir el Bahri - see illustration in Troy (op. cit. fig.55).
33. eg. Petrie, History I, p.34; Reisner/ Smith, Giza II,
34 Helck, CÉ 44 (1969), pp.22 - 26

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

36 Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), p.97

37 Kaplony, IÄF, fig.866

38 R. Faulkner, JEA 58 (1972), p.300

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

40 Mr.s-chn III, Hatshepsut, and Princesses Nfrw-Rc, four daughters of Amenhotep III, and Mrjt-Jmn, daughter of Rameses in the New Kingdom.

41 eg. Mr.s-chn III.

42 Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), pp.33 - 43

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

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

45 KRI II, 846

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

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

49 On a flint implement found in the mortuary temple of Menkaure her name and the title of mwt nswt were inscribed (Reisner, Mycerinus, pl. 19a; the inscription in the tomb of Nj-m3jt-R ē also suggests a link as the mother of Menkaure), but no king is named.

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

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


53 Kaiser, Festschrift Ricke, pp.87 - 105

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

55 Firth, ASAE 25 (1925), p.149

56 Smith, HESPOK, p.133 fig. 48

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

58 Kaplony, ḫAF, p.424


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

61 Junker, Giza II, pp.32 - 40

62 Schmitz, S3-MJSWT, pp.46 - 102

63 ibid. p.123f.

64 eg. Nf rt-k3 (Dyn. IV), daughter of Prince ḫC.f-Hfwf, Whmnf rt and Tntt (Dyn. V), both daughters of Princess Wnst, ḫC-mrr-Nbtj B and Mrjt-jt.s C (Dyn. V), were both s3t nswt and
daughters of Princess ḫ-ḫmr-nbtj ḳ.

65 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.131

66 Mariette, Mastabas, D14

67 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.112

68 Seipel, Königinnen, p.213

69 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.95

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

71 Meyer, SAK 11 (1984), p.258

72 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.109

73 LD I.16

74 Daressy, ASAE 10 (1910), p.46

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

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

77 Schmitz, S3-NSWJT, pp.95 - 98

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

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

80 ibid. p.111

81 eg. Troy, Queenship, p.155

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

83 Recorded on Ḥmt-Rc's sarcophagus, Urk. I.80; recorded
on Jntj's false door: Mâlek, JSSEA 10 (1980), pls. VI - VIII.

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

85 Louvre E 15682

86 See discussion in Chapter 8 pp.359f.

87 Urk. IV.34

88 Gauthier, LR II, p.302

89 CG5113

90 PM V, p.215

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

92 ibid. p.254

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


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

97 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.309

98 On the back of her chair, CG 51113.

99 Reisner, Giza II, p.2

100 Hassan, Giza IV, p.12

101 eg. Smith, CAH I/2, p.164

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

103 W. Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130
Although Schmitz includes Jpwt in her discussion on the s3t ntr, it is questionable whether Jpwt uses the s3t ntr title. Schmitz based her interpretation on Gauthier, LR I, p.146, which gives the phrase ࠕࠢࠢ. Firth & Gunn do not record this inscription.

Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130

Schmitz, op. cit. pp.134 - 140

ibid. pp.138f.

CG 1431

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

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

Stadelmann, LÄ IV.993f.

Goedicke, Re-used Blocks, p.153

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

BAR I, #145

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

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

Ziegler, RdÉ 31 (1979), pp.120 - 134

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

Since it is apparent that Khafre himself was a king by indirect succession, it is likely that, had his mother's records survived, she, too, would have been entitled s3t ntr.
The Abydos list has only the six familiar names.

Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.140

Smith, CAH I/2A, p.178

Jéquier, Studies, p.11

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

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

Lichtheim, Literature I, p.52

ibid. p.53

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


Helck, SAK 4 (1976), p.130.

Princess Nfr-htp.s, Princess N-sdr-k3, Princess Htp-hr.s D; Princess Hmt-Rc B was the hmt ntr of the mrt temple of Teti, in addition to being a hmt ntr Hwt-Hr.

Princesses Sdt, Wnst, Htp-hr.s D, Htp-hr.s C (a titular princess) and Hmt-Rc B.

Blackman, JEA 7 (1921), p.12

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

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

Blackman, op. cit. p.12; Allam, Beiträge, p.12, 121f., and passim; Troy, Queenship, pp.21ff., 53 - 72 and passim.
Concerning Bw-nfr's alleged priesthood see the Titles section of her prosopography.

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

Guest, Ancient Egypt (1926), p.46

Helck, Geschichte, p.99

Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.538

Blackman, op.cit. p.9

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

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

ibid. p.42

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

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

PT 280, 283, 293, 332 etc.

Kaplony, IÄF, p.456

Otto, Stierkulte, p.9

Kaplony, RdÉ 22 (1970), p.106

eg. Htp-ḥr.s II and Mr.s-ḥnḥ III; ḫḥ-mrr-Nbtj I and II.


The evidence has been generously supplied by Professor Verner in a private letter 23/11/1987. The material is so far unpublished.
In the Amarna period Queen Nfrt-jtj was depicted on the four corners of the sarcophagus of Akhenaten in the pose of the Isis working her magic to restore the dead Osiris to life, which again links the queen to the resurrection of the king.


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

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

See P<10, Vol. III.

Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, pp.156f.

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

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

ibid. p.97

Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, pl.XVII a – b

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

Gauthier, ASAE 24 (1924), p.206

Gardiner, Grammar, #327

ibid. #178.4

See Strudwick, Administration, table 9 p.184

Helck, Beamtentiteln, pp.47f., 121
Both the identity and number of Khafre's wives are uncertain. The titles of some of his alleged wives are incomplete.

- Troy, *Queenship*, p.88
- *loc. cit.*
- CG 34002
- See the frequencies listed in Troy, *Queenship*, p.191.
- Troy, *Queenship*, pp.152, 183
- Sethe, in Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf*, p.23
- Troy, *Queenship*, p.183
- Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf*, p.23

Kees (*Götterglaube*, pp.249ff., 270 - 278) has suggested that several gods represent the Wr of the title; Junker (*Giza II*, pp.45ff.) suggests a universal god; Kuchman Sabbahy (*Titulary*, p.91ff.) proposes that it indicates one in the service 'of any one of several deities, including the king as Horus'.

McFarlane, *GM 121* (1991), p.86: Jwn-Rz, son of Khafre was the earliest title-holder.

-Cnh-jr.s, CG 310, Baer, *Rank and Title*, p.63.
See discussion in the Temp. section of their respective prosopographical entries.

