

Publication Data

Wüthrich, Annik
2022
Some Notes on the Question of Feminine Identity at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty in the Funerary Literature
In: Mariam F. Ayad (ed.), Women in Ancient Egypt. Revisiting Power, Agency, and Autonomy, Cairo, 277–290.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1553/ERC_757951_Wuethrich_Women_Egypt

Abstract

One of the peculiarities of the Third Intermediate Period, and especially of the Twenty-first Dynasty, is the number of sources dealing with women, even when limiting the scope to funerary literature. Whereas during the entire New Kingdom, the female owners of Books of the Dead represent a tiny minority, the number of papyri owned by women dramatically increases at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.

Project References

Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

This research project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under Grant Agreement Number 757951 and has been hosted at the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Department of Classical Studies, of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

The results published are solely within the author's responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the European Research Council or the European Commission who must not be held responsible for either contents or their further use.

WOMEN IN ANCIENT EGYPT

REVISITING POWER, AGENCY, AND AUTONOMY

Edited by
Mariam F. Ayad



AUC PRESS

Contents

Illustrations ix

Contributors xvii

Foreword: Women in Ancient Egypt:
Current Research and Historical Trends
Fayza Haikal xxvii

1. Moving Beyond Gender Bias
Mariam F. Ayad 1

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE

2. Early Dynastic Women: The Written Evidence
Eva-Maria Engel 27

ROYAL WOMEN:
EXPRESSIONS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE

3. The Funerary Domains of Setibhor and Other Old Kingdom Queens
Hana Vymazalová 39

4. Elevated or Diminished? Questions Regarding Middle Kingdom Royal Women
Isabel Stünkel 59

5. Egyptianizing Female Sphinxes in Anatolia and the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age 71
Yasmin El Shazly

6. An Intriguing Feminine Figure in the Royal Cachette Wadi: New Findings from the C2 Project 87
José Ramón Pérez-Accino Picatoste and Inmaculada Vivas Sainz

7. The Role of Amunet during the Reign of Hatshepsut 101
Katarzyna Kapiec

8. Power, Piety, and Gender in Context: Hatshepsut and Nefertiti 121
Jacquelyn Williamson

9. Arsinoë II and Berenike II: Ptolemaic Vanguards of Queenly Political Power 147
Tara Sewell-Lasater

NONROYAL WOMEN: LEGAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

10. Women in the Economic Domain: First to Sixth Dynasties 165
Susan Anne Kelly

11. Ostentation in Old Kingdom Female Tombs: Between Iconographical Conventions and Gendered Adaptations 187
Romane Betbeze

12. The *ḫnrwt*: A Reassessment of Their Religious Roles 205
Izold Guegan

13. Family Contracts in New Kingdom Egypt 227
Reinert Skumsnes

14. The Women of Deir al-Medina in the Ramesside Period: Current State of Research and Future Perspectives on the Community of Workers 243
Kathrin Gabler

15. Some Remarks on the *Shabti* Corpus of Iyneferty 263
Rahel Glanzmann

16. Some Notes on the Question of Feminine Identity at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the Funerary Literature 277
Annik Wüthrich

17. The Role and Status of Women in Elite Family Networks of Late Period Thebes: The Wives of Montuemhat 291
Anke Ilona Blöbaum

18. Women's Participation as Contracting Parties as Recorded in Demotic Documents for Money from Ptolemaic Upper Egypt: A Case Study of Change? 311
Renate Fellinger

19. Women in Demotic (Documentary) Texts 331
Janet H. Johnson

20. Shoes, Sickness, and Sisters: The (In)visibility of Christian Women from Late Antique Oxyrhynchus 351
AnneMarie Luijendijk

THE FEMALE BODY

21. Women's Intimacy: Blood, Milk, and Women's Conditions in the Gynecological Papyri of Ancient Egypt 381
Clémentine Audouit

22. Women's Health Issues as Seen in Theban Tomb 16 395
Suzanne Onstine, Jesús Herrerín López, Nataša Šarkić, Miguel Sanchez, and Rosa Dinarès Solà

23. Shifting Perceptions of Tattooed Women in Ancient Egypt 401
Anne Austin

List of Abbreviations 423

Bibliography 429

Contributors

Clémentine Audouit is a French Egyptologist. In 2017, she defended her doctoral dissertation, entitled "Représentations et fonctions du sang en Egypte pharaonique" (under the direction of Bernard Mathieu, professor in Egyptology). After that, she continued her research and published several papers about the perceptions of bodily fluids in ancient Egypt. She also co-organized with B. Mathieu and E. Panaite the symposium "Body Fluids in Ancient Egypt and the Near East" in 2019 at Montpellier. In addition to her studies about the body, she participates in the French epigraphic study of the western face of the second pylon in Amun's Temple in Karnak (CFEETK-USR 3172).

Anne Austin received her BA in anthropology from Harvard University, and her MA and PhD in the archaeology program at UCLA. Before starting her position as an assistant professor at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, Anne completed a three-year postdoctoral program in the History Department at Stanford University. Anne's research combines the fields of osteology and Egyptology in order to document medicine and disease in the past. Specifically, she uses data from ancient Egyptian human remains and daily life texts to reconstruct ancient Egyptian health care networks and identify the diseases and illnesses people experienced in the past. While working as a member of the IFAO mission at Deir al-Medina, Anne identified the mummified remains of a woman with over thirty tattoos. Since then, she has identified several other individuals with tattoos from Deir al-Medina. Her current research project explores how the practice of tattooing in ancient Egypt connects to gender, religion, and medicine. In addition to her interest in Egyptology and osteology,

Anne also works on improving archaeological data management practices through her participation in an international, collaborative ethnographic research study on archaeological field schools called the Secret Life of Data (SLO-Data) Project.

Mariam Ayad is an associate professor of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo. In 2020–21, she was a visiting associate professor of women's studies and Near Eastern religions and a research associate of the Women's Studies in Religion program at Harvard Divinity School. Ayad studied Egyptology at the American University in Cairo (BA), the University of Toronto (MA), and Brown University (PhD), and was a tenured associate professor of art history and Egyptology at the University of Memphis, Tennessee before returning to Egypt in 2011. She is the author of *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740–525 BC)* (Routledge, 2009) and the editor of three volumes on Coptic culture.

Romane Betbeze studied Egyptology at the École du Louvre, Paris, and has worked as an epigraphist at the Centre Franco-Egyptien des Temples de Karnak in Luxor. Specializing in material culture from the Old Kingdom, her PhD, which was devoted to the study of private tomb façades from the Old Kingdom through the notions of ostentation and addressivity, was completed under the supervision of Laurent Coulon (EPHE, Paris) and Philippe Collombert (Université de Genève); she was also assistant researcher for the SNSF project of Julie Stauder-Porchet on "Monumental Discourse in the Third Millennium BCE Egypt." Her current research focuses on tomb decoration of elite women from the same period through the lens of gender studies.

Anke Ilona Blöbaum is a research associate with the project "Structure and Transformation in the Vocabulary of the Egyptian Language: Text and Knowledge in the Culture of Ancient Egypt" at the Saxon Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Leipzig, Germany. She has studied Egyptology and Coptology in Münster and Paris (EPHE, ICP) and received her PhD in Egyptology from the Westfalian University at Münster (2006). Besides her work as researcher and lecturer, she has been involved in several archaeological missions at Thebes, Abydos, Elephantine, and Buto. The focal points of her research oscillate mainly between Egyptian philology, with an emphasis on medico-magical texts and on royal and elite self-presentation (especially from the first millennium BCE), on the one hand, and analysis and documentation of archaeological objects (especially from the Early Dynastic Period), on the

other hand. Her recent publications include a study of the self-presentation of Montuemhat (with Angelika Lohwasser and Meike Becker, *Inszenierung von Herrschaft und Macht im ägyptischen Tempel. Religion und Politik im Theben des frühen 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, 2020) and observations on types of sealings and sealed objects in a volume which she co-edited with Eva-Maria Engel and Frank Kammerzell, "Keep Out! Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions in Context" (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021).

