

The *špst nswt* Women in Ancient Egypt*

Doaa M. El-Kashef

Tourism Guidance Department-Faculty of Tourism and Hotels-University of Sadat City

Abstract

The present article focuses on the non-royal feminine title *špst nswt*, “noblewoman of the king,” first attested in the Sixth Dynasty and held by elite Memphite and provincial women, and which continued to be used in the First Intermediate Period but to a lesser degree. The significance of this title comes from its association with the female relatives of nomarchs and high provincial officials in the Sixth Dynasty. This study intends to assess the social status of those women, and more broadly, to address the connections between the rulers of the Sixth Dynasty and provincial families. Some eighty *špst nswt* women are known in the period extending from the late Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period, with a later unique occurrence of the title dating to the late Twenty-fifth–early Twenty-sixth Dynasty and found in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) in the Asasif. Nearly half of the *špst nswt* women were priestesses of Hathor in the provinces or in the Memphite area, and very few cases from Akhmim belong to women who served in the cult of Min.

Keywords: Old Kingdom; First Intermediate Period; feminine title; social status; priestess of Hathor; women in ancient Egypt

Introduction to the Title

The title $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}/\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *špst nswt*¹ is one of three titles associating their holders with the king and held by non-royal women of the high rank.² The other two titles are $\text{𓂏𓂏}/\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *rht nswt*³ and $\text{𓂏}/\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *hkrt nswt* (*w^ctt*).¹ The title *špst nswt* consists of two elements

* Thanks go to Dr Hratch Papazian, University of Cambridge, for his revision and valuable commentary on this article.

¹ Margaret A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London: Office of British School of Archaeology, 1908), pl. 45; Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 990–91 (3664).

² Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 69; idem, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*. 2nd edition (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 30–31.

³ This title was subject to different readings and interpretations: Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara, [1920-25]: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1926), 157 (6), n. 5 (*iri iht ni.swt*, “Concerned with the King’s Affairs”); Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes. 1. The Tomb of Unas-Ankh No. 413. 2. The Tomb of Khenty No. 405. 3. The Tomb of Ihy No. 186*. (Mainz Am Rhein: Von Zabern, 1977), 12, n. 23 (*rht nswt* “She whom the king knows”); Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C.; Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), 69–70, n. 282; idem, “Offerings for an Old Kingdom Granary Official,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51, nos. 2 and 3 (1972): 73 (“one who is concerned with the king’s property” (male), “one who is known to the king” (female)); idem, *Varia*, 8, n. 15, 69 (“Acquaintance of the King” (male/female)); idem, *Egyptian Women*, 30, n. 176 (*rht nswt*, “she who is known to the king”); Ronald J. Leprohon, “The Sixth Dynasty False Door of the Priestess of Hathor Irti,” *JARCE* 31 (1994): 46–47 (*iry/iry-t-ht nswt*, “connected to royal affairs”/“One connected to the cultic largess of (i.e. from) the king”); Jones, *Index*, 327–28 (1206).

nswt “king” and *špst* “noblewoman.”² The title is commonly translated into English as “noblewoman of the king,”³ “King’s Noblewoman,”⁴ or “Royal noblewoman.”⁵ The *Wörterbuch* states that the Old Kingdom feminine title *špst nswt* refers to women who belong or had belonged to the royal harem.⁶ Allam translates the title as “vornehme Dame in der Umgebung des Königs,” arguing that it was not a very common title which occurred in connection with the title *hkr.t nswt (w^{tt})*, and that its holder was a kind of “lady-in-waiting.”⁷ Bissing translates the title as “kgl. Haremdame,”⁸ while Reiser interprets it as “Kgl. Dame.”⁹ These notions of a *harem* are no longer tenable, because they are very orientalist and very likely had no basis in reality when it comes to ancient Egypt. As is clear then, the translations vary, but the current study is not a lexical one, but is rather focused on uncovering the social status of the *špst nswt* women.

Drenkhahn read the title as *špss.t nswt* and offered the translation “Königsedle.”¹⁰ She argues against the interpretation of the *špst nswt* women as royal concubines, highlighting that the wives and daughters of provincial nomarchs, who were among the holders of the title, are hardly to be regarded as royal concubines.¹¹ Edel states that the title *šps nswt/špst nswt* was granted as the lowest court rank,¹² and it is generally

For the masculine form of the title, see Miroslav Barta, “The Title ‘Property Custodian of the King’ during the Old Kingdom Egypt,” *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.

¹ For this title, see Rosemarie Drenkhahn, “Bemerkungen zu dem Titel *hkr.t nswt*,” *SAK* 4 (1976): 59–67; William A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1986), 14, 34–36; Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986), 77–78; Robyn A. Gillam, “Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance,” *JARCE* 32 (1995): 227–28, n. 178; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 31; Jones, *Index*, 794–96 (2899, 2900); Wolfram Grajetzki, *Two Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 48–51; M. M. Fekri, “Les protectrices de la famille royale ‘Kekerout nesout’ dans l’Égypte ancienne,” in *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, vol. 1, eds. Khaled Daoud, Shafia Bedier, and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2005), 353–74; Danijela Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers* (London: Golden House Publications, 2009), 85–109; idem, “Stela Bolton 1920.10.12 The Non-Royal Women of the Middle Kingdom II (*hkr.t nswt*, *b3kt nt hk3*, and *nh.t nt tpt nswt*),” *SAK* 38 (2009): 299–300, n. 3.

² *Wb* IV, 450: 2.

³ Fischer, *Dendera*, 111; Jones, *Index*, 990–91 (3664).

⁴ Fischer, *Varia*, 122; William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used* (Beirut: American University, 1982), 175 (1511); idem, *Feminine Titles*, 18.

⁵ Leprohon, “Irti,” 47.

⁶ *Wb* IV, 450: 2; Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), 265.

⁷ Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin: Hessling, 1963), 15.

⁸ Friedrich W. von Bissing, “Das Grab des Petamenophis in Theben,” *ZÄS* 74, no. 1 (1938): 10 n. 2.

⁹ Elfriede Reiser, *Der Königliche Harim im Alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung* (Wien: Verlag Notring, 1972), 18.

¹⁰ Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65.

¹¹ Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65; Troy, *Queenship*, 78.

¹² Edel, *QH* (2008), LIII.

accepted to be an honorific title from the late Old Kingdom, without an actual function.¹

The title 𓆎𓏏𓏏 *špst nswt* is the feminine form of $\text{𓆎𓏏𓏏}/\text{𓆎𓏏𓏏}$ *šps nswt* “noble of the king.”² Helck states that *šps nswt* is first attested as the lowest ranking³ title at the end end of the Old Kingdom and that it was held by the sons of high officials. He adds that the title was also held by lower ranking palace officials, following the title *smr wꜣty* “sole companion” in their titulary.⁴ Edel points out that the title was held by young officials at the beginning of their careers.⁵ Krämer states that it was among the lowest honorific titles used by members of high-ranking families since the Sixth Dynasty.⁶ One of the earliest attestations of this title comes from the tomb of the nomarch and vizier *Izi* of Edfu, dated to Teti–Pepy I,⁷ and was given to his son *Q3r*.⁸ Another early early occurrence is found in the tomb of the vizier *ḥnh-m-ḥr* at Saqqara, dated to the period from mid Teti–Pepy I,⁹ where his brother *Tmrw* had the title along with the offices of “supervisor of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House” and “overseer of the department of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House.”¹⁰ Fischer suggests that the masculine version started to be used as an official title for courtiers in the reign of Pepy I, and that it does not imply a specific function.¹¹

Fischer further argues that the feminine title *špst nswt* is first attested in the Sixth Dynasty, mostly held by provincial women, and that it continued in use during the

¹ Henry G. Fischer, “Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre,” *ZÄS* 86, no. 1 (1961): 28; idem, *Varia*, 69; Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65.

² Elmar Edel, “Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon IV: 16. Zur Lesung des Titels 𓆎𓏏𓏏 als *špsj (nj) njswt*,” *ZÄS* 85 (1960): 13; Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 79 (1510, 1511); Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65; Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen Zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1954), 119.

³ Chigh number of and given the complexity and the ,reating ranks between different titles is risky is not a good idea ,attested titles.

⁴ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 118–19.

⁵ Edel, *QH* (2008), 570, n. 142.

⁶ Sabine Krämer, *Die Vergottlichung von Privatpersonen: Untersuchungen zu persönlichen Glaubensvorstellungen und Erinnerungskultur im Alten Ägypten: Die Persönlichkeiten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 66.

⁷ Naguib Kanawati and Joyce Swinton, *Egypt in the Sixth Dynasty: Challenges and Responses* (Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2018), 67–68, 99.







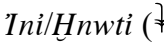


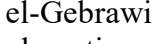



⁸ Maurice Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)* (Cairo: IFAO, 1935), 23, 24; idem, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divisé dans l’Égypte ancienne,” *BIFAO* 37 (1937): 94–96; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 118–19. *Q3r* also appears with the title on the false door niche of *Izi* in Warsaw, Krämer, *Privatpersonen*, 174.

⁹ Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 64 (94) (Pepy I); Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and Their Holders* (London: KPI, 1985), 75 (30), 100–01 (mid–late Teti); N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 2: *The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Warminster: Aris & Philipps, 1997), 18 (late Teti–Pepy I).

¹⁰ Kanawati and Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, 15, 40, 41, pls. 45, 46.

¹¹ Fischer, “Palimpsests,” 26–28.

Herakleopolitan Period.¹ He referred briefly to some examples of provincial and Memphite holders of the title.² Ward considered this title as belonging to the ‘aristocracy’, but which did not continue in use during the Middle Kingdom.³ Among the very final attestations Ward cited some examples, which he dated to the Eleventh Dynasty, in his *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*.⁴

The usual writing of the title *špst nswt* includes the hieroglyphic signs  and  with the addition of a feminine *t*. In some cases, the title is written without the feminine *t* after the seated figure. The title is written phonetically without the seated figure in the following instances from the late Sixth Dynasty or after: *Iti/Hnt-k3w.s* () , *W3dt* () , *St-ibti/Bb-ibi* () , and *Snti* II () from Saqqara; *Ini/Hnwti* () , *Hnyt* () , and *Snt/Mrwt* () from Akhmim; *Qdt-ns* from Deir el-Gebrawi () ; and *Mri* from Deshasha () .⁵ Gillam noticed that these phonetic writings of the title were found in their burial chambers or on their coffins.⁶ They were used to eliminate or reduce the figures of men and animals in places of burial during the Sixth Dynasty.⁷ A semi-phonetic writing of the title is found in the case of *Dw3w-htpi* from Saqqara as  ,⁸ and also in the case of *Ipwt* from Naga ed-Deir (or probably Dendera?) as  .⁹ The ideogram for *šps* appears in the latter case with two arms.¹⁰


The Scope of the Study


The present study examines the *špst nswt* women, their familial lineage, any other titles or functions they held and what they may tell us about their social status. It examines the appearance of the title *špst nswt* in the late Old Kingdom and its use by women of an elevated social status, especially in the provinces, and what it may tell us about the relationship between the king and the provincial families in this period. The study intends to examine whether holding the title was related to the rank and offices

¹ Henry G. Fischer, “An Occurrence of Hnn-Nšwt ‘Ehnasya’ on Two Statuettes of the Late Old Kingdom,” *JAOS* 81, no. 4 (1961): 423, n. 1; idem, *Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 79 (1511); idem, *Egyptian Women*, 30.

² Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, n. 179.


³ Ward, *Feminine Titles*, 18–19, 22.

⁴ The title  *šps nswt* on stela CG 1626 of *Hnyt* has been mistakenly cited by Ward as an attestation of a holder of the feminine title. However, it is one of the titles of the man mentioned on the stela, presumably her husband, *Denkmäler* 2, 96; Fischer, *Dendera*, 29 (12); Ward, *Index*, 175 (1511).

⁵ See Edel, “Lesung des Titels ,” 13; Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part 1: Chronology and Administration* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1992), 246. For these women, see further below.

⁶ Gillam, “Priestesses of Hathor,” 228, n. 179.

⁷ Henry G. Fischer, “Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta,” *MMJ* 11 (1976): 7; idem, “Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Paleography,” in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, eds. Ricardo A. Caminos and Henry G. Fischer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 32–33.

⁸ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 259; Edel, “Lesung des Titels ,” 14.

⁹ I. E. S. Edwards, “A Toilet Scene on a Funerary Stela of the Middle Kingdom,” *JEA* 23, no. 2 (1937): pl. 20.

¹⁰ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 339.


of a woman's male relatives or to the functions that she herself actually carried out, and whether its use was affected by the political conditions during the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. It aims to understand and analyze this period in ancient Egyptian history through the status of these individuals. Was there a political and religious dimension to that social classification? The examination of the *špswt nswt* is based mainly on the brief captions with the names and titles of women on wall scenes in the tombs and the funerary monuments of their male relatives, and also on the women's own monuments.¹ The evidence for the *špswt nswt* from Aswan comes mostly from pottery inscriptions recovered from the cemetery of Qubbet el-Hawa, with few cases deriving from wall scenes or coffin inscriptions.

The study provides information about the *špst nswt* women, including the name of the woman who held the title and her nickname (*rn.s nfr*), if available, the source, a suggested date, other titles the woman held, other monuments upon which she appears, if any, and her prominent family members with their titles. The most comprehensive grouping possible has been provided. Eighty attestations of this title have been compiled, dating to the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, with the exception of one later example from the late Twenty-fifth–early Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Analysis of the *špst nswt* Women

Female holders of the title *špst nswt* are known from the Memphite area as well as from the provinces, at Aswan (UE 1), Edfu (UE 2), Dendera (UE 6), Qasr es-Sayyad (UE 7), Abydos (UE 8), Naga ed-Deir (UE 8), Akhmim (UE 9), El-Hagarsa (UE 9), Deir el-Gebrawi (UE 12), Quseir el-Amarna and Meir in El-Qusiya (UE 14), Sheikh Said (UE 15), Zawiyet el-Mayetin (UE 16), and Deshasha (UE 20/21). This geographical diversity is important to highlight, because it is indicative of the fact that the appearance of this title in the late Old Kingdom was not specific to a region but was prominent across Egypt.

The Memphite Area

















One of the earliest occurrences of a Memphite *špst nswt* is from Saqqara and belongs to  *nh.n.s-Ppy*, who held the offices of *hnty-š* of Pepy I's pyramid and priestess of Hathor and the additional title of *hkrt nswt w^{ct} m³ct* on stela CG 1522 of her husband *Ty*, who was *hnty-š* of the same pyramid and “overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House.”² *nh.n.s-Ppy* was probably as early as Pepy I, based on their titles associating them with this king's pyramid. Eyre demonstrated the difference between a *hnty-š n pr-3* and a *hnty-š* of a royal pyramid in the Old Kingdom, stating that “a *hntj-š* gave personal service to the king: court service to the living king as *hntj-š n pr-3*, or temple service to the dead king as *hntj-š* of his pyramid” and that the *hntyw-š*


¹ Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 1.

