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

Volume 1 : Text

by

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Abbreviations.

For other abbreviation see Annual Egyptological Bibliography (Leiden).

Aeg.Inschr. 2.	ed. G. Roeder Aegyptische Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 2 (Leipzig 1924).
Aldred Middle Kingdom Art.	C. Aldred Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt 2300-1590 B.C. (London 1950).
Aldred New Kingdom Art.	C. Aldred New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty 1570 to 1320 B.C.[2] (London 1961).
Allen The Book of the Dead.	translated by T.G. Allen The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day (Chicago 1974).
Anc.Eg.	Ancient Egypt (London 1914-1935).
Arnold Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep 2.	D. Arnold Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari 2 (Mainz am Rhein 1974).
Ayrton et al. Abydos 3.	E.R. Ayrton, C.T. Currelly and A.E.P. Weigall Abydos Part III 1904 (London 1904).
Barguet Temple.	P. Barguet Le temple d'Amon-Rê a Karnak: essai d'exégese (Le Caire 1962).
von Beckerath Untersuchungen.	J. von Beckerath Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten (Glückstadt 1964).
Benson - Gourlay Temple of Mut in Asher.	Benson and Gourlay The Temple of Mut in Asher (London 1899).

Birch Catalogue.	S. Birch Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle (London 1880).
Birch - Rhind Facsimiles.	S. Birch and A. Rhind Facsimiles of Two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes (London 1863).
von - Bissing - Kees Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re 2 and 3.	F.W. von Bissing and H. Kees Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re (Rathures) 2 and 3 (Leipzig 1923 - 1928).
von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund.	F.W. von Bissing Ein thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reiches (Berlin 1900).
B[isson de la] R[oque] Tôd (1934 à 1936).	F. B[isson de la] R[oque] Tôd (1934 à 1936) (Le Caire 1937).
Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories.	A. Blackman Middle-Egyptian Stories (Bruxelles 1972).
Borchardt Porträtkopf.	L. Borchardt Der Porträtkopf der Königin Teje im Besitz von Dr. James Simon in Berlin (Leipzig 1911).
Borchardt Statuen 1-4.	L. Borchardt Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo 1-4 (Berlin 1911-1934).
Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno.	S. Bosticco Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno (Roma 1965).
Brugsch Thesaurus.	H. Brugsch Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum 1-6 (Leipzig 1883-1891).

Brunner Geburt.	H. Brunner Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos (Wiesbaden 1964).
Brunner Die südlichen Räume.	H. Brunner Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor (Mainz 1977).
CAH^3.	The Cambridge Ancient History^3 1 part 2 (Cambridge 1971) 2 part 1 (Cambridge 1973).
Calverley Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1-4.	A.M. Calverley The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos 1-4 (London - Chicago 1933-1958).
Caminos New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2.	R.A. Caminos The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 2 (London 1974).
Carter et al. Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV.	H. Carter and P.E. Newberry The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV (Westminster 1904).
CG 1-1294	L. Borchardt Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo 1-4 (Berlin 1911-1934).
CG 18459, 18486.	F.W. von Bissing Steingefässe (Vienne 1904-7).
CG 20001-20780.	H.O. Lange und H. Schäfer Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo 1 (Berlin 1902).
CG 23034.	Ahmed Bey Kamal Tables d'offrandes 1 (Le Caire 1909).
CG 24001-24990.	G. Daressy Fouilles de la vallée des rois (1898-1899) (Le Caire 1902).
CG 34001-34189.	P. Lacau Stèles du Nouvel Empire (Le Caire 1909).

CG 36001-37521.	P.E. Newberry Scarab-shaped Seals (London 1907).
CG 42001-42250.	G. Legrain Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers 1-3 (Le Caire 1906-1914).
CG 51001-51191.	J.E. Quibell The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu (Le Caire 1908).
CG 61001-61044.	G. Dareey Cercueils des cachettes royales (Le Caire 1909).
CG 61051-61100.	G.E. Smith The Royal Mummies (Le Caire 1912).
Champollion Mon.	J.F. Champollion-le-Jeune Monuments de L'Égypte et de la Nubie, d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux sous la direction de Champollion-le-Jeune: Planches 1-4 (Paris 1835-1845).
Champollion Not.descr.	J.F. Champollion-le-Jeune Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes redigés sur les lieux par Champollion-le-Jeune 1-2 (Paris 1844-1889).
Cooney Amarna Reliefs.	J. Cooney Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections (Brookly 1965).
Daressy Cercueils.	G. Daressy Cercueils des cachettes royales (Le Caire 1909).

David Macclesfield Collection.	R. David The Macclesfiels Collection of Egyptian Antiquities (Warminster 1980).
Davies Amarna 1-6.	N. de G. Davies The Rock Tombs of El Amarna 1-6 (London 1903-1908).
Davies - Macadam Corpus.	N. de G. Davies and M.F.L. Macadam A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones 1 (Oxford 1957).
Davies Tomb of Ken-Amūn.	N. de G. Davies The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes (New York 1930).
Davies Tomb of Rekh-mi-re^{c}.	N. de G. Davies The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re^{c} at Thebes 1 (New York 1943).
Davies Tombs of Menkheperrasonb	N. de G. Davies The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos.86, 112, 42, 226) (London 1933).
Davis et al. Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû.	T.M. Davis, E. Naville and H. Carter The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû (London 1906).
Davis et al. Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou.	T.M. Davis, G. Maspero, P.E. Newberry and H. Carter The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou (London 1907).
Davis et al. Tomb of Queen Tîyi.	T.M. Davis, G. Maspero, E.R. Ayrton and G. Daressy The Tomb of Queen Tîyi (London 1910).
Desroches-Noblecourt - Kuentz Petit temple 1-2.	C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel "Nofretari pour qui se lève le dieu-soleil" 1-2 (Le Caire 1968).

Drioton - Vandier L'Égypte[5].	E. Drioton and J. Vandier L'Égypte des origines à la conquête d'Alexandre[5] (Paris 1975).
Fabretti et al. Regio Museo di Torino 1.	A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R.V. lanzone Regio Museo di Torino 1 (Torino 1882).
Faulkner Concise Dictionary.	R.O. Faulkner A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford 1962).
Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum.	Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museum (Berlin 1974).
Festschrift Schott.	ed. W. Helck Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967 (Wiesbaden 1968)
Gardiner Grammar.	A.H. Gardiner Egyptian Grammar being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs[3] (Oxford 1969).
Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai 1-2.	A.H. Gardiner, T.E. Peet and J. Cerny The Inscriptions of Sinai 1-2 (London 1952-1955).
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Gitton L'épouse.	M. Gitton L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Nefertary: Documents sur la vie et son culte posthume (Paris 1975).
Gayet Temple de Louxor.	A. Gayet Le temple de Louxor ler fasc. Constructions d'Aménophis III (Paris 1894).

Labib Habachi Second Stela of Kamose.	Labib Habachi The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital (Glückstadt 1972).
Hall Scarabs.	H.R. Hall Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum 1 (London 1913).
Harris - Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs.	J.E. Harris and K.R. Weeks X-Raying the Pharaohs; illustrated with photographs (London 1973).
Selim Hassan Giza 4.	Selim Hassan Excavations at Gîza 4: 1932-33 (Cairo 1943).
Selim Hassan Giza 8.	Selim Hassan Gîza 1936-37: The Great Sphinx and its Secrets, Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations (Cairo 1953).
Hayes Scepter 1-2.	W.C. Hayes The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part 1: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom (New York 1953) Part 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.) (New York 1959).
Hölscher Excavation of Medinet Habu.	U. Hölscher The Excavation of Medinet Habu 2: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Chicago 1939).
Hornemann Types 1-7.	B. Hornemann Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary 1-7 (Copenhagen 1951-1969).

Hornung - Staehelin Skarabäen.	E. Hornung and E. Staehelin Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen (Mainz 1976).
HT 2-9.	Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc., in the British Museum (London 1912-1970).
James Corpus 1.	T.G.H. James Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum 1 (Brooklyn 1974).
Jéquier L'architecture 1.	G. Jéquier L'architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte 1 (Paris 1920).
Jéquier Les pyramides des reines.	G. Jéquier Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit (Le Caire 1933).
Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions 2.	K.A. Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical 2 (Oxford 1971).
LÄ 1-3	Lexikon der Ägyptologie 1-3 (Wiesbaden 1975-1977).
Lacau et al. Chapelle d'Hatshepsout.	P. Lacau, H. Chevrier, M.-A. Bonhême and M. Gitton Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak 1 (Le Caire 1977).
Lacau - Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier.	P. Lacau and H. Chevrier Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak (Le Caire 1956).
Lacau Stèles.	P. Lacau Stèles du Nouvel Empire (Le Caire 1909).

Lange - Hirmer Ägypten[4]	K. Lange and M. Hirmer Ägypten: Architektur Plastik Malerei in drei Jahrtausenden[4] (München 1967).
LD	R. Lepsius Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Plates 1-6 (Leipzig 1849-1859).
LD Text	R. Lepsius Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Text 1-5 (Leipzig 1897-1913).
Leahy Malkata 4.	M.A. Leahy Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-1974 4 The Inscriptions (Warminster 1978).
Legrain Répertoire.	G. Legrain Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire. Monuments de al XVII et de la XVIII dynasties (Geneva 1908).
Legrain Statues 1-3.	G. Legrain Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers 1-3 (Le Caire 1906-1914).
Mariette Abydos 1-2.	A. Mariette Abydos. Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville 1-2 (Paris 1869-1880).
Mariette Karnak.	A. Mariette Karnak. Étude topographique et archéologique avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak (Leipzig 1875).

Martin Royal Tomb 1	G.T. Martin The Royal Tomb at el-ᶜAmarna (London 1974).
Maspero Momies royales.	G. Maspero Les momies royales de Déir el-Bahari (Paris 1889).
Maspero Le musée égyptien 3.	G. Maspero Le musée égyptien: recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte 3 (Le Caire 1915).
Matouk Corpus.	Fouad S. Matouk Corpus du scarabée égyptien 1: Les scarabées royaux (Beyrouth 1971).
Mertz "Certain Titles".	B.G. Mertz "Certain Titles of the Egyptian Queens and their Bearing to the Throne on the Hereditary Right" unpublished dissertation (Chicago 1952).
de Morgan Cat.des Mon. 1-2.	J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jequier and A. Barsanti Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique 1er série Haute Égypte 1-2 (Vienne 1894-1895).
de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour 1-2.	J. de Morgan Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894 (Vienne 1895). Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895 (Vienne 1903).
Münster Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis.	M. Münster Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches (Berlin 1968).
NARCE	Newsletter of the American Research Centre in Egypt (Princeton N.J.)

Naville Ahnas el Medineh.	E. Naville Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna) with Chapters on Mendes, the Nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis (London 1894).
Naville Deir el Bahari 1-6	E. Naville The Temple of Deir el Bahari 1-6 (London 1895-1908).
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Introduction.

Much of the available material for this thesis is monumental and mostly concerned with the official view of "queenship", rather than the individual queen. Documents which might tell us something about the lives, characters and influence of these women are almost entirely lacking. It is possible that anomalies in the material which we have might supply some hints about the latter, but before any satisfactory examination can be made along these lines, we must first establish what the official position of the queen was; otherwise we cannot hope to pick out any unusual traits of a particular queen.

The first step in this study must be to identify the women we can consider as queens. The material shows that not only the king's chief wife (hmt nsw wrt) but also the king's mother (mwt nsw) are queens, while secondary wives (hmt nsw) are not. The titles "king's daughter" (s3t nsw) and "king's sister" (snt nsw) are not restricted to queens, but the first is only used by queens of royal birth, and the second by sisters of kings (section 1). This is helpful for establishing the genealogy of the 18th dynasty royal family, which is reconstructed in section 2 to provide a framework for the material.

In sections 3 and 4, I have made a systematic study of the iconography and titles of queens, to see if there is any distinction made in their use by queens, which might suggest a varying status among queens. For this purpose, I have divided the queens into three major types, and four minor ones each consisting of an individual queen in unique circumstances, on the basis of their use of the titles hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw.

a) those who are hmt nsw wrt of the reigning king: Ahhotpe I, Ahhotpe III, Ahmose Nofretary, Sitkamose, Meritamun I, Ahmose, Hatshepsut, Sitioh, Meritre Hatshepsut, Meritamun II, Tiaa, Iaret, Nofretary, Teye, Sitamun III.

b) those who are mwt nsw and were previously ḥmt nsw wrt of their husband: Ahmose Nofretary, Ahmose, Meritre Hatshepsut, Tiaa, [Teye in the reign of Akhenaton].

c) those who are mwt nsw, but were not the ḥmt nsw wrt of their husband: Tetisheri, Ahhotpe II, Mutnofret, Ese, Mutemwiya.

d) Senisonb who is mwt nsw, but not the wife of a king.

e) Ahmose Nofretary in the reign of Thutmose I to whom she was neither ḥmt nsw wrt nor mwt nsw.

f) Ahmose in the reign of Thutmose II to whom she is not mwt nsw, although she was ḥmt nsw wrt of the previous king.

g) Hatshepsut in the first years of the reign of Thutmose III when she was regent for the king,[1] but not his mwt nsw nor ḥmt nsw wrt.

In addition, queens can also be divided into those who are of royal birth and those who are not, and those who use the title ḥmt nṯr and those who do not (below).

This question of differentiation in status is of importance in examining a controversial point concerning the part played by the queen in the transmission of the right to the throne. In the past, many scholars believed that this depended on the king's marriage to the royal "heiress",[2] and although this has been questioned,[3] the idea is still current,[4] and no systematic examination of the problem has been made. The "heiress" theory maintains that the king, even if the son of his predecessor and chief wife (ḥmt nsw wrt), had to legitimise his claim to the throne by marriage with the "heiress", who would be the daughter of the previous king and his chief wife, and normally the sister or half-sister of the reigning king. In other words, the right to the throne descended through the female line, although the office of king would be exercised by the man whom the "heiress" married.

If this theory is correct, each king must be shown to have

married a woman of royal birth, and there should be a line of queens in direct descent from one another. Egyptian kings are polygynous, and it is normally considered that the "heiress" must be the chief wife of the king. If this were not so, the idea would in any case be impossible to examine. Secondary wives are rarely mentioned, and if the king could make any woman his chief wife, provided he had the "heiress" safely in his "harim", we would not be able to discover evidence for or against her existence. However, if the king's right to the throne could only be by marriage to the "heiress", one would expect this to be part of the official myth of kingship, and to find evidence of her existence on the monuments. An examination of the theory must, therefore, centre round the chief wife of the king.

Certain items of insignia and titles have been suggested as marking this woman. If this were so, one would have to show a distinction in their use between queens of royal birth and non-royal birth, and those of type a and b, who were hmt nsw wrt in the lifetime of their husbands, and those of type c, who only hold the title in the reigns of their sons.

One title often linked with the "heiress" is that of hmt ntr (nt Jmn). It has been suggested that this title referred to the union between Amun and the queen recounted in the birth cycle, from which the heir to the throne was born, and that the queen concerned must therefore have been the "heiress".[5] An examination of the two surviving versions of this myth from our period[6] shows that neither of the queens concerned was hmt ntr, but belief in the connection still persists.[7] Recent studies have shown, however, that the title is one of priestly office, already known in the Middle Kingdom, which became settled on female members of the royal family at the beginning of the 18th dynasty.[8] Not all queens have the title, which may also be held by princesses. Therefore, while a queen may hold the office, it is

not part of her function as queen (4.4.8).

In discussing the problem of the possible transmission of the right to the throne through an "heiress", one might theoretically consider whether this is a matter of filiation, that is, of a kinship link between parent and child, or of descent, that is, of a legal principle governing the transmission of rights from generation to generation,[9] since the person and physical parentage of the "heiress" could be quite separate from the role as such. The king, for instance, is always the "son" of his predecessor, even when there is no physical link.[10] Thus, the role of the "heiress" could descend from generation to generation alongside that of the king, while the holder in each generation need not be the physical offspring of her predecessor. The role of the king would be legitimised by marriage to the hmt nsw wrt, who would combine her office with the role of "heiress", but the successive occupants of it would not necessarily be related genetically.

However, I think such a consideration would come into play only if we were able to show that the right to the throne was transmitted through an "heiress". When the "heiress" theory came into being, no such possibility was considered, and even today, the theory would not generally be conceived in such terms by Egyptologists. If the theory can be refuted on the grounds which gave rise to it, there is little point in continuing to postulate the existence of an "heiress", because, unlike the theory of the descent of the role of the king, which is justified by the mythology of kingship known from the official texts,[11] there is no evidence from these sources for the existence of the role of "heiress". The basis for the "heiress" theory accepted by most Egyptologists is the existence of brother-sister marriage. Since an alternative explanation for this can be offered (5.2), it is

possible to question the original grounds which gave rise to the theory, and since there is no reference to, or even hint of, the existence of an "heiress" in Egyptian texts themselves, there is no case for retaining the "heiress" theory on any other basis.

I have terminated this study at the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III, because to include the large amount of material from the next reign concerning Nefertiti would have lengthened the work beyond reasonable bounds, and also because the Amarna period involves many problems of its own. I have assumed that there was no long coregency between Amenhotpe III and Akhenaton.[12] Because the role of Teye in the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton as mwt nsw is complementary to that of Nefertiti as hmt nsw wrt, it is not possible to consider Teye by herself at this time. Therefore, only her position as hmt nsw wrt ofAmenhotpe III is fully discussed, and not that of mwt nsw to Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton. However, for the purposes of comparison, I sometimes look ahead to the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton, and refer to material relating both to Teye as mwt nsw and to the hmt nsw wrt Nefertiti.

Because of lack of space, it has been impossible to consider systematically posthumous material from later dynasties relating to our queens, and especially to Ahmose Nofretary and her cult.[13] Although such a study would be of interest, I doubt if it is strictly relevant to our knowledge of "queenship" in the 18th dynasty, illuminating rather the attitude of later dynasties to the earlier and especially to the cult of the early 18th dynasty royal family. I suspect iconography and titles would reflect usage contemporary with the later monuments rather than that of the lifetime of the queen concerned. Study of these posthumous monuments would undoubtedly be rewarding, but it is beyond the confines of what is possible in a

single work.

The unpublished thesis of B. Mertz "Certain Titles of the Egyptian Queens and their Bearing on the Hereditary Right to the Throne" (Chicago 1952) contains a study of queens' titles from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period, including Divine Adoratrices. As the title indicates, only particular queens' titles with the author feels to be important for her purpose are discussed. For the New Kingdom, the main title treated is hmt nsw wrt. In a separate chapter, Mertz is concerned with the title hmt ntr, about which she concludes that "it is possible that it designated the heiress in the first period [18th dynasty]",[14] which is at variance with my conclusions (4.4.8). While I have covered some of the same ground as Mertz, I have concentrated on a shorter period, which has enabled me to discuss queens' titularies in much greater detail, treating both their structure and the majority of titles found in them. I have not given persistent references to Mertz because I have reworked all the material which she used at a basic level in my discussions. This material has not changed much since 1952, so that Mertz had the evidence at hand seriously to question and discard the idea of an "heiress". In her conclusion, she states "there may have been a traditional dogma concerning the king's marriage with an heiress, but this dogma was certainly ignored in many cases. In other cases it may have been utilized only as the rationalization of an already existing fact, royal power having been attained by conquest or other means."[15] Since no such dogma is found on any monument relating to the official view of kingship, it would have been profitable if Mertz had taken her analysis further and examined whether the concept of an "heiress" was a tenable one at all.

A catalogue of material referred to in section 3 on which queens,

hmt nsw and s3t nsw of our period appear is given in vol.4. It is concerned strictly with iconography and reference to it has not been extended to the other sections of vol.1 or to vol.2, except where the text would otherwise duplicate the catalogue. In these sections, where reference is made to a plate which illustrates material suitable for entry in the catalogue, the catalogue number can be found in the list of plates at the beginning of vol.3.

I have also made a study of the position of royal children during the same period as the queens, but I have had to omit this for reasons of space. A brief outline of this work is included in vol.4. Two articles, which are also complementary to my work, are bound in at the back of vol.1.

1. Titles which indicate female members of the royal family by birth or marriage, and those which are taken to indicate a queen.

Since this study is concerned with the queens of the 18th dynasty, it is necessary first to identify the women we can consider as queens. The English term "queen" usually means "the wife of a king"[16], but can also signify "a woman who is the chief ruler of a state, having the same rank and position as a king".[17] The ambiguity of the English term is not possible in Egyptian, since the evidence shows that the few women who ruled in their own right used the traditional titulary of a king,[18] so that the second meaning does not concern us here. It would seem, then, that this study should be concerned with the wives of Egyptian kings, generally considered to be designated by the titles hmt nsw "king's wife" and hmt nsw wrt "king's great wife" (1.1). But since Egyptian kings were polygynous, it must be decided whether all their wives should be called "queens"; I shall show that there is a distinction between the hmt nsw and the hmt nsw wrt, which will lead me to translate only the latter by the word "queen" (1.8). In addition, it will become clear that the mother of a king, normally designated by the term "queen-mother" in English, is in most cases distinguished from the hmt nsw wrt only by her title mwt nsw "king's mother" (1.8; also sections 3,4); I shall therefore class her also as a queen. Some hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw also use the titles s3t nsw and snt nsw "king's daughter" and "king's sister". It can be shown that these do not in themselves indicate a queen, but that they mark a member of the royal family (1.3,4), which is of importance in considering the "heiress" theory (Introduction). A study of all the titles I have mentioned is therefore necessary.

These titles, which I shall call "titles of relationship", consist of a kinship term followed by nsw as a direct genitive. They

are shown to be titles by their inclusion in titularies between other titles and the name, whereas kinship terms are placed before any titles. The only masculine title of relationship is s3 nsw "king's son", which does not concern us directly here.

1.1. hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt.

Although little is known about the Egyptian conception of marriage, and there is no record of any religious or legal ceremony connected with it, hmt as a kinship term seems to mean "wife".[19] Therefore, hmt nsw (wrt) is usually translated "king's (great/chief) wife" or "queen".[20] To attempt to understand these titles, we must examine the women who bore them. They divide into six groups (Tables 1 and 2).

1. Women who are hmt nsw only (Table 1 nos.1-9).
2. Women who are hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt, attested from the lifetime of their husbands (Table 2 nos.3,6-10,14-16).
3. Women who are hmt nsw wrt only (Table 2 nos.1,2,4,5,11-13).
4. Women who are hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt, attested only from the reigns of their sons or grandson, and who also have the title mwt nsw (Table 2 nos.17,18).
5. Women who are hmt nsw wrt, attested only from the reigns of their sons, and who also have the title mwt nsw (Table 2 nos.19,20).
6. A woman who is hmt nsw, attested only from the reign of her son and later, and who also has the title mwt nsw (Table 1 no.12).

There is a broader division within these groups, in that the women of groups 1-3 do not have the title mwt nsw, while groups 4-6 comprise women who are all mwt nsw, and are known only from the reigns of their sons or grandson. (Some of group 2 become mwt nsw in the reigns of their sons, but their titularies lack the title before their sons become king.)

The women of groups 2 and 4 are both hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt. Groups 3 and 5 are only attested as hmt nsw wrt. The addition of wrt to hmt nsw distinguishes the holder from an indefinite number of hmt nsw. Therefore, it is logical to assume that women who are hmt nsw wrt are also hmt nsw. Groups 3 and 5 should therefore also have been hmt nsw; they probably do not appear with the title because they are poorly attested. Since Ese and Mutemwiya were not hmt nsw wrt in the lifetime of their husbands, it is possible that at this time they were hmt nsw (1.1.3). Mutnofret, the only queen in group 6, is called only hmt nsw, but she is distinguished from group 1 by the title mwt nsw. She is attested only three times, and it is possible that she received the title hmt nsw wrt like other mwt nsw.

Although royal children of the period under discussion are poorly attested and rarely filiated to their mothers, over half the women of group 2 can be shown to have had children (Table 2). Therefore, there can be no doubt that these women had a sexual relationship with the king. The women of group 1 are far less well attested than those of group 2, but two of the former can be shown to have borne children (Table 1). All the women of groups 4-6 had children since they are the mothers of kings (Tables 1,2). Whether hmt nsw (wrt) could also be given as a ranking title only will be discussed in 1.7.

The succession passed from father to son except in the case of Thutmose I (2.4.1). It is worth noting that his mother, Senisonb, has the title mwt nsw, but not that of hmt nsw, one point which originally led Sethe to believe that he was of non-royal birth.[21] We can also point to two women in the 13th dynasty who were wives of non-royal men, but whose sons became king. Both women are mwt nsw and not hmt nsw.[22] This suggests that the title hmt nsw cannot be given to a woman who is not the wife of a king.

An examination of the categories of material on which the hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt appear (Table 7) shows that group 1 are attested mainly on funerary objects and on some private monuments. None of the women is found in temple scenes or on royal stelae. Many of the women of groups 2-6 are shown in temples and on royal stelae.[23] This division among the categories of material probably indicates that the hmt nsw wrt has a ritual function, while the hmt nsw does not (see also 3.2.2, esp. end). As a hmt nsw wrt can also be called just hmt nsw, it would seem that the latter is a title given to the wives of the king in general, from whom women would be chosen to be hmt nsw wrt. The latter are far better attested than the former because of their involvement in ritual functions which were recorded in temples and on royal monuments.[24]

1.1.1. Women who were hmt nsw wrt during the lifetime of their husband.

(For references, see Table 2 in vol. 2, 81 with references on pp. 90-2)

hmt nsw wrt	Husband
Ahhotpe I	A king before Ahmose
Ahhotpe III	Seqenenre Tao II
Ahmose Nofretary	Ahmose
Sitkamose (?)	Amenhotpe I
Meritamun I	
Ahmose	Thutmose I
Hatshepsut	Thutmose II
Sitioh	Thutmose III
Meritre Hatshepsut	
Meritamun II (?)	Amenhotpe II
Tiaa	
Iaret	Thutmose IV
Nofretary	

hmt nsw wrt	Husband
Teye, Sitamun III	Amenhotpe III
Nebetnehet (?)	?

Ahmose, Thutmose I and Thutmose II have only one hmt nsw wrt each during their reigns. There is evidence that Sitioh died during the reign of Thutmose III,[25] and Meritre was probably given the title after that.[26] Meritamun I appears on a stela of Amenhotpe I with his mother, Ahmose Nofretary (pl.4; 2.2.1). Otherwise, she and Sitkamose are not known from royal monuments during the reign of Amenhotpe I, and seem to be overshadowed by his mother. Meritamun II and Tiaa are poorly attested during the reign of Amenhotpe II, as are Iaret and Nofretary during that of Thutmose IV. We do not know, therefore, whether they held the title concurrently or consecutively.

Teye holds the title of hmt nsw wrt throughout the reign of Amenhotpe III.[27] By year 30, however, Sitamun III is also found with the title.[28] Her name occurs only on small objects and is not found on royal monuments or in temple scenes. She is plentifully attested on dockets from Malqata connected with the sed festival, but she is not named in any of the sed festival scenes. Since Ese and Henuttaneb, with the title s3t nsw, appear in scenes with their father and mother at Soleb[29] and on two bracelet plaques (pls.39,40), the absence of the eldest(?)[30] sister is conspicuous. I believe that this must be explained by her assumption of the title hmt nsw wrt. If the distinction between hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt is that the latter performs certain ritual functions, Sitamun will have been given the title because she sometimes substituted for her mother in the ritual. The lack of representation of Sitamun in any such function will be because whoever performed the ritual, Teye was shown doing it, just as the

king is always shown acting as priest in temples. Nevertheless, once she has the title hmt nsw wrt, Sitamun will no longer be depicted with the other s3t nsw.

Evidence from the 17th dynasty is sparse, and we do not know to which king Ahhotpe I belonged (2.3.3.1).

1.1.2. Women who are attested as hmt nsw wrt from the reigns of their sons.

The women of groups 4 and 5 are attested only from the reigns of their sons, when they appear with the title mwt nsw also. They are not known from the reigns of the preceding kings, and Thutmose II and Thutmose IV, the husbands of Ese and Mutemwiya respectively, had other hmt nsw wrt. During the lifetime of their husbands, they may have been hmt nsw (1.1.3), receiving the title hmt nsw wrt in the course of their sons' reigns. We then have knowledge of them because, as mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt, they are found in temple scenes and on royal monuments with their sons in the types of scene in which a hmt nsw wrt can appear with her husband (3.2.1-2).

1.1.3. hmt nsw.

Although Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom were polygynous, we know very little about the women in their "harims", and cannot be sure whether all or only some of them were entitled to be called hmt nsw. The "harim" had a staff responsible for its management,[31] which probably included women who were not hmt nsw. We do not know, however, whether hmt nsw was an official title granted to certain women, while there were others with whom the king had a sexual relationship who were not hmt nsw, or whether once such a relationship had been established with the king, the woman became hmt nsw automatically.[32] This problem bears on the question of the status of

those king's mothers who were not hmt nsw wrt of the preceding king, and whether we can assume that they were already hmt nsw. The answer is unlikely to be found, since such women are normally attested only on funerary objects; by the time a king's mother died and received funerary equipment, she had achieved the higher status of hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw.

1.2. mwt nsw.

The literal translation of mwt nsw is "king's mother". However, since mwt as a kinship term includes the meaning of "grandmother" and probably female ascendants in general,[33] the possibility that mwt nsw includes these relationships must be examined. The mother of one king will probably be his successor's paternal grandmother, and if she survives into her grandson's reign she will retain her title of mwt nsw, while the king's mother will be given the same title.[34] The title of the older woman will presumably still refer to her own son, the dead king. It is impossible to say whether it also had reference to the living king. There is no evidence that the title ever referred to the maternal grandmother of a king, who mostly remains unknown as the parents of queens of non-royal birth are rarely mentioned.

During the seven reigns from Thutmose I to Amenhotpe III, including that of Hatshepsut, seven women bear the title of mwt nsw.

1. On a stela of Thutmose I, we learn that the king was ms.n mwt nsw Snjsnb "born to the mwt nsw Senisonb" (CG 34006).
2. Thutmose II dedicated a statue n mwt.f hmt nsw mwt nsw (Mwtnfrt) "to his mother, the hmt nsw mwt nsw (Mutnofret)" (CG 572).
3. Ahmose, with the title mwt nsw, is shown as the mother of Hatshepsut in the birth scenes in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple.[35]
4. Thutmose III dedicated a statue n mwt.f mwt nsw (Jst) "to his

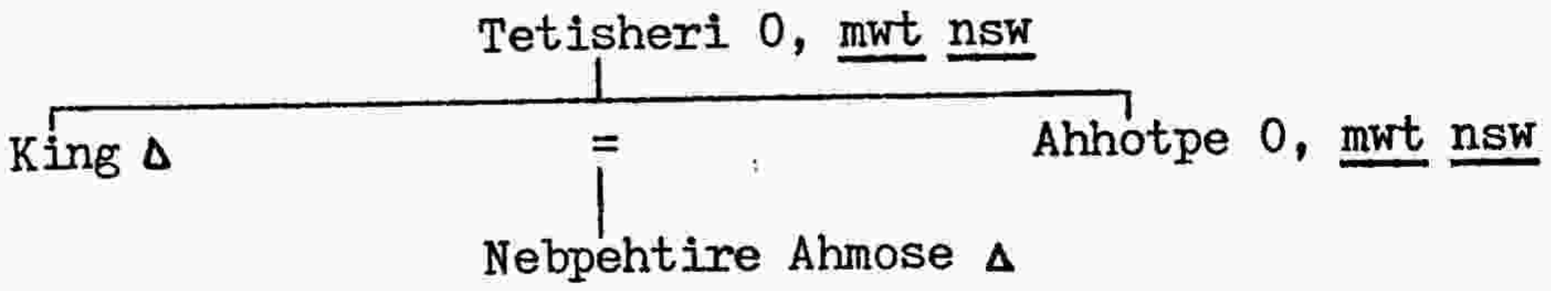
mother, the mwt nsw (Ese)" (CG 42072), and a text on the mummy wrappings of that king states that he was ms.n mwt nsw Jst "born to the mwt nsw Ese.[36]

5. Meritre Hatshepsut is attested as the ḥmt nsw wrt of Thutmose III during that king's reign (pls.10,11,36,37,52). In the reign of his successor, Amenhotpe II, she is found with the title mwt nsw (pls.42,136).

6. Tiaa is attested as the ḥmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe II (pl.13). She appears on a number of monuments from the reign of his successor, Thutmose IV, on four of which she has the title mwt nsw.[37]

7. The birth scenes at Luxor show Mutemwiya as the mother of Amenhotpe III (pls.55-60).

Before Thutmose I, there are two kings of the 18th dynasty, Ahmose and Amenhotpe I, and three of the 17th dynasty, Tao I, Tao II and Kamose, who all belong to the same family (section 2). No monuments of queens have been found from the reigns of the last three kings. However, we know from the stela of Ahmose for Tetisheri that she is the mother of his mother and father.[38] From the stela of Iuf (CG 34009), we learn that Ahmose's mother is Ahhotpe, so that the following is certain:



Therefore, Tetisheri and Ahhotpe are the mothers of kings.

Ahmose Nofretary, the ḥmt nsw wrt of Ahmose, is associated with the latter's successor, Amenhotpe I, on a stela of year 8 of that king with the title mwt nsw (pl.4), and also on later cult monuments, sometimes with the title mwt nsw (e.g. CG 34034). There is little doubt that she is his mother.

One of the ḥmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I is often stated to be

Ahhotpe II, owner of the coffin CG 61006, who has the title mwt nsw.[39] This is strange, as we have seen that his successor, Thutmose I, is associated with the mwt nsw Senisonb. I argue below (2.3.1) that Ahhotpe II, as I shall call the owner of CG 61006, is not the hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, but the mother of Ahmose.

Thus only one queen ever bears the title mwt nsw in relation to any one king. This makes it certain that the title is borne only by the king's mother, and that it is not given to any other woman who may stand in a maternal relationship to the king, such as the mother of his hmt nsw wrt.[40]

The mothers of queens of non-royal birth are rarely mentioned. Of the four whom we know, three have no title indicating their relationship with the king.[41] The fourth, Tjuiu, mother of Teye, has the title mwt nsw nt hmt nsw wrt.[42] This is never shortened to mwt nsw, but the title is puzzling as mwt nsw cannot mean "king's mother" here. The difficulty has been avoided in English by the translation "royal mother of the king's wife",[43] but this ignores the Egyptian. A parallel might be found in the term referring to the sister of a hmt nsw wrt. However, Mutnodjmet at Amarna[44] and Mutemnub on a statue of a man called Jjj[45] are snt hmt nsw wrt; if the title were formed on the lines of Tjuiu's, it would have to be *snt nsw nt hmt nsw wrt. The status of Teye's parents is unique, and this title was probably especially coined for Tjuiu. Whatever its explanation, it is distinct from mwt nsw and does not invalidate the conclusion that mwt nsw is given only to women who are the mothers of kings.

1.3. s3t nsw.

s3t nsw is usually translated "king's daughter". However, the kinship term s3t is merely the feminine form of s3, and is likely to have a similar sphere of reference. s3 can be shown to include the

meanings "grandson" and "descendant" as well as "son".[46] Therefore, s3t nsw should be examined to see if it may indicate a king's granddaughter or descendant as well as a king's daughter.

Junker collected a number of examples from the Old Kingdom which seemed to show that the titles s3/s3t nsw could refer to grandchildren of the king.[47] However, Bettina Schmitz shows in her study of the title s3 nsw[48] that this is not how the titles should be understood in these cases. She argues first that, if the title is applicable to grandsons of a king, then it would be borne by all grandsons, and this is not the case. Secondly, she shows that the royal grandsons who bear the title s3 nsw do not have it as children in tombs of their parents, but only later in their careers. She suggests that s3 nsw is a title found with certain offices, even when the holder is of non-royal origin, and that Junker's s3 nsw have the title because of the offices they hold and not because they are grandsons of a king. She also believes that Junker's examples of s3t nsw meaning "king's grand-daughter" are misleading. Merisankh III is not s3t nsw because she is the daughter of the s3 nsw Kawab and therefore grand-daughter of a king, but because of her mother's second marriage to Redjedef, after which she was the classificatory daughter of the king. In the case of Nsdrk3j, who is probably a daughter of Merib, Schmitz regards the title as a ranking one only. In her father's tomb, she lacks the title s3t nsw, whereas if she had been entitled to it from birth, one would expect to find it here as well as on later monuments. Schmitz demonstrates that in the Old Kingdom s3t nsw could be used by women of non-royal birth as a ranking title.

Schmitz's arguments that the titles s3/s3t nsw did not indicate the grandchildren of a king in the Old Kingdom are convincing. It would be tempting to assume that this applied to other periods as well, but we have one piece of evidence on an 18th dynasty object,

which names the s3t nsw Nbtj3 s3t s3 nsw S3jmn.[49] Although we know nothing about Nebetia and whether her case is for some reason anomalous, it is clear that she is the daughter of a s3 nsw. All other s3t nsw of the 18th dynasty whose parentage is known are children of a king, but in a number of cases there is no filiation to either parent (Table 4). It is possible, therefore, that some may be children of a s3 nsw, and not of a king.

Table 4 lists forty-four women who held the title from the end of the 17th dynasty to the end of the reign of Amenhotpe III. Of these, none can be shown to be of non-royal birth. Therefore, the title almost certainly marks a woman of royal birth, contrary to its use in the Old Kingdom, and the contemporary use of the title s3 nsw.[50] Their parentage breaks down as follows:

a) Fathers

s3t nsw whose fathers are king	25
s3t nsw whose fathers are probably king	5
s3t nsw whose father is s3 nsw	1
s3t nsw whose fathers are unknown	13
Total	44

b) Mothers

s3t nsw whose mothers are hmt nsw wrt	15/17[51]
s3t nsw whose mother is probably hmt nsw wrt	1
s3t nsw whose mothers were hmt nsw only before becoming mwt nsw	5/3[52]
s3t nsw whose mothers are hmt nsw	2
s3t nsw whose mother is s3t nsw	1[53]
s3t nsw whose mother has no title	1[54]
s3t nsw whose mothers are unknown	19
Total	44

This suggests that most s3t nsw were the daughters of a king, while their mothers seem to have been in the main ḥmt nsw wrt. However, it is questionable whether this should be taken at its face value.

The list covers a span of eleven reigns, which gives on average four s3t nsw a reign. This is a very low number when we consider that Egyptian kings were polygynous and that s3t nsw might also refer to daughters of s3 nsw. During this period, children were rarely shown on royal monuments. Most s3t nsw, unless they were also ḥmt nsw wrt, are known from private monuments or funerary equipment only, and many are attested just once. What we know is what has by chance survived, and the material must represent a small proportion of the royal children of this period. Those who became ḥmt nsw wrt and those few who are found on royal monuments will presumably be the most important of each generation. Of the rest, many will have died in infancy or childhood, but even if they survived, we have no knowledge of what happened to them as adults. For the whole of our period, there is no evidence of a s3t nsw marrying anybody other than a king. Such marriages occurred in the Second Intermediate Period,[55] but we do not know whether this was possible in the 18th dynasty, nor whether any children of the marriage would be called s3 or s3t nsw, although this seems doubtful. It is possible that most s3t nsw spent their whole life in the "harim". Those old enough may have been married to the king, their (half-)brother (e.g. Table 1 nos.1-3,11). They probably all received burials of some kind, but they remain unknown to us and may have been lost through the activities of tomb robbers. Thirteen wooden labels found by Rhind in a tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna[56] indicate some of what may have been lost. Eight s3t nsw are named on them who are otherwise unknown. From here also comes our only instance of the use of s3t nsw by the daughter of a s3 nsw in the 18th dynasty. I wonder

if we lack other evidence of this sort simply because such children were unimportant and left few material remains. There is little information about adult princes who might have been the fathers of some s3t nsw. We know of only five s3 nsw who held administrative office,[57] which suggests they might be adult.[58] They are all attested from the reigns of their fathers and not of their brothers, and there is no evidence that they had children. It is clear that the king's sons known from our period are only a small proportion of the total. If most king's sons occupied an unimportant position, it is unlikely that their own children had any prominence. I can only suggest the following guide to help distinguish between the daughters of a king and possible daughters of a s3 nsw. The s3t nsw known to us are found mainly on private monuments of officials and funerary objects, although some appear on royal monuments. In the case of the latter, the children shown on them obviously have a more important position than the majority of royal children, and I think one should see in them children of a king. The private monuments on which children occur normally belong to officials who wish to record their association with the child. Again, it seems more likely that these are children of a king. Since both children and grandchildren of a king probably had a burial, it is on funerary objects that we are most likely to find children of a s3 nsw, as in the case of Nebetia. The majority of children of s3t nsw were probably by the king (above).

The evidence should therefore be treated with care. That over half our s3t nsw can be shown to be the daughter of a king and, in many cases, of a hmt nsw wrt does not define the sphere of reference of the title, as we have two clear examples where the child's mother is only hmt nsw and one where the father is s3 nsw.

Below are listed the s3t nsw who appear on royal monuments or

become hmt nsw wrt. (The bracketed numbers refer to Table 4.)

s3t nsw	Father	Mother
Ahmose (2)	?	?
Ahhotpe II (7)	Tao I or II	Tetisheri, mwt nsw
Ahmose Nofretary (11)	Tao II or Kamose	hmt nsw wrt
Sitkamose (14)	Ahmose (?)	Ahmose Nofretary, hmt nsw wrt (?)
Meritamun I (15)	Ahmose	Ahmose Nofretary, hmt nsw wrt
Sitamun I (16)	Ahmose (?)	Ahmose Nofretary, hmt nsw wrt (?)
Nefrubity (20)	Thutmose I	Ahmose, hmt nsw wrt
Hatshepsut (21)	Thutmose I	Ahmose, hmt nsw wrt
Nefrure (22) [59]	Thutmose II	Hatshepsut, hmt nsw wrt
Meritamun II (23)	Thutmose III	Meritre Hatshepsut, hmt nsw wrt (?)
Nofretary (27)	Thutmose III	?
Iaret (29)	Amenhotpe II (?)	?
Sitamun III (41)	Amenhotpe III	Teye, hmt nsw wrt
Ese (42)	Amenhotpe III	Teye, hmt nsw wrt
Henuttaneb (43)	Amenhotpe III	Teye, hmt nsw wrt
Nebetah (44)	Amenhotpe III	Teye, hmt nsw wrt

Of these sixteen women, ten are definitely children of a hmt nsw wrt; two more may be. One is a daughter of a mwt nsw. The mothers of three are unknown. Whether Nofretary should be included in this list might be questioned. Not only is the scene in which she appears unique in a royal tomb, but the appearance of the hmt nsw Nebtu in it makes it even more unusual as hmt nsw are not normally depicted; her presence could be due simply to her being a favourite of the king. Nofretary

may similarly have been included because the king was specially fond of her, and she might be a daughter of Nebtu.

If in each reign there was a fairly large number of daughters of the king, born either to the hmt nsw wrt or to secondary wives, and perhaps also some children of s3 nsw, the fact that the names of few are recorded and that only a handful appear in temples or on royal monuments suggest that most of them had little significance outside the "harim". Some, however, had a more important position; these were daughters of a king and an important queen, normally a hmt nsw wrt, but in one case at least a mwt nsw. This suggests that the daughters of a hmt nsw wrt ranked before those of a hmt nsw.

1.3.1. s3t nsw wrt.

This title is attested for four queens and two s3t nsw.

Name	Father	Mother
Ahhotpe III[60]	Tao I	?
Ahmose[61]	Tao II	Ahhotpe III, hnmt nfr hdt
Hatshepsut[62]	Thutmose I	Ahmose, hmt nsw wrt
Nefrure[63]	Thutmose II	Hatshepsut, hmt nsw wrt
Iaret[64]	Amenhotpe II (?)	?
Sitamun III[65]	Amenhotpe III	Teye, hmt nsw wrt

s3t nsw wrt is generally accepted as meaning "king's eldest daughter". This cannot be demonstrated from the few occurrences of the title, but as s3t wrt seems to mean "eldest daughter",[66] this translation is probably correct.[67] The significance of the title is impossible to determine from the six examples we have of its use. All except Ahhotpe III are also attested with the title s3t nsw. Two

Ahmoses appear on Louvre E 15682 (n.60). They are both named once as s3t nsw Ahmose, but one is also called s3t nsw wrt Ahmose and the other s3t nsw Ahmose šrjt. The impression is that the older (?) princess is given her full title here, while šrjt is added to the name of the other to distinguish between the two. Hatshepsut and Nefrure are both attested only once as s3t nsw wrt, but frequently use the title s3t nsw.

B. Schmitz proposes that s3t nsw wrt marks the "heiress" (Introduction), and that it is so used in the late 17th dynasty and in the reigns of Amenhotpe II-III; in between the "heiress" would be marked by the title ḥmt nṯr.[68] This interpretation is invalid because succession to the throne does not depend on marriage with the heiress (5.1), and ḥmt nṯr is a priestly title which has no bearing on the succession (Introduction).

1.4. snt nsw.

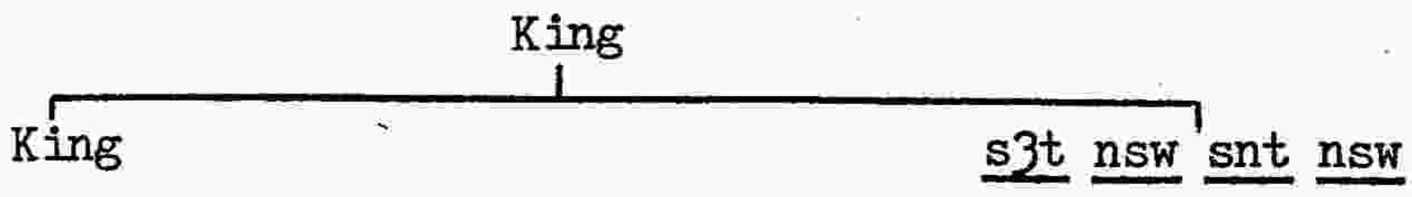
snt nsw is commonly translated "king's sister", but an examination of the title must take into account the fact that snt as a kinship term has a wider sphere of reference than the English term "sister".[69] Further, it must be determined whether or not the title was restricted to women of royal birth.

Fifteen women only in the period from Tao I to Amenhotpe III bear the title snt nsw (Table 5). Of these, thirteen are also called s3t nsw, a title which indicates membership of the royal family (1.3). Of the other two, one is found on a fragment which reads ...] snt nsw ḥmt nṯr ʿḥms (2.1 no.14), before which [s3t nsw] is almost certainly to be restored (4.2.2). The other is Ahmose, wife of Thutmose I. She is never called s3t nsw, and is probably of non-royal birth. The problem of her use of the title will be discussed below. However, she is a member of the royal family by marriage. The evidence, therefore,

shows that snt nsw is used only by women of the royal family, and is not given to non-royal women as an honorific title.

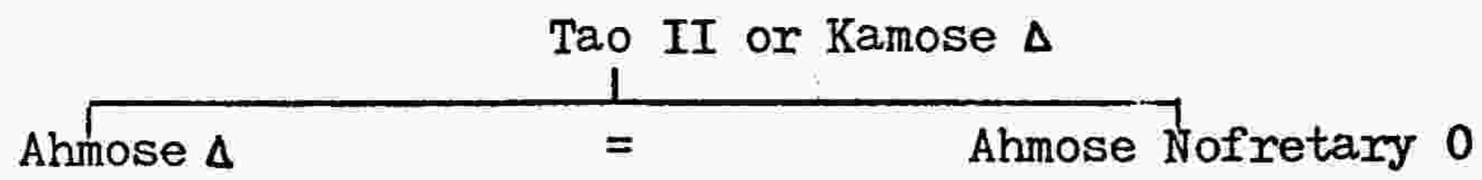
Next, we must consider the possibility that just as snt appears to be used with the same meaning as ḥmt,[70] so snt nsw might mean the same as ḥmt nsw. If this were the case, we would expect all women who were ḥmt nsw also to be able to use the title snt nsw. In fact, apart from Ahmose, only queens who are s3t nsw have the title snt nsw. There is enough evidence for queens of non-royal birth like Meritre Hatshepsut, Tiaa, Mutemwiya and Teye to show that snt nsw is not part of their titularies.[71] Further, not all snt nsw are ḥmt nsw. Thus snt nsw cannot be equivalent to ḥmt nsw.

Let us now examine the women who have the title more closely. These are set out in Table 5. Nine of them can be shown to be the daughter of one king, who survived into the reign of the next king, their brother (nos.2-4,7,8,11-14). One would expect the nsw of s3t nsw to refer to a different king from the nsw of snt nsw, since s3t expresses a descending relationship and snt a lateral one.[72] In theory, both titles could refer to one king if snt nsw marked the offspring of a brother-sister marriage where the child would be both the king's daughter and the king's sister's daughter; the latter relationship is included in the term snt.[73] However, we know in the case of Ahhotpe II, and probably in that of Meritamun II (2.4.4.1 end), that their mothers were of non-royal birth. Therefore, we must discard this idea and regard the titles as referring to two different kings, the one a direct ascendant and the other laterally related. The nine examples from above give the following pattern:

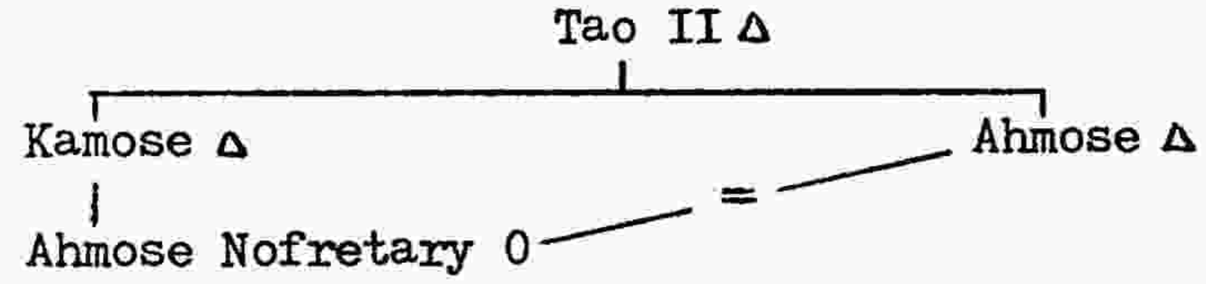


Ahmose Nofretary (no.5) was married to Ahmose; she is s3t nsw.

One would expect:

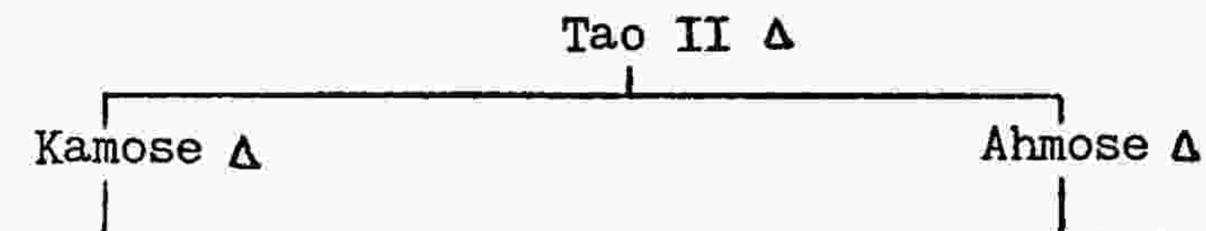


However, if Kamose is an elder brother of Ahmose (Genealogical Table 1), Ahmose Nofretary could possibly be his daughter:

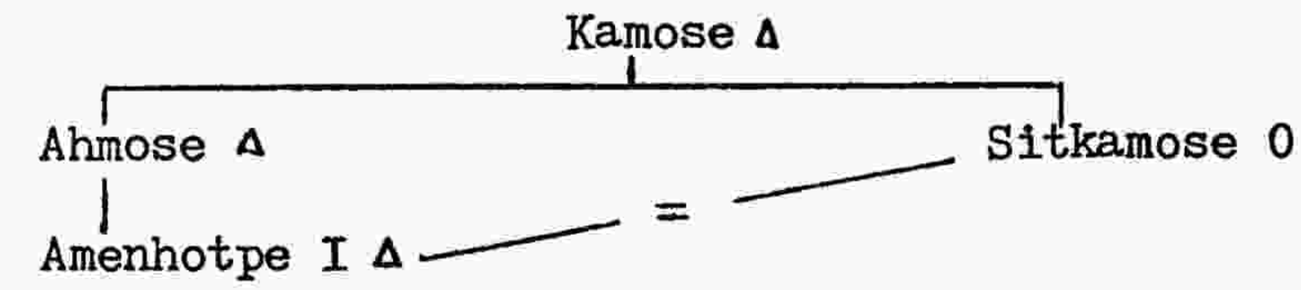


snt nsw would then mean brother's daughter of the king here.

Sitkamose (no.6) is a hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, and probably a daughter of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary (2.2.1). However, her name raises the possibility that she is a daughter of Kamose:

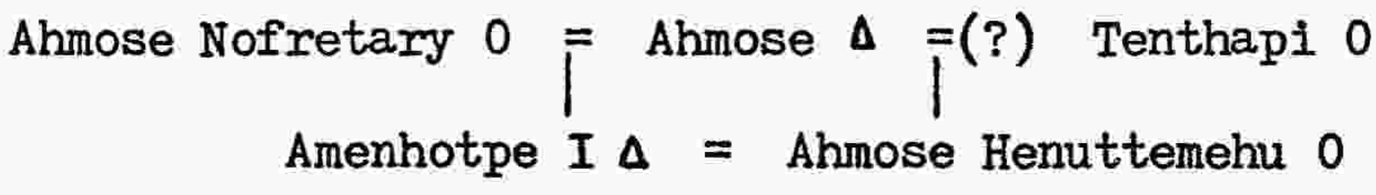


or (Genealogical Table 2):

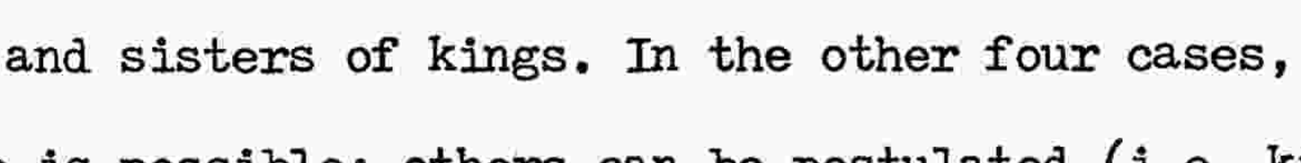


It seems unlikely, however, that a man would marry a woman of an older generation.[74]

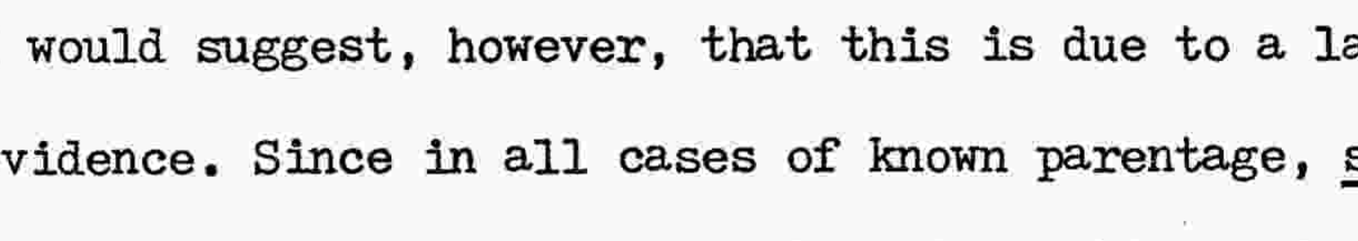
Ahmose Henuttemehu (no.9) is probably a daughter of Ahmose (2.2.6), in which case she will be a half-sister of Amenhotpe I through her father:



Iaret (no.15) is married to Thutmose IV. Her parentage is unknown. The simplest explanation of her titles s3t nsw snt nsw would be:



The following is also possible:



Of the thirteen occurrences of women with the titles s3t nsw snt nsw, nine whose parentage is known can be shown to be both daughters and sisters of kings. In the other four cases, such a relationship is possible; others can be postulated (i.e. king's brother's daughter, king's father's brother's daughter and king's father's sister). I would suggest, however, that this is due to a lack of positive evidence. Since in all cases of known parentage, s3t nsw snt nsw indicates that the holder is daughter of one king and sister or half-sister of another (Ahmose Henuttemehu, Hatshepsut and Nefrure have mothers different to those of their brothers), I prefer the simplest solution in the other cases, and suggest that s3t nsw snt nsw always means daughter of a king and sister of a king. The title of relationship snt nsw may, therefore, have a narrower area of reference than snt used as a free kinship term.

The case of Ahmose, ḥmt nsw wrt of Thutmose I, still remains. She is well attested as snt nsw, but never once as s3t nsw. The lack of the latter title surely indicates that she is not a daughter of Ahmose or Amenhotpe I.[75] Therefore, snt nsw cannot mean that she is a sister of Amenhotpe I, for then she would have to be a daughter of Ahmose. In the case of all other ḥmt nsw wrt who are snt nsw, the nsw

refers to the king who is their husband. Therefore, one would expect the nsw in Ahmose's title to refer to Thutmose I. Thutmose was probably not of royal birth, but may have been appointed to succeed because Amenhotpe I had no surviving heirs (2.4.1). If Thutmose then married his own sister, a type of marriage which is characteristic of kings, Ahmose would be snt nsw but not s3t nsw.

The title snt nsw first appears in the 13th dynasty, and is found by itself with some, though not all, sisters of kings of non-royal birth.[76] The exact significance of the title remains uncertain. It should be noted that some women who are sisters of a king and survived into his reign are not attested with the title.[77] This may be due to chance of survival; those who have it do not use it regularly. Nefrure, for instance, has the title only on scarabs. snt nsw is used both by queens who married their (half-)brothers and with s3t nsw who are not hmt nsw, showing that it is not confined to titularies of queens. It is not found with those princesses who married their fathers.

1.5. The origins of the hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt.

Out of the fifteen women listed as hmt nsw wrt, seven are of royal birth, while the lack of the title s3t nsw in the titularies of the other eight suggests that their birth is non-royal. Teye and Sitioh are without doubt of non-royal origins (Table 2). The vast majority of hmt nsw have left no record, probably because their burials will have been plundered long ago. We cannot, therefore, obtain a complete picture of the background of the women who filled the king's "harim". However, of the nine hmt nsw known, four are s3t nsw, while two are probably non-royal. Three more are foreign, and hence not kinswomen of the king; their parentage is completely unknown. Of the women of groups 4-6 (1.1),

only one is s3t nsw, while Tetisheri is definitely of non-royal birth and the other three probably are. In conclusion, we can only say that hmt nsw can be of either royal or non-royal birth, and women of either category can hold the title hmt nsw wrt.

1.6. Number of hmt nsw wrt at any one time.

During most kings' reigns there will have been more than one hmt nsw wrt at court, normally the mother and the wife of the king (Table 6). There can be no doubt that a queen would keep her titles for as long as she lived, even if she survived into the reign of a king who was not her son. Thus in the reign of Ahmose, we find the burial of Ahhotpe I, who was probably a hmt nsw wrt of a preceding king and no relation of Ahmose.[78] Thutmose I appears once with Ahmose Nofretary, who was the mother of his predecessor, but not related to him (CG 34006). Thutmose II is not shown on royal monuments with his mother, Mutnofret, but he appears once with Ahmose, the hmt nsw wrt of his father, and the mother of his own hmt nsw wrt (pl.6).

1.7. hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt as ranking titles.

It has been suggested that the titles hmt nsw and hmt nsw wrt may sometimes have been ranking titles, given in certain circumstances to a princess, perhaps if she had to take the place of the queen in some ritual action; they were not then indicative of a consummated marriage.[79] This has been proposed especially with reference to father-daughter marriages, and one suspects that it may be due partly to a dislike of the idea of father-daughter incest. We do not, however, know what the Egyptian view on this matter would have been. Brother-sister marriages do not seem to be found among ordinary people, or only very rarely,[80] while they occur fairly freely with kings, in a practice which evidently set them apart from mankind as a whole (5.2).

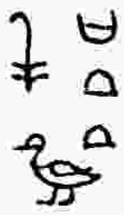
Father-daughter incest may have been no less acceptable. (Its existence would not be surprising, as in a world-wide context father-daughter incest is the most common form.[81])

One of Helck's arguments against the reality of these marriages is that Meritaton is found with the title hmt nsw on a block from Karnak at a time when she would not have been of marriageable age.[82] The inscription reads:



In front of the text is the middle part of the figure of Nefertiti. The edge of the scene is directly behind the princess's inscription showing that only one child follows the queen. Therefore, it is almost certain to be Meritaton.

Nefernefruaton sherit has the title hmt nsw in an Amarna tomb scene where the princesses are shown riding in chariots.[83] The three other princesses named do not have the title, but are s3t nsw as usual, except that this title is curiously written  instead of the normal  .

The question is whether the title hmt nsw is correct, or whether in both cases a mistake has been made. The stock phrase s3t nsw n ht.f was repeated so many times, that one would not be surprised if there were occasional errors.[84] The unusual writing in the tomb scene does show a deviation from the norm, perhaps making the writing  suspect. If the title hmt nsw was really meant, it is

strange that it is not attested more frequently. The scene with Meritaton appears to be no different from countless scenes in which she is shown, so one wonders why she should suddenly have the title hmt nsw here. Redford suggests that the title might be read s3t hmt nsw with n ht.f added automatically.[85] This is unlikely since filiation is also given to Nefertiti in the usual way. What is of interest is that the normal order of these titles in the 18th dynsaty and later is s3t nsw hmt nsw (4.2.2). Again, this suggests that the titles as found here are eccentric. I would prefer, then, to see these two occurrences of hmt nsw as errors, not least because if hmt nsw really formed part of the titulary of these princesses we would expect to find it, at least in the case of Meritaton, attested quite frequently.

These examples do not, therefore, necessarily cast doubt on the assumption that the father-daughter marriages of Amenhotpe III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III were real marriages. All these kings had long reigns, so that they will have had daughters of marriageable age towards the end of them. However, the problem of the nature of the marriages can be solved finally only if we find evidence of issue from one of them.

1.8. Conclusions.

The wives of a king are called hmt nsw, one of whom is selected to be hmt nsw wrt. The latter appears in temples and on royal monuments, while the plain hmt nsw does not, suggesting that the hmt nsw wrt has a ritual function and different status from the hmt nsw. In order to mark this distinction only the hmt nsw wrt should be called "queen". The mwt nsw, who is always the real mother of the king, also appears in temples and on royal monuments with similar insignia and titularies to those of the hmt nsw wrt (3.5; 4), and most mwt nsw have the title hmt nsw wrt. Therefore, the mwt nsw will also be

considered as a queen. The titles s3t nsw and snt nsw do not by themselves indicate a queen, but only the daughter of a king and sister of a king. They are, however, used by queens to indicate their relationship to the king. Lack of the title s3t nsw for well attested queens can be taken to show that they are not of royal birth.

2. Genealogy of the 18th dynasty royal family.

Before studying the iconography and titles of the queens of the 18th dynasty, it is necessary to establish their place in the genealogy of the family. This is still uncertain for some contemporaries of the reigns of Tao I to Ahmose, and the material needs to be re-examined. From Thutmose I to Amenhotpe III, the position is more assured, but there are still some points which need to be discussed. The results will provide a chronological framework for the material used in later sections. Royal children are included where there is definite or possible filiation to a particular queen. I do not translate the title hmt nsw as "queen" (1.8), but women who are hmt nsw and their children will be mentioned.

Although this study is specifically of queens of the 18th dynasty, the accession of the first king, Ahmose, does not mark a change of royal family, and the placing of a new dynasty at this point is undoubtedly due to his expulsion of the Hyksos and re-unification of Egypt. The founder of the line to which Ahmose belonged was Senakhtenre Tao I of the 17th dynasty,[86] and my discussion of the family goes back to this king.

For dating the early material the form of the moon hieroglyph is important. In 1971, Vandersleyen demonstrated that in proper names the form is used exclusively in the 17th dynasty and changes to the form in the reign of Ahmose, the last attested date for the early form being year 17 and the first for the later form year 22.[87] Since then he has published a stela dating to year 18 of Ahmose which uses the early form.[88] The two hieroglyphs do not occur on the same object, and it seems that there was not a gradual changeover from one to the other, but there was a clear break between the use of the two forms. Therefore, an inscription using the earlier form will date (in or) before year 22, and one using the later (in or) after year 18.

The conclusions of the whole section are presented in Genealogical Tables 1-3, which, it should be emphasised, must be tentative owing to the uncertain nature of the evidence. In my later discussion of iconography and titles, I use these conclusions as a framework, but I do not claim that my reconstruction of the genealogical data is definitive, and adjustments may become necessary.

Since I completed this section, two chapters by E. Wente have appeared in Harris - Wente <u>An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies</u>, chs. 4 and 7. I have not been able to take them into account here, but they will be basic reading for future studies of the genealogy of New Kingdom royal families.

2.1. Basic documents for a genealogical reconstruction of the early 18th dynasty royal family, Tao I to Ahmose.

This section lists briefly the basic documents for a genealogical reconstruction of the early 18th dynasty royal family. These will form the basis of 2.3, where I shall present my conclusions.

Where the titles of relationship s3t nsw snt nsw, ḥmt nsw (wrt) or mwt nsw appear in the following, I assume that the bearer is the sister, wife or mother respectively of a king (1.2-4). The cartouche is almost always used by queens, but is less regular with the names of princesses; where it occurs, it indicates that the user is a member of the royal family, but not necessarily a queen (vol.4).

The genealogies here give only the minimal evidence that can be derived internally from the documents.

1. Three inscribed mummy cloth fragments of Tetisheri found in the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri.[89]

Fragment 1. ...Ttj]šrj ms(t).n nbt pr Nfrw jr(t).n[... "Teti]sheri born to the mistress of the house Nefru, begotten by [..."

Fragment 2. ...] mwt nsw Ttjšrj ms(t).n nbt [pr Nfrw ... "mwt nsw Tetisheri born to the mistress [of the house Nefru ..."

Fragment 3. ... mst.n nbt] pr Nfrw [jrt.n] s3b Tnn [... "born to the mistress] of the house Nefru [begotten by] the s3b Tjenen [..."

Tjenen Δ = Nefru 0
|
Tetisheri 0

2. Stela of Ahmose for Tetisheri from Abydos, CG 34002. Ahmose calls her mwt mwt.j mwt jt(.j) ḥmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Ttjsrj) "mother of my

mother and mother of my father, hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Tetisheri)".[90]

King Δ = Tetisheri O
King Δ = X O
Nebpehtire Ahmose Δ

3. Stela of Djhuty, MMA 25.184.2.[91] The stela mentions the w^{c}b hm k3 n (J^{c}hms) s3t (Ttjšrj) "the w^{c}b priest and hm k3 of (Ahmose) daughter of (Tetisheri). The form of the moon hieroglyph 𓇋 dates it to the reign of Thutmose III.[92]

Tetisheri O
Ahmose O

4. Stela of Iuf, CG 34009. Part of the text reads hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (J^{c}hhtp) m3^{c}t hrw s3.s (Nbphtjr^{c}) m3^{c} hrw "hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Ahhotpe) justified, her son (Nebpehtire) justified". The stela dates to the reign of Thutmose II at the earliest, since it also refers to nsw (^{c}3hprk3r^{c}) m3^{c} hrw. The use of nsw and not nsw bjtj shows that the king is dead, as does m3^{c} hrw normally.

King Δ = Ahhotpe O
Nebpehtire Ahmose Δ

5. "Donation" stela, now in Karnak magazine (pl.3). The scene shows Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary before Amun. Between the king and queen stands the small figure of a child, the s3 nsw smsw n h^{c}w ntr (J^{c}hms); he is obviously their son.

Nebpehtire Ahmose Δ = Ahmose Nofretary O
Ahmose Δ

6. Coffin of a child called Anat in the Hermitage, Leningrad.[93] Part of the inscription reads s3t nsw [snt] nsw (J^{c}hms Twmrst) ms(t).n hmt nsw mwt nsw wrt nbt pt hnwt t3wj hnwt šm^{c}w mhw (J^{c}hhtp) m3^{c}t hrw "s3t nsw [snt] nsw (Ahmose Tumerisy) born to the hmt nsw mwt nsw wrt ... (Ahhotpe) justified".

King Δ = Ahhotpe 0
|
Ahmose Tumerisy 0

7. Statuette of Ahmose Nebetta, Louvre N 496.[94] Part of the inscription reads s3t nsw snt nsw (J^{c}hms Nbtt3) ms(t).n hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (J^{c}hhtp) "s3t nsw snt nsw (Ahmose Nebetta) born to the hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw (Ahhotpe)".

King Δ = Ahhotpe 0
|
Ahmose Nebetta 0

8. Vase from Serabit el-Khadim, Ashmolean Museum 1911.408.[95] Ahmose (Nofretary) is called s3t hmt nsw wrt "daughter of the hmt nsw wrt". The vase is dated to after year 18 of Ahmose by the later form of the moon hieroglyph. By this time, Ahmose's mother, Ahhotpe II, had been given the title hmt nsw wrt, so the filiation could refer to Ahhotpe, but does not necessarily do so (2.3.3.1).

King Δ = hmt nsw wrt 0
|
Ahmose Nofretary 0

9. Mummy cloth fragments of Ahmose (0) from QV 47.[96] Part of the text reads s3t nsw snt nsw (J^{c}hms) jr(t).n ntr nfr (Sqnnr^{c}) ms(t).n [ ] (S3tdhwtj) "s3t nsw snt nsw (Ahmose) begotten by the perfect god

(Seqenenre) born to [ ] (Sitdjhuty)". Elsewhere in the text, Sitdjhuty is called s3t [nsw] hmt nsw. There can be no doubt about the restoration, as only nsw would be found in this position; there is room for only one sign. The title indicates that Sitdjhuty is the daughter or grand-daughter of a king (1.3). Her husband Seqenenre Tao II is probably a son of Senakhtenre Tao I, who stands at the head of the royal family of the late 17th and early 18th dynasties (2) and is probably of non-royal birth. If Sitdjhuty belongs to this family, she must therefore be a daughter of Tao I to be s3t nsw. A second possibility would be that she was a member of a previous royal family, and therefore no relation of Tao II. The formation of her name with the element Dhwtj speaks for her being a member of Tao I's family; in the earlier 17th dynasty, names of this type do not appear in the royal family.

Seqenenre Tao II △ = Sitdjhuty ○

|

Ahmose ○

10. Funerary statue of Ahmose, son of Tao II, Louvre E 15682 (see Table 4 nos.3-5). The prenomen is not given on the statue, so the king could be either Tao I or II. However, Ahhotpe is here called s3t nsw wrt, indicating that she is a daughter of a king. As Tao I stands at the head of his line (2), any wife of his who was s3t nsw would have to belong to a previous royal family. However, while names compounded with J^{c}h are common among Tao I's descendants, they are not attested in the earlier royal families of the 17th dynasty. It seems, therefore, that Ahhotpe must belong to the family of Tao I, and therefore, Tao II is her husband.

Seqenenre Tao II Δ = Ahhotpe s3t nsw wrt 0

Ahmose s3 nsw smsw Δ | Ahmose s3t nsw wrt 0 | Ahmose s3t nsw 0

11. Coffin of Ahmose Henutempet.[97] The inscription reads s3t nsw (J^{c}hms Ḥnwtmpt) m3^{c}t ḫrw ms(t).n ḥmt nsw wrt (J^{c}ḥḥtp) "s3t nsw (Ahmose Henutempet) justified born to the ḥmt nsw wrt (Ahhotpe)".

King Δ = Ahhotpe ḥmt nsw wrt 0

Ahmose Henutempet 0

12. Coffin of Ahhotpe I, Cairo JE 28501.[98]

King Δ = Ahhotpe I ḥmt nsw wrt 0

13. Fragment of a limestone stela from Karnak North.[99] The s3t nsw Ahmose follows a much larger figure whose name is lost, but who is probably a king (Table 4 no.2). In such a scene, the king would normally be followed by his ḥmt nsw wrt, but occasionally he is followed by a s3t nsw, who one may suppose is his daughter, or possibly his sister.

King Δ

Ahmose ( ) 0

14. Fragment of a stela or statue from Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c}, CG 34159. The beginning of the inscription is lost, but should probably be restored [s3t nsw] snt nsw ḥmt ntr J^{c}ḥms ( ), as snt nsw is normally preceded by this title (4.2.2). The early form of the moon hieroglyph shows that we are not dealing with the wife of Thutmose I, contra F.J. Schmitz Amenophis I, 62.

King △

King △ — Ahmose (𓏏) 0

15. Ivory wand of the hmt ntr (J^{c}hms) (𓏏) 0, Turin Museum cat.no. 6921.[100] The cartouche suggests that this Ahmose is the daughter or wife of a king (2.1 beginning).

16. Stela in TT 53 (Amenemhat), temp. Thutmose III (pl.71). The scene shows the owner offering to the hmt nsw Ahmose Inhapi and the s3t nsw Ahmose Henuttameh. The implication is that they are mother and daughter.

