Egyptian queens in the 18th dynasty up to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III

Volume 4

by

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List of contents.

Catalogue of monuments used in volume 1 section 3 on which queens, hmt nsw and s3t nsw of the 18th dynasty from the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III are represented. 1

Note to sections 1-5. 136

1. Outline of the position of the royal children in the 18th dynasty up to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III. 137

2. hmt nsw wrt Nbtnht. 140

Notes to section 2. 145

3. List of individual scenes found in each scene type (3.2) giving name of queen, date, type of material where found and catalogue number. 147

4. Use of the term "title" in vol.1, section 4. 152

Notes to section 4. 156

5. The use of the cartouche by queens, hmt nsw and royal children in the 18th dynasty up to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III. 157

Notes to section 5. 174

Catalogue of monuments used in volume 1 section 3 on which queens, hmt nsw and s3t nsw of the 18th dynasty from the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III are represented.

This catalogue covers the material used in the iconographic section of this work on which (1) queens, (2) hmt nsw and (3) s3t nsw are depicted (section 3). Since it relates to iconography, accompanying text is not noted; it may be found through the bibliography in most cases. The references given are mainly those relating to the depiction of the queen and, for instance, there is mostly little point in adding Urk. IV references which relate to text only; these have therefore been omitted, unless there are specific reasons for including them. Where the item is entered in PM, only the most important references are given here with a cross-reference to PM, together with references later than PM which relate to the depiction of the queen; those concerning text only are omitted.

The value of the source material varies considerably. Ideally one should go back to the original in each instance, but this is not possible, although I have been able to check some items for myself. Where available, photographs have been consulted, but for a number of items either clear photographs have not been available, or there are no photographs.

Line drawings have been used, in conjunction with photographs where possible; plates may have been taken from a line drawing rather than a photograph for ease of reproduction, in which case they have been checked against the photograph. Plates 73 and 74 give a good example of the problems involved: the photograph, even in the original publication, is not very clear; while the line drawing reproduces more clearly, a comparison with the photograph shows that it is not

strictly accurate. If there is more than one drawing of a scene, these can be checked against each other, which will help give an idea towards the accuracy of the drawings, provided one makes sure that they do not have a common source.

Where possible, unpublished sources have been cited for scenes which are not published; so, for instance, use has been made of the Breasted photographs of the sed festival scenes in the temple of Soleb, a small proportion of which are covered by the drawings in LD.

The drawings in LD, many of which were made from squeezes, are remarkably accurate, but there are occasional errors (see cat.nos. 137-140). A proper assessment of their worth would need to distinguish the work of the different artists employed, but the standard is generally high (see R. Caminos Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography [New York 1976], 3-4). Where a Lepsius drawing is the only source for a scene, one may have to exercise some caution in evaluating its worth, but there is no reason to reject it out of hand.

In some instances, no illustration of the item has been available at all, and a verbal description, often inadequate in detail, has had to suffice.

The information obtained about some items is thus less than ideal, because the item may be damaged and the information lost; available photographs may be poor; line drawings may not be accurate. In addition, it may be impossible to get more detailed information because the present location of an object is unknown. (For the problems involved in the publication of monuments, see R. Caminos ibid., 3-25; J. Breasted The Oriental Institute [Chicago 1933], 187-223; C. Nims in Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique 2, 89-94).

There are a number of ways in which a catalogue of this type could be arranged: by individual women; date; category of object (3.1);

scene type (3.2); museum and/or site; it is possible to present only one of these within this thesis. The material is arranged first according to individual women, who are ordered chronologically according to the genealogy of the royal family (Genealogical Tables 1-3) and numbered with Roman numerals. The entries are then ordered under categories of object, each marked by a letter (below), within which they are listed where possible in chronological order. Since unidentified queens do not form a homogenous group according to date, they are placed between named queens where chronologically appropriate. Instead of a separate Roman numeral, they are given the number of the previous queen followed by "A". Where a possible identification with a queen can be made, the entry follows after all the monuments of that queen.

The monuments of the queens are listed first, followed by the three examples of hmt nsw and then by the monuments of the s3t nsw. The entries are numbered continuously throughout the catalogue.

The information is set out as follows:

Cat.no. Date

Date, if different from above — Name of second queen or princess, if any.

Museum no. — PM reference — Pl.no. in vol.3.

Provenance/location.

Description, followed by scene or statue type in brackets (see vol.1, 3.2 and 3.3 respectively),

s.t.u. = scene type unknown.

Insignia used, with cross-reference to vol.1, 3.5.

References.

Remarks, if any.

Where information is not available or not applicable, the sign ∅ is entered.

Where two queens or a queen and princess appear on one monument, only one full numbered entry is made. A cross-reference to this will be made in an unnumbered entry placed under the other queen or the princess.

The second hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose III is entered under Meritre (Hatshepsut); the form of the name occurring in a particular instance, that is, Meritre or Meritre Hatshepsut, is used in the description.

List of (1) queens, (2) hmt nsw (3) s3t nsw in the order in which they are entered in the catalogue together with catalogue numbers.

(1) queens.

I. Ahhotpe I, cat.no.1.

II. Tetisheri, cat.nos.2-5.

III. Ahhotpe II, cat.nos.6-8.

IV. Ahmose Nofretary, cat.nos.9-17.

IV A. Unidentified queen, possibly Ahmose Nofretary, cat.no.18.

V. Meritamun I, cat.no.13.

V A. Unidentified queens, early 18th dynasty (?), cat.nos.19-20.

VI. Senisonb, cat.no.21.

VII. Mutnofret, cat.nos.22-24.

VIII. Ahmose, cat.nos.14,25-43.

IX. Hatshepsut, cat.nos.39,40,44-52.

X. Ese I, cat.nos.53-57.

XI. Sitioh, cat.nos.58-62.

XII. Meritre (hatshepsut), cat.nos.63-73.

XII A. Unidentified queens of Thutmose III, cat.nos.74-80.

XIII. Meritamun II (?), cat.nos.81-83.

XIV. Sit[amun II ?], cat.no.84.

XV. Tiaa, cat.nos.85-93.

XVI. Nofretary, cat.nos.94-101.

XVII. Iaret, cat.no.102.

XVIII. Mutemwiya, cat.nos.103-115.

XIX. Teye, cat.nos.116-175.

XIX A. Unidentified queen, probably Teye, cat.nos.176-185.

(2) hmt nsw.

I. Ahmose Inhapi, cat.no.186.

II. Nebtu, cat.no.70.

III. Ese III, cat.no.187.

(3) s3t nsw.

I. Sitamun I, cat.no.188.

II. (Ahmose) Meritamun I, cat.no.189.

III. Ahmose Henuttameh, cat.no.186.

IV. Mutnofret II, cat.no.190.

V. Nefrubity, cat.nos.27-28.

VI. Nefrure, cat.nos.191-202.

VI A. Probably Nefrure, cat.nos.49,203-204.

VII. Nofretary, cat.no.70.

VIII. Meritamun II, cat.no.205.

IX. Unidentified snt nsw, cat.no.205.

X. Sitamun II, cat.no.206.

XI. Sitamun III, cat.no.154.

XII. Ese III, cat.nos.157-158.

XIII. Henuttaneb, cat.nos.157-158,172.

XIV. Nebetah, cat.no.172.

Ahhotpe III and Sitkamose are not represented on any object, and so do not appear in the catalogue.

Alphabetical list of (1) queens, (2) hmt nsw and (3) s3t nsw, together with catalogue numbers.

(1) queens.

1. Ahhotpe I, I, cat.no.1.
2. Ahhotpe II, III, cat.nos.6-8.
3. Ahmose, VIII, cat.nos.14,25-43.
4. Ahmose Nofretary, IV, cat.nos.9-17.
5. Ese I, X, cat.nos.53-57.
6. Hatshepsut, IX, cat.nos.39,40,44-52.
7. Iaret, XIX, cat.no.102.
8. Meritamun I, V, cat.no.13.
9. Meritamun II (?), XIII, cat.nos.81-83.
10. Meritre (Hatshepsut), XII, cat.nos.54,63-73.
11. Mutemwiya, XVIII, cat.nos.103-115.
12. Mutnofret, VII, cat.nos.22-24.
13. Nofretary, XVI, cat.nos.94-101.
14. Senisonb, VI, cat.no.21.
15. Sit[amun ?], XIV, cat.no.84.
16. Sition, XI, cat.nos.58-62,70.
17. Tetisheri, II, cat.nos.2-5.
18. Teye, XIX, cat.nos.116-175.
19. Tiaa, XV, cat.nos.85-93.
20. Unidentified queen, possibly Ahmose Nofretary, IV A, cat.no.18.
21. Unidentified queen, probably Teye, XIX A, cat.nos.176-185.
22. Unidentified queens, early 18th dynasty(?), V A, cat.nos.19-20.
23. Unidentified queens of Thutmose III, XII A, cat.nos.74-80.

(2) hmt nsw.

1. Ahmose Inhapi, I, cat.no.186.

2. Ese III, III, cat.no.187.

3. Nebtu, II, cat.no.70.

(3) s3t nsw.

1. Ahmose Henuttameh, III, cat.no.186.

2. (Ahmose) Meritamun I, II, cat.no.189.

3. Ese III, XII, cat.nos.157-158.

4. Henuttaneb, XIII, cat.nos.157-158,172.

5. Meritamun II, VIII, cat.no.205.

6. Mutnofret II, IV, cat.no.190.

7. Nebetah, XIV, cat.no.172.

8. Nefrubity, V, cat.nos.27-28.

9. Nefrure, VI, cat.nos.191-199.

10. Nofretary, VII, cat.no.70.

11. Probably Nefrure, VI A, cat.nos.49,203-204.

12. Sitamun I, I, cat.no.188.

13. Sitamun II, X, cat.no.206.

14. Sitamun III, XI, cat.no.154.

15. Unidentified snt nsw, IX, cat.no.205.

Categories of objects.

A. Temple scenes, cat.nos.6,9-11,18,21,22,25-39,44-51,53,58,63-68, 84,85,103-109,116-142,191-193,203-205.

B. Royal stelae, cat.nos.2,3,12-14,40,54,59,86-87,94-102,143,188,194.

C. Private stelae, cat.nos.7,23,41,52,55,60,69,144,145,186,206.

D. Royal tomb, cat.nos.56,70.

E. Private tombs, cat.nos.15,42,71-74,88,110,146-152,176.

F. Offering table, cat.no.61.

G. Graffito, cat.no.111.

H. Furniture, cat.nos.153-156,177-178.

I. Jewellery, cat.nos.157-160.

J. Scarabs, cat.nos.161-166.

K. Chalice, cat.no.167.

L. Label, cat.no.168.

M. Sculpture, cat.nos.4-5,16,19-20,24,43,57,62,75-80,89-93,112-115, 169-175,179-185,187,189,190.

N. Coffins, cat.nos.1,8,17,81-83.

O. Private sculpture, cat.nos.195-202.

Representations of statues have been included under either temple scenes (cat.nos.38,58) or private tombs (cat.nos.72-74,88,176). The representation of sculpture is to be treated by M. Eaton-Krauss in a forthcoming book.

(1) Queens.

I. Ahhotpe I (cat.no.1)

N. Coffin.

1. End of 17th dynasty/Ahmose ♂

Cairo JE 28501 PM 1^2 ii, 600 ø

Provenance: Dra^c Abu el-Naga^c, reburial.

Description: rishi coffin; the bottom, which was painted black, fell to pieces after discovery. On the lid, the queen wears a heavy Hathor wig which leaves the ears exposed. A hole in the middle of the brow originally held a uraeus, the tail of which still runs back across the head. The width of the wig at the shoulders is the same as that of the shoulders themselves, so that the body forms a continuous line with the wig. The coffin is slightly narrower at the feet than the shoulders. The arms are not visible. An inscription runs down the front of the coffin from the lower half of the chest to the feet.

Measurements: length 2.12m

width at shoulders 0.66m

width at feet 0.52m

Insignia: uraeus (3.5.4.1.A.1a).

References: von Bissing Grabfund, pls.11,12 nos.1-7; Winlock JEA 10(1924), 251-5, pl.16 right; V. Schmidt Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas (1919), fig.300; with references in PM.

Remark: the early form of the moon hieroglyph occurs both on the coffin and on the objects placed with it, which shows that not only was the coffin made before year 22 of Ahmose, but also

that the burial took place before that date; we might otherwise expect to find objects with the later form of the moon hieroglyph.

II. Tetisheri (cat.nos.2-5)

B. Royal stelae.

2. Ahmose

London UC 14402 ø pl.1

Provenance: bought by Petrie in Egypt, presumably originally from a temple of Montu in the Theban area (see below).

Description: limestone, round-topped stela, with upper part only preserved, showing winged sundisk with two and a half lines concerning restoration of temple of Montu, originally with scene below, of which only the top of Montu's double feathers and king Ahmose's white crown are preserved, together with the titles and names of Montu, king Ahmose and Tetisheri; the king, followed by Tetisheri, faced left before Montu (A.1).

Insignia: lost.

References: Winlock Anc.Eg. 1921, 15; Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 66-7, fig.3; Stewart Egyptian Stelae 1, 1, pl.1 no.1; Vandersleyen Guerres, 210 doc.9.

Remark: the lower part of the cartouche of Tetisheri is destroyed; there is no doubt from the traces in the upper half that she is the mwt nsw here.

3. Ahmose

CG 34002 PM 5, 92 pl.38

Provenance: Abydos, shrine built for Tetisheri by Ahmose.

Tetisheri

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with winged sundisk at top and double scene below showing, left and right, Tetisheri seated before a table of offerings which is dedicated by king Ahmose who stands before it (A.7); with at least 18 lines of text below; bottom of stela destroyed.

Insignia (both scenes): double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.1a).
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.1.a).
whisk (3.5.7.1.1a).

References: Lacau Stèles, 5-7, pls.2-3; Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, 35-7, pl.50 nos.1,2, pl.52; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.4; with references in PM; Vandersleyen Guerres, 211 doc.28.

Remark: the whisk shows four strands rather than the more usual three; in the left scene, the handle of the whisk rests on the knee, and the whisk is held away from the body, instead of across the breast as usual, as in the right hand scene; this is presumably because the whisk is normally held in the left hand, and the two scenes are truly reversed and not mirror images (see also Ahmose's staff and mace).

M. Sculpture.

4. Ahmose

BM 22558 PM 1^2 ii, 612 pl.116

Provenance: acquired at Thebes 1890, possibly from Dra^c Abu el-Naga^c.

Description: painted limestone seated statuette (3.3.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (?) (3.5.3.1.1b).
hands palm down on lap (3.5.17.1.1a).

References: Murray Anc.Eg. 1934,6,65-6, frontispiece, figs.1-2; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.3; with references in PM; Vandier

Manuel 3, 292-3, pl.96 no.1; see C.E. Wilbour (ed. J. Capart) Travels in Egypt [December 1880 to May 1881] (Brooklyn 1936), 507 for provenance.

Remarks: A round hole in the middle of the forehead suggests a vulture head was inset, probably of metal.

Companion statue to cat.no.5.

5. Ahmose

Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (?) — PM 1^2 ii, 612 — ∅

Provenance: Dra^c Abu el-Naga^c.

Description: limestone seated statuette (3.3.1); upper part missing.

Insignia: (head missing), hands palm down on lap(?) (3.5.17.1.1b).

Reference: Gauthier BIFAO 12(1916), 128-30 no.6, pl.2.

Remark: companion statue to cat.no.4.

III. Ahhotpe II (cat.nos.6-8)

A. Temple scene.

6. Ahmose ∽

Pennsylvania Univ.Mus. E 10987 — PM 7, 130 — pl.2

Provenance: Buhen, north temple. The site of the temple was re-used by Amenhotpe II, and the door incorporated into a pavement.

Description: sandstone door of king Ahmose with lintel showing scene on left with king Ahmose, facing left, followed by Ahhotpe II, before Horus of Buhen (A.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.2a),
nothing in either hand, front arm raised to touch king's
shoulder (3.5.17.1.2a).

References: Randall-McIver - Woolley Buhen, 86-8, pl.35; Smith Fortress of Buhen, 76-7, 198, 207-9, pl.80 no.1.

Remark: the style is very crude. What I take to be a vulture head-dress does not fit on the queen's head, but hovers above it. It is difficult to see what else it could be.

C. Private stela.

7. Thutmose II at earliest

CG 34009 PM 5, 203 pl.70

Provenance: Edfu.

Description: round-topped stela of Iuf with scene showing Ahhotpe II and queen Sebekemsaf, wife of Nubkheperre Inyotef, seated facing right under half a winged sundisk before a table of offerings dedicated by the owner, who stands on the other side under a wedjat eye (B.7); the scene is worn; 12 lines of text below.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.2a),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.2b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.2a),
cloth(?) (3.5.15.1.1a).

References: Lacau Stèles, 16-17, pl.6; with references in PM.

Remark: for date see vol.1, 2.1 no.4, p.31; see also Vandersleyen Guerres, 226 who suggests that even a date after the reign of Thutmose III is possible.

N. Coffin.

8. Ahmose

CG 61006 PM 1^2 ii, 660 pl.143

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri, royal cache.

Description: anthropoid coffin made of a light wooden frame onto which are glued a large number of strong linen strips. Instead of there being a lid, the head and shoulders are removable to allow for the insertion of the inner coffin. The queen wears a low circlet; this rests on a tripartite wig decorated with rows of chevrons, which ends squarely at the base. Between the two front tresses is a wide collar with pear-shaped beads hanging from the bottom at the level of the end of the wig. Two holes in the front of the wig indicate an original uraeus. The arms are crossed on the breast and each hand holds an ankh. The top half of the body from the shoulder to the arms is decorated with a honeycomb pattern. Below, the coffin was decorated with wings. An inscription runs down the middle of the top from below the arms to the feet. The has been stripped off and replaced with yellow paint. The shoulders, unlike those on the coffin of Ahhotpe I, slope in to meet the wig.

Measurements: length 3.12m

maximum width 0.98m

width at feet 0.63m

Insignia: uraeus, lost (3.5.4.1.A.2a),

circlet (?, see remark),

ankh (3.5.8.1.1a).

References: Daressy Cercueils, 8-9, pls.8,9 middle; Maspero Momies royales, 544-5, pl.5B; V. Schmidt Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas

(1919), fig.521; with references in PM.

Remarks: the circlet may in fact have been a support for the double feathers, as in the case of Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.17 below), but the shape is different being lower than the support of the latter. Otherwise, the coffins of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary are constructed similarly. Daressy and Maspero describe the coffin of Ahmose Nofretary first, and the descriptions of Ahhotpe II's coffin are referred back to it.

IV. Ahmose Nofretary (cat.nos.9-17)

A. Temple scenes.

9. Ahmose/Amenhotpe I

ø ø pl.80

Provenance: island of Sai, 18th dynasty temple.

Description: block with standing female figure facing right, head lost, followed by part of titulary and name of Ahmose Nofretary, and then by part of larger male figure (s.t.u.).

Insignia: (head lost),

menit(?) (3.5.13.1.1b).

References: Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 77 no.19; Vercoutter CRIPEL 1(1973), pl.1 top, S.64; Vandersleyen Guerres, 71-2.

Remarks: the published photograph in Vercoutter is very poor, and details are unclear. The queen probably holds a menit, as in cat.no.10 below. The dating of the block derives from blocks naming Ahmose and Amenhotpe I with which it was found (Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 77-8 nos.20,21,24).

10. Ahmose - Thutmose I?

Louvre E 11232 ∅ ∅

Provenance: unknown, bought in Egypt in 1911 for Bénédite.

Description: fragment of relief showing Ahmose Nofretary facing right (s.t.u.); lost below waist.

Insignia: circlet, oblong, plain (3.5.5.1.1c), menit (3.5.13.1.1a).

Reference: unpublished, photograph supplied by museum.

Remark: the style almost certainly ensures that the piece is contemporary with the queen, who is identified by traces of her name written horizontally above her figure. The position of Ahmose Nofretary's arm across the body is the same as in cat.no.9 above, and not attested for other queens.

11. Amenhotpe I

∅ PM 2^2, 134 pl.69

Provenance: found in court I of the temple of Karnak; from a chapel of Amenhotpe I.

Description: limestone blocks with part of scene showing two priests followed by Ahmose Nofretary entering the temple (B.5); originally part of a longer procession.

Insignia: fillet, knotted at back with ends hanging (3.5.6.1.1a), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.3c).

References: Gitton L'épouse, 15-16, frontispiece; Lacau et al. Chapelle d'Hatshepsout, 318, fig.25.

Remark: cf. scenes in Hatshepsut's chapelle rouge, ibid., 316, 536 no.3; 319,542 no.2; 320-1,545; 321-2,546; Gitton BSFE 75(1976), 37 fig.1, 39 fig.3, 40 fig.4, 41 fig.5.

Ahmose Nofretary

B. Royal stelae.

12. Ahmose

Magazine at Karnak PM 2^2, 73 pl.3

Provenance: Karnak, 3rd pylon, reused.

Description: rectangular stela (called "Donation"), found in three pieces, with scene on left and text on right; king Ahmose, followed by Ahmose Nofretary, with small figure of prince Ahmose between them, faces right and offers bread to Amun (A.1).

Insignia: uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.3a),
circlet, rim at top, plain (3.5.5.1.1a),
nothing in either hand, one by side, other raised to touch king's shoulder (3.5.17.1.3a).

References: Ibrahim Harari ASAE 56(1959), 139-201, pls.1-2; and references in PM; see also Gitton L'épouse, 7-11 no.2 and n.28; Menu RdE 23(1971), 155-163; Gitton BIFAO 76(1976), 65-89, pl.14; Menu BIFAO 77(1977), 89-100; Vandersleyen Guerres, 194, 211 doc.26.

13. year 8 of Amenhotpe I

Meritamun I (second queen)

BM 1835 ♀ pl.4

Provenance: Qasr Ibrim.

Description: the top of the stela is levelled off so that only the bottoms of the wings of a winged sundisk survive on either side, suggesting this was originally a round-topped stela; underneath, a scene shows Amenhotpe I, facing right, followed by Ahmose Nofretary and Meritamun I, offering bread to Horus, Lord of Miam (A.1); below are seven lines of text, including

the date of year 8; the stela was damaged in the Amarna period and restored; it is not well preserved.

Insignia:

Ahmose Nofretary: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.3a),
(head damaged),
nothing in either hand, one by side, other raised to touch king's shoulder (3.5.17.1.3b),

Meritamun I: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.4a),
(head damaged),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.4a).

References: Plumley JEA 50(1964), 4, pl.1 no.3; see also F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 9 (second queen wrongly identified as Ahhotpe II); Wente in Harris - Wente (ed.) An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies (Chicago 1980), 128; seen August 1978.

Remark: the king is shown followed by two queens called mwt nsw (J^{c}ḥms Nfrtjrj) and s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt ntr ḥmt nsw (J^{c}ḥms Nfrtjrj). The name of Amun on the stela was erased in the Amarna period. Restoration has been attempted (at this time?); in the cartouches of Amenhotpe, his nomen has been replaced by his prenomen Djeserkare. Since both queens cannot have been Ahmose Nofretary, one of the names must be an incorrect restoration. The area within the second cartouche has been smoothed down to the level of the background, and the name Ahmose Nofretary was then cut. Since an erasure was made in the first place, the original name must have contained the element Jmn. Only mwt nsw, ḥmt nsw wrt and s3t nsw appear in this type of ritual scene. The second queen can, therefore, only be a ḥmt nsw wrt or s3t nsw of Amenhotpe I, for his mwt nsw is also present. Since the second queen has the title

hmt nsw, she can only be his hmt nsw wrt. Of the two(?) who are known for him, Sitkamose(?) and Meritamun I, only the name of the latter will fit. It is therefore likely that she is the queen shown here.

14. year 1 of Thutmose I

Ahmose (second queen)

CG 34006 PM 7, 141 pl.5

Provenance: Wadi Halfa area.

Description: sandstone stela of which the top is broken; only the lower half of the scene is preserved, with eight lines of text below including date of year 1; Thutmose I, followed by Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, faces right before a god (A.1); the heads of all the figures are lost.

Insignia (both queens): (heads lost), nothing in either hands(?), by sides (3.5.17.1.3d,6a).

References: Lacau Stèles, 11-13, pl.5; see also references in PM; Gitton L'épouse, 20 no.1.

E. Private tomb.

15. Ahmose

ø PM 1^2 i, 27(1) pl.61

Location: TT 15 (Tetiky).

Description: double scene in tympanum under winged sundisk showing on the left, Ahmose Nofretary, facing left, censing and libating before the Hathor cow (B.2); right hand scene lost.

Ahmose Nofretary

Insignia: double uraeus (?) (3.5.4.3.1a),

circlet, oblong, openwork uraei in two layers (3.5.5.1.1b).

References: Davies JEA 11(1925), 14, pl.2; Carnarvon, Carter et al. Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work done 1907-1911 (Oxford 1912), 16, pl.6 no.1; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 81-2.

Remark: one uraeus may be attached to the forehead and the other to the circlet, in which case it would not be a true double uraeus. There is no good parallel for the form of the circlet and probable disposition of the uraei. Another unusual feature is the queen's earring. No other queen is shown wearing one before Teye (vol.1, 3.7, p.222).

M. Sculpture.

16. Thutmose I

∅ PM 2^2, 80 pl.117

Location: temple of Karnak, colonnade of Thutmose I, engaged in back wall, right hand end, between two statues of Thutmose I.

Description: colossal seated statue (3.3.1); lower part only.

Insignia: (head lost),

hands palm down on lap (3.5.17.1.3e).

References: unpublished, see Barguet Temple, 106; Gitton L'épouse, 20-21, VI no.2; seen Sept.1978.

N. Coffin.

17. Ahmose ⌒ (see remark)

CG 61003 PM 1^2 ii, 659 pl.144

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri, royal cache.

Description: anthropoid coffin constructed in the same way as the coffin of Ahhotpe II (cat.no.8). The queen wears the double feathers on a circular support, and a tripartite wig decorated with rows of chevrons ending squarely at the base. Between the two front tresses is a wide collar with pear-shaped beads hanging from the bottom at the level of the ends of the wig. Two holes in the front of the wig indicate an original uraeus. The arms are crossed on the breast, wearing bracelets. Each hand holds an ankh. The top part of the body from the shoulders to the arms is decorated with a honeycomb pattern. All the ornaments are deeply engraved and would have held an inlay, of which traces of blue paste remain. Below, the coffin is decorated with lightly incised wings. An inscription runs down the middle of the top from below the arms to the feet. All the gold has been stripped off. The shoulders slope in to meet the wig.

Measurements: length 3.78m
length without double feathers 3.08m
maximum width 0.82m
width at feet 0.61m

Insignia: double feathers, full details (3.5.1.1.3b),
uraeus, lost (3.5.4.1.A.3b),
ankhs (3.5.8.1.2a).

References: Daressy Cercueils, 3-4, pl.3 right; Maspero Momies royales, 535, pl.5B; V. Schmidt Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det Gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas (1919), fig.520; with references in PM.

Remark: the titles on the coffin include mwt nsw, which shows that Amenhotpe I was already king. However, Ahmose Nofretary is attested with this title already in year 22 of Ahmose (Urk. IV, 24-5), and the best explanation is that there was a coregency between Ahmose and Amenhotpe I (Vittmann JEA 60[1974], 250-1; W. Murnane Ancient Egyptian Coregencies [Chicago 1977], 114-5,230). Since Ahmose almost certainly must have made arrangements for funerary equipment for his hmt nsw wrt, the coffin probably dates from his reign.