² *Denkmäler* 1, 222–23, pl. 46. For the feminine title *hnty-š*, see *Wb* III, 311. For examples of female holders of the title *hnty-š* of a royal pyramid, see Fischer, *Varia*, 72 (17), n. 24; idem, *Dendera*, 170; idem, *Egyptian Women*, 43, n. 253, fig. 31; Jones, *Index*, 692. For the *hnty-š n pr-3*, see Murray, *Index*, pl. 33; Jones, *Index*, 692–93 (2532); Christopher Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 56 (“duty-holder(?) of the Great House”).

were holders of land in return for their service.¹ The office of overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House, for example, was carried out by *Wni* the elder of Abydos before his promotion to the offices of overseer of Upper Egypt and vizier, respectively.² The titles of *nh.n.s-Ppy* and her husband indicate her high social status.

Seventeen Memphite *špst nswt* women are known, most of whom are dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or after. Eleven of them were priestesses of Hathor, and six were both *hkrt nswt w^ctt* and priestesses of Hathor (see table 1). The following are holders of all three titles:

- 1)  *Isti*,  *Ist*, false door stela from tomb N I at south Saqqara: .³
- 2)  *Iti*/ *Hnt-k3w.s*, her tomb at Saqqara: .⁴
- 3)  *nh.n.s-Ppy*, false door stela CG 1522 of her husband *Ty*: .⁵
- 4)  *St-ibti*/ *Bb-ibi*, her tomb at Saqqara: .⁶
- 5)  *Šm3t*, her burial chamber in the tomb of *Mhi* at south Saqqara: .⁷
- 6)  *Tst*/ *Mstni*, false door stela CG 57206 from Saqqara: .⁸

Additionally, *St-ibti/Bb-ibi* and *Šm3t* were also *hkrt nswt*. They appear to have held the title *hkrt nswt*, before being promoted to the higher rank of *hkrt nswt w^ctt*. *Šm3t* is known from her burial chamber in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Mhi* at south Saqqara, who held the rank of *smr w^cty* “sole companion,” and was a *imy-r gs-pr*, *hk3 hwt* “chief of estate,” *htmty-bity* “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt,” *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain,” and *sš (w) nswt* “scribe of the royal documents.”⁹ Her relationship to *Mhi* is unknown, but the fact that she had a burial chamber in his tomb indicates that she was a close relative (wife or daughter). One may add to the previous cases that of  *Mrti*, who listed the titles *špst nswt* and *hkrt nswt* on her offering

¹ C. J. Eyre, “The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt,” *JEA* 80 (1994): 69. See also Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 108; Ann M. Roth, “The Distribution of the Old Kingdom Title *HNTJ-š*,” *BSAK* 4 (1990): 177–86; Michel Baud, “La date d’apparition des *hntjw-š*,” *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 14–15.

² CG 1435 = *Urk.* I, 100: 7, 105: 12–13; CG 1574 (Janet Richards, “Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt: The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder,” *JARCE* 39 (2002): 90, 93, fig. 15). See also C. J. Eyre, “Weni’s Career and Old Kingdom Historiography,” in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honor of A. F. Shore*, eds. Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy and Lisa M. Leahy (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), 110.

³ Gustave Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo: IFAO, 1929), 89, fig. 98; PM III/2, 676, map LXVII [2]; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 15, n. 8.

⁴ Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d’Aba* (Cairo: IFAO, 1935), 22–23; PM III/2, 674–75.

⁵ *Denkmäler* 1, 222–23, pl. 46.

⁶ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 56, fig. 62; PM III/2, 688.

⁷ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 76, pl. 11; PM III/2, 682.

⁸ James E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1905–1906* (Cairo: IFAO, 1907), 24, pl. 16; PM III/2, 563.

⁹ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 67–75; PM III/2, 682; Patrizia Piacentini, *Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l’Ancien Empire*, vol. 1: *Les premières dynasties: Les nécropoles memphites* (Paris: Cybele, 2002), 585. For the title *imy-r gs-pr*, see Jones, *Index*, 269 (969).

table CG 1355,¹ and who is probably identical with the similarly named woman who appears as *hkrt nswt w^ctt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* on her false door CG 1523 and lintel CG 1634 of her husband *Tbrti*,² dated to Merenre or later.³ *Tbrti* appears with the titles *smr smr w^cty*, “overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House,” “lector priest,” “*w^cb*-priest of the two hundreds of Merenre’s pyramid,” and “overseer of accounting” on CG 1634, and additionally bears the higher ranking title of *h3ty-c* in his tomb, north-west of Merenre’s pyramid at south Saqqara.⁴ These Memphite women belonged to the highest social strata and served in the Memphite cult of Hathor.

The titles *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* and *hkrt nswt w^ctt* are listed by Ward among the titles held by Middle Kingdom non-royal women of the highest social strata, while considering the title *hkrt nswt* as belonging to women of the intermediate strata. His argument for the difference in social standing between the *hkrt nswt w^ctt* and *hkrt nswt* was based on the rank and administrative positions of their husbands. He argued that the holders of the latter title never held the office of priestess of Hathor or any other titles and that they were lower in status than the holders of the former title.⁵ However, the periods in which the titles are recorded need to be taken into account when advancing certain proposals.⁶ For instance, *W3dt* who was a priestess of Hathor held the title *špst nswt* in combination with the titles *rht nswt* and *hkrt nswt* in her burial chamber in tomb M XII at Saqqara, dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.⁷

A woman named *Snti* (I) is repeatedly designated as *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor on her false door from Saqqara,⁸ dated to the late Sixth–Eighth Dynasty.⁹ Allam argues that this case proves that women with only the designation *špst nswt* can be priestesses of Hathor. However, this *Snti* may be identical with the similarly named owner of a burial chamber in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb of *Pnw* at south Saqqara (*Snti* (II), var. *Snt*), where she bears both the titles *hkrt nswt w^ctt* and *špst nswt* in the offering-list on the left wall.¹⁰ She was probably a wife of *Pnw*, who held the rank of *smr w^cty*, and was a *hk3 hwt* “chief of estate,” *htmty-bity* “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt,” and *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain.”¹¹ It should be noted, however, that two other Memphite cases (*Ismt* and *Rwi*) and many other provincial

¹ *Denkmäler* 1, 25.

² Bernhard Grdseloff, “Deux Inscriptions Juridiques de l’Ancien Empire,” *ASAE* 42 (1943): 29, fig. 1; *Denkmäler* 1, 224; 2, 101–02, pl. 85; PM III/2, 674.

³ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53 (15); Piacentini, *Scribes* 1, 556–57.

⁴ Grdseloff, “Deux Inscriptions,” 27, 29, fig. 1; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 101–02, pl. 85; Gaston Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles dans les tombes de Thebes et de Memphis* (Cairo: IFAO, 1883), 200 (3).

⁵ Ward, *Feminine Titles*, 14, 27–28.

⁶ Detlef Franke, “Review of *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*, by William A. Ward,” *JEA* 76 (1990): 229.

⁷ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 80–81, fig. 90; PM III/2, 683.


⁸ Gustave Jéquier, *Le Mastabat Faraoun* (Cairo: IFAO, 1928), 29, n. 1, fig. 24; PM III/2, 688; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 15.


⁹ Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London: KPI, 1987), 276.

¹⁰ Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, 29 n. 1; idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 47, 50, fig. 54, with plan, fig. 45; PM III/2, 681.

¹¹ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 40–47; PM III/2, 681.

ones are known for priestesses of Hathor who had only the title *špst nswt* (see tables 1 and 2), which agrees with Allam's assumption.

It should be noted that the title *špst nswt* precedes the two titles *hkrt nswt w^ctt* and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* in the case of *Isti*. However, it follows the title *hkrt nswt w^ctt* in the sequences of *Iti/Hnt-k3w.s*, *nh.n.s-Ppy*, and *Tst/Mstni*. The same order occurs in the case of *Snti* II as follows: .¹ It is, nevertheless, problematic to try to rank the two titles *špst nswt* and *hkrt nswt w^ctt*.

 *Mrri* of statue CG 369 from Saqqara held the title *špst nswt* alongside *rht nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* on the same statue.² *Mrri*'s statue was found at Saqqara together with the statues CG 70–75 of her husband *Ggi*,³ the nomarch of the Thinite nome (UE 8) who built a tomb at Saqqara and another at Naga ed-Deir (N 90).⁴ Brovarski suggests that she may be identical with his wife *Mr.s-nh* depicted in a relief in his tomb at Naga ed-Deir, and that *Mrri* is her nickname.⁵ *Ggi* was *hry-tp 3 n T3-wr wr* “great chief of the Thinite nome,” *imy-r hm(w) ntr n In-hrt* “overseer of priests of Onuris,” and *mnw kmt* “keeper of the black cattle.” He also held the high ranking title of *h3ty-c* “count” and the offices of “inspector of priests of Merenre’s pyramid” and “overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House,”⁶ rarely held by nomarchs.⁷

Fischer dates *Ggi* to the late Sixth Dynasty, after the Deir el-Gebrawi family of *Tbi*, *D^cw/šm3i*, and *D^cw*, the nomarchs of UE 12 who governed UE 8 as well, though he does not exclude the reign of Merenre as a possibility.⁸ Other arguments for dating *Ggi* to late Pepy I–Merenre before the nomarchs of Deir el-Gebrawi were based on his title associating him with Merenre’s pyramid and on the style of his false door.⁹ Brovarski, however, prefers to place *Ggi* in the reign of Pepy II after *Tbi*'s family, who only had the title *hry-tp 3* of UE 8, based on *Ggi*'s combination of the highest administrative and temple offices in his nome, which, he argues, marks the increase of the authority of nomarchs at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. He suggests that *Ggi*'s construction of his tomb at Saqqara may reflect the policy of Pepy II to reassert central authority late in his reign,¹⁰ and high officials of this king are known to have been buried near his pyramid.¹¹

¹ Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 54, 98; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:2, 92.

² Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911), 194; PM III/2, 723; Edward Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period* (Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2018), fig. 6.1 (f).

³ Borchardt, *Statuen* 1, 60–62, pl. 17; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 83 n. 51, fig. 6.1 (a–e), 194.

⁴ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 194.

⁵ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 194.

⁶ Staus CG 70–75 and false door CG 1455, Borchardt, *Statuen* 1, 60–63, pl. 17; idem, *Denkmäler* 1, 142–43, pl. 35; PM, III/2, 691; Henry G. Fischer, “Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries,” *JAOS* 74, no. 1 (1954): 29–30; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 55, 84–87, 89; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 83, 88, 193–94, 453, 458.

⁷ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 83–84.

⁸ Fischer, “Four Provincial Administrators,” 33.

⁹ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 84; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 104.

¹⁰ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 87–88. For the combination of the highest administrative and temple offices in the province as indicator of the dating in the period between the end of the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 114.

¹¹ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 83.

A *špst nswt* woman named $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{Tti}$ held the additional titles *ḥkrt nswt* and *ḥkrt nswt wꜥtt* on her false door stela from Saqqara,¹ dated to the late Sixth–Eighth Dynasty,² but but was not a priestess of Hathor. Two other Memphite women held the title *špst nswt* separately. The first is $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{Htpt}$ who added that title on her Obelisk CG 17005,³ while the second is $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{Ht-Snfrw}$ who listed the title on the offering table of her husband the “chief of estate and sole companion” *Ny-ꜥnh-Hnsw* found in the tomb of the vizier *Mry-Rꜥ I3m* at south Saqqara,⁴ dated to end of the first half of Pepy II’s reign.⁵ *Ht-Snfrw*’s relationship to the vizier is not specified, but the existence of funerary objects with her name and title in his tomb indicates that she was an important member of the household. The familial status of many Memphite *špst nswt* women are unknown, but the fact that they had their own tombs, burial chambers, or funerary objects indicates their higher social status.

A *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor named $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{Rwi}$ is known from the architrave of her husband *Hnmw-ndm(w)* from Kom el-Akhdar, two kilometers west of Abusir, dated to the period from the very end of the Sixth–Eighth Dynasty. Her husband held the rank of *smr wꜥty* and was a “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt,” *imy-r gs-pr*, and “chief of estate.”⁶ Another woman named $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{Dw3w-ḥtpi}$, dated to the period from the First Intermediate Period to the Eleventh Dynasty,⁷ listed the title *špst nswt* on her coffin from her tomb HMK 37 at Saqqara.⁸ The title *rḥt nswt* also appears on her false door stela with *S3t-Gm.n.i*.⁹ *Dw3w-ḥtpi*’s relationship with this woman is not specified, but the fact that *S3t-Gm.n.i* held the titles *ḥkrt nswt wꜥtt ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr* on the same stela indicates that she also belonged to the higher social stratum.

Aswan (UE 1)

In his overview of court titles attested at the elite cemetery of Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan at the end of the Old Kingdom, Edel compiled 18 female holders of the title *špst nswt*.¹⁰ Most of them are known from the offering pottery vessels, which were inscribed in hieratic with the names of foodstuff and the names and title(s) of the individuals who donated the offering. The practice of offering to the funerary cult of relatives or other high officials was also adopted at Qubbet el-Hawa by the family

¹ Gustave Jequier, *La pyramide d’Oudjebten* (Cairo: IFAO, 1928), 26, fig. 33; PM III/2, 686.

² Harpur, *Decoration*, 277. Khaled A. Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis: Translation, Commentary, and Analyses* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 122, dated it to the very end of the Old Kingdom or shortly after.

³ Kuentz, *CG 1308-1315 et 17001-17036*, 11–12, pl. 4; PM III/2, 774.

⁴ Gustave Jequier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3 (Cairo: IFAO, 1940), 54, fig. 51; PM III/2, 683.

⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, 95–96.

⁶ Fischer, “Some Early Monuments from Busiris,” 8, figs. 1–2. For the title *imy-r gs-pr*, see Jones, *Index*, 269 (969).

⁷ Krämer, *Privatpersonen*, 313.

⁸ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries 1*, 258–59 (14), cf. 54; PM III/2, 539.

⁹ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries 1*, 188 (17); 2, pl. 75; PM III/2, 539; Krämer, *Privatpersonen*, 313–15.

