Adornment in Art; The Jewels of Egypt's Queens, Tiye and Nefertari

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“Adornment in Art: The Jewels of Egypt’s Queens, Tiye and Nefertari”

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of the City College of the City University of New York

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Abstract

This paper will discuss royal women during the reigns of two of Egypt’s greatest pharaohs – Amenhotep III and Ramses II – comparing how these females were depicted in both two-dimensional and three-dimensional art, with specific reference to the jewelry they wear. My main task will be to understand how jewelry design changes, if at all, during the century between these two pharaohs. My second task is to determine in what contexts elite females wear certain types of jewels. Adornment in ancient Egypt was not only a form of fashion, but it could also provide the opportunity for the adorned to present herself both to the gods and to her subjects. By researching the representations of queens Tiye and Nefertari, rulers in two different dynasties, it is possible to better understand the path that jewelry design takes from one period to another. This thesis will focus on two different connections to the jewelry worn by these popular queens: political influence and religious significance.

Introduction

The New Kingdom began around 1550 BC with the 18th dynasty reign of Ahmose I and lasted until about 1070 BC with the reign of Ramses XI of the 20th dynasty. Ahmose I founded the dynasty with a victory over the foreign Hyksos kings (who ruled northern Egypt as the 15th dynasty from 1640 to 1550 BC), thus reuniting the country and propelling it into an era of prosperity. Later pharaohs conducted successful military campaigns and foreign expeditions, embellishing the country with extensive architectural and artistic projects in honor of both themselves and the gods.

The New Kingdom is often referred to as Egypt’s golden age, and this becomes
clear when we examine the works that come from this period. Archaeological expeditions have recovered a small part of the lavish jewels that once adorned members of the royal house in the form of rings, earrings, girdles, broad collar necklaces, headdresses, and bracelets. Jewelry features prominently in much of the artwork as well, preserved on tomb or temple walls or on royal statuary. The tomb of Nefertari, principal queen of Ramses II, in the Valley of the Queens is a perfect example of this, with vibrant paintings covering every inch of wall space, the queen outfitted in royal dress and fully adorned.

Amenhotep III (1391-1353) and Ramses II (1290-1224) are known as two of the most ambitious and successful pharaohs in Egyptian history. Tiye and Nefertari, principal wives of their respective 18th and 19th dynasty husbands, can be seen in artworks ranging from statuary to reliefs and paintings, often depicted next to their male counterparts in supporting poses. These royal women would have been adorned with the most extravagant jewels the country could proffer, and indeed, almost every item discovered from this time period is a testament to the wealthy nation that Egypt had become. Other elite females during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramses II are similarly adorned, and we can thus track the changes made over the century between the two queens.

Women in Ancient Egypt

Cleopatra, Nefertiti, Hatshepsut. The names of Egyptian queens can stir up romantic notions of powerful and exotic women who captivated the country, and the world, even in death. Tiye and Nefertari are known as two of the most beloved and
influential women in Egypt’s New Kingdom. But who were they really? What power did women really have in ancient Egyptian society?

In the New Kingdom, women enjoyed greater freedom than their foreign female neighbors. Women were able to own property and join typically male professions. In the eyes of the law, women were equal to men. They were honored members of society; in fact, the title “Mistress of the House” was a sign of respect and power.¹ And while the role of pharaoh typically remained male dominated, a few females were able to break that barrier.² The king’s wives, mother and daughters were all respected and essential female characters in Egyptian society, and they occasionally formed amiable relationships with foreign leaders, as both Tiye and Nefertari did.³ Royal women held many religious and political titles, from “God’s Wife” to “King’s Mother,” and they had the potential to influence many aspects of society and culture.

Religion pervaded all aspects of Egyptian daily life. The pharaoh was associated with a god – in particular the falcon-headed Horus. It was his job to maintain order, or maat, on earth, and his spouse was a necessary component.⁴ The queen was the highest-ranking female in the state, and her main role was to act as the king’s divine counterpart on earth, legitimizing his own reign.⁵ Without her, the king was incomplete. By the beginning of the New Kingdom, royal females began to be featured prominently alongside their husbands in grand statues and tomb and temple walls. Queens were often associated with the protector goddesses Isis, Maat, and Hathor. (Both Tiye and Nefertari

² This list includes Nitocris, Sobekneferu, Hatshepsut and Tawosret, who all ruled on their own for a time.
are depicted as Hathor in temples built for them.) By the end of the 18th dynasty, the queen became associated with the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet, known collectively as the “Two Ladies.” These deities, depicted as a vulture and a cobra respectively, represented Upper and Lower Egypt, and the queen’s dual portrayal symbolically brought the two lands together. The symbols of these two goddesses are almost always identified with Queen Tiye, who consistently wears a vulture headdress with both the vulture and cobra heads at front. (See figures 8-11, for example.) Nekhbet’s wings spread protectively in royal headdresses, while the cobra rears its head ready for attack from the center of the queen’s crown: two very powerful images to represent a very powerful woman.

**Jewelry as an Art**

Jewelry was made first as a protective element – amulets strung on a single strand are the most popular form of adornment from almost every dynasty. Each of the materials and shapes chosen was a result of religious devotion – jewelry “provided a handsome dwelling place for the spirit, and an attractive focus for veneration and offerings.” (See Figure 1 as an example of a jeweler’s workshop.) Eventually, the attraction of more colors and complicated designs as a sign of beauty overpowered the simplicity of a single protective amulet.

One of the most important finds to date, which currently resides in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), is that of the possessions of three minor wives of

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6 Lana Troy “The Queen as a Female Counterpart of the Pharaoh” in Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra. Ziegler, Christiane, ed. (Monaco: Grimaldi Forum, 2008), 154.

7 Hawass, Silent Images, 188
Thutmosis III.⁸ Among the finds were a diadem with gazelle heads, cuff bracelets, cowrie shell girdles, and broad collars. Many of the jewelry pieces have been reconstructed, and examples of these same necklaces and bracelets can be found in artworks throughout the New Kingdom. (Figures 2 and 3). The bracelets and armlets discovered in this tomb are particularly attractive: flexible cuff bracelets decorated with carnelian and gold figures of cats affiliated with the goddess Bastet and hinged gold bracelets inlaid with semiprecious stones indicate a real connection between jewelry and religion.⁹ This find also indicates changes in jewelry design, where objects became larger and more intricate than their predecessors in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, many pieces “made up of elements like ours, of many forms and colors, meshing together to form an openwork design.”¹⁰

Each form of jewelry claims its origins in earlier dynasties, but lasting changes were made over the years, such as the introduction of wider bands seen in the cuff bracelets or more opulent designs like star-shaped dangling earrings. Some of these innovations can be seen in the artwork of Tiye and Nefertari. By the beginning of the New Kingdom, a few specific designs became popular:

*Headresses* The most common type of forehead decoration was the vulture and uraeus (rearing cobra). (See Figure 8 for a combined example.) The vulture, a symbol of the goddess Nekhbet, spread its wings over the queen’s wig as a crown that was popular

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⁸ Buried around 1450 BC and discovered by Howard Carter during World War I in a town west of Deir el-Bahri, the funerary complex is one of the greatest finds to that date. The tomb belongs to queens Merhet, Merty, and Menwy.
from the Old Kingdom.\footnote{Abram, Mary. “The Power Behind the Crown: Messages Worn by Three New Kingdom Egyptian Queens” in \textit{Studia Antiqua} (Brigham Young University (Spring 2007)): 4} Although the \textit{uraeus} was typically worn by the king, queens began wearing the rearing snake as a further assertion of their power. This head adornment became in vogue during the Middle Kingdom.\footnote{Robins, \textit{Women in Ancient Egypt}, 23.} The two symbols were then combined in headdresses during the 18\textsuperscript{th} dynasty.\footnote{Abram, “The Power Behind the Crown,” 4} In addition to animal representations, a double plumed headdress became popular beginning in the Middle Kingdom.\footnote{Ibid., 5} These feathers would have been held in place on the head by a platform, or modius, which in turn could have been decorated with various hieroglyphic symbols. Fillets, or headbands, were also common, and were usually tied around the head by a piece of ribbon. Each piece of a woman’s headdress is almost unquestionably connected to a goddess, as in the vulture and cobra deities Nekhbet and Wadjet who protected the king and queen.

\textit{Earrings}  
Earrings were introduced by foreigners sometime around the 17\textsuperscript{th} dynasty.\footnote{Cyril Aldred \textit{Jewels of the Pharaohs} (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 142.} Designs ranged from gold discs to hollow gold hoops soldered together, and on to ear studs and plugs in the 19\textsuperscript{th} dynasty.\footnote{Aldred, \textit{Jewels of the Pharaohs}, 143.} (Figures 4 and 5). Popular earrings in the first half of the New Kingdom were made in the shape of gold discs or as studs with simple shapes such as the lotus flower.

\textit{Necklaces}  
This type of jewelry, which dates to before the Old Kingdom, remained popular over one thousand years later, although over time it featured more complicated designs with larger pendants and multiple colors. Originally, single amulets would have been strung on a thread that circled the neck loosely, but the most popular form of adornment became known as the broad collar, which covered much of the upper
chest and was “so universal that it [became] virtually an item of dress.”\textsuperscript{17} (Figure 2). As seen in figure 6, broad collars are most often composed of rows of cylindrical beads in between rows of smaller disc beads. A final layer of drop beads may be added, and floral and religious symbols such as the \textit{nefer} (hieroglyph meaning ‘beauty’) also became popular bead shapes. (Figure 7). When viewing a painted or sculpted image of a collar, it is understood that a line of color would generally be recognized as a row of beads.

\textbf{Bracelets and Armlets}  Arm jewelry took a variety of shapes and sizes, giving women the freedom to “express their personal taste” through hinged bracelets and armlets, bangles, single-strands, “the flexible beaded cuff, [and] the non-fitted bracelet of multiple beaded strings.”\textsuperscript{18} (Figure 3). Originally simple bangles often made of ivory, by the New Kingdom, this type of adornment developed into silver or gold pieces and were often layered.\textsuperscript{19} Over time more strings or thicker clasps were added, along with inlays of semi-precious stones, beads, glass or faience. Cloisonné work with hieroglyphic symbols etched into the metal were also popular. In artworks, simple vertical lines would represent a group of cylindrical beads while a specific shape would represent an inlay or bead.

\textbf{Rings}  Judging by the number found, finger adornments were the most popular form of jewelry, although oddly enough, they are almost never depicted in artworks. (Figure 8). Originally created with just a simple metal wire looped around an amulet, the ring became thicker, with a stronger mount for symbols. Particularly prominent during the reign of Amenhotep III, rings with scarab seals and the name of the reigning pharaoh

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, 145.
\textsuperscript{19} Aldred, \textit{Jewels of the Pharaohs}, 158.
have been found in abundance, and today form a large part of many museum collections.