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

Brugsch, ZÄS 24 (1886), pp. 2 – 4

CG 1578

ibid. p. 3

Helck, Orientalia 19 (1950), pp. 426 – 434

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

Gabet, RJ 12 (1892), p. 217

ibid. p. 422

For a more detailed discussion of this see arguments in the prosopography of Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I.

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

Fischer, JAOS 76 (1954), p. 104

Fischer, Varia, p. 75

loc. cit. n. 36

Borchardt, Denkmäler II, p. 60

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

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

Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p. 250f.

Robins, Egyptian queens, p. 258

Troy, Queenship, p. 134
16

195 loc. cit.

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

197 eg. Snb-ḥm-.s - for details of whom see her prosopographical entry.

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


200 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p. 200f.

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

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

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

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

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

206 Robins, loc. cit.

207 ibid. p. 274

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

209 Petrie, RT II, pl. XXIV

210 Robins, Egyptian queens, p. 275

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

212 Edel, Das Akazienhaus, p. 17

213 ibid. pp. 30ff

214 Fischer, Orientalia 29 (1960), pp. 185 - 190
On an unpublished fragment, 36/A/78, from Abusir; Professor M. Verner of Prague has generously given his permission to use this material.

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

Brack draws attention to two New Kingdom cases where
he suggests the title’s connection to the harim seems apparent (SAK 11 [1984], pp. 183 – 186).

256 Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), p. 6

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

258 For further discussion on the harim see Chapter 3.

259 Jequier, Oudjeben, p. 16


261 Strudwick, Administration, p. 286

262 Nord, Serapis 2 (1976), p. 2

263 ibid. p. 11

264 ibid. p. 12

265 loc. cit.

266 Troy, Queenship, p. 78


268 ibid. pp. 61, 63f.

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

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

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

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

274 D. C. Patch, Reflections of Greatness, No. 26, p. 38
275 de Morgan, Dahchour II, p. 68
276 Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp. 68 - 85
277 de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig. 118
278 Robins, Egyptian queens, p. 277
279 loc. cit.
280 Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), p. 60
282 eg. Seal from Lahun, Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), figs. 1 & 2; statue of Prince Jkh-ms, Louvre E 15692 (Urk. IV.12); bead of Jkh-ms-nfrt-jrj, Petrie, S & C, pl. 23; Hayes, Scepter II, p. 45 (reference only).
283 Urk. I. 298
284 Robins, Egyptian queens, p. 276
286 Lorton, The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts, p. 44, n. 21
287 Jkh-ms-nfrt-jrj is the notable exception.
288 eg. See Chapter 8 p. 341.
289 Troy, op. cit. p. 135
290 ibid. p. 76
292 Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 46
293 Maasara inscription, Urk. IV. 25, 4f.
294 BM 163 and 164
295 Gitton, divines épouses, p. 88
Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt I, Nfrt II, Snb-hnš.s II, Jḥ-ḥs-nsf-r-jrj, Hatshepsut, Tjč. It is not held by Mrjt-Jmn I, wife of Amenhotep I, as claimed by some. The relevant title belongs to Queen Jḥ-ḥs-Mrjt-Jmn. See their specific entries.

LD III.12

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

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

Robins, Egyptian queens, p.8

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

loc. cit.


Arsinoe III, at Edfu (LD IV.33a).

Gauthier, LR I, pp.264, 265, 283.

Troy, Queenship, p.157

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

eg. 'sšt nswt, snt nswt Jḥ-ḥs-ms-Mrjt-Jmn' on a broken wooden fragment: Winlock, Meryet-Amun, p.23 fig. 8 (Cairo JE 55170).

Lepsius, Auswahl, pl.XI

Maasara rock relief, Urk. IV.25.4
312 Gauthier, LR IV, p. 417

313 For which, see the prosopographical entry of Jḥ-ḥtp II and Jḥ-ms-nfjr-jrj.

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

315 Graefe, L’Égyptologie I, p. 134

316 CT VI.62


318 Urk. IV.225,6
Chapter 3

Hnr and Jpt nsswt - the nature of the harim

Notes

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

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

3 S. Quirke, RdÊ 39 (1988), p.96

4 Steindorff, Ti, pl.60

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

6 N. Kanawati, El Hawawish I, fig.12

7 Kanawati, El Hawawish II, fig.22

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

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

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

11 eg.A. Badawy, Ankhmâhôr pl.67; Dbhn in Hassan, Giza 4, fig.122.

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

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

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


16 See Montet, *Kêmi IV* (1942), p.29


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

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

21 Ward, *Fem. Titles*, p.77


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


26 Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p.16

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

28 Firth and Gunn, *TPC* I, pl.54
Troy, *Queenship* pp.79f.

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


34 Lorton, *op. cit.* pp.98ff.

35 *ibid.* p.83


37 Kaplony, *IAF*, p.515

38 Ward, *Fem. Titles*, p.83


40 Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl.14

41 Ward, *Fem. Titles*, Appendix C

42 *ibid.* p.86 - 8

43 *ibid.* p.86

44 loc. cit.

45 *ibid.* especially pp.81, 83, 94.

46 Mariette, *Mastabas*, p.70

47 Davies, *Amarna VI*, pl.XXVIII

48 Pap. Boulaq 18 X11III.2, 11 - 15; for discussion see A. Scharff, *ZAS* 57 (1919), p.60. Later literature mentions specifically the royal wives, daughters, sisters and women of the
jpt (Urk. III.34), as a group entity.

49 Kemp, ZAS 105 (1978), p.132

50 Petrie, Kahun, pl. XIX; XXII.6

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

52 Ward, Fem. Titles, p.91

53 Nord, JNES 34 (1975), p.145


55 BAR IV, #416ff.

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

57 Kaplony, IÄF, p.501


60 ibid. p.100

61 Papyrus Wilbour, B 19,8

62 Emery, GT III, pl.38.43

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

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

65 Ward, Fem. Titles, p.92

66 Reiser, Harîm, p.73, who cites 'Hr-Mîn' as an example.
Others are in Hassan, Giza III, pl.25; Mrrw-k3, (Saqqara Expedition, Mereruka, pl. 217b); 3ht-htp (Mariette, Mastabas, p.70).

67 Ward, Fem. Titles, p.88, fig.5.

68 Ward, Fem. Titles, p.87

69 Fischer, Varia, p.73

70 Ward, Fem. Titles, p.94

71 Hassan, Giza II, fig.226

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

81 See Chapter 7, p.311.
Ward has come to a similar conclusion (Fem. Titles, pp.112f.), although he thinks that they were wives-designate, rather than actual wives, at the time of their deaths.

