

THE ROLE OF THE CHANTRESS (*šm'yt*) IN ANCIENT EGYPT

BY

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
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Graduate Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations
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The Role of the Chantress (ḥm'yt) in Ancient Egypt. A doctoral dissertation by Suzanne Lynn Onstine, submitted to the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, 2001.

The specific nature of the title *ḥm'yt* or “chantress”, which occurred from the Middle Kingdom onward, is investigated through the use of a database cataloging 861 women who held the title. Sorting the data based on a variety of details has yielded patterns regarding their chronological and demographical distribution. The changes in the social status and numbers of women who bore the title indicate that the Egyptians perceived the role and status of the title differently through time.

Information on the titles of the chantresses’ family members has allowed the author to make inferences concerning the social status of the women who held the title “chantress”. Middle Kingdom title-holders were of modest backgrounds and were quite rare. Eighteenth Dynasty women were of the highest ranking families. The number of women who held the title was also comparatively small. Nineteenth Dynasty women came from more modest backgrounds and were more numerous. Women of the Third Intermediate Period were nearly all from priestly families at Thebes and the large number indicates the strength of the cult of Amun. The title occurs sporadically after the Third Intermediate Period, but is known through the Ptolemaic era.

From the earliest occurrences of the title until the latest, it is clear that the title was closely associated with the state religious hierarchy. It has been shown that during the New Kingdom the *ḥm'yt* participated in state religious rites including processions, daily temple rituals, and the *Sed*-festival ceremony. This association with the state religious apparatus also had political implications. The author has interpreted the fluctuating numbers of women who held the title, along with their historical context, to conclude that, at times, the title may have been used by the religious authorities as a tool to involve more families in the temple systems and the local or national power structures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Journal abbreviations follow the standard used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (LÄ)

BM -- British Museum

Bruyère, Rapport -- Bruyère, B. 1933. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1930) and 1952 (1945-1946, 1946-1947). Cairo: IFAO.

CAA -- *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*

CAT. MON. -- Mariette, A. 1880. *Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*. Paris: L'imprimerie nationale.

CG -- Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.

Chicago Assyrian Dictionary -- Oriental Institute. 1956. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

DB # or DB #s -- a reference or references to individuals named in the database

D.L. A. -- Daressy's list number from Bab el Gusus cache

EEF/EES -- Egypt Exploration Fund/Society

ERA -- Egyptian Research Account

HTFES -- *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* vols 7-12

KRI -- *Ramesside Inscriptions*, K.A. Kitchen. Oxford

LÄ -- *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz.

Lieblein no. -- entry number in Lieblein, J. 1979. *Dictionnaire de Noms Hiéroglyphiques /Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*. Hildesheim: Olms. Originally published 1871/1892, Leipzig.

LD -- *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. C.R. Lepsius. 6 vols.

LRL -- Wente, E. 1967a. *Late Ramesside Letters*. SAOC 33. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. and Černý, J. 1939. *Late Ramesside Letters*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

PM -- *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, reliefs, and Paintings*. B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss 2nd ed. 7 vols.

TT -- designation for Theban tombs (followed by number)

Urk. II -- Sethe, K., 1904. *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischenzeit II*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche.

Urk. IV -- Sethe, K. and W. Helck. 1906-1958. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des aegyptische Altertums*, vol. IV. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche.

Wb -- Erman, A., and H. Grapow. 1926. *Wörterbuch der Aegyptische Sprache*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Buchhandlung.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GOAL STATEMENT

The goal of this study is to determine what it meant to be a *šmꜣyt*, or chantress, in ancient Egypt. Very little is known about the specifics of the title or the types of people who held it. Surprisingly, there is also a male version of the title, *šmꜣ*, but the female version is by far the more prevalent. It is the women who held this title that will be the focus of this study.

Studies investigating the status of non-royal women are a fairly recent phenomenon.¹ While the title “god’s wife of Amun” and other high-ranking titles have received attention,² lesser positions such as that of the *šmꜣyt* have remained uninvestigated. In fact, one recent work states: “Le titre de *šmꜣyt* apparaît dès la 18^e dynastie et malgré sa profusion n’a fait l’objet d’aucune étude approfondie” (Naguib, 1990: 236). Since so many of the women of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period held the title, this lack of research neglects a large segment of the population. The role was neither obscure nor unusual in ancient times. The abundance of data from private tombs and monuments concerning the women who held the title *šmꜣyt* makes these women ideal subjects for a study of the status of non-royal women within their cultural and historical contexts.

Blackman’s “On the position of women in the ancient Egyptian hierarchy”³ is one of the earliest studies to deal with a number of women’s titles. It offers, however, little specific information about the role of the *šmꜣywt*. No distinction is made between the various feminine musical titles of the New Kingdom. Indeed, because of the frequent use of the generic translations ‘singer’ and ‘musician’ that are applied to a variety of different Egyptian titles (e.g. *šmꜣyt*, *ḥsyṯ*, *nrt*, *ḥnrt*), it is often difficult to determine when *šmꜣyt* is the original title used in a

text in works where the Egyptian terms are not provided. That this basic translation is applied to diverse feminine titles associated with music and the temple system is an indication of the present lack of understanding of the actual roles of women possessing these titles. The various titles must have meant more than just 'singer', or it seems likely that the Egyptians would not have used more than one title for this position in the temple hierarchy. Nor would they have put the differing titles in the same contexts and rubrics as complementary, yet separate, activities (e.g., the story of Pepi II and the General, the tomb of Kheruef, P. Westcar).⁴ Chapter 2 further defines the differences between the various musical titles based on linguistic and iconographic evidence.

The material presented in Chapter 3 demonstrates that the role of the *šmꜥywt* in religious ritual was to make music by singing, chanting, or shaking the sistrum and *menyt*, as they are frequently depicted doing this. In groups they are occasionally designated as a choir, or *šspt dhꜥn*, in the accompanying rubric (e.g., TT 86). It is also clear that women who were *šmꜥywt* also held other musical and nonmusical titles.⁵

Although the title *šmꜥyt* is best attested in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, a few isolated Middle Kingdom examples have been documented (Ward, 1982: 175). There is also one Old Kingdom attestation of the word *šmꜥw* used to describe a group. *Šmꜥywt* are also known from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. A full discussion of the relevant social and historical contexts is found in Chapter 5.

1.II QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED

- Does the title *šmꜥyt* imply a religious vocation or was it an honorific title?
- How was the title obtained?
- Who were the families of the *šmꜥywt* and what was their social status?

- What were the differences between *šmꜣywt* and other musicians (e.g., *hnrwt*, *hsywt*)?
- Since the majority of cases documented were women, what was the male role?
- Which gods did they serve and at which cult centers?
- What were their responsibilities in cult practices?
- Did those holding the title usurp the duties or role of a previously existing office or offices?
- When did the title come into being and when did it cease to be used?
- Are there patterns in the depictions and descriptions of *šmꜣywt* in art and writing (literature, private letters, tomb inscriptions) that give clues to the answers to any of these questions?

1.III METHODOLOGY AND SOURCE MATERIALS

1.III.1 Methodology

The issues just listed can be elucidated by a thorough investigation of the familial and cult affiliations of the individual *šmꜣywt* who have been documented. Information on the families of *šmꜣywt* derive from a variety of published sources ranging in date from the late 12th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period. Data on 861 women from a wide variety of locales and time periods are included in the database constructed for this study. Among the characteristics charted are the titles of a woman's parents, husband, and children, as well as the provenience, date, and current location of the object from which the information is drawn, along with pertinent publication information. Due to the fact that women seldom had their own tombs or stelae, most genealogical data are provided by the monuments of their fathers, husbands, and sons. The titles held by these men, and in some cases by female relations, are an indication of the chantresses' social standing. The familial affiliations recorded in this way also contribute to a determination of

whether or not the title *šmꜣyt* was inherited or otherwise influenced by a family's cult affiliations.

An analysis of the data can be found in Chapter 6.

1.III.2 Types of Source Material

A wide variety of source material provide the raw data for this study. In order to offset the potential bias created by drawing the references from published artifacts, a wide variety of artifact types and publication materials were consulted. This also helped to mitigate any bias created by the prevalence or absence of certain material types in the archaeological record in any given era.

The portrayal of the *šmꜣywt* differed from context to context. Tomb inscriptions or stelae rarely depict individual *šmꜣywt* engaged in temple duties, emphasizing, rather, their role in the family. Literature, however, describes their activities, and temple reliefs portray the *šmꜣywt* as part of ceremonies that took place within the temple walls. It is only through an examination of various contexts that a complete picture can be obtained.

1.III.2.A Tombs

The decorated tombs of the New Kingdom are an excellent source of information on the *šmꜣywt* and their families. In some cases complex genealogies can be drawn, and relationships between important families traced based on the data available from this source. The tombs also occasionally depict the festivals in which the chantresses took part.

1.III.2.B Stelae

The extant stelae discovered at cult sites like Thebes, Abydos, and Memphis give clues to familial status and relationships. Occasionally, a woman dedicated a stela herself. However, men who included female relatives in the dedication of their stelae were more common. Most of the stelae recorded here were dedicated by fathers, brothers, husbands, or sons of *šmꜥywt*. Many stelae are unprovenienced, and of those that are provenienced, relatively few come from provincial sites. This situation creates a paucity of evidence about the role of the *šmꜥywt* at secondary cult sites such as el Kab or the cities of the Delta.

1.III.2.C Statues

Statues carry inscriptions and exhibit iconography similar to those found on stelae. Many, however, are also unprovenienced. Occasionally, the individuals named in the inscription can be matched to known tomb owners or historical figures and thus tentatively placed geographically. When this is possible, the additional information on specific families and their titles can create a more complete account of individual families.

1.III.2.D Papyri

Papyri of the Book of the Dead represent another source where the *šmꜥywt* are attested. Among the 44 papyri in the British Museum where the title *šmꜥyt* is mentioned, the majority were owned by women (Quirke, 1993). Only a few of these examples, however, mention other members of the papyrus owner's family. Four papyri belonged to men who listed titles and other personal information along with a mention of their *šmꜥyt* wives. Information on both husband and wife are important for placing the wife in family and social contexts. The 21st Dynasty papyri

documented by Niwiński (1989b) are an especially good source of information for determining that the title was popular during the Third Intermediate Period. These funerary papyri and the accompanying coffins are virtually the only source of information on family relationships in the Third Intermediate Period (see comments by Bierbrier, 1975: 45).

1.III.2.E Funerary Equipment

Shabtis and coffins provide valuable information on *šmꜣywt*. Niwiński's work on the 21st Dynasty coffins of Thebes demonstrates that the title was common during the Third Intermediate Period. Most of these coffins came from Deir el Bahari caches such as that at Bab el Gusus. These caches provide a wealth of information for the families of the High Priests of Amun. This concentration of large numbers of extant papyri and coffins from one location skews the evidence in favor of the title being considered a Theban phenomenon. Chapter 5 deals with the historical implications of this preponderance of Theban attestations during the Third Intermediate Period.

1.III.2.F Literary and inscriptional material (nonfunerary)

Individual *šmꜣyt* and groups of *šmꜣyw(r)* are known from a variety of document types such as letters, stories, and official decrees. Their inclusion in legal proceedings and stories gives depth to our knowledge of their activities. Letters also provide an idea of their social surroundings and concerns. In two official decrees (one from the 18th Dynasty and one from the Ptolemaic Period) an indication of the continuity of the title can be seen. Chapter 4 presents this evidence grouped by genre and Appendix C outlines the content of the letters discussed.

1.IV CONCLUSION

The forms of the available source materials have dictated the types of questions that can be answered. One important issue that must remain unanswered is whether or not the poorest segment of society participated in religious ceremonies as *šmꜣwt*. Because the poorer levels of society are not typically represented in the archaeological record by the types of monuments that give titles, the existence of non-elite *šmꜣwt* is not ascertainable. Therefore, it is primarily the women from elite and lesser elite families that make up this study.⁶

Since there is no extant rule book or guide explaining the requirements of the title *šmꜣwt*, a research framework that takes into consideration the limitations of the source material must be constructed so that patterns of behavior may be inferred. The database used in this research is one such tool. Documenting all that is known about these women as individuals can shed light on their behavior as a group and, it is hoped, answer the questions posed here.

¹ See, for instance, recent works by Tyldesley (1994), Robins (1993b), Watterson (1991), Lesko (1987), Bryan (1985).

² See Naguib (1990), Gitton (1984, 1979), and Graefe (1981).

³ *JEA* 7 (1921) p. 8-30.

⁴ See Section 4.IV for the Pepi II story and P. Westcar. See Section 3.III.4.A for a description of the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192).

⁵ E.g., Ipay and Neith (DB #472 and #481) were both *mnꜥt nsw* as well as *šmꜣwt*.


⁶ The elite group includes women from non-royal families whose male relations held very high positions in civil, religious, and military administration of Egypt. These men would have reported directly to the king and formed an inner circle of courtiers or advisors. Women of the lesser elite group had male relations who worked directly for those in the elite category as overseers of small local institutions, military officers, and middle grade priests and scribes. Those who were not in managerial position can also be called dependent specialists; skilled craftsmen who provided goods for an elite market (e.g. the workmen at Deir el-Medina) fall into this category. The families in both groups would have been literate, and had access to enough wealth to leave behind inscribed monuments.

CHAPTER 2



UNDERSTANDING ŠM^c






2.1 DEFINING THE TERM ŠM^c

2.1.1 Linguistic Considerations

An investigation of the term ŠM^c¹ begins with Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* and the *Wörterbuch*. The word is written with the Gardiner sign list sign M27 , the sedge plant crossed with an arm. ŠM^c is defined as either “Upper Egypt” (and the adjectives derived from that meaning) or “to sing” (and related derivatives). The two uses of the words seem to be unrelated homophones. The *Wörterbuch* defines ŠM^c as “to sing, to clap hands” (*Wb* IV, 478). Therefore a ŠM^cyt can be loosely defined as a female singer or hand clapper (*Wb* IV, 479-480). The title ŠM^cyt, often spelled without the final “yt”, is customarily translated as “singer”, “songstress”, and “chantress”.

Two early examples – one from the Old Kingdom and one from the Middle Kingdom – show the word ŠM^c clearly associated with music making and dancing. In the Old Kingdom tomb of Djau at Deir el Gabrawi (Davies, 1902: pt. 2 pl. VII) may be found the earliest reference to the ŠM^cw as a group. Vignettes depicting the funeral cortege include two rows of dancers and chanters. The text between the two rows reads: *hbt in hnr ŠM^c in ŠM^cw*. This can be translated as “dancing by the *Khener*, chanting by the chanters”. A row of women, depicted with rings at the end of their queues, are probably the *Khener*, since they are shown dancing. In the row below them, the men, who raise their hands as if clapping, are probably the ŠM^cw since their actions resemble those of ŠM^cw from other tombs where groups of individuals are clearly identified as such (e.g., Kenamun [TT 93], Davies, 1930: pls. XXXIX, XL and Chapter 3.III.3.B). In the

Middle Kingdom tomb of Khety at Beni Hassan (Newberry, 1893: v.2, pl. 7) a scene depicting a row of men singing and dancing in the funeral procession is accompanied by a rubric naming the *šm^cw* where it is spelled with uniliteral signs  (Newberry, 1893: v.2, pl.7). A phonetic spelling of *šm^c* is once also used in the tomb of Djau (Davies, 1902: pt. 2 pl. VII). This contrasts with the later New Kingdom spelling of the word, which commonly uses  as the primary phonetic element of the word.

The determinatives used at the end of *šm^c* or *šm^cyt* often provide visual clues to the meaning of the word. In Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom writings, a determinative is seldom used (Deir el Gabrawi, Beni Hassan, Vienna stela ÄS 132²). With the New Kingdom title, however, the determinative is usually a woman. The seated man with hand to mouth  is also commonly used in conjunction with the seated woman when *šm^cyt* is used as a title. When depicting groups of *šm^cw*,  may also appear with the indication for a plural word .³ On one mid-21st Dynasty papyrus, the *šm^c* hieroglyph (Gardiner sign list sign M27) holds a sistrum (DB ref. #373). In an inscription at Edfu dating to the Ptolemaic Period, the determinative depicts a woman holding a circular frame drum⁴  (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat, 1987: 329). A few examples use the tusk sign , which is usually associated with activities related to the mouth (DB #674, #375). The fact that the determinatives used are associated with the mouth and with music supports the idea that *šm^c* was a vocal and musical activity.

Ranke notes two Middle Kingdom instances where *šm^c* was used as a personal name (*šm^ct*, CG 20458c, *PN I*, 327.26 and *šm^c*, CG 20737c, *PN I*, 327.25). Both references are to women, but neither held any musical titles.

2.I.2 Comparison with Other Languages

Independent evidence of the word's meaning can be obtained by comparing the Egyptian meaning of /šm^c/ with meanings in other related ancient languages. This comparison can make the nuances of a word clearer. This type of investigation, coupled with a study of the iconography and gestures associated with the word (see below), provides a broader base for interpretation.

Hebrew, Akkadian, and Arabic all use the same root verb šm^c in ways similar to that of the Egyptian šm^c. In Hebrew the most basic meaning of the verb šm^c is “to hear”, but can also mean “to make music” (Hickman, 1958: 125; Kolari, 1947: 89-90). Kolari states that the Hebrew verb šm^c means “schallen lassen” (ibid., 21), “hören lassen” (ibid.: 89), “tönen lassen” (ibid.: 90), or “klingen lassen” (ibid.: 91). The word is associated with various instruments. A related root also occurs in Akkadian as šēmû, with a basic meaning “to hear” (*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* vol. 13, pt.2, 287-288). The Arabic word for “to hear” is sm^c, which, over time, may have undergone a phonetic shift from /š/ to /s/, but has the same root meanings. Each language has a variant passive participle meaning “one who is heard”, which is probably the most basic underlying meaning for the ancient Egyptian word as well.


The Greek form of šm^cywt found in the Canopus Decree is Των ἱερῶν Παρθένων “the holy virgins”⁵ (Urk. II, 150 Section 27, line 250). This may be why modern translations have read šm^cyt n ʾmn as “virgin of Amun” (Wilkinson, 1883, ii: 107 n. 365). At the opposite end of the spectrum, the title šm^cyt has been occasionally translated as concubine or prostitute.⁶ Both translations ignore its musical implications. This interpretation may originate from Devéria's use of the word “pallacide”, or concubine, in his translation of the term šm^cyt for the catalogue of manuscripts in the Louvre (1881, reprint 1980).⁷ Even Bonnet states the following about singers in general: “Manche von ihnen, wenn auch keineswegs alle, werden zugleich Pallakiden gewesen

sein" (1952: 490, quoting Blackman, 1921: 15). Bonnet never cites any specific evidence of sexual activity or concubinage by this group of women, however. More recently, Naguib asserts that there were *šm'ywt* who were prostitutes or concubines. The evidence offered, however, does not support this assertion (1990: 236; see discussion below).



Perhaps the documented customs of ritual prostitution in Mesopotamia and sacred virginity in Greece and Rome have influenced scholarly interpretations of women's roles and led to the application of those concepts where they do not belong. In fact, there is no basis for associating either sexual activity or celibacy with the title *šm'ywt* (see below).

2.II ICONOGRAPHY AND GESTURES

The study of the iconography and gestures of musicians are a necessary part of any attempt to define the term *šm'*. As discussed above, these gestures often occur as determinatives for the word itself. The depiction of these gestures as a part of the musicians' iconography should contribute to a more precise understanding of the word.

In the context of this study there are two gestures that will recur: clapping—both arms held in front of the body with palms together, either straight or slightly bent ; and vocalizing—this gesture may represent calling, reciting, singing, or other vocal activity, where one arm is extended and the other is brought close to the ear. A variant of the latter consists of one hand outstretched while the other hangs at the side, as in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93, Davies, 1930: pl. XL). Groups of *šm'ywt* are frequently depicted making these two gestures.

The clapping gesture of two outstretched, raised hands is usually interpreted as a way of directing or keeping rhythm (Müller, 1937: 87-90). It frequently appears in drum beating scenes.⁸ It is also the characteristic gesture of Meret, a goddess associated with music (Guglielmi, 1991:

18ff; Kees, 1912: 103ff; see also Chapter 3.II). Due to the idiosyncrasies of artistic convention, in some scenes the gesture appears to involve only one arm. In these cases, however, the absence of the other arm and the body's posture make it clear that two arms are meant.⁹ The words for some musical activities can also be determined by either Gardiner sign list sign D36  or D41 . Because the spelling of *šm*^c usually includes the arm sign D36, it was apparently considered unnecessary to use either of these signs as a determinative for the word.


The vocalizing gesture, which positions one hand to the ear and one outstretched, is also known in modern Egyptian singing and recitation (Hickman, 1961: fig. 50; Blackman, 1927: 82, 289).¹⁰ Individuals portrayed in this pose are frequently present in ancient scenes depicting music making and dancing. It is therefore assumed that the gesture represents singing or rhythmic vocalization accompanying music. This gesture occurs in pictures of harpists, clarinetists, and flutists, and it is different in form from the more detailed hand signing and finger positions associated with cheironomy (Guglielmi, 1991: 20, n. 116).¹¹

2.III TERMS RELATED TO *šm*^c THAT CLARIFY ITS DEFINITION

It is generally accepted that in addition to the priests there were various singers, musicians, and other employees who performed the daily tasks necessary to ensure the proper daily functioning of the temple (David, 1981: 17). In scholarship, the terms *ḥsy*, *ḥnr*, *dḥn*, *iḥyt*, *ssšt*, and *šḥmyt* are often ambiguously translated as “musician” without further differentiation. This variety of titles suggests, however, that each was associated with a different activity. In addition, these titles may be found listed together in groups (e.g., the Canopus Decree and P. Westcar), further suggesting that distinct activities are indicated. The terms do have more specific meanings and each must be discussed briefly in order to clarify how they differ from the word *šm*^c.

2.III.1 Discussion of *ḥsy*

Until now, the difference between the two words most commonly translated as “singer”, namely *ḥsy* and *šmꜥyt*, has not been clear (Teeter, 1993: 243, n. 88). However, usage of *ḥsy* and *šmꜥ* reveals a subtle difference in meaning between the two words. Although both words refer to types of vocal music, they occur in different contexts and suggest different interpretations.

The word *ḥs* has two related yet separate meanings: “to praise” (*Wb* III, 156-158) and “to sing” (*Wb* III, 164-165, esp. 165.5). It is from this perspective that the problem of inconsistent translations in publications arises. The two meanings are usually orthographically indistinguishable by the Middle Kingdom (Brunner-Traut, 1992: 44) but may occasionally be differentiated by the use of the Gardiner sign (D41)  in contexts meaning singing (Troy, 1986: 88). This distinction, however, is not consistently made.¹² A person designated *ḥsy n N* may therefore be called “singer of N” or “praised/favorite/beloved of N”. For example, compare the translations of this formula in Theban tombs 74 and 68. Brack and Brack (1977: 87-88) translate *ḥsy* as “gelobte” in TT 74 while Seyfried (1991: 122) translates it as “Sängerin” in TT 68. Where *ḥsy* is followed by *n pꜣꜥ n Mwt*, as in TT 68, it is usually rendered “singer” because *ꜥ* can be translated as either “choir” or “domain” (*Wb* I, 159; and, e.g., Piankoff, 1936: 58). The titles in TT 74, however, are more complex. The woman Mutiry was a “singer (or favorite) of Hathor, chantress of Nehemet-away in the midst of Khemenu, chantress of Thoth lord of Khemenu, and lady-in-waiting” (*ḥsy n Ḥwt-ḥr, šmꜥyt nt Nḥmt ꜥwꜣy ḥrt-ib ḥmnw, šmꜥyt n ḏḥwty nb ḥmnw, ḥkrt nsw*) (Brack and Brack, 1977: 87-88; Whale, 1989: 192-193). Her titles indicate she was a chantress for the gods Thoth and Nehmet-away, and so a case could be made for translating *ḥsy*

as either “singer” or “favorite” of Hathor. In scenes representing music the choice between the two translations is usually clear, but, as this example demonstrates, this is not so in titles.¹³

A cursory examination of the use of *hsy* suggests that it is more commonly used than *šm*^c, especially over a longer period of time. *Hsy* is the word used to describe music making in various contexts, especially scenes that involve harpists who sing to their own music, and scenes where singers accompany a harpist or mixed ensemble. The occurrence of the word *hsy* in conjunction with scenes depicting harpists and accompanying singers are known from the Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, and Late Period (Manniche, 1991a: figs. 11, 13, 30, 48, 73, pl. 3). The Ramesside tomb chapel of Raia, Overseer of Singers of Ptah (*imy-r hsw n Pth*) at Saqqara shows him playing the harp before the god Ptah (Martin, 1985: pl. 22).¹⁴ This supports the idea that *hsy* meant singing in accompaniment to a stringed instrument. The scenes in this tomb also demonstrate that *hsy* was used in a variety of settings. A number of men in Raia’s funeral procession are labeled *hsy nfr Pth*. These are probably the men of whom Raia was the overseer.

The word *hsy* is additionally used to describe the vocalists who accompany flutists and clarinetists (Manniche 1991a: figs. 15, 17, 19). Numerous examples confirm that the word *hsy* designates an activity that occurred in conjunction with musical performance involving a variety of instruments. P. Anastasi IV line 12.2-3 (Gardiner, 1937: 47) illustrates that the vocal accompaniment could be to another musician and not simply singing along to one’s own playing: *sb3.tw.k (r) hsy m-s3 w3dnl* “you were taught (to) sing with the flute” and *hsy m-s3 n3-t3h* “sing with the [unknown wooden instrument]”.¹⁵ A block from East Karnak (Gohary, 1992: pl. CVII [3]) depicts a group of singers, one playing the lute, labeled *hsw*. *Hsy* is also seen in the Ramesside tomb of Tjay (TT 23) where a lutist is called *hsy n p3 c n Tmn* (KRI IV, 114.6-.12).

Women are often identified as *ḥsy t nt Mwt* or *ḥsy t nt Hwt-hr* (cf., Troy, 1986: 88) where *ḥsy t* is consistently rendered “singer”.¹⁶ In most cases where the phrase *ḥsy n* applies to men it is translated as “favored by” or “favorite of” followed by the name of a deity.¹⁷ For example, men are frequently designated *ḥsy n ntr nfr* or *ḥsy n nb.f*. The exceptions to this translation are the instances where men are actually portrayed making music. There they are called “singer”, as in Raia’s tomb. When the phrase is applied to women, however, it is most commonly translated as “singer”, even when they are not shown holding sistra and are not implicated as musicians in other ways.

The term *ḥsy* is also found used in the phrase *ḥsy(t) n p3 ʿ n Mwt*, which can be translated as “singer of the domain of Mut”, meaning the goddess’ temple complex (Faulkner, 1991: 36). Seyfried (1991: 122), however, refers to *p3 ʿ n Mwt* as “the choir of Mut” (see also *Wb* I, 159.16).¹⁸ With either interpretation of *p3 ʿ*, it is clear that *ḥsy* should be interpreted as “singer” rather than “favorite”. The addition of *p3 ʿ* would have been unnecessary to show devotion to the goddess Mut, and the phrase does not occur with any other goddess. The fact that *p3 ʿ* does not usually occur paired with other deities supports the interpretation advanced by Seyfried that it refers to a choir.¹⁹

Clearly, *ḥsy* could be used in secular contexts as well as formal religious ones. Those scenes that use the term *ḥsy* as a description of activity (rather than a title) are mostly secular in nature – entertainment at banquets, and so on (e.g. the use of *ḥsy t* in the story of Wenamun and in the “erotic” Turin papyrus, discussed below in section 2.IV). This differs from the contexts where the word *šmʿ* or the title *šmʿyt* appear.

One further point may be relevant. Depictions of female as individuals *šmʿwt* (as well as a few male *šmʿw*) are plentiful in tombs and on stelae, but when they are shown performing, they

are always in a group. The *ḥsyw(r)*, on the other hand, may be depicted as part of a group of *ḥsyw(r)* or as soloists accompanied only by the playing of his or her own harp.

2.III.2 Discussion of the *ḥnr*

In the past, the term *ḥnr* has been inappropriately translated as “harem”, and the women associated with it as concubines. *Wb* III, 297, defines *ḥnr* as a harem and its inhabitants, as does Blackman (1921: 5-16). Preconceptions and the “tendency to islamicize” cultural aspects of ancient Egypt (Nord, 1975: 142) have contributed to the assumptions and generalizations that formerly dominated characterizations of women in ancient Egypt. Recently, this subject has been treated quite extensively.²⁰ Although the application of the term “harem” has been shown to be completely inaccurate in the common, or modern sense of the word (i.e., a place for the wives and concubines of men to be held in strict seclusion apart from the rest of society [Ward, 1983; Nord, 1981]), the use of the term lingers. Musical troupe, as is now proposed, is the more accurate definition of the word *ḥnr*.²¹

The evidence for harems in the Old and Middle Kingdoms has been largely ruled out by the authors just cited. However, due to the fact that the New Kingdom exhibits a few of the elements that characterize a harem, the term is still widely used and often applied to *ḥnr* and *ipt-nsw* (the latter of which will not be dealt with here).

The New Kingdom use of the term *ḥnr* has not been studied as thoroughly as has its use in the preceding ages, perhaps because the issue of the harem is perceived as complicated due to those elements often associated with a modern harem. The introduction of what has been called New Kingdom “internationalism” brought about diplomatic marriages. Where there were multiple royal wives, especially due to those diplomatic marriages, there probably existed an institution for

the women and children of the royal household (Ward, 1983: 68). The royal household was never referred to as a *hnr*, but it is clear that the *hnr* could be an institution associated with royalty, as evidenced by the administrative titles associated with it. Reiser has shown that the *hnr* was involved in business of some kind (1972: Chapter 4). There were members of the royal family who carried the title *wrt hnr* (Troy, 1986: 186-187, B1/22-B1/29) among them Ahmose-Nefertari, Tuya (wife of Seti I), Queen Nefertari, Tia (daughter of Tuya), and Bananit I (a daughter of Rameses II).²² A number of wives and daughters of the 21st Dynasty high priests of Amun also held the title. In fact, during the Third Intermediate Period, the position of the *wrt hnrt nt Tmn-R^c nsw ntrw* was usually held by the wife or daughter of the High Priest of Amun (Kitchen, 1973: 430f; Lefebvre, 1929: 34 ff).²³ Kitchen hypothesizes that there was an expansion of the office to accommodate more women of “sacerdotal families”, and this resulted in the application of the phyle system (1973: 431).

Most of the New Kingdom non-royal women associated with the *hnr* were married and had children. There is no evidence for a non-royal harem, nor much clear evidence for polygamy.²⁴ Women who were part of the *Khener*s of specific gods were occasionally members of the family of the high priest of that god. Two women listed in the database demonstrate that situation clearly. Sekhmetnefret (DB #612) was a *šm^cyt n Tmn-R^c* and a *wrt hnrt nt Tn-hrt* (great one of the Khener of Onuris). She was married to Onuris-mes, High Priest of Onuris. She and her husband are depicted in a Ramesside tomb representation at el Mashayikh (Ockinga and al-Masri, 1988: 11-12). Khatnesu (DB #758), a *šm^cyt n Tn-hrt* and *nbt pr wrt hnrtw n Tn-hrt* was married to Min-mes High Priest of Onuris, High priest of Shu, *Tmy-ist* of Shu and Tefnut, *Wr-m³cw* of Ra in Thinis. This Ramesside couple is known from material derived from el Mashayikh and Abydos (Bryan, 1986: 5-30).

The fact that a woman could be a *šmꜣyt* of one god and also belong to the *Khener* of another god indicates that the one role was not integral to the other. For example, there does not seem to be any evidence to indicate that Sekhmetnefret (DB #612) was a *šmꜣyt* of Amun within the *Khener* of Onuris. However, since there was no special title for a woman who was a member of the *Khener*, except for the lead woman who was the *wrt*, it may very well be that the women who made up the ranks of a *Khener* were *šmꜣwt*, *ḥsywt*, or sistrum players.

It is perhaps this association of the *šmꜣwt* with the god's "harem", however, that has led some to use the labels "concubine" and "prostitute" (as in Naguib, 1990: 236). Due to the frequent association of music in general with sexuality (e.g., the Turin Erotic papyri, which shows musicians engaged in sexual activity, and the relief from Mereruka's mastaba showing his wife playing the harp on their bed) this assumption has gone unchallenged. However, there is no connection between the title *šmꜣyt* and any sexual behavior either in literary or epigraphic sources. Similarly, there is no evidence that the *Khener* had any sexual character. Their level of organization, the high status of the members, the fact that many members were married, and the fact that there were female *Kheners* of goddesses (also noted by Nord, 1981: n.10),²⁵ indicates a function other than sexual service for the *Khener* as an institution.²⁶

It is clear that a *Khener* was perceived to be a special kind of entertaining group, probably made up of a variety of vocalists and dancers. For the sake of clarity, the word *ḥnr* will be rendered as *Khener* throughout this work.

2.III.3 Discussion of the "Rhythm Section" or *šspt dḥn*

Dḥn designates the action of keeping the beat, and *šspt dḥn*, the group of people, often called a choir (*Wb* IV, 533), who direct the rhythm of the music. The individuals, both men and

women, are characteristically shown clapping their hands or gesturing with one arm. One well-known example is the image of three men labeled *šspt dhn* who accompany a harpist and a *Khener* depicted on the “acrobat block” from Hatshepsut’s “Red Chapel” (Brunner-Traut, 1992: 52-53; Lacau and Chevrier, 1977: vol II, pl. 9). Smith and Redford also translate *dhn* as “rhythm makers” (1976: fig. 20.38 and pl. 40.4; see also Gohary, 1992: 163) where a rubric appears above a row of five bowed heads on a block from East Karnak.

Representations make it clear that a *šspt dhn* could be comprised of men or women, and that these individuals might also be *šm^c(y)w(t)*. Images in the tomb of Menkheperasonb (TT 86) preserve both a male and a female group labeled respectively *šspt dhn šm^cw* and *šspt dhn šm^cwt* (Davies and Davies, 1933: pl. 17). In the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) the image of three women is labeled *dhn in šm^cwt*. They are depicted wearing the crossed chest-bands best known from the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) where dancers are similarly attired, and two of the three extend one arm in a gesture of proclaiming or singing. Their text, “May your images endure in the Great House and in the Temple of Amun eternally” (Davies, 1930: pl. XL), is directed toward a statue of the deceased that is being pulled to the temple.

There is also preserved in TT 109 a scene of a *Khener*, a *šspt dhn*, and a group of *šm^cwt* who may all be singing in harmony led by the *šspt dhn* (Lüddeckens, 1943: 48f, abb. 17; and Virey, 1887: 29). This scene does nothing to resolve the question of what specific types of vocalists made up the *dhn*, since each group is labeled separately. It does, however, illustrate that the different kinds of musicians occasionally worked together.

2.III.4 Discussion of the Sistrum Players: *ihyt*, *shmyt*, *ssst*, *ssty*

These four terms are all defined as “sistrum player” and are not as commonly found as *šm^cyt* or *hsyt*.²⁷ The definitions usually followed are: *shm*, “loop sistrum”, therefore *shmyt*, “sistrum player” (*Wb* IV, 252), and *ssst*, “a naos sistrum” and “to play the sistrum”²⁸ (*Wb* III, 486-87). Other terms include *ihyt*, “musician” or “sistrum player”²⁹ (*Wb* I, 121-122), and *ssty*, “sistrum player (?)” (*Wb* IV, 279).

Based on the present research, it is known that a *šm^cyt* could also hold the title “sistrum player” in one of these forms.³⁰ Perhaps to the point, all of these cases are derived from Ramesside or later Theban sources. Like *šm^cyt*, the sistrum player titles are also compounded with the names of deities, usually the names of Amun or Mut, and in one case the whole Theban triad (DB #668, a *shmyt n Tmn, Mwt, Hnsw*). Some of these women also had additional titles such as *hsyt* or *wrt hnrt*. Women holding the title “sistrum player”, especially *ihyt*, are far more common in the Late Period, while the title *šm^cyt* is only rarely encountered.

2.IV CONCLUSIONS

When studied on a representational basis, groups labeled *šm^c* enact gestures that imply vocal music and its rhythmic accompaniment by hand clapping, sistrum rattling, or drum beating. Due to the fact that this is an oral and aural phenomenon, a more precise designation (chanting, rhythmic intonation, or melodic singing) is difficult to determine.

Examining numerous scenes and inscriptional passages where the verb *šm^c* occurs reveals that the word primarily appears in religious contexts, namely temple settings and funeral processions. *šm^c* is only rarely found in secular contexts. When it does occur in such a context,

it is always associated with other musical activities (see, for example, the story of Pepi II and the General,³¹ and P. Westcar,³² discussed here in Sections 4.IV.2 and 4.IV.3).

A recent work on women in ancient Egyptian religious hierarchy, Naguib's *Le Clergé féminin d'Amon Thébain à la 21e dynastie* (1990), puts forth the idea that there were two kinds of *šmꜣyt*: religious and secular. Of the secular type, not dealt with by Naguib, she states “il est évident que ce qualificatif s’appliquait aussi aux filles de joie ou prostituées et aux courtisanes” (1990: 236). The evidence cited in support of this statement (1990: 236, n.239a – erroneously called 239b in the footnotes) derives from P. Westcar, the tale of Wenamun, and P. Turin 55001.

The tale of King Khufu and the magicians in P. Westcar (Blackman, 1988; Erman, 1890) contains a list of musical activities, not people: *ḥsy*, *šmꜣ*, *ḥbt*, *w3g* (line 12.1). In the context of the story, these refer to the noises emitted from a sack of barley left behind by the goddesses who, in the guise of a *Khener*, had assisted in the birth of the future kings. The noises are described as “all that is done for a king”. There is absolutely no sexual connotation to this passage. The activities of the goddesses who change themselves into *ḥn(r)yt* (line 10.1) have no sexual connotation in this story. The women in the story of Sneferu and the boating party from the same papyrus are not *šmꜣywt*, but simply *nfrwt*.³³

The tale of Wenamun does not mention a *šmꜣyt*, but rather a *ḥsy n Kmt* (Gardiner, 1932:74.5-6 line [2.69]). She entertains Wenamun during his stay with the Tjekker prince. She is ordered to sing for him, and he is exhorted to eat, drink, and relax (“do not let your heart be anxious”). Here also there is no overt reference to sex, although one might be inferred.

P. Turin 55001, or the Turin Erotic Papyrus, does not contain a reference to a *šmꜣyt* but rather a *ḥsy* [*n Ḥt-ḥr*] who has just dropped her lyre during a sexual encounter (Omlin, 1973: 70, recto 19). Since the woman is not a *šmꜣyt*, this example does not support Naguib’s contention.

Because the references cited by Naguib in support of the *šm^cywt* being prostitutes are not viable, one must conclude that this line of reasoning is false. There are no further references that could be interpreted in such a way. In fact, secular portrayals of musicians used the word *ḥsy* far more often and consistently than *šm^cyt*.

The evidence reviewed above reveals that the term *ḥsy* can be used in a variety of ways: as part of religious titles such as *ḥsy nt ḥnw n ʾmn*, usually translated as “Chantresses of the Residence (or interior) of Amun” (Yoyotte, 1961; Ritner, 1998: 85); as *ḥsy n p3^c n Mwt*, discussed above; as *imy-r ḥsw* as in Raia’s case; and as a rubric for musical performances in secular contexts involving wind and stringed instruments and, in one case, sex. It seems to be an all-purpose word indicating singing and music regardless of context.

In contrast, *šm^c* appears to have a more limited use, predominantly in sacred contexts such as processions of funerals and divine images and in titles compounded with the name of a god or temple. The few exceptions have already been noted. In addition, *šm^c* is most often used in scenes involving percussion: drums, sistra, and clapping hands.³⁴ The difference is subtle because *ḥsy* can appear in those same contexts alongside *šm^c*. *Ḥsy*, however, is the word most often used in secular contexts like the Turin Erotic Papyrus, the story of Wenamun, and scenes of music involving stringed and wind instruments.

These differences lead to the conclusion that *šm^c* was a specialized kind of vocal music, probably more rhythmic than melodic, based on the prevalence of percussion accompaniment. The term “chantress”, which is most often used in English translations of the title *šm^cyt n ʾmn*, is more than likely the correct sense of the word.

¹ This term used to be transliterated *kema-t* in the 19th century (e.g., in Mariette's Abydos publications, and in Erman, 1890) but was revised to *šmꜥ* as early as 1910 (Dévaud, 1910: 103ff).

² DB ref. # 690.

³ Some examples of where this occurs: P.Abbott 3 17/18, the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun line 21, P.Chassinat I, x+2, P.Northumberland I line 11, in the tomb of Tutu at Tell el Amarna- Aten hymn on left entrance wall. Spelling does not seem to vary based on the written medium.

⁴ Teeter's argument that the instrument usually called "tambourine" in Egyptological literature is actually a drum since it has no jingles (1993: 238-239, n.1) is being followed here. A similar instrument called a *nadam* is still played in Egypt today (Blackman, 1927: 114).

⁵ There is some discussion as to what is really meant by "holy virgins". To the ancient Greeks, *parthenos* may have merely meant "young woman" to differentiate between married and unmarried women. The Egyptian word *nfrwt* which roughly corresponds to this is defined in P. Westcar as "one who has not yet given birth" and not "one who has not yet had sex". There is no Egyptian word identified as "virgin" (Lyn Green, personal communication).

⁶ As Naguib does (1990: 236, n. 239a - erroneously called n. 239b).

⁷ E.g., I.3, I.4, II.2, II.4 and others.

⁸ See for example at Philae, 2nd pylon in Lepsius *Denkmaeler* Abt IV, Bl. 26; and at Dendera (Manniche 1991a: fig. 38).

⁹ See Guglielmi (1991: pl. II and XVI) for evidence that two hands were used in the gesture even when only one is depicted.

¹⁰ This practice is easily understood by trying it; cupping the ear with one hand improves the ability to hear what is being vocalized, and to hear the accompaniment (Brunner-Traut, LÄ, II, 580 cites this action as having an amplifying effect).

¹¹ Chieronomy gestures can be differentiated from simple gestures because they are meant to direct a specific action, not imply the general activity. They are generally composed of various positions of the individual fingers and the forearm.

¹² Compare Manniche 1991a: figs. 11 and 30 where music is clearly the context. Fig. 11 consistently uses the arm determinative, but fig. 30 uses instead the man-with-hand-to-mouth in its place.

¹³ Documenting such a widely used epithet/title would yield a database as large as the current work. Of course, the women noted in this database are already *šmꜥyt*, so there is every reason to presume that *šsy* could have meant musician as well. Yet, where the only title held by a woman was *šsy*, or where it appeared in combination with another nonmusical title, there was still the prevalence of using singer as the translation, a situation not true of men to whom *šsy* was applied.

¹⁴ Raia's wife was also a *šmꜥyt* (DB #814).

¹⁵ This unknown wooden instrument is discussed in Hoch (1994: n. 266).

¹⁶ There is also an unpublished text in TT 96 that reads *it hup hr irt šsy m pr Imn in šmꜥyt n Imn Mryt*: coming in peace in order to praise in the temple of Amun, by the Chantress of Amun, Meryt (DB #273).

¹⁷ Cf. Doxey (1995: 297) and index, where *šsy* is consistently rendered "praised by".

¹⁸ One would like to be able to render *š* as "procession", but that translation is not attested.

¹⁹ An exception to this has already been noted in TT 23 where a lutist is called a *šsy n p3 ʿ n Imn* (KRI IV, 114.6-12).

²⁰ Most scholars rely on Nord's 1981 study, which is the best documented and most comprehensive. See also Ward (1983) and Fischer (1976). Fischer translates the term as harem but puts it in the category of singing and dancing, while Ward discusses the many terms commonly translated as harem including *hnr*, which he also believes refers to musical entertainment.

²¹ See the discussion in Robins (1993b: 148-149).

²² It is no surprise to learn that the mother, wife, sister, and a daughter of Rameses II all held this title. It seems that the women of Rameses II's family consciously sought to emulate Ahmose-Nefertari, the sole royal woman to hold the title previously. As she was a strong and respected historical figure, the Ramesside line looked to Ahmose-Nefertari in an attempt to link themselves with the pre-Amarna legitimacy (Thausing and Goedicke, 1971: 32).

²³ The wife of Herihor was a *wrt hnrwt n Imn-Rʿ* and one daughter was a *šmꜥyt n Imn wrt hnr n Hnsw* (Epigraphic Survey, 1979: pl. 26).

²⁴ On this controversial topic see Robins (1993b: 64-67), Kanawati (1976), Simpson (1974a), and El-Amir (1964).

²⁵ See Nefret-Mut (DB #578), the *wrt hnr n Nhbt* from el Kab and Hebwyunes (DB #652) a *wrt hnr n B3stt*.

²⁶ It has been suggested that a *Khener* may be attached to private estates (Ward, 1986: 22). Although Ward cites no evidence for specific musicians being attached to private estates, the following passage from a family archive confirms the existence of at least one such *Khener*. A man, *P3-ṣri-n-Pth*, states: *iw wn n.i hn(r)w nfrw*



"To me belongs a *hn*r of beautiful ones". The extended context implies that the king gave him the *hn*r as a token of his favor (Reymond, 1981: 143, text 18, line 12). For the practice of dropping the "r" in Egyptian see Černý and Groll (1984: 6, section 1.9).

²⁷ It is outside the scope of this research to further define these terms.

²⁸ For the differentiation between the two kinds of sistra see Troy (1986: 86). A recent paper challenges the common definition of *shm*, preferring to translate it as "divine appearance" or "Hathor manifestation", emphasizing its aspect as a divine symbol rather than as an instrument (Reynders, 1998: 1013-1026).

²⁹ All the *Wörterbuch* examples cited show a person holding a sistrum as part of the word. This probably accounts for it being translated as "sistrum player" more often than "musician".

³⁰ Cf., DB #415, 569, 668, 726, 727.

³¹ P. Chassinat I, X+2 (pl. 8) line x+8 and x+11, 12. Here, *hsy*, *šm*^c, *tš*, *gšwš* are used in a list of things happening at the court to distract the complainant. *gš* "sing" *Wb* IV, 149; *tš* "to cry or jubilate" *Wb* IV, 241. Posener translates this passage "chant des chant[eurs, par la musique] des musiciens, par la clameur [des acclamateurs et par le sifflement des sif[fleurs]" and notes that the exact sense of *tš* and *gšwš* are not known (1957: 128 and n.3). Wente prefers the translation "clatter" (Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 71, n. p).

³² On line 12.1 (Erman, 1890: 68; translated *kma*) *hsy*, *šm*^c, *hbt*, *wšg* are used together to describe sounds coming from the sack of barley left behind by the goddesses who posed as a *Khener*. (See Chapter 4.IV.2).

³³ Naguib does not specify where in the text *šm*^c*yr* appears. Those episodes are the only two to which she could be referring.

³⁴ See, for example, the tombs of Kenamun (TT 93) and Kheruef (TT 192).

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND MUSIC IN CEREMONIES AND PROCESSIONS

“Observe the feast of your god... song, dance and incense are his foods” The Instructions of Any,
3.3-10

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Music and dance played an integral role in temple liturgy (Naguib, 1990: 61). Music had symbolic importance and was critical in maintaining *Mḥr* and restoring balance at times of transition (Naguib, 1990: 61; Sauneron, 1968: 46f). The gods were believed to be fond of music and were frequently described in royal women’s epithets as being “pacified by a woman’s voice” (Troy, 1986: 192 examples B4/26-30). The Hellenistic historian Chaeremon records that the Egyptian priests sang hymns to their gods three or four times a day as part of the daily ritual (van der Horst, 1982: 69). Many private stelae portray an individual performing directly for his or her god.¹ The *ḥmḥwt* are present in scenes that represent part of the daily temple liturgy found in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak (corridor XL in PM II, 126, pl. XII.2). There the king offers to images of the gods and performs sacred rituals. He is accompanied by groups of priests and men and women chanters.

An examination of the representational evidence of the groups of people called *ḥmḥw* is necessary in order to define what part these individuals played in ritual and society. Many scenes depict groups of male and female *ḥmḥw(t)* involved in various types of activities, detailed below. One such example is the scenes of Osorkon’s *Sed* festival. These scenes are the only representations not dated to the New Kingdom. Thus, generalizations may be limited by the

range of this material. As the title is most common in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, however, this paucity of evidence from other eras is not unexpected.

Processions rather than temple ritual, however, were probably the most common event in which the elite could participate and publicly worship through music.² There can be no doubt that women of the New Kingdom and later most commonly served their gods through providing music in these processions. The extensive reliefs depicting the *Opet* festival at Luxor Temple provide representations of celebrants making music and accompanying the barques of the gods. (See Section 3.III.1)

Religious festival processions gained a high degree of importance during the New Kingdom, particularly at Thebes (Spalinger, 1998: 248). Routes were paved, adorned, and equipped with rest stations. Processional routes connected Karnak and Luxor temples with the temples of the west bank, roughly delineating the boundary of “the Domain of Amun” (Kemp, 1989: 210 and Bell, 1997: fig. 65). The Festival of *Opet* and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, both largely developed during the early New Kingdom, had processional components that followed these routes. Celebratory occasions, when provincial gods traveled from their temples, could also be accompanied by a procession (e.g., Hathor from Dendera, Bleeker, 1973: 84-101). In the Ramesside era, kings and commoners alike relied on oracles with processional components (Faulkner, 1975: 35). All of these processional types included music in which the *šmꜣywt* participated.

In their tombs, some individuals portrayed royal festivals in which they may have taken part during their life, such as the well-known reliefs of the *Sed* festival of Amenhotep III in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192). Many of the scenes there include dancers, musicians, and wrestlers — entertainment befitting a royal festival — as well as ritualistic activities. Even the daughters (*msw*

nsw) of Amenhotep III honor or praise (*sw3š*) the raising of the *Djed* pillar with the shaking of sistras and *merywt*. Ceremonies involving private individuals could also warrant accompaniment by musicians and dancers. The depiction in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) of the statue procession of his image to the local temples and his tomb is an example. These private monuments are a valuable source of information relevant to this study.

3.II IMITATING THE GODDESS: CONNECTIONS TO MERET AND HATHOR


Naguib suggests that the *šmꜣywt*, when performing religious rituals, were identified with musical divinities, especially Meret and Hathor (1990: 237).³ While Hathor is the recognized goddess of music and dance, Meret has been called “the personification of the priestess as singer” (Troy, 1986: 87-88). The iconography of the goddess Meret is very similar to that of the representations of musicians. The gesture associated with Meret consists of extended, raised arms brought together as if clapping (Guglielmi, 1991: 18ff).⁴ It is a common gesture in musical scenes of all types and should be interpreted as a general way to denote vocal and rhythmic music (see Section 2.II).

Representations of Meret from the Old Kingdom show her in a vulture headdress with the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt depicted behind her or nearby.⁵ Due to the fact that the vulture headdress was reserved for goddesses and royal women in the Old Kingdom, the Meret figure clearly represents a goddess in these scenes, and not a priestess imitating the goddess.⁶ The later iconography appears to have dropped the vulture headdress in favor of a headdress consisting of the plants symbolic of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁷ Perhaps this change in iconography indicates that women who are impersonating the goddess are represented. The fact that the *šmꜣywt* and *rwtt* depicted in Osorkon’s festival hall wear headdresses similar to Meret’s

suggests that the musicians were meant to be identified with the deity (Guglielmi, 1991: 20; Naville, 1892: pls. 14.1 and 25.VI).

Meret figures can be seen adorning the barques of the gods and kings. She repeats “(I) come, (I) bring” when she stands before the king in his pavilion (ibid.: 87; Borchardt, 1981: 102; Blackman, 1921: fig. 1), apparently part of a rite that welcomes the king. The Meret figures are also present in symbolic rites associated with the *Sed* festival.⁸ There may be a relationship between the presence of Meret at the “announcement” of the king in his *Sed* festival (Guglielmi, 1991: 25-56; Baines, 1985: 252; Borchardt, 1981:102; Kees, 1912: 103ff) and the ubiquitous presence of singers in the *Sed* festival ceremonies. Various sources preserve representations of singers and dancers at the *Sed* festival (see Section 3.III.4), some of whom are called *šmꜣywt*. Perhaps the chantresses imitated the function of Meret by announcing or hailing the king.

Old Kingdom examples of women who are called the “*mwt* singers of Upper and Lower Egypt” are not common, but are known (Fischer, 1989: 12). Their role in temple services was to hail the king and as early as the Fourth Dynasty, these women were under the direction of a male overseer (ibid.). In the Ptolemaic Period they are described as playing the sistrum before the god’s face (Guglielmi, 1991: 14; de Rochemonteix and Chassinat, 1987: 341).

The idea of musician-priestesses impersonating Hathor has previously been proposed by Blackman: “The musician-priestesses impersonated a goddess, namely Hathor, and in that capacity were able, as we have seen, to confer divine favors and graces on that divinity’s devotees. To such an extent was this impersonation carried that the priestesses in the sun-temple at Heliopolis were actually spoken of as Hathors”(1921: 9, 23). Evidence for this association comes from a Ramesside text commonly referred to as the “Blessing of Ptah”.⁹ The text describes the *wrw*, or “great ones”, of the temple of Ptah and the Hathors (*Hwt-hrwt*)  of

the temple of Atum who are in festival (*m ḥb*), rejoicing and playing drums on account of seeing the king (KRI II, 264). Iconographic support for this comes from the Ptolemaic Period. Female musicians playing frame drums commonly wear horned headdresses in imitation of Hathor.¹⁰

It is quite possible to suppose that priestesses of all periods, even where they are not called Merets or Hathors, were engaged in representing the activities of the goddesses. They acclaimed, praised, announced, and appeased the king and the gods with music at public appearances and in more private ritual settings. Hathor was, after all, the goddess of music and dance. An analogous example exists in the case of the women who impersonated Isis and Nephthys in funerary contexts.¹¹ Similarly, in temple ritual, the *šm' ywt* may have acted the roles of Meret and Hathor in an effort to recreate a mythic drama reenacted by mortals.

3.III TYPES OF PROCESSIONS AND FESTIVALS

3.III.1 *Opet* festival¹²

The *Opet* festival was a celebration of the renewal of the royal *k3* that took place in the second month of Inundation. A festival of great religious significance, it was the focal point for the “regeneration of the Creator, Amun of Luxor, the rebirth of Amun-Re of Karnak, and the recreation of the cosmos” (Bell, 1997: 157 and n. 91). Its celebration was first recorded by Hatshepsut at Karnak Temple on blocks now reconstructed in the so-called “Red Chapel”, once a barque shrine in the temple (Lacau and Chevrier, 1977, vol. II: pl. 9). It seems likely that she developed the rites into what is now recognized as the *Opet* festival (Bell, 1997: 161). The length of time for its celebration varied from reign to reign, but it was undoubtedly the longest feast in the Egyptian calendar, ranging from 11 to 27 days (Bell, 1997: 158).

During the festival a procession of the cult statues of the king, Amun, Mut, and Khonsu moved from Karnak Temple to Luxor Temple, stopping at barque stations along the way, and

then returned (Bell, 1997: fig. 65). This procession was accompanied by musicians and dancers, as well as by many kinds of priests and offering bearers. Originally, the images of the gods were carried on land, but later they were borne by riverboats towed by gangs of men along the banks (Kemp, 1989: 206f). The following descriptions of processions demonstrate that the *šmꜥywt* participated in the ceremonies of the *Opet* festival as ritual specialists.

3.III.1.A *Opet* Reliefs in Luxor Colonnade (PM II 314 [77-86]; Epigraphic Survey, 1994)

The celebration of the *Opet* festival was one of the major functions of Luxor Temple. It was the mythological center of the living divine king and an important national shrine for his cult (Bell, 1997: 157). Luxor Temple's colonnade hall is decorated with scenes of the *Opet* festival dating mainly to the reigns of Tutankhamun through Seti I. The decorative program in the temple emphasizes the relationship between the divinity of the king and Amun, here as the ithyphallic creator (Bell, 1985: 254, n. 5).

The procession scenes portray groups of singing women and men following the barques of the gods on the riverbank. The men are clearly labeled *šmꜥw nty hr šmꜥ hr ḥ3t ntr pn špsy ʿmn nb nsw ʿ3wy*: “the chanters who are chanting before this noble god, Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands” (Epigraphic Survey, 1994: pls. 91, 99). Before them is a group of Libyan musicians with clappers called [*ḥsw*] *n ʿmḥw* “[singers] of Libya”, and a group of lutists called *ḥsw n ḥpšyt* “singers of Khepeshyt”.¹³ The words of the songs they sing are also recorded nearby (ibid.: pls. 26 and 97).

Unlabeled¹⁴ female singers and dancers are depicted performing at a gateway, and the presence of the butchers and offering pavilions suggest that the group has arrived at the doors of Luxor Temple (Epigraphic Survey, 1994: pi. 38). The lead woman's leg overlaps the doorway,

suggesting that the group is entering the building, or performing in the gateway.¹⁵ The outer courtyards of temples were frequently decorated with *rhyt* birds, demarking the extent of public access (Wilkinson, 1994: 68, and fig. 49) and doorways were often the sites of popular shrines (Nims, 1957: 79f) since the average person could go no further. Perhaps, then, this was the terminus for the bulk of the entourage, who did not have access to the ceremonial rites. Due to the facts that the women are unlabeled and that they may be either entering the building or stopping at the entryway, it is unclear what ritual status, if any, these women held.

3.III.1.B Temple of Rameses III at Karnak (PM II. 34 [121])

The south wall of Rameses III's temple at Karnak preserves scenes of an *Opet* procession being met by *šmꜣwyt* (Epigraphic Survey, 1936, v. II: pl. 88; KRI V, 186-189). The exterior west wall displays scenes of the barques of the gods on the river, with two rows of female worshippers standing on the bank. They hold sistra, *menywt*, and large papyrus umbels. A queen who wears a modius and vulture crown as well as upturned sandals leads the whole company. The two women who immediately follow her also seem to be high ranking, as they are wearing large, round earrings, like the queen, while the rest do not. This first row of celebrants is very orderly. The second row, led by a woman playing a circular frame drum, is characterized by a feeling of movement rather than order.

3.III.1.C The Family of Herihor at Karnak (PM II, 230 [17-18])

An *Opet* procession of the sons and daughters of Herihor led by Herihor's wife, Nedjmet, appears on the west wall of the forecourt of the Temple of Khonsu (Epigraphic Survey, 1979: pl. 26), below the scene of the river procession of the divine barques. The first of the four named

daughters is identified as *s3t nsw [mrt.f] 3m^cyt n 1mn wrt hⁿrt n hⁿsw* [name lost]: “the King’s Daughter, His Beloved, Chantress of Amun, Great One of the Khener of Khonsu [name lost]”. Her mother, shown above, is the *wrt hⁿrt n 1mn-R^c nsw nⁿrw* (Great one of the Khener of Amun-Re, king of the gods), an office commonly held by the wife of the high priest of Amun (Wente, 1967b: 157, n. 16). The daughters carry sistras and bouquets of flowers.

3.III.2 Beautiful Feast of the Valley

The Beautiful Feast of the Valley consisted of a procession of Amun’s image from Karnak to the west bank of the Nile, where it stopped at the various mortuary temples of the kings to pay homage. The procession’s final west bank destination was the upper terrace of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple. The festival gave families an occasion to gather at the tombs of their dead relatives, where they feasted and watched the procession of the god. Families wanted the deceased to take part in the blessings of the god’s presence so they may have taken statues of their loved ones with them along the processional route (Bleeker, 1973: 43). The deceased’s image was returned to the tomb, where there were further festivities including singing and a banquet, all for the benefit of the dead person’s *k3* (Bleeker, 1967: 137-139; Schott, 1952; Foucart, 1930). Offerings of food and flowers to the divine image became imbued with life-renewing essence, and family members would take these to back to the tomb for the benefit of the deceased (Siliotti, 1996: 111). This popular practice of honoring deceased ancestors at their tombs mirrored the official celebration honoring the dead kings at their mortuary temples (Spalinger, 1998: 251).

One of the earliest depictions of the festival can be found on blocks from the north side of the so-called “Red Chapel” (Bell, 1997: 103). The blocks depict part of the procession to the

west. Here the group of women are called *hnr n hwt ntr* “the *Khener* of the temple”; the men are designated *šspt dhḥn* “choir”. They are accompanied by acrobats and a harpist (Lacau and Chevrier, 1977, vol. II: pl. 9).

Although a number of Theban tombs (TT 39, TT 55, TT 77, TT 78, TT 86, TT 112, TT 182)¹⁶ record the words of the song sung by the choirs accompanying the festival, only one, that of Menkheperasonb (TT 86), identifies the women singing it as *šmꜥywt*. The tomb of Horemhab (TT 78) depicts two such groups of male and female singers along with the words of their song, but they are not explicitly identified as *šmꜥyw(t)* (*Urk.* IV, 1590-1596; Brack and Brack, 1980: 29-30). Horemhab’s wife is identified as a “chantress of Amun of Karnak” (*šmꜥyt n Imn-m-lpt-sw(t)*).¹⁷ This aspect of Amun was the principal figure of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Perhaps she was a member of one of the choirs that participated in the annual procession.

3.III.2.A The Tombs of Menkheperasonb; TT 112 and TT 86

Menkheperasonb’s tomb (TT 86) contains representations of both men and women acting as *šmꜥyw(t)* in an offering scene. The women play sistra and *menywt*, while the men clap. The inscription accompanying them consists of praise for the king (Manniche, 1991a: 71-72) as part of the Feast of the Valley procession. The text also mentions the presentation of sistra and *menywt* of Amun in Deir el Bahari (Davies and Davies, 1933: pl. XVII).

In the earlier tomb of Menkheperasonb (TT 112), there is a scene of four women bearing sistra and *menywt* (Davies and Davies, 1933: pl. XXIV) making an address to the king parallel in content to the one seen in TT 86 (*ibid.*: 21).¹⁸ Although no titles are indicated, the women depicted here are so similar to those in TT 86 that they may have been *šmꜥywt* as well.

Three men in this tomb of Menkheperresonb (TT 112) (Davies and Davies, 1933: pl.XVII) are labeled *dhnt šmꜥw*: “choir of chanters”.¹⁹ They hold their arms out in a clapping gesture while the text of their hymn is spelled out before them (ibid.: 14; *Urk.* IV, 935.5-.14). The text of their song makes it clear that these representations depict part of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley procession or festivities (see also Manniche, 1991a: 71-72).

3.III.3 Funerary Contexts

Scenes of funeral processions were a common topic represented in the tombs of ancient Egypt. A description of the funeral procession in the Tale of Sinuhe (see Section 4.IV.1) paints a verbal picture similar to what was visually portrayed on the walls of the tombs. According to Sinuhe’s story, a proper funeral included musicians leading the procession, the body being borne on a sledge to the tomb, and dancers waiting at the entrance of the tomb. A fragment of relief from Saqqara (Vandier, 1964, pt. 2: pl. XXI) is one of the liveliest portrayals of such a funerary procession. A group of women dancing and playing circular drums and clappers leads the cortege to the final resting place.

The examples included here are singled out because of the use of the term *šmꜥywt* to denote the group of women who take part in the funerary procession. Many more examples exist where the musicians and mourners are not specifically labeled. Although it may be safe to infer that many of those unidentified individuals were also *šmꜥywt* participating in the rites of burial, only those explicitly identified as such will be discussed.

3.III.3.A The Tomb of Nakhtamun TT 341

Nakhtamun seems to have been a lover of music despite his nonmusical title “Head of the Altar in the Ramesseum”. From his tomb come scenes of a harpist and a young lyre-player who has Bes tattoos on her legs. These figures were intended to entertain Nakhtamun for his pleasure in the afterlife (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XXVIII).

He appears to have had a professional mourner who headed “the ones who wail in front” at his funeral (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 36, pl. XXVI). The woman who performed this service is identified as *nbt pr, šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ, Rꜥi3*. She was apparently not a relative, as she is nowhere identified as such and only appears in this scene depicting the funeral procession.²⁰ Perhaps it was the case that the *šmꜥywt* could hire themselves out for private funerals in addition to their temple duties.

In another scene, Nakhtamun is shown taking part in a ritual at the Ramesseum that consists of making offerings to Sokar on the king’s behalf. A troupe of male musicians also participated (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 35, pl. XXIV). The first three men in the row are identified as *šdm ꜥꜥ* or “servants”.²¹ The last two in the group are *šmꜥ n hwt wsr-m3ꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ, Imn-nsw-niwt*, “Chanter of the Ramesseum, Amun-nesu-niwt” and *šmꜥ n Pth-Skr, Nfr-ꜥꜥ* “Chanter of Ptah-Sokar, Nefer-aha”. Behind them sit a lutist and a man or boy who claps his hands. The words of the hymn above the seated men implore the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris to provide for and protect Rameses II.

