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

Volume 2 : Notes and Tables

by

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Notes to Introduction and Sections 1-5.

Introduction.

1. Ineni informs us that Thutmose II was succeeded by his son Thutmose III, but that control of the country was exercised by Hatshepsut (Urk. IV, 59.16-60.2). It is quite clear that Hatshepsut was not yet king at this time, and she must therefore have been regent for Thutmose III before she assumed the titles of king. The date of the latter event is not certain, but cannot be later than year 7 of Thutmose, see W.J. Murnane Ancient Egyptian Coregencies (Chicago 1977), 32-44, esp.33-34.

2. e.g. H. Brugsch Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen (Leipzig 1877), 259-60,274; E.A.W. Budge History of Egypt[4] (London 1902), 2; J.H. Breasted A History of Egypt (London 1906), 255,266-7; G. Jéquier Histoire de la civilisation égyptienne (Paris 1913). 230; A. Weigall A History of the Pharaohs (London 1927). 215,256,265,280-2,296-7; G. Steindorff and K.C. Seele When Egypt ruled the East[2] (Chicago 1957), 34,36-7,40. There is not room here to expand on the history of the development of the idea. The theory is nowhere specifically formulated and demonstrated, although it has become received knowledge for many Egyptologists. Impetus for the idea may have originally derived from a statement of Frazer's that the Egyptians had a system of matrilineal descent, where men married their sisters and succession passed from a man to his own son in the dual status of sister's son and daughter's husband (Frazer Golden Bough[3] (1914) 5, 44n; 6, 213ff). This was apparently confirmed by texts in the tomb of Paheri, which trace the owner's descent through the female line. Nobody would now take Frazer's system of descent seriously, while the reason for Paheri's interest in his descemt in the female line was partly because his only important ancestor lay in that line. Further, filiation to the mother is very common on private monuments, but it does not show matrilineal descent.

3. e.g. J. Pirenne Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte 2. La Ve. dynastie (2750-2625) (Bruxelles 1934), 3-22 esp.8-10; J. Pirenne Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne 1 (Neuchâtel 1961), 157-159; Yoyotte in Fischer Weltgeschichte 3 Die altorientalischen Reiche II. Das Ende des 2. Jahrtausends (Frankfurt am Main 1966), 225-7.

4. e.g. Redford History and Chronology, 30-1,71-4; Hayes in CAH^3 2 part 1, 315-17; B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 306-12; F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 41-3,66; Drioton - Vandier L'Egypte^5, 336-8; S. Wenig The Woman in Egyptian Art (New York 1969), 30-1; S. Ratie La reine Hatchepsout: sources et problèmes (Leiden 1979), 16,23-31.

5. Sander-Hansen Gottesweib, 13.

6. In the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pls.46-55; in the temple of Amenhotpe III at Luxor, Brunner Geburt, pls.1-15.

7. B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 306-12; Redford History and Chronology, 71-4; Tanner ZÄS 102(1975), 50-4.

8. Gitton - Leclant "Gottesgemahlin" in LÄ 2, 792-812; Gitton BSFE 75(1976), 31-45; see also Gitton L'épouse. The connection between the "heiress", the birth cycle and the title ḥmt nṯr is denied without argument by Yoyotte in CRAIBL 1961, 43 and again in BSFE 64(1972), 36-7.

9. Leach Levi-Strauss^2 (Glasgow 1974), 101.

10. Leach in Royal Anthropological Institute News no.15 (August 1976), 20 with n.1.

11. see Otto Saeculum 20(1969), 385-411.

12. Redford History and Chronology, 88-169 with ns.21,22.

13. see, for instance, Gitton L'épouse, 42-97.

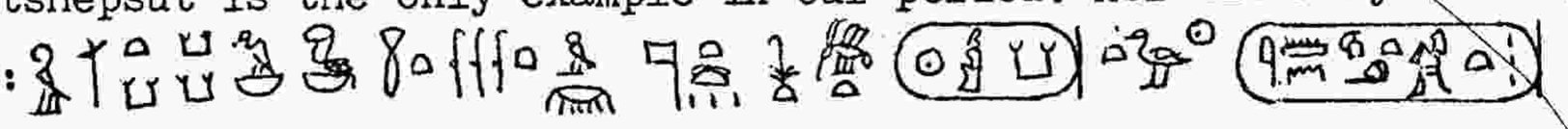
14. Mertz "Certain Titles", 153.

15. ibid., 168.

Section 1.

16. Oxford English Dictionary 8 (Oxford 1933), 39 col.3.

17. ibid.

18. Hatshepsut is the only example in our period. Her titulary as king is: 

which is quite distinct from the earlier titularies she uses as queen (Table 26).

19. Robins CdE (forthcoming), 209.

20. Wb 3, 77; Faulkner Concise Dictionary, 169.

21. Sethe Untersuchungen 1, 2.

22. Jw^{c}htjbw, mother of Sekhemre Sewadjtawy Sebekhotpe III, Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6; Bergmann RT 7(1885), 188 no.10 = Wiedmann ZÄS 23(1885), 79; Wild JEA 37(1951), pl.4; Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, pl.13.

Filiation of king on scarabs, e.g. Hall Scarabs, no.157; CG 36012.
Kemy, mother of Khasekhemre Neferhotep I and Khaneferre Sebekhotpe IV, Petrie Season, pl.15 no.479; Mariette Abydos 2, pls.28-30; LD 2, 151e; de Morgan Cat.des Mon. 1, 87 no.44.
Filiation of king on scarabs, e.g. Hayes Scepter 1, 343 fig.226; Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 107-8, 112-113; Matouk Corpus, nos.175-6, 228; Petrie SC, pl.18, 13.214-6, 13.23.4.

23 Group 3 are all poorly attested. Ahhotpe I belongs to the end of the 17th dynasty, when royal monuments are sparse and none shows a queen; the material concerning Tetisheri and Ahhotpe II all comes from the reign of Ahmose or later. In the reign of Amenhotpe I, the king's hmt nsw wrt were overshadowed by his mother, Ahmose Nofretary, and it is her name which appears, for instance, on bricks from the king's temple at Deir el-Bahri, and not that of one of his wives. The later cult monuments also reflect this. In the majority of cases with a queen, Amenhotpe I and Ahmose Nofretary are shown together, while Sitkamose and Meritamun I appear only occasionally. The situation is similar in the reign of Thutmose IV. Only two monuments name the king and Iaret. Nofretary only appears on the series of stelae from Giza, and her name is found with the prenomen of Thutmose on a scarab. His mother, Tiaa, appears on a number of monuments from his reign.

24. Nefertiti occasionally uses the title hmt nsw ʿ3t, e.g. Davies Amarna 2, pls.29,37 = 38. The title is not found with earlier 18th dynasty queens, and its significance, if not merely a variant of hmt nsw wrt, is uncertain.

25. Thutmose dedicated a statue to her with the text jr.n.f m mnw.f n hmt nsw wrt (S3tjʿh) mɜʿt hrw "he made (it) as his monument for the hmt nsw wrt (Sitioh)", Cairo JE 37638. Urk. IV, 605.5.

26. Meritre's son, Amenhotpe II, came to the throne aged 18 (Urk. IV, 1279.10), so he must have been born in year 36 of Thutmose III, or slightly earlier if there was a coregency. Meritre, therefore, belongs to the latter part of Thutmose III's reign.

27. Her name appears on a commemorative scarab of year 2 (Urk. IV, 1739), and she is still alive in year 12 of Akhenaton (Davies Amarna 3, pl.13).

28. Sed festival dockets from Malqata, Hayes JNES 10(1951), fig.8 no.95; Leahy Malkata 4, pl.9 no.107.

29. LD 3, 86b.

30. Sitamun has the title s3t nsw wrt (1.3.1), and is therefore presumably older than Ese and Henuttaneb.

31. E. Reiser Der königliche Harim in alten Agypten und seine Verwaltung (Wien 1972).

32. A funerary cone of Bengay (Davies - Macadam Corpus, no.527) gives the official's title as ᶜ3 n pr n t3 špst nhrjn "great one of the house of the noble lady of Naharin". This must refer to one of the Mitannian princesses who came to Egypt to marry the king. The lack of the title ḥmt nsw is unfortunately not decisive; Bengay may have wished to use a title which would distinguish his mistress from other ḥmwt nsw. Because of the lack of space on such a small object, any other titles may have had to be omitted.

The example of Kiya in the reign of Akhenaton shows a woman called ḥmt mrrtj ᶜ3t n nsw bjtj ᶜnḫ m m3ᶜt nb t3wj (Nfrḫprwrᶜ wᶜnrᶜ) p3 šrj nfr n p3 jtn ᶜnḫ ntj jw.f ᶜnḫw r nḥḥ dt; she is never ḥmt nsw, but apparently bore children to Akhenaton (Harris CdE 49/97[1974], 25-30, esp.27; see also G. Perepelkin The Secret of the Gold Coffin [Moscow 1978], 108; R. Hanke SAK 2[1975], 79-83, id. Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis [Hildesheim 1978], esp.188-196, who attempts to identify Nefertiti and Kiya; identity refuted by Helck SAK 4(1976), 117-119.) It is, however, uncertain whether this is relevant to the earlier period. We have no evidence of any women who are only ḥmt nsw in relationship to Akhenaton. This could be because evidence for these women is always rare, but it is possible that the status of Nefertiti, which differed from that of earlier ḥmt nsw wrt, did not allow for the existence of ḥmt nsw. Kiya always uses the same titulary, thus enabling her monuments to be recognised despite alteration, and this would indicate that it was officially bestowed to define her status. However, the Amarna period displays many unusual features, so that it is doubtful whether we can deduce general rules applicable to other periods from examples occurring in it.

See also L. Manniche GM 18(1975), 33-8, who points out that Kiya is called t3 špst on a docket. The term is otherwise only known in the New Kingdom in the phrase t3 špst nhrjn (see beginning of note). She suggests Kiya might have been Mitannian.

33. Robins CdE (forthcoming), 201.
34. Both Tetisheri, Ahmose's grandmother, and Ahhotpe II, Ahmose's mother, appear with the title mwt nsw during the reign of Ahmose.
35. Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pls.47-53.
36. Maspero Momies royales, 548.
37. CG 1167; CG 42080; Selim Hassan Giza 8, 78-9, figs.63,64.
38. CG 34002, see lines 7-8: jnk pw sh3.n.j mwt mwt.j mwt jt(.j) hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Ttjsrj) m3^{c}t hrw "I am remembering the mother of my mother and the mother of my father the hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Tetisheri) justified". For mwt mwt and mwt jt, see Robins CdE (forthcoming), 201-2.
39. Gauthier LR 2, 194,207; Redford History and Chronology, 72; F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 56; B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 289, but see now id. CdE 53/106(1978), 207-15, where she refutes the identification.
40. Ahmose Nofretary has the title mwt nsw in year 22 of Ahmose (Urk. IV, 24-25). The simplest explanation is that Amenhotpe I was already king, with a coregency between Ahmose and Amenhotpe (Vittmann JEA 60[1974], 250-1; W.J. Murnane Ancient Egyptian Coregencies [Chicago 1977], 114-115,230).
41. Tetisheri's mother, nbt pr Nfrw, Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 69, fig.4A-C; Sitiah's mother, mn^{c}t wrt šdt ntr Jpw, CG 23024; Meritre's (?) mother, dw3t ntr Hwjj, BM 1280 (2.4.3).
42. e.g. CG 51005-7,51018.
43. Davis et al. Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyu, xvii.
44. Davies Amarna 5, pl.5; 6, pl.26.
45. James Corpus 1, 172 no.425, pl.84.
46. Robins CdE (forthcoming), 202.
47. H. Junker Giza 2 (Wien und Leipzig 1934), 32-7.
48. B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, esp. pp.54-5,65-90,103-8,110,114-6,132.
49. Birch - Rhind Facsimiles, pl.12 no.1; Černý MSS 17.57.5.
50. From the reign of Ahmose, s3 nsw was a title given to the "viceroy of Nubia", Reisner JEA 6(1920), 28-55,73-88; Gauthier RT 39(1921),

179-238; Schmitz Untersuchungen, 267-272. It is also used by a small group of men with military titles, ibid., 273-4, and it occurs in a number of priestly titles, ibid., 276-87.

51. Ahmose Nofretary is filiated to a hmt nsw wrt (2.1 no.8) and Ahmose Henutempet to a hmt nsw wrt Ahhotpe (2.1 no.11). Both use the later form of the moon hieroglyph, and it is uncertain whether they refer to a hmt nsw wrt from the lifetime of her husband, or to Ahhotpe II, who became hmt nsw wrt in her son's reign. Two children are daughters of a s3t nsw wrt, but as the latter also has the title hnmt nfr hdt which, from the 13th dynasty onwards, appears only in titularies of women who are hmt nsw wrt (4.4.6), she probably had this title also, although it is not recorded on the monument. They have, therefore, been included under children of a hmt nsw wrt.

52. See n.51 (Ahmose Nofretary and Ahmose Henutempet). Ahmose Tumerisy is filiated to the hmt nsw mwt nsw wrt Ahhotpe. The title mwt nsw wrt is occasionally used by king's mothers (4.2.2), and there can be little doubt that the queen concerned is Ahhotpe II.

53. The s3t nsw Ahmose Henuttemehu is filiated to Tenthapi, who is attested only once and called s3t nsw. It is possible that she was also hmt nsw, as she was probably the wife of Ahmose (2.2.6).

54. The lack of title is probably due to the terse style of the label where she and her daughter are named, and one would expect the woman to be the minor wife of a king, or the wife of a s3 nsw.

55. e.g. CG 20373; CG 20394; Mariette Abydos 2, pl.46.

56. Birch - Rhind Facsimiles, 20-1, pl.12; Černý MSS 17.57.5.

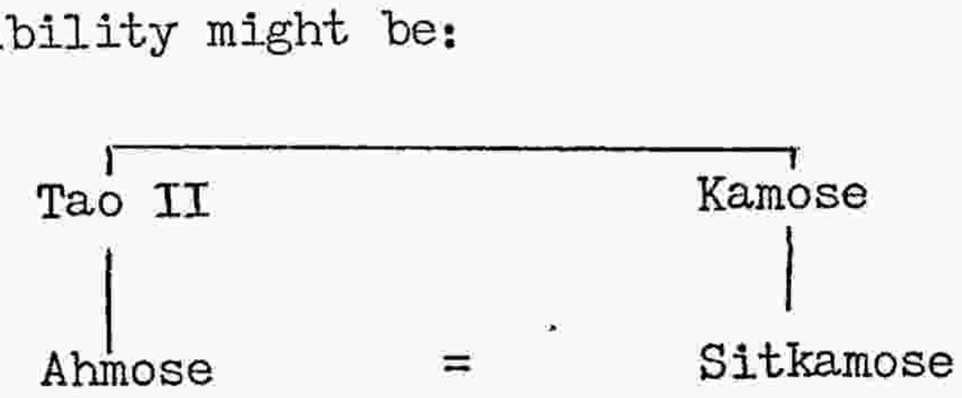
57. Amenmose, jmj-r3 mš^{c} wr n jt.f, son of Thutmose I, Urk. IV, 91; [Amen]emhat, jmj-r3 jhw n t3 j[ ], son of Thutmose III, Gardiner JEA 38(1952), 15, pl.6 1.57; Amenhotpe, sm, P BM 10056, son of Amenhotpe II (?), Glanville ZÄS 66(1931), 105-121; Webensenu, jmj-r3 ssmwt, son of Amenhotpe II (?), Urk. IV, 1494; Thutmose, wr hrp hmwt sm, son of Amenhotpe III, Daressy RT 14(1893), 174-5.

58. Since most s3 nsw do not hold office, one cannot consider it the practice to invest young princes in a purely honorary office before they were old enough to function in it.

59. Small speos at Beni Hasan, pl.111; mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pls.141,143.

60. Statue of prince Ahmose, Louvre E 15682, Winlock JEA 10(1924), pls. 18,20. The prenomen of Tao is not given, but for probable identification with Tao II, see 2.1 no.10.
61. ibid.
62. Fragment of jar, MMA 10.130.1667, pl.159.
63. Statue of Senenmut, Nat.Hist.Mus., Chicago A 173800, Allen AJSL 44(1928), 53. The title is written  which I read s3t nsw wrt. It is possible that it should be read s3t nsw smswt. The title is otherwise unattested for princesses of the 18th dynasty, but it might be modelled on the masculine title s3 nsw smsw, and reflect Nefrure's unusual position.
64. Scarab, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 259 no.342, pl.35. Petrie SC, pl.30 (no number) may be the same scarab.
65. Chair from KV 46, CG 51113; see also statue of Amenhotpe son of Hapu, BM 103, Varille Inscriptions, 14, Texte 3, where he is called jmj-r3 pr n s3t nsw wrt "steward of the s3t nsw wrt". Amenhotpe is named elsewhere as the steward of Sitamun (CG 42127), so that s3t nsw wrt should refer to her.
66. Wb 3, 412.4.
67. There is a problem as to whether it means the eldest born of all the king's daughters, or the eldest born of the hmt nsw wrt.
68. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 306-12.
69. Robins CdE (forthcoming), 203-4.
70. ibid., 204.
71. Meritre Hatshepsut and Teye refer to Thutmose III and Amenhotpe III respectively as sn.s (CG 42121; Petrie Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, pl.24 no.7). sn must be used here with the meaning of "husband", and does not indicate a blood relationship.
72. Robins CdE (forthcoming), 205.
73. ibid.

74. A further possibility might be:



However, I think it unlikely that Kamose was a brother of Tao II, because this would mean that a king would be succeeded by his brother even though he had a son (2.3.2). Such a system of inheritance is known later from the 25th dynasty, but is foreign to native Egyptians.

75. As suggested by Newberry Anc.Eg. 2(1915), 101-2; see also Redford History and Chronology, 72-3; Hayes Scepter 2, 54; W. Edgerton The Thutmosid Succession (Chicago 1933), 14; Sethe Untersuchungen 1, 18; Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 8-9; Drioton - Vandier L'Égypte[5], 336-7.

76. e.g. stela of Jwʿhtjbw, Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, pl.13.

77. e.g. Sitdjhuty, Ahhotpe III, Inhapi. Sitdjhuty and Ahhotpe are children of Tao I married to Tao II, see 2.1 nos.9,10. Inhapi is

s3t nsw hmt nsw; unless she married her father, or was the child of a s3 nsw, her husband was her brother.

78. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund. Ahhotpe I is often identified with the mother of Ahmose, but it can be shown that the latter was Ahhotpe II (2.3:1).

79. Helck CdE 44/87(1969), 22-5.

80. Cerny JEA 40(1954), 23-9.

81. R. Fox Kinship and Marriage: An anthropological Perspective (Penguin Books 1967), 71-2).

82. Helck CdE 44/87(1969), fig.1; Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.19.

83. Davies Amarna 1, pl.19. Seen by me, September 1978.

84. See Smith - Redford ATP 1, 84.

85. ibid., 84 n.70.

Section 2.

86. It is now certain that there were two kings called Tao, the first with the prenomen Senakhtenre, and the second, Seqenenre, Redford History and Chronology, 32-5. Redford argues "that Senakhtenre Ta^{c}o I was the founder of the house of the Seventeenth Dynasty". This shortens the normally accepted 17th dynasty, which comprises twelve kings before Tao I, see von Beckerath Untersuchungen, 224. However, it does seem clear that Senakhtenre Tao I is the first king of his line; he is the earliest king of the 17th dynasty to be mentioned in the 18th and 19th dynasty king lists: Marseilles offering table, J. Capart Recueil de monuments égyptiens 2.serie (Bruxelles 1905), pl.86; Karnak list of Thutmose III, Urk. IV, 609; TT 2, LD 3, 2a, see Daressy RT 13(1891), 146. His position is supported by the names found among the members of his family, which are frequently compounded with the element J^{c}h or Dhwtj. Tao itself may be a writing of Dhwtj ^{c}3, see Parlebas GM 15(1975), 39-43. Neither of these elements is attested in the names of the earlier royal families of the 17th dynasty.

87. Vandersleyen Guerres, 205-228.

88. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 223-243.

89. Daressy ASAE 9(1908), 137; Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 67-8, fig.4A-C.

90. For mwt mwt and mwt jt, see Robins CdE (forthcoming), 201-2.

91. Unpublished, see Hayes Scepter 2, 11,170.

92. Vandersleyen Guerres, 205-228, esp. table on p.228.

93. Troy GM 35(1979), 90 fig.1. Ahmose Tumerisy is also known from her plundered burial at Thebes which has been identified by fragments

of mummy wrappings with her name, PM 1^2 ii, 668; Hayes Scepter 2, 78.

94. Maspero Momies royales, 636; Daressy in Recueil...Champollion, 291.

95. Petrie Researches, 137, fig.144 no.2.

96. Schiaparelli Relazione 1, 13-21, pls.6-7.

97. Wilkinson MSS x, 79-80, xviii, 24.

98. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund, 22, pl.11.

99. Jacquet BIFAO 75(1975), pl.17A.

100. G. Farina Il r. museo di antichità di Torino^2 (Roma 1938), 57.

101. Maspero Momies royales, 530 fig.6.

102. ibid., 543-4, fig.13.

103. Unk. IV, 40.7.

104. Daressy RT 22(1900), 142 no.173. The writing of the name is defective, but almost certainly should be restored <S3>tk3ms; BM 297, HT 6, pl.33.

105. Maspero Momies royales, 541.

106. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 241 suggests that the two hieratic inscriptions on the mummy wrappings are contradictory. His argument that Ahmose before Sitkamose is a mistake, because by the 21st dynasty only Nofretary's name is preceded by Ahmose, is certainly tenable, but it is also possible to reverse it. Since we have no knowledge of Sitkamose from contemporary monuments, and on later monuments, with the exception of Ahmose Nofretary, names of the type Ahmose X rarely appear, it is not surprising that we only find the name Sitkamose alone. However, the restorer's inscriptions must have been copied from an original, and since a name of the form Ahmose X is unusual for the 21st dynasty, Ahmose Sitkamose might have been the name in the original inscription. It is true that Ahmose is omitted from the second inscription, but people with names of the type Ahmose X can be called by both elements or the second one alone; on the "Donation" stela, for example, Ahmose Nofretary is referred to both by the two names and by Nofretary alone.

The omission of snt nsw in one inscription cannot necessarily be taken to imply that the title was not held by Sitkamose. When a titulary is not given in full, different titles may be selected for use at different times. An original mummy wrapping of Merit-amun II uses only the titles ḥmt nṯr ḥmt nsw, Winlock Tomb of

Queen Meryet-Amūn,II, pl.15C. From her coffin, we know that she is s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt ntr ḥmt nsw wrt, ibid., 57. Therefore, we cannot ignore Sitkamose's title snt nsw, but must accept that in all probability she was the sister of a king.

107. It has been suggested that Sitkamose's name indicates that she is a daughter of Kamose. This could be so only if Kamose is the father of Ahmose because of her title snt nsw, which would then refer to her being a sister of Ahmose. I do not think that she can be the wife of Ahmose, Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 242, since two later stelae associate her with Amenhotpe I and not Ahmose (n.104 above). If the scarab given by Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.52, which has the prenomen of Ahmose on one side, is to be restored [Sit]kamose on the other, which is by no means certain, this could as well support the theory that she was his daughter as his wife.

108. BM 297, HT 6, pl.33.

109. e.g. TT 2, Černý BIFAO 27(1927), 173; TT 4, ibid., 174, pl.4 no.2; fragment of a stela, Fitzwilliam Museum, EGA 4354.1943, Millard JEA 63(1977), pl.24 (wrongly identified as the daughter of Ramesses II); coffin of Butehamun, Turin Mus.cat.2236, Fabretti et al. Regio museo di Torino 1, 311-13.

110. Daressy Cercueils, 11-12; Maspero Momies royales, 539.

111. ibid., 539-40.

112. ibid., 620.

113. Smith Royal Mummies, 7-8.

114. Wilkinson Ancient Egyptian Jewellery, 121.

115. Smith Royal Mummies, 7.

116. So Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 239.

117. G.E. Smith and W.R. Dawson Egyptian Mummies (London 1924), 90.

118. Smith Royal Mummies, 7.

119. Gitton L'épouse, 37 n.108.

120. e.g. CG 61053, Inhapi wife of Ahmose (?); CG 61055, Ahmose Nofretary (?); CG 61056, unknown woman "B", possibly Tetisheri (Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs, 120); CG 61059, Siamun, son of Ahmose (2.2.5); CG 61060, Sitamun, daughter of Ahmose (2.2.3); CG 61061, Ahmose Henuttemehu, daughter of Ahmose (?) (2.2.5); CG 61062, Henutempet (2.3.3.2); CG 61063, Sitkamose (2.2.1); CG 61064, Ahmose Sipair (?), son of Ahmose (2.2.4).

121. e.g. Ahhotpe I, PM 1^2 ii, 600; Ahmose, eldest son of Tao II,

funerary statuette, Louvre E 15682, from here, fragment of a stela or statue from here of the [s3t nsw] snt nsw hmt ntr Ahmose, CG 34159; tomb of Ahmose Sipair mentioned in P Abbott 3.13.

122. See PM 1^2 ii, plan I and III. Tomb of Hatshepsut as queen, Carter JEA 4(1917), 114-18; tomb of Nefrure (?), ibid., 109; tomb of three wives of Thutmose III, Winlock Treasure of three Egyptian Princesses.

123. Some bodies were found in the tomb of Amenhotpe II in the Valley of the Kings: CG 61070, now identified as Teye (Harris et al. Science 200(June 1978), 1149-51); CG 61071, mummy of an eleven year old boy; CG 61072, mummy of a young woman. These probably came from burials in the Valley, which, by the reign of Amenhotpe III at the latest, was being used for other members of the royal family, such as Teye and her parents (KV 55 and 46).

124. Wilkinson MSS v, 193.

125. The name also occurs in TT 358, which may date to the mid-18th dynasty, see 2.4.4.1.

126. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn.

127. e.g. the third coffin of Meritamun II, ibid., 21-22.

128. e.g. the mummy of Ramesses III, found in the coffin of Ahmose Nofretary (Daressy Cercueils, 4); the mummy of Inhapi, found in the coffin of Rei (ibid., 4); the mummy of Sitkamose, found in a coffin of the 21st dynasty (ibid., 12-13).

129 Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 11.

130. Millard JEA 63(1977), pl.24 (n.109).

131. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 239 n.5.

132. He suggests (ibid.) that the fragment in this tomb with the inscription s3t nsw snt nsw (J^{c}hms [ ]] (Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 23 fig.8) could have belonged to the earlier Ahmose Meritamun and been reused, but that the restoration Ahmose [Meritamun] is by no means certain.

133. Vandersleyen ibid. quotes the titulary given by J.G. Wilkinson Materia Hieroglyphica 2 (Malta 1828), pl.5 no.1, which is identical to that on the coffin. As Wilkinson does not give the source, Vandersleyen suggests that he has run together a list of the titles of the two Meritamuns. In the notebook where he records the coffin, however, it is quite clear that this is one titulary (Mss v, 193)

134. Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge EGA 4354-1943, Millard JEA 63 (1977), 127-30, pl.24 identifies Meritamun as the daughter of Ramesses II paying homage to Amenhotpe I. However, the hieroglyphs identifying her face right not left, as they would if she were standing before Amenhotpe. We have rather a composition where the queen is seated at the king's feet, both figures oriented to the right, but the queen's head is turned back to look at the king (see e.g. Desroches-Noblecourt Life and Death of a Pharaoh: Tutankhamen, 271 fig.176, pls.9a,b). This cannot then be the daughter of Ramesses II. The intimate grouping and title of Meritamun make it as near certain as possible that we are dealing with Amenhotpe I and his hmt nsw wrt Meritamun.

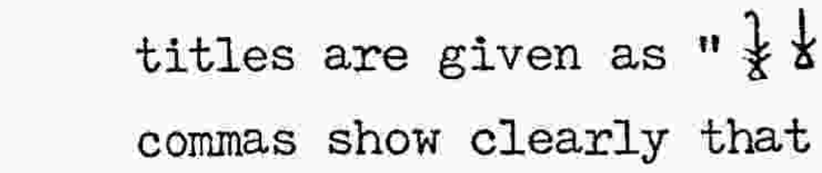
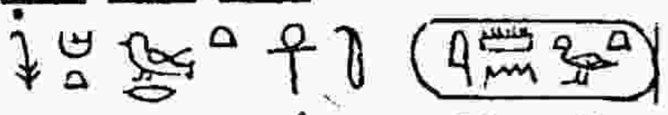
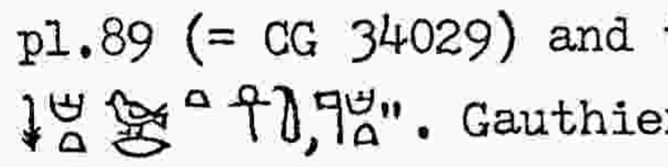
135. Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 11 n.2. Sethe gives two cartouches:



The reading s3t in the first is not correct (PM 2^2, 176), but it is clear that Ahmose is absent from the second cartouche.

(MSS v, 193).

136. e.g. Benson - Gourlay Temple of Mut in Asher, 150-1, 297-9 no.4, pl.11 no.1; CG 34029; coffin of Butehamun, Turin Mus.cat.2236, Fabretti et al. Regio museo di Torino 1, 311-13.

137. Gauthier LR 2, 193 gives Sitamun as snt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt ᶜnḫ.tj ḥmt nṯr on CG 34029; in fact she is only ḥmt nṯr on this stela. Gauthier refers to Maspero Momies royales, 621, where Sitamun's titles are given as "  ". The commas show clearly that this is not one titulary. The title ḥmt nsw wrt comes from a box in the Louvre belonging to a [ ]  , which is also quoted separately by Gauthier. (He calls the object a scarab, presumably because it appears in Petrie HS, 854.) It should in fact be restored "s3t" [nsw], as the tail of the s3 bird can just be seen, and must belong to Amenhotpe III's daughter who was "s3t nsw ḥmt nsw wrt. Concerning CG 34029, Gauthier was misled by Maspero (Momies royales, 621), who in discussing Sitamun refers to Mariette Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie (Paris 1872), pl.89 (= CG 34029) and then says "son titre est  ". Gauthier took all these to be present on the stela, and ran them together in his entry for CG 34029.

138. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 234-6.

139. ibid., 233-4.

140. Benson - Gourlay Temple of Mut in Asher, 150-1, 297-9 no.4, pl.11.

141. Derry ASAE 39(1939), 411-16.

142. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 234.

143. The only surviving inscription is fragmentary [ ]  [ ] which could be the remains of  [ ] or [ ] (Daressy Cercueils, 9-10).

144. Stelae, CG 34004; CG 34005; CG 34029; Cairo JE 36347, Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 15B; UC 14210, Steart Egyptian Stelae, pl.27 no.3; UC 14233, ibid., pl.37 no.3; UC 15518, ibid., pl.37 no.2; Maspero RT 3(1882), 113 no.4; Ahmed Bey Kamal ASAE 10(1910), 146-7; Balcz - Bittel MDAIK 3(1932), 38-9, fig.19; Zivie BIFAO 72(1972), 77 no.8; tomb scenes, TT 2, LD 3, 2a; TT 161, M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle La tombe de Nakht: notice sommaire (Bruxelles 1929), pl. facing p.17; TT 359, LD 3, 2d; coffin of Butehamun, Turin Mus.cat.2236, Fabretti et al. Regio

museo di Torino, 311-13.

145. In P Abbott, 3.13 (T.E. Peet The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty 2 (Oxford 1930), pl.2.13) we find:



There is no question that Sipair was ever king, and the text must be in error. In a list which otherwise contains kings only, it would be easy enough to give him the same title as the others by mistake. Alternatively, as suggested by Petrie A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties[7] (London 1924), 44, the s3 could have been omitted from s3 nsw when the title was transcribed.

146. CG 34005; TT 161, M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle La tombe de Nakht: notice sommaire (Bruxelles 1929), pl. facing p.17.

147. Balcz - Bittel MDAIK 3(1932), 38-9, fig.19.

148. Coffin of Butehamun, Turin Mus.cat.2236, Fabretti et al. Regio museo di Torino 1, 311-13.

149. The obvious importance of his cult is puzzling. He has sometimes been identified with the Ahmose of the "Donation" stela (Kees NGWG 1939, 109; Gitton L'épouse, 37 no.105), so that his later veneration would be due to his being the first born son of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary. This identification is, however, questionable for two reasons. First, Ahmose's name is written in a cartouche. Except in the Abbott papyrus, Sipair's name is never found in a cartouche, even when he is with other members of the family who are given one (e.g. TT 2, 359, LD 3, 2a,d; CG 34029; Balcz - Bittel MDAIK 3(1932), 38-9, fig.19). Second, the Ahmose of the "Donation" stela is called s3 nsw smsw n $h^{c}w$ ntr. Sipair is only ever called s3 nsw. The second reason also makes an identification with the s3 nsw smsw Ahmose of Louvre E 15682 even less likely.

150. LD 3, 2a,d.

151. The cartouche is so given by Maspero Momies royales, 617-8 and Daressy Recueil...Champollion, 287, although the name is shown as lost by Lepsius, Champollion, Wilkinson and Young (for references, see PM 1^2 i, 7(10) I; PM 1^2 i, 422).

152. See Daressy in Recueil...Champollion, 289-90.

153. CG 61008 and CG 61059. The inscription written by the restorers

on the mummy wrappings is  (Maspero Momies royales, 538 no.6, fig.9). In most cases, I have taken the inscriptions of the restorers as reflecting original titles, because for a mummy to have been identified, an original inscription must have survived, and would presumably have been copied onto the restored mummy. In the case of Siamun, however, it is obvious that the scribe has not made a faithful copy of an original inscription because of an intrusive p3 before the name, which makes no sense. It is possible, therefore, that smsw has also been added by the restorers without any basis in the prince's original title. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 288 n.4 accepts the validity of the title; as she believes a king had only one s3 nsw smsw, she would identify Siamun with the Ahmose of the "Donation" stela. His full name would then be Ahmose Siamun, but he would have been called by the first element on the stela and the second on his coffin. This is unlikely; although members of the royal family with names of the type Ahmose X could be called by the second element alone, it is doubtful whether the element Ahmose was used by itself, especially as this is not the distinctive part of the name.

154. B. Bruyère Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40) fasc.ii (Le Caire 1952), 89-90, fig.164.

155. Petrie SC, pl.24 (no number).

156. UC 8523, Stewart Egyptian Stelae, pl.45 no.3.

157. Some of the titles in this list are suspect. mwt ntr is not found before the reign of Amenhotpe III. Sitkamose was not ḥmt ntr. There is no evidence that Henuttameh was ḥmt nsw wrt. The s3t nsw Tures may have become ḥmt nsw, but only a ḥmt nsw wrt would have used the title nbt t3wj.

158. Newberry Anc.Eg. 1915, 99; Daressy ASAE 9(1908), 95-6.

159. F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 43.

160. Mummy wrappings, Maspero Momies royales, 530 fig.6; dockets of Ramesses I, Sety I and Ramesses III, Legrain Répertoire, 29 nos.2-4.

161. Stewart Egyptian Stelae, pl.2 no.1 (moon hieroglyph, type Amenhotpe I - Thutmose III, Vandersleyen Guerres, 228); Maspero Momies royales, 543-4.

162. In all my genealogical tables, children whose mothers are unknown

are assigned only to their fathers. These need not have the same mother, and some may belong to wives to whom other children are already assigned.

163. Gauthier LR 2, 194,207; Redford History and Chronology, 72; F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 56; B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 289, but see now id. CdE 53/106(1978), 207-215.

164. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund.

165. Winlock JEA 10(1924), 251-2; von Beckerath Untersuchungen, 192; Vandersleyen Guerres, 193; but Vandersleyen now believes that Ahhotpe II is the mother of Ahmose, CdE 52/104(1977), 237.

166. Daressy Cercueils, 8-9.

167. e.g. Champollion Mons., pl.153; P.A.A. Boeser Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseum der der Altertümer in Leiden 6 (Haag 1913), pl.24 no.43; Daressy RT 20(1898), 75-6 no.153: Fabretti et al. Regio museo di Torino, 311-313.

168. This is shown also on the later monuments where the majority of cases of Amenhotpe I with a queen have Ahmose Nofretary.

169. See also Roth NARCE 99/100(1977), 10.

170. Gauthier LR 2, 182,208 confuses the issue by citing the same coffin, CG 61006, for both the queens. When he lists the titulary under the mother of Ahmose, he cuts it short to mwt nsw only, but the identity of the two is made clear by the references to Maspero Momies royales, 544,545, which lead back to the same coffin.

171. See also Robins GM 30(1978), 71-5.

172. See von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund.

173. The jewellery could just possibly have been in store and used for the burial at a date after the change in the moon hieroglyph, but this is extremely unlikely, since one might expect to find also a few articles, at least, with the later form.

174. Vandersleyen Guerres, 129-90.

175. The stela of Kares, CG 34003, probably shows that she was alive in year 10 of Amenhotpe I, although this has been disputed, since the contents of the stela could be retrospective. However, there are objects with the later form of the moon hieroglyph which should be contemporary with the queen, e.g. scarabs, Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 39 fig.12; Matouk Corpus, 47, 273 and 224; Pier Egyptian Antiquities, pl.17 no.86; seal, MMA 10.130.168, pl.149; spheroid cap from the handle of a menit necklace, MMA 30.8.341, pl.148; cosmetic box, Müller-Feldmann ZÄS 84(1959), 143-4, pl.6 no.1; pectoral, Michaelidis ASAE 45(1944), 124, figs.14,15. Therefore, Ahmose's mother cannot have died before his year 18, and there is no reason to suppose that she did not survive until

year 10 of her grandson's reign.

176. e.g. von Beckerath Untersuchungen, 192; Redford History and Chronology, 32; Winlock JEA 10(1924), 250-1; Schmitz Untersuchungen, 220.

177. e.g. Winlock JEA 10(1924), 262; Daressy ASAE 12(1912), 68.

178. e.g. the three daughters of Tao II who are all called Ahmose, 2.1 nos.9,10.

179. Redford History and Chronology, 32-9.

180. Smith Royal Mummies, 17.

181. So understood also by Vandersleyen Guerres, 198-9.

182. Derry ASAE 34(1934), 47-8.

183. i.e. s3 nsw smsw Ahmose of the "Donation" stela. As both are children of Ahmose Nofretary, there must be a gap of at least a year between them.

184. Smith Royal Mummies, 2.

185. Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs, 122.

186. A suggestion of Petrie A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties[7] (London 1924), 15; see also von Beckerath Untersuchungen, 224 no.15.

187. Labib Habachi The Second Stela of Kamose.

188. Winlock JEA 10(1924), 261.

189. Door from Buhen, Pennsylvania Univ.mus.E 10987, pl.2; CG 34001; stela of Amotju, MMA 19.3.32, Lansing BMMA ii July 1920, 12 fig.3.

190. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund.

191. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 237.

192. CG 61065, Smith Royal Mummies, 25-8. This mummy, from the Deir el-Bahri cache, was identified as Thutmose I by Maspero because of its physical likeness to Thutmose II and III, and because of the techniques of mummification, which place it between Ahmose and Thutmose II. However, after the mummy was x-rayed, Harris and Weeks reported that "several eminent physical anthropologists who have seen these x-rays have been absolutely convinced that this mummy is that of a young man, perhaps 18 years of age, certainly not over twenty." (Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs, 131-2.) If this is correct, the mummy cannot be that of Thutmose I, who must have been at least 20 at his accession. Thutmose II died when he was about 30; even if we suppose a reign of as much as 13 years, with his father's 12 years, he would have been five when his father came to the throne. Therefore, if CG 61065 is the

mummy of a young man, it must belong to another member of the royal family, perhaps a brother of Thutmose II, such as Amenmose or Wadjmose. However, until a full report is published, doubt must surround this mummy.

193. As Gauthier LR 2, 209; and more recently, F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 26.

194. Berlin inv.no.15699, pl.6.

195. As Drioton - Vandier L'Égypte[5], 336-7; Hayes Scepter 2, 54; B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 290 identifies Ahmose with Ahmose Nebetta; F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 61-2 does not agree, and suggests that queen Ahmose is a daughter of Ahmose who appears in the lists in TT 2 and 359. He also wishes to identify her with the hmt ntr Ahmose (𓇋) of 2.1 nos.14,15, but queen Ahmose never has the title hmt ntr on the monuments of Thutmose I, Thutmose II or Hatshepsut.

