

**Terms of Gendered Representation:
Reassessing the Role of Elite Women in early–mid 18th
Dynasty Funerary Iconography from Thebes and
El-Kab**

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For my parents

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Abstract

Past studies on iconographic funerary material from ancient Egypt have traditionally focused on the male tomb owner, leaving his female relatives primarily characterised through their sexuality and how this benefited the tomb owner's rebirth. This thesis reassesses this androcentric perspective, exploring whether there is a representational decorum in how female relatives are portrayed in a corpus of two early–mid 18th Dynasty family clusters of monuments from Thebes and El-Kab, and their associated artefacts (see Chapter 2). A female relative is defined in Chapter 1 based on the presence of the core kinship terms—*mwt* 'mother', *hmt* 'wife', *snt* 'sister' or 'wife', and *s3t* 'daughter'—in a female figure's caption. The discussion encompasses both a terminological analysis according to kinship term in Chapter 3 and an individual analysis focusing on the women and monuments in each family cluster in Chapter 4. Are there set ways in which women with these different kinship terms are depicted and could this infer a hierarchy between these terminological groups? What can these iconographic hierarchies potentially articulate about idealised female familial power relationships? How did the representation of a single woman change according to monument or according to kinship term? Which women are shown multiple times across their families' monuments and artefacts, and why? Are kinship terms fully representative of the depiction of kinship within funerary iconography? The presence of such decorums suggests that female relatives were portrayed as a vital aspect of the tomb owner's social network and self-presentation alongside his male relatives and colleagues. In this way, traditional approaches to ancient Egyptian funerary contexts are problematised in Chapter 5, drawing on anthropological theories from Feminist and Gender Anthropology and performance theory, in order to suggest a more nuanced, multifaceted, and gender balanced interpretation of the role of elite women in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments.

PREFACE

This thesis is the culmination of eight years as an Egyptology student at Oxford and there have been many people, more than I can name here, who have helped me along this journey and to whom I am incredibly grateful. This thesis was made possible through the generous financial support of University College's Loughman and G. A. Paul scholarships, as well as regular contributions that helped me to attend fieldwork, conferences, and summer schools, and purchase photographic equipment.

My first thank-yous go to my supervisors: Richard Bruce Parkinson and Konstantina Isidoros. Richard helped me to find my academic voice and confidence (as well as teaching me the value of consistency!). Many of the incredible opportunities I have had during my time at Oxford have been assisted and orchestrated by him, for which I will be eternally grateful. Konstantina was the first to introduce me to Feminist Anthropology and Gender Studies during my Masters research. I have valued her insightful and innovative perspectives on the ancient Egyptian material immensely, continually making me rethink my interpretations and be critically reflexive in my approaches. I could not have asked for better mentors.

I have been privileged to call the Griffith Institute my (academic) home for the past eight years and extend my warmest thanks to everyone in the Department of Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies who has made my time at Oxford so enjoyable. Elizabeth Frood in particular has shown me a tremendous amount of support and advice over the years, including an invitation to join the Karnak Graffiti Project in 2018, which continues to be an incredibly rewarding experience. At the heart of this department is the Griffith Institute Archive, which was instrumental in my study of the tombs at Sheikh Abd El-Qurna; I am very grateful to Catherine Warsi, Francisco Bosch-Puche, and Elizabeth Fleming for their assistance.

Participating in the Oxford excavations at El-Kab has been a highlight of my DPhil and was invaluable for allowing me to study first-hand material for this thesis in the 2018 and 2020 seasons. I am grateful to Vivian Davies for this opportunity and to his team, especially Luigi Prada, Susanne Woodhouse, Günter Heindl, Lamia El-Hadidy, Liam McNamara, and Prince, in addition to our colleagues from the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities, and finally to Funduk al Shams, particularly Ulrike Grimm and Mohamed Saad, for their generous hospitality and amazing cooking. Special thanks go

to Paul Wordsworth, who went above and beyond to teach me the intricacies of photogrammetry both in the field and back at the desk in Oxford.

Attending these excavations would not have been possible without considerable financial support from the Oxford Oriental Institute and the Griffith Egyptological Fund, University College and especially its Old Members, and the Egypt Exploration Society and its Patrons. The EES has been incredibly supportive throughout my time as a student and I am grateful to Cédric Gobeil, Carl Graves, Essam Nagy, Chris Naunton, Stephanie Boonstra, Neville Leslie, and Melanie Pitkin.

This thesis has benefited greatly from regular discussions and collaborations with the Oxford-Oslo gender and kinship *hub*, namely Thais Rocha da Silva, Reinert Skumsnes, and Edward Scrivens. Go Team Gender! Special thanks also go to Mark Smith, Violaine Chauvet, Gay Robins, Dimitri Laboury, and Lucía Diaz-Iglesias for their insightful conversations and assistance on various aspects of this work. My knowledge of the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae was improved ten-fold through an internship with the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 2017 and I would like to thank Tonio Sebastian Richter, Simon Schweitzer, Doris Topmann, and Silke Grallert for their assistance (and for helping me to improve my German).

I am very grateful to the examiners who have reviewed this thesis, including Anne-Claire Salmas (Transfer of Status and Final Examination), Leire Olabarria (Final Examination), Margaret Maitland and Cédric Gobeil (Confirmation of Status), and Dan Hicks (Transfer of Status). The current state of this thesis is due in a large part to their detailed and constructive feedback.

I am lucky to have studied alongside such kind and inspirational people during my time at Oxford. Special thanks go to Jordan Miller, Julia Hamilton, Chiara Salvador, Lynn-Salammbô Zimmermann, Christelle Alvarez, Chloé Agar, Rachel Drapper, Amy Hughes, Rory Evans, Helena Cotterill, Alex McCormick, Chloe Ransom, Alex Goldsack, Augustinas Šilalė, Callum Henfrey, and Eléonore Cossade.

Final thank-yous go to my family, who have encouraged and supported me through every step of this journey. Mum, Dad, Georgie, they say you don't get to choose your family but I would choose you all every single time. This thesis is dedicated to my parents for the love of learning they instilled and fostered in me; they are the reason why this thesis exists. Hammond (T. Hamster) has been my mascot throughout the last year of this DPhil; thank you for all the snuggles. Aidan, I cannot put into words how

grateful and fortunate I am to have you by my side. You have made every day an adventure. Thank you.

Submitting a thesis during a global pandemic has inevitably been challenging. In some ways I was incredibly fortunate to have finished the necessary fieldwork and data collection, including the scanning of iconography, prior to the lockdown and to have had such a supportive and well-resourced department working tirelessly to ensure minimal disruption. Chapters 3 and 4, and most of Chapter 2 were in final draft form by March 2020 but parts of Chapter 1 and all of Chapter 5 were written during the lockdown. There are areas where this thesis would have benefited from resources that I was unable to access while completing the final draft and working through corrections. I have included these works in the bibliography, marked accordingly, and plan to incorporate them into future versions of this research.

GLOSSARY

Artefact: a physical material item, such as an element of a tomb's burial equipment (see Chapter 3).

Average similarity: a more subjective judgement on the overall iconographic prominence of a female figure compared to the other female figures in the scene (see Chapter 3).

Family cluster: a collection of monuments that belong to individuals from the same family group; this definition draws on the social relationships between the owners rather than the spatial/temporal/iconographical relationships (if any) between their monuments (see Chapter 2).

Figure: a representation of an individual in the iconography (including artefacts), subdivided into:

Pictorial figure: a representation of an individual as a humanoid, which may also have an associated caption, within the scene.

Textual figure: a representation of an individual in texts only (e.g. a parent in a filiation formula; see Chapter 3).

Monument: a physical architectural structure, including the tombs in the case studies as well as Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (see §1.5.2).

Object: a pictorial representation of a physical material item within a scene (see Chapter 3).

Own family: a woman is represented with her own family if she forms the reference for the kinship terms of other figures in the scene, or is herself referenced via another female figure in the scene.

Terminological group: the categorisation of female figures according the core kinship term in their caption, namely *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, *snt*, and *s3t*; note this includes untermmed women (see §1.4).

CONVENTIONS

Please note images of the iconography and artefacts analysed in this thesis can be found in the Plates, which are provided electronically, either as downloadable files (online version) or on the attached USB (hard-copy version).

The names of well-known ancient Egyptian individuals, including Pharaohs, are given in their most common English form. The ancient Egyptian personal names from the case studies, including the *hbsw* sources, are given in transliteration so that they are more easily identifiable in the ancient material. The unique personal identifiers (PSN) for those individuals from the catalogue are added (see Abbreviations) as well as Roman numerals for those individuals with the same name for further clarification. Note the second names of those individuals who have them are included in the kinship diagrams; in the main text, men are referred to by their most well-known name only (e.g. *ʿ3-m-tw* [PSN 66]), while women are referred to by both names (e.g. *Tw-iw/Tʿh-htp* [PSN 122]). For a full list of the named women from the Theban and El-Kab case studies see the Concordance of Individuals and Sources (Catalogue C.1).

Translations of texts are my own unless otherwise stated. This thesis uses the following transliteration conventions:

(...) text added for clarification

<...> text omitted by scribe

{...} text included in error by scribe

[...] lacunae

The orthophotographs of iconography from the tombs at El-Kab (pls. 168, 176, 178–9, 182, and 184) were created using Agisoft Photoscan (version 1.4.4.6848; Agisoft LLC 2018). Photographs were taken using a Canon 750D DSLR camera and a 24 mm fixed lens, with UV and CPL filters, and AF-focus. Photographs were taken using a tripod and a timer where possible in order to enable longer shutter-speeds and a greater depth of field while minimising camera instability. A selection of Agisoft Photoscan targets (2018, 62–3) and archaeological scale bars were used during photography. The models in Photoscan were processed with a Windows 10 desktop computer consisting of an Intel Pentium G4600 processor, 16 GB of RAM, and a NVIDIA GeForce GTX 1060 graphics card. The photographs were filtered prior to processing based on an estimated image quality of 0.5 and above. The selected photographs were then aligned on high quality, using a generic preselection, a 4000 tie point limit, and no adaptive camera

model fitting. The resulting reprojection errors ranged from 0.322–0.489. The dense clouds used mild depth filtering and were processed on either high or medium quality. The meshes were sourced on the dense cloud and used an arbitrary surface type, mild depth filtering, and interpolation; the meshes were also processed on either high or medium quality. The textures used a generic mapping mode and a mosaic blending mode, with hole filling and ghost filtering enabled. The orthomosaics were created based on markers and used a mosaic blending mode, mesh surface type, and hole filling. Images were then selected and the colour calibrated in order to improve the visual quality of the orthomosaic. Measurements of iconographic elements were taken by hand in the field; comparisons between these measurements and measurements from within the 3D-models suggest a degree of accuracy of 1–2 mm (for EK 5 scenes 2 and 3, and EK 3 scenes 7–8, 12–15, and 16) and 3–4 mm (for EK 5 scenes 17 and 18). For more detailed overviews of the photogrammetric process see Olson et al. (2013), Douglass et al. (2015), Sapirstein and Murray (2017), and Prada and Wordsworth (2018).

ABBREVIATIONS

EK: El-Kab tomb number (following the numbering in PM)

PM: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* by B. Porter and R. Moss (1927–)

LÄ: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* by W. Helck et al. (1975–)

PSN: Personal identifier for individuals from the database

TLA: *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*

TT: Theban Tomb number (following the numbering in PM)

Urk.: *Urkunden des ägyptische Altertums* by K. Sethe et al. (1903–)

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1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING A RELATIVE, DEFINING THE FAMILY, DISPLAYING KINSHIP

Ancient Egyptian funerary monuments provided an arena for an individual's self-presentation, preserving their identity in the community's wider collective memory (e.g. Hartwig 2004; 2011; Vischak 2015). Such iconographic representations, contained within the captions and images of the tomb, were enhanced portrayals, intended to depict how the tomb owner wished to exist for eternity within the scope of religious and artistic decorums (Baines 2007, 16, 28; Hartwig 2011, 316). As a result, these monuments arguably encapsulated the ideals of the ancient Egyptian male elite, including constructions of gender (e.g. Robins 1994; Roth 1999), of social hierarchies (e.g. Maitland 2015), and of kinship relations (e.g. McCorquodale 2013).

Mortuary spheres have long been characterised as a male dominated sphere, understandably due to the fact that only a minute fraction of elite tombs seem to have belonged to women (Robins 1993, 165–9). Moreover, when included in a tomb, women are often portrayed in secondary positions compared to the male tomb owner (Fischer 1989; Robins 1990a; Roth 1999). However, this gendered hierarchy has arguably been taken too far in traditional Egyptological approaches. For example, when a man takes modern precedence in a tomb that arguably belonged to a woman, such as the Middle Kingdom TT 60 of Senet, which was first published as the tomb of her male relative Intefiker (N. de G. Davies et al. 1920; see also Robins 1993, 100, 165; Ragazzoli 2013, 271). Similarly, when elite men are discussed, the focus is on their bureaucratic roles and political significance (e.g. Gardiner 1925; van den Boorn 1988; Shirley 2005; 2014), while descriptions of elite women's portrayals in funerary contexts

overwhelmingly centre on their sexuality and how this benefited the tomb owner (e.g. Westendorf 1967, 140; Derchain 1976; Robins 1989, 109–10; 1999; 2015; O'Connor 1996; Roth 2000; Callender 2002; Meskell 2002, 134–40; Sweeney 2004; Harrington 2016, 140; Skumsnes 2018; for discussion of this see e.g. Robins 1990b).

There are two main issues with this perspective that this thesis addresses. Firstly, a dichotomic reading between the heteronormative genders is not the only possible framework for analysing tomb iconography. Since the 1940s, Feminist and Gender Anthropology has shown the inherent flexibility within gender constructions across contemporary human populations, with the concept of intersectionality highlighting the complex cultural variations that can exist within culture-specific gender perceptions and classificatory systems (Mahmood 2001; Hélie 2012). So far in Egyptology there has been little investigation into intersectionality and gender. Most studies generally assume a homogeneous category, neglecting factors, such as age, status, and ethnicity, which can alter the social experiences of women in different ways over the course of their lives (for discussions of this in Anthropology see e.g. Harding 1991; Juschka 2001). While some Egyptological studies acknowledge the potential for differences between women (e.g. Robins 1999; Sweeney 2004; Vasiljević 2012), such approaches have yet to be fully embedded into the discipline, particularly concerning discussions of kinship and the family in ancient Egypt.

Funerary monuments can be used to explore relationships not only between the two binary genders in ancient Egypt, but also across these gender categories, analysing differences between men and between women. This thesis explores the representational differences between the tomb owner's female relatives in order to highlight the potential power relations among women from the same family (for the importance of intra-familial power relationships see Lamphere 1974, 122). Such an investigation will

further our understanding of the ancient Egyptian family and kinship structures as they were meant to be viewed for eternity.

Secondly, while female sexuality certainly had a religious function within the context of an ancient Egyptian mortuary monument, the overwhelming focus on this function has meant that the other roles that elite women played within such contexts have been overlooked. This is particularly so with regard to the tomb owner's self-presentation, which is almost presented as a male prerogative due to the lack of scholarly attention on elite women. The underlying assumption with the rebirth reading of iconography is that the tomb owner, who was almost always male, provided the masculine element for a sexualised resurrection, yet this is almost never explicitly stated and is often disputed (e.g. Robins 1999, 63; Meskell 2002, 135; for contrast see Szpakowska 2012, 29; Skumsnes 2018, 119–20). Instead the analysis of elite men in tomb iconography has traditionally focused on their bureaucratic, political, and economic roles. The representation of elite men within iconography has occasionally been studied through the lens of sexuality, most notably by Gay Robins (2008) and Richard Bruce Parkinson (1995; 2008), but this is still a strikingly understudied area within Egyptology. While elite men have been analysed through a variety of lenses, sexuality and fertility are never their only perceived representational characteristics nor sole functions within funerary contexts, as has often appeared to be the case in discussions of elite women. This bias further creates a gendered dichotomy between the two main purposes of an ancient Egyptian funerary monument: religious rebirth and self-presentation (e.g. Hartwig 2004, 51–2). Elite men are primarily investigated for their role in the former function, while elite women are restricted to the latter function.

The analysis of female relatives in this thesis is therefore used to show how elite women were portrayed in specific ways compared to one another, in relation to their

male counterparts, and as individuals with their own personal status. In this way their significant role in the tomb owner's self-presentation, alongside his male relatives and colleagues, is emphasised, thereby breaking down the gendered dichotomy between self-presentation and religion in the context of ancient Egyptian funerary monuments.

This thesis recontextualises the focus on rebirth in the role of elite women by proposing a more nuanced, gender balanced, and multifaceted perspective on funerary monuments and their iconography and functions. This thesis does not aim to answer the question of the role of elite women in tomb iconography in concrete terms (if such a thing were even possible), but instead to problematise and re-evaluate what Egyptological scholarship appears to have taken for granted concerning these representations in the hope that as a discipline we can ask better questions in the future.

1.1 Outline of Study

Drawing on Feminist and Gender Anthropological (see §1.2) and art historical (see §1.5) perspectives, this thesis explores how female relatives are represented in two family clusters of early–mid 18th Dynasty tombs from two geographically distinct but iconographically comparable data-sets, namely the Theban necropolis of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna and the necropolis at El-Kab (see Chapter 2; for 'family cluster' see below and Glossary). A working definition of a female relative is established in sections 1.3–4: the core ancient Egyptian kinship terms are chosen as the main indicator of a female relative due to the frequency in which they appear in the captions of elite women (e.g. EK 3 scene 12–15; Robins 1999, 66–7). This thesis focuses on women designated as *mwt* (and its associated term *ms.n N* 'whom N bore'), *hmt*, *s3t*, and *snt*, traditionally translated as 'mother', 'wife', 'daughter', and 'sister', as well as those women who

intentionally lack kinship terms (and often also names) but are portrayed on a comparable footing to named and/or termed women (see §1.4).

The main iconographic trends associated with these terminological groups are then documented in Chapter 3; this discussion is necessarily lengthy in order to analyse the data holistically. This analysis breaks down the depiction of elite women into their constituent components, documenting the numerical frequency of each representational feature, such as a figure's size, level, type of outfit, etc. The potential symbolic meanings of such features are intentionally avoided in this analysis since these meanings have already been extensively studied within Egyptology and primarily focus on female sexuality, feeding into the notion of rebirth as the defining role of elite women in funerary spheres (see discussions on e.g. wigs and hairstyles by Derchain 1975a; lotus flowers by Derchain 1975b and Meskell 2002, 175–7; and monkeys by Manniche 1987; 2003, 45). The numerical approach of this thesis moves away from this perspective by focusing on a systematic analysis of the representation of elite women, allowing for a more comprehensive and in-depth comparison of the portrayal of female relatives (see §1.5.1, §3.6).

Following the discussion by kinship term, the analysis moves to looking at the female relatives and monuments on an individual basis (see Chapter 4). This is made possible by the focus on family clusters, which are here defined as collections of monuments belonging to individuals from the same family groups (see Glossary). In these clusters, the same women are shown across the range of monuments associated with their families. This chapter explores which women are shown multiple times across their families' monuments and why (see §4.1). Did every monument aim to include every female relative in its family group or were there varying levels of inclusion/exclusion (see §4.1)? What is the distribution of kinship terms according to

individual women and what can this suggest about the practice of kinship terming more generally (see §4.2)? Did every monument include every kinship term; which terminological groups are more prevalent and/or visible within each monument (see §4.2)? This personal perspective intersects with the analysis by kinship term in order to explore how the individual social status of female relatives may have affected their representation, and the monuments in terms of how they represent their respective family groups more broadly.

Through the terminological analysis (see Chapter 3) and the individual analysis (see Chapter 4), a more in-depth discussion of the representation of female relatives is made possible (see Chapter 5). This chapter addresses the potential impacts of intersectionality on the ancient Egyptian family as it was depicted in funerary iconography; were there hierarchies between women from the same family and what were the possible implications or causes of these power relationships (see §5.1)? How justified is the terminological definition of the ancient Egyptian family reached in Chapter 1 in light of the conclusions of Chapters 3 and 4; are there any significant differences in the representation of these two families (see §5.2)?

While each terminological group in Chapter 3 has a typical way in which it was represented, not every group is homogeneous. Almost every group contains a few individuals who do not follow the overall representation for that kinship term. The exceptions to these standard modes of representation offer an opportunity to further explore the relationship between kinship terms and how an individual woman is depicted within tomb iconography. Did the kinship term always dictate the way in which a female relative was portrayed in tomb iconography or were other factors involved? Reflecting on the focus on kinship terms as the defining feature of a female relative, this thesis conversely concludes by proposing a distinction between an

individual's kinship term and mode of representation, highlighting the importance of the latter for conveying meaning to the audience (see §5.3). The interplay between these two factors enabled greater flexibility and symbolic potential in the portrayal of kinship in funerary contexts, as well as providing a potential explanation for the duality in the depiction of women termed *snt*, which appears to have denoted both 'wives' and 'sisters' (see §1.3.2).

Following these discussions, the traditional functions ascribed to elite women in funerary iconography are critically assessed, particularly the overwhelming Egyptological focus on female fertility and sexuality as a means of enabling the tomb owner to be reborn. Overall, this thesis aims to expand not only our understanding of conceptualised gender constructions, but also our knowledge of idealised ancient Egyptian kinship relationships and familial structures. It offers an innovative perspective on the role of elite women in funerary iconography, challenging the androcentricism in traditional studies as well as providing a more balanced interpretation of the functions and purposes of this iconography (see §5.4).

1.2 Theoretical Frameworks: Gender and Power

As Anthropologists have long argued, complete objectivity in the study of others is impossible (Clifford 1986; Kuper 1996, 187–8). This is important for all academic disciplines but particularly for the study of past societies (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero 1985). Unlike investigations into living cultures where the analyst can ask questions for clarification, Egyptologists must rely primarily on their own interpretations (e.g. Lustig 1997, 43; Bussmann 2015), which has often led to unacknowledged biases affecting the analysis, including the male bias in early studies

on ancient Egyptian funerary monuments. This thesis therefore draws on anthropological theory in order to explore the alternative interpretive possibilities in the archaeological record and to supplement the interpretations of the fragmentary ancient material, meaning that the latter does not form the sole basis of the conclusions drawn (for similar approaches see e.g. Lustig 1993; 1997; Olabarria 2014). The acknowledgement of bias includes preconceptions about gender. The overwhelmingly androcentric character of early anthropological research began to be problematised during the 1960s development of early Feminist Anthropology's Women Studies (also called Anthropology of Women; see e.g. E. Ardener 1975a; 1975b; S. Ardener 1985; Moore 1988, 1–11), which has had a growing, albeit rather *ad hoc*, presence in Egyptology since the 1980s (Robins 2015, 136).

Following the political developments of the 'first wave' of Feminism—the suffragette movement in the early 20th century—the emerging 'second wave' Feminist Movement from the 1960s onwards focused on rewriting women back into scholarship in order to counter the androcentric perspective of traditional academia (e.g. Ortner 1972). Examples from Egyptology include Gay Robins' *Women in Ancient Egypt* (1993) and Jaana Toivari-Viitala's *Women at Deir el-Medina* (2001), both of which were important in establishing the study of women in the discipline (see also Troy 1986; Fischer 1989; DuQuesne 2007; Stefanović 2016; Schentuleit 2019). As this discourse developed, incorporating issues such as sexuality, studies focused more on integrating women into interpretations rather than simply swapping a male- for a female-focus (e.g. Rubin 1975; Meillassoux 1981; Overing 1986; Butler 1990; for Egyptological studies e.g. Whale 1989; Meskell 1999; 2002; McCorquodale 2013; O'Neill 2015; Wen 2018).

'Third wave' Feminist Anthropologists expanded the dialogue further by highlighting the diversity and fluidity inherent in concepts of sexuality and gender. This

also led to a parallel field, Gender Studies or Gender Anthropology, which realised the need to look both beyond and more critically within the heteronormative binary model, incorporating new fields, such as Queer Studies and ‘Third World’/Post-colonial Feminism, into the discourse and acknowledging the variability within traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity (Woodward and Woodward 2015, 2; see also Abu-Lughod 2001; Mahmood 2001; Hearn 2004; Connell 2005; 2014). In Egyptology, advances are exemplified by the works of Richard Bruce Parkinson, who focuses primarily on Queer Studies within Egyptology (1995; 2008), and Gay Robins, who developed her study of women to become one of the forerunners of ‘third wave’ Feminism in Egyptology (1999; 2008; see also Sweeney 2004; 2011; Vasiljević 2012; Matić 2016). However, further work is still needed to fully incorporate and normalise such approaches into the discipline (O’Connor 1997). Recent steps towards this goal include the works of Jean Li (2017), Thais Rocha da Silva (2018), Reinert Skumsnes (2018), and Leire Olabarria (2020).

Following these developments, this thesis takes gender as a relational framework for exploring the past. As noted by Sørensen,

... gender is neither an absolute nor a static identity ... as a construction it needs to be continuously confirmed and constituted within society ... and obtained and maintained by individuals ... it is continuously reproduced

(2007, 44–5; see also Butler 1990)

‘Gender is negotiated’ (Sørensen 2000, 60); it is realised in the relationships and interactions between people and, as a result, it is ‘inextricably connected with other variables and dynamics of social and cultural life’ (Conkey and Gero 1991, 16). Any study into gender in the past must therefore take into account its specific cultural and historical manifestations, while also acknowledging that gender is only one possible

lens for exploring the archaeological record and may not have been as important as other aspects of social identity to the community under analysis (Sørensen 2000, 72; 2004; Bacus 2007; Rocha da Silva 2018).

Ancient Egyptian concepts of gender are hard to fully access in the fragmentary archaeological record, especially since so many sources originate from the elite male sphere, but also more fundamentally because the ancient Egyptians do not appear to have had a discourse on gender in the same way as we do today (Sweeney 2011, 1). As a result, we have to be particularly careful when analysing ancient Egyptian gender, as we do with many ancient and early modern civilisations, that we are not applying our own cultural classificatory systems to the past. According to most of the elite male sources, ancient Egyptian concepts of gender appear to have been fairly rigid, focusing on the duality of male and female (2011, 2–3). For example, in elite art ‘men are normally represented with darker skin than that of women; ... in a more active pose than elite women ...; the genitals of elite males are always hidden, although the pubic triangle of elite women is often outlined under their clothing’ (2011, 3; see also Robins 2008, 212). In these contexts, women are almost always shown as subordinate to their male relatives (Robins 1990a).

These elite male sources offer a singular perspective on gender in ancient Egypt, one that is not fully representative of daily lived experience. Other sources, such as letters and legal documents attest to the official, economic, and social roles women could hold independently of men (e.g. *Will of Naunakhte*; P. Ashmolean 1945.97; Černý 1945; Donker van Heel 2016). The studies of masculinity by Parkinson (2008) and Robins (2008) have further highlighted the variability within this gender category and the existence of homosexuality in ancient Egypt. The ancient Egyptians appear to have acknowledged alternative genders but these mostly occur in the divine and royal

spheres, such as the goddess Mut who is occasionally depicted in ithyphallic form (e.g. the Late Period Book of the Dead papyrus of Horemheb; P. BM EA 10257.21; British Museum catalogue; Faulkner 1985, 163; Depauw 2003). Even though the evidence is limited and fragmentary, there is little reason to suggest that ancient Egyptian society did not encompass a wide and diverse range of people.

Since this thesis analyses elite funerary iconography, which was designed by and for men (Robins 1989, 106; Hodel-Hoernes 2000, 13–4; Meskell 2002, 10; Baines 2007, 303), the representation of gender lies within the idealised binary framework. However, by exploring the representational differences between female relatives, this thesis aims to show that concepts of femininity in funerary contexts were not monolithic. Even within such a male dominated sphere, alternative readings that provide a more nuanced understanding of ancient Egyptian concepts of gender are possible.

Comparing female relatives in this way requires a discussion of the nature of power and its relationship with gender (Sørensen 2000, 62). Michel Foucault was one of the first scholars to discuss this relationship in *The History of Sexuality* where he defines power as ‘struggles and confrontations’ that ‘transfor[m], strengthe[n], or revers[e]’ processes in a society (1979, 92). Power ‘is not an institution [or] ... a structure’ but rather ‘a complex strategical situation in particular society’ (1979, 93) that is naturally accompanied by forms of resistance (1979, 95). More recent developments on this topic consider the role of the individual, locating power ‘in the interactions among individuals in which its meanings and terms are continually created’ (Sweely 1999, 3; see also Bourdieu 1977; 1980; Giddens 1979; 1984). Such interactions can also include material culture (Sørensen 2000, 63, 72). The rise in ‘Third World’/Post-colonial Feminism further highlighted the need to consider non-dominant forms of power—‘other forms of voice/agency/empowerment’ (Parpart 2010, 15)—that challenge the assumption that

silence or non-action always entails submissiveness. This is particularly relevant for a study on female familial power relationships in ancient Egyptian funerary iconography considering the male dominated nature of this material. While this iconography appears to have been created by and for men in ancient Egypt, the claim that a man's female relatives had no input, direct or otherwise, into how they were represented, especially compared to their other relatives, seems unlikely or at least overly monolithic (Sweeney 2001, 47–8).

This thesis draws on the definition of power proposed by Suzanne Spencer-Wood where power is interpreted on a continuum of egalitarianism, complementarity, and hierarchy including 'dialogue, affiliation, cooperation, persuasion, inspiration, negotiation, empowerment, and collaboration' (1999, 178). By exploring the representational similarities and differences between female relatives, this thesis investigates the potential for idealised hierarchies between women from the same family group, further developing our understanding of the subtle and complex mechanisms of power and how it overlapped with gender within the ancient Egyptian family structure as it was meant to exist for eternity.

But what exactly was the ancient Egyptian 'family'? The following sections explore this question through a discussion of ancient Egyptian kinship terminology since this forms the main categorisation of female relatives (see §1.3–4). Terminology and iconography should not be viewed in isolation and so this chapter ends by exploring the potential relationships between terminology and the representation of it within funerary iconography (see §1.5), establishing the framework for Chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 Defining a Relative: Ancient Egyptian Kinship Terminology

Even though ancient Egyptian kinship terminology has been extensively studied (e.g.

Černý 1956; Robins 1979; Bierbrier 1980; Franke 1983; 2001; Willems 1983; T. D. Allen 2000; 2009; Haikal 2008; Campagno 2009), our understanding of this phenomenon remains tentative at best. Most studies agree that the ancient Egyptians used six basic kinship terms during the Pharaonic period:

- *it* (TLA lemma-no. 32820); ‘father’
- *mwt* (TLA lemma-no. 69040); ‘mother’
- *s3/t* (TLA lemma-nos. 125630/125510); ‘son/daughter’
- *sn/t* (TLA lemma-nos. 136260/136230); ‘brother/sister’ or ‘husband/wife’
- *hy* (TLA lemma-no. 97770); ‘husband’
- *hmt* (TLA lemma-no. 32820); ‘wife’

These basic terms were then used in compound terms in order to express more complex relationships, such as *mwt (nt) mwt=i* ‘mother of my mother’ and *sn (n) mwt=i* ‘brother of my mother’ (Robins 1979, 200; T. D. Allen 2009, 53–4).

The fragmentary textual record suggests that these terms were used for both biologically and socially constructed kinship ties (see Haikal 2008). For example, a 20th Dynasty letter suggests that a childless man should simply adopt an orphan in order to have an heir (O. Berlin P 10627; Wente 1990, 149). Likewise, the 19th Dynasty scribe Qenherkhepshef was called *s3* by the scribe Ramose, while at the same time had an *it* called Panakhte (Kitchen 1980, 632–3; Bierbrier 1982, 32–3; B. G. Davies 1999, 81–4). Similarly, in the 20th Dynasty *Adoption Papyrus* Nebnefer makes his wife, Naunef, his heir since the couple were childless (P. Ashmolean 1945.96, recto l. 3–5; Gardiner 1941a; Eyre 1992; Donker van Heel 2016). In this case, Naunef, also called Rennefer, then adopts three children whom Nebnefer appears to have had with a slave woman named Dunihutiry (recto l. 15–7, verso l. 1), marrying the eldest daughter to her younger brother (recto l. 21–2) and making him her heir as well (verso l. 8–9). As a

result, Nebnefer and Naunefer/Rennefer worked around their infertility, which would have jeopardised both their joint property (Janssen and Pestman 1968) and Naunefer/Rennefer's position should she be widowed (Janssen and Janssen 2007, 203, 224–5), through a mixture of adoption and possibly polygyny (see Jones 2018).

Therefore, it appears that neither social or biological kinship was elevated above the other, as is typical in Western kinship (Schneider 1968; 1972; 1984), suggesting that the constructions of kinship relationships were fairly flexible in ancient Egypt, arising out of a pragmatic need to deal with the instability in life due to death, divorce, and infertility. Genetic links should not be assumed *a priori* from the above terms. This is particularly relevant for the use of these terms in funerary iconography since these monuments acted as memorials for the deceased, as a record of their social and familial networks (e.g. Hartwig 2004; Vischak 2015). It is likely that a similar process of rewriting and reworking kinship relationships occurred in these monuments, potentially highlighting certain relationships over others, excluding and including certain people, and assigning individuals with the 'correct' kinship terms in order to set the record straight, at least in the tomb owner's perspective, for eternity.

Past Egyptological kinship studies often attempted to explain the ancient terms using the Western kinship model and its entire classificatory system (Lustig 1997, 46–7; T. D. Allen 2000). The fact that a single modern translation of 'wife' must cover the meaning behind both *hmt* and *snt*, and similarly 'husband' for *hy* and *sn*, implies that Western and ancient Egyptian kinship terms are not absolutely comparable. In line with the evolutionary and structuralist theories of the time, many early Egyptological studies focused on categorising ancient Egyptian kinship, determining whether it was matrilineal or patrilineal (Petrie 1923; O'Connor 1990; Forgeau 1996), classificatory or descriptive (Kroeber 1909; T. D. Allen 2009), or part of the same linguistic family as

Indo-European and Semitic languages (Černý 1956). Others simply used kinship terminology to determine genealogies for historiographic reasons, such as the ongoing debate over Tutankhamun's parentage (Quiring 1960; Bell 1992; Robins 1991; 1992; Gabolde 2002; Gad et al. 2010). As a result, Western concepts and meanings were often imposed on the data, resulting in misinterpretation and Eurocentricism (T. D. Allen 2000, 146).

Any study into a foreign cultural system will unavoidably result in a translation of the foreign terms into ones that are easier to understand. It becomes a balancing act between using emic (insider) terms and etic (outsider) terms (Pike 1954; Harris 1964; Headland et al. 1990). These approaches should not be dichotomous (Feleppa 1986, 243) because while emic vocabulary keeps the study closer to the original culture, it limits the ability to use cross-cultural comparisons, which can be particularly useful for investigations into ancient cultures.

In the following sections, the proposed etic meanings of the ancient Egyptian terms and relevant social structures, such as marriage, are discussed, acknowledging that the meaning behind modern terms such as 'wife' and 'sister' may not have corresponded to ancient conceptions of these roles. The emic terms form the basis of the categorisation of ancient Egyptian women in this thesis, with etic terminology serving as a means of exploring the differences between and within each emic terminological group, allowing for a more nuanced evaluation of the potential functions and meanings of the representation of ancient Egyptian kinship in funerary iconography.

1.3.1 The Importance of Inheritance and Descent

Without prioritising categorisation, the question of whether ancient Egyptian society was matrilineal or patrilineal is relevant since it relates to the familial power of women.

The main evidence traditionally cited for matrilineality is the trend of noting filiation primarily through the mother, most commonly on Middle Kingdom funerary stelae from Abydos (Robins 1979, 198–9; Willems 1983, 160; T. D. Allen 2009, 38). This is contrasted with the patrilineal dominance of men in bureaucracy and the hereditary nature of these offices (Robins 1993, 141, 176–7, 191; Franke 2001). Instead this evidence suggests that the ancient Egyptians practised cognatic descent with bilateral kinship (Pestman 1969, 59; Assmann 1976, 12–6; Campagno 2009, 4; Olabarria 2014, 182; Skumsnes 2018, 208), with the importance of mothers largely overlooked in modern scholarship.

It is clear that property/offices could pass from mother to child (Pestman 1969). For example, a 4th Dynasty *imyt-pr* text inscribed in the tomb of Metjen notes that he received 50 *arouras* of land from his mother Nebsenet (PM III.2², 493–4; *Urk.* I, 1–7; Logan 2000, 51; see also J. Johnson 1999). Similarly, in his self-presentation, the Middle Kingdom mayor Khnumhotep II notes that his mother’s promotion to ‘hereditary lady and countess as daughter of the ruler of the Oryx nome’ (Maitland 2015, 188) in turn helped his own career (*Urk.* VII, 28, 14–6). The 20th Dynasty *Will of Naunakhte* proves that elite women could both amass considerable personal wealth and then distribute it amongst their children as they pleased (P. Ashmolean 1945.97; Černý 1945; Donker van Heel 2016). The 12th Dynasty stela of Intef son of Montuhotep states how he received property from both his mother and his father as well as accumulating property himself (BM EA 1628, l. 13–5; British Museum catalogue; Franke 2007). Therefore, both parents, whether biologically related or legally adoptive, could be influential in terms of descent, inheritance, and social importance, potentially indicating that the role of mother from the outset was more significant than other female familial roles in this sphere of activity (see §5.1).

Similarly, the role of *s3/t smsw/t* ‘eldest son/daughter’ (see TLA lemma-no. 135690) appears to have been important for the division of inheritance and the provisioning of parents in old age (Pestman 1969; Harrington 2007; Allam 2010; McCorquodale 2012). Iconographically, an ‘eldest son/daughter’ was never depicted subordinately to their siblings but was shown on a larger scale with equal or higher titles and often the foremost position. Based on this, McCorquodale argues that this role was fulfilled by the chronologically eldest child (2012, 79–80); however, it is possible that the title itself conferred this type of representation. This term seems to have been replaced in the Ptolemaic Period by *šrit/t ʕ3/t* (TLA lemma-nos. 156650/156680 and 450158/34850), which Allam argues was used honorifically by parents to signify the child who would be their main heir (2010, 32–3). It is possible that the epithet *wrt* ‘great’ (TLA lemma-no. 47271) was an alternative way of denoting an eldest child (see *T3-ddt=s* [PSN 166] in EK 3 scene 16; see also *The Tale of Sinuhe* B 78–9; Gardiner 1916, 40–1; Parkinson in preparation). While these designations were arguably used to distinguish between children, their ability to specifically denote their relative age is uncertain.

Even though the designation ‘eldest daughter’ is less common than that of ‘eldest son’ and sons appear to be the socially expected heirs (Janssen and Pestman 1968; Pestman 1969, 65; Logan 2000, 67; McCorquodale 2012), gender did not always play a significant role in determining inheritance (see Robins 1981, 307–8). For example, the requirement of providing for Naunakhte applied equally to her sons and daughters (P. Ashmolean 1945.97, 2.4–5, 4.1–12; Černý 1945; see also Muhs 2017). What *s3/t smsw/t* certainly does suggest, however, is that there was the potential for a hierarchy between siblings, which seems to have extended to their representations in funerary iconography (see §5.1).

1.3.2 *The Question of Homonymity*

While the general interpretation of *it* and *mwt* is ‘father’ and ‘mother’, there are cases where these terms were used interchangeably with their compound counterparts. For example, *mwt* could also mean *mwt (nt) mwt* ‘maternal grandmother’ and, more broadly, all female ancestors. Similarly, the term *s3/t* could be used for a ‘son/daughter’ but also for a ‘grandson/granddaughter’ and a descendant (Robins 1979, 200–1). Bierbrier notes that *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t* could also denote one’s parents/children-in-laws (1980, 100). Additionally, the relationship with one’s wife’s family could be described through compounds terms of *hmt* and for parents-in-law by the term *šm/t* (TLA lemma-nos. 856309/154440; Robins 1979, 208–9); however, the latter is only attested four times during the Pharaonic Period (Willems 1983, 153). Despite these variations, *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t* appear to consistently refer to people in generations above and below the subject (for the concept of generations in ancient Egypt see Assmann 1976; Seyfried 1995; Seidlmayer 2009) and especially when used in conjunction with filiation formulae such as *N ir.n/ms.n Y* ‘N whom Y begot/bore’ or *N s3/t Y* ‘N son/daughter of Y’ their meaning is generally clear.

The term *sn/t* appears to have been used to denote a range of relationships, including ‘brother/sister’, ‘husband/wife’, ‘father’s brother/sister’, ‘mother’s brother/sister’, ‘brother’s son/daughter’, ‘sister’s son/daughter’, ‘mother’s sister’s son/daughter’, and ‘brother/sister-in-law’ (Robins 1979, 202; Bierbrier 1980, 104; Willems 1983, 158–9). Based on genealogies derived from tomb iconography and texts, Bierbrier notes two possible cases from Deir El-Medina where this term could refer to a nephew-in-law (1980, 105–6). As the above range suggests, *sn/t* could refer to relatives of generations above, equal to, and below the subject (Willems 1983, 158). Could it simply denote a ‘relative’? With two separate terms for ‘wife’ and ‘daughter’, why is *snt*

was used in some cases to denote these relationships and not a compound term of *hmt* and *s3t*?

Despite the double meaning of *snt* as ‘sister’ and ‘wife’, the evidence for brother-sister marriage is very limited and, outside of the royal family, seems to have been restricted to the Graeco-Roman Period (Černý 1954; Middleton 1962; Young 1965; Shaw 1992). As a result, it is unlikely that a person called *snt* will be both ‘sister’ and ‘wife’ of the tomb owner following the Western definitions of these terms. However, endogamous marriages were not uncommon. For example, the marriage of *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15) to his sister’s daughter *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14; see §2.1.1). This relationship appears to have been specifically denoted through the compound term *s3t (n) snt=f* in *B3kt(-Imn)*’s captions (e.g. TT 82 scenes 5, 11, and 12).

The difference between *snt* and *hmt* to designate a ‘wife’ remains uncertain. *hmt* is attested from as early as the Old Kingdom (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 18) but was slowly replaced by *snt* in funerary contexts, including iconography, stelae, and burial goods, from the reign of Tuthmosis III (Černý 1954, 28). Most scholars argue, due to the variety in meanings of *snt*, that this term denoted a more ‘informal and endearing relationship’ (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 30; see also Erman 1971, 222; T. D. Allen 2009, 35) compared to the supposedly formal meaning of *hmt*. This reading is most likely influenced by the use of *sn/t* to denote a ‘lover’ or ‘suitor’ in late New Kingdom love songs (Revez 2003, 124); such lovers are usually the same age and unmarried (see Vernus 1992, 19; Sweeney 2002; Fox 2016). It is possible, however, that these songs comprised an elevated form of language, especially since the ‘precursors to the Ramesside love poetry appear in Eighteenth Dynasty festival texts’ (Darnell 2016, 24), implying that *sn/t* could have been a high register term. The attestations in love songs add the further question of sexual relationships. Could *snt* have denoted the sexual or

emotional partner of a man, while *hmt* denoted a less physical or psychological relationship? Haikal has suggested that *sn/t* could have been used to show ‘endearment’ and equality (2008, 145), drawing on the common root between this term and *snw* meaning ‘two’ (TLA lemma-no. 136210).

In the Middle and New Kingdoms, *hmt* could also mean ‘woman’ rather than specifically a ‘wife’ (Robins 1979, 208; Campagno 2009, 1), implying that if any term for ‘wife’ was informal it was arguably this one. Among the textual evidence from Deir El-Medina, Toivari-Viitala noted seven cases where the term *hmt* could be translated as either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’ (2001, 23–4), including two cases where *hmt* is contrasted with a generic male description such as *ḥ3w* ‘men’ (TLA lemma-no. 40060; P. BM EA 10416, recto l. 1–2; British Museum catalogue) or *rmt-ist* ‘workmen’ (TLA lemma-no. 94590; *Will of Naunakhte*: P. Ashmolean 1945.97, 3.1; Černý 1945; Donker van Heel 2016). However, Toivari-Viitala noted that *hmt* was actually very uncommon in cases where a generic woman was referred to, with the village inhabitants preferring to use the terms *st* (TLA lemma-no. 125040) or *st-hmt* (TLA lemma-no. 125370), suggesting that the term *hmt* did normally denote a ‘wife’ (2001, 25). The fact that this term could be used more loosely in contrast with male terms implies that being a wife was the expected social norm for women (Eyre 2007), while men were simply called ‘men’ or defined by their career (as noted in the New Kingdom *Instruction of Ani*, 3.6; Quack 1994, 132–3).

The most common term associated with a wife is *nbt-pr*, traditionally translated as ‘mistress of the house’ (TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15) and attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards. However, this term is also attested for ‘senior wom[en] in an independent household’ (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 16), meaning that a woman did not have to be married in order to be in charge of a household. Since this

term is the most ‘ubiquitous’ one for wives (Ward 1986, 24), it arguably lacks the potential for homonymity compared to the terms *hmt* and *snt*, and instead ‘served as a honorific title’ in primarily monumental and literary contexts (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 17).

From the Middle Kingdom onwards the term *hbsw* (TLA lemma-no. 103900), also written *hbs* and *hbsy(t)*, is attested in administrative and private documents to describe a married woman; the former writing is more common and so is used here to refer to all three variations. The exact meaning behind this term and its relationship to *hmt* and *snt* has caused debate, exemplifying some of the issues noted above. The term is attested in one Middle Kingdom, eight New Kingdom, and three Late Period textual sources for a total of 23 women:

Middle Kingdom

- Letters I and II of Heqanakhte (J. P. Allen 2002, pls. 28, 30) date to the reign of Senwosret I based on their orthography, palaeography, and find spot in the tomb of Meseh in Deir El-Bahri (PM I.2², 651; J. P. Allen 2002, 127–30). In these letters, Heqanakhte writes to his family berating them for their poor treatment of his *hbsyt* (Letter I, verso l. 16; Letter II, recto l. 40–4), whom Heqanakhte states should be treated like a *hmt* (Letter II, recto l. 43).

New Kingdom

- Giornale 17 A (Botti and Peet 1928, pl. 45) and 17 B (1928, pl. 21; Kitchen 1983, 566–98) date internally to year 17 of Ramses IX. In the daily journal of the workmen at Deir El-Medina, three women are termed *hbsw*: *T3-my II* (17 A, verso 3.4), *T3(y)-snt* (17 B, recto 5.6), and *T3-my* (17 B, recto 5.9). These women are also termed *hbsw* in P. BM EA 10053 (see below). Other untermmed women

are mentioned and 17 B notes a questioning of eight *rmṯw* ‘men’ and their *ḥmwt* ‘wives’, but no names are given (recto 1.30).

- P. BM EA 10053; the recto dates internally to year 17 of Ramses IX (Kitchen 1983, 506–14), while the verso dates internally to year 9 of Ramses XI (1983, 755–63). This text is part of the *Tomb Robbery* corpus and lists criminals, including nine *ḥbsw*: *T3-ḥw-r-r* (verso 4.15–6), *Iwnw-[r]-<i3>* (recto 1.9), *ʿ3-r=fy* (recto 2.18), *T3-npy-rnpt(?)* (recto 4.20), *T3-ry-ry-i3* (recto 5.6), *T3-snt* (recto 5.10), *T3-my* (recto 5.15), *T3-my II* (recto 6.6), and *Mwt-Imn* (recto 7.8). Some women are also included in P. Giornale 17 A and 17 B (see above).
- P. BM EA 10054 II; the verso dates internally to year 6 of Ramses XI (Kitchen 1983, 743–6). This text details the distribution of grain, in which *T3-wḥd* (2.25) and *T3-is* (2.30) are termed *ḥbsw*. In comparison, *T3-sntt* is said to be *ḥms.ti p3 pr n* ‘living with a man’ (2.26), *Iwnw-r-y* is said to have been *wnw m ḥmt m-di* ‘the *ḥmt* of a man who is now dead’ (2.27), and *T3ty=fy* is simply termed *t3* of a man (2.29), although it is likely that her designation was omitted by accident. A *s3t ḥmt ḥm* ‘daughter of the wife of a slave’ called *Iwnw-r* is also included (2.16).
- P. BM EA 10052 dates internally to year 1 of the Renaissance under Ramses XI (Kitchen 1983, 767–803). This text is part of the *Tomb Robbery* corpus and documents part of the official proceedings. One woman, *Ns-mwt*, is termed both *ḥbsw* (3.8–9) and *ḥmt* (3.9, 3.12–3, 6.15) by the scribe, while *Mwt-m-ḥb* is termed *ḥbsw* (15.4) by the scribe but describes herself as *ḥmt* (15.6–7). Six

further women are termed *hmt*: *Ns-mwt II* (2.29), *Mwt-m-wi3* (6.15–6), *3st* (10.11), *Iry-nfr<t>* (11.4), *Mwt-m-wi3 II* (13.15), and one unnamed woman (12.10). Some women are also attested in P. Mayer A (see below).

- P. Mayer A dates internally to year 1 of the Renaissance under Ramses XI until section 8, after which it is internally dated to year 2 of the Renaissance (Kitchen 1983, 803–28). This text is part of the *Tomb Robbery* corpus and details more proceedings. *Twnw-r-i3* is termed *hbsw* on the recto (3.1), while eleven women are termed *hmt* on the verso: *Ns-mwt* (13.C2), *Mwt-m-wi3* (13.C3), *Mwt-m-hb* (13.C5), *Mwt-m-wi3 II* (13.C8), *3st* (13.C10), *Iry-nfrt* (13.C12), *T3-^cn-hs.ti* (13.C4), *Hw-r-r* (13.C6), *T3-nfr* (13.C7), *M^c-n-w^c-nn-m3^ct* (13.C9), and *T3y-mwt-t3-wrt* (13.C11). The first six women are also listed in P. BM EA 10052 (see above).
- P. BM EA 10403 dates internally to year 2 of the Renaissance under Ramses XI (Kitchen 1983, 828–33). This text is part of the *Tomb Robbery* corpus and names more criminals, including the *hbsw Šd-hw-nht* (3.22–3).
- P. Turin 1895 + 2006 was found in Deir El-Medina and dates internally to the reign of Ramses XI (Gardiner 1941b; 1948, 36–44). This text, also known as the *Taxation Papyrus*, documents the collection of taxes, including those from the *hbsw M-^c-š^c-nfr* (3.5).
- P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409 was found in Deir El-Medina and dates to Ramses XI based on orthography and the people mentioned in the text (Černý

and Peet 1927; Kitchen 1983, 738–42; Donker van Heel 2016, 159–65). This text describes the marriage settlement of *Imn-h^cw* (Amunkhau) for his second wife *Ink-sw-ndm* (Ineksunedjem). He refers to her as *t3y st-ḥmt* ‘this woman’ (2.2), *t3 st-ḥmt nty m p3y=i pr* ‘the woman who is in my house’ (2.10, 2.12), and also describes how he treated her in the same way as the children of his first wife whom he calls *ḥmt* (2.7). In comparison, the vizier refers to *Ink-sw-ndm* as *ḥbsw* (3.9) but then compares her current situation to that of a *ḥmt* and a Syrian or Nubian girl (3.11–2).

Late Period

- P. Berlin 13614 was found in Elephantine and dates internally to year 34 of Amasis (Erichsen 1950, 22; Porten and Farber 1996, 346–7). This Demotic marriage contract details a gift from a man to a woman, in which the man states to his partner *ir(-y) t=t n ḥbs.t* ‘I have made you as a *ḥbs.t*’ (l. 3; Pestman 1961, 27; Porten and Farber 1996, 346–7).
- P. Berlin 3078 was found in Thebes and dates internally to year 30 of Darius (Spiegelberg 1907, 6–7; Erichsen 1950, 35). This is another Demotic marriage contract written by a woman, which details the gift given to her by her male partner, about whom she says *ʿr-k t(-i) ḥbs* ‘you made me a *ḥbs*’ (l. 3; Spiegelberg 1907, 6).
- P. Cairo JdE 89366 (formerly P. Philadelphia University Museum 29-86-520, 800 d, 885, Jar 2) was found in Dra Abou El-Naga and dates internally to year 4 of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Reich 1933). This Demotic text details a divorce

between a man and woman, including the phrase *k^c.y t-t ḥbs te-y wy.t ^c ḥr-t n ḥp n ḥm.t* ‘I have abandoned you as a *ḥbs*, I am removed from you concerning the right of a *ḥmt*’ (l. 2; Reich 1933, 137–8). Later in the text the man states that he will have no ‘claim’ against his divorced partner in the *rn s(t)-ḥm(t)* ‘name of a woman’ (l. 3; Reich 1933, 139). While Reich argues that *ḥbs* in line 2 should be written *ḥmt* (1933, 138 n.7), making it unclear whether *ḥmt* in the subsequent clause was also originally *ḥbs*, the expression *ḥp n ḥmt* appears to have been a set phrase in such documents (Pestman 1961, 17).

While much of the early literature translated *ḥbsw* as ‘concubine’ (e.g. James and Gunn 1962, 33; TLA), it has long been accepted that concubinage did not occur in non-royal spheres of ancient Egyptian society (Ward 1986; Callender 1994). Eyre proposes that *ḥbsw* meant a ‘successive wife’ of a widower (or polygynist) (1992, 212, 218), whereas Robins claims that the term was not used often enough to mean this, considering the greater mortality risk to women in ancient Egypt and the increased likelihood of widowers remarrying (1993, 61–2, 64). Alternative perspectives focus on the etymology of *ḥbsw*, which derives from *ḥbs* meaning ‘clothing, being clothed’ (TLA lemma-no. 103740). Möller argued that *ḥbsw* denoted a veiled or clothed woman (1918; see also J. Johnson 2001, 96). While actual veiling is unattested in ancient Egypt, could this suggest that *ḥbsw* noted a woman endowed, i.e. ‘clothed’, with certain property upon marriage? The movement of personal property between marital partners is observed for women termed *ḥmt* (Pestman 1961), making it possible that the property given could have affected the kinship term used. Haikal interprets the translation of ‘clothed’ as a ‘metaphor for the “comfort”, “protection”, and “intimacy” that a wife is meant to

provide', drawing on similarities in meaning with the modern Arabic term 'lebaas' (2008, 148).

The overall nature of the sources in which *ḥbsw* is attested, particularly criminal proceedings and marital documents, does suggest that this term was a legal definition, possibly relating to specific type of marital status. This could in turn explain the apparent avoidance of *ḥbsw* on monuments. Perhaps Amunkhau's second wife, Ineksunedjem, had not yet legally assumed this status in P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409, prompting him to refer to her by more generic and/or descriptive terms, while the vizier pre-empted this status change by calling her *ḥbsw*.

Analysis by person of the above corpus reveals that these terms had a varied applicability. Three women are consistently termed *ḥbsw*, while four women are consistently termed *ḥmt*. Considering the fact that *ḥbsw* is not attested with the term *nbt-pr*, unlike *ḥmt* and *snt*, it would seem that *ḥbsw* did not denote a wife in the same way as *ḥmt* and *snt*. The overall rarity of the term *ḥbsw* in surviving sources further suggests that a *ḥbsw* was not as common as a *ḥmt* or *snt* in ancient Egyptian society. However, these texts also show that the terms *ḥbsw* and *ḥmt* could be used interchangeably, much like *ḥmt* and *snt*, which casts doubt on this semantic distinction. Some individuals are termed both *ḥbsw* and *ḥmt* by the scribe of the text, or the vizier in the case of P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409, while another woman is termed *ḥbsw* by the scribe but calls herself *ḥmt* in P. BM EA 10052.

The fact that a single woman could be designated by more than one of these terms suggests that their difference in meaning was subtle and could be overlooked in daily usage according to individual preference (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 37–8). The use of *ḥbsw* in the three Late Period documents suggests that by this time it had a meaning very similar to that of *ḥmt*, with *ḥbsw* used in phrases such as *ir(-y) t=t n ḥbs.t* 'I have

made you as a *ḥbs.t*' (Pestman 1961, 27; Porten and Farber 1996, 346–7), paralleling the common phrase *iri m ḥmt* 'to make as a wife' (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 70–2). The fact that a *ḥbsw* appears to have had access to the 'right of a *ḥmt*' in P. Cairo JdE 89366 further strengthens this point. Later on in this papyrus, these two terms are equated with the term *s(t)-ḥm(t)* 'woman', suggesting that being a *ḥbsw* was closely related to the concept of womanhood in Late Period Egypt, as shown with *ḥmt* in the New Kingdom.

In P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409, Ineksunedjem is termed *ḥbsw*, while Amunkhau's first wife is labelled *ḥmt*, which would seem to support Eyre's interpretation of *ḥbsw* as a 'successive wife' (1992, 212, 218; see also TLA). However, in P. BM EA 10052 the *ḥbsw Mwt-m-ḥb* states that she is the fourth wife (*ḥmt*) of a man, which casts doubt on Eyre's translation by implying that both *ḥbsw* and *ḥmt* could be used to refer to successive wives. Alternatively, could *ḥbsw* have denoted a young or new wife in P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409? Both the vizier in this text and Heqanakhte in his letters compare the treatment of a *ḥbsw* to that of a *ḥmt*, with the latter forming the expected, normal way of things. The vizier also compares the marriage settlement of a *ḥbsw* to that of a Nubian or Syrian girl. The choice to use an ethnic term to denote these relationships rather than a kinship designation could suggest that they were not as socially acknowledged as those relationships that do have a specific term. Nevertheless all of these women are expected to be treated in the same way, implying that these relationships/statuses were conceptually comparable.

While the translation of *ḥbsw* to mean 'successive wife' is doubtful, P. Turin 2021 + Geneva D 409 suggests that the position of a successive wife was inferior to that of a first wife. Amunkhau says that he treated his second wife like a child of his first (2.7), implying that the second wife was not of the same social standing. Her marriage settlement was also considerably smaller than that of the first wife—four slaves and

their children, compared to potentially thirteen to fourteen slaves (3.1–2)—and needed to be approved by the first wife’s children in order to ensure that it did not encroach on her settlement, which would have formed the inheritance of those children (3.5–8; Eyre 2007, 230–1, 236).

Moreover, the portrayal of successive wives in Demotic literature suggests that this economic and social inferiority could have negative psychological consequences. For example, in the Ptolemaic *Tale of Setna I* the second wife of Setna, despite being a wealthy woman, persuades him to disinherit and then kill the children of his first wife in order to bolster her own financial position and those of her future children with Setna (P. Cairo 30646, 5.1–30; Goldbrunner 2006). While such literature will not reflect real life situations, this episode—being a dream resulting from Setna’s theft of a magical scroll (4.30–6)—reveals male elite attitudes. From this perspective, being a successive wife was not as economically or socially advantageous as being a first wife.

The tendencies of each scribe further suggests that the use of *ḥbsw* and *ḥmt* could be affected by personal choice, while acknowledging that specific words may not have been those of the scribe if they were transcribing oral speech. Each papyri noted above have different scribes, except the Heqanakhte letters, which were probably written by Heqanakhte himself (J. P. Allen 2002, 81), the two Giornale sections (Botti and Peet 1928, 14–6), and P. BM EA 10052 and P. Mayer A (Peet 1930, 53, 102–3, 112, 135, 169). P. BM EA 10053 may have had a different scribe for its recto and verso (Peet 1930, 102–3, 112) but the term *ḥbsw* is consistently used and not *ḥmt*. This appears to be the standard practice for most of the other scribes; the Giornale scribe mostly uses *ḥbsw* and only *ḥmt* for a broad reference to a group of wives. The scribe of P. BM EA 10052 and P. Mayer A, however, uses both terms within a single papyrus and between the two papyri. In P. BM EA 10052, the scribe calls two women *ḥbsw*, one of whom

they term *hmt* three times later in the same papyrus and both of whom are labelled *hmt* in P. Mayer A. This is specific to these women since the scribe consistently refers to four women with *hmt* across both papyri. Such variability does not appear to be that uncommon since the scribe of P. BM EA 10054 uses a wide range of descriptions of marital relationships, including *hbsw*, *hmt*, and others describing co-habitation and widowhood.

It is significant to note that the number of terms available for describing men or husbands appears to have been more limited. Additional terms may have only existed in oral speech and were not written down due to the predominantly male perspective of textual sources. In the *Tomb Robbery* corpus, the women termed *hbsw* and *hmt* do not appear to be treated differently according to their partners, with both groups attested alongside men who are termed *hy* and have a wide range of titles (Toivari-Viitala 2001, 35–8). Moreover, both *hbsw* and *hmt* are associated with the title *ḥnt-nt-niwt* ‘citizenship’ (TLA lemma-no. 38880) and one *hbsw*, *M-ḥ-ḥ-nfr* (P. Turin 1896 + 2006, 3.5), held the elite female title of *šmḥyt n Imn* ‘chantress of Amun’ (TLA lemma-no. 851078; Onstine 2005), providing 30 sacks of grain as taxes, which is a substantial amount compared to the other tax-payers but not uncommon.

The multiplicity and interchangeability of terms for ‘wife’ suggests that a variety of types, statuses, and/or descriptions of marital relationships existed in ancient Egypt. These were not necessarily all formal marriage practices but could have included different types of sexual relationship as well. The fact that some women were only called *hbsw*, *hmt*, or *snt*, while others were described by two of these terms further implies that these types/statuses could be fluid or their distinctions ignored in daily usage, suggesting subtle differences in meaning. The same appears to happen in the use of these terms in funerary iconography, suggesting that this fluidity extended into

monumental spheres as well (see §4.2). There is little reason to argue therefore that a *ḥbsw* was naturally inferior to a *ḥmt* or a *snt*, as the orientalist translation of ‘concubine’ implies. In fact, the evidence suggests that if any designation was a generic term for a ‘wife’ it was probably *ḥmt*, with the only arguable hierarchy existing between a successive wife and a first wife. It appears that this hierarchy could cross over into the iconographic sphere as well (see §5.1; Jones 2018).

1.3.3 Conceptualising the Kinship Terms

The apparent flexibility and homonymity regarding ancient Egyptian kinship terms is not uncommon. For example, the Kuria in Kenya and Tanzania have a kinship system of ‘alternating generations’: generation A gives birth to generation B, which in turn leads to generation C, and then to generation D, which links back to A, etc. (James 2008a, 83, 88). The Kuria kinship terms, when used on their own, are fairly generic; for example, ‘omogaaka’ means the ‘head of family’ or ‘elder’. However, its meaning changes when it is used in conjunction with personal pronouns; for example, ‘omogaaka wane’ means ‘my husband’. Similarly, the word for ‘young man’ or ‘warrior’ becomes ‘my son’ when spoken by a parent and ‘my brother’ when used by a sibling. The terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ refer to the whole community’s older generations (James 2008a, 89–90), similar to the ancient Egyptian system.

However, it is unclear whether ancient Egyptian personal pronouns were used in this way. Even when a figure is labelled ‘his/her [kinship term]’, who the ‘his/her’ refers to is not always readily apparent, especially in large family scenes where it could refer to the tomb owner or to another figure depicted near to the individual (e.g. TT 100 scene 9; see Olabarria 2018a, 66). The inclusion of names and filiation formulae can resolve some of these issues, but the frequent sharing of names within families often makes it

hard to determine the number of different people being depicted (see §2.1.1). Nevertheless, the issue of perspective in the use of ancient Egyptian kinship terms has already been shown to be significant through the individual usages of *hbsw* and *hmt*. Moreover, the system of alternating generations creates generational groups of people (James 2008a, 83), which could explain the range of meanings of *sn/t*, especially to mean collaterals.

In his study of early African languages, Ehret notes that if a kinship term derives from another term, those two roles are likely to have been held by the same person, with changes to words arising out of a need for descriptions of new roles or as synonyms for pre-existing terms (2008, 205–6, 212). Could this explain the chronological pattern in terms for a ‘wife’ in ancient Egypt? The introduction of the term *hbsw* and the new meanings of *snt* in the Middle and New Kingdoms could have reflected an expansion in the types of wife or the separation of these aspects from the original term *hmt*. In the Late Period, could the terms *hbsw* and *hmt* have potentially merged in meaning due to a reduction in social complexity or a coalescing of these roles?

Skumsnes draws on the rise and fall of the Osirian cult, and its replacement with the Solar cult over the course of the New Kingdom, in order to explain this shift in terminology within the context of monumental iconography. He proposes that the term *hmt* (and *mwt*) signified the ‘feminine element in the scene’, marking the holder as an active participant in the tomb owner’s rebirth (2018, 161). Through this term the woman provided the feminine element necessary for the tomb owner’s transition into the afterlife according to the Osirian cult, which was more dominant during the early New Kingdom (2018, 193). As the Solar cult grew in popularity over the course of the 18th Dynasty and into the Ramesside Period, it was less important for the wife or mother to provide this feminine element since the responsibility for rebirth shifted to the gods (see

also Roth 1999). As a result, the less symbolically charged term *snt* became more widely used to denote ‘wives’ (Skumsnes 2018, 194). The term *snt*, according to Skumsnes, denoted the tomb owner’s ‘alter ego and co-occupant of the tomb’, linking to the greater equality and visibility in ritual iconography that women enjoyed as part of the Solar cult (2018, 193 [quote], 194). While this still relies somewhat on a formal/informal distinction between *hmt* and *snt*, it reminds us that kinship terms were fluid concepts, with their specific meanings constantly being adapted and changed to fit the current social and ideological circumstances.

In some kinship systems homonymity extends to the sharing of roles. For example, in the Hopi Pueblo tribe of Arizona same-sex siblings are equivalent, with sisters/brothers taking on the same social roles, including raising all of their children together (Knight 2008, 62–4). Could the same be said of *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t*, with grandparents acting as the carers of their grandchildren, a system that was arguably integral to the survival of early human societies (Knight 2008; Opie and Power 2008) and one that is still used today (e.g. the Hazda of Tanzania; Layton 2008, 123–5)?

Such arguments should not be taken too far, however, since ‘the development of a new term ... does not necessarily imply a change in the conceptualization of the wider web of relationships’ (Ehret 2008, 206–7). Other types of evidence are needed before a term can be equated with a social practice. Homonymity could simply result from similarities between the age and gender of the recipients. For example, between a grandfather and a father-in-law, a fact that has long been noted in Anthropology (Kroeber 1909, 82–3). Moreover, the relationship between siblings and one’s generation are prioritised in the above systems, meaning that, in comparison, married couples ‘do not form a corporate unit in sharing relationships, property, or even offspring’ (Knight

2008, 65), factors that appear to be integral to ancient Egyptian concepts of inheritance and descent.

The emphasis on inheritance could in turn offer an explanation (Olabarria 2014, 70). The terms with the least homonymity appear to be those describing the generations immediately above and below an individual—i.e. *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t*—which is understandable considering the importance of establishing inheritance and its associated social obligations. In comparison, the relationships outside of those networks are less accurately defined, with broad terms like *sn/t* used to describe a range of extended familial kinship ties. Even though this perspective appears to support the application of the nuclear family model to ancient Egyptian kinship—since it was the joint property of the parents that formed a child’s inheritance (Muhs 2017, 16)—one might then expect the designations for ‘wife’ to follow a similar trend to *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t*. Instead there appear to have been multiple terms for ‘wife’ in ancient Egypt (see §1.3.2). Moreover, the fact that *it*, *mwt*, and *s3/t* could describe more distant ascendants/descendants suggests concepts of relatedness beyond the comparatively small network of nuclear family relationships. The significance placed on inheritance does not by itself prove the suitability of a nuclear family framework for interpreting ancient Egyptian kinship.

We are far from fully understanding ancient Egyptian kinship terminology. There appears to be an emphasis on determining descent, with a set of terms whose flexibility and homonymity suggest that broader (non-Western) perspectives are needed. While most Egyptological studies on ancient Egyptian kinship have been lexicographical and prosopographical in focus, these ancient terms may not have been the only way of marking kinship relationships, which ethnography has shown can be represented through, for example, specific types of outfit (N. J. Allen 2008, 111; James 2008b, 91–2). This thesis therefore explores visual approaches to these questions by comparing

how different female kinship terms are portrayed in funerary iconography in order to establish whether there is a representational decorum for each term, which could then be used to further our understanding of ancient Egyptian kinship terminology and its underlying social structures (see §3.6, §5.1).

1.4 Defining the Ancient Egyptian Family: Criteria for Selection

The practice of restricting the definition of the ancient Egyptian family in this thesis to just those figures with kinship terms may not be fully representative since funerary iconography often depicted a multitude of people with varying levels of identification, individualisation, and emphasis (Baines 2007, 219–21, 307). For example, is a group of unnamed and untermed female musicians to be identified by the viewer as simply hired entertainment (Pierrat-Bonnefois 2013), or as daughters performing musical rituals for their father, as features in *The Tale of Sinuhe* (B 265–70; Morenz 1997; Parkinson 1997; 2002, 163), or as a mix of both groups? A comparison of the musicians in TT 82 scene 5 with those in TT 100 scene 18 (Fig. 1) shows how figures in one monument are captioned with names and/or kinship terms, while figures in the same iconographic positions in another monument are left, at least textually, unidentified. In such situations, who was a relative and who was not, and how can this be determined? What was the ‘family’ within the context of an ancient Egyptian funerary monument?

The concept of the ‘family’ formed a key component of early Anthropology where kinship structures were seen as the fundamental organising principle of the so-called ‘stateless societies’. Such studies assumed the universality of the family, characterised as the Western nuclear family (e.g. Malinowski 1929, 7–9), and analysed

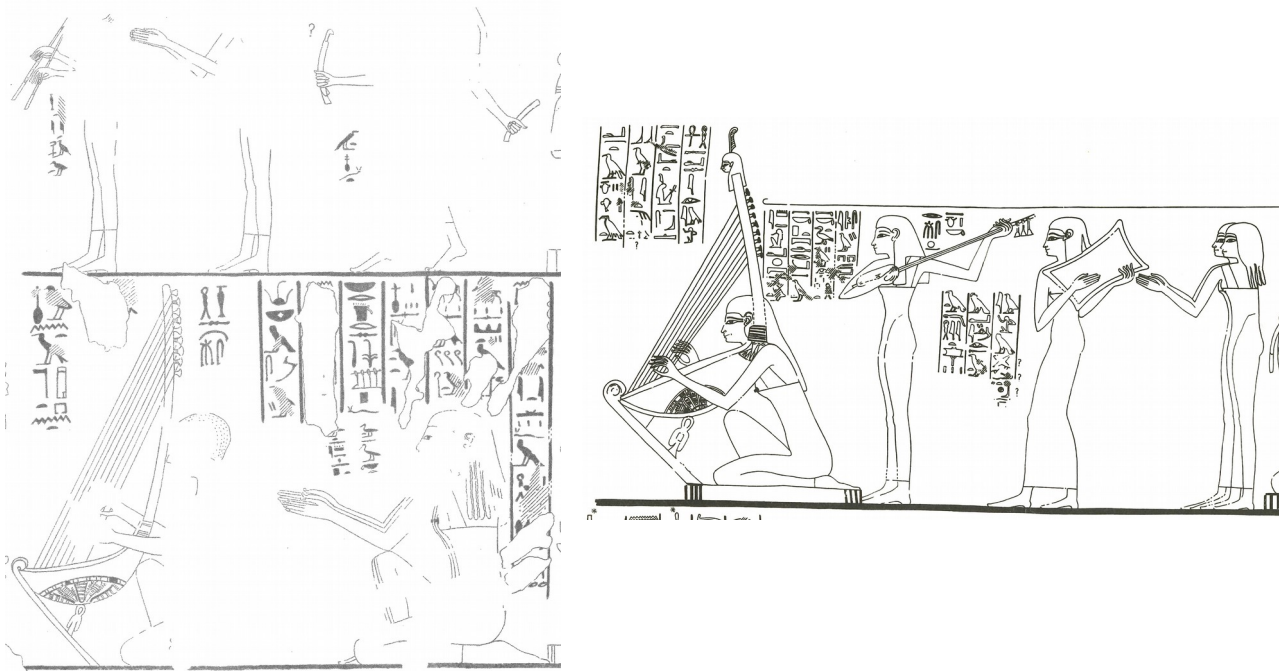


Figure 1: Musicians in TT 82 scene 5 (left; after Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 5) and TT 100 scene 18 (right; after N. de G. Davies 1943, pl. 66)

how kinship created bonds between individuals and groups, producing a social order in the absence of a formalised government. For example, following functionalism, Evans-Pritchard argued that the patterns of unilineal descent and incest taboos among the African Nuer created a complex political system of tribes and clans where an individual would have intersecting and overlapping ties with others based on residence, affinal ties, and age (1940; see also Radcliffe-Brown 1922; 1931; Fortes 1953). Marriage practices also lay at the centre of alliance theory, first proposed by the structuralist Levi-Strauss (1949), who claimed that marital prohibitions, such as the incest taboo, enforce exogamy between groups, connecting them together through the exchange of women.

Criticisms of these models highlighted their evolutionary deterministic framework, especially the assumption that societal progression ended with the state (Eriksen 2010, 165); their colonialist foundations, such as the fact that Evan-Pritchard's study of the Nuer was commissioned by the Anglo-Egyptian government that was trying

to subdue the Nuer at the time (Hutchinson 1996); in addition to their biological essentialism and Eurocentricism in assuming the universality of the Western nuclear family and its foundation in genetic relationships (Schneider 1968; 1972; 1984; see also Johnson and Paul 2016, 79–81). The overall dissatisfaction with these early theories led to a sudden decline in the study of kinship within Anthropology until the rise in ‘New Kinship Studies’ in the 2000s.

This approach developed as part of Feminist and Gender Anthropology and focused on the idea of ‘relatedness’ in order to explore ‘the ways in which people create similarity or difference between themselves and others’ (Carsten 2004, 82). Biology was no longer taken as a predetermined fact and studies moved towards analysing ‘substance’, focusing on the meanings and significance attributed to biological matter, such as blood, saliva, and sexual fluids (Carsten 2004, 28). According to Olabarria, ‘substance is an etic category that encompasses what brings people together in different cultural contexts’ (2018b, 93). The scientific developments in New Reproductive Technologies (NRTs) further expanded the discussion by redefining ways of being related as well as reformulating traditional assumptions about kinship and the role of biology (Strathern 1992; Stone 2010, 289–312). For example, surrogacy among a group of Indian women in Anand slowly broke down the traditional superiority of the father in the reproductive process. Since the role of the father was taken over by the NRTs, the role of the mother was promoted, thereby ‘challeng[ing] established hierarchies in kin relationships’ (Pande 2009, 379). Overall, these approaches highlighted the need to explore what kinship means in a specific society, to look at ‘the ways in which people in different cultures distinguish between what is given and what is made’ (Carsten 2004, 189) rather than taking kinship as a static, omnipresent entity. Similar to gender, kinship is a performative and relational practice (see Strathern 2020, esp. 143–63).

In the ancient Egyptian context, there are at least twelve terms, attested mostly during the Middle Kingdom, that appear to have denoted a ‘family’. Since this thesis focuses on the individual kinship terms, only a brief overview of the familial terms is provided here (for more detailed discussions see Franke 1983, 178–301; Campagno 2009, 4–5; Moreno García 2012; Olabarria 2014, 27–62):

- *3bt* (TLA lemma-no. 67); ‘family’
- *iwit* (TLA lemma-no. 22320); ‘house, sanctuary, quarter (of town)’
- *wndw(t)* (TLA lemma-no. 47230); ‘people’, also ‘group, troop, gang’ (Campagno 2009, 4)
- *whyt* (TLA lemma-no. 48730); ‘kin, tribe, clan’
- *pr* (TLA lemma-no. 550304); ‘house(hold)’
- *mrw* (TLA lemma-no. 71860); ‘servants, underlings’
- *mhwt* (TLA lemma-no. 73130); ‘family, kin’
- *h3w* (TLA lemma-no. 97480); ‘kindred, surrounding people’
- *hnw* (TLA lemma-no. 98760); ‘associates, family’
- *ht* (TLA lemma-no. 122090); ‘generation’
- *hr/hriw* (TLA lemma-no. 123930); ‘relatives, underlings (of a household)’
- *dnit/dnwt* (TLA lemma-nos. 179770/179670); ‘family’

Franke also noted the terms *dr/driw* ‘Verwandtschaft’, *hnw* ‘das Hausinnere’ (TLA lemma-no. 854537), and *pg3* ‘Haushalt’ that could have also functioned as terms for ‘family’ (1983, 299–301). In addition, the term *smyt*, which is attested primarily on Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos, may have also denoted a social grouping, mainly ‘colleagues rather than the closest relatives’ (Olabarria 2018a, 67).

As with the individual kinship terms, the ancient Egyptians appear to have had a variety of ways of referring to a ‘family’. Some terms seem to focus on residential

connections between individuals (*iwit* and *whyt*); on participation in a shared economic or administrative task (*wndwt*); on age-groups (*ht*); or on funerary duties and obligations (*h3w*); while others appear frequently in relation to inheritance and personal property (*pr*); or seem to focus on a particular social group, such as servants (*mrw*) or dependants (*hr*). Moreover, the meaning and significance of each of these terms will have inevitably fluctuated and changed throughout ancient Egyptian history (Olabarria 2014, 69). This variability proves once and for all that the Western nuclear family model and its terminology cannot be considered the foundation of ancient Egyptian kinship structures (see Moreno García 2012, 2–3). Instead it appears more representative to take the extended family as the ‘basic form of social organisation in ancient Egypt’ (Olabarria 2018c, 295), ‘encompass[ing] individuals who [we]re biologically related, but also colleagues, subordinates, neighbours, or friends’ (Olabarria 2018a, 63).

Nonetheless, this variability poses potential issues for this thesis. Which of these groups were included within the funerary representation of the family; which ancient term(s) most accurately reflect(s) who was included in the representation of a tomb owner’s social network? Who made the iconographic cut and who did not? From the outset, those terms that have funerary associations, such as *h3w* or *smyt*, seem like the most likely candidates. However, the inscription on one Middle Kingdom stela (Durham EG502 [formerly N.1942]) suggests that this perspective may be too narrow. On this stela, the owner lists his relatives, including ‘(those whom) I have known, (those whom) I have not known, (those whom) I have remembered, (those whom) I have forgotten, (my) female workers and male workers, every man of the *h3w*, the *pr* of the father and the *pr* of the mother, my friends, all my people’ (Olabarria 2018a, 65; see also Franke 1983, 219–20; Durham Museums catalogue; Birch 1880, 276, pl. 2; Satzinger and Stefanović 2012, 345). This list is very comprehensive, implying that a funerary

monument could accommodate a more extensive range of family members and associates.