3.III.3.B The Tomb of Kenamun TT 93

Scenes in this tomb show a procession of people dragging statues of Kenamun to the temples and his tomb (Davies, 1930: pis. XXXIX, XL).²² A nearby text describes the scene as

“accompanying the statues of the Overseer of the Cattle of Amun, Kenamun to the temple [of Amun in Karnak,] to the entrances of the temples [of north and] south in complete peace and to his tomb of the necropolis according to the favor of the king; made by this servant while all his relations, gathered into a crowd, jubilate at the head of them [the statues]” (Davies, 1930: 39, pl. XXXVIII). This rite is accompanied by an entourage of many singers and dancers of both genders and priests who purify the statue with incense. A group of men bear the rubric *hbt in šmʿw* “dancing by the *šmʿw*” while a group of women are *dhn in šmʿwt* “rhythm making by the *šmʿwt*”.

Another scene shows a young girl playing the lute while two others serve the young king who sits on the lap of his nurse, Kenamun’s mother. The scene is damaged, but another musician can be inferred by traces of a harp finial, which can be seen in the lower left (Davies, 1930: 17, pl. IX). The song of the girls is recorded in the caption above them: *šhm-ib m33 bw nfr hs hbt šmʿ hʿyt ršwt m lb m33w [...] hm.f*: “Be entertained at seeing prosperity — singing, dancing, chanting, being joyful with gladness of heart at seeing [...] his Majesty ...”

3.III.3.C The Tomb of Ramose TT 55

Three men labeled *šspwt [dhn] nt šmʿ(w)*: “a choir of chanters” (Davies, 1941: pl. XIII) are depicted in the tomb of Ramose. They are dressed in normal short kilts with shaven heads. Their song, recorded in front of them, is a prayer to Amun and the gods of the Underworld. This scene is not part of the funerary procession recorded on the south wall. They flank the entrance to the tomb (the east wall), paired with offering bearers on the opposite side, both beneath scenes of Ramose standing before heaps of offerings. They seem to greet anyone who enters the tomb, similar to the scene described in the Tale of Sinuhe (Section 4.IV.1).

3.III.4 *Sed* Festival

The *Sed* festival was an important ceremony usually held for the reigning king after 30 years of rule, and subsequently more often (Hornung, 1997: 310; Hornung and Staehelin, 1974: 12). The main purpose seems to have been a symbolic renewal of the king's vitality and power. Only fragments of information survive about the totality of rites conducted during the festival, but it is clear that music was an integral part. The depiction of singers and dancers is common in the festival representations of Amenhotep III,²³ Amenhotep IV,²⁴ and Osorkon II. Earlier representations of the *Sed* festival also include depictions of musicians and dancers in similar poses, but these scenes are outside the temporal focus of this study and the individuals depicted therein were not explicitly called *šm'ywt*.

3.III.4.A The Tomb of Kheruef TT 192

The tomb of Kheruef contains many depictions of musicians and dancers that are an important source of information for interpreting both the *Sed* festival and music in ancient Egypt. On a badly fire-damaged section of the north wall of the west portico there are reliefs depicting both male and female chanters. The content of these scenes is the raising of the *Djed* pillar during the *Sed* festival ceremonies of Amenhotep III. The King and Queen Tiye are followed by princesses who worship Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the form of the *Djed* pillar by shaking sistra and *menywt* necklaces.

In two registers below this scene groups of vocalists (*hsyw* and *šm'w*), dancers, stick fighters, and offering bearers are depicted participating in the raising of the *Djed* pillar. The first register shows a group of three male *šm'w* who are chanting an invocation to the god Ptah, the

lyrics of which are preserved next to the men²⁵ (Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 62, pls. 47, 59-63; Fakhry, 1942: 481). The second register has four groups of two women each. The women of the first group play circular frame drums. Their rubric reads *šmꜥywt n(t)y hr šmꜥ hft [irt irrw]*²⁶ *n sꜥhꜥ dd*: “Chanters who chant at the time of [performing the ceremonies of] raising the *Djed* pillar”. The rest of the women are shown clapping their hands. Presumably all the women join in the men’s invocation to Ptah. Behind the *šmꜥywt* are four Oasis women (*hmwt inw hr wh3t*) who appear to be dancing and are wearing garments similar to those depicted on acrobatic women pictured elsewhere in the tomb. Their rubric states that they were brought for the raising of the *Djed* pillar. The two registers of singers, dancers, and other celebrants were probably meant to be seen as one continuous group taking part in the same scene.

On the southern half of the west portico wall, in the reliefs depicting the towing of the night barque, the princesses are followed by a group of *šmꜥywt* who are chanting and setting the rhythm (Epigraphic Survey, 1980: pl. 45). This scene is badly damaged, but the chantresses seem to be wearing floral crowns, similar to, but more elaborate than those worn by the *šmꜥywt* represented on the blocks depicting Osorkon’s *Sed* festival (see below).²⁷ These women also carry the same gazelle-headed wands as the *šmꜥywt* of Osorkon’s reliefs. The proximity of the chantresses to the royal children is important to note: “The royal children (*msw-nsw*) play sistra together with the chantresses of Amun” (Wente, in Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 51-53 and pl. 44-45). Only women of the elite class could have been so close to the royal family. One of the chantresses appears to be labeled *snt.f mrt.f* “his sister, his beloved”. This may refer to Kheruef’s sister as it is believed Kheruef was not married (Wente, in Epigraphic Survey, 1980: 53, note w).

3.III.4.B The Festival Hall of Osorkon II

The order of the *Sed* festival scenes found on the blocks from the great temple of Bubastis has been reconstructed in the works of Naville (1892) and Uphill (1965). These blocks show the participation of various musicians, dancers, offering bearers, and supplicants in the *Sed* festival rites. This reconstructed context of scenes is divided into areas that show ceremonies accessible to the general public, and ceremonies that were restricted to ritual personnel. This allows the content of those scenes, namely the musical activities, to be more fully interpreted.

One block fragment shows a group of three women labeled *šmꜣywt* (Naville, 1892: pl. XXV.VI). This block comes from an area depicting private ceremonies (north wall of the inner gateway, wall E; Naville, *ibid.*; Uphill, 1965: 366). This places the *šmꜣywt* in a restricted ritual context where ordinary citizens were not allowed. The *šmꜣywt* each hold *ꜥnh* signs and wear tall, floral headdresses. They also each hold either a gazelle-headed wand or a naos-sistrum (see Wente, 1969: 84). The text to the right of the *šmꜣywt*, and presumably chanted by them, reads “Hail to the festival, hail the festival of Ptah takes place”. The text to the left reads: “Horus rises, he has received the two plumes, he is the King Osorkon”. This behavior is reminiscent of the function of the goddess Meret (see Section 3.II).

Musicians and dancers are prominent throughout the reliefs, but especially so on the outer face of the entrance, which would have represented a public area (Naville, 1892: pls. I[6], XIII[V], XIV, XVI[10]). Uphill suggests that these upper registers depict a large public reception, such as those seen on the walls of Theban tombs (1965: 381). One scene involving the *šspt dhꜥn*, however, is located on the innermost face of the gate, wall C, which was reserved for representations of private ceremonies not to be witnessed by the public (Naville, 1892: pl. XL[6]). In various places, groups of male *šspt dhꜥn* (choir) appear, occasionally leading men who shout *r*

13: “to the ground” (ibid., pl. I[6], XL[6]) or follow men with a giant frame drum (ibid., pl. XL[6], XVI[10]) and in one case they lead an incense bearer (ibid., pl. XIII[V]). These men clearly precede the entourage and announce it.

3.III.5 Divine Appearances

Oracle processions, a god’s journey, and the procession of sacred vases are all contexts in which the *šmꜥywt* occur.

3.III.5.A The Tomb of Khonsu TT 31

The scenes in this 19th Dynasty tomb include many references to *šmꜥywt*. Khonsu’s mother, wife and daughters were all *šmꜥywt*. Two scenes in particular show the participation of *šmꜥywt* in religious ritual. Scenes portraying the god Montu’s journey to Tod depict members of Khonsu’s family forming the procession, which includes a number of *šmꜥywt* (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XII).²⁸ In the first scene, a group consisting of priests and members of Khonsu’s family await the arrival of the god by boat at kiosks that are filled with offerings of food and flowers. One woman is of particular interest. A Priestess of Tjenenet of On (*hmt ntr n Tnnt n Twmw*) named Ru, most likely a daughter of Khonsu and Mutia, dedicates a pile of offerings herself.²⁹ Her head is shaven like a priest and she wears sandals on her feet. Another figure in the same group is dressed similarly, and therefore is probably also a priestess. One of the three lines of text over the heads of this group of women reads *s3t.s hmt ntr [tnꜥ³⁰] m3ꜥt hrw*: “her daughter, priestess [Tjenet?], true of voice” and may apply to this last figure.

The second scene (ibid.: pl. XV) involves some of the same women making offerings at a kiosk outside the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III. On the kiosk is a fragmentary text reading

“... *n šmꜣyt n Mwt nbt Išrw nb(t) tšwy n pš...*”³¹ (of the Chantress of Mut Lady of Isheru, Lady of the Two Lands, of the...) followed by the titulary of the king. Three of them present sistra and flower bouquets while a larger group appears to mourn for the king.³² The women involved are mainly called chantresses of Montu and Amun in the rubrics above each individual’s head, but by their actions, they also seem to have been attached to the funerary cult of Tuthmosis. This may have been due to Khonsu’s position as the High Priest of that cult.

Not only do the scenes in this tomb provide information about the participation of women in religious rituals, they also show the influence of a family’s cultic ties on the chosen cult affiliations of a younger generation. Since there is no evidence that *šmꜣyt* was an inherited title, its prevalence in this family might be attributed to the influence of a family member or members. The men were involved in the cults of Montu, Sobek, and the funerary estates of various deceased kings, while the women were *šmꜣywt* of Montu and Amun, in addition to the two priestesses of Tjennenet.

3.III.5.B The Tomb of Amenmose TT 19

A scene in this 19th Dynasty tomb depicts the cult statue of Amenhotep I being carried before tables of offerings and groups of people (Foucart, 1935: pl. XXXII).³³ Since Amenmose was a *hm-ntr* in the cult of “Amenhotep-of-the-forecourt”, he would have been intimately involved in this procession. One of the priests in front turns back to the group with a hand over his mouth in the same gesture as the *wꜥb* priests depicted on the walls of the *šh-mnw* at Karnak (corridor XL in PM II, 126, pl. XII.2). At least one of the women in the procession is identified as a *šmꜣyt* (DB # 674). She is depicted as part of a group of women who play sistra, clappers, a drum, and a double reed flute. The group of women was meant to represent acquaintances of

Amenmose, but due to the ruined condition of the scenes, only one name and title are preserved. The purpose of this procession was probably oracular.

In another scene where a statue of Ahmose-Nefertari is shown being pulled in a procession outside a temple precinct, two men dressed in long gowns at the head of the group extend their arms in the gesture associated with singing or other vocal recitation (Foucart, 1935: pl. IV).³⁴ Similar costumes can be seen at Medinet Habu, worn by men leading the Min and Sokar festivals. There they are usually identified as *šspt dhṇ*: “choir” or *imy-r ḥsw*: “overseer of singers” (PM II, 498 [93-95] and 499 [96-98]; Epigraphic Survey, 1930, v. IV: pl. 197, 203, 209, 226). If the men depicted in this way can be identified as a *šspt dhṇ*, and if *šmꜥw* made up the *dhṇ*,³⁵ then it is reasonable to assume that wherever there are such depictions the possibility that the men represented might be *šmꜥw* must be considered. The unlabeled men in TT 19 are one such case.

3.III.5.C The Tomb of Panehsy TT 16

The tomb of Panehsy preserves an interesting scene of the procession of the sacred vases of Amun (Baud and Drioton, 1928: fig. 16).³⁶ This ritual is led by priests, who burn incense, and men including Panehsy and his brother Pahesy, who sing. The brothers are both labeled as *šmꜥ wḏḥw n Imn*: chanters of the offering table of Amun. This scene clearly depicts a public procession; part of the scene is a representation of the front of the pylon of Karnak outside the temple enclosure in public space.

Elsewhere in the tomb Panehsy is identified as a priest (*ḥm-nṯr*) in the cult of Amenhotep-of-the-forecourt, as was his near contemporary Amenmose in TT 19. Panehsy’s title *ḥry šmꜥ wḏḥw n Imn* (“overseer of the chanters of the offering tables of Amun”) suggests that there was a group of *šmꜥ n wḏḥw n Imn* serving the temple. Although this is a rare title, it is also known from

papyrus BM 10052, one of the Tomb Robberies Papyri. There, a man called Hori, the father of a suspect being questioned, is identified as a *šmꜥt* (sic) *wḏḥw*.³⁷

3.III.6 Royal Family Processions

“The royal women participate as sistrum players and singers in the rituals of the gods” (Troy, 1986: 89).

Royal women were known to have held the title *šmꜥyt*, but not in large numbers. The exception to this was the family of Rameses II. In addition to many of his daughters (detailed below), a sister³⁸ named Tia was also a *šmꜥyt* (DB # 813; Cooney, 1956: 27). She is known from a number of monuments including a block that is presumed to have come from a chapel at Tanis (now in Toronto, 955.79.2) that shows the mother of Rameses II followed by the well known official Tia, and his wife Tia.³⁹ The inscription above the wife reads: *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Imn, snt nsw, špswt nsw, tꜥꜥ*: “Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, Royal Sister and Noble Favorite of the King, Tia” (Cooney, 1956: 27-28, pl. 51). She is also known from Pi-Ramesse where “the Chantress of Amun of ‘great of victories’, Royal Sister, Tia” is attested (Kitchen, 1973: 428).⁴⁰

Even when they are not shown taking part in a procession, royal women still included musical epithets in their titulary. A statuette of Ahmose-Nefertari dating to the reign of Rameses II may reflect that queen's interest in music as far back as the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Her epithets recorded on the piece include *wꜥb ꜥwy ḥr sššt mrt ḥrw ḥr šmꜥw*; “pure of hands carrying the sistra, beloved of voice in chanting” (Berlin 6908: KRI III, 657.9-10; see also Troy, 1986: 161-162, B4/23).⁴¹

3.III.6.A Great Court of Rameses II at Luxor Temple (PM II, 308 [28])

The inscription accompanying the scenes of the king is a dedication of the monument to Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, chief of his sanctuary [i.e. Luxor temple] (*hnry ipt.f*) (KRI II, 606; Abd el-Razik, 1974, 1975). Scenes on the upper portion of the north half of the western wall depict Rameses II with various deities. Queen Nefertari, three nome gods, and some of the royal children appear in a procession depicted in the register below. Eleven daughters can be identified as *šm'cwt*, and the one at the head of the line is a *wrt hnr n Imn*. In most cases the names of the daughters and the deities they served are preserved.⁴² Three served Hathor in three different manifestations, two served Amun, and one each served Isis, Mut, Sekhmet, Re, and Ptah. The south wall of the pylon also seems to preserve traces of the princes and princesses. Very little remains of the titles and names of the individuals, but they probably represent the same group of people (see PM II, 306 [17]; KRI II, 919-920; Kuentz, 1971: scene 16d). Some of the same princesses are also depicted in the first court of Rameses II's temple at Abydos (PM VI, 3 [13-18]; KRI II, 918-919). Although identified as *šm'cwt* at Luxor, their titles are omitted at Abydos. Perhaps the integral role of Luxor temple in the *Opet* festival influenced the princesses' use of the *šm'cwt* title on this particular monument. As has been shown previously, music played an important and visible part in the *Opet* festivities.

3.III.7 Temple ritual

Included in this category are scenes depicting temple rituals. They may be found on the actual temple walls or in the tomb of a person who participated in the rites.

3.III.7.A The Festival Temple of Tuthmosis III (*3h-mnw*) at Karnak⁴³

An east-west corridor (XL in PM II, 126, pl. XII.2) of the *3h-mnw* contains well preserved reliefs of a procession⁴⁴ of *šmꜥyw(t)*, and priests (*hm-ntr* and *wꜥb*). The scenes occupy the space between two episodes of the king performing rites before statues of the god Amun. Three women *šmꜥywt* lead the procession of men that consists of three *šmꜥw*, three *wꜥb hsw*, and a group of eight *hm-ntr* priests bearing vases, vessels, and in one case, a small royal statue. The two groups of *šmꜥyw(t)* bear the additional caption *šspt-dhn* and hold their hands outstretched as if clapping. The *wꜥb hsw*⁴⁵ priests behind them also seem to be vocalizing as they hold one hand to their mouths in the gesture usually associated with speaking (Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 574ff). This procession of offerings moves toward the western vignettes of the king offering incense to a statue of Amun, and purifying another statue of Amun with water. The statues stand next to small shrines with *shen* signs on top and a lotus pad or a papyrus umbel growing from them.

The eastern scene is described by Myśliwiec as “extinguishing torches in lakes of milk” (1985: 33, pl. XVI). It consists of the king offering incense and a purifying libation (*sntr* and *swꜥb*) before piles of offerings being presented to a seated figure of Amun, “Lord of Thrones”. A *hm-ntr*-priest holding two torches approaches two tubs probably containing milk (Myśliwiec, 1985: 18). Two Nile-god figures seem to act as candelabra (ibid.). This rite may be associated with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (Myśliwiec, 1985: 18; Altenmüller, LÄ III, 1078-79). However, the presence of light-bearing servants and heaps of food and drink indicate the morning ceremony of the god, conducted at dawn when artificial light would have been necessary.⁴⁶ These two offerings are often presented simultaneously, or in immediate succession (Blackman, 1912: 69), exactly as portrayed in the festival hall; on the west side the successive presentation of water and incense is represented, and on the east, the simultaneous presentation of them. If the scenes

depicting the *šmꜥw* are related to the eastern vignette as well as the western one, it can be deduced that the *šmꜥw* participated in both the morning and evening ritual.

The inclusion of female and male *šmꜥyw(r)* in a procession in close proximity to the king and the cult statue of the god lends weight to their status. They must have been considered ritually pure as were the *wꜥb* and *ḥm ntr* they accompanied. Only priests and other initiates could be so near the image of the god (Spalinger, 1998: 241; Assmann, 1984: 14-16; Bleeker, 1967: 52; Sauneron, 1960: 80-90). Therefore, the *šmꜥyw(r)* must have been ritual specialists.

Further evidence of the privileged status of the *šmꜥywt* lies in a statement about female musicians in the tomb of Kheruef. There, the song sung by female musicians was said to “open the doors of heaven that the god may go forth pure” (Teeter, 1993: 85).⁴⁷ It is commonly thought that the doors of the wooden shrines of the gods were called “the doors of heaven” (Bell, 1997: 134). This places the chantresses at the ceremony in which the god’s shrine was opened for the daily rites.

3.III.7.B Tomb of Amunhotep-sa-se TT 75

Amunhotep’s induction ceremony as the second prophet of Amun is depicted here (Davies, 1923b: 9, pl. XIV). An entourage enters the garden in front of the temple and is greeted by a group of chantresses of Amun, consisting of his wife⁴⁸ and three daughters. They carry sistra and *menywt*. Their importance is shown by their larger scale compared with that of the other figures in the entourage. This, however, is probably due to their relationship to the deceased, and not their office. The presence of other people greeting Amunhotep and the event’s location just outside the walls of Karnak indicate that this was an official ceremony and not just a family affair.

3.III.7.C Tomb of Min TT 109

The scene under consideration does not clearly depict a procession, but is comprised of three groups of musicians: two female, one male (Virey, 1887: 29; Virey, 1891: 364, fig. 1; Lüddeckens, 1943: 49, abb. 17). The top register shows three women holding fly whisks that are labeled with the rubric *qd mdw in hnryt*: “words spoken by the *Kheneryt*” followed by three lines of text addressed to the deceased. The middle register shows three men with the rubric *šsp dhñ iit m hwt ntr*: “the choir coming from the temple” and three more lines of song. The bottom register contains three women with sistra, the simple label *šmꜥ(y)wt*, and a further three lines of text. The other scenes on this wall deal with the offering of vases, incense, and meat by the deceased on behalf of Tuthmosis III (PM I.1.226[3]).⁴⁹ This offering and the accompanying musical performance may have been carried out at the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III. This cannot be ascertained, however, based on the available information.

3.IV CONCLUSIONS

The depictions of *šmꜥywt* in diverse ritual contexts demonstrate that they had actual duties and a place in the religious hierarchy. The title was not merely honorific. Although more women than men held the title, men are occasionally identified as *šmꜥw*, especially in groups participating in processions and ritual contexts. As named individuals, only a few men can be documented.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, this shows that being a chanter or chantress was not a gender specific role. Both men and women are depicted in processions clapping hands, although men do not carry sistra or *menywt* as the women do.⁵¹ Thus, the title seems to entail similar duties for both men and women. Because it is a title used by both genders, it cannot be tied to a woman’s marital status (see section 6.III.4.A).

The *šmꜣyw(t)*'s association with *wꜥb* priests, offering bearers, and other temple personnel in graphic representations demonstrates their relative place in the religious hierarchy. It is clear that this specialized grade of ritualist was an essential part of the daily routine of the temple as well as being necessary for public displays and festivals. They were also an important part of funerary rites carried out by the general populace, and perhaps hired themselves out for those occasions (see Section 3.III.3.A). Since actual service was involved, it seems doubtful that the title was bestowed upon noble women and men as a reward or honorific.

The role of non-royal women in the New Kingdom religious hierarchy seems to have been limited to the performance of music for the gods in some temple services and in processions meant for public viewing. With the new popularity of processions during the New Kingdom, the public had the opportunity to become more involved in state religion, and it seems to have provided the opportunity for more women to participate. Being a *šmꜣyt* seems to have been one of the only avenues of service left open to women in an age where the priesthood was becoming exclusive and professionalized (Spalinger, 1998: 245). Perhaps the redirection of women into musical specialization was part of this process.

¹ E.g., BM 22557 and Louvre N 3 657- both of male harpers called *ḥsy*. There is also a beautiful scene from a Memphite tomb showing Raia, the Overseer of Singers of Ptah, performing for a statue of Ptah, presumably in his temple (Martin, 1985: pl. 22). This piece is also discussed in Section 2.III.1.

² Assmann has identified processions and daily ritual as the main elements of cultic religion (1991a:105-22; see also Spalinger, 1998: 253 n. 77).

³ Her evidence is not specific of *šmꜣywt*, but rather the *ḥnr* and general "prêtresses-musiciennes" (Naguib, 1990: Sections II.4.1.5.2 and I.2.1.5.2).

⁴ Occasionally only one arm is shown, as in Troy (1986: fig. 60— OK Khufu fragment); see also comments in Section 2.II.

⁵ E.g., the fragment from the funerary temple of Khufu (Troy, 1986: fig. 60; Guglielmi, 1991: pl. 1b).

⁶ E.g., a fragment from the mortuary temple of Sahure in Borchardt (1981: vol II, bl. 22); also in Guglielmi, (1991: pl. 1a).

⁷ E.g., Guglielmi (1991: pl. II) shows a relief of Amenhotep III with twin Merets behind him from his temple at Soleb.

- ⁸ Images are plentiful at Karnak and Luxor (PM II, 567 - index entry for "Meret"). See also the temple of Rameses II at Abydos (Kees, 1912: 272 Nr. 15, pl. II, Abb. 4; Guglielmi, 1991: pls. VIII-IX).
- ⁹ The original of this text by Rameses II is at Abu Simbel, with a copy by Rameses III at Medinet Habu. This text is published by Naville (1882) and KRI II, 258-281.
- ¹⁰ See LD IV, 26 Philae, 2nd pylon; Manniche, 1991a, fig. 38- Dendera.
- ¹¹ See Robins (1993b: 164); D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig (1988: 56-57); Spencer (1982: 51); Tosi and Roccati (1971-1972: n. 50053).
- ¹² This topic is dealt with extensively by Bell (1997: 157-176), Bell (1985: 251-294), and Wolf (1931).
- ¹³ *Hḫḫt* was a district in the fourth nome of Upper Egypt, near modern El Rizeiqat (Hannig, 1995: 1374).
- ¹⁴ There seems to be room for a rubric although the scene is rather small and crowded. Damage does not appear to be the cause of the omission.
- ¹⁵ For more on performers in gateways, kiosks, and porches, see Badawy (1975). Ptolemaic reliefs in temple entrances at Philae (Daumas, 1969: 1-17) the Mut complex, and at Medamud may further indicate that this was where some performances took place.
- ¹⁶ For publication information on these tombs, see Appendix D.
- ¹⁷ DB #287
- ¹⁸ Similar texts exist in TT 39, TT 182, TT 95, and TT 86.
- ¹⁹ Three women with the same rubric stand above in the first register.
- ²⁰ Professional mourners in Egypt were known from ancient times (Spencer, 1982: 51; Robins, 1993b: 164) up until at least the beginning of this century. Blackman recounts the use of female professional mourners in the villages of Upper Egypt (1927: 109f, 122f). These women accompanied the female family members and friends in the profuse expression of grief: shrieking, screaming, wailing, slapping their own cheeks, crying, waving handkerchiefs, covering their heads and breasts with mud, and making noise.
- ²¹ Two of these men may be foreigners (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 35). Although dressed like Egyptians, they wear cone shaped hats normally associated with Levantine peoples (Manniche, 1991b: 63).
- ²² Davies mentions a statue of Kenamun found in situ in the temple of Mut that described the attendance of the female choir (Davies, 1930: 39 n.3). This is incorrect. The statue in question, Cairo 935, makes no reference to a choir (PM II, 262; Benson and Gourlay, 1899: 326-328; Borchardt, 1911-1936, vol. III: 163-164, pl. 158; *Urk.* IV, 1407 [422]).
- ²³ The *Sed* festival of Amenhotep III is known from both Soleb and TT 192 (Gohary, 1992: 11-18), but detailed information on the Soleb reliefs is not available.
- ²⁴ Many blocks with depictions of musicians on them are known from East Karnak (Smith and Redford, 1976; Gohary, 1992), but none have preserved the title or word *šm'(yt)* in any form.
- ²⁵ The group of *ḥsyw* address a chorus to Sokar.
- ²⁶ Restoration of lacuna by Epigraphic Survey (1980: pl. 59).
- ²⁷ For information about the headdresses see Wente's note * in Epigraphic Survey (1980: 52).
- ²⁸ The group includes Khonsu's mother, wife, and daughters.
- ²⁹ The goddess Tjenenet of On was the consort of Montu, and had rooms dedicated to her at the temples of Tod and Armant (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 14-15).
- ³⁰ The name of the individual is worn and difficult to read but may be *Tnt*.
- ³¹ The title *šm'yt n Mwt* is surprisingly rare. Only four examples can be cited from the database; DB #30, #434, #550, #672. Three others were *šm'yt* for the whole Theban triad, Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (DB #120, #664, #704).
- ³² It seems clear that the mourning is for the king and not Khonsu as the scene does not involve the funerary rites of Khonsu, but rather the estate of the dead king.
- ³³ The representation of the statue is now disintegrated, but was seen and documented by Hay (PM, I.1, 1960: 33).
- ³⁴ Hannig uses a similar figure to illustrate an *imy-r ḥsyw* (1995: 59).
- ³⁵ As shown by the rubric *dhn in šm'yt* in TT 86 and TT 93 (see Section 2.III.3).
- ³⁶ The purpose of this kind of procession is unknown. For discussion of the vessels and the procession see Radwan (1985) and Traunecker (1972).
- ³⁷ The feminine "t" is present. More information on this and TT 16 is given in Appendix A.
- ³⁸ Cooney has interpreted her relationship to the king as that of a former concubine (Cooney, 1956: 27).
- ³⁹ Information on Tia is found in PM III, pl. 2, 654-55; Martin (1983 and 1984); Målek (1974); Helck, (1960, vol. II: 188 n. 143a).
- ⁴⁰ The tomb of Tia and Tia is known at Saqqara, and is being excavated by a joint project of the Egypt Exploration Society-Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. She is DB #813.

- ⁴¹ These epithets were probably never applied to the queen during her lifetime as they are not found on objects dating to that time. They are more typical of the Amarna age and after (Gay Robins, personal communication).
- ⁴² See also KRI II, 916-921 and Lieblein (1979: 802, #2092) for the names of the princesses.
- ⁴³ The building has been associated with the *Sed* festival (Uphill, 1965: 368), but the particular scenes discussed do not seem to have any relation with the *Sed* festival.
- ⁴⁴ Above the complete register described here is another that preserves only the legs of a procession of men going in the opposite direction. They are probably part of the same group as that depicted below them.
- ⁴⁵ The use of the word *w^cb* in this context may be adjectival and not part of a title. It may have been important to distinguish these "pure" singers from the secular kind.
- ⁴⁶ See Sauneron's description of the morning ritual, including the sprinkling of water and purifying with incense (1960: 80-90). Also see Moret (1988: 171) who includes purification with resin and incense in the daily ritual, as well as purification with water.
- ⁴⁷ This rubric accompanies the scenes of two groups of women seated near the acrobats. A similar scene is also found in the tomb of Antefoker, TT 60 (Davies and Gardiner, 1920: pl. XXIII) which preserves the phrase *wn ꜥꜣ pt pr ꜥ ntr* (opening the doors of heaven that the god may go forth) in association with singers and dancers.
- ⁴⁸ She was also a *hkrꜥ nsw* (lady-in-waiting).
- ⁴⁹ Another scene of musicians exists in the tomb, but is unpublished except for general descriptions by Virey (1887: 31f; 1891: 369-70) and (PM I.1, 227[9]). It is described as an offering scene including a female lutist, flutist, clapper, and dancer as well as a male harpist.
- ⁵⁰ For the New Kingdom, only eight men were found who included *šmꜥw* among their titles (see Appendix A).
- ⁵¹ The groups of men and women depicted in TT 109 (section 3.III.7.C), TT 86 (section 3.III.2.A), and in the Opet festival reliefs at Luxor temple (section 3.III.1.A) clearly show this division where the men clap while the women shake sistra and *menywt*.

CHAPTER 4

INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE AND LITERARY SOURCES

4.I INTRODUCTION

Šmꜣywt are mentioned in a number of stories, letters, legal documents, and royal decrees. The sources provide evidence for the presence of *šmꜣywt* in a variety of contexts, making it clear that the title was held by a diverse group of women. *Šmꜣywt* are grouped with servants in Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela, with temple personnel in the Canopus Decree, and they are wives and mothers in their correspondence with loved ones. The literary sources give depth to our perceptions of the lives and activities of the *šmꜣywt* because a narrative can paint a more vivid picture of a woman, or group of women, than mere funerary epithets or captions can.

4.II ROYAL DECREES

4.II.1 Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela

*tw swꜣb.n ḥm.f ꜣnh(.w), wdꜣ(.w), snb(.w) ḥmw ḥmwt šmꜣw(y)t ḥbywt wn m ndtyw
m pr nsw lp.tw bꜣkw.sn¹ r ꜣḥ r pr-ḥꜥ n nb tꜣwy (Urk. IV, 2030.6-8; Bennett, 1939:
10, line 22 of text).*

His majesty, l.p.h., has purified/consecrated men and women servants, chantresses and dancers, who are as dependents in the house of the king; and their work/wages are to be charged to the palace, and to the treasury of the lord of the two lands.

In the decree, the king declared his intentions concerning the restoration of the temples. He ordered new images of the gods and endowed the temples with property and priests. The consecration of servants, chanters, and dancers falls into the same category of endowment. According to the decree, their wages were to be charged to the palace as a personal donation of

the king. This passage is the only reference to a salary for the *šmʿywt* and it does not specify how much was to be given.

Because the *šmʿw(y)t* are listed with servants (*ḥmw*, *ḥmwt*) and not with the priests mentioned in the preceding portion of the text (line 17), it seems likely that their status was considered closer to that of a servant than that of a priest, even though evidence presented elsewhere in this study demonstrates that the *šmʿywt* enjoyed a certain amount of prestige and were of a higher social class than servants would have been.

4.II.2 Canopus Decree

In 238 B.C., a synod of priests issued the Canopus Decree honoring Ptolemy III and his Queen, Berenice. In it they set up a fifth phyle of priests and also arranged for the postmortem deification of Ptolemy III's daughter, the Princess Berenice. The section detailing the cult activities to be performed in honor of the princess contains a reference to the *šmʿywt*, who in the Greek text are called ἱερῶν παρθένων: "holy virgins".

When the early corn comes up, the *šmʿywt* should praise the deified princess and honor her image with jewelry (Urk. II, 150.10ff; line 250; Spiegelberg, 1922: 75).

This quote defines the role of the *šmʿywt* in a specific religious service. It demonstrates that those who held the title had actual responsibilities, implying that even as late as the Ptolemaic Period the title had not entirely become an honorific. The text following the one just quoted (Urk. II, 151.5ff) deals with the *ḥsyw* who are instructed to sing daily in honor of the *k3* of the princess. The assignment of two different activities to individuals holding two different titles is indicative of the differentiation between the titles *ḥsywt* and *šmʿywt* (as discussed in Sections 2.III

and 2.IV). This decree, along with two references in the database (DB #427, 662), constitute the entire corpus of available evidence for the title *šmꜣyt* during the Ptolemaic Period.

4.III LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS²

4.III.1 P. Berlin 10021

This Middle Kingdom document from Illahun appears to have been an administrative list of individuals and contains a reference to a *šmꜣyt* named *S3t-tp-iḥw* who was in the *ḥnrt* of Illahun (Scharff, 1924: autographed text 9, line 5). If *ḥnrt* here refers to an institution whose activities included music (as proposed in Chapter 2), then this example shows that *šmꜣywt* held positions within it.³

4.III.2 Amarah west stela

This Ramesside text was inscribed on a sandstone stela that was found in the temple at Amarah (Fairman, 1938). It is an agreement in which a mother and her son renounce all claims to the property of the boy's father in favor of her daughter, a *šmꜣyt n Ḥnm Iry-th* (DB #513), on the condition that she look after her mother, a *šmꜣyt n Ḥr, nb Mlꜣm, T3-mḥyt* (DB #514) in her old age.⁴ This property was extensive and included male and female servants, fields, pastures, and trees and was originally meant to be passed on from father to son. The sides of the stela carry a curse against anyone who disputes the agreement (Fairman, 1938: 155). The lunette scene shows the dedicator, the son, worshipping Amun in ram form (ibid.: pl. 11.3).⁵ The relevance of this text to the present study is that it provides additional evidence for the participation of the *šmꜣywt* in local cults. Amarah is in Nubia, and accordingly, the gods whom mother and daughter served, Khnum and Horus of Aniba, were gods of the south.

4.III.3 Tomb Robberies Papyri

In the accounts of the trials associated with the tomb robberies of the 20th Dynasty, the inspection of the tombs of four *šmꜥywt n pr dw3t ntr n 1mn-rꜥ nsw ntrw* (chantresses of the domain of the divine adoratrice of Amun Re, king of the gods) is related (Peet, 1930: P. Abbott 3, 17-18; KRI VI, 468-481).⁶ They are included at the end of a list of royal tombs that were searched as well. These *šmꜥywt* may be regarded as an independent group in the employ of the Divine Adoratrice (Peet, 1930: 48). No other *šmꜥywt* associated with the office of the divine adoratrice are known.

In a separate account of the tomb robberies, P. British Museum 10052 (KRI VI, 767-803) provides a further attestation of the title. A list of individuals examined in this matter includes the name of one of the suspects' fathers, a *šmꜥt* (sic) *n wdhw, Hr* (Chanter of the Offering Table, Hor).⁷

4.III.4 Adoption Papyrus

The text of the Adoption Papyrus dates to the reign of Ramesses XI.⁸ Naunefer,⁹ a chantress of Seth of Spermeru, and her husband, the Stablemaster Nebnefer, had this document drafted in order to legally adopt her as his heir, thereby giving her explicit rights of inheritance over and above the claims of any other relative, especially his sisters and brothers. The mere fact that a legal document was drawn up to protect the wishes of a man and his wife concerning their property suggests that this property was of some consequence.

Seventeen years later an addition was made to this document. The new clause involved the adoption of the three children of a slave the couple had purchased together. The adoption

made them freemen. She also adopted her younger brother, Padiu, as a son. This may have been motivated by the fact that he married one of the aforementioned slave's children who was adopted in the same document. Perhaps because Padiu was biologically related to her, Naunefer reserved for him role of executor of the will over the other three.

Two of the witnesses to the second part were the *šmꜣyt n Sth*, *T3y-ḥryt*, and the *šmꜣyt n Nmty*, *Tnt-nbt-ḥwt*.¹⁰ They are listed alongside the names of a stablemaster, a farmer, and a woman with no title. The witnesses of the first part were four stablemasters, a Sherden and his wife, and Nebnefer's sister. The variety of witnesses, from stable masters to a woman with no title, reveals no specific pattern for choosing witnesses. The witnesses may have been people with whom the couple were in regular contact, namely their neighbors or friends.

The location of the family's residence in Middle Egypt, the man's title, and the presence of many military men as witnesses to the document, suggest that this was a military family resettled as part of a military pension. There are two possibilities for the wife's attachment to the local cult. Nebnefer may have married a local woman after arriving there, or his wife may have become active in the local cult after moving there. Both options demonstrate that being involved with the local cult was part of being in the elite class of society during the Ramesside era. It seems that the women wished to participate in whatever institution was socially and economically powerful in their area.

This example also demonstrates that a woman could be a *šmꜣyt* without being a member of elite society. Her husband belonged to that portion of the middle class, or lesser elite, where men were not courtiers, but were important enough to make a comfortable living and amass sufficient wealth to pass on to their heirs.

4.IV STORIES

4.IV.1 The Tale of Sinuhe, P. Berlin 3022

The story of Sinuhe provides a description of a group of *šmꜥywt*¹¹ that is helpful for determining in which types of ritual settings they were present (P. Berlin 3022, line 194; Koch, 1990: 62). In the last part of the story, Sinuhe receives a message from the King asking him to return to Egypt. He reminds Sinuhe of the necessity of a proper Egyptian burial, which includes a funerary procession. The relevant portion of the text describes an ox-drawn hearse led by the chantresses and chanters. When the cortege arrives, *Muu*-dancers perform at the entrance of the tomb and offerings are made.

4.IV.2 P. Westcar, P. Berlin 3033

In one story recorded in P. Westcar, the verb *šmꜥ* is used in a list of terms describing the noise emanating from the sack of barley left behind by goddesses who had disguised themselves as *hnryt* ("entertainers of the *Khener*") (Blackman, 1988: 15; Erman, 1890: 68). *Hsi*, *šmꜥ*, *hbt*, *w3g* are the terms used to describe these noises which were stated to be "all that is done for a king". Presumably these were the activities performed by the *Khener*, since they were the ones who left behind the sack of barley.

ꜥꜥ.n sdm.n.s hrw hsi šmꜥ hbt.t w3g irr.t nb.t n nsw m t3 ꜥ.t (line 12.1)

Then she heard the noise of music-making, chanting, dancing, and jubilation (?), all the things usually done for a king, in the room.

Here again is an example of the words *hsi* and *šmꜥ* apparently used together to indicate different types of vocal music. Since the activities are described as "what is done for a king", it would

seem that *ḥsyw* and *šmꜥw* were employed by the palace. This assumption is further supported by the story of Nefer-ka-re and the General.

4.IV.3 Nefer-ka-re and the General

Different parts of this story are known from two New Kingdom tablets¹² and are also recorded on P. Chassinat I (Louvre n. E 25351) which may date to the 25th Dynasty (Posener, 1957: 120-121). According to the story, a complainant who goes to make his case at King Nefer-ka-re's court, is distracted by the activity there, namely the commotion of singing singers (*ḥsy* *ḥsyw*), chanting chanters (*šmꜥ* *šmꜥw*), screaming screamers (*ttḥ* *ttḥw*),¹³ and whistling whistlers (*gḥwḥ* *gḥwḥw*)¹⁴ (Posener, 1957: 126, 128, P Chassinat I, x + 2). In fact, it is so impossible to be heard that the complainant begins to cry [and tear at his hair?]. The text is quite broken in this initial section, but the extant portion suggests that the musicians have been employed as an intentional distraction. Unfortunately, the text breaks here. The use of two different words in this passage of the story demonstrates that there were two different kinds of performance activity associated with the words *šmꜥ* and *ḥsy*. Both of the groups of people who held these titles were apparently employed in the palace for secular purposes.

4.V PRAYERS¹⁵

4.V.1 Bankes Stela No. 3

A stela dedicated during the reign of Ramesses II associates yet another goddess, besides Hathor and Meret, with music. Here the goddess Mut is invoked. A prayer to her that comprises the body of the text reads: "Giving praise to Mut, mistress of heaven and mistress of the house of Amun, the hand that carries the sistrum, sweet of voice. Chantresses, content your heart with all

she says, [...] at the fore of the heart. May she give life, prosperity, health, intelligence, favor, and love to the *k3* of the scribe in the place of truth, Ramose, revered with the great god" (Černý, 1958: n.3; KRI III, 619-620).¹⁶ Since the word *ḥsy* is much more commonly associated with this goddess, as in the title *ḥsyt n p3 ʿ n Mwt* (discussed in Section 2.III.1), it is interesting that here it is the *šmʿywt* who are mentioned as being in the service of the goddess.

4.V.2 Amarna Hymn to the Aten

The tombs of three nobles at el Amarna preserve a hymn dedicated to the Aten.¹⁷ A passage in the hymn describing the activities taking place in the Court of the House of Benben confirms that singing and music were part of the cult of the Aten.¹⁸

*di.n.k stwt.k [...] m ḥb sḏfw šdḏ.k sw ḥsw šmʿ(w) nḥmw ršwt m wsḥt n ḥwt bnb n ḥwt nṯr.k
m 3ḥt-itn st m3ʿt...* (line 9-111)

When you give your rays [every land] is in festival and is provisioned when you illuminate it; singers and chanters shout with joy in the court of the Benben house and your temple in Akhet-aten, place of truth... (Davies, 1908, v.6: pl. XVI, lines 9-11).

It is evident that musicians continued to be used for religious purposes, even during the religious reformations of Akhenaten, and are a prominent feature of the Amarna cult activities. Although most of the graphic evidence for the participation of musicians in the cult of the Aten does not identify the individuals or groups by title, some information does exist. For example, one block confirms the presence of the *šmʿywt* at the Aten temple of Karnak (Smith and Redford, 1976: fig. 20.35).

4.VI LETTERS

A number of extant letters from the Ramesside Period are either addressed to or sent by *šmꜥywt*.¹⁹ The content of the letters is usually mundane — an inquiry after someone's health, instructions for a business transaction, and other personal concerns. They provide glimpses into the real-life situations of the chantress and her family. Here she can be seen in her true social context, and not one artificially created by the traditional, idealized funerary requirements of the tomb or stela.

It should be noted that the women in these letters chose to be identified by their title, and not simply by name or relationship, even when the recipient was a relative. This reflects a degree of pride in and status conferred by the title that would not be expected if it were simply an empty designation.

The existence of potentially literate *šmꜥywt* has been documented by Bryan in her work on female literacy (1985, *passim*).²⁰ Four of the five Theban women documented with scribal equipment under their chairs were *šmꜥywt*. Similarly, most of the women encountered in this section on letters were from the wealthy, Theban middle class whose male family members were scribes and priests. They could have had access to writing instruction, and they were often responsible for business dealings, as is shown in two of the letters²¹ detailed in Appendix C. These letters illustrate the capacity women had for acting on others' behalf in business matters, which may have necessitated the ability to read. The writer of the letters, Nesamenope, must have known men who could have carried out his wishes, but he trusted two different women to act in his place.

Moreover, in their role as *šmꜥywt* they were engaged in cult activities that would have required instruction and perhaps a sort of apprenticeship to receive the requisite knowledge of

rites and ceremonies. Musical notation did not exist before the Ptolemaic Period, but a written script of the songs used in various rituals would have been useful in this instruction. Although Egypt had a strong oral tradition, the homogeneity among the recorded texts of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley hymn (Manniche, 1988: 30) suggests that the words to the song may have been transcribed in order to be passed on from one generation to the next.

Evidence for the written transmission of hymns does not appear until the Ptolemaic Period. The religious festivals in Alexandria during this era must have required that at least some women be literate, for female choirs had to be able to read words and musical notation (Pomeroy, 1984: 59 see also 20, 48). During the Ptolemaic Period, royal women were not only literate, but patrons of literature. The education of the princesses led to the opportunity for court women to be educated as well (ibid.: 59).²² Although this situation describes the Ptolemaic court, it might be reasonable to assume that noble women of the Pharaonic era also enjoyed the same opportunity.

4.VI.1 Letters concerning the family of Butehamon

The series of letters concerning the Scribe Butehamon and his father Thutmose are a good source of information about the life of one family that included *šmꜥywt*. Of the extant letters relating to Butehamon, he wrote five, 11 others were addressed to him, and he is named as a third person in five others.²³ The main correspondence is between him and his father. The two women mentioned most often are Shedemdua and Hemisheri, possibly a second wife and a sister-in-law respectively of Butehamon (Niwiński, 1984: 143). It is also possible that these two women were the second wives of Butehamon and his father. Not enough evidence exists, however, to further clarify their relationships. Shedemdua and Hemisheri are most often found addressed along with

Butehamon when he is in Thebes. In the one letter where Butehamon was absent from Thebes (*LRL* 8), they are addressed in the care of Thutmose. Another woman, the Chantress of Amun Akhtay, is known to have been a wife of Butehamon who predeceased him (Bierbrier, 1982b: 36) and is not mentioned in these letters.

The scribe Butehamon is a well-known figure from Deir el Medina. He lived at the end of the 20th Dynasty and the beginning of the 21st. Bierbrier has placed him in the family of the Scribe Amennakht whose descendants can be traced for six generations at Deir el Medina (1975: 39ff). They were an established scribal family, with a history of holding the title “Scribe of the Necropolis” (*sš p3 hr*) dating back to the reign of Ramesses III. Butehamon was one of those responsible for the reburial of the royal mummies in the Deir el Bahari cache after the civil unrest and the rise to prominence of the High Priesthood of Amun in the early 21st Dynasty (Bierbrier, 1982b: 121). Butehamon’s house at Medinet Habu, where the Deir el Medina villagers relocated because of war with Nubia and Libyan raiders, was wealthy enough to have a stone-columned central hall (*ibid.*: fig. 80).

Since Butehamon’s quality of life is known, considerably more is known about the lifestyle of Shedemdua and Hemisheri than most other women of the period. Although Butehamon’s family were not from the most elite segment of society, they epitomize the wealthy lesser elite who formed a sort of literate middle class. In general, the picture these letters paint is one of close family ties. Concern for the welfare of the women and children is always expressed, and the addressees are always reassured concerning the condition of the writer. Other villagers are also exhorted to take care of them in the absence of Butehamon or Thutmose (*LRL* 7 and *LRL* 31).

4.VI.2 Letters concerning Herere

A series of letters concerning a woman named Herere²⁴ illuminates the state of unrest in Thebes at the time when Butehamon and Thutmose were corresponding. Herere's activities recorded in these letters indicate a level of importance and personal power, possibly derived from her marriage to the High Priest of Amun Piankh (who is referred to as "general" [*imy-r ms*^c] in *LRL* 14 and *LRL* 17). She conducts military business for her husband in Thebes (*LRL* 30) and accompanies him to Elephantine on campaign (*LRL* 38). In *LRL* 38 and 39 she also takes on the role of administrator, making sure that people do as they have been ordered to, namely, give rations to the necropolis workmen. Her titles *wrt hnr n Imn-r^c nsw ntrw*²⁵ and *šm^cyt n Imn-r^c* alone do not suggest such secular power. However, one may assume that the status these titles conferred commanded respect because she uses them regularly to identify herself in her correspondence. She never refers to herself as the wife of the General Piankh.

4.VII CONCLUSIONS

The evidence discussed above allows a few important points to be made. The difference between the terms *hsy* and *šm^c* has been discussed in Chapter 2, and many of the examples here support the conclusion made there that the two titles denote different activities and therefore the translation "singer" for both of them is inaccurate.

The evidence cited here also indicates the classes represented by the women who held the title. Their social status is varied, ranging from the wife of General Piankh down to the wives of provincial landowners and Deir el Medina villagers. They worked in the palace and in the temple. *Šm^cywt* are also demographically dispersed throughout the country, from Amarah West in Nubia

to Pi-Ramesses in the Delta, and they served the full range of local deities. The common ground these women shared was access to wealth.

¹ The use of the term *bikw* here fits the sense of the word “wages” (*Wb* I, 428; Leprohon, 1985: 99) or “rations” (Bleiberg, 1988: 163).

² It is interesting to note that there are no *šm^cywt* mentioned in the Wilbour Papyrus. The common designation *nh.t n niwt* seems to be the only title used for women in this document.

³ An alternate translation for *hnrt* is “workhouse” or “prison” (Ward, 1986, 153 and 1983, 71, n. 29).

⁴ The legal aspects of this document are dealt with by Théodoridès (1964: 45ff).

⁵ See also Helck (1960: 239).

⁶ The location of these tombs is unknown, but they are now suspected to be in the Dra Abu el Naga region (Graefe, 1981, vol. 2: 48).

⁷ For *šm^c n wghw*, see Traunecker (1972). See also Appendix A dealing with the men in TT 16 and TT 19 who held the title *šm^c n wghw*.

⁸ The main publication is Gardiner (1940: 23-29); see also discussions by Eyre (1992: 207-221), Cruz-Uribe (1988: 220-223), and Allam (1990, 189-191).

⁹ Her name is also spelled Rennefer. This alternate spelling is commented on by Eyre (1992: 208) and Groll (1984: 61).

¹⁰ For another example of a *šm^cyt* acting as a witness to a legal proceeding, this time an oracular judgment, see *LRL*, 31, Wente (1967a: 199). There, a *šm^cyt n Imn* and a scribe witness a decision made by the oracle of Khnum.

¹¹ The reference is plainly to a plural group, and not a single man as implied by Ward (1982, #1514). Text B appears to refer only to men because of the absence of the feminine 𓆎 and any female determinative. This may, however, be a peculiarity of the hieratic text. The Ashmolean version of the text reads 𓆎 (Barns, 1952: vs. 16).

¹² T. Oriental Institute #13539 and T. IFAO (no number).

¹³ *it* has also been translated as “clatter” by Wente in *Epigraphic Survey* (1980: 71, n. p). Parkinson renders it “acclamation” (1991: 54-56).

¹⁴ Or is this a misspelling of *wsg* as seen in P. Westcar above? Neither have a clear translation.

¹⁵ In Coffin Text Spell 301 (as seen in B3L and B1L), the reading *pr šm^ctt* (𓆎) may be a mistake. “I have passed by the house of the singer, and it was an *ibyt*-bird which brought you to me ...” (de Buck, 1951, vol. 4; Faulkner, 1973, vol. 1: 221). Another text of spell 301 (L1Li) has a variant reading *pr nsw*. Spell 301 corresponds to BD 76, in which *šm^ctt* is consistently replaced by *pr nsw*, “the house of the king” or “palace” (Allen, 1974; Faulkner, 1972). A reading of *pr-nsw* is favored, if only because it makes more sense. *Pr-šm^ctt* is not known in the Pyramid texts, nor is it present in the Book of the Dead.

¹⁶ Ramose has been identified as the owner of three tombs at Gurnah; TT 7, TT 212, TT 250 (PM I.1, 309).

¹⁷ The tombs are those of Mahu, Tutu, and Meryta at Tell el Amarna (Davies, 1908, v. 6: pl. XVI, and 1906, vol. 4: 28f). Minor variations occur in each text.

¹⁸ For a good summary of musical activity in the Amarna era, see Manniche, 1991b and Leprohon in Redford, 1988, 49.

¹⁹ See Appendix C.

²⁰ Women were depicted with scribal equipment under their chairs in Theban tombs 55, 69, 147, and 162.

²¹ *LRL* 37- P. Geneva D191 (Wente, 1967a: 71-74 and 1990: 174-75) and *LRL* 36- P. British Museum 10412 (Wente, 1967a, 70-71 and 1990: 175-76).

²² See also Cole (1981: 219-245).

²³ Letters dealing with Butchamun and the women frequently mentioned in conjunction with him are briefly summarized in Appendix C.

²⁴ Goff (1979: 53), Bierbrier (1973: 311), and Kitchen (1973: 45) have refuted the suggestion that she was the mother of Nedjmet, Herihor’s wife.

²⁵ Here there is some support for Wente’s theory that the title *wrt hnr n Imn* was the prerogative of the wife, sister, or daughter of the high priest (1967a: 157 n. 16) since Piankh was the High Priest of Amun.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TITLE *šmꜣyt*

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters have, for the most part, examined the context and activities of impersonal groups of *šmꜣyw(t)*. Now that the generalities of the title have been presented, specific women may be discussed. The database constructed for this study has been a useful tool for sorting the 861 women examined, and grouping them into meaningful data sets.

The results of sorting the database chronologically are presented here along with relevant historical issues in order to create a sense of the evolution of the title, and the social context that produced that evolution. Groupings based on other criteria such as provenience or the deities whom the women served are mentioned where this information may shed light on the historical context.¹

After considering the evidence from the many attestations of *šmꜣywt*, it is clear that the title underwent changes in status from the earliest Middle Kingdom attestations through the Ptolemaic Period. What social and historical conditions affected the title's use? Why did the title appear to become commonplace in the early New Kingdom, with a noticeable increase in the numbers of women holding the title from the 19th through 21st Dynasties? The answers must not be sought in a single theory or model, for societal forces are multifaceted.

It is apparent that changes in administrative titles indicate larger historical developments (Kemp, 1983: 107-8). The application of this concept need not be restricted to the context of the male administrative structure to which Kemp was referring. The origin and development of the title *šmꜣyt* in the Middle Kingdom and its widespread use thereafter can be seen as part of historical developments and social changes that shaped each era.

Non-royal women's titles from the New Kingdom and later dynasties are characterized by roles that pertain to music and music making. The early New Kingdom marks the start of a trend toward a more specialized, visible, and accessible role in religion for women of wealthy families than had been previously available to them during the Middle Kingdom. For a time the title *šmꜣyt* was quite common. This trend continued through the 19th Dynasty and into the Third Intermediate Period where there are significant increases in the number of documented cases of women who held the title *šmꜣyt*. Afterwards, however, there appears to have been a sharp decline in the title's usage. The historical context behind the evolution of the title over time is explored and supported by data from the database.


5.II OLD KINGDOM ATTESTATIONS

As noted in section 2.I.1, only one Old Kingdom example of the use of the word *šmꜣ* exists. A rubric accompanying a funeral cortege depicted in the tomb of Djau at Deir el Gabrawi (Davies, 1902: pt. 2, pl. 7) describes the activities of dancers and chanters: *ḥbt in ḥnrt šmꜣ in šmꜣw*, "dancing by the Khener, chanting by the chanters". The *šmꜣw* seem to be represented by a group of men who are depicted clapping their hands. The use of the title to describe individuals, as is common later, is not known from this period.

5.III MIDDLE KINGDOM ATTESTATIONS

Before examining the material that dates to the New Kingdom or later, the few cases that date to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period must be dealt with.²


5.III.1. A late 12th Dynasty statue excavated at Saqqara in the valley temple of Unas, a king of the 5th Dynasty, bears the name and titles of a man from Memphis: *imy-r pr-ḥsb it mhy m ḥnh-t3wy šmꜥw n Pth rsy inb.f nb t3wy, Sr-m3ꜥt iri n Hty*: Steward of the Granary of Lower Egyptian Barley in Memphis, Chanter of Ptah- South-of-his-wall, Lord of the Two Lands, Sermaat, born of Kety (Ward, 1982: #164 and #1515; Moussa and Altenmüller, 1975: 94). The masculine title *šmꜥw n Pth* is not otherwise known, but a similar title, *hry šmꜥw n pr Pth*, (supervisor of chanters of the temple of Ptah) dates to the reign of Amenhotep III (Moussa and Altenmüller, 1975: 95).

5.III.2. In the story of Sinuhe (text B 194), a description of an Egyptian funeral contains a reference to a group³ of *šmꜥw*  who are followed by the *Muu*-dancers and offering bearers (Ward, 1982: #1514; see also Section 4.IV.1).


5.III.3-4. A late 12th Dynasty stela in Cairo (CG 20216) from the northern necropolis at Abydos, ⁴ Mariette's "cemetery of singers", mentions one man and one woman who held the title (Ward, 1982, #1514, #1516). Although the placement of the hieroglyphs makes it difficult to determine to whom on the stela the titles apply, the spelling and determinatives of the two instances are different, suggesting a gender distinction was intended. The first man is *šmꜥw Sbk-sꜥnh* (the Chanter Sobek-sankh). The feminine title *šmꜥyt*, mistakenly written in front of the man following Sobek-sankh, may apply to the woman after him who is referred to as the *nbt pr, Bby* (Lady of the House Beby) (Mariette, 1880: n. 986; Lange and Schäfer, 1902, vol I: 238f, vol IV: pl. XVII).

5.III.5. Another late 12th Dynasty stela from Abydos (CG 20142) mentions a *šmꜥyt* named Senet-ankh (DB #580). The *wꜥb n Wp-w3wt Nfrw* (*Wꜥb*-priest of Wepwawet, Nefru) named on the stela

may have been her husband or son (Mariette, 1880: n. 909; Lange and Schäfer, 1902, vol. I: 167f, and vol. IV: pl. XIII; Ward, 1982: # 1516). No definite relationship, however, can be defined based on the inscription.

5.III.6. Lines 5 and 6 of an unprovenienced Middle Kingdom stela (CG 20777) mention a mother daughter pair; (line 5) *hbyt t.w-nwt m3t hrw irt.n* (line 6) *ii-ib mst.n sm^cyt*  *Snbt*: the Dancer Tuniw, true of voice, fathered by Ii-ib and born of the Chantress Senbet (Lange and Schäfer, 1902, vol. II: 406; Ward, 1982: #1516).

5.III.7-8. A further Middle Kingdom stela from Abydos³ (Vienna ÄS 132) contains a references to a mother, *sm^ct* (sic) *n Mntw n M3du, S3-Tmn* (DB #690) and daughter, *sm^c* (sic) *nt Mntw n M3du, W3d-h3* (DB #691). They were both chantresses Montu of Medamud (Hein and Satzinger, 1989: 34-38; von Bergmann, 1892: 16; Ward, 1982: #1516).

5.III.9. A letter fragment from the Illahun archives (P.Berlin 10.081 a,b,c) mentions the *sm^cw*  *S-nht s3 Htpi*. (Kaplony-Heckel, 1971, vol. 1: 36-37, reference 64; Ward, 1982: #1514).

5.III.10-11. Another fragment from Illahun (P.Berlin 10021) is a short text listing a number of individuals (Scharff, 1924: autographed text). It provides one of the rare attestations of an individual male chanter: *sm^cw Ititi hn^c p3 kty nty m hnrp pn: s3 Sn-wsrt*: the Chanter Ititi together with the other one who is in this *Kheneret*: Sasenusert (lines 6-7). This text also lists a woman:

šmꜣyt S3t-tp-iḥw ntt m ḥurt nt R-n-š-Sbk: the Chantress Sattepihu who is in the *Kheneret* of Illahun (line 5) (DB ref. #581; Ward, 1982: #1514).

5.III.12. Only one Second Intermediate Period *šmꜣyt* is known. A stela of unknown provenience from the Petrie collection (UC 14419) depicts Mes, a *šmꜣyt* of Osiris (DB #497; Stewart, 1979: 33, pl. 34.3). The fact that all of the provenienced examples of the title *šmꜣyt n Wsr* in the database are from Abydos suggests that this stela came from that site as well.

5.IV CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE EARLY USE OF *šmꜣ*

There are a few patterns in the title's usage made apparent by these Middle Kingdom examples. The first point is that the role was not gender specific. From the inception of the title it is clear that women and men were participating in cult activities as chantresses and chanters. The second pattern demonstrates a period of transition from the use of the word *šmꜣ* as a verb, to its use in the title. Only four of the 12 Middle Kingdom references are modeled on the *šmꜣyt n* [deity] paradigm, the rest being simply *šmꜣyt* without any affiliation to a deity. This suggests that the title may not have been well established or defined at this early stage. None of the Middle Kingdom title-holders served Amun, the most common form of the title in subsequent years. Ptah, Osiris, and Montu are represented instead.

These early examples demonstrate that the title was connected to important cult sites; the masculine title *šmꜣw n Pth* was documented at Saqqara, the women's stelae come from Abydos, and the papyri are from Illahun. These areas were important Middle Kingdom seats of government. The proximity of the individuals to government supported state cults suggests that the role of chanter/chantress developed in association with the official state religious hierarchy.

The significance of the provenience of the women and the involvement of the official state religious apparatus will be discussed further below and in Chapter 6. The relative rarity with which it is found, however, indicates that it was not entirely formalized yet.

The first use of the titles *šmꜣyt* and *šmꜣw* developed against a backdrop of Senusert III's governmental reforms and an apparently declining public status for women. In the Old Kingdom, priestesses (*hmt ntr*) of Hathor and Neith, were common (Begelsbacher-Fischer: 1981). Women also held a variety of administrative positions, although far less commonly than men.⁶ During the Middle Kingdom the title *hmt ntr nt Hwt-ḥr* and some administrative titles continued to be used, but the documented occurrences are far fewer than during the previous dynasties. The general scholarly consensus regarding this phenomenon is that the women of the Middle Kingdom were less frequently involved in the religious and administrative institutions of their day than the women of the Old Kingdom had been (Robins, 1993b: 116; Fischer, 1976: 79; Guest, 1926: 48). Perhaps the use of the title *hmt ntr* was a casualty of the 12th Dynasty reforms. It was traditionally associated with powerful families, and could have been officially eliminated as part of the plan to break up the power of such families. Occurrences of the title *hmt ntr* almost completely disappear during the New Kingdom. It is at this exact point that the title *šmꜣyt* becomes common. This apparent decline in recorded occurrences of the *hmt ntr* title coincides with the increased occurrence of the *šmꜣyt* title. This seems to suggest that the role of the *šmꜣyt* replaced the role of *hmt ntr*. The common association of music with the priestesses of Hathor contributes to this implication. Perhaps in the void created by the absence of the *hmt ntr* position, the informal beginnings of the title *šmꜣyt* are born. The generally crude execution of the women's stelae may be an indication of the religious participation of the new "beaurocratic lesser elite" who were placed in post previously held by the established elite.

Whether or not the role of the *hmt ntr* was in fact the antecedent of the *šmꜣyt* is an open question, but one that has some tentative indications. There are similarities between the two titles. Both titles were associated with the primary economic institution in the region for the time periods considered.⁷ The cults of Hathor at Dendera and Amun at Thebes represent the dominant economic forces of the regions, and the dominant religious hierarchies of the ruling class for the Old and New Kingdoms respectively.⁸

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the *hmt ntr n Hwt-hr* at Dendera during the Old Kingdom set a precedent for the role that economically advantaged women of the New Kingdom played in the dominant institution of their day, namely the cult of Amun at Thebes.⁹ The sudden appearance of Hathoric titles for both men and women during the 6th Dynasty leads Gillam to conclude that the sponsorship of the Memphite court, especially Pepi I, was the key factor in Cusae's economic development (1991: 244). A similar situation existed at Dendera (Fischer, 1968: 55). Only a few *hmt ntr* are known from before the time of Pepi I's patronage of the cults of Hathor at these sites. This royal interest in a cult can be compared to New Kingdom Thebes and the spread of the cult of Amun. There were only a limited number of chantresses before Thebes controlled the government and the resulting ascendancy of Amun. These Middle Kingdom attestations represent this time of transition. Once the hegemony of Amun was established, the title *šmꜣyt* flourished. The fact that Thebes dominated the religious and political arenas of the New Kingdom by no means presupposes that there were not women who served other gods in other cult centers. These women usually lived in provincial seats and were serving the dominant cult of that region, following the model of the economically advantaged taking part in whatever cult was economically and politically preeminent in the area.¹⁰

5.V THE NEW KINGDOM: A chronological and statistical breakdown by reign

The next step is to consider the historical events that may have directly or indirectly influenced the use of the title during its peak of popularity along with the collected data on women from each era. As will be seen, there are periodic spikes in the numbers of women who held the title. Understanding the various societal forces at work may make it possible to infer the significance of this phenomenon and the role of the women who held the title *šmꜥyt*.

The New Kingdom must be broken down into two eras: the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period. The reason for this will be clear when the statistics are reviewed. Five hundred eighty-nine references are classified as New Kingdom. Of those, only about 103 are positively dated to the 18th Dynasty, while 317 date to the 19th Dynasty, and only 85 date to the 20th Dynasty.¹¹ Sixty-one were classified as either 19th or 20th Dynasty. Twenty-three could not be dated more precisely than New Kingdom.