196. So also now B. Schmitz CdE 53/106(1978), 215-220.

197. Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.145; Champollion Mon., pl.192 no.5.

198. As Gauthier LR 2, 212; Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs, 130.

199. PM 2[2], 176; Mariette Karnak, 59-60, pl.38b 1-4.

200. Maspero Momies royales, 633 no.6.

201. Urk. IV, 154.12.

202. mwt nsw does not come into the question as the t is definitely too far to the right for this group; the title is written either 𓏏𓊪𓋴 or 𓏏𓊪𓋴.

203. Urk. IV, 606.6.

204. Maspero Momies royales, 547.

205. Smith Royal Mummies, 30.

206. As in Manetho, Helck Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten (Berlin 1956), 65. Extensive discussion of his reign length and associated chronological problems has led to no certain conclusions; see most recently R. Krauss Das Ende der Amarnazeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches (Hildesheim 1978), 169, and references therein.

207. Louvre E 8074, Zivie Giza, pl.4.

208. J.J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab (London 1894), pls.4,10; from the mortuary temple of Wadjmose, bricks, B. Bruyère Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) 3.partie (Cairo 1939), 24,26, fig.2; Anthes MDAIK

12(1943), 34; block, Daressy ASAE 1(1900), 107; stela of Senimose, CG 34016; fragment of statue, ibid., 100 no.6; stela of Pashedu, ibid., 103 no.9; statue of S-^{c}3 called Kharoy, ibid., 99-100 no.3; statue of [ ] Kharoy, ibid., 100 no.4; block of Pawab, ibid., 107 no.22; statue of Pawab, Gardiner Orientalia 6(1937), 358-9.

209. G. Maspero Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire^{3} (Le Caire 1914), 124 no.444.

210. PM 2^{2}, 444-6.

211. Daressy ASAE 1 (1900), 105 no.17.

212. Stela of Thutmose II, Berlin inv.no.15699, pl.6.

213. Nefrure is undoubtedly the daughter of Hatshepsut (Urk. IV, 34.15-17). Since she is s3t nsw before Hatshepsut becomes king, her father must be Thutmose II.

214. BM 1782, HT 8, 3, pl.2.

215. Maspero Momies royales, 548.

216. Ricke Totentempel, 30 with n.5.

217. Winlock Treasure of three Egyptian Princesses.

218. CG 23034; vase of Thutmose III, Wilkinson MSS xxii, 38; UC 11934, Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.54; Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 168, pl.9 no.11; Loret BIE 3.série. 9(1898), 96 n.3, pl.7; Cairo JE 37638, B[isson de la] R[oque] Tod (1934 à 1936), 130 fig.79.

219. ibid.

220. Sphinx stela of Amenhotpe II, Urk. IV, 1279.8-10.

221. Urk. IV, 147.12, 150.16, 152.14-15.

222. Gauthier LR 2, 235; Redford History and Chronology, 31.

223. BM 1280, unpublished, see van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 39.

224. The children appear on one side of the throne, where there is no other text. The workmen may, therefore, have overlooked this side when carrying out the erasures.

225. van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 39.

226. Gardiner JEA 38(1952), pl.6 l.57.

227. Murnane Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, 44-57, and references therein.

228. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn.

229. e.g. Kees OLZ 36(1933), 273-6; Gitton L'épouse; Aldred New Kingdom Art, 45; Hayes Scepter 2, 53-4; E. Thomas The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes (Princeton 1966), 175-6.

230. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 20.

231. ibid., 11.

232. ibid., fig.8.

233. The name is once found written  in a graffito (Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 68 no.2). The taxogram is unusual, and suggests that the whole group may not be a normal writing.

234. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 57.

235. ibid., 58-9.

236. Daressy Cercueils, 3-4,8.

237. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 59.

238. ibid., 60.

239. ibid., 5-6.

240. ibid., 58.

241. ibid., 64.

242. ibid., 63.

243. ibid., 63.

244. ibid., 59.

245. ibid., 10.

246. ibid., 10 n.7.

247. Cairo JE 28501 (Ahhotpe I); CG 61006 (Ahhotpe II); CG 61003 (Ahmose Nofretary).

248. EGA 4354.1943, Millard JEA 63(1977), pl.24 (n.98).

249. R. Lepsius Königsbuch der alten Ägypter (Berlin 1858), no.329d; Maspero Momies royales, 622.

250. E. Schiaparelli Museo archeologico di Firenze, antichità egizie 1 (Roma 1887), 283.

251. Letter of 31st July, 1978; my thanks to Mr. Hope for his kind help and permission to use this information.

252. Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, fig.16.

253. ibid., fig.17.

254. ibid., fig.17f-g.

255. W.M.F. Petrie Hyksos and Israelite Cities (London 1906), 16, 2nd col.

256. Romer MDAIK 32(1976), 202-3.

257. ibid., 205.

258. ibid., 203,204.

259. ibid., 196, figs.3,4.

260. e.g. Sitioh, Meritre Hatshepsut, Tiaa, Nofretary (?), Mutemwiya and Teye. Iaret is s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt. It could be due to chance of survival that she is not found with the title

hnmt nfr hdt.

261. As suggested by Romer MDAIK 32(1976), 195-6.

262. Urk. IV, 1373.1.

263. in Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 83.

264. Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs, 130.

265. ibid., 164.

266. Haynes JSSEA 8(1977), 19-20.

267. ibid.

268. ibid., 20.

269. Sitamun cannot, therefore, be identified with the daughter of Amenhotpe III, as is done by Helck Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Ägyptischen Dynastie (Leipzig 1939), 68.

270. Petrie Six Temples, 6; Stewart Egyptian Stelae, 5, pl.3 no.3.

271. See Samson Amarna^{2}, 47.

272. Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 233 and n.1.

273. Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut: Thutmose I, queen Ahmose and Nefrubity, Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.145; Champollion Mon., 192 no.4,5; Ahmose, Naville Deir el Bahari 1, pl.16, 5, pl.147; Jéquier L'architecture 1, pl.38 no.1; Nefrure, Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pls.141,143. Mortuary temple of Thutmose III: Ese and princess, Ricke Totentempel 30 with n.5, fig.6.

274. There are, of course, a number of ways in which the name could be restored, since the missing element could be the name of any deity. In the mid-18th dynasty, the only two royal women attested with this form of name are Sitioh, wife of Thutmose III, and Sitamun of CG 34117. Sitioh hardly comes into the question, as she probably died before Amenhotpe II was born, and was no relation of his.

275. Nefrure's position was unusual in that she probably functioned as her mother's hmt nsw wrt, although she did not have the title. Nefrubity may wear the uraeus by analogy with Nefrure, since the two scenes in which she appears at Deir el-Bahri also show Nefrure.

276. Selim Hassan Giza 8, 78-9, figs.63,64; CG 1167; CG 42080.

277. Petrie SC, pl.30, 18.8.13.

278. EA 29.

279. The length of the reign of Thutmose IV is uncertain, but is generally thought to have been no longer than 10 years (e.g. Redford JNES 25(1966), 113-24, cf.esp.120 [9 years 8 months]; E. Hornung Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches (Wiesbaden 1964), 35 [min. 7 years, max. 9 years]), although a much longer period has been suggested (Wente - van Siclen in Studies in Honour of George Hughes [Chicago 1976], 229-230; see also Annual Report of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1975/76, 50, claiming the discovery by K. Baer of a regnal year 20 of Thutmose IV). With a short reign there might seem to be a problem in fitting in both the hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose IV, but in fact this is not necessarily so. Although on average, there may be only one hmt nsw wrt during a short reign, and the appearance of more than one may signify a longer reign, there is no guarantee that this will be so in any given case. The possibility of the death of a hmt nsw wrt soon after she had achieved the title must be taken into account. In an extreme case, perhaps during an epidemic, several hmt nsw wrt might follow one another in quick succession. Therefore, the possible short reign of Thutmose IV need not present problems over the number of his hmt nsw wrt. Mutemwiya, of course, does not come into the question as she is a secondary wife only, not becoming a queen until the reign of her son. (See also vol.4, pp. 140–146).

280. Urk. IV, 1737-41; Davis et al. Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou.

281. EA 1.

282. Urk. IV, 1738; C. Blankenberg-van Delden The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotpe III (Leiden 1969), 18D.

283. EA 17.

284. EA 21-23,29.

285. EA 27.

286. EA 31.

287. In the reign of Ramesses II, a Hittite princess receives the title, K.A. Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical 2 fasc.5 (Oxford 1971), 234.11.

288. Statue, Gardiner ZÄS 43(1906), 56; canopic box of cat mummy (?), Daressy RT 14(1893), 174-5 no.69; inscription in the Serapeum, A. Mariette Le sérapeum de Memphis (Paris 1882), 124-5.

Section 3.

289. Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 77-8, nos.20,21,24.

. ibid., 77 no.19.

290. A block gives the cartouche of Ahmose Nofretary, PM 2^2, 74; Gardiner MSS photo.AHG/28.882; Gitton L'épouse, 16-17 no.2a,b. This is part of an offering list, and there is no question of a representation of the queen.

291. PM 2^2, 343.

292. PM 2^2, 422-3.

293. Carter JEA 3(1916), 153-4.

294. Derchain Kémi 19(1961), 17-21.

295. Gitton L'épouse, 18-20, V.1,2.

296. Legrain ASAE 5(1904), 272; Legrain RT 11(1905), 62; Naville in Davis et al. Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 15,18; Winlock JEA 15(1929), 60 n.4; Schott NAWG 1955, 202-3; Chevrier ASAE 53(1956), 40, pl.22; Gitton BIFAO 78(1978), 391-2.

297. Arch.Lacau MSS/A XXIV. The individual pages are not numbered; see pls.84,88-92,94,96-99.

298. Arch.Lacau Photos/A XV nos.3 (cat.no.46 = pl.85), 5 (cat.no.49 = pl.64 = Schott NAWG 1955, pl.2 = Chevrier ASAE 53(1956), pl.22), 6 (cat.no.47 = pl.86), 9 (cat.no.45 = pl.83 = ibid., pl.22); with inscriptions only: nos.4 (pl.95), 8 (pl.87), 22 (pl.93).

299. Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 21; ibid. 5(1905), 272; Arch.Lacau MSS A XXIV (pl.99).

300. Chevrier ASAE 34(1934), 172, pl.4 (pl.100).

301. See 3.2.1.B.6; 3.2.3.B.9; see also 4.4.10; for Regency see n.1.
302. Personal communication of Dr. Karkowski; see also Karkowski Études et travaux 10(1978), 73.
303. Caminos New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2, 5.
304. Vandersleyen Guerres, 220.
305. Lacau Stèles, 28.
306. Legrain ASAE 3(1902), 108.
307. Legrain Répertoire, no.119.
308. e.g. cat.nos.191-3.
309. See also Vandersleyen Guerres, 219-223, esp.221.

310. Seen by me in September 1978.
311. Legrain RT 26(1904), 223.

311. For the reading of Iaret's name and references, see Harris SAK 2(1975), 95 n.5.

313. Petrie Six Temples, 3.

314. Romer JEA 60(1974), 119-27.
315. Romer MDAIK 31(1975), 347.
316. Romer JEA 60(1974), 119-27.

317. Michailidis ASAE 45(1944), 124 fig.14,15.
318. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund.
319. Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses.
320. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund, pls.5,7.
321. The other two are MMA 26.7.1334 and MMA 26.7.1342, Hayes BMMA 6(1947-8), 272-9.
322. Hayes Scepter 2, 242.
323. Hayes BMMA 6(1947-8), 273.
324. ibid., 278 (called "the fifth gem").
325. ibid., 279.
326. ibid., 273.
327. ibid., 274-6.

328. Birch - Rhind Facsimiles, pl.12; Leahy Malkata 4, 27, pl.14; J. Cerny Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut^{c}ankhamūn (Oxford 1965), 15-17, pls.9,10.

329. G. Maspero Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire[3] (Le Caire 1914), 124 no.444.

330. Petrie Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, pl.24 no.7.

331. e.g. Capart et al. JEA 22(1936), 171, pl.14 l.2.

332. Cooney Amarna Reliefs, 81 no.50.

333. ibid., 83 no.57; Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23.2.

334. Quibell Hierakonpolis 1, pl.26B.

335. von Bissing - Kees Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re 2-3.

336. See also Borchardt ZÄS 61(1926). 37-51.

337. Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 10.

338. ibid., 9,13-14.

339. PM 2^2, plan XLV no.1.

340. Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 9,10,47.

341. Urk. IV, 26.12-27.13.

342. Brunner Geburt.

343. There is evidence for a birth cycle of Ramesses II, Brunner Geburt, 7-8, pl.24 top.

344. On monuments mentioning both Hatshepsut and Nefrure, Nefrure is not normally ḥmt nṯr where Hatshepsut holds the title: stela of Senenmut at Aswan, pl.75; BM 1513, HT 5, pl.29: BM 174, HT 5, pls.30-1; CG 42117. Once Hatshepsut has the titles of king, Nefrure appears as ḥmt nṯr: CG 42114; stela from Sinai, Cairo JE 38546, pl.114 (the date of year 11, although given to Nefrure, must be that of Thutmose III, placing the monument in the coregency); Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pls.141,143; small speos

at Beni Hasan, pl.111; Berlin 2296, Urk. IV, 403-6; Chicago Nat.Hist.Mus.A 173800, Allen AJSL 44(1928), 53; block statue of Senenmut from Karnak in Magazine Sheikh Labib, Berlandini-Grenier BIFAO 76(1976), 118-19. Once, on a funerary cone of Senimen, Davies - Macadam Corpus, 120, the two women both have the title.

345. Lacau et al. Chapelle d'Hatshepsout, 316,536 no.3; 319,542 no.2; 320-1,545; 321-22,546; Gitton BSFE 75(1976), 37 fig.1, 39 fig.3, 40 fig.4, 41 fig.5.
346. PM 2^2, 322(128)IIi,2, Gayet Temple de Louxor, pl.51; PM 2^2, 321(125)II, ibid., pl.35 = LD 3, 74a.
347. Letter of 20.10.77.
348. e.g. Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pls.21-24; 4, pls.93-4,100.
349. ibid. 6, 8.
350. CG 34034; BM 1515, HT 8, pl.45; Turin Cat.gen.50094, Tosi - Roccati Stele, 129, pl.303.
351. LD 3, 19.

352. Smith - Redford ATP 1, endpiece.
353. E. Naville The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889) (London 1892). Formerly called Osorkon II, renumbered according to Yoyotte BSFE 77-8(1976-7), 39-54.
354. Kees - von Bissing Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re 3, pl.14 no.246; and although not named, recognisable by the characteristic carrying chair on the Narmer mace head, Quibell Hierakonpolis 1, pl.26B.
355. Ese and Henuttaneb, LD 3, 86b (the name of the latter wrongly copied by Lepsius). See Table 4, nos.42,43.

356. Brunner Die südlichen Räume, 83.
357. Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 1, pls.29-31.
358. e.g. Ahhotpe II, Hayes Scepter 2, 52; Ahmose Nofretary, MMA 23.3.80, Hayes Scepter 2, 46; Petrie Researches, fig.148 no.3; Ashmolean E 2727, Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 3, pl.27 no.3 right; Meritamun I, Ashmolean 1912.408, Petrie Researches, 184 no.4;

Ahmose, Petrie Researches, 148 no.5; queen, ibid., fig.151 no. 17.

359. Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu 2, 46-50.

360. ibid., 49.

361. ibid., 13. The appearance of Meritre Hatshepsut places the decoration in the second half of Thutmose III's reign.

362. Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, 35-37; Urk. IV, 28.1-2.

363. e.g. Teti, hrj-hbt mwt nsw (Snjsnb), Ashmolean E 3926, Newberry PSBA 27(1905), 102; Mery, w^{c}b n mwt nsw 3st, TT 248, Urk. IV, 1642.7; Tjerikity, hrj-hbt, offering table for Sitioh, CG 23034, pl.72).

364. Offering table (n.363 end); model copper/bronze axehead, Mariette Abydos 2, pl.40c; pink limestone oval from foundation deposit, UC 11934, Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.55.

365. Ricke Totentempel, 30 n.5, fig.6.

366. In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the hmt nsw wrt is depicted at the Min festival, but is not identified, the cartouche being left blank (Epigraphic Survey Medinet Habu 4: Festival Scenes of Ramesses III [Chicago 1940], pl.206B and cf.pl.203). This might imply that the hmt nsw wrt had a ritual role at the festival and had to be present, so that when the scene was cut, the hmt nsw wrt was automatically included, although the occupant of the position was at that time unknown. However, the situation was not as simple as this, since the scenes at Medinet Habu were closely modelled on those of the Ramesseum, and almost all of the names of members of the royal family were left blank, and some were inscribed and altered in later reigns (e.g. Kitchen JEA 58[1972], 184 n.1; Nims in Studies in Honour of George Hughes [Chicago 1976], 169-175). The Min festival at Medinet Habu is closely modelled on scenes in the Ramesseum, including one with queen Nofretary (Medinet Habu 4, pl.214). Thus, the fact that the cartouche is left blank is not of great significance; like other such cartouches it was meant to be filled in. However, the presence of Nofretary at the festival helps confirm the ritual role of the hmt nsw wrt which I have proposed for the 18th dynasty up to the reign of Amenhotpe III, although no equivalent scene is preserved from that period. For the ritual at the Min ceremony and the possible part of the queen, see Frankfort Kingship and the Gods (Chicago 1948), 188 with n.28.

367. The queen may be given the title hmt nsw only in a particular scene, but all queens shown are known from elsewhere to be hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw.

368. Stadelmann MDAIK 32(1976), 208,213.

369. e.g. von Bissing - Kees Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re 2, pls.18-20; 3, Beiblatt A; Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.58.

370. TT 73, TT 110. (Where Theban tombs are referred to by number only, reference should be made to PM 1^2 i.)

371. For a study of these scenes, see Ali Radwan Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familiengehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18.Dynastie (Berlin 1969), chs.1,3.

372. TT 92, TT 101, TT 76, TT 91(x2), TT 58, TT 189, TT 192.

373. TT 93, TT 78, TT 58, TT 55 (temp. Amenhotpe IV).

374. e.g. Turin Cat.gen.50003, 50004, Tosi - Roccati Stele, 262-3.

375. Säve-Söderbergh Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, pls.30,35.

376. Nefertiti is shown as a trampling sphinx in a scene on a ship's cabin between two scenes showing her smiting enemies, Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23 no.2.

377. Cooney Amarna Reliefs, 84; see also Wilson JNES 32(1973), 238-9, who suggests that these scenes "showed her independent power".

378. See also K.P. Kuhlmann Der Thron im alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens (Glückstadt 1977).

379. TT 131, TT 100, TT 66, TT 90, TT 93, TT 75.

380. TT 75, TT 57 (year 30 of Amenhotpe III), TT 192 (year 30 of Amenhotpe III).

381. TT 57.

382. TT 99.

383. e.g. TT 73, TT 93, TT 75, TT 48.

384. TT 85, TT 42, TT 90, TT 239, TT 91, TT 78.

385. Wildung in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum, 266.

386. Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 38-9, B 268-279.

387. J.E. Quibell The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu (Le Caire 1908), 53.

388. No doubt there were other women who were mothers of children of Thutmose IV, but Mutemwiya would have been the most important in the reign of Amenhotpe III, because she was the mother of the king.

389. Labib Habachi in Festschrift Schott, 61-70.

390. Davies Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, pl.30E. The names of two of the princes include the element $^{c}3hpr\lceil w\rceil r^{c}$, which suggests that they are children of Amenhotpe II rather than Thutmose IV.

391. ibid., pls.42,43.

392. ibid., 69-70.

393. MMA photo. T 2821-3; Urk. IV, 1574.18-21.

394. Frandsen AcOr 37(1976), 9, pl.3.

395. ibid., 9.

396. Davies BMMA 34(1939), 281-2. Her name also appears on a lintel in the tomb, Urk. IV, 452.12.

397. e.g. Newberry Scarabs, pl.29 no.6; Davies - Macadam Corpus, nos. 313,389.

398. CG 34003; CG 34004; MMA 19.3.32, Lansing BMMA ii July 1920, 12 fig.3; Florence inv.no.7241, Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno, 32 no 7, fig.26; Louvre C203, Pierret Recueil, 42-3

399. Although Meritre and Sitioh are also only called hmt nsw in the tomb, they are known from elsewhere to be hmt nsw wrt. Nebtu is mentioned several times in titles of Nebamun, her jmj-r3 pr (below), and is not called more than hmt nsw.

400. Urk. IV, 150-2.

401. Jacobsohn in LÄ 3, 308; id. Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter (Glückstadt 1939).

402. LD 3, 82g. The text runs jr.n.f m mnw.f n jrjt-p^{c}t ^{c}3t nrw hnwt t3w nbw hmt nsw [wrt] (Tjj) "He made (it) for ... (Teye)". This is the same formula as is used to dedicate a monument to a god, to ancestors and to members of the royal family, the last normally relating to their funerary cults, G. Björkman Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the early New Kingdom (Uppsala 1971), 21-52.

403. Aldred New Kingdom Art, 44 no.8.

404. Davies Amarna 3, pl.10.

405. B. Schmitz CdE 53/106(1978), 209 suggests that the coffin which I have assigned to Ahhotpe I (Cairo JE 28501, erroneously given as CG 28501) is in fact the inner coffin of CG 61006 (Ahhotpe II). However, it cannot have fulfilled this role. Not only does JE 28501 and the objects buried with it use the early form of the moon hieroglyph, while CG 61006 uses the later, so that the first must have been buried before the second was made, but Maspero Momies royales, 545 rejected the idea that the two belonged together, because JE 28501 is too large to fit into CG 61006.

406. Ahhotpe II is given the title hmt ntr nt Jmn on CG 34009, which dates at the earliest to the reign of Thutmose II (2.1 no.4); the title is not found on contemporary monuments.

407. Meritre Hatshepsut is not named as hmt ntr in the reign of Thutmose III, but she is probably the hmt ntr referred to on the statue of Huy (BM 1280), which may date to the reign of Thutmose III (2.4.3).

408. Tiaa is only attested with the title hmt ntr from the reign of Thutmose IV, but this could be due to the scarcity of material dating to Amenhotpe II.

409. Nofretary is only attested on the seven stelae listed below, where she has the title hmt nsw wrt, and on a scarab where she is given not titles. It is probable that she was neither s3t nsw nor hmt ntr, but we cannot be sure that one or both of the titles has not been omitted.

410. The title hmt ntr is not found on the few surviving monuments of Iaret, but it could have been omitted.

411. Wild JEA 37(1951), pl.4; Macadam ibid., pl.6; Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, pl.13.

412. e.g. Balcz - Bittel MDAIK 3(1932), fig.17 facing p.36; Davies Amarna 1, pl.27; Martin Royal Tomb 1, pls.20,54; Pillet ASAE

22(1922), pl.4; Redford JARCE 12(1975), pl.8; Sayed Tawfik MDAIK 29(1973), pl.28f.

413. e.g. Urk. IV, 130.12, 134.4.

414. Quibell Hierakonpolis 1, 11.

415. CG 14717, J.E. Quibell Archaic Objects 1 (Le Caire 1905), 315-16; CG 52701, Vernier Bijoux et orfevreries 3, 233-5.

416. e.g. Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier, pls.3,16,25, 28,30; B[isson de la] R[oque] Tôd (1934 à 1936), pl.27 no.1, fig. 40; Arnold Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep 2, pl.15.

417. e.g. Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pls.43 no.120 (north edge), 45 no.122 (east face).

418. ibid., pls.14 no.44, 66 nos.211,212F. (See also RT 22(1905), 222, texts on 12th dynasty sarcophagi which include the phrase šwtj Spdw "the double feathers of Sopdu.)

419. ibid., pls.11 no.35, 12 no.33, 14 no.44, 39 no.115, 66 no.211.

420. e.g. Petrie Koptos, pls.5 = 9 no.1, 6,9 no.2,11.

421. W.M.F. Petrie Abydos Part 1. 1902 (London 1902), pl.3 no.48, p.4.

422. Münster Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis, 129-30.

423. Kees ZÄS 57(1922), 128; id. Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten (Leipzig 1941), 200; Wainwright JEA 17(1931), 185; R.C.J. Bleeker Die Geburt eines Gottes: eine Studie über den ägyptischen Gott Min und sein Fest (Leiden 1956), 17-18.

424. PT 953 (M,N); 1712 (M,N); 1928 (N); 1948 (N); 1993 (N).

425. Translation by R.O. Faulkner The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Oxford 1969), 282.

426. Arnold Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep 2, pl.43

427. Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier.

428. See Schenkel SAK 1(1974), 279.

429. e.g. Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1, pls.6,10 = 11. See also H.E. Winlock Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (New York 1921), 15-26.

430. Allen The Book of the Dead, 182, Spell 173 b S5 (18th dynasty).

431. ibid., 205, Spell 185B a S2 (18th dynasty).

432. ibid., 20, Spell 15B1 a S2 (19th dynasty).

433. ibid., 17, Spell 15A1 c S1 (18th/19th dynasty).

434. Stewart JEA 46(1960), 89 l.3-4.

435. A. de Buck The Egyptian Coffin Texts 4 (Chicago 1951), 202-207.

436. Allen The Book of the Dead, 28, Spell 17a S6 (18th dynasty).

437. e.g. Epigraphic Survey Medinet Habu 2 (Chicago 1932), pl.102; B. Bruyère Deir el Médineh année 1926 (Le Caire 1952), 56 no.3, fig.27.

438. e.g. Epigraphic Survey Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 1, pl.46H; 2, pl.105O; Pillet ASAE 23(1923), 153 fig.3; W. Abney Thebes and

its Five Greater Temples (London 1876), pl.5; Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.57 no.181.

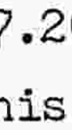
439. Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 1, pl.25E, 3, pls.7 nos.7,8, 30 nos. 2,3, 31 no.2; Naville Deir el Bahari 4, pls.94,96; Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.66 no.211.

440. G. Maspero Egyptian Art: Studies (London 1913), pls. opposite pp.42,46.

441. Malaise SAK 4(1976), 217.

442. e.g. Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1, pls.6,9,17-19,22, 23.

443. B. Bruyère Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh (Le Caire 1930), figs.33, 44,46,48,51,53,64,72,73,83,85,87,119 (snake), 6,82,128 (woman).

444. B[isson de la] R[oque] Tôd (1934 à 1936), pl.22; Labib Habachi MDAIK 19(1963), 24 fig.7, 42 fig.9, pls.6,13. See also Urk. IV, 1277.20, 1286.16, šwtj wrtj m tp.f "the two great feathers are on his head", determined in one case by  and in the other by  .

445. e.g. Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.131; D. Dunham and J.M.A Janssen Semna-Kumma (Boston 1960), pl.52; CG 42066. jbs šwtj wrtj m tp.f "the jbs crown and the two great feathers are on his head" occurs on both sphinx stelae of Amenhotpe II. jbs is determined by  and swtj by  on the large stela (Urk. IV, 1277.20), and by  and  on the small stela (Urk. IV, 1286.16).

446. These are clearly shown on the hieroglyph used as logogram or taxogram for the crown, Gardiner Grammar, 504, Sign-list S8; see also Urk. IV, 1277.18.

447. e.g. Petrie Koptos, pl.5 no.10; Vandersleyen Guerres, pl.1; Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier, pls.15,16 and passim.

448. e.g. ibid., pls.15,16,17 and passim.

449. ibid., pls.12,14,16 and passim; Petrie Koptos, pl.6 no.6.

450. e.g. CG 42065; The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue (Cairo 1979), 126 figs.99,100; 136 figs.108,109.

451. Petrie Koptos, pls.5 no.10, 6 no.4, 9 no.2, 11 no.3; Vandersleyen Guerres, pl.1; Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier, pls.15,16 and passim.

452. Petrie Koptos, pl.6 nos.2,3,6,10; Naville Deir el Bahari 1-6, passim; Arnold Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep 2, pls.15,43.

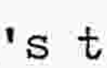
453. Petrie Koptos, pl.6 no.4; Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier, pls.16,28,30.

454. ibid., pls.12.15.16.17; Petrie Koptos, pl.5 = 9 no.1; B[isson de la] R[oque] Tod (1934 a 1936), fig.40 = pl.27 no.1; Vandersleyen Guerres, pl.1.

455. C.F. Nims and W. Swaan Thebes of the Pharaohs, Pattern for every City (London 1965), pl.10; The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue (Cairo 1979), no.70, pl.3, p.57 fig.46; Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1, pls.6,7,22.

456. ibid. 3, pl.35; see also n.520 (statues).

457. Baines AcOr 36(1974), 52 with ns.34-36.

458. e.g. Nefertiti's title cnt m  , Davies Amarna 5, pls.4, 27 l.4.

459. See the large and small sphinx stelae of Amenhotpe II, n.514 above.

460. e.g. E. Naville Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden 1 (Berlin 1886), pls.14.18, 18.16.

461. ibid., pl.23.15; Urk. IV, 111.8.

462. Drioton in Studies presented to F.Ll. Griffith (London 1932), 294-6.

463. This obviously would not follow if Nefertiti's cap was merely taken over from that of Amun, as suggested by Harris Acta Orientalia 35(1973), 10 with n.32. However, the cap of Amun is yellow, while that of Nefertiti is blue, which would seem to show that the two cannot be identified completely. Of a somewhat similar shape to Nefertiti's cap is that worn by Teye as a female sphinx at Sedeinga (cat.no.142); its colour is unknown (see also Helck MIO 3[1955], 1-10).

464. e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, cat. no.15; Ahmose, cat.nos.25,39; Hatshepsut, cat.nos.40,45,46; Meritre Hatshepsut, cat.nos.63,71; Mutemwiya, cat.nos.103,110.

465. Benson - Gourlay Temple of Mut in Asher, pl.11 no.1.

466. e.g. Davies JEA 9(1923), pl.22; Borchardt Porträtkopf, pl.32; Redford JARCE 12(1975), pl.8.

467. Cairo Museum temp.no.6/11/26/6. Legrain RT 26(1904), 223.

468. e.g. Smith - Redford ATP 1, pls.16 no.4, 21, 23 no.8, 32 no.6, 90 no.2; Martin Royal Tomb 1, pls.20 no.2, 54; Samson Amarna^2, 41 no.18.

469. Davies Amarna 3, pls.4,6.

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470. Sit[amun II] may be a daughter of Thutmose III and wife of Amenhotpe II (2.4.2). Her titles are lost, but she was probably hmt nsw (wrt), because it is unusual for a princess to wear a vulture headdress.

statues are drawn in outline only and the scene is unfinished, but the vulture tail seemed clear.

471. G.A. Reisner Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1931), pl.17d; Brooklyn Museum acc.no. 39.120, Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection (Brooklyn 1952), pl.19; CG 255; Mariette Abydos 1, pl.2a; R. Weill Les H. Goedicke Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich (Wiesbaden 1967), 43 fig.4.

472. de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 2, 101 fig.147 (12th dynasty); Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6 (13th dynasty); Ayrton et al. Abydos 3, pl.13 (13th dynasty).

473. e.g. Lange - Hirmer Ägypten[4], pl.259.

474. Nekhbet: Ahmed Fakhry The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur 2, The Valley Temple Part 1, The Temple Reliefs (Cairo 1961), fig.199; L. Borchardt Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-re[c] 2 (Leipzig 1913), pl.18. Wadjit: ibid., pl.21, a broken row of deities includes a goddess wearing the vulture headdress with the uraeus, and a "soul of Pe". The association of the latter with Lower Egypt suggests that the goddess is Wadjit; L. Borchardt Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re[c] (Leipzig 1907), pl.16; G. Jéquier Le monument funéraire de Pepi II 2, Le temple (Le Caire 1938), pl.36; J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Téti (Le Caire 1972), 65-6 block 9, fig.23, pl.24D, the head of a goddess with the vulture headdress and uraeus appears under a fragmentary inscription mentioning the pr nzr, the shrine of Lower Egypt at Pe, making an identification with Wadjit almost certain. See also Hayes Scepter 1, fig.103, for a block of Amenemhat I showing the two goddesses distinguished by the use of the vulture head and uraeus.

475. e.g. LD 3, 2a,d; Stewart Egyptian Stelae 1, pl.45 no.3 (19th dynasty).

476. e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, cat.nos.12,15; Hatshepsut, cat.nos.40,45; Ese, cat.no.57; Meritre Hatshepsut, cat.no.72; Tiaa, cat.no.68; Mutemwiya, cat.no.112; Teye, cat.nos.146,150,152,175.

477. e.g. Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1-4 passim.

478. Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.9 no.17.

479. e.g. CG 381-2.

480. Brooklyn Museum acc.no.43.137, Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection (Brooklyn 1952), pl.28. We do not know who the father of the child was. The composition of the group is similar to one in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (Berlin 1967), no.316; G. Roeder Ägyptische Bronzefiguren (Berlin 1956), 513 § 688d, which has an inscription beginning dd mdw jn Jst, clearly showing the group to be Isis and the infant Horus. It seems likely that, in the Brooklyn Museum group, the princess is identifying with Isis.

481. H.E. Winlock The Treasure of el Lāhūn (New York 1934), pl.4.

482 Mariette Abydos 2, pl.46.

483. Gardiner Grammar, 476, Sign-list I 13.

484. Schafik Allam Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches) (Berlin 1963), 120-122.

485. This may not be a true double uraeus, as one uraeus may be on the brow, and the other attached to the circlet.

486. Griffiths JEA 47(1961), 117-8.

487. Wiesmann ZÄS 62(1926), 66-7.

488. e.g. Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pls.35,41.

489. e.g. LD 3, 147,151a; Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, pl.18; Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 2, pls.36,44,67,76,103, 107,108,114,122; Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, pl.20.

490. A. Erman Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff (Berlin 1911), 12-13.

491. This decoration occurs occasionally on the talatat, e.g. H.W. Helck Geschichte des alten Ägypten (Leiden 1968), pl.5 no.16.

492. W.M.F. Petrie Tell el Amarna (London 1894), pl.11; Samson Amarna^2, 44 no.26; Sayed Tawfik MDAIK 29(1973), pl.29d.

493. e.g. PM 2^2, 258(11), e.g. K. Lange Ägyptische Kunst (Zürich 1939), pl.69; Yoyotte BSFE 87-88(1980), 47, fig.1, who makes it clear that there is more than one statue of this type.

494. e.g. O.W. Muscarella (ed.) Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz 1974), no.209.

495. Yoyotte BSFE 87-88(1980), 47. The majority of the statues of Mut set up by Amenhotpe III wear the sundisk only with a single uraeus, e.g. CG 39063-7.

496. It is sometimes said that the king occasionally wears a double uraeus, e.g. Kerrn Lilles/ JEA 61(1975), 139, who suggests the following examples: 1) the canopic lids of Amenhotpe II, 2) the canopic lids of Haremhab, 3) a statue head of Akhenaton (CG 42089), 4) a colossal statue of Ramesses II from Mit Rahina now in Cairo, 5) a small fragment of the upper part of a head (CG 760). Russmann Representation of the King, 37 suggests that 1) and 2) probably had a vulture head and uraeus like the canopic lids of Tutankhamun. 3) is the head of a queen, and presumably of Nefertiti, not of Akhenaton, J.R. Harris Acta Orientalia 38(1977), 8 with ns.23-25. Only traces of 4) are left and are what remains of a rebus, ibid., 8 n.25(iv). 5) is dated to the 25th dynasty by Russmann Representation of the King, 53 no.28. Thus the double uraeus is not worn by kings apart from those of the 25th dynasty, see Harris Acta Orientalia 37(1976), 214; 38(1977), 8-9, n.25; Eaton-Krauss SAK 5(1977), 38 n.92; Kozloff Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 64 no.9(.977), 290; Werner Orientalia 48(1979), 327.

497. Russmann Representation of the King, 40.

498. Dream stela of Tantamani, Urk. III, 62.8-10.

499. The sundisk is often decorated by two uraei, for example, when the queen wears the horns and disk, e.g. Nefertiti, Martin Royal Tomb 1, pl.20 no.2, pl.54; Teye, Davies Amarna 3, pl.4. The Aton, however, is conceived as a king, and its disk is always shown with only a single uraeus.

500. PT 1287, translation by R.O. Faulkner The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Oxford 1969), 203; Urk. IV, 16.13, 287.6.

501. e.g. Desroches-Noblecourt Life and Death of a Pharaoh: Tutankhamun (London 1963), pls.1,26,33-35; Harris Acta Orientalia 38(1977), 8 n.25(iv); see also n.496.

502. Harris ibid., 8 n.25.

503. Vandier La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France (Paris) 11 (1961), 250; G. Roeder Ägyptische Bronzefiguren (Berlin 1956), 257 § 312; B.V. Bothmer Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100: The Brooklyn Museum 1960 (Brooklyn 1960), 145-7.

504. Vandier Manuel 3, 330; but see Vandier Mon.Piot. 54(1965), 21-2 with n.1.

505. Noted by Russmann Representation of the King, 39 n.4, without commenting on the usual erroneous interpretation; visible on a detailed photograph kindly shown to me by C. Vandersleyen. Kerrn Lilles/ JEA 61(1975), 142 still described the item of insignia here as a treble uraeus, although she knew that my other two examples show a double uraeus and vulture head.

506. Vandier Mon.Piot. 54(1965), 14.

507. Kerrn Lilles/ JEA 61(1975), 142.

508. e.g. statuette of Isis, O.W. Muscarella (ed.) Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz 1974), no.209.

509. e.g. Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1, pls.4,18.

510. BM 297, V. Ions Egyptian Mythology^{2} (Feltham 1968), 125.

511. Haynes JSSEA 8(1977), 19-20.

512. ibid.

513. Cooney Amarna Reliefs, no.12.

514. Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 2, pls.33,54,74,100.

515. Aldred Middle Kingdom Art, no.15; Hayes Scepter 2, 47 fig.22, 236 fig.141; Stewart Egyptian Stelae, pl.52 no.1; D. Dunham and J.M.A. Janssen Semna-Kumma (Boston 1960), pl.23.

516. Mariette Abydos 2, pl.46.

517. It is also used by the deified Ahmose Nofretary, e.g. CG 34034; BM 1515, HT 8, pl.45; Manchester 2938, D. Randall-MacIver and A.C. Mace El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 (London 1902), pl.32; CG 34080; CG 34081. Private women sometimes carry a flower in a way which imitates the whisk, e.g. Brovarski JEA 62(1976), pl. 11a.

518. Werbrouck Archív Orientální (Prague) 20(1952), 197.

519. Smith - Redford ATP 1, pls.8 no.1, 48 no.1, 77.

520. But see Berlin inv.no.10114, S. Wenig The Woman in Egyptian Art (New York 1969), pl.91 left, statue of a 19th dynasty queen holding the whisk in the right hand.

521. H. Goedicke Königliche Dokumente dem Alten Reich (Wiesbaden 1967), 43 fig.4.

522. Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.9 no.17.

523. Jéquier Les pyramides des reines, 5 fig.2.

524. Naville XIth Dynasty Temple 1, pl.18 = 2, pls.14,16.

525. Fischer ZÄS 100(1974), 16-18.

526. ibid., 26.

527. Mariette Abydos 1, pl.30 carried by Wadjit.

528. e.g. Farouk Gomaa Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis (Wiesbaden 1973), fig.31a; W. Helck Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak (Wiesbaden 1968), 32, pl.46; Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple, pls.33,67.

529. Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.3 no.2, 90 no.1; Redford JARCE 12(1975), pl.8; Balcz - Bittel MDAIK 3(1932), fig.17 opposite p.36.

In the course of the Amarna period, the Hathor head on the loop sistrum is replaced by a papyrus flower, L. Manniche Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut^{c}ankhamūn (Oxford 1976), 5-6.

530. e.g. LD 3, 175c; Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 2, pls. 44,48,54,67,76,109; Ramses le Grand: Catalogue d'exposition (Galeries nationales du Grand Palais) (Paris 1976), xxiii.

531. Sinuhe B.268-9, Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 38; see also Brunner ZÄS 80(1955), 5-11; Derchain RdE 22(1970), 79-83, Westendorf SAK 5(1977), 293-304.

532. See, for example, the passage in Westcar, K. Sethe Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches^{2} (Leipzig 1928), 33 line 9, where the goddesses hand over their sistra and menits as the symbolic equivalent to life. See also L. Manniche CdE 53/105(1978). 20 n.2. The sistrum is to be treated by A. Roberts in a forthcoming D. Phil. thesis (Oxford).