King △ = Ahmose Inhapi 0

Ahmose Henuttameh 0

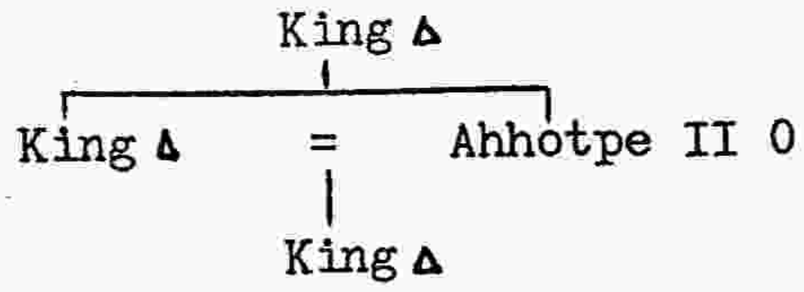
17. Mummy wrappings from the Deir el-Bahri cache,[101] naming the s3t nsw hmt nsw (Jnh^{c}pj).

18. Mummy wrappings of Ahmose Henuttemehu.[102] Part of the text reads s3t nsw snt nsw hmt nsw Hnwttmhw ... s3t nsw Hnwttmhw ms(t.n) s3t nsw Tnth^{c}pj...s3t nsw J^{c}hms dd(t) n.s Hnwttmhw "s3t nsw Henuttemehu born to the s3t nsw Tenthapi...s3t nsw Ahmose called Henuttemehu."

King △ = Tenthapi 0

King △ = Ahmose Henuttemehu 0

19. Coffin of Ahhotpe II, CG 61006. Ahhotpe is named as s3t nsw snt nsw hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw; she must be the daughter, sister, wife and mother of a king.



20. Stela of Ahmose with praise of Ahhotpe, CG 34001. She is given the titles hmt nsw snt jtjj ᶜ.w.s. s3t nsw mwt nsw špst ... ḥmt nsw (Jᶜḥḥtp) (4.2.2).

2.2. The children of Ahmose.

One son, Ahmose, is already known from the "Donation" stela (2.1 no.5). Amenhotpe I is called son of king Ahmose;[103] Ahmose Nofretary's title mwt nsw leaves no doubt that she is his mother (1.2). A number of other children appear on later cult monuments of the family, and I suggest that they are possibly children of Ahmose, and that a distinction is probably made between the children of Ahmose Nofretary and those by other wives. In order to show this, all children whom I would assign to Ahmose will be discussed whether their mother is known or not.

2.2.1. Sitkamose.

Sitkamose is associated with Amenhotpe I, and Amenhotpe I and Ahmose Nofretary, on two later stelae.[104] Her mummy, which was aged about thirty at death, was found in the Deir el-Bahri cache (CG 61063). It had been plundered and restored, so that the inscriptions on the wrappings date to the 21st dynasty. They must, however, have been copied from ones which had survived from the original burial, since the mummy could not otherwise have been identified. She is called s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt (S3tk3ms) and s3t nsw ḥmt nsw wrt (Jᶜḥms S3tk3ms).[105] The titles s3t nsw snt nsw show that she is the daughter and sister of a king (1.4).[106] A good explanation of this coupled with her association with Amenhotpe I is that she is the sister and ḥmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, and thus also a daughter of

Ahmose.[107] Meritamun I (2.2.2) was also hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I. Since she lived to be old (n.104), while Sitkamose died when she was about thirty, the latter must have been his first hmt nsw wrt, unless they held the title at the same time. Sitkamose, was, therefore, probably older than Meritamun. It can be shown that Amenhotpe I was born between years 2-6 of Ahmose (2.3.2). If Sitkamose was born a year later, between years 3-7, she would have been 18-22 on Ahmose's death, and would herself have died in year 8-12 of Amenhotpe. The earlier date is confirmed by a stela of Amenhotpe I dated to year 8, on which Meritamun I appears (see cat.no.13).

It is, of course, conceivable that Sitkamose was older than Amenhotpe I, as there is no guarantee of the order of the possible children of Ahmose, Ahmose, Amenhotpe I, Sitkamose, Meritamun. All we know is that

Ahmose was older than Amenhotpe, and that Sitkamose was probably older than Meritamun. When Ahmose came to the throne, he can have been no more than fifteen years old (2.3.), making years 1 and 2 the earliest respectively that his first son and Amenhotpe could have been born, since Ahmose Nofretary was the mother of both. So if Amenhotpe was born in year 2, his sisters would have to be younger. If he was born in year 3, Sitkamose could be older; in year 4 and after, both Sitkamose and Meritamun could be older.

Sitkamose appears once with Ahmose Nofretary.[108] It is possible that the latter is present as the mother of Amenhotpe only, and not of Sitkamose. It is, however, more likely that she is the mother of Sitkamose as well. Since Meritamun, Amenhotpe's second hmt nsw wrt, was a daughter of Ahmose Nofretary, therefore of a hmt nsw wrt, it is likely that his first hmt nsw wrt was also a daughter of Ahmose Nofretary. I have shown that daughters of a hmt nsw wrt probably rank before those of a hmt nsw (1.3).

2.2.2. Meritamun I.

Meritamun is closely associated with Amenhotpe I and Ahmose Nofretary on later monuments.[109] She has the titles s3t nsw snt nsw, so that she must be the daughter and sister of a king (1.4). As Amenhotpe I was not the father of a king, she cannot be his daughter. She must, therefore, be a daughter of Ahmose and sister of Amenhotpe. Further, since she appears with Ahmose Nofretary that queen is most probably her mother.

A mummy belonging to a s3t nsw snt nsw Meritamun was found in the Deir el-Bahri cache (CG 61052). The coffin had been lost, and the body had been placed in one belonging to Senu, an official of Ahmose Nofretary.[110] There has been some doubt about the date of the mummy.

Maspero in one place suggests that Meritamun's body had been destroyed and replaced by an earlier mummy,[111] although elsewhere he states that it is contemporary with those of Seqenenre, Ahmose and Amenhotpe I.[112] Smith had no doubt that it belonged to the 18th dynasty, and suggested that it was of the same period as the mummies of Seqenenre and Inhapi.[113] This is confirmed by the fact that the mummy has pierced ears, which were not introduced until the Second Intermediate Period, and are rare before the 18th dynasty.[114] The question is whether this is the mummy of the daughter of Ahmose. The body is that of an "old woman".[115] Meritamun was probably born in the first half of Ahmose's reign. Amenhotpe I may have been born between years 2-6 of Ahmose (2.3.2). As Sitkamose was almost certainly older than Meritamun, the latter would then have been born at the earliest between years 2-8 of Ahmose. At the end of his reign, she would have been between 17-23, and 38-44 at Amenhotpe's death. It is doubtful whether this could be called "old", and one would have to assume that she lived on into the reign of Thutmose I.

If we assign a date as early as Seqenenre or Inhapi to the mummy, that is, before the death of Ahmose, the body could not belong to Ahmose's daughter, but would have to be that of a princess of an earlier generation.[116] This is unlikely, if it is only with Ahmose's children that names compounded with Amun begin to be used in the royal family (see Genealogical Tables 1-2). As Smith was tentative about the precise dating, I think that, rather than assume an otherwise unattested princess, we should place the mummy later, probably in the reign of Thutmose I. Although there were changes in the techniques of embalming in the course of the 18th dynasty which can give a rough guide to the date of a mummy, there is no reason to believe that they were universally adopted straightaway. In the mummy of Sitkamose the brain had not been removed, which led Smith to place

her death some time before that of Ahmose, who was the first king to have his brain taken out.[117] However, if Sitkamose was hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, as tentatively suggested, she must have lived into that king's reign and died after Ahmose. In the case of Meritamun's mummy, the failure to lay the mummy out in the normal way,[118] for whatever reason, suggests that the embalming techniques used may not have been quite as usual. It is possible, therefore, to assign to the mummy a date after the death of Ahmose.

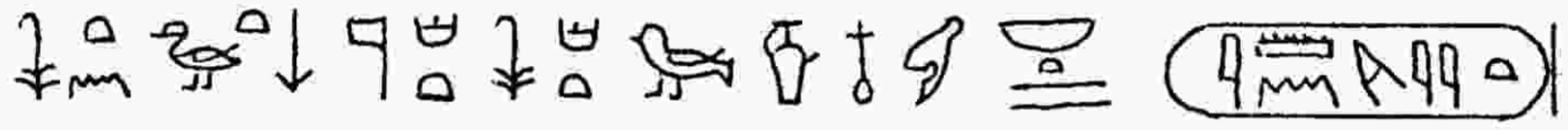
It has been suggested that the mummy is that of a daughter of Thutmose III.[119] This sets aside Smith's opinion that it is early 18th dynasty. I would, in any case, doubt the possibility of such an identification. All the royal bodies in the cache which did not belong to kings dated to the early 18th dynasty.[120] The mummies of the kings up to Amenhotpe I probably came from Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c}; the later ones came from the Valley of the Kings. There is evidence that both kings and members of their families were buried in Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c},[121] while the Valley of the Kings appears to have been used at first for burials of kings only. Instead, there are indications that, in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at least, members of the royal family were buried in cliff tombs in the south west valleys.[122] Even if the daughter of Ahmose did not die until the reign of Thutmose I, she would probably have had a tomb ready for her in the Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c} cemetery, as did Ahmose Nofretary, who almost certainly died in his reign (CG 34006).

Meritamun was probably buried in the Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c} cemetery, and later moved to the cache along with other members of the early 18th dynasty royal family who had been buried there. It is much less likely that a daughter of Thutmose III would have ended up in the cache, since no other bodies from this period apart from those of kings were found here, which implies that bodies from the

cemeteries used for members of the royal family after Amenhotpe I were not moved here.[123] The mummy of Meritamun should, therefore, be assigned to the early 18th dynasty royal family, and there can be little doubt that she was a daughter of Ahmose.

Last century, at Thebes, Wilkinson saw a coffin now apparently lost.[124] He recorded the inscription from it as:



The presence of the name Ahmose dates it to the 18th dynasty, but not necessarily to the reign of Ahmose.[125] There are at least three 18th dynasty princesses called Meritamun: the daughter of Ahmose, and two daughters of Thutmose III (Table 4 nos.23,24); Vandersleyen suggests there was another Meritamun in the early 18th dynasty (see below). In addition to the Deir el-Bahri cache mummy and Wilkinson's coffin, there is a burial of a Meritamun in TT 358, found in 1929, belonging to the  .[126] It almost certainly dates to the mid-18th dynasty (2.4.4.1), and unless there is a Meritamun about whom we otherwise know nothing, the owner of TT 358 will be one of the daughters of Thutmose III; she will have lived into the reign of Amenhotpe II, and become his hmt nsw wrt. Wilkinson's coffin can have nothing to do with this burial, not only because TT 358 was not discovered until this century, but also because Wilkinson's inscription does not correspond with the ones in the tomb. Although the third of Meritamun's coffins was in fragments, all three were present in TT 358, so that Wilkinson's coffin cannot have been taken from the tomb at some time in the past.

This leaves us with a choice between the daughter of Ahmose and the other daughter of Thutmose III as the owner of Wilkinson's coffin. The first alternative seems more likely. The separate discovery of the coffin could be explained along the following lines. When the mummies were removed to the Deir el-Bahri cache only one coffin was brought per person, even though each body would have had a

set of more than one in the original burial. Perhaps it was too much trouble to transfer them all. It is unlikely that only one had survived the robbers, for in the cases of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary, the inner coffin is missing and yet it is the outer coffin which one would expect to get broken.[127] The mummy of Meritamun, however, lacks any coffin. The mummies and coffins were rather incompetently moved to the cache, and bodies were placed in the wrong coffins.[128] It is possible that all Meritamun's coffins were left behind, and rather than return for one of them, her body was placed in the coffin of Senu. At some point the mummy was rewrapped and relabelled. Now if her coffin had been available, one would expect Meritamun's titles to have been copied off it. But if it had been left behind, the body could only have been identified by an inscription on the original wrappings. We have such an inscription from TT 358, which gives an abbreviated titulary only:  .[129] If the titles s3t nsw snt nsw only remained on the wrappings of Meritamun I, and not her complete titulary, this would explain why the restorers did not give her her full titles.

The owner of both the mummy from the Deir el-Bahri cache and Wilkinson's coffin is, therefore, probably the daughter of Ahmose. She must have been married to her brother, Amenhotpe I, and she probably became his hmt nsw wrt after the death of Sitkamose(?). She is attested as hmt nsw wrt on a later monument.[130]

Vandersleyen suggests that we should distinguish between the s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr Ahmose Meritamun, daughter of Seqenenre, and the s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt Meritamun, daughter of Ahmose.[131] He argues that the Meritamun of CG 61052, who is mummified like Seqenenre and Inhapi, is too old to be the daughter of Ahmose; that the owner of TT 358, whom he identifies with the daughter of Ahmose, is called Meritamun, not Ahmose Meritamun[132] and is distinguished

from the earlier Ahmose Meritamun by the title hmt nsw wrt; and that the Ahmose Meritamun whose statue sits by a colossus of Amenhotpe I by the 8th pylon at Karnak is s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr but not hmt nsw wrt. He suggests that it is the earlier Meritamun who is found on the Ramessid monuments.

This solution, however, involves some prob lems. The question of the mummification of Meritamun has been discussed above, where it was suggested that the mummy may be later than the death of Ahmose. TT 358 possible dates to the mid-18th dynasty (2.4.4.1). If CG 61052 belongs with the Wilkinson coffin, as I believe, the owner of the former will have the title hmt nsw wrt; but, in either case, the coffin destroys the distinction between Ahmose Meritamun, who was not hmt nsw wrt, and Meritamun who was.[133] In addition, the statue of Ahmose Meritamun associated with the colossus of Amenhotpe I at Karnak (see above) might suggest a closer relationship than that between a daughter of Seqenenre and Amenhotpe 1. Further, the hmt nsw wrt Meritamun shown with Amenhotpe I on a Ramessid fragment of relief must surely show the queen and sister of Amenhotpe I.[134]

The evidence seems to me, therefore, slightly in favour of only one Meritamun (I) in the early 18th dynasty, who was the daughter of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary. Her full name was Ahmose Meritamun, as shown on the Wilkinson coffin and in one cartouche of the Karnak statue. The second cartouche on this statue omits Ahmose,[135] suggesting that she could be referred to by the second element alone, which would not be surprising, as this is the distinctive part of her name. On later monuments, only Meritamun is used, as on the Fitzwilliam fragment.

2.2.3. Sitamun I.

On a stela of year 18 of Ahmose, a s3t nsw hmt ntr Sitamun is shown standing behind Nebpehtire Ahmose (pl.107). Later monuments associate a Sitamun with Amenhotpe I and Ahmose Nofretary,[136] and give her the titles s3t nsw snt nsw.[137] She seems, therefore, to be the daughter of Ahmose and sister of Amenhotpe I; her association with Ahmose Nofretary suggests that this queen was her mother.

Vandersleyen argues that Sitamun cannot be a child of Ahmose.[138]

He estimates that Ahmose was between 5 and 10 years old on his accession, and he places the date of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary's marriage between years 11 and 20, so that a daughter of Ahmose would be no more than six in year 18. If Sitamun was no older than the prince on the "Donation" stela, she too would have been represented as a child. Therefore, she must be older.

However, Amenhotpe I could have been born between years 2-6 of Ahmose (2.3.2). If Sitamun is the third daughter of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, she could have been born between years 3 and 9 (depending on whether the daughters were born before or after the princes), and so she would be between 9 and 15 in year 18.

Further, Vandersleyen doubts whether the title snt nsw was one that she had in her lifetime, stating that it is attested only from the tomb of Khabekhnet, where the titles are suspect.[139] There is, however, a statue, which was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak, which shows the goddess holding Amenhotpe I; Ahmose Nofretary and Sitamun are represented one on each side of her throne, on which Sitamun has the titles s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt ntr.[140] Now, if she were a daughter of Ahmose, one would expect her to have the title s3t nsw in his year 18, and to add the title snt nsw after the accession of Amenhotpe I. As the latter title is attested only on late monuments, it is in theory possible that she was given the title without having survived into Amenhotpe's reign, since in retrospect she would be known to be the sister of a king, even if she died before he came to the throne. However, although the mummy of Sitamun was broken up by tomb robbers, an examination of the remains showed that the skull belonged to a middle-aged woman.[141] It is likely therefore, that Sitamun survived at least into the reign of Amenhotpe I, and perhaps into that of Thutmose I.

Vandersleyen suggests that she is a daughter of Kamose who was associated with Ahmose and perhaps destined to be his wife, but that she died before she could marry him.[142] If this were so, why should

she be associated with Amenhotpe I? The grouping of Amenhotpe I, Ahmose Nofretary and Sitamun possibly shows that they form a close family unit. Given her titles, she must then be Amenhotpe's sister and Ahmose's daughter. This would explain her presence on Ahmose's stela, as kings appear occasionally with a daughter. If she was Ahmose's sister, we should assume that the title snt nsw was omitted, as often, on the Hanover stela. The grouping on the Karnak statue would then show Amenhotpe I, not with his mwt nsw and snt nsw, but with his mother and father's sister.

2.2.4. Ahmose Sipair.

Unless the coffin CG 61007 belongs to Ahmose Sipair,[143] this prince is attested only from posthumous cult monuments.[144] On these, his only title is s3 nsw.[145] In many cases he appears alone. but he is also found together with Amenhotpe I;[146] Amenhotpe I, Ahmose Nofretary and Sitamun (CG 34029); Meritamun;[147] Amenhotpe I, Ahhotpe, Ahmose Nofretary, Sitamun and Meritamun,[148] and there can be no doubt that he is a member of this family. He is usually assumed to be a son of Ahmose. Vandersleyen has suggested that he is to be identified with the eldest son of Tao II, owner of the funerary statue, Louvre E 15682 (2.1 no.10). His appearance with Sitamun and Meritamun does, however, suggest that he is their brother, and therefore the brother of Amenhotpe I. Since he is grouped with Ahmose Nofretary and her daughters, he is probably her son.[149]

2.2.5. Other possible children of Ahmose.

Two scenes, one in TT 2 and the other in TT 359,[150] both Ramessid, show two rows of seated kings and members of the royal family; only TT 2 includes titles.

The top row shows:

TT 2	TT 359
Djeserkare Amenhotpe	Djeserkare Amenhotpe
nbt t3wj Ahmose Nofretary	Nebpehtire
Seqenenre Tao	
Ahhotpe	Ahhotpe
snt nsw nbt t3wj Meritamun	Meritamun
snt nsw Tair(?)	
mwt ntr Kasmut(?)	
snt nsw Sitamun	Sitamun
s3 nsw Siamun	Siamun
hmt ntr Sitkamose(?)	Sitkamose(?)[151]
hmt nsw wrt Henuttameh	Henuttameh
hmt nsw nbt t3wj Tures	Tures
hmt ntr nbt t3wj Ahmose	Ahmose
s3 nsw Sipair	Sipair

Although the first row of TT 2 contains more names than TT 359, the order is similar and obviously based on a common tradition. I suggested above that Meritamun, Sitamun and Sipair were possibly children of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, and that Sitkamose might have been too, but what of the other names? Tair(?) and Kasmut(?) appear only here; the reading of their names is uncertain.[152]

A coffin and mummy belonging to a s3 nsw Siamun were found in the Deir el-Bahri cache.[153] A fragment of a stela from Deir el-Medina which originally showed two rows of seated kings and members of the royal family preserves the names of Ahhotpe and Siamun.[154]

Henuttameh is also attested on a private stela from TT 53 (Amenemhat) (pl.71), where she is called s3t nsw Ahmose Henuttameh; her mother is the s3t nsw Inhapi.

A s3t nsw  who appears on a scarab[155] is probably to be

identified with  of the lists. A fragment of another row of seated kings and members of the royal family, which comes from a tomb, preserves the heads of three women.[156] The name of the first is lost, the second is Tures and the third the hmt ntr nbt t3wj Ahmose, corresponding to the order in TT 2 and TT 359.

If Sitamun, Meritamun, Sitkamose and Sipair are all children of Ahmose, so may Siamun, Henuttameh, Tures and Ahmose also be. The name Siamun fits with this, as names compounded with Amun are not found in earlier generations of this family (see Genealogical Tables 1-2). There is no reason why Henuttameh and Tures should not be children of Ahmose.

The identity of the hmt ntr nbt t3wj Ahmose of the "lists" presents problems. We have no contemporary evidence of any royal woman who uses this name alone after the change of the moon hieroglyph from the earlier form to the later and before the appearance of the queen of Thutmose I. The latest examples that we can date are the daughters of Tao II, but there are also the Ahmose's of 2.1 nos.13-15, which are undated except by the earlier form of the moon hieroglyph. If we accept the title hmt ntr in TT 2 and on UC 8523 as an original one of Ahmose, the only hmt ntr Ahmose whom we know are those on 2.1 nos.14-15, who are probably the same person. The Ahmose of these documents cannot be a daughter of Nebpehtire Ahmose, since the title snt nsw appears on no.14; a snt nsw of Amenhotpe I would have to use the later form of the moon hieroglyph. Identification of Ahmose of the "lists" with the wife of Thutmose I is impossible if we accept the title hmt ntr as one that she held in her lifetime, since the latter never had this title. On the other hand, the Ahmose of the "lists" could be an otherwise unknown daughter of Ahmose, who like Siamun, Henuttameh and Tures only appears on Ramessid monuments in the "lists". If, however, the title hmt ntr found in TT 2 and on UC 8523 is not one she held in her lifetime,[157]

she could be the wife of Thutmose I, but then she would not belong to the family of Ahmose; her name might have caused her to be associated with his family in later tradition.

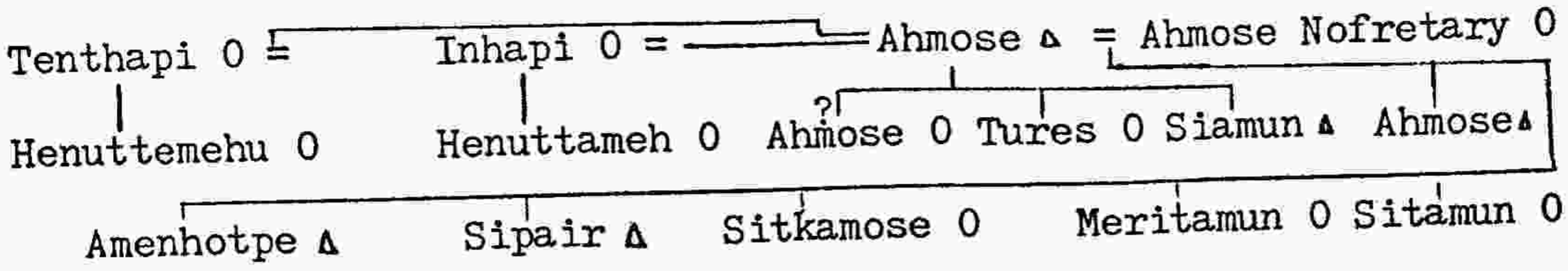
On the Ramessid monuments, Siamun, Henuttameh, Tures and Ahmose are never shown with Amenhotpe I or Ahmose Nofretary in the small family groups, but only in the "lists". This distinction probably indicates a division between the children of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, and those of other wives, and we know that Henuttameh is a daughter of Inhapi.

2.2.6. Inhapi, Ahmose Henuttameh, Tenthapi and Ahmose Henuttemehu.

It has been proposed that Tenthapi and Ahmose Henuttemehu (2.1 no.18) should be identified with Inhapi and Ahmose Henuttameh.[158] F.J. Schmitz suggests that the first pair of names dates from the 21st dynasty, while the latter represents the older form.[159] However, the name of Inhapi is found not only in the reign of Thutmose III, but also in the 21st dynasty.[160] Henuttameh is attested only from the time of Thutmose III and the 19th dynasty; Henuttemehu is found in the 18th and 21st dynasties.[161] This makes it most unlikely that the two pairs are the same. A reasonable solution would be that Inhapi and Tenthapi were sisters, and that Henuttameh and Henuttemehu were children of the same king; if Henuttameh is a child of Ahmose (2.2.5) so is Henuttemehu.

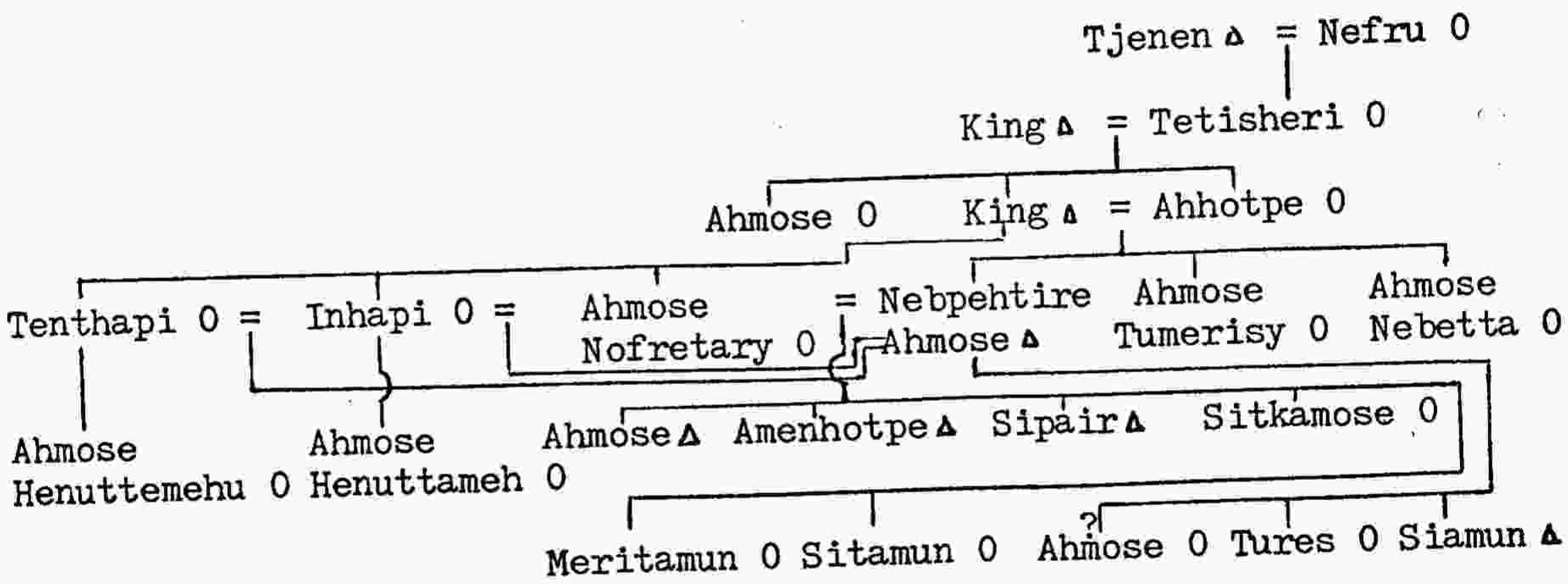
2.2.7. The family of Ahmose.

The following genealogy may be reconstructed from the material discussed in 2.2.



2.3. The basic reconstruction of the genealogy of the early 18th dynasty royal family.

The evidence for reconstruction is incomplete since many members of the family are mentioned only once, without information that would allow their position in the family to be assured. There is no material relating to Kamose that gives his parentage. On the basis of the documents 2.1 nos.1-7 and the discussion in 2.2, I propose the following framework.[162]



The main problem here is the identification of the kings, but before treating this, I shall deal with the three Ahhotpes who appear on documents 2.1 nos.4,10,12.

2.3.1. Ahhotpe I, II and III.

It is often stated that the hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I was one of his sisters called Ahhotpe.[163] This seems to be based on two assumptions. First, two coffins, each belonging to a hmt nsw wrt

Ahhotpe, have been found. One came from Dra^{c} Abu el-Naqa^{c}.[164] It resembles closely that of Tao II, and various writers have assumed that he provided it for his hmt nsw wrt Ahhotpe, identified with the mother of Ahmose.[165] The second coffin, which comes from the Deir el-Bahari cache (CG 61006), is of a different type, similar to that of Ahmose Nofretary.[166] It must, therefore, be placed later than the first. As Ahmose's hmt nsw wrt was Ahmose Nofretary, the owner of the second coffin must be a hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I. Second, on the later cult monuments, Amenhotpe I appears a number of times with his mother and a queen called Ahhotpe,[167] who was assumed to be his hmt nsw wrt.

Evidence from the reign of Amenhotpe I concerning the women who were his hmt nsw wrt is poor, because Ahmose Nofretary overshadows them.[168] However, it can be shown that one was probably Sitkamose (2.2.1), and that she was succeeded by Meritamun I (2.2.2). There is

[redacted]

None of the jewellery found with the burial of Ahhotpe I bears the later form of the moon hieroglyph;[172] this almost certainly shows that she died before year 22 of Ahmose.[173] She cannot therefore be a queen of Amenhotpe I.

Later monuments.

The association of Amenhotpe I with a queen Ahhotpe on later monuments does not in itself indicate that she was his hmt nsw wrt. Amenhotpe appears most often with his mother Ahmose Nofretary. I believe that the Ahhotpe on the monuments is Amenhotpe's grandmother, the mother of Ahmose, who played an important role in the government of Egypt at a critical period at the end of the 17th dynasty.[174] It would be natural for such a queen to be commemorated on later monuments.

If Ahhotpe II is not the hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, she must be placed elsewhere in the family. Ahmose's mother is the mwt nsw Ahhotpe (2.1 no.4). Ahhotpe II has the title mwt nsw on her coffin. Unless we assume that there was another mwt nsw Ahhotpe alive in the reign of Ahmose, Ahhotpe II must be identified with the mother of Ahmose.

This identification does not conflict with the evidence. The similarity of the coffin of Ahhotpe II to that of Ahmose Nofretary, not only in decoration but also in structure, suggests that they are contemporary. Both coffins use the later form of the moon hieroglyph, as do the coffin and funerary equipment of Ahmose. Towards the end of his reign, Ahmose probably commissioned coffins and funerary equipment for himself, his hmt nsw wrt and his mother, who was still alive (3.4.5).[175]

Earlier in his reign, Ahmose had already buried Ahhotpe I. Her coffin is similar in type to that of Tao II and uses the earlier

form of the moon hieroglyph, as does all the jewellery found with the burial. The names of Kamose and Ahmose appear on the jewellery. This queen has for a long time been identified with the mother of Ahmose, but this is unlikely. His mother was probably Ahhotpe II, who has the title mwt nsw (above). Ahhotpe I does not have the title mwt nsw, although if the coffin were made before Ahmose became king this would not be relevant. If the mwt nsw Ahhotpe lived into the reign of Amenhotpe I, she could not have been buried by Ahmose.[175]

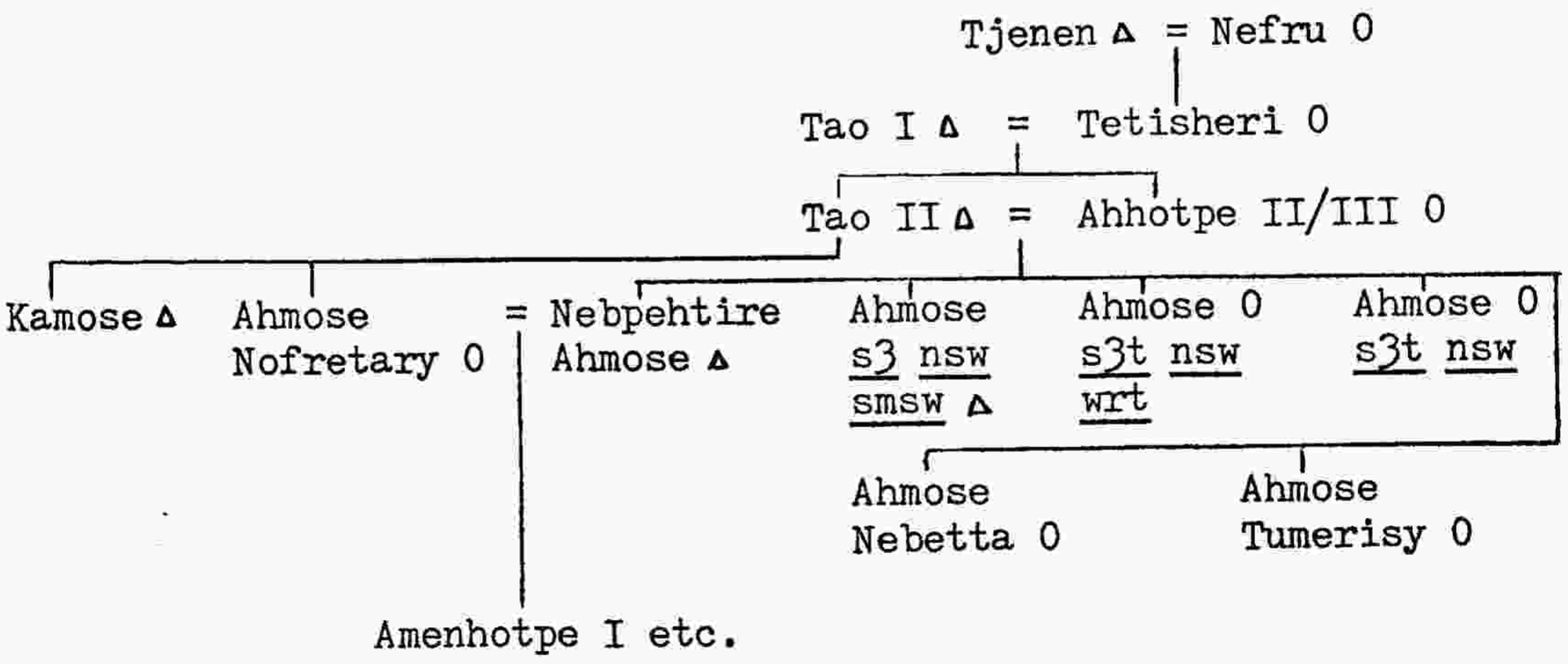
If we assume that the only mwt nsw Ahhotpe is the mother of Ahmose, then she must be identified with Ahhotpe II, and all the objects with the title mwt nsw must refer to her. It is possible, though unlikely, that there were two king's mothers called Ahhotpe, one of whom would be the mother of Kamose, if we accept the usual reconstruction of the family (below), or of Tao II (Genealogical Table 2), and the other the mother of Ahmose. It would then be impossible to determine whether any given occurrence was of Ahhotpe I or II. It would even be possible that the mwt nsw Ahhotpe who was so important in Ahmose's reign was not his mother, but the mother of one of his predecessors.

There is, however, no positive evidence for the existence of two king's mothers with the name Ahhotpe, and the simpler solution of one king's mother Ahhotpe must be preferred, so long as the evidence continues to fit it.

The Ahhotpe of prince Ahmose's statue (2.1 no.10), whom I shall call Ahhotpe III, has the titles s3t nsw wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥdt. Although she is not given the title ḥmt nsw wrt, it has probably been merely omitted here, because from the 13th dynasty onwards ḥnmt nfr ḥdt is only used by ḥmt nsw wrt (4.4.6). The question arises whether she should be identified with either Ahhotpe I or II, or whether there is a third royal woman of this period called Ahhotpe. The inscription

on the back pillar of the statue is in three columns. The middle one contains a htp dj nsw formula for the prince. On one side of this we read jn ntr nfr s3 R^c (T^c3) ... $s^cnḫ$ rn.f "it is the perfect god son of Re (Tao) ... who causes his name to live", and on the other side jn s3t nsw wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥdt J^chhtp $s^cnḫ$ rn.f "it is the s3t nsw wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥdt Ahhotpe who causes his name to live". It has been assumed that Tao is the father of the prince and that the parallel position of Ahhotpe's inscription indicates that she is the mother. I see no reason to disagree with this.

Ahhotpe III is usually identified with the mother of Ahmose, and Tao with Seqenenre Tao II.[176] It follows from this that Ahmose would not be the son of his immediate predecessor Kamose but of Tao II. Kamose would either have to be a younger brother of Tao II or an elder brother of Ahmose. Since there is no evidence at this period of a king being succeeded by a younger brother when he has a son to follow him, it is generally assumed that Kamose is an elder brother of Ahmose, and that he died without an heir.[177] This gives the following genealogy:



2.3.2. The relationship of Tao II, Kamose and Ahmose.

Although the genealogy given above is a possible reconstruction,

the identification of Ahhotpe III with the mother of Ahmose must remain doubtful. The fact that they have the same name carries little weight, because of the tendency for different members of the family, even in one generation, to be given the same name.[178]

Ahhotpe III is hnmt nfr hdt, and therefore hmt nsw wrt, during the lifetime of her husband, Tao II. In addition, she is s3t nsw wrt.

On the stela, CG 34001, which uses the earlier form of the moon hieroglyph, Ahhotpe II is given an extended titulary, in which one might expect to find her most important titles in their full forms. Neither hmt nsw wrt nor hnmt nfr hdt is present. She is called s3t nsw, not s3t nsw wrt, but this is less significant, as the holders of the title s3t nsw wrt are often referred to merely as s3t nsw (1.3.1). However, the whole titulary is of a very unusual structure which cannot be fitted into normal title sequences and it contains titles which do not occur elsewhere (4.2.2, p.243 no.6).

On Ahhotpe II's coffin, which has the later form of the moon hieroglyph, we find the titulary s3t nsw snt nsw hmt nsw wrt hnmt nfr hdt mwt nsw. That a titulary of similar sort does not appear on CG 34001 may indicate that she did not acquire the titles hmt nsw wrt and hnmt nfr hdt until some time in the reign of Ahmose. Therefore, Ahhotpe II and III cannot be certainly identified (Table 8).

If we reject this identification, we must consider whether

[redacted]

Ahmose could not after all have been a son of Kamose and not of Tao II. The only certain ordering of the kings of this period is their succession, which has been convincingly established as Senakhtenre Tao I, Seqenenre Tao II, Wadjkheperre Kamose and Nebpehtire Ahmose.[179]

Apart from Ahmose's filiation to Ahhotpe (2.1 no.4), no information is known about the relationships of the kings. The simplest reconstruction is to assume that the succession passed from father to son, as was normal in Egypt during periods of stability; between the mid-13th dynasty and the 20th dynasty, there is no evidence of brothers succeeding. Working on this assumption, one may identify the kings by

moving back from Ahmose generation by generation. Ahmose's mother, Ahhotpe II, would then be the wife of Kamose and not of Tao II.

It remains to be seen whether, since Kamose had a short reign, the ages of the kings allow Ahmose and Kamose to belong to different generations. We have no accurate evidence of their ages at death. The mummy of Ahmose survives, but the information which can be obtained from it is imprecise. In the Cairo Catalogue, Smith gives estimates of ages for the royal mummies which include variables of up to ten years. Harris and Weeks in X-Raying the Pharaohs have made little advance on this problem; the full report on their work on the mummies is not yet published. The calculations which follow should be treated with caution because of this, but any discussion of these kings cannot ignore the estimates given of their ages at death, however imprecise.

Smith said about the mummy of Ahmose, "from the examination ...I should have estimated his age is not more than 40 years".[180] This implies that forty is the upper limit, but that it could be less.[181] Smith did not give a lower limit for his estimate. This seems to have been because he was anxious to put the age as high as possible, as he believed that Ahmose was adult when he came to the throne, and he knew that his highest regnal date was year 22. Ahmose is now generally given a reign of 25 years, so that on Smith's upper limit he would have come to the throne aged 15, but there is no reason why he should not have been younger. His exploits date to the second half of his reign, which might support a young age at accession, but other factors may be involved. We can, however, attempt to estimate Ahmose's age at his accession.

Derry reckoned that the mummy of Amenhotpe I was aged between 40 and 50 at most.[182] Since he reigned 21 years, he could have succeeded aged between 19 and 29, which would then mean that he was born at the latest in year 6 of Ahmose, and his elder brother Ahmose in year 5 or earlier.[183]

If we take 15 as the youngest age at which a king is likely to have had a child, the earliest date that Ahmose's eldest son could have been born would be year 1. Amenhotpe could then not have been born before year 2.[183]

The upper age limit for Ahmose at his accession is 15 (15 + 25 = 40). The lower limit cannot be less than 10, or we could hardly find him with a son by year 5. Therefore, Ahmose was between 10 and 15 when he succeeded his father.

In discussing the mummy of Tao II, Smith says that it gives conflicting evidence, some suggesting that he was little over 30 and some that he might have been at least 40 at his death.[184] Harris and Weeks support the lower age of 30.[185] If Tao II died at 30, then Kamose would be no more than 14 at his accession (allowing for the birth of the <u>s3 nsw smsw</u> Ahmose of Louvre E 15682, although it is possible that they did not have the same mother), and 17 in his year 3. Even if we were to give him a reign of 6 years,[186] making him 20 at his death, Ahmose could not possibly be his son. However, although we cannot rule out the possibility that Kamose could have conducted the campaigns described on his stela[187] when he was 17, one might prefer a higher estimate of his age.

If we take Smith's upper estimate of 40 for Tao II, Kamose could be up to 24 at his accession, 27 in year 3, and up to 30 at his death. If Ahmose was born when his father was 15, he himself would be 12-15 at his accession. Giving Kamose a 3 year reign, the upper age limit for Kamose at Ahmose's birth would be 17; with a reign of six years, it would be 20.

As Kamose's mummy fell to pieces on discovery,[188] there is no control over his age at death. It is possible that Kamose is the son of Tao II and father of Ahmose, but we can fit in this extra

generation only if we assume that Tao II died at the age of forty, that kings fathered their first children when they were as young as 14-15 and preferably but not necessarily that Kamose ruled longer than three years. It is still possible that Kamose and Ahmose are brothers, although the original reason for assuming this, that my Ahhotpe II and III were the same woman, is no longer valid. That Kamose was a younger brother of Tao II and father of Ahmose is unlikely, as Tao II's daughter Ahmose (Table 4 no.6) should not then be s3t nsw snt nsw, since she would not be the sister of a king. Vandersleyen suggests that Kamose was a younger brother of Tao II, the latter being the father of Ahmose. As remarked above, it seems unlikely that a king would be succeeded by his brother when he had a son. If Ahmose was considered under age, he would have had a regent, but it is needlessly complex to assume that his position as king was usurped by his uncle. Therefore, we are left with two possible genealogies (Genealogical Tables 1-2). So far as I can see, there is no way of deciding between these on the present evidence. However, the second might be preferred on the basis of orderly succession.

2.3.3. Other members of the early 18th dynasty royal family.

Ahhotpe I, Ahmose Henutempet and the three Ahmoses of documents nos.13-15 have not been placed on the genealogical tables, as their positions are uncertain. However, the following comments can be made.

2.3.3.1. Ahhotpe I.

The titles on the coffin of Ahhotpe I are ḥmt nsw wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥdt. s3t nsw and mwt nsw are absent, but we cannot be certain that she did not have these titles, because there is only one inscription concerning her. If she is the mother of a king, she could be the mother

of Tao I or Kamose (Genealogical Table 1), or of Tao I or Tao II (Genealogical Table 2). Since Tao I is the first king of this line, his mother should be mwt nsw but not hmt nsw wrt, as she would not have been the wife of a king. If Ahhotpe I was the mother of Tao II or Kamose, the coffin would have been made before her son came to the throne. If, however, we take the lack of mwt nsw at its face value, and assume that she was not the mother of a king, we have three choices. She could have been the hmt nsw wrt of Tao I, Tao II or Kamose. This may seem strange, since we have already assigned Tetisheri and Ahhotpe II to two of these kings, but it is probable that neither was hmt nsw wrt in her husband's lifetime.

Tetisheri only has the title hmt nsw wrt on CG 34002, which dates to after her death. It is likely that the title was given to Tetisheri by her grandson on a posthumous monument whose chief object was to honour her, and she may not have had it in her own lifetime, let alone that of her husband, Tao I or II.

Three of the monuments which mention Ahhotpe II use the earlier form of the moon hieroglyph.[189] dating them before year 22 of Ahmose. None of them has the title hmt nsw wrt, and one suspects that CG 34001 gives Ahhotpe her full titles, because the inscription is specifically in praise of the queen. The title hmt nsw wrt is found on Ahhotpe's coffin (2.1 no.19), the coffin of Anat (2.1 no.6), a statue of one of her daughters (2.1 no.7), the stela of Iuf (2.1 no.4), and perhaps on a vase of Ahmose Nofretary (2.1 no.8). All use the later form of the moon hieroglyph, and the stela of Iuf dates to the reign of Thutmose II at the earliest. In other words, the title is only attested after year 18 of Ahmose, and I believe this shows that Ahhotpe did not have the title during the lifetime of her husband, Tao II or Kamose.

It might be argued that if Tetisheri and Ahhotpe II were not the hmt nsw wrt of their husbands, why do we not have evidence of the women who were? I think that for Tao II we do in the person of Ahhotpe III. Apart from Louvre E 15682 (2.1 no.10), we have no record from the reigns of Tao II or Kamose where the king is associated with a queen. All our evidence concerning Tetisheri and Ahhotpe II comes from the reign of Ahmose or later. Since Ahmose is descended from Tetisheri and Ahhotpe II and not from the hmt nsw wrt of his predecessors, the latter are not in evidence on his monuments. Information about members of the royal family, at this period in particular, often comes through chance finds of some private monument, mostly funerary, bearing their names. We can be quite certain that there were many members of the royal family of whom we know nothing. As we have very little knowledge of the queens of the whole of the 17th dynasty, it should not be surprising that we can associate no hmt nsw wrt with Tao I.

The form of the moon hieroglyph and the similarity of the coffin of Ahhotpe I to that of Tao II firmly date that queen to the end of the 17th dynasty or beginning ot the 18th before year 22 of Ahmose. It is tempting to identify her with Ahhotpe III, but Ahhotpe I lacks the title s3t nsw (wrt), and such an identification could not be certain. Objects with the name of Kamose were placed in the coffin of Ahhotpe I,[190] probably indicating a connection with this king. If she is not his mother, she could be his hmt nsw wrt.[191]

2.3.3.2. Ahmose Henutempet.

Ahmose Henutempet is filiated on her coffin to the hmt nsw wrt Ahhotpe. The lack of the title mwt nsw makes it impossible to tell whether Ahhotpe I, II or III is meant.

2.3.3.3. The Ahmoses of 2.1 nos.13-15.

These inscriptions all use the early form of the moon hieroglyph, which dates them before year 22 of Ahmose. The owner of no.14 cannot be a daughter of Ahmose, because in order to bear the title snt nsw she would have to have lived into the reign of Amenhotpe I, by which time the moon hieroglyph had changed. She could have been a sister of Tao II, Kamose or Ahmose, or even of Tao I, if I am wrong in restoring [s3t nsw]; since he is of non-royal birth, any sister of his would not be s3t nsw.

The Ahmose of no.15 is royal because her name is written in a cartouche. Although Ahmose is a common name at this time, we have little evidence of the title ḥmt nṯr before Ahmose Nofretary. Therefore, it seems not unlikely that the owners of no.14 and no.15 should be identified. Perhaps they should also be equated with one of the two Ahmoses of Louvre E 15682 (2.1 no.10), or even the daughter of Sitdjhuty (2.1 no.9) or of Tetisheri (2.1 no.3). Since the Ahmose of no.13 does not have the title ḥmt nṯr, she is probably a different princess, perhaps to be identified with one of the known Ahmoses just mentioned.

2.4. The royal family from Thutmose I to Amenhotpe III.

2.4.1. The family of Thutmose I.

From the mummy believed to belong to Thutmose I, Smith estimated that he was over 50 at his death.[192] With a reign of 12 years, he would have been over 38 when he succeeded. Derry placed the age of Amenhotpe I at his death between 40 and 50 (n.182). Therefore, if Thutmose's mummy is correctly identified, Amenhotpe I would not have been old enough to have been the father of Thutmose I. From the point of view of age, Thutmose could be a son of Ahmose. However, his mother, Senisonb, is attested three times with the title mwt nsw but not as

hmt nsw, so she is unlikely to be the wife of a king.[193] We have no knowledge of Thutmose I before he became king. He could have belonged to a junior branch of the royal family. There are, however, striking physical differences between Thutmose's supposed mummy, which resembles those of Thutmose II and III, and not those of his predecessors, so that it is better to assume that he was not related to them.

Two wives, three sons and two daughters of Thutmose I are known. The snt nsw hmt nsw wrt Ahmose is attested as early as year 1 (CG 34006), and she survived into the reign of Thutmose II.[194] She never has the title s3t nsw, which makes it unlikely that she was a daughter of Ahmose or Amenhotpe I.[195] I have suggested (1.4) that snt nsw refers to Thutmose I, and that Ahmose was his sister whom he married,[196] either when he was appointed heir to the throne, or when he succeeded Amenhotpe I.

Ahmose had two daughters. One, Nefrubity, is known only from two scenes in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.[197] She appears in a group with Thutmose I and Ahmose, so that there can be no doubt that she is their daughter. The other daughter is Hatshepsut. In her propaganda to strengthen her claim to the throne, she stresses that Thutmose I is her father. Ahmose's prominence during Hatshepsut's reign and her part in the birth cycle makes it clear that she is Hatshepsut's mother. Ahmose probably died before Hatshepsut took the titles of king, since the latter dedicated a vase n mwt.s hmt nsw wrt (J^{c}hms) m3^{c}t hrw hr Wsjr while she was still queen (CG 18486). m3^{c}t hrw hr Wsjr shows that the object is funerary, so, unless Hatshepsut had it made in anticipation of her mother's death, Ahmose must have died before Hatshepsut took the titles of king.

Thutmose I's other known wife was Mutnofret. She is attested at the earliest in the reign of Thutmose II with the titles hmt nsw mwt nsw, on a statue from the mortuary temple of Wadjmose (CG 572).

Mutnofret does not have the title s3t nsw, so that she is unlikely to be a sister or daughter of Amenhotpe I.[198] However, a colossus of Thutmose II at Karnak, restored by Thutmose III, has a statue of a s3t nsw [ ] nsw Mutnofret by its right leg.[199] Maspero restored this as s3t nsw [hmt] nsw and identified the princess with the mother of Thutmose II.[200] Mariette copied the text:



This seems to support Maspero's restoration. Sethe, however, restored [snt] nsw.[201] This would require the grouping rather than the more usual , since the t is on the right hand side of the group. This should be compared with the position of the t in the group mrjjt below, which must be restored  . But since Sethe collated the inscription with the original, [snt] nsw must be considered a possibility.[202] Even if hmt nsw was the original title, there is no reason why Mutnofret should not be a daughter of Thutmose II who became a secondary wife of Thutmose III. The inscription does not necessarily provide an example of an otherwise unattested title of Thutmose I's wife.

The colossus, which has a restoration text of year 42 of Thutmose III,[203] stands by the eighth pylon at Karnak, which was built by Thutmose III, who must have moved the colossus into its present position from some other location. While Thutmose II was alive, no daughter of his would have had the title snt nsw or hmt nsw, unless Thutmose III was his father's coregent, or there was a father-daughter marriage, otherwise unknown at this date. Thutmose III could, on the other hand, have changed the inscription to include the title snt nsw

or even hmt nsw if he married this princess. What makes the inscription least likely to refer to the mother of Thutmose II is the lack of the title mwt nsw. We should therefore see the owner of the statue as a daughter of Thutmose II who was named after her grandmother.

Thutmose I was presumably married before he came to the throne, since he had children before he was king. Maspero estimated that Thutmose II was thirty at his death.[204] Smith, however, says "the baldness of Thutmosis II considered in conjunction with the wrinkled skin of his face leads me seriously to question the suggestion that he was no more than thirty years of age".[205] If we accept that he was at least thirty at his death, even if we give him a reign of as much as thirteen years,[206] with his father's reign of twelve years, Thutmose II must have been born before his father became king. Thutmose I must, therefore, have already been married to Mutnofret. We have no evidence in the 18th dynasty of a private person marrying a s3t nsw, which makes it still more unlikely that the mwt nsw Mutnofret is the princess of the statue.

In year 4 of Thutmose I's reign, the king's s3 nsw smsw Amenmose set up his own monument at Giza, on which he has the title jmj-r3 mš^{c} wr n jt.f.[207] In the 18th dynasty, princes rarely have titles of office. This suggests that when we find them, they are not merely given as honorary titles, or there should be more examples. The text of Amenmose is broken, but the beginning reads prt pw jr.n s3 nsw smsw jmj-r3 mš^{c} wr n jt.f (Jmnms) ^{c}nḫ dt r  ḥr [... "the king's eldest son and general of his father (Amenmose), may he live for ever, went out to take exercise at ...". Such a text suggests that the prince is more than a child. Amenmose was therefore probably old enough to function as jmj-r3 mš^{c} wr, and could have embarked on a military career as a private person before his father became king. If

queen Ahmose was the sister of Thutmose I, he would not have married her at least until he was appointed Amenhotpe's successor, and possibly not until he ascended the throne, since such marriages are normally restricted to kings. It is doubtful whether private people had more than one wife at a time, though divorce and death must have meant that they often had more than one during their lifetime. Therefore, if Thutmose I was married to Mutnofret when still a private person, it is quite likely that, unless he had another wife before her, she was the mother of Amenmose as well as Thutmose II.

Thutmose I's second son was Wadjmose.[208] He too was probably a son of Mutnofret, because it was in his mortuary temple that Thutmose II set up statues dedicated to Mutnofret,[209] which suggests that she had a funerary cult there, and that there was a connection between her and the prince. Wadjmose is the only prince of the 18th dynasty whom we know to have had a mortuary temple. It was a small building between the temple of Thutmose IV and the Ramesseum.[210] A stela from there mentioning the pr (Wsrm3^{c}tre Stpnr^{c}) shows that it was still in existence in the reign of Ramesses II.[211] Perhaps other princes had mortuary temples which were destroyed to make room for those of later kings, but there is no trace of them nor of objects which might have come from them. That Wadjmose's temple survived in use for so long suggests that he held a special position, but its nature is unclear. The title s3 nsw smsw held by Amenmose, but not by Wadjmose, probably shows that the former was the elder brother, so Wadjmose was not remembered as the eldest son of Thutmose I.

2.4.2. The family of Thutmose II.

Thutmose II is not attested from the reign of his father. Whether this is due to chance or whether it indicates that his

position was less important than that of his brothers must remain unresolved. There is no doubt that he married his half-sister Hatshepsut,[212] and had a daughter, Nefrure, by her.[213]

We have also seen that Thutmose II probably had a daughter called Mutnofret. It is unlikely that Hatshepsut was her mother, since one would then expect her to be attested during Hatshepsut's reign, unless she died very young, in which case her father would probably not have erected a statue for her, and she would not have used the title [snt] nsw or [ḥmt] nsw.

In the British Museum, there is the lower part of a seated statue of an official called Iamnefer, who was in office under Hatshepsut.[214] On the front of the statue is named the s3 nsw n ḥt.f mrjj.f ᶜ3ḥprnrᶜsnb mᶜ3 ḥrw. The inclusion of the prenomen of Thutmose II in the prince's name suggests that he should be a son of that king. He is otherwise unknown, and I would suggest that Hatshepsut is not his mother.

2.4.3. The family of Thutmose III.

Thutmose II's successor was his son by a woman called Ese.[215] She is not attested until the reign of her son, when she is given the titles ḥmt ntr and ḥmt nsw wrt in addition to mwt nsw.[216] She probably died during Thutmose III's reign, as he dedicated a statue to her with the text jr.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f mwt nsw (Jst) mᶜ3t ḥrw "he made (it) as his monument for his mother mwt nsw (Ese) justified" (CG 42072).

A number of wives of Thutmose III are known. The tomb of three secondary wives was identified by Winlock at Thebes.[217] They have non-Egyptian names, Merti, Menwi and Menhet; they are otherwise unknown. In the tomb of Thutmose III a scene shows three ḥmt nsw standing in a row (pl.54). The first is Meritre, whose full name and title are

given elsewhere as hmt nsw wrt Meritre Hatshepsut (e.g. pls.36,37,52). She outlived her husband, and appears in the reign of Amenhotpe II with the title mwt nsw (e.g. pls.42,137), showing that she is his mother. The second queen is Sitioh, who elsewhere has the title hmt nsw wrt.[218] As Thutmose III dedicated a statue to her with the phrase jr.n.f m mnw.f n hmt nsw wrt (S3tj^{c}h) m3^{c}t hrw "he made (it) as his monument for the hmt nsw wrt (Sitioh)",[219] it seems that she died during his reign. Meritre Hatshepsut was probably made hmt nsw wrt after Sitioh's death. She was almost certainly younger than Sitioh, since her son Amenhotpe II came to the throne aged 18,[220] and so was not born until year 36 of his father, or slightly earlier if there was a coregency.

The mother of Sitioh is named as the mn^{c}t wrt šdt ntr Jpw on an offering table of Sitioh (CG 23034). This is unusual, since queens' mothers are seldom mentioned, but it shows that Sitioh was of non-royal birth. If her father had been a king, her mother should probably have been hmt nsw; also Sitioh is not s3t nsw. Ipu must have been a nurse of Thutmose III, which suggests that Sitioh grew up with the royal children. We know nothing of Ipu's family, or of why Thutmose should have taken her daughter as hmt nsw wrt.

The third hmt nsw in Thutmose III's tomb is called Nebtu. She is also known from the tomb of Nebamun (TT 24), who has the title jmj-r3 pr n hmt nsw (Nbtw).[221] It is unusual to find a hmt nsw with an official of her own. The simplest explanation for this is that she was a favourite of Thutmose III. In the same scene in Thutmose's tomb, the three hmt nsw are followed by a s3t nsw Nofretary, who is presumably a daughter of Thutmose III. She is not mentioned elsewhere, and her mother is unknown; it is possible that she was a daughter of Nebtu and also a favourite, which would account for her presence to the exclusion

of the better known children.

Meritre Hatshepsut has been thought to be a second daughter of Hatshepsut,[222] partly because of her name, which is, however, common enough among private women. In fact, it is fairly certain that she was of non-royal birth, as she is never given the title s3t nsw, although she is reasonably well attested. In the British Museum, there is the lower part of a seated statue of a dw3t ntr Hwjj.[223] Part of the inscription on the side of her seat reads mst ḥmt ntr ḥmt nsw wrt "who gave birth to the ḥmt ntr and ḥmt nsw wrt". This queen is not named. Huy holds on her lap the s3t nsw Nbtjwnt. On one side of her seat are depicted four children, s3 nsw Mnhprr^{c}, s3t nsw (Mrjjtjmn), s3t nsw Mrjjtjmn and s3t nsw Jst. The last is shown as a smaller figure standing between Menkheperre and Meritamun. It was obviously added after the others had been completed.

As Huy is not herself ḥmt nsw, it is logical to assume that the children are not her own, but those of the ḥmt nsw wrt, her daughter. The name of Amun is erased everywhere, except in the name Meritamun,[224] so that the piece must date before the Amarna period. On the grounds of style, van de Walle dates it to the reigns of Thutmose III-IV.[225] As Huy is not herself ḥmt nsw, her daughter cannot be of royal birth. The name of the s3 nsw Menkheperre suggests that he should be a son of Thutmose III. The names of the other children fit in with this, as Thutmose III had a daughter named Meritamun (Table 4 no.23), while Ese would be named after her grandmother in accordance with a common Egyptian custom. Of Thutmose's two ḥmt nsw wrt, Sitioh's mother is known to have been Ipu, so Huy's daughter must surely be Meritre Hatshepsut. The title ḥmt ntr is attested for the latter, though only on monuments from the reign of Amenhotpe II.

The statue was probably made during the reign of Thutmose III,

before the birth of Ese, whose figure was then added later. It is less likely to date to the reign of Amenhotpe II, as one might expect the title mwt nsw to be given as well. It is strange that there is no mention of Amenhotpe II as prince, but I do not think this invalidates the identification.

The only other possible candidates for identification with the daughter of Huy would be Tiaa, Nofretary and Mutemwiya. The last two are unlikely as they are not attested as hmt ntr, but in any case, I think all three should be discounted, because a son of Amenhotpe II or Thutmose IV is hardly likely to be called Menkheperre.

In year 24 of Thutmose III, there is a reference to the s3 nsw smsw [Jmn]mh3t being appointed to the office of jmj-r3 jhw n t3 j[...].[226] By this date Thutmose III may have been in his early thirties, assuming he came to the throne aged about 9-10, so that he could have had a son, who was old enough to take office; his mother was perhaps Sitioh.

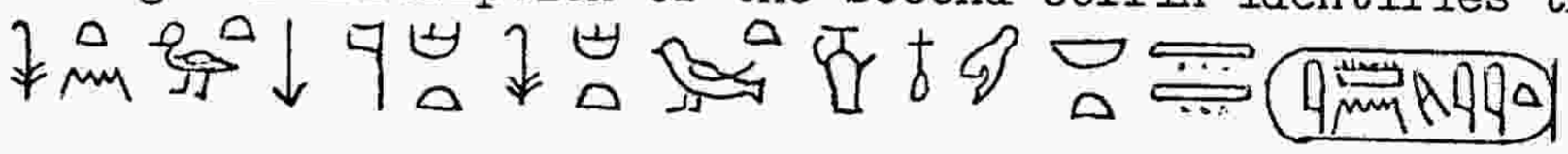
2.4.4. The family of Amenhotpe II.

In the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri, a scene shows Thutmose III followed by two women who appear to be depicted identically (pl.113). The first is the s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr bnrt mrwt (Mrjjtjmn). The name of the second is destroyed. Traces of the title snt nsw survive, and s3t nsw should be restored before them, as snt nsw normally follows s3t nsw (Table 5 no.14). The princesses must be daughters of Thutmose III, not his wives, as only the mwt nsw, hmt nsw wrt and occasionally s3t nsw are depicted in this type of scene. The princesses' title snt nsw should refer to their brother Amenhotpe II, which suggests that the scene belongs to a period of coregency between Thutmose III and his son.[227]

2.4.4.1. Identification of the owner of TT 358.

In 1929 Winlock found the tomb of a s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt Meritamun at Deir el-Bahri (TT 358). He dated the tomb to the reign of Amenhotpe II and identified the owner as a daughter of Thutmose III.[228] Since then other scholars have preferred an identification with the daughter of Ahmose.[229]

The tomb had been plundered and restored in the 21st dynasty. It was also used at that time for the burial of a princess Entiuny. In the robberies almost all Meritamun's funerary equipment had vanished. Her first and second coffins, however, still survived, although stripped of their gold and inlay. Fragments of the third coffin, which had been broken up, were found, as were a large number of pieces of wood, which were probably the remains of a sarcophagus.

An original inscription of the second coffin identifies the owner as  .[230] The first coffin was originally uninscribed; the inscription on it was copied from the second coffin by the restorers. Some of the original mummy wrappings stripped off by the thieves survived, one with the inscription  .[231] One fragment of what was probably the sarcophagus has the inscription  .[232] When written horizontally Ahmose is normally grouped  or  .[233] Winlock is probably right in explaining the grouping on the fragment as being due to a second element in the name.[234] Since all the other inscriptions name a Meritamun, this is probably the name to restore here, unless this fragment comes from an object not originally made for Meritamun.

Winlock based his argument that the owner of the tomb was the daughter of Thutmose III who appears in the Hathor cow chapel on the following evidence:

a. The second coffin, although similar in many ways to those of Ahhotpe

II and Ahmose Nofretary, presents noticeable differences, greater than those between the latter two coffins, which are made of a framework of wood over which layers of linen were glued.[235] Meritamun's coffin was made completely of wood. The pair have removable heads and shoulders, while Meritamun's has a lid.[236] In decoration, "the full vulture wing, body and tail pattern" on the Nofretary and Ahhotpe coffins has degenerated into "rows of conventionalized, long, straight feathers over the whole of the Meryet-Amun body."[237]

b. The tomb was Meritamun's original place of burial because of the debris of the broken furniture, the third coffin, the sarcophagus, baskets, pots and rags. If she had been removed from an earlier burial place to this tomb for safety, no restorer would have bothered also to transfer this rubbish.[238] But the tomb must have been built after the temple of Hatshepsut because at one point "the cutting of the roof of the corridor exposed the underside of the foundations of the back wall of the colonnade."[239] Elsewhere, only a thin layer of shale intervenes between the foundations and the roof of the corridor. If the tomb had been there before the temple, cutting down into the shale would surely have caused the corridor roof to collapse, or, if that did not, the dropping of stones into the foundation trench would have done so. There is no evidence of underpinning in the corridor, which would have been essential in order to avoid the tomb's collapsing if the temple was built down onto it. Only a few small stones had fallen from the foundations where they were exposed, showing that the blocks were tightly wedged together and that the mortar had hardened before the corridor was dug.

c. The mummy of Meritamun, daughter of Ahmose, was found in the Deir el-Bahri cache.[240]

d. According to the later monuments, Meritamun, daughter of Ahmose,

never bore any titles higher than snt nsw.[241]

e. "The pottery is entirely characteristic of the period of Hatshepsut and Thut-mose III, and it noticeably lacks any trace of the polychrome fabrics common late in the dynasty, or of the red bowls and bottles with black painted edges usual at its outset."[242] Further, the basketery trays are exactly duplicated in the Hatshepsut and Thutmose III material from Deir el-Bahri.[243]

f. The incision of the embalming cut on Meritamun follows the line normally used before the death of Thutmose III. However, mummies of the same date were often treated in different ways from each other, and there is no evidence that the change in the position of the embalming cut found on his body was immediately adopted universally by embalmers.[244] Further, "from the top of the head, down the back of the neck, and all over the back of the shoulders ... the skin was raised in papule-like projections such as might well be caused by a crystallization of salts in and under the cuticle as the body dried."[245] A similar condition was found on the mummies of Thutmose II, Thutmose III and Amenhotpe II. Smith hesitated between explaining this as a sign of disease or as being due to part of the embalming process, but suggested "that it may have been due to some irritant amongst the ingredients of the preservative materials employed by the embalmers at this particular time."[246] If this is correct, it supports a date for Meritamun between the deaths of Thutmose II and Amenhotpe II.

Several scholars have put forward arguments for the identification of the owner of the tomb with the daughter of Ahmose. These can be listed as follows (page references are to the works cited in n.229).

1. The second coffin is similar in decoration to those of Ahmose

Nofretary and Ahhotpe II (Gitton, 14; Kees 275 no.1).

2. If the temple had already been in existence, no architect in his senses would have put the tomb up against it and made the error of running under its foundations so close to the surface (Kees, 275 no.3).

3. The mummy in the Deir el-Bahri cache does not belong to the daughter of Ahmose, and is perhaps that of Thutmose III's daughter (Gitton, 37 n.108).

4. If Winlock does not like an identity with the earlier Meritamun because she is only attested as s3t nsw snt nsw, this applies equally to the daughter of Thutmose III, who is not ḥmt nsw wrt on any monument. In any case, according to Maspero and Lepsius, the earlier Meritamun was occasionally called ḥmt nsw ḥnwt t3wj (Gitton, 14 with n.106; Kees, 275).

5. The tomb is on the same model as that of Ahmose Nofretary (Gitton, 14).

6. The title ḥnmt nfr ḥdt is not attested later than Hatshepsut (Kees, 275 no.3).

7. The use of the name Ahmose implies that Meritamun is a member of king Ahmose's family (Kees, 275 no.2).

8. The features on the coffin "are cast in the mould of those of the reigning monarch, Amen-hetep I" (Aldred, 45 no.12).

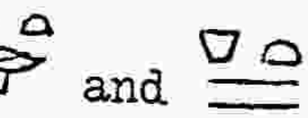
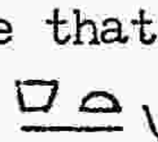
In assessing these arguments for and against the later dating, the following comments may be made (letters and numbers refer to the arguments above):

a/1. Apart from the coffins of Meritamun, we have only three others belonging to queens of the 18th dynasty,[247] all of which come from the beginning of the dynasty. Therefore, no typology can be established for the rest of the dynasty, and Meritamun's coffins cannot be fitted into a series. Without knowing how queens' coffins developed in

structure and decoration, we cannot date the coffins in TT 358 on such grounds. However, the differences pointed out by Winlock between the coffins of Ahmose Nofretary and Ahhotpe II on the one hand and those of Meritamun on the other suggest that they were not made at the same time.

b/2. Winlock saw the position of the temple foundations in relation to the roof of the tomb corridor and made his judgement on the spot that the temple could not have been built down onto the tomb. Whether the architect of the tomb was incompetent or merely miscalculated the depth of the corridor or of the foundations does not alter the fact that the roof of the corridor has not collapsed, even though there is no sign of underpinning in the tomb. One could also say that the overseer of works on the temple was out of his senses, if, knowing that in one place the foundations had struck the top of a tomb corridor, he made no attempt to shore up its roof to take the weight of the foundations.

c/3. See 2.2.2 for arguments concerning the dating of the Deir el-Bahri cache mummy, and the conclusion that it must belong to the daughter of Ahmose.

d/4. In his argument that the earlier Meritamun is only s3t nsw snt nsw, Winlock did not know of a 19th dynasty fragment now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which gives her the title hmt nsw wrt.[248] In addition, it is now almost certain that the earlier Meritamun was the hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, and that she is named on a contemporary monument (2.2.1,2). Neither Lepsius nor Maspero gives any reference for the titles they quote.[249] Lepsius' titulary is suspiciously like the inscription on Wilkinson's coffin, while that of Maspero looks like the second half of Lepsius'. The only differences are that Lepsius gives  and  , while Wilkinson has  and  .

It is interesting to note that Schiaparelli also refers to an (Ahmose) Meritamun called s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt ntr ḥmt nsw wrt ḥnwt t3wj without any reference.[250] The similarity to Lepsius suggests the same source. As the Deir el-Bahri tomb was still undiscovered, none of these titularies has anything to do with the ones from there, yet they do not correspond even remotely with any other monument that we know today. I cannot believe that three separate monuments or objects have now been lost without trace, but would rather assign the titularies to a common origin, the coffin seen and recorded by Wilkinson, which must be the source of the titulary he gives for Meritamun in Materia Hieroglyphica (1828), although this is not stated.

e. At my request, Colin Hope re-examined the dating of the pottery as described in Winlock's publication of TT 358. He came to the following conclusions:[251]

i. The absence of blue painted (polychrome) pottery and black-topped vessels is not significant, as burials made when these types of pottery were common do not invariably contain them.

ii. All of the shapes present are definitely found in the mid-18th dynasty. The small saucers[252] occur throughout the New Kingdom; the deeper larger bowls are absent from Malqata and Amarna; the jars with incised ridges on their necks[253] are pre-Amenhotpe III, and are absent from Malqata and Amarna.

iii. The small jars[254] occur throughout the 18th dynasty, but they are not red-slipped and burnished, as invariably at Malqata. In the early 18th dynasty, they nearly always have black rims.

iv. According to Petrie's classification of jar types, the examples of Winlock Tomb of Meryet-Amun, fig.17a-d would be mid-18th dynasty, and possibly after Thutmose III because of the incised line.[255]

v. The most important dating criterion is provided by the amphora. Its form is derived from a Palestinian prototype, and many examples in

Egypt are imports. "They do not, as yet, seem to have occurred in Egypt before the reign of Hatshepsut" (Hope). The shape of the amphora in Meritamun's tomb is early. It may or may not be an import. If it is Egyptian, then the drab slip on a red clay is typical of the second half of the 18th dynasty; the shape is not that of the amphorae from Malqata. It is identical in shape to others known to date to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

5. Gitton notes that Meritamun's tomb is similar to that of Ahmose Nofretary. However, Romer shows that the latter was at some time altered and the burial chamber was enlarged to the proportions of a king's tomb.[256] He suggests that this work may have been carried out by Thutmose III in order to accomodate the body of Amenhotpe I.[257] The "well", which is not otherwise found before the reign of Thutmose III, could have been added at this time,[258] which suggests that in TT 358 the "well" dates to the time of Thutmose III or later.

Romer also demonstrates that there is a close similarity between the design of TT 358 and the tomb attributed to Nefrure, both of which "can be confirmed in the Eighteenth-Dynasty datings by comparison with other tombs of this group, and probably from the period encompassing the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III".[259]

6. It is true that Hatshepsut is the last queen to use the title hnmt nfr hdt on any monument known today, but the title is never found in the 18th dynasty with a queen known to be of non-royal birth (4.4.6). Most of the queens from the reign of Thutmose III onwards are not of royal origin.[260] Therefore, if there is a link between the title and royal birth, it would in any case seem to die out later in the dynasty.

Even if this link is entirely accidental, we cannot be sure that the last surviving occurrence of the title was the last time it was used. Although eight of the nine known instances are definitely from the early part of the dynasty, the exact point when the title ceased to occur cannot be certain. It is not often found with Ahmose Nofretary, and only once with Hatshepsut, and its frequency and probably its importance were

decreasing after the end of the 17th dynasty. There is no guarantee that it did not occasionally occur in titularies after the time of Hatshepsut. We have no evidence for its use during the reigns of Thutmose I or II, so that if we did not have Hatshepsut's example, it might plausibly be argued that it died out with the change of family between Amenhotpe I and Thutmose I. The use of the title by itself is not sufficient evidence to date Meritamun to the earlier part of the dynasty.

7. That the use of the name Ahmose places Meritamun in the family of Ahmose seems a plausible argument. All other examples of these compound names belong to the royal family of the late 17th and early 18th dynasties, that is, from Tao II to Amenhotpe I, during which period the simple name Ahmose is also common. One would, therefore, expect anyone called Ahmose Meritamun to belong to this family. The double name, however, is found both in TT 358 and on Wilkinson's coffin, which I believe belongs to the daughter of Ahmose (2.2.2). Yet the burial in TT 358 and Wilkinson's coffin cannot belong to the same queen. There is no evidence for two Meritamuns in the early part of the dynasty, and there is no gap in which it would be appropiate to place a new hmt nsw wrt. One must, therefore, be of later date, so that the initially obvious resemblance of the form of name, Ahmose Meritamun, to those of the early royal family is misleading.