¹⁰ Edel, *QH* (2008), LIII, LVII, CXLII.

members of high officials at Aswan.¹ The tombs from which these attestations are derived have been dated to the long reign of Pepy II or generally to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

Ipi I (𓂏𓂏𓂏) is identified as *špst nswt* and *hkrt nswt wꜥtt* on offering vessels found in tomb QH109 of *šbbi/Tsw* and *Tqri*,² who themselves held the titles *htmty-bity smr wꜥty wꜥty hry-ḥb(t) imy-r iꜥw* “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion, lector priest, and overseer of foreign mercenaries.”³ Another *špst nswt* named 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 is known from pottery offerings from the same tomb.⁴ The relationship between the two tomb owners remains unknown. Edel suggested that the social equality—both held the office of *imy-r iꜥw*—may have been the reason for sharing one tomb.⁵ The office of *imy-r iꜥw* was the highest office held by the officials of Aswan who were responsible for expeditions into Nubia.⁶ Given Aswan’s proximity to Nubia high officials there were involved in Nubian trade and expeditions during the Sixth Dynasty on behalf of the state, which is reflected in their titles, such as *imy-r ḥꜥswt* and *imy-r iꜥw*. The common titles held by contemporary provincial high officials, especially the title *hry-tp ʕ* of a nome, are not attested at Aswan.⁷

Ipi I is also known from pottery vessels from tomb QH92 among others as the wife of *Ti-n-ḥnt*, buried in Shaft II (main shaft) in tomb QH92 and thus probably the tomb owner, and the mother of *Sbk-ḥtp* identified by Edel as the owner of tomb QH90,⁸ which, along with QH92, has been dated to the middle of Pepy II’s reign.⁹ Her husband *Ti-n-ḥnt* held the titles *htmty-bity smr wꜥty*,¹⁰ while her son *Sbk-ḥtp* was also *htmty-bity smr wꜥty* and *htmty ntr* “god’s sealer.”¹¹ The *špst nswt Tbs-tꜥ* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏),

¹ Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, Abt. 2: *Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften*. Bd. 1: *Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965*. Teil 1: *Zeichnungen und hieroglyphische Umschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1967), Teil 2: *Text* (Wiesbaden, 1970), Bd. 2: *Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1968, 1969, 1970*. Teil 1: *Zeichnungen und Hieroglyphische Umschrift* (Wiesbaden, 1971); Deborah Vischak, “Identity in/of Elephantine: Old Kingdom Tombs at Qubbet el Hawa,” in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor*, vol. 2, eds. Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (Cairo: Conseil suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2007), 451; Bart R. Hellinckx, “Chronique: Results of the Bonn Mission to the Rock-necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, 1959-1984,” *CdE* 89 (2014): 270; Deborah Vischak, *Community and Identity in Ancient Egypt: The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Qubbet El-Hawa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3.

² Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 159–60; 2:1:2, 33 (7 u), 88 (19); idem, *QH* (2008), CIII, CXLII, 1702.

³ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1707–08.

⁴ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 161; 2:1:2, 34 (11 d), 88 (19); idem, *QH* (2008), CIV, CXLII, 1702.

⁵ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1706.

⁶ Jones, *Index*, 73–74 (327); Vischak, *Qubbet El-Hawa*, 25–26; Miral Lashien, *The Nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty: A Historical Study* (Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2017), 132–33.

⁷ Vischak, “Identity in/of Elephantine,” 452–53.

⁸ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:2, 32–33 (7); idem, *QH* 2008, 1055, 1271, 1274.

⁹ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1274.

¹⁰ Edel, *QH* (2008), CII, 1269, 1274.

¹¹ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1135, 1170, Abb. 14–15.

known from a pottery vessel from tomb QH92 of *Ti-n-hnt*,¹ was the wife of his son *Sbk-htp*.²

Ipi II (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) is identified as “daughter of the companion *Sbk-htp*, the noblewoman of the king, *Ipi*” on pots from the tomb of *Ti-šm3 St-k3* (QH98),³ dated to the middle of Pepy II’s reign.⁴ *Ti-šm3 St-k3* held the titles *htmty-bity smr w’ty hry-hb(t) hry-tp 3 (n) nswt*. The latter title has been interpreted by Edel as “hoher Repräsentant des Königs,” who was representative of the central government in monitoring the expeditions’ officials of Elephantine.⁵ Edel suggested the identification of this *Ipi* with one of the two daughters of *Sbk-htp* (QH90), *Ip(i) wr(t)* or *Ipi ndst*.⁶

It remains uncertain whether the *špst nswt Stt-htp* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), whose name occurs in tomb QH88,⁷ dated to the reign of Pepy II,⁸ is to be identified with the *hkrt nswt Stt-htp*, mother of *Ti-n-hnt* (QH92) and grandmother of *Sbk-htp* (QH90) and *Hnb3b3*,⁹ or with the similarly named daughter of *Hnb3b3* and *Ipi*.¹⁰ Yet another *špst nswt* named *Ny-nh-sbk(i)* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) is known from QH88, but her familial status is unknown.¹¹

The *špst nswt* 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Mrs* (var. 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Mrsi*) is known from tombs QH99 and QH109.¹² The owner of QH99 remains unknown; Edel assigned a high social status to it on the grounds that pottery vessels from this tomb were donated by persons belonging to the high-ranking families at Aswan. He also suggested that the owner of tomb QH99 may have been at least similar in rank to *Ti-šm3 St-k3*, the owner of the neighboring tomb QH98, on the basis of their architectural lay-out, and dated the tomb to mid Pepy II.¹³ The *špswt nswt* named *S3bts* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), known from tombs QH90, QH105, and QH109, are probably one and the same person.¹⁴ This lady also held the title *hkrt nswt*.¹⁵ The owner of QH105, *Snnw/Sni/nh-b(w).f*, dated to late Pepy II,¹⁶ was a *h3ty-htmty-bity smr w’ty hry-hb(t)*, showing the traditional stages of

¹ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 66 (187); 2:1:2, 41 (name mistakenly read as *Tbs-nfr-3*); idem, *QH* (2008), CXX, CXLII, 1272.

² Edel, *QH* (2008), 1055.

³ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 82, 83; 2:1:2, 33 (8 c. d), 88 (19), 97; idem, *QH* (2008), CIII, 1346, 1351. For further evidence of this person in tomb QH92, see Edel, *QH* (2008), 1270, 1351.

⁴ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1351.

⁵ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1348–49.

⁶ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:2, 84, 101, 102.

⁷ Elmar Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, Abt. 2: Die althieratischen Topfaufrschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1972 und 1973* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975), pls. 95–99.

⁸ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1056.

⁹ Edel, *QH* (1975), pls. 24 (71)–26.

¹⁰ Edel, *QH* (1975), pls. 52 (131)–53 (132); Edel, *QH* (2008), CXIX, 1053–55.

¹¹ Edel, *QH* (1975), pl. 92; idem, *QH* (2008), CIX, CXLII, 1033, 1053.

¹² Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 85 (218), 164–65; 2:1:2, 35 (22 c. d. e), 88 (19), 97, 98; idem, *QH* (2008), CVIII, 1373, 1702.

¹³ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1375.

¹⁴ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1601, 1602, 1702.

¹⁵ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 140, 184; 2:1:2, 38 (48 b. e); idem, *QH* 2008, 1602.

¹⁶ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1608.

the career of a high official at Aswan in reverse order.¹ A *špst nswt* named 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *Init-it.s* offered pottery vessels in tomb QH105. It remains uncertain whether she is identical with the similarly named *špst nswt* woman known from pottery offerings from tomb QH109.²

𓏏𓏏𓏏 *Ip(i) wr(t)*, 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *Ip(i) ndst*, and 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *Spw* are known from offerings recovered from tomb QH34h of the late Sixth Dynasty official *Hwi.n.s*,³ who held the titles *šhd hmw-ntr* [pyramid name] *h3ty-ꜥ htmty-bity smr wꜥty hry-ḥb(t)*.⁴ It has recently been suggested that these ladies may be identical with the family members of the *smr wꜥty hry-ḥb(t) Sbk-ḥtp* of tomb QH29, since a large part of *Sbk-ḥtp*'s family offered pottery vessels in tomb QH34h. According to this suggestion, *Ip(i) wr(t)* and *Ip(i) ndst* may be the two daughters of *Htpi* (*Sbk-ḥtp*'s son) and *Spi/Ipi*. *Spw* may be identical with *Htpi*'s wife *Spi/Ipi*, who held the title *ḥkrt nswt*. *Htpi* and his son *Hrw* both held the titles *šps nswt imy-r i3w*.⁵

The family relationships of the title holders known from offering vessels are difficult to ascertain, but the fact that their pottery was found in the tombs of the late Sixth Dynasty high officials at Aswan indicates their high social status and that they were contemporaries of that particular social environment.

Another attestation of a *špst nswt* woman comes from tomb QH89 of a certain *Sbk-ḥtp*, who held the rank of *smr* and the title *šhd pr-ꜥ* “inspector of the Great House,”⁶ a title attested only twice at Aswan.⁷ The woman is named *[M]r[s]i/Htpi* and is known from her coffin found in Shaft I, burial chamber γ. She is the only attested holder of the title *špst nswt* in combination with *[ḥkrt] nswt [wꜥt]t* and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr* from Aswan, which indicates her high social status and relationship with a high official at Aswan. A close relationship is assumed between this lady and the *htmty-bity smr wꜥty hry-ḥb(t) [šhd p]r-ꜥ [S3]bni/[Hrw]-m-ḥtp*, who is also buried in QH89 in the adjacent burial chamber (Shaft I, burial chamber β),⁸ and who is one of two attested holders of the title *šhd pr-ꜥ* at Aswan.⁹

A lady named 𓏏𓏏𓏏 *Tbs-t3* (nicknamed *Tt/Titi/Ti?*) with the titles *špst nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr* is shown with her brother *Ti-šm3i/Sti-k3.i* on a false door from QH207,¹⁰ dated to mid-late Pepy II.¹¹ Edel suggested that this lady was probably the

¹ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1604–05.

² Edel, *QH* (2008), 1601, 1702.

³ Edel, *QH* (2008), CIII, CIV, 575; Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano, “Different Individuals Named Khunes in the Cataract Region,” *ZĀS* 140 (2013): 20–21, 23 (late Pepy II); Krämer, *Privatpersonen*, 389.

⁴ Edel, *QH* (2008), 570; Jiménez-Serrano, “Different Individuals Named Khunes,” 15–19.

⁵ Edel, *QH* (2008), 299–302, 339, 341–42, 575.

⁶ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1071, 1109.

⁷ Edel, *QH* (2008), CXXXVII. For the title *šhd pr-ꜥ*, see Jones, *Index*, 924–25 (3401).

⁸ Edel, *QH* (2008), CVIII, CXXXV, 1094, 1110, 1111, figs. 34, 38.

⁹ Edel, *QH* (2008), CXXXVIII.

¹⁰ Edel, *QH* (2008), CXX, 1866–67, Abb. 5.

¹¹ Edel, *QH* (2008), 1979.

wife of the anonymous owner of tomb QH207, who had survived her husband, and to whom her brother had donated this false door in tomb QH207.¹

The title is attested in the tomb of *S3bni* II (QH35e), dated to late Pepy II.² His daughter, identified as *s3t.f nrt.f špst nswt Mrti* (𓄏𓄱𓄱), is represented in a scene from his tomb standing behind the tomb owner and facing her sister the *hkrt nswt wꜥtt Hꜥi-nfri*.³ Another lady is represented in the fishing and fowling scene seated to the right, namely the *špst nswt Snti* (𓄏𓄱𓄱). Edel has suggested that she may have been another daughter of *S3bni* II based on her position in the scene opposite his daughter *Hꜥi-nfri* represented sitting to the left.⁴ *S3bni* II was possibly the son of Pepynakht Heqaib II (QH35d), and is the only attested official in the cemetery of Qubbet el-Hawa to combine the titles of *imy-r šmꜥw* “overseer of Upper Egypt,” *imy-r h3swt* “overseer of foreign lands,” *imy-r iꜥw* “overseer of foreign mercenaries,” and *hry-tp ꜥ n nswt*.⁵

Edfu (UE 2)

The wife of the nomarch *Mry-Rꜥ (Ppy)-nfr/Q3r* of Edfu was a *špst nswt*. She is represented sitting beside him on his large architrave in his tomb at Edfu with the designation *špst nswt*, but only the signs for ...tk remain of her name.⁶ According to his autobiography on the same architrave, *Q3r* started his career in the residence under Pepy I as “sole companion” and “overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House.” He was then appointed by Merenre as “great chief of the nome,” that of Edfu (UE 2), “overseer of grain of Upper Egypt,” and “overseer of priests.”⁷ He was later promoted promoted to the higher rank of “count” (*h3ty-ꜥ*) and the office of “overseer of Upper Egypt,”⁸ probably in the early reign of Pepy II.⁹ He was likely the son of the nomarch nomarch and vizier *Izi* of Edfu,¹⁰ who was appointed as “great chief of the nome” by Teti, and as vizier, probably by the same king.¹¹ It has recently been suggested that

¹ Elmar Edel, “Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan,” *ZÄS* 100 (1973): 5; Edel, *QH* (2008), 1977, n. 556.

² Edel, *QH* (2008), 854, 1349; Vischak, *Qubbet El-Hawa*, 236–37; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 295.

³ Edel, *QH* (2008), CVIII, 815, 848, Abb. 8.

⁴ Edel, *QH* (2008), CXVIII, CXLII, 820, 848, Abb. 15; Vischak, *Qubbet El-Hawa*, figs. 59, 60.

⁵ Vischak, *Qubbet El-Hawa*, 237.

⁶ Mahmoud El-Khadragy, “The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum,” *SAK* 30 (2002): 205, fig. 2, pl. 4; Kanawati, “Memphite Tomb of Qar,” fig. 3; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, fig. 32.

⁷ M. G. Daressy, “Inscriptions du mastaba de Pepi-Nefer à Edfou,” *ASAE* 17 (1917): 136; *Urk.* I, 254: 2–4; Naguib Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980), 30; El-Khadragy, “Niche of Qar,” figs. 2–3, pls. 4–6; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 343; Naguib Kanawati, “The Memphite Tomb of Qar of Edfu,” in *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Vivienne G. Callender et al. (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2011), 217; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 99–100, 127–28, fig. 32.

⁸ *Q3r*’s false door at Edfu, El-Khadragy, “Niche of Qar,” 218–27, fig. 7, pl. 9; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 127.

⁹ Kanawati, *Reforms*, 64; Edward Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, Part 1,” *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 94.

¹⁰ Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 99–100, 126; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 35.


¹¹ For the reconstruction of line 8 of *Izi*’s autobiography referring to his appointment as vizier (*t3yty z3b t3ty*), which is also recorded in his tomb at Edfu, see Elmar Edel, “Inschriften des Alten Reichs I.

Izi's wife named *Zšzšt* was probably of royal origin based on her name carried by the royal women during Teti's reign.¹ Kanawati and Swinton further suggest that *Izi* was Teti's son-in-law.² The wife of *Q3r* did not hold any other titles or offices and it seems that her holding of the title *špst nswt* was related to the rank and office of her husband.