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

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

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

See Prosopography entry for Queen C3šjt P*203.

Hall, Cat. Scarabs, pl.6; BM 40855
Queen C3šjt was also tattooed (Winlock, Rise, p.27).

Daressy, Sphinx 17 (1913), p.99; Winlock, Rise, p.43.
Hayes, Scepter I, p.162
Winlock, BMMA 19 (1924), pp.8 - 10
Lacau, Sarc. ant. II, pp.61 - 65; CG 28025 - 28026.
Lacau, op. cit. p.87; CG 28030 (coffin), CG 28109 (mask). Unlike Jmnt, Nwb-hr-dj was only a hkrt nswt.
Winlock, BMMA 19 (1924), pp.12f, Hayes, CAH I/2A, p.478
Ward, Fem. Titles, p.104 and n.111a and 112.
ibid. pp.113f.
Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.200
ibid. p.14
loc. cit.
Written in the same way as the titles of Queen Mrj-R^nh n.s II.


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

Gauthier, LR I, p.237 n.1


Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, p.2

Ward, Fem. Titles, p.99; see also fig.7 on p.36.

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

Ayrton-Currely-Weigall, Abydos III, pl.XXXIX No.3

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

A.C. Mace, JEA 7 (1921), p.36; pl.VIII.6, 16. Whilst the former title has the $2 hieroglyph, the latter uses the $2 hieroglyph used as a determinative for the jpt in the New Kingdom period.

L. Borchartd, ZÄS 28 (1890), p.86

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

Pap. Boulaq XVIII.26,19; 27,7.

Scharff, op. cit. p.64

loc. cit.
Chapter 4
Royal Women in the Early Dynastic Period

Notes

1 Helck, Geschichte, p. 24


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

6 W. Kaiser, MDAIK 38 (1982), p. 259

7 Malek, Shadow, p. 34

8 R. Stadelmann, grøben, p. 43

9 H. Kees, OLZ 53 (1957), pp. 12 - 20

10 A. Gardiner, EOP pp. 410f

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

12 Edwards, CAH I/2A, pp. 18ff.

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

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

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

16 Helck, Beamten titeln, p. 86f.
Seipel (Königinnen, pp. 29 - 31), has pointed out that Mrjt-Nt's serekh also displays a variation in her usual depiction of her name.

Kaplony, IAF, p. 590


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

J. de Morgan, La Préhistoire oriental II, p. 166

Emery, AE, p. 230

It is larger, for example than Saqqara 3357.

Edwards, CAH I/2A, p. 19


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

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

Kaplony, op. cit. p. 591

R. Weill, Recherches I, p. 346f.

Gardiner, EOP, p. 411

Kaplony, op. cit. p. 734

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

Helck (Geschichte, p. 30f.), and Seipel (Königinnen,
p.14), also hold this opinion, as does Schulze (Frauen, p.206).

35 Helck, ibid. p.30 n.4

36 Discussion on pp. 6

37 L. Habachi, ASAE, 52 (1954), p.460

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


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

41 Kaplony, loc. cit.

42 eg. Ttj-šrj, J£h-ms-nfrt-jrj, Tjjj, Nfrt-jtj.

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

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

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

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

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

48 Emery, GT III, pp.78f.

49 I do not mean to imply that this stone provides evidence for the Palermo hiatus; merely that it might suggest a coregency sometime during the Early Dynastic period.
50 Petrie, RT I, p.2
51 Sethe, ältesten Geschichte, p.29
52 Petrie, RT I, p.5; Emery, AE, p.65; Schulze, Frauen, pp.207f.
54 Emery, GT II, pp.129 - 170
55 Emery, AE, p.65
56 Emery, GT III, fig.227 p.169 and passim.
57 A. Weigall, A History, p.46
58 Sethe, ältesten Geschichte, p.47.
59 Reisner, TD, p.26; 46
60 Helck, Geschichte, p.33
61 Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.26
62 For more detail on the theories concerning Mrjt-Nt's dating see pp.5f. of the Prosopography.
63 R.D. Long, ZÄS 103 (1975), pp.30 - 48
64 Ibid. p.36
65 Haya Ritter Kaplan, JNES 38 (1979), pp.23 - 27
66 J. Quibell, Archaic Mastabas, p.15
69 Ibid, p.25
70 Kaiser, Mélanges II, p.27
71 Reisner, TD, p.26
72 See Petrie, RT I, pls. IV, V, VI, X as comparison, for example.
73 Petrie, Tarkhan II, p.2 ult.
74 ibid. p.3, p.16
75 R. Weill, Recherches I, p.344
76 eg. Newberry and Wainwright in Ancient Egypt (1914), pp.154f; Kaplony, op. cit. p.495; LÄ IV, 93 - for the remainder see the prosopographical entry on this queen, p.5.
77 See the collected records of each recording of her name in Seipel, Königinnen, pp.39f. n.13.
78 G. Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.36 and pls. 5 and 6.
80 Kaiser, op. cit. pp.115 - 119
81 ibid. p.119
82 ibid. p.118
83 ibid. p.119 and, especially n.16.
84 loc.cit.
85 Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), p.35
86 Kaiser, op. cit. p.119
87 Dreyer, op. cit. p.35
88 See Kaiser, op. cit. p.119 n.18.
89 Emery, GT II, p.169 fig.226
90 See discussion above pp.154f. on the implication of serekhs and sovereignty and the use of tutelary gods for serekhs.
91 On this subject see Petrie, Courtiers; Kemp, JEA 52 (1966), pp.13 - 22; O'Connor, JARCE 26 (1989), p.57 and

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

92 See p.151 supra for discussion on this point.

93 Emery, GT II, p.169


95 Kaplony, IÅF, p.495, fig.730

96 Vandier, op. cit. p.990

97 Emery, op. cit. p.169

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

99 Emery, op. cit. Fig.106

100 Petrie, RT I, pl. V.2

101 loc. cit. pl. V.7

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

103 Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25

104 Ibid. p.495

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

106 ibid. p.1108

107 Lauer, BIFAO 80 (1980), p.53

108 Petrie, RT I, pl.V

109 Emery, GT II, p.141

110 loc. cit.

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

113 Emery, GT II, pl.XL
114 Emery, AE, p.68
115 The two boat burials beside G 1a and G 1b at Giza, and the boat trench of Ḥnt-k3w.s I, may have been provided for a queenly burial, but we are not entirely certain about the identity of the owners of the Giza pyramids, and Ḥnt-k3w.s may be a special case.