The weight of the evidence is thus in favour of identifying the owner of TT 358 with a daughter of Thutmose III. Both the design of the tomb and the pottery in it point towards a mid-18th dynasty date. Winlock's argument that the tomb must have been excavated after the temple was built is convincing. As the tomb was the original place of burial, the mummy itself cannot be of an earlier date.[261] The owner will almost certainly be the Meritamun who appears in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri as s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr bnrt mrwt (pl.113); the last title is associated with queens (4.4.5) She

should also be identified with one of the two Meritamuns who appear on BM 1280, and her mother will therefore probably be Meritre Hatshepsut (2.4.3). Therefore, like Amenhotpe II, she was probably born in the second half of Thutmose's reign. She may also be the s3t nsw Meritamun shown as a child held by a statue of the jmj-r3 k3wt nbt nt nsw Bnrmrwt (CG 42171), who is also known from a monument dated to year 45 of Thutmose III.[262]

The age of the mummy is difficult to assess because of contradictory evidence. Derry suggested that the woman was about fifty, but warned that this was only a vague estimate attempting to reconcile the various data, since out of six observed points, three suggested youth and three "the progress of years".[263] More recently, Harris and Weeks have opted for a younger age because the third molar is unerupted.[264] The argument as it stands is invalid, since it is common everywhere for people to have unerupted third molars throughout their lives, as the authors themselves remark in their discussion of the mummy of Ramesses III, whose third molars were not erupted.[265] X-rays may show that there was no reason for them not to erupt, that is they were not impacted, but the authors do not comment on this.

Amenhotpe II came to the throne at 18 and ruled 26 years, so he was about 44 at his death. Meritamun probably died during his reign, after which Tiaa was made hmt nsw wrt. We cannot be accurate about the date of this, as we have no monuments showing Amenhotpe and Meritamun, and only two showing Tiaa and her husband (pls.13,14). On one of these her name is written over that of Meritre. Neither monument is dated. However, supposing that Meritamun was roughly the same age as her husband, at the oldest she would have been in her forties when she died, and she could have been considerably less.

It is possible that Meritamun is not found on monuments because

she was overshadowed by Meritre. If the alteration on the Karnak lintel (pl.12) from Meritre to Tiaa was due to the death of the former, Meritamun would have died before Meritre, and so was never shown on the monuments. Depictions of queens from the reign of Amenhotpe II are, in any case, rare.

2.4.4.2. Sitamun, daughter of Thutmose III and hmt nsw (wrt) of Amenhotpe II (?).

Another daughter of Thutmose III may be a princess Sitamun, who is shown on a stela from Abydos (CG 34117, pl.115). This belongs to the wrt ḥnrt nt s3t nsw mn^{c}t wrt ẖdt ntr ḥsjjt nt ntr nfr Nbtk3bnj, who is shown seated with Sitamun on her lap, with her son and his wife(?) offering to her. The child's name is written without a cartouche, and then repeated alongside in one. She is not called s3t nsw, but the cartouche and the uraeus she wears show that she is royal; she is probably the s3t nsw of Nebetkabeny's title. The stela is not dated specifically, but a w^{c}b n (Mnḫprr^{c}) appears on it, placing it later than the reign of Thutmose III.

The three women shown wear tripartite wigs. Two of them also have thin fillets knotted at the back with the ends falling down along the wig. On their foreheads, they wear a lotus attached to the fillet, sticking straight out in front. The tripartite wig is the usual hairstyle worn by adult women in the first half of the 18th dynasty. During the reign of Amenhotpe II, it starts to give way to the enveloping wig, which is worn almost exclusively by the reign of Thutmose IV.[266] Also during the reign of Amenhotpe II, the thin fillet common in the reign of Thutmose III starts to give way to a much wider band which continues to be worn throughout the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotpe III.[267] The lotus which projects horizontally

from the forehead is common in the reign of Thutmose III. It is still found in the time of Amenhotpe II, but alongside it, a new form is introduced where the flower droops down along the line of the forehead.[268] This latter form is used exclusively in the subsequent reigns. Therefore, on grounds of dress, the stela cannot date later than the reign of Amenhotpe II. Since we have already seen that it must date after Thutmose III, it can only be placed in the reign of Amenhotpe II.[269] The question is whether Sitamun is a daughter of Thutmose III or Amenhotpe II. The people on the stela are apparently children of Nebetkabeny. If their generation belongs to the time of Amenhotpe II, their mother must have spent at least the first part of her life under Thutmose III. It is possible, therefore, that Sitamun is a daughter of Thutmose III, and that the scene on the stela reflects an earlier period of Nebetkabeny's life. On the other hand, Nebetkabeny may have been granted the honour of being a mnᶜt wrt at the end of her life under Amenhotpe II. If, however, we take the term šdt ntr to indicate that she was connected with the upbringing of a king, this king must have been Amenhotpe II, since the stela cannot date to the reign of Thutmose IV. Therefore, she would have had the title in the reign of Thutmose III. Even this does not make the identification of Sitamun clear. She could be a sister of Amenhotpe II. But if the young Nebetkabeny was connected with the child Amenhotpe, it is possible that he later gave her charge of one of his daughters.

Petrie found a block in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe II showing the head of a woman wearing a vulture headdress and carrying a whisk (pl.103). The bottom half of a cartouche remains above the head, reading:  . As there is evidence that Amenhotpe III

worked on this temple, Petrie restored the name as Sit[amun], and identified the woman with the daughter of Amenhotpe III.[270] The style of the piece, however, is not that of Amenhotpe III, but appears to be earlier.[271] It is surely contemporary with the original temple. Vandersleyen suggests that it belongs to a cult scene of a princess of the time of Ahmose.[272] However, we have no knowledge of such scenes in mortuary temples, whereas we know that members of the king's immediate family were shown in them.[273] It is most likely, therefore, that the block shows a woman of Amenhotpe II's family. If we restore the name as Sit[amun],[274] she could be identified with the princess of CG 34117, who dates to the same period. This would explain the repetition of Sitamun's name in a cartouche and her uraeus. Although the names of s3t nsw are sometimes written in a cartouche, they often do not have one, and the deliberate rewriting of the name within a cartouche suggests a change of status for the princess. It is unknown for s3t nsw apart from Nefrure and Nefrubity to wear a uraeus.[275] One can imagine that when the stela was first made, Sitamun was s3t nsw. Later, she became a queen, and her name was rewritten in a cartouche and a uraeus was added. As her name stood without a title, no alteration was needed here.

If Sitamun was queen in the reign of Amenhotpe II, and we have no knowledge of father-daughter marriage at this period, she must be a daughter of Thutmose III and sister of Amenhotpe II. It is true that we have no other evidence of a queen of Amenhotpe II called Sitamun, but queens are rarely shown or mentioned in Amenhotpe's reign, and in all cases but two, the queen is his mother, Meritre.

2.4.5. The family of Thutmose IV.

Tiaa was Amenhotpe II's last hmt nsw wrt and the mother of

Thutmose IV; she appears during the latter's reign as mwt nsw.[276] She is never s3t nsw, and is therefore probably of non-royal birth. Thutmose IV is also associated with two ḥmt nsw wrt. One is called Iaret, and her titles s3t nsw snt nsw suggest that she is a daughter of Amenhotpe II (1.4). The other is called Nofretary, who appears on a series of stelae from Giza (pls.14-20). Her name is also linked with the prenomen of Thutmose IV on a scarab.[277] Since she lacks the title s3t nsw, she is probably of non-royal birth. Thutmose also married a daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni;[278] she is not mentioned outside the Amarna letters, and she is unlikely to have received the title ḥmt nsw wrt.[279]

2.4.6. The family of Amenhotpe III.

The mother of Amenhotpe III, Mutemwiya, is not attested from the reign of Thutmose IV, but appears during her son's reign with the title mwt nsw (pls.21,43,44,55-60). Amenhotpe III's most important queen was Teye. She lacks the title s3t nsw, and her parents are known to be non-royal.[280] Amenhotpe III also had a number of foreign princesses in his "harim". He was already married to the sister of the King of Babylon when he wrote to ask that king for his daughter as a wife.[281] The arrival of the Mitannian princess Gilukhepa, daughter of Šuttarna, in Egypt is recorded on a commemorative scarab.[282] She is also mentioned in the Amarna letters.[283] Towards the end of his reign, Amenhotpe married Tušratta's daughter, Tadukhepa.[284] When we next hear of her, it is after Amenhotpe IV's accession.[285] Another Amarna letter, this time from Amenhotpe III to Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa, negotiates a match between Amenhotpe and Tarkhundaradu's daughter.[286] It is almost certain that none of these foreign princesses became ḥmt nsw wrt, as they are not mentioned on monumental material.[287] There

may well have been further diplomatic marriages of which we have no record.

Sitamun III, Ese, Henuttaneb and Nebetah (Table 4 nos.41-44) are all daughters of Amenhotpe III and Teye. Sitamun also has the title hmt nsw wrt (Table 2 no.15), and Ese hmt nsw (Table 1 no.8), during the reign of their father, whom they probably "married"; the precise nature of father-daughter marriage is still debated (1.7). Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton was a son of Teye, who bears the title mwt nsw in his reign. A s3 nsw smsw Thutmose is known from the reign of Amenhotpe III, when he was old enough to bear the office of sm wr hrp hmwwt.[188] He is presumably a son of Amenhotpe; his mother is unknown. She was possibly Teye, but there is nothing to show that a s3 nsw smsw must be the son of a hmt nsw wrt.

3. Iconography of queens.

3.1. Survey of material where queens are represented.

3.1.1. Temples.

Of the temple reliefs surviving from the period with which we are dealing, only a tiny proportion contains representations of queens.

3.1.1.1. Ahmose - Amenhotpe I.

A door from the temple at Buhen built by Ahmose shows his mother, Ahhotpe II (cat.no.6). The site of this temple was reused by Amenhotpe II and the door incorporated into a pavement. Only a few fragments of the original temple survive, so we do not know whether Ahhotpe was more extensively shown. There was also an early 18th dynasty temple on the island of Sai, of which fragments survive dating to Ahmose and Amenhotpe I.[289] One block shows a female figure followed by a broken titulary and the name of Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.9). Another preserves the head of an unidentified queen (cat.no.18). A fragment of relief in the Louvre shows Ahmose Nofretary in a position similar to the figure in cat.no.9. The provenance is unknown, but it is presumably from a temple (cat.no.10).

A block from a chapel of Amenhotpe I at Karnak shows Ahmose Nofretary functioning as <u>hmt ntr</u> priestess (cat.no.11). Although a number of other blocks have been recovered from various buildings of Amenhotpe I at Karnak, there is no evidence that any queens were present on them.[290] Two temples built by Amenhotpe I at Deir el-Bahri[291] and Dra^{c} Abu el-Naga^{c}[292] have been almost completely destroyed. The latter was originally thought to be the joint mortuary temple of Amenhotpe and Ahmose Nofretary.[293] Derchain has argued, however, that the building at Deir el-Bahri was the mortuary temple, while the other was a jubilee temple.[294] But, because of the location of the Dra^{c} Abu el-Naga^{c} temple, Gitton believes that it was also mortuary in function, and he suggests that it belonged to Ahmose Nofretary;

the other would then belong solely to Amenhotpe I.[295] In either case, the destruction of the buildings prevents us from knowing whether Ahmose Nofretary was represented there or not.

3.1.1.2. Thutmose I - regency of Hatshepsut.

There are no known temple buildings of Thutmose I which include a representation of a queen, although he built fairly widely.

Several blocks found near the present 7th pylon at Karnak show depictions of Hatshepsut and a number of fragmentary titularies of hers. The blocks presumably all come from one building which was later dismantled, probably before the Amarna period, since the name of Amun is unharmed on them. They have not been properly published, but they have been mentioned by a number of Egyptologists,[296] and Lacau recorded some of them in his notes,[297] [redacted] and also collected photographs of some of the blocks.[298] [redacted] Blocks with the names of Thutmose II, Thutmose III and Nefrure were also found at the same location,[299] [redacted] and Chevrier discovered fragments of a scene in the south magazine at Karnak depicting Hatshepsut as a woman, but calling her nsw bjtj ⌜nb⌝[t] ⌜jr⌝[t h]⌜t⌝, [redacted][300] which is probably from the same building. Lacau also records blocks with fragmentary titularies of Hatshepsut as king (pls.96-98). The blocks with the name of Thutmose II almost certainly show that the building was begun by that king. Naville mentions a scene where Hatshepsut follows Thutmose II in the normal position of a queen (3.2.A.1), [redacted] which must date from his reign (cat. no. 44). However, the queen is also shown censing alone before Amun (cat. no. 48). Fragmentary inscriptions on other blocks suggest that the queen was standing directly before a god (pls.84,87-89). Since queens before Nefertiti rarely perform an action before a deity unaccompanied by a king, and there is no example of another queen doing so in a temple

during our period, these blocks probably date to the regency of Hatshepsut, when she still appears with the titles and dress of a queen, but in some ways already acts like a king.[301] Therefore, the building must have been continued by Hatshepsut during the regency, and was not completed until she had become king. The name of Thutmose III found on some of the blocks could belong either to the regency or to the coregency.

Part of a block, now lost, which was published by Pijoan, is said to have come from Thebes, probably from a temple; it could possibly be from the building described above (cat.no.39). Pijoan's plate shows the heads of two women wearing the vulture headdress. Between them is part of an inscription reading mwt nsw. The caption to the plate is "Portraits of the queen Ahmosis, mother of Hatsepsut, which escaped the iconoclasts of Tutmés III (18th dynasty) - Thebes". It can thus be assumed that the inscription mwt nsw is concluded by the cartouche of Ahmose, not shown in the photograph. However, unless there was a row of statues of the same queen, both figures cannot be Ahmose. Further, while the first head is carefully worked, the second is of a completely different and rougher style. From the photograph, the stone appears to have been erased and reworked, although one would have to see the original to be certain. The title also looks to be secondary, and will therefore apply to the second head, in front of which it stands, which must then be that of Ahmose. The figure of Ahmose is thus later than the leading one, and we can date it fairly closely by the title mwt nsw, to which Ahmose had no right until Hatshepsut became king. The first queen is probably Hatshepsut herself. After she had taken the titles of king, Ahmose was associated with her on a number of monuments, and there would have been little point in adding the figure of the mwt nsw Ahmose to this scene if Hatshepsut were not present, and the first figure represented

another queen. Hatshepsut's figure has not been altered to show her as king, but this is comparable to a scene on a stela of Thutmose II (cat.no. 40) , which shows the king followed by Ahmose and Hatshepsut. The first was originally called hmt nsw wrt snt nsw. The second is s3t nsw snt nsw hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt, and wears a circlet and tripartite wig. After Hatshepsut became king, Ahmose's title snt nsw was changed to mwt nsw; the figure of Hatshepsut was left untouched. Thus, on our block, the figure of Ahmose must date to the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, while Hatshepsut's must belong to the reign of Thutmose II or to the regency for Thutmose III.

One stage of a scene in the temple of Semna can definitely be dated to the regency (cat.no.51). It was subsequently altered and the queen's name erased, but at one time she was shown being led by Satis to the deified Senwosret III (3.2.1.B.6).

3.1.1.3. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri contains a scene with Senisonb, mother of Thutmose I (cat.no.21), and many with Ahmose (cat.nos.25-38), including the birth cycle scenes. Her daughter, Nefrure is also shown twice (cat.nos.192-3), while there is evidence that other scenes showing her were altered in the time of Hatshepsut to exclude her figure.[302]

The decoration of Hatshepsut's temple at Buhen was extensively altered by Thutmose III to exclude any representation of her.[303] In two scenes, there now survives the lower half of the figure of a king followed by his ka holding his Horus name, identifying the kings as Thutmose I and II (cat.nos.203-204). The ka figures are not original, and underneath them traces of a female figure on a smaller scale than the king can be clearly seen. Since the alterations in the temple

were directed against Hatshepsut, she was probably the king shown originally, despite the use of masculine pronouns in the surviving inscriptions, and her figure was often altered to Thutmose I or II. The only two royal women shown with her on the monuments are Ahmose or Nefrure. The smallness of the figure tends to suggest the latter, since princesses are normally shown on a smaller scale than the king they follow. Also, traces of a fillet remain (pl.110) which might be part of the costume of the hmt ntr; only Nefrure has this title.

3.1.1.4. Thutmose III.

The long reign of Thutmose III yields a number of representations of queens. A block depicting a statue of Sitioh comes from the Festival Temple at Karnak (cat. no. 58). Meritre (Hatshepsut) is shown four times in the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (cat. nos. 64-67), and once in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri (cat. no 63), where a parallel scene shows two princesses instead of the queen (cat. no. 205). A fragment of a sandstone block with the head of Mutnofret, mother of Thutmose II, was found in Thutmose III's temple at Deir el-Bahri (cat. no 22). From the mortuary temple of Thutmose III comes a fragment showing the king's mother, Ese (cat. no. 53).

3.1.1.5. Amenhotpe II.

From this reign, there are only two instances of a queen appearing in a temple. A scene on the lintel from a doorway of Amenhotpe II at Karnak, which was later reused in the forecourt of the temple of Montu, originally depicted Meritre; the name was later altered to Tiaa (cat.no.68). A fragment of a block from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe II shows the head of a queen called S3t[jmn(?)] (cat.no.84; see 2.4.4.2, pp.78-80).

3.1.1.6. Thutmose IV - Amenhotpe III.

From the reign of Thutmose IV, there is one example of Tiaa on a block from the pillared porch of Thutmose IV originally in front of the fourth pylon at Karnak (cat.no 85).

Mutemwiya, mother of Amenhotpe III, appears in the temple of Luxor in the birth cycle (cat.nos 104-9), and in an offering scene (cat.no 103), both dating from the reign of her son. In the latter, the figure of the queen was erased during the Amarna period and later restored, but we can assume that it was there originally. Also in the reign of Amenhotpe III, Teye appears in an offering scene in a peripteral temple at Elephantine (cat.no 116), in sed festival scenes at Soleb (cat.nos 120-141), probably in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III (cat.nos 117-119), and as a female sphinx rampant in the temple of Sedeinga (cat.no 142).

3.1.2. Royal stelae.

A small number of royal stelae include representations of queens. They extend in date from the beginning of our period, being no more common at one time than another.

3.1.2.1. Ahmose - Thutmose II.

Three stelae come from the reign of Ahmose. The first is

broken, but originally showed Ahmose and Tetisheri (cat.no.2). The second, from Abydos, is concerned with the funerary cult of Tetisheri (cat.no.3). The last is the "Donation" stela from Karnak (cat.no.12).

A stela of year 8 of Amenhotpe I found at Qasr Ibrim shows Ahmose Nofretary and Meritamun I following the king, who offers to Horus, Lord of Miam (cat.no.13).

In year 1 of Thutmose I, stelae were set up announcing the king's accession. One from the Wadi Halfa region shows the king with his own hmt nsw wrt Ahmose and his predecessor's mother, Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.14).

A stela of Thutmose II, possibly from Edfu, similarly shows a king followed by two queens, this time Ahmose and Hatshepsut (cat.no.40).

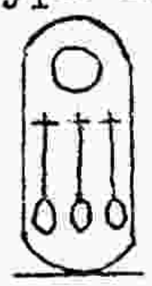
3.1.2.2. Thutmose III.

Two stelae come from the reign of Thutmose III. The first, from the temple of Ptah at Karnak (CG 34013), dates to early in his sole rule, as is shown by the text, which mentions sp tpj n nhtw "the first occasion of victory" (cat.no.59) The stela was damaged under Akhenaton and restored by Sety I. The king is followed by a female figure wearing a vulture headdress and circlet, called hmt ntr (S3tj^{c}h). At some time, the name of the queen was altered to Sitioh, and Vandersleyen has shown that the form of the moon hieroglyph in this name is that which would have been used in the reign of Thutmose III, while in that of Sety I, one would more probably have used the later type 5.[304] Traces of the original name remain, of which the sundisk is certain at the beginning of the cartouche.[305] This would fit two royal women of the reign of Thutmose III, Nefrure or Meritre (but see below, pp.90-1). When Legrain first read the cartouche, he thought he saw traces of a nfr sign,[30] but later he was less certain and suggested either [Mrjjt]r^{c} or [Nfrw]r^{c}.[307]

The only title present on the stela is hmt ntr. This is a common title of Nefrure which she uses alone, while it is rarely attested for Meritre and never as her sole title. Although princesses do not normally wear the vulture headdress, it is known once for Nefrure (cat.no.194). The highest date recorded for Nefrure is year 11 of Thutmose III (cat.no.194), and it is often assumed that she died during Hatshepsut's reign. It is, however, the only precise date known for her, so lack of later dates is not significant. She might have survived into the sole rule of Thutmose III, and one explanation for the recutting of the name on this stela might be that it originally showed Nefrure, but that her name was replaced after her death by that of Sitioh, the king's hmt nsw wrt. Since it is uncommon to substitute the name of one royal woman for another, and there was clearly no policy of going round finished monuments changing the name of a dead queen for that of a living one, it would be easiest to make such a substitution while the monument was still being worked. The reason for the change can hardly be that Nefrure shared in her mother's disgrace, for her figure remains unharmed by Thutmose III, even in scenes where that of Hatshepsut has been renamed or removed.[308] However, there is a problem because there is evidence that Nefrure's figure was erased from some scenes during her mother's reign. Karkowski informed me that Nefrure was more widely shown in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple than the two scenes in which her figure remains today, but that her figure was replaced by inscriptions and emblematic designs during the time of Hatshepsut. He would also link the alterations in the temple of Buhen (3.1.1.3) with these changes (n.302). He suggested that this might have been occasioned by Nefrure's death, in which case she is unlikely to have appeared on our stela.

Meritre, however, is not a satisfactory candidate for the

original woman shown here. Sitioh belonged to the first half of Thutmose III's reign, while Meritre probably gained importance in the second half (2.4.3). If Sitioh were in surcharge over Meritre, it would mean that a dead queen of no dynastic importance replaced the mother of Thutmose III's heir.[309]

It is difficult to know why one name has sometimes been cut over another. On the door of Amenhotpe II (cat. no. 68), there is no doubt that an older queen is replaced by a younger, but on the second stela from the reign of Thutmose III (cat. no. 54), found in the king's mortuary temple, the name of Thutmose III's mother, Ese, was probably cut over that of Meritre Hatshepsut. This stela shows the king followed by a queen called ḥmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f ḥnwt šm^{c}w mḥw, with the name of Ese in surcharge. Traces of the sun disk can be clearly seen underneath the 𓉔 sign of Ese's name  ,[310] so that the original name must have been that of a ḥmt nsw wrt of Thutmose III's reign with the element r^{c} in her name. The only candidate is Meritre Hatshepsut, for apart from the fact that Nefrure is not attested as ḥmt nsw wrt, the off-centre writing of the sun hieroglyph is impossible for Nefrure's name, which is always found as  when written vertically. When Meritre Hatshepsut's name is written in full, it is sometimes found as  with the sun disk to one side (pls. 10,28).

We must ask whether it is coincidence that Meritre's name has been changed here and on the Karnak lintel (cat. no. 68), and whether CG 34013 (cat. no. 59) originally contained her name, forming a group with the other two. This would suggest that there was a policy

of changing Meritre's name; because of the Karnak lintel, this could only have been in the reign of Amenhotpe II. But there is no evidence for systematic erasure, and her name is unchanged in TT 72 (cat.no 71), TT 93 (cat.no. 72), TT 96 (cat.no 73), on CG 42121 (cat.no 69), in KV 34 (cat.no. 70), in the Hathor cow chapel (cat.no 63), and the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (cat.nos. 64-67). The private tombs date to the reign of Amenhotpe II. If the burials in them had taken place before any campaign of erasure had begun, they could not have been entered. CG 42121 could have been overlooked, but the temples would have been accessible to the priests and the king's agents. Therefore, there is no evidence for a policy of erasure of Meritre's name, and each of the cases should be explained separately. The Karnak lintel presents little problem (3.1.1.5). Why Meritre's name should have been replaced by Ese's on CG 34015 is more puzzling. The stela was set up in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, where both queens probably had a cult. It is possible that after setting up a stela showing Meritre Hatshepsut, Thutmose decided to change the name of the queen to honour his mother Ese. On CG 34013, Nefrure is a more likely candidate for the original woman, but the earlier erasures of her figure during Hatshepsut's reign make it uncertain whether she would still have been alive at this time (see n.302). However, Meritre is most unlikely as a candidate. Further details of the erasures of Nefrure might help throw light on the problem.

3.1.2.3. Amenhotpe II - Amenhotpe III.

A fragment of a stela from the Karnak cachette probably shows Amenhotpe II and Tiaa before Amun (cat.no.86). At the top is a winged sun disk. Below on the right was a figure of Amun, of which only the top of the double feathers remains. On the left, facing the god, stood a

king and queen. Of the former only the white crown survives, while the head and double feathers of the queen are left. The workmanship of the winged sun disk and the queen's head is good. Contrasting with this is the peculiar writing of the names of the king and queen. The prenomen of the king is written  , which is unknown elsewhere. As the nomen is clearly  , the former must be a mistake for <u>ᶜ3ḥprwrᶜ</u>, perhaps through a misreading of a hieratic draft.[311] The name of the queen is written  , which is otherwise unknown in this form. The queens of Amenhotpe II are his mother, Meritre Hatshepsut, Meritamun II and Tiaa; this is probably an unusual writing of Tiaa.

Tiaa also appears with her son, Thutmose IV, on the left side of a stela from Luxor; a second queen is shown on the right (cat.no.87).

A series of stelae was set up by Thutmose IV at Giza, of which eight show the king followed by a queen called Nofretary (cat.nos. 94-101), while a rock stela at Konosso, dated to year 7 of Thutmose IV, represents the king followed by queen Iaret (cat.no.102).[312]

Amenhotpe III and Teye are depicted on a stela with a double scene from that king's mortuary temple (cat.no.143).

3.1.3. <u>Private stelae.</u>

A number of private people dedicated stelae that depict a queen.

An official called Iuf from Edfu erected a stela showing Ahhotpe II and queen Sebekemsaf, wife of Nubkheperre Inyotef of the 17th dynasty (cat.no.7). The text recounts how Iuf served Ahhotpe and renewed the chapel of Sebekemsaf. It also mentions his later service to queen Ahmose, although she is not represented. A stela in Berlin (cat.no.41) probably from Edfu, shows Hatshepsut's mother Ahmose. A fragment of a stela depicts Thutmose II and his mother Mutnofret seated in front of a table of offerings (cat.no.23). It was found in the Ramesseum area near the mortuary temple of Wadjmose, and probably comes from that temple. If the stela was dedicated by an official in the service of Wadjmose or Mutnofret, its date would be limited by the owner's length of life, and would hardly be later than the reign of Thutmose III. However, if it was set up by one of the personnel of the temple, it could be later, because Wadjmose's cult survived into the 19th dynasty.[313] However, the style is not that of the second half of the 18th dynasty nor of the 19th, but would fit a date in the reigns of Thutmose II and III.

A stela in TT 53 (reign of Thutmose III) shows the owner Amenemhat offering to Ahmose Inhapi and her daughter Ahmose Henuttameh (cat.no.186). Two private stelae from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III include queens. One originally showed Ese, but only eight small fragments now survive (cat.no.55). The other stela, also fragmentary, shows Sitioh and Min-Amun (cat.no.60); the text indicates that it is a votive stela. Meritre is represented with Thutmose III on a stela held by a statue of the wb3 nsw Neferpert from the Karnak cachette (cat.no.69).

An official called Sebeknakht, steward in the temple of Amun, dedicated a funerary stela showing Amenhotpe III and Teye offering (cat.no.144). A small wooden stela from Medinet Ghurab shows Amenhotpe III and Teye before Amun and Mut; there is no text (cat.no.145).

A rock stela near Aswan shows Senenmut before Hatshepsut with a text commemorating his work in quarrying a pair of obelisks for the queen (cat.no 52). The monument dates to the time when Hatshepsut was regent.

3.1.4. Royal tomb.

Of the royal tombs of the 18th dynasty, those of Ahmose and Amenhotpe I are unknown. KV 20, which belonged to Hatshepsut and probably originally to Thutmose I,[314] and KV 42, whose attribution is doubtful,[315] have no decoration. The sarcophagus chamber of KV 38, built by Thutmose III for Thutmose I,[316] is decorated with scenes from the Amduat, also found in KV 34 (Thutmose III), KV 35 (Amenhotpe II) and KV 22 (Amenhotpe III). In KV 35, KV 43 (Thutmose IV) and KV 22, the king additionally appears with various deities. Only in the tomb of Thutmose III are members of the king's family found. On one of the pillars in the sarcophagus chamber, two registers show the king and his mother in one, and the king with his two hmt nsw wrt, Meritre and

Sitioh, a hmt nsw Nebtu, and an otherwise unknown daughter, Nofretary, in the other (cat.nos. 56, 70).

3.1.5. Private tombs.

From the mass of surviving 18th dynasty tomb decoration at Thebes, only a few depictions of queens are known. Ahmose Nofretary is shown in TT 15 (cat.no.15). In TT 125, the remains of an inscription make it almost certain that Ahmose was present in a scene that has all but disappeared (cat.no.42). Meritre appears with her son in TT 72 (cat.no. 71), Mutemwiya with hers in TT 226 (cat.no.110), and Teye with her husband in TT 47 (cat.no.146), TT 120 (cat.no.147) and TT 192 (cat.nos. 148-152). In five other tombs, the queen herself is not shown, but a statue of a queen appears among "gifts" being presented to the king. The queens are: Meritre Hatshepsut (cat.nos.72-73); Tiaa (cat.no.88); Teye(?) (cat.no.176); unidentified of the reign of Thutmose III (cat.no.74).

3.1.6. Offering table.

One offering table survives which is dedicated to a queen (cat. no.61). It comes from Abydos, and a scene shows the hrj-hbt Trjkjtj offering to Sitioh. The queen is represented as a private person, wearing a tripartite wig with a cone of ointment on it, a flower on her forehead and another held in her hand. This is the only example of a queen shown in this way.

3.1.7. Graffito.

A graffito of Heqareshu at Aswan shows Amenhotpe III and Mutemwiya in a kiosk with the official before them (cat.no.111).

3.1.8. Furniture.

A few examples of furniture with representations of a queen

come from the reign of Amenhotpe III. A chair from KV 46 has a scene on its back showing Teye, Sitamun and another princess (cat.no.154). From Medinet Ghurab, there is a box lid decorated with a scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye in a kiosk (cat.no.153) and an ivory inlay from a box consisting of two female sphinxes facing each other with the inscription hmt nsw wrt above them, holding a cartouche of Teye (cat.no. 156). A flat figure of a queen made of wood overlaid with sheet gold probably comes from a piece of furniture (cat.no.177). In TT 192 (Kheruef), a kiosk scene shows a chair used by Teye with a scene on the side depicting the queen as a sphinx trampling enemies (cat.no.155).

3.1.9. Jewellery.

From the beginning of the dynasty, there is a pendant with the name of Ahhotpe II,[317] but in most cases it was evidently usual for jewellery to bear the king's name, so that the jewellery of Ahhotpe I has the names of Kamose and Ahmose,[318] and that of Merti, Menwi and Menhet the name of Thutmose III.[319] Although the king is sometimes represented on these objects,[320] there is no surviving evidence for the queen being depicted on jewellery until the reign of Amenhotpe III, when three carnelian bracelet plaques each show a scene including Amenhotpe III and Teye (cat.nos.157-9). They are part of a group of five plaques in the Metropolitan Museum.[321] Four, of which three were actually found by Carnarvon "in an ancient plunderer's dump" outside the tomb of Amenhotpe III,[322] came to the museum from the Carnarvon collection in 1926. It is supposed that the three were discarded by tomb robbers after they had torn them from their valuable metal settings.[323] The fourth plaque was acquired by Carnarvon from the MacGregor collection.[324] The last piece came to the museum in 1944 from the collection of Henry Walters of Baltimore.[325] Hayes suggested

that the whole group probably came originally from the king's tomb.[326] Signs of wear on the surface of the plaques show that they were not made as funerary objects, but were worn during the owner's life-time.[327]

A menit counterpoise from Medinet Ghurab has a figure of Teye on the handle (cat. no. 160).

3.1.10. Scarabs.

Scarabs naming queens of the 18th dynasty are found from the beginning of the dynasty onwards. They are not particularly numerous until the reign of Amenhotpe III, when scarabs with the name of Teye become very common. In addition, three series of scarabs depict the queen (cat. nos. 161-166).

3.1.11. Chalice.

A fragment of a glazed frit chalice preserves part of a scene showing Amenhotpe III and Teye seated in a kiosk (cat. no. 167).

3.1.12. Label.

A small wooden piece, only 7.4 cm high, which came from Medinet Ghurab, was published by Borchardt (cat. no. 168). He called it a stela, but this identification is unlikely, although the object is similar in shape to a round-topped stela. One side is covered by the figures of Amenhotpe III and Teye embracing, and the other by a dedication text of Teye in four columns. At the top of the piece there are two holes, one at either side, which would have no place on a stela. A number of wooden labels have been found shaped like a round-topped stela with one hole at the top in the centre to attach the label to another object.[328] A similar function would explain the holes in our piece, and it was probably an elaborate label tied to some object dedicated

by Teye to Amenhotpe III.

3.1.13. Statues.

A pair of statuettes of Tetisheri date to the reign of Ahmose (cat.nos.4,5). The head of a queen whose identity is lost has been dated to the early 18th dynasty (cat.no.20). From the reign of Thutmose I, there is a colossal statue of Ahmose Nofretary at Karnak (cat.no.16), and from the Karnak cachette a statue group showing the king and Ahmose with Amun between them (cat.no.43). Thutmose II dedicated a number of statues to his mother Mutnofret in the mortuary temple of Wadjmose,[329] of which one survives complete (cat.no.24). A statue of Ese found in the Karnak cachette was dedicated by Thutmose III (cat.no.57), who also set up a statue of Sitioh in the temple of Montu at Tod (cat.no.62) and a statue of an unidentified queen at Kom Ombo (cat.no.75). A statue of a queen as a sphinx, now in Rome, has a cartouche of Thutmose III on it (cat.no.76), and a colossal head of a queen in the British Museum is now dated to this reign (cat.no.79). In addition, two heads of queens (cat.nos.78,80) and another statue showing a queen as a sphinx (cat.no.77) probably have a similar date (3.6.3).

A statue from the island of Sai, of which the head is missing, is of uncertain date, but may be early 18th dynasty (cat.no.19).

A statue of Tiaa stood attached to the throne of a colossus of Amenhotpe II by the 8th pylon at Karnak (cat.no.89). Since the statue was joined to the colossus, the two must be contemporary, so it is strange to find Tiaa called mwt nsw. However, the colossus was restored by Thutmose IV, and he may have changed Tiaa's titles to include mwt nsw. Four more statues of Tiaa date to the reign of her son. Two are from Giza; only the base of one and the back pillar of the other (cat.nos.92-3). The third, from Karnak, shows the king and queen

seated together (cat.no.90). The last depicted a similar group, but only the legs survive (cat.no.91).

Statues of Mutemwiya and Teye flank the "Memnon" colossi of Amenhotpe III at the entrance to his mortuary temple (cat.nos. 114-115,170-171). The lower part of a seated statue of Mutemwiya probably also comes from this temple (cat.no.113). Another statue of Mutemwiya was set up at Karnak (cat.no.112). The queen is seated in a bark, and the whole group is based on the queen's name, Mwt m wj3 "Mut in the bark".

A standing statuette group of Amenhotpe III and Teye is now in the Louvre (cat.no.173), and the same couple are shown in a colossal seated statue group from Medinet Habu (cat.no.172) and in a pair of seated statuettes from Medinet Ghurab (cat.no.169). A standing statuette of Teye is now in the Macclesfield Museum (cat.no.174). A head of Teye was found in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim (cat.no.175), and another, usually identified with Teye, at Medinet Ghurab (cat. no.183). There is also a small head with one side of the face missing in the Art Institute of Chicago and a colossal head in Cairo which almost certainly represent Teye (cat.nos.180,181). A small statue of a queen, probably Teye, was joined to a colossus of Amenhotpe III by the 10th pylon at Karnak (cat.no.179). A colossal head in the British Museum possibly shows the same queen (cat.no.182).

A standing statue group originally showed Amenhotpe III and Ese, who has the title hmt nsw. The figure of Amenhotpe III and head of Ese are lost (cat.no.187).

3.1.14. Coffins.

The coffins of only four queens survive. The first, belonging to Ahhotpe I (cat.no.1), was not used until the reign of Ahmose, but may have been made at the end of the 17th dynasty; it cannot date after year 22 of Ahmose because it uses the early form of the moon hieroglyph. Coffins of Ahhotpe II (cat.no.8) and Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no. 17) were moved to the Deir el-Bahri cache, while the first and second coffins of Meritamun II(?), together with fragments of the third, were found in her own tomb at Deir el-Bahri (cat.nos.81-83).

3.1.15. Categories of material on which queens appear.

I have enumerated four major categories of material where queens are shown in two dimensions: temple scenes, royal stelae, private tombs and private stelae, which are all monumental. Although material from some reigns is sparser than from others, queens appear on all these categories throughout our period.

Of the other types of material, the two scenes in KV 34 are exceptional in the decoration of royal tombs. The offering table of Sitioh, although unusual in its use of private iconography for a queen, may not have been an isolated phenomenon, and here we may be suffering from a lack of surviving material. Apart from an offering table dedicated by Teye for Amenhotpe III,[330] we have none that names a queen, but it is probable that they originally existed in places where the queens had funerary cults, evidence for which is

sparse. The graffito of Heqareshu showing Amenhotpe III and Teye is one of a large number of graffiti of officials, but the appearance of a queen is unusual. The other types of material are all non-monumental, and belong to the reign of Amenhotpe III.

In most categories, the material showing queens is a minute proportion of the evidence surviving from the period, and the representation of the queen was not an integral part of the scenes on this material, except for the birth scenes (3.2.1.B.1). In most cases, the presence of the queen is subordinate in importance, and the individual examples should be explained separately.

Statues of queens are found throughout our period, but their number is small compared with the surviving statuary of kings. Where there provenance is known, they were most often set up in temples. The coffins of most of our queens remain unknown. Since every queen surely had a burial, we can only assume their tombs were plundered and their coffins destroyed.

3.2. Types of scenes in which queens appear.

Queens appear in the types of scenes listed below. The list does not take into account the category of material on which they are found. The discussion of the scenes, however, distinguishes between temples and royal stelae (3.2.1), private material (3.2.3) and royal tombs (3.2.5). It will be found that many scenes appear on material from only one of these groups, but some are common to two (see also Table 9), and are entered in each section. The section or sections where the scenes are discussed are therefore noted in brackets after each scene type (A list of individual scenes found in each scene type is given in vol.4, pp. 147-151).

A. <u>King and queen together.</u>

1. Queen follows king who is offering to a deity (3.2.1; 3.2.3).
2. Queen follows king who is smiting enemies (3.2.1; 3.2.3).
3. Queen follows king who is entering temple (3.2.1).
4. Queen follows king who is taking part in a foundation ceremony (3.2.1).
5. Queen follows king in sed festival scenes (3.2.1; 3.2.3).
6. Queen stands behind seated king to whom Inmutef is offering (3.2.1).
7. King offers to seated queen (3.2.1).
8. King and queen seated with two princesses before them at the sed festival (3.2.3).
9. Queen stands before king who is seated in the sed festival kiosk (3.2.3).
10. King and queen in kiosk (3.2.3).
11. King and queen seated before a table of offerings (3.2.3).
12. Queen stands before seated king (3.2.3).
13. King and queen embrace (3.2.3).
14. King followed by queen, with no context (3.2.3).
15. King followed by four royal women (3.2.5).
16. King and queen in boat (3.2.5).

B. <u>Queen alone.</u>

1. Birth scenes (3.2.1).
2. Queen offers alone (3.2.1; 3.2.3).
3. Queen stands behind god (3.2.1; 3.2.3).
4. Queen seated before table of offerings and Inmutef (3.2.1).
5. Queen as priestess (3.2.1).
6. Queen regent led by goddess to deified king (3.2.1).
7. Private individual offers to queen (3.2.3).
8. Princess offers to queen (3.2.3).

9. Official before queen regent (3.2.3)

10. Queen seated alone (3.2.3).

C. Queen as sphinx.

1. Queen as female sphinx rampant (3.2.1).

2. Queen as trampling sphinx (3.2.3).

3. Queen as female sphinx (3.2.3).

3.2.1. Temples and royal stelae.

A.1. Queen follows king who is offering to a deity.

Thirty-two examples of this type of scene are found in temples and on royal stelae (see vol.4, p. 147 , A.1 nos.1-32) throughout the period with which we are dealing. Two others occur on private material (ibid. nos.33-34), but it is clear that the type belongs primarily to royal monuments. The king stands with the queen behind him, facing a standing or seated deity. He usually performs an action of offering, censing, libating or adoring, and there is often an accompanying text to describe this (Table 10). Instead of the god, the bark of the god is occasionally the object of worship (cat.nos.27,28, 116). The queen normally stands inactive behind the king, but there are a few examples where she participates (cat.nos.54,68,116).

These scenes are a variant of the standard form in temples and on royal stelae, in which the king stands alone before a deity. On royal stelae the ritual actions represented are limited mainly to offering, censing, libating and adoring, while in temples the king performs a wider range of actions connected with the daily ritual of the temple or with specific festivals (for the sed festival, however, see A.5 below). In temples, the queen normally appears only in those scenes where the king offers, censes, libates or adores, that is, in scenes similar to those which appear on royal stelae (Table 10).

There is no one deity especially associated with the scenes which include queens, and the deity present often depends on the location of the scene or stela (Table 10). Except for the stela of Ahmose for Tetisheri (cat.no.3) and the rock stela of Thutmose IV at Konosso (cat.no.102) this type of scene is the only one found on royal stelae which include queens. The stelae would have been set up in a public context in comparison with the interior of a temple, which will therefore be less sanctified, and perhaps accounts for the restricted range of action in the scenes. The temple scenes also occur in marginal contexts, for instance, on lintels or in peripteral temples; they are not found in main sanctuaries.

A.2. Queen follows king who is smiting enemies.

The type of scene where the king smites a prisoner or prisoners is found from the earliest periods. The king normally grasps the hair of the prisoner in one hand, while with the other he raises a weapon above his head. He may carry out the action in the presence of a god, but does not necessarily do so. On monumental material, the scene does not form part of interior temple decoration but is confined to outer walls, especially of pylons, nor does it appear on royal stelae found in temples, but mostly on rock stelae away from the centre of Egypt in peripheral areas such as Sinai and Nubia. The scene type is also found on non-monumental material such as jewellery and scarabs (see also 3.2.3).

Only one example of this type of scene shows the queen standing behind the king on monumental material. It dates to year 7 of Thutmose IV and is cut on a rock at Konosso, south of Aswan (cat.no.102). Later, Nefertiti appears in these scenes both behind Akhenaton[332] and independantly.[333] Although these are depicted on temple blocks, the scenes occur on the side of the cabin on the royal barge.

A.3. Queen follows king who is entering temple.

The king is shown entering a temple as a preliminary to the scenes where he performs ritual actions before a god. One example in the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu shows the queen accompanying him (cat.no.65).

A.4. Queen follows king who is taking part in a foundation ceremony.

There is only one example of the queen accompanying the king at this type of cermony, in the pillared porch of Thutmose IV at Karnak originally erected in front of the fourth pylon (cat.no.85). Thutmose IV and Sfht-^{c}bw (Sš3t) "stretch the cord" (pd sš), which is a basic part of the foundation ceremony. Tiaa stands inactive behind the king.

A.5. Queen follows king at the sed festival.

A sed festival scene is found as early as the Narmer mace head,[334] and the earliest surviving series of scenes are from the reign of Niuserre,[335] but it is not until the reign of Amenhotpe III that the queen appears in them, when three monuments show Teye at the sed festival. The celebration of year 30 is found in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III (cat.nos.117-19)[336] and the temple of Soleb (cat.nos. 120-41). Scenes from the festivals of years 30 and 37 occur in TT 192 (below, 3.2.3). In addition, three sed festival scenes appear on bracelet plaques, but their composition is different from that in the temples or tomb (A.8-9, 3.2.3).

Only isolated blocks survive from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III, but eight registers remain at Soleb. These depict the king and queen in a series of scenes offering to a god or before a shrine.

A.6. Queen stands behind seated king to whom Inmutef is offering.

There are two scenes of this kind in the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu on opposite walls in room VI (cat.nos.66-67). The king is seated before an offering list, and offerings are presented to him by

Inmutef. The queen stands behind the king's throne. On the rear wall is a double scene in which the king offers to Amun. The temple was dedicated to Amun, and there was probably a cult statue of Amun in room IV (Hölscher's O) as nsw ntrw, and one in room III (Hölscher's Q) in ithyphallic form.[337] In room I (Hölscher's L), there was a double seated statue of Amun and Thutmose III.[338] In the first five rooms, the scenes show the king performing rituals before Amun, and all the rooms are entered originally through room I. Room VI is unconnected with this complex and has its own entrance.[339] The two scenes on the long walls with offerings being presented to the king are similar to scenes found in mortuary temples, suggesting that the room was dedicated to the cult of the king, whose statue may have stood in the room.[340]

A.7. King offers to seated queen.

There is one example of this type on the stela of Ahmose dedicated to Tetisheri (cat.no.3). The double scene shows the queen seated before a table of offerings, on the other side of which king Ahmose stands facing his grandmother, dedicating the offerings. The text of the stela is concerned with the funerary cult of the queen and makes it clear that she is dead. Ahmose Nofretary is not depicted, but is prominent in the text.[341]

B.1. Birth scenes.[342]

There are two surviving birth cycles from the 18th dynasty, one in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat.nos.30-34), and the other in the temple of Amenhotpe III at Luxor (cat.nos.104-109).[343] In the nature of the subject, the queen is one of the main protagonists, and she appears in scenes with various deities without the king. These, therefore, differ from the majority of scenes on royal monuments where the queen takes second place to the king. The king is still implicitly a central

figure since the purpose of the scenes is to show his divine origin, and he appears as a child, the offspring of the union of his mother and Amun. However, the queen, as rarely elsewhere, stands in a direct relationship with the gods.

B.2. Queen offers alone.

There are two examples of this type on private monuments (3.2.3 below). It is unknown on royal monuments before Nefertiti, except in the building begun by Thutmose II near the seventh pylon at Karnak (3.1.1.2). On one block, Hatshepsut censes before Amun (cat.no.48), and I have suggested that the scene belongs to her regency. A second block is broken in front of the figure of Hatshepsut, who wears the double feathers, the vulture headdress with a uraeus and a tripartite wig, and offers two jars. She is followed by a woman whose name is lost, wearing a circlet and uraeus and carrying a baton (cat.no.49). The block is listed in PM 2^2, 135 bottom (a), where the name of the second woman is given as "[^{c}Ahmosi] Merytamūn" due to a misreading of the accompanying inscription, which has been read horizontally when the signs really form the bottoms of two vertical columns. The .f after mrjjt shows that a reading Mrjjtjmn is impossible, and we must read ...w(?)]rt mrrjt.f [...] n Jmn. The first column should be restored either as [ḥmt nsw w]rt or [s3t nsw w]rt mrjjt.f, while it is difficult to see how to complete [...] n Jmn except as [ḥmt nṯr] n(t) Jmn. The only ḥmt nṯr who could be associated with Hatshepsut in the reign of Thutmose II or the regency for Thutmose III is Nefrure. Although it is possible for there to be two ḥmt nṯr at one time (4.4.8), there is evidence that Nefrure did not receive the title until the end of the regency, presumably preparatory to her mother becoming king.[344] Therefore, this block probably dates to the regency, and the first column must be restored [s3t nsw w]rt mrjjt.f. The second would not be filled by the restoration [ḥmt nṯr] n(t) Jmn, and must have been

preceded by another title, perhaps hnwt/nbt t3wj both of which are attested for the princess on other monuments. At this time, Hatshepsut would not be following Thutmose II, so that this is another instance where she probably offered direct to a god. Other blocks may also have shown Hatshepsut directly before a god (3.1.1.2).

B.3. Queen stands behind seated god.

There are two examples of this type of scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, one either side of the entrance to the sanctuary (cat.nos. 35-36). The scenes today show Thutmose III standing before Amun, who is seated. There is a small figure of queen Ahmose behind the throne of the god. In both cases the god's figure has been erased and restored. The figures of the king and queen were not touched, but that of the queen had already been altered during the time of Hatshepsut. Originally it showed a woman wearing a circlet, short wig and fillet, holding a baton and menit necklace to her breast. The circlet was removed and the short wig replaced by a tripartite wig to which a vulture headdress was added instead of the fillet. The baton was changed to the more usual queen's whisk. The menit necklace was left; it is not otherwise held by a queen at this time.

The first figure would have been reminiscent of that of Nefrure in room X of the sanctuary (cat.no.192). The circlet is not common but can be worn both by princesses and queens (3.5.9.2). However, the short wig and fillet is not attested for queens before Teye, except for Ahmose Nofretary when she is functioning as hmt ntr (3.5.6; cat.no.11). Reliefs of unnamed hmt ntr from the chapelle rouge of Hatshepsut[345] and from Luxor[346] make it clear that this wig and fillet are part of the costume of this priestess and not that of a queen. Nefrure also appears in the wig and fillet in the small speos at Beni Hasan with the titles hmt ntr drt ntr (cat.no.191), and the scene in room X at Deir

el-Bahri (cat.no 192) may show the princess in a version of this costume. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the figures on the sanctuary facade were originally conceived as Ahmose. However, Karkowski states that, as far as he could tell, the name Ahmose in the two cartouches was never changed.[347] The titles are those of Ahmose and could not apply to Nefrure. One solution to this problem is to assume that the inscription applies only to the later stage of the reliefs.

The only text which refers to this figure is the inscription in front consisting of Ahmose's titles and name. The two lines of text above the figure are clearly separated from it by a large pt sign above the head, and are unconnected, so there is no text explaining the presence of this woman.

The remaining texts of the scene belong to the god and the king with, in the right scene, Wadjit, and, in the left, Nekhbet. In the right hand scene, the texts are arranged as follows. On the right, four columns of left-facing hieroglyphs refer to the king. They stand over his figure, which also faces left. The next two columns, which must have been erased under Akhenaton, face right, and consist of the cobra sitting on the Lower Egyptian plant and a second column containing the names and titles of Wadjit. The remaining columns face right and contain the speech of Amun, whose name was erased. Therefore, the disposition of the texts shows that in the original scene there was the figure of the king facing left, which is still present unaltered today, and the figure of Amun facing right; we cannot be sure whether the god was originally seated or standing. In restoration the seated figure was cut slightly larger than the available space. This may suggest that the figure originally stood, and the space available for the restoration was not sufficient for a seated figure if it was to be in proportion. The motif with Wadjit, or in the

parallel scene Nekhbet, is common, and does not indicate the presence of an anthropomorphic figure of the goddess in the scene.[348]

One problem presented by this scene is that while the name of Thutmose III in the cartouches appears to be original, in the two columns of the speech of Amun behind the god, the feminine .t has been changed to .k, and the phrase ^{c}nh.tj (3rd person feminine stative) is used, although the first two columns of Amun's speech in front of the god seem to have used an original .k. Have we then a confusion on the part of the sculptor, so that although the king represented is Thutmose III, the speech of Amun is addressed to Hatshepsut? Naville said "it is certain that there was a figure of the queen and one of Amun, probably embracing her. The god spoke to her as his daughter ... Her mother Aahmes stands behind; and this agrees with what we have seen on the wall of the middle terrace, of the miraculous birth of the queen. Thotmes III stands before what was the group of two figures; his arms are hanging in the attitude of adoration."[349] This reconstruction is tempting because it explains not only the speech but also the presence of the king's mother Ahmose behind the god by analogy with her part in Hatshepsut's divine birth. However, the presence of a second king would demand a second pair of cartouches, for which there is no room as the texts stand. The first two columns of Amun's speech are possibly not original, as these hieroglyphs are flatter than elsewhere in the original text. Also the masculine .k seems to be unchanged. However, no traces of cartouches can be seen. Further, there would not be room for another figure between that of Thutmose III, which is original, and the god, even if the latter were standing and not seated. In the left hand scene, the figures are reversed but their arrangement is similar.

Thus the original scene probably showed Thutmose III facing

Amun, who may have been seated or standing. The ankh offered to the nose of the king would seem to be original. The speech of the god, however, was composed using feminine forms for the king, and thus must have referred to Hatshepsut. The alteration of the female figure took place during the reign of Hatshepsut. The inscriptions referring to her are original and name her as Ahmose, but might only apply to the second stage.

It is rare for a person to be placed behind a deity, facing in the same direction, and it is hard to explain the positioning of the figure in this scene. If the original figure were Nefrure, it might be connected with her position as hmt ntr, although there is no other evidence to point to this. Some figures of Nefrure were erased from scenes elsewhere in this temple (3.1.1.3), and this might explain the alterations made in this scene. In this case, it is odd that there is no trace of original inscriptions identifying her. If the figure was always intended to be Ahmose, it is strange that she was originally shown wearing a costume associated with the hmt ntr, a title she never bore. Her position in the scenes may possibly refer to her part in the birth scenes. However, since Ahmose was dead by this time, a simpler explanation would be that a dead queen is to some extent deified, and can therefore stand behind, rather than before, a god. Thus, the deified Ahmose Nofretary and Amenhotpe I, or Ahmose Nofretary alone may stand behind Amun on stelae,[350] and a fragmentary stela, probably relating to the funerary cult of Sitioh, shows that queen standing behind Min-Amun (3.2.3.B.3).

B.4. Queen seated before table of offerings and Inmutef.

Only one example of this type of scene now survives, on the wall of a niche in room X of the sanctuary of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple; it shows Ahmose (cat.no.37). In the other niches, there are similar

scenes showing the king.[351] The scenes are funerary in purpose and part of the decorative repertory of mortuary temples. The presence of the queen shows that she partook in the funerary cult there. There may have been similar scenes in some of the other 18th dynasty mortuary temples, but few of their reliefs are preserved.

B.5. Queen as priestess.

On one block from a chapel of Amenhotpe I at Karnak a scene survives showing Ahmose Nofretary functioning as hmt ntr (cat.no.11). Similar scenes appear in Hatshepsut's chapelle rouge, but there the hmt ntr is not named (n.345). On this block, Ahmose Nofretary is not represented as a queen, since her costume has nothing in common with that of a queen.

B.6. Queen led by goddess to deified king.

A much altered scene in the temple of Semna at one stage showed Hatshepsut led by Satis to the deified Senwosret III (cat.no.51).

This is the only example of such a scene involving a queen. It is not unusual for kings to be led by one deity to another, so that the scene is probably drawn from the iconography of the king; it is not part of the usual repertory of a queen. Hatshepsut's appearance in this type of scene is probably due to her position as de facto ruler of Egypt. She may have been more widely shown performing actions normally associated with the king, which might have been more subject to later attack than other types of scene.

C.1. Queen as female sphinx rampant.

In the temple of Sedeinga built by Amenhotpe III, Teye appears

as a sphinx rampant, which is presumably female as there is no mane (cat.no.142) An inscription identifies the figure as the hmt nsw wrt Teye. The figure is not part of a scene, but appears on a decorative entablature. Teye is the only queen of our period to be shown in relief in animal form, although statues of the queen as a sphinx are known from the reign of Thutmose III (3.3.7). The other examples in relief are as a trampling sphinx on the side of the queen's throne (cat.no.155) and as a female sphinx holding the cartouches of the king (cat.no.156). The contexts are emblematic ones, where animal form is fairly widespread.

3.2.2. Discussion.

The commonest type of scene found in temples throughout our period is type A.1, of which we have fourteen probable examples. Apart from two occurrences (A.2, cat.no.102; A.7, cat.no.3), this is the only type of scene which occurs on royal stelae. The remaining scene types in temples are represented by only one or two examples. Although there are eleven individual birth scenes with the queen of type B.1, there are only two examples of the birth cycle in this period. Similarly, although Teye appears a large number of times in the sed festival scenes, these come from only two depictions of the ceremony, one in the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III and one in the temple of Soleb (A.5).

The sed festival scenes of Amenhotpe III are the first to show the queen, who also appears at the sed festivals of Akhenaton,[352] and Osorkon III.[353] Also in the reign of Amenhotpe III, in addition to the anonymous msw nsw who have been present since the earliest sed festivals,[354] we find individually named daughters of the king who are known from elsewhere.[355] Although the aim of the scenes may have been

recreative, each series of scenes refers to a particular celebration of the festival, so that once the queen and princesses are shown in them, it is reasonable to assume that they were present. Thus, we have the first evidence of the royal family taking part in these scenes in the reign of Amenhotpe III, but, since there are no comparable sed festival cycles depicted between those of Niuserre and Amenhotpe III, the queen may have been present at the sed festivals of earlier kings.

The one example we have of scene type A.4 also possibly represents a specific occasion. This shows the king performing a foundation ritual with the queen standing behind him. Although the form in which the scene is recorded with the goddess Sfht-^{c}bw is symbolic, the king probably did perform a foundation ceremony when this building was begun, and the presence of the queen in the scene may indicate that she accompanied him.

Scenes showing a specific occasion are in direct contrast with those which form the major part of temple decoration and show the king offering or performing other ritual actions before the deity. Except perhaps at certain festivals, these rituals were carried out by the priests of the temple, while the scenes maintain the "fiction" that the king was priest in all temples. They do not represent specific occurrences, and the occasional presence of the queen throughout our period (A.1), albeit in an extremely small proportion of these scenes, is problematic.

Of this type of scene, six examples come from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat. nos. 21, 25-29) and one from that of Thutmose III (cat. no. 53). There is evidence that Ahmose died before Hatshepsut became king, and it is almost certain that Senisonb, mother of Thutmose I, must have been dead by her grand-daughter's reign. It is also probable that Ese was dead when her son built his temple.

Therefore, queens shown in this type of scene could be dead when the scene was composed, although mortuary temples may be different in this respect from others. The presence of the queen here may be commemorative; how far it reflects the position of the queen in reality will be considered below.

The great temples of Karnak and Luxor have produced few examples of queens in scenes of type A.1. Blocks from a building of Thutmose II near the seventh pylon at Karnak show that as well as the king, Hatshepsut and Nefrure were represented there (3.1.1.2). Some scenes date to Hatshepsut's regency, but the work was begun by Thutmose II, and in one scene, the queen followed her husband before Amun (cat.no.44). Because only a few blocks remain, the original function of the building is unknown, but it was not a main temple.

A doorway of Amenhotpe II had a scene on the lintel showing the king and originally his mother (cat.no.68). It was reused in the temple of Mont at Karnak, and its original position is unknown, but was probably in the same precinct.

Only one scene of type A.1 is found at Luxor, in room XX. The king, followed by his mother, Mutemwiya, libates before Amun and Mut (cat.no.103). Her figure and inscription are a post-Amarna restoration. They were probably erased due to a confusion between the name Mutemwiya and the goddess Mut, and there is no reason to think that she was not originally shown.

Room XX at Luxor probably contained the offering table for room XXI. The latter is almost destroyed, but probably had three niches with statues of Amun, Mut and another goddess.[356] The presence of Mutemwiya and not Teye may be related to the birth cycle in room XIII of the temple. There Mutemwiya is the earthly partner of Amun, so that in this scene, the divine consort Mut and her earthly equivalent,

Mutemwiya, are counterbalanced. Mutemwiya possibly had a special connection with Mut because of her name, which is reflected in the statue where she appears as "Mut in the bark" (cat.no.112).

Of the other temples where scenes with queens occur, Ahhotpe II is shown on a lintel from Buhen (cat.no.6). Meritre appears twice with Thutmose III. In the Hathor cow chapel at Deir el-Bahri, she follows the king who offers to the Hathor cow (cat.no.63). The scene is balanced by one on the opposite wall showing the king followed by two of his daughters (cat.no.205). The chapel contained a statue showing the Hathor cow suckling Amenhotpe II.[357] The shrine is almost a family monument showing Thutmose III, his wife, daughters and heir. There may have been a special connection between the women of the royal family and Hathor. Apart from Hatshepsut, the only two queens we now know who offer directly to a deity do so to the Hathor cow (cat.nos.15, 41). Further, a number of votive menit counterpoises have been found with the name of a queen.[358] This might explain the presence of the queen and two princesses in the shrine of the Hathor cow chapel. The building is not a conventional temple.

The other scene of type A.1 with Meritre and Thutmose III is in the shrine of the 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (cat.no.64) It is one of four scenes in this temple showing the queen, and the building should be considered as a whole. It was begun by Hatshepsut and altered by Thutmose III.[359] The shrine itself, where Meritre Hatshepsut appears twice, was the original work of Thutmose.[360] The queen also appears in room VI (Hölscher's M), which, unlike the other five rooms, was left undecorated until the sole reign of Thutmose III (3.2.1.A.6).[361]

In the shrine, on one side in the top register, the king enters the temple followed by the queen (A.3), while on the other side in the

lower register, Meritre Hatshepsut follows Thutmose III offering to Amun. The first scene suggests that the queen should be understood as being present in all the scenes. She may have been excluded elsewhere for reasons of space, or because standard scene types were being used.

The final scene of type A.1 in a temple of our period was in the sanctuary of the destroyed temple of Amenhotpe III at Elephantine (cat.no.116). Here, Teye followed Amenhotpe III who libated and censed before the bark of the god, while the queen shook a sistrum. The buildings at Medinet Habu and Elephantine were of the same architectural type, which is not that of a main temple.

Can we make any deductions about the role of the queen from these scenes, and why she is shown in these cases? The latter is not easy to answer, although I have made some suggestions in the discussions of the individual scenes. The presence of the queen is clearly not an integral part of temple decoration. The scenes are not found in the most important part of the temple, and many are in peripheral buildings. This also applies to the royal stelae (3.2.1.A.1). In answer to the first question, the presence of the king reflects the idea that he is priest in all temples, and does not refer to specific occasions, so that the presence of the queen cannot record an actual occasion either. However, it demonstrates that she could appear in scenes in a ritual context, which may reflect a ritual role actually played by her. Normally, the queen is passive in these scenes, but she may offer, or shake a sistrum. It is possible that the queen took part in some rituals, when the king performed them in the temple himself, which was presumably rarely. This would not normally be recorded in temple decoration.

Although the birth scenes (B.1) are fictitious, they are of a different character from scenes of type A.1, as the queen achieves a

direct contact with the gods, rarely found elsewhere. The whole cycle is retrospective in application, since it is only after her son has become king that a woman can be mwt nsw. Although only two examples survive, the myth presumably applied to all kings of royal birth in our period. Therefore, the mwt nsw would have been on one occasion the earthly consort of Amun, which may be one reason for her importance. This aspect of the mwt nsw is unrelated to the office of hmt ntr nt Jmn, but the latter also implies a role as consort of Amun, presumably for ritual purposes, other than giving birth to the king.

The remaining scene types are rare. In its final form B.3 shows Ahmose standing behind Amun, and may be connected with the status of a dead queen. B.2, B.5 and B.6 fall outside the normal iconography of queens in temples. B.2 and B.6 relate to Hatshepsut's position as regent, being adapted from the iconography of kings. Such scenes are not common during the regency, perhaps due to later erasure. At this time, Thutmose III appears alone on monuments as king without reference to Hatshepsut.

A.7 and B.4 are both funerary scenes. In the first, Tetisheri is seated before a table of offerings in front of which stands king Ahmose. The text of this stela is concerned with the queen's funerary cult. It was found in a building at Abydos, which was presumably one of those set up by Ahmose to commemorate her.[362] In such a context, a funerary scene on a royal stela is perfectly fitting. B.4 in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, shows the queen similarly seated before a table of offerings, in front of which is Inmutef. There is little evidence concerning the funerary cults of 18th dynasty queens. A few mortuary priests are known,[363] but there is a lack of information about individual buildings connected with their cults, except those erected by Ahmose for Tetisheri at Abydos (n.362). A number of smaller

objects from the same site suggest that Sitioh may also have had a cult there.[364] Other stelae which may not have survived could have recorded the establishment of funerary cults for other queens, but it is possible that Tetisheri's cult was special.

Queens probably had a place in the king's mortuary temple. The only one of the 18th dynasty where the reliefs are preserved is that of Hatshepsut. The presence of her mother in a number of scenes may relate to that king's unusual position. However, the existence of two blocks from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, one showing his mother (cat.no.53) and the other the cartouche of a princess,[365] together with a block showing the head of a queen (?) from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe II (cat.no.84) suggests that it may have been customary to include scenes commemorating members of the king's family. Further, two private stelae set up in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III depict Sitioh and Ese respectively (cat.nos.60,55), implying that these queens had a connection with the temple.

The majority of scenes in temples and on royal stelae where the queen is present show the king carrying out a ritual, either generalised or specific. Her occasional appearance suggests that she had a ritual role to play.[366] The queens who appear in these scenes are either the mwt nsw or the hmt nsw wrt, never one who is only hmt nsw.[367] Thus the distinction between the hmwt nsw of a king and the one who becomes hmt nsw wrt is that the former are merely wives of the king, while the latter assumes a ritual function. Within the context of the scenes which we have been studying, both the mwt nsw and the hmt nsw wrt take part in the same rituals without differentiation, apart from the title mwt nsw, except in the birth scenes, in which the queen plays her part by virtue of being mwt nsw.

3.2.3. Private monuments and smaller objects (royal and private)

A.1. Queen follows king who is offering to a deity.

This type of scene is normally found on royal monuments (3.2.1). Two examples occur on private material. One is a small wooden stela, perhaps from a shrine, [redacted] which shows Amenhotpe III and Teye before Amun and Mut (cat.no.145). The other is a funerary stela which shows Amenhotpe III and Teye before Osiris, with the owner and members of his family in lower registers (cat.no.144). In a scene of this type on a private funerary stela, the king mediates between the god and the private individual; its purpose may also be to act as a pictorial representation of the htp dj nsw formula.[368] It is more usual for the owner of the stela to stand directly before the god. Members of the family bringing offerings in lower registers should not be considered separately but as a continuation of the main offering scene. Thus, although the type of scene on the stela of Sebeknakht is similar to those found in temples and on royal stelae, the context differs in that the king performs the act of offering in relation to the deceased owner of the stela.

A.2. Queen follows king who is smiting enemies.

One example of this scene type is on a scarab of Amenhotpe III and Teye (cat.no.161). It shows a slight variation from the normal scene in that the king is merely holding the prisoner and does not have his arm raised to smite, but this is probably due to limitations of space (see also 3.2.1.A.2).

A.5. Queen follows king at sed festival.

Two series of scenes in TT 192 (Kheruef) show scenes from the sed festivals of years 30 and 37 of Amenhotpe III. In one, Amenhotpe and Teye are shown leaving the palace (cat.no.149) and then being pulled along in a boat (cat.no.148). The latter scene is now almost destroyed and the

figures of the king and queen lost. In the other series, Amenhotpe III erects the dd pillar, followed by Teye and a group of princesses (cat.no. 151), and then the king is shown offering to the dd pillar. This is the only private tomb to include sed festival scenes.

A.8. King and queen seated with two princesses before them at the sed festival.

Two of the bracelet plaques in the Metropolitan Museum (3.1.9) concern us here, the one from the Walters collection, and one of the three found by Carnarvon (cat.nos. 157-8). The first shows Amenhotpe III seated wearing the costume of the sed festival, with his hands on his chest in the characteristic "Osirid" pose, holding the hq3t over one shoulder and the nhhw over the other. Teye sits behind the king with one hand in her lap and the other raised to touch the king's arm. Facing the king and queen stand two princesses, Henuttaneb and Ese. With one hand they shake a sistrum and in the other they carry an ankh.

The composition of the second scene is generally similar. The king, however, is not wearing the sed festival costume, but sits on a carrying chair such as is used at the festival.[369] The two standing figures in front of the king and queen both shake a sistrum and in the other hand hold a rnpt which ends in a tadpole on a šn sign. This is suitable for a sed festival, and the similarity between this and the first scene suggests that the second also refers to one of the sed festivals. On the second plaque, the standing figures are not named, but comparison with the first suggests that they are the same princesses. It is certain that they are not goddesses, who do not wear either the type of dress shown here nor the floral crown of the first figure.

These two scenes and the following (A.9) have not been included with the sed festival scenes found in temples or the tomb of Kheruef

because their composition is different. In the former, the king is an active participant in rituals before a deity, shrine or sacred object. On the plaques, the king is the recipient of ritual actions performed by the princesses or the queen (below).

A.9. Queen stands before king who is seated in the sed festival kiosk.

This scene occurs once on one of the bracelet plaques found by Carnarvon in the Valley of the Kings (3.1.9; cat.no.159). As often at the sed festival, two kiosks are shown back to back; in one the king wears the red crown and in the other the white. Both figures wear the sed festival robe. Teye stands in front of the king offering an ankh to him on one side and a cartouche containing his name on the other.

A.10. King and queen in kiosk.

This type of scene, the earliest example of which dates from the reign of Hatshepsut, is found mainly in private tombs (cat.nos.42,71,110,146, 147,150,152). Three instances are found on a graffito (cat.no.111), a chalice (cat.no.167) and a box lid (cat.no.153). The king is almost always shown seated in a kiosk, while the queen either stands or is seated beside him. Once, the king is seated with Hathor, and the queen stands behind the pair. The queen may embrace the king with one or both arms, or she may carry an object in both hands. She can be either the mwt nsw or hmt nsw wrt, although the latter is not found until the reign of Amenhotpe III. On the box lid, the king and queen both stand.

There are seven examples in private tombs showing queens in a kiosk scene, two of which are in the same tomb. It is, however, very common to show the king alone is a kiosk, a type of scene which also appears first in the reign of Hatshepsut.[370] The owner of the tomb stands before the kiosk. In some scenes, he presents several registers of gifts, especially at the New Year Festival, and may also himself offer a specific object, or a bouquet, or he may be bringing "tribute"

from outside Egypt. In other cases, the owner is appointed to office or rewarded by the king.[371] In twelve scenes, the king appears with a goddess, either Hathor[372] or Maat.[373] In only one scene (ob.no.150) do we find both queen and goddess.

A.11. <u>King and queen seated before a table of offerings.</u>

One example of this type of scene survives. It occurs on a fragment of a private stela found near the mortuary temple of Wadjmose (ob.no.23). At the top is the bottom of one register with the top of another below it. Only the left hand side is preserved. The lower register shows Thutmose II and his mother, Mutnofret, facing right. Their bodies are lost below the waist, but the top of the back of a throne just shows behind the king's figure, indicating that he is seated. The queen is probably standing, embracing the king with both arms.

To the right of the king and queen, just before the break in the stela, are the remains of a table of offerings. Probably the owner of the stela stood the other side, as there are stelae where the owner offers to a seated king.[374]

The presence of the queen on this stela is perhaps explained by its provenance from near the temple of Wadjmose, where it was probably set up. A complete statue of Mutnofret and fragments of a number of others were found in the temple (n.329), so that she must have been connected with the building. Elsewhere I suggest that she was the mother of Wadjmose and had a cult in his temple (2.4.1). The owner of the stela may have been connected with her cult, or the stela may have belonged to an official of Wadjmose, such as a tutor or priest, who included a scene with the prince's parents.

A.12. <u>Queen stands before seated king.</u>

A kneeling statue of the <u>wbȝ nsw</u> Neferpert holds a round-topped

stela with a scene showing Thutmose III seated on the left and his hmt nsw wrt Meritre Hatshepsut standing facing him on the right. At the bottom of the stela are two kneeling, adoring figures of the owner (cat.no.69). The figures of the king and queen do not form a specific scene, and probably represent pictorially the objects of Neferpert's veneration. Thus we have an "abstract" representation of a king and queen. The position of the figures is probably governed by a desire to balance the scene. The text is unusual, since Neferpert gives praise not only to the king but also the queen, who has titles which are otherwise unattested (4.4.11). Neferpert's origins are unknown, but he could be a kinsman of the queen, who is of non-royal birth. Otherwise, he could have a special connection with her through his office of wb3 nsw.

A.13. King and queen embrace.

The small wooden label from Medinet Ghurab (3.1.12) shows the king and queen embracing (cat.no.168). The dedication text on the back states that it was made by Teye for Amenhotpe III, presumably referring to the object to which the label was tied. The htp dj nsw text suggests it was made for a funerary object of Amenhotpe III, and the informality of the scene foreshadows the developed style of the royal couple at Amarna.

A.14. King followed by queen, with no context.

One series of illustrated scarabs of which we have two examples shows Amenhotpe III followed by Teye (cat.nos.162-3). The two figures are not set in the context of a scene.

B.2. Queen offers alone.

There are only two examples of this rare type of scene on private monuments. One, TT 15 (cat.no.15) dates to the reign of Ahmose before the change in the moon hieroglyph, and shows Ahmose Nofretary standing holding a censer in one hand and pouring libations on a brazier with the other, before the Hathor cow. The second is a private

stela dating to the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which shows queen Ahmose in the centre of the scene facing left before a table of offerings, offering wine to the Hathor cow. Hatshepsut as king is present on the right side of the scene being embraced by Horus (cat.no.41).