5.V.1 The 18th Dynasty

5.V.1.A Hatshepsut through Tuthmosis IV: Statistics and discussion

One hundred and three women in the database are classified as having lived during the 18th Dynasty. Of those who could be identified with a specific reign,¹² that of Hatshepsut's was the first where the *šmꜥyt n* [deity] paradigm appeared on a regular basis. During her reign, four daughters of the High Priest of Amun, Hepuseneb (TT 67), bore the title *šmꜥyt n Imn* (DB #s 257-260).¹³ A fourth daughter was also the earliest non-royal *dwꜣt ntr* (DB #260). Another *šmꜥyt* attested from the reign of Hatshepsut (DB #261) was the daughter of User, a vizier, also a high ranking position.

Eighteen women are documented as having held the title *šmꜣyt* during the reign of Tuthmosis III. With the exception of three women (DB #s 254¹⁴, 265¹⁵, 795), all of them are known from Theban tombs.¹⁶

Eight women who lived during the reign of Amenhotep II are recorded in the Database. All but two of the women are known from the Theban tombs of their husbands or fathers. The exceptions are known from a statue now in the British Museum (DB #487) and graffito (DB #830). One of the women was a *šmꜣyt wrt* (DB #273) indicating a hierarchy or ranking system in place.

Ten women are attested from the reign of Tuthmosis IV including one *šmꜣyt n Tn-ḥrt* (DB #567) known from a stela of her husband, a Priest of Onuris. He may also be the owner of the now-lost Theban tomb A19 (Van Siclen, 1979: 17-20).

The majority of women who lived during the reigns of Hathshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep II, and Tuthmosis IV served Amun if a deity was mentioned at all as part of their title. Interestingly, of the women documented from Thebes during this period, two served the god Thoth, not Amun (DB #s 276 and 283). This suggests that the women may originally have come from Hermopolis (Whale, 1989: 175f, 192f). Another Theban woman (DB #269) is the only *šmꜣyt* documented to have served both a pharaoh, in this case *ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-rꜥ* [Tuthmosis I] and Amun. One woman from Dahamsha may have served Sobek (DB #254).

5.V.1.B Amenhotep III through Horemhab: Statistics and discussion

Thirteen women are dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. In contrast to the previous

group of references, many of the sources that mention *šmꜥywt* are stelae and statues. The tombs of Ramose (TT 55), Kheruef (TT 192),¹⁷ and the recently rediscovered A24¹⁸ are the only tombs that have depictions of *šmꜥywt* from this time. Very little information about individual women remains for this time period because of the trend away from depicting private scenes during the Amarna interlude, and the geographical shift of the court from Thebes to Tell el Amarna where far fewer tombs are preserved for study. The decoration of the tomb of Ramose (TT 55) is a valuable source of information about the transitional years at the end of Amenhotep III's reign and the beginning of that of his son. Construction of the tomb was begun during the reign of Amenhotep III, and it continued to be decorated during the reign of Akhenaten. It exemplifies the transition from the traditional Egyptian artistic canon to that of the new early-Amarna style. Ramose's wife and other women depicted in the tomb are portrayed in the earlier decorative phase at banquets and in the funeral procession in the customary manner. Some of these women held the title *šmꜥyt n Imn*, but the name of Amun was carefully erased at a later time. The women are not present in the later phase of the decorative program, which concentrates on Ramose and his relationship to the king.

Other sources of information for the occurrence of the title from the reign of Amenhotep III include a stela from Memphis (DB #575) and another from Bubastis that bears the name of a *šmꜥyt n Bꜣstt* (DB #492). Further evidence derives from a coffin found in the undecorated tomb of Hatiay (no number) at Qurnah (DB #443). The coffin's owner, Henutwedjebu, was a *šmꜥyt n Imn*, despite the fact that the man who was likely her husband was already in the service of Aten as a granary overseer of the mansion of Aten.¹⁹ There was also a *šmꜥyt* from Balansurah who served Khnum (DB #697). One reference from this reign provides information on the

organization of the *šmꜥwyt*. A woman (DB #493) depicted on a stela from Abydos belonged to the fourth phyle, indicating the *šmꜥwyt* were organized in the same manner as the priesthood.

There are fewer references documented from the reign of Akhenaten. Only five women could be attributed to his reign²⁰ and only two were associated with his reign exclusively. Three others are known from the transitional period at the end of Akhenaten's reign and during the reigns of Tutankhamun and Aye. The two women who are known from the Amarna period proper were both identified as *šmꜥyt nt pꜣ Ttn* (DB #s 446, 447). The other women served Amun, presumably since the monuments from which they are known were decorated during the restoration phase directly following Akhenaten's reign. With fewer gods to serve in cultic settings during the Amarna interlude, fewer personnel were needed. Music was part of the new religion, however, as the cultic scenes from Amarna (Leprohon in Redford, 1988: 47-51) and on the Talatat from east Karnak demonstrate (Manniche, 1991b: 62ff; Gohary, 1992: e.g., Pl. L, LI, CVII).

The demise of Akhenaten and the return to orthodoxy are evidenced by the numerous women who held the title *šmꜥyt nt Tmn* in the short time period encompassing the reigns of Tutankhamun, Aye, and Horemhab. The tomb of Huy (TT 40), dating to the reign of Tutankhamun, yields one reference (DB #699). The tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), which was decorated during the reigns of Tutankhamun and Aye, contains depictions of two women (DB #s 648, 649). The tomb of Amenmose (TT 254), which is dated to the reigns of either Aye or Horemhab, contains representations of four *šmꜥwyt* (DB #s 588-592). One reference (DB #692) attests to the presence of the cult of Amun at Diospolis Parva during the reign of Horemhab. The tomb of another man named Neferhotep (TT 50) dating to the reign of Horemhab, depicts nine *šmꜥwyt*; in fact, most of the women in this Neferhotep's family were *šmꜥwyt n Tmn* (DB #s 615-

622). Approximately 16 additional occurrences of the *šmꜣyt* title were classified as late 18th or early 19th Dynasty. Perhaps these families are an early indication of the new, outward religious piety that will be displayed by the people of the Ramesside Period.

5.V.1.C Analysis

It was during the reign of Hatshepsut that officials began to be buried in the necropolis at Qurnah. It is from these tombs that we glean a great deal of information about the women of the New Kingdom. It should be understood, however, that the apparent sudden popularity of the title in the society of 18th Dynasty Thebes could be a result of our dependence on these tombs as a source of information about the occurrences of the title.²¹ It seems likely that, since the title is known from earlier times, albeit uncommonly, there were probably a few women who held the title *šmꜣyt* during the reigns of the earlier 18th Dynasty monarchs, even though they cannot presently be identified in the archaeological record.

Nevertheless, there are many factors that come into play during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, which form a kind of temporal nexus of activity with regard to the title-holders. There was a “rapid, major alteration in the political-theological constellation at this time” (Spalinger, 1998: 251; see also Assmann, 1989: 71-82). There were a number of changes, or innovations, which may be responsible for the formation and character of the *šmꜣyt* as a distinct class of priestess.

A characteristic feature of the 18th Dynasty was the distinguished role played by women in the monarchy (Myśliwiec, 1985: 2). There is no doubt that during the early 18th Dynasty there were many influential royal women, and that the concurrent development of the title God’s Wife was an important step in empowering women in the political sphere. Although there is no

direct evidence for a women's movement, many authors have noted a more "female-friendly" environment during Hatshepsut's reign (Tyldesley, 1996: 57; Roberts, 1997: 128; Whale, 1989: 241f). It is tempting to see the reign of a woman, Hatshepsut, as a catalyst for the greater appreciation of women in general as revealed by the increasing status afforded to women in tomb scenes (Whale, 1989: 241). The previous influence of Ahmose Nefertari, Ahhotep, and Tetisheri may also have been felt. Although no specifics can be brought forward to demonstrate that the powerful 18th Dynasty royal women intentionally caused any societal changes, it may be suggested that their existence alone was enough to initiate a reexamination by Egyptian society of the value of women in public roles.

It has also been noted that there was a "secularization of ritual" between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis IV (Myśliwiec, 1985: 30) suggesting a conscious role in the alteration of religious practices. This secularization of ritual may have allowed for many more people to participate in ritual, and the new, elaborated festivals requiring musical specialists probably played an important role in the popularization of the title.²² It was Hatshepsut who elaborated the Opet festival, which included female singers, chantresses, musicians, and acrobats (see Section 3.III.1). The new processional route that included Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahari may have been partly created for the purpose of having musicians accompany the god on his journey during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley celebrations.

Hatshepsut's reign coincides with a trend during the 18th Dynasty toward a more active role of the wife in tomb scenes. This becomes especially clear during the reign of Tuthmosis III (Whale, 1989: 241). Ritual and offering scenes that previously had been predominantly male now begin to include women and other members of the family. It is suggested that the "almost continuous military campaigns of the reign of Tuthmosis III necessitated women playing a more active role in family affairs and this was reflected in their role in the tomb" (Whale, 1989: 275).

Taken at face value, this “active role” would appear to be solely in funerary contexts. By examining non-funerary evidence, however, it is clear that the women’s participation extended beyond the familial funerary roles. Specifically, with regard to the chantresses, evidence from Tuthmosis III’s Festival temple at Karnak demonstrates that the *šmꜣywt* played a role in temple activity (see Section 3.III.7.A). Many other monuments attest to the participation of all kinds of female musicians in religious rites.²³ If there were fewer men available to serve in temple ceremonies, as Whale suggests, it would have been natural for the women to step in.

The professionalization of the priesthood in the 18th Dynasty (Spalinger, 1998: 245; Allam, 1970: 78-79) may have also contributed to the character of women’s participation in cultic activities. This process of excluding women from the common priestly roles (e.g. *wꜣbt*, *hmt ntr*) left only few opportunities for women to participate. This participation took the form of musical accompaniment. These subsidiary musical roles had to be filled, but were not prestigious in the traditional administrative sense, and therefore were not of interest to men building careers.²⁴ These duties could be sporadically and episodically carried out by women.²⁵

5.V.2 The Ramesside Era

5.V.2.A The 19th Dynasty

Two hundred seventy-four women recorded in the database lived during the 19th Dynasty. Fifty-eight entries could not be dated more specifically than 19th Dynasty. There were three entries classified as “early 19th Dynasty” and an additional 26 attributed specifically to the reign of Seti I.²⁶ One hundred ninety women lived during the reign of Ramesses II. There are more *šmꜣywt* known from this time than any other New Kingdom reign. During the reign of his successor Merneptah, 53 women held the title. Two others can be dated to the late 19th Dynasty. Sixty-three are classified as 19th or 20th Dynasty.

Amun was by far the most common deity with which these women were affiliated. A variety of others, however, were also represented. The most common provenience of the source material documenting these *šmꜣywt* was Thebes, but there were a number of objects recorded from Nubian sites such as Buhen, Sehel, Faras, and Amarah West. The latter objects may reflect increased civilian activity in Lower Nubia, which accompanied the official activities of Ramesses II.²⁷ Middle Egypt is represented by sources from Abydos, el Mashayikh, Coptos, Sedment, Gurob, Zwayet el Sultan, Asyut, and Hermopolis. Even a stela from Serabit el Khadim in the Sinai provides information on two women (DB #s 99-100). The North is represented by sources from Bubastis, Heliopolis, Qantir, and Saqqara, perhaps reflecting the renewed importance of Lower Egypt brought about by Ramesside building projects there.

5.V.2.B The 20th Dynasty

The 20th Dynasty exhibits a marked decline in the numbers of women who were *šmꜣywt*. Eighty-five cases dated to the 20th Dynasty but 26 of these could not be assigned to a specific reign. Twenty women dated to the reign of Ramesses III. An additional 12 could not be dated more specifically than to the reign of Ramesses III or a later 20th Dynasty king. Four are attributed to the reign of Ramesses IV, three to that of Ramesses VI, one to Ramesses VII, seven to Ramesses VIII, seven to Ramesses IX, and five to Ramesses XI. This decrease in documented instances of the title may be the result of a smaller number of decorated Theban tombs attributable to the 20th Dynasty from which to draw information. In fact, the majority of 20th Dynasty information comes from stelae. Other sources include literary documents and shabtis.

Over half of the women documented for the 20th Dynasty served Amun. Osiris and Wepwawet were also very common, however. Out of the total of 23 individuals who were chantresses of Osiris, 15 can be dated to the 20th Dynasty. The gods Herishef, Nemty, Seth,

Montu, Mehyt, Hathor, (*P3*) Re, Mut, Horus, and Isis are all also represented by small numbers of devotees. Abydos and Thebes are the most common provenience, though items from Herakleopolis Magna, Bubastis, and Heliopolis are represented as well.

5.V.2.C Analysis

The aftermath of the Amarna Period saw a resurgence of personal and state piety. In fact, the Ramesside Period has been described as pervaded by piety (Assmann, 1989: 68-69).²⁸ The state's campaign to rebuild and restore temples neglected during Akhenaten's reign began under Tutankhamun (Robins, 1997: 158; Bennett, 1939: 8-15) and was maintained into the reign of Horemheb (Grimal, 1992: 243). The prolific restoration and building by Seti I and Ramesses II can be seen as a continuation of this effort (Faulkner, 1975: 221). This new state religiosity was probably a result of a desire to connect with the legitimacy and glory of the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty. This increase in religious piety may be seen as a theological response to Akhenaten's "revolution", which evolved in the Ramesside period; this included a strong role for the God's Wife of Amun, a post held by Ramesses II's wife, Nefertari, and later princesses (Grimal, 1992: 313).

The Ramesside nobles' tombs reflect this increased religiosity as well. The emphasis of the decorative themes shifts away from the personal to the eternal. Scenes from the Book of the Dead play a much larger role in the decorative programs of the 19th and 20th Dynasty tombs than they had previously (Aldred, 1987: 161 and 170). Additionally, the tomb owner is no longer frequently shown in daily life pursuits. He is now depicted offering to the gods, while his family participates in offering rituals for the benefit of the deceased (Manniche, 1987: 64, 80; Abdul-Qader, 1966: 251ff). Fortunately, the tombs still provide the names and titles of family members

and close associates, providing a continuing source of information on genealogy and the institutions of the day.

With this increasing emphasis on religion, one may expect to see a rise in religious titles. And indeed there was an increase in the numbers of women who held the title *šmꜣyt*. Since the numbers of elite did not necessarily increase, the title now appears to have been more accessible to members of the wealthy lesser elite. A correlation can be drawn between the higher number of 19th Dynasty *šmꜣywt* and the less illustrious positions of their families. While the women of very elite families are still present in the sample, more and more simple *wꜥb* priests have *šmꜣyt* wives.²⁹

A side effect of this increasing piety and a conciliatory attitude toward the cult of Amun³⁰ may have resulted in the prolific use of the title *šmꜣyt n Imn*. The title may have been cultivated by Ramesside rulers as part of a program of “buying support” from the elite and lesser elite, on the same model as Kanawati’s theory concerning the Old Kingdom proliferation of officials and new titles (1977: 69ff).³¹ Since the first regular use of the title occurs during the reign of Hatshepsut, it is conceivable that she also used this idea of “buying support” to consolidate the power base of her unusual reign.

5. VI THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD: 21st-22nd Dynasties

5. VI.1 Statistics and discussion

The Third Intermediate Period is represented by a total of 252 women who held the title *šmꜣyt*. Eighteen women were dated unspecifically to the Third Intermediate Period. Two hundred and six women could be attributed to the 21st Dynasty with 34 of those dating to the late 21st or early 22nd Dynasties. Twenty-eight references were dated to the 22nd Dynasty.

Only five women from the Third Intermediate Period in this survey did not serve Amun (DB #s 74, 215, 451, 566, 759). One (DB #74) served Montu, Lord of Thebes, another (DB #215) served the goddess Khnumet, and a third (DB #451) served Thoth. A stela from Dakhla made during the reign of Sheshonq I contains references to two *šm^cywt n Stḥ* (DB #s 566, 759; Gardiner, 1933). Only two women served other gods in addition to Amun (DB #s 149, 120). The first (DB #149) served Amun as well as an unknown institution, *pḥ grg w^cb n Pth*, “the pure foundation of Ptah.” The other (DB #120) was a *šm^cyt* of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.³²

5.VI.2 Analysis

Most of the material preserved from this era is funerary equipment; coffins, cartonnage, and papyri. The 21st Dynasty data set is mainly from Thebes.³³ The provenience of the material from the 22nd Dynasty is largely unknown, but probably Theban as most of it is of a similar style as the 21st Dynasty objects.³⁴ Thus, the Third Intermediate Period data demonstrate how pervasive the title and the cult of Amun had become in Thebes.

Examples of children holding the titles *w^cb*, *it-ntr* (god’s father), and *šm^cyt* come from the Bab el Gusus cache and include a girl named Ankhesenaset who was a *šm^cyt n Imn* (DB #144; Niwiński, 1989b: 39).³⁵ The unusual practice of giving titles to children during the Third Intermediate Period may reflect a desire on the part of the Amun priesthood to strengthen their power base by involving more families in the temple’s hierarchy. This strategy may also be indicated by the numbers of Third Intermediate Period women who were *šm^cywt*. There is a disproportionate increase in the numbers of women who held the *šm^cyt* title between the time of the late 20th Dynasty and the middle of the 21st. Such an artificial increase may have been the effect of active recruitment. Significantly, the majority of those women are attributed to the

middle or late years of the 21st Dynasty. It was at exactly that time that the High Priests of Amun had usurped power. By creating a cadre of people loyal to the priesthood, a foundation of political support could be forged.

The effect of this practice seems to have been the further diminishment of the title's status. It seems that almost every elite and lesser elite household in Thebes could claim having a *šmꜣyt* in the family.³⁶ The title itself may still have held prestige because of its former associations, but was probably becoming more of an honorary title during the Third Intermediate Period. This phenomenon has been noted in Old Kingdom contexts, where a number of honorific court titles of the late Old Kingdom were based on older offices in order to associate the honorific with the previous legitimacy of the title (Grimal, 1992: 90). The Third Intermediate Period also saw the greatest number of *šmꜣywt*, yet none of them were associated with a phyle, supporting the conclusion that the title no longer always entailed serious duty. The proliferation of *šmꜣywt* in the Theban area during the 21st Dynasty can be seen as a predominantly political development, rather than an expression of personal piety by increasing numbers of women. The societal and political forces of the Ramesside age that fueled widespread female participation in cult activity were simply resurrected during the Third Intermediate Period and used to the Theban priesthood's advantage.

5.VII LATE AND PTOLEMAIC PERIODS

5.VII.1 Statistics and discussion

Ten database entries were dated to periods after the 22nd Dynasty. Six entries (DB #s 558, 679, 680, 243, 568, 569) can be dated to either the "Late" or Saite Periods. The three women classified as "Late Period" were from Abydos, and of those, two served Osiris, and the other served Amun. One of the Saite women served in the temple of Hathor at Dendera;³⁷ the other

two were in the service of Amun and are known from the tomb of Padiamenipet (TT 33). One unprovenienced statue mentions a woman named Taibhet-Re (DB #427) and is tentatively dated to the 30th Dynasty. An unprovenienced stela now in Athens bears a reference to a woman (DB #766) who was a *šmꜣyt n ʿmn* and is dated to a time period covering Dynasties 22-30. Two individuals are known from the Ptolemaic period: Ta-amun (DB #662) is known from her Book of the Dead and Ta-imenet-seneb (DB #784) is portrayed on a stela with her son.

5.VII.2 Analysis

For the Saite, and Ptolemaic Periods, there are very few women known to have held the title *šmꜣyt* and information about them is scanty. This is partly due to the fact that decorated tombs from this period are not common. Additionally, the Egyptians almost completely stopped making stone sculptures of women at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. (Bothmer, de Meulenaere, and Müller, 1960: 116). In contrast to the absence of statuary during this period, stelae were quite popular,³⁸ and many women dedicated them on their own behalf. These stelae were most often simple affairs representing the dedicator before a god with a few lines of praise. When a woman dedicated a stela, she rarely recorded the names and titles of her family members. This is due to the rules of compositional hierarchy that governed such matters (Robins, 1994: 33-40). Therefore we know little about their families. The best example of an extended family in the database is that of Padiamenipet (TT 33), Chief Lector Priest of Nekhbet. His wife Tadi (DB #568) was a *šmꜣyt n ʿmn* as was his mother Namenekhaset (DB #569), who, in addition to being a *šmꜣyt n ʿmn*, was also an *ihyt*, or sistrum player. *Thyt* and *hsyt* (sometimes with *n hnw n ʿmn*) were the most commonly found titles on Late Period monuments.³⁹

Official texts are more informative than those few private attestations of the title. *šmꜥywt* are among the temple priestesses mentioned in the Canopus Decree.⁴⁰ The goddess Hathor is described as *šmꜥyt n pr ꜥ3* (Chantress of the Sanctuary of Hathor at Abydos) in a Ptolemaic inscription at Behbeit el Hagar (Montet, 1949: 47).⁴¹ At Edfu, *šmꜥywt* are mentioned along with *hn(r)yt* in a Ptolemaic scene of the king adoring Horus (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat, 1987: 329). These texts demonstrate that the title was still in use and considered a religious duty. The small numbers of women who held the title suggest that it may have resumed its original character, one that reflects personal devotion and ability rather than the politics of appeasement or a popular fad.

The Ptolemaic Period in general may have seen another increase in the number of women involved in cult activities (Johnson, 1998: 1410; de Cenival 1977: 29-30), although this is not true for the title *šmꜥyt*. De Cenival also questions “whether this increase was favoured by the government for political or economic reasons” (Johnson, 1998: 1410 citing de Cenival, 1977: 29). If so, it would fit the pattern documented for the periods discussed in this study.

5.VIII CONCLUSIONS

From the material collected in the database, a trend emerges revealing a pattern of intermittent increases in the number of women who held the title *šmꜥyt*. This eventually culminated in the large number attributable to the 21st Dynasty. After the 22nd Dynasty, however, the number dropped dramatically.

The pattern of punctuated increases observed here seems to have been fueled by political need and trends in personal piety. During the reigns of Hatshepsut and Ramesses II, as well as the ascendancy of the Theban High Priests of Amun, there were increases in the numbers of

women who held the title *šmꜣyt*. These eras were particularly vulnerable to image problems because some of the rulers could be considered as usurpers and were in need of legitimizing circumstances and support. The Ramesside Period and the Third Intermediate Period were also times of great piety.

It seems that cultivating a group of women who were tied to the religious hierarchy served the advantage of the ruling bodies in each case. This scenario roughly parallels Kanawati's theory that the proliferation of Old Kingdom titles was directly linked to a royal program of buying support (1979: 69ff). Establishing an "official" organization of female devotees connected to the state religious hierarchy ensured that not only the women support the state system, but also that their children are influenced by this loyalty. Since women traditionally provide most of the child care, including the teaching of values and belief systems, children raised by a woman loyal to the cult of Amun (or other local power structure) would consequently be more likely to be part of that system as well.

¹ Further groupings based on criteria such as the titles of family members will be discussed in Chapter 6.

² Ward lists various *šmꜣywt* in his index of Middle Kingdom titles (1982: n. 1514-1516), although one reference listed in the index (CG 20023) did not contain the word *šmꜣ* in any form.

³ Ward seems to imply the reference is to an individual rather than a group (Ward, 1982: #1514), which is apparently not the case.

⁴ The Abydos material is dealt with as a group in Appendix B.

⁵ Although this stela comes from Abydos, no reference is made by the publishers to Mariette's numbering system nor to the question of whether or not it came from his area of excavations there.

⁶ For a thorough study of Old Kingdom women, see Fischer (1989); for the Middle Kingdom see Ward (1986).

⁷ For a discussion of the cult of Hathor as a primary economic force, see Gillam (1991: 222) and Galvin (1984: 42ff).

⁸ This theme is also expanded upon in Chapter 6.

⁹ Sadek hypothesizes that the cult of Hathor at Dendera may have been transplanted to Deir el Bahari at Thebes as early as the Middle Kingdom (1987: 48-49) thus setting the stage for a specific type of women's participation in cult activities.

¹⁰ Women who do not fit that model can occasionally be shown to have family connections to a specific province or cult.

- ¹¹ This number might be affected by the fact that there were fewer decorated tombs in the 20th Dynasty from which to draw material.
- ¹² Women whose lives encompassed more than one reign (database entries with double digits after the decimal such as 18.65) have been counted in the earlier reign for the sake of convenience.
- ¹³ These women are actually known from their father's monument at Gebel el Silsila, Shrine 15, and not from his Theban tomb (Whale, 1989: 25-27). In the database, the daughter who was a *dw3t ntr* (DB #260) is classified as having lived in the reign of Tuthmosis III, and not Hatshepsut, since the monument in which her *sm'yt* title was found (TT 39) is dated to that reign.
- ¹⁴ DB #254 is a *sm'yt n Sbk(?)* mother of the High Priest of Sobek in the Sobek temple at Dahamsha. The text does not include a reference to a deity, but as can be seen in other cases, provincial nobility most often served the local god. This is especially true when they are represented on monuments dedicated to that god or depicted making offerings to that god.
- ¹⁵ DB #265 is known from a statue now in Cairo (CG 42125), which may mention the mother of Menkheperresoneb (TT 112 and TT 86). The relationship between the two is uncertain. The statue may have originally come from his tomb.
- ¹⁶ These are TT 42, TT 53, TT 74, TT 78, TT 82, TT 85, TT 88, TT 98, TT 100, TT 224, TT 345. For the details in each case, see Appendix D.
- ¹⁷ This tomb is discussed fully in Section 3.III.4.A.
- ¹⁸ An expedition sponsored by Waseda University, Japan located this "lost" tomb during their 1988-89 season; their designation for it is W-6 (Egyptian Culture Center, Waseda University, Japan, 2000: www.waseda.ac.jp/projects/egypt/sites/TT-E.html).
- ¹⁹ She, with two other women, were found buried with him in the undecorated tomb. Her coffin was decorated in a manner similar to his while the other two women had very simple coffins (Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman, 1992: 312). It is therefore assumed that she was his wife.
- ²⁰ Six women from the reign of Amenhotep III lived into the reign of Akhenaten, but are counted with the initial reign in which they are attested.
- ²¹ The bias toward Theban material is a serious consideration, but unavoidable with limited source material. Eighteenth Dynasty material from elsewhere was consulted but did not reveal the wealth of information that the Theban tombs did.
- ²² The new emphasis on processions has also been dealt with in Chapter 3.
- ²³ E.g., six unlabeled women bearing sistra depicted in the area of the Tuthmosis III Karnak Annals (PM II, 97 (281.1)), and the famous *Kheper* women and acrobats on blocks from Hatshepsut's "Red Chapel" (Lacau and Chevrier, 1977, vol. II: pl. 9).
- ²⁴ The men who held the title *sm'* were few in number and are documented in Appendix A.
- ²⁵ The episodic nature of participation is also noted in Naguib (1990: 238).
- ²⁶ Four of those women lived into the reign of Ramesses II, but are counted in the reign of Seti I.
- ²⁷ Simplistically, this may be construed as evidence of the translocation of Egyptian populations to an area being actively colonized. This idea is debatable, however (Kemp, 1978b: 34). It may simply reflect the influence of Egyptian ideals on the local population.
- ²⁸ Breasted also generally agrees with this characterization (1959: ch. 10; 1967: Chapter 20). Sadek, however, has shown that "popular religion", sometimes linked with levels of personal piety, was more widespread than previously thought, both temporally and geographically (1987: 293ff.).
- ²⁹ This type of diversity was also noted by Galvin (1981: 250) with regard to the priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom.
- ³⁰ "The Ramessides were an upstart line of rulers, and it was important for them to have the support of the powerful corporation which served the god of Thebes" (Faulkner, 1975:222).
- ³¹ Kanawati's theory is generally that the creation of new titles may have been a way for the king to compensate officials and gain their support (1977: 69ff.).
- ³² A more common combination is *sm'yt n Tmn, hsynt n Mwt, mn't n p3 hrd Hnsw*: chantress of Amun, singer of Mut, nurse of the child Khonsu (e.g. DB #s 143, 304, and the partial formula in DB #s 128, 402, 116).
- ³³ It must be pointed out that information on the Third Intermediate Period depends on a largely biased sample. The Bab el Gusus cache alone provides an immense sample size: about 20 percent of Third Intermediate Period references. This bias for Theban material in the Third Intermediate Period may be largely a matter of preservation. Because of preservation problems in the Delta, where there was significant political activity in the Third Intermediate Period, there is little or no comparative information on wealthy private individuals.

³⁴ Niwiński's two studies on Theban papyri (1989b) and coffins (1988) explain the typology and seriation of the types.

³⁵ DB #144. Two other children (one female- D.L. A.79, and one unidentified) had coffins at Bab el Gusus, but held no titles (Niwiński, 1988: ref. nos. 127, 130, 131, 154).

³⁶ Unfortunately, very little familial information survives from this time so it is impossible to make generalizations about the economic status of the *sm'wt* from the Third Intermediate Period. The only facts that are certain are that the families of the Amun priesthood (Second, Third and Fourth prophets) are represented and that the women were wealthy enough to have burial equipment.

³⁷ The stela does not actually say Hathor of Dendera, but as its provenience is Dendera, it is a reasonable assumption.

³⁸ See, for example, the extensive corpus in Munro (1973).

³⁹ Unfortunately, Munro's work is inconsistent with the translation of such titles. Anyone whom he rendered as *sängerin* or *musikantin* was checked against the original publications to ensure only *sm'wt* were counted in this study.

⁴⁰ See Section 4.II.2.

⁴¹ The *pr-k'* is the *Hiligtum der Hathor in Abydos* (Hannig, 1995: 1339).

CHAPTER 6

FAMILY INFLUENCE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

“Rank creates its rules: A woman is asked about her husband, a man is asked about his rank”

Instruction of Any, 6.14-15

This sentiment is found in a variety of contexts in ancient Egypt. In art, we see the man holding the insignia of office, while the woman holds her man. In funerary epithets, a man is clever, useful, and admired by his peers; a woman is beloved of her man.¹ Men are portrayed interacting with the public sphere, whereas women usually interact with their family members. In tomb representations, a woman may play a part in public life, but her husband or other family members accompany her.

The Egyptian family was a close one, probably best demonstrated by the numerous family scenes on tomb walls and the numbers of relatives often included on stelae. Those who could afford monuments portrayed family life as desirable. On a regular basis, men included depictions or references to their wives, daughters, sisters, mothers, and female relatives in their tombs, and on their stelae and statuary. Another reflection of this familial closeness was the use of first-degree kinship terms for extended family members and for those who married into the family. Even wives were called “sister” from the 18th Dynasty onward (Whale, 1989: 239; Robins, 1979: 203-204).

It is through a woman’s family relationships that some conclusions about the title *šmꜣyt* can be reached. Since women were traditionally outside the “power hierarchy”, ultimately their social status was defined by their families or husbands. Based on the assumption that the Egyptians chose their partners from the same social circle – a man and his wife’s father often had

similar occupations² (Pestman, 1961: 4) – knowledge regarding the family of a *šmꜣyt* makes placing her in a larger social context possible, and thus helps to define the character of its holders and hence the title.

6.II THE HEREDITARY STATUS OF FEMALE TITLES

The issue of inherited titles for women has only rarely been studied. The most commonly examined title in this respect is “Priestess of Hathor”.³ By breaking down the data into relationships (mother/daughter; father/daughter; mother-in-law/daughter-in-law; husband/wife) and comparing the level of similarity between the two individuals’ titles, it is possible to speculate about what factors influenced a woman’s decision to become a *šmꜣyt*. Galvin’s results with the priestesses of Hathor suggest that there was no consistent pattern to suggest the inheritance of a Hathoric title from any family member. Rather the data reflect the importance of the title for elite women. As will be seen, the title *šmꜣyt* exhibits some traits similar to the title *hmt ntr nt Hwt-hr*.

6.III PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE

6.III.1 Mothers and daughters

Only 84 out of the 861 women investigated left evidence of their mother’s titles.⁴ The majority of mothers recorded on their *šmꜣyt* daughter’s monuments apparently held no titles. There were more women who recorded the names of their mothers who had no titles than those whose mothers had titles. This clearly suggests that the title did not pass from mother to daughter. Of those 84, however, 74 shared the *šmꜣyt* title with their mothers. The majority of mother-daughter pairs are from the New Kingdom.

Some women served different gods than their mothers. A good example of this is the family of Tjay (TT 23). Mutnefret (DB #719) was a chantress of Amun and the mother of two chantresses of Bastet and a chantress of Amun (DB #627, 721, 722). This example demonstrates that several women in one family could hold the title *šmꜣyt* concurrently. In fact, in one documented case (BM 161) a woman is depicted with her mother, mother-in-law, daughter, and daughter-in-law, all of whom were *šmꜣwt*. There are a number of cases where three or more generations are known, and the women of each generation held similar titles (e.g., the families of Tjanefer in TT 158 and Khonsu in TT 31 – see Appendix D). This demonstrates that the title was not held by a single person in the family and transferred in a single line of inheritance. In fact, there was a tendency for the title to run in families. For instance, if a mother and at least one daughter were *šmꜣwt*, chances are that some of the other daughters were *šmꜣwt* as well (e.g., DB #s 85-88, #s 45-47, #s 704-710, #s 503, 506-511). This tendency is borne out by the fact that although 84 women claimed mothers who were *šmꜣwt*, the number of mothers with daughters recorded in the database is 46 (see Chart 1). Not all the women in a family necessarily held the title, however; many sisters of *šmꜣwt* were not *šmꜣwt* themselves. Perhaps this pattern also indicates that talent ran in certain families.

The fact that a mother and her daughters could all hold the title underscores the title's desirability in some families and perhaps the influence of family tradition. It in no way implies a hereditary position passed on from mother to daughter. It must be remembered that the majority of women in this study did not include the title *šmꜣyt* in the information about their mothers.

6.III.2 Mothers-in-law

The relationship between a woman and her mother-in-law provides insight into the structure of the Egyptian family. Fifty of the women recorded in the database provided information about the titles held by their mothers-in-law⁵ (see Chart 2). Of those 50, all but four shared the title *šmꜣyt* with their mothers-in-law.⁶ Other titles held in varying combinations by the mothers-in-law include *mnꜥt nsw* (royal nurse) or *mnꜥt wrt* (great nurse), *wrt hnrt nt sꜣt nsw* (great one of the *Khener* of the king's daughter), *šdt nꜥr* (nurse of the god), *hsyt n nꜥr nꜥr* (singer/beloved of the good god), *hꜣrt nsw* (lady-in-waiting). They are all clearly from the upper echelon of society. In a few cases, more than one woman claimed the same mother-in-law due to either the remarriage of a son or the marriage of several sons to women who were *šmꜣywt*. Consequently, there are only 38 women in the database who were mothers-in-law to those 50 *šmꜣywt* instead of an equal number of both mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law.

A total of 88 references is too small a sample from which to draw many conclusions. It is interesting to note, however, that these women were largely Theban and exclusively New Kingdom.⁷ The evidence presented in this section is somewhat reminiscent of the results of Galvin's research (1981: 282), which demonstrated that the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law had a higher level of correlation in the titles held than other relationships. Where both individuals were known, nearly 50 percent of that sample group both shared Hathoric titles. The conclusion drawn was that these correlations were a result of close knit communities of hereditary nobility in major Hathoric cult centers such as Cusae, Dendera, and Giza (Galvin, 1981: 281f). The evidence also suggests that the mother's social circle provided a community from which she chose a bride for her son (*ibid.*). Because nearly all of the women in

the present study who recorded mothers-in-law shared the title *šm^cyt* with their mothers-in-law, it seems likely that a similar situation existed here.

6.III.3 Fathers and daughters

One hundred sixteen women listed the titles of their fathers (see Chart 3). Many of the fathers held priestly titles connected to the cult of Amun (e.g., *hm ntr* (priest), *hm ntr tpy* (high priest) *hm ntr 2-nw* (second priest), *hm ntr 3-nw* (third priest), *hm ntr 4-nw* (fourth priest), *w^cb* (*w^cb*-priest), *it ntr* (god's father)). The rest held administrative titles. Of those who held priestly titles, there was a correspondence between the god served by father and daughter. This, however, is mostly reflective of the popularity of the cult of Amun, as only 25 (37 percent) *šm^cywt* documented in this chart did not serve that deity. Two of those served other gods in addition to Amun (DB #s 120, 603). A further woman (DB #269) served the funerary cult of Tuthmosis I and Amun, and 14 listed no deity at all.

There is very little correlation between the daughter's and father's service besides those cases where they both served the cult of Amun. Those cases where the father and daughter served Amun should probably be seen as indicative of the popularity of the cult of Amun. Because the cult of Amun was very popular, especially in Thebes where most of the source material originated, little can be said about the significance of this phenomenon except that familial exposure must have played a large role in what temple the woman eventually served.

6.III.4 Husbands

Two hundred eighty-seven women recorded in the database were associated with husbands who held at least one title (see Chart 4). The majority of these men held administrative

titles. Perhaps one-third held priestly titles alone or in combination with those representing a variety of administrative posts. A wide range of jobs are represented in this sample; charioteers, stablemasters, military men of various rank, doorkeepers, mayors, overseers of cattle and granaries, fan bearers, metal engravers, kitchen staff, an overseer of singers, and above all, scribes of all sorts. In fact, scribe was the most common title. Among the priestly titles were some of the highest, *hry sḥrj*, first, second, third, and fourth priests of Amun, high priests of Osiris, Onuris, Bastet, Sobek, and *wꜥb* and *ḥm nṯr* priests of Amun (in his various manifestations).

The women who were married to men with priestly titles did not always serve the same deity as their husbands. The wife of the high priest of Osiris (DB #251) was a *ḥmṯyt* of Isis; a priest of Amun and Ptah had a wife who served Bastet (DB #515); and several high priests of Onuris had wives who served Amun (DB #s 611, 612, 284, 872, 873). Most of the rest of the couples were affiliated with the cult of Amun at Thebes during the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period. The predominance of the cult during these eras, and the nature of the material dealt with (tombs, coffins, and papyri from Thebes) makes it difficult to evaluate how much influence should be ascribed to the cultural climate or to a husband.

Generally the *ḥmṯywt* of the 18th Dynasty were married to men of very elite status. There was, however, a slight change in the status of the women who held the title *ḥmṯyt* during the Ramesside Period. More often, their families now included scribes of the army, stable masters, chief washermen, chiefs of fattened fowl, charioteers, and *wꜥb* and *ḥm nṯr* priests, all of whom could be considered members of a “lesser elite” group of people. These individuals seem to have been part of a middle class, not closely associated with the king, but literate and wealthy enough to leave behind funerary monuments or other inscribed objects. This pattern of the title’s gradual assimilation by a more diverse population from its previously elite context is a phenomenon

perhaps best described as the “trickle-down effect”. The Third Intermediate Period material documented here is characterized by husbands who held titles connected with the cult of Amun at all levels, reinforcing the idea that the title *šmꜣyt* had become “democratized” by this time, and not purely an elite designation.

6.III.4.A Marriage as a precondition of the title

There is no reason to assume that the fact that most *šmꜣywt* seem to have been married was in some way relevant to their cultic status. Marriage was normal for all adult Egyptians. Further, in the 21st Dynasty there is some evidence that children (DB #144) held the title. Thus being a chantress was not dependent on marital status, at least by that time.⁸ The idea that marital status was related to the usage of the title is additionally refuted by the existence of male *šmꜣw*, who certainly did not rely on a husband’s position or influence to get the title.

In fact, only one woman included in the database seems to have received the title *šmꜣyt* after marriage. Senseneb (DB #260) was one of the two wives of Puimre depicted in TT 39 (Urk. IV, 520-527; Whale, 1989: 50ff; Davies, 1923a). She bore the titles *dwꜣt nꜥr* and *šmꜣyt nt ʿmn*. She is probably the same woman as one of Hepuseneb’s daughters, depicted in his Gebel el Silsila shrine (DB #15) where she is only identified as a *dwꜣt nꜥr*. As mentioned previously, three of her sisters were *šmꜣywt* and her father was a High Priest of Amun and a powerful official under Hatshepsut (Grimal, 1992: 212, 219). Puimre was his subordinate during the building of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari. The connection between the two men makes it likely that Puimre married the daughter of his superior. It is possible that preservation conditions have obliterated traces of her *šmꜣyt* title at Gebel el Silsila. Or perhaps there was only space in the inscription for one title and *dwꜣt nꜥr* was considered the more important of the two. She may

have adopted the title *šmꜣyt* late in life as an expression of personal devotion. These various possibilities prohibit a definitive statement about when Senseneb became a *šmꜣyt*.

6.IV CONCLUSIONS

6.IV.1 The Issue of Inheritance

The women included in the database do not seem to have inherited the office from their mothers. Nor did they become *šmꜣywt* due to any specific titles that their fathers held.⁹ There does not appear to be any consistent connection between a woman's possession of the title *šmꜣyt* and any other family member's cult affiliations. Rather, a pattern of exposure to the cult, or family participation in cult activities seems relevant. As most subjects in this study served Amun at Thebes during the New Kingdom or the Third Intermediate Period, it is not surprising nor a coincidence that many members of one family could all be affiliated with the cult of Amun. The predominance of family members in the service of Amun probably had more to do with the popularity of Amun as the state god than any specific family tradition. The cult of Amun's economic and social importance resulted in the active participation of many citizens, which may statistically appear to be the inheritance of the title. This is not the case, however, since the pattern is not sufficiently consistent to remove all doubts. Similarly, Galvin (1981: 281) and Gillam (1991: 222) agree that the economic and social importance of the cult of Hathor at Cusae resulted in that cult's dominance by a few families and that this "monopoly" of cult positions cannot be interpreted as inheritance.

The decision of a woman to participate as a *šmꜣyt* in a specific cult seems to have been governed by three factors. Firstly, the family's involvement in a particular cult seems to have been important, but not overriding in all cases. Secondly, the influence a particular cult had in the

local community was also a consideration. These two factors were usually related because the small community of elite officials and wealthy members of the middle class were usually involved in the dominant state religious institutions of their time. The third factor was personal piety, or the individual's desire to carry out religious duties. This last factor must not be overlooked since it most likely explains why some women chose to become *šmꜥyt* where there was no family history of religious service, and why others chose different deities to serve than the ones their mothers or other relatives chose.

6.IV.2 Family Status

It is clear that much more is known about the family of the *šmꜥywt* of the New Kingdom than of the later periods. This may be due to the fact that the decorated nobles' tombs at Thebes record scenes of family life and the lifestyle of the officials. These monuments, as well as the other sources, demonstrate that the title *šmꜥyt* was a common part of the lives of the elite and lesser elite.

The 18th Dynasty definitely saw an increase in the status of the families of *šmꜥywt*.¹⁰ Some were from the families of the highest officials in Egypt including high priests, second, third, and fourth priests of Amun, mayors, seal bearers, judges, overseers of goldsmiths, senior scribes, and guardians of the treasury of the two lands. Women's designations included *ḥkrt nsw* (lady-in-waiting) and *mnꜥt nsw* (royal nurse) as well as *šmꜥyt*. These families were of a literate elite class.

As mentioned previously, the *šmꜥywt* of the Ramesside age were of a slightly less elite social class. Despite the fact that a few royal women were *šmꜥywt* during this era, the families of the chantresses were more often characterized by men who held titles of lesser distinction such as scribe, priest (*ḥm ntr* and *wꜥb*), stablemaster, standard bearer, fan bearer, and charioteer.

For the periods after the New Kingdom, there are far fewer decorated tombs and other monuments documenting the families of secular and religious officials. Most information about the *šmꜣwt* of the Third Intermediate Period derives from their coffins and papyri, largely of Theban origin. Information from these artifacts is primarily limited to the families of the High Priests of Amun. The majority of the remaining evidence is from objects that simply omit any mention of husbands or other family members. Occasionally these omissions were for reasons of space. However, where a monument was dedicated by a woman, or was for her specific funerary use, the husband was omitted due to the artistic conventions that dictated “compositional dominance” of the male figure whenever it was present (Robins, 1994: 33ff).

It is probably accurate to assume that women who were allowed to participate in the official religious hierarchy of Egypt were of at least a middle class background. In fact, the total data-set suggests that the women who held the title *šmꜣwt* did belong to the economically advantaged middle and upper classes of society. It should be remembered that the daughters of Ramesses II were *šmꜣwt*, as were the daughters of some of the highest officials. These women would not have wanted to serve as *šmꜣwt* alongside common peasants. Nor would the average woman have had time for responsibilities outside her home and family.

With the issue of heredity ruled out, what were the deciding factors for becoming a *šmꜣwt*? The evidence demonstrates that in some families, only a few of the women were chantresses, while others in the family were not. The family of User (TT 61) is a good example of this. Of User’s numerous daughters, only one held the title *šmꜣwt n ʿmn*. His wife, sister, and mother did not (see Appendix D for details). The fact that there is no consistent pattern as to who held the title within a family strongly suggests that holding the title was a matter of personal piety. Talent may have also played a role, but that aspect of the title is never mentioned in the ancient sources.

The family of Khonsu (TT 31) demonstrates a mixture of family influence and personal piety. One scene, in which many family members take part, depicts the feast of Montu that was celebrated when the god journeyed between Armant and Tod (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XII). Two registers of women holding flowers, sistras, and incense wait on the shore for the sacred barque of Montu to dock. Male relatives attend the god on his boat and at offering piles near the women awaiting the god's arrival. The most important detail about this scene is that it illustrates women taking part in an important religious event with the men of the family. That they are participating as a family is demonstrated by the presence of a young girl with her mother. Her inclusion may indicate that the involvement of women in religious festivals began at an early age.

The participation of Khonsu's female family members in cultic activities can be traced back to his mother, a *šmꜣt* of Montu (DB #585). Her daughter (DB #927), daughters-in-law (DB #586, 602), and granddaughters (DB #s 603-605) were also involved in cult activity. It is clear that there was a deep family tradition concerning the post *šmꜣt n Mnt* as all of the women served in this capacity. Two of them, however, also claimed to serve Amun (DB #s 586, 603). The fact that they were attached to an additional cult outside the family tradition suggests a personal choice made by these two women.

A combination of personal piety and family influence, such as that illustrated in TT 31, coupled with an atmosphere receptive to female participation in religious ritual, perhaps due to periods of state encouragement or sponsorship of the title *šmꜣt* (as discussed in Chapter 5), adequately accounts for the distribution patterns of the title encountered in this study.

N.B. Please refer to pages 196-197 for notes on the database and a key to the “Date” field included in all of the following charts.

¹ Doxey characterizes the use of Middle Kingdom women’s epithets as usually focusing on either the afterlife (*ms’t-hrw*) or the principal male figure of the monument (*nrt.f*) (1995: 287).

² Unfortunately, where we know about the husband, the woman’s father is not usually included on the monuments, and vice-versa.

³ The title *hmt ntr* of Hathor and the women who held that title have been dealt with by Galvin (1981, 1984) and Gillam (1991). Galvin’s methodological framework is followed in this chapter.

⁴ Only mothers with titles were recorded.

⁵ There were a number of women who had mothers-in-law without titles, but they are not counted here.

⁶ A fifth woman may have been either the mother-in-law or grandmother of DB #919, but their relationship cannot be ascertained.

⁷ There may have been many more women who shared the title with their mothers-in-law, but often relationships are undefined, especially on stelae or small objects.

⁸ See also Section 5.VI.2.

⁹ This seems to be the case for the title *wrt hmt nt Imn* in the Third Intermediate Period where wives and daughters of the high priest of Amun commonly held this title (Wente, 1967b: 157, n.16)

¹⁰ An Abydene stela from the Middle Kingdom mentions two chantresses of Montu of Medamud who were mother and daughter. A number of other individuals are mentioned on the stela, but their relationships to one another are mostly unspecified. Most male titles represent humble professions, e.g., sandal maker, baker, builder, *wꜥ* priest of Khnum, and cattleman. Likewise, the only 17th Dynasty stela documented in this study records a *šmꜥyt* of Osiris whose son was an overseer of cattle.

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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REF #	NAME	DEITY	OTHER TITLES	MOTHER	FAMILY	PROV.	DATE
9	<i>Tnt-1mn (T3-nt-1mn)</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsynt n p3 c n Mwt wrt nbt 1srw; hsynt c3t n nbw w3st 1mn, Mwt, Hnsw</i>		daughter #341?		21.5
26	<i>Wrnr</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore			daughter #27	Memphis?	19.2
27	<i>Yy</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		#26		Memphis?	19.2
39	<i>Hnwt-1wnw</i>	Bastet			co-wife with #40; daughters #41, 42; mother-in-law #38; sisters-in-law #43, 37		19.3
41	<i>T3-h^c(t)</i>	Bastet		#39 or 40	grandmother #38; aunts #37, 43		19.3
42	<i>Nfrt-lit</i>	Bastet		#39 or 40	grandmother, #38; aunts, #37, 43		19.3
43	<i>T3ri3</i>	Bastet		#38	sisters-in-law #37, 39; nieces, #41, 42		19.3
45	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>	Wepwawet	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters #46, 47		20.19
46	<i>3st</i>	Wepwawet		#45			20.19
47	<i>T3-c^{ky}</i>	Wepwawet		#45			20.19
49	<i>Hnwt-g^{ww}</i>	Amun		#50	daughter #51; mother-in-law #48; daughter-in-law #52	Abydos?	19
49	<i>Hnwt-g^{ww}</i>	Amun		#50	daughter #51; mother-in-law #48; daughter-in-law #52	Abydos?	19
50	<i>N3^c</i>	Amun			daughter #49; granddaughter #51	Abydos?	19
51	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Amun		#49	sister-in-law #52; grandmothers #48, 50	Abydos?	19
58	<i>c3t-nbw</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters #80, 81; mother-in-law #812; daughter-in-law #59		19
60	<i>Wrt-nfrt</i>	Khnum		#58	sister in law #58; grandmother #812; others #82-85		19
61	<i>B3k3t3</i>	Khnum		#58	sister-in-law #58; grandmother #812; others #82-85		19
85	<i>Wrt-w3h-sw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters #86-88; mother-in-law #89		19.9
86	<i>Nfrt-lry</i>			#85			19.9
87	<i>3st</i>			#85			19.9
88	<i>H^ct-b3ht</i>			#85			19.9

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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97	<i>T3-nfrt</i>	Amun			daughter #98		19.9
98	<i>B3k-wrn</i>	Montu		#97			19.9
99	<i>T3y-bs</i>	Thoth			daughter #100	Serabit el Khadim	19.9
100	<i>T3y-ky</i>	Thoth		#99		Serabit el Khadim	19.9
101	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Wepwawet			daughter #102?		19.9
102	<i>Shmt</i>	Wepwawet	<i>nbt pr</i>	?#101			19.9
150	<i>Hryw-wbn</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn m s3 4-nw, wrt hnt tpt, hm(t) ntr 2-nw n Mwt, hm(t) ntr 2-nw n Mwt n pr ms</i>	priestess, Asetemak- heb, daughter of HP Menkheper- re		Bab el Gusus	21.8
164	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun		temple singer of Amun, Djedkhons- uiwsankh		TT83	21.9
181	<i>(Nsy)t3-nbt- i3rw</i>	Amun		#787			22.1
194	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun		#788			22.1
267	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hkt nsw</i>		daughters # 268, 269; mother-in-law, <i>mn't wrt nt Nb-Imn</i>	TT98	18.35
268	<i>Imn-m-ipt</i>	Amun		#267		TT98	18.35
269	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	pharaoh 3-hpr-k3- R*, Amun		#267		TT98	18.35
270	<i>T3-h't</i>	Amun		<i>hkt nsw, nbt pr, Mryt</i>		TT100	18.35
271	<i>M3't-nfrt</i>	Amun?		<i>hkt nsw, nbt pr, Mryt</i>		TT100	18.35
272	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		<i>hkt nsw, nbt pr, Mryt</i>		TT100	18.35
273	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, 3m'yt wrt, hsyt n Mwt m 13rw</i>		one daughter and one sister are <i>hkt nsw</i> ; daughter #277; step-daughter #480	TT224, TT96 & KV40	18.35
277	<i>Mwt-twy</i>	Amun		#273		TT162 (and TT96)	18.45
278	<i>R3y</i>	Amun	<i>hkt nsw</i>		daughters #279, 280, 281	TT75	18.5
279	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		#278		TT75	18.5
280	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		#278		TT75	18.5
281	<i>T3-ti</i>	Amun		#278		TT75	18.5
341	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy 3t ' n nbw hh</i>	#9?			21.5
480	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		<i>mn't nsw wrt, Snt-n3y</i>	step-mother #273	Kamak (also in TT96?)	18.45
491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hkt nsw, hsyt nt ...</i>	#701		TT55	18.65

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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503	<i>Isu-mwt</i>	Amun of Kamak, <i>hr s3</i> <i>smc</i>		daughters #506-511; daughters-in-law #504, 505?	TT44	19.2
506	?		#503	sisters #507-511; sisters-in-law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
507	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>		#503	sisters #506,508-511; sisters-in-law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
508	<i>T3-my(t)</i>		#503	sisters #506, 507, 509-511; sisters in law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
509	<i>Iryt-nfrt</i>		#503	sisters #506-508, 510-511; sisters-in- law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
510	?		#503	sisters #507-509, 511; sisters-in-law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
511	?		#503	sisters #507-510; sisters-in-law #504, 505	TT44	19.2
513	<i>Iry-th</i>	Khnum	#514		Amarah West, temple	19.9
514	<i>T3-mhyt</i>	Horus of Aniba		daughter #513	Amarah West, temple	19.9
586	?	Seth	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter #759	Dakhla	22.2
584	<i>Rnwt</i>	Amun	#616	mother-in-law #618	TT50	18.8
585	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu		daughter #927; daughters-in-law #586, 602; granddaughters #603-605	TT31	19.2
586	<i>Mwti^cy (M^cy)</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsyi 3 n</i> <i>Hwt-hr nbt Twnt</i>	daughters #604, 605; mother-in-law #585	TT31	19.2
588	<i>Dwt-nfrt?</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter #589	TT254	18.8
589	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	#588		TT254	18.8
602	<i>Rwi3</i>	Montu		daughter # 603; mother-in-law #585; step-daughters #604, 605	TT31	19.2
603	<i>Wisy</i>	Montu, Amun	#602	half-sisters #604, 605; step-mother #586; grandmother #585	TT31	19.2
604	<i>3ti</i>	Montu	#586	sister #605; half- sister #603; step- mother #602; grandmother #585	TT31	19.2

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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605	<i>Ns-nb</i>	Montu		#586	sister #604; half-sister # 603; step-mother #602; grandmother #585	TT31	19.2
616	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun			daughter #584	TT50	18.8
618	<i>T3-h^c</i>	Amun	<i>wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>		daughters # 619, 620; daughter-in-law # 584; aunts #621, 622	TT50	18.8
619	<i>Pik^c?</i>	Amun		#618	sister of Neferhotep (TT50)	TT50	18.8
620	<i>T3pwy?</i>	Amun		#618	sister of Neferhotep (TT50)	TT50	18.8
623	<i>H3t-špswt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, h^csy t n Hwt-h^cr, nbt pt t3</i>	#756	mother-in-law #624; daughter-in-law #4	TT51	19.1
627	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	#719	mother-in-law #625; sisters #721-722; grandmother #720	TT23	19.3
628	<i>Hnwt</i>	Amun		#643		TT158	20.15
629	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	Amun		#643		TT158	20.15
630	<i>(H?)krt</i>	Amun		#634	lots of sisters and aunts were <i>šm^cyt</i>	TT158	20.15
632	<i>Tšy-hnwt-pš-mtr</i>	Amun		#634	lots of sisters and aunts were <i>šm^cyt</i>	TT158	20.15
633	<i>Tšy-nšmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	#643		TT158, TT148	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>	<i>wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>	daughters #630, 632; mother-in-law #643; daughters-in-law #785, 786; sister-in-law #681	TT158	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>	<i>wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>	daughters #630, 632; mother-in-law #643; daughters-in-law #785, 786; sister-in-law #681	TT158	20.15
639	<i>M^cišy</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>wrt h^crt n Mntw</i>	<i>wrt h^crt n 1mn, T3-h^c</i>	mother-in-law # 637	TT331	20.17
643	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	<i>wrt h^crt n 1mn</i>		daughters #628, 629, Sehel, 633; daughters-in-law #635, 634	(TT158)	19.2
653	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughter #653	TT267	20.1
654	<i>Nbw-ity</i>	Amun	<i>m šw tpy?</i>	#654		TT267	20.1
663	<i>Nqm-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	#702	mother-in-law #664	TT194	19.2
682	?	Amun		#681		Medinet Habu	20.1
690	<i>Št-1mn</i>	Montu of Medamud			daughter #691	Abydos	12
691	<i>W3d-hšw</i>	Montu of Medamud		#690		Abydos	12
701	<i>M^cy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, h^csy t n nbt tšwy</i>		daughter #491	TT55	18.65
702	?				daughter #663	TT194	19.2

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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704	<i>B3k-hnsw</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters #705-706, 708-710; mother-in-law # 703; granddaughter #707	TT45	19.2
705	<i>Ty-m-hb</i>	Amun		#704		TT45	19.2
706	<i>Nht-Mwt</i>	Amun		#704		TT45	19.2
708	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		#704		TT45	19.2
709	<i>wr-[nfr]</i>	Amun		#704		TT45	19.2
710	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun		#704		TT45	19.2
719	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		#720	daughters #627, 721, 722	TT23	19.3
719	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		#720	daughters #627, 721, 722	TT23	19.3
720	<i>Mhyt-h'f</i>	Amun			daughter #719; granddaughter #627	TT23	19.3
721	<i>Huy-n-r</i>	Bastet		#719	sisters #627, 722; grandmother #720	TT23	19.3
722	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Bastet		#719	sisters #627, 721; grandmother #720	TT23	19.3
724	<i>N3w-33'f</i>	Amun Re			daughter #725	TT138	19.2
725	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun		#724		TT138	19.2
736	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr, hsyf '3 n Hwt-hr</i>		daughters (or step daughters) #738, 832, 833	TT296	19.2
737	<i>Nqm-Mwt</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>shmyt</i>		daughters (or step daughters) #738, 832, 833	TT296	19.2
738	<i>3st</i>	Amun		may be #836, 837, or 839	.	TT296	19.2
739	<i>K3h</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters (or step daughters) #738, 832, 833	TT296	19.2
756	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsyf nt Hwt-hr</i>		daughter # 623	TT51	19.1
759	?	Seth		#586		Dakhia	22.2
768	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun			daughter #769	probably Thebes?	18.95
769	<i>T3-h'f</i>	Amun		#768	other daughters are not <i>3m'yt</i>	probably Thebes	18.95
778	<i>T3y-sn-nfr</i>	Wepwawet			daughters #779-781; mother-in-law #782	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
779	<i>Mhyt-h'f</i>	Wepwawet		#778		Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
780	<i>Nfr-3st</i>	Wepwawet		#778		Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
781	<i>Wnp</i>	Wepwawet		#778		Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>wrt hnt...</i>	<i>wrt hnt Imn, Adjetau</i>	mother-in-law #634	TT148	20.15

CHART 1: MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

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786	<i>T3-mit</i>	Amun		<i>wrt hnr n 1n- hrt</i>	mother-in-law #834	TT148	20.15
787	<i>gd-hr-iw.s- nh</i>	Amun			daughter #181		22.1
788	<i>Nsy-t3-nb- i3rw</i>	Amun			daughter #194		22.1
789	<i>Mwt-m-mr.s</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	<i>hsyt n hwt-hr</i>	#791	daughter-in-law #726; mother-in-law #790	TT65	20.19
791	<i>T3-mt...</i>	Amun Re			daughter #789	TT65	20.19
824	<i>Shmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>		mother-in-law #826; daughter #825		19.1
832	<i>Hr-pry</i>	Amun		may be #836, 837, or 839		TT296	19.2
833	<i>Huy-n-r</i>	Amun?	<i>nbt pr</i>	may be #836, 837, or 839		TT296	19.2
835	<i>Bikt-wr-n-r</i>	Amun		#836		TT156	19.2
836	<i>M'iz</i>	Amun			daughter #835	TT156	19.2
847	<i>T3-n[...]</i>			#849		Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
848	<i>Mryt-nbw</i>			#849		Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
849	<i>?h-di.s</i>		<i>nbt pr</i>		daughters #847, 848	Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
881	<i>Ndmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy t 3 n lmnt w3st</i>	#882	mother-in-law #880	TT41	19.2
882	<i>M'cy?</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>		daughter #881	TT41	19.2
927	<i>Tnt-iwnt</i>	Montu		#585		TT31	19.2

CHART 2: MOTHERS-IN-LAW AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

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REF. #	NAME	DEITY	OTHER TITLES	FAMILY	PROV.	DATE
4	?	Amun	<i>hsyt n Hwt-hr</i>	mother-in-law #623	TT51	19.1
37	<i>K3-nhbt</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #38?		19.3
38	<i>B3k-wrrr</i>	Bastet		daughter-in-law #37?		19.3
39	<i>Hnwt-Twnw</i>	Bastet		daughters #41, 42 shared with #40; mother-in-law #38; sisters-in-law #43, 37		19.3
48	<i>Tpt-nfrt</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #49	Abydos?	19
49	<i>Hnwt-gww</i>	Amun		daughter #51; mother- in-law #48; daughter- in-law #52	Abydos?	19
49	<i>Hnwt-gww</i>	Amun		daughter #51; mother- in-law #48; daughter- in-law #52	Abydos?	19
52	<i>Ty-nfr.ti</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #49; sister-in-law #51	Abydos?	19
58	<i>ʿšst-nbw</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughters #60, 61; mother-in-law #812; daughter-in-law #59		19
58	<i>ʿšst-nbw</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughters #60, 61; mother-in-law #812; daughter-in-law #59		19
59	<i>Ty</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #58		19
66	<i>Is3y (Hn3y)</i>	Banebdjed		daughter-in-law #67	Mendes or Hermo-polis Parva?	19.9
67	<i>T3-b3-s3</i>	Thoth, arbitrator of the two combatants	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #66	Mendes or Hermo-polis Parva?	19.9
68	<i>T3-bw-b3</i>	Pre	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #69		20.1
69	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		daughter-in-law #68		20.1
85	<i>Wrt-w3h-sw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughters #86-88; mother-in-law #89		19.9
89	<i>Ini-h3y</i>			daughter-in-law #86		19.9
267	<i>Hmwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, h3krt nsw</i>	daughters # 268, 269; mother-in-law, <i>mnʿt wrt nt Nb-Tmn</i>	TT98	18.35
275	<i>T3-ddt.s</i>	Amun		mother-in-law, <i>mnʿt nsw</i>	TT93	18.4
276	<i>Mryt</i>	Thoth		daughter-in-law, <i>hsyt n Hwt-hr</i>	TT92	18.4
444	<i>Rnnwtt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet, Hathor of Medjedny	<i>wrt h3nrt Hwt-hr, nbt M3ddny</i>	mother-in-law #783	Asyut?	19.1

CHART 2: MOTHERS-IN-LAW AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

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481	Nyt	Amun	<i>mn^ct wrt n nb t3wy</i> <i>hsyt n ntr nfr šdt ntr</i> <i>nfrt snk, hnm.n hr</i> <i>šnbt</i>	mother-in-law, <i>mn^ct wrt</i>	TT88	18.35
493	B313	Amun <i>hr s3 4-nw</i>		mother-in-law, <i>Nbr-k3bny- wrt hn(r)yt nt s3t nsw, mn^ct wrt, šdt ntr</i> <i>hsyt n ntr nfr, bqrn qf</i> <i>hkrt nsw, ^chms</i>	Abydos	18.6
503	<i>Isu-mwt</i>	Amun of Karnak <i>hr s3</i> <i>šm^c</i>		daughters #506-511; daughters-in-law #504, 505?	TT44	19.2
504	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #503?; sisters-in-law #506-511	TT44	19.2
505	?	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #503?; sisters-in-law #506-511	TT44	19.2
568	<i>T3-di</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #569	TT33	26
569	<i>N3-mnh-3st</i>	Amun	<i>ihty n Imn</i>	daughter-in-law #568	TT33	26
578	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	Nekhbet, Amun	<i>wrt hnt n N3bt, wrt</i> <i>hnt n Imn</i>	mother-in-law #607	Faras, Qasr Ibrim, TT289, Sehel	19.2
584	<i>Rnwtt</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #618	TT50	18.8
585	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu		daughter #927; daughters-in-law #586, 602; granddaughters #603-605	TT31	19.2
586	<i>Mwtl^cy (M^cy)</i>	Amun, Montu	<i>nbt pr, hsynt ^c3 n</i> <i>Hwt-hr nbt Twnt</i>	daughters #604, 605; mother-in-law #585	TT31	19.2
595	<i>S3-kt</i>	Thoth		step-mother-in-law #596?		19.9
596	<i>Nsw-m-h3b</i>	Thoth		step-daughter-in-law #595		19.9
602	<i>Rw3</i>	Montu		daughter # 603; mother-in-law #585; step-daughters #604, 605	TT31	19.2
607	<i>^c-n-wd3</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #578	Kom el Ahmar?	19.2
608	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-R^c</i> <i>nb Tw-rd</i>	mother-in-law #609	Zawyet el Sultan	19.1
609	<i>K3 [k3]</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #608	Zawyet el Sultan	19.1
618	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn</i>	daughters # 619, 620; daughter-in-law # 584; aunts #621, 622	TT50	18.8
623	<i>H3t-špswt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsynt n Hwt-</i> <i>hr, nbt pt t3</i>	mother-in-law #624; daughter-in-law #4	TT51	19.1
624	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu?		daughter-in-law #623	TT51	19.1
625	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #627	TT23	19.3