116 Helck, Geschichte, p.33; idem. LÄ IV, 93.
117 Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25
118 N. Grimal, Histoire de l'Égypte Ancienne, p.65

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

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

122 Brooklyn Museum 39.119
123 Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, pl. 9 No.17
124 Wildung, BSFÉ 102 (1985), pp.20 - 23
125 ibid. p.22
126 Nofret I, No.36, p.84
127 loc.cit.
cf. Smith, Art and Architecture, figs. 301, 302.

LD III.62c

Newberry, JEA 14 (1928), pl.XII

G. Martin, Mélanges II, pp.111 - 124

e.g. Redford, Akhenaten, pp.80f.


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

ibid.

Petrie, RT II, p.23

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

Edwards, CAH I/2A, p.25

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

Kaploný, IÄF, p.592

Helck, Beamtenstitel, p.87f; idem, LA IV, 395.

And (should the Harris-Samson argument prove correct), the circumstances surrounding the alleged regency and reign of Nfrt-jtj are different again.
146 Schulze, Frauen, p.208


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

149 Emery, GT III, p.73

150 Emery, GT III, p.73

151 Helck, Geschichte, p.31 n.5

152 ibid. pp.79f.

153 ibid. pp.3, 73

154 ibid. p.75

155 ibid. p.73

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

157 loc. cit. 107.7

158 loc. cit. pl.107.11

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

160 Kaplony, IAF, p.443

161 Emery, GT III, pl. 107.7

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


164 ibid. pl.XXV, p.8

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

166 Lauer, BIFAO 80 (1980), p.48
167 Emery, GT III, p.12

168 See discussion under the Prosopographical entries on Nḥt-Nt and Sḥmt-k3.

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

170 Kaplony, IÄF, p.443

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

172 Petrie, RT I, pl.V

173 Helck, Geschichte, p.32
Chapter 5
A Survey of the Old Kingdom

Notes

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

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

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

4 Troy, Queenship, pp.109ff.

5 Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.287 and 289

6 ibid. figs.1, 2 pp.264f.

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

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

9 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.96, 312

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

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

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

13 Lauer, op. cit. p.5

15 A. Fakhry, *The Bent Pyramid* p. 90


20 See M. Lehner, *Hetep-heres*, p. 41 (and p. 84 for his argument that the queen might have been buried in G 1b).

21 See the discussion on her tomb in the Prosopography. There is also the possibility that she may have been buried in one of Menkaure's satellite pyramids.

22 For discussion of this see M. Verner, 'Das "Chentkaus Problem"' in *Festschrift Korostovtzev*, in press.

23 Reisner & Smith, *Giza II* p. 4 fn. 5, and fig. 4

24 R. Stadelmann, *SAK* 11 (1984), pp. 165 - 172; H3.f-HwFw's mastaba was later joined to the complex of this satellite pyramid to provide a noticeable cult unit - see Jones & Milward, *JSSEA* 12 (1982), fig. 1 and p. 147.

25 In contrast, however, is the evidence of mwt nswt bjtj Hnt-k3w.s I, whose Giza burial site was a separate tomb complex that was linked by a yellow plaster wall to the valley temple of Menkaure - who may have been her father.

26 A. Fakhry, *The Pyramids*, p. 136


29 Jéquier, *Les pyramides*, p. 39

30 Very probably Menkaure - see the Prosopography of H3-mrr-Nbtj I for a discussion of this issue.

31 For the implications of this see Chapter 2 pp. 30f.
32 Edel, MIO II (1954), p.334. The inscription is badly damaged, but Edel’s suggested reconstruction leaves little doubt that this was the original meaning.

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

34 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.102f.

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


37 Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl.56.1

38 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.41f.


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

41 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.176ff.

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

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

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

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

46 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.103

47 Quibell, Sakkara, p.112


49 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.38f

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

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

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

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

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

55 H. Goedicke, KD pp.41 - 54

56 Petrie, Abydos II, pp.31, 42

57 Goedicke, KD, pp.158 - 162

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

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

60 Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig.4

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

62 Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig.6

63 loc. cit.

64 loc. cit.

65 loc. cit.

66 Hassan, Giza III, fig.150

67 ibid. p.130 fig.152
Queen Mrs.-Cnh III provides a useful example of variation in the method of clustering her titles.

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

Dynasty V, Nfrt-n3-Nbtj (relief block in Borchardt, Sahure II, p.116 fig.11); Hnt-k3w.s II (pillar, Verner, ZÄS 107 (1980), p.160 fig.4); Nbtj-nwb (architrave, Mariette, Mastabas, p.225); Mr.s-Cnh IV (false door, ibid. p.183); Hwjt I (corridor, ibid. p.208), Nbt (false door, Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), fig.1).

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

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

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

Quibell, Saqqarah (1909), pl.LIV

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

Mariette, Mastabas, p.183

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

eg. Hc-mrr-Nbtj I and II (Daressy, ASAE 10 (1910), p.46); Mr.s-Cnh III (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, figs. 2, 3b); Nbt (Fischer, loc. cit.); Rht-RC (Hassan, Giza III, fig.3); Htp-hr.s
II (Dunham & Simpson, op. cit. pl.XV), etc.

83 Reisner & Smith, Giza II, fig.34

84 Hwjt II fragmentary inscription (Loret, BIE III [1899], p.94).

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

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

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

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

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

90 Hmt-Rc and Jntj.

91 But see Nbt-bbj as an exception, discussion in the 'Prosopography' section of Mrj-Rc-Cnh.n.s I.

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


94 Baer, Rank and Title, p.257

95 Most queens held both forms, but Queen Nt held three, for
Pepy I and II, and for Merenre. Wdb-tn held only one - presumably because she was not the mother of a king, and not a born princess.