533. 3.5.7.1.3a,b,8a,10a,11a,12a.

534. 3.5.16.1.3a,4a.

535. 3.5.12.1.3a,b.

536. 3.5.14.1.1a.

537. e.g. Mycerinus and his queen, C. Aldred Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt (London 1968), no.26.

538. Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses, pls.6-7.

539. Wilkinson Ancient Egyptian Jewellery, 115-18; Desroches-Noblecourt in C.F.-A. Schaeffer Ugaritica 3 (Paris 1956), 179-220.

540. Relief: cat.nos.12,18(?),63,110,116,144,154,161,164,167,177; sculpture: cat.nos.89(?),114,115,170-174,181; representations of statues: cat.nos.73,88,176:7,8,9.

541. e.g. William MacQuitty Abu Simbel (London 1965), 76,87; Pijoán Summa Artis 3, fig.354.

542. Vandier Manuel 3, 315-316.

543. See also M. Eaton-Krauss SAK 5(1977), 31 with n.69.

544. Haynes JSSEA 8(1977), 19.

545. ibid., 19-22.

546. ibid., 20.

547. ibid., 20.

548. Smith Royal Mummies, 44.

549. Wilkinson Ancient Egyptian Jewellery, 122.

550. Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses, pl.8.

551. e.g. Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, pls.30,32,37,38 and passim; Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 2, passim.

552. N. de G. Davies The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (Nos.75 and 90) (London 1923), pls.14,21.

553. Sauneron Kêmi 19(1969), 267-271, pls.16-17.

554. e.g. LD 3, 1; W. Helck Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak (Wiesbaden 1968), pl.46.

555. W.S. Smith The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (Penguin Egypt 1965).

Section 4.

556. Ahhotpe II, 6.1; Tiaa, 6.1; Mutemwiya, 6.1,2.

557. The beginning of the titulary up to the first cartouche is normal.

558. The titulary ends with hnwt nt t3w nbw, and there are no titles from section 2. Since at this time this title is normally placed in section 1, I have listed the titulary as consisting of section 1 only.

559. Ahmose, 1a.3.

560. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.8; 1b.1; Hatshepsut, 1a.5,6,11; Meritamun II, 1a.1; Tiaa, 1a.1; Teye, 1a.11; 1d.1,2; temp. Akhenaton, 1a.10; 1b.2.

561. Meritre Hatshepsut, 1c.1; Teye, temp. Akhenaton, 1c.1.

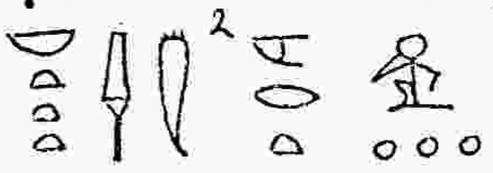
562. Mertz "Certain Titles", 5,64; Gitton BIFAO 78(1978), 389.

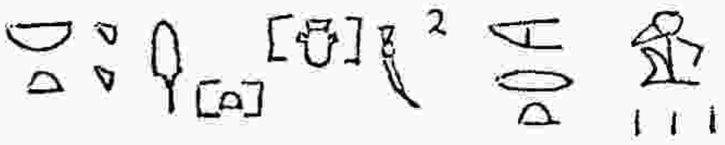
563. Ahmose Nofretary, 1d.1; Mutemwiya, 1e.1.

564. Ahmose, 1d.1, see also Mutemwiya, 1e.1 with n.679.

565. wrt/nbt hswt; wrt/nbt j3mt; bnrt/ᶜ3t/ndmt mrwt; ndmt/j3mt jb; nbt/wrt bnrt.

566. The number given is based on the titularies set out in tables 18-38.

567. Teye, 1a.5. The reading of the group between wrt hswt and bnrt mrwt is uncertain. Borchardt Porträtkopf, 15 suggests 

with the translation "die Besitzerin beider Kronen, süss an Liebe". Helck Urk. IV, 1770.6-7 offers 

"Herrin der beiden Ländern, mit freundlichem [Herzen], süss an Liebe". This alternative is longer than the first. Helck does not show how he would group the hieroglyphs to fit the space, and I wonder if there is room for his proposed [jb]. He is probably correct in reading j3mt and not shmtj, as j3mt is well attested in queens' titles of section 1, while titles containing shmtj or even shm are unknown. Although it could be the feminine form of the king's title nb shmtj, nbt shmtj seems an unlikely title for a queen. However, I do not think that Helck is right in reading nbt t3wj, since there is no other titulary of our period where this title appears in section 1. In other occurrences of bnrt mrwt in queens' titularies of our period, it comes after jrjt-pᶜt wrt hswt wrt j3mt (Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.11; Tiaa, 6.1), jrjt-pᶜt wrt hswt j3mt jb (Mutemwiya, 1a.2), and jrjt-pᶜt wrt j3mt (Mutemwiya,

le.2). In the case of Teye's titulary, a reading jrjt-p^{c}t wrt hswt nbt j3mt bnr(t) mrwt would fit this pattern. This, however, does not explain the writing  , but neither do the solutions of Borchardt and Helck; shmtj is normally written  or  or  , while  would be an unusual writing of nbt t3wj for our period. There is no evidence that *nbt jdbwj "lady of the two banks" would be a possible title for queens of our period. nbt j3mt continues to be used after the reign of Amenhotpe III, e.g. Teye, 1a.10; Nefertiti, Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23 no.7; Davies Amarna 3, pl.6; 4, pl.31; Ankhesenamun, Urk. IV, 2037.18. 2049.4 and probably 2033.8, which has been usurped by Haremhab from Tutankhamun; Nofretary, Daressy RT 14(1893), 31 no.51; LD 3, 189b.

568. Faulkner Concise Dictionary, 83.

569. As Meritre Hatshepsut is not s3t nsw, sn cannot mean "brother" here, and is most probably used with the meaning "husband".

570. nb t3 rather than nb t3wj is unusual.

571. Also Teye, 1a.10, temp. Akhenaton.

572. Khaemmaat is part of the Horus name of Amenhotpe III.

573. Ahmose, 1e.1; Mutemwiya, 1e.2,3; Teye, 1a.7,8½

574. Mutemwiya, 1e.2,3.

575. Ahmose, 1e.1; Teye, 1a.8.

576. Teye, 1a.7.

577. Ahmose, 4.1; 4/5; Hatshepsut, 4.1.

578. Ahmose, 4/5; Mutemwiya, 6.2.

579. Ahmose, 1d.1.

580. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.11; Tiaa, 6.1; Mutemwiya, 1e.2.

581. Mutemwiya, 6.2.

582. Teye, 1a.5.

583. Tiaa, 6.1; Teye, 1a.2,3,5,7.

584. e.g. ^{c}3t m ^{c}h "great in the palace", Davies Amarna 5, pl.4; Sandman Texts from the Time of Akhenaton, 104.11; 122.1-5. The boundary stelae of similar date are copies of the same text with orthographic variants, so that the titularies on them are really copies of one titulary; ^{c}3t rš̆wt "great of joy", ibid., 104.11; hnmt rš̆wt "imbued with joy", Davies Amarna 4, pl.31; hnmt hswt

"united with favours", Sandman Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, 122.1-5.

585. Davies Amarna 5, pl.2; LD Text 3, 235.

586. Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23 no.7; Davies Amarna 3, pl.6; 4, pl.31.

587. e.g. Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23 nos.6,7; Davies Amarna 2, pls. 7,8; 3, pl.6.

588. ibid. 4, pl.31; 5, pl.4.

589. ibid. 2, pl.7; 5, pl.4; Sandman Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, 122.1-5, see also ibid., 104.11.

590. e.g. Nofretary, CG 42140; Daressy RT 14(1893), 31 no.51; see also CG 42154.

591. nfr hr and titles with šwtj are known for gods and kings, see Wb 2, 255.5,7,8,9; 4, 425.6,7,9,10,11.

592. Sitre (Ramesses I); Champollion Not.descr. 1, 394-51; LD Text 3, 235, ḥmt nsw ḥmt nṯr mwt nsw wrt nbt t3wj ḥnwt šm^{c}w mḥw nbt j3mt bnrt mrwt; Nofretary (Ramesses II), Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, pl.53, ḥmt nsw wrt nbt t3wj nbt j3mt bnrt mrwt ḥnwt šm^{c}w mḥw; CG 42140, section 1 + ḥmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f nbt t3wj ^{c}3t mrwt; LD 3, 189b; Text 5, 147, jrjt-p^{c}t ḥmt nsw wrt (Nfrtjrj) wrt ḥswt ḥnwt šm^{c}w mḥw nbt j3mt bnrt mrwt.

593. For titles of relationship, see 1; for ḥnmt nfr ḥdt, see 4.4.6; for ḥmt nṯr, see 4.4.8; for mwt nṯr, see 4.4.9.

594. 1. Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.10.

2. Ahhotpe II, 1b.3.

3. Meritamun II, 1a.1.

4. Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.7.

5. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.1; Meritamun I, 1a.1; Hatshepsut, 1a.1 (x4),2,3,4; Meritamun II, 1a.4.

6. Sitkamose, 1a.1; Iaret, 1a.1.

7. Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.2.

8. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.4; Hatshepsut, 1a.6.

9. Meritamun I, 1a.2; Meritamun II, 1a.3.

10. Sitamun III, 1a.2(x3).

11. Sitkamose, 1a.2; Sitamun III, 1a.1.

12. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.2.

13. Ahmose, 1b.1,2.

14. Ahmose, 1a.2(x2).

15. Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.3(x4).

16. Unidentified queen, 1a.1.
17. Ese, 1b.1.
18. Meritamun II, 1a.2.
19. Ahhotpe II, 1a.1; Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.3(x2),5(x2),11; Hatshepsut, 1a.1o(x4); Meritre Hatshepsut, 1a.3.
20. Hatshepsut, 1a.8,9.
21. Tetishery, 1b.2; Ahhotpe II, 1b.1(x4); Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.8; Ahmose, 1b.3(x2); Mutnofret, 1b.1.
22. Ahhotpe I, 1a.1; Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.12.
23. Tetishery, 1b.1; Ahhotpe II, 1b.2(x2); Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.1; Ahmose, 1b.4.
24. Meritre Hatshepsut, 1b.1; Tiaa, 1b.1.

595. Ahmose, 1c.1(x2).

596. Tiaa, 1c.1, see also Teye, 1c.1, temp. Akhenaton.

597. Hatshepsut, 2c.1; see also Hatshepsut, 1a.5, which is not included here, as it is broken.

598. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.9; Meritre Hatshepsut, 2/5. It is also found in two broken titularies of Hatshepsut: 1) pl.64, where the traces  are quite clear and must be restored  ; 2) pl.95. hmt ntr drt ntr is also used by the princesses Nefrure, pl.111, and Meritamun II, pl.113.

599. The sequence hmt ntr mrjjt ntr is reminiscent of the titles jt ntr mrjj ntr borne by some high officials in the 18th dynasty, e.g. Urk. IV, 525.6, 958.16, 999.8, 1118.1, 1120.6, 1213.15, 1215.2, 1401.16, 1404.3, 1408.8, 1439.11, 1440.7, 1452.8, 1488.13, 1574.10, 1576.10,16, 1581.12, 1582.16, 1777.3, 1790.10, 1804.6, 1911.1, 1915.9, 1918.9.
For drt ntr, see Leclant in LÄ 2, 813-15.
nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn occurs only once, but the use of pr Jmn shows that the title has a priestly reference.

600. Ahhotpe II, 1b.4; Meritre Hatshepsut, 1b.2.

601. The title is written 

The signs must have been similarly grouped in the title of Senisonb found in the same temple (1e.1), although only bjtj is well-preserved. In a second titulary of Ahmose (1e.1) we find the group 

I have read the former as mwt nsw mwt bjtj and the latter as mwt nsw bjtj, but it is equally possible that these are variant writings of the same title, which may be written in individual cases with or without the second mwt. The common use of the title mwt nsw bjtj in the Old Kingdom is noted below (p.269 with n.883). The three 18th dynasty occurrences of mwt nsw (mwt) bjtj are all in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, where archaisms in the texts are common.

. Ahmose Nofretary, 2c.1,2; Hatshepsut, 2c.1.

. Ahmose Nofretary, 2a.1; Meritre Hatshepsut, 2a/5.

. Ahhotpe II, 6.1.

. For a discussion, see Vandersleyen Guerres, 135-91.

. Teye, 1b.1; 1c.1, see also 1b.2, which uses the variant title mwt nsw $W^{c}nr^{c}$.

607. e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.3, s3t nsw snt nsw omitted; Sitkamose, 1a.2, snt nsw and ḥmt nṯr omitted; Hatshepsut, 1a.6, snt nsw omitted; Meritamun II, 1a.2, s3t nsw snt nsw omitted; 1a.3, ḥmt nṯr ḥmt nsw (wrt) omitted.

608. ḥmt nsw wrt e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.7,9,10; Ahmose, 1d.1; 1e.1; Hatshepsut, 1a.11,12; Meritamun II, 1a.3; Tiaa, 1e.1; Mutemwiya, 1e.1-4; Teye, 1d.1,2; mwt nsw e.g. Ahhotpe II, 1a.1; Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.7-11; Ahmose, 1a.2,3; 1d.1; Mutemwiya, 1a.1; Teye, 1a.10.

609. e.g. Ahmose, s3t nsw, ḥmt nṯr; Meritre Hatshepsut, s3t nsw snt nsw; Mutemwiya, s3t nsw, snt nsw, ḥmt nṯr; Teye, s3t nsw, snt nsw, ḥmt nṯr.

610. Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.7,8; 1b.1,2 (Ma^{c}sara stelae); 1a.10,11 (statue); Mutemwiya, 6.1,2 (statue).

611. As Sethe Urk. IV, 144 n.a.

612. Ahhotpe II, 1b.4.

613. Hatshepsut, 1a.5.

614. Teye, 1d.2.

615. e.g. Davies Amarna 4, pl.31; 5, pl.25; 6, pls.4,16,17.

616. e.g. Sitre, LD Text 3, 235; Nofretary, Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, pls.27,28,34.

617. Two stelae at Gebel el-Silsila, Champollion Not.descr. 1, 647; LD Text 4, 86h.

618. From a foundation deposit of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum, Winlock BMMA ii February 1928, fig.28, 4/5; Hayes Scepter 2, 87; Matouk Corpus, 51.

619. For Hatshepsut's sarcophagus, Cairo JE 47032, see Carter JEA 4 (1917), 114-17. The titles and titularies of the queen are as follows:

Lid: s3t nsw ḥmt nṯr ḥmt nsw wrt nbt t3wj (Ḥ3tšpswt) (1a.6).

Bottom:

Head end, horizontal band: ḥmt nṯr ḥmt nsw wrt (Ḥ3tšpswt) (1a.10).

vertical columns: s3t nsw (Ḥ3tšpswt).
snt nsw (Ḥ3tšpswt).

Foot end, horizontal band: s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt nṯr ḥmt nsw wrt (Ḥ3tšpswt) (1a.1).

vertical columns: ḥmt nṯr (Ḥ3tšpswt).
snt nsw (Ḥ3tšpswt).

Left side, horizontal band: hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt (H3tśpswt) (1a.10).
snt nsw (H3tśpswt)
hmt ntr (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 1: hmt nsw (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 2: hmt nsw wrt (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 3: hmt ntr (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 4: nbt t3wj (H3tśpswt)
Right side, horizontal band: jrjt-p^{c}t wrt hswt (wrt) j3mt hnwt
nt t3w nbw s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr
hmt nsw wrt (H3tśpswt) (1a.2).
hmt ntr nbt t3wj (H3tśpswt) (1a.11).
vertical column 1: snt nsw (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 2: hmt ntr (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 3: hmt ntr (H3tśpswt)
vertical column 4: hmt ntr (H3tśpswt)

620. ex Fraser collection 246, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 259 no. 342, pl.35. Petrie SC, pl.30 (no number and not part of Petrie's collection) may be the same scarab.

621. Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.19 no.60.

622. Chair from KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu), CG 51113.

623. BM 103, Varille Inscriptions, 14-17.

624. e.g. TT 2 (Khabekhnet), temp. Ramesses II, B. Bruyère Tombes thébaines de Deir el Médineh à decoration monochrome (Le Caire 1952), 46, pl.9 lower left; LD 3, 2a; TT 4 (Qen), temp. Ramesses II, Cerny BIFAO 27(1927), 174.

625. 1) cosmetic box, at a dealer's in Berlin before 1939, Müller-Feldmann ZÄS 84(1959), 143-4, pl.6 no.1, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

2) large spheroid cap from a menat, MMA 30.8.341, ex Davis collection, Hayes Scepter 2, 52; pl.148, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

3) fragment of a faience menit from Deir el-Bahri, Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 52 (inscription not seen).

4) glazed steatite seal in the form of a fly, MMA 10.130.168, Hayes Scepter 2, 52; pl.149, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

5) large ball bead of glazed steatite, Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 52 (inscription not seen).

6) scarab, BM 26981, Hall Scarabs, 432; Newberry Scarabs, pl.26 no.4;

Matouk Corpus, 47 no.274, early form of moon hieroglyph.

7)-8) scarabs, BM 28592,28624, Hall Scarabs, 434,435 = Newberry Scarabs, pl.26 no.32, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

9) scarab, Pier collection, Pier Egyptian Antiquities, pl.17 no. 86, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

10) scarab, Matouk collection, Matouk Corpus, 47 no.273 and 224, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

11) scarab, ex Fraser collection 183, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 230 no.200, pl.20, see Matouk Corpus, 47, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

626. One official refers to her as ḥmt nsw in the phrase m jr(t) ḥmt nsw n mr.n.s "being what a king's wife does for one whom she loved", CG 34003, Urk. IV, 46.10, but the context in running text is unlike the rest of the material concerning her.

627. 1) cowroid, BM 45663, Hall Scarabs, no.343; Gitton L'épouse, 25 no.62, 27.

2) spherical bead, MMA 30.8.342, Gitton L'épouse, 25 no.84, 27.

3) glazed steatite bead, MMA 10.130.173, Gitton L'épouse, 25 no.72, 27 (wrongly quoted as MMA 10.130.173).

628. CG 42052, from the Karnak cachette. The upper part of the statue has been restored, probably in the 19th dynasty. The legs and throne are original, and thus the inscription on the throne may also date from the time of Thutmose I, but it is odd that the name of Amon-Re has not been erased.

629. Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.147.

630. 1) kohl pot of Thutmose II dedicated to Thutmose I and Ahmose, from the Ramesseum area, J.E. Quibell The Ramesseum (London 1898), pl.18 middle left.

2) menat from the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, Petrie Researches, pl.148 no.5.

3) scarab, CG 37283.

4) scarab, Petrie SC, pl.23, 18.1.13.

5) scarab, ibid., 18.1.14. Petrie attributed these last two scarabs to Ahmose Nofretary, but there is no evidence that she was ever called just Ahmose; either both parts of her name are used or Nofretary only. Therefore, the scarabs should be assigned to to the queen who is known to have been called simply Ahmose.

631. Lipińska ASAE 59(1966), 83 no.53, pl.21 no.1. The writing 

can only read hmt nsw.

632. Weigall ASAE 7(1906), 130 no.8.

633. Cairo JE 21966, Mariette Abydos 2, pl.40c; J. Weinstein Foundation Deposits in ancient Egypt (Michigan 1973), 196 no.54.

634. Tigrane Pasha collection, Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 39.

635. Breasted photo.3212 bottom and 3215 top, temp. Amenhotpe III.

636. 1) part of a grey-blue faience knob with the prenomen of Amenhotpe III and the name of [Sit]amun, Cairo JE 67962, Varille Inscriptions, 12 fig.3.

2) grey-blue glazed vase with cartouches of Amenhotpe III, ex MacGregor collection, Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities (London 1922), no.272.

3) vase from KV 62 (Tutankhamun) no.588, Cairo JE 62144, see Musee du Caire: Description sommaire des principaux monuments Le Caire 1956), no.564. The nomen of Amenhotpe III has been erased and replaced with his prenomen, putting the original manufacture of the vase in the reign of Amenhotpe III or early in that of Amenhotpe IV.

4) bowl found at Amarna, CG 18459, with the names of Amenhotpe III and [Sitamun], see Sitamun, 1a.2 no.2.

5) blue glazed faience kohl tube, Brooklyn Mus.acc.no.37.598 E, ex Abbott collection, E. Riefstahl Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes in the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn 1968), 23 no.21; James Corpus 1, 107 no.244, pl.63, temp. Amenhotpe III.

6) double kohl tube, Louvre N 811, ex Drovetti collection, Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, 223, temp. Amenhotpe III.

7) cylindrical kohl tube, Louvre N 818, Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, 190, temp. Amenhotpe III.

8) kohl pot, Louvre E 4877, ex Raifé collection 1867, ibid., 240.

9) double kohl tube, BM 37202, A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room (British Museum) (London 1922), 269 no.69.

10) faience kohl tube, BM 27236, ibid., 268 no.51.

11) dockets from Malqata, Hayes JNES 10(1951), nos.7,18,94,129, 147,172,207, and Leahy Malkata 4, no.64, K7; no.111, K116; and a jar sealing, p.36 no.LIV. As only two dockets name an estate of Teye (Hayes type 98 and Leahy no.17) in contrast to the larger number naming Sitamun, Hayes JNES 10(1951), 98 suggests

that those dockets which mention a pr (hmt nsw) belong to Teye. This is followed by Leahy Malkata 4, 59 no.64.

12) faience label from the record office at Amarna, BM 22878, Hall JEA 12(1926), 33, pl.11 no.1, temp. Amenhotpe III-IV. The prenomen of Amenhotpe III is written with the figure of the goddess Maat, so that the object should not be later than the first half of the reign of Amenhotpe IV.

637. Stela of Hori with the title jmj-r3 pr n hmt nsw (Tjj), Louvre C 203, Pierret Recueils, 42.

638. C. Blankenberg-van Delden The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III (Leiden 1969), 11.

639. Of more than a hundred accessible scarabs of Teye, 88 have the title hmt nsw and 17 that of hmt nsw wrt.

640. Cairo JE 76962, Varille Inscriptions, 12 fig.3. The cartouche is partly destroyed, but jmn at the beginning is clear. Sitamun is the only queen known at this time (reign of Amenhotpe III) whose name would fit.

641. CG 34009, Urk. IV, 30.13.

642. Wilkinson MSS xviii.24, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

643. Petrie Researches, fig.148 no.3; Gitton L'épouse, 28. Only remains of the title.

644. Gitton L'épouse, 27 gives the title on scarab no.66 as hmt nsw wrt. This number, and therefore the reference, are, however, omitted from his list of scarabs.

645. Lintel in TT 125 (Duauneheh), LD 3, 26 no.1b, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

646. Stela of Iuf from Edfu, CG 34009, in the phrase kjtj hst nt hmt nsw wrt (J^{c}hms) "another favour of the hmt nsw wrt (Ahmose)", Urk. IV, 31.8, temp. Thutmose II at the earliest (2.1.4).

647. Upstream of fourth cataract, rock east of el-Kenisa, Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 68 no.2. The title is written with  by mistake for  . The writing of Ahmose's name with a taxogram is unusual. The graffito is probably the work of a scribe resident in Nubia.

648. Seen by Schäfer at the auction of the Rustafjaell collection in London, 1906, Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 95 fig.26, temp. Thutmose I-II. The vase was commissioned by Ahmose for Thutmose I, either in anticipation of his death or just after it.

649. CG 18486, temp. Thutmose II/regency of Hatshepsut. The pot was

dedicated by Hatshepsut using the titles hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt, so that it must date before she became king. It was probably made at the death of Ahmose as part of her funerary equipment.

0. 1)-5) MMA 12.182.9, pl.153; 10.130.44, pl.154; 32.4, pl.155; 30.8.491, pl.156; 30.8.496, pl.157.
   6) Pier collection, Pier Egyptian Antiquities, pl.17 no.98.
   7) BM 24132, Hall Scarabs, 443; W.J. Loftie An Essay of Scarabs (London no date), 82; Petrie HS, 857.
   8) Cole collection, Newberry Scarabs, pl.27 no.13; Matouk Corpus, 49 no.283. Matouk gives references to Hall Scarabs, no.443 and Newberry Scarabs, pl.27 no.13, which are different scarabs. He illustrates the latter.
   9) Cole collection, Nash PSBA 21(1899), 80.
1. Tomb of Ahmose Pennekhbet at el-Kab, in the phrase whm.n n.j hmt ntr hswt hmt nsw wrt (M3^{c}tk3r^{c}) "the hmt ntr repeated a favour for me, the hmt nsw wrt (Maatkare)", Urk. IV, 34.15, temp. Thutmose III.
2. From Saqqara, Wilkinson MSS xxii.38, temp. Thutmose III.
3. 1) UC 11934, from the Osiris temple complex at Abydos, Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.55; J. Weinstein Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt (Michigan 1973), 196 no.55.
   2) bought at Luxor, 1914 by Newberry, later in Wellcome collection, now in UC, uncatalogued in case 24/A, Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 168, pl.9 no.11; J. Weinstein Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt (Michigan 1973), 196 no.56.
4. Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.54; Newberry Scarabs, pl.28 no.37; Urk. IV, 604.11.
5. Florence inv.no.7241, Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno, 32 no.27, fig.26, temp. Thutmose III. E. Schiaparelli Museo archeologico di Firenze, antichità egizie 1 (Roma 1887), 502 no. 1789, followed by PM 5, 115, gives the number incorrectly as 7231.
6. CG 24941, with prenomen of Thutmose III.
7. Louvre (no number), Newberry Scarabs, pl.28 no.35; Petrie HS, 1083; Matouk Corpus, 52 no.305a; Urk. IV, 603.17a.
8. Petrie SC, pl.30, 18.8.13.
9. BM 43, HT 7, pl.6, temp. Amenhotpe III.
0. 1)-8) Breasted photos.3212 upper left; 3212 upper right; 3232; 3233;

3236; 3237; 3239; 3200. 3)-8) = LD 3, 85b; 86a,b; 84b.

661. Borchardt ZÄS 61(1926), 41-2, block 18, reused in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak.

662. 1) Kheruef (TT 192), jmj-r3 pr n ḥmt nsw wrt (Tjj), Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 475,494,505,507, and jmj-r3 pr n ḥmt nsw wrt m pr [Jmn], ibid., 501.

2) owner of tomb 21 at Amarna, jmj-r3 pr m pr ḥmt nsw wrt (Tjj), U. Bouriant, G. Legrain and G. Jéquier Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte 1 (Le Caire 1903), 60.

3) Huya, tomb at Amarna, jmj-r3 pr n ḥmt nsw wrt (Tjj), Davies Amarna 3, pls.3,17; jmj-r3 jpt nsw n ḥmt nsw wrt, ibid., pls. 6,8 bottom left = 12,19; jmj-r3 pr ḥd n ḥmt nsw wrt, ibid., pl.19.

4) Iuty, jmj-r3 sᶜnḫ(w) n ḥmt nsw wrt (Tjj), ibid., pl.18.

663. Berlin inv.no.17812, Aeg.Inschr. 2, 393, temp. Amenhotpe III.

664. 1) TT 192 (Kheruef), kiosk scene, Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 489, pl.40; Urk. IV, 1886.

2) scene showing Teye on the side of her throne as a trampling sphinx, Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 471, pl.41; Leibovitch ASAE 42(1943), 94 fig.11, temp. Amenhotpe III.

665. From the watercourse below the entrance of KV 22 (Amenhotpe III), Carter MSS 1A.138.

666. Cairo JE 57175, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tîyi, pl.32.

667. Martin Royal Tomb 1, 28, fragment 314.

668. 1) scene on the back of a chair from KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu), CG 51112, pl.74, temp. Amenhotpe III.

2) box from KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu), CG 51118, temp. Amenhotpe III.

3) fragment from KV 55, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tiyi, 32 no.31, temp. late Akhenaton (?). mᶜ3t in the prenomen of Amenhotpe III is written out phonetically.

4) ivory inlay from the side of a box from Medinet Ghurab, present location unknown, Borchardt Porträtkopf, 21-2, temp. Amenhotpe III (?); both cartouches of the king have been erased.

669. Petrie Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, pl.24 no.7, dedicated to Amenhotpe III by Teye.

670. W.M.F. Petrie Tell el Amarna (London 1894), pl.42; P. Timme Tell el-Amarna vor der deutschen Ausgrabung im Jahre 1911 (Leipzig 1917), 52 fig.57, temp. Akhenaton.

671. Wilkinson MSS i.92 (south statue), 96 (north statue). The title of the latter is partly destroyed; [hmt nsw] wrt should be restored on a parallel with the south statue.

672. 1) Karnak, 10th pylon, east colossus of Amenhotpe III with inscription on left calf ms.n hmt nsw wrt (Tjj) ᶜnḫ.tj, PM 2², 189(587), Clère et al. in Karnak V 1970-1972 (Le Caire 1975), 159-66.

2) box fragments, BM 5899 A,B, Urk. IV, 1774.3-5.

3) statue group of Amenhotpe III and Teye from Medinet Habu in Cairo museum, on side ...] s3t nsw mrjjt.f (Nbtᶜḥ) ms.n [hmt nsw] wrt (Tjj) ᶜnḫ.tj.

4) white faience vase decorated in blue, MMA 26.7.908, ex Carnarvon collection 1926, Hayes Scepter 2, 258; pl.159.

5) white (?) vase, MacGregor collection, Newberry PSBA 24(1902), 248; Gauthier LR 2, 342.D2; van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 39. Gauthier gives the description "fragment de vase en porcelaine bleue". His reference is to Newberry where, however, it is stated to be a "fragment of a white glazed vase". Gauthier's description is repeated by van de Walle.

673. 1) stela of Ahmose, UC 14402, Stewart Egyptian Stelae 1, pl.1 no.1, temp. Ahmose, early form of the moon hieroglyph.

2) funerary statuette from Draᶜ Abu el-Naqaᶜ, in IFAO, Gauthier BIFAO 12(1916), 128-30 no.6, pl.2.

3) funerary statuette, BM 22558, Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 66 fig.2.

4) fragment of mummy wrappings from the Deir el-Bahri cache, ibid., 69, fig.4B. The funerary material probably dates to the reign of Ahmose, and certainly no later, since CG 34002 shows that Tetisheri died during this reign.

674. 1) Amotju, whmw n mwt nsw, stela from el-ᶜAsasif, MMA 19.3.32, Lansing BMMA ii, July 1920, 12 fig.3, early form of the moon hieroglyph.

2) Sikhentikhety, jmj-r3 šnwtj mwt nsw (Jᶜḥḥtp), statue, von Bergmann RT 7(1886), 179 no.4, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

3) Kares, jmj-r3 pr wr ⌜n mwt nsw⌝, ḥrp rs-tp n mwt nsw, wr snd m pr mwt nsw, stela, CG 34003, Urk. IV, 45.14, 48.10, 47.7, 47.4, and in the phrases wdt mwt nsw "decree of the king's mother" and jw wd.n mwt nsw "the king's mother commanded", ibid., 45.13,16,

year 10 of Amenhotpe I.

675. Stela of Amotju from el-ᶜAsasif (last note no.1), in the lunette between the wd3t eyes.

676. Chicago Art Institute 1265, Pier AJSL 23(1906/7), 78,88.

677. Ahmose Nofretary's title is damaged at the beginning, but there was probably not room for a preceding title.

678. 1) Deir el-Bahri, MMA 23.3.80, Hayes Scepter 2, 46; Gitton L'épouse, 28b. The reverse side preserves the prenomen of Amenhotpe I.

2) Deir el-Bahri (?), Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 46; Gitton L'épouse, 29f.

679. 1) BM 32450, Hall Scarabs, no.351; Newberry Scarabs, pl.26 no.16; Gitton L'épouse, 25 no.51, 27.

2) scarab from Qau, tomb E 1118, G. Brunton Qau and Badari 3 (London 1930), pl.34 no.6; Gitton L'épouse, 26 no.128, 27.

3) ex MacGregor collection, Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities (London 1922), 51 no.394; Gitton L'épouse, 26 no.118, 27.

680. CG 34006, Urk. IV, 81.1.

681. Pyramidion of Teti, Ashmolean Museum 1896.1908 E 3926, Newberry PSBA 35(1905), 102.

682. 1) scene on a pillar in the sarcophagus chamber of KV 34 (Thutmose III), pl.54.

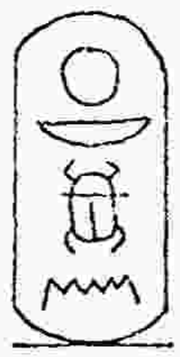
2) fragments of a stela of Amenhotpe from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, Weigall ASAE 7(1906), 131-2 no.13.

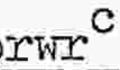
3) seated statue dedicated by Thutmose III, Karnak cachette, CG 42072.

4) filiation formula on the mummy wrappings of Thutmose III in the text of the Book of the Dead with a dedication by Amenhotpe II, Deir el-Bahri cache, Maspero Momies royales, 548, dating between the death and burial of Thutmose III.

5) scene in TT 248 (Thutmose) showing among others a wᶜb priest of Ese and a wᶜb priest of Amenhotpe II, MMA photo.T 1876; Urk. IV, 1642.7. The wᶜb priest of Amenhotpe II dates it after that king's death.

683. From Abydos, Mariette Abydos 2, pl.40n; Gauthier LR 2, 373, temp. Amenhotpe II (?). Mariette gives the prenomen as:



This is not the name of any king. The nearest is Tutankhamun's, but his name is hardly likely to be linked with that of Meritre. Moreover, when a prenomen with the element nb is written vertically, nb is almost always placed last to fit into the lower curve of the cartouche. It is more plausible to assume that the prenomen was cʿ3hprwrʿ, that is  not ; not . It is not surprising to find a scarab linking the name of Amenhotpe II with that of his mother.

684. Wine docket from the palace of Amenhotpe III at Malqata, Hayes JNES 10(1951), no.64 (1 example).

685. Tomb at Amarna, jmj-r3 pr m pr mwt nsw, Davies Amarna 3, pl.16.

686. Cairo JE 57175, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tiyi, pl.31 middle.

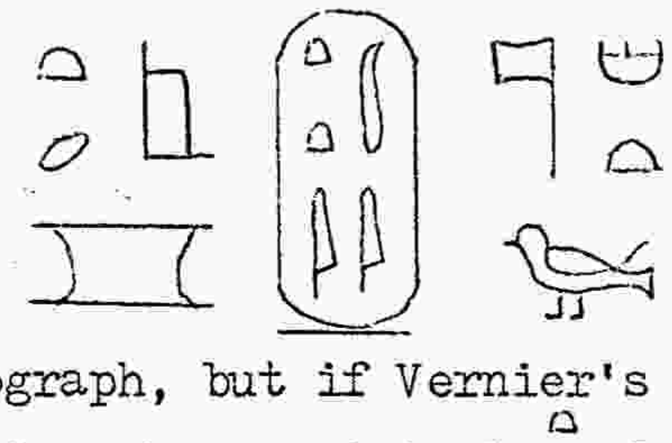
687. Martin Royal Tomb 1, 28, fragments 43,313,698.

688. Davies Amarna 3, pl.8.

689. According to Newberry Scarabs, pl.31 no.18 (followed by Matouk Corpus, 89 no.491B), there is a scarab naming Teye as hmt ntr wrt:



(Newberry's drawing is reproduced by Matouk Corpus, 190 no.491B, who wrongly transcribes the title as hmt nsw wrt on p.89). Teye does not have the title hmt ntr anywhere else, and it could be a mistake for hmt nsw wrt. However, there are two other possibilities. There is a scarab in Cairo, CG 52173, E. Vernier Bijoux et orfèvreries 2 (Le Caire 1927), 71, which is given as:



There is no photograph, but if Vernier's reading is correct, it might suggest that Newberry mistook for , although there is

no knowing whether Newberry's scarab is the one in Cairo or a similar one elsewhere. The queen concerned would thus not be Teye but perhaps the Ramessid queen Tity, owner of QV 52, although the writing of the name would be unusual. This queen, however, is attested as hmt ntr. The second possibility is that Newberry's reading is correct, but that the queen is not Teye but Tjj mrrj(t n) 3st, the mother of Ramesses III, Gauthier LR 3 i, 156. This queen is not attested as hmt ntr, but this could be due to lack of evidence. It might be thought strange to find the second element of her name written outside the cartouche, but this could be explained by the desire for symmetry, mrjj(t n) 3st on the left of the cartouche balancing the title on the right.

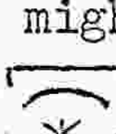
69.0. Ibrahim Harary ASAE 56(1959), pls.1,2 bottom; Gitton L'épouse, 7-11, II no.2, temp. Ahmose, early form of the moon hieroglyph. (For titularies also found on this stela, see Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.1-3.)

69.1. Coffin of Senu with the title jmj-r3 pr wr n hmt ntr occurring five times and the variant jmj-r3 pr n hmt ntr once, Deir el-Bahri cache, CG 61010.

69.2. Coffin of Rei with the title mn^{c}t nt hmt ntr (J^{c}hms Nfrtjrj), Deir el-Bahri cache, CG 61004, Gitton L'épouse, 21-2, VII no.1.

693. Fragment of stela of Nufer with the phrase ntf htp k3.f hr.f m p3.s r pt hmt ntr (J^{c}hms Nfrtjrj) "it was he (Nufer's father) with whom his (the king's) ka was satisfied when she flew to heaven, the hmt ntr (Ahmose Nofretary)", Dufferin collection, Clandeboye, Co. Down, Edwards JEA 51(1965), 25, pl.11 no.2.x + 4. The death of Ahmose Nofretary probably occurred in the reign of Thutmose I, since she is apparently alive in year 1 of Thutmose I (CG 34006), although she could be shown posthumously, as Ahmose is on the monuments of Hatshepsut.

694. 1) MMA 30.8.152, ex Davis collection, Hayes Scepter 2, 45; Gitton L'épouse, 28a.

2) both sides, Petrie SC, pl.23, 18.1.27; Gitton L'épouse, 28e, later form of the moon hieroglyph. Gitton quotes Petrie SC, 18.1.27-8, but 28 is a different object and not the reverse of 27. The title on 28 is poorly written  . It might read hmt ntr. The name in the cartouche is quite clearly  [J^{c}h]ms,

but the disposition of the signs is not that found with the name of Ahmose Nofretary, which is written  , the nfr sign being placed next to ms to obtain a balanced grouping of the signs. The form on 28 is that of the name when it is written alone or with the name of Meritamun  , as on the coffin seen by Wilkinson MSS v.193. Since queen Ahmose is not hmt ntr, if this is the title used here, the menit should not belong to her, but it is possible that it belongs to Ahmose Meritamun, who is attested with the title. On SC, 18.1.27, only the name Ahmose survives written  ; Gitton L'épouse, part 1 n.210 suggests that  nfr rather than s would fit the usual writing of Ahmose Nofretary's name better, but Petrie's photograph shows quite clearly the curve at the top of the sign, which can only be . Thus, this is either an unusual writing of Ahmose Nofretary's name, or we are dealing with another hmt ntr. This title again rules out queen Ahmose, but Ahmose Meritamun might be a candidate. Although the contemporary example of her name (above) is without after  , it is possible that the form *  occurred, as it would not have involved any alteration in the arrangement of the second half of the name.

695. See Gitton L'épouse, 27; with the later form of the moon hieroglyph where the full form Ahmose Nofretary occurs. The scarabs of Ahmose Nofretary present a problem, as many do not date to her lifetime. Gitton L'épouse, 24-27 lists the principal contemporary scarabs and similar objects (e.g. cowroids, cylinders, beads). As the basis of his conclusions, he uses 119 certain examples of which 83 bear a title before the name. It is these which I have used, adding two examples which use the title hnmt nfr hdt (n.821).

696. 1) Senenmut, mh jb ⌜c3⌝ n hmt ntr, stela at Aswan, pl.75, temp. regency.

2) Senenmut, jmj-r3 pr wr n hmt ntr, shrine at Gebel el-Silsila, R.A. Caminos and T.G.H. James Gebel es-Silsilah I. The Shrines (London 1963), shrine 16, pl.44 left jamb, temp. Thutmose II - regency.