CHART 2: MOTHERS-IN-LAW AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

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626	<i>Rṯ3</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>nbt pr, wrt ḥnrt n Sbk</i>	mother-in-law #625	TT23	19.3
627	<i>Nbt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #625; sisters #721-722; grandmother #720	TT23	19.3
631	<i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #634	TT158, TT148	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt ḥnrt n Imn</i>	daughters #630, 632; mother-in-law, #643; daughters-in-law #785, 786; sister-in-law #681	TT158	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt ḥnrt n Imn</i>	daughters #630, 632; mother-in-law, #643; daughters-in-law #785, 786; sister-in-law #681	TT158	20.15
635	<i>Shmt</i>	Khnum		mother-in-law #643	TT158	20.15
637	<i>Twy</i>	Montu, Amun		daughter-in-law #639	TT324, Sehel	20.16
639	<i>Mṯ3y</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>wrt ḥnrt n Mntw</i>	mother-in-law # 637	TT331	20.17
641	<i>W3y(?)</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #642	TT163	19.4
642	<i>Ndm-niwt</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #641	TT163	19.4
643	<i>Ḥnwt-mr</i>	Amun	<i>wrt ḥnrt n Imn</i>	daughters #628, 629, 633; daughters-in-law #635, 634	Sehel, TT158	19.2
663	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #664	TT194	19.2
664	<i>Mwt?</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>ḥryt šmṯywt</i>	daughter-in-law # 663	TT194	19.2
693	<i>3st</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, ḥsyṯ n Ḥwt- ḥr</i>	mother-in-law #723	TT32	19.2
703	<i>3st</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #704	TT45	19.2
704	<i>B3k(t)-Ḥnsw</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughters #705-706, 708-710; mother-in-law #703; granddaughter #707	TT45	19.2
723	<i>Ḥnwt-w3dbt</i>	Nebet-ww, Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #693	TT32	19.2
726	<i>Tnt-p3-s33</i>	Amun Re	<i>šḥmyt n Mwt m Tšrw, ḥsy ʿ3 n Ḥwt- ḥr ḥr lb drst</i>	mother-in-law #789	TT65	20.19
762	<i>T3-k3-mn- (wq3?)</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #763	Thebes?	19
763	<i>Ḥuy-n-r</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #762	Thebes?	19
778	<i>T3y-sn-nfr</i>	Wepwawet		daughters #779-781; mother-in-law #782	Asyut?	19.2/ 19.3
782	<i>T3-kt</i>	Wepwawet		daughter-in-law #778	Asyut?	19.2/ 19.3
783	<i>Rnnwt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #444	Asyut, tomb of Amen- hotep	19.1
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>wrt ḥnrt...</i>	mother-in-law #634	TT148	20.15

CHART 2: MOTHERS-IN-LAW AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

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786	<i>T3-mit</i>	Amun	.	mother-in-law #634	TT148	20.15
789	<i>Mwt-m-nr.s</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	<i>hsyt n Hwt-hr</i>	mother-in-law #790; daughter-in-law #726	TT65	20.19
789	<i>Mwt-m-nr.s</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	<i>hsyt n Hwt-hr</i>	mother-in-law #790; daughter-in-law #726	TT65	20.19
790	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun Re		daughter-in-law #789	TT65	20.19
804	<i>R^ci3y</i>	Amun Re, Mut	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #805	TT409	19.2
805	<i>Twt-wi3</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #804, 806	TT409	19.2
806	<i>T3-smnt</i>	Amun		mother-in-law #805	TT409	19.2
812	<i>Wrt-nfrt</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #58; granddaughters #60-61		19
824	<i>Shmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter #825; mother-in-law #826		19.1
826	<i>Hnt-iwnw</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #824		19.1
852	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #853	TT183	19.2
853	<i>Twiz</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #852	TT183	19.2
876	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #877	TT111	19.2
877	<i>Iwy</i>	Bastet, lady of Ankh-tawy	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #876; daughter-in-law #878	TT111	19.2
880	<i>Iny</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr</i>	daughter-in-law #881	TT41	19.2
881	<i>Ndmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsynt ^c3 n imntt w3st</i>	mother-in-law #880	TT41	19.2
891	<i>T3-k3rt (h^c-B3stt)</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	mother-in-law #892		20.1
892	<i>^cnh-i3-iw-nbw</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #891		20.1
902	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr.f</i>	mother-in-law #903	Abydos	19.3
903	<i>^cwrti</i>	Amun		daughter-in-law #902	Abydos	19.3
919	<i>Tiy</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hntt n Imn, hsynt n nsw, hsynt n pr nsw</i>	grandmother or mother-in-law, <i>wrt hntt n Imn, Mryt-r^c</i>	TT106	19.1

CHART 3: FATHERS

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REF. #	NAME	DEITY	FATHER	PROV.	DATE
27	Yy	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore	<i>hry rhy n nb tšwy, Hwy</i>	Memphis?	19.2
41	<i>T3-h'(t)</i>	Bastet	<i>kqn tp n hm.f wpwty nsw r t3 nb, Wnn-nfr</i>		19.3
42	<i>Nfrr-ilt</i>	Bastet	<i>kqn tp n hm.f wpwty nsw r t3 nb, Wnn-nfr</i>		19.3
43	<i>T3ri3</i>	Bastet	<i>t3y-sryt, Ry</i>		19.3
46	<i>3st</i>	Wepwawet	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn R^c-mss, s3 nsw K3, Wn-t3wt</i>		20.19
47	<i>T3-ky</i>	Wepwawet	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn R^c-mss, s3 nsw K3, Wn-t3wt</i>		20.19
51	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Amun	<i>idnw imy-r mnnunwt, Nb-ms</i>	Abydos?	19
60	<i>Wrt-nfrr</i>	Khnum	<i>imy-r ssmr, P3y</i>		19
61	<i>B3kti3</i>	Khnum	<i>imy-r ssmr, P3y</i>		19
74	<i>Ns-tr-n-m3't</i>	Montu, lord of Thebes	<i>hry k3t n pr Imn, 'nh-p3-hrd</i>	Thebes	23
86	<i>Nfrr-iry</i>		<i>s3 wqhw n 't irp, B3k-n-Imn</i>		19.9
87	<i>3st</i>		<i>s3 wqhw n 't irp, B3k-n-Imn</i>		19.9
88	<i>H't-b3ht</i>		<i>s3 wqhw n 't irp, B3k-n-Imn</i>		19.9
98	<i>B3k-wrn</i>	Montu	<i>?s3 m3', s3 nfrw, Imn-m-hb</i>		19.9
100	<i>T3y-ky</i>	Thoth	<i>s3 nsw, Swth-nht</i>	Serabit el Khadim	19.9
111	<i>Tw.s-'nh</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy, Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Bab el Gusus	21
120	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Khonsu	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	TT60	21.5
128	?	Amun Re	<i>hm ntr tpy</i>	Bab el Gusus?	21.8
152	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, P3y-nqm (I)</i>	TT 60	21.5
170	<i>Tnt...</i>	Amun	<i>w'b Imn-m-ipt, Imn-h'</i>		21
246	<i>T3-šryt-n(t)-3st</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr pr Imn (n) hpw, imy-r imi-wt n pr-'3, 'nh-f-n-Imn</i>	Thebes?	21
251	<i>M'3ny</i>	Osiris, Isis	<i>hm ntr Wsr, T3</i>	Abydos	19.15
257	<i>T3-m-rsfy</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hpw-snb</i>	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	18.2
258	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun?	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hpw-snb</i>	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	18.2
259	<i>Hnwt-nfrr</i>	Amun?	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hpw-snb</i>	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	18.2
260	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hpw-snb (TT67)</i>	TT39	18.25
261	<i>B3kt</i>	Amun?	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty, Wsir</i>	(TT61, TT131) TT82, TT100, Gebel el Silsilah shrine 17	18.25
268	<i>Imn-m-ipt</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, K3-m-hry-ib.sn</i>	TT98	18.35
269	<i>Mwt-nfrr</i>	pharaoh 3-hpr-k3-R ^c , Amun	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, K3-m-hry-ib.sn</i>	TT98	18.35
270	<i>T3-h't</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty, Rh-mi-r^c</i>	TT100	18.35
271	<i>M3't-nfrr</i>	Amun?	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty, Rh-mi-r^c</i>	TT100	18.35
272	<i>Mwt-nfrr</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty, Rh-mi-r^c</i>	TT100	18.35

CHART 3: FATHERS

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277	<i>Mwt-^{rw}</i>	Amun	<i>h3ty-^c n niwt rsyt, Sn-nfr</i>	TT162 (and TT96)	18.45
279	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Imn, Imn-hp-s3-s</i>	TT75	18.5
280	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Imn, Imn-hp-s3-s</i>	TT75	18.5
281	<i>T3-ti</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Imn, Imn-hp-s3-s</i>	TT75	18.5
298	<i>M^c3t-k3-R^c</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, P3y-ndm (II)</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
304	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>	Amun Re	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
305	<i>G3t-s3n</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
335	<i>Bw-irw-h^cr-Mwt?</i>	Amun Re	<i>it ntr n Imn R^c, B3k-n-mwt</i>		21.8
341	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>	Amun Re	<i>it ntr n Imn R^c, it ntr, s3 hwt ntr n pr Mwt, hry s3wty s3w pr hq n pr Imn, imy-r hwt nbw n Imn</i>		21.5
366	<i>Spst-ns-Mwt-^cnh-ti</i>	Amun (Re)	<i>hm ntr 4-nw n Imn R^c, Dd-Hnsw-iw.f-^cnh</i>		21.9
371	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>it ntr n Imn, B3k-n-Mwt</i>		22
384	<i>N3w-ny</i>	Amun Re	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hri-hr</i>	TT358	21.1
391	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	Amun Re	<i>it ntr n Imn, Ns-p3-spy-t3wy</i>		21.8
402	<i>T3-ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	<i>it ntr mry, T^ch-hrw?</i>		21.8
412	<i>3sty</i>	Bastet	<i>imy-r m3^c, Hri</i>		18
413	<i>T3-rnnt</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r m3^c, Hri</i>		18
418	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 4-nw n Imn, smr w^ct, imy-r pr-hq n nb t3wy, irty nsw, nsdrtty bity, Nht.f-Mwt?</i>	Ramesseum	23
448	<i>Ir-mwt-p3-nfr</i>	Amun Re	<i>hm ntr pr Imn (n) hpw, imy-r imi-wt n pr-^c3, ^cnh.f-n-Imn</i>		21
480	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>h3ty-^c n niwt rsyt, Sn-nfr</i>	Karnak (also may be in TT96)	18.45
491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun Re	<i>hm ntr Wrt hktw, imy-r hmw-ntr m hwt shmt, s3 nsw, Imn-hp</i>	TT55	18.85
496	<i>Tty</i>	Osiris, Isis	<i>Imy-r 3nwty, Kny-nht</i>	Abydos	19.15
506	<i>?</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
507	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
508	<i>T3-my(t)</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
509	<i>lryt-nfrt</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
510	<i>?</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
511	<i>?</i>		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, s3 hwt ntr Imn, Imn-m-hb</i>	TT44	19.2
513	<i>lry-th</i>	Khnum	<i>imy-r 3nwty, P3-sr</i>	Amarah West, temple	19.9
589	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	<i>hry iry pr-hq n pr Imn-R^c, s3 pr-hq Imn, s3 it ntr Imn, iry n pr Tty m pr Imn, Imn-ms</i>	TT254	18.8
603	<i>Wi3y</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r^c (Tuthmosis III), Hnsw</i>	TT31	19.2
604	<i>3ti</i>	Montu	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r^c (Tuthmosis III), Hnsw</i>	TT31	19.2

CHART 3: FATHERS

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605	<i>Ns-nb</i>	Montu	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r^c</i> (Tuthmosis III), <i>Hnsw</i>	TT31	19.2
619	<i>Plk^c?</i>	Amun	<i>it ntr n Imn, s3b, Imn-m-int</i>	TT50	18.8
620	<i>T3pwy?</i>	Amun	<i>it ntr n Imn, s3b, Imn-m-int</i>	TT50	18.8
621	<i>Ty</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r sq3wty?, I^ch-msw</i>	TT50	18.8
622	<i>Imn-s^ch</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r sq3wty?, I^ch-msw</i>	TT50	18.8
628	<i>Hnwt</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr Imn, Imn-htp</i>	TT158	20.15
629	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr Imn, Imn-htp</i>	TT158	20.15
630	<i>(H?)krt</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, T3-nfr</i>	TT158	20.15
632	<i>T3y-hnwt-p3-mtr</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, T3-nfr</i>	TT158	20.15
633	<i>T3y-nqmt</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr Imn, Imn-htp</i>	TT158, TT148	20.15
654	<i>Nbw-iiy</i>	Amun	<i>idnw n t3 ist m st m3^ct, hntw wr n nb t3wy m st m3^ct hr imntt w3st, ms s3mw n ntrw nbw m hntw nbw, H3y sqm^c3 m st m3^ct, P3-nb hry krt n imi-wrt hry ihw tpy n nb t3wy, ?</i>	TT267	20.1
656	<i>Šrit-R^c</i>	Amun	<i>sqm^c3 m st m3^ct, P3-nb</i>	TT211	19.3
663	<i>Nqm-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>hry krt n imi-wrt hry ihw tpy n nb t3wy, ?</i>	TT194	19.2
680	<i>Dd-^cst-n-imw</i>	Osiris	<i>hm ntr Wsir, I-y</i>	Abydos	25
705	<i>Ty-m-hb</i>	Amun	<i>hr mrw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr s3r n pr Imn, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
706	<i>Nht-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>hr mrw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr s3r n pr Imn, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
708	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>hr mrw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr s3r n pr Imn, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
709	<i>wr-[nfr]</i>	Amun	<i>hr mrw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr s3r n pr Imn, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
710	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>hr mrw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr s3r n pr Imn, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
713	<i>3st</i>		<i>wpt nswt r h3st nb, hri ssmu n nb t3wy, Mn-hpr</i>	Sehel	19.2
714	<i>M^ci3</i>		<i>wpt nswt r h3st nb, hri ssmu n nb t3wy, Mn-hpr</i>	Sehel	19.2
715	<i>3st-nfrt</i>		<i>wpt nswt r h3st nb, hri ssmu n nb t3wy, Mn-hpr</i>	Sehel	19.2
725	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hnty hri Mw m t3 hwt-wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c m pr Imn, Nqm-gr</i>	TT138	19.2
728	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	<i>w^cb, hry-hb, hry-s3t3 n Imn m ipt-swt, Ky-nbw</i>	TT113	20.18
729	<i>^c-n-wd3-mst</i>	Amun	<i>hry-hb, hry-s3t3 n Imn-m-ipt-swt, Ky-nbw</i>	TT113	20.18
730	<i>Mwt-m-ipt</i>	Amun	<i>hry-hb, hry-s3t3 n Imn-m-ipt-swt, Ky-nbw</i>	TT113	20.18
738	<i>3st</i>	Amun	<i>s3 nsw, idnw n pr-hq, Nfr-shrw</i>	TT296	19.2
759	<i>?</i>	Seth	<i>hm ntr n Swth, Nsy-B3stt</i>	Dakhla	22.2
769	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n Pth, Imn-htp</i>	probably Thebes	18.95
779	<i>Mhyt-h^ct</i>	Wepwawet	<i>hm ntr?, Hnsw</i>	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
780	<i>Nfr-3st</i>	Wepwawet	<i>hm ntr?, Hnsw</i>	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
781	<i>Wnp</i>	Wepwawet	<i>hm ntr?, Hnsw</i>	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
784	<i>T3-imnt-snb</i>	Khentiamentiu	<i>hskw, hm ntr Wrt-hk3w, Hr-wn-nfr</i>	Akhmim	31
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, R^c-mss-nht</i> (TT293)	TT148	20.15

CHART 3: FATHERS

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786	<i>T3-mit</i>	Amun	<i>hm ntr tpy n In-hrt, (no name)</i>	TT148	20.15
825	<i>Rnnwt</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r pr wr n nsw, imy-r ssmu n nb t3wy, stm m t3 hwt nun-m3't-R' hry-ib, Rwrw</i>		19.1
832	<i>Hr-pry</i>	Amun	<i>sš nsw, idnw n pr-hd, Nfr-shrw</i>	TT296	19.2
833	<i>Huy-n-r</i>	Amun?	<i>sš nsw, idnw n pr-hd, Nfr-shrw</i>	TT296	19.2
835	<i>B3kt-wr-n-r</i>	Amun	<i>hry-pdt, imy-r h3swt rsywt, Pn-nswt- t3wy</i>	TT156	19.2
840	<i>Mrwt-t3-dy</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
841	<i>Hnwt-n-m3't</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
842	<i>Hnwt-bw-tm-mt.s</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
843	<i>H't-špst</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
844	<i>Ti-m-wnwt</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
845	<i>Hwt-lr</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r hmw n pr Hr nb Ml'm, R-k3</i>	Buhen or Aniba?	19.2
847	<i>T3-n[...]</i>		<i>imy-r hmw-ntrw n nbw t3 šm', imy-r hmww, Mr-ndm</i>	Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
848	<i>Mrwt-nbw</i>		<i>imy-r hmw-ntrw n nbw t3 šm', imy-r hmww, Mr-ndm</i>	Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
851	<i>Tni-hy</i>	Hathor, lady of the sycamore	<i>h3ty-', sš nsw pr hd, imy-r pr wr m pr Pth, wr m inb hd, Pth-ms</i>	Saqqara	19.2
872	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun	<i>imy-r pr n hwt-Pth</i>		19.2
906	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	<i>?sš nsw tp, sš nsw š't n pr '3, rpt', h3ty- ' T3y</i>	TT23	19.3
927	<i>Tnt-iwnt</i>	Montu	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-R' (Tuhmosis III), Nfr-hp</i>	TT31	19.2
928	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	<i>w' b n h3t n Pth, hry nbyw n Pth, T3</i>	Saqqara, tomb of Mose	19.2

CHART 4: HUSBANDS

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REF. #	NAME	DEITY	OTHER TITLES	HUSBAND	PROV.	DATE
2	T3wy	Amun		wnwty n Tmn, sš, Nht	TT52	18.5
4	?	Amun	hsyt n Hwt-hr	hm ntr tpy k3 nsw ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ, Dhwty	TT51	19.1
6	N3š3	Amun	nbt pr	imy-r pr n nsw Mn-mšʿt-Rʿ, imy-r mnmmwt n nsw nb t3wy, sš nsw, Hw-nfr		19.1
9	Tnt-Tmn (T3-nt-Tmn)	Amun Re	nbt pr, hsynt n p3 ʿ n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw; hsynt ʿ3t n nbw wšst Tmn, Mwt, Hnsw	?it ntr n Tmn Rʿ nsw ntrw, it ntr, sš hwt ntr n pr Mwt, hry sšwty sšw pr hq n pr Tmn, imy-r hwt nbw n Tmn		21.5
16	Pry	Pre		hm ntr n Mry-Tmn-rʿ-msw hnt.f Tmn, Rʿ-msw	Abydos or Memphis?	19.3
23	Nbt-t3wy	Pre		hry-ihw, B3k-ʿ3	Memphis?	19.2
25	Mrt-Rʿ	Pre		it ntr n p3 Rʿ, H3w-nfr		19.2
26	Wrnr	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		hry rhty n nb t3wy, Hwy	Memphis?	19.2
31	Tniw-h3y	Hathor		sš nsw ipt pr-hnrt(?) m Mn-nfr, B3-n-ʿ3		19.2
38	B3k-wrnr	Bastet		t3y-sryt, Ry		19.3
39	Hnwt-Twnw	Bastet		kqn tp n hm.f, wpwty nsw r t3 nb, Wnn-nfr		19.3
40	Twy	Amun		kqn tp n hm.f, wpwty nsw r t3 nb, Wnn-nfr		19.3
45	T3-wsr(t)	Wepwawet	nbt pr	hm ntr tpy n Tmn Rʿ-mss, sš nsw Kš, Wn-t3w3t		20.19
49	Hnwt-dww	Amun		idnw, imy-r mnmmwt, Nb-ms	Abydos?	19
52	Ty-nfr.tl	Amun		sš nsw, imy-r pr wr, Ršpw	Abydos?	19
57	B3k(t)-ʿnht	Isis		t3y hw hr imnt n nsw, sš nsw, imy-r pr-hq, hm ntr 3st, nbt hbyt, Nb-ms?	Memphis/ Saqqara or Iseum	19.9
58	ʿš3t-nbw	Khnum	nbt pr	imy-r ssm, P3y		19
59	Ty	Khnum	nbt pr	hry ihw tp n nb t3wy, wpwty r t3 nb, N3yʿ		19
66	Is3y (Hn3y)	Banebdjed		hry krʿw, Rʿi3	Mendes or Hermopolis Parva?	19.9
67	T3-b3-s3	Thoth, arbitrator of the two combatants	nbt pr	hry krʿw n hm.f, Smn-t3wy	Mendes or Hermopolis Parva?	19.9
68	T3-bw-b3	Pre	nbt pr	hry mʿš3k3bw, hni Rʿ-mss-hk3-Twnw, Tmn-m-wi3 (Kʿr)		20.1
69	Mwt-m-wi3	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		it ntr, hry sš3 nt hwt Mr-n-ptm m pr Rʿ, Hwy		20.1
72	Š...	Amun	nbt pr	wʿb n Tmn, Nht.f-Mwt		23
73	T3y-fw-šri	Amun	nbt pr	imy-r hst, Ns-Mntw		23
76	Hwt-hr	Horus of Behdet, Amun	nbt pr	kqn nb t3wy, Tmn-ms	Abydos	19.2

CHART 4: HUSBANDS

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77	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun		<i>hmww wr n nb t3wy, R^c-msw</i>	Thebes? TT149	19.2
83	<i>T3-^cnt-<i>hr</i>-twy-<i>st</i>?</i>	Amun		<i>hryw</i> [obscure military title], <i>Nht-mnw</i>		19.9
84	<i>Twy</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycomore		<i>sš ntr š^ct, sšwt ntr, it ntr n R^c- Tm m pr ^cnh, P3-n-Tmn</i>	Abydos	19.9
85	<i>Wrt-w3h-sw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš wđhw n ^ct irp, B3k-n-Tmn</i>		19.9
90	<i>Hnr</i>	Amun		<i>ir w3t šwy n t3 w^cbt n pr ^c3, H3r</i>		19.9
96	<i>Hnwt-t3-nb</i>	Amun		<i>t3y bsnt pr Tmn, Twnn-nhb-Hnsw</i>		19.9
97	<i>T3-nfrt</i>	Amun		<i>sš mš^c, sš nfrw, Tmn-m-hb</i>		19.9
99	<i>T3y-bs</i>	Thoth		<i>sš nsw, Swth-nht</i>	Serabit el Khadim	19.9
106	<i>Dw3t</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n Hwt-<i>hr</i></i>	<i>imy-r k3wt n Tmn-m-ipt-sw^t, M^chw</i>		19
170	<i>Tnt...</i>	Amun		<i>hm ntr n Tmn, Tw-n-Hnsw?</i>		21
227	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>It ntr n Tmn-R^c, it ntr n m^r- wnnw, Dd-<i>hr</i>-iw-^cnh</i>		22.1
244	<i>Ns-Hnsw-p3-<i>hrd</i></i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>w^cb-^ck Tmn, Ns-p3-<i>hr</i>-^cn</i>	Thebes	22
247	<i>T3-mišt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš wđhw n nb t3wy, Nfr-<i>hup</i></i>		19.2
251	<i>M^ci3ny</i>	Osiris, Isis	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Wsr, imy-r hm^w ntrw n 3bđw, Mry</i>	Abydos	19.15
253	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t ^c3t Hwt-<i>hr</i></i>	<i>imy-r pr m pr Tmn hwt-wsr-m^c3t- r^c-stp-n-r^c, Tw-r-hy-y</i>		19.2
254	<i>Ty3</i>	Sobek?	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Sbk, P1^c</i>	Dahamsha - Sobek temple TT39	18.3?
260	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	<i>dwt ntr</i>	<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Tmn, Pwy-m-r^c</i>		18.25
262	<i>Mryt-Tmn</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r pr n t3ty, sš hsbw it n Tmn, Tmn-m-h3t</i>	TT82	18.3
263	<i>Rn3y</i>	Amun	<i>hmt.f, nbt pr</i>	<i>w^cb s3 nswt tpy n ^c3-hpr-k3-r3, Tmn-<i>hup</i></i>	TT345	18.3
264	<i>Tti-m-ntr</i>	Amun		<i>imy-ist-^c n Tmn, It.f-nfr</i>	TT53	18.3
265	<i>?</i>	Amun		<i>s3b im3hy, Tmn-m-h3t</i>		18.3
266	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t nt nbt Twnt</i>	<i>rp^ct, h3ty-^c, irty nsw, ^cnhwy sdmwy bity, hr h3st Rtnw, hst hry pđt, Tmn-msw</i>	TT42	18.35
267	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hkrt nsw</i>	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Tmn, K3-m-hry- ib.sn</i>	TT98	18.35
273	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, šm^cyt wrt, hsyt n Mwt m Tšrw</i>	<i>h3ty-^c n niwt rsyt, Sn-nfr</i>	TT224, TT96 & KV40	18.35
275	<i>T3-ddt.s</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r pr wr n nswt m Prw-nfr, Kn-Tmn</i>	TT93	18.4
276	<i>Mryt</i>	Thoth		<i>h3ty-^c n Nfrwsy, T3m-nfr</i>	TT92	18.4
277	<i>Mwt-twy</i>	Amun		<i>h3ty-^c n niwt rsyt, Kn-Tmn</i>	TT162 (and TT96)	18.45
278	<i>R3y</i>	Amun	<i>hkrt nsw</i>	<i>hm ntr 2nw n Tmn, Tmn-<i>hup</i>-s3-s</i>	TT75	18.5

CHART 4: HUSBANDS

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283	<i>Mwt-iry</i>	Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, Nemet-away who is in Hermopolis	<i>ḥkrt nsw, nbt pr, ḥsyṯ nt Ḥwt-ḥr</i>	<i>sš nswt imy-r mšc, T3-nny</i>	TT74	18.36
284	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	<i>ḥkrt nsw</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy n Tn-ḥrt, Nb-sny</i>	TT108	18.5
285	<i>Rn-n3y</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r niwt t3ty, Ḥpw</i>	TT66	18.5
286	<i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r šḥwt n nb t3wy, Mnn3</i>	TT69	18.5
287	<i>Iṯwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nswt, sš nfrw, Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>	TT78	18.37
288	<i>Rnwt</i>	Amun	<i>ḥsyṯ nt Mwt</i>	<i>ḥry sšt3 m ḥn Tnpw, Dḥwty-ms</i>	TT295	18.45?
319	<i>G3t-sšn</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt ḥnrt, tp n 3-nw n Tmn, ḥsyṯ c3 n Mwt</i>	<i>it nṯr mry, ḥry sšt3, ḥry t3 wnnwt n Tmn R^c nsw nṯrw, ḥm nṯr n Mnṯw nb wšst, imy-r mnmnwt n pr R^c tp ḥwt n Tmn R^c ḥm nṯr n Ḥnm nb kbḥw, T3-nfr</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
327	<i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i>			<i>it nṯr n Tmn, P3-diw-Tmn</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
339	<i>Mi3^c-nhm</i>	Amun		<i>w^cb n Tmn nb nswt t3wy, c3 nhṯ, ḥry-ḥb n Tmn-m-ipt-swṯ p3 smn t3wy, B3k-n-wr-n</i>	Thebes?	21.5
342	<i>T3-r-stit</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>it nṯr n Tmn-R^c nsw nṯrw m ipt-swṯ m wšst, ḥsy c3 n nṯr.f Tmn, w^cb c^c-wy m ipt swṯ, it nṯr n Tmn m ir kd.f nb kk, P3-sr</i>		21.2
373	<i>Tnh3y</i>	Amun	<i>wrt ḥnrt n nb wt Ḥnm, s3 3-nw, nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry iḥw (of the Residence), Nb-sw-mnw</i>		21.5
380	<i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry c^t n Tmn-n-pr, Diw-Ḥnsw-iry</i>		22.05
385	<i>Ḥnwt-nṯrw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry sšw ḥwt nṯr n pr Tmn, ḥry ḥmwt w^cb ḥry pr ḥmt sšw ḥwt nṯr m ipt-swṯ, ḥry sšwty sšw n prwy-ḥd n pr Tmn-R^c nsw nṯrw, Šwty-ms</i>		21.1
416	<i>T3-wrt-m-ḥb</i>	Amun		<i>sš nsw n nb t3wy, imy-r prwy ḥd m šḥry ḥḥ?, imy-r ḥrw m pr dt, imy-r k^ct m pr dwšt, Tmn-nḥt-m-t3wy</i>	Ramesseum	19.9?
417	<i>Nfr(t)-iy</i>	Isis		<i>sš mšc n nb t3wy, Wbw-rmṯ?</i>	Ramesseum	19.2
423	<i>3st-m-ḥb</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>iry-c3, Pn-n^cyt</i>	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	19.2
428	<i>N3-nfr; Rn-nfr</i>	Seth		<i>ḥry iḥw, Nb-nfr</i>	Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnasya el Medina)	20.2
433	<i>Tnt?-ipt</i>	Montu-m-tawy		<i>t3y ḥw n Mnṯw-m-t^cwy, Ḥ^c-m-wšst</i>	Horbeit or Qantir?	19.2
442	<i>Ns-ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>m^c-nṯr, wn c^cwy pt m Tpt-swṯ, kbḥw n Bnbn, Ns-pr-nwb</i>	Thebes?	22.9

443	<i>Hnwt-wḡbw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš, imy-r šnwt n pr 1tn, Ḥ3t-ty3</i>	Thebes, tomb of Hatia, no TT number	18.6
444	<i>Rnnwt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet, Hathor of Medjedny	<i>wrt hnt Ḥwt-ḥr, nbt Mddny</i>	<i>sš nsw, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, imy-r wḡbw, imy-r pr 3st, sš šḥ, Twny</i>	Asyut?	19.1
445	<i>ṯ3y</i>	Wepwawet	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r mšḥ?, sš nsw, rh nsw?, Dhwt-y-m-ḥb</i>	Asyut?	20.15
448	<i>1r-mwt-p3-nfr</i>	Amun Re	<i>ḥry šmḥyt n Ḥnsw m w3st nfr-ḥtp, ḥsy n p3 ḥ n Mwt wrt nbt Ṭšrw, mnḥt nsw</i>	<i>it nṯr n 1mn, sš nsw, imy-r šnwt n šnwt pr-ḥ3, it nṯr n Ḥnsw, ḥ3 n pr-knt (Psusennes), Ši3</i>		21
472	<i>1p3y</i>	Amun	<i>mnḥt nsw, ḥsy n Ḥwt-ḥr, nbt pr</i>	<i>rpḥt, ḥ3ty-ḥ smr ḥ3 n mrt, ḥ3ty-ḥ n Mn-nfr, T-nw-r3</i>	Saqqara	18.9
481	<i>Nyt</i>	Amun	<i>mnḥt wrt n nb t3wy ḥsy n nṯr nfr šdt nṯr nfrt snḥ, ḥnm.n ḥr šnbt</i>	<i>idnw nswt ṯ3y-sryt, Ph-sw-ḥr</i>	TT88	18.35
482	<i>Mryt?</i>	Amun?	<i>ḥsy n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt iwnt</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr ḥd?, Dhwt-y-nfr</i>	TT80	18.4
487	<i>Hnwt-wrt</i>	Amun		<i>ḥry mrw s3w ḥt imy-r pr-ḥd wḡb n 1mn, Ṭṯw</i>		18.4
491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, ḥkrt nsw, ḥsy n ...</i>	<i>ṯ3ty, Rḥ-msw</i>	TT55	18.65
492	<i>Mḥnwn3</i>	Bastet	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry pḥt, imy-r ḥ3swt mḥyt, spry? m ḥb-sd tpy n ḥm.f, Ḥḥ-m-w3st</i>	Bubastis	18.6
493	<i>B3t3</i>	Amun ḥr s3 4-nw		<i>sš ḥwt-nṯr n Wsr, Ḥḥ3-nfr</i>	Abydos	18.6
496	<i>Tiy</i>	Osiris, Isis	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Wsr</i>	<i>ḥm nṯr tpy n Wsr, Wn-nfr</i>	Abydos	19.15
497	<i>Ms</i>	Osiris	<i>nbt im3ḥ</i>	<i>imy-r mnmnt, Dd-nb</i>	Abydos?	17
498	<i>Šḥ3-nfr</i>	Re	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry? ḥḥw n 1mn, P3-wr-m-wi3</i>		20
500	<i>Wrt...</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥm nṯr tpy n 1mn (n Bhn), P3-n-mḥyt</i>	Buhen, block B- courtyard B	19.9
502	<i>?</i>		<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r ḥmw nṯrw nbw, T3-nḥm</i>	Buhen, temple pavement of south temple	19.2
503	<i>Ṭsw-mwt</i>	Amun of Karnak, ḥr s3 šmḥ		<i>wḡb n ḥ3t 1mn, sš ḥwt nṯr 1mn, 1mn-m-ḥb</i>	TT44	19.2
504	<i>Ḥwt-ḥr</i>	Amun		<i>wḡb, sš ḥwt nṯr n pr 1mn, ḥ3-1mn</i>	TT44	19.2
505	<i>?</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš wḡhw nsw n nb t3wy, imy-r n nw n 1mn, 1mn-ms?</i>	TT44	19.2
514	<i>T3-mḥyt</i>	Horus of Aniba		<i>imy-r šnwt, P3-sr</i>	Amarah West, temple	19.9
515	<i>1w-n3-nb-t3wy</i>	Bastet, lady of Bubastis	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr 1mn nb nswt, ḥm nṯr Pth, N3-nfr-ḥprw</i>		18.1
539	<i>T3-mr-pn-ḥs</i>	Osiris		<i>wḡb n Wsr, sš, Ḥri?</i>	Abydos	20.2

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558	<i>T3-mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr.f</i>	<i>3h tkr n R^c, P3-dg3-r-dn?</i>	Abydos	25
559	<i>1-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>s-^cst n pr Imn, T^c-hr-i^cwt.f</i>	Abydos	23
566	?	Seth	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr Swth, Nsy-b3stt</i>	Dakhla	22.2
567	<i>Hnwt</i>	Onuris	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n In-hrt, Imn-hup</i>	Thebes, TTA19?	18.5
568	<i>T3-di</i>	Amun		<i>rp^ct, h3ty-^c, s3 nsw, hry-hb hry-tp</i>	TT33	26
575	<i>1-pw-y</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>Nhbt, P3-di-Imn-ipt</i>	Memphis	18.6
577	<i>Mrwt-ti</i>	Hathor		<i>t3y sryt, hry pqt, Wsy wr, H3ti3</i>	Faras, temple at Hathor rock	18.95
578	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	Nekhet, Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Nhbt, wrt hnt n Imn</i>	<i>s3 nsw n k3, imy-r h3swt rsyt, St3w</i>	Faras, (also Qasr Ibrim, TT289, Sehel)	19.2
579	<i>Hr-ty</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy t n ntr nfr</i>	<i>imy-r 3ht n Imn, Nfr-hb</i>	Abydos	18.1
580	<i>Snw-^cnh</i>			<i>w^cb n Wpw3wt, Nfrw</i>	Abydos	12
582	<i>Twy</i>	Amun hr s3 2-nw	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r s3 kd n Imn-m-ipt-sw, Ddi3</i>	statue from Kamak cachette	19.15
583	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>idnw n t3 hwt Wsr-m3^ct-r^c-stp-n-r^c m pr Imn-R^c hr imnt w3st, M^chw</i>	TT257	19.2
584	<i>Rnwtt</i>	Amun		<i>it ntr n Imn, Nfr-hup</i>	TT50	18.8
585	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu		<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-R^c, Nfr-hup</i>	TT31	19.2
586	<i>Mwti^cy (M^cy)</i>	Amun, Montu	<i>nbt pr, hsy t ^c3 n Hwt-hr nbt Twnt</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r^c, Hnsw</i>	TT31	19.2
587	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>w^cb n Imn-r^c, Rm^c</i>	TT294	19.05
588	<i>Dwt-nfrt?</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hry iry pr-hq n pr Imn-R^c, s3 pr-hq Imn, s3 it ntr Imn, iry n pr Tty m pr Imn, Imn-ms</i>	TT254	18.8
594	<i>K3i3</i>	Pre		<i>w^cb, H^c-m-ti-r</i>		19.9
598	<i>Shm-nfr</i>	Amun		<i>w^cb n h3t Imn, hry-hb wrt, Imn-m-h^ct</i>		19.2
602	<i>Rwi3</i>	Montu		<i>hm ntr tpy n Mn-hpr-r^c, Hnsw</i>	TT31	19.2
608	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-R^c nb Tw-rd</i>	<i>s3 nsw, imy-r pr, Nfr-shrw</i>	Zawyet el Sultan	19.1
609	<i>K3 [k3]</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r mnmnt n Imn, Nfr-hup</i>	Zawyet el Sultan	19.1
611	<i>T3-wrt-hupt</i>	Amun		<i>hm ntr tpy n In-hrt, In-hrt-msw</i>	el Mashayikh	19.3
612	<i>Shmt-nfrt</i>	Amun Re	<i>wrt hnt nt In-hrt</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n In-hrt, In-hrt-msw</i>	el Mashayikh	19.3
614	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	Amun		<i>hry wsh t n p3 m3^c</i>	Faqus region	19.9
615	<i>B3k-mwt</i>	Amun		<i>hry-hb, it ntr n Imn, P3-rn-nfr</i>	TT50	18.8
616	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		<i>s3 m3^ct m Twnw, R^c-msw</i>	TT50	18.8
618	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn</i>	<i>it ntr n Imn, s3b, Imn-m-int</i>	TT50	18.8
623	<i>H3t-3pswt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy t n Hwt-hr, nbt pt t3</i>	<i>hm-ntr tpy n k3 nsw nfr-hpr-k3-R^c, Wsr-h3t</i>	TT51	19.1

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624	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu?		<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn, Hnsw-m-hb</i>	TT51	19.1
625	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun		<i>sš nfrw, H^c-m-tri</i>	TT23	19.3
626	<i>R^cT3</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Sbk</i>	<i>sš nsw tp, sš nsw š^ct n pr ^c3, rp^ct, hšty-^c, T3y</i>	TT23	19.3
627	<i>Nbt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw tp, sš nsw š^ct n pr ^c3, rp^ct, hšty-^c, T3y</i>	TT23	19.3
631	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r mnunwt m t3 hwt Wsr- mš^ct-r^c-nry-imn, B3k-n-Hnsw</i>	TT158, TT148	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn</i>	<i>hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, T3-nfr</i>	TT158	20.15
636	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>hsyt n Hwt-hr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Hnm, Štt, ^cnkt, P3- n-drt</i>		19.9
637	<i>Iwy</i>	Montu, Amun		<i>hm ntr tpy n Sbk, Mntw, Inpw, Hnsw, H3t-i3y</i>	TT324 among others	20.16
638	<i>T3-mwt-nfrt</i>	Khnum, lord of the cataract		<i>hm ntr tpy Hnm, Štt, ^cnkt, Mn m Gbtw, Nb-wnn.f</i>		19.9
639	<i>M^ci3y</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Mntw</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Mntw nb Iwny, P3- n-niwt</i>	TT331	20.17
640	<i>Mwt-ir-di.s</i>	Anukis	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš, w^cb n hnm, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>		19.9
641	<i>Wi3y(?)</i>	Amun		<i>hšty-^c n niwt, Imn-hup</i>	TT163	19.4
642	<i>Ndmu-niwt</i>	Amun		<i>hšty-^c niwt rsy, sš nsw, Imn-m- h3t</i>	TT163	19.4
643	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn</i>	<i>hm ntr Imn, Imn-hup</i>	Sehel, (TT158)	19.2
645	?	Amun		<i>t3y hw hr imnt n nsw, wpwty r h3st nb, hry pdt n kš, In-hr-nht</i>	TT282?, Sehel	19.2
646	<i>Nwbt-ntr-nfr</i>	Sobek		<i>sš nfr, Sny</i>	El Kab	18
648	<i>Mryt-R^c</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, hsynt n Hwt- hr nbt K3s, hsynt n Mwt</i>	<i>sš wr, imy-r mnunt, Nfr-hup</i>	TT49	18.75
649	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš, Nby</i>	TT49	18.75
650	<i>H^cyt</i>	Mehyt		<i>s3 nsw n Kš, Hri</i>	Bubastis	20.1
652	<i>Hbwy-nw-ns</i>	Bastet	<i>nbt pr, hsynt n Shmt, wrt hnt n B3stt</i>	<i>hry pdt, imy-r h3swt mhyt, spry? m hb-sd tpy n hm.f, H^c-m-w3st</i>	Bubastis	18.6
653	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>idnw n t3 šst m st mš^ct, hmw wr n nb t3wy m st mš^ct hr imntt w3st, ms ššmw n ntrw nbw m hwt nbw, H3y</i>	TT267	20.1
655	<i>W^cbt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>šdm ^cš m st mš^ct, P3-nb</i>	TT211	19.3
657	<i>Huy-n-r (Hwt- hr)</i>	Hathor?, Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsynt n Mwt</i>	<i>sš nsw m st mš^ct, imy-r isw m st h3, Imn-m-ipt</i>	TT215	19.1
659	<i>Wrt-nfrt</i>	Isis	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>w^cb, hry hb n Wsr (at the temple of RII at Abydos), Mn- mš^ct-r^c-m-hb</i>	Abydos	19.2
661	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr wr Mn-nfr, Ni3</i>	Saqqara	18.9
663	<i>Nqm-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r šhtyw n pr Imn, imy-r h3mw n pr Imn, sš hwt ntr n pr Imn, sš nswt, Dhwt-y-m-hb</i>	TT194	19.2

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664	<i>Mwt?</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>hryt šm' ywt</i> (full title)	<i>sš hwt ntr m pr Imn, w' b n hst n Imn, sš htp-ntr, Nb-nfr</i>	TT194	19.2
665	<i>Nfr-Mwt</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r hntyw, Imn-htp?</i>	TT194	19.2
666	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n p3 ' n Mwt</i>	<i>hm ntr n Imn-R' nsw ntrw, hry šsw hwt-ntr n pr Imn, hry sš wdhw n pr Imn, Nsy-P3-nfr-hr</i>	TT68	21
667	<i>...?</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n Imn-R'</i>	<i>w' b n Imn Mwt m šsrw, [P3]-n-hnm</i>	TT68	20
668	<i>Mwt-m-int</i>	Amun	<i>šhmyt n Imn, Mwt, Hnsw</i>	<i>sib, P3-n-drt</i>	TT373	19.2
670	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš n pr hq n Imn, Nfr-rnpt</i>	TT178	19.2
674	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun Re of Karnak	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-htp</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn-htp n p3 wb3, Imn-msw</i>	TT19	19.2
675	<i>Nbt-t3wy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt Mwt, hsy '3 n Hwt-hr</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr m pr Hr-m-hb m pr Imn, Ry</i>	TT255	18.8
676	<i>Bwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt Mwt</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy 'hms-nfrt-iry, Dhwt</i>	TT255	18.8
677	<i>Mwty</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r šnwty n nb t3wy, Imn-m-lpt</i>	TT255	18.8
678	<i>T3-rnwt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr n Imn-htp n p3 wb3, hry šm' wdhw n Imn, P3-nhsy</i>	TT16	19.2
679	<i>T3y-nb-nht-rw</i>	Osiris		<i>hm ntr Wsir, Šw, Tfnwt, 'nh-hr-s3-3st</i>	Abydos	25
681	<i>T3-tly</i>	Herishef	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>h3ty-' n niwt, P3-sr</i>	Medinet Habu	20.1
683	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun		<i>hrd n k3p, imy-r k3wt n Imn, imy-r šhwt n Imn, t3y hw n nb t3wy, rp't, h3ty-', Pth-m-h3t</i>	TT77	18.5
685	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Atum	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr-hq n nb t3wy, Hwy</i>		18?
686	<i>Shmt</i>	Atum		<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr-hq n nb t3wy, M'hw</i>		18?
689	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun		<i>h3ty-' n Gbtyw, R'y</i>	Coptos	19.9
692	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun of the lake, Amun of Diospolis Parva	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Imn n p3 š; hm ntr tpy n Imn m sm3-bhdt, Nb-w'</i>	Diospolis Parva	18.8
693	<i>3st</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Hwt-hr</i>	<i>imy-r pr wr n Imn, sš nsw, imy-r šnwty n Imn, h3ty-' Iwny.t, Dhwt-m</i>	TT32	19.2
695	<i>Mwty</i>	Isis	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš w' b n h3t 3st h3ty-', Nht-mnw</i>		18
696	<i>Biz</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>it ntr n Wsr, sš hwt ntr n Wsr, Hk3-nfr</i>	Abydos	18.95
697	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Khnum, lord of Her-weret		<i>h3ty-' n Nfrwsy, Iwny</i>	Balansurah	18.65
698	<i>Nfrt-h'</i>	Ahmose-Nefertari, the Aten	<i>hsyt Hwt-hr</i>	<i>sš nsw m3', nr.f, imy-r šnwty mw šm' mhw, imy-r pr n t3 hwt p3 Itn, rp't, h3ty-', t3y sryt nsw, R'-ms</i>	TT46	18.65

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699	<i>Knr</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n ntr nfr</i>	<i>?s3 nsw n Kš, Hw</i>	TT40	18.72
700	<i>Typwy</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r mš, P^c-ltn-m-hb</i>	Saqqara	18.65
701	<i>M^cy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n nbt tšwy</i>	<i>hm ntr Wrt Hkšw, imy-r hmw- ntr m hwt Shmt, sš nsw, Imn-hw</i>	TT55	18.65
702	?			<i>hry krst n imi-wrt hry ihw tpy n nb tšwy</i>	TT194	19.2
703	<i>šst</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hr ir nfr šš n pr Imn, Wn-nfr</i>	TT45	19.2
704	<i>Bšk(t)-Hnsw</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hr murw n pr Imn, hr ir nfr šš n pr Imn, Dhwt-m-hb</i>	TT45	19.2
716	<i>ly</i>	Khnum, Satis, Anukis	<i>hsyt št n Hwt-hr</i>	<i>š n lst m st mš^ct (hry lst), Nb-nfr</i>	TT6	19.2
723	<i>Hnwt-wšdbt</i>	Nebet-ww, Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r šht n nb tšwy, hšty-^c n Twnyt, Imn-ms</i>	TT32	19.2
724	<i>Nšw-šš^ct</i>	Amun Re		<i>imy-r hnty hri Mw m tš hwt-wsr- mš^ct-r^c-štp-n-r^c m pr Imn, Ndm- gr</i>	TT138	19.2
726	<i>Tnt-pš-šš</i>	Amun Re	<i>shmyt n Mwt m Tšrw, idnw n pr-hd n Imn-m-ipt-swt, hsy š n Hwt-hr hr ib hry hš n šš n pr Imn, Imi-sbš drst</i>		TT65	20.19
727	<i>šst</i>	Amun Re	<i>ssty (shmyt) n Mwt</i>	<i>w^cb, hry-hb, hry-ššš n Imn-m-ipt-swt, Ky-nbw</i>	Thebes? (temple or TT113)	20.18
732	<i>Niwt-m-hb</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r hmw (pš š mšty) n Imn, hry nbw m pr Imn, Nht-dhwt</i>	TT189	19.2
733	<i>Tnt-pš-ipt</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r hmw (pš š mšty) n Imn, hry nbw m pr Imn, Nht-dhwt</i>	TT189	19.2
734	<i>Bšty</i>	Amun Re		<i>sš n st mš^ct, Inpw-m-hb</i>	TT206	19.3
735	<i>Wbht</i>	Amun		<i>hry šn^cw n Imn m hnm wšst hr ib hwt Wsr-mš^ct-r^c-štp-n-r^c, sš n rw? pr n Imn?, Pšty</i>	TT263	19.2
736	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr, hsy š n Hwt-hr</i>	<i>sš nsw, idnw n pr-hd, Nfr-šhrw</i>	TT296	19.2
737	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>shmyt</i>	<i>sš nsw, idnw n pr-hd, Nfr-šhrw</i>	TT296	19.2
739	<i>Kšh</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw, idnw n pr-hd, Nfr-šhrw?</i>	TT296	19.2
742	<i>Kmn^c</i>	Amun		<i>hry wdhw m hwt Wsr-mš^ct-r^c-štp-n-r^c m (pr) Imn, Nht-Imn</i>	TT341	19.2
744	<i>W^cbt</i>	Amun Re		<i>š n lst n nb tšwy m st mš^ct, In- hr-h^c</i>	TT359	20.12
748	<i>Tš-twnw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr tpy n Pth, hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, Kš-m-wšst</i>	TT369	19.2
749	<i>Nfrt-iry-m-hb</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r hmw m pr nsw, Imn-h^cw</i>	TT372	20.1
751	<i>Bškt-shmt</i>	Amun of the Ramesseum		<i>[hm ntr m pr] Imn m hnm wšst, š š^c m hwt skr, Nb-mhwt</i>	TT384	19.2

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752	Nhry	Amun	nbt pr	h3ty- ^c n niwt rsyt, imy-r šnwty n ntr htpw n Imn, Hw-nfr	TT385	19.2
753	Nb[-hnl?]-tw	Amun	nbt pr	sš nsw (n) wdkw n nb tšwy, Mry-ptḥ	TT387	19.2
757	T3-h ^c t	Isis	wrt hnrwt n Imn, wrt hnrwt n Hwt-hr, šhmyt n Mwt	hm ntr tpy n Imn, hm ntr tpy n Hwt-hr, nbt Twnt, imy-r hntw ntrw n Nb wšst, Nb-wnn.f	TT157	19.2
758	H ^c r-nsw	Onuris	nbt pr, wrt hnrwt n In-hrt	hm ntr tpy n Inhrt, hm ntr tpy n Šw, imy šst Šw Tfnwt, wr mšw n R ^c m tny, r hryw m hnyt Wsir..., Mn-msw	el Mashayikh, Abydos	19.2
760	Wryt	Thoth		šms hr, Nht		18.95?
763	Huy-n-r	Amun		tšy mđst, M ^c y	Thebes?	19
767	Ry ^c	Amun	nbt pr	išwtw n imj-prwj, Imn-nhtw	unknown, probably Thebes	18.9
768	Mryt	Amun		hm ntr tpy n Pth, Imn-htp	probably Thebes?	18.95
770	Nfrt-iry	Amun	nbt pr	hšy ʿ3 n Mnw nb ipw, Mry-mš ^c t	probably Thebes?	19
772	Pwy	Amun		imy-r htm, Hwy		18.9
773	T3-wsr	Amun		hm ntr, w ^c b, hry-hb, wš3-nsw, Pth-pš-tnr		19.05
775	Bšst	Amun	nbt pr	hry-hb hry-tp imi pr-mđst, sš nsw ʿnn n hft-hr, Š3-mwt	Abydos, near Portal Temple of RII	18.1
778	Tšy-sn-nfr	Wepwawet		hm ntr?, Hnsw	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
782	T3-kt	Wepwawet		sm, R ^c -msw	Asyut?	19.2 or 19.3
783	Rnnwtt	Amun Re, Wepwawet	nbt pr	sš nsw, hry-hb hry-tp, imy-r w ^c bw, wr swnw, Imn-htp	Asyut, tomb of Amenhotep	19.1
784	T3-imnt-snb	Khentiamentiu		hm ntr n Hr pš R ^c hry-ib ʿbdw, hm ntr n h.t n pr R ^c -ms, hškw, imy šst rh nswt, hpt wđst, Hr-hb	Akhmim	31
785	T3-mryt	Amun of Karnak	wrt hnrwt...	hm ntr tpy n Mwt, hm ntr 3-nw n Imn, Imn-m-ipt	TT148	20.15
786	T3-mit	Amun		hm ntr tpy n Mwt, hm ntr 3-nw, Imn-m-ipt?	TT148	20.15
789	Mwt-m-mr.s	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	hšyt n Hwt-hr	hry sš hwt ntr n pr Imn-m-ipt-sw, Imn-htp	TT65	20.19
790	Wišy	Amun Re		hry sš hwt ntr n Imn-R ^c nsw ntrw m ipt-sw, H ^c -m-ipt	TT65	20.19
791	T3-mš...	Amun Re		idnw n pr-hđ n Imn-m-ipt-sw, hry hš n sš n pr Imn, Imi-sbš	TT65	20.19

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792	<i>B3ky</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hkr̥t nsw</i>	<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Imn, imy-r pr hq nbw, S3-mwt</i>	TTA24 (Waseda designation W-6), Mut temple at Kamak	18.6
795	<i>Mryt-r^c</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycamore		<i>hm ntr 2-nw n Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Saqqara	18.3
797	<i>Ty</i>			<i>sš nsw?</i>		18.95
798	<i>M^ci3</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>wt (?) hry pdt, imy-r ssm̥t, Ry</i>	Saqqara	18.95
803	<i>Nf̥rt-iry</i>			<i>imy-r hmwwt n nb t3wy, imy-r nbyw n ntr nfr, Imn-m-int</i>	Saqqara, tomb of Ameneminet	18.9
804	<i>R^ci3y</i>	Amun Re, Mut	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r sš hsb iħw n pr Imn, S3-mwt (Kyky)</i>	TT409	19.2
805	<i>Twt-wi3</i>	Amun		<i>sš hsb iħw n nbw w3st, Mryt-r^c</i>	TT409	19.2
806	<i>T3-smnt</i>	Amun		<i>imy-r sš hsb iħw n pr Imn, S3-mwt (Kyky)</i>	TT409	19.2
808	<i>3h.s?</i>	Hathor?	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš htp n ntrw nbw sš pr hq n Imn, 1w-rwd.f</i>	Saqqara, tomb of Iurufef	19.2
812	<i>Wrt-nf̥rt</i>	Khnum	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>Imy-r nununwt, N3y3</i>		19
813	<i>Ti3</i>	Amun, great of victories	<i>snt špst nsw</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r pr hq n nb t3wy, Ti3</i>		19.2
814	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r hsw nb m3^ct, hry hsw Pth nb m3^ct, hsw n Pth nb m3^ct, R^ci3</i>	Saqqara, tomb of Raia	19.2
815	<i>Hwt-ħr</i>	Amun		<i>hry h3w n t3 šnwty (n) pr Imn, Wsr-h3t</i>	TT A17	20.1
816	<i>Nf̥rt-iry</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš kd n Imn m hwt Skr, P3-šdw</i>	TT323	19.15
818	<i>T3-k3</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>hm ntr n Mn-m3^ct-r^c, Hr-nfr</i>		19.1
822	<i>Tw-iw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r m3^c, Nht</i>		19.1
823	<i>M^cy^c</i>	Isis		<i>imy-r ipt-nsw n Mn-nfr, imy-r htm, Hr-mn</i>	Saqqara	19.1
824	<i>Shmt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r pr wr n nsw, imy-r ssm̥t n nb t3wy, stm m t3 hwt mn-m3^ct-R^c hry-lb, Rwrw</i>		19.1
827	<i>Mwt-nf̥rt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>s3 nsw h3t Imn, w^cb, Nht-Imn</i>		18.6?
828	<i>Twyw</i>	Amun	<i>hkr̥t nsw, hsy̥t n Hwt-ħr</i>	<i>rp^ct, h3ty-^c, smr w^ct, it ntr, hm ntr Mnw, T33</i>		18.65
829	<i>Nf̥rt-iry</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy̥t n Hwt-ħr</i>	<i>sš nsw, Wsr-h3t</i>		18.9
830	<i>Mryt.f</i>	Thoth	<i>hsy̥t n nbt...</i>	<i>w^cb, h3ty-^c, sš n wđhw đhwy, T3mw-nfr</i>		18.4
831	<i>B3k</i>	Amun	<i>hkr̥t nsw, mn^ct wr̥t n nb t3wy, hsy̥t ntr nfr, šdt ntr, nf̥rt snk, hnm n hr šnbt.s</i>	<i>idnw n m3^c, hrd n k3p, Imn-m-ħb</i>	TT85	18.35

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834	Nwb-mt	Amun	nbt pr	hry pdt n ntr nfr, H3i3	Abydos	19.2
836	M ^c i3	Amun		hry-pdt, imy-r h3swt rsywt, Pn- nswt-t3wy	TT156	19.2
837	T3-ngmt	Amun	nbt pr	h3ty- ^c n M ^c m, idnw n W3-w3t, H ^r -nh	Aniba	19.2
838	B3kti	Mn-hpr-R ^c (no cartouche)		s3 wghw n K3, Pn-nst-t3wy		19.2
839	Nb-m-wsh		nbt pr	h3ty- ^c (n M ^c m), Dhwy-ms	Aniba	19.2
846	T3-bs		nbt pr	w ^c b, H ^u y	Abu Simbel?	19.2
849	?h-di.s		nbt pr	imy-r humw ntrw n nbw t3 sm ^c , imy-r humw, Mr-ngm	Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	19.2
850	Mry(t)	Amun	nbt pr	h3ty- ^c n niwt rsy, s3 nsw, imy-r 3nwty, Nfr-mnw	TT184	19.2
852	B3kt-Mwt	Amun	nbt pr	imy-r pr wr, Nb-sw-mnw	TT183	19.2
853	Tw3	Amun		h3ty- ^c n niwt rsy, P3-sr	TT183	19.2
854	3st	Nebet-ww	nbt pr	imy-r ihu m ^c rsy, h3t- ^c , Dhwy-ms	TT183	19.2
855	Ty	Amun	nbt pr	imy-r pr n t3 hwt-wsr-m3 ^c t-R ^c - stp-n-R ^c m pr Imn, H ^r -m-hb	Saqqara	19.2
856	Twy	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore	nbt pr	s3 nsw, imy-r m3 ^c , imy-r pr m hwt-Wsr-m3 ^c t-r ^c -stp-n-R ^c m pr Imn hr imut w3st, R ^c -ms-nh		19.2
857	Twy	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycamore		rp ^c t, h ^c ty- ^c , s3 nsw, imy-r pr m t3 hwt-wsr-M3 ^c t-R ^c -stp-n-R ^c m pr Wsr, imy-r k3t m st ts, H3t-i3y	Qumah	19.2
869	Ntibp3rti3?	Amun		kqn hr-tp n hum.f, Swt-m-hb	Abydos	19.2
870	T3-wsr	Amun	nbt pr.f	kqn n hum.f, Hh (w3h?)	Abydos	19.2
871	Hnwt-mhyt	Amun		imy-r pr n hwt-Pth		19.2
872	W3y	Amun		imy-r k3wt, wr n md ^c y, hum ntr tpy n In-hrt, Imn-m-int		19.2
873	Nfrt-iry	Amun		?imy-r k3wt, wr n md ^c y, hum ntr tpy n In-hrt, Imn-m-int		19.2
874	T3-k3- ^c nti	Pre	nbt pr	imy-r k3wt (with various institutions), M ^c y		19.2
875	Mry-nbw	Amun of Karnak	nbt pr	it ntr n Imn-m-ipt-sw, w ^c b ^c wy, hry-hb stp n nb ntrw, 3nwy	TT168	19.2
876	W3y	Amun	nbt pr	hry s3 kd n nb t3wy m mnw nb n Imn-m-ipt-sw, S-mwt	TT111	19.2
877	Twy	Bastet, lady of Ankh-lawy	nbt pr	s3 md3t-ntr m pr Imn, Imn-w3h- sw	TT111	19.2
878	B3kt-wr-n-r	Amun	nbt pr	s3 md3t-ntr n nb t3wy, H ^c -m-ipt	TT111?	19.2
879	Hnwt	Amun Re	nbt pr	idnw n pr Imn, Ib-h3y?	TT111	19.2
880	Iny	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	nbt pr	s3b, Nfr-iw	TT41	19.2
881	Ngmt	Amun	nbt pr, hsy t3 n imut w3st	imy-r pr wr n Imn, Imn-m-ipt	TT41	19.2
884	?		nbt pr	s3 nsw, imy-r pr m pr Wsr, Tw-ry	Mashayikh	19.2

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886	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥri ist m st M3t, K3ḥ3</i>	TT380 Deir el Medina	19.2
887	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	Amun		<i>sš n pr Ḥnsw n Imn-n-lpt, ʿšʿ-ḥt</i>	Deir el Bahari	20.1
888	<i>Rny</i>	Mut		<i>imy-r k3wt m ḥwt Imn ḥr imntt w3st, sš ntr šʿt m pr ʿnh, Rʿ-mss-nḥt</i>	Sehel	20.1
890	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	(Hathor) lady of the sycamore		<i>?lt ntr n B3st, Ḥri?</i>	Qantir	20.1
891	<i>T3-k3rt (ḥʿ-B3stt)</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>sš wdḥw, Ḥwri3</i>		20.1
892	<i>ʿnh-t3-iw-nbw</i>	Amun		<i>kḏn, Nfr-rnpt</i>		20.1
893	<i>W3ḏyt-m-ḥb</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr.f</i>	<i>ḥry iḥw, Ḥ3w-nfr</i>		20.1
902	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr.f</i>	<i>wʿb ʿwy, Pn-t3-wrt</i>	Abydos	19.3
905	<i>3st</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ṯ3y nsw, wḥm nsw tp n ḥm.f, Rʿ-mss-m-pr-Rʿ</i>		19.3
907	<i>Ḥwt-ḥr</i>			<i>ʿʿy-ḥw, Ḥwy</i>		19.3
908	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>ḥs(yt) n Mwt nbt ṯ3rw</i>	<i>sš nsw, imy-r ḥtm n nb t3wy, Ḥri</i>		19.3
909	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>ḥry nby, P3-Rʿ-m-ḥb</i>		19.3
910	<i>T3-wrt-ḥrt</i>	Amun Re nb nswt t3wy		<i>imy-r pr ḥḏ n nb t3wy m t3 sty, Mry</i>	Aniba, tomb SA.7	19.3
911	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun		<i>ḥm ntr Ḥwt-ḥr, Nb-b3k-wr</i>	Aniba, tomb SA.7	19.3
915	<i>K3t</i>	(Hathor) lady of the southern sycamore		<i>sm, wr ḥrp ḥmw, Ḥri</i>	Memphis	19.3
916	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	Amun		<i>ḥry sʿš3, Rʿ-m-ḥb</i>	Gurob	19.3
917	<i>3st-...</i>	Isis		<i>ḥry pḏt, K3-nḥt</i>	Abydos	19.3
918	<i>Tr...</i>			<i>sm n Pth, ṯi-ry</i>	Memphis, tomb	19.3
929	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Bastet, lady of Ankh-tawy	<i>nbt pr</i>	<i>imy-r pr ḥḏ n Pth, Ms</i>	Saqqara, tomb of Mose	19.2

CHAPTER 7

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE *šmꜣywt*.

7.1 TEMPLE HIERARCHY

The most common assertion made concerning the organization of the *šmꜣywt* is that they formed a subordinate level of auxiliary personnel, often serving in the ranks of the god's wife or divine adoratrice (Naguib, 1990: 238-239; Graefe, 1981: 48; Gitton, 1976: 88). According to the textual account of the 20th Dynasty tomb robberies investigations recorded on P. Abbott, there were four *šmꜣywt* serving the estate of the divine adoratrice (*pr dwꜣt ntr*) (Peet, 1930), but these are the only women documented as such. The chantresses' link to the god's wife, however, is entirely speculative since no evidence for a title such as "chantress of the god's wife" or "chantress of the estate of the god's wife" (*šmꜣyt n ḥmt ntr* or *šmꜣyt n pr ḥmt ntr*) has been documented.