Eva-Maria Engel studied Egyptology, Near Eastern archaeology, and European prehistory at Göttingen University and the University of California, Los Angeles (PhD Göttingen, 1997). Since 1984, she has worked frequently on excavations in Egypt (Abydos, Buto, Elephantine, Qantir, Saqqara, Dahshur, Maabda, Asyut) and has taught classes on Egyptian archaeology at the universities of Münster, Göttingen, and Berlin. Her research focuses on Early Dynastic studies, architecture, and reception of ancient Egyptian motifs in Europe.

Renate Fellinger is currently writing her PhD dissertation at the University of Cambridge, investigating the legal role of women in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt as reflected in a particular type of demotic legal contract (the so-called "document for money"). Her research exploits both statistical and qualitative analysis to enhance our understanding of women's roles and ancient Egyptian society at large. Her expertise includes bringing interdisciplinary approaches—for example, methods rooted in the digital humanities—and innovative solutions to ancient Egyptian sources. Renate's interest lies in broadening the scope of the examination of women's legal roles, in both geographical and temporal terms, to include not only Egypt but also other ancient societies.

Kathrin Gabler is an academic assistant and lecturer in Egyptology at the University of Basel. She has taught courses for nonacademic audiences at the universities of Basel, HU Berlin, Liège, and LMU Munich, the State Museum of Egyptian Art in Munich, and the Antikenmuseum Basel. Trained at the universities of Munich and Leiden, her education culminated in a PhD entitled "Who's Who around Deir el-Medina." The thesis deals with the supply personnel of this extraordinary settlement from prosopographic, organizational, archaeological, and diachronic points of view. Furthermore, Kathrin was a regular member of the excavation projects at Deir al-Bachit/Dra' Abu el-Naga and of the British Museum Epigraphic and Conservation Survey at Elkab and Hagr Edfu. Her post-doctoral project, "Means of Communication with a Focus on Letters, Gender, and the New Kingdom," forms part of the "Crossing

Boundaries Project: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt" between the Universities of Basel and Liège and the Museo Egizio Turin. In addition, Kathrin directs a digital survey in the tomb of the sculptor Ipuy, TT 217, in Deir al-Medina.

Rahel Glanzmann graduated from the University of Basel with a Master of Arts in Egyptology (major) and Ancient Near Eastern Studies (minor). Since her graduation, she has been active in various Egyptological research projects including archaeological fieldwork in Egypt. She was recently involved in the Circulating Artefacts project at the British Museum, and currently works as an independent scholar on ancient Egyptian material culture and funerary archaeology.

Izold Guegan studied Egyptology, anthropology, and archaeology at the American University in Cairo and at Strasbourg University. She received her joint PhD in Egyptology from Swansea University and Sorbonne Université in 2020 on "The xnr: Research on an Egyptian Religious Group from the Old to the New Kingdoms." Her research interests include gender studies, religious studies, anthropology, and archaeology. She has worked as an archaeologist in Egypt and Sudan, and as an editorial assistant for the publishing house Soleb, specializing in Egyptology and archaeology.

Fayza Haikal is Professor Emerita of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo. She received her BA in Egyptology from Cairo University and her DPhil in Egyptology from Oxford University. She started her academic career at Cairo University, where she taught for many years before moving to the American University in Cairo in order to establish an Egyptology program there. Haikal is particularly interested in ethno-Egyptology and the lasting impact of ancient Egypt. In 1961, Haikal became the first Egyptian woman to work in Nubia during the international salvage campaign. From 1992 to 1996, she directed the North Sinai international salvage campaign. Haikal has lectured internationally in the United States, Europe, the Far East, and Africa. As a distinguished guest professor, she taught at Charles University (Prague), La Sapienza (Roma), and Paris IV–La Sorbonne, where she was also the Blaise Pascal Chair of Research (2006–2007) at the Fondation de l'École Normale Supérieure. She is the recipient of many awards and honors including, most recently, the Knight of the Star of Italy (2020). She was presented with a festschrift in 2003, *Hommage à Fayza Haikal* (IFAO, 2003).

Jan Johnson is an Egyptologist who studies the Egyptian language, especially Demotic. She is the editor of the *Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* and author of an introductory grammar of Demotic and Egyptian grammar. She has archaeological field experience in Egypt and Jordan. She is particularly interested in women, and especially nonroyal women, in ancient Egypt, and has written on aspects of the social, economic, and legal status of women, on gender and marriage, and on "women, work, and wealth," among other topics. Perhaps the favorite lecture she has given is "Cleopatra as CEO: Bureaucracy and Scandal in the Hostile Takeover of a First-century (BCE) Multinational."

Katarzyna Kapiec is a PhD candidate at the University of Warsaw, a research assistant at the Institute of the Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and a member of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology's Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir al-Bahari, where she is responsible for the study and publication of the Southern Room of Amun.

Susan Anne Kelly is an Early Career Researcher–Egyptologist whose PhD dissertation, "Female Engagement in Domains of Social Power in Ancient Egypt's Dynasties 1–6: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Women's Titles," advanced a theoretical study of ancient biographical inscriptions that offer new perspectives into women's involvement, influence, and impact in the state's socioeconomic structure in early Egypt (conferred in June 2021); she has been granted a fellowship at Macquarie University to publish the thesis. The PhD was an extension of her master's research that identified and analyzed women of Early Dynastic Egypt from women's funerary stelae/slabs from Abu Rawash, Helwan, and Abydos. She enjoys working with the titles and inscriptional records of ancient Egypt. She has participated in archaeological fieldwork in Dendera and has presented her research at several international conferences including CRE Naples 2017; Australasian Egyptology Conference 5, Auckland; and Women in Ancient Egypt: Current Research and Historical Trends at the American University in Cairo in 2019. She became an invitational lecturer at Macquarie University for their Women and Gender in Ancient History unit in 2018 and presented to the Graduate Seminar in Oxford in 2019. Her contribution in this volume is her second publication; the first is "Women's Work in the Early Dynastic Period," *Prague Egyptological Studies* 23: 92–105. She is passionate about all things ancient Egyptian, but especially about raising the profile of women in ancient history.

AnneMarie Luijendijk is a social historian of early Christianity and a papyrologist. Much of her scholarship involves early Christianity in Egypt, especially the literary and documentary papyri from the ancient Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus. Among her publications are *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), a book about a fifth- or sixth-century Coptic miniature codex with divinatory answers ascribed to the Virgin Mary, and *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), an examination of documentary sources pertaining to the lives of Christians in Oxyrhynchus before 325. She has co-edited *From Roman to Early Christian Cyprus: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* with Laura Nasrallah and Charalambos Bakirtzis (2020); *Re-making the World: Christianity and Categories. Essays in Honor of Karen L. King* with Taylor Petrey, Ben Dunning, Carly Daniel-Hughes, and Laura Nasrallah (2019); and *My Lots Are in Thy Hands: Sortilege and Its Practitioners in Late Antiquity* with William E. Klingshirn (2018). Her current research projects are a book on the Christian literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *From Gospels to Garbage*, and a book on ancient shoes.