Nevertheless, levels of identification are visible in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments (Baines 2007, 219–21, 307); some figures were considered to be more familial than others, thereby necessitating some form of methodological distinction. Due to their prevalence in the captions of female figures (Robins 1999, 66–7), this analysis of the two family clusters takes the core individual kinship terms as a starting point for defining relatives. Any female figure who possesses a kinship term—namely, *mwt* (and its associated term *ms.n N* ‘whom N bore’), *hmt*, *s3t*, and *snt*—in their caption has been included as a female relative (see §3.1–4). The majority of captions are normally located near to a pictorial figure (see Glossary) within the iconography, serving to identify that figure (e.g. the banquet guests in EK 3 scene 12–15); additionally, pictorial figures can be addressed in the captions of other figures, such as offering formulae (e.g. TT 82 scene 22 west), and in captions that describe whole registers/scenes (e.g. the caption above the Abydos pilgrimage in TT 82 scene 10). In some cases, a female relative appears as a textual figure (see Glossary), which includes instances in funerary texts (e.g. TT 82 scene 21) and in the captions of other figures, normally as part of filiation formulae (e.g. *Rh-mi-r*’s parents in his caption in TT 100 scene 2). For a full description of captions see Chapter 3.

Generic references to female relatives—such as in the Negative Confession funerary text (e.g. *n shwr=f mwt=f* ‘he did not vilify his mother’ in TT 83 passage ceiling)—have been excluded since they do not relate to specific individuals. However, named but untermed individuals are included since the creators clearly felt it necessary to specify their identity, suggesting that they were in some way related to the tomb owner’s social network (see §3.5). This group includes figures who have the domestic

titles *mn^ct=f* ‘his nurse’ (e.g. EK 3 scene 12–15), *hsyt* ‘singer’ (e.g. TT 82 scene 12), and *s_ddm-c^s* ‘servant’ (e.g. TT 82 scene 16). Those female figures who are both unnamed and untermed but who appear in groups alongside named and/or termed female figures (e.g. TT 100 scene 17) are also included. The fact that these individuals are shown on a comparable footing with identified women suggests a level of similarity in their positions, justifying their inclusion here (see §3.5). Any female figure whose caption has been damaged in such a way that it is no longer clear which kinship term they possessed (if any) is noted in Catalogue C.5. These women are naturally excluded from the discussion by kinship term in Chapter 3, but are included in the discussion by individual and monument in Chapter 4.

These categorisations are taken on a monument-by-monument basis. As a result, the musicians in TT 100 scene 18 have not been included because only one female figure has a kinship term within this banquet scene—*Bt* (PSN 64; see §2.1.1), who is further elevated on her own stool while everyone else stands or kneels—suggesting that the other female figures were intended to be, at least textually, anonymous. Those few instances where these decisions have been less clear-cut are discussed in Appendix 2.

This definition of the ancient Egyptian family, which focuses on kinship terms, may not fully encompass what this meant to ancient Egyptian audiences (see also §1.5.1). These categorisations and definitions are therefore re-evaluated in section 5.2 in light of the results of Chapters 3 and 4, in order to explore how the representation of female relatives can further our understanding of the overall display of the family and kinship in ancient Egyptian funerary iconography.

1.5 Displaying Kinship: Funerary Iconography

The limitations of using art, including funerary iconography, in order to explore lived

social relations has long been noted by Egyptological scholars (e.g. Schäfer 1919; Robins 1989; Kamrin 1992; O'Connor 1997; Baines 2007, 25). Since art is crafted in a specific context and with a purpose, often following artistic styles and canon, the semantics of a certain image can be a 'highly distorted' version of its intended subject matter (O'Connor 1997, 16; see also Weeks 1979, 59; Vasiljević 2012, 139; Maitland 2015, 122). Indeed, 'the purpose of these funerary scenes was most probably not to provide a socially significant description of a family, but rather to ensure the correct functioning of the tomb' (Olabarria 2014, 79).

However, this does not mean that funerary iconography is not a useful source for exploring the ancient Egyptian family and kinship structures. Following Olabarria, 'if we understand memory as a social phenomenon mediated through sensory experience, monuments will participate in that mediation among people and have an effect on the memory of groups' (2014, 110). In this way 'monuments such as stelae and chapels created spaces of memory that contributed to perpetuating ideas of authority and status as well as kinship and marriage' (2014, 141; see also Morphy 2009, 15).

This perspective draws on the discussion of art and agency by Gell (1998), who focused on the role of art in social relations. Gell defines 'an agent' as 'the source ... of causal events', regardless of whether the event was intended by the agent or not, or whether the agent can actually think (1998, 16 [quote], 17–23; see also Sørensen 2000, 65–6). In this way artworks can also be considered as agents. These objects are not considered full agents, however, since Gell distinguishes between 'primary agents' (i.e. humans) and 'secondary agents', which are the objects through which human agency is deployed and realised (1998, 20). Through this Gell harkens back to Mauss' (1969) notion of distributed person-hood where humans can impart their identity (and agency) into objects. As a result, there can be 'social relations between persons and things, and

persons and persons *via* things' (Gell 1998, 12; emphasis in original). The theory of entanglement takes this a step further to suggest that 'humans get entrapped in their relations with things' (Hodder 2014, 20), highlighting how the continual use of material culture embeds the relationships between people and things into the very fabric of daily life.

The main criticisms of Gell's interpretation of art focus on the apparent inconsistencies in his argument. For example, his rejection of aesthetics and semantic approaches to art when they form key underlying components in his own approach (Layton 2003, 450; Morphy 2009, 5, 8–11). Nonetheless, his perspective remains important for highlighting the relational aspect of agency (see also Strathern 1988; Sansi and Strathern 2016) and the fundamental role that material culture can play in social interactions (Dobres and Robb 2005), including past societies (e.g. van Eck 2010; Bahrani 2013; Olabarria 2014; Vischak 2015).

Funerary monuments can therefore be considered active, living structures (Barocas 1982; Richards 1997, 33). Through the choices that were made in a tomb's decoration, each tomb owner arguably imparted aspects of their social identity or personhood into their tomb. These monuments were supposed to act as memorials, preserving their owner's identity and causing their name to live on for future generations (Hartwig 2004; 2011). This identity was naturally idealised, depicting individuals, social roles, and daily life as they should be (Hartwig 2011, 316). By encoding the morals and values of the time, these monuments and their iconography participated in the continuation, development, and articulation of those very ideals; with every new tomb, the discourse was reformulated (Robins 1999, 69).

In this light, the selective inclusion and exclusion of family members from a tomb owner's self-presentation was arguably a way of 'making kin' (Olabarria 2014,

104). The iconography from these monuments was meant to exist for eternity, and therefore those individuals who were included arguably became part of the tomb owner's eternal family. Being 'commemorated together on various types of monuments' is one of the definitions of an ancient Egyptian kin group proposed by Olabarria (2014, 10). Therefore, funerary iconography was a mechanism through which (certain) living kinship relationships could be immortalised, but it was also a way in which kinship relationships could be created from scratch as tomb owners attempted to forge connections with historic individuals through the placement of their tomb or the copying of scenes (see §2.1.2, §2.2.2). In this way, the fact that the family was idealised in funerary iconography could be considered more of a strength than a limitation. It is exactly the construction and nature of this eternal family that this thesis aims to explore through a comparison of female relatives.

1.5.1 Methodological Considerations

Traditional Egyptological approaches to interpreting tomb iconography have focused on three main categorisations: 'offering scenes', which emulate the deceased's offering cult; 'ritual scenes', which establish the deceased's funerary rites, thereby guaranteeing a successful afterlife; and 'daily life' scenes, definitions of which range from idealistic portrayals of lived experience to a 'commemorative bibliography' (Kamrin 1992, 60). As Kamrin notes, such approaches take the subject matter of these scenes literally, ignoring 'other potential levels of meaning' (1992, 61). On the other end of the spectrum, Kessler focuses primarily on funeral iconography's symbolic capacity, which he argues links the sequence and content of scenes to religious festivals, specifically that of Weprenpet (1987, 87; 1990). Such a symbolic approach is typical of early art historians, most notably Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), who focused on Renaissance

painting, dividing the interpretation of images into three levels from a basic understanding of what the image showed, to what the meaning behind the image was, and then its deeper ‘intrinsic’ relevance for understanding the culture in question (1962, 7). This led to the production of dictionaries that offered standardised interpretations of Renaissance paintings (e.g. Hall 1979).

The fact that art can be interpreted in such varying ways highlights its ‘multifunctionality’ (Baines 2007, 310; see also Harbison 1990, 287; Müller 1992, 344; Hartwig 2004, 49–50; Braun 2015, 348). Art historian Craig Harbison has argued for a broader perspective, one that appreciates that art ‘might be read as stories, narratives, texts that are complex and multi-faceted, that can have multiple meanings for the various audiences for which they were created’ (1990, 288). Following the developments in semiotic theory, the issue of subjectivity arises here since the background of the audience helps shape the significance of an artwork in that context and time period (Morphy 2010, 283; Verbovsek 2015, 149–50; Vischak 2015, 12). As Hartwig notes,

a work of art is a system of culturally and historically determined signs, and it is through the *viewer* – the interpreter – that those signs acquire meaning. In other words, an artwork is a communicative system where the conventional signs of a culture are articulated and disseminated through society by the viewer

(2011, 317; emphasis in original)

For modern studies on ancient art, the main problems originate from the uncertainty in determining whether the interpretations reached were the ones intended by the creators (Panofsky 1962, 9, 12, 15; Robins 1990b, 53). This is especially relevant for the study of ancient Egypt because traditional Egyptological approaches relied heavily on Western concepts (Müller 1992, 337; 2012, 13; Baines 2007, 29, 206). As one example,

Western culture has had a tendency to orientalise representations of non-Western women (Ahmed 1992, 25–37), a practice that is arguably a contributing factor to the overwhelming emphasis on female sexuality in modern interpretations of ancient Egyptian funerary iconography (e.g. Roth 1999; Meskell 2002; Eyre 2007). While sexuality may have been an aspect of women's representation in mortuary contexts, it need not be the sole reason behind their inclusion nor the only interpretation of their portrayal (see also §5.4).

This bias is not unique to Egyptology, however, since non-Western art has historically been placed in opposition to the 'hegemonic nature of the Western fine art category' (Morphy 2010, 270), which, as exemplified by Schäfer (1919), focuses on art's intrinsic aesthetic ability to evoke an emotion in the observer. While this could certainly be extended to ancient Egyptian art, it is not the only characteristic that needs to be considered—a point that is relevant for modern art as well. Müller shows that ancient Egyptian art can be analysed through a range of approaches that focus on the aesthetic, emotional, and intellectual responses to art in both modern and ancient audiences. These responses naturally varied but some similarities between them are noted, coincidentally with the aesthetic approach in particular (2012, 14–20). Petrik's (2012) use of the art historical method of connoisseurship to determine the workshops responsible for a group of terracotta figurines from the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom emphasises the relevance and applicability of art historical methodologies to ancient material (see also Meyers 1981, 4; Laboury 2012), provided that a more flexible and contextual definition of art is utilised (Morphy 2010, 278).

This thesis draws elements from art historian Meyer Schapiro's (1904–1996) classic approach to interpretation. He argues that aspects of an artistic piece only gain significance in the context of that artwork and in comparison to other aspects within the

piece; for example, a figure is only large when compared to other smaller figures. Since ‘the apportioning of space among various figures is often subject to a scale of significance’ (1969, 236), such factors can be used to determine the relative importance of that figure. This is not the only way of bestowing prominence, however, and so the roles of ‘insignia, costume, posture ... and place in the field’ (1969, 237), among others, should be explored. In particular, the potential of dress as ‘a means of social communication concerning relationships between individuals or groups’, but also regarding factors such as age, social status, and gender, has been further highlighted by Sørensen (2000, 129 [quote], 124–42; see also 1997; Robins 1999, 55, 58, 67). It is clear that similar iconographic distinctions were made by the ancient Egyptian tomb decorators, most notably by the fact that the tomb owner is almost always depicted as the largest figure in the scene (Robins 1994, 39; Hartwig 2011, 316). These distinctions arguably extend to other figures in the composition. For example, the banquet guests in TT 100 scene 18 were made ‘ungainly and misproportioned’ (N. de G. Davies 1943, 63) apparently because the artists had to elongate the figures in order to make them the same size as the servers, showing that relative scale had a priority over other considerations in this context.

Following this approach, this thesis analyses the iconography in rigorously quantitative terms, breaking down the representation of women into its various components (see Chapter 3). While certain iconographic elements, including scene types and objects, will have inevitably carried different cultural and symbolic significance relative to other elements, the interpretation of such symbolism has often been controversial within Egyptology (see also §1.1). It is arguably almost impossible to access the original meaning(s) behind such ancient material. This thesis therefore takes a rigorously numerical approach, focusing on the documented frequency of the

iconographic elements for each terminological group, before offering interpretations of these, in order to quantify and assess the main modes of representation for different female relatives (see Chapters 3–4). The discussions in Chapter 5 are thereby grounded on a close reading of the primary material. While similar approaches have been taken by other Egyptological studies (e.g. Lustig 1997; Hartwig 2011; Vasiljević 2012; McCorquodale 2013; Maitland 2015; Xekalaki 2015; Wen 2018), these primarily use broad descriptive categories to analyse the iconographic figures (e.g. the typology of stances in Wen 2018, Appendix 3), which often fail to capture the intricate similarities and differences between figures. In contrast, this thesis breaks down the various iconographic aspects of the figures into more discrete terms—for example, figure size, level, posture, outfit, associated objects and/or captions—allowing for a more detailed and systematic analysis.

Schapiro's theory was inspired by the structuralist movement (Lévi-Strauss 1949; 1962; 1968), which has been criticised for a lack of historical awareness and cultural variability, for example. With this in mind, the following considerations are discussed. Firstly, due to the pictographic nature of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, text and image were closely intertwined in ancient Egyptian art (for a classic account see Baines 2007) and should be viewed as integrated components in an individual's representations. However, literacy levels in ancient Egypt meant that most visitors to ancient tomb chapels would have probably not been able to fully appreciate the use of text and longer captions (e.g. Leprohon 2015, 318), perhaps implying that pictorial differences would have been more widely visible markers of hierarchies and social relationships (Braun 2015, 351; see §5.3). One could argue that text has been prioritised over image in this analysis due to the emphasis on kinship terms as the primary categorisation of female relatives (see §1.4). This is why this thesis includes unnamed

and untermen women who are portrayed alongside women from the terminological groups (see §3.5), acknowledging the iconographic similarities between these two categories and mitigating the textual emphasis in this thesis' definition of iconographic kinship. Kinship terms were chosen as the categorisation of female relatives for pragmatic reasons and may not have been the only way of marking kin within funerary iconography; the textual emphasis in this thesis is therefore re-evaluated in section 5.2.

The mutual relationship between art and architecture is also a factor. Walking from the desert into an ancient Egyptian tomb is a phenomenological and sensory experience, from the immediate changes in temperature and light levels to the differences in smell and sense of space. As you adjust to the new conditions and begin to move around the structure, the architecture plays a significant role. For example, columns can be used to frame iconography and dictate how the audience travels round the monument (Meyers 1981, 47), making scenes 'the corresponding visual counterparts of the architectural structure' (1981, 49). It is for this reason that the scenes in this thesis are analysed both on their own and as part of the tomb's wider decorative and spatial program (for similar approaches see e.g. Harpur 1987; Kamrin 1992; Lustig 1993; 1997; for an overview of the architectural elements of the tomb see Kampp 1996; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 7–15). Are there specific areas where certain female relatives are portrayed? Which kinship terms and/or individuals were the most visible throughout the architectural space?

Moreover, each pictorial figure discussed in this thesis is ascribed an 'average similarity' (see Glossary), which aims to view their representation holistically, analysing their overall visual prominence compared to other female figures in the scene. This contrasts with the breakdown of representational characteristics that is at the heart of this thesis' methodology in order to offer an overarching impression of a figure's

iconographic significance, drawing from the phenomenological experience of visiting an ancient Egyptian tomb noted above.

Funerary iconography can be ‘a storehouse of ethnographic data’ (Weeks 1979, 75); ‘scenes and compositions [were] organized in order to convey information and values’ (Baines 2007, 220) where ‘less information [was] given about what [was] culturally less important’ (2007, 219; see also Hartwig 2011, 319). The works of Elizabeth Meyers (1981), Alaa El-Din M. Shaheen (1989), Judith Lustig (1993), Margaret Maitland (2015), and L'ubica Hudáková (2019) show how social and political relations can be embedded in tomb iconography, proving how valuable this source type is provided that it is ‘read ... as an ongoing dialogue between art and reality’ (Harbison 1990, 288). This thesis limits itself to looking at the idealised constructions of gender, power, and kinship, drawing on specific examples from lived experience where appropriate in order to help contextualise the iconographic material (see §5.1), rather than attempting to draw conclusions about lived social realities directly from this material. Such an approach would require a more extensive iconographic corpus and comprehensive survey of lived examples than is possible here.

1.5.2 Practical Considerations: Preservation and Publication

In addition to methodological considerations, the analysis of funerary iconography is shaped by the practicalities of its preservation and levels of publication. The main physical limitation of analysing funerary iconography is the state of preservation, which includes the loss of whole monuments, scenes, and parts of scenes, thereby obscuring elements of the composition relevant to this thesis. However, damage to iconography does not mean that every iconographic detail has been lost. Intentional damage was

often specific, with erasures following the outline of figures and captions, meaning that factors such as height, size, level, the existence of a caption, and in some cases its probable content can still be determined (e.g. Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north and south walls). Even incidental damage rarely means that all aspects of an individual figure's representation are lost (e.g. TT 81 scene 21). This thesis notes the differences between whether an element of representation is visible, was present in the composition but is now lost, or was never included (see Catalogue C.2). The overview of representational characteristics in Chapter 3 further includes the number of cases where the feature in question is uncertain/unknown in order to contextualise the preserved results.

The varying levels of past academic publication compound the issue of preservation by further restricting the amount of directly comparable surviving material that is available for analysis (see Laboury 2012, 203). Due to its artistic wealth and number of tombs, the Theban and El-Kab necropoleis have been extensively analysed, meaning that many of the tombs have relatively full publications. In addition, archived notebooks and photographs of early scholars such as Norman de Garis and Nina M. Davies and Robert Mond can be used to supplement these publications. Where possible, I have visited the monuments discussed here, including TT 100 (in 2014, 2017, and 2018), EK 3 (in 2018 and 2020), and EK 5 (in 2018 and 2020), which was especially helpful since documenting female relatives was often not the focus of past studies and further allowed me to incorporate a sense of scale, light, and architecture into this analysis. While tomb publications often included a few colour paintings, most notably by Nina M. Davies, this practice was limited and sporadically done. As a result, representational differences between figures based on colour are not included in this thesis, but could form a point of departure for future research.

In order to accommodate these factors, this thesis focuses on two large family groups. The Theban and El-Kab case studies allow an investigation into the representation of all four core female kinship terms within the context of ten monuments and 22 artefacts, including at least 108 (named) women and 286 iconographic figures. The main type of material under analysis is the monumental iconography related to these family groups. These monuments are all tombs with the exception of Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, which belonged to the Theban family group (see §2.1.2). This shrine has been studied in the same way as the tombs due to the fact that through its decoration and purpose, it apparently aimed to achieve similar commemorative and self-presentation functions through the same means as the contemporaneous tomb chapels of the same social circles. Caminos and James noted that shrines from Gebel El-Silsilah sometimes contained Theban-inspired ceiling decorations and followed the same Theban preference for painted relief on walls but carved decoration on jambs and lintels (1963, 2, 5). Such features led them to conclude that these monuments functioned like tomb chapels, offering another location for the offering cult of their owners (1963, 7). The cenotaphs at Abydos were referred to as a ‘necropolis’—*niwt nt nhḥ* ‘city of eternity’—during the Middle Kingdom (Hsieh 2016), further supporting the notion that such commemorative shrines were complementary to tomb chapels.

This thesis also includes non-monumental funerary material relating to these family clusters, which are here termed ‘artefacts’ in order to distinguish them as distinct from the architectural entity of the tomb chapel; these are analysed alongside the iconography as part of the tomb owner’s broader self-presentation (see Appendix 1). While these artefacts are not strictly iconographic scenes, they derive from funerary and commemorative contexts, and therefore still contribute to the tomb owner’s overall self-

presentation. Moreover, they often provide information about family members who were not depicted iconographically, thereby adding further potential for iconographic hierarchies between female relatives. It is for this reason that this thesis distinguishes, albeit subtly, between monumental iconography and the representation of individuals on artefacts in the context of each tomb owner's self-presentation (see Chapter 3).

Even though this thesis primarily explores the question of how female relatives were portrayed within two individual family clusters of monuments, due to the amount of available material, the results can also speak to broader trends in the portrayal of early New Kingdom elite women, providing comparative material and potential methodologies for future studies on these topics.

2 CORPUS: INTRODUCING THE TWO FAMILIES

This thesis focuses on two family clusters of early–mid 18th Dynasty monuments from the Theban necropolis of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna and the necropolis at El-Kab. A family cluster is here defined as a collection of monuments that belong to individuals from the same family group; these monuments may additionally have spatial and/or iconographic relationships, but these factors are not necessary for a group of monuments to be defined as a family cluster (see Glossary). Family clusters have been chosen as the focus of this analysis because they show the same people across a range of monuments belonging to a variety of tomb owners, providing the opportunity to study not only the representation of female relatives according to kinship term (Chapter 3), but also female relatives as individuals and the monuments themselves in terms of their specific kinship terming practices (Chapter 4). The Theban family cluster includes monuments relating to the family of the vizier *ḥm-ḥw* (PSN 66; see §2.1) and the El-Kab family cluster focuses on the family of the chief of sailors *ḥm-ḥw s3 ḥb3n3* (PSN 139; see §2.2). These clusters in particular were chosen due to the number of female relatives shown within their monuments, as well as the close iconographic relationships between these two sites, which offer the chance to explore the representation of female relatives in two distinct yet comparable data-sets. The term ‘family’ follows the broad definition discussed in section 1.4, which can include biological and affinal relatives as well as ‘colleagues, subordinates, neighbours, or friends’ (Olabarria 2018a, 63). As a result, the tomb of *ḥm-ḥw* (PSN 15), who was an official who worked for the family of *ḥm-ḥw*, is included in the Theban family cluster.

This analysis focuses on monuments from the early–mid 18th Dynasty (Ahmose I to Amenhotep II; c.1539–1400 BCE) since during this time-frame the portrayals of

individuals became more fluid and ‘dynamic’, with ‘more and more attention ... paid to female figures, to their dresses, wigs, and jewels but also to the shape of their bodies’ (Gathy 2012, 152; see also Hartwig 2011, 315–6). For example, sheath dresses were the most common outfit for portrayals of elite women in ancient Egypt dating back to the Old Kingdom (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 95–129). In the early New Kingdom, the sheath dress was still the most popular but new styles also appeared, including tunics with sleeves in the reign of Amenhotep II (e.g. TT 100 scene 18; Muhammed 1966, 153) and ‘wrap-around’ dresses (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 95–106). Outfit and personal adornment, among other pictorial details, are explored in Chapter 3 in order to investigate whether a woman’s dress type, wig style, and jewellery can be used to distinguish between different women and their kinship terms. Do only certain terminological groups receive this increased iconographic attention or is it consistently applied to all female relatives?

The ways in which elite women were depicted also changed with regard to their size and presence in different scene types. Starting under Tuthmosis III, female relatives were included in ritual scenes where the tomb owner offers to a deity (Whale 1989, 241). This increase in visibility was tempered by the fact that women were often portrayed on a smaller scale to men as of the reign of Amenhotep II, making them less visually prominent in the scene’s overall composition (1989, 243–4). Since this trend did not happen consistently, this thesis explores whether factors such as scene type and relative size could infer hierarchies of iconographic prominence between the women and kinship terms portrayed. Other trends in contemporary tomb decoration include an emphasis on connections to the king. Depictions of royal kiosks are common from the reigns of Tuthmosis III to Amenhotep II and there is an expansion in texts relating to official duties, most notably those of the vizier (e.g. TT 61 and TT 100; Faulkner 1955;

van den Boorn 1982; 1988; 1991; Gathy 2012, 154). These factors are discussed in section 5.1, particularly regarding how the portrayal of the tomb owner's official life may have affected the ways in which his female relatives were depicted.

While these traits hold true for the majority of monuments, no two monuments are identical. Adaptations to architecture, decorative program, and style were made to accommodate local factors such as the space available, natural faults in the stone, and personal preferences of the patrons and artists (e.g. Robins 1981, 256; 2010, 130, 137; Vischak 2015, 160, 178). The fact that these monuments show variations within standard practices emphasises their potential for revealing individual elite and/or local attitudes on what a funerary commemorative monument and its decorative programme should comprise (see Chapter 4, §5.2).

The following sections outline what is known about each family cluster and which individuals and iconographic material have been included/excluded based on the criteria established in section 1.4. The individuals belonging to each family group are presented in a kinship diagram, following standard Western genealogical conventions: solid lines denote kinship relationships, with question marks noting any uncertainties; circles mark women and triangles mark men; the numbers within these shapes are the PSN identifiers for these individuals (see Conventions); those people whose relationship with the tomb owner is unknown are included in a section of each diagram marked 'Kinship Unknown'; those individuals connected through an 'x' are related to the tomb owner via a relative whose identity is unknown and in these cases the kinship term of the individual is included for clarification.

While displaying networks of kinship relationships in the form of diagrams makes them more accessible to modern readers, these diagrams inevitably have their limitations, which were highlighted within Anthropology during the broader critique of

‘Kinship Studies’ in the 1960s and 1970s (see Carsten 2000; Sousa 2003; and the critiques of Schneider 1968 and Needham 1971a and 1971b, which ended ‘Classical Kinship Studies’ in Anthropology). Criticisms focused on the simultaneous simplicity and mathematical abstractness of these diagrams, how they often failed to encompass the inherent complexities and fluidities of kinship and lived reality, and more fundamentally on their association with the attempts of early Anthropology to classify and categorise kinship systems, taking Western definitions of kinship as their assumed foundation (Sousa 2003, 269–85; Wilson 2018). For this reason, each diagram has an accompanying discussion in order to further explain, clarify, and contextualise the kinship relationships presented within each diagram. The kinship diagrams act as a necessary visual aid and are but one possible interpretation of the kinship relationships within these families.

Following the discussion of the individuals represented in each family cluster (see §2.1.1, §2.2.1), the monuments associated with each family are outlined (see §2.1.2, §2.2.2); this order was chosen so as to prioritise the familial relationships. First, each monument is placed in its geographical context within its necropolis. Then brief introductions to each monument are provided, including their main publications, date, general description, and preservation levels, particularly relating to their representation of women. Dating and scene numbers follow those given in PM unless otherwise stated. The monuments are given in roughly chronological order as far as this can be ascertained from their internal features.

2.1 Theban Case Study

2.1.1 The Individuals

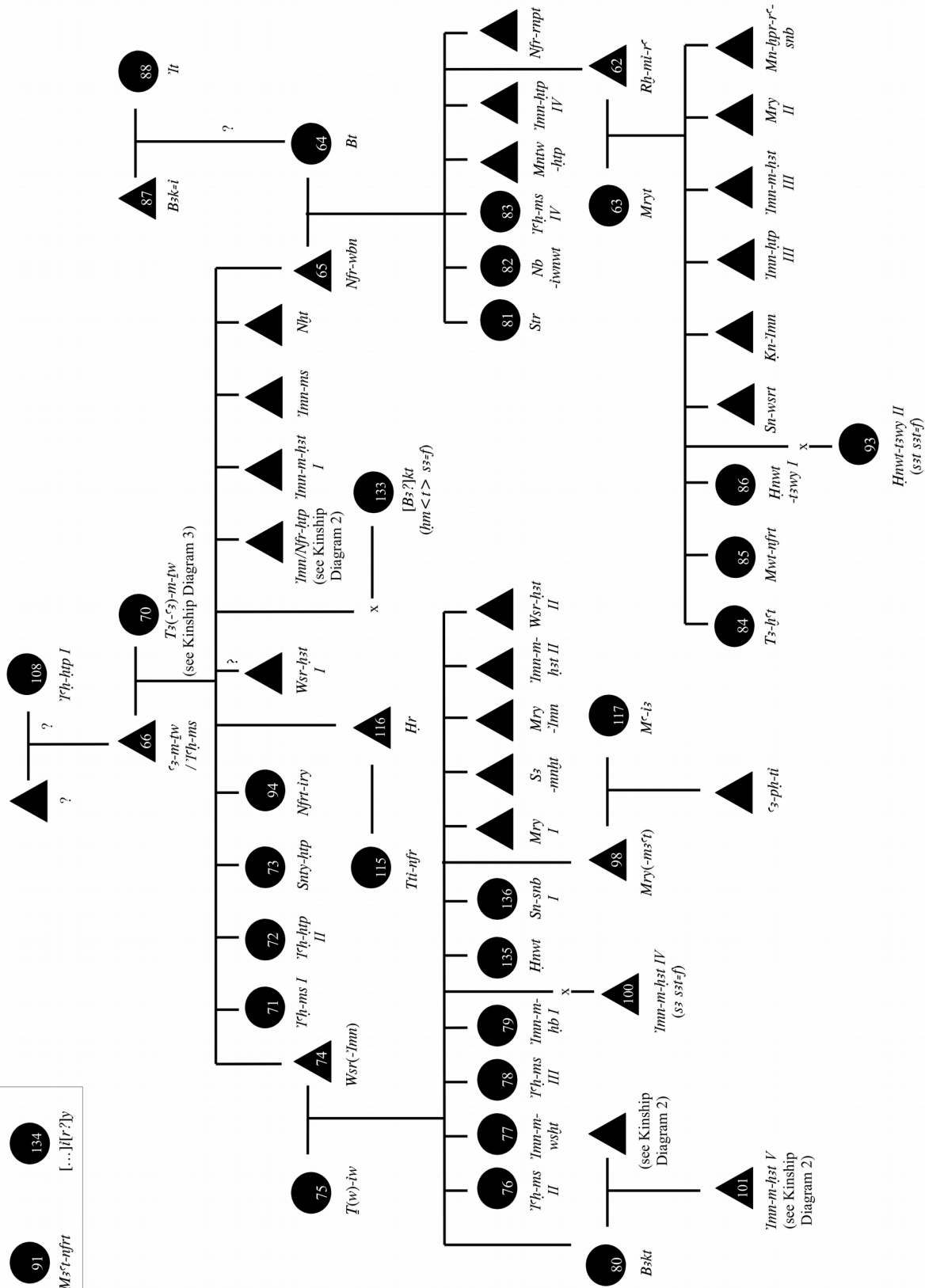
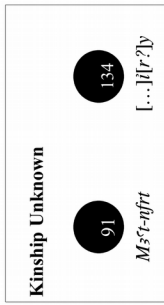
The sheer size of this family group has made it necessary to subdivide the family into

smaller subgroups for the purposes of the kinship diagrams and their accompanying discussions. The core family of $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$ (PSN 66), $Wsr(-Imn)$ (PSN 74), and $Rh\text{-}mi\text{-}r^c$ (PSN 62) are treated together since they are often shown in the same scenes (e.g. TT 100 scene 9). The owners of TT 122 are analysed separately due to the uncertainty surrounding their relationship with this core group. Similarly, the family of $Imni$ (PSN 119) and $Imn\text{-}m\text{-}h3t$ (PSN 15) are somewhat peripheral to this core and are treated individually, being a brother-in-law of $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$ and an official under $Wsr(-Imn)$, respectively. These divisions were made for purely pragmatic reasons and need not be representative of how this family subdivided itself.

$\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$, $Wsr(-Imn)$, and $Rh\text{-}mi\text{-}r^c$ (Kinship Diagram 1)

The family of $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$ (PSN 66), $Wsr(-Imn)$ (PSN 74), and $Rh\text{-}mi\text{-}r^c$ (PSN 62) is shown in almost all of the monuments in this case study, in particular TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, which form the main sources for Kinship Diagram 1. The following points need comment.

N. de G. Davies suggested that $T\bar{w}\text{-}r$ in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall is $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$'s father, but this is not explicitly stated in the iconography (1943, 101; see also Hornung 1961, 115). Newberry claimed that $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$'s father was named $I^c h\text{-}ms$ (1900, 13), but this appears to be based on a misunderstanding of $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$'s second name (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 32). The identity of $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$'s father therefore remains uncertain. His mother, however, is thought to have been the $I^c h\text{-}h\bar{t}p I$ (PSN 108) who is included in a ceiling inscription in the passage of TT 83. The text is damaged but Dziobek suggests that the lacunae before $I^c h\text{-}h\bar{t}p I$'s name contained the filiation formula *ms.n N* 'whom N bore' preceded by $\text{ʕ3-}m\text{-}t\bar{w}$'s name and titles (1998, 103; see also Newberry 1900, 14). Based on the current level of preservation, this is very



Kinship Diagram 1: The family of \acute{s}_3-m-tw , $Wsr(-Imm)$, and R^h-mi-r^c (author 2020)

uncertain, albeit plausible; *Tḥ-ḥtp I* has been included in Catalogue C.5 and in Kinship Diagram 1 with a question mark. Shirley has argued for a different kinship relationship between *Ḳ-m-ṯw* and *ṯw-r* due to the fact that it was uncommon to include contemporaries and colleagues in shrines at Gebel El-Silsilah during this time period. It is therefore likely that these two men were more closely related (2010a, 85; see also Helck 1958, 290; Caminos and James 1963, 59). Based on the similarities in names between these two families, Shirley suggests that *Ḳ-m-ṯw*'s mother, *Tḥ-ḥtp I*, was *ṯw-r*'s sister (2010a, 88; 2014, 176). There is no other evidence to corroborate this relationship and because this remains so speculative it has not been included in Kinship Diagram 1. Shirley further claims that *Ḳ-m-ṯw* was the 'maternal grandson of Ahmose I's viceroy Ahmose-Satayt' (2014, 176), but no further details are provided about this relationship and so it has not been included.

Ḳ-m-ṯw was the second vizier of the 18th Dynasty and the first of three members in this family to hold this title (Shirley 2010a, 83; 2014, 176). He was followed by his son, *Wsr(-Imn)*, in year 5 of Hatshepsut's co-regency (Dziobek 1998, 92; Shirley 2014, 176), probably after a short period where both of these men shared the viziership (2014, 184–5). *Wsr(-Imn)* was then succeeded by his nephew, *Rḥ-mi-r^c*, in year 33 of Tuthmosis III's sole rule (Shirley 2010b, 299 n.94; 2014, 185 n.35, 241). N. de G. Davies argued that *Rḥ-mi-r^c*'s father, *Nfr-wbn* (PSN 65), was also a vizier, suggesting that because he was appointed by Hatshepsut, this role was excluded from these monuments, which were mostly constructed under Tuthmosis III (1943, 101). Shirley claims that there is not enough evidence to support this hypothesis (2005, 89–91). Following Shirley, the 'family tree' scene (no. 9) in TT 100 could be seen as an attempt by *Rḥ-mi-r^c* to highlight his vizierial ancestry in order to add legitimisation to his own position as vizier. Such measures might have been necessary precisely because his

predecessor, *Wsr(-Imn)*, was not his father and especially if his own father's vizierial role had to be downplayed in order to maintain royal favour (for the ideal of father-son succession see Assmann 1976, 20–4; Campagno 2009, 4).

ʕ3-m-tw appears to have married a woman named *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* (PSN 70; see also Kinship Diagram 3) and together they appear to have had four daughters: *Tʕh-ms I* (PSN 71), *Tʕh-htp II* (PSN 72), *Snty-htp* (PSN 73), and *Nfrt-iry* (PSN 94); and eight sons (see also TT 122), including *Wsr(-Imn)*, *Nfr-wbn* (father of *Rh-mi-rʕ*), *Hr* (PSN 116), and *Imn-ms* (owner of TT 228). The first three sons are the only ones with attested wives: *T(w)-iw* (PSN 75), *Bt* (PSN 64), and *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115), respectively. A further daughter-in-law, *[B3?]kt* (PSN 133), is shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 but it is unknown which of *ʕ3-m-tw*'s sons she married. While it is assumed that *Hr* and *Tti-nfr* were a married couple, this is not stated in the texts but is based on two statues found in Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11; Dziobek 1998, 113; Shirley 2005, 97).

Seven female figures are shown behind *Tw-r* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall. The first three women, *Tʕh-ms I*, *Tʕh-htp II*, and *Snty-htp*, are labelled *s3t=f*, arguably in relation to *ʕ3-m-tw* since these women are also attested in TT 100 scene 9 as daughters of this man. The fourth woman labelled *hmt s3=f Tw-iw* is presumably the wife of *ʕ3-m-tw*'s son, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and the fifth woman labelled *hmt s3=f [B3?]kt* is presumably another of *ʕ3-m-tw*'s daughter-in-laws (see also Shirley 2010a, 84–5 n.53, n.54). However, the sixth woman, who is labelled [...]? *s3t=f B3kt*, is arguably more likely to be the daughter of *Wsr(-Imn)*, who is shown in the register above (N. de G. Davies 1943, 102; for this *B3kt* as a daughter of *ʕ3-m-tw* see Dziobek 1998, 114; Shirley leaves both options open, see 2010a, 85 n.54). Nowhere else is *ʕ3-m-tw* attested with a daughter called *B3kt*, whereas a daughter of *Wsr(-Imn)* with this name is depicted in TT 61, TT 82, and TT 100 (PSN 80). The lacuna before the *s3t* is very small and the space

may not have contained any text lost. Caminos and James suggested that the space could have contained a *hm*-sign and they read *s3t=f* as *s3=f*, i.e. [*hm*]t *s3=f*, making *B3kt* another daughter-in-law of *ʿ3-m-tw* (1963, 59–60). They used this to argue that the woman is *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), the wife of *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15; Kinship Diagram 4), thereby implying that the *s3=f* denoted an adoptive relationship between this man and *ʿ3-m-tw*. *Imn-m-h3t*'s 'real' parents, *Dhwty-ms I* (PSN 28) and *Int=f I* (PSN 29), are frequently depicted in TT 82 (e.g. scenes 4, 10, and 15), meaning that the father-son relationship between *Imn-m-h3t* and *ʿ3-m-tw* must have been adoptive. While this relationship is possible, this caption would be the sole attestation for it. Therefore, it is more likely that this caption simply read *s3t=f B3kt* and referred to *Wsr(-Imn)*'s daughter. This would mean that either *s3t=f* meant 'his granddaughter' referring to *ʿ3-m-tw* or 'his daughter' referring to *Wsr(-Imn)*. The latter reading implies that the reference for the kinship terms in these figures' captions changed mid-group. Changing kinship reference within a scene is not unusual considering that the kinship terms for couples often change reference, with the man identified via another (male) figure and the woman identified via her male partner. For example, the second couple in the upper register of TT 82 scene 4. Perhaps *s3t=f* meant both 'granddaughter' and 'daughter' simultaneously.

The start of the caption of the final woman in this group is lost due to damage and only the end of her name is now visible: [...]*i[r?]y* (PSN 134), although Caminos and James read this as 'Iot' (1963, 60). Considering the size of the lacuna, this caption may not have originally included a kinship term, meaning that her kinship is also unknown. Therefore, she has been included in the Kinship Unknown section and is listed in Catalogue C.5. It is possible that this figure was *ʿ3-m-tw*'s daughter, *Nfirt-iry*

(PSN 94; Shirley 2010a, 85 n.54), who is the only other woman in this core family whose name ends in this way, but this remains speculative.

As well as *B3kt*, *Wsr(-Imn)* and his wife, *I(w)-iw*, appear to have had six daughters: *Iḥ-ms II* (PSN 76), *Imn-m-wsḥt* (PSN 77), *Iḥ-ms III* (PSN 78), *Imn-m-ḥb I* (PSN 79), *Ḥnwt* (PSN 135), and *Sn-snb I* (PSN 136). While it is possible that *Wsr(-Imn)* and *I(w)-iw* only had one daughter with the name *Iḥ-ms*, the fact that two figures labelled *s3t=f* and *Iḥ-ms* are consistently shown in the same scenes suggests that they had two daughters with this name. Dziobek suggests that *Iḥ-ms II* was a deceased eldest daughter whose name was reused for *Iḥ-ms III* (1998, 127). Except for the last two daughters, who are only shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, the daughters of *Wsr(-Imn)* and *I(w)-iw* appear to have been almost consistently portrayed in a specific order: *Iḥ-ms II*, *Imn-m-wsḥt*, *Iḥ-ms III*, *Imn-m-ḥb I*, and *B3kt* (e.g. TT 100 scene 9, TT 82 scene 3, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 south wall). The fact that these women are almost always shown in a specific order, perhaps one based on age, makes Dziobek's theory seem likely.

There are a few minor exceptions to this order. In TT 61 scene 5, the first four women are shown in order but *B3kt* has not been included. In TT 131 scene 4, only the first two women in the group appear to have been captioned: the first is *Iḥ-ms* (presumably *II*) and the second woman's name is now too damaged to read. It is uncertain who the other four figures were but they were most likely the other daughters. In TT 61 scene 7, however, these women are not shown as a single group but are positioned over two sub-registers (Fig. 2). The upper sub-register depicts *Imn-m-wsḥt* followed by a woman named *Iḥ-ms*, while the bottom sub-register shows a woman whose caption is lost followed by *B3kt*. In front of these two sub-registers are two women. The foremost is probably *I(w)-iw*, while the second woman's identity is



Figure 2: TT 61 scene 7 (after Dziobek 1994, pl. 62)

unknown due to damage. In this case, the usual iconographic order of the women cannot be used in a straightforward way to determine, for example, which *Tḥ-ms* is which. The *Tḥ-ms* in the upper sub-register is taken as *Tḥ-ms III* since she appears after *Imn-m-wshṯ*, following the standard order of these daughters. Perhaps the woman behind *T(w)-iw* was a depiction of *Tḥ-ms II*, which would make iconographic sense since she is often shown as the foremost daughter.

In terms of sons, *Wsr(-Imn)* and *T(w)-iw* appear to have had six, including *Mry(-m3ṯ)* (PSN 98), who seems to have married a woman named *Mḥ-i3* (PSN 117; funerary cone no. 11, A.1.2). Together this couple appear to have had a son named *3-ph-ti*, who is only attested in a graffito at Deir el-Bahri (A.1.3; Dziobek 1998, 126; Shirley 2010b, 299 n.93). *Wsr(-Imn)* also appears to have had at least one more grandson, and probably two, with the name *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 100 and PSN 101). Two male figures are depicted in the Sun Litany vignette on the north wall of the burial chamber of TT 61. One has the

caption *s3 s3t=f mr=f Imn-m[-h3t]* ‘son of his daughter, his beloved, *Imn-m[-h3t]* (*IV*; PSN 100)’ and the other is called *imy-r šn^c n Imn w^cb Imn-m-h3t ms[.n ...] B3kt* ‘overseer of the storehouse of Amun, the priest, *Imn-m-h3t* (*V*; PSN 101; see also Kinship Diagram 2), who[m ...] *B3kt* (PSN 80) bore’. Since these two figures appear one after another in the same vignette, it is unlikely that they represent the same person. Above this vignette, the *Amduat* text mentions *s3 s3t=f w^cb Imn-m-h3t* ‘son of his daughter, the priest, *Imn-m-h3t*’. Shirley argues that this refers to *Imn-m-h3t* (*IV*) (2010b, 299 n.93), while Dziobek argues that all of these references belong to a single individual (1998, 125). However, due to the similarities in titles he has been identified as *Imn-m-h3t V*.

The families of *Nfr-wbn* and *Rh-mi-r^c* are known mostly from TT 100. It appears that *Nfr-wbn* and his wife, *Bt* (PSN 64), had three daughters: *Str* (PSN 81), *Nb-iwnwt* (PSN 82), and *T^ch-ms IV* (PSN 83); and at least four sons, including *Rh-mi-r^c*. He appears to have married a woman named *Mryt* (PSN 63) and together they seem to have had three daughters: *T3-h^ct* (PSN 84), *Mwt-nfrit* (PSN 85), and *Hnwt-t3wy I* (PSN 86), one of whom appears to have had a daughter named *Hnwt-t3wy II* (PSN 93; TT 100 scene 17); and potentially six sons. The couple represented in the bottom register of TT 100 scene 9, *B3k=i* (PSN 87) and his wife *It* (PSN 88), do not have any kinship terms in their captions that would link them to the other people in the scene. N. de G. Davies argued that they are probably the parents of *Rh-mi-r^c*’s mother, *Bt* (1943, 15), but they could also be the parents of his wife *Mryt* (Newberry 1900, 34–5). The former reading has been followed here since it appears that this scene is focused on *Rh-mi-r^c*’s ancestors.

Shirley notes traces before *M3^ct-nfrit*’s (PSN 91) name in TT 100 scene 17, which are possibly a title, and she suggests that *Hnwt-t3wy II* may have been *M3^ct-nfrit*’s

daughter (2005, 100 n.453). Due to the close proximity of the captions in this scene, it is uncertain which text belongs to whom. Based on the presence of a small gap between the lacuna and *M3^ct-nfirt*'s name, it is more likely that this missing text belongs to the woman in front of her. It appears that *M3^ct-nfirt*'s caption simply included her name. The kinship term *s3t s3t=f* appears directly after *M3^ct-nfirt*'s name, and therefore appears to begin the caption of *Hnwt-t3wy II*, which then continues with her title and name following the standard order of funerary captions. There is little evidence in this scene to suggest a parental link between *M3^ct-nfirt* and *Hnwt-t3wy II* (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 14), but the former may have been more closely related to *Rh-mi-r^c* than her lack of a kinship term suggests. *M3^ct-nfirt* was perhaps another of his descendants along with *T3-h^ct* and *Hnwt-t3wy II* (see §5.2). For the purposes of this analysis, *M3^ct-nfirt* has been included in the Kinship Unknown section and is discussed in section 3.5.1.

Due to similar uncertainties, the number of children belonging to each couple in this family varies among scholars. For example, Hornung has argued for five sons and seven daughters of *Wsr(-Imn)* and *I(w)-iw* (1961, 119), while N. de G. Davies agreed with the numbers in Kinship Diagram 1, namely six sons and seven daughters (1926, 50). The differences in opinion most likely stem from the similarities in names between *Mry-Imn*, *Mry I*, and *Mry(-m3^ct)* (Newberry 1900, 14, 16; N. de G. Davies 1943, 102). Equally, there was some disagreement between Newberry and N. de G. Davies over the names of some of the sons of *Nfr-wbn* and *Rh-mi-r^c*, mainly due to lacunae in the figures' captions (Newberry 1900, 16; N. de G. Davies 1943, 14–5, 102). In some cases, the names of figures are too damaged to reconstruct; these figures are not included in the kinship diagrams since they may show people already included. For example, this applies to another son of *Nfr-wbn*. N. de G. Davies further argued that one of *Rh-mi-r^c*'s sons, *Kn-Imn* (labelled *s3=f*), was in fact a grandson (1943, 15). However, the fact that

the term *s3t s3t=f* is attested in this tomb for a granddaughter (*Hnwt-t3wy II*) casts some doubt on this since one might expect the full compound term for *Kn-Imn* as well. Newberry noted a son of *3-m-tw* named *Wsr-h3t (I)* but it is unclear on what basis (1900, 16), especially since Newberry was also inaccurate in his assessment of the children of *Rh-mi-r*, arguing (for reasons unknown) that he had no daughters (1900, 15).

N. M. Davies and Gardiner argued that TT 61 shows *Wsr(-Imn)*'s brother, *Imn/Nfr-htp* (see Kinship Diagram 2), with his wife (*snt=f*) *Tch-ms*, thereby making her *Wsr(-Imn)*'s sister-in-law (1915, 33). This appears to be based on a reading of scene 4 that interprets the men in the upper register and the women in the lower register as married couples. This is unlikely since married couples were more often than not depicted together on the same seat (as in e.g. TT 61 scene 6). These figures are more probably both siblings of *Wsr(-Imn)*. The variety in interpretations between scholars highlights the complexity and uncertainty that can arise when trying to reconstruct family structures from this material. The proposed diagram is only one possible interpretation.

The Owners of TT 122 (Kinship Diagram 2)

The exact nature of the relationship between the two owners of TT 122 is uncertain, both with each other and with the wider family of *3-m-tw*, due to damage and the co-ownership of this space. The tomb complex contained a funerary cone that names *Wsr(-Imn)* (no. 370, A.1.2) and it depicted *3-m-tw* and *T3(-3)-m-tw* on its walls (scene 5; Shirley 2010b, 285), making it highly likely that the owners were connected in some way to the Theban family of *3-m-tw*. The nature of this relationship has been widely debated in scholarship (e.g. Newberry 1900; Davies and Gardiner 1915; N. de G.

Davies 1943; Helck 1958; Hornung 1961; Polz 1990; Dziobek 1998) and was subject to a study by Shirley in 2010(b). Shirley offers two possible kinship connections to the core family of *ʕ3-m-ṭw*, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and *Rḥ-mi-rʕ*, upon which Kinship Diagram 2, with its two options, has been based. Any analysis is complicated by the fact that TT 122 is a shared tomb where combined ownership of various spaces within the tomb was planned from the beginning of its construction (Shirley 2010b, 291; see §2.1.2). In this case, the passage and back room belonged to one owner, while the chapels were owned by another individual (2010b, 280). Both owners appear to have had the same title of *imy-r šnʕ n Imn* ‘overseer of the storehouse of Amun’.

The passage and back room are very damaged and fragmentary, meaning that the name of the owner of these areas is no longer visible. Their title, however, was similar to that of other men within this core family, leading scholars to either favour the name *Imn-ḥtp*, based on a son of *ʕ3-m-ṭw* who has this title in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (north wall, lower register), or *Nfr-ḥtp*, based on a brother of *Wsr(-Imn)* (i.e. a son of *ʕ3-m-ṭw*) who has this title in TT 61 (e.g. scene 4). Newberry, Helck, and Porter and Moss argued for the former option (Newberry 1900, 16; Helck 1958, 434–5; PM I.1², 235), while Dziobek and N. de G. Davies argued for the latter (N. de G. Davies 1943, 101; Dziobek 1998, 113), and N. M. Davies and Gardiner left both possibilities open (1915, 33–4).

Further confusion is caused by damage to the caption of *Imn-ḥtp* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. Caminos and James noted that there was not enough room for a second *Imn* in the lacuna and so they restored *imy-r šnʕ n [Imn Nfr]-ḥtp* (1963, 59) rather than *[Imn Imn]-ḥtp*. Similarly, the titles of this man may not have been consistent over the monuments, meaning that the son of *ʕ3-m-ṭw* who is labelled as a ‘second *ḥm-ntr* priest of Amun *Nfr-ḥtp*’ in TT 100 (scene 9, upper sub-sub-register) may

have also been an owner of TT 122. Moreover, frequent name sharing within this core family means that the identity of this man is still unclear. There seem to have been sons of *ʿ3-m-ṭw* with both names and there were also sons of *Rḥ-mi-r^c* and *Nfr-wbn* with the name *Imn-ḥtp*. Most scholars conclude that the owner of TT 122 was a son of *ʿ3-m-ṭw*, including Shirley (2010b, 290). Even though it is possible that *ʿ3-m-ṭw* had more than one son with the same name, only one son named *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* is shown in Kinship Diagram 1.

Fortunately, it is clear from the chapels' decoration that they belonged to a man named *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, who had a wife called *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110), a daughter called *Snt-nfr* (PSN 112), possibly a son, and a father called *ḥm-ntr Nfr-ḥtp* (Shirley 2010b, 286–7). The wider kinship of this man has been debated. Newberry, N. M. Davies and Gardiner, and Helck argued that he was a son of *Rḥ-mi-r^c* (Newberry 1900, 16; Davies and Gardiner 1915, 34; Helck 1958, 434–5), while Hornung has suggested that the two owners of TT 122 were themselves brothers (1961, 116). Shirley's analysis of this tomb takes into account its decorational process (see §2.1.2) and it concludes with two possible kinship interpretations. In both options, the owner of the passage and back room is taken to be *Nfr-ḥtp*, a son of *ʿ3-m-ṭw* (2010b, 290). The two versions then vary regarding the kinship of the other owner *Imn-m-ḥ3t*. To help distinguish between the people in each option, the owner of the passage and back room is here identified as *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 114), the owner of the chapels as *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 109), and the father of this man as *Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 111).

In option 1, the owner of the chapels is the son of *B3kt* (PSN 80), *Imn-m-ḥ3t V* (PSN 101; and so also PSN 109), who is shown in TT 61. *B3kt*'s otherwise unknown husband is therefore the *Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 111) who is named in the chapel ceiling of TT 122. The *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 114) who owns the passage and back room is taken as a

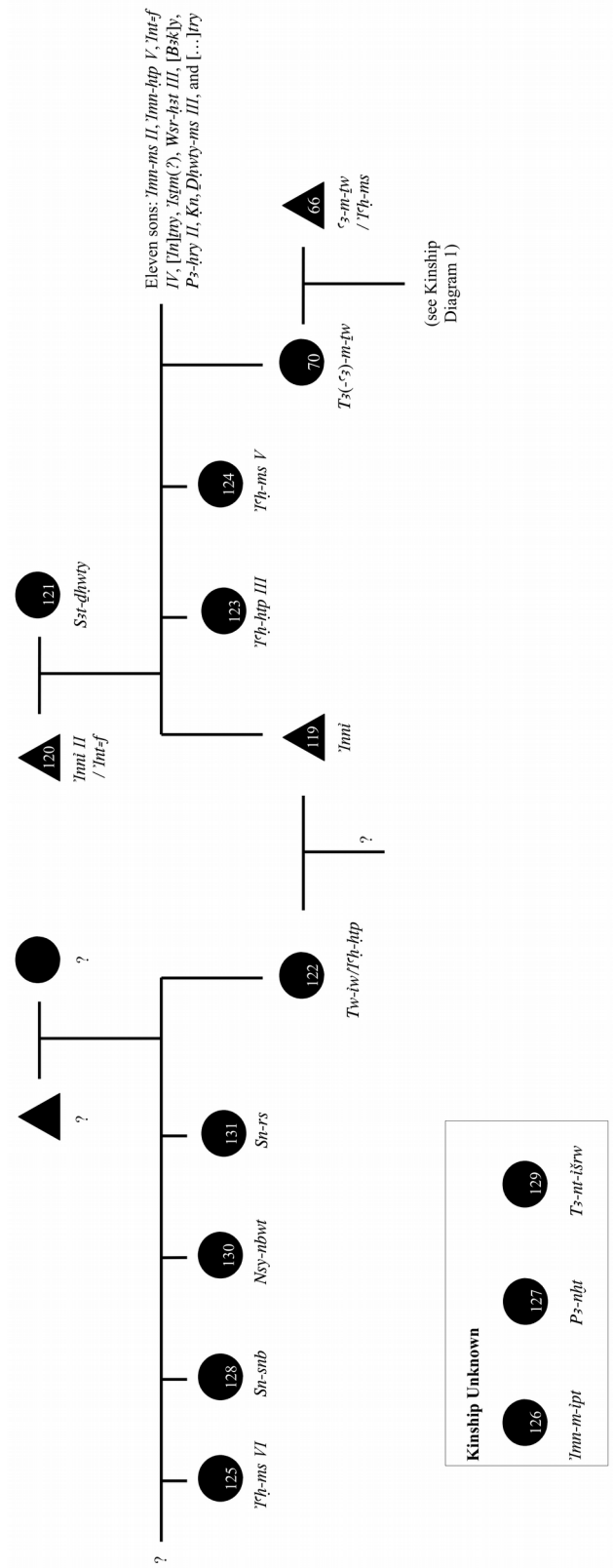
different individual (Shirley 2010b, 291–2). The fact that the vignette in the burial chamber of TT 61 shows *Imn-m-ḥ3t V* as a mummified figure might even imply that he was deceased at the time of this chamber’s decoration. Since this burial chamber was probably decorated late in Tuthmosis III’s reign (Dziobek 1998, 127; see §2.1.2), Shirley suggests that *Imn-m-ḥ3t V* could have been buried together with his great-uncle *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* (2010b, 292).

In option 2, *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 114), the owner of the passage and back rooms, is taken to be both the father of the *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 109) who owns the chapels and as the man depicted in TT 100 who has the title of second *ḥm-ntr* priest of Amun (i.e. both PSN 114 and PSN 111). This might explain his title of *ḥm-ntr* in the chapels of TT 122. Shirley suggests that *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* died during the tomb’s construction and that the work was taken up by his son, *Imn-m-ḥ3t (VI)*, who also died before either part of TT 122 could be finished (2010b, 291–2). In this case, the *Imn-m-ḥ3t* of TT 122 (*VI*; PSN 109) and the son of *B3kt*, *Imn-m-ḥ3t (V)* (PSN 101), would be different individuals.

Due to the shared nature of this space, it is likely that a strong kinship relationship existed between the two owners of this tomb complex, perhaps suggesting that option 2 is the more representative interpretation. Nonetheless, regardless of which option (if either) accurately describes the actual kinship relationships of these individuals, the iconographic trends within this tomb are relevant to this study since the female kinship terms are the main focus.

***Inni* (Kinship Diagram 3)**

The kinship connection between the family of *Inni* (PSN 119), owner of TT 81, and the core family of *ʿ3-m-tw*, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and *Rḥ-mi-r^c* was through *Inni*’s sister, *T3(-ʿ3)-m-tw* (PSN 70), who appears to have married *ʿ3-m-tw* (see Kinship Diagram 1). This



Kinship Diagram 3: The family of *Immi* (author 2020)

relationship is not made textually explicit in these monuments, but there is a sister of *Inni* who is named *T3-ʕ3-m-tw* (TT 81 scene 5), the two families are contemporary—it appears that both *ʕ3-m-tw* and *Inni* were towards the ends of their careers when Tuthmosis II died (Shirley 2014, 176–7)—and they have monuments that were located close to each other (Shirley 2010a, 99; see §2.1.2). There is also a high frequency of name sharing between the families. These features make this suggestion both plausible and reasonable (Dziobek 1992, 143; 1998, 111; Polz 2007, 282; Shirley 2010a, 92). Dziobek suggests that *Inni* could have been a brother of *ʕ3-m-tw* since *Wsr(-Imn)* appears to have worked in departments within the Amun precinct under *Inni*'s supervision (1998, 131). Shirley offers an alternative and more convincing interpretation for this phenomenon. *ʕ3-m-tw* appears to have held only the position of vizier and Shirley argues that it was *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw*'s connection to the Amun precinct via her brother *Inni* that enabled her descendants to gain positions within this institution (2005, 95, 97; 2010a, 84). Almost half of *ʕ3-m-tw* and *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw*'s descendants, eighteen individuals, have titles linked to the Amun precinct (2010a, 93 n.77; 2014, 241–2), showing ‘a transmission of titles between fathers and sons, uncles and nephews’ (2010a, 93). Therefore, the family of *ʕ3-m-tw* appears to have successfully ‘used hereditary, strategic marriage and familial nepotism to create a significant power base’ (2010a, 98).

Inni himself was born to *Inni II*, also named *Int=f* (PSN 120), and his wife *S3t-dhwty* (PSN 121). This couple also had three daughters: *Tʕh-htp III* (PSN 123), *Tʕh-ms V* (PSN 124), and the aforementioned *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw*; and twelve sons, including *Inni*, who married a woman named *Tw-iw*, also called *Tʕh-htp* (onwards *Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp*; PSN 122). This couple appears to have been childless since no named children of theirs are depicted within the tomb (Dziobek 1992, 143; Shirley 2010a, 92). Harrington argues

that *Inni* had a son who died at a young age (2007, 60), but this remains speculative. *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp*'s family is depicted in TT 81, including her sisters *Iḥ-ms VI* (PSN 125), *Sn-snb* (PSN 128), *Nsy-nbwt* (PSN 130), and *Sn-rs* (PSN 131). Their parents' names are unknown. Dziobek argues that a woman named *Iḥ-ḥtp* in TT 81 scene 20 is another sister of *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp* (1992, 142–4). However, since she lacks any kinship term in this scene, this figure is taken as another representation of *Inni*'s sister, *Iḥ-ḥtp III*, who is shown in scene 5. Three women are named in this tomb but are not captioned with a kinship term, making their connection to *Inni*'s or *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp*'s family uncertain: *Imn-m-ipt* (PSN 126), *P3-nḥt* (PSN 127), and *T3-nt-išrw* (PSN 129). They have been included in the Kinship Unknown section and are discussed in section 3.5.1.

***Imn-m-ḥ3t* (Kinship Diagram 4)**

Imn-m-ḥ3t (PSN 15) was an official who worked under *Wsr(-Imn)* and his tomb, TT 82, includes depictions of both *Wsr(-Imn)*'s family and that of *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (scenes 3 and 6; see also Ragazzoli 2017b). Dziobek argues for an even stronger connection between these families, suggesting that *Iḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šꜥw* (PSN 21), the father of *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s wife *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), was in fact another name for *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (1998, 131). However, there is little evidence to support this, especially since nowhere else in this corpus is *ʿ3-m-ṯw* attested with the name *Iḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šꜥw* and the latter is shown offering to the former in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall, suggesting that these figures/names denote separate individuals.

Even so, *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and his family were probably still considered part of the family of *ʿ3-m-ṯw*, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and *Rḥ-mi-rꜥ*. The fact that *Imn-m-ḥ3t* was permitted to depict the family of both *Wsr(-Imn)* and *ʿ3-m-ṯw* in his tomb and was in turn included in this family's shrine at Gebel El-Silsilah (north wall), suggests that these two groups were close. This scene at Gebel El-Silsilah not only includes *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, but also his

father-in-law, *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šw*, and a man named *Dḥwty-ms*, who may be *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s father (*I*; PSN 28), or *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šw*'s father (*III*; PSN 24), or the latter's brother (*II*; PSN 26). Furthermore, *Wsr(-Imn)* and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* were probably of similar ages and perhaps grew up together, with both *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šw* working within *Wsr(-Imn)*'s and *ʿ3-m-ṯw*'s households (Dziobek 1998, 131). The similarities in names between these families further strengthen this connection. Perhaps this situation was similar to that documented, far earlier, for the family of Mersu, who was a senior worker in the early 12th Dynasty household of Heqanakhte. Mersu and his family are included in the household ration-list that Heqanakhte sent to his mother (Letter II, l. 14; J. P. Allen 2002), suggesting that ancient Egyptian families could tie together various smaller kinship groups into larger social and economic units (Ragazzoli 2017b, 206–15; see §1.4). Therefore, the family of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* is similarly taken as part of the family of *ʿ3-m-ṯw*, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and *Rḥ-mi-rʿ*.

Imn-m-ḥ3t's immediate family was extensive. He was born to *Dḥwty-ms I* and *Int=f I* (PSN 29), who were in turn the children of *K3y* (PSN 30) and *Int=f II* (PSN 31), and *Int=f III* (PSN 32) and *Tḥ-ḥtp* (PSN 33), respectively. *Imn-m-ḥ3t* had a large number of siblings, namely seven sisters: *Tḥ-ms* (PSN 22), *Nfirt-iry I* (PSN 23), *Nfirt-iry II* (PSN 47), *Tw-iw-nfirt* (PSN 49), *Imn-m-wsḥt II* (PSN 50), *ṯwy-r[...]* (PSN 52), and *B3kt III* (PSN 54); and eight brothers, one of whom appears to have had a daughter called *Nfirt-iry III* (PSN 56). *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s sister, *Tḥ-ms*, also appears to have had a child with a man named *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-šw*: a daughter named *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), who in turn married her uncle *Imn-m-ḥ3t*. Together *B3kt(-Imn)* and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* had six daughters: *Imn-m-ḥb* (PSN 36), *S3t-Imn* (PSN 51), [...]-*m-ʿb?* (PSN 57), *ṯwy-nfirt* (PSN 58), *T3-mi(?)w* (PSN 59), and *Bšt* (PSN 60); and seven sons. In scene 12, there are two figures with the captions *s3t=f Imn-m-ḥb* and *s3t=f S3t-Imn*. Since this is the only case

where this happens, each pair of figures is interpreted as the same daughter rather than *Imn-m-ḥ3t* having two sets of daughters with the same names (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 65).

Similar to *ʕ3-m-ḫw*, *Imn-m-ḥ3t* appears to have inherited titles from his ancestors and through the marriage of his sister *Iḥ-ms* to *Iḥ-ms-ḥw-m-ḥw*. For example, he shares the title of ‘steward of the vizier’ with his father/brother-in-law, *Iḥ-ms-ḥw-m-ḥw*, and the title of ‘chief of the weavers of Amun’ with *B3kt(-Imn)*’s paternal grandfather, *Dḥwty-ms III*, also called *ʕ* (PSN 24; Shirley 2010a, 102, 104, 107). Once again, these titles suggest that marital alliances were strategies for family advancement; hierarchies between female relatives were therefore likely, especially if certain women could enable higher social positions for their descendants compared to others (see §5.1).

There is evidence to suggest that *Imn-m-ḥ3t* had two other wives. A stelophorous statue bearing his name and titles includes the phrase *ḥmt=f Mryt-Imn* (PSN 19; A.1.14), while a funerary cone includes his name and titles followed by *ḥmt=f Nfyt-iry* (*IV*; PSN 118; no. 379, A.1.2). Since there is no evidence from TT 82 to corroborate these relationships and confirm that it is the owner of TT 82 referred to in each artefact, this hypothesis remains uncertain. However, the use of additional tomb features, such as statues and decorated burial chambers, in order to include multiple wives seems to have been a strategy that is attested in other family groups. For example, Meryt, who is excluded from the decoration in the tomb chapel of TT 96 but dominates the iconography in its burial chamber (Jones 2018). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that these artefacts relate to TT 82, documenting additional wives of *Imn-m-ḥ3t*.

Similarly, this does not appear to have been *B3kt(-Imn)*’s first marriage since two women, *Imn-ḥtp II* (PSN 40) and *B3kt II* (PSN 41), are labelled *s3t=s* ‘her daughter’ in TT 82 scene 5 and one man, *Nb-wḥw*, is labelled *s3=s* ‘her son’ in TT 82 scene 17. If

they were children of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* then one would expect the term *s3/t=f*. Due to the position of these women within scene 5, the term is likely to refer to *B3kt(-Imn)*, who is the central female figure. In scene 17, there is a woman in front of *Nb-w^cw* who may be the ‘her’ referred to in *Nb-w^cw*’s caption instead of the central female figure of this scene, who is *B3kt(-Imn)* (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 98). The space in front of this woman where a caption could have been located is now damaged, meaning that her identity is unknown (if it was included at all). As a result, *Nb-w^cw*’s mother is uncertain but she has been tentatively identified as *B3kt(-Imn)* based on the parallels with scene 5. The identity of *B3kt(-Imn)*’s other husband and the presumed father of these children is unknown.

The identity of *B3kt(-Imn)*’s father’s parents is shown in the upper sub-register of the upper register in scene 4: *Dḥwty-ms III* and *Tw-iw-nfrt* (PSN 25). However, the identity of the third couple in this register is uncertain: *Dḥwty-ms II* (PSN 26) and *Wrt-dḥwty-ms* (PSN 27) are labelled as *sn/t=f* but it is unclear to whom the suffix ‘his’ refers. N. M. Davies and Gardiner argued that they are the brother and sister of the man in the preceding couple, *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-š^cw*, and they read *wrt* as an adjective of *snt* in the name of the woman to support this (1915, 35; see also Shirley 2005, 104–5; for the use of *wrt* with kinship terms see §1.3.1). In comparison, Whale argues that only *Wrt-dḥwty-ms* is the sister of this man, *Dḥwty-ms II* being her husband (1989, 67; for the double translation of *sn/t* see §1.3.2). Shirley notes that elsewhere in TT 82 women are consistently identified with *ḥmt=f* referring to their partner, while their partner is identified respective to the tomb owner or in this scene to the man in the preceding couple (2005, 104–5). If this convention was consistently applied, it suggests that the term *sn/t=f* here means that both *Dḥwty-ms II* and *Wrt-dḥwty-ms* are actually siblings of *Tḥ-ms-ḥw-m-š^cw*. Kinship Diagram 4 follows this interpretation. The other couples in

the lower sub-register of scene 4 have damaged captions but they appear to be the parents and paternal and maternal grandparents of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (Shirley 2005, 105–6). While Sethe’s publication of the texts in *Urk. IV* 1054–5 noted some minor variations in caption content compared to N. M. Davies and Gardiner (1915), the kinship terms remain unchanged. Only the first two women in each couple have been included in Chapter 3; unfortunately, the last woman’s kinship term is too damaged to read (*Tḥ-ḥtp* [PSN 33]; see Catalogue C.5) but she was probably the mother of *Int=f I*.

In scene 5, the couples also have a mixture of *s3t=f* and *sn/t=f* kinship terms in their captions where the referent(s) of the terms is again uncertain. This makes the kinship relationships of both *Nfirt-iry II* (PSN 47) and *Tw-iw-nfirt* (PSN 49) with *Imn-m-ḥ3t* unclear. The former is either his sister or sister-in-law and the latter is either his sister or daughter-in-law. Kinship Diagram 4 follows the convention in scene 4, taking both terms to refer to *Imn-m-ḥ3t*. Unfortunately, the captions of the three other female figures shown in couples in this scene have lacunae, meaning that while their kinship terms are visible (two are *snt=f*, one is *s3t=f*) their names no longer exist. They have been excluded from the kinship diagram, but not the analysis in Chapter 3, since it is unclear who these figures refer to and they may be women already shown in other scenes. The same strategy has been adopted for other female figures whose names have been lost in this tomb (e.g. those in TT 82 scene 12, second register).

Imn-m-ḥ3t’s mother, *Int=f I*, appears to have had variations on her name, including *Int=f-ḥ3* (scene 15) and *Int=f[...]-s3t-srt[...]* (stela at Gebel El-Silsilah, A.1.12). Since these variations were not consistently applied to her representations, they have not been included in Kinship Diagram 4 as second names. It is unlikely that these names denoted separate individuals since the figures are textually identified either as the mother of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (scene 15) or the *ḥmt=f* of his father (Gebel El-Silsilah).

Name sharing in this family is a potential source of confusion, particularly for the four women named *Nfirt-iry*. These women are distinguished as follows. *Nfirt-iry I* (PSN 23) appears by herself in scenes 12 and 16 with the kinship term *snt=f*, suggesting that she was a sister of *Imn-m-h3t*. *Nfirt-iry II* (PSN 47) appears with the term *snt=f* in a couple together with a brother of *Imn-m-h3t* named *Wsr-h3t* (PSN 46). This analysis takes her to be a sister of *Imn-m-h3t*, meaning that this figure could be *Nfirt-iry I* or another sister with this name. The fact that she is depicted as part of a couple, and so may be a sister-in-law due to the double translation of *snt*, justifies taking her as a different person from *Nfirt-iry I*. Having two sisters with the same name can be paralleled in this family group (e.g. *Tch-ms II* and *Tch-ms III* in Kinship Diagram 1). *Nfirt-iry III* (PSN 56) is termed *s3t=f sn=f* in scene 17, making her a niece of *Imn-m-h3t*. N. M. Davies and Gardiner argued that this figure was *Nfirt-iry I* based on the parallel nature of scenes 16 and 17 (1915, 6). However, this is unlikely considering the different kinship terms. *Nfirt-iry IV* (PSN 118) appears with the term *hmt=f* in a funerary cone of *Imn-m-h3t* (no. 379, A.1.2) and *Nfirt-iry* (PSN 94) is a daughter of *3-m-tw* (see TT 82 scene 3).

There are six named women in TT 82 who lack a kinship term: *B3kt IV* (PSN 104), *R-iw-rsti* (PSN 105), *Mwt-nfirt I* (PSN 106), *H3-tw* (PSN 107), *K33* (PSN 137), *Imn[...]* (PSN 138), *Nfr-h3wt* (PSN 190), and *Nhm-i'y* (PSN 191). It is tempting to take *Imn[...]* as a depiction of *S3t-Imn*, *Imn-m-h3t*'s daughter, but the name ends with traces of a low flat sign that are incompatible with the *s3*-bird, making a reading of *S3t-Imn* unlikely (TT 82 scene 17). These women have been included in the Kinship Unknown section and are discussed in section 3.5.1. The same uncertainty applies to *Tt[i]* (PSN 55), whose caption is damaged in the area where one would expect a kinship term to be

located, meaning that her exact relationship with *Imn-m-ḥ3t* is also now unknown (see Catalogue C.5).

2.1.2 *The Monuments*

This case study includes ten monuments related to the Theban family group of *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (PSN 66), *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74), and *Rḥ-mi-r^c* (PSN 62), namely TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, TT 83, TT 100, TT 122, TT 131, TT 228, C. 15, and Gebel el-Silsilah shrine 17. All of the tombs in this list, except C. 15, are located in the cemetery of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna (Fig. 3). The earliest use of Thebes for non-royal burials in the New Kingdom was in Dra Abou El-Naga, which was related to the funerary temples of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (Shirley 2008). From the reigns of Hatshepsut to Amenhotep III the use of the West Bank expanded to include Assasif, El-Khokha, Sheikh Abd El-Qurna, and Qurnet Murai (Shirley 2008).

The Sheikh Abd El-Qurna necropolis had not been extensively used for burials before this period. A small number of Middle Kingdom tombs were built in Sheikh Abd El-Qurna in association with a royal funerary monument attributed to Amenemhat I (Arnold 1991). This monument was left unfinished, probably due to Amenemhat I's relocation of the capital to Lisht, and so most of the associated tombs were similarly left incomplete (Arnold 1991). Some tombs, such as the vizierial tomb of Senet and possibly also her husband/son Intefiker (TT 60) and the tomb of the chancellor Meketre (TT 280), were finished but Sheikh Abd El-Qurna was left with a number of partially completed tombs suitable for reuse (e.g. TT 61 and potentially TT 81, TT 82, TT 83, and TT 122) in a necropolis that already had a high elite and vizierial history.

TT 82 arguably incorporates elements from the decoration in TT 60 (Polz 2007, 296; Den Doncker 2012, 30)—and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 15) seems to have visited TT 60,

leaving behind a graffito (A.1.4; Ragazzoli 2013)—and there are iconographic similarities between TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, and TT 131 (Den Doncker 2017, 340–3) as well as similarities between the autobiographical texts in TT 81, TT 82, TT 100, and TT 131 (Ragazzoli 2017b). These examples highlight the use of pre-existing local monumental architecture at this site both directly and indirectly in the early New Kingdom (see also Merzeban 2014).

The number of tombs in this necropolis that existed by the early 18th Dynasty was nevertheless small, meaning that there was a considerable area to choose from. Therefore, it is arguably significant that *Inni* (PSN 119; TT 81) and *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (TT 83), as the oldest members of this family (Shirley 2014, 185 n.36) and those with the most space available to them, built their tombs close together (Figs. 4 and 5; Shirley 2010a, 99). Tomb placement would have been influenced by the variable rock quality on this hill, which made some areas particularly unsuitable for rock-cut tombs, such as the upper areas of the hill (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014). However, relatively poor rock quality appears to have been disregarded in the placement of TT 81 and TT 83, especially TT 81 since this tomb required a considerable amount of plastering in order to make the inner rock surfaces suitable for painting (2014, 269–70, 728). This further suggests that these two individuals built their tombs close together for other reasons, which could have included their kinship connections (see §2.1.1). The placements of the later tombs in this cluster, however, appear to have been impacted by the local environment and geology: TT 61 and TT 122 are located on a natural headland; TT 131 uses a natural rock protrusion for its pyramid superstructure; and TT 100 is located in some of the most homogeneous rock in this hill in order to achieve its high vaulted ceiling (2014, 268, 274, 278).