IV A. Unidentified queen, possibly Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.18).

A. Temple scene.

18. Ahmose/Amenhotpe I

ϕ ϕ pl.81

Provenance: island of Sai, 18th dynasty temple.

Description: part of block showing head and shoulders of queen (s.t.u.).

Insignia: double feathers, plain, bottom only surviving (3.5.1.1.15a),
uraeus, top lost (3.5.4.1.A.10a),
(hands lost).

Reference: Vercoutter CRIPEL 1(1973), pl.1 bottom, S.631.

Remark: the dating, as with cat.no.9, derives from the blocks naming Ahmoseand Amenhotpe I with which it was found; the possible identity of the queen is suggested by cat.no.9.

V. Meritamun I (cat.no.13)

B. Royal stela.

With Ahmose Nofretary, see cat.no.13.

V A. Unidentified queens (cat.nos.19-20).

M. Sculpture.

19. Early 18th dynasty(?)

Khartoum Museum 443 PM 7, 165 ϕ

Provenance: island of Sai.

Description: seated statue of queen (3.3.1); head missing.

Insignia: (head lost),

hands palm down on lap(?).

References: Wilkinson MSS xi. 82; LD 2, 149a; Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 25; Gitton L'épouse, 14; see also LD Text 5, 227 bottom right.

Remarks: Lepsius dates the statue to the Middle Kingdom; Sethe and Gitton identify the queen as Hatshepsut and Ahmose Nofretary respectively. The name in the cartouche is lost. This led Sethe to the identification with Hatshepsut on the assumption that it was erased by Thutmose III. The titulary, however, is a conventional one of a queen, and there is no evidence that the name of Hatshepsut as queen was ever attacked. The titulary is not distinctive enough to justify Gitton's assumption that it belongs to Ahmose Nofretary; it is clearly 18th dynasty, not Middle Kingdom. If the name was deliberately erased, it perhaps contained the element Jmn, and the owner might have been Meritamun I.

20. Early 18th dynasty

MMA 16.10.224 PM 1^2 ii, 662 pl.129

Provenance: Thebes.

Description: upper part of limestone seated statue broken below breasts, back broken off with back pillar (3.3.8); perhaps part of a group (see Hayes Scepter 2, 56).

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, broken off, shape of break suggesting a uraeus, rather than the round cross-section of a vulture neck (3.5.3.1.17a; 3.5.4.1.C.3a).

References: Lansing BMMA ii May 1917, 8 and fig.2; Hayes Scepter 2, 54-56, fig.26; MMA photos. 5A, 486-7; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.8.

VI. Senisonb (cat.no.21)

A. Temple scene.

21. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 363(122)f pl.9

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, chapel of Anubis, room VIII.

Description: scene showing Thutmose I, facing left, followed by Senisonb, dedicating offerings to Anubis (A.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.3a), nothin in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.5a).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 1, pl.13; Capart L'art égyptien 2.partie: Choix de documents 3: Les arts graphiques, pl.499; De Rachewiltz La valle dei re e delle regine in forma e colore, pl.35; with references in PM.

VII. Mutnofret (cat.nos.22-24)

A. Temple scene.

22. Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 379 pl.102

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri, temple of Thutmose III.

Description: sandstone block with head of Mutnofret facing right (s.t.u).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ? (no apparent trace, perhaps painted, not carved?) (3.5.3.1.6b).

whisk, the curve of the handle just shows (3.5.7.1.5a).

Reference: Lipińska ASAE 59(1966), 83 no.53, pl.21 no.1.

Remark: the building, including the walls, used both sandstone and limestone blocks, ibid., 65.

C. Private stela.

23. Thutmose II-III

CG 34031 PM 2^2, 443 pl.51

Provenance: south of Ramesseum, near mortuary temple of Wadjmose, from which it probably comes.

Description: sandstone fragment of a stela, name of owner lost, with the upper left hand part of one register and a small part of the bottom of the register immediately above; the remains of the lower register shows Thutmose II seated facing right, with Mutnofret standing behind him, before a table of offerings (A.11); the stela breaks here, and originally the owner may have been shown before the table of offerings.

Mutnofret; Ahmose

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.6a;
3.5.4.1.B.2a),
arms round king (3.5.18.1.1a).

References: Lacau Stèles, 65-7; Daressy ASAE 1(1900), 99 top.

Remark: for date, see vol.1, 3.1.3, p.94.

M. Sculpture.

24. Thutmose II

CG 572 PM 2^2, 444 pl.118

Provenance: mortuary temple of Wadjmose.

Description: painted sandstone seated statue (3.3.1); dedicated by Thutmose II.

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, top broken (3.5.3.1.6c; 3.5.4.1.C.1a),
hands palm down on lap (3.5.17.1.8a).

References: Borchardt Statuen 2, 121, pl.97; Hornemann Types 4, pl.1047; Vandier Manuel 3, 314; with references in PM.

Remark: this was one of a number of statues, fragments only of the rest surviving, Maspero Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire^3 (Le Caire 1914), 124 no.444.

VIII. Ahmose (cat.nos.25-43)

A. Temple scenes.

Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, cat.nos.25-38.

25. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 363(122)e pl.7.

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, chapel of Anubis, room VIII.

Description: scene with Hatshepsut as king, facing right, followed by Ahmose, before a pile of offerings and Amun (A.1); the figures of the king and god have been erased; slight damage to Ahmose's head.

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4b), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6c).

Reference: Naville Deir el Bahari 1, pl.16.

26. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 364 ø

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, upper terrace, scene above niche D.

Description: scene showing Hatshepsut as king, facing right, followed by Ahmose, offering wine to Amun (A.1).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.5b),
vulture headdress with ? (3.5.3.1.4c),
whisk (3.5.7.1.3a),
ankh (3.5.8.1.3a).

Reference: Jéquier L'architecture, pl.38 no.1.

Remark: On Jéquier's plate, the scene is too small for individual details to be clear; I was unable to gain access to the scene itself in 1978.

27. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Nefrubity (s3t nsw)

ø PM 2^2, 365(132)2 ø

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, south wall.

Description: scene showing Thutmose I, Ahmose and Nefrubity as a child, facing left, before bark of Amun (A.1); parallel to cat.no.28 below.

Insignia:

Ahmose: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4d), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6d).

Nefrubity: none(?).

References: Champollion Mon., 192 nos.4,5; Rosellini Mon.stor., 1 no.4 (head of Ahmose); see also references in PM.

Remark: the figure of Nefrubity is shown by Champollion, but her title is omitted and her cartouche left empty. She is shown without the sidelock or uraeus found in the parallel scene, cat.no.28 below, and the drawing may be inaccurate. It should, however, be noted that the figures of Nefrure which appear in the other halves of these scenes (cat.nos.192-193) differ from one another.

28. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Nefrubity (s3t nsw)

∅ PM 2^2, 366(133)2 ∅

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, north wall.

Description: scene showing Thutmose I, Ahmose and Nefrubity as a child, facing right, before bark of Amun (A.1); parallel to cat.no.27 above.

Insignia:

Ahmose: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4e), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6e).

Nefrubity: uraeus.

Ahmose

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.145; LD 3, 8b; with references in PM.

29. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 3100-1943 ∅ pl.8

Provenance: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, upper terrace, south wall, west part (letter of Karkowski, 20.10.77).

Description: fragment of relief showing part of head of queen, of which the back behind the ear and the top are lost. There are signs of alterations, similar to cat.nos.35,36; the rest of the figure, unpublished, is still in situ, and stands behind a larger kneeling figure of Hatshepsut as king (Karkowski, personal communication), presumably before a deity (A.1?).

Insignia (first stage): baton (3.5.9.1.1a),
(second stage): vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.4f),
whisk (changed from baton) (3.5.7.1.3b).

References: Mysliwiec Le portrait royal, fig.87; photograph supplied by museum.

Remark: the name of the queen is missing, but Ahmose is the only queen to be shown with Hatshepsut in this temple; Senisonb, in her one appearance, follows her son, Thutmose I; the identification with Ahmose is therefore almost certain. The position of the fragment will be given in Karkowski's report "Deir el-Bahari 1975-1976, travaux égyptologiques" in Études et travaux 12.

30. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

∅ PM 2^2, 348(17)3 ∅

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, middle colonnade, north half.

Description: birth scene showing Ahmose seated with Amun (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4g).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.47; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.3; with references in PM; see also Brunner Geburt, 35-58.

Remark: the birth scenes in this temple (cat.nos.30-34) are largely a Ramessid restoration, but are based on the originals of Hatshepsut's reign.

31. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 348(17)6 ø

Location: see cat.no.30.

Description: birth scene with Ahmose standing before Thoth who addresses her (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4h), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6f).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.48; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.5 left; see also Brunner Geburt, 75-82.

32. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 348(17)7 ø

Location: see cat.no.30.

Description: birth scene, showing Ahmose, pregnant, led to birth room by Heqet and Khnum (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4i), hands held by deities.

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.49; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), figs.5,6 (detail); Mekhitarian Egyptian Painting (Geneva etc. 1954), pl. on p.16 (head only, colour); with references in PM; see also Brunner Geburt, 83-89.

33. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 348(18)-349 ø

Location: see cat.no.30.

Description: birth scene showing birth of Hatshepsut (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4j), circlet, rim, top wider than base, with vertical lines (3.5.5.1.2a).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.51; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.11 (figure of queen unclear); see also Brunner Geburt, 96-106.

34. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 349(19)3 ø

Location: see cat.no.30.

Description: birth scene showing the suckling of Hatshepsut and her ka (B.1).

Insignia: circlet, rim, top wider than base, with vertical lines (3.5.5.1.2b).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.53; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungem auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.10; with references in PM; see also Brunner Geburt, 122-134.

35. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 365(129) pls.65-66

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary façade, north side.

Description: scene showing king, facing right, before Amun, seated, behind whose throne stands a small figure of Ahmose, facing left (B.3); the figure of Amun has been erased and restored; the figure of Ahmose was altered during Hatshepsut's reign (vol.1, 3.2.1.B.3, pp.109-112); scene parallel to cat.no.36 below.

Insignia:

First stage of figure: circlet, oblong (3.5.5.1.3a),
fillet, type unclear (3.5.6.1.3a),
baton (3.5.9.1.1b),
menit (3.5.13.1.2a).

Second stage of figure: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.41),
whisk (changed from baton; 3.5.7.1.3d),
menit (unaltered; 3.5.13.1.2a).

References: MMA photos T.2383,1657,3364-6; Ross The Art of Egypt, pl.159 no.2; with references in PM.

36. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Brooklyn Museum 51.10(head of queen); fragments mostly in a private collection in New York. PM 2^2, 365(130) pls.67-68

Provenance: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary façade, south side.

Description: scene showing king, facing left, before Amun, seated, behind whose throne stands a small figure of Ahmose, facing right (B.3); the figure of Amun has been erased and restored; the figure of Ahmose was altered during Hatshepsut's reign (vol.1, 3.2.1.B.3, pp.109-112); scene parallel to cat.no.35 above.

Insignia:

First stage of figure: circlet, oblong (3.5.5.1.3b),
fillet, type unclear (3.5.6.1.3b),
baton (3.5.9.1.1c),
menit (3.5.13.1.2b),
ankh (?, 3.5.8.1.3b).

Second stage of figure: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4m),
whisk (changed from baton; 3.5.7.1.3e),
menit (unaltered; 3.5.13.1.2b),
ankh (3.5.8.1.3b).

References: MMA photos. T.1656,2382,3361-3; Naville Deir el Bahari 6, pl.164; Petrie A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties[7] (London 1924), fig.31.

Remarks: Naville's plate shows the second stage of the queen only, and does not note the changes; the queen holds an ankh, which is probably taken over from the first stage, like the menit.

The photographs do not show this hand.

37. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 367(137)b ø

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, niche.

Description: scene showing Ahmose seated, facing right, before table of offerings and list, with Inmutef (B.4).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4n), whisk (3.5.7.1.3c).

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.147; LD 3, 19 no.1c.

Remark: the figure and inscription of the queen agree in the two sources, except that Naville does not show the bottom of the dress.

38. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Berlin (East) inv.no.14651 PM 2^2, 375 pl.133

Provenance: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, original location unknown.

Description: block with part of scene showing three statues: king, name, front of figure and head lost; Ahmose, top of head lost; female figure, head, back of figure and name lost (3.3.9).

Insignia: (top of head lost, but not room for double feathers), vulture headdress with ? (lost) (3.5.3.1.4o), nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6g).

References: Lipińska in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 163,170, fig.5, pl.23c; see also Aeg.Inschr. 2, 102.

Remark: the statue of the king almost certainly represents Thutmose I or Hatshepsut. The female statue might show Ahmose again, or perhaps Nefrure; the upper part of the

statue, including possible insignia, is lost.

39. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Thutmose II/regency — Hatshepsut (queen)

Present location unknown — PM 2^2, 377 — pl.82

Provenance: temple at Thebes (?), possibly the dismantled building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut from near the 7th pylon, temple of Karnak (see cat.nos.44-50).

Description: block with heads of two women, Hatshepsut(?) and Ahmose, facing right, the first more carefully worked than the second (s.t.u).

Insignia:

Hatshepsut(?): vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.5a; 3.5.4.1.B.1a),
whisk (3.5.7.1.4a),
(other hand lost).

Ahmose: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4p),
(hands lost).

Reference: Pijoán Summa Artis 3, 242 fig.316.

Remark: for identification of Hatshepsut and the dates of the two heads, see vol.1, 3.1.1.2, pp.85-6.

B. Royal stelae.

With Ahmose Nofretary, see cat.no.14.

40. Thutmose

Hatshepsut (second queen)

Berlin Mus.inv.no.15699 — PM 5, 122 — pl.6

Provenance: bought at Qena, probably from Edfu (see Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 256), and not Heliopolis as suggested in PM.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing Thutmose II, followed by Ahmose and Hatshepsut, facing left before Re-Harakhte (A.1); with three lines of text below giving titulary of Thutmose II.

Insignia:

Ahmose: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.5a),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4a),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.6b).

Hatshepsut: circlet, oblong, plain (3.5.5.1.4a),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.17a).

References: Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 144, Abb.1; Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 256, pls.34a,b; Vandersleyen Guerres, 212 doc.38.

C. Private stela.

41. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Berlin 3/71 ∅ pl.62

Provenance: Edfu (?, Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 259-60).

Description: limestone, round-topped votive stela of Montu and Wadjmose with two registers: below the winged sundisk, Ahmose, centre, faces left and offers wine to the Hathor cow (B.2); on the right, Horus embraces Hatshepsut as king; underneath, centre, is a large sistrum with a kneeling adoring figure of Montu on the right and Wadjmose on the left, each with five columns of text above and one in front; the figure of

Hatshepsut has been erased.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.5c),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.4k),
two jars ; scene title rdjt jrp (3.5.16.1.1a).

Reference: Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 258 fig.1, pl.35.

E. Private tomb.

42. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Ahmose

∅ PM 1^2 i, 240(9) ∅

Location: TT 125 (Duauneheh), hall.

Description: kiosk scene, figures lost; titles and name of Ahmose indicate that she was shown (A.10).

Insignia: (figure lost).

References: Davies BMMA 34(1939), 280-284, figs.1,3; MMA photo. T.3501; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 92-93.

M. Sculpture.

43. Thutmose I

CG 42052 PM 2^2, 137 ∅

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: calcite, seated statue group showing Amun between Thutmose I and Ahmose (3.3.6); only legs and seat are original, the rest is probably a 19th dynasty restoration.

Insignia: (figure restored).

References: Legrain Statues 1, 31-32, pl.28; Hornemann Types 5, pl.1379; Vandier Manuel 3, 298; see also A. Scharff in

Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte 1 (Pisa 1949), 311, pl.30 no.1.

IX. Hatshepsut (cat.nos.44-52).

A. Temple scenes.

Blocks from a dismantled building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut near 7th pylon, temple of Karnak, cat.nos.44-50 (see also cat.no.39).

44. Thutmose II

ø ø ø

Provenance: dismantled building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, near 7th pylon, temple of Karnak (vol.1, 3.1.1.2, pp.84-5).

Description: block showing Thutmose II, followed by Hatshepsut, offering to a god (A.1).

Insignia: not described.

Reference: Naville in Davis et al. Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 15,18.

Remark: the block is unpublished; it is only briefly described by Naville, with no mention of items of insignia.

45. Thutmose II/regency for Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 135 bottom pl.83

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block with upper part of head of Hatshepsut, facing left (s.t.u.).

Insignia: uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.4a),
circlet, oblong, plain (3.5.5.1.4b).

References: Chevrier ASAE 53(1956), 40, pl.22; Arch.Lacau photo.A XV 9.

46. Thutmose II/regency for Thutmose III

ø ø pl.85

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block, broken at the top, right and bottom edges, showing upper part of head of Hatshepsut facing right (s.t.u.).

Insignia: uraeus, top lost (3.5.4.1.A.4d), circlet, oblong, plain (3.5.5.1.4c).

Reference: Arch.Lacau photo A XV 3.

47. Thutmose II/regency for Thutmose III

ø ø pl.86

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block, broken at top and left hand side, showing top part of head of Hatshepsut, facing left (s.t.u.).

Insignia: uraeus, running back over head, plain (3.5.4.1.A.4b), fillet. knotted at back, ends hanging (3.5.6.1.2a).

References: Arch.Lacau photo. A XV 6; see Schott NAWG 1955 no.6, 203.

48. regency for Thutmose III(?)

ø ø pl 63

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block with part of scene showing upper half of figure of Amun, facing left, and figure of Hatshepsut, facing right, censing to the god (B.2).

Insignia: double feathers (3.5.1.1.6a), vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.5b; 3.5.4.1.B.1b). censes (3.1.1.2, pp.84-5).

References: Arch.Lacau MSS A XXIV; see also Schott NAWG 1955 no.6, 202-3.

Remarks: the block is only shown in an unpublished sketch of Lacau, which lacks clear detail; there is no reason to doubt the form of the scene. Hatshepsut's name is not present, but as no other queen appears on these blocks the identity is certain. Since she performs the kingly act of censing before Amun, the scene probably dates to the period of her regency for Thutmose III (vol.1, 3.1.1.2, pp.84-5; see also cat.no.50 below).

49. Regency for Thutmose III(?)

Nefrure(?) (s3t nsw)

ø PM 2^2, 135 bottom pl.64

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block showing Hatshepsut, facing right, offering two jars, followed by Nefrure(?); block broken immediately in front of the figure and titles of Hatshepsut (B.2?); upper halves of figures only surviving.

Insignia:

Hatshepsut: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.6b), vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.5c; 3.5.4.1.B.1c), two jars (3.5.16.1.2a).

Nefrure: uraeus, plain,
circlet, oblong, plain,
baton.

References: Chevrier ASAE 53(1956), 40, pl.22; Schott NAWG 1955 no.6, 203, pl.2; Arch.Lacau photo. A XV 5.

Remark: see vol.1, 3.2.1.B.2, pp.108-9, for a discussion of the block and identification of second woman as Nefrure.

50. regency for Thutmose III(?)

ø ø pl.84

Provenance: see cat.no.44.

Description: block showing upper part of head of Hatshepsut facing left. To the left of the titles and name of Hatshepsut, which face left like her figure, is the beginning of a speech of a deity which faces right; Hatshepsut must stand directly before a deity (B.2?).

Insignia: uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.4c),
circlet, oblong, plain(?) (3.5.5.1.4d).

Reference: Arch.Lacau MSS A. XXIV.

Remark: the block is only recorded in a sketch of Lacau and the details are not clear. There is no reason to question the general composition of the scene. Since queens are not normally shown directly before a deity, this piece probably dates to the regency of Hatshepsut for Thutmose III (vol.1, 3.1.1.2, pp.84-5; see cat.no.48 above).

51. Regency for Thutmose III

Khartum Museum PM 7, 148(18)-(19) ø

Provenance: Semna West, temple dedicated to Dedwen and Senwosret III.

Description: scene showing Hatshepsut as queen being led by Satis to the deified Senwosret III (B.6); later altered.

Insignia: unclear as altered.

References: Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 30-2; see also Sethe ZÄS 36(1898), 58-62, pls.6-10; Urk. IV, 201.13-202.2; to be republished by Caminos.

Remark: The original scene showed Thutmose III. The scene was probably changed due to structural alterations, and it was at this point that Hatshepsut's figure as queen appeared. This was later erased, but traces of the accompanying inscription can still be seen (Urk IV, 201.13-202.2). The temple was built by Thutmose III and include a date of year 2 (PM 7, 148(23); Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 30). The altered scene presumably postdates this, but since Hatshepsut was dressed as a queen, as far as can be told, and used the titles hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt, the scene must date before she became king, that is, in the period of regency for Thutmose III.

C. Private stela.

52. Regency for Thutmose III

∅ PM 5, 248 pl.75

Location: Aswan.

Description: rock stela of Senenmut showing owner standing facing right before Hatshepsut (B.9); with text recounting owner's work on pair of obelisks.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.6c),
ankh by side (3.5.8.1.4a),
sceptre on breast (3.5.11.1.1a).

References: de Morgan Cat.des Mons. 1, 41 no.181 bis; LD 3, 25 bis q; Labib Habachi JNES 16(1957), 94 fig.3.

Remark: There is no published photograph. LD and Labib Habachi give line drawings in which the details of the queen's figure agree, except that LD omits the ankh, as does de Morgan's rubbing. Labib Habachi also gives an improved text on both LD and Urk. IV, 396-7.

X. Ese I (cat.nos.53-57).

A. Temple scene.

53. Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 428 ϕ

Provenance: mortuary temple of Thutmose III.

Description: fragment of block showing Ese standing behind Thutmose III (A.1?); unpublished.

Insignia: double feathers (3.5.1.1.7a), vulture headdress with ? (3.5.3.1.8a).

Reference: Ricke Totentempel, 30 with n.5.

Remark: block known from Ricke's description only which does not give details of insignia, nor say what the king is doing, or whether there is a deity present. The scene, however, is probably of type A.1, because this is the commonest type of scene in which a queen follows a king.

B. Royal stela.

54. Thutmose III

CG 34015 PM 2^2, 428 ϕ

Provenance: mortuary temple of Thutmose III.

Ese I

Description: red sandstone, round-topped stela broken across the scene which shows Thutmose III, followed by queen, facing left, adoring Amon-Re (A.1); the lower parts of the figures are lost.

Insignia: uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.5c),
circlet, oblong, plain, red (3.5.5.1.6a),
offers two jars of wine (3.5.16.1.3a).

References: Weigall ASAE 7(1906), 134-5 no.23; Lacau Stèles, 31-2; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: the name of Ese is in surcharge over another, probably Meritre Hatshepsut, see vol.1, 3.1.2.2, pp.89-92.

C. Private stela.

55. Thutmose III(?)

Cairo Museum (no. unknown) PM 2^2, 428 ø

Provenance: mortuary temple of Thutmose III.

Description: eight small fragments of a basalt votive stela, two together showing the head of Ese with a vulture headdress, a third showing part of a second head of a queen with a vulture headdress and a fourth two male figures adoring. The description does not say which way the queens are facing, and this could be a scene showing two queens together or a double scene, perhaps both with Ese (s.t.u.); the figures adoring almost certainly belong to a lower register (see cat.nos.41,69).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, unpublished (3.5.3.1.8b),
(rest lost).

Reference: Weigall ASAE 7(1906), 131-2 no.13.

Ese I

Remark: Ese was the mother of Thutmose III, and probably had a cult in his mortuary temple which continued after her son's death. Therefore, it is uncertain whether this stela is contemporary with her son's reign. Since it is unpublished, it is impossible for me to date it by its style.

D. Royal tomb.

56. Thutmose III

∅ PM 1^2 2, 553 A(b)I pl.54

Location: KV 43 (Thutmose III), sarcophagus chamber, pillar A (in register above cat.no.70 below).

Description: Thutmose III and Ese stand in a papyrus boat, before which walk two men with standards, one a pair of feathers on a papyrus stem, captioned shd, and the second a hawk on a flat base, captioned (A.16).

Insignia: none,

nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.9a).

References: Bucher Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II 1 (Le Caire 1932), 114-5, pl.24 right; W. Smith The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (Harmondsworth 1958), pl.97A; with references in PM.

57. M. Sculpture.

57. Thutmose III

CG 42072 PM 2^2, 144 pl.119

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: black granite seated statue (3.3.1); dedicated by Thutmose III.

Insignia: double uraeus decorated with red and white crowns (3.5.4.3.2a),
circlet, metal, patterned (3.5.5.1.5a),
whisk, held in left hand, flat on lap (3.5.7.1.6a),
nothin in other hand.

References: Legrain Statues 1, 41-2, pl.42; Hornemann Types 4, pl.1053; Vandier Manuel 3, 314; with references in PM.

XI. Sitioh (cat.nos.58-62)

A. Temple scene.

58. Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 124(436) pl.134

Location: festival temple, Karnak.

Description: block with part of scene showing a row of at least three statues: king (Thutmose III?); Sitioh; Thutmose III (3.3.9).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.9c),
baton, on breast (3.5.9.1.3b),
ankh (3.5.8.1.5a),
sceptre (3.5.11.1.2a).

References: Loret BIE 3.sér.9(1898), 96 n.3, pl.7; Chic.Or.Inst. photo.5978 left; Vandersleyen Guerres, 219 doc.64.

B. Royal stela.

59. Thutmose III with mention of sp tpj n nhtw "the first occasion of victory" in year 22.

CG 34013 PM 2^2, 198 pl.112

Provenance: Karnak, temple of Ptah.

Description: grey granite, round-topped stela with double scene below winged sundisk, showing, on both sides, Thutmose III before Ptah, offering wine on right and libating on left; in both cases, the king is followed by a smaller female figure offering ointment (A.1); below are 27 lines of text; with restoration text of Sety I.

Insignia (both sides): vulture headdress with ? (badly recut), circlet, wider at top than bottom, two jars of ointment (see 3.5.16.2).

References: Lacau Stèles, 27-30, pl.9; with references in PM; Vandersleyen Guerres, 219-223 doc.66.

Remarks: the name of Sitioh is in surcharge over another, quite probably that of Nefrure, and almost certainly not that of Meritre Hatshepsut, see vol.1, 3.1.2.2, pp.89-92. It is likely, therefore, that originally this was not an occurrence of a ḥmt nsw wrt; the only title given is ḥmt nṯr, commonly used by Nefrure, but not elsewhere by Sitioh. The items of insignia are thus not entered in section 3.5.

C. Private stela.

60. Thutmose III(?)

Cairo Museum (no. unknown) PM 2^2, 428 ϕ

Provenance: mortuary temple of Thutmose III.

Description: fragment of a sandstone votive stela with part of scene showing Sitioh standing behind Min-Amun (B.3).

Insignia: double feathers (3.5.1.1.8a), vulture headdress with ? (3.5.3.1.9a).

Reference: Weigall ASAE 7(1906), 130 no.8.

Sitioh

Remark: there is no published photograph, and the date remains uncertain, since Sitioh's cult probably continued after the death of Thutmose III, like that of Ese I (see cat.no.55). Weigall does not describe details of insignia.