Female members of Egyptian society during the New Kingdom wore a wide array of jewelry. Almost every statue and wall painting of Tiye and Nefertari depict the queens wearing many of the lavish jewelry pieces described above. There are a number of similarities and distinct choices made for each queen, as will now be discussed in depth.
Chapter 1. Queen Tiye

Amenhotep III’s Great Royal Wife, Queen Tiye, was a commoner. The daughter of Yuya (a priest of Min, later granted the title of “God’s Father”) and his wife Tjuyu, Tiye is a prominent figure in much of the artwork of the period.²⁰ Her marriage to the pharaoh was proclaimed throughout the land on commemorative scarabs, something no other pharaoh had done before. A total of twelve different types of scarab were sent out under Amenhotep’s rule, with two lauding the king’s consort: “The Great Royal Wife Tiye – may she live! His Majesty ordered a lake to be built for the Great Royal Wife Tiye – may she live! […] His Majesty sailed there aboard the royal barge (called) The Dazzling Sun Disk.”²¹ Nebmaatre (Lord of Truth is Re) Amenhotep III certainly adored his wife, even at a time when marriages were made for convenience rather than for love.²² Tiye wielded a great amount of power that had seldom been attained by women – she is often depicted next to her husband, for example, “as a Sphinx trampling Egypt’s enemies; enthroned next to him representing Mut, the personification of world order; she even accompanies him at the rituals of the sed festival, the royal jubilee which symbolized the renewal of the pharaoh’s power and had up to that point been a purely male province.”²³ She was in a position to counsel the king and encourage him in his ambitions at a time when Egypt was at the height of its power. Their marriage lasted 38 years, with Tiye outliving her husband into her son’s reign. Textual evidence from foreign courts indicates that Tiye herself was an active politician and was respected as

²⁰ Hawass Silent Images, 48.
²¹ “The Lake Scarab” British Museum EA 65428. (See Queens of Egypt, 401.)
²² The royal couple was also known as the parents of heretic king Akhenaten.
²³ Sylvia Schoske “At the Center of Power: Tiye, Ahhotep and Hatshepsut” in Queens of Egypt, 190 One woman who was able to attain great power was Hatshepsut, who became pharaoh in her own right, ruling before Tiye from 1479-1458 BC.
such, even after the death of Amenhotep: King Tushratta of Mitanni (a kingdom in modern Syria) writes, “Tell Tiye, the Mistress of Egypt… I shall not forget my friendship for Mimmureyya [Amenhotep III], your husband…”

24 He asks Tiye to intervene in the trade of goods between their two nations and to honor the promises that Amenhotep III had made to him. In a later letter to Tiye’s son, Akhenaten, he writes, “Tiye, your mother, knows of all the words I exchanged with your father. No one else knows of them. You must ask Tiye, your mother, for she can tell you everything.”

25 This knowledge that Tiye has of political affairs is a testament to her strength as a ruler. She is favored above all other women; signs of this are seen in the works of art created in her honor.

Amenhotep III, who began his reign around 1390 BC, was known as the “Dazzling Sun Disk,” a reference to the great sun god Aten. On temple walls, the royal couple is depicted as gods – often with Amenhotep III as Atum, and his wife Tiye as Hathor. The female members of Amenhotep’s family are unusually prominent in art, and this may reflect the increased devotion to the king as a god. As the female counterparts to Amenhotep, Tiye and his other wives would have helped to legitimate the pharaoh’s rule. Every scene in which Tiye is portrayed, from jubilee celebrations to family portraits, has a political and religious connotation.

24 Letter from Tushratta to Queen Tiye, British Museum E 29794 (See Queens of Egypt, 349.)
25 Letter from Tushratta to Akhenaten. (See Queens of Egypt, 190.)
27 Johnson, Pharaohs of the Sun 47.
28 Robins, Women in Ancient Egypt, 52.
**Tiye in Statuary**

The pharaoh appears to have doted on his principal wife by commissioning statuary, reliefs, and tomb paintings, most of which present the queen as lavishly adorned. One statue of the queen, originally from the Temple of Mut at Karnak and now housed at the Cairo Museum, depicts Tiye holding a floral scepter (a symbol of the queen) and looking out at her subjects.\(^{29}\) (Figure 9). A beautifully preserved work of art, although missing the right arm, the intricately detailed nature of the carving sets this statue apart from others of the period. Her tripartite wig is topped by a vulture headdress with one snake on each side of the vulture head, representing the goddesses Nekhbet (the vulture) and Wadjet (the cobras).\(^{30}\) The double *uraeus* is something that is new to the New Kingdom, and used by only a select few queens.\(^{31}\) This headpiece nonetheless becomes the norm for Tiye’s representations in statue, although here the vulture’s head is topped by the double crown of Egypt, a symbol of the king. Statues from temples at Karnak and Abydos among others suggest that the *uraei* indicate a magical form of protection, found not only on the forehead of the queen, but on deities as well.\(^{32}\) Above her crown Tiye wears a circular modius etched with the hieroglyphic throne names of Amenhotep III – a symbol of the regency, and an additional example of her association with the king. Surrounding her wig are two fillets, which are only visible from the sides

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\(^{29}\) Cairo Museum JE 99281. (See *Queens of Egypt*, 346.)


Nekhbet was often depicted as a vulture while Wadjet was a snake – the two were often referred to as “The Two Ladies.”


Teeter notes that the double *uraeus* is used only by Ahmose Nefertari, Tiye, Nefertiti, and Nefertari.


Images of goddesses Sekhmet and Isis have been discovered wearing the double *uraei*, thus doubling the magical protective element of the deity.
of the statue. The top band is composed of lotus flower petals while the second, much lower on her wig, is decorated with marguerites. While the headband is not always evident in some representations, combined with her crown, it plays an important role in the completion of Tiye’s outfit by indicating her connection to the gods.

The queen wears two necklaces, the first a two-tier choker composed of small disc beads.\(^{33}\) The choker was made of large golden discs stringed together, often worn by the king or presented as an award for bravery (known as a shebyu). This piece can be found on a number of reliefs throughout the period, including nobleman Kheruef’s tomb (see Amenhotep’s necklaces and the gifts presented to him in Figure 22). By wearing something that is normally identified as male adornment, Tiye has been depicted as a woman of great political importance. The second necklace is composed of a row of U-shaped beads (possibly to represent persea fruit), followed by three rows of interlocking triangular beads (meant to represent leaves). The final fifth row is made to represent shuty plumes, “a visual reference to the queen’s own crown in its most complete form.”\(^{34}\) While the layering and length of her necklaces are common to Tiye, the motifs here utilized are not necessarily the norm. As will be discussed, the queen is generally adorned with a broad collar composed of cylindrical and drop beads. Nevertheless, an actual necklace made of gold, colored glass, and electrum – the elements of which were found in what is called Tiye’s tomb (KV 55) – seems to be similar to the Karnak statue’s jewels.\(^{35}\) This reconstructed find is made of five layers, the first of small U-shaped colored glass symbols, and the other rows filled with gold vertical and nefert beads.

\(^{33}\) Queens of Egypt, 346.

\(^{34}\) Bryan, “A Newly Discovered Statue,” 33

\(^{35}\) Cairo Museum JE 339631 (See Queens of Egypt 350).
The abbreviation KV denotes a tomb in the Valley of the Kings.
(symbols of beauty).

The last items of dress visible on the statue are two marguerites similar to the flowers that adorn her headband, one covering each breast. Her dress covers her left arm, and we are unable to determine whether she wears additional jewelry on her arms. Each piece of adornment identifies Queen Tiye as a royal woman, but here may also serve to depict her as a goddess. Because the statue was found in the Temple of Mut, a mother goddess, “it is likely that the statue represented Queen Tiye enacting the duties of Mut as she honors and protects Amenhotep III.”

This statue can be compared to a granite head of the queen, now housed in the Cairo Museum. In this case, her enveloping wig is surrounded by two fillets: the top is composed of leaf shapes and vertical lines, and the lower fillet is composed of leaf shapes atop circular beads. This wig is then also crowned by a vulture headdress and two cobras that here wear either the upper or lower crown of Egypt – this image thus combines symbols of the king with those of the gods. Both royal and divine characteristics are at play in both statues, through her vulture and cobra headdress, floral elements, and the shebyu collar.

Similar to the Karnak statue is one from the Louvre Museum, also well preserved, although the Louvre’s version has a rounder face and is made of glazed steatite. (Figure 10). Here we find two uraei on either side of the vulture that forms her headdress, on top of which is a vertically-lined modius with double feathers. This and the floral scepter she carries in her left hand are signs of the divine role she plays on earth. Long feathered wings span the length of her shapely body, a symbol that depicts her as an incarnation of one of the mother vulture goddesses, possibly Nekhbet, referred to in the hieroglyphs on

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36 Bryan “A Newly Discovered Statue” 38.
the reverse of the statue. Each wrist has a beaded cuff bracelet, composed of cylindrical beads broken into sections by vertical lines and with horizontal borders (probably much like the one seen in Figure 11). Around her neck is a five-tier collar made of four rows of cylindrical beads and a final row of larger drop beads. This construction seems to be the most popular type of necklace worn by Tiye in any medium. The Louvre describes this statue as a representation of a “deified royal couple,” Tiye’s outfit indicating “her accession to the world of the gods.” Her dress and adornment tell the story of a powerful woman, and as she stands by her husband (his image, except for his left arm, has been lost to time), she proves her devotion and fidelity to him. Like the Karnak statue, Tiye is displayed as a living goddess, one who both served and protected her king.

As we’ve already seen on statues of the period, Tiye wears multiple uraei on her headdress, an indication of the great power she held. Multiplication is an important concept in art of the New Kingdom, and is fairly consistent in representations of Tiye, as seen in the layering of necklaces in the Karnak statue. This layering is found in two other statues, depicting Tiye next to her husband. The first is a group statue now in the Cairo Museum, where the royal couple sits together, their three daughters standing at their feet. (Figure 11). In this statue, Tiye actually exceeds Amenhotep III in height when we consider her modius – a noteworthy artistic choice that indicates Tiye’s influence in Egypt. This round modius is carved with cartouches of her husband’s throne and personal names. Two uraei grace her forehead on either side of a vulture’s head, whose wings spread out over her wig. When compared to her husband’s headdress, a traditional

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nemes cloth covering with only one large cobra in the center, Tiye’s headdress seems more elaborate. Although her cobras are smaller than Amenhotep’s, Tiye’s headdress has power in numbers, and these symbols of three goddesses may indicate not only her earthly position as royal wife, but also the divine power she receives from the deities. Evidence of a ten-tier necklace also remains on her chest. These are the most rows on Tiye’s necklaces that we will find on the artworks here discussed. Most complete images of Amenhotep’s wife portray her with only three to five rows of beads. It is interesting to note that, in images where she does wear a ten-tier necklace, she is featured beside her king in a statue in front of a royal palace or temple. The expanse of her necklace, while a function of the statue’s grand scale, may also serve to represent Tiye’s authority in political functions.