Furthermore, these tombs are all in highly visible locations from the Nile and

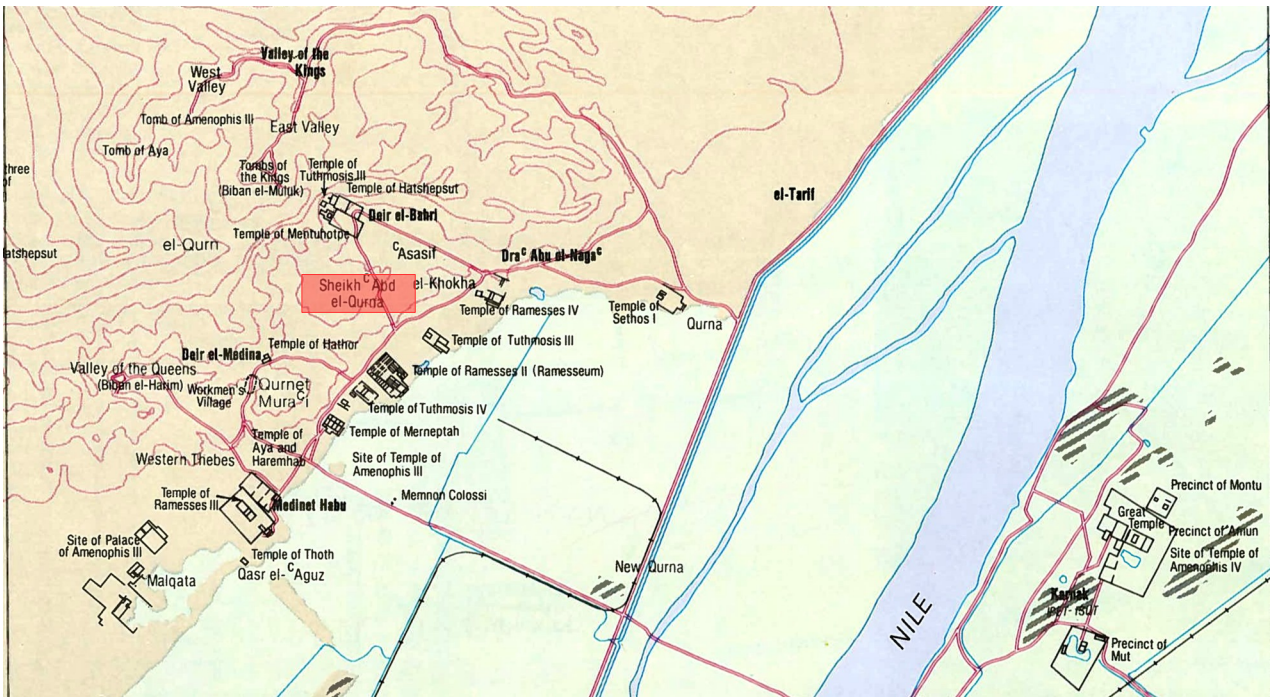


Figure 3: Map of Thebes with Sheikh Abd El-Qurna highlighted (after Baines and Malek 1980, 85)

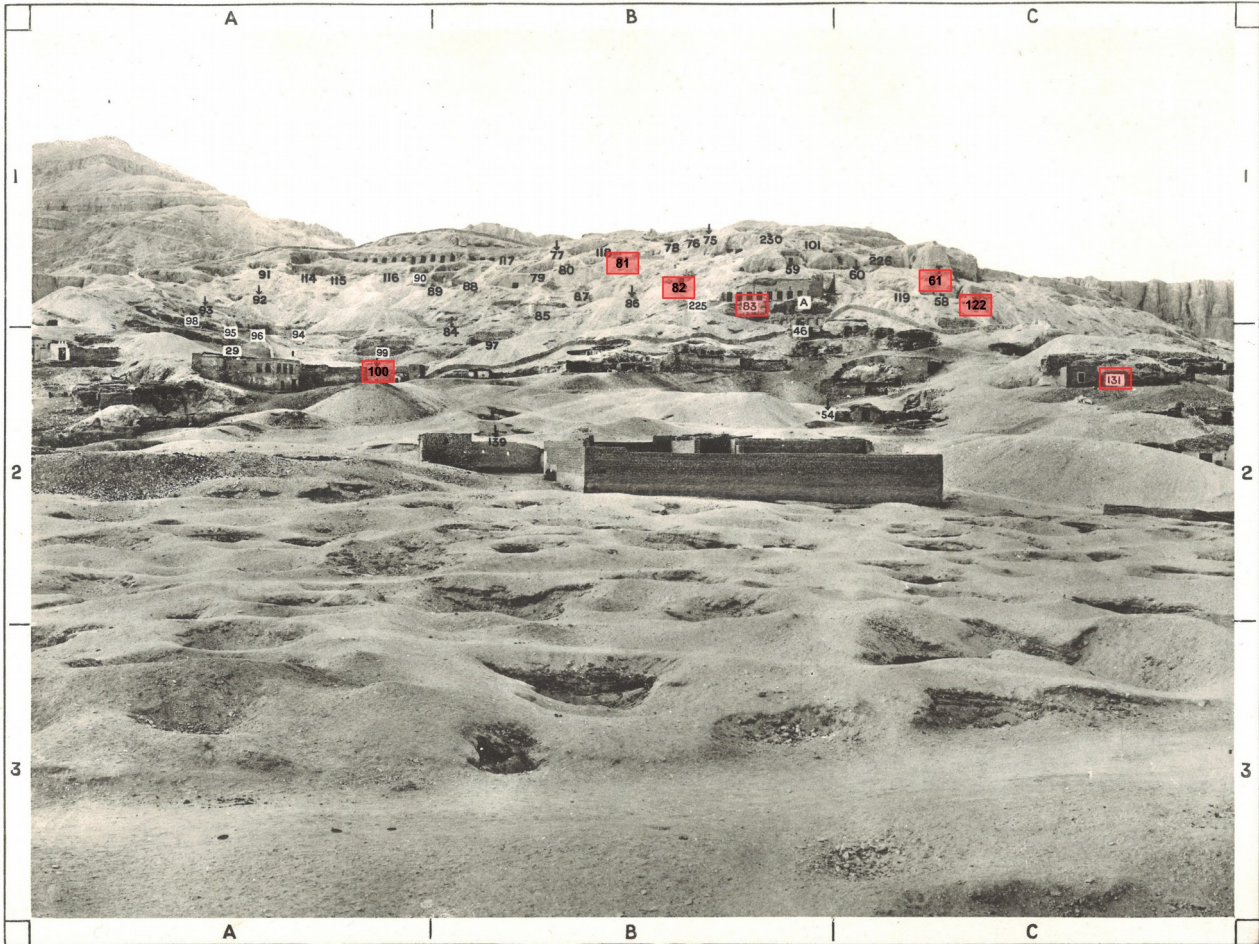


Figure 4: Photograph of east face of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna with tombs from Theban case study highlighted (after Gardiner and Weigall 1913, pl. 3)

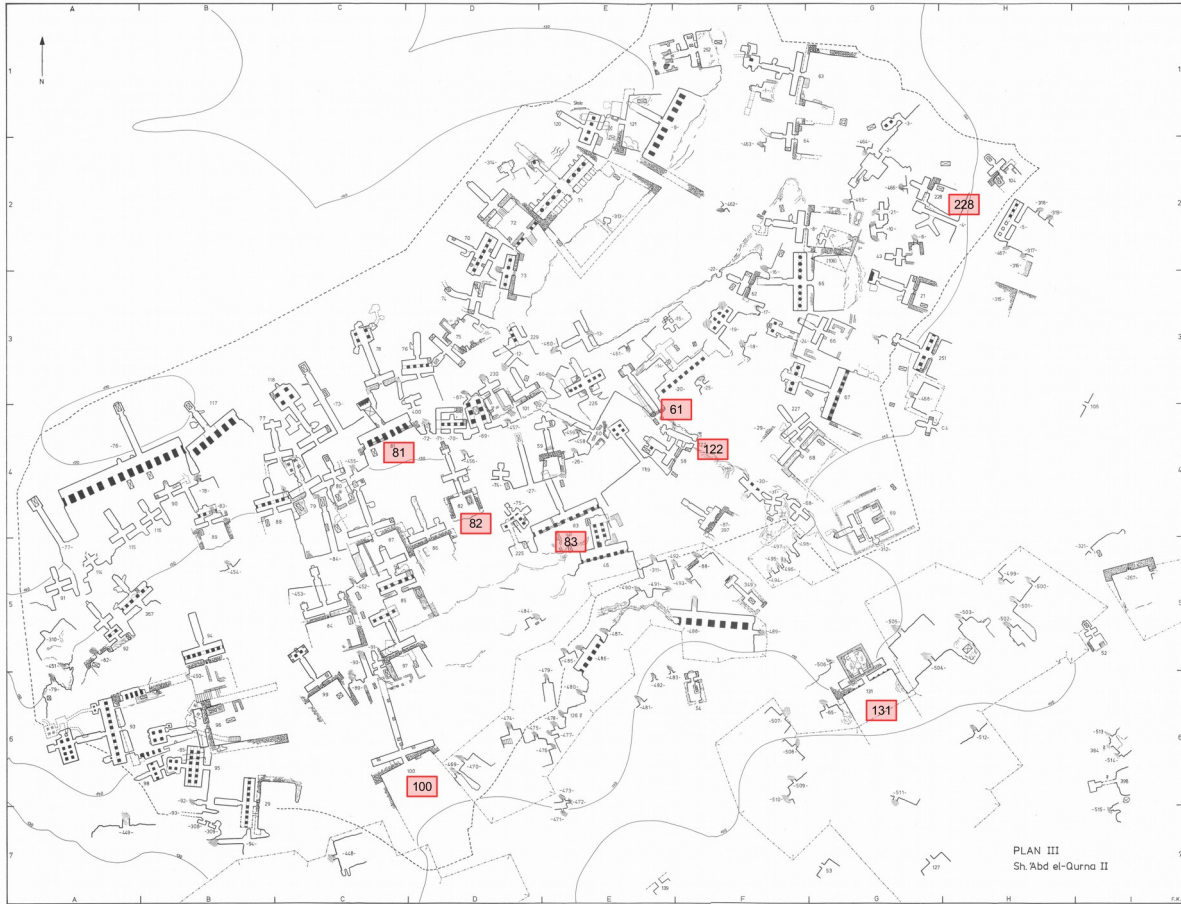


Figure 5: Map of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna with tombs from Theban case study highlighted (after Kampp 1996, plan 3)

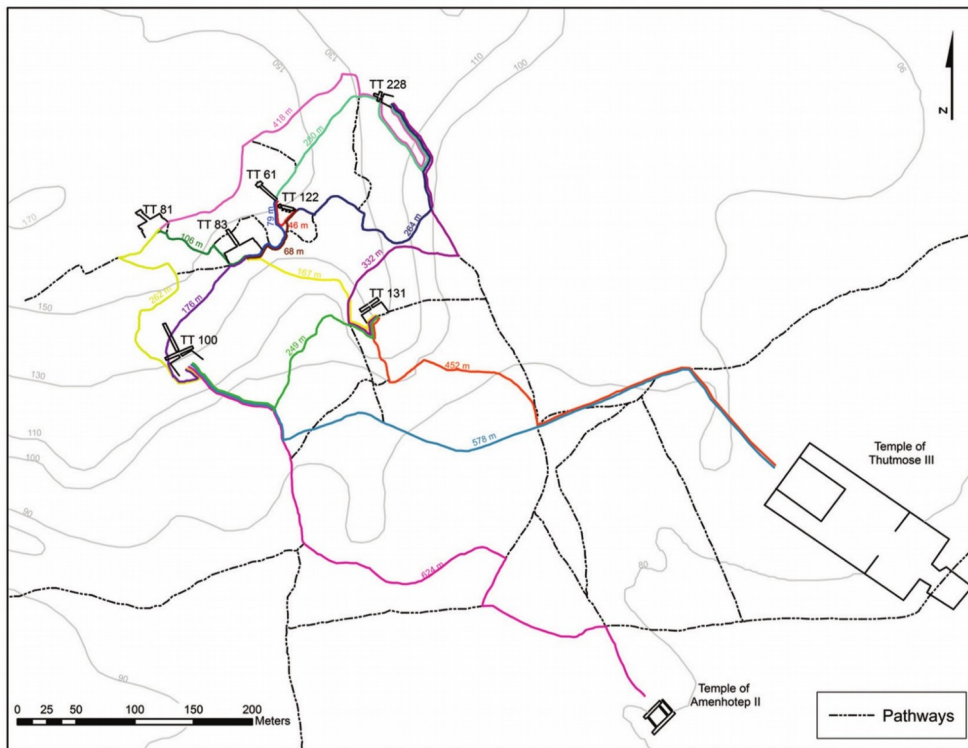


Figure 6: Map showing ancient pathways between tombs from Theban case study (Shirley 2010a, 104, fig. 8)

face east towards the royal mortuary temples of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II on the flood plain of the West Bank and the temples of Karnak and Luxor on the East Bank. TT 100 and TT 131, which were built towards the bottom of the cliff, could have acted as ‘points of access [for the whole cluster of tombs] from the floodplain and the royal mortuary temples’ during festival processions (Shirley 2010a, 105). The tombs in this cluster lie along interconnected axes (Shirley 2010a, 103) and are linked by ancient pathways (Fig. 6; Shirley 2010a, 105), making it possible to visit all of these tombs and experience their collective iconography in a single excursion. This physical proximity further supports the notion that these monuments can be viewed together as a whole family’s successive efforts at self-presentation.

Gebel El-Silsilah was arguably an extension of this commemorative endeavour. Located 90 miles south of Luxor, this site was a sandstone quarry used from the 18th Dynasty until the Roman Period (Caminos and James 1963, 1; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 181–201). The East Bank was the main site for quarrying. In comparison, the hills on the West Bank were less extensive and so they became the focal point for monumental architecture at the site. Most of these monuments were constructed during the 18th and 19th Dynasties over a stretch of a half a mile along the river (Fig. 7; Caminos and James 1963, 1–2). The owners of these shrines appear to have been high governmental officials (1963, 7), including a first prophet of Amun (shrine 15) and the vizier of Hatshepsut (shrine 16), making this site an arena for elite self-presentation, similar to the Theban necropolis of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna (see §1.5.2). Shrine 17 was built near to these two shrines and apparently directly into the cliff face that lies over the river. This location means that it would have been very visible but only reachable by boat according to Caminos and James (Fig. 8; 1963, 2). The owner of TT 82, *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, carved a stela at this site around the entrance to one of the shrines (A.1.12).

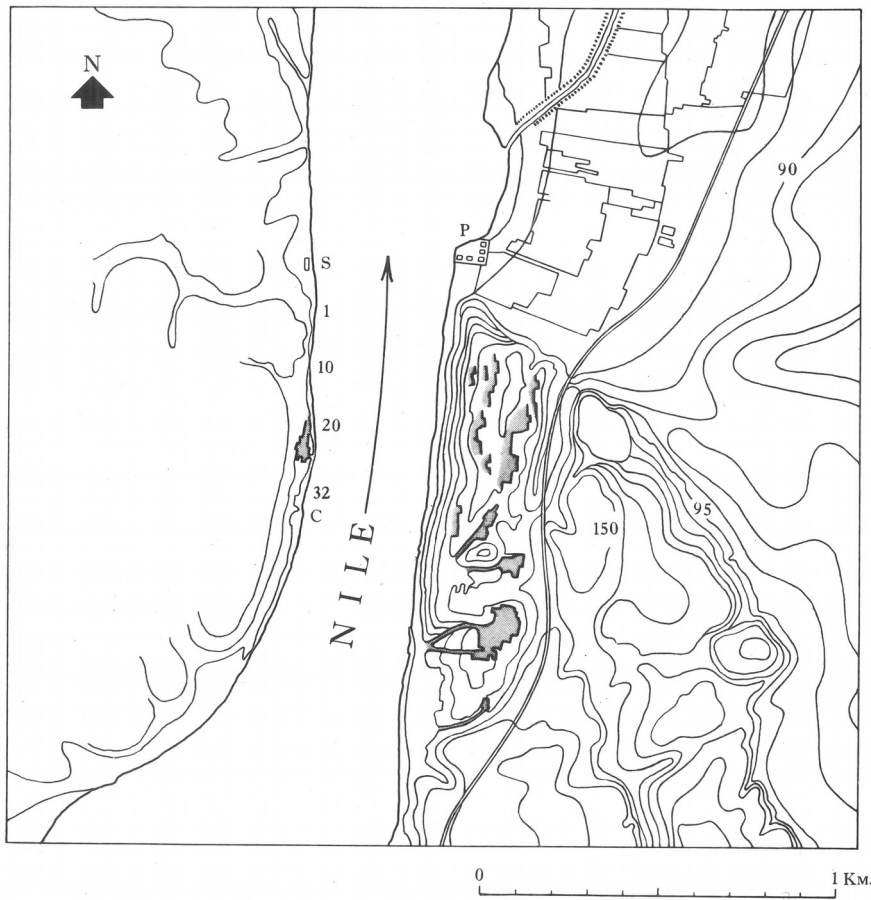


Figure 7: Map of Gebel El-Silsilah (Caminos and James 1963, pl. 1)

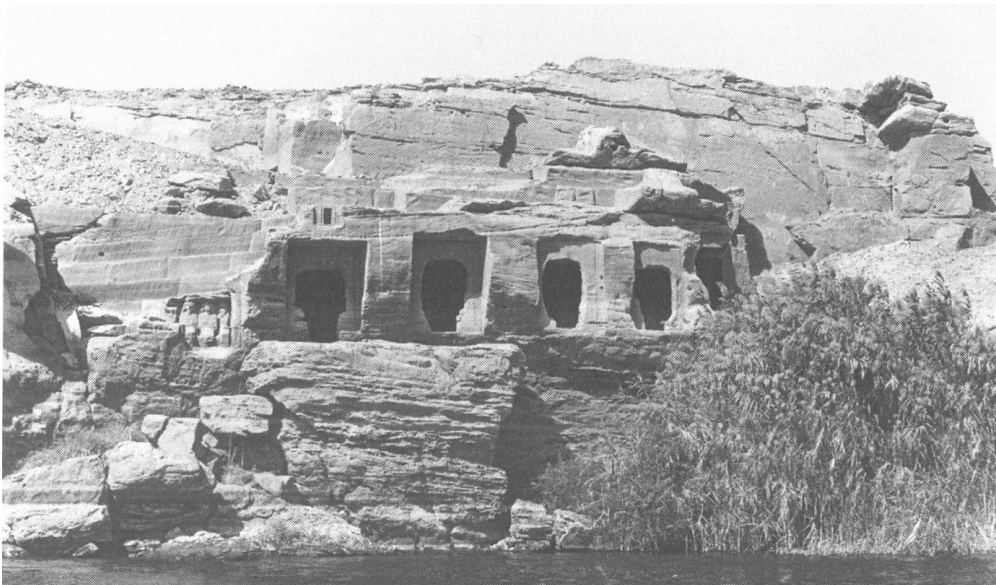


Figure 8: Photograph of shrine 17 (far left) in Gebel El-Silsilah cliff face (Bommas 2003, fig. 2)

TT 81: *Inni*, Overseer of the Granary of Amun

Date: Amenhotep I–Tuthmosis III, probably the end of the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM I.1², 159–63; *Urk.* IV, 53.6–74.2; Bousac 1896; Dziobek 1987; 1990; 1992 (full publication); Davies and Davies 1963; Kampp 1996; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014

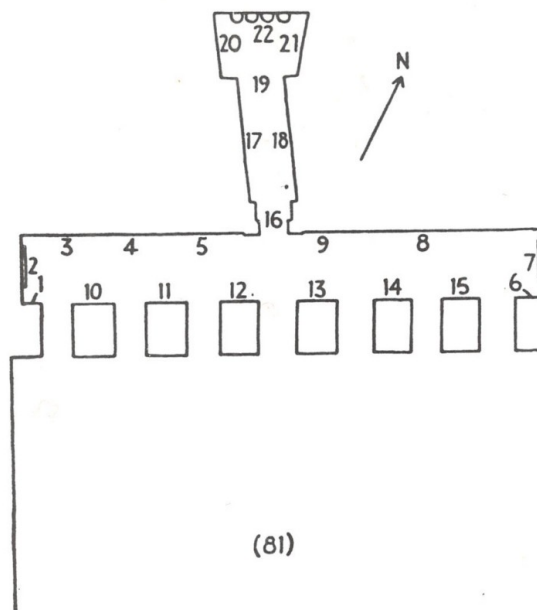


Figure 9: Plan of TT 81 (PM I.1², 160)

It is unclear whether TT 81 was an original 18th Dynasty structure or a usurped Middle Kingdom saff-tomb (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 266). Dziobek and Kampp argue for the latter option (Dziobek 1990, 17–20; Kampp 1996, 323), while Polz advocates for the former, noting architectural parallels with TT 61, TT 85, and TT 131 (2007, 284–6). Shirley dates this tomb to the end of the co-regency between Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III at the latest based on the titulary of Hatshepsut in *Inni*'s (PSN 119) autobiography, which only names her as a co-regent (2014, 177 n.9).

TT 81 is composed of a façade and courtyard that leads through six pillars into a transverse hall. Beyond this is a passage and a square chamber that has four statues on its back wall (Fig. 9). During excavation, an empty shaft for one coffin was found within the courtyard but the rest of the area was not excavated, meaning that there could be more burials. Within the passage, an unfinished shaft was found that Dziobek attributes to the Middle Kingdom use of this space (1987, 70). It is unclear who was originally buried there.

The tomb appears to have been unfinished, with work starting in the back of the tomb and moving towards the entrance; the transverse hall is in the least finished state (Dziobek 1992, 15–22). The decoration consisted of paint on a thick plaster and mortar layer (1992, 22–3; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 270). The latter treatment also seems to have been applied to the entrance columns, although these were never painted (Kampp 1996, 323). The ceiling of the tomb collapsed before the end of 18th Dynasty, meaning that much of the iconography has been damaged. Due to this collapse, the tomb escaped the iconographic attack of the Atenists (Dziobek 1987, 73) and appears to have not been reused after *Inni* (Dziobek 1992, 91). Nevertheless, the tomb contains a considerable amount of ancient Egyptian, Coptic, and late antique graffiti (Dziobek 1992, 100–9; the location of the graffiti is not specified), suggesting that it was a focal point for visitors. Moreover, iconographic similarities can be seen between this monument and the others in this cluster, particularly with the tribute bearing scene (no. 5), which parallels that in the later TT 100 (no. 4; Davies and Davies 1963, 19). Although damaged, the iconography in TT 81 is still complete enough to enable an analysis of the representation of female relatives, including twelve named women.

Dziobek notes the existence of some small finds from this tomb, including funerary cones, faience *shabti* fragments, and a carved stone fragment that is now in

Florence (1992, 113–7), but to the best of my knowledge no further details of these artefacts have been published and so it remains unknown whether they contain representations of female relatives. Polz notes the existence of a set of canopic jars naming *Inni* and *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp* (PSN 122) that are possibly from TT 87 (2007, 285–6), but again no further publication is available to verify this information and so they have not been included. An unprovenanced *shabti* naming *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp* and presumably originating from TT 81 is now housed in the Brooklyn Museum (A.1.8).

Gebel El-Silsilah Shrine 17

Date: year 5–21 of Hatshepsut

Main sources: PM V.1², 215; N. de G. Davies 1943; Caminos and James 1963 (full publication); Dziobek 1998

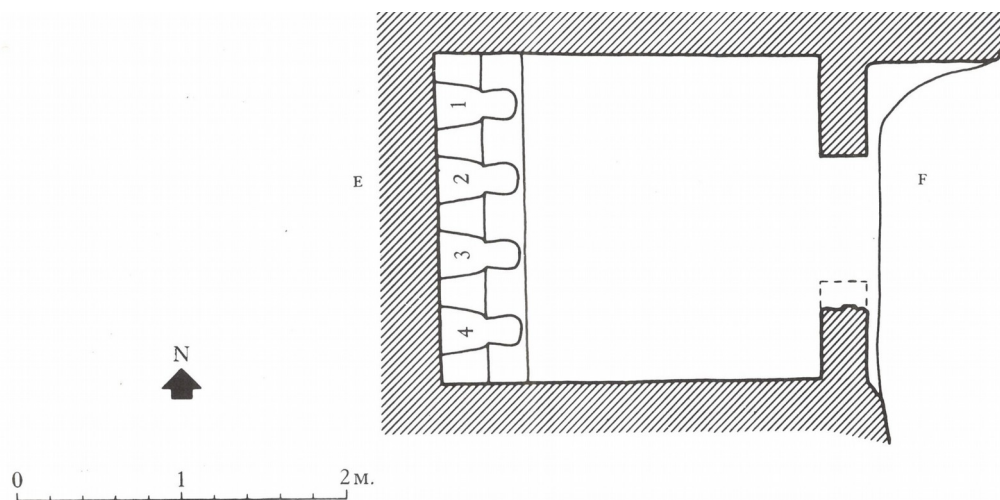


Figure 10: Plan of Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (Caminos and James 1963, pl. 33)

Based on the cartouche of Hatshepsut and the fact that the shrine both shows *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and his father *ḥ3-m-tw* (PSN 66) as viziers, Dziobek dates shrine 17 to between year 5 and year 21 of Hatshepsut, favouring the end of this period since some of the children of these two men have their own titles, meaning that they were old

enough to be office-holders (1998, 115). In the context of this family's other monuments, this shrine was arguably one of the earliest to be constructed. This hypothesis is supported by a title of *Hr* (PSN 116), a son of *ʿ3-m-ṭw*, in this shrine that names Hatshepsut, but which is not included in his captions in the seemingly later Tuthmosid monuments of TT 61 and TT 82 (1998, 115).

This apparently finished shrine consists of one room, with statues cut from the rock in high relief on its west wall, an offering table and banquet scene on each of its northern and southern walls, and an offering to deities scene on its eastern wall (Fig. 10). The lintels and jambs were incised along with the captions of the offering bringers. The captions of the male offering bringers on the northern wall are particularly 'clumsy', suggesting that they were added after the scene was initially completed (Caminos and James 1963, 58 [quote], 60). The main iconographic scenes appear to have been carved in low relief.

The iconography in this shrine has suffered significant damage, which appears to be a mix of deliberate and incidental, but the monument does not appear to have been reused. The intentional damage includes the hacked out figure of *Wsr(-Imn)* on the eastern wall, the removal of the cartouche of Hatshepsut from the entrance, and the destruction of the name Amun by Atenists (Caminos and James 1963, 5). In comparison, quarrying work above the shrine caused the roof to collapse, exposing the iconography to damage caused by weathering (1963, 57). Despite this, most of the captions have survived, meaning that the identities of these lost figures are discernible, and so the representation of women in this monument is still available for analysis.

TT 83: *ʿ3-m-ṭw*, Vizier and Governor of the Town

Date: early Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM I.1², 167; *Urk.* IV, 158 A, 317 A, 489–92, 1041–2; Dziobek 1987; 1998 (no full publication); Kampp 1996; Thompson 1996; Lane 2000; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014

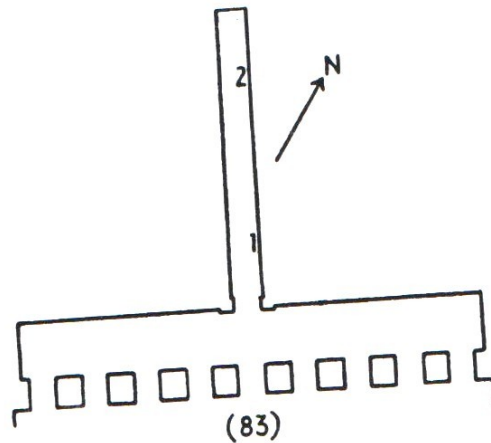


Figure 11: Plan of TT 83 (PM I.1², 160)

Dziobek argues that this tomb was originally a Middle Kingdom saff-tomb that *ʿ3-m-tw* (PSN 66) modified by raising the ceiling and filling in and plastering the spaces between the eight entrance pillars (1987, 76). Kampp, however, based on a comparison between this tomb and other reused Middle Kingdom tombs, concludes that this tomb was constructed during the early 18th Dynasty (1996, 331; see also Polz 2007, 283). Karlshausen and Dupuis leave the question open (2014, 266). In its present state, the pillars lead into a transverse hall and a passage that includes scenes 1 and 2 (Fig. 11).

This tomb was severely damaged after its creation (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 270), which combined with low publication levels means that it is now uncertain whether the tomb was finished and/or usurped, and how it was decorated. While it is possible that this tomb was damaged in antiquity, the most significant damage was caused by the occupation of this tomb by Sir John Gardiner Wilkinson and then Robert Hay in the 1800s, including the addition of partitions within the chambers, brick walls,

doors, anterooms, and a kitchen (Thompson 1996, 54–7; Lane 2000, 339). This tomb was chosen as a dwelling by Wilkinson because of its fine view of Luxor and Karnak temples, highlighting its prominent location within the necropolis (Thompson 1996, 54). In 1913, the tomb was returned to its pre-Wilkinson state and all that remains of his adaptations is a portion of the northern anteroom (1996, 59). Nevertheless, even in the 1800s Lane noted the destruction of the ancient paintings and plaster (2000, 339). He also noted the presence of several mummy pits (2000, 339), which suggest that the tomb was used for pharaonic burials, although it is uncertain if these were contemporaneous with *ḳ3-m-tw*.

Now only the inscriptions on the ceiling survive and these contain information relating to female relatives. TT 83 almost certainly would have contained more representations of women, especially considering their prominence in the other monuments in this cluster. The tomb has yet to be fully excavated (Dorman 2003, 37).

TT 61 and TT 131: *Wsr(-Imn)*, Vizier and Governor of the Town

Date: Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM I.1², 124–5 (TT 61), 245–7 (TT 131); *Urk.* IV, 1029.15–1049.5, 1065–70; Mond 1905; N. de G. Davies 1926; Hornung 1961; 1965; 1987; Dziobek 1990; 1994 (full publication); 1998; Kampp 1996; Shirley 2005; 2014; Boraik 2010; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014

Both TT 61 and TT 131 were owned by the vizier *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74). This phenomenon is unique in this analysis and for this reason these tombs are described together here. TT 61 was usurped from an unfinished Middle Kingdom tomb (Dziobek 1990, 106; Kampp 1996, 277–8; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 268), while TT 131

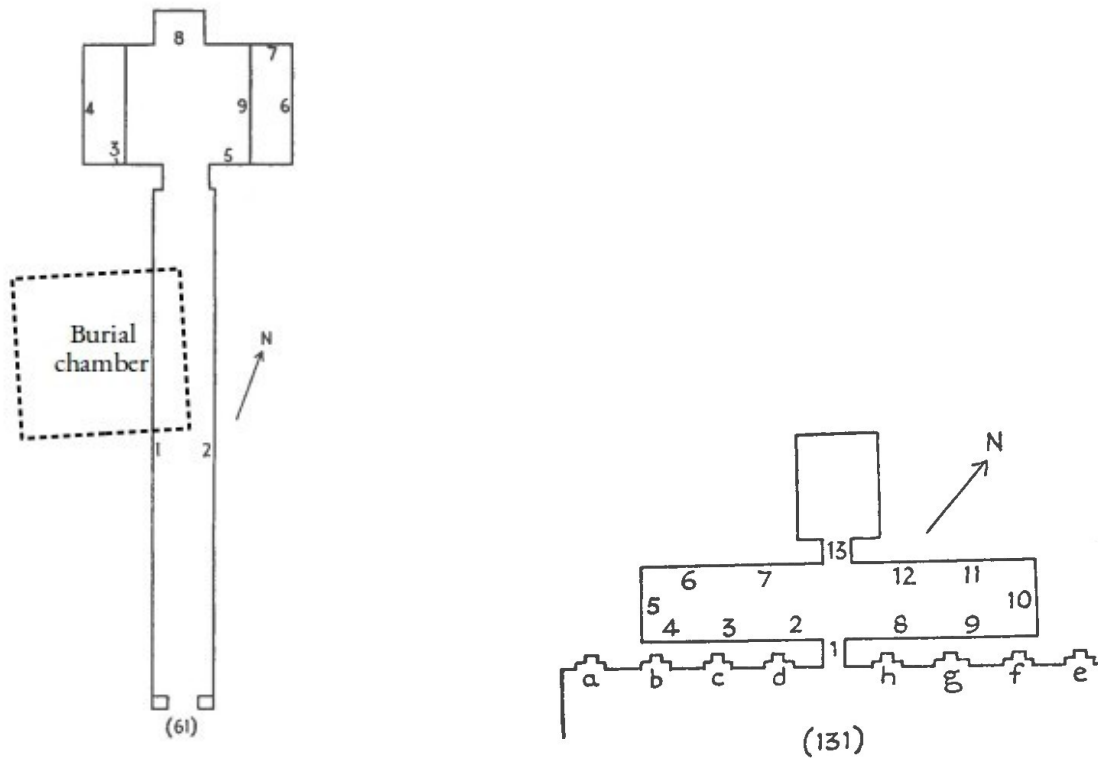


Figure 12: Plan of TT 61 (left; after PM I.1², 124) and TT 131 (right; PM I.1², 238)

appears to have been a new build (Kampp 1996, 422). TT 61 might have been itself usurped further after *Wsr(-Imn)* due to its proximity to the anciently renowned TT 60 (Dziobek 1990, 106), but Kampp does not verify this (1996, 279). TT 131 does not appear to have been fully usurped but Dziobek attributes a corridor in the west wall of the transverse hall to a later use of the space (1994, 100). This feature does not appear to have been recorded by Porter and Moss, who also omit the burial chamber in TT 61 (Fig. 12).

Due to the absence of Hatshepsut from these two monuments, *Wsr(-Imn)* appears to have built both of his tombs during the sole reign of Tuthmosis III (Shirley 2005, 86; 2014, 185, 238 n.219). It is likely that TT 61 was the first tomb to be built by *Wsr(-Imn)*, especially since he is not consistently depicted with the title of vizier there, whereas in TT 131 this title is always included in his captions (Dziobek 1998, 88). TT

131 is also one of the few tombs in this necropolis to include the *Duties and Installation of the Vizier* texts, which are paralleled in TT 29, TT 66, TT 100, and TT 106 (N. de G. Davies 1943, 13, 84, 88–9; see also Faulkner 1955; van den Boorn 1982, 1988, 1991), further emphasising the interrelated nature of these high elite monuments. Shirley corroborates the relative dating of TT 61 and TT 131 by noting that the former also lacks any depictions or references to the Pharaoh, despite its completed decorative program (2005, 86), which would support the idea that *Wsr(-Imn)* built the majority of TT 61 before he became vizier. TT 131 is far more elaborate and prestigious than TT 61, with a 15 m deep well, a 5.7 m high pyramid—which is one of the first non-royal cases of this structure to be attested—and a niched façade, similar to that in TT 83 (Dziobek 1990, 106; Shirley 2005, 87). Overall, the tomb was decorated to a high standard (N. de G. Davies 1926, 44), even if it was left unfinished (Shirley 2005, 86). This strengthens the notion that it was created later in *Wsr(-Imn)*'s life when he had reached high rank.

TT 61 also contains a prestigious feature in its burial chamber, namely the *Amduat* text, which is only attested elsewhere in royal funerary contexts (Warburton et al. 2007, 7). It is possible that *Wsr(-Imn)* went back to TT 61 and used it as a location for a decorated burial chamber late in Tuthmosis III's reign. This is supported by the fact that *Wsr(-Imn)*'s daughter, *B3kt* (PSN 80), is mentioned in the burial chamber with her son *Imn-m-h3t V* (see §2.1.1; for *T3(-3)-m-tw*'s [PSN 70] attestation on the west wall of this burial chamber see Hornung 1987, 331). Dziobek proposes that the burial chamber in TT 61 was decorated/created after the tomb chapel was finished in order to include her together with her son in the tomb complex (1998, 127). If this were the case, one might expect this relationship to also appear in TT 131, which was presumably being decorated around the same time. Perhaps the mother-son relationship was more

appropriate for a burial chamber context or perhaps it was due to thematic differences between TT 61 and TT 131.

Iconographically the two tombs are distinct: TT 61 shows funerary scenes, while TT 131 focuses on *Wsr(-Imn)*'s administrative and official duties. These two motifs form the core of early 18th Dynasty self-presentation (Hartwig 2004) but the former is more likely to include female relatives than the latter. The internal decorative styles in TT 61 and TT 131 are similar: TT 61 consists of painted decoration (Kampp 1996, 279), while TT 131 is mostly painted but does contain some raised relief (e.g. scene 1 north wall). Architecturally, the two tombs combine to form the T-shape tomb that is common for this area and time period (Hodel-Hoernes 2000, 7): TT 131 contains a courtyard, façade, and transverse hall (with an additional undecorated square chamber at the back), while TT 61 contains a passage and decorated square chamber (Fig. 12). The fact that these two tombs lie on the same axis, albeit 130 m apart, supports the notion that they conceptually formed a single monument (Fig. 6; Dziobek 1990, 106; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 272).

Usurpation does not appear to have been the primary reason for the loss of 18th Dynasty iconography in these spaces. This seems to have been caused by a mixture of natural events, including an earthquake that affected the forecourt of TT 61 (Kampp 1996, 277) and natural faults in the stone (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 266), as well as by ancient and modern attacks, such as the damage by Atenists and Coptic monks in TT 131 (Dziobek 1994, 100; Kampp 1996, 422) and the modern stripping of wall scenes in TT 61 (N. de G. Davies 1926, 50; Kampp 1996, 278). Neither tomb appears to have suffered a targeted *damnatio memoriae* (Kampp 1996, 278, 422). In fact, parts of TT 131 were restored following the Amarna period, including part of *Wsr(-Imn)*'s name in the niche at the back of the tomb and in scene 1 (Dziobek 1994, 66, 100). TT 131, just

like TT 83, has been further damaged by modern occupation, which Gardiner and Weigall noted in 1913. Despite restoration attempts by the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities, the iconography remains heavily damaged (Dziobek 1990, 106). As a result, only twelve named women (nine in TT 61 and three in TT 131) are available for analysis.

While investigating this tomb, Mond noted ‘three fragments of inscribed black burnt clay tablets, a blue glazed bead, a [*djed*-amulet], and a number of blue broken offering pots’ in a mummy pit of TT 61 (1905, 73; see also Dziobek 1998). This mummy pit is described as being ‘inscribed with the book of Am-Duat’ (1905, 73), suggesting that Mond is referring to the burial chamber. No more details are listed for these objects and so they have not been included here.

A red granite false door depicting *Wsr(-Imn)* and *T(w)-iw* (PSN 75) was discovered during excavations in front of Karnak Temple where it appears to have been reused during the Roman Period in order to build a bath house at the site (Boraik 2010, 28–9). It was presumably taken from one of *Wsr(-Imn)*’s tombs at Thebes since the name Amun has been effaced, suggesting that it was accessible during the Amarna Period (2010, 29–30). Due to its funerary focus, TT 61 is the most likely candidate for this false door’s original location (2010, 29–30). The false door has been included as a scene rather than an artefact since it was originally an integral part of the tomb’s internal architecture and iconographic programme (see §1.5.2).

The same logic regarding provenance has been applied to other funerary artefacts of *Wsr(-Imn)*, namely a Book of the Dead papyrus (A.1.1) and two funerary cones (nos. 1 and 11, A.1.2). Blocks that probably originated from TT 61 were also found in the nearby TT 67 (A.1.6), while Stela Uriage appears to have originated from

TT 131 (A.1.13). Hornung has noted that no human remains were found anywhere in either tomb when they were discovered (1961, 118).

TT 82: *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, Scribe, Counter of the Grain of Amun, Steward of the Vizier

Date: Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM I.1², 163–7; *Urk.* IV, 1049–64; Davies and Gardiner 1915 (full publication); Kampp 1996; Shirley 2005

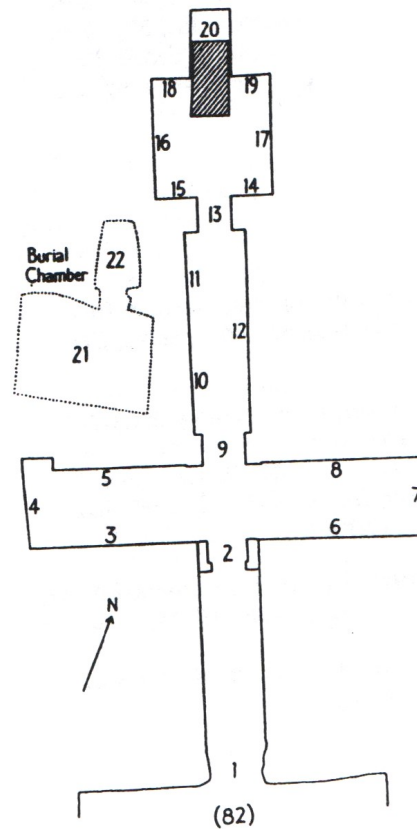


Figure 13: Plan of TT 82 (PM I.1², 160)

The layout of this tomb follows the standard T-shaped tomb of the early 18th Dynasty, with an extended entrance way and a square chamber at the back (Fig. 13). Kampp argues that either *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 15) usurped a Middle Kingdom grave corridor or

mimicked elements of Middle Kingdom structures in TT 82's construction (1996, 328). The entrance shaft to the burial chamber of *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, which is located in the square chamber's floor (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 11), could be Middle Kingdom in date (Kampp 1996, 329). Kampp notes another burial shaft in the forecourt that, based on its brickwork and mortar, is likely to have also been associated with the burial of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (1996, 328–9). The transverse hall contains two further burial chambers that were hollowed out at a later date; the recess between scenes 4 and 5 was similarly intrusive (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 11). The decoration within the tomb was painted on a plaster layer, some of which was moulded in high relief, such as the scene above the niche in the square chamber. Incised elements are limited to the entrance doorways, which were made of blocks of limestone and/or sandstone (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 12).

The tomb appears to have been reused and was also robbed in antiquity (1915, 24, 110), with further damage caused by Atenists and Coptic monks and by modern theft, especially to the northern part of the transverse hall (1915, 24–5). Loss of iconography to what appears to have been a finished tomb chapel includes a scene on either side of the niche showing an offering table (1915, 102), the fishing and fowling scene (no. 8), and statues in the niche. N. M. Davies and Gardiner argued that these statues would have shown *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14; 1915, 11), but this remains speculative; these cases have not been included. Similarly, while N. M. Davies and Gardiner noted traces of figures on the entrance doorway (1915, 11), Kampp states that the first passage is undecorated (1996, 326) and so it is unclear if any female figures were included in these areas. Moreover, N. M. Davies and Gardiner suggested that the transverse hall ceiling text D included *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s mother, *Int=f I* (PSN 29), in

the damaged space before his father in the filiation formula (1915, 42). However, this is so uncertain that it has been excluded from this analysis.

Despite these losses, TT 82 still contains a considerable amount of data for the representation of women, including the highest number of named female relatives (39) in this case study. This is in part because *Imn-m-ḥ3t* appears to have commissioned a number of artefacts for his tomb that name female relatives, including three funerary cones (nos. 46, 129, and 379, A.1.2), at least three magic bricks (A.1.5), and a stelophorous statue (A.1.14). He also left a graffito in TT 60 (A.1.4) and a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12).

TT 122: *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* and *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, Overseers of the Magazine of Amun

Date: Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM I.1², 235–6 (plan 232); Gardiner and Weigall 1913; Polz 1990; Kampp 1996; Shirley 2005; 2010b (partial publication); Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014

This tomb contained a forecourt that is no longer visible, a façade, and a passage that has a square chamber at the back (Fig. 14). Kampp tentatively suggests that this tomb was an adapted Middle Kingdom grave corridor (1996, 412; see also Kampp-Seyfried 2003, 5; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 268, 272). The passage has three smaller chapels added to its left-hand side, the second of which was then cut into by the later creation of the unfinished and subsequently usurped TT 58 (Gardiner and Weigall 1913, 20; Davies and Gardiner 1915, 33). An intrusive chamber was also cut out of the right-hand side of the passage, but the tomb does not appear to have been usurped. The rear chamber of the tomb was left unfinished and gridlines are visible in many of the scenes (Shirley 2010b, 279, 288), showing that this tomb complex was not completed.

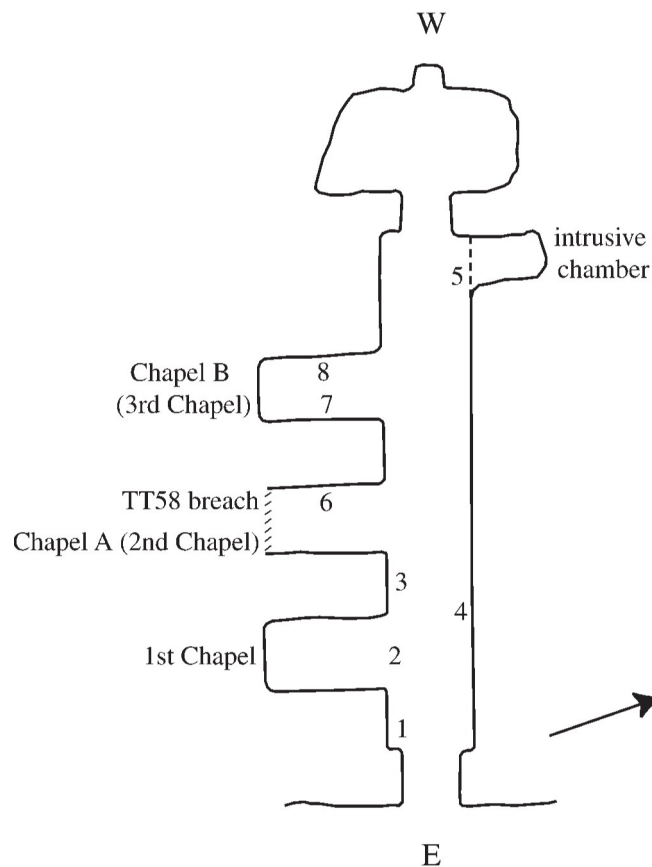


Figure 14: Plan of TT 122 (Shirley 2010b, 273, fig. 1)

The rock quality of this tomb was poor and was further compounded by an earthquake that damaged the façade and forecourt. This earthquake was probably the same one which damaged TT 61 (Kampp 1996, 412; Shirley 2010b, 272; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 266). Similarities in decoration between TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, and TT 122 further support the contemporaneity of these structures (Shirley 2010b, 279, 295 n.23) and strengthen the inter-relationships between these monuments. The tomb's uncompleted nature and the damage to it mean that only a few scenes are available for analysis, which combined with the low publication levels for this tomb makes the investigation into the representation of female relatives challenging yet nevertheless important for exploring the extent of this family group (for those figures who are not shown in the Plates see Shirley 2010b).

The ownership of this tomb has caused considerable debate since this tomb appears to have been owned by two individuals: *Imn/Nfr-ḥtp* (PSN 114) owned the passage and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 109) the chapels. Their relationship with each other as well as with the wider family of *ʿ3-m-ḥw* (PSN 66) is not entirely certain (see §2.1.1). The relationship between the side-chapels and the passage was similarly unknown until the systematic study of the decoration by Shirley (2010b). In order to be painted, the walls in this tomb required a mud plaster base-coat. The overlapping layers of paint and plaster on the boundaries between the chapels and passage allowed Shirley to determine the order of decoration. She concludes that the chapels were part of the planned architecture of the tomb and were built either before or in conjunction with the decoration of the passage (2010b, 273, 277–8). The tomb is very damaged but there is no direct evidence for replastering or modification of the scenes, suggesting that *Imn-m-ḥ3t* ‘was not only a “legitimate” user of TT 122, but was likely intended as such, providing an example of planned “tomb-sharing”’ (2010b, 284, 291 [quote]). The chapels’ decoration, when taken holistically, fulfils the standard decoration of other contemporaneous tombs, ‘constitut[ing] an essentially complete tomb environment’ for *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (2010b, 291).

No burial shafts have been found but this tomb complex has not been fully excavated (Shirley 2010b, 272). A funerary cone was found in the first chapel of TT 122 and names *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110; no. 522, A.1.2). Sandstone relief fragments, which were probably originally door jambs, have also been found in this tomb (A.1.7).

TT 228: *Imn-ms*, Scribe of the Treasury of Amun

Date: Tuthmosis III–Amenhotep II

Main sources: PM I.1², 327; Gardiner and Weigall 1913; Kampp 1996; Dziobek 1998
(no full publication)

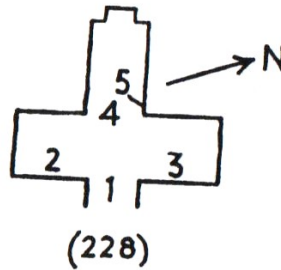


Figure 15: Plan of TT 228 (PM I.1², 326)

The tomb follows the standard T-shape, with a small entrance way leading to a transverse hall with a passage and small niche at the back (Fig. 15). Based on a ceiling inscription, this small tomb appears to have belonged to a man named *Imn-ms*, who is identified as a son of *ʿ3-m-tw* (PSN 66) through the filiation formula *ir.n imy-r niwt t3ty* [*ʿ3-m*]-*t*[*w*] ‘whom the overseer of the city, vizier, [*ʿ3-m*]-*t*[*w*], begot’ (Dziobek 1998, 108). The tomb is very damaged and has only been partially published. The proposed dating follows that of Gardiner and Weigall (1913, 36–7). Kampp suggests that TT 228 was usurped in Ramesside times, particularly in the passage, and had suffered damage by Atenists (1996, 505–6). The survey of scenes in Porter and Moss noted that the tomb contained a banquet scene with girls serving female guests (no. 3; I.1², 327–8), which suggests that the tomb could have represented female relatives. However, given the current lack of publication, the iconography in this tomb is not analysed further here.

TT 100: *Rḥ-mi-rʿ*, Vizier and Governor of the Town

Date: Tuthmosis III–Amenhotep II

Main sources: PM I.1², 206–14; *Urk.* IV, 1071–175; Virey 1889; Newberry 1900; Gardiner 1925; N. de G. Davies et al. 1935; N. de G. Davies 1940; 1943 (full publication); Kampp 1996; Hodel-Hoenes 2000; G. B. Johnson 2003; Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014

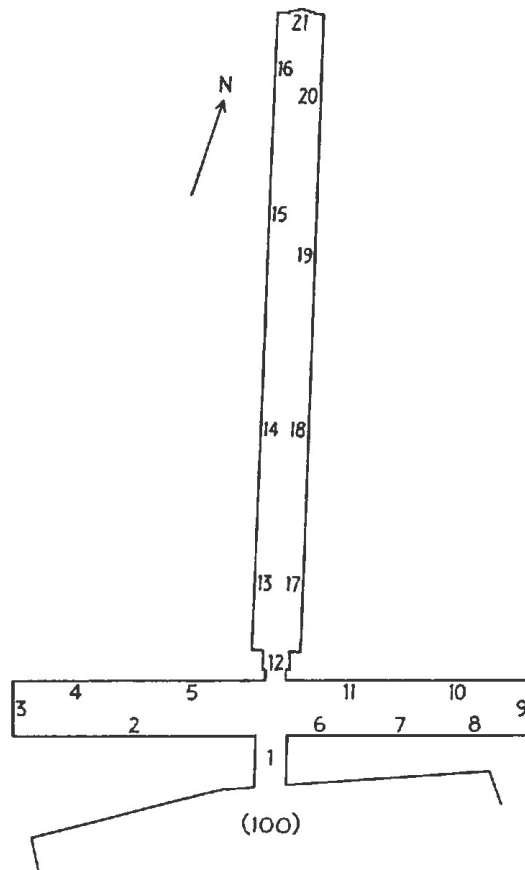


Figure 16: Plan of TT 100 (PM I.1², 208)

TT 100 was a new 18th Dynasty structure (N. de G. Davies 1943, 5). It begins with a courtyard and a façade leading into a standard T-shape tomb, comprising a transverse hall and passage (Fig. 16). The roof of the latter breaks convention by sloping upwards to over 8 m in height (1943, 5), resulting in a total of roughly 750 square yards of wall space (G. B. Johnson 2003, 30). The courtyard and façade were probably decorated with plaster and then painted, but this has subsequently been lost (Newberry 1900, 21). The internal decoration was also painted; the only incised elements are the lintel and door jambs between the transverse hall and the passage, which were cut into the native rock,

and the false door at the end of the passage, which was made of granite (Newberry 1900, 21; N. de G. Davies 1943, 8, 10).

Overall, the painting in this tomb was of a high standard and was uniform, suggesting that it was executed by one painter or group of painters (Newberry 1900, 11). The only exception is scene 18 where the banquet guests have been stretched out of proportion in order to make them the same size as the standing serving figures (N. de G. Davies 1943, 63). Nevertheless, the attention to detail in the administrative scenes (no. 4) and innovative features, such as the serving girl in three-quarter view (scene 18), make this tomb's style unique (Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 142). TT 100, similar to TT 131, also forms part of the subgroup of tombs within this necropolis that include the *Duties* and *Installation of the Vizier* texts (N. de G. Davies 1943, 13, 84, 88–9; Faulkner 1955; van den Boorn 1982; 1988; 1991).

The iconography was finished and was not usurped but it was damaged considerably. The most visible damage was caused by a *damnatio memoriae* that systematically removed the representations of *Rḥ-mi-rꜥ* (PSN 62) and often those depicted spatially near to him (e.g. scenes 16 and 20). Not only were these elements hacked out, but red paint was then applied over the top in a few cases (N. de G. Davies 1943, 7), similar to the much earlier *damnatio memoriae* in TT 60 (N. de G. Davies et al. 1920, 6). In addition, Atenists appear to have removed all mention of the deities Amun and Mut, as well as the images of leopard-skinned priests (N. de G. Davies 1943, 7).

Some of these elements, such as the caption of the offering son in scene 17, appear to have been restored, albeit incorrectly, after the Amarna period (1943, 65). Moreover, the costumes of the Aegean tribute bearers in scene 4 appear to have been altered after *Rḥ-mi-rꜥ*. Whether this denotes a change from Minoan to Mycenaean

ethnicity in the figures—which has been used to suggest that the tomb was initially painted when Tuthmosis III died and then altered with respect to this scene once the Mycenaeans conquered Crete and began trading directly with Egypt (Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 146; see also Mendoza 2015, 404)—is unclear (Matić 2014; Anthony 2017, 79–80). Nonetheless, these alterations arguably highlight a desire to maintain TT 100's social relevance.

This is further emphasised by the presence of later intrusive burials, including two shafts leading to sarcophagus chambers that were found in the passage floor by the Giza Museum in 1894, but no remains were found within (Newberry 1900, 21). Six further shafts were discovered in the tomb in addition to shafts in the left-hand corner of the courtyard and the southern part of the façade. These were probably intrusive to the original complex (N. de G. Davies 1943, 6), although Kampp makes no firm decision about the matter (1996, 372). No human remains have been found in this tomb (G. B. Johnson 2003, 30).

From at least 1833 until 1889, when the tomb was cleared and a door installed, the tomb was used as a stable and living space (2003, 30). During this inhabitation, a second door was cut into the southern wall, the northern wall was covered with a thin layer of yellow paint, and the ceiling leaked (2003, 36). The tomb iconography has also suffered damage due to natural causes such as faults in the rock and the plaster stucco (Gardiner 1925, 62; N. de G. Davies 1940, 115). Modern restoration attempts in 1939 resulted in further damage to the images and texts (N. de G. Davies 1940, 115). As a result, it is likely that the representation of female relatives was more extensive in this tomb; for example, in the now very damaged fishing and fowling scene (no. 11). Despite the damage it has suffered, TT 100 remains one of the most complete tombs to

have survived in Sheikh Abd El-Qurna and includes 21 women, making this tomb a key source for the self-presentation of this family.

The back wall of the statue niche, which is located at the top of the back wall of the passage, contains offering formulae for *Rh-mi-r*^c and a wife, leading N. de G. Davies to argue that the niche would have held a double statue group of this couple, which has subsequently been lost (1943, 11). This wife is presumably *Mryt* (PSN 63), but this is not explicitly stated. Since no more details of these elements are published, they have not been included in this analysis. The granite false door underneath the niche is now housed in the Louvre (C. 74) and so was available for study. It has been included as a scene (no. 21) rather than an artefact since it was originally an integral part of the tomb's internal architecture and iconographic programme, and was reproduced as such by N. de G. Davies (see pl. 144; §1.5.2).

C. 15: Name Unknown, Overseer of the Two Houses of Gold, Overseer of the Two Houses of Silver

Date: 18th Dynasty

Main sources: PM I.1², 460; Lepsius MS 352 [middle and lower]; Manniche 1988 (no full publication)

This tomb appears to have been first documented by Lepsius (tomb no. 61), who noted the presence of the titles of the deceased and the 'name Neferweben [PSN 65], son of 'Amethu [PSN 66] (TT 83)' (MS 352; see also PM I.1², 460; Manniche 1988, 61). C. 15 was most likely connected to this Theban family cluster, but so little is now known about this tomb that it has not been included in this analysis. No plan of this tomb exists

and its location in the Theban necropolis is noted as ‘probably in plain’ (PM I.1², 460; Lepsius MS 352; Manniche 1988, 61).

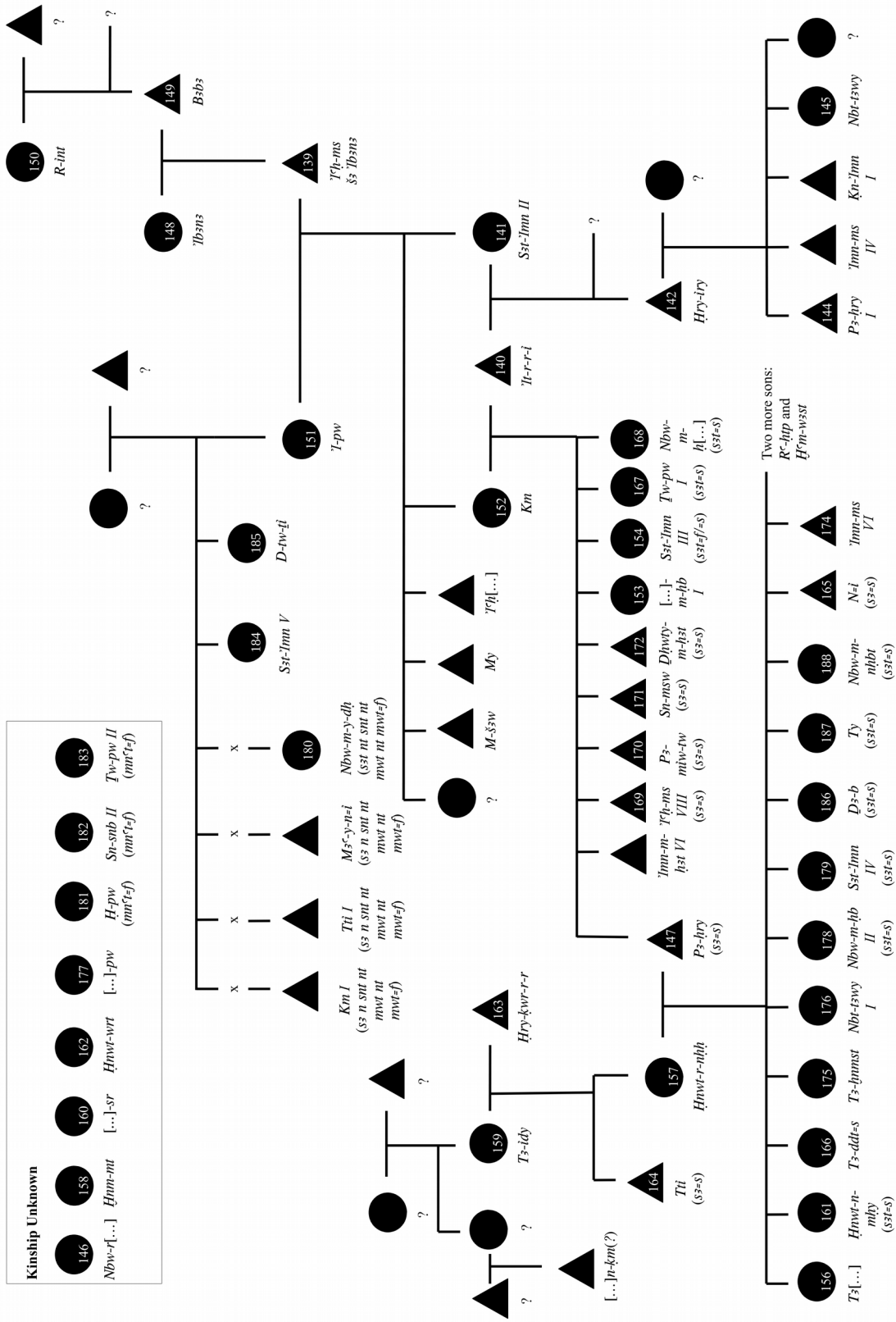
2.2 El-Kab Case Study

2.2.1 *The Individuals*

***Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* (Kinship Diagram 5)**

The family of *Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* (PSN 139) is shown in both his own tomb (EK 5) and that of his grandson the mayor *P3-ḥry* (PSN 147; EK 3). It has also been studied by W. V. Davies (2009), whose work formed the basis for Kinship Diagram 5. *Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* was born to *Tb3n3* (PSN 148) and *B3b3* (PSN 149), whose mother was named *R-int* (PSN 150). Whether *Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* had any siblings is unknown. He married a woman named *T-pw* (PSN 151), whose family is also detailed in EK 3. *T-pw* had at least two sisters named *S3t-Imn V* (PSN 184) and *D-tw-ti* (PSN 185). *Nbw-m-y-dḥ* (PSN 180) is termed *s3t n snt nt mwt nt mwt=f* ‘daughter of the sister of the mother of his (*P3-ḥry*)’s mother’ in scene 12–15 but it is unclear which sister of *T-pw* was her mother. Three sister’s sons of *T-pw* are also mentioned in this scene, including *Km I*, *Tti I*, and *M3ḥ-y-n=i*. *T-pw* and *Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* had at least five children, including at least two daughters, *Km* (PSN 152) and *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141), and three sons named *M-sḥw*, *My*, and *Tḥ[...]*. It is possible that another daughter of theirs is shown in EK 5 scene 3.

Km and *S3t-Imn II* appear to have both married the same man: a royal tutor named *It-r-r-i* (PSN 140). It is unclear if these marriages were simultaneous or successive but W. V. Davies notes that these alliances were strategic for both families (2009, 152; see also Allon and Navratilova 2017, 16; Jones 2018). It appears that a brother of *It-r-r-i* was included in EK 3 scene 18, but this man has been excluded from Kinship Diagram 5 since he does not relate to the representation of female relatives in



Kinship Diagram 5: The family of Ṭḥ-m-s ṣ3 Ṭb3n3 (author 2020)

this family cluster. *S3t-Imn II* and *Tt-r-r-i* had a son named *Hry-iry* (PSN 142), who in turn married a woman whose name is lost (EK 5 scene 2). Whether *Hry-iry* had any siblings is unknown. *Hry-iry* and his wife had at least five children, including at least one daughter named *Nbt-t3wy* (PSN 145), and three sons named *P3-hry I* (PSN 144), *Imn-ms IV*, and *Kn-Imn I*. It is possible that another daughter of this couple, whose caption is lost, is shown next to *Nbt-t3wy* in EK 5 scene 2. A woman named *Nbw-r[...]* (PSN 146), who is also shown in this group of women, may have also been a daughter of *Hry-iry* but her kinship term is unknown. W. V. Davies favours this interpretation (2009, 152), but this is very uncertain and so *Nbw-r[...]* has been included in the Kinship Unknown section and is included in Catalogue C.5.

Km and *Tt-r-r-i* had four daughters: [...]-*m-hb I* (PSN 153), *S3t-Imn III* (PSN 154), *Tw-pw I* (PSN 167), and *Nbw-m-h[...]* (PSN 168); and six sons: *Imn-m-h3t VI*, *Tc-h-ms VIII* (PSN 169), *P3-miw-tw* (PSN 170), *Sn-msw* (PSN 171), *Dhwty-m-h3t* (PSN 172), and *P3-hry* (PSN 147). It is possible that *Tw-pw I*, *Nbw-m-h[...]*, *S3t-Imn III*, *Tc-h-ms VIII*, *P3-miw-tw*, *Sn-msw*, and *Dhwty-m-h3t* were only the children of *Km* (see below). The son, *P3-hry*, is the owner of the second tomb in this family cluster: EK 3. *P3-hry* married a woman named *Hnwt-r-nhh* (PSN 157), whose family is included in EK 3. Her parents were *T3-idy* (PSN 159) and *Hry-kwr-r-r* (PSN 163) and she had a brother named *Tti* (PSN 164; he may have been a half-brother, see below). A man named [...]*n-km(?)* is included in scene 16 with the title *s3 n snt nt mwt nt hmt=f* ‘son of the sister of the mother of his (*P3-hry*’s) wife’ but it is unclear who the sister of *T3-idy* was.

P3-hry and *Hnwt-r-nhh* also appear to have had an extensive family, namely four sons: *N=i* (PSN 165), *Imn-ms VI* (PSN 174), *Rc-htp*, and *Hcm-w3st*; and ten daughters: *T3[...]* (PSN 156), *Hnwt-n-mhy* (PSN 161), *T3-ddt=s* (PSN 166), *T3-hnmst* (PSN 175), *Nbt-t3wy I* (PSN 176), *Nbw-m-hb II* (PSN 178), *S3t-Imn IV* (PSN 179), *D3-b* (PSN 186),

Ty (PSN 187), and *Nbw-m-nḥbt* (PSN 188). It is possible that *N=i*, *Ḥnwt-n-mḥy*, *Nbw-m-ḥb II*, *S3t-Imn IV*, *D3-b*, *Ty*, and *Nbw-m-nḥbt* were only children of *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ* (see below). Due to the placement of *N=i* and *Ḥnwt-n-mḥy* in EK 3 scene 7–8, they may be children of *T3-idy* and *Ḥry-ḳwr-r-r* instead. However, it is more likely that they are the children of the main couple in this scene: *P3-ḥry* and *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ*. The same logic has been applied to the banquet guests in scene 12–15.

There are a number of female figures whose kinship relationship with the family of *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* is either not stated (textually) in the iconography or is now unknown due to damage. These women are included in the Kinship Unknown section: *Ḥnm-mt* (PSN 158), [...] *-sr* (PSN 160), *Ḥnwt-wrt* (PSN 162), and [...] *-pw* (PSN 177; see below); as well as three women who have the title *mn^ct=f* in EK 3 scene 12–15: *Ḥ-pw* (PSN 181), *Sn-snb II* (PSN 182), and *Tw-pw II* (PSN 183).

Across these two tombs, there are nine women termed *s3t=s*: *Tw-pw I*, *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]*, *S3t-Imn III*, *Ḥnwt-n-mḥy*, *Nbw-m-ḥb II*, *S3t-Imn IV*, *D3-b*, *Ty*, and *Nbw-m-nḥbt*. The first three women are daughters of *Km*, while the remaining women are daughters of *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ*. Similarly, *Tti*, *Tḥ-ms VIII*, *Sn-msw*, *P3-miw-tw*, *Dḥwty-m-ḥ3t*, and *N=i* have the term *s3=s*. The former is a son of *T3-idy*, the latter is a son of *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ*, and the remaining men are sons of *Km*. Almost all of these children are consistently termed *s3/t=s*, which suggests that they were children from a previous marriage of *Km/Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ/T3-idy* (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 4). If they were children of *It-r-r-i/P3-ḥry/Ḥry-ḳwr-r-r*, then the term *s3/t=f* would be expected considering the male dominated nature of kinship terming in funerary iconography (Robins 1994).

However, one child, *S3t-Imn III*, has both kinship designations: she is termed *s3t=f* in EK 5 scene 3 but *s3t=s* in EK 3 scene 18. Moreover, *P3-ḥry* is termed *s3=s* in EK 3 scene 18, despite including *It-r-r-i* in filiation formula in scene 10–11. This sheds

doubt on the biological interpretation of these kinship terms. Whale suggests that the term *s3/t=s* was used to distinguish the children of *It-r-r-i* with *Km* from those he had with *S3t-Imn II* since these two women were married to the same man (1989, 5). While this may be plausible, the fact that this term was not applied consistently to *S3t-Imn III* and *P3-hry* suggests that another reason, not based on genealogical interpretations, may be more suitable. Perhaps the application of these terms was a conscious iconographic decision to relate these children via their mother, thereby emphasising her motherhood in the scene (see §5.2). Due to this uncertainty, *It-r-r-i/P3-hry/Hry-kwr-r-r* have been taken as the fathers of these children in Kinship Diagram 5 but the term *s3/t=s* has been included for clarification.

Overall, the very specific kinship terming practices in this case study, particularly in EK 3, make the kinship relationships between these individuals fairly easy to discern. However, a few further clarifications are needed. This family appears to include two individuals with the name *P3-hry*. One of these men was the son of *Km* and *It-r-r-i*, and the owner of EK 3: the mayor *P3-hry* (PSN 147). The other *P3-hry (I)* was the son of *Hry-iry* (PSN 142) and a wife whose name is lost. *Hry-iry* was in turn a son of *S3t-Imn II* and *It-r-r-i*, making *P3-hry I* the ‘half-nephew’ of the mayor *P3-hry* (W. V. Davies 2009, 153, fig. 13). In EK 5 scene 3, there is a man named *P3-hry* who has the title of ‘scribe who reckons the grain’ and the kinship term *s3=f*, apparently in relation to *Km* and *It-r-r-i*. While it is possible that this couple had another son with the same name, it is more likely that this is another representation of *P3-hry* (PSN 147) in this scene with an additional title (for this title in EK 3 see scene 5–6; W. V. Davies 2009, 142). The same thing arguably happens in EK 5 scene 2, which depicts two figures both named *P3-hry* and termed as a son of *Hry-iry*, and in EK 3 scene 17, which shows two figures both named *Imn-ms* and termed as a son of *P3-hry*.

In contrast, Whale claims that the *P3-ḥry* in EK 5 was actually a son of *S3t-Imn II* and *It-r-r-i* and that he presented himself as a son of *Hry-iry* in scene 2 because he moved into *Hry-iry*'s household after their parents died (1989, 5). The reasoning behind this interpretation is not clear and Whale makes a number of errors in her readings of the scenes. For example, she claims that the wife of *It-r-r-i* in EK 5 scene 3 is missing when it is clearly written *Km* (1989, 4). Therefore, there is little reason to follow her kinship model for this family (W. V. Davies 2009, 152 n.35).

Damage to names in these tombs makes the identity of some figures unclear. In EK 3 this includes the daughter of *P3-ḥry* named *T3[...]* in scene 7–8, who could be either *T3-ddt=s* (e.g. scene 16) or *T3-ḥnmst* (e.g. scene 17), and the woman named [...]-*pw* in scene 12–15, who could be the sister of *P3-ḥry* named *Tw-pw I*. Tylor and Griffith restore some of the captions in scene 7–8: the first woman's name is given as 'Ta-khenemset'; the name of the figure behind her as 'Ta-tetetes'; and that of the third figure as 'Neb-tai'. They further claim that the fourth smaller figure was a granddaughter of *P3-ḥry* (1895, 9, pl. 5). These restorations are said to have been based on 'older copies' (1895, 9), but no further details are provided. Given the inconsistencies in the restorations—the first woman is left as *T3[...]* in pl. 6—this thesis analyses these scenes as they are currently preserved. As a result, it is unclear in these two cases whether the figure with a damaged name is a representation of another named woman within this tomb and so they have been included as separate individuals. In EK 5 scene 3, there is a daughter of *Km* and *It-r-r-i* named *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]*, while in EK 3 scene 18 there is a daughter of this couple named [...]-*m-ḥb I*. While it is possible that these two figures are the same person, since this family contains a number of individuals with very similar names—e.g. *Nbw-r[...]*, *Nbw-m-ḥb II*, *Nbw-m-y-dḥ*, and *Nbw-m-nḥbt*—they have also been taken as separate individuals.

The main differences between W. V. Davies' study (2009) and Kinship Diagram 5 arise out of these damaged names and/or kinship terms. For example, W. V. Davies takes *Nbw-m-h*[...] and [...] *-m-hb I* as the same person and restores *Tw-pw* for [...] *-pw* (2009, 148, 152; see also Tylor and Griffith 1895, 16). Kinship Diagram 5 is one possible interpretation of this family.

2.2.2 *The Monuments*

The site of El-Kab has been studied by Egyptologists since the early 19th century. Early excavations focused on the extensive town and temple sites by the Nile and in the wadi (e.g. Sayce and Clarke 1905), while Tylor, Griffith, and Clarke were the first to publish the rock-cut tombs in the necropolis (Tylor and Griffith 1895; Clarke and Tylor 1896; Clarke et al. 1900).

While burials in the town date back to the Pre-Dynastic Period (PM V, 175), the nearby hill was used for rock-cut tombs from the Old Kingdom onwards (W. V. Davies 2016). This necropolis lies to the north of the town and is visible from on top of the town walls (Fig. 17; Quibell 1898, 2); the tombs EK 3 and EK 5 are particularly visible since they also face towards the Nile floodplain (Fig. 18). The El-Kab necropolis is considerably smaller than Sheikh Abd El-Qurna and Quibell noted that later tombs often quarried out earlier tombs at the site in order to make room for new ones (1898, 2). Indeed, EK 3 was cut into at a later date in order to create two chambers and a mummy pit, causing damage to the offering table in scene 12–15, and the floor was quarried for stone (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 1, 14–5).

The tombs in the necropolis at El-Kab are an excellent example of scene-copying, both internally and with Theban tombs. For example, Laboury notes parallels between the agricultural and administrative scenes in the 18th Dynasty TT A4 (PM I.1²,

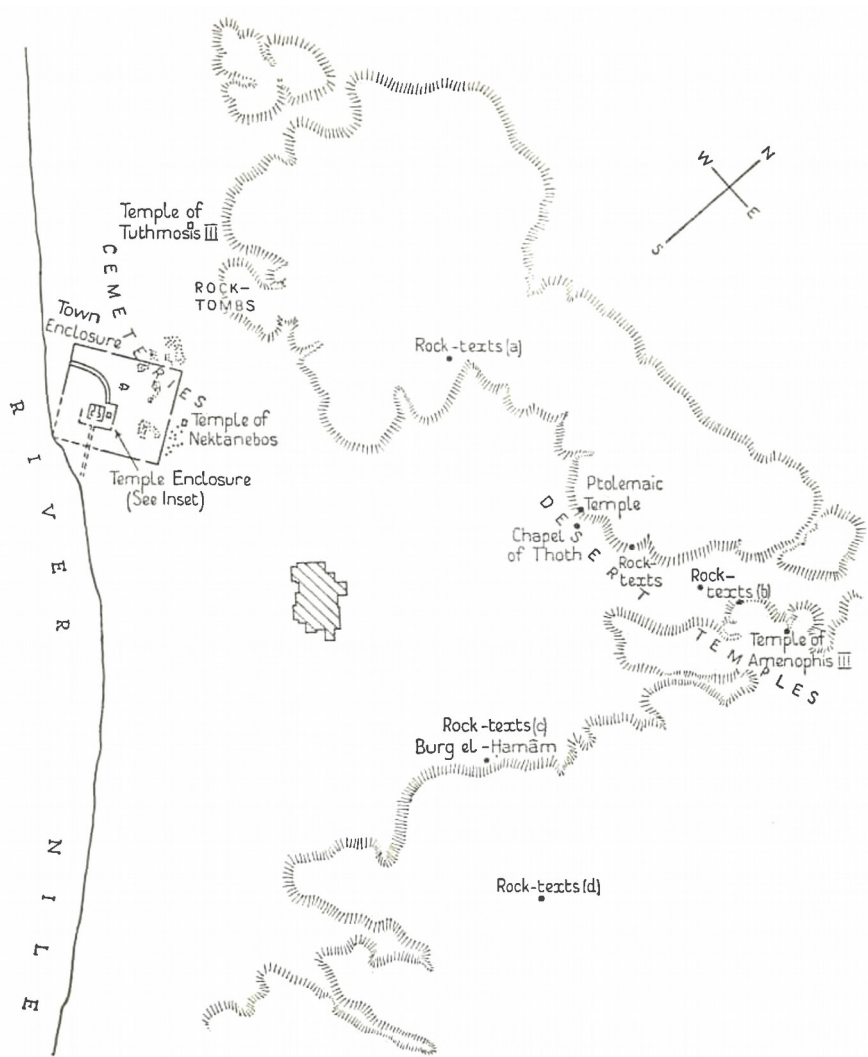


Figure 17: Map of El-Kab (after PM V, 172)

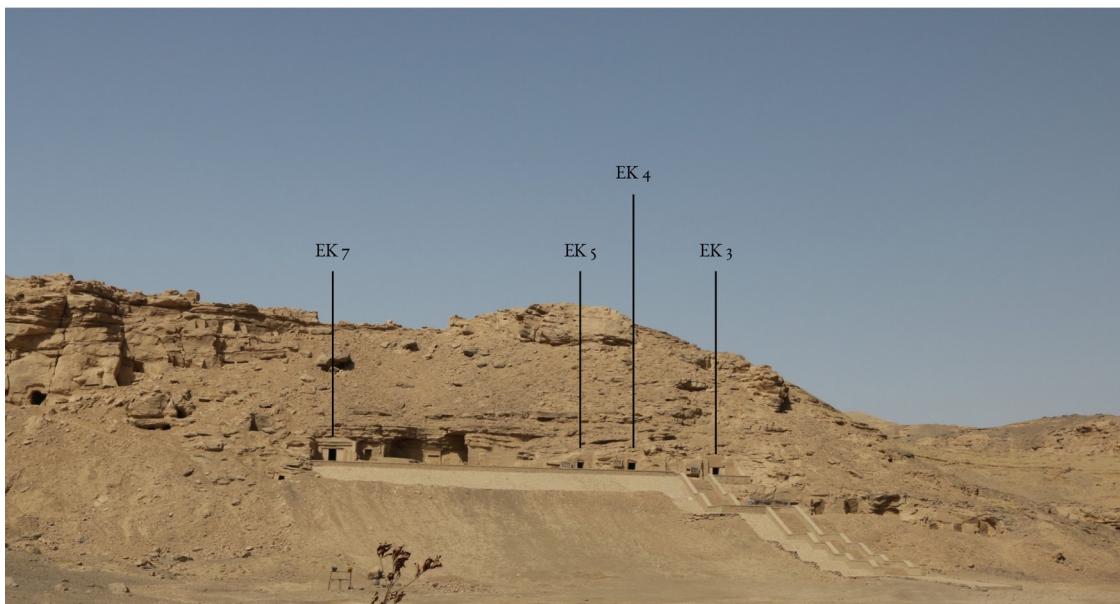


Figure 18: Photograph of El-Kab necropolis with tombs highlighted (author 2018)

447–8; Manniche 1988, 62–87) and EK 3 (Laboury 2017, 241–2; see also 2012, 203–4; Hartwig 2004, 13 n.67, 45 n.71; W. V. Davies 2009, 153 n.37; Merzeban 2014, 350–4). One of *P3-ḥry*'s titles is *sš-ḳdwt* 'scribe of forms', perhaps suggesting that he started his career decorating tombs, potentially including TT A4, before becoming mayor of El-Kab and obtaining a tomb of his own, in which he then reused elements and motifs from his earlier commissions (Laboury 2017, 242; Devillers 2018, 44). Alternatively, Merzeban draws on the similarity in titles between the two tomb owners as a possible cause for the copying of iconographic elements (2014, 352, 357). *P3-ḥry*'s tomb is further linked to other Theban tombs through *P3-ḥry*'s autobiographical text (scene 10–11), parts of which are copied word for word from 'two almost contemporary tombs of Thebes, ie. TT 24, of Nebamun, and TT 127, of Senemiah' (Laboury 2017, 241). Moreover, Diamond notes parallels in the sacred district between EK 3, TT 122, and TT 244, further comparing the scene in EK 3 to the funeral scenes in TT 82 and TT 100 (2012, 100, 103; see also Manniche 1988, 74–86). Therefore, the necropoleis at El-Kab and Sheikh Abd El-Qurna were closely related stylistically, particularly in the early–mid 18th Dynasty. In fact, Diamond argues that the rectangular tombs at El-Kab functioned in a similar way to the passages in the Theban T-shaped tomb chapels (2012, 110). It is for these reasons that these two sites have been selected for this analysis, enabling a comparison between female relatives in two geographically distinct but comparable data-sets (see also Shirley 2014, 245).

Further parallels between the tombs at El-Kab are present, such as the sacred district scene in EK 3 that was later copied in the Ramesside tomb of Setau (EK 4; Diamond 2012, 105). Similarities also exist between the early 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep I) tomb of Renni (EK 7; Fig. 18), EK 3, and EK 4, particularly their offering table and banquet scenes (Devillers 2018, 39–44), and it is notable that all of these tomb owners

chose to place their tombs along the same ridge in the necropolis (Fig. 18). According to Devillers,

the main goal of this copy was probably to connect himself [*P3-ḥry*] with an ancient governor of El-Kab [Renni] (by reusing some iconographic patterns and by his tomb's location) and to integrate his tomb in the monumental landscape of Elkab's elite cemetery (notably by the localisation of his tomb and by its general iconographic layout)

(2018, 44)

The copying in EK 4 can also be seen the same light (Diamond 2012, 108), further highlighting the close iconographic relationships between the tombs in this necropolis, as tomb owners attempted to place themselves within this elite official community through the similarities in their tomb placement and iconographic programmes (Den Doncker 2017).