The *šmꜣywt* were divided into phyles in much the same fashion as the male orders of priests¹ (Naguib, 1990: 236; Lefebvre, 1929: 34). Four of the women documented in the database illustrate this clearly (DB #s 493, 503, 582, 654). One of the women, the lady Bata (DB #493; CG 34117), is documented on a stela from Abydos that dates to the reign of Amenhotep III. She was a *ḥkrt nsw šmꜣyt n Imn ḥr sꜣ 4-nw*: "lady-in-waiting, chantress of Amun on the fourth phyle". Since the male phyle system was divided into four groups, the fact that she belonged to the fourth phyle suggests that the hierarchy of the *šmꜣywt* was based on the traditional model. A further case supports this suggestion. A woman named Iwy (DB #582, CG 42122) is known from a Ramesside inscription on a block statue found in the Karnak cachette. The statue refers to her as *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn ḥr sꜣ 2-nw*: lady of the house, chantress of Amun on the second phyle.

The third woman, Isumut (DB #503), had a curious title. On the walls of her husband's tomb (TT 44), she was given the title *šmꜣyt n Imn-m-ipt-sw t hr sš šmꜣ*: chantress of Amun of Karnak on the *sš šmꜣ*. This last phrase has been taken to mean that she belonged to the "south phyle" (El-Saady, 1996: 43), but no other accepted attestations of the phrase *sš šmꜣ* have surfaced. Roth (1991: 148) discounts an early dynastic reading of *sš šmꜣw*, "Upper Egyptian phyle", by Kaplony (1963: v. 3, pl. 39, #134) on paleographic and grammatical principles. She suggests that the use of a cardinal direction such as *šmꜣ* may simply be a reflection of the four-part division inherent in the phyle system (A. M. Roth, personal communication, 1998). Another possibility, however, may be that *sš šmꜣ* means "phyle of singers" as both the words "south" and "singer" can use the same hieroglyph.

From the tomb of Hay at Deir el Medina (TT 267) comes another curious piece of evidence. The name and title of Hay's daughter-in-law Nebu-iy (DB #654) was reconstructed from painted plaster fragments found on the floor of the tomb (Valbelle, 1975: 28 II F.8-9). She was a *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn m sšw tpy*: "lady of the house, chantress of Amun from the head phyles". The phrase *m sšw tpy* is an unfamiliar construction, but may simply be a variant form or misspelling of "on the first phyle".

Four other women bore titles indicative of a ranking system or hierarchy among the *šmꜣywt*. One woman, Meryt (DB #273), lived during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, and held the title *šmꜣyt wrt*, or "head chantress". Three others held the title *hry(t) šmꜣywt*, or "overseer of chantresses". Mut (DB #664) was a *hryt smꜣywt* of Amun who lived in the time of Ramesses II and two women who lived during the Third Intermediate Period also were overseers.

Irmutpanefer (DB #448) was a *hry(t) sm^cywt* of Khonsu, and Nestjerenmaat (DB #74) was a *hry(t) sm^cywt* of Montu, lord of Thebes.

It is known that the *wrwt hnr(t)*, “great ones of the *Khener*”, were also divided into phyles in the Third Intermediate Period (Kitchen, 1973: 67 n. 332, 430-431). At least five references from the database show that women could be organized on the phyle system with respect to the *wrt hnr* title (DB #397, 373, 150, 201, 305). These women, in addition to being *sm^cywt*, also bore the title *wrt hnr*.

It is tempting to try to place the *sm^cyt* in the *hnr* itself,² that is to say that the members of the *hnr* were *sm^cyt* or *hsyt* or *shmyt*. It is clear that as an individual a woman could serve one god in the role of *wrt hnr* and concurrently serve the same god or another one as a *sm^cyt* (Section 2.III.2). More concrete evidence for their precise role in the *Khener* is lacking.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn about the organization of the *sm^cywt* is that during the New Kingdom they were organized along the same lines as other temple functionaries such as *w^cb*-priests who provided occasional or intermittent service.³ If their organization was indeed modeled on the organization of the priesthood, it would seem that the *sm^cywt* formed a functioning part of temple service.

7.II RANK

A preliminary attempt at placing the *sm^cyt* title into a ranking system with the various other titles of women was unsuccessful. There were only a limited number of women in the database who held titles other than “chantress” and “mistress of the house” (see Chart 5). A further complication is a result of the nature of the source material. Quite often the full complement of a woman’s titles was drawn from a variety of sources so that no single inscription

encompassed all the titles. Therefore, the titles could not be used in the same manner as Baer's study of Old Kingdom titles (1960) where their relative rank was assessed based on how they appeared together. There was a definite trend for the title *nbt pr* to occur first⁴ and for titles of similar natures to appear together (e.g., musician's titles appeared close to each other in the inscription). Beyond that there appears to be no internal order, nor any indication as to why a woman carried certain titles on one monument and different titles on another.

One woman's titles, however, may provide insight into the matter. Gatseshen (DB #319), is known from her own funerary papyrus as well as from that of her husband. On her papyrus she received a full list of titles – *nbt pr*, *wrt hnt*, *tp n 3-nw n Tmn*, *hsyt 3 n Mwt* (lady of the house, great one of the *Khener*, head of the third <phyle> of Amun, great singer of Mut)– whereas her husband received only the most important of his titles, *hm ntr 3-nw n Tmn* (third prophet of Amun). The situation is reversed on his papyrus (Niwinski, 1989b: 264, 281-282). His lengthy string of titles is fully expressed – *lt ntr nry*, *hry sst3*, *hry t3 pr wnnwt*, *hry m* [lost] *ipt-swt*, *hm ntr 3-nw n Tmn R^c nsu ntrw*, *hm ntr n Mntw nb w3st*, *imy-r mnmnwt n pr R^c tp hwt n Tmn R^c hm ntr n Hnm nb kbhw* (beloved god's father, master of secrets, master of the priestly house, master of [lost] in Karnak, third priest of Amun-re king of the gods, priest of Montu lord of Thebes, overseer of cattle of the temple of Re-on-the-Roof, priest of Khnum lord of the cataract region) while Gatseshen's titles are abbreviated to *nbt pr*, *sm^cyt n Tmn*. If it is safe to assume that each of them was represented by their most important title on the other's papyrus, then the *sm^cyt* title outranks the other two held by Gatseshen. This seems contrary to the ideas that the *wrt hnt* was the head of a troupe in which the *sm^cywt* were subordinates. Other motivations may explain the choice of titles included on her husband's papyrus. The *sm^cyt* title may have been the title she

held at her death and not necessarily the highest ranking title she had held in her lifetime. Or perhaps it was her favorite position among the three she held.

¹ Fischer states that they were “attached to the various phyles of priests” (Fischer, LÄ IV, 1102). This, however, is not demonstrated by the source quoted by Fischer, which merely states that the *smꜣyt* were divided into phyles like priests, not “attached to them” (Blackman, 1921: 29).

² Gillam has done just that (1995: 211), as has Niwiński (1989a: 81), but neither supply specific evidence to support that claim.

³ The existence of phyles for the *smꜣwt* may have prompted Naguib’s statement that they participated episodically in the liturgy (1990: 241). She was aware that the *smꜣyt* could belong to phyles, (ibid.: 236f) but only offers a secondary source as evidence (Bonnet, 1952, 490), which also does not provide specific examples.

⁴ The *nbt pr* title was found to be the most consistently used title where more than one monument was consulted for an individual woman. Often the title *smꜣyt* appeared on only one of the monuments.

CHART 5: OTHER TITLES

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REF. #	NAME	DEITY	OTHER TITLES	PROV.	DATE
579	<i>Hr-iy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n(i) ntr nfr</i>	Abydos	18.1
260	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	<i>dwit ntr</i>	TT39	18.25
273	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, sm'yt wrt, hsy nt Mwt m Isrw</i>	TT224, TT96 & KV40	18.35
286	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy nt nbt Twnt</i>	TT42	18.35
831	<i>Bšk</i>	Amun	<i>hkrt nsw, mn't wrt nt nb tšwy, hsy ntr nfr, šdt ntr nfrt snk hnm n hr šnbt.s</i>	TT85	18.35
481	<i>Nyt</i>	Amun	<i>mn't wrt n nb tšwy hsy n ntr nfr šdt ntr nfrt snk hnm n hr šnbt</i>	TT88	18.35
267	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hkrt nsw</i>	TT98	18.35
283	<i>Mwt-iry</i>	Thoth lord of Hermopolis, Nehemet-away who is in Hermopolis	<i>hkrt nsw, nbt pr, hsy nt Hwt-hr</i>	TT74	18.36
482	<i>Mryt?</i>	Amun?	<i>hsy n Hwt-hr nbt Twnt</i>	TT80	18.4
830	<i>Mryt.f</i>	Thoth	<i>hsy n nbt [lost]</i>		18.4
288	<i>Rnwtt</i>	Amun	<i>hsy nt Mwt</i>	TT295	18.45?
284	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	<i>hkrt nsw</i>	TT108	18.5
278	<i>Ršy</i>	Amun	<i>hkrt nsw</i>	TT75	18.5
652	<i>Hbwy-nw-ns</i>	Bastet	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Šhmt, wrt hnt n Bšst</i>	Bubastis	18.6
792	<i>Bšky</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hkrt nsw</i>	TTA24 (Waseda Univ. W-8), Mut temple at Karnak	18.6
698	<i>Nfrt-š'</i>	Ahmose-Nefertari, the Aten	<i>hsy Hwt-hr</i>	TT46	18.65
491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hkrt nsw, hsy n [lost]</i>	TT55	18.65
701	<i>M'y</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n nbt tšwy</i>	TT55	18.65
828	<i>Twyw</i>	Amun	<i>hkrt nsw, hsy n Hwt-hr</i>		18.65
699	<i>Knr</i>	Amun	<i>hsy n ntr nfr</i>	TT40	18.72
648	<i>Mryt-R'</i>	Amun of Karnak	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Hwt-hr nbt Kšs, hsy n Mwt</i>	TT49	18.75
675	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt Mwt, hsy '3 n Hwt-hr</i>	TT255	18.8
676	<i>Bwy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt Mwt</i>	TT255	18.8
618	<i>Tš-h't</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn</i>	TT50	18.8
472	<i>Ipšy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, mn't nsw, hsy n Hwt-hr</i>	Saqqara	18.9
829	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Hwt-hr</i>		18.9
106	<i>Dwit</i>	Amun	<i>hsy n Hwt-hr</i>		19
533	<i>Wšdt-rnpt</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt</i>	Abydos	19.1
444	<i>Rnnwtt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet Hathor of Medjedny	<i>wrt hnt Hwt-hr nbt Mgdny</i>	Asyut?	19.1
919	<i>Tiy</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn, hsy n nsw, hsy n pr nsw</i>	TT106	19.1
657	<i>Hwy-n-r (Hwt-hr)</i>	Hathor?, Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Mwt</i>	TT215	19.1
4	<i>?</i>	Amun	<i>hsy n Hwt-hr</i>	TT51	19.1
623	<i>Hšt-špswt</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n Hwt-hr, nbt pt tš</i>	TT51	19.1
756	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy nt Hwt-hr</i>	TT51	19.1

608	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-R^c nb Tw-rd</i>	Zawyet el Sultan	19.1
496	<i>Tiy</i>	Osiris, Isis	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Wsir</i>	Abydos	19.15
758	<i>H^ct-nsw</i>	Onuris	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n In-hrt</i>	el Mashayikh, Abydos	19.2
578	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	Nekhbet, Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Nht, wrt hnt n Imn</i>	Faras, Qasr Ibrim, TT289, Sehel	19.2
15	<i>Hwnry</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Hrdf</i>	Sedment	19.2
643	<i>Hmwt-mr</i>	Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Imn</i>	Sehel, TT158	19.2
757	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Isis	<i>wrt hnrwt n Imn, wrt hnrwt n Hwt-hr, shmyt n Mwt</i>	TT157	19.2
674	<i>Twy</i>	Amun Re of Kamak	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-hp</i>	TT19	19.2
664	<i>Mwt?</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>hryt sm^cywt</i>	TT194	19.2
736	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t 3 n Hwt-hr</i>	TT296	19.2
737	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	<i>shmyt</i>	TT296	19.2
586	<i>Mwtl^cy (M^cy)</i>	Amun, Montu	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t 3 n Hwt-hr nbt Twnt</i>	TT31	19.2
693	<i>ist</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t n Hwt-hr</i>	TT32	19.2
668	<i>Mwt-m-int</i>	Amun	<i>shmyt n Imn, Mwt, Hnsw</i>	TT373	19.2
881	<i>Ndm</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t 3 n imnt wist</i>	TT41	19.2
716	<i>Ty</i>	Khnum, Satis, Anukis	<i>hsy^t 3t n Hwt-hr</i>	TT6	19.2
253	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t 3t Hwt-hr</i>		19.2
813	<i>Tt3</i>	Amun, great of victories	<i>snt spst nsw</i>		19.2
612	<i>Shmt-nfrt</i>	Amun-Re	<i>wrt hnt nt In-hrt</i>	el Mashayikh	19.3
626	<i>R^c73</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Sbk</i>	TT23	19.3
908	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>hs(yt) n Mwt nbt Tsrw</i>		19.3
673	<i>Sst-R^c</i>	Atum-Re	<i>w^cbt n Imn n Tkw, rp^ct</i>	Heliopolis- Matareyyeh	19.9
636	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>hsy^t n Hwt-hr</i>		19.9
551	<i>Pr-ms-m-?</i>	Osiris	<i>nbt pr, hsy^t n ist</i>	Abydos	20
562	<i>Šrit-R^c</i>	Osiris	<i>t3.s? nbt pr</i>	Abydos	20
584	<i>T?-s3???t</i>	Osiris	<i>snwy n?</i>	Abydos	20
667	<i>...?</i>	Amun	<i>hsy^t n Imn-R^c</i>	TT68	20
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>wrt hnt...</i>	TT148	20.15
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Kamak	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn</i>	TT158	20.15
740	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	<i>hsy n Hwt-hr</i>	TT324	20.16
639	<i>M^cl3y</i>	Montu, Amun	<i>wrt hnt n Mntw</i>	TT331	20.17
727	<i>ist</i>	Amun Re	<i>ssty (shmyt) n Mwt</i>	Thebes? (temple or TT113)	20.18
726	<i>Tnt-p3-st3</i>	Amun Re	<i>shmyt n Mwt m Tsrw, hsy(t) 3(t) n Hwt-hr hr ib drst</i>	TT65	20.19
789	<i>Mwt-m-mr.s</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	<i>hsy^t n Hwt-hr</i>	TT65	20.19

111	<i>Tw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt Mwt wrt nbt Tsrw, mn^ct n Hnsw p3 ...</i>	Bab el Gusus	21
235	<i>T3-šd-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt n p3 ^c n Mwt, špst</i>	Bab el Gusus	21
666	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	TT68	21
448	<i>Tr-mwt-p3-nfr</i>	Amun Re	<i>hry šm^cyt n Hnsw m w3st nfr-hp, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw, mn^ct nsw</i>		21
384	<i>N3w-ny</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n nbw w3st, Imn, Mwt, Hnsw, š3t nsw</i>	TT358	21.1
141	<i>Qd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt ^c3t n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.2
210	<i>Tnt-n3w-hrrw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy ^c3t ^c n Mwt nbt Tšrw, hryt mn^cwt</i>		21.2
133	<i>Nsy-t3-nb-t^cwy</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
137	<i>My-šm-rdwy-šktb?</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt ^c3t [lost], hsy ^c3t n Mwt, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
149	<i>T3-wd3t-R^c</i>	the pure foundation of Ptah, Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy ^c3t ^c n Mwt nbt pt, nrt n Hwt-hr, wsr.t.s, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
182	<i>Šd-sw-t3-ipt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
208	<i>Ns-t3-wd3t-3h</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
310	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re	<i>špst</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
319	<i>G3t-s3n</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt tp n 3-nw n Imn, hsy ^c3 n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
323	<i>^cnh.s-n-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.5
115	<i>T3yw-hrt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt hsy n Imn</i>	Thebes	21.5
120	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Khonsu	<i>wrt hnt n Imn-R^c</i>	TT60	21.5
204	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	TT60	21.5
9	<i>Tnt-Imn (T3-nt-Imn)</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw, hsy ^c3t n nbw w3st Imn, Mwt, Hnsw</i>		21.5
219	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw</i>		21.5
341	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy ^c3t ^c n nbw h3</i>		21.5
361	<i>Mwt-hp-ti</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt</i>		21.5
373	<i>Inh3y</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n nb wt Hnm s3 3-nw</i>		21.5
147	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>		<i>hsyt p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
151	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt p3 ^c n Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
216	<i>Nsy-prw-nbw</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt ^c Mwt nbt pt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
230	<i>T3-hbt</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n p3 ^c n Mwt wr(t nbt) Tšrw</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
232	<i>T3-b3k-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt n ^c Mwt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
316	<i>T3-šd-Hnsw</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ^c n Mwt nbt pt, hmt ntr n Imn-ipt, hmt ntr n Mwt n pr ms, hmt ntr N3bt h3t n N3n</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6
217	<i>Mrw-^ch</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr hsy p3 Mwt wr(t nbt) Tšrw</i>		21.6
221	<i>T3-b3k(t)-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>hsyt n ^c n Mwt wr(t) nbt Tšrw</i>		21.6
349	<i>3st-m-3hbit</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn-wsr-h3t</i>		21.6
362	<i>T3...</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, (hsyt ^c3t)</i>		21.6
139	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	Amun Re	<i>3st n p3 ^c n Mwt wrt</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.6 or 21.8

CHART 5: OTHER TITLES

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150	<i>Hryw-wbn</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn m s3 4-nw, wrt hnt tpt, hnt ntr 2-nw n Mwt, hnt ntr 2-nw n Mwt n pr ms w'b n Imn?</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
191	<i>Tnt-hn-f (T3-nt-hn.f)</i>	Amun		Bab el Gusus	21.8
304	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ° n Mwt wrt nb(t) Tšrw, mn't °3 n Hnsw p3 hrd</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
225	?	Amun	<i>hsyt °3t</i>	Bab el Gusus	21.8
128	?	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, mn't Hnsw p3 hrd</i>	Bab el Gusus?	21.8
201	<i>Dd-mwt-iw.s-°nh</i>	Amun	<i>hry wrt hnt tp n Imn, hnt ntr n Imn, p3 wr hkw, hnt ntr Imn rht.f.?, hnt ntr n Mwt °3t ?, smt n t3 hwt Wsr-m°3t-r° mun-m°3t-R° pr Imn ntrt, hry špstw</i>	TT60	21.8
200	<i>Hnwt-tšwy</i>	Amun	<i>hsyt n p3 ° n Mwt wrt nbt Tšrw</i>		21.8
340	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy ° Mwt</i>		21.8
386	<i>°nh-s-n-šst</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ° n Mwt</i>		21.8
396	<i>T3-bškt-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hsy n p3 ° n Mwt</i>		21.8
402	<i>T3-nqm-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, hnt Hnsw</i>		21.8
116	<i>Diw-Mwt-(r)-iwdw</i>	Amun Re	<i>mn't Hnsw p3 hrd, hsy(t) hr imnt wšst</i>		21.9
397	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, wrt hnt n Imn hr s3 tp</i>		22
370	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw-°nh</i>	Amun	<i>nbt pr, hry šsm pr Imn</i>		22.1
74	<i>Ns-tr-n-mš°t</i>	Montu, lord of Thebes	<i>hry šnt°yt, nbt pr</i>	Thebes	23
449	<i>šst-m-šhbit</i>	Amun Re	<i>nbt pr, rp°t?, hsy n ° n Mwt</i>		23
450	<i>šsty</i>	Amun Re	<i>rp°t?</i>		23
415	<i>Mšt?</i>	Amun	<i>iht n Imn R°</i>	Ramesseum	23?
569	<i>N3-mnh-šst</i>	Amun	<i>iht n Imn</i>	TT33	26

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.I REITERATION OF QUESTIONS RAISED

The goal of this study has been to elucidate the status and role of the *šm^cyt*, or chantress, by addressing the questions posed in Chapter 1, which were:

- Q. Does the title imply a religious vocation or was it an honorific title?
- Q. How was the title obtained?
- Q. Who were their families and what was their social status?
- Q. What were the differences between the *šm^cywt* and other musicians (i.e. *hnr*, *hsyt*)?
- Q. Was there a similar male role?
- Q. Which gods did they serve and in which cult centers?
- Q. What were their responsibilities in cult practices?
- Q. When did the title come into being and when did it cease to be used?
- Q. Did those holding the title usurp the duties or role of a previously existing office or offices?
- Q. Are there patterns in their depiction in art and writing (literature, private letters, tomb inscriptions) which give us clues to any of these questions?

The answers to these questions fall into roughly two areas of study; the family and the temple.

8.II The Family

The first area of study concerns the family and the social status held by the families of *šm^cywt* and therefore the status of the *šm^cywt* themselves. By investigating the variety of cultic, administrative, and political titles held by the husbands and fathers of *šm^cywt*, we can say they

were a diverse group of women. During the Middle Kingdom, the title holders were middle class and evidence for them is very rare. *Šmꜣwyt* of the 18th Dynasty, however, belonged to wealthy families, either natal or marital, who were politically powerful. This wealthy upper class comprised the religious elite and those who were related to pharaoh or in his employ as advisors and administrators. The use of the title this time appears to have gained popularity during Hatshepsut's reign. The title was also largely a Theban phenomenon, coinciding with the ascendancy of Amun as the state god. There were no fluctuations in the use of the title until the Ramesside Period.

The Ramesside women were more socially diverse and more numerous. There were many women who belonged to more modest families – a wealthy middle class made up of landowners and “dependent specialists” (Trigger, 1993: 57), or those who worked for the nobility in specialized occupations. In the aftermath of the Amarna period there was an increase of personal and state piety (Assmann, 1989: 68-69). This is reflected in the rising numbers of women who were attached to local cults throughout Egypt as well as to the state cult of Amun.

During the Third Intermediate Period the numbers increased further, particularly during the tenure of the high priests of Amun during the mid-21st Dynasty. The women from this time period were from an economic cross-section of society similar to that of the Ramesside attestations, but they were overwhelmingly Theban and involved in the cult of Amun. This may suggest that the Theban priesthood was intervening by giving more women the opportunity to participate in the cult. Political reasons probably motivated this policy. As discussed previously, (Sections 5.V.2.C, 5.VI.2, 5.VIII) the giving of titles could be seen as a political maneuver to favorably influence powerful families. This situation may also have heralded a devaluation of the

status of the title since it seems to have lost some of its exclusivity, a process that may have begun as far back as the reign of Ramesses II.

The numbers of women who held the title *šm'yt* throughout time demonstrates that cult activities during the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Late Period, were not solely the domain of royalty and elite men, although they were apparently dominated and dictated by them. While the system was run by men, women were needed to make it work (Robins, 1993b: 36). Although Robins was speaking of the royal women and their place in diplomacy, the evidence reviewed in this study suggests that it may also have been true of the elite non-royal woman's place in society. Entreating the favor of powerful families through women was one way in which the existing power structure could further solidify a base of loyal followers. Without the support of the female population of Egypt, an institution seeking political and economic power could not have a secure base of support. Women may not have held power through official posts in the administration, but they raised each new generation of officials. Their support of a particular cult was manifested in a very public way: they became chantresses.

Family influence appears to have been an important factor in a woman's decision to participate. The family's cult affiliations were also apparently a consideration in the woman's choice of cult in which she participated. However, the lack of consistency from generation to generation is suggestive of personal choice on the woman's part. There is no evidence to indicate that the title was hereditary, nor is there any evidence to show that the title was dependent on a woman's marital status or age.

8.III The Temple

The second area of study focuses on whether or not there were actual religious duties associated with the title and what those duties might have been. The evidence demonstrates that the title was a specialized position and not an honorific because *šmꜣywt*:

1. are represented shaven like priests (tomb of Kheruef TT 192).
2. appear in contexts where only ritually pure people are allowed (Tuthmosis III's festival hall at Karnak, and near the king and royal family).
3. participated in standardized rites such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley where the song is similar in each recorded case. The implication is that there was an apprenticeship or period of learning, perhaps a school such as the one shown in a Middle Kingdom Kom el Hisn tomb (Manniche, 1991a: fig. 74) where specialized knowledge of ritual music was taught.
4. were organized on the phyle system during the New Kingdom.
5. were directed by individuals (male and female) who held titles such as "overseer of chanters", indicating that they were organized and performed real duties. An overseer's position would hardly be necessary for a mere honorific or ranking title.
6. provided an important part of the daily offerings and the people who performed this role must have held some meaningful place in the temple hierarchy.

One of the essential elements of this study has been the presentation of evidence demonstrating the participation of the chantresses in formal cult settings. Because of the impersonal and timeless nature of official art, it can never be shown that a specific individual participated in a specific rite or festival. It is reasonably certain, however, that the anonymous women shown in scenes at Karnak and elsewhere were the elite and lesser elite women who are known from the monuments of their husbands, sons, and fathers.

Because there are so few women's titles in the relevant time periods, and few women held more than one title, it would be difficult to construct a hierarchy in which to place the *šmꜣyt* title. The variety of women who held the title, from king's daughters to the wives of temple scribes, further complicates the matter from a hierarchical point of view. The nature of the evidence suggests that women of elite or lesser elite status were the only ones to have held the title. This would naturally create the situation where having the title automatically presupposed a high status, and it became an indication of rank. If the title were truly an honorific, one would expect to see the title combined with a reference to the king, such as *hkrt nsw* and *špst nsw*.

A few men held the title "chanter" (see Appendix A). Their existence strengthens the position that the title was carried as a mark of service and not an honorific. Since the title was primarily associated with women, it would have been unsuitable as a mark of distinction for a man having no true place in the relative hierarchy of a ranking system. The men who held the title are usually shown engaged in musical activity. Their small numbers argue for a personal choice made by these men to participate in cult activities in a non-traditional way. The evidence cited in Appendix A demonstrates that it was probably a matter of piety, and perhaps skill, rather than societal factors, that led them to become chanters.

Based on their representations in art and written media, it is clear that the *šmꜣwt* were vocalists. More specifically, they are usually associated with percussion instruments (drum, sistra, *menywt*, clappers) or are shown clapping. These circumstances lead to the conclusion that their style of vocalization was more rhythmic than melodic, and therefore the translation "chantress" is favored over "singer". Less often, they were accompanied by stringed instruments, but their primary activities were probably *a capella*.

Their cultic function was to perform for the gods in a daily ritual setting and in public appearances of the gods. They also used their skills in the palace, although they were not as common as the *ḥsywt* in this context. The term *ḥsywt* implies melodic music that is often accompanied by stringed or wind instruments. It is the term more appropriately translated as “singer”. Both *ḥsywt* and *šmꜥywt* may have made up the *ḥnrwt* so frequently mentioned in musical contexts. The differences between the words for musicians are subtle and difficult to interpret because they represent oral and aural phenomena.

8.IV Summary

The results of this study show that the title was held by different numbers and classes of women over time, which indicates an evolution influenced by societal factors. Patterns emerging from an analysis of the database include the geographical dispersion of the title, a chronological evolution of the title, and social stratification of the title holders. The most important pattern to emerge is one of the social influence of local cults. The women buried at Thebes were heavily involved in the cult of Amun, regardless of their husband’s occupation or their families’ cultic affiliations. Women from other cult centers, or those with family ties to other places, could also be in the service of Amun, but were also likely to be involved in a local cult, such as that of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore in the Memphis area. Just as some men desired to be a part of the power structures of their time, so did some women. The prevalence of the title *šmꜥywt* *n(t) ʾmn* is an outgrowth of that desire.

Surprisingly little can be said about the role of talent in securing the title *šmꜥywt*. There are no references to any individual *šmꜥywt* who was particularly beloved for her chanting. A good sense of rhythm would have been useful, but since chanting does not necessarily entail

complicated melodies or an extensive vocal range, and they seem to always perform in groups, talent was probably only considered to be an added bonus and not a requirement.

The formal participation of women in the religious hierarchy may have been a small part of the increasingly elaborate temple system of the New Kingdom, but the existence of titles such as *šmꜣyt* is important nonetheless. The result of collecting references to *šmꜣywt* and building the database presented in Appendix E has been a greater appreciation of how involved in public and community activities the women of ancient Egypt were. Although the title was a religious one, religion had such a pervasive presence in the lives of ancient Egyptians that any service to a deity would also have had a social dimension. The religious hierarchy functioned as a political and economic entity, controlling power and wealth. Political and economic power were related and complemented each other (Trigger, 1993: 55) and were intrinsically linked to the temple system in ancient Egypt. Therefore, the participation of women in cultic settings can be seen as social and political as well as pious.

APPENDIX A

MALE *šmꜥw*

In the course of research it has become clear that there were men who held the title *šmꜥ* as individuals, or *šmꜥw* in groups. Although far fewer in number, their existence sheds light on their female counterparts. A database similar to the one used for the women is included at the end of this appendix.

Old Kingdom

The 6th Dynasty tomb of Djau from Deir el Gebrawi contains reliefs that may be the earliest reference to *šmꜥw* as a group (Davies, 1902: pl. VII). A row of men are depicted singing and dancing in the funeral procession. Nearby, a coffin is being dragged on sledges and borne on boats. The text above them reads *ḥbt in ḥnrt šmꜥ in šmꜥw* – “dancing by the *Khener*, chanting by the chanters”. The men raise their hands as if clapping. Depicted above is a row of women dancing who probably represent the *Khener* and attest to the antiquity of the role of music in funeral settings. This procession is mirrored in many New Kingdom contexts where the women are labeled as *šmꜥywt* or *ḥnrt*.

Middle Kingdom

There are a few clear examples of men from the Middle Kingdom bearing the title, but not as many as Ward lists in his index.¹ All of these examples are also outlined in Chapter 5.

CG 20216 is a stela from Abydos divided into two registers. In the lower register there are two men and two women depicted standing in a line. Before the bodies or faces of the individuals are texts that give their names and titles. There seems to be some gender confusion in

this regard. The woman on the right is called *mwt.f W3dt*: his mother Wadjet. This information is clearly associated with her. The next person in line is a man. In front of his face are the words *šmꜥw Sbk-sꜥnh*. *Sbk-sꜥnh* is the name of his wife given in the first register, but she does not bear any title there. Although the male version of the title seems to fit with who is pictured, the name does not. The title *šmꜥyt* spelled with an egg determinative stands before the face of the next man to his left, who otherwise has no designation. The clearly female title does not fit with the figure of the man. Perhaps the title belongs to the last woman in line, who is called *nbt pr Bby*: Lady of the House, Beby.

P Berlin 10021 is a Middle Kingdom letter from Illahun concerning what has been interpreted as a prison (*hnrt*) and some of its inmates (Scharff, 1924: 53), two of whom were musicians (one male *šmꜥ*, one female *šmꜥyt*). The text is fragmentary and difficult to interpret as a whole, but seems to be a list of people. A related text in P. Berlin 10081, from the same archive at Illahun, mentions the *šmꜥw S-nht*, *s3 Htpi* (Kaplony-Heckel, 1971, vol. I: 36-37, #64).

The story of Sinuhe contains a reference to singers in both text B and the Ashmolean versions. The reference is plainly to a plural group and not a man as Ward implies (1982: #1514). While text B appears to refer only to men because of the masculine determinatives and the absence of the feminine “t”, ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ, the Ashmolean text does have the final “t” while using the same determinatives; ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ.

A statue excavated at Saqqara in the valley temple of Unas bears the name and titles of the Overseer of the Granaries of the Two Lands in Memphis and Chanter of Ptah South of His Wall, Lord of the Two Lands, Sermaat, son of Kety (*šmꜥw n Pth rsy inb.f nb t3wy, Sr-m3ꜥt iri n Hty*). This title is not heretofore known, but a similar title dates to the reign of Amenhotep III; a *hry šmꜥw n pr Pth, Pth-sꜥnh* (Moussa and Altenmüller, 1975: 95).

New Kingdom

Miscellaneous Finds

A block statue of a man presenting a stela carries the identification *hry šmꜥw n pr Pth*, *Pth-ꜥnh* (Cramer, 1936: 91 [#10-13], pl. VI.1-2). From Tell Basta there are two² shabtis bearing the names and titles of men serving as *šmꜥ*, presumably in local cults (Bakr, 1992: n.36, n.84.1-3). Not surprisingly, the first is a *šmꜥ n Bꜥstt, P3-Rꜥ-hr-wts.f* (Chanter of Bastet, Paraherwetchesef) from the Ramesside period. The second is a *šmꜥ n nb pt, Mꜥi3* (Chanter of the Lord of the Sky, Maia). A recently discovered shabti from Saqqara³ bears the name and title of Bay, a *šmꜥywt* (sic) *n Imn*. The hieratic is quite corrupt and awaits further interpretation, but may be Ramesside as it was found in the second courtyard of Horemhab's tomb. Palaeographically, a Ramesside date seems possible. A further piece of evidence comes from the 20th Dynasty Tomb Robberies Papyri published by Peet. In BM 10052, one of the accused is identified as Amenkhau (*Imn-hꜥw*), son of the *šmꜥt n wdꜥw, Hrꜥ*⁴ (Peet, 1930: 143ff, pls. XXVff). The word *šmꜥ* in this case bears the feminine “t” at the end, leading to the conclusion that the title had become associated mainly with women and the spelling had crystallized in the feminine form.

Scenes of Festival Processions in Temples:

The festival procession of *Opet* at Luxor contains a scene of men labeled *šmꜥw nty hr šmꜥ hr h3t ntr pn špsy Imn nb nsw t3wy*, “chanters who are chanting before this noble god, Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands” (Epigraphic Survey, 1994: pl. 91). Although there are no labeled representations of their female counterparts here, various groups of women shake sistra and dance.

Theban Tomb Material

Two individuals are known from the tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 341) (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 35, pl. XXIV; KRI III, 361.12-13). An interesting group of men on the north wall are making offerings to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and asking him to protect the king, Ramesses II. The first three bear the title *šdm-ꜥ*, or “servant”. The fourth is called *šmꜥ n ḥwt Wsr-mꜥ-Rꜥ-štp-n-Rꜥ m (pr) ḏmn, Nsw-niwt*: Chanter of the temple of User-Maat-Ra in the domain of Amun (the Ramesseum), Nesu-niwt. As a musician of the Ramesseum, it is natural for him to ask for divine intercession for the well being of the king. He and one other are interpreted as being foreigners because of the conical shape of the head, sometimes associated with Syrians (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 35; Manniche, 1991b: 63). The last man in the group is called *šmꜥ n Pth-skr, Nfr-ḥꜥ*: Chanter of Ptah-Sokar, Neferaha. Two unlabeled, seated men accompany them, one playing a lute and the other clapping. The text of a hymn to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is recorded above the seated men.

A group of clapping men portrayed on the north wall of the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) are labeled *šmꜥw*. They are positioned above a group of women labeled *šmꜥywt* (Epigraphic Survey, 1980: pls. 47, 59-63). The men are spatially oriented to imply that they were the “head of the parade” (i.e., they face backward toward the rest of the entourage). They are followed by dancers, offering bearers, *ḥsyw* who look and pose exactly like the *šmꜥw*, and others. Their hymn is written in columns before them. Another group scene comes from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) (Davies, 1930: pl. 39-40). Among the people taking part in dragging the statue of Kenamun are male *šmꜥw* marching with arms raised over their heads. Their caption says *ḥbt in šmꜥw*,

“dancing by the chanters” while the women bear the rubric *dhn in šm^c(y)wt*, “making rhythm by the chantresses”.

Three men and another group of three women depicted in the tomb of Menkheperasonb (TT 112) (Davies, 1933: pl. 17) are labeled *dht šm^cw* “choir of chanters”. They hold their arms out in a clapping gesture while the text of their hymn is spelled out before them (Davies, 1933: 14; Urk. IV, 935). This has been interpreted as part of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley procession and its festivities (Manniche, 1991a: 71-72).

A group of three men depicted in the tomb of Ramose (TT 55) stand before a group of butchers who are offering an ox head. They are labeled *šsp dhn n šm^c(w)*: choir of chanters (Davies, 1941: pl. XIII).

In addition to the man named in the Tomb Robberies Papyri, two other *šm^cw n wdhw* are known. Theban tomb 16 of Panehsy (Baud and Drioton, 1928: esp. fig. 16; KRI III, 396-399) shows the tomb owner and his brother, Pahehy, engaged in a procession of the sacred vases of Amun. Panehsy is described as the *hry šm^c wdhw n ʿmn* : overseer of the chanters of the offering table of Amun (see also KRI III, 397.11 and 398.15). His brother is a *šm^c n wdhw n ʿmn* (KRI III, 398.16). They hold their hands before them making a clapping gesture.

Late Period Evidence

Two individuals from Mariette’s “nécropole des chanteuses” at Abydos were male *šm^cw*; stela 1296 bears an inscription of the *hry šm^c(ywt) m pr Wsr n qdw ʾbdw ʿnh-wnn-nfr*, (Overseer of Chanters of the Domain of Osiris of Busiris and Abydos, Ankhwennefer) and the *šm^c m pr Wsr* (Chanter of the Domain of Osiris, [name unclear]) (Mariette, 1880: 489).

Conclusions

The formula *šmꜥ n* [deity or institution] was followed, just as it was followed for the women, although men were more likely to serve specific temples and royal institutions than women were. Men also seem absent from the cult of Amun, except for the very specific title *šmꜥw n wđḥw n Imn* and the recent find from Saqqara, mentioned previously. Institutions that men were associated with included: *ḥwt Bꜣstt* (temple of Bastet), *ḥwt Wsir* (temple of Osiris), *pr Wsir* (domain of Osiris), *pr Pth* (domain of Ptah), *ḥwt Wsr-mꜣt-Rꜥ-stp-n-Rꜥ* (the Ramesseum). There is nothing to indicate that men served only gods while women served only goddesses.

The existence of men bearing this title, one previously thought to belong solely to the realm of women, is interesting. While it is clear that the title was predominantly held by women, there was a male version, which is portrayed in the same manner as the feminine counterpart. They are shown in representations alongside women, apparently performing the same role. The occurrence of the title referring to individuals and groups of both sexes proves that it was not a gender specific role, and consequently rules out any question of whether the title was derived from, or contingent upon a husband's status or role in temple affairs.

The small numbers of men who held the title *šmꜥ* may suggest that personal piety or talent motivated them to become chanters. There was probably no prestige associated with the title for men as it was not a courtly title, nor an administrative one. As a religious title it carried no real power in the temple hierarchy. Most of the men who held the title did not have other recorded titles, indicating that they may have considered being a chanter their religious vocation. Surely other temple positions, however low, would have been open to them, but they chose to be chanters. Perhaps this is our only indication that talent was a factor in becoming a *šmꜥ*.

¹ Ward (1982: 175), lists five sources, one of which is incorrect – CG 20023.

² There is a possible third man depending on the reading of the name *Hrtt* who was a *šmꜥ n hwt B3stt* (Bakr, 1992: 151 n.547.1-11). This could be a female name as the final “t” in *šmꜥ* is sometimes left out for space considerations.

³ A photograph will be published in the “Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, Season 1999” in the *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (OMRO)*, 79 (forthcoming) and a fuller account in the final publication. This reference is courtesy René van Walsem.

⁴ The reading of the man’s name, *Hr*, is not certain. The determinative at the end of the name is not clear, and while it is most commonly a man’s name, its use as a female name is known (Ranke, 1935, vol. I: 245.18).

NAME <i>Titl</i>	DEITY none given	TITLES	DATE 12	PROV. & LOCATION Illahun, P. Berlin 10021	PUBLICATIONS Scharff, 1924, 53, autographed text 9; Ward, 1982, #1514
<i>S-nḥt</i>	none given		12	Illahun, P. Berlin 10081	Kaplony-Heckel, 1971, vol. I, 36-37, #64; Ward, 1982, #1514
<i>Sbk-sꜣnh?</i>	none given		12.2	Abydos, CG 20216	Mariette, 1880, #986; Ward, 1982, #1514
<i>Sr-miꜣt</i>	<i>Pth rsy-inb.f nb tšwy</i>	<i>imy-r pr ḥsb it mḥy m ꜣnh tšwy</i>	12.2	Saqqara, valley temple of Unas	Moussa and Altenmüller, 1975, 94-95; Ward, 1982, #1515
<i>Pth-ꜣnh</i>	<i>ḥry šmꜣw n pr Pth</i>		18	Memphis?, Kestner Museum zu Hannover, #2946 (4)	Cramer, 1936, 91 (#10-13) pl. VI.1-2
<i>P3-nḥsy</i>	<i>ḥry šmꜣ n wdḥw n Imn</i>	<i>ḥm nḥr n Imn-ḥtp-ḥr- wsḥt</i>	19.2	Thebes, TT16	Baud, et.al., 1928, fig. 16
<i>P3-ḥsy</i>	<i>wdḥw n Imn</i>		19.2	Thebes, TT16	Baud, et.al., 1928, fig. 16
<i>Nsw-niwt</i>	Ramesseum		19.2	Thebes, TT341	Davies, 1948, 35, pl. XXIV
<i>Nfr-ꜣḥꜣ</i>	Ptah-Sokar		19.2	Thebes, TT341	Davies, 1948, 35, pl. XXIV
<i>B3y</i>	Amun?		19	Saqqara, tomb of Horemhab	unpublished, information courtesy R. van Walsem
<i>P3-rꜣ-ḥr- wtš.f</i>	Bastet		19.9	Bubastis	Bakr, 1992, n. 36, n.84.1-3
<i>Mꜣi3</i>	<i>nb pt</i>		19.9	Bubastis	Bakr, 1992, n. 36, n.84.1-3
<i>Ḥr</i>	<i>wdḥw n Imn</i>		20	Tomb Robberies Papyri; BM 10052	Peet, 1930, 143ff, pl. XXV ff.
<i>ꜣnh-wnn- nfr?</i>	Osiris		26	Abydos	Mariette, 1880, 489, #1296
not clear	Osiris		26	Abydos	Mariette, 1880, 489, #1296

APPENDIX B

THE EVIDENCE FROM ABYDOS

The so-called “nécropole des chanteuses” found by Mariette at Abydos provides some very interesting material for this study in the form of Middle and New Kingdom stelae. The fullest summary of this material is published in Mariette’s two late nineteenth century volumes on his work there, *Abydos. Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* (1869-1880) and *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos* (1880). Mariette’s focus was on the inscriptional material rather than the archaeological context of the stelae referred to therein. His description of the northern necropolis from which most of the items come is unfortunately brief (summarized from Mariette, 1880: 441-442):¹

Near the Shunet el Zebib lies a New Kingdom cemetery of women bearing the title kema-t [now transliterated *šmꜥyt*]. These women can be recognized by their costumes on the stelae. Also found were small sarcophagi (of terra-cotta) with human fetuses. These sarcophagi were not buried in the ground, but rather within an ancient wall.² The name of Osiris here is *Wsir ms* (var. *nb ms*, *nb ʿ3 ms*, *ms ntrw*) [Osiris of birth, lord of birth, great lord of birth, divine birth]. Could this title have to do with the gestation of children? What role did the chantresses fulfill here? The date of the necropolis seems to be year 27 of Ramesses XIII(sic).³

The individual stelae are not provenienced more specifically than to what quarter of the necropolis they came from. His general description of the cemetery refers to tombs, but no reference is made to what specific tomb individual items came from. There is also no map locating any individual tombs or objects of note.⁴ The stelae from Mariette’s excavations can, in part, be found in the Cairo Museum. Lacau’s Catalogue General volume of New Kingdom stelae

and Lange and Schäfer's volume of Middle Kingdom stelae give concordance lists of Mariette's field number to CG number. The others are dispersed throughout the world's collections.

The area is now usually associated with cenotaphs or offering chapels rather than tombs (Pouls, 1997-1998: 51; O'Connor, 1985: 161-177), which would account for the lack of detail about any actual burials or burial chambers. However, the cenotaph structures were not described by Mariette either.

Regarding the area in question, later authors have had to base their conclusions on the incomplete descriptions of excavations given by Mariette. The *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* describes the area as having been occupied "partly by tombs of songstresses of Osiris" and partly by tombs of the 18th-22nd Dynasties that had brick chapels associated with them (LÄ I, 36). Also, from the scanty information supplied by Mariette, Lise Manniche offers an interpretation of this cemetery:

A section of the necropolis was set apart for songstresses (*šmꜣyt*) of a number of deities... and their stillborn children. It is not known why these women had a separate burial place. It may indicate a favored status: perhaps it was a privilege for women dying in childbirth to be buried there. But the opposite may be equally well true; only one of the songstresses was accompanied by a husband, and possibly these women had no fathers in whose tomb they could be buried" (Manniche, 1991: 124-25).

The stelae found at the site clearly indicate that these women had male relatives and husbands. If Mariette's suggestion that the unique epithet of Osiris used here (*nb ms*, and variations) related to childbirth and gestation, then Manniche's initial supposition

about the favored status of women who died in childbirth would explain the situation better.

Other excavators have worked in the general area of Mariette's digging, but none specifically in the "nécropole des chanteuses". Their findings, however, may shed light on this area of the site.

Garstang worked at Abydos at the turn of the century, publishing his work in the *Memoirs of the Egyptian Research Account as El Arábah* (1901, reprinted 1989). Although his work concentrated on the temple area, he did find three shabtis of different *šmꜥyt n Tmn* in the tombs he excavated (DB #s 572, 573, 574).

Peet published three volumes of *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, as part of the Egypt Exploration Fund memoirs. The second of these deals with the northern cemetery where Mariette worked, although no mention is made of the earlier excavator's work. Peet's characterization of the area ascribes the tombs to the Middle Kingdom and [Second] Intermediate period (1914: 54ff). The 18th Dynasty tombs are intrusive into those earlier tombs (1914: 70ff). The bodies mentioned are predominantly women who were buried with better quality grave goods: alabaster kohl pots, ceramic vessels, and jewelry of bronze, glass, and faience. Two children were also found in tombs rather than in walls as Mariette had found (1880: 442). 21st Dynasty material was also present in the form of fragments of a painted stucco coffin. A New Kingdom shabti of the *šmꜥyt n Wsr, Kt-ḥr* (Chantress of Osiris, Kethor) was recovered from Peet's excavation of tomb D223 (DB #571; Peet, 1913, v. III: 32, pl. xii.10).

Recent work in the area by the University of Pennsylvania–Yale Institute of Fine Arts Expedition also furthers our understanding of the cult activities of the New Kingdom at Abydos. A recent article chronicling the work of the expedition sums up the difficulties in dealing with this

material: “The methods that resulted in the dispersal of a great portion of the Abydene corpus pose significant obstacles to the understanding of this rich body of evidence for non-royal activity at the periphery of a major Egyptian temple.... the original archaeological context of this material remains unknown” (Pouls, 1997-1998: 59, n.4).⁵

Although this may be discouraging, the discovery of a temple of Tuthmosis III in the North cemetery area sheds light on the burial of the *šmꜥywt* nearby. Its existence provides a possible venue of work for the women who served Osiris. The date also coincides with the increase in popularity of the title in the Theban area. A few stelae of *šmꜥywt* were found in the area of the so-called Portal Temple of Rameses II which is close to the remains of the Tuthmosis III temple (Simpson, 1995: 57, 59, 61). Based on the architectural layout, the temple is believed to have been the terminus for processional ritual (Pouls, 1997-1998: 59, n. 6; Petrie, 1916: 174).

The history of the buildings at the site fits the pattern of *šmꜥyt* attestations. The earliest stelae (Middle Kingdom) that mention *šmꜥywt* are from Abydos.⁶ Stela CG 20142 of the *šmꜥyt* *Snw-ꜥnh* (DB #580) is from the northern necropolis at Abydos. Stela CG 20216 (Lange and Schäfer, 1902, pt. 1: 238-239 and pt. 4: pl. XVII) is also from the northern necropolis and lists two individuals; *šmꜥw Sbk-ꜥnh*, and an unnamed male or female *šmꜥ(yt)*.⁷ None of these titles are connected with a god or goddess and the scenes depict the deceased as the recipient of offerings. However, the *hꜥp di nsw* formula contains the name of Osiris (*hꜥnty imntiw* on 20142) *nb 3bdw*. There was an Osiris-Khenti-Imentiu temple at Abydos during the Middle Kingdom that was torn down to make room for the New Kingdom structure (Kemp, 1968: 141). It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume the women were involved in that cult and were allowed to erect monuments nearby.

Database statistics

One hundred fifteen references are classified as having come from Abydos.⁸ The women who served Osiris (23 references) were all from Abydos. Those women are mainly known from 20th Dynasty stelae recovered in Mareitte's excavations. The women themselves dedicated many of the stelae, rather than a husband or father. Ninety-two of the total 115 women from Abydos did not serve Osiris, but represented the cults of various gods- Amun, Hapi, Isis, Mut, Onuris, Hathor, Montu, Horus the Behedtite.⁹ This may illustrate the presence of pilgrims at the site rather than Abydene *šm'c'wyt*.

The placement of such a large number of stelae representing *šm'c'wyt* at the site becomes an indication of the status that they had. Those dedicated by the women who served in the cult of Osiris are especially interesting because it indicates that it was the woman's position in the local cult that was the key factor in the placement of the tomb or stela.¹⁰ The other family stelae can be viewed in the same light as the other dedications made by ancient Egyptians who wanted to leave their name at Abydos in order that their spirit could benefit from being represented at the holy site. They are difficult to interpret from a genealogical point of view, however, because the family relationships are not explicitly stated. It is hoped that continued work in the area of the Tuthmosis III temple may reveal more about the nature of the *šm'c'wyt*'s association with the cult of Osiris at Abydos, and the activities of pilgrims there.

¹ The area is also dealt with summarily on p. 48-49 of *Description des fouilles* vol. 2, Section 267.

² Unfortunately, he does not specify what structure the wall was part of.

³ Surely Rameses III is meant here as the North cemetery is called a 20th Dynasty cemetery.

⁴ Peet's map of the site is somewhat useful in this regard (1913, vol. II: xiv, fig. 1).

⁵ A list of other references to the expedition's work can be found there and in *LÄ* I, 28-41.

⁶ These stelae are discussed in more detail in chapter 5.III.3-4.

⁷ The problems associated with this individual are discussed in chapter 5.III.3-4.

⁸ Twelve of those references were not securely attributed to Abydos, but can be assumed to come from there based on internal evidence of the objects.

⁹ One woman served Osiris, Isis, and Horus, (DB ref. #555).

¹⁰ An alternative view is that the women adopted the title because of the placement of the stelae; that is to say they took on a title relating to the particular god of the area – Osiris here – because of the placement of the stela in the domain of that god. This is not a view favored by the writer, but is within the realm of possibility.

APPENDIX C

LETTERS

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a summary of the elements relevant to the study of the *šmꜣwt* that appeared in the numerous letters used for analysis in Chapter 4. They are not retranslated here. Most of them have been dealt with by Wentz, 1990, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, whose treatment of this material is far more comprehensive than what could be done here. Other sources are noted in the heading of each letter's description. They are arranged here in rough chronological order.

Northumberland papyrus no. 1: Barns, 1948, 35-46; Wentz, 1990, 113-114; KRI I, 239-241.

Rameses I-Seti I.

This is a simple letter written by the Scribe Mahu to inquire about the health of the Scribe Yy the Younger and to ask him to look after the matter of the Captain Merymose. Also the *šmꜣwt* of Amun, Isis-nefret sends Yy The Younger her greetings and wishes for his visit saying "I want to see you, my eyes being as big as Memphis because I am hungry to see you here" (line 12). The relationships between Isis-nefret, Mahu and Yy are unclear, but they are obviously close: perhaps Isis-nefret was the sister of one man and the wife or lover of the other.

A group of letters written by servants reflects a degree of familiarity between servants and those in higher positions. P. Leiden I, 364, 365, 366 concern the same group of people. They all date to the reign of Ramesses II.

P. Leiden I 360: Wente, 1990, 33-34; KRI III, 230

The servant Mersuiofef writes to his mistress the *šmꜣyt* of Isis, the Noble Lady Tel inquiring about her and reassuring her that “the general is all right as well as his people and children. Don’t worry”.

P. Leiden I 364; Wente, 1990, 33; KRI III, 231-232

The servant Mermaat writes to the servant Rudefneheh, but greets the *šmꜣyt* of Amun, Hathor first. The bulk of the letter is an invocation of the gods on her behalf, and the “other matter” is the message for Rudefneheh. This arrangement leads one to speculate that the *šmꜣyt* was more important; perhaps she was Rudefneheh’s employer and responsible for distributing the servants’ mail.

P. Leiden I 365,¹ Wente, 1990, 32-33; KRI III, 232-233

The servant Meryiofef writes to the servant Rudefneheh and mentions the servant Mermaat (from letter 364 above). The letter includes an address to the *šmꜣyt* of Amun Nubem..., and the *šmꜣyt* of Amun Saupatjau.

P. Leiden I 366; Wente, 1990, 32; KRI II, 910-911

The servant Meryiofef writes to the *šmꜣyt* of Amun, Ernute, chastising her for not writing sooner.

P. Leningrad 1118: Wente, 1990, 117; KRI III, 490. reign of Rameses II

This is a simple letter wherein the Scribe and Lector Priest Wernemty writes to the Master Chariot-maker Huy regarding his condition and that of his people. He also asks about the health of the *šmꜣyt* of Amun, Naia.

P. Anastasi I (satirical letter): Wentz, 1990, 100. reign of Rameses II ²

Hori, the author of the letter, gives his mother's name as Tawosre from the region of Bilbeis, ³ a *šmꜣt* of Bastet in God's field.

Late Ramesside Letters

The late Ramesside period letters form a significant corpus of material. The main publication by Černý (1939), *Late Ramesside Letters*, and the Wentz publications already cited have served as the main sources.⁴ The letters have been identified by the numbers assigned to them in the original Černý and Wentz publications as well as by their museum or collection numbers.

Nesamenope letters:

LRL 37- P. Geneva D 191: Černý, 1939, 57-60; Wentz, 1967, 71-74; Černý, 1973, 213-214;

Wentz, 1990, 174-175. Rameses XI, year 2 of *whm-mswt*.

The *šmꜣt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* Henuttawy writes to the Scribe of the Necropolis Nesamenope.⁵ It is a letter regarding grain transactions and a court case concerning the father of the addressee. It seems that Henuttawy was carrying out business for Nesamenope while he was unavailable. The letter implies he will return to take care of a problem arising from a disagreement concerning the measurement of grain. Černý speculates that Henuttawy may have been the wife of the scribe (1973: 214).

LRL 36- P. British Museum 10412: Černý, 1939, 55-56; Wentz, 1967, 70-71; 1990, 175-176;

Černý, 1973, 213-214. Rameses XI, year 2 of *whm-mswt*.

The same Nesamenope, Scribe of the Necropolis from *LRL 37* writes to the *šmꜣyt n ʿImn-Rꜥ*, Mutenipet. He gives her instructions for a land transaction and its planting as well as the making of some weapons while he is in Nubia. The fact that he wrote to a different woman than the one who wrote to him may argue against Henuttawy being his wife. Both women were obviously close enough to be trusted with business dealings.

Butehamon letters:⁶ These letters were all written during the reign of Rameses XI. Three additional letters dealing with Butehamon and his associates are found in Janssen (1991). The women Hemisheri and Shedemdua are mentioned, but not by title.⁷

LRL 14 - BM 10417: Černý, 1939, 27-28; Wente, 1967, 46-47; Wente, 1990, 179.

year 6 of *whm-mswt*.

The Prophet of Amenhotep (l.p.h.) Amenhotep writes to Tuthmosis, Scribe of the Necropolis who is “south”, probably in the military as he calls on the gods to give the addressee “favor with the general, your lord”. Amenhotep assures Tuthmosis that the people he has inquired about in his last letter are safe and sound. One of those inquired about is the *šmꜣyt n ʿImn-Rꜥ nsw nꜥrw*, Shedemdua. Amenhotep further states that he is bringing Tuthmosis’s case before the oracle of Amenhotep whenever he is in procession (*r tnw hꜣy.f*) and that the god responds favorably every time.

LRL 5 - P. Leiden I 370: Černý, 1939, 9-11; Wente, 1967, 27-31; Wente, 1990, 180-181.

year 6 of *whm-mswt*.

This letter concerns some of the same people as letter 14; Tuthmosis writes to the Scribe Butehamon and the *šmꜣyt n 1mn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* Shedemdua (who is inquired about in many letters). Tuthmosis expresses touching concern for the women and their children that they not lack anything. The rest is about business matters.

LRL 17- P. Geneva D 192: Černý, 1939, 33-34; Wente, 1967, 51; Wente, 1990, 185.

year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

The General's Singer (*ḥs*) Pentahures writes to the Scribe of the Necropolis Tuthmosis, the Singer (*ḥst*) Hemisheri,⁸ and the *šmꜣyt n 1mn* Shedemdua. He expresses his wish for their health and that he may see them again soon.

LRL 8 - P. Geneva D 407: Černý, 1939, 13-17; Wente, 1967, 33-37; Wente, 1990, 187-188.

year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

Another letter from Tuthmosis to Butehamon assures him that things are going well with his affairs at home including the well being of the *šmꜣyt n 1mn* Shedemdua and Hemisheri (a *ḥsyt* in a previous letter). The General's Singer Pentahures is also addressed. Tuthmosis assures Pentahures, and others, that their people are fine.

LRL 7 - P. Bibliothèque Nationale 197.IV: Černý, 1939, 13; Wente, 1967, 32-33; Wente, 1990,

200. year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

The same scribe, Tuthmosis writes to the Guardian Khar. He asks him to look after Shedemdua and her children and prevent anyone from doing wrong to them. He also asks the addressee to pray to Amun for his safe return from "the wilds, the place where I am abandoned". He sends a

further note to the *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, Tayuhenut asking her to let him know how she and her people are.

LRL 6 - P. Griffith: Černý, 1939, 12; Wente, 1967, 32; Wente, 1990, 201. no year, *whm-mswt*.

The Scribe Tuthmosis writes to the Necropolis Scribe Butehamun and the *šmꜣyt n Tmn* Hemisheri.

“I am fine, pray for me to come back safely.” He also asks after the *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, Baki and the *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, Shedemdua.

LRL 31 - P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196.III: Černý, 1939, 51-52; Wente, 1967, 67-68; Wente, 1990, 199. year 10 of *whm-mswt*.

The general's Singer Pentahu[*res*] writes to the Scribe Butehamun and others including the *šmꜣyt n Tmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* Hemisheri and another *šmꜣyt* whose name is lost (but probably Shedemdua as she appears in the other letters with these people). He exhorts the women to look after his father and the children. He also reports on a case submitted to an oracle of Khnum, which was decided favorably in front of the *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, Tuia, and the Scribe Hori. The nature of the case is not stated. The oracle seems to have taken place where the author is writing from, presumably Elephantine as it is mentioned previously and Khnum is the deity addressed. Tuia and Hori seem to act as witnesses at the oracle for Pentahures.

LRL 16 - P Turin 1971: Černý, 1939, 31-33; Wente, 1967, 49-51; Wente, 1990, 192-193.

year 10 of *whm-mswt*.

A letter to the Scribe of the Necropolis Tuthmosis (Tjaroy on the address) from Butehamon regards the health *šmꜣyt n Imn Rꜥ nsw ntrw* Shedemdua and the *šmꜣyt n Imn* Hemisher. He also prays for Tuthmosis's safe return from Nubia.

LRL 2: P. Turin 1973: Černý, 1939, 2-5; Wente, 1967, 20-21; Wente, 1990, 188-189.

year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

The necropolis scribe Tuthmosis (Tjaroy on the address) writes to the Necropolis Scribe Buteh[amon and the *šmꜣyt n Imn* Shedemdua]. He mentions the presence of Herere (Piankh's wife) at Elephantine as well as other personal topics including a reminder to make offering to the gods on his behalf.

LRL 50 - P. Turin 2026: Černý, 1939, 71-74; Wente, 1967, 83-85; Wente, 1990, 189-190

year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

[The scribe Tuthmosis writes to ... and the *šmꜣyt n Imn* Shedem]dua. He inquires after the health of Hemisher and a number of people, including Butehamon to whom he directs some business affairs.

LRL 9 - P. BM 10326: Černý, 1939, 17-21; Wente, 1967, 37; Wente, 1990, 190-192

year 10 of *wḥm-mswt*.

The Scribe Tuthmosis writes to the Scribe Butehamon, the *šmꜣyt n Imn* Shedemdua, and Hemisher. He calls upon the gods of the south (Horus of Kuban and Aniba) and Atum to give them long life. It is mainly a business letter.

Herere letters

LRL 39 - P. Turin 2069: Černý, 1939, 61; Wente, 1967, 75.

year 10 of *whm mswt*?

The *wrt hnr, sm^cyt n Tmn-R^c nsw ntrw* Herere writes to the Troop-Commander Peseg concerning rations for the men of the necropolis. This is the only letter that contains a reference to the *sm^cyt* title, but the two following are included to show the position this woman had.

LRL 38 - P. Turin, unnumbered: Černý, 1939, 60-61; Wente, 1967, 74; Wente, 1990, 200. year 10 of *whm-mswt*.

The *wrt hnr n Tmn-R^c, nsw ntrw*, Herere writes to the Troop Captain Peseg. She writes to complain that the necropolis personnel have not received the rations she had previously written about. “Don’t make them complain to me again” she says.

LRL 30- P. BM10100: Černý, 1939, 50-51; Wente, 1967, 65-67; Wente, 1990, 197.

year 10 of *whm-mswt*.

The General of Pharaoh writes to the two Foremen, the Scribe Butehamon, the Guardian Khar, and all the necropolis workmen: Necropolis Scribe Tjaroy (Tuthmosis), the Troop Captain, and a priest have reached him in the south to make a report on work being done (in Thebes?). He has left Herere in charge of five women servants for the work gang’s use.

¹ This letter was recently (Spring 1999) in a traveling exhibit of items from Leiden. The website makes the following comments about this item: “This letter was found in a Memphite archive still rolled and sealed with a cord and clay seal. It may never have been delivered. It was sent by boat from Meriotef in Piramesse to

Rudefineh in Memphis" (<http://icvc.imago.com.au/egypt/html/lifeitem4.html>) (Western Australia exhibit showing).

² Bellion dates this piece to the reign of Seti II (1987: 8).

³ Bubastis according to Wente (1990: 110, n.2).

⁴ Letters 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 31, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 50.

⁵ See also BM 10190 (Letter IV in Jansen, 1991), a fragmentary text dealing with domestic matters like cucumbers and a donkey which may involve the same people, and Černý (1973: 214) for a discussion of Nesamenope.

⁶ Background on Butchamon and his family is given in Černý (1973: Appendix D) and Bierbrier (1975: 39-44, 46, 51).

⁷ The letters concerned are BM 10411, BM 10419, and BM 10440.

⁸ This is undoubtedly the same Hemisheri who is referred to in many other letters where she is a *ḥmṣyt*. Either she held both titles, or the writer of the letter confused the two.

APPENDIX D

CATALOGUE OF *šmꜣwt* KNOWN FROM THEBAN TOMBS OF THE 18-20TH DYNASTIES

The aim of this appendix is twofold: to gather the relevant publication information in one place, and to provide the reader with a sense of community and family relationships for the Theban noble class. Much of our understanding of the New Kingdom family and the wealthy elite and lesser elite classes comes from these tombs. By expanding upon the data given in the database, the information gathered will be of use to those researching any number of topics.

Although giving a bias toward evidence from the cult of Amun in the New Kingdom,¹ the importance of looking at the Theban tomb representations lies in their ability to give us an idea of family relationships. The Egyptian family was a close one, probably best demonstrated by the numerous family scenes on tomb walls and the numbers of people occasionally included on stelae found in the tombs. Tombs are one of the few places where extended family can be traced by name and title. Genealogical information about women is plentiful in the tombs that belonged to their husbands, sons, and fathers, although they are perhaps not as detailed as one would like them to be. Also, these tombs are often datable to a specific reign, giving an indication of the temporal distribution of the title.

The tomb numbers used here are those used by Porter and Moss. Not all sources listed contained references to the *šmꜣwt* title, but supplied other information on the tomb or the people mentioned therein.

TT 6: Neferhotep and Nebnetjer. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 14-15; KRI III, 577-587; Wild, 1979; Černý, 1949, 60. DB ref. #716.

Nebnefer was a chief workman in the Place of Truth like his father and grandfather. His wife was a *ḥsyṯ ʿ3t n Ḥwt-ḥr, šmʿyt n Ḥnmw Stt* [*ʿnkt*] (Khnum, Satet [and Anukis]), *Ti(-m-w3wt)* (Wild, 1979: pls. 4, 10). Her titles indicate a southern origin as these were the gods of the cataract region. In fact, the gods of the cataract play an important role in this tomb indicating some connection between the Theban occupants and the South. This is one of the few Deir el Medina tombs to mention a *šmʿyt*.²

TT 16: Panehsy. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 28-9; KRI III, 396-399; Baud and Drioton, 1928. DB ref. #678.