3) Senenmut, jmj-r3 pr n ḥmt ntr (Ḥ3tšpswt), funerary cone, Davies - Macadam Corpus, no.88, temp. regency.
4) Senimen, mnᶜj n s3t ḥmt ntr (Ḥ3tšpswt), funerary cone, Davies - Macadam Corpus, no.120, temp. Thutmose II - regency. The title will refer to Nefrure, the daughter of the ḥmt ntr, Hatshepsut.
5) Amenemhat, son of Ruyu, ḫrp rs-tp n ḥmt ntr, statue, Pennsylvania Univ.Mus.E 10980, Smith Fortress of Buhen, 202, temp. Thutmose II - regency.

697. 1) statue of Senenmut with the phrase whm.n n.j ḥnwt.j ḥswt ḥmt ntr (Ḥ3tšpswt) "My mistress granted another favour to me, the ḥmt ntr (Hatshepsut)", BM 1513, HT 5, pl.29.
2) biography of Ahmose Pennekhbet in his tomb at el-Kab, with the phrase whm.n n.j ḥmt ntr ḥswt ḥmt nsw wrt (Mᶜ3tkᶜ3r) "the ḥmt ntr granted another favour to me, the ḥmt nsw wrt (Maatkare), Urk. IV. 34.15, temp. Thutmose III. The separation of ḥmt ntr and ḥmt nsw wrt is incidental.
3) biography of Ineni, II 81, with the phrase snt.f ḥmt ntr (Ḥ3tšpswt) ḥr jrt mḥrw t3 "his 'aunt', the ḥmt ntr (Hatshepsut), governed the land", Urk. IV, 60.1, temp. Thutmose III, but describing the situation at the death of Thutmose II.
4) statue of Senenmut with the phrase rdjw m ḥswt nt ḫr ḥmt ntr "given as a favour from the ḥmt ntr", Karnak cachette, CG 42117, regency. Normally one would expect a word referring to the king to follow nt ḫr, and this emphasises her position as de facto ruler.

698. Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 80, temp. regency. The queen uses the name Ḥnmtjmn Ḥ3tšpswt, which suggests that the object belongs to the end of the regency, since this is the name she adopted for her cartouche as king.

699. 1) from the left hand of Hatnefer, mother of Senenmut, Lansing - Hayes BMMA ii January 1937, 22 fig.35.
2) Berlin 1904, Petrie HS, 926; Newberry Scarabs, pl.27 no.35
3)-6) BM 3948, 28438, 37726, 46271, Hall Scarabs, 493 (= Petrie HS, 925), 492 (= Newberry Scarabs, pl.27 no.4), 491,494.
7) BM 51102, A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room (London 1922), 56.
8)-10) Petrie SC, pl.26, 18.5.30,31,33.
11) Gulbenkian Museum, Durham N 940, Birch Catalogue, 123-4; Newberry Scarabs, pl.27 no.33.

12) Grant collection, Petrie HS, 924.

13) Haworth collection, ibid., 923.

14) Hilton Price collection, A Catologue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of F.G. Hilton Price, Dir.S.A 2 (London 1908), 30 no.4247.

15) scarab from Tell Basta, ex Fraser collection 202, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen, 235 no.225, pl.22.

plaques:

1) M.A. Murray Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (Edinburgh 1900), 49 no.883, Inscription 49.

2) Matouk collection, Matouk Corpus, 50 no.293, 247.

bead:

1) BM 37727, Hall Scarabs, 490.

700. Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 459; Urk. IV, 1872.5.

701. 1) Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 45; the number of scarabs is not explicitly stated and could be one or two.

2) Petrie SC, pl.23, 18.1.25.

These are not included by Gitton in his list, but since the title is not common in the 18th dynasty and is not attested after the reign of Amenhotpe II, it is unlikely that it would occur on later objects of Ahmose Nofretary.

702. 1) statue of Senenmut with the title jmj-r3 pr n nbt t3wj, Karnak cachette, CG 42116, temp. regency (?). Senenmut also has the title here of jmj-r3 pr n s3t nsw (Nfrwr^{c}). As Neferure is not given the title hmt ntr, the statue probably dates before Hatshepsut became king (n.371). As there is no name, it is possible, but less likely, that nbt t3wj refers to Nefrure.

2) rock stela of Senenmut at Aswan with the phrase hrr(w) nbt t3wj hr tpt-r.f "with whose utterance the lady of the Two Lands is pleased", pl.75, temp. regency.

3) statue of Senenmut with the phrase hrrw nbt t3wj hr tpt-r.f, BM 174, HT 5, pl.30, temp. regency.

4) statue of Senenmut with the phrase hsjj n nbt t3wj, BM 1513, HT 5, pl.29, temp. regency. Hatshepsut is elsewhere hmt ntr on the statue, which dates it to before she was king.

703. Metropolitan Museum, Hayes Scepter 2, 81. It is not clear whether there are one or two scarabs with this title.

704. Black granite seated statue, lower part only, broken at waist, by the storehouses to the north of the Ramesseum, seen by me in 1978 (3.1.13).

705. BM 57399, HT 8, pl.22, temp. Akhenaton.

706. Stela of Kares, CG 34003, Urk. IV, 49.7, year 10 of Amenhotpe I.

707. Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 1, 57.

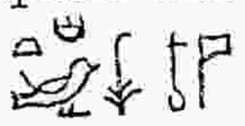
708. e.g. Tetisheri, UC 14402, pl.1; Mutnofret, CG 34031, pl.51; Meritre Hatshepsut, Medinet Habu, small temple, room VI, pls. 36,37; Nofretary, stelae from Giza, pls.14-20; Mutemwiya, temple of Luxor, room XX, pl.21; TT 226, pl.43; Teye, stela of Sebeknakht, pl.24. In KV 34 (Thutmose III), the single title of each queen is like a caption to her figure, pl.54.

709. e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, "Donation" stela; Ahmose, birth scenes; Mutemwiya, birth scenes; Teye, canopy made by Akhenaton; sarcophagus of Meketaton.

710. e.g. Ahmose, Berlin inv.no.14651, pl.133, two titles; Meritre Hatshepsut, TT 93, pl.136, two titles; Sitioh, Festival Temple at Karnak, pl.134, one title; Tiaa, TT 76, pl.138, one title; Meritre, TT 96, pl.137, no title.

711. Mutnofret, CG 527, two titles; Sitioh, Cairo JE 37638, Urk. IV, 605, one title; Ese, CG 42072, one title.

712. e.g. Meritre Hatshepsut in the reign of Thutmose III, hmt nsw or hmt nsw wrt, and perhaps hmt ntr; Nofretary, hmt nsw or hmt nsw wrt (?); Teye in the reign of Amenhotpe III, hmt nsw or hmt nsw wrt.

713. Depending on the writing of hmt nsw wrt, it can balance one or two titles of the king, compare the jar of Sitioh and Thutmose III, Wilkinson MSS xxii.38  with the stela of Meritre Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Florence inv.no.7241, Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno, fig. 26 

714. e.g. jar of Sitioh and Thutmose III and stela of Meritre Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (last note); scarab of Meritre Hatshepsut and Amenhotpe II, Mariette Abydos 2, pl.40n; scarab of Thutmose IV and Nofretary, Petrie SC, pl.30, 18.8.13, where neither has a title; jar of Amenhotpe III and Teye, KV 62 (Tutankhamun) no.588,

Cairo JE 62144; jar of Amenhotpe III and Teye, KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuiu), CG 51104; vase of Amenhotpe III and Teye, KV 55, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tîyi, 35 no.41, pl.4 no.3, no titles; scarabs of Teye and Amenhotpe III, e.g. BM 4094, 48688, 29454, 32326, 3074, Hall Scarabs, nos.1724,1725,1729,1728,1726.

715. Iaret, rock stela of Thutmose IV at Serabit el-Khadim, Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.19 no.60.

716. Neith, Jéquier Les pyramides des reines, 4 fig.1, 11 fig.4, 30 fig.20H; Iput, ibid., 42 fig.22, 43 fig.24; Wedjebten, G. Jéquier La pyramide d'Oudjebten (Le Caire 1928), 9 fig.3, 15 fig.8, 16 fig.9, 18 fig.16.

717. Nofru, wife of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe, TT 319, Gabet RT 12(1892), 217 (s3t nsw).
Senet, statue, CG 424, and statuette, Naville Goshen, pl.9b; Gauthier LR 1, 250. Naville and Gauthier place this queen in the 11th dynasty (not attested as s3t nsw).
Nofret, offering table from Lisht, Mace BMMA ii December 1922, 12 fig.11. Mace suggests that she could be the mother of Amenemhat. This would fit the lack of the title hmt nsw, because Amenemhat was the first king of his line. (Not attested as s3t nsw).
Nofru, wife of Senwosret I, is attested with the title in the story of Sinuhe, Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 2, R.3 and OB^3.3. There is no guarantee that this titulary is contemporary.
Itekuyet, owner of a pyramid in the funerary enclosure of Senwosret I, Hayes Scepter 1, 195 (s3t nsw).
Nofret, wife of Senwosret II, statue, CG 382 (s3t nsw).
Khnemtneferhedjet (?), wife of Senwosret II and mother of Senwosret III (see Perdu RdE 29[1977], 68-85), BM 163, HT 5, pls. 10-11; BM 164, Naville Ahnas el-Medineh, 29-30, pl.4C; Cairo JE 66569, F. Bisson de la Roque Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926) (Le Caire 1927), 107, inv.2100 (not attested as s3t nsw).
Khnemtneferhedjet (?), wife of Senwosret III (see Perdu RdE 29 [1977], 68-85), BM 163 (above); scarab, CG 37410 (not attested as s3t nsw).
Nofrethenut, wife of Senwosret III, sarcophagus, de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 1, 54 fig.118 (not attested as s3t nsw).
Aat (or Khnemtneferhedjet aat (?), cf. Khnemtneferhedjet weret and Khnemtneferhedjet shery (?); Perdu RdE 29[1977] reads the

latter as hrd although on p.71b he admits srj as a possible transcription), de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 2, 101 fig.148 (not attested as s3t nsw).

718. Nofruptah, fragment of a sphinx, Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 133; Gauthier LR 1, 337; statue from Elephantine, Weigall ASAE 8 (1907), 48; Gauthier LR 1, 337.
A princess whose name is lost, group statue of Amenemhat III and two daughters, Edgar in Maspero Le Musée égyptien 3, 63.

719. e.g. Senet, n.717; Nofru, wife of Senwosret I, Story of Sinuhe, n.717; Itekuyet, n.717; Nofret, CG 832; Khnemtneferhedjet (?), mother of Senwosret III, Cairo JE 66569, n.717.
Nofruptah, statue from Elephantine, n.718; princess, name lost, n.718.
I suggest that the first title is now read wrt j3mt, but there is no proof of this until the 17th dynasty (4.4.2).

720. Iuahetibu, mother of Sekhemre Sewadjtawy Sebekhotpe, rock relief at Sehel, Wild JEA 37(1951), pl.4; rock relief on the Armant-Nag^{c} Hammadi track, Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6; queen, name lost, ibid., (the titulary is broken, so that she could be s3t nsw); Senebhenaes, ibid.; Nubkhaes, Louvre C 13, Pierret Recueil 2, 5.

721. Satip, wife of Khnumhotpe I at Beni Hasan, temp. Amenemhat I, Newberry Beni Hasan 1, pl.46; Baqt, daughter of Khnumhotpe I and mother of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan, temp. Senwosret II, ibid., pl.25,64; Urk. VII, 28; Khety, wife of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan, temp. Amenemhat II, Newberry Beni Hasan 2, pl.24; Rensonb, rock stela of Sekhemre Sewadjtawy Sebekhotpe, Wild JEA 37(1951), pl.4 no.2, directly below the king's mother is the figure of s3t.s jrjt-p^{c}t Rnsnb nbt jm3h. If she is Iuahetibu's daughter, as seems most likely, she will be connected with the royal family, but she does not use any title of relationship; Reditenes, tomb of Sebeknakht at el-Kab, temp. Sekhemre Sewadjtawy Sebekhotpe, J.J. Tylor The Tomb of Sebeknekht (London 1896), pl.7; Rediteneseni, contemporary of queen Nubkhaes of the 17th dynasty, Kaiser et al. MDAIK 28(1972), 187-91, fig.11.

722. Nebet, A. Mariette Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos (Paris 1880), no.525.

723. Djhuty, wife of Minmontu, high priest of Amun, Legrain ASAE 9(1908), 54-7, date uncertain.

724. K. Baer Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (Chicago 1960), 7.

725. ibid., 231-9.

726. e.g. Hayes Scepter 2, 46 upper right, translation of MMA 26.7.29, Ahmose Nofretary, ld.1; Urk IV, 1717.7,11, 1770.6,14, 1772.9,15, translated by W. Helck as "Erbprinzessin" in "Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22 (Berlin 1961); Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, 33 left.

727. Commemorative scarabs, Urk. IV, 1738.10-11, 1741.12-13; tomb, KV 46, Davis et al. Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou.

728. The example of Ese, lb.1 is relevant, since in five other occurrences of her name, she simply has the title mwt nsw.

729. e.g. Amenhotpe son of Hapu, Varille Inscriptions, 90,104-5,115-20.

730. Mertz "Certain Titles", 68-9.

731. Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, 33-4.

732. ibid., 33 top left.

733. Helck Orientalia 19(1950), 422, but see H.-W. Helck Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptische Dynastie (Leipzig 1939), 80 n.3 end, "  als Titel der Königinnen hatte wohl in der 18. Dyn. keinen Wert mehr".

734. Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, 33 bottom left.

735. I have suggested that Amenhotpe I could have been born between years 2 and 6 of Ahmose (2.3.2), so that after Ahmose's twenty-five year reign, he would have been of an age to take over the government himself. Further, the titulary quoted by Helck Orientalia 19(1950), 422 as stressing Ahmose Nofretary's position in fact belongs to Ahmose (1e.1).

736. A Prosopographical Study of the Reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III (Michigan 1977), 212-24.

737. Kuchmann NSSEA 7,4(August 1977), 9-12 and pl.2.

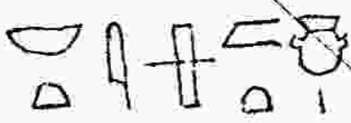
738. e.g. D. Dunham and W.K. Simpson The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530-7540 (Boston 1974), fig.7 right.

739. Nubkhaes, Louvre C 13, Pierret Recueil 2, 5.

740. Nofru, wife of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe, Gabet RT 12(1892), 217; Itekuyet, owner of a pyramid in the funerary enclosure of Senwosret I, Hayes Scepter 1, 195.

741. e.g. Gauthier LR 1, 250; CG 382; Edgar in Maspero Le Musée égyptien 3, 63; Gauthier LR 1, 337; Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6.

742. LD 3, 189a, Mariette RT 9(1887), 14-15, the title is written 

The taxogram ensures the reading j3mt. In the small temple at Abu Simbel, Nofretary is sometimes called  , which seems to be related to the titles nbt j3mt and j3mt jb, see Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 1, 176-7 n.211.

743. Sitre, LD Text 3, 148; Labib Habachi GM 31(1979), 47-9 fig.1. The title is found again later on a monument of the two Divine Adoratrices, Nitokris and Ankhnesneferibre, Pillet ASAE 25(1925), 21. Although not the wives of a king, Divine Adoratrices modelled their titles and insignia on those of queens.

744. Numbers in brackets refer to J. Janssen De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het nieuwe Rijk 1 (Leiden 1946).

745. Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 21, B65-6.

746. e.g. Urk. IV, 1428.12, 1429.13, 1468.4, wr hswt; 495.17, 538.15, wr hswt m pr nsw; 1829.10, wr hswt hr hm.f; 483.9, 1178.1, 1414.2, 1427.3, 1507.17, mn hswt; 1574.11, 1894.8, mn hswt m stp-s3; 1438.14, 1895.2, dd hswt; 1490.9, ᶜ3 hswt; 1895.6, ᶜš3 hswt m pr nsw; 483.8, 513.7, 1178.2, 1414.2, 1427.3, 1428.12, 1429.13, 1449.18, 1507.17, ᶜ3 mrwt; 1438.14, mn mrwt; 1456.17, 1895.6, mn mrwt hr nb.f/nb t3wj; 993.13, 1894.7, wr mrwt m pr nsw; 1204.2, mn mrwt m pr nsw; 993.14, 1438.14, nb j3mt m stp-s3.

747. Berlin inv. no.2297, Aeg.Inschr. 2, 6.

748. mn mrwt, Golden Horus name of Khasekhemre Neferhotep, e.g. Mariette Abydos 2, 28.1; bnr mrwt, Amenhotpe III, Urk. IV, 1694.9; mn hswt m ḥwt Skr, Amenhotpe III, Urk. IV, 1743; mn hswt ḥr Jmn, Thutmose III (name of a door), Urk. IV, 167.7.

749. bnr(t) mrwt, Nekhbet, Urk. IV, 580.16; Amun, Urk. IV, 482.6; Wepwawet, CG 20119; BM 239, HT 3, pl.40.

750. e.g. J. Janssen De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het nieuwe Rijk 1 (Leiden 1946), I H 44-8.

751. Goedicke in Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, 34 suggests that it "could concern the queen's role as arbiter of clemency".

752. CG 34009, Urk. IV, 30.12-13, 31.8.

753. Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 19-22, B.51-73.

754. W. Helck Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie (Wiesbaden 1975), 27.9. See also Otto MDAIK 25(1969), 98-100; W.K. Simpson in Fragen an die alt-ägyptischer Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto

(Wiesbaden 1977).

755. Urk. IV, 141.6-7, 889.4-6, 1686.17-19.

756. Urk. IV, 100.2-3, 312.14-15, 554.4-5, 849.11-12, 859.1-4, 868.3-4.

757. Urk. IV, 20.3.

758. e.g. Urk. IV, 60.12-13, hs.n wj hmt.s mr.n.s wj "her person favoured me and she loved me"; 131.14-15, jw jr.n.j mrrt rmt hsjjt ntrw "I did what people love and the gods favour", see also 484.3, 1445.1; 464.17, hs(w) n ntr.f mrw nb.f hr mnh.f "favoured of his god and beloved of his lord because of his excellence"; 938.16-17, mrjj nb.f hsjj n ntr nfr "beloved of his lord and favoured of the perfect god"; 1488.3, ^{c}q hsw pr mrw "who entered favoured and went forth loved"; 1786.17, hsjj mrjj nb t3wj "favoured and beloved of the lord of the Two Lands". For j3mt, see p.264 bottom and Urk. IV, 993.13-14, 1438.14.

759. Teye, 1a.8; 1a.5 ([wrt/nbt] f3w is also used by Ankhesenamun, Urk. IV, 2038.2.

760. Kuchman NSSEA 7,4(August 1977), 9-12 with plate 2.

761. ibid., pl.2.

762. Fischer JEA 60(1974), 94-9, esp.96.

763. Hetepheres I, G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith A History of the Giza Necropolis 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1955), pls.29a,b; Khamerernebty I, Urk. I, 155; Khentkaues, Selim Hassan Giza 4, 16 fig.2 (the repetition of nsw bjtj may indicate that she was the mother of two kings; for this problem, see Altenmüller CdE 45/90 (1970), 223-235); Iput, C.M. Firth and B. Gunn Teti Pyramid Cemeteries 2 (Le Caire 1926), pl.55 (both mwt nsw and mwt nsw bjtj are used); Merireankhnes, Urk. I, 117.14,17; Pepyankhnes, Jéquier Les pyramides des reines, fig.30.

764. A. Mariette Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos (Paris 1880), 525; two queens, the mother and wife of Senwosret III, BM 163, HT 5, pls.10-11; princess, daughter of Amenemhat III, Edgar in Maspero Le musée égyptien 3, 63.

765. A form of the myth is already present in P Westcar, although the woman concerned is not a queen, see e.g. Brunner Geburt; Altenmüller CdE 45/90(1970), 223-235.

766. Selim Hasan Giza 8, 34, 78-9 figs.63,64.

767. Zivie Giza, 160-64 NE 36.

768. The translations in brackets are those of Selim Hassan; the text

is illegible on the photograph.

769. In the 11th dynasty, Nofru, queen of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe, uses the title sdtt W3djjt, Gabet RT 12(1892), 217.

770. Zivie Giza, 160.

771. e.g. Maatkare Mutemhat, 21st dynasty, Gauthier LR 3 ii, 253 Ia,c; Maspero Momies royales, 577; Amenmutemhat, Gauthier LR 3 ii, 254,2a; Karomama Merenmut, Gauthier LR 3 ii, 356 Da.

772. CG 382.

773. Borchardt ZÄS 36(1898), 142.

774. G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith A History of the Giza Necropolis 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1955), pls.28,29.

775. Smith JNES 11(1952), 115 fig.3.

776. Selim Hasan Giza 4, 16 fig.2, pl.6.

777. Davies Amarna 2, pl.18.

778. N. de G. Davies The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes 1 (New York 1933), pl.51.

779. Champollion Not.descr. 1, 791.

780. Daressy RT 14(1893), 31 no.51.

781. Mutemwiya, 6.1,2; Ahmose, 1d.1; 4/5 and Tiaa, 6.1 have simpler writings:  (Ahmose) and  (Tiaa), but in all five cases, the second half of the title is clearly to be read jr.tw n.s.

782. Naville ZÄS 36(1898), 143.

783. Sethe ZÄS 36(1898), 143-4.

784. Junker MDAIK 3(1932), 138-9.

785. Edgerton JAOS 60(1940), 483.

786. Kuchman NSSEA 7,4(August 1977), 10 no.11.

787. m33t Hrw Sth "the one who sees Horus and Seth"; zm3wt mrjj nbtj "the one united to the one whom the Two Ladies love".

788. e.g. śmst sn.s ntr nfr "the one who follows her husband, the perfect god"; mht ʿh m stj j3dt.s/m nfrw/m mrwt.s "the one who fills the palace with the scent of her fragrance/with beauty/with her love"; hnmt nsw Hʿmm3ʿt "the one united with king Khaemmaat".

789. Gardiner Grammar, § 410.

790. Also found in Mutemwiya's title htp.s st.s jmj wj3.s smnhw m k3t dt (6.1).

791. e.g. K. Sethe Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte der Mittleren Reiches^{2} (Leipzig 1928), 83 11.23-4; Urk. IV, 28.11-12, 1551.19-20.

791. Kuchman NSSEA 7,4(August 1977), 9.
793. Smith in CAH 1^3 part 2, 170-1.
794. Nimmathap, 2nd and 3rd dynasties; Hetepheres I, 3rd and 4th dynasties; Khentkaues, 4th and 5th dynasties.
795. She is also wrt hts nt (Hwfw), Smith JNES 11(1952), 115 fig.3.
796. Gabet RT 12(1892), 217.
797. Hayes Scepter 1, 194.
798. de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 1, 77 fig,182.
799. Edgar in Maspero Le musée égyptien 3, 63.
800. Louvre C 13, Pierret Recueil 2, 5.
801. Satip, wife of Khnumhotpe I at Beni Hasan, temp. Amenemhat I, Newberry Beni Hasan 1, pl.46.
802. Brunton ASAE 49(1949), 99-110, see also Mertz "Certain Titles", 72-82.
803. Perdu RdE 29(1977), 68-85.
804. de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 2, 73,74.
805. ibid. 2, 68.
806. ibid. 1, 56 fig.122, 59 fig.126.
807. ibid. 1, 54 fig.118.
808. ibid. 2, 101 fig.147,148.
809. Donadoni Orientalia 16(1947), 350; Schott in A. Vogliano Secondo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla missione archeologica d'egitto della r. università di Milano nella zona di Madīnet Mādī (Campagna inverno e primavera 1936-XIV) (Milano 1937), 27.
810. e.g. zm3wt mrjj nbtj; sm3jjt (Hprk3r^c); hnmt nsw H^{c}mm3^{c}t.
811. e.g. de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 2, 68,74.
812. But see Perdu RdE 29(1977), 84 n.113.
813. See Brunton's list in ASAE 49(1949), 102-5, nos.26-56.
814. Ahhotpe II, 1b.3; Ahmose Nofretary, 1b.10.
815. Ahhotpe I does not have the title s3t nsw on her coffin. Although she is included among our queens, she belongs to the end of the 17th dynasty.
816. Nofrethenut, wife of Senwosret III, sarcophagus from Dahshur, de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 1, 54 fig.118; Aat (?); wife of Amenemhat III, offering table from Dahshur, ibid. 2, 101 fig.148; stela from Dahshur, ibid. 2, 101; Senebhenaes, wife of Sekhemre Sewadjtawy Sebekhotpe, rock stela, Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6; Mentuhotpe, coffin giving non-royal parentage, Griffith PSBA

14(1892), 41; Nubkhaes, wife of Sekhemre Shedtawy Sebekemsaf, stela, Louvre C 13, Pierret Recueil 2, 5. Other queens with this title appear on scarabs. They are probably of non-royal birth, but owing to the limited space on a scarab, the lack of a title, e.g. s3t nsw, does not show that they did not use it.

§17. Ahmose Nofretary has the title on the "Donation" stela (1a.1) with the early form of the moon hieroglyph. Ahhotpe II is not recorded with it until after the change in the moon hieroglyph (1c.1).

§18. e.g. Davies Amarna 4, pl.31; 6, pls.4,16,17.

§19. Ahhotpe II, 1b.4.

§20. Teye, 1d.2.

§21. Teye, 1a.10; Nefertiti, Smith - Redford ATP 1, pl.23 nos.6,7; Davies Amarna 2, pl.7; 3, pl.6. hnwt t3w nbw is found in the 19th dynasty with Tuy, mother of Ramesses II, Labib Habachi GM 31(1979), fig.1c, and Nofretary, Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, pls.37,63, but it does not seem to have been common.

§22. Ahhotpe II, 1b.4.

§23. Hatshepsut, 1a.5.

§24. Teye, 1d.1, and Nefertiti, e.g. Davies Amarna 4, pl.31; 6, pls. 4,16.

§25. e.g. Ahmose Nofretary, Ahmose, Hatshepsut, Tiaa.

§26. e.g. Isis, HT 6, pl.28; A.M. Blackman and M.R. Apted The Rock Tombs of Meir 6 (London 1953), pl.15; Hathor, Urk. VII, 24.16.

§27. Nofret, wife of Senwosret II, CG 382.

§28. Naville Ahnas el Medineh, 29-30, pl.4C.

§29. Senebhenaes, Macadam JEA 37(1951), pl.6.

§30. e.g. Urk. IV, 17.5, 367.16-17, 895.13; Davies Amarna 1, 41 left.

§31. Sennufer, temp. Amenhotpe II, Urk. IV, 1425.9; Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, temp. Amenhotpe III, Urk. IV, 1829.10.

§32. Gayet Temple de Louxor, pl.40 fig.131.

§33. e.g. Urk. IV, 312.7, 378.1, hq3t šm^{c}w mhw; 341.10, nsjjt šm^{c}w mhw; 1567.5,14, 1669.13, 1703.4, nsw bjtj šm^{c}w mhw; 561.16, 570.2, hq3.k šm^{c}w mhw "may you rule Upper and Lower Egypt".

§34. e.g. Urk. IV, 280.7, 1696.13, 1781.1.

§35. e.g. Urk. IV, 93.9, 359.8, 556.8.11, 587.7, and the Golden Horus name of Amenhotpe II, jt m shm.f m t3w nbw, e.g. Urk. IV, 1276.11.

§36. Urk. IV, 614.4.

837. e.g. Urk. IV, 585.4 (nbtj name of Thutmose III), 185.17.

838. W.C. Hayes Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty (Princeton 1935), 143 suggested that the series of royal stone sarcophagi of the 18th dynasty began with a pair made for Hatshepsut and Thutmose II. However, the sarcophagus attributed to Thutmose II in KV 42 is uninscribed and its ownership uncertain. Therefore, there is nothing to show that Hatshepsut's sarcophagus was made during Thutmose II's reign, and it may have been designed to express her increased status as regent. No such sarcophagus is known for any other of our queens.

839. "Marriage" scarab, Urk. IV, 1741.14-15.

840. hrrw nbt t3wj hr tpt-r3.f "with whose utterance the lady of the Two Lands is pleased", stela of Senenmut at Aswan, pl.75; statue of Senenmut, BM 174, HT 5, pl.30; hsjj n nbt t3wj, statue of Senenmut, BM 1513, HT 5, pl.29.

841. A fragment from Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c}, CG 34159 (2.1 no.14; 2.3.3.3), names a ...] snt nsw hmt ntr J^{c}hms nbt jm3h, whose name is written with the earlier form of the moon hieroglyph. The provenance of the piece and the epithet nbt jm3h suggest that it was part of Ahmose's funerary equipment; she would therefore have died before the change in the moon hieroglyph. This alone should distinguish her from Ahmose Nofretary, apart from the fact that there is no evidence that the latter was ever called simply Ahmose. Therefore, the title will have been held by a royal woman before Ahmose Nofretary.

842. Sitamun appears with the title on a stela of Ahmose dated to year 18. Her only other title is s3t nsw, pl.107.

843. A statue by the colossus of Amenhotpe I, south of the eighth pylon at Karnak names a s3t nsw snt nsw hnwt t3wj hmt ntr, pl. 142. The name is now lost, and it has been suggested that the owner is either Ahmose Nofretary (Barguet Temple, 259 n.5) or Ahmose Sitamun (Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 11 n.2). However, Yoyotte has read the name as Ahmose Meritamun from the Lacau photograph, PM 2^{2}, 176N. As the title hmt nsw (wrt) does not appear, it is probable, though not certain, that Meritamun was still only a princess. She has the title hmt ntr together with hmt nsw wrt on her coffin (1a.1).

844. Two titularies of Hatshepsut (2c.1,2) name her as hmt ntr mrjjt

ntr s3t nsw mrjjt.f and hmt ntr nt Jmn [...] s3t nsw wrt. The omission of hmt nsw (wrt) allows for the possibility that she was not yet queen.

845. Meritre Hatshepsut is nowhere named as hmt ntr during the reign of Thutmose III, but if, as is likely, she is the hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt referred to on the statue of Huy, BM 1280, and if this statue dates to the reign of Thutmose III (2.4.3), she will have had the title during this reign.

846. Meritamun II, 1a.1,2 and 4, if this last belongs to her.

847. PM 2^2, 322(128) II 1,2; PM 2^2, 321(125) II, Gayet Temple de Louxor, pl.35 (= LD 3, 74a), pl.51.

848. Lacau et al. Chapelle d'Hatshepsout, 316,536 no.3; 319,542 no.2; 320-1,545; 321-22,546.

849. BM 1280, unpublished, Huy, mother of Meritre Hatshepsut (?) (2.4.3).

850. Ahmose Nofretary is shown on a stela of year 1 of Thutmose I (CG 34006), who also set up a statue of her at Karnak (Ahmose Nofretary, 1a.10,11). This suggests that she survived into his reign, although the monuments could be posthumous. Nothing is known about the date of Meritamun's death, but her mummy is that of an old woman, so that even if she were bron near the beginning of Ahmose's reign, she probably lived on into the reign of Thutmose I (2.2.2).

851. As Sander-Hansen Gottesweib, 17.

852. As suggested by, for example, ibid.

853. B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 306-12.

854. ibid., 309.

855. Urk. IV, 1771.9-15.

856. Aldred also comes to this conclusion on stylistic grounds, JEA 56(1970), 195-9; see also C. Aling A Prosopographical Study of the Reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III (Michigan 1977), 27-31.

See also R. Hari Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet, ou, la fin d'une dynastie (Geneva 1964), 207-8, who comes to the same conclusion; his treatment of the problem is however marred by a number of errors. The titularies quoted for his "Moutneferet I and II" (pl.36b,c) are alternative restorations of a single inscription (2.4.1); in fact Mutnofret, mother of Thutmose I is not called s3t nsw (2.4.1). Mutemhat is not a daughter of Hatshepsut of the 18th dynasty; she is the Divine Adoratrice

Maatkare, also called Mutemhat, of the 21st dynasty (K. Kitchen The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC) [Warminster 1973], 58-60; the error stems from Gauthier LR 2, 252). For Mutemwiya, the absence of the title mwt nsw is not by itself enough to exclude her from ownership of the statue, since this title might have been omitted here. The presence of titles not attested until after the reign of Amenhotpe III is a much stronger argument for not attributing the statue to her.

857. Ahhotpe III, 1a.1. Ahmose is her daughter who is named on the same statue. B. Schmitz Untersuchungen, 309-10.

858. Whether .s refers to the endowment of the office, as Gitton BIFAO 76(1976), 65-89 cf.p.87, or to the office of 2nd priest of Amun, as Menu BIFAO 77(1977), 89-100 cf.p.98-9, it is quite clear that the office of hmt ntr was to be hereditary.

859. K. Sethe Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen

Unterricht[3] (Hildesheim 1959), 98.12,24.

860. Teye, 5.2, and alone in the tomb of Kheruef (n.820).

861. Sander-Hansen Gottesweib, 20; Münster Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis, 140.

862. Sitre, QV 38, LD Text 3, 236; Tuy, Petrie HS, 1460; Nofretary, LD 3, 195d; Takhat, LD 3, 202f; LD Text 3, 205; Tity, QV 52, G. Bénédite Le tombeau de la reine Thiti (Paris 1893), pl.3,5.

863. It is attested at least as early as in the 17th dynasty, D. Randall-MacIver - A.C. Mace El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 (London 1902), pl.37.

864. LD 3, 54.

865. e.g. Urk. IV, 1572.18, nb n šnnwt jtn "lord of that which the sun encircles"; 1696.20; 1702.15, hq3 n šnnwt jtn "ruler of that which the sun encircles"; 102.11, jr.n.j t3š t3-mrj r šnnwt jtn "I set the boundaries of Egypt at that which the sun encircles"; 341.11, rd.n.f n.s šnnwt jtn "he (Amun) gave to her (Hatshepsut as king) that which the sun encircles".

866. If the jar were part of Thutmose I's original funerary equipment, Hatshepsut would have been the queen of Thutmose II when it was made. There is no reason, however, why it should not have been put into the tomb later, when Hatshepsut rearranged the burial of Thutmose I, placing his body in a sarcophagus and arranging for her own burial in the tomb. (For KV 20 as the original tomb of Thutmose I, see Romer JEA 60[1974], 119-27.)

867. CG 42121, Meritre Hatshepsut, 1a.1,2.

868. Urk. IV, 35.16; 941.6, 1377.11, 890.10, 944.4.

869. Urk. IV, 13.9, 465.2, 899.12.

870. Urk. IV, 899.7, 900.7, 1405.10, 1449.16, 1455.11.

871. Urk. IV, 415.1.

872. Urk. IV, 32.10, 899.13, 1505.11, 1461.17.

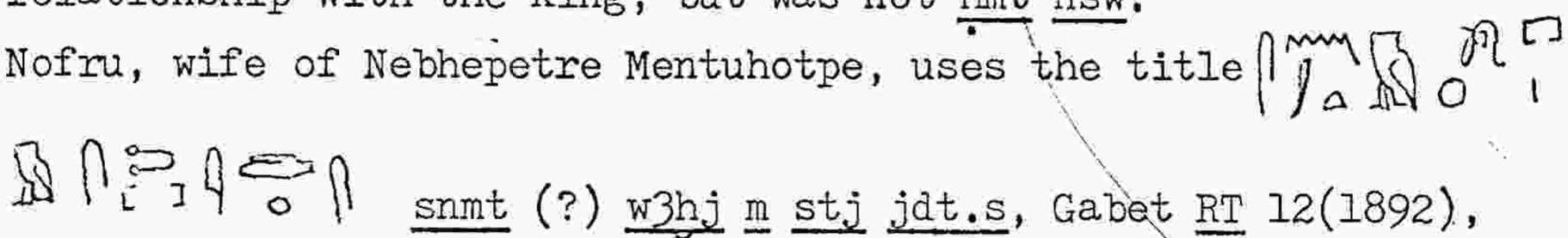
873. Urk. IV, 911.14.

874. Urk. IV, 538.15, 1574.19, 1894.8.

875. The only official known to have been related to a queen is Anen, brother of Teye, but this is only because he is named on the coffin of Tjuiu, CG 51002; the relationship is not referred to on his own monuments.

876. Mummy wrappings of Ahmose Henuttemehu, Maspero Momies royales, 543-4 fig.13. This woman is not included in table 1 (hmt nsw),

as she does not have the title. However, since her daughter is s3t nsw snt nsw, the father of the child should be a king (1.4; see also 2.2.6). Tenthapi was either hmt nsw, but the title is not recorded, or we have an example of a woman who had a sexual relationship with the king, but was not hmt nsw.

877. Nofru, wife of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe, uses the title  snmt (?) w3hj m stj jdt.s, Gabet RT 12(1892), 217, which must be an early example of this kind of title. The meaning of the verb is uncertain. might be a miscopying or variant sign form of , and the verb may be snm, the causitive of wnm "to eat", Wb 4, 164.1-8, Faulkner Concise Dictionary, 232. As well as "to feed" and "to consume", it has the meaning "to supply", which might possibly fit here. The phrase might alternatively be read snXt m w3hj "who X's in the hall", although a suitable verb is not recorded in Wb. jdt "fragrance" was confused with the word j3dt "dew" from the Middle Kingdom, Wb 1, 152.

878. Thus the cup in Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, 129 no.555 cannot belong to the 19th dynasty as suggested.

879. Davies Amarna 6, pl.25.

880. Urk. IV, 2037.19.

881. Daressy RT 14(1893), 31 no.15.

882. Sander-Hansen Gottesweib, 24; Maspero RT 2(1880), 172.

883. Mutnofret is poorly attested with one short titulary and two occurrences of a title used alone, so it is possible that the title is simply not recorded for her.

884. The type of analysis of titles practised by Goedicke in Thausing - Goedicke Nofretari, 33-4 is probably invalid, as none of the titles which he discusses is unique to that queen.

Section 5.

885. e.g. P Chester Beatty 1 "The Contendings of Horus and Seth" in A.H. Gardiner Late-Egyptian Stories (Bruxelles 1932), 37-60.

886. Cerny JEA 40(1954), 23-9.

887. Brother-sister marriage was found among the kings of Hawaii and the Incas of Peru; as in Egypt, such marriages were not practised by non-royal people, L. Mair Marriage (Penguin Books 1971). In the royal families of Europe, marriages between cousins are common. In particular, the ruling Habsburg families of Spain

and Austria frequently exchanged marriage partners, and both Philip II and Philip IV of Spain married Austrian princesses who were the daughters of their sisters, a type of marriage which was not allowed to their subjects. However, one purpose of royal marriages in Europe was to cement an alliance between the two countries involved. Brother-sister marriage, even if it had been allowed, could not have served this purpose, so in this respect the background of European royal marriages differs from that of brother-sister marriages in Egypt.

888. Contrary to W. Barta Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnisse der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches (München 1975), 29-32.

889. Urk. IV, 156-162.

890. Urk. IV, 255-258.

891. Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions 2, 327.11-328.6.

892. See also Otto Saeculum 20(1969), 385-411, on the means of legitimisation of the rule of the king, rather than the mechanism by which a successor was chosen; the two are, of course, to some extent related.

893. Possibly at the end of the reign of Amenemhat I, see W. Helck Der Text der Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn (Wiesbaden 1969), and the beginning of Sinuhe, Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories, 3-8, R 5-27; in the reign of Ramesses III, de Buck JEA 23(1937), 152-164.

894. EA 28.

895. Urk. IV, 59.16-60.11.

List of abbreviations used in charts and tables.