A close resemblance to this image is seen in a standing statue of the Great Royal Wife, who is a diminutive figure in comparison to her colossal seated pharaoh. (Figure 12). Known as the Colossi of Memnon and originally gracing the front of a magnificent temple in Luxor, this statue records the elegance and authority of the royal couple, with Tiye’s jewelry a prominent feature of her own figure. Atop her head she wears a tall modius that is decorated with cobras, each of which alternates wearing a crown of upper or lower Egypt. The crowns of Egypt are important emblems usually worn by kings (see Amenhotep III in Figure 21); these crowns indicate Tiye’s political authority. Certainly she would not be elevated to the status of pharaoh by wearing the actual crown herself, but the multiplication of the symbol on her headdress is symbolic of the power she receives from him. The queen also wears a vulture headdress and a headband decorated with a row of leaf shapes and a row of small circles. The only other piece of jewelry still
visible on the statue is a ten-tier necklace, the first rows composed of vertical lines and the final row made of drop beads. This necklace, featuring the most common layout in collars of the New Kingdom, may indicate Tiye’s authority in much the same way as it does in the previous image.

Excavations still continue at the buried ruins of Amenhotep’s temple, and restorations have been made during the time that I have been researching this paper. On March 3, 2012, a colossus discovered there in 2004 was raised after restoration was completed on the piece last year. The colossus features the lower portion of a seated Amenhotep III, with a remarkably well-preserved statue of Queen Tiye standing beside his legs, depicted on an impressive scale, yet much smaller than her husband. Here, the queen has subtle differences in adornment, as seen in her simple headdress – a single uraeus topped by a plain modius. In her left hand she carries a floral scepter and she wears a tiered necklace. In both of these Luxor statues, Tiye’s presence beside her pharaoh, as well as the jewelry she wears, indicate the power she held in the 14th century BC. On each statue, her headdress and tiered necklace form an integral aspect of the queen’s outfit, and despite her smaller size when compared to her husband in these Luxor statues, she is depicted as a supportive and respected individual who continues to receive protection from the vulture and cobra deities found on her headpiece.

The trend of divine protection continues as we note two images of the queen associated with the goddess Hathor, who was known as the goddess of music, dance,

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41 Images of the details of the statue are not readily obtainable and the specific compilation of her necklace is indeterminable at present.
female sexuality, rebirth, and fertility.\(^{42}\) Originally from Sinai but now housed in the Cairo Museum, a steatite head indicates Tiye’s power via the double uraeus gracing her forehead, and a short modius that rests atop her curled wig. (Figure 13). Etched onto the modius is a central cartouche with Tiye’s own name bordered by winged serpents. Found at a temple dedicated to Hathor, this statue of Tiye may have been meant to represent the goddess in human form, much like the Karnak statue of Mut, thereby enforcing the protection granted by this mother goddess to her royal family. The second image, now in Boston, is a peridotite head that again bears remarkable similarities to the Karnak statue. (Figure 14). This particular head may come from Sedeinga, Nubia, where the king built an entire temple dedicated solely to his wife, seemingly “the first time a queen is so clearly incorporated into imagery reserved for the pharaoh.”\(^{43}\) Here, the queen wears a curled enveloping wig, a cobra on her forehead, and two fillets. The first band, at the top of her wig, is composed of interlocking lined triangles (leaf-shaped beads), and the second, made with marguerites, is located at the center of her wig. Atop her wig is a plain modius, this time topped with cow horns and sun disc, symbols of Hathor. Religion plays an important role in these statues and the temples they were housed in: “During the reign of Amenhotep III, there was a growing emphasis on the solar and divine aspect of kingship. […] Queen Tiye, despite her non-royal birth, was deified and worshipped with her husband as a patron of [Nubia].”\(^{44}\) The queen’s connection to such an important deity


\(^{43}\) Sylvia Schoske “At the Center of Power: Tiye, Ahhotep and Hatshepsut” in *Queens of Egypt*, 188.

By bestowing on the queen the honor of a complete temple with her image painted on the walls, the pharaoh gave her Great Royal Wife a certain power not previously attained. This temple is so unique that there are no temples of the same caliber in Egypt itself – and it may, in fact, be Tiye’s Nubian origins that influenced the trend in increased devotion to and promotion of the queen.

(See also Dietrich Wildung “Kandake: The Queens of Ancient Sudan” *Queens of Egypt* 203.)


In the 18\(^{th}\) dynasty, under the reign of Akhenaten, the worship of the sun was taken to such an extreme that
as Hathor would have meant great power both on earth and in the afterlife. Both Tiye and Nefertari, as we will see below, pay homage to this goddess via their adornment.

One of the most iconic statues of the queen, made of yew wood, is located in the Berlin Museum. (Figure 15). It shows Tiye with a khat headdress, her strong jaw line contributing to her natural beauty. This statue portrays the queen as an older woman, and it was indeed created during her son Akhenaten’s reign.\textsuperscript{45} This may account for some of the jewels that she wears, seen here but rarely, if ever, found on other representations. She wears earrings that are gold discs inlaid with lapis lazuli, with two rearing gold cobras forming the center of each. In none of the other artifacts that I have researched does Tiye wear earrings, and this presentation of the aged queen with such iconic jewels is important to note. These earrings have been recognized as “unique” pieces of jewelry specific to Tiye.\textsuperscript{46} Wearing something so intricate and different from the original gold hoops may indicate the ingenuity of the craftsmen and Tiye's own authority even during Akhenaten’s reign. This portrait would have been even more detailed than it is now – an elaborate khat headband with four golden uraei would have wound around her hair and, still remaining, is a double-plumed headdress with horns and sun disc, again representative of goddesses Hathor and Isis, “an iconographic expression of the divinization of the queen.”\textsuperscript{47} Tiye is said to be the first queen to wear this type of headdress, and she seems to have influenced later queens of the New Kingdom who occasionally sport the same double plumes, as is the case in Nefertari’s temple at Abu

\textsuperscript{45}Bryan, “Head of the Aged Queen Tiy” in \textit{Egypt’s Dazzling Sun}, 209.
\textsuperscript{47}Wildung, \textit{Pharaohs of the Sun}, 215.
Simbel discussed below. Although only a head portrait, this statue is a unique work of art that depicts the bejeweled queen as the royal, god-like 18th-dynasty woman that she was. Throughout the three-dimensional artworks of the queen, she is linked to various goddesses via her dress and headpieces. This association with the divine world is important in protecting and supporting the king, one of Tiye’s most integral roles as his consort.

**Tiye in Two-Dimensional Art**

In most two-dimensional depictions of the queen, we see her wearing an abundant headdress, armlets, bracelets, lavish necklaces, and no earrings. This is true of an MMA relief, in which Tiye is depicted from the chest up, holding her characteristic floral scepter. (Figure 16). Secured by a single uraeus headband, her short bob covers her ears, and a broad collar and simple armlets cover her chest and upper arms. She seems to have layered necklaces, one with large golden discs similar to the Karnak statue shebyu, and a second composed of three tiers: one small row, one larger row with vertical beads, and a final medium-sized empty row. Although this is the first image discussed here portraying Amenhotep’s wife with armlets, these pieces will prove to be a vital aspect of the queen’s outfit and are marked on most reliefs perhaps as a connection to the female deities who also wear armlets, as will be seen in the Tomb of Kheruef. Tiye is one of the first queens to sport this type of adornment regularly, a testament to the outside influences from neighboring royal courts at this time.

Multiplication of arm jewelry is also important in a painting from the Tomb of Anen (brother of the queen), where Tiye is seated next to her husband on a throne, and her shapely arms are well-adorned. (Figure 17). Not much is left of the upper half of this
painting, but barely visible is a red headband and one tiered gold band on her upper right arm. Tiye wears multiple cuff bracelets, at least three on her right arm and one on her left. Visible on both wrists is a bracelet composed of blue, green, red and gold vertical rectangular color blocks bordered on both top and bottom by a row of black circles, a row of gold beads, and rows of black and gold squares. Above her right wrist is another bracelet, this one made of blue, green and red thick vertical stripes with gold horizontal connecting lines. The final cuff visible is just below her right elbow, marked with a checkered pattern of gold, red and blue, and bordered by gold and blue checks. These are not simple pieces and would have been composed of a significant amount of beads or inlays in all sizes. Her checkered bracelet is a unique representation that we have not yet encountered. She also carries a floral scepter in her left hand and a multi-hued ankh (symbol of life) in her right hand. The decorative motifs that Tiye has worn in previous depictions can be found throughout the scene, from the winged serpent on Amenhotep’s throne to the rearing cobras on her own throne. Although the painting has seen significant damage, it is clear that jewelry is used to signify her status in society. While her face is no longer visible, we can imagine the elaborate modius and crown that might have rested atop her wig.

Another relief of the queen is from the tomb of Userhat (TT 47), an overseer of the royal harem. 48 (Figure 18). In this relief, Tiye wears a vertically-lined headband with two uraei at front that wear the crowns of upper and lower Egypt. At the back of her headband, something we have not previously seen, is a falcon whose wings are spread out. Much like the vulture that envelops the queen’s head as a crown, the falcon here is another protective symbol, this time meant to represent the god Horus, a deity who ruled

48 The abbreviation TT stands for “Theban Tomb.”
the skies.\textsuperscript{49} This falcon is generally reserved for images of the king, indicative of his transformation from human to divine.\textsuperscript{50} The image of a falcon is often found on thrones protectively encasing the pharaoh in its wings, the use of the typically-male falcon in imagery of Tiye marks her high position in society, especially when compared with earlier Egyptian queens. As discussed below, the falcon is something that Nefertari does not wear. The only other recognizable form of adornment in this relief is a modius with multiple cobras that each wear a sun disc. Double feathers atop her modius are still evident.

- \textit{The Tomb of Kheruef}

Kheruef was Tiye’s personal steward, a man who was much respected in society and whose high position accorded him a significant resting place for the afterlife. The decoration of his tomb (TT 192) in Asasif contains some of the few remaining full scene two-dimensional representations of Queen Tiye, although the tomb itself was not completely finished. Constructed at the very end of the reign of Amenhotep III, Kheruef's tomb also provides insight into the transition from one king to another and the relationship with the reigning queen. Because the tomb owner served under two pharaohs, Tiye is depicted in various scenes with either her husband or her son by her side. These portraits of the queen are notable because in no fewer than seven different scenes she wears at least four different necklaces, four varying headpieces, and multiple pieces of arm jewelry.