Suzanne Onstine is an associate professor in the Department of History at the University of Memphis. Suzanne received her BA in anthropology at the University of Arizona and her MA and PhD in Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations at the University of Toronto. She currently directs the University of Memphis mission to Theban Tomb 16, the tomb of Panehsy in Dra Abu-l-Naga, Luxor, and has done archaeology in Egypt for more than twenty-five years. She has published many works on religion and gender in addition to various aspects of work on TT 16.

Tara Sewell-Lasater earned a PhD in ancient history from the University of Houston, Texas. She holds two bachelor's degrees from Baylor University, one in archaeology and another in history, and a master's degree in history from the University of Texas at San Antonio. Her research interests include women in the ancient world, numismatics, and the Ptolemies. Her current research focuses on Ptolemaic queenship and the roles those royal women developed for themselves in Ptolemaic administration and society. Specifically, she strives to overturn many of the misogynistic and overly simplistic stereotypes and *topoi* that have been applied to Ptolemaic queens in previous scholarship. To that end, she is currently working on a book, *Becoming Kleopatra: The Development of Ptolemaic Queenship in Context*, which provides the first in-depth, chronological survey of Ptolemaic queens, from the first

basilissai-consorts of the dynasty, Berenike I and Arsinoë I, to the final ruler, Kleopatra VII.

José-Ramón Pérez-Accino Picatoste is senior lecturer in Egyptology and Ancient History at the Complutense University of Madrid. He specializes in Egyptian literature, texts, and the intellectual world of the ancient Egyptians. He is the founder and director of Egiptología Complutense and he conducts fieldwork in Egypt, including at Ehnasiya al-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna) and Western Thebes, where he is co-director of the C2 Project: Royal Cache Wadi survey. He has taught Egyptology for the University of London's Birkbeck College and University College London.

Yasmin El Shazly is currently deputy director for research and programs at the American Research Center in Egypt. She previously held the positions of general supervisor of the Department of International Organizations of Cultural Heritage and International Cooperation (2016–18) and assistant to the minister for museum affairs (2015–16) at the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities. She was also head of the Registration, Collections Management, and Documentation Department at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (2009–16) and a member of the Museum's Board of Directors (2010–13). She has taught courses at the American University in Cairo, Cairo University, and AMIDEAST. Dr. El Shazly earned her BA from the American University in Cairo in 1998 and her MA (2002) and PhD (2009) from Johns Hopkins University. Her doctoral dissertation, entitled "Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom," was published by Abercromby Press in 2015. She has published several academic papers and has appeared in numerous documentaries, including National Geographic's "The Silver Pharaoh: Secrets of the Dead" and "Tutankhamun: The Mystery of the Burnt Mummy," as well as the BBC documentary "The Man Who Discovered Egypt."

Reinert Skumsnes is a historian specializing in interdisciplinary research between Egyptology and feminist and anthropological theory. He also works as a field archaeologist at the site of Tell al-Amarna in Middle Egypt. Skumsnes's research focuses on social history through the lens of family and gender, with New Kingdom Egypt (1500–1000 BCE) as his specialty. He has a particular eye to alternative practices as manifest in the manifold, often contradictory expressions of family and gender, from the highly normative monumental remains to the more ephemeral nonliterary texts. He is also concerned with theoretical and methodological questions, such as relational encounters

between spatially and temporally fractal positions, perspectives, and records beyond the scope of New Kingdom Egypt. Skumsnes currently holds a three-year (2020–23) international mobility grant from the Research Council of Norway for the postdoctoral project "Egyptology, Feminist Theory, and Alternative Worlds: Body/Sex/Gender in New Kingdom Egypt, and Their Affective Environments." This project is a continuation of his PhD research, but with intensified attention to the interdisciplinary potential between Egyptology and feminist theory, and between the body/sex/gender divide (present theory) and the empirical material (past practice).

Isabel Stünkel is an Egyptologist who holds both MA and PhD degrees from the University of Bonn. She is an associate curator at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, where she has held curatorial positions in the Department of Egyptian Art since 2007. She is also a member of the Museum's excavations at the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, where she is working on the decoration of the royal women's chapels. Before she joined The Met, she was the curator of the Egyptian Museum in Bonn.

Inmaculada Vivas Sainz conducted her doctoral research in Egyptology at the University of Alcalá in Madrid in 2004, focusing on the relations between Egypt and the Aegean area in the second millennium BCE, for which she won the PhD Excellence Award. She has enjoyed several research visits at the IFAO and at the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford. Since 2010, she has lectured on ancient Egyptian art at UNED (National Distance Education University) in Madrid, and published *Egipto y el Egeo a comienzos de la XVIII Dinastía: Una visión de sus relaciones, antecedentes e influencia iconográfica*, BARIS 2595 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013). Since 2017, she has been a member of the C2 Royal Cache Project in Luxor. Her research interests include iconographic interchange, innovation in New Kingdom figurative art, and the role of the ancient Egyptian artist.

Hana Vymazalová is an associate professor of Egyptology at Charles University in Prague. Her research focuses on the Old Kingdom economy, funerary cults, and ancient Egyptian science. She is a member of the Czech Mission in Abusir and a member of the Djedkare Project at south Saqqara.

Jacquelyn Williamson received her PhD in Egyptology from The Johns Hopkins University. She is a member of the archaeological expedition to Tell al-Amarna, where she directs work at Kom al-Nana, the site of Nefertiti's

Sunshade of Re Temple. She is an associate professor of ancient art and archaeology at George Mason University, and the director of the Ancient Mediterranean Art and Archaeology Minor as well as graduate studies director of the History and Art History Department at George Mason. She is the author of *Nefertiti's Sun Temple: A New Cult Complex at Tell el-Amarna* in Brill's Harvard Egyptological Studies (Leiden and Boston, 2016).

Annik Wüthrich is senior postdoctoral researcher in the ERC Starting Grant project "Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology" at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Lector of Hieratic at the University of Vienna. She studied in Geneva and Paris (EPHE) and received her PhD from the University of Geneva. She has taught and researched in Geneva, Bonn, Tübingen, Münster, and Vienna. Her research interests focus on Egyptian philology, funerary literature (especially from the first millennium BCE), the history and chronology of the Third Intermediate Period, and self-presentation in ancient Egypt. Her latest publications include *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Totenbuchkapitel 191 auf Totenbuchpapyri* (2013) and *Édition synoptique et traduction des chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 167* (2015). She co-edited with Anke Ilona Blöbaum and Marianne Eaton-Krauss *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe. Festschrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag* (2018). Among her recent and forthcoming articles are "L'expression de la filiation à la 21ème dynastie: reflet d'une réalité historique ou simple effet de mode? L'exemple du Livre des Morts" in *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Française* and "The Copenhagen Wooden Stela AAd6 from the National Museum of Denmark: An Unusual Testimony of the 22nd Dynasty," in Ägypten und Levante.