A	Ahmose
AI	Amenhotpe I
AII	Amenhotpe II
AIII	Amenhotpe III
AIV	Amenhotpe IV
Akh	Akhenaton
An	ankh
ARK	arm(s) round king
B	baton
C	circlet
Ch	chalice
Cl	cloth
Co	coffin
CR	coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III
cr	crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt
DF	double feathers
F	furniture
Fi	fillet
Fl	flower
FO	funerary objects
G	graffito

HD horns and disk

hn hmt ntr

J jewellery

2J two jars

L label

M menit

N nothing in either hand

Nhn not hmt ntr

NR non-royal birth

OT offering table

PM private monument

PS private stela

PT private tomb

R royal birth

r renpet

Reg regency of Hatshepsut for Thutmose III

RS royal stela

RST representation of a statue in two-dimensions

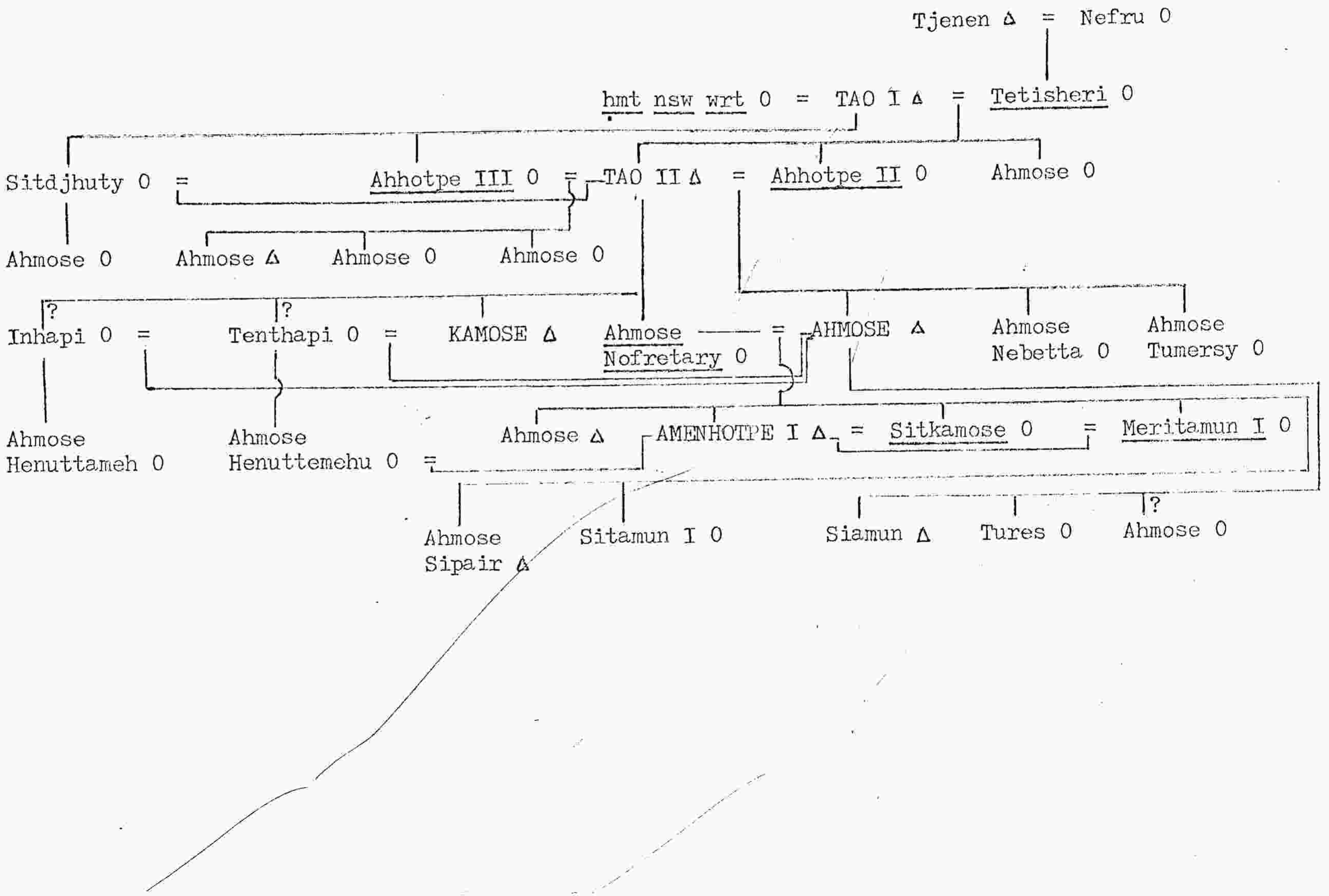
RT royal tomb

S scarab

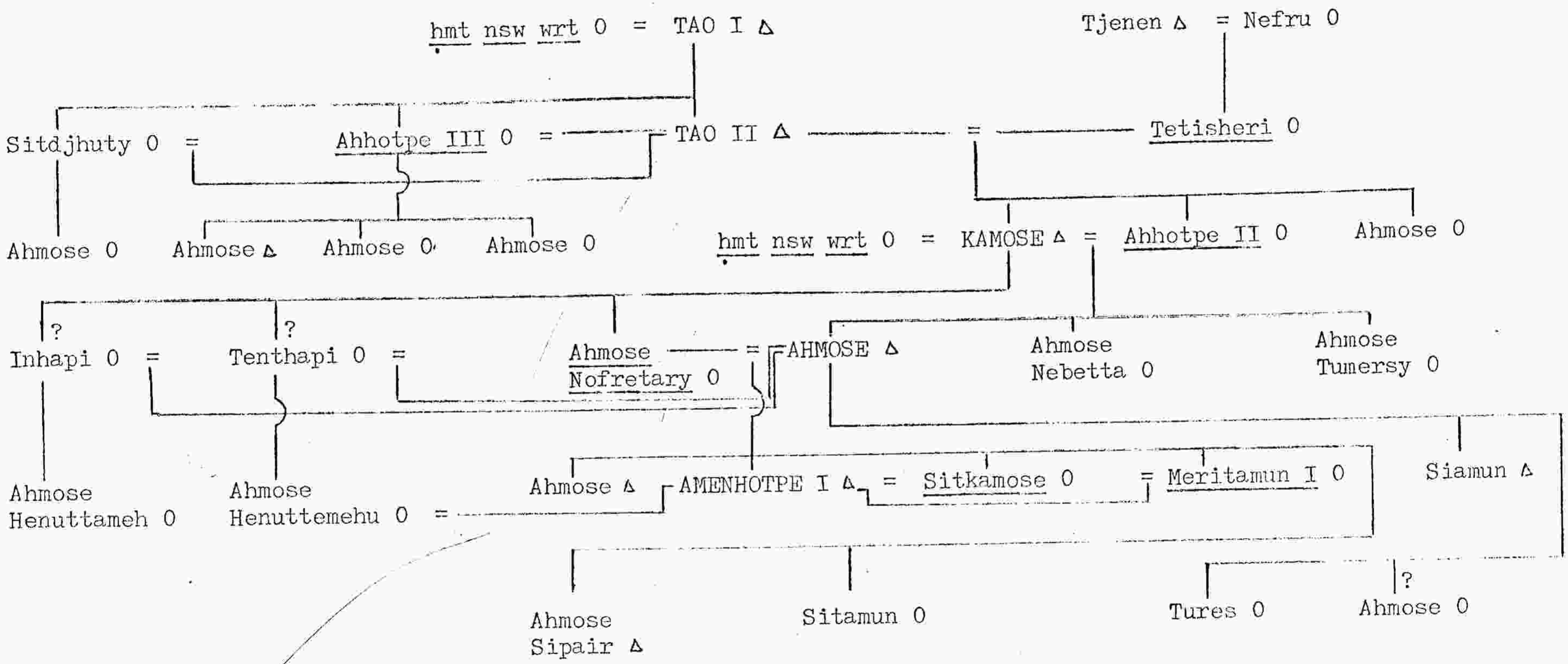
Sc sceptre

Si	sistrum
ST	statue
St	statuette
TI	Thutmose I
TII	Thutmose II
TIII	Thutmose III
TIV	Thutmose IV
TS	temple scene
U	uraeus
2U	double uraeus
3U	treble uraeus
VH	vulture headdress
vh	vulture head
W	whisk

Genealogical Table 1, Possible reconstruction of royal family from Tao I to Ahmose (capitals denote a king, underlining a queen).



Genealogical Table 2, Alternative reconstruction to Genealogical Table 1 (capitals denote a king; underlining a queen.



Genealogical Table 3, Reconstruction of the royal family from Thutmose I to Amenhotpe III (capitals denote a king; underlining a queen).

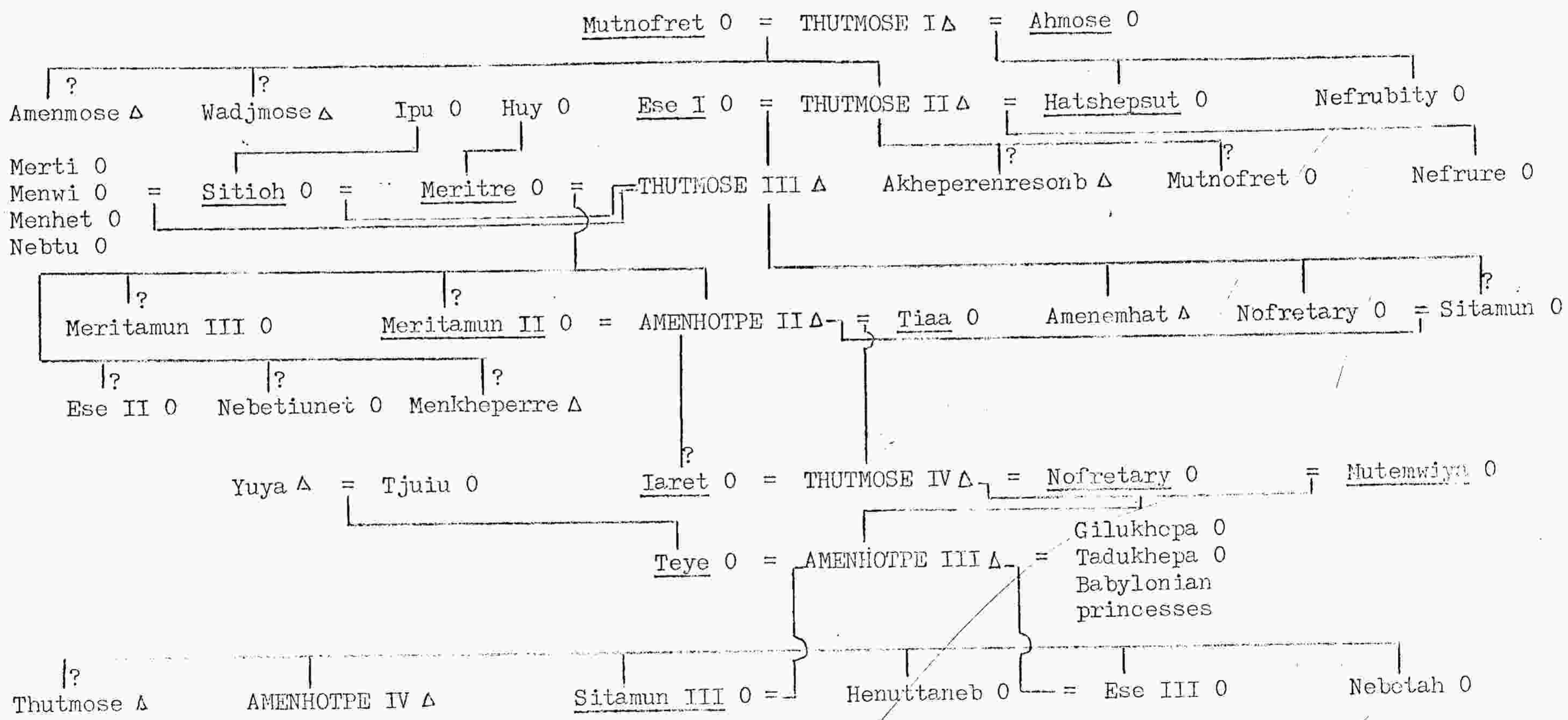


Table 1, hmt nsw

Name	s3t nsw	snt nsw	Father royal	Father non-royal	Name	hmt nsw only	Mother hmt nsw wrt	Mother s3t nsw	Mother non-royal	Husband	Children
1 Sitdjhuty	✓		Tao I (?)							Tao II	✓
2 Inhapi	✓		✓							Ahmose (?)	✓
3 Ahmose Henuttemehu	✓	✓	Ahmose (?)		Tenthapi			✓		Amenhotpe I (?)	
4 Nebtu				✓					✓	Thutmose III	
5 Merti			foreign (?)							Thutmose III	
6 Menwi			foreign (?)							Thutmose III	
7 Menhet			foreign (?)							Thutmose III	
8 Ese III	✓		Amenhotpe III		Teye		✓			Amenhotpe III	
9 Henut				✓					✓		
10 Tetisheri				s3b Tjenen	Nefru				nbt pr	Tao I or II	✓
11 Ahhotpe II	✓	✓	Tao I or II		Tetisheri	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose			Tao II or Kamose	✓
12 Mutnofret				✓						Thutmose I	✓
13 Ese I				✓						Thutmose II	✓
14 Mutemwiya				✓						Thutmose IV	✓

Table 2, *hmt nsw wrt*

Name	*s3t nsw*	*snt nsw*	Father		Mother				Husband	Children
			royal	non-royal	Name	*hmt nsw* only	*hmt nsw wrt*	non-royal		
1 Ahhotpe I										
2 Ahhotpe III	✓		Tao I (?)						Tao II (?)	✓
3 Ahmose Nofretary	✓	✓	Tao II or Kamose				after year 18 of Ahmose		Ahmose	✓
4 Sitkamose	✓	✓	Ahmose		Ahmose Nofretary (?)		✓		Amenhotpe I	
5 Meritamun I	✓	✓	Ahmose		Ahmose Nofretary		✓		Amenhotpe I	
6 Ahmose		✓		father of Thutmose I (?)				?	Thutmose I	✓
7 Hatshepsut	✓	✓	Thutmose I		Ahmose		✓		Thutmose II	✓
8 Sitioh				✓	Ipu			*mn^ct wrt* *k3t ntr*	Thutmose III	
9 Meritre Hatshepsut				✓	Huy (?)			*dw3t ntr*	Thutmose III	✓
10 Meritamun II	✓	✓	Thutmose III		Meritre Hatshepsut (?)		✓		Amenhotpe II	
11 Tiaa				✓					Amenhotpe II	✓
12 Iaret			Amenhotpe II (?)						Thutmose IV	
13 Nofretary	✓	✓		✓					Thutmose IV	
14 Teye				Yuya	Tjuiu				Amenhotpe III	✓

Table 2, cont.

	Father				Mother					
Name	s3t nsw	snt nsw	royal	non-royal	Name	ḥmt nsw only	ḥmt nsw wrt	non-royal	Husband	Children
15 Sitamun III			Amenhotpe III		Teye				Amenhotpe III	
16 Nebet-nehet (?)										
17 Tetisheri				s3b Tjenen	Nefru			nbt pr	Tao I or II	✓
18 Ahhotpe II			Tao I or II		Tetisheri				Tao II or Kamose	✓
19 Ese I									Thutmose II	✓
20 Mutemwiya									Thutmose IV	✓

Table 3. mwt nsw

Name	s3t nsw	snt nsw	hmt nsw	hmt nsw wrt	Father royal	Father other	Mother Name	Mother hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	Son
1 Tetisheri			✓	after year 18 of Ahmose		s3b Tjenen	nbt pr Nefru			Tao II or Kamose
2 Ahhotpe II	✓	✓	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	Tao I or II		Tetisheri	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	Ahmose
3 Ahmose Nofretary	✓	✓	✓	✓	Tao II or Kamose				after year 18 of Ahmose	Amennotpe I
4 Senisonb						✓				Thutmose I
5 Mutnofret			✓			✓				Thutmose II
6 Ahmose		✓	✓	✓		father of Thutmose I (?)				Hatshepsut
7 Ese I				reign of Thutmose III		✓				Thutmose III
8 Meritre Hatshepsut			✓	✓		✓	dw3t ntr Huy			Amenhotpe II
9 Tiaa			✓	✓		✓				Thutmose IV
10 Mutemwiya				reign of Amenhotpe III		✓				Amenhotpe III
11 Teye			✓	✓		Yuya	Tjuiu			Amenhotpe IV

Table 4, s3t nsw

Name	snt nsw	hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	King	Father s3 nsw	Father non-royal	Mother Name	Mother hmt nsw only	Mother hmt nsw wrt	Mother other
1 Sitdjhuty		✓		Tao I (?)						
2 Ahmose										
3 Ahhotpe III			✓	Tao I (?)						
4 Ahmose				Tao II			Ahhotpe III		✓	hnmt nfr hdt
5 Ahmose				Tao II			Ahhotpe III		✓	hnmt nfr hdt
6 Ahmose	✓			Tao II			Sitdjhuty	✓		
7 Ahhotpe II		✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	Tao I or II			Tetisheri	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	
8 Ahmose Tumerey	✓			Tao II or Kamose			Ahhotpe II	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	
9 Ahmose Nebetta				Tao II or Kamose			Ahhotpe II	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	
10 Ahmose Henutempet							Ahhotpe		after year 18 of Ahmose	
11 Ahmose Nofretary	✓		✓	Tao II or Kamose					after year 18 of Ahmose	

Table 4, s3t nsw (cont.)

Name	snt nsw	hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	King	Father s3 nsw	Father non-royal	Mother Name	Mother hmt nsw only	Mother hmt nsw wrt	Mother other
12 Inhapi		✓								
13 Tenthapi										
14 Sitkamose	✓		✓	Ahmose			Ahmose Nofretary (?)		✓	
15 Meritamun I	✓		✓	Ahmose			Ahmose Nofretary		✓	
16 Sitamun I	✓			Ahmose			Ahmose Nofretary		✓	
17 Ahmose Henuttamch				Ahmose (?)			Inhapi	✓		
18 Ahmose Henuttemehu	✓	✓		Ahmose (?)			Tenthapi			s3t nsw
19 Turcy				Ahmose (?)						
20 Nefrubity				Thutmose I			Ahmose		✓	
21 Hatshepsut	✓		✓	Thutmose I			Ahmose		✓	
22 Nefrure	✓			Thutmose II			Hatshepsut		✓	

Table 4, s3t nsw (cont.)

Name	snt nsw	hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	Father: King	Father: s3 nsw	Father: non-royal	Mother: Name	Mother: hmt nsw only	Mother: hmt nsw wrt	Mother: other
23 Merit-amun II	✓		✓	Thutmose III			Meritre Hatshepsut		✓	
24 Merit-amun III				Thutmose III			Meritre Hatshepsut		✓	
25 Nebetiunet				Thutmose III			Meritre Hatshepsut		✓	
26 Ese II				Thutmose III			Meritre Hatshepsut		✓	
27 Nofretary				Thutmose III						
28 Sitamun II				Thutmose III (?)						
29 Iaret	✓		✓	Amenhotpe II (?)						
30 Tentamun				Thutmose IV (?)	--					
31 Amenemopet				Thutmose IV (?)						
32 Tiaa II				Thutmose IV						
33 Pikawiya				Thutmose IV						

Table 4, s3t nsw (cont.)

Name	snt nsw	hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	King	Father s3 nsw	Father non-royal	Mother Name	Mother hmt nsw only	Mother hmt nsw wrt	Mother other
34 Nebetia					Siatum					
35 Pipuy							Iuy			
36 Meritptah										
37 Nefruamun										
38 Wiay										
39 Henutiunu										
40 Khatnesu										
41 Sitamun III			✓	Amenhotpe III			Teye		✓	
42 Ese III		✓		Amenhotpe III			Teye		✓	
43 Henuttaneb				Amenhotpe III			Teye		✓	
44 Nebetah				Amenhotpe III			Teye		✓	

Table 5, snt nsw

Name	s3t nsw	hmt nsw only	hmt nsw wrt	Father royal	Father other	Mother Name	Mother hmt nsw only	Mother hmt nsw wrt	Mother other	Husband or date of death
1 Ahmose	[?]									before year 22 of Ahmose
2 Ahmose	✓			Tao II		Sitdjhuty	✓			after year 18 of Ahmose
3 Ahhotpe II	✓	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose	Tao I or II		Tetisheri	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose		Tao II or Kamose
4 Ahmose Nebetta	✓			Tao II or Kamose		Ahhotpe II	✓	after year 18 of Ahmose		after year 18 of Ahmose
5 Ahmose Nofretary	✓		✓	Tao II or Kamose				after year 18 of Ahmose		Ahmose
6 Sitkamose	✓		✓	Ahmose		Ahmose Nofretary (?)		✓		Amenhotpe I
7 Meritamun I	✓		✓	Ahmose		Ahmose Nofretary		✓		Amenhotpe I
8 Citamun I	✓			Ahmose		Ahmose Nofretary		✓		Died reign of Thutmose I (?)
9 Ahmose Henuttemehu	✓	✓		Ahmose (?)		Tenthapi			s3t nsw	Amenhotpe I (?)
10 Ahmose			✓		Father of Thutmose I (?)					Thutmose I
11 Hatshepsut	✓		✓	Thutmose I		Ahmose		✓		Thutmose II
12 Nefrure	✓			Thutmose II		Hatshepsut		✓		Died reign of Thutmose III
13 Merit-amun II	✓		✓	Thutmose III		Merikre Hatshepsut		✓		Amenhotpe II
14 name lost	[✓]			Thutmose III						
15 Iaret	✓		✓	Amenhotpe II (?)						Thutmose IV

Notes to Table 1.

1. Attested on the mummy wrappings of her daughter, Ahmose, Schiaparelli Relazione 1, 13-21, pls.6-7. For probable identification as a daughter of Tao I, see 2.1 no.9.
2. Mummy wrappings, Maspero Momies royales, 530, fig.6; stela in TT 53, pl.71. Her daughter Henuttameh is probably a child of Ahmose (2.2.5). This king will, therefore, be Inhapi's husband.
3. Coffin and mummy wrappings, CG 61012, Maspero Momies royales, 543-44, fig.13. Her mother is named only as the s3t nsw Tent-hapi, but Henuttemehu!s title snt nsw implies that she was the sister of a king, and therefore the daughter of one (1.4). For probable father see 2.2.6.
4. KV 34, pl.54; TT 24 (Nebamun), Urk. IV, 152-3.

5-7. Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses.

8. van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 42; see also Table 4 no.42.
9. Canopic jar, Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 144; see also PM 1^2 ii, 840 for a faience vase of Henut in the Michaelidis collection, unpublished.
10. Filiation on mummy wrappings, Murray Anc.Eg. 1934, 69, fig.4A-C. On contemporary monuments, Tetisheri is called mwt nsw only. On the posthumous stela, CG 34002, she is hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt. She is included in this table because she was probably a hmt nsw of Tao I or II during his lifetime, but not his hmt nsw wrt (2.3.3.1). Tetisheri is normally accepted as the wife of Tao I, but see 2.3.1,2.
11. Long titularies on e.g. the stela of Ahmose, CG 34001, and coffin, CG 61006. For the identification of the owner of the coffin with the mother of Ahmose, see 2.3.1. From CG 34002, we know that Tetisheri is the mother of Ahmose's mother, who, we learn from CG 34009, is Ahhotpe (2.1 nos.2,4). Although on contemporary monuments, Tetisheri only has the title mwt nsw, the posthumous titles hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt show that her husband and Ahhotpe's father was a king, For his identification and that of Ahhotpe's husband, see 2.3.1,2. For the inclusion of Ahhotpe in this table as hmt nsw only, see 2.3.1 and 2.3.3.1.
12. CG 572; CG 34031, pl.51; block from temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri, pl.102. Mutnofret is first attested in the reign

of Thutmose III.

13. Ese is not attested with the title hmt nsw, though she appears with that of hmt nsw wrt in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, Ricke Totentempel, 30 and n.5. She is known only from the reign of her son Thutmose III. She is unlikely to have been hmt nsw wrt in the reign of her husband Thutmose II, since this title was borne then by Hatshepsut. If all king's wives have the title hmt nsw, Ese will have had it in Thutmose II's reign.
14. Mutemwiya is attested as mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt from the reign of her son, Amenhotpe III. Her husband Thutmose IV has two known hmt nsw wrt, Iaret and Nofretary, and Mutemwiya is unlikely to have had the title during his reign. As in the case of Ese, she was probably hmt nsw at this time. (See also Table 2 no.20).

Notes to Table 2.

1. Coffin, JE 28501, von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund, 22, pl.11. For the identity of this queen, see 2.3.1 and 2.3.3.1.
2. See 2.1 no.10. Ahhotpe III is probably not to be identified with Ahhotpe II, see 2.3.2. She is not given the title hmt nsw wrt, but the use of hnmt nfr hdt implies that she held this position, since the title was only used by women who were hmt nsw wrt from the Second Intermediate Period onwards (4.4.6).
3. e.g. coffin, CG 61003; "Donation" stela, Ibrahim Harari ASAE 56(1959), pls.1,2; stela of Ahmose, CG 34002. s3t nsw snt nsw implies that she is the daughter of a king and the sister of a king (1.4). Therefore, she should be the sister of Ahmose, and the daughter of his father, for a discussion of whose identity see 2.3.1,2. On a vase from Sinai, Ahmose Nofretary is called s3t hmt nsw wrt (2.1 no.8), which could refer either to Ahhotpe II by her later title, or to the hmt nsw wrt of Ahmose's father. For children, see 2.2.
4. Mummy wrappings, Maspero Momies royales, 541. For a discussion of her position in the family, see 2.2.1.
5. Coffin, Wilkinson MSS v, 193. For a discussion of this queen, see 2.2.2.

6. e.g. CG 34009; vases, Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 95 figs.25-7. For the significance of the title snt nsw, see 1.4, suggesting that she is a (half-)sister of Thutmose I; (see also 2.4.1). Her children are Nefrubity and Hatshepsut (Table 4 nos.20,21).
7. e.g. sarcophagus, Carter JEA 4(1917), 114-18. Ahmose is shown as the mother of Hatshepsut in the birth scenes in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple. As king, Hatshepsut stresses the fact that Thutmose I is her father. She is the mother of Nefrure (Table 4 no.22).
8. e.g. Petrie SC, pl.24, 18.2.54,55; Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 168, pl.9 no.11; pl.134; for filiation, see CG 23034, pl.72. Since Sitioh's mother is not hmt nsw, and Sitioh does not have the title s3t nsw, it is safe to conclude that she is of non-royal birth.
9. e.g. temple of Soleb, pls.36,37; CG 42121, pl.52; Florence inv.no.7241, Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno, 32 no.27, fig.26. For possible identification as a daughter of Huy, see 2.4.3. Her children are Amenhotpe II and probably those mentioned on the statue of Huy (2.3.4).
10. Owner of TT 358, Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn. For identification as a daughter of Thutmose III, see 2.4.4.1. For the probable identification of Meritre Hatshepsut as mother, see 2.4.3.
11. Doorway of Amenhotpe II with scene on lintel, name changed from Meritre (pl.12; 3.1.1.5); stela of Amenhotpe II, pl.13. She is the mother of Thutmose IV. She is never called s3t nsw.
12. Iaret's only occurrence with the title hmt nsw wrt is on a rock stela at Konosso, pl.26, where she follows Thutmose IV, who is presumably her husband. She is named with the same king on a rock stela at Serabit el-Khadim, Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.9. For Iaret's probable parentage, see 1.4. The reading of the name of the queen is uncertain, see Harris SAK 2(1975), 95 n.5.
13. Nofretary is attested on a series of stelae from Giza, where she appears with Thutmose IV, pls.14-20. Her name is linked with the prenomen of Thutmose IV on a scarab, Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen. 295 no.342, pl.35. Harris SAK 2(1975),

95-8 suggests that the queen on the stelae is the king's "ancestress" Ahmose Nofretary. However, her cult was at Thebes, and there is no reason to believe that the king's name would be linked with hers on a scarab, whereas in the next reign, the names of the king and his hmt nsw wrt Teye often appear together on scarabs. I think we should accept Nofretary as a hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose IV. She is not attested as s3t nsw. This title could have been omitted, but she was probably of non-royal birth.

14. e.g. Borchardt Porträtkopf, 14-15; TT 192, Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 492-500; Teye's parentage is given on the large commemorative scarabs of Amenhotpe III, Blankenberg-van Delden The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III (Leiden 1969); Urk. IV, 1737-1741.
15. Kohl tube, Wallis Egyptian Ceramic Art, 21 fig.34; dockets, Hayes JNES 10(1951), fig.8 no.95; Leahy Malkata 4, pl.9 no.107. For filiation, see box fragments, BM 5899A,B, Urk. IV, 1174.
16. Canopic jars, Legrain ASAE 4(1903), 144 and 5(1905), 141. The canopic jars are among a number bought by Legrain in 1903. They all appear to belong to the 18th dynasty, so Nebetnehet has been included in the table. She is unknown from monuments, and it is impossible to know to which reign she belongs; there is no obvious gap in which to place her.
17. See Table 1 no.10.
18. See Table 1 no.11.
19. See Table 1 no.13.
20. Birth scene at Luxor, pl.55; BM 43, HT 7, pl.6; statues by "Memnon colossi", Wilkinson MSS i 92,96, v 181; lower part of seated statue by the storehouses to the north of the Ramesseum, unpublished; cosmetic spoon, Louvre E 3671, Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, 78.

Notes to Table 3.

1. See Table 1 no.10.
2. See Table 1 no.11.
3. See Table 2 no.3. Ahmose Nofretary's association with Amenhotpe I leaves no doubt that mwt nsw refers to him.

4. Stela of Thutmose I, year 1, CG 34006, Urk.IV, 81.1; scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, pl.9, the title is partly destroyed, but must be restored as [mwt nsw mwt] bjtj ; pyramidion of Tety, Ashmolean Museum 1896-1908 E 3926, Newberry PSBA 35(1905), 102.
5. See Table 1 no.12.
6. See Table 2 no.6.
7. KV 34, pl.54; CG 42072; filiation of Thutmose III on his mummy wrappings, Maspero Momies royales, 548; see also, Table 1 no.13.
8. TT 93, pl.137; TT 72, pl.42; CG 24112, Urk. IV, 1368. For probable identification of Huy as Meritre's mother, see 2.4.3.
9. e.g. with Thutmose IV, CG 1167; CG 42080; Abdul Qader Muhammed ASAE 60(1968), 244 no.8, 248-9, pl.25.
10. Birth scenes at Luxor, pls.57-60; with Amenhotpe III, scene in temple of Luxor, pl.21; TT 226, pl.43; graffito at Aswan, pl.44.
11. Strictly speaking, Teye as mwt nsw falls outside my date limit, as she did not obtain the title until the accession of Amenhotpe IV.

Notes to Table 4.

1. See Table 1 no.1.
2. Fragment of a limestone stela from the temple of Thutmose I, Karnak North, Jacquet BIFAO 75(1975), pl.17A. The princess stands behind a much larger figure, most of which is lost, but which is probably male as there is no indication of a dress strap on the remaining shoulder. The scene almost certainly shows a king before a deity, since a princess would hardly follow anyone else. If the king were being offered to, he would be more likely to be seated. Ahmose's name is written with the earlier form of the moon hieroglyph, dating the stela to before year 22 of Ahmose (2). The rough form of the hieroglyphs suggests a date no later than the beginning of the reign of Ahmose.
3. See Table 2 no.2.
4-5. Statuette of prince Ahmose, Louvre E 15682, Winlock JEA 10(1924), pls.18-19. Although there is no filiation on the

statue, it is obvious that we have here members of the family of the dead prince. The grouping of the names suggests that Tao and Ahhotpe are his parents. The two princesses are called snt.f, a kinship term which includes the meaning "sister". It probably means this here, as the impression is of a small family group. Tao and Ahhotpe will therefore also be the parents of the two s3t nsw. For the identity of the king, see 2.1 no.10.

6. Mummy wrappings, Schiaparelli Relazione 1, 13-21, pls.6-7, with the later form of the moon hieroglyph (2).
7. See Table 1 no.11.
8. Coffin of a child called Anat in the Hermitage, Leningrad, Troy GM 35(1979), 90. Ahmose Tumerisy is filiated to the hmt nsw wrt Ahhotpe, and is therefore a daughter of a king. Ahhotpe should be identified with the mother of Nebpehtire Ahmose, since we know of no other king's mother called Ahhotpe (2.3.1).
9. Statuette, Louvre N 496, Maspero Momies royales, 636. Nebetta is filiated to the hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw Ahhotpe, and is therefore the daughter of a king. As with no.8, Ahhotpe should be identified with the mother of Nebpehtire Ahmose.
10. Coffin, Wilkinson MSS x, 79-80, xviii, 24 (2.3.3.2).
11. See Table 2 no.3.
12. See Table 1 no.2.
13. Mummy wrappings of daughter, Ahmose Henuttemehu, Maspero Momies royales, 534-44, fig.13.
14. See Table 2 no.4.
15. See Table 2 no.5.
16. Coffin, CG 61009; royal stela, pl.107. See 2.2.3.
17. Stela in TT 53, pl.71. See 2.2.5.
18. See Table 1 no.3.
19. Scarab, Newberry Scarabs, pl.26 no.18; three 19th dynasty commemorative scenes of the royal family, TT 2 and TT 359, LD 3, 2a,d; UC 8523, Stewart Egyptian Stelae, pl.45 no.3.
20. Two scenes in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.145; Champollion Mon., 192 no.5. The princess appears with Thutmose I and his hmt nsw wrt Ahmose. The obvious inference is that she is their daughter.
21. See Table 2 no.7.

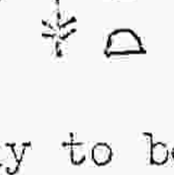
22. In the tomb of Ahmose Pennekhbet, Nefrure is referred to as s3(t).s wrt (Urk. IV, 34.16), where the pronoun refers to Hatshepsut.
23. Scene in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri, pl.113. The titles s3t nsw snt nsw mean that she is the daughter of a king and sister of a king (1.4). The chapel dates from the end of the reign of Thutmose III. The best explanation of Meritamun's titles is that they refer to Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II respectively, suggesting a period of coregency between the two kings, as is often postulated on other grounds.
24-26. Statue of Huy, BM 1280, unpublished. See 2.4.3 for probable identification as children of Thutmose III and Meritre Hatshepsut. One of the Meritamuns is surely identical with no.23. A s3t nsw Meritamun is also shown on a statue of the jmj-r3 k3wt nbt nt nsw Benermerut. As he held office under Thutmose III (Urk. IV, 1372-3), the princess should probably be identified with one of the Meritamuns of BM 1280.
27. KV 34, pl.54. Nofretary stands behind the ḥmt nsw Meritre, the ḥmt nsw Sitioh, and the ḥmt nsw Nebtu, who are all wives of Thutmose III. It is logical to conclude that Nofretary is also a member of Thutmose III's family, probably his daughter.
28. Stela of Nebetkabeny, CG 34117, pl.115. The stela dates to the reign of Amenhotpe II, while Sitamun may have been a daughter of Thutmose III (2.4.4.2).
29. See Table 2 no.12.
30. Canopic jars, Carter et al. Tomb of Thoutmosis IV, 7 no.7. The jars were found in the tomb of Thutmose IV, suggesting that Tentamun was related to that king, probably being his daughter.
31. Wooden label, Newberry PSBA 25(1903), 360 no.54, pl.2 no.3; scene in TT 78, Bouriant MMAF 5 fasc.2, 426-7, pl.2. The identification of the two is likely, but not certain since the name is common.
32-39. Thirteen wooden labels, Birch Facsimiles, pl.12 nos.1,3-14; Černý MSS, 17.57.5-7. A group of wooden labels naming eight different s3t nsw was found by Rhind in a tomb at Thebes. Nos. 32 and 33 are named as children of Thutmose IV, and it is likely that the others in the group are also members of his family. However, Nebetia is s3t s3 nsw Siamun, so they are not all daughters of the king. Pipuy is called s3t nsw Pjpwjj

dd.n.s t3 šrt t3 šrt n Jwjj "s3t nsw Pipuy called Tasherit the daughter of Iuy".

40. Wooden label, Wiedemann ZÄS 21(1883), 123-6. This label is similar in type to nos.32-9, and names the same officials as on the label of Tiaa. Khatnesu belongs to the pr n3 n msw nsw, and should be a member of Thutmose IV's family.
41. See Table 2 no.15.
42. Kohl tubes, CG 44521; Newberry PSBA 35(1913), 158; bracelet plaque, MMA 44.2.1, pl.39; scene at Soleb, LD 3, 86b. See also Table 1 no.8.
43. Colossal statue group of Amenhotpe III and Teye from Medinet Habu, Cairo Museum, pl.125. This is a family group, and Henut-taneb must be a daughter of Amenhotpe III and Teye. Filiation to Teye is found on two vases: 1) MMA 26.7.908, pl.159; 2) referred to by van de Walle CdE 43/85(1968), 39,54. In both cases the name is fragmentary, Henut[...], but unless there is another daughter of Amenhotpe III and Teye, who is otherwise unknown, we must restore Henut[taneb].
44. Colossal statue group of Amenhotpe III and Teye from Medinet Habu, Cairo Museum, pl.125. The inscription by one of the figures of the princesses reads s3t nsw mrjjt.f (Nbt^{c}h) ms(t).n [hmt nsw] wrt (Tjj) "s3t nsw beloved of him (Nebetah) born to the [hmt nsw] wrt (Teye).

Notes to Table 5.

1. Northampton et al. Theban Necropolis, 17 no.4, pl.16 no.3. The provenance and the phrase nbt jm3h show that this is a funerary object. The earlier form of the moon hieroglyph is used, so the owner must have died before 22 of Ahmose.
2. See Table 4 no.6.
3. Coffin, CG 61006; see also CG 34001, where she is called snt jtjj. See also Table 1 no.11.
4. See Table 4 no.9. The statuette is dated by the later form of the moon hieroglyph (2).
5. See Table 2 no.3.
6. See Table 2 no.4.
7. See Table 2 no.5.

8. The title occurs only on posthumous monuments: statue of Mut, Benson - Gourlay Temple of Mut in Asher, 150-1, 297-9 no.4; TT 2, LD 3, 2a. See 2.2.3.
9. Mummy wrappings, Maspero Momies royales, 543-4, fig.13; limestone fragment, UC 14218, Stewart Egyptian Stelae, pl.2 no.1. See 2.2.6.
10. e.g. mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, pl.7, Naville Deir el Bahari 6, pl.164; royal stela, pl.6 (later changed to mwt nsw); private stela, pl.62.
11. Royal stela, pl.6; sarcophagus, Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4 (1917), 14-18.
12. Scarabs, Petrie SC, pl.26, 18.5.38; Newberry Scarabs, pl.28 no.3; see also Hayes Scepter 2, 88. Nefrure has the title snt nsw on scarabs only, and not on larger monuments.
13. Scene in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri, Cairo Museum, pl.113; TT 358, Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn. For Meritre Hatshepsut as mother, see 2.4.4.1.
14. Scene in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri, Cairo Museum, pl.113. Thutmose III offers to the Hathor cow and is followed by two women apparently represented identically, although the back half of the second figure is lost. The first is named in two columns as the ^{1}s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt ntr ḏrt ntr ^{2}ḥnrt mrwt (Mrjjtjmn) ^{c}nḥ.tj mj R^{c}. Over the second figure, the bottom only of two columns of inscription survives. The position of the t in the title before mrjjt.f indicates a restoration of snt nsw on a parallel with the title of Meritamun. In ḥmt nsw, the t would be further to the right, under the ḥmt sign  .

mwt nsw is sometimes written  , but this is unlikely to be the king's mother Ese, as she would hardly follow a daughter of Thutmose III, or be represented identically with her. In offering scenes showing a king before a god, the king may be followed by a mwt nsw, ḥmt nsw wrt, or sometimes a s3t nsw, as here. Just as this figure cannot be the mwt nsw Ese, for similar reasons it cannot be the ḥmt nsw wrt Meritre, who in any case is never snt nsw. The only possibility is therefore that the second woman is, like Meritamun, [s3t nsw sn]t ⌜nsw⌝, these titles of the two princesses being parallel. The identical

representation of the two women and the common titles of relationship make it almost certain that they are sisters.

15. Rock stela, Konosso, pl.26.

Table 6, Distribution of hmt nsw wrt per reign

King	hmt nsw wrt	mwt nsw	relation-ship to king	date
Ahmose	Ahhotpe I		none (?)	before year 22
	Tetisheri	✓	father's mother; mother's mother	after year 13
	Ahhotpe II	✓	mother	after year 18
	Ahmose Nofretary		wife	throughout reign (?)
Amenhotpe I	Ahmose Nofretary	✓	mother	throughout reign
	Sitkamose		wife	before year 8
	Meritamun I		wife	year 8 onwards
Thutmose I	Ahmose Nofretary	✓	none	year 1 of Thutmose I
	Ahmose		wife	throughout reign
Thutmose II	Ahmose		none	died during reign (?)
	Hatshepsut		wife	throughout reign
Hatshepsut	Ahmose	✓	mother	post-humously
Thutmose III	Ese I	✓	mother	died during reign (?)
	Sitioh		wife	died during reign
	Meritre Hatshepsut		wife	second half of reign
Amenhotpe II	Meritre Hatshepsut	✓	mother	?
	Meritamun II		wife	?
	Tiaa		wife	?
Thutmose IV	Tiaa	✓	mother	?
	Iaret		wife	year 7
	Nofretary		wife	?
Amenhotpe III	Mutemwiya	✓	mother	?
	Teye		wife	throughout reign
	Sitamun III		wife and daughter	year 30

Table 7, Categories of material on which hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt are found.