96 James, Corpus I, pl. IV
97 Hayes, Scepter I, p.129f. Fig 79
98 Baer, op.cit. p.257
99 Jéquier, Les pyramides, fig.51
100 Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II pl. IX
101 Jéquier, Les pyramides, fig.31
102 Mrs-Cnh III was the only OK queen who had a priesthood for the goddess Hathor; this was possibly to do with her original status as an honorary s3t nswt.
103 See Chapter 2 pp.67 f.
104 Contra Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.361), who says that they were not held after this time by queens, except for Queen Wrt of Dynasty XII.
105 Hmt ntr B3-pf was later held by Queen Tjc of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who has a large component of archaic titles not held by other queens of the New Kingdom.
106 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.362
107 Baer, Rank and Title, p.247fff. - see discussion above.
108 Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.4 and pl.s.VII, VIII, XIV, XVII
109 Ibid. p.4 n.3; Montet, Kêmt 14 (1957), p.94; Gardiner, Onomastica I, p.16
110 Schmitz, S3-NJ SWT, p.136
111 Borchardt, Denkmäler II, No.1578
112 Concerning Nbt's alleged relationship as mother of Pepy I's two wives, see Prosopography entry for Mrj-Rc-Cnh.n.s I. The use of this later orthography does incline me to agree with Fischer's original impression (JAOS 76 (1956), p.105 n.30) that the stele belongs to a later period.
113 Gitton (divines épouses, p.88) gives a transcription of TjC's titles from a statue base now lost; Tnt-t3's title is on Louvre IM 4034

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

115 Strudwick, Administration, p.316

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

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

118 Petrie, RT II, p.54, pl.XXIV

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

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

121 de Rougé, Inscriptions hieroglyphiques I, pl.LXII

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

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

124 See discussion in Chapter 2 pp.34 ff.

125 See previous section for details.

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

127 Ibid. p.47, pls.XXXVIII - XXXIX

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

129 Roeder, Äg. Inschriften, No.7495

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

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

132 Gardiner, Canon, Fragment 43; see also J. Málek, JEA 68
Waddell, Manetho, Fragments 20, 21 (a), and the Armenian version of Eusebius, Fragment 21 (b).

Herodotos, Histories, II.100


Borchardt, Sa-hu-re II, pl.65

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

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

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

Both statue groups are nameless.

Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid, pl.63

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

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

Aldred, Egyptian Art, p.73

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

JE 48856

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

E. Martin-Pardey, Nofret (1985), p.30
Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, p.96. For a discussion on an ivory sketch of a similar motif from Dynasty I, see Chapter 4 p.175f.


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

Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 48

Reisner & Smith, *Giza II*, fig.30

eg. Hc-mrr-Nbtj I, Hnt-k3w.s I and II, Nfr-htp.s, Jpwt I, the Mrj-R<->chn.n.s sisters, and Nt.

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

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


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

Hassan, *Giza IV*, p.16 fig.2

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


Brooklyn 39.119

CG 1431

Gardiner et al., *Sinai* II, pl.IX

Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl.XX

Cairo J 505.16. This sort of headdress is also worn by
Neferefre on some of his statuary (Verner, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pl.s.XLIV, XLVII, LVIII), and by the small copper statue thought to represent King Merenre (J 33035).

171 Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig.9


173 Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p.312

174 *ibid.* p.317


176 *Urk.* I.4,9

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

178 Goedicke, *KD*, p.43 fig.4

179 *ibid.* fig.15

180 *ibid.* fig.7

181 *ibid.* p.154 fig.13

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

Chapter 6

The Problem of Queen Hnt-k3w.s

Notes

1 H. Junker, MDAIK 3 (1932) pp.123 - 149
2 B. van de Walle, L'Antiquité Classique, Vol. 3 (1934) pp.303 - 312
3 L. Borchardt, ASAE 38 (1938) pp.209 - 215
4 S. Hassan, Giza IV, pp.1 - 67
5 Maragioglio and Rinaldi, piramidi menfite, Vol. VI, pp.10 - 15
8 For a discussion of the tomb consult the prosopography information, pp.87f.
9 eg. Edwards, Pyramids, p.145
10 Stadelmann, Pyramiden, fig.47
11 see Stadelmann's photograph, Pyramiden, pl.39a
12 Maragioglio & Rinaldi, pyramide menfite VI, p.186
13 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.41
14 See Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.156 fig.48
15 ibid, p.158
16 ibid. p.148
17 Arnold, *Amenemhat III*, pp.99ff. p.102 fig.49

18 Junker, *Giza I*, p.28

19 Hassan, op. cit., pp.63 - 65

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

21 Smith, *CAH I/2A*, p.179


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


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

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

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


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

30 Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pp.68f.

31 Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 45

32 Grdseloff, op.cit. p.69

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

34 *ibid.* p.68

35 *ibid.* p.70
36 ibid. p.54 and n.11


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

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

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

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

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

43 Altenmüller, op. cit. p.230


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

46 Hassan, Giza IV, pp.4f.

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

48 Verner, SAK 8 (1980), pp.259 – 268

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


51 ibid. pl.XVI

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

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

54 Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, p.531

55 Private communication dated 3.9.88

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

57 Verner, ZAS. 107 (1980), p.162

58 Hassan, op. cit. p.5

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

60 Hassan, Giza IV, p.5

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

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


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

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

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


68 eg. The presence of at least one solar boat pit, the curved ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber (ibid. p.176), and the antechamber with six niches (ibid. p.188; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.157; Arnold, Amenemhat III, pp.101f.).
Apart from the layout, the rooms of the later tombs were lined with limestone and featured a gable roof (Stadelmann, op. cit. p.161).

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

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

Verner, ZÄS 107 (1978), p.161

Personal communication from Professor Verner.

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


Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press)

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

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

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

The relationship of Thamphthis to Shepseskaf is unknown, so it could be feasible that he was not the designated heir to that king but, none-the-less, a son of Hnt-k3w.s I. In such an instance she also would have carried those titles. Htp-hr.s I is a case in point.
Callender, SAK 18 (1991), 'conclusion'.

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.176ff.

Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.137

Seipel, Königinnen, p.195

Kaplon, Kleine Beiträge, p.21 and fig.1114

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

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

Kaplon, Orientalia 41 (1972), pp.50f.

ibid. p.201

Posener-Kriéger, Archives, p.530f.

ibid. p.531

Hassan, Giza IV, p.22, fig.23

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

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


Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, pp.527 - 533
Chapter 7

A Survey of the position of queens from Dynasties XI - XVII

Notes

1 eg. Queens Cntr-tt, S3t-Hwt-Hr, etc., and those queens who might belong to the Hyksos period.


3 eg. Queen Snb-hnc.s I, I3n, H3-Cnh.s, etc.

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

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

6 eg. Queen Nfrt-hnt was buried in one of the gallery graves of Senwosret III at Dahshur.

7 eg. K3-nfrw, Hnmnt-nfr-hdt I & II, Mrt-sgr, Jtj and all the Thirteenth Dynasty wives, apart from Snb-hnc.s I and KmJ-nwb, have no known burial site.