Dendera (UE 6)

A *špst nswt* named *Wti* is known from her late Sixth Dynasty stela from Dendera, on which she is also identified as *rht nswt* and priestess in the cult of Hathor at Dendera (*hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr nbt Twnt*).³

Qasr es-Sayyad (UE 7)

One *špst nswt* woman named *Nfrti*, with the nickname *Iti*, is known from two preserved scenes from her tomb at Qasr es-Sayyad (Chenoboskion) in UE 7, dated to the Sixth Dynasty. She also held the titles *hkrt nswt w^{ctt} hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*. Her titles are in the following order: . She also had the title *hntyts* of a royal pyramid, whose name is missing.⁴

Abydos (UE 8)

The earliest attested *špst nswt* woman known from Abydos is *Nbt*, Pepy I's mother-in-law. She appears with that title on stela CG 1575 of her son the vizier *Idi*,⁵ who probably dates to the early-middle reign of Pepy II.⁶ She held the title *hkrt nswt* on stela CG 1431 of her son *D^{rw}*,⁷ who was vizier in the early years of Pepy II's reign.⁸ *D^{rw}* is identified on his stela as a brother of *nh.n.s-Mry-R^c* I and II, the queens of Pepy I and mothers of Merenre and Pepy II, respectively.⁹ *Nbt* was also *iry-p^{ctt}*, *h3tyt^c*, *t3tyt z3b t3ty*, *smrt bity* "hereditary princess, countess, she of the curtain, judge,

Die Biographie des Gaufürsten von Edfu, *JZj*," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 11–17; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 46–47, n. 193, 67.

¹ Naguib Kanawati, "The Vizier Nebet and the Royal Women of the Sixth Dynasty," in *Thebes and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Kent R. Weeks*, eds. Zahi A. Hawass and Salima Ikram (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de L'Egypte, 2010), 117.

² *Zšzšt* was probably identical with his wife *S3t-Hr*, Alliot, *Tell Edfou*, 23, 25, 26, 28; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 47, 74, 99.

³ University Museum, Philadelphia 29–66–623, Fischer, *Dendera*, 111, pl. 8.

⁴ LD II, pl. 114 (k–l) and LD—Text II, 181; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 41–43, fig. 31.

⁵ Auguste Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), no. 526; *Denkmäler* 2, 55, pl. 75; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 271, n. 1752; Fischer, *Varia*, 75; Blumenthal, "Gottesväter," 12–14.

⁶ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 61–62 (73a); Strudwick, *Administration*, 253, 302.

⁷ *Denkmäler* 1, 112; *Urk.* I, 119: 1; Blumenthal, "Gottesväter," 12; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, fig. 26. For a translation and commentary of the text, see Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), 141–43.

⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 156–57 (591), 236, 295; Strudwick, *Administration*, 302.

⁹ *Denkmäler* 1, 111; *Urk.* I, 117: 13–17; Fischer, *Varia*, 75; Edward Brovarski, "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part II," in *For His KA: Essays offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 15, 20.

and vizier, and companion of the king of Lower Egypt” on her stela CG 1578.¹ She adopted the feminine versions of the highest ranking titles and that of the highest administrative office of the vizier. She is the only attested female holder of the title of vizier (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *t3yty z3b t3ty*) until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.² It should be noted that this title is not included in the titulary of her husband *Hwi*, who was *it ntr, iry-pꜣt, imy-r niwt, ḥ3ty-ꜣ* “father of the god, hereditary prince, overseer of the pyramid town, and count” on the same stela. He appears with the highest ranking titles of *iry-pꜣt* and *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* on stela CG 1431 of his son *Dꜣw*, and *iry-pꜣt* and *smr wꜣty* on stela CG 1575 of his son *Idi*.³

This provincial family was closely connected with the royal court. *Nbt*’s two daughters married Pepy I and became the mothers of Merenre and Pepy II. It is uncertain whether she was appointed vizier before or after Pepy I’s marriage to her daughters.⁴ Fischer stressed that her titles are totally honorific and that they were granted to her as a way to enhance the social status of a woman of a non-royal origin who became the mother-in-law of Pepy I and the grandmother of Merenre and Pepy II. Fischer further posits that her stela CG 1578, on which she held her highest ranking and administrative titles, was erected after Pepy II’s accession.⁵ Fischer’s argument was rejected by Kanawati who suggests that she may have actually been appointed to that office after the vizier *Izi* of Edfu, with her residence at Abydos.⁶ Kanawati and Swinton are more inclined to place her appointment to the vizierate after or about the time of Pepy I’s marriage to her daughters.⁷

That *Nbt* was a king’s daughter was first proposed by Kees.⁸ Kanawati has suggested that she may have been the daughter of Unas and the sister or half-sister of Queen Iput I who was probably a daughter of Unas and certainly the wife of Teti and mother of Pepy I. In this case Pepy I married the daughters of his aunt *Nbt*, and not two sisters of a non-royal origin, which means that the king appointed a member of the royal family and his mother-in-law to the highest administrative office of the

¹ Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 525; *Denkmäler* 2, 59–60, pl. 76; Elke Blumenthal, “Die Gottesväter des Alten und Mittleren Reiches,” *ZÄS* 114 (1987): 11–12; Fischer, *Varia*, 74; idem, *Egyptian Women*, 37, fig. 27; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 395 (no. 295). For the feminine title 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *ḥ3tyt-ꜣ*, see *Wb* III, 26: 3; Henry G. Fischer, “A Daughter of the Overlords of Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period,” *JAOS* 76, no. 2 (1956): 105, n. 28; Blumenthal, “Gottesväter,” 12; Ward, *Index*, 107 (890); idem, *Feminine Titles*, 117; Jones, *Index*, 496.

² Fischer, *Varia*, 74; Kanawati, *Reforms*, 31; Jones, *Index*, 1000–01; Hratch Papazian, “The State of Egypt in the Eighth Dynasty,” in *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, eds. Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 409.

³ *Denkmäler* 2, 59, pl. 76; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 37, fig. 27; *Denkmäler* 1, 111; *Urk.* I, 119: 2; *Denkmäler* 2, 55, pl. 75. See also Blumenthal, “Gottesväter,” 11–12; Fischer, *Varia*, 74; Kanawati, *Reforms*, 31.

⁴ Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 103 n. 132.

⁵ Fischer, *Varia*, 75; idem, *Egyptian Women*, 37, fig. 27.

⁶ Kanawati, *Reforms*, 31.

⁷ Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 103.

⁸ H. Kees, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vezirats im Alten Reich, die Chronologie der vezire unter könig Phiops II,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, N. F. 4, No. 2 (Göttingen, 1940), 42.

vizier.¹ To sum up, *Nbt* held her highest court ranking and occupational titles on her stela (CG 1578), while she held the title *špst nswt* on the stela of her son the vizier *Idi* (CG 1575) as a marker of her high social status.

A woman named $\overline{\text{Irt.n.s}}$ is identified as *špst nswt* on the false door stela of her daughter $\overline{\text{H3t-k3w/Mznt}}$ from Abydos (CG 1576), while her daughter herself is designated as *rht nswt* and repeatedly as *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor. The stela clearly identifies *Trt.n.s* as the daughter of the vizier *Iww* and $\overline{\text{H3t-k3w/Mznt}}$ as her daughter and as such $\overline{\text{H3t-k3w/Mznt}}$ was the granddaughter of the vizier,² who probably succeeded *Nbt* to the office of vizier at Abydos, presumably in the period from late Pepy I–Merenre.³ *Iww*'s kinship to the family of *Nbt* and *Hwi* is a matter of debate. The suggestion that *Iww* was the eldest son of *Hwi* by an earlier wife, and as such he was the half-brother of *nh.n.s-Ppy* I, daughter of *Nbt* and *Hwi* and queen of Pepy I, was based on the representation of *Iww* on a false door (CG 1439), seated in front of an offering table opposite the queen.⁴ The vizier *Iww* of Abydos was the father of *Wni* the elder,⁵ who according to his autobiography from Abydos started his career at the palace in the reign of Teti and was later appointed by Pepy I as overseer of the *hnty(w)-š* of the Great House before his promotion to the rank of count (*h3ty-ꜣ*) and the office of overseer of Upper Egypt under Merenre.⁶ *Wni* was finally promoted to the office of vizier to succeed his father presumably in the period from late Merenre–early Pepy II. His own successors in the office of vizier were *Dꜣw* and *Idi*, sons of *Nbt* and *Hwi*, respectively.⁷ Based on his kinship to the vizier *Iww*, *Wni* was thus the brother of *Trt.n.s* and the uncle of $\overline{\text{H3t-k3w/Mznt}}$.⁸

Stela CG 1615 of *Hnw* from Abydos identifies his wife $\overline{\text{Htpwt/P3t.s}}$ as *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor. *Hnw* held the rank of *smr wꜣty* and the titles *šhd hm(w) ntr hwt-k3 Mr-n-Rꜣ* “inspector of priests of the ka-house/funerary temple of Merenre,” *hk3 hwt* “chief of estate,” *hry-tp nswt pr-ꜣ* “royal chamberlain of the Great House,” and *imy-r šnt T3-wr* “overseer of disputes of the Thinite nome.”⁹ Fischer prefers to date the stela to the end of the Eighth Dynasty and not before the end of the Sixth.¹⁰

¹ Kanawati, “Nebet,” 115–125; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 107–08.

² Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 540; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, no. 74; *Denkmäler* 2, 57–58, pl. 75; Brovarski, “Abydos, Part II,” fig. 2.4.

³ Kanawati, *Reforms*, 33; Strudwick, *Administration*, 302; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 108.

⁴ *Denkmäler* 1, 121, pl. 31; Brovarski, “Abydos, Part II,” 22, fig. 2.1; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 108.

⁵ *Wni* is represented offering to the vizier *Iww* on a limestone doorjamb and is identified as “his eldest son, the count, overseer of Upper Egypt, and sole companion, *Wni* the elder” (Richards, “Weni the Elder,” 90, 94, fig. 16; Kanawati, “Nebet,” 116).

⁶ CG 1435 = *Urk.* I, 100: 7, 105: 12–13; Eyre, “Weni’s Career,” 110; Richards, “Weni the Elder,” 84; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 352–53, 355; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 35, 77.

⁷ Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 108, 228–232. *Wni* is identified as vizier on his second false door CG 1574 (Richards, “Weni the Elder,” 90, 93, fig. 15).

⁸ Richards, “Weni the Elder,” 90.

⁹ Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 539; *Denkmäler* 2, 86–87, pl. 82; Henry G. Fischer, “The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat,” *JARCE* 1 (1962): 17–18, fig. 3, pl. 2.

¹⁰ Fischer, “Goddess Bat,” 10–11.

Another *špst nswt* from Abydos is $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ *Snbt* of stela CG 1450. The text also mentions her daughter named *Ini*.¹ *Snbt* also held the title on the false door stela CG 1507 of her husband *Sfhi*, who was a *smr w^cty* “sole companion.” This stela mentions a son and six daughters, including *Ini*.² A *špst nswt* named $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ *Iny* appears on stela CG 1616 from Abydos of her husband *Ndm-ib/Hnms*, who held the modest rank of *smr w^cty* “sole companion” and the offices of *imy-r wp(w)t* “overseer of commissions/apportionments” and *hry-tp nswt pr-3* “royal chamberlain of the Great House.”³ Stela CG 1637 of *Pmw* from Abydos, generally dated by Borchardt to the period from the Old to Middle Kingdom, refers to his wife the *špst nswt* $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ *Nzt*. *Pmw* was also a *smr w^cty* and *imy-r k3t* “overseer of works” and *hk3 hwt* “chief of estate” on a local level.⁴ Both *Iny* and *Nzt* were also priestesses of Hathor. Ward dated the cases of *Iny* (CG 1616) and *Nzt* (CG 1637) to the Eleventh Dynasty, considering them as “archaizing or as representing the last phase of the time during which the title was in active use,”⁵ though Fischer does not accept this dating,⁶ while Awad dated CG 1450 and CG 1616 to the end of the Old Kingdom or beginning of the First Intermediate Period.⁷ In sum, these women from Abydos seem to be among the last holders of the title *špst nswt*.

Naga ed-Deir (UE 8)

The earliest attested *špst nswt* woman from the cemetery of Naga ed-Deir (UE 8) is $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ *Šm3^ct/𓆎* *Iwi* who was a priestess of Hathor. She is known from her stela from tomb N 961, which was generally dated among other inscriptions from Cemetery 500–900 to the Fifth–Sixth Dynasties. The text also mentions a daughter who does not carry any titles.⁸ The stela presumably dates to the Sixth Dynasty, since the title *špst nswt* has not been attested before that period. The other title holders from Naga ed-Deir date to the First Intermediate Period. The *špst nswt* $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ *nh.n.s-Ppy*, nicknamed *Nni*, is known from stela CG 37737 (JE 57123), dated to the First Intermediate Period. She also held the titles *hkrt nswt rht nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* and was designated as *Imyt-wrt 3(t) nt nfr kd* “great *Imyt-wrt* of beautiful character.”⁹

¹ Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 536; *Denkmäler* 1, 135–36, pl. 34; Khaled H. Awad, “Drei Stelen des Alten Reiches und der frühen 1. Zwischenzeit aus Abydos im Ägyptischen Museum (Kairo CG 1450, CG 1589 und CG 1616),” *SAK* 40 (2011): 29–39, fig. 1, pl. 2.

² *Denkmäler* 1, 212–13.

³ Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 538; *Denkmäler* 2, 87–88, pl. 83; Awad, “Drei Stelen,” 46–52, fig. 3, pl. 4. The sign $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$ appearing before the identification of *Iny* as *hmt.f mrt.f špst nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* is presumably a scribal error.

⁴ Mariette, *Catalogue*, no. 548; *Denkmäler* 2, 103, pl. 85.

⁵ Ward, *Index*, 175 (1511); idem, *Feminine Titles*, 18–19.





⁶ Fischer, *Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 79 (1511).


⁷ Awad, “Drei Stelen,” 29.

⁸ George A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age: Naga-ed-Dêr*, Part 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), 161, pl. 45h; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 91–92, fig. 7.1.


⁹ Dows Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), no. 53, pl. 16 (1); Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 38; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 415–17.

The word *nswt* is written one time for the three titles *hkrt nswt*, *špst nswt*, and *rht nswt*: $\overline{\text{𓆎}}^{\text{𓆎}}$. On the title *Imyt-wrt 3(t) nt nfr kd*, see Jones, *Index*, 300 (1079); Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 73.

Gillam notes that she was among the few attested priestesses of Hathor who were also *Imyt-wrt*.¹  *Idw* and  *Zt-nt-nfr[t]*, the wife and daughter of the “sole companion and overseer of sandal-makers in the temple” *Hwti*, appear with the title *špst nswt* on his stela from tomb N 3914, dated to the early Ninth Dynasty.² The *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor  *Smt-k3*/ *Mrit* is known from her stela from tomb N 4748, also dated to the early Ninth Dynasty.³

The case of the *špst nswt*  *Ipwt* of stela BM 1658 of unknown provenance, who additionally held the title *rht nswt*, was firstly dated to the Eleventh Dynasty by Edwards, followed by Ward.⁴ Brovarski has recently suggested that it may have originated from Naga ed-Deir and placed it in the Ninth Dynasty, though he does not exclude the Dendera provenance.⁵

Akhmim (UE 9)

Six *špst nswt* women are known from Akhmim (UE 9).⁶ The attested holders of the title include  *Nfr-tntt*, known from El-Hawawish tomb N20 of her father *Ty*,⁷ who was “sole companion, lector priest, inspector of priests and overseer of the *pr-šn*,” and probably dates to the reign of Pepy I or shortly after.⁸ She is probably the same as *Nfr-tntt* who appears with the title *hkr̄t nswt* on the architrave of her husband *Tti* in the Field Museum in Chicago (FM 31700) with two sons and a daughter.⁹ This *Tti* is probably identical with *K3i-hp/Tti* of tomb M8 at El-Hawawish and coffin CG 28004,¹⁰ who is generally agreed to be the first nomarch at Akhmim.¹¹ The wife of the nomarch *K3i-hp/Tti* (M8), *Nfr-tntt*, held the titles *hkr̄t nswt*, *hkr̄t nswt w^ctt*, *hm(t)-ntr̄ Hwt-hr nbt nht* and *wr̄št Mnw* on her coffin CG 28001.¹² It has been suggested that *Ty*’s daughter, *Nfr-tntt*, is likely identical with the similarly named wife of the

¹ Gillam, “Priestesses of Hathor,” 225, n. 144.

² Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, no. 75, pl. 27 (1); Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 285–86. For the dating of the Red Group stelae from Naga ed-Deir, see Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 262–64, table 11.1; idem, “The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr,” *AJA* 89, no. 4 (1985): 584.

³ Henry F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927), no. 30 (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-2514); Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, no. 33; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 263, 266–67.

⁴ Edwards, “A Toilet Scene,” 165, pl. 20; Ward, *Feminine Titles*, 29.

⁵ Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 335, 338–39.

⁶ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 113, 251.

⁷ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 23b; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 11, 192, 249.

⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 52, pl. 4a, fig. 23b; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 192, 296.

⁹ Edward Brovarski, “Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 1, ed. Paule Posener-Kriéger (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), pl. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 52, 61, pl. 15, fig. 31; Ann McFarlane, “The First Nomarch at Akhmim: The Identification of a Sixth Dynasty Biographical Inscription,” *GM* 100 (1987): 63, pl. 1; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 17.

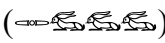
¹⁰ Lacau, *CG 28001–28086*, 10–13; Brovarski, “Akhmim,” 134, n. 199, 136–37; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 17–20, pls. 5–8, figs. 15–17; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 61.

¹¹ McFarlane, “First Nomarch at Akhmim,” 63–72.

¹² Lacau, *CG 28001–28086*, 1–5, pl. 1; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 61, 63–64, pl. 16, fig. 32; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 10, 19.

nomarch *K3i-ḥp/Tti*, and that her titles represent the different stages of her life.¹ The feminine title *wrꜣt Mnw* “watcher of Min,” associated with the cult of Min, is only attested in the Sixth–Eighth Dynasty at Akhmim.²

Zttt, the daughter(?) of the nomarch *K3i-ḥp/Tti* of El-Hawawish, was also a *špst nswt* in his tomb M8.³ No other titles or functions are attested for her. According to the biography of *K3i-ḥp/Tti* (Louvre Museum fragment + FM 31700), he started his career under Pepy I. He was appointed judge and administrator (*z3b ʿd-mr*) and royal chamberlain (*ḥry-tp nswt*). He was promoted to companion (*smr*) and overseer of priests (*imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr*). He was then promoted to sole companion (*smr wꜣty*) under the same king, which gave him access to the royal administration (*pr nswt*). He was later appointed by Merenre as [*sm3*] *Mnw*.⁴ His titulary recorded in his tomb at El-Hawawish (M8) reveals the various stages of his career, both at Memphis and at Akhmim, compared to other officials buried at El-Hawawish. Among the various offices he carried out in the residence are the offices of *imy-r ipt nswt* “overseer of the apartments of royal females” and *wr m3w* “greatest of seers,” a title usually held by the high priests of Re at Heliopolis and never held by any other provincial official.⁵ He was later appointed as *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n Ḥnt-Mnw* “great chief of Akhmim,” late in the reign of Merenre or early in that of Pepy II. He also held the additional offices of *imy-r šmꜣw* “overseer of Upper Egypt,” *imy-r šmꜣ* “overseer of Upper Egyptian grain,” and *imy-r šnwty nt ḥtpt-ntr* “overseer of the two granaries of the divine offerings,” and the highest ranking titles of *iry-pꜣt* and *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*.⁶ It appears that *Zttt*’s holding of the title *špst nswt* was related to the rank and high status of her father *K3i-ḥp/Tti*.

Wnw-Mnw () is identified on her false door from her tomb at El-Hawawish (G79), dated to early–mid Pepy II,⁷ as *špst nswt*, as well as *ḥkrt nswt wꜣtt*.⁸ Her high status is indicated by the fact that she owned her own tomb. It should also be noted that she is the first attested holder of the title *ḥmt Mnw* “wife of Min,”

¹ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 61, 63; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 101, 124 n. 734, 248–49; Naguib Kanawati, “The Watchers/Dependents of Min of Akhmim in the Old Kingdom,” in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor*, vol. 2, eds. Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (Cairo: Conseil suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2007), 12.

² Henri Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min* (Cairo: IFAO, 1931), 118; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 291–92; Kanawati, “Watchers/Dependents of Min,” 1–19.

³ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 9, 25, fig. 13; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 10. For the reading of her name, see Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 10, 22.

⁴ McFarlane, “First Nomarch at Akhmim,” 63–72, pls. 1, 2; Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs Égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire; Vers 2686-2040 Avant J-C* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990), 270–73. For the restoration of the sign(s) after the *Mnw* sign as *sm3*, see McFarlane, “First Nomarch at Akhmim,” 67 (g).

⁵ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 7; McFarlane, “First Nomarch at Akhmim,” 69.

⁶ Brovarski, “Akhmim,” 130, 137; McFarlane, “First Nomarch at Akhmim,” 69; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 7–9, 14, figs. 8, 11–17; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 98–99; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 116, 133–34; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 24.

⁷ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 295.

⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 33–34, fig. 26; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 2, 251.

and the only attested one in the Old Kingdom.¹ Gauthier suggested that the $\overline{\text{hmt}}$ $\overline{\text{Mnw}}$ at Akhmim is equal to the $\overline{\text{hmt ntr}}$ “god’s wife” at Thebes.²

Other holders of the title $\overline{\text{špst nswt}}$ from Akhmim are $\overline{\text{Ini/Hnwti}}$, $\overline{\text{Hnyt}}$, and $\overline{\text{Snt/Mrwt}}$, known from their coffins CG 28017, CG 28015, and CG 28011, respectively. The three women held the title $\overline{\text{špst nswt}}$ in combination with the titles $\overline{\text{hkrt nswt rht nswt}}$. Additionally, $\overline{\text{Hnyt}}$ had the title $\overline{\text{hm(t)-ntr hwt-hr}}$ “priestess of Hathor,” $\overline{\text{Snt/Mrwt}}$ had the title $\overline{\text{wršt Mnw}}$ “watcher of Min,” and $\overline{\text{Ini/Hnwti}}$ had both titles.³ Kanawati suggested the identification of $\overline{\text{Ini/Hnwti}}$ with the wife of an unnamed nomarch of Stela Florence 7584 named $\overline{\text{Hnwt}}$. The owner of this stela held the titles “overseer of Upper Egypt(?), overseer of priests, and (great) chief of Akhmim.”⁴ $\overline{\text{Hnyt}}$ of coffin CG 28015 may be identical with the daughter of the nomarch $\overline{\text{Špsi-pw-Mnw/Hni}}$ (El-Hawawish, H24) named $\overline{\text{Hny}}$, who appears in a scene in his tomb with the title $\overline{\text{hkrt nswt w}^{\text{ctt}}$.⁵ A similarly named woman with the titles $\overline{\text{hkrt nswt w}^{\text{ctt hm(t)-ntr hwt-hr}}$ is represented on a false door and in another scene. It is not certain whether she is his daughter $\overline{\text{Hny}}$ or another wife, as $\overline{\text{Špsi-pw-Mnw/Hni}}$ is known to have a wife named $\overline{\text{Htpi/Htpi/Htp}}$.⁶

El-Hagarsa (UE 9)

An additional occurrence of the title $\overline{\text{špst nswt}}$ comes from El-Hagarsa, a cemetery most likely belonging to UE 9.⁷ The title is found in the tomb of $\overline{\text{Mry}}$ (C2), dated to mid-late Pepy II,⁸ who held the rank of $\overline{\text{smr w}^{\text{cty}}$ and the title $\overline{\text{hry-tp nswt}}$ “royal chamberlain,”⁹ but did not hold the titles common to contemporary provincial high officials. $\overline{\text{Mry}}$ ’s wife is represented with her husband on the south wall of the chapel and is identified as $\overline{\text{hmt.f mrt.f špst nswt im}^3}$... “his wife, his beloved, the noble woman of the king, the honoured one(?)...,” but her name is destroyed.¹⁰ She was presumably identical with $\overline{\text{Tbi}}$, the owner of one of the two false doors on the west wall. The other false door belongs to $\overline{\text{Mry}}$. However, Kanawati does not exclude the possibility that $\overline{\text{Mry}}$ had two wives.¹¹

¹ Gauthier, *Dieu Min*, 109; Henry G. Fischer, “Priesterin,” *LÄ* 4 (1982): 1102; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 251; Kanawati, “Watchers/Dependents of Min,” 15; Mariam F. Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant: The God’s Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)* (London: Routledge, 2009), 4.

² Gauthier, *Dieu Min*, 109. For the office of $\overline{\text{hmt ntr}}$ and its historical development, see Ayad, *God’s Wife of Amun*.

³ Lacau, *CG 28001–28086*, 28–29, 34–35, 36; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, 65–66, pl. 13, fig. 27; idem, *El-Hawawish* 7, 54–55, pl. 14c–f, fig. 40a–d; idem, *El-Hawawish* 9, 60, fig. 34a–d; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 20, 246; Kanawati, “Watchers/Dependents of Min,” 7.

⁴ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, 50, pl. 10b, fig. 37a; idem, “Watchers/Dependents of Min,” 13–14, fig. 13.

⁵ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 10, 37, fig. 25.

⁶ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 9, 10, 24–25, fig. 4; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, 65–66.

⁷ Naguib Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, vol. 1 (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993), 7.

⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, 57; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 296.

⁹ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, 55, pls. 12a, 13a, 15, 43, 46.

¹⁰ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, 55, 60, pls. 12a, 13a, 43.

¹¹ Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, 55, 61, pls. 14, 44.

Deir el-Gebrawi (UE 12)

The earliest attested holder of the title *špst nswt* from Deir el-Gebrawi, the cemetery of UE 12, is *Nfr...wt...s*, who is represented in the tomb of her father(?) the nomarch and vizier *Hnqw II* (N67), dated to early–mid Pepy I,¹ among others bringing offerings to his wife the *hkrt nswt w^ctt Nbt* seated before an offering table.²

The wife and three daughters of *Ibi* of Deir el-Gebrawi held the title *špst nswt* in his tomb (No. 8)³ dated to Merenre–early Pepy II.⁴ *Ibi* was nomarch of UE 8 and UE 12 and was buried at Deir el-Gebrawi. According to his autobiography, he was appointed as great chief of UE 12 by Merenre.⁵ Later, he was promoted to the rank of hereditary prince and to the office of overseer of Upper Egypt and then to that of great chief of UE 8, presumably in the early years of Pepy II.⁶ *Ibi* passed his office of nomarch of UE 12 to his son *D^cw/Šmzi* during his lifetime. *D^cw/Šmzi* later held the office of nomarch of UE 8 after his father’s death together with the office of nomarch of UE 12.⁷

Ibi’s wife *Hm-R^c/Hmi* held the title *špst nswt*, as well as *hkrt nswt*, *hkrt nswt w^ctt*, *rht nswt*, and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*.⁸ In a scene in his tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi four daughters are represented bringing offerings to the tomb owner seated before an offering table. The first two, *Thyt* and *Mrt-ib*, held the title *špst nswt*. The third and fourth, *Hnwti* and *Srdyt*, are identified as *hkrt nswt w^ctt*.⁹ Drenkhahn suggests that the order of the daughters of *Ibi* in the scene implies that the designation *špst nswt* is higher in rank than *hkrt nswt*, arguing that such a sequence is always from the oldest and highest ranking child.¹⁰ *Ibi*’s daughter *Hnwt*, who is presumably identical with *Hnwti*, also bears the title *špst nswt* in the fowling scene on the south wall.¹¹

The *špst nswt Qdt-ns* is known from her coffin from a burial chamber at Deir el-Gebrawi, on which she also listed the titles *hkrt nswt*, *hkrt nswt w^ctt*, *rht nswt*, and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*.¹² Another *špst nswt* named *Wnw.sn* dates to the end of the

¹ Naguib Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vol. 1: *The Northern Cliff* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2005), 63.

² Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 63, 74.

³ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, vol. 1 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pls. 5, 17; Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 124; idem, *El-Hawawish* 2, 32 n. 154.

⁴ Naguib Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vol. 2: *The Southern Cliff: The Tombs of Ibi and Others* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2007), 19–22; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 299; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 115, 138; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 290.

⁵ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 23; *Urk.* I, 142: 8–10; Fischer, “Four Provincial Administrators,” 33; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 115.

⁶ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 84, 108, 110, 112; Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 138.

⁷ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 112.

⁸ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5, 11, 12, 15, 18.

⁹ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 74a.

¹⁰ Drenkhahn, “*hkr.t nswt*,” 65 n. 28.










¹¹ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 68.



¹² Ahmed bey Kamal, “Rapport sur les fouilles de Saïd Bey Khachaba au Déir-El-Gabraouï,” *ASAE* 13 (1914): 171.

Sixth Dynasty, or shortly after, and derives from the tomb of her husband(?) *Nfr-tp-w3(?)* at Deir el-Gebrawi (S41), who held the modest rank of *smr w^cty* “sole companion.”¹

El-Qusiya (UE 14)

The nobles of El-Qusiya (UE 14) in the Sixth Dynasty were overseers of priests of Hathor, lady of Qusiya (*imy-r hm(w)-ntr Hwt-hr nbt Qs*), which was the highest office there.² The earliest known holder of the office of *hry-tp* 3 of UE 14 is *Hnyt (Hni)/Nfr-k3* who lived in the very end of the Sixth Dynasty.³ The succession of the overseers of priests of El-Qusiya, first established by Blackman,⁴ was reestablished by El-Khouli and Kanawati in 1989,⁵ and again later by Kanawati in 2010.⁶ Accordingly, *Hw.n-wh/Tti* is now accepted as the first overseer of priests of Hathor at El-Qusiya, presumably under Pepy I.⁷ He and his presumed successor *Ppy-^cnh wr* were buried at Quseir el-Amarna (tombs 2 and 1). The other overseers of priests of El-Qusiya were buried in the cemetery of Meir.⁸

Eight *špst nswt* women are known from El-Qusiya. The wife, four daughters, and granddaughter of the overseer of priests *Hw.n-wh/Tti* of Quseir el-Amarna (tomb 2) were *špswt nswt*. His daughters  *Ny-^cnh-Hwt-hr*,  *Htp-Hwt-hr*, and  *Dw3t-Hwt-hr* bear the title in the scene of offering bearers on the east wall. His wife  *Mrrr* (var.  *Mrr*)/ *Tbi*, daughter  *S3ti*/ *n[š]*, and granddaughter  *Hwt-hr-m-h3t* are designated as *špst nswt* on the left panel of *Hw.n-wh*'s statue niche in the south wall in three registers, respectively. His wife also bears the title on the façade and false door on the west wall (right). All of them, except his daughter *Dw3t-Hwt-hr*, were also priestesses of Hathor of El-Qusiya.⁹

One may add to the above evidence the case of  *Hwt-ic/h*/ *Hwti*, the wife of *Ppy-^cnh (Mry-R^c-^cnh) Hry-ib/Hny/Hnni/Nfr-k3(i)* of Meir. She is depicted in his

¹ Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, 26, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 90, 92, pl. 65b.