The reliefs closest to the entrance, in the passageway leading to the court, are dominated by images of Tiye and Amenhotep IV (who is better known as Akhenaten). It

\textsuperscript{49} Bryan, “A Newly Discovered Statue,” 37
is important to note that here the queen is referred to as “god’s mother,” a designation that places Tiye in the domain of the divine, with the “god” being Akhenaten. In a particularly poignant scene on the lintel of the doorway featuring Akhenaten and his mother twice in one relief, the duo present offerings to various gods and goddesses. (Figure 19). Tiye wears more jewelry than the deities that surround her. What she wears is evidence of the wealth of the Egyptian New Kingdom. On the left side of the relief, mother and son present wine offerings to Re-Horakhty and Maat, and on the right they offer incense to Atum and Hathor. Both goddesses Maat and Hathor make an appearance later on in the tomb. In each of these reliefs Tiye’s headdress stands out, now including the double feathers with modius. She also wears a double-uraeus headband that is backed by the body of a falcon. The falcon has religious significance as well, being the symbol for the god Horus, who is represented in this scene as Re-Horakhty (Horus of the Horizon). Tiye seems to wear the same falcon in another relief where Akhenaten presents offerings to both his parents and Re-Horakhty. In no other representation thus far researched have I been able to find a falcon on the back of any other queen’s headdress. Perhaps, aside form the symbol of kingship, this is meant to be a symbol of the protection the queen receives from the falcon-headed god, and of the high esteem in which she is regarded. It is significant that this piece is worn each time Tiye is in Akhenaten’s presence. (She wears this once with Amenhotep III, who in most other reliefs wears the falcon himself.) In addition to her headdress, Tiye wears a broad collar in each lintel scene, as well as arm jewelry. Of particular note are her bracelets and armlets in the right scene: simple double upper arm bands, and bracelets composed of

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horizontal lines divided in two sections by vertical lines and with horizontal borders. These pieces are exactly the same as the jewelry worn here by the god Atum. Similarly, in the left scene, Tiye wears the same broad collar (three rows of vertical lines with a final row of leaf shapes) and bracelet (on each woman’s right wrist, composed of vertical lines with a horizontal border) as the goddess Maat. And while no direct correlation between the queen’s jewelry and Hathor’s can be seen here, Hathor wears the modius with cow horns and sun disc, which Tiye can be seen wearing later on in depictions deeper into the tomb. Each of these pieces indicates the queen's inclusion in the realm of the gods, and foreshadows the jewelry that the royal couple are depicted wearing elsewhere in the tomb.

As we continue into the West Portico, we leave behind Akhenaten and instead find images of his father, now united with his favored wife. Notably, whenever Amenhotep III is depicted, he is “always accompanied by Queen Tiye,” his companion both in life and in death. Many of the West Portico scenes represent the couple preparing for the king’s royal jubilee, or sed festival, a lavish renewal of the king’s reign that occurs during the 30th year. Amenhotep III took advantage of this ritual renewal at least three times, each time presenting himself as the sun god; Tiye was a prominent figure in the celebrations, often represented as a goddess herself. In Kheruef’s tomb, an entire wall is dedicated to the festivities, representing the royal couple accompanied by

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Akhenaten, on the other hand, is not always accompanied by his mother, and his wife Nefertiti is not portrayed on the walls at all. The creation of the tomb dates to the end of Amenhotep III’s reign, which may account for why Nefertiti is missing. Kheruef was never buried in the tomb.
54 Grover, “Queenship and Eternal Life: Tije Offering Palm Ribs at the Sed-Festival Thrones of Amenhotep III.” Studia Antiqua (Spring 2008): 5
55 Ibid., 8
See also The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt, ed., Ian Shaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): 261
attendants, dancers, and musicians. At the left side of this wall, the couple is portrayed on the royal barque, where Tiye wears a tight dress with straps and sash. She wears no headdress, but on her forehead rests a single cobra that wears cow horns and a sun disc. Aside from this cobra, Tiye is also adorned with a simple wig, a broad collar, and a single bracelet. (Figure 20). Amenhotep III is wearing his “jubilee attire,” which includes his white crown with ribbon, a falcon and cobra attached to the ribbon, a broad collar, a tyet amulet (a symbol of protection for the afterlife, also known as a ‘knot of Isis’), and a skirt with the feathers of Horus (Re-Horakhty).\(^{56}\) He also carries the crook and flail, symbols of the pharaoh’s rule. Here is where the couple is reinstated as divine rulers on earth.

The falcon symbols that Tiye wore in the presence of her son are now shown on her husband’s person. The queen’s festival attire is simpler in design than Amenhotep’s but her goddess’s sheath dress and uraeus continue to mark her as a woman of authority. Their depiction “in the barque of the sun god thus [identified Amenhotep] as the sun god while still alive,” a particularly significant correlation that is normally reserved for “deceased kings.”\(^{57}\) As the pharaoh’s consort, Tiye might therefore be identified as a goddess herself and is depicted as such in the following scene at the far right of the wall.

The royal couple also celebrates the jubilee with the goddess Hathor, and Tiye is richly adorned. (Figure 21). Here, Hathor sits beside Amenhotep III, her right hand resting on his shoulder, suggesting a divine union. Tiye is not accorded a throne but stands behind the two, her diminutive figure a symbol of her status when compared to the king and mother goddess Hathor. Noticeably, however, her dress is quite similar to that of the goddess – a tight sheath with shoulder straps and vertical stripes lining the bottom.

\(^{56}\) Aldred, “The ‘New Year’ Gifts to the Pharaoh,” 75.
\(^{57}\) W. Raymond Johnson “Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations” 67
Indeed, here Tiye is portrayed as the goddess Maat who in Egyptian theology was the daughter of Re. This depiction of Tiye as a young goddess directly correlates to the theme of the festival in which she participates: to rejuvenate the king. In this image, Amenhotep's Great Royal Wife wears a headdress consisting of double feathers and cow horns, placed atop a modius that is decorated with multiple cobras and sun discs. She also wears a uraeus headband, one cobra wearing a crown of upper Egypt and the other wearing the crown of lower Egypt. At the back of her headband is evidence of the falcon that she wore in entrance scenes with her son, here used as a connection to her divine husband revitalized as the god Horus. A simple broad collar is draped over her shoulders. One armlet adorns each arm, composed of alternating vertical lines with horizontal borders. The only other piece of jewelry is a cuff bracelet wrapped around her right wrist, of the same design as her armlets but on a smaller scale. Hathor seems to wear bracelets and armlets identical to Tiye’s, although her menat necklace is more elaborate, shown as a single large U-shape strung with smaller circles and oblong shaped beads. This close comparison of Tiye’ jewelry with that of multiple deities can serve to further emphasize the queen’s importance in society. Here, Tiye herself is elevated to god-like status, an apt image for a woman who was meant to be the king's divine counterpart on earth.

In another West Portico scene where the couple is seated and celebrating the royal jubilee, the tomb owner makes an appearance providing offerings to the couple. (Figure 22). The queen sports an elaborate braided wig topped by a modius with double feathers. Two cobras adorn her forehead, each of which in turn wears a crown of upper or lower

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58 Betsy Bryan, Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World. eds. Arielle Kozloff, Betsy Brian, and Lawrence Berman, (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992): 208
Egypt. Tiye wears three necklaces, two smaller and thicker pieces (closely resembling the *shebyu* collar) and another broad but flat piece. She also wears simple armlets that become a common piece of adornment for her. Tiye is seated beside her husband, noticeably smaller, receiving gifts from the tomb owner. Tiye’s jewelry is directly connected to the pharaoh’s own regency, from the crowns on the cobras to the *shebyu* collar also worn by the king, Tiye is presented as someone who maintains as much power as the king himself. Her smaller scale is meant to diminish her authority slightly in the presence of the king. In the scene, Kheruef presents his king and queen with necklaces and pectorals. (Figure 22a). Kheruef himself tells us what he is offering to the royal couple; the translation of the hieroglyphs beside him read:

> Providing mementos to be placed in the (royal) presence for the Perfect God's inspection, and embellishing artifacts in accordance with the commands which His Majesty desired to be carried out, since the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands becomes satisfied with the manufactures of great and large mementos and the decoration of his house with electrum and with all (sorts of) vessels without limit, they being too numerous to be recorded in writing: pectorals, broad collars inlaid with lapis lazuli and with all (sorts of) costly stones, and treasures which had never (before) been produced-by the noble, count, great companion at the steps of the throne, excellent confidant of the sovereign, favorite of Horus in his house, whom the king promoted over those greater than he, with whose character the Lord of the Two Lands is content, the royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king, Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified, praised and beloved before His Majesty in the duty of inspecting mementos.  

In the steward’s left hand are two *shebyu* necklaces and two pectorals; his other hand holds another nearly identical large pectoral. One large pectoral is “composed of three strings of golden beads and bordered by two gold wires,” amuletic forms acting as the central image with winged serpents and scarabs, feathered crowns and headdresses bordering the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and the figure of a beetle pushing a sun disc

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and cartouche.\textsuperscript{60} The other pectorals are also quite similar, although the cobras do not have wings, and they lack the central Kheper beetle, perhaps pieces meant for the queen instead of the king.

Other representations in the tomb of Kheruef portray the queen with princesses next to the pharaoh as he erects a \textit{djed} pillar (a symbol of eternity and stability), or with her husband and attendants at the palace. In each scene, whether beside her son or her husband, she proves to be an important aspect of the celebrations. Always standing or seated beside them, she is a powerful figure whose jewelry conveys her prominence. Political and religious symbols intermingle, identifying pieces of adornment that have direct connections to the deities and the pharaoh’s own status.

• \textit{Tiye as Animal}

In the extant representations of Tiye, the queen is sometimes depicted as a being other than purely human. Her intensity and power as a female are evident in each work. Although rare, Tiye can be found depicted as a sphinx, a mythical creature with the body of a lion and a human head. In a plaque from the MMA’s collection, a winged sphinx fills the space, lying down and clasping the cartouche of Amenhotep III. (Figure 23). This image is often thought to be Queen Tiye. The creature wears a headband that wraps around a tall headdress of a curled plant, a headdress that has its origins in Asian imagery.\textsuperscript{61} In addition to this headpiece, she wears one necklace composed of two rows of triangular symbols and on each wrist four horizontal lines represent at least one bracelet per arm. Although she seems to be wearing a hoop earring, we know that this would not be typical of Amehotep’s wife and it has been recognized as a curled sidelock

\textsuperscript{61} Betsy Bryan and Lawrence Berman, “Three Carved Gems” in \textit{Egypt’s Dazzling Sun}, 443-4.
that is commonly found on female sphinxes.\textsuperscript{62} The image of the sphinx is typically recognized in ancient Egyptian society as a male being, a symbol of the strength of the pharaoh who is often depicted trampling enemies (see Amenhotep III’s throne in figure 17); Tiye's depiction here is much less aggressive and yet still powerful. This may be the first instance of a female sphinx, making the image all the more noteworthy – a symbol of the heightened status of the queen from previous dynasties.\textsuperscript{63} Winged sphinxes are often associated with the sun god Ra, and here may be a combination of Egyptian and Asian imagery; the cupping of the cartouche of Amenhotep III may indicate “Egypt’s dominance over the land [Southern states]” and Tiye’s own protection of it.\textsuperscript{64} Tiye’s favor in the eyes of the pharaoh is no secret, and by portraying the queen in such a fashion, along with her lavish jewels, the artist indicates the true power of this royal female. This is not the only time she is shown as a sphinx. The throne on which she sits when receiving gifts from Kheruef (Figure 22) also shows her as a sphinx (unadorned except for a modius with cobra) and a sandstone relief at her temple in Sedeinga is another example. This last sphinx is adorned with a ribbon around her neck and a tall tapered headdress that is also Asian in origin.\textsuperscript{65} Although not often wearing traditional jewelry, Tiye’s headdresses may be used as a way to connect the queen to other cultures or perhaps to indicate her own Nubian origins.