The groups are those given in 1.1. In group 2, in the cases of those women who subsequently became mwt nsw in the reigns of their sons, only material from the reigns of their husbands is included. For the sake of completeness, these women are listed again in group 7, on the basis of material where they are attested as mwt nsw.

Name	FO	PM	ST	RS	TS
Group 1					
Sitdjhuty	+				
Inhapy	+	+			
Henuttemehu	+				
Nebtu		+			
Merti	+				
Menwi	+				
Menhet	+				
Ese III			+		
Henut	+				
Group 2					
Ahmose Nofretary		+		+	+
Ahmose			+	+	
Hatshepsut	+			+	+
Sitioh		+	+	+	+
Meritre Hatshepsut		+			+
Meritamun II	+				

Table 7, (cont.)

Name	FO	PM	ST	RS	TS
Group 2 (cont.)					
Tiaa			+	+	+
Teye		+	+	+	+
Sitamun III		+			
Nebetnehet	+				
Group 3					
Ahhotpe I	+				
Sitkamose	+				
Meritamun I	+				
Iaret				+	
Nofretary				+	
Group 4					
Tetisheri	+			+	
Ahhotpe II	+	+		+	+
Group 5					
Ese I		+	+	+	+
Mutemwiya		+	+		+
Group 6					
Mutnofret		+	+		+

Table 7, (cont.)

Name	FO	PM	ST	RS	TS
Group 7					
Ahmose Nofretary	+	+	+	+	+
Ahmose	+	+			+
Meritre Hatshepsut		+			+
Tiaa		+	+	+	+
Teye	+	+			

Table 8, Ahhotpe I, II & III

Name	s3t nsw	s3t nsw wrt	snt nsw/jtjj	hmt nsw	hmt nsw wrt	hnmt nfr hdt	mwt nsw
Ahhotpe I					+	+	
Ahhotpe III, reign of Tao II		+			(+)	+	
Ahhotpe II, before year 22 of Ahmose	+	+	+				+
Ahhotpe II, after year 18 of Ahmose	+	+	+	+	+	+	

Table 9, Distribution of scene types over the material where they occur.

Type of scene (3.2)	Material: Monumental: Royal: TS	Royal: RS	Private: PS	Private: PT	Private: G	Non-monumental: F	Non-monumental: J	Non-monumental: Ch	Non-monumental: S	Non-monumental: L	RT
A.1	14	16	2								
A.2		1							1		
A.3	1										
A.4	1										
A.5	25+			3							
A.6	2										
A.7		1									
A.8							2				
A.9							1				
A.10				7	1	1		1			
A.11			1								
A.12			1								
A.13										1	
A.14									2		
A.15											1
A.16											1

Table 9, (cont.)

Type of scene (3.2)	Material						
	Monumental					Non-monumental	
	Royal		Private				
	TS	RS	PS	PT	OT	F	S
B.1	11						
B.2	2(?)		1	1			
B.3	2		1				
B.4	1						
B.5	1						
B.6	1						
B.7			2		1		
B.8						1	
B.9			1				
B.10							3
C.1	(1)						
C.2						1	
C.3						1	

Table 10, Action performed by the king in scenes of type A.1, and the deity before whom it takes place.

Monument and Provenance	Action	Deity
UC 14402, unknown (cat. no. 2)	lost	Mont, Lord of Thebes
Pennsylvania University Museum E 10987, door of Ahmose, temple of Buhen (cat. no. 6)	King holds w3s sceptre	Horus of Buhen
"Donation" stela, Karnak (cat. no. 12)	King offers bread; rdt t hd	Amun
BM 1835, Qasr Ibrim (cat. no. 13)	King offers bread; sqr t hd jr.f dj cnh	Horus, Lord of Miam
CG 34006, Wadi Halfa region (cat. no. 14)	King has one hand empty, other hand holds ankh; [dw3 ntr] sp 4	?
Berlin Museum inv.no. 15699, Edfu (?) (cat. no. 40)	King holds staff in one hand, in other ankh and mace; htp m-hnw pr	Re-Harakhty
Room VIII, chapel of Anubis, mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat. no. 25)	Figure of king erased, traces of staff and mace before table of offerings	Amun
Fitzwilliam Museum EGA 3100-1943, upper terrace of mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat. no. 29)	?	?

Table 10, (cont.)

Monument and Provenance	Action	Deity
Room VIII, chapel of Anubis, mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat.no.21)	King holds one hand to table of offerings, other hand holds staff and mace; jrt wdn htp ntr jr.f dj ʿnh	Anubis
North-east wall of shrine of 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (cat.no.64)	King offers two jars (scene and caption partly destroyed)	Amon-Re in ithyphallic form
Hathor cow chapel, Deir el-Bahri (cat.no.63)	King holds one hand to table of offerings, other hand holds staff and mace; rdt mɜʿt ʿɜt n Hwthr nbt pt	Hathor cow
Lintel of Amenhotpe II, Karnak (cat.no.68).	King censes, jrt sntr	Amun seated
Cairo temp.no.6/11/26/6, Karnak cachette (cat.no.86)	?	Amon-Re
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no94)	King holds hands by side, empty; dwɜ ntr sp 4	Thoth
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.95)	King censes	Horus-Re, Lord of Sakhbu
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.96)	King offers two jars(?)	Sokar

Table 10, (cont.)

Monument and Provenance	Action	Deity
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.97)	?	Amon-Re
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.98)	King libates	Goddess (name lost)
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.99)	King offers two jars; rdt jrp jr.f dj ᶜnh	Ptah
Stela of Thutmose IV, Giza (cat.no.100)	King offers two jars	Mut
Room XX, temple of Luxor (cat.no.103)	King offers two libation vases before table of offerings; hnp qbhw jr.f dj ᶜnh mj Rᶜ dt	Amun and Mut
Sanctuary, temple of Elephantine (cat.no.116)	King censes and libates before table of offerings; jrt sntr qbhw jr.f dj ᶜnh	Bark of Khnum
South stela, mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III (double scene) (cat.no.143)	King holds god by one hand; god offers ankh to king's nose	a) Sokar-Osiris b) Amon-Re
Scene above niche D, upper terrace, mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat.no.26)	King offers wine	Seated god, probably Amun as later erased

Table 10, (cont.)

Monument and Provenance	Action	Deity
Sanctuary, room X, mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat. no. 27)	King holds staff in one hand, mace in other	Bark of Amun
Sanctuary, room X, mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat. no. 28)	King holds staff in one hand, ankh and mace in other	Bark of Amun
Block from building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak (cat. no. 44)	?	?
Block from mortuary temple of Thutmose III (cat. no. 53)	?	?
CG 34015, mortuary temple of Thutmose III (cat. no. 54)	King holds hands by side empty; dw3 ntr sp 4 n Jmn-R^{c}	Amon-Re
Stela of Thutmose IV, temple of Luxor (cat. no. 87)	?	?

Table 11, Material on which Teye appears divided according to the different types of scene.

Type of scene (3.2)		Category of material								
		Traditional				New				
		TS	RS	PT	PS	F	J	Ch	S	L
Traditional	A.1	1	1		2					
	A.2								1	
	A.10			4		1		1		
New	A.5	25+		3						
sed festival	A.8						2			
	A.9						1			
"informal"	A.13									1
	B.8					1				
"taxogram"	A.14								2	
	B.10								3	
female sphinx	C.1	(1)								
	C.2					1				
	C.3					1				

Table 12, Items worn or carried by individual queens who are listed according to type.

	DF	HD	VH	U	2U	2U +ch	C	Fi	W	An	B	Fl	Sc	Si	M	r	Cl	2J	N	ARK
Type a) Ahmose Nofretary				+	+		+								+				+	
Meritamun I	+																		+	
Ahmose																			+	
Hatshepsut			+	+			+	+	+										+	
Sitioh	+		+						+	+	+		+						+	
Meritre Hatshepsut	+		+	+			+		+	+								+	+	
Meritamun II			+																	
Sit[amun II]			+						+											
Tiaa	+		+	+			+								+					
Nofretary	+		+																+	
Iaret	+									+			+							
Teye	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+

Table 12, (cont.)

	DF	HD	VH	U	2U	2U tch	C	Fi	W	An	B	Fl	Sc	Si	M	r	Cl	2J	N	ARK
Type b) Ahmose Nofretary	+			+				+		+									+	
Ahmose	+		+				+		+	+					?			+	+	
Meritre Hatshepsut	+		+	+	+		+		+				+	+			+	+		+
Tiaa	+		+	+					+				+	+	+					+
Type c) Tetisheri	+		+						+										+	
Ahhotpe II	+		+	+					+	+							?		+	
Mutnofret			+	+					+										+	+
Ese I	+		+		+		+		+										+	
Mutemwiya	+		+	+			+	+	+	+										+
Type d) Senisonb			+																+	
Type e) Ahmose Nofretary																			+	
Type f) Ahmose	+		+																+	
Type g) Hatshepsut	+		+	+						+		+				+				
hmt nsw Inhapi			+								+									
Nebtu																			+	

Table 13, Categories of material on which items of insignia appear, the latter listed in order of frequency.

	Monumental					Non-monumental								
	Royal		Private											
	TS	RS	PT	PS	G	F	J	S	Ch	L	RT	ST	RST	Co	*
VH	+	+	+	+		+	+	+				+	+	+	96
DF	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	85
W	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+		59
N	+	+					+				+	+	+		35
U	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	40
An	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	32
C	+	+	+			+						+	+		28
2U	+		+						+			+	+		23
Fl	+	+	+										+		16
B	+			+								+	+		11
ARK			+	+	+	+						+	+		9
Si	+	+		+									+		7
Sc	+	+	+	+				+					+		7
HD			+	+		+						+			6
2J	+	+		+											4
1U+uh												+			3

* Number of occurrences of item on all material.

Table 14, Distribution of items of insignia worn or carried by queens over different scene types, both arranged in order of frequency.

	DF	VH	W	N	An	2U	U	C	Fl	B	ARK	Sc	Si	2J	HD	*
A.1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	33
A.5	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+		+	+			28
B.1	+	+		+	+			+								11
A.10	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+				+	10
B.2	+	+				+	+	+						+		4
B.3	+	+	+		+			+		+						3
B.10	+	+	+		+		+									3
A.2	+		+		+							+				2
A.6	+	+	+		+											2
A.8	+	+	+	+	+		+									2
A.14	+	+	+		+											2
B.7	+	+	+							+						2
A.3				+												1
A.4	+	+	+									+				1
A.7	+	+	+													1
A.9	+				+											1
A.11		+					+				+					1
A.12	+	+	+		+											1
A.13											+					1
A.15				+												1
A.16				+												1
B.4		+	+													1
B.5				+												1
B.6		?														1
B.8	+	+	+		+											1
B.9	+				+							+				1
C.1																1
C.2							+	+								1
C.3		+	+												+	1
**	67	56	39	29	27	16	14	13	11	9	6	5	4	4	3	

* Number of occurrences of scene type.

** Number of occurrences of item.

Table 15, Distribution of vulture head, uraeus, double uraeus, double uraeus/(with vulture head) and vulture head with uraeus worn with the vulture headdress a) on two-dimensional material, b) on three-dimensional material, c) on two-dimensional representations of statues.

Queen	vh	U	2U	2U+vh	vh + U
a) Tetisheri	1				
Ahhotpe II	2				
Senisonb	1				
Ahmose	13				
Hatshepsut		3			
Mutnofret		1			
Inhapi	1				
Meritre	4		1		
Sit[amun II]	1				
Tiaa	1				
Mutemwiya	7				
Teye	1	1	1		2
	32	5	2		2
b) Tetisheri	1				
Mutnofret		1			
Meritamun II	1				
Tiaa		1			
Teye				2	
Unidentified		5		1	
	2	7		3	
c) Sitioh	1				
Meritre	1				
Teye				3	
Unidentified		2			
	2	2		3	

Table 16, Queens of types a-g, of royal and non-royal birth, and the hmwt nsw together with the items of insignia they use.

	VH	DF	W	N	An	U	C	2U	Fl	B	ARK	Si	Sc	2J	HD	2U+ch
a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
b)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
c)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+					
d)	+			+												
e)				+												
f)	+	+		+												
g)	+	+			+	+	?						+	+		
R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+			+	+		
NR)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
hmt nsw)	+			+						+						
Number of occurrences of objects with depictions of known types of queens.	85	81	57	34	32	28	28	21	16	8	8	7	7	4	4	2

Table 17, Titles occurring more than once showing the types of queen with which they are found.

Type of queen	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	Section
jrjt-p^{c}t	+	+	+		+		+	
wrt hswt	+	+	+		+		+	
wrt j3mt	+	+	+		+		+	
bnrt mrwt	+	+	+		+			1
^{c}3t mrwt		+					+	
m33t Hrw Sth		+						
sm3jjt Hrw		+						
s3t nsw	+	+	+		+		+	
snt nsw	+	+	+		+	+	+	
hmt nsw	+	+	+		+		+	
hmt nsw wrt	+	+	+		+	+	+	
mwt nsw		+	+	+	+			
mwt nsw wrt		+	+					2
hmt ntr	+	+	+		+		+	
drt ntr	+	+					+	
mrjjt ntr	+							
mwt ntr		+	+					
hnmt nfr hdt	+	+	+					
ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s	+	+	+					
hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw	+	+						
hnwt šm^{c}w mhw	+	+	+				?	
hnwt t3wj	+	+	+	+	+		?	1 & 3
hnwt t3wj tm(wj)	+	+					+	
hnwt nt t3w nbw	+	+	+				+	
nbt t3wj	+	+	+				+	3

Tables 18-38 showing the titularies of queens.

The tables are arranged under individual queens. The letter(s) following the queen's name refers to the type of queen (Introduction). The division of the titularies is based on the order of the titles. A line separates different sections of the titularies, which are numbered according to 4.1. If the line is dotted the division is uncertain. Where mwt nsw is separated from the rest of section 2 by a title from section 3, the latter is marked off by lines with [3] placed next the title.

Division 1: the order of the titles is (jrjt-p^{c}t wrt hswt wrt j3mt) + the main sequence of section 2 (4.2.2), s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr hmt nsw/hmt nsw wrt hnmt nfr hdt mwt nsw.

a. without mwt nsw.

b. mwt nsw follows other titles of relationship directly.

c. a title from section 3 intervenes between mwt nsw and the other titles of relationship.

d. with no titles of relationship.

e. with no titles of relationship except mwt nsw, mwt nsw bjtj etc.

Division 2: the order is as in 1, except that the position of hmt ntr varies.

a. hmt ntr follows hmt nsw.

b. hmt ntr is placed between s3t nsw and snt nsw.

c. hmt ntr precedes s3t nsw.

Division 3: the order is as in 1, except that the position of snt nsw varies.

a. snt nsw follows hmt nsw wrt.

Division 4: the order is as in 1, except that wrt j3mt precedes wrt hswt.

Division 5: mwt nsw, mwt nsw bjtj, mwt ntr precede hmt nsw (wrt).

Division 6: titularies which fit into none of the above patterns.

The sources for each titulary are given in lists at the end.

Where an object belongs to the queen in question, this is not stated. If the same titulary occurs more than once for any one queen, it is listed only once on the table. The number of times it appears is indicated by (xa) placed after the number at the top of the column, and the separate occurrences are listed under the sources. The date of the titulary, if known, is put at the bottom of each column. In the case of queens before Thutmose I, the form of the moon hieroglyph is noted.

Table 18, Titulary of Ahhotpe I (a).

	1
1a.	
2) hmt nsw wrt	+
hnmt nfr hdt	+

17th dynasty / early 18th dynasty

Table 19, Titulary of Ahhotpe III (a).

	1
1a.	
2) s3t nsw wrt	+
hnmt nfr hdt	+

Tao II

Table 20, Titularies of Tetisheri (c).

	1	2
1b.		
2) hmt nsw		+
hmt nsw wrt	+	
mwt nsw	+	+
	A	A

Table 21, Titularies of Ahhotpe II (c).

1a.

1

2) hmt ntr nt Jmn

hmt nsw wrt

TII

6.

1

2) hmt nsw

snt jtjj

s3t nsw

mwt nsw špst

(phrases descriptive of Ahhotpe's actions)

hmt nsw

A

1b.

1(x4) 2(x2) 3 4

2) s3t nsw

snt nsw

hmt nsw

hmt nsw wrt

hnmt nfr hdt

mwt nsw

mwt nsw wrt

3) nbt pt

hnwt t3wj

hnwt šm^{c}w mhw

A A

A/AI TII

Table 22, Titularies of Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e).

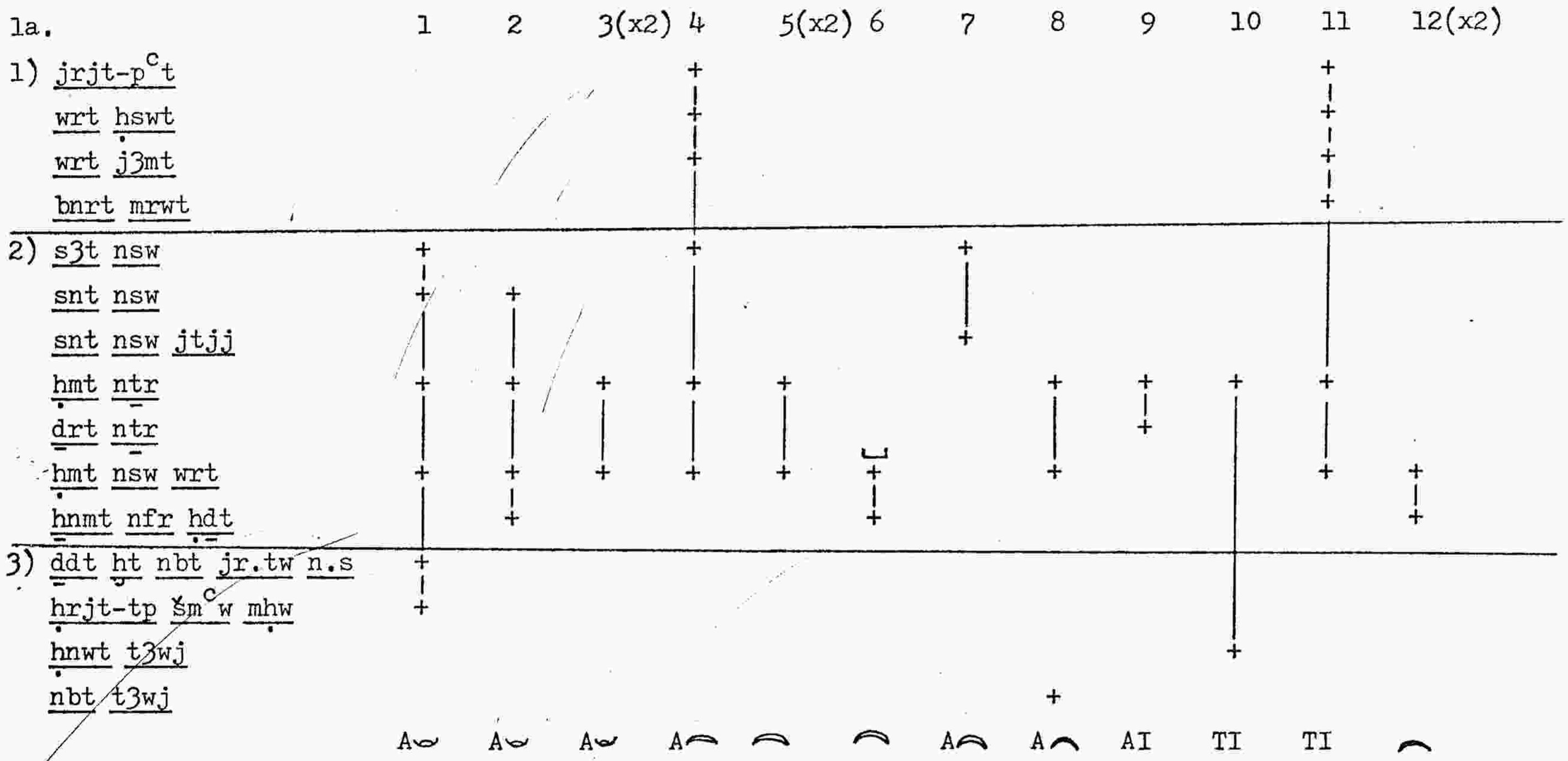


Table 22, Titularies of Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e), cont.

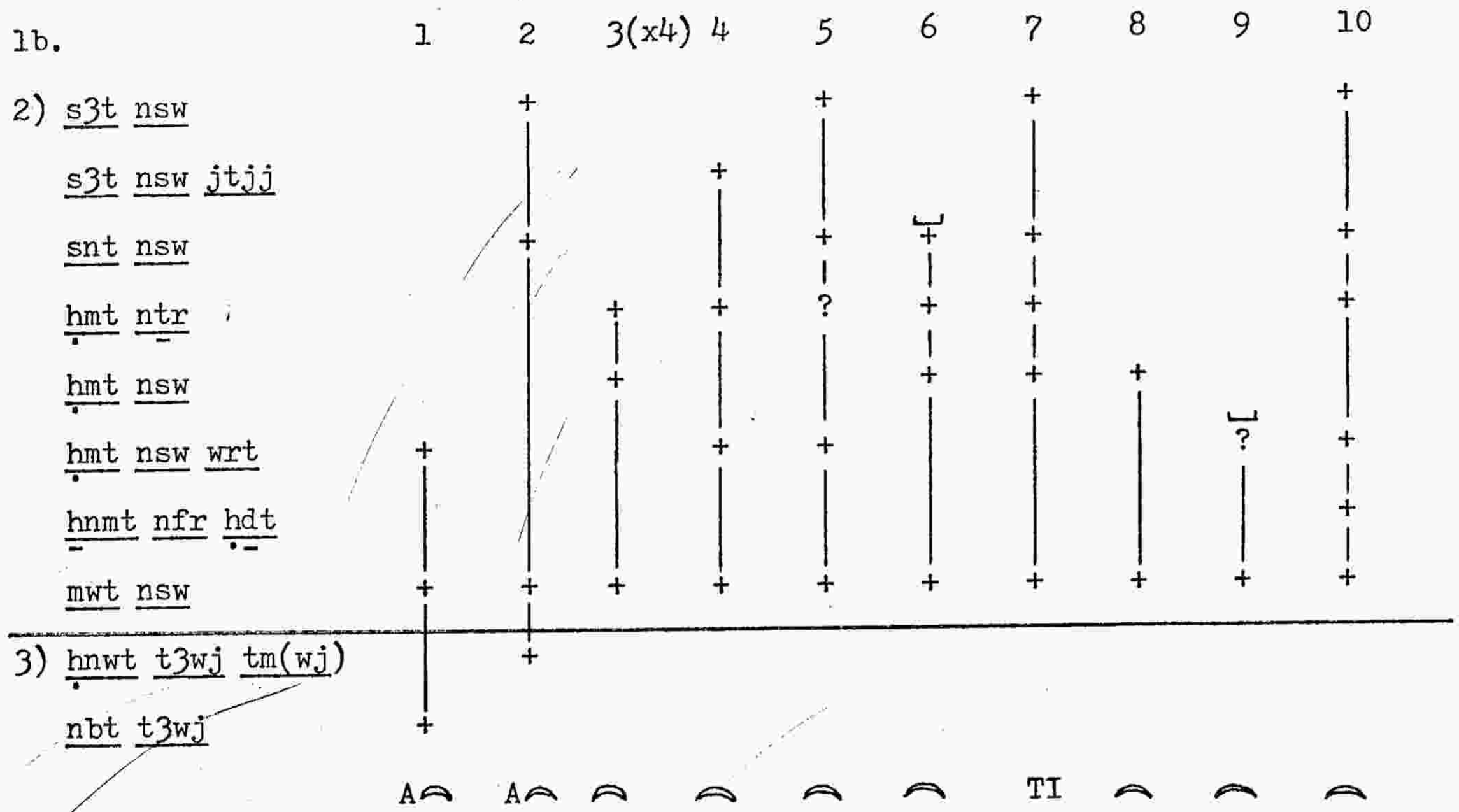


Table 22, Titularies of Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e), cont.

1d.

	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t	+
wrt ḥswt	+
	⌒

2a.

	1
2) s3t nsw	+
snt nsw	+
ḥmt nsw	+
ḥmt ntr	+
	A⌣

2c.

	1	2
2) ḥmt ntr	+	+
s3t nsw	+	+
snt nsw	+	+
ḥmt nsw wrt		+
s3t ḥmt nsw wrt		+
mwt nsw		+
	⌒	⌒

2b.

	1(x4)
2) s3t nsw	+
ḥmt ntr	+
snt nsw	+
	⌒

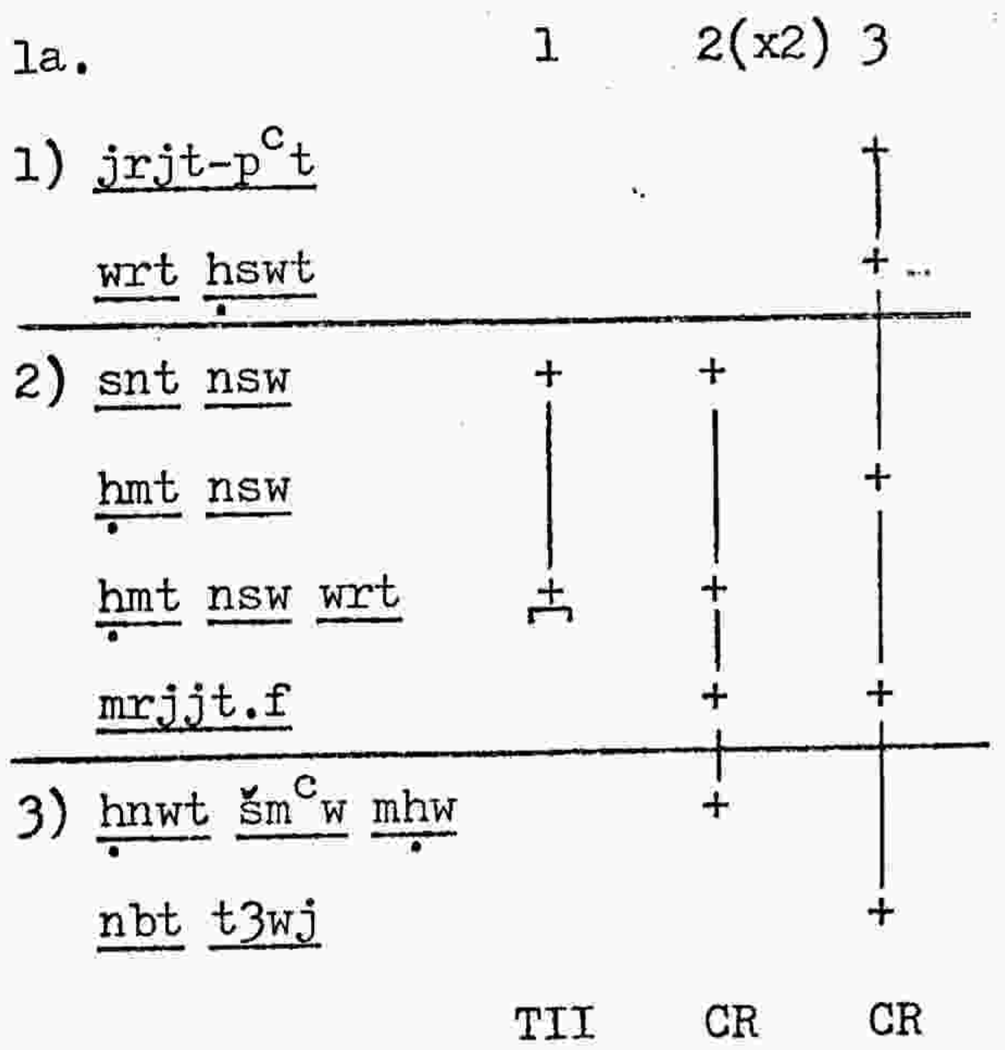
Table 23, Titularies of Sitkamose (a).

1a.	1	2
2) s3t nsw	+	+
snt nsw	+	+
hmt nsw wrt	+	+
	AI?	AI?

Table 24, Titularies of (Ahmose) Meritamun I (a).

1a.	1	2
2) s3t nsw	+	+
snt nsw	+	+
hmt ntr	+	
hmt nsw wrt	+	
3) hnwt t3wj tm(wj)	+	
	AI?	AI?

Table 25, Titularies of Ahmose (a,b,f).



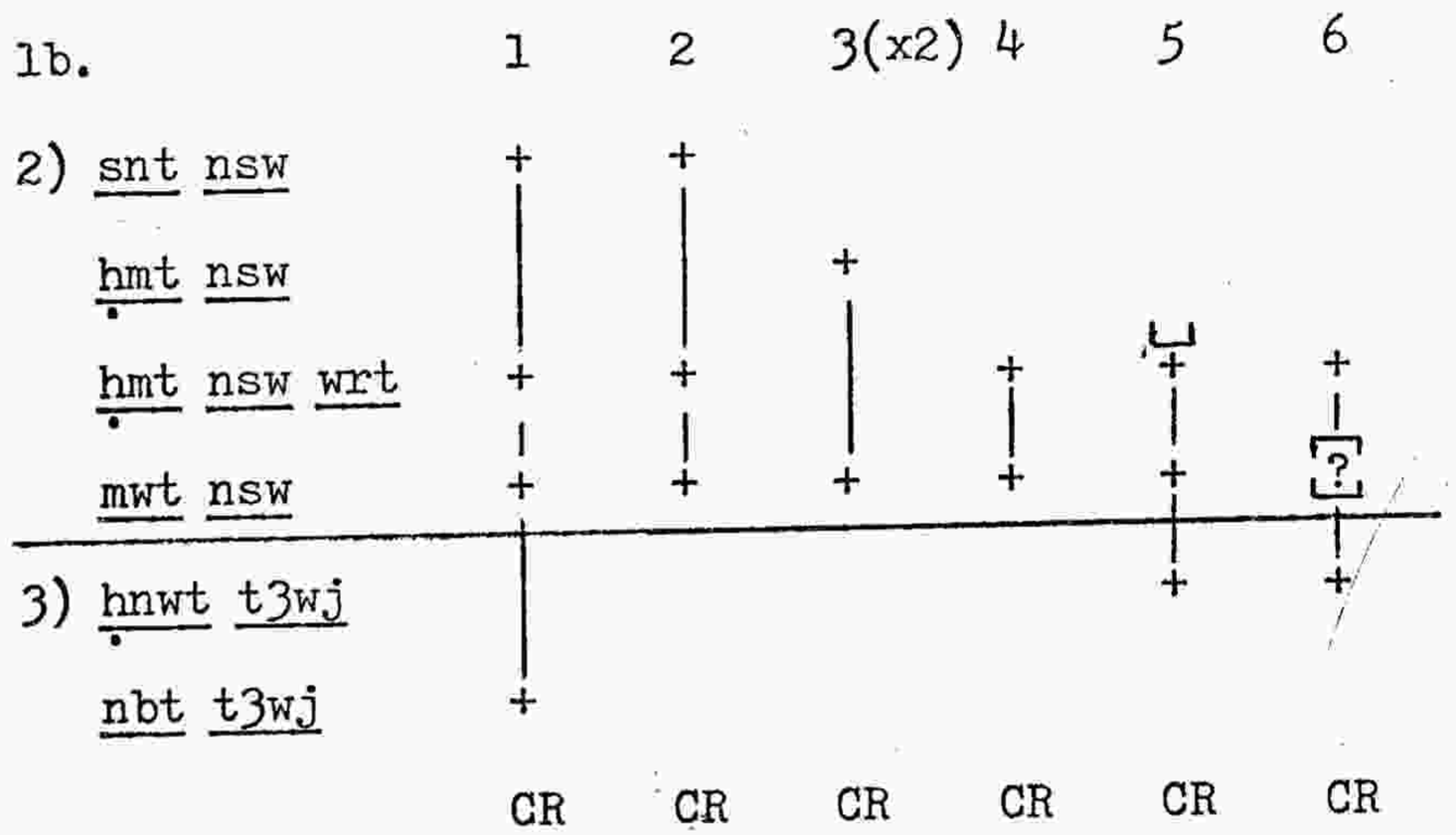


Table 25, Titularies of Ahmose (a,b,f), cont.

1c.

	1(x2)
2) snt nsw	+
hmt nsw wrt	+
[3] hnwt t3wj tm(wj)	+
2) mwt nsw	+
	CR

1d.

	1
1(?) jrjt-p^{c}t	+
wrt hswt	+
wrt j3mt	+
smrt Hrw	+
nbt bnrt	+
^{c}3t mrwt	+
hnwt ndm-jb	+
hnwt hmwt nbt	+
ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s	+
sm3jjt Hrw	+
3(?) hnwt t3wj	+
	CR

1e.

	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t	+
s3t Gb	+
jw^{c}t Wsjr	+
hnwt t3wj	+
2) mwt nsw bjtj	+
	CR

Table 25, Titularies of Ahmose (a,b,f), cont.

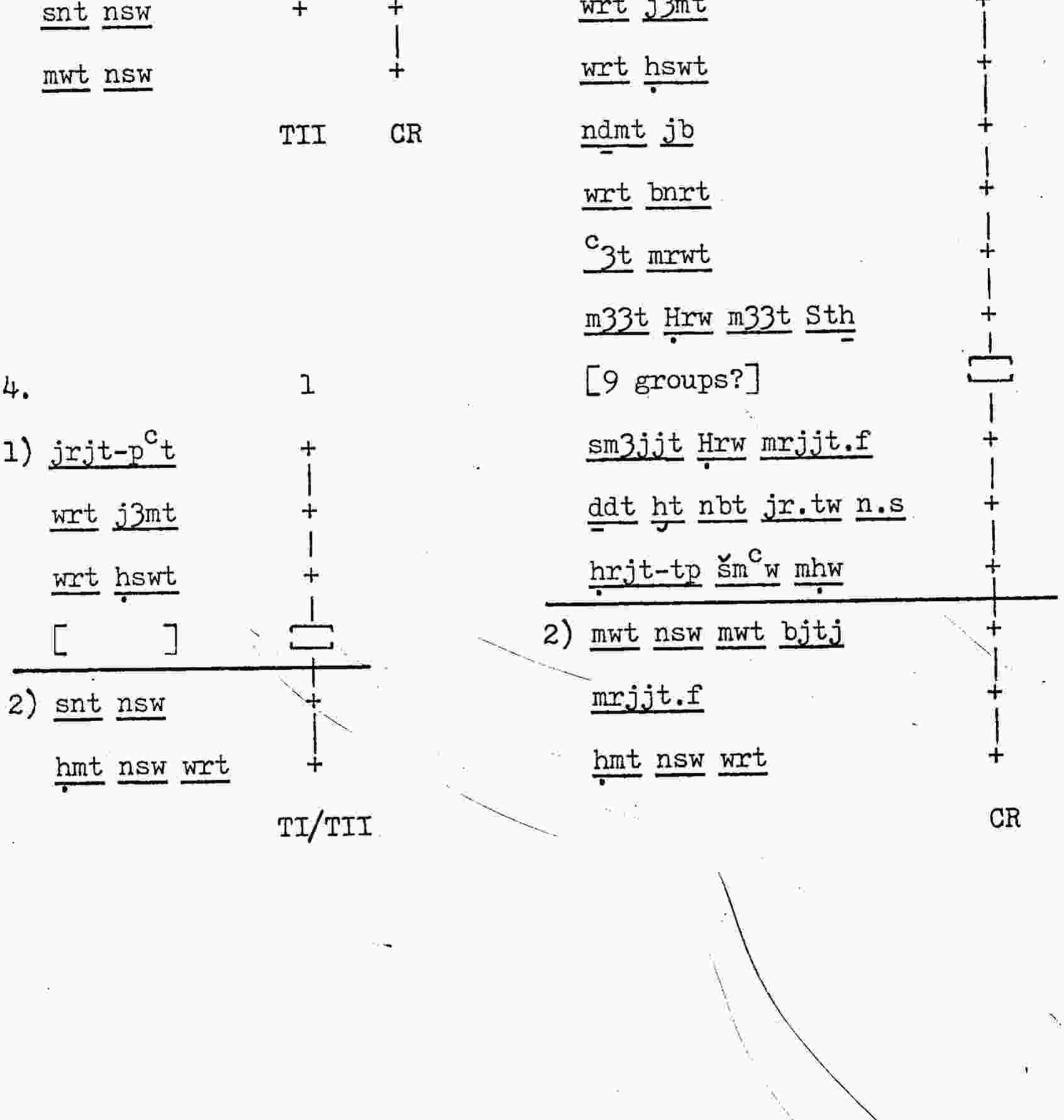


Table 26, Titularies of Hatshepsut (a,g).

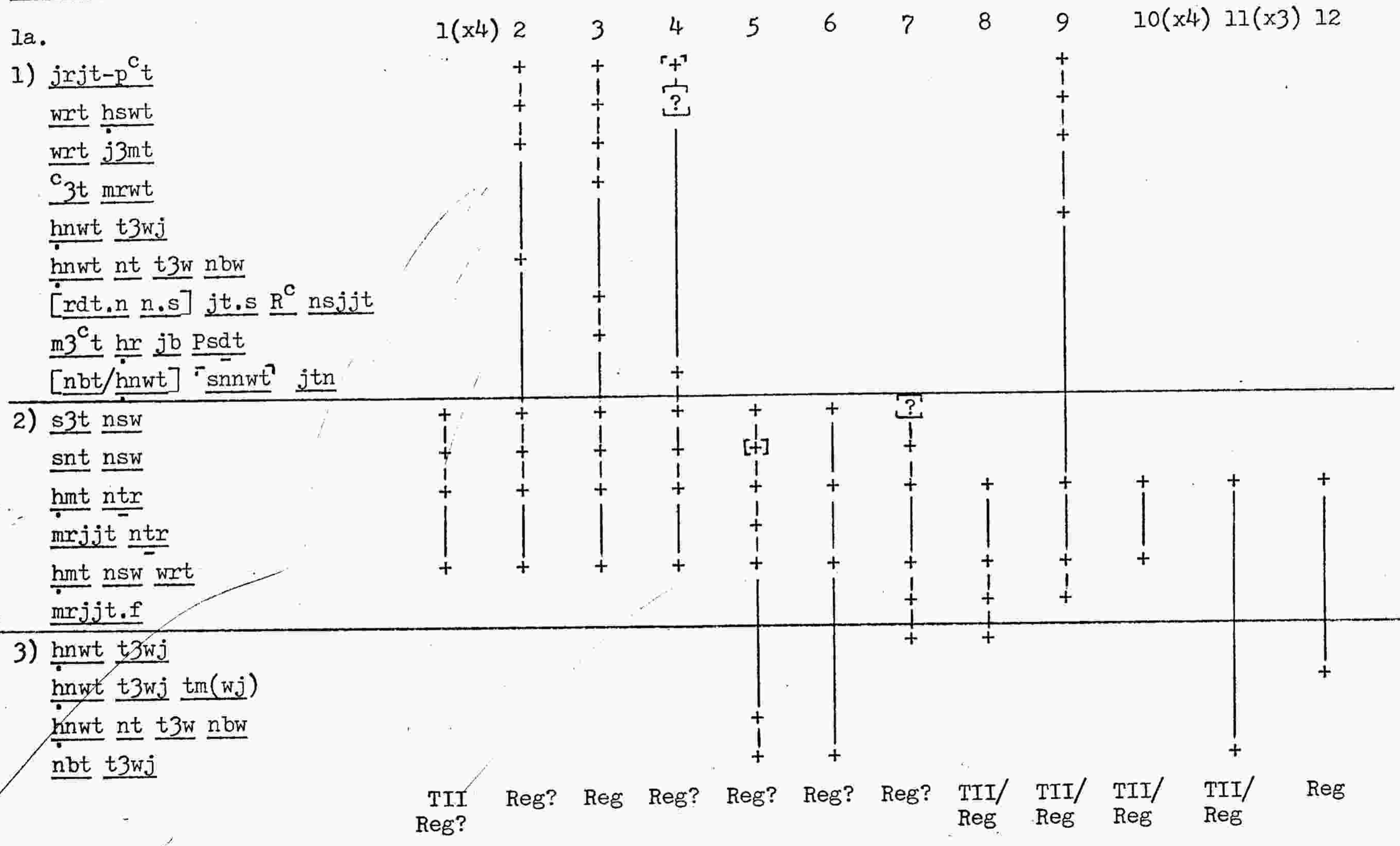


Table 26, Titularies of Hatshepsut (a,g), cont.