A close relationship can also be argued for the tombs of *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* and *P3-ḥry* beyond their familial connections. Based on his autobiographical text, *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* was a youth when Ahmose I came to power (l. 1–6; *Urk.* IV, 1–3; Loret 1910; Schulz 1995), meaning that he probably died around age 60 during the reign of Tuthmosis II (W. V. Davies 2009, 140 n.6). Towards the end of this biographical text, however, *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* claims to have built his tomb by himself (l. 40; *Urk.* IV, 10.9), which W. V. Davies dates stylistically to the reign of Tuthmosis III (2009, 141). This would mean that *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* died around age 60–70 (2009, 140 n.6). To the left of the biographical text is a pictorial depiction of *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* together with his grandson, the mayor *P3-ḥry*. *P3-ḥry*'s caption begins with the phrase *in s3 n s3t=f ḥrp k3wt m is-pn m sḥnḥ rn it mwt=f* 'it was the son of his daughter who directed the works in this tomb, causing the name of the father of his mother to live', suggesting that this tomb was actually built by *P3-ḥry*, probably with the help of *Ḥry-iry*, who has a similar phrase in scene 2 (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 3; W. V. Davies 2009, 140–1).

The tomb of *P3-hry* is also dated stylistically to Tuthmosis III by W. V. Davies (2009, 141; see also Tylor and Griffith 1895, 2) and was therefore probably built alongside the tomb of *Tch-ms s3 Tb3n3*. The iconographic programmes of these two tombs are distinct: the tomb of *Tch-ms s3 Tb3n3* focuses on *Hry-iry*'s side of the family, excluding the immediate family of *P3-hry*, who naturally form the focus of his nearby tomb instead. Based on this, W. V. Davies argues that these two tombs were meant 'to be viewed as a unity, as a complementary presentation of family achievement and continuity' (2009, 154). He further suggests that other nearby tombs, now too damaged to study, may have also been associated with this family group (2009, 154). Perhaps this family cluster was originally more comparable in extent to the Theban cluster.

EK 5: *Tch-ms s3 Tb3n3*, Chief of Sailors

Date: Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM V, 182; *Urk.* IV, 1–11, 128 no. 49; W. V. Davies 2009 (no full publication)

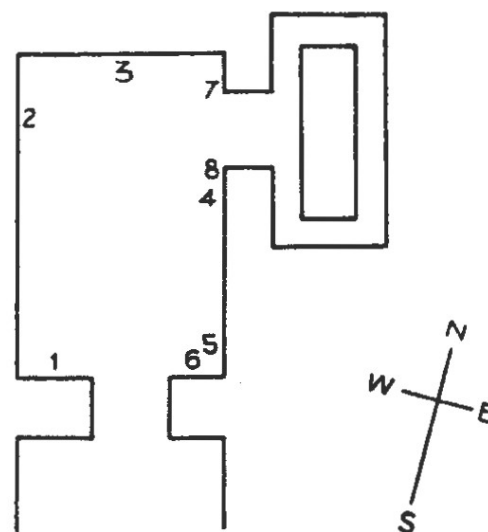


Figure 19: Plan of EK 5 (PM V, 178)

The tomb of *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* consists of a small courtyard and a façade, leading into a single decorated rectangular room with a vaulted ceiling and an undecorated subterranean burial chamber accessed via a doorway in the north-eastern corner, following the standard layout for El-Kab at the start of the New Kingdom (Fig. 19; W. V. Davies 2009, 139–40). The tomb walls appear to have been plastered and then draft outlines were drawn in red paint. The pictorial figures in scene 4–5 were carved in raised relief and painted, while scenes 2 and 3 were only carved in raised relief; captions were carved in sunken relief. The façade was carved in sunken raised relief and no traces of paint are visible.

As this variety of materiality suggests, this tomb was left unfinished. The most finished areas include the façade, the biographical text in scene 4–5, and the scenes showing *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3*'s family (nos. 2 and 3; W. V. Davies 2009, 141). The tomb has suffered damage, particularly to the entrance, ceiling, and scenes 2 and 3. The current floor is also modern (2009, 140). The upper register of scene 3 was left unfinished and it is not clear what (if anything) was meant to be depicted there. The term *hmt* is visible in draft form but it is unclear if this is a kinship term. W. V. Davies suggests that this register might have been meant to contain a parallel offering scene, perhaps including *Tḥ-ms s3 Ib3n3* offering to his parents so as to continue the genealogical sequence in the below registers (2009, 148), but this is uncertain. Despite this loss of iconography, nine named women are preserved in this tomb, enabling a comparison of female relatives.

EK 3: *P3-hry*, Mayor of El-Kab and Hierakonpolis

Date: Tuthmosis III

Main sources: PM V, 177–81; *Urk.* IV, 109–28, 135 no. 53A; Tylor and Griffith 1895 (full publication); Keersmaecker 2005; Leprohon 2013; Devillers 2018

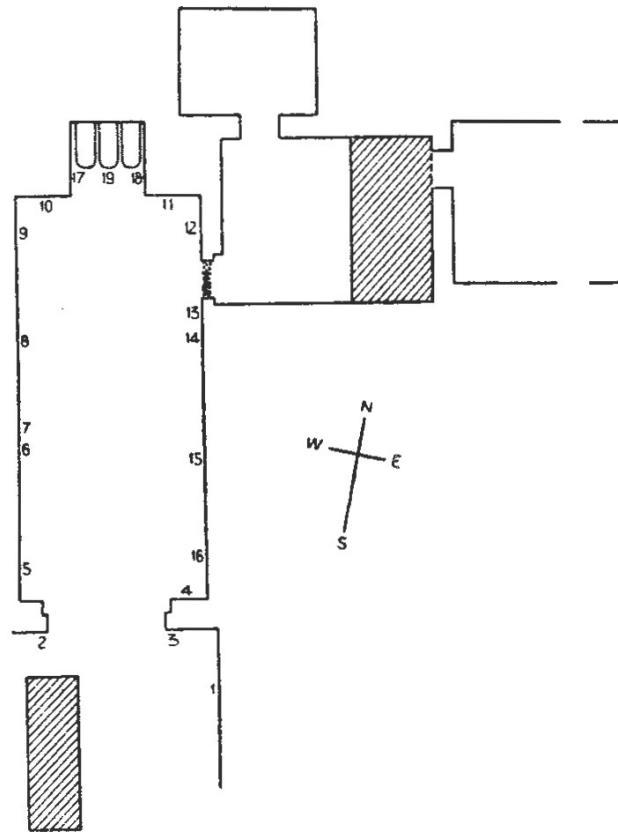


Figure 20: Plan of EK 3 (PM V, 178)

This tomb was first recorded in 1799 during Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 2) and has been frequently visited by modern tourists since then (Keersmaecker 2005). The tomb originally consisted of a courtyard and a façade, leading into a single decorated rectangular room with a vaulted ceiling and a niche that has statues carved out of the living rock, following the standard layout for El-Kab in the early New Kingdom (Fig. 20; W. V. Davies 2009, 139–40). The eastern chambers were added at a later date (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 1, 14–5) and were themselves intruded upon by the construction of the nearby tomb of Ahmose-Panekhbet (PM V, 176–7). A mummy pit was discovered in the forecourt of EK 3 but it is uncertain whether this was contemporary with *P3-hry*’s use of the space (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 23).

The decoration within the tomb was carved in raised relief and painted, while the texts were mostly carved in sunken relief and painted. The façade was carved in sunken

raised relief and no traces of paint are visible. Overall, the iconography in this tomb is very well preserved and only a few small areas have been lost. For example, damage to the offering and seated figures in scene 7–8 make it unclear how many people were originally included in this scene and their identity uncertain (see §2.2.1). Nevertheless, 28 named women are included in EK 3, making it one of the tombs with the highest number of named women, second only to TT 82.

2.3 Summary

This chapter outlines the two families and associated monuments and artefacts that form the corpus of this thesis. The complexities in the overviews of each family further highlight the inherent difficulties in determining kinship relationships based on funerary iconography, as noted in section 1.3. A common thread between the two families is the presence of strategic marital alliances—such as that of *T3-ḥ3-m-ḥw* (PSN 70) in the Theban case study and those of *Km* (PSN 152) and *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141) in the El-Kab case study—which further supports the importance of inheritance and descent in ancient Egyptian kinship structures, as discussed in section 1.3.1. The question of whether this importance may have translated into an iconographic emphasis on mothers and wives is explored in Chapter 3 and section 5.1.

The descriptions of each family cluster of monuments show clear iconographic relationships not only between the monuments within each cluster, but also across the two clusters, further highlighting the active, living nature of these structures as each tomb owner attempted to position himself within the social network of the funerary landscape (see §1.5). The following two chapters explore the extent to which the representation of female relatives was included in these strategic iconographic decisions.

3 REPRESENTING FEMALE RELATIVES: ANALYSIS BY KINSHIP

TERM

Following the numerical methodological approach outlined in Chapter 1, this analysis breaks down the representation of a female relative into various elements, allowing for a more systematic and holistic comparison between figures, which are defined here as representations of an individual in the iconography (including artefacts). Two figural distinctions are made between textually represented figures—‘textual figures’—who are mentions of individuals in texts only (e.g. filiation formulae), and pictorially represented figures—‘pictorial figures’—who may have accompanying captions (see Glossary). The two modes of representation are distinct, despite the complementary interaction of text and image in ancient Egyptian iconography, and are used here to distinguish between those iconographic figures who only appear in texts and those who have a humanoid figure (and possibly also a caption). This distinction was made for pragmatic reasons in order to systematically break down the various ways in which figures can be portrayed iconographically into their constitutive components.

For all figures some basic information is noted: the scene’s type and placement within the monument or on the artefact; the number and content of the associated inscriptions/captions, including the text’s type, ownership, and content (which is subdivided into kinship designation, titles, and epithets); and whether this representation shows the individual with their ‘own family’ or not. A woman is described as being portrayed with her own family if she is the point of reference in the kinship terms of another figure(s) in the scene, or is herself referenced via another woman in the scene, e.g. both of the individuals referred to in the caption *s3t=s* ‘her daughter’ (see Glossary). Referencing via a person other than the tomb owner, even more so a woman, is quite

rare in tomb iconography and could have potentially been used to indicate different kinship groups within the scenes. These distinctions are re-evaluated in section 5.2.

The analysis then focuses on the representation of the pictorial figure, which textual figures naturally lack. This includes their iconographic position within the scene, such as their stance, level, size, action, and interaction with other figures (namely, group membership, offering poses, or physical contact). The figure's outfit is discussed in detail, including dress type, wig, headwear, jewellery (namely, collars, bracelets, and earrings), and footwear. Any objects that are held by or are placed underneath the chair of or directly before a figure are also noted. The analysis then takes a wider perspective to consider the overall prominence of each pictorial figure in the scene compared to other female pictorial figures (termed 'average similarity'; see Glossary); this is a more subjective judgement that aims to view the figure and its significance in the scene more holistically.

For each woman, the number of scenes/artefacts she is included in and the number of figures are quantified by kinship term for each monument in order to give a sense of how often this woman is depicted with this term; this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Note that in the total number of scenes per terminological group, scenes are only counted once regardless of the number of termed women that they depict. A few further clarifications are needed.

One terminological distinction to note is between an 'object' and an 'artefact'. The word 'object' here refers to items that are included pictorially within scenes and are not actual physical items. In comparison, an 'artefact' is a material item, such as an element of a tomb's burial equipment (see §1.5.2; see Glossary). The majority of artefacts come from (or are likely to have come from) a monument in this analysis, including a Book of the Dead papyrus (A.1.1), funerary cones (A.1.2), magic bricks

(A.1.5), relief fragments (A.1.6, A.1.7), a *shabti* (A.1.8), a stela (A.1.13), and a statue (A.1.14). A few come from contexts external to these monuments, including Deir El-Bahri (A.1.3), TT 60 (A.1.4), Karnak Temple (A.1.9, A.1.10), Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11), and Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12).

Regardless of provenance, the representations of women on artefacts are analysed using exactly the same process as those in monumental iconography since they contribute to the overall self-presentation of that particular tomb owner within a broadly related cultural sphere. Those external artefacts that are associated with a single tomb and owner have therefore been included alongside the iconographic data for that monument. For example, *Imn-m-h3t*'s graffito in TT 60 (A.1.4) and his stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12), which arguably act as extensions of his self-presentation in TT 82 (see §2.1.2). The remaining external artefacts cannot be associated with a single monument since they belong to *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74; A.1.3, A.1.9, A.1.10), who owned two tombs (TT 61 and TT 131; see §2.1.2), or to *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115), who did not own a tomb. These artefacts are therefore categorised individually, but are still analysed in the same way as the iconographic material. These contextual decisions were made for pragmatic reasons in advance of the data collection and analysis in order to integrate the various ways in which each tomb owner materialised and achieved their self-presentation.

Captions are noted only if they specifically relate to a figure. This most often includes identification captions that contain the figure's name, titles, and epithets, but can also take the form of offering formulae and direct speech. For direct speech, it is noted whether the caption is spoken by someone else to the female relative in question or by her to another figure; this distinction is not made for offering formulae since these are almost exclusively spoken by a male priest/son. While passivity appears to be the

more prestigious feature in tomb iconography (Harpur 1987, 172) and silence was a highly valued aspect of behaviour (Maitland 2015, 169; see also Parpart 2010), both speaking and being directly spoken to are fairly rare for female relatives in tomb iconography. These features are therefore taken as significant representational characteristics since they draw the attention of (semi-)literate viewers to the figure. Generic captions that describe a whole scene or register have not been included, unless they specifically reference a female relative, since they arguably apply to all of the depicted figures and are therefore not a distinguishing feature (e.g. the caption above the third register in TT 82 scene 12). A caption that is shared by multiple figures is included and is counted for each figure who shares it (e.g. the offering formula in TT 82 scene 4). Those captions where this distinction is uncertain, which is primarily a result of damage to the caption, have been included in this analysis (e.g. the caption above *T3*[...] [PSN 156] in EK 3 scene 7–8).

Gender with regard to pronouns and epithets is noted when those words that are normally gendered in funerary contexts lack the feminine version for a female figure. This most often occurs with the epithet *m3^ct-hrw* ‘true of voice’ (TLA lemma-no. 66730) where the feminine ‘*t*’ is occasionally left out. Other epithets, such as *n(t) st-ib=f* ‘of his affection’ (TLA lemma-no. 125150) appear to be much less consistently gendered in usage—hence the ‘(*t*)’ (see Conventions)—and therefore omission of the feminine gender in this epithet is less notable. Damage to kinship terms is noted in the analysis but damage to epithets and titles is only noted where this makes gender, for example, unclear. While spatial limitations may have affected caption content, cases where there was space for a more extensive caption (e.g. *B3kt*’s [PSN 80] caption in TT 61 burial chamber north wall) or even a caption at all (e.g. for untermed women, see §3.5) suggest that the space available may not have had a significant impact on the presence

and/or content of a figure's caption. Therefore, this analysis takes a caption's content to be the result of representational decorum rather than space.

In the following analysis, the iconographic decoration on a tomb wall is broken down into scenes according to theme (scene type), such as banqueting, funeral processions, and hunting. Such divisions were often further emphasised by the delineation of scenes by register lines and the direction of the figures (e.g. EK 3 scenes 12–15 and 16). Scenes are often divided into registers, which can then themselves be subdivided into sub-registers, sub-sub-registers, etc. In some cases, a scene or part of a scene only contains one register that takes up the full height of the wall, in which case the scene is described as a 'whole wall scene' (e.g. compare TT 131 scene 1 and TT 100 scene 9; see also Lustig 1997, 54). Note that this term is also used to describe artefacts that do not have scenes, for example, a statue group (e.g. statue CG 42118, A.1.9). Registers are numbered from the upper register to the lower register, i.e. the register below the uppermost register is the second register. Any cases where the division between registers or the number of registers is uncertain have been noted in the analysis. For example, TT 82 scenes 5 and 12 where it is unclear from the current reproductions whether the seated couple are a whole wall scene and the banquet guests are in registers or whether the seated couple form the upper register and the banquet guests are in sub-registers; the former has been followed in this case study. Following Robins, there appears to have been a hierarchy according to location within a scene where the upper areas were more prestigious than the lower areas (1994, 36; see also Lustig 1997, 55). Moreover, the figures who are located in the subdivisions of a scene are less prominent than those who are found in, for example, whole wall scenes due to the increasingly smaller scale of these subdivisions.

The size of a figure is determined relative to other figures within the register (Fig. 21); if no other figures are present then the size is the maximum value 8. A figure's level is +0 if the figure rests on the baseline of the register and +1 if they are elevated on, for example, a mat. This analysis notes whether other figures are also located on the same level in order to determine if the elevation was meant to single out the female figure individually or as part of a group. This discussion does not go into detail regarding the height of level +1, for example, in order to distinguish between the thickness of mats, but this could form a point of comparison for future work. Locations on +1 levels are considered more prestigious than locations on baselines due to the presence of luxury items to sit on (see Maitland 2015, 202).

A figure's stance has been categorised into seated, kneeling, and standing in order to denote the overall posture of the figure. These categories have been generalised in order to enable easier comparisons between figures. The placement of a figure's feet and whether this might infer whether the figure is stationary or striding are not noted. However, more specific movements, such as jumping (e.g. *Mwt-nfirt I* [PSN 106] in TT 82 scene 5), are considered in the analysis. A seated position was arguably the most prestigious stance perhaps since it involved furniture such as chairs or stools (see Robins 1994, 39; 1999, 60). Kneeling was probably the next most prestigious since it replicated the seated position but without furniture, while standing appears to have been the most common stance for figures within tomb iconography and is especially typical of workers and offering bringers (e.g. TT 100 scene 18).

Whether a figure is shown offering to another figure is determined by the presence of objects held in the hands of the figure and whether the figure's arms are raised in a gesture that suggests that they are presenting these objects to another figure; both of these features must be present for a figure to be noted as offering to another

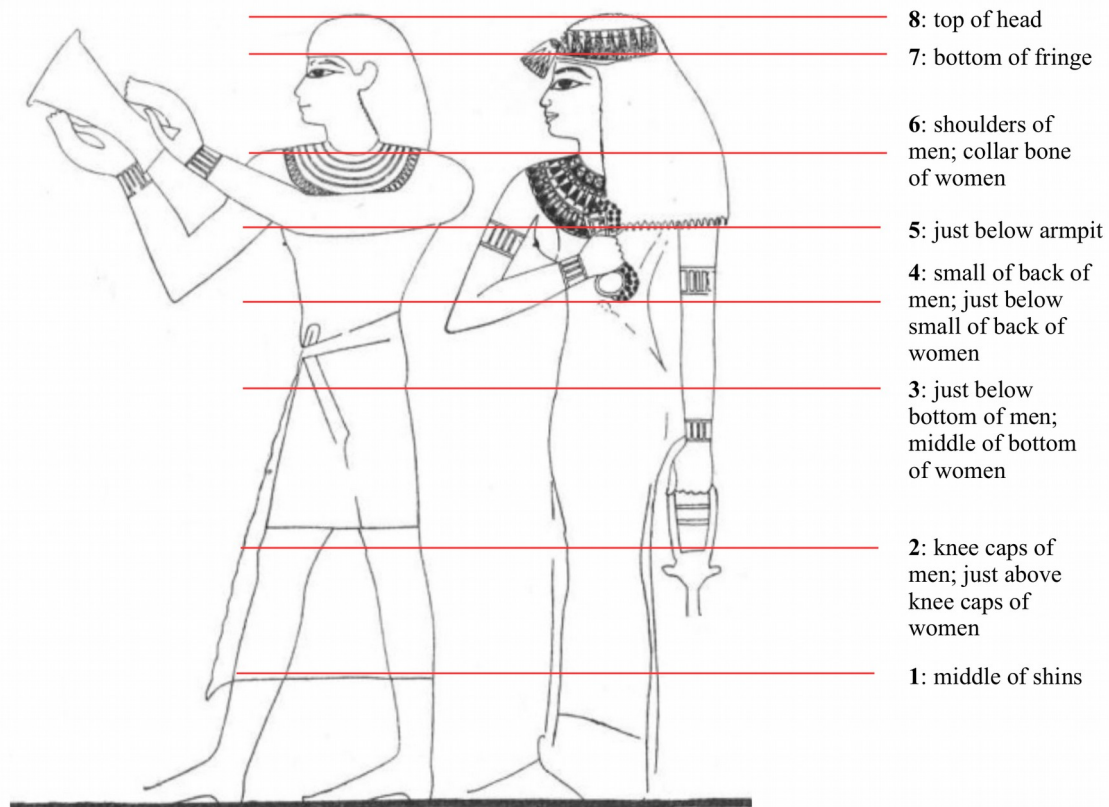


Figure 21: Size guide approximately following the New Kingdom nineteen square grid (after N. de G. Davies 1917, pl. 18)

figure. For example, compare the untermed women offering *sistra* and *menats* in TT 100 scene 18 with the kneeling banquet guests holding lotus flowers in EK 3 scene 12–15. Figures can be denoted as offering objects and holding them simultaneously if both hands hold objects but only one arm is raised and the other is down at the figure’s side (e.g. the women in TT 100 scene 17). Figures are noted as being offered to if they have figures offering to them as outlined above or if they sit before an offering table with a figure speaking an offering formula to them. Offered to positions are considered more prestigious than offering positions since figures who are offered to arguably participate in the tomb’s offering cult, forming one of the foci of the cultic actions within this space (see Hartwig 2004, 37–40). This is not to say that offering positions were completely inferior since they also mark the individual as a participant in this cult. Offering could have been a way of denoting shared kinship (O’Neill 2015, 39; Olabarria 2018b,

101) and ‘familial devotion’ (Hartwig 2011, 320), and therefore may have also acted as a hierarchical feature between figures (Harrington 2016, 145).

Other actions, such as holding lotus flowers and embracing one’s partner are noted, including cases where a figure has their arms to their chest or down at their side and, as a result, does not appear to have an action at all (e.g. *Hnwt-r-nḥt* [PSN 157] in EK 3 scene 16). It appears that in the context of funerary iconography, passive actions were considered to be prestigious, showing the individual in a ‘dignified manner’ (Harpur 1987, 172) compared to more active poses, such as playing instruments or jumping. Embracing one’s partner has been viewed negatively by scholars, especially when woman embraces a man. For example, Robins suggests that it ‘may symbolize a dependence on the part of the woman that is not appropriate to men’ (1994, 39; see also Roth 1999, 37). While the lack of reciprocity in the physical contact is notable, these interpretations focus on the hierarchy between men and women rather than between women. Perhaps embracing can be considered more positively in this latter context. This action primarily occurs between seated couples, which as noted above is a prestigious iconographic position. Moreover, perhaps such supportive positions were the prerogative of certain female relatives, highlighting their responsibility for the care of others. Therefore, this study considers this action in a more nuanced light.

The specific details of a figure’s outfit have been somewhat simplified in order to more easily assess which figures have the most elaborate and embellished outfits. Collars are classified as either plain or embellished; the latter includes multi-coloured and/or decorated collars (compare the plain collar of *M3^ct-nfrt* [PSN 91] in TT 100 scene 17 with the embellished collar of *S3t-dḥwty* [PSN 121] in TT 81 scene 22). Distinctions are made for dress type, for example, noting the presence of straps and whether these straps reveal the wearer’s breast. The latter type appears to be the

standard outfit for elite women (Robins 1990b, 45; 1996, 38). Similarly, the specific type of headwear of each figure is noted, such as lotus flower headdresses and incense cones, as well as the type of wig, such as tripartite and enveloping styles, and whether these wigs show individual strands of hair (termed ‘detailed hair’; see Robins 1999, 64).

In terms of objects, this study does not differentiate between the types of lotus flower, including whether they are a bud or a fully bloomed flower, or types of vessel, which includes cups and baskets. Objects are only noted if they are directly associated with a female figure. For example, the animal under *Hnwt-r-nhh*’s chair in EK 3 scene 12–15 is included, but not the offering table in front of her and *P3-hry* (PSN 147) since it is unclear if this is associated with just *P3-hry* or the couple. Note this analysis does not explore the potential symbolic meaning of such objects in order to focus on the documented frequency of representational characteristics and their significance for distinguishing between female relatives (see §1.1).

A figure is marked as solitary if they appear on their own within a scene/register. For example, *Tw-iw/Tch-htp* (PSN 122) in TT 81 scene 12. It also includes those women who are distinguished from others in the scene, such as *Bt* (PSN 64) in TT 100 scene 18 where she is the only figure to sit on a stool, marking her as different from the surrounding figures (N. de G. Davies 1943, 62). Solitary positions make a figure more visually prominent within the scene and are therefore taken as more prestigious than positions within groups, for example. Moreover, there was arguably a hierarchy within groups where the foremost position was the most prestigious and the backmost position was the most inferior (Maitland 2015, 201). Note seated couples are treated as a single unit in terms of positioning within groups.

The overall prominence of a pictorial figure is determined by their ‘average similarity’. This is calculated on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 marking the figures who are

the most visibly prominent in the scene. This factor is determined subjectively relative to other female pictorial figures in the scene. This means that an individual figure may be simultaneously equally prominent to other figures (3) and more and/or less prominent than others (4–5 and/or 1–2); in these cases an average is taken to determine the overall prominence of that figure. This feature takes a step back from the breakdown of representational characteristics in order to assess the pictorial figure as a whole, drawing on the phenomenological experience of viewing a monument's iconography collectively as you walk through the architectural space (see §1.5.1).

The below analysis begins by looking across the monuments by terminological group and by case study, categorising the women according to the core kinship term in their captions: *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, *snt*, and *s3t* (see §3.1–4). Compound terms are analysed as part of their respective core term. The last group to be analysed are those women who are intentionally untermed in their captions but are portrayed on a similar footing to those women with kinship terms (see §3.5; see also §1.4). Cases where the kinship term is unknown are listed in Catalogue C.5. The following data has been summarised (for a detailed breakdown see Catalogue C.2–4; for the relevant iconography see Plates) and is necessarily repetitive due to the systematic approach at the heart of this thesis' methodology, allowing for a more detailed and comprehensive comparison between the terminological groups in section 3.6.

3.1 Women termed *mwt/ms.n*

3.1.1 Theban Case Study

There are eight women with preserved names who are shown with the kinship term *mwt* 'mother' and/or its associated term *ms.n* 'whom N bore': *T3(-3)-m-tw* (PSN 70) and *B3kt* (PSN 80) in TT 61; *S3t-dhwty* (PSN 121) in TT 81; *T^ch-ms* (PSN 22) and *Int=f I*

(PSN 29) in TT 82; and *Bt* (PSN 64) in TT 100. *T3(-ʕ3)-m-ṯw* is also shown with the term *ms.n* in TT 131. *Int=f II* (PSN 31) is shown with the compound term *mwt it=f* in TT 82. *I(w)-iw* (PSN 75) is attested with the term *ms.n* on a graffito from Deir El-Bahri (A.1.3) and on a funerary cone probably from TT 61 (no. 1, A.1.2). *Int=f I* is also attested on *Imn-m-h3t*'s graffito in TT 60 (A.1.4). There is also a woman termed *ms.n* on a statue of *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115), wife of ʕ3-*m-ṯw*'s (PSN 66) son *Hr* (PSN 116), which was found in Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple, where the mother's name is lost due to damage (A.1.11). Similarly, in TT 81 there are two figures termed *ms.n* whose names are no longer visible. Therefore, the following discussion is based on at least eight—probably nine or ten—women and a corpus of 42 figures.

The number of artefacts for women termed *mwt/ms.n* is relatively high. Four such women are attested through them: *Int=f I* has six, *T3(-ʕ3)-m-ṯw* and *I(w)-iw* each have two, and the figure whose name is lost on *Tti-nfr*'s statue has one. The latter two women are only attested in these artefacts. While the funerary cone mentioning *I(w)-iw* probably originated from TT 61 (no. 1, A.1.2), the graffito mentioning *I(w)-iw* is from Deir El-Bahri (A.1.3) and the statue of *Tti-nfr* is from Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11). Therefore, these women may not have been depicted with the term *mwt/ms.n* within the funerary monumental contexts. In fact, this is the only surviving attestation of both *Tti-nfr* and her mother. The fact that they are not iconographically shown more often with any other terms suggests that their lack of iconographic prominence was due to personal reasons: they were simply minor relatives. *I(w)-iw*, however, is frequently shown iconographically with the term *hmt* within this corpus (in TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17). The fact that the representations of her with the term *mwt/ms.n* are restricted to artefacts, half of which come from contexts external

to TT 61 and TT 131, therefore suggests that this aspect of her identity was not considered as important to display iconographically as that of *hmt*.

The eleven preserved artefacts range from a Book of the Dead papyrus (A.1.1), two funerary cones (nos. 1 and 129, A.1.2), a graffito from Deir El-Bahri (A.1.3), a graffito from TT 60 (A.1.4), three magic bricks (A.1.5), a sandstone relief fragment (no. 79, A.1.6), a statue from Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11), and a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12). The range of geographical and cultural contexts suggests that women termed *mwt/ms.n* were not restricted to certain representational spheres or certain artefact types. In all of these cases, however, the women are only included in an inscription on the artefact, tempering their visibility. This is most likely due to each artefact's materiality and physical limitations (e.g. funerary cones only contain text), perhaps suggesting that simply having one's name included on an artefact was sufficient for a statement of identity and presence in a funerary environment or self-presentation. Nevertheless, it appears that while the inclusion of women termed *mwt/ms.n* in artefacts was fairly common, they did not hold prominent iconographic positions within each artefact's decoration.

In the iconography, women termed *mwt/ms.n* appear in a relatively high number of scenes across these monuments (24 scenes). The scene types are also fairly extensive ranging from inscriptions (ten cases), offering tables (five cases; three include a banquet and one includes a funerary procession and Abydos pilgrimage), official duties (four cases), stelae (two cases), an Abydos pilgrimage and funerary procession (one case of an individual scene), a hunt (one case), and an offering (one case). While this shows a variety in type, a relatively significant proportion focus on textual rather than pictorial content (ten out of 24), which parallels the common form of attestation in artefacts discussed above.

A relatively significant proportion of these women are shown in more than one scene per monument: *Int=f I* has twelve, *Bt* is shown in four, and *T^ch-ms* and *S3t-dhwty* each have three. The remaining women each have one scene per monument: *Int=f II*, *T3(-^c3)-m-tw*, *B3kt*, and the figures whose names are lost in TT 81 (although these figures could be of the same person). Those women with multiple scenes were arguably focused on individually, with this kinship term forming a prominent aspect of their iconographic representation in these contexts. The monuments showing women termed *mwt/ms.n* in multiple scenes are restricted to TT 81, TT 82, and TT 100, which could suggest that the decision to depict one's mother multiple times may have been a personal decision of these tombs' owners. While it appears that women termed *mwt/ms.n* appear in a high proportion of scenes, this visibility is tempered by the prevalence of text-only scene types.

The scene placement of women termed *mwt/ms.n* shows a slight preference for depicting this group in the front areas of the tomb chapel, particularly in TT 81, TT 100, and TT 131, which would perhaps make these women more visible to visitors (Fig. 22). In contrast, TT 61 and TT 82 seem to concentrate this group on the back areas of the tomb chapel and their subterranean burial chambers, which are both usually associated with funerary and religious scenes, perhaps suggesting a link between this theme and this term. In almost all of these monuments, the scenes showing this group are located on the western walls, which further suggests a link between this term and funerary motifs. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* often appear in ceiling texts (in TT 81, TT 82, and TT 131). In TT 131, the woman termed *mwt/ms.n* only appears on the ceiling. Overall, there does not appear to be a set architectural location for this group in this case study. The high numbers of scenes containing this group in both TT 81 and TT 82 are notable, perhaps suggesting an additional emphasis on these women in these two contexts.

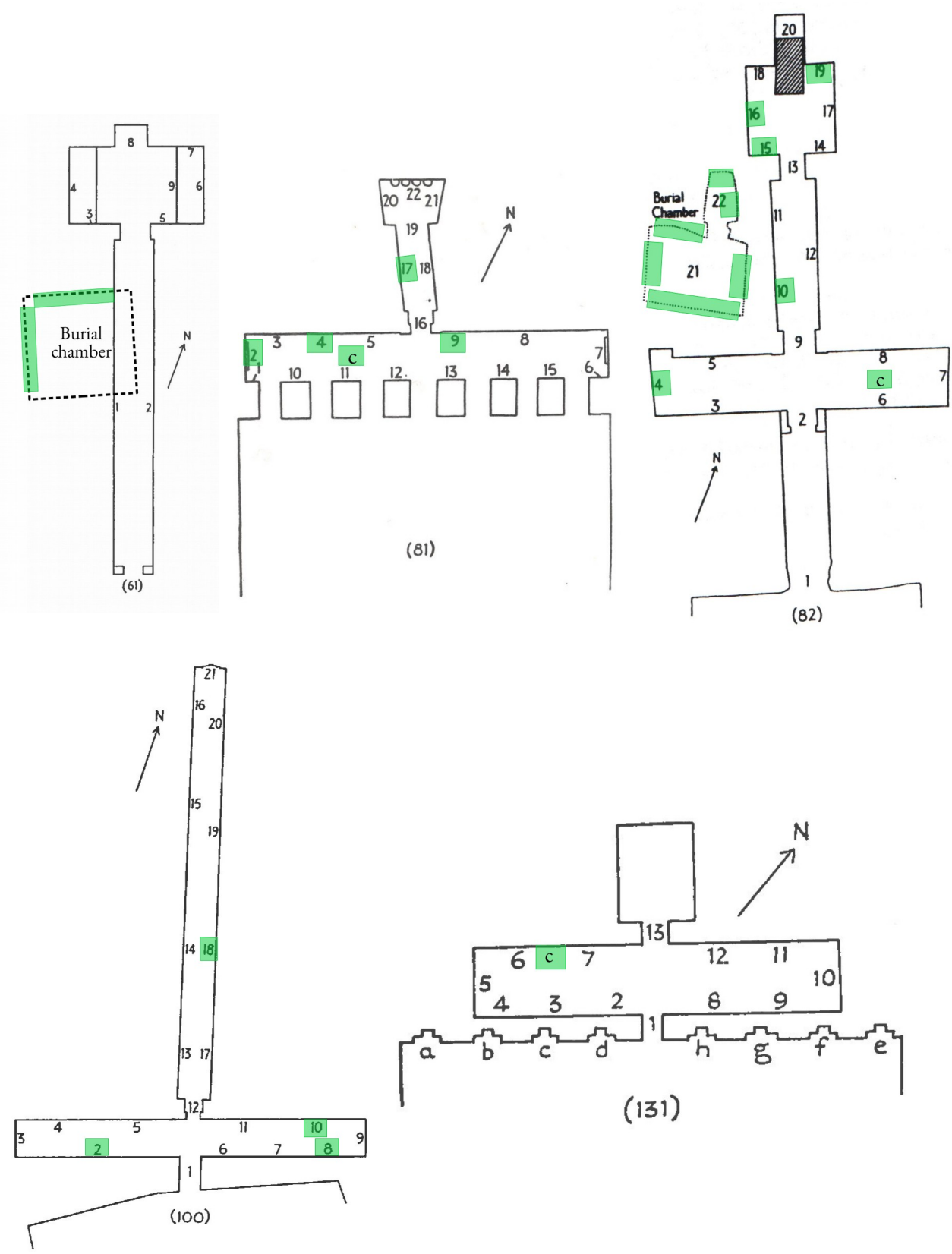


Figure 22: Scene placement of *mwt/ms.n* in Theban case study ('c' denotes a ceiling text; after PM I.1², 124, 160, 208, 238)

In terms of captions (including those on artefacts), there are a total of 55: 30 captions refer to *Int=f I* in TT 82 (six on artefacts); five each to *T3(-ʕ)-m-tw* in TT 61 (four on artefacts) and *Bt* in TT 100; three each to *S3t-dhwty* in TT 81 and *Tʕh-ms* in TT 82; two each to *Int=f II* in TT 82 and *T(w)-iw* (all on artefacts, one of which is from TT 61); and one each to *B3kt* in TT 61, *T3(-ʕ)-m-tw* in TT 131, the woman on *Tti-nfr*'s statue (A.1.11), and the figures with lost names in TT 81 (although these could be the same individual). Of these captions, only two belong solely to the woman termed *mwt*: *Bt* in TT 100 scene 18 and *Int=f I* in TT 82 scene 16. Women termed *mwt* can have captions directed solely at them by another figure but again this happens only once (*Bt*; TT 100 scene 18). More commonly, women termed *mwt* are co-owners of captions: four cases are located above a couple, with the woman termed *mwt* being named last, and three cases belong to an offering person directed at a group including a woman termed *mwt*, either as a couple (one case) or a larger group (two cases). The highest number of captions, however, belong to a child who includes their mother through the filiation formula *ms.n*. Most commonly, *ms.n* appears behind the father's *ir.n* (29 cases) but occasionally the *ms.n* appears on its own (ten cases, one of which is uncertain) or comes first (four cases). There is one formula where damage makes it unclear if anyone else was included in the formula alongside the *ms.n* (the statue of *Tti-nfr*, A.1.11). The ownership of the fragmentary caption naming *T3(-ʕ)-m-tw* on the sandstone fragment from TT 61 is unknown (A.1.6). Therefore, it appears that women termed *mwt/ms.n* rarely own the captions that mention them and more often appear as part of another person's caption.

Caption type shows a preference for funerary texts (23 cases) and identification (20 cases, one of which is uncertain), but offering formulae (ten cases, one of which is uncertain), an address to a woman termed *mwt* (TT 100 scene 18), and an inclusion in

an address to another figure via filiation formula (TT 82 scene 21 north wall) are also attested. The preference for funerary texts further shows a strong association of the term *mwt/ms.n* with mortuary and religious themes.

Kinship designations for this group can be *mwt* (six cases), all of which have the expected male third-person suffix pronoun *=f* referring to a man in the scene, although three cases have damaged suffix pronouns. Most kinship terms, however, are *ms.n* (44 cases, three of which are damaged), further emphasising the preference for including these women in filiation formulae rather than as captioned pictorial figures.

A caption in TT 82 scene 4 addresses both *Int=f I* and *Int=f II* as part of a group that is collectively termed *itw=f* ‘his (male) ancestors’, suggesting that this term was flexible concerning the gender of the people it referred to. While it is possible that this caption referred only to the men in this group, it is fairly common to find women referred to with grammatically male terms in texts that are composed predominantly for men. For example, the Book of the Dead papyrus of Muthetepti switches between masculine and feminine pronouns when referring to her, despite depicting her as a woman in the vignettes (P. BM EA 10010; British Museum catalogue; Taylor 2010, 114). Moreover, since there are no determinatives written for *itw=f* that would suggest an intended gender, it is likely that the women were included.

There is only one case of a (partially damaged) compound term of *mwt* in this corpus: *mwt it=f* for *Int=f II* in TT 82 scene 4. Aside from having this term in her caption, *Int=f II* does not stand out compared to the rest of this group, suggesting that mothers and paternal grandmothers were treated in the same way iconographically. While there are two captions related to women in this group that do not contain the kinship term *mwt/ms.n*, these are an address (TT 100 scene 18) and an offering formula (TT 82 scene 22 east wall), meaning that the omission of the term is not unusual.

Overall, therefore, it appears that *ms.n* was the most common kinship designation for this group, with only a few exceptional cases of a compound term or inclusion in a wider group of ancestors.

Epithets show a preference for *m3^ct-hrw* ‘true of voice’ (29 cases; TLA lemma-no. 66730). In only three cases is the feminine ‘*t*’ missing, all of which belong to *Int=f I* and two of which are on artefacts (TT 82 scene 10; funerary cone no. 129, A.1.2; Gebel El-Silsilah stela of *Imn-m-h3t*, A.1.12). It is unclear why this masculine form occurs only for one individual but on a range of media and locations. It is unlikely to be a monument-specific phenomenon since TT 82 shows two other women termed *mwt/ms.n* with this epithet correctly gendered. Regardless of the reason, the infrequency with which this happened, both for *Int=f I* (three out of seventeen cases) and for the wider terminological group, suggests that grammatical gender was usually desired when using this epithet for women termed *mwt/ms.n*.

Other epithets focus on funerary themes, including *im3hyw* ‘revered one’ (two cases; TLA lemma-no. 25090), *imy(w) hrt-ntr* ‘who are in the necropolis’ (two cases), and *nbt im3h* ‘lady of veneration’ (one case; TLA lemma-no. 855974). The more emotional epithet *mr(y)t=f* ‘his beloved’ (TLA lemma-no. 550321) is attested only twice: once for *Bt* in TT 100 scene 18 and once for *Int=f I* in TT 82 scene 4. This further suggests that the depictions of women termed *mwt/ms.n* took a specifically funerary tone in these monuments. Even though fourteen captions are damaged so that the possible epithets are unclear, in nine of these cases it is uncertain if the damage did originally contain any text and in six cases the lacunae’s positions mean that the damaged texts could have been titles instead. Therefore, it is likely that the focus on funerary themes in the epithets of this terminological group, particularly the frequency of *m3^ct-hrw*, is representative.

Only a few women have captions that go beyond a simple list of epithets and titles. *Bt* has one longer caption in TT 100 scene 18, namely an address that uses ‘=t’ ‘you’ throughout, including a specific reference to her *ka* with *n k3=t*. Similarly, *Int=f I* and *Int=f II* each have *htp-di-nsw* formulae in TT 82: the former with *n k3 n=tn* ‘for your (plural) *kas*’ (scene 22 east wall) and both as part of a group labelled *itw=f* (scene 4, see above). Therefore, it appears that an extra effort was made in the captions of these three women compared to the others in this group. The fact that almost all of these cases are offering formulae for a couple/group could suggest that this effort was intended to benefit both the women and the men involved. More often than not an offering formula only refers to the man with *n k3=k*, meaning that the decision to refer to both the man and the woman with the plural suffix pronoun or with an apparently broadly defined term (i.e. *itw=f*) is significant and arguably shows an active decision to include these women.

The most common title for women termed *mwt/ms.n* is *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (31 cases; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15). It is attested for every woman except *B3kt* in TT 61 (burial chamber north wall) and the women (or woman) whose names are no longer visible in TT 81. These figures not only lack this title but appear to lack any title at all, although damage to their captions makes this uncertain. *B3kt* is known elsewhere with the title *šmꜥyt n Imn* ‘chantress of Amun’ (TT 82 scene 3, TT 100 scene 9, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 south wall; TLA lemma-no. 851078; Onstine 2005) but the lacuna in her caption in TT 61 is too small for this title. Therefore, either she had a different title or more likely an epithet based on the space available. *B3kt* is one of the few women in her dominant terminological group (*s3t*; see §3.4.1) to be attested with a title and so the lack of this title when she is termed *mwt/ms.n* is notable, especially since there was enough wall space to be able to include

it in her caption. When the number of other titles associated with the term *mwt/ms.n* is considered, this becomes understandable since only two women have a second title, namely *hkrt-nsw(t)* ‘lady-in-waiting’ (TLA lemma-no. 124780): *Bt* in TT 100 scene 18 and *S3t-dhwty* in TT 81 scene 2. There are six captions with damage that could have obscured another title, but five of these lacunae may not have originally included any text and the positions of all of the lacunae mean that the missing texts could have been epithets instead. Therefore, it seems that women termed *mwt/ms.n* were almost always characterised by household control and seniority through *nbt-pr*, but rarely with a social status outside of this context, making the omission of *B3kt*’s chantress role in TT 61 in line with the standard portrayal of this group.

The title *hkrt-nsw(t)* was traditionally translated as ‘royal ornament’ and interpreted with the connotations of a royal concubine. This has subsequently been challenged by Nord (1970, 1) and so Ward’s translation of ‘lady-in-waiting’ (1986, 14), indicating ‘royal favour’ (Nord 1970, 12) is more appropriate (see also Roth 2012, 5–6). Therefore, it appears that *Bt* and *S3t-dhwty* had a high personal social status through this title, which could further explain their level of individualisation and iconographic prominence within these monuments. Perhaps the male tomb owners wished to emphasise the status of these women in order to bolster their own self-presentation (see §5.1).

Based on the analysis so far, it is not surprising that women termed *mwt/ms.n* have more attestations as textual figures (36 cases) rather than as pictorial figures (six cases). In fact, *Iḥ-ms*, *T3(-ḥ)-m-tw*, *I(w)-iw*, *B3kt*, and the women with names no longer visible are never shown pictorially with this term, implying that knowledge of their existence was limited to (semi-)literate viewers. Therefore, the fact that *Bt*, *Int=f I*, *Int=f II*, and *S3t-dhwty* are pictorially shown with this term makes them stand out,

especially *Int=f I*, who is shown three times, compared to the others, who are each only shown once. It is notable that all of the pictorial figures occur in the monuments in this case study rather than on the artefacts, perhaps suggesting that monumental contexts were preferred when a choice was made to portray a woman termed *mwt/ms.n* pictorially.

When included in a scene/register, women termed *mwt/ms.n* are consistently one of the largest figures depicted, irrespective of gender: four figures have the maximum size 8, one is size 7, and one size is no longer visible. Moreover, women termed *mwt/ms.n* always seem to appear on +1 levels within the register (two cases are uncertain) along with their partners or group. Location within the scene, however, shows a preference for sub-registers (four cases), including upper sub-registers (one case), third sub-registers (one case), and lower sub-registers (two cases), but these sub-registers are always in the upper register of the scene. Only *Int=f I* has more prominent locations, including one whole wall scene (TT 82 scene 22 east wall) and one second register (TT 82 scene 16).

These women are normally depicted seated in a couple behind their partner (five cases) but the couple are normally the foremost if shown in a group (two cases). Only the *mwt it=f* is shown second out of three couples (TT 82 scene 4). *Bt* is shown seated and is second out of fourteen figures in TT 100 scene 18 but the only figure in front of her is a servant waiting on her. Overall, on the few occasions when these women are depicted pictorially, they appear to be fairly prominent figures within the scenes.

While seated in a couple, these women usually embrace their partner (four cases). Only *Bt* in TT 100 scene 18 appears to have had a different gesture, namely holding a vessel, although *Int=f I* has a figure whose action is no longer visible due to damage. A high proportion of these women are offered to by another figure(s) in the

scene, including *Int=f II*, *Bt*, and two of the figures depicting *Int=f I*. None of the women are showing offering to other figures in the scene. Therefore, when this terminological group is depicted, they are usually shown in respected positions within the scene, but normally as part of a couple and so they arguably share this focus.

The outfits of all of the pictorial figures termed *mwt/ms.n* are quite damaged and only a few details are now visible. All of the three surviving dresses are sheath dresses with strap/s that reveal the wearer's breasts. In contrast, three dresses are uncertain due to preservation, one of which is definitely a type of sheath dress (*Int=f I*; TT 82 scene 4). The preserved wigs show a preference for tripartite styles (three cases, one of which also has detailed hair) but three cases are uncertain. Headwear is apparently rare, with only one case of a lotus flower headdress and incense cone (*Bt*; TT 100 scene 18). There are only two cases of no headwear at all and three cases are uncertain, meaning that headwear may have been more common than preservation suggests. Two out of the visible collars are embellished and only one is plain (*S3t-dhwty*; TT 81 scene 9). Three collars are uncertain due to damage, but in two of these cases it is only the type of collar that is uncertain rather than the presence of a collar all together, meaning that collars in general were a common feature for this group.

Bracelets and earrings are hard to assess due to damage. *Bt* is shown with two bracelets and *Int=f I* is shown once with a bracelet (TT 82 scene 4) and once without (TT 82 scene 16), but in one case the presence of bracelets is uncertain (TT 82 scene 22 east wall). The figures of *S3t-dhwty* and *Int=f II* are all too damaged to determine. Earrings tell a potentially different story since no woman termed *mwt/ms.n* is attested with them, either intentionally (three cases) or due to damage (three cases). All women appear to have been depicted barefoot (two cases are uncertain). Overall, therefore, it appears that the outfits of these women were not usually embellished, especially with

jewellery and headwear, which appear to have been attributed on an individual basis instead.

Objects are only included for one woman termed *mwt/ms.n*: *Bt* is shown holding a vessel and is seated before an offering table (TT 100 scene 18). The other figures in this group do not appear to have objects, especially since only two cases have damage that makes the presence of an object uncertain (*Int=f I* in TT 82 scene 22 east wall; *Int=f II* in TT 82 scene 4). Therefore, objects are probably also an individualising feature for this terminological group.

It was possible for a woman termed *mwt/ms.n* to be included in the same scene as their own family, but this only happens with *Tḥ-ms* in TT 82 where she is included twice in the filiation formulae of her daughter *B3kt(-Imn)*. While *Tḥ-ms* does not form the point of reference of the kinship term, the relationship is made textually explicit through the formula. The fragmentary nature of the inscription on the statue of *Tti-nfr* (A.1.11) makes it unclear if anyone else, other than *Tti-nfr*'s mother, was included. As it survives, it appears that *Tti-nfr* and her mother were both also depicted with their own family, i.e. each other. Overall, however, it does not appear common to depict women termed *mwt/ms.n* with their own family, suggesting a focus on portraying them as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network.

Physical contact is relatively common for women termed *mwt/ms.n* compared to the number of figures (four out of six cases, with one uncertain case for *Int=f I* in TT 82 scene 22 east wall). *Int=f I* has one case with *Dḥwty-ms I* (PSN 28) in TT 82 scene 4 and one more with a man whose name is lost in scene 16. *S3t-dḥwty* has a case with *Inni II* (PSN 120) in TT 81 scene 9 and *Int=f II* has a case with *K3y* (PSN 30) in TT 82 scene 4. All of the women instigate their physical contact, meaning that it is not reciprocated by their partner. In each of these cases, the woman's caption contains the kinship term

mwt=f but this does not necessarily mean that the embraced man is her son. In fact, in each case the man appears to be her husband where he has the corresponding *it=f* kinship term referring to another man in the scene (two of the partners' kinship terms are unclear due to damage).

Only one pictorial figure termed *mwt* is shown by herself in a solitary position: *Bt* in TT 100 scene 18 where she has been singled out as the only figure seated on a small chair (the others are kneeling or standing), placing individual emphasis on her. One case of solitude is unknown for *Int=f I* in TT 82 scene 22 east wall. Overall, this strengthens the notion that women with the term *mwt/ms.n* are generally shown as part of couples or groups, further implying their strong integration in the tomb owner's familial network. Even in *Bt*'s case her differentiation from the surrounding figures does not make her stand out significantly since she is located within one of four sub-registers that show other banquet guests also attended by servants.

Bringing this together, all of the women termed *mwt/ms.n* have an average similarity of 2.5–3.5: two cases are size 3, with only one 2.5 for *Bt* (TT 100 scene 18), one 2.6 for *Int=f I* (TT 82 scene 16), and one 3.5 for *S3t-dhwty* (TT 81 scene 9). One case is unknown (*Int=f I*; TT 82 scene 22 east wall). Therefore, the overall depiction of these women makes them either slightly more prominent than or, more often, equal to or slightly less prominent than other women included in the scene.

In conclusion, it appears that women termed *mwt/ms.n* are typically shown in inscriptions in these monuments and artefacts, most commonly in filiation formulae showing an inter-generational focus. The fact that only a few women are shown with their own family, while most are shown as part of a seated couple embracing their partner further supports the socially integrated nature of these portrayals. The generational focus could additionally explain why the representations of these women

have a specifically funerary theme, exemplified by funerary text scene types, mortuary epithets, and the placement of scenes on the western side and/or in the back areas of these monuments. As members of the previous generation, these women were perhaps included to emphasise the tomb owner's ancestry and desire to successfully transition into the afterlife. Therefore, when these women are shown pictorially, they are given respect through their size and level and are frequently shown offered to by other figures, including having offering formulae and addresses directed specifically to them. The fact that most of these women also bear the title *nbt-pr*, implying household seniority, could further explain the respect given to them in this iconography.

However, while they are given some emphasis, these women are rarely shown on their own or as the most prominent female figure in the scene. Moreover, their outfits often do not have much embellishment, with only the presence of collars showing a certain level of wealth. In general, personal adornment seems to have been attributed on an individual level, particularly to *Bt* in TT 100, who is always shown with bracelets and objects. *Int=f I* is also singled out within this group, with the highest number of scenes, figures, and captions. This could perhaps be linked to *Bt*'s high social status or a desire to emphasise these women as mothers within these particular monuments.

The fact that some women are only shown with the term *mwt/ms.n* in artefacts compared to their representation with other kinship terms suggests that individual women may have been stereotyped with specific kinship terms or modes of representation in certain contexts (see §4.2.1, §5.3). The overall ratio of pictorial to textual figures means that awareness of the terminological group *mwt/ms.n* was largely restricted to (semi-)literate visitors, with the names of the women holding this term potentially even more restricted. This limits their overall impact on the wider audiences

of these monuments compared to the other terminological groups, which are generally presented in more accessible, visual ways.

3.1.2 *El-Kab Case Study*

There are five women with preserved names who are shown with the kinship term *mwt* ‘mother’ and/or its associated formulae *ms.n N* ‘whom N bore’ and *N s3 Y* ‘N son of Y’: *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141) and *R-int* (PSN 150) in EK 5, and *Km* (PSN 152) in EK 3. *Tb3n3* (PSN 148) is shown with the designations *mwt* and *N s3 Y* across both of these tombs and EK 3 additionally includes a woman named *T3-idy* (PSN 159) with the compound term *mwt nt hmt=f*. In EK 5, there is one figure termed *mwt* whose name is no longer visible (scene 2); this figure is simultaneously termed the *hmt* of *Hry-iry*. Since this is the only apparent case where a wife of *Hry-iry* and/or a mother of *P3-hry I* is represented in these two tombs, it is highly unlikely that this figure represents a woman who is named elsewhere in this iconography. Therefore, the following discussion is based on a corpus of at least five—most likely six—women and a corpus of ten figures.

Considering the low number of women, this terminological group appears in a relatively high number of scenes across these two tombs (eight scenes). The scene types include inscriptions (three cases), offering tables with banquet scenes (three cases), a group of niche statues (one case), and an offering scene (one case), showing a preference for portraying this group in scenes involving offerings and (funerary) meals. Most of these women are only shown in one scene in each tomb. *Km* in EK 3 and *Tb3n3* in EK 5 stand out from the others with multiple scenes per tomb—three for *Tb3n3* and two for *Km*—suggesting an emphasis on these two women as individuals, with this kinship term forming a prominent aspect of their iconographic representation. Overall, it

appears that this terminological group was meant to be frequently visible in each tomb's decorative programme.

This visibility is further strengthened by the placement of these scenes where this group is depicted throughout the tomb space, on almost every wall (Fig. 23). There is a slight emphasis on depicting this group in the back areas of the tomb, which are usually associated with funerary and religious scenes. Therefore, similar to the Theban case study, there appears to be a connection between mortuary themes and the term *mwt/ms.n*, further suggesting that referring to the previous generation was appropriate, and perhaps desired, in such a funerary setting.

There are at least thirteen captions for this terminological group. Damage to the figure of *S3t-Imn II* in EK 5 scene 2 means that a further caption has probably been lost. Just over half of these women have multiple captions per tomb: *Tb3n3* in EK 5 has five, *Km* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 each have two, and *S3t-Imn II* has one preserved but probably had two originally. In comparison, *R-int*, *Tb3n3* in EK 3, and *T3-idy* each have one. Only three of these captions are owned solely by the woman termed *mwt/ms.n*: *Tb3n3* in EK 5 scene 3, *Km* in EK 3 scene 19, and *T3-idy* in EK 3 scene 7–8.

More commonly, this group are found as part of another figure's epithets via the filiation formula *ms.n* or *N s3 Y*, either on their own (six cases) or less often after the father's part (one case). Occasionally, women with this term share an offering formula (two cases) or share a caption as part of a couple where their part comes last (one case). Therefore, while women termed *mwt/ms.n* possess a relatively high number of captions, more often than not these occur as part of another figure's caption, typically the tomb owner, further strengthening their integration into his familial network.

Caption type shows a strong preference for identification captions (eight cases), with occasional offering formulae (four cases) and a funerary text (*Km*; EK 3 scene 10).

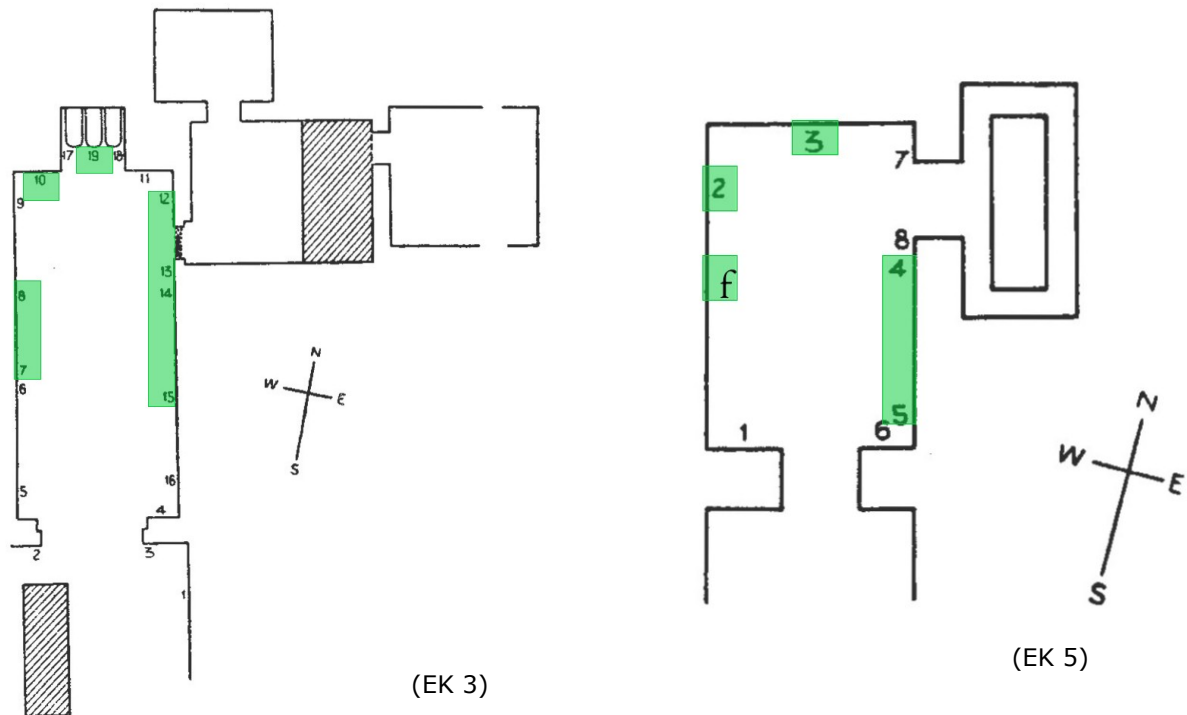


Figure 23: Scene placement of *mwt/ms.n* in El-Kab case study
 ('f' denotes a frieze text; after PM V, 178)

Therefore, it appears that women termed *mwt/ms.n* generally own or are included in captions that simply aim to identify the associated figures. The slight preference for offering formulae is probably a result of the emphasis on offering scenes noted above, further highlighting the connection between this term and funerary themes.

Designations for these women are predominantly *N s3 Y* (six cases) or *mwt* (four cases). Only one case of *ms.n* (*Km*; EK 3 scene 10) and one compound term, *mwt nt hmt=f* (*T3-idy*; EK 3 scene 7–8), are attested. Aside from having a compound term, *T3-idy* does not stand out considerably in this terminological group, suggesting that mothers and mothers-in-law were represented in similar ways in this case study. While four figures are termed *mwt*, only two of these designations contain the expected male third-person suffix *=f* (the female version *=s* could also be expected but is not attested here). The other two terms are both *mwt=i* ‘my mother’, which are unique to this case

study and in fact are only found in a single scene in EK 5 (no. 2). The two women—*S3t-Imn II* and a figure whose name is lost—are further differentiated by the fact that their captions contain a second kinship term, namely *hmt=f*, meaning that each women is simultaneously termed *mwt=i* and *hmt=f*. These are unique phenomena that are thus far unattested in funerary contexts. Leaving these two cases aside, the ratio of designations is rather unsurprising considering the fact that this terminological group appears so frequently in filiation formulae, although the preference for *N s3 Y* rather than *ms.n* is notable compared to the Theban material.

Epithets are relatively uncommon for this terminological group. Only two cases of *m3^ct-hrw* ‘true of voice’ (both grammatically gendered; TLA lemma-no. 66730) and one case of *mryt=f* ‘his beloved’ (TLA lemma-no. 550321) are attested, all of which belong to *Km*. Two further women are emphasised by longer captions: *S3t-Imn II* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 each have an offering formula for their *kas* (both in EK 5 scene 2). The formula of *S3t-Imn II* is further embellished with the phrase *in s3=sn s^cnh^h rn=sn*, denoting that this formula was made specifically by the son of *S3t-Imn II* and her partner, *It-r-r-i*, to cause their names to live. The use of the third-person plural suffix pronoun =*sn* strengthens the connection between this familial group and is so far unattested elsewhere in funerary contexts. Combined with the double kinship terms *mwt=i* and *hmt=f*, it appears that this family group utilised unique ways of referring to kinship relationships in their tombs, which arguably highlight the female side of this family (see §5.3). Damage only appears to have affected one caption belonging to the figure whose name has been lost in EK 5 scene 2, but it is unclear if the lacuna originally contained any text and the lacuna’s position means that the missing text may have been a title instead. Therefore, it appears that epithets were not common

for this group, thereby making the presence of epithets even more significant for those few individuals who do possess them.

Titles also seem to have been an individualising feature since they are only attested for those women who also have epithets: *Km* (two cases), *S3t-Imn II* (one case), and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 (one case). In each case, the title is *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15), suggesting a strong association of at least some of the women in this terminological group with senior household authority and management. While a lacuna in the caption of the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 means that she may have had an additional title, it is unclear if this lacuna originally contained any text and its position means that the missing text may have been an epithet instead.

Given the emphasis on filiation formulae, it is not surprising that women termed *mwt/ms.n* have the highest number of textual figures (five cases) out of all of the terminological groups in this case study; the same trend occurs in the Theban case study. What is distinctive compared to the Theban material is the equal distribution of textual to pictorial figures within the El-Kab *mwt/ms.n* terminological group (five cases each). In comparison, the Theban group had 36 textual attestations but only six pictorial figures. Therefore, the El-Kab family seems to have placed more relative importance on pictorially representing the women termed *mwt/ms.n* than their Theban counterpart. Moreover, only one El-Kab woman, *R-int*, is only attested as a textual figure, whereas women who are only shown as textual figures form the majority in the Theban case study. The restriction to texts means that knowledge of the existence of these women would have only been accessible to (semi-)literate visitors. While *Tb3n3* only has a textual figure in EK 3, she is pictorially shown with the term *mwt/ms.n* in the nearby EK 5, meaning that overall most visitors would have known of her.

Therefore, even though the general representational trend of women termed *mwt/ms.n* continues in the El-Kab case study—with this group having the most textual figures out of all of the terminological groups—this necropolis shows a potentially familial/regional variation in also depicting a significant number of these women as pictorial figures, thereby increasing their visibility in the overall decorative programme. This increased visibility was spread evenly between the women in this group, with each woman only having one attested pictorial figure. Again, this contrasts with the Theban case study where one of the four women shown pictorially was differentiated with multiple pictorial figures, suggesting that having multiple pictorial figures was potentially used as an emphatic, individualising marker within this terminological group. In the El-Kab case study, this feature appears to have been used to emphasise the terminological group as a whole rather than specific individuals.

When depicted pictorially, this terminological group is often shown as one of the largest figures in their scene/register: three figures are size 8 (two of which are uncertain), one figure is size 7, and only one figure's size is too damaged to determine. Moreover, these women appear to have a slight preference for registers (one upper and one lower) and sub-registers (two cases of lower sub-registers in second registers; the number of registers in EK 5 scene 3 is uncertain), although one whole wall scene is also attested (EK 3 scene 19). These women are almost always shown seated, either as part of a couple (two cases) or as part of a group (two cases). One case of kneeling in a group is also attested (*Ib3n3*; EK 5 scene 3). When shown in a group, women termed *mwt/ms.n* can appear first (one case) or second (one case). The group of niche statues in EK 3 scene 19 do not appear to have an order. In terms of levels, this group is usually shown on a +1 level in the scene/register (four cases) but one case of a baseline level is also attested (*Km*; EK 3 scene 19). In all of these cases, the woman termed *mwt/ms.n*

shares this level with other figures (one case is uncertain), and therefore they are not individually emphasised through this feature.

While seated, this group is commonly shown embracing their partners (three cases). The action of *S3t-Imn II* is no longer visible but was probably also embracing her partner. The only additional action belongs to the kneeling figure of *Tb3n3*, who holds a lotus flower in EK 5 scene 3. Similarly, three of the seated couples are offered to, which again correlates strongly with the usual scene type for this terminological group and their association with funerary themes. None of the figures in this terminological group are attested offering to other figures, suggesting that they hold respected positions within these scenes.

In terms of outfit, these women wear sheath dresses, two with straps that expose a breast, one with straps over the breasts (*Km*; EK 3 scene 19), and two that are too damaged to determine the specific style. The deviation from the typical exposed breast style is most likely due to the frontal orientation of the niche statue of *Km*. Wig types are predominantly the common tripartite wig (four cases) and only one case is too damaged to determine (*S3t-Imn II*; EK 5 scene 2), meaning that this trend is likely to be representative. Similarly, collars are mostly plain (three cases), with only one case of no collar at all and one case that is damaged. The figure without a collar also belongs to *Km* in EK 3 scene 19 and so this may be another statue-specific trend. Headwear is harder to determine since only one figure is attested with a lotus flower and incense cone (*T3-idy*; EK 3 scene 7–8). In contrast, the other four figures are either damaged (two cases) or intentionally lack this feature (two cases). The same can be said for bracelets since only one figure is attested with them (one bracelet for *Tb3n3*; EK 5 scene 3), while one figure intentionally lacks them (the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 2) and three cases are uncertain. Equally earrings are either intentionally absent

(one case for *Tb3n3*; EK 5 scene 3) or, more often than not, too damaged to determine (four cases). All of these figures are shown barefoot except for the niche statue of *Km*, whose feet are no longer visible. Overall, it appears that embellishment was uncommon for this terminological group and the prominence of plain rather than embellished collars is notable. However, the amount of damage makes this uncertain, especially with headwear, earrings, and bracelets.

Objects are fairly common for this terminological group. *Tb3n3* has two in EK 5 and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 and *S3t-Imn II* each have at least two objects below their chairs, but it is unclear due to damage whether they possessed any more. *Km* and *T3-idy* are both intentionally shown without objects in EK 3. Given the distribution of objects by tomb, the decision to depict this terminological group with objects may have been monument-specific. Object types are fairly varied, including three vessels, a mirror, an offering table, and a lotus flower.

Being depicted with one's own family is very rare for this group and only occurs for *T3-idy* in EK 3 (scene 7–8) where she is shown with a man labelled *s3=s Tti (I*; PSN 164). The compound term in *T3-idy*'s caption, *mwt nt hmt=f*, further makes it clear that she is the mother of *Hnwt-r-nhh* (PSN 157), *P3-hry*'s (PSN 147) wife. The fact that this connection is made via the tomb owner *P3-hry* and not directly via *Hnwt-r-nhh*, who is also shown in this scene, questions this distinction between families. In this case, it appears that an attempt was made to portray *T3-idy* as an integrated member of *P3-hry*'s family by choosing to relate her via his family rather than her daughter's. The same can be said of *T3-idy*'s partner, *Hry-kwr-r-r* (PSN 163), who is termed *it nt hmt=f*. Therefore, while *T3-idy* is shown with her own family in this scene, it seems that her family and that of *P3-hry* were to some extent considered one and the same (see §5.2). The remaining cases do not show women with their own family and only one case is

uncertain due to damage (EK 5 scene 2). Therefore, it appears that women termed *mwt/ms.n* were ideally shown as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network.

As is probably clear from the above discussion, none of these figures are shown in solitary positions within these scenes and in fact physical contact with other figures is very common, occurring for every figure except for that of *Tb3n3* in EK 5 scene 3, which is too damaged to determine. This damage also makes it unclear if *Tb3n3* is shown by herself but the parallel in the lower register makes this unlikely. The figures of *Km* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 each have one case of physical contact that they instigate with their partner as they sit together. The same can probably be said of *S3t-Tmn II* but damage makes this uncertain. In each of these cases, the man is the woman's husband. *T3-idy* has a case of physical contact that follows the above pattern with her partner, *Hry-kwr-r-r*, but since she is seated in a triple group she also physically touches the man seated behind her, who is her son *Tti I*. This contact appears to be equally reciprocated since the knees of *Tti I* overlap with the back of *T3-idy*. Overall, this appears to be an exception to the usual way in which this terminological group interacts with other figures. This exceptional presentation was perhaps utilised to emphasise the kinship connections between these three seated figures.

Bringing this together, these women have a variety of average similarities. They can be shown more prominently than other female figures (two cases of 4), equally prominent to other female figures (one case of 3), or slightly less prominently (two cases of 2.5–2.66, one of which is uncertain). This appears to summarise the way in which the positioning of these women in the scenes shows respect and emphasis, while their overall outfits follow standard trends and appear to lack further embellishment.

In conclusion, the representation of this group in the El-Kab case study seems to largely follow that of their Theban counterpart. This terminological group is characterised by a high number of scenes, mostly of an offering nature, which are prominently located throughout the tomb space. When shown pictorially, these women are often one of the largest figures in their scene/register and are shown on a high level, offered to, and with objects. This visual prominence is somewhat tempered through placements within registers and sub-registers, and low levels of embellishment to their outfits. This group is commonly shown as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network, highlighted by their frequent inclusion in seated couples and filiation formulae, and the dominance of the household-orientated title *nbt-pr*. The prevalence of the formula *N s3 Y* is particularly notable compared to the Theban case study. While this group contains the highest number of textual figures out of all of the terminological groups depicted at El-Kab, the ratio of pictorial to textual figures within this group is equal, suggesting that visually displaying this group was more important in the El-Kab cluster than it was in the Theban cluster where textual figures dominated for women termed *mwt/ms.n*.

3.2 Women termed *hmt*

3.2.1 Theban Case Study

There are thirteen women with preserved names who are shown with the term *hmt* 'wife' in these tombs: *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* (PSN 122) in TT 81; *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), *T^ch-ms* (PSN 22), *T^w-iw-nfrt* (PSN 25) in TT 82; and *Mryt* (PSN 63), *Bt* (PSN 64), and *It* (PSN 88) in TT 100. *T3(-^c3)-m-tw* (PSN 70) is shown in TT 82, TT 100, TT 122, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, while *T(w)-iw* (PSN 75) is shown in TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, and TT 131. A further three women are only shown with this term on artefacts relating

to these tombs: *Mryt-Imn* (PSN 19) on stelophorous statue ÄM 2316 probably from TT 82 (A.1.14), *Int=f I* (PSN 29) on a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah related to TT 82 (A.1.12), and *Nfirt-iry IV* (PSN 118) on a funerary cone probably from TT 82 (no. 379, A.1.2). *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and *T(w)-iw* are also shown on an artefact: statue CG 42119, which was found in Karnak Temple (A.1.10). There are two women, *[B3?]kt* (PSN 133) and *T(w)-iw*, who are shown with the compound kinship term *hm<t> s3=f* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. There is also a figure termed *hmt* whose name is no longer visible in each of TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, and TT 131; in TT 122 there are three such figures. The analysis of this terminological group is thus based on thirteen—potentially 20—women and 52 figures.

There are ten cases of women termed *hmt* on artefacts related to this corpus: *B3kt(-Imn)* is shown on a funerary cone (no. 46, A.1.2) and on a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12); *Mryt-Imn* is included on stelophorous statue ÄM 2316 (A.1.14); *Int=f I* is included in the above Gebel El-Silsilah stela; and *Nfirt-iry IV* is included in another funerary cone (no. 379, A.1.2). All of these artefacts are related to or probably originated from TT 82. *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and *T(w)-iw* are each shown on two artefacts: statue CG 42119, which is from Karnak Temple (A.1.10), and Stela Uriage, which is from TT 131 (A.1.13). One figure whose name is no longer visible is shown on a sandstone fragment from TT 122 (A.1.7).

Some of these women only appear on artefacts and not in the relating tomb iconography. The artefacts showing *Mryt-Imn*, *Nfirt-iry IV*, and the woman in TT 122 all (likely) originate from their relevant monuments, suggesting that they were included in the monument's overall iconographic programme. In comparison, the appearance of *Int=f I* on the Gebel El-Silsilah stela of *Imn-m-h3t* and *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw*'s portrayal on statue CG 42199 from Karnak Temple mean that these women were not included with the term

hmt in TT 82 or TT 61, respectively. *Int=f I* frequently appears in tomb iconography with the kinship term *mwt/ms.n*, and therefore her restriction to artefacts when she is termed *hmt* perhaps suggests that it was considered less important to display her in monumental iconography as a *hmt*. In comparison, *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* is shown iconographically in five other monumental contexts with the term *hmt*, perhaps suggesting that this occurrence on an artefact was a further extension of her overall portrayal as a *hmt*. The artefacts range from two stelae, two funerary cones, a stelophorous statue, a statue, and a sandstone fragment, implying a slight preference for funerary cones and statues. In only three of these cases is the *hmt* only included in inscriptions on the artefact, showing a preference for representing these women pictorially, especially considering that two of these cases are funerary cones where pictorial figures are extremely uncommon.

Excluding artefacts, there are a total of 34 scenes that show women termed *hmt* across these eight monuments. The scene types include offering tables (20 cases), fourteen of which include a banquet (two of which are uncertain) and one of which includes an Abydos pilgrimage and funerary procession, inscriptions (four cases), offerings (three cases), official duty (two cases), an Abydos pilgrimage and funeral procession (one case of an individual scene), a false door (one case), fishing and fowling (one case), and a hunt (one case). Due to the fragmentary nature of the thickness between the transverse hall and passage in TT 82, its scene type is uncertain. The distribution shows an overwhelming majority of offering table scenes, most of which have an accompanying banquet, perhaps showing a preference for depicting women termed *hmt* in association with (funerary) meals.

Most of these women are only shown in one scene per monument. A few women stand out with multiple scenes suggesting an emphasis on them as individuals: *B3kt(-*

Imn) has nine scenes in TT 82, *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp* and *Mryt* each have four scenes in TT 81 and TT 100, respectively, and *I(w)-iw* has two scenes in TT 61 and in TT 131. The woman whose name is lost in TT 122 may have had two scenes but this assumes that the figures all represent one individual.

Fig. 24 shows the placement of these scenes within the monuments. It appears that often women termed *ḥmt* were fairly evenly distributed throughout the architectural spaces, particularly in TT 81, TT 82, and TT 122. In comparison, TT 61 and TT 100 arguably focus this group in the back areas of the tomb, and in the former's case the subterranean burial chamber. TT 131, in contrast, focuses this group in the front room, while Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 focuses this group on one wall, although damage is a major factor in this monument. Overall, it appears that there was no set location for this terminological group within these monuments and the lack of both a cardinal direction and placements on ceilings is notable compared to women termed *mwt/ms.n*. Looking at the number of scenes per monument, TT 82 stands out with thirteen scenes compared to the others that have between one and five, suggesting an emphasis on this term in this tomb.