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

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

10 eg. Queen H3-Cnh.s II, wife of Rahotep appears on such a stele (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.2); Jdh-ms-nfrt-jrj appears as the mother of the king (together with his wife) on the Qasr Ibrim stele (BM E1835).

11 eg. Nfrw-Pth in the Maadi Temple scene (Farag & Iskander, Neferw-Ptah, pl. 48.)
As Ttj-šrj, grandmother of King Ahmose, does (UCL 14402).

eg. Queen Jn, on the Shatt er Rigal relief of Mentuhotep I, the Nag Hammadi track relief depicting the family of Sebekhotep III, Jn as a member of a group on a stele of an official, or the broken stelae featuring Queen Šgt-ŋt.s from the Seventeenth Dynasty remains at Ehasyna.

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

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

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

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

BM 163, 164/1145, 1146

eg. CG 424, and the statues of Sebekneferu.


Vandier, Manuel III, pl.XC

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


Winlock, BMMA (1921), p.45, fig.20

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

26 Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p.79

27 *ibid.* p.85

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

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

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


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

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

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

35 *ibid.* p.129; Jánosi, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p.77

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

37 The only woman likely to have been his wife is K3-nfrw, whose one title, hnhwt hmwtnbwt, is recorded on a cylinder seal bearing the name of this king (Brunner, *ZAS* 115 (1988), pp.171 - 173).

38 Petrie, *Lahun II*, p.15
While the best known of these burials is that of King Hor, the burials of Queen Kmj-nwb and the sd3wtj bjtj Jmn-htp (de Morgan, Dachour II, fig.113ff.) in Amenemhat II's temenos has already been mentioned.

See Dodson, *ZAS* 114 (1987), pp.36 - 45


BM 1819, block from Deir el Bahri with the title hmt ntr Hwt-Hr: the identity of the J$h on this block is not certain.

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

E. Guest, *Ancient Egypt* (1926), pp.46 - 50, lists
those that are known.

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

Mariette, Cat. Abydos, No.538

Urk. IV.21

BM 1662; KRI II, 766

Ward, Fem. Titles, p.114

Arnold, Tempel I, p.83 fn.368

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.171

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


ibid. pp.216f.

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

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

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

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

Hayes, Scepter I, p.195
Newberry, Ancient Egyptian Scarabs, Plate 6.20

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

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.193

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

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

de Morgan, Dahchour II, p.68; Montet (Këmi 7 [1945], p.180f.), thought it possible that 'hnmt' was an abbreviation for the title hnmnt nfr hdt. Perdu (op. cit. p.82), shows that it is not.
88 Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), p.82
89 On a cylinder in the Timins Collection: Newberry, The Timins Collection, p.11 No.9
90 Kaplony-Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften I, pp.2f.
91 de Morgan, Dahchour I, pp.56, fig.122; p.59 fig.126
93 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.91ff.
94 Arnold, Amenemhet III, p.94
95 She may have been the wife of either Amenemhat III or IV. Her title is preserved in Maadi temple (Vallogia, RdÉ 21 (1969), p.111).
96 I would like to thank Dr Dieter Arnold for discussion on the possibility of this idea (letter dated 4/1/1989).
97 Queen Mrt-sgr is the earliest queen attested with this title, but the record for it is on a later inscription. Later scribes often added titles to those held by the queen at the time, and the instance here is thus suspect.
98 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.233
99 Borchardt, ZAS 28 (1890), p.86
100 Troy, Queenship, p.157
101 Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, p.86
102 Gauthier, LR I, p.264
103 Hayes, Scepter I, p.177
104 Troy, Queenship, p.157
105 GL 41, published in Spiegelberg, Dyroff & Poertner, Ägyptische Grabsteine II, No. 5 and plate IV.
106 I. Müller, Nofret II, No.111: the persons concerned on both stelae might be the same, but neither stele has a known provenance.
Sobekhotep II's sisters all lacked the s3t nswt title, for example, and in Dynasty XV J3nj is twice recorded as a snt nswt without the accompanying title of s3t nswt (J. Wilson, CdE 34 (1959), pp.234, 238).

They were, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I, Nfrt II, Snb-hnC.s I, J3h-nsr-nsnr-jmn and J3h-mn-nfrt-jrj.

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

Both Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, pp.252, 289) and Troy (Queenship, pp.161f.) record J3h-htp II and J3h-ms-nfrt-jrj with the title as 'snt itj'. It is clear from Urk. IV.25,5 however, that the title of snt nswt has been conflated by these authors with jtj.

Winlock, Ancient Egypt (1921), p.15


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

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

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

Manetho, Fragment 34.7, refers to 'Skemiophris' as the previous king's sister, but it is equally possible that she was his half-sister, his wife - or even his aunt! The term snt.f is used of Hatshepsut in relation to Thutmose III, for example (Urk.IV.60,1).
119 Donadoni, Orientalia 16 (1947), p.508 (S 13, 15).
120 See CG 20543 (Stele of Rdjw-Hnmw) line 21.
121 Brooklyn 44.123.75 - for discussion, see her prosopographical entry.
122 eg. Princess Jt (de Morgan, Fouilles II, p.47, 48), Jt-wrt (ibid. p.73), S3t-Hwt-Hr-mrjt (ibid. p.75). This last-mentioned woman lacked the title of s3t nswt on her burial equipment, but has all other religious formulae used on the burial equipment of other princesses.
123 Louvre stele C 8
124 Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, p.16.
125 Petrie, Denderah, pl.15
126 Gabet, Rec. Trav. 12 (1892), p.217
127 Maspero, ZAS 21 (1883), p.72
128 As for Nfrw, Snt, Hnmt-nfr-hdt I and II, E3t.
129 As for Nwb-htp.tj, Jnnj, Rsw-nfr, Mntw-htp, and Jc-h-htp I.
130 As, for example, Jc-h-htp II, S3t-Dhwtj, S3t-K3ms.
131 eg. Tomb of Ttj-kj (TT 15).
132 For detailed discussion on this question see her prosopographical entry under 'Tomb'.
133 Naville, Goshen, plate 9b, p.22
134 That hnm nfr hdt is also missing from the titles of Jt-k3jt and Nfrt II is not as important as Kuchman Sabbahy supposes (ibid. p.216), for it was a title not introduced for queens before the reign of Senwosret III.
135 Nag Hammadi relief of Sebekhotep III
136 So Troy, Queenship, p.160.
137 See the photograph of the stele in Spalinger, RdÉ 32 (1980), p.96.
138 Urk. IV.21
139 Daressy, Cercueils, p.9 No.61006
140 ibid. p.4 No.61003
141 Petrie, A Season in Egypt, pl. XVI no.489
142 Y. Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.318
143 O. Berlev, in Young (ed.), Studies Presented to Jakob Polotsky, pp.361 - 377
144 ibid. p.366
145 ibid. p.365
146 ibid. pp.368f. Berlev acknowledges the Papyrus Westcar IX - XI tale, but questions the date of its origin (p.368).
148 Arnold, Tempel I, p.83 n.368
149 For which see M. Eaton-Krauss & E. Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine.
150 Those reliefs, however, differ sharply in their depiction of the women who, apart from a thin girdle about their hips, are naked. The Deir el Bahri women are elaborately clothed, with a tunic of feathered design, and an attractive shawl which folds over the breast, and joins the band under the bust (BM EA 1450; Naville, Deir el Bahari I, pl. XVII).
151 L. Habachi, MDAIK 19 (1963), pp.16 - 52
152 ibid. fig. 19
153 ibid. fig. 20
154 ibid. fig. 21
155 ibid. p.52
Arnold, Tempel I, p. 83 n.368, who suggests the wives at Deir el Bahri form a harim for Hathor, rather than the king.