The wife of Panehsy was *šmʿyt n Imn T3-rnwt*. She is shown in many religious scenes with her husband, a Prophet of “Amenhotep of the Forecourt”. He is also called the *ḥry šmʿ wdḥw n Imn* (overseer of the chanter(s) of the offering table of Amun) in a scene depicting the procession of the vases of Amun (Baud and Drioton, 1928: fig. 16). His brother is shown with him and labeled as a *šmʿ wdḥw n Imn*, obviously a subordinate. One other *šmʿ n wdḥw* is known from the Tomb Robberies Papyri.³

TT 19: Amenmes. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 32-4; KRI III, 390-396; Foucart, 1935. DB ref. #674, 717-718. (See also Section 3.III.5)

Amenmose was the first prophet of “Amenhotep of the Forecourt” so it is fitting that his wife Iwy was the *wrt ḥnrt n Imn-ḥtp* as well as a *šmʿyt n Imn-Rʿ-m-ipt-swt*. Two other *šmʿywt* appear in the tomb (KRI III, 395.16): *šmʿyt Ḥ3t-šps*, whose relationship to Amenmose is unknown, and *šmʿyt Imn Mʿkwi...*, also of an unknown relationship to Amenmose.

TT 23: Tjay. Merneptah; PM I, 38-41; KRI IV, 107-119; LD iii, 252-253; Collins, 1976, 34; Wilbour, 1936, 55-56. DB ref. #625-627, 719-722, 906.⁴

The two wives of the Royal Secretary Tjay were the *šmꜥyt n Tmn*, (sometimes *Tmn-m-ipt-swt*) *Rꜥi3*⁵ and the *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Nb(t)-t3wy*. His mother Tamiu was also *šmꜥyt n Tmn*. Kitchen records the family of *Nb(t)-t3wy* (KRI IV, 117.9-118.3); her mother was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Mwt-nfrt*, her mother's mother was the *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Mht-ḥꜥt*, her sisters were the *šmꜥyt n Bꜥstt, Huy-n-r* and the *šmꜥyt n Bꜥstt, Mwt-nfrt*. A woman who may be Tjay's daughter (KRI IV, 116.3) was also a *šmꜥyt n Tmn*.

TT 31: Khonsu. Ramesses II; KRI III, 399-410; Davies and Gardiner, 1948. DB ref. #585-86, 599-605, 927. (Khonsu's family is also discussed in Section 3.III.5 and in Chapter 6)

Khonsu was the First Prophet of Tuthmosis III whose parents were Neferhotep, First Prophet of Amenhotep II, and Tausert, a *šmꜥyt n Mnt*. She is frequently shown in the tomb taking part in the offerings and processions (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pls. XII, XV). Given her prominence in the tomb, it is perhaps not surprising that her son married two women who were already *šmꜥywt n Mnt*, like his mother, or became thus after marriage. The first wife,⁶ a woman named Ruia, may have been a *šmꜥyt n Mnt*.⁷ By this woman there were two or three children, one of whom was *šmꜥyt n Mnt, šmꜥyt n Tmn, Wl3y*.⁸ One son was a Lector Priest of Montu, and later the High Priest of Sobek.

The second wife's titles were *šmꜥyt n Tmn* and *šmꜥyt n Mnt, ḥsy 3 n Hwt-ḥr nbt Twnt*.⁹ Her name is a more difficult matter. There appear to be four different variants of the spelling; *Mwti3, Mꜥi3y, Mꜥi, T3i3y*. Davies assumes that the last versions are abbreviations of *Mwti3*.¹⁰ They had seven children. Three daughters have preserved titles: Aati, a *šmꜥyt* of Montu (DB

#604); Nesneb, a *šmꜥyt* of Montu (DB #605); and Ru, a *hmt ntr* of Tjenenet of On, the consort of Montu at Tod and Armant. One of Khonsu's sisters was a *šmꜥyt* of Montu, and three other individuals named in the tomb were chantresses of Montu as well.¹¹ Their relationship to Khonsu is unknown, but perhaps they were the daughters of siblings shown in the tomb.

An interesting feature of this tomb is the presence of two women called *hmt ntr* in the Montu procession; the one mentioned above and another woman whose name is lost and who served a cult also lost in the lacuna (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: XIV- XV). Both of these women were sisters of the *šmꜥywt* listed in the database as children of Khonsu and Mutia. They are accompanied by their *šmꜥywt* sisters in this register and the one above. They hold flowers, sistra, and a wand with a dish for incense offerings. The title *hmt ntr* is relatively rare after the Middle Kingdom.¹²

TT 32: Djehutymose. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 49-50; KRI III, 316-319; Kákosy, 1988, 211-216. DB ref. #693, 723.

The owner of TT 32 was a Royal Scribe, Steward of Amun, Mayor of Esna, Overseer of the Fields of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Overseer of the Granary of Amun. His wife was the *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, ḥsynt n Hwt-ḥr, 3st*. His mother was *šmꜥyt n Nbt-wtt* [sic],¹³ *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Hnwt-w3dbt*. There are only two devotees of *Nbt-ww* recorded in this study (DB #723 from this tomb and DB #854 from TT 183). Both date to the reign of Ramesses II.

TT 33: Padiamenipet. Saite; PM I.1, 50-56; LD iii, 244-245; Duemichen, 1884-1894.¹⁴ DB ref. #568, 569.

Padiamenipet was the Chief Lector Priest of Nekhbet. His wife was *šmꜣyt n imn, T3-di* and his mother was a *šmꜣyt n Imn, N3-mnh-3st*. This tomb contains references to two of the three Saite women in the database.

TT 39: Puimre. Tuthmosis III; PM I.1 71-75; *Urk.* IV, 520-527; Whale, 1989, 50-55; Davies, 1923a. DB ref. #260.

Of the two wives depicted, only one, Senseneb, bears titles: *dw3t ntr* and *šmꜣyt nt Imn*. She is the more prominently portrayed of two wives (Whale, 1989: 52). This may be because she was most likely the daughter of Hepuseneb (TT67 and Gebel el Silsila shrine 15; see below), a High Priest of Amun and a powerful official under Hatshepsut. Puimre was Hepuseneb's subordinate during the building of Deir el Bahari (Grimal, 1992: 212, 219). Therefore it is likely that Puimre married the daughter of his superior. On her father's monuments, however, she is the only daughter without the title *šmꜣyt n Imn*, referred to only as a *dw3t ntr*.

TT 40: Huy. Tutankhamun; PM I.1, 75-78; *Urk.* IV, 2064-2073 (792) esp. 2067.6; Hari, 1976, #294; (Nina) Davies and Gardiner, 1926. DB ref. #699.

The wife or sister of the Viceroy of Nubia, the King's Son, Huy, was a *šmꜣyt n Imn*, beloved of the good god, Kener (or Kel). There is no specified relationship between them, but she follows Huy's mother in the inscription, a place usually occupied by the wife.

TT 41: Amenemipet. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 78-81; KRI III, 308-316; Assmann, 1991b. DB refs. #880-882.

Amenemipet was a head steward in the temple of Amun. His wife and her mother were both *šmꜣwt n Tmn*, and his mother was a *šmꜣyt n Tmn, Mwt, Hnsw*.

TT 42: Amenmose. Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 82-83; *Urk* IV, 1507-1508; Whale, 1989, 120-21; Davies and Davies, 1933. DB ref. #266.

Very few reliefs survive, but the texts remain somewhat more intact. The wife of Amenmose, Henuttawy was a *šmꜣyt nt Tmn* and a *ḥsyt nt nbt Twnt*.¹⁵ She seems to have played an important role in the tomb. She is shown taking part in the ritual scenes of offering and adoring the gods with her husband.

TT 44: Amenemhab. Ramesses II;¹⁶ PM I.1, 84-85; El-Saady, 1996. DB ref. #503-511.

Amenemhab's wife and two daughters-in-law all bore the title *šmꜣyt n Tmn*. All six daughters were also *šmꜣwt*, but without a designated deity. His wife Isumut's full title was *nbt pr, šmꜣyt n Tmn m Tpt-swt ḥr s3 šmꜣ*.¹⁷ The reference to *ḥr s3 šmꜣ* is puzzling and is a designation otherwise unknown in this study. El Saady suggests that this means "the southern phyle" (1996: 43).

Because this woman is from Thebes it is possible that "south" was meant here. However, in the interpretation favored by the writer, the designation may refer to a "phyle of singers" rather than the south phyle, since *šmꜣ* can mean either (see also Section 7.I.)

TT 45: [Djehut. Amenhotep II] ~ usurped by Djehutyemhab in the reign of Ramesses II; PM I.1, 85-86; KRI III, 353-356; Davies and Gardiner, 1948. DB ref. #703-712.

The usurper Djehutyemhab completely redecorated one wall and inserted the names of his family everywhere else, including many *šmꜣyt*. This had the effect of obscuring the names and titles of the original figures decorated for Djehut.

The wife of Djehutyemhab was Baketkhonsu, a *šmꜣyt* of the Theban triad- Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. IV). In the main scene, she is one of two women who offer or shake sistra before a goddess who is now lost (probably Mut or Sekhmet). Elsewhere she is simply called a *šmꜣyt n Imn*. The daughters who are shown in the banquet scene are all *šmꜣywt*; Tyemheb, Nakhtmut, Henuttawy, Wer[nefert], Isisnefert, Irnefermut, Akhmut, and Isis. The last was named after Djehutyemhab's mother Isis, who was also a *šmꜣyt n Imn*.

Djehutyemhab's title "head of weavers" was apparently a modest occupation as only a small number of them are known to have had tombs. Those who did have tombs at Thebes had other titles that elevated their status (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 3).

TT 46: Ramose. Amenhotep III-IV; PM I.1, 86-87; *Urk.* IV, 1995 (753); Hari, 1976, #193. DB ref. #698.

TT 46's owner, Ramose, held the titles steward, and overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁸ Hari (1976: #193) gives the fullest account of his wife Neferetkha's titles; *šmꜣyt n Tꜥh-ms-Nfꜣrt-iry*, *šmꜣyt n I[tn]*, *ḥsyꜣt n Ḥwt-ḥꜣr*.¹⁹ This title is unusual in that she served the cult of the dead Queen and the Aten. This is the only example of a woman serving Ahmose-Nefertari. It is also one of the few references to the Aten.

TT 49: Neferhotep. Aye; PM I.1, 91-95; Davies, 1933. DB ref. #648-649.

Neferhotep was a superintendent of cattle and a chief scribe of Amun. Neferhotep's wife, Meryt-Ra and mother, Iwy, were both *šmꜣyt n Imn* (sometimes *Imn-m-ipt-swt*). Meryt-Ra was also a *ḥsyt* of Hathor, Lady of Cusae.

TT 50: Neferhotep. Horemhab; PM I.1, 95-97; *Urk.* IV, 2177-2179 (853) esp. 2178.15; Hari, 1985. DB ref. #584, 615-622, 754-755.

Neferhotep's wife, her mother, her grandmother, and their daughter were all *šmꜣyt n Imn*. Two of Neferhotep's sisters were *šmꜣyt n Imn*, as well as his mother and her two sisters, (his aunts) and two of his grandfather's sisters (his great-aunts).

TT 51: Userhet. Seti I; PM I.1, 97-99; KRI I, 333-341; Davies, 1927; Mond, 1905, 70. DB ref. #4, 623-624, 756.

There are four women with the title *šmꜣyt* in this tomb (Davies, 1927: 9-10). Userhet's wife was *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn*, *Ḥ3t-špswt* and his mother is identified as a *šmꜣyt n Mnꜥw T3-wsrt*. His mother-in-law was *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw nꜥrw*, *Ḥnwt-t3wy*, and a possible daughter-in-law, who is unnamed, was a *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn*.

TT 52: Nakht. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 99-102; *Urk.* IV, 1603f. (528); Whale, 1989, 188-189; Davies, 1917. DB ref. #2.

Nakht was a scribe and hour priest whose wife was *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn T3wy*. The wife of Nakht has a prominent place in the decoration of the tomb, being present in every scene, and sharing in

the offerings and rites depicted (Whale, 1989: 188-189). She is frequently shown holding a *menyt* and sistrum in these scenes.

TT 53: Amenemhet. Tuthmosis III; PM I.1, 102-104; *Urk.* IV, 1217-1225(362), esp. 1218.7; Whale, 1989, 97-100. DB ref. #264.

The tomb was fully decorated, but is now badly damaged and unpublished. The wife appears in many scenes, but had no titles (other than *nbt pr*). It was his mother, *Tti-m-ntr* who was a *šmꜣyt n Imn*.

TT 55: Ramose. Amenhotep III-Akhenaton; PM I.1, 105-111; *Urk.* IV, 1776-1790 (634) esp. 1780; Davies, 1941. DB ref. #491, 701.

The tomb of Ramose is one of the most famous and beautiful in the Theban necropolis. As briefly mentioned in Section 5.V.1.B, this tomb represents a transitional period from traditional to Amarna styles. Not only does the draftsmanship change, but so does the subject matter. It is only in the part of the tomb decorated under the reign of Amenhotep III that the family is depicted prominently. The absence of family and emphasis on the courtier's relationship to the king is characteristic of the new style and largely responsible for the lack of information on non-royal women in the Amarna age.

Ramose's wife Meryptah was a *ḥkrt nsw*, and a *šmꜣyt n Imn*, but everywhere the name of Amun has been effaced. Her parents were the *šmꜣyt n Imn Mꜣy*,²⁰ and Amenhotep, whom Davies identifies with an important and well-known Memphite official²¹ who held many titles.²² Because of the mother's association with Amun, Hayes postulates she may have been Theban (1938: 23),

while her husband was entirely Memphite. The name Meryptah also suggests a Memphite connection.

Ramose's father Neby was a northerner as well. His titles were superintendent of the cattle of Amun in the northern district and superintendent of the double granary of Amun in the nomes of the Delta. As a granary superintendent, Neby may have been a subordinate of Amunhotep who was a "granary overseer". Perhaps their children met and married with the influence of their parents. Amunhotep's close proximity to the king explains Meryptah's *hkr* *nsw* title, and the high level of his position explains the women's involvement with the official cult of Amun at this early stage in the evolution of the title.

Also depicted in the tomb is a choir (*šspt dh̄n n šm̄*) of three men followed by a butcher with a cow's head (Davies, 1941: 14, pl. XLVII). The song of the choir is recorded near them.

Another group consisting of three women offer a *menyt* and two sistra. They are labeled *šspt [dh̄n n šm̄wt?]* followed by what were probably the words for sistra and *menywt*. The rubric ends with the words *nt ʾmn-R̄* (Davies, 1941: pl. XVIII). The tomb also preserves a funeral procession of the type discussed in Section 3.III.3, but the mourners and women who attend have no titles.

TT 61 and TT 131: User (Amenuser). Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III; PM I.1, 123-125, 245-47;²³ *Urk.* IV, 1029-1043 (312-317); Whale, 1989, 55-58; Caminos, 1963, 57-63, pls. 45-47; Davies, 1943, ii, pl. 9; Davies and Gardiner, 1915, pl. 3c. DB ref. #261.

User was the mayor of Thebes and a vizier, as was his father before him. He had two tombs in the necropolis, an earlier tomb, TT 131, and TT 61. Just as in the tombs of Menkheperresonb (TT 86 and 112), the earlier tomb focusses on the duties of vizier, and the later on his family life.

User's family is depicted on the walls of his contemporaries. As TT 61 is unpublished, one must rely on depictions from TT 100 (Rekhmire), TT 82 (Amenemhet),²⁴ and User's own Gebel el Silsila shrine (number 17, Caminos, 1963). Of the seven daughters known from various sources, only one was a *šmꜥyt nt (Imn)*.²⁵ The wife and mother of User both left no recorded titles. The sons of the family were mainly *wꜥb* priests. This tomb presents an interesting situation. User was an influential person, yet only one daughter held a title.²⁶ This indicates a personal choice made by a family member rather than the family's influence or tradition being the deciding factor.

TT 65: [Nebamun. Hatshepsut?]- usurped by Imiseba, Ramesses IX; PM I.1 129-132; KRI VI, 544-553; LD iii, 256. DB ref. #726, 789-791.

The wife of Imiseba was a woman who held a rather long string of titles: *šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw, šhmt n Mwt m Isrw, ḥsy(t) ʿ3t n Ḥwt-ḥr ḥr ib ḏsrt, T(n)t-pꜣ-stꜣ*: the Chantress of Amun-Ra king of the gods, Sistrum Player of Mut in Isheru, Great Singer of Hathor of Deir el Bahari, Tjenetpasetja.

Imiseba's mother, Mutemeres, was also a *šmꜥyt n Imn* (as well as Mut and Khonsu in another text) and a *ḥsy(t) n Ḥwt-ḥr*. Two grandmothers are also named in the tomb. His paternal²⁷ grandmother was the *šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw Wīꜣy* and his maternal grandmother was *šmꜥyt n Imn nsw ntrw nb pt, Tꜥ-mt* -[lost] .

TT 66: Hepu. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 132-133; *Urk.* IV, 1576-1577 (517); Whale, 1989, 202-203; (Nina) Davies, 1963, pls. VIII-XIV. DB ref. #285.

The tomb is poorly preserved and bears traces of intentional damage (Whale, 1989: 202). Hepu's wife *Rn-n3y* was a *šmꜣyt nt (Imn)* and is represented in many of those scenes that survive.

TT 67: Hepuseneb. Hatshepsut; PM I.1, 133; *Urk.* IV, 469-489 (150-156); Whale, 1989, 25-27; Caminos, 1963, 42-45, shrine 15. DB ref. #257-260.

Hepusenb (TT67) was an important official under Hatshepsut (Grimal, 1992: 212), his highest position being that of high priest of Amun. Correspondingly, the women of his family were of high rank. Because most of the scenes from this tomb are destroyed and unpublished, the information about his family comes from Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15 (Caminos, 1963: 42-52, pl. 35-39). Hepuseneb's daughters were among the first New Kingdom women to hold the title *šmꜣyt*. From the shrine we know that three of his four daughters were *šmꜣyt n Imn*. The fourth, a *dw3t ntr (nt Imn)*, is known from another tomb, TT 39 of Puimre, where she is also a *šmꜣyt n Imn*. She is shown there as Puimre's wife. This is a very interesting case because she is the earliest attested holder of the *dw3t ntr* title, and it is the only 18th Dynasty non-royal attestation (Whale, 1989: 278, n. 23; Section 6.III.4.A).

TT 68: Paenkhemenu. Dynasty 20 ~ usurped in 21st Dynasty; PM I.1, 133-134; Seyfried, 1991; Černý, 1940, 235f. DB ref. #666-667.

Two phases of decoration reflect the original owner's and the usurper's wives' titles. The wife of Paenkhemenu, whose name is lost, was a *šmꜣyt n Imn*, *ḥsyt n Imn-Rꜥ*. This is interesting because *ḥsyt n Imn* is not a common title; Hathor or Mut are usually named.²⁸ The usurper's wife was also a *šmꜣyt n Imn*, *ḥsyt n p3 ꜥ n Mwt* named *T3-b3k-n-mwt*.

TT 69: Menna. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 134-139; *Urk.* IV, 1607-1609 (530) esp. 1609.6; Whale, 1989, 206-209. DB ref. #286.

While the tomb was fully decorated and much survives, it has not been fully published except in bits in various publications.²⁹ Menna's wife *Hnwt-t3wy* was a *šmꜣyt nt Imn*. She plays a substantial role in the tomb, being represented in most of the scenes. In addition, she was depicted with scribal outfits in two scenes, implying a degree of literacy (Bryan, 1985: 21, pls. 6, 7). Two of their daughters held interesting designations as well. One was *hsyt nt Hwt-hr*, *hkrt nsw* and the other a *hsyt n Imn*. Another woman, possibly one of the aforementioned daughters, was also a *šmꜣyt* but her name and the name of the god she served are lost.

TT 74: Tjanuny. Tuthmosis III-Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 144-146; *Urk.* IV, 1002-1018 (298-302); Whale, 1989, 192-193; Brack and Brack, 1977. DB ref. #283.

The wife of Tjanuny, named Mutiry, figured prominently in the tomb. This is no surprise since she held a number of high titles; they were *hkrt nsw šmꜣyt nt Dhwtj nb hmnw*, *hsyt nt Hwt-hr šmꜣyt nt Nhmt-ꜣw3y hryt-ib hmnw*. Judging by her titles, she was probably from Hermopolis, although her husband does not seem to have any links to the town.

TT 75: Amenhotep-sa-s. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 146-149; *Urk.* IV, 1207-1216 (360-361), esp. 1210.1, 1210.2, 1210.3, 1210.4 (360); Whale, 1989, 186-188; Davies, 1923b. DB ref. #278-281.

The tomb owner was a second prophet of Amun. His wife was a *hkrt nsw* and a *šmꜣyt*. Their three daughters were all *šmꜣywt nt Imn*. All four are depicted in a procession on the occasion of their father's induction as the second prophet at the temple (Davies, 1923b: 9, pl. XIV). His wife and three daughters wait with *menywt* and sistra in the garden in front of the temple. They are

larger than the others in the entourage, indicating their relationship to the inductee (see Section 3.III.7.)

TT 77: Ptahemhat. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 150-152; *Urk.* IV, 1599-1601 (525); Manniche, 1988, 7-18. DB ref. #683.

Ptahemhat held many titles such as child of the nursery, overseer of works in the temple of Amun, and fan bearer. His wife Meryt was a *šmꜣyt n Tmn*. Musicians and the Feast of the Valley are shown prominently in his tomb, but the wife is not part of the group of performers. Rather, she is the recipient of their musical blessings.

TT 78: Horemhab. Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep III; PM I.1, 152-156; *Urk.* IV, 1589-1596 (522) esp. 1596.19; Whale, 1989, 210-214; Brack and Brack, 1980. DB ref. #287.

The tomb was intentionally damaged, but it can still be seen that the wife was portrayed prominently. Itchwy was a *šmꜣyt nt Tmn-m-Ipt-sw* (Brack and Brack, 1980: 82, abb.2). She is shown making offerings with her husband. The tomb also contains two groups of singers, one male, one female (neither are referred to by title), whose song seems to be related to the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (ibid.: 29-30; Schott, 1952: 126, 132).

TT 80: Djehutmose, called Djehutynefer. Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 157-159, 217-218; *Urk.* IV, 1475-1476 (455) esp. 1476.13; LD iii, 271; Whale, 1989, 170-175. DB ref. #482.

Djehutynefer, a treasury scribe, had two tombs at Thebes – TTs 80 and 104. His wife is known from TT 104 where she was identified as *ḥsyt n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Twnt, T3-ḥꜣt*. In TT 80, Lepsius describes a small, unnamed figure as *sn.t.f ḥsyt n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Twnt šmꜣyt n* [rest lost] (LD iii, 271).

This may refer to a sister or a second wife named Meryt, who is also known from TT 80 and who is identified there specifically as a *ḥsyt nt Hwt-ḥr* but not as a *šm^cyt* in that inscription.

TT 82: Amenemhet. Tuthmosis III; PM I.1, 163-167; *Urk.* IV, 1043-1064 (318-322) esp. 1049.12; Whale, 1989, 60-68; Davies and Gardiner, 1915. DB ref. #262. (See also #261, a daughter of User (TT61) who is portrayed here.)

A large number of people in Amenemhet's extended family are recorded in this tomb, but it is from a statue (Berlin 2316; *Urk.* IV, 1049) that we know about one wife who held the title *šm^cyt nt Imn*. This tomb shows four generations and illustrates the difficulty encountered when dealing with Egyptian kinship terms and trying to unravel familial relationships.³⁰

TT 85: Amenemhab. Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II; *Urk.* IV, 889-922 (268-271) esp. 920.3; Whale, 1989, 123-128.³¹ DB ref. #831.

Amenemhab was a lieutenant in the army. His wife Bak was a *šm^cyt n Imn* and also a royal nurse and *ḥkrt nsw*. She held a series of "nurse" titles similar to the wife of Pesukher in TT 88: *mn^ct wrt n nb t3wy, ḥsyt ntr nfr, šdt ntr nfr, snk, ḥnm n Hr šnbt.s*: great nurse of the lord of the two lands, beloved of the good god, nurse of the good god, nurse, who nursed Horus with her breast. As a result of her relationship with the king, Bak has a prominent place in the tomb, and is even shown offering a bouquet directly to the king, as does her colleague in TT 88 (Whale, 1989: 124).

TT 86 and 112: Menkheperassoneb. Tuthmosis III; PM I.1, 175-178, 229-230; *Urk.* IV, 926-936 (273, 274); Whale, 1989, 100-104; Davies and Davies, 1933. DB ref. #265.

The earlier tomb (TT 112) shows Menkheperrasonob's family life whereas the later one (TT 86) shows only his official life as a high priest of Amun. Both male and female choirs of *šmꜥyt* are shown in Beautiful Feast of the Valley processions. Both tombs depict the festival musicians and record their song (see Section 3.III.2.)

A statue of Menkheperrasonob (CG 42125) says his mother was a *šmꜥyt nt [Imn-* name not preserved] (Legrain, 1906, vol. I, #42125).³² However, the two women who are elsewhere called his mother did not have that title, and a solution as to who actually was his mother is not evident. The attribution of this statue to Menkheperrasonob is in dispute (Whale, 1989: 102-103).

TT 88: Pehsukher. Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 179-181; *Urk.* IV, 1459-1463 (448) esp. 1460.9-11; LD iii, 272; Whale, 1989, 128-129; Virey, 1891, 286-310. DB ref. #481.

Pehsukher was a lieutenant of the king and a standard bearer of the lord of two lands. His wife Neith was a *šmꜥyt n Imn* but her other titles and epithets emphasize her duties as a *mnꜥt wrt n nb t3wy* "head nurse of the lord of the two lands". She also held the titles *hsy n ntr nfr*, *šdt ntr nfrt*, *snk hnm n šnbt* "beloved of the good god, nurse the good god, nurse, nurse of the breast".

If it is true that Pehsukher was the brother of Kenamun (TT 93) and possibly also Kaemheribsen (TT 98) (Whale, 1989: 158), then his mother would also have been a *mnꜥt wrt*. This supports the idea that the mother was important in choosing a son's wife from among her own social circle.

TT 92: Suemnut. Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 187-189; *Urk.* IV, 1449-1452 (443) esp. 1451.20; Whale, 1989, 175-178. DB ref. #276.

The tomb was fully decorated but is now damaged and missing scenes. Suemnut was a royal cup bearer, “pure of hands”. Suemnut’s mother was a *šmꜣyt n Dhwty*, which is interesting because most Theban attestations of the title include Amun. It is likely that the husband of this woman was connected to Hermopolis as the mayor of *Nfrwsy* [Balansurah] and hence her association with Thoth (Whale, 1989: 178).

TT 93: Kenamun. Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 190-194; *Urk.* IV, 1385-1407 (421); Whale, 1989, 153-158; Davies, 1930. DB ref. #275.

This tomb is very damaged due to malice and structural defects although Kenamun’s wife’s name and titles are preserved: *šmꜣyt n Imn T3-ddt.s*. Kenamun’s mother was a *mnꜣt nsw*, which accounts for his closeness to the king and his important title, chief steward of the king. Pehsukher (TT 88) was probably the brother of Kenamun (Whale, 1989: 158) and therefore also the brother of Khaemheribsen (TT 98).

The figure of a man tentatively identified as Mayor of This, Overseer of Priests of Onuris, Amenhotep is also found in this tomb (Davies, 1930: pl. XXXVIII; Van Siclen, 1979: 19). He and his wife (a *šmꜣyt n In-hrt*) are known from a British Museum stela and may have been the owners of now lost Theban tomb A19 (HTFES 8: 8-9, pl. 19; see below).

TT 96: Sennefer. Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 197-203; *Urk.* IV, 1417-1434 (432); Whale, 1989, 144-151; Virey, 1898, 1899, 1900. DB ref. #273, 277, 480.

Sennefer was a man with many connections in life and in the necropolis. The tombs of his father, the Royal Tutor Ahmose (TT 224) (Whale, 1989: 83-84; *Urk.* IV, 1432, 1434), and his brother the Vizier Amenemipet (TT 29), are both known. In addition, statues were found at Karnak that

belonged to the family of Sennefer (Legrain, 1906, vol. I: 76, pl. LXXV; *Urk.* IV, 1435-1436 (433)).

Sennefer's female relatives held high titles. Two of his wives were called *mnṯt nsw*,³³ and the third was a *šmṯyt nt ʿImn* named Meryt. She is the only one represented in the burial chamber, and does not appear in the vestibule. The other wives appear in the vestibule only. Two of his daughters were *šmṯywt nt ʿImn*, and another was a *ḥkrt nsw*; a fourth remains unnamed. One of the daughters who held the *šmṯyt* title, Mut-tuy, may have been married to Kenamun (TT 162) who held the post of *ḥ3ty-ḥ n niwt rsyt* after Sennefer (see TT 162). Sennefer's mother, whose name and title are not known in the tomb of her husband Ahmose (TT 224), and a sister-in-law both held the title *ḥkrt nsw*.

TT 98: Kaemheribsen. Tuthmosis II-Amenhotep II?; PM I.1, 204; *Urk.* IV, 1500-1501 (472); Whale, 1989, 130-131; Fakhry, 1934, 83-86. DB refs. #267-269.

The tomb is badly damaged and information on it is incompletely published. The tomb owner was a third prophet of Amun, and all the women in his family had high titles. His mother was a *mnṯt wrt nt nb-t3wy*, his wife was a *ḥkrt nsw*, *šmṯyt nt ʿImn*, and his two daughters were *šmṯywt nt ʿImn*. One was also a *šmṯyt n pr ʿ3 ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rḥ*: chantress of the funerary estate of Tuthmosis I. It is speculated that Kaemheribsen was the brother of Kenamun (TT 93) which would give us his mother's name, Amenemipet, lost in TT 98 but known in TT 93 (Whale, 1989: 130-131). If he is the brother of Kenamun, then he is also the brother of Pehsukher (TT 88).

TT 100: Rekhmire. Tuthmosis II-Amenhotep II; PM I.1, 206-214; *Urk.* IV, 1071-1174; Whale, 1989, 131-135; Davies, 1943. DB refs. #270-272. (See also #261, a daughter of User (TT61) who is portrayed here.)

Rekhmire's wife and mother were both *hkr̥t nsw* and three of his daughters were *šmꜥyt nt Imn*.

The tomb focuses mainly on the duties of the vizier, rather than family life. One scene on the north wall of the passage portrays an assembly of women holding sistra and *menywt* (Davies, 1943: pl. LXXI), one of whom is called *sꜥt.f šmꜥyt n Imn* [*Hnwt-tꜥwy?*].

TT 106: Paser. Seti I; PM I.1, 219-224; KRI I, 285-301; KRI VII, 15-18, 107-108. DB ref. #919, 920.

There is some confusion as to who Tiy (DB ref. #919) is in relation to Paser, Overseer of the City and Vizier. Tiy is referred to twice as *sꜥt.f* (KRI I 296.4-.5, 298.2-.3), but PM I.1, 219 lists her as his wife, and Kitchen assumes that *sꜥt.f* is in error. Another chantress, Naia (DB ref. #920), is called *snt.s* (.s referring to Tiy). Paser's mother, on the other hand, is quite prominent in the tomb. Her name and title, *wrt hnr̥t n Imn*, *Mryt-Rꜥ*, is mentioned with regularity.

TT 108: Nebseny. Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 225-226; Whale, 1989, 195-196. DB ref. #284.

The tomb is unpublished and little remains of the decoration. He was a high priest of Onuris and his wife was a *hkr̥t nsw*, *šmꜥyt nt Imn*, *Sn-snb*. She is shown prominently in the tomb taking part in offering rituals. This couple shows that the religious affiliation of the husband was not a deciding factor in the religious affiliation of the wife.

TT 111: Amenwahsu. Rameses II; PM I.1, 229; KRI III, 302-307. DB refs. #876-879.

Very little is left of the decoration in this tomb, but the names and titles of the women in Amenwahsu's family are intact. A stela from Tübingen (KRI III, 305-306) helps to complete the family information. His wife, mother, and daughter-in-law were all *šmꜥywt* as well as one other woman, whose relationship to the others is undefined. Amenwahsu was a scribe of divine writings in the temple of Amun and his father was an overseer of draughtsmen at Karnak.

TT 113: Kynebu. Ramesses VIII; PM I.1, 230-231; KRI VI, 440-447; Manniche, 1991a, 52-53, fig. 30; Cramer, 1936, 100f, pl. IX.1-2. DB ref. #727-730.

A statue group in Hanover gives the name and titles of the *wꜥb*-priest Kynebu's wife: *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw, sšst n Mwt, 3st* : Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Ra king of the gods, Sistrum player of Mut, Isis (Cramer, 1936: 100ff). Three of his daughters depicted in his tomb, Mutemwia, Anwedjameset, and Mutemipet, were also *šmꜥywt n Imn*.

TT 138: Nedjemger. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 251-252; KRI III, 383-387. DB ref. #724-725.

Nedjemger was the overseer of the garden in the Ramesseum in the estate of Amun. His wife Naushat, and daughter Baket-Mut, were both *šmꜥywt n Imn*.

TT 149: Amenmose. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 260; KRI III, 218-219; HTFES 12, 10-11, pl. 23. DB ref. #77.

While data on the actual tomb are not published, two stelae in the British Museum (BM 142 and 107) are thought to come from this tomb. Amenmose was the son of Nefertari, a *šmꜥyt n Imn*. He was a royal table scribe, overseer of huntsmen of Amun, and a steward of the temple of an unknown institution associated with Ramesses II (HTFES 12: 10-11).

TT 157: Nebwenenef. Ramesses II; KRI III, 282-291. DB ref. #731, 757.

Nebwenenef was the high priest of Amun, and high priest of Hathor Lady of Dendera, overseer of all the priests of all the gods, mayor, and hereditary nobleman. Nebwenenef's wife was a *wrt hnt Tmn, shmyt n Mwt, wrt hnt n Hwt-hr, smyt n 3st wrt, T3-hr*: Great One of the *Khener* of Amun, Sistrum Player of Mut, Great One of the *Khener* of Hathor, Chantress of Isis the Great, Takhat. The son and daughter of this couple served Hathor of Dendera as high priest and as *wrt hnt*. An unnamed woman who is probably a sister or sister-in-law of Nebwenenef, is labeled *snt.f smyt n Hwt-hr*. She is in the company of two women who were both called *wrt hnt n Hwt-hr*.

For a Theban family, they seem to have had many connections to the cult of Hathor at Dendera. Perhaps this was their home before Thebes. He left his mark on the west bank by building his own temple near the mortuary temple of Seti I (PM II², 421) in addition to his tomb. He must have been a man of significant political and economic stature.

TT 158: Tjanefer. Ramesses III; PM I.1, 268-271; KRI V, 400-412; LD iii, 240; Habachi, 1968, 107-113; Seele, 1959. DB ref. #628-635, 643, 681, 682, 785, 786, 788.

TT 148: Amenemipet. Ramesses V; PM I.1, 259-260; KRI V, 412-414; KRI VI, 90-94; Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, 161-180. Other discussions of the people depicted in both tombs: Polz, 1998, esp. fig. 6; Bierbrier, 1975, 5f; Schott, 1957. Most of the database entries have been assigned a date of "Ramesses III or later" owing to the multi-generational nature of the entries. Many clearly lived in more than one reign.

The powerful family of Tjanefer included no less than 14 *sm'ymt* who were directly, or by marriage, related to him. The tomb of his son Amenemipet (TT 148) is included in this summary

because some of the women are shown in both places. Also, the two women mentioned in the mortuary chapel of Paser at Medinet Habu (Schott, 1957) are included because they are related to Tjanefer's wife, Nefertari.

The parents of Tjanefer are known from a graffiti at Sehel left by Amenemipet, a brother of Tjanefer.³⁴ Their mother was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Hnwt-mtr*, and their father is identified as the High Priest Amenhotep (Bierbrier, 1975: 6; Habachi, 1968: 110, fig. 3). The tomb of Tjanefer contains depictions of many *šmꜥywt* including his wife Nefertari, a *wrt hnrt Tmn, šmꜥyt n [Tmn]-m-tpꜥt-swt* (KRI V, 409.15; Seele, 1959: 5-10, pls. 4, 26). Her brother Paser, Mayor of Thebes, was married to a *šmꜥyt n Hršf* and their daughter was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn* (Schott, 1957: pl. 1). Tjanefer had three sisters who were *šmꜥywt n Tmn*, and a sister-in-law who was a *šmꜥyt n Hnm*.³⁵ Tjanefer and his siblings belong to the reign of Ramesses III or slightly before as Nefertari's other brother, Amenmose, Mayor of Thebes, is believed to have been born in year 50 or 60 of the reign of Ramesses II (Bierbrier, 1975: 5).

The son of Tjanefer and Nefertari, Amenemipet, was buried in TT 148. Ramesses V is named in the tomb giving an indication of the date of TT 148's decoration (Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981: 164). His immediate family also contained a few well-titled women. His main wife *T3-mrt* was a *wrt hnrt [Tmn], šmꜥyt n Tmn-m-tpꜥt-swt* and a daughter of the High Priest of Amun-Re Ramessesnakht and the *wrt hnrt Tmn*, Adjetau. The in-laws figure prominently in Amenemipet's tomb owing to Ramessesnakht's powerful position.³⁶ Amenemipet may have had a second wife who was the *šmꜥyt n Tmn, T3-mit*.³⁷ His only recorded daughter was a *wrt hnrt Mwt*. Other female relatives depicted in the tomb include his sister-in-law Henut-tawy, *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn*, wife of Bakenkhonsu, Overseer of Cattle; his sister-in-law Sekhmet, *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn-m-tpꜥt-*

*swt*³⁸; his sister Tahenut-pameter, *wrt hnr Mnt nb Twnt*; his sister Hutiay, *nbt pr wrt hnr n Tmn m hnm-w3st* and his sister Heket (?) a *šm^cyt n Tmn*.

TT 162: Kenamun. Amenhotep II-Tuthmosis IV; PM I.1, 275-276; Whale, 1989, 183-186; Davies, 1963, 14f, pls. DB ref. #277.

While the tomb is very damaged, the name and title of the wife remains: *šm^cyt nt Tmn, Mwt-twy*.

It is possible that she was the daughter of Sennefer (TT96) and through marriage to her, Kenamun came to be the mayor of Thebes after Sennefer (Whale, 1989: 184).

TT 163: Amenemhet. Merneptah or later; PM I.1, 276; Assmann, 1979, 54-77, pls. IX-X.[SO4] DB ref. #641- 642.

Amenemhet was the mayor of Thebes. His wife was the *šm^cyt n Tmn, Ndm-Mwt*. Another woman whose name is mostly lost,³⁹ but was probably Amenemhet's mother, was also a *šm^cyt n Tmn*. The tomb includes a scene of a harper singing to the deceased, his wife, and his parents.

TT 168: Any. Rameses II; PM I.1, 278; KRI III, 300. DB ref. #875.

Any, God's Father of Amun, *w^cb*, and Lector Priest was married to Mery-nebu, a *šm^cyt n Tmn-m-ipt-sw*. Although little more than their names and titles survive, it is clear from the inscriptions that they both served their god at Karnak.

TT 178: Neferronpet (called Kenro). Ramesses II; PM I.1, 283-285; KRI III, 321-331, esp. 321.10; Hoffman, 1995. DB ref. #670, 926.

Neferronpet was a scribe of the treasury of Amun. The doorjamb of his tomb displays his wife's name and titles; *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Tmn, Mwt-m-wi3*. She figures prominently in decoration of the tomb. She is consistently shown holding a sistrum. Another woman depicted may be his mother.

TT 189: Nakht-Djehuty. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 295-297; KRI III, 348-353, esp. 349.7-13 and VII, 139-140. DB refs. #732-733.

Both wives of this man, Niwtemheb and Tenetpaibt, were called *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Tmn* in his tomb.

TT 194: Djehutyemhab. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 300-301; Seyfried, 1995. DB refs. #663-665, 702.

Djehutyemhab's wife, mother, mother-in-law, and a possible sister-in-law were all *šmꜣywt nt Tmn*. In fact, his mother was described as a *šmꜣyt n Tmn, Mwt, Hnsw*, and a *hryt šmꜣywt nt Tmn* (see Section 7.I.). The tomb is unusual for the fact that Djehutyemhab depicted his father-in-law and mother-in-law.

TT 206: Inpuemhab. Merenptah; PM I.1, 305-306; KRI IV, 179-180; Bruyere, 1952a. DB ref. #734.

Inpuemhab was a scribe of the royal necropolis and his wife was the *šmꜣyt n Tmn-Rꜥ, (Tnt)-Bdty*. Her title is actually known from a Deir el Medina stela (Bruyere, 1952a, season 1945-46: 58-59 and season 1946-47: 12, pl. 9).

TT 211: Paneb. Merenptah; PM I.1, 307-309; KRI IV, 189-193; Bruyère, 1952b, 82-87. DB ref. #655-656.

Paneb was a servant of the royal necropolis who lived at Deir el Medina. His wife was the *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, Wꜥbt*. Their daughter was the *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, Šrit-Rꜥ*.

TT 215: Amenemipet. Seti I; PM I.1, 311-312; KRI I, 381-389; Jourdain, 1939, 36, 48, pls. 29-30. DB ref. #657.

Amenemipet was a Gang Chief at Deir el Medina. His wife Hunero was a *šmꜥyt* of both Hathor and Amun.

TT 254: Amenmose. Ay-Horemhab; PM I.1, 338-339; Strudwick, 1996; Mond, 1905, 65-96. DB refs. #588-592.

Amenmose was a scribe of the treasury and a custodian of the estate of Queen Tiye in the estate of Amun. His wife was the *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, šmꜥyt n Tmn-m-ḏpt-swt, Dwꜣt-nfrt*. At least one identified daughter was *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Mwt-m-wiꜣ*. Three guests shown at the feasts in the tombs who held the title *šmꜥyt n Tmn* may be other daughters or daughters-in-law.

TT 255: Roy. Horemhab; PM I.1, 339-340; *Urk.* IV, 2174 (851); Baud and Drioton, 1957. DB ref. #675-677.

The wife of Roy is consistently referred to as *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, Nbt-tꜣwy*. She is also once called *wrt ḥnrt Mwt, ḥsy ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr* (Baud and Drioton, 1957: fig. 15-16, text 34). Nebtawy's husband was a royal scribe in the estates of Horemhab and Amun. In one scene she is shown with her husband offering to two god's wives, Ahmose Nefertari and Mutnedjmet, wife of Horemhab.

Another woman depicted in the tomb (either as Roy's sister or sister-in-law) was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn, wrt ḥnrt, Mwt-Bwy*. Her husband was the first prophet of Ahmose-Nefertari, providing a

context for the family's veneration of the dead queen, as well as for the veneration of Mutnedjmet, the queen under whose reign she lived. A third couple is pictured in the tomb, but their relationship to Roy is unknown. The man was a royal scribe and overseer of the two granaries of the king, Amenemipet, and his wife was *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn, Mwtj*.

TT 257: Mahu. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 341-342; KRI III, 377-378; LD III, 250; Mostafa, 1995.

DB ref. #583.

Mahu was a deputy of the Ramesseum, and a scribe of offerings. His wife was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn* named Tawert.

TT 263: Piay. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 344-345; KRI III, 380-383. DB ref. #735.

Piay was the chief of workshops of Amun in the Ramesseum. His wife was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn* named Webkhet.

TT 267: Hay. Ramesses III; PM I.1, 347-349; KRI V, 627-639; Valbelle 1975. DB ref. #653-654.

Hay was Deir el Medina villager and a maker of images of all the gods in the House of Gold, and a deputy of the workmen in the Place of Truth on the west of Thebes. His wife was the *nbt pr, šmꜥyt n Tmn, Hnwt-mtr*, and his daughter-in-law was *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Tmn m s3w tpy, Nbw-iiy*.

This reference to the phyle system is discussed in Section 7.I.

TT 282: Nakht-Min/Anhernakht. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 364-365; KRI III, 115-116; Habachi, 1976a, 113-116; Habachi, 1968, 107f. DB ref. #643-645.

Habachi ascribes this tomb to a man called Anhernakht known from three graffiti found at Sehel, although there has been a good deal of speculation as to what the tomb owner's name should be.⁴⁰ The Sehel graffiti was left jointly by himself and a man named Amenemipet who was the brother of Tjanefer (TT 158). It is from this source alone that we know the name and titles of Tjanefer's mother's (DB ref. #643; see also TT 148 and TT 158).

Based on Habachi's reconstruction of events, there are two *šmꜣwt* associated with Nakht-min/Anhernakhte. His wife's name is lost in the tomb but her title was *šmꜣyt n Tmn* in the graffiti (Habachi, 1968: 113). *T3-ndmt*, his mother who is known from other sources, was a *šmꜣyt n Tmn* as well (ibid.: 110).

TT 289: Setau. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 369-372; KRI III 80-111; Karkowski, 1981, 112-113; Habachi, 1981; Habachi, 1976a; Drenkhahn, 1975; Helck, 1975; Griffith, 1921, 87-88; Jacoby, 1900, 113-115. DB ref. #578, 607.

Setau is a well known figure from Ramesside times. He was the viceroy of Nubia under Ramesses II. Setau's mother was the *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, *ꜥ-n-wd3*. His wife was the *nbt pr hmt.f šmꜣyt n Nhbt*, *šmꜣyt n Tmn*, *Nfrt-Mwt*. She was also a *wrt hnt n Tmn*, and *wrt hnt Nhbt*. A number of sources including graffiti, stelae, and statues contribute to our knowledge of the variety of titles she held. The fact that she was part of so many large monuments along with her husband in the many places he dedicated things leads one to the conclusion that she enjoyed a high degree of respectability. Habachi speculates that she may have been related to Ramesses II because of a title held by Setau, "Father of the god and beloved of the god", which may have been the designation of the father or father-in-law of the reigning king (Karkowski, 1981: 137).

TT 294: [Amenhotep]/Roma. early Ramesside; PM I.1, 376; Strudwick, 1996. DB ref. #587.

The *w^cb*-priest Roma usurped the tomb of Amenhotep. Roma's wife was *nbt pr šm^cyt n Tmn*, *Hwt-hr*. Nothing further is known about this family.

TT 295: Djehutmose. Tuthmosis IV-Amenhotep III; PM I.1, 376-377; Whale 1989, 218-226; Hegazy and Tosi, 1983. DB ref. #288.

Even though representations of a number of women are preserved, only Renutet, one of two wives of Djehutmose, carried the titles *šm^cyt nt Tmn*, *hsyt nt Mwt*. An extended family is represented, including in-laws. The family tree is hypothetical, but Whale seems positive that Renutet was his cousin (1989: 224). She also believes there are only two wives, and not four as Hegazy and Tosi postulate (1983: 8).

TT 296: Nefersekeru. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 377-379; KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985. DB ref. #736-739, 832-833.

It seems that Nefersekeru, a royal scribe and deputy of the treasury, had three wives who were *šm^cywt*: Nefertari, who is portrayed prominently (e.g., Feucht, 1985: pl. XXIII), Nedjem-Mut who is secondarily significant (e.g., *ibid.*: pl. XVII and XXX), and a third, Kah, who is only known from the entryway inscriptions (*ibid.*: 19, 21 and pls. VI, VII). A daughter, Aset, was also a *šm^cyt n Tmn* and is shown mourning at the offering table of her father (*ibid.*: pl. XII). Two other daughters were *šm^cywt n Tmn*: Her-pery and Hunero are shown receiving offerings with their father (*ibid.*: pl. XXVI).

TT 324: Hatiay. Ramesses VI; PM I.1, 395-396; KRI VI, 359-60; Habachi, 1965; Davies and Gardiner, 1948. DB refs. #637, #740. (See also DB #639, a daughter-in-law depicted in the tomb of Penne, TT 331.)

Hatiay's mother was the *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn, ḥs(yt) n Hwt-ḥr, Nfrt-iri* (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XLI). His wife was the *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Imn, šmꜣyt n Mntw nb Twnt Twy*.⁴¹ Hatiay himself served Montu and Sobek. The wife is also mentioned in a Sehel grafito (grafitti no. 13c; see Habachi, 1965: 129, pl. 18.2, fig 6-c).

TT 331: Penne. Ramesses VII; PM I.1, 399; KRI VI, 418-421; Davies and Gardiner, 1948. DB ref. #639.

High Priest of Montu in Armant Penne and his wife Maiay, a *wrt ḥnrt n Mntw*, and a *šmꜣyt n (Imn)*, seem to have been very active in the cult of Montu (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XXXVI- XXXVII). Her mother was a *wrt ḥnr n Imn*. Her mother-in-law was a *šmꜣyt n Imn* (#637) and the wife of Hatiay (TT 324) if we assume that Penne was the son of Hatiay (PM I.1, 399).

TT 341: Nakhtamen. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 408-409; KRI III, 359-364; Davies and Gardiner, 1948. DB refs. # 742, #743.

Nakhtamen was the overseer of the offering table of the Ramesseum. His tomb contains scenes of male *šmꜣw* in the act of performing (see Section 3.III.3). The wife *Kmnꜣ* is also a *šmꜣyt (n) Imn*, although in most places her title is omitted.

There is also a *šmꜣyt n Imn, Rꜣi3* depicted at the head of the mourning procession. She is dressed more elaborately than the other women in the procession. It is suggested that she was a

professional mourner because the caption reads; *dd n n3 rmt nty m hiy hr h3t*- “said by the persons who wail at front” (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: p. 36 pl. XXVI).

One scene (ibid.: pl. XXVIII) shows the couple receiving offerings from their son and a group of musicians led by their daughter Bakenptah who plays the harp. They are followed by a small girl playing a gazelle-headed lyre. This figure has Bes tattoos on her legs and appears to be naked. Nakhtamen’s family seems to have been very musically oriented.

TT 345: Amenhotep. Tuthmosis I or III; PM I.1, 413-414; *Urk.* IV, 105-108, (41, 42) esp. 106.1; Whale, 1989, 87-88. DB ref. #263.

The traditional date of this tomb has been the reign of Tuthmosis I, but has been redated to the reign of Tuthmosis III as the title of the husband refers to the funerary cult of Tuthmosis I (Whale, 1989: 87, 284 n. 68). His wife, the *nbt pr, sm^cyt n Tmn, Rn3y* appears in many scenes with her husband. It is unpublished, and only partly decorated.

TT 359: Inherkha. Ramesses III-IV; PM I.1, 421-424; KRI VI, 183-199; Bruyere, 1933, 32-70, 84-90, pls. I, XXIV, fig. 17,18. DB refs. #744-747.

Inherkha was the pharaoh’s foreman in the Place of Truth, and buried at Deir el Medina. His wife’s name was *W^cbt* and she was a *sm^cyt n Tmn-R^c nb nsw t3wy*. In the tomb she is shown listening to a harper who is called a *hsy*. His mouth is open in one of the few scenes showing the performance aspect of the word *hsy*. Other women who appear in the tomb who held the title *sm^cyt* may be friends or relatives of the tomb owner; *sm^cyt n Tmn-R^c nb nsw t3wy, T3-nqm-m3^ct-r^c, sm^cyt n Tmn-R^c nsw ntrw, Nfrt-iry, and sm^cyt n Tmn, T3-b3-s3*.

TT 369: Kaemwaset. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 432; KRI VII, 158-159. DB ref. #748.

The wife(?) of Kaemwaset, the high priest of Ptah and third prophet of Amun, was the *nbt pr šmꜣyt n Tmn, T3-iwnw*.

TT 372: Amenkhaw. Ramesses III; PM I.1, 432-433; KRI V, 419-420; Spiegel, 1950, 257-281, plates. DB refs. #749, #750.

Amenkhaw was an overseer of craftsmen in the royal palace. His mother was the *šmꜣyt n Tmn M3ꜣt-Nfrt*, and his wife was the *šmꜣyt n Tmn Nfrt-iry-m-ḥb*.

TT 373: Amenmose. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 433-434; KRI III, 213-218; Seyfried, 1990; Habachi, 1976b, 83-103. DB refs. #668, #669.

In one text (Seyfried, 1990: [36(9)]) the royal scribe Amenmose's mother, Muteminet, bears the title *šmꜣyt n Tmn*. This woman was also called a *šhmyt n Tmn Mwt Hnsw* on an ancestor bust and a statue of her son (HTFES 12, 10, pl. 24-25). It is interesting to note that she was not called a *šmꜣyt* on those two monuments, and that she is not called a *šhmyt* where she is a *šmꜣyt*.

Amenmose's father's name indicates a connection with Tod (*Drty*), while his mother's name points to a Theban origin (Habachi, 1976b: 93). Amenmose left a number of monuments throughout the country; Thebes, Memphis, Qantir, and one found in Libya may have been carried there at a later date from the Delta. Amenmose's title and epithets, "royal scribe, one whom the king made as head of the temples", may explain how his name came to be on so many monuments around the country (ibid.: 95).

The wife of the usurper of the tomb (whose name is unknown) was also a *šmꜥyt n Imn*, *Ty-nt-....nw*. (Seyfried, 1990: text [92]). The usurpation was probably executed in Dynasty 20 (ibid.).

TT 384 Nebmehyt, Ramesses II; PM I.1, 436-437; KRI III 359; Fakhry, 1936, 124-126, tomb #1. DB ref. #751.

A ceiling text preserves the name and title of Nebmehyt's wife; *šmꜥyt n Imn m ḥnm-w3st* (the Ramesseum), *Bꜥkt-šḥmt*. Nebmehyt was also employed at the Ramesseum as a priest.

TT 385 Hunefer, Ramesses II; PM I.1, 437; KRI III, 163-164, esp. 163.15; Fakhry, 1936, tomb #2. DB ref. #752.

Hunefer was the mayor of Thebes and overseer of the granaries of the divine offerings of Amun. His wife Nehty was a *nbt pr*, *šmꜥyt n Imn*.

TT 387: Meryptah. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 439; KRI III 319-320; Rogge, 1990, lieferung 6, 91-100. DB refs. #245, #753.

Scribe of the Table of the Lord of the Two Lands in Karnak, Meryptah's mother(?) Kafy is seen on a statue now in Vienna (DB ref. #245) and is also mentioned in the tomb, but without her title *šmꜥyt n Imn* (KRI III, 320.10). Another woman, possibly his wife, is depicted in the tomb; *nbt pr šmꜥyt n Imn*, *nb[...]* (DB ref. #753).

TT 409: Simut, called Kyky. Ramesses II; PM I.1, 461-462; KRI III, 331-345; Negm, 1997. DB ref. #804-807.

Simut was an overseer of the cattle counters of the domain of Amun, but he was particularly devoted to Mut, as two long inscriptions dedicated to her prove.⁴² One of his wives held the title *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Rꜥi3y* (e.g. Negm, 1997: pl. VI-VII, X, XI) and also the variants *šmꜥyt n Tmn n Mwt* (ibid.: XIV-XV) and *šmꜥyt n Mwt* (ibid.: XXXIV, XXXV). Amun is mentioned more often than Mut in the inscriptions dealing with her, but perhaps her husband's affection for the goddess Mut influenced Raia's decision to include service to Mut in her titles.

Another woman, perhaps his mother (ibid.: 47), is mentioned on one of the four statues in the tomb: [*nbt pr*] *šmꜥyt n Tmn, Twt-wi3* (ibid.: pl. XXXIV-XXXV). A third woman, the *šmꜥyt n Tmn, T3-smnt*, may be a second wife. She is depicted with Simut in the frieze on walls E and G (ibid.: pl. XX-XXI, XXVI-XXVII) but not as frequently as Raia. A fourth woman may have been Simut's sister. The name *T3-wrt-ḥtpti* is found once with the title *šmꜥyt* (ibid.: pl. XX-XXI).

TT A17: Userhet. Ramesses III; PM I.1, 452; KRI V, 418;⁴³ Manniche, 1987, 78-79, fig. 68. DB ref. #815.

Userhet was a chief measurer of the granary of Amun. Fragments reconstructed in the Field Museum and Copenhagen show that his wife's name was Hathor and that she was a *šmꜥyt n Tmn* (Manniche, 1987: 78-79, fig. 68).

TT A19: Amenhotep. Tuthmosis IV- Amenhotep III?; PM I.1, 453; Van Siclen, 1979, 17ff; HTFES 8, 8-9. DB ref. #567.

The owners of this now-lost tomb recorded by Champollion (Not. Desc. I, 541) may be recorded in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93)⁴⁴ and on a stela now in the British Museum (BM 902 in HTFES 8: 8-9, pl. 19). The husband was an important man, being the mayor of This, overseer of priests

and high priest of Onuris. His wife was a *šm^cyt* of Onuris named Henut. (See also above in the tomb of Kenamun, TT 93.)

TT A24: Simut. Amenhotep III; PM I.1, 454; *Urk.* IV, 1950 (733); Wilkinson, 1883, vol. i, 381, fig. 156, ii, 107, fig. 365. DB ref. #792.

A team from Waseda University, Japan rediscovered this tomb in their 1988-89 season.⁴⁵ Most of the decoration recorded by Wilkinson and Champollion has been lost. Only the fishing and fowling scene remains, but it is heavily soot damaged (www.waseda.ac.jp/projects/egypt/sites/TT-E.html#Dra'Abu_alNaga).

Simut's wife Baky, a *šm^cyt n Imn*, is also known from a statue found at the Mut complex of Karnak (CG 932, Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 3, 161) and another of unknown provenience (CG 1107, Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 4, 60-61). The latter piece indicates that she was also a *hkr* *nsw*.

¹ Evidence is weighted toward the Theban material partly because of Whale's work on the family in 18th Dynasty tombs, which details many unpublished tombs including the titles of the women depicted therein. The bias is also a product of the good preservation conditions in the area, and the interest of excavators and visitors in exploring the area.

² The other tombs at Deir el Medina are TT 211, TT 215, TT 267, and TT 359 (detailed below).

³ For *wḏhw* vases, see Traunecker (1972: 195-236). Panehsy and his brother are also discussed in Section 3.III.5.

⁴ Fayza Haikal provides recent documentation on the hymn in this tomb (1985: 361ff), but no full publication of the reliefs and texts has appeared.

⁵ PM I.1, 38f calls her a "chief of the harīm of Sobk", but this title is not attested in the few publications relating to this tomb.

⁶ The designations "first" and "second" are here used to clarify individuals (following Davies), but there is no real evidence to put them in a sequence.

⁷ Her title is given as *šm^cyt n Mnt* in the family tree (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: 29), but it was not found in the published plates. Perhaps it appears on something not in the plates.

⁸ Again, Davies has given her the title *šm^cyt n Imn* (ibid.: 29), but it is not found in the published plates.

⁹ *Hsy ʿ3* only appears in Davies and Gardiner (1948: pl. XI), in the lower register along with mother Tausert and her daughter Wia. Here she is not called a *šm^cyt*, just *hsy ʿ3*.

¹⁰ This seems improbable, but no other solution presents itself. The variant *M^cisy* is found in contexts where only a wife's name would occur (ibid.: pl. XII, XIXa) and the representations indicate that they may be the same woman since the other people in the scenes with her are roughly the same. The rubrics for the women in the scenes of Tuthmosis's festival (ibid.: pl. XV) are mostly illegible but seem to refer to three different daughters named *M^cis*. Without better evidence it is impossible to draw further conclusions.

¹¹ *T3y-sn*, *Wr-nr*, and *Hnwt-nfrt* (Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. XV).

¹² Two Third Intermediate Period examples are documented (DB #s 201, 150).

- ¹³ The name of this goddess is usually *Nbt-ww* (Lanzzone, 1974: I. 351 ff). The extra “t” probably fills space or reflects the feminine aspect of the deity.
- ¹⁴ This publication does not refer to the women or their titles in any detail.
- ¹⁵ Whale translates both *šmꜣyt* and *ḥsyꜣt* as “priestess” in a general sense (1989: 120).
- ¹⁶ The tentative date of El-Saady is based mainly on art historical grounds (1996: 49).
- ¹⁷ This text is labeled 15a in the plates but called 15b in the text. The full version of her title only occurs here.
- ¹⁸ See also *Urk* IV, 2110 for a stela from Giza mentioning Ramose.
- ¹⁹ *Urk*. IV, 1995.12 (n. 753) publishes a slightly different restoration (*šmꜣ n T[nn?]*) from incomplete block fragments found at Karnak. Because of the date of the piece it could be read either way.
- ²⁰ May is also mentioned on a stela now in Cairo and originally published by Quibell (1912: 6, 146, pl. lxxxiv).
- ²¹ Hayes does not make the connection in his article dealing with Amenhotep which was published before Davies’ work in TT 55 (1938: 9-24).
- ²² His titles included: Attendant of the King, Overseer of Priests of the temple of Sekhmet, Leader of Festivals of Ptah-south-of-his-wall and of all the gods of Memphis, Overseer of works in *ḥnmt*-Ptah, Controller of Works, Treasurer of the House of Gold and Silver, Overseer of Craftsmen, Chief Steward, Granary Overseer, and Royal Scribe as well as variations of these titles and epithets that place him close to the king. It is interesting to note that none of these titles were ever present in the tomb of Ramose.
- ²³ Unfortunately, the PM citation for Säve-Söderbergh’s *Private Tombs at Thebes*, was never published.
- ²⁴ Rekhmire was probably the mayor and vizier who followed User in the job. Amenemhet was probably User’s steward, as he is called the counter of the grain of Amun and steward of the vizier.
- ²⁵ Her title is known from TT 82, TT 100, and Gebel el Silsila shrine 17, but not TT 61 or TT 131, which were owned by her father.
- ²⁶ This may be a result of preservation since the sources are so fragmentary and belong mainly to non-family members. The shrine may have recorded titles for daughters Amenemhab and Amenemweskheth, which are now lost, but they held no titles in any other source (TT 61, TT 82, TT 100).
- ²⁷ They are both clearly grandmothers, being the wives of *it it.f*. I have assumed that Wiay was the paternal grandmother since her husband shared Imiseba’s titles as well as his father’s. I have also assumed that the other couple represent the maternal grandparents rather than Imiseba’s great-grandparents, although they could easily be the latter.
- ²⁸ One other *ḥsyꜣt n Tmn* is known from the tomb of Menna (TT 69).
- ²⁹ See PM I.1, 134-139 for details of publications.
- ³⁰ A number of works deal with the issue of kinship terms including Willems (1983); Robins (1979); and Černý (1956-1957).
- ³¹ Whale does not include *šmꜣyt* among her titles.
- ³² *Urk* IV, 936.17 restores [*Tmn snt n nsw, Nbt-t3*], a rendering that is disputed (see Whale’s discussion, 1989: 102-103).
- ³³ Whale postulates that these two were sisters (1989: 151).
- ³⁴ They are also depicted in TT 148 but not explicitly identified (Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981: 164).
- ³⁵ The husband’s name is lost, but he could be the same brother who left the Sehel inscription. Since the woman’s affiliation with Khnum can be seen as an indication of a southern origin, perhaps he met her while there on business.
- ³⁶ An article by Polz (1998) furthers the geneology of the family of Ramessenakht.
- ³⁷ The identity of this woman is not certain. The author is inclined to see her as the wife of a brother or uncle as Gaballa and Kitchen speculate (Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981: 179-180). Her parents were likely the next couple in the scene: *wrt ḥnrt Tn-ḥrt, Tꜣwynš* and *imy-ist n Šw Tfnwt, ḥm ntr tpy Tn-ḥrt, Š3-ist* (ibid.: 164-165).
- ³⁸ She was probably married to Amenhotep or Djehutyhotep, but it is unknown which.
- ³⁹ Assmann reconstructs *Wj3jj (?)* (1979: 66-67).
- ⁴⁰ PM I.1, 364 calls him Nakht, Fischer calls him Hekanakhte (Habachi, 1968: 107), Manniche calls him Nakhtmin (1987: 141) as does Kitchen (KRI III, 115). They all seem refer to the same person as the three main titles from the graffiti, head of bowmen, overseer of southern lands, and fan bearer, match those of the owner of TT 282 and are from the same time period.
- ⁴¹ Her Amun title is known only from the triple statue (KRI VI 359-5). In the tomb (on a restored section of the fishing scene and on the ceiling bandeaux) and in the Sehel graffiti she is called a *šmꜣyt n Mnꜣw*.
- ⁴² See Negm, 1997, 1-3 for a bibliography of works dealing with those texts.
- ⁴³ Kitchen notes no title, but the figure in Manniche (1987: fig. 68) clearly shows it.

⁴⁴ The man and his wife are pictured on the east wall of the outer transverse hall behind the right hand figures of Kenamun and his wife.

⁴⁵ The Japanese designation for the tomb is W-6.

APPENDIX E

NOTES ON THE DATABASE AND REFERENCE LIST

The following table is a complete list of all the 861 references collected for this study. It is not meant to represent a comprehensive list of all known *šm'yt*, but rather a random sample group drawn from published data. The fields given in this appendix represent only the most basic information. Where other fields not shown in this chart have been relevant for this study (e.g. the familial information charts in Chapter 6), they have formed separate charts included in the chapters dealing with those topics. Following Chart 7 is an alphabetical list that is cross referenced with the women's database reference number (Chart 8). All references, regardless of whether they have previously appeared in any other chart are included here.