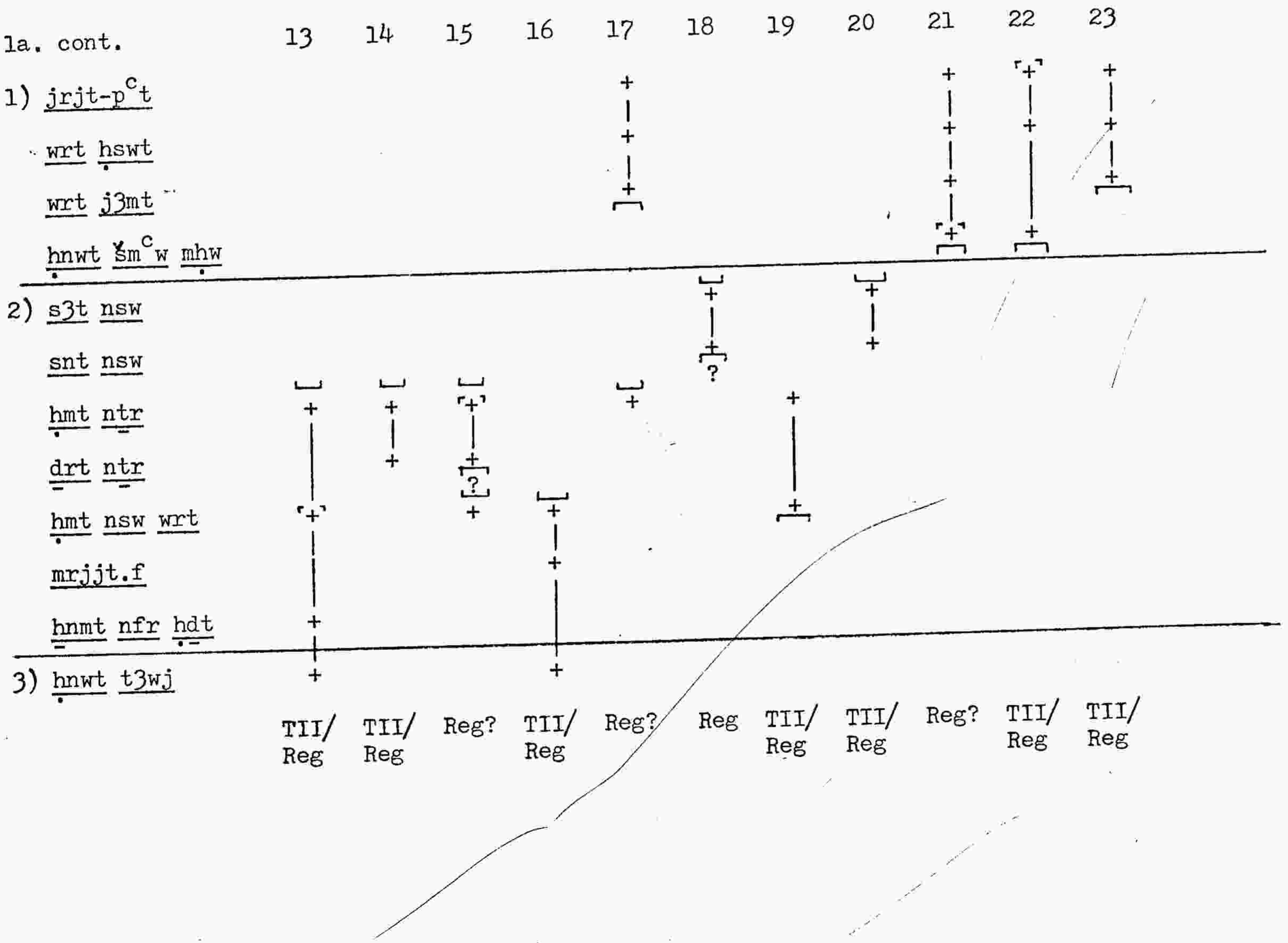


Table 26, Titularies of Hatshepsut (a,g), cont.

2c.	1	2
2) hmt ntr	+	
hmt ntr nt Jmn		+
mrjjt ntr	+	
s3t nsw	+	
s3t nsw wrt		+
mrjjt.f	+	
	TI/ TII?	TI/ TII?

4	1
1) [jrjt]-p^{c}t	+
wrt j3mt	+
wrt hswt	+
hnwt nt t3 r dr.f	+
[ ] n hr mkt.f	+
[ ]	
^{c}3t bj3t m pr jt.s	+
2) [s3t] nsw	+
[snt] nsw	+
[hmt] ntr	+
drt ntr	+
[hmt] nsw [wrt]	+
	TII/Reg

Table 27, Titulary of Mutnofret (c).

1b.	1
2) hmt nsw mwt nsw	+ | +
	TII

Table 28, Titulary of Senisonb (d).

1e.	1
2) mwt ⌐sw mwt ḥjtj	+
3) ḥnwt t3wj	+
	CR

Table 29, Titulary of unidentified queen.

1a.	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t wrt ḥswt	+ +
2) ḥmt ntr ḥmt nsw [wrt] ḥnmt nfr ḥdt	+ + +
	?

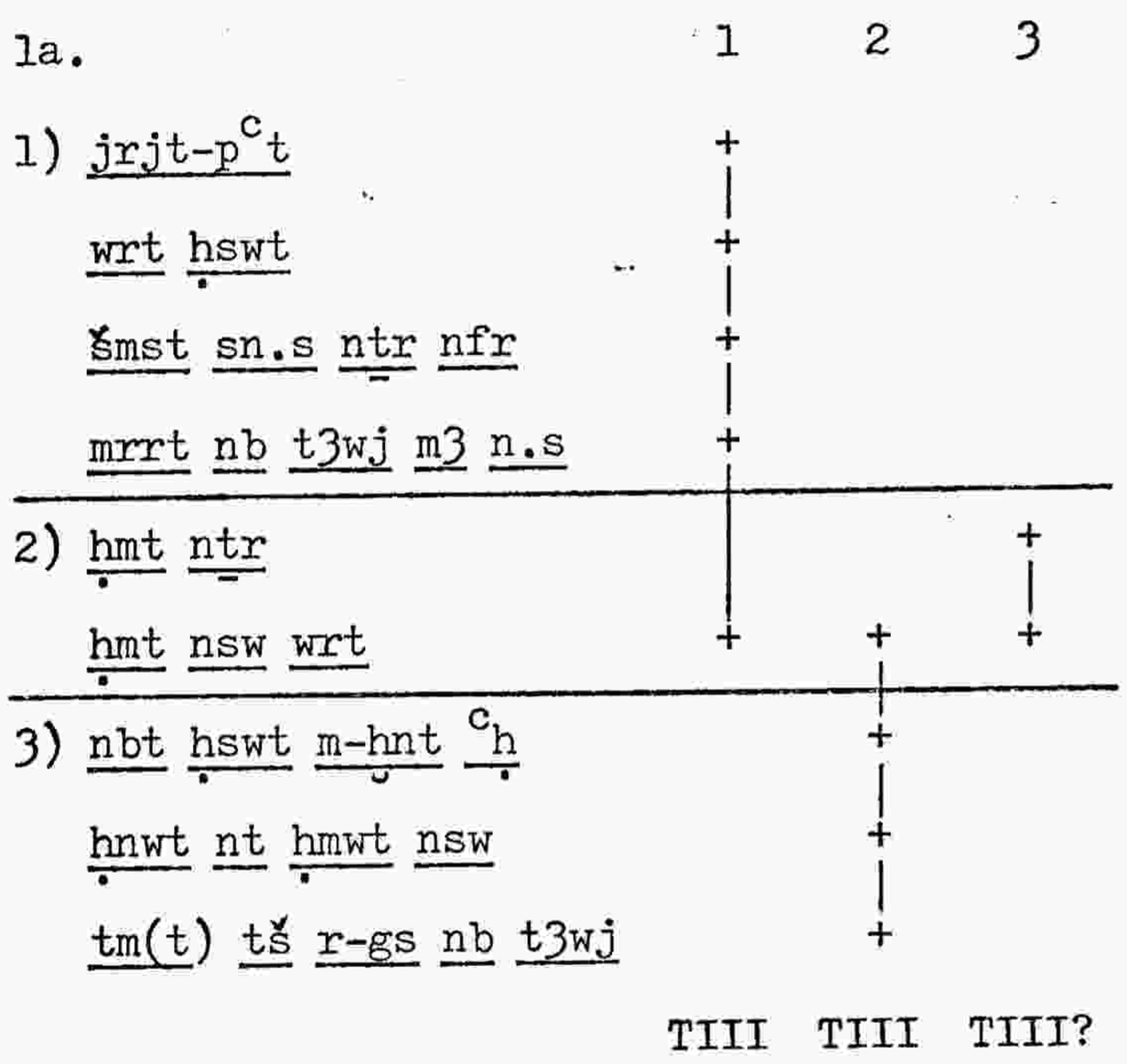
Table 30, Titulary of Ese I (c).

1b.	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t	+
wrt hswt	+
2) hmt ntr	+
hmt nsw wrt	+
mwt nsw	+
	TIII

Table 31, Titulary of Meritre Hatshepsut (a)?/Ese (c) in surcharge.

1a.	1
2) hmt nsw wrt	+
mrjjt.f	+
3) hnwt šm^{c}w mhw	+
	TIII

Table 32, Titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut (a,b).



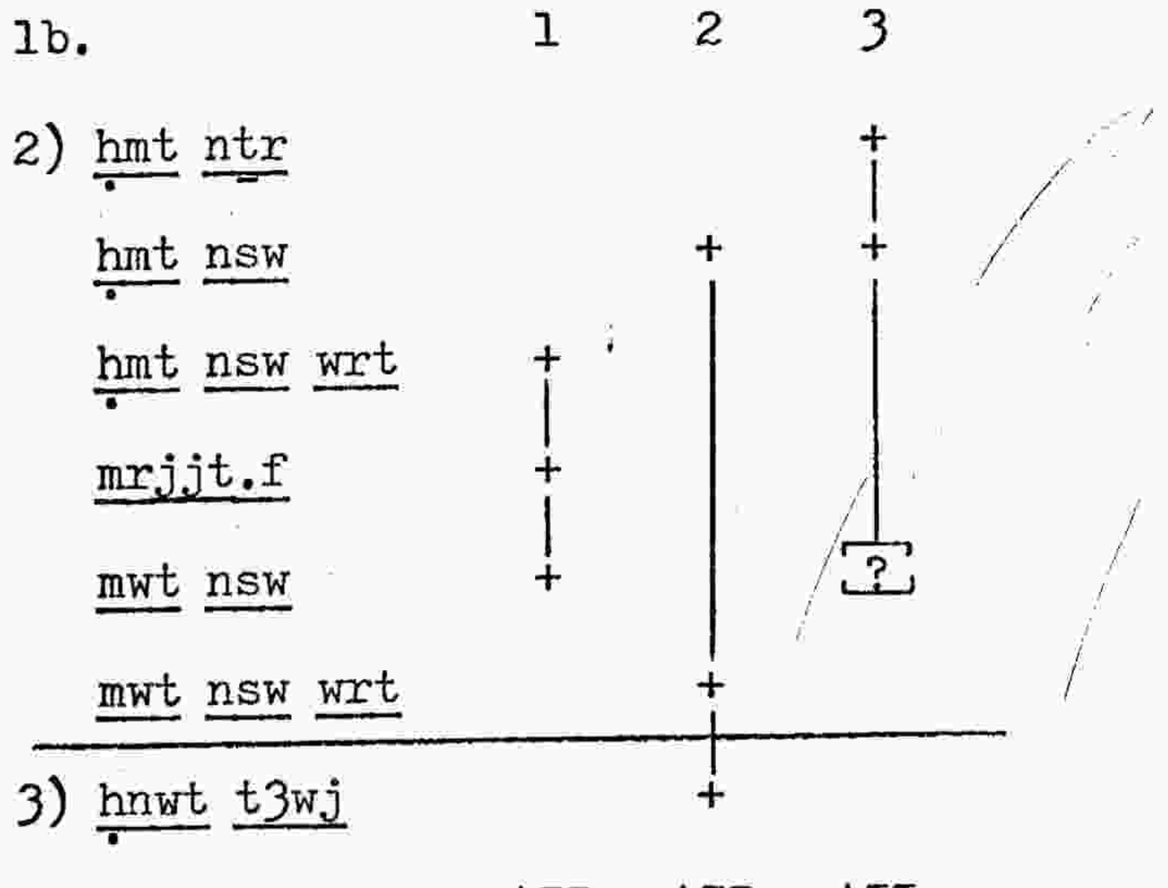
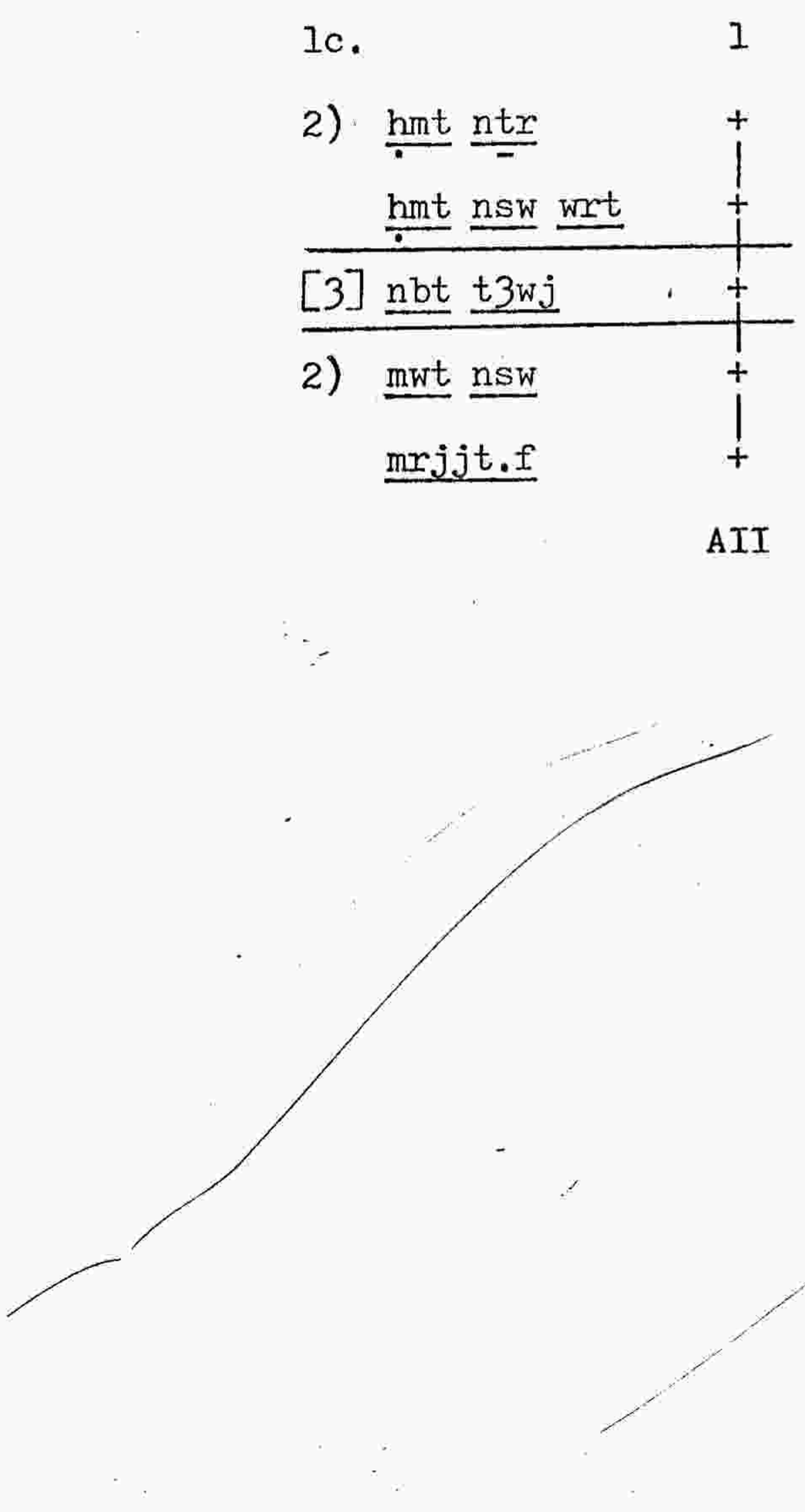
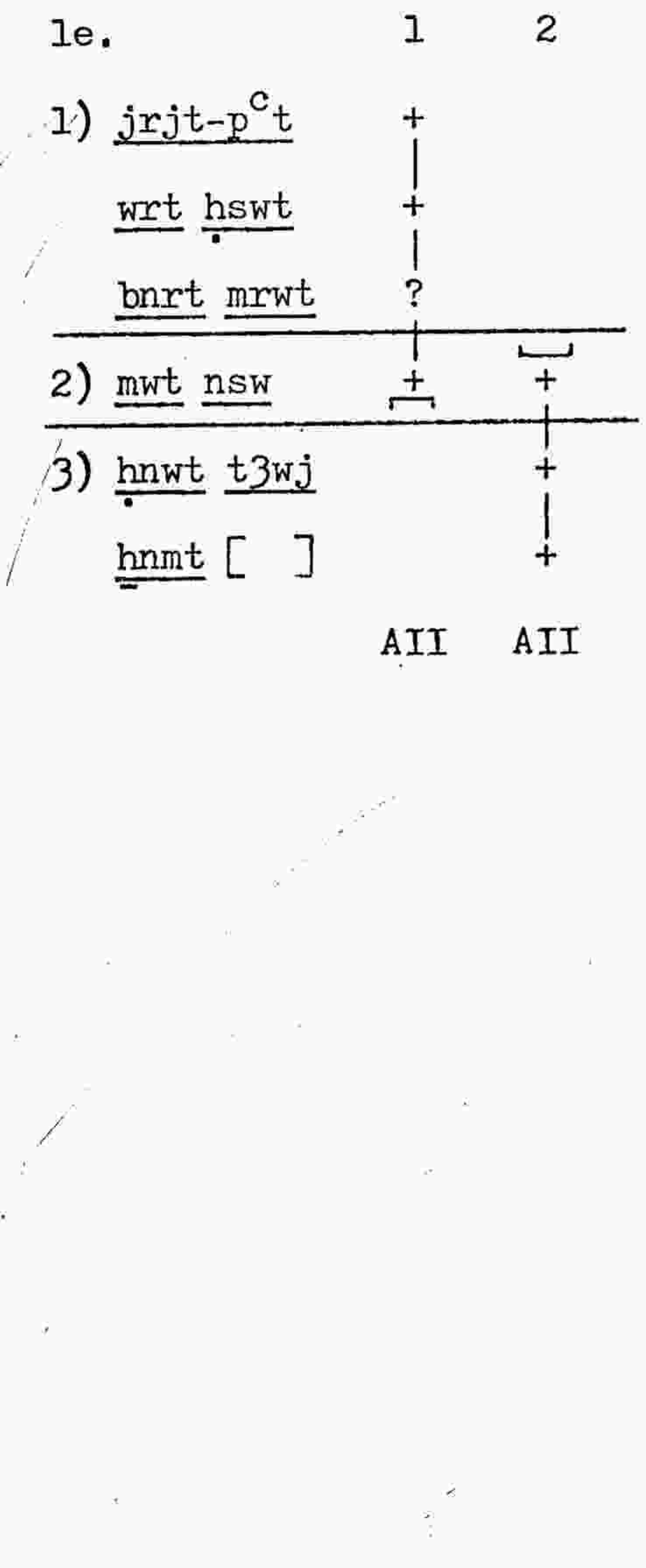


Table 32, Titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut (a,b), cont.





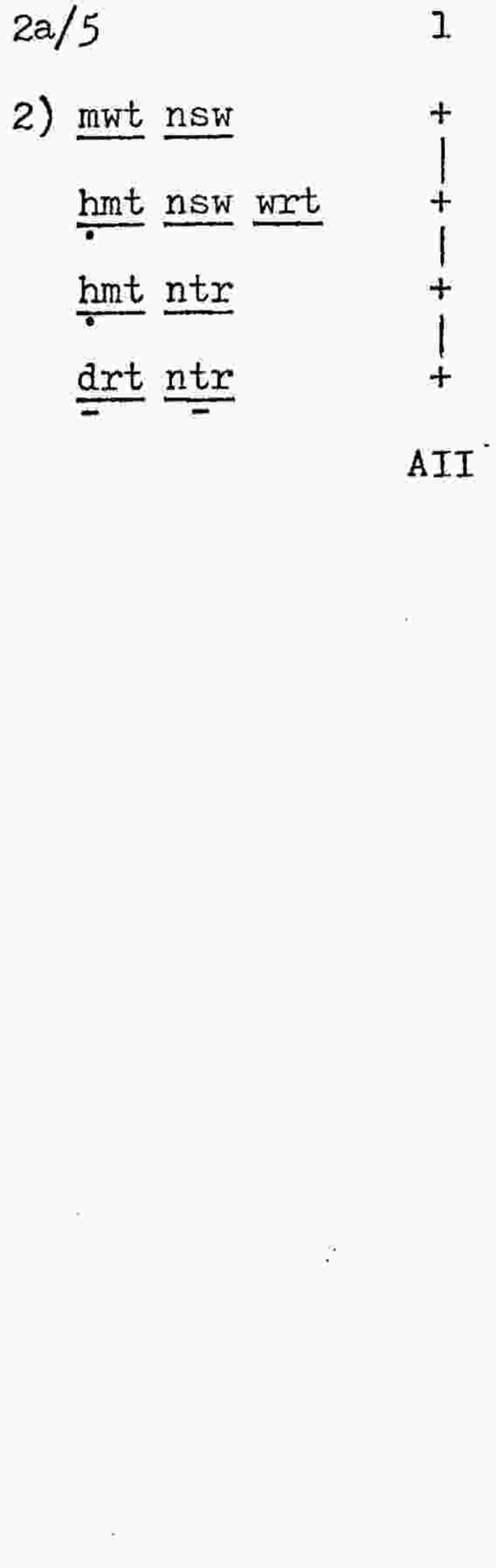


Table 33, Titularies of Meritamun II (a).

1a.	1	2	3	4
2) s3t nsw	+		+	+
snt nsw	+		+	+
hmt ntr	+	+		+
hmt nsw	+	+		
hmt nsw wrt	+			+
hnmt nfr hdt	+			
3) nbt t3wj	+			
	AII	AII	AII	AII(?)

Table 34, Titulary of Iaret (a).

1a.	1
2) s3t nsw	+
snt nsw	+
hmt nsw wrt	+
	TIV year 7

Table 35, Titularies of Tiaa (a,b).

1a.

	1
2) hmt nsw wrt	+
3) nb(t) t3wj	+

AII

1b.

	1
2) hmt nsw wrt	+
mrjjt.f	+
mwt nsw	+

TIV

5.

	1
2) mwt nsw	+
hmt nsw wrt	+

TIV

1c.

	1
2) hmt nsw wrt	+
[3] hnwt t3wj	+
2) mwt nsw	+

TIV

1e.

	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t m pr wr	+
hnwt hmwt [nbt/nsw]	+
[sm3jjt/hnmt?] (Dhwtjms h^{c} h^{c}w]	+
2) hmt ntr	+
nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn	+
mwt nsw	+

TIV

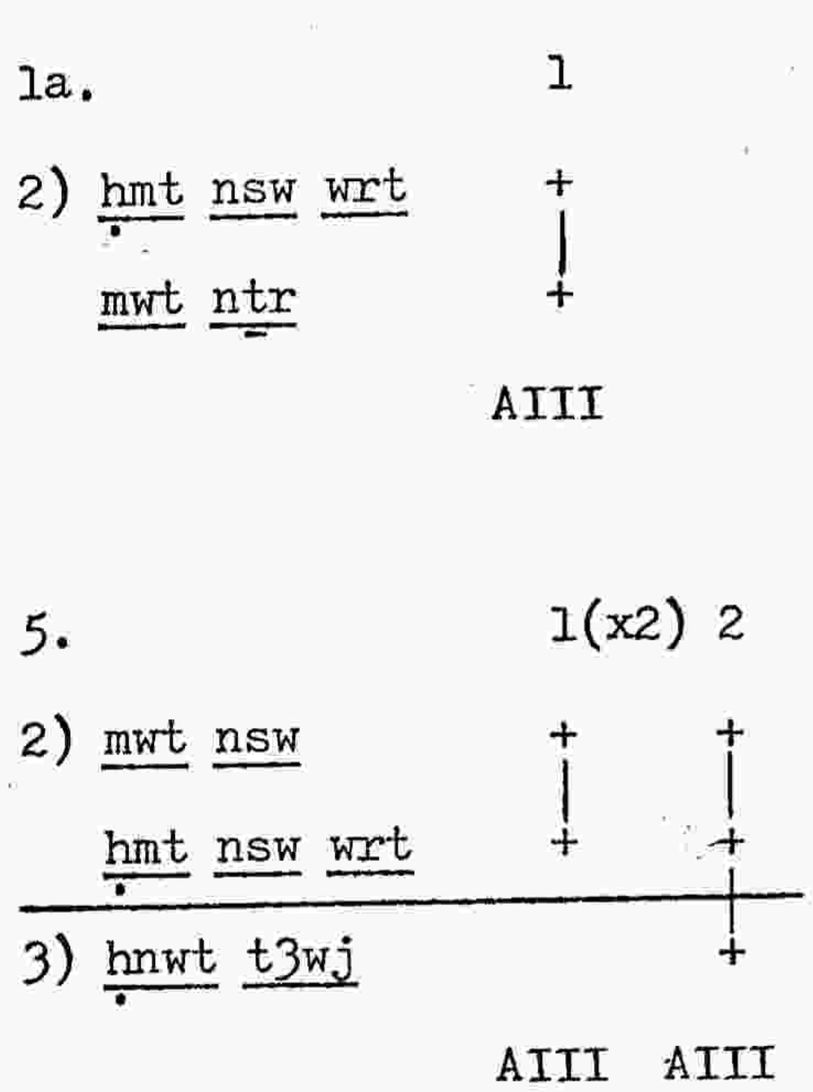
Table 35, Titularies of Tiaa (a,b), cont.

6.	1
1) jrjt-p^{c}t wrt hswt wrt j3mt bnrt mrwt ḥnwt t3wj tm(wj) m33t Hrw Sth	+
2) mwt nsw (Tj^{c}3) mht ^{c}ḥ m stj j3dt.s mwt nsw (Tj^{c}3) ddt ḥt nbt jr.tw n.s ḥmt nsw (Tj^{c}3) [ ]	x [ ]

6.	1 (cont.)
ḥmt ntr (Tj^{c}3) sdt(t) P [sdtt] Dp (Tj^{c}3) [ ] ḥmt ntr (Tj^{c}3) ḥmt nsw mwt nsw ḥmt ntr (Tj^{c}3) ḥmt ntr w^{c}b ^{c}wj(?) (Tj^{c}3)	+ x [ ]

TIV

Table 36, Titularies of Mutemwiya (c).



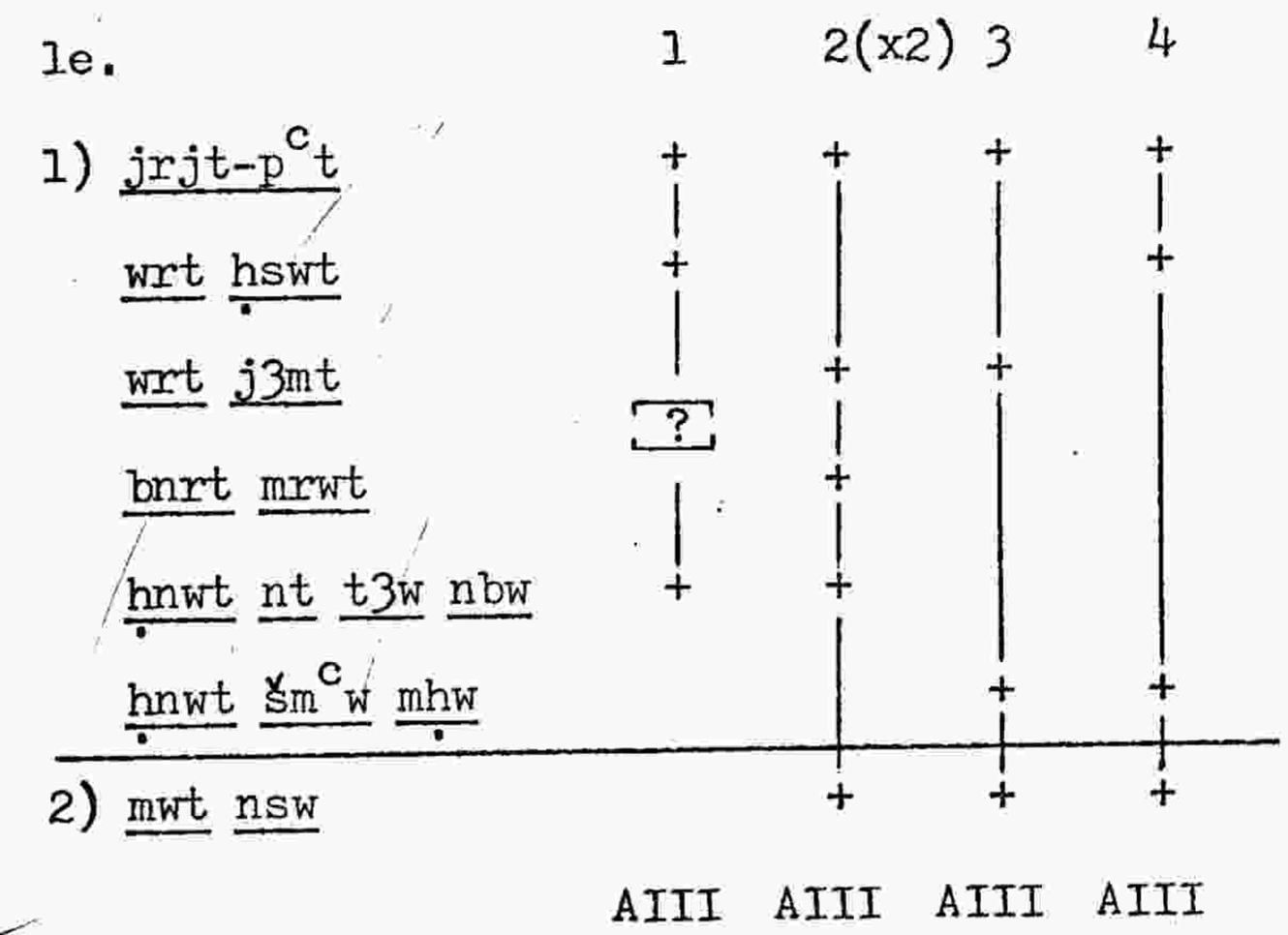


Table 36, Titularies of Mutemwiya (c), cont.

6.

1) jrjt-p^{c}t

wrt hswt

---

hmt nsw wrt

mrjjt.f

mwt ntr

mst nsw

hsjjt nt ntr nfr

ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s

htp.s st.s jmj wj3.s smnhw m k3t dt

mwt nsw

1

AIII

6.

1) jrjt-p^{c}t

wrt hswt

j3mt jb

bnrt mrwt

mht h3 m stj j3dt.s

---

hmt nsw wrt

mrjjt.f

ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s

hnwt šm^{c}w mhw

mwt ntr

2

AIII

Table 37, Titularies of Teye (a,b).

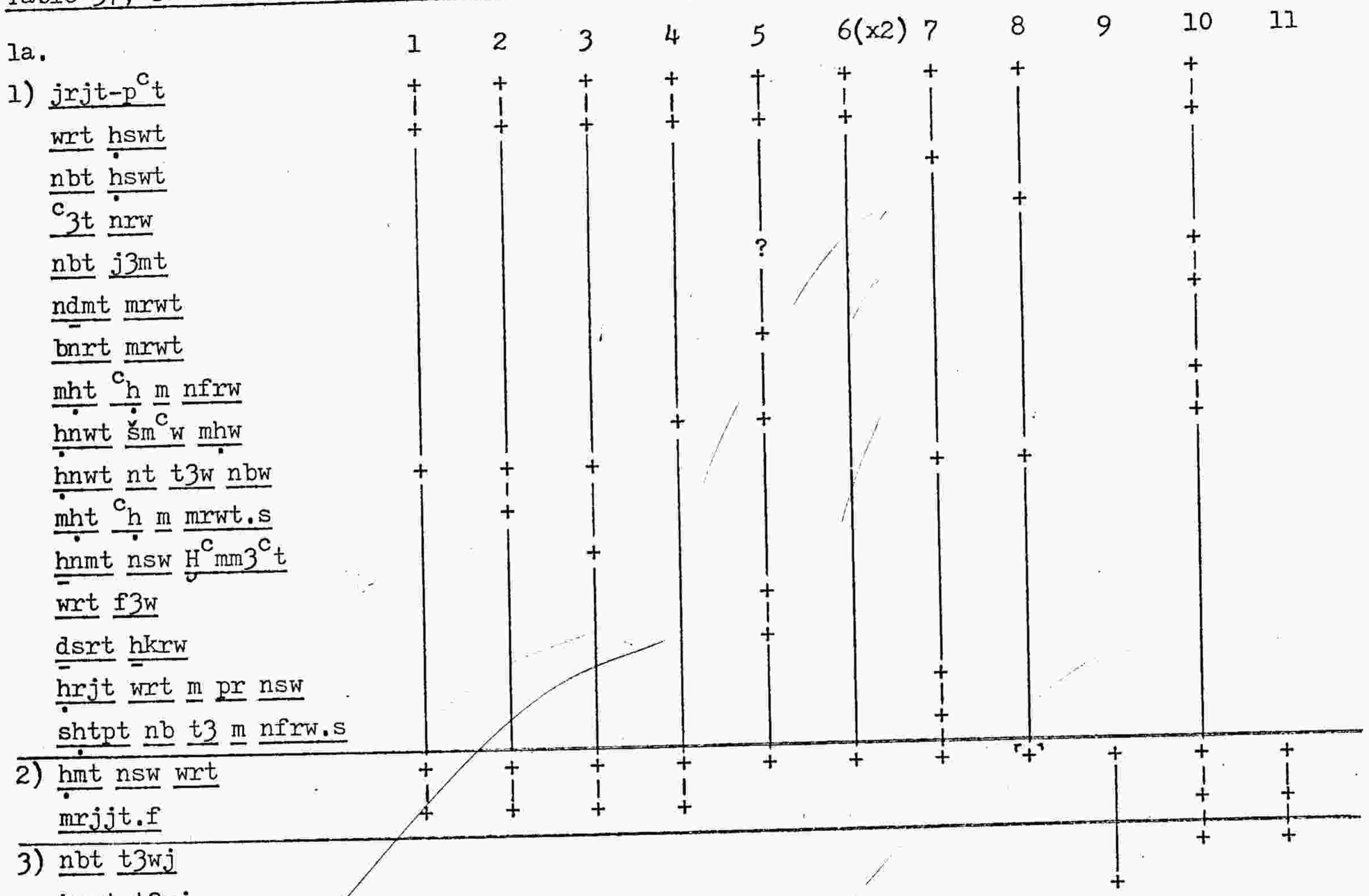
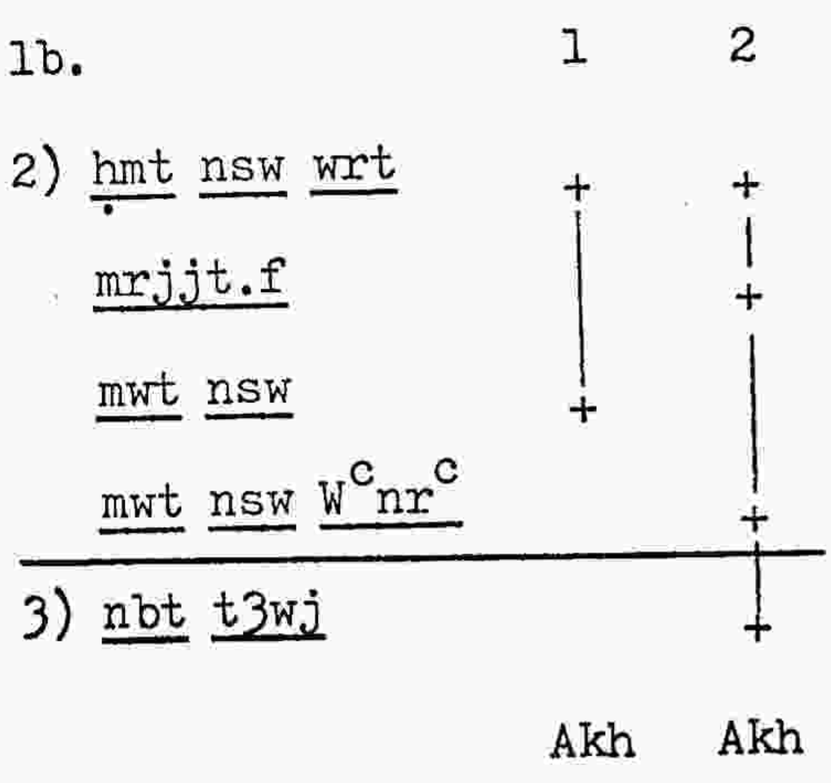
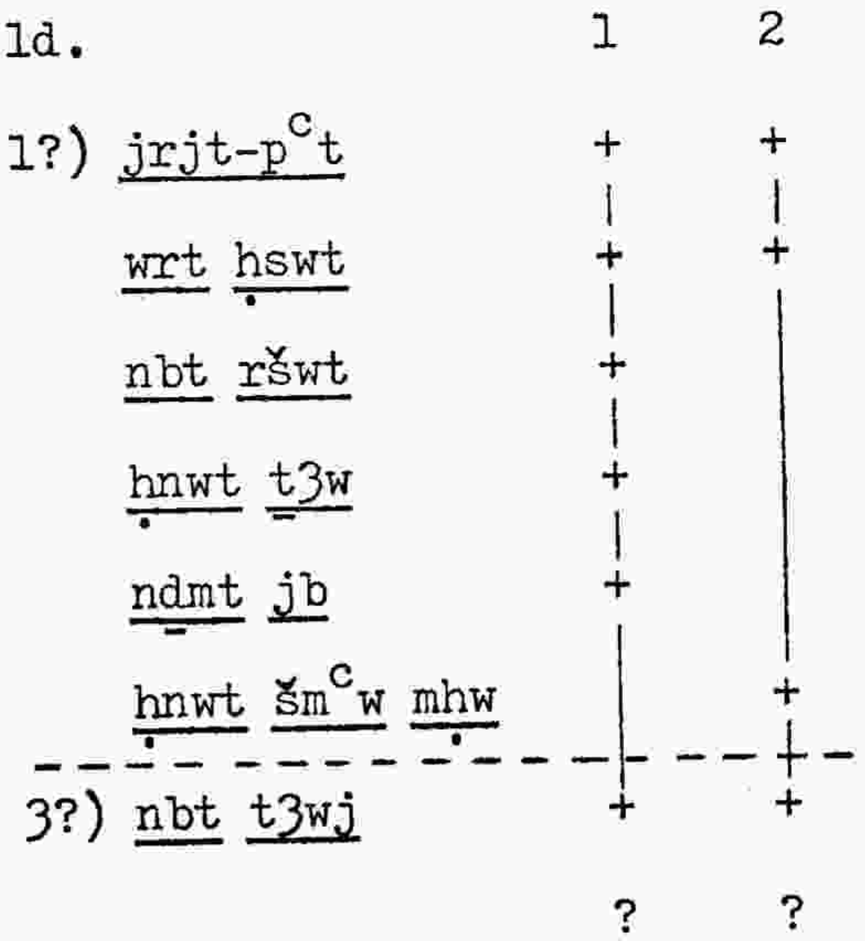
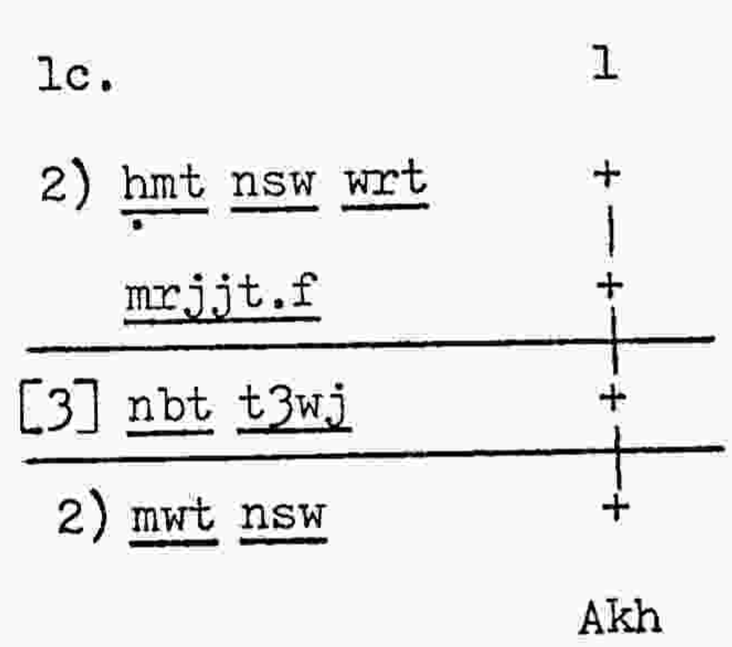


Table 37, Titularies of Teye (a,b), cont.