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

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


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

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

See discussion p. 1f. on this issue.

Arnold, Tempel I, pp. 64f.

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

Robins, Egyptian queens, p. 8

The sole example is of Queen c3t, on part of the decoration from her false door (de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig. 147).

Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI

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

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

de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig. 147

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

Macadam, JEA 37 (1951), pl. VI
For which see discussion in Chapter 5 on the titulary of queens for the Old Kingdom.

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

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

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

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

S. Quirke, Administration, pp.36 - 50

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

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

Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), p.64

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


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

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

Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), p.150

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

Gitton, divines épouses, p.30 believes that the transfer of the office of second prophet meant that she would be assured of a steady revenue. Menu, however, considers that the queen had been granted the right to the office (Recherches
sur l’histoire juridique, p. 214).

203 Gitton, Ahmès Nefertary, p. 12f.

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

205 Gitton, Ahmès Nefertary, p. 13

206 ibid. p. 14

207 eg. Hh-n-h.s accompanying King Rahotep (Petrie, Koptos, pl. XII.3; Ttj-šrj accompanying Ahmose (UCL 144002); Jh-hpt II’s figure and titles above the architrave of the temple at Buhen (Maciver & Woolley, Buhen VII, pl. 35), etc.

208 Urk. IV.21

209 For Jh-hpt II, Urk. IV.21; for Jh-ms-nftr-jrj, Urk. IV.25

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

211 eg. Champollion, Monuments II, pls. CLIII.3, 4; CLXX.1; CLXXXIV.2
Chapter 8

Hmt ntr n Jmn

Notes

2 loc. cit.
3 C. Vandersleyen, Guerres, pp. 129 - 196
4 E. Wente and C. Van Siclen III, 'A Chronology of the New Kingdom', pp. 217 - 225
5 Gauthier, LR II, pp. 193f.
6 The issue was made more difficult because the mummy of Jchn-htp I had perished shortly after its discovery, leaving only her jewellery and sarcophagus as evidence of her existence.
7 Vandersleyen, CdE 52 (1977), pp. 237 - 244
8 L. Troy, GM 35 (1979), pp. 81 - 91
10 ibid. p. 238
11 ibid., p. 243
12 cf. Schmitz, CdE 53 (1978), pp. 207 - 221 who suggested that the two Queens Jchn-htp might have been erroneously derived because the two sarcophagi belonged to only one queen. Since these sarcophagi could not have gone together (because of their respective measurements, as Maspero had indicated in Momies, p. 545), Schmitz's theory lacked support.
15. Lepsius, Königsbuch, pl.xxiii.329 c and d. The Lepsius record may not have been dependent upon Wilkinson. Not only does Lepsius omit the 'tm' element of hnwt t3wj in one inscription, but he records a snt nswt j-ḥ-ḥ-ḥ-ḥ-mrj-Jmn which is absent from Wilkinson.

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

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


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


23. See Vandersleyen, Guerres, p.223

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


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


29. ibid. p.83
31 Gitton, *divines épouses*, p.18
33 Troy, however, would prefer to locate the older mummy among the royal families of a pre-Ahmosid period (without saying when this might have been).
34 G.E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, p.9
37 Troy, *GM* 35 (1979), p.84
38 Blankenberg-van Delden provides a detailed argument for the affinity of these coffins—see *GM* 54 (1982), pp.35f.
39 that the mummy of Jc-h-ms-mrjt-Jmn showed more primitive mummification techniques, and that the Jc-h-ms element of the queen’s name was not a determining factor in assigning her to the generation of King Ahmose.
40 Maspero, *momies*, pp.539f.
41 Smith, *Royal Mummies*, p.7
42 eg. Jc-h-ms-s3t-Jmn, Jc-h-ms-s3t-K3.
43 eg. S3-Jmn, S3t-Jmn, Mrjt-Jmn, Amenhotep.
44 Vandersleyen, *CdÉ* 52 (1977), p.244
45 Vandersleyen, *Guerres*, p.213
46 Among the earliest names holding this title are s3t nswt Jc-h-ms, S3t-Jmn, S3t-K3-ms, etc.


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

52 eg. Robins, Troy, etc.


55 Gitton, *op. cit.*, pp.51 - 55

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

57 BM 164

58 Nag Hammadi track relief of Sebekhotep III.

59 **LD** III a, d.

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

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

62 Gauthier, *LR* II, p.209 #9

63 Gitton, *op. cit.* p.22

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

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

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

68 Schmitz, *S3-NJSWT*, p.289 n.2

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

70 Gitton, *divines épouses*, pp.23f.

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

72 Maspero, *Momies*, pp.542, 623

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

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

75 Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl.26.17

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

77 Gitton, *divines épouses*, p.58

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

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

15 eg. The colossal group of Amenhotep III, Tiye and Såt-Jmn in Cairo Museum, Amenhotep I, Jëh-ms-nfrt-jrj and Såt-Jmn (Cairo stele 34029).