Another image of Tiye as other than human can be found on a \textit{menat}, or counterweight to a necklace, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Figure 24). This \textit{menat} portrays Tiye in three incarnations of the goddess Hathor: the first is a head in

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 443  
\textsuperscript{63} Grover, “Queenship and Eternal Life,” 11.  
\textsuperscript{64} Betsy Bryan and Lawrence Berman, “Three Carved Gems” in Kozloff \textit{Egypt’s Dazzling Sun}, 444  
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 444}
profile, the second a full-body, and the final is a cow, the animal form that Hathor takes. If we look at the item from top to bottom, it seems that Tiye changes from human to purely divine and her jewelry is a further indication of that. Her headdress is the most intricate in the first portrayal: a modius with three-dimensional discs (possibly a means of connecting the menat to a necklace), horns and a sun disc atop a vulture covering. It then changes to simple cow horns and sun disc in the last two representations. Her tiered necklace also connects her to the heavens as it contains more layers and detailing in the first portrait, changing to only three simple tiers in the full-body image, and finally omitted entirely in the divine embodiment of Hathor.

- **Tiye’s Tomb**

  The “Tomb of Queen Tiye” in the Valley of the Kings, Thebes houses a number of remarkable artifacts from the later 18th dynasty, when Tiye’s son Akhenaten had taken the throne.\(^66\) Within the tomb a door panel of a sepulchral canopy shows a scene of the royal mother and son in adoration of the Aten. Tiye stands behind her son Akhenaten, dressed in a long airy robe; her neck covered with a wide necklace, her head adorned by a wig of small uraei with the horns of Isis on their heads; she is wearing the headdress of the goddess Hathor, the disc surmounted by two long feathers. The features of the queen are remarkable: she has the long face and prominent chin that characterize the portraits of the reign of Khuniatonu [Akhenaten].\(^67\)

  The necklace itself is made up of three thick rows of large beads, seemingly much more detailed than many of the other representations of jewelry that we’ve seen on Tiye before. Here she even wears earrings, which look much like a snake without its head with the tail

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\(^{66}\) This tomb does not actually house the body of the queen but instead included a number of artifacts from Tiye’s life and funerary objects. Evidence suggests that the tomb originally housed the bodies of both Tiye and her son Akhenaten, who may have been subsequently moved for fear of detection. Tiye’s body was later identified as the “Elder Woman” from KV35. Akhenaten’s body has yet to be identified. (See Nicholas Reeves *Ancient Egypt: the Great Discoveries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000): 115-116.)

dangling down on one side of her ear, and a small bead and lotus-shaped accent on the opposite side of her ear. These pieces of jewelry, because they were made later in Tiye’s life, may even show the progression of jewelry design from one pharaoh to another.

During the reign of Akhenaten, the sun disc and the god represented by it gained special prominence and the effects were seen in later dynasties.

**Tiye’s Contemporaries**

Other ladies of the courts had prominent positions in the art of the New Kingdom, supporting and serving their husbands both on earth and in the afterlife. According to Zahi Hawass,

During certain periods of Egyptian history, notably the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, and then later in the era of Ramesses II, princesses became more visible in royal art and appear to have played more active roles. In some cases, princesses would seem to have married (whether in actuality or for purely ritual purposes) their own fathers. Examples of such princesses are Sitamun, daughter of Amenhotep III, Meryetaten, eldest daughter of Akhenaten, and Bint-Anath and Meryetamun, daughters of Ramesses II.68

These women, like Tiye and Nefertari, are shown adorned in the finest jewels of the kingdom. Princesses and queens alike wore gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian, turquoise, colored glass, and more.

Mutemwia, mother of Amenhotep III, had a prominent role in artworks commissioned by the pharaoh. In a painted facsimile at the MMA, Mutemwia wears a vulture headdress with red modius along with a necklace, and an armlet and bracelet each on her right arm. (Figure 25). Her necklace is composed of four tiers in a gold setting. The first row has blue cylindrical beads, the second has vertical ovals, each colored green, blue and red. The third row shows green triangles, below which are black circles, and the final row has small red and white squares on top of light green petal shapes. Her

68 Zahi Hawass “Mother, Wife, or Daughter of the King: Queenship in Egypt” in *Queens of Egypt*, 48.
armlet is composed of vertical color blocks of blue, red and green with blue and gold horizontal borders. The cuff bracelet is similarly composed of blue, red and green beads with horizontal borders of simple gold, a row of blue and gold squares, and two other rows of gold and blue. Mutemwia’s jewelry bears significant resemblance to her son’s; the last two rows on her necklace exactly match her son’s collar, and her bracelets are the same color with similar designs. This similarity of jewelry between mother and son may symbolize political stability, as seen between Tiye and her son in the Tomb of Kheruef in figure 19. Mutemwia wears both armlets and bracelets as Tiye does, and just as Mutemwia’s broad collar mimics her son’s, so does Tiye’s necklace mimic Akhenaten’s.

Another comparison to Tiye can be found in a small granodiorite head of the king’s mother from the British Museum, where two fillets are tied around her wig, similar to the Karnak statue of Tiye.\(^{69}\) (Figure 26). The top band, supporting a single uraeus, is composed of leaf shapes while the lower is a basic band. Above these fillets is a modius decorated with a central cartouche of her own name (Tiye’s name is also etched onto her own modius in TIYE 5). Circling her cartouche are cobras that wear the sun disc. Not only is Mutemwia’s head adornment similar to Tiye’s (see Figure 1), but the context is the same as well. This fragmentary head was discovered at Karnak Temple, and would originally have accompanied a body enthroned upon a barque dedicated to the goddess Mut.\(^ {70}\) It is significant that Mutenwia’s cartouche is carved on her modius instead of her pharaoh’s, but this may be a result of the religious symbolism of the statue and the

\(^{69}\) (See Robins Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1995): 53-55.)

linguistic play on the queen’s name. Here, Mutemwia, whose name means “Mut is in the barque” is actually meant to represent the goddess.\textsuperscript{71} Perhaps the completed statue would have sported other jewelry like that worn by Tiye in her Karnak statue. The jewelry on both the painted image and on the statue of Mutemwia has similarities to depictions we have seen already of Queen Tiye; it serves as a sign of royalty, religion, and respect.

Two statues of Amenhotep III’s daughters, Isis and Henuttaneb (who also became his consorts), are similarly adorned. Isis stands, left foot forward, left arm raised, to the right of another individual, probably Amenhotep, significant placement, considering the pharaoh is usually positioned on the right-hand side.\textsuperscript{72} (Figure 27). Only one piece of jewelry is still evident after 3400 years: a five-tier necklace composed entirely of nefer beads. The inscription on the back of the statue describes Isis as “king’s wife,” a testament to the status Isis was granted as daughter and consort. She wears a sidelock, a hairstyle usually worn by children; the statue may have been sculpted in conjunction with the pharaoh’s sed festival, with Isis acting as a symbol of youth and rebirth.\textsuperscript{73} Henuttaneb’s standing figure can be seen on the group statue of Tiye and Amenhotep from the Cairo Museum. (Figure 3). Her small scale indicates her status when compared to her mother, but her jewelry conveys her role as a queen of Egypt. Here, she wears a modius and vulture atop her curled enveloping wig, symbols we know to represent the queen. Her necklace is almost identical to Isis’s, except there is an extra row of nefer beads and a final row of drop beads. These nefer beads seem to be used in the 18\textsuperscript{th}

\textsuperscript{72} Bryan, Egypt’s Dazzling Sun, 207-8.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
dynasty only by women of royal status; none of the jewelry found on non-royal women includes these symbols. The last items of adornment are one marguerite on each breast, the same floral motif seen on the statue of Tiye from Karnak. Each of these jewelry pieces is used to identify Amenhotep’s daughters as royal women.

The jewelry of Tiye’s reign is characterized by layered necklaces and a particular affinity for armlets, representative of the queen’s close connection to popular goddesses of the period who are often portrayed wearing the same jewelry in a single scene. Other religious connections include the symbols Tiye and her contemporaries wear from the uraei to falcon headdress. Tiye’s connection to Nekhbet and Hathor is further established through her feathered dress and a crown of double feathers with cow horns, items not worn by Amenhotep’s mother or daughters and perhaps emphasizing Tiye’s status as above the others. Each of these royal women is portrayed in both two-dimensional and three-dimensional works, always the image of propriety and beauty. Each wears jewelry that distinguishes them as authoritative figures; their adornment is identified with many symbols often recognized as traditionally male pieces such as the shebyu collar, the crowns of upper and lower Egypt, and the falcon. The lavish headdresses are perhaps the most noticeable items of dress and tell the tale of a woman whose domain lies both on earth and in the heavens. Many of the statues of Tiye are unfortunately no longer complete, but still retain the lavish headdress and necklaces. Evidence of this jewelry has been found at archaeological sites, and collars with nefer symbols are particularly common, representative of a royal woman. More delicate renderings and new forms of adornment surface under a new dynasty with Nefertari.
Other Elite Women from Dynasty 18

Wives of other elite males would also have displayed their high position in society through the jewelry that they wore. Noticeable differences between royal and non-royal women are evident. By watching the evolution in women and their dress, it is evident that both individual preference and cultural influences are at play.

Most images of the non-royal Egyptians have been discovered on tomb walls. The first example here is from a small unfinished tomb created at the end of Amenhotep III’s reign. Ramose was vizier under Amenhotep III, an honored member of the court. Ramose and his family are well-adorned here as they travel toward the Duat (Afterlife). Ramose’s wife, Meryetptah, and the other elite females pictured here generally wear the same dress and adornment on each wall. In a scene of adoration, Meryetptah wears a lotus flower held on her forehead by a floral headband. (Figure 28). The lotus flower is a common symbol worn by most women of the New Kingdom, meant to represent rebirth and to protect from evil. She wears a plain broad collar and one bracelet on each wrist, composed of a wide center with horizontal bands on top and bottom. These pieces are the same bracelets that Ramose wears. She is described as an “ornament of the king, chantress of Amun, and favourite of Mut.”74 Both religion and politics come into play here, where Meryetptah is recognized as an elite woman who is granted protection from the gods. In another scene where the couple receives ointments, Meryetptah wears the same jewelry, except there is a cone of perfume atop her head instead of a lotus flower at her forehead. (Figure 29). This cone is often found on both non-royal men and women throughout the New Kingdom. While her husband does not wear the same jewelry in this

scene, his pose is the same as his wife’s and he carries similar items, flowers and ointment. One other image, depicting Ramose’s brother May and his wife Weret, shows the woman similarly adorned to Meryetptah except here her necklace is much more complicated, composed of four tiers: the first and third with interlocking triangles, the second with cylindrical beads, and a final row of drop beads. (Figure 30). The use of floral and geometric shapes continues throughout Ramose’s tomb.