B.3. Queen stands behind god.

Among the finds from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, Weigall described part of a votive stela which shows Min-Amun and Sitioh (cat.no.60). The upper part of the queen only remains; she stands behind the god. The scene is unpublished.

B.7. Private individual offers to queen.

This type of scene is funerary in context. Three examples survive, two on private stelae and one on an offering table. On the first, the official Iuf offers to Ahhotpe II and queen Sebekemsaf, wife of Nubkheperre Inyotef of the 17th dynasty (cat.no.7). On the second, Amenemhat, owner of TT 53, offers to the hmt nsw Inhapi and her daughter Ahmose Henuttameh (cat.no.186). On the offering table, the lector priest Tjerikity offers to Sitioh, who is shown uniquely as a private person, not a queen (cat.no.61).

B.8. Princess offers to queen.

A chair from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuiu has a scene on its back which shows Teye seated in a chair placed in a papyrus boat (cat.no.154) Sitamun III stands in front of the queen offering flowers; another princess who is not named stands behind the queen holding a bouquet.

B.9. Official before queen regent.

One example of this scene type is found on a rock stela of Senenmut at Aswan (cat.no.52). The official stands facing Hatshepsut, who is also standing. The stela dates to the period of Hatshepsut's

regency for Thutmose III, when her position was not typical of queens.

B.10. Queen seated alone.

This is found on one of the series of Teye's illustrated scarabs (cat. nos. 164-6). The figure is not set within the context of a scene.

C.2. Queen as trampling sphinx.

In TT 192 (Kheruef), a scene on the side of Teye's throne in the kiosk scene of year 36 shows the queen as a sphinx trampling prisoners (cat. no. 155). It is common for a king to be represented in this manner, and there is a close parallel, for instance, on the throne of Amenhotpe III in the kiosk scene of TT 48.[375] For a queen of our period the scene is unique.[376] It may indicate an increase in the importance of her position, perhaps pointing to a more active role than before, or even a sharing of royal power, as has been suggested for Nefertiti from her appearance in scenes where she smites enemies.[377] However, it may be merely an artistic variation on a royal theme, so that the substitution of the queen for the king shows not a change in status of the queen, but rather that her image reflected the power of the king. The motif may have been more common for queens than the evidence suggests, since there are few examples of the type of queen's throne where it might appear.

C.3. Queen as female sphinx.

An ivory inlay, probably from a box, found at Medinet Ghurab shows two female sphinxes labelled as hmt nsw wrt facing each other (cat. no. 156). Between them were originally three cartouches. One containing the name of Teye survives. The other two have been erased, presumably in the Amarna period, and almost certainly contained the names of Amenhotpe III.

3.2.4. Discussion.

Most of the scene types found on this kind of material occur only once or twice. The largest group consists of the kiosk scenes, of which there are ten examples. Few of the scenes on private material correspond to those on royal monuments, and there is a shift of emphasis between royal and private scenes (3.2.6).

The kiosk scenes show a private individual before the king and queen.[378] They almost always occupy the same place in the tomb, on either side of the inner doorway opposite the entrance to the tomb, if there are two scenes of this type; in the same position on one or other side if there is only one. Therefore, there can be a maximum of two kiosk scenes in any one tomb. It must be asked if these scenes represent an actual event, and what their significance is.

Certain examples of these scenes show specific occasions, which may be dated, such as the appointment of the tomb owner to office,[379] or the rewarding of the tomb owner.[380] One scene, dated to the first sed festival of Amenhotpe III, shows the owner reporting on the harvest.[381] In a tomb of the reign of Thutmose III, the owner receives the command to go to the Lebanon in one kiosk scene, and reports the outcome of the mission to the king in the second.[382]

Other scenes show the tomb owner presenting "gifts" to the king. They are almost certainly the products of royal or temple workshops originally ordered by the king, and the presentation may relate to the tomb owner's office, for instance, that of steward or priest.[383] Similarly, a tomb owner may present foreign "tribute", and here the titles of many of these men show that they were concerned with areas outside Egypt.[384] Both types of scene are rarely dated, but certain officials were probably responsible for presenting the products of workshops or "tribute" for the king's review at specific times. Each

individual occasion could not be recorded, and instead the scenes represent in general this aspect of the man's office.

Even if kiosk scenes do not depict specific occasions, there is no reason to doubt that they are based on reality, and that the king gave audience from the kiosk. Whatever their relationship with reality, the scenes record the prestige gained by the official from having contact with the king. They are also symbolic, as is shown, among other details, by the occasional presence of Hathor or Maat. In reality, the place of the goddess may have been occupied by the queen, since a small number of scenes include a queen in a similar position to the goddesses, while Teye stands once behind Hathor in the kiosk.

In the two earlier scenes (cat.nos.42,71), it is the mwt nsw who is shown, and Teye is the first ḥmt nsw wrt to be found in them. She appears in three tombs belonging to the "overseer of the king's harim", "the steward of the ḥmt nsw wrt" and her own brother, second priest of Amun. The queen is connected with the first two officials by their office, and with the third by kinship, and this almost certainly accounts for her presence in these tombs. The connection between the queen and tomb owner is not so clear in the other cases (3.2.4.1). Since there are only two scenes with queens before the reign of Amenhotpe III, it is impossible to tell whether it is significant that they are the king's mother, rather than his ḥmt nsw wrt.

The presence of the queen in the composition of these scenes is secondary. Although she may well have been present when the king gave audience, the purpose of the scenes is to show the relationship between the king and his official, and it was probably a personal choice on the part of the tomb owner to include the queen to display a close connection between himself and her. There must have been other

officials whose duties brought them into contact with the queen who did not choose to show her in their tombs.

There is a basic difference between these scenes and temple scenes. Both are symbolic, but the former are rooted in reality, while the latter are not. Unlike the main scenes in temples and on royal stelae, the kiosk scene also appears on non-monumental objects. The "secular" context of the scene would make it more suitable for such a transfer than the "religious" context of temple scenes.

Of the remaining types of scene in which queens appear on private monuments, none forms a large group. We have seen that two private stelae (cat.nos.144-45) show the queen following the king who offers to a deity, a type of scene otherwise found only in temples and on royal stelae (A.1). Three other private stelae show a queen seated before a table of offerings. One, which includes the king, probably showed the owner, now lost, offering to the royal couple (cat.no.23). The second depicts the owner offering to Ahhotpe II and queen Sebekemsaf of the 17th dynasty, whose chapel he restored at Edfu (cat.no.7). The last shows the owner offering to the hmt nsw Inhapi and her daughter (cat.no.186). These scenes are funerary. The queens are almost certainly dead and shown because of a connection with the owner. In the case of Ahhotpe II and Iuf, the text of the stela shows that the official served the queen during her lifetime. In the others, the connection is not clear, and the officials may have been contemporary with the women involved or priests of their cults after their deaths. The same theme is repeated on the offering table from Abydos which shows the lector priest Tjerikity offering to Sitioh (cat.no.61; see further 3.2.4.1).

Other private stelae are votive. One dedicated to Hathor and probably from Edfu shows the figures of the dedicators, Wadjmose and Montu, kneeling on either side at the bottom of the stela

adoring the central figure of a large sistrum with a Hathor head (cat.no.41). The text reads "giving praise to the goddess and kissing the ground for the mistress of the Two Lands" and "praising the nfrw of the goddess (i.e. the sistrum?)". In the register above, on the left, Ahmose offers wine to the Hathor cow, who is called Hathor hrjt-jb Bhdt nbt Jwnt(?) "dwelling in Edfu, mistress of Dendera(?)", while on the right Hatshepsut is embraced by Horus of Behdet. There is evidence of activity of Hatshepsut at Edfu,[385] and we know that Ahmose had a funerary cult there (CG 34009), which might account for her prominence on the stela. However, the scene should be compared with the one in the tomb of Tetiky from the reign of Ahmose, where Ahmose Nofretary censes and libates before the Hathor cow (cat.no.15). Both scenes are on private monuments and are not of a type that would normally occur on royal monuments, where the presence of the king is usually obligatory. There is a symbolic analogy between Hathor and the queen, who may well have played a part in her cult (3.2.2). Further, the cow form of Hathor, which becomes common on private stelae in the New Kingdom, may not be so subject to rules of decorum as anthropomorphic figures of the goddess.

Two fragmentary stelae showing queens come from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, enhancing the impression that members of the king's family had a funerary cult there. One depicts Ese (cat.no.55) and the other Sitioh (cat.no.60). Both are unpublished and their dates uncertain; if they relate to cults of Sitioh and Ese, they need not be contemporary with these queens. Sitioh is shown standing behind the god Min-Amun, which is an unusual position for a queen. We have seen that Ahmose stood behind Amun in two scenes in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, and I suggested that a dead queen might be to some extent deified, and therefore able to stand with, rather than facing, a deity (3.2.1.B.3). This would explain Sitioh's position here.

The remaining private stela, the rock stela of Senenmut at Aswan (cat.no.52) shows Hatshepsut as queen regent, and does not belong to the iconography of queens.

The sed festival scenes in the tomb of Kheruef form two series, both ending in a kiosk scene, one dated to year 30 (cat.nos.148-50), and the other to year 37 (cat.nos.151-2). The kiosk scenes are not part of the sed festival ceremonies, but are connected, because they show audiences given on the occasion of the sed festival.

The sed festival cycles of Niuserre in his sun temple, Amenhotpe III at Soleb, Akhenaton at Karnak and Osorkon III, do not form part of the normal repertory of temple decoration. However, the similarity of form and repetition of elements in all four versions shows that the representation of the festival on these occasions was governed by traditions already established in the Old Kingdom. The scenes in the tomb of Kheruef, which show selected events from the course of the festival, are less bound by these traditions, as a comparison between them and the scenes at Soleb shows. In the temple, the nsw nsw appear in the traditional tight-fitting dress and short wig with one arm held to the breast (cat.no.141). In the tomb, they wear the fashionable loose dress, together with a circlet and a sidelock over a wig. They shake a sistrum and hold a menit (cat.no.151). The queen herself wears the loose dress (cat.no.151), while at Soleb she is shown in the tight-fitting dress (cat.no.120-141). She also wears sandals in the tomb, but not at Soleb. This might, however, be a matter of decorum, if the scenes shown in the former did not take place inside a temple, and those shown in the latter did. The emphasis on the queen and royal children in the tomb is due to Kheruef's office of jmj-r3 pr wr n hmt nsw wrt "chief steward of the hmt nsw wrt".

The three sed festival scenes on the bracelet plaques are of

a different character. Instead of the king performing a ritual action, an action is performed before him by princesses in two cases and by the queen in the third (cat.nos.157-9). This may be a more general type of ritual placed in a sed festival context, since it is reminiscent of the scene described at the reception of Sinuhe.[386] It is not part of the iconography of kings on royal monuments and has left little trace.

Three series of illustrated scarabs, which are royal rather than private objects, date from the reign of Amenhotpe III and show Teye (cat.nos.161-6). Such scarabs are well attested for earlier kings and show a typical human or animal iconography for the king complementing pictorially the written titulary and cartouche. They are not scenes, but depict the concept of kingship. The same applies to the scarabs showing Teye. When she follows the king, the two figures show a typical king and queen, illustrating and acting as "taxograms" to their cartouches. Where Teye is named alone, there is a typical seated figure of a queen.

One apparently informal scene on the back of a chair depicts Teye, wearing the contemporary loose dress, seated in a papyrus boat with a cat under her chair. In front of her, her daughter Sitamun III holds out flowers to her. Behind her chair stands another princess holding a bouquet (cat no.154). The chair itself shows signs that it was used before being placed in the tomb, and it is so small that it must have belonged to a child,[387] probably Sitamun herself. The scene will form part of the decorative iconography of the royal family within the palace, which is almost unknown. The chair is elaborate, and was perhaps not designed for everyday use, but for ceremonial occasions. If so, this would indicate that the young princess was present at such times.

3.2.4.1. Connections between officials and queens on private material.

Of all the private material surviving from our period, only a small proportion includes the representation of a queen. We should ask, therefore, why a queen should be included at all. When a king is shown on private monuments, it is normally the king whom the official served. The appearance of a queen may well be because the official had a connection with the queen, and this can be demonstrated in four cases:

Iuf was connected with Ahhotpe II at Edfu (cat.no.7;3.2.4); Kheruef was steward of Teye (3.2.4; see cat.nos.148-52); Userhat was overseer of the king's harim in the reign of Amenhotpe III (cat.no.146;3.2.4); Tetiky was related to Tetihemt, who was the nurse of Ahmose Nofretary (cat.no.15). On two other occasions, the official may have been concerned with the funerary cult of the queen. The lector priest Tjerikity was probably involved in the cult of Sitioh at Abydos (cat.no.61); Re, high priest of Amun in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III (cat.no.71), may have been connected with a cult of Meritre there also.

Mutemwiya appears in a graffito of Heqareshu, tutor of Thutmose IV (cat. no.111), and in TT 226 which belonged to an jmj-r3 mn^{c}j(w) (cat.no.110). Heqareshu was the tutor of Amenhotpe II's children; the graffito shows that he survived into the reign of Amenhotpe III. He could, therefore, also have been connected with the children of Thutmose IV, and thus with Mutemwiya.[388] Labib Habachi has argued, in many ways convincingly, that Heqareshu was the owner of TT 226.[389] Certainly, scenes in the tomb show the owner both with Amenhotpe II's children[390] and with Amenhotpe III.[391] However, if this man is Heqareshu, it is strange that his son, Heqaerneheh, completed his tomb (TT 64) in the reign of Thutmose IV before his father's was finished; Habachi suggests that TT 64 was in fact an earlier tomb of Heqareshu,[392] but Heqaerneheh is named on ceiling inscriptions,[393] an unfinished

inscription within the doorway[394] and funerary cones from the tomb,[395] making the ownership quite clear. Thus although it would be possible for Heqareshu to be the owner of TT 226, it is not certain. Whatever the case, Mutemwiya's connection with Heqareshu and the owner of TT 226 was probably through the royal children.

Thus, in half the instances in which the queen is shown on a private monument, there is a link between the owner and the queen: he is her official; a kinswoman of his served the queen; he is a mn^{c}j of the royal children; he is concerned with her funerary cult; he is a kinsman of the queen. One might expect there to be similar connections in the other eight cases. Ahmose was dead by the time Duauneheh's tomb, in which she was shown in a kiosk scene, was decorated (cat.no.42).[396] Since he is the only official of his time to include her in his tomb, it is unlikely to be a result of Hatshepsut's unusual position. Perhaps he was attached to Ahmose's household before serving her daughter. The stela of Thutmose II (cat.no.23) was discussed above (3.2.3.A.11), and it was suggested that the owner could have been connected with her funerary cult, or with prince Wadjmose, whose parents he then included on his stela. Amenemhat of TT 53 may have served either Inhapi or more probably her daughter, or he may have been related to the nurse who is shown with the royal women (cat.no.186). Sitioh and Ese may be present on stelae from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III (cat.nos.60.55) because the dedicators were concerned in their cults, or simply because the stelae were located in a place where they had a cult. The stela of Neferpert was discussed earlier (3.2.3.A.12; cat.no.69). The official could have been a kinsman of the queen, or connected with her through his office of wb3 nsw.

Thus, when a queen is shown on a private monument, it is probably because of a connection between the owner and the queen.

However, there were obviously more officials connected with the queen that this handful. Sometimes they are known only from material where one would not expect a representation,[397] or the queen is mentioned in the titles of officials, but not depicted.[398]

The queens who appear in almost all the scenes on private monuments are the mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt; I have suggested that these played a ritual role, and were therefore more important than the remaining hmwt nsw of a king (1.8). The hmwt nsw could perhaps appear on less formal material, but only one private monument depicts a hmt nsw, who is shown in a funerary scene as any private person might be (cat. no. 186). Since the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw are rarely depicted, it is not surprising that the representations of an individual hmt nsw is still rarer.

3.2.5. Royal tomb.

A.15. King followed by four royal women.

This occurs in the tomb of Thutmose III (cat. no. 70). The king stands, followed by Meritre, Sitioh, the hmt nsw Nebtu and the s3t nsw Nofretary, who is otherwise unknown. The queens wear a tight-fitting dress and tripartite wig, but no insignia. None of the figures performs an action.

A.16. King and queen in boat.

This scene also occurs in the tomb of Thutmose III, and shows the king and his mother in a boat (cat. no. 56). As in the former scene, the queen wears no insignia.

These scenes are unlike those in temples and on royal stelae, or on private material, and probably show the king's desire to commemorate members of his family in his tomb. The presence of Nebtu, who

is only hmt nsw[399], is interesting. She is known to have had an jmj-r3 pr, which is unique for a hmt nsw.[400] She may have been a favourite of Thutmose III, so that he gave her her own estate separate from the administration of the harim, and included her in his tomb. Nofretary could be her daughter for whom the king had a special affection. The absence of his other children is striking, but it would have been impractical within the context to include them all; both the royal women and the child are selected from larger groups.

3.2.6. Conclusions.

It is not surprising that different scene types occur on royal and private monuments (Table 9), since private people would not occupy an important position on the former. In temple scenes and on royal stelae, deities are commonly shown, so that in scenes of type A, the king and queen are most often oriented towards a deity. In type B, the queen may appear with a deity, as in the birth scenes, or infrequently oriented towards one. In type A on private monuments, the central position is normally taken by the king and not a deity. In type B, which is less common, the queen may appear before or with a deity, or she may herself be the centre of the scene with a private individual or princess before her, or she may be alone. In funerary scenes, Inmutef offers to the queen on royal monuments, while the owner offers on private material.

Some of the scenes where queens appear represent actual events, while others do not. Irrespective of this, we should ask what the significance of the queen's presence is. The only queens to appear on royal monuments, apart from KV 34, are the mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt, and this is also true of private monuments, except the funerary scene showing Inhapi. Thus, of the king's wives, only the hmt nsw wrt

appears in court ceremonial and temple ritual, reflecting her unique position among the king's wives. This position is shared with the mwt nsw, both queens appearing on the same types of monument and in similar scenes, with similar insignia (3.5) and titles (4). According to the concept of Kamutef, there would be identity between the wife and mother,[401] so that their ability to appear on the monuments in a similar fashion is not surprising.

Once a queen is hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw, she keeps the title for life, and may appear with a king to whom she is neither wife nor mother. Thus Ahmose Nofretary is shown with Thutmose I and Ahmose with Thutmose II (cat. nos. 14,40). This possibly reflects the importance of these queens at court, eclipsing the mwt nsw, since the mother of Thutmose I was not the wife of a king (2.4.1), and the mother of Thutmose II was the wife of Thutmose I before he became king (2.4.1). It is equally possible that the mothers were dead before their sons came to the throne and that their place was taken by other queens.

The occasional appearance of the s3t nsw instead of the hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw in scenes otherwise identical with type A.1, though not with full queenly regalia or titles (cat. nos. 188, 191-193, 205) may imply a relationship between the s3t nsw and the two queens. The s3t nsw is a potential queen. The three women together also form a triad of mother, wife and daughter. The case of Nefrure, however, is probably not typical of a princess; she seems to have achieved increased prominence because of her mother's unusual position and inability to have a hmt nsw wrt.

From the point of view of material and scenes where they are shown, and the rarity of their appearance, the queens of our period form a fairly close knit group. Most commonly they are found with the king, and although they can appear by themselves, they rarely offer

alone to a deity. In the reign of Akhenaton, Nefertiti presents a complete contrast. She appears on a large proportion of the royal monumental material, both with the king in scenes equivalent to type A.1, and alone offering to the Aton. She is also present with the king throughout the private tombs at Amarna, both in the window of appearance scenes which have replaced the kiosk scenes, and in the new repertory of scenes showing the "daily life" of the royal family.

In our period, the increase in the amount of material which shows Teye as compared to earlier queens of the dynasty might suggest that the reign of Amenhotpe III forms an intermediate stage between the earlier 18th dynasty and the Amarna period. The increase occurs noticeably in two areas, first in the sed festival scenes in which no queen has appeared before, and second on a small group of non-monumental material where queens are not found earlier (Table 11). With the sed festival scenes, the only comparable cycles found previously are those of Niuserre, so Teye's presence may not necessarily be a break from preceding reigns. Much of the non-monumental material showing Teye comes from an exceptional find at Medinet Ghurab, which relates largely to the reigns of Amenhotpe III and IV. There is a third area about which we have little information. The small temple at Sedeinga built by Amenhotpe III was dedicated to Teye.[402] It is almost totally destroyed, so we do not know whether Teye appeared in the scenes, and of what type they might have been. It is possible that the temple was similar to the small temple at Abu Simbel dedicated to Nofretary. The dedication of a temple to a queen is a departure from earlier practice.

Apart from the sed festival scenes and possibly scenes at Sedeinga, Teye hardly appears on royal monuments at all, and she never offers alone. She is found in only four scenes of type A.1, and while

six scenes of type A.10 are more than for any other queen, two are in one tomb, and two more are on non-monumental material, so that only three tombs are involved. Although there are three examples of earlier queens in this type of scene, four scenes showing Teye in private tombs hardly represents a great increase, especially considering the length of Amenhotpe III's reign and the amount of material from it. As in earlier reigns, the majority of private tombs do not show a queen.

The appearance of Teye on non-monumental material in informal scenes like A.13 and perhaps B.8 may be related to the less formal scenes of the Amarna royal family, but the latter appear on monumental material, while in the reign of Amenhotpe III the scenes on such material remain traditional.

The increase in material from the reign of Amenhotpe III without a corresponding increase in the number of traditional scenes on monumental material seems to show that Teye's position was similar to that of her predecessors. However, there are changes in other areas of iconography (3.5.19.5). Outside iconographic material, her name frequently appears alone or linked with the king's on small items, such as cosmetic objects and scarabs. She is the only queen whose parents are prominently named. The colossal statue group of Amenhotpe III and Teye from Medinet Habu is one of the largest Egyptian statues of a woman (cat. no. 172). The contrast presented with previous queens cannot go unnoticed. These changes are centred round Teye, and Mutemwiya's position falls into line with that of earlier queens. If the latter died early in the reign of Amenhotpe III, it is possible that this was before any changes were introduced. We do not know, however, whether Teye's prominence is due solely to a change in the queen's role or status, or whether, in some cases, it was due to her own

personality.

If we accept that the position of Teye was changing from that of earlier queens, it is still questionable how far it foreshadowed that of Nefertiti. The almost obligatory appearance of the latter on royal and private monuments, her prominence in sculpture, real and depicted, and the existence of a temple at Karnak where she alone is shown officiating is a sudden departure from tradition, including the reign of Amenhotpe III. The best explanation is that the Aton theology gave to Nefertiti a new position for a queen, that brought her into a prominence on the monuments that the queen had not traditionally held. This latter, of course, relates to the concept of "queenship" as reflected by the monuments, rather than to the individuality of a queen.

3.3. Statues of queens.

3.3.1. Queen seated alone.

This is the commonest type of statue; there are eleven examples (cat.nos.4,5,16,19,24,57,62,75,112,113,169). All except one (cat.no.169) are made of stone, and they vary in size from the statuette (e.g. cat. nos.4,5,169) to the colossus (e.g.cat.no.16). In most cases the queen sits on a simple block seat. In cat.no.112, Mutemwiya sits in a bark, in a unique group inspired by her name. The statuette of Teye (cat.no. 169) is one of a pair, the other representing Amenhotpe III.

Four of the statues form a close group in that they are all dedicated by a king to the memory of a queen and placed in a temple (cat.nos.24,57,62,75). The dedication text is placed on the throne to one side of the queen's legs and her name to the other. The pair belonging to Tetisheri have a htp dj nsw formula on either side of the seat (cat.nos.4,5). (For a seated statue represented in two dimensions, see 3.3.9 and cat.no.176).

3.3.2. Queen standing by seated colossus of king.

The queen, on a much smaller scale than the king, stands by the leg of the colossus. This composition is not common in the 18th dynasty. One example is by a colossus of Amenhotpe II, restored by Thutmose IV (cat.no.89). The statue was carved from the same block as the king's throne, but has since been broken away. A colossus of Amenhotpe III by the tenth pylon at Karnak originally had a small statue of a queen joined to it (cat.no.179). The "Memnon" colossi of Amenhotpe III at the entrance to his mortuary temple have a statue of his mother standing by the left leg and of Teye by the right (cat.nos.114-15;170-71). From earlier in the dynasty, there are two colossi by the 8th pylon at Karnak belonging to Amenhotpe I and Thutmose II. The first has a seated statue of princess Ahmose Meritamun I beside it, which is not attached (cat.no.189). The second had a statue of princess Mutnofret joined to the statue of the king (cat.no.190). The type becomes commoner after our period.

3.3.3. Seated double statue group.

Two such statue groups survive together with a fragment of a third. The king and queen sit side by side and the queen puts her arm round the king. One statue (cat.no.90) and the fragment (cat.no.91) date to the reign of Thutmose IV and show the king and his mother. The other, which is of colossal size, shows Amenhotpe III and Teye (cat.no.172), and includes statues of three daughters standing by their legs. (For this type of statue represented in two dimensions, see 3.3.9 and cat.no.74). The pair of statuettes of Amenhotpe III and Teye (3.3.1; cat.no 169) may belong here in principle, although they are not joined.

3.3.4. Standing double statue group.

Part of a double statuette group representing Teye and Amenhotpe III, made of green glazed steatite, is now in the Louvre (cat. no.173). The figure of the king is missing except for the left arm. A double statue group originally showing Amenhotpe III and Ese with the title of hmt nsw, now preserves only the figure of Ese, of which the head is missing (cat.no.187).

3.3.5. Queen standing.

No complete statue of this sort survives. A statue base from Giza belonging to Tiaa preserves the feet of the queen, one slightly in advance of the other, showing that she was standing (cat.no.92). A glazed steatite statue of Teye in the Macclesfield Museum is missing the legs from the knees downwards (cat.no.174). (For this type of statue represented in two dimensions, see 3.3.9 and cat.nos.38,58,72,73,83,176).

3.3.6. God seated between king and queen.

A seated statue group showing Amun between Thutmose I and Ahmose was found in the Karnak cachette (cat.no.43). In its present state, the group is a post-Amarna restoration, of which only the legs and seat are original. However, there is no reason to believe that the restoration radically altered the original scheme of the group, so that the grouping of Amun between the king and queen will date to the reign of Thutmose I.

3.3.7. Queen as sphinx.

Two statues show a queen, in both cases unnamed, as a sphinx (cat.nos.76,77). The first has a cartouche of Menkheperre dating it to the reign of Thutmose III. The inscription on the second is completely lost, but I would date it to the same reign because of its similarity to the former, and its use of the Hathor wig (3.6.3).

3.3.8. Two-dimensional statues (cat.nos.36,56), one test from private

3.3.8. Statue fragments.

A number of statues survive in fragmentary form only and their original type is unknown. They are listed together here for convenience.

1. MMA 16.10.224 (cat.no.20). This statue, from Thebes, breaks off just above the waist. It lacks an inscription, but is dated by Aldred to the early 18th dynasty.[403]

2. CG 42009 (cat.no.78). The arms are broken just below the shoulder, and the body below the breasts. The Hathor wig probably dates it to the reign of Thutmose III (3.6.3).

3. BM 93 (cat.no.79). The statue breaks off at the waist. It dates to the reign of Thutmose III.

4. Wien Kunsthistorisches Museum inv.no.5778 (cat.no.80) probably dates to the reign of Thutmose III.

5. Statue of Tiaa from Giza (cat.no.93). This is not properly published; the fragment probably belongs to the back pillar of a seated statue.

6. Berlin Museum inv.no.21834 (cat.no.183). This uninscribed wooden head, found at Medinet Ghurab, is generally identified as Teye. It comes from a composite statue, and has been altered from its original form.

7. Cairo JE 38257 (cat.no.175). This named head of Teye, made of green schist, was found in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim. It is broken at the base of the neck.

8. Chicago 92.232 (cat.no.180). Only the head, of which one side is missing, survives from the original statuette, which almost certainly represented Teye.

9. CG 609 (cat.no.181). This colossal head, broken at the neck, almost certainly represents Teye.

10. BM 948 (cat.no.182). This fragment of a colossal statue from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III probably represents Teye.

3.3.9. Representations of statues of queens.

A few scenes in which a queen's statue or statues are represented survive. Two are from temples (cat.nos.38,58), the rest from private

tombs (cat.nos.72-74,88,176). The temple scenes are not complete, and their context is unknown, but in each case there is also a statue or statues of a king, and they form part of a row of statues. In private tombs, representations of statues of queens are found where "gifts" are presented to the king in kiosk scenes. Statues of the king are common in such scenes, but there are only five tombs where statues of queens also occur. The statues show the queen standing (cat.nos.38,58,72-3,88 176), or seated alone (cat.no.176) seated with the king (cat.no.74:1) or as a sphinx (cat no.74:2).

3.3.10. Discussion.

There is a discrepancy between surviving statues and those depicted in relief. Most actual statues showing the queen alone are seated (3.3.1), except for the two sphinxes (3.3.7), and the standing statues of Tiaa and Teye, which have not survived complete (3.3.5). In those which include the king, he is almost always seated; the queen either sits beside him (3.3.3,6), or stands by his leg (3.3.2). Only one statuette shows the king and queen both standing (3.3.4). A different picture is gained from the statues represented in relief. At least ten show the queen standing alone, while only two show her seated alone. Standing statues, as opposed to small standing statuettes like the many votive ones of Ahmose Nofretary, are probably less durable than seated ones and some of the statues shown in the tombs may be composite, like the one from which the Medinet Ghurab head of Teye comes, or made, for instance, of wood, and so have a low survival rate.

As in most of the two dimensional representations (3.2.6), the queens of whom statues survives are all mwt nsw or hmt nsw wrt where their identity is known. There is an increased number of statues of queens in the reign of Amenhotpe III, but not on the scale that occurred in the reign of Akhenaton. The statue group from Medinet Habu

showing Amenhotpe III and Teye is unique, because of its colossal size, but not in showing the king and queen at the same scale. In the next reign, pairs of standing colossi of Akhenaton and Nefertiti, or less frequently Akhenaton and Teye, stood in the temple at Amarna.[4.4]

3.4. Coffins.

Most of the coffins of queens of the 18th dynasty are missing, so we lack the information to build up a typology. The coffins of four queens are known to us today. They are anthropoid in shape and display the insignia of queens (cat. nos. 1, 8, 17, 81-3).

3.4.5. Discussion.

The similarity between the coffins of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary, both in structure and decoration, suggests that they should be dated closely together, and I believe that they were constructed at the same time. Both show the later form of the moon hieroglyph, dating them after year 18 of Ahmose at the earliest. This seems rather late for a king to arrange for the funerary equipment of his mother and hmt nsw wrt, unless he was very young when he came to the throne. Earlier arrangements could have been made, but then discarded because the increasing wealth available to the Theban dynasty after the unification of Egypt made possible a better construction. It is unlikely that Ahhotpe II's husband made no provision for her, even though she was only hmt nsw, but when she survived and gained importance as mwt nsw, Ahmose ordered a new set of equipment for her as well. At the same time a new style of coffin was introduced. It is distinct from that of Ahhotpe I, which is similar in type to that of Tao II. If we compare the measurements and decoration of these two coffins with those of Meritamun II(?), we find that they correspond with the second coffin of the latter, and one should assume that the first two queens had inner coffins which were not transferred to the cache.[405] It is possible that they had a still larger outer coffin like Meritamun II(?), but this may have been a later development.

The difference in structure and decoration between the coffins of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary on the one hand, and Meritamun on the other, suggests the latter is of a later date than the former, allowing time for developments to occur in this type of queen's coffin. However, without the whole series of queens' coffins for the 18th dynasty, it is impossible to tell whether these developments took place in a short time between the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotpe I, or over a

longer period, if the coffins date to the reign of Amenhotpe II. I have preferred the later date in this study, but the question is still an open one, and it may prove necessary to revise the dating.

3.5. Items of insignia worn and carried by the queen.

The items worn by the queen which are studied here are the double feathers, the horns and disk, the vulture headdress, the uraeus, including the double and treble uraeus, the circlet and fillet. Those carried by the queen are the whisk and ankh and, less frequently, the flower, the baton, the sceptre, the sistrum, two jars, the menit, the renpet and the cloth. It will be concluded that some of these are not actually items of insignia. Also, it is not necessary for the queen to carry anything, and she may hold her hands empty by her side or on her lap, or less often embrace the king with one or both arms. Wigs and clothing may have some significance, but are not classed as items of insignia and are treated separately in 3.6 - 3.8.

The items are examined to see if any are confined to a particular type of queen (Introduction), material (3.1) or scene (3.2), or to the hmt ntr (Introduction). There are three depictions of a hmt nsw. These women fall outside the category of queen (1.8), but they will be included here. The type of queen has a bearing on the "heiress" concept (Introduction), since if any of these items marked the

"heiress", it would not be used by queens of non-royal birth, nor by those of type c. The aim of the examination of material and scene types is to see whether any of these items is used only in particular contexts which might lead to a greater understanding of their significance. Tables 12-14 and 16 outline their use.

For purposes of reference, the occurrences of each item are given before the discussion. They are listed under individual queens, noting type, royal or non-royal birth, and whether a queen is hmt ntr. For each occurrence the following information is given if known or applicable: i. category of material; ii. type of scene or statue (3.2-3); iii. date; iv. description (catalogue number). [redacted] The abbreviations are those listed with the tables in volume 2. In the text of this section, references with only a number and small letter, without a section number, refer back to the list of occurrences of the item under discussion in that particular subsection.

3.5.1. The double feathers.

3.5.1.1. Occurrences.

1. Tetisheri (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.7; iii. A ⌒ ; iv. plain (cat.no.3)

2. Ahhotpe II (c; R; ḥn)[406]

   a) i. PS; ii. B.7; iii. TII at earliest; iv. plain (cat.no.7).

3. Ahmose Nofretary (b; R; ḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AI; iv. plain (cat.no.13).

   b) i. Co; iii. A ⌒ ; iv. full details (cat.no.17).

4. Meritamun I (a; R; ḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AI; iv. plain (cat.no.13).

5. Ahmose (f; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TII; iv. plain (cat.no.40).

Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

b) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR; iv. with shaft (cat.no.26).

c) i. PS; ii. B.2; iii. CR; iv. plain (cat.no.41).

6. Hatshepsut (g; R; ḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. B.2; iii. Reg(?); iv. plain(?) (cat.no.48).

b) i. TS; ii. B.2(?); iii. Reg(?); iv. plain (cat.no.49).

c) i. PS; ii. B.9; iii. Reg. iv. plain (cat.no.52).

7. Ese (c; NR; ḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1(?); [redacted] iii. TIII; iv. unpublished (cat.no.53).

8. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. B.3; iii. TIII(?); iv. unpublished (cat.no.60).

9. Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR; ḥn[?]) [407]

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.64).

b)-c) i. TS; ii. A.6; iii. TIII; iv. with shaft (cat.nos.66-67).

d) i. PS; ii. A.12; iii. TIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.69).

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

e) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AII; iv. plain (cat.no.68).

10. Tiaa (a; NR; Nḥn[?]) [408]

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AII; iv. plain (cat.no.86).

Tiaa (b; NR; ḥn)

b) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIV; iv. unclear (cat.no.87).

c) i. TS; ii. A.4; iii. TIV; iv. plain(?) (cat.no.85).

d) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIV; iv. full details (cat.no.88).

11. Nofretary (a; NR[?]; Nḥn[?]) [409]

a)-g) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIV; iv. plain (cat.nos.94-100).

12. Iaret (a; R; Nḥn[?]) [410]

a) i. RS; ii. A.2; iii. TIV; iv. plain (cat.no.102).

13. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nhn)

a) i. G; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.111)

b)-c) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.nos.104,106).

d) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.105).

14. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.116).

b) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.143).

c) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.144).

d) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.145).

e) i. S; ii. A.2; iii. AIII; iv. horizontal lines (cat.no.161).

f)-l) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.nos.123-5,127,129-30,134).

m)-p) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.nos.137-40).

q)-r) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.nos.120,135).

s)-u) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.nos.126,131,136).

v) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. unpublished (cat.no.117).

w) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII; iv. horizontal lines (cat.no.157)

x) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.no.158).

y) i. J; ii. A.9; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.no.159).

z)-ab) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.nos.146,150,152).

ac) i. F; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.153).

ad) i. Ch; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.no.167).

ae) i. L; ii. A.13; iii. AIII/IV; iv. unclear (cat.no.168).

af) i. S; ii. A.14; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.no.162).

ag) i. S; ii. A.14; iii. AIII; iv. ? (cat.no.163).

ah) i. F. ii. B.8; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.no.154).

ai) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII; iv. horizontal lines (cat.no.164).

aj) i. s; ii. B.10; iii. AIII; iv. ? (cat.no.165).

ak) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.166).

al) i. F; ii. C.3; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.no.156).

am) i. M; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.160).

an) i. St; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII: iv. full details (cat.no.169).

ao) i. St; ii. 3.3.4; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.no.173).

ap)-ar) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. with shaft (cat.nos.176:7,8,9).

as)-aw) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.176: 1,3,4)

15. Unidentified queens.

a) i. TS; iii. A/AI; iv. plain (cat.no.18).

b) i. F; iii. AIII(?); iv. full details (cat.no.177).

c)-d) i. St; iii. AIII; iv. full details (cat.nos.184-5).

3.5.1.2. Discussion.

The double feathers used by queens consist of a pair of straight falcon plumes mounted on a circular support worn on the head (3.5.1.4). They may be shown simply in outline, or with the shaft, that is the central rib running down the feather, or in full detail with the shaft and barbules (3.5.1.3). They are recorded for queens in the 13th dynasty,[441] and they continue as an item of queenly insignia throughout our period, although the queen is not necessarily shown with them. Their use probably increases in the reign of Amenhotpe III, and perhaps in that of Thutmose IV. All ten examples which show the head of a queen from the latter reign use the double feathers. However, seven of these consist of the series of stelae from Giza showing Nofretary (11a-g). While the king is shown in different poses and dress, the figure of the queen does not vary. They are thus less strong evidence for an increase in the use of the double feathers than if they came from individual sources. In the reign of Amenhotpe III, an increase in use is difficult to assess because of the sudden growth in the volume of material, but Ahmose does not wear the double feathers in the birth cycle, while Mutemwiya does so in three scenes. Similarly, representations of statues do not show the double feathers until the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotpe III, while the first

examples on preserved statues occur in the reign of Amenhotpe III. Such a development is consistent with the increasing elaboration in the iconography of the queen at the end of our period (3.5.19.5).

Nefertity continues to wear the double feathers, especially in the earlier part of the reign,[412] and at this time, the title <u>ᶜnt m šwtj</u> "lovely in the double feathers" first appears (4.2.1 end). They remain an item of queenly insignia down to the Ptolemaic period, and are also adopted by the Divine Adoratrice.

The origin of the queen's double feathers is unclear. Double falcon feathers are a characteristic mark of certain gods, including various falcon gods, of whom the most important is Horus. The name of Horus of Nekhen is sometimes written with a logogram showing a cult statue of the god wearing double feathers,[413] and a gold falcon's head wearing the double feathers from a statue of this god, possibly dating to the 6th dynasty,[414] was found at Hierakonpolis.[415] The feathers are also worn, for instance, by Montu,[416] Khentekhtay,[417] and Sopdu.[418] The name of the latter is sometimes determined by a cult statue of the god wearing the double feathers.[419] Since these feathers are those of a falcon, it would make sense if their use began with falcon gods.

The double feathers are also typical of Min.[420] An unnamed ithyphallic figure standing in the traditional attitude of Min wears the double feathers on a bowl of Khasekhemui from Abydos.[421] From the Middle Kingdom, the god is associated with Horus,[422] and this probably goes back earlier,[423] especially since in the Pyramid Texts his name is often determined by a falcon, sometimes with double feathers.[424] In PT 1948, Min is described as a celestial god: "O King raise yourself as Min; fly up to the sky and live with them (i.e. the gods).

Cause your wings to grow with your feathers on your head and your feathers on your arms. Make the sky clear and shine on them as a god; may you be enduring at the head of the sky as Horus of the Underworld."[425] It is probable, therefore, that the double feathers of Min refer to his aspect as a celestial god relating to Horus.

The other major god of whom the double feathers are characteristic is Amun. The earliest representations of this god date to the 11th dynasty.[426] They are fragmentary, and the first complete ones come from the chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak.[427] Although the name of Min does not occur in the inscriptions, Amun is shown in the ithyphallic form typical of Min, demonstrating that the two gods are already associated. Amun also wears the double feathers when he appears in other forms, but they are probably taken over from the ithyphallic form. On this monument, the god's name is frequently given as Amon-Re, showing that the association between these two gods had already been firmly established;[428] Re is also associated with the double feathers (below). In origin, the double feathers of Amun are probably those of the celestial falcon gods.

The double feathers are not worn by Osiris, but in the New Kingdom they are a feature of his emblem at Abydos.[429] They are referred to in the Book of the Dead: "O Osiris, I am thy son Horus, I have come to give thee thy two eyes and the twin plumes on thy head",[430] and "Osiris dwelling in Abydos, lord of Busiris; Ruler of the west, lofty of plumes, after he reached the sky, whom the twin Utos on his brow have revered".[431] The first reference suggests that Osiris may have taken over the feathers from Horus. In the second, Osiris is connected with the sky, so that the plumes of celestial deities would not be inappropriate. The "two eyes" and "twin Utos" are the double uraeus which also appear on the emblem, and which have

a solar reference.

The double feathers are also mentioned in connection with Re. Two sun hymns in the Book of the Dead say: "I shall establish for him the twin plumes on his head",[432] and "Hail to thee Re-Horakhte-Atum-Horus-Khepri, great falcon with festively adorned breast, beautiful of face with twin plumes".[433] Another sun hymn in the tomb of Khaemhet, identifies the double feathers as the eyes of Re.[434]

CT 335 connects the double feathers with Min, who is glossed as "Horus, Protector of his father".[435] A similar spell occurs in the Book of the Dead, where three explanations of the double feathers are given: "Isis and Nephthys went and put themselves on his head, being present as hawks while his head was paining him"; "THEY ARE THE TWO LARGE, STATELY COBRAS that are on the brow of my Father Atum"; "the 'twin plumes on his head' are his eyes".[436] This shows that, as with most Egyptian mythical concepts, the double feathers are capable of a number of associations or interpretations, and we should not look for a unitary/concrete explanation. Here, the first gloss brings the double feathers of the falcon god Horus within the circle of the Osiris myth. The second identifies the double feathers with the double uraeus, which the third also does ultimately, since the eyes of Horus can also be identified with the double uraeus.

Onuris(-Shu) also occasionally wears double falcon feathers,[437] but he is more commonly shown with a headdress consisting of four feathers.[438]

The double feathers worn by these gods appear to relate to a celestial aspect, and in the 18th dynasty to a specifically solar one too.

The double falcon feathers do not seem primarily to be associated with goddesses. The main goddess to wear double feathers is Hathor, most often in her aspect as cow, but these are not the falcon feathers, but curved ostrich feathers.[439] She normally wears them with the horns and disk, which are more ancient than the feathers, being

found in the Old Kingdom,[440] while the feathers only appear in the 18th dynasty.[441] As a woman she more frequently wears the horns and disk alone.

Other goddesses occasionally appear with the double falcon feathers, but this does not occur before the New Kingdom. Their use by Isis is common in the 19th dynasty temples at Abydos,[442] but rare elsewhere. In the New Kingdom, the necropolis goddess, Mertseger, commonly wears them in her form as a snake, but less frequently as a woman.[443] The use of the double feathers by queens probably predates that by goddesses, but since there is very little material showing goddesses in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the possibility that they were used cannot be excluded.

The king rarely wears the double falcon feathers,[444] but is often shown with double ostrich feathers, mostly combined with horns and disk, the whole being set on a pair of ram's horns.[445] Two ostrich feathers also flank the atef crown.[446]

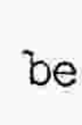
Iconographically, there are variations within the double falcon feathers used by gods. They may be worn across the head facing forwards, or at either side of the head, facing sideways. When Amun and Min wear the round cap and fillet, the end of the feather can often be seen tucked through the fillet at the side,[447] and the nearer feather may cross over the further.[448] When the flat cap is worn, the two positions may not always be distinguishable, but in cases where one feather crossed the other, it is possible that they are placed at the side.[449] However, this distinction may not always have been observed, and crossed feathers may have been drawn by convention where they were in fact inappropriate. There are no three dimensional examples of side facing feathers. One would not expect to find them on

stone statues, and all examples show the feathers going across the head, tilting backwards to join the back pillar.[450] Side-facing feathers would be possible on composite statues, or on statuettes, but occur, if at all, rarely.

The decoration of the feather can be "realistic" with shaft and barbules,[451] or "stylized" with the shaft and outline of the feathers joined by pairs of curved lines at spaced intervals.[452] Within the first type, there is a division between those where the ends of the barbules form the edge of the feather,[453] and those where the edge of the feather is bordered by a double line,[454] which would not occur on a real feather, and must be a convention. The second type of decoration may be openwork (n.415), so that in relief the framework is often the yellow of metal, while the spaces between are the same colour as the background.[455] In other cases, the feathers are solid, and the lines of the framework drawn on them.[456] For practical reasons, double feathers on stone statues would have to be solid, and depiction in relief may vary partly according to whether a composite or stone cult statue was being shown.

No one god uses only one type of decoration, although the "stylized" form is particularly characteristic of Amun. Whether the type of decoration used has any distinctive meaning is not so far clear; it might relate to the form of the cult statue depicted. There is, no doubt, some significance in the way the feathers are placed, but this has not been studied.[457] It is not within the scope of this work to examine the implications arising from these differences in the double feathers as used by gods.

The Egyptian word for the double falcon feathers is <u>šwtj</u>.[458] This is the dual form of <u>šwt</u> "feather", which is written with the

ostrich feather  as logogram or taxogram, so that presumably the double falcon feathers and the double ostrich feathers have the same name.[459] The dual form may be determined either by  [460] or  [461]. How far their use was kept distinct in writing or was even felt to be significant is uncertain. Possibly the common name blurred the distinction, although iconographically the two types are not confused.

It must now be considered whether the double feathers of the queen are connected in any way with those of the gods. The queen's feathers are not shown decorated in full until the reign of Amenhotpe III. They only appear with "realistic" decoration. Most of the evidence points to the feathers being front-facing. In only one example are they crossed (pl.38), and this could be influenced by drawing conventions for god's feathers. In the reign of Amenhotpe III and after, a disk is often added which would be difficult with side-facing feathers, unless the whole is an iconographic convention with no basis in reality.

Although the queen's feathers apparently show less variety than those of the gods, both their decoration and their placement can be parallelled by divine examples. When they appear in the 13th dynasty, the only group of whom the double falcon feathers are characteristic are Amon-Re, Min and the falcon deities. As they are rarely worn by the king and probably not by goddesses, it is impossible to see from where else the queen's use of them could have been derived.

Why the queen should take over feathers associated traditionally with male deities and what their significance was when they were first introduced is unclear. Drioton suggested that they related to Amun, and that they were a distinctive mark of the <u>hmt ntr</u>, being linked with the birth cycle.[462] This would not explain their appearance in

the 13th dynasty, since the office of hmt ntr was not then connected with royal women, nor their use in the 18th dynasty when there is clearly no connection between the double feathers and the hmt ntr (below), nor between the hmt ntr and the birth cycle. Also, had there been a strong association with Amun, they would have been unsuitable for use in the Amarna period.[463] At a later period, the feathers, along with other items of the queen's insignia, were taken over by the Divine Adoratrice, priestess of Amun at Thebes; they were then possibly regarded as relating to Amun's feathers. In the 18th dynasty, however, if we look at the ideas current at that time concerning the double feathers, we find a definite solar connection. They are identified as the eyes of Re or Horus (above), which by extension gives an association with the uraeus. Their use in the Amarna period stresses this connection, because only items with a solar reference would have fitted with the Aton theology. There is a growing solarisation in the insignia of the queen at the end of our period (3.5.19.5). The introduction of the cattle horns and disk (3.5.2) always used with the double feathers is part of this. The connection of the former with Hathor may have led the queen's double falcon feathers to be identified with the ostrich feathers of Hathor, even though they are rarely confused iconographically. [redacted]

During our period, the double feathers are attested from all reigns except that of Thutmose I, from which no depictions of queens' heads survive. The feathers are worn by queens of types a-c,f and g (Table 12). Types d and e are represented by only one queen each with

one and two monuments respectively, the heads on the latter being lost. Only three hmt nsw are depicted, once each, and there is no evidence whether they could wear the double feathers.

Of the queens of type a, the double feathers are not attested for Ahmose Nofretary, Ahmose, Hatshepsut, Meritamun II, and Sit[amun II], and of type c, Mutnofret (Table 12). The first three are known to wear the double feathers later in their careers, but are poorly attested iconographically in the lifetimes of their husbands. Meritamun II as queen is known only from her coffins. Sit[amun II] is shown only once. Mutnofret appears three times, one of which is on a statue, and the double feathers are not shown in sculpture until the reign of Amenhotpe III. Since queens who are attested with the double feathers are also shown without them.[464] it is possible that poorly attested queens who are not now recorded with them could, in fact, wear them.

The queens who wear the double feathers can be of either royal or non-royal birth, and may or may not be hmt ntr (3.5.1.1).

Princesses do not wear the double feathers in contemporary representations, apart from Nefrure on the stela from Sinai (cat. no. 194). On a later monument commemorating Ahmose Nofretary and Sitamun I, the latter is shown with the double feathers.[465] Neither princess had the title hmt nsw (wrt), although Nefrure may have functioned as such for her mother. Both are called hmt ntr on these monuments, but as this title cannot be linked with the double feathers, it cannot explain their use here. Nor can it be accounted for by assuming that the princesses are "heiresses", because the title hmt ntr does not have this meaning (5.3). In the case of Sitamun, the double feathers are probably generalised from queens, and are not a sign of contemporary practice.

The double feathers are found on all categories of material (Table 13), so there is no restriction of their use here. They are also found in most scene types (Table 14), and those where they do not appear are represented by only one example each. However, the evidence from the better attested scene types, A.1, A.5, A.10 and B.1, shows that the use of the double feathers is not obligatory here.

3.5.1.3. <u>The decoration of the double feathers.</u>

In the majority of cases throughout our period, the feathers are plain. During the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (5b), the sole rule of Thutmose III (9a-d), [redacted] and the reign of Amenhotpe III (13b-c; [redacted] 14 a,b,d,q,r,x,z,aa,ab, ap-ar), [redacted] they also occur with the shaft. Examples from the reigns of Amenhotpe II and Thutmose IV may be lacking due to the scarcity of material. Earlier examples before Hatshepsut and Thutmose III may be missing for the same reason, and the presence or absence of the shaft cannot be used as a dating criterion. Examples where the feathers are plain or have the shaft occur mainly in similar two-dimensional contexts. Three statues represented in the tomb of Surero (14ap-ar) [redacted] have the shaft, but it is difficult to know whether they render an original statue accurately or whether they are drawn entirely according to the conventions of two-dimensional representation. Only the context and the use of a base mark them as statues.

The feathers showing the full details are found on non-monumental material (14ad, af, ah, al; 15b), [redacted] on statuettes (14an, ao; 15c, d) [redacted] a representation of a statue (10d) [redacted] and a coffin (3b). [redacted] Tiaa's statue (10d)

may have been composite, as must have been the statuettes from which the two sets of double feathers came (15c,d). The decoration on the coffin of Ahmose Nofretary is detailed (see pl.144), so it is not surprising to find this form of the double feathers shown here. Two scarabs (14e,ai) [redacted] and a bracelet plaque (14w), [redacted] none of which show the full details, are decorated with horizontal lines not found on monumental material; this may be due to the small size of the objects concerned.

Although one might expect more detail on larger monuments, it seems that there was a convention during our period that on monumental material the feathers were shown plain or with the shaft, while the full details might appear on other objects. The reason why the details are almost totally confined to the reign of Amenhotpe III is probably that we have non-monumental material showing queens only from this time; it cannot be linked directly with the increasing elaboration in the iconography of queens, especially since on monumental material the double feathers continue to be plain or have the shaft. The convention changes slightly in the next reign, when full details are sometimes found on monumental material.[466]

3.5.1.4. <u>The support for the double feathers.</u>

Three-dimensional examples show quite clearly that this was circular (see pls.123,126,144). Two-dimensional examples vary in height and outline, and some may have a rim running round the top (see pls. 36,37,47,48,56,57). Most examples are plain, but some are patterned (see pls.39,106,123,126,138,144). In the reign of Amenhotpe III, supports decorated with uraei are introduced (see pls.45,48). Earlier, Ahmose Nofretary had worn a circlet decorated with two layers of uraei (cat.no.15), but it is not a support for the double feathers. In our period, there is no clear development in the shape of the support which could be used as a dating criterion.

3.5.2. The horns and disk.

3.5.2.1. Occurrences.

1. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat.no. 145).

b) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat.no.150).

c) i. F; ii. C.3; iii. AIII (cat.no.156).

d) i. St; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII (cat.no.169).

2. Unidentified queens.

a)-b) i. St; [redacted] iii. AIII (cat.nos. 184-5).

3.5.2.2. Discussion.

All the examples date to the reign of Amenhotpe III. In describing a stela of Amenhotpe II and Tiaa,[467] Legrain implies that the queen wears the horns and disk, and on the Cairo Museum photograph this appears to be the case (pl.13). However, inspection of the stela itself shows them to be illusory, consisting of nothing more than scratches on the surface of the stela. Thus the horns and disk are not worn by queens before the reign of Amenhotpe III, and even then they are rare. Their use increases in the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton.[468]

The cattle horns worn by the queen are different in shape from those of Hathor, the former being straight, while the latter curve outwards. This may be for practical reasons as the queen's horns conform to the outline of the straight double feathers with which they are always worn. Hathor most often wears the horns and disk alone and never with the double falcon feathers. Despite this difference in shape, the queen's horns and disk must be taken over from Hathor. Whether they show a specific relationship between the queen and Hathor is uncertain, but their solar reference is unmistakable, and this

is stressed through their continued use by Nefertiti during the Amarna period.

Since Teye is the only one of our queens to wear the horns and disk, they are attested only for a queen of type a, but she also wears them in the next reign as mwt nsw.[469] There is no connection with royal birth or the ḥmt nṯr as Teye is neither of these.

3.5.3. The vulture headdress.

3.5.3.1. Occurrences.

1. Tetisheri (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.7; iii. A ; iv. with vh (cat.no.3)

   b) i. St, ii. 3.3.1; iii. A; iv. with vh(?) (cat.no.4).

2. Ahhotpe II (c; R; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. A ; iv. with vh (cat.no.6).

   Ahhotpe II (c; R; ḥn [n.406])

   b) i. PS; ii. B.7, iii. TII at earliest; iv. with vh (cat.no.7).

3. Senisonb (d; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.no.21)

4. Ahmose (f; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TII; iv. with vh (cat.no.40).

   Ahmose (b. NR; Nḥn)

   b) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.no.25).

   c) i. TS; [redacted] ii. A.1; iii. CR; iv. unclear (cat.no.26)

   d)-e) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.nos.27,28).

   f) i. TS; ii. A.1(?); [redacted] iii. CR; iv. lost, second stage of figure (cat.no.29)

   g)-j) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.nos.30-33).

   k) i. PS; ii. B.2; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.no.41).

l)-m) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. with vh, second stage of figure (cat.nos. 35-6).

n) i. TS; ii. B.4; iii. CR; iv. with vh (cat.no 37).

o) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. CR; iv. lost (cat.no 38).

p) i. TS; iii. CR; [redacted] iv. with vh (cat.no.39).

5. Hatshepsut (a/g; R; hn)

a) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; [redacted] iv. with U (cat.no 39).

Hatshepsut (g; Reg; hn)

b) i. TS; ii. B.2; iii. Reg(?); iv. with U (cat.no.48).

c) i. TS; ii. B.2(?); iii. Reg(?); iv. with U (cat.no.49).

6. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nhn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.11; iii. TII(?, 3.1.3); iv. with U (cat.no. 23).

b) i. TS; iii. TIII; iv. lost (cat.no 22).

c) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TII; iv. with U (cat.no. 24).

7. Inhapi (hmt nsw; R; Nhn)

a) i. PS; ii. B.7; iii. TIII; iv. with vh (cat.no. 186).

8. Ese (c; NR; hn)

a) i. TS; [redacted] ii. A.1(?); [redacted] iii. TIII; iv. unpublished (cat.no. 53).

b) i. PS; iii. TIII(?); iv. unpublished (cat.no. 55).

9. Sitioh (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. PS; [redacted] ii. B.3; iii. TIII(?); iv. unpublished (cat.no. 60).

b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII; iv. lost (cat.no. 62)

c) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII; iv. with vh (cat.no. 58).

10. Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR; hn[?, n.407])

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. with vh (cat.no. 63).

b) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. lost (cat.no 64).

c)-d) i. TS; ii. A.6; iii. TIII; iv. with vh (cat.nos 66-7).

e) i. PS; [redacted] ii. A.12; iii. TIII; iv. with vh (cat.no. 69).

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; Nḥn)

f) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AII; iv. with 2U (cat.no.71).

g) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII; iv. with vh (cat.no.73).

11. Meritamun II (a; R; ḥn)

a) i. Co; iii. AII(?); iv. lost (cat.no.81).

b) i. Co; iii. AII(?); iv. with vh (cat.no.83).

12. Sit[amun II] (a[?]; R[?])[470]

a) i. TS; iii. AII; iv. with vh (cat.no 84).

13. Tiaa (a; NR; Nḥn[?, n.408])

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AII; iv. with vh(?) (cat.no.86).

Tiaa (b; NR; ḥn)

b) i. TS; ii. A.4; iii. TIV; iv. with vh (cat.no.85).

c) i. ST; ii. 3.3.3; iii. TIV; iv. with U (cat.no.90).

d) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIV; iv. with vh and U(?) (cat.no.88).

14. Nofretary (a; NR[?]; Nḥn[?, n.409])

a)-g) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIV; iv. unclear (cat.nos.94-100)

15. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with vh (cat.no.103).

b) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.no.110).

c)-h) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII; iv. with vh (cat.nos.104-109).

i)-j) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.nos.114,115).

16. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with 2U (cat.no.116).

b) i. RS (double scene); ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with vh and U (cat.no. 143).

c) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. with U(?) (cat.no.144).

d) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. with U (cat.no.120).

e) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.no.138).

f) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII; iv. with vh(?) (cat.no.158).

g) i. S; ii. A.14; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.no.162)

h) i. F; ii. B.8; iii. AIII; iv. with vh(?) (cat.no.154)

i) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII; iv. unpublished (cat.no.165).

j) i. F; ii. C.3; iii. AIII; iv. U(?) (cat.no.156).

k) i. M; iii. AIII; iv. with vh (cat.no.160).

l)-m) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.nos.170-171).

n) i. ST; ii. 3.3.3; iii. AIII; iv. 2U + vh (cat.no.172).

o) i. St; ii. 3.3.4; iii. AIII; iv. 2U + vh (cat.no.173).

p) i. St; ii. 3.3.5; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.no.174).

q)-s) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. 2U (cat.no.176:7,8,9).

t)-u) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.no.176:5.6).

17. Unidentified queens.

a) i. ST; iii. early 18th dynasty; iv. U (cat.no.2c).

b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII; iv. U (cat.no.75).

c) i. ST; ii. 3.3.7; iii. TIII(?); iv. U (cat.no.76).

d) i. ST; ii. 3.3.7; iii. TIII(?); iv. U (cat.no.77).

e) i. ST; ii. 3.3.8; iii. TIII; iv. U (cat.no.79).

f) i. ST; ii. 3.3.8; iii. TIII(?); iv. U (cat.no.80).

g) i. ST; iii. TIII(?); iv. U (cat.no.78).

h) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII; iv. U (cat.no.74:1).

i) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII; iv. U (cat.no.74:2).

j) i. F; iii. AIII(?); iv. lost (cat.no.177).

k) i. ST; iii. AIII(?); iv. with 2U + vh (cat.no.181).

3.5.3.2. Discussion.

The vulture headdress is one of the oldest items of queenly insignia, being worn by queens in the Old Kingdom.[471] It continues to be worn during the Middle Kingdom,[472] and is used by queens throughout our period. It disappears during the reign of Akhenaton, but reappears in the 19th dynasty, and continues as part of the queen's insignia throughout the rest of Egyptian history. It is also adopted by the Divine Adoratrice.[473]

In the Old Kingdom, the headdress is worn by Nekhbet and Wadjit when they are shown in human form. Probably, the vulture goddess Nekhbet was the original wearer, and its use was extended to her partner Wadjit. In the Old Kingdom, Nekhbet always wears it with a vulture head at the front, while Wadjit substitutes a uraeus.[474] Later, it is used by other goddesses, and from the 18th dynasty it was also connected especially with Amun's consort, Mut, another vulture goddess. Therefore, unlike the associations of the double feathers, those of the vulture headdress were unacceptable during the Amarna period, and it was not worn at this time.

The vulture headdress is attested in all reigns of our period except those of Amenhotpe I and Thutmose I, when material is sparse or lacking. It is found with queens of types a-d, f,g and a <u>hmt nsw</u> (Table 16). The last appears on a posthumous monument and may be related to the custom of giving all the women of the early 18th dynasty royal family the vulture headdress on later commemorative monuments.[475] Of the individual queens not found with the headdress are, among type a, Ahmose Nofretary, Meritamun I, Ahmose and Iaret, and in type b and e, Ahmose Nofretary (Table 12). They are all poorly attested, and the absence cannot be considered significant, since queens do not always wear the headdress.[476] Ahmose Nofretary wears it frequently on posthumous monuments.

Princesses do not normally wear the vulture headdress on contemporary monuments; it is found only with Nefrure on the Sinai stela (cat.no.194) and Henuttaneb on the statue group with her parents from Medinet Habu (cat.no.172). In the broken titulary of the latter, there is at least one title, <u>sm3jjt Hrw</u>, which is normally associated with queens (4.4.3), and although there is no record of her using the title <u>hmt nsw</u> (<u>wrt</u>), it is possible that, like her sister Sitamun III,

she had this status.

The headdress cannot be linked with the title hmt ntr, since a number of queens who wear it never have the title, nor does it mark the "heiress", as it is not exclusive to queens of royal birth (3.5.3.1).

The vulture headdress appears on all types of material except for the graffito, chalice, label and royal tomb (Table 13). It is found in the majority of scene types, and those for which it is lacking are represented by only one or two examples (Table 14). Where there is enough evidence, it is clear that its use is not obligatory in the scene types where it occurs.

3.5.3.3. Use of the vulture head or uraeus with the vulture headdress.

The vulture headdress may be worn with either a vulture head or a single or double uraeus at the front (3.5.3.1). The head is never worn without the headdress, while the use of the uraeus with the headdress is certainly secondary, arising from Wadjit's adoption of the headdress (above). Other goddesses also come to wear the vulture headdress with either the vulture head or uraeus or a combination of the two.[477] It is uncertain what governs their use by queens. On a number of examples of the vulture headdress it is unknown whether a vulture head or uraeus was used, either because the relevant part is damaged, or because it is difficult, especially on small objects, to see which of the two is present. Further, where there is only a verbal description, it is never said which occurs. Taking examples which are certain, I have drawn up a table of queens who wear the vulture headdress, noting whether they use a vulture head or uraeus, and dividing the material into two-dimensional, three-dimensional, and two-dimensional representations of statues (Table 15).

We find that the examples showing a vulture head are two-

rare. The first queens to combine the uraeus with the headdress in relief are Hatshepsut (5a-c) and Mutnofret (6a). 5a dates to the reign of Thutmose II or the regency, 5b-c to the regency, and 6a probably to the reign of Thutmose II or III (3.1.3). Later, the combination is used by Teye (16d).

In the reign of Amenhotpe II, Meritre possibly uses the double uraeus with the headdress (10f, see cat.no.71), but another example from the same reign shows her with a vulture head (10g). Teye may also wear the double uraeus with the vulture headdress (16a,q-s). The double uraeus is used more frequently without the vulture headdress (3.5.4.3).

It is clear that most queens in the 18th dynasty use the vulture headdress with the vulture head. Two of Hatshepsut's examples with the uraeus date to the regency, and the third may do so as well. Thus, the uraeus may relate to her position as <u>de facto</u> ruler. A relief from Sinai (pl.101) shows Hatshepsut with the titles of king but dressed as a woman with a vulture headdress and uraeus. Since the uraeus is the most characteristic mark of a king, the use of it here almost certainly relates to her assumption of the kingship. The stela showing Mutnofret is a poor piece of work of uncertain date. It is probable that Thutmose II, who is shown on the stela, is dead and that it dates to the reign of Thutmose III; the queen's use of the uraeus might be influenced by that of Hatshepsut. The only other queen to use this combination is Teye. At this time, the iconography was becoming increasingly solar in reference, perhaps enhancing the status of the queen herself, and the use of the uraeus with the vulture headdress could relate to this.

In reality, the queen may always have worn the vulture head, and this would be reflected by the majority of two-dimensional examples. The use of the uraeus would then be an iconographic convention, either for practical purposes, or to make a statement about the status of the queen.

3.5.4. The uraeus.

3.5.4.1. Occurrences of the single uraeus.

A. Alone.

1. Ahhotpe I (a; NR[?]; Nḥn)

a) i. Co; iii. end of 17th dynasty/A ⌣ ; lost (cat.no.1).

2. Ahhotpe II (c; R; Nḥn)

a) i. Co; iii. A ⌒ ; iv. lost (cat.no.8).

3. Ahmose Nofretary (a; R; ḥn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. A ⌣ ; iv. plain (cat.no.12).

Ahmose Nofretary (b; R; ḥn)

b) i. Co; iii. A ⌒ ; iv. lost (cat.no.17).

4. Hatshepsut (a/g; R; ḥn)

a)-b) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; iv. plain (cat.nos.45,47).

c) i. TS; iii. Reg(?); iv. plain (cat.no.50).

d) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; iv.top lost (cat.no.46).

5. Meritre Hatshepsut (?)/Ese (3.1.2.2) (a/c; NR)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. plain (cat.no.54).

6. Meritre (b; NR; ḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AII; iv. plain (cat.no.68).

b) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII; iv. plain (cat.no.72).

7. Tiaa (a; NR; Nḥn[?, n.408])

a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AII; iv. unpublished (cat.no.89).

8. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. G; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.no.111).

b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII; iv. top broken (cat.no.112).

9. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.no.145).

b) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. plain(?) (cat.no.127).

c) i. PT; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. horns and disk (cat.no.149).

d) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII; iv. plain(?) (cat.no.157).

e) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.no.164).

f) i. F; ii. C.2; iii. AIII; iv. horns and disk (cat.no.155).

10. Unidentified queens.

a) i. TS; iii. A/AI; iv. top lost (cat.no.18).

b) i. F; iii. AIII(?); iv. unclear (cat.no.178).

c) i. ST; iii. AIII; iv. top broken (cat.no.182).

B. With vulture headdress in relief.

1. Hatshepsut (a/g; R; ḥn)

a) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; iv. plain (cat.no.39).

b) i. TS; ii. B.2; iii. Reg(?); iv. plain (cat.no.48).

c) i. TS; ii. B.2(?); iii. Reg(?); iv. plain (cat.no.49).

2. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.11; iii. TII/TIII(?); iv. plain (cat.no.23).

3. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. white crown (left), horns and disk (right) with vh (cat.no.143).

b) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.120).

C. With vulture headdress on statues.

1. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) ii. 3.3.1; iii. TII; iv. top broken (cat.no.24).

2. Tiaa (b; NR; ḥn)

a) ii. 3.3.3; iii. TIV; iv. plain (cat.no.90).

3. Unidentified queens.

a) iii. early 18th dynasty; iv. top broken (cat.no.20).

b) ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII; iv. broken top (cat.no.75).

c) ii. 3.3.7; iii. TIII; iv. top broken (cat.no.76).

d) ii. 3.3.7; iii. TIII(?); iv. top broken (cat.no.77).

e) iii. TIII(?); iv. top broken (cat.no.78).

f) iii. TIII; iv. top broken (cat.no.79).

g)-h) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII; iv. plain (cat.no.74:1,2).

i) iii. TIII(?); iv. broken (cat.no.80).

3.5.4.2. Discussion.

The uraeus does not seem to have been worn by queens until the

reign of Pepi II, when his mother, Ankhenesmerire, appears with it at Sinai.[478] The stela dates to the second cattle count of Pepi II, and it is probable that the king was still a child and that his mother was regent for him, in which case her use of the uraeus might be related to this position. In the Middle Kingdom, it occurs on statues of queens.[479] It is also worn by some princesses at this time. An unusual copper figure shows a princess Sebeknakht suckling a child and wearing a uraeus.[480] The crown of princess Sithathoriunet has a uraeus at the front.[481] In the Second Intermediate Period, a s3t nsw H3tšpswt, daughter of a hmt nsw Nfrt, wears the uraeus on a stela of her non-royal husband from Abydos.[482] It is possible that the princess did not wear it in real life when she was the wife of a private person, but that it was used in a funerary context to enhance her status. Although her children do not wear the uraeus, a lock of hair is flicked up on their foreheads in obvious imitation of the uraeus. In our period, the only princesses to wear the uraeus are Nefrure (cat.nos.191-2;195-202) and, probably by imitation, Nefrubity in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (cat.no.28).

The uraeus has wide associations, one of the most basic being with the cobra goddess Wadjit. We have seen that through her connection with Nekhbet, she took over the vulture headdress and placed the uraeus at its front instead of the vulture head (3.5.3.2). It was then taken over by other goddesses. The chief wearer of the uraeus, however, is the king whose single characteristic mark it is. Therefore, the use of the uraeus by the queen may be due partly to her association with the king, and thus be a mark of her "royalty", although an allusion to Wadjit may also be present. In the New Kingdom, the hieroglyph  is the normal taxogram for a goddess,[483] so that there will be a general reference to female deities. More specifically, the uraeus also carried associations with Re, and Hathor

as the eye of Re or Horus.[484] The decoration of the queen's uraeus with the horns and disk from the reign of Amenhotpe III on stresses this solar connection.

The single uraeus worn without the vulture headdress is used far less frequently than the vulture headdress. It is worn by Ahhotpe II, Ahmose Nofretary, Hatshepsut, Meritre Hatshepsut, Tiaa, Mutemwiya and Teye, who represent queens of type a,b,c and g. Before the reign of Amenhotpe III, it is found in temple scenes and on royal stelae in scenes of type A.1, and also on a statue, a representation of a statue and two coffins. The latter may not be in the same category as the others, since funerary conventions may differ from those on royal monuments.

In the reign of Amenhotpe III, Teye appears once with a uraeus in a scene of type A.1, on a private stela from a shrine. She also wears it in scenes connected with the sed festival, at Soleb, in TT 192 and on a bracelet plaque, in a scene of type B.10 and on the one example of C.2. Mutemwiya wears it once on a graffito in a scene of type A.10, and also on a statue.

Scenes of type A.1 are ritual in content and one may suppose that the temple scenes of unknown type are too. In the majority of scenes of this type the vulture headdress is worn. The sed festival scenes also have ritual significance. At Soleb, neither the vulture headdress nor the single uraeus is common, and Teye uses the double uraeus most frequently. In the other scene of type A.8, Teye wears a vulture headdress. The figure of Teye on a scarab (B.10) functions as an elaborate taxogram for the queen (3.2.4 end). In C.2, Teye is shown as a trampling sphinx, performing what is normally a kingly act of domination, so the uraeus is particulary appropriate, and the iconography was probably taken over in part from the king.

The use of the uraeus, therefore, does not dominate the scene types where it is found. It may, however, be significant that it occurs mainly in ritual scenes and on statues. All three major types of queens wear it, and its use does not depend on royal birth nor the title hmt ntr. It is possible that Hatshepsut's use of it in some cases is connected with her office of regent, but there seems to be no reason why the remaining queens wear it rather than any others, and its relative infrequency may be due to the widespread use of the vulture headdress. When the latter goes out of use in the Amarna period, Nefertiti often wears the single uraeus.

For the single uraeus worn with the vulture headdress on statues and in relief, see 3.5.3.3.

During our period, the single uraeus in relief is normally plain, until the reign of Amenhotpe III, when the first examples of uraei decorated with horns and disk are found (cat nos 143, 149, 155). There are no decorated three-dimensional uraei, but few survive intact, the top almost always being broken away.

3.5.4.3. Occurrences of the double uraeus.

1. Ahmose Nofretary (a; R; hn)

?a) i. PT; ii. B.2; iii. A 485; iv. plain (cat no. 15).

2. Ese (c; NR; hn)

a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII; iv. cr (cat. no. 57).

3. Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; hn)

?a) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AII; iv. plain, with VH (cat. no. 71).

4. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. cr, with VH (cat. no. 116).

b) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. cr. (cat. no. 123).

c) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. cr(?). (cat. no. 124).

d)-e) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.nos 125, 132).

f) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. plain(?) (cat.no.133).

g)-i) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. present but unclear (cat nos. 137, 139, 140).

[redacted]

j)-l) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. cr (cat. nos. 146, 150, 152).

m) i. Ch; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat. no. 167).

n) i. St; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII; iv. plain (cat.no.169).

o) i. St; iii. AIII/IV; iv. unclear (cat.no.175).

p)-r) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. plain, with VH (cat.no.176:7,8,9).