² A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989), 11.

³ This occurrence of the title is found in the tomb of his father *Ppy-^cnh /Hny km* (Meir, A2), Aylward M. Blackman and Michael R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1953), pls. 26–27; Naguib Kanawati and Linda Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 2: *The Tomb of Pepyankh the Black* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2014), pls. 87 (b), 88; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 11, 19, n. 67; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 36, n. 297, 61, 77, 221, 222.

⁴ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part 1: *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp's Son Senbi* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914), 5–11.

⁵ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 11–26.

⁶ Naguib Kanawati, “Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya, Revisited,” in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski*, eds. Zahi Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian and Ramadan B. Hussein (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 207–20. For the most recent genealogy of the nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty, see Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 217, fig. 13.

⁷ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 25; Gillam, “Priestesses of Hathor,” 229 n. 194; Kanawati, “Chronology,” 209, 217; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 15–16, 86, 219.

⁸ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 25–26; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, chapter 1, fig. 13.

⁹ J. E. Quibell, “Rapport,” *ASAE* 3 (1902): 256–57; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pls. 15, 32, 34–35, 37, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46a; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 12–13, 188.

tomb seated on a chair beneath the figure of her husband and identified as *špst nswt*, *rht nswt*, and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr [nbt Qs]*.¹ She also held the title *hnwt (nt) Hwt-hr (nbt Qs)* “sistrum player of Hathor, (lady of Qusiya).”² *Ppy-ꜥnh Hry-ib* is the owner of the first known tomb in the cemetery of Meir (D2) dated to early–middle Pepy II.³ He was appointed in UE 14 either in the reign of Merenre or early in the reign of Pepy II, as a successor to *Ppy-ꜥnh wr*, almost certainly his grandfather.⁴ He held the highest court titles of *iry-pꜥt* “hereditary prince” and *hꜥty-ꜥ* “count” and the offices of “overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qusiya,” the highest office in this nome, “overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces,” which gave him control of the region of the middle provinces of Upper Egypt, and “vizier,” the highest administrative office in the land, but he did not hold the office of *hry tp ꜥ* of the nome.⁵ Kanawati, followed by Lashien, argued for the royal lineage of *Ppy-ꜥnh Hry-ib* and his wife *Hwt-iꜥh/Hwti*. They established that his grandfather *Ppy-ꜥnh wr* was married to a woman named *Zšzšt*, who was probably a princess, based on her name carried by royal princesses at the time.⁶ The argument for their royal lineage was also based on their depiction seated on block chairs with the *hwt*-sign referring to a royal origin, and her special status in his tomb is indicated by her representation equal in size to him and her elaborately decorated burial chamber.⁷ Lashien suggested that the ruling family of El-Qusiya held offices in the central administration in the residence, as demonstrated by their titles, before being appointed in the highest provincial offices at El-Qusiya. She argued that such provincial appointments were a result of marriage alliances between nobles from El-Qusiya and women of royal descent.⁸

A closer look at the titles of the daughters and female relatives of *Ppy-ꜥnh Hry-ib* shows that they all held the honorific title of *rht nswt*.⁹ His mother *Phr-nfrt/Bbi* held the titles *rht nswt*, *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*, and *hnwt* “sistrum player.”¹⁰ His mother-in-law *Nfr-irw.s/Ffi* was *rht nswt* and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*.¹¹ The title *špst nswt* was only applied to his wife *Hwt-iꜥh/Hwti*. The argument for his wife’s royal lineage seems unlikely.

¹ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 4: The Tomb-Chapel of Pepiꜥonkh the Middle Son of Sebkhꜣtpe and Pekhernefert (D, No. 2)* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1924), pl. 14; Naguib Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir, vol. 1: The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle* (Oxford: Aris & Philipps, 2012), 49, pl. 84.

² Blackman, *Meir 4*, pls. 4, 7, 9, 11, 14–15, 17; Kanawati, *Meir 1*, pls. 76b, 80, 88.

³ Kanawati, *Meir 1*, 26; Kanawati, “Chronology,” 217; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 44–50, 220, 294.

⁴ Kanawati and Swinton, *Sixth Dynasty*, 115; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 220. *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy (Ny-ꜥnh-Mry-Rꜥ)/Sbk-htp/Hpi*, the owner of a small tomb in the Unas cemetery at Saqqara, was most probably the son of *Ppy-ꜥnh wr* and the father *Ppy-ꜥnh Hry-ib*, Naguib Kanawati, “Niankhpepy/Sebketep/Hepi: Unusual Tomb and Unusual Career,” *GM* 201 (2004): 49–61, figs. 1–3; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 30–31, 50, 217, fig. 13.

⁵ Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt 1,” 93, 95; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 221–222.

⁶ Kanawati, “Nebet,” 117; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 219–220.

⁷ Blackman, *Meir 4*, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir 1*, pls. 4, 75 (a); Kanawati, “Nebet,” 117; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 41, 282, fig. 11, and 276–83 (for the significance of the block chair with the *hwt*-sign as referring to royal lineage).

⁸ Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 218–19.

⁹ Blackman, *Meir 4*, pls. 14, 15.

¹⁰ Blackman, *Meir 4*, pls. 4, 15; Kanawati, *Meir 1*, 13, pls. 76b, 83.

¹¹ Blackman, *Meir 4*, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir 1*, pl. 83; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 41.

Another occurrence of the title is found in the tomb of *Ny-^cnh-Ppy* (*Ny-^cnh-Mry-R^c*) *km/Hpi km/Sbk-htp* (Meir, A1), where his wife $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏟} \text{𓏏} (\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏})$ *nh.s-n-Tti* is identified as *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor.¹ The tomb was dated to mid-late Pepy II.² *Ny-^cnh-Ppy km* was the eldest son of *Ppy-^cnh Hry-ib* (Meir, D2).³ He held the second highest ranking title of *h3ty-^c* and the offices of overseer of priests of Hathor and overseer of Upper Egypt, but did not hold the highest ranking title of *iry-p^ct* nor the office of vizier held by his father.⁴ All the *špst nswt* women known from El-Qusiya served in the local cult of Hathor. The only exception was *Dw3t-Hwt-hr*, the daughter of *Hw.n-wh/Tti*. The ranking of the female relatives of the higher officials of El-Qusiya seems to have been connected with the rank and offices of their male relatives.

Sheikh Said (UE 15)

One attested case from Sheikh Said, the cemetery of UE 15, is that of $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *Hnnt* who was the wife of *Mrw* (tomb 18). She held the title *špst nswt* in combination with the titles *hkrt nswt w^ctt* and *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* on her false door.⁵ Her husband *Mrw*, dated to early-mid Pepy II,⁶ held the titles *hk3 hwt*, *htmty-bity*, and *smr w^cty*.⁷ The list of his titles, however, is almost certainly not complete due to the poorly preserved inscriptions of his tomb. It remains uncertain whether he held the title *hry-tp 3* of UE 15 in succession to his father *Wiw/Tyw* (tomb 19), who held the office,⁸ presumably under Merenre.⁹

Zawiyet el-Mayetin (UE 16)

Two cases of the title *špst nswt* from the Sixth Dynasty are attested at Zawiyet el-Mayetin (ancient Heben),¹⁰ the ancient capital and cemetery of UE 16.¹¹ The first case is that of $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ *Mrt-it.s/Tti*, known from her stela in tomb 10 of her husband *Biw*, who is the only attested holder of the high ranking title *h3ty-^c* in this province. *Mrt-it.s/Tti* was also *hkrt nswt* and *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr*.¹² The second comes from tomb 19

¹ The title *špst nswt* is followed by *r*; the feminine 𓏏 was most probably miscopied as 𓏏 (Naguib Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 3: *The Tomb of Niankhpepy the Black* (Oxford: Aris & Philipps, 2015), 42, pl. 68; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 70–71, fig. 20).

² El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 26; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 300; Kanawati, “Chronology,” 217; Kanawati et al., *Meir* 3, 20; Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 220, 293.

³ Lashien, *El-Qusiya*, 50, 55, 261, fig. 13.

⁴ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 21.

⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), pl. 25.

⁶ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 123, 300.

⁷ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, 30, 31.


⁸ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, 27, pl. 21.

⁹ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 123.



¹⁰ Patrizia Piacentini, *Zawiet El-Mayetin Nel III Millennio A.C.* (Pisa: Giardini, 1993), 100, 106.


¹¹ Dieter Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981), 64–65; Nadine Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 161–62, 217–18.

¹² LD II, 110 (o); PM IV, 137; Piacentini, *Zawiet El-Mayetin*, 58–59, 100. For the stela of her husband *Biw*, see LD II, 110 (p) and LD—Text II, 64.

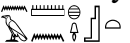
of the *smr w^cty Nhri* at Zawiyet el-Mayetin and belongs to his wife  *P33hwt(?)*, who was also *hkrt nswt*, *rht nswt*, *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr*, and *hkrt nswt w^ctt*.¹ It is remarkable that *P33hwt(?)* is one of two attested holders of the titles *špst nswt* and *hkrt nswt w^ctt* at Zawiyet el-Mayetin, despite the modest rank of her husband *Nhri*.² One may suggest that her holding of the title *špst nswt* was related to her family's and father's high status.

Deshasha (UE 20/21)

The earliest attestations of the title *špst nswt* come from the tomb of the nomarch *Itti/Šdw* at Deshasha. *Itti/Šdw* was the last of three governors known from Deshasha. His tomb was dated to the early Sixth Dynasty, reign of Teti.³ He held the title *sšm-t3 n niwty n(t) r^crt sp3wty* “leader of the land of the two goat cities of the two provinces.”⁴ Kanawati and McFarlane suggested that the two goat cities are the capitals of Upper Egyptian nomes 20 and 21, *N^crt hntyt* and *N^crt phwyt*, and that *Itti/Šdw* was thus the governor of both nomes.⁵ His daughter named  *Mry* and sister named  *Mrt-it.s* are identified as *špst nswt* in the scenes of fishing and fowling and offering bearers on the south and north walls of the chapel, respectively. Both of them were priestesses of Hathor.⁶ Another fragmentary scene in his tomb, representing a row of seven female relatives, shows at least two holders of the title *špst nswt*. It is possible that all seven women held the title. The name of one of them, *Mh^ctt*, is preserved.⁷ *Mry* and *Mrt-it.s* may have been among the seven women represented in this scene.

Another case is that of  *Mri* who repeatedly described herself as *špst nswt* and priestess of Hathor on her coffin from her tomb at Deshasha dated to end of the Sixth Dynasty.⁸

A Late Attestation of the Title *špst nswt*

A later occurrence of the title comes from the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) in the Asasif, dated to the late Twenty-fifth–early Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Taharqa-Psametik I), where his mother  *N(3)-mnh-3st* held the title *špst nswt*, in addition to “chantress of Amun” (*ihy n Imn-R^c*) and “lady of the house” (*nbt pr*).⁹ The importance

¹ LD II, 111 (l) and LD—Text II, 68; PM IV, 138–39; Piacentini, *Zawiet El-Mayetin*, 66, 100.

² Piacentini, *Zawiet El-Mayetin*, 100, 106.

³ Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993), 12, 42–44.

⁴ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 39, pl. 53; Jones, *Index*, 977–78 (3608).

⁵ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 12–13.

⁶ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Deshasheh, 1897*; with a chapter by F. Ll. Griffith (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898), pl. 22; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pls. 16b, 48, 52. *Mry* is identified by Petrie as the daughter of *Itti/Šdw*, but only traces of the adjective *mrt* after the suffix *.f* can be seen in the scene at present (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 10; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 41).

⁷ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 51, pl. 50a.

⁸ Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 20, 46–47, pl. 28; PM IV, 123.

⁹ Johannes Dumichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884), pls. 1, 3, 15, 16, 17; Bissing, “Petamenophis,” 10 and n. 2; Claude Traunecker, “Le palais funéraire de Padiamenopé redécouvert (TT 33),” *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 51

importance and high social status of her son Padiamenope is indicated by his many statues and 22-room-tomb (TT 33) exceeding the royal burials in the Valley of the Kings.¹ His tomb is famous for the richness of funerary texts and scenes copied from the Old and New Kingdom sources with some innovations known from the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.² He held the ranking titles of *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *htmty-bity*, and *smr w^cty*. He was also “chief lector priest” (*hry-hb(t) hry-tp*), “scribe of the royal documents in the presence” (*sš^c(w) nswt n hft-hr*), “privy to the secret(s) of his god” (*hry-sšt3 n ntr.f*), “overseer of all the king’s work” (*imy-r k3t nb(t) nt nswt*), “overseer of scribes of the royal documents” (*imy-r sš(w) ^c(w) nswt*), and “overseer of all property of the king” (*imy-r ht nb(t) nt nswt*).³ Padiamenope did not hold positions of local authority or in the Theban priesthood of Amun, compared to Montuemhat who was fourth prophet of Amun, mayor of Thebes, and overseer of Upper Egypt,⁴ but his titles and the size of his tomb suggest that he may have been close to the royal court.⁵ Traunecker is convinced that Padiamenope was a man of power at Thebes during the late Kushite Period, and not just a bibliophile, collecting ancient funerary texts. He argued that his tomb was a substitute place of pilgrimage replacing the Abydos Osireion for the Theban devotees.⁶ This is the only known later attestation of the title in question. The Kushite and Saite periods are known for archaism, evoking the texts and scenes of much earlier times.⁷ It seems that this title may be an example of such archaism.


Discussion and Conclusions

The attestation of the feminine title *špst nswt* in the ancient Egyptian sources remains limited. The corpus of sources dates mainly to the late Old Kingdom, and the majority of attestations dates to the Sixth Dynasty. The title first appears in the evidence in the reign of Teti, the first king of the Sixth Dynasty, in the tomb of the nomarch *Itti/Šdw* at Dëshasha, from which the earliest examples derive. The totality of the material relating to this title from Aswan dates to the reign of Pepy II or generally to the late

(2008): 38; idem, “The ‘Funeral Palace’ of Padiamenope: Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current Research,” in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 210, 227.

¹ Traunecker, “The ‘Funeral Palace’ of Padiamenope,” 205–06, 210.