Including artefacts, there are a total of 64 captions for this terminological group: nineteen for *B3kt(-Imn)* (two on artefacts); nine for *I(w)-iw* (across TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, including two artefacts); eight for *T3(-ḥ)-m-tw* (across TT 82, TT 100, TT 122, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, including two artefacts); six for *Mryt*; five for *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp*; and two each for *Iḥ-ms* and *Iw-iw-nfirt*. The remaining women each only have one caption (unless the figures whose names are lost in TT 122 represent more than one individual). Only fourteen of these captions belong solely to the women termed *ḥmt*: *T3(-ḥ)-m-tw* and *I(w)-iw* on statue CG 42119 (A.1.10); *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp* in TT 81; *B3kt(Imn)*, *Mryt-Imn*, and *Iw-iw-nfirt* in TT 82; *Bt*,

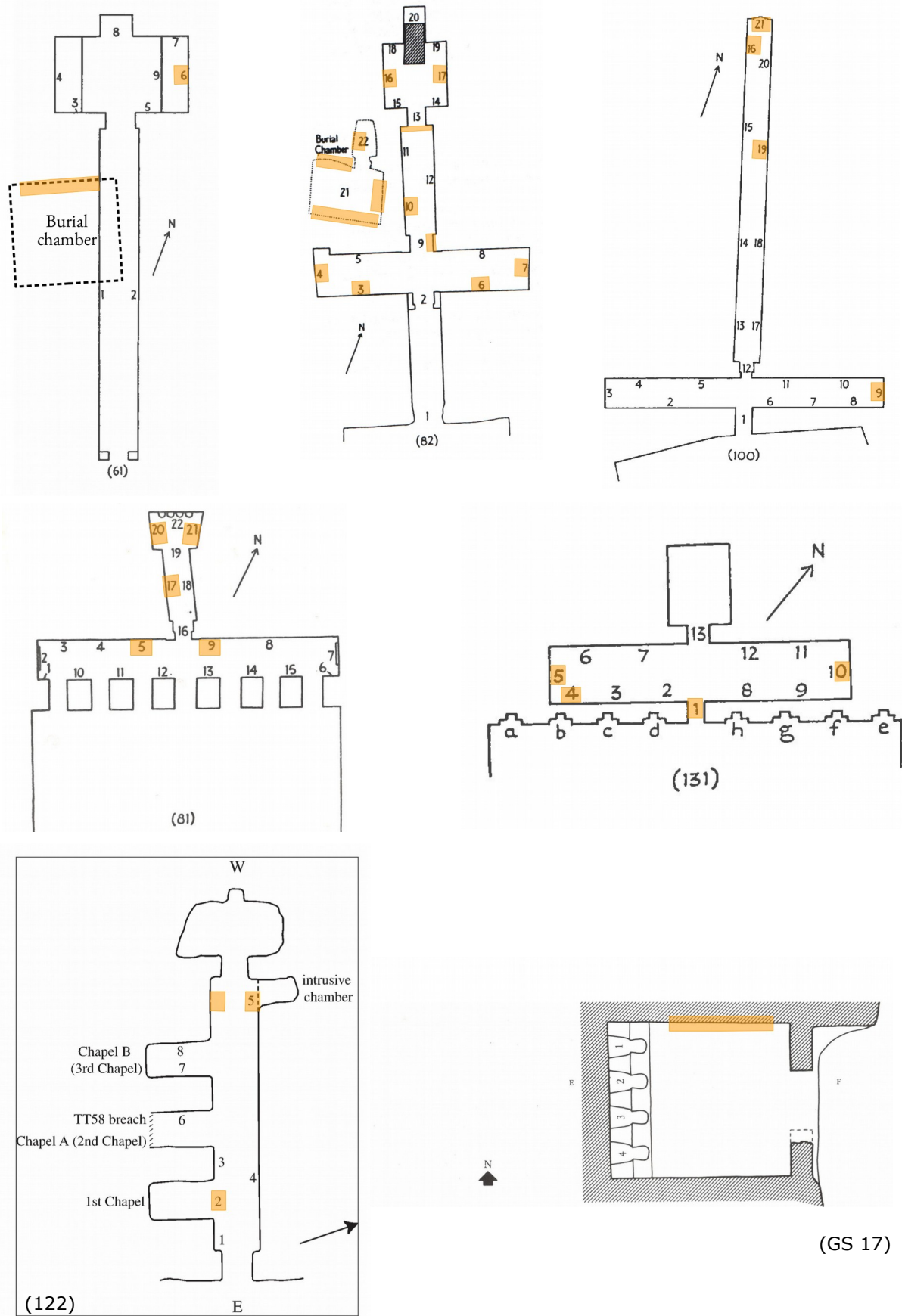


Figure 24: Scene placement of *hmt* in Theban case study
 (after PM I.1², 124, 160, 208, 238; after Caminos and James 1963, pl. 33; after Shirley 2010b, 273, fig. 1)

T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw, *T(w)-iw*, and *It* in TT 100; *T(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17; and the figures in TT 61 and TT 81 whose names are lost. From this list, it appears that only *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and *T(w)-iw* have more than one caption that they own personally, but these are in different contexts and across all of their captions they share captions more often than they own them individually (six out of eight and six out of nine, respectively). In fact, the majority of captions for this terminological group are shared between the *hmt* and their partner, with the *hmt* part written last (39 cases, three of which are uncertain). In only one case does the *hmt* part come first (*Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp* in TT 81 scene 9). Similarly, any offering formulae are shared, mostly by the *hmt* and their partner (seven cases, one of which is uncertain) or as part of a group (two cases). The ownership of the caption on the sandstone fragment from TT 122 is uncertain due to damage (A.1.7). Overall, therefore, it appears that a woman termed *hmt* is usually captioned together with another person(s).

Caption type is characterised by identification captions (49 cases, one of which is uncertain), meaning that captions for women termed *hmt* are primarily there to simply name them. Other types include offering formulae (nine cases, one of which is uncertain) and funerary texts (five cases, all of which belong to *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82). There is one further identification caption of *T(w)-iw* that appears in a solar hymn adoration scene (TT 131 scene 1 north wall). It is notable that all of the exceptions to the identification caption type are funerary in nature and that these exceptions are either due to the scene's type or arguably the unusual presence of a decorated burial chamber in TT 82 (see Den Doncker 2017).

Almost all of these captions contain the kinship term *hmt* (52 cases), the majority of which appear to have the expected male third-person suffix pronoun (four cases have damaged pronouns). There are two cases of the compound term *hmt <t> s3=f*

in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. One of the captions in TT 122 transverse hall south wall is damaged before the *hmt* meaning that it could have shown a compound term. The representations of the women with these compound terms, $\overline{T}(w)-iw$ and $[B3?]kt$, stand out from the rest of this terminological group, suggesting that the inclusion of in-laws was different to that of wives (see §5.3). Seven of the nine offering formulae do not contain kinship terms, but those of $T^c h-ms$ and $\overline{T}w-iw-nfirt$ refer to these women as part of a group labelled $itw=f$ (see §3.1.1).

In terms of epithets, the most common is $m3^c t-hrw$ ‘true of voice’ (TLA lemma-no. 66730), which is attested 28 times, eight of which are ungendered. These eight cases are shared between six different women, suggesting that this omission was not targeted at any specific individual, unlike with the *mwt/ms.n* group. A slight preference for ungendered $m3^c t-hrw$ epithets on artefacts is notable across these groups: three cases for *hmt* and two cases for *mwt/ms.n*. One of these $m3^c t-hrw$ epithets was written $m3^c <t>-hrw\{t\}$ suggesting a scribal error. The next most common epithet for this group is the emotional epithet $mr(y)t=f$ ‘his beloved’ (eighteen cases, one of which is ungendered and a further three of which are damaged; TLA lemma-no. 550321). Other emotional epithets include $n(t) st-ib=f$ ‘of his affection’ (three cases, one of which is ungendered and one which starts *nt* but is then damaged; TLA lemma-no. 125150), and hn^c ‘together with’ (three cases; TLA lemma-no. 106200), which is used in joint captions.

While the two ungendered $mr(y)t=f$ and $n(t) st-ib=f$ epithets both belong to $B3kt(-Imn)$ in TT 82, which could perhaps suggest that the scribe(s) felt it unnecessary to specifically gender her individual captions, this is more likely to be due to the overall tendencies of this scribe in this tomb since he also omits the feminine ‘*t*’ in epithets belonging to two other women termed *hmt* in this tomb. Therefore, the fact that $B3kt(-$

Imn) has nineteen captions in TT 82 makes it more likely for this tendency to have affected her.

Funerary epithets are somewhat common, including *im3hyw* ‘revered one’ (two cases; TLA lemma-no. 25090), *imy(w) hrt-ntr* ‘who are in the necropolis’ (two cases), *hr ntr-ꜣ* ‘who is before the great god’ (two cases), and *im3hy hr* [...] ‘revered one before [...]’ (one case). Other epithets include *ddt.n=s* ‘who is called’ (one case, *Tw-iw/Iꜥh-htp*) and *hnwt=f* [...] (one case in TT 122; there is a chance that this is the name of the woman but damage to the caption makes this unclear). Overall, therefore, it appears that epithets in general were a common feature in the captions of women termed *hmt*, particularly *m3ꜥt-hrw* and emotional epithets.

Only six women in this group have captions that go beyond a simple string of epithets and/or titles: *B3kt(-Imn)* (four cases), *Mryt* (two cases), *Iꜥh-ms* (one case), *Tw-iw-nfrt* (one case), *T3(-ꜣ)-m-tw* (one case in TT 122), and *Tw-iw/Iꜥh-htp* (one case). Nine of these longer captions are offering formulae, seven of which are specifically *htp-di-nsw* formulae and four of which are directed at the *kas* of the *hmt* and their partner with *n k3=tn* (two for *Mryt* and one each for *B3kt(-Imn)* and *T3(-ꜣ)-m-tw* in TT 122). The offering formula of *Tw-iw/Iꜥh-htp* is unfortunately damaged meaning that its content and recipients are unclear. *B3kt(-Imn)* has a further caption in TT 82 scene 10 that ends *di(w) n=sn m3ꜥt-hrw* ‘may they be given justification’, with the third-person plural suffix pronoun emphasising both her and her partner’s inclusion in this wish.

There are sixteen captions where lacunae could cover up an epithet (two of which are uncertain), meaning that it is highly likely that epithets are missing from the above list or may have been more frequent than preservation suggests. In nine of these cases the positions of the lacunae mean that they could have contained titles instead. Only *It* in TT 100 and *I(w)-iw* and [*B3?*] *kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 have captions

intentionally written without any epithets, which stands out compared to the overall frequency of epithets for this group, suggesting that both longer captions and a lack of any epithets were meant to be individualising features in this terminological group.

Similar to the terminological group *mwt/ms.n*, the most common title for women termed *hmt* is *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (42 cases; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15). Six of these titles omit the feminine ‘*t*’ (three of which are damaged), which differs from those of the *mwt/ms.n* group, which are all correctly gendered. Similar to ungendered epithets for this group, these ungendered titles occur for five different women, suggesting that they were not targeted at a specific individual. In contrast to epithets, these ungendered titles all occur in the monuments and none appear in the associated artefacts. Only one woman has a different title: *Mryt-Imn* is called *šmꜣyt nt Imn* ‘chantress of Amun’ (TLA lemma-no. 851078; Onstine 2005). This is notable since *Mryt-Imn* is also one of the few women in this group who is intentionally not attested with the title *nbt-pr*, perhaps suggesting that her representation was somewhat different to that of her counterparts or an intentional focus on her temple duties rather than household management. The fact that this chantress title occurs on a stelophorous statue points to the latter possibility (A.1.14).

Ten captions are damaged in such a way that additional titles may have been attributed to this group, although the positions of these lacunae mean that the missing texts could have been epithets instead. A further three women—the figure whose name is lost in TT 61, and *I(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17—have captions intentionally written without any titles. In the latter two cases these women also do not have epithets, suggesting a conscious decision not to further elaborate on their identity in this context. This could be due to space or perhaps due to their extended kinship connection to these families since they are both termed *hm<t> s3=f* (see §5.3). Overall,

it appears that this terminological group was heavily associated with senior household management, with additional social roles (or no roles at all) attributed on an individual basis in specific contexts.

The ratio of textual figures to pictorial figures shows a strong preference for pictorial representations of women termed *hmt*: only seven out of 52 figures are textual and four of these occur on artefacts (two funerary cones, nos. 46 and 379, A.1.2; a sandstone fragment, A.1.7; a stelophorous statue, A.1.14). The figure on the thickness of the transverse hall and passage in TT 82 is too damaged to determine for certain whether there was a pictorial figure accompanying the caption, but this figure has been included in the pictorial category given the preference for pictorial figures in this terminological group. Furthermore, it appears that only two women, *Mryt-Imn* and *Nfrt-iry IV*, have no pictorial representation at all, suggesting that their inclusion with this term was rather superficial. In most cases, each woman is only shown pictorially once per monumental context (nineteen cases). The two pictorial figures whose names are lost in TT 122 could represent the same woman or different individuals. In contrast, *T(w)-iw* is shown twice in TT 61 and three times in TT 131, while *T3(-ʕ)-m-ṯw* is shown twice in TT 131. *Tw-iw/Iʕh-ḥtp* and *Mryt* stand out even more with four attestations, while *B3kt(-Imn)* is emphasised with nine representations. These women were arguably focused on in these contexts, with the term *hmt* forming a key aspect of their representation.

The majority of these pictorial figures are depicted size 8, meaning that they are one of the largest figure(s) in the scene (31 cases, six of which are uncertain). Only *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 is attested with different sizes: size 4 (one uncertain case), size 5 (one case), size 6 (one uncertain case), and size 7 (one case), although she is also shown size 8 four times (one of which is uncertain). This appears to be unique to this

terminological group since there are only nine cases where the figure's size is unknown or no longer visible, suggesting that the overall trend of depicting women termed *hmt* with the largest size is representative.

In terms of location within the scene, women termed *hmt* are generally shown in scenes that take up the whole wall (eighteen cases) or in upper registers (twelve cases), but can occasionally be found in the second register (two cases) or lower register (five cases, although the number of registers in TT 61 burial chamber north wall is uncertain). Appearances in sub-registers are fairly uncommon (seven cases, including four upper sub-registers and three lower sub-registers) and all but two of the sub-registers appear in the upper register of the scenes, further indicating that women termed *hmt* were normally included in the upper, more prestigious areas of decoration.

The majority of cases show the *hmt* behind their partner: in 26 cases, the woman termed *hmt* is seated behind their partner; two more cases show the woman termed *hmt* standing behind their partner (one of which is uncertain); and in ten more cases, the stance of the woman termed *hmt* behind their partner is unclear due to damage (two of which are uncertain). The few exceptions show the *hmt* seated either alone (two cases) or as part of a group (one case), or standing in a group (three cases). One further case is too damaged to determine (TT 122 transverse hall south). The positioning of women termed *hmt* within groups, including when they are shown in a unit as part of a seated couple, shows a slight preference for middle positions: two cases of foremost positions (one of which is as part of a seated couple), four cases of middle positions, and one case of backmost positions. In only one case does damage obscure the location of the *hmt* within the scene and in only one case are the position and stance unknown, suggesting that the overall trend of depicting women termed *hmt* in prominent locations within the scene, but almost always as the second figure in a couple, is representative.

Only three women termed *hmt* are shown on the baseline of a register: *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* (TT 81 scene 21), *T(w)-iw* (TT 131 scene 1), and the figure whose name is lost (TT 82 scene 20). In contrast, 23 figures are all on a +1 level but they always share this either with their partner and/or other people in the scene. In fact, the only women termed *hmt* who appear on a level by themselves are *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* in TT 81 scene 21 and the figure whose name is lost in TT 82 scene 20. This suggests that appearing on a baseline was meant to single out these women in the scene, while appearing on a +1 level was not meant to be an individualising feature. Nineteen figures have levels that are no longer visible or unknown and so the above trend may not be representative.

Most of these figures embrace their partner (21 cases) and in three of these cases the woman also holds a lotus in their other hand. This additional action is in fact the only other type of action that seems to be associated with this term (three more cases, two of which are uncertain). An almost equal number of cases (sixteen) are unfortunately too damaged to make out or unknown, meaning that there might have been a wider range of actions for this terminological group than preservation suggests. No action at all is possible for this group and occurs for the two mummiform figures of *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 scene 10 and that of the figure whose name is lost in TT 61 burial chamber north wall.

Unlike the kinship term *mwt/ms.n*, a relatively equal proportion of these figures are shown being offered to in the scene (seventeen cases) compared to those who are shown neither offered to nor offering to another figure (sixteen cases). *Mryt* is the only woman who is consistently portrayed in one of these positions: she is shown being offered to four times in TT 100. While the same could be said for more women, they only have one pictorial figure per monumental context, which makes this consistency less notable. The remaining twelve figures are damaged, making it uncertain whether

they were offered to/offering or were shown in neither position. However, due to the apparent avoidance of showing women termed *hmt* offering to other figures, it is likely that these damaged figures were either portrayed being offered to or were not involved in offering actions. None of these uncertain figures depict *Mryt*, which seems to confirm that being shown offered to could be used to emphasise and show respect to certain individuals within this terminological group.

The outfits of these women are fairly standard with only minor variations, mostly due to preservation. Women termed *hmt* generally wear sheath dresses with straps that expose the wearer's breasts (22 cases, one of which also has a sleeve/fringe and three of which are uncertain). All of the alternate dresses, including six possible sheath dresses and a dress with just straps, are very damaged. *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 scene 10 and the figure whose name is lost in TT 61 each have mummiform outfits, while thirteen outfits are too damaged to discern or are unknown. Despite the amount of damage, the preference for standard sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast is notable.

Wigs show a preference for the standard tripartite style (24 cases). Only *Tw-*iw/I^ch-*h*tp** is shown with an enveloping wig (TT 122 scene 17), which is notable since she is termed *hmt* and shown with a tripartite wig in two other scenes in this tomb. The mummiform figure of the woman termed *hmt* in TT 61 has a beard, which is unique in this corpus and is most likely due to the mummiform nature of this figure. 20 cases are too damaged to make out the presence of a wig or its type, meaning that the above trend may not be representative. Headwear appears to be rare since only one figure is attested with this feature: *B3kt(-Imn)* wears a lotus flower headdress in TT 82 scene 16. In comparison, 24 cases are intentionally depicted without headwear (one of which is uncertain). Even if the 20 cases that are too damaged to discern or are unknown show

these women with headwear, it would appear that at best this feature was not strongly associated with the term *hmt* and was at worst extremely rare.

In terms of jewellery, collars appear to be common and are mostly embellished, when present (fifteen cases). Only six collars are plain and they occur on five different women, most of whom also have figures with embellished collars, suggesting that embellished versions was the norm. Moreover, only four figures are intentionally shown without a collar, two of which are uncertain and two of which are mummiform figures where collars would be unusual. One of the mummiform figures of *B3kt(-Imn)* is damaged on the upper body but it is unlikely that this damaged area originally contained a collar. A further nineteen cases are either too damaged to make out or are unknown, but considering the low numbers of women intentionally shown without collars, it is likely that most of these cases originally showed collars, and therefore it is simply the ratio of embellished versus plain styles that is uncertain.

Bracelets and earrings are harder to assess due to preservation: 27 cases of bracelets and 26 cases of earrings are too damaged to make out or are unknown. The only figures shown with bracelets are three belonging to *Mryt* and one belonging to *T3(-3)-m-tw* in TT 100, who are each shown with one bracelet per figure, and the figure of *T(w)-iw* in TT 131 scene 4, who is shown with possibly one or two bracelets and two anklets. While the above distribution could suggest that this feature was monument- or person-specific, both tombs show women termed *hmt* without bracelets and all of these women (except *Mryt*) are also shown without bracelets in other scenes, which suggest that this feature was not applied consistently. The remaining figure of *Mryt* is too damaged to determine bracelets and so it is likely that this feature was a prominent part of her individual representation. This makes her unique in this group, especially since thirteen figures are intentionally left without bracelets (although one case is uncertain

and three cases are mummiform). Earrings might be a slightly more clear-cut case since when the figure's head is preserved no woman termed *hmt* is attested with earrings, although three cases are mummiform and so are perhaps to be expected. Overall, therefore, it appears that beyond collars women termed *hmt* often have outfits lacking any further embellishment, but damage is a major factor in assessing this.

When the figure's feet are visible, it appears that almost all of these figures are shown barefoot (22 cases), although 21 cases are too damaged to discern or are unknown and so this may not be representative. The only apparent variations on bare feet are the two mummiform figures of *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 scene 10 (the other mummiform figure's feet in TT 61 are no longer visible), which suggests that women termed *hmt* most likely followed the standard trends for their outfit type.

Objects are rarely attested for women termed *hmt*. Only eight figures are shown with objects and in each case there is only one object per figure: *Mryt* in TT 100 (three cases); *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp* in TT 81 scene 9; *T(w)-iw* in TT 131 scene 4 and in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17; *[B3?]kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17; and the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 scene 20, although damage means that she may have had more objects. In comparison, eighteen figures (four of which are uncertain) were intentionally shown without objects, while 20 figures are too damaged to discern. Almost all of these damaged figures would have to have included objects for this to be a common feature for this group, which seems improbable. The objects themselves range from six lotus flowers (two of which are uncertain) and two animals (a dog and a goose). This is one of the few terminological groups to be shown with apparently domesticated animals, suggesting that while objects in general were rare, women termed *hmt* appear to have been given specific object types when they were included.

Only two women termed *hmt* are shown with their own family in these monuments: *Tw-*iw*/T^c*h*-*h*tp* in TT 81 and *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82. The relatives shown with these women include parents in filiation formulae (*B3kt(-Imn)*; TT 82 scene 21 south and north walls), possibly a son (*B3kt(-Imn)*; TT 82 scene 17; see §2.1.1), and sisters (*Tw-*iw*/T^c*h*-*h*tp*; TT 81 scenes 5, 9, and 21). In these two cases, *B3kt(-Imn)* and *Tw-*iw*/T^c*h*-*h*tp* form the focus of the kinship term and the relationship between these figures is explicitly stated to the (semi-)literate visitor. Four further cases are unknown and two cases are uncertain regarding this feature due to damage but are probably unlikely. Therefore, this phenomenon appears to have been quite rare for this terminological group, suggesting that women termed *hmt* were ideally shown as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network. When this group is shown with their own family, however, this happens fairly regularly, particularly for *Tw-*iw*/T^c*h*-*h*tp*. Therefore, this feature appears to be both specific to certain individuals and a common feature of their representation, perhaps suggesting that their individual identity and wider social networks were an important aspect of their portrayals in these contexts.

Physical contact, in contrast, is relatively common for this group. Only seven figures are attested without any physical contact with another figure: *Tw-*iw*/T^c*h*-*h*tp* in TT 81 scenes 9 and 21; *T(w)-*iw** in TT 131 scene 1 north wall; *T(w)-*iw** and [*B3?*]*kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 where they appear in a line of women; and the two figures whose names have been lost in TT 61 and TT 81. A further fourteen figures are not attested with physical contact but this is due to preservation in the first instance. In three of these cases, the woman's position relative to other figures, often seated as part of a couple, means that physical contact is very likely to have been present. In contrast, 24 figures are securely attested with physical contact, the majority of which are limited to one contact per figure (22 cases). In contrast, *T(w)-*iw** is depicted with two contacts in

TT 100 scene 9: one with *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and another with *Mry I*, who is labelled *s3=f*. In this same scene, *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* is shown with three contacts: one with *ʕ3-m-tw* (PSN 66) and one each with two men labelled *s3=f*, one named *Imn-m-h3t I* and one whose name is lost. This is very likely to be a result of spatial limitations in this scene since it contains a large number of figures. These cases are also the only ones to include men who are not the woman's husband, which otherwise appears to be the norm for this group. Almost all of these cases of physical contact are not reciprocated. Only the cases of *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and *T(w)-iw* with their respective men labelled *s3=f* in TT 100 and the two figures of *B3kt(-Imn)* in the Abydos pilgrimage of TT 82 are reciprocal. These were arguably exceptional circumstances due to the scene's composition and/or type. The physical contact between *T(w)-iw* and *Wsr(-Imn)* in statue CG 42119 is probably non-reciprocal but *T(w)-iw*'s arms are hard to discern (A.1.10). Overall, it appears that women termed *hmt* are almost always shown with non-reciprocal physical contact with their husband in these contexts.

As is probably evident from the preceding account, it is rare for women termed *hmt* to be depicted in solitary positions. Only three figures are shown in such positions: two belong to *Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp* in TT 81 scenes 9 and 21, and one belongs to the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 scene 20. The distribution of scenes suggests that this is a monument-specific trend. Only two cases of solitariness are no longer visible or are unknown, and in only two further cases is it uncertain, albeit likely, that the woman termed *hmt* was depicted as part of a group. Therefore, it appears very common for women termed *hmt* to be represented closely and physically related to other figures in the scene.

Bringing this together, the average similarity of these women ranges from 1.5–5. Only four figures have averages below 3 marking less relatively prominent positions:

two for *B3kt-(Imn)* in TT 82 scene 10 when she is mummiform and one each for *T(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall as they stand in a row of women. While the mummiform figures' values are arguably understandable given the presence of a divine goddess in the scene, the cases in Gebel El-Silsilah seem unusual for this group. This is especially true since the remaining figures in this terminological group are either equally or more visually prominent than other women in the scene: eleven figures have averages of 3 marking equal prominence; eight figures have values between 3.5 and 4.5 marking slightly greater visual prominence; while thirteen figures (one of which is uncertain) have an average of 5 marking them as the most visually prominent woman in the scene. Only nine figures are too damaged to determine their average similarity or are unknown, meaning that this trend is likely to be representative.

In conclusion, this terminological group appears to be one of the most visually prominent, with a strong preference for pictorial figures often shown as the largest figure, in the most prestigious locations within the scene, including high levels, and throughout the architectural space. Moreover, women termed *hmt* appear to have been given specific objects, namely animals, and are shown on a relatively high number of artefacts, making them even more visible within and beyond the funerary monuments. This prominence, however, is almost always shared with other figures and in fact this group is characterised by close iconographic relationships with others in the scene. Women termed *hmt* are primarily shown as part of a couple, normally with their husband, who they sit behind and embrace with their hands and share captions with. This perhaps also explains the frequency of emotional epithets and the title *nbt-pr* for this terminological group. This stance almost always puts the woman in a secondary position compared to her husband, strengthened by the last position in joint captions.

Some similarities with the group *mwt/ms.n* are present, particularly the frequency of the epithet *m3^ct-hrw* and the preference for offering table scenes and offering formulae. Moreover, the outfits of women termed *hmt* are fairly standard, with often only embellished collars serving to add to their ensemble. One key difference with the group *mwt/ms.n* is the high level of individualisation within this group. Three women stand out from their counterparts with a high number of scenes within a monument: *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* in TT 81, *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82, and *Mryt* in TT 100. Moreover, *B3kt(-Imn)* and *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* are shown with their own family and *Mryt* is frequently shown offered to and with bracelets. These features arguably make these women stand out, showing an added emphasis and/or concern for their portrayals.

B3kt(-Imn) also has a high level of variation within her representations: she is most often shown in the usual way for this terminological group, as outlined above, but can also be shown with small figures sizes and low average similarities. This level of variation is arguably a result of the number of and variety of scenes in which she is shown and so it is possible that these features were not as representationally inferior as they might appear at the outset. Another two women stand out from this group but because these women's figures do not align at all with the standard portrayal of this terminological group: *T(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall. This is particularly notable in their lack of epithets and titles, the fact that they appear in a group of other women without any physical contact, and the fact that they have an overall low average similarity compared to other women in the scene. Perhaps this difference was due to their extended kinship relationship in this monument, shown through the compound term *hm<t> s3=f* in their captions (see §5.3). Overall, therefore, it appears that women termed *hmt* are characterised by relational portrayals in this

corpus, which make them one of the most visually prominent figures in their respective scenes.

3.2.2 El-Kab Case Study

There are four women with preserved names who are depicted with the kinship term *hmt* in the El-Kab case study: *Hnwt-r-nhh* (PSN 157) in EK 3; *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141) in EK 5; and *I-pw* (PSN 151) and *Km* (PSN 152), who are each shown in both tombs. There is one figure with this kinship term whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 2; this is the same figure discussed above for *mwt/ms.n*, i.e. the *hmt* of *Hry-iry* and the *mwt* of *P3-hry I* (see §3.1.2). Therefore, this discussion is based on a corpus of four—most likely five—women and a total of ten figures.

Considering the low number of individual women, this terminological group appears in a relatively high number of scenes across these two tombs (six scenes). Scene types are mainly focused on offering table and banquet scenes (three cases), but an inscription (one case), a group of niche statues (one case), and an offering scene (one case) are also attested. Most women are only shown in one scene per tomb: *S3t-Imn II* and *I-pw* in EK 3, *Km* in each tomb, and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5. Only *Hnwt-r-nhh* and *I-pw* in EK 5 stand out with multiple scenes: three for *Hnwt-r-nhh* and two for *I-pw*, suggesting an individual emphasis on these two women, with this kinship term forming a prominent aspect of their individual representation in these contexts.

The placement of these scenes within each monument (Fig. 25) shows a preference for depicting this terminological group in certain parts of the tomb: on the eastern side in EK 3 and in the back west corner in EK 5. Most of these scenes are located towards the back areas of each tomb, which correlates with the common scene type of offering tables and banquets noted above. Therefore, it appears that despite the

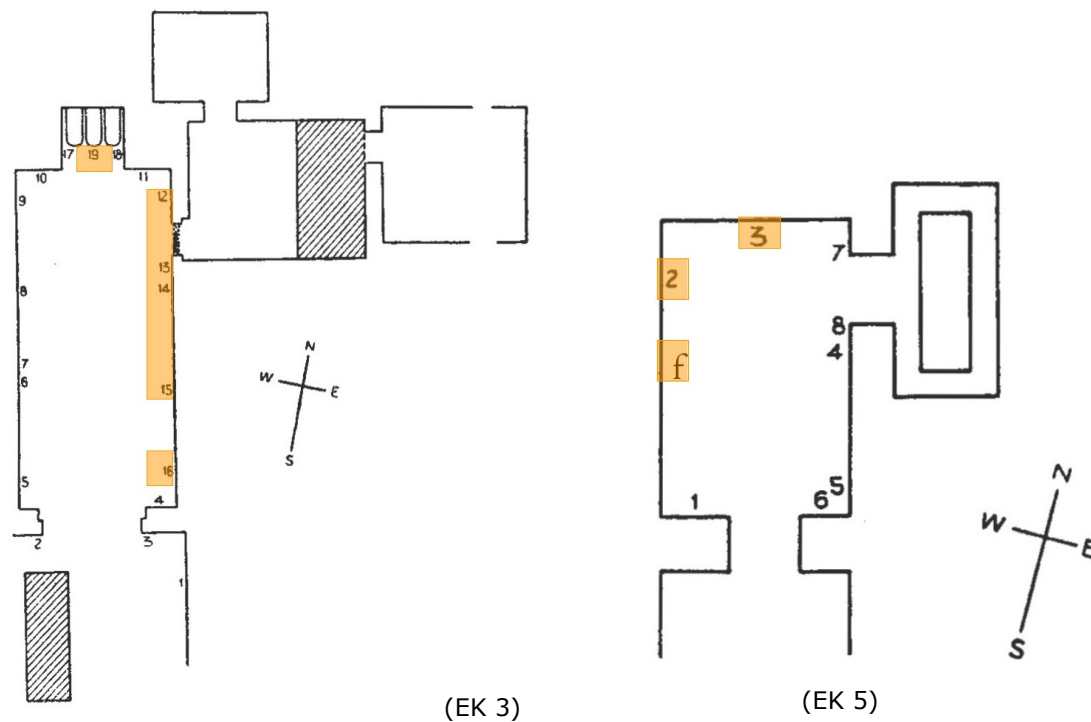


Figure 25: Scene placement of *hmt* in El-Kab case study ('f' denotes a frieze text; after PM V, 178)

high number of scenes, the restriction of these scenes to certain areas of each tomb makes this terminological group less visible in the overall architecture, although this is perhaps more so in EK 5 than in EK 3.

There are a total of fourteen captions for this terminological group. Damage to the figure of *S3t-Imn II* in EK 5 scene 2 means that a further caption of hers has probably been lost. Almost all of these women have more than one caption per tomb: *Hnwt-r-nhh* has four; *Km* in EK 5 has three; *T-pw* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 each have two; *S3t-Imn II* probably had two; and *T-pw* and *Km* in EK 3 have only one each. However, only one of these captions is owned solely by the woman termed *hmt* (*Hnwt-r-nhh*; EK 3 scene 19). All of the other captions are shared by the woman and another figure, either in a joint caption where the woman's part appears last (seven cases) or in a joint offering formula (five cases). There is one additional case where the woman appears jointly in the caption of another figure through the third-person plural

suffix pronoun =*sn*, strengthening the equality between the woman and her partner (*Km*; EK 5 scene 3). Caption type is split between identification (nine cases, one of which is uncertain) and offering formulae (five cases), which matches the common scene type of offering table and banquet scenes noted above. Overall, it appears that while women termed *hmt* are frequently captioned, these captions often appear in association with other figures, suggesting a desire to depict this group as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network.

Kinship designations focus on the common term *hmt* (ten cases), all of which are written with the expected male third-person suffix pronoun =*f*. Three captions lack a kinship term but they are offering formulae or another figure's caption in which the woman is referenced via a pronoun instead. Similar to the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group, there are two women who are simultaneously captioned with another kinship designation: *S3t-Imn II* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 are both captioned *mwt=i* and *hmt=f* (see §3.1.2). Overall, it appears that the most common designation was *hmt=f* and the lack of compound terms is particularly notable compared to the Theban case study.

Epithets appear to be common for this terminological group and almost every woman has at least one. The captions of *I-pw* and *Km* in EK 3 both have lacuna that could obscure an epithet, but in the case of *I-pw* the location of the lacuna means that this damaged area could have included a title instead. Damage obscures a further potential epithet for *Hnwt-r-nhh* and a further potential epithet or title for the figure whose name is lost in EK 5. The majority of epithets are longer epithets, including *htp-di-nsw* offering formulae (four cases, three of which are directed at the woman termed *hmt* specifically) and another *n k3(=tn)* formula (one case). Three formulae are further embellished with the phrase *in s3=sn* 'by their son' and/or *s^cnh rn=sn* 'who causes their

name to live', with the pronoun referring to the woman termed *hmt* and her partner. Other epithets include *m3^ct-hrw* 'true of voice' (four cases, all of which are grammatically gendered; TLA lemma-no. 66730), *mr(y)t=f* 'his beloved' (three cases; TLA lemma-no. 550321), and *n(t) st-ib=f* 'of his affection' (two cases; TLA lemma-no. 125150). Almost all of these shorter epithets are only attested for *Hnwt-r-nhh*. Therefore, it appears that apart from *Hnwt-r-nhh* the epithets for this terminological group primarily result from the high number of offering formulae associated with these women. The apparent lack of shorter epithets, whether funerary or emotional, contrasts strongly with the Theban material.

Titles are very common for this terminological group and are attested for every woman. In every case the title is *nbt-pr* 'mistress of the house' (ten cases; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15). Only one of these cases is ungendered (*Km*; EK 5 scene 3). The captions of *I-pw* in EK 3 and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 are both damaged in such a way that the lacunae could have been epithets instead. Therefore, there is a strong association of this terminological group with senior household authority and management, similar to the Theban case study.

This terminological group shows a strong preference for pictorial figures (nine cases). Only one textual figure is attested in this corpus: *I-pw* occurs in a frieze text in EK 5 where pictorial figures would be unusual. Therefore, there seems to be a strong desire to represent this terminological group visually where possible in these decorative programmes, making knowledge of their existence more accessible to the varied tomb audiences. Most women only have one pictorial figure per tomb. However, again *Hnwt-r-nhh* stands out with three pictorial figures in EK 3, making her even more visible to potential visitors.

When depicted pictorially, this terminological group is consistently shown as one of the largest figures in their scene/register (seven cases of size 8, one of which is uncertain). Only two figures' sizes are no longer visible, which means that this trend is likely to be representative. The location of this terminological group within the scenes focuses on registers: four upper, one second, and three lower, although the number of registers in EK 5 scene 3 is uncertain. One whole wall scene is also attested (*Hnwt-r-nhh*; EK 3 scene 19), meaning that these women are generally located in fairly prominent sections of the scenes. Levels are equally prominent since seven figures are situated on a +1 level within the scene. *Hnwt-r-nhh* is the only woman depicted on the baseline of a register and this occurs for both her niche statue (scene 19) and in the adoration scene (no. 16) in EK 3. These levels are arguably not meant to be individualising since in each case the woman shares this level with another figure. This is because these women are almost always shown seated behind (seven cases) or standing behind (one case) another figure. Only the figure of *Hnwt-r-nhh* in EK 3 scene 19 differs from this trend since the row of seated niche statues arguably lacks an order. It appears that this scene's type and layout meant that the usual way of depicting women termed *hmt* had to be adapted. Overall, the location and stance of women termed *hmt* make them visually prominent within the scenes, most often as part of a couple.

The actions of this terminological group focus on embracing one's partner (seven cases), which was probably also the gesture of the now damaged figure of *S3t-Tmn II*. One alternative action is attested for *Hnwt-r-nhh* in EK 3 scene 16 where she holds her hands down at her side. This could perhaps be due to the offering nature of this scene, especially compared to the other scenes, which are niche statues and offering table and banquets. Almost all of these figures are offered to in this case study, including all four women depicted in EK 5. In EK 3, only one figure out of the three belonging to

Hnwt-r-nhh is shown being offered to (scene 12–15), while her two remaining figures and those of *Km* and *T-pw* are not offered to at all. Therefore, while this terminological group is generally shown in this respected position, this feature could be monument-specific. None of these women are shown offering to other figures.

In terms of outfits, this group is predominantly shown in the typical sheath dress with straps that expose a breast (six cases), but the dress of *Hnwt-r-nhh*'s niche statue is a simple sheath dress, most likely due to the frontal orientation and/or 3D nature of this scene. The dresses of *S3t-Imn II* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 2 are too damaged to make out the specific style of sheath dress. Wigs similarly follow the common tripartite style (seven cases, one of which is uncertain), while the two remaining cases are no longer visible due to damage. Additional headwear is rare and only attested for one figure of *Hnwt-r-nhh* (lotus flower headdress; EK 3 scene 12–15). Five figures intentionally lack any headwear and only three figures are too damaged to determine, meaning that headwear was probably rare for this terminological group. Collars are more prevalent and are a fairly equal mix of embellished versions (four cases, two of which are uncertain) and plain versions (three cases), but two cases are no longer visible and so this ratio may not be representative.

Further jewellery, including bracelets and earrings, appears to be less common, especially in EK 5. Bracelets are only attested for the figures in EK 3, including two figures of *Hnwt-r-nhh* (one with at least two bracelets and the other with three bracelets; her other figure is too damaged to determine) and the figures of *T-pw* (three bracelets) and *Km* (at least one bracelet). In comparison, none of the figures in EK 5 have bracelets, whether intentionally (three cases) or due to damage (one case). Earrings are not attested in either tomb, whether intentionally (four cases) or because damage makes this feature hard to discern (five cases), although the amount of damage here means that

this ratio may not be representative. All of these figures appear to have been shown barefoot (eight cases) and only one case is no longer visible due to damage. Overall, therefore, it appears that this terminological group was shown with fairly standard outfits, often lacking further embellishment, especially headwear and earrings, with only collars and bracelets (in EK 3) adding further elaboration.

Objects are fairly common for this terminological group: *Hnwt-r-nhh* (EK 3 scene 12–15) and *T-pw* (EK 5 scene 3) have two objects each; *S3t-Imn II* and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 each have at least two objects but damage may obscure another; and *T-pw* has one object in EK 3. The remaining four figures have no objects; three of these cases occur in EK 3, and so the distribution of objects may have been a monument-specific trend. Object types focus on animals (two monkeys and a dog), vessels (five cases), and a mirror. Therefore, having apparently domesticated animals appears to be distinctive to this terminological group across both case studies.

Being depicted with one's own family is rare for this terminological group and only occurs for *Hnwt-r-nhh* in EK 3 scenes 12–15 and 16. Due to damage, it is unclear whether the figures of *T-pw*, *Km*, and the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 were shown with their own family. In scene 12–15, *Hnwt-r-nhh* is shown with five women labelled *s3t=s*. She is also shown with a man captioned *s3 n snt nt mwt nt hmt=f [...].n-km(?)* in scene 16, which parallels the situation noted in the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group where the family of *Hnwt-r-nhh* is linked to her through the tomb owner *P3-hry* (PSN 147; i.e. the 'his' in *hmt=f*; see §3.1.2). This further suggests that the distinction between these two families could be blurred in the context of their iconographic representation (see §5.2). The presence of daughters directly related to *Hnwt-r-nhh* through the female third-person suffix pronoun in scene 12–15 stands in contrast to this, showing that women termed *hmt* could also form the focus of kinship terms. This

follows the trend noted for women termed *hmt* in the Theban case study. Therefore, it appears that similar to women termed *mwt/ms.n*, those termed *hmt* could be portrayed as fully integrated into the familial network of the tomb owner in this case study, but they could also be shown with their own family, emphasising both their own personal identity and their relationships within the wider social networks represented.

As is clear from the above discussion, none of these figures are depicted in a solitary position within these scenes. In fact, physical contact is attested for every figure except that of *Hnwt-r-nhh* in EK 3 scene 16, perhaps due to its offering nature. All of these women only have one case of physical contact per figure and in each case the contact is not reciprocated. The only uncertain case is that of *S3t-Imn II* where damage obscures her upper body and so it is unclear if, but likely that, she is embracing *It-r-r-i* (PSN 140) as they sit together. The other figures involved in these contacts are each the husband of the relevant woman termed *hmt*, suggesting that this terminological group was ideally portrayed as part of a married couple.

Bringing this together, this terminological group is normally shown in more prominent ways than other female figures in the scene: four figures each have an average similarity of 3, meaning that they are shown on an equal footing with the other female figures, while five figures each have an average similarity of 4 or greater. As a result, this terminological group is never shown less prominently than other women in the scene, suggesting that they formed an important, visible aspect of each tomb's decorative programme.

Overall, this terminological group is displayed in similar ways to their counterparts in the Theban case study. This includes the preference for offering table and banquet scenes, and offering formulae; pictorial figures who are shown as the largest size, on +1 levels, and in registers; positions within couples with non-

reciprocated physical contact and shared captions; standard outfits with minimal additional embellishment apart from collars; the title *nbt-pr*; the presence of animals; having their own family included; and an overall high average similarity. Moreover, as with the Theban terminological group, there is one woman in the El-Kab case study who stands out from the rest: *Hnwt-r-nhh*. She has the highest number of scenes and figures, the most emotional epithets, is shown with her own family, is the only figure with headwear, and is the only figure in EK 3 who is shown being offered to. Therefore, while this terminological group is one of the most visually dominant, within this group there appears to be one individual who is even more emphasised than her fellow women.

Some slight differences with the Theban group are also notable. The lack of short epithets in the El-Kab case study contrasts with the Theban group where they were frequently attested. In this case study, they appear to be attributed individually to emphasise *Hnwt-r-nhh*. The El-Kab case study also contains a high number of monument-specific trends, including the preference for showing this terminological group being offered to in EK 5 and with bracelets in EK 3. Neither of these representational features are particularly common for the Theban terminological group and so the El-Kab case study is different on two accounts: the fact that it displays monument-specific trends and the nature of the trends themselves. Scene placement, however, partly follows the trends in the Theban case study. In the El-Kab case study, this terminological group appears to be focused in certain areas of the tomb, which follows the pattern noted in TT 61, TT 100, and TT 131, perhaps suggesting that the more even distribution noted in TT 81, TT 82, and TT 122 is itself the unusual type of distribution. Nevertheless, it appears that the representation of women termed *hmt* in the El-Kab case study mostly aligns with that of their Theban counterpart where this

terminological group is characterised by relational portrayals and is shown as one of the most prominent groups in the iconography.

3.3 Women termed *snt*

3.3.1 Theban Case Study

There are 20 women with preserved names who are shown with the term *snt* in these monuments: *Tḥ-ms I* (PSN 71) in TT 61; *T3(-ḥ)-m-ṯw* (PSN 70), *Tḥ-ḥtp III* (PSN 123), *Tḥ-ms V* (PSN 124), *Tḥ-ms VI* (PSN 125), *Sn-snb* (PSN 128), *Nsy-nbw* (PSN 130), and *Sn-rs* (PSN 131) in TT 81; *Nfṛt-iry I* (PSN 23), *Wrt-dḥwty-ms* (PSN 27), *Nfṛt-iry II* (PSN 47), *Tw-iw-nfṛt* (PSN 49), *Imn-m-wšḥt II* (PSN 50), *Ṭwy-r[...]* (PSN 52), *B3kt III* (PSN 54), and *Nfṛt-iry* (PSN 94) in TT 82; *Mryt* (PSN 63) in TT 100; and *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110) in TT 122. There are two women who are only shown on artefacts with this term: *Mḥ-i3* (PSN 117) on a funerary cone presumably from TT 61 (no. 11, A.1.2) and *Tḥ-ms* (PSN 22) on a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah relating to TT 82 (A.1.12). There are also four figures with names no longer visible in TT 82 and one further figure in each of TT 61, TT 81, and TT 122. Therefore, the below analysis is based on 20—potentially 27—women and 38 figures.

Only three women termed *snt* are shown on artefacts related to these monuments: *Tḥ-ms* is shown on *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12), *Mḥ-i3* is shown on a funerary cone presumably from TT 61 (no. 11, A.1.2), and *Nsy(-nbw)* is shown on a funerary cone from TT 122 (no. 522, A.1.2). For *Tḥ-ms*, her presence on this stela is the only attestation of her with the term *snt* in this case study. In contrast, she is frequently shown in TT 82 with other kinship terms (*mwt/ms.n* and *ḥmt*), suggesting that her inclusion with the term *snt* is rather superficial. The other two artefacts showing *Mḥ-i3* and *Nsy(-nbw)* are funerary cones and so are likely to have

come from their respective tomb contexts. However, it is notable that cone no. 11 (A.1.2) is the only attestation of *M^c-i3* in this case study, perhaps suggesting that she was a minor female relative. These two cones also only show the woman termed *snt* as a textual figure, which is understandable considering their materiality. The attestation of *I^ch-ms* on *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah was presumably pictorial, but little is known about this stela in the scholarship. Overall, it appears to be quite rare to include a woman termed *snt* in an artefact but their inclusion, whether pictorial or textual, appears to follow the expected type for that artefact.

Excluding artefacts there are a total of seventeen scenes that contain the term *snt*. The most common scene type is offering tables (twelve cases), most of which include a banquet (nine cases, one of which is uncertain), suggesting a strong association of the term *snt* with (funerary) meals and offering motifs. Additional types include official duties (two cases), a false door (one case), an inscription (one case), and an offering scene (one case). Most of these women are only shown in a single scene per monument (assuming that the figures whose names are lost in TT 82 are different individuals). A few women are singled out with two scenes: *Nfrrt-iry I*, *Nsy(-nbw)*, *I^ch-ms V*, and *I^ch-ms VI*. *Mryt* is especially prominent with five scenes, suggesting an emphasis on her as an individual with this term in TT 100.

The placement of these scenes (Fig. 26) shows that in most tombs women termed *snt* are depicted throughout the tomb chapel: TT 81, TT 82, and TT 100, although in the latter two tombs a slight clustering is detectable in the corner of the transverse hall and the back of the passage, respectively. In no tomb is a woman termed *snt* shown in the burial chamber, if one exists. In TT 61, the scene showing this term is found in the back of the tomb chapel and in TT 122 the relevant scenes are limited to the second chapel, including one ceiling scene, suggesting that the representation of this

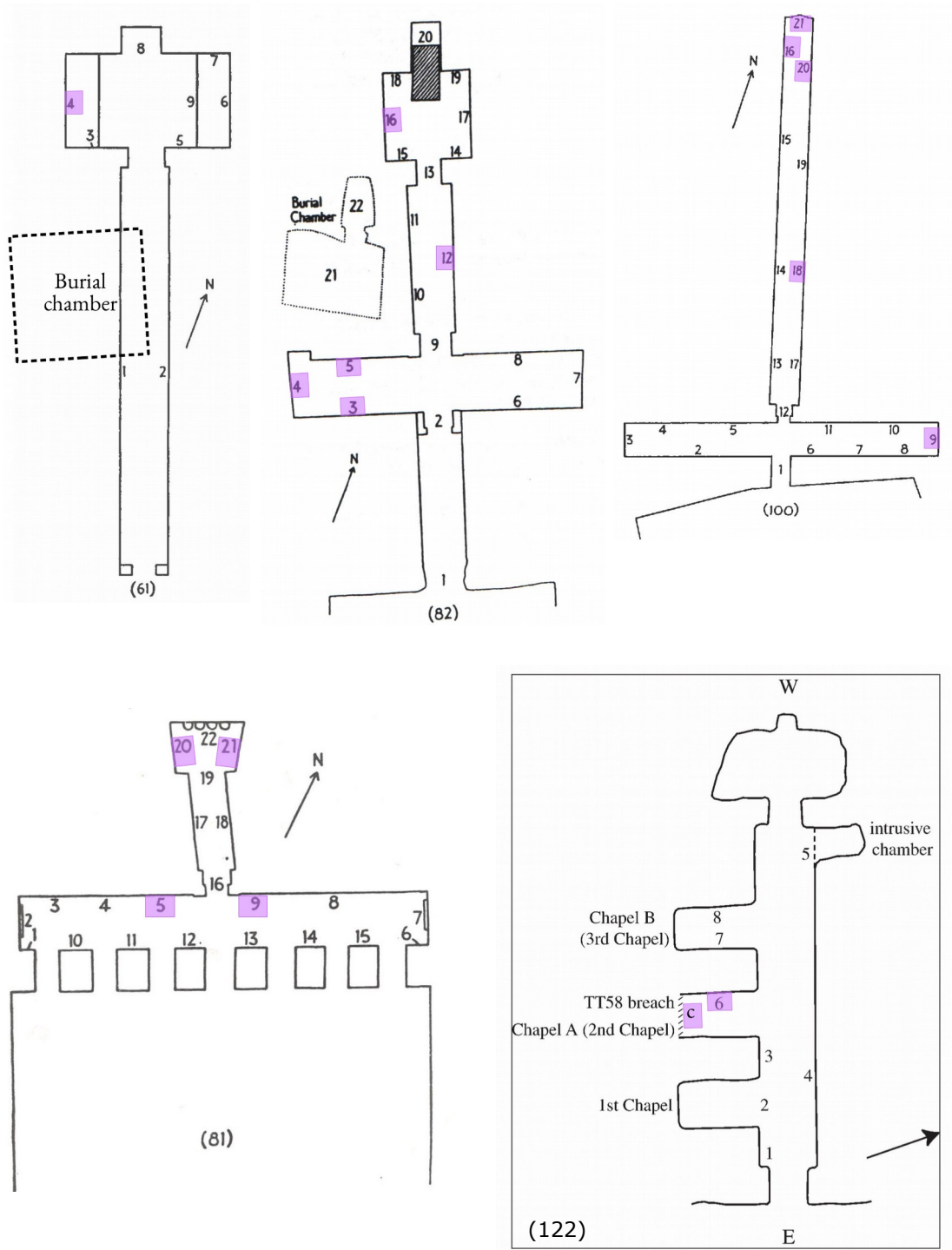


Figure 26: Scene placement of *snt* in Theban case study ('c' denotes a ceiling text; after PM I.1², 124, 160, 208; after Shirley 2010b, 273, fig. 1)

term was restricted to certain areas in these two contexts. Across the tombs, a slight western preference is noticeable, particularly in TT 61 and TT 82. Overall, therefore, there does not seem to be many limitations on where one can show a woman termed *snt*, but the preferences for tomb chapels rather than burial chambers and wall scenes rather than ceilings are notable compared to women termed *hmt* and *mwt/ms.n*, respectively.

Including artefacts, there are a total of 46 captions: the vast majority of women only have one caption per monumental context (sixteen cases). The four figures whose names have been lost in TT 82 each have one caption but it is uncertain how many women these figures represent. Some women stand out with multiple captions per context: *Mryt* has the most with eleven captions in TT 100; four captions belong to *Nsy(-nbw)* in TT 122 (one of which is on an artefact); *Imn-m-wsht II* has three captions in TT 82; *Nfrrt-iry I* and *Wrt-dhwty-ms* each have two captions in TT 82; and *Iḥ-ms V* and *Iḥ-ms VI* each have two captions in TT 81. Those women with multiple captions were arguably focused on in these contexts, particularly *Mryt* in TT 100.

Just over half of these captions are owned solely by the woman (26 cases, one of which is uncertain). The remaining cases show a preference for shared captions. Most are as part of a couple where the woman termed *snt* comes last (twelve cases), but sharing an offering formula with that partner (four cases) or with a group (one case) is also attested. There is also a further shared caption where the woman termed *snt* comes last out of six (*Nfrrt-iry*; TT 82 scene 3). There are a few women who stand out by only having joint or shared captions: *Mryt*, *Nfrrt-iry*, *Mḥ-i3*, and the figure whose name is lost in TT 122 scene 6. Similarly, only *Wrt-dhwty-ms* and *Nsy(-nbw)* have a mix of both individual and shared captions, although the latter's individual case is uncertain. The remaining 20 cases are all individual captions. *Imn-m-wsht II* stands out completely from the rest of the group as the only one with captions where another figure addresses

her (two cases). Therefore, it appears that women termed *snt* are either captioned independently or less commonly as part of a couple/group, with women generally falling into one of these two categories. Caption type shows a strong preference for identification captions (39 cases, two of which are uncertain). The remaining captions are five offering formulae (four for *Mryt* and one for *Wrt-dḥwty-ms*) and two addresses (both for *Imn-m-wsḥt II*), which matches the trends noted above. Overall, most captions for women termed *snt* are simply there to identify the figure, with only a few individual exceptions.

The designations in these captions are overwhelmingly *snt* (39 cases), the majority of which have the expected male third-person suffix pronoun (three cases have damaged pronouns). The notable exceptions are the six captions that include the female third-person suffix pronoun in TT 81. The fact that all of these captions occur in TT 81 suggests that this could be a monument-specific trend. In TT 82 scene 4, a caption refers to a woman termed *snt* as part of group called *itw=f*, further showing the flexibility of this term regarding gender (see §3.1.1, §3.2.1). There are six captions that lack a kinship term but these are understandably the offering formulae and the addresses. No compound terms are attested for this terminological group, meaning that this kinship term appears to follow the expected kinship term formations, but the relatively high number of female suffix pronouns is notable.

Epithets are relatively uncommon for women termed *snt*. Only ten women are attested with them and the majority belong to four women: *Wrt-dḥwty-ms*, *Imn-m-wsḥt II*, *Mryt*, and *Tḥ-ms VI*. There are six captions that are damaged and so may have originally contained epithets (three of which are uncertain), although in three cases the positions of the lacunae mean that they could have obscured titles instead. *m³t-ḥrw* ‘true of voice’ (TLA lemma-no. 66730) is the most common epithet, attested fourteen

times (two of which are lacking the feminine ‘*t*’ and one of which is damaged). Both of these ungendered epithets belong to *Nsy(-nbw)* in TT 122, which could suggest either a person- or monument-specific trend. Next is *mr(y)t=f* ‘his beloved’ (TLA lemma-no. 550321) with six attestations, as well as variations of it such as *mrt ib=f* (one case) and *mryt=s* (one case). The last attested emotional epithet is *hn^c=f* ‘together with him’ (one case; TLA lemma-no. 106200). Other epithets include funerary themes, including *im3hyw* ‘revered one’ (one case; TLA lemma-no. 25090), *imy(w) hrt-ntr* ‘who are in the necropolis’ (one case), *w^hmt n^ht* ‘one who lives again’ (one case; TLA lemma-no. 400175), and *nbt im3h* ‘lady of veneration’ (one ungendered case; TLA lemma-no. 855974). This latter case also occurs in TT 81 but for *I^ch-ms VI*, suggesting that ungendered epithets were monument- rather than person-specific. One caption is very damaged and its content is unclear: *n[...]* in TT 122 scene 6. Overall, therefore, it appears that epithets further separate this terminological group into two categories and are mostly funerary in focus, with a slight additional preference for emotional epithets.

Only three women, *Wrt-d^hwty-ms*, *Imn-m-wsht II*, and *Mryt*, have longer captions: four *htp-di-nsw* formulae (three of which include *n k3=tn*) for *Mryt*, one *htp-di-nsw* formula for *Wrt-d^hwty-ms*, and two addresses (which include =*t* throughout) for *Imn-m-wsht II*. Overall, it appears that longer epithets were used to emphasise individual women within this terminological group, most likely due to their presence in offering table scenes.

Titles are even more uncommon for women termed *snt*. Only *Mryt*, *M^c-i3*, *Nsy(-nbw)*, and one of the figures whose names have been lost in TT 82 are attested with them. There are six captions that are damaged and so could have contained a title (two of which are uncertain). The locations of the lacunae in four of these captions mean that the obscured texts may have been epithets instead. Almost all of the titles are *nbt-pr*

‘mistress of the house’ (twelve cases; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15) or the personalised variation *nbt-pr=f* ‘mistress of his house’ (*Mryt* in TT 100 scene 18), suggesting a link between this term and household management and authority. Only *Mryt* has a further title—*hkrt-nsw(t)* ‘lady-in-waiting’ (TLA lemma-no. 124780; see discussion of this title in §3.1.1)—which she is shown with three times. This role appears to be exceptional for this terminological group and arguably shows an added emphasis on *Mryt* as an individual. The overall rarity of occupations in general, but particularly outside of the household, for women termed *snt* is notable.

The ratio of pictorial to textual figures of women termed *snt* shows a strong preference for displaying these women as pictorial figures (35 cases). Only two women, *M^c-i3* and *Nsy(-nbw)*, are shown as textual figures and in each case this occurs on either a funerary cone (two cases) or a ceiling inscription (one case) where the restriction to texts is to be expected. Most of the women in this terminological group only have one pictorial figure per monumental context (22 cases, assuming that the four figures whose names have been lost in TT 82 are different people). *Nfirt-iry I*, *T^ch-ms V*, and *T^ch-ms VI* stand out from the rest with two pictorial figures each, while *Mryt* has seven such figures in TT 100, suggesting a significant visual emphasis on her within this space.

The 35 pictorial figures are primarily shown as the largest figure in their scene/register (24 cases of size 8, four of which are uncertain), but can occasionally be shown size 7.5 (one case), size 7 (three cases), or size 6.5 (two cases). Only five figure sizes are completely unknown due to damage and publication levels, meaning that the above trend is likely to be representative. In terms of scene location, the majority of women termed *snt* appear in registers, mostly upper registers (nine cases, two of which are uncertain), lower registers (ten cases), and second registers (seven cases), but also occasionally third registers (three cases). Sub-registers are rarely attested and are mostly

upper or lower sub-registers of upper registers (two cases of each), but one second sub-register of an upper register is also present. Only one woman, *Mryt*, has a figure in a whole wall scene (TT 100 scene 21). This distribution suggests that even though women termed *snt* rarely occupy whole wall spaces, they are still fairly prominent within the overall composition.

Moreover, most of these figures appear on a +1 level within the scene/register (seventeen cases). This is not unique to those figures, however, since in every case the woman termed *snt* shares this level with their partner or others in the scene (one case is uncertain). Only five figures are located on a register baseline and four of these occur in TT 81, meaning that this could be a monument-specific trend. These four figures are also alone on this level, which again contrasts with the other baseline figure, who shares the level with others (*Nfyt-iry I*; TT 82 scene 12). The levels of twelve figures are too damaged to make out or are unknown, meaning that the above trends are likely to be representative. Overall, it appears that figure size, level, and register location mean that women termed *snt* are often quite prominent in the iconography.

In terms of stance, these women can be shown seated in couples where they sit behind their partner (eleven cases; in TT 122 scene 6, it is unclear if the woman termed *snt* is in the foremost or backmost position). In two further cases, the specific stance of the woman termed *snt* behind their partner is unclear. Alternative stances include kneeling (fourteen cases, all except one of which are in groups) and standing (seven cases, four of which are in groups). Only the posture of *T^h-ms* on the stela at Gebel El-Silsilah is unknown but she is still located within a group (A.1.12). These stances create a divide within the group since no woman is depicted with both seated couple and kneeling/standing postures. The only possible exceptions are the figures whose names

have been lost in TT 82, which perhaps implies that these figures do indeed represent different women.

Position within groups shows a slight preference for middle positions (fourteen cases, in two of which it is unclear whether there are any figures behind the woman termed *snt*), but foremost positions (four cases) and backmost positions (five cases, two of which are uncertain) are also attested. Four figures, all of which are shown in TT 81, stand or kneel on their own, while the figure of *Nfirt-iry* in TT 82 scene 3 kneels as part of a pair of overlapping figures. These could be monument-specific trends. Overall, women termed *snt* appear most often in the least prominent group positions, and the separation of this terminological group into seated couples and standing/kneeling figures, almost always in groups, is notable.

Actions show a preference for holding a lotus flower, which occurs eleven times (one case is uncertain). One further figure holds a lotus flower and also reaches out to an offering table. The action of *Imn-m-wsht II* is damaged but was probably also holding a lotus flower. Embracing one's partner is also relatively common for women termed *snt*: nine figures, five of which also hold a lotus in their other hand, again suggesting that holding flowers is the more dominant action for this kinship term. Three figures are shown offering, two of them each have a vessel and the other's object is no longer visible. Being depicted without an action is also possible for this terminological group: four figures have their hand(s) to their side or chest (two cases are uncertain). Only six figures' actions are no longer visible or are unknown, meaning that the above trends are likely to be representative. Although one could see a divide between holding flowers and embracing between these women—especially since most women are shown with only one of these actions—there was also a significant overlap between these features with the figures who simultaneously embrace and hold flowers, potentially

making this feature more of a shared trait between the various subgroups in this terminological group.

Relatively few women termed *snt* are depicted being offered to. Only *Mryt* in TT 100 is fairly consistently shown with this feature with six out of seven figures offered to by another figure(s) in the scene. Additionally, *Wrt-dhwty-ms*, *Imn-m-wsht II*, and the figure whose name is lost in TT 122 are each offered to once. In comparison, one figure of *Nfirt-iry I* in TT 82, the figure of *Nsy(-nbw)* in TT 122, and one of the figures whose names are lost in TT 82 are shown offering to other figure(s) in the scene, suggesting that this terminological group could be shown in either superior or inferior positions within the scene. It is notable that both positions are not held by the same woman, creating a further subdivision within this group. Only the figure of *T^ch-ms* in *Imn-m-h3t's* Gebel El-Silsilah stela cannot be identified as having this feature or not (A.1.12), meaning that a total of 22 figures are shown in neither position, which suggests that in general offering positions were uncommon for this terminological group.

In terms of outfit, all of these figures are either depicted barefoot (23 cases) or this feature is no longer visible or unknown (twelve cases), and in general their outfits follow standard trends. Seventeen figures are shown wearing a sheath dress with straps that expose a breast (two cases are uncertain), while two figures have dresses with a single strap. Damage is a major factor here since the remaining dresses are all uncertain in type: seven dresses are definitely sheath dresses and three dresses are sheath dresses with straps, but further details are unclear in the publications. Six figures are too damaged to determine their outfit at all. Even so, all of these uncertain cases would have to have been different to the standard sheath dress with straps that expose a breast for this dress type not to be the most common outfit for this terminological group.

Wig type also follows standard styles: 22 wigs are tripartite (two of which are uncertain) and the remaining thirteen cases are too damaged to determine the presence of a wig or its type. The ratio here suggests that tripartite wigs were common for this terminological group and the apparent lack of enveloping wigs is notable. Headwear, in contrast, appears to be quite rare. Only four figures are attested with this feature, namely an incense cone (one of which is uncertain), and all of these cases appear in TT 82 scene 12, suggesting that this was a scene- and/or monument-specific trend. The remaining figures lack headwear, either intentionally (fifteen cases) or due to damage (sixteen cases), which means that the above trend may not be representative. However, even if all of the damaged cases had included headwear, this feature would still not be strongly associated with this terminological group.

Collars tell a different story since nine figures are attested with plain collars (two of which are uncertain) and eight figures are attested with embellished collars, suggesting that collars were common for this terminological group but that the specific type of collar could vary. *Mryt* is the only woman to be shown with both types of collar, suggesting that collars may have been another feature that subdivides this group. Seventeen figures are damaged so that the presence of a collar or its type are unclear, meaning that the above ratio may not be representative. However, only one figure is intentionally attested without a collar, *Sn-snb* in TT 81 scene 20, which suggests that collars were usually found as part of this terminological group's representation.

In terms of further jewellery, bracelets are only attested for seven figures: *Mryt* is depicted with one bracelet four times in TT 100 and *Iwy-r[...]*, *B3kt III*, and a figure whose name is lost in TT 82 are each depicted with at least two bracelets each. Given this distribution, these could be person- and/or monument-specific trends. Eleven figures are intentionally depicted without any bracelets (four of which are uncertain),

while seventeen figures are too damaged to make out or are unknown, making it hard to determine whether bracelets were a common feature for this terminological group. Earrings are a slightly more clear-cut case since no figure is attested with them, either intentionally (fourteen cases, two of which are uncertain) or due to damage (21 cases), meaning that it is unlikely that this piece of jewellery was common for women termed *snt*. Therefore, it appears that while tripartite wigs, sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast, and collars were common elements in the depictions of women termed *snt*, earrings and headdresses were rare.

Objects are fairly common for women termed *snt*. Only six figures are intentionally attested without objects and four of these cases are uncertain. In contrast, 20 figures are attested with objects. Most figures are shown with one object each (sixteen cases; in four of these cases damage might have obscured a further object), but they can occasionally have two objects (four cases), in which case the second object is almost always an offering table. Object types focus on lotus flowers (eighteen cases), but offering tables (four, possibly five cases) and vessels (two, possibly three cases) are also attested. Only nine cases are too damaged to determine any objects or are unknown, suggesting that depicting women termed *snt* with objects seems to have been the norm.

Five women are shown with their own family: *Tḥ-ms VI* (twice), *Sn-snb*, *Nsy-nbwt*, *Sn-rs*, and the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 (who may be one of the named women above). All of these cases occur in TT 81, meaning that this feature is probably monument-specific. In each case, the kinship relationship is made explicit through the use of the term *snt=s*, with the ‘her’ referring to the main woman in the scene: *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp* (scene 21 and 9) and a figure whose name is lost in scene 20. Compared to the other terminological groups, this is a relatively high number of women who are shown with their own family. This is especially so since there are three further cases for

this terminological group where damage makes it unclear if their own family was included (*T3(-ʕ)-m-tw* in TT 81 scene 5 and two of the figures whose names are lost in TT 82 scenes 5 and 12), meaning that there may have been even more cases than preservation suggests.

Solitary women termed *snt* are uncommon. Only five figures are shown in solitary positions: one each belonging to *T3(-ʕ)-m-tw*, *Tʕh-htp III*, and *Tʕh-ms V* in TT 81 scene 5; and two belonging to *Tʕh-ms VI* in TT 81 scenes 9 and 21. This is the second terminological group that only has solitary women depicted in TT 81, further suggesting that this was a monument-specific trend, but one that was slightly more focused on women termed *snt* than those termed *hmt* (see §3.2.1). Only one figure out of the remaining 27 figures is uncertain with regard to solitariness: *Tw-iw-nfrt* in TT 82 scene 5, but she was probably shown as part of a couple due to the placement of the captions. The position of *Tʕh-ms* in the stela at Gebel El-Silsilah is unknown (A.1.12). Overall, it appears that women termed *snt* were rarely depicted in solitary positions.

Even though solitary positions are unusual for this terminological group (only five cases), physical contact involving other figures is not consistent. Eleven figures are depicted without any physical contact with another figure (one of which is uncertain). In comparison, fourteen figures are depicted with one case of physical contact per figure (two of which may have involved an additional case). The figures of *Sn-rs* and *Nsy-nbwt* in TT 81 each stand out with two cases of physical contact per figure as they kneel in a group with figures on either side of them. Physical contact for this terminological group also varies in contact-reciprocation: eight cases are instigated by the *snt* and are not reciprocated (*Wrt-dhwty-ms*'s case probably also follows this type but her hands are no longer visible); two cases of physical contact are instigated by other figures and not reciprocated by the woman termed *snt* (*Sn-snb* in TT 81 scene 20 and *Imn-m-wsht II* in

TT 82 scene 12); and seven cases are reciprocated by both figures (this primarily denotes cases where figures in groups have overlapping feet, for example).

The other people involved in these cases of physical contact also vary. The cases of *Wrt-dhwtj-ms*, *Nfrt-iry II*, *Mryt*, and the two figures whose names have been lost in TT 82 each involve a man. Incidentally, these are also the cases where the contact is unreciprocated. For *Mryt*, the man, *Rh-mi-r^c* (PSN 62), is her husband and in these scenes he does not have a kinship term since he is the tomb owner. *Wrt-dhwtj-ms*'s partner, *Dhwtj-ms II* (PSN 26), *Nfrt-iry II*'s partner, *Wsr-h3t* (PSN 46), and the two partners of the figures whose names have been lost in TT 82 (the men's names have also been lost) each have the term *sn=f*, meaning that the relationship between these couples is not clear since the 'his' in *snt=f* could refer to the woman's partner or to the same 'his' in *sn=f*. The other cases all involve women, with the woman termed *snt* most commonly associated with other women termed *snt* (six cases), but also a serving women (one case), a woman termed *s3t* (at least one case), and an untermed women (at least one case). Only seven figures are too damaged to determine physical contact, meaning that the above trends are likely to be representative.

Overall, there seems to be a high level of variation for women termed *snt* regarding physical contact compared to the other terminological groups. The potential split between those women seated in couples with non-reciprocal physical contact and those situated in groups with other women with reciprocal physical contact is notable. In addition, this group can have non-reciprocal contact instigated by other figures, which is unattested in the *hmt* and *mwt/ms.n* terminological groups in this case study.

The average similarity of women termed *snt* is fairly low, meaning that they are often shown in less prominent ways than other women in the scene. Only one woman has figures with an average similarity above three, which is the marker of equality in

prominence compared to other women in the scene: *Mryt* in TT 100. She is shown twice with an average similarity of 4 (one of which is uncertain) and once possibly with an average similarity of 4.5, suggesting that this was part of *Mryt*'s representation as an individual. This may have been specific to certain scenes, however, since *Mryt* is also shown three times with an average similarity of 3 and possibly once with an average similarity of 2, making her equally prominent to or slightly less prominently than other female figures. This is perhaps to be expected when *Mryt* is termed *snt* since most of the other figures in this terminological group have values of 3 and below: eleven figures are shown with an average of 3 (three of which are uncertain), five figures are shown with an average of 2.5–2.6, and eight figures are shown with an average of 2 (three of which are uncertain). Only four figures' average similarities are unknown, meaning that the above distribution is likely to be representative. Overall, it appears that women termed *snt* are generally depicted equally prominent to or less prominently than other women in the scene, suggesting that they are often not the scene's main female focus.

In summary, there are a number of trends that apply to the whole of this terminological group. Scene type shows a strong association with funerary meals, figures are mostly pictorial and are not shown in solitary positions, and objects are common, especially lotus flowers. Outfits are generally the standard sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast and tripartite wigs but further embellishments, particularly headwear and earrings, are rare. Women termed *snt* do not normally have attestations on artefacts but the scenes depicting them are generally found throughout these monuments, excluding burial chambers, and slightly more often on their western walls. Inclusion within these scenes is primarily restricted to registers, meaning that these women are not normally the main female focus of the scene, but within their register the

snt is normally one of the largest figures and is placed on the highest level along with other figures. Captions are mainly there to identify the woman termed *snt*.

The remaining trends create divisions within this terminological group. For example, captions are generally either owned solely by the woman termed *snt* or are shared. Epithets appear to be restricted to certain women and are either funerary or emotional in nature, when present. Titles are also fairly limited and are mostly *nbt-pr*, suggesting that some women termed *snt* could be linked with household seniority. Similarly, these women are usually either shown seated in couples or standing/kneeling in groups. Offering positions are generally uncommon for this terminological group but women are attested either being offered to or offering to another figure. Moreover, collars appear to be a potentially normal part of this group's representation, varying between embellished and plain versions, with only one woman attested with both types. Similarly, actions are usually either embracing one's partner or holding lotus flowers, with only one woman possessing both actions. In general, this group has more variety in actions compared to women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*. The same can be said for physical contact where there does not seem to be a set trend for women termed *snt*. They can have physical contact with both men and women and these cases can be reciprocal, non-reciprocal, and instigated by other figures.

Overall, these traits separate this terminological group into two subgroups, namely those women depicted as part of seated couples and those depicted standing/kneeling in groups of women. This is particularly the case with titles (most occur for seated couples), physical contact (non-reciprocal contact with men for seated couples; reciprocal contact with women for those standing/kneeling), being offered to (seated couples) or offering (those standing/kneeling), collars (most occur for those standing/kneeling), and actions (embracing for seated couples; holding flowers for those

standing/kneeling). It is notable how some representational features intersect with this main divide, especially epithets (fairly evenly distributed between the two groups) and collar type (which subdivides the standing/kneeling group). Therefore, the general picture of this terminological group is much more complex than that of *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, which argues for further investigation into the potential multiple translations of this kinship term (see §5.1).

Similar to the other terminological groups in this case study, some women termed *snt* stand out from their counterparts: *Mryt* in TT 100 is one such figure. She has the most scenes, figures, and captions, as well as the additional elite title of *hkrt-nsw(t)* and is almost always shown being offered to. *Imn-m-wsht II* is also unusual in this terminological group since she is addressed by another figure, who instigates physical contact with her that is not reciprocated. Unlike the *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* groups, this terminological group also shows a number of monument-specific trends for TT 81, including the kinship term *snt=s* and the depiction of figures in solitary positions on the baseline of registers and with their own family. This further emphasises the idea that there was a variety of ways in which a woman termed *snt* could be shown.

3.3.2 El-Kab Case Study

Only two women are attested with the term *snt* in this case study: *S3t-Imn V* (PSN 184) and *D-tw-ti* (PSN 185), both of whom are depicted in EK 3 with the compound term *snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*. This means that the core kinship term *snt* is not attested for this family group. Therefore, the following discussion is based on two women and two figures, which is significantly fewer than the potentially 27 women and 38 figures in the Theban case study.

Both of these women are shown in the same scene in EK 3 (no. 12–15), which is an offering table and banquet scene, thereby matching the common scene type noted in the Theban case study. This further suggests a strong association of this term with offering themes and (funerary) meals. Since these women share a scene, this kinship term has a limited visual impact within EK 3 (Fig. 27). This is perhaps to be expected considering the low number of women in the tomb, but it nonetheless reiterates the overall rarity of this terminological group in the El-Kab case study, particularly in EK 5.

Captions are similarly limited since each woman only has one. However, both of these women own their respective caption, which serves simply to identify their figures. As a result, they are the only terminological group in this case study to own all of their captions, although this is admittedly easy with only two figures. Caption content is very restricted: no epithets or titles were included for either woman, just their name and kinship designation, which in both cases is a compound term. This trend matches one of the trends noted for the more extensive Theban case study, suggesting further parallels between these two case studies for this terminological group.

Both of these women's figures are pictorial, suggesting that visually displaying this kinship term was the norm for this case study. These two figures are the largest size possible in their register (size 8) but this register is located on the lowest sub-register of the lowest register in the scene, making it less prominent in the overall composition. Furthermore, while these women are located on the highest level, they share this with others in their group, meaning that they are not individualised through this feature. In fact, these women are shown in a group of kneeling figures in the sixth and seventh positions, making them even less prominent in the scene. Most of these trends align with those noted in the Theban case study, but the figure's location in a sub-register is more uncommon in Thebes than it is in the El-Kab case study.

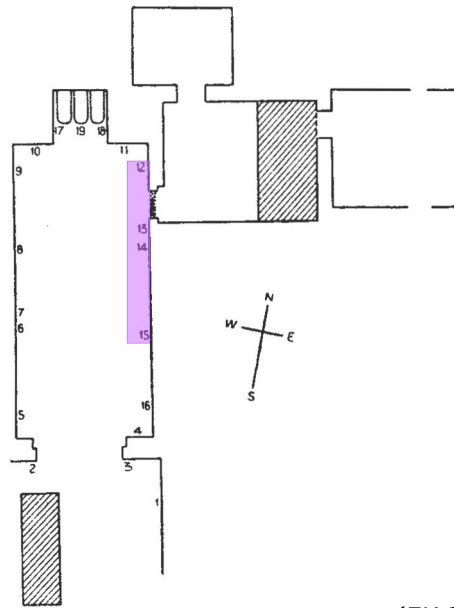


Figure 27: Scene placement of *snt* in El-Kab case study (after PM V, 178)

Both of these women hold a lotus flower as they kneel, which strongly matches the representation of this group in the Theban case study, especially for women shown kneeling in groups. *S3t-Imn V* is offered to by a server, showing a level of importance and paralleling the representation of *Imn-m-wsht II* at Thebes. Neither woman is involved in offering to another figure but this was also rather uncommon in the Theban case study.

The outfits of these women are almost identical and follow the standard forms: a sheath dress with straps that expose a breast and a tripartite wig. Headwear is very common, unlike in the Theban case study, since both women possess a lotus flower headdress and an incense cone. They both wear plain collars but appear to lack earrings (this feature is no longer visible for *S3t-Imn V*) and bracelets (this feature is uncertain for *D-tw-ti*). Both women are shown barefoot. Overall, these trends are similar to those in the Theban case study but the presence of headwear appears to be specific to El-Kab.

Objects include two lotus flowers, one for each woman, further suggesting that this terminological group follows the trend noted in the Theban case study where lotus flowers were strongly associated with women termed *snt*.

Neither of these two women are shown with their own family and in fact their kinship terms go to extensive lengths to describe their specific relationships with the tomb owner *P3-ḥry* (PSN 147). This practice of kinship terming is discussed further in section 5.2, but it is worth noting here that women termed *snt* were ideally represented as fully integrated into the tomb owner's familial network in this case study. This again follows the overall trend noted in the Theban case study where showing women with their own family appeared to be specific to TT 81.

Neither woman is depicted in a solitary position and both figures actually have multiple cases of physical contact as they kneel together in a group. *S3t-Imn V* has two cases of physical contact: one is instigated by the anonymous woman serving her and is not reciprocated by *S3t-Imn V*, while the other is equally initiated between her and *D-tw-ti* as their feet/knees overlap while they kneel beside each other. Similarly, *D-tw-ti* has two equally reciprocated cases of physical contact with the two women either side of her: *S3t-Imn V* and *D3-b* (PSN 186), who is termed *s3t=s*. Therefore, it appears that reciprocation was the norm for physical contact in this group, ideally occurring only with other women. These trends fit in well with those noted in the Theban case study for women shown kneeling or standing in groups.

Overall, it is not surprising that these two women each have an average similarity of 2.66, meaning that they are shown slightly less prominently than other female figures in the scene.

In summary, this terminological group at El-Kab closely matches the representation of other kneeling figures in the Theban case study, with only a few

exceptions, notably headwear and the location in sub-registers. The figure of *S3t-Imn V* in particular offers a parallel for *Imn-m-wsht II* at Thebes where both women are offered to by a serving woman, who instigates physical contact with them that they do not reciprocate. This form of representation is very rare for female relatives across both of these case studies, but the fact that it appears for women termed *snt* in both of these geographical locations suggests that it was potentially a unique iconographic feature for this terminological group.

3.4 Women termed *s3t*

3.4.1 Theban Case Study

There are 28 women with preserved names who are shown with the term *s3t* within these monuments: *Imn-m-ḥb* (PSN 36), *Imn-ḥtp II* (PSN 40), *B3kt II* (PSN 41), *S3t-Imn* (PSN 51) in TT 82; *Tḥ-ḥtp II* (PSN 72), *Str* (PSN 81), *Nb-iwnwt* (PSN 82), *Tḥ-ms IV* (PSN 83), *T3-ḥḥt* (PSN 84), *Mwt-nfrt* (PSN 85), and *Hnwt-t3wy I* (PSN 86) in TT 100; *Snt-nfr* (PSN 112) in TT 122; and *Hnwt* (PSN 135) and *Sn-snb I* (PSN 136) in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. *Tḥ-ms II* (PSN 76) is shown in TT 82, TT 100, TT 131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. Similarly, *Imn-m-wsht* (PSN 77) and *Tḥ-ms III* (PSN 78) are shown in TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17; *Imn-m-ḥb I* (PSN 79) in TT 61, TT 82, and TT 100; *B3kt* (PSN 80) in TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17; and *Tḥ-ms I* (PSN 71) and *Snty-ḥtp* (PSN 73) in TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. [...] *-m-ḥb?* (PSN 57), *Twy-nfrt* (PSN 58), *T3-mi(?)w* (PSN 59), and *B3t* (PSN 60) are each shown on a stela at Gebel El-Silsilah relating to TT 82 (A.1.12). *Hnwt-t3wy II* (PSN 93) is termed *s3t s3t=f* in TT 100, while *Nfrt-iry III* (PSN 56) is designated *s3t sn=f* and *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14) is termed *s3t (n) snt=f* in TT 82. There is one figure whose name has been damaged in each of TT 81, TT 82, and TT 131 who is shown with

the term *s3t*. Since TT 81 has no other attestation of a woman termed *s3t*, this is likely to be a different person from any of the aforementioned women. Therefore, this discussion is based on at least 28—probably 29 but potentially 31—women, totalling 59 figures.