5. Unidentified queens.

a) i. St; iii. AIII; iv. lost (cat.no.180).

b) i. ST; iii. AIII/IV; iv. lost (cat.no.183).

3.5.4.4. Discussion.

The double uraeus is not attested for queens before the 18th dynasty. There is evidence that the combination refers to Wadjit and Nekhbet,[486] and thus to Upper and Lower Egypt, of which their frequent decoration with the red and white crowns is a logical extension. A convenient way of referring to the two goddesses was by the dual form W3dtj written with two cobras,[487] which assimilates the vulture to the cobra. In the 18th dynasty, Nekhbet sometimes wears a uraeus and not a vulture head on the front of her headdress.[488] The first two examples of the double uraeus worn by a queen in the 18th dynasty are without the vulture headdress. Since the vulture head cannot be used in these circumstances, it seems that the vulture head has been assimilated to the cobra. This assumption is strengthened by the example of Ese (2a), whose uraei wear the red and white crowns. One might expect to find examples of the vulture headdress with a vulture

head and a uraeus. There is only one for a queen of our period (cat.no.143) but there are later examples for both goddesses and queens.[489] (For kings, see below.)

Apart from the association with Wadjit and Nekhbet, there is a solar connection since the double uraeus is regarded as the eyes of Re or Horus.[490] In the Amarna period, the double uraeus ceases to be decorated with the red and white crowns,[491] and instead the horns and disk are sometimes found.[492] The continued use of the double uraeus suggests that there was a strong solar association, and that the connection with Nekhbet could be ignored, unlike the case of the vulture headdress.

The double uraeus is also worn by goddesses in the reign of Amenhotpe III. Important examples of this are figures of Mut-Sekhmet from the temple of Mut at Karnak,[493] and a small statue of Isis holding Horus.[494] The lion head of Sekhmet wears the horns and disk of Hathor[495] on a circlet of uraei, at the front of which is a double uraeus attached to the top of the forehead. The double uraeus of Isis is decorated with the horns and disk and is worn with the vulture headdress, the head of which appears between the two uraei; this combination is also worn by Teye (3.5.4.5).

The double uraeus is not worn by kings except in the 25th dynasty.[496] Its reference at this time seems to be to the Two Lands,[497] and is understood thus in a text.[498] There was probably also a reference to the two kingdoms of Egypt and Nubia, although this is not explicitly stated. It is difficult to see why earlier kings never used the double uraeus, since the duality of the Two Lands plays such an important part in the kingship of Egypt. It is, however, the single uraeus which is the mark of a king.[499]. In texts, the king is associated with the double uraeus.[500] There are some examples of the king with a vulture head and uraeus,[501] the reference being to Wadjit and Nekhbet, so that their significance

is similar to the double uraeus, but the combination does not break the rule that the king wears only one uraeus.

The double uraeus is used once each by three queens before the reign of Amenhotpe III.[502] Its use increases suddenly with Teye, when it becomes more frequent than the single uraeus, perhaps partly reflecting a general stylistic elaboration. It occurs in scenes of type A.1, A.5, A.10 and B.2, and on statues. It may be used with or without the vulture headdress, the latter being more common, and the two cobras may be crowned or plain. It is worn by queens of types a,b and c, and there is no link either with royal birth or the hmt ntr.

3.5.4.5. Occurrences of the double uraeus flanking the vulture head.

1. Teye (; NR; Nhn)

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.3; iii. AIII; iv. crowned, with VH (cat.no.172).

   b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.4; iii. AIII; iv. unclear, with VH (cat.no.173).

2. Unidentified queen, probably Teye.

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.8; iii. AIII; iv. crowned, with VH (cat.no.181).

3.5.4.6. Discussion.

Since the combination of double uraeus and vulture head is not worn by any queen before Teye, it is found only with queens of type a. It is, therefore, not connected with royal birth or the hmt ntr. Its significance is unlikely to be different from the double uraeus, but the retention of the vulture head on the vulture headdress shows the general iconographic tendency to proliferation typical of the reign of Amenhotpe III.

This combination has often been wrongly described as three uraei. The confusion is probably due to the fact that it is often difficult to distinguish a vulture head from a uraeus at a distance, on a small object, or on a poor photograph. Examples of the treble uraeus occur in the Graeco-Roman period,[503] and this probably reinforced the im-

pression that it could be found earlier.

There are three 18th dynasty examples of a queen wearing the double uraeus flanking the vulture head, all from the reign of Amenhotpe III. There are published photographs of the colossal head CG 609 which show clearly the double uraeus and vulture head (cat.no.181). Vandier, however, described it as "ornée en avant, de trois têtes de serpents", which he says is similar to the Medinet Habu statue group (cat.no.172), implying that it too has three uraei.[504] The detail of the insignia on the brow of the queen in this group is more difficult to see, but is nevertheless certain.[505] Similarly, the figure of Teye in the standing group (cat.no.173) presents problems, because of its small size, and Vandier, who published the piece, described it as having three uraei;[506] the detail has, however, been identified correctly by Kerrn Lilleso.[507]

Thus queens did not use the treble uraeus in our period. Rather, on some pieces of sculpture, the double uraeus was added to the vulture headdress, which also retained the vulture head. When the double uraeus is worn on the vulture headdress in relief, the vulture headdress is not shown on our examples (cat.nos.71(?),116,176). The combination of double uraeus and vulture head is also worn by a goddess in sculpture,[508] and the detail is found in reliefs of the 19th dynasty.[509]

3.5.5. The circlet.

3.5.5.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahmose Nofretary (a; R; hn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. A ; iv. oblong, rim at top, plain (cat.no.12).

b) i. PT; ii. B.2; iii. A ; iv. oblong, two layers of uraei (cat.no.15).

Ahmose Nofretary (a/b/e; R; hn)

c) i. TS; iii. A/AI/TI; iv. oblong, plain (cat.no.10).

2. Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

a)-b) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. CR; iv. rim at top wider than base, with vertical lines. (cat. nos. 33, 34).

3. Female figure in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (3.2.1.B.3).

a)-b) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. oblong (cat. nos. 35, 36).

4. Hatshepsut (a; R; ḥn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TII; iv. oblong, plain (cat. nos. 40).

Hatshepsut (a/g; R; ḥn)

b)-d) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; iv. oblong, plain (cat. nos. 45, 46, 50).

5. Ese (c; NR; ḥn)

a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII; iv. metal, patterned (cat. no. 57).

6. Meritre Hatshepsut(?)/Ese (3.1.2.2) (a/c; NR)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. oblong, plain, red (cat. no. 54).

7. Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

a) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII; iv. rim at top (cat no. 72).

b) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII; iv. top wider than base, with VH (cat. no. 73).

8. Tiaa (a; NR; Nḥn[?, n. 408])

a) i. ST; [redacted] ii. 3.3.2; iii. AII; iv. unpublished (cat. no. 89)

9. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. rim, slightly wider at top than bottom, decorated with uraei (but see 3.5.5.3 end), with VH (cat. no. 103).

b) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. oblong, plain, red, with VH (cat. no. 110).

c)-d) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII; iv. rim, top slightly wider than bottom, with VH (cat. nos. 108, 109).

e) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII; iv. decorated with uraei wearing sun disks, with cartouche of queen centre front (cat.no.112).

f)-g) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. tall, with VH (cat.nos.114-115).

10. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. F; ii. C.2; iii. AIII; iv. oblong, plain (cat.no.155).

b)-c) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. tall, with VH.(cat.nos.170-171).

d) i. ST; [redacted] ii. 3.3.3; iii. AIII; iv. with cartouches of Amenhotpe III, with VH (cat.no.172).

e) i. St; iii. AIII; iv. decorated with two winged snakes which zig-zag round the circlet, with the queen's cartouche between them at the front (cat.no.175).

3.5.5.2. Occurrences of the circlet worn by princesses.

1. Nefrure

a) i. TS; iii. CR; iv. oblong, red(?) (cat.no.172).

?b) i. TS; iii. Reg(?); iv. oblong, plain (cat.no.49).

2. Meritamun II and snt nsw (name lost)

a) i. TS; iii. TIII; iv. oblong, red (cat.no.205).

3. Ese and Henuttaneb

a) i. J; iii. AIII; iv. oblong, vertical lines (cat.no.157).

3.5.5.3. Discussion.

The circlet is any circular piece of headgear which does not support the double feathers. In relief, it varies in shape, and can appear oblong in form [ ], or the top may be wider than the base, sometimes with a rim running round it. It can be worn with or without the vulture headdress, the former becoming more common later in our period (7b; 9a-d,f,g; 10b-d). It is differentiated here from the support for the double feathers. The latter is always present when the feathers are worn, and is considered with them rather than as a

separate item of insignia.

The circlet is not especially common; only Ahmose Nofretary, Ahmose, Hatshepsut, Ese, Meritre, Tiaa, Mutemwiya and Teye are attested with it (Table 12). However, this shows that it can be worn by all three major types of queens, both of royal and non-royal birth. It appears mainly on monumental material and statues (Table 13), in the major scene types A.1, A.10 and B.1, and also in B.2, B.3 and C.2; it is not found in the sed festival scenes (Table 14). Its use on statues with the vulture headdress increases in the reign of Amenhotpe III, probably as part of the tendency to use more items of insignia together.

The circlet can also be worn by princesses (3.5.5.2), which might suggest that it signifies a junior role. This would seem to be supported by the stela of Thutmose II where the senior queen Ahmose wears the double feathers and the junior, Hatshepsut, the circlet (cat. no 40) and a block from the building of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut at Karnak, where Hatshepsut wears the double feathers and is followed by a woman, probably Nefrure, wearing the circlet (cat. no 49). But this explanation hardly fits the other examples, and Hatshepsut herself wears the circlet on other blocks from the same building at Karnak (cat. nos. 45, 46, 50). Further, it may be doubted whether the different headdresses on Thutmose II's stela are really demanded by the ranking of the queens. On a similar stela of Amenhotpe I (cat. no. 13) the king is followed by his mother, the senior queen, and his hmt nsw wrt; both wear the double feathers. On Thutmose's stela, Hatshepsut has a much longer titulary than her mother, and there would not have been enough room for the double feathers.

The majority of two dimensional examples of the circlet are unpatterned. Where colour remains on CG 34015 (6a), the scene in

TT 226 (9b) and in the Hathor cow chapel (3.5.5.2.2a), it was red. On a monument commemorating the early 18th dynasty royal family, Ahmose Nofretary and Sitkamose are both shown with red circlets.[510] Ahmose Nofretary's circlet in TT 15 is apparently made of two rows of openwork uraei (1b). Mutemwiya's circlet in room XX at Luxor (9a) is now decorated with a ring of uraei, but the figure was erased in the Amarna period and later restored, so the detail may not be original. However, she wears a circlet of uraei on the statue BM 43 (9e). On the Sinai head of Teye, the circlet is decorated with two winged snakes (10e), and on the Medinet Habu statue group (10d), the circlet has alternating cartouches of Amenhotpe III. The first three dimensional example we have is on the statue of Thutmose III's mother, Ese. The circlet is made of metal, and patterned with groups of vertical and horizontal lines (5a).

3.5.6. The fillet.

3.5.6.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahmose Nofretary (b; R; hn)

   a) i. TS; ii. B.5; iii. AI; iv. thin, knotted at back, loose ends (cat. no. 11).

2. Hatshepsut (a/g; R; hn)

   a) i. TS; iii. TII/Reg; iv. thin, knotted at back, loose ends (cat. no. 47).

3. Female figure in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (3.2.1.B.3).

   a)-b) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. unclear (cat. nos 35, 36).

4. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nhn)

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII; iv. patterned (cat. no. 112).

   b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. patterned (?) (cat. no. 114).

5. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. patterned, no ends (cat no. 116).

b)-c) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. no ends (cat nos. 144, 145).

d) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. no ends (cat. no. 124)

e)-g) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. patterned, no ends (cat. nos 146, 150, 152)

h) i. F; ii. C.3; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat no. 156)

i) i. St [redacted] ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII; iv. one end only shown falling vertically down the back of the wig, decorated with a uraeus on either side, patterned (cat no. 169).

j)-k) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AIII; iv. unclear (cat.nos.170-171).

l) i. St; ii. 3.3.4; iii. AIII; iv. thin (cat.no.173).

6. Unidentified queen, probably Teye.

a) i. St; iii. AIII; iv. patterned (cat.no.180).

b) i. F; iii. AIII(?); iv. patterned, ends hanging (cat.no.178).

3.5.6.2. Discussion.

A fillet is a band worn round the head at the level of the brow. The one worn by Ahmose Nofretary (1a) is part of the costume of the hmt ntr, and is also worn by the anonymous hmt ntr on blocks from the chapelle rouge of Hatshepsut (n.345) and at Luxor (n.346). It is plain, and is tied at the back of the head, with the two ends falling down behind. In the scene from Amenhotpe I's chapel, Ahmose Nofretary wears none of the insignia of a queen. The details of Hatshepsut's fillet (2a) are similar.

The scenes on the sanctuary facade in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut are problematic (3.2.1.B.3). The original costume of the figures recalls that of the hmt ntr and is similar to a figure of Nefrure elsewhere in the temple (cat. no. 192). Ahmose, whose name is original in these scenes and who is undoubtedly represented by the

second stage of the figures, is not hmt ntr. However, she does not wear the fillet elsewhere, and it is possible that the figures were not originally designed as her, but were changed before an accompanying inscription was added.

No queen is recorded with a fillet between the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and the reign of Amenhotpe III, when Mutemwiya and Teye, neither of whom is hmt ntr, wear a fillet of a new type. In many cases, it is broad, patterned and no ends are visible. This type reflects a development in private fashions which began in the reign of Amenhotpe II,[511] when fillets began to double in width and to be decorated. They encircle the head and show no ends. At the same time "frontal bands" are introduced which go only three quarters of the way round the head,[512] but none of our examples of queens shows this second type. Once introduced, these styles with various developments continued in private use through the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotpe III, and beyond. They go hand in hand with a general elaboration in female costume, increased use of jewellery and the introduction of the loose pleated dress and sash. The loose dress worn by queens was similarly adopted by queens on the monuments some time after its introduction with private women (3.8). The general elaboration in female fashion which begins in the reigns of Amenhotpe II and Thutmose IV is not reflected in the dress of queens until the reign of Amenhotpe III. Thus the origin of the later queen's fillet is not as an item of insignia.

A further development in the queen's fillet occurs after our period,[513] and is common in the 19th dynasty;[514] the ends are shown once more, but now they fall diagonally forward across the wig and end in a uraeus, no doubt imitating the king's fillet.[515] In the reign of Amenhotpe III, this style may have a forerunner on a statue (5i), but

in relief the ends are not yet shown.

3.5.7. The whisk.

3.5.7.1. Occurrences.

1. Tetisheri (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.7; iii. A (cat. no. 3).

2. Ahhotpe II (c; R; ḥn [n.406] at earliest)

   a) i. PS; ii. B.7; iii. TII/ (cat no 7).

3. Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR.

   b) i. TS; ii. A.1(?); iii. CR; iv. second stage of figure (cat. no. 29)

   c) i. TS; ii. B.4; iii. CR (cat. no. 37).

   d)-e) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. second stage of figure (cat. nos. 35, 36).

4. Hatshepsut (a/g; R; ḥn)

   a) i. TS; iii. TII/ regency (cat. no. 39).

5. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; iii. TIII (cat. no. 22).

6. Ese (c; NR; ḥn)

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII (cat. no. 57).

7. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII (cat no. 62).

8. Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR; ḥn[?, n.407])

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII (cat. no. 64).

   b)-c) i. TS; ii. A.6; iii. TIII (cat. nos. 66, 67).

   d) i. PS; ii. A.12; iii. TIII (cat. no 69).

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

   e)-f) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII (cat nos. 72-73)

9. Sit[amun II] (a[?]; R[?, n.472])

a) i. TS; iii. AII (cat no. 84).

10. Tiaa (b; NR; hn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIV (cat. no. 87)

b) i. TS; ii. A.4; iii. TIV (cat. no. 85).

c) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIV (cat. no. 88).

11. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nhn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 103).

12. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 144).

b) i. S; ii. A.2; iii. AIII (cat no. 161).

c)-l) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat.nos.118,120,122,124,127,132, 137, 138,139,140).

m)-n) i. PT; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat.nos.149-151).

o) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII (cat.no.158).

p)-s) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat.nos.146,147,150,152).

t) i. Ch; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat.no.167).

u)-v) i. S; ii. A.14; iii. AIII (cat.nos.162,163).

w) i. F; ii. B.8; iii. AIII (cat.no.154).

x)-z) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII (cat.nos.164-166).

aa) i. M; iii. AIII (cat.no.160).

ab) i. St; ii. 3.3.4; iii. AIII (cat.no.173).

ac) i. St; ii. 3.3.5; iii. AIII (cat.no.174).

ad)-ai) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII (cat.no.176:1,5-9).

13. Unidentified queen, probably Teye.

a)-b) i. F; iii. AIII(?) (cat.nos.177-178).

3.5.7.2. Discussion.

The whisk consists of a handle, whose top is shown in carefully drawn examples in a shape reminiscent of the flower of Upper

Egypt, from which three or occasionally four thongs fall (e.g. pls. 8,29,35,38,45,47,48,66). It is not attested for queens before the 18th dynasty. However, there is an apparent example on a Second Intermediate Period stela from Abydos.[516] It is carried by the s3t nsw H3tšpswt, daughter of the hmt nsw Nfrt; she is married to a commoner. Its use by a princess is unexpected, since in the New Kingdom it is a distinctive mark of the queen, not used by princesses or goddesses.[517] Further, in the 18th dynasty, there appears to be a link between the use of the whisk and the vulture headdress; princess Hatshepsut does not wear the vulture headdress. The stela shows some unusual features. Hatshepsut is only a princess and married to a commoner, yet she wears the uraeus. Her children have an unnatural lock of hair flicked upwards on their forehead which obviously imitates the uraeus. There may be an attempt to increase the status of the dead woman and her children. If the whisk has a similar significance, it would suggest that it was already carried as an item of insignia by queens, although unattested on surviving material. If this is not so, it is difficult to tell from this isolated occurrence what its significance is.

The origin of the whisk remains undetermined. Its similarity to the king's nhhw is noticeable, and this may have given it "royal" associations and made it a suitable counterpart for the queen, however disparate the origins of the two items. Werbrouck suggested that the whisk incorporated the flower of Upper Egypt, and was associated with Nekhbet.[518] The whisk itself is never carried by Nekhbet, but an examination of our material shows a possible connection between the use of the whisk and the vulture headdress. Out of 21 examples before the reign of Amenhotpe III, 18 are with the vulture headdress, ten of which definitely use the vulture head and

only one the uraeus. There are two examples without a vulture headdress, one with a uraeus and the second with a double uraeus. On one example the relevant information is not available.

In the reign of Amenhotpe III, nearly half the examples still occur with the vulture headdress, though not only with the vulture head. Of twelve examples without the vulture headdress, seven are with the double uraeus, which incorporates a reference to Nekhbet. The correlation of vulture headdress, whisk and Nekhbet is fairly clear, but the whisk is by no means always used when the vulture headdress is worn, so that it may occasion the use of the headdress, but not the other way round.

The connection between the two items is closer on the earlier material when the use of the whisk is not so frequent. Its distinctiveness as a marker of a queen may account for its increased use towards the end of our period and its greater frequency where the vulture headdress or double uraeus is not worn. Although it is occasionally used by Nefertiti on the talatat,[519] it is not found at Amarna. This disappearance may support the proposed connection between the whisk and Nekhbet, although it could be simply that Nefertiti's active ritual role prohibited her carrying the object.

The whisk is attested throughout our period except in the reigns of Amenhotpe I and Thutmose I, when depictions of queens are sparse. It is held by all three major types of queen, a,b and c, without distinction between royal and non-royal birth (Table 12). The individual queens of type d-g are not attested with the whisk, but there is little material concerning them. Ahmose Nofretary, Meritamun I, Nofretary and Iaret are not found with it, but this too is probably due to poor attestation. The whisk has no special association with the <u>ḥmt ntr</u>, nor does the king have to be present for the queen to

hold it.

The whisk occurs both on monumental material and on smaller objects in funerary, ritual and "secular" scenes. The two earliest examples are funerary scenes and it is not until Meritre Hatshepsut that it is held by a queen who was alive at the time the monument concerned was decorated. Whether this is significant or merely due to chances of survival is uncertain. In the second half of our period, from the coregency until Amenhotpe III, the use of the whisk increases, especially in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

The whisk is found in the majority of scene types and is lacking only for a few which are poorly attested, or where the queen's actions would preclude it (Table 14). It is not found in scenes of type A.1 before the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and is never common here. It is only occasionally held by statues (6a; 7a; 12a^{b},a^{c}); this becomes commoner after our period. There are also representations of statues holding it (8e,f; 10c; 12a^{d}-a^{i}).

The whisk is almost always held so that the handle lies diagonally across the breast, while the end falls down parallel with the outside edge of the upper part of the arm which holds it. In two-dimensions, this is the forward side of the figure. The four statues from our period hold it in the left hand, and later examples confirm that it is normally held to this side.[320]

3.5.8. The ankh.

3.5.8.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahhotpe II (c; R; Nḥn)

   a) i. Co; iii. A 𓋴 (cat. no. 8).

2. Ahmose Nofretary (b; R; ḥn)

   a) i. Co; iii. A 𓋴 (n.464) (cat. no. 17).

3. Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR (cat. no. 26).

b) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. first(?) and second stage of figure (cat. no. 36).

4. Hatshepsut (g; R; ḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. B.9; iii. Reg (cat. no. 52).

5. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII (cat. no. 58).

6. Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR; ḥn[?, n.407])

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII (cat. no. 64).

b)-c) i. TS; ii. A.6; iii. TIII (cat. nos. 66-67).

d) i. PS; ii. A.12; iii. TIII (cat. no 69).

7. Iaret (a; R; Nḥn[?, n.410])

a) i. RS; ii. A.2; iii. TIV (cat. no. 102).

8. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 103).

b) i. G; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat. no. 111).

c) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 104)

d) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 112).

9. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 144)

b) i. S; ii. A.2; iii. AIII (cat. no. 161).

c)-f) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat. nos. 123, 125, 127, 132).

g) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII (cat. no. 158).

h) i. J; ii. A.9; iii. AIII (cat. no. 159).

i)-j) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat. nos 147, 152).

k) i. Ch; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat. no 167).

l) i. S; ii. A.14; iii. AIII (cat. no. 162).

m) i. F; ii. B.8; iii. AIII (cat. no. 154).

n)-p) i. S; ii. B.10; iii. AIII (cat.nos.164-166).

q) i. M; AIII (cat.no.160).

3.5.8.2. Discussion.

The use of the ankh by the queen is well enough attested, but not common, The first examples occur in the 6th dynasty. The mother of Pepy I holds it on a stela of her son.[521] Ankhenesmerire, mother of Pepi II, holds it on a stela at Sinai,[522] and she and Neith are shown with the ankh and w3s sceptre in their tomb.[523] In the 11th dynasty, Ashayit holds it on the shrine from her tomb.[524] In our period, it is used by Ahhotpe II, Ahmose Nofretary, Ahmose, Hatshepsut, Sitioh, Meritre Hatshepsut, Iaret, Mutemwiya and Teye. These represent the three major types of queens and Hatshepsut as regent. They are of both royal and non-royal birth, and there is no special connection with the hmt ntr. The ankh occurs on the four categories of monumental material and on smaller objects (Table 13), in a fairly wide variety of scene types, including the major ones, A.1, A.5, A.10 and B.1. Those for which it is lacking are poorly attested. It is also found on one statue (8d) and a representation of a statue (5a).

The ankh is, of course, not an especial mark of a queen. It is more commonly held by deities and kings, though the latter are more often shown without it. It is very occasionally held by private people,[525] who often carry a sistrum by the loop instead, the similarity in shape probably alluding to the ankh. In writing about the ankh, Fischer says "it is my impression that the ☥ -sign remained essentially an attribute of the gods, secondarily rewarded to royalty".[526] It seems to place the bearer outside the human sphere.

The queen often uses the ankh where there is some identification or association with a deity, or where she is shown in

relation to private people, or in cult or funerary contexts:

3b. Ahmose stands behind Amun, and is thus grouped with him, instead of facing him in the normal position for a queen.

8c. In the birth cycle, Mutemwiya is consorting with the gods.

8d. The statue of Mutemwiya identifies her to some extent with Mut, and the intention may be to divinise her.

9h. In this extraordinary sed festival scene, Teye offers an ankh to the king, an action normally performed only by deities.

9q. The figure of Teye on this menit handle occurs where the figure of a goddess is often found.

4a. On this stela, Hatshepsut is shown as regent, and is adored by an official.

6d. Meritre Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, who also holds an ankh, are adored by a private person.

8b,9i-k. In the kiosk scenes, the king and queen are seated before an official who presents various gifts. In these examples the king also holds an ankh, so the queen may take it over from him. However, instead of the queen, either Hathor or Maat can appear in the scene, so iconographically the queen fills the place of a goddess.

6b-c. The king is offered to by the Inmutef. Meritre Hatshepsut shares in this cult action.

9g. Two princesses play the sistrum before Amenhotpe III and Teye. The sistrum is normally played before a divine image.

1a.2a. The coffins of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary hold an ankh in both hands. A dead queen may be more "divine" than a living one.

5a. The purpose of this statue was presumably cultic and possibly funerary.

The ankh is less commonly used in ritual scenes before a deity. Teye carries it in only four sed festival scenes (A.5), and it occurs only four times in scenes of type A.1. In 3a, Ahmose is dead, and this may affect her status. In 6a, Meritre's position at Medinet Habu may be unusual as she shares in the king's cult (6b-c). In 8a, it is possible that Mutemwiya was dead, or her use of the ankh may relate to the birth cycle which was depicted in the same temple. In 9a, the king also carries an ankh, and the fact that the king and queen appear on a private stela offering on behalf of the owner may give them a more "divine" status. Otherwise, the queen may take the ankh over from the king, since the latter often holds an ankh when he dedicates a pile of offerings to a god. The ankh also occurs in the two scenes where the queen stands behind the king who is smiting prisoners (A.2).

Teye carries the ankh on four scarabs where her figure is probably an elaborate taxogram for a queen, suggesting that the use of the ankh was an attribute of "queenship". Thus the ankh was often used in contexts where the queen was removed from the human sphere.

3.5.9. The baton.

3.5.9.1. Occurrences.

1. Female figure in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (3.2.1.B.3)

a) i. TS; ii. A.1(?); iii. CR; iv. first stage of figure (cat. no. 29).

b)-c) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR; iv. first stage of figure (cat. nos. 35-36).

2. Inhapi (ḥmt nsw); R; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. B.7; iii. TIII (cat. no. 186).

3. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. ST ; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TIII (cat. no. 62).

b) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII (cat. no. 58).

4. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a)-e) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat. nos. 119, 123, 126, 133, 135).

3.5.9.2. Discussion.

The rare baton is a sceptre-like object with a long head slightly thicker than the handle. It is normally carried across the breast like the whisk. The examples form two groups, one in the co-regency and sole rule of Thutmose III, the other in the reign of Amenhotpe III. In the first period, the baton is also held by princesses. Nefrure carries it on the Chicago statue of Senenmut (cat.no.196) and in two scenes in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple (cat.nos.192-3). Ahmose Henut-tameh holds it on the stela in TT 53 (cat.no.186), And Meritamun II and a snt nsw in the Hathor cow chapel from Deir el-Bahri (cat.no.205). It is also carried by a woman, probably Nefrure (3.2.1.B.3) who follows Hatshepsut on a block from the building at Karnak by the seventh pylon

The second group consists of scenes showing Teye at the sed festival (4a-e), where the baton alternates with the commoner whisk. It is not found with Mutemwiya or the princesses. Its apparent disappearance during the reigns of Amenhotpe II and Thutmose IV may be due to lack of material. It could be significant that out of all the material showing Teye, it only occurs in sed festival scenes, but there is no evidence from the next reign that Nefertiti used it at the sed festival (or elsewhere), nor that the earlier examples have any connection with the sed festival.

The baton is only certainly attested with queens of type a and princesses, but while the latter must be of royal birth, both Sitioh and Teye are of non-royal origin. Possibly if the baton were better attested, we would find that it could be used by all types of queens. It is not con-

nected with the title hmt ntr, since the two queens do not hold this office.

The bator does not seem to be an important item of insignia. It is used instead of the whisk, except on Sitioh's statue (3a), where the two are found together. Its use by princesses may be influenced by the fact that they do not carry the whisk.

The baton resembles in shape the taxogram or logogram  used to write hts in the Old Kingdom queens' title wrt hts (4.4.2.2), and it is possible that the two are to be identified. However, there is a long gap between the use of the title in the Old Kingdom and the appearance of the baton in the 18th dynasty.

3.5.10. The flower.

3.5.10.1. Occurrences.

1. Teye (a; NR; Nhn)

a) i. RS (double scene); ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat no. 143).

b)-i) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat. nos. 120, 122, 133, 135, 137-140).

j)-k) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII (cat. nos. 146, 150).

l) i. St ; ii. 3.3.5; iii. AIII (cat. no. 174).

m)-p) i. PT; 3.3.9; iii. AIII (cat. nos. 176:1, 7, 8, 9).

3.5.10.2. Discussion.

The type of flower carried by the queen is difficult to identify, as it is not normally shown with any markings. The shape is similar to a papyrus umbel, and although this is usually shown erect on its stem, it can occur with the stem bent over;[527] the markings on the Macclesfield statue support this identification.

The flower continues to be carried occasionally by queens of the 19th dynasty.[528]

3.5.11. The sceptre.

3.5.11.1. Occurrences.

1. Hatshepsut (g; R; ḥn)

   a) i. PS; ii. B.9; iii. Reg (cat. no. 52)

2. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII (cat. no. 58).

3. Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

   a) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII (cat. no 73).

4. Tiaa (b; NR; ḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.4; iii. TIV (cat. no. 85).

5. Iaret (a; R; Nḥn[?, n.410])

   a) i. RS; ii. A.2; iii. TIV (cat. no 102).

6. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. S; ii. A.2; iii. AIII (cat. no. 161).

   b) i. PT; ii. A.5; iii. AIII (cat. no. 151).

3.5.11.2. Discussion.

The sceptre carried by queens normally has a rounded end, although one example shows Teye holding a sceptre nearer in shape to a ḥrp or shm sceptre (6b). The object is usually carried horizontally by the side, and an ankh may be held in the same hand (2a; 5a; 6a). Hatshepsut as regent once carries a sceptre held to her breast in the same way as a whisk or baton (1a).

Only seven examples dating between the regency and the reign of Amenhotpe III show the queen with a sceptre. An original female figure in the temple of Buhen, which was later changed to the king's ka, carried an ankh and an object with a handle which may have been a sceptre (cat. no 203). The identity of the figure is uncertain, and it may have been Nefrure rather than a queen (3.1.1.3). The sceptre

occurs in four types of scene, A.1, A.2, A.5 and B.9, and in two representations of statues. A.1 and A.5 are well attested types, and the use of the sceptre is not typical of them. There are only two examples of A.2, where the queen follows the king who is smiting enemies. In both, the queen holds the sceptre. The rounded end of the queen's sceptre possibly imitates the shape of the king's mace, which is often used in these smiting scenes (5a). In 6a, there is not enough room for the king to be shown smiting, but he may hold a mace; the detail on the scarab is not clear. Thus it would be appropriate for the queen to hold the rounded sceptre in these scenes.

The sceptre is used by queens of royal and non-royal birth, and they may or may not be <u>ḥmt nṯr</u>. It is not attested with queens of type c, but this may be due to lack of material, since these are the least well attested group of queens. Apart from one scarab, all the examples are on monumental material, both royal and private (Table 13). The evidence shows that the sceptre is rarely carried by queens, and it cannot be considered an important item of their insignia. The significance of its use is impossible to tell from the few occurrences of the item.

3.5.12. <u>The sistrum.</u>

3.5.12.1. <u>Occurrences.</u>

1. <u>Meritre Hatshepsut</u> (b; NR; <u>ḥn</u>)

   a) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AII; iv. loop, held by side (cat no 72)

2. <u>Tiaa</u> (b; NR; <u>ḥn</u>)

   a) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIV; iv. loop, held by side (cat. no. 88)

3. <u>Teye</u> (a; NR; <u>Nḥn</u>)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. loop, shaken (cat. no. 116).

   b) i. RS (double scene); ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. naos, shaken (cat. no 143).

c) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII; iv. naos, held by side (cat. no. 144).

d) i. TS; ii. A.5; iii. AIII; iv. loop, shaken (cat. no. 131).

e) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. AIII; iv. loop, shaken (cat. no. 176 : 2).

3.5.12.2. Discussion.

There are two types of sistrum, the loop and the naos. Neither is commonly found with queens of our period, and before Teye there are only two examples, both of loop sistra. These occur on representations of statues showing Meritre Hatshepsut and Tiaa holding the sistrum at their side by the loop like an ankh (1a; 2a). In one of the scenes in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, Nefrure carries a sistrum, holding it by her side with a sceptre (cat.no.192). In the parallel scene, she holds an ankh and sceptre (cat.no.193). The similarity in shape between the ankh and loop sistrum, and the way of holding the sistrum by the loop at the side of the body rather than shaking it as an instrument suggests that it may be carried as a substitute for an ankh, especially by private people not entitled to carry an ankh.

Teye is the first queen to be shown shaking a sistrum; she uses both naos and loop forms. Later, Nefertiti[529] and queens of the 19th dynasty[530] are shown in this way, occasionally also using titles referring to the sistrum (4.6). In the Amarna period, it is more usual to find the princesses rather than Nefertiti shaking the sistrum. Earlier, Ese and Henuttaneb are shown in a sed festival scene shaking a sistrum (cat.no.157; cf.cat.no.158). In the story of Sinuhe, there is a description of royal women employing these instruments,[531] and it is surprising that there are so few representations of queens and princesses playing them before the Amarna period.

The role of the queen during the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose IV is in the main, according to the iconography, passive in ritual

scenes. The reign of Amenhotpe III marks the beginning of a change by which the queen becomes more actively involved in ritual through the use of the sistrum. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the meaning of the object.[532]

3.5.13. The menit.

3.5.13.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahmose Nofreiary (a/b/e; R; ḥn)

   a) i. TS; iii. A/AI/TI (cat.no.10).

   ?b) i. TS; iii. A/AI (cat.no.9).

2. Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

   a)-b) i. TS; ii. B.3; iii. CR. iv. both stages of figure (cat nos.35-36).

3. Tiaa (a; NR; Nḥn[?, n.408])

   ?a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.2; iii. AII (3.1.13) (cat.no.89).

   Tiaa (b; NR: ḥn)

   b) i. ST; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIV (cat.no.88).

3.5.13.2. Discussion.

The menit is very rarely carried by queens. It is held twice(?) by Ahmose Nofretary, by a representation of a statue of Tiaa and perhaps by a statue of the same queen by a colossus of Amenhotpe II. In the examples of Ahmose Nofretary, the queen is shown holding her arm horizontally across her body in an attitude otherwise unattested for queens. The menit is also found with Ahmose in two scenes in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple. The original figures in these scenes wore a circlet, fillet and short wig, and held a menit and baton to the breast. This was altered to a figure with a tripartite wig, vulture headdress and whisk; the menit was left. However, it obviously belongs to the original stage of the figures, which may or may not show queen Ahmose (3.2.1.B.3), and it is present in the second stage only because it was not erased. The first figures are reminiscent of Nefrure in another scene in this temple, where she holds the baton and menit to her breast (cat.no.192). The menit cannot be

considered a typical object held by the queen, and is probably not to be classed as an item of insignia.

3.5.14. The renpet.

3.5.14.1. Occurrences.

1. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. PS; ii. A.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 145).

b) i. J; ii. A.9; iii. AIII (cat. no. 159).

c) i. F; ii. C.3; iii. AIII (cat. no. 156).

3.5.14.2. Discussion.

The renpet, the sign signifying many years, is often presented by deities to the king in connection with the sed festival. It is carried by Teye on three occasions, one of which is in an unusual sed festival scene, where she also presents the king with an ankh (1b). It is also held by Ese(?) and Henuttaneb(?) in a scene before the king relating to the sed festival (3.2.3.A.8; cat.no.158). The object cannot be classed as a regular item of insignia, and its use is probably governed by the context of the scene where it appears, such as sed festival scenes.

3.5.15. The cloth.

3.5.15.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahhotpe II (c; R; ḥn [n.463]) at earliest

?a) i. PS; ii. B.7; iii. TII (cat. no. 7)

2. Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

a) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AII (cat. no. 71).

3.5.15.2. Discussion.

Private people may hold a length of cloth in their hand,

especially when they are seated in funerary scenes. There is only one certain example when the queen holds it (2a), although Ahhotpe II may hold it once (1a). Lepsius shows Teye with it in two sed festival scenes at Soleb, but this is probably a mistake for the flower (cat. nos. 139-40). The cloth cannot be considered an item of insignia.

3.5.16. Pair of jars.

3.5.16.1. Occurrences.

1. Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. PS; ii. B.2; iii. CR; iv.  , rdjt jrp (cat. no. 41).

2. Hatshepsut (g; R; ḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. B.2(?); iii. Reg; iv.  , wine(?) (cat. no. 49).

3. Meritre Hatshepsut(?)/Ese (3.1.2) (a/c; NR)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII; iv. , rdjt jrp (cat. no. 54).

4. Meritre/Tiaa (b/a; NR; ḥn/Nḥn[?, n.470])

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. AII; iv. , rdjt jrp (cat. no. 68).

3.5.16.2. Discussion.

The queen does not normally offer to a deity, but there are four scenes where she holds up a pair of jars. In addition, a female figure on CG 34013 offers two jars of oil (rdjt msdt) (cat.no.59). The name is now Sitioh, but it is not original (3.1.2.2). The only title she is given is ḥmt ntr, but the example of Ahmose shows that the act of offering is not a prerogative of this office.

The gesture is naturally confined to two types of scene, that of the queen following the king who is offering (A.1), and that where the queen offers alone (B.2). The queens concerned are of both royal and non-royal birth and of types a and b.

The two jars are not an item of insignia, but they are included

here and in later discussion because these scenes show the queen performing a ritual action.

3.5.17. Nothing in either hand.

3.5.17.1. Occurrences.

1. Tetisheri (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. St; ii. 3.3.1; iii. A (cat. no. 4).

   b) i. St; ii. 3.3.1; iii. A (cat. no. 5).

2. Ahhotpe II (c; R; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. A ⌣ (cat. no. 6).

3. Ahmose Nofretary (a; R; ḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. A ⌣ (cat. no. 12).

   Ahmose Nofretary (b; R; ḥn)

   b) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AI (cat. no. 13).

   c) i. TS; ii. B.5; iii. AI (cat. no. 11).

   Ahmose Nofretary (e; R; ḥn)

   d) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TI (cat. no. 14).

   e) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TI (cat. no. 16).

4. Meritamun I (a; R; ḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. AI (cat. no. 13).

5. Senisonb (d; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. CR (cat. no. 21).

6. Ahmose (a; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TI (cat. no. 14).

   Ahmose (f; NR; Nḥn)

   b) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TII (cat. no. 40).

   Ahmose (b; NR; Nḥn)

   c)-e) i. TS ; ii. A.1; iii. CR (cat. nos. 25, 27, 28).

   f) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. CR (cat. no. 31).

g) i. TS; ii. 3.3.9; iii. CR (cat. no. 38).

7. Hatshepsut (a; R; ḥn)

a) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TII (cat. no. 40).

8. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.1; iii. TII (cat. no. 24).

9. Ese (c; NR; ḥn)

a) i. RT; ii. A.16; iii. TIII (cat. no. 56).

10. Sitioh (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. RT; ii. A.15; iii. TIII (cat. no. 70).

11. Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR; ḥn[?, n.407])

a) i. TS; ii. A.1; iii. TIII (cat no 63).

b) i. TS; ii. A.3; iii. TIII (cat. no. 65).

c) i. RT; ii. A.15; iii. TIII (cat. no. 70).

12. Nebtu (ḥmt nsw; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. RT; ii. A.15; iii. TIII (cat. no. 70).

13. Nofretary (a; NR[?]; Nḥn[?, n.409])

a)-g) i. RS; ii. A.1; iii. TIV (cat. nos. 94-100).

14. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. TS; ii. B.1; iii. AIII (cat. no. 106).

15. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

a) i. J; ii. A.8; iii. AIII (cat. no. 157).

16. Unidentified queen.

a) i. ST (n.554); 3.3.1; iii. TIII (cat. no. 75).

3.5.17.2. Discussion.

This attitude is commonest when the queen stands with her hands by her side in scenes of type A.1. It is also found in the one example of the related scene A.3 (11b), with the queens in KV 34 (9a; 10a; 11c; 12a), Ahmose Nofretary as ḥmt nṯr (3c), and in one

representation of a statue (6g). There are five seated statues where the queen holds nothing (1a,b; 3e; 8a; 16a), but only one two-dimensional example of a seated queen (15a). A variant occurs with three standing queens in the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotpe I, when the queen raises one hand to touch the king's shoulder in front (2a; 3a,b).

Scenes of type A.1 where the queen holds nothing occur throughout our period up to the reign of Thutmose IV, but are not found in that of Amenhotpe III. In the same scene type, there are six examples where the queen holds a whisk, in four of which she also has an ankh,[533] the earliest dating to the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut; two where she offers a pair of jars;[534] two where she shakes a sistrum,[535] dating to the reign of Amenhotpe III; and one where she holds a renpet.[536]

In this type of scene, the king performs a ritual act of offering or adoration before a deity; the queen stands behind the king. Her presence must involve her in the king's action, but her role is mostly shown as a passive one. Carrying a whisk does not form part of the ritual action, and while the occasional occurrence of the ankh may comment on the queen's status (3.5.8.2), it does not explain what she is doing. The two examples of offering a pair of jars are the only ones before the reign of Amenhotpe III which show the queen actively participating.

It is difficult to understand the queen's role in these scenes. Her presence is secondary, but the fact that she can appear in them at all, however, infrequently, must indicate that she plays some part in the ritual, even though it seems to be basically passive.

In spite of the increase in material in the reign of Amenhotpe III which concerns the queen, the number of scenes of type A.1 does

not increase. However, in the four examples, Teye is always shown holding something (cat.nos.116,143-5). In two of the scenes she shakes a sistrum, and the sistrum carried on Sebeknakht's stela (cat. no. 144) possibly alludes to her ability to shake the sistrum. Teye is the first queen to be shown shaking the sistrum (3.5.12), and this may indicate a change in the role of the queen in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

A queen who holds nothing is not of lesser status than one who holds an object. Queens of all types, except Hatshepsut as regent, are found with nothing in their hands. They may be of royal or non-royal birth, and may or may not be ḥmt nṯr.

3.5.18. The queen places one or both arms round the king.

3.5.18.1. Occurrences.

1. Mutnofret (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. PS; ii. A.11; iii. TII/TIII; iv. both arms (cat. no. 23).

2. Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR; ḥn)

   a) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AII; iv. one arm (cat. no. 71).

3. Tiaa (b; NR; ḥn)

   a) i. ST; ii. 3.3.3; iii. TIV; iv. one arm (cat. no. 90).

4. Mutemwiya (c; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. PT; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. both arms (cat. no. 110).

   b) i. G; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. one arm (cat. no. 111).

5. Teye (a; NR; Nḥn)

   a) i. F; ii. A.10; iii. AIII; iv. both arms (cat. no. 153).

   b) i. L; ii. A.13; iii. AIII; iv. both arms (cat. no. 168).

   c) i. ST; ii. 3.3.3; iii. AIII; iv. one arm (cat. no. 172).

6. Unidentified queen.

   a) i. PT; ii. 3.3.9; iii. TIII; iv. one arm (cat. no. 74:1).

3.5.18.2. Discussion.

In scenes of type A.10, A.11 and A.13, on statues and representations of statues, the queen may put one or both arms round the king. In relief, this action is confined to private and non-monumental material, because when the king appears on royal monuments he is performing an action, so that it would be inappropriate for the queen to embrace him. On statues, the gesture is attested as early as the 4th dynasty.[537]

3.5.19. Conclusions.

3.5.19.1. Types of queens who use the items of insignia discussed above.

In Table 16, the items are arranged in order of frequency and the different types of queens with whom they appear are noted. Both types of fillet, the menit, the renpet and cloth are omitted as not being strictly part of the queen's insignia. Queens of types d-g and the hmt nsw are relatively unimportant for our purpose, since material concerning them is scarce.

The table shows that the seven most frequently occurring items, together with those scenes where the queen holds nothing or embraces the king, are found with all three major types of queens. If any object is specific to a particular type of queen, we must look for it among the remaining items.

The flower, the horns and disk and the double uraeus with vulture head are used only by a queen of type a. None of these items is introduced until the reign of Amenhotpe III, when the only queen depicted besides Teye is Mutemwiya (c). Teye mainly uses the flower in sed festival scenes which date to the last quarter of Amenhotpe III's reign. The scene in TT 192 (cat. no. 150) is of similar date. If the flower was not introduced until the second half of the reign, Mutemwiya was probably dead, but

in any case she is shown far less often than Teye, so the fact that she does not appear with the flower does not necessarily mean that it had a restricted use. For the same reason, it is hardly significant that Mutemwiya does not use the horns and disk or double uraeus with vulture head, especially since these items are rare.

The baton is attested only for queens of type a and a hmt nsw, and is also used by princesses. It may not have been carried by the mwt nsw (types b and c), but the few attestations leave this open to doubt.

The sistrum and sceptre are carried by queens of type a and b. Neither is common, so that their use by type c cannot be excluded. The sistrum is found only in the reigns of Amenhotpe II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotpe III, when the only queen of type c is Mutemwiya.

There is no item of insignia which is used exclusively by queens who are either hmt ntr or of royal birth.

There is thus no evidence that a distinction is made between different types of queens by the use of the various items of insignia. It must be concluded that such items belong to queens in general, that is both to hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw, and that they use them by virtue of being the king's great wife or king's mother, irrespective of their previous rank or birth. None of these items, therefore, marks an "heiress" queen, and it is irrelevant to their use whether the queen is hmt ntr or not.

3.5.19.2. Categories of material on which the items of insignia are used.

The categories of material on which queens appear are set out in table 13. The items of insignia which appear on them are listed in order of frequency. The five which are best attested are the vulture

headdress, the double feathers, the whisk, the ankh and the uraeus. All of them occur on the four types of monumental material, on statues and representations of statues and a selection of non-monumental material. The last group is confined to the reign of Amenhotpe III and the individual categories are not well represented, so that the gaps on the table are of little significance.

The circlet appears on three types of monumental material, statues and representations of statues, and once on non-monumental material. The double uraeus is not attested on royal and private stelae, but since all but three occurrences are found with Teye who only appears on one royal and two private stelae, it may be due to lack of material that they are not found here as well.

Of the less well attested items, the sceptre appears on the four types of monumental material, a representation of a statue and a scarab. The flower, baton and sistrum are used on monumental material and statues or representations of statues, but are not attested on non-monumental material. They are all known from the reign of Amenhotpe III when non-monumental material occurs, but the small number of examples of a queen on this material and the rarity of these items renders it difficult to know whether this is deliberate or not.

The offering of jars is found only on monumental material. The last example of this activity is in the reign of Amenhotpe II, so that there is no relevant non-monumental material, but in any case offering scenes are not appropriate for such material.

The horns and disk are restricted to private and non-monumental material in the reign of Amenhotpe III. This could be due to a conservatism in the iconography of the queen on royal monuments.

There is no private monumental material where the queen holds nothing. The gesture of embracing the king is not found on two-

dimensional royal monuments.

A few of these items may be limited in the type of material on which they can occur, but this is not true of the commonest ones, and apparent restriction of use may be due to lack of material. There are no clear demarcations of use which would help understand the significance of the items within our material.

3.5.19.3. The use of items of insignia in various scene types.

On Table 14, the different scene types are set out in order of frequency, and the items of insignia which are found in them are marked off. Since all except five scene types occur no more than three times, and the majority only once, the material is inadequate for a detailed analysis of the types of scene in which the different items occur.

The best attested objects, the double feathers, the vulture headdress, the whisk and the ankh, occur in almost all the scene types which are attested twice or more. The vulture headdress is not worn in A.2, but this is one of the scenes attested only twice. The whisk is not found in B.1 or B.2. B.1 are the birth scenes, in which the queen's hands are normally occupied, except in the scene with Thoth, and, for Mutemwiya only, the scene with Hathor where the queen holds an ankh. In scenes of type B.2, the queen is offering and cannot hold any insignia.

None of the remaining objects is attested for all the five major scene types. The uraeus and double uraeus are lacking in the birth scenes, for which the vulture headdress with vulture head may have been especially appropriate. The circlet and horns and disk are not used at the sed festival. The latter are also not used in scenes of type B.2, which is unknown from the reign of Amenhotpe III when

they were introduced. If they did not appear until late in this reign, one would not expect to find them with Mutemwiya in the birth scenes.

The flower, baton, sceptre and sistrum would not be found in scenes of type B.1 and B.2, where the queen's hands are otherwise employed. The pair of jars is used only in offering scenes.

There is thus no clear evidence that any item of insignia was confined to particular types of scene, except on a very narrow criterion of function, such as applies to the two jars, which are not however an item of insignia.

Scenes of type A are those where the queen appears with the king. In types B and C, she appears alone. The sole items that occur in type A only are the flower and the sistrum. Both occur on representations of statues which show the queen alone, but we do not know the context in which they would have been set up. [redacted] It may be concluded that the presence or absence of the king does not affect the type of insignia that the queen uses. The gesture of embracing the king is necessarily confined to scenes of type A and statues.

3.5.19.4. Use of items of insignia by princesses.

It has been noted in this section that some of the items of insignia discussed can also be worn or carried by princesses. In a number of the relatively rare cases where princesses are shown, they appear with their tutors or other officials, and are depicted as children without any insignia. Occasionally, however, they appear in scenes equivalent to A.1 (cat. nos. 188, 191-193, 205) or B.2 (cat. no. 194). In addition, Ahmose Henuttameh is shown with her mother Inhapi in a scene of type B.7 (cat. no. 186) and Ese and Henuttaneb appear in scenes of type

A.8 before Amenhotpe III and Teye (cat. nos. 157-8; see 3.1.3.A.8 for identification of princesses on second plaque). Henuttaneb is also shown in the Medinet Habu statue group with her parents (cat. no. 72).

The double feathers are used on a contemporary monument only by Nefrure (cat. no. 194). Ahmose Henuttameh (cat. no. 186), Nefrure (cat. no. 194), and Henuttaneb (cat. no. 172) are all shown with the vulture headdress. The stela showing Ahmose Henuttameh is not contemporary with the princess, and her use of the vulture headdress may relate to the custom of giving it to female members of the early 18th dynasty royal family on later commemorative monuments. Like her sister Sitamun III, Henuttaneb may have had queenly status (3.5.3.2).

The uraeus is used by Nefrure (cat.nos.191-2,195-202) and Nefrubity (cat.no.28). The latter is only known from Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, where Nefrure is also found, and the uraeus may be given to her in imitation of Nefrure.

The circlet is attested for five princesses (3.5.5.3) and the ankh (cat.nos.157,193,203,205) and baton (cat.nos.186,192-3,196,204-5) for four each. Ese and Henuttaneb are the only princesses before the Amarna period to be shown shaking a sistrum (cat.nos.157-8). Nefrure carries the sceptre (cat.no.193,203[?]), which is not attested for other princesses.

Thus princesses may use some items of insignia found with queens. However, the ones they use most frequently are not well attested for queens and cannot be considered the most important items of their insignia. Nefrure stands out from the other princesses because she sues the double feathers, vulture headdress and uraeus on contemporary monuments. In addition, the amount of material relating to her is far greater than for any other princess. Her position was important enough for Senenmut to stress repeatedly his connection with her, while other tutors content themselves with one or two representations of their charges. Further, on the Sinai stela (cat.no.194)

she offers alone to Hathor. The stela is dated to year 11 under the "person" of the hmt ntr Nefrure, something which never occurs even with queens. The date is almost certainly the regnal year of Thutmose III; Hatshepsut also dated her reign from his accession, not her own assumption of the kingship. The only title on the stela is hmt ntr, suggesting that Nefrure appears by virtue of this office. The hmt ntr, however, is a priestess with a distinctive costume consisting of a short wig and a fillet, in which Nefrure is sometimes shown. Her insignia on the stela is that of a queen, which I have shown to be unrelated to the hmt ntr. In spite of this, she is nowhere called hmt nsw (wrt), although she may have performed that function for her mother.

Any theory that Hatshepsut wanted Nefrure to succeed her as king must be speculation, and is made doubtful by the continued existence of Thutmose III as coregent. Since Hatshepsut, as a woman, would be unable to have a hmt nsw wrt, Nefrure may have performed the function when necessary, and this would not have contradicted tradition, since s3t nsw can occasionally appear in scenes similar to those of type A.1. As regent, Hatshepsut mostly used the title hmt ntr, and it is possible that she wanted political power for the office. The use of the title for Nefrure and her occasional adoption of queenly insignia may have been intended to build up her status. Whatever Nefrure's position, it was more important than that normally attributed to princesses, but it is not entirely compatible with that of a queen, nor with the priestly function of the hmt ntr. It seems to be unique, and closely connected with her mother's assumption of the kingship.

3.5.19.5. The position of the queen and the hmt nsw.

It has been shown that where the attestation of the items of insignia is adequate, they are used by the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw whether they are of royal or non-royal birth, and that they are not associated with the office of hmt ntr.

There are only three depictions of a hmt nsw. Inhapi wears the vulture headdress and carries the baton on a posthumous stela (cat.no.186). Nebtu does not wear any insignia (cat.no.70), but nor do the queens in this scene. Ese, daughter of Amenhotpe III, is shown in a statue group with her father, whose figure is now lost (cat.no.187). The head of Ese is missing, but the remains of a sidelock fall onto her right shoulder. This is not a style worn by a hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw (3.6). These examples give little information, and because hmwt nsw are so rarely depicted, we do not know whether all wives of the king could use some items of queenly insignia. I have suggested that the mwt nsw and hmt nsw wrt had a ritual role, and that this distinguished the latter from the ordinary hmt nsw (1.8). The items of insignia probably relate to this role. Moreover, in a burial of three minor wives of Thutmose III, from which a number of items of jewellery were recovered, the only headdress which could be considered an item of insignia consists of a band encircling the head like a fillet with a second band running from front to back across the top of the head.[538] On the front are two gazelle heads, and although the exact significance of these is uncertain, they are never worn by the mwt nsw or hmt nsw wrt on our material, and it has been suggested that they mark a "concubine" of the king.[539] The idea is suggestive, in which case the ordinary hmt nsw would have insignia of her own.

Since all the items of insignia of the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw can almost certainly be worn by any such queen, their use tells

nothing about the individual queen, but will relate to aspects of "queenship", to which each queen will outwardly conform.

The insignia shows little development before Teye in the reign of Amenhotpe III, when it becomes more elaborate. The double uraeus, previously rare, becomes common. The horns and disk are introduced, and the uraeus now appears commonly as decoration on the circlet, the support for the double feathers and the fillet. All these items have solar significance, and the uraeus and horns and disk relate to Hathor. There was possibly a connection earlier between the queen and Hathor (3.2.2). In the kiosk scenes, Hathor or Maat, both daughters of Re, may be shown in the same position in which the queen appears. A figure of Teye is found on a menit counterpoise, where one would normally expect a figure of Hathor or Isis (cat no 160).

In ritual scenes (A.1), queens normally play a passive role up to the time of Teye, who is the first queen to shake a sistrum in such scenes. The sistrum is associated with Hathor. Not only is it shaken to pacify her, but she shakes it to pacify Re. After Teye, successive queens are shown shaking the sistrum, including the deified Ahmose Nofretary, so that it has become part of the queen's role. Thus there seems to be some change in the concept of "queenship", at least in the iconographic repertory, in the reign of Amenhotpe III, with increasing solar reference in the queen's insignia which probably included a closer association with Hathor, and a new active role in ritual based on the playing of the sistrum.

3.6. Wigs.

The variety of wigs worn by the queens of our period is not great. The commonest type is the tripartite wig. The others are the enveloping wig, the Hathor wig, the short curled wig and a style where the hair falls behind the shoulders.

3.6.1. The tripartite wig.

This wig is worn throughout our period, and is the dominant style at all times. In the majority of two-dimensional examples the ears are left uncovered. In three-dimensional ones, including coffins, the ears are more often covered.

3.6.2. The enveloping wig.

In comparison with the tripartite wig, this form is fairly rare, although it is found throughout our period. The ear may be covered or uncovered; the former is commoner towards the end of our period. In three-dimensions, the wig forms a straight border on either side of the face, and the extra lock of hair either side of the face found in the 19th dynasty on statues[540] does not appear on royal statuary of our period.[541]

3.6.3. The Hathor wig.

Nine examples survive showing 18th dynasty queens wearing the Hathor wig. Seven are on statues (cat.nos.62,75-80), one on a representation of a statue (cat.no.74:2) and the last on a coffin (cat.no. 81). If we accept that the representation of the statue is faithful, there are no examples of this wig in relief.

Five instances all date to the reign of Thutmose III (cat.nos.62, 74:2,75,76,79). The date of the other statues is uncertain. Vandier would place CG 34009 (cat.no.78) in the reign of Amenhotpe II and the Cairo sphinx (cat.no.77) in that of Thutmose IV.[542] The Vienna head has been placed in the 19th dynasty (cat.no.80). It seems to me, however, that these statues probably form a closer group because they wear a hair-style not found elsewhere on royal statuary of our period, and I would tentatively date them all to the reign of Thutmose III.

The coffin of Meritamun II may date to the reign of Amenhotpe II (2.4.4.1). It is possible that the wig shows a final manifestation of the fashion for the Hathor wig, but it is probably unconnected, since it is found on a different type of object from the other examples, which are all statues. Of the four 18th dynasty queens' coffins which we possess, those of Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary together with the second coffin of Meritamun II form a typological group with characteristics which separated them from other representations of queens. The inner coffin of Meritamun II is the only one we have. It may be part of as close a series as that of the second coffins, and the wig might have been traditional for inner coffins. One can note that Ahhotpe I's coffin has a Hathor wig, but it does not belong to the same coffin type as those of the 18th dynasty (3.4).

All examples show the Hathor wig under the vulture headdress. In the 12th dynasty, queens wear this type of wig, but not the vulture headdress over it.

3.6.4. Short curled wig.

This wig fits close to the head and covers the ear. Teye wears it on a bracelet plaque (cat.no.157), which shows a sed festival scene of Amenhotpe III. It is also worn by an unidentified queen, probably Teye, on a small block in the Metropolitan Museum (cat.no.178).

3.6.5. Wig falling behind the shoulders(?).

One example from the reign of Thutmose IV (cat.no.102) and three from that of Amenhotpe III (cat.nos.132-3,149) apparently show the hair of the wig falling behind the shoulders. The vulture headdress is not worn. However, the instance in the tomb of Kheruef shows Teye wearing a khat headdress (cat.no.149).[543] The ones from Soleb, which are also in a sed festival context, may also show this headdress, but the detail is unclear. The drawings in LD and Champollion of cat.no.102 do not suggest the khat; perhaps the front tress of a tripartite wig has become unclear on the stela.

3.6.6. Discussion.

A comparison of queens' hairstyles with those of private women shows that there is little similarity in development. Up to the reign of Thutmose III, the tripartite wig is almost always worn by ordinary women, although a distinction can be made between the wife and mother of a monument's owner and other relatives; the latter tend to show more variety, while the former are more conservative.[544] In the reign of Amenhotpe II, the tripartite style starts to give way to the enveloping, which almost completely replaces the tripartite by the reign of Thutmose IV, and continues in use until there is a return to a form of the tripartite wig in the reign of Haremhab.[545] While the enveloping wig is fully in fashion, the traditional tripartite wig is occasionally found on the mother or grandmother of the owner of the monument.[546]

The tripartite wig is the main form worn by queens throughout

our period, and there is little reflection of the change in private fashions in the iconography of queens, although the enveloping wig becomes slightly commoner towards the end of our period. According to Joyce Haynes "throughout the New Kingdom this [the tripartite] style is shown only on venerated female figures as a gesture of respect".[547] Thus it is used by the wife and mother of the owner of a monument, while other members of the family have different styles, and it continues to be used occasionally by older women even when not generally in fashion. The wig would therefore be particularly suitable to stress the public dignity of queens.

The brief appearance of the Hathor wig on queens' statues in the reign of Thutmose III appears to have no counterpart among private women.

3.7. Earrings.

Archaeological and representational evidence do not give quite the same picture of earrings in the 18th dynasty. For instance, Thutmose IV's mummy has pierced ears,[548] but he is not shown wearing earrings.

Earrings have been found among the jewellery in the burial of Ahhotpe I[549] and among that of three minor wives of Thutmose III. Yet, apart from one scene in TT 15 where Ahmose Nofretary is shown with earrings (cat. no. 15), no queen appears with them until Teye in the reign of Amenhotpe III/IV (cat. nos. 175, 183). They become commoner on queens in the 19th dynasty.[551] Thus, despite the one example of Ahmose Nofretary, it is more likely that if a queen is shown with earrings, she will date at the earliest to the reign of Amenhotpe III.

3.8. Clothing.

Until the reign of Amenhotpe III, the tight-fitting dress is the only type shown on queens. It may be ankle-length, or a little shorter. While this style remains in use during the reign of Amenhotpe III, there are a number of examples where the dress reaches to the top of the feet; in two-dimensional representation, instead of ending horizontally, the bottom is shown by a diagonal line across the top of the feet (cat.nos.144,158-9, 169,172,176:5-9). The lengthening of the tight-fitting dress is found in relief among private people in the reign of Thutmose IV;[552] in three dimensions, there is a rare example from the beginning of the dynasty.[553]

In addition to the longer tight-fitting dress, queens appear in the reign of Amenhotpe III in a completely new style which, instead of fitting the body closely, falls in loose folds to the ground (cat. nos. 116, 143, 147, 151, 152, 154). This fashion is already adopted by private women in scenes from the reign of Thutmose IV. The loose dress may be tied with a sash at the waist, and this can now also be used with the tight-fitting dress (cat. nos. 110, 149).

As with the fillet, these new fashions appear to be adopted by queens after their introduction among private people. It is doubtful whether this reflects an actual state of affairs. The rules governing the representation of queens were probably more conservative than those concerned with private people. Dress on monuments was often conventionalised, and not what was worn.

The dress worn by goddesses remains the same ankle-length, tight-fitting dress which was the basic model for feminine dress in Egypt until the advent of these styles. While the queen was slow in adopting the latter, goddesses never did so. One would expect the king's wives to be well aware of changes in fashion, and if not to lead them, at least to follow closely. However, on the monuments

their representation would continue in the traditional style for a while, until gradually the sight of the queen in the new fashions must have had an effect on the conventions governing her representation. By contrast, goddesses would not have been subject to this effect. The deified Ahmose Nofretary is often shown in the loose dress,[534] and this sets her apart from goddesses, just as the use of her whisk does (3.5.7); she is deified as a queen, not transformed into a goddess.

Also for the first time in the reign of Amenhotpe III there are examples of queens wearing sandals (cat. nos 119,152,150,176:56). Kings may wear them, and a sandal bearer appears as early as the Narmer palette.[535] There seem to be strict rules as to where the king may wear them, so that he is shown in them outside or entering a temple but not within it. Teye wears them in two kiosk scenes, in a scene leaving the palace and on a representation of a statue, and it seems probable that the same rules for wearing them would apply to the queen.

From the point of view of dating, the presence of the long tight-fitting dress, the loose dress or sandals on a queen places her at the earliest in the reign of Amenhotpe III. However, the traditional costume continues to be worn in later reigns.

4. Titularies and titles of queens.

4.1. Introduction.

In this section, I shall study the structure of the titularies of the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw, and the significance of individual titles. I shall also consider briefly the titles used by the hmt nsw, even though I do not regard such women as queens (1.8). Teye as mwt nsw and Nefertiti do not fall within my period, but their titularies will sometimes be considered. Tables 18-38 set out the titularies of individual queens. Throughout this section, references to titularies which give the name of a queen and the number of the titulary (e.g. Tetisheri, 1b.1) refer to these tables. (For a discussion of the terms "title" and "titulary", see vol.4, pp. 152-156.)

4.2. The structure of queens' titularies.

The structure of queens' titularies is not rigid, although there is a preferred order among some of the titles (below). It is doubtful whether all the titles that a queen could use were ever present on one monument, and one cannot speak of a standard titulary for queens of the 18th dynasty, because even if the order of the titles is fairly regular, the selection and number of titles used in individual titularies varies (Tables 18-38). This is due partly to reasons of space, and probably partly also to individual choice.

There are three possible sections of a normal titulary:

1) that introduced by jrjt-p^{c}t and continuing up to 2;

2) the titles of relationship; hnmt nfr hdt; hmt ntr and associated titles;

3) those titles which follow 2.

When the title mwt nsw is used, it may be placed either with the other titles of section 2, or rarely after a title from 3 (4.2.2).

It is rare for all three sections to appear together in one

titulary; normally we find sections 1 and 2, section 2 alone, sections 2 and 3, or occasionally 1 and 3. Four anomalous titularies do not fit this pattern.[556] It is also common for one title only to be used (4.3). This is usually taken from section 2, but sometimes from 3. The latter becomes frequent in the reign of Akhenaton. It is never drawn from section 1.

Many more titles are found in section 1 than in section 3 (4.2.1,3); a number can appear in either section. These are listed in the following charts, which show the section in which the title occurs and the sections that form the titulary.

hnwt t3wj

	1	2	Sections
Ahhotpe II (1b.4)		+	2,3
Ahmose Nofretary (1a.10)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1b.5)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1b.6)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1e.1)	+		1,2
Ahmose (1d.1)	?	?	1, 3(?, 4.2.4)
Hatshepsut (1a.7)		+	2,3
Hatshepsut (1a.8)		+	2,3
Hatshepsut (1a.9)	+		1,2
Senisonb (1e.1)		+	2,3
Meritre Hatshepsut (1b.2)		+	2,3
Meritre Hatshepsut (1e.2)		+	2,3
Tiaa (1c.1)		+	2,3
Mutemwiya (5.2)		+	2,3
Teye (1a.9)		+	2,3

hnwt t3wj tm(wj)

	1	3	Sections
Ahmose Nofretary (1b.2)		+	2,3
Meritamun I (1a.1)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1c.1)		+	2,3
Hatshepsut (1a.12)		+	2,3
Tiaa (6.1)[537]	+		1,2

hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw

	1	3	Sections
Ahmose Nofretary (1a.1)		+	2,3
Ahmose (4/5)	+		1,2

hnwt šm^{c}w mhw

	1	3	Sections
Ahhotpe II (1b.4)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1a.2)		+	2,3
Meritre(?)/Ese (1a.1)		+	2,3
Mutemwiya (1e.3)	+		1,2
Mutemwiya (1e.4)	+		1,2
Mutemwiya (6.2)			anomalous
Teye (1a.4)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.5)	+		1,2
Teye (1d.2)	+		1, 3(?, 4.2.4)

hnwt nt t3w nbw

	1	3	Sections
Hatshepsut (1a.2)	+		1,2
Hatshepsut (1a.5)		+	2,3
Mutemwiya (1e.1)	+		1
Mutemwiya (1e.2)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.1)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.2)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.3)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.7)	+		1,2
Teye (1a.8)	+		1,2

hnwt hmwt nbt/nsw

	1	3	Sections
Ahmose (1d.1)	+		1, 3(?, 4.2.4)
Meritre Hatshepsut (1a.2)		+	2,3
Tiaa (1e.1)	+		1,2

ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s

	1	3	Sections
Ahmose Nofretary (1a.1)		+	2,3
Ahmose (1d.1)	+		1, 3(?, 4.2.4)
Ahmose (4/5)	+		1,2
Tiaa (6.1)			anomalous
Mutemwiya (6.1)			anomalous
Mutemwiya (6.2)			anomalous

In most of these titularies, titles from section 2 are present; other titles either precede or follow this section, but not

both. Those which can appear in either section are probably placed according to whether jrjt-p^{c}t is present or not. If it is, they normally stand before section 2. If it is not, they follow it. Thus, on the stelophorus of Neferpert (CG 42121), the queen has two titularies (translations below, 4.2.1,3), (1) jrjt-p^{c}t wrt ḥswt šmst sn.s ntr nfr mrrt nb t3wj m3 n.s/(2) ḥmt nsw wrt and (2) ḥmt nsw wrt/(3) nbt ḥswt m-ḥnt ^{c}ḥ ḥnwt nt ḥmwt nsw tm(t) tš r-gs nb t3wj. In the second titulary, nbt ḥswt m-ḥnt ^{c}ḥ is probably related to wrt/nbt ḥswt, which occurs only in section 1, ḥnwt nt ḥmwt nsw is probably a variant of ḥnwt ḥmwt nbt, found elsewhere in section 1, and tm(t) tš r-gs nb t3wj is similar in construction to šmst sn.s ntr nfr and mrrt nb t3wj m3 n.s. The first titulary contains sections 1 and 2, and the second 2 and 3. The titles in 3 are of a type which can occur in 1.

In one titulary, all three sections occur.[559] In this, the title in section 3 is nbt t3wj, which is never found in section 1. It almost always ends a titulary,[560] although it may be placed before mwt nsw.[561] The preferred position, however, is directly before the cartouche, which probably copies the king's use of nb t3wj directly before his prenomen. This may be why nbt t3wj never appears in section 1. A titulary of Teye (1a.10), dating to the reign of Akhenaton, also displays three sections with nbt t3wj in section 3.

4.2.1. The structure of section 1.

Of the three sections, 1 shows the greatest variety of titles. The use of jrjt-p^{c}t to introduce them is obligatory. Some titles in this section are sometimes called "epithets",[562] but the difficulty of drawing a hard and fast line between the two makes it safer to include them all as titles. With two exceptions,[563] the name of the

queen does not follow directly on section 1, but there is some ambiguity when section 2 is missing and the titulary ends with a title which can appear in 1 or 3.[564] In these cases, division may be irrelevant. Two titularies of Teye end in nbt t3wj (ld.1,2), which never appears in section 1. If this is because its preferred position is near the queen's cartouche, division of the titulary may also be irrelevant in this case, since with section 2 absent, the title could be in section 1 and in its preferred position (see also 4.2.4).

Many of the titles found in section 1 are attested only once (see list below), while some are variants of one another,[565] and are not used in the same titulary. When there is only one occurrence of a title, it is often impossible to know if it was coined for a particular queen or a particular situation. In the former case, one might have expected the queen to use it fairly regularly. In the latter, there is rarely evidence to link the title with a situation. However, when Hatshepsut is regent, she occasionally uses titles which probably relate to her regency, and would not be applicable to other queens (4.4.10). Scribes may often have been free to construct titles on the lines of already existing models, thus producing the variety and number of titles only attested once.

For convenience, the titles found in section 1 can be divided into a number of groups or individual titles according to their structure. This division does not indicate the order of the titles in the titularies (below). In the following list, the number of occurrences of the title in the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III is given in brackets.[566]

A.

1. jrjt-p^{c}t (40); for discussion, see 4.4.1.

2. jrjt-p^{c}t m pr wr (1).

B.

These titles consist of nbt "possessor of", a feminine participle of an adjective verb, or rarely hnwt "mistress of"; and a direct genitive. For discussion, see 4.4.2.

1. wrt hswt "great of favours" (33).
2. wrt j3mt "great of charm" (15)
3. nbt hswt "possessor of favours" (1)
4. nbt j3mt "possessor of charm" (1?)[567]
5. bnrt mrwt "sweet of love/lovable"[568] (6)
6. ^{c}3t mrwt "great of love" (3)
7. ndmt jb "sweet of heart" (2)
8. j3mt jb "of good disposition" (1)
9. hnwt ndm-jb "mistress of contentment" (1)
10. nbt bnrt "possessor of sweetness" (1)
11. wrt bnrt "great of sweetness" (1)
12. wrt f3w "great of splendour" (1)
13. nbt rˇswt "possessor of joy" (1)
14. dsrt hkrw "splendid/holy of adornments" (1)
15. ^{c}3t nrw "great of dread" (1)
16. hnwt t3w "mistress of breath" (1)

C.

These titles consist of an active feminine participle with an object.

1. šmst sn.s ntr nfr "who follows her husband,[569] the perfect god (1) (see 4.4.11).
2. mrrt nb t3wj m3 n.s "who loves the lord of the Two Lands who looks at her" (1)
3. mht h3 m stj j3dt.s "who fills the hall with the scent of her fragrance" (1)

C (cont.)

4. mḥt ᶜḥ m mrwt.s "who fills the palace with her love" (1)

5. shtpt nb t3 m nfrw.s "who satisfies the lord of the land with her beauty"[570] (1)

D.

These titles contain the element Ḥrw. For a discussion, see 4.4.3.

1. m33t Ḥrw (m33t) Sth "she who sees Horus and Seth" (2)

2. sm3jjt Ḥrw "she who is united to Horus" (2)

3. smrt Ḥrw "companion of Horus" (1)

E.

1. ddt ḥt nbt jr.tw n.s "who says anything and (it) is done for her" (2). For a discussion, see 4.4.4.

F.