D. Royal tomb.

With Meritre, Nebtu and Nofretary, see cat.no.70 below.

F. Offering table.

61. Thutmose III(?)

CG 23034

Provenance: Abydos, Kom el-Sultan (north east part of Osiris temple enclosure).

Description: limestone offering table with scene on side showing Sitioh seated facing right before a table of offerings, in front of which the lector priest of Tjerikity censes and libates (B.7).

Insignia: none; the queen is dressed as a private person with a cone of ointment and flower on her head, holding a flower in her hand.

References: Mariette Abydos 2, pl.53b; Ahmed Bey Kamal Tables d'offrandes, 27, pl.14; with references in PM.

M. Sculpture.

62. Thutmose III

Cairo JE 37638 PM 5, 169 pl.120

Provenance: Tod.

Description: limestone seated statue (3.3.1); dedicated by Thutmose III; condition rather worn.

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, forehead worn smooth
(3.5.3.1.9b),
whisk in left hand (3.5.7.1.7a),
baton in right hand (3.5.9.1.3a).

References: B[isson de la] R[oque] Tôd (1934 à 1936), 130, fig.79;
Hornemann Types 4, pl.1075; Vandier Manuel 3, 315.

XII. Meritre (Hatshepsut) (cat.nos.63-73)

A. Temple scenes.

63. Thutmose III

Cairo JE 38574-5 PM 2^2, 380 pl.11

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri, Hathor cow chapel, shrine, left wall.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III, facing right, followed by Meritre, dedicating a pile of offerings before the Hathor cow (A.1); the complete scene is not published.

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.10a),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.11a).

References: Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 1, 63, pl.28A; Lambelet - Riesterer Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo, no.30; seen Sept.1978.

Medinet Habu, 18th dynasty temple, cat.nos.64-67.

64. Thutmose III

ø PM 2^2, 469(47)II 4 pl.10

Location: Medinet Habu, 18th dynasty temple, shrine of Thutmose III.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III, facing left, followed by Meritre Hatshepsut, offering wine to Amun (A.1); figures of king and queen badly damaged.

Meritre (Hatshepsut)

Insignia: double feathers, shaft (3.5.1.1.9a),
vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.10b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8a),
ankh (3.5.8.1.6a).

References: Chic.Or.Inst.photo.8123; see also Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 18-19; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: the queen is mistakenly called Hatshepsut in PM.

65. Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 469(46)I 1 pl.28

Location: Medinet Habu, 18th dynasty temple, shrine of Thutmose III.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III, facing right, followed by Meritre Hatshepsut, entering temple (A.3); head of queen lost.

Insignia: (head lost),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.11b).

References: Chic.Or.Inst.photo.7693; see also Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 18-19; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: the queen is mistakenly called Hatshepsut in PM.

66. Thutmose III

ϕ PM 2^2, 472(72) pl.36

Location: Medinet Habu, 18th dynasty temple, room VI = Hölscher M.

Description: scene showing Inmutef, facing right, offering to Thutmose III, seated, with small figure of Meritre Hatshepsut standing behind the king (A.6); parallel scene to cat.no.67 below.

Insignia: double feathers, shaft (3.5.1.1.9b),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.10c),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8b),
ankh (3.5.8.1.6b).

References: LD 38b; seen Sept.1978; see also Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 10,13; with references in PM.

67. Thutmose III

∅ PM 2^2, 472(73) pl.37

Location: scene showing Inmutef, facing left, offering to Thutmose III, seated, with small figure of Meritre Hatshepsut standing behind the king (A.6); parallel scene to cat.no.66 above.

Insignia: double feathers, shaft (3.5.1.1.9c),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.10d),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8c),
ankh (3.5.8.1.6c).

References: LD 3, 38a; Champollion Mon. 195 no.3; seen Sept.1978; see also Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 10,13; with references in PM.

68. Amenhotpe II

∅ PM 2^2, 6 pl.12

Provenance: Karnak, temple of Montu.

Description: double scene on door lintel showing Amenhotpe II, followed by Meritre (name changed to Tiaa), censing before Amon-Re, seated (A.1); the figure of the queen is lost in the right hand scene.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.9e),

uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.6a),

two jars , scene title rdjt jrp (3.5.16.1.4a).

References: Robichon et al. Karnak-Nord 4, 53-5, pls.50-51.

Remarks: the reason for the change in the name is unknown. The alteration almost certainly occurred in the reign of Amenhotpe II, because the title mwt nsw has been changed to hmt nsw in two places. If it had taken place under Thutmose IV, the change would not have been necessary, as Tiaa was the mother of Thutmose IV. There is no evidence for the general erasure of Meritre (Hatshepsut)'s monuments (vol.1, 3.1.2.2, pp.91-92), so the reasons for the change must be peculiar to this monument. A simple explanation would be that Meritre (Hatshepsut) died while the building to which this door belonged was being erected, and the name of the queen was then altered to that of the hmt nsw wrt of the time.

B. Royal stela.

See cat.no.54; the name now reads Ese, but was changed probably from Meritre Hatshepsut (see also vol.1, 3.1.2.2, pp.89-92).

C. Private stela.

69. Thutmose III

CG 42121 PM 2^2, 144-5 pl.52

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: black granite statue of Neferpert kneeling holding a stela with top register showing, under winged sundisk, Thutmose III on the left seated facing right and Meritre

Hatshepsut on the right, standing facing left (A.12); lower register shows seven columns of text with two figures of the owner at the bottom adoring.

Insignia: double feathers, shaft (3.5.1.1.9d),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.10e),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8d),
ankh (3.5.8.1.6d).

References: Legrain Statues 1, 69-71, pl.71; with references in PM; 5,000 ans d'art égyptien (Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles Mars-Juin 1960) (Bruxelles 1960), pl.34, cat.no.38.

Remark: although this is classed here as a private stela, it is part of the stelophorous of the wb3 nsw Neferpert; the content of the stela differs somewhat from that of a normal private stela (vol.1, 3.2.3.A.12, pp.124-5).

D. Royal tomb.

70. Thutmose III

Sitioh (second queen)
Nebtu (hmt nsw)
Nofretary (s3t nsw)

ø PM 1^2 2, 553 A(b)II pl.54

Location: KV 43 (Thutmose III), sarcophagus chamber, pillar A (in register below cat.no.56 above).

Description: Thutmose III stands facing right followed by Meritre, Sitioh, Nebtu and Nofretary (A.15).

Insignia (all): none,
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.10a,11c).

References: Bucher Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II 1 (Le Caire 1932), 114-15, pl.24 right; W. Smith The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (Harmondsworth 1958), pl.97A; with references in PM.

E. Private tombs.

71. Amenhotpe II

∅ PM 1^2 i, 142(5) pl.42

Location: TT 72 (Re), hall.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe II and Meritre seated facing left in a kiosk with owner offering bouquet (A.10).

Insignia: vulture headdress with double uraeus(?), plain (3.5.3.1.10f; 3.5.4.3.3a), cloth (3.5.15.1.2a), arm round king (3.5.15.1.2a).

References: LD 3, 62b; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 93.

Remark: the scene is only published in the Lepsius drawing. While the double uraeus is scarcely attested on queens before Teye, it is worn by Ese I on a statue dating from the reign of Thutmose III (cat.no.57), although without the vulture headdress, showing that it was already used before the date of this scene. It may also have been worn by Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.15). Thus we should not dismiss its occurrence here simply as an error on the part of Lepsius or his draughtman, but should take seriously the possibility that Meritre (Hatshepsut) used the double uraeus.

72. Amenhotpe II

∅ PM 1^2 i, 191(9)I pl.136

Location: TT 93 (Qenamun), outer hall.

Description: statue of Meritre Hatshepsut shown in a scene including presentation of statues to king (3.3.9).

Insignia: uraeus, plain (3.5.4.1.A.6b),
circlet, rim at top, plain (3.5.5.1.7a),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8e),
sistrum, loop, by side (3.5.12.1.1a).

References: LD 3, 64a; Davies Tomb of Ken-Amūn, pl.16; see also references in PM.

73. Amenhotpe II

∅ PM 1^2 i, 198(6) pl.137

Location: TT 96 (Sennufer), hall.

Description: statue of Meritre Hatshepsut shown in a scene including presentation of statues to king (3.3.9)

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.10g),
circlet, top wider than base (3.5.5.1.7b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.8f),
sceptre by side (3.5.11.1.3a).

Reference: Davies BMMA ii Dec.1928, 46 fig.6.

XII A. Unidentified queens of Thutmose III, probably Ese I, Sitioh or Meritre (Hatshepsut) (cat.nos.74-80).

E. Private tomb.

74. Thutmose III

∅ PM 1^2 i, 209(7)I-II pl.135

Location: TT 100 (Rekhmire), hall.

Description: two statue of queen shown in a scene including presentation of statues to king: (1) a double seated statue of king and queen; (2) a statue of a queen as a sphinx (3.3.9).

Insignia (1): vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.17h; 3.5.4.1.C.3g),
arm round king (3.5.18.1.6a),
(other hand holds unidentifiable object).
(2): vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.17i; 3.5.4.1.C.3h).

References: Davies Tomb of Rekh-mi-re^{-C}, pl.37; P.E. Newberry The Life of Rekhmara, Vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II (circa B.C. 1471-1448) (Westminster 1900), 38-9, pl.22; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: Davies op.cit., 38 n.93 says, "My line suggesting a vulture's tail at the back may be illusory. It is omitted by Hay and Newberry." When I examined the scene myself, I found that although the statues are drawn in outline only and the scene is unfinished, the vulture tail seems clear.

M. Sculpture.

75. Thutmose III

Cairo JE 45076 PM 6, 201 pl.121

Provenance: Kom Ombo.

Description: granite seated statue (3.3.1); dedicated by Thutmose III; name of queen lost.

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus(?), top broken (3.5.3.1.17b; 3.5.4.1.C.3b),
hands palm down on lap (3.5.17.1.16a).

References: Barsanti ASAE 15(1915), 174, pl.5; Vandier Manuel 3, 315, pl.104 no.7; Hornemann Types 4, pl.1049.

76. Thutmose III

Museo Barracco, Rome no.13 PM 7, 414 pl.128

Provenance: found in 1856 near Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

Description: black granite statue of a queen as a sphinx (3.3.7); with cartouche of Thutmose III.

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, top broken (3.5.3.1.17c; 3.5.4.1.C.3c).

References: Barracco - Helbig La collection Barracco (Munich 1893), pls.7,7a; von Bissing Denkmäler, pl.37; Steindorff Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs (Leipzig 1926), 21 Abb.20; Davies BMMA ii Dec.1926, 13 fig.9; A. Roullet The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome (Leiden 1972), pl.198 fig.290, cat.no.279 (reference to cartouche of Meritre Hatshepsut incorrect), with references therein; C. Vandersleyen Das Alte Ägypten (Berlin 1975), pl.173b.

77. Thutmose III (?)

Cairo JE 56599 ∅ pl.127

Provenance: El-Minya wa'l-Shurafa, south of Helwan.

Description: dark serpentine statue showing queen as female sphinx (3.3.7).

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, top broken (3.5.3.1.17d; 3.5.4.1.C.3d).

References: Engelbach ASAE 31(1931), 128-9; Vandier Manuel 3, 315-16, pl.102 no.3; Echnaton, Nofretete, Tutanchamun Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim 1976, no.2, with references.

Remark: the dating of Vandier to the reign of Thutmose IV is unlikely, see vol.1, 3.6.3, pp219-220.

78. Thutmose III(?)

CG 42009 ∅ pl.130

Provenance: unknown.

Description: head from limestone statue of queen, broken off below shoulders and breasts (3.3.8).

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, top broken (3.5.3.1.17g; 3.5.4.1.C.3e).

(rest lost).

References: Legrain Statues 1, 7, pl.4; Vandier Manuel 3, 315, pl.104 no.6.

Remark: Legrain dates the statue to the Middle Kingdom.

H.G. Evers Staat aus dem Stein 2, (München 1929), 117 § 726 includes it among works wrongly attributed to the Middle Kingdom and places it in the 18th dynasty; for dating in reign of Thutmose III, see vol.1, 3.6.3, pp.219-20.

79. Thutmose III

BM 93 (old exhibition no.601) ∅ ∅

Provenance: Temple of Karnak.

Description: upper portion of colossal statue of queen.

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, broken at top (3.5.3.1.17e; 3.5.4.1.C.3f).

Reference: Budge Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum (London 1914), pl.34.

Remark: Budge identifies the piece as a queen of Ramesses II, but use of the Hathor wig clearly dates it to the reign of Thutmose III. This is now confirmed by the discovery of the bottom half of the statue inscribed for a queen of Thutmose III in the temple of Karnak by R. Tefnin, who will be publishing it (personal communication of W.V. Davies).

80. Thutmose III(?)

Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum inv.no.5778 ø ø

Provenance: unknown.

Description: upper portion of colossal red granite statue of queen.

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, broken (3.5.3.1.17f; 3.5.4.1.C.3i).

References: E. Komorzynski Altägypten (Wien 1952), Abb.22; Essen Villa Hügel 5000 Jahre Ägyptisches Kunst, cat.no.110.

Remark: the Essen catalogue dats the piece to the 19th dynasty, and reference is made for comparison to BM 601 (now BM 93), cat.no.79 above, dated by Budge to the 19th dynasty. The latter must be dated to the reign of Thutmose III, and the similarity between the two heads with the use of the Hathor wig suggests the Vienna piece should also be dated to the reign of Thutmose III. Komorzynski's dating to the Middle Kingdom must be incorrect on grounds of style; also, there is no example of a Middle Kingdom queen's statue with a vulture headdress over the Hathor wig.

XIII. Meritamun II (?) (cat.nos.81-3)

N. Coffins.

81. Amenhotpe II(?)

Cairo JE 53141 PM 1^2 i, 421 pl.145

Provenance: TT 358, found by Winlock in 1929.

Description: wooden anthropoid inner coffin which was stripped by tomb robbers and restored in paint in the 21st dynasty with little reference to the original design. The latter can be reconstructed from rows of small nail holes, traces of glue and chisel cuts that show the position of the sheets of gold that covered the coffin, which were held in place by glue or glue and nails according to the thickness of the metal, and trimmed in position with a chisel. The decoration was scored into the wood before the gold sheets were applied, and they were then rubbed and burnished to take the decoration. The queen originally wore a vulture headdress on a Hathor wig and a collar which runs under the two front tresses. The top half of the body is covered with feathers. Two wings coming from behind the shoulders wrap themselves round the lower part of the body in front. The arms and hands are not shown, and there was originally no inscription. The wig, at the point where it meets the shoulders, is narrower than the shoulders themselves.

Measurements: length 1.85m

maximum width 0.53m

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.11a).

References: Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 16-19, pls.18-21; with references in PM.

Meritamun II (?)

Remarks: see cat.nos.82,83. For possible identity and dating of queen see vol.1, 2.4.4.1, pp.69-78.

82. Amenhotpe II(?)

Cairo JE 53140 PM 1^2 i, 421 pl.146

Provenance: TT 358, found by Winlock in 1929.

Description: anthropoid second coffin, in which the first coffin (cat.no.81 above) was found, made of planks of coniferous wood and covered with gold and inlay, which was stripped by tomb robbers and painted yellow and blue by restorers. The wig is decorated with rows of chevrons interrupted on top of the head by two rows of horizontal bars running back from the forehead to the top of the head. The two front tresses end squarely at the base and between them is a wide collar with pear-shaped beads hanging from the bottom at a slightly lower level than the ends of the wig. There was apparently no uraeus. The arms are crossed on the breast and wear bracelets. Each hand holds a papyrus umbel. The top part of the body from the shoulders to the arms on the lid is decorated with a honeycomb pattern which would have been inlaid. The rest of the lid was decorated with gold sheets like the first coffin. The wood of the back and lower half of the lid was incesed with horizontal rows of long vertical feathers, instead of the wings on cat.nos.8 and 17. An inscription, originally inlaid, runs down the middle of the lid from below the arms to the feet.

Measurements: length 3.135m

maximum width 0.87m

width at feet 0.52m

Meritamun II (?); Sit[amun II?]

Insignia: none,

each hand holds papyrus umbel.

References: Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 19-21, pls.22-6;

Aldred New Kingdom Art, pl.12; with references in PM.

Remark: see cat.nos.81,83.

83. Amenhotpe II(?)

Cairo JE 55171a,b PM 1^2 i, 421 pl.147

Provenance: TT 358, found by Winlock in 1929.

Description: large anthropoid outer coffin, of which fragments only survive, probably made of tamarisk and certainly not of coniferous wood. It was covered with linen, over which was spread a hard white gesso. Only the head seems to have been decorated. The wig was scored with parallel lines, and on the top and either side were engraved the body and wings of a vulture, with a vulture head projecting from the brow. The hands held papyrus umbels. There is no trace of gilding or colour anywhere.

Measurements: length at least 3.25m

width at shoulders at least 1.0m

width at feet actual 0.75m

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.11b),

each hand holds papyrus umbel.

Remark: see cat.nos.81,82.

XIV. Sit[amun II?] (cat.no.84)

A. Temple scene

84. Amenhotpe II

London UC 14373 PM 2^2, 430 pl.103

Provenance: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe II.

Description: part of block showing head and shoulders of a female figure, facing right, called Sit[amun?] (s.t.u.).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.12a), whisk (3.5.7.1.9a).

References: Petrie Six Temples, pl.6 no.8, see p.6 (called VI.6); Samson Amarna^2, 46, pl.22; Stewart Egyptian Stelae, 5, pl.3 no.3.

Remarks: for a discussion of the piece and the possible identity of Sit[amun] with the princess on CG 34117, see vol.1, 2.4.4.2, pp.78-80. In PM, the owner is called "daughter of Amenophis III" after Petrie Six Temples, 6 no.13.

XV. Tiaa (cat.nos.85-93).

A. Temple scenes.

See cat.no.68; the original name of Meritre was changed to Tiaa.

85. Thutmose IV

ϕ PM 2^2, 72 pl.29

Provenance: Karnak, pillared porch of Thutmose IV, originally located in front of 4th pylon at Karnak; blocks found in 3rd pylon.

Description: part of scene showing Thutmose IV, facing left, followed by Tiaa, carrying out foundation ritual, sš pdt, with Sfht-^{c}bw (Sš3t) facing right (A.4); figure of queen poorly preserved.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (?) (3.5.1.1.10c),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.13b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.10b),
sceptre (3.5.11.1.4a).

References: Chevrier ASAE 51(1951), 568 fig.1, cf.p.550; Arch. Lacau MSS/RC A XXVI B-E; see Sauneron BIFAO 73(1973), 222-3, 241.

Remarks: only the bottom left hand corner of the double feathers survives, but if the shaft were present, it should be visible. To be published by B. Letellier; see id. in Hommages à Serge Sauneron I (Le Caire 1979), 51-71, esp.fig.6; id. BSFE 84(1979), 33-49.

B. Royal stelae.

86. Amenhotpe II

Cairo temp.no.6/11/26/6 PM 2^2, 166 pl.13

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: fragment of a limestone round-topped stela showing on the right, under the winged sundisk, traces of the tops of the double feathers of Amun facing left, with the white crown of Amenhotpe II followed by Tiaa facing the god (A.1); only the head of the queen is preserved.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.10a),
vulture headdress with vulture head(?) (3.5.3.1.13a),
(rest lost).

References: Legrain RT 26(1904), 222-223; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: see vol.1, 3.1.2.3, pp.92-3.

87. Thutmose IV

Unidentified second queen

∅ PM 2^2, 538 bottom ∅

Provenance: temple of Luxor, south part of sphinx avenue, in front of pylon, east massif.

Description: grey granite, round-topped stela with double scene showing Thutmose IV, followed by Tiaa on the left and by another queen on the right, offering to Amon-Re (A.1); with restoration text of Sety I.

Insignia (Tiaa): double feathers, unclear (3.5.1.1.10b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.10a),
(rest unclear).

(second queen): unclear.

Reference: Abdul Qader Muhammed ASAE 60(1968), 244 no.8, 248-9, pl.25, p.279, pl.106 no.9.

Remarks: the published photograph is too small for details to be clear, and I failed to find the stela when I was in Egypt; see also vol.1, 3.1.2.3, p.93. The name of the second queen is illegible on the published photograph, but the traces do not fit the name Tiaa (Abdul Qader Muhammed, p.249). Other queens from this reign are Iaret and Nofretary; Mutemwiya is only attested in the next. The traces might fit Nofretary.

E. Private tomb.

88. Thutmose IV

∅ PM 1^2 i, 150(5) pl.138

Location: statue of Tiaa shown in a scene including presentation of statues to king (3.3.9).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.10d),
vulture headdress with vulture head and uraeus(?)
(3.5.3.1.13d),
whisk (3.5.7.1.10c),
sistrum, loop, held by side (3.5.12.1.2a),
menit (3.5.13.1.3b).

References: Champollion Not.descr. 1, 481; Säve-Söderbergh Four Eighteenth Tombs, 50-51, pl.72; MMA photos.T.2104-5.

Remark: the scene, including Tiaa's statue, is now mostly destroyed, but tracings by Hay's assistant made at the beginning of last century enabled Nina Davies to reconstruct the scene, which was published by Säve-Söderbergh. A comparison of the tracings with parts of the scene still extant showed the tracings to be fairly accurate. The sketch of the queen's figure in Champollion is out of proportion. It agrees in most details with Nina Davies' reconstruction, but shows a coiled flower, not a sistrum and menit; there is no suggestion of a uraeus.

M. Sculpture.

89. Amenhotpe II

∅ PM 2^2, 176M ∅

Provenance: Karnak, 8th pylon, south face.

Description: statue originally joined to right leg of colossus of Amenhotpe II (3.3.2).

Insignia: uraeus (3.5.4.1.A.7a),
circlet (3.5.5.1.8a),
menit(?) (3.5.13.1.3a).

Tiaa

References: Labib Habachi ASAE 38(1938), 80-3 no.13; see also Arch.Lacau MSS/RC A XII a 6 for name of queen.

Remark: there is no published photograph; details are from Labib Habachi's verbal description.

90. Thutmose IV

CG 42080 PM 2^2, 96 pl.124

Provenance: temple of Karnak, south court of Thutmose III.

Description: black granite seated double statue of Thutmose IV and Tiaa (3.3.3).

Insignia: vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.13c; 3.5.4.1.C.2a),

arm round king (3.5.18.1.3a).

References: Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 35-6 no.17, pl.5; Legrain Statues 1, 46-7, pl.49; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.69; Hornemann Types 5, pls.1195-6; Vandier Manuel 3, 310-11, pl.103 no.1; with references in PM.

Remark: the king wears a uraeus, but no crown. This may influence the queen's lack of a circlet or double feathers.

91. Thutmose IV.

CG 1167 PM 4, 99 ∅

Provenance: Medinet el-Faiyum(?), suggested by the epithet of the queen mrjjt Sbk Šdt (not given by Borchardt).

Description: fragment of double seated statue of Thutmose IV(?) and Tiaa (3.3.3); only the legs survive.

Insignia: lost.

References: Borchardt Statuen 4, 87; see also Brugsch ZÄS 31(1893), 29 top.

Tiaa; Nofretary

92. Thutmose IV

ø PM 3^2 i, 40 ø

Provenance: Giza, great sphinx area.

Description: standing statue (3.3.5); base only surviving.

Insignia: figure lost.

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 78 fig.63; Zivie Giza, 160-4, NE 36.

Remark: PM does not make it clear that there are two statues, for which see Zivie; the second is cat.no.93 here.

93. Thutmose IV

ø PM 3^2 i, 40 ø

Provenance: see cat.no.92.

Description: seated(?) statue, of which only the back pillar survives (3.3.8).

Insignia: figure lost.

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 79 fig.64; Zivie Giza, 160-4, NE 36.

Remark: see cat.no.92, remark.

XVI. Nofretary (cat.nos.94-101)

B. Royal stelae.

Group of stela from the area of the great sphinx at Giza dedicated by Thutmose IV, eight of which also show Nofretary.

94. Thutmose IV

ø PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.14

Provenance: Giza, great sphinx area.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing Thutmose IV, followed by Nofretary, adoring Thoth (A.1); rather worn; no separate text beneath.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11a),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14a),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.13a).

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 95-6, pl.41a; Zivie Giza, 145-7, NE 15.

95. Thutmose IV

∅ PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.15

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing Thutmose IV, followed by Nofretary, censing before Horus-Re, Lord of Sakhbu (A.1); left hand bottom corner broken, including loss of queen's figure from knees down; no separate text beneath.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11b),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14b),
hands by side, one empty, other lost (3.5.17.1.13b).

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 95-6, pl.42; Zivie Giza, 148 NE 17; Sauneron BIFAO 55(1955), 63 fig.1.

96. Thutmose IV

∅ PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.16

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing, Thutmose IV, facing right, followed by Nofretary, offering to Sokar (A.1); no separate text below.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11c),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14c),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.13c).

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 95-6, pl.43a; Zivie Giza, 148-9, NE 18.

97. Thutmose IV

ø PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.17

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing Thutmose IV, facing right, followed by Nofretary, standing before Amon-Re (A.1); the scene is badly damaged, the figure of the king being lost, and the right hand bottom corner of the stela broken away; no separate text beneath.

Insignia: double feathers, plain(?) (3.5.1.1.11d),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14d),
hands by sides, one empty, other lost (3.5.17.1.13d).

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 95-6, pl.43b; Zivie Giza, 149, NE 19.

98. Thutmose IV

Cairo JE 59462 PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.18

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela, in fragments with section of top missing, top of king's figure and head of queen badly preserved; under winged sundisk, Thutmose IV faces right, followed by Nofretary, censing(?) and libating before goddess, name lost (A.1); no separate text beneath.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11e),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14e),
nothing in either hands, by sides (3.5.17.1.13e).

References: Selim Hassan Giza 8, 95-6,311, pl.49; Arch.Lacau photo. C i bis, 8; Zivie Giza, 154, NE 28

99. Thutmose IV

Cairo JE 59461 PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.19

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk, showing Thutmose IV, facing right, followed by Nofretary, offering wine to Ptah (A.1); no separate text beneath.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11f),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14f),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.13f).

References: Zivie Giza, 153, NE 26, pl.9; Arch.Lacau photo. C i bis, 7; see Selim Hassan Giza 8, 96,311 (the reference to pl.46b is wrong, see Zivie, p.153).

100. Thutmose IV

Leipzig Museum inv.no.2429 PM 3^2 i, 38 pl.20

Provenance: see cat.no.94.

Description: limestone, round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk, showing Thutmose IV, facing right, followed by Nofretary, offering to Mut (A.1); no separate text below.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.11g),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.14g),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.13g).

Nofretary; Iaret

References: Hölscher Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren (Leipzig 1912), 109-10, fig.161; Zivie Giza, 155-6, NE 30.

101. Thutmose IV

Cairo temp.no.19/4/47/1 PM 3^2 i, 38 ∅

Provenance: almost certainly from Giza, great sphinx area as cat.nos.94-100.

Description: Thutmose IV, followed by Nofretary, offers flowers to Atum (A.1).

Reference: unpublished; data from PM.

Remark: According to Zivie Giza, 151-2, NE 23, this is the same stela as Selim Hassan Giza 8, pl.46a, which shows Thutmose IV alone offering two vases to Atum. The description in PM is taken from the Cairo Museum temporary register, so that it is probable that it is a separate stela. Zivie may have confused the two because of the presence of Atum on both. However, until the stela with this number is actually examined, its identity will remain uncertain.