Attestations on artefacts are very rare for this terminological group. Only four women termed *s3t* are shown on an artefact: [...]–*m-ḥb?*, *Iwy-nfirt*, *T3-mi(?)w*, and *Bšt* are all attested once on *Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12). For each of these women, this attestation forms their only inclusion in this case study, meaning that they are not shown in TT 82, which points to their rather superficial inclusion into this family group. Perhaps these women were not born when TT 82 was decorated, but it is notable that the iconography in TT 82 was not adapted at a later date to include them if this were the case (for the adaptation of TT 100 to potentially reflect changes in trade see §2.1.2). It is unknown whether their representation on this stela was pictorial or textual, but the former is more likely given parallels and the preference for pictorial figures for this terminological group (see below). Overall, it appears that it was very uncommon to depict women termed *s3t* on artefacts. One can speculate that such attestations were perhaps used in order to incorporate new family members without altering pre-existing iconography.

Despite the high number of women and even higher number of figures relating to this terminological group, there are only seventeen scenes that include a woman termed *s3t* across these monuments. Almost all of these women are only included in one scene per monument (including the figures whose names have been lost), but some women are shown in multiple scenes: *Imn-m-ḥb* and *S3t-Imn* are shown in four scenes in TT 82, *B3kt(-Imn)* is shown in three scenes in TT 82, and *Imn-m-wšht* (TT 61), *Tḥ-ms III* (TT 61), *T3-ḥḥt* (TT 100), and *B3kt* (Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17) are each shown in two scenes. Scene type is restricted to either offering tables (fifteen cases), ten of which

have accompanying banquets (one is uncertain), or offering scenes (two cases), suggesting a strong association of this terminological group with (funerary) meals and offering motifs.

The placement of these scenes (Fig. 28) means that women termed *s3t* are generally restricted to certain areas of these monuments: the two scenes in TT 61 that show this term are in the back of the tomb; the scenes in TT 100 are at the end of the transverse hall and the front of the passage; this term is only shown in the second chapel in TT 122 and in the hall in TT 131; and the woman termed *s3t* in TT 81 is only shown at the back of the tomb. Admittedly, in these last three contexts there is only one scene that includes this term in each tomb, meaning that the restriction to certain areas of the monument is to be expected. There does not seem to be a preference for the front or back areas of the tomb, or for a specific eastern or western orientation. The two exceptions to these trends are Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, which shows this group on both major iconographic walls (unlike the *hmt* group, see §3.2.1) and TT 82, which depicts women with this term throughout the tomb, including the burial chamber (unlike the *snt* group, see §3.3.1). This contrasts with the overall trend for this terminological group, suggesting an added emphasis on women termed *s3t* in these monuments, particularly TT 82.

Including those on artefacts, there are a total of 66 captions for these women, meaning that most of these women only have one caption per monumental context (35 cases). A few women termed *s3t* stand out with multiple captions: *Imn-m-hb* and *B3kt(-Imn)* each have five captions in TT 82; *S3t-Imn* follows closely behind with four captions in TT 82; *T3-h^ct* has three captions in TT 100; and *Imn-m-wsht* (TT 61), *T^ch-ms III* (TT 61), *Imn-htp II* (TT 82), *B3kt II* (TT 82), *Hnwt-t3wy II* (TT 100), *B3kt* (Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17), and the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 each have two captions.

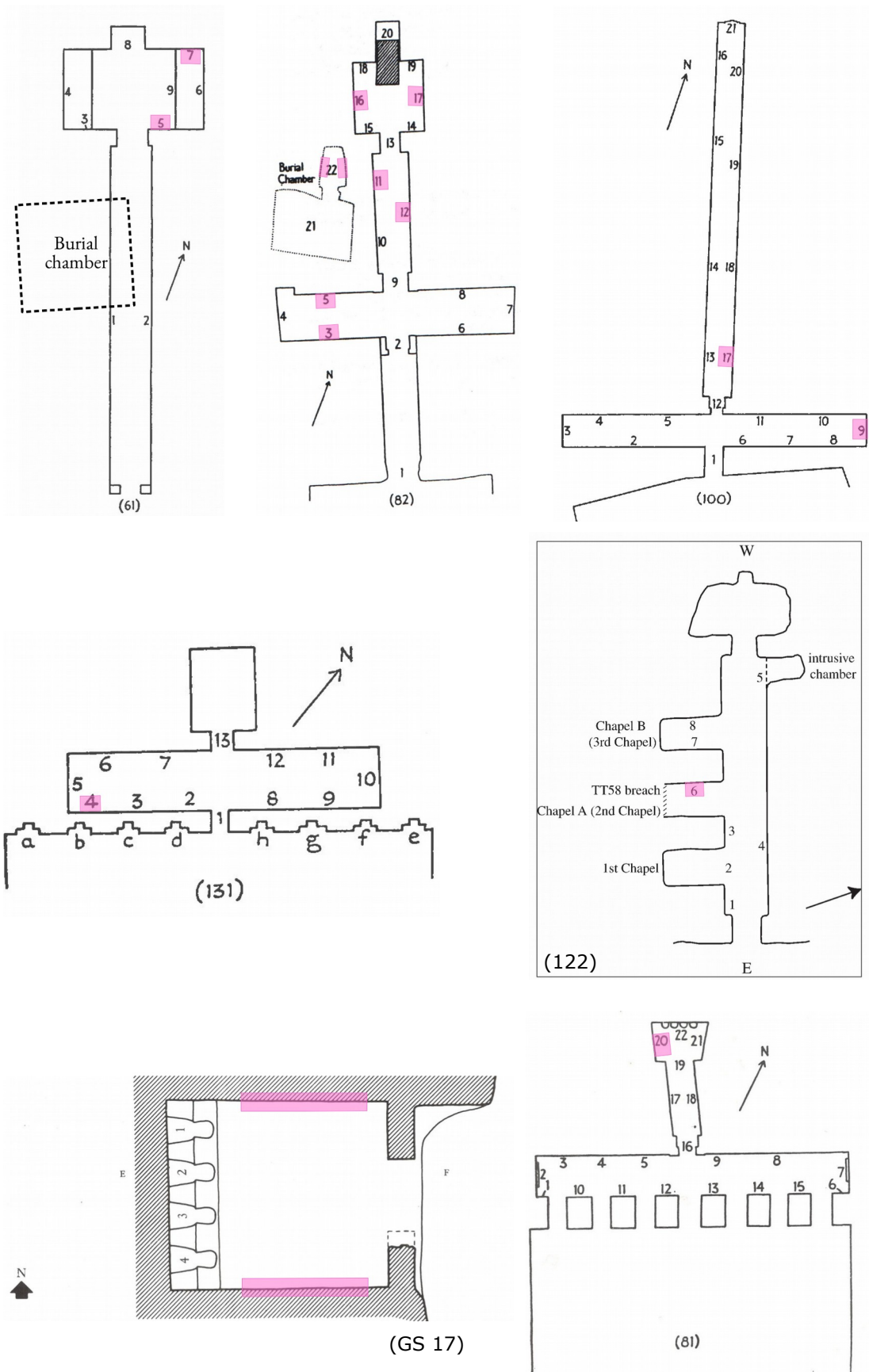


Figure 28: Scene placement of *s3t* in Theban case study
 (after PM I.1², 124, 160, 208, 238; after Caminos and James 1963, pl. 33;
 after Shirley 2010b, 273, fig. 1)

Almost all of these captions are owned by their respective figures (49 cases, two of which are uncertain). Shared captions are relatively rare since there are only five group captions. *B3kt(-Imn)* is even more unusual in this respect since her five captions are all jointly owned where she appears in a couple: three cases where her part was written last and two cases of a joint offering formula. Five further women have joint captions where they appear in a group in the order of: *Tḥ-ms II*, *Imn-m-wsḥt*, *Tḥ-ms III*, *Imn-m-ḥb I*, and *B3kt* in TT 82 scene 3. However, these five captions could be interpreted as ‘own’ captions positioned one after another. They are taken as joint because the captions are in consecutive columns and therefore parallel a couple’s joint caption. They could equally be taken as a midway point between own and joint captions, potentially showing the limitations of these categories. The same could perhaps be said of *Hnwt-t3wy II*’s caption in TT 100 scene 17 where it is either her own or joint last behind *M3ḥt-nfrt*’s, but there are no column lines here and so the closeness of these captions is more likely to be simply due to the close spacing of the figures. Either way, it appears that *B3kt(-Imn)*’s portrayal is unusual considering the overall trends of this group, which favour captions owned solely by women termed *s3t*.

Most of these captions serve to simply identify the figure (59 cases, one of which is uncertain). In comparison, four of the group captions are an address to the tomb owner (TT 100 scene 17 and TT 82 scene 5) and two of the captions belonging to *B3kt(-Imn)* are offering formulae directed to her and her partner. Therefore, it appears that while a few women were singled out with multiple captions, the ownership and type of caption were fairly consistent for this terminological group, showing a preference for captioning and identifying them individually. It is notable that this is one of the only terminological groups in this case study to be attested addressing other figures.

Almost all of these captions contain the kinship term *s3t* with the usual male third-person suffix pronoun (four cases have damaged pronouns). Only two captions show the female pronoun *s3t=s* (*Imn-m-ḥb II* and *B3kt II*). Compound terms are also present for this kinship term and compared to the other groups this term has the most variety: *s3t s3t=f* (one case; *Hnwt-t3wy II*); *s3t sn=f* (one case; *Nfirt-iry III*); and *s3t (n) snt=f* (three cases; *B3kt(-Imn)*). *B3kt* has a caption in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall that is potentially damaged at the start, meaning that she might have had a compound term here. Seven captions do not contain a term but these are the addresses to another figure, offering formulae, and a group caption containing a title and so are not unusual. Based on this, it appears that this group shows a strong preference for the standard kinship term *s3t=f*, while also showing a high level of variation in compound terms and therefore specificity in denoting exact kinship relationships compared to the other terminological groups. It may also be pertinent to note that *s3t (n) snt=f* is the only compound term in this case study to include the indirect genitive ‘*n*’ (TT 82 scene 5), whereas this appears to be the norm in the El-Kab case study (see §3.1.2, §3.3.2, §3.4.2). Aside from *B3kt(-Imn)*, those women with compound terms do not appear to stand out in this group, suggesting that in general daughters and extended junior female relatives were represented in similar ways in this case study. Something different appears to be happening for *B3kt(-Imn)*, which could have been a result of the close biological connection she had with the tomb owner *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (see §2.1.1, §5.3).

Most women are intentionally captioned without any epithets in their respective monument, making this feature uncommon for this terminological group. Four cases are uncertain since damage might obscure an epithet, but three of these cases are uncertain and the locations of these lacunae further mean that any missing texts may have been titles instead. Damage to the caption belonging to the figure whose name is lost in TT

82 means that she may have had more than one epithet, but again this may have been a title instead.

When included, the most common epithet is *mr(y)t=f* ‘his beloved’ (21 cases; TLA lemma-no. 550321) and then *m3^ct-hrw* ‘true of voice’ (eleven cases, all of which are gendered but one of which was written *m3^c<t>-hrw{t}*; TLA lemma-no. 66730). Additional epithets include *n(t) st-ib=f* ‘of his affection’ (one case; TLA lemma-no. 125150) and *hr ntr-^c3* ‘before the great god’ (two cases), all of which only occur for *B3kt(-Imn)*. Only five women have longer captions: *T3-h^ct* and *Hnwt-t3wy II* both share the group caption starting *dd=sn* ‘they say’ in TT 100 scene 17; *Imn-htp II* and *B3kt II* share the group caption in TT 82 scene 5 that may be a song for the tomb owner; and *B3kt(-Imn)* has two *htp-di-nsw* formulae in TT 82. Overall, it appears that captions containing more than a kinship term and name are uncommon for women termed *s3t*, with epithets focusing on primarily emotional but occasionally funerary associations, when present. *B3kt(-Imn)* stands out in particular with the highest number and greatest variation in epithets.

Similar to epithets, most women are intentionally depicted without a title in their respective monument. Only three women’s captions are damaged, meaning that a title could have been included, but all of these cases are uncertain. Damage to the caption belonging to the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 means that she may have had more than one title. The positions of all of these lacunae mean that the missing texts (if there were any) may have been epithets instead.

This leaves only five women with titles: *B3kt* (three cases), *T3-h^ct* (one damaged case), and *Hnwt-t3wy II* (one case) are each attested with the title *sm^cyt nt Imn* ‘chantress of Amun’ (one case is ungendered for *B3kt* and in another of her captions the *Imn* part is damaged, meaning that it may have contained a different deity; TLA lemma-

no. 851078; Onstine 2005); *B3kt(-Imn)* is titled *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (three cases, one of which is ungendered; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15); and the figure whose name is lost in TT 81 is titled *hsyt* ‘singer’, with no apparent cultic connection (TLA lemma-no. 109400). Overall, therefore, it appears that titles are very rare for this terminological group but are strongly associated with temple positions and/or music-making when they are included. The fact that the term *s3t* can be associated with senior household positions such as *nbt-pr* is surprising when compared to the wider group, further suggesting that the representation of *B3kt(-Imn)* is somewhat unique (see §5.3).

None of these figures are textual, showing a strong preference for displaying this terminological group visually in the iconography of these monuments. While it is unclear whether the four figures on *Imn-m-h3t*’s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah are pictorial or textual (A.1.12), due to the overwhelmingly emphasis on pictorial figures for this group, they have been included as pictorial figures (see also §3.2.1, §3.3.1). Most of these women only have one figure per monumental context (39 cases). In contrast, *Imn-m-hb* stands out from her counterparts with five figures in TT 82; *S3t-Imn* and *B3kt(-Imn)* are close behind with four and three figures in TT 82, respectively; and *Imn-m-wshyt* (TT 61), *T3h-ms III* (TT 61), *T3-h3t* (TT 100), and *B3kt* (Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17) each have two figures. Those women with multiple figures were arguably focused on in these monuments, with the term *s3t* forming a prominent part of their representation.

These figures show a preference for large sizes. 46 figures are shown as the largest figures in the scene/register (four of which are uncertain), while the remaining figures are either size 7.5 (one case), size 7 (one case), size 6.5 (four cases), or size 5 (two cases). Only five figures’ sizes are unknown, meaning that the above distribution is probably representative, which suggests that while women termed *s3t* were usually one

of the largest figures in the scene/register, it was not unusual to find them as smaller, less noticeable figures in the whole composition.

This trend is typical of the location within the scene for this terminological group. The most common locations are registers, with fairly equal numbers for upper registers (eleven cases, five of which are uncertain), second registers (fourteen cases), and lower registers (eleven cases), but one third register is also attested (*Imn-m-ḥb*; TT 82 scene 12). The next most attested location is within sub-sub-registers (fourteen cases), all of which are lower sub-sub-registers found in either upper sub-registers (six cases) and lower sub-registers (eight cases). Most of these sub-registers are located in upper registers (eight cases) but lower registers are also attested (six cases). There are only four cases of locations within sub-registers, including upper sub-registers (two cases) and lower sub-registers (two cases), all of which are located in upper registers. Only three whole wall scenes are present for this terminological group, all belonging to *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 (although scenes 5 and 12 are uncertain), making her stand out compared to her counterparts. Only the location of *S3t-Imn* in TT 82 scene 22 west wall is unknown. Overall, it appears that women termed *s3t* are rarely found in the main focal area of the scene, showing a preference instead for registers and the even less prominent sub-/sub-sub-registers.

Levels show more emphasis for this terminological group, with 24 figures termed *s3t* shown on a +1 level and only nine figures termed *s3t* depicted on the baseline of their register. However, in all of these cases, except for one (*Imn-m-ḥb*; TT 82 scene 22 east wall), the figure shares this level with other figures in the register/scene, meaning that this emphasis is not individual to the woman termed *s3t*. 26 figures are too damaged to discern their levels or their level is unknown, meaning that the above trend

may not be representative. Nevertheless, it appears that women termed *s3t* were generally shown on high levels within the scene.

Within these scenes, the most common position appears to be kneeling (32 cases, twelve of which are as part of overlapping figures and only one of which is not as part of a group) and then standing in a group (eighteen cases). Only four figures are found seated behind another figure as a couple: three for *B3kt(-Imn)* and one for the figure whose name is lost in TT 82, meaning that this could be a monument-specific trend. The stances of the group of four figures on *Imn-m-h3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12) and of *S3t-Imn* in TT 82 scene 22 west wall are unknown. Positions within groups are very common and show a strong preference for middle positions (34 cases, one of which is uncertain), with only twelve cases of backmost positions (one of which is uncertain) and eight cases of foremost positions. Only the position of *S3t-Imn* in TT 82 scene 22 west wall is unknown, further suggesting an overall lack of prominent or emphatic positions in the scene's composition.

In terms of actions, 33 figures hold something in their hands: seventeen hold lotus flowers and fourteen hold pieces of cloth (three of which are uncertain). Alternatives include offering vessels (six cases, two of which are uncertain), clapping hands (two cases), offering a *sistrum* and *menat* (one case), offering a *menat* and holding a *sistrum* (one case), offering two pieces of cloth (one case), and raising one's arms (one case). Embracing one's partner is common for those seated in couples (three cases). No action at all is fairly common for this terminological group: six figures have their hands to their chest/side/mouth (three cases are uncertain). Only seven figures are too damaged to make out their action or their action is unknown and so the above trends are likely to be representative; holding objects appears to be the most common action of this terminological group.

Similar to the terminological group *snt*, very few figures termed *s3t* are involved in offering or offered to positions. However, the *s3t* terminological group differs in that more are offering than offered to, whereas the reverse occurred with the *snt* terminological group (see §3.3.1). Only *B3kt(-Imn)*, in all three of her figures, and one figure of *S3t-Imn* are shown being offered to. All of these figures are in TT 82, meaning that this could be a monument-specific trend. In comparison, *Imn-m-ḥb*, *Imn-m-ḥb I* (uncertain; TT 61), *T3-ḥḥt*, *Ḥnwt-t3wy II*, and *Snt-nfr* are shown offering once, while *Imn-m-wshḥt* (TT 61) and *Tḥ-ms III* (TT 61) are shown offering twice. Therefore, if this group is involved in offering scenarios, it was most likely to be in the role of the offerer, making *B3kt(-Imn)* in particular stand out compared to the rest of this terminological group. Only five figures are unknown regarding this feature, suggesting that the above distribution is likely to be representative. Overall, involvement in such actions was not common for this terminological group.

31 figures are shown barefoot and since there are no mummiform figures attested for this terminological group, it is likely that the 26 figures who are damaged or unknown were also originally barefoot. The feet of the figures of *Tḥ-ms II* and *T3-ḥḥt* in TT 100 scene 9 are covered up as they kneel in a group. The outfits of these women also seem to follow standard trends: most are sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast (35 cases, four of which are uncertain). The remaining figures have damaged dresses that, as they are attested, are sheath dresses (ten cases) or have straps (four cases), but further details (if any) are now unclear. Ten figures are too damaged to make out their dress type at all. Despite the level of damage, it appears that outfit type for women termed *s3t* focused on the standard sheath dress with straps that reveal a breast. Similarly, 45 figures wear the common tripartite wig (six cases are uncertain). A further figure wears a tripartite wig with individual strands of hair depicted and a further two

figures have detailed hair but their wig types are unclear. The remaining eleven figures are either unknown or too damaged to determine a wig or ascertain its type, but the wigs are likely to have been tripartite or a variation of it based on the above trend.

Headwear is a rare embellishment for women termed *s3t*. Only two figures are attested with this feature and in both of these cases they wear an incense cone: *Imn-m-ḥb* and *S3t-Imn* in TT 82 scene 12, which means that this may be a monument-specific trend. Even though nineteen figures are too damaged to make out if headwear was originally included or are unknown, meaning that the above trend may not be representative, all of these cases would have to have included headwear for this feature to be a common aspect of the representation of this terminological group. Similarly, bracelets and earrings are generally rare for women termed *s3t*. Only seven figures are shown with bracelets: one figure with one bracelet, two figures with at least one bracelet each but damage may obscure another, and four figures with two bracelets each (one of which is uncertain). In comparison, 27 figures are intentionally depicted without bracelets (seven of which are uncertain), meaning that it is unlikely that the 25 figures who are too damaged to discern ever had bracelets. Similarly, no figure is attested with earrings, either intentionally (31 cases, six of which are uncertain) or due to damage/being unknown (28 cases), meaning that this embellishment, and in fact embellishment in general, appear to be uncommon for this terminological group.

Collars seem to be the only common piece of jewellery for women termed *s3t* and even here they focus on plain types (23 cases, one of which is uncertain). Only six women are attested with an embellished collar: *Imn-m-ḥb* (twice), *S3t-Imn* (twice), *Nfrit-iry III* (once), *Tḥ-ms II* (once; TT 131), *Hnwt-t3wy II* (once), and the figure whose name is lost in TT 131 (once), perhaps suggesting an added emphasis on these women. 21 figures are too damaged to see if a collar was present or discern its type, but since only

seven figures are intentionally depicted without collars, six of which are uncertain, it is likely that the damage obscures collars for these 21 figures. Overall, therefore, it appears that most women termed *s3t* were depicted wearing standard outfits, including sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, and (plain) collars but other elaborations to their figures were kept to a minimum.

Looking at objects more closely, almost every figure is depicted with at least one. Only eight figures are intentionally depicted without objects and five of these are uncertain due to damage. Most figures hold one object (25 cases, three of which are uncertain), while eleven figures have two objects. A further five figures have at least one object but damage means that they could have had more; in most cases this additional object was probably a vessel (e.g. TT 82 scene 3). Only ten figures are too damaged to make out the presence of objects or are unknown, meaning that the above distribution is likely to be representative.

Object types, as noted briefly above, focus on lotus flowers (seventeen cases), pieces of cloth (sixteen cases, three of which are uncertain), vessels (ten cases, one of which is uncertain; there are potentially four further cases, see above), offering tables (four cases), *sistra* (two cases), *menats* (two cases), and an animal (the species is unknown; TT 82 scene 5). When a figure has more than one object, the pairs are quite varied, including lotus flowers and offering tables (four cases), lotus flowers and vessels (at least two cases, possibly five), a *sistrum* and *menat* (two cases), two vessels (at least two cases, possibly three), and two pieces of cloth (one case). Based on this, it appears that objects are common for this terminological group. The object types suggest associations with offerings (cloth and vessels), funerary items (lotus flowers and offering tables), and culturally significant ritual music-making (*sistra* and *menats*; for which see e.g. Elwart 2011; Morris 2011, 99–101; Hudáková 2019). The animal shown

with *B3kt(-Imn)* is very unusual for this group, especially since this object type has only been attested for the *hmt* group so far (see §3.2).

It is rare to have women termed *s3t* depicted with their own family. This only happens in one scene, TT 82 scene 5, perhaps suggesting that this tomb was rather unusual or unique compared to the other monuments in this case study. In this scene, there are two women termed *s3t=s*, *Imn-m-ḥtp II* and *B3kt II*, with the ‘her’ referring to *B3kt(-Imn)*, who is termed *s3t (n) snt=f*. As a result, the relationship between these individuals is made, at least textually, explicit. Only three further cases are uncertain regarding this feature because of damage to the scene and/or captions, meaning that overall being shown with one’s own family was very rare for this terminological group and perhaps was included specifically for *B3kt(-Imn)* and her relatives.

Similarly, only one figure is shown in a solitary position, meaning that this terminological group is usually shown as part of a group. *Imn-m-ḥb* is shown in her own register in TT 82 scene 22 east wall, adding emphasis to her in this scene, but this prominence is tempered by the fact that she is shown in one of three similar registers. This is likely to be the same for the figure of *S3t-Imn* in the parallel west wall but this part of the scene is now damaged. The four figures on *Imn-m-ḥ3t*’s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12) were probably shown as part of a group based on the locations of the captions but this feature is uncertain due to publication levels. The remaining figures in this terminological group are all shown in non-solitary positions, which appear to be the norm for women termed *s3t*.

In terms of physical contact, there are a few trends for this terminological group. Firstly, eighteen figures (one case is uncertain) are depicted without any physical contact with another figure, meaning that this was not a very common part of this terminological group’s representation. This includes all of the women termed *s3t* in TT

131 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, meaning that this could be a monument-specific trend. In comparison, 35 figures have physical contact ranging in number from one case (21 cases), two cases (eight cases, one of which may have had an additional contact that is now damaged), three cases (two cases), and four cases per figure (two cases). All of the women termed *s3t* in TT 81 and TT 100 have physical contact, meaning that this could also potentially be a monument-specific trend. Only eight figures are too damaged or unknown regarding this feature, meaning that the above distribution is likely to be representative, particularly the preference for physical contact rather than no physical contact.

Almost all of the physical contact involving women termed *s3t* is reciprocated by the other figure (47 cases). Only *B3kt(-Imn)* and the figure whose name is lost in TT 82 have unreciprocated touches (three cases total) and even the case where this is uncertain is when *B3kt(-Imn)*'s hands are no longer visible due to damage and so this may have also been unreciprocated. Notably, these four cases are when they are depicted in a couple with a man, who is *B3kt(-Imn)*'s husband, *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15), and a man labelled *s3=f* whose name is lost, respectively. There is only one further case of physical contact between a woman termed *s3t* and a male figure: *S3t-Imn* sits in a row with a man labelled *s3=f* in front of her in TT 82 scene 16. The touch is reciprocal between these two figures. If we take the 'his' in *s3=f* to be the same person referred to in *S3t-Imn*'s term (*s3t=f*), this could suggest that physical contact between siblings was accepted in tomb iconography. Alternatively, the couple could be composed of a child and their partner, with the *s3/t=f* meaning 'daughter/son-in-law', in which case it would parallel *B3kt(-Imn)*'s cases, albeit with different contact-reciprocation.

These are rare exceptions, however, since it appears that this terminological group was largely segregated by gender and perhaps also by terminological group. The

remaining cases of physical contact each involve women ranging from other women termed *s3t* (40 cases) or *snt* (at least one case), and untermed women (five cases). Therefore, it that appears that physical contact involving this terminological group could be a context-specific decision, but when it is present, it is characterised by reciprocity between other women termed *s3t* and occasionally other female figures. The women shown in seated couple positions, especially *B3kt(-Imn)*, stand out from their counterparts with physical contact that aligns more with women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* (see §3.1–2).

Bringing this together, the average similarity of women termed *s3t* is the lowest out of all of the terminological groups. In fact, only one woman has an average similarity over 3, which marks equality between female figures: *B3kt(-Imn)* has averages of 4 and 4.5 in TT 82. This appears to be unique to her rather than TT 82 since all of the other figures in TT 82 have low average similarities, including the other figure in a seated couple whose name is lost. The remaining averages are predominantly 2 (28 cases, one of which is uncertain) but can also be 2.5–2.6 (nine cases) and 3 (thirteen cases). Only seven figures are either too damaged to determine their average similarity or are unknown, meaning that the above trend is probably representative. It is evident from this that women termed *s3t* are very rarely the main focus of these scenes, with *B3kt(-Imn)* as a clear exception to this rule.

In conclusion, it appears that while women termed *s3t* outnumber the other terminological groups in this case study, their comparative representation makes them less prominent in the overall composition. This terminological group is concentrated in certain scenes, meaning that they normally only appear in certain areas of the monuments. Moreover, within each scene these women are shown mostly in non-solitary positions and in registers or further subdivisions. Attestations on artefacts or the

inclusion of their own family within these monuments is also quite rare. Moreover, while sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, and plain collars are common for women termed *s3t*, further embellishment is uncommon. Captions for these women are fairly limited, with epithets and titles only attributed to certain women. The fact that the vast majority of these women have low average similarities exemplifies their fairly unemphatic positions within this iconography.

Nonetheless, this terminological group shows a few specific trends. Firstly, there seems to be a strong association with the term *s3t* and funerary spheres, including scenes involving offerings, objects including lotus flowers and offerings, and titles that involve temple music-making duties. While inclusion in offering positions is rare for this terminological group, their preference for offering to other figures is notable compared to the other terminological groups. This could perhaps be linked to the fact that this terminological group is also the only group so far to be attested addressing other figures. This speech further suggests that these women play an important part in the events of the scene. Secondly, this terminological group has the most variety in compound kinship terms, meaning that there was a desire to be specific about their relationships with other figures. The minimal physical contact with male figures, except for perhaps a few close relatives, is also notable. Lastly, this terminological group shows the strongest preference for pictorial figures, which is also somewhat unique compared to the other terminological groups, but the high frequency of figures who are shown in kneeling and standing positions in the middle of groups has parallels in the *snt* terminological group (see §3.3).

Similar to the *hmt* terminological group in the Theban case study (see §3.2.1), the *s3t* terminological group contains a subgroup of figures whose representation does not fit with the majority of the trends noted above. Most of these figures belong to

B3kt(-Imn), whose representation as a *s3t* would fit better as part of the *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* terminological groups (see §3.1–2). This includes her locations in whole wall scenes; positions in seated couples with non-reciprocated physical contact as she embraces her husband; joint captions and offering formulae; being offered to; epithets and the title of *nbt-pr*; the presence of her own family and animals; and a high average similarity. Therefore, while *B3kt(-Imn)* has the term *s3t (n) snt=f* in her captions, she appears to be shown in different mode of representation in these scenes compared to her counterparts (see §5.3). This phenomenon may be due to TT 82 itself, which also stands out from this corpus both with regard to the number of women termed *s3t* that it includes and how it depicts them. Here we have the strongest case for a monument-specific way of representing a female terminological group. Nevertheless, this terminological group in general still shares common traits that place women termed *s3t* among the least prominent figures in this case study.

3.4.2 El-Kab Case Study

There are sixteen women with preserved names with the kinship term *s3t* in this case study: *T3[...]* (PSN 156), *Hnwt-n-mhy* (PSN 161), *T3-ddt=s* (PSN 166), *Tpw-pw I* (PSN 167), *Nbw-m-h[...]* (PSN 168), *T3-hnmst* (PSN 175), *Nbt-t3wy I* (PSN 176), *Nbw-m-hb II* (PSN 178), *S3t-Imn IV* (PSN 179), *D3-b* (PSN 186), *Ty* (PSN 187), and *Nbw-m-nhbt* (PSN 188) in EK 3; and *Nbt-t3wy* (PSN 145) and *[...]-m-hb I* (PSN 153) in EK 5. *S3t-Imn III* (PSN 154) is shown with this term in both of these tombs and *Nbw-m-y-dh* is shown in EK 3 with the compound term *s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*. In EK 5, there are two figures with this term whose names are no longer visible. These figures are shown in scenes 2 and 3 as the daughter of *Hry-iry* and a woman termed *hmt* (whose name has also been lost), and *Tch-ms s3 Tb3n3* and *T-pw*, respectively. Since these family groups are

not shown elsewhere in this case study, it is unlikely that these figures represent named women who have already been included in the above list. Therefore, this discussion is based on sixteen—most likely eighteen—women and 20 figures.

Given the high number of women in this terminological group, the group appears in a relatively low number of scenes: seven across the two tombs. Scene types are similarly limited, with a high number of offering table and banquet scenes (five cases) and only two offering scenes, suggesting that this term was strongly associated with offerings and (funerary) feasts. The majority of women are shown in one scene per tomb (assuming that the figures whose names have been lost in EK 5 are separate individuals). *T3-ddt=s* is the only woman to be shown in more than one scene per monument (EK 3 scenes 16 and 17), suggesting an emphasis on her as an individual, with this kinship term forming a prominent part of her representation.

The placement of these scenes appears to differ according to tomb (Fig. 29). In EK 5, this kinship term seems to be restricted to one corner of the tomb, while in EK 3 this terminological group appears on almost every wall throughout the tomb's architectural space, suggesting a greater focus on this kinship term in this context. There does appear to be a slight preference in both tombs, especially EK 5, for depicting this kinship term in the back areas of the tomb, most likely due to the prevalence of funerary related scenes. Overall, it appears that this term was more visible regarding scene number and placement in EK 3 than it was in EK 5.

There are 23 captions attested for this terminological group and most women only have one caption per tomb (fifteen cases, assuming that the two figures whose names are lost in EK 5 are different people). Only *T3[...]*, *T3-ddt=s*, *S3t-Imn IV*, and *Nbw-m-y-dh* stand out with multiple captions and even then each woman only has two. Almost all of these captions are owned by these women (21 cases, one of which is

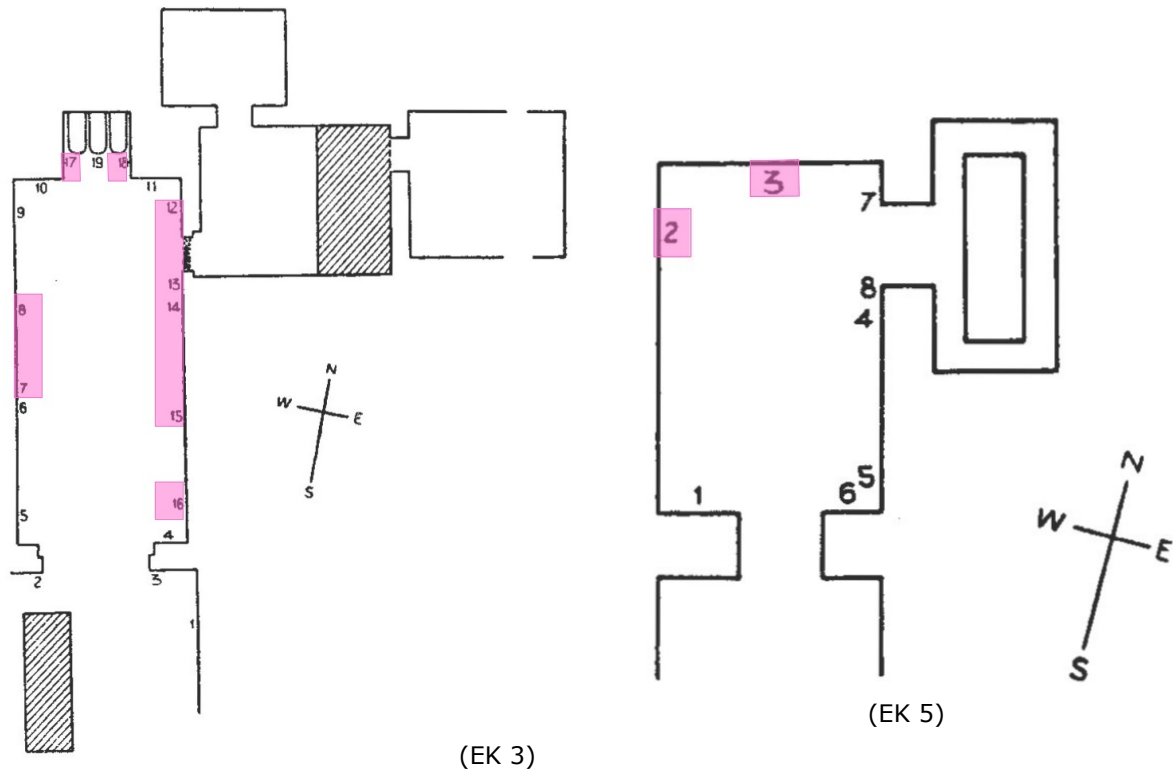


Figure 29: Scene placement of *s3t* in El-Kab case study (after PM V, 178)

uncertain for the figure whose name has been lost in EK 5 scene 3). Only one group caption is attested for *T3*[...] in EK 3 scene 7–8 and *S3t-Imn IV* is addressed by another figure in EK 3 scene 12–15. Therefore, it is very uncommon, but still possible, for these women to share captions with other figures and more notably to be addressed by others.

The vast majority of these captions simply identify the figure (21 cases; the same case for the figure whose name has been lost in EK 5 is uncertain). The two exceptions are the address to *S3t-Imn IV* and a caption belonging to *Nbw-m-y-dh* where she speaks a general exclamation as she attends the banquet feast, suggesting that speech was a possibility for this terminological group, perhaps as an individualising feature. Despite these alternatives, it appears that most of these captions served to simply identify each figure.

Kinship designations in these captions have a fairly equal ratio between $s3t=s$ (nine cases, one of which misses out the feminine ‘*t*’) and $s3t=f$ (seven cases). Two further cases are damaged where the suffix pronoun would be located. As a result, this is the only terminological group in both case studies to show relative equality between male and female suffix pronouns in its kinship terms. There is only one compound term attested for this group, which compares significantly with the Theban case study: $s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f$ for *Nbw-m-y-dh*. This compound term is much more specific than those in the Theban case study, a trend that seems to be common for the El-Kab material in general (see §5.2). Aside from the compound term, *Nbw-m-y-dh* does not appear to stand out significantly in this terminological group. The group caption, address, and speech do not appear to contain kinship terms, but the former is very damaged and so may have originally.

Epithets are quite rare for this terminological group. Eleven women are intentionally not attested with an epithet in their monument. Only four captions are damaged in such a way that they may have originally contained epithets, but all of these cases are uncertain and the positions of the lacunae in two of them mean that they may have originally contained titles instead. Only $T3-ddt=s$ and $T3-hnmst$ are attested with short epithets: *wrt* ‘great’ (TLA lemma-no. 47271; see §1.3.1) and $mr(y)t=f$ ‘his beloved’ (TLA lemma-no. 550321) for the former, and $m3^c t-hrw$ ‘true of voice’ (grammatically gendered; TLA lemma-no. 66730) for the latter. Similarly, only the three women with the group caption, address, and speech appear to have lengthy captions. The address to *S3t-Imn IV* notably includes the direct phrase $n k3=t$, while the speech of *Nbw-m-y-dh* frequently includes the first-person suffix pronoun $=i$ in a mix of its male and female forms, which appears to be common for funerary texts written for female figures (e.g. P. BM EA 10010; British Museum catalogue; Taylor 2010, 114). The group

caption above *T3*[...] is very damaged but appears to have started with *ms* ‘bringing/presenting’, suggesting that it may have described the offering action in that register.

Titles are not attested for this terminological group and only three captions are damaged in such a way that they may have originally contained titles, but in each case this is uncertain and the locations of the lacunae in two of these cases mean that they may have originally contained epithets instead. Overall, it appears that the captions for this group very rarely went beyond simply a kinship term and the figure’s name.

Similar to the Theban case study, none of the figures in this terminological group are textual and so it appears that pictorial representations were preferred, making this group potentially more accessible to the varied visitor audiences. Almost all of these women only have one figure per tomb (eighteen cases, assuming that the two figures whose names have been lost in EK 5 are different people). *T3-ddt=s* is the only woman termed *s3t* to have multiple figures in a single monument and even then she is only shown twice in EK 3. Nonetheless, this suggests an added emphasis on her as an individual in this context.

In terms of location within the scene, these women commonly appear in sub-registers (eight cases of lower and five upper), usually in lower registers (ten cases, two of which are uncertain), but sometimes upper registers (two cases) or second registers (one uncertain case). Occasionally, these woman can appear in registers (four lower and two second) and even sub-sub-registers (one lower, which occurs in a lower sub-register of a second register). None of these locations are particularly emphatic, particularly sub-/sub-sub-registers.

Within these locations, however, these women are consistently shown as one of the largest figures: eighteen figures are the maximum size 8 (three of which are

uncertain). The remaining two figures are too damaged to determine. Similarly, the levels upon which these figures are found are almost always high (thirteen cases, one of which is uncertain), whereas only three figures are shown on the baseline of a register. In each of these cases, except for *T3-ddt=s* in EK 3 scene 16, the woman termed *s3t* shares this level with other figures, meaning that this feature is not individualising. Only four figures' levels are no longer visible, meaning that the above trend is likely to be representative. Overall, despite the less emphatic locations, this terminological group still has a degree of iconographic prominence.

The majority of these figures kneel in a group (seventeen cases) but standing is also attested (two cases, one of which is as part of a group). The stance of the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 3 is no longer visible. Almost all of these women appear in groups with other figures in a mixture of positions, mostly in middle positions (ten cases, one of which is uncertain), but foremost positions (five cases) and backmost positions (four cases) are also attested. This correlates strongly with the trends noted in the Theban case study.

Actions for these figures primarily involve holding lotus flowers (sixteen cases). One figure offers two vessels and a piece of cloth instead (*T3[...]*; EK 3 scene 7–8). These actions closely align with those found in the Theban case study. Alternative actions in the El-Kab case study include rejecting a vessel that is offered to them (*S3t-Imn IV*; EK 3 scene 12–15) and having one's hands down at their sides (*T3-ddt=s*; EK 3 scene 16). The action of the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 3 is no longer visible. Overall, it appears that holding objects was a characteristic action for this terminological group.

Being involved in offering to other figures or being offered to is rare for this terminological group, as it was in the Theban case study, but the El-Kab case study

differs since when this kinship is involved in such actions, they show an equal ratio of each type. The figure of *T3*[...] in EK 3 scene 7–8 offers to the tomb owner, while the figure of *S3t-Imn IV* in EK 3 scene 12–15 is offered to by a male server. Only one figure is too damaged to determine for this feature. Therefore, despite its overall rarity, the fact that this terminological group is shown consistently in either position is notable compared to the Theban material.

In terms of outfit, most of these women wear the standard sheath dress with straps that expose a breast (fifteen cases). Only three sheath dresses are too damaged to make out their specific style and two figures' outfits are no longer visible, meaning that it is highly likely that this terminological group wears common outfit types. Wig type also follows standard trends since seventeen figures wear tripartite wigs (seventeen cases, two of which are uncertain). Again only three cases are no longer visible or the wig type is uncertain and so this trend is likely to be representative. Almost all of these women are depicted barefoot (fifteen cases, one of which is uncertain) and only five figures are too damaged to determine. Overall, therefore, these women follow common outfit types in their dress, wig, and footwear.

Headwear appears to be common for this terminological group: mainly lotus flower headdresses (twelve cases), often with additional incense cones (six cases). While eight figures are not attested with headwear, this is due to damage in the first instance in four cases, meaning that it is likely that headwear was common for women termed *s3t*. Additional embellishments are predominantly plain collars (sixteen cases). Only one figure is intentionally depicted without a collar and three figures are too damaged to determine, meaning that plain collars were probably also a common item for this terminological group.

In comparison, earrings and bracelets are not attested for this group at all, whether intentionally (sixteen cases for bracelets, four of which are uncertain; twelve cases for earrings) or due to damage (four cases for bracelets; eight cases for earrings). The high level of damage for earrings means that these may have been more common than preservation suggests, but the low level of damage for bracelets means that this type of jewellery was most likely rare for women termed *s3t*. Overall, it appears that these figures follow the standard outfit styles for this time period, with headwear and plain collars providing some additional embellishment.

Objects are very common for this terminological group. Only two figures are attested without any objects (*T3-ddt=s* in EK 3 scene 16 and *S3t-Imn IV* in EK 3 scene 12–15) and only one figure is too damaged to determine (the figure whose name is lost in EK 5 scene 3). The majority of figures have one object each, which is always a lotus flower (twelve cases, one of which is uncertain). When a figure has two objects these tend to be a lotus flower and offering table (four cases). The one exception to this trend is the offering figure of *T3[...]* in EK 3 scene 7–8 where she has two vessels and a piece of cloth and potentially something else that is now damaged. This variation is most likely due to the offering nature of this figure. The object types match those noted in the Theban case study but the lack of *sistra* and *menats* is notable.

Being depicted with one's own family appears to be split fairly evenly between this terminological group. Eleven figures are depicted without their own family (two of whom are uncertain due to damage to the kinship term), while nine women—*Tw-pw I*, *Nbw-m-h[...]*, *S3t-Imn III*, *Hnwt-n-mhy*, *Nbw-m-hb II*, *S3t-Imn IV*, *D3-b*, *Ty*, and *Nbw-m-nhbt*—are each depicted with their own family through the term *s3t=s*. The first three women appear to be the daughters of *Km* and the rest the daughters of *Hnwt-r-nhh*. (see §2.2.1). All of these cases occur in EK 3, meaning that this could be a monument-

specific trend. The distribution of the term $s3t=f$ and $s3t=s$ between this terminological group appears to have been fairly consistent, with almost every woman termed either $s3t=f$ or $s3t=s$ (and never both). This consistency implies that the term $s3t=s$ was used to denote the daughters from a wife's previous marriage (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 4). If these daughters were children of the tomb owner, then the term $s3t=f$ would be expected considering the male dominated nature of kinship terming in funerary contexts (Robins 1994). However, one woman has both kinship designations: *S3t-Imn III* is termed $s3t=f$ in EK 5 scene 3 and $s3t=s$ in EK 3 scene 18. This could suggest that the decision to term a daughter via their mother was not based on biological considerations, but was rather a conscious decision to relate this child via their mother in direct contrast to the usual male-orientated practices. It appears that EK 3 aimed to emphasise the female familial networks in its decorative programme and so these women were arguably shown with their own (iconographic) family.

Only one of these figures is shown in a solitary position, *T3-ddt=s* in EK 3 scene 16, suggesting a preference for depicting women termed $s3t$ in groups. Despite this preference, physical contact is only attested for nine figures, leaving eight figures (one of which is uncertain) intentionally shown without any physical contact and three figures too damaged to determine. Therefore, at best physical contact would occur for just over half of this terminological group. Out of the nine cases of physical contact, there are four women with one case per figure (*T3-hnmst*, *Nbt-t3wy I*, *S3t-Imn IV*, and *Ty*), one woman with at least one case but damage means that she may have had more (*Nbw-m-hb II*), and four women with two cases each (*T3-ddt=s* in EK 3 scene 17, *Tw-pw I*, *Nbw-m-y-dh*, and *D3-b*).

These cases each involve equally reciprocated physical contact but with a range of genders. Six cases follow the trend noted in the Theban case study where women

termed *s3t* have physical contact with other women termed *s3t* (four cases) or *snt* (one case) and untermed women (one case). However, seven cases involve men, including four men labelled *s3=f*, two termed *s3=s*, and one unnamed man, which contrasts with the Theban case study where such physical contact is much less common. Therefore, it appears that physical contact can occur for this terminological group and when it does, it was equally reciprocated with a larger variety of other genders and terminological groups than their counterparts in Thebes.

Bringing this together, it is perhaps unsurprising that this terminological group has average similarities equal to or below the equality marker 3. Most figures have an average similarity of 2 (twelve cases), with six cases of 2.66 and only one case of 3 (*T3[...]*). Only one figure is too damaged to determine, meaning that it appears that this terminological group was generally depicted in less prominent ways to other female figures in the scene.

In conclusion, there are many similarities between the representation of women termed *s3t* in the El-Kab case study and those in the Theban case study. Both groups appear in a relatively low number of scenes, which mainly focus on offering themes, particularly banquets. In EK 5, these scenes are restricted to certain areas, matching the overall placement of scenes in the Theban case study, while those scenes in EK 3 appear throughout the architectural space, offering a parallel for TT 82 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. The captions of these groups are mainly owned personally and simply serve to identify the figure, with epithets and titles rarely included. It is notable that this group is also attested speaking (in the case of *Nbw-m-y-dh*), suggesting a similar importance in the scene to the Theban case study. The figures of these women are all pictorial and are often shown in the less prominent areas of the scene, such as sub-registers, but often as the largest size and on high levels, displaying an albeit small degree of iconographic

prominence. Stance closely follows the Theban trends, with most women termed *s3t* in the El-Kab case study shown either kneeling or standing in groups, and the majority are placed in middle positions within those groups. Actions also focus on holding objects, mainly lotus flowers, which is similar to the Theban case study. Inclusion in offering positions is also equally rare. Outfits follow standard trends, as they did in the Theban case study, with the common sheath dress with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, plain collars, and bare feet, while earrings and bracelets are rare. Overall, these women have a low average similarity, making them less visibly prominent in the scenes compared to other women, further matching the Theban material.

Nonetheless, the El-Kab case study shows a few unique trends. Firstly, there is an apparent equality between male and female suffix pronouns in the kinship terms and, as a result, a high number of women termed *s3t* are shown with their own family in the El-Kab case study. This appears to match the overall emphasis placed on women in this case study (see §5.2). Secondly, headwear is more common in the El-Kab case study than it is in the Theban case study, suggesting an added focus on embellishment for this terminological group in these monuments. Moreover, while offering positions are rare in the El-Kab case study—as they are in the Theban case study—when included in these positions, women termed *s3t* appear in an equal ratio of offering and being offered to positions in the El-Kab case study. In contrast, women termed *s3t* were mainly attested in an offering role in the Theban case study. This trend more closely matches the *snt* terminological group at Thebes. Finally, physical contact has more variety regarding gender in the El-Kab case study where women termed *s3t* are often shown with women or men, whereas physical contact with the latter group was unusual in the Theban case study. Therefore, the El-Kab case study appears to be less gender segregated than the Theban one.

The women termed *s3t* in the El-Kab case study further differ from their Theban counterparts, with one individual who is arguably focused on: *T3-ddt=s*. This phenomenon occurs in the Theban case study, but in this case the individual, *B3kt(-Imn)*, does not follow the standard trends for the terminological group, whereas in the El-Kab case study *T3-ddt=s* mostly does. She stands out with multiple scenes, figures, and captions, the most epithets, and her own level in EK 3 scene 16 where she is also shown in a solitary position. This suggests an individual emphasis on her in this context that differentiates her somewhat from the others in this group. In a similar way, *S3t-Imn IV* stands out with an address specifically directed to her, which is unusual for this terminological group in both case studies.

3.5 Untermed Women

3.5.1 Theban Case Study

Those women who intentionally lack a kinship term in their captions can be split into two groups: those who also have no name and those that are named. Seventeen women fall into the second group in this case study: *S3t-dhwtj* (PSN 121), *Tw-iw/Tch-htp* (PSN 122), *Tch-htp III* (PSN 123), *Imn-m-ipt* (PSN 126), *P3-nht* (PSN 127), and *T3-nt-išrw* (PSN 129) in TT 81; *B3kt IV* (PSN 104), *R-iw-rsti* (PSN 105), *Mwt-nfrt I* (PSN 106), *H3-tw* (PSN 107), *K33* (PSN 137), *Imn[...]* (PSN 138), *Nfr-h3wt* (PSN 190), and *Nhm-išy* (PSN 191) in TT 82; *M3t-nfrt* (PSN 91) in TT 100; and *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110) in TT 122. *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115) is shown without a kinship term in a statue from Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11). In comparison, 22 figures across TT 61, TT 100, and TT 131, including statue CG 42118 (A.1.9), intentionally have no name or kinship term, but have been included in the analysis because they are displayed alongside women who do have names and/or terms (see §1.4; for cases where the presence of a kinship term

and/or name is uncertain see Catalogue C.5). Since kinship terms are the main focus of this discussion, all of the above women are treated as a single group but any significant differences between those who are named and unnamed are noted. Therefore, this group encompasses at least seventeen—potentially 39—women, totalling 41 figures.

Only three untermmed women are attested on an artefact relating to these monuments: *Tw-ⁱw/^Th-^htp* is shown on a *shabti*, presumably from TT 81 (A.1.8), an unnamed and untermmed woman appears on statue CG 42118 from Karnak Temple (A.1.9), and *Tti-nfr* owns a statue found in Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11). All of these figures are pictorial, following the standard figure type for this group (see below). *Tw-ⁱw/^Th-^htp* is also shown in scenes in TT 81, while the statue of *Tti-nfr* forms her only representation in this case study. The fact that she has an individual statue is somewhat unique, and therefore while her inclusion in this case study is rather limited, it is emphatic. Overall, it appears that appearances on artefacts were rare for untermmed women, showing a preference for depicting them in monumental iconography.

Excluding artefacts, there are a total of thirteen scenes that show untermmed women in this case study. Most of these women are only shown in a single scene within their monument (assuming that the unnamed figures show different individuals). *Tw-ⁱw/^Th-^htp* is the only named woman to appear in multiple scenes within a single monument without a kinship term (two scenes in TT 81), potentially showing a focus on her as an individual. This feature is arguably more individualistic than for the other terminological groups since an untermmed woman is naturally shown without a textually identified relationship with other figures in the scene. Scene type focuses on offering tables (ten cases), most of which have banquets (nine cases), but offering scenes (two cases) and a group of niche statues (one case) are also attested. Niche statues appear to be for named women only, while offering scenes can be for both named and unnamed

women. Overall, there appears to be a strong association of this whole group with (funerary) meals and offering themes.

The placement of these scenes (Fig. 30) shows a slight preference for restricting representations of these women to certain areas of the tomb, generally the back rooms and passages (TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, and TT 100), but restriction to other areas of the tomb is also possible (a corner of the transverse hall in TT 131 and the third chapel in TT 122). It is notable that untermed women are not attested in burial chambers or on ceilings or frieze texts compared to the other terminological groups. Overall, therefore, it appears that this terminological group was not that visible within each monument's iconographic programme. The only possible exceptions are TT 81 and TT 82, which each include more scenes depicting this group than the other monuments.

Despite the high number of figures, there are only 36 captions attested for this group (the offering formula for *Tw-*iw-*I^ch-*h*tp*** in TT 81 scene 18 is uncertain). The majority of named women only have one caption each (eleven cases, one of which is on an artefact). In comparison, *Imn-m-ipt*, *P3-nht*, *B3kt IV*, *R-*iw-rsti**, and *M3^ct-nfrit* stand out with two captions each, while *Tw-*iw-*I^ch-*h*tp*** is even more emphasised with four captions (one of which is uncertain and one of which is on an artefact), further suggesting a focus on her as an individual. The eleven unnamed figures in TT 100 each also only have one caption, following the standard trend for the named women above, while the other unnamed figures have no captions (including on artefacts), which is to be expected considering that most captions in these case studies focus on naming and terming individuals. This makes TT 100 more significant for giving some additional information about these apparently anonymous figures.

Most named women own their captions (seventeen cases) or share them as part of a group (three cases) or a couple (three cases, one of which is uncertain). One of the

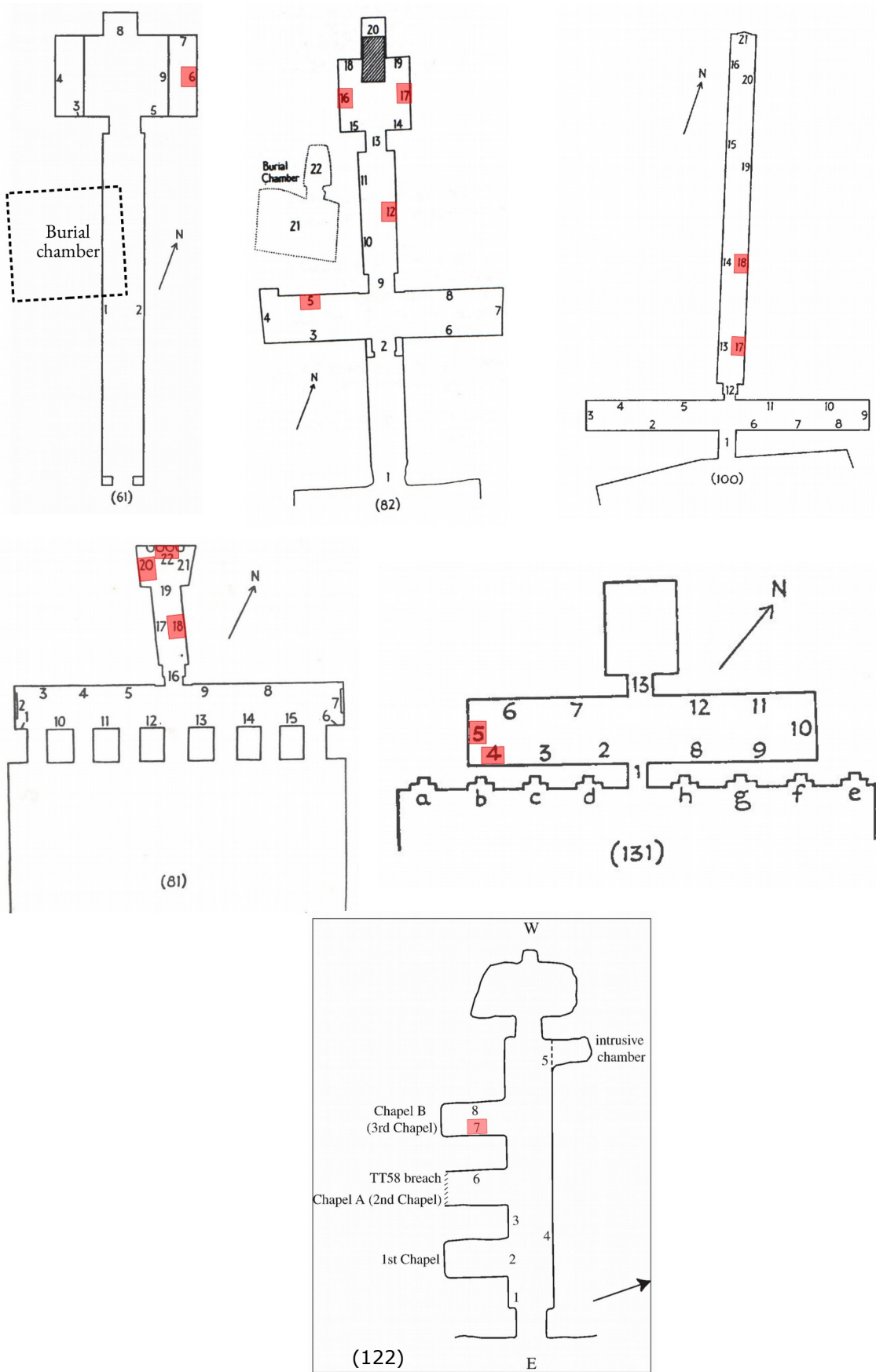


Figure 30: Scene placement of untermed women in Theban case study (after PM I.1², 124, 160, 208, 238; after Shirley 2010b, 273, fig. 1)

captions of *M3^ct-nfrt* in TT 100 scene 17 may have been her own or could possibly be interpreted as a joint caption where her part comes first (see §3.4.1). Similarly, one of the captions of *B3kt IV* in TT 82 scene 12 may be her own or possibly a group caption. All of these uncertain cases still fit within the caption ownership trends noted above. Unnamed women also align with this trend: all eleven captions are group captions, shared between the unnamed women and others in their group.

Similarly, caption type for named women shows a preference for identification captions (seventeen cases), but offering formulae (four cases, one of which is uncertain), addresses to another figure (three cases), and a funerary text (one case; *Tw-ⁱw/T^ch-^htp*) are also attested. Again the unnamed women focus on one of these options since the group captions in TT 100 scenes 17 and 18 are both addresses to another figure. Overall, it appears that this group is characterised by either individual or group captions, with a significant focus on either simple identifications or addresses to other figures. Only a few women—*Tw-ⁱw/T^ch-^htp*, *Tti-nfr*, *Nsy(-nbw)*, and *S3t-d^hwty*—deviate from this trend with joint captions and/or offering formulae and funerary spells.

Epithets are fairly uncommon for this group: eleven unnamed women and ten named women intentionally have no epithets. When present, the most common epithet is *m3^ct-^hrw* ‘true of voice’ (five cases, one of which is damaged and one of which is ungendered for *Nsy(-nbw)*; TLA lemma-no. 66730), but *mr(y)t=f* ‘his beloved’ (one damaged case for *Nsy(-nbw)*; TLA lemma-no. 550321) and a variation *mrt-ib=f* ‘beloved of his heart’ (one case; *Tw-ⁱw/T^ch-^htp*) are also attested. *Tw-ⁱw/T^ch-^htp* is also shown twice with the epithet *ddt.n=s* ‘who is called’, which introduces her second name.

The vast majority of epithets, however, are longer captions, primarily the addresses to other figures (fourteen cases for both named and unnamed women). One

notable case, attested in two captions for twelve figures in this group, starts with *dd=sn* ‘they say’, which is one of the few direct references to a woman speaking in this case study. *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* has an individual version of this in her *shabti* spell where she speaks (*dd=s*). Other longer captions include three *htp-di-nsw* formulae (one of which is uncertain), two of which have the specific *n k3 n* form, possibly another offering formula (*Tw-iw/T^ch-htp*; TT 81 scene 18), and the *shabti* spell (also *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp*; *shabti*, A.1.8). Overall, it appears rare for this terminological group to be shown with epithets that describe themselves like the other terminological groups, yet they are also the group that is attested speaking the most often, suggesting a different focus on captions for untermed women. Again a few women stand out from the rest with emotional and funerary epithets, suggesting that something different is happening with their depictions (see §5.3).

In comparison, titles are fairly common for this terminological group but are only attested for eleven named women, leaving six named women and all of the unnamed figures without titles. When present, the titles include *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (one case each for *Tti-nfr*, *S3t-d^hwty*, and *Nsy(-nbw)* [which is damaged], and three cases for *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp*; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15); *hsst/hsyt* ‘singer’, which has no apparent cultic connection (one each for *Imn-m-ipt*, *P3-nht*, *B3kt IV*, *H3-tw*, and *K33*; TLA lemma-no. 109400); and *s^dm-^cš* ‘servant’ (one each for *Nfr-h3wt* and *Nhm-i^cy*; TLA lemma-no. 150640). The vast majority of these titles focus on providing entertainment or other domestic services, which makes the association of untermed women with senior household management through the title *nbt-pr* somewhat unusual. Perhaps this difference in status is the reason why *Tti-nfr*, *S3t-d^hwty*, *Nsy(-nbw)*, and *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* stand out from their counterparts regarding other representational features.

All of the 41 figures in this terminological group are pictorial, showing a strong preference for making this group more accessible to the varied visitor audiences. Most of these women only have one figure per monumental context (38 cases, assuming that the unnamed figures are each different people). The only apparent exception is *Tw-ⁱw/ⁱf^h-^htp*, who has three figures in TT 81, suggesting an added emphasis on her as an individual within this context.

Average size is fairly varied for these figures. Most figures are the largest size 8 (21 cases, nine of which are uncertain), but figures with size 7.5 (four cases), size 7 (two cases), size 6.5 (two cases, one of which is uncertain), size 6 (three cases, all of which are uncertain), size 5 (one case), and size 4.75 (two cases) are attested. Only four figures' sizes are no longer visible due to damage or are unknown, meaning that the above ratio is likely to be representative. It is notable that sizes do not appear to differentiate between named and unnamed women in this group. Therefore, it appears that untermed women were most often depicted as the largest figure in their scene/register, but it was not uncommon to find them as smaller, less prominent figures within the composition.

Similarly, the locations within this iconography show a preference for registers, mostly upper registers (eighteen cases) but lower registers are also attested (nine cases). Lower sub-registers of upper registers are also fairly common (eight cases). Four figures—three depicting *Tw-ⁱw/ⁱf^h-^htp*, one depicting *S3t-^dhwty*, and one showing an unnamed women in TT 61—are shown in whole wall scenes and so are singled out with prominent locations compared to the rest of this group. Only one figure's location is unknown (*Tti-nfr*; statue, A.1.11). Overall, it appears that untermed women were often found in the slightly less visible registers, with only a few women placed in prominent locations within this iconography.

Within these registers, the levels are also generally less emphatic, with 20 figures shown on the baseline of their register and only thirteen figures shown on +1 levels. Eight figures' levels are no longer visible or are unknown, which means that at best this group has an even ratio between baseline and +1 levels. In all of these cases, except for *Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp*'s *shabti* (A.1.8), the untermed woman's figure shares the level with others, meaning that this feature is not applied to them individually. Overall, therefore, it would appear that untermed women are generally shown in less prominent locations and levels within the iconography, with only figure size making these figures more noticeable.

Most of these women are shown standing (20 cases, only two of which are not in groups) or occasionally kneeling (nine cases, only one of which is not in a group). Overlapping pairs are fairly common, whether standing (two pairs) or kneeling (one pair). The next most common stance is seated behind a partner: *Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp* (one case), *Nsy(-nbw)* (one uncertain case), and all four of the unnamed women in TT 61. *Tw-iw/Tʕh-htp* and *S3t-dhwty* are both also shown seated without a partner once. *Mwt-nfrt I* is shown jumping in TT 82 scene 5, which is unique in this case study. Positions within groups (including as a couple) shows a preference for middle positions (21 cases, in one of which it is uncertain how many figures appear behind the untermed woman), but a few foremost positions (eight cases) or backmost positions (five cases) are also attested. Only three figures' stances and/or positions are unknown, meaning that the above trends are likely to be representative. Overall, it appears that this group was often shown standing or kneeling in middle positions, with only a few women attested with alternative postures, primarily as they sit with partners.

Actions are very varied for this group, more so than for the other terminological groups in this case study. Many figures are depicted offering and/or holding objects:

four figures hold lotus flowers, while one figure holds a *sistrum*, four figures hold both a *sistrum* and a *menat*, and one figure holds a vessel and some vegetation. In comparison, four figures offer a *sistrum* while holding a *menat*, one figure offers two *sistra*, one figure offers a *menat* while holding a *sistrum*, and one figure offers both a *sistrum* and a *menat*. Finally, one figure offers a vessel and a goose, while another offers a tray and a goat. Other untermed figures are involved in dancing (one case) or playing musical instruments (two figures play a double flute and one figure plays a harp), including clapping sticks (one case). While they sit in couples, five figures embrace their partner. *T^ch-ḥtp III* possibly embraces the woman next to her as they sit in a group in TT 81 scene 20. Only two figures have their arms raised, perhaps in adoration, and three figures have their hands to their side or chest and so arguably lack a specific action. Since only six figures' actions are no longer visible, the above distribution is likely to be representative, suggesting that there was greater freedom in the depiction of the activities of untermed women compared to termed women. There is a slight difference between named and unnamed women regarding actions since unnamed women are only shown holding or offering objects, embracing their partner, or with their hands to their side or chest, meaning that playing instruments, dancing, and raising one's hands are only attested for named women.

Being involved in offering actions is not very common for this terminological group: 28 figures are neither shown offering or being offered to. When involved in offering actions, most of the women in this terminological group are shown offering to other figures: *Imn*[...], *Nfr-ḥ3wt*, and seven of the unnamed women in TT 100 scenes 17 and 18. Only three women are depicted offered to by other figures, including *Tw-iw/T^ch-ḥtp* in TT 81 scene 18, *Nsy(-nbw)*, and the tenth (unnamed) woman in the row of figures in TT 100 scene 17. Only one figure, *Tti-nfr* on her statue (A.1.11), is unknown

regarding this feature, meaning that the above trends are likely to be representative. This ratio suggests that unnamed and untermed women are more likely to be shown offering than being offered to, while named and untermed women could be shown in either position. Overall, however, it appears that involvement in offering positions was fairly uncommon for this terminological group.

The variety in representational characteristics shown by this terminological group so far does not extend to outfits since almost all of these women wear sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast (27 cases, four of which are uncertain and two of which potentially only have one strap). Alternatives include a sheath dresses with just straps (four cases, one of which only has one strap) and a mummiform figure for *Tw-^{iw}/T^h-^htp*'s *shabti* (A.1.8). Seven sheath dresses are damaged meaning that the specific sheath dress style is no longer visible and the outfits of two further figures are no longer visible or unknown. Most of the figures with variations on sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast are damaged or shown in a frontal or side on view (e.g. *B3kt IV*; TT 82 scene 12), meaning that these variations may be due to preservation or to specific scene compositions. There also does not appear to be a distinction between named and unnamed women regarding dress type. The only figure intentionally shown without bare feet is the mummiform *shabti* of *Tw-^{iw}/T^h-^htp*. Only ten figures' feet are no longer visible or are unknown. Overall, it appears that this terminological group was shown without footwear, following the normal modes of representation.

Wigs are similarly uniform, with most figures depicted wearing the tripartite style (29 cases), some of which have detailed hair (five cases). A few alternative styles are also attested, including cap wigs with braids (three cases, one of which is uncertain) and an enveloping wig with detailed hair (*B3kt IV*; TT 82 scene 12). Only eight figures are too damaged to discern a wig or its type, or are unknown, meaning that the emphasis

on tripartite wigs is likely to be representative. This feature does not appear to differentiate between named and unnamed women. Additional headwear is fairly rare since 24 figures are intentionally shown without headwear. In comparison, one case of an incense cone (*B3kt IV*; TT 82 scene 12) and two cases of lotus flower headdresses (two unnamed women in TT 131 scene 5) are attested. Fourteen figures are too damaged to make out the existence of any headwear or are unknown, meaning that this was probably a rare feature for this group and one that does not appear to distinguish between unnamed and named women.

Collars are the only embellishment that seems to have been fairly consistently portrayed on unnamed women. They show a strong preference for embellished versions (eighteen cases, sixteen of which occur for unnamed women and one of which is uncertain), with only five cases of plain collars (three of which occur for unnamed women) and nine figures intentionally shown without collars (all of which occur for named women). Only nine figures are too damaged to make out collars or are unknown, meaning that the emphasis on collars is likely to be representative, particularly embellished ones. This added embellishment appears to have been applied to unnamed women more often than to their named counterparts, suggesting that this feature may have distinguished between the two subgroups in this kinship category.

Other embellishments such as bracelets and earrings appear to show a variety of trends. Fifteen figures are shown with two bracelets each (one of which is uncertain and fourteen of which occur for unnamed women), while fourteen figures are intentionally shown without bracelets (two of which are uncertain and eleven of which occur for named women). Twelve figures are too damaged to make out bracelets or are unknown, which suggests that the equal ratio noted above could be due to preservation. It is notable, however, that bracelets seem to be associated more with unnamed women,

while lacking bracelets is linked to named women. Earrings tell a different story since no untermed woman is depicted with this feature, whether intentionally (23 cases) or due to damage or being unknown (eighteen cases), suggesting that this type of embellishment was uncommon for untermed women, particularly unnamed women, who have the highest ratio of figures who intentionally lack earrings.

Overall, it appears that while sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, and collars are common for this group, further embellishment such as headdresses, bracelets, and earrings are fairly rare, suggesting a rather simple overall outfit. Nonetheless, the variety in wigs and headwear (when present), and the preference for embellished collars are notable, particularly for *B3kt IV*, who stands out with unique wig and headwear types in this terminological group. Outfit type appears to be a feature that distinguishes strongly between named and unnamed women, with the former group often shown with less outfit embellishment than the latter group.

Objects are relatively common for untermed women: only eleven figures are intentionally depicted without objects (eight of which belong to named women). In comparison, six figures are depicted with one object, two figures are depicted with at least one object but another is possibly damaged, and seventeen figures are depicted with two objects. Only five figures are unknown or too damaged to discern any objects, and therefore it seems likely that objects were a common feature of untermed women's portrayals, especially having more than one object. Only eight of the figures shown with objects belong to named women, meaning that they have a fairly equal ratio between having and not having objects. In contrast, unnamed women show a strong preference for having objects.

The object types show a similar distinction since the named women mainly have musical instruments—including two double-flutes, a harp, a set of clapping sticks, and a

sistrum—or offerings—including two vessels, a tray, vegetation, and two animals (a goose and a goat). The latter object type is particularly notable since the only other terminological group attested with animals is *hmt* (see §3.2), as well as *B3kt(-Imn)* in the *s3t* terminological group (see §3.4.1). In comparison, the unnamed women are usually either shown with a *sistrum* and *menat* (ten cases) or a lotus flower and offering table (three cases; two additional figures may have been shown with these objects but damage potentially obscures one of them). Alternatives include two *sistra* (one case) and just an offering table (one case). Therefore, one could perhaps see a distinction between named and unnamed women, with the former group associated with music in general, while the latter are more specifically linked to music-making in a religious and culturally significant ritual context (see e.g. Elwart 2011; Morris 2011, 99–101; Hudáková 2019).

Tti-nfr is the only woman in this group who is shown with her own family: her caption on the statue from Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple (A.1.11) contains her mother in filiation formula. It is uncertain due to damage if the caption then listed her father as well. This suggests that showing untermed women with their own family was not only uncommon, but was also potentially excluded from monumental iconography. It further implies that the representation of *Tti-nfr* is even more unique in comparison to the other women in this group, especially since only one further figure may have been shown with their own family but damage makes this uncertain (*Nsy(-nbw)*; TT 122 scene 7). The remaining figures are not shown with their own family, suggesting that this feature was rare for this terminological group, particularly unnamed women.

Similarly, only one figure is shown in a solitary position in this terminological group: the *shabti* belonging to *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp* (A.1.8), making her solitary position emphatic but not unexpected. It is possible that the statue of *Tti-nfr* (A.1.11) was also

solitary, but this is uncertain based on current publication levels. Overall, it appears that it was rare for untermed women to be depicted on their own.

Following on from this, physical contact involving untermed women is fairly common: only fifteen figures (nine of whom are named) are intentionally not shown in contact with another figure. A further two figures are unknown regarding this feature. In comparison, thirteen figures are shown with one case of physical contact each; eight figures with two case of physical contact each; two figures with at least two cases each but another case may be obscured by damage; and one figure with three cases of physical contact. Only eight of the figures noted above belong to named women but the distribution of the number of cases of contact per figure remains similar for each group.

Physical contact for untermed women shows a preference for reciprocity, emphasising equality between the figures involved (28 cases). The remaining eight cases are instigated by the untermed women (one case each for *S3t-dhwty*, *Tw-iw/Th-htp*, *Th-htp III*, and two of the unnamed women in TT 61), or were probably instigated by the untermed woman but their arms are no longer visible (one case each for *Tw-iw/Th-htp* and two of the unnamed women in TT 61).

Almost all of the instigated cases of physical contact involve the women embracing their (male) partner as they sit together. Only *Th-htp III*'s non-reciprocated case involves another woman, *Sn-snb* (PSN 128), who is labelled *snt=s* in TT 81 scene 20. This is perhaps not too unusual considering that the majority of the other (reciprocated) cases of physical contact for this group involve other women who have terms ranging from *s3t[...]* (two cases), *s3t s3t=f* (two cases), *snt=s* (at least one case), *s3t=f* (one case), and other untermed women (two cases of named and seventeen cases of unnamed; in two further cases, damage obscures the name and/or kinship term in the caption, see Catalogue C.5). Reciprocal physical contact with men is only attested for

two figures: *B3kt IV* with a male musician named *Imn-m-ḥ3t* in TT 82 scene 12 and the unnamed woman on statue CG 42118 with *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74; A.1.9). Overall, it appears that physical contact was fairly common for untermed women and that most often this comprised reciprocal contact with other untermed women but occasionally with other termed women, mainly those from the *s3t* terminological group. There are only a few exceptions to this trend, which primarily result from the few seated couples.

Bringing this together, this group is rarely the most emphasised female figure within the scene. The majority of figures have an average similarity of or below the equality marker 3: seventeen figures have an average of 2, three figures have averages between 2.33–2.5, and fourteen figures have an average of 3. Only five figures have higher average similarities: two cases of 5 for *Tw-iw/Tḥ-ḥtp*, one case of 5 for the unnamed woman on statue CG 42118 (A.1.9), and a case of 4 each for two of the unnamed women in TT 100, perhaps suggesting an emphasis on these women as individuals, except for the unnamed women where their individuality is tempered somewhat by their lack of a name. It is likely that the statue of *Tti-nfr* shows her as the most prominent woman, especially compared to her mother, who appears to have only been included in a text on the statue, but this cannot be said for certain since this statue is not published (A.1.11). Only one average similarity is unknown (*Nsy(-nbw)*; TT 122 scene 7). Overall, it appears that untermed women were rarely the most prominent female figure within the iconography in this case study.

In conclusion, untermed women do not appear to hold emphatic positions within this iconography: attestations on artefacts or with one's own family are rare; scenes are relatively few per monument and are generally restricted to certain areas; captions are few in number, with some women not receiving one, and are mostly shared, with a high proportion forming addresses to other figures, when present; epithets are uncommon;

even though all of the figures are pictorial and most appear as the largest size, they are often located in the less noticeable registers/sub-registers and on baseline levels; outfits generally follow standard types, especially dresses and wigs; and further embellishments to outfits, including headwear and earrings, are rare. This trend is summarised by the overall low average similarity for this terminological group compared to other female figures in the scene.

This low level of representational emphasis is not complete, however, since titles are common for untermed women and apparently show a focus on entertainment or domestic services. This is replicated by the fairly strong association of untermed women with musical instruments and offerings, as well as a variety of music-making actions. Moreover, while embellishment to outfits is uncommon for untermed women, when present, it often includes collars, particularly embellished versions, showing a relative degree of wealth.

A number of these characteristics also serve to differentiate between untermed women who are named and those who are unnamed in this corpus. Titles, actions and objects related to music-making, and plain collars but not bracelets are more common for named women, whereas offering actions, embellished collars, having bracelets but not earrings, possessing objects including lotus flowers and offering tables, and physical contact with other figures are more common for unnamed women. This suggests that while named women often have less embellished outfits, they are usually shown with a social status linked to music-making. Similarly, unnamed women have more embellished outfits, including objects, and are represented more frequently in direct relation to other figures in the scene.

Moreover, in spite of their overall low iconographic prominence, untermed women possess a number of representational characteristics in common with the other

terminological groups. They follow the usual scene type of offering tables and banquets noted for the core terminological groups. Rather surprisingly, especially considering the association with offerings, being associated with offering actions is rare for untermmed women, but it seems that involvement in such actions was uncommon for female relatives in general.

The remaining similarities are with the *s3t* terminological group in particular (see §3.4). Firstly, untermmed women mainly own or share their captions, which often either serve to identify their figure or are an address to another figure. This latter caption type is more prevalent for unnamed women and in fact a lot of these unnamed figures are explicitly attested speaking, suggesting an active participation in the scene's events. Secondly, as with the *s3t* terminological group, untermmed women are mainly shown standing or kneeling, primarily in middle positions within groups. Thirdly, physical contact for untermmed women also parallels that of women termed *s3t* in this case study since both groups show a preference for reciprocal contact, primarily with other members of their terminological group.