1. ḥnwt ḥmwt nbt "mistress/superior of all wives (of the king)/ women" (1). For a discussion, see 4.4.5.

G.

This consists of "geographical" titles. For a discussion, see 4.4.7.

1. ḥnwt t3wj "mistress of the Two Lands" (1)

2. ḥnwt t3wj tm(wj) "mistress of the whole Two Lands" (1)

3. ḥrjt-tp šmᶜw mḥw "one in authority over Upper and Lower Egypt" (1)

4. ḥnwt šmᶜw mḥw "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt" (6)[571]

5. ḥnwt nt t3w nbw "mistress of all lands" (9)

6. ḥnwt nt t3 r dr.f "mistress of the entire land" (1)

H.

I have grouped together here a number of miscellaneous titles all occurring only once.

1. s3t Gb "daughter of Geb" (1) (see 4.4.3).

2. jw^{c}t Wsjr "heiress of Osiris" (1) (see 4.4.3).

3. [rd.n n.s] jt.s R^{c} nsjjt "[one to whom] her father Re [gave] the kingship" (1) (see 4.4.10).

4. m3^{c}t hr jb Psdt "one righteous in the view of the Ennead" (1) (see 4.4.10).

5. [nbt/hnwt] ⌜snnwt⌝ jtn "[mistress of] that which the sun disk ⌜encircles⌝" (1) (see 4.4.10).

6. hnmt nsw H3mm3^{c}t "one who is united to king Khaemmaat[572]" (1)

7. hrjt wrt m pr nsw "great one in authority in the palace" (1)

8. [sm3jjt/hnmt?] (Dhwtjms H^{c} h^{c}w) "[one united to?] Thutmose Khakhau" (1) (see 4.4.3).

Because of the large number of titles in section 1 that are attested once or only a few times, it is difficult to see if there is a preferred sequence among them. There are some rules among the more frequently used titles, but in the main the structure of this section is fairly loose, probably because most of the titles are used too few times for a sequence to be established.

In most cases, wrt hswt follows jrjt-p^{c}t immediately, and is itself often followed by wrt j3mt. wrt hswt can be omitted, but this is infrequent.[573] In two cases, jrjt-p^{c}t is followed directly by wrt j3mt;[574] in two more, it is followed by s3t Gb or ^{c}3t nrw,[575] and in one, wrt hswt is replaced by nbt hswt.[576] Occasionally, wrt j3mt precedes wrt hswt,[577] an order found in pre-18th dynasty titularies (4.4.2.2). wrt j3mt is not found in Teye's titularies, but nbt j3mt

is possibly used in the same position (n.688). One of her titularies from the next reign uses this title (1a.10). The normal order of these titles is, therefore, jrjt-p^{c}t wrt/nbt hswt wrt/nbt j3mt.

In the one occurrence of ndmt jb and one of j3mt jb, ^{c}3t mrwt and bnrt mrwt follow respectively, with wrt bnrt intervening between ndmt jb and ^{c}3t mrwt.[578] However, hnwt ndm-jb, which occurs once, follows ^{c}3t mrwt.[579] bnrt mrwt follows wrt j3mt three times and j3mt jb once.[580][581]

On the whole titles from B belong near the beginning of section 1, the exceptions being wrt f3w and dsrt hkrw, which together end following hnwt šm^{c}w mhw.[582] The titles from C all come near the end of the section, and the "geographical" titles often end it, but are sometimes followed by one or two more titles.[583]

Section 1 of Nefertiti's titularies continues to be constructed on principles similar to those of her predecessors, but some titles not previously attested occur,[584] while ^{c}3t mrwt is also found in section 3.[585] wrt j3mt, which we saw above was not used by Teye, does not occur in the titularies of Nefertiti either, but nbt j3mt is found.[586] hnwt šm^{c}w mhw occurs,[587] but hnwt nt t3w nbw, which is used by Mutemwiya and Teye in the reign of Amenhotpe III, does not. Titles referring to the Aton are introduced,[588] which naturally do not appear with other queens. So many of the titles in this section are rare that it is impossible to know whether some of those attested for the first time with Nefertiti could have occurred earlier, or whether they were only introduced in the reign of Akhenaton.

Two titles of Nefertiti which normally follow one another, nfrt hr "beautiful of face" and ^{c}nt m šwtj "lovely in the double feathers",[589] are not attested for queens before Nefertiti, but are found again occasionally in the 19th dynasty.[590] It is probable that

they were introduced only in the reign of Amenhotpe IV/Akhenaton.[591] The double feathers had been worn by queens at least since the 13th dynasty (3.5.1.2), but there is no record at this time or in the earlier 18th dynasty of any title which refers to them, and all such occurrences should be dated to Amenhotpe IV and later. Although Teye wears the double feathers in the reign of Akhenaton, she is not attested with the title. This may be due to lack of evidence, or the title may have been confined to Nefertiti.

After our period, there is some change, and titles from B in section 1 are sometimes placed in section 3, even when section 1 is present.[592]

4.2.2. Structure of section 2.

There are 103 titularies from the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III that contain an unbroken sequence of two or more titles in section 2. I have used these as the basis for this section, but refer also to some of Teye's titularies from the reign of Akhenaton. Nefertiti's titularies cannot be used for comparison here, as the only titles she can use in section 2 are hmt nsw, hmt nsw wrt and hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f, which are mutually exclusive. The breakdown of the titles is dictated entirely by a wish to examine their sequence in titularies, and not their meaning, so that although most of the titles following mwt nsw appear to have meanings similar to one of the first eight titles, I have listed them separately in case the variation in form affects their order in a titulary.

The titles which appear in this section are:

Title	Number of occurrences.
s3t nsw	36
snt nsw	36
hmt ntr	51
hmt nsw	20
hmt nsw wrt	57
hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f	7
hnmt nfr hdt	9

Title	Number of occurrences
mwt nsw	42
s3t nsw wrt	1
s3t nsw mrjjt.f	1
s3t nsw jtjj	1
snt nsw jtjj	1
snt jtjj	1
mrjjt ntr	1
drt ntr	1
nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn	1
mwt nsw mrjjt.f	1
mwt nsw wrt	2
mwt nsw špst	1
mwt nsw mwt bjtj mrjjt.f	1
mwt ntr	2
s3t hmt nsw wrt	1

Their meaning is discussed elsewhere.[593] Here their sequence in the titularies will be examined.

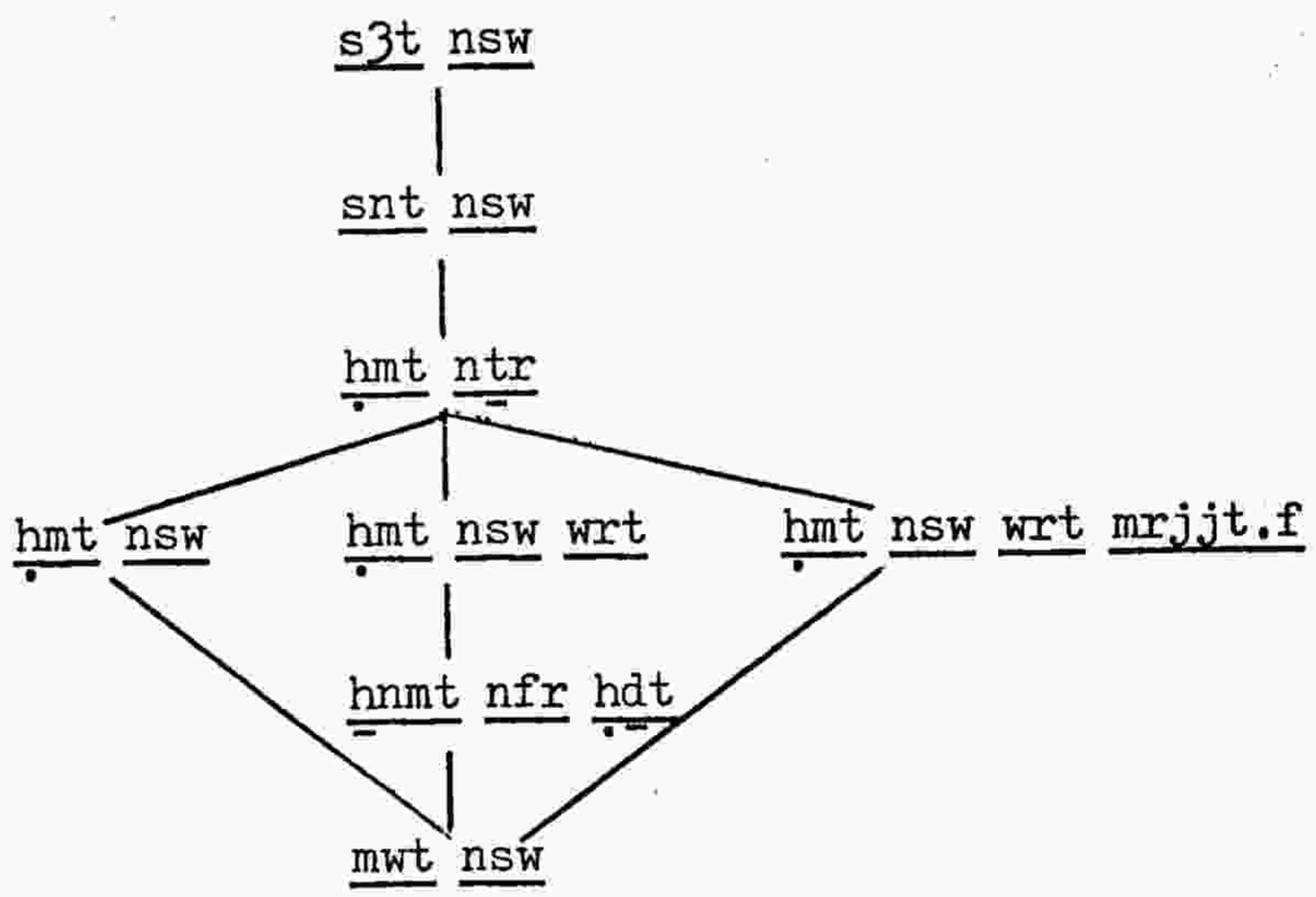
mrjjt.f always follows a title of relationship. It is not a separate title since the suffix pronoun refers back to the element nsw in the preceding title. I have therefore not listed it on its own, but I have made a separate entry for titles which are followed by mrjjt.f in case the additional element affected the order.

Any attempt to find a sequence among these titles must be based on the first eight titles listed above, which I will call major titles. The remainder are attested too infrequently to be useful. After the major titles have been examined, the others can be studied in the light of the results obtained.

In titularies which contain only the major titles, 71 follow one sequence, another three display the same sequence with an intrusive title from section 3 between the last two elements, and 14 show a variation in sequence. There are two basic rules. First, a title is not repeated in any one titulary. Exceptions to this are a unique titulary of Ahhotpe II (6.1) and one of Tiaa (6.1), but these exhibit other peculiarities, and must be considered on their own. Second, the titles hmt nsw, hmt nsw wrt and hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f never appear in the same titulary.

The major sequence of the titles used in these 71 titularies is:

Fig.1

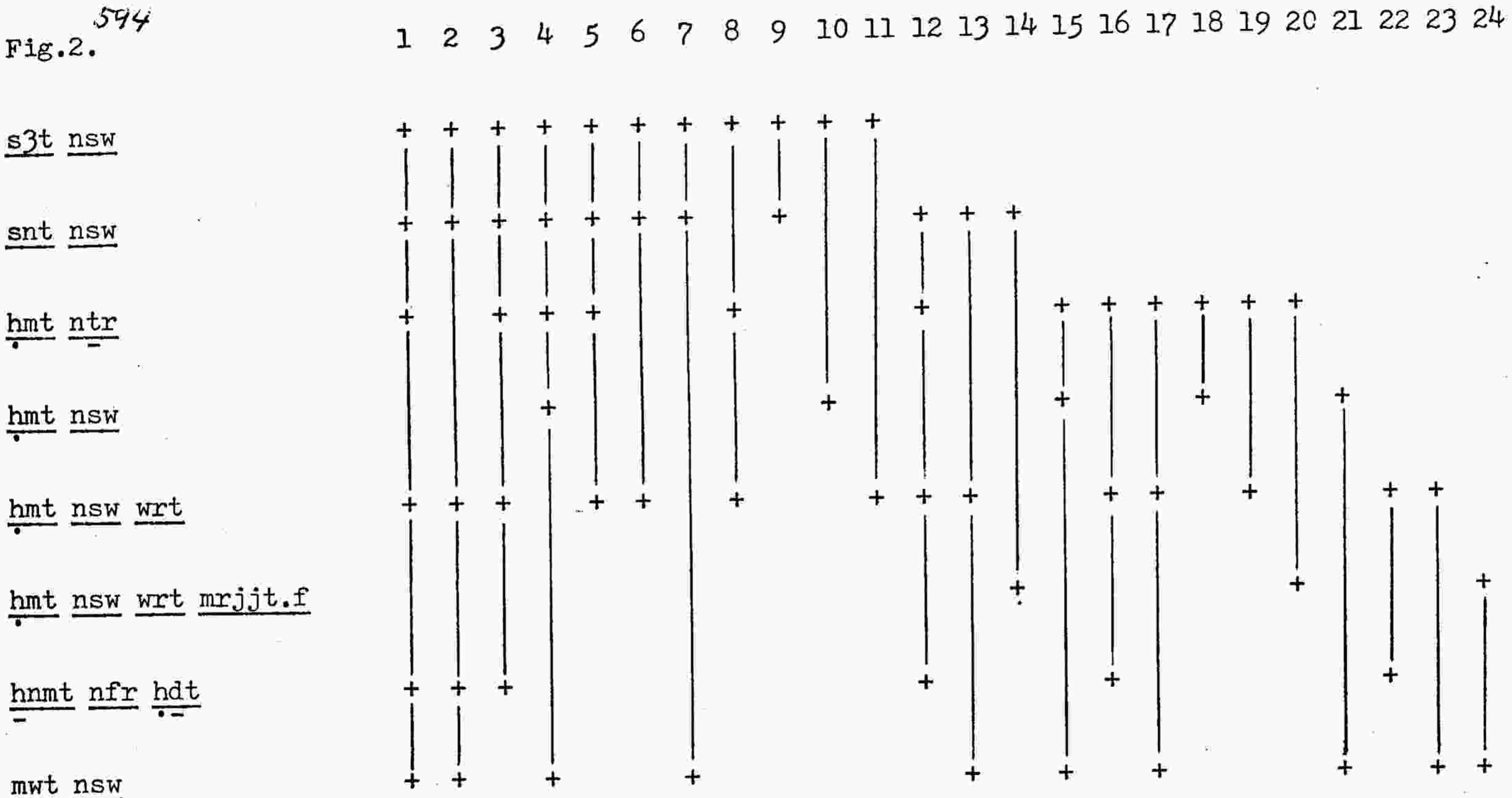


The full sequence is rarely found; some queens cannot use one or more titles because they are not of royal birth, hmt ntr, or the mother of a king. The attestation among queens is set out below. The letters in brackets are those of the types of queens (Introduction).

Queen	s3t nsw	snt nsw	hmt ntr	mwt nsw
Tetisheri (c)				+
Ahhotpe II (c)	+	+	posthumous	+
Ahmose Nofretary (a)	+	+	+	
Ahmose Nofretary (b,e)	+	+	+	+
Sitkamose (a)	+	+		
Meritamun I (a)	+	+	+	
Ahmose (a,f)		+		
Ahmose (b)		+		+
Hatshepsut (a,g)	+	+	+	
Mutnofret (c)				+
Ese I (c)			+	+
Meritre Hatshepsut (a)			?	
Meritre Hatshepsut (b)			+	+
Meritamun II (a)	+	+	+	
Iaret (a)	+	+		
Tiaa (a)			?	
Tiaa (b)			+	+
Mutemwiya (c)				+
Teye (a)				
Teye (b)				+
Sitamun III (a)	+			

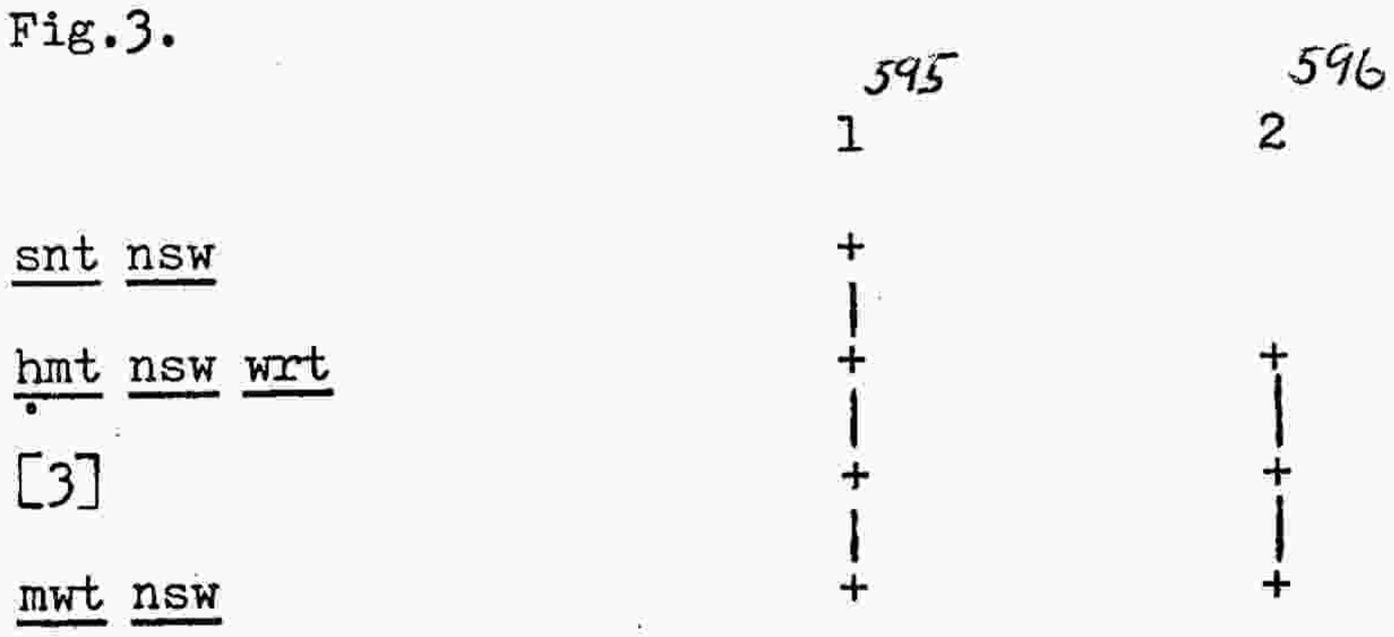
Some queens have a smaller selection of titles for use in this section than others. Before she becomes mwt nsw, Teye is limited to hmt nsw/hmt nsw wrt/hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f. Queens also frequently omit titles which they use elsewhere. The selection of titles does not

Fig.2.


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
s3t nsw
snt nsw
hmt ntr
hmt nsw
hmt nsw wrt
hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f
hnmt nfr hdt
mwt nsw

affect the order in which they appear. The 71 titularies are set out in fig.2, showing the sequences that occur. hnmt nfr hdt is always placed after hmt nsw wrt, except for one example where it follows s3t nsw wrt. This title might seem to belong to section 3, because its structure differs from other titles in section 2, but it cannot be separated from hmt nsw wrt, and so belongs in section 2. mwt nsw may end the titulary, or be followed by titles from section 3. In three cases, it is preceded by one title from this section. Fig.3 shows that the sequence is not otherwise changed.

Fig.3.



The minor titles are contained in 15 titularies, six of which show variations on the major sequence (below).

s3t nsw mrjjt.f is used once with Hatshepsut (2c.1) and follows hmt ntr mrjjt ntr. This does not follow the normal sequence and will be considered below.

s3t nsw wrt occurs in the only titulary of Ahhotpe III (1a.1), followed by hnmt nfr hdt. This fits the normal sequence, although this is the only example when hnmt nfr hdt does not follow directly on hmt nsw wrt.

s3t nsw jtjj appears only once in a titulary of Ahmose Nofretary (1b.4). It is probably a variant of s3t nsw, and occurs in a similar position.

Its one use is not enough to suggest a meaningful distinction between the two titles. Ahmose Nofretary is otherwise s3t nsw.

snt nsw jtjj is similarly used only once, also by Ahmose Nofretary (1a.7), who is normally simply snt nsw. Like snt nsw, it follows s3t nsw, and is probably a variant of that title.

snt jtjj is found once in a titulary of Ahhotpe II (6.1), which shows a unique sequence, and will be discussed below. The title should mean "sister of the sovereign", and seems thus to have a similar meaning to snt nsw. The three titles containing the element jtjj all date from the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

mrjjt ntr occurs once after ḥmt ntr.[597] The order of titles differs from the normal sequence (below).

drt ntr occurs twice immediately after ḥmt ntr.[598] The first consists of the two titles only. The second does not fit the main sequence (below).

nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn is found once immediately after ḥmt ntr in a titulary of Tiaa (1e.1). All three titles, "beloved of the god", "god's hand" and "perfect of steps in the house of Amun", are not part of the queen's titulary as such, but belong with the priestly title ḥmt ntr, which they follow directly.[599] There is no evidence that they are used alone without ḥmt ntr.

mwt nsw mrjjt.f is used once in a titulary of Meritre Hatshepsut (1c.1), which displays the normal sequence of titles.

mwt nsw wrt occurs twice after ḥmt nsw, in the usual position of mwt nsw.[600] Its use with ḥmt nsw and not ḥmt nsw wrt suggests that wrt may have been transposed from one title to the other. wrt added to ḥmt nsw distinguishes the holder from the other ḥmwt nsw. mwt nsw wrt makes little sense, since a king has only one mother. It is possible for two mwt nsw to be alive at the same time, so the

title might mark the senior one. However, in the reign of Amenhotpe II, to which Meritre's titulary dates, Meritre was the only mwt nsw. Thutmose III's mother, Ese, who would have been the senior, was dead, while Tiaa did not yet hold the title.

mwt nsw šps̆t occurs in a titulary of Ahhotpe II (6.1), which has an unusual sequence of titles (below).

mwt nsw mwt bjtj mrjjt.f occurs once preceding ḥmt nsw wrt in a titulary of Ahmose (4/5).[601] We shall see below that mwt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt is a secondary sequence of these titles.

s3t ḥmt nsw wrt only occurs once in a titulary of Ahmose Nofretary (2c.2) between ḥmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw.

mwt nṯr is found twice in titularies of Mutemwiya (1a.1; 6.1). Both times it is placed after ḥmt nsw wrt. In a broken titulary of Mutemwiya (6.2), ddt ḥt nbt jr.tw n.s ḥnwt šm^{c}w mḥw intervene between ḥmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f and mwt nṯr. The title also occurs in a titulary of Teye (5.2), where it precedes ḥmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f.

Nineteen titularies contain variations in the sequence of titles in section 2. They do not together form a consistent pattern distinct from the main sequence. The following variations occur.[602]

1. ḥmt nṯr precedes s3t nsw. There are three examples. In the first two, the order of the remaining titles follows the major sequence (fig.1). In the third, the only other title is mrjjt nṯr which follows ḥmt nṯr directly, and thus precedes s3t nsw.

2. ḥmt nṯr is placed between s3t nsw and snt nsw. This occurs only on four cylinder seals of Ahmose Nofretary (2b.1). There are no other titles in the titulary.[603]

3. ḥmt nṯr follows ḥmt nsw or ḥmt nsw wrt. There are two examples. In the first, the other titles are in the normal sequence. In the

second, mwt nsw precedes hmt nsw wrt, a sequence known from elsewhere (below 5).

4. snt nsw follows hmt nsw wrt. There are two examples among the titularies of Ahmose (3a.1,2), who otherwise uses the normal order.

5. mwt nsw precedes hmt nsw wrt. There are five examples among the titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut (2a/5), Tiaa (5.1) and Mutemwiya (5.1[x2]; 5.2). This sequence is also used by Teye (5.1) in the reign of Akhenaton. One example of mwt nsw mwt bjtj mrjjt.f used by Ahmose (4/5) should also be included here.

6. hmt nsw snt jtjj ^{c}.w.s. s3t nsw mwt nsw špst ... hmt nsw.[604] Between the last two titles is a series of descriptive phrases concerning the actions of the queen during a particular crisis in the government.[605] They are not titles, since they refer to a specific occasion. Apart from the abnormal order of the titles, the titulary shows other unusual features. hmt nsw is repeated, occurring both before and after the phrases, probably to resume the queen's title in case the reader has lost track. The titles mwt nsw špst and snt jtjj are otherwise unknown, although snt nsw jtjj is used once by Ahmose Nofretary (1a.7). Apart from a short titulary at Buhen running hmt nsw mwt nsw (1b.1), this is the only titulary of Ahhotpe II which dates before the change in the moon hieroglyph. The text is in praise of Ahhotpe, and one would expect the titulary to contain her highest titles. She is not called hmt nsw wrt, but a unique addition has been made to mwt nsw, perhaps in compensation. There would have been plenty of space to include the title hmt nsw wrt, so we must conclude that she did not yet have this title, even though she is mwt nsw.

7. Titulary of Tiaa on a statue from Giza (6.1). The titulary is unique, both in its length and in the repetition of the queen's

cartouche after short sequences of titles. hmt ntr, hmt nsw and mwt nsw all occur more than once, while a number of titles are otherwise unknown for our queens. One sequence runs hmt nsw mwt nsw hmt ntr, which shows an abnormal position for hmt ntr.

8. Titularies of Mutemwiya on a statue from Karnak (6.1,2). The first titulary runs along one side of the queen's bark. It starts normally with section 1 followed by hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f, but mwt ntr mst nsw hsjjt nt ntr nfr ddt ht jr.tw n.s htp.s st.s jmj wj3.s smnhw m k3t dt "mother of the god who bore the king, favoured of the perfect god, who says anything and (it) is done for her, may she rest in her place which is in her bark embellished with everlasting work" intervene before mwt nsw. mst nsw is probably closely linked to mwt ntr. The second titulary on the other side of the bark is broken at the end. Again section 1 is followed by hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f, but this is followed by two titles from section 3 and then mwt ntr, after which there is a break; there is probably room for only one more title before the queen's name. The sequence in this titulary thus differs from that in the first.

The queens in whose titularies the variant orders 1-4 occur all use the normal sequence of titles in the majority of their titularies. Of the queens who use the sequence in variant 5, Meritre Hatshepsut, Ahmose and Tiaa are more usually hmt nsw wrt (...) mwt nsw. Mutemwiya uses the title mwt nsw in eight titularies. In four, hmt nsw wrt is omitted. In three mwt nsw precedes hmt nsw wrt. In one mwt nsw follows hmt nsw wrt mrjjt.f, but is separated from it by other titles. The order hmt nsw wrt mwt nsw occurs for Teye, 606 but the reverse order is more frequent (5.1[x7]). This secondary sequence for the two titles is therefore more common in

the reigns of Amenhotpe III and Akhenaton.

Section 2 of queen's titularies possesses a preferred sequence. Of all the titularies, only a small proportion show variations in the order of titles. Most of these variations are too poorly attested to be regarded as standard alternative sequences, but mwt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt occurs enough times, if we include Teye's later titularies, to be regarded as such. When a title is omitted from section 2, either because a particular queen did not bear it, or because it is not used on that occasion, the remaining titles normally appear in the usual order.[607] Queens known to be ḥmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw may omit these titles.[608] Because titularies may leave out titles which a queen is entitled to use, the lack of a title is of little significance unless the queen concerned is fairly well attested, and the title occurs in none of her titularies.[609] Sometimes, when there is more than one titulary on an object, titles omitted in one will be included in another.[610] Since, however, the order in this section is not inflexible, one cannot suppose that an error has been made if titles appear in an unusual order.[611]

4.2.3. Structure of section 3.

The titles found here do not form such a coherent group as those in section 2. They are:

1. ddt ḥt nbt jr.tw n.s "one who says anything and (it) is done for her" (1) (4.4.4).
2. nbt ḥswt m-ḥnt ʿḥ "possessors of favours in the palace" (1) (4.4.11).
3. ḥnwt nt ḥmwt nsw "mistress/superior of the king's wives" (1) (4.4.5).

4. tm(t) tš r-gs nb t3wj "one who is not absent from beside the lord of the Two Lands" (1) (4.4.11).

5. nbt pt "mistress of heaven" (1).

6. hnmt [ ] "she who is united with [ ]" (1).

7. hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw "one in authority over Upper and Lower Egypt" (1) (4.4.7).

8. hnwt šm^{c}w mhw "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt" (4) (4.4.7).

9. hnwt t3wj "mistress of the Two Lands" (12) (4.4.7).

10. hnwt t3wj tm(wj) "mistress of the whole Two Lands" (4) (4.4.7).

11. nbt t3wj "lady of the Two Lands" (14) (4.4.7).

12. hnwt nt t3w nbw "mistress of all lands" (1) (4.4.7).

In most titularies where section 3 occurs, only one title is found there, and there are not enough examples of two used together to discover if there is a preferred order. Whether there is a standard order within the "geographical" titles is difficult to say, as they rarely appear together. We find once each hnwt t3wj hnwt šm^{c}w mhw,[612] hnwt nt t3w nbw nbt t3wj[613] and hnwt šm^{c}w mhw nbt t3wj.[614] In the titularies of Nefertiti, hnwt šm^{c}w mhw nbt t3wj is attested.[615] In the 19th dynasty, Sitre and Nofretary use the reverse order,[616] but hnwt šm^{c}w mhw nbt t3wj is used again by Ese-nofre, queen of Merneptah.[617]

4.2.4. Conclusions.

Section 2 is the fundamental part of queens' titularies, and it is here that the sequence of titles is most regular. There are seven basic titles used in this section, to some of which mrjjt.f may be added without affecting the order. Variants on these titles occur, but none is common. Also titles relating to the office of

hmt ntr may be inserted immediately after that title. mwt ntr probably belongs to this section, but it is not introduced until the reign of Amenhotpe III, and a preferred position may not have been established for it. This section is the logical place for the unique s3t hmt nsw wrt; otherwise, the only titles inserted into section 2 in regular titularies are found in the few examples where a "geographical" title is placed between hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw (fig.3).

Although there is a preferred sequence of titles, section 2 is not rigid in form, since a selection can be made from the titles available, variant titles may be used, and the normal sequence is not always adhered to. However, scribes must have been familiar with the standard sequence of titles, and they would have had less freedom in constructing this section than the others. Where a titulary is expanded with titles from outside section 2, this is normally not done by inserting them in section 2, but by placing them before or after it, or, very rarely, before and after it; in most cases, convention seems to prohibit both.

Section 3 is normally short. It sometimes consists of three titles, but often only one occurs. Section 1 may contain only two or three titles, but it can be much longer. Therefore, if a scribe wanted to use a number of titles from outside section 2, he would place them before it, and titles normally found in section 3 could be placed in section 1, if wanted. nbt t3wj is an exception to this, and the two regular titularies where all three sections occur have nbt t3wj in section 3.

Section 1 must be introduced by jrjt-p^{c}t, and it is normal to follow this by wrt hswt wrt j3mt. However, wrt j3mt is often omitted and wrt hswt occasionally, while the order of the two may be

reversed. Of the remaining titles, most occur only once or twice. This, together with the large variety found in this section, suggests that there was considerable freedom in its construction; this would tend to prevent the development of a standard sequence among the titles.

Since section 3 is normally short, sequence of titles would not be so important here. It is usual for the section to contain a "geographical" title, but a number of titles occur here which are only attested once, and may have been coined by the scribe.

The division into sections is convenient for examining the structure of the titularies, but since all three rarely occur together, we should rather think of regular titularies as consisting of a basic part (my section 2) with other titles added before or after. Where there are no titles from section 2, which is rare, it is probably irrelevant to subdivide the titulary. The four anomalous titularies show that it was possible for a scribe to compose a titulary which did not conform with the normal structure.

4.3. Titles used alone by queens.

These can be divided into:

1)-6) titles of relationship: s3t nsw (wrt), snt nsw, ḥmt nsw, ḥmt nsw wrt, mwt nsw and mwt nsw wrt, sometimes with the addition of mrjjt.f, which we saw above is not an independant title.

7) ḥmt nṯr.

8) mwt nṯr.

9) ḥnmt nfr ḥḏt.

10) nbt t3wj.

11) ḥnwt t3wj.

12) mrjjt nsw.

A queen who is not of royal birth, nor the mother of a king, nor hmt ntr can use only hmt nsw or hmt nsw wrt, nbt/hnwt t3wj or mrjjt nsw; of these, nbt t3wj is found only rarely before the reign of Akhenaton, and hnwt t3wj and mrjjt nsw are attested only once each. hnmt nfr hdt is possibly confined to queens of royal birth (4.4.6); it is rarely used alone.

4.3.1. s3t nsw (wrt)

This is seldom used alone by queens. Since it is in most cases the only title used by king's daughters who are not queens, it may be impossible to know if the woman using it is at this time queen. Hatshepsut (a) uses the title s3t nsw alone on a scarab,[618] which could date to the reign of Thutmose I, II or III. The title occurs also once on Hatshepsut's sarcophagus,[619] but here the texts include the queen's name a number of times with different titles, one of which is hmt nsw wrt.

Iaret (a) appears with the title s3t nsw wrt on a scarab which cannot be dated.[620] She uses the title s3t nsw on a rock stela at Serabit el-Khadim dated to year 7 of Thutmose IV.[621] The same woman is found at Konosso on another stela of Thutmose IV, also dated to year 7 (pl.26). Here, the title hmt nsw wrt is used, so it is probable that she was already queen on the Serabit el-Khadim stela of the same date.

Sitamun III (a) is attested while princess as s3t nsw wrt.[622] On one of his statues, Amenhotpe son of Hapu has the title jmj-r3 pr n s3t nsw wrt.[623] As he is known from elsewhere to be the steward of Sitamun, the title must refer to her. However, it remains uncertain whether the statue dates before or after she became hmt nsw wrt.

4.3.2. snt nsw.

snt nsw does not often appear without the title s3t nsw. (It is used on later monuments of members of the early 18th dynasty royal family,[624] but this does not concern us here.) In the case of Ahmose, who is snt nsw but not s3t nsw, she is not attested with the title alone.

Hatshepsut (a) uses snt nsw alone four times on her sarcophagus (n.619).

4.3.3. ḥmt nsw.

Ahhotpe II (c) uses the title mainly on small objects,[625] while in titles of officials mwt nsw is preferred.[626]

Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e) hardly uses the title alone at all. It is found on only three out of her large number of scarabs.[627] ḥmt ntr is the title most commonly used alone before her name (4.3.7).

Ahmose (a,b,f) has the title on a statue group showing Thutmose I, Amun and the queen,[628] and in a [ḥtp] dj [nsw] formula in a funerary scene in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple.[629] Otherwise, it is confined to five examples on small objects.[630] There are slightly more objects that use ḥmt nsw wrt as sole title (4.3.4).

Mutnofret (c) is very poorly attested; only two titles are recorded for her. She is ḥmt nsw on a block from the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri,[631] and on a private stela showing her with Thutmose II (pl.51).

Hatshepsut (a,g) only has the title alone on her sarcophagus (n.619).

Sitioh (a) is known from a number of objects which carry a single title only. Use of ḥmt nsw is less frequent than ḥmt nsw wrt (4.3.4). It occurs in the tomb of Thutmose III (pl.54), on a fragment of a private stela from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III,[632] and on a

model axe-head which was part of a foundation deposit at Abydos.[633] Meritre Hatshepsut (a,b) has the title in the tomb of Thutmose III (pl.54), like Sitioh in the same scene. It also appears on a scarab.[634] hmt nsw wrt alone is more frequent (4.3.4). Teye (a,b) is more heavily attested than other queens. She is recorded once as hmt nsw in the temple of Soleb,[635] where she is more frequently hmt nsw wrt. One private stela calls her hmt nsw (pl. 24). Otherwise, the use of the title is confined to smaller, less monumental objects.[636] It is also used once in the title of one of her officials.[637] On the commemorative scarabs, hmt nsw alternates with hmt nsw wrt.[638] On other scarabs and similar objects, the use of hmt nsw far exceeds that of hmt nsw wrt.[639] Sitamun III (a) is attested once as hmt nsw on a knob from a box.[640]

4.3.4. hmt nsw wrt.

Ahhotpe II (c) is referred to as hmt nsw wrt in the text of the stela of Iuf.[641] The stela is posthumous, dating at the earliest to the reign of Thutmose II (2.1 no.4). The text on a coffin belonging to Ahmose Henutempet filiates this princess to a hmt nsw wrt Ahhotpe.[642] It is not certain whether Ahhotpe I, II or III is meant. It probably dates fairly late in Ahhotpe's life, or even after her death, as the coffin is made for an adult, so the princess must have been grown up.

Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e) is plentifully attested with the title in her titularies, but alone it occurs only on a menit (?)[643] and on one of her numerous scarabs.[644]

Ahmose (a,b) uses this title alone more often than hmt nsw. It is found in a private tomb,[645] on a private stela,[646] a graffito,[647] a jar,[648] a kohl pot[649] and nine scarabs.[650]

Hatshepsut (a,g) uses the title alone only twice, although it is well attested in her titularies. It occurs once on her sarcophagus (n.619) and once in the biography of Ahmose Pennekhbet,[651] where curiously it is found with her prenomen as king, Maatkare. In both cases, the title is used in association with at least one other title, and the separation is incidental, so Hatshepsut did not really use this as a sole title.

Sitioh (a) has this as her most frequent title. It occurs naming a statue in a temple scene (pl.134) and on a statue dedicated by Thutmose III (pl.120), an offering table (pl.72), a jar which also gives the name of Thutmose III,[652] two limestone ovals from foundation deposits[653] and a scarab.[654]

Meritre Hatshepsut (a,b) is found with the title in three temple scenes (pls.10,36,37), on a private stela,[655] a jar,[656] and a scarab.[657]

Tiaa (a,b) is not very well attested, and is found only once using a single title, hmt nsw wrt, in the tomb of Tjenuna (pl.138).

Nofretary (a) is known only from a scarab of Thutmose IV which does not give her a title[658] and from a series of seven stelae of Thutmose IV from Giza, on which hmt nsw wrt is her only title (pls.14-20).

Mutemwiya (c) is hmt nsw wrt in one of the birth scenes at Luxor (pl.55) and on a statue,[659] where her name occurs a number of times with several titularies.

Teye (a,b) is most often called hmt nsw wrt when only one title is used, except on scarabs. The title occurs in sed festival scenes at Soleb,[660] on a block from the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III,[661] on an entablature at Sedeinga showing Teye as a female sphinx (pl. 78), in the titles of four of her officials,[662] on a stela,[663] twice in a private tomb,[664] on a funerary figure,[665] on the canopy made for her by Akhenaton,[666] on the sarcophagus of Mekhetaton,[667] on furniture,[668] on an offering table,[669] in a quarry inscription

Amarna,[670] on the statues flanking the "Memnon colossi" of Amenhotpe III at the entrance to his mortuary temple,[671] and in filiation formulae.[672] The commemorative scarabs alternate the title with hmt nsw, while on other scarabs only about a fifth use hmt nsw wrt, while the rest have hmt nsw (4.3.3).

4.3.5. mwt nsw.

Tetisheri (c) is attested only with this title,[673] except on CG 34002, which is posthumous.

Ahhotpe II (c) has mwt nsw in the titles and phrases of her officials,[674] and on a private stela.[675] When a title appears alone on small objects, hmt nsw is preferred (4.3.3), but mwt nsw occurs on one scarab.[676]

Ahmose Nofretary (a,b,e) has the title on a stela of Amenhotpe I (pl.4),[677] on two menits[678] and on three scarabs.[679]

Senisonb (d) is mwt nsw on Thutmose I's stela of year 1[680] and later in the title of a lector priest.[681]

Ese (c) has only one preserved titulary. In the remaining five occurrences of her name, she is only mwt nsw.[682]

Meritre Hatshepsut (b) is given the title on a scarab where she is named with Amenhotpe II.[683]

Mutemwiya (c) uses the title alone in two temple scenes (pls.21,60), a private tomb (pl.43), a graffito (pl.44) and on a docket.[684]

Teye (b) is mwt nsw in a title of Huya,[685] on the canopy made for by Akhenaton[686] and on the sarcophagus of Meketaton,[687]

4.3.6. mwt nsw wrt.

We have already seen that this title appears in two titularies following hmt nsw, and I suggested that wrt might have been trans-

ferred from one title to another (4.2.2). There is only one example where the title occurs alone, and it seems most likely that wrt was a mechanical addition, rather than an intrinsic part of the title. Teye (b) has the title once in the tomb of Huya at Amarna.[688]

4.3.7. hmt ntr.

This is used alone by two queens only.[689]

Ahmose Nofretary (a,b) has it on the "Donation" stela,[690] in the titles of her steward[691] and her nurse,[692] in the text of a private stela referring to her death,[693] on two(?) menits,[694] and on seventy-one of her scarabs.[695] It is by far the most frequent title which she has alone.

Hatshepsut (a,g) has it on her sarcophagus (n.619), in the titles of her officials during the regency,[696] and in phrases used by them,[697] on a kohl tube[698] and on the majority of her scarabs.[699] It is the most frequent title which she has alone.

4.3.8. mwt ntr.

The title was introduced for queens in the reign of Amenhotpe III, and its use is not common even in a titulary.

Teye (b) has the title once in TT 192 (Kheruef) in a scene with Amenhotpe IV.[700]

4.3.9. hnmt nfr hdt.

Ahmose Nofretary (a,b) has the title on two beads.[701] Otherwise, it is not used alone.

4.3.10. nbt t3wj.

Although this title is fairly common in titularies of our period, it

is not often found alone.

Hatshepsut (a,g) has it once on her sarcophagus (n.619), in titles and phrases of officials during the regency,[702] and on scarab(s?),[703] which must date before she is king, because the title occurs with the name Hatshepsut, and not with her prenomen.

Mutemwiya (c) is referred to by this title on a statue of her.[704] It is used without her name.

Teye (b) has it on a stela from Amarna.[705] This may be due to the influence of Nefertiti, who often has the title alone, her use of it being modelled on the king's use of nb t3wj, of which nbt t3wj is the female counterpart (see also pp.229,285-6).

4.3.11. hnwt t3wj.

Although well attested in titularies, this is not normally used alone by queens.

Ahhotpe II (c) is once referred to by this title in the phrase shntj.n hnwt t3wj "one whom the mistress of the Two Lands advanced",[706] referring to one of her officials.

4.3.12. mrjjt nsw.

Sitioh (a) has this "title" once in a scene on an offering table, where she is depicted as a private person (pl.72). This is the only occurrence in our period, although it is used later in a titulary of Nofretary in the small temple at Abu Simbel.[707] It is not a standard title of queens, and is probably an expanded version of mrjjt.f.

4.3.13. Conclusions.

The reasons for the use of a single title rather than a titulary are not clear, but the following points may be noted.

Most contexts where one title occurs alone are on non-

monumental material such as furniture, graffiti, cosmetic objects, menits, scarabs, objects from foundation deposits, jars, dockets and funerary material. It is also common in titles and phrases used by officials which refer to the queen, and in filiation formulae. Titularies, mostly short, can appear on this type of material, but on small objects the use of one title will be due mainly to reasons of space. Titles of officials tend to be concise, and, for instance, in referring to the king will often call him only nb t3wj, ntr nfr, or nsw bjtj. In phrases, there will be a limit to the number of titles that can be inserted without lengthening them unduly.

Queens, however, also appear with a single title on monumental material, in temple scenes, on royal stelae, in a royal tomb, on statues, in private tombs and on private stelae. In many cases, the design of the scene may limit the space available for the titles of the queen,[708] although one cannot be certain whether the titulary is designed to fit the scene or the scene the titulary. Sometimes, other titles of the queen may appear elsewhere on the object or in nearby scenes.[709] When representations of statues are shown in scenes, it is not usual to give long titularies to identify them.[710] A number of actual statues of queens are identified by the dedicatory phrase jr.n.f m mnw.f n N, in which it is normal for only one or two titles of the queen to be used.[711] Further, queens who use a single title most often on monumental material are those whose use of titles from section 2 is limited, because several do not apply to them.[712]

When the cartouches of a king and queen are of equal size and juxtaposed, the king's title or titles will be balanced by a title or titles of the queen occupying the same amount of space. In most cases, therefore, there will be room for only one title.[713] During our period, this phenomenon occurs mostly on non-monumental material,[714] but it is also found on a rock stela,[715] and in a temple

scene (pl.60). In the reign of Akhenaton, it becomes normal for Nefertiti's cartouche to be placed beside those of the king.

The titles which are most commonly used alone are all drawn from section 2. This supports my conclusion that section 2 forms the basic part of queens' titularies.

4.4. Individual titles.

A number of these titles are derived from male titles, as is noted in individual sections. Where necessary, I discuss the relationship between the male and female titles, but there is not the space available for a full discussion of the male titles themselves, some of which are among the commonest of all royal or official titles.

4.4.1. jrjt-p^{c}t.

4.4.1.1. Occurrences.

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.4

(e; R): 1a.11

(?; R): 1d.1

Ahmose (a/; NR): 4.1

(b; NR): 1a.3; 1d.1; 1e.1; 4/5

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.9,22,23; 4.1

(g; R): 1a.2,3,4,17,21

Ese (c; NR): 1b.1

Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR): 1a.1

(b; NR): 1e.1

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.1-4; 6.1,2

Teye (a; NR): 1a.1-8

(a/b; NR): 1d.1,2

(b; NR): 1a.10

4.4.1.2. Discussion.

The first queens to bear the title jrjt-p^{c}t are three wives

of Pepi II, two of whom are s3t nsw while the third is not.[716] In the Middle Kingdom, it is used by queens of both royal and non-royal birth.[717] In the reign of Amenemhat III, the title is used by at least one of his daughters who does not seem to be hmt nsw.[718] By this time, it can be followed by wrt j3mt(?) and wrt hswt,[719] which became usual in the 18th dynasty, although the order of the two is reversed. jrjt-p^{c}t continues to be used by queens who are of non-royal birth in the Second Intermediate Period.[720] During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the title is also used by non-royal women,[721] and there may also be an Old Kingdom example of this usage.[722] In the New Kingdom, the title is almost totally confined to queens, but there is an example of its use by a non-royal woman.[723]

jrjt-p^{c}t is the feminine form of the high ranking male title jrj-p^{c}t. It seems to be in a different category from the other titles of Old Kingdom queens, which do not relate to the system of titles used by officials. There was a general devaluation of titles in the reign of Pepi II,[724] and titles which were once high ranking became more widely used. There is no record of this happening to queens' titles, and they do not seem to have been taken over by other women, so that there was probably no need to add jrjt-p^{c}t because the other titles had been devalued. The title was possibly given to queens as a ranking one to bring them into the system of ranking at court, but as women had few titles of their own and their precedence probably depended on the rank of their husband, it is difficult to see why queens should need such a title, unless it carried with it certain material benefits. From the first, the title always stood at the beginning of the titulary, perhaps because it was recognised to be different from the other titles, but more

likely because jrj-p^{c}t, as the highest ranking male title, also stands in this position.[725]

jrjt-p^{c}t is often translated "hereditary princess",[726] on the assumption that it marks the heiress to the throne whom the king had to marry to legitimise his succession (Introduction). This cannot be so, because it is used by queens both of royal and non-royal birth (4.4.1.1). The best 18th dynasty example is Teye, whose parents are known to be non-royal.[727] It is used by queens of all three major types (4.4.1.1), whereas if it refers to the "heiress", it should not be found with type c. There is no evidence at any period that it was confined to women of royal birth; we saw above that one of the first queens to use it was not s3t nsw. Since it tends to occur only in longer titularies, many queens who are poorly attested are not recorded with it, but its use by all well attested queens suggests that all queens may have been able to use it.[728] If the title really had the significance of "heiress", one might well expect it to be used more frequently and prominently, perhaps before the name of the queen at the end of the titulary, or alone. This, however, could be because its male counterpart is not normally used in this way, but there are examples where jrj-p^{c}t stands before the name.[729] The conclusion of Mertz that "there is no indication that it was at any time the exclusive prerogative of either the heiress or chief wife" still stands.[730]

Goedicke discusses the title when examining those of Nofretary.[731] He suggests that it is an "indication of her origin in high-ranking society".[732] Since the title is almost totally confined to queens at this time, this seems unlikely. One might expect queens of non-royal birth to be drawn from a certain sector of society, although there is no evidence that the king could not take

any woman he wanted as queen, and the origins of most of them are unknown. The title, however, is only given to these women, as to princesses, on becoming queen, so that it probably says nothing about their background. It is more likely that it gives them a theoretical rank considered suitable for a queen.

Goedicke also follows an idea of Helck,[733] that the title may mean "regent".[734] Special reference is made to Ahmose Nofretary, but there is no evidence that she was regent for Amenhotpe I.[735] The only known regent in the 18th dynasty is Hatshepsut. Aling suggests Mutemwiya may have been regent for Amenhotpe III,[736] but this is not stated anywhere, nor does Mutemwiya's position stand out from that of other queens, as does that of Hatshepsut as regent. None of the other kings of the 18th dynasty came to the throne as minors, yet queens throughout this period bear the title. Therefore, it could only mean at the most that every queen had the potential to become regent if necessary, but such a hypothesis would be extremely tenuous, and could not be tested.

4.4.2. wrt hswt, wrt j3mt and titles of group B section 1.

4.4.2.1. Queens who use the titles.

a. wrt hswt.

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.4

(e; R): 1a.11

(?; R): 1d.1

Ahmose (a/f; NR): 4.1

(b; NR): 1a.3; 1d.1; 4/5

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.9,22,23; 4.1

(g; R): 1a.2,3,17,21

Ese (c; NR): 1b.1

Meritre Hatshepsut (a; NR): 1a.1

(b; NR): 1e.1

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.1,4; 6.1,2

Teye (a; NR): 1a.1-6

(a/b; NR): 1d.1,2

(b; NR): 1a.10

b. nbt hswt.

Teye (a; NR): 1a.7

c. wrt j3mt.

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.4

(e; R): 1a.11

Ahmose (a/f; NR): 4.1

(b; NR): 1d.1; 4/5

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.9,23; 4.1

(g; R): 1a.2,3,17,21

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.2,3

d. nbt j3mt.

Teye (a; NR): 1a.5(?, n.567)

(b; NR): 1a.10

e. bnrt mrwt

Ahmose Nofretary (e; R): 1a.11

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR): 1e.1(?)

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.2; 6.2

Teye (a; NR): 1a.5

f. ndmt mrwt.

Teye (a/b; NR): 1d.1

(b; NR): 1a.10

g. ^{c}3t mrwt.

Ahmose (b; NR): 1d.1; 4/5

Hatshepsut (g; R): 1a.3

h. wrt bnrt.

Ahmose (b; NR): 4/5

i. nbt bnrt.

Ahmose (b; NR): 1d.1

j. ndmt jb.

Ahmose (b; NR): 4/5

k. j3mt jb

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 6.2

l-m. nbt rš̆wt, ḥnwt t3w

Teye (a/b; NR): 1d.1

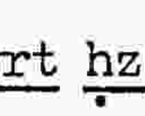
n. ^{c}3t nrw.

Teye (a; NR): 1a.8

o-p. wrt f3w, dsrt hkrw.

Teye (a; NR): 1a.5

4.4.2.2. Discussion.

In the Old Kingdom, two important queens' titles were wrt hts and wrt hz(w)t.[737] The first was written  or more often  . The second was normally written  , although there are examples of plural writings.[738] It is possible that it should always be read as a plural, but there may be two versions of the title. wrt hz(w)t is not so frequent as wrt hts, which it usually follows. The reading hts is clear because of the writing with a following .

In the Second Intermediate Period, the writing  no longer occurs, while in the 17th dynasty we find the title   written out.[739] Since the signs for hts and j3mt are often indistinguishable, at some point between the end of the Old Kingdom and the 17th dynasty, the title probably ceased to be read wrt hts and was reinterpreted as wrt j3mt, perhaps in the Middle Kingdom when queens' titularies developed a new form. The titles of relationship remain, but the titles tjst Hrw and smrt Hrw are no longer used, m33t Hrw Sth occurs only occasionally,[740] and zm3wt mrjj nbtj was probably reinterpreted (4.4.3 with n.762). Later in the 12th dynasty a new title(?) hnmt nfr hdt was adopted by queens (4.4.6).

Instead of the old title, "great of the hts object", a new one has been formed, which is often translated "great of charm". wrt hswt, clearly plural in many 18th dynasty examples, is considered to be of the same structure, meaning "great of favours". If, however, wrt j3mt was originally the title wrt hts, it is probable

that wrt hz(w)t did not in the beginning mean "great of favour(s)", especially as other titles of this structure do not occur in titularies of Old Kingdom queens. It may have had a more concrete meaning such as "great one of libation(s)", referring, for example, to ritual provisions made or actions performed by the queen. Once the titles became reinterpreted as wrt j3mt and wrt hswt, variations like nbt hswt and nbt j3mt became possible.

In the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the titles are found in the order wrt j3mt(?) wrt hs(w)t.[741] In the 18th dynasty this order is normally reversed. Whereas in the Old Kingdom wrt hts was, to judge by their comparative frequencies, the more important title, in the 18th dynasty, wrt hswt is used more often. During the reign of Amenhotpe III, wrt j3mt disappears. It is perhaps replaced once in this reign and occasionally later by nbt j3mt (n.688). wrt j3mt, however, reappears a few times in the 19th dynasty,[742] when some examples of wrt hts are also found.[743]

In the Old Kingdom, queens' titularies did not contain titles of the type wrt hswt, wrt j3mt, ᶜ3t/bnrt mrwt, j3mt/ndmt jb. They are probably found for the first time in the Middle Kingdom with wrt hs(w)t and wrt j3mt(?). In the Middle Kingdom biographies of officials the following occur:[744] ᶜ3 mrwt (I H 44-54), wr mrwt (I R 38), bnr mrwt (I W 2,3,6,7), w3h mrwt (I N 28), nb j3mt (IV Ac 2,3,5,7), mn hswt (I Z 23), ᶜ3 hswt (I H 59), wr hswt m pr nsw (I R 35,42,43), wr hswt m pr bjtj (I R 32), wr hswt m stp-s3 (I R 40), mn hswt m stp-s3 (I Z 24), ᶜ3 hswt r-gs nb.f (I H 57,58), wr bnrt (I R 39). Three officials also claim jnk nb mrwt ᶜ3 j3mt (IV Ac 18), jnk nb j3mt bnr mrwt (IV Ac 6) and jnk nb j3mt w3h mrwt (IV Ac 4), while in Sinuhe, it is said of Senwosret I, nb j3mt pw ᶜ3 bnrt.[745] Similar phrases are occasionally also used by women,

but this is not so common (CG 20313, 20342). Officials in the 18th dynasty continue to use titles of this kind,[746] and a New Kingdom woman is nbt j3mt bnrt mrwt.[747] Titles of this type are also found with kings,[748] and deities.[749]

It may be significant that these titles or epithets were current at least from the 11th dynasty,[750] at a time when queens' titularies were changing from the Old Kingdom model, and when wrt hts and wrt hz(w)t were being reinterpreted. If they had lost their former significance, the influence of the titles of officials could have led them to be remodelled as wrt j3mt and wrt hswt. wr j3mt may not be attested for an official, but nb j3mt provides the model, while wrt is retained from the old title. In the same way, mn hswt used alone and wr hswt, known from wr hswt m pr nsw/stp-s3, provide the model for wrt hswt.

It seems, therefore, that although wrt j3mt and wrt hswt developed out of Old Kingdom queens' titles, their reinterpretation was due partly to the influence of the phraseology of officials. c3t/bnrt mrwt are probably derived from the same source, which may then have supplied the model for other similar titles.

These titles present problems in translation, because the meaning of the words hswt, j3mt, mrwt and bnrt has not been properly defined. Such a study would be outside the scope of this work.

The commonest of these titles, wrt hswt, and its variant nbt hswt, are usually translated "great of favours" and "possessor of favours". The problem lies in the direction of reference of the word hswt, that is, whether it refers to favours from the king, or favours that the queen dispenses.[751] hswt are normally passed from a superior to an inferior, but we can see the queen as the inferior of the king receiving favours from him, or as the superior of

humanity, dispensing favours to them. There is some evidence for the latter. On the stela of Iuf, the owner says dd(.j) n.tn dj.j sdm.tn hst.j hr hmt nsw wrt (J^{c}hhtp)| "I speak to you that I may cause you to hear my favour from the hmt nsw wrt (Ahhotpe)|", and later, kjtj hst nt hmt nsw wrt (J^{c}hms)| "another favour of the hmt nsw wrt (Ahmose)|".[752] Once, Meritre Hatshepsut (1a.2) has the title nbt hswt m-hnt ^{c}h "possessor of favours within the palace" in section 3 of a titulary, but this still does not make it plain whether she is receiving or dispensing favours. I believe, none the less, that the basic meaning is reception of favours from the king, that is, from the queen's superior, but that since she in turn could dispense favours to her inferiors, the title incorporated this as a secondary meaning.

wrt j3mt and the variant nbt j3mt are normally translated "great of charm" and "possessor of charm". j3mt is not an attribute exclusive to queens, nor even to women, despite the temptation to see in this title an expression of the queen's femininity. In the hymn to Senwosret I in Sinuhe, there is a contrast between the king in his warlike aspect and the king as "possessor of charm and great of sweetness". In the latter aspect, "he has seized by love (i.e. won people over by his capacity to inspire love). His city loves him more than itself. They rejoice over him more than over their gods. Men and women are surpassingly joyful in him because he is king."[753]

The titles bnrt/^{c}3t/ndmt mrwt are not exclusive to queens. The verb mrj is reciprocal, so that the action of loving can be performed in opposite directions by two parties; for example, mr ntr mrr sw "the god loves the one who loves him",[754] while gods perform actions for the king because they love him more than any

king,[755] and kings do things for gods because they love them more than any god.[756] King Ahmose is once called nb mrwt r nsjjw nbw "possessor of love more than any king".[757] Taken in conjunction with the phrases where a god does something for the king because he loves him more than any other king, mrwt could be love received from the god. However, mrwt can also be a quality which is emanated, and it could be the king's possession of mrwt "lovability(?)" which would cause the gods to love him. In queens' titles, mrwt might mean either love received or given, but possibly refers to the quality of "lovability(?)" possessed by the queen. If so, the title would carry with it the implication that the queen receives love from the king as a result of this quality.

That there is a close connection between hswt, mrwt and j3mt is seen not only from queens' titularies, but also from those of officials and their biographical phrases.[758] Titles containing them are used by deities, kings and officials as well as by queens, so that the queens' titles must not be seen in isolation but as part of a group. It is clear that they are not exclusively feminine, although the attributes suggested by them might seem so to us. From the point of view of sex, we should regard the terms as neutral.

Whatever the precise meaning of these titles, the question remains as to how important a part of the queens' titularies they were. In our period, they appear only in section 1 of the titulary, which occurs in roughly a fifth of our titularies. Numerically, wrt hswt is by far the most important, followed by wrt j3mt and then the titles containing mrwt. In official titularies, mrwt is more frequent than j3mt, but the difference may be due to the historical development of queens' titularies, since the pair of titles wrt hswt wrt j3mt grew out of wrt hts wrt hz(w)t by way of wrt j3mt wrt hs(w)t.

The reversal in the order of the titles may reflect a decrease in the importance of the title wrt j3mt.

The kernel of the queen's titularies is section 2, and some of the "geographical" titles, while the titles of section 1 are probably of secondary importance. So far as we can tell, the group examined here shows no distinction in use between types of queens. Of the titles that occur more than once, wrt hswt, wrt j3mt and bnrt mrwt are used by all three major types. ^{c}3t mrwt, nbt j3mt and ndmt jb do not appear with queens of type c, but this is probably due to lack of material, as this type of queen is less well attested.

The stereotyped character of the titles makes it doubtful whether they say anything about the individual queens who bore them, although they may say something about the general conception of "queenship". The association of the queen with the concepts hswt, mrwt and j3mt, which can also be used of deities, kings and officials, integrates her into the system in which these applied.

Two titles in group B section 1, ^{c}3t nrw and wrt f3w, each used once by Teye,[759] are the feminine counterparts of the king's titles ^{c}3 nrw and wr f3w. It is possible that hnwt t3w, also once used by Teye (ld.1), similarly derives from the king, since apart from gods, it is the king who is associated with the giving of breath. The use of these titles might suggest an enhanced status for Teye, but their rarity and the possibility that we lack them for earlier queens through chance of survival makes this uncertain. However, we have already seen that Teye's status differs in some ways from that of her predecessors (3.2.6; 3.5.19.5).

4.4.3. smrt Hrw, m33t Hrw (m33t) Sth, sm3jjt Hrw.

These three titles should be placed together as archaisms,

18th dynasty, unless Tiaa uses s3t Gb on one of her Giza statues (below). Earlier, this title is occasionally attested from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[764] This titulary also uses the Old Kingdom form of the title for king's mother, mwt nsw bjtj (above).

As a group these three titularies stand distinct from the general pattern, both in their structure and in their use of archaisms. The latter could be due to the traditional forms in the birth cycle, since this myth predates the 18th dynasty.[765] However, the same archaising titles and form of titulary are not found in the birth scenes at Luxor, where Mutemwiya's titularies have features in common with those of Teye, showing that their structure belongs to the reign of Amenhotpe III. This suggests that the queen's titularies were composed for each version of the cycle and inserted into the traditional text. Ahmose's titles are therefore probably pseudo-archaisms. The scribe who designed them might simply have felt that they were suitable for these scenes, but they are more probably part of the general tendency towards archaism found elsewhere in the temple.

Tiaa's titulary 6.1 occurs on a fragment of the base of a standing statue. It has not been properly published in a good photograph. Selim Hassan gives a translation and not a copy of the texts themselves.[766] Zivie works from Hassan, as the pieces are lost.[767] The text on the statue base is an offering formula of the type prt nbt m-b3h Jtm Hr3htj n N. The titulary begins normally with jrjt-p^{c}t wrt hswt wrt j3mt bnrt mrwt hnwt t3wj tm(wj) m33t Hrw Sth mwt nsw (Tj^{c}3). After this, however, there are more titles, and the queen's name is repeated after every second or third one. The titles used here are mht ^{c}h m stj j3dt.s mwt nsw; ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s; (the follower of Horus and priestess of Amun?)[768] hmt ntr;

sdt(t) P [sdtt] Dp (the daughter of Geb, the powerful uraeus, the wife of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt); hmt nsw mwt nsw hmt ntr; hmt ntr w^{c}b ^{c}wj(?). "The priestess of Amun(?)", "the powerful uraeus", sdt(t) P [sdtt] Dp are otherwise unknown among queens' titles.[769] "Follower of Horus" suggests an archaising title containing Hrw; Zivie suggests sm3jjt Hrw as a possibility,[770] but this does not fit the traces on the photograph. "Daughter of Geb" should translate s3t Gb, which we saw is also used by Ahmose in one of the birth scenes (above). w^{c}b ^{c}wj(?) goes with the title hmt ntr, and refers to the ritual purity of the priestess. It does not occur elsewhere with hmt ntr during our period, but it is attested later.[771]

A back pillar from a second statue of Tiaa found at Giza also gives an unusual titulary (1e.1). It runs jrjt-p^{c}t m pr wr hnwt hmwt [nbt/nsw] [ ] (Dhwtjms h^{c} h^{c}w) dj ^{c}nh hmt ntr nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn mwt nsw. The addition m pr wr "in the shrine of Upper Egypt" to jrjt-p^{c}t is otherwise unknown. The third title includes the king's nomen. Ahmose is once mwt nsw (Hnmtjmn H3tšpswt). Teye (1a.3) has the title hnmt nsw H^{c}mm3^{c}t, which includes part of the Horus name of the king. In the 12th dynasty, Nofret is sm3jjt (H^{c}hprr^{c}).[772] It is possible that the missing word in Tiaa's title is either [sm3jjt] or [hnmt]; mwt nsw is less likely because this title occurs at the end of the titulary. nfrt nmtt m pr Jmn almost certainly belongs with the title hmt ntr, and refers to Tiaa walking in the temple to perform the ritual duties of the hmt ntr.

Both titularies use unusual titles, and in both cases the title hmt ntr appears with titles that emphasize its priestly aspect.

Archaic titles are not common in titularies of 18th dynasty queens. It is difficult to know whether their use was occasioned by

special circumstances, or whether it was due to personal choice on the part of the scribe. Of course, in the latter case, the scribe would probably be influenced by what he regarded as suitable circumstances for the employment of archaic or pseudo-archaic titles; both the birth scenes and the provenance of Tiaa's statues from near the sphinx give good archaising contexts. The rarity of these archaising titles shows that they are separate from the normal repertory of queens' titles.

4.4.4. ddt ḥt nbt jr.tw n.s

4.4.4.1. Occurrences.

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.1

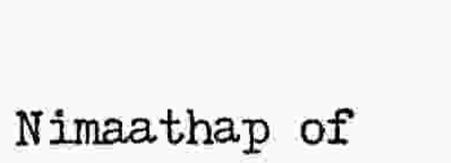
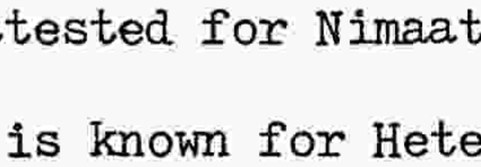
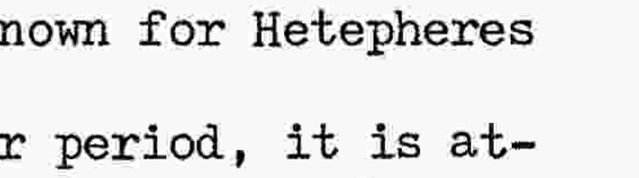
Ahmose (b; NR): 1d.1; 4/5

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 6.1,2

4.4.4.2. Discussion.

The title is an ancient one, first attested for Nimaathap of the 2nd dynasty.[773] In the Old Kingdom, it is known for Hetepheres I,[774] Meritites[775] and Khentkaues.[776] During our period, it is attested for only four queens. It is also used by Nefertiti,[777] the deified Ahmose Nofretary,[778] Sitre[779] and Nofretary.[780]

The writing of the title varies slightly during its period of use. In the early examples, it appears as (Nimaathap, Meritites) or (Hetepheres I, Khentkaues). The first occurrence in the 18th dynasty has the form  , while in the other five cases it appears as  [781]. In the reign of Akhenaton, the title appears as  (n.[777]).

The title has been discussed and variously translated by several scholars. Naville, quoting both Old and New Kingdom examples, translated it "celle qui dit toutes les choses qui sont faites pour elle", and commented "c'est-à-dire celle qui prescrit, qui ordonne elle-même tous les honneurs royaux ou divins qui lui seront rendus. Cette traduction qui demande de nouvelles preuves à l'appui me parait ressortie du sens habituel de l'expression  ."[782] Sethe translated the later form as "die, welche all Dinge sagt (sagen kann) und man thut sie ihr, d.h., wenn sie irgend etwas sagt, so wird es getan."[783] Junker suggested as a translation of the Old Kingdom title "die, von der mann alle (schönen) Dinge, die sie getan, erzählt".[784] Edgerton's translation is similar to Sethe's, "for whom whatsoever she asks is done, literally who says anything and it is done for her".[785] Kuchman agrees with this meaning, giving "everything she says is done", omitting n.s from her translation.[786]

There are a number of queens' titles which begin with an active feminine participle, "she/one who...", found both in the Old Kingdom[787] and in the 18th dynasty,[788] and the construction of this one may be similar. ddt may mean "one who says", with ht nbt as the object. In the 18th dynasty examples, jr.tw is an active verb with an indefinite subject or an impersonal passive.[789] Therefore, one might translate "one who says anything and it is done for her", that is "when she says anything, it is done for her". This agrees with the translations of Sethe and Edgerton, and also of Naville, although his interpretation differs. Junker's translation is unlikely. He takes ddt as a passive participle with an impersonal subject, but to obtain the meaning "one about whom one recounts everything which she has done", there should be a preposition and resumptive pronoun

to render "about whom".

In the Old Kingdom title,  is unlikely to be read jr.tw at this time, and this would be most unlikely as early as the 2nd dynasty title. It should perhaps be taken as a passive participle agreeing with ḥt nbt, the whole title being translated "one who says anything which is (then) done for her".

In the reign of Akhenaton, we find the title in the form dd.s ḥt nbt jr.tw sw. The participle ddt is replaced by a sdm.f form, which is unusual in queens' titles,[790] and the phrase n.s has been replaced by the pronoun sw, which is the object of jr.tw and refers back to ḥt nbt, so that one would translate "(if) she says anything, one does it". This new form is an evident colloquialisation.

If we accept that during our period the title means "when she says anything, it is done for her", there still remains a problem as to its reference. Naville linked the title specifically with jrj ḥt, and suggested that it meant that the queen herself dictated the honours that will be paid to her, presumably in her funerary cult. On the face of it, this seems unlikely, as such provision was probably made by the king. On the other hand, while the title does seem to suggest authority on the part of the queen, "anything" as a translation of ḥt nbt may be too sweeping; the reference could be more specific. It is possibly related to the idea occurring in royal texts that the king does what he says.[791]

Kuchman remarks that in the Old Kingdom the title is used only by women who are mwt nsw.[792] In fact, of the three 4th dynasty queens who use the title, only Hetepheres I and Khentkaues have the title mwt nsw, while Meritites does not.[793] Other queens of the Old Kingdom attested as mwt nsw are not recorded with the title. It is probably coincidence that in three cases the title is borne by queens who may have linked two dynasties,[794] since Meritites does

not fall into this category, although, as wife of Khufu, her association with his father in the title wrt hts nt (Snfrw) is unusual, since wrt hts is normally the title of the king's hmt nsw.[795]

Whatever the precise meaning of the title, on present evidence, after its appearance in the 2nd dynasty, it is confined in the Old Kingdom to three queens of the 4th dynasty. It could signify something special about the position of these queens, or it could already have lost any importance that it had originally had, and was therefore only used sporadically.

In our period of the 18th dynasty, the title occurs only six times. All the queens who use it, except Tiaa, are well attested, so that it is certain that they did not use the title regularly. Nor does Nefertiti use her version of the title often. Its infrequent use by the queens with whom it is attested, and its absence from titularies of well attested queens like Hatshepsut and Teye suggest that it was not important in the 18th dynasty, and that its use does not tell us anything significant about the queens who are recorded with it. The titularies of Ahmose and Tiaa in which the title appears were discussed in 4.4.3 because of their use of archaising titles. An archaising context might explain the use of ddt ht nbt jr.tw n.s in these cases.

4.4.5. hnwt hmwt nbt/nsw.

This title occurs a number of times before the 18th dynasty. It is found in a titulary of Nofru, wife of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe,[796] on a fragment naming Nofru, wife of Senwosret I,[797] on a statue of Nofret, wife of Senwosret II (CG 382), on a fragment belonging to a princess from Dahshur,[798] on a statue group of

Amenemhat III and two princesses from Kom el-Hisn[799] and in a titulary of Nubkhaes, wife of Sekhemre Shedtawy Sebekemsaf.[800] It is also attested for a non-royal woman at Beni Hasan.[801] During our period, it is used once by Ahmose at Deir el-Bahri (1d.1). It may also be used by Tiaa on one of the Giza statue fragments (1e.1), but the last word of the title is lost. It cannot be restored with certainty because Meritre Hatshepsut uses the title hnwt hmwt nsw (1a.2).

Meritre's title can only mean "mistress/superior of the king's wives". It is possible that this is just a more explicit version of the older title which would then have meant "mistress/superior of all wives (of the king)". However, since hmt basically means "woman", it could be more general in application meaning "mistress/superior of all women", which would be a suitable title for a queen, since she presumably ranked over other women. Its use by the wife of a nomarch at Beni Hasan makes the matter no clearer. At the court of her husband, she would presumably be superior to other women. It is also possible that he had other wives over whom she ranked. On the other hand, the woman concerned may simply have arrogated a royal title which had no proper meaning outside the royal sphere.

4.4.6. hnmt nfr hdt.