The list is meant to serve as a place to name all the *šm'yt* who did not appear in any other chart as well as a publication list. Multiple sources were sometimes used to fill in information about a woman and her family. Therefore, the publication information may contain references to works that make no mention of the *šm'yt* of that record, but rather to her family, and vice-versa.

The reference number assigned to each woman has no real significance other than to serve as a unique identifier for each entry. The reference list is arranged numerically for ease of consultation. Some reference numbers are missing due to later deletions or the merging of entries.

A word of clarification about the dating system is necessary. The numbers entered in the "Date" field are also unique identifiers corresponding to a particular period or reign. Therefore, an entry of "29" in the date field does not indicate Dynasty 29, but rather a period encompassing

Dynasties 22 to 30. This system was necessary to facilitate sorting the data chronologically. A

key to the meaning of those numbers follows.

<u>DB entry</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>DB entry</u>	<u>Date</u>
12	Middle Kingdom	19.9	19th - 20th D.
12.2	12th Dynasty	20	20th D.
17	Second Intermediate Period	20.1	Rameses III
18	New Kingdom (not specific)	20.12	Rameses IV
18.1	18th Dynasty (not specific)	20.15	Rameses III or later
18.2	Hatshepsut	20.16	Rameses VI
18.25	Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III	20.17	Rameses VII
18.3	Tuthmosis III	20.18	Rameses VIII
18.35	Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep II	20.19	Rameses IX
18.36	Tuthmosis III-Tuthmosis IV	20.2	Rameses XI
18.37	Tuthmosis III-Amenhotep III	20.9	late 20th D.-early 21st D.
18.4	Amenhotep II	21	21st D.
18.45	Amenhotep II-Tuthmosis IV	21.1	early 21st D.
18.5	Tuthmosis IV	21.2	early-mid 21st D.
18.6	Amenhotep III	21.5	mid 21st D.
18.65	Amenhotep III-Amenhotep IV	21.6	mid-late 21st D.
18.7	Amenhotep IV	21.8	late 21st D.
18.72	Tutankhamun	21.9	late 21st-early 22nd D.
18.75	Amenhotep IV-Aye	22	22nd D.
18.8	Horemheb	22.05	22nd D. or later
18.9	late 18th D.	22.1	early 22nd D.
18.95	late 18th D.-early 19th D.	22.2	Sheshonq I
19	19th D.	22.5	mid 22nd D.
19.05	early 19th D.	22.9	late 22nd D.
19.1	Seti I	23	Third Intermediate Period
19.15	Seti I-Rameses II	25	Late Period
19.2	Rameses II	26	Saite period
19.3	Merneptah	29	22-30 D.
19.4	mid-late 19th D.	30	30th D.
		31	Ptolemaic period

Ref. #	NAME	DEITY	LOCATION	PROV.	DATE	PUBLICATIONS
2	<i>T3wy</i>	Amun	TT52	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1603; Whale, 1989, case 75; Davies, 1917
4	?	Amun	TT51	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 333-341, esp. 337.6; Davies, 1927, pl. V
6	<i>N3š</i>	Amun		BM 9901	19.1	KRI I, 306-307, esp. 306.15; Robins, 1993b, 153; Quirke, 1993, 89
7	<i>T3^c-h^c</i>	Amun		Florence, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, 2591	19.9	Robins, 1993b, 170, fig. 73
9	<i>Tnt-Imn (T3-nt-Imn)</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, 170-173; Louvre 2562; Marseilles, Musee Borely 253/1; Berlin, Agyptische Museum 8	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 352; ibid. 1988, nos. 21, 285, 339; Piankoff, 1936, 49ff
11	<i>Tity</i>	Amun		BM 183	19.2	KRI III, 56-57; HTFES 9, pl. XV
12	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	Amun		BM 183	19.2	KRI III, 56-57; HTFES 9, pl. XV
13	<i>Mwt-nfyt</i>	Amun		BM 183	19.2	KRI III, 56-57; HTFES 9, pl. XV
14	<i>St-Mnty</i>	Amun		BM 183	19.2	KRI III, 56-57; HTFES 9, pl. XV
15	<i>Hwnry</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore	Sedment (CG 605)	BM 183 and Cairo CG 605	19.2	KRI III, 56-57; HTFES 9, pl. XV
16	<i>Pry</i>	Pre	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 124.13; HTFES 9, pl. XX
17	<i>T3-wr(t)-m-hb</i>	Pre	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 124.13-14; HTFES 9, pl. XX
18	<i>Pry</i>	Amun	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 125.1; HTFES 9, pl. XX
19	<i>Twyš</i>	Amun	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 125.2; HTFES 9, pl. XX
20	<i>B3k(t)-Imn</i>	Pre	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 125.5; HTFES 9, pl. XX
21	<i>Twnw-ry</i>	Pre	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 125.5; HTFES 9, pl. XX
22	<i>Ppy</i>	Amun	Abydos or Memphis?	BM 139	19.3	PM II, 808; KRI IV, 124-125, esp. 125.6; HTFES 9, pl. XX
23	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	Pre	Memphis?	BM 164	19.2	HTFES 9, pl. XXIIa-XXI; Cramer, 1936, 54
24	<i>Pi</i>	Pre	Memphis?	BM 164	19.2	HTFES 9, pl. XXIIa-XXI; Cramer, 1936, 54
25	<i>Mrt-R^c</i>	Pre		BM 166	19.2	HTFES 9, pl. XXII

26	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore	Memphis?	BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 206.10, 207.11; HTFES 9, pl. XXIII
27	<i>Yy</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore	Memphis?	BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 206.9, 207.15; HTFES 9, pl. XXIII
29	<i>Pp</i>	Amun		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	HTFES 9, pl. XXV
30	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Mut		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 207.12; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
31	<i>Tniw-h3y</i>	Hathor		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 206.6; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
32	<i>T3-sw-ri</i>	Amun		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 207.14; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
33	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 207.15; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
35	<i>P[wr]y</i>	Amun		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 207.15; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
36	<i>T3-wr(t)-htp-t</i>	Amun		BM 167 and BM 149	19.2	KRI III, 207.15-.16; HTFES 9, pl. XXV
37	<i>K3-nhbt</i>	Amun		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.11; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
38	<i>B3k-wrnr</i>	Bastet		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.11; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
39	<i>Hnwt-Iwnw</i>	Bastet		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.12; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
40	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.12; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
41	<i>T3-h'(t)</i>	Bastet		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.16; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
42	<i>Nfrt-iiṯ</i>	Bastet		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 123.16; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
43	<i>T3ri3</i>	Bastet		BM 154	19.3	KRI IV, 123-124, esp. 124.1; HTFES 9, pl. XXVII; Brunner, 1959, 3-5
44	<i>3st</i>	Isis		BM 132	19	KRI III, 376.3-.4; HTFES 9, pl. XLV n.1
45	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>	Wepwawet		BM 792	20.19	HTFES 10, pl. 44.2, 45.2; Lieblein, no. 1002
46	<i>3st</i>	Wepwawet		BM 792	20.19	HTFES 10, pl. 44.2, 45.2; Lieblein, no. 1002
47	<i>T3-ky</i>	Wepwawet		BM 792	20.19	HTFES 10, pl. 44.2, 45.2; Lieblein, no. 1002

48	<i>Tpt-nfrt</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
49	<i>Hnwt-dww</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
50	<i>N3^c</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
51	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
52	<i>Ty-nfr.ti</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
53	<i>T3-^ck3y</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
54	<i>3st</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
55	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
56	<i>T3-n-shrry</i>	Amun	Abydos?	BM 161	19	PM V, 96; HTFES 10, pl. 52-53
57	<i>B3k(t)-^cnht</i>	Isis	Memphis/ Saqqara or Iseum	BM 1465	19.9	PM III, 759; HTFES 10, pl. 93
58	<i>^c33t-nbw</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
59	<i>Ty</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
60	<i>Wrt-nfrt</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
61	<i>B3kti3</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
62	<i>Hry</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
63	<i>Nbt-wnw</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
64	<i>3st</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
65	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Thoth	Hermopolis?	BM 1680	19.9	HTFES 10, pl. 96-97
66	<i>Is3y (Hn3y)</i>	Banebdjed	Mendes or Hermopolis Parva?	BM 312	19.9	HTFES 10, pl. 98; Lieblein no. 948
67	<i>T3-b3-s3</i>	Thoth, arbitrator of the two combatants	Mendes or Hermopolis Parva?	BM 312	19.9	HTFES 10, pl. 98; Lieblein no. 948
68	<i>T3-bw-b3</i>	Pre		BM 1183	20.1	KRI V, 396, esp. 396.8-.9; HTFES 10, pl. 99
69	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		BM 1183	20.1	KRI V, 396, esp. 396.8-.9; HTFES 10, pl. 99
70	<i>T3-wr(t)</i>	Amun		BM 327	19	HTFES 10, pl. 100; Lieblein no. 951

71	<i>ʿn-t3-ḥytw</i>	Amun		BM 327	19	HTFES 10, pl. 100; Lieblein no. 951
72	<i>š...</i>	Amun		BM 35895	23	HTFES 11, pl. 4.1
73	<i>T3y-iw-šri</i>	Amun		BM 8447	23	PM II, 808; HTFES 11, pl. 10.1; Munro, 1973, 12, pl. 1, abb. 2
74	<i>Ns-tr-n-m3ʿt</i>	Montu, lord of Thebes	Thebes	BM 8450	23	HTFES 11, pl. 16.1
75	<i>Dniw-n-Ḥnsw</i>	Amun Re		BM 27332	23	HTFES 11, pl. 18.1; James, 1985 no. 80
76	<i>Hwt-ḥr</i>	Horus of Behdet, Amun	Abydos	BM 1654 and Museo Egizio, 1465	19.2	KRI III, 444; HTFES 12, 10, pl. 21; Ruffle and Kitchen, 1979, 55-74; Frankfort, 1928, 243
77	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	Thebes? TT149	BM 142 and 107	19.2	KRI III, 218-219, esp. 219.3; HTFES 12, 10-11, pl. 23
80	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun	Abydos	BM 288	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 59.1
81	<i>T3-nḥs</i>	Amun	Abydos	BM 288	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 59.1
82	<i>T3-k3ri3</i>	Amun	Abydos	BM 288	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 59.1
83	<i>T3-nt-ḥr-tw-y-st?</i>	Amun		BM 292	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 59.2
84	<i>Twy</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycamore	Abydos	BM 309	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.1
85	<i>Wrt-w3ḥ-sw</i>	Amun		BM 349	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.2
86	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>			BM 349	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.2
87	<i>3st</i>			BM 349	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.2
88	<i>Ḥʿt-b3ḥt</i>			BM 349	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.2
89	<i>Ini-ḥ3y</i>			BM 349	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 61.2
90	<i>Hnr</i>	Amun		BM 549	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 63
91	<i>Twy</i>	Amun		BM 351	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 67.1
92	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun		BM 351	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 67.1
93	<i>B3k-n-Imn</i>	Amun		BM 351	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 67.1
94	<i>Tyi3y</i>	Amun		BM 351	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 67.1
95	<i>...Mwt</i>	Amun		BM 351	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 67.1
96	<i>Ḥnwt-t3-nb</i>	Amun		BM 700	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 71.2; Moss, 1941, 9, pl. II
97	<i>T3-nfrt</i>	Amun		BM 474	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 75; Vandier, 1958, 474 n.8;
98	<i>B3k-wrn</i>	Montu		BM 474	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 75; Vandier, 1958, 474 n.8;
99	<i>T3y-bs</i>	Thoth	Serabit el Khadim	BM 1831	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.1; Gardiner, et.al., 1952-1955, vol. I, pl. lxxvi, vol. II, 193 n.295
100	<i>T3y-ʿky</i>	Thoth	Serabit el Khadim	BM 1831	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.1; Gardiner, et.al., 1952-1955, vol. I, pl. lxxvi, vol. II, 193 n.295
101	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Wepwawet		BM 1184	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.2
102	<i>Šḥmt</i>	Wepwawet		BM 1184	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.2
103	<i>Ḥpt-disw</i>	Wepwawet		BM 1184	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.2

104	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Wepwawet		BM 1184	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.2
105	<i>Nb(t)-t3wy</i>	Wepwawet		BM 1184	19.9	HTFES 12, pl. 85.2
106	<i>Dw3t</i>	Amun		BM 460	19	HTFES 12, pl. 92-95; Vandier, 1958, 442, 651; Helck, 1960, 45
107	<i>T3-b3-st</i>	Amun Re		Aarhus, University collection	21.5 ?	Niwiński, 1988, no. 1
108	?	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Alexandria, Graeco- Roman Museum, 461	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 4; D.L. A.75
109	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis, 79.1.465 AV	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no. 6
110	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt</i> (<i>T3-nt-b3k-n-</i> <i>Mwt</i>)	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 3335	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 8; D.L. A.76
111	<i>Tw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 3337	21	Niwiński, 1988, no. 10; D.L. A.73
112	<i>Tnt-ry</i> (<i>T3-nt-</i> <i>ry</i>)	Amun		Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 3408, 3409, 3409a ANE	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no. 14; D.L. A.72
113	<i>Hnwt-nfr</i>	Amun Re		Bergamo, Museo Civico	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no. 20
115	<i>T3yw-hrt</i>	Amun Re	Thebes	Berlin (east), Ägyptisches Museum, 28	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 22
116	<i>Diw-Mwt-(r)-</i> <i>iwdw</i>	Amun Re		Berlin (east), Ägyptisches Museum, 58 and 1075	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no. 24
117	<i>3h-Mwt-^cwy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Berlin (east), Ägyptisches Museum, 11981- 11983	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no. 34; D.L. A. 91
118	<i>1...</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Berlin (east), Ägyptisches Museum, 11986	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no. 36; D.L. A.59
119	<i>T3yw-hnwt</i>	Amun		Bolton, City Museum, 69.30	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 43
120	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Khonsu	TT60	Boston, MFA, 54.639-40	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 44
121	<i>1-t3-Mwt</i>	Amun		Bristol, City Museum and Art Gallery H.4633	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no. 46
122	<i>T3-wsrt-m-pr-</i> <i>nsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Brussels, Musee du Cinquantenaire, E.5884, E.5909	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 51; D.L. A.2
123	<i>Thy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Brussels, Musee du Cinquantenaire, E.5887	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no. 52; D.L. A.51

124	?	Amun		Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum 51.2093	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.59
125	<i>Ns-t3-ntr</i>	Amun		Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum 51.2096	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.62
126	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>	Amun	Royal Cache at Deir el Bahari	Cairo, JdE 26196	21.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.64
128	?	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus?	Cairo, 29622	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.85; D.L. A. ...
130	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29632, 29713 and S.R.IV.544=J36456, CG 6030-6031, 6040	21.6	Niwiński, 1989, 257; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988 no. 90
131	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29634, CG 6007	21.6	Niwiński, 1988 no.91; D.L. A.48
132	<i>3sty</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29654, CG 6161, 6164-6165, 6198-6199	21.8	Niwiński, 1988 no.99; D.L. A.66
133	<i>Nsy-t3-nb- r'wy</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29656; CG 6048-6052	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.100; D.L. A.64
135	<i>Dd-m3't-iw.s- 'nh</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29660; S.R.IV.542= J95645; S.R.IV.553= J95655; CG6213- 6214, 6182-6184	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 256, 259; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 103
136	<i>H3's</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29665. CG 6115-6116, 6075- 6077	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.108;D.L. A.102
137	<i>My-3m-rdwy- sktb?</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29667, CG 6229-6232, 6238	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.110;D.L. A.111
139	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29671 and S.R.IV.555=J95657 CG 6123-6125, 6142-6143	21.6 or 21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 259; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no.114
141	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s- 'nh</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29679; CG 6113-6114, 6088- 6090	21.2	Niwiński, 1988, no.117;D.L. A.150
142	<i>Nsy-t3-nbt- t3wy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29685, CG 6055-6056, 6058- 6060	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.121; D.L. A.77
144	<i>'nh.s-n-3st</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29708, CG 6032-6034	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.130; D.L. A.78
145	<i>3bty</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29711, CG 6027-6029	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.132;D.L. A.86
146	<i>Nsy-t3-nbt- t3wy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29716, CG 6245-48, 6237	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.134; D.L. A.88
147	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>		Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29717, CG 6005, 6010	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.135; D.L. A.100

148	<i>K3b-st-nbw?</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29725, CG 6254, 6239, 6225, 6255	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.137; D.L. A.1
149	<i>T3-wd3t-R^c</i>	the pure foundation of Ptah, Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29737, CG 6278-6282	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, pp 295, 297; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 143
150	<i>Hryw-wbn</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29738; and S.R.VII.10254=J319 86, S.R.VII.10256=14.7 .35.6, CG 6273-6277	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.144; <i>ibid.</i> , 1989, 284-285; Terrace and Fischer, 1970, n. 35
151	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, 29740, CG 6006-6008	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.145; D.L. A.62
152	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT 60	Cairo, 49100-49102	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.146
153	<i>3st</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo (none), CG 6162-6163, 6195	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.151; D.L. A.130
154	<i>T3yw-hnwt</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo (none)	21.2	Niwiński, 1988, no.155; D.L. A. ...
155	?	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cleremont-Ferrand, Musee d'Art 3126-3127/894-426-1 & 8128/894-426-2	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.159; D.L. A.89
156	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re		Cleveland, Museum of Art CMA 14.714	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.161
157	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Cleveland, Museum of Art CMA 21.1029	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.162
158	<i>T3-n-pr-ms</i>	Amun		Cleveland, Museum of Art CMA 21.1029	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.162
159	<i>T3yw-hry</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet 3912	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.167; D.L. A.19
160	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 63	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.169
161	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Cracow, Muzeum Archeologiczne AS/2442	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.173
162	<i>Mwt-ipt</i>	Amun		Cracow, University Museum UJ.10628	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.174
163	<i>Twf-n-Imn int-wr-hk3t</i>	Amun	Akhmim?	Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1907.569 a-b	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.183
164	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT83	Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1956.354, 354a	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.184

165	<i>ḥnh.s-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Florence, Museo Archeologico 8523 and others	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.189; D.L. A.60
166	<i>?Dd-mwt-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Florence, Museo Archeologico 8524	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.190; D.L. A.15
168	<i>T3y-k3y</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Frankfurt/Main, Liebieghaus 1651 a-f	19	Niwiński, 1988, no.195
169	<i>Bwt-{irw}-ḥḥr-Hnsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire 163, 163 ter. (12454)	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.197; D.L. A.52
170	<i>Tnt...</i>	Amun		Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-arts, 1988,1993,3629	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.198
171	<i>T3-n3ḥt-n-t3-ḥ3ḥt</i>	Amun		Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-arts, 1997, 2046, 3759, 3760	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.199
172	<i>Hnwt-t3-?-nb</i>	Amun		Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-arts, 2000	21.1?	Niwiński, 1988, no.201
173	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-arts 2031	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.202
174	<i>H3t-ṣpswt</i>	Amun		Grenoble, Musee des Beaux-arts 3572	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.203
175	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun		Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 3100	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.206
176	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Istanbul, Arkeoloji Muzeleri 10872	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.210; D.L. A.45
177	<i>Hryt-Mwt-lḥ-ms</i>	Amun		Jersey, Jersey Museum (none)	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.213
178	<i>G3wt-ssn</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F.93/10.1a and Cairo, S.R.IV.1001and S.R.VII10221	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 271, 273; ibid., 1988, no.228
179	<i>Nsy-t3-nb-t3wy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F.93/10.2a-b	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.229; D.L. A.6
180	<i>Tnt-pn-hrw-nfr (T3-nt-p3-hrw-nfr)</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F.93/10.3a-b	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.231; D.L. A.47
181	<i>(Nsy)t3-nbt-iṣrw</i>	Amun		Leningrad, Hermitage 778	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.235

182	<i>Šd-sw-t3-ipt</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Lisbon, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (none)	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.246; D.L. A.110
183	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Lisbon, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (none)	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.247; D.L. A.136
184	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun		Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum M.13994	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.249
185	<i>3st</i>	Amun		Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum M.13998	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.250
186	<i>K3t-bt</i>	Amun		BM 6665	18.9	Niwiński, 1988, no. 254
187	<i>Mwt-n-ipt</i>	Amun		BM 15656	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.257
188	<i>Nsy...</i>	Amun		BM 15659	21.1?	Niwiński, 1988, no.259
189	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun		BM 22941	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.262
190	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		BM 22941	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.262
191	<i>Tnt-ḥn-f (T3-nt-ḥn.f)</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	BM 24791, 24791a, 24796	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.265; D.L. A.44
192	<i>T3-ḥwty</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	BM 24793, 24794, 24795	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.267; D.L. A.32
193	<i>Mwt-ḥtp</i>	Amun		BM 29579	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.269
194	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun		BM 35287, 36211	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.271
195	<i>Hnwt-mḥyt</i>	Amun		BM 48001, 51101	19	Niwiński, 1988, no.274; Robins, 1997, fig. 221
196	<i>Rw-rw?</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 18254	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.281; D.L. A.14
197	<i>Thy (3st-m-3ḥbit)</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 18257; Cairo, S.R.VII.11490=14.7.35.1	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 293; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no.284; D.L. A.58
199	<i>Hryt-wbḥt</i>	Amun		Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, AS 12, 12b	21.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.289
200	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, AS 57	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.291
201	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun	TT60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.1-3	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.308
202	<i>ḥnh.s-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.5, 25.3.13-14	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.309

203	<i>T3-b3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.10-12	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.311
204	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	TT60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.15-16	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.312
205	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT59	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.182-184	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.313
208	<i>Ns-t3-wd3t-3h</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	coffin in Odessa, Archaeological Museum, 52976; papyri in Cairo, S.R.IV.558=J95660 and S.R.VII.11497	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 260, 296; ibid., 1988, no. 317
209	<i>Hnmm-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	Amun		Padova, Museo Civico, 84889	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.324
210	<i>Tnt-n3w-hrrw</i>	Amun		Paris, Louvre, E13027, E13034, E13035, E22343	21.2	Niwiński, 1988, no.328
212	<i>Tnt-šd-Mwt</i>	Amun		Paris, Louvre, 2612	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.342
213	<i>T3-Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		Paris, Louvre, N2571, N2598, N2620, N2623, N2631	19	Niwiński, 1988, no. 343
214	<i>Hnmm-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Paris, Louvre, AF9591	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.347
215	<i>Hnwt-nht</i>	Khnumet?		Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen, (none)	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.354
216	<i>Nsy-prw-nbw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, NME 895 (=32003)	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.366; D.L. A....
217	<i>Mrw-^ch</i>	Amun Re		Sydney, University, Nicholson Museum 27	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.369
218	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun		Tubingen, Sammlung der Universität 454	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.376
219	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re		Turin, Museo Egizio, 2217, Cairo, CG 10110	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.378

220	<i>T3-b3k(t)-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re		Turin, Museo Egizio, 2226, Cairo, CG 10104a-b, 10105	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.382
221	<i>T3-b3k(t)-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re		Turin, Museo Egizio, 2227, Cairo, CG 10115	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.383
222	<i>T3-Mwt.f</i>	Amun		Turin, Museo Egizio, 2228; Cairo, CG 10119a-b, 10120	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.384
223	<i>Mwt-n-pr-Tmn</i>	Amun	Deir el Medina	Turin, Museo Egizio, suppl. 7715; CG 10108a-b	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.388
224	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw-ḥnh</i>	Amun		Uppsala, Victoriamuseet B.59	21.9	Niwiński, 1988, no.394
225	?	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Uppsala, Victoriamuseet VM 152 (NME893)	21.8	Niwiński, 1988, no.396; D.L. A.80
226	<i>T3yw-ḥry</i>	Amun		Uppsala, Victoriamuseet VM 153	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.397
227	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun		Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.400
228	<i>Hnm-Hnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Amun		Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.401
229	<i>Thy</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.403; D.L. A....
230	<i>T3-ḥbt</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio	21.6	Niwiński, 1988, no.404; D.L. A....
231	<i>T3-ḥmt-n-Mwt</i>	Amun		Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, AOS 228	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.407
232	<i>T3-b3kt-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, AOS 6264-6266; Cairo S.R.VII.10222	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 274; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 414
233	<i>T3yw-ḥt</i>	Amun		Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, 141988	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.420
234	<i>T3-nt-Hnsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Washington, National Museum of Natural History, 154953, 154954, 365 000	21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.423; D.L. A.53
235	<i>T3-ḥd-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	unknown	21	Niwiński, 1988, no.434; D.L. A.138
236	<i>Hnwt-mr</i>	Amun	TT97	unknown	21.1?	Niwiński, 1988, no.441
237	<i>Nft-iry</i>	Amun	TT97	unknown	21.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.446

238	<i>T3-ist-ir-Mwt-t3-wr</i>	Amun	TT97	unknown	21.1?	Niwiński, 1988, no.447
239	<i>Šbty</i>	Amun			21.5	Niwiński, 1988, no.458
240	?	Amun Re		Cuba, La Habana, Museo Nacional 28	23	Lipinska, 1982, 66-67
241	<i>T3-šbt</i>		TT192	Cuba, La Habana, Museo Nacional 524/1-3	22	Lipinska, 1982, 132-137; Habachi, 1958, 338-341, 350
243	<i>Mwt-ir.t-di.s</i>	temple of Hathor	Dendera	Boston MFA, 98.1046	26	Leprohon, 1978, 45-48; Munro, 1973, 256; Petrie, 1900, pl. XXV
244	<i>Ns-Hnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Amun	Thebes	Boston, MFA 04.1763	22	D'Auria, et. al., 1988, 164-65. n. 118; Leprohon, 1978, 64-66
245	<i>K3fy</i>	Amun	TT387	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄOS 48	19.2	Rogge, 1990, Lfg. 6, 91-100
246	<i>T3-šryt-n(t)-3st</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄOS 5912	21	Rogge, 1990, Lfg. 6, 179-182; Habachi, 1947, 261-283
247	<i>T3-mi3t</i>	Amun		Louvre, C.148	19.2	KRI III, 219-220, esp. 220.7; Lowle, 1979, 50-54
248	<i>Nbwt-m-wšht</i>	Sobek		Louvre, C.148	19.2	KRI III, 219-220, esp. 220.8; Lowle, 1979, 50-54
249	<i>Pwyw</i>		Saqqara	Cairo, JdE 27958; R14, N6 on ground floor	19	Gaballa, 1979, 42-49.
250	<i>Tint...</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Cairo, JdE 27958; R14, N6 on ground floor	19	Gaballa, 1979, 42-49
251	<i>M'3ny</i>	Osiris, Isis	Abydos	Yale University Art Gallery, YPM 2657; Cairo, JdE 35258, JdE 32025, CG 34505; Louvre A.66	19.15	KRI III, 447-463, esp. 450.7, 455.12; Scott, 1986, 124 n. 71; Gaballa, 1979, 42-49
253	<i>Twy</i>	Amun		Avignon, Musée Calvet, A4	19.2	KRI III, 191-195, esp. 192.16; Ruffle and Kitchen, 1979, 55-74
254	<i>ly3</i>	Sobek?	Dahamsha, Sobek temple	Luxor, J.149	18.3?	Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, p.136-7, pl. XXVIII; Luxor Museum, 1979, 79
257	<i>T3-m-rsfy</i>	Amun	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	Thebes	18.2	Urk. IV, 471-489; Whale, 1989, case 9; Caminos, 1963, 42-52, esp. pl. 37-38
258	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun?	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	Thebes	18.2	Urk. IV, 471-489; Whale, 1989, case 9; Caminos, 1963, 42-52, esp. pl. 37-38

259	<i>Hnwt-nfrt</i>	Amun?	TT67 and Gebel el Silsila, shrine 15	Thebes	18.2	Urk. IV, 471-489; Whale, 1989, case 9; Caminos, 1963, 42-52, esp. pl. 37-38
260	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	TT39	Thebes	18.25	Urk. IV, 520-527; Whale, 1989, case 19; Davies, 1923a
261	<i>B3kt</i>	Amun?	TT61, TT131, TT82, TT100, Gebel el Silsilah, shrine 17	Thebes, Gebel el Silsilah	18.25	Urk. IV, 1029-1043; Whale, 1989, case 20; Caminos, 1963, pl. 47; Davies, 1943, ii, pl. 9; Davies and Gardiner, 1915, pl. 3c
262	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>	Amun	TT82	Thebes	18.3	Urk. IV, 1049.12; Whale, 1989, case 22; Davies and Gardiner, 1915
263	<i>Rn3y</i>	Amun	TT345	Thebes	18.3	Urk. IV, 106.1; Whale, 1989, case 32
264	<i>Tti-m-ntr</i>	Amun	TT53	Thebes	18.3	Urk. IV, 1218.7; Whale, 1989, case 37
265	?	Amun		Cairo, CG 42125	18.3	Urk. IV, 936.17; Whale, 1989, case 38; Legrain, 1906, vol. I, #42125
266	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT42	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 1507-1508; Whale, 1989, case 47; Davies and Davies, 1933 pl. xlvi.g
267	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT98	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 1500.8; Whale, 1989, case 51
268	<i>Imn-m-ipt</i>	Amun	TT98	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 1500.11; Whale, 1989, case 51
269	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	pharaoh aA-xpr-kA- Ra, Amun	TT98	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 1500.12-14; Whale, 1989, case 51
270	<i>T3-h't</i>	Amun	TT100	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 117-1175; Whale, 1989, case 52; Davies, 1943, pl. LXX
271	<i>M3't-nfrt</i>	Amun?	TT100	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 117-1175; Whale, 1989, case 52; Davies, 1943, pl. LXXI
272	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	TT100	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 117-1175; Whale, 1989, case 52; Davies, 1943, pl. LXXI?
273	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	TT224, TT96 & KV40	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV 1434.1-2; Whale, 1989, case 60
275	<i>T3-ddt.s</i>	Amun	TT93	Thebes	18.4	Urk. IV, 1385-1407; Whale, 1989, case 62; Davies, 1930
276	<i>Mryt</i>	Thoth	TT92	Thebes	18.4	Urk. IV, 1451.20; Whale, 1989, case 69
277	<i>Mwt-twy</i>	Amun	TT162 (and TT96)	Thebes	18.45	Whale, 1989, case 73 and 60

278	<i>R3y</i>	Amun	TT75	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1210.1; Whale, 1989, case 74; Davies, 1923b
279	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	TT75	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1210.2; Whale, 1989, case 74; Davies, 1923b
280	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT75	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1210.3; Whale, 1989, case 74; Davies, 1923b
281	<i>T3-ti</i>	Amun	TT75	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1210.4; Whale, 1989, case 74; Davies, 1923b
283	<i>Mwt-iry</i>	Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, Nehemet-aawy, who is in Hermopolis	TT74	Thebes	18.36	Urk. IV, 1009.2-5, 1010.13, 1011.14; Whale, 1989, case 77; Brack and Brack, 1977, 36
284	<i>Sn-snb</i>	Amun	TT108	Thebes	18.5	Whale, 1989, case 79
285	<i>Rn-n3y</i>	Amun	TT66	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1576-1577; Whale, 1989, case 83; Davies, 1963, pls. VIII-XIV
286	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT69	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1609.6; Whale, 1989, case 86
287	<i>T3wy</i>	Amun	TT78	Thebes	18.37	Urk. IV, 1596.19; Whale, 1989, case 87; Brack and Brack, 1980, 82
288	<i>Rnwtt</i>	Amun	TT295	Thebes	18.45?	Whale, 1989, case 89; Hegazy and Tosi, 1983
289	<i>Dd-mhyt-is- ‘nh</i>	Amun Re		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3009	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 245
290	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw- ‘nh</i>	Amun Re		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3125	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 248
291	<i>Mhd-Mwt</i>	Amun		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3126	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 249
292	<i>Tnt-hm-n- Mwt</i>	Amun		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3128	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 249
293	<i>3sty</i>	Amun		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3143	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 250
294	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun Re		Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P.3157	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 251
297	<i>K3-r-nht.s-n- Hnsw</i>	Amun		Cairo, S.R.IV.545=J95647	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 257

298	<i>M3^ct-k3-R^c</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, papyri-S.R.IV.548=J95650=14.7.35.8; coffins-JdE 29612, CG 6283, 6286-6289	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 258; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 80; D.L.A. 132
299	<i>T3^c3-Imn</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.IV.552=J.95654	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 258; D.L.A.127
303	<i>Tnt-s3-rk-n3-sti</i>	Amun Re		Cairo, S.R.IV.645=J.95712	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 261
304	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, papyri-S.R.IV.933=J.95836, coffins- JdE 29704=29734, CG 6175-6176, 6197	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 263; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 128; D.L.A. 71
306	<i>Mry.f-n-Mwt</i>	Amun		Cairo, S.R.IV.957=J.95858	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 266
307	<i>3st-m-3ht?</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.IV.961=J.95861	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 267; D.L.A.17
308	<i>K3^c-sw-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus?	Cairo, S.R.IV.1000=J.95892	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 271
310	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.IV.1531	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 272; D.L.A.64
311	<i>Dd-Mwt-is-s-^{nh}</i>	Amun		Cairo, S.R.VII.10220	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 273
314	<i>Dd-Mwt-is-s-^{nh}</i>	Amun		Cairo, S.R.VII.10223	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 274
315	<i>Tnt-diw-Mwt</i>	Amun Re,	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.VII.10234=J.35404 and S.R.VII10251	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 278, 284; Piankoff and Rambova, 1957, 88-92
316	<i>T3-3d-Hnsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, papyri-S.R.VII.10240, CG 40016, coffins- JdE 29625, CG 6129-6131	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 280; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 88; Piankoff and Rambova, 1957, n. 18; D.L.A. 137
317	<i>T3^c3-pr-Imn</i>	Amun		Cairo, S.R.VII.10242	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 281; D.L.A.84
318	<i>T3w-hnwt</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.VII.10243=J.36464 and S.R.VII.10270	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 281, 288
319	<i>G3t-s3n</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, his-S.R.VII.10244=J.33997; hers-S.R.IV.936=J.95838	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 264, 281-82; D.L. A.151 and A.152

320	<i>Dd-Hnsw- iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.VII.10247=J.33 999 and 29658, CG 6065-6069	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 283; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 101; D.L. A.83
323	<i>nh.s-n-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, papyri- S.R.VII.10255, coffins- JdE 29675, CG 6147-6149, 6158-6159	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 285; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no 115; D.L.A. 38
325	<i>Dyr-pw-(stt?)</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, papyri- S.R.VII.10257, coffins- JdE 29669, CG 6617-6618, 6083-6085	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 286; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 112; D.L.A. 123
327	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>		Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.VII.10653=23.4 .40.1	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 290-91; D.L. A.87
329	<i>Nsy-t3-nbt- t3wy</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.VII.11493	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 294; D.L. A.9
333	<i>S3-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Cairo, S.R.IV.943=J.95845 =CG58006	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 301; D.L. A.59
334	<i>3sty</i>	Amun Re	Bab el Gusus	Chicago, Field Museum, 31326	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 303; D.L. A.66
335	<i>Bw-irw-h^cr- Mwt?</i>	Amun Re		Cleveland, Museum of Art, 14.725	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 304
336	<i>Nsy-(t3)- nb(t)-i3rw</i>	Amun Re		Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1958.850	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 307
337	<i>Tmhd-hhsw</i>	Amun Re		Florence, Museo Archeologico, 3663	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 308
338	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun Re		Hamm, Städtisches Gustav-Lubcke- Museum, 2236	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 309
339	<i>Mi3^c-nhm</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Havana, Museo Nacional (no number)	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 309; Lipinska, 1982, 137-142
340	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re		Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 31-73	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 309
341	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>	Amun Re		Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 40	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 310
342	<i>T3-r-stit</i>	Amun		Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 34	21.2	Niwiński, 1989b, 311-312
343	<i>Nsty-Hnsw-tp</i>	Amun Re		Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Cl.10	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 312

344	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-p3- hrd</i>	Amun	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 43	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 312
345	<i>Tnt-R^c-ss</i>	Amun	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 39	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 312-313
346	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 35	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 313
347	<i>Mwt-ip</i>	Amun Re	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AMS 42	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 314
348	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw- st-^cnh</i>	Amun	Leningrad, Hermitage 1108	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 317
349	<i>3st-m-3hbit</i>	Amun	BM 9903	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 320
350	<i>3st-m-3hbit</i>	Amun	BM 9904	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 320
351	<i>Tnt-s3-rk-n3- sti?</i>	Amun Re	BM 9919	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 321
352	<i>Tnt-3dy-Hnsw</i>	Amun	BM 9938	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 321
353	<i>Diw-sw-n- Mwt</i>	Amun	BM 9948	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 322
354	<i>Tnt-nhd-Mwt</i>	Amun	BM 9970	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 322
355	<i>Dd-Hnsw</i>	Amun	BM 9983	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 324
356	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	BM 9984	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 324-325
358	<i>Mh-Mwt-h^ct</i>	Amun	BM 10005 and 10035	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 327, 332
359	<i>P3-sb-wbht-n- Mwt</i>	Amun Re	BM 10007	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 328
360	<i>T3-mni</i>	Amun	BM 10002, 10008	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 326, 328
361	<i>Mwt-htp-ti</i>	Amun	BM 10010	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 328
362	<i>T3...</i>	Amun	BM 10012	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 329
364	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	Amun	BM 10019	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 330
366	<i>Spst-ns-Mwt- ^cnh-ti</i>	Amun (Re)	BM 10036	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 332
367	<i>Dd-Hnsw- iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun Re	BM 10044	22.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 333
368	<i>3st-(m)-3h-bit</i>	Amun Re	BM 10062	22.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 333
369	<i>^cnh-s</i>	Amun Re	BM 10203	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 335
370	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw- ^cnh</i>	Amun	BM 10328	22.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 336
371	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	BM 10329	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 336
372	<i>Dd-tnt-di-ipt- wrt</i>	Amun	BM 10330	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 336
373	<i>Tnh3y</i>	Amun	BM 10472	21.5	Quirke, 1993, n. 14; Niwiński, 1989b, 336-337
374	<i>Tfrr-w3st</i>	Amun	BM 10094	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 339

375	<i>Dd-Imnt-iw-st-ḥnh</i>	Amun		BM 10307	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 340
376	<i>...Imnt</i>	Amun		BM 10448	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 341
377	<i>Tnt-wsrt.s-n-pr-nsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Luxor Museum, J.24 (Cairo S.R.VII.10253)	21.5	Niwiński, 1989b, 341; D.L. A.2; Luxor Museum, 1979, 248
378	<i>Ns-Ḥnsw</i>	Amun	Bab el Gusus	Luxor, City Museum J.25 (Cairo S.R.VII.10252)	21.6	Niwiński, 1989b, 341; Luxor Museum, 1979, 251; Piankoff and Rambova, 1957, vol. 1, 80-81 and vol. II no. 4
379	<i>3st</i>			Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Heiratic 2	22.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 342
380	<i>Ḥnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun		Marseille, Musee Borely, 292	22.05	Niwiński, 1989b, 342
381	<i>Nsy-t-3st</i>	Amun Re	Thebes, tomb MMA 60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.30	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 345-346
382	<i>G3wt-s3n</i>	Amun Re	Thebes, tomb MMA60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, papyri- 25.3.31, coffins- 26.3.6-8	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 346; <i>ibid.</i> , 1988, no. 315
383	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	Thebes, tomb MMA 60	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.33	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 346-347
384	<i>N3w-ny</i>	Amun Re	TT358	New York, MMA, 30.3.31 and 30.3.23-25	21.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 347; <i>ibid.</i> 1988, no. 316
385	<i>Ḥnwt-ntrw</i>	Amun		Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, 38-45	21.1	Niwiński, 1989b, 350
386	<i>ḥnh-s-n-3st</i>	Amun		Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, 62-88	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 351
388	<i>B3w-Mwt-r-nḥtyw</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N.3069	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 352
389	<i>Tfrr-w3st</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N.3119	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 355
390	<i>Šb-n-3st (3pt-n-3st)</i>	Amun		Paris, Louvre, N.3131	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 356
391	<i>Nsy-Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N. 3140 (and 3141)	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 356
392	<i>Nsy-t3-nbt-i3rw</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N.3227	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 357-358
393	<i>Dd-Ḥnsw-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N.3276	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 358
394	<i>Dd-Ḥnsw-iw.s-ḥnh</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N.3280	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 359
395	<i>Tnt-3dt-Mwt</i>	Amun Re		Paris, Louvre, N. 3286	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 359

396	<i>T3-b3kt-n-Hnsw</i>	Amun Re	Paris, Louvre, N.3287	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 359
397	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	Amun Re	Paris, Louvre, E.31856	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 364
398	<i>Mwt-m-(h'y?)-mw.s</i>	Amun	Paris, Louvre, N.3132	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 364
399	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re	Richmond, Virginia Museum, 54-10 and BM 10018	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 330, 364
400	<i>M3^c-Sbk</i>	Amun	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1769 (& Deir el Bahari A.111)	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 365
401	<i>Ns-sw-3st</i>		Turin, Museo Egizio, 1782	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 368
402	<i>T3-ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun Re	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1784	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 369
403	<i>Mwt-rwd</i>	Amun	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1787	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 369-370
404	<i>T3-mry</i>	Amun Re	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1849	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 370
405	<i>Nst-Imn (Ns-t3-nbt-i3rw)</i>	Amun	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1850	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 371
406	<i>G3t-s3ny</i>	Amun	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1852	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 371
407	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>	Amun	Turin, Museo Egizio, 1855	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 372
408	<i>3st-m-bit</i>	Amun (Re)	Vienna, Papyrussammlung der O.N., Aeg. 12000	21.9	Niwiński, 1989b, 375
409	<i>T3-hmt-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, 199628 MN	21.8	Niwiński, 1989b, 375
410	<i>Dni?-n-B3stt</i>	Amun	Location unknown	22	Niwiński, 1989b, 378
411	<i>In-iw-h3d3?</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycamore	Musee G. Labit, Toulouse, Inv. 49.278	18	Ramond, 1977, 51-54, pl. XI
412	<i>3sty</i>	Bastet	Musee G. Labit, Toulouse, Inv. 49.278	18	Ramond, 1977, 51-54, pl. XI
413	<i>T3-rnnt</i>	Amun	Musee G. Labit, Toulouse, Inv. 49.278	18	Ramond, 1977, 51-54, pl. XI
414	<i>Wb-ht</i>	Amun	Ramesseum Manchester museum 4588?	19	Quibell, 1989, 15, pl. X.3
415	<i>M3t?</i>	Amun	Ramesseum	23?	Quibell, 1989, 19, pl. XXV.14
416	<i>T3-wrt-m-hb</i>	Amun	Ramesseum	19.9?	Quibell, 1989, 19, pl. XXVI.9

417	<i>Nfr(t)-iy</i>	Isis	Ramesseum		19.2	KRI III, 389-390, esp. 390.1; Quibell, 1989, 19-20, pl. XXVII.2
418	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-nh</i>	Amun	Ramesseum		23?	Quibell, 1989, 18, pl. XXII
419	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Philadelphia, University Museum 61-13-1	19.2	KRI III, 267.14-.15; Schulman, 1966, 124
420	<i>c-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Philadelphia, University Museum 61-13-1	19.2	KRI III, 267.15; Schulman, 1966, 124
421	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Philadelphia, University Museum 61-13-1	19.2	KRI III, 267.15-.16; Schulman, 1966, 124
422	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Philadelphia, University Museum 61-13-1	19.2	KRI III, 267.16; Schulman, 1966, 124
423	<i>3st-m-hb</i>	Amun	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	BM 290	19.2	KRI III, 260.12; Schulman, 1966, 125
424	?	Amun Re	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts 51.2145	19.2	KRI III, 268; Schulman, 1966, 126
425	<i>Pwy3</i>	Amun Re	possibly Qantir or Ramesseum	Philadelphia, University Museum 61-13-1	19.2	KRI III, 267.13; Schulman, 1966, 124
426	<i>3st-nfr(t)</i>	Amun		Northumberland collection, letter 1	18.95	Barns, 1948, 36-37
427	<i>T3-ibht-Rc</i>	Amun		Florence	30?	Bosse, 1936, 62-63
428	<i>N3-nfr; Rn-nfr</i>	Seth	Ihnasya el Medina	Gardiner's collection?	20.2	Gardiner, 1940, 23-29
429	<i>T3yw-hry</i>	Seth	Ihnasya el Medina	Gardiner's collection?	20.2	Gardiner, 1940, 23-29
430	<i>Tnt-Nephys</i>	Nemty	Ihnasya el Medina	Gardiner's collection?	20.2	Gardiner, 1940, 23-29
431	<i>3st</i>	Montu-m-tawy	Qantir	Hildesheim, 0380	19.2	KRI II, 451.9; Sadek, 1987, 15 n.12
433	<i>Tnt?-ipt</i>	Montu-m-tawy	Horbeit or Qantir?		19.2	KRI II, 451.13; Sadek, 1987, 16; Clère, 1950, 33 & n.3
435	<i>Kiy</i>	Amun	Memphis		18	Sadek, 1987, 19; Petrie, 1909-1913, pl. 15p
436	<i>T3-...</i>	Amun		Deir el Bahari	18	Sadek, 1987, 57
437	<i>Nbw-hsbdw</i>	Osiris	Abydos		20	Sadek, 1987, 96; Mariette, 1880, 448-449, no.1192

438	<i>Hnwt-mhyt</i>	Amun Re,		Deir el Bahari	19.3	KRI V, 433-434, esp. 434.13-.14; Sadek, 1987, 225
439	<i>T3-k3(t); hnsu-wp-nfrt</i>	Amun		Deir el Bahari	19.3	KRI V, 433-434, esp. 434.7-.8; Sadek, 1987, 227
440	<i>Tyt</i>	Amun		Deir el Bahari	18	Sadek, 1987, 227
441	<i>Inhy</i>	Hathor, lady of heaven, lady of the southern sycamore	Memphis?	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 22.106	19	Capel and Markoe, 1996, 96-98
442	<i>Ns-hnsu-p3- hrd</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Berkeley, U. of C. Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 6- 19929	22.9	Capel and Markoe, 1996, 167-168
443	<i>Hnwt-wdbw</i>	Amun	Thebes, tomb of Hatiay, no number	St. Louis, Washington U. Gallery of Art, 2292	18.6	Capel and Markoe 1996, 168-169; Kozloff, et. al., 1992, 312-317, no. 61
444	<i>Rnnwt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet, Hathor of Medjedny	Asyut?	New York, Metropolitan Museum 15.2.1 and 33.2.1	19.1	Capel and Markoe 1996, 172-174; Karig, 1969, 27-34; Hayes, 1959, vol. II, 349; Kamal, 1916, 86-89
445	<i>T3y</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Yale U. Gallery of Art, 1947.81	20.15	Capel, and Markoe, 1996, 174; Scott, 1986, no. 73
446	<i>H3t-sryt</i>	Aten	Abydos?	BM 8644	18.7	Manniche, 1991a, 95; Martin, 1986, 115-116, pl. 11; Schneider, 1977, i, 292
447	<i>3st</i>	Aten		New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 66.99.38	18.7	Manniche, 1991a, 95; Martin, 1986, 116, pl. 12; Schneider, 1977, i, 292
448	<i>Tr-mwt-p3-nfr</i>	Amun Re		Cairo, JdE 86125	21	Habachi, 1947, 261ff
449	<i>3st-m-3hbit</i>	Amun Re		BM 10743	23	Quirke, 1993, no. 33
450	<i>3sty</i>	Amun Re		BM 10084	23	Quirke, 1993, no. 38
451	<i>3st</i>	Thoth		Hildesheim?	23	Chappaz, BSEG 11, 145-6
452	<i>nhy-n-3st</i>	Amun			23	Chappaz, BSEG 11, 145-6
453	<i>G3wt-s3nw</i>	Amun			23	Chappaz, BSEG 11, 145-6
454	<i>In-h3y</i>	Amun			18	Chappaz, BSEG 12, 83-96
455	<i>B3kt-3st</i>				18	Chappaz, BSEG 12, 83-96
456	<i>B3k-n-wrl</i>	Amun Re			18	Chappaz, BSEG 12, 83-96
457	<i>Sbk-hnt</i>	Amun			23	Chappaz, BSEG 12, 83-96
458	<i>3st</i>	Thoth			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
459	<i>Twy</i>	Amun			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
460	<i>In-h3y</i>	Amun			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
461	<i>Py-pwy</i>				18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
462	<i>M'y</i>	Thoth			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
463	<i>N3-33-3</i>	Amun			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
464	<i>T3-wd3t</i>	Amun			18	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104

465	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun			23	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104
466	?	Amun		Sotheby's NY 2.12.88 n. 323	23	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 97
467	<i>P3-ṯw</i>	Isis	Abydos tomb 36	Boston, 03.17-46- 54, 1769	19	Chappaz, BSEG 14, 89-104; D'Auria, et. al., 1988, n. 105
468	<i>Shmt-m-hb</i>			Leiden CI 24	19	Schneider, 1977, ii, 43
469	<i>Šd(t)-sy-Mwt</i>	Amun	Thebes	Leiden AH 101f	20	Schneider, 1977, ii, 3.1.1.32, pg. 44
470	?	Amun		Leiden AH 199e	19.9	Schneider, 1977, ii, 49 (3.1.2.8)
471	<i>Nb-...</i>	Amun		Leiden BA 235	19.9	Schneider, 1977, ii, 49 (3.1.2.9)
472	<i>ṯp3y</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Leiden, AST 15	18.9	Schneider, 1977, ii, 57 (3.2.1.4)
473	<i>T3-dy(.t)-Mwt</i>	Amun	Deir el Bahari cache II	Leiden F 93/10.87- 88	21	Schneider, 1977, ii, 135-6 (4.3.1.77-78)
474	<i>Nsy-t3-nbt- iṣrw</i>	Amun	Thebes	Leiden F 1970/1.2	21	Schneider, 1977, ii, 146 (4.5.1.21)
475	<i>W3y-k3</i>			Leiden RO II 183	19.9	Schneider, 1977, ii, 98-99 (3.3.1.9)
476	<i>B3kt-3st</i>			Leiden AF 131	19.05	Schneider, 1977, ii, 99
477	<i>B3k-wrt?</i>			Leiden AF 140a,b, BA 267	19.9	Schneider, 1977, ii, 105 (3.3.2.3-5)
480	<i>Mwt-nfrit</i>	Amun	Karnak, also in TT96?	Cairo, CG 42126	18.45	Urk., IV, 1435.12; Legrain, 1906, vol. I, 76, pl. 75
481	<i>Nyt</i>	Amun	TT88	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 1460.9-11; LD iii, 272; Whale case 50; Virey, 1891, 286-310
482	<i>Mryt?</i>	Amun?	TT80	Thebes	18.4	Urk. IV, 1476.13; LD iii, 271 [59]; Whale, 1989, case 68, 170-175
487	<i>Hnwt-wrt</i>	Amun		BM 31	18.4	Urk. IV, 1503.16; HTFES 8, 7
491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>	Amun Re	TT55	Thebes	18.65	Urk. IV, 1780.3; Daives, 1941
492	<i>M'wn3</i>	Bastet	Bubastis	Cairo, E. 87911	18.6	Urk. IV, 1931.11; Habachi, 1957, 105, pl. 39-41
493	<i>B3t3</i>	Amun Hr sA 4-nw	Abydos	Cairo, CG 34117	18.6	Urk. IV, 1940.5; Lacau, 1918, fasc. 3, 169-170, fasc 1 pl. 53; Mariette, 1880, n.1108
496	<i>Tiy</i>	Osiris, Isis	Abydos	Yale University Art Gallery, YPM 2657; Cairo, JdE 35258, JdE 32025, CG 34505; Louvre A.66	19.15	KRI III, 447-463, esp. 450.7, 455.12; Scott, 1986, 124 n. 71; Gaballa, 1979, 42-49
497	<i>Ms</i>	Osiris	Abydos?	Petrie collection, UC 14419	17	Stewart, 1979, 33 no. 138, pl. 34.3

498	<i>Sh3-nfr</i>	Re		Petrie collection, UC 14495	20	Stewart, 1976, 33, pl. 25
499	<i>...t3wy</i>	Osiris	Abydos?	Petrie collection, UC 14406	19.9	Stewart, 1976, 43, pl. 34.1
500	<i>Wrt...</i>	Amun	Buhen, block B- courtyard B		19.9	Smith, 1976, 95-96, pl. xii.4
501	?	Horus, lord of Buhen	Buhen, block F		19.9?	Smith, 1976, 116, pl. xxiii.2
502	?		Buhen, pavement of south temple		19.2	KRI III, 135.1; Smith, 1976, 145, 216, pl. xxxix.1; lxxvii.5
503	<i>Isw-mwt</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
504	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
505	?	Amun	TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
506	?		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
507	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
508	<i>T3-my(t)</i>		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
509	<i>Iryt-nfrt</i>		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
510	?		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
511	?		TT44	Thebes	19.2	El-Saady, 1996, 43-6
513	<i>Iry-th</i>	Khnum	Amarah West, temple		19.9	Helck, 1960, 239; Fairman, 1938, 155, pl. II.3
514	<i>T3-mhyt</i>	Horus of Aniba	Amarah West, temple		19.9	Helck, 1960, 239; Fairman, 1938, 155, pl. II.3
515	<i>Iw-ns-nb- t3wy</i>	Bastet, lady of Bubastis		New York, MMA 62.186	18.1	Fischer, 1977, 139-140
517	<i>Mwt-mnw</i>	Hapi	Abydos		19	Mariette, 1880, 425-426, n. 1139
518	<i>Nht-m-wi3</i>	Hathor	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
519	<i>Mwty</i>	Hathor	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
520	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
521	<i>N3-ry</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
522	<i>T3-km3y</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
523	<i>Dw3t-nfr</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
524	<i>Ti3</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
525	<i>B3k-Imn</i>	Amun?	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
526	<i>Mwt-ndm</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
527	<i>I-y</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128

528	<i>Twī3</i>	Amun	Abydos	19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
529	<i>N3-tyi</i>	Amun	Abydos	19.2	Mariette, 1880, 418-419, n. 1128
530	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 421-422, n. 1135
531	<i>ʿwrti</i>	Amun	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 421-422, n. 1135
532	<i>Rwḳ3ḳ3</i>	Amun	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 421-422, n. 1135
533	<i>W3ḡt-rnpt</i>	Amun	Abydos	19.1	KRI I, 321, esp. 321.8; Mariette, 1880, 423-424, n. 1137
534	<i>Hwt-ḥr</i>	Amun	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 428-429, n. 1144
535	<i>Mwt-wnḥ</i>	Onuris	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 428-429, n. 1144
536	<i>Dʿ-3st</i>	Onuris	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 428-429, n. 1144
537	<i>Wty-rnw?</i>	the king?	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 430, n. 1148
538	<i>???</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, JdE 19775 19.2	KRI III, 52.4; Mariette, 1880, 435, n. 1160
539	<i>T3-mr-pn-ʿs</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20.2	KRI VI, 701; Mariette, 1880, 442-443, n. 1173
540	<i>T3-mrit</i>	Amun	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 442, n. 1174
541	<i>?</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 443-444, n. 1175
542	<i>Šbwti-wsri</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 444, n. 1176
543	<i>Nṯm-3st</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 444, n. 1176
544	<i>3st</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 445, n. 1179
545	<i>Tnt-bḥw-3ḥ</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 446, n. 1182
546	<i>T3-wr-ḥḳ3t</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 446, n. 1184
547	<i>T3-ʿṣt-wšbw</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 446-447, n. 1185
548	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 447, n. 1187
549	<i>T3-Mwt-nfr</i>	Isis	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 448, n. 1189
550	<i>Šḳy?</i>	Mut	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 448, n. 1190
551	<i>Pr-ms-m-?</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 448, n. 1191
553	<i>T3-?</i>	Amun	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 449, n. 1193
554	<i>T3-Mwt</i>	Amun	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 450, n. 1195
555	<i>Mr-?</i>	Osiris, Horus, (Isis?)	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 450, n. 1196
556	<i>Pr?</i>	Amun	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 450, n. 1197
558	<i>T3-Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	Abydos	25	Mariette, 1880, 478, n. 1268
559	<i>T-t3wy</i>	Amun	Abydos	23	Mariette, 1880, 465, n. 1229
560	<i>Nst-Imn</i>	Amun	Abydos	23	Mariette, 1880, 466, n. 1231
561	<i>Tiy</i>	Isis	Abydos	19	Mariette, 1880, 41, n. 374
562	<i>Šrit-Rʿ</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 555-556, n. 1429
563	<i>T3-b3k-n-3st</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 555-556, n. 1429
564	<i>T?-s3???t</i>	Osiris	Abydos	20	Mariette, 1880, 555-556, n. 1429

565	<i>Bw-wy3?</i>	Herishef	Sedment		19.2	KRI III, 224.12; Petrie and Brunton, 1924, pl. lxviii
566	?	Seth	Dakhla		22.2	Gardiner, 1933, 29-30, fig. 1; Spiegelberg, 1899, 12-21
567	<i>Hnwt</i>	Onuris	Thebes, TT A19?	BM 902	18.5	Urk. IV 1616.13; HTFES 8, pl. 9; Van Siclen, 1979, 19
568	<i>T3-di</i>	Amun	TT33	Thebes	26	PM I.1, 50; LD iii, 244-245 [20]
569	<i>N3-mnh-3st</i>	Amun	TT33	Thebes	26	PM I.1, 50; LD iii, 244-245 [20]
570	?	Osiris	Abydos		18	Peet, 1914, vol. II, 116, fig. 74, pl. xxvi.1
571	<i>Kt-hr?</i>	Osiris	Abydos, tomb D223		18.1	Peet, 1913, vol. III, 32, pl. xii.10
572	<i>nh-s-3st</i>	Amun	Abydos		18-23	Garstang, 1989, 43, pl. XIV
573	<i>Rc</i>	Amun	Abydos		18-23	Garstang, 1989, 43
574	<i>Ššn</i>	Amun	Abydos		18-23	Garstang, 1989, 43
575	<i>l-pw-y</i>	Amun	Memphis	Munich, Staatliche Sammlung, ÄS 11	18.6	Müller, 1966, n. 47
577	<i>Mrwt-ti</i>	Hathor	Faras, temple at Hathor rock	Khartoum Museum, 4451	18.95	Karkowski, 1981, 87-89
578	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	Nekhbet, Amun	Faras, Qasr Ibrim, TT289, Sehel	Khartoum Museum	19.2	KRI III, 80-111, esp. 85.9, 86.11, 107.5; Karkowski, 1981, 112-113; Drenkhahn, 1975, 47; Jacoby, 1900, 113-115
579	<i>Hr-iy</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG 34099 and CG 34101	18.1	Lacau, 1918, vol. 2, 153-155, pl. XLIX, XLVIII; Mariette, 1880, n. 1085 and 1086
580	<i>Snw-nh</i>		Abydos	Cairo, CG 20142	12	Lange and Schafer, 1902, 167-168, pl. 13; Mariette, 1880, 909
581	<i>S3t-tp-ihw</i>		Illahun	Berlin, P.10021	12	Scharff, 1924, *9
582	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun Hr sA 2-nw	Karnak cachette (statue)	Cairo, CG 42122; Louvre C.50	19.15	KRI I, 327-331, esp. 328.2; Lowle, 1976, 97-98; Legrain, 1906, 71-73, pl. 72
583	<i>T3-wrt</i>	Amun	TT257	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 377-378; Mostafa, 1995
584	<i>Rnwtt</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2178.15; Hari, 1985
585	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 402.2; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. X.2
586	<i>Mwti'y (M'y)</i>	Amun, Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410; esp. 404.15; Davies and Gardiner 1948 pls. XII, XVI
587	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	TT294	Thebes	19.05	Strudwick, 1996, 17
588	<i>Dw3t-nfrt?</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT254	Thebes	18.8	Strudwick, 1996, 57-59
589	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	TT254	Thebes	18.8	Strudwick, 1996, 57-59
590	<i>...i3w</i>	Amun	TT254	Thebes	18.8	Strudwick, 1996, 57-59
591	<i>Ty</i>	Amun	TT254	Thebes	18.8	Strudwick, 1996, 57-59

592	?	Amun	TT254	Thebes	18.8	Strudwick, 1996, 57-59
593	<i>Šri-R^c</i>	Amun		Bologna 1094	19.9	Camino's, 1954, 20-21
594	<i>K3i3</i>	Pre		Bologna 1094, line 8.6	19.9	Camino's, 1954, 22-23
595	<i>S3-kt</i>	Thoth		Bologna 1094, line 9.7	19.9	Camino's, 1954, 26
596	<i>Nsw-m-ḥ3b</i>	Thoth		Bologna 1094, line 10.6	19.9	Camino's, 1954, 22-23
597	<i>Styky</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		P. Sallier IV vs.	19.2	Camino's, 1954, 333-335
598	<i>Shm-nfr</i>	Amun		P. Sallier IV vs.	19.2	Camino's, 1954, 333-335
599	<i>T3y-sn</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 407.1; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. XV
600	<i>Wr-nrw</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. XV
601	<i>Hnwt-nfrt</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 407.2; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. XV
602	<i>Rwi3</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 29
603	<i>Wi3y</i>	Montu, Amun	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 400.7; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 29
604	<i>3ti</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 402.7; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 29
605	<i>Ns-nb</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 402.6; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 29
606	<i>T3...</i>	Amun	Heliopolis		19.9	El-Saady, 1995, 101-104
607	<i>3-n-wd3</i>	Amun	Kom el Ahmar?	Mulhouse Museum	19.2	KRI III, 80-111, esp. 85.10; Jacoby, 1900, 113-115
608	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	Zawyet el Sultan		19.1	Osing, 1992
609	<i>K3-(k3)</i>	Amun	Zawyet el Sultan		19.1	Osing, 1992
610	<i>Ry</i>	Amun Re	Gurob		19	Loat, 1904, pl. xvii.1
611	<i>T3-wrt-ḥtp</i>	Amun	el Mashayikh	el-Mashayikh and Cairo, CG 582, 1093	19.3	KRI IV, 141-147, esp. 146.7; Ockinga and al-Masri, 1988, 11-12
612	<i>Shmt-nfrt</i>	Amun Re	el Mashayikh	el-Mashayikh and Cairo, CG 582, 1093	19.3	KRI IV, 141-147, esp. 142.3; Ockinga and al-Masri, 1988, 11-12
613	<i>3-n-m-mr</i>	Amun	Faqus region	Tell Basta storehouse, n. 399	19.9	Radwan, 1987, 223f, pl. II
614	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	Amun	Faqus region	Tell Basta storehouse, n. 398	19.9	Radwan, 1987, 223f, pl. III
615	<i>B3k-mwt</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985

616	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
617	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
618	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
619	<i>Pik^c?</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
620	<i>T3pwy?</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
621	<i>Ty</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
622	<i>Imn-s^ch</i>	Amun	TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985
623	<i>H3t-spswt</i>	Amun	TT51	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 333-341, esp. 338.12, 338.15; Davies, 1927, 9, pl. X
624	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Montu?	TT51	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 333-341, esp. 338.8; Davies, 1927, 16, pl. Xb
625	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun	TT23	Thebes	19.3	PM I.1, 38f; KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 116.10; LD iii, 252-253 [38]; Wilbour, 1936, 55-56
626	<i>R^cT3</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT23	Thebes	19.3	PM I.1, 38f; KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 111.6, 118.15-16; LD iii, 252-253 [38]; Wilbour, 1936, 55-56
627	<i>Nbt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT23	Thebes	19.3	PM I.1, 38f; KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 116.10; LD iii, 252-253 [38]; Wilbour, 1936, 55-56
628	<i>Hnwt</i>	Amun	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
629	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	Amun	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 403.4; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
630	<i>(H[?])krt</i>	Amun	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 403.4; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
631	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT158, TT148	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 403.3; Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, 161-180; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
632	<i>T3y-hnwt-p3-mtr</i>	Amun	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 403.3; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
633	<i>T3y-ndmt</i>	Amun	TT158, TT148	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 403.2; Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, 161-180; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 402.5; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26