A final similarity is the fact that in each group there is one woman who stands out compared to her counterparts. For untermmed women it is *Tw-iw/T'h-htp* who is emphasised with an attestation on an artefact; multiple scenes (including whole wall scenes), figures, and captions, including joint captions and offering formulae; the most variety in epithets; the title *nbt-pr*; being offered to; solitary positions; and an overall high average similarity. *Nsy(-nbw)*, *Tti-nfr*, and *S3t-dhwty* also arguably stand out, albeit to a slightly lesser extent, with joint captions and/or offering formulae, the title *nbt-pr*, and a depiction with their own family (for *Tti-nfr* only). Similar to *B3kt(-Imn)* within the *s3t* terminological group, it appears that something else is happening with these women, in particular *Tw-iw/T'h-htp*. The title *nbt-pr* is unique to these women in this

terminological group and could perhaps suggest why there were distinguished. Perhaps it was inappropriate to depict a senior woman with the inferiority that characterises the overall representation of untermed women (see §5.3).

Overall, the representational features of untermed women generally matches those noted for women termed *s3t* in this case study, suggesting a close affinity between these two terminological groups, both in terms of representational characteristics and how these characteristics differentiate between women within their respective group.

3.5.2 *El-Kab Case Study*

There are six women with preserved names who are intentionally shown without a kinship term in this case study: *Km* (PSN 152), *Hnwt-r-nhh* (PSN 157), *Hnm-mt* (PSN 158), *H-pw* (PSN 181), *Sn-snb II* (PSN 182), and *Tw-pw II* (PSN 183), all of whom are shown in EK 3. There are five further figures who are intentionally untermed and unnamed in this tomb but appear in groups with other termed and/or named women, justifying their inclusion in this analysis (see §1.4; for cases where the presence of a kinship term and/or name is uncertain see Catalogue C.5). Therefore, this discussion is based on a corpus of six—potentially eleven—women and twelve figures.

Considering the number of women and figures, this terminological group is shown in a relatively low number of scenes (five cases). Scene types are restricted to offering table and banquet scenes (three cases) or offering scenes (two cases), showing a strong preference for scenes with (funerary) meals and offering motifs. Only one woman is shown in more than one scene per tomb (assuming that the unnamed figures are different women): *Hnwt-r-nhh* is shown twice, suggesting an emphasis on her as an individual, with the lack of a kinship term forming a common aspect of her representation. The placement of these scenes (Fig. 31) shows little restriction of this

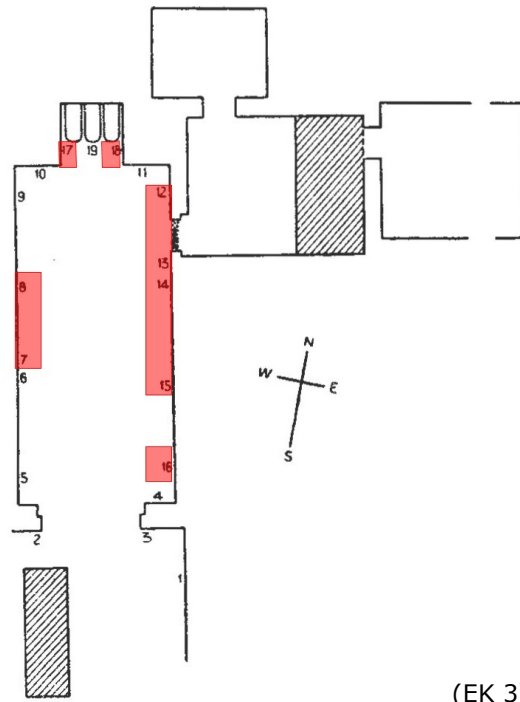


Figure 31: Scene placement of untermmed women in El-Kab case study (after PM V, 178)

terminological group throughout EK 3: this group is shown on almost every wall. Therefore, it appears that this terminological group was a fairly prominent feature within this architectural space, which contrasts with the trend noted in the Theban case study. It is notable, however, that no untermmed women appear in EK 5.

There are a total of eleven captions attested for this terminological group, which all occur for the named women. While this is perhaps to be expected, some unnamed women in the Theban case study possessed captions (in TT 100) and so the complete lack of captions for unnamed women in the El-Kab case study is notable. Most of the named women have multiple captions per tomb: *Km* has three captions, *Hnwt-r-nhh*, *Sn-snb II*, and *Tw-pw II* each have two captions, and *Hnm-mt* and *H-pw* each have one caption. These captions have a wide variety of ownership: five cases are owned by their respective figure; three cases are jointly owned by the untermmed woman where her part comes last; one case is a shared offering formula (*Km*; EK 3 scene 18); one case is

someone else's caption where the untermmed woman appears in the epithets along with another figure through the third-person plural pronoun =*sn* (also *Km*; EK 3 scene 18); and the last case is an address to the untermmed woman by another figure (*Sn-snb II*; EK 3 scene 12–15). In comparison, the type of caption is more limited. Most captions simply identify the figure (eight cases), with only one offering formula (*Km*; EK 3 scene 18), one address to the untermmed woman (*Sn-snb II*; EK 3 scene 12–15), and one caption where the untermmed woman appears to speak a general exclamation (*Tw-pw II*; EK 3 scene 12–15). Therefore, it appears that this group has a wide variation in caption ownership and one of the few cases of a woman speaking in this case study.

Epithets are rare for this terminological group and only occur for three women. *Km* has the epithet *m³t-hrw* 'true of voice' (correctly gendered; TLA lemma-no. 66730), a *h¹tp-di-nsw* offering formula directed to her and her partner's *kas*, and an inclusion in another figure's caption via the phrase *s^cnh¹=sn*. *Sn-snb II* and *Tw-pw II* also have longer captions: the former has an address that is directed specifically at her with the feminine second-person suffix pronoun '=t', while the latter has speech that includes feminine first-person pronouns. Overall, it appears that epithets were attributed on an individual basis. The preference for longer captions rather than short descriptive epithets matches the trends noted in the Theban case study.

Titles, in comparison, are very common and are attested for every named woman: *Km* and *Hnwt-r-nh¹h* both have the title *nbt-pr* 'mistress of the house' (once and twice, respectively; TLA lemma-no. 82090; Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15); while *Hnm-mt* is called *šm^cyt nt Nhbt* 'chantress of Nekhbet' (a regional variation of TLA lemma-no. 851078; Onstine 2005); and *H-pw*, *Sn-snb II*, and *Tw-pw II* are each labelled *mn^ct=f* 'his nurse' (TLA lemma-no. 70360; Roehrig 1990; Kasparian 2007). Therefore, even though these women do not have kinship terms, some level of identification beyond simply

their name was desired in their portrayals, highlighting their roles in household management or religious temple hierarchies, or as nurses. The former two types correlate strongly with the Theban case study. The fact that women without a kinship term could hold positions of authority within a house, presumably that of the tomb owner, or positions with close social proximity to the tomb owner may suggest that kinship terms were not the only way to iconographically show membership in the tomb owner's familial network. Perhaps these terms could be considered kinship designations, especially $mn^c t=f$, which follows the standard grammatical format of the core kinship terms (see §5.2).

Similar to the Theban case study, none of the untermed figures in this case study are textual, suggesting a preference for depicting this group pictorially and making them more accessible to the varied tomb visitor audiences. Most women are only shown once per tomb (assuming that the unnamed figures show different women). Only *Hnwt-r-nhh* stands out with two figures, suggesting an emphasis on her as an individual without a specific textual relationship with others in the scene.

In this iconography, untermed women are consistently shown as one of the largest figures in their scene/register (eleven figures are size 8 and only *Hnm-mt* is size 7.5). However, most of these locations are in sub-registers (five upper, two second, and two lower), four of which are in upper registers, three are in lower registers, and two are in second registers, meaning that these women are not prominently located within the scene's composition. In fact, the most prominent locations in which they are attested are registers (two cases of upper registers and one second register) and no whole wall scenes are attested at all. Levels appear to show a relative amount of iconographic prominence, but even here there is an equal ratio between +1 levels and baselines (six

cases for each). In all of these cases, the untermed woman shares this level with other figures, meaning that this feature is not applied to them individually.

The predominant stance for this group is standing as part of a group (six cases), including overlapping figures (two pairs), but kneeling as part of a group is also attested (three cases). The remaining figures are shown seated behind their partner as part of a couple (*Hnwt-r-nhh* twice and *Km* once). When shown in groups (including as part of couples), untermed women are normally found in the backmost position (three cases) or in the middle of the group (two cases). Only one figure is found in the foremost position (one of the unnamed women). Overall, therefore, it appears that untermed women do not usually hold emphatically prominent positions within these scenes. Figure size, location, and stance in the El-Kab case study appears to closely match the trends noted in the Theban case study for this terminological group.

Most of the women in this terminological group are shown offering objects: two cases of a vessel, in one of which the untermed woman also touches the face of the offered to figure, and four cases of offering a *sistrum* while holding a *menat*. Holding a lotus flower is also attested for four further figures, one of whom also rejects a vessel and one of whom is also embracing their partner. The remaining two figures are also attested embracing their partner, one of whom is simultaneously embraced by a young boy. The embracing action is only attested for *Hnwt-r-nhh* and *Km*. Therefore, this terminological group seems to focus on offering and/or holding objects and embracing. Almost all of these women are included in offering actions, which is only really paralleled by women termed *mwt/ms.n* in both case studies (see §3.1) and *hmt* in this case study (see §3.2.2). *Km*, *Hnwt-r-nhh*, and *Sn-snb II* are shown offered to, while *Hnm-mt* and all five of the unnamed figures are shown offering. Only *H-pw* and *Tw-pw II* are shown in neither position. There seems to be a preference for showing named

women offered to and unnamed women offering in this case study, which matches the ratio noted in the Theban case study for this terminological group.

Outfits follow the standard sheath dress with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, and bare feet, which are attested for all twelve figures. Headwear is common, mostly lotus flower headdresses (seven cases), occasionally with incense cones (three cases). Only *Km* and four of the unnamed women are intentionally shown without any headwear, suggesting that this feature is more common for named than unnamed women. Collars are attested for every figure, predominantly plain types (nine cases, including all of the unnamed figures). The three embellished types are found on *Hnwt-r-nhh* (twice) and *Km* (although her case is uncertain). Bracelets and earrings are the only embellishments that appear to be uncommon for this terminological group. The former is not attested for any figure, whether due to damage (six cases, most of which are unnamed figures) or intentionally (six cases, one of which is uncertain and most of which are named figures). The same can be said for earrings: three cases due to damage, most of which are named figures, and nine cases intentionally, which are fairly evenly split between named and unnamed women. The relatively high level of damage for these two features means that they may have been more frequent than the current level of preservation suggests.

Overall, therefore, it appears that untermed women were shown in standard outfit types but the frequency of headwear and collars is notable. Similar to the Theban case study, embellishment appears to strongly differentiate between named and unnamed women. However, the trends have swapped compared to the Theban group, with named women in the El-Kab case study being more commonly found with headwear and embellished collars, while unnamed women are more commonly shown with plain collars.

Objects are very common for this terminological group. Only two figures, depicting *Hnwt-r-nḥḥ* and *Km*, are intentionally shown without any objects, and most figures have either one object (six cases) or two objects each (four cases). Object types are fairly varied, including lotus flowers (four cases, one of which is accompanied by additional vegetation), *sistra* and *menats* (four cases), and vessels (two cases). These types overlap somewhat with the Theban case study, but the lack of non-temple/ritual musical instruments is notable in the El-Kab case study.

Being depicted with one's own family only occurs for two women in this terminological group: *Km* and *Hnwt-r-nḥḥ*, who are each shown with children labelled *s3/t=s*. As noted above (see §3.4.2), while this may not indicate children from a previous marriage, it might show an emphasis on these women as mothers as part of a conscious decision to overlook standard male-orientated kinship terming practices (see §2.2.1, §5.2). Nonetheless, it appears that this feature was rare for this terminological group, particularly unnamed women.

None of these figures are attested in solitary positions within these scenes and in fact physical contact is attested for every figure. Most figures only have one case of physical contact each (eight cases) but two cases of contact per figure are also attested (four cases), mostly for named women. The figure who instigates the physical contact varies within this group. Nine cases are equally reciprocated between the untermed woman and the other figure(s) involved, who range from other untermed women (six cases, four of which are unnamed and two of which are named), a woman termed *s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*, and two untermed and unnamed male servers. In contrast, three cases are instigated by the untermed woman and are not reciprocated: one case each for *Km*, *Hnwt-r-nḥḥ*, and *Hnm-mt*, including *It-r-r-i* (PSN 140), the tomb owner *P3-ḥry* (PSN 147), and another untermed and unnamed woman, respectively. Two figures have

the unique case of instigating unreciprocated physical contact with one figure and having another figure instigate unreciprocated physical contact with them simultaneously. *Hnwt-r-nhh* embraces *P3-hry*, but is herself embraced by an unnamed and untermed young boy, while an untermed and unnamed woman in EK 3 scene 7 instigates physical contact with *Hry-kwr-r-r* (PSN 163), but is herself the recipient of physical contact instigated by *Hnm-mt*. These two cases are more dynamic than the standard cases of physical contact attested in both case studies where a figure is either the instigator or recipient, suggesting that greater flexibility was possible with this El-Kab terminological group regarding their interactions with other figures in the scene. Overall, however, it appears that this terminological group parallels their Theban counterpart, with the majority of figures shown with reciprocal contact with other untermed women or women termed *s3t*.

Bringing this together, it is not surprising that this terminological group has a low overall average similarity: four figures have an average of 2 (all of which are unnamed), two figures have an average of 2.5, and three figures have an average of 2.66. *Km* and *Hnwt-r-nhh* are the only two women to consistently have the maximum average similarity of 5, marking them as the most prominent female figure in the scene. These two women appear to be unique in this terminological group, which is often presented in less prominent ways than other female figures in the scene.

In conclusion, this terminological group appears to generally match their Theban counterparts, marking them as relatively minor figures within the iconography. This includes a relatively low number of scenes and epithets, locations within sub-registers and registers, not being shown with one's family, and no solitary positions. Other similarities range from the frequency of titles; the preference for standing or kneeling figures, with some seated in couples; the focus on offering and/or holding objects and

the overall frequency of objects; standard outfit types, including sheath dresses with straps that expose a breast, tripartite wigs, and bare feet; and finally, the preference for reciprocal physical contact with other untermmed women or women termed *s3t*.

Moreover, there are a few women in the El-Kab case study who do not match the overall trends noted for untermmed women. *Km* and *Hnwt-r-nhh* stand out with seated couple positions where they embrace their partner; depictions with their own family; high average similarities; and the highest number of scenes (*Hnwt-r-nhh* only), figures (*Hnwt-r-nhh* only), and captions (*Km* only). Both of these women are titled *nbt-pr*, which again matches the Theban case study, further suggesting that it was a high social status within their families that caused the unusual representation of these women when they are not assigned a kinship term. Their representational traits align more closely with those of women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* (see §3.1–2), perhaps suggesting that even though they do not possess these terms in these scenes, they were still shown as mothers or wives (see §5.3).

In some ways, however, the untermmed women in the El-Kab case study differ from their Theban counterparts. While both groups are strongly associated with offering themes, in the El-Kab case study these scenes are found throughout EK 3, making this terminological group potentially more visible. Similarly, in the El-Kab case study the ratio of +1 levels and baselines is more equal than in the Theban case study where baselines were the norm. This prominence in the El-Kab case study is tempered somewhat by the preference for backmost positions within groups, especially compared to the Theban untermmed women, who were mostly shown in middle positions. Involvement in offering actions is more common for untermmed women in the El-Kab case study, but the association of unnamed women with offering and named women with being offered to matches the Theban material. Outfit embellishment, however,

almost completely reverses the trends shown in the Theban case study. Moreover, there are a few cases of physical contact with dynamic reciprocity for untermmed women in the El-Kab case study, which is unattested in all of the other terminological groups in both case studies.

In terms of captions, there is slightly more variation in the El-Kab case study and the complete lack of captions for the unnamed women here is notable. Both the Theban and El-Kab groups are attested speaking, but there seem to be no addresses to other figures in the latter group, and instead one woman is actually attested with an address directed to her. Titles, while common for untermmed women in both case studies, appear to lack the association with musical entertainment shown in the Theban case study. This then translates into the common object types exhibited in the El-Kab case study, which instead of including musical instruments focus on lotus flowers, *sistra* and *menats* (i.e. culturally significant ritual music-making; see e.g. Elwart 2011; Morris 2011, 99–101; Hudáková 2019), and vessels.

Overall, this suggests a greater flexibility in the representation of untermmed women in the El-Kab case study compared to the Theban case study, and perhaps slightly more iconographic prominence for the former group through, for example, addresses to untermmed women and more outfit embellishment (see §5.2).

3.6 Comparing Female Relatives: Similarities and Differences

Looking across both case studies, the terminological groups with the highest number of women are the untermmed and *s3t* groups with a maximum number of 50 and 49 women, respectively. The maximum numbers of women termed *snt* and *hmt* are next (29 and 25, respectively), while the maximum number of women termed *mwt/ms.n* is only sixteen. This is perhaps to be expected considering that a tomb owner is on average more likely

to have a higher number of daughters, sisters, and potentially wives, as opposed to mothers.

Comparing this distribution with the number of figures for each group reveals that the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group has proportionally more figures than the other groups: 52 figures, so an average of 3.25 figures per woman. The next group are women termed *hmt*, who have on average 2.48 figures per woman (62 figures total). The remaining groups all have less than 2 figures per woman: 1.61 figures per woman termed *s3t* (79 figures total), 1.38 figures per woman termed *snt* (40 figures total), and 1.06 figures per untermed woman (53 figures total). Therefore, even though there are not that many women termed *mwt/ms.n* across these two case studies, these monuments appear to focus on them. The same is true for women termed *hmt* but to a slightly lesser extent. The other terminological groups arguably lack this focus; in these cases, the large numbers of figures are primarily due to the sheer number of women in each group.

The analysis of artefacts is restricted to the Theban case study. There are no artefacts attested for the family at El-Kab, probably due to the chances of preservation in the first instance. None of the tombs has intact burial equipment or a full range of artefacts (see §2.1.2, §2.2.2), but the terminological groups with the most artefacts out of what has happened to survive are the *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* groups. The former group has eleven attested artefacts and the latter group has seven, and there are seven women termed *hmt* with artefacts and four women termed *mwt/ms.n* with artefacts. In comparison, there are only three artefacts attested for the *snt* and untermed terminological groups (for three women in each group), while the *s3t* terminological group only contains one artefact (which includes four women).

Moreover, each terminological group appears to have a common artefact type ranging from stelae (*s3t*), statues (untermed), and funerary cones (*snt*), with the latter

two types common for women termed *hmt*. In contrast, women termed *mwt/ms.n* are found on a wide range of artefact types, suggesting greater flexibility in their inclusion in non-iconographic contexts. However, they are almost always restricted to the artefact's inscriptions, mainly via filiation formulae, which tempers their visibility while further highlighting their role as the tomb owner's ancestors (see §5.1).

In terms of total number of scenes, women termed *hmt* and *mwt/ms.n* also dominate with 40 and 34 scenes, respectively. The next terminological group is *s3t* with 24 scenes, while untermed women and women termed *snt* each have a total of eighteen scenes. The figures in these three groups appear to have been frequently shown together in the same scenes. This corresponds with common scene types since the *s3t*, *snt*, and untermed terminological groups are typically found in scenes showing offering tables and banquets. Women termed *hmt* are also commonly found in such scenes, but this group also has a wider variety of non-offering scene types, including scenes of an Abydos pilgrimage and funeral procession, fishing and fowling, a hunt, inscriptions, and official duties, as well as a false door and a group of niche statues.

In contrast, the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group is most often found in inscription scenes, especially in the Theban case study. Similar to the *hmt* group, they are attested in wide variety of scene types, including offerings and offering table and banquets, but also scenes of an Abydos pilgrimage and funerary procession, a hunt, and official duties, as well as a group of niche statues and stelae. While women termed *snt* can also be found in inscription and official duty scenes and false doors, and untermed women are attested in niche statues, the remaining non-offering scene types appear to be restricted to women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*. Despite these minor differences, the clear association of female relatives in general with offering motifs and (funerary) feasts is

notable across both case studies (see also Robins 1989, 107; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 14–5; O’Neill 2015; Harrington 2016).

The number of scenes per woman is normally limited to one per monumental context, regardless of terminological group and case study. The only exception is the Theban *mwt/ms.n* terminological group where women are commonly shown in more than one scene per context. This is perhaps to be expected considering the high average number of figures per woman noted above, but it further suggests that this terminological group was more focused on within this corpus, perhaps slightly more so in the Theban case study than in the El-Kab case study.

The placement of scenes for each terminological group (Figs. 22–31) shows a high level of variation and is it notable that no terminological group has the same trend for both of its Theban and El-Kab subgroups. This suggests that there were no set rules or customs regarding the placement of female relatives, perhaps indicating a high level of choice regarding this feature for the creators of these monuments (see §1.5, §5.3). In general, female relatives appear to be restricted to certain locations within these monuments, most often the back areas, compared to being depicted evenly throughout the architectural space. This is in part due to the preference for offering table and banquet scene types noted above since such scenes are often focused in the back and/or western areas of the monument (e.g. Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 13–4). Women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* are the groups that are most often able to transcend these restrictions, particularly in the Theban case study. Moreover, some areas appear to be reserved for some terminological groups, including ceilings (*mwt/ms.n* and *snt*), burial chambers (*mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*), and frieze texts (*mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*), and only the *mwt/ms.n* and *snt* terminological groups appear to have a western focus in these monuments. The presence in burial chambers suggests a greater association with funerary motifs for women

termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, perhaps suggesting that mothers and wives formed key components in the tomb owner's afterlife (see §5.1). Overall, the distribution of scenes further highlights the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group, with the most overall variety in scene placements logically following on from their diverse range of scene types noted above.

Similar to number of figures per women, the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group has the highest number of captions per figure: 1.31 (68 captions total). The next highest are women termed *hmt* with 1.26 captions per figure (78 captions total), followed closely by women termed *snt* with 1.20 captions per figure (48 captions total), while women termed *s3t* and untermed women have the lowest numbers, with 1.13 and 0.89 captions per figure (89 and 47 captions total), respectively. The high number of captions per figure for women termed *mwt/ms.n* appears to result from their inclusion in the captions of other figures, and in fact they are the only terminological group to have this ownership type as its dominant trend. The remaining terminological groups normally own or share their captions: joint captions shared between a couple are common for women termed *hmt*, individually owned captions are common for women termed *s3t* and *snt*, while the latter group is often shown with joint captions as well. Untermed women appear to have a mix of individually owned and joint/group captions. In fact, group captions are only attested for women termed *s3t* and untermed women, suggesting a slightly greater flexibility in caption ownership for these two terminological groups.

Women termed *mwt/ms.n* also stand out regarding caption type, with a slight preference for funerary related texts compared to the other terminological groups, which primarily have captions that simply identify their figure. There is also a slight preference for addresses to other figures for untermed women and in fact this caption type, and direct speech more generally, are only attested for these women and women

termed *s3t*. Funerary texts are likewise only attested for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, and untermmed women. In comparison, addresses to women, including offering formulae, are attested for every terminological group. This distribution suggests that while most female relatives had fairly standard identification captions, some caption types were more commonly found with certain terminological groups, especially funerary texts for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and addresses to other figures and speech for women termed *s3t* and untermmed women.

The discussion of kinship designations naturally excludes untermmed women. For most of the remaining terminological groups, the predominant designation is the core kinship term with the expected male third-person suffix pronoun =*f*. The female third-person suffix pronoun =*s* is attested but only for the *s3t* and *snt* terminological groups. The former group at El-Kab stands out as the only group that has a fairly equal ratio of male to female pronouns, suggesting a greater emphasis on female social networks in this context. In contrast, the *mwt/ms.n* terminological group is actually attested more often with the *ms.n* (Theban) and *N s3 Y* (El-Kab) designations than *mwt*, which is a result of the high frequency of filiation formulae noted above. The *mwt/ms.n* terminological group stands out further as the only group to have a designation with the first-person suffix pronoun =*i*, which occurs in the El-Kab case study, further suggesting that this particular group of monuments had unique and unusual kinship terming practices (see §5.2).

In the Theban case study, the *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *snt* terminological groups also contain women who are designated *itw=f*, implying flexibility regarding the gender of this grammatically male term. The inclusion of these women—*I^ch-ms* (PSN 22), *I^w-iw-nf^rt* (PSN 25), *Wrt-d^hwty-ms* (PSN 27), *Int=f I* (PSN 29), and *Int=f II* (PSN 31)—in a group of ancestors is understandable considering that they all belong to generations

above that of the tomb owner *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 15; TT 82; see §2.1.1). In comparison, the *s3t* terminological group has the most variety in compound terms (four cases), implying a greater desire for specificity in the kinship terming of this group. The remaining terminological groups only have two cases each. The fact that all of the women in the El-Kab *snt* group have compound terms is notable in that the core kinship term *snt* is not attested at all, further suggesting a unique way of kinship terming in this case study (see §5.2).

Epithets only appear to be common features in the captions of women termed *mwt/ms.n* (particularly in the Theban case study) and *ḥmt*. Both groups focus on funerary themes, especially through the epithet *m3ʿt-ḥrw* ‘true of voice’ (TLA lemma-no. 66730), while the latter group can also have emotional epithets such as *mr(y)t=f* ‘his beloved’ (TLA lemma-no. 550321). Epithets are particularly rare for women termed *s3t* and are mostly emotional in nature, when present.

Two particular features of epithets will now be discussed. Looking at grammatical gender, the epithet *m3ʿt-ḥrw* is the most appropriate case study since it is attested for every terminological group. This term is attested without the feminine ‘*t*’ for women termed *ḥmt* (eight cases), *mwt/ms.n* (three cases), and *snt* (two cases), and untermed women (one case). All of these cases occur in the Theban case study, which implies that this could be a region-specific trend. This means that the *s3t* terminological group is the only group to have this term consistently shown in its feminine form (twelve cases), which suggests a level of care in their representations, especially considering the male dominated nature of funerary art (Robins 1994).

The second feature is the phrase *ḏd=sn*, which is only attested for the *s3t* terminological group and untermed women (which also has the singular version *ḏd=s*). These two epithets highlight the fact that these two groups are the only ones to be

attested speaking in this corpus, showing a more active role in the iconography. While passivity appears to be a prestigious iconographic feature (Harpur 1987, 172) and silence was a highly valued aspect of behaviour (Maitland 2015, 169; see also Parpart 2010), speaking is arguably significant since it draws the attention of (semi-)literate viewers to the figure and because this feature was generally rare for female relatives.

Titles are more common for women termed *hmt* and untermmed women, fairly common for women termed *mwt/ms.n*, and uncommon/rare for women termed *s3t* and *snt*. The most common title is *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’ (TLA lemma-no. 82090; see Toivari-Viitala 2001, 15), which is attested for every terminological group, but most often for women termed *hmt* and then women termed *mwt/ms.n*, suggesting a strong association of these terminological groups with senior household management and authority. This association is particularly strong since these two groups also have the lowest number of additional titles: two women termed *mwt/ms.n* are entitled *hkr̥t-nsw(t)* ‘lady-in-waiting’ (Ward 1986, 14; TLA lemma-no. 124780) and one woman termed *hmt* is entitled *šm̥yt nt ʾmn* ‘chantress of Amun’ (TLA lemma-no. 851078; Onstine 2005). The same could potentially be said for women termed *snt*, who are either titled *nbt-pr* or *hkr̥t-nsw(t)*, but overall titles are uncommon for this group. Based on this, it appears that *hkr̥t-nsw(t)* was the most common additional title for these three terminological groups, denoting a high elite position within the royal court (see §3.1.1). The fact that this title is not attested at all for the *s3t* and untermmed terminological groups suggests a potential divide between female relatives (see §5.1).

Additional titles for women termed *s3t* instead appear to have been exclusively related to music-making, particularly in temple contexts through the title *šm̥yt nt ʾmn* (three women). One further woman has the generic title *hsyt* ‘singer’ (TLA lemma-no. 109400). While the latter title might suggest a junior social role, the title *šm̥yt nt ʾmn*

was an elite position and is notably attested for a woman termed *hmt*. Untermed women have the most variety in additional titles, including *hsyt* (five women); *mn^ct=f* ‘his nurse’ (three women; TLA lemma-no. 70360; Roehrig 1990; Kasparian 2007); *s_dm-^cs* ‘servant’ (two women; TLA lemma-no. 150640); and *šm^cyt nt Nhb^t* ‘chantress of Nekhbet’ (one woman; variation on TLA lemma-no. 851078; see Onstine 2005). Over half of these terms show the same connection to music-making as the *s₃t* terminological group but appear to lack the specific temple association, while the remaining titles are domestic, focusing on child-rearing and attendant services.

Bringing this together, it appears that senior household management was most strongly associated with the *hmt* terminological group through the title *nbt-pr*. Additional titles show that this group and both the *mwt/ms.n* and *snt* terminological groups appear to have held a higher social status than the *s₃t* and untermed terminological groups. These latter two groups show a strong association with music-making, particularly in temples for women termed *s₃t*. Moreover, untermed women have the highest variety in titles, suggesting that there was a desire to still embellish these women’s identities and specify their position within the tomb owners’ familial networks.

Most of the terminological groups show a preference for pictorial figures, especially the *s₃t* and untermed terminological groups, which have no attested textual figures (79 pictorial figures and 53 pictorial figures, respectively). Next is the *snt* terminological group, which only has three textual figures compared to 37 pictorial figures, and the *hmt* terminological group, which has eight textual figures versus 54 pictorial figures. The *mwt/ms.n* terminological group differs since it has considerably more textual figures (41) compared to pictorial figures (eleven). Textual figures are less visible in these monuments due to the fact that only (semi-)literate visitors would have been able to access the monumental inscriptions. This tempers the iconographic

prominence that women termed *mwt/ms.n* possess based on the number of figures per woman and number of scenes, since it appears that the majority of these attestations would have only been noticed by a limited proportion of visitors. Therefore, it would appear at first glance that the *s3t* terminological group was the most visible, with 79 pictorial figures in total, followed by untermmed and women termed *hmt*, and finally women termed *snt*. The representational characteristics of these pictorial figures needs to be examined further before a final assessment can be made.

In terms of location within scenes, women termed *hmt* are the most prominent, with a large proportion of whole wall scenes and registers. The *mwt/ms.n*, *snt*, and untermmed terminological groups are fairly prominently located in registers and sub-registers, while women termed *s3t* are the least prominently located in registers, sub-registers, and sub-sub-registers. Within these locations, figure size is fairly equal across the terminological groups, with each group predominantly shown as one of the largest figures (size 8). This is especially so for women termed *mwt/ms.n*, whose only alternative size is size 7, meaning that they are still comparatively visible within the register. The other terminological groups have wider ranges of sizes but it is notable that the range in the *hmt* terminological group is primarily the result of one woman, and so this group overall is still fairly prominently sized.

The levels on which these figures are located are similarly equal for all of the core terminological groups, with most figures attested on +1 levels that they share with others in the scene. Figures located on the less prestigious baseline of a register are attested for each group, but are more common for women termed *s3t* (twelve cases), then women termed *hmt* and *snt* (five cases each), and finally women termed *mwt/ms.n* (one case). In comparison, baseline levels are the predominant location for untermmed women but this feature is again shared with other figures in the scene, meaning that this

terminological group is not individualised through this feature. Overall, figure location indicates that when shown pictorially, women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* are placed in prominent, prestigious positions within this iconography, while the other terminological groups are less emphasised through these features, especially untermed women.

Figure stance appears to replicate this distribution. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* are most commonly found as part of seated couples, while women termed *s3t* and untermed women are predominantly found in the less prestigious poses of kneeling or standing. Women termed *snt* can often be shown as part of a seated couple but are more commonly found standing or kneeling. Positioning within groups is fairly even between the terminological groups, but women termed *mwt/ms.n* are more often found in first positions, especially in the Theban case study, and untermed women are more often found in last positions, particularly in the El-Kab case study. Fully overlapping figures are only attested for women termed *s3t* and *snt*, and untermed women, and it is notable that the latter group is the only terminological group with this feature in the El-Kab case study. This suggests a preference for depicting women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* as full individual figures rather than as partially obscured figures in a closely integrated group.

Actions match these trends since as they sit in seated couples, women termed *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *snt* usually embrace their partner, while those figures who are standing or kneeling usually hold objects. Untermed women are also often shown offering objects and generally have a wider range of actions than the other terminological groups, including dancing and playing musical instruments. Therefore, it is not surprising that untermed women are the ones most frequently attested offering to other figures, but they still contain a few women who hold the more prestigious position of being offered to by other figures. This is the same for the *s3t* kinship but to a lesser extent, while the other three terminological groups have more women offered to than

offering, particularly women termed *hmt* and *mwt/ms.n*, who only and frequently have figures who are offered to. Overall, the figures belonging to the *hmt* and *mwt/ms.n* terminological groups and some of the figures in the *snt* terminological group are arguably emphasised in this iconography through prestigious stances. The greater flexibility in the representation of untermed women is particularly notable, and again they often appear in less prestigious positions, offering to other figures.

The outfits of these women are very similar, with only minor differences between terminological groups. Most women are shown in a sheath dress with straps that expose a breast, a tripartite wig, and with bare feet. Therefore, this discussion will focus on a few pertinent features. The main variation on the standard sheath dress are mummiform figures, which are only attested for women termed *hmt* and untermed women, and incidentally only in the Theban case study. The fact that this is attested for an untermed woman via her *shabti* (A.1.8) highlights the individuality that women could have in the funerary process where they desired to be transformed alongside their male relatives (e.g. Skumsnes 2018, 193–4).

Variations on the tripartite wig type are mostly found for women termed *s3t* and untermed women, including tripartite wigs with detailed hair for both groups and cap wigs and an enveloping wig with detailed hair for untermed women. The only other enveloping wig is attested for a woman termed *hmt*, showing a further point of similarity between these two terminological groups. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* only have the tripartite wig with detailed hair as a variation, while women termed *snt* are consistently shown in the standard tripartite style. Headwear does not appear to be common for any terminological group, especially women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*. It appears to be slightly more common for the other three terminological groups,

especially in the El-Kab case study. In all of these cases, the headwear type is predominantly lotus flower headdresses and/or incense cones.

Further jewellery appears to be primarily collars: plain collars are common for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *s3t*, and embellished versions are typical for women termed *hmt* and untermed women. The ratio of plain and embellished types is fairly equal for women termed *snt*. Bracelets and earrings are harder to assess because of damage, but it appears that earrings were not common for any of these terminological groups. Overall, therefore, it appears that women termed *hmt* and untermed women could have slightly different outfits than their counterparts, with mummiform figures, enveloping wigs, and embellished collars. The greater variation in wigs and the addition of headwear are particularly notable for the latter group, and also for women termed *s3t*.

Objects are common features for women termed *s3t* and *snt*, and untermed women. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* can be shown with objects but this is less common, particularly in the Theban case study. Object types are very varied for women termed *s3t* and untermed women, including lotus flowers, cloth, offering tables, a range of musical instruments, animals, vessels, and trays. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* have less variation, focusing on mirrors, vessels, offering tables, lotus flowers, and animals, while women termed *snt* are only attested with some of the most common objects, namely lotus flowers, offering tables, and vessels.

Some object types appear to be specific to certain kinship terms. For example, *sistra* and *menats* are only attested for women termed *s3t* or untermed women, while mirrors are only attested for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*. Similarly, animals appear to be strongly associated with women termed *hmt*, but can be shown with women termed *s3t* and untermed women, although in these cases the animals appear to be primarily offerings (e.g. goats) rather than pets (e.g. dogs). The greater flexibility in

objects for women termed *s3t* and untermed women is perhaps to be expected considering their common action of holding/offering objects, as well as their unique objects of *sistra* and *menats* considering the frequency of singer and chantress titles for these groups (see e.g. Elwart 2011; Morris 2011, 99–101; Hudáková 2019). The prevalence of mirrors and pets for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* highlights the possibility that only certain women in a family group could have had access to such luxury items (LÄ V, 1147–50; for the potential ritual uses of mirrors see e.g. Morris 2011, 97–8).

Being depicted with one's own family is generally rare for female relatives, especially women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, and untermed women. It is only slightly more common for women termed *s3t* and *snt* but even these groups only have twelve and five attested cases, respectively. Therefore, it appears to be preferable to show female relatives as fully integrated into the tomb owner's social network. The only common exceptions to this appear to have been a woman's sisters and daughters, and even these cases were primarily isolated to EK 3 and TT 81. The former monument shows a strong desire to highlight the female side of the family (see §5.2), while the latter case may have been due to the fact that *Inni* does not appear to have had any children or (m)any siblings (see §2.1.1), meaning that these iconographic positions were apparently taken up by his wife's relatives instead.

Solitary figures are attested for each terminological group but there is only one attested solitary figure for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *s3t*, and untermed women. In contrast, there are five solitary figures for women termed *snt* and three solitary figures for women termed *hmt*, suggesting that wives (and sisters) were more likely to be shown on their own in these case studies. All except one of the solitary figures are attested in the Theban case study and so this trend may also be region-specific.

In comparison, physical contact appears to be fairly common for all of the terminological groups, especially women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*. The type of physical contact is also similar for these two terminological groups, focusing on non-reciprocated contact between the woman and a man, which matches their common position in seated couples. This stands in almost direct contrast to the common physical contact type for women termed *s3t* and untermed women, who are primarily shown with reciprocal contact with other women, especially in the Theban case study. Women termed *snt* lie in between these two options since some figures follow the non-reciprocal, seated couple type, while others align with the reciprocal, feminine-focused type. Based on this, it appears that women termed *s3t* and untermed women were primarily shown within a gender segregated context, while it was more common to find women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* in contact with men. The fact that women termed *snt* form a middle ground between these two categories certainly suggests that this terminological group potentially encompassed more than one mode of iconographic representation (see §5.3).

Bringing this together, it is probably not surprising that women termed *hmt* have the highest average similarity. Most figures are shown on an equal or more prominent footing than other female figures in the scene, particularly in the El-Kab case study. The next most prominent terminological groups are women termed *mwt/ms.n* and untermed women, but even here most figures have an average similarity of 3 (the equality marker) and below. Women termed *snt* also often have figures who are shown either equally prominent to or less prominently than other female figures in the scene, and in the El-Kab case study these women are always shown in less visible ways than other women. Most figures in the *s3t* terminological group have an average similarity of 2, making them the least prominent terminological group in these case studies. As a result, the

terminological group with the highest number of pictorial figures, and therefore the most potential for visual prominence in this iconography, is actually the least emphasised group.

This attests to the importance of systematically analysing a figure's representational characteristics, breaking their portrayal down into its constitutive components and documenting their numerical frequency, in order to assess the overall iconographic significance of that figure.

4 PERSONAL PERSPECTIVES: ANALYSIS BY INDIVIDUAL AND MONUMENT

In contrast to the terminological analysis in Chapter 3, this chapter takes a more personal perspective by looking at how the different women, including those with unknown kinship terms (see Catalogue C.5), are depicted across these monuments, exploring these women as individuals with their own personal identity and status. Similarly, the monuments are discussed as individual structures, focusing on which terminological groups and which women from their respective family group they include. This approach flips the emphasis on kinship terms in the previous chapter, enabling an investigation into any person- and monument-specific trends, and thereby laying the foundation for the critical re-assessment of this thesis' focus on kinship terms in Chapter 5.

The first section of this chapter (4.1) looks at the documented frequency of each individual female relative in the monuments of their family in order to identify those women who were the most emphasised within their family groups and to explore potential reasons for this prominence. The discussion then moves to looking at the monuments in terms of their individual inclusion/exclusion of female relatives in order to assess the broad focus of each monument in its representation of its family group.

The second section (4.2) explores the relationships between individual women and their attested kinship term(s), which can vary from one kinship term per woman to multiple kinship terms for a single woman across a range of monumental contexts. What are the patterns between individual women and kinship terms? Each monument is then analysed regarding the numerical frequency and spatial distribution of kinship terms within its iconography, including cases where the kinship term has been potentially

damaged or was intentionally never written, in order to further develop the discussion of its familial representation in the context of the broader family cluster.

4.1 Individuals according to Monument, Monuments according to Individual

4.1.1 Theban Case Study

There are a total of 75 women with preserved names in the Theban case study, which is a significant number to be shown across the eight preserved monuments and their surviving artefacts. While this total number is high, the vast majority of named women in this family group are only shown in one funerary context (65 cases), leaving ten women who are shown in multiple contexts: *T3(-ʕ)-m-ṯw* (PSN 70), *Iḥ-ms I* (PSN 71), *Iḥ-ḥtp II* (PSN 72), *Snty-ḥtp* (PSN 73), *I(w)-iw* (PSN 75), *Iḥ-ms II* (PSN 76), *Imn-m-wsḥt* (PSN 77), *Iḥ-ms III* (PSN 78), *Imn-m-ḥb I* (PSN 79), and *B3kt* (PSN 80).

T3(-ʕ)-m-ṯw (PSN 70) is shown in the highest number of monumental contexts (seven out of eight) and only lacks an appearance in TT 83, which is very damaged and so could have included her. Next is *I(w)-iw* (PSN 75) and *Iḥ-ms II* (PSN 76), who are each shown in five monumental contexts. Both women do not have attestations in TT 81, TT 83, and TT 122, but damage has affected both TT 122 and TT 83, meaning that these monuments may have originally included these two women. TT 81 is the tomb of *I(w)-iw*'s mother-in-law's brother (i.e. *Iḥ-ms II*'s grandmother's brother) and so the absence of these women in this tomb is probably to be expected, especially *Iḥ-ms II*, who had most likely not been born when this tomb was decorated (see §2.1).

The next group of women are shown in four monumental contexts each: *Imn-m-wsḥt* (PSN 77), *Iḥ-ms III* (PSN 78), *Imn-m-ḥb I* (PSN 79), and *B3kt* (PSN 80). Each of them lack an appearance in TT 131, which is surprising since they are daughters of the

tomb owner *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and the scene (no. 4) in this tomb that shows their sister, *Iḥ-ms II*, has unnamed female figures who could have been attributed to these women. These four women are also absent from TT 81, TT 83, and TT 122, most likely for similar reasons to *Iḥ-ms II*. Next, *Iḥ-ms I* (PSN 71) is shown in three monumental contexts. She is not attested in TT 82 or TT 131, which is potentially significant since *Iḥ-ms I* was a sister of *Wsr(-Imn)* and a daughter of *ḥ3-m-ṯw* (PSN 66), whose families are shown in both of these tombs. *Iḥ-ms I*'s absence from TT 83 and TT 122 could be due to damage, while her absence from TT 81 is probably because this tomb shows only the immediate family of *Inni* (PSN 120), who was her mother's brother. Finally, *Iḥ-ḥtp II* (PSN 72) and *Snty-ḥtp* (PSN 73) are each shown in two monumental contexts and are not attested in TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, TT 83, TT 122, or TT 131, probably for similar reasons to *Iḥ-ms I*. The latter's occurrence in TT 61 would be notable except for the fact that she appears in a line of women whose captions have been damaged (scene 4), meaning that her sisters, *Iḥ-ḥtp II* and *Snty-ḥtp*, could have been shown alongside her.

The above distribution suggests that there was one key woman in this family group: *T3(-ḥ3)-m-ṯw*. Her frequent visual prominence is most probably because she was married to the first man in this family to hold the viziership and had a significant number of children, making her central to the family's relationships. The sheer number of children she had (at least eleven) also makes it likely that *T3(-ḥ3)-m-ṯw* lived to a relatively old age, which could help explain her presence in most of the family's monuments and/or at least to her firm presence in the family's collective memory if she had died before each monument's construction. Her iconographic prominence could also be a result of the importance of her marriage to *ḥ3-m-ṯw*, which allowed this family to extend their power base beyond the royal court into temple institutions. *T3(-ḥ3)-m-ṯw*'s brother, *Inni*, held the office of 'overseer of the granary of Amun' and at least eighteen

of her descendants also hold titles within the Amun precinct. It is more likely that these descendants were able to gain these positions via *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and her brother rather than via *ʕ3-m-tw* and his family (Shirley 2010a, 91–5; see §2.1.1).

After *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw*, it is the immediate family of her son, *Wsr(-Imn)*, that dominates the iconography, including his wife, *T(w)-iw*, and his daughters *Tʕh-ms II*, *Imn-m-wsht*, *Tʕh-ms III*, *Imn-m-hb I*, and *B3kt*. While this is partly due to the fact that four out of the eight preserved monuments were either owned or directly linked to *Wsr(-Imn)*—namely, TT 61, TT 82, TT131, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17—it suggests that the position of these women within this wider family was important. While *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* and *T(w)-iw* are primarily shown with the terms *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, the significance of women who are primarily termed *s3t* should not be understated. This is especially so for one daughter, *Tʕh-ms II*, since she is the only daughter who is shown in TT 131 when there would have been the option to include more of her sisters. The same could potentially be said for the final three women in this group, who are all daughters of *ʕ3-m-tw*, but it is likely that *Tʕh-htp II* and *Snty-htp* were originally shown alongside their sister, *Tʕh-ms I*, in the now damaged scene 4 of TT 61. Even though this core group of ten women display all of the main kinship terms, there is a clear lack of women who are primarily termed *snt*, perhaps suggesting that this kinship term was not strongly associated with the representation of core family members, who seem to be more commonly shown with the terms *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, or *s3t*.

Overall, there appears to be a clear distinction between the majority of women in this family group, who are only included in a single monumental context, and a core group of ten women, who are shown in multiple contexts. Moreover, the fact that eight of the women who are depicted only within a single monumental context are in fact only included on an artefact relating to that monument suggests that there was a third

level to this hierarchy, making these eight women—*Mryt(-Imn)* (PSN 19, A.1.14), [...]-*m-ḥb?* (PSN 57, A.1.12), *Iwy-nfrt* (PSN 58, A.1.12), *T3-mi(?)w* (PSN 59, A.1.12), *Bšt* (PSN 60, A.1.12), *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115, A.1.11; note this case also includes her mother whose name has been lost), *Mḥ-i3* (PSN 117, no. 11, A.1.2), and *Nfirt-iry IV* (PSN 118, no. 379, A.1.2)—even more peripheral to the representation of this family group.

Out of the core group of ten named women discussed above, everyone is shown in TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, showing a strong desire in these monuments to include as many of the key female family members as possible. TT 61 shows everyone except *Iḥ-ḥtp II* and *Snty-ḥtp*, while TT 82 excludes these two women and also *Iḥ-ms I*. Since both of these tombs were either owned by *Wsr(-Imn)* or showed his family within the tomb, these omissions seem to further suggest that including one's sisters was not that important. The damaged state of TT 82 scene 3 means that these three women may have been originally included as daughters of *ḥ3-m-ḥw* instead. TT 81 shows only *T3(-ḥ3)-m-ḥw*, but this is not surprising since this is the tomb of her brother and one of the oldest tombs in the group, meaning that it could well have been decorated before her descendants were born and/or joined the family. TT 83, TT 122, and TT 131 are all significantly damaged and so their omissions of these individuals are most likely due to the chances of preservation.

The distribution of the core group by monumental context correlates with the total number of women with preserved names shown in each context. TT 82 and its associated artefacts show the most female relatives with 41 named women. A further nine figures with damaged or unknown names are attested in this context, probably due to the fact that it portrays the family of the tomb owner *Imn-m-ḥ3t*, as well as those of his employers (*Wsr(-Imn)* and *ḥ3-m-ḥw*). Next is TT 100 with 21 named women and three figures with damaged names, which suggests a desire to make this a broader

family monument beyond simply the immediate family of the tomb owner *Rh-mi-r*^c (PSN 62). Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 shows fourteen named women and one figure with a damaged name, but this is perhaps due to the fact that only two walls survive in this, albeit small, monument. Similarly, TT 81 shows twelve named women and nine figures with damaged or unknown names, meaning that this tomb may have included up to 21 women, like TT 100.

In comparison, TT 61 and its associated artefacts show nine named women and only three figures with damaged or unknown names, which suggests that this tomb lacked the focus on wider family relationships shown in the above monuments. Out of the tombs with considerable damage, TT 122 shows three named women and seven figures with damaged or unknown names, while there are only three named women and two figures with damaged names in TT 131, and one named woman and no figures with damaged or unknown names in TT 83. The damage in these contexts makes it unclear how many women and figures have been completely lost in the record.

The number of intentionally unnamed women links with the above trends in an unexpected way. Firstly, only three tombs appear to show female relatives who are intentionally left, at least textually, anonymous: TT 61, TT 131, and TT 100. Out of these three tombs, TT 100 contains the most with eleven figures, meaning that one of the tombs with the most named women also has the most women left unidentified, suggesting that this is a family monument that aimed at naming only specific female family members. It is also possible that unnamed individuals could have represented more than one woman, allowing more flexibility in the number of people who could have been included. Therefore, perhaps by leaving these figures unidentified, this tomb actually went one step further in its attempt to include the full extent of *Rh-mi-r*^c's social network (see §5.2).

At the opposite end of the spectrum is TT 61, which, as suggested above, probably did not have the broad family focus of TT 82 and TT 100. Therefore, the fact that TT 61 contains four unnamed figures is not surprising. This might suggest that the nine women who are included in TT 61 were important family members, and in fact eight of these women come from the core family group defined above. The remaining woman, *M^c-i3* (PSN 117), is only included on a funerary cone and so her inclusion is rather restricted. The final tomb, TT 131, contains six unnamed figures, which combined with the low number of named women or figures with damaged names (five cases total) suggests that this tomb followed the trend of TT 61, and did not aim to include broader family members from this Theban family. These two tombs appear to have focused on the immediate family of *Wsr(-Imn)*, leaving his other monuments—notably Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 and by extension TT 82—to focus on representing the fuller extent of this Theban family group. This apparent preference for including unnamed and untermed women in *Wsr(-Imn)*'s self-presentation arguably extended to his artefacts—namely, statue CG 42118, which includes an unnamed and untermed woman alongside him—further suggesting that he was often selective in including named female relatives.

Within this case study (including artefacts), there are 56 figures without a name (21 intentionally, 27 no longer visible, and eight unknown), suggesting that 75 is a potentially low estimate for the number of women in this family group, which could further indicate the possible extent of the inclusion/exclusion that happened in these monuments.

4.1.2 El-Kab Case Study

There are a total of 33 women with preserved names in the El-Kab case study, which is

just over half of the number in the Theban case study. While this may seem low in comparison, the El-Kab case study only contains two preserved monuments (versus eight monuments in the Theban case study), meaning that the El-Kab case study still includes a relatively high number of female relatives. Similar to the Theban case study, the majority of these women are only included in a single monument (29 cases). This leaves four women who are shown in both monuments and so form a core group in the El-Kab family: *Tb3n3* (PSN 148), *I-pw* (PSN 151), *Km* (PSN 152), and *S3t-Imn III* (PSN 154).

Tb3n3 is very similar to *T3(-3)-m-tw* (PSN 70) in the Theban case study since both women were one of the oldest female relatives in their respective family groups: *Tb3n3* is the mother of *I^ch-ms s3 Tb3n3* (PSN 139), the owner of EK 5. Therefore, across both case studies it appears that senior female relatives held prominent positions within their families' monuments, with great attention paid to portraying one's ancestors. *T3(-3)-m-tw* also appears to have held a significant position in her family group because of her personal status and that of her natal family, and the bureaucratic connections and advancement that these factors enabled her descendants to gain (see §2.1.1, §4.1.1). Perhaps something similar can be argued for *Tb3n3* and her son *I^ch-ms s3 Tb3n3*. The fact that *I^ch-ms*'s name is almost always written *I^ch-ms s3 Tb3n3* certainly implies that the connection to his mother was something to be displayed, and perhaps even boast about, forming a fundamental aspect of his self-presentation (see §5.1).

I-pw and *Km* are the wife and daughter of *I^ch-ms s3 Tb3n3*, respectively, and the latter is also the mother of *P3-hry* (PSN 147), the owner of EK 3, further highlighting their central kinship positions within this family group. *S3t-Imn III* is the daughter of *Km* and her husband, *It-r-r-i* (PSN 140), making her the sister of *P3-hry* and the granddaughter of *I^ch-ms s3 Tb3n3*. Her place within the core group is more surprising

since there are three other women—namely, [...] *-m-ḥb I* (PSN 153), *Tw-pw I* (PSN 167), and *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]* (PSN 168)—who also held these kinship relationships. Note it is possible that [...] *-m-ḥb I* (PSN 153) and *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]* (PSN 168) were the same person, but this is uncertain considering the similarities between names in this family (see §2.2.1). Why then were these three women not also given the same level of inclusion as *S3t-Imn III* within these monuments? [...] *-m-ḥb I* is only attested in EK 5, while *Tw-pw I* and *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]* are only attested in EK 3. The former tomb is unfinished and so it may have intended to show *Tw-pw I* and *Nbw-m-ḥ[...]*. However, EK 3 is finished and only suffers minor damage, making the omission of [...] *-m-ḥb I* appear deliberate. Might this even hint that one was a favourite daughter (*S3t-Imn III*) and perhaps even that the other was a daughter who fell from favour ([...] *-m-ḥb I*)? The former option could be paralleled by the iconographic prominence of *T^cḥ-ms II*, who also seems to have been intentionally included more often than her sisters in the Theban case study (see §4.1.1). Similar to the Theban case study, there appears to be a focus on women termed *mwt/ms.n*, *ḥmt*, and *s3t* within the core group at El-Kab. Women termed *snt* are completely lacking from this core group, with this term only appearing in compound form (see §3.3.2).

The fact that EK 3 includes all of these core women is perhaps unsurprising since this monument depicts 28 out of the 33 named women in this case study. A further five figures have unknown names, meaning that this monument may have included even more female relatives. In comparison, EK 5 only depicts nine named women, including those in the core group, and four women with names that are damaged, meaning that at best it appears to have included less than half of the number of women in EK 3 when its decoration halted. Even though this tomb is considerably smaller and unfinished, it seems that these two tombs had different aims regarding the representation of female

relatives. EK 3 shows a desire to include the broad extent of this family group, paralleling the strategies of TT 82 and TT 100 in the Theban case study, while EK 5 seems to have been more selective, matching TT 61 and TT 131. This arguably makes the inclusion of *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141), *Nbt-Ḥwy* (PSN 145), *Nbw-r[...]* (PSN 146), *R-int* (PSN 150), and *[...]-m-ḥb I* (i.e. those women not from the core group) in EK 5 an even more significant choice.

The number of intentionally unnamed women correlates with these trends in an interesting way. EK 5 does not appear to have contained any figures who are intentionally left without a name in the iconography, suggesting that while this tomb was selective regarding which female relatives it included, it did aim to specifically name those women who made the iconographic cut. This parallels TT 82 in the Theban case study. In comparison, EK 3 contains five figures who are intentionally unnamed within the iconography, meaning that the tomb that shows a clear desire to include a high number of female relatives also has the highest number of (textually) anonymous female relatives. This matches the distribution of named and unnamed women in TT 100. Therefore, both of these case studies show variation in the extent of inclusion/exclusion of female relatives in their monuments, in addition to a flexibility in the naming practices for those women who are included.

Within this case study, there are fourteen figures without a name (five intentionally, four no longer visible, and five unknown), suggesting that 33 is a potentially low estimate for the number of women in this family group—although probably not as low as for the Theban case study—which could further indicate the possible extent of the inclusion/exclusion that happened in these monuments at El-Kab.

4.2 Individuals according to Kinship Term, Monuments according to Kinship Term

4.2.1 Theban Case Study

Most women with preserved names in this case study are only attested with one term and appear only in a single monumental context (42 out of 75 women; note that a monumental context includes its associated artefacts; see Chapter 3). These terms range from *s3t* (sixteen women), *snt* (fourteen women), *hmt* (four women), *mwt it=f* (one woman), *hm<t> s3=f* (one woman), *s3t s3t=f* (one woman), *s3t sn=f* (one woman), and four cases where the term is unclear due to damage. A further thirteen women are shown in a single monumental context but are intentionally untermed. Two women, *S3t-Imm* (PSN 51) and *S3t-dhwty* (PSN 121), are only shown in a single monument with one kinship term, but they each have at least one figure where the kinship term is damaged, meaning that they may have originally possessed more kinship terms.

A further three women are attested with only one kinship term, namely *s3t*, but are shown with it in more than one monumental context: *Snty-htp* (PSN 73; TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17), *Imm-m-wsht* (PSN 77; TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17), and *I^ch-ms III* (PSN 78; also TT 61, TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17). An additional three women are only attested with one kinship term (again *s3t*) across a range of contexts, but each have at least one figure where the kinship term is unclear due to damage, meaning that they may have originally had more kinship terms: *I^ch-htp II* (PSN 72; *s3t* in TT 100; unknown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17), *I^ch-ms II* (PSN 76; *s3t* in TT 82, TT 100, and TT 131; unknown in TT 61), and *Imm-hb I* (PSN 79; *s3t* in TT 61, TT 82, and TT 100; unknown in TT 61 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17). The fact that these six women appear to be consistently termed with

the same kinship term suggests that this term formed a core aspect of their representation (see §5.3).

The same could potentially be said for *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110), *Tw-iw/T^ch-htp* (PSN 122), and *T^ch-htp III* (PSN 123), who are each only shown within a single monumental context with one kinship term, but these women are also intentionally shown within this same context without a kinship term. The former two women also have at least one more figure each where the kinship term is unclear due to damage, meaning that they may have originally possessed more kinship terms. The attested kinship terms are *snt* (*Nsy(-nbw)*) and *T^ch-htp III*) and *hmt* (*T^ch-htp III*), suggesting that these women had also been stereotyped with these terms. The fact that they are also attested without a kinship relationship nonetheless implies that this stereotyping was not as consistent as for the above group of women termed *s3t*. These three women maintained an element of their own individual, personal identity within these contexts through their untermed figures.

The remaining nine women with preserved names can be divided into two groups: those with different terms within a single monumental context and those with different terms across a range of contexts (note this includes associated artefacts; see Chapter 3). The first group includes five women: *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), who is termed *hmt* (16 captions) and *s3t n snt=f* (three captions) within TT 82; *T^ch-ms* (PSN 22), who is termed both *ms.n* (three captions) and *hmt* (one caption) in TT 82, and *snt* (one caption) on *Imn-m-h3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12); *Int=f I* (PSN 29), who is termed *mwt/ms.n* (28 captions, 25 of which are *ms.n*) in TT 82, including the graffito from TT 60 (A.1.4), but *hmt* (one caption) on the same stela from Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12); *Mryt* (PSN 63), who is termed both *snt* (seven captions) and *hmt* (four captions) in TT 100; and *Bt* (PSN 64), who is termed both *mwt/ms.n* (four captions, three of which are

ms.n) and *hmt* (one caption) in TT 100. *B3kt(-Imn)*, *Int=f I*, and *Bt* each also have captions with an unknown term in their respective monuments: two for *B3kt(-Imn)*, one for *Int=f I*, and three for *Bt*. The only way this would change the above trends significantly is if these captions involved a new term for these women.

Regardless, for each woman it appears that one term predominates: *mwt/ms.n* for *T^ch-ms*, *Int=f I*, and *Bt*; *hmt* for *B3kt(-Imn)*; and *snt* for *Mryt*. In this light, one could argue that the additional terms are exceptional depictions for these women, especially since for most of them there is only one caption that includes the additional term. *Imn-m-h3t*'s stela at Gebel El-Silsilah (A.1.12) appears to provide an additional term for both *T^ch-ms* and *Int=f I* since these terms are not attested at all in the iconography of TT 82. The combination of kinship terms shows a preference for combining *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* or *hmt* and *snt*, suggesting a close association between these terminological groups. All three of these roles (if we take *snt* to mean 'wife' and not 'sister') are more mature female roles within the family, perhaps implying that within a single context a woman could be depicted in either senior or junior familial positions (see §5.1). *B3kt(-Imn)*'s additional term, *s3t (n) snt=f*, casts doubt on this reading, but this choice of term could be an anomaly to highlight her close biological affinity with her husband *Imn-m-h3t* (see §2.1.1, §5.3).

Four women fall into the second group, with multiple kinship terms across a range of monumental contexts. *T^ch-ms I* (PSN 71) is termed *snt* in TT 61, but *s3t* in TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. These terms match her relationship with the owner of TT 61, who is her brother *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74), and her father *3-m-tw* (PSN 66), with whom she is shown in TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. The combination of these two junior female kinship terms (taking *snt* to mean 'sister') offers a contrasting

parallel for the typical combinations of the senior kinship terms—*mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *snt* (‘wife’)—noted above (see also §5.1).

B3kt (PSN 80) is termed *ms.n* in TT 61 (burial chamber), but *s3t* in TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. She has a further scene in TT 61 (no. 7) where her kinship term is damaged, meaning that she may have originally had another kinship term in this context. The fact that she is predominantly depicted with the term *s3t* implies that a different strategy was being deployed in TT 61’s burial chamber. *B3kt* is the only named daughter of *Wsr(-Imn)* to be attested with a son and in fact only one other grandchild of *Wsr(-Imn)* is mentioned at all in these monuments (see §2.1.1). Perhaps this was a phenomenon to be emphasised and was worked into the decoration of TT 61 during the course of its construction (see §2.2.2).

T(w)-iw (PSN 75) is termed *ms.n* twice in two different monumental contexts: on a funerary cone presumably from TT 61 (no. 1, A.1.2) and in a graffito from Deir el-Bahri (A.1.3). She is also termed *hmt* eight times across six contexts: three times in TT 131 (including Stela Uriage, A.1.13), twice in TT 61, and once each in TT 82, TT 100, and on statue CG 42119 (A.1.10). In Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, she appears once with the term *hm<t> s3=f*. *T(w)-iw* has three further captions in TT 61 scene 7 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 south wall with damaged terms, meaning that she may well have possessed more kinship terms. Throughout this distribution, it is the term *hmt* that is emphasised the most for *T(w)-iw*, and it is likely to have been the kinship term in the three unknown captions based on the other people who are shown in the scene. Therefore, the proposed trend for women to have a predominate kinship term still stands, as does the proposed preference for combinations of *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* for a single woman.

T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw (PSN 70) is termed *mwt/ms.n* five times in TT 61 (only one of which is *mwt*; note this includes a Book of the Dead papyrus, A.1.1, and a sandstone fragment, A.1.6) and once in TT 131 (*ms.n*). She is also shown twice with the term *hmt* in TT 131 (including Stela Uriage, A.1.13) and this term is her most common, appearing once in each of TT 82, TT 100, TT 122, Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, and on statue CG 42119 (A.1.10). This preference is rather surprising considering the number of maternal links she has within this family (see §2.1.1). Could this be because she is often depicted with her husband and so she is more commonly shown as a ‘wife’ than as a ‘mother’ (see §5.3)? In Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* also has a damaged caption, meaning that she may have had more variety in kinship terms. In TT 81, rather understandably considering her sibling relationship with the tomb owner *Inni*, *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* is termed *snt* (‘sister’). This appears to be an exception to the usual combination of kinship terms, but then again the tomb of *Inni* is rather socially peripheral compared to the other monuments in this case study (see §2.1.1).

A common thread between all of these women is the contextual nature of kinship terminology in these scenes. It is notable that all of the women appear to have had a common kinship term, a single term that formed a core aspect of their representation within these monumental contexts. Since kinship terms in funerary monuments are generally relational in use, e.g. ‘*xxx=f*’ ‘his *xxx*’ or *N ir.n/ms.n Y* ‘N whom Y begot/bore’, the fact that there is a dominant term for each woman implies that they are each primarily associated with a specific individual. This individual is a man except for at least seven women who are termed *s3t=s—Imn-htp II* (PSN 40) and *B3kt II* (PSN 41) in TT 82—or *snt=s—Iʕh-ms VI* (PSN 125), *Sn-snb* (PSN 128), *Nsy-nbwt* (PSN 130), *Sn-rs* (PSN 131), and one figure whose name has been damaged in TT 81—or are linked to women via filiation formulae—Iʕh-ms (PSN 22) in TT 82. While it is clear that

women could form the focal point of kinship relationships, this practice is rather limited in number and restricted to only two monuments in this case study. This restriction arguably bestows prominence on the referential women: *B3kt(-Imn)* in TT 82 and *Tw-iw/I^ch-htp* in TT 81 (although one scene in this case is uncertain). The fact that an effort was made to emphasise their own interpersonal familial relationships further highlights the individual importance of these two women (see §5.2).

Across the monumental contexts there appears to be a preference for using single kinship terms within a figure's captions. There are only a few compound terms attested in this corpus: two cases of *hm<t> s3=f* in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, one *s3t s3t=f* in TT 100, and one *mwt it=f*, one *s3t sn=f*, and one *s3t snt=f* in TT 82. This ratio could suggest that compound terms and the resulting desire to be more accurate in defining kinship relationships were specific to these three monuments at Thebes. These three contexts contain the highest number of women in this case study, perhaps suggesting that the desire to be specific was further motivated by the sheer number of female relatives displayed.

While the core terms—*mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, *s3t*, and *snt*—are the most prevalent, not every monumental context (including their associated artefacts) contains the full range of these kinship terms: TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, and TT 100 include all four core terms; while TT 122 only shows *hmt*, *s3t*, and *snt*; TT 131 only shows *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *s3t*; Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 only includes *hmt* and *s3t*; and TT 83 lacks any terms. These absences could be due in part to damage—particularly for TT 83 where there is at least one woman who might have had a damaged kinship term (*I^ch-htp I* [PSN 108]; see §2.1.1)—but it could also be a result of intentional strategies for the decoration. For example, there was perhaps a preference for showing women with their husband/father in TT 122 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. Out of the four main terms, it is *mwt/ms.n*

and *snt* that are not included the most, further suggesting that depicting one's spouse and daughters was for some reason prioritised over depicting one's mother and sisters in these monuments.

This is replicated by the numbers of women shown with these terms within the monumental contexts. In particular, TT 100 contains higher proportions of women termed *s3t* (fourteen, plus one *s3t s3t=f*) and *hmt* (five) compared to those termed *mwt/ms.n* (one) and *snt* (one). There is at least one woman with a damaged kinship term in this tomb, but this is unlikely to change the ratio outlined above. Similarly, TT 82 shows at least thirteen women termed *s3t* (plus one *s3t sn=f* and one *s3t (n) snt=f*) and at least eight women termed *hmt*, whereas there are at least nine women termed *snt* and only two women termed *mwt/ms.n* (plus one *mwt it=f*). There are at least five women with damaged kinship terms in this tomb, meaning that the above trends may not be completely representative. Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 correlates with this trend by including one woman termed *hmt* (plus two *hm<t> s3=f*) and eight women termed *s3t*, but no women termed *mwt/ms.n* or *snt* are attested at all, although there are at least five women with damaged kinship terms in this monument. Therefore, these three monuments appear to support the proposed emphasis placed on wives and daughters, particularly TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17.

The larger proportion of women termed *s3t* compared to *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* is entirely logical since a man is on average more likely to have a greater number daughters than wives and especially mothers. However, when the number of potential daughters is compared to that of sisters, the distinction becomes more significant, meaning that there is more reason to argue for a preference towards showing one's daughters. An exception to this is TT 81, which shows considerably more women termed *snt* (at least seven) compared to at least one woman termed *mwt/ms.n*, at least

one woman termed *hmt*, and at least one woman termed *s3t*. There is at least one woman with a damaged kinship term in this tomb, meaning that the above ratio is likely to be representative. Perhaps the tomb owner *Inni* did not have enough actual daughters and so their ideological and/or iconographical places were filled in by his sisters and, more frequently, the sisters of his wife *Tw-iw/Th-htp* (see §2.1.1).

In comparison, three monumental contexts display a more equal ratio of the main kinship terms: TT 61 includes at least three women termed *mwt/ms.n*, three women termed *s3t*, at least two women termed *snt*, and one woman termed *hmt*, although there are at least four women with damaged kinship terms; TT 122 includes at least one woman termed *hmt*, one woman termed *s3t*, and at least one woman termed *snt*, although there is at least one woman with a damaged kinship term; and TT 131 contains at least two women termed *hmt*, one woman termed *mwt/ms.n*, and at least one woman termed *s3t*. These ratios could be due in part to the preservation of these monuments, particularly TT 122. They could also be impacted by the selective inclusion of women noted above for TT 61 and TT 131 (see §4.1.1), although in these cases it is notable that the women were chosen from across the four main kinship terms in fairly equal proportions, especially considering the high number of daughters that *Wsr(-Imn)* had available to include.

The overall placement of scenes that depict female kinship terms (pls. 1–8), including women whose kinship terms have been damaged, shows a preference for concentrating female relatives in certain areas of the monuments. Only TT 82 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 appear to show female relatives throughout the architectural space. In the remaining contexts, the level of concentration of female relatives varies. Some monumental contexts show a high level of concentration in certain areas, while in others it is tempered in a way that appears to emphasise certain kinship terms over others. TT

61 shows the highest level of restriction where the representation of female relatives is concentrated in the back room, especially on its eastern wall, and in the burial chamber. There are slight differences according to kinship term: the burial chamber only shows women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*, and the former group appears only in this location; while women termed *snt* are found only on the western side of the back room, and are also the only female relatives to be found in this area. While TT 83 also appears to concentrate the representation of women in the back of its passage, this tomb has suffered considerable damage and so this trend is likely to be due to preservation in the first instance.

In TT 100, female relatives appear to concentrate in the passage, with only a few scenes in the transverse hall, primarily in its eastern corner. The only exception is an official duty scene (no. 2), which is located on the western side and includes the term *mwt/ms.n*. This could perhaps show an emphasis on this term or suggest that it was able to break from the standard representation of female relatives in this monument. The fact that this representation is a textual figure might temper any potential visual emphasis. Moreover, it appears that only women termed *hmt* and *snt* are attested at the very end of the passage in scenes 16, 20, and 21. These scenes include the false door and its accompanying offering table scenes, perhaps suggesting that only wives were ideally shown in such cultic locations within the tomb.

TT 81 potentially shows a similar trend since female relatives are shown primarily in the passage, including on either side of the doorway from the transverse hall, and in the back room. Only women termed *mwt/ms.n* are attested in other scenes, which focus on the western end of the transverse hall. However, there are a number of women with damaged captions in the transverse hall, meaning that other kinship terms may have also been located there.

Similarly, TT 122 shows a preference for depicting female relatives in the side chapels. The only exception appears to be women termed *hmt*, who can appear in the corridor, and in both of these cases the figures are pictorial. There are two further scenes that contain women with damaged kinship terms in the corridor, which may mean that other terminological groups were represented there. The apparent emphasis on the term *hmt* also appears in TT 131. In this monument, the representation of female relatives concentrates in the transverse hall, with an emphasis on the western end. Again only women termed *hmt* appear in other areas, including pictorially in the entrance way and eastern end of the hall. There are no women with damaged kinship terms in this tomb.

Based on this overview, it seems that while the depiction of female relatives was prominent within these monuments, most contexts show levels of restriction and concentration of these representations. In some cases, this appears to be of female relatives in general (TT 61), while others seem to allow certain terms to deviate from these restrictions, especially *mwt/ms.n* (TT 81 and TT 100) and *hmt* (TT 122 and TT 131). The overall restriction of female relatives is not always attested, exemplified by the fairly even distribution of female relatives throughout TT 82 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17. This variation further suggests the potential for individual choices and preferences in the decoration of funerary monuments (see §1.5, §5.3).

The emphasis on women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* further extends to the representation of female relatives on artefacts external to these funerary contexts: at least one woman termed *mwt/ms.n* (A.1.3 and A.1.11) and two women termed *hmt* (A.1.10) are attested on such artefacts, along with at least one untermed woman (A.1.9 and A.1.11). This supports the idea that mothers and wives were the least restricted groups regarding the location of their representations, both within and outside of monumental funerary contexts.

As noted above, every monumental context except TT 131 contains women who have been captioned with a term that is now damaged. In TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, TT 100, TT 122, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, this damage also extends to the name of the woman, making it no longer visible or its existence unknown. While the main conclusion from this is that the above data and conclusions are limited, the possibility that at least some of these captions did not originally include a name and/or kinship term must be considered. The practice of naming and/or terming appears to be flexible. The only generally followed rule in these monuments appears to be that if a woman's caption contains a kinship term then it also contains the woman's name, suggesting a desire to be specific about which woman with this kinship relationship was being referred to.

4.2.2 El-Kab Case Study

Similar to the Theban case study, the majority of women in the El-Kab case study are shown with a single kinship term in either EK 3 or EK 5 (23 cases). These terms range from *s3t* (fourteen cases), *snt nt mwt nt mwt=f* (two cases), *mwt/ms.n* (one case), *mwt nt hmt=f* (one case), and *s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f* (one case), and four cases where the kinship term is uncertain due to damage. An additional four women are only shown within a single tomb, namely EK 3, but are intentionally shown without a kinship term: *Hnm-mt* (PSN 158), *H-pw* (PSN 181), *Sn-snb II* (PSN 182), and *Tw-pw II* (PSN 183).

The next most common category is women who are only shown with one kinship term but across both of the tombs in the El-Kab case study: *Tb3n3* (PSN 148) is termed *mwt/ms.n*, *T-pw* (PSN 151) is termed *hmt*, and *S3t-Imn III* (PSN 154) is termed *s3t*, regardless of which monumental context they are depicted in. For the latter woman, there is a slight distinction since she is termed *s3t=f* in EK 5 (once) but *s3t=s* in EK 3

(once), perhaps suggesting that the latter tomb focused more on emphasising its female relatives than the former tomb (see §3.4.2, §5.2). Similar to the Theban case study, it appears that certain women appear to have been stereotyped with specific kinship terms in these monuments. In comparison to the Theban case study, this appears to have not only focused on women termed *s3t* at El-Kab, but also for a woman termed *mwt/ms.n* and another termed *hmt*. In the Theban case study, the latter happened only for women who were also intentionally shown without a kinship term in the same monument, which arguably gave an emphasis on these women's individual, personal identity. *Hnwt-r-nhh* (PSN 157) is the only woman at El-Kab who follows the trend seen in the Theban case study: she is depicted with the term *hmt* and intentionally without a term in EK 3 (and is not included at all in EK 5).

There are only two women in the El-Kab case study who are shown with multiple kinship terms. *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141) falls into the first category noted in the Theban case study where she has two different kinship terms within a single monument: she is depicted once with the term *hmt* and once with the term *mwt* in EK 5. Note both of these kinship terms are attributed to the same figure in scene 2, which is unique to both case studies, highlighting the overlapping and intersecting relationships that an individual can have with different people within a single family group. The second woman, *Km* (PSN 152), falls into the second category noted in the Theban case study where she is shown with multiple terms across both tombs in the El-Kab case study: she is termed *hmt* once in both tombs, *mwt/ms.n* twice in EK 3 (one case for each term), and is also intentionally untermed once in this tomb. Given the low numbers of figures, it is hard to determine a common kinship term for *S3t-Imn II* and *Km*, although the slight preference for *mwt/ms.n* for the latter woman is relatively notable.

Nonetheless, it appears that the El-Kab case study generally follows the trends noted in the Theban case study where women appear to have a single kinship term that formed the core of their representation within these contexts. This further supports the contextual nature of kinship terming in funerary contexts and the idea that these women were typically associated with one individual. Again this person was not invariably a man since there are nine women with the kinship term *s3t=s* attested in this case study, all of whom appear in EK 3 and are either linked to *Km* or to *Hnwt-r-nhh*. This designation arguably bestows prominence on these referential women, especially since a woman's own family was often linked to them via a male relative in this case study (e.g. *mwt nt hmt=f*), meaning that the decision to relate a relative directly to a woman was arguably a conscious choice and not because of the lack of any alternative.

The distribution of kinship terms across the two tombs in this case study shows only three of the core kinship terms: *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *s3t*. The apparent lack of the core term *snt* is notable here, but is perhaps not surprising considering how infrequently this term is attested in the Theban case study. Compound terms are attested, including two women termed *snt nt mwt nt mwt=f* (which are the only instances of the term *snt*), one woman termed *mwt nt hmt=f*, and one woman termed *s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*. All of these women are only shown in EK 3, suggesting that this tomb showed a unique focus for specifically defining kinship terms. This focus is arguably also unique compared to the Theban case study because of the extent of the compound kinship terms, which often include more than one genitive component (see §5.2).

Both EK 3 and EK 5 include the terms *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *s3t*, paralleling TT 61, TT 81, TT 82, and TT 100. The numbers of women attested with each of these kinship terms in these tombs further correlate with the Theban case study. EK 3 contains a high number of women termed *s3t* (thirteen cases, plus one *s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*), but

fairly equal numbers of women termed *hmt* (three cases), *mwt/ms.n* (two cases, plus one *mwt nt hmt=f*), and *snt nt mwt nt mwt=f* (two cases). There are at least three figures with damaged captions but this does not appear to affect the above distribution. This tomb potentially parallels the trends noted in TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, although the fairly equal ratio between the terms other than *s3t* is notable at El-Kab. In comparison, EK 5 appears to match TT 61, TT 122, and TT 131 with fairly equal ratios across all of the kinship terms attested within this tomb: for each term (*mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and *s3t*) there at least three women. There is at least one figure with a damaged kinship term, which suggests that the above ratio is likely to be representative. Therefore, again the El-Kab case study correlates with the conclusions of the Theban case study, but there is an apparent preference for equality between kinship terms, aside from *s3t*. The apparent lack of sisters is much stronger in the El-Kab case study than it is in the Theban case study; the El-Kab creators appear to have preferred depicting these women with the term *s3t*.

The placement of female relatives in the two El-Kab tombs (pls. 9–10), due to the fact that they each only consist of one main room, shows a much less restricted depiction of female relatives compared to the Theban case study. Nonetheless, both tombs at El-Kab show some levels of restriction that serve to differentiate between the kinship terms. EK 5 seems to focus female relatives in the two offering table and banquet scenes in the north-west corner of the chamber. The only women who are shown outside of this area are termed *mwt/ms.n*. This parallels the trends noted in TT 81 and TT 100. In EK 3, women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *s3t*, and untermed women are shown throughout the iconographic space, while women termed *hmt* and *snt* appear to be restricted to the eastern side. This contrasts with the Theban case study where women termed *hmt* often transcend the spatial limitations placed on other terminological groups

(e.g. in TT 122 and TT 131). Nevertheless, it appears that the placement of kinship terms within the monumental spaces at both sites served to emphasise some groups over others as a general pattern.