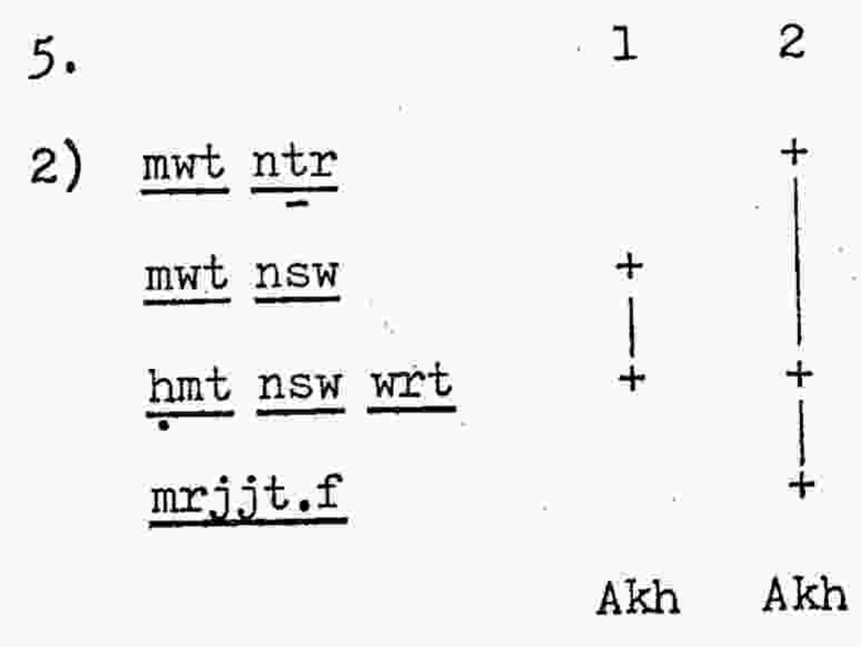
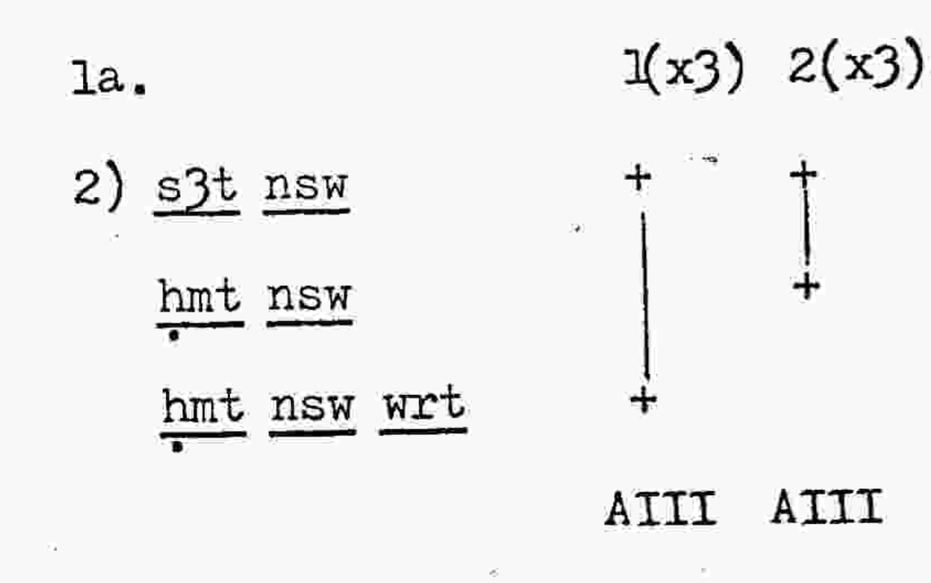


Table 38, Titularies of Sitamun III (a).



Tables 18-38, Sources and notes.

Table 18, Titulary of Ahhotpe I (a).

1a.1. Coffin, JE 28501, von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund, 22, end of 17th dynasty. For discussion of queen, see 2.3.1, 2.3.3.1.

Table 19, Titulary of Ahhotpe III (a).

1a.1. Statue of prince Ahmose, Louvre E 15682, Winlock JEA 10(1924), pl.20, temp. Tao II (2.1 no.10).

Table 20, Titularies of Tetisheri (c).

1b.1,2. Stela of Ahmose for Tetisheri from Abydos, CG 34002, temp. Ahmose ⌒ .

Table 21,Titularies of Ahhotpe II (c).

1a.1. Stela of Iuf, CG 34009, temp. Thutmose II at the earliest (2.1 no.4).

1b.1. 1) Door of Ahmose from Buhen, pl.2, temp. Ahmose ⌣ .

2) TT 12 with title of owner, jmj-r3 šnwtj n ḥmt nsw mwt nsw (J^{c}ḥḥtp), Champollion Not.descr., 543 no.51; LD Text 3, 238 no.2, temp. Ahmose - Amenhotpe I ⌒ .

3) Pectoral, glazed steatite, Michaelidis collection, Michaelidis ASAE 45(1944), 124, figs.14,15 ⌒ .

4) Scarab, Tigrane Pasha collection, Newberry PSBA 36(1914), 39, fig.12 ⌒ .

1b.2. 1) Statuette of Ahmose Nebetta, Louvre N 496, Maspero Momies royales, 636; Daressy in Recueil ... Champollion, 291 ⌒ (?).

2) Stela of Iuf, CG 34009, temp. Thutmose II at the earliest (2.1 no.4).

1b.3. Coffin, CG 61006, temp. Ahmose ⌒ (3.4.5).

1b.4. Coffin of a child, Anat, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, Troy GM 35(1979), 90 fig.1 ⌒ .

Table 22, Titularies of Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e).

1a.1. "Donation" stela, Ibrahim Harary ASAE 56(1959), pls.1,2, temp. Ahmose ⌣ .

1a.2. ibid.

1a.3. ibid. (x2).

1a.4. Stela of Ahmose for Tetisheri, CG 34002, temp. Ahmose ⌒ .

1a.5. 1) Cup from Abydos, Æ.I.N.1600, Mogensen La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La collection égyptienne (Copenhagen 1930), 222 no.A 537, pl.68; Gitton L'épouse, 29, IX no.3, later form of moon hieroglyph.

2) Fragment on a wall of the cliff opposite the main quarry at Bisra, Weigall ASAE 11(1911), 176, fig.11; Gitton L'épouse, 13, III no.2, later form of moon hieroglyph.

1a.6. Block from the temple of Sai, Vercoutter Kush 4(1956), 77 no.19; Gitton L'épouse, 13-14, III no.4a, later form of the moon hieroglyph. The titulary is broken, ...]wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥdt (Jʿḥms Nfrtjrj). In other 18th dynasty titularies, ḥnmt nfr ḥdt follows directly on ḥmt nsw wrt (4.4.6), and this title is almost certainly to be restored here. In none of Ahmose Nofretary's titularies does mwt nsw precede ḥmt nsw wrt, so it is unlikely to be present in this titulary. The absence of this title, although by no means conclusive, suggests that the block may date before Ahmose Nofretary received the title, the first known dated occurrence being in year 22 at Maʿsara. The form of the moon hieroglyph dates the block after year 18. The names Nbphtjrʿ and Dsrk3rʿ were found on other blocks.

1a.7. Stela at Maʿsara, LD 3, 3a; Gitton L'épouse, 12-13, III no.1, year 22 of Ahmose (see also 1a.8; 1b.1,2).

1a.8. Stela at Maʿsara, LD 3, 3b; Gitton L'épouse, 12-13, III no.1, year 22 of Ahmose (see also 1a.7; 1b.1,2).

1a.9. Block from a chapel of Amenhotpe I at Karnak, pl.69; Gitton L'épouse, 15-16, IV no.1, temp. Amenhotpe I.

1a.10. Statue at the south-west corner of the colonnade of Thutmose I, temple of Amun, Karnak, Gitton L'épouse, 20-21, VI no.2; PM 2^2, 80 (position given by both as south-east), temp. Thutmose I.

1a.11. ibid.

1a.12. 1) Scarab, Matouk collection (no number, ex Blanchard collection, Gitton L'épouse, VIII.1 no.123, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

2) Scarab, BM 66725, ex Amherst collection, Gitton L'épouse, VIII.1 no.67, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

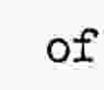
1b.1. Stela at Ma^{c}sara, LD 3, 3a; Gitton L'épouse, 12-13, III no.1, year 22 of Ahmose (see also 1a.7,8; 1b.2).

1b.2. Stela at Ma^{c}sara, LD 3, 3b, Gitton L'épouse, 12-13, III no.1, year 22 of Ahmose (see also 1a.7,8; 1b.1).

1b.3. Four canopic jars, Cairo JE 26255 A-D, Maspero Momies royales, 538 no.1; Gitton L'épouse, 22, VII no.2, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

1b.4. Vase fragment from the tomb of Ahmose Nofretary, Metropolitan Museum, Carter JEA 3(1916), pl.21 no.5; Gitton L'épouse, 30, IX no.4b, later form of the moon hieroglyph.

1b.5. Vase fragment from the tomb of Ahmose Nofretary, Metropolitan Museum, Carter JEA 3(1916), pl.21 no.9; Gitton L'épouse, 30, IX no.4b, later form of the moon hieroglyph. The titulary is broken, s3t nsw snt [nsw] [1 group] ḥmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (J^{c}ḥms Nfrtjrj). The line drawing shows traces of the missing group as  which looks like part



of , but this would face left, while the rest of the inscription faces right. Ahmose Nofretary's usual title between snt nsw and ḥmt nsw wrt is ḥmt nṯr; perhaps the traces are really part of  , so that we should restore .

1b.6. Vase fragment from the tomb of Ahmose Nofretary, Metropolitan Museum, Carter JEA 3(1916), pl.21 no.7; Gitton L'épouse, 30, IX no.4b, later form of the moon hieroglyph. The titulary is broken at the beginning, so that it starts with snt nsw; [s3t nsw] should probably be restored in front of it (4.2.2).

1b.7. Jar from KV 20 (Thutmose I and Hatshepsut), Davis et al. Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 106, fig.1; Gitton L'épouse, 30, IX no.4c, temp. Thutmose I.

1b.8. Scarab, Louvre CSH 592, Petrie HS 1605; Gitton L'épouse, 26, VIII.1 no.100.

1b.9. Part of a glazed steatite rod, MMA 10.130.1666, Hayes Scepter 2, 45; pl.150, later form of the moon hieroglyph. The  before mwt nsw almost certainly indicates that another title was present, and ḥmt nsw wrt is the obvious

one (4.2.2). Although when wrt is written out vertically, the  is often placed below  , it can be placed above  to the right (Ma^{c}sara stela; cup, Æ.I.N.1600). It is possible that there were further titles on this piece.

1b.10. Coffin, CG 61003, Gitton L'épouse, 22, VII no.3, temp. Ahmose, later form of the moon hieroglyph (3.4.5).

1d.1. Cylinder seal, MMA 26.7.29, ex Carnarvon collection, pl.151. Gitton L'épouse gives a cylinder with identical inscription, no.82 in his list, as MMA 26.7.739.

2a.1. Scene in TT 15 (Tetiky), pl.61; Gitton L'épouse, 11, II no.3, temp. Ahmose, early form of the moon hieroglyph.

2b.1. 1) Bead, Petrie SC, pl.23, 18.1.26; Gitton L'épouse, 27, VIII.1 no.34. Petrie and Gitton both give the titulary as s3t nsw ḥmt ntr snt nsw, but of the last title only [ ]t nsw is visible, so ḥmt would be an alternative. However, the text probably duplicates the two Ashmolean cylinders and the one from the Metropolitan (below), so that snt is likely to be correct.

2) Cylinder seal, MMA 26.7.30, pl.152. Gitton lists a cylinder with the same inscription, L'épouse, 27, VIII.1 no.83, as MMA 26.7.740.

3) Cylinder seal, Ashmolean Museum 1892.1377; Gitton L'épouse, 27, VIII.1 no.98.

4) Cylinder seal, Ashmolean Museum 1892.1379. In his list of scarabs and similar objects, Gitton gives as no.96 a scarab with the Ashmolean museum no.1890.362(E 3770), but this is a Hyksos cylonder. Ashmolean Museum 1892.1379 has an identical inscription to the one Gitton gives (p.27), and is probably the object meant. He does not list it as a cylinder, but he notes that he has not seen it.

2c.1. Menit(?) from the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, Petrie Researches, 147, fig.151 no.17; Gitton L'épouse, 29, IX no.2g. The name is lost, but is probably to be restored as Ahmose Nofretary, as other objects belonging to her were found here, and the placing of ḥmt ntr before s3t nsw (4.2.2) is similar to the Sinai vase (2c.2 below). One object each of Meritamun I and queen Ahmose were also found here. While the titles could fit the former, the latter was not

hmt ntr.

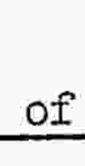
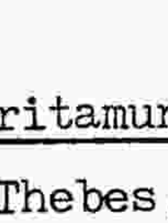
2c.2. Jar fragment from the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, Ashmolean Museum 1911.408 (wrongly given in PM 7, 361 as 1912.408), Petrie Researches, fig.144 no.2; Gitton L'épouse, 29, IX no.4a. Traces of the first title in the titulary are quite clearly  , so that  must be restored. It cannot be hmt nsw, as hmt nsw wrt appears later in the titulary.

Table 23, Titularies of Sitkamose (a).

1a.1. Restored mummy wrappings, copied from an original(?), Maspero Momies royales, 541 (2.2.1). By year 8 of Amenhotpe I, Meritamun I was hmt nsw wrt, so Sitkamose was probably dead by then.

1a.2. ibid.

Table 24, Titularies of (Ahmose) Meritamun I (a).

1a.1. Coffin seen by Wilkinson at Thebes, Wilkinson MSS v.193 (for identification, see 2.2.2). The coffin was probably provided by Amenhotpe I, even though Meritamun may not have died until the reign of Thutmose I (2.2.2).

1a.2. Restored mummy wrappings, copied from an original(?), Maspero Momies royales, 539 (2.2.2).

Table 25, Titularies of Ahmose (a,b,f).

1a.1. Fragment of a jar, ex Rustafjaell collection, Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 95 fig.25, temp. Thutmose II. The bottom of each of the four columns is broken; the restoration is Sethe's. His suggestion that snt nsw hmt nsw wrt should be completed by [mrjjt.f], while possible, cannot be certain. An alternative restoration would be another title, such as nbt/hnwt t3wj. mwt nsw is impossible, since Ahmose does not gain the title until Hatshepsut becomes king. The object is funerary with the text m jr.s n sn.s ⌜nsw bjtj⌝ (ᶜ3hprk3rᶜ) m3ᶜ hrw hr [wsjr] "being what she made for her brother/husband ⌜the king of Upper and Lower Egypt⌝ (Akheperkare) justified before [Osiris]". It should therefore date to the time of death of Thutmose I, or

earlier if it was made in anticipation.

1a.2. 1) Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, south wall, PM 2^2, 365(132)2, LD Text 3, 113 bottom; Champollion Mon., 192 no.5, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

2) Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, north wall, PM 2^2, 366(133)2, Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.145; LD 3, 8b, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1a.3. Birth scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Ahmose and Amun, PM 2^2, 348(17) 3, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.47, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1b.1. Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary, room X, niche, PM 2^2, 367(137b), Naville Deir el Bahari 5, pl.147; LD 3, 19 no.1c, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1b.2. Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, chapel of Anubis, room VIII, PM 2^2, 363(122) e, pl.7, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1b.3. 1) Birth scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Ahmose and Amun, speech of Amun, PM 2^2, 348(17) 3, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.47, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

2) Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut showing a statue of Ahmose, Berlin inv.no.14651, pl.133, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1b.4. Stela of Thutmose II, probably from Edfu (cat.no.40), Berlin inv.no.15699, pl.6, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The original titulary has been altered to ḥmt nsw wrt mwt nsw; this can only have been done once Hatshepsut was king (see 3a.1 below).

1b.5. Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, upper terrace, above niche D, PM 2^2, 364, Jéquier L'architecture 1, pl.38 no.1, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1b.6. Kiosk scene in TT 125 (Duauneheh), Davies BMMA 34(1939), 280 fig.1, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The scene is fragmentary. A title must be restored above ⌜ḥnwt⌝ t3wj, parallel with the [ḥmt] ⌜nsw⌝ of [ḥmt] ⌜nsw⌝ wrt. mwt nsw is the most likely title, but [ḥmt] ⌜nsw⌝ wrt could be

followed by [mrjjt.f].

1c.1. 1) Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary facade, PM 2^2, 365(13), Naville Deir el Bahari 6, pl. 164; pls.67,68, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The figure of the queen has been altered, but there is no reason to believe that the titulary is not original (3.2.1.B.3).

2) Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, sanctuary facade, PM 2^2, 365(129), pls.65,66, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The scene is similar to 1c.1, except that it is reversed. The end of the titulary is not visible on the plates, but is presumably also the same.

1d.1. Birth scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Ahmose with Heqet and Khnum, PM 2^2, 348(17) 7, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.49, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

1e.1. Birth scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Ahmose and Thoth, PM 2^2, 348(17) 6, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.48, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

3a.1. Stela of Thutmose II, see 1b.4. The titulary originally ran hmt nsw wrt snt nsw.

3a.2. Private stela, Berlin 3/71, pl.62, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

4.1. Fragment of a jar, ex Rustafjaell collection, Sethe Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 95 fig.27, temp. Thutmose I or II (?), as was another vase in the collection (1a.1). The fragment is broken at the top, and there must have been another title at the beginning of the middle column. When the order of section 2 of a titulary of Ahmose is snt nsw hmt nsw wrt, snt nsw is not preceded by another title from that section, as normally s3t nsw would stand here, a title which Ahmose does not have (4.4.2). Therefore, the missing title here should belong to section 1.

4/5. Birth scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Ahmose and Thoth, PM 2^2, 348(17) 6, Naville Deir el Bahari 2, pl.48; Urk. IV, 224.14-225.7, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The titulary is part of Thoth's speech, which is written retrograde; the hieroglyphs face right until the final three columns, starting with hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw, which face left.

These are placed above the queen, who faces left also. I see no reason to assume a break in the titulary: the last few titles have been used to identify the figure of the queen, and therefore face in the same direction as the figure. After m33t Hrw m33t Sth, nine(?) groups have been erased; some restoration has been attempted, presumably in the 19th dynasty.

Table 26, Titularies of Hatshepsut (a,g).

1a.1. 1) Stela of Thutmose II, probably from Edfu (cat.no.40), Berlin inv.no.15699, pl.6, temp. Thutmose II.

2) Jar from the tomb of Merti, Menwi and Menhet, hmwt nsw of Thutmose III, MMA 26.8.8, Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses, 55, pl.32A, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut. The burial dates after Hatshepsut became king, since her prenomen appears on some objects. The jars were, therefore, made before the burial, and not for it.

3) Sarcophagus, foot-end, horizontal band (n.619), Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4(1917), 116, temp. regency of Hatshepsut (?, n.957).

4) Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.83, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?). The text preceding the titulary ...].n.f jr.s n.f ht w^{c}b m st.f dsrt "he (the god?) [did something?] that she might make for him a pure offering/rite(?) in his holy place" is not of a type associated with queens, suggesting an active and direct role in relation to the god, and the block probably dates to Hatshepsut's regency.

1a.2. Sarcophagus, right side, horizontal band (n.619), Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4(1917), 117, temp. regency of Hatshepsut (?, n.838).

1a.3. Rock stela of Senenmut as Aswan, pl.75, temp. regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.4. Fragment of a bowl from KV 20 (Thutmose I and Hatshepsut), Davis et al. Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 110 fig.8, temp. regency of Hatshepsut (?, 4.4.10).

1a.5. See 1a.4.

1a.6. Sarcophagus lid (n.619), Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4(1917), 116, temp. regency of Hatshepsut (?, n.838).

1a.7. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.84, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?). Immediately to the left of Hatshepsut's left-facing columns are the remains of a right-facing column, which may be the beginning of a speech of a deity, so that Hatshepsut was probably standing directly before a deity.

1a.8. Jar from the tomb of Merti, Menwi and Menhet, hmwt nsw of Thutmose III, MMA 18.8.15, Winlock Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses, 55, pl.32B, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut (see 1a.1 above).

1a.9. Jar, Birch Catalogue, 176; Sethe Untersuchungen 1, 122; Urk. IV, 192, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.10. 1) Kohl vase, dedicated by Hatshepsut to her mother Ahmose, CG 18486, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

2)-3) Sarcophagus, head-end, horizontal band; left side, horizontal band (n.619), Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4(1917), 116, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?, n.838).

4) Scene in the temple of Thutmose III at Semna (3.2.1.B.6), temp. regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.11. 1) Bead, University Colleg, Petrie SC, pl.29, 18.6.150.

2) Sarcophagus, right side, horizontal band (n.619), Cairo JE 47032, Carter JEA 4(1917), 116, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?, n.838).

3) Statue of Senenmut with the phrase jr(w) m ḥswt nt ḥr ḥmt ntr nbt t3wj (Ḥ3tšpswt) "made as a faour from the ḥmt ntr nbt t3wj (Hatshepsut)", BM 174, HT 5, pl.30, temp. regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.12. Rock stela of Senenmut at Aswan, pl.75, temp. regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.13. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.85, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.14. Jamb(?) from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.95, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.15. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.64, temp. regency of Hatshepsut (3.2.1.B.2).

1a.16. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at

Karnak, pl.86, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.17. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.87, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?). Immediately to the right of the right-facing titulary of Hatshepsut is the beginning of a left-facing speech of a deity rd.n(.j) n.t ḥḥ [n rnpwt/ḥbw sd?] "I have given to you millions [of years/sed festivals?]", so that Hatshepsut must be standing before a deity.

1a.18. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.63, temp. regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.19-20. Two blocks from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pls.92,94, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

1a.21. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.89, temp. regency of Hatshepsut(?). Immediately to the left of the left-facing inscription of Hatshepsut are traces of a right-facing speech of Amun [dd mdw j]n Jmn ..., so Hatshepsut must have been standing directly before the god.

1a.22-23. Two blocks from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pls.90,91, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut.

2c.1. Vase from KV 20 (Thutmose I and Hatshepsut), Davis et al. Tomb of Ḥâtshopsîtû, 109 fig.6, temp. Thutmose I-early Thutmose II. The third line should be restored jr.n.s n jt.s nsw [bjtj ( ) ...]. Since KV 20 was probably originally the tomb of Thutmose I (Romer JEA 60[1974], 119-133), the jar is likely to have been part of the funerary equipment of that king, and the titles may be those of Hatshepsut as princess and not queen.

2c.2. Fragment of a jar, MMA 10.130.1667, pl.158, date uncertain. Since the title ḥmt nsw (wrt) is absent, Hatshepsut may not yet be queen. The hieroglyphs after Jmn are not clear.

4.1. Block from a building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, pl.93, temp. Thutmose II-regency of Hatshepsut. See Gitton BIFAO 78(1978), 391-2, who identifies the king as Thutmose I or II and the queen as Hatshepsut. There is little doubt of the second identification, as Hatshepsut is the only queen found on these blocks. The first presents problems.

Thutmose III also appears on some blocks (3.1.1.2). This scene could therefore date to the beginning of his reign, and show him with his regent. The decoration of the building was begun by Thutmose II and lasted into the reign of Hatshepsut as king. If the king is Thutmose I, his presence would post-date his death. It could only be part of Hatshepsut's campaign of association with her father in order to support her claim to the throne, and would date to the end of the regency. If the king is Thutmose II, it would date to his reign, as there is no evidence that Hatshepsut appeared in scenes with him after his death. Because of the unusual titles of the queen, I would prefer to place the block during the regency.

Table 27, Titulary of Mutnofret (c).

1b.1. Statue from the mortuary temple of Wadjmose, CG 572, temp. Thutmose II.

Table 28, Titulary of Senisonb (d).

1e.1. Scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, chapel of Anubis, room VIII, PM 2^2, 363(122) f, pl.9, temp. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

Table 29, Titulary of unidentified queen.

1a.1. Khartoum Museum 443, LD 2, 149a, Wilkinson MSS xi.82. Identified as Ahmose Nofretary by Gitton L'épouse, 14; as Hatshepsut by Sethe Untersuchungen 1, 25. The titulary gives little guide to the identity of the owner. Of queens who are hnmt nfr hdt, Ahmose Nofretary, Hatshepsut and Meritamun II would be candidates, but not Ahhotpe II or III, who are not hmt ntr. It could belong to a queen not otherwise attested as hnmt nfr hdt. Ahmose Nofretary is depicted on a block from the temple at Sai, but continued 18th dynasty activity there makes it possible that the statue belonged to a later queen. Attribution to Hatshepsut on the grounds that the cartouche has been erased is not convincing, as there is no evidence of systematic erasure of her name when she has the normal titles of a queen; this probably occurred only where

she was shown as king. If the erasure of the cartouche is deliberate, it is more likely that it contained the element Jmn.

Table 30, Titulary of Ese I (c).

1b.1. Block from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, Ricke Totentempel, 30 with n.5, temp. Thutmose III.

Table 31, Titulary of Meritre Hatshepsut (a)?/Ese (c) in surcharge.

1a.1. Stela of Thutmose III from his mortuary temple, CG 34015, temp. Thutmose III (3.1.2.2).

Table 32, Titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut (a,b).

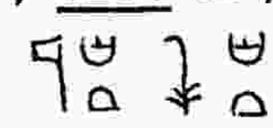
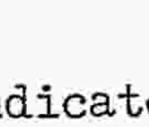
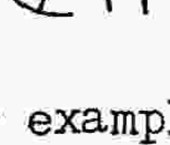
1a.1. Statue of Neferpert, CG 42121, temp. Thutmose III.

1a.2. ibid.

1a.3. Statue of Huy, mother of the hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt, BM 1280, temp. Thutmose III(?). For probable identification of the queen with Meritre and date, see 2.4.3.

1b.1. Scene with a statue of Meritre Hatshepsut in TT 93 (Qenamun), pl.136, temp. Amenhotpe II.

1b.2. Lintel from a door of Amenhotpe II, reused in the temple of Mont at Karnak, pl.12, temp. Amenhotpe II.

1b.3. Memphite stela of Amenhotpe II with an account of the king's return to Memphis after the campaign of year 7, Ahmed Badawi ASAE 42(1943), 16, pl.1.17; Urk. IV, 1305, temp. Amenhotpe II. Ahmed Badawi restores  , but s3t is not present on his plate; Helck indicates this by  . s3t nsw normally precedes hmt ntr (4.2.2), so its position here would be unusual. Since hmt nsw is already present, the only other titles that could be restored would be snt nsw or mwt nsw. Like s3t nsw, snt nsw would normally precede hmt ntr hmt nsw. mwt nsw, however, often follows these titles, and there is no reason why it should not be restored here; it would then have to refer to Meritre. mwt nsw would not fill the whole lacuna. I doubt if there is room for a cartouche, but there might be for the name  .

Alternatively, there might be another title, for example,

 or  , in which case the queen would not be named. The taxogram suggested by Ahmed Badawi is a further possibility, but less likely as it would probably not fill all the space. Further, although a taxogram often appears after a queen's name, it is not found after titles alone.

1c.1. Stick from KV 35 (Amenhotpe II), CG 24112, Ali Hassan Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches (München 1976),132-3 no.2 (called wife of Amenhotpe II), temp. Amenhotpe II.

1e.1. Left jamb of a door of Amenhotpe II, reused in the temple of Mont at Karnak, pl.12, temp. Amenhotpe II. mwt nsw was later altered to ḥmt nsw when the name of the queen was changed from Meritre to Tiaa.

1e.2. Right jamb of a door of Amenhotpe II, reused in the temple of Mont at Karnak, temp. Amenhotpe II. mwt nsw has been altered to ḥmt nsw, see 1e.1.

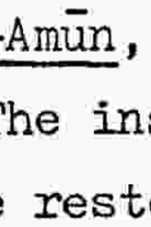
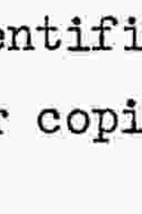
2a/5. Kiosk scene in TT 72 (Re), pl.42, temp. Amenhotpe II.

Table 33, Titularies of Meritamun II (a).

1a.1. Second coffin from TT 358, Cairo JE 53140, Winlock Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn, 20, pl.23 (for identification of queen, see 2.4.1). The inscription was later copied onto the first coffin by the restorers.

1a.2. Original mummy wrapping from TT 358, ibid., 11, temp. Amenhotpe II.

1a.3. Sarcophagus(?) fragment from TT 358, ibid., 23 fig.8, 24.

1a.4. Cup from the tomb of Wenennofer at Saqqara, Louvre N 465, Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, no.555, temp. Amenhotpe II(?). Vandier d'Abbadie attributes the cup to the daughter of Ramesses II, but she is not ḥmt nṯr, and it must belong to one of the two 18th dynasty queens. I have tentatively placed the object under Meritamun II because the writing  is reminiscent of  on Meritamun II's coffin; elsewhere it is common to write these titles as separate groups. The tomb of Wenennofer is of the 30th dynasty. To judge by the phrase m3ᶜt ḥrw ḥr Wsjr, the cup was probably part of the queen's funerary equipment, and

presumably came from her plundered tomb at Thebes. It must have been taken north at some later date, and finally put into Wenennofer's tomb.

Table 34, Titulary of Iaret (a).

1a.1. Rock stela at Konosso, pl.26, year 7 of Thutmose IV.

Table 35, Titularies of Tiaa (a,b).

1a.1. Stela of Amenhotpe II, Karnak cachette, Cairo temp.no. 6.11.26.6, pl.13, temp. Amenhotpe II.

1b.1. Statue of Thutmose IV and Tiaa from Karnak, CG 42082, temp. Thutmose IV.

1c.1. Statue by the right leg of a colossus of Amenhotpe II by the south face of the eighth pylon at Karnak, PM 2^2, 176M, Labib Habachi ASAE 38(1938), 80-3 no.13; Arch. Lacau MSS/RC, A XII, a,6 (with cartouche of queen).

1e.1. Back pillar from a statue at Giza, Selim Hassan Giza 8, 78-9, fig.64; Zivie Giza, 160-64, NE 36, temp. Thutmose IV.

5.1. Fragment of a statue of Thutmose IV and Tiaa, CG 1167, temp. Thutmose IV. A further inscription gives hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f mrjjt Sbk Šdt without a name. Since mrjjt Sbk Šdt "beloved of Sobk of Shedet" belongs to a type of epithet normally placed after the name, it is not included here as a title.

6.1. Base of a standing statue from Giza, Selim Hassan Giza 8, 78-9, fig.63; Zivie Giza, 160-64, NE 36, temp. Thutmose IV.

Table 36, Titularies of Mutemwiya (c).

1a.1. Statue group, BM 43, prow of bark, HT 7, pl.6, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1e.1. Birth scene in the temple of Luxor, Mutemwiya and Thoth, PM 2^2, 326(152) II.1, pl.57, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1e.2. 1) Birth scene in the temple of Luxor, Mutemwiya with Hathor and Khnum, PM 2^2, 326(152) II.2, pl.58, temp. Amenhotpe III.

2) Birth scene in the temple of Luxor, speech of the souls at the birth, PM 2^2, 326(152) II.3, pl.59, temp. Amenhotpe III.

le.3. Birth scene in the temple of Luxor, Mutemwiya and Thoth, PM 2^2. 326(152) II.1, pl.57, temp. Amenhotpe III.

le.4. Birth scene in the temple of Luxor, the birth, PM 2^2, 326(152) II.3, pl.59, temp. Amenhotpe III.

5.1. 1) Statue by the south "Memnon colossus" at the entrance to the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, LD Text 3, 144; Wilkinson MSS i.92, temp. Amenhotpe III.

2) Statue by the north "Memnon colossus" at the entrance to the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, Wilkinson MSS i.96, temp. Amenhotpe III.

5.2. Black granite seated statue, lower part only, broken at waist, by the storehouses to the north of the Ramesseum, temp. Amenhotpe III (جفت ٥٥ ١١٣).

6.1. Statue group, BM 43, left side of bark, HT 7, pl.6; Urk. IV, 1772, temp. Amenhotpe III. The end of the inscription is broken:  . The second mwt must be the beginning of

the queen's name, since the titles mwt nsw and mwt ntr appear earlier in the titulary, and the vulture holds a flail, which on this monument occurs only in the queen's name.

6.2. Statue group, BM 43, right side of bark, HT 7, pl.6; Urk. IV, 1772, temp. Amenhotpe III. The inscription is broken after mwt ntr; the beginning of another title can just be seen. It is doubtful whether there would be room for a further title before the name, to judge by the length of the parallel inscription on the opposite side of the bark (6.1). The traces of the last title are  .  is a separate hieroglyph, and not the flail of mwt, as drawn by Helck. Underneath q, t is quite clear. The following two signs are written close together. The first may be  , but as the top runs parallel with the break, it is difficult to tell whether the oblique stroke is part of the sign or not. It is tempting to think that it is, forming qm3t "one who created".

This leaves a problem with the following vertical sign. It is too close to the first to be ntr. (The two signs are not joined at the bottom. The title seems to be one of the many

queens' titles which occur only once, so that there is no parallel that can help in its restoration.

Table 37, Titularies of Teye (a,b).

1a.1. Kiosk scene in TT 47 (Userhat), pl.45, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1a.2. Scene showing the erection of the dd pillar in TT 192 (Kheruef), Brugsch Thesaurus 5, 1190-91; Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 479, pl.39, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1a.3. Kiosk scene in TT 192 (Kheruef), Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 471, pl.39; Lange - Hirmer Ägypten, pl.152, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1a.4. Scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye leaving the palace in TT 192 (Kheruef), Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 492-3, pl.40, "After sculpturing the wall, it was found that some of the parts ought to be removed and stones were put in their places. But owing to the sudden stop of the work in the tomb these inserted stones were never sculptured and so we now find parts of the figures and the inscriptions interrupted."

1a.5. Statue base of Teye from Medinet Ghurab reused for a statuette of a prince or princess, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum inv.no.54, Borchardt Porträtkopf, 14-15 fig.14, temp. Amenhotpe III (n.567).

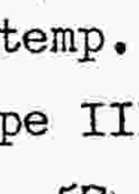
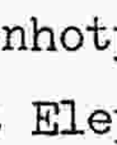
1a.6. 1) Standing statuette group, originally with Amenhotpe III but figure of latter now missing, Louvre E 25493 + N 2312, Vandier Mon. Piot, 54(1965), 7-23, temp. Amenhotpe III.

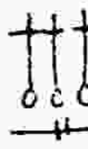
2) Standing statuette, Macclesfield Museum, David Macclesfield Collection, 59 H 10, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1a.7. Scene in the temple of Amenhotpe III at Elephantine, sanctuary, Young Hieroglyphics, 57, temp. Amenhotpe III. ḥmt has been erroneously omitted, either by the sculptor or by the copyist, from the title <ḥmt> nsw wrt.

1a.8. Dedication text in the temple of Sedeinga, LD 3, 82g, temp. Amenhotpe III. ḥmt nsw [wrt] is the most likely restoration, but [mrjjt.f] is also possible.

1a.9. South stela in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, pl.23, temp. Amenhotpe III.

1a.10. Scene in the tomb of Huya, Amarna, Davies Amarna 3, pl.18, temp. Akhenaton. The writings  and  could be

mistakes for  and  .

1a.11. Innermost of four miniature coffins from KV 62 (Tutankhamun), Rowe ASAE 40(1940), 623-27; Urk. IV, 1770.17, one of three titularies, see also 1d.1,2, date uncertain.

1b.1. Canopy made for Teye by Akhenaton, Cairo JE 57175, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tiyi, pl.32 left, temp. Akhenaton.

1b.2. ibid., pl.31 left.

1c.1. Fragment of a funerary figure from the Valley of the Kings, Aubert Or 42(1973), pl.38, fig.2, temp. Akhenaton. The piece is dated by the writing .

1d.1-2. Innermost of four miniature coffins from KV 62 (Tutankhamun), Rowe ASAE 40(1940), 623-7; Urk. IV, 1770.14-15,16, see also 1a.11, date uncertain.

5.1. 1) Canopy made for Teye by Akhenaton, Cairo JE 57175, Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tîyi, pl.31 right, temp. Akhenaton.

2) Scene with Amenhotpe IV in TT 192 (Kheruef), Ahmed Fakhry ASAE 42(1943), 460; Urk. IV, 1872.8, temp. Amenhotpe IV.

3)-4) Two scenes in the tomb of Huya, Amarna, Davies Amarna 3, pls.4,6, temp. Akhenaton.

5) Title of Huya in tomb at Amarna, jmj-r3 pr mwt nsw hmt nsw wrt (Tjj), Davies Amarna 3, pls.9,16,17, temp. Akhenaton.

6) Title of Huya in tomb at Amarna, jmj-r3 pr m pr mwt nsw hmt nsw wrt, Davies Amarna 3, pls.15,19, temp. Akhenaton.

7) Scene in the tomb of Huya at Amarna with a representation of a statue in the temple, Davies Amarna 3, pl.10, temp. Akhenaton.

5.2. Small round box of Akhenaton and Teye from Medinet Ghurab, Louvre E 11044, Vandier d'Abbadie Objets de toilette, 122, temp. Akhenaton.

Table 38, Titularies of Sitamun III (a).

1a.1. 1) Box, green glazed steatite, Louvre, Petrie HS, 852, see Vandersleyen CdE 52/104(1977), 231-2 n.1, temp. Amenhotpe III.

2) Kohl tube with the prenomen of Amenhotpe III, Wallis Egyptian Ceramic Art, 21, fig.34, temp. Amenhotpe III.

3) Beer dockets from the palace of Amenhotpe III at Malqata,

Hayes JNES 10(1951), fig.8 no.95 (30 examples); Leahy Malkata 4, nos.4,5,6,107 and perhaps 108,109 are of Hayes' type 95, temp. Amenhotpe III, year 30. The dockets contain the phrase p3 hb sd, which presumably indicates the first sed festival, especially as most of the ale dockets from Malqata date to year 30, Leahy Malkata 4, 6.

1a.2. 1) Statue of Amenhotpe son of Hapu with the title jmj-r3 pr n s3t nsw hmt nsw (S3tjmn), CG 42127, Varille Inscriptions, 4-13, temp. Amenhotpe III.

2) Bowl from Amarna with the name of Amenhotpe III and filiation to Teye, CG 18459, temp. Amenhotpe III. The original name in the middle cartouche has been erased and replaced by the prenomen of Amenhotpe III. This cannot have been the king's nomen because of the titles s3t nsw hmt nsw; the only women known at this time with these titles are Amenhotpe III's daughters, Sitamun and Ese. Sitamun is the most likely candidate, since the element jmn in her name would explain the erasure. The bowl, therefore, must date to the reign of Amenhotpe III.

3) Box fragments from Thebes with the names of Amenhotpe III and filiation to Teye, BM 5899A,B, Urk. IV, 1774, temp. Amenhotpe III.