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

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

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

85 Vandersleyen, CdÉ 52 (1977), p. 244

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

87 Helck, Geschichte, p. 151

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

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

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

91 Gitton, Ahmes-Nefertary, p. 6


93 Winlock, ibid. p. 251

34 Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp. 71 - 73

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

36 Robins, GM 56 (1982), pp. 71 - 77
A non-royal God's Wife of Min is known from the Middle Kingdom period (ibid. p.5).

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

On the Donation Stele, where the queen's name appears as Jchn-ms-nfrt-jrj (I. Harari, ASAE 56 {1959}, pls.I, II.
Chapter 9

Summary

Notes

1 eg. the pyramid of Nfr-ḥtp.s, the tombs of Nj-m3c-t-Ḥf p II, Nwb-Nbtj, Mr.s-cnḫ IV, the pyramid alleged to be that of Djedkare Isesi's wife, the mastabas of Nbt and Ḥnwt, the pyramid (?) tomb of Queen Ḥw{jt} II, for which see their prosopographical entries.

2 Chapters 4, 5 and 7

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

4 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.183 - 311

5 ibid. p.316

6 - as was the Ḥm k3 cult of Nj-m3c-t-Ḥf p I, and as was the cult of Ḥnt-k3w.s I at Abusir, and the cult of Queen Ḥnwt, wife of Wenis: see the Prosopography sections of their entries in the register.

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

8 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.78

9 Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.136

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For discussion see her prosopographical entry.

Romer, MDAIK 32 (1976), p.193

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

eg.K3-nfrw, Hnmt-nfr-nqdt I & II, Mrt-sgr, Jtj and all
the Thirteenth Dynasty wives, apart from Snb-hn.f.s I and Kmj-nwb, and the queens from Dynasty XIV - to the time of Seqenenre.

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


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

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

30 Present on items which carry the names of Nt-ḥtp, and Ḥr-Nt.

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

32 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.356

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

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

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

36 Chapter 2 pp.104ff.

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

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

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

One prominent example of this dubious parallelism is the title of hrpt sšmr śndt. Another example is in the use of the pyramid title held by the queen.

For further discussion on these problems with the titulary of Mentuhotep's wives see pp.287f. and P59gf.

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

See discussion in Chapter 7 p.289f.

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.215 -221

ibid. p.194

Perdu, RdÉ 29 (1977), pp.68 - 85

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

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

Winlock, JEA 15 (1929), p.60

Quirke, Administration, pp.215f.

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

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

Vercoutter, RdÉ 8 (1975), p.233

Spalinger, LÄ IV.1037
55 Turin, Cat. 6921

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

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


59 Gitton, *divines épouses*, pp. 23 - 26

60 See Chapter 8.


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


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

65 eg. Htp-ḥrs II and Mr.ʿ-ḥnh III (Dunham & Simpson, *Mersyankh*, numerous pls.); Rḥt-Rc (Hassan, *Giza VI*, part iii, pp. 5 - 8); Bw-nfr (Hassan, *Giza III*, pp. 176 - 199); Mr.ʿ-ḥnh IV (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 60 fig. 47); Sššt (Quibell, *Saqqarah*, pl. LIV); Jpw II (Firth & Gunn, *TP*, fig. 7).

66 Nfrt-ḥ3-Nbtj (Borchardt, *SaShureA II*, pl. 48);

67 The broken statue of Djedkare and an unnamed female kneeling by his side (Louvre N 54); remains of a female statue wearing the vulture cap from the mortuary temple of Khafre (Hölsccher, *Chephren*, pp. 102f. figs. 140ff.); the dyad of Menkaure and wife (Boston 11.1738).
As has been argued in Chapter 5 p.230.

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

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

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

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

The queen's function as hmt ntr Dhwjtj, hmt ntr B3-pf, hmt ntr I3-spf, and hrpt samen sndt also suggest this (Otto, Stierkulte, p.9). Later there were the pyramid titles for the queens which assert the family roles of the Sixth Dynasty
royal women in the king's afterlife.

82 Troy, Queenship, p.50

83 Allam, Hathorkulte, p.131

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

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

86 Troy, Queenship, p.64

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

88 Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), p.462

89 Turin 18.53/4

90 Troy, Queenship, p.66

91 Winlock, El Lahun, pl.s II - IV

92 Troy, Queenship, pp.125ff.

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

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

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

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

97 There are exceptions to the general distribution and composition of titles for both Queen J<ḥ-ḥtp II and
J^h-ms-nfrt-jrj, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, and in their respective prosopographical entries.

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

99 For J^h-hftp II see Urk. IV.21; for J^h-ms-nfrt-jrj see Urk. IV.25.

100 Gitton, Ahmes Nefertary, pp.12ff.

101 See Chapter 7, p.326.

102 Urk. IV.21,16. Other aspects of J^h-hftp's sovereignty are detailed in this document.

103 See discussion Chapter 4 p.180.

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

105 eg. J^h-hftp II (Urk. IV.21).

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

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

108 eg.Champollion, Monuments II, pls.CLI III.3, CLIII.4, CLXX.1, CLXXXIV.2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ag. Abh.</td>
<td>Ägyptische Abhandlungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>Ancient History (formerly, Ancient Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJSSLL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquites de l‘Egypte</td>
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<tr>
<td>BACE</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</td>
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<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin</td>
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<td>BIE</td>
<td>Bulletin de l‘Institut égyptien</td>
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<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l‘Institut français archéologie orientale</td>
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<td>BMFA</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
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<td>BMMA</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</td>
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<td>BSFE</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société Française d‘Égyptologie</td>
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<td>CG</td>
<td>Catalogue General du Musée Caire</td>
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<td>Chronique d‘Égypte</td>
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<td>EEF</td>
<td>Egypt Exploration Fund</td>
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<td>Egypt Exploration Society</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Miscellen</td>
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<td>IFAO</td>
<td>Institut Français d‘Archéologie Orientale</td>
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<tr>
<td>JACF</td>
<td>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JARCE</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</td>
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<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSSEEA</td>
<td>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</td>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>LD</td>
<td>Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAS</td>
<td>Münchner ägyptologische Studien</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kairo</td>
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<td>Mon. Piot</td>
<td>Monuments Piot</td>
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<td>NAWG</td>
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<td>Rev. Arch</td>
<td>Revue d‘Archéologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rec. Trav.</td>
<td>Recueil de travaux relatif à la philologie et l‘archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</td>
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<td>RdE</td>
<td>Revue d‘Égyptologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAK</td>
<td>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</td>
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<tr>
<td>SERAPIS</td>
<td>Student Forum on the Ancient World</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSEA</td>
<td>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</td>
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Urk.
Urkunden des Alten Reiches - see Sethe, K. below.

WZKM
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ZÄS
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

ZDMG
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
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