16

Some Notes on the Question of Feminine Identity at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the Funerary Literature

Annik Wüthrich

One of the peculiarities of the Third Intermediate Period, and especially of the Twenty-first Dynasty, is the number of sources dealing with women, even when limiting the scope to funerary literature.[1] Whereas during the entire New Kingdom, the female owners of Books of the Dead represent a tiny minority,[2] the number of papyri owned by women dramatically increases at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. In the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* corpus, women's destiny in the afterlife seems to have been closely connected to that of their husbands; in other words, they were associated with their husbands not as co-owners, but as dependents.[3] The vocabulary used to describe their relationship is indeed always unilaterally focused on the men ("his wife" (*ḥmt.f*), "his beloved" (*mrt.f*), "his female companion" (*snt.f*)).[4]

Nevertheless, it is difficult to trace precisely the diachronic evolution of the funerary status of women during the New Kingdom, especially for its latter part, due to the scarcity of sources dating to the Twentieth Dynasty.[5] The same type of documentation from the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty, at least in Thebes,[6] however, leads to a completely different picture. The papyri owned by women are almost as numerous as those owned by men while, at the same time, manuscripts which associate a wife with her husband's fate are exceptional, although not entirely nonexistent.[7] It is, therefore, of major importance to understand how women expressed their identity and orchestrated their self-presentation during the first part of the Third Intermediate Period.[8]

This contribution focuses specifically on the restricted circle of the ruling family during the Twenty-first Dynasty in Thebes. We know of approximately

thirty women who can be linked to the family of the High Priests of Amun in Thebes.[9] Some of them are well known, others are attested only indirectly.[10] The funerary equipment of most of these women was discovered in the Royal Cache TT 320 and represents an incomparable source of information for the understanding of the chronology and the sociology of this period, particularly for its beginning.[11] The chronological position of each of these women within the Twenty-first Dynasty is almost certain, even if some of their filiations are still (and will probably remain) a matter of discussion.[12]

The first thing we must not neglect are the differences in the kinds of media on which any of this information is found. As noted by Eyre:

> the target audience for self-presentation is never clear, because neither the social context of text, nor the monumental display—size, location, and visual effect—is itself unitary, in purpose or effect. Nor was the location of the text uniformly accessible, even for the limited number of people able to read it.[13]

As already mentioned, the majority of the information we have for the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty comes from a funerary context, particularly from papyri containing the *Book of the Dead* or from coffins. What function can a funerary papyrus therefore have in the matter of self-presentation? Can we really speak of social legitimation through an indication of filiation or titles in this very particular context?

The texts written on papyrus are intended, foremost, to ensure the survival of its owner in the underworld. Moreover, in the development of this funerary literature, we observe a tendency to select—and therefore to reduce—the number of titles held by the owner, mostly in an attempt to demonstrate their devotion in connection with personal piety.[14] The relation to the god is based on the personal identity of the papyrus's owner, and it seems that social identity is of less and less importance over time. In other words, titles and filiation are often to be found on other types of sources rather than funerary papyri of the Twenty-first dynasty, whereas this information was contained regularly in the New Kingdom Books of the Dead.

For the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty, other types of media are attested that are directly connected with the women of the high Theban elite. Hereret, chronologically the first woman of this line, is known from only two kinds of documents: two late Ramesside Letters (LRL) and the Book of the Dead of her daughter, Nodjmet.[15] Hereret's religious title is expressed in LRL 38 and 39,[16] where it is stated that she is *wr*(*t*) *ḫnrt ỉmn*[-*Rˁ nswt*] *nṯrw*,

"Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun-Re, King of the gods."[17] This title, with variants, is transmitted from Hereret to Nodjmet according to a pattern of mother to daughter or mother-in-law to daughter-in-law, attested in the ruling family until the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty.[18] Its exact mode of transmission is still unclear, but some Egyptologists suggest that these women were married to the High Priest of Amun, as a feminine counterpart to this title, and gave birth to the next High Priest of Amun. They should have acquired the higher title of *ḥryt wrt ḫnrwt n(t) Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw* once these two conditions were fulfilled.[19] At least fifteen women of the Twenty-first Dynasty had the title of "Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun-Re"; eight of them are qualified as "Great Superior" (*ḥryt wrt ḫnrwt*).[20] The identity of the spouse for a number of these women can be established only by deduction. Interestingly enough, none of these women explicitly express their marital ties. The name and title of Isetemkheb (A), for instance, appears only on a number of bricks associated with the name of the High Priest of Amun, Pinudjem I.[21] No other documents can be attributed to her, and we presume that she was the mother of some of Pinudjem I's children who cannot be attributed to his other wife, Henuttawy (A).[22] If the theory of the maternity of the High Priest of Amun proves to be correct, then Isetemkheb (A) could be the mother of one (or two) of Pinudjem I's sons, whose maternal lineage is unclear.[23]

The women presented thus far, unfortunately, are attested on only a few documents or referred to indirectly on others, and the question of their self-presentation is, in this case, irrelevant. However, at least four women belonging to this high elite are of interest for this topic.

Henuttawy (A) is known in the Egyptological literature as the wife of the High Priest of Amun and King Pinudjem I, as well as the mother of several of his children. Her rich funerary equipment was found in the royal cache TT 320,[24] and includes, notably, two poorly preserved coffins, four canopic jars, and two funerary papyri, all with inscriptions.[25] While these inscriptions establish the identity of this woman, they do not distinctly identify her marital affiliation. Indeed, if we exclude the monuments on which she is represented by his side,[26] we have no precise indication that she was the wife of Pinudjem I.[27] We can deduce this information from iconographical association and because of the (at least) four children they have in common. Nevertheless, once more, the filial relationships are sometimes imprecise and need deductive work. On the basis of the inscriptions on two bracelets found in Tanis A543 and 547, on which the name of Henuttawy (A) with the title of "royal mother" faces the one of King Psusennes I, we can surmise that she is his mother.[28] Then, if we

cross-reference this with the fact that Queen Mutnodjmet and Psusennes I shared a sibling relationship,[29] we can infer that these latter are two of Henuttawy (A)'s children.[30] The identification of Pinudjem I as their father must be extrapolated from the fact that Henuttawy (A) is his wife. Indeed, unlike another son of Pinudjem I, the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre, who claims his paternal ascendance on several documents,[31] Psusennes I did not associate his name with that of his father. His wife-sister Mutnodjmet is also defined as a royal daughter, but she does not name her father either. A secondary inscription on the wall of the court of Ramesses II in the Temple of Luxor presents three daughters of the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I,[32] one of whom bears the name of Nodjmetmut. If the two other women seem to be clearly identified with the Divine Adoratrix Maatkare and the wind instrument player (*wḏnt*) Henuttawy (B), the question of the identity of the third woman has been hardly discussed. It seems quite justified to see in this third woman another daughter of Pinudjem I, otherwise undocumented, and not an early representation of the queen Mutnodjmet.[33]

The God's Wife of Amun, Maatkare (A), sister of both Psusennes I and Mutnodjmet, is also identified as a "royal daughter," but the name of her father is not included after her title. For instance, on the façade south of the pylon in the Temple of Khonsu, Maatkare (A) is called *iryt-pʿt wr(t) ḥsyw ḥmt-nṯr n(t) Ỉmn m Ỉpt-swt s3t nswt n ḫt.f nbt t3wy*, "princess, great of praises, divine wife of Amun in Karnak, king's daughter of his body and mistress of the two lands."[34] Nevertheless, their close iconographic association[35] leaves no doubt about the identification of Maatkare (A)'s father as Pinudjem I. In the same way, Maatkare (A) also defined herself as the "daughter of the mistress of the two lands,"[36] but, once more, without naming her mother. Yet, in an inscription on the window of an otherwise anepigraphic chapel from the Temple of Karnak,[37] there are two cartouches facing outward, one with the name of Maatkare and the other with the title of royal daughter, followed by the name of Henuttawy (*s3t nswt Ḥnwt-t3wy*). The unresolved question is whether to recognize in this association a title and a name (the royal daughter Henuttawy)—Henuttawy (A) does in fact bear the title of royal daughter—or a title and a direct genitive (the royal daughter of Henuttawy). Nevertheless, at the same time, Maatkare (A) is also described on other documents as the "mistress of the two lands" (*nbt t3wy*).[38] It is also possible that the second part of the cartouche is again a title, meaning "mistress of the two lands," and does not present her filiation. However, the title *ḥnwt t3wy* does not appear linked to this woman in the rest of the documentation.[39] Even if it is quite clear that these three persons are Henuttawy (A)'s children, I would like to point out that this

genealogical information has to be deduced from circumstantial evidence and is not stated explicitly. Contrary to their father and spouse Pinudjem I, who systematically and specifically emphasizes his paternal filiation even when he bears his royal title, thus adopting the usual way of indicating personal identity outside of the royal court, female members of his entourage resort to the royal practice of using the genealogical expressions not to state their personal identity or relation to an explicitly mentioned king, but rather as a title.