XVII. Iaret (cat.no.102)

B. Royal stela.

102. Year 7 of Thutmose IV

∅ PM 5, 254 pl.26

Location: Konosso.

Description: rock stela showing Thutmose IV, facing right, followed by Iaret, smiting a prisoner (A.2); with two and a half lines below containg titulary of king and date.

Iaret; Mutemwiya

Insignia; double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.12a),
ankh (3.5.8.1.7a),
sceptre, in same hand as ankh (3.5.11.1.5a),
other hand lost, not holding whisk because raised toward king.

References: LD 3, 69e; LD Text 4, 128 lower middle; Champollion Mon., 95 no.3.

Remark: the details of the queen's figure in the two drawings coincide, but Champollion omits the inscription and the names in the cartouche. He gives the lines below the scene in Not.descr. 1, 164 upper.

XVIII. Mutemwiya (cat.nos.103-115).

A. Temple scenes.

Temple of Luxor, cat.nos.103-109.

103. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2^2, 332(195)III pl.21

Location: temple of Luxor, room XX.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Mutemwiya, with two jars before a table of offerings and Amun and Mut (A.1); the figure of the queen has been erased and restored, probably during and after the Amarna period respectively.

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15a), circlet, decorated with uraei, rim, slightly wider at top than bottom (see vol.1, 3.5.5.3 end, p.186; 3.5.5.1.9a),

whisk (3.5.7.1.11a),

ankh (3.5.8.1.8a).

References: Brunner Die südliche Räume, 51 (Szene XX/184), also 31,83, pl.109; LD 3, 70 bis b; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: PM refers also to Champollion Mon., 336 no.2 and Rosellini Mon.stor., 3 no.11, which, however, are not from this scene, but are probably from the birth scene cat.no. 109 below.

Birth scenes, cat.nos.104-109.

104. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2^2, 326(152)III 1 pl.55

Location: temple of Luxor, room XIII.

Description: birth scene showing queen facing right before Hathor (B.1).

Insignia: double feathers with shaft (3.5.1.1.13b),

vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15c),

ankh (3.5.8.1.8c),

(other hand raised to touch Hathor's shoulder).

References: Brunner Geburt, pl.1; C. Campbell The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-hotep III and other Egyptian Studies (Edinburgh - London 1912), pl.facing p.22; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

105. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2^2, 326(152)III 4 pl.56

Location: see cat.no.104.

Description: birth scene showing queen seated with Amun (B.1).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.13d),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15d),
(hands held out to Amun).

References: Brunner Geburt, pl.4; C. Campbell The Miraculous Birth of Amon-hotep III and other Egyptian Studies, frontispiece; Lange - Hirmer Ägypten[4], pl.153; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

106. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2[2], 326-7(152)II 1 pl.57

Location: see cat.no.104.

Description: birth scene showing Mutemwiya, facing left, before Thoth (B.1).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.13c),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15e),
nothing in either hand, by sides (3.5.17.1.14a).

References: Brunner Geburt, pl.7; C. Campbell The Miraculous Birth of Amon-hotep III and other Egyptian Studies, pl. facing p.30 left; F Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbetts-darstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.13 left; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

107. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2[2], 326-7(152)II 2 pl.58

Location: see cat.no.104.

Description: birth scene showing the queen, pregnant, facing right, being led to the birth room by Hathor and Khnum (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15f),
(holds hands of deities).

References: Brunner Geburt, pl.8; C. Campbell The Miraculous Birth of Amon-hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies, pl. facing p.30 right; F. Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbetts-darstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs (München 1915), fig.13 right; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

108. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2^2, 326(152)II 3 pl.59

Location: see cat.no.104.

Description: birth scene showing the birth of Amenhotpe III (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15g), circlet, rim, top slightly wider than bottom (3.5.5.1.9c), (hands held by goddesses).

References: Brunner Geburt, pl.9; C. Campbell The Miraculous Birth of Amon-hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies (Edinburgh - London 1912), pl. facing p.34 top; F, Weindler Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf altägyptischen Tempelreliefs, fig.14; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

109. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 2^2, 326(152)I 1 pl.60

Location: see cat.no.104.

Description: birth scene showing Amenhotpe III and ka being suckled (B.1).

Insignia: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.15h), circlet, top slightly wider than bottom (3.5.5.1.9d), (arms held with fists closed on breast; compare with cat no.24, where Ahmose holds her baby).

E. Private tomb.

110. Amenhotpe III

Luxor Museum J.134 PM 1^2 i, 327(4) pl.43

Provenance: TT 226 (name of owner lost), hall.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing right, seated in a kiosk, with Mutemwiya standing behind him (A.10); not preserved completely.

Insignia: vulture head with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.15b),
circlet, oblong, plain, red (3.5.5.1.9b),
arms round king (3.5.18.1.4a).

References: Davies Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, 38-9, pls.41,43; Descroches-Noblecourt Life and Death of a Pharaoh: Tutankhamen (London 1963), 117 fig.58; Scott BMMA 24(1965), frontispiece (colour); The Luxor Museum of Ancient Art: Catalogue (Cairo 1979), 79 no.101, fig.59; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 93.

G. Rock graffito.

111. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 5, 249 pl.44

Location: Aswan.

Description: graffito showing Amenhotpe III and Mutemwiya seated, facing left, in a kiosk, with Heqareshu standing before them, holding a fan (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.5.1.13a),
uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.1.A.8a),
ankh (3.5.8.1.8b),
arm round king (3.5.1.18.4b).

References: Labib Habachi in Festschrift Schott, 67 fig.5; see also Frandsen Acta Orientalia 37(1976), 8D.

Remark: there is no published photograph. The graffito was earlier published in de Morgan Cat.des mon. 1, 41 no.181 (rubbing), Champollion Mon. 95 no.2 and Rosellini Mon.stor., 43 no.4 (drawings), in all of which the queen is unnamed. Labib Habachi, p.67 n.22, says that the name of the queen "is not clear, but enough traces are still there to make our reading sure." The rubbing gives few details of the figures. Neither of the drawings in Rosellini or Champollion agrees in detail with that of Labib Habachi, both omitting the uraei and giving the queen a disk on her double feathers, which is unattested at this period without the horns as well; even the combination of horns and disk is still rare in the reign of Amenhotpe III and is not known for Mutemwiya (3.5.2).

M. Sculpture.

112. Amenhotpe III

BM 43,43A PM 2^2, 102 pl.122

Provenance: temple of Karnak, granite sanctuary of Philip Arrhidaeus replacing bark shrine of Thutmose III.

Description: statue of queen seated in bark (3.3.1); damaged; head survives separately from body.

Insignia: uraeus, top broken (3.5.4.1.A.8b), circlet, decorated with uraei wearing sundisks, cartouche of queen centre front (3.5.5.1.9e), ankh, held flat on thigh (3.5.8.1.8d).

References: C. Yorke and W. Leake On some Egyptian Monuments in the British Museum and other Collections (1826),

pl.5 fig.14 (showing ankh); P. Montet Lives of the Pharaohs (London 1968), 118; Barguet Temple, 138 n.5, pl.24c; with references in PM.

113. Amenhotpe III

ø (see PM 2^2, 446) ø

Location: by storehouses to north of Ramesseum, originally from mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III(?).

Description: black granite seated statue (3.3.1); lower half only.

Insignia: lost, if any.

References: seen Sept.1978; see also Gauthier LR 2, 330-1; Wilbour MSS 3 C.287.

Remark: Wilbour records a statue with similar inscription, but gives the location as south of the Ramesseum. Gauthier notes that Daressy saw a statue of Mutemwiya south of the Ramesseum near the temple of Merneptah. Either one statue has moved or there are at least two. PM suggests that Wilbour's statue comes from the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV. Since Mutemwiya is unknown from that king's reign and only comes into prominence with the accession of her son, any statue of her in his mortuary temple would probably have been set up by Amenhotpe III. However, it is likely that Amenhotpe III would have placed statues of his mother in his own mortuary temple.

114. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 2^2, 449 ø

Location: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, entrance.

Description: statue by left leg of south colossus of Amenhotpe III (3.3.2).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.15i),
circlet, tall, patterned (3.5.5.1.9f),
fillet (3.5.6.1.4b).

References: Jéquier L'architecture, pl.72; von Hagen Archaeology 2(1949), 201 figs,2,5.

115. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 2^2, 449 ø

Location: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, entrance.

Description: statue by left leg of north colossus of Amenhotpe III (3.3.2).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.15j),
circlet, tall, patterned (3.5.5.1.9g),
fillet (?, not clear on available photographs).

References: Peek MDAIK 5(1934), pl.13; von Hagen Archaeology 2(1949), 202 fig.3.

XIX. Teye (cat.nos.116-175)

As explained in the introduction (vol.1), it has been necessary to terminate this study at the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III. Since Teye as mwt nsw of Akhenaton must be considered in relation to Nefertiti, hmt nsw wrt of Akhenaton, her monuments which certainly date to the reign of Akhenaton, especially those which come from or are located at Amarna, are omitted. However, a few objects which may perhaps date to the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton have been included, such as the

group of finds from Medinet Ghurab, among which is a label bearing a funerary text for Amenhotpe III dedicated by Teye; it presumably dates around the time of the king's death.

A. Temple scenes.

116. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 5, 228 pl.22

Location: Elephantine, temple of Amenhotpe III (now destroyed).

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing right, followed by Teye, censing and libating before bark of Khnum (A.1).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14a),
vulture headdress with double uraeus decorated with white and red crowns (3.5.3.1.16a; 3.5.4.3.4a),
fillet, patterned, no ends (3.5.6.1.5a),
sistrum, loop, shaken (3.5.12.1.3a).

References: Young Hieroglyphics, 57; Denon Voyages dans la basse et la haute Égypte pendant les campagnes de Bonaparte (London 1802), pl.70 no.5; Minutoli Der Reise des Freiherrn von Minutoli zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der Libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Aegypten (Berlin 1824), pl.23 no.5.

Remark: the temple is now destroyed, and the scene is only preserved in these linedrawings. Young and Minutoli agree fairly closely in the figure of the queen, except that Young gives her sandals while Minutoli does not. The drawing in Denon is obviously inaccurate.

Sed festival scenes (cat.nos.117-141).

Where the name of the queen is lost in these scenes, she is assumed to be Teye, since no other queen is named in the

sed festival scenes of Amenhotpe III.

117. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 2^2, 244 ø

Provenance: Karnak, temple of Khonsu, block reused; probably originally from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III (see also PM 2^2, 452).

Description: block with part of sed festival scene showing upper part of Teye, followed by three standard-bearers (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers (3.5.1.1.14v).

Reference: Borchardt ZÄS 61(1926), 41-2, block 18.

Remark: verbal description of block only; no insignia mentioned except the double feathers.

118. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 2^2, 244 ø

Provenance: see cat.no.117.

Description: block showing part of sed festival scene with upper part of Teye facing left (A.5).

Insignia: whisk (3.5.7.1.12c).

Reference: Borchardt ZÄS 61(1926), 47, block 42.

Remark: verbal description of block only; no insignia mentioned except the whisk.

119. Amenhotpe III

ø ø pl.30

Provenance: Karnak, foundation of colossus by 2nd pylon, reused, originally from mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III.

Teye

Description: block with part of sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, upper part of body and legs remaining, facing left, followed by Teye, feet and body lost above waist, leaving palace (A.5).

Insignia: baton held by side (3.5.9.1.4a),
(any other lost).

Reference: Labib Habachi Second Stela of Kamose, 22 fig.8.

Temple of Soleb (cat.nos.120-141).

The temple of Soleb is to be published by Leclant et al.; LD Text 5, 238-9 gives a sketch of the wall in the court of the temple on which sed festival scenes occur. The scenes are recorded on Breasted photos.3210-3240; much is lost through poor preservation of reliefs.

120. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7; 170(5)-(6) pl.31

Location: temple of Soleb, pylon, inner face.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14q),
vulture headdress with uraeus, plain (3.5.3.1.16d; 3.5.4.1.B.3b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12d),
flower (3.5.10.1.1b).

References: Breasted photo.3200; LD 3, 84b; LD Text 5, 235; see also Breasted AJSL 25(1908), 89-92, figs.50-51; Wilson JAOS 56(1936), 293-6.

Remark: the face and figure from the knees down are destroyed on Breasted photo.3200. It is unclear on the photograph whether there are one or two uraei; Lepsius shows one.

121. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 7, 170(7) ϕ

Location: temple of Soleb, court.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); behind the queen are two groups of figures, possibly msw nsw; badly preserved, titles and head of queen missing.

Insignia: lost.

References: Breasted photo.3210; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.1.

122. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 7, 170(7) ϕ

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, behind whom the register subdivides into two: I, man with calf-length skirt, head lost, and four figures, heads lost, of a woman(?) and three priests; II, two male round-fanbearers followed by procession of bearers with shrine and standard extending into upper register (A.5); badly preserved, inscription and head of Teye lost.

Insignia: (head lost),

whisk (3.5.7.1.12e),

flower (3.5.10.1.1c).

References: Breasted photo.3211; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.1.

Teye

123. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, who is followed by a standard bearer of Wepwawet, behind whom the register is subdivided into three, with men carrying standards (A.5); face and wig of queen lost.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14f),
double uraeus decorated with red and white crowns (3.5.4.3.4b),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9c),
baton (3.5.9.1.4b).

References: Breasted photo.3212 upper left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.I.

124. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14g),
double uraeus (? with decoration) (3.5.4.3.4c),
fillet, no ends (3.5.6.1.5d),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12f),
(other hand lost).

References: Breasted photo.3212 upper right; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.I.

125. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye(A.5); title and cartouche of queen lost.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14h),
double uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.3.4d),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9d),
(other hand and arm lost).

References: Breasted photo.3213 right end; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.I.

126. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); head and inscription of queen lost.

Insignia: double feathers, ? (3.5.1.1.14s),
baton (3.5.9.1.4c),
(other hand and arm lost),

References: Breasted photo.3215 left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.2/II.

127. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Teye

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14i),
uraeus, plain(?) (3.5.4.1.A.9b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12g),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9e).

References: Breasted photos.3212 bottom = 3215 top = 3216 left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.II.

128. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); figure of queen almost totally lost.

Insignia: completely unclear.

References: Breasted photo.3217 left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.II.

129. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); figure of queen almost totally lost.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14j),
(rest unclear).

References: Breasted photo.3217 top; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.II.

Teye

130. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); figure of queen almost totally lost.

Insignia: double uraeus, plain (3.5.1.1.14k), (rest lost).

References: Breasted photo.3217 bottom right; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.II.

131. Amenhotpe III

ø pm 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, before ithyphallic god (A.5); figure of queen almost totally lost.

Insignia: double feathers, ? (3.5.1.1.14t), shakes loop sistrum (3.5.12.1.3d), (rest lost).

References: Breasted photo.3219 right edge; not entered in LD Text 5, 238-9, = right end which is blank.

132. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, behind whom the register divides into three: I, figure of woman, rest unclear; II and III,

procession of priests with standards extending into I above (A.5).

Insignia: double uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.3.4e),
(no other insignia on head),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12h),
ankh (or sistrum?) by side (3.5.8.1.9f).

References: Breasted photo.3220 left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.III.

133. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5).

Insignia: double uraeus, plain(?) (3.5.4.3.4f),
(no other insignia on head),
baton (3.5.9.1.4d),
flower (3.5.10.1.1d).

References: Breasted photo.3220 right; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.III.

134. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 7, 170(7) ø

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5); figure of queen almost totally lost.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.141),
(rest unclear).

Teye

References: Breasted photo.3223; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.IV.

135. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM &, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene (A.5); poorly preserved; showing figure of queen; king unclear.

Insignia: double feathers with shaft (3.5.1.1.14r),
baton (3.5.9.1.4e),
flower (3.5.10.1.1e).

References: Breasted photo.3224; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.IV.

136. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) ∅

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene (A.5); poorly preserved with only the double feathers and feet romaining of the queen.

Insignia: double feathers, ? (3.5.1.1.14u),
(rest lost).

References: Breasted photo.3229; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.V.

137. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) pl.32 left

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, followed by small female figure and procession (A.5).

Teye

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14m),
double uraeus decorated with horns and disk (?)
(3.5.4.3.4g),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12i),
flower (3.5.10.1.1f).

References: Breasted photo.3232; LD 3, 85b left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.VI.

Remark: LD 3, 85b left shows only the stem of the flower, but the whole flower is clear on Breasted photo.3232.

138. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 7, 170(7) pl.32 right

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14n),
vulture headdress with double uraeus(?) (3.5.3.1.16e),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12j),
flower (3.5.10.1.1g).

Reference: Breasted photo.3233; LD 3, 85b right; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.VI.

Remarks: LD shows the figure of the queen in similar fashion to cat.no.137, LD 3, 85b left; the Breasted photo. clearly shows a vulture headdress; the brow is damaged. LD 3, 85b right shows the double uraeus, which is not clear on the Breasted photo. If the figure in LD is merely a duplicate of that in cat.no.137, the double uraeus may also be incorrect, and it is not entered in section 5. LD 3, 85b right shows the stem of a flower which may also merely repeat cat.no.137.

Breasted photo.3233 shows the queen is carrying a flower here too.

139. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 7, 170(7) pl.33 left

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, behind whom the register subdivides into two, each with two figures, the bottom ones called msw [nsw?] (A.5).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14o),
double uraeus, decorated (lost on photo) (3.5.4.3.4h),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12k),
flower (3.5.10.1.1h).

References: Breasted photo.3236; LD 3, 86a left; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.VII.

Remark: LD 3, 86a left (cat.no.139) and right (cat.no.140 below) both show the object held by the queen's side as a cloth. The hand is lost on the figure in the Breasted photo.3236, but on 3237 (cat.no.140) the object held seems to be a flower, as in cat.nos.137-8; the traces in the photo. do not fit the cloth.

140. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 7, 170(7) pl.33 right

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, who is followed by a procession in three registers (A.5).

Teye

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14p),
double uraeus with decoration (3.5.4.3i),
whisk (3.5.7.1.121),
flower (3.5.10.1.1i).

References: Breasted photo.3237; LD 3, 86a right; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.VII.

Remark: see cat.no.139 above, remark.

141. Amenhotpe III

Ese (s3t nsw)

Henuttaneb (s3t nsw)

ϕ PM 7, 170(7) ϕ

Location: see cat.no.121.

Description: sed festival scene showing Teye and two daughters, Ese and Henuttaneb, facing left, standing behind the throne of Amenhotpe III (A.5); the figure of the queen is completely lost.

Insignia (Teye): (figure lost).

Insignia (Ese and Henuttaneb): none.

References: Breasted photo.3239; LD 3, 86b; see also LD Text 5, 238-9.VII.

142. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 7, 166 pl.78

Location: temple of Sedeinga.

Description: entablature showing Teye as female sphinx rampant (C.1).

Insignia: none.

Teye

References: Prisse d'Avennes Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments (Paris 1879), pl.12 no.2; LD 3, 82 i; Selim Hassan Giza 8, 183-191, fig.123; Hermann ZÄS 73(1937), 68-7, esp.72 fig.1.

B. Royal stela.

143. Amenhotpe III

Berlin (East) Museum inv.23270 (head of queen from left scene)	PM 2^2, 451	pl.23

Location: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, entrance in front of columns, re-ected (south stela).

Description: round-topped stela with double scene under sundisk showing, on the left, Amenhotpe III, facing right, followed by Teye, receiving life from Sokar-Osiris; on the right, Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, receiving life from Amon-Re (A.1); with 24 lines of text.

Insignia (both sides): double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14b),
vulture headdress with vulture head and uraeus decorated with white crown (left side) and with horns and disk (right side) (3.5.3.1.16b; 3.5.4.1.B.3a),
flower (3.5.10.1.1a),
sistrum, naos, shaken (3.5.12.1.3b).

References: LD 3, 72; Borchardt Porträtkopf, 25 Abb.38 (both heads): Schäfer Amarna in Religion und Kunst, pl.2 (left head only); Champollion Mon., 274 no.2 (left scene only); with references in PM.

Remarks: LD omits the vulture head an uraeus in the left scene; otherwise the details of the heads agree with the photographs. The details of the figure given by Champollion are similar to those in LD.

C. Private stelae.

144. Amenhotpe III

München Gl.WAF 28 PM 5, 242 pl.24

Provenance: probably from the calcite quarry at Hatnub (München Staatliche Sammlung Aegyptische Kunst [1976]^2, 83 no.58), rather than Elephantine, as PM; brought from Egypt by Hauptmann F. Michel.

Description: rectangular funerary stela of fine veined calcite belonging to Sebeknakht, with scene in top register showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, dedicating a pile of offerings to Osiris (A.1); below; two registers with members of Sebeknakht's family with offerings.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14c),
vulture headdress with uraeus(?) (3.5.3.1.16c),
fillet, no ends (3.5.6.1.5b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12a),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9a),
sistrum, naos, held by side with ankh (3.5.12.1.3c).

References: Spiegelberg et al. Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen 2, 20-40, pl.11 no.16; Villa Hügel Essen 5000 Jahren Aegyptische Kunst, no.94; München Staatliche Sammlung Aegyptische Kunst (1976)^2, 83 no.58; Müller MJbK 3 Folge 25 1974, 219 fig.9.

Teye.

145. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 4, 113 pl.25

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab(?).

Description: small wooden round-topped stela with scene showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye, censing before Amon-Re (A.1); no text.

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14d),
horns and disk (3.5.2.1.1a),
uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.1.A.9a),
fillet, no ends (3.5.6.1.5c),
renpet (3.5.14.1.1a),
(other hand raised, empty).

Reference: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 18-19 fig.24.

Remark: this can hardly be classed as a royal stela, but it is unlikely to be either a funerary or votive private stela such as would be set up in a tomb or temple. It may have been made for a small shrine, probably a household one, such as was common at Amarna.

E. Private tombs.

146. Amenhotpe III

Brussels, Mus.roy.du Cinquantenaire E.2157 (head only) PM 1^2 i, 87 pl.45

Location: TT 47 (Userhat), hall.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye, facing left, seated in a kiosk (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft, and support decorated with uraei (3.5.1.1.14z),

double uraeus decorated with red and white crowns
(3.5.4.3.4j),
fillet, patterned, with hawk at back (3.5.6.1.5e),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12p),
flower (3.5.10.1.1j).

References: Carter ASAE 4(1903), 177, pl.2; Borchardt Porträt-kopf, pl.5; Capart BMRAH 2.ser. 1(1908), 9-11, figs.1-2 and plate; Aldred New Kingdom Art, pl.85; with references in PM; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 82.

147. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 1^2 i, 234(3) pl.46

Location: TT 120 (Anen), hall.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye, facing right, seated in a kiosk (A.10); upper part of figures lost.

Insignia: (head lost),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12q),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9i).

References: Davies BMMA ii Nov.1929, 35-6, fig.1; W. Smith Art and Architecture in Egypt (Harmondsworth 1958), pl.107B (from MMA photograph); MMA photos.T.1943-50; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 82-3.

Remark: the ankh is made of flowers, which may put the object in a different category from the normal ankh held by queens, see Fischer ZÄS 100(1974),25.

148. Amenhotpe III, year 30 at the earliest

ø PM 1^2 i, 298(5)I 1 ø

Location: TT 192 (Kheruef), portico.

Description: scene in sed festival series showing Amenhotpe III and Teye in the night bark with five others including Kheruef, being pulled by priests (A.5); figures of king and queen totally lost.

Insignia: (lost).

Reference: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 492-500, pl.40; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pl.24 (with date), pl.46, see pp.53-4.

Remark: the date of year 30 (see also cat.nos.149-150), which refers to the first sed festival, is the earliest that this part of the tomb could have been decorated, but the date of year 37, referring to the third sed festival, in the parallel sequence of sed festival scenes (cat.nos.151-2 below) suggests that the first date is retrospective, unless there was a gap of seven years between the execution of the two series of scenes (see Epigraphic Survey, p.13).

149. Amenhotpe III, year 30 at the earliest (see cat.no.148).

ø PM 1^2 i, 298(5)I 2 pl.35

Description: scene in sed festival series showing Amenhotpe III and Teye leaving palace, preceded by priests with standards (A.5).

Insignia: uraeus decorated with horns and disk (3.5.4.1.A.9c),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12m),
(other hand lost).

References: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 491-500, pl.40; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pl.24 (with date), pls.41,42, see pp.49-50; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 83.

150. Amenhotpe III, year 30 at earliest (see cat.no.148).

ø PM 1^2 i, 299(6) pl.48

Location: TT 192 (Kheruef), portico.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III and Hathor, facing left, seated in a kiosk, with Teye standing behind them (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, shaft, with support decorated with uraei (3.5.1.1.14ab),
horns and disk (3.5.2.1.1b),
double uraeus decorated with white and red crowns (3.5.4.3.4k),
fillet, patterned ends (3.5.6.1.5f),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12r),
flower (3.5.10.1.1k).

References: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 488-92, pl.40; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 Chicago 1980), pls.24 (with date), 25,26, see pp.41-43; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 83; for discussion, see E. Wente "Hathor at the Jubilee" in Studies in honor of John A. Wilson (Chicago 1969),

Teye

Remarks: Ahmed Fakhry omits the shaft on the double feathers. The fillet is decorated with the spread wings of a bird at the back, compare cat.no.146.

151. Amenhotpe III, year 37 at earliest

∅ PM 1^2 i, 299(7)I 1 pl.34

Location: TT 192 (Kheruef), portico.

Description: scene in sed festival series showing Amenhotpe III, facing left, followed by Teye and princesses, erecting the dd pillar (A.5); head of king and head and shoulders of queen lost.

Insignia: (head lost),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12n),
sceptre by side (3.5.11.1.6b).

References: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 476-84, pl.39; Brugsch Thesaurus 5, 1190; with references in PM; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pls.47 (with date), 55-57, pp.61-2; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 83.

Remarks: a rough sketch by Erman published by Brugsch shows the queen's head with double feathers, vulture headdress and crowned double uraeus; this is used by the Epigraphic Survey to restore the scene. The date of year 37 is clear; Erman, in dim light, read it as 36 (Epigraphic Survey, p.28).

152. Amenhotpe III, year 37 at earliest.

∅ PM 1^2 i, 299(8) pl.47.

Teye

Location: TT 192 (Kheruef), portico.

Description: scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye, facing right, seated in a kiosk (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14aa),
double uraeus decorated with white and red crowns (3.5.4.3.41),
fillet, no ends (3.5.6.1.5g),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12s),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9j).

References: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 469-75, pls.39 left,41; Lange - Hirmer Aegypten[4], pl.154; with references in PM; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pls.47 (with date),48,49, see pp.54-6; see also Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie (Berlin 1969), 83.

H. Furniture.

153. Amenhotpe III

Berlin Museum inv.no.17587 PM 4, 112 pl.49

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab.

Description: box lid with scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye, facing right, standing in a kiosk with a smaller figure facing them (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14ac),
vulture headdress (?) with ?,
arms round king (3.5.18.1.5a).

Reference: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 21 fig.29; see Aeg.Inschr. 2, 305.

Remark: the photograph in Borchardt does not show details clearly. Marks at the back of the head possibly indicate a vulture tail, but this is too uncertain to be entered in section 3.5.3.1.