Menna, a scribe during the 14th century BC, has his wife and daughters painted on the walls of his tomb (TT69), and each wears prominent colorful jewels. Some of the most important jewelry pieces in these paintings are those surrounding the face. Most noticeable are the large gold discs that serve as earrings on each woman, a form of fashion interestingly worn by the elite before being donned by the queen. In the first image (Figure 31), Menna’s daughters stand together, each also wearing a floral headband similar to those shown in Ramose’s tomb, a gazelle head, and lotus buds towards the front with a ribbon at the back of her head. Each headdress includes two narrow gold feathers. On the first woman, an elaborate squared modius with two tiers of lotus petals topped by circles rests on her head. Atop her modius is what looks like burning birthday candles, although they are most likely flowers, four stalks topped by circles. Besides her earrings, at least one necklace is visible, composed of cylindrical and floral beads. On her left arm is an armlet of crosshatch design with horizontal borders. One bracelet on her left wrist is a simple horizontal band, and another below her right elbow is of a crosshatch design.

The adornment on the second daughter varies only slightly, as she wears the same earrings and one gold necklace of at least four rows of vertical lines that alternate with
rows of red circles. On her right arm is an armlet of cylindrical beads with two horizontal borders of a basic band and a row of small squares. She seems to wear at least three bracelets: a central band with horizontal borders on her left wrist, another on her right wrist composed of cylindrical beads with horizontal borders, and a final piece below her elbow of a crosshatch design. Her modius is decorated with two tiers of rectangular beads topped by circles. Interestingly, none of the other individuals painted in the tomb wear a modius; this symbol of royalty, combined with the golden feathers, on these two women perhaps marks their inclusion in the realm of the royals, as they would have been ladies-in-waiting and as devotees of the goddess Hathor (they are each called her “favorite”).

Other images of Menna’s wife and elder daughters usually show them with a perfume cone atop their wigs. (Figures 32 and 33). They also wear layered bracelets and armlets, necklaces with leaf-shaped beads, a lotus flower or bud on the forehead, and green, red, and blue headbands. The floral construction and mimicking of Tiye’s penchant for layered looks denotes these women as influential, elite members of society.

Under the reign of Amenhotep III, the Royal Architect Kha built a tomb in Deir el-Medina (TT8) that remained untouched until it was excavated by Ernesto Schiaparelli, the same archaeologist who discovered Nefertari’s tomb. The architect and his wife are both displayed prominently on the walls, bedecked in fine jewels common in the 18th dynasty. Meryet, Kha’s wife, can be found on a funerary papyrus from her husband’s coffin. (Figure 34). This scene, in which the couple praises the god Osiris, is almost the exact same composition as one from Menna’s tomb, and features similar jewelry. With her hands uplifted in praise of Osiris, Meryet wears a festive headband with lotus bud, a

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broad collar with each row of vertical beads colored green, red, or black, and bracelets and lower armlets. One cuff on each wrist is composed of red, black, and gold color blocks with horizontal gold borders, and a bracelet under each elbow is a gold band with black diamond shapes and red stripes. Unlike her queen, Meryet wears earrings, which resemble simple gold discs, typical of the first earrings introduced into the country. None of the couple's jewelry directly resembles that of the god, although the colors of the necklaces on Meryet and Osiris seem to match. Osiris wears crosshatch bracelets and a necklace of red, green, and black color blocks.

Kenamun was the mayor of Thebes during the reign of Amenhotep III, and he and his wife must have enjoyed a comfortable life. In his tomb (TT162), the couple is seated and receiving offerings from a priest. (Figure 35). Kenamun's wife shows her devotion to him with her hand placed warmly on his shoulder. This elite female wears a flower bud over her forehead accompanied by a headband of two rows: one with vertical rectangles with small squares at top, and the second row of leaf shapes. No earrings or arm jewelry is visible, but she does wear a lavish broad collar composed of four tiers. The top row is composed of curved horizontal lines divided into sections by vertical rectangles; other rows are made of vertical lines, small squares alternating colors, and finally large leaf shapes that rest on top of three curved horizontal lines. This necklace is almost identical to Kenamun's except instead of her first two rows, Kenamun wears what looks like a traditional shebyu collar, similar to the jewelry connection we’ve seen between Mutemwia and Amenhotep (as in image TIYE 17).

Haremhab was a scribe under both Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III. A member of the upper class, his mother is featured on the walls of Haremhab's tomb (TT78).
Seated on a throne beside him, holding a bouquet of flowers, she is adorned with large hoop earrings, a simple headband and a bud on her forehead. (Figure 36). A cone of perfume rests atop her head and she wears two necklaces, one with seven simple rows and another composed of curved horizontal lines divided into sections by double vertical bands. On her right arm she wears an armlet with four simple rows and a bracelet with vertical lines. On her left arm below her elbow are two rows (one large, one small), with another line near her wrist possibly representing another bracelet. Here again, the layering of jewelry used by Tiye and her floral elements are seen on other members of the elite class.

One final painted image is from Nebamun’s tomb, where the scribe’s mother, Thepu, is seated beside her son, wearing a headband composed of white triangular shapes that seem to be tipped with red. (Figure 37). The headband wraps around only a portion of her wig and is topped by a lotus flower and perfume cone. One broad collar circles Thepu’s neck and is composed of six rows: the first four rows alternate either red and gold squares or blue and gold squares. The fifth row is composed of green, blue and red vertical ovals on gold, and the final row has red and green vertical stripes. One bracelet is spread diagonally below each elbow, made of blue and red squares. This long diagonal seems to be a new form of adornment, at least as seen in the images thus far reviewed; possibly it is a precursor to the single strand pieces that are worn by Nefertari within her tomb. She also wears three bracelets stacked on each wrist, the first and third composed of red and blue small squares, and the center bracelet composed of vertical blue, red and green rectangles on gold. Her daughter wears jewelry that is almost identical to Thepu’s in this scene. Both women can be seen adorned in the same fashion throughout the tomb.
The scribe’s relatives are also well-adorned, often featured with floral necklaces and headbands, gold bracelets, and even the diagonal strands of beads below their elbows.

The jewelry of the elite females of the 18\textsuperscript{th} dynasty is characterized by common themes: multiple colors, floral symbols, and layering. The typical headpiece is a lotus bud held onto the wig by a colorful fillet. This headpiece is one way we can differentiate between a royal woman (who wears a modius and headdress) and an elite woman.

Another indicator during this dynasty is the use of earrings. It appears that jewelry styles are adopted by both elite and royal women from one another; even the lower classes can develop a style that is seen on royal women in later dynasties, such as the use of earrings and single-strand bracelets that Nefertari uses. Many of the pieces that women like Tiye wear are related to their husband’s adornment, indicating their devotion to him as well as their political status.
Chapter 2. Queen Nefertari

Wife of Ramses II, Nefertari Mery-en-Mut (translated as “The one to whom beauty pertains; beloved of Mut”) must have had a life as monumental as the statues dedicated to her. Not much is known about her family, but it is suspected that she, like Tiye, was not of royal birth. Like Amenhotep III, Ramses II led Egypt through an age of opulence and commissioned many works of his wife in the form of statuary, reliefs, and tomb paintings. In fact, many of the architectural campaigns that Ramses conducted were based on the works of his predecessor. Reigning for a total of 67 years, Usermaatre Setepenre (also known to history as Ramses the Great, the pharaoh’s throne name translates to: “The Justice of Re is Powerful; Chosen of Re”) launched the most extensive architectural campaign in Egyptian history. These include Karnak and Luxor temples, a mortuary temple at Thebes called the Ramesseum, temples at Abu Simbel and more. The artwork created during his reign reflects a successful and powerful pharaoh, a man who boasted of foreign conquests, multiple wives, and over one hundred heirs. He is often compared to Thutmosis III because of his great determination and ambition. Ramses, who began his reign in 1279 BC, doted on his wife, as is evident in the reliefs on the walls of the Temple of Luxor:

The noble [lady], rich in praise, mistress of charm, sweet of love […] she who carries the sistra, pleasing her father Amun, rich in love, wearing the circlet-diadem, singer fair of face, elegant with the two tall feathers, chief of the harem of Horus, Lord of the Palace. We are pleased with whatever is said about her. She who has only to speak and is obeyed. […] We live to hear her voice, the Great Royal Wife, his beloved, wife of the Strong Bull, Lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiry Beloved of Mut –

78 He is best known for his victory over the Hittites in Kadesh (circa 1275 BC), which he boasts about on the walls of his temples at Karnak and Luxor. Evidence shows however, that the campaign was not an actual success, with the Hittite king surprising the pharaoh with an army double the size of the Egyptian army.
may she live!79

Like Tiye, Nefertari was a popular queen who also had a hand in politics, as is expressed in her letter to the Queen of Khatti referencing a peace treaty after the Battle of Kadesh.80 She held a number of titles, including “Mistress of the two lands” (an indication of her political role in society), “King’s great wife” and “God’s wife” (a title used earlier in dynasty 18 but resurrected by Nefertari and her 19th dynasty predecessors, showing the queen’s connection to god Amun).81 Reliefs depicting her standing by the side of her husband in important ceremonies and even battle scenes prove the importance of Nefertari in Egyptian society.82

**Nefertari’s Tomb**

The tomb of Nefertari Meryenmut (QV 66) is one of the most lavish in the Valley of the Queens, a final resting place worthy of the Great Wife of a great pharaoh.83 Her tomb is remarkably well preserved, with the queen’s image represented on multiple walls, documenting her journey into the Duat (Afterworld). This tomb is only for the queen so her husband does not appear. The story of her earthly connection to the gods and her eventual communion with them in the Netherworld is represented.

In the entrance chamber C, the viewer is introduced to Nefertari by three images on the left-hand (south) wall: here, the queen is seen first playing a board game, next as a ba, or spirit bird, and finally as a woman again, kneeling with her hands lifted in praise of

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79 West wall, first courtyard, Temple of Luxor. (See *Queens of Egypt*, 400.)
82 For example, in Nefertari’s temple, Ramses smites both a Nubian and a Libyan as Nefertari watches.
83 The abbreviation QV indicates a tomb in the Valley of the Queens.
a lion-headed god.\textsuperscript{84} (Figure 38). In the first image, one widely researched, the queen sits primly on a decorated throne while playing a game of \textit{senet}. The Egyptian game of \textit{senet} is much like modern-day chess and in Egyptian religion may grant the victor passage to the Underworld.\textsuperscript{85} Here, a slight smile crosses the queen’s lips and as she reaches her delicate left hand out to move a game piece, the viewer is attracted to her slender arm and the simple gold band that wraps around it. In her right hand she carries a scepter; this arm is bare. As we will see, Ramses II’s queen seems to wear simple bracelets, with much more elaborate earrings and necklaces. She wears a lavish gold broad collar, typical of the New Kingdom, with four bands of alternating black and red vertical lines per row. Below her golden vulture headdress and red modius are lotus-shaped earrings protruding from both sides of her ear and painted white to match her dress (although this would generally have been recognized as silver ornamentation). She also wears sandals, something she does not wear in other chambers, an indication that here she is still human. The specific combination of jewelry and dress is only shown in this Chamber C, almost the exact same adornment is seen as she kneels in adoration on the same wall, except she now lacks the scepter and wears an identical bracelet on her right arm as well as an extra row of beads in her necklace.