The two funerary manuscripts of Henuttawy (A) are of particular interest for the matter of her self-presentation. The first holds an initial vignette representing the deceased adoring Osiris and Isis, followed by a series of images belonging to the *Litany to the Sun*, separated by columns of text containing various titles and the name of Henuttawy (A).[40] The second papyrus has a layout reminiscent of the Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom Theban recension.[41] The format of this papyrus is the same as those of that period: the text is written in retrograde cursive hieroglyphs, and the vignettes are finely and colorfully executed. The deceased is represented four times in human shape and once as a *ba*-bird. Henuttawy (A) is depicted executing ritual gestures: praying, shaking the sistra, and fumigating with incense; in another vignette, she is sailing. On her head, she wears the vulture crown with the cobra or a diadem with cobras, two very common symbols of royalty, although unparalleled for *Book of the Dead* papyri, except for the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty.[42] This is a very important document for the reconstitution of the genealogical tree of the Theban High Priest's family, because the legend of the vignette of *BD* 66 includes the names of Henuttawy (A)'s mother and maternal grandfather.[43] The inscription in the initial vignette, however, contains a long string of descriptions and titles that can be seen as her entire titulary.[44] When analyzing it, one can observe that it follows this pattern:

- Her royal origin and her ancestry: *s3t nswt*/*s3t ḥmt nswt*—she is royal daughter and daughter of the king's wife.
- Descendants: *mwt nswt*[45] / *mwt n*(*t*) *p3 ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ỉmn*/*mwt n*(*t*) *dw3t-nṯr n*(*t*) *Ỉmn*[46]/*mwt n*(*t*) *ḥmt nswt wrt*—she is a royal mother/mother of the High Priest/mother of the God's wife of Amun/mother of the great royal wife.[47]
- Religious functions: *ḥmt-nṯr n*(*t*) *Mwt wrt nbt Ỉšrw* / *ʿ3t n*(*t*) *pr n Ḫnsw-m-W3st-Nfr-ḥtp* / *ḥmt-nṯr n*(*t*) *Ỉn-ḥrt-Šw s3 Rʿ* / *mwt nṯr n*(*t*) *Ḫnsw-p3-ḫrd*—priestess of Mut the great, the mistress of Isheru/Great of the Temple of Khonsu in Thebes-Neferhotep/priestess of Onuphris-Shu son of Re/divine mother of Khonsu the child.

- Royal functions: *ḥmt nswt wrt tp*(*yt*) *n*(*t*) *ḥm.f* / *nbt t3wy*—main great royal wife of his majesty/mistress of the two lands.
- Identity: (*Dw3t Ḥwt-Ḥrw Ḥnwt-t3wy*)| *ms.n* (*T3-nt-Ỉmn*)|—(Adoratrix of Hathor Henuttawy)| born of (Tanutamon)|.

This long titulary holds all the information on the most important aspects of her life, but without naming any of the persons concerned, except for her mother. The model for this string of titles can be found already in the Eighteenth Dynasty, which L. Troy described as "a litany of female roles."[48] What actually differs from these earlier constructions, which were based mostly on the relation to the king—these queens are king's daughter, king's mother, and king's wife, as well as king's sister—is that the roles mentioned here are connected with her entire nuclear family as an ensemble, as well as her other religious and royal titles. As for the construction of Henuttawy (A)'s identity, it revolves around several aspects which H. Bassir calls the three spheres of manifestation and interaction:[49] origin, family (these two levels remain particularly imprecise), and social status (religious and royal); and, finally, her personal identity as revealed through her name and her mother's name. This long titulary appears to me to be some kind of an "idealized biography." It does not focus on the affirmation of the social or ideological status of this woman in relation with the king.[50] Moreover, it does not need to tie her to specific persons to legitimize her function or her rank, but it is the constellation of this information, the royal ancestry and descent, the high religious and royal functions, that constitutes her identity independently from the people involved. As noted by Troy, "the roles of daughter, sister, wife and mother, which play such important roles in the mythological expression of the generation of cosmic powers, are actualized in the kingship on the status of the royal women, adding yet another level to the pattern of queenship."[51] It means that while Henuttawy (A), as well as her direct predecessors and successors, integrated the old codes of queenship, they also used them to legitimize their royal functions, with a deep integration into their family. Henuttawy (A) is, of course, not an exception, as the women of the highest lineage of the Third Intermediate Period used this form of varying long strings of titles or epithets regularly; what is exceptional is the diversity of Henuttawy (A)'s designations and titles.

Within the scope of this study, another woman has captured my attention due to the singularity of the documentation attributed to her. Queen Nodjmet was very probably the owner of two funerary papyri.[52] On the first one, P.London BM EA 10490,[53] she appears as the "mistress of the two lands" (*nbt t3wy*) and "daughter of the royal mother Hereret" (*s3t* (*nt*) *mwt nswt Ḥrrt*) as

well as "the one Hereret gave birth to" (*ms.n Ḥrrt*). She is also "royal mother" (*mwt nswt*); this title is written regularly in the cartouche before her name. Furthermore, she is defined as the "royal mother of the lord of the two lands" (*mwt nswt n*(*t*) *nb t3wy*) and "the one who gave birth to the mighty bull, lord of the two lands" (*mst k3-nḫt nb t3wy*). As in the case of Henuttawy (A), Nodjmet never names her relatives, either ascendant or descendant, other than by their titles, except for her maternal lineage.

In contrast, her second funerary papyrus[54] contains two representations of her with a man who is gesturing in adoration at her side. In addition to her title of "royal mother," Nodjmet bears her main religious titles.[55] The man is identified as Herihor, King and High Priest of Amun.[56] In both cases, Herihor precedes Nodjmet. These kinds of scenes mirror the vignettes of the deceased couple during the New Kingdom and before. Nevertheless, the presence of the couple, independently from their relationship, remains exceptional for the Twenty-first Dynasty.[57] The identification of Herihor as her husband is totally missing from the text. He is named and identified by his titles, but the relation of dependence connecting these two persons is never expressed, as it had been for New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* manuscripts. This precedent is actually the basis for interpreting this representation as one of a married couple.[58] This is also based on her representation and identification as *ḥmt nswt* in the so-called "procession of the princes and princesses" in the Temple of Khonsu in Karnak, although she is not qualified as the wife of Herihor, but only as great royal wife.[59] "Uncertainty" concerning her identity is a very complicated (even unsolvable) problem for the historian. However, in the case of Nodjmet, it seems that the construction of her identity did not require making the exact nature of her relationship with this man clear. In the first place, we should consider the rules of decorum for feminine burials, established, among others, by G. Robins and A.-M. Roth:[60] the absence of the husband is explained by the fact that the woman should be the most important person, as owner and recipient of the funerary monument. That is why she has to be the most prominent figure in the iconography. On the other hand, to conform to the rules of ancient Egyptian iconography, she should be represented on a smaller scale than her husband. To avoid this paradoxical situation, her husband must, for reasons related to gender hierarchy in two-dimensional representations, be excluded from the decoration of the tomb.