As noted above, both tombs at El-Kab contain women who have been captioned with a term that is now damaged and in some cases this damage also extends to the name of the woman, making it no longer visible or its existence unknown. This again highlights the extent of the damage to these monuments—especially to EK 5, which was also left unfinished—which could compromise the patterns analysed here. However, similar to the Theban case study, EK 3 contains women intentionally shown without a term and in some cases without a name either, meaning that it is possible that the damaged cases did not originally include a name and/or kinship term. The practice of naming and/or terming appears to be as equally flexible in the El-Kab case study, but again it appears that if a woman's caption contains a kinship term, then it also generally contains the woman's name, further suggesting that the creators of these monuments wished to be specific about the identity of the female relatives who were included.

4.3 Summary

This chapter highlights the concern with individuality inherent in funerary iconography. The discussion of female relatives in section 4.1 shows an additional hierarchy to that discussed in Chapter 3, one that focuses on the importance of a individual woman's position and status within their family group as a determinant of their level of inclusion in their family's monuments compared to other female relatives. It appears that the strategic marriages outlined in Chapter 2, such as that of *T3-ḥ3-m-tw* (PSN 70), did in fact extend into the iconographic prominence of these women. The interplay between these two iconographic hierarchies—that according to kinship term (Chapter 3) and by

individual, personal status (Chapter 4)— and their implications for intersectionality in ancient Egypt are explored in the next chapter (see §5.1). The fact that the distinctions between women regarding their documented inclusion in these monuments do not appear to correlate with specific kinship terms suggests that these terms may not have been the only factor that impacted on a woman's representation, which is discussed further in section 5.3.

Looking at the relationship between kinship terms and individual women, it appears that most women have been stereotyped with a single term, regardless of the number of figures that women possesses or the number of different monumental contexts in which she is shown. This confirms the contextual nature of kinship terming in funerary contexts, with individuals primarily referenced via a single person in the scene, most often, but not exclusively, the tomb owner. Based on this, one could view the representation of the family within tomb iconography as a collection of smaller subsets centred on key family members, who almost act as hubs in the wider social network being represented. This concept is further elaborated in section 5.2.

In terms of the monuments, both of these case studies exhibit varying levels of inclusion/exclusion of female relatives in their monuments, as well as a diversity of naming and terming practices for those women who are included. Not every monument was a full family memorial; some tomb owners were very selective concerning whom out of their social network they included in their self-presentation and in what ways. This level of choice not only highlights the potential for individuality and agency in funerary monuments (see §1.5), but in doing so lays the foundation for the following chapter, which explores how, and the potential reasons why, a tomb owner included female relatives in his self-presentation.

5 CONCLUSION: RECONTEXTUALISING REBIRTH AS A ROLE OF ELITE WOMEN

The previous two chapters have focused on a terminological analysis of female relatives according to kinship term (Chapter 3) and an individual analysis focusing on the women and monuments (Chapter 4). This chapter ties these two approaches together, assessing the ways in which, and possible reasons why, female relatives are represented in funerary iconography in order to recontextualise the modern emphasis on rebirth within Egyptological scholarship. This discussion is intended to be an exploration of this topic, raising new ideas and possibilities in order to provide a fresh approach to matters that have arguably been taken for granted concerning the role of elite women in tomb iconography, as embodied in some of the best-known examples of ancient Egyptian funerary art.

The first section (5.1) draws on the conclusions of chapters 3 and 4, bringing this into a wider discussion of the potential power relationships between female relatives. This discussion raises questions regarding the definition of the ancient Egyptian family described in sections 1.3–4, the terminological focus of which is consequently re-evaluated in section 5.2. Following this, the broader implications of this thesis are explored, including the function of kinship terms in the representation of female relatives (see §5.3) and the role of elite women in ancient Egyptian funerary iconography (see §5.4).

5.1 Exploring the Hierarchies between Female Relatives

Based on the analysis by kinship term in Chapter 3, it appears that women termed *hmt*

are at the top of the iconographic hierarchy of female relatives in these case studies, holding the most visually prominent positions within these monuments. This top position includes the highest number of scenes and widest range of scene types; the highest number of captions, which also commonly include epithets and elite titles; the most prominent scene locations, including +1 levels; the second highest number of artefacts; figures who are commonly offered to by others in the scene and can wear mummiform outfits, enveloping wigs, and embellished collars; and specific object types, including luxury items. The fact that women termed *hmt* have the overall highest average similarity (see Glossary) only solidifies their position at the top of the representational hierarchy.

The next most prominent terminological group is *mwt/ms.n*. This terminological group shares or comes in a close second with a significant number of characteristics of the *hmt* terminological group, including the second highest number of scenes and widest range of scene types; the second highest number of captions, which also commonly include epithets and elite titles; prominent locations within scenes including +1 levels; figures who are commonly offered to by others in the scene; and specific luxury object types. Women termed *mwt/ms.n* additionally have the highest number of artefacts; the highest average number of figures per woman; the widest range in artefact types; often more than one scene per woman per monument; the most variety in scene placement; large figure sizes; and are often found in the first position within groups. Even though these features suggest that women termed *mwt/ms.n* could be at the top of the iconographic hierarchy, this terminological group shows a strong preference for textual figures (see Glossary), meaning that their overall visual prominence was tempered considerably. These textual figures normally occur in filiation formulae, which further means that this terminological group often do not own their captions. Overall, this

terminological group has only the second highest average similarity, confirming their, albeit slight, iconographic subordination to women termed *hmt*.

Next are women termed *snt*. Prominent representational features for this terminological group include a high number of female suffix pronoun terms, and therefore one of the highest proportions of women who are shown with their own family (see Glossary); captions that usually include the elite title *nbt-pr*; and figures who are commonly shown with objects. However, this terminological group's visibility is tempered by the presence of overlapping figures; the least variety in object types, which only focus on the most common items; and a low overall average similarity. What makes this terminological group relatively high on the iconographic hierarchy is the fact that a significant proportion of its members are shown in very similar ways to women from the two most prominent terminological groups (*mwt/ms.n* and *hmt*). The remaining women termed *snt* are shown on a comparative footing to women termed *s3t* and untermed women, thereby making the *snt* terminological group a middle ground between the two ends of the spectrum of iconographic prominence according to kinship term.

The two terminological groups at the bottom of this representational hierarchy, namely *s3t* and untermed, are very similar, but untermed women are slightly more prominently displayed. Prominent features include the highest number of women and the second highest number of pictorial figures (see Glossary); figures who are commonly shown with objects and a wide range of object types, including culturally significant ritual equipment such as *sistra* and *menats* (for which see e.g. Elwart 2011; Morris 2011, 99–101; Hudáková 2019); figures who commonly have titles but these are often less elite; figures who can have mummiform outfits, enveloping wigs, and embellished collars; and figures who often address other figures and have direct speech.

However, untermmed women are also characterised by the second lowest average number of figures per woman; a relatively high proportion of shared and group captions; figures who are shown on baseline registers, and with a wide range of mostly active actions; overlapping figures; the last position within groups; and a high proportion of figures who are shown offering to other figures in the scene. Overall, this terminological group has a fairly low average similarity, which is comparable to women termed *snt*, but the high number of less visually prominent features for untermmed women places them slightly lower down on the terminological iconographic hierarchy.

The *s3t* terminological group is similar to untermmed women in a number of ways, including the second highest number of women and the highest number of pictorial figures; figures who commonly have objects and a range of object types, including culturally significant ritual equipment such as *sistra* and *menats*; and figures who address other figures and have direct speech. The similarities further extend to the less visually prominent features, including the lowest average number of figures per woman; overlapping figures; group captions; and a relatively high number of figures who are located on the baseline of registers. Moreover, women termed *s3t* have the least prominent locations within scenes, and epithets and titles are generally rare, but the attested titles show a strong link to elite temple chantress positions. Some unique features are also noticeable, namely figures who predominantly own their captions; kinship terms with female suffix pronouns, and therefore a high proportion of women who are shown with their own family; the most variety in compound terms, and so specificity in kinship terming practices; and the most grammatically correct (i.e. feminine) epithets. Overall, this terminological group has the lowest average similarity, but the similarities with untermmed women and some of the women termed *snt* mean that this iconographic subordination is relatively minor.

In fact, one could argue that there are more similarities than differences between these terminological groups. A number of the representational features discussed in Chapter 3 do not seem to differentiate between terminological group, particularly those related to outfits. As a result, the above hierarchy is subtle, relying on the close examination and comparison of figures. Perhaps the more significant distinctions are based on broader kinship categories.

There are a number of common traits between women termed *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and some of the women termed *snt* (see also Vasiljević 2012, 141), while there are strong similarities between the remaining women termed *snt*, women termed *s3t*, and untermmed women. Figure stance, action, and physical contact in particular support this categorisation. Women termed *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and some of the women termed *snt* are often found as part of a seated couple where the woman embraces her male partner, who does not reciprocate the physical contact. In contrast, the remaining women termed *snt*, women termed *s3t*, and untermmed women are commonly shown standing or kneeling while holding or offering objects, and their physical contact is characterised by reciprocity and gender segregation.

Drawing on the common translations of these terms (see §1.3), one could argue that the terms *mwt/ms.n* ‘mother’, *hmt* ‘wife’, and *snt* ‘wife’ denote senior women within the family, while *snt* ‘sister’ and *s3t* ‘daughter’ denote junior family members. The strongest evidence for this senior/junior distinction comes from titles, which imply the social statuses of these terminological groups both within and outside of the family. The title *nbt-pr* suggests household authority, presumably in the household of the tomb owner, and it is notable that this title is mostly associated with the terms *mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, and then *snt*. In contrast, the titles of women termed *s3t* and untermmed women include less senior household roles, such as *hsyt*, *sdm-ꜥš*, and *mnꜥt=f*. Moreover, the elite title

hkrt-nsw(t) is only attested for the *mwt/ms.n* and *snt* terminological groups and never for women termed *s3t* or untermmed women.

The distribution of wig types also appears to follow the distinction noted by Robins where tripartite and enveloping wigs were primarily found on ‘older, possibly married, women’, while alternative wig types were more commonly found on ‘younger, possibly adolescent, women’ (1999, 69). These hairstyles do not appear to change according to ritual context or to the relative statuses of the figures, as hairstyles do with elite men, suggesting that female wig types were used in more ‘absolute’ terms, perhaps linking to ‘age or social status’ (1999, 65; see also LÄ IV, 988–90). As a result, there is arguably an iconographic hierarchy between senior and junior women within the family (see Robins 1989, 113).

There is evidence from legal documents and letters to suggest that this distinction was present in daily lived experience, particularly regarding the importance of mothers and wives in household management. In the early 12th Dynasty letters of the *ka*-priest Heqanakhte, we can see differences in the treatment of his female relatives in Letters I and II (J. P. Allen 2002, pls. 28, 30). While these letters are significantly earlier than the current case studies, they offer a unique opportunity to explore kinship relationships within an extended family household. Letter I is addressed to Mersu (verso l. 1), who appears to be a manager on the family estate (2002, 116), but it ends with a greeting for Heqanakhte’s mother, Ipi, as well as two women named Hetepet and Neferet (verso l. 15–6). In Letter II, Heqanakhte specifically addresses Ipi and Hetepet, entrusting them with the household ration-list (recto l. 1–7). These two women also appear first in the ration-list and receive shares equal in size to Mersu (recto l. 8–11).

Even though later in the same letter Heqanakhte gives Mersu further instructions regarding the rations, such as to only let those who are working be given them (recto l.

30), it is notable that it is his mother and Hetepet who are the given the responsibility for this in the first instance. Hetepet was presumably another senior woman, most likely Heqanakhte's wife. While J. P. Allen takes the Hetepet in the ration-list as an aunt or sister of Heqanakhte and his wife as the Hetepet daughter of May named later on in this list (2002, 108–9), considering the prominence of wives—which J. P. Allen acknowledges (2002, 115)—there is little evidence to support this interpretation. Moreover, James and Gunn agreed that the Hetepet addressed at the start of Letter II was the same woman named at the start of the ration-list (1962, 12, 136). Based on this earlier evidence, it is perhaps not surprising that senior women are most often attested with the title *nbt-pr* in these two case studies.

It is unclear who the Neferet mentioned in Letter I is, but she appears again in the ration-list of Letter II, second to last and with one of the smallest rations (recto l. 21). This suggests that she was a junior member of the family, perhaps a favourite daughter, just as there seem to have been favourite sons (see J. P. Allen 2002, 113–5). This favour could potentially be paralleled by the iconographic prominence of *S3t-Imn III* (PSN 154) and *T3-ddt=s* (PSN 166) in the El-Kab case study and *T^ch-ms II* (PSN 76) and *T3-h^ct* (PSN 84) in the Theban case study, who are each visually emphasised compared to their counterparts within their respective *s3t* terminological groups (see §3.4). The importance of eldest children and the hierarchy that this could potentially create between siblings was outlined in section 1.3.1. It is unclear whether these women were the eldest child and it is notable that no woman has the term *s3t smsw/t* in these case studies, although the presence of the epithet *wrt* 'great' for *T3-ddt=s* at El-Kab could be a variation on this (see §1.3.1). This suggests that hierarchies between children were possible regardless of their specific kinship term and potentially also regardless of their status as an 'eldest child'. We should not assume that iconographic prominence always

conferred this role and vice-versa. Therefore, while these women are still subordinated to the more senior women in these case studies, it is clear that (iconographic) hierarchies could also exist within terminological groups.

Looking back at the Ramesside *Will of Naunakhte* and the *Adoption Papyrus*, it appears that the documented importance of wives and mothers for inheritance and descent was an aspect that could be encoded into their prominent iconographic representations. The *Will of Naunakhte* lists her personal property and details how she wished this to be distributed among her children (P. Ashmolean 1945.97; Černý 1945; Donker van Heel 2016). This property not only includes personal items and furniture, but also land that was accumulated through both an inheritance from Naunakhte's father and a share of the joint property from her first marriage (Doc. 1, col. 4, l. 9–12; Černý 1945, pl. 8a). The significance of this will for a consideration of the relative importance of mothers lies in the fact that Naunakhte disinherits four of her children (Doc. 1, recto 4.1–8; Černý 1945, pl. 8a), claiming that they had not taken care of her in her old age, and so had relinquished their rights to her possessions (Doc. 1, recto 2.6–7; Černý 1945, pl. 8a). One of these children, a son named Neferhotep, challenges this decision in court, presumably after Naunakhte's death, but her decision is upheld (Doc. 1, recto 5.9–12; Černý 1945, pl. 9). As a result, mothers and potentially other senior women with personal property arguably held powerful, influential positions within the family. The inheritance of younger family members may not have always been guaranteed (e.g. Černý 1945, 44).

This is also the case with the *Adoption Papyrus* where a couple appear to have been childless, and so lacked any obvious heirs (P. Ashmolean 1945.96; Gardiner 1941a; Eyre 1992; Donker van Heel 2016). To resolve this, the husband Nebnefer adopts his wife, Naunefer/Rennefer, as his heir (recto l. 3–5). Naunefer/Rennefer then

adopts three children, whom Nebnefer appears to have fathered with a servant, and marries the eldest daughter to her younger brother, making him an heir as well (recto l. 15–17, l. 21–2; verso l. 1, l. 8–9). By doing so, Naunefer cements her position as the matriarch of this family, creating bonds of interdependence with other members in this household that would have secured her position should she be widowed (Janssen and Janssen 2007, 203, 224–5) and protected the property that she had accumulated with Nebnefer (Janssen and Pestman 1968).

Based on these three administrative sources from a range of different periods, it seems clear that wives and mothers could usually hold significant positions within family groups, with both household authority and the potential for an inheritance placing obligations of support and care on younger family members. While these letters and documents come from elite spheres in society, matching the elite nature of the Theban and El-Kab case studies, the extent to which they are typical of such elite families is uncertain. Indeed, most legal documents in ancient Egypt appear to have been drawn up to resolve circumstances that were extraordinary (e.g. Eyre 1992, 209; 2013, 101–29). The distinction between senior and junior women could well have been weaker in social life than it apparently appears to be in the idealistic representation of these groups in tomb iconography, and it could well have been further dependent on the specific circumstances of individual families.

One of the main purposes of a funerary monument was to ensure the successful transition of the tomb owner into the afterlife, allowing him to join his ancestors and become a transfigured spirit (e.g. Dorman 2003, 31). The corpus of *Letters to the Dead*—which are attested from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period (Gardiner and Sethe 1928; Wente 1990; O’Donoghue 1999; Donnat 2019)—and the presence of ancestor busts in New Kingdom settlements—such as the sites of Deir El-Medina

(Friedman 1985; Harrington 2005; Keith et al. 2011) and Tell Edfu (Lerner 2019)—emphasise the significance that the ancient Egyptians placed upon their ancestors as members of the family community. These transfigured spirits were believed to have been able to intervene in the world of the living, influencing the affairs of their descendants both positively and negatively (O’Donoghue 1999, 96; Harrington 2005, 79). Considering the relative ages of senior women, it is more likely that they could have been deceased when the majority of the monumental contexts in these case studies were created, making them one of these respected and revered ancestors. Women are attested as the recipients of *Letters to the Dead* (e.g. Verhoeven 2003; Schiavo 2020), showing that they were considered as potentially influential ancestors alongside men.

This ancestral perspective could explain the broad distinction between senior women and junior women regarding offering positions, with the former group often shown being offered to, while the latter group are more commonly shown offering to other figures. Being offered to places the recipient within the context of the tomb’s offering cult (Hartwig 2004, 37–40), making the prevalence of this feature for senior women understandable if they were considered to be ancestors within the funerary space. The frequency of funerary epithets for women termed *mwt/ms.n* and *hmt* in these two case studies certainly supports this characterisation as ancestors (see §3.1–2). On the other hand, it appears that junior women, including daughters, could also actively participate in this cult, offering to their ancestors in a display of ‘familial devotion’ (Hartwig 2011, 320) and continuity (for a potential parallel with the traditional role of royal children in *sed*-festivals and ritual rejuvenation see Kaiser 1983; Melandri 2016). Therefore, the iconographic importance of senior women may have been further influenced by their role as deceased ancestors, a role that links daily life and funerary monuments together through the tomb owner’s offering cult (see §1.5). As a result,

regardless of the specific economic circumstances of each family, the significance of senior women was arguably still a common cultural phenomenon in ancient Egypt.

The specific circumstances of each individual family, however, need further discussion. Chapter 4 identified a group of women at the core of each of these two families who appear to have been focused on within their families' monuments according to their own personal social status. This suggests that kinship positions were not the only potential hierarchical factor in the representation of female relatives. Notably, the iconographic prominence of *T3-(ʕ3)-m-ṯw* (PSN 70) in the Theban case study appears to be due in part to the connections to the Amun precinct that her natal family provided for the family of her husband *ʕ3-m-ṯw* (PSN 66; see §2.1.1). Similar arguments could potentially be made concerning the role of *Tb3n3* (PSN 148) in the El-Kab study (Tylor and Griffith 1895, 3). Moreover, the strategic marital alliances of *S3t-Imn II* (PSN 141) and *Km* (PSN 152) to the royal tutor *It-r-r-i* (PSN 140), as well as that of *P3-ḥry* (PSN 147) to *Hnwt-r-nḥḥ* (PSN 157)—whose brother worked for the Pharaoh (Allon and Navratilova 2017, 16)—were almost certainly beneficial for the family of *Tḥ-ms s3 Tb3n3* (PSN 139; see §2.2.1).

This phenomenon is not unattested in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments, as similarly prominent iconographic positions are found with, for example, the wife of Mereruka named Watetkhethor, who is depicted in his mastaba in the Old Kingdom cemetery of Teti at Saqqara. Watetkhethor was the eldest daughter of the Pharaoh and is shown in almost every scene of this mastaba, including a chapel that was personally dedicated to her (PM III.2² 525–37; Swinton 2003, 100; see also Duell 1938; Kanawati and Hassan 1996; Vasiljević 2007). Moreover, the royal nurse Baki is ‘almost omnipresent in her husband’s chapel’ (Gathy 2012, 155), TT 85, including a scene where the tomb owner Amunemheb offers to Baki and the prince Amenhotep II (scene

Ba; PM I.1² 170–5; Roehrig 1990, 166–71). Similar visual emphasis appears to have been bestowed on other royal nurses of Amenhotep II, including the mother of Qenamun, who is prominently portrayed in his tomb, TT 93 (PM I.1² 190–4; N. de G. Davies et al. 1930, pl. 9a; Roehrig 1990, 111–35), and Senetnay, the wife of the mayor of Thebes Sennefer (TT 96; PM I.1² 197–203), who appears to have been further honoured with a burial in the Valley of the Kings (see Carter 1901; Hayes 1959, 79, 146; Roehrig 1990, 143–62; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, 102–3; Eaton-Krauss 1999; 2001; Jones 2018).

The social positions of these women arguably had significant impacts on their families. For example, Roehrig notes that the role of royal nurse placed the holder within the inner circle of the royal court, a position that often created kinship relationships between their own children and the Pharaoh. Qenamun holds the title of *sn mn^c n nb t3wy*, which Roehrig translates as ‘foster brother of the Lord of the Two Lands’ (1990, 128; see also Kasparian 2007, 110–2). A similar title is noted for *Rh-mi-r^c* (PSN 62) in line 2 of his autobiographical text—*sdty-nsw*, which is translated as ‘foster-child of the King’ by Gardiner (1925, 63)—although there is no other evidence to suggest that his mother, *Bt* (PSN 64), was a royal nurse. It is perhaps more likely that Rekhmire simply grew up in the royal court with other royal children (Shirley 2014, 242 n.234; see also Roth 2012, 7). It is, however, clear from these cases that the personal social rank of certain women could form an advantageous element in the self-presentation of their family’s monuments, bolstering the image of the tomb owner by highlighting the elite position of some of his relatives (Vasiljević 2007, 341–2).

Iconographic hierarchies between wives are also a common feature in monuments where a single tomb owner appears to have had multiple wives. One wife, termed ‘chief wife’ here, is often represented more prominently than her counterparts,

termed ‘minor wives’ (see Jones 2018). This is arguably the case with the wives of *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15) in TT 82 where *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14) is more frequently and prominently represented than either *Mryt-Imn* (PSN 19) or *Nfyt-iry IV* (PSN 118; see §3.2.1). Therefore, it is possible that the economic inequality between first and successive wives noted in section 1.3.2 extended into the iconographic representation of wives in these cases (Jones 2018, 95), further highlighting the potential impacts that a woman’s personal status may have had on her funerary representation. However, this does not happen with *Km* and *S3t-Imn II* in the El-Kab case study. The parallels between their representations in scenes 2 and 3 of EK 5 are notable and the higher number of representations of *Km* appears to be primarily due to the existence of the nearby EK 3, which was built by her son *P3-hry*, rather than a specific decision to emphasise her instead of *S3t-Imn II*. In the monuments of this case study, it was apparently deemed more appropriate to emphasise equality (as in e.g. TT 84; Jones 2018, 42–3).

Therefore, overlapping the iconographic distinctions between senior and junior women were the individual qualities that these women possessed, their wider social, political, and economic significance, and the impacts that these had for their families (see Vasiljević 2012, 141–6; Li 2017, 35, 51). Personal affection and favouritism amongst relatives should also not be overlooked as factors, especially since these appear to be particularly relevant for the representation of daughters. This does not necessarily override the broader terminological hierarchy of female relatives noted above, most probably because this wider individual significance was something that a woman gained over the course of her lifetime as she moved from being a daughter/sister to also being a wife/mother.

Therefore, in terms of intersectionality, age appears to be the central defining factor between women from the same household, arguably creating a ‘progression

through increasing ranks in a hierarchy of generations' (Lustig 1993, 255; see also Troy 1986). This can most clearly be seen with *T3-(ʕ3)-m-tw* when her depiction as a sister in TT 81 is compared with her later more prominent portrayals as a wife in TT 100 and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17, for example. The representational hierarchies between these terminological groups are subtle, and intersect and overlap with each other, highlighting the complexity in idealised female familial power relationships. There is evidence to suggest that these hierarchies could have corresponded with hierarchies that existed in daily life, particularly with respect to the social significance of wives and mothers in household management, inheritance, and then as revered ancestors. As noted in section 1.5, the boundaries between idealised and daily life were permeable in the ancient Egyptian cultural context. It is very likely that these spheres interacted and played off each other in the creation and perpetuation of ideas about the cosmic order and the elite moral/ethical code, both of which included appropriate gender relationships.

This discussion has focused on a brief comparison between the iconographic material and a select corpus of administrative sources in order to explore the potential connections between lived experienced and the idealised representations of it. Points of departure for future work could focus on comparisons with similar iconographic studies from other sites and/or time periods. For example, the representation of the family in Old Kingdom elite tombs (e.g. McCorquodale 2013; Wen 2018). Similarly, comparisons with elite literature—such as the representations of women in the Ramesside tale of *The Doomed Prince* (Gardiner 1932, 1–9; Simpson 2003, 75–9) and in classic earlier wisdom texts that were still in circulation, including the Middle Kingdom *Teaching of Ptahhotep* (Žába 1956; Parkinson 2002, 257–66; Hagen 2012) and the New Kingdom *Instruction of Ani* (Quack 1994)—would allow an investigation into the extent to which the representation of female relatives in tomb iconography correlates with their

representation in other elite sources on moral and ideal behaviour (as discussed by e.g. Robins 1989; Teyssie 1998; Leprohon 1999; Suita 2011).

It is clear from this discussion that female relatives were portrayed in specific ways compared to one another, not only highlighting the potential for intersectionality in ancient Egyptian gender and kinship relations, particularly focusing on age and social status, but also the potential roles which female relatives could play in a tomb owner's self-presentation. The impacts of these factors are discussed further in section 5.4, following the critical re-evaluation of the textual focus of this study and the outline of an alternative perspective in the next two sections.

5.2 Re-evaluating the Definition of the Ancient Egyptian Family

The definition of an ancient Egyptian family provided in section 1.4 relies on the existence of kinship terms in a figure's caption, including those untermed women who are shown with other termed and/or named women. However, the iconographic similarities between termed and untermed women noted above—the fact that untermed women are often comparable with women termed *s3t* and *snt*, and that they share a number of representational characteristics with women termed *hmt*—together with the impact that an elite woman's individual, personal status could have had on her representation cast doubt on this textual definition. This section revisits the question of how the family was defined within the context of ancient Egyptian tomb iconography.

The frequency of titles for untermed women is notable and could offer a potential alternative to this definition. As noted in section 1.4, the terms for 'family' in ancient Egypt could encompass servants, dependants, and other non-biologically related household members. Along these lines, the figures with the title *sdm-ꜥꜥ* 'servant' (TLA lemma-no. 150640) and *mnꜥt=f* 'his nurse' (TLA lemma-no. 70360; Roehrig 1990;

Kasparian 2007) arguably formed a part of the tomb owner's familial and social network, and the representation of it within his tomb. Could these titles be considered in the same way as kinship terms? The form of *mn^ct=f* is certainly comparable with that of the core kinship terms, following the standard noun plus suffix pronoun format (see also Kasparian 2007, 115).

However, this interpretation still relies on terminology. What about those figures without kinship terms, equivalent titles, or even names? If the definition of an ancient Egyptian family was as broad as that suggested in the Middle Kingdom Stela Durham EG502 (see §1.4), then was everyone depicted within funerary iconography a member of the tomb owner's social network? While analysing the distribution of relatives in TT 100—which displays one of the highest numbers of female relatives and the highest number of unnamed women—it was suggested that unnamed individuals could have allowed more flexibility in the inclusion of relatives within this monument since one (textually) anonymous iconographic figure may have potentially represented more than one person (see §4.1.1). Even though this could imply that all iconographic figures were in some way a part of the tomb owner's idealised family, the fact that some figures are textually identified and that the level of identification appears to have varied between figures—such as their name, kinship relationship, title, prominence within a scene, etc.—suggests that some distinctions were made between the members of a tomb owner's familial network. Certain members of this network appear to have been more included than others.

The representation of female relatives in the El-Kab case study is particularly relevant here due to the emphasis placed on the maternal side of this family (Jones 2019). This can be seen in the very specific kinship terming of the guests in the banquet scene (no. 12–15) of EK 3 where all of the relatives (regardless of gender) are defined

via the maternal line. Moreover, children are frequently termed relative to their mother in these two tombs via the term *s3/t=s* rather than their father, which is by far the more common method of kinship terming (Robins 1994; see §3.4.2). The presence of terms such as *s3=sn* in EK 5 scene 2 further highlights the unusual emphasis on female relatives within these two tombs. These women receive a level of equality with their male counterparts that is uncommon in comparative material, including the monuments of the Theban case study.

The reasons behind this emphasis on the maternal side of this El-Kab family are uncertain but it is probably no coincidence that the head of this family, *Tḥ-ms* (PSN 139), is consistently named *s3 Ib3n3*. The importance of mothers in this context in particular is discussed in section 5.1. Perhaps *Ib3n3* (PSN 148) and the subsequent senior women, *Km* (PSN 152) and *Hnwt-r-nḥḥ* (PSN 157), played significant roles in the development of this family's power and social position, which were then enshrined within the commemorative representation of this family.

Regardless of the exact reason, this prominence arguably indicates that these tomb owners had a level of choice in whom they could include within their self-presentation and in what ways. The fact that some monuments aimed to include a multitude of relatives (e.g. TT 82 and EK 3), while others appear to have been more selective (e.g. TT 61 and EK 5), further supports this point, implying an element of choice on behalf of individual families. This links back to the social agency perspective of Gell discussed in section 1.5, highlighting the living nature of these funerary monuments and their ability to 'mak[e] kin' (Olabarria 2014, 104) through the careful editing and reworking of the representation of the tomb owner's social network (see §1.5). Therefore, the potential for hierarchies between relatives arguably extends beyond the representation of elite women to encompass the level of inclusion/exclusion

of relatives more broadly. The collective representation of the family within tomb iconography appears to be multi-layered and hierarchical.

This can be tied to the contextual and relational aspect of kinship terming noted in section 4.2, namely the fact that each woman appears to have had a stereotypical kinship term, and therefore have been commonly identified relative to a single (often male) individual. Despite the fact that a woman would have held multiple different relationships with the other figures shown with them in a single scene, it appears that only one (or very rarely two) of these relationships was focused on. Based on this, one could see the family within funerary iconography as a collection of smaller subgroups centred on key individuals, similar to satellites orbiting planets. The decisions regarding who to include and in what ways can be seen within the context of these subgroups, with the creators of these monuments choosing which individuals to elevate as the focus of other figures' kinship terms and then selecting which other figures to reference via that individual. Given the range of possible kinship relationships to select from when designing these iconographic arrangements, these decisions can be plausibly interpreted as active choices to present the tomb owner's social network in a specific, presumably advantageous, way.

This is further highlighted by the analysis of a woman's 'own family' within the El-Kab case study. A woman's own family is defined in this thesis as those figures who are referenced via her in the scene or if she is referenced herself via another female figure in the scene (see Glossary). This distinction, however, was problematised when analysing the El-Kab material where it appeared to be more common for a woman's family to be described via the tomb owner. For example, the parents of *Hnwt-r-nhh* (*P3-hry*'s wife) are termed *mwt nt hmt=f* 'mother of his (*P3-hry*'s) wife' and *it nt hmt=f* 'father of his (*P3-hry*'s) wife' in EK 3 scene 7–8, maintaining the tomb owner *P3-hry*

(PSN 147) as the point of reference for the kinship relationships. Considering the overall matrilineal focus in this case study, the decision to refer to a woman's family via a male relative stands out. As a result, there appears to have been a conscious decision to describe these relatives via *P3-hry* and one can only speculate on possible reasons for this. Perhaps it highlighted the full integration of *Hnwt-r-nhh* and her family into the family of *Tf-h-ms s3 Ib3n3*, strengthening the connection between these two families. Such a representation may well have been beneficial to both parties. What this choice of presentation certainly suggests is an inherent fluidity in how various individuals could define their relationships with others in their familial network, as they shifted between various identities, both individual and group, in different contexts and situations. The representation of the family within a funerary monument is in some ways a 'snapshot' from a single perspective, one that nonetheless captures a multitude of overlapping and intersecting ties of kinship, an entanglement of relationships.

While ancient Egyptian funerary monuments are generally agreed to have functioned as family memorials (e.g. Dorman 2003, 40), it is challenging to define exactly what this 'family' was, especially due to the existence of various lexical terms for 'family' in ancient Egypt (see §1.4). We should not be surprised by this terminological variation since anthropological studies demonstrate that kinship is inherently flexible and adaptable (see §1.3.3); it is constantly redefined to adjust for the unpredictability of daily life. The representation of their family formed part of a tomb owner's self-presentation, highlighting his position within society. It is therefore natural for this representation to be edited, reworked, and specifically crafted in arguably similar ways to lived kinship relationships in order to ensure that the tomb owner was represented in the terms that were most appropriate. This could include emphasising some relatives over others, shifting the focus to those relationships that (and individuals

whom) the tomb owner felt were the most significant. In this way, the hierarchy between relatives is not only applicable to women from the same household but to the family as a whole. It would be interesting to see whether similarly constructed representational hierarchies are present between male relatives in these case studies, which could form a point of departure for future work.

The above discussion has shown that relying on kinship terms, while useful as a starting point, is a rather narrow definition of the family within funerary iconography. A solely terminological focus on the funerary representation of ancient Egyptian kinship fails to fully capture the complex ways in which kinship could be displayed and articulated in this context. An alternative, less textual, perspective is proposed in the following section.

5.3 Re-examining the Mortuary Display of Kinship

While each terminological group appears to have a typical way in which it is represented within these two case studies (see Chapter 3), each group contains a few individuals who stand out from their counterparts because they do not appear to follow the standard modes of representation of their group: $\overline{T}(w)-iw$ (PSN 75) and $[B\beta?]kt$ (PSN 133) as $hm<t> s\beta=f$ (see §3.2.1); $B\beta kt(-Imn)$ (PSN 14) as $s\beta t (n) snt=f$ (see §3.4.1); and $Nsy(-nbw)$ (PSN 110), $Tti-nfr$ (PSN 115), $S\beta t-dhwty$ (PSN 121), $Tw-iw/I'ch-htp$ (PSN 122), Km (PSN 152), and $Hnwt-r-nhh$ (PSN 157) as untermed women (see §3.5). At first glance, these exceptions appear to occur for compound terms and cases where there is no kinship term, suggesting that the depiction of women with the core kinship terms was less flexible and ideally followed the typical modes of representation. However, not all women with compound terms are shown in ways that do not fit with their wider terminological group—for example, the portrayals of $Nfrt-iry III$ (PSN 56) and $Hnwt-$

t3wy II (PSN 93) both correlate with the mode of representation for women termed *s3t* (see §3.4.1)—and therefore the mere presence of a compound term is not enough in itself to cause these exceptional portrayals. Perhaps the compound terms themselves could offer potential explanations.

Both *T(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* appear in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 north wall with the term *hm<t> s3=f* and stand as part of a line with five other women, who are mostly termed *s3t=f*. The representations of *T(w)-iw* and *[B3?]kt* closely match the representations of the women termed *s3t* and, as a result, contrast significantly with the standard representation of women termed *hmt* (e.g. *T3(-c3)-m-tw* [PSN 70] in this scene; see §3.2, §3.4). There appears to have been a conscious decision to depict *T(w)-iw* as part of this row of junior women rather than with her husband, *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74), who is depicted in the above register (see §5.2). Had she been shown with *Wsr(-Imn)*, perhaps we could have expected a more standard *hmt* portrayal, as occurs on the south wall of this monument. As it stands, on the north wall *T(w)-iw* is captioned in relation to the main seated figure, *c3-m-tw* (PSN 66), and so it appears to have been considered more appropriate to depict her in a similar iconographic position to those women who were also related to this man in this scene, i.e. the women termed *s3t*. There appears to have been little representational distinction between daughters and daughters-in-law in this scene, implying that the terms used to caption these women had little impact on their portrayals.

A similar situation occurs with *B3kt(-Imn)* but in the opposite direction. In TT 82, she is frequently termed *s3t (n) snt=f* in relation to the tomb owner *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15; scenes 5, 11, and 12), but also appears with this same man with the term *hmt* (e.g. scenes 10, 16 and 17). There are very few iconographic distinctions between these portrayals. As a result, a woman termed *s3t* appears to occupy the same iconographic

position as a senior woman (see §5.1). This combination was arguably employed in order to emphasise the close biological connection that existed between *B3kt(-Imn)* and *Imn-m-ḥ3t* irrespective of their marriage: the fact that she was simultaneously both his wife and the daughter of his sister (see §2.1.1). Therefore, again the term itself does not appear to have impacted on how the woman it designated was portrayed. In fact, one could even suggest that the juxtaposition between *B3kt(-Imn)*'s representation as a wife and the term *s3t* in her captions was precisely what the designers of these scenes intended in order to highlight this very duality in her relationship with *Imn-m-ḥ3t*.

The portrayals of *Nsy(-nbw)*, *Tti-nfr*, *S3t-dḥwty*, *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp*, *Km*, and *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ* as untermmed women also align strongly with the representation of senior women, especially those termed *ḥmt*. In fact, a number of the similarities between these two terminological groups primarily result from these six untermmed women, including the high frequency of titles and the presence of mummiform figures and enveloping wigs (see §3.6, §5.1). The representations of these women are the strongest evidence for where a kinship term appears to have had little impact on how a female relative was depicted since there are no kinship terms present in these cases. Nevertheless, these women still appear to have been shown as senior women and, more often than not, in similar ways to those women termed *ḥmt* (see §3.2): *S3t-dḥwty* (TT 81 scene 22), *Tw-iw/Iḥ-ḥtp* (TT 81 scenes 18 and 22), *Nsy(-nbw)* (TT 122 scene 7), *Km* (EK 3 scene 18), and *Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ* (EK 3 scenes 7 and 17).

It is clear in these cases, particularly those of untermmed women, that kinship terms could have very little or no impact in determining how a woman was portrayed. The fact that a woman could be depicted as a 'mother', 'wife', 'sister', 'daughter', or more broadly as a senior or junior relative, without needing the corresponding kinship term in her caption, suggests that it was rather her mode of representation—namely, the

combination of representational characteristics discussed in Chapter 3—that was the primary marker of her kinship position within the scene. The mode of representation and the kinship term do match up in the majority of cases, as is shown by the common modes of representation for each terminological group, but the suggestion here is that they did not need to match in order for the audience to understand the overall kinship position of the woman in the scene, which was arguably encoded in her mode of representation. The importance of the image as a vehicle of meaning makes sense when considering the restricted levels of literacy of ancient Egyptian tomb visitors, who may have been able to access fully only the pictorial aspects of funerary iconography. It is entirely possible for a modern viewer, for example, to group female relatives into the broad senior/junior categories without referring to their captions. In essence, this thesis started by focusing on kinship terms as the main categorisation of female relatives—as has often been the case in Egyptological kinship studies—when upon reflection, it appears that the way in which a woman was represented is the more significant feature, and one which is arguably not dictated by her kinship term.

This distinction between kinship terms and modes of representation offers a potential explanation for the apparent double translation of the kinship term *snt* (see §1.3.2) and the corresponding divide in the representational characteristics of this group (see §3.3). In other words, the fact that this kinship term appears to denote ‘sisters’ or ‘wives’ and that this terminological group encompasses both senior and junior women (see §5.1). If the primary feature is a woman’s mode of representation rather than their kinship term, then the duality in this terminological group becomes understandable: those women who were ‘sisters’ were shown as a ‘sister’ and so as a junior woman, while those who were ‘wives’ were shown as a ‘wife’ and thus as a senior woman. The kinship term is almost irrelevant in these cases since the distinction between the two

(senior/junior) modes of representation is so clear. While this may seem to be almost stating the obvious, the primacy of a woman's representational characteristics over her kinship term is something that has arguably been overlooked in Egyptological kinship studies, which have been overwhelmingly terminological in focus (see §1.3–4).

This is not to say that kinship terms are completely irrelevant in the portrayal of female relatives since the presence of a specific kinship term could have added an additional layer of symbolic meaning and function to a figure's mode of representation within a scene. This was noted above with the juxtaposition of *B3kt(-Imn)*'s representation as a wife and her *s3t* kinship term, which emphasised the duality in her relationship with her husband. Such a perspective could further explain the various uses of the multiple terms for 'wife' in ancient Egyptian funerary iconography, namely *hmt* and *snt*. Regardless of their exact meanings, the fact that multiple terms for 'wife' existed in ancient Egypt suggests that there were semantic differences between these kinship terms (see §1.3.2). Following Skumsnes, the terms *hmt* (and *mwt*) could have specifically marked the figure as a participant in the tomb owner's rebirth (2018, 160–1). This meaning could have also been monument-specific, encoding the particular significance that these terms had to individual tomb owners and artists. For example, the use of *hmt* in TT 82 to refer to the partner of a man, but *snt* to refer to a relative of the tomb owner (Shirley 2005, 104–5; see §2.1.1); or the preference in TT 100 for *hmt* to refer to female ancestors, but *snt* for *Rh-mi-r*'s wife *Mryt* (PSN 63; Shirley 2010b, 295–6 n.26); or the use of *hmt* in the corridor of TT 122, but *snt* in the chapels and on the funerary cone of the same tomb (no. 522, A.1.2; Shirley 2010b, 279–80). Despite these potential distinctions, the overall representation of senior women termed *hmt* and *snt* in these case studies is very similar, meaning that it is arguably still the mode of representation that takes precedence rather than the kinship term. The interplay between

these two factors nevertheless opens up the possible layers of meaning that the representations of elite women could have had in the context of funerary iconography, further highlighting their potential significance in the context of a tomb owner's self-presentation.

These modes of representation within ancient Egyptian tomb iconography can be explored through performance theory, which was first put forward by Erving Goffman (1922–1982) in *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1956; second edition 1959; for the differences between them see Manning 1991). In this study, Goffman describes social life as a theatrical stage where humans are the actors putting on various 'fronts' in different social situations (1959, 32). Fronts can include the way you speak, how you dress, and how you move, which enable others to make quick judgements about your behaviour, your role within that social situation or 'scene', and how to respond to you themselves (1959, 13, 32–7). These fronts are not completely original to their actors but are largely created by the wider society so that they can be recognisable to others (1959, 38). A single person will use a variety of fronts throughout their everyday life, building up 'a picture of the person as a composite of multiple selves' (Manning 1991, 77; see also Hacking 2004, 290).

While Goffman was a driving force in the 'performance turn in anthropology' (Denzin 2002, 106; see also Butler 1990; Conquergood 1998; Pollock 1998; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2001), his theory is not without its limitations. For example, Goffman never truly explores what is behind these fronts or how they are created in the first place (Hacking 2004, 299), and then altered and adapted through everyday use (Manning 1991, 85). Moreover, his theatrical analogy offers a rather limited and pessimistic view of social interactions, implying that human beings are merely 'cynical actors who practice impression management in the pursuit of personal gain' (Manning

1991, 70). Overall, Goffman's theory can be characterised as fairly structuralist and anti-agency. These criticisms primarily focus on the applicability of Goffman's performance theory to everyday social interactions, yet such limitations arguably do not stand when it is applied to ancient Egyptian funerary iconography, simply because this material is inherently constructed. Self-presentation is by its very nature a presentation of the self. In this way, Goffman's performance can be helpful for analysing tomb iconography on three main levels.

Following performance theory, one could see the various structural elements of an ancient Egyptian tomb, including its location and architectural design, as a range of possible 'fronts' to choose from when building one's tomb. As shown in the Theban and El-Kab necropoleis, tomb owners were often very selective in where they placed their tombs and frequently copied architectural and iconographic elements from other tombs in order to bolster their own eternal image by creating links with other prestigious tomb owners (Arnold 2008; Shirley 2008; Laboury 2012, 203–4; Merzeban 2014; Den Doncker 2017; see §2.1.2, §2.2.2).

One can also view the iconographic elements of a tomb as a further catalogue of 'fronts'. Hartwig notes the existence of common scene types, termed 'icons', which appear to have been integral to the tomb owner's eternal identity and to have occupied prominent architectural places within their tomb during the 18th Dynasty (2004, 51–2). For example, prominent court officials would focus on the 'Royal Kiosk Icon' in order to highlight their close connection to the Pharaoh and their resulting social significance (2004, 54–72). The displays of individual choice regarding the combination of icons, as well as the specific content of each icon, find a parallel in Laboury's discussion of tradition versus creativity where a 'common iconographical thesaurus ... is

systematically reinterpreted by each artist, who makes his own selection within this—open—range of possibilities and gives his personal interpretation of it’ (2017, 238).

Lastly, since a front includes ‘insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex, age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like’ (Goffman 1959, 34), one could see the representational features of individual figures through performance theory (Maitland 2015; see Chapter 3). In this way, the modes of representation outlined above and in Chapter 3 could also be considered additional ‘fronts’: the ‘senior woman front’, for example. The way in which a single woman can encompass different types of representation in different scenes and monuments certainly reflects the idea of individuals as ‘a composite of multiple selves’ (Manning 1991, 77) where the specific context dictates the appropriate front.

Goffman’s performance theory can therefore provide a useful framework for exploring ancient Egyptian self-presentation by further highlighting the interplay between decorum and individual choice in this context, as noted in section 5.2. Combined with Gell’s theory of social agency (see §1.5), it underscores the very nature of ancient Egyptian self-presentation: the various strategies and ways in which a tomb owner and his family could create their eternal identities, drawing on their life experiences to select and edit those fronts that were deemed to be the most appropriate and beneficial to their eternal image. The importance of visual communication in performance theory further reflects the primacy of the mode of representation as a vehicle of meaning within ancient Egyptian funerary iconography, particularly regarding the overall kinship position of an individual figure within a scene. In this perspective, kinship terms are just one component of a figure’s front, one that can provide additional meaning, but not one that appears to have dictated the choice of front or its overall form, as this thesis originally proposed.

The fact that this discussion arose out of an analysis of the representation of female relatives confirms their place within a tomb owner's self-presentation. This consequently has implications for how their overall role in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments is understood, which is discussed in the following section.

5.4 Reassessing the Role of Elite Women in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Monuments

The importance of elite women in funerary iconography has been evident throughout this thesis. The analysis of the representational characteristics of each terminological group in Chapter 3 highlights the care and complexity with which female relatives were represented, while the core groups of female relatives identified in Chapter 4 suggest that an individual woman's status could have further impacted on how she was portrayed within her family's monuments. The potential for familial hierarchies between women, focusing on their age and household position, is clear (see §5.1). Iconographic decisions appear to have been made at various stages in the creation of a tomb owner's self-presentation, including whom to depict and in what ways (see §5.1–3), which unequivocally extended to both their female and male relatives.

As noted at the start of Chapter 1, this perspective contrasts significantly with the traditional roles ascribed to elite women within tomb iconography, which focus on their youth, beauty, and sexuality and how this enabled the tomb owner to transition into the afterlife. While female sexuality certainly had a religious role to play within the context of an ancient Egyptian funerary moment, the overwhelming focus on this function has meant that the other roles that elite women played within this cultural sphere have been neglected, particularly with regard to the tomb owner's self-presentation. Moreover, such a perspective has created a gendered dichotomy in the analysis of the functions of

funerary spaces, with men investigated for their role in self-presentation and women primarily associated with the religious purposes of these monuments. The following discussion proposes a more nuanced and gender-balanced perspective.

Due to the purposes of ancient Egyptian funerary monuments, the iconography within these contexts had to fulfil certain mortuary and cultic requirements in order to ensure the tomb owner's transition into the afterlife (e.g. Olabarria 2014, 79). These requirements naturally included cultural restrictions on what was allowed to be shown within such contexts (Baines 2007). By following this decorum—including for example, the standard T-shape architectural layout and appropriate iconographic content—tomb owners not only guaranteed the functionality of their tomb, but they also aligned themselves with other past/contemporary tomb owners who followed the same patterns of representation, showing that they shared the same values and world view (Allon and Navratilova 2017, 20; Den Doncker 2017; see §2.1.2, §2.2.2). These tombs were thus living monuments. Through their placement, architecture, and decoration they could replicate the living relationships between individuals, but they also provided the opportunity to forge new relationships between individuals in death. The fact that tombs could later be adapted and usurped by new owners (e.g. TT 84; PM I.1² 167–70) and that burials could even be relocated to other tombs (e.g. TT 71; PM I.1² 139–42; Dorman 2003, 32–4) shows that these idealising and decorum-ruled monuments could nevertheless incorporate (and in some cases had to accommodate) an element of social flexibility and messiness similar to that of lived social experience (see §1.5, §2.3).

Therefore, the decision to follow standard practices of tomb construction and to decorate one's tomb with the appropriate iconographic motifs was not simply a religious concern, but an inherently social one too. Representational decorum dictated what an ancient Egyptian funerary monument should comprise in order to function successfully,

but this functionality was two-fold. By following decorum, tomb owners placed themselves within an elite community, with specific decisions such as the location and decoration of one's tomb further strengthening their relationships with certain individuals from that community (see §2.2.1, §2.2.2). As Den Doncker highlights, 'it seems relevant to stress how productive the process of copying images can be in building a social identity' (2017, 337; for the role of visitor inscriptions in this context see Ragazzoli 2013).

This is exemplified by the motif in funerary inscriptions often termed 'appeals to the living' (e.g. Shubert 2007). In these texts, tomb owners directly engaged with visitors, urging them to offer to their funerary cult and remember their name (Salvador 2014, 157–8).

Now as for everybody, every scribe, every knowledgeable person, every commoner, and everyone of low status, who shall enter this tomb, ... who shall say a *hṭp-di-nsw* (prayer of) ... for the *k3* of the owner of this tomb, ... He will be an elder of his town and a revered one of his nome, because I am an excellent blessed dead.

(TT 39; PM I.1² 71–4; Shubert 2007, 244)

In this example, the tomb owner tries to persuade visitors to carry out these actions by presenting himself as socially significant, as 'an excellent blessed' one who was able to act for and benefit the visitor (O'Donoghue 1999, 96; Olabarria 2014, 62–7). The only way to achieve this position was to have a funerary monument that enabled the tomb owner to be successfully reborn and continually sustained in the afterlife. Thus we have come full circle. By following traditional religious decorum, the tomb owner showed their sociality and their desire to join the elite tomb owner community, and the tomb owner's sociality—their career and social networks, encapsulated by their name—was what they wished to live on after their death, enduringly embodied by their tomb.

The sole emphasis on the narrowly religious aspects of the representation of elite women therefore neglects the inherently interconnected nature of the functions of these spaces. By being included in an ancient Egyptian funerary monument, elite women not only contributed to this context's religious requirements, but were also presented as part of the tomb owner's (complex) social network, part of the social identity that they wanted others to remember. The tomb owner's whole family, irrespective of gender, formed a crucial aspect of his self-presentation. If it was simply a case of 'add a woman and stir' to be reborn through religious sexuality, then it may not have mattered which female relative was included or necessary to include other information about them. However, as these case studies show, the creators of these monuments often went to great lengths to show female relatives in their appropriate social positions respective to each other, as well as emphasising particular individual women for their wider cultural significance. Restricting the representation of gender categories to just one of the functions of mortuary spaces fails to capture the full iconographic and symbolic potential of these scenes, and perpetuates an underlying androcentricism that has no place in modern scholarship.

This thesis was conceptualised to address this issue in the analysis of elite women within funerary iconography, to build upon past studies that had hinted at the possibility that there was more to the images of elite women (e.g. Robins 1999; Sweeney 2004; Vasiljević 2012), as well as the interconnected nature of the functions of funerary iconography (e.g. Hartwig 2004), by bringing them together into a single discussion, based on an in-depth analysis of primary material, to reclaim the multifaceted nature and significance of the roles that elite women played in ancient Egyptian funerary monuments.

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APPENDICES

A.1 Artefacts

Below are brief discussions of the artefacts associated with the Theban case study (see §1.5.2 and Chapter 3), arranged in alphabetical order. Note there are no artefacts attested for the El-Kab case study.

A.1.1 Book of the Dead, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, A.1956.315.1–4 (pl. 188)

This papyrus roll belonged to *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and was found by Rhind in 1855–1857 in the plain of Sheikh Abd El-Qurna (1862, 135–6; see also Dziobek 1998, 86). It presumably originated from either TT 61 or TT 131. Munro (1990) argues for TT 61, which seems reasonable considering the funerary theme of this monument compared to TT 131 (see §2.1.2). The papyrus roll is very fragmentary and only eleven sections of text now remain (1990, 73), but the names of both *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (PSN 66) and *T3(-ʿ3)-m-ṯw* (PSN 70) survive in filiation formula after *Wsr(-Imn)*'s name and titles in Book of the Dead spells 25, 27–28, and 99B. There may have been more attestations of *T3(-ʿ3)-m-ṯw* and perhaps more female relatives. For example, Munro reconstructs the end of spell 14 as [*nbt-pr T3(-ʿ3)-m*] '[mistress of the house, *T3(-ʿ3)-m*]' (1990, 80). Similarly, the filiation formula on fragment 27-43-30A is lost after *ʿ3-m-ṯw* and so could have also included *T3(-ʿ3)-m-ṯw*. Since these reconstructions are not certain, only the existent attestations have been included here.

A.1.2 Funerary Cones (pl. 189)

There are a total of six funerary cones related to this corpus, all of which only contain inscriptions. Five funerary cones are included in N. de G. Davies and Macadam's catalogue (1957):

No. 1 (pl. 189a) belongs to a man named *Mry(-m3ʿt)* (PSN 98) and names his parents, *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and *I(w)-iw* (PSN 75), in filiation formula (note this is probably the same as Daressy 1893, 273, no. 1). This cone probably originated from TT 61 due to the funerary focus of this monument compared to TT 131 (see §2.1.2).

No. 11 (pl. 189b) belongs to the same *Mry(-m3ʿt)* as no. 1 and includes a woman named *Mʿ-i3* (PSN 117). This cone presumably originated from TT 61 due to the funerary focus of this monument compared to TT 131 (see §2.1.2).

No. 129 (pl. 189c) belongs to the owner of TT 82, *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15), and names his mother, *Int=f I* (PSN 29), in filiation formula. This cone presumably originated from TT 82.

No. 379 (pl. 189d) belongs to a man named *sr h3yt n Imn Imn-m-h3t* ‘elder of the portal of Amun, *Imn-m-h3t*’, presumably the owner of TT82 (PSN 15), and includes a woman named *Nfirt-iry IV* (PSN 118). This cone presumably originated from TT 82.

No. 522 (pl. 189e) belongs to *Imn-m-h3t*, one of the owners of TT 122 (PSN 109), and includes a woman named *Nsy*, presumably the same *Nsy(-nbw)* (PSN 110) who is shown in the tomb (see Shirley 2010b, 297 n.53 for an emendation to N. de G. Davies and Macadam’s transcription; see also Polz 1990, 317 n.76). This cone was found in the first chapel of TT 122 (Shirley 2010b, 284).

The remaining funerary cone is recorded by Daressy (1893):

No. 46 (pl. 189f) belongs to the owner of TT 82, *Imn-m-h3t* (PSN 15), and includes a woman named *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14). This cone presumably originated from TT 82.

A.1.3 Graffiti from Deir El-Bahri

Dziobek (1998) notes two graffiti at Deir El-Bahri relating to the Theban case study. Both are located in tomb MMA 504, which is described as a ‘grotto’ in the cliff face ‘north of the upper terrace’ of the temple of Hatshepsut (Wente 1984, 47; see also PM I.2², 658; Ragazzoli 2017a). One of the graffiti names *Mry(-m3^ct)* (PSN 98) and includes his parents, *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and *nbt-pr T(w)-iw* (PSN 75), in filiation formula (Wente 1984, 51; Dziobek 1998, 121–2; [no photograph]). The other belongs to *3-ph-ti* and names the same *Mry(-m3^ct)* as his father (Wente 1984, 51; Dziobek 1998, 125–6; [no photograph]).

A.1.4 Graffito from TT 60 (pl. 190)

Imn-m-h3t (PSN 15), owner of TT 82, left a painted textual graffito in the tomb of Senet, TT 60 (no. 33; Ragazzoli 2013, 279, 284, 313). It names *Imn-m-h3t* and his parents, *Dhwty-ms I* (PSN 28) and *Int=f I* (PSN 29), in filiation formula.

A.1.5 Magic Bricks of *Imn-m-h3t* (pls. 191–2)

Imn-m-h3t appears to have had a set of magic bricks in his burial chamber in TT 82. N. M. Davies and Gardiner mention the existence of two bricks in their original publication

of this tomb (1915, 24), but do not publish any further details. Three magic bricks are known to me in the literature.

N. de G. Davies' notebook MSS 11.1.92 includes an unprovenanced magic brick made out of unfired clay that names *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 15) and both of his parents, *Dḥwty-ms I* (PSN 28) and *Int=f I* (PSN 29), in filiation formula (A.1.5a; pl. 191).

Scalf notes a magic brick of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* in the Egyptian collection of the Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago that was acquired by Breasted in 1925 (2009, 280; OIM 12289; A.1.5b; pl. 192). The brick measures 14 by 7.5 by 2.5 cm (2009, 281). The text on the upper surface was incised in hieroglyphs in white grid lines and names *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and both of his parents in filiation formula (2009, 280, 294–5).

A rectangular clay base for an unknown figurine, whose current location is unknown, was noted by Newberry in the von Bissing collection in The Hague, Museum Scheurleer (1932, 142; [no photograph]). This is presumably a second magic brick (A.1.5c). Newberry stated that it was inscribed with the name *imy-r pr ḥsb it sš Imn-m-ḥ3t* 'steward, one who counts barley, the scribe, *Imn-m-ḥ3t*' and included both of his parents, *Dḥwty-ms I* (PSN 28) and *nbt-pr Int=f I* (PSN 29), in filiation formula (1932, 142).

A.1.6 Sandstone Relief Fragments from TT 61 (found in TT 68) (pl. 193)

In the publication of TT 68, Seyfried et al. (1991, 97) note three sandstone fragments (nos. 78–80) that could have come from TT 61 based on their material and decoration. One fragment (no. 79) includes a text that mentions *mwt=f T3(-ḥ3)-m-ṯw* (PSN 70), making it highly likely that it came from the nearby TT 61.

Another fragment (no. 78) mentions a *mwt=f Iḥ-ms*. The only *Iḥ-ms* who is attested with this kinship term in this case study is the mother (PSN 22) of *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14), wife of the owner of TT 82. Based on the remaining decoration, the family of *B3kt(-Imn)* does not appear to have been portrayed in TT 61, making it unlikely that it is her mother referred to in this fragment. However, none of the women named *Iḥ-ms* in the core family of *ḥ3-m-ṯw*, *Wsr(-Imn)*, and *Rḥ-mi-rḥ* are attested elsewhere with children. It is possible that this fragment could indicate that the mother of *Wsr(-Imn)*'s grandson, *Imn-m-ḥ3t IV* (PSN 100), was either *Iḥ-ms II* (PSN 76) or *Iḥ-ms III* (PSN 78), but this would then be the only source for this kinship relationship since *Imn-m-ḥ3t IV*'s mother is not attested anywhere else. Therefore, it is very uncertain whether this fragment is related to this family group and so it has not been included.

The third fragment (no. 80) does not include any references to female relatives.

A.1.7 Sandstone Relief Fragment from TT 122

Shirley notes a sandstone fragment from TT 122 that bears the text [*hmt*]=*f mr*[*t=f* ...] ‘his [wife], [his] belov[ed ...]’ (2010b, 297 n.51; [no photograph]). The composition of this fragment is the mirror image of another similar fragment, which led Shirley to suggest that the two artefacts came from ‘opposite sides of the same monument, most likely door jambs’; the other fragment appears to include the title *bity* ‘treasurer’, suggesting that it portrayed the man referenced by *hmt=f* (2010b, 297 n.51).

A.1.8 Shabti of Tw-iw/T^h-htp, Brooklyn Museum, no. 37122E (pls. 194–6)

This *shabti*, inscribed with Book of the Dead spell 6, was made for *nbt-pr T^h-htp ddt.n=s Tw-iw* ‘the mistress of the house, T^h-htp, who is called Tw-iw’ (Brooklyn Museum online catalogue), presumably the same woman depicted in TT 81 (PSN 122). No provenance is recorded for this *shabti* but it probably came from a burial in TT 81.

A.1.9 Statue CG 42118 (also JE 37390; pl. 197)

This statue was found as part of a large cachette in Court I of Karnak Temple, presumably its original provenance, by Legrain in 1903–1904 (PM II², 136, 144; *Urk.* IV 1035–7; Karnak Cachette online database 306). It is made out of black granite and measures 88 cm in height (Dziobek 1998, 93), showing the standing figures of *Wsr(-Imn)* and an untermed woman (Le Grain 1906, 67).

A.1.10 Statue CG 42119 (also JE 37326; pls. 198–9)

This damaged statue was also found as part of a large cachette in Court I of Karnak Temple, presumably its original provenance, by Legrain in 1903–1904 (PM II², 136, 144; *Urk.* IV 1039; Karnak Cachette online database 392). It is made out of limestone, measures 38 cm in height, and is dated by Legrain to the 22nd year of Tuthmosis III (1906, 68; see also Dziobek 1998, 94–5). The statue shows *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) seated on a cuboid chair. On either side of the chair is a carved captioned scene of a seated couple: the right-hand side depicts *ʕ3-m-tw* (PSN 66) and *T3(-ʕ3)-m-tw* (PSN 70), while the left-hand side depicts *Wsr(-Imn)* and *T(w)-iw* (Le Grain 1906, 68; Dziobek 1998, 107).

A.1.11 Statue of *Tti-nfr* from Tuthmosis I's Mortuary Temple

Dziobek notes two statues related to this Theban family group that were found in Tuthmosis I's mortuary temple. One belongs to *Hr* (PSN 116) son of *ʿ3-m-ṯw* (PSN 66). The other is inscribed with the name *Tti-nfr* (PSN 115) and includes her mother in filiation formula: *nbt-pr Tti-nfr m3ʿt-ḥrw ms.n nbt-pr* [...] ‘mistress of the house, *Tti-nfr*, true of voice, whom the mistress of the house [...] bore’ (1998, 113; [no photograph]). The current location of these statues is unknown.

A.1.12 Stela of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* from Gebel El-Silsilah (pls. 200–1)

Porter and Moss noted at least one, possibly four, stelae at Gebel El-Silsilah that were owned by the *Imn-m-ḥ3t* (PSN 15) of TT 82 (V, 215–6). These stelae are located around the entrance of a shrine—‘tomb G’ in Griffith (1889, 96)—whose owner is now unknown, but which includes the titles of Amenhotep II on its doorway. The texts on the attested stela were published by Griffith (1889, 96–7 [text only]; pl. 200) and Lepsius et al. (1897–1913 IV, 91; pl. 201). This study follows the arrangement outlined by Lepsius et al. and the texts transcribed by Griffith. Griffith mentioned three other stela located nearby, two of which are said to depict women and one of which is now too damaged to study (1889, 96–7). No further details are noted for these three stelae and so their ownership and content are uncertain. Caminos and James made no reference to these stela in their publication of Gebel El-Silsilah and only included the attestation of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* in shrine 17 (1963, 58, 103).

Imn-m-ḥ3t's stela, as it is recorded, appears to include two seated couples in the upper register: *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and *B3kt(-Imn)* (PSN 14) on the left, and *Dḥwty-ms I* (PSN 28) and *Int=f I* (PSN 29) on the right. The second register shows two rows of figures, including *ʿḥ-ms* (PSN 22) and [...] *-m-ʿb?* (PSN 57) on the left, and *ṯwy-nfrt* (PSN 58), *T3-mi(?)w* (PSN 59), and *B3t* (PSN 60) on the right. The lower register contains an offering formula naming *Imn-m-ḥ3t* and both of his parents.

A.1.13 Stela Uriage, Grenoble Museum, no.19 (pl. 202)

This round-topped stela is made of granite and probably came from the cult chamber in the pyramid of TT 131 according to Dziobek (1998, 89; PM I.1², 247; *Urk.* IV 1030.3–1041.q). It shows two seated couples in a mirror composition: the left-hand side shows *Wsr(-Imn)* (PSN 74) and *I(w)-iw* (PSN 75) offered to by their son *S3-mnḥt*, while the

right-hand side depicts ʿ3-m-tw (PSN 66) and $T3(-\text{ʿ3})-m-tw$ (PSN 70) offered to by their grandson $Mry(-m3\text{ʿ}t)$ (PSN 98). Below is an offering formula for $Wsr(-Imn)$.

A.1.14 Stelophorous Statue, Berlin Museum, ÄM 2316 (pl. 203)

This painted limestone statue depicts a kneeling man holding a stela on his knees that contains a prayer to the sun made by $sš \text{ḥsb } it \text{ m } šnwt \text{ Imn } Imn-m-ḥ3t$ ‘the scribe, one who counts barley in the storehouse of Amun, $Imn-m-ḥ3t$ ’, presumably the owner of TT 82 (PSN 14). It measures 34.5 cm in height, was reported as having come from an unspecified location in West Thebes, and has been dated to the 18th Dynasty (PM VIII.2, 566, 801-633-102; Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht 1987, 349). This statue presumably originated from TT 82. Beginning at the bottom of the stela and continuing on the base is an inscription naming $\text{ḥmt=f mrt=f } [šm\text{ʿ}]yt \text{ nt } Imn \text{ Mryt-Imn}$ (PSN 19).

A.2 Excluded Figures

The following figures do not meet the criteria for inclusion outlined in section 1.4 and so their exclusion from this study is explained here.

TT 100 scene 15 contains recurring named figures, such as those labelled *Hr* and *st-hmt(?) K-nwt*. These figures appear to be part of the official funeral procession, and so their names (and terms) were arguably part of their official capacity rather than denoting their inclusion in the tomb owner's social network (see Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 168).

The same could be said for the women's booth that is depicted in the funeral processions in TT 100 scene 15 and TT 82 scene 10. Although these booths are often labelled *sh hmwt* (TT 82 and TT 100) and contain figures with titles such as *nbt-pr wr* 'mistress of the great house' (TT 100), these depictions are also taken as part of the official funeral procession rather than representing specific female relatives of the tomb owner (see Hodel-Hoenes 2000, 168; Sweeney 2001; Riggs 2013). These figures are not included in this study but they will be discussed separately in a forthcoming article.

The parallel banqueting scenes 16 and 17 in TT 82 each include offering figures in their lowest register. These offering figures have a range of identification levels, including completely anonymous figures, named figures, and named and termed figures. Only one figure appears to have a kinship term—a man labelled *s3=s* in scene 17—although damage to figures and captions is an issue in both scenes. Since there seems to have been specific decisions whether to identify figures (or not) in these scenes, only those figures who are clearly named and/or termed have been included. Those individuals where damage obscures either the presence and/or content of their caption have not been included. This includes four female figures in scene 16. In scene 17, there is a female figure with the caption *Nst-mwt*. It is, however, unclear whether this caption refers to the figure or to the animal that she leads (Davies and Gardiner 1915, 98), and so this figure has also not been included.

CATALOGUE

The first two sections of this catalogue (C.1–2) serve as aids for navigating the iconographic data contained in the final three sections (C.3–5). These latter catalogue sections contain the data outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, organised by case study and kinship term (see sections C.3–4). Section C.5 contains those figures whose kinship terms are unknown due to damage or publication levels, organised by case study.

C.1 Concordance of Individuals and Sources

This list includes all of the named women included the two case studies, ordered alphabetically.

T^ch-ms (PSN 22; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*hmt*, *mwt/ms.n*), including artefact A.1.12 (*snt*).

T^ch-ms I (PSN 71; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*snt*), TT 100 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

T^ch-ms II (PSN 76; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (unknown), TT 82 (*s3t*), TT 100 (*s3t*), TT 131 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

T^ch-ms III (PSN 78; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*s3t*), TT 82 (*s3t*), TT 100 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

T^ch-ms IV (PSN 83; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).

T^ch-ms V (PSN 124; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*).

T^ch-ms VI (PSN 125; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*).

T^ch-htp (PSN 33; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (unknown).

T^ch-htp I (PSN 108; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 83 (unknown).

T^ch-htp II (PSN 72; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*) and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (unknown).

T^ch-htp III (PSN 123; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*, untermed).

Twy-nfrt (PSN 58; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.12 (*s3t*).

Twy-r[...] (PSN 52; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).

Tb3n3 (PSN 148; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*mwt/ms.n*) and EK 5 (*mwt/ms.n*).

T-pw (PSN 151; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*hmt*) and EK 5 (*hmt*).

Tmn[...] (PSN 138; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermed).

Tmn-m-ipt (PSN 126; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (untermed).

Imn-m-wsht (PSN 77; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*s3t*), TT 82 (*s3t*), TT 100 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

Imn-m-wsht II (PSN 50; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).

Imn-m-hb (PSN 36; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*s3t*).

Imn-m-hb I (PSN 79; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*s3t*, unknown), TT 82 (*s3t*), TT 100 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (unknown).

Imn-htp II (PSN 40; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*s3t*).

Int=f I (PSN 29; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*mwt/ms.n*, unknown), including artefacts A.1.2 (no. 129; *mwt/ms.n*), A.1.4 (*mwt/ms.n*), A.1.5 (*mwt/ms.n*), and A.1.12 (*mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*).

Int=f II (PSN 31; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*mwt it=f*).

It (PSN 88; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*hmt*).

Wrt-dhwty-ms (PSN 27; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).

[*B3?*]*kt* (PSN 133; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*hm<t> s3=f*).

B3kt (PSN 80; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*mwt/ms.n*, unknown), TT 82 (*s3t*), TT 100 (*s3t*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

B3kt II (PSN 41; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*s3t*).

B3kt III (PSN 54; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).

B3kt IV (PSN 104; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermmed).

B3kt(-Imn) (PSN 14; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*hmt*, *s3t (n) snt=f*, unknown), including artefacts A.1.2 (no. 46; *hmt*) and A.1.12 (*hmt*).

Bt (PSN 64; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*mwt/ms.n*, *hmt*, unknown).

Bst (PSN 60; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.12 (*s3t*).

P3-nht (PSN 127; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (untermmed).

M3^ct-nfirt (PSN 91; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (untermmed).

M^c-i3 (PSN 117; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in artefact A.1.2 (no. 11; *snt*).

Mwt-nfirt (PSN 85; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).

Mwt-nfirt I (PSN 106; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermmed).

Mryt (PSN 63; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*hmt*, *snt*).

Mryt-Imn (PSN 19; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.14 (*hmt*).

Nb-iwnwt (PSN 82; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).

Nbw-m-y-dh (PSN 180; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t nt snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*).

Nbw-m-nhbt (PSN 188; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

Nbw-m-ḥ[...] (PSN 168; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).
Nbw-m-ḥb II (PSN 178; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).
Nbw-r[...] (PSN 146; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 5 (unknown).
Nbt-t3wy (PSN 145; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 5 (*s3t*).
Nbt-t3wy I (PSN 176; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).
Nfirt-iry (PSN 94; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).
Nfirt-iry I (PSN 23; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).
Nfirt-iry II (PSN 47; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).
Nfirt-iry III (PSN 56; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*s3t sn=f*).
Nfirt-iry IV (PSN 118; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.2 (no. 379; *ḥmt*).
Nfr-ḥ3wt (PSN 190; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermed).
Nḥm-iꜥy (PSN 191; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermed).
Nsy(-nbw) (PSN 110; Kinship Diagram 2) shown in TT 122 (untermed, unknown).
Nsy-nbwt (PSN 130; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*).
R-iw-rsti (PSN 105; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermed).
R-int (PSN 150; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 5 (*mwt/ms.n*).
Ḥ-pw (PSN 181; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (untermed).
Ḥnwt (PSN 135; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).
Ḥnwt-wrt (PSN 162; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (unknown).
Ḥnwt-n-mhy (PSN 161; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).
Ḥnwt-r-nḥḥ (PSN 157; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*ḥmt*, untermed).
Ḥnwt-t3wy I (PSN 86; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).
Ḥnwt-t3wy II (PSN 93; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t s3t=f*).
Ḥ3-tw (PSN 107; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermed).
Ḥnm-mt (PSN 158; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (untermed).
S3t-Imn (PSN 51; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*s3t*, unknown).
S3t-Imn II (PSN 141; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 5 (*mwt/ms.n*, *ḥmt*).
S3t-Imn III (PSN 154; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*) and EK 5 (*s3t*).
S3t-Imn IV (PSN 179; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).
S3t-Imn V (PSN 184; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*).
S3t-dḥwty (PSN 121; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*mwt/ms.n*, untermed).
Sn-rs (PSN 131; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*).
Sn-snb (PSN 128; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*snt*).
Sn-snb I (PSN 136; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

Sn-snb II (PSN 182; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (untermmed).

Snt-nfr (PSN 112; Kinship Diagram 2) shown in TT 122 (*s3t*).

Snty-htp (PSN 73; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*) and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*s3t*).

Str (PSN 81; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).

K33 (PSN 137; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (untermmed).

Km (PSN 152; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*mwt/ms.n, hmt*, untermmed) and EK 5 (*hmt*).

T3[...] (PSN 156; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

T3(-s3)-m-tw (PSN 70; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*mwt/ms.n*), TT 81 (*snt*), TT 82 (*hmt*), TT 100 (*hmt*), TT 122 (*hmt*), TT 131 (*mwt/ms.n, hmt*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*hmt*, unknown), including artefacts A.1.1 (*mwt/ms.n*), A.1.6 (*mwt/ms.n*), A.1.10 (*hmt*), and A.1.13 (*hmt*).

T3-idy (PSN 159; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*mwt nt hmt=f*).

T3-mi(?)w (PSN 59; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.12 (*s3t*).

T3-nt-isrw (PSN 129; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (untermmed).

T3-h^ct (PSN 84; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 100 (*s3t*).

T3-hnmst (PSN 175; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

T3-ddt=s (PSN 166; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

Ty (PSN 187; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

Tw-iw/T^ch-htp (PSN 122; Kinship Diagram 3) shown in TT 81 (*hmt*, untermmed, unknown), including artefact A.1.8 (untermmed).

Tw-iw-nfrt (PSN 49; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*snt*).

Tt[i] (PSN 55; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (unknown).

Tti-nfr (PSN 115; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in artefact A.1.11 (untermmed).

T(w)-iw (PSN 75; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in TT 61 (*hmt*, unknown), TT 82 (*hmt*), TT 100 (*hmt*), TT 131 (*hmt*), and Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17 (*hm<t> s3=f*, unknown), including artefacts A.1.2 (no. 1; *mwt/ms.n*), A.1.3 (*mwt*), A.1.10 (*hmt*), and A.1.13 (*hmt*).

Tw-iw-nfrt (PSN 25; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in TT 82 (*hmt*).

Tw-pw I (PSN 167; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

Tw-pw II (PSN 183; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (untermmed).

D-tw-ti (PSN 185; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*snt nt mwt nt mwt=f*).

D3-b (PSN 186; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (*s3t*).

[...]i[r?]y (PSN 134; Kinship Diagram 1) shown in Gebel El-Silsilah shrine 17
(unknown).

[...]pw (PSN 177; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (unknown).

[...]m-^cb? (PSN 57; Kinship Diagram 4) shown in artefact A.1.12 (*s3t*).

[...]m-hb I (PSN 153; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 5 (*s3t*).

[...]sr (PSN 160; Kinship Diagram 5) shown in EK 3 (unknown).

C.2 Catalogue Conventions

The following conventions are used throughout the catalogue sections C.3–5:

General Abbreviations

N – no
NV – detail's presence is no longer visible due to damage
NT – detail is present, but its type is uncertain
UN – detail's presence is unknown due to damage or publication level
Y – yes
? – uncertain
(...) – extra information, mainly used to note material on artefacts (A)

Scene Type

Ad - adoration
AP – Abydos pilgrimage
INS – inscription
FD – false door
FF – fishing and fowling
FP – funerary procession
FT – funerary text
H – hunt
O – offering
OD – official duty
OT – offering table (&B – with banquet)
S – stela
St - statue

Caption

A – address

O – to the individual
T – of the individual to another figure
A – of another figure to another figure
FT – funerary text
I – identification
J – joint (F – first; L – last)
LC – long caption
OF – offering formula
J – joint; S – shared
PE – part of epithets
F – first; L – last; O – only person
S – direct speech
Y – caption owned by individual

Pictorial Figures

C – cap wig
B – with braids
CH – clapping hands
D – damaged
E – equal to
P – partner; O – other figures
EC – embellished collar
EMP – embracing partner
EN – enveloping wig
D – with detailed hair
G – good preservation
H – holding (+ object)
HTC – hands to chest
1 – one hand; 2 – two hands

HTM – hand to mouth
HTS – hands to side
 1 – one hand; 2 – two hands
IC – incense cone
LF – lotus flower headdress
MD – minor damage
O – offering (+ object)
P – playing (+ object)
PC – plain collar
R – register
 UR – upper register
 LR – lower register, etc.
 subR – sub-register
 UsubR – upper sub-register
 subsubR – sub-sub-register, etc.
ROT – reaching to offering table
SB – sheath dress with straps
 that expose a breast
SD – sheath dress
SS – sheath dress with straps
T – tripartite wig
 D – detailed hair

W – whole wall
+0 – baseline level
+1 – +1 level

Object

C – cloth
CS – clapping sticks
DF – double flute
HA – harp
LF – lotus flower
M – *menat*
OT – offering table
S – *sistrum*
V – vessel

Physical Contact

> – individual instigates the physical contact
< – another figure instigates the physical contact
= – reciprocal physical contact

C.3 Theban Case Study

This data is summarised in sections 3.1.1, 3.2.1, 3.3.1, 3.4.1, 3.5.1, 4.1.1, and 4.2.1. Due to the nature of the material, this catalogue entry has been supplied electronically, either as downloadable files (online version) or on the attached USB (hard-copy version). Please note this file uses the transliteration font *LingAeg* transliteration TTF Umschrift_Ttn.

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This data is summarised in sections 3.1.2, 3.2.2, 3.3.2, 3.4.2, 3.5.2, 4.1.2, and 4.2.2. Due to the nature of the material, this catalogue entry has been supplied electronically, either as downloadable files (online version) or on the attached USB (hard-copy version). Please note this file uses the transliteration font *LingAeg* transliteration TTF Umschrift_Ttn.

C.5 Figures with Unknown Kinship Terms

This section includes those figures with unknown kinship terms, making it unclear to which terminological group they belong. Due to the nature of the material, this catalogue entry has been supplied electronically, either as downloadable files (online version) or on the attached USB (hard-copy version). Please note this file uses the transliteration font *LingAeg* transliteration TTF Umschrift_Ttn.

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PLATES

In order to make it easier to compare between the iconographic material studied here, the plates have been provided electronically, either as downloadable files (online version) or on the attached USB (hard-copy version).