4.4.6.1. Occurrences.

Ahhotpe I (a; ?): 1a.1

Ahhotpe II (c; R): 1b.3

Ahhotpe III (a; R): 1a.1

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.2; 1b.10

(a/b; R): 1a.6,12

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.13

Meritamun II (a; R): 1a.1

4.4.6.2. Discussion.

hnmt nfr hdt first appears in the 12th dynasty, when it presents problems because it seems to be used both as a title and as a name. Brunton listed the main examples,[802] and took it in all cases as a title. A recent study by Perdu, however, convincingly demonstrates that it was the name of a daughter of Amenemhat II and of the mother and queen of Senwosret III.[803] Having eliminated these examples from Brunton's list, Perdu accepts that the remaining occurrences are used as a title. These occur with two s3t nsw called Ita weret[804] and Khnumt,[805] known from tombs by the pyramid of Amenemhat II, with the s3t nsw Mont[806] and the hmt nsw Nofrethenut[807] from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III, the hmt nsw Aat[808] from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III and the mwt nsw Hetepti, mother of Amenemhat IV.[809]

The earliest attestations, therefore, both as title and name, are from the reign of Amenemhat II. Titles are often used as personal names, but one would expect use as a title to precede use as a name. Further, hnmt nfr hdt is not used as a name by private women. Since the two queens who have it as a name are not attested as s3t nsw and are probably of non-royal birth, they are likely to have changed their names to hnmt nfr hdt at some point.

hnmt nfr hdt is normally translated "she who is united to the white crown". The precise meaning is unknown, but it must connect the holder with the king. It would, therefore, be a suitable title for the queen, and titles using hnmt or sm3jjt which relate the queen to the king, are attested sporadically from the Old Kingdom

onwards.[810] However, hnmt nfr hdt as a title is apparently used in the first instance by princesses, not queens. Its usage by these princesses is unusual in that it can occur without a following name,[811] which is rare for titles. It is tempting to see all these examples as names. Khnumt and Ita might then be abbreviations or pet names, which would explain why they are not used together with hnmt nfr hdt, while in the third case, the princess might have a double name Hnmt nfr hdt Mnt. This might also be the case with Nofrethenut, while Aat's name might really be Hnmt nfr hdt ʿ3t, similar to Hnmt nfr hdt wrt, mother of Senwosret III.[812] If it was a name given only to royal women, who then had to use a second name for purposes of distinction, it might explain how it came to be regarded as a royal title in the 13th dynasty. If, however, hnmt nfr hdt was used as a title from the time of its introduction, we have the strange situation that it appeared both as a title and a name at the same time in the same restricted circle of royal women. It is clear that we do not yet understand the use of hnmt nfr hdt in the 12th dynasty.

From the 13th dynasty onwards, the use of hnmt nfr hdt is confined to queens.[813] The title ḥmt nsw wrt was introduced in the 13th dynasty, and hnmt nfr hdt normally follows directly on this, immediately preceding the name of the queen. It could have been considered part of the queen's name, rather than a title, but this cannot be established either way. In the 18th dynasty, there are examples where a title intervenes between hnmt nfr hdt and the name,[814] so it must be considered as a title.

In the 18th dynasty, hnmt nfr hdt always follows ḥmt nsw wrt directly. All the queens who use it in the 18th dynasty are found with the title s3t nsw.[815] Of the queens for whom the title is not

attested, Meritamun I, Sitkamose, Mutnofret, Ese, Sitioh, Tiaa, Iaret and Nofretary are poorly attested, so that it cannot be said with certainty that they did not use the title. However, Ahmose, Meritre Hatshepsut, Mutemwiya and Teye appear on a larger number of monuments, so that the lack of the title is more significant, and they probably did not use it. None of them is s3t nsw. Thus the distinction at this time between the queens who used the title and those who did not may be connected with royal birth. However, this cannot be deduced from the history of the title, since it is used by queens of non-royal birth in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. §16 If royal birth governs the use of the title in the 18th dynasty, there must have been a change in its use at the end of the 17th dynasty. Ahhotpe I may, therefore, have used the title in the earlier fashion, or she may have been of royal birth; the absence of s3t nsw from her only attestation cannot be considered significant. A connection between the title and royal birth would explain why it fell out of use, as the last well attested queens of the 18th dynasty, Mutemwiya, Teye and Nefertiti, are not s3t nsw. The title is not revived in later dynasties.

The title only occurs in a small number of titularies in the 18th dynasty. Of the queens who use it, Ahmose Nofretary and Hatshepsut are by far the best attested, but it occurs in only a few of their titularies. This suggests that it was ceasing to be current and possibly losing the importance that it had had in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, perhaps because there was a wider choice of titles for queens in the 18th dynasty. It is best attested for queens of type a, but its use by Ahhotpe II and Ahmose Nofretary on her coffin shows that it is compatible with mwt nsw.

Although the title may be connected with royal birth, there

is no evidence that it was connected with the "heiress", or was inherited from one queen to the next, since the queens who hold it do not form an unbroken line. Ahhotpe III could be the mother of Ahhotpe I, but there is no evidence for it. Although theoretically Ahmose Nofretary could have inherited the title from Ahhotpe II, if the latter was her mother, there is evidence that she held it first.[817] Hatshepsut's mother is not hnmt nfr hdt, and the family of Thutmose I is not in direct descent from Ahmose Nofretary. Meritamun II is probably the daughter of Meritre Hatshepsut (2.4.4.1 end), who is of non-royal birth. Thus, the title is not passed from one "heiress" to the next, but seems to have been used whenever there was a hmt nsw wrt of royal birth, irrespective of her mother's birth and use of the title.

4.4.7. "Geographical" titles.

4.4.7.1. Occurrences.

hnwt t3wj.

Ahhotpe II (c; R): 1b.4 (section 3).

Ahmose Nofretary (e; R): 1a.10 (section 3).

Ahmose (b; NR): 1e.1 (section 1).
1b.5,6 (section 3).
1d.1 (section ?).

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.9 (section 1).
1a.7,8,13,16 (section 3).

Senisonb (d; NR): 1e.1 (section 3).

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR): 1b.2; 1e.2 (section 3).

Tiaa (b; NR): 1c.1 (intrusive in section 2, 4.2.2 fig.3)

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 5.2 (section 3).

Teye (a; NR): 1a.9 (section 3).

hnwt t3wj tm(wj).

Ahmose Nofretary (a [n.464]; R): 1b.2 (section 3).

Meritamun I (a; R): 1a.1 (section 3).

Ahmose (b; NR): 1c.1(x2) (intrusive in section 2, 4.2.2 fig.3).

Hatshepsut (g; R): 1a.12 (section 3).

Tiaa (b; NR): 6.1 (section 1).

nbt t3wj

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.8; 1b.1 (section 3).

Ahmose (b; NR): 1a.3; 1b.1 (section 3).

Hatshepsut (g; R): 1a.5,6 (section 3).

(a/g; R): 1a.11(x3) (section 3).

Meritre Hatshepsut (b; NR): 1c.1 (intrusive in section 2, 4.2.2).

Meritamun II (a; R): 1a.1 (section 3).

Tiaa (a; NR): 1a.1 (section 3).

Teye (b; NR): 1a.10; 1b.2 (section 3).

(b; NR): 1c.1 (intrusive in section 2, 4.2.2).

(a/b; NR): 1a.11 (section 3).

(a/b; NR): 1d.1,2 (section 3?).

hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw.

Ahmose Nofretary (a; R): 1a.1 (section 3).

Ahmose (b; NR): 4/5 (section 1).

hnwt šm^{c}w mhw.

Ahhotpe II (c; R): 1b.4 (section 3).

Ahmose (b; NR): 1a.2(x2) (section 3).

Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.21,22 (section 1).

Meritre Hatshepsut(?)/Ese (a/c; NR): 1a.1 (section 3).

Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.3,4 (section.1)
6.2 (section 3).
Teye (a; NR): 1a.4,5 (section 1)
(b; NR): 1a.10 (section 1).

hnwt nt t3 r dr.f.
Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 4.1 (section 1).

hnwt nt t3w nbw.
Hatshepsut (a/g; R): 1a.2 (section 3).
(g; R): 1a.5 (section 1).
Mutemwiya (c; NR): 1e.1 (section 1?).
1e.2(x2) (section 1).
Teye (a; NR): 1a.1-3,7,8 (section 1).

4.4.7.2. Discussion.

Except for nbt t3wj, the "geographical" titles can occur in either section 1 or 3 of titularies (4.1). From the reign of Ahmose to Thutmose IV, there are only seven instances of such titles in section 1, not counting hnwt nt t3 r dr.f which only occurs once; there are twenty-one examples of titularies containing section 1 during this period. The remaining occurrences fall in section 3 or are intrusive in 2.

hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw is the rarest of these titles, occurring only twice. It is probably a variant of the commoner hnwt šm^{c}w mhw, which appears in section 1 of titularies of Hatshepsut, Mutemwiya and Teye, but is commoner in section 3, where it also occurs later in the titularies of Nefertiti.[818] It can occur with another "geographical" title, either hnwt t3wj[819] or nbt t3wj.[820] hnwt t3wj

occurs twice in section 1, in titularies of Ahmose and Hatshepsut. It is quite common in 3 until the reign of Amenhotpe III, when it only occurs twice. hnwt t3wj tm(wj) is probably a rarer variant of this title. It occurs only once in section 1. nbt t3wj is normally placed directly before the cartouche. It is not uncommon in titularies of the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III, but it is rarely used alone except by Hatshepsut as regent (4.3.10). In the reign of Akhenaton, Nefertiti frequently uses it in titularies and alone. hnwt nt t3w nbw is used twice by Hatshepsut. Otherwise it is only used in the reign of Amenhotpe III by Mutemwiya and Teye in section 1. In the nine titularies of Teye from the reign of Amenhotpe III, only two (1a.6[x2]) do not use a "geographical" title. Five have hnwt nt t3w nbw and two hnwt šm^{c}w mhw. Only the latter appears in the titularies of Teye and Nefertiti from the next reign. 821

Thus the use of these titles changes during the dynasty. Up to the reign of Thutmose IV, it is rare for "geographical" titles to appear in section 1, while in the reign of Amenhotpe III it becomes normal for hnwt nt t3w nbw and hnwt šm^{c}w mhw to appear there. In the next reign, hnwt nt t3w nbw drops out. During the reigns of Amenhotpe III and Akhenaton, hnwt t3wj is rarely found, while hnwt t3wj tm(wj) does not seem to occur at all. nbt t3wj, hardly used alone during out period, becomes the most frequently used "geographical" title of Nefertiti, and it is used before her cartouche when it is placed beside those of the king in imitation of the king's use of nb t3wj. This probably indicates an increase in the queen's status at this time; Teye is not a forerunner of this usage.

It is perhaps in the "geographical" titles that we might look for an indication of political power, since they are normally

translated "mistress of the Two Lands", "mistress of the whole Two Lands", "lady of the Two Lands", "one in authority over Upper and Lower Egypt", "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt", "mistress of the entire land" and "mistress of all lands". The problem is how far they had or retained any meaning.

Eight queens are not recorded with a "geographical" title. Of these, Ahhotpe I, Ahhotpe III, Mutnofret, Ese and Iaret are attested by only one titulary each, while Tetisheri and Sitkamose are both found with two short titularies. Although Sitamun III is well known from the Malqata dockets and other small objects, all the titularies recorded for her are short and use only titles of relationship. There is no well attested queen who does not use a "geographical" title, and it is possible that all queens could use them. If so, they are unlikely to indicate political power on the part of any individual queen. So far as they have any meaning, they will refer to the general conception of "queenship".

Six of the titles refer to Egypt as t3wj, t3wj tm(wj), šm^{c}w mhw or t3 r dr.f. In four cases the queen is hnwt, in one nbt, and in the last, hrjt-tp. It is problematic whether some of these titles are merely variants or whether they have different areas of reference. "Geographical" titles rarely appear together in one titulary, but we find hnwt t3wj together with hnwt šm^{c}w mhw,[822] and nbt t3wj with hnwt nt t3w nbw[823] or hnwt šm^{c}w mhw.[824] No combination of hnwt t3wj, hnwt t3wj tm(wj) or nbt t3wj is found, although there are queens who use all three titles in different titularies.[825] hnwt t3wj, hnwt t3wj tm(wj) and nbt t3wj are therefore probably too close in meaning to be used in the same titulary, while hnwt sm^{c}w mhw is not just a variant of the other titles, and can therefore be used with them. On the other hand, the distinction

may not be in meaning but in form or style, in which case one should not suppose it to have a different reference from the others. hnwt nt t3 r dr.f only occurs once and is not a regular title of the queen. The reason for its use, instead of one of the commoner titles, is impossible to determine. In the scene where it occurs (pl.93), Hatshepsut follows a king called Thutmose, whose prenomen is lost. If he is Thutmose II, then she will only be queen consort, but it could be Thutmose III, or even a retrospective scene with Thutmose I, in which case it would date to the regency, and this might be another case of a title relating to her position as regent (see 4.4.10).

The six other titles can probably be divided into three groups:

1) hnwt t3wj, hnwt t3wj tm(wj), nbt t3wj;

2) hnwt šm^{c}w mhw, hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw;

3) hnwt nt t3w nbw.

Those in group 1 will not be used together, but can combine with group 2 or 3. Group 1 probably have roughly the same meaning but different origins. hnwt t3wj is a frequent title of goddesses already attested in the Middle Kingdom.[826] It is used by one queen in the Middle Kingdom;[827] hnwt t3wj tm(wj) also appears once at this time,[828] and once in the 13th dynasty.[829] These titles are not yet common for queens, and it is possible that they adopted the use from goddesses. The occasional addition of tm(wj) is probably due to the phrase t3wj tm(wj) sometimes used to refer to Egypt.[830]

Although nbt t3wj is also used by goddesses, the title is merely the feminine form of nb t3wj, a basic title of the king, and the assumption that queens adopted it as the counterpart of the king's title is strengthenened by the fact that in most cases

nbt t3wj stands directly before the cartouche, just as the king uses his title before his prenomen.

The titles in group 2 are most likely to be variants. hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw is only used twice, and did not become a regular title of the queen. hrj-tp šm^{c}w mhw is used by some officials,[831] but the examples are later than the queen's title. hnwt šm^{c}w mhw does not seem to be attested for goddesses, although we find, for instance, hq3t šm^{c}w mhw as a title of Mut in the reign of Amenhotpe III;[832] the title is probably original to queens. šm^{c}w mhw is one phrase used to describe the area of the king's rule,[833] and the title may derive from this, thus reflecting the king's authority.

hnwt nt t3w nbw is different from the other titles as it does not refer specifically to Egypt. t3w nbw is used frequently in royal inscriptions in phrases such as t3w nbw hr tbtj.kj "all lands being beneath your sandals",[834] jt t3w nbw "one who seizes all lands",[835] dj.j phr nhtw.k m t3w nbw "I will cause your victories to circulate through all lands",[836] and c3 šfjjt m t3w nbw "great of awesomeness in all lands",[837] which describe the king in a wider role than simply as the ruler of Egypt.

hnwt nt t3w nbw is used only by three queens in our period, Hatshepsut, Mutemwiya and Teye. Hatshepsut's use of the title may reflect her position as ruler during the regency.[838] The use by the queens of Amenhotpe III, in contrast to earlier queens, may derive from the attitude which led Amenhotpe to announce on the "marriage" scarab hmt pw n nsw nht t3š.f rsj r K3rjj mhtj r Nhrn "she is the wife of a powerful king whose southern boundary is at Karoy and his northern at Naharin".[839] This may indicate a new status for the queen, but ultimately it reflects the power of the king.

Hatshepsut stands out from other queens of our period by her use of nbt t3wj alone during her period as regent (3.4.10). There can be little doubt that she used it as the feminine counterpart of the king's title, and that it indicated her position as ruler. In several places where she uses it, one would normally expect a word referring to the king.[840]

hnwt t3wj and hnwt šm^{c}w mhw are used by queens of the three major types. hnwt t3wj tm(wj), nbt t3wj and hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw are not attested in titularies of queens of type c. This is hardly significant for hnwt t3wj tm(wj), of which there are only six examples, or for hrjt-tp šm^{c}w mhw, of which there are two. nbt t3wj is used alone once by Mutemwiya (c) (4.3.10), and it is probably chance that it has not survived in a titulary of this type of queen. hnwt nt t3w nbw has a more restricted use than the other titles, and at the time when it is common, in the reign of Amenhotpe III, there is no queen of type b. Royal or non-royal birth makes no difference in the use of these titles. It is likely, therefore, that all queens could use "geographical" titles by virtue of being hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw.

4.4.8. hmt ntr.

This title is used both by queens and by princesses. The following chart lists the holders chronologically, according to reign. There is no evidence for any of these women which gives the date of their appointment, nor do we know the precise dates of their deaths, so it is not always possible to tell whether two women held the title consecutively or concurrently.

Date	Holder
Before year 22 of Ahmose	Ahmose (princess?)[841]
Ahmose	Ahmose Nofretary (queen)
	Sitamun I, year 18 (princess)[842]
Amenhotpe I	Ahmose Nofretary (queen)
	Meritamun I (princess and queen)[843]
Thutmose I	Ahmose Nofretary (queen)
	Hatshepsut (princess) ?[844]
Thutmose II	Hatshepsut (queen)
Thutmose III (regency)	Hatshepsut (queen)
Thutmose III and Hatshepsut	Nefrure (princess)
Thutmose III (sole rule)	Ese I (queen)
	Meritre Hatshepsut (queen) ?[845]
	Meritamun II (princess)
Amenhotpe II	Meritre Hatshepsut (queen)
	Meritamun II (queen)
Thutmose IV	Tiaa (queen)
Amenhotpe III	

The title can be held by more than one woman at a time. From the surviving evidence, the most important women who are hmt ntr are Ahmose Nofretary, Hatshepsut and Nefrure. Sitamun I and Meritamun I are very sparsely attested. Sitamun has the title in year 18 of Ahmose, and Meritamun in the reign of Amenhotpe I, so although they may have held the title consecutively, they are both hmt ntr at the same time as Ahmose Nofretary. The title is hardly attested during the sole rule of Thutmose III. Ese is found with it once (1b.1). Although Sitioh appears to have it on CG 34013, her name is in surcharge (3.1.2.2); she is not known with it from elsewhere.

Meritre Hatshepsut is not certainly attested with the title in the reign of Thutmose III. At the end of this king's reign, princess Meritamun II appears once with it (pl.113), and she still uses it when she becomes hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe II, as would be expected.[846] Meritre Hatshepsut, however, is also attested with the title from the reign of Amenhotpe II, twice definitely (1c.1; 2a/5), and perhaps on the Memphite stela of that king (1b.3 with comment). She is probably also the hmt ntr hmt nsw wrt mentioned on BM 1280 (n.845). Tiaa uses the title on two statues from Giza dating to the reign of her son (1e.1; 6.1). It is not found as a queen's title in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

The title seems to be of major importance for two queens, Ahmose Nofretary and Hatshepsut, and one princess, Nefrure. After the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, it occurs less often and not at all with the queens of Amenhotpe III, although there is a priestess with it shown functioning in scenes at Luxor.[847] Ahmose Nofretary is the only queen with the title who is shown functioning as hmt ntr (pl.69). Scenes in the chapelle rouge of Hatshepsut at Karnak show a hmt ntr taking part in certain rituals.[848] Since Nefrure held the title at this time, these may represent her. On the other hand, it may not always have been possible for the holder of the title to be present when necessary, and there may have been a priestess who carried out the ritual instead on such occasions. In any case, such scenes would most normally simply indicate the role and not who performed it. From the reign of Thutmose III, we know of a woman who has the title dw3t ntr,[849] which may be connected. Therefore, when the title was no longer held by a woman of the royal family, it is likely that a priestess continued to carry out the function.

The first five hmt ntr are all s3t nsw. Although the first well attested holder of the title, Ahmose Nofretary, is also hmt nsw wrt, it obviously did not have to be held by one. It is interesting that Sitkamose, who may have been hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, does not have the title on her mummy wrappings, which probably copy an original inscription (2.2.1), while two other daughters of Ahmose Nofretary are attested with it. By year 18 of Ahmose, Ahmose Nofretary had possibly chosen Sitamun to succeed her in this office (n.), but that the latter subsequently died, and Meritamun I replaced her (n.). There is, however, no evidence to show that the two princesses did not hold the title at the same time, and Sitamun may have survived into the reign of Thutmose I (2.2.3). At some time, in year 8 of Amenhotpe I at the latest (2.2.1), Sitkamose died and Meritamun became hmt nsw wrt. Ahmose Nofretary and perhaps Meritamun survived into the reign of Thutmose I. The next hmt ntr was Hatshepsut, another s3t nsw, who may have been given the title in the reign of Thutmose I (n.849). Later, on her assumption of the kingship, she handed it over to her daughter Nefrure (n.).

In the next few reigns, only Meritamun II was s3t nsw. Ese, Meritre Hatshepsut and Tiaa are of non-royal birth. None of them is well attested with the title, and they do not use it as a sole title. This seems to show that its importance was declining from the reign of Thutmose III onwards until it ceased to be used by queens in the reign of Amenhotpe III.

The original connection of the title with women who were s3t nsw may account for its position in section 2 of the titulary after s3t nsw. snt nsw, if present, intervenes, but in all cases except that of Ahmose, this title is only used by s3t nsw (1.4; 4.2.2).

ntr in hmt ntr refers to Amun, as is shown by the full title

hmt ntr nt Jmn. It has nothing to do with the birth cycle, even though Amun is the god involved here,[851] since neither Ahmose nor Mutemwiya is hmt ntr, while the title is held by princesses who are not hmt nsw (wrt). The title does not mark the "heiress".[852] B. Schmitz suggests that in the early 18th dynasty, the chief princess was given the title hmt ntr and marked out as the queen of the next king, her brother.[853] She assumes that there was a line of hmt ntr in bodily descent from Ahmose Nofretary to Nefrure, through Ahhotpe II, hmt nsw wrt of Amenhotpe I, Ahmose (Nebetta), hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose I, and Hatshepsut. I have already suggested that Ahhotpe II does not exist as a wife of Amenhotpe I, but was the mother of king Ahmose (2.3.1), and that queen Ahmose cannot be the daughter of a king as she is never called s3t nsw, and thus cannot equate with Ahmose Nebetta (2.4). Therefore, this line of "heiress" queens does not exist.

Because the queens of Thutmose III, Amenhotpe II and Thutmose IV, that is, Ese, Meritre, Tiaa and Mutemwiya, were of non-royal birth, Schmitz postulates that the emphasis of the title now shifts, and that instead of being given to the princess who is to be the next queen, it is bestowed retrospectively on the king's mother,[854] presumably to legitimise her position together with that of her son. It should be noted, however, that Meritre Hatshepsut may have had the title in the reign of Thutmose III (n.[845]), and that Tiaa is so poorly attested from the reign of Amenhotpe II that it cannot be certain that she did not have the title at that time. Further, Mutemwiya is not attested as hmt ntr. Schmitz gives a reference for this title to BM 43 (Mutemwiya, 6.1,2), where in fact only the title mwt ntr and not hmt ntr occurs, and to a statue from Dendara,[855] where the name is lost except for the first sign mwt. The titulary

includes the title q3(t) šwtj, which shows that the statue cannot date before the reign of Akhenaton (4.2.1).[856]

Since hmt ntr could no longer mark the chief princess, Schmitz salvages the "heiress" theory by suggesting that the title s3t nsw wrt was now used in this way by Iaret and Sitamun III, reverting to a usage at the end of the 17th dynasty, when Ahhotpe III and her daughter Ahmose have this title.[857] However, even if Iaret was the "heiress", she was not the mother of Amenhotpe III, yet that king married a woman of non-royal birth, so that according to this theory his rule was not legitimate. Teye's daughter, Sitamun III, who is s3t nsw wrt, married not her brother but her father. Akhenaton, who according to this theory should have taken Sitamun as his hmt nsw wrt, also married a woman of non-royal birth. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that either s3t nsw wrt or hmt ntr marked the "heiress".

hmt ntr, however, is the only title for which there is evidence of inheritance. On the "Donation" stela, it is stated wn<n>.s n.s m s3 n s3 r nhh hn^{c} dt mj j3[wt].s nt hmt ntr "it will belong to her (Ahmose Nofretary) from s3 to s3 for ever and ever like her ⌜office⌝ of hmt ntr".[858] s3 here must mean offspring, not specifically son, a legal formula probably originating in a male context.[859] Thus the office is to be passed down through the offspring of Ahmose Nofretary. As we have seen, however, although the title is given to two of Ahmose Nofretary's daughters, her actual successor, Hatshepsut, is probably not related to her. After Nefrure, although the title stays in the royal family up to the reign of Thutmose IV, it does not remain in a line of bodily descent. It must be assumed that either there were legal means for varying the terms of the deed, or that it was simply ignored, which would not

be surprising almost a century after it was established.

4.4.9. mwt ntr.

mwt ntr is first used by Mutemwiya (6.1,2) in the reign of Amenhotpe III. In the following reign, the title is found occasionally with Teye.[860] The title is used first when hmt ntr has just disappeared from queens' titularies, so it cannot be said that a hmt ntr became mwt ntr on giving birth to an heir.[861] None of the later 18th dynasty queens has the title, but it is found again in the 19th dynasty.[862] All the holders of the title are also mwt nsw, except for Nofretary, who has the title in only one of her many titularies.

It is tempting to see mwt ntr as a parallel title to hmt ntr. However, ntr in the latter refers to Amun, while this is hardly possible in mwt ntr. Mutemwiya is called mwt ntr mst nsw "mother of the god who bore the king" (6.1). Further, all mwt ntr, except Nofretary, are also mwt nsw. Since Nofretary is given the title only once, it could be a mistake. Therefore, ntr almost certainly refers to the king. mwt ntr is probably not simply a variant of mwt nsw, because both titles can be used in one titulary (Mutemwiya 6.1). As a title of relationship, mwt nsw designates the physical mother of the king. mwt ntr first appears not as a title of the queen, but of the goddess Isis,[863] where ntr refers to Horus. In contrast to mwt nsw, mwt ntr probably refers to the queen as the mother of the king as Horus, and she will be identified to some extent with Isis. This can hardly be a new idea, since it is traditional that the living king is Horus who succeeded the dead king, identified with Osiris, so that it would be natural to see the king's mother as Isis. The introduction of the title mwt ntr may be due to an increasing

tendency, noticeable with Amenhotpe III, to stress the divine aspect of the king.

4.4.10. Three titles of Hatshepsut.

Three titles used by Hatshepsut are unrelated to titles used by other queens. Two, [rdt.n n.s] jt.s R^c nsjjt "[one to whom] her father Re [gave] the kingship" and $m3^ct$ hr jb Psdt "one righteous in the view of the Ennead", are found on a monument dating to the regency (1a.3). The third, [nbt/hnwt] ⌜šnnwt⌝ jtn, occurs on a jar from the tomb of Thutmose I (1a.4). The first might appear to look forward to Hatshepsut's assumption of the kingship, but perhaps refers to her exercise of power on behalf of Thutmose III. $m3^ct$ hr jb Psdt signifies that Hatshepsut has the approval of the Ennead. Almost the same phrase is used of Thutmose III in a speech by Dedwen to the king at Semna, rd.n n.k R^c nsjjt.f $m3^c$ hr jb Psdt.f "Re has given his kingship to you, righteous in the view of his Ennead".[864] Phrases including šnnwt jtn normally refer to the compass of the king's rule.[865] These titles are modelled on the phraseology of kings, and would be fitting for a queen regent who governed Egypt. There is no reason to suppose that the jar could not date to the regency.[866] There are no examples of other queens in this dynasty who were regents (n.736), so we cannot tell whether the use of these titles reflects the normal position of a queen regent, or whether their appropriation was due to Hatshepsut's own ambitions.

4.4.11. Two titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut on the stelophorus of Neferpert.[867]

The owner of this statue kneels holding a stela on which two titularies of Meritre Hatshepsut occur, one in the scene where the

queen is shown, and the other in the formula j3w n.t ... jn wb3 nsw Nfrprt "praise to you ... by the wb3 nsw Neferpert". Both titularies contain titles reminiscent of some used by officials. šmst sn.s ntr nfr and tm(t) tš r-gs nb t3wj are unlike any titles used by other queens. šms is a verb much used by officials in connection with the king, and is common in phrases like jw šms.n.j nsw bjtj/ ntr nfr/nb.j "I followed the King of Upper and Lower Egypt/the perfect god/my lord".[868] It is also used in titles such as šms nb.f r nmtt.f "one who follows his lord on his journeys",[869] šms nsw r nmtt.f "one who follows the king on his journeys",[870] and šms nsw hr h3swt rsjjt mhtt "one who follows the king in southern and northern lands".[871] Officials also claim to be tm tš r nb t3wj hr prj "one who does not stray from the lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield",[872] and tm tš r nsw m st nbt "one who does not stray from the king in any place".[873] The title nbt hswt m-hnt ᶜh "possessor of favours in the palace" is not attested elsewhere for a queen, but reminds one of titles like wr hswt m pr nsw or mn hswt m stp-s3 used by officials.[874] Meritre is also given the title hnwt nt hmwt nsw on this statue (4.4.5).

Taken together, these titles may give a description of Meritre's position. She is in favour with the king, and in charge of or at least superior to the other king's wives, while her place is by the king. The titles show a close personal association between Meritre and the king, which is not obvious with other queens. It must remain unknown whether the titularies are unusual because Meritre's position is different from that of other queens, or whether they describe the normal position of the queen, but this is not usually recorded in the titulary. It is unique for a queen to be shown on this type of monument, and also for praise to be given

not only to the king, but also to the queen.

All this may suggest that the relationship of Neferpert to the queen is out of the ordinary; it must have been close for him to include her on his monument. He could have been a kinsman of the queen, who was of non-royal birth, and this might lead him to dedicate a monument including her. Because officials were reticent in claiming kinship with the queen,[875] if they were related one would not expect it to be stated explicitly. Alternatively, although he is not named as an official of the queen, he may have served her as well as the king, and this might be the reason for the unusual monument.

4.5. Titles of the hmt nsw.

hmt nsw	Titles
Sitdjhuty (Table 1 no.1)	s3t [nsw] hmt nsw
Inhapi (Table 1 no.2)	s3t nsw hmt nsw
Tenthapi (?)[876]	s3t nsw
Ahmose Henuttemehu (Table 1 no.3)	s3t nsw
	s3t nsw snt nsw hmt nsw
	s3t nsw snt nsw
Nebtu (Table 1 no.4)	hmt nsw
Merti, Menwi, Menhet (Table 1 nos.5-7)	hmt nsw
Ese III (Table 1 no.8)	s3t nsw
	hmt nsw
Henut (Table 1 no.9)	hmt nsw

Only a few hmt nsw are known. None of them uses any title

other than those of relationship. I have suggested that the hmwt nsw should be distinguished from the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw because they do not appear on monumental material and have no ritual role. Titles from sections 1 and 3 of queens' titularies might not be attested for hmwt nsw because long titularies, where they are most likely to occur, are not often found on the type of material known for hmwt nsw. However, it is more likely that this is another point of distinction between the hmwt nsw and queens.

4.6. Conclusions.

Most common queens' titles are used by all three major types of queens. Table 17 lists titles which appear at least twice and shows which types of queen use them. Over half the titles recorded more than once are attested with the three major groups, and a further third are found with two major groups. Ahmose Nofretary (type e) and Ahmose (type f) are poorly attested, but they continue to use titles they had earlier, and they do not add new ones from outside the repertory of titles for types a-c. Senisonb (type d) is also poorly attested. Her position is unusual because she is mwt nsw, but not hmt nsw (wrt). She is recorded with one titulary which contains the title hnwt t3wj used by queens. The case of Hatshepsut as regent (type g) stands out. Although she still uses the titles she had as hmt nsw wrt of Thutmose II, new titles are found relating to her position as regent (4.4.10).

Although some queens are better attested than others, it seems likely that all queens of types a-f could use roughly the same titles. s3t nsw is, of course, dependant on royal birth, snt nsw can only be used by the sister of a king, and mwt nsw and mwt ntr are naturally confined to groups b-e.

Apart from jrjt-p^{c}t and some titles of relationship, 18th dynasty titularies bear no resemblance to those of the Old Kingdom. The development of the later form of titularies begins in the Middle Kingdom and continues through the Second Intermediate Period, although it is difficult to trace because of the lack of material. Section 1 with its large selection of titles and variants does not seem to be fully developed until the 18th dynasty. The basic structure of titularies remains the same during our period, but there is some change in the use of individual titles.

wrt j3mt is not used by Teye, but both she and Nefertiti use the new title nbt j3mt, which continues in use during the 19th dynasty and later. Both queens also sometimes use the new nbt hswt instead of wrt hswt.

Titles beginning mht h3/^{c}h m ... are not recorded before the reign of Thutmose IV.[877]

hmt ntr is not found with a queen in the reigns of Amenhotpe III, Akhenaton, Tutankhamun, Ay and Haremhab. mwt ntr is introduced in the reign of Amenhotpe III. Both are used in the 19th dynasty, Meritamun, daughter of Ramesses II, however, does not have the title hmt ntr, so that objects with this title belonging to a princess or queen with the name Meritamun must belong to either Meritamun I or II of the 18th dynasty.[878]

hnwt t3wj tm(wj) is not recorded in the reign of Amenhotpe III. At this time it becomes usual to include hnwt nt t3w nbw or hnwt šm^{c}w mhw in section 1 of the titulary, which occurs only once earlier in a titulary of Hatshepsut, when it may be connected with her position as regent. In the reign of Akhenaton, Nefertiti frequently uses hnwt šm^{c}w mhw, but not hnwt nt t3w nbw. Although the latter title is found in the 19th dynasty, it is not common.

nbt t3wj is not widely used as a sole title before the reign of Akhenaton.

hnmt nfr hdt is not recorded after the reign of Amenhotpe II at the latest, although if it is connected with royal birth, it is possible that Iaret might have used it. It is not found in the 19th dynasty or later.

The titles nfrt hr and ᶜnt m šwtj are not found in titularies before Nefertiti, nor are any titles referring to the double feathers used in our period. No titles from group B of section 1 of the titulary are found in section 3 until the use of ᶜ3t mrwt by Nefertiti in this position (n.583). They are also found here in the 19th dynasty (n.592). Finally, titles connected with the sistrum are not found in our period. The first occurrence is in a titulary of Nefertiti.[879] Others are found with Ankhesenamun,[880] Nofretary,[881] Ahmose Nofretary on cult monuments[882] and later with the Divine Adoratrices (CG 42205). These titles are, however, never common.

Although there is no standard titulary for the queen in the 18th dynasty, the titles hmt nsw, hmt nsw wrt, mwt nsw and, to some extent, the "geographical" titles form the basic part of the titularies. When a single title is used alone, it is these first three titles which are most frequently used. Only in the cases of Ahmose Nofretary and Hatshepsut is their importance eclipsed by hmt ntr, a title which can be held by princesses as well as by queens and which denotes a priestly office. s3t nsw and snt nsw merely indicate women who were the daughter of one king and sister of the next, and can thus be used by women who were not hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw, while there are a number of hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw who do not hold these titles. They are rarely used as sole titles, presumably because, since they are not titles specific to a queen, they neither

mark her status nor enhance it. For the same reasons, they cannot be considered an integral part of queens' titularies.

There is no reason to believe that the title hmt nsw wrt could not be used by every queen that we have been examining, except for Senisonb (2.4.1). The title hmt nsw occurs less often, but all the queens who use it, except Mutnofret, [883] are also known as hmt nsw wrt. The king's hmt nsw wrt was probably chosen from among the hmwt nsw, and from then on used the title, even after the death of the king concerned. The title is also used by mwt nsw who were not the hmt nsw wrt of the previous king; it is unknown whether the king's mother assumed the title automatically on the accession of her son, or was given it specifically. In the case of Tetisheri, the latter might be assumed, as she is only named as hmt nsw wrt after her death (CG 34002). But since elsewhere she is attested with only one title, this cannot be certain. The case of Ahhotpe II seems to be clearer, because it is almost certain that she was not hmt nsw wrt when CG 34001 was set up (2.3.3.1; 4.2.2). Of the other mwt nsw of type c, Mutnofret is not attested as hmt nsw wrt, perhaps due to lack of material, Ese is known with the title only on a block from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III (1b.1), which could date after her death, and Mutemwiya has the title in the birth scenes at Luxor (4.3.4), on the statues by the "Memnon colossi" at the entrance to the mortuary temple of Amenhotpe III (Mutemwiya 5.1), and on BM 43 (Mutemwiya 6.1,2); we do not know when she died. There is no evidence as to when these queens received the title; it could have become customary for such a queen to receive it on the accession of her son. It was evidently usual for them to be given it at some point in the reigns of their sons.

If, on becoming hmt nsw wrt or mwt nsw, the queen assumes the

right to use certain titles in addition to these, so that queens of types a-c, at least, use more or less the same titles, it is difficult to see how the titles could indicate political power or the special position of any one queen.[884] The importance of a queen is probably shown by the number of her monuments, and the more monuments from which she is known, the more likely it is that long titularies and therefore more titles will be recorded for her. However, there may be fluctuations in the general production of monuments over our period and also in preservation, so that this idea should be treated with caution in assessing the importance of individual queens. The influence of a queen probably depended to some extent on her character, but there is no reason to believe that this would be reflected in her use of titles, since she employed those used by all queens.

There is no reason to believe that the titles used by the mwt nsw were different from those used by the hmt nsw wrt, just as we have seen that there is no iconographic distinction between the two. Although a few queens are attested with unusual titularies, there are no queens of type a-c who consistently use a title or titles not attested for other queens, which might therefore apply only to that queen and state something about her position as an individual. Although s3t nsw, snt nsw, the early use of hmt ntr and and perhaps hnmt nfr hdt are confined to queens of royal birth, there is no evidence that any one of them marks the "heiress" who would bring the right to the throne to her husband.

5. Conclusions.

For the purposes of this study, I have divided the queens of the 18th dynasty in three ways: i) types a-g (Introduction); ii) those of royal and non-royal birth; iii) those who are hmt ntr and those who are not. (The hmwt nsw have been considered as a separate group [1.1,8]). After the genealogical study, which establishes the position of particular queens in relation to kings and in my categories, I have studied them systematically from the points of view of iconography (3) and titles (4), according to these divisions.

The major types of queens are a) those who are hmt nsw wrt of the reigning king, b) those who are mwt nsw and were previously hmt nsw wrt of their husbands, and c) those who are mwt nsw, but were not the hmt nsw wrt of their husbands. Types d-f are poorly attested, but there is no evidence that what is true of a-c is not also true of d-f, except that Senisonb (d) is not hmt nsw (wrt) (1.1). Type g is a separate case, since Hatshepsut is not "queen consort" but "queen regent" (below).

Types a,b and c each include queens of royal and non-royal birth, and those who are hmt ntr and those who are not. Apart from titles of relationship, mwt nsw, s3t nsw and snt nsw, which apply respectively to mothers, daughters and sisters of kings (1.2-4), and the title hmt ntr (4.4.8), there is no distinction in the use of titles (4) or of iconography (3), whatever the birth or the previous rank of a queen may be. The iconography of the hmt ntr is distinct from that of the queen (3.2.1.B.3,5). The two are not confused, and a hmt ntr is not necessarily a queen. My divisions were intended to test possible discriminations within the material

and the status of queens, some of which are taken as firmly established by many Egyptologists. They turn out to be artificial, and do not elucidate the Egyptian view of "queenship", which appears to be unitary.

5.1. The "heiress" theory.

The "heiress" theory (Introduction) depends on a line of queens in direct bodily descent from one to the next, and assumes a distinction betweens queens of royal and non-royal birth. However, there is no such line of queens in the 18th dynasty (Genealogical Tables 1-3). Although Ahhotpe II is the daughter of Tetisheri, and Ahmose Nofretary may be the daughter of Ahhotpe II and is the mother of Sitkamose and Meritamun I, this line breaks with the accession of Thutmose I and his marriage to Ahmose, who is almost certainly his own sister (1.4). None of Thutmose III's queens is of royal birth, and although Amenhotpe II married his sister Meritamun II, her descent probably goes back only as far as Meritre Hatshepsut (2.4.4.1). Neither Teye nor Nefertiti was of royal birth, and there is no evidence that Amenhotpe III or Akhenaton married a princess to legitimise his claim to the throne. Therefore, a king's right to the throne cannot rest on marriage to a woman descended in direct line from Ahmose Nofretary.

Instead of looking for a line of "heiress" queens in direct descent from one to the next, the theory might be modified to suggest that in each generation the right to the throne went to a particular daughter of the king, to be exercised by the man she married, so that brother-sister marriage resulted. In order to legitimise his claim to the throne, each king would have to marry the princess designated as heiress, but she would not herself have

to be born of a queen of royal birth. This would fit the marriages of Ahhotpe II, Ahmose Nofretary, Sitkamose, Meritamun I, Meritamun II and Iaret to their brothers. However, it would not explain the fact that the only wives known for Thutmose I, Thutmose III, and Akhenaton are not s3t nsw, while Amenhotpe III is not attested with a queen who is s3t nsw until the last quarter of his reign, when he marries his own daughter. If the legitimacy of the king's rule depended on marriage to such a princess, one would expect a record of the marriage, even if this woman did not become hmt nsw wrt. Such a record might have failed to survive, but if the heiress existed, one might expect her to be mentioned in the official myth of kingship. On the monuments, one official view of the succession is that the throne passed from the dead king, who is Osiris, to the living, identified as Horus. On a mythical level, Horus claimed the kingship as the son of Osiris, and, while the role of his mother, Isis, was important, it is not suggested that his right to succeed comes through her.[885]

Neither the original theory, nor my hypothetical modification, fits the evidence. Not all kings marry queens of royal birth, or have mothers of royal birth, and this makes no difference to the position of the king or of the queen as shown on the monuments. Indeed, with the presumably high rate of mortality, any form of inheritance which was rigidly formulated on the existence of a particular person would be impracticable, unless it was extended to include classificatory or designated occupants of the necessary category, neither of which suggestions is supported by the evidence. Thus, the "heiress" theory cannot be correct, and the explanation of brother-sister marriage does not lie here.

5.2. Brother-sister marriage.

Brother-sister marriage is rare among non-royal people,[886] but is found among the gods, as a result of the type of creation myth in which a creator god produces a pair of offspring, who in their turn produce offspring, and so on; in creation, but not thereafter, choice of partner is limited to brother or sister. Therefore, by practising brother-sister marriage, the king removes himself from his subjects and approaches the divine circle. This makes a king's sister a desirable marriage partner for him. Normally, she is of royal birth, but if the king is of non-royal birth, his sister will be also. Thus, queen Ahmose is the sister of Thutmose I, and not a member of the previous royal family (1.4), as she would have to be if the "heiress" theory were correct. More generally, throughout the world, marriages with close kin are common among royalty,[887] ostensibly to maintain the purity of the royal line. Since Egyptian kings may marry women who are of non-royal birth, this point may not be wholly relevant to brother-sister marriage, but it is possible that it was an added factor in encouraging such marriages, even if they were not always practised.

There is a general problem of what happened to the s3t nsw who did not become queens. There is no evidence of marriage between s3t nsw and men of non-royal birth in the 18th dynasty, and if this occurred, we must assume that they dropped their title. They could have been automatically placed in their brothers' "harims", or simply have been made unavailable to anybody except the king. Some of the few known hmwt nsw were of royal birth (Table 1 nos.1-3,8, 11), so that brother-sister marriage was not limited to the hmt nsw wrt. In the case of kings born to mothers of non-royal birth, they may have had half-brothers born of a hmt nsw of royal birth. These

children may not have survived to adulthood, but this may be another indication that royal birth of the mother was not relevant in choosing the heir. There is no evidence to show that if a king did not marry his sister, it was because none was available. Any rules that may have governed the choice of marriage partners for the king are not known.

5.3. hmt ntr.

Since there is no "heiress", the hmt ntr cannot be connected with this function. The queen may hold the office, but it is not part of her position as queen, and does not affect her insignia (3) and titles, apart from the use of hmt ntr and related titles (4). Queens who are hmt ntr nt Jmn may play the part of the god's wife in religious ritual, though a substitute priestess may function (4.4.8). Retrospectively, the mwt nsw, who need not be hmt ntr, must be regarded as the god's consort in some sense, but this is only in connection with the birth of the king, and probably relates to his s3 R^c title, and in the 18th dynasty, also to the epithet s3 Jmn. The birth cycle is a fiction, and there is no evidence that it involved the queen in a regular ritual function like that of the hmt ntr.

5.4. The succession.

Since the queen's part in the birth cycle can only be recognised after the accession of her son, it cannot bear on the choice of heir.[888] Rules of succession are not clear, but Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Ramesses II have left texts concerning their elevation to the throne. Thutmose III was recognised as heir by an oracle of Amun in the temple of Karnak.[889] Hatshepsut claims that her father presented her to the court as his

successor, and introduced her to the gods of Egypt at their shrines.[890] Ramesses II recounts how his father presented him to the people as a child and had him crowned.[891] Hatshepsut's claim must be fictitious, since Thutmose I's successor was Thutmose II, during whose reign Hatshepsut appears as queen. The accuracy of the other accounts could be disputed, since they are retrospective. However, there is no reason to believe that either Thutmose III or Ramesses II were not the legitimate successors of their fathers, so that they would have no reason to claim what was not essentially true, even though they may have embellished the accounts. In the case of Hatshepsut, although the events she describes cannot have happened, the method by which she claims to have been appointed her father's successor must surely have been a recognised way of designating the heir, or it would have little point as propaganda. Stripped to their essentials, these accounts make it clear that the king normally nominated his successor during his lifetime.[892]

There is no place on the monuments for any mention of contention for the throne among the king's sons. However, there is some evidence for "harim" intrigues,[893] and these were probably quite common. Because princes are rarely mentioned, and only from the reigns of their fathers, there is no evidence from our period as to whether there was a ranking order among them relating to the succession, or whether the king could make a free choice of successor among all his sons. However, Egyptian ideology requires that the eldest son succeed his father, and, for instance, successions in the 12th dynasty suggest that this happened in favourable circumstances. There is no evidence that this was always the rule in practice. Further, there is the problem as to whether for purposes

of succession, the eldest son would mean the eldest by any wife, or the eldest by the hmt nsw wrt.

5.6. The role of the queen.

Evidence for political power of queens is uncertain. They could probably all use "geographical" titles, but whether this reflected independant power on the part of the queen, or merely that of the king is uncertain (4.4.7). The stela of Ahmose with praise of Ahhotpe II (CG 34001) shows that this queen intervened in the government, and we know that Hatshepsut ruled as regent for Thutmose III. All queens may have been potential regents. The mention of Teye in the Amarna letters shows that she was known outside Egypt,[894] but it seems that Teye is called on as a witness to a bargain of Amenhotpe III, and this instance does not necessarily imply any political power on her part.

As regent, Hatshepsut was de facto ruler of Egypt, as the biography of Ineni tells us.[895] To express her position she borrowed from the iconography (3.2.1.B.2,6; 3.2.3.B.9) and titles (4.4.10) of kings. There is no queen with a comparable position in our period, and we do not know whether any regent would have done this, or whether it reflects Hatshepsut's own ambitions.

The official role of the queen as reflected on the monuments was to function in both temple and court ritual (3.2.2; 3.2.4). There is no distinction made between the hmt nsw wrt and mwt nsw in types of scene (3.2.6), items of insignia (3.5.19.1) or titles (4.6), the two queens having closely similar roles by reference to the Kamutef concept (3.2.6). The queen is also closely related to Hathor (3.2.2; 3.2.4; 3.5.2; 3.5.19.5), and much of her insignia is associated with solar mythology (3.5.1,2,4). She is also identified to some extent with Isis, mother of Horus (4.4.9).

For most of our period, the queen's ritual role on the monuments is essentially passive. In the reign of Amenhotpe III, this changes to one of greater participation (3.5.12), and at the same time there is an increasing elaboration in iconography, which may be related (3.5.19.5) Marked as these changes are, they have their roots in the earlier position of the queen. The elaboration of iconography stresses solar elements present earlier. The playing of the sistrum is an iconographic innovation, but it is already associated with the queen in the Middle Kingdom story of Sinuhe. If this reflects court ritual, about which we know little, the playing of the sistrum by the queen in temple ritual may be new, although it probably developed out of court ritual. However, the story of Sinuhe possibly depicts what is really temple ritual. It is difficult to tell how far these changes reflect new ideas about the position of the queen, and how far ideas current for some time were now expressed for the first time on monumental material, since it is common for conventions on this type of material to lag behind practice.

A comparison between Teye and Nefertiti suggested that the position of the latter did not directly develop out of that of the former (3.2.6). Nefertiti's position is distinct from that of queens before and after her, and probably arises from the Aton theology, although her own character may have played a part in it. It is in the queens of the 19th dynasty that we should probably look for the successors of Teye, and a useful extension of this work would be a comparison between Teye and later queens. I have not included the deified Ahmose Nofretary in this study, but since she is always portrayed as a queen, it would be interesting to examine her later iconography to see if similar changes took place.

Amenhotpe I and the child Amenemhat.

Gauthier's *Livre des rois* gives a queen Ahhotpe as wife of Amenhotpe I,[1] and has been followed by a number of Egyptologists in this.[2] The queen is usually called Ahhotpe II to distinguish her from the mother of Nebpehtire Ahmose, Ahhotpe I. One of the objects assigned to Ahhotpe II is the coffin CG 61006,[3] which has the titles *s3t nsw snt nsw ḥmt nsw wrt ḥnmt nfr ḥḏt mwt nsw*. The use of *mwt nsw* presents a problem. In the 18th dynasty, the title was used only by the mother of a king; the mother of Amenhotpe I's successor, Thutmose I, was the *mwt nsw* Senisonb.[4] How then does Ahhotpe II come to have the title? Here, I shall examine one explanation which was advanced by Hayes. Further, I shall suggest that the problem concerning the title can be removed if the ownership of CG 61006 is reassigned to the mother of Nebpehtire Ahmose.

Hayes based his suggestion on a find by Lansing of the mummy of a year old boy near a small cliff tomb at Deir el-Bahri.[5] The tomb consisted of a pit two metres deep, which opened into a low, roughly cut chamber. There was no coffin, nor any other grave goods that might have given inscriptional evidence of the owner's identity. In the debris outside and in the shaft and the chamber were the scattered remains of mummified meats, some still in the wooden cases in which they were originally placed.

Buried outside the tomb was found a coffin of a child "dating from about the XXII dynasty",[6] on which one name had been painted out and a second one substituted. The wrappings of the child were of the same date as the coffin. On the breast of the body, outside the wrappings, had been placed a pectoral showing Amenhotpe I standing, holding an Asiatic and an African prisoner by the hair. This was shown to be a reburial by the condition of the mummy, for the arms had been torn from the body and only parts of the skull were left. Obviously the original burial had been plundered and the mummy pulled to pieces in a search for jewellery on the body. When the violation was discovered by the officials of

the necropolis, the body was rewrapped. That it was put in a "new" coffin suggests that the original one had been destroyed.

It is likely that the first burial had been in the tomb near which the coffin was found, though why it was not replaced inside remains uncertain. Lansing suggested that there might have been a rock fall over the mouth of the tomb.[7]

In describing the inscription on the lid, Lansing said "This was very badly written and it seemed unnecessary to puzzle out the signs just at that time. But the first was the familiar hieratic sign for 'the king' and 'Lord of the Two Lands' followed, as it should in the common titulary. The name itself was not clearly written but when a sign which had been evidently omitted by mistake was supplied it became the quite familiar name 'Amenemhat'."[8] He considered that the the name and titles would have been copied from fragments of the coffin left nearby.

He further thought that the pectoral belonged to the early 18th dynasty and had been part of the original burial equipment, which had been left by the robbers and placed in the new coffin by the restorers. On these two assumptions, he identified the child with a son of Amenhotpe I.

Taking the argument further, Hayes suggested that the titles indicated that the child was a king, and so may have been a coregent of Amenhotpe I, which "would explain the otherwise puzzling title of King's Mother borne by Amun-hotpe I's sister and principal queen, A^{c}h-hotpe."[9]

There are, however, weaknesses in all these arguments. The inscription on the coffin lid must have been copied from an original one on some surviving fragment from the first burial, since otherwise the restorers could not have identified the body at all. But, it appears to have been badly written, and part of the name had been omitted in the course of copying. This indicates either that the scribe was careless, which makes one doubt whether the titles were copied accurately, or that the original inscription was simply misunderstood. For reasons set out below, this child was probably royal. It is likely that there was a filiation formula on the original mummy wrappings. If fragments only survived, one giving the

name of the child and another the titles of a king, the child's father, the scribe could have made the error of putting them together.

Lansing's argument concerning the pectoral is based on a misconception as to its date. It is not early 18th dynasty but of the same date as the coffin, as Hayes correctly observes.[10] This removes the connection between the child and Amenhotpe I, for we do not know why the pectoral was placed in the child's coffin. Amenhotpe I was the patron of the necropolis, and this may have been felt to make it suitable. On the other hand, the restorers may have wanted to put some object with the body, and chose this one without considering its subject matter, simply because it was to hand. Although nicely worked, it is only of wood, and would not have been expensive.

Hayes' extension of the argument to suggest that the child was a coregent of Amenhotpe I is based on very slender grounds. There is no clear evidence from elsewhere that any king ever took an infant as coregent. If this had been the practice, we would surely know of more cases. Nor is there any evidence of a prince or king called Amenemhat from the later monuments which venerate the early 18th dynasty royal family.

The idea of a coregency seems to have appealed to Hayes because it explains Ahhotpe II's title *mwt nsw*, which he admits is puzzling. This, however, is a problem only if one assumes that she was the wife of Amenhotpe I. Instead of accounting for the title by suggesting that Amenhotpe and Ahhotpe II had an infant son who was coregent for a brief period, it would be better to reassess the original identification of Ahhotpe II as *hmt nsw wrt* of Amenhotpe I. The only *mwt nsw* Ahhotpe known from other sources is the mother of Nebpehtire Ahmose. She has previously been regarded as the owner of the coffin Cairo JE 28501.[11] This has the title *hmt nsw wrt*, but not *mwt nsw*. The simplest solution, however, in assigning the ownership of these two coffins is to assume that the one with the title *mwt nsw* belongs to the mother of Ahmose. The other queen will have been *hmt nsw wrt* only, and not *mwt nsw*. The early form of the moon hieroglyph

... seen on her coffin, JE 28501, and on the jewellery found with it, dating her death before year 22 of Ahmose. She cannot, therefore, have anything to do with Amenhotpe I, but must be a queen of one of the last kings of the 17th dynasty; since the *ḥmt nsw wrt* of Ahmose is Ahmose Nofretary, she is unlikely to have been a queen of his. It follows that any object with the title *mwt nsw* or which uses the later form of the moon hieroglyph (so long as it can be considered contemporary with its owner) belongs to the mother of Ahmose. Since JE 28501 is earlier than CG 61006, the owners should continue to be called Ahhotpe I and II respectively. This means that the mother of Ahmose should now be called Ahhotpe II.

There are reasons, however, for believing the child Amenemhat was royal. One is the fact that the burial was restored at all, and another the location of the tomb by which the coffin was found - assuming it to be the original place of burial. There is evidence that, in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at least, members of the royal family were buried in the cliffs behind Deir el-Bahri.[12] Since Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom were polygynous, they must have had large families. However, we have evidence of very few burials for royal children. Most of them have no doubt been plundered, and since in the 18th dynasty their tombs were undecorated and uninscribed, unless an inscribed object gives their name, we have no knowledge of their owner's identity. The only prince Amenemhat known from the 18th dynasty is the *s3 nsw smsw* of Thutmose III. This prince was old enough to hold office, and therefore cannot be identified with this child. It seems unlikely in any case that a child this young would be attested on the monuments. The burial in question probably contained a royal child of the 18th dynasty; to suppose a definite connection between the infant and Amenhotpe I, or that the titles indicate that a boy only a year old was coregent is, however, to go beyond the evidence.

Notes

1 Gauthier *LR* II, 207-08.

2 Most recently: B.Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt "Königssohn* (1976), 289, 306; F.J.Schmitz *Amenophis I* (1978), 56-9.

3 Gauthier *LR* II, 208 no.4.

4 CG 34006.

5 Hayes *Scepter* II (1959), 52; Lansing *BMMA* ii(Dec.1920), 10.

6 Since this was a reburial (below), the coffin should probably be assigned to the end of the 20th dynasty or to the 21st, during which time the majority of restorations were carried out. This is supported by the style of the pectoral found with the body and an inscription on it of the *sḏm-ꜥš m st mꜣꜥt P3jnḏm* (Hayes *Scepter* II, 420; Schmitz *Amenophis I*, 59).

7 Lansing *BMMA* ii(Dec.1920), 10.

8 *ibid*, 9.

9 Hayes *Scepter* II, 52.

10 *ibid*, 420, 422, fig.268.

11 von Bissing *Ein thebanischer Grabfund* (1900); see Winlock *JEA* 10 (1924), 251; von Beckerath *Untersuchungen* (1964), 191-2.

12 See PM I ii^2, 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 *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (1948).

Gay Robins

CdE (forthcoming)

GAY ROBINS

The Relationships specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms

THE basic Egyptian kinship terms are *jt*(*j*), *m*(')*wt*, *sꜣ* (*zꜣ*), *sꜣt* (*zꜣt*), *sn*, *snt* and *ḥ*(*j*)*mt*, which are augmented by the use of compound terms made up of two or more of the basic terms. My description of their use does not claim to be complete, and there are many problems still to be solved; there is no comprehensive study of the terms (1). My aim is to analyse the range of usage of the terms and to some extent their compounds in material of the Middle and New Kingdoms, in order to show their possible areas of reference. The study is based on individual monuments which mostly have an internal check on the terms which occur. I have not used material from Deir el-Medina, nor attempted to construct complex genealogies by combining groups of stelae, although both of these are potentially important sources of information. My conclusions cannot be generalised without further study outside the periods I have specified. They are summarised in figs. 12 and 13.

Ancient Egyptian marriage has been studied to some extent (2), especially its legal aspects (3). The material for the late and Graeco-

(*) I should like to thank Dr. N. Allen of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford and Prof. J. R. Baines for reading the draft of this article and for their comments and suggestions.

(1) For brief discussions, see CLÈRE, *Les noms de parenté en ancien égyptien*, in *GLECS* 6 (1953), 35-6; BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, xiv; ČERNÝ, *A Note on the Ancient Egyptian Family*, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, II, 51-55; Schafik ALLAM, *Familie* (*Struktur*). *A. Bürgerlich*, in *LÄ*, II, 104-109.

(2) Schafik ALLAM, *Zur Stellung der Frau im Alten Ägypten*, in *Das Altertum* 16 (1970), 69-77; ID., *Ehe*, in *LÄ*, I, 1162-81; ČERNÝ, *Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt*, in *JEA* 40 (1954), 23-9; Mustafa EL-AMIR, *Monogamy, Polygamy, Endogamy and Consanguinity in Ancient Egyptian Marriage*, in *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 103-107; Naguib KANAWATI, *Polygamy in the Old Kingdom of Egypt?*, in *SAK* 4 (1976), 149-60; ID., *Was Jbj of Deir-el-Gebrawi a Polygamist?*, in *SAK* 5 (1977) 123-30; ID., *The Mentioning of more than one Eldest Child in Old Kingdom Inscriptions*, in *CdE* 51 (1976), 235-51; MIDDLETON, *Brother-sister and Father-daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt*, in *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962), 603-5;

Roman periods is much more extensive than for earlier times, but it is uncertain how far conclusions from the former can be applied to the latter. The kind of material which I have been using could yield information about rules of marriage. For instance, one man may appear on several monuments with different wives (1), or his children may be filiated to different women (2). I do not intend to examine this matter here. A comprehensive study of marriage would need to deal with questions of polygyny, divorce, legitimacy and the range of preferred, prescribed or prohibited marriage partners. This is far beyond the scope of this paper.

Most of my examples are drawn from private monuments which show fairly large family groups, the members of which are designated by kinship terms referring to their relationship with the owner of the monument, and on which each person is also filiated to at least one parent by the formula *jr(t).n* or *ms(t).n* (3). The majority of these

SIMPSON, *Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?*, in *JEA* 50 (1974), 100-105 ; THIERFELDER, *Die Geschwisterehe im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten* (Münster 1960) ; YOUNG, *A Possible Consanguineous Marriage in the Time of Philip Arrhidaeus*, in *JARCE* 4 (1965), 69-71.

(3) ČERNÝ-PEET, *A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty*, in *JEA* 13 (1927), 30-9 ; Mustafa EL-AMIR, *Further Notes on Egyptian Marriage and Divorce*, in *BIE* 34 (1953), 139-50 ; DE LINAGE, *L'acte d'établissement et le contrat de mariage d'un esclave sous Thoutmès III*, in *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 217-234 ; TANNER, *Untersuchungen zur Rechtsstellung der Frau im pharaonischen Ägypten*, in *Klio* 46 (1966), 45-81 ; ID. *Untersuchungen zur ehe- und erbrechtlichen Stellung de. Frau im pharaonischen Ägypten*, in *Klio* 49 (1967), 5-37 ; LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden 1960) ; PESTMAN, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 9 (Leiden 1961).

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(1) See SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God*, 14-15.

(2) E.g. CG 20547 (fig. 6a. CG numbers beginning 20 all refer to LANGE-SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*).

(3) In the Middle Kingdom, filiation is most often to the mother. It is assumed that *jrj* originally meant « to beget », and should apply to the father, while *msj* means « to bear », and applies to the mother. In the Middle Kingdom, *jrj* is also used with reference to the mother, so that *jr(t).n* and *ms(t).n* are employed as variants to refer to the mother ; *msj* remains maternal in reference. See, for example, fig. 10, where filiation to both parents is given and the distinction between the two verbs is clear. (Where filiation is indicated on a stela by *jr(t).n* or *ms(t).n*, this phrase is placed on the tables in figs. 1-10 to the right or left of the line of filiation, depending on whether it refers to the mother or father respectively, so that filiation reads from bottom to top.)

monuments are Middle Kingdom stelae which fill these conditions well. By the New Kingdom the custom of adding the filiation formula has largely disappeared. Filiation is important because it gives a control on kinship terms. A simple example is when the owner of a stela, X, is filiated to Y, and we also find on the stela *mwt.f* Y, « his mother, Y » (see below). If alter (1) is filiated to the same mother as ego (the latter is normally the owner of the stela), ego and alter must be at least half-siblings, while if alter is filiated to the mother of ego's father or mother, this will show that alter is one of ego's parents' siblings (MB, MZ, FB or FZ), or at least one of ego's parents' half-siblings. In a number of cases, people called *sn* and *snt* are filiated to women otherwise unnamed on the monument. As the father is not given, we do not know if they are half-siblings born of ego's father and a different wife, or whether their relationship is more distant.

In large family groups different terms often relate to different egos. This is most easily demonstrated when the original ego, owner of the stela, is male and a kinship term occurs with a feminine suffix pronoun. It may also be made clear by the filiation. Often, however, these shifts are not easily distinguished, and it is uncertain whether a pronoun refers to the owner of the stela or another member of his family. What this shifting means in many cases is that only simple kinship terms are used, since a large family becomes divided into small groups. One might find, for example, the owner of a stela, X, with *snt.f* Y, and *s3t.s* Z. Z in relation to X is probably *s3t nt snt.f* (see below), but the relationship is given instead with reference to Y, who is Z's mother. This means that, although compound kinship terms are attested, they are not used as often as might be expected ; the more complicated their form, the more rarely they are found.

jt is generally translated as « father ». Father-son relationship can be expressed in several ways : X *s3* Y (2), X *jr.n* Y (3), and *jt.f* Y where

(1) The term ego is used to refer to the person to whom the kinship terms relate ; alter refers to the person who stands in a relationship to ego. F,M,B,Z,S,D,H, and W are used as abbreviations for father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband and wife, and can be combined so that, for example, FM stands for father's mother and ZS for sister's son. △ indicates a male and O a female. These are normal terms and symbols used in the study of kinship systems.

(2) Generally, this is to be translated « X son of Y » after the Middle Kingdom ; earlier, it is most frequently to be understood as « X's son Y » : SETHE, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 95-9. For full discussions, see BERLEV, *The Methods of expressing Filiation*

the suffix pronoun refers to X. In addition, there is evidence that *jt* can also mean « ascendant » (1). In the royal sphere, *jt* is used to refer to the ancestors of a king (2), but this is confined to preceding kings and not applied to other male ancestors, and can also be used of former kings with whom there is no blood relationship (3).

mwt is normally translated « mother », and the mother-child relationship can be expressed by X *jr(t).n/ms(t).n* Y, or *mwt.f/s* Y, where the suffix pronoun refers to X (4). *mwt* also includes the meaning « grandmother » (5), and probably female ascendants in general (6).

Ascendants are often indicated by compound terms, and we find examples of *jt n jt* (7), *jt mwt* (8), *mwt nt jt* (9) and *mwt nt mwt* (10), which

in the Texts of the Middle Kingdom, in *Palestinskii Sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad) 9 (72) (1962), 13-42 (English summary on p. 42) ; EDEL, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, 2 Abt., 1 (2), 70-72.

(3) *Wb.* 1, 111.4.

(1) GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, N6, N6-7, N9. Mes is the son of Hui, who is descended from Neshi. Mes calls Neshi *pꜣjj.j jt*. See also the genealogy in GABALLA, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose*, 32. O BM 5624, Schafik ALLAM, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 44. The speaker on the ostracon, which dates to the time of Ramesses III, refers to a man called *Ḥꜣjj*, who lived under Haremhab, as *pꜣjj.j jt*.

(2) E.g. *Urk.* IV, 1550.8 ; 1746.6.

(3) E.g. *Urk.* IV, 2134.20-2135.3 (Haremhab and Thutmose III).

(4) E.g. Geneva D50, SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 1.9, pl. 4, *Jmnj jr.n Sꜣtjmnj, mwt.f Sꜣtjmnj* (fig. 2) ; CG 20051, *Jkj jr.n Jppj, mwt.f Jppj* (fig. 1) ; CG 20100, *Nfrj jr.n Tt, mwt.f Tt* (fig. 3) ; CG 20317, *Rwnb jr.n Jttj, mwt.f Jttj* (fig. 5) ; CG 20341, *Nḫt'nḫtj ms.n 'ꜣkꜣs, mwt.f 'ꜣkꜣs*.

(5) On CG 20075, *mwt.f nbt pr Srwḫjb jrt.n Jsnwbmnwn* is followed by *mwt.f mrt.f nbt pr Jsnwbmnwn*. The filiation indicates that *Jsnwbmnwn* is the mother of *Srwḫjb*, but the suffix pronoun cannot refer to her because of its masculine form (unless this is an error). It can only refer to ego, so that *mwt* here means « mother's mother ». GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, N3 : Mes, son of Hui, son of *Wrl*, calls *Wrl mwt.j*. See also the genealogy in GABALLA, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose*, 32.

(6) On CG 31002 (CG numbers beginning 31 refer to LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*), Ahmose says *n sp jr nsjjw tpjw-' mjtt jrj n mwwt.sn* « Never did former kings do the like thereof for their mothers ». Tetisheri is Ahmose's grandmother, not mother, and we should probably understand *mwwt* as a general term meaning « ancestresses » rather than specifically « mothers ».

(7) BM 166, *HT* 9, pl. 22 ; BRUYÈRE, *Rapport* (1930), 53 ; CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; BM 831, *HT* 4, pl. 12.

(8) CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; CG 20086 ; BM 829, *HT* 4, pl. 5.

(9) CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; BM 831, *HT* 4, pl. 12.

(10) Geneva D50, SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC i. 9, pl. 4 (fig. 2) ;

presumably refer to the four grandparents (FF, MF, FM and MM (1)). Two examples of *jt n jt n jt* clearly mean great-grandfather (FFF), since we find *jt.f* followed by *jt n jt.f* which is followed by *jt n jt n jt.f* (2). In theory there should be similar terms for the seven other great-grandparents, but these would inevitably be rare on the monuments.

The usual translation of *sꜣ* is « son », but it has a wider sphere of reference which includes « grandson » (3) and « descendant » (4). *sꜣt* is merely the feminine form of *sꜣ*, and is likely to have the same sphere of reference. The meaning « son/daughter » is confirmed by those cases where *sꜣ/sꜣt.f* X is filiated to Y who is named as *ḥmt.f* « his wife » (see below), where the suffix pronoun refers to ego (5).

CG 20013 ; CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; CG 20109 (fig. 3) ; CG 20141 (fig. 4) : CG 20131 ; CG 20456 ; CG 20519 ; BM 224, *HT* 3, pl. 17 ; BM 225, *HT* 3, pl. 24 ; BM 791, *HT* 3, pl. 42.

(1) The meanings of *mwt nt jt* as « father's mother » and *mwt nt mwt* as « mother's mother » are certain. On CG 20051, *Srsnb Jkj* (ego Δ) is the son of *Sꜣwsḏḥꜣt* Δ who is *jr.n Jkj* O. The latter is called *mwt nt jt.f*, referring to *Srsnb Jkj* Δ. Further, *Srsnb Jkj* Δ is *jr.n Jppj* O who is *jrt.n Ḥkkjnj* who is called *mwt nt mwt.f* (fig. 1). On CG 20109, *Nfrj* (ego Δ) is *jr.n Tt* O who is *jrt.n Ḥtpt* O. *Ḥtpt* is called *mwt nt mwt.f* (fig. 3).

On CG 20141, *Snmrj Ḥprkꜣrʿ* Δ is *jr.n Ḥꜣtšpswt* O who is *jrt.n Jjj* O. The latter is called *mwt nt mwt.f* (fig. 4).

The meaning of *jt (n) jt* as « father's father » can probably be regarded as certain from *HT* 9, pl. 22 and Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), 53 ; in both cases are found in a row *jt.f*, *jt n jt.f* and *jt n jt n jt.f*. From these examples, it follows that *jt n mwt.f* should mean « mother's father », and when all four terms appear on CG 25001, we surely have ego's four grandparents. In theory, *jt jt* could mean, for example, « grandfather's father » if the compound term includes both the « simple » and « complex » meanings of the basic term. This is unlikely in this particular case, but see *sn* below.

(2) BM 166, *HT* 9, pl. 22 ; Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), 53.

(3) On a statue of Wennofer in Athens, Legrain, *RT* 31 (1909), 203N, we find *sn.f . . . sꜣ ḫm nṯr tpj n Wsjr Tꜣ . . . ms.n Mjꜣmjj*. From the other monuments of Wennofer, we learn that he is the son of the *ḫm nṯr tpj n Wsjr Mrj* and that his mother (*mwt.f*) is *Mjꜣmjj*, *ibid*, 206F, 207J. *Mjꜣmjj*'s own father (*jt.s*) is the *ḫm nṯr n Wsjr Tꜣ*, *ibid*, 207M l. 5-6. *Mjꜣmjj* might have had two husbands, *Mrj* and *Tꜣ*, or *Mrj* could also have been called *Tꜣ*, but the best solution seems to be that *sꜣ* here means « grandson » and that *Tꜣ* is in fact the maternal grandfather (MF) of *Rʿḥtp*.

(4) Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, xiv.

(5) E.g. CG 20547, *Kꜣjj* (ego Δ), *ḥmt.f Jjj*, *sꜣ.f Snfrw jr.n Jjj* (fig. 6a) ; CG 20547, *Nḫtj* (ego Δ), *ḥmt.f Nfrḥr*, *sꜣt.f Nḫt jrt.n Nfrḥr* and *sꜣt.f Jpj jrt.n Nfrḥr* (fig. 6b) ; CG 20255, *nbt pr Stt*, *sꜣt.s nbt pr ʿsꜣsnb mst.n nbt pr Stt*.

Compound terms *sꜣ sꜣ* (1), *sꜣt sꜣ* (2), *sꜣ n sꜣt* (3) and *sꜣt sꜣt* (4) are found. It is logical to assume that these are terms for grandchildren (SS, SD, DS and DD) (5). Their use, however, is not particularly frequent, perhaps because in many cases grandchildren are referred to by the terms *sꜣ* and *sꜣt* (n. 00 above). In most family groups, the parentage of people named *sꜣ* and *sꜣt* remains largely undetermined, due partly to lack of filiation and partly to uncertainty over the reference of the suffix pronoun.

sn and the feminine form *snt* are terms which indicate collaterals and certain affines. Their wide usage often makes it difficult to determine the exact relationship meant in any given case, but the following uses can be demonstrated. *sn* includes the relationship of brother (6), brother-in-law (ZH) (7), mother's brother (8), brother's son (9), and sister's son (10).

(1) E.g. CG 20432.

(2) E.g. CG 20260 ; CG 20432 ; CG 34097 ; Louvre C50, Pierret, *Inscr.* 1, 51.

(3) E.g. Cairo JE 59636, Lacau, in *Mél. Mar*, pl. 1 (fig. 9) ; *Urk.* IV, 128.16.

(4) CG 20219 ; CG 20547 (fig. 6b) ; Cairo JE 59636, Lacau, in *Mél. Mar*, pl. 1.

(5) On CG 20260, the text names *sꜣt sꜣ.f Mrt jrt.n Ḥdrt* and *ḥmt sꜣ.f Ḥdrt* (« wife of his son »). Since *Ḥdrt* is the wife of ego's son, it is logical that she should be the mother of ego's grandson.

On CG 20547 belonging to *Kꜣjj*, the owner's father, *Nḫtj*, becomes ego in the first register. We find *ḥmt.f Nfrỉr* and *sꜣt.f Nḫt jrt.n Nfrỉr* together with *sꜣt sꜣt.f Jt jrt.n Nḫt* (fig. 6b).

(6) This meaning is demonstrated by examples of people termed *sn* who are filiated to the mother of the person who stands as ego in a given group e.g. CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; CG 20057 : CG 20141 (fig. 4) ; CG 20317 (fig. 5) ; CG 20374 ; CG 20455 ; CG 20555 ; CG 20575 (fig. 7).

(7) Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, xiv.

(8) E.g. Geneva D50, Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 1. 9, pl. 4. The mother's mother of *Jmnj* (ego) is *Sꜣtsbk. Jmnj wr* and *Jmnj šrj*, both called *sn.f*, are filiated to her (fig. 2).
CG 20141. The mother's mother of *Snmrj Ḫprkꜣrᶜ* (ego) is *Jjj* to whom *sn.f Mrmsbk* (reading of name uncertain) is filiated (fig. 4).

(9) E.g. BM 1131, *HT* 5, pl. 34 ; Edel, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 28-31 (fig. 10).