How then can we explain the presence of Nodjmet's husband in her most important passport for eternity? Whether we should see a connection with the new theocratic system remains very hypothetical, but is not to be excluded. I would like to underscore the fact that, by including her husband in her

funerary papyrus, Nodjmet's *Book of the Dead* manuscript is unique, although it does not allow us to draw any definitive conclusions. However, if we compare the association of Nodjmet and Herihor in her Book of the Dead with the representation of Nodjmet in the secondary inscription in the Luxor Temple,[61] we observe that in the Luxor secondary inscription, she occupies a peculiar position. She is indeed placed behind the god Amun in the same position as that of the consorts of male divinities—in this case as Mut.[62] Therefore, I would like to tentatively suggest that the presence of Herihor, the High Priest of Amun, in the Book of the Dead of his wife Nodjmet could have the function of symbolizing the Theban divine couple Amun–Mut and not that of connecting her to someone in particular.

It seems then that the female members of the governing family in Thebes at the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty established new conventions in the matter of self-presentation in funerary literature. While familial relationships obviously played a key role, these women did not justify their position by mentioning the name of the person(s) through whom they obtained their religious, social, and even political status. The relationship itself and the resulting function are, therefore, more important than the person.[63]

Notes

1 The number of publications dealing with women of the Third Intermediate Period has significantly increased over the last few decades; for example, the pioneer study from Saphinaz Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21e dynastie*, OLA 38 (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), and more recently, Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Bemerkungen zu den Frauenbiographien der Spätzeit," *AoF* 31, no. 2 (2004): 358–73; Mariam Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740–525 BC)* (London: Routledge, 2009); Carola Koch, *"Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen": Gottesgemahlinnen und Musikerinnen im thebanischen Amunstaat von der 22. bis zur 26. Dynastie*, SRaT 27 (Dettelbach: J.H. Röll, 2012); Jean Li, *Women, Gender and Identity in the Third Intermediate Period*, Routledge StudEgypt 4 (New York: Routledge, 2017). For a general study of the Theban society of the Twenty-first Dynasty, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation of France Jamen, "La société thébaine sous la XXI^{e} dynastie (1069–945 av. J.-C.)" (PhD diss., Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2012).

2 Stephen Quirke, "Women in Ancient Egypt: Temple Titles and Funerary Papyri," in *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, ed. Anthony Leahy and John Tait, Occasional Publications 13 (London: EES, 1999), 227–35; Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Entwicklung der genealogischen Informationen nach dem Neuen Reich," in *Genealogie—Realität und Fiktion von Identität*, ed. Martin Fitzenreiter, Steffen Kirchner, and Olaf Kriseleit, IBAES 5 (London: Golden House Publications, 2005), 137–45; Marissa Stevens, "Illustrations of Temple Rank on 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri," in *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, ed. Marie Peterková Hlouchová, Dana Bělohoubková, Jiří Honzl, and Véra Nováková (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019), 162–228; Marissa Stevens, "Family Associations Reflected in the Materiality of the 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri," in *Invisible Archaeologies: Hidden Aspects of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt and Nubia*, ed. Loretta Kilroe (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019), 26–56; Annik Wüthrich, "L'expression de la filiation à la XXIe dynastie: reflet d'une réalité historique ou simple effet de mode? L'exemple du Livre des Morts," *BSFE* 204 (2021): 114–40.

3 Wüthrich, "L'expression de la filiation," 121–22.
4 Gay Robins, "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms," *CdE* 54, no. 108 (1979): 197–207.
5 See Quirke, "Women in Ancient Egypt," 231–33.
6 There is indeed no evidence of female owners of the *Book of the Dead* during the Third Intermediate Period outside of Thebes.
7 Rita Lucarelli, "L'uso dei papiri funerari presso il clero femminile di Amon a Tebe nella XXI dinastia," in *Sacerdozio e società civile nell'Egitto antico: Atti del terzo Colloquio di Egittologia e di Antichita Copte. Bologna—30/31 maggio 2007*, ed. Silvio Pernigotti and Marco Zecchi (Pisa: La Mandragora, 2008), 105–13; Wüthrich, "L'expression de la filiation."
8 On self-presentation in the Third Intermediate Period, see Roberto Gozzoli, "Self-presentation in the Third Intermediate Period," in *Living Forever: Self-presentation in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Hussein Bassir (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2019), 177–90; and, in the same book, with a special focus on women, see Mariam Ayad, "Women's Self-presentation in Pharaonic Egypt," 221–46. For a short definition of self-presentation, see also Mark Smith, "Egyptian Elite Self-presentation in the Context of Ptolemaic Rule," in *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, ed. W.V. Harris and Giovanni Ruffini (Boston: Brill, 2004), 34–35.
9 For an overview of these women and their titles for the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty, see Meike Becker, "Female Influence, Aside from That of the God's Wives of Amun, during the Third Intermediate Period," in *Prayer and Power: Proceedings of the Conference on the God's Wives of Amun in Egypt during the First Millenium BC*, ed. Meike Becker, Anke Ilona Blöbaum, and Angelika Lohwasser, ÄAT 84 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2016), 21–37; and Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), 172–74. The main feminine protagonists are also discussed by Kenneth Kitchen in *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1996), 40–68.
10 For instance, the mother of Nesikhons, Tahenutdjehuty, is only known from the decree in favor of her daughter. We do not know any title for her, since the people in this document are only identified by their names and possibly by their family relationships. We deduce from this document that Tahenutdjehuty was one of the spouses of the High Priest of Amun Smendes II, because he is named as the father of Nesikhons in this same document. See Jean Winand, "Les décrets oraculaires pris en l'honneur d'Henouttaouy et de Maâtkarê (Xe et VIIe pylônes)," *Cah-Karn* 11 (2003): 603–710.
11 The material found in the Royal Cache TT 320 can be consulted in the database of the University of Münster, https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/index04.htm. See also David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25*, DÖAW 56 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); and Erhart Graefe and Galina Belova, eds., *The Royal Cache TT 320: A Re-examination* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2010).
12 See, among others, the discussion about the existence of one or two women named Hereret at the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty as well as the question of the number of women called Nodjmet. For the current state of the question, see, most recently, Jennifer Palmer, "The High Priests of Amun at the End of the Twentieth Dynasty," *BEJ* 2, no. 1 (2014): 13–17.
13 Christopher Eyre, "Egyptian Self-presentation Dynamics and Strategies," in Bassir, *Living Forever: Self-presentation in Ancient Egypt*, 13.
14 Florence Albert, "Quelques observations sur les titulatures attestées dans les Livres des Morts," in *Herausgehen am Tage: Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*, ed. Rita Lucarelli, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Annik Wüthrich, SAT 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 1–66.
15 The following argument is based on the assumption that both attestations refer to the same individual, as suggested by Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Das Ende des Neuen Reiches," *ZÄS* 119 (1992): 25. For a résumé of the arguments pro and contra this hypothesis, see Peter James and Robert Morkot, "Herihor's Kingship and the High Priest of Amun Piankh," *JEGH* 3, no. 2 (2010): 238–41; and Palmer, "The High Priests of Amun at the End of the Twentieth Dynasty," 13–17.