² Silvia Einaudi, “Combination of Tradition and Innovation in the Decorative Programme of the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33),” in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (London: Golden House Publications, 2018), 117–25.

³ Dumichen, *Patuamenap* 1, pls. 1, 3, 5; Grégoire Loukianoff, “Les statues et les objets funéraires de  (Peduamonapet),” *ASAE* 37 (1937): 219–32.

⁴ Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 556.

⁵ Claude Traunecker, “Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal Stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33),” in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (London: Golden House Publications, 2018), 146–48.

⁶ Traunecker, “Abydenian Pilgrimage,” 126–48.

⁷ See Peter Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993).

Sixth Dynasty. I know of no attestation for the periods before the Sixth Dynasty, and no occurrence of the title has been noted for the Middle Kingdom. The title totally disappeared with the reunification of Egypt under Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, the founder of the Middle Kingdom, which coincided with the decrease in the power of nomarchs.¹ The evidence shows that the feminine title *špst nswt* was held by wives and daughters, and in very few cases by two granddaughters (*H3t-k3w/Mznt*, the granddaughter of the vizier *Iww* of Abydos, and *Hwt-ḥr-m-ḥ3t*, the granddaughter of *Hw.n-wh/Tti* of Quseir el-Amarna) and a sister (*Mrt-it.s*, the sister of the nomarch *Itti/Šdw* of Deshasha) of high Memphite and provincial officials, particularly the nomarchs during the Sixth Dynasty.

Most of the holders of the title were provincial women. The surviving examples show a great geographical diversity— the title is found everywhere in Upper Egypt, in addition to the Memphite area. This may reflect the relationship that existed, or was attempted to be fostered, between the king and the provincial elite families in the late Old Kingdom. The title *špst nswt* appears to have been used as indicator of the social status of women, and only a few among them were probably of royal origin or had royal connections.

Of the eighty women in the corpus, some 41 holders of the title *špst nswt* were also priestesses of Hathor, namely just over fifty percent of all the *špswt nswt*, with more than two-thirds being provincial women. At least 18 *špst nswt* women were also *ḥkrt nswt*, 19 were also *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt*, and 14 were also *rḥt nswt*. The evidence shows that only three women held the title *špst nswt* compounded with the titles *ḥkrt nswt*, *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt*, *rḥt nswt*, and *ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr*. These are *Hm-R^c/Hmi*, the wife of the nomarch *Ibi* of Deir el-Gebrawi, *Qdt-ns* of Deir el-Gebrawi, and *P33ḥwt(?)*, the wife of *Nḥri* of tomb 19 at Zawiyet el-Mayetin. At least nine *špswt nswt* were also *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt* and *ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr*. Five *špst nswt* women additionally held the titles *ḥkrt nswt* and *rḥt nswt*. These are *W3dt* from Saqqara, *ḥn.n.s-Ppy/Nni* from Naga ed-Deir, *Ini/Hnwti*, *Hnyt*, and *Snt/Mrwt* from Akhmim. All of these women were priestesses of Hathor, with the exception of *Snt/Mrwt* who served in the cult of Min at Akhmim as *wršt Mnw*. *Ini/Hnwti* was both priestess of Hathor and *wršt Mnw*. The family relationships of some holders are unknown, but their high social status is indicated by their ownership of tombs, coffins, or stelae.

Most of the daughters of provincial high officials, and in two cases a granddaughter and a sister, only held the honorific title *špst nswt*. The only exceptions are *Thyt* and *Hnwt*, the daughters of the nomarch *Ibi* of Deir el-Gebrawi, who

¹ It should be noted that very rare attestations are known for royal or high-ranked women in the New Kingdom who held the title *špst* “the noblewoman.” Examples include Akhenaten’s secondary wife *t3 špst* Kiya (Jacobus van Dijk, “The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty,” in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. Jacobus van Dijk (Groningen: Brill, 1997), 33); a certain *špst* Isisnofret, the owner of a sarcophagus from Saqqara and probably a daughter of Prince Khaemwaset (see Nozomu Kawai, “The Tomb of Isisnofret at Northwest Saqqara,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, eds. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens and Jaromir Krejčí (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2011), 504, 507–10); and Ramesses II’s granddaughter *špst* Isisnofret, the daughter of Prince Merenptah (cf. P. Leiden I 350 verso, Jacobus J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship’s Logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 Verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 10, fig. 2, 26; KRI II, 807: 13).

additionally held the titles *ḥkrt nswt* and *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt* respectively, and *Ip(i) wr(t)* and *Ip(i) ndst*, most probably the daughters of the overseer of foreign mercenaries *Htpi*, son of *Sbk-ḥtp* of tomb QH29, who were also *ḥkrt nswt*. Some of these provincial women were priestesses in the local cult of Hathor: *Mry* and *Mrt-it.s*, the daughter and sister of the nomarch *Itti/Šdw* of Deshasha; *Ny-^cnh-Ḥwt-ḥr*, *Htp-Ḥwt-ḥr*, *S3ti/^cn[š]*, and *Ḥwt-ḥr-m-ḥ3t*, the daughters and granddaughter of the overseer of priests *Hw.n-wh/Tti* of Quseir el-Amarna. It should be noted that *Nfr-tntt*, the daughter of *Ty* of El-Hawawish (N20), only held the title *špst nswt* in the tomb of her father. Later, she held the titles *ḥkrt nswt*, *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt*, *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr nbt nht*, and *wršt Mnw* on the Field Museum architrave (FM 31700) and coffin CG 28001, if she is to be identified with the similarly named wife of the nomarch *K3i-ḥp/Tti* of Akhmim.

It appears then that the high provincial and Memphite officials, as holders of political power, placed their female relatives in religious functions in the local priesthood in an attempt to control the local temple and its income.

The title *špst nswt* continued in use during the First Intermediate Period but to a lesser degree, with the last attested cases deriving from Abydos and Naga ed-Deir in UE 8 and Saqqara: *Iny*, *Nzt*, *Snbt*, *Ipwt*, *Idw*, *^cnh.n.s-Ppy/Nni*, *Zt-nt-nfr[t]*, *Smt-k3/Mrit*, *St-ibti/Bb-ibi*, *Tst/Mstni*, and *Dw3w-ḥtpi*. The cases of *Iny*, *St-ibti/Bb-ibi* and *Snbt* were probably as early as the end of the Sixth Dynasty. *St-ibti/Bb-ibi* was also *ḥkrt nswt*, *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt* and *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr*, and *Tst/Mstni* was also *ḥkrt nswt w^ctt* and *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr*. These two women from Saqqara belonged to the highest social strata. *^cnh.n.s-Ppy/Nni* from Naga ed-Deir additionally held the titles *ḥkrt nswt*, *rḥt nswt*, *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr*, and *Imyt-wrt 3(t) nt nfr kd*. Three women from Abydos and Naga ed-Deir, namely *Iny*, *Nzt*, and *Smt-k3/Mrit*, were priestesses of Hathor. *Ipwt* from Naga ed-Deir (or probably Dendera?) and *Dw3w-ḥtpi* from Saqqara additionally held the title *rḥt nswt*. The familial status of *Ipwt*, *^cnh.n.s-Ppy/Nni*, *Smt-k3/Mrit*, *St-ibti/Bb-ibi*, *Tst/Mstni*, and *Dw3w-ḥtpi* remains unknown.

Some of the later attested holders of the title were female relatives of modest ranking provincial officials at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or after. This can be seen, for instance, in the cases of *Iny* and *Snbt* from Abydos, *Idw* and *Zt-nt-nfr[t]* from Naga ed-Deir, *Ibi(?)* from El-Hagarsa, *Wnw.sn* from Deir el-Gebrawi, and *P33ḥwt(?)* from Zawiyet el-Mayetin. Their male relatives did not hold high administrative and priestly titles such as vizier, overseer of Upper Egypt, great chief of a nome, or overseer of priests, nor did they hold high ranking titles such as *iry-p^ct* or *ḥ3ty-^c*. One may suggest that some of them probably brought their titles from their family's side.

The masculine title *šps nswt* needs to be examined more closely to determine the period of its use, and to enable a comparison between the masculine and feminine titles to see whether they are held by individuals of the same rank and social status, and whether holding the title *šps nswt* was linked to the functions or activities of the holders, or related to the rank and status of their relatives.

Table 1: List of the Memphite *špst nswt* women and associated titles.

	Name	<i>ḥkrt nswt</i>	<i>ḥkrt nswt wꜥtt</i>	<i>rḥt nswt</i>	<i>ḥm(t)-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr</i>	<i>ḥntyt-š</i> of Pepy I's pyramid
1	<i>Tsti, Tst</i>		√		√	
2	<i>Tsmt</i>				√	
3	<i>Tti/Ḥnt-k3w.s</i>		√		√	
4	<i>ꜥnh.n.s-Ppy</i>		√		√	√
5	<i>W3dt</i>	√		√	√	
6	<i>Mrrī</i>			√	√	
7	<i>Mrti</i>	√	√?		√?	
8	<i>Rwi</i>				√	
9	<i>Ḥtpt</i>					
10	<i>Ḥt-Snfrw</i>					
11	<i>St-ibti/Bb-ibi*</i>	√	√		√	
12	<i>Snti I</i>				√	
13	<i>Snti II, Snt</i>		√			
14	<i>Šm3ꜥt</i>	√	√		√	
15	<i>Tst/Mstni*</i>		√		√	
16	<i>Tti</i>	√	√			
17	<i>Dw3w-ḥtpi*</i>			√		

Table 2: List of the provincial *špst nswt* women and associated titles.

	Name	<i>ḥkrt nswt</i>	<i>ḥkrt nswt wꜥtt</i>	<i>rḥt nswt</i>	<i>ḥm(t)-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr</i>	<i>ḥnwt (nt) Ḥwt-ḥr</i>	<i>wršt Mnw</i>	<i>ḥmt Mnw</i>	<i>Imyt-wrt 3(t) nt nfr kd</i>	<i>iry-pꜥt, ḥ3tyt-ꜥ, t3yty z3b t3ty, smrt bity</i>	<i>ḥntyt-š</i> of a royal pyramid
1	<i>Tbi?</i> (El-Hagarsa)										
2	<i>Tpi I</i> (Aswan)		√								
3	<i>Tpi II</i> (Aswan)										
4	<i>Tp(i) wr(t)</i> (Aswan)										

5	<i>Ipi ndst</i> (Aswan)									
6	<i>Ipwt*</i> (Naga ed-Deir or Dendera?)			√						
7	<i>Imi</i> (Aswan)									
8	<i>Ini/Hnwti</i> (Akhmim)	√		√	√		√			
9	<i>Init-it.s</i> (Aswan, QH105)									
10	<i>Init-it.s</i> (Aswan, QH109)									
11	<i>Iny*</i> (Abydos)				√					
12	<i>Irt.n.s</i> (Abydos)									
13	<i>Idw*</i> (Naga ed-Deir)									
14	<i>ḥn.n.s-Ppy/Nni*</i> (Naga ed-Deir)	√		√	√			√		
15	<i>ḥn.s-n-Tti</i> (Meir)				√					
16	<i>Wnw-Mnw</i> (Akhmim)		√				√			
17	<i>Wnw.sn</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)									
18	<i>Wti</i> (Dendera)			√	√					
19	<i>P33hwt(?)</i> (Zawiyet el-Mayetin)	√	√	√	√					
20	<i>Mri</i> (Deshasha)				√					
21	<i>Mry</i> (Deshasha)				√					
22	<i>Mrrī, Mrr/Tbi</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)				√					
23	<i>[M]r[s]i/Htpti</i> (Aswan)		√		√					
24	<i>Mrs, Mrsi</i> (Aswan)									
25	<i>Mrt-ib</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)									
26	<i>Mrt-it.s</i> (Deshasha)				√					
27	<i>Mrt-it.s/Tti</i> (Zawiyet el-Mayetin)	√			√					
28	<i>Mrti</i> (Aswan)									
29	<i>Ny-ḥn-Hwt-ḥr</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)				√					
30	<i>Ny-ḥn-sbk(i)</i> (Aswan)	√?								
31	<i>Nbt</i> (Abydos)	√						√		
32	<i>Nf...wt...s</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)									
33	<i>Nfr-nwi</i> (Aswan)									
34	<i>Nfriti/Tti</i> (Qasr es-Sayyad)		√		√					√
35	<i>Nfr-tntt</i> (Akhmim)	√?	√?		√?		√?			
36	<i>Nzt*</i> (Abydos)				√					

37	<i>H3t-k3w/Mznt</i> (Abydos)			√	√						
38	<i>Hwt-i'h/Hwti</i> (Meir)			√	√	√					
39	<i>Hwt-hr-m-h3t</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)				√						
40	<i>Hm-R^c/Hmi</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)	√	√	√	√						
41	<i>Hnyt</i> (Akhmim)	√		√	√						
42	<i>Hnwt, Hnwti</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)		√								
43	<i>Hnnt</i> (Sheikh Said)		√		√						
44	<i>Htp-Hwt-hr</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)				√						
45	<i>Htpwt/P3t.s</i> (Abydos)				√						
46	<i>Zt-nt-nfr[t]*</i> (Naga ed-Deir)										
47	<i>S3ti/^cn[š]</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)				√						
48	<i>Smt-k3/Mrit*</i> (Naga ed-Deir)				√						
49	<i>Zttt</i> (Akhmim)										
50	<i>S3bts</i> (Aswan)	√									
51	<i>Spw</i> (Aswan)										
52	<i>Snt/Mrwt</i> (Akhmim)	√		√			√				
53	<i>Snti</i> (Aswan)										
54	<i>Snbt*</i> (Abydos)										
55	<i>Stt-htp</i> (Aswan)	√?									
56	<i>Šm3^ct/Twi</i> (Naga ed-Deir)				√						
57	<i>Qdt-ns</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)	√	√	√	√						
58	<i>Tbs-t3</i> (Aswan, QH92)										
59	<i>Tbs-t3/Tt</i> (or <i>Titi</i> or <i>Ti?</i>) (Aswan, QH207)				√						
60	<i>Thyt</i> (Deir el-Gebrawi)	√									
61	<i>Dw3t-Hwt-hr</i> (Quseir el-Amarna)										
62	<i>...tk</i> (Edfu)										

The names followed by an asterisk are later attested holders of the title *špst nswt*.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations not included in this list follow those used in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

- BSAK* Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte
Denkmäler Borchardt, Ludwig. *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo: Nos 1295–1808*, 2 vols. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937; Cairo: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964.
- Edel, *QH* Edel, Elmar. *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei (2008) Assuan*, Bd. 1–3. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2008.
- KRI II* Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, vol. II. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.
- LD* Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–59.
- LD—Text* Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien—Text*. 5 vols., eds. Eduard Naville, Kurt Sethe, and Walter Wreszinski. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.
- MMJ* Metropolitan Museum Journal
- PM III/2* Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. III: *Memphis, Part 2 (Saqqâra to Dahshûr)*. 2nd edition, revised and augmented by Jaromir Málek. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1981.
- PM IV* Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934, 2nd Issue 1968.
- Urk. I* Sethe, Kurt. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903.
- Wb* Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. Leipzig and Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1926–63.