154. Amenhotpe III

CG 51112 PM 1^2 ii, 563 pls.73-74

Provenance: KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu).

Description: chair with scene on back showing Teye facing left seated in a papyrus boat, a cat under her chair, with Sitamun III standing before her offering a bouquet, and another, unnamed, princess standing behind the queen (B.8).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.14ah), vulture headdress with vulture head (?) (3.5.3.1.16h), whisk (3.5.7.1.12w), ankh (3.5.8.1.9m).

References: J. Quibell The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu (Le Caire 1908), 52-3, pls.35-7; Davis et al. Tomb of Youiya and Touiyou, 42-4, fig.4, pl.36; with references in PM.

155. Amenhotpe III

ø PM 1^2 1, 299(8) pl.47

Location: TT 192(Kheruef), portico.

Description: scene on the side of Teye's throne, in kiosk scene, showing the queen facing right as a female sphinx trampling two female captives (C.2).

Insignia: uraeus decorated with horns and disk (3.5.4.1.A.9f), circlet, oblong, plain (3.5.5.1.10a).

References: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), pls.39,42 top; Leibovitch ASAE 42(1943), 93-5, fig.11 (circlet omitted); Lange - Hirmer Aegypten[4], pl.154; The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pls.47-49,52A, see pp.55-6.

156. Amenhotpe III

location unknown ∅ pl.79

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab(?)

Description: ivory inlay from the side of a box showing two identical female sphinxes facing each other with three cartouches between, one with name of Teye, and the other two erased (presumably Amenhotpe III) (C.3).

Insignia:

Both sphinxes: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.14a1),
horns and disk (3.5.2.1.1c),
vulture headdress with uraeus(?) (3.5.3.1.16j),
fillet, unclear (3.5.6.1.5h),
holds two renpet (3.5.14.1c),

Reference: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 21-2 no.18, fig.30.

I. Jewellery.

Bracelet plaques (cat.nos.157-159).

157. Amenhotpe III

Ese III (s3t nsw)

Henuttaneb (s3t nsw)

MMA 44.2.1 PM 1^2 ii, 588 pl.39

Provenance: presumed from KV 22 (Amenhotpe III), see 3.1.9.

Description: carnelian bracelet plaque with scene showing Amenhotpe III, in sed festival dress, with Teye, seated facing right, with Ese III and Henuttaneb each playing a loop sistrum before them (A.8).

Insignia:

Teye: double feathers, with horizontal lines (3.5.1.1.14w),
uraeus, plain(?) (3.5.4.1.A.9d),
one hand touches Amenhotpe III,
other hand on lap, unclear whether holding anything (3.5.17.1.15a).

Princesses: circlet,
ankh, by side,
sistrum, loop, shaken.

Reference: Hayes BMMA 6(1947-8), 272.

158. Amenhotpe III

Ese III (s3t nsw) ?

Henuttaneb (s3t nsw) ?

MMA 26.7.1340 (ex Carnarvon coll.) | PM 1^2 ii, 588 | pl.40

Provenance: Valley of the Kings, outside KV 22 (Amenhotpe III), presumed from there, see 3.1.9.

Description: carnelian bracelet plaque with scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye seated, facing right, with two female figures before them (probably princesses as in cat. no.157), each carrying a renpet and sistrum (A.8).

Insignia:

Teye: double feathers, with shaft (3.5.1.1.14x),
vulture headdress with vulture head(?) (3.5.3.1.16f),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12o),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9g).

Princesses(?): sistrum, loop, shaken,
renpet.

References: JEA 3(1916), 73-5, pl.11; Hayes Scepter 2, 243, fig. 147 top right; Hayes BMMA 6(1947-8), 273; Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition Catalogue (London 1922), pl.51 top, p.27 no.26.

159. Amenhotpe III

MMA 26.7.1339 (ex Carnarvon coll.)	PM 1^2 ii, 588	pl.41

Provenance: see cat.no.158.

Description: carnelian bracelet plaque with double scene: left, Amenhotpe III seated in sed festival kiosk, facing left, with crown of Upper Egypt, with Teye standing before him holding a renpet and offering an ankh to the king's nose; right, Amenhotpe III seated in sed festival kiosk, facing right, with crown of lower Egypt, with Teye standing before him holding a renpet and offering a cartouche with the prenomen of the king (A.9).

Insignia (both scenes): double feathers, unclear (3.5.1.1.14y),
renpet (3.5.14.1.9h),

(left scene only): ankh (3.5.8.1.9h).

References: JEA 3(1916), 73-5, pl.11; Hayes Scepter 2, 243, fig. 147 top left; Hayes BMMA 6(1947-8), 273; Burlington Fine Arts

Club Exhibition Catalogue (London 1922), 26 no.26A, pl.51 bottom.

160. Amenhotpe III

ex Pier collection (present location unknown) ♀ pl.105

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab(?)

Description: ivory menit with figure of Teye on handle.

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14am),
vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.16k),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12aa),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9q).

References: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 22 fig.33; The Garrett Chatfield Pier Collection of Egyptian Antiquities (New York 1936), 24 no.100.

J. Scarabs.

161. Amenhotpe III

ex Brocklehurst collection (present location unknown) ♀ pl.27

Provenance: Unknown.

Description: scarab with figures of Amenhotpe III, facing right, followed by Teye, holding an enemy (A.2).

Insignia: double feathers, horizontal lines (3.5.1.1.14e),
vulture headdress (??) with uraeus (?),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12b),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9b),
sceptre, in same hand as ankh (3.5.11.1.6a).

References: Petrie HS, 1309; Matouk Corpus 1, 88 no.490.

Remarks: not in David Macclesfield Collection, which consists of objects from the Brocklehurst collection. Details on the scarab are unclear, and it is uncertain whether the indentation at the back of the wig is meant to signify the tail of the vulture headdress. If there is no vulture headdress, the item on the brow must be a uraeus; otherwise it could be a badly incised vulture head. Because of these uncertainties, I have made no entries in sections 3.5.3.1 and 3.5.4.1.

162. Amenhotpe III

BM 16920 ∅ pl.53

Provenance: unknown.

Description: scarab with figures of Amenhotpe III followed by Teye, standing facing right (A.14).

Insignia: double feathers with full details (3.5.1.1.14af),
vulture headdress with ?, unclear (3.5.3.1.16g),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12u),
ankh (3.5.8.1.91).

References: Hall Scarabs, 1723; Newberry Scarabs, pl.30 no.28; Petrie HS, 1305.

163. Amenhotpe III

Brooklyn Museum 34.1301 ∅ ∅

Provenance: unknown.

Description: scarab with figures of Amenhotpe III followed by Teye, standing facing right (A.14).

Insignia: double feathers (?, called "feathered head-dress") (3.5.1.1.14ag),
whisk (?, called "lily") (3.5.7.1.12v).

Reference: James Corpus 1, 111 no.252c, pl.89.

Remark: there is no illustration of the scarab, and the details are from a verbal description. "Feathered head-dress" could mean "vulture headdress" and "lily" could be my "flower", but another scarab with scene type A.14 (cat.no.162 above) shows the queen with double feathers and whisk.

164. Amenhotpe III

BM 16919 ∅ pl.77

Provenance: unknown.

Description: scarab with figure of Teye, seated, facing right (B.10).

Insignia: double feathers, with horizontal lines (3.5.1.1.14ai),
uraeus, unclear (3.5.3.1.A.9e),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12x),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9n).

References: Hall Scarabs, 1923; Petrie HS, 1308 (BM number given wrongly as 16916); Matouk Corpus 1, 89 no.491a.

165. Amenhotpe III

Durham Gulbenkian Museum N 1051 ∅ ∅

Provenance: unknown.

Description: scarab with seated figure of Teye (B.10).

Insignia: double feathers (3.5.1.1.14aj),
vulture headdress with ? (3.5.3.1.16i),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12y),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9o).

Reference: Birch Catalogue, 141 no.1051.

166. Amenhotpe III

ex Pier collection (present location unknown) ∅ pl.76

Provenance: unknown.

Description: scarab with figure of Teye, seated, facing right (B.10).

Insignia: double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14ak),
vulture headdress (??) with uraeus (?),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12z),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9p).

Reference: Pier Egyptian Antiquities, pl.19 no.148.

Remark: drawing of scarab only. It is unclear whether the queen wears a vulture headdress. If so, the object on the brow could be either a vulture head or uraeus. None of these items has been entered in sections 3.5.3.1 and 3.5.4.1.

K. Chalice.

167. Amenhotpe III

Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E 4605-1943 ∅ pl.50

Provenance: unknown.

Description: small fragment of glazed frit chalice with part of scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye seated, facing right, in a kiosk (A.10).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.14ad),
double uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.3.4m),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12t),
ankh (3.5.8.1.9k).

Reference: unpublished; photograph supplied by museum.

L. Label.

168. late Amenhotpe III/early Amenhotpe IV

Berlin Museum inv.no.17812 PM 4, 113 ∅

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab.

Description: wooden round-topped label with scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye embracing (A.13).

Insignia: double feathers, unclear (3.5.1.1.14ae),
king and queen embrace (3.5.18.1.5b).

References: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 19-20, fig.26; see also Aeg. Inschr. 2, 393.

Remark: the label was probably tied to an object dedicated by Teye to Amenhotpe III. The htp dj nsw formula shows that its purpose was funerary, and so one should almost certainly place its manufacture around the time of the death of Amenhotpe III; though funerary in purpose, it could have been made in anticipation of his death.

M. Sculpture.

169. Amenhotpe III

Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum PM 4, 113 pl.123
Hildesheim 53b

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab(?).

Description: ebony seated statuette, height 0.065m. (3.3.1); paired with seated statuette of Amenhotpe III (53a), but not joined.

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.14an),
horns and disk decorated with two uraei (3.5.2.1.1d),
double uraeus, plain (3.5.4.3.4n),

fillet, with single end falling down back of wig with a uraeus on either side at bottom, patterned (3.5.6.1.5i), one hand on breast, lost, other on thigh, both pierced for holding an object.

References: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 14-15, figs.12-14; Hornemann Types 4, pl.1068; G. Roeder Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim (Berlin 1921), fig.23; Vandier Manuel 3, 329, pl.105 no.5; H. Kayser Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim (Hildesheim 1973), 70 nos.53a,b, Abb.53.

170. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 2^2, 449 ϕ

Location: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, entrance.

Description: statue by right leg of south colossus of Amenhotpe III (3.3.2).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.161),
circlet, tall (3.5.5.1.10b),
fillet, unclear (3.5.6.1.5j).

References: Jéquier L'architecture 1, pls.71-2; D. Roberts Egypt and Nubia 1 (London 1846), pl.12; R. Schwaller de Lubicz Le Temple de l'homme Apet du sud à Louqsor 2 (Paris 1957), pl.45; with references in PM.

171. Amenhotpe III

ϕ PM 2^2, 449 ϕ

Location: mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, entrance.

Description: statue by right leg of north colossus of Amenhotpe III (3.3.2).

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.16m),
circlet, tall, patterned (3.5.5.1.10c),
fillet, patterned (3.5.6.1.5k).

References: Jéquier L'architecture 1, pls.71-2; D. Roberts Egypt and Nubia 1 (London 1846), pl.12; photograph of C. Vandersleyen (acknowledged with thanks); with references in PM.

172. Amenhotpe III

Henuttameh (s3t nsw)
Nebetah (s3t nsw)
Unidentified s3t nsw

Cairo Museum (JE 33906 statue of Henuttaneb) — PM 1^2 ii, 774 — pl.125

Provenance: Medinet Habu, temple area.

Description: limestone colossal seated statue group of Amenhotpe III and Teye, with three daughters standing by their legs; height 7m. (3.3.3.); statues of s3t nsw: on right, poorly preserved; on left, almost completely lost.

Insignia:

Teye: vulture headdress with double uraeus and vulture head (3.5.3.1.16n; 3.5.4.5.1a),
circlet decorated with alternating cartouches of the prenomen and nomen of Amenhotpe III (3.5.5.1.10d),
arm round king (3.5.18.1.5c),
(other hand flat on thigh).

Henuttaneb (middle): vulture headdress with ?,
circlet.

Nebetah (right): none(?).

unidentified s3t nsw (left): lost.

References: Hachishi Suzuki Sculpture of the World 3, pl.85; Vandier Manuel 3, 329-30; with references in PM; see also Russman Representation of the King, 39 n.4; Daressy RT 24(1902), 165-6 no.202.

173. Amenhotpe III

Louvre inv.no.E 25493 + N 2312 ∅ pl.126

Provenance: unknown.

Description: double standing statuette of Amenhotpe III and Teye (3.3.4); only the figure of the latter survives.

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.14ao),
vulture headdress with double uraeus and vulture head (3.5.3.1.16o; 3.5.4.5.1b),
fillet, thin (3.5.6.1.51),
whisk, held in left hand (3.5.7.1.12ab),
(other hand by side, lost).

References: Vandier Mon.Piot 54(1965), 7-23; Vingt ans d'acquisitions au Musée du Louvre 1947-1967, no.103; Aldred Akhenaten Pharaoh of Egypt (London 1968), pl.9.

Remark: in publishing the piece, Vandier,p.14 described it as having three uraei. It has in fact two uraei and a vulture head, as pointed out by Kerrn Lilles∅ JEA 61(1975), 142 (see vol.1, 3.5.4.6); this is not easily seen in the publications.

174. Amenhotpe III

Macclesfield Museum ∅ ∅

Provenance: unknown.

Description: steatite standing statuette (3.3.5); broken off at the thighs just above the knees, with part of the wig broken away at the right hand side.

Insignia: vulture headdress with ?, lost, originally inset (3.5.3.1.16p),
whisk in left hand (3.5.7.1.12ac),
flower by side (3.5.10.1.11).

Reference: David Macclesfield Collection, 59, H.10.

175. Amenhotpe III/IV

Cairo JE 38257 PM 7, 361 pl.131

Provenance: Serabit el-Khadim, temple of Hathor.

Description: head from schist statuette of Teye, broken at neck (3.3.8).

Insignia: double uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.3.4o),
circlet decorated with two winged snakes which zigzag round the outside, and cartouche of Teye at front (3.5.5.1.10e).

References: Petrie Researches, 126-7, fig.133; Borchardt Porträtkopf, 24 fig.37; Aldred New Kingdom Art, nos.83-4; Vandier Manuel 3, 329,331, pl.107 nos.2-3; with references in PM; see Vandersleyen BSFE 73(1975), 12-13 for suggested dating in reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton, due to the two horizontal lines on neck. However, no objects that certainly date to his reign have been found on the site.

Unidentified queen, probably Teye

XIX A. Unidentified queen, probably Teye (cat.nos.176-185).

E. Private tomb.

176. Amenhotpe III

∅ PM 1^2 i, 89(7)I, IV pl.139-41

Location: TT 48 (Amenemhat called Surero), portico.

Description: statues of queen in scene of five registers showing presentation of "gifts" to Amenhotpe III (3.3.9).

Register I

1st statue (1) 2nd statue (2) (pl.141)

Insignia:

double feathers, plain (3.5.1.1.14as), whisk (3.5.7.1.12ad) flower (3.5.10.1.1m).

(head and back of figure lost)

sistrum, loop, shaken (3.5.12.1.3e), (other hand lost).

Register II:

1st and 2nd statues (3,4)

Insignia: traces only of two pairs of double feathers (3.5.1.1.14at,au).

Register IV:

Two identical seated statues (5,6) (pl.140)

Insignia:

vulture headdress with ?, top of head lost (3.5.3.1.16t,u), whisk (3.5.7.1.12ae,af).

Register IV:

Three identical standing statues (7,8,9) (pl.139)

Insignia: double feathers with shaft (3.5.1.1.14ap-ar),
vulture headdress with double uraeus, plain
(3.5.3.1.16q-s; 3.5.4.3.4p-r),
whisk (3.5.7.1.12ag-ai),
flower (3.5.10.1.1n-p).

References: Säve-Söderbergh Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, 33, 36-40, pls.36-9; Borchardt Allerhand Kleinigkeiten, pl.11; with references in PM.

Remark: Amenhotpe III is the only king mentioned in the texts of Surero, so that it is unlikely that he served in an important position under Thutmose IV. The queen whose statues are shown in this tomb should therefore belong to the reign of Amenhotpe III. Since Teye was by far the most important queen in this reign, they probably represent her. Less likely candidates are Mutemwiya or Sitamun III.

H. Furniture.

177. Amenhotpe III (?)

München ÄS 5873 ∅ pl.106

Provenance: unknown.

Description: gold covered wooden relief figure of a queen, from a piece of furniture(?), name lost (s.t.u.).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.15b),
vulture headdress with ?, lost (3.5.3.1.17j),
whisk (3.5.7.1.13a),
(bouquet).

Unidentified queen, probably Teye

References: München Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst[2] (1976), 123; Nofretete, Echnaton (München 1976), no.74 (colour); Müller MJbK 3, Folge 25, 1974, 218f, fig.7.

178. Amenhotpe III(?)

Metropolitan Museum of Art ø pl.104
New York (no. not known)

Provenance: unknown.

Description: top part of a figure of a queen in relief on fragment of a small rectangular block of obsidian, from a box(?).

Insignia: uraeus, unclear (3.5.4.1.A.10b),
circlet, or perhaps support for double feathers,
broken at top (not entered in 3.5.5.1).
fillet, patterned, ends hanging (3.5.6.1.6b),
whisk (3.5.7.1.13b).

Reference: Hayes Scepter 2, 260, fig.157.

M. Sculpture.

179. Amenhotpe III

ø ø ø

Location: Karnak, 10th pylon.

Description: small statue of a queen joined to a colossus of Amenhotpe III (3.3.2).

Insignia: unpublished, not described.

Reference: Clère et el. in Karnak V 1970-1972 (Le Caire), 159-66.

180. Amenhotpe III

Art Institute of Chicago 92.232 ∅ pl.132

Provenance: .unknown.

Description: head from calcite statuette (3.3.8); top of circlet(?) broken, right side of face missing, left side broken away beneath ear.

Insignia: double uraeus (3.5.4.3.5a), circlet, or perhaps support for double feathers, broken at top (not entered in 3.5.5.1), fillet, patterned (3.5.6.1.6a).

Reference: Allen A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection (Chicago 1923), 54.

Remark: the name of the owner is lost, but the shape of the mouth almost certainly identifies her as Teye.

181. Amenhotpe III

CG 609 ∅ ∅

Provenance: uncertain.

Description: head from a black granite colossal statue of a queen (3.3.8).

Insignia: vulture headdress with double uraeus and vulture head, left uraeus with red crown, vulture head with white crown, right uraeus, top lost (3.5.3.1.17k; 3.5.4.5.1c).

References: Borchardt Statuen 2, 158; Vandier Manuel 3, 330, pl.108 no.3; Hachishi Suzuki Sculpture of the World 3, pl.86; Michalowski Great Sculpture of Ancient Egypt (New York 1978), 140; V. Ions Egyptian Mythology^2 (Feltham 1968), front end paper.

Unidentified queen, probably Teye

Remark: Vandier describes the piece as having three uraei; the photographs of Suzuki, Michalowski and Ions show the double uraeus and vulture headdress. Borchardt shows that there is a hole in the top of the head for the attachment of a crown (probably the double feathers).

182. Amenhotpe III(?)

BM 948 (old exhibition no.602) ∅ ∅

Provenance: in the vicinity of the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III.

Description: upper portion, front only, of a colossal limestone statue.

Insignia: uraeus (3.5.4.1.A.10c),
circlet, or perhaps support for double feathers,
most of the item is missing (not entered in 3.5.5.1).

Reference: Budge Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum (London 1914), pl.35.

Remark: Budge calls the statue a queen of Ramesses II, but the style and provenance suggest a date in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

183. Amenhotpe III/IV

Berlin Museum (West) inv.no.21834 PM 4, 113 ∅

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab.

Description: ebony head from composite statue (3.3.8).

Insignia: see below.

References (selected): Borchardt Porträtkopf, pls.1-4; Schäfer ZÄS 68(1932), 81-86; Vandier Manuel 3, 330-1, pl.107 nos. 5,7; with references in PM; J.R. Harris Egyptian Art

Unidentified queen, probably Teye

(Feltham 1966), 38, pl.26; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.86; Aldred Akhenaten and Nefertiti (London 1973), no.19; Vandersleyen BSFE 73(1975), 13; M. Eaton-Krauss SAK 5(1977), 31-2 with nn.70-2.

Remarks: this head is generally identified as Teye on grounds of facial resemblance with known heads of Teye, especially with the statuette head from Serabit el-Khadim (cat.no.175). Aldred and Harris have suggested a possible identification with Teye's daughter, Sitamun III.

The head originally wore a khat headdress with a double uraeus and earrings. This was later overlaid by a wig made from a cloth base covered with a mixture of mud, resin and wax decorated with blue glass beads, almost all of which are now missing. This wig covered the ears and so hid the earrings, of which one can now be seen because of a break in the wig. The line of the wig along the forehead is also broken, and the beginnings of the tails of the original double uraeus which ran back across the head now project from under the wig. Below them can be seen the holes in which the bodies of the uraei would have been inserted. It is likely that when the head was altered, the foreparts of the uraei were removed and the wig placed to cover the holes. Both the double uraeus and the earrings, therefore, belong to the first stage with the khat headdress. The spike on the top of the head, however, presumably belongs to the final stage, and would have held a crown, possibly the double feathers. If there was any item of insignia on the forehead, as one might expect, it would seem to have left no trace.

Unidentified queen, probably Teye

The only other queen to use the khat headdress is Nefertiti at Amarna; Eaton-Krauss suggests that it was used to show the queen in the guise of a goddess. The alteration in the statuette might then have been made after the Amarna period and the return to "orthodoxy" replacing the divine headdress with a wig and crown appropriate to a queen. This would suggest that the statuette was originally made in the Amarna period, as Vandersleyen also suggests on grounds of style, in which case it would, strictly speaking, fall outside the date limits of this thesis.

184. Amenhotpe III/IV

Berlin Museum inv.no.17851 ∅ ∅

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab.

Description: set of inlaid double feathers with horns and disk from a composite statue, of which the rest is lost (cf. cat. no.185).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.15c), horns and disk (3.5.2.1.2a).

Reference: Borchardt Porträtkopf, 17 no.10 fig.21.

185. Amenhotpe III/IV

Berlin Museum inv.no.17852 ∅ ∅

Provenance: Medinet Ghurab.

Description: set of inlaid double feathers with horns and disk from a composite statue, of which the rest is lost (cf. cat. no.184).

Insignia: double feathers, with full details (3.5.1.1.15d), horns and disk (3.5.2.1.2b).

Unidentified queen, probably Teye; Ahmose Inhapi

Reference: see cat.no.184.

(2) hmt nsw.

I. Ahmose Inhapi (no.186).

C. Private stela.

186. Thutmose III

Ahmose Henuttameh (s3t nsw)

ϕ PM 1^2 i, 103(6) pl.71

Location: TT 53 (Amenemhat), hall, north east wall.

Description: round-topped stela with scene showing Ahmose Henuttameh and her mother Ahmose Inhapi seated facing right below half a winged sundisk before a table of offerings, before which stands the owner offering a bouquet, followed by his son carrying a female statuette, under a wedjat eye (B.7); with text below.

Insignia:

Ahmose Inḥapi: vulture headdress with vulture head (3.5.3.1.7a), baton (3.5.9.1.2a).

Ahmose Henuttameh: vulture headdress with vulture head, baton, cloth.

References: LD 3, 8a; LD Text, 282; Champollion Not.descr. 1, 513A,B; Bouriant RT 14(1893), 71-3; Hermann Stelen, 60-3, 76, fig.8 (from Lepsius), pl.9d (from Schott photo.); MMA photos.T.3230-1.

Remark: Bouriant does not give the name of Inhapi, and suggests Meritamun should be restored; he places both women as children of Thutmose I.

II. Nebtu.

With Meritre, Sitioh and s3t nsw Nofretary, see cat.no.70.

III. Ese III (cat.no.187)

M. Sculpture.

187. Amenhotpe III

Private coll. ø ø

Provenance: unknown.

Description: standing statue group of Amenhotpe III and Ese; the figure of Amenhotpe III and the head of Ese are missing; the bottom of a sidelock is present on Ese's shoulder.

Insignia: none surviving.

Reference: van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 46 figs.4-7.

(3) s3t nsw.

This is not an exhaustive list of objects showing s3t nsw in the 18th dynasty; only those mentioned in section 3 of the main text are included.

I. Sitamun I (cat.no.188)

B. Royal stela.

Sitamun I; (Ahmose) Meritamun I

188. Year 18 of Ahmose

Kestner Museum Hanover ∅ pl.107
inv.no.1935.200.209
(formerly v.Bissing coll.)

Provenance: unknown.

Description: round-topped stela with scene under winged sundisk showing Ahmose, followed by a smaller figure of Sitamun, offering white bread to Amun (scene type similar to A.1); with three lines of text below including date of year 18.

Insignia: none.

References: Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 223-244; plate from photograph supplied by museum.

II. (Ahmose) Meritamun I (cat.no.109)

M. Sculpture.

189. Amenhotpe I(?)

∅ PM 2^2, 176 N pl.142

Location: temple of Karnak, 8th pylon, south face, by colossus of Amenhotpe I.

Description: seated statue, separate from the colossus, head missing.

Insignia: none surviving.

References: M. Pillet Thèbes. Karnak et Louxor (Paris 1928), 101; Barguet Temple, 259 n.5 (called Ahmose Nofretary); Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 11 n.2 (called Sitamun); seen Sept.1978.

Remark: The name is now too worn to be read; however it was read as Ahmose Meritamun by Yoyotte from Lacau photographs (PM). PM identifies the princess as a daughter of Thutmose III.

There is a restoration of year 22 of Thutmose III on the colossus of Amenhotpe I. Since the 8th pylon was built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the colossus was probably resited at this time. Thutmose III might have set up a statue of his own daughter at the same time, but the evidence of the Hathor cow chapel, which dates from the end of the reign of Thutmose III (cat.no.205) suggests that year 22 is too early a date for this princess. The statue could be of an older daughter of Thutmose III of the same name, but its position in relation to the colossus suggests a connection between the two, so that I would rather see it as a statue of the sister of Amenhotpe I; this fits better with the use of the name Ahmose in addition to Meritamun.

III. Ahmose Henuttameh.

With Ahmose Inhapi, see cat.no.186.

IV. Mutnofret (cat.no.190).

190. Thutmose II.

ϕ PM 2^2, 176 0 ϕ

Location: temple of Karnak, 8th pylon, south face, joined to right side of colossus of Thutmose II.

Description: statuette, now missing (?, see below).

References: Mariette Karnak, pl.38 no.b 1-4; A. Champdor Thèbes aux cent portes (Paris 1955), fig. on p.152; S. Giedion The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Architecture (Washington 1964), fig.242; with references in PM.

Remarks: Both Champdor and Giedion give photographs of the colossus which show traces of a small seated statue (?) on

the left side of the king's seat. PM should perhaps read left not right, or there may be an additional figure to that of Mutnofret which is not mentioned.