16 Jaroslav Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, BAe 9 (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939), 60–61.

17 LRL 39 contains the variant *wr*(*t*) *ḫnrwt šmʿyt n*(*t*) *Ỉmn-Rʿ nswt nṯrw*, which can be translated as "Great of the sacred musical troupe and singer of Amun-Re, King of the gods." This variant is unique. The title appears at the beginning of the New Kingdom as a title of women involved in the clergy of Amun, mostly, but not exclusively, from the royal family. It seems that the title disappears during the second part of the Twentieth Dynasty before it reappears in the documentation of the Twenty-first Dynasty. See Suzanne Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šmʿyt) in Ancient Egypt*, BARIS 140 (Oxford: Hadrian Books, 2005), 7–8.

18 The last member of the family who bore this title seems to have been Nesikhonspakhered, probable daughter of Nestanebetisheru, who inherited the title from her mother Nesikhons (A). The latter is the last woman we can connect with a High Priest of Amun. In the Twenty-second Dynasty, the title is attested only two times. See Koch, *"Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen,"* 201, 221. The first woman is a member of the family of Djedbastetiuefankh under the reign of Osorkon I. He was a prominent personality from the Theban elite since he was at the head of the administration of the Ramesseum. See Frédéric Payraudeau, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXIIe dynastie bubastite*, BdE 160 (Cairo: IFAO, 2014), 274. The administration of the Ramesseum can be the link between the women of the Twenty-second Dynasty who bear this title. A second woman, whose name is probably mentioned two times on a statue (Karnak South magazine no. 180, ll. 5, 8) published by Claude Traunecker, "Un document inédit sur une famille de contemporains de la XXIIe dynastie," *BIFAO* 69 [1971]: 219–37) dating to the Twenty-second Dynasty, also has the title of *wrt ḫnrwt n*(*t*) *Ỉmn ḥr sꜣ 3-nw*. The state of conservation of the object does not allow us to identify beyond a doubt the relationship between this woman and its dedicatee. She can be either his mother or his great-great-grandmother. However, the title "Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun in her third phyle" pleads for an identification with the mother of the dedicatee, since its other attestations for the Twenty-first Dynasty are all in relation to the family of the High Priest. However, the compilation of the title shows that the partition in phyles could be placed at the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, so that this woman lived either at the end of the Twenty-first or at the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Her father (or husband) bears the same title as Djedbastetouefankh and could be his ancestor.

19 Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon*, 181–82.

20 In chronological order: Nodjmet, Isetemkheb (A), the queen Mutnodjmet, Isetemkheb (C), Djedmutiuesankh, Isetemkheb (D), Nesikhons (A), and Nestanebetisheru.

21 A.J. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1979), pl. 33. It is worth noting that her title is only *ḥr*(*yt*) *wrt ḫnrwt*, without the name of the deity, undoubtedly for lack of space. The counterpart effect of the male title and female title of the high clergy of Amun is very clear here.

22 On Henuttawy (A), see the discussion below.

23 If the identity of the father of the High Priests of Amun, Masaharta and Djedkhonsiuefankh, is certain, the identity of their mother(s) remains impossible to establish with certainty. For Pinudjem I as father of Masaharta, see, for instance Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *IdS* 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 28 (no. 3.49); for Djedkhonsiuefankh, see Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 424–25, §392.

24 The previous location of her burial place remains unknown. See Edward Loring, "The Dynasty of Piankh and the Royal Cache," in *The Royal Cache TT 320*: *A Re-examination*, ed. Erhart Graefe and Galina Belova (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2010), 63, 67.

25 For the complete assemblage, see Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 224–25.

26 For instance, on Stela Cairo JE 71902 from Coptos, published by Aly O.A. Abdallah, "An Unusual Private Stela of the Twenty-first Dynasty from Coptos," *JEA* 70 (1984): 65–72. On this document, Henuttawy (A) plays the sistrum and accompanies Pinudjem I in offering incense to the god Osiris. Pinudjem I is identified as king—his two names are written in a

cartouche—whereas she is qualified as *s3t nswt*, "king's daughter," *wrt ḫnrwt n(t) Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw*, "Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun-Re, King of the gods," *ḥryt špswt nswt*, "Superior of the royal noble dames," *mwt nswt*, "royal mother," and *nbt t3wy*, "mistress of the two lands." Her name is also in a cartouche on a fragment of a door frame from Medinet Habu; see Georges Daressy, "Remarques et notes," *RecTrav* 19 (1897): 20; and Negative 3123 on the website of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago at https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/4810c8b3–39b3–4f73–93c9–1847065ac99b. Here, she bears the titles of *iryt-pᶜt*, "princess," *ḥnwt Šmᶜw-Mḥ.w*, "mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt," and *wr(t) ḫnrwt n(t) Ỉmn nb t3wy*, "Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun, Lord of the two lands." Pinudjem I is "only" identified as a High Priest of Amun and does not have any royal titles.

27 This observation is, however, not specific to her or to this period. Most of the expressions of filiation, such as "royal mother" or "royal wife," are not accompanied by the name of the corresponding king.

28 Here Henuttawy (A) bears the title of *mwt nswt*, "royal mother," and Psusennes I is qualified as *nswt-biti*, "king of Lower and Upper Egypt." See Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*, La nécropole de Tanis 2 (Paris: n.p., 1951), 151, 152, fig. 56.

29 For example, on two dovetail joints from Tanis, Mutnodjmet is labeled as *ḥmt nswt snt nswt nbt t3wy*, "royal wife, royal sister, mistress of the two lands," whereas Psusennes I's name stands before hers. See Jean Yoyotte, *Tanis. L'or des pharaons* (Paris: Association française d'action artistique, 1987), 190–91 (object no. 53). On her coffin, reused by Amenemope, in Tanis, she is furthermore described as *s3t nswt*, "royal daughter," and some other religious titles—*wrt ḫnrt tpyt n(t) Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw*, among others. See Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis 2*, 164–66, and fig. 60.

30 This assumption is reinforced by the titles of Henuttawy (A), who is the mother of a great royal wife. For a detailed discussion of Henuttawy (A)'s titles, see below.

31 Menkheperre is the only child of Pinudjem I who clearly claims his paternal filiation—for instance, on the stela Cairo TN 3/12/24/2 from Karnak Temple; see Christophe Thiers, "Civils et militaires dans les temples: Occupation illicite et expulsion," *BIFAO* 105 (2005): 495–97.

32 Jansen-Winkeln, *IdS* 1, 17 (no. 3.22).

33 The reading of her title as *ḥryt ḫnrt n(t) Ỉmn* is questionable, and the actual state of preservation of the wall does not allow us to confirm what Daressy saw ("Notes et remarques," *RecTrav* 14 [1893]: 32–33). See, on this topic and for the older bibliography, Luc Gosselin, *Les divines épouses d'Amon dans l'Égypte de la XIXe à la XXIe dynastie*, EME 6 (Paris: Cybèle, 2007), 218–19.

34 Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Epigraphic Survey Negative #7367, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/74c87247–7891–41be-ad73–e1471094c4bc.

35 Besides the secondary inscription in the Temple of Luxor, Maatkare (A) accompanied her father in a representation in the pathway of the pylon in the Temple of Khonsu (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Epigraphic Survey Negative #3123, https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/da808037-08ad-4b5b-a8d9-edca38afc901).