Nefertari’s adornment changes as we head East into Recess E. On the north wall, Nefertari is led by Isis towards the transformative beetle-headed god Kheperi. (Figure 39). Above her tripartite wig is her gold vulture headdress along with a red modius, gold feathers and sun disc. These pieces are the most common form of crown and modius

\textsuperscript{84} Chamber designations follow those used by John McDonald in \textit{House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari}, The J. Paul Getty Trust: Los Angeles, 1996. The lion-headed god is here meant to represent Akeru, and earth god. (See McDonald, 6)

\textsuperscript{85} See Zahi Hawass \textit{The Royal Tombs of Egypt} (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006): 231.
worn by the queen throughout the tomb. Framing Nefertari’s face is a full broad collar (this time with six rows) with vertical and *nefer* beads. In her ear is a golden cobra, its tail pierced through one end and its head raised, level with her nose. This type of earring is not often, if ever, seen on other queens of the New Kingdom and seems to be a new form of jewelry. To the best of my knowledge, no examples have ever been found; whether this piece is based on a real model or simply a figment of the artist’s imagination, we may never know. While Tiye wears the cobra on her forehead as a symbol of her power, Nefertari here completes her look with a vulture headdress and cobras on either side of her face. These symbols of goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet frame her face, both for amuletic effect and as an enhancement of her own authority. The style of her simple bracelets continues, although in this scene, she is marked by a double-lined black band bordered by white on both wrists, something not seen in reliefs of Tiye. Interestingly, these exact bracelets are worn on the wrists and upper arms of almost all of the male gods painted throughout the tomb. In fact, on the wall directly opposite, where the queen is led by Horus, the falcon-headed god wears them. (Figure 40). Nefertari does not wear these same jewels when she is in their presence; on the south wall she wears gold bracelets composed of vertical lines with horizontal borders. But the message here is clear; while not yet a goddess herself, the queen is certainly regarded highly enough to be adorned in the same fashion.

In this scene, the goddess Isis wears two necklaces. One is composed of six layers, the first five colored with green, red and blue streaks, and the final layer made of blue leaf shapes. No outlining of specific beads is evident as it is in Nefertari’s jewelry. No gold is evident. The second necklace is longer, a *menat* composed of small circles in
a U-shape draped over her chest; a counterweight falls behind her back. She wears no earrings and her black hair is accented by a horizontal gold band at the bottom.

Surrounding her wig is a red headband, cow horns, red sun disc and gold cobra. On each of Isis’s wrists is a bracelet composed of vertical blue and green lines bordered with a horizontal blue line in a gold setting. Her armlets have a design similar to the bracelets, although larger and with red lines added.

In Chamber G, two rooms after she joins hands with Isis, Nefertari is seen paying homage to the ibis-headed god of wisdom, Thoth. (Figure 41). Here again we see her in her vulture headdress topped by red modius, gold double-feathered headdress and red sun disc. Across her shoulders rests a gold broad collar made up of seven tiers, alternating black and red short vertical lines per row. The only other adornment Nefertari wears are two identical bracelets, one on each wrist, made of white and black vertical stripes and bordered by rows of smaller white and black squares.

From these side chambers (E-G), we head back to entrance chamber C and walk north down the descending corridor that leads to the Sarcophagus Chamber. This is where Nefertari’s necklace transforms into an unexpectedly complicated design, made of seven different rows, each alternating gold, green, black and red. (Figure 42). The first row is composed of black rectangles and gold squares. The second, fourth and sixth rows are made of chevrons. The third has red nefer symbols, followed by gold-filled heart shapes (meant to represent persea fruits) in the fifth row, and a final row of drop beads. Here on the West wall, Nefertari finally sports a small sparkle of green in this necklace – something only seen on the jewelry of the deities up to this point – and possibly indicating she is coming closer to her acceptance in their world. Along with this collar
are white lotus earrings (singular this time, extending from only one side of her ear) and her typical vulture headdress, red modius, gold double feather and sun disc. The final form of adornment are two bracelets, each made of vertical lines and bordered by small squares, alternating black and white colors. As we transition from one chamber to another through this descending corridor, Nefertari’s jewels seem to guide us, transforming and thereby contributing to the story of the Book of the Dead told on the tomb walls.

Once we finally enter Chamber K, the Sarcophagus Chamber, Nefertari is often found without any earrings, and in general, without her double-feather crown. The goddesses portrayed within the tomb never wear jewelry on their ears, and Nefertari’s lack of them in the deeper chambers represents her close affiliation with deification. Here in the depths of her tomb, the jewelry that characterizes Ramses’s wife are the broad collar, cuff bracelets, and – newly introduced in the paintings – single-strand bracelets. Worn in a scene when Nefertari is welcomed by the goddess Hathor, the queen wears a total of five pieces with differing beads. (Figure 43). A gold cuff bracelet on each wrist is evident, made with vertical lines and horizontal borders, significantly also worn by Hathor on the wrist of the hand that clasps the queen’s own. Below each elbow is a strand of white elliptical barrel beads and small ball beads (a second of the same design is on her right arm); below these is another single strand made of alternating medium-sized diamond shaped pieces (meant to represent the acacia seed), and small ball beads. In addition to these single strands is a tattoo-like symbol or amulet of a Wadjet eye and cobra on her left arm, further emphasizing her connection to the female goddesses. Throughout the paintings the goddesses seem to consistently wear armlets, combined
with broad collars, headdresses, and even anklets. Nefertari is still set apart, however, because the armlets worn by the gods are thicker and more colorful. Although Nefertari never wears anklets, perhaps the introduction of these single strand bracelets and her lack of earrings signify her inclusion in the Afterlife, her closer association with the deities. Complementing her golden vulture headdress and modius is a necklace made of six rows, alternating black and red vertical lines with gold fill. Again, it is understood that these adornments are protective, amuletic, and powerful while also acting to beautify the woman herself.

It is interesting to view the progression of art – and of the depiction of jewelry – on the walls of Nefertari’s tomb as one passes from the entrance to the inner sarcophagus chamber. The first images of the queen are simple single-person scenes that correspond to the demure jewelry she wears. These first chambers gradually portray the Great Royal Wife with more adornment and we can see a pattern forming: three different types of bracelets colored black, white, or gold; collars layered with both cylindrical and petal-like colorful beads; and innovative earrings. In contrast to Nefertari, the gods that lead her seem to wear the same jewelry in every scene, often tiered necklaces composed of single color blocks of green, blue, or white with a final row of drop beads. Armlets and bracelets are often of the same design as well, either black bands bordered by white or gold, or multi-colored vertical lines with a horizontal gold band. As we head deeper into the tomb, and the queen’s journey brings her closer to the realm of Osiris, her jewelry changes depending on the deities who are with her.

These adornments on the walls of Nefertari’s tomb show typical royal New Kingdom jewelry but also indicate her life after death. When contrasting the jewelry of
the goddesses to that of the queen, it is evident that Nefertari wears much more gold than her divine counterparts. Certainly Nekhbet, Isis, Hathor and the other celestial beings also wear tiered necklaces and bracelets, but their use of armlets and anklets along with their tight sheath dresses, sets them apart from the queen. Bright reds and vivid blues color the jewels of the goddesses. The same vertical and drop beads decorate their necklaces and the glint of gold is evident on their arm jewelry. While Nefertari is surrounded by white and gold representing her earthly glamour, the goddesses seem more modest, or simpler, in their dress. Nefertari’s journey to the Duat is completed in Chamber M where she is finally included in the realm of the gods (Figure 44); she is presented in mummified form, wearing her queenly golden vulture headdress, but now wearing the same green and red tiered necklace that the other gods and goddesses wear throughout the tomb. Nefertari has finally made the treacherous journey through the Underworld and now is a deified being, as is evident through her adornment. By taking a close look at the jewelry that both the queen and the deities wear, we can see the story clearly being presented.

A few small pieces of jewelry were recovered from the queen’s tomb, including two bracelets and an earring, now housed at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Figures 45-47) Much more detailed than any painting can depict, these bracelets are overlaid with gold leaf, cartouche and hieroglyphs carved into the metal, and bordered by inlaid gems. While difficult to illustrate, the bracelets are an example of the changes that had taken place over the past century in jewelry design. We can see attempts at rendering the clasped piece in a painting where she presents offerings to the gods; the bracelet is also three-tiered, although no individual symbols are noted here. The chevrons that Nefertari
wears in her necklace are also seen here in two of her bracelets. The single earring (alternatively described as a pendant) is in the shape of a lotus flower, representations of which were in Nefertari’s tomb. Certainly, painted representations cannot fully portray the beauty and grandeur of the actual piece of craftsmanship but the effects of the jewels are obvious.

**Abu Simbel**

Nefertari’s temple at Abu Simbel is carved into a cliff face overlooking the Nile River, only a few hundred feet away from her husband’s more grandiose temple. (Figure 48). The two temples recall the ones Amenhotep III created for himself and his wife in Nubia. Ramses II follows suit with a similar gesture of his appreciation for his wife and a display of his own power. Above the entrance to Nefertari’s temple, Ramses professes his love to her: “Ramses II, he has made (it) as his monument for the Great King’s Wife, Nefertari, beloved of Mut, a house hewn in the pure mountain of Nubia, of fine, white and enduring sandstone, as an eternal work, Nefertari for whose sake the very sun does shine.”

Nefertari’s temple facade features perfectly sculpted traditional representations of the king and queen (four of Ramses, two of Nefertari). On her head Nefertari wears a tripartite wig, double uraeus headband, cow horns, double feather and sun disc on a modius. This headdress is more than a quarter of her height, yet only with the headdress does she equal her king in height. Its size draws our attention, and its composition indicates her assimilation as the goddess Hathor. Throughout the interior of the temple, Nefertari continues to wear this headdress, different from previous representations because of the addition of the cow horns. There is no color left on any of the temple

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facade at Abu Simbel but we can imagine the effect the statues must have had as travelers and tradesmen passed by on the Nile. The only evidence of jewelry that remains on the statues of the queen here are a tiered necklace and what seem to be lotus-shaped earrings, similar to those in the scenes in her tomb. Any other forms of adornment have been lost to time, as they would have been painted on the stone surface; however, from the evidence so far garnered, it can be assumed that Nefertari would also have sported bracelets.