(10) E.g. CG 20681, *Ḏrwjj* (ego) *jr.n Ḥlpwj, sn.f Sbkḥtp jr.n Tꜣnttn, snt.f Tꜣnttn jrt.n Ḥlpwj* (fig. 8).

Cairo JE 59636, Lacau, in *Mél. Mar*, pl. 1. In the top register, the owner of the stela, *sꜣ nsw Jᶜḫms*, is offered to by *sn.f wᶜb ḫrj sšt n Nḫphtjrᶜ Snb*. At the bottom of the stela, the text ends with an offering formula *n kꜣ n Tỉj*, who is the owner's mother, followed by the information *jn sꜣ n sꜣt.s sᶜnḫ rn.sn wᶜb Snb ms.n nbt pr Jᶜḫms* « It is the son of her daughter who causes their name to live, the *wᶜb* priest *Snb* born to the mistress of the house *Jᶜḫms* ». The feminine suffix pronoun therefore refers to *Tỉj*. If *Snb* is the son of her daughter he will be a « nephew » of the *sꜣ nsw*

snt can mean sister (1), father's sister (2), mother's sister (?) (see n. 00), brother's daughter (3), sister's daughter (4) and perhaps mother's sister's daughter (5). In addition, from the 18th dynasty, *sn* and *snt* are used for « husband » (6) and « wife » (7).

Jʿḥms. It is most probable that the *wʿb ḥrj sšt3 n Nbphtjrʿ Snb* shown in the top register is identical with the *wʿb Snb* who dedicated the stela and that *sn* here means « sister's son » (fig. 9).

CG 20141 shows *Snmrj Ḫprk3rʿ* (ego), *sn.f Snmrj jr.n Bbw*, and *snt.f Bbw*. If *Bbw* is a sister of *Snmrj Ḫprk3rʿ*, *Snmrj* will be his sister's son. It is possible, however, that *snt.f* signifies some other collateral relationship, for example, « mother's sister » (fig. 4). In any case, *sn* must have a meaning other than « brother ».

In P Chester Beatty 1, GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 37-60, Seth and Horus are *sn ʿ3* and *sn šrj* respectively in relation to each other. According to the standard version of the Heliopolitan cosmogony, Seth is father's brother and mother's brother of Horus. Horus is therefore brother's son and sister's son of Seth. Thus *sn* here presumably signifies a male collateral relationship which the reader can define more closely as « father's/mother's brother » in one case, and « brother's/sister's son » in the other. *ʿ3* and *šrj* probably distinguish between the two generations. See also KÖHLER, *GM* 1 (1972), 17-20.

(1) The meaning of « sister » can be demonstrated by examples of women termed *snt* who are filiated to the mother of ego in a given group, e.g. CG 20051 (fig. 1) ; CG 20317 (fig. 5) ; CG 20374 ; CG 20155 ; CG 20555 ; CG 20575.

(2) *Urk.* IV, 60.1, Hatshepsut, the sister of Thutmose II who is the father of Thutmose III, is called *snt.f* in relation to Thutmose III ; P Ramesseum IV.25, BARNS, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. 18, refers to Horus and *snt.f* Nephthys. According to the normal Heliopolitan cosmogony, Nephthys is both father's and mother's sister of Horus.

(3) In TT 82, DAVIES-GARDINER, *Amenemhet*, pl. 21, we find a *s3t sn.f Nfrtjrj*. She ends a row of relatives, most of whom are destroyed. The two women in front of her are called *s3t.f mrt.f S3t*[*jmn*] and *s3t.f mrt.f* [*Jmn*]*mḥb*. In another scene showing a row of relatives, the line again ends in three women, *s3t.f mrt.f* ⌜*S3t*⌝[*jmn*], *s3t.f mrt.f* [*Jmn*]*mḥb* and *snt.f Nfrtjrj* (*ibid*, pl. 18). It is probable that the two Nofretary's should be identified (so GARDINER, *ibid.*, 6) and that *snt* includes the relationship specified by *s3t sn.f*, whose meaning is then « brother's daughter ».

(4) CG 20109. We find two women, *Bjbj* and [ ]*wj*, both *jrt.n Ḥtpt*, together with *snt.s Mmmj jrt.n Bjbj* and *snt.s T jrt.n*[ ]*wj* (fig. 3). The two daughters cannot be *snt.s* in relation to their own mothers. The most likely solution is that *Mmmj* is the *snt* (ZD) of [ ]*wj* and *T* the *snt* (MZD) of *Mmmj*, or perhaps of *Bjbj*, to whom she is sister's daughter. *Mmmj* is unlikely to be *snt* in relation to *T*, since *T* is listed after *Mmmj* on the stela.

(5) See n. 00.

(6) E.g. CG 42121, Meritre calls Thutmose III *sn.s* ; PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 24, no. 7, Teye calls Amenhotpe III *sn.s*. Both queens are of non-royal birth, so that *sn* can only mean « husband » here.

(7) *Wb.* 4, 151.9 ; ČERNÝ, *JEA* 40 (1954), 24-5. An obviously related use, although

When *sn* and *snt* mean « brother » and « sister » or « husband » and « wife », the basic term is always used alone. It is probable that other relationships can be defined more specifically if desired by compound terms. So we find *sn jt* (1), *snt jt* (2), *sn n mwt* (3), *snt mwt* (4), and occasionally *sn n mwt nt mwt* (5) and *snt nt mwt nt mwt* (6). In the tomb of Paheri at el-Kab, the terms *s3/s3t n(t) snt nt mwt nt mwt* (7) are found. Finally, there are examples of *s3t nt sn/snt* (8). It should be noted that both the « simple » and « complex » meanings of *sn* occur in compounds (n. 00 above).

In conclusion, the following are the kinship terms for which more than one meaning has been demonstrated :

jt	F, ascendant
mwt	M, MM, ascendant
s3	S, DS, descendant
sn	B, ZH, MB, BS, ZS
snt	Z, FZ, MZ(?), BD, ZD, MZD(?)
sn jt	FB, FMB

In the compound terms mentioned so far, the suffix pronoun follows the last element. There are a number of examples where two elements

not as a kinship term, is for *sn* and *snt* to mean « lover ». It is found especially in love poetry, see HERMANN, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung*, 75-8 ; LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 2, 181-93.

(1) E.g. CG 20051 shows *Srsnb Jkj* (ego Δ), son of *S3wɜḏḥɜt* who is *jr.n Jkj* O, and *sn jt.f Snfrwḥtp jr.n Jkj* O. *Jkj* O is *jrt.n S3tḥtḥr* and we find *sn jt.f Snnwr jr.n S3tḥtḥr*. So on one stela, *sn jt* means « father's brother » and « father's mother's brother » (fig. 1). Also mentioned on the stela is *sn jt.f Snb jr. n.Snbtjsj. Snbtjsj* is not otherwise present on the stela, so that the relationship of *Snb* to ego cannot be determined.

PT 1219 refers to Horus and *sn jt.f* Seth.

(2) E.g. BM 295, *HT* 8, pl. 41 ; CG 20051, *Srsnb Jkj* (ego Δ), son of *S3wɜḏḥɜt* who is *jr.n Jkj* O *jrt.n S3tḥtḥr* O, *snt jt.f nbt pr* [ ] *jrt.n S3tḥtḥr* (fig. 1).

(3) E.g. CG 20374 ; Berl. 13677, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 207 ; TYLOR-GRIFFITH, *Paheri*, pl. 7. The meaning cannot be checked as there is no filiation in any of these examples.

(4) E.g. CG 20109 shows *Nfrj* (ego) who is *jr.n Tl* who is *jrt.n Ḥtpt. snt mwt.f Bjbj* and *snt mwt.f* [ ]*wj* are *jrt.n Ḥtpt* (fig. 3).

(5) E.g. CG 20059 ; CG 20582.

(6) TYLOR-GRIFFITH, *Paheri*, pl. 7.

(7) *Ibid.*, pl. 7.

(8) TT 82, see n. 37 ; Berl. 13675, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 196 ; DE LINAGE, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 219.

in a compound are followed by a suffix pronoun. Thus we find *sn.f n mwt.f* (1), *sn.s n mwt.s smsw* (2), *snt.f nt mwt.f* (3), *snt.s nt mwt.s* (4), *sn.f n jt.f* (5), *sꜣ sn.f n mwt.f* (6), *sꜣt snt.f nt mwt.f* (7), and *sꜣt.f nt snt.f* (8). I have found no examples of this type on monuments in a clear enough context to determine the relationship between alter and ego. However, it is probable that they are not simply variants of the first group, as compound terms of this kind are not found expressing direct ascendants and descendants, e.g. **mwt.f nt mwt.f* or **sꜣ.f n sꜣ.f*.

It is possible that a clue to the meaning of these compounds is given by two examples from P Chester Beatty 1 (9). They refer to the relationship between Isis and Seth. At first glance, one appears to be of the type *sn.f n mwt.f* and the second of the kind *sn n mwt.f*, thus using the two types to refer to the same relationship. As stated above, this is unlikely. However, there are ambiguities in the writing of these

(1) CG 20342 ; CG 20374 ; Berl. 1183, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 167 ; BM 209, *HT* 3, pl. 45.

(2) P Westcar, SETHE, *Aeg. Lesestücke*, 35.16. The construction of *sn.s n mwt.s smsw* is interesting because *smsw* must refer to *sn*, yet normally an indirect genitive does not displace the adjective, GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 86 (see also n. 00 below).

(3) AYRTON-CURRELLY-WEIGALL, *Abydos* 3, pl. 13 ; CG 20074 ; CG 20143 ; Berl. 13675, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 196.

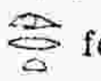
(4) AYRTON-CURRELLY-WEIGALL, *Abydos* 3, pl. 13.

(5) CG 20582.

(6) Musée Guimet C5, MORET, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, 9-11.

(7) Berl. 1183, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 167.

(8) Berl. 13675, *Aeg. Inschr.* 1, 196. The text on the stela reads *jrt*[a] *ḥtp dj nsw jn wʿb ʿq Jwfnjrsn n sꜣt.f n(t) snt.f Bb n snt.f n(t) mwt.f Jjmrw.*

a. reading  for  .

« Making a *ḥtp dj nsw* by the *wʿb* priest who enters, *Jwfnjrsn*, for his daughter by his sister[a] *Bb*, for his sister on his mother's side[a] *Jjmrw* ».

a. for the translation of these terms see p. 000.

Jjmrw is neither given as the mother of *Bb* nor named as *ḥmt* of *Jwfnjrsn*. Since, however, the people on this stela are presumably a close family group, it is likely that *Jwfnjrsn*'s *snt* who is the mother of his daughter is also the *snt* named on the stela. If this is so, we possibly have here evidence of a sexual relationship between a full brother and sister or, at least, between a half-brother and sister who have the same mother. Since *Jjmrw* is not named as *ḥmt*, it is impossible to know if we can speak of « marriage » in this case or not. If, however, *Jjmrw* is not the *snt* who is the mother of *Bb*, then it is possible that in the term *sꜣt.f (nt) snt.f*, *snt* means neither full nor half-sister, but refers to some other collateral of *Jwfnjrsn*.

(9) 9.5 ; 9.7, GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 49.7 ; 49.10-11.

phrases, since  writes the 1st and 2nd person feminine suffix pronoun and also the feminine determinative. In Late Egyptian, the suffix pronoun is rarely used with a noun and is mostly replaced by the possessive article, but it can still be used with kinship terms (1). In 9.5 Seth says to Isis « I am  ». This can only be transcribed as *pꜣjj.t sn n mwt.t* ; the  of the last group must write *.t* and not just the determinative of *mwt*, although the two have perhaps coalesced, since compound terms having a possessive with the first element and not the second are unknown. In 9.7 Isis says about Seth  . Gardiner has a note (2) correcting  to  , that is, reading *sn n mwt n Jst*. If, however, it is read as it stands, taking  as the 1st person feminine suffix pronoun, *sn.j n mwt n Jst* (3) is parallel to the phrase in 9.5. Further, the correction makes little sense, as the type *sn n mwt.f* means « mother's brother », while traditionally Seth and Isis are siblings (see below). From these two examples, we can work out that Seth in relation to Isis is **sn.s n mwt.s*. According to the Heliopolitan cosmogony, Isis and Seth were the children of Geb and Nut, that is full brother and sister (4). Therefore, *sn.s n mwt.s* should define a sibling relation-

(1) ČERNÝ-GROLL, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 4.2.9e.

(2) GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 49a, 9.7[a].

(3) As Isis is the speaker, whichever form is preferred, *n Jst* seems strange. However, in the phrase both the suffix pronoun *.j* and the indirect genetive *n Jst* must refer to the same person, Isis. **sn n Jst n mwt n Jst* is not to be expected, both because it is cumbersome, and because there is evidence that *sn.f n mwt.f* is too close a compound for an element other than a suffix pronoun to be placed between the two parts (see nn. 00 and 00).

(4) It is possible that the scheme of relationship in P Chester Beatty 1 differs from the standard cosmogony ; Ptah, and not Geb, is given as the father of Osiris, and Neith (4.11) as the mother of Isis. There may not even be a consistent scheme within the papyrus. There is no evidence to contradict the assumption that Isis and Seth were brother and sister. It should be noted, however, that PLUTARCH, *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 12 (ed. J. Gwyn Griffiths) gives another version. « They say that Osiris and Aroueris (Horus) were the offspring of Helius (Re), Isis of Hermes (Thoth), and Typhon (Seth) and Nephthys of Cronus (Geb.) »

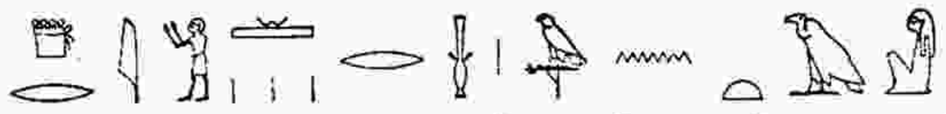
ship, while *sn n mwt.f* means « mother's brother » (MB) and perhaps « mother's father's/mother's brother » (MFB or MMB). The distinction between the two types of compounds will be as follows. In the type *sn n mwt.f*, the first element stands in relation to the second and not to ego, and it is the last element which is related to ego through the suffix pronoun, so that the term can be translated « the brother of his mother ». In the second type, *sn.f n mwt.f*, it is the first element which is linked to ego by the suffix pronoun while the second element of the phrase qualifies the first, so it means « his brother of his mother », that is, « his brother on his mother's side » (1). *sꜣt.f n(t) snt.f* will mean « his daughter of his *snt* », that is « his daughter by his *snt* », which may be a rare piece of evidence for a sexual relationship between brother and sister (2), if *snt* is here to be translated « sister » (n. 00 above). Musée Guimet C5 (n. 00) presents a problem, as we find *sꜣ.f mrjj.f sꜣ sn.f n mwt.f Jnḥr*, « his son beloved of him, son of his brother on his mother's side, Inhor ». How can Inhor be the *sꜣ* of ego and the *sꜣ* of ego's half-brother, especially as *sꜣ* seems to refer to descendants and *sn* to collaterals? Perhaps this is an example of adoption, and Inhor, the brother's son of ego, is also his adopted son. This may explain the unusual occurrence of two kinship terms in apposition (3).

(1) The grammatical construction of both these types of compounds is interesting since in many cases they have the form of an indirect genitive which normally does not displace the adjective or suffix pronoun. However, both the type *sn n mwt.f* and that of *sn.f n mwt.f* are obviously each regarded as an entity rather than as being constructed of two parts. With the first type, this is shown by the use of variants with the form of a direct genitive e.g. CG 20051, *sn jt.f, snt jt.f, jt mwt.f* (fig. 1) ; CG 20109, *snt mwt.f* (fig. 3) ; CG 20517, *sꜣt sꜣt.f* (fig. 6b) ; Cairo JE 59636, *sꜣ sꜣt.s* (fig. 9) ; PT 1219, *sn jt.f* (see p. 000). With the second type, this is demonstrated by the occurence of the term *sn.s n mwt.s smsw* and not **sn.s smsw n mwt.s* (n. 00 above).

(2) Černý, *JEA* 40 (1954), 26, suggests either that *Bb* is the daughter of *Jwfnjrsn* by his sister, or that *sꜣt* is to be taken as « niece » « which in view of the lack in Egyptian of words for distant relationships cannot be entirely excluded ». However, the evidence seems to show that *sꜣ* and *sꜣt* refer exclusively to descending relationships and that collaterals are expressed by *sn* and *snt* ; there is an example of the latter meaning « sister's daughter » (n. 00 above). Therefore, Černý's second suggestion cannot be allowed.

(3) Černý, *JEA* 40 (1954), 26 n. 3, suggests *sꜣ* is used with the meaning « nephew ». For the reasons given in n. 64 above, this is unlikely. Further, the relationship of nephew (BS, ZS) can be expressed by *sn* (n. 00 and 00 above).

The contrast between the two types of compounds is also found within P Chester Beatty 1. In 4.6-7 (1) we read 

« Is the office to be given to the *sn n mwt* when the son of the body is alive? », and in 9.6 (2) 

« Do you prefer the stranger to the *sn n mwt*? ». In each example, two categories are contrasted ; in the first « the son of the body » with the *sn n mwt*, and in the second the *sn n mwt* with the « stranger ». When a kinship term is used to represent a category, it will not be defined by a possessive. In 4.6-7, Seth represents the category *sn n mwt* and Horus that of *sꜣ n ḫt*. As they are « uncle » and « nephew », the translation must be « Is the office to be given to the mother's brother when the son of the body is alive? ». The example in 9.6 is similar except that *s ḏrḏr* takes the place of *sꜣ n ḫt*, so that it must still refer to Horus. Seth who is speaking says « Do you prefer the stranger to the mother's brother? ». In other words, he places himself in the category of mother's brother, referring to his kinship with Horus. To sum up, Seth is **sn.s n mwt.s* in relation to his sister, Isis, and *sn n mwt.f* in relation to Horus, his nephew (3) (fig. 11).

The term *ḥmt* means both « woman » and « wife » (4). As a kinship term, there is no doubt that it always means « wife » (5). Compound terms

(1) GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 41.16-42.1.

(2) *Ibid.*, 49.9.

(3) For a discussion of Seth as mother's brother, see LEACH, *Royal Anthropological Institute News* 15 (Aug. 1976), 19-21. In P Chester Beatty 1, emphasis is placed on relationship through the mother ; Seth is given as Isis' brother by the same mother, though according to the Heliopolitan cosmogony, they have the same father as well ; he is also given as the mother's brother of Horus when he is the father's brother too. In PT 1219, we find Horus and *sn jt.f* Seth, giving the relationship throu ; the father.

(4) *Wb.* 3, 77.8. A common title given to married women is *nbt pr*, so we find *ḥmt/snt.f nbt pr* X. Later, *nbt pr* is used alone with a suffix and must have the meaning of « wife », e.g. BM 712, *HT* 9, pl. 14.

(5) The exact nature of marriage in ancient Egypt and the status of a *ḥmt* is unknown. Although studies of marriage have been made (n. 00 and 0') above), the evi-

like *jt n ḥmt.f* (1), *mwt nt ḥmt.f* (2) and *sꜣ n snt nt mwt nt ḥmt.f* (3) can be used to indicate a wife's relatives, although there are in addition separate terms *š(ꜣ)m* and *š(ꜣ)mt* for « father- and mother-in-law » (WF and WM) (4).

The meanings I have proposed for the kinship terms which have been examined above are set out in figs. 12 and 13 in the form of genealogical tables. Relationships and terms not attested in the material covered are omitted. When the meaning of the term is deduced and cannot be checked by internal evidence, a question mark is placed after the term. Since the owner of a stela is most frequently a man, and, on those occasions where it is a woman, she is not shown with a husband, terms for husband are not found on these stelae, although from elsewhere the word *ḥꜣjj* (5) is known (6). This tendency for ego to be male also means that affines belong to the wife's family, and we have no corresponding terms for members of the husband's family with the wife as ego (7).

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dence is mainly economic and frequently dates from after the « marriage ». Whether there was any ceremony when a woman became a man's *ḥmt* is unknown.

(1) Tylor-Griffith, *Paheri*, pl. 4.

(2) *Ibid.*, pl. 4 ; CG 20051.

(3) Tylor-Griffith, *Paheri*, pl. 7.

(4) Fischer, *A Mother-in-law of the Old Kingdom*, in *Egyptian Studies 1 : Varia*, 19-21 ; Roquet, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 119-27.

(5) Also *ḥ*, *ḥꜣ*, *ḥj*, *Wb.* 2, 475 ; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 137.

(6) In the tomb of Setjau, high priest of Nekhbet, there are three men called *ḥꜣ n sꜣt.f* (Gardiner, *ZÄS* 48 [1910], 50-1) « husband of his daughter », presumably meaning « son-in-law ».

(7) Since writing this, I have been able to see an article by M. L. Bierbrier, *Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medina* which will be forthcoming in *JEA* 66. As I have not dealt with this material, it is complementary to the present study. The conclusions drawn from the Deir el-Medina material do not conflict with those presented above.

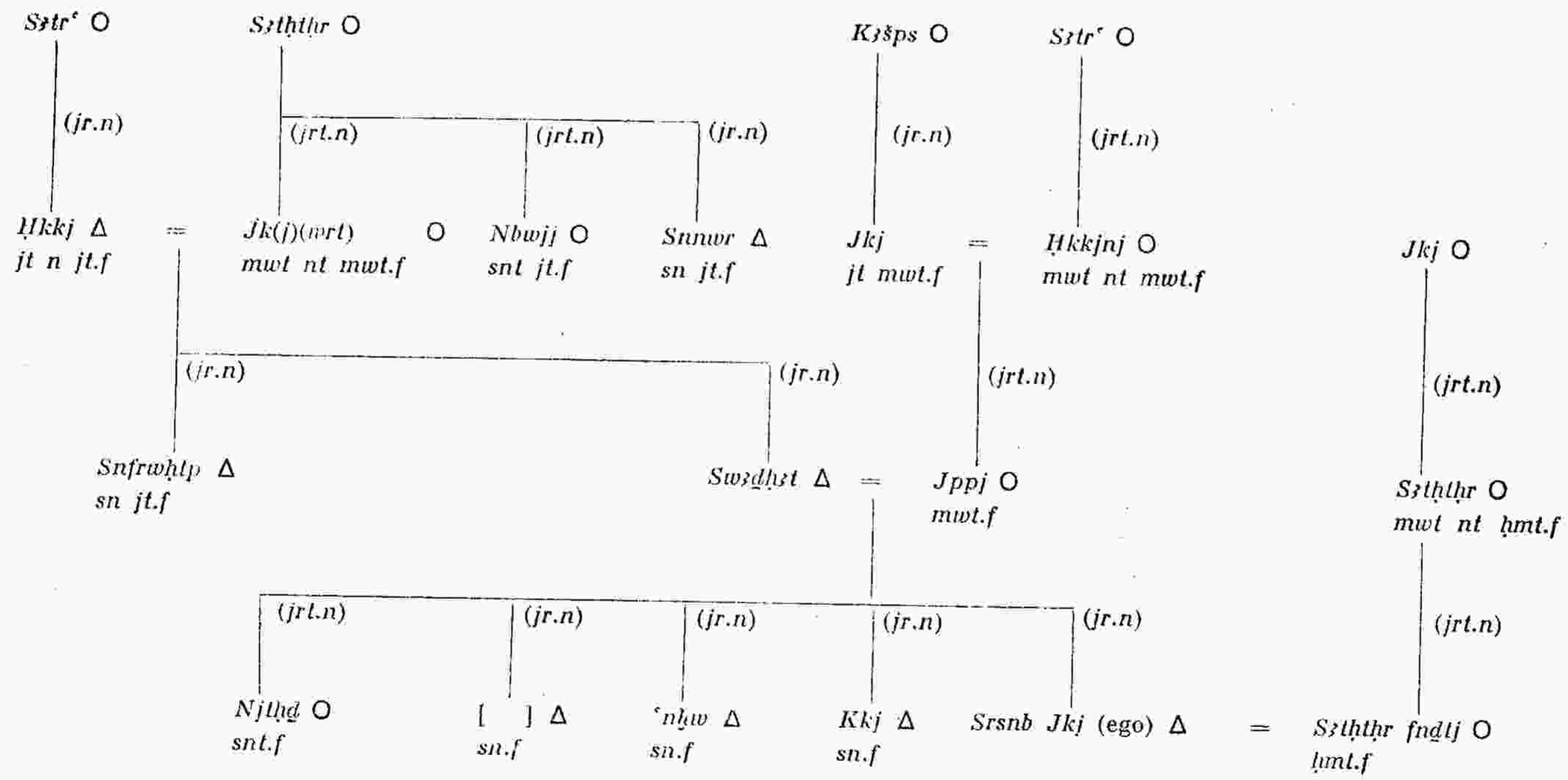


FIG. 1. — CG 20051, stela of *S3w3ḏḥ3t*.

The stela is dedicated to *S3w3ḏḥ3t* by his son *Srsnb Jkj* who is ego. The relationship of several of the people on the stela to ego is unclear; they are omitted from the table. Although *S3tr˓* is a common name, both *Ḥkkj* and *Ḥkkjnj* are unusual, which suggests that they may be siblings, and therefore that the two *S3tr˓*'s should be identified. Although *Jkj* and *S3ththr* are common names, their recurrence also suggests that this might be a close kin group

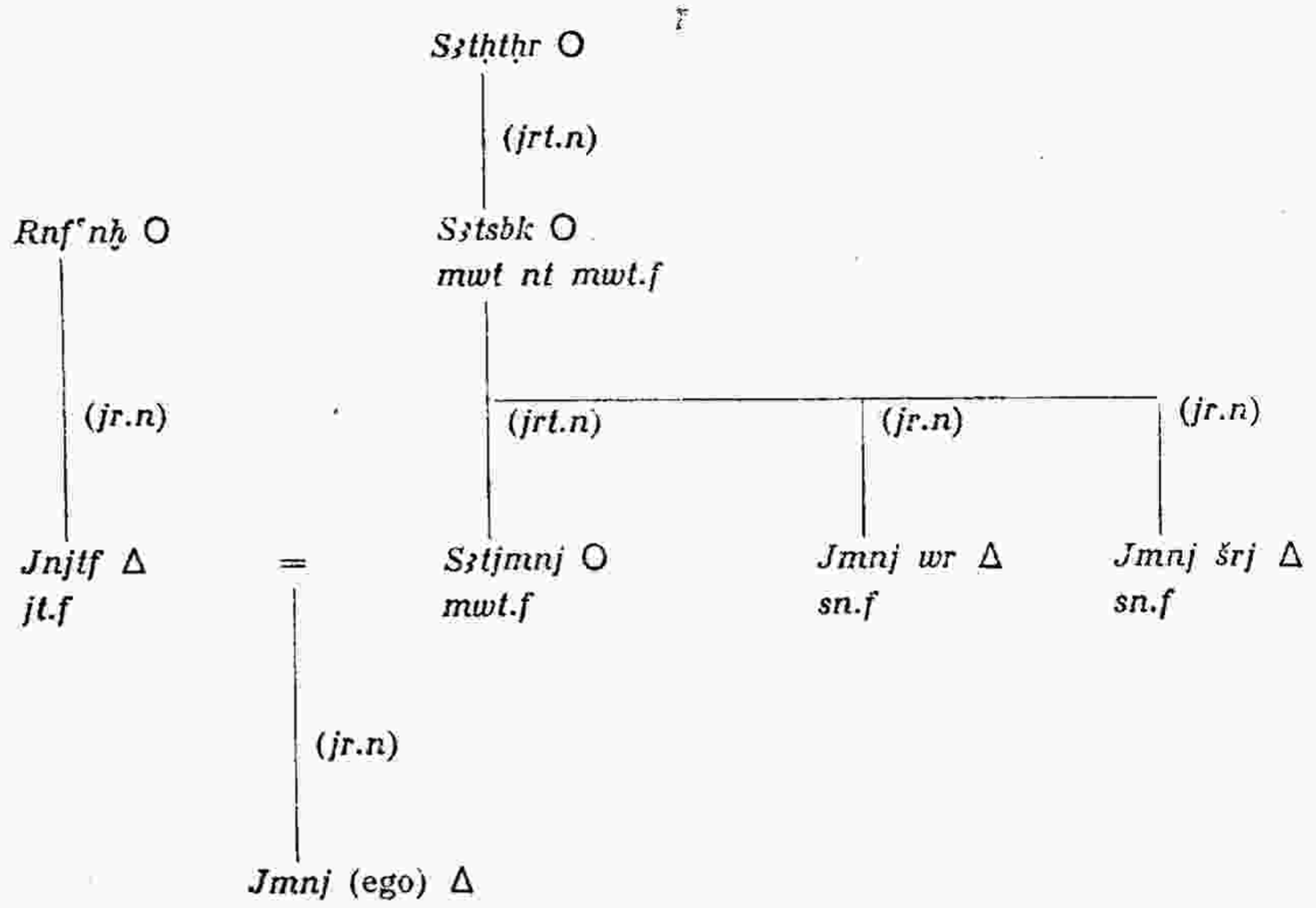


FIG. 2. — Geneva D50, stela of *Jmnj* (SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 1. 9, pl. 4).

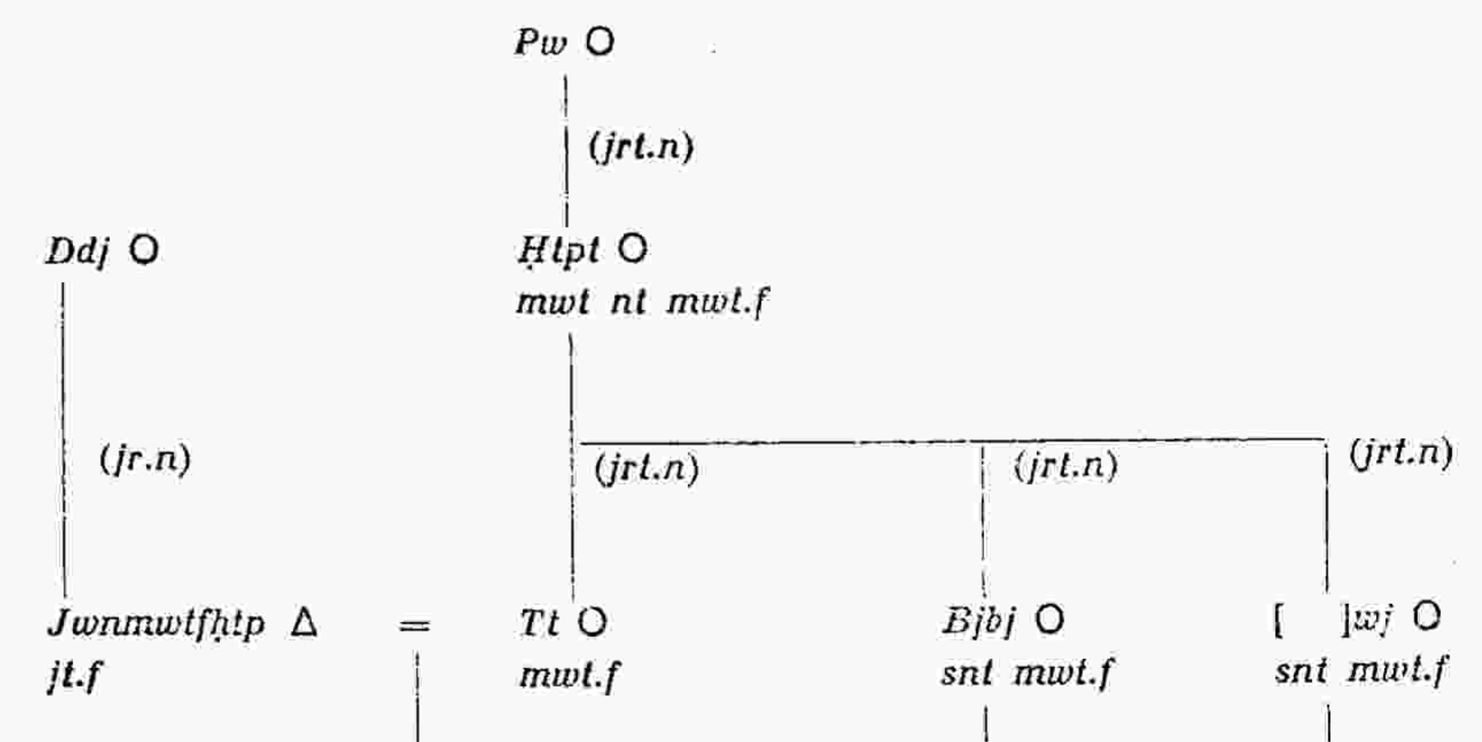


FIG. 3. — CG 20109, stela of *Nfrj*.

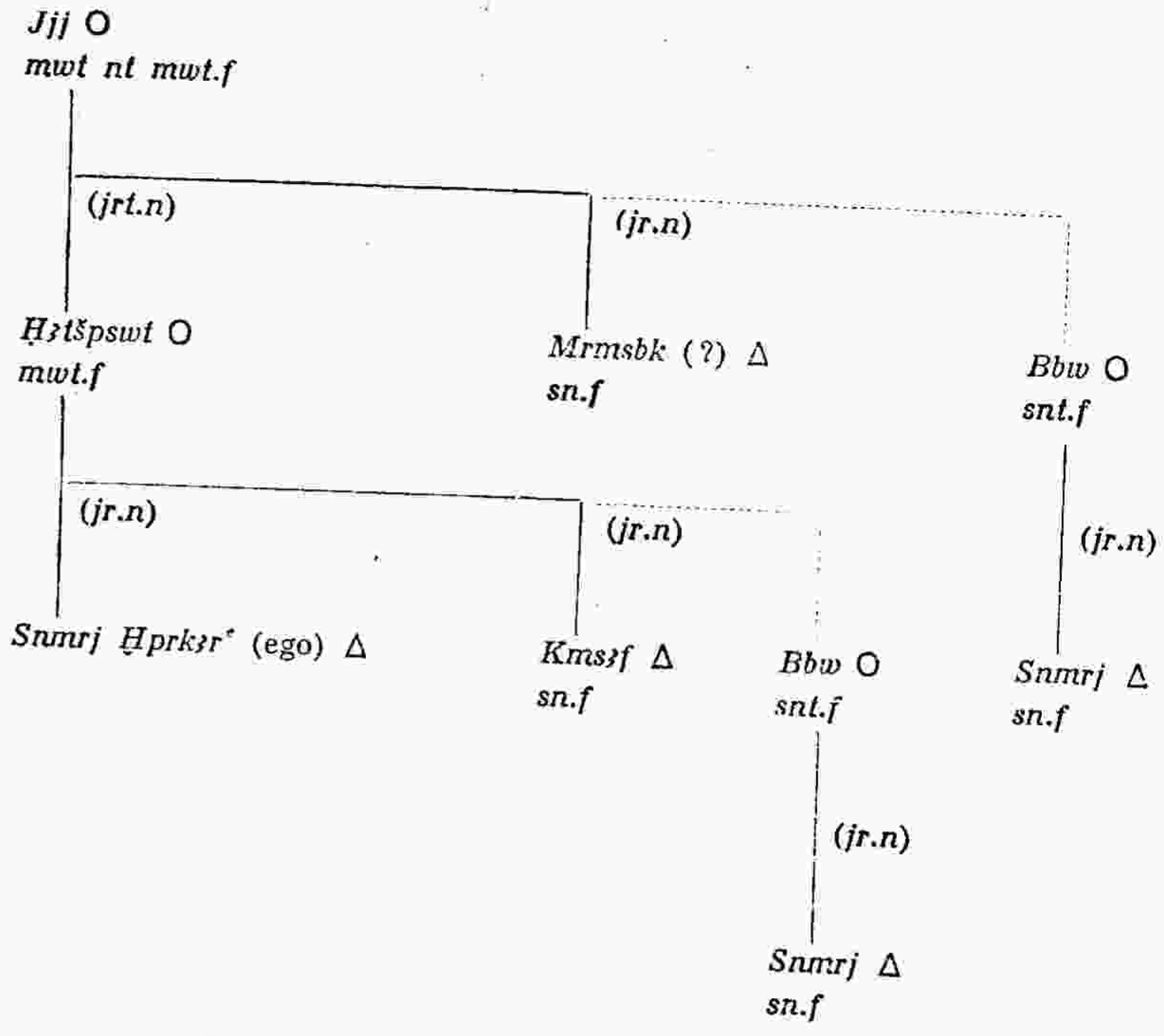


FIG. 4. — CG 20141, Stela of *Snmrj Ḥprk3r'*.

Bbw is called *jrt.n mwt.s*. Unless *mwt.s* is a name (it is not given in RANKE, *PN*, although other kinship terms are entered there as names), *Bbw*'s filiation merely states « born to her mother ». (Other stelae also give examples of people *jr(t).n mwt. f/s.*). The dotted lines on the figure suggest two possible relationships to ego.

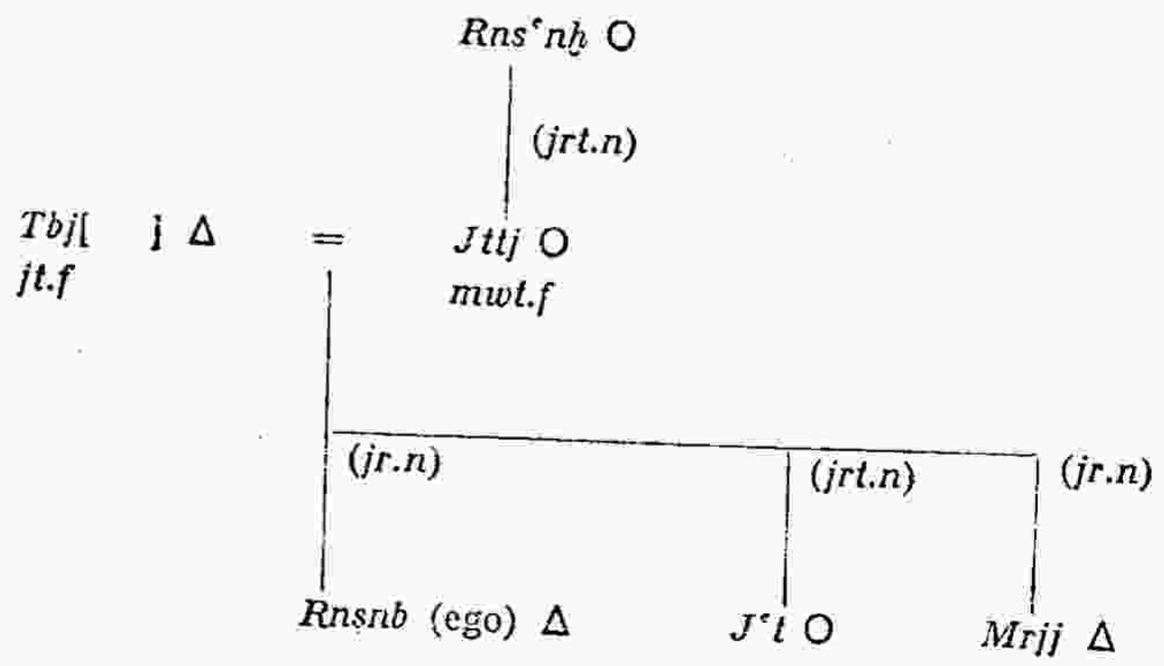


FIG. 5. — CG 20317, stela of *Rnsnb*.

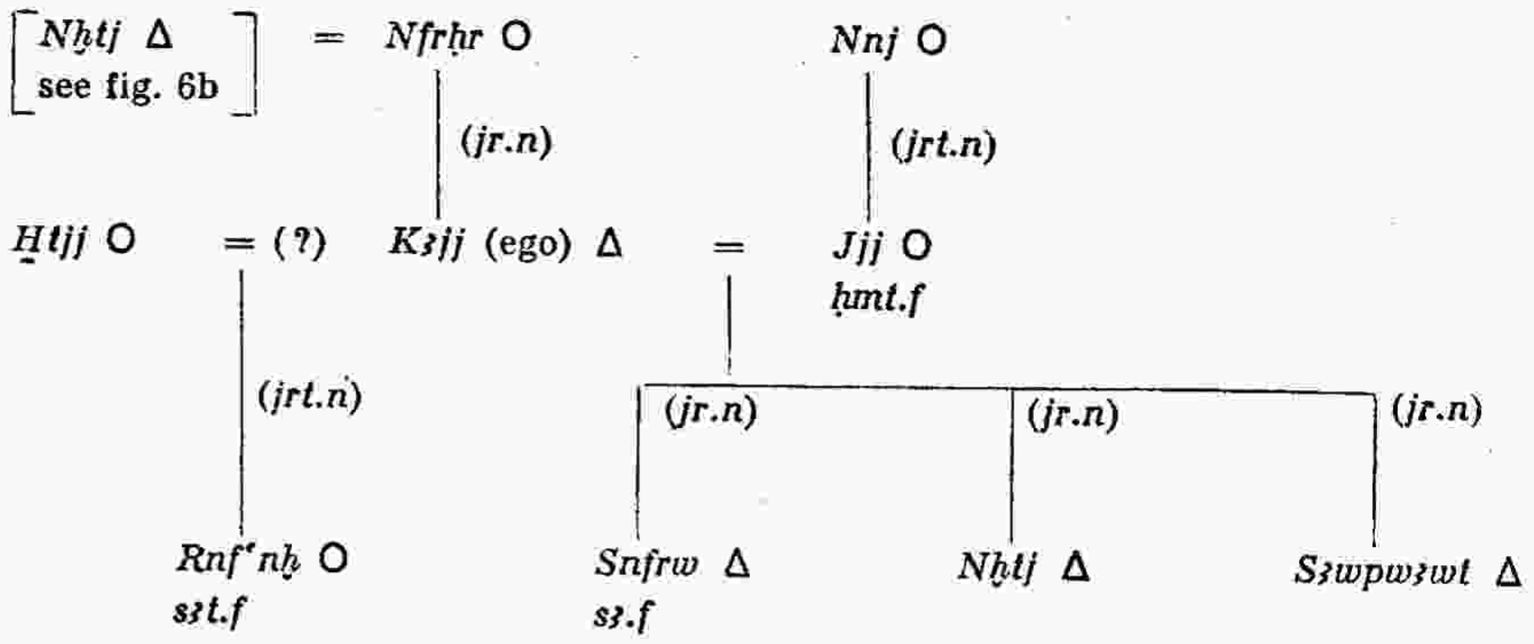


FIG. 6a. — CG 20547, lunette, stela of *Kȝjj*.

Rnfʿnḫ is almost certainly a daughter of *Kȝjj* because of her position behind his chair and because there is no one else to whom the suffix pronoun in *sȝt.f* could refer. *Ḥtjj* could have been *Kȝjj*'s wife either before *Jjj* or at the same time. She is not, however, called *ḥmt*, nor is she actually shown on the stela, and it is also possible that she did not have the status of wife (*ḥmt*). The children of the two women are distinguished by their positioning on the stela.

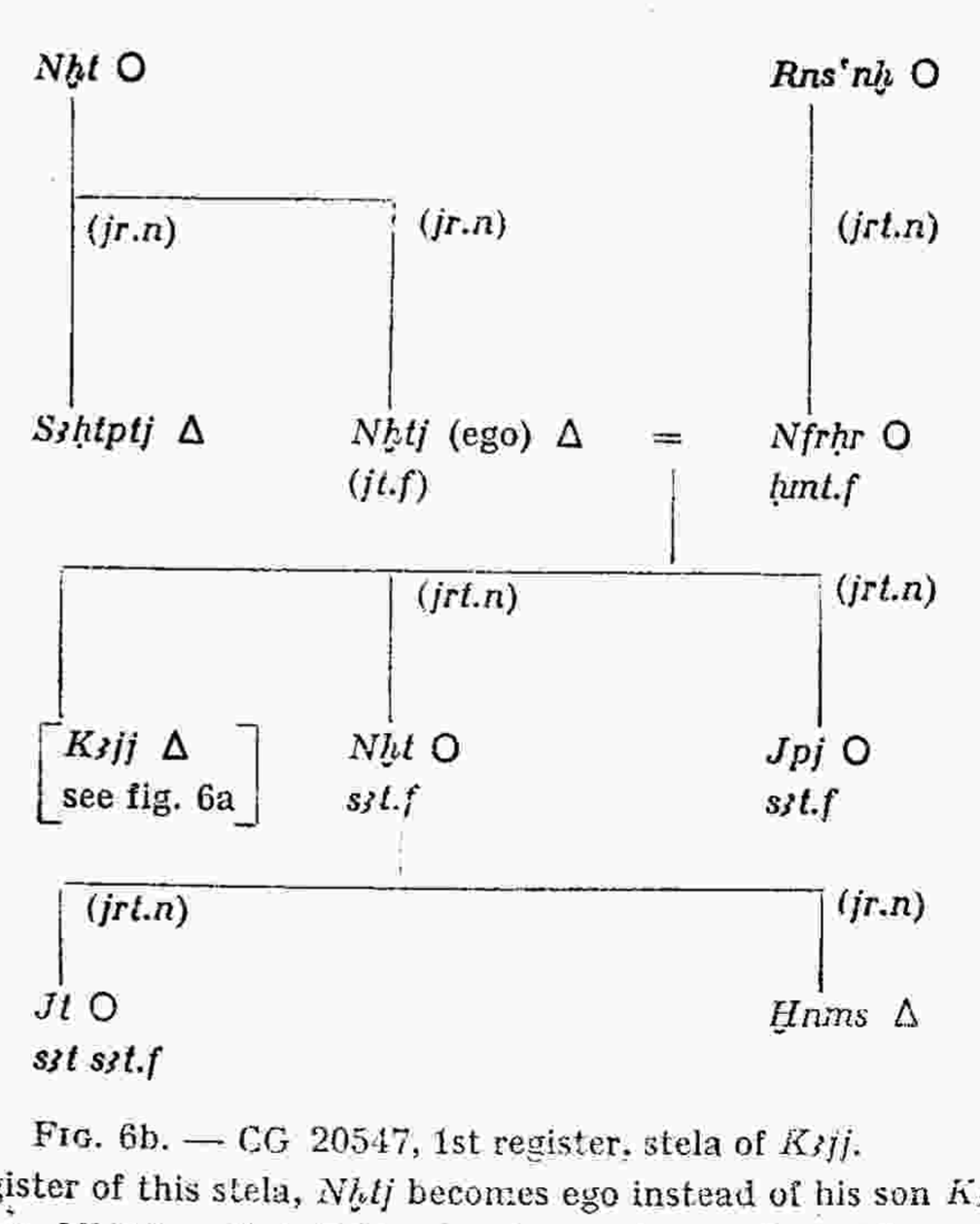


FIG. 6b. — CG 20547, 1st register, stela of *Kȝjj*.

In the first register of this stela, *Nḫtj* becomes ego instead of his son *Kȝjj* as in the lunette. However, *Nḫtj* is called *jt.f* in the first register ; the suffix pronoun must refer to *Kȝjj*, thus linking the first register with the lunette.

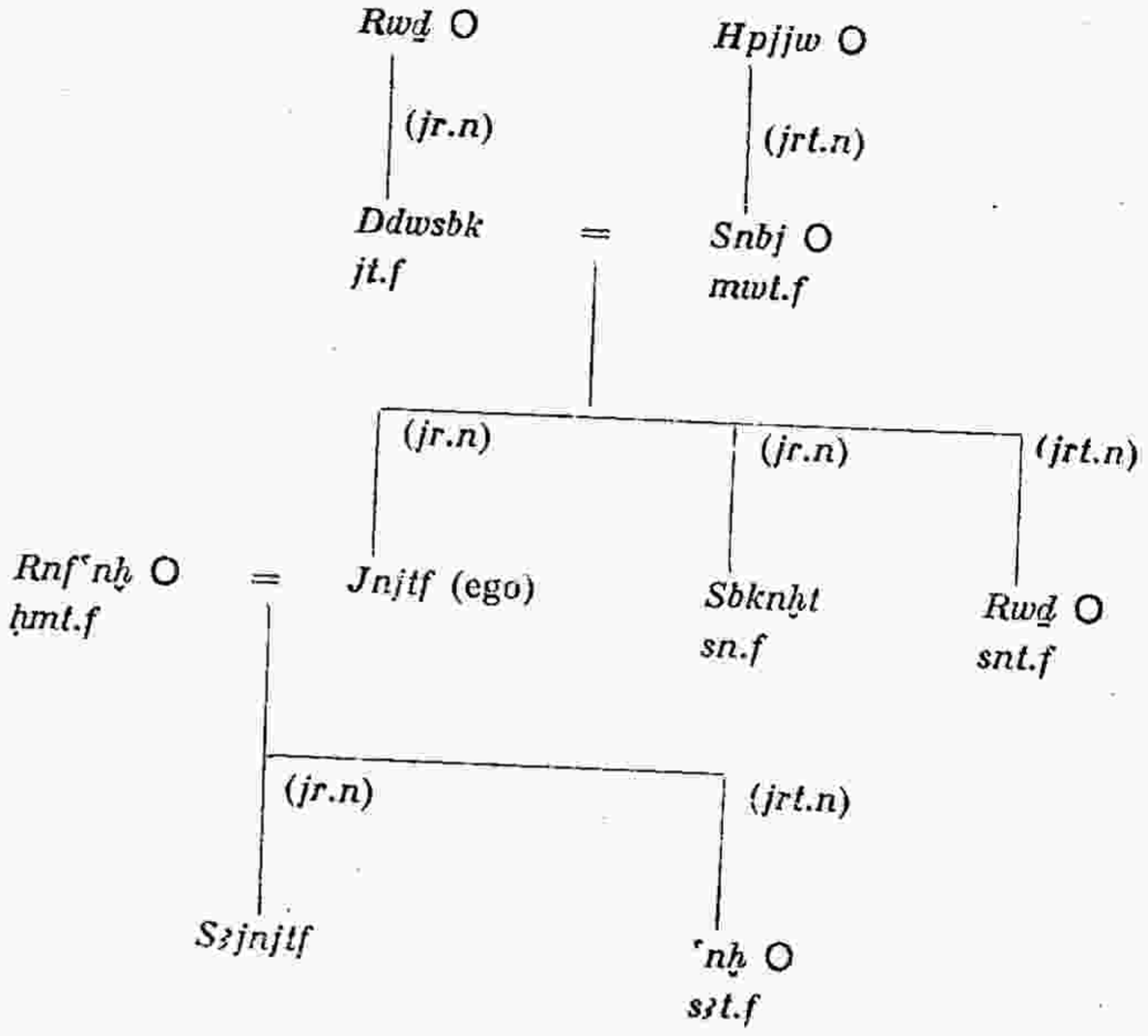


FIG. 7. — CG 20575, stela of *Jnjtf*.

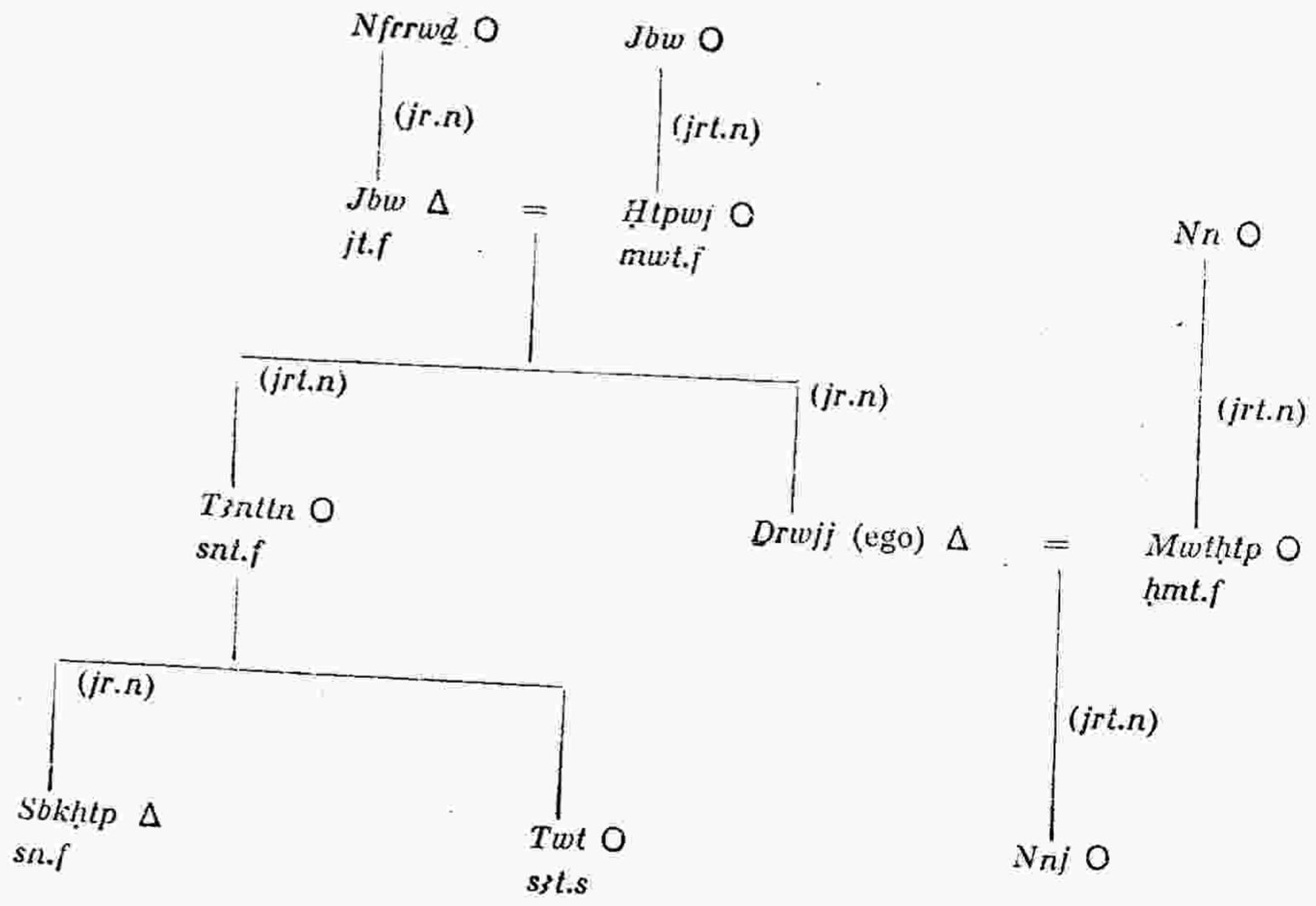


FIG. 8. — CG 20681, stela of *Drwjj*.

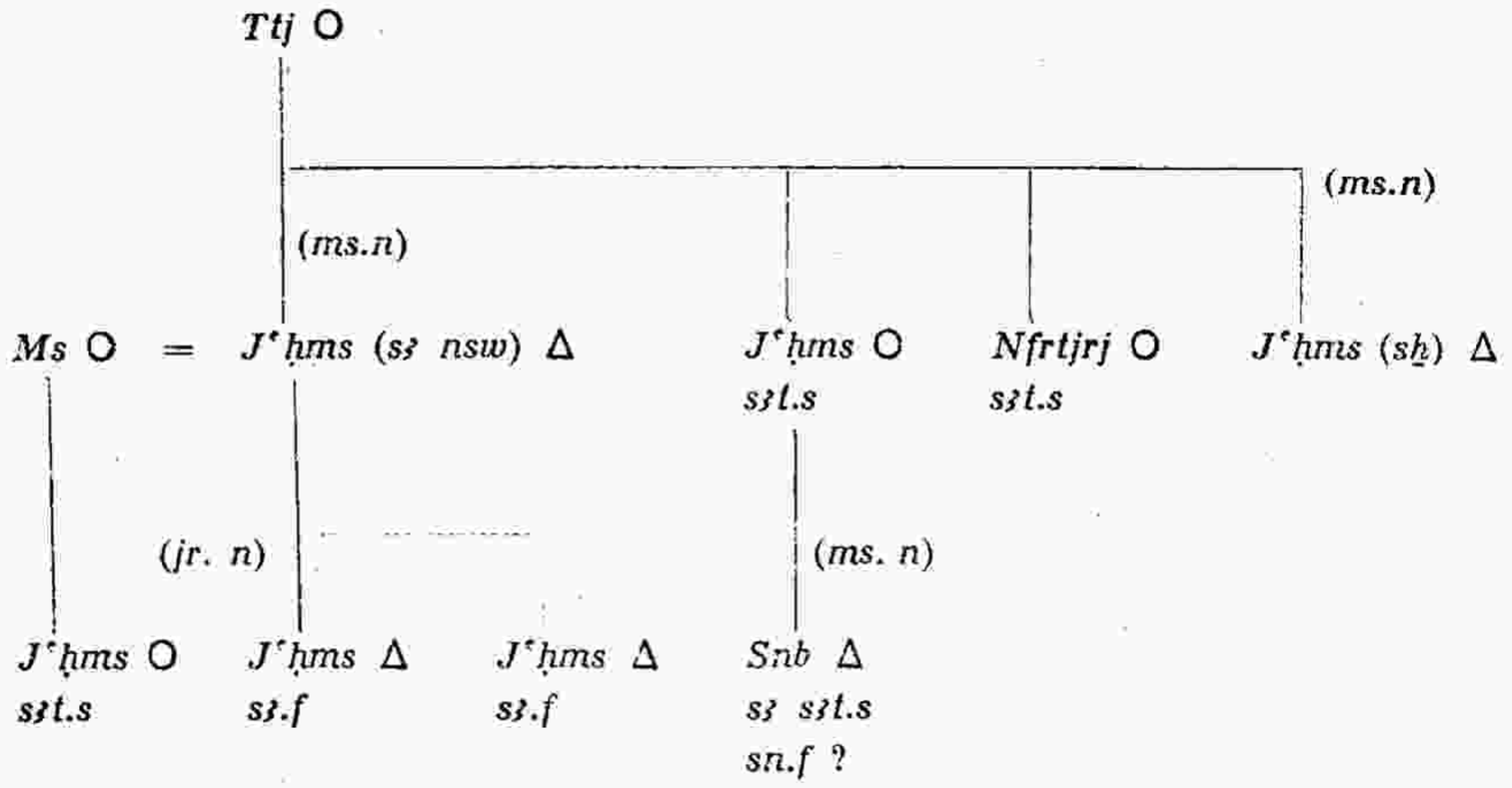


FIG. 9. — Cairo JE 59636, stela of *J'ḥms* (LACAU, *Mél. Mar.*, pl. 1).

Ego is not constant on this stela. In the first register, *J'ḥms* is the primary ego. However, a child *J'ḥms* is related to his wife, who is thus a second ego, both by her position under the wife's chair and by the use of the feminine suffix pronoun. It is not clear whether the suffix pronoun of the first man called *sȝ.f* refers to *sȝ nsw J'ḥms* or *w'b Snb* ; the second man is filiated to *sȝ nsw J'ḥms*. In the second register, *J'ḥms*'s mother *Ttj* becomes ego. The change is made clear by the use of the feminine suffix pronoun. In addition to the people shown in the figure, a *sȝt sȝt.s* is found on the stela. There is no filiation to show who her mother is.

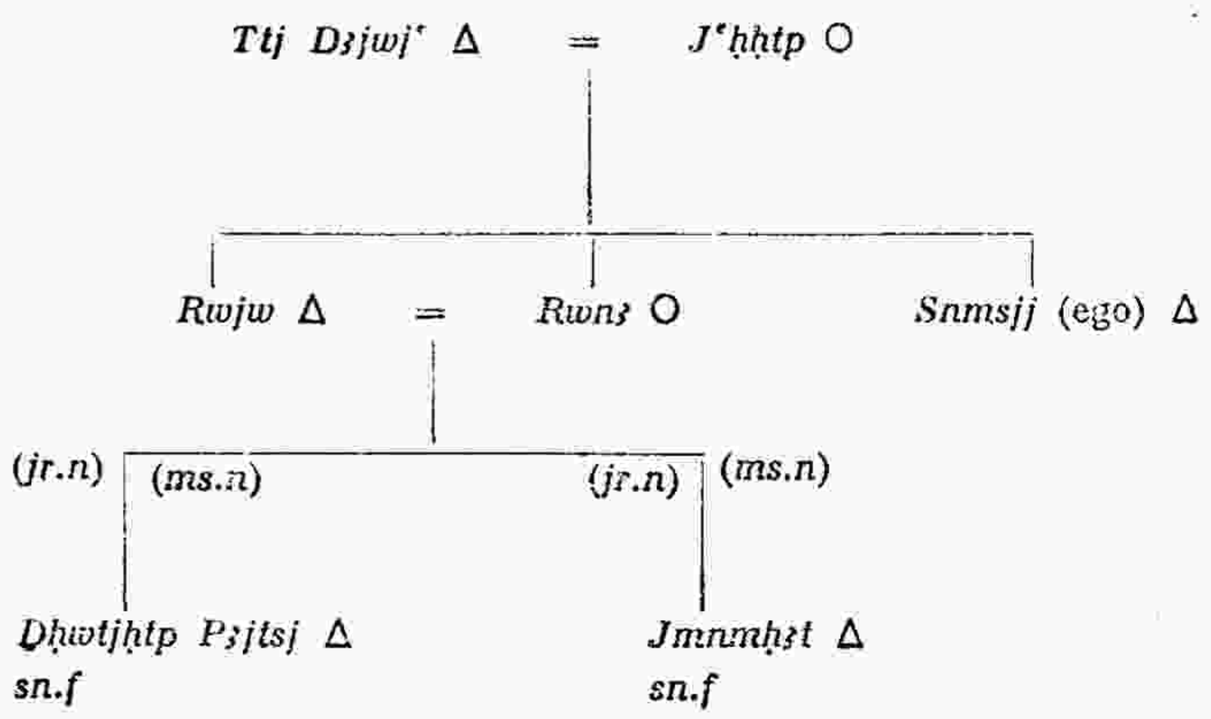


FIG. 10. — Family of *Snmsjj* (EDEL, *ZÄS* 90 [1963], 28-31).

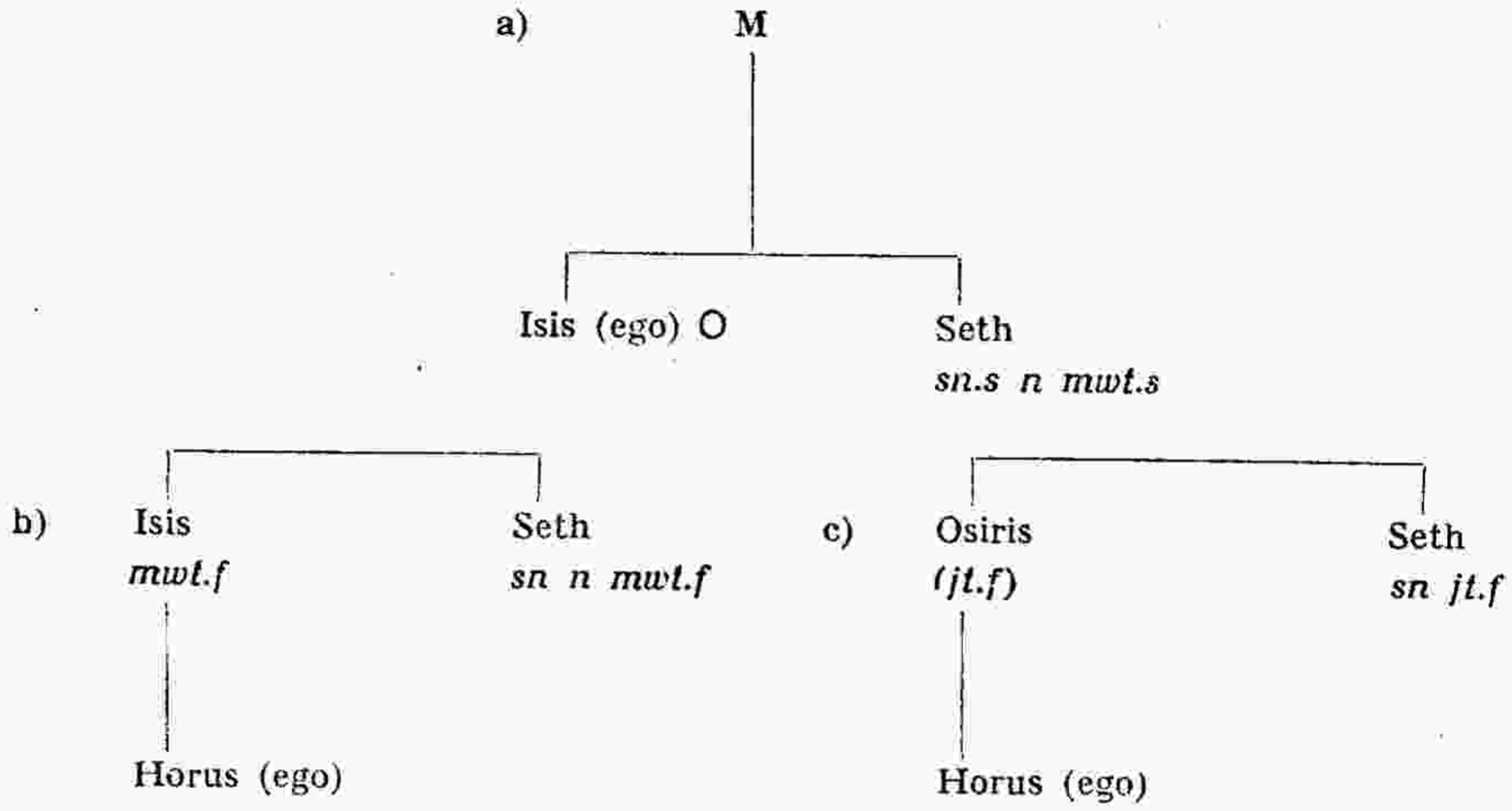


FIG. 11. — The relationships of Seth to Isis and Horus, a) P Chester Beatty 1 b) P Chester Beatty 1, c) PT 1219.

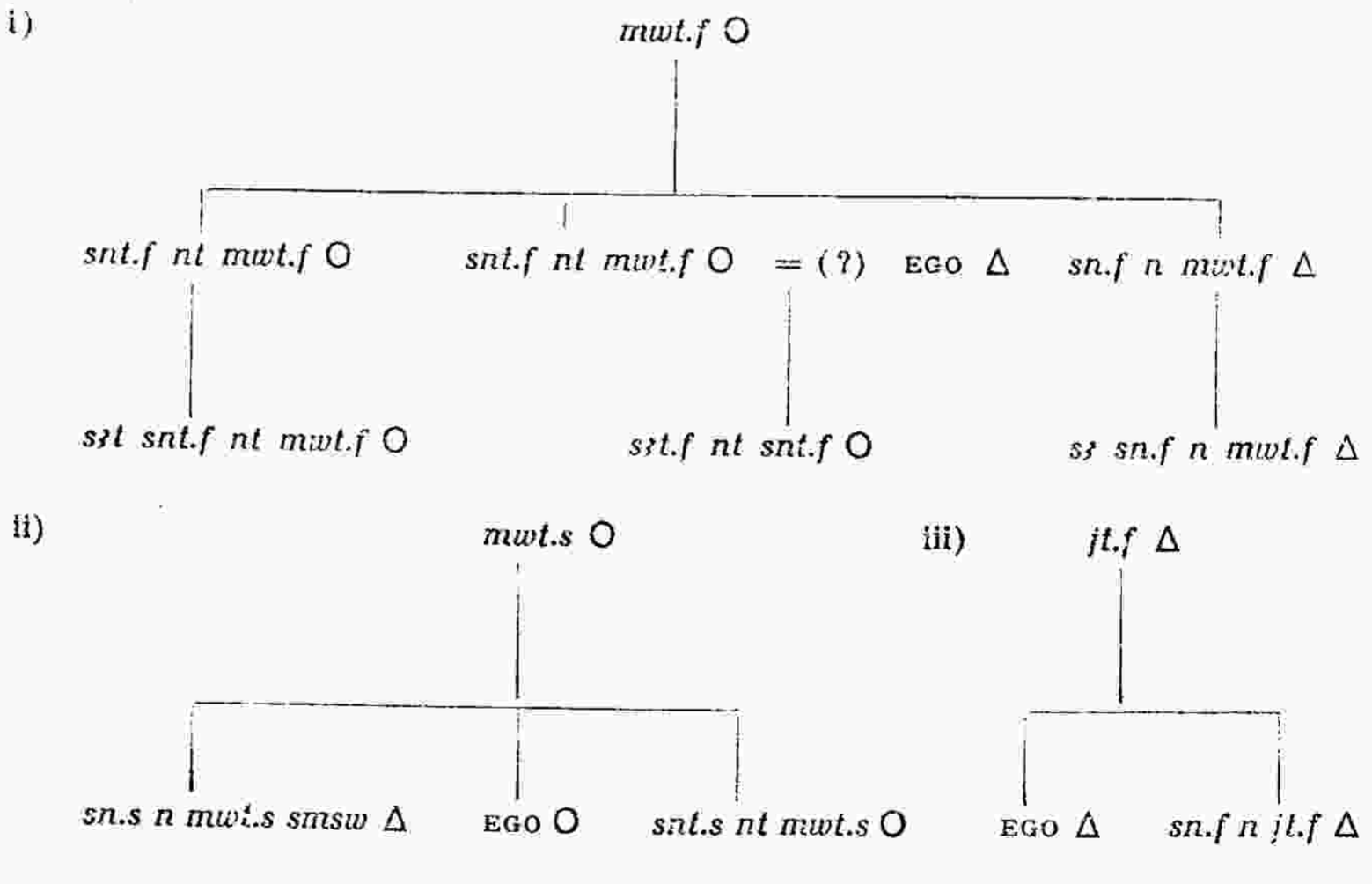


FIG. 12. — Meanings of Egyptian kinship terms of the type *sn.f n mwt.f* as proposed in the text.

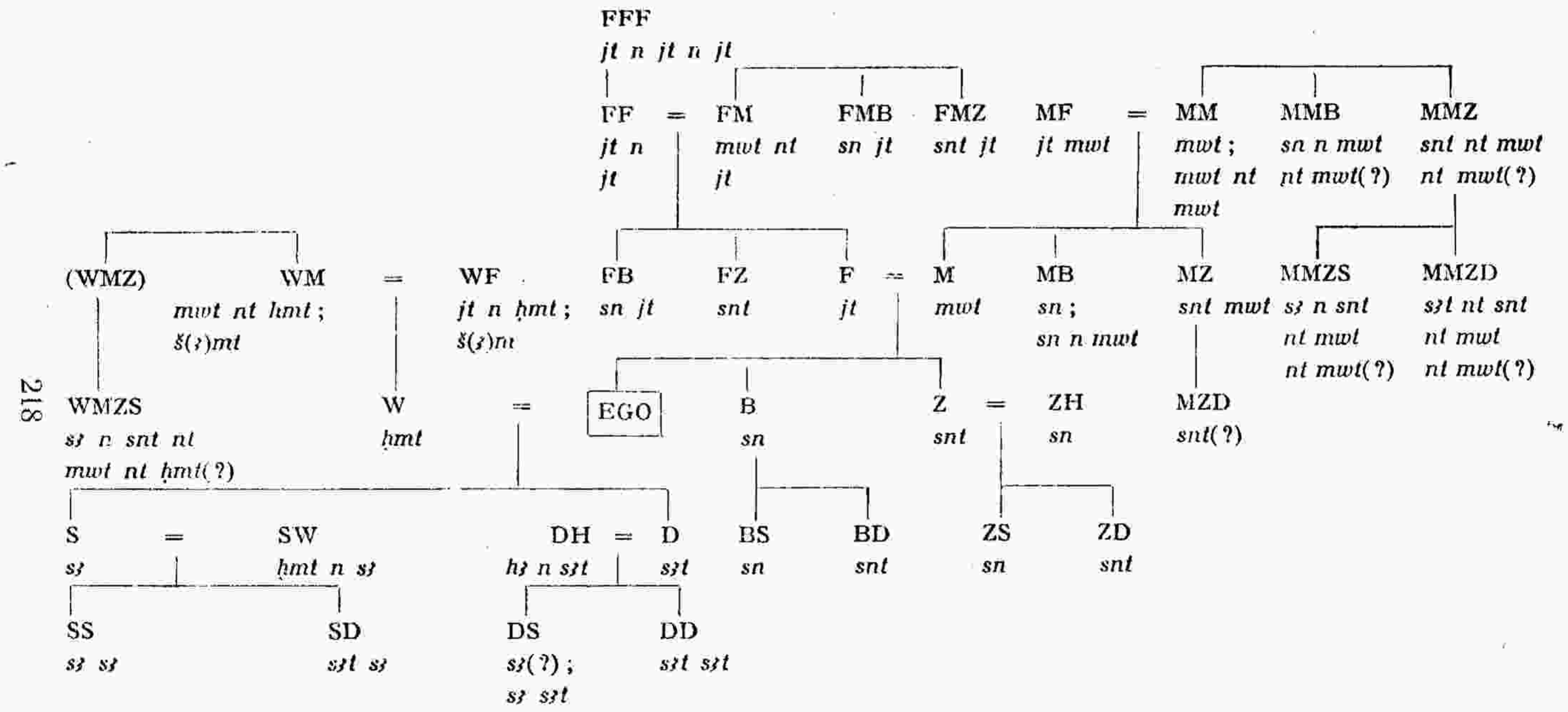


FIG. 13. — Meanings of Egyptian kinship terms as proposed in the text, omitting the type *sn.f n mwt.f* (fig. 12b).