See vol.1, 2.4.1, pp.62-3, suggesting that Mutnofret is a daughter of Thutmose II. Although it is common for children to be named after a grandparent, this Mutnofret might rather be a daughter of Thutmose I, not Thutmose II. She would then have been snt nsw and perhaps even ḥmt nsw during Thutmose II's lifetime; one would not have to postulate that the inscription was changed to its present form by Thutmose III. The relationship between the owner of the colossus and the statuette would then be the same as between the colossus of Amenhotpe I and his sister(?) Meritamun. However, this suggestion might be ruled out because, while Meritamun was ḥmt ntr and probably later ḥmt nsw wrt, Mutnofret could not have been either as these positions were held by Hatshepsut.

V. Nefrubity.

A. Temple scenes.

With her parents, Thutmose I and Ahmose, see cat.nos.27,28.

VI. Nefrure (cat.nos.191-202).

A. Temple scenes.

191. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ϕ PM 4, 165 (called rock stela) pl.111

Location: Beni Hasan, small speos, central wall.

Description: scene showing Hatshepsut as king, followed by Nefrure, offering to Pakhet (scene type similar to A.1); the figure of Hatshepsut is completely erased.

Nefrure

Insignia: uraeus, plain,

fillet, ends hanging.

Reference: Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 39(1939), 709-723, fig.71.

192. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Head in Dundee Museum 67.244 PM 2^2, 365(132)2 ∅

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III (originally Hatshepsut as king) kneeling, facing right, followed by Nefrure standing, before the bark of Amun (scene type similar to A.1).

Insignia: uraeus, plain,

circlet, plain, red(?),

fillet, ends hanging,

baton,

menit,

loop sistrum(?), by side.

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.141 (most of figure lost); Champollion Mon., 192 no.3, 194 nos.1,3; Rosellini Mon.stor., 19 no.23; Kitchen JEA 49(1963), 38-40, pl.7 no.1 (head only); with references in PM.

193. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

PM 2^2, 366(133)2 ∅

Thutmose III

Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

kneeling, facing left, followed by Nefrure standing, before

Head in Dundee Museum PM 2^2, 365(132)2 ∅

bark of Amun (scene type similar to A.1).

Location: mortuary temple of Hatshep at, sanctuary, room X.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III (originally Hatshepsut as king) kneeling, facing right, followed by Nefrure

Insignia: (head lost),

baton, on breast,

ankh, by side,

sceptre(?), in same hand as ankh,

References: Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.143; LD 3, 20c (omits details of jewellery); with references in PM.

Remark: the head of Nefrure is lost; Naville (but not Lepsius) shows the remains of the end of a fillet(?) by her shoulder.

B. Royal stela.

194. Year 11 of coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Cairo JE 38546 PM 7, 361 pl.114

Provenance: Serabit el-Khadim, temple of Hathor.

Description: round topped stela with scene showing Nefrure, followed by Senenmut, offering to Hathor (scene type similar to B.2); dated to year 11 under the person of the hmt ntr Nefrure".

Insignia: double feathers,

vulture headdress with uraeus (?),

(offers a loaf of white bread[?]).

References: Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.58 no.179; Petrie Researches, fig.124; seen Sept.1978.

O. Private sculpture.

195. Regency of Hatshepsut for Thutmose III

CG 42116 PM 2^2, 144 ∅

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: statue of Senenmut seated on ground holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

References: Legrain Statues 1, 64-5, pl.67; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.32; Hornemann Types 5, 1231; with references in PM.

Remark: the most recent list of statues of Senenmut (omitting the one outside his tomb [TT 71]) is given by Jacquet-Gordon in BIFAO 71(1972), 142 n.1; those which include Nefrure are nos.1,2,5,6,7,11,12,17,18. No.2, BM 174, is the only one which does not show the princess with a uraeus, and it is not entered here, as only those with a uraeus are relevant to vol.1, section 3.

196. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Chicago Natural History Museum no.A 173800 (formerly 173988) — PM 2^2, 286 — ∅

Provenanced: presumed from Karnak.

Description: standing statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus, plain, baton.

References: Allen AJSL 44(1928), 49-55, 267-9, fig. on p.51; Aldred New Kingdom Art, pl.34; Hornemann Types 5, 1226; with references in PM.

197. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

CG 42114 — PM 2^2, 134 — ∅

Provenance: temple of Karnak, court 1.

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

References: Legrain Statues 1, 62-4, pl.66; Aldred New Kingdom Art, no.31; Hornemann Types 5, 1230; with references in PM.

198. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Berlin Museum (East) inv.no.2296 PM 2^2, 280 ∅

Provenance: Karnak.

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

References: LD 3, 25 h-m; Hornemann Types 5, 1221; H. Fechheimer Die Plastik der Ägypter^2 (Berlin 1924), pls.60-1; with references in PM.

199. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Cairo JE 47278 PM 2^2, 182 ∅

Provenance: temple of Karnak, near 9th pylon, south face; head and part of inscription found at Karnak North.

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus.

References: Jacquet-Gordon BIFAO 71(1972), 140-150 (head); Daressy ASAE 22(1922), 262-5 no.3; with references in PM.

200. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

∅ ∅ ∅

Location: Karnak magazine "Sheikh Labib".

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

Reference: Berlandini-Grenier BIFAO 76(1976), 111-14, pls.18-20B; see also Jacquet-Gordon BIFAO 71(1972), 142 n.1 no.17.

201. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

∅ ∅ ∅

Location: Karnak magazine "Karakol" no.57.

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure; lower part destroyed.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

Reference: Berlandini-Grenier BIFAO 76(1976), 116 no.5, pl.24; see also Jacquet-Gordon BIFAO 71(1972), 142-3 n.1 no.18.

202. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

CG 42115 PM 2^2, 144 ∅

Provenance: Karnak cachette.

Description: block statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure, names lost.

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

References: Legrain Statues 1, 64; Berlandini-Grenier BIFAO 76(1976), 115-116 no.3, pls.20C-22.

VI A. Probably Nefrure (nos.203-204).

A. Temple scenes.

With Hatshepsut as queen, see cat.no.49.

203. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

∅ PM 7, 137(40)-(41) pl.108

Location: temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Buhen, south west exterior wall (see also cat.no.201).

Description: scene originally showing Hatshepsut(?) as king, facing left, followed by a smaller female figure; the latter has been changed to a ka figure holding the Horus name of Thutmose II.

Probably Nefrure; Nofretary

Insignia: ankh,

sceptre,

(rest lost).

Reference: Caminos New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2, 29-31, scene 34, pl.33.

Remark: see vol.1, 3.1.1.3, pp.86-7.

204. Coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

ϕ PM 7, 137(40)-(41) pls.109-110

Location: temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Buhen, south west exterior wall (see also cat.no.203).

Description: scene originally showing Hatshepsut(?) as king, facing left, followed by a smaller female figure wearing a short wig and fillet; the latter has been changed to a ka figure holding the Horus name of Thutmose I.

Insignia: baton.

References: Caminos New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2, 33-4, scene 37, pl.37; Karkowski Études et travaux 10(1978), 74 fig.5.

Remark: see vol.1, 3.1.1.3, pp.86-7.

B. Royal stela.

With name of Sitioh in surcharge, see cat.no.59.

VII. Nofretary.

D. Royal tomb.

With Meritre, Sitioh and Nebtu, see cat.no.70.

Meritamun II; unidentified snt nsw ; Sitamun II

VIII & IX. Meritamun II and unidentified [s3t nsw] snt nsw (cat.no.205).

A. Temple scene.

205. Thutmose III

Cairo JE 38574-5 PM 2^2 , 380 pl.113

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri, Hathor cow chapel, shrine, right wall.

Description: scene showing Thutmose III, followed by Meritamun II and [s3t nsw] snt nsw, name lost, offering to Hathor cow (scene type similar to A.1).

Insignia (both): circlet,
ankh, by side,
baton, on breast.

References: Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 1, pl.28; Winlock BMMA ii Nov.1929, 33 fig.35; with references in PM; seen Sept.1978.

Remark: the use of the title snt nsw, which refers to a different king from s3t nsw (vol.1, 1.4, pp.20-24), suggests Amenhotpe II was coregent (W. Murnane Ancient Egyptian Coregencies [Chicago 1977], 44-57).

X. Sitamun II (cat.no.203).

C. Private stela.

206. Amenhotpe II

CG 34117 PM 5, 58 pl.115

Provenance: Abydos, northern cemeteries.

Description: stela of Nebetkabeny showing owner seated with Sitamun, wearing a sidelock, sitting on her lap, in front of a table of offerings, on the other side of which stands her son and his wife(?).

Insignia: uraeus, plain.

References: Lacau Stèles, 169-70, pl.53; Mariette Abydos 2, pl.49.

Remark: for a discussion of date, possible identity of the princess and use of the uraeus, see vol.1, 2.4.4.2, pp.78-80.

XI. Sitamun III.

H. Furniture.

With mother, queen Teye, see cat.no.154.

XII & XIII. Ese and Henuttaneb.

A. Temple scene.

With parents, Amenhotpe III and Teye, see cat.no.141.

I. Jewellery.

With parents, Amenhotpe III and Teye, see cat.nos.157-158.

XIII & XIV. Henuttaneb and Nebetah.

M. Sculpture.

With parents, Amenhotpe III and Teye, see cat.no.172.

Note to sections 1-5.

Notes are numbered separately for each section and placed at the end of that section. Although the preceding "Catalogue of monuments used in volume 1 section 3 on which queens, hmt nsw and s3t nsw of the 18th dynasty from the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III are represented" basically relates to the section on iconography in volume 1, references are made in the following sections to relevent entries to prevent reduplication of material. Extra textual references are added where necessary.

1. Outline of the position of the royal children in the 18th dynasty up to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III.

The study which I made of the royal children included an examination of 1) s3 nsw and s3t nsw used as titles of relationship of royal children, and, with msw nsw, as terms referring to royal children; 2) the material relating to royal children; 3) the iconography of royal children; 4) titles other than those of relationship used by royal children.

The following are my main conclusions:

1) s3t nsw only refers to women of royal birth (also vol.1, 1.3). s3 nsw is used not only by genuine king's sons, but also, as a title, by certain officials who are not of royal birth; guide lines for distinguishing the two can be suggested.

2) Apart from a group of s3t nsw who use some queenly titles or items of insignia and are referred to in the thesis (e.g. vol.1, 3.5.19.4), royal children are not generally shown in temples or on royal monuments. They are mainly known from private monuments belonging to their tutors or other officials who were presumably associated with their upbringing in some way, and also from some funerary objects, although generally we have little knowledge concerning their burials.

3) Both s3 nsw and s3t nsw, with the exception of those mentioned in (2), are generally depicted as children, naked, with a sidelock and often a finger held to the mouth, in a manner which can be parallelled in representations of the children of private individuals from the Old Kingdom onwards. There is a change in the style of the sidelock from the reign of Thutmose IV, which may now be loose instead of plaited, and it may be worn over a wig, a style which possibly indicates adolescence. The change occurs in the representation of both royal and

private children. (A plaited lock worn over a wig is used by some priests, particularly the sem priest and high priest of Ptah; it may indicate a filial role, but it does not mark its wearer either as a child or as being of royal birth; although holders of these offices may sometimes be s3 nsw, they are more often non-royal.)

4) Most royal children are only given a title of relationship. A few princes have a title of office in addition, but this is too rare for one to suppose that princes were customarily given honorary offices as children. It is safer to assume that princes with such titles were old enough to exercise the office.

Most of the material concerning princes gives no evidence about their ages, since much of it comes from representations with tutors or other officials in which they are shown as children. A few monuments belong to princes who cannot be children, but no monument of a s3 nsw can definitely be dated to the reign of his brother, and most monuments of s3 nsw can be shown to date from the reigns of their fathers. Since Egyptian kings were polygynous, it would be expected that they had many children, as later, for example, Ramesses II. Many may have died in infancy, but a number must have survived childhood. The lack of evidence concerning them probably shows that it was not normal for them to play any part in the administration. There is a problem, therefore, over what happened to the remaining king's sons when one of them came to the throne. Since there could be no guarantee that the son selected as heir would survive to succeed, the other sons must have represented an insurance for the continuation of the royal line in the normal manner, and would almost certainly have received an education corresponding to this position. Once, however, one son had succeeded, the others might have been a threat to his authority. The lack of evidence leaves open what happened to them; they could

have been killed, as later in the Ottoman empire; or shut away in the harim, as most often in China. The lack of known burials for 18th dynasty princes is not as sinister as it might otherwise seem, because we also lack burials of queens and princesses. The tombs have either been lost through plundering, or they are situated in some still unexcavated area. How far information concering s3 nsw from the 19th and 20th dynasties can be used to throw light on the position of the s3 nsw of the 18th dynasty is doubtful. There is a complete change in the iconographic tradition in the 19th dynasty; before, princes were scarcely ever shown on royal monuments; afterwards, this becomes common. Further, much of the material known from the reign of Ramesses II is exceptional because of the unusual length of the reign; while princes are depicted from early in it, by its middle, there will have been a number of adult sons, and, for instance, the official career of Khaemwese is well known (see, for example, Farouk Gomaa Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriest von Memphis [Wiesbaden 1973]).

2. hmt nsw wrt Nbtnht.

This queen is known only from a funerary figure, of which the provenance is unknown,[1] and from fragments of two canopic jars,[2] which are apparently part of a group find of canopic jars. In the winter of 1902-3, three Luxor antique dealers were selling canopic jars or fragments of them which came from an illicit excavation.[3] Legrain bought fragments of forty jars, which are now in the Cairo Museum. Newberry bought three further fragments at Luxor, which went into the Amherst collection,[4] and are now in University College London (nos.15808-10). Three more fragments were bought by Spiegelberg in Cairo in March 1903 from an antique dealer who had brought them from Luxor.[5] They are now in the Egyptian collection of Strasbourg University (Univ.Inst. d'Égyptologie nos.1395-7).

Three of the jars belonged to a s3 nsw Menkheperre,[6] and three more to a s3t nsw Tiaa.[7] Another names a hmt nsw Henut[8] and two the hmt nsw wrt Nebetnehet (n.2). The rest all belong to hkrt nsw, except one which was owned by a man, Nebamun called Paheripedjet; the original names on some of these jars have been replaced by those of other women. The owners belong to various establishments including the pr (hmt nsw) and the pr Jtn thn(w).[9]

Since all the jars came on the market at the same time, they probably come from one site; the exact location of the find is unknown, and its nature problematic. Do the jars come from one communal tomb, two or more adjacent tombs or even a small cemetery, or are they perhaps from a secondary cache? Since there is a lack of burials for queens, hmt nsw, royal children and other members of the royal harim, we know little of burial customs for these people. Three hmt nsw of Thutmose III were buried in one tomb,[10] and there

is some later evidence for communal tombs for royal children.[11] On the other hand, Ahmose Nofretary,[12] Hatshepsut,[13] Meritamun II(?)[14] and Teye[15] all had their own tombs, which might suggest that a hmt nsw wrt normally had a tomb to herself. The hkrt nsw who own canopic jars from this find are obviously not private people, because they belong to various royal establishments, but their function is not clear. Since the title hkrt nsw is used by the wives of high officials, it has been argued that it cannot signify "king's concubine" as often thought,[16] but the women who use it here are obviously connected with the royal household. If they had been married, one might have expected them to have been buried with their husbands, so perhaps they were unmarried women with a position in the royal household; the king could have had sexual rights over them.

No other funerary objects came on the market at the same time as the jars,[17] which suggests that the tomb(s) had already been plundered before that date, and that anything of value had been taken. Any mummies were probably destroyed by the plunderers in search of jewellery on the bodies, either in antiquity or at the turn of the century. If the finds came from a secondary cache, the burials would have been plundered in antiquity before being moved to their new site.

In PM 1^2 ii, 769-70, the jars are assigned to one tomb, of unknown location, of the time of Amenhotpe III. However, the problem of the dating of the jars may be more complex than this implies. The name of one owner, the s3 nsw Menkheperre, suggests at this period a son, or possibly a grandson,[18] of Thutmose III. He could be the s3 nsw Menkheperre who is shown on the statue of Huy (BM 1280) with four s3t nsw, whom I have suggested are children of Thutmose III and Meritre Hatshepsut (vol.1, 2.4.3, pp.67-8). This prince was probably born in the second half of his father's reign; we know nothing else

about him.

The s3t nsw Tiaa, whose name appears on three jars, may be the same s3t nsw Tiaa who is known to be a daughter of Thutmose IV from the text on a wooden hieratic label.[19] This is one of fourteen such labels naming ten different royal children which were found by Rhind in a tomb at Thebes.[20] It is necessary to discuss this tomb because of the implications for the canopic jars if the owner of one of them was in fact buried here. The tomb was once sealed with the cartouche of Amenhotpe III, and contained the remains of a number of mummies in a lower chamber and fragments of coffins, furniture and bones in an upper room. The labels were found among the debris. In addition to Tiaa, a s3t nsw Pikawiya, unknown from elsewhere, is also named as a child of Thutmose IV.[21] Another label names Nebetia, daughter of a s3 nsw Siamun, with a regnal date of year 27.[22] This is probably too high for Thutmose IV, and is best attributed to Amenhotpe III, whose cartouche was used to seal the tomb.

A s3 nsw Siamun is known from a stela in Vienna, which is dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Thutmose IV or Amenhotpe III.[23] If the prince was a son of Thutmose IV, Nebetia could be his daughter. This would be less likely if he was a son of Amenhotpe III, but just possible if Nebetia was still very young in year 27. He is unlikely to be a son of Amenhotpe II, because princes are otherwise unknown from reigns later than those of their fathers.

Although two of the s3t nsw are daughters of Thutmose IV, some may be children of Amenhotpe III in view of the cartouche and probable date of that king.

It is unclear whether the labels indicate that the princesses were actually buried in this tomb. If they were, it might have been either a communal tomb for minor members of the royal family or a

secondary cache. In the first case, we would have to consider two possibilities: the occupants were all buried at the same time, in the reign of Amenhotpe III, having died perhaps as the result of an epidemic; or the tomb was used over a period of time, being sealed in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

But did the tomb ever contain the burials of the royal children named on the labels? The answer depends on the purpose of the labels, which is unclear. The holes in them show that they were made to be attached to some object, and "label" is obviously the right term for them, but they cannot be mummy labels because several of the princesses are named on more than one, nor are such objects known at this period. Possibly, they marked items belonging to individual princesses, but this does not explain the purpose of the list of officials found on some of them.[24] Labels have also been found at Malqata[25] and in the tomb of Tutankhamun,[26] but their texts list the contents of the containers to which they were attached. There is no other evidence in the tomb to suggest that it ever contained the burials of these princesses, and I doubt if the labels alone are sufficient proof of this. If the princesses were buried here, we are faced with the problem of how Tiaa was buried in association with one group of people, while her canopic jars were found in association with those belonging to a completely different group. It thus seems likely, unless the two Tiaas are not to be identified, that Rhind's tomb never contained her burial.

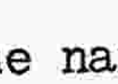
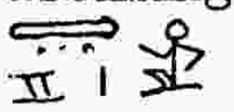
To return to the canopic jars, the hkrt nsw connected with the pr Jtn thn(w) must belong to the reign of Amenhotpe III (n.9), and all the other owners may have died in this reign. This would not necessarily mean that all received their titles in relation to Amenhotpe III, since some of the owners could have survived from earlier

reigns. However, if the jars are from more than one tomb, they may date over several reigns. To which king, then, might the hmt nsw wrt Nebetnehet belong? In the reign of Amenhotpe III, Teye is hmt nsw wrt throughout the reign. In addition, at the end of the reign, this title is also held by the king's daughter Sitamun, who probably sometimes acted as substitute for her mother in ritual functions (vol.1, 1.1.1, pp.9-10). Nebetnehet might have been made hmt nsw wrt for a similar purpose, but without evidence from other reigns that this was a common practice, it is safer to assume that the role of Sitamun, and possibly of her sisters too,[27] relates to their position as s3t nsw; there is no evidence that Nebetnehet is of royal birth. It is thus difficult to see how Nebetnehet can be fitted into the reign of Amenhotpe III as hmt nsw wrt.

Two hmt nsw wrt, Nofretary and Iaret, are attested in the reign of Thutmose IV. The length of this king's reign is uncertain, but this is irrelevant to the question of whether Nebetnehet could belong here, since she could have died after holding the office only briefly, still allowing time for the other queens (vol.2, n.279). That this might have been so may be suggested by the fact that she does not appear on the monuments. Alternatively, she might have become hmt nsw wrt at the very end of Thutmose IV's reign; even if she lived into the reign of Amenhotpe III, she would have been overshadowed by Mutemwiya and then Teye, who are the only queens shown on the monuments in this reign.

Notes to section 2.

1. Nash PSBA 29(1907), 176; here she is given the title ḥmt nsw only, but it is not uncommon for women known to be ḥmt nsw wrt sometimes to be referred to as ḥmt nsw (see vol.1, 4.3.3, pp.250-1).
2. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 138 no.3; Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 358-9 no. 51, pl.2 no.1 = Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 141 left; see also Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 138 no.2, which was owned by a jrjt-p^{c}t [...] ḥmt nsw wrt mrjjt.[f... ; the name is lost, but was probably Nebetnehet, since she is the only ḥmt nsw wrt named on these jars.
3. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 138-49.
4. Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 358-60 nos.51,53, pl.2 nos.1,2.
5. Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 139-41.
6. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 139 nos.6-7; 5(1904), 140 no.1396.
7. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 139 nos.8-9; 5(1904), 141 right = Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 359 no.53, pl.2 no.2.
8. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 138 no.1; see vol.2, Table 1 no.9.
9. pr Jtn ḥn(w) is short for pr Nbm3^{c}tr^{c} Jtn ḥn(w), which refers to the palace of Amenhotpe III at Malqata, see Hayes JNES 10(1951), 178-9 (who reads pr Nbm3^{c}tr^{c} ḥn(w) Jtn); Redford JARCE 13(1976), 47-61; see also Fecht ZÄS 85(1960), 113; Baines Acta Orientalia 37(1976), 16 n.14, referring to a forthcoming study by J.R. Harris.
10. PM 1^{2} ii, 591, Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses.
11. P. Abbott, 5.3, T. Peet The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty (Oxford 1930), 1. 40; 2, pl.3.
12. PM 1^{2} ii, 599 C.
13. PM 1^{2} ii, 591.
14. PM 1^{2} i, 421 (TT 358), see also vol.1, 2.4.4.1, pp.69-78.
15. PM 1^{2} ii, 565-6 (KV 55), attributed in PM to Akhenaton; almost certainly planned for Teye.
16. e.g. D. Nord Serapis 2(1970), 1-16.
17. The funerary figure of Nebetnehet (n.1) could, however, have originated here.
18. If the custom of naming a child after a grandparent applies to the use of a king's prenomen as a name.
19. Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 no.3; Černý MSS 17.57.5 no.3; see also vol.4, section 5, p. 167 with nn. 42-3.

20. A. Rhind Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants Ancient and Present (London 1862), 83-6; Birch Facsimiles, 19-21, pl.12 nos.1-14; Černý MSS 17.57.5-7 nos.1-14. Černý shows clearly that the cartouche is to be read Mnḫprwrᶜ, not Mnḫprrᶜ as e.g. Rhind op.cit., 84-5; Petrie A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties[7] (London 1924), 143-5; B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 292 with n.6.
21. Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 nos.4-5; Černý MSS 17.57.6 nos.4-5.
22. Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 no.1; Černý MSS 17.57.5 no.1.
23. Brunner ZÄS 86(1961), 90-100, pl.3.
24. Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 nos.2-3; Černý MSS 17.57.5 nos.2-3. A similar label was bought in Egypt in 1882 by Wiedemann in ZÄS 21(1883), 123-6; see also Erman ZÄS 31(1893), 125. The label belonged to a s3t nsw Ḥᶜtnsw [n] pr n3 n msw nsw, and gives a list of officials, three of whom are the same as on Tiaa's label, assuming the transcription of one name reads  and not Erman's  . In 1901, Newberry bought another label of this type which simply names the s3t nsw Jmnmjpt, Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 360 no.54, pl.2 no.3. Both these labels were probably stolen from Rhind's tomb.
25. Leahy Malkata 4, 27 nos.178-9, pls.14,14a.
26. J. Černý Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutᶜankhamūn (Oxford 1965), 15 nos.61-74, pls.9-10.
27. Ese and Henuttaneb are not attested as ḥmt nsw wrt, but the first is called ḥmt nsw on a double statue with her father (cat.no.187), and the second is given the queenly "title" sm3jjt Ḥrw on the colossal statue group of her parents from Medinet Habu (cat.no. 172; see also Urk. IV, 1775.13; vol.1, 3.5.3.2, pp.171-2).

3. List of individual scenes found in each scene type (3.2) giving name of queen, date, type of material where found and catalogue number.

A.1. Queen follows king who is offering to deity.

1.	Tetisheri	Ahmose ⌣	Royal stela	2
2.	Ahhotpe II	Ahmose ⌣	Temple scene	6
3.	Ahmose Nofretary	Ahmose ⌣	Royal stela	12
4.	Ahmose Nofretary Meritamun I	year 8 of Amenhotpe I,	Royal stela	13
5.	Ahmose Nofretary Ahmose	year 1 of Thutmose I	Royal stela	14
6.	Senisonb	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Temple scene	21
7-11.	Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Temple scenes	25-29
12.	Ahmose Hatshepsut	Thutmose II	Royal stela	40
13.	Hatshepsut	Thutmose II	Temple scene	44
14.	Ese	Thutmose III	Temple scene	53
15.	Meritre Hatshepsut (?)/Ese	Thutmose III	Royal stela	54
16.	Nefrure (?)/ Sitioh	Thutmose III	Royal stela	59
17-18.	Meritre (Hatshepsut)	Thutmose III	Temple scenes	63-64
19.	Meritre/Tiaa	Amenhotpe II	Temple scene	68
20.	Tiaa	Amenhotpe II	Royal stela	86
21.	Tiaa Unidentified	Thutmose IV	Royal stela	87
22-29.	Nofretary	Thutmose IV	Royal stelae	94-101
30.	Mutemwiya	Amenhotpe III	Temple scene	103
31.	Teye	Amenhotpe III	Temple scene	116
32.	Teye	Amenhotpe III	Royal stela	143

33- Teye 34.	Amenhotpe III	Private stelae	144-145

A.2. Queen follows king who is smiting enemies.

1. Iaret	year 7 of Thutmose IV	Royal stela	102
2. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Scarab	161

A.3. Queen follows king who is entering temple.

1. Meritre Hatshepsut	Thutmose III	Temple scene	65

A.4. Queen follows king who is taking part in a foundation ceremony.

1. Tiaa	Thutmose IV	Temple scene	85

A.5. Queen follows king in sed festival scenes.

1- 25. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Temple scenes	117-141
26- 28. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Private tomb	148-149, 151

A.6. Queen stands behind seated king to whom Inmutef is offering.

1- 2. Meritre Hatshepsut	Thutmose III	Temple scenes	66-67

A.7. King offers to seated queen.

1. Tetisheri	Ahmose	Royal stela	3

A.8. King and queen seated with two princesses before them at the sed festival.

1- 2. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Bracelet plaques	157-158

A.9. Queen stands before king who is seated in sed festival kiosk.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Bracelet plaque	159

A.10. King and queen in kiosk.

1. Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Private tomb	42
2. Meritre	Amenhotpe II	Private tomb	71
3. Mutemwiya	Amenhotpe III	Private tomb	110
4. Mutemwiya	Amenhotpe III	Graffito	111
5-8. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Private tombs	146,147, 150,152
9. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Furniture	153
10. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Chalice	167

A.11. King and queen seated before a table of offerings.