Bibliography

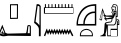
- Allam, Schafik. *Beiträge zum Hathorkult bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*. Berlin: Hessling, 1963.
- Alliot, Maurice. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)*. Cairo: IFAO, 1935.
- _____. "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne." *BIFAO* 37 (1937): 93–160.
- Awad, Khaled H. "Drei Stelen des Alten Reiches und der Frühen 1. Zwischenzeit aus Abydos im Ägyptischen Museum (Kairo CG 1450, CG 1589 und CG 1616)." *SAK* 40 (2011): 29–52.

- Ayad, Mariam F. *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Baer, Klaus. *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Barta, Miroslav. "The Title 'Property Custodian of the King' during the Old Kingdom Egypt." *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 79–89.
- Baud, Michel. "La date d'apparition des *hntjw-š*." *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 13–49.
- Bissing, Friedrich W. von. "Das Grab des Petamenophis in Theben." *ZÄS* 74, no. 1 (1938): 2–26.
- Blackman, Aylward M. *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 1: Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp's Son Senbi*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914.
- _____. *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 4: The Tomb-Chapel of Pepi'onkh the Middle Son of Sebkhotpe and Pekhernefert (D, No. 2)*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1924.
- Blackman, Aylward M. and Michael R. Apton, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 5*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1953.
- Blumenthal, Elke. "Die Gottesväter des Alten und Mittleren Reiches." *ZÄS* 114 (1987): 10–35.
- Borchardt, Ludwig. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, vol. 1. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911.
- Brovarski, Edward. "Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period." In *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 1, edited by Paule Posener-Kriéger, 117–53. Cairo: IFAO, 1985.
- _____. "The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-Ed-Dêr." *AJA* 89, no. 4 (1985): 581–84.
- _____. "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part II." In *For His KA: Essays offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, 15–44. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994.
- _____. "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, Part 1." *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 91–111.
- _____. *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period*. Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press, 2018.
- Daoud, Khaled A. *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis: Translation, Commentary, and Analyses*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005.
- Daressy, M. G. "Inscriptions du mastaba de Pepi-Nefer à Edfou." *ASAE* 17 (1917): 130–40.
- Davies, Norman de Garis. *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901.
- _____. *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, 2 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902.
- Der Manuelian, Peter. *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993.

- Drenkhahn, Rosemarie. "Bemerkungen zu dem Titel *hkr.t nswt.*" *SAK* 4 (1976): 59–67.
- Dumischen, Johannes. *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884.
- Dunham, Dows. *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Edel, Elmar. "Inschriften des Alten Reichs I. Die Biographie des Gaufürsten von Edfu, JZj." *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 11–17.
- _____. "Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon IV: 16. Zur Lesung des Titels $\dagger\text{r}\text{h}$ als *špsj (nj) njswt.*" *ZÄS* 85 (1960): 12–18.
- _____. *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, Abt. 2: *Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften*. Bd. 1: *Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965*. Teil 1: *Zeichnungen und hieroglyphische Umschriften*. Wiesbaden, 1967; Teil 2: *Text*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970; Bd. 2: *Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1968, 1969, 1970*. Teil 1: *Zeichnungen und Hieroglyphische Umschrift*. Wiesbaden, 1971.
- _____. "Vorbericht über die Arbeiten in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan." *ZÄS* 100 (1973): 1–6.
- _____. *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, Abt. 2: *Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1972 und 1973*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975.
- Edwards, I. E. S. "A Toilet Scene on a Funerary Stela of the Middle Kingdom." *JEA* 23, no. 2 (1937): 165.
- Einaudi, Silvia. "Combination of Tradition and Innovation in the Decorative Programme of the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)." In *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin, 117–25. London: Golden House Publications, 2018.
- Eyre, C. J. "The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt." *JEA* 80 (1994): 57–80.
- _____. *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- _____. "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Histiography." In *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honor of A. F. Shore*, edited by Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy and Lisa M. Leahy, 107–24. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1994.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
- Fekri, M. M. "Les protectrices de la famille royale 'Kekerout nesout' dans l'Égypte ancienne." In *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, vol. 1, edited by Khaled Daoud, Shafia Bedier and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah, 353–74. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2005.
- Firth, Cecil M. and Battiscombe Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara, [1920-25]: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. 2 vols. Cairo: IFAO, 1926.

- Fischer, Henry G. "Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries." *JAOS* 74, no. 1 (1954): 26–34.
- _____. "A Daughter of the Overlords of Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period." *JAOS* 76, no. 2 (1956): 99–110.
- _____. "An Occurrence of Hnn-Nswt 'Ehnasya' on Two Statuettes of the Late Old Kingdom." *JAOS* 81, no. 4 (1961): 423–25.
- _____. "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat." *JARCE* 1 (1962): 7–18.
- _____. "Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre." *ZÄS* 86, no. 1 (1961): 21–31.
- _____. *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C.; Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968.
- _____. "Offerings for an Old Kingdom Granary Official." *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 51, nos. 2 and 3 (1972): 69–80.
- _____. "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Paleography," in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, edited by Ricardo A. Caminos and Henry G. Fischer, 29–50. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.
- _____. "Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta." *MMJ* 11 (1976): 5–24.
- _____. *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.
- _____. *Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977.
- _____. "Priesterin." *LÄ* 4 (1982): 1101–06.
- _____. *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.
- _____. *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*. 2nd edition. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.
- Franke, Detlef. "Review of *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*, by William A. Ward." *JEA* 76 (1990): 228–32.
- Gauthier, Henri. *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*. Cairo: IFAO, 1931.
- Gillam, Robyn A. "Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance." *JARCE* 32 (1995): 211–37.
- Grajetzki, Wolfram. *Two Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001.
- Grdseloff, Bernhard. "Deux Inscriptions Juridiques de l'Ancien Empire." *ASAE* 42 (1943): 25–70.
- Harpur, Yvonne. *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*. London: KPI, 1987.
- Helck, Wolfgang. *Untersuchungen Zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1954.
- Hellinckx, Bart R. "Chronique: Results of the Bonn Mission to the Rock-necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, 1959-1984." *CdE* 89 (2014): 269–90.
- Janssen, Jacobus J. *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs: Papyrus Leiden I 350 Verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016*. Leiden: Brill, 1961.
- Jéquier, Gustave. *Le Mastabat Faraoun*. Cairo: IFAO, 1928.
- _____. *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*. Cairo: IFAO, 1928.

- _____. *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*. Cairo: IFAO, 1929.
- _____. *La pyramide d'Aba*. Cairo: IFAO, 1935.
- _____. *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3. Cairo: IFAO, 1940.
- Jiménez-Serrano, Alejandro. "Different Individuals Named Khunes in the Cataract Region." *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 13–23.
- Jones, Dilwyn. *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000.
- Kamal, Ahmed bey. "Rapport sur les fouilles de Saïd Bey Khachaba au Dêir-El-Gabraouï." *ASAE* 13 (1914): 161–78.
- Kanawati, Naguib. *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980.
- _____. *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, 10 vols. Sydney: Macquarie Ancient History Association with the Rundle Foundation for Egyptian Archaeology, 1980–92.
- _____. *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, vol. 1. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993.
- _____. "Niankhpepy/Sebekhetep/Hepi: Unusual Tomb and Unusual Career." *GM* 201 (2004): 49–61.
- _____. *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vol. 1: *The Northern Cliff*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2005.
- _____. *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vol. 2: *The Southern Cliff: The Tombs of Ibi and Others*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2007.
- _____. "The Watchers/Dependents of Min of Akhmim in the Old Kingdom." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, vol. 2, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, 1–19. Cairo: Conseil suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2007.
- _____. "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya, Revisited." In *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski*, edited by Zahi Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian and Ramadan B. Hussein, 207–20. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010.
- _____. "The Vizier Nebet and the Royal Women of the Sixth Dynasty." In *Thebes and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Kent R. Weeks*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Salima Ikram, 115–25. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010.
- _____. "The Memphite Tomb of Qar of Edfu." In *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Vivienne G. Callender, Ladislav Bares, Miroslav Barta, Jiri Janak and Jaromir Krejci, 217–31. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2011.
- _____. *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 1: *The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle*. Oxford, 2012.
- Kanawati, Naguib and Ann McFarlane. *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part 1: Chronology and Administration*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1992.

- _____. *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993.
- Kanawati, Naguib and A. Hassan. *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 2: *The Tomb of Ankhmahor*. Warminster: Aris & Philipps, 1997.
- Kanawati, Naguib and Linda Evans. *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 2: *The Tomb of Pepyankh the Black*. Oxford: Aris & Philipps, 2014.
- Kanawati, Naguib, Linda Evans, Miral Lashien, Anna-Latifa Mourad and Ashraf Senussi. *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 3: *The Tomb of Niankhpepy the Black*. Oxford: Aris & Philipps, 2015.
- Kanawati, Naguib and Joyce Swinton. *Egypt in the Sixth Dynasty: Challenges and Responses*. Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2018.
- Kawai, Nozomu. "The Tomb of Isisnofret at Northwest Saqqara." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens and Jaromir Krejčí, 497–510. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2011.
- Kessler, Dieter. *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981.
- El-Khadragy, Mahmoud. "The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum." *SAK* 30 (2002): 203–28.
- El-Khouli, A. and N. Kanawati. *Quseir El-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989.
- Krämer, Sabine. *Die Vergottlichung von Privatpersonen: Untersuchungen zu persönlichen Glaubensvorstellungen und Erinnerungskultur im Alten Ägypten: Die Persönlichkeiten des Alten Reiches*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.
- Kuentz, Charles. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 1308-1315 et 17001-17036: Obélisques*. Cairo: IFAO, 1932.
- Lacau, Pierre. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 28001–28086: Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. 1. Cairo: IFAO, 1904.
- Lashien, Miral. *The Nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty: A Historical Study*. Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2017.
- Leprohon, Ronald J. "The Sixth Dynasty False Door of the Priestess of Hathor Irti." *JARCE* 31 (1994): 41–47.
- Loukianoff, Grégoire. "Les statues et les objets funéraires de  (Peduamonapet)." *ASAE* 37 (1937): 219–32.
- Lutz, Henry F. *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927.
- Mariette, Auguste. *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*. Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1880.
- Maspero, Gaston. *Trois années de fouilles dans les tombes de Thebes et de Memphis*. Cairo: IFAO, 1883.
- McFarlane, Ann. "The First Nomarch at Akhmim: The Identification of a Sixth Dynasty Biographical Inscription." *GM* 100 (1987): 63–70.

- Moeller, Nadine. *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Murray, Margaret A. *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*. London: Office of British School of Archaeology, 1908.
- Papazian, Hratch. "The State of Egypt in the Eighth Dynasty." In *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, edited by Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Deshasheh, 1897*; with a chapter by F. Ll. Griffith. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898.
- Piacentini, Patrizia. *Zawiet El-Mayetin Nel III Millennio A.C*. Pisa: Giardini, 1993.
- _____. *Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire*, vol. 1: *Les premières dynasties: Les nécropoles memphites*. Paris: Cybele, 2002.
- Quibell, J. E. "Rapport." *ASAE* 3 (1902): 254–58.
- _____. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1905–1906*. Cairo: IFAO, 1907.
- Reiser, Elfriede. *Der Königliche Harim im Alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung*. Wien: Verlag Notring, 1972.
- Reisner, George A. *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age: Naga-ed-Dêr*, Part 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932.
- Richards, Janet. "Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt: The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder." *JARCE* 39 (2002): 75–102.
- Ritner, Robert K. *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009.
- Roth, Ann M. "The Distribution of the Old Kingdom Title *HNTJ-š*." *BSAK* 4 (1990): 177–86.
- Saleh, Mohamed. *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes. 1. The Tomb of Unas-Ankh No. 413. 2. The Tomb of Khenty No. 405. 3. The Tomb of Ihy No. 186*. Mainz Am Rhein: von Zabern, 1977.
- Stefanović, Danijela. *The Non-royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers*. London: Golden House Publications, 2009.
- _____. "Stela Bolton 1920.10.12 The Non-Royal Women of the Middle Kingdom II (*hkrt nswt, b3kt nt hk3, and 'nht nt tpt nswt*)." *SAK* 38 (2009): 297–309.
- Strudwick, Nigel. *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and Their Holders*. London: KPI, 1985.
- _____. *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.
- Traunecker, Claude. "Le palais funéraire de Padiamenopé redécouvert (TT 33)." *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 51 (2008): 15–48.
- _____. "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope: Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current Research." In *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin, 205–34. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

_____. “Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal Stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33).” In *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin, 126–48. London: Golden House Publications, 2018.

Troy, Lana. *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986.

van Dijk, Jacobus. “The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty.” In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, edited by Jacobus van Dijk, 33–46. Groningen: Brill, 1997.

Vischak, Deborah. “Identity in/of Elephantine: Old Kingdom Tombs at Qubbet el Hawa.” In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O’Connor*, vol. 2, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, 443–57. Cairo, Conseil suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2007.

_____. *Community and Identity in Ancient Egypt: The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Qubbet El-Hawa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Ward, William A. *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982.

_____. *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1986.

Ziegler, Christiane. *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs Égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire; Vers 2686-2040 Avant J-C*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990.

النساء حاملي لقب *špst nswt* فى مصر القديمة

دعاء الكاشف

ملخص

تلقى هذه الورقة البحثية الضوء على اللقب النسائي غير الملكى *špst nswt*، “نبيلة الملك”، والذي يظهر لأول مرة فى عصر الأسرة السادسة وكانت تحمله نساء من منطقة منف والأقاليم، واستمر فى الاستخدام فى عصر الانتقال الأول ولكن بدرجة أقل. تأتي أهمية هذا اللقب من ارتباطه بالنساء أقارب النبلاء وكبار المسئولين فى الأقاليم فى عصر الأسرة السادسة. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقييم الوضع الاجتماعى لهؤلاء النساء، وعلى نطاق أوسع، معرفة الروابط بين ملوك الأسرة السادسة وعائلات الأقاليم. ويعرف حوالى ثمانين امرأة حاملة للقب *špst nswt* فى الفترة من نهاية الدولة القديمة وخلال عصر الانتقال الأول، مع ظهور متأخر فريد لهذا اللقب يرجع لنهاية الأسرة الخامسة والعشرين حتى بداية الأسرة السادسة والعشرين ويوجد فى مقبرة بدى امون ابنت (TT 33) فى العساسيف. ما يقرب من

نصف النساء حاملي لقب *psst nswt* كن كاهنات لحتحور في الأقاليم أو في منطقة منف، وقليل جداً من حالات أخميم تنتمي لنساء خدمن في عبادة مين.

الكلمات الدالة: الدولة القديمة؛ عصر الانتقال الأول؛ ألقاب النساء؛ الوضع الاجتماعي؛ كاهنة حتحور؛ المرأة في مصر القديمة