36 On the pylon of the façade of the Temple of Khonsu (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Epigraphic Survey Negative #7367) Maatkare (A) is *s3t nswt n(t) nbt t3wy* (royal daughter of the mistress of the two lands). We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the scribe mistakenly wrote *nbt* instead of *nb* or that the *n* of the genitive is a mistake for *nbt t3wy*, since this title is frequently used to qualify Maatkare (A).

37 Originally published by Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1950–1951," *ASAE* 51 (1951): 554–55, pl. II. This architectural element is now kept in the Cheikh Labib magazine in Karnak, http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/231.

38 See note 29.

39 Troy (*Patterns of Queenship*, 114) suggests that the association of the two names shows the "association of the presentation of mother-daughter pairs in the context of the royal monuments"—that is to say, the duality of queenship that is embodied by these two generations of women.

40 P.Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992), published by Auguste Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq III, Papyrus Nos 21 & 22* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1876), pls. 19–21. See also the information collected on TM 134663 by the Book of the Dead Project/Das Altägyptische Totenbuch: ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv, University of Bonn, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134663.

41 P.Cairo CG 40005, also published by Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq* III, pls. 12–18. Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134430. See the Book of the Dead Project/Das Altägyptische Totenbuch: ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv, University of Bonn, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134430.

42 No papyri belonging to a king or any member of the royal family are known prior to the Twenty-first Dynasty. However, vignettes of several spells of the *Book of the Dead* are attested on the walls of the tombs of the Valley of the Kings. For instance, in the vignette of *BD* 59 in KV 34, Thutmose III is represented with a royal serpent on his forehead; see Nils Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life*, USE 5 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002), 357 fig. C1. Moreover, a close examination of the funerary material in the tomb of Tutankhamun leads Horst Beinlich ("Das Totenbuch bei Tutanchamun," *GM* 102 [1988]: 7–18) to the conclusion that the absence of a papyrus with *BD* spells might be explained by the fact that the spells are in fact written on other supports. More precisely, the object on which the spell had to be written followed the instruction of the rubrics. (I would like to thank Rita Lucarelli for this reference.)

43 She bears the title of royal daughter, although without naming the royal father in question, and this is one of the main issues for the reconstruction of the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty genealogies. He could be either Ramesses XI or Smendes.

44 The same titulary is partially on the lid of her inner coffin (CG 61026). See Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, CGC (Cairo: IFAO, 1909), 65.

45 Besides the bracelet already mentioned (see note 28), this title is also attested on other media, such as a stela—Coptos JE 71902, published by Abdallah ("An Unusual Private Stela of the Twenty-first Dynasty from Coptos," 65–72)—on which she is represented next to Pinudjem I. It is the most frequently used title in connection with her descent.

46 On one of her canopic jars (London BM EA 51815), she is *mwt n*(*t*) *ḥmt nswt n*(*t*) *Ỉmn*; see Jansen-Winkeln, *IdS* 1, 262 (Nachtrag). A statue of Sachmet also bears the title of *mwt n*(*t*) *dw3t-nṯr*; see Jean Yoyotte, "Une monumentale litanie de granit: Les Sekhmet d'Amenophis III et la conjuration permanente de la Déesse dangereuse," *BSFE* 87–88 (1980): 50n12.

47 By cross-referencing other sources, the first child has to be Psusennes I (maternal lineage certain; see note 28), the second Menkheperre, the third Maatkare (A), and the last Mutnodjmet (maternal lineage unclear).

48 Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 108.

49 Hussein Bassir, "The Self-presentation of Payeftjauemawyneith on Naophorous Statue BM EA 83," in *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines*, ed. Elizabeth Frood and Angela McDonald (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2013), 9.

50 For instance, the titles used on the coffin of her daughter (see Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* 2, 164, fig. 60), the queen Mutnodjmet, are all connected to the royal family. First, she is the main great royal wife of his majesty (*ḥmt nswt wrt tpyt n*(*t*) *ḥm.f*), followed by her religious functions ("Great one of the sacred musical troupe of Amun-Re," "divine mother of Khonsu the child," "the Very Great one and firstborn of Amun"), and, finally, "royal daughter," "royal sister," and "royal wife," following the pattern of the New Kingdom. See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 107.

51 Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 103.

52 On the question of the owner(s) of these two papyri, see Giuseppina Lenzo, "The Two Funerary Papyri of Queen Nedjmet (P.BM EA 10490 and P.BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258)," *BMSAES* 15 (2010): 63–83.

53 P.London BM EA 10490 published by Ernest A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerâsher and Netchemet with Supplementary Text from the Papyrus of Nu* (London: British Museum, 1899), 44–62, pls. 1–12.

54 P.London BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258 + Munich ÄS 825. The papyrus is still not completely published. For pictures and bibliography, see TM 133525 in the Book of the Dead Project/Das Altägyptische Totenbuch: ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv, University of Bonn, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133525.

55 *mwt nṯr n*(*t*) *Ḫnsw-pꜣ-ḫrd/ wrt ḫnrwt n*(*t*) *Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw*. She is also *ḥryt špswt* and *nbt tꜣwy*.

56 *nb tꜣwy* (*ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ỉmn*)| *sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫ̲ᶜw* (*Ḥri-Ḫrw sꜣ Ỉmn*)|.

57 Even for the New Kingdom, in the few papyri belonging to a woman we do not have any representation of another family member. For the Twenty-first Dynasty, only a few other examples are known, such as the papyrus of Tjainefer, husband of Gatseshen (A) (P.Cairo JE 33997); see Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC*, EGU 21 (Leiden: NINO, 2006), 33. All these papyri have a layout very similar to the New Kingdom Books of the Dead.

58 For a divergent analysis making Herihor a son of Nodjmet, see Ad Thijs, "Two Books for One Lady: The Mother of Herihor Rediscovered," *GM* 163 (1998): 101–10; and Thijs, "Nodjmet A, Daughter of Amenhotep, Wife of Piankh and Mother of Herihor," *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 54–69.

59 Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu I: Plates 1–110; Scenes of King Herihor in the Court, with Translations of Texts*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1979), pl. 26, 1–2 [*iry*(*t*)*-pᶜt wrt*] *ḥswt ḥnwt Šmᶜw-Mḥw nbt* <*i3mt*> *bnrt mrwt wrt ḫnrwt n*(*t*) *Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw ḥmt nswt wrt mrt.f*.

60 Gay Robins, "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art," *JARCE* 31 (1994): 33–40; Ann Macy Roth, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration," *JARCE* 36 (1999): 45–52. For the Old Kingdom, see Vera Vasiljevic, "Hierarchy of Women within Elite Families: Iconographic Data from the Old Kingdom," in *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010*, ed. Katalin A. Kóthay (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, 2012), 139–49.

61 https://oi-idb-static.uchicago.edu/multimedia/110112/9216.1920x1200.jpg.

62 Here, however, she is not yet the wife of Herihor, but of the High Priest of Amun, Piankh.

63 This contribution is based on data collected as part of the ERC Starting Grant "Challenging Time(s)—A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology" (GA No. 757951), which has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program at the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The results published are solely the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the funding agencies or host institution, which must not be held responsible for either contents or their further use. I would like to thank Carlo Salzani and Charlotte Dietrich for editing my text and Anke Blöbaum, Delphine Driaux, Roman Gundacker, and Vera Müller for prolific discussions, valuable suggestions, and comments.