635	<i>Shmt</i>	Khnum	TT158	Thebes	20.15	KRI V, 400-412, esp. 409.13; Seele, 1959, 5-10, pls. 4, 26
636	<i>Nfyt-iry</i>	Montu, Amun			19.9	Habachi, 1965, 123-136
637	<i>Iwy</i>	Montu, Amun	TT324 among others	Thebes, Sehel, etc.	20.16	KRI VI, 360.5-6; Habachi, 1965, 123-136; Davies and Gardiner, 1948
638	<i>T3-Mwt-nfyt</i>	Khnum, lord of the cataract			19.9	Habachi, 1965, 123-136
639	<i>M^c3y</i>	Montu, Amun	TT331	Thebes	20.17	KRI VI, 418-421; Habachi, 1965, 123-136; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 53-55
640	<i>Mwt-ir-di.s</i>	Anukis			19.9	Habachi, 1965, 123-136
641	<i>Wi3y(?)</i>	Amun	TT163	BM 55337	19.4	Assman, 1979, 54-77, pl. 9, 10
642	<i>Ndmt-niwt</i>	Amun	TT163	BM 55337	19.4	Assman, 1979, 54-77, pl. 9, 10
643	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	Sehel, (TT158)	Thebes, Sehel	19.2	KRI III, 250.5 and V, 400-412, esp. 403.5, 409.12; Habachi, 1968, 107-113
644	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	Amun	TT282, Sehel		19.2	KRI III, 250, esp. 250.5-6; Habachi, 1968, 107-113
645	?	Amun	TT282, Sehel		19.2	Habachi, 1968, 107-113
646	<i>Nwbt-ntr-nfr</i>	Sobek	El Kab		18	Sayce, 1898, 111-112
647	?	Amun	Thebes, Dra Abu el Naga, K 91.10		18.1	Leclant and Clerc, 1993, 240-241
648	<i>Mryt-R^c</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT49	Thebes	18.75	Davies, 1933
649	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun	TT49	Thebes	18.75	Davies, 1933
650	<i>H^cyt</i>	Mehyt	Bubastis	Cairo or Zagazig	20.1	Habachi, 1957, 101 pl.37
651	<i>T3-mrt</i>	Bastet, lady of Bubastis	Bubastis	Cairo or Zagazig	18	Habachi, 1957, 102, pl.38
652	<i>Hbwy-nw-ns</i>	Bastet	Bubastis	Cairo, 87085	18.6	Habachi, 1957, 95-96, pl.28-29
653	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	Amun	TT267	Thebes, (Deir el Medina)	20.1	KRI V, 627-639, esp. 630.10-11, 632.14; Valbelle, 1975, 24, pl. XVII
654	<i>Nbw-iiy</i>	Amun	TT267	Thebes (Deir el Medina)	20.1	KRI V, 627-639, esp. 631.16-632.1; Valbelle, 1975, 28
655	<i>W^cbt</i>	Amun	TT211	Thebes, (Deir el Medina)	19.3	KRI IV, 189-193, esp. 191.3, and 436.7; Bruyère, 1952b, 82
656	<i>Šrit-R^c</i>	Amun	TT211	Thebes, (Deir el Medina)	19.3	KRI IV, 189-193, esp. 189.11; Bruyère, 1952b, 83

657	<i>Hwy-n-r</i> (<i>Hwt-hr</i>)	Hathor?, Amun	TT215	Thebes (Deir el Medina)	19.1	KRI I, 381-389, esp. 382.1; Jourdain, 1939, 36, 48 pl. 29-30
659	<i>Wrt-nfrt</i>	Isis	Abydos	Boston, 1900.00.690	19.2	KRI III, 465-467, esp. 465.12; D'Auria, et. al., 1988, n. 108; Randall- MacIver, et.al., 1902, 64, pl. 37
660	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	Heliopolis	Boston, 12.1004	20	D'Auria, et.al., 1988, n. 110
661	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Boston, 1977.717	18.9	D'Auria, et. al. 1988, n. 98
662	<i>T3-Imn</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Boston, 92.2582	31	D'Auria, et. al. 1988, n. 134
663	<i>Ngm-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT194	Thebes	19.2	Seyfried, 1995, text 22, 23, 24, 75, 114, 117
664	<i>Mwt?</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	TT194	Thebes	19.2	Seyfried, 1995, text 2, 49
665	<i>Nfr-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT194	Thebes	19.2	Seyfried, 1995, text 34, 35
666	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT68	Thebes	21	Seyfried, 1991, 69; Černý, 1940, 235f
667	...?	Amun	TT68	Thebes	20	Seyfried, 1991
668	<i>Mwt-m-int</i>	Amun	TT373	Thebes and BM 1198	19.2	Seyfried, 1990; HTFES 12, 10, pl. 24-25
669	<i>Tnt-...nw</i>	Amun	TT373	Thebes	20	Seyfried, 1990, text 92, fig. 114
670	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	TT178	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 321-331, esp. 321.10; Hofmann, 1995
671	<i>T3-wr(t)-m-hb</i>	Amun	Deir el Medina	Turin, Museo Egizio, n. 50225	20	Tosi and Roccati, 1971-1972
672	<i>Ti-y</i>	Mut	Deir el Medina	Turin, Museo Egizio, n. 50219	19.9	Tosi and Roccati, 1971-1972
673	<i>S3t-Rc</i>	Atum Re	Heliopolis- Matareyyeh	Cairo?	19.9	Bakry, 1974, 70-78
674	<i>Iwy</i>	Amun Re of Karnak	TT19	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 390-396, esp. 393.15; Foucart, 1935
675	<i>Nbt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT255	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2174; Baud and Drioton, 1957, 46
676	<i>Bwy</i>	Amun	TT255	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2174.20; Baud and Drioton, 1957, 47
677	<i>Mwty</i>	Amun	TT255	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2174.15; Baud and Drioton, 1957, 14
678	<i>T3-rnwt</i>	Amun	TT16	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 396-399, esp. 397.8- 9 and 399.5; Baud and Drioton, 1928
679	<i>T3y-nb-nht-rw</i>	Osiris	Abydos	Vienna, ÄOS 157	25	De Meulenaere, 1975-76, 150; Munro 1973, 262, pl. 26, abb. 96
680	<i>Dd-3st-n-imw</i>	Osiris	Abydos	Cairo, JdE 20240	25	De Meulenaere, 1975-76, 151; Munro, 1973, 98f, 278, abb. 125; Mariette, 1880, 476, n. 1259
681	<i>T3-tiy</i>	Herishef	Medinet Habu	Thebes	20.1	KRI V, 384-390, esp. 388.6- .7; Schott, 1957, pl. 1 lines 63-65

682	?	Amun	Medinet Habu	Thebes	20.1	KRI V, 384-390, esp. 388.6-.7; Schott, 1957, pl. 1 lines 63-65
683	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	TT77	Thebes	18.5	Urk. IV, 1599-1601; Manniche, 1988, 7-18
684	[T?]3-miy	Neith	Bubastis	Cairo, JdE 38709, CG 53263	19.3	KRI IV, 372-373, esp. 373.7; El-Sayed, 1982, 379-380
685	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Atum		Vienna, 53	18	von Bergmann, 1887, 42-43
686	<i>Shmt</i>	Atum		Vienna, 53	18	von Bergmann, 1887, 42-43
687	<i>Isrih</i>			Vienna, 53	18	von Bergmann, 1887, 42-43
688	<i>Ti</i>	Wepwawet		Vienna, 53	18	von Bergmann, 1887, 42-43
689	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	Coptos	Cairo	19.9	Weigall, 1908, 112
690	<i>S3t-Imn</i>	Montu of Medamud	Abydos	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄOS 132	12	Rogge, 1990, v. 4, 34-38; von Bergmann, 1892, 16
691	<i>W3d-h3w</i>	Montu of Medamud	Abydos	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 132	12	Rogge, 1990, v. 4, 34-38; von Bergmann, 1892, 16
692	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun of the lake, Amun of Diospolis Parva	Diospolis Parva	Cairo?	18.8	Legrain, 1907, 269-275
693	<i>3st</i>	Amun	TT32	Thebes and Cairo, CG 549	19.2	KRI III, 316-319, esp. 317.5; Kákosy, 1988; Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 2, 94-96
694	<i>Ty</i>	Thoth		BM 1642	18.1	HTFES 8, 43-47, pls. 37-38
695	<i>Mwty</i>	Isis		BM 1222	18	HTFES 8, 52-53, pl. 44
696	<i>Bi3</i>	Amun	Abydos	BM 1062	18.95	HTFES 7, 14, pl. 49
697	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Khnum, lord of Herweret	Balansurah	Cairo?	18.65	Urk. IV, 2020.20; Hari, 1976, #144; Daressy, 1919, 53-57
698	<i>Nfrt-h3</i>	Ahmose-Nefertari, the Aten	TT46	Thebes	18.65	Urk. IV, 1995 (753); Hari, 1976, #193
699	<i>Knr</i>	Amun	TT40	Thebes	18.72	Urk. IV, 2067.6; Hari, 1976, #294; Nina Davies and Gardiner, 1926, 15, pl. XI
700	<i>Typwy</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Musee du Leyde	18.65	Hari, 1976, #307; Hari, 1964, 30
701	<i>M3y</i>	Amun	TT55	Thebes	18.65	Urk. IV, 1784.2; Davies, 1941
702	?		TT194	Thebes	19.2	Seyfried, 1995, text 41, 42
703	<i>3st</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 353.14; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. II
704	<i>B3k(t)-Hnsw</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 345.2-3; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. III-V
705	<i>Ty-m-hb</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 355.12; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV

706	<i>Nht-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 354.15; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. III
707	<i>Tr-nfrw-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.1; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
708	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.1; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
709	<i>wr-[nfr]</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.2; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
710	<i>3st-nfrt</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.4; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
711	<i>3h-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.4; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
712	<i>3st</i>	Amun	TT45	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 353-356, esp. 356.5; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. IV
713	<i>3st</i>		Sehel	Sehel	19.2	KRI III, 847.12-.13
714	<i>M'13</i>		Sehel	Sehel	19.2	KRI III, 847.12-.13
715	<i>3st-nfrt</i>		Sehel	Sehel	19.2	KRI III, 847.12-.13
716	<i>1y</i>	Khnum, Satis, Anukis	TT6	Thebes (Deir el Medina)	19.2	KRI III 577-587, esp. 579.6; Wild, 1979, pl. 4; Černý, 1949, 60
717	<i>H3t-šps(t)</i>		TT19	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 390-396, esp. 395.16
718	<i>M'kwi</i>	Amun	TT19	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 390-396, esp. 396.1
719	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun	TT23	Thebes	19.3	KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 117.12
720	<i>Mhyt-h'f</i>	Amun	TT23	Thebes	19.3	KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 117.13-.14
721	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	Bastet	TT23	Thebes	19.3	KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 118.3
722	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Bastet	TT23	Thebes	19.3	KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 118.3
723	<i>Hnwt-w3dbt</i>	Nebet-ww, Amun	TT32	Thebes and Cairo, CG 549	19.2	KRI III, 316-319, esp. 316.15-16, 317.5; Kákosy, 1988, 211-216; Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 2, 94-96
724	<i>N3w-š3't</i>	Amun Re	TT138	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 383-387, esp. 384.11
725	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT138	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 383-387, esp. 387.4
726	<i>Tnt-p3-st3</i>	Amun Re	TT65	Thebes	20.19	KRI VI, 544-553; LD iii, 256
727	<i>3st</i>	Amun Re	Thebes? (temple or TT113)	Kestner-Museum, Hannover 2945	20.18	KRI VI, 440-447; Cramer, 1936, 100f, pl. IX1.-2
728	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	TT113	Thebes	20.18	KRI VI, 440.11
729	<i>'-n-wd3-mst</i>	Amun	TT113	Thebes	20.18	KRI VI, 440.11
730	<i>Mwt-m-ipt</i>	Amun	TT113	Thebes	20.18	KRI VI, 440-447; Manniche, 1991a, 53, fig. 30
731	?	Hathor	TT157	Thebes	19.2	KRI III 286.5, 282-291
732	<i>Niwt-m-hb</i>	Amun	TT189	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 348-353, esp. 349.7, VII, 139-140

733	<i>Tnt-p3-ipt</i>	Amun	TT189	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 348-353, esp. 349.13, VII 139-140
734	<i>(Tnt)-Bdty</i>	Amun Re	TT206	Thebes, (Deir el Medina)	19.3	KRI IV, 179-180, esp. 180.3; Bruyère, 1952a season 1945-1946, 58-59 and season 1946-1947, 12, pl. 9
735	<i>Wbht</i>	Amun	TT263	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 380-383, esp. 381.16
736	<i>Nfrit-iry</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, c.f. text 19, pl. XXIII
737	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, pl. XVII, XXX
738	<i>3st</i>	Amun	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, text 31
739	<i>K3h</i>	Amun	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, texts 10, 13, pls. VI, VII
740	<i>Nfrit-iry</i>	Amun	TT324	Thebes	20.16	KRI VI, 359-360; Davies and Gardiner, 1948
742	<i>Kmn^c</i>	Amun	TT341	Thebes	19.2	KRI III 359-364; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 31-41 and plates
743	<i>R^ci3</i>	Amun Re	TT341	Thebes	19.2	KRI III 359-364, esp. 363.2; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, 31-41 and plates
744	<i>W^cbt</i>	Amun Re	TT359	Thebes	20.12	KRI VI, 183-199
745	<i>T3-ndm-m3^ct-r^c</i>	Amun Re	TT359	Thebes	20.12	KRI VI, 183-199
746	<i>Nfrit-iry</i>	Amun Re	TT359	Thebes	20.12	KRI VI, 183-199
747	<i>T3-b3-s3</i>	Amun	TT359	Thebes	20.12	KRI VI, 183-199
748	<i>T3-iwnw</i>	Amun	TT369	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 158-159
749	<i>Nfrit-iry-m-hb</i>	Amun	TT372	Thebes	20.1	KRI V, 419-420, esp. 420.4-.5
750	<i>M3^ct-nfrit</i>	Amun	TT372	Thebes	20.1	KRI V, 419-420, esp. 420.4
751	<i>B3kt-Shmt</i>	Amun of the Ramesseum	TT384	Thebes	19.2	KRI III 359.11; Fakhry, 1936, tomb #1
752	<i>Nhty</i>	Amun	TT385	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 163.15; Fakhry, 1936, tomb #2
753	<i>Nb[-hni?]-tw</i>	Amun	TT387	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 319-320, esp 320.3
754	<i>Imn-s^ch</i>		TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985, 65
755	<i>Ty</i>		TT50	Thebes	18.8	Urk. IV, 2177-2179; Hari, 1985, 65
756	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>	Amun Re	TT51	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 333-341, esp. 337.6, 340.8; Davies, 1927, 10
757	<i>T3-h^ct</i>	Isis	TT157	Thebes	19.2	KRI III 285.6, 282-291

758	<i>H'ṯ-nsw</i>	Onuris	el Mashayikh, Abydos	various	19.2	KRI III, 470-477, esp. 472. 8, 473.8; Bryan, 1986, 5-30
759	?	Seth	Dakhla		22.2	Gardiner, 1933, 29-30, fig. 1; Spiegelberg, 1899, 12-21
760	<i>Wrty</i>	Thoth		Field Museum of Natural History #31283	18.95?	Allen, 1936, 32
762	<i>T3-k3-mn- (wḏ3?)</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Pushkin Museum n. 86 I.1.a.5633 (4074)	19	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 144-145, n. 86
763	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	Amun	Thebes?	Pushkin Museum n. 86 I.1.a.5633 (4074)	19	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 144-145, n. 86
764	<i>T3-pr?</i>	Amun		Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 199	22	Tzachou-Alexandri, 1995, 152-153
765	<i>H3ny</i>	Amun		Athens, National Archaeological Museum, X 187	22.05	Tzachou-Alexandri, 1995, 154
766	<i>Dd-3st-iw.s- 'nh</i>	Amun		Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 3424	29	Tzachou-Alexandri, 1995, 168-169
767	<i>Ry'</i>	Amun	probably Thebes	Bologna, KS 1815- 16	18.9	Pernigotti, 1980, # 13
768	<i>Mryt</i>	Amun	probably Thebes	Bologna, KS 1814	18.95	Pernigotti, 1980, # 14
769	<i>T3-h'ṯ</i>	Amun	probably Thebes	Bologna, KS 1814	18.95	Pernigotti, 1980, # 14
770	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun	probably Thebes?	Bologna, KS 1813	19	Pernigotti, 1980, # 19
771	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	Amun		Bologna, KS 1905	18.1	Bresciani, 1985, #14
772	<i>Pwy</i>	Amun		Bologna KS 1922	18.9	Bresciani, 1985, #23
773	<i>T3-wsr</i>	Amun		Bologna, KS 1906	19.05	Bresciani, 1985, #24
774	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Amun		Bologna, KS 1905	18.1	Bresciani, 1985, #14
775	<i>Bi3t</i>	Amun	Abydos, near Portal Temple of Rii	Cairo, JdE 91252	18.1	Simpson, 1995, 57, fig. 95, pl. 3
776	<i>K3B</i>	Amun	Abydos, near Portal Temple of Rii	Cairo, JdE 91254 or 91247	18	Simpson, 1995, 59, fig. 98, pl. 14b
777	<i>Twt-wi3</i>	Amun	Abydos, near Portal Temple of Rii	University Museum, Philadelphia UM 69- 29-60	18	Simpson, 1995, 61, fig. 100
778	<i>T3y-sn-nfr</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Pushkin Museum n. 89, I.1.a 5636 (4145)	19.2 or 19.3	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 149, n. 89
779	<i>Mhyt-h'ṯ</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Pushkin Museum n. 89, I.1.a 5636 (4145)	19.2 or 19.3	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 149, n. 89

780	<i>Nfr-3st</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Pushkin Museum n. 89, I.1.a 5636 (4145)	19.2 or 19.3	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 149, n. 89
781	<i>Wnp</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Pushkin Museum n. 89, I.1.a 5636 (4145)	19.2 or 19.3	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 149, n. 89
782	<i>T3-kt</i>	Wepwawet	Asyut?	Pushkin Museum n. 89, I.1.a 5636 (4145)	19.2 or 19.3	Hodjash and Berlev, 1982, 149, n. 89
783	<i>Rnnwtt</i>	Amun Re, Wepwawet	Asyut, tomb of Amenhotep		19.1	Capel and Markoe 1996, 172-174; Karig, 1969, 27-34; Hayes, 1959, vol. II, 349; Kamal, 1916, 86-89
784	<i>T3-imnt-snb</i>	Khenti-amentiu	Akhmim	Cairo, CG 22054	31	Munro, 1973, 302
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT148	Thebes	20.15	Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, 161-180
786	<i>T3-mit</i>	Amun	TT148	Thebes	20.15	Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, 161-180
787	<i>Dd-Hr-iw.s- 'nh</i>	Amun		Leningrad, Hermitage 778	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.235
788	<i>Shmt</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT148	Thebes	20.15	Gaballa and Kitchen, 1981, 161-180
788	<i>Nsy-t3-nb- i3rw</i>	Amun		BM 35287, 36211	22.1	Niwiński, 1988, no.271
789	<i>Mwt-m-mr.s</i>	Amun Re, Mut, Knonsu	TT65	Thebes	20.19	KRI VI, 545.14; LD iii, 256
790	<i>W3y</i>	Amun Re	TT65	Thebes	20.19	KRI VI, 545.14; LD iii, 256
791	<i>T3-mt...</i>	Amun Re	TT65	Thebes	20.19	KRI VI, 544-553, esp. 545.14; LD iii, 256
792	<i>B3ky</i>	Amun	TT A24 (Waseda U. # W-6), Mut temple at Karnak	Thebes, Cairo, CG 932, CG 1107	18.6	Urk. IV, 1950; Wilkinson, 1883, 107, fig. 365; Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 3, 161 and pt. 4, 60-61
793	<i>T3yw-ndmt</i>	Nekhbet	El Kab tomb 4	El Kab	20.1	KRI V, 430 (207) and VI, 555 (41); personal observation
794	<i>Ns-w-m-sb3?</i>	Nekhbet	El Kab tomb 4	El Kab	20.1	KRI V, 430 (207) and VI, 555 (41); personal observation
795	<i>Mryt-R'</i>			Wiesbaden Museum, SNA 2293	18.3	Schlick-Nolte, 1984, vol. 1, 127-128
796	<i>Tw.s-m-hswt- Mwt</i>	Amun Re		Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, O. Nr	23	Schlick-Nolte, 1984, vol. 1, 25-26
797	<i>Ty</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycomore	Saqqara	Linköping, Sweden	18.95	Martin, 1987, vol. 1, #38, pl. 13

798	<i>M'iz</i>	Amun Re	Saqqara	East Berlin, 7278	18.95	Martin, 1987, vol. 1, #42, pl. 15
799	<i>S3t-Imn</i>	Amun Re	Saqqara	Saqqara, Antiquities magazine	18.95	Martin, 1987, vol. 1, #47, pl. 16
800	<i>T3yw.sn</i>	Amun	Thebes	Bodleian Library Oxford, B9	19.9	Currelly, et.al. 1913, 11, #B9
801	<i>Nfr...</i>	Amun	Thebes	Bodleian Library Oxford, B9	19.9	Currelly, et.al. 1913, 11, #B9
802	<i>...hbw-s'et</i>	Amun	Thebes	Bodleian Library Oxford, B9	19.9	Currelly, et.al. 1913, 11, #B9
803	<i>Nf'rt-iry</i>		Saqqara, tomb of Ameneminet	Cairo, S.R. 12002 section IV (on display in room 13); Munich Gl. 298	18.9	Löhr, 1970, 467-474
804	<i>R'izy</i>	Amun Re, Mut	TT409	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 331-345, esp. 341.16; Negm, 1997
805	<i>Twt-wi3</i>	Amun	TT409	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 331-345, esp. 345.15; Negm, 1997
806	<i>T3-smnt</i>	Amun	TT409	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 331-345, esp. 343.5-.6; Negm, 1997
807	<i>T3-wrt-h'p-ti</i>	Amun	TT409	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 331-345, esp. 342.15; Negm, 1997
808	<i>3h.s?</i>	Hathor?	Saqqara, tomb of Iurufef	Saqqara	19.2	Raven, 1991, 5
809	<i>Nbw-ii</i>	Amun		Boston MFA, temp. #85.1998	19	unpublished; information courtesy MFA
810	<i>Tr-(?nht)-Mwt?</i>	Amun?	Thebes	Boston MFA, temp. #154.1994	19	unpublished; information courtesy MFA
811	<i>T3y</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore		Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E55.49	19.9	Delvaux and Warmenbol, 1991, fig.27
812	<i>Wrt-nf'rt</i>	Khnum		BM 795	19	HTFES 10, pl. 94; Lieblein no. 995
813	<i>Ti3</i>	Amun, great of victories		Toronto, ROM 955.79.2; Florence Cat. no. 15988	19.2	KRI III, 366-372, esp. 368.5, .8; Kitchen, 1973, 426; Cooney, 1956, 27-28, pl. 51
814	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	Amun	Saqqara, tomb chapel of Raia	Saqqara	19.2	KRI VII, 167.16 (486); Martin, 1991, 124-30; Martin, 1985, 10-19, pl. 19
815	<i>Hwt-h'r</i>	Amun	TT A17	Chicago, Field Museum or Copenhagen?	20.1	KRI V, 418.9; Manniche, 1987, 78-79, fig. 68
816	<i>Nf'rt-iry</i>	Amun	TT323	Thebes, Turin N:22025 (=suppl. 6261)	19.15	KRI I, 392-396, esp. 393.3; also KRI III, 650, esp. 650.11
817	<i>Hmt-n'r</i>	Amun	TT323	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 392-396, 392.10
818	<i>T3-k3</i>	Amun		Louvre, Inv. 4011	19.1	KRI I, 331, esp. 331.12
820	<i>T3-swrh?</i>	Amun		Musee Guimet	19.1	KRI I, 325, VII, 430

821	<i>T3-mit</i>	Amun		Musee Guimet	19.1	KRI I, 325, VII, 430
822	<i>Tw-iv</i>	Amun		British Museum 10473 and 10471	19.1	KRI I, 321, esp. 321.14-.15
823	<i>M^cy^c</i>	Isis	Saqqara	Berlin 7274	19.1	KRI I, 309-319, esp. 311.3
824	<i>Shmt</i>	Amun		Louvre C.92	19.1	KRI I, 307-308, esp. 307.15
825	<i>Rnnwt</i>	Amun		Louvre C.92	19.1	KRI I, 307-308, esp. 308.5
826	<i>Hnt-iwnw</i>	Amun		Louvre C.92	19.1	KRI I, 307-308, esp. 308.9
827	<i>Mwt-nfrit</i>	Amun			18.6?	Urk. IV, 1930.5
828	<i>Twyw</i>	Amun			18.65	Urk. IV, 1895
829	<i>Nfrit-iry</i>	Amun			18.9	Urk. IV, 2077.18
830	<i>Mryt.f</i>	Thoth			18.4	Urk. IV, 1454.11 [443]
831	<i>B3k</i>	Amun	TT85	Thebes	18.35	Urk. IV, 920.3; Whale, 1989, case 49
832	<i>Hr-pry</i>	Amun	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, text 88, pl. XXVI
833	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	Amun?	TT296	Thebes	19.2	KRI VII, 145-153; Feucht, 1985, text 87-88, pl. XXVI
834	<i>Nwb-mt</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	KRI III, 36-46, esp. 37.6
835	<i>B3kt-wr-n-r</i>	Amun	TT156	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 113-115, esp. 114.8
836	<i>M^c3</i>	Amun	TT156	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 113-115, esp. 114.6
837	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	Amun	Aniba	University Museum, Philadelphia, E.14232	19.2	KRI III, 118.6,.8
838	<i>B3kti</i>	<i>Mn-hpr-R^c</i> (<i>nq</i> <i>s^crtqušhe</i>)		Louvre (no. number)	19.2	KRI III, 120 esp 120.16
839	<i>Nb-m-wšht</i>		Aniba		19.2	KRI III, 124-126, esp. 124.15
840	<i>Mrwt-t3-dy</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 127.14
841	<i>Hnwt-n-m3^ct</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 127.14-.15
842	<i>Hnwt-bw-tm-mt.s</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 127.15
843	<i>H3t-špst</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 127.15-.16
844	<i>Ti-m-wnwt</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 128.2
845	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	Amun	Buhen or Aniba?	BM 476	19.2	KRI III, 126-129, esp. 128.3
846	<i>T3-bs</i>		Abu Simbel?	Cairo, Temp. no. 25/8/15/1	19.2	KRI III, 130-131, esp. 131.4
847	<i>T3-n[...]</i>		Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	BM 1188	19.2	KRI III, 132-135, esp. 133.6-.7
848	<i>Mryt-nbw</i>		Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	BM 1188	19.2	KRI III, 132-135, esp. 133.6-.7
849	<i>?h-di.s</i>		Buhen (Wadi Halfa)	BM 1188	19.2	KRI III, 132-135, esp. 133.6, 135.1
850	<i>Mry(t)</i>	Amun	TT184	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 162-163, esp. 162.10-.11

851	<i>Tni-hty</i>	Hathor, lady of the sycomore	Saqqara		19.2	KRI III, 171-180, esp. 180.15
852	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>	Amun	TT183	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 182-185, esp. 183.4-.5 and VII, 114
853	<i>Twī3</i>	Amun	TT183	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 182-185, esp. 183.4 and VII, 114
854	<i>3st</i>	Nebet-ww	TT183	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 182-185, esp. 184.2 and VII, 114
855	<i>Ty</i>	Amun	Saqqara	Cairo, JdE 43276A	19.2	KRI III, 187-191, esp. 188.10-.11
856	<i>Twy</i>	Hathor, lady of the southern sycomore		Brussels E.5183	19.2	KRI III, 198-199, esp. 198.15-.16
857	<i>Twy</i>	Hathor, lady of the (southern) sycomore	Qurnah		19.2	KRI III, 202, esp. 202.13-.14
858	<i>Nht-m-wi3</i>	Hathor	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
859	<i>Mwt-twy</i>	Hathor	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
860	<i>Ty-ty</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
861	<i>T3-km'cy</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
862	<i>Sb3t(wnt)-nfr</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
863	<i>Ti3</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
864	<i>B3kt</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
865	<i>T3-ndm(t)</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
866	<i>T-y</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
867	<i>Twī3</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
868	<i>N3ty</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, CG34517	19.2	KRI III, 220-221
869	<i>Ntibp3rti3?</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	KRI III, 246, esp. .10
870	<i>T3-wsrt</i>	Amun	Abydos		19.2	KRI III, 246, esp. 246.12
871	<i>Hnwt-mhyt</i>	Amun		Naples Museum, 1069	19.2	KRI III 272-274, esp. 274.2
872	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun		Naples Museum, 1069	19.2	KRI III 272-274, esp. 274.3
873	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	Amun		Naples Museum, 1069	19.2	KRI III 272-274, esp. 274.4
874	<i>T3-k3-5nti</i>	Pre		Cairo, temp. no. 14-10-69-1	19.2	KRI III, 280-281, esp. 281.2
875	<i>Mry-nbw</i>	Amun of Karnak	TT168	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 300, esp. 300.15
876	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun	TT111	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 302-307, esp. 304.2
877	<i>Twy</i>	Bastet, lady of Ankh- tawy	TT111	Thebes, Louvre C.210	19.2	KRI III, 302-307, esp. 304.5-.6, 307.4
878	<i>B3kt-wr-n-r</i>	Amun	TT111?	Tübingen	19.2	KRI III, 305-306, esp. 305.15-.16
879	<i>Hnwt</i>	Amun Re	TT111	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 302-307, esp. 304.16
880	<i>Iny</i>	Amun, Mut, Khonsu	TT41	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 308-316, esp. 309.2-.3; Assmann, 1991b

881	<i>Ndmt</i>	Amun	TT41	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 308-316, esp. 309.3-.4; Assmann, 1991b
882	<i>Mcy?</i>	Amun	TT41	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 308-316, esp. 314.5; Assmann, 1991b
883	<i>Wr-nw-r-i3</i>	Amun		Copenhagen, B.5 (A.A. a22)	19.2	KRI III, 370.5
884	?		el Mashayikh	Cairo, CG 1141	19.2	KRI III, 463-464, esp. 463.11; Borchardt, 1911-1936, pt. 4, 78-79
885	<i>B3k(t)-3st</i>	Amun	Gadra (s. of Abydos)	Cairo, JdE 29332 [temp. no. 21/3/25/11]	19.2	KRI III, 467, esp. 467.14-.15
886	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	TT360	Thebes (also BM 144, 191)	19.2	KRI III, 598-609, esp. 602.5
887	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	Amun	Deir el Bahari	Deir el Bahari, Tuthmosis III temple	20.1	KRI V, 417-418
888	<i>Rny</i>	Mut	Sehel	Sehel	20.1	KRI V, 420-421, esp. 421.1-.2
889	<i>Spst-nfrit-rnpt</i>	(Hathor) lady of the sycamore	Deir el Bahari	Deir el Bahari	20.1	KRI V, 423-424, esp. 423.10-.11
890	<i>3st-nfrit</i>	(Hathor) lady of the sycamore	Qantir	Cairo?	20.1	KRI V, 426-427, esp. 426.8
891	<i>T3-k3rt (h^c-B3stt)</i>	Amun		Vienna, 63	20.1	KRI V, 432-433, esp. 433.2
892	<i>'nh-i3-iw-nbw</i>	Amun		Vienna, 63	20.1	KRI V, 432-433, esp. 433.4
893	<i>W3dyt-m-hb</i>	Amun		Vienna, 63	20.1	KRI V, 432-433, esp. 433.7
894	<i>Mwt-m-mnw</i>	Amun		Vienna, 63	20.1	KRI V, 432-433, esp. 433.7-.8
895	<i>B3k(t)-Swth</i>	Amun	Deir el Medina	Turin, N.57150 (Sp. 6628)	20.1	KRI V, 471, esp. 471.7
896	<i>3st-nfrit</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
897	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
898	<i>T3-k3i</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
899	<i>'-n-wd3-mwt</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
900	<i>K3i3y</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
901	<i>Twn-nw-n3</i>	Amun		Leicester City Museum, No. 2	19.3	KRI IV, 98-99
902	<i>3st-nfrit</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, temp. no. 12-6-24-17	19.3	KRI IV, 103, esp. 103.7
903	<i>'wrti</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, temp. no. 12-6-24-17	19.3	KRI IV, 103, esp. 103.8
904	<i>R3-k3-33</i>	Amun	Abydos	Cairo, temp. no. 12-6-24-17	19.3	KRI IV, 103, esp. 103.9-10

905	<i>3st</i>	Amun		Musée de Vienne (Isère), NE. 1555	19.3	KRI IV, 104-106, esp. 105.16
906	<i>Twy</i>	Amun	TT23	Thebes	19.3	KRI IV, 107-119, esp. 116.13
907	<i>Hwt-hr</i>			Vienna, 140	19.3	KRI IV, 121-122, esp. 122.9
908	<i>Nfrr-iry</i>	Amun of Karnak		Paris, Louvre, A.68	19.3	KRI IV, 136-137, esp. 136.11, 137.4-.5
909	<i>T3-miw</i>	Amun		Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.195.1899	19.3	KRI IV, 138, esp. 138.9-.10
910	<i>T3-wrt-hrt</i>	Amun Re	Aniba, tomb SA.7	Aniba	19.3	KRI IV, 282-285, esp. 284.2
911	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	Amun	Aniba, tomb SA.7	Aniba	19.3	KRI IV, 282-285, esp. 284.3-.4
912	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	Amun?	Surarieh, chapel of Merneptah	Surarieh	19.3	KRI IV, 289-292, esp. 289.15
913	<i>3st-t3...</i>	Amun	Surarieh, chapel of Merneptah	Surarieh	19.3	KRI IV, 289-292, esp. 289.15-.16
914	<i>T3-[...]-p3-3st</i>	Amun	Surarieh, chapel of Merneptah	Surarieh	19.3	KRI IV, 289-292, esp. 289.16
915	<i>K3r</i>	(Hathor) lady of the southern sycamore	Memphis	Collection Michaelides	19.3	KRI IV, 292-293, esp. 292.13
916	<i>Nfrr-Mwt</i>	Amun	Gurob	Petrie collection or Cairo?	19.3	KRI IV, 339, esp. 339.15-.16
917	<i>3st-[...]</i>	Isis	Abydos	Cairo?	19.3	KRI IV, 377-378, esp. 378.3
918	<i>Tr...</i>		Memphis, tomb	Cairo?; Anthes field number 9	19.3	KRI IV, 379-381, esp. 380.7
919	<i>Tiy</i>	Amun	TT106	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 285-301, esp. 296.4-.5, 298.2-.3
920	<i>N3i3</i>	Amun	TT106	Thebes	19.1	KRI I, 285-301 [VII, 15-18, 107-108]
921	<i>P3[...]<i>t3</i>g3yt?</i>	Amun	Deir el Bahari	Deir el Bahari	20.16	KRI VI, 361.15
922	<i>T3-diw-Mwt</i>	Amun Re		Cairo, JdE 35410	20.2	KRI VI, 850.2
923	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>	Amun	Abydos	Berlin 2081	20.18	KRI VI, 439-441, esp. 440.6
924	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	Amun	Abydos	Berlin 2081	20.18	KRI VI, 439-441, esp. 440.6
925	<i>Nbw-h^cti</i>	Amun	Abydos	Berlin 2081	20.18	KRI VI, 439-441, esp. 440.9
926	<i>Wi3y</i>	Amun	TT178	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 321-331, esp. 321.10; Hofmann, 1995
927	<i>Tnt-iwnt</i>	Montu	TT31	Thebes	19.2	KRI III, 399-410, esp. 406.13; Davies and Gardiner, 1948, pl. XV
928	<i>Ty</i>	Amun Re	Saqqara, tomb of Mose	Saqqara	19.2	KRI III, 418-435, esp. 421.5

929	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	Bastet, lady of Ankh- tawy	Saqqara, tomb of Mose	Saqqara	19.2	KRI III, 418-435, esp. 420.9- .10
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CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

REF #	NAME	688	Ti
711	<i>3h-Mwt</i>	445	T3y
117	<i>3h-Mwt-^cwy</i>	672	Ti-y
808	<i>3h.s?</i>	844	Ti-m-wnwt
458	<i>3st</i>	254	Ty3
447	<i>3st</i>	527	T-y
54	<i>3st</i>	866	T-y
44	<i>3st</i>	716	Ty
64	<i>3st</i>	52	Ty-nfr.ti
431	<i>3st</i>	459	Twy
713	<i>3st</i>	515	Tw-ns-nb-t3wy
854	<i>3st</i>	649	Twy
738	<i>3st</i>	661	Twy
693	<i>3st</i>	582	Twy
703	<i>3st</i>	877	Twy
712	<i>3st</i>	674	Twy
905	<i>3st</i>	906	Twy
87	<i>3st</i>	40	Twy
544	<i>3st</i>	637	Twy
727	<i>3st</i>	19	Twy3
46	<i>3st</i>	163	Tw.f-n-Imn tnt-wr-hk3t
153	<i>3st</i>	901	Tw-n-nw-n3
185	<i>3st</i>	21	Tw-nw-ry
379	<i>3st</i>	111	Tw.s- ^c nh
451	<i>3st</i>	796	Tw.s-m-hswt-Mwt
917	<i>3st-[...]</i>	472	Tp3y
412	<i>3sty</i>	575	T-pw-y
132	<i>3sty</i>	48	Tpt-nfrr
334	<i>3sty</i>	268	Imn-m-ipt
293	<i>3sty</i>	622	Imn-s ^c h
450	<i>3sty</i>	754	Imn-s ^c h
147	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	31	Tniw-h3y
151	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	89	Tni-h3y
349	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	411	Tn-iw-h3d3?
350	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	851	Tni-luty
139	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	880	Tny
364	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	454	Tn-h3y
449	<i>3st-m-3h-bit</i>	460	Tn-h3y
368	<i>3st-(m)-3h-bit</i>	441	Tnky
307	<i>3st-m-3ht?</i>	373	Tnh3y
408	<i>3st-m-bit</i>	918	Tr...
423	<i>3st-m-hb</i>	509	Tryt-nfrr
426	<i>3st-nfrr(t)</i>	513	Try-th
530	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	448	Tr-mwt-p3-nfr
715	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	707	Tr-nfrrw-Mwt
710	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	123	Thy
902	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	229	Thy
912	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	197	Thy (3st-m-3hbit)
896	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	66	Ts3y (Hn3y)
890	<i>3st-nfrr</i>	503	Tsw-mwt
913	<i>3st-t3...</i>	687	Tsrih
118	T...	559	T-t3wy
538	T??	121	T-t3-Mwt

CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

287	<i>Tɪwy</i>	98	<i>B3k-wrn</i>
27	<i>Yy</i>	38	<i>B3k-wrn^r</i>
604	<i>ʿ3ti</i>	477	<i>B3k-wrt?</i>
531	<i>ʿwrti</i>	615	<i>B3k-mwt</i>
903	<i>ʿwrti</i>	93	<i>B3k-n-Imn</i>
607	<i>ʿ-n-wd3</i>	456	<i>B3k-n-wrl</i>
899	<i>ʿ-n-wd3-mwt</i>	261	<i>B3kt</i>
729	<i>ʿ-n-wd3-mst</i>	864	<i>B3kt</i>
420	<i>ʿ-n-Mwt</i>	455	<i>B3kt-3st</i>
613	<i>ʿn-m-nr</i>	476	<i>B3kt-3st</i>
892	<i>ʿnh-i3-iw-nbw</i>	885	<i>B3k(t)-3st</i>
452	<i>ʿnh_y-n-3st</i>	838	<i>B3kti</i>
369	<i>ʿnh-s</i>	61	<i>B3kti3</i>
572	<i>ʿnh-s-3st</i>	20	<i>B3k(t)-Imn</i>
202	<i>ʿnh.s-Mwt</i>	57	<i>B3k(t)-ʿnh_t</i>
144	<i>ʿnh.s-n-3st</i>	878	<i>B3kt-wr-n-r</i>
386	<i>ʿnh.s-n-3st</i>	835	<i>B3kt-wr-n-r</i>
323	<i>ʿnh.s-n-Mwt</i>	725	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>
165	<i>ʿnh.s-n-Mwt</i>	852	<i>B3kt-Mwt</i>
71	<i>ʿn-t3-hytw</i>	704	<i>B3k(t)-Hnsw</i>
58	<i>ʿ3t-nbw</i>	895	<i>B3k(t)-Swth</i>
475	<i>W3y-k3</i>	751	<i>B3kt-Shmt</i>
893	<i>W3dyt-m-hb</i>	493	<i>B3t3</i>
691	<i>W3d-h3w</i>	696	<i>Bi3</i>
533	<i>W3dt-rnpt</i>	775	<i>Bi3t</i>
876	<i>Wi3y</i>	676	<i>Bwy</i>
926	<i>Wi3y</i>	335	<i>Bw-irw-h^r-Mwt?</i>
603	<i>Wi3y</i>	565	<i>Bw-wy3?</i>
872	<i>Wi3y</i>	169	<i>Bwt-[irw]-h^r-Hnsw</i>
641	<i>Wi3y(?)</i>	359	<i>P3-sb-wbht-n-Mwt</i>
790	<i>Wi3y</i>	467	<i>P3-t3w</i>
655	<i>W^cbt</i>	921	<i>P3[...]t3^cg3yt?</i>
744	<i>W^cbt</i>	24	<i>Pi</i>
414	<i>Wb-h_t</i>	619	<i>Pik^c?</i>
735	<i>Wbh_t</i>	461	<i>Py-pwy</i>
781	<i>Wnp</i>	772	<i>Pwy</i>
883	<i>Wr-nw-r-i3</i>	425	<i>Pwy3</i>
709	<i>Wr-[nfr]</i>	249	<i>Pwyw</i>
60	<i>Wrt-nf_rt</i>	35	<i>P[wr]y</i>
812	<i>Wrt-nf_rt</i>	29	<i>Pp</i>
659	<i>Wrt-nf_rt</i>	22	<i>Ppy</i>
771	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	556	<i>Pr?</i>
26	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	16	<i>Pry</i>
614	<i>Wr-n-r</i>	18	<i>Pry</i>
600	<i>Wr-nrw</i>	551	<i>Pr-ms-m-?</i>
500	<i>Wrt...</i>	271	<i>M3^ct-nf_rt</i>
760	<i>Wrt_y</i>	750	<i>M3^ct-nf_rt</i>
85	<i>Wrt-w3h-sw</i>	298	<i>M3^ct-k3-R^c</i>
537	<i>Wty-rnw?</i>	415	<i>M3t?</i>
388	<i>B3w-Mwt-r-nhtyw</i>	339	<i>Mi3^c-nhm</i>
831	<i>B3k</i>	137	<i>My-sm-rdwy-sk_tb?</i>
525	<i>B3k-Imn</i>	798	<i>M^ci3</i>
792	<i>B3ky</i>	714	<i>M^ci3</i>

CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

836	<i>M^ci3</i>	722	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>
639	<i>M^ci3y</i>	526	<i>Mwt-ndm</i>
251	<i>M^ci3ny</i>	403	<i>Mwt-rwd</i>
462	<i>M^cy</i>	193	<i>Mwt-htp</i>
701	<i>M^cy</i>	361	<i>Mwt-htp-ti</i>
882	<i>M^cy?</i>	277	<i>Mwt-twy</i>
823	<i>M^cy^c</i>	859	<i>Mwt-twy</i>
492	<i>M^cnwn3</i>	555	<i>Mr-?</i>
718	<i>M^ckwi</i>	306	<i>Mry.f-n-Mwt</i>
664	<i>Mwt?</i>	875	<i>Mry-nbw</i>
586	<i>Mwti^cy (M^cy)</i>	273	<i>Mryt</i>
347	<i>Mwt-ip</i>	482	<i>Mryt?</i>
162	<i>Mwt-ipt</i>	276	<i>Mryt</i>
283	<i>Mwt-iry</i>	683	<i>Mryt</i>
243	<i>Mwt-ir.t-di.s</i>	768	<i>Mryt</i>
640	<i>Mwt-ir-di.s</i>	850	<i>Mryt(t)</i>
695	<i>Mwty</i>	262	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>
677	<i>Mwty</i>	304	<i>Mryt-Imn</i>
519	<i>Mwty</i>	491	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>
535	<i>Mwt-wnš</i>	80	<i>Mryt-Pth</i>
730	<i>Mwt-m-ipt</i>	830	<i>Mryt.f</i>
668	<i>Mwt-m-int</i>	848	<i>Mryt-nbw</i>
589	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	795	<i>Mryt-R^c</i>
55	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	648	<i>Mryt-R^c</i>
419	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	25	<i>Mrt-R^c</i>
814	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	217	<i>Mrw-^ch</i>
670	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	840	<i>Mrwt-t3-dy</i>
92	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	577	<i>Mrwt-ti</i>
69	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	291	<i>Mhd-Mwt</i>
728	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	358	<i>Mh-Mwt-h^ct</i>
294	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	779	<i>Mhyt-h^ct</i>
465	<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>	720	<i>Mhyt-h^ct</i>
894	<i>Mwt-m-mnw</i>	497	<i>Ms</i>
789	<i>Mwt-m-mr.s</i>	400	<i>Mš^c-Sbk</i>
517	<i>Mwt-mnw</i>	920	<i>N33</i>
398	<i>Mwt-m-(h^cy?)-mnw.s</i>	384	<i>N3w-ny</i>
187	<i>Mwt-n-ipt</i>	569	<i>N3-mnh-3st</i>
223	<i>Mwt-n-pr-Imn</i>	428	<i>N3-nfr; Rn-nfr</i>
685	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	6	<i>N3š3</i>
774	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	463	<i>N3-š3-^c3</i>
272	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	724	<i>N3w-š3^ct</i>
269	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	521	<i>N3-ty</i>
480	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	868	<i>N3ty</i>
279	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	529	<i>N3-tyi</i>
827	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	732	<i>Niwt-m-hb</i>
697	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	481	<i>Nyt</i>
692	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	834	<i>Nwb-nit</i>
616	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	646	<i>Nwbt-ntr-nfr</i>
608	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	471	<i>Nb-...</i>
929	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	809	<i>Nbw-ii</i>
13	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	654	<i>Nbw-iiy</i>
30	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	437	<i>Nbw-šsbdw</i>
719	<i>Mwt-nfrt</i>	925	<i>Nbw-h^cti</i>

CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

248	<i>Nbwt-m-wšht</i>	371	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>
839	<i>Nb-m-wšht</i>	156	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>
753	<i>Nb[-hni?]-tw</i>	189	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>
63	<i>Nbt-wnw</i>	227	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>
675	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	133	<i>Nsy-tš-nb-t^cwy</i>
23	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	179	<i>Nsy-tš-nb-tšwy</i>
627	<i>Nbt-tšwy</i>	391	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-pš-hrd</i>
105	<i>Nb(t)-tšwy</i>	344	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-pš-hrd</i>
801	<i>Nfr...</i>	397	<i>Nsy-Hnsw-pš-hrd</i>
780	<i>Nfr-šst</i>	788	<i>Nsy-tš-nb-išrw</i>
665	<i>Nfr-Mwt</i>	474	<i>Nsy-tš-nbt-išrw</i>
42	<i>Nfrt-ilt</i>	336	<i>Nsy-(tš)-nb(t)-išrw</i>
417	<i>Nfr(t)-iy</i>	392	<i>Nsy-tš-nbt-išrw</i>
803	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	181	<i>(Nsy)tš-nbt-išrw</i>
829	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	381	<i>Nsyt-šst</i>
770	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	142	<i>Nsy-tš-nbt-tšwy</i>
816	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	329	<i>Nsy-tš-nbt-tšwy</i>
520	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	146	<i>Nsyt-tš-nbt-tšwy</i>
421	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	596	<i>Nsw-m-ḥšb</i>
77	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	794	<i>Ns-w-m-sbš?</i>
736	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	131	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>
507	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	356	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>
33	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	605	<i>Ns-nb</i>
873	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	378	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>
908	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	340	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>
65	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	109	<i>Ns-Hnsw</i>
86	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	244	<i>Ns-Hnsw-pš-hrd</i>
636	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	442	<i>Ns-Hnsw-pš-hrd</i>
746	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	401	<i>Ns-sw-šst</i>
634	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	208	<i>Ns-tš-wdšt-šḥ</i>
740	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	125	<i>Ns-tš-ntr</i>
237	<i>Nfrt-iry</i>	560	<i>Nst-Imn</i>
749	<i>Nfrt-iry-m-ḥb</i>	405	<i>Nst-Imn (Ns-tš-nbt-išrw)</i>
578	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	343	<i>Nsty-Hnsw-tp</i>
916	<i>Nfrt-Mwt</i>	74	<i>Ns-tr-n-mš^ct</i>
698	<i>Nfrt-ḥ^c</i>	50	<i>Nš^c</i>
752	<i>Nhry</i>	869	<i>Ntibpšrtiš?</i>
518	<i>Nht-m-wiš</i>	543	<i>Ntm-šst</i>
858	<i>Nht-m-wiš</i>	663	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>
706	<i>Nht-Mwt</i>	737	<i>Ndm-Mwt</i>
188	<i>Nsy...</i>	881	<i>Ndmt</i>
216	<i>Nsy-prw-nbw</i>	642	<i>Ndmt-niwt</i>
911	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	278	<i>Ršy</i>
175	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	904	<i>Rš-kš-šš</i>
338	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	610	<i>Ry</i>
164	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	767	<i>Ry^c</i>
194	<i>Nsy-Mwt</i>	573	<i>R^c</i>
219	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	743	<i>R^ciš</i>
130	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	626	<i>R^cTš</i>
157	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	804	<i>R^cišy</i>
160	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	602	<i>Rwiš</i>
161	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	196	<i>Rw-rw?</i>
346	<i>Nsy-Hnsw</i>	532	<i>Rwkššš</i>

263	<i>Rnzy</i>	172	<i>Hnwt-t3-? -nb</i>
888	<i>Rny</i>	49	<i>Hnwt-dww</i>
288	<i>Rnwt</i>	266	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
584	<i>Rnwt</i>	267	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
285	<i>Rn-nzy</i>	286	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
825	<i>Rnnwt</i>	280	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
783	<i>Rnnwt</i>	756	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
444	<i>Rnnwt</i>	708	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
765	<i>H3ny</i>	548	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
843	<i>H3t-špst</i>	631	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
174	<i>H3t-špswt</i>	173	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
623	<i>H3t-špswt</i>	183	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
717	<i>H3t-šps(t)</i>	310	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
446	<i>H3t-šryt</i>	327	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
763	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	152	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
657	<i>Hwy-n-r (Hwt-hr)</i>	205	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
833	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	120	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
721	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	200	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
924	<i>Hwy-n-r</i>	399	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
15	<i>Hwnry</i>	380	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
534	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	190	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
587	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	258	<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>
76	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	826	<i>Hnt-iwnw</i>
845	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	90	<i>Hnr</i>
422	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	579	<i>Hr-iy</i>
504	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	62	<i>Hry</i>
907	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	150	<i>Hryw-wbn</i>
689	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	199	<i>Hryt-wbht</i>
104	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	177	<i>Hryt-Mwt-i' h-ms</i>
815	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	832	<i>Hr-pry</i>
103	<i>Hpt-disw</i>	630	<i>(H?)krt</i>
817	<i>Hmt-ntr</i>	136	<i>H3' s</i>
567	<i>Hnwt</i>	650	<i>H'yt</i>
879	<i>Hnwt</i>	88	<i>H't-b3ht</i>
628	<i>Hnwt</i>	758	<i>H't-nsw</i>
39	<i>Hnwt-twnw</i>	652	<i>Hbwy-nw-ns</i>
723	<i>Hnwt-w3dwt</i>	214	<i>Hnmm-Hnsw</i>
487	<i>Hnwt-wrt</i>	209	<i>Hnmm-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>
443	<i>Hnwt-w3bw</i>	228	<i>Hnmm-Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>
842	<i>Hnwt-bw-tm-mt.s</i>	333	<i>S3-Hnsw</i>
195	<i>Hnwt-mhyt</i>	595	<i>S3-kt</i>
871	<i>Hnwt-mhyt</i>	690	<i>S3t-Tnn</i>
438	<i>Hnwt-mhyt</i>	799	<i>S3t-Tnn</i>
236	<i>Hnwt-mr</i>	673	<i>S3t-R'</i>
643	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	581	<i>S3t-tp-ihw</i>
653	<i>Hnwt-mtr</i>	862	<i>Sb3t(wnt)-nfr</i>
113	<i>Hnwt-nfr</i>	457	<i>Sbk-hnt</i>
601	<i>Hnwt-nfrt</i>	498	<i>Sh3-nfr</i>
259	<i>hnwt-nfrt</i>	598	<i>Shnt-nfr</i>
841	<i>Hnwt-n-m3't</i>	686	<i>Shnt</i>
215	<i>Hnwt-nht</i>	824	<i>Shnt</i>
385	<i>Hnwt-ntrw</i>	102	<i>Shnt</i>
96	<i>Hnwt-t3-nb</i>	788	<i>Shnt</i>

CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

635	<i>Shmt</i>	748	<i>T3-iwnw</i>
468	<i>Shmt-m-hb</i>	784	<i>T3-imnt-snb</i>
612	<i>Shmt-nfrit</i>	811	<i>T3y</i>
580	<i>Snw-^cnh</i>	73	<i>T3y-iw-šri</i>
260	<i>Sn-snb</i>	100	<i>T3y-^cky</i>
284	<i>Sn-snb</i>	233	<i>T3yw-3h-^t</i>
597	<i>Styky</i>	793	<i>T3yw-nqmt</i>
14	<i>St-Mnty</i>	154	<i>T3yw-hnwt</i>
72	<i>Š...</i>	119	<i>T3yw-hnwt</i>
542	<i>Šbwti-wsri</i>	429	<i>T3yw-hry</i>
390	<i>Šb-n-3st (špt-n-3st)</i>	159	<i>T3yw-hry</i>
145	<i>Šbry</i>	226	<i>T3yw-hry</i>
239	<i>Šbry</i>	126	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>
889	<i>Špst-nfrit-rnpt</i>	341	<i>T3yw-hryt</i>
366	<i>Špst-ns-Mwt-^cnh-ti</i>	115	<i>T3yw-hrt</i>
550	<i>Š3y?</i>	800	<i>T3yw.sn</i>
593	<i>Šri-R^c</i>	99	<i>T3y-bs</i>
12	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	632	<i>T3y-hnwt-p3-mtr</i>
656	<i>Šrit-R^c</i>	633	<i>T3y-nqmt</i>
562	<i>Šrit-R^c</i>	168	<i>T3y-k3y</i>
629	<i>Šri(t)-R^c</i>	599	<i>T3y-sn</i>
574	<i>Ššn</i>	778	<i>T3y-sn-nfr</i>
182	<i>Šd-sw-t3-ipt</i>	299	<i>T3-3-Imn</i>
469	<i>Šd(t)-sy-Mwt</i>	317	<i>T3-3-pr-Imn</i>
609	<i>K3-(k3)</i>	192	<i>T3-^chwy</i>
148	<i>K3b-st-nbw?</i>	7	<i>T3-^ch^c</i>
37	<i>K3-nhbt</i>	83	<i>T3-^cnt-hr-tw-y-st?</i>
776	<i>K3i3</i>	547	<i>T3-^cšt-wšbw</i>
594	<i>K3i3</i>	53	<i>T3-^ck3y</i>
900	<i>K3i3y</i>	47	<i>T3-^cky</i>
308	<i>K3^c-sw-n-Hnsw</i>	2	<i>T3wy</i>
245	<i>K3fy</i>	318	<i>T3w-hnwt</i>
297	<i>K3-r-nht.s-n-Hnsw</i>	546	<i>T3-wr-hk3t</i>
739	<i>K3h</i>	51	<i>T3-wrt</i>
915	<i>K3t</i>	70	<i>T3-wr(t)</i>
186	<i>K3t-bt</i>	583	<i>T3-wrt</i>
435	<i>Kiy</i>	101	<i>T3-wrt</i>
742	<i>Kmn^c</i>	17	<i>T3-wr(t)-m-hb</i>
699	<i>Knr</i>	416	<i>T3-wrt-m-hb</i>
571	<i>Kt-hr?</i>	671	<i>T3-wr(t)-m-hb</i>
178	<i>G3wt-sšn</i>	910	<i>T3-wrt-hrt</i>
382	<i>G3wt-sšn</i>	611	<i>T3-wrt-htpt</i>
453	<i>G3wt-sšnw</i>	807	<i>T3-wrt-htp-ti</i>
319	<i>G3t-sšn</i>	36	<i>T3-wr(t)-htp-^t</i>
406	<i>G3t-sšny</i>	773	<i>T3-wsr</i>
436	<i>T3-...</i>	624	<i>T3-wsrt</i>
606	<i>T3...</i>	870	<i>T3-wsrt</i>
553	<i>T3-?</i>	585	<i>T3-wsrt</i>
362	<i>T3...</i>	923	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>
427	<i>T3-ibht-R^c</i>	45	<i>T3-wsr(t)</i>
662	<i>T3-Imn</i>	122	<i>T3-wsrt-m-pr-nsw</i>
820	<i>T3-isrh?</i>	464	<i>T3-wd3t</i>
238	<i>T3-ist-it-Mwt-t3-wr</i>	149	<i>T3-wd3t-R^c</i>

CHART 8: ALPHABETICAL CROSS REFERENCE LIST

67	<i>T3-b3-s3</i>	231	<i>T3-hmt-n-Mwt</i>
747	<i>T3-b3-s3</i>	409	<i>T3-hmt-n-Mwt</i>
107	<i>T3-b3-st</i>	270	<i>T3-h^ct</i>
563	<i>T3-b3k-n-3st</i>	617	<i>T3-h^ct</i>
666	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt</i>	618	<i>T3-h^ct</i>
110	<i>T3-b3k-n-Mwt (T3-nt-b3k-n-Mwt)</i>	769	<i>T3-h^ct</i>
203	<i>T3-b3kt-Mwt</i>	757	<i>T3-h^ct</i>
220	<i>T3-b3k(t)-n-Hnsw</i>	41	<i>T3-h^c(t)</i>
221	<i>T3-b3k(t)-n-Hnsw</i>	230	<i>T3-hbt</i>
396	<i>T3-b3kt-n-Hnsw</i>	32	<i>T3-sw-ri</i>
232	<i>T3-b3kt-Hnsw</i>	806	<i>T3-smnt</i>
68	<i>T3-bw-b3</i>	241	<i>T3-sbr</i>
846	<i>T3-bs</i>	246	<i>T3-sryt-n(t)-3st</i>
764	<i>T3-pr?</i>	235	<i>T3-sd-Hnsw</i>
247	<i>T3-mi3t</i>	316	<i>T3-sd-Hnsw</i>
625	<i>T3-miw</i>	818	<i>T3-k3</i>
897	<i>T3-miw</i>	898	<i>T3-k3i</i>
909	<i>T3-miw</i>	874	<i>T3-k3-^cnti</i>
821	<i>T3-mit</i>	82	<i>T3-k3ri3</i>
786	<i>T3-mit</i>	762	<i>T3-k3-mn-(wg3?)</i>
508	<i>T3-my(t)</i>	891	<i>T3-k3rt (h^c-B3stt)</i>
554	<i>T3-Mwt</i>	439	<i>T3-k3(t); hnsw-wp-nfrt</i>
222	<i>T3-Mwt.f</i>	522	<i>T3-km3y</i>
549	<i>T3-Mwt-nfr</i>	861	<i>T3-km^cy</i>
558	<i>T3-Mwt-nfrt</i>	782	<i>T3-kt</i>
213	<i>T3-Mwt-nfrt</i>	568	<i>T3-di</i>
638	<i>T3-Mwt-nfrt</i>	922	<i>T3-diw-Mwt</i>
514	<i>T3-mhyt</i>	473	<i>T3-dy(t)-Mwt</i>
360	<i>T3-mni</i>	275	<i>T3-ddt.s</i>
404	<i>T3-mry</i>	914	<i>T3-[...]-p3-3st</i>
540	<i>T3-mrit</i>	684	<i>[T?]3-miy</i>
785	<i>T3-mryt</i>	524	<i>Ti3</i>
539	<i>T3-mr-pn-^cs</i>	863	<i>Ti3</i>
257	<i>T3-m-rsfy</i>	561	<i>Tiy</i>
651	<i>T3-mrt</i>	919	<i>Tiy</i>
791	<i>T3-mt...</i>	496	<i>Tiy</i>
847	<i>T3-n[...]</i>	250	<i>Tint...</i>
171	<i>T3-n3ht-n-t3-h3^ct</i>	11	<i>Tity</i>
158	<i>T3-n-pr-ms</i>	694	<i>Ty</i>
97	<i>T3-nfrt</i>	591	<i>Ty</i>
81	<i>T3-nhs</i>	621	<i>Ty</i>
56	<i>T3-n-shrry</i>	755	<i>Ty</i>
234	<i>T3-nt-Hnsw</i>	797	<i>Ty</i>
745	<i>T3-ndm-m3^ct-r^c</i>	59	<i>Ty</i>
402	<i>T3-ndm-Mwt</i>	855	<i>Ty</i>
865	<i>T3-ndm(t)</i>	928	<i>Ty</i>
837	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	204	<i>Ty</i>
644	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	383	<i>Ty</i>
887	<i>T3-ndmt</i>	94	<i>Tyi3y</i>
43	<i>T3ri3</i>	700	<i>Typwy</i>
678	<i>T3-rnwt</i>	705	<i>Ty-m-hb</i>
413	<i>T3-rnnt</i>	440	<i>Tyt</i>
342	<i>T3-r-stit</i>	860	<i>Ty-ty</i>

528	<i>Twib</i>	523	<i>Dw3t-nfr</i>
867	<i>Twib</i>	588	<i>Dw3t-nfrt?</i>
853	<i>Twib</i>	410	<i>Dni?-n-B3stt</i>
886	<i>Twy</i>	75	<i>Dniw-n-Hnsw</i>
857	<i>Twy</i>	536	<i>D'-3st</i>
253	<i>Twy</i>	766	<i>Dd-3st-iw.s-^cnh</i>
856	<i>Twy</i>	680	<i>Dd-3st-n-imw</i>
84	<i>Twy</i>	375	<i>Dd-Imnt-iw-st-^cnh</i>
91	<i>Twy</i>	135	<i>Dd-m3't-iw.s-^cnh</i>
777	<i>Twt-wib</i>	224	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw-^cnh</i>
805	<i>Twt-wib</i>	166	<i>?Dd-mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
374	<i>Tfrr-w3st</i>	201	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
389	<i>Tfrr-w3st</i>	311	<i>Dd-Mwt-is.s-^cnh</i>
927	<i>Tnt-iwnt</i>	314	<i>Dd-Mwt-is.s-^cnh</i>
433	<i>Tnt?-ipt</i>	407	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
734	<i>(Tnt)-Bdty</i>	418	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
733	<i>Tnt-p3-ipt</i>	141	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
430	<i>Tnt-Nbt-hwt</i>	289	<i>Dd-mhyt-is-^cnh</i>
669	<i>Tnt-...nw</i>	176	<i>Dd-Mwt-iw.s-^cnh</i>
264	<i>Tti-m-nfr</i>	787	<i>Dd-Hr-iw.s-^cnh</i>
564	<i>T?-s3???</i>	355	<i>Dd-Hnsw</i>
679	<i>T3y-nb-nht-rw</i>	290	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw-^cnh</i>
620	<i>T3pwy?</i>	370	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw-^cnh</i>
281	<i>T3-ti</i>	320	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
681	<i>T3-tiy</i>	393	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
813	<i>Tib</i>	394	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
660	<i>Ty</i>	184	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
822	<i>Tw-iw</i>	218	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
828	<i>Twyw</i>	367	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw.s-^cnh</i>
337	<i>Tmhd-hhsw</i>	348	<i>Dd-Hnsw-iw-st-^cnh</i>
170	<i>Tnt...</i>	372	<i>Dd-tnt-di-ipt-wrt</i>
9	<i>Tnt-Imn (T3-nt-Imn)</i>	849	<i>?h-di.s</i>
377	<i>Tnt-wsrt.s-n-pr-nsw</i>	590	<i>...i3w</i>
545	<i>Tnt-bhw-3h</i>	499	<i>...t3wy</i>
726	<i>Tnt-p3-s3</i>	802	<i>...hbw-s^ct</i>
180	<i>Tnt-pn-hrw-nfr (T3-nt-p3-hrw-nfr)</i>	95	<i>...Mwt</i>
354	<i>Tnt-mhd-Mwt</i>	376	<i>...Imnt</i>
210	<i>Tnt-n3w-hrrw</i>		
345	<i>Tnt-R^c-ss</i>		
112	<i>Tnt-ry (T3-nt-ry)</i>		
292	<i>Tnt-hm-n-Mwt</i>		
191	<i>Tnt-hn-f (T3-nt-hn.f)</i>		
303	<i>Tnt-s3-rk-n3-sti</i>		
351	<i>Tnt-s3-rk-n3-sti?</i>		
352	<i>Tnt-3dy-Hnsw</i>		
212	<i>Tnt-3d-Mwt</i>		
395	<i>Tnt-3dt-Mwt</i>		
315	<i>Tnt-diw-Mwt</i>		
810	<i>Tr-(?nht)-Mwt?</i>		
116	<i>Diw-Mwt-(r)-iwdw</i>		
353	<i>Diw-sw-n-Mwt</i>		
325	<i>Dyr-pw-(sti?)</i>		
106	<i>Dw3t</i>		

N.B. Twenty-eight references where none of the woman's name is preserved have been omitted from this list.

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