1. Mutnofret	Thutmose II-III	Private stela	23

A.12. Queen stands before seated king.

1. Meritre Hatshepsut	Thutmose III	Private stela	69

A.13. King and queen embrace.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III/IV	Label	168

A.14. King followed by queen, with no context.

1-2. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Scarabs	162-163

A.15. King followed by four royal women.

1. Meritre Sitioh Nebtu (hmt nsw) Nofretary (s3t nsw)	Thutmose III	Royal tomb	70

A.16. King and queen in boat.

1. Ese	Thutmose III	Royal tomb	56

B.1. Birth scenes.

1- 5. Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Temple scenes	30-34
6- 11. Mutemwiya	Amenhotpe III	Temple scenes	104-109

B.2. Queen offers alone.

1. Ahmose Nofretary	Ahmose	Private tomb	15
2. Hatshepsut	Regency	Temple scene	48
3. Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Private stela	41

Possibly:

4- 5. Hatshepsut	Regency	Temple scenes	49-50

B.3. Queen stands behind god.

1- 2. Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Temple scenes	35-36
3. Sitioh	Thutmose III(?)	Private stela	60

B.4. Queen seated before table of offerings and Inmutef.

1. Ahmose	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III	Temple scene	37

B.5. Queen as priestess.

1. Ahmose Nofretary	Amenhotpe I	Temple scene	11

B.6. Queen regent led by goddess to deified king.

1. Hatshepsut	Regency	Temple scene	51

B.7. Private individual offers to queen.

1. Ahhotpe II	Thutmose II-III	Private stela	7
2. Ahmose Inhapi	Thutmose III	Private stela	186
3. Sitioh	Thutmose III	Offering table	61

B.8. Princess offers to queen.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Furniture	154

B.9. Official before queen regent.

1. Hatshepsut	Regency	Private stela	52

B.10. Queen seated alone.

1- Teye 3.	Amenhotpe III	Scarabs	164-166

C.1. Queen as female sphinx rampant.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Temple	142

C.2. Queen as trampling sphinx.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Furniture	155

C.3. Queen as female sphinx.

1. Teye	Amenhotpe III	Furniture	156

4. Use of the term "title" in vol.1, section 4.

It is very difficult to define a "title" adequately in relation to the type of material studied here. In the widest sense, a "title" is (i) a unit of designation before the name of a person (e.g. queen X).[1] Such a unit may also be used (ii) as an "appellation", that is without the name of the holder, to refer specifically to the person who holds it as a "title" (e.g. the queen); this usage sub-divides into (ii.a) "address" (e.g. O queen) and (ii.b) reference (e.g. the queen did this for me);[2] or (iii) it may be used as a general term to refer to the type of person who may hold the unit as a "title" (e.g. a queen/queens).[3]

When a unit is used before a name (i), distinction is often made between "titles" and "epithets",[4] and between "titles of rank" and "titles of office".[5] It is unclear, however, how the Egyptians regarded the different units comprising a titulary, and their classification into different categories by Egyptologists must be to some extent subjective because their meaning and/or reference are often not understood. There is also the problem that titles that appear to be "titles of rank" may be used as "titles of office", in which case a consideration of their "meaning" becomes a basically irrelevant exercise in etymology. A good example is h3tj-^{c}, originally a ranking title, which comes to mean "chief executive of a town". There are further cases, such as t3jtj z3b t3tj "vizier", where a fixed grouping describes a unitary office, the function of which can only be deduced from the activities of the title-holder. Any traditional administrative and ceremonial hierarchy provides countless examples of this phenomenon, which cannot be considered any further here.

In studying the structure of titularies of queens, I show that

certain units form a basic core (section 2, 4.2.2), before or after which other units may be added (sections 1 and 3, 4.2.1; 4.2.3). Further, most units found in sections 1 and 3 are used only in conjunction with other units and not alone before a name, while units of section 2 occur as sole "titles". Thus, one might define the units of section 2 as "titles" and all the rest as "epithets". Units of the type wrt j3mt and bnrt mrwt would then be classed as "epithets" together with "geographical titles" like hnwt t3wj (tmwj) and hnwt šm^{c}w mhw, although difference in structure might suggest they should be distinguished. Further, the dictionary definition of an epithet as "an adjective indicating some quality or attribute which the speaker regards as characteristic of the person or thing described"[6] might be applicable to the former type of unit; it seems unsuitable to describe a "geographical title". However, this leads us to a major problem in studying these units, in that the meaning and/or specific reference of most of those which occur in sections 1 and 3 are imperfectly understood, so that any grounds selected as the basis for categorisation are liable to be erroneous.

A further problem centres round the way in which these units were acquired. A title is presumably bestowed on the bearer by some official mechanism: for instance, through qualification by birth (e.g. in England, the title of "prince" or "princess" borne by children of the sovereign); by the sovereign (e.g. in England, the creation of the monarch's eldest son or daughter as "Prince of Wales" or "Princess Royal" respectively); by a legislative body (e.g. in England, changes in the official titulary of the sovereign are made by the consent of Parliament). We have no knowledge of how a queen obtained her titulary in ancient Egypt. It is probably safe to assume that the king granted the use of the title hmt nsw wrt, and perhaps

that of mwt nsw, although the bestowal of the latter may have been automatic. The gift of one of these titles might have included the use of the whole repertory of "titles" available to queens, rather than that each one had to be given singly. However, the fact that the structure both of section 1 itself and of the units found in it is variable and that many forms of the units occur rarely or are unique suggests that it may have been the right to use units of certain types which was bestowed, rather than the individual units themselves, the construction of which remained fairly free.

Since we thus lack knowledge both of the mechanism used to bestow titles and of the significance of many of the units comprising a titulary, which may indeed be different from the meaning of the component parts of such a unit, to divide the units occurring in titularies into categories is not only difficult, but may lead to mistaken assumptions. The dictionary definition of the term "title" is "An appellation attaching to an individual or family in virtue of rank, function, office or attainment, or the possession of or association with certain lands, etc."[7] While implying the existence of different categories of titles, such as titles of rank or of office, it is clear that they may all be properly referred to as "titles". Thus, in this study, I use the term "title" to refer to any unit of designation used before the name of a person alone or in conjunction with other units; this does not imply that the function of each unit is necessarily the same. When two or more such units occur together, I use the term "titulary" to describe the whole. Since in practice, the distinction between a unit used narrowly as a "title" before a name and a unit used alone as an appellation is not found in the native sources (except in the case of msw nsw, n.3 above), so that the two forms may occur as variants in similar contexts,[8]

I have included examples of the latter usage; they are found mostly in section 4.3.

Notes to section 4.

1. In English, this usage of a title would normally be given a capital letter, but because Egyptian has no such conventions, I have avoided this.
2. e.g. CG 34003, Urk. IV, 45.13, wdt mwt nsw "decree of the king's mother"; 45.16, jw wd.n mwt nsw "the king's mother decreed"; CG 42117, statue of Senenmut, rdjw m hswt nt hr hmt ntr "given as a favour from the hmt ntr"; BM 174, HT 5, pl.30, hrrw nbt t3wj hr tpt-r.f "with whose utterance the lady of the Two Lands is pleased"; Newberry Scarabs, pl.29 no.6, jmj-r3 pr n hmt nsw "steward of the king's wife", and often in titles of officials.
3. e.g. Urk. IV, 46.7, m jr(t) hmt nsw n mr.n.s "being what a king's wife does for one whom she has loved"; Urk. IV, 1778.2, hmwt nsw "king's wives" is parallel to msw nsw "king's children", which is not used as a unit of designation before the name of a person, since individuals are referred to as s3/s3t nsw.
4. e.g. Mertz "Certain Titles", 5.
5. e.g. Helck Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches (Glückstadt 1954), 111-19; Baer Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago 1960), 1-4; Schulman Military Rank, Title and Organisation in the Egyptian New Kingdom (Berlin 1964), 3; Yoyotte - Lopez BiOr 26(1969), 3-12.
6. Oxford English Dictionary 3 (Oxford 1933), 248.
7. ibid. 11, 78 right. For similar definitions, see also The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (New York 1967), 1488 right; Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (London 1973), 1225; Collin's English Dictionary (London - Glasgow 1979), 1524.
8. e.g. CG 34003, Kares is called jmj-r3 pr wr n mwt nsw (J^{c}hhtp) and jmj-r3 pr wr n mwt nsw, Urk. IV, 45.14, 48.10; TT 192, Kheruef is called jmj-r3 pr n hmt nsw wrt (Tjj), Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), pls.70,75, jmj-r3 pr n hmt nsw wrt, ibid, pls.20,22,72.

5. The use of the cartouche by queens, hmt nsw and royal children in the 18th dynasty up to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III.

5.1. Introduction.

From the middle of the 1st dynasty, deities may hand over an empty šn ring to the king, and from the end of the 2nd dynasty, the nomen of the king appears in a cartouche (šnw/j), which is derived from the šn ring.[1] The round šn ring usually becomes elongated to an oval shape in order to accomodate the royal name.[2] In origin, the cartouche was probably a solar symbol, and was applied only to kings.[3] By the 12th and 13th dynasties, when its use began to be generalised to other members of the royal family, much of the specific reference that it had once had was probably lost. Instead of expressing the unique royalty of the king, it became a mark of a more broadly defined royalty. However, in a reign like that of Amenhotpe III, when old models were sought out for the performance of the sed festival, there may have been a renewed awareness of its original reference, even though the wider application of the cartouche to royal women was not in the spirit of earlier times. This might, however, have been felt particularly appropriate in a climate which produced the Hathorisation/solarisation of Teye (see vol.1, 3.5.19.5, pp.217-8).

While it is impossible to consider here the development of the use of the cartouche and its significance,[4] I shall examine its use by queens, hmt nsw and royal children of my period. In this section, I include material on s3t nsw and s3 nsw which is omitted elsewhere in the thesis since I have made a separate study of it.

The use of the cartouche was discussed by Mertz.[5] Her conclusions

were that "one cannot assume that the cartouche was either (1) a prerogative of royally-born persons; or (2) the sole privilege of the chief wife. It was, in the case of the queens, a sign of prominence, but further than this one cannot say."[6] While these conclusions are correct so far as they go, it is possible to be more positive, and it is worth looking at the evidence again.

The development of the use of the cartouche by royal women before the 18th dynasty cannot be considered here,[7] and is in any case difficult to trace, because there are gaps in the evidence concerning royal women of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, and the dynastic position of those women who are attested in this period is often uncertain. Further, there is little monumental material which includes members of the royal family, many women being known only from scarabs on which it may already have been usual, as in the 18th dynasty, to omit the cartouche.

While the cartouche is given to some queens from at least the 13th dynasty,[8] and to s3t nsw in the 12th and 13th dynasties (n.29 below), its use was not automatic, and at the very end of the 17th dynasty, the funerary statue of prince Ahmose places the king's name only in a cartouche and writes the names of the queen and two s3t nsw without one.[9]

5.2. hmt nsw wrt.

Mertz states that the cartouche is always applied to the "chief wife" in the 18th dynasty, except on scarabs or ring bezels, when the form of the object itself probably substituted for the cartouche, and when the queen appears only with the title of princess, presumably before she was queen.[10]

One can qualify this by saying that while the cartouche is almost

always used by hmt nsw wrt and is never omitted in ritual scenes, it is occasionally on non-monumental material.[11] Further, the few instances where queens are attested with the title of s3t nsw alone, perhaps before becoming hmt nsw wrt, do in fact display a cartouche.[12] The examples given by Mertz are from the Amarna period and the 19th dynasty.

5.3. mwt nsw.

Mertz suggests that the cartouche was not always used by the king's mother, especially if she was of non-royal birth.[13] This point deserves careful attention, because it would suggest a distinction between the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw, which is not seen in their use of iconography or titles (vol.1, sections 3,4). She cites three examples where the name of a mwt nsw is written without a cartouche: 1) Iuahetibu, mother of Sekhemre Sewaddjtawy Sebekhotpe III of the 13th dynasty, on a rock stela of her son;[14] 2) Ese, mother of Thutmose III, in the text on the mummy wrappings of that king;[15] 3) Senisonb, mother of Thutmose I, in the text of a stela of that king (CG 34006). (While all the queens are of non-royal birth, Iuahetibu and Senisonb are, in addition, not the wives of kings [vol.1, p.7 bottom with n.15]. However, this cannot be the sole reason for the lack of the cartouche, if indeed it is one, since it is not applicable to Ese.)

The example of Iuahetibu is not relevant to the 18th dynasty, since neither mwt nsw nor hmt nsw wrt of the 13th dynasty use the cartouche regularly.[16] For the 18th dynasty, one can add other examples of mwt nsw whose names appear without a cartouche, and I list these below. (I have excluded scarabs, as the cartouche is seldom used on them by hmt nsw wrt, examples where both the name and titulary are

enclosed in a cartouche, and a cosmetic box of Ahhotpe II, where the whole box is in the shape of a cartouche.)

a. Tetisheri: mummy wrappings.[17]

b. Ahhotpe II: spheroid cap from handle of menit necklace;[18] seal.[19]

c. Ese I: scene in tomb of Thutmose III (cat.no.56); in the title of her <u>w^{c}b</u> priest.[20]

d. Mutemwiya: graffito of Heqareshu (cat.no.111).

All except the examples of Senisonb and of Ese in the tomb of Thutmose III are on non-monumental or private material. It is on just such material that the names of <u>hmt nsw wrt</u> occasionally occur without a cartouche (n.11).

i. <u>Senisonb.</u>

In two other instances, the name of Senisonb occurs with the cartouche: 1) in a scene with Thutmose I of type A.1 in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat.no.21; posthumous to king and queen); 2) on a pyramidion of her lector priest <u>Ttj</u>.[21] The stela of Thutmose I on which she is not given a cartouche is dated to year 1 of that king; although Senisonb is <u>mwt nsw</u> as a result of the succession of her son, the cartouche may have been omitted because she had not been <u>hmt nsw</u> (<u>wrt</u>) of a previous king. By the time the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut was built a couple of decades later, Hatshepsut was claiming the throne as the heir of her father Thutmose I, and the resulting elevation of his memory may have reflected on his mother.

Senisonb does not appear in the scene on Thutmose's stela; the queens shown are Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, that is the king's <u>hmt nsw wrt</u> and the mother of his predecessor. We might ask whether Senisonb was absent because room had to be made for Ahmose Nofretary, or because her exclusion solved a problem about her status as

mwt nsw without being hmt nsw, which is unique for the 18th dynasty; this could be glossed over later, probably after her death. It is worth noting that no queen is shown in ritual scenes of type A.1 without a cartouche, so that Senisonb's ability to appear in this type of scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut might go together with her use of the cartouche there. The pyramidion of her lector priest Tety must date after her death, and there is evidence that in posthumous writings of names of members of the royal family, the cartouche may be used irrespective of their status in life (below).

ii. Ese I.

Ese I appears to be the exception among mwt nsw, since her name is written as often without (nn.15,20 above; cat.no.56) as with a cartouche (below). However, the instance on the mummy wrappings of Thutmose III is non-monumental and should be compared with the appearance of Tetisheri's name without a cartouche on her own wrappings (n.17 above). Ese's lack of the cartouche in the title of her $w^{c}b$ priest is more surprising, as officials normally write the name of the queen they serve in a cartouche,[22] and we have seen above that Senisonb has it on the pyramidion of her lector priest. However, one may also compare the text to an offering table dedicated to Sitioh, hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose III, possibly by her lector priest Tjerikity; her name is given without a cartouche (cat.no.61).

The scene showing Ese in the tomb of Thutmose III is in a different category. Here the difficulty lies in the uniqueness of the scene, because this is the only royal tomb where members of the king's family are shown. Below the scene with Ese is another showing a row of four royal women (cat.no.70). The first two, Meritre and Sitioh, who are known from elsewhere to be hmt nsw wrt, though they are not so called here, have the cartouche; the third and fourth,

hmt nsw Nebtu and s3t nsw Nofretary do not. If the mwt nsw ranks with the hmt nsw wrt, she might have been expected to use it here too, although it is not clear to what extent the two scenes form a unit. However, this lack of cartouche with Ese's name is not consistent, since it is present in a scene of type A.1(?) in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III (cat.no.53), on a statue which that king dedicated to her (cat.no.57) and on a votive stela from his mortuary temple, which is probably posthumous (cat.no.55).[23] A possible reason why Ese apparently uses the cartouche with less frequency than other queens might lie in her name. The names of goddesses are never enclosed in a cartouche, so scribes used to writing 3st without a cartouche for the goddess Isis might omit the cartouche with the name of the queen.[24]

Except for the two queens just discussed, all 18th dynasty mwt nsw use the cartouche in the same way as the hmt nsw wrt, being given it on all monumental material, that is, in temples, on royal stelae, in private tombs, on private stelae and on statues. It follows from this that all queens use the cartouche in ritual scenes, since these occur almost exclusively in temples and on royal stelae. The use of the cartouche, therefore, does not in general show a distinction between the mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt. The example of Senisonb may reflect her position as wife of a non-royal person and not of a king. Since this is unique in the 18th dynasty, there is no material for comparison. In the case of Ese, the explanation is more difficult.

5.4. hmt nsw.

One contention of my thesis is that the difference between the mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt on the one hand and the hmt nsw on the other is that while the former had a ritual role, the latter did not. Thus, if the cartouche were related solely to appearance in ritual scenes,

one would not expect to find it with names of hmt nsw; yet it occurs with some, though not all, of them.

Because we only have evidence concerning very few hmt nsw, it is difficult to trace a consistent pattern of use, but in almost all cases where the cartouche is found, the use is posthumous. The following examples occur.

i) Sitdjhuty.

The name of Sitdjhuty, wife of Seqenenre Tao II, appears enclosed in a cartouche on the mummy wrappings of her daughter, Ahmose, who also uses a cartouche.[25] From the form of the moon hieroglyph used, the burial must date later than year 18 of Ahmose; almost certainly her mother was dead.

ii) Ahmose Inhapi.

The name of Ahmose Inhapi, together with that of her daughter Ahmose Henuttameh, is enclosed in a cartouche on the stela of Amenemhat dating to the reign of Thutmose III, which almost certainly dates after the deaths of the two women (cat.no.186). Both are shown wearing items of queenly insignia, and it is characteristic of cult monuments relating to members of the early 18th dynasty royal family that the women are shown with a queenly status which they did not have in their lifetime (see also vol.1, 3.5.3.2, p.171 with n.475; 3.5.19.4, p.215).

iii) Nebtu.

The name of Nebtu occurs in a cartouche in the title of her steward Nebamun.[26] It is written without one in the tomb of Thutmose III, in contrast to the names of Meritre and Sitioh (cat.no.70). Although these two queens have only the title hmt nsw here, they are known to have been hmt nsw wrt, while in the only other references to Nebtu in TT 24 (Nebamun), she is hmt nsw. It seems certain that

she was not hmt nsw wrt, and the lack of a cartouche in Thutmose III's tomb, compared to the two queens, may reflect this distinction. Its appearance in Nebamun's title might be a result of Nebtu's death, or perhaps an attempt on Nebamun's part to boost the prestige of his office.

iv) Ese III.

Ese III uses the cartouche on a double statue showing her with her father, Amenhotpe III, where she has the title hmt nsw (cat.no.187). This context might have been enough to explain the presence of the cartouche, but as Ese is also given it when she is only s3t nsw (below), its use here does not necessarily relate to her assumption of the title of hmt nsw.

v) Henut.

The name of Henut is written with a cartouche on her canopic jar.[27] This may be because she is dead, although the cartouche is not regularly used on personal funerary equipment by hmt nsw or s3t nsw. Merti, Menwi and Menhet, three hmt nsw of Thutmose III who are probably of foreign origin, do not use it on their funerary equipment.[28] Two s3t nsw, Tentamun and Tiaa, are without cartouches on their canopic jars (see n.37 below).

To sum up, there is evidence to show that in most cases when the cartouche is used with the name of a hmt nsw, the use is posthumous. Ese III is an apparent exception, but as she already uses the cartouche as s3t nsw, she must be considered apart (below).

5.5. s3t nsw.

Examples of names of s3t nsw in a cartouche occur sporadically from the 12th dynasty on,[29] but are obviously exceptional. Since the material is so sparse, it is difficult to suggest any precise reason

for the use of the cartouche in these cases.

With the greater amount of material from the 18th dynasty, it is possible to attempt an analysis of the evidence.

From the beginning of the 18th dynasty to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III, more s3t nsw are recorded with their names in a cartouche than without. The cartouche is always present in temples and on royal stelae in ritual scenes, both where a s3t nsw occupies a position normally reserved for queens[30] and where a s3t nsw is present in addition to a queen.[31] In the former cases, the princess normally has a title or titles in addition to s3t nsw, such as snt nsw or ḥmt ntr. A rock stela at Serabit el-Khadim dated to year 7 of Thutmose IV writes the king's two cartouches together with that of the s3t nsw (J^{c}rt) side by side.[32] It is unclear whether Iaret was really no more than s3t nsw at this time, since a rock stela at Konosso dated to the same year gives Iaret the title ḥmt nsw wrt (cat.no.102), which might simply be omitted at Serabit el-Khadim. If she was the first ḥmt nsw wrt of Thutmose IV, she must have had the title before year 7. If, however, she followed another ḥmt nsw wrt, for example Nofretary, the stela at Serabit el-Khadim might commemorate a period between her designation and installation as ḥmt nsw wrt.

The cartouche is also used by s3t nsw whose statues are associated with a statue of a king.[33] In two cases the statues are at the side of a colossus of a king in a position also occupied by statues of queens (vol.1, 3.3.2, p.142), and both use title(s) other than s3t nsw.

The only royal monument in which a princess is shown without a cartouche is the tomb of Thutmose III. Here, a unique scene shows a row of four royal women which includes the s3t nsw Nfrtjrj m3^{c}t ḥrw (scene type A.15; cat.no.70). Although the first two women are given

only the title hmt nsw here, they are known from elsewhere to have been hmt nsw wrt; they are given the cartouche. The second two, Nebtu and Nofretary, who are hmt nsw[34] and s3t nsw respectively, are without the cartouche in what may be a deliberate contrast with the first pair.

On funerary material, of which there is very little surviving compared to the probable number of children fathered by each king, the cartouche is only sometimes present. It occurs on four items from the first half of the dynasty,[35] while a number of labels[36] and canopic jars[37] from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotpe III lack it. Whether this reflects a change in practice during the dynasty can hardly be determined from such a small sample of material. It is worth noting that the only title on the labels and canopic jars is s3t nsw, while three of the earlier items have an additional title.[38] It was seen above that the cartouche was not always used on the funerary material of hmt nsw.

A number of s3t nsw are attested on private material, such as stelae, statues, tomb scenes, texts and titles of officials. The cartouche is not used in all cases. It occurs twice in contexts which must date after the death of the s3t nsw concerned.[39] It is also always found with the name of Nefrure,[40] (except n.52 below). This is not unexpected during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, when she appears in ritual scenes and probably takes the place of a hmt nsw wrt for her mother; she also uses titles other than s3t nsw. However, her name is also written with a cartouche on the material which dates from before Hatshepsut's accession as king, when she only has the title s3t nsw. It is unclear whether it is significant that all these occurrences are on monuments of Senenmut, but the very fact that as early as the regency he is associated with

her five times suggests that she already had an important position.

Two scenes in private tombs include a s3t nsw. In TT 78, dating to the reign of Amenhotpe III, the owner Haremhab is seated with Amenemopet on his lap; she has no cartouche.[41] She is perhaps to be identified with the s3t nsw Amenemopet named on a label bought by Newberry, which probably originally belonged with those found by Rhind (see n.36). If so, she is most likely to be a daughter of Thutmose IV. The second scene occurs in TT 63 belonging to the jmj-r3 sd3wtj Sebekhotpe, which dates to the reign of Thutmose IV.[42] The owner's wife, Merit, holds the s3t nsw n ht.f (Tj^{c}3) [... on her knee.[43] The date would fit an identification with the s3t nsw Tj^{c}3 n (Mnhprwr^{c}) of Rhind's label (see n.36) and also the s3t nsw Tj^{c}3 on the Cairo and University College canopic jars (see n.37b), which however do not use the cartouche. (See also vol.4 section 2). The use of the cartouche in TT 63 may be commemorative.

Although a block statue of Benermerut holding the s3t nsw Mrjjt-jmn is similar in composition to statues of Senenmut and Nefrure, the cartouche is not used.[44] Five children are shown on a statue belonging to the dw3t ntr Huy (BM 1280), who may be deduced to be their grandmother (vol.1, 2.4.3, pp.67-8). One, the s3t nsw Nbtjwnt, is seated on Huy's lap. The s3 nsw Mnhprr^{c}, s3t nsw (Mrjjtjmn), s3t nsw Mrjjtjmn and s3t nsw 3st are depicted on the right side of her seat. Since two of the children have the same name, the cartouche may perhaps be used to distinguish between them, or one might be dead. It is perhaps more likely that it marks a distinction in status between Meritamun and the other children, and possibly she is to be identified with Meritamun II who appears in the Hathor cow chapel (cat.no.205).

An interesting case concerning the use of the cartouche is to be

found on a stela belonging to a woman called Nebetkabeny, who has the titles wrt hnrt nt s3t nsw mn^{c}t wrt šdt ntr (cat.no.206). A child called Sitamun, whom one may assume to be the s3t nsw of Nebetkabeny's title, is shown on the lap of that woman. Her name was written beside her, first without a cartouche, then a second time in a cartouche. This suggests that when the stela was originally made, Sitamun was not entitled to a cartouche, however such a status might be determined, but that later she acquired the right to use one. She also wears a uraeus, which is unknown for s3t nsw, apart from Nefrure and, by analogy(?), Nefrubity (vol.1, p.215). I suggest that this was added at the same time as the cartouche, and that this princess is to be identified with a queen who was shown in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe II, whose name survives as S3t[ ] (vol.1, 2.4.4.2, p.80). The rewriting of her name in a cartouche and conjectured addition of the uraeus at this time would be to mark a change in status from s3t nsw to ḥmt nsw (wrt). Such a change would not necessarily imply anything about s3t nsw in relation to the cartouche, but only that ḥmt nsw wrt almost always use it.

The name of the [s3t?] nsw (Ḥnwtt3nb), daughter of Amenhotpe III, appears in a fragment of text possibly belonging to Simut, fourth prophet of Amun in the reign of Amenhotpe III.[45]

The names of s3t nsw also appear on non-monumental material and small objects. Two vases of Hatshepsut have the title s3t nsw (wrt) but not ḥmt nsw (wrt), and may date before she achieved the latter title.[46] They both include the title ḥmt ntr, and write the name in a cartouche. The cartouche of Nefrure appears on two linen sheets from the mummy of Ramose, father of Senenmut.[47] Of the daughters of Amenhotpe III, Sitamun III's name appears in a cartouche on a child's chair (cat.no.154), the name of Ese III in a cartouche on two kohl

tubes,[48] and the name of Henuttaneb in a cartouche on kohl tubes,[49] a pectoral;[50] and a vase.[51] The last two also appear in a scene on a bracelet plaque which depicts a ritual probably relating to the sed festival; the names of both are in a cartouche (cat.no.157).

The name of Nefrure occurs once without a cartouche on a mirror, which has the unusual writing of the name .[52] Nowhere else does her name fail to have the honorific transposition of Re, nor is Re spelt out. This may be a form of the name which dropped out of use; perhaps the writing was standardised once she achieved her position of importance. Alternatively, one cannot help wondering whether the inscription could be a forgery added to the mirror in modern times to increase its value. (One would need to look at the original to resolve this.)

A second chair of Sitamun III, of adult size, has on its back a scene showing the princess, in which she is named as s3t nsw wrt S3tjmn.[53] A second vase belonging to Henuttaneb has an inscription similar to her other vase (n.51), except that it lacks the cartouche for her.[54]

Few s3t nsw have scarabs, but ones with the name of Nefrure are not uncommon.[55] Most, like the scarabs of queens, lack the cartouche, but occasionally it is present.[56]

Apart from the tomb of Thutmose III, there is no occurrence of the name of a s3t nsw on a royal monument or in a temple scene without a cartouche. It is only on some private, funerary and non-monumental material that the cartouche is absent. In all these cases, there is no title present other than s3t nsw (wrt) (mrjjt.f). While it is possible for the cartouche to be used when s3t nsw is the only title present,[57] it seems that it must be used if there are additional titles. The examples of BM 1280 (above) and CG 42117 (above; cat.no.206)

suggest that the presence of the cartouche indicates a special status for the user, possibly that she has been given a ritual role or has been marked out for such a role in the future. The use by the daughters of Amenhotpe III may be linked with their special position in relation to their father.[58] The cartouche might then mark a departure in their status from that of earlier s3t nsw, or at least a change in epigraphic convention. It is possible that we are misled by the sources, since most of the material on which these princesses are attested is of a kind unknown from earlier in the reign. However, this in itself might indicate a new status for s3t nsw in this reign. This could be connected with the sed festivals of the king, which, iconographically at least, are a departure from earlier practice in the dynasty, looking back to the Old Kingdom for their models. Although individual s3t nsw are not named in these earlier sed festival cycles, the msw nsw are prominent (see vol.1, 3.2.2, pp.114-5).

Just as hmt nsw, who have no ritual role in their lifetime, may use the cartouche in later commemorative contexts, s3t nsw may do the same. Also, as with hmt nsw, it is sometimes, but not always, used on funerary material.

The evidence may be unrepresentative of the s3t nsw as a whole, since only those who have some importance are likely to appear on royal or private monuments, which constitutes much of the material surviving today. One may suppose that most s3t nsw had a burial of some sort. If more funerary objects had survived, we might find that the majority of s3t nsw did not use the cartouche (cf. the canopic jars of Tiaa and Tentamun, n.37).

5.6. s3 nsw.

To complete this survey, I shall discuss briefly the use of the

cartouche by princes, since the contrast between the use of the cartouche by male and female members of the royal family is informative.

Princes rarely use the cartouche on contemporary material. The following two examples occur:

1) On the "Donation" stela, the son of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary is called s3 nsw smsw n $h^{c}w$ ntr ($J^{c}hms$) (cat.no.12). The scene is of type A.1 with the addition of the prince. He is shown as a typical child, naked with a sidelock and finger held to mouth. While he probably had no ritual role, except perhaps to symbolise the fertility of the king and queen and hence the fact that the transaction recorded is for perpetuity, he is present in a ritual context.[59]

2) Amenmose, son of Thutmose I, has the cartouche on a monument, dated to year 4 of his father, which he set up for himself. He has the title jmj-r3 ms^{c} wr.[60] I suggest that he is adult (vol.1, 2.4.1, p.63) and that he has appropriated the cartouche for use on his own monuments; it is rare for a prince to set up any monument for himself.

The brother of Amenmose, Wadjmose, is sometimes given the cartouche, but this is on material from his mortuary temple,[61] where the context is commemorative, relating to his cult. Neither Amenmose nor Wadjmose has a cartouche in the tomb of Paheri,[62] which may have been decorated during their lifetimes. Tylor dated the tomb to the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III, but the moon hieroglyph is Vandersleyen's type 3 (𓇼), which could date anywhere between year 18 of Ahmose and the reign of Thutmose III.[63]

The remaining examples are from texts of Thutmose III[64] and IV.[65] which date after those kings' accessions, but refer to events before, and so call the king s3t nsw, but put the name in the cartouche. TT 64 is similarly retrospective.[66]

Therefore, princes, who do not usually appear in ritual scenes, do not normally use the cartouche on contemporary monuments. As with other members of the royal family, it may be used on posthumous monuments, including Ramessid monuments,[67] except with the name of Ahmose Sipair (vol.1, 2.2.4, p.45).

5.7. Conclusions.

On monuments contemporary with the person named in the cartouche, we find that the cartouche is used by hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw, part of whose function is to appear in ritual scenes. It is used by s3t nsw who appear in ritual scenes or in close association with the king. It is not used by princes who do not appear in ritual scenes, with the exception of Ahmose of the "Donation" stela, and the adult Amenmose on his own monument.

When monuments of the royal family are named posthumously, there is a tendency to give them a cartouche, irrespective of their ritual role while alive. Thus it can be applied to hmt nsw, s3t nsw and s3 nsw, and this usage conues through the 19th -21st dynasties, both on cult monuments and on some of the restored mummies and coffins. Burial equipment prepared for a person's death or immediately after it may also give a cartouche to somebody who did not use it in life. Thus, the cartouche may express in some cases contemporary ritual status of an individual, and in others posthumous elevation of status.

Although outside the scope of this thesis, there is one question which has given rise to speculation. Why do the Amarna princesses, and especially Meritaṭon, who are frequently present in ritual scenes on the Karnak talatat and at Amarna, not use the cartouche? If we look ahead to the reign of Ramesses II, when there is once

more copious evidence for princesses, we find that while the cartouche is not used in the general procession of princesses,[68] those who appear in ritual scenes, and often have the title hmt nsw (wrt) in relation to their father, may be given the cartouche.[69] By contrast, not only the princes in the lists,[70] but also adult princes do not use the cartouche, even in apparently ritual contexts.[71] Since it is usual in the periods before and after the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton for princesses with a ritual role to have the cartouche, it is perhaps the exceptional circumstances of the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton which deprive the princesses of its use. Perhaps the enhanced importance of the queens of this reign, Nefertiti especially, but also to some extent Teye, was stressed by allowing them alone among the female members of the royal family to use the cartouche. One should also remember that a number of rules of decorum applicable in iconography before the Amarna period and often again after it do not apply during it.

To sum up, the following points may be made about the use of the cartouche:

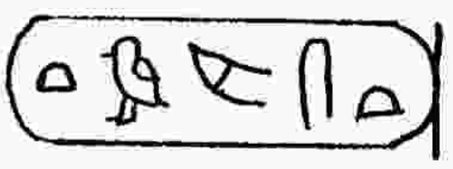
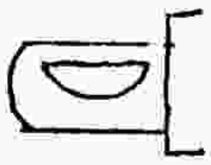
1. In ritual scenes, the cartouche is used by the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw, and this is extended to almost all occurrences of their names, but there are some exceptions, mostly on non-monumental material.
2. It is used by s3t nsw in ritual scenes, and on statues associated with a royal statue; when it occurs with a princess's name in other contexts, this is probably by extension from the ritual examples.
3. Princes, who rarely appear in ritual scenes, seldom use the cartouche on monuments made during their lifetimes.
4. It is often given to members of the royal family on posthumous monuments, and is found not only with queens and s3t nsw who had a ritual role in life, but also with hmt nsw, s3t nsw and s3 nsw who had no such role.

Notes to section 5.

1. P. Kaplony in LÄ 3, 610.
2. Gardiner Grammar, 74.
3. Barta ZÄS 98(1972), 5-16.
4. See ibid., and references therein; see also P. Kaplony in LÄ 3, 610-626, and references therein.
5. Mertz "Certain Titles", 25-31.
6. ibid., 31.
7. Mertz ibid., gives a list of some examples of the use of the cartouche by queens before the 18th dynasty, but this is marred by several mistaken assumptions. She gives as the first queen to use the cartouche Mertseger, wife of Senwosret III, but the example is posthumous (BM 846, HT 4, pl.23); it was probably not used by queens until the 13th dynasty. For the 17th dynasty, she states that it is usually found with the names of Tetisheri, Ahhotpe and Kamose (sic), who belong to the end of the dynasty. However, she fails to realise that material relating to Tetisheri is not found before the reign of Ahmose. She does not distinguish between Ahhotpe I and II (and III?). Almost all of the material relating to Ahhotpe II is from the reign of Ahmose or Amenhotpe I. The coffin of Ahhotpe I, which uses a cartouche, may be later 17th or early 18th dynasty. The statue of prince Ahmose, Louvre E 15682, with the name of Ahhotpe III (=II?), which can definitely be assigned to the late 17th dynasty, does not give the queen a cartouche. The monument cited for Kamose, Champollion Not.descr. 1, 867 (= TT 2 [Khabekhnet], temp. Ramesses II) is posthumous, as Mertz tentatively suggests (see Daressy Recueil ... Champollion, 283-296).
8. 13th dynasty, e.g. Jnj, scarabs, Hayes Scepter 1, 343 fig.226 4th row 3rd from right; Matouk Corpus 1, 24 no.85; Nwbhtptj, scarab, Hayes Scepter 1, 343 fig.226 4th row 4th from right; statue, Dunham - Janssen Semna-Kumma (Boston 1960), 28, pl.87A. 17th dynasty, e.g. Mntwhtp, wife of Sekhemre Sementawy Djhuty, box, Berlin 1175, Erman ZÄS 30(1892), 45C, 46-7; Sbkms3f, wife of Nubkheperre Inyotef, pectoral, Newberry PSBA 24(1902), 285; fragment of stela, Engelbach ASAE 22(1922), 116, pl.1 no.6.
9. Louvre E 15682, Winlock JEA 10(1924), pls.18-20.
10. Mertz "Certain Titles", 27.

11. e.g. seven cylinder seals of Ahmose Nofretary, Ashmolean Museum 1892.1377, 1379; University College London, Petrie SC, pl.23, 18.1.26; MMA 26.7.740, Hayes Scepter 2, 45; MMA 26.7.30, pl.152; MMA 26.7.29, pl.151; MMA 26.7.739, Hayes Scepter 2, 45; an offering table of Sitioh, CG 23034, cat.no.61; a brick of Meritre Hatshepsut, LD Text 3, 140 near bottom; a jar sealing of Teye from Malqata, Leahy Malkata 4, pl.24, K.284.
12. e.g. (Ahmose) Meritamun I(?), cat.no.189.
    Hatshepsut, see n.46 below.
    Meritamun II(?), cat.no.205.
    Iaret(?), see nn.32,56 below.
13. Mertz "Certain Titles", 25.
14. Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6.
15. Maspero ZAS 20(1882), 132 = id. Momies royales, 548.
16. See Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6, where the cartouche is lacking also for the name of the king's wife.
17. Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 69 figs.4A-C.
18. MMA 30.8.341, pl.148.
19. MMA 10.130.168, pl.149.
20. TT 248, Urk. IV, 1642.7; MMA photo.T 1876.
21. Ashmolean Museum 1896-1908 E 3926, Newberry PSBA 35(1905), 102.
22. e.g. CG 34003; von Bergmann RT 7(1886), 179 no.4; Louvre C 203, Pierret Recueil 2, 42; TT 192 (Kheruef), The Epigraphic Survey The Tomb of Kheruef Theban Tomb 192 (Chicago 1980), passim.
23. A stela of Thutmose III, CG 34015, cat.no.54, also gives the name of Ese in a cartouche, but the name is not original.
24. e.g. in KV 34 (Thutmose III), the name of the goddess appears in the scene below the one with Ese (pl.54).
25. Schiaparelli Relazione 1, 13-21, pls.6-7.
26. TT 24, Urk. IV, 149.12, 150.16, 152,14,15.
27. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 138 no.1.
28. Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses, 41, pl.22; 46-7, pl.28; 60, pl.36.
29. e.g. 12th dynasty, Ptahnefru, daughter of Amenemhat III, e.g. block of black granite, Daressy RT 10(1888), 142 no.5; sphinx, Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 359 no.52 = Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 133 no.1 (jrjt-p^{c}t); statue, Weigall ASAE 8(1907), 48 (jrjt-p^{c}t wrt j3mt[?] wrt hst); note the use of titles additional to s3t nsw,

suggesting her position may not be normal for a s3t nsw; 13th dynasty, Iuahetibu, Louvre C.8, Pierret Recueil 2, 107 (not used by mother or sister on same stela).

30. a) Sitamun I, cat.no.188.
    b)-e) Nefrure, cat.nos.191-4.
    f) Meritamun II and snt nsw (name lost), cat.no.205.
31. a)-b) Nefrubity, cat.nos.27-28.
    c) Ese and Henuttaneb, cat.no.141.
32. Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai^2, pl.19 no.60.
33. a) (Ahmose) Meritamun I(?), cat.no.189.
    b) Mutnofret, cat.no.190.
    c) Henuttaneb and Nebetah, cat.no.172; with Urk. IV, 1775.13-15.
34. Nebtu is also known from the title of her steward Nebamun, n.26 above, in which she is called only hmt nsw; she is unlikely to have been hmt nsw wrt.
35. a) mummy cloth fragments of Ahmose, daughter of Tao II and Sitdjhuty, QV 47, PM 1^2 ii, 75; Schiaparelli Relazione 1, 13-21, pls.6-7.
    b) coffin of child called Anat in the Hermitage, Leningrad, with text referring to Ahmose Tumerisy, daughter of Ahhotpe II, Troy GM 35(1979), 90 fig.1.
    c) statuette of Ahmose Nebetta, daughter of Ahhotpe II, with htp dj nsw formual; Louvre N 496; Maspero Momies royales, 636; Daressy Recueil ... Champollion, 291.
    d) coffin of Ahmose Henutempet, daughter of Ahhotpe (I,II or III?); PM 1^2 ii, 604; Wilkinson MSS x, 79-80, xviii, 24.
    Two vase fragments in the Louvre have cartouches  and  , Daressy Recueil ... Champollion, 290. The first is probably the s3t nsw of the Leningrad coffin, and the second is possibly (Ahmose) Neb[etta]. Little can be said about the fragments, but they may be from the funerary equipment of the two s3t nsw.
36. 14 labels, one naming s3 nsw T3wj[...], and thirteen naming the s3t nsw Tj^{c}3, Pjk3wj3, Nbtj3, Pjpwjj, Mrjjtpth, S3thrj, Nfrwjmn, Wj3jj and Hnwtjwnw, found by Rhind in a tomb at Thebes; Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 nos.1-14; Černý MSS 17.57.5-6; label naming s3t nsw Jmnmjpt bought by Newberry, PSBA 25(1903), 360 no.54,

pl.2 no.3; label naming s3t nsw Hᶜtnsw bought by Wiedemann, ZÄS 21(1883), 123-6 = Erman ZÄS 31(1893), 125. The last two labels were probably stolen from Rhind's tomb.

37. a) Tentamun, KV 43 (Thutmose IV), CG 46040, PM 1^2 ii, 560, Carter et al. Tomb of Thoutmosis IV, 7 no.7.
b) Tiaa, PM 1^2 ii, 769, Cairo Museum, Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 139 nos.8-9; UCL 15809, Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 359 no.53 = Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 141 right.

38. n.35: a) s3t nsw snt nsw; b) s3t nsw [snt/ḥmt] nsw; c) s3t nsw snt nsw. d) is only s3t nsw.

39. a) stela of Djhuty, MMA 25.184.2; wᶜb ḥm-k3 n (Jᶜḥms) s3t (Ttjsrj) mᶜ3(t) ḫrw; museum photograph. The form of the moon hieroglyph 𓇼 places the stela in the reign of Thutmose III, Vandersleyen Guerres, 228.
b) Ahmose Henuttameh, cat.no.186.

40. Before Hatshepsut's assumption of kingship:
a) BM 174, statue of Senenmut holding Nefrure, PM 2^2, 278-9, HT 5, pls.30-31; Hatshepsut is called ḥmt nṯr.
b) cat.no.195. Hatshepsut is not named on this statue, though she may be referred to in Senenmut's title jmj-r3 pr n nbt t3wj, if this is not a second reference to Nefrure. After Hatshepsut becomes king, Nefrure is almost always called by the title ḥmt nṯr alone or with other titles. The use on the statue of s3t nsw by itself is typical of the period of Hatshepsut's regency for Thutmose III.
c) CG 42117, statue of Senenmut kneeling holding naos, PM 2^2, 144; Legrain Statues, 65-6, pl.68; Hatshepsut is called ḥmt nṯr.
d) BM 1513, statue of Senenmut, HT 5, pl.29; Hatshepsut is called ḥmt nṯr.
e) cat.no.52; Hatshepsut is given queenly insignia and titles.
f) funerary cone of Senenmut; Davies - Macadam Corpus, no.84; Hatshepsut is not mentioned on this cone, but is called ḥmt nṯr on a second one (ibid., no.88), and if the two are of similar date, the first should also date before Hatshepsut was king.

End of Hatshepsut's regency:
g) funerary cone of Senimen; ibid., no.120. Hatshepsut and Nefrure are both given the title ḥmt nṯr on this cone, suggesting a date just before Hatshepsut assumed the titles of king (vol.2, n.344).

After Hatshepsut's assumption of Kingship:

h)-l) cat.nos.196-200.

m) TT 252 (Senimen), PM 1^2 i, 337, statue outside tomb showing owner holding Nefrure, Davies PSBA 35(1913), 285, pl.52 no.2.

n) CG 953, statue of Minhotpe with titles and cartouche of Nefrure, PM 2^2, 260, Borchardt Statuen 4, 2-3, pl.159.

o) biography of Ahmose Pennekhbet from tomb at el-Kab, PM 5, 177, Urk. IV, 34.16.

41. PM 1^2 i, 153(6)II, A. and A. Brack Das Grab des Haremhab. Theban Nr.76 (Mainz 1980), 28 § 2.2.2.3, pl.32a,36a; see also p.83.

42. PM 1^2 i, 127(17), MMA photo.T 2776; Urk. IV, 1582.10 (wrongly called future wife of Amenhotpe II). Dated by a kiosk scene with Thutmose IV and the prenomen of the same king on a menit held by the ownder's wife, PM 1^2 i, 126(5), 127(13).

43. There has been some confusion whether Merit is the wife of mother of Sebekhotpe. This is because two statues of a Sebekhotpe, Berlin 11635 and another in Marseilles, name his mother as Merit; the owner of these statues has been identified with the owner of TT 63 (e.g. Spiegelberg ZÄS 63[1928], 114-5; Capart BMRAH 10[1938], 83). However, although both men are connected with the Faiyum, Sebekhotpe of TT 63 has the title jmj-r3 sḏ3wtj and names his father as Min, while the other Sebekhotpe does not have the title and gives his father as Kapu. While one might argue that the Berlin and Marseilles statues date before Sebekhotpe achieved the office of jmj-r3 sḏ3wtj, the difference in the names of the fathers is more important. Capart tries to reconcile the evidence by suggesting that Sebekhotpe's father was in fact called Minkapu, abbreviated to Min in TT 63 and also on another statue, CG 1090, and to Kapu on the Berlin and Marseilles statues. This seems unlikely because Min has the title jmj-r3 sḏ3wtj, while Kapu is s3b ḥ3tj-^{c} n ẖ. There is a clear division between the two statues, where the father is called Kapu and Sebekhotpe does not have the title jmj-r3 sḏ3wtj, and the occurrences where the father is called Min and Sebekhotpe is jmj-r3 sḏ3wtj; this indicates that the two Sebekhotpes should not be identified. It follows that Merit, the mother of Sebekhotpe of the Berlin and Marseilles statues, cannot be the mother of the owner of TT 63. Most of the inscriptions of

Merit in this tomb are damaged, and this has helped prolong the confusion as to the identity of Merit. However, Lepsius MS. 301 (middle) quite clearly copies snt.f mrjjt.f hkrt nsw wrt hnrt n Sbk Ḫdtj Mrjjt, showing that she must be his wife and not his mother. The s3t nsw Tiaa whom she holds on her lap is thus likely to be a daughter of Thutmose IV and is probably to be identified with the owner of Rhind's label. She would then be a granddaughter of the hmt nsw wrt Tiaa. Identification as the future hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe II, as e.g. Helck Urk. IV, 1582. 8-10, is wrong both on grounds of chronology and because the hmt nsw wrt Tiaa is never s3t nsw.

44. CG 42171, Karnak cachette, PM 2^2, 144; Legrain Statues 2, 37-8, pl.35; Urk. IV, 1373.11.

45. Malqata, temple of Amun, PM 1^2 ii, 779, Hayes JNES 10(1951), 238, figs.37c, 39 no.3; Urk. IV, 1941.9.

46. a) KV 20 (Thutmose I and Hathsepsut), PM 1^2 ii, 547, Davis Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 109 fig.6; the left hand column should be restored ⌜jr.n.s n jt.s nsw⌝ [bjtj (Dhwtjms)...]; the jar was presumably made as a funerary item by Hatshepsut for her father, dating the vase around the time of the death of Thutmose I; it is conceivable that she was not yet hmt nsw wrt.

b) MMA 10.130.1667, provenance unknown, see Hayes Scepter 2, 80; pl.158.

47. Hayes Scepter 2, 105 right.

48. a) provenance unknown: Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan: Catalogue descriptif (Paris 1929), no.534, pls.69-70; Newberry PSBA 35(1913), 158; van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 38.

b) probably Medinet Ghurab, CG 44521, PM 4, 114, Bénédite Objets de toilette 1, 28, pl.13; Newberry PSBA 35(1913), 158; see Petrie Kahun, Gurob and Hawara (London 1890), 32,35 top right.

49. a) fragment, provenance unknown, Newberry PSBA 24(1902), 248, pl.1 no.4; Gauthier LR 2, 342.D3; van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 40.

b) Medinet Ghurab, PM 4, 114, Gauthier LR 2, 342.D4; Petrie Illahun, Kahun and Gurob 1889-90 (London 1891), 16-18, pls.17-19. A fragment in University College London, Petrie SC, pl.35, 18.9.168, preserves merely the name of Henuttaneb with a perpendicular line to the right which might be part of a cartouche

or part of a border for the whole inscription.

50. Malqata (bought Luxor 1903), ex Pier collection; Pier Egyptian Antiquities, 23 no.156, pl.19 and frontispiece no.1; van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 40.

51. Provenance unknown, MMA 26.7.908, ex Carnarvon collection 1926; Hayes Scepter 2, 258; pl.159.

52. A. Ghertsos collection, Zürich, Kaplony RdE 22(1970), 99-100, pl.9.

53. KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu), CG 51113, PM 1^2 ii, 563, Quibell The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu (Le Caire 1908), 53-54, pls.38,40; Davis et al. Tomb of Iouya and Touiou, 37-41, fig.1.
By the occasion of the first sed festival, Sitamun had become ḥmt nsw wrt, e.g. dockets from Malqata, Hayes JNES 10(1951), fig.8 no.95 (mention of p3 ḥb sd). Most occurrences of her name include the title ḥmt nsw (wrt), as well as s3t nsw, and use the cartouche. In addition to the pr s3t nsw ḥmt nsw wrt (S3tjmn), dockets from Malqata also mention a pr (S3tjmn) and pr s3t nsw (S3tjmn), the first with a date of year 36 (ibid., fig.11 no.139), and the second with reference to the first sed festival (ibid., fig.8 no.97) and a possible date of year 34 (ibid., fig.11 no.137). These might refer to different estates, the second two perhaps being estates she had had as a princess, their names remaining unchanged even when she had acquired the title ḥmt nsw wrt; they are more likely however to be abbreviations of the first estate above. In either case, their use of the cartouche is not relevant to Sitamun as s3t nsw. Three small objects which name her either have no title or it has been lost: 1) pendant, Michaelidis ASAE 45(1947), 123 figs.12; 2) blue faience fragment, ibid., 124 fig.13; 3) fragment of a plaque, Petrie Tell el Amarna, pl.13 no.16. They cannot be dated with certainty and the association with the prenomen of Amenhotpe III does not necessarily indicate that she is ḥmt nsw wrt, since Ese III and Henuttaneb associate their names in the same way with that of their father, while using only the title s3t nsw. Only the two chairs from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuiu certainly date before Sitamun became ḥmt nsw wrt.

54. ex MacGregor collection, location unknown, Newberry PSBA 24(1902), 248; Gauthier LR 2, 342.D2; van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 39 (see vol.2, n.672 no.5).

55. e.g. BM 24215, Hall Scarabs, 543 = Petrie HS, 929; BM 30636, Hall Scarabs, 542; Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 237 no.232, pl.22; Newberry Scarabs, pl.28 nos.2,3.
56. e.g. hmt ntr (Nfrwr^{c}), Louvre (no. unknown), Petrie HS, 934 = Newberry Scarabs, pl.28 no.4; s3t nsw wrt (J^{c}rt), ex Fraser collection 246, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 259 no.342, pl.35; this may be the same scarab as Petrie SC, pl.30 (no number). Iaret is also attested as hmt nsw wrt, cat.no.102).
57. e.g. n.31 a)-c); n.35 d); n.40 a)-e); n.48 a); n.49 b); n.50.
58. Sitamun III was hmt nsw wrt by year 30, but the cartouche on the chairback is probably too early to be affected by this. Ese III is once hmt nsw and Henuttaneb sm3jjt Hrw. Their names are often associated with that of their father, even when only s3t nsw, and they played a role in his sed festival. While their position is not clearly understood, there is no evidence that earlier princesses stood in a similar relationship to their fathers, although that between Nefrure and her mother as king might be comparable in some ways.
59. One might perhaps compare the presence of Nefrubity with her parents in two scenes of type A.1, cat.nos.27-28.
60. Louvre E 8074, Zivie Giza, pl.4.
61. e.g. Daressy ASAE 1(1900), 100 no.6; 107 no.21 (= Urk. IV, 108.10; Schiaparelli Relazione 2, 33); 107 no.22.
62. Tylor - Griffith Tomb of Paheri, pls.4,10.
63. Vandersleyen Guerres, 226,228.
64. Urk. IV, 180.16, with mention of 8th campaign.
65. Urk. IV, 1542.11, sphinx stela.
66. Newberry JEA 14(1928), pl.12; Urk. IV, 1572.15-19.
67. e.g. Siamun, fragments of two rows of kings and queens from Deir el-Medina, Bruyère Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) fasc.ii (Le Caire 1952), 45a fig.164, 89-90; TT 2, TT 359, LD 3, 2a,d; coffin, CG 61008, provided by restorers in 21st dynasty.
68. Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions 2, 916-23.
69. e.g. Champollion Not.descr. 1, 68; Chaban ASAE 8(1907), 221-2; LD 3, 174e,175h; Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai^{2}, 181 no.263, pl.72; Daressy ASAE 17(1918), 36-38; Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions 2, 923-6 passim (note cartouche not always used).

70. ibid., 858-68.

71. e.g. two rock inscriptions, LD 3, 174e,175h (= Farouk Gomaà Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis [Wiesbaden 1973], Kat.76,79) showing Ramesses II and his hmt nsw wrt Isitnofret and the s3t nsw hmt nsw wrt Bentanta with cartouches, and the s3 nsw Khaemwese, Ramesses and Merneptah without.