The inside of the temple features a number of painted reliefs. One of the first scenes on the south hypostyle wall shows the queen presenting a bouquet of papyrus flowers to the goddess of the Nile, Anukis. (Figure 49). On Nefertari’s forehead is a vulture crowned with horns and sun disc. The queen herself is crowned with a modius, horns, straight double feathers and sun disc. She wears large circular earrings and one simple broad collar. In addition, she now sports at least three bracelets, one on each wrist, and another below her left elbow. Each is composed of a large center with tiered border. In comparison, Anukis wears a large headdress composed of rush stems that have been tied together with a ribbon. She also sports a necklace that alternates black and red color blocks in each of seven rows. No other adornment is visible. There is an obvious difference between these two females, with the goddess seated on a throne, wearing a larger headdress and necklace. Nefertari’s bracelets may serve to indicate the importance of the objects she is holding, and the detailing of the goddess’s collar can further indicate her own power and status. Notably, Ramses II is seen in much the same pose as Nefertari in the next scene where he presents an offering to Amun-Ra. The duplication of scenes functions as a symbol of the queen’s great status and her connection to the king as a
regular contributor to important religious ceremonies.

The temple walls also portray a few scenes where the queen stands beside her husband as he smites a foreign enemy, portrayed on either side of the entranceway. (Figure 50). In the right-hand scene, Ramses is shown victorious over enemies of the North, before the god Horus. A tiered broad collar covers Nefertari’s chest, a tall plumed headdress rests atop her head, and the golden vulture spreads its wings over her wig. Nefertari also seems to wear earrings, large circular pieces. Although much of the detailing has been lost, the Great Royal Wife seems to wear bracelets as well. Portraying the might of Ramses the Great and his conquests over foreign nations, this particular scene is a tribute to the political power that the couple maintains not only throughout Egypt but over lands to the North and South as well.

One iconic image, on the East wall of the next room, is from a scene that shows Nefertari being blessed by Hathor and Isis on either side. (Figure 51). The queen is larger than the goddesses, if we include her headdress, and her short bob recalls Tiye’s characteristic wig, here covered by an elaborate gold headband with uraei on both her forehead and hanging over her ears. This image seems to be similar to the statue of Berlin Tiye. Perhaps Nefertari is here showing her connection to her predecessor through her intricate headdress. A three-tier bracelet covers her left wrist, colored in blue and white. Nefertari wears a six-tier necklace that alternates dark and light colors per row, although it is difficult to distinguish the beads that compose it. These pieces seem to be of the same caliber as the jewelry depicted on the walls of her tomb as she stands beside goddesses or provides offerings to the gods of the Underworld. The only additional pieces of jewelry that the goddesses wear, setting them apart from Nefertari, are armlets.
As in her tomb, we see a certain likeness between the queen and the goddesses. While the queen wears earrings in other scenes with Ramses, she wears none with these particular goddesses. Her bracelet and necklace seem to mimic those of Hathor and Isis. Indeed, this scene is meant to represent the deification of the queen and a jewelry connection between queen and deities only strengthens her status as a divine being. The scene is especially noteworthy because, again, Ramses II is also portrayed elsewhere in the temple being crowned in the same pose by Horus and Seth.

There is a close association with the goddess Hathor throughout the temple; a large statue of the goddess as a cow emerges from a wall in the sanctuary and pillars in the interior hall support Hathor capitals. This connection is perhaps done deliberately to provide a direct “juxtaposition” between Nefertari and Hathor. Here they are one and the same. This comparison of queen and goddess again portrays Nefertari as an essential character in ancient Egyptian society and the multiplication of poses and scenes between Nefertari and her husband indicates her political influence.

In the Great Temple dedicated to Ramses, located southeast of the queen’s temple, Nefertari is also featured on the walls providing offerings to the gods alongside her husband. On the façade she is portrayed at Ramses’s right leg, a diminutive figure by comparison, quite a different composition than shown at her own temple. (Figure 52). The one piece of jewelry that remains on this statue is an eight-tier broad collar, alternating thin and thick rows, with the bottom row made of drop beads. Atop her head are a vulture headdress and a modius decorated with cartouches and snakes with sun discs. Because this temple was meant for the king’s benefit and Nefertari is only a

89 Pirelli, The Queens of Ancient Egypt, 61.
supporting figure, the queen is not featured in reliefs by herself and the connection to
Hathor is not as strong as in her smaller temple. Here, Ramses is king and god alike;
Nefertari remains at his side as a loyal figure.

Other Monuments

A statue of the queen at Karnak is similar in style to the statues guarding her small
temple at Abu Simbel. Here however, she is on a much smaller scale, standing at the feet
of her husband. (Figure 53). She wears an equally magnificent necklace and globe-like
stud earrings. Atop her tripartite wig is a vulture crown combined with a single uraeus.
Her modius is lined with uraei wearing sun discs and evidence of cow horns and double
feathers still remains. In her left hand is a floral scepter and she seems to be stepping
forward with her left foot. This striding stance is seen in the statue of Isis as well (Figure
27) and is an indication of the respect these women garnered in the New Kingdom. The
striding figure was originally associated with a king and the image of a royal woman with
her left foot forward appeared for the first time under Amenhotep III.\(^90\) Nefertari here
seems to have adopted this pose as she steps forward before her husband who stands with
both feet together.

Another statue on view in the Brussels Museum depicts the queen with a relief of
her son at her side. (Figure 54). The statue is damaged and she is missing her head and
parts of her arms. We can however, clearly see the broad collar that lies upon her chest.
At least four layers are simple vertical beads, a fifth is composed of large circular
symbols, and the final outer layer is made up of longer leaf-shaped jewels. The color
from the statue has worn off but one can imagine it would have been as brilliant as the

\(^{90}\) Betsy Bryan. “New Kingdom Sculpture” in A Companion to Ancient Egypt, Alan B. Lloyd, ed. v. 2
(West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2010): 927.
paintings preserved on her tomb walls. On the pillar behind her hieroglyphs describe Nefertari as “Mistress of Grace, Sweetness of Love, the Mistress of the Two Lands” and “Delightful in word and song, the Great Wife of the King who loves her, the Wife of the Powerful Bull, Nefertiry, [sic] Beloved of Mut, living eternally, like the sun.”91 These words, better preserved than her fragmented jewelry, help to identify Nefertari as a woman who, like Tiye, received attention from both the king and the gods.

Other images of the queen portray her performing and celebrating religious ceremonies. Her role as a head of the country is fulfilled through her relationship with the gods:

Nefertari is especially prominent in Thebes in her role as female chief ritualist. She is shown in the Ramesseum participating with Ramses at the Festival of Min, a major religious observance. In one scene, she dances with the white bull, which represented Min. Nefertari – as chief priestess – made offerings to the gods and officiated alongside her husband at religious ceremonies. Ramses built a side chapel in the middle of the north wall of the Ramesseum for Nefertari and his mother, Mut-Tuya.92

In religious observances, Nefertari is depicted as essential as Tiye was in Amenhotep III’s sed festival. Continuing the tradition of her predecessor, Nefertari is shown in a position of religious authority at events that were previously dominated by the pharaoh himself.

**Nefertari’s Contemporaries**

Just as Nefertari wears jewelry that prominently displays her wealth and devotion, so do the other royal women of Ramses II’s house adorn themselves with symbolic pieces of jewelry. A well-preserved painted limestone statue of Meryt-Amun portrays Ramses II’s daughter and royal wife in a ritual stance, holding a menat-necklace, a ritual item associated with Hathor, bearing the head of a woman and ending in a rosette. (Figure 55).

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91 Brussels 2459 dorsal pillar. (See *Queens of Egypt* 246.)
The queen looks stately and is richly adorned with earrings, large yellow ball studs that imitate the soft round features of her face. She wears a curled tripartite wig with gold bands that line the bottom. A gold headband wraps around her head, holding two uraei in place. Atop her wig is gold modius decorated with cobras that each wear a sun disc. On her left wrist is a two-tier golden bracelet with vertical elements probably akin to the flexible beaded pieces often worn by women in earlier periods. A layer of gold lines the bottom of her tripartite wig and a six-layer collar covers her chest. The first five layers are composed of nefer symbols, “suggesting ‘beauty’ and […] ‘youth’, [and] ends in pendants in the shape of drops.” The necklace is colored yellow, probably meant to represent gold elements, evidence of the wealth of the nation. Elements of an actual necklace discovered as part of the “Zagazig treasure” as well as the “Three Queens treasure” (see image Figure 10) can be compared to this collar that Meryt-Amun wears. Although this Ramesside necklace is reconstructed from different materials (“small cornelian, gold and probably electrum pearls”) such a large number of jewels would have formed a substantial necklace that would have rested upon the shoulders of the wearer and fallen gracefully upon her chest.

Another work of art of his eldest daughter seems identical to the one housed in the Cairo Museum. This colossal statue from Akhmim is remarkably well preserved and indicates the intricate craftsmanship of jewelry-makers of the period. (Figure 56). Here, we can see similarities to Nefertari’s tomb paintings, where shaped beads and symbols comprise one full golden broad collar. Meryt-Amun also wears earrings, large globular

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93 Cairo Museum Christiane Desroches Noblecourt *The Great Pharaoh Ramses II and His Time* (Quebec: Canada Exim Group, 1985): 28
94 Desroches-Noblecourt *The Great Pharaoh Ramses II*, 27
95 Hawass, *Silent Images*, 188
studs fashioned in the same way as both the Cairo statue and the statue of Nefertari at Karnak (Figure 53). These stud earrings are innovations in 19th-dynasty Egypt. The final item of adornment on Ramses’ daughter is a vulture headdress topped by a modius of cobras with sun discs, as well as double feathers. In both of these images of Meryt-Amun she is identified as a royal woman.

The scenes in Nefertari’s painted tomb have allowed Egyptologists to study Ramses’s favored wife in detail. The abundance of two-dimensional images of Nefertari is in contrast to Tiye whose image is preserved mainly in statuary. The two-dimensional images of Nefertari contrast to her three-dimensional representations in that her statues often do not show such extravagance. Her tiered necklaces still remain but the exotic earrings and bracelets she wears in paintings and reliefs are often missing. Perhaps these would have been painted on in an earlier life and time has simply erased them. Also changed from one sovereign to the other is the assumption of pharaonic symbols. Where Tiye is shown with the falcon, the crowns of Egypt, and the shebyu, Nefertari instead lacks these symbols, wearing mainly items of religious importance. It would seem that Nefertari’s reign is one governed more by images connecting her to the gods, while Tiye’s connected her on a greater level to the kingship.

Other Elite Women from the 19th Dynasty

The upperclass women who lived during the time of Ramses II and Nefertari wear jewelry much in the same vein as the queen; greater details and connections to powerful deities are themes of this period. Like Nefertari, the upper-class women of dynasty 19 often wear earrings and floral elements and those who are in scenes with their husbands
can sometimes be seen wearing jewels similar to theirs.

Non-royal women are depicted on the walls of private tombs, their figures well adorned with earrings, bracelets and necklaces, similar to Nefertari’s own jewelry. In the tomb of Neferronpet (a scribe also called Kenro), his wife Mutemwia wears one long fillet around her wig with plain bands alternating with bands of lotus petals. (Figure 57). A lotus blossom rests on her forehead beneath a perfume cone and a poppy flower. The only other form of adornment is a broad collar composed of four plain bands along with a final row of what could be drop beads. This same jewelry is worn by Neferronpet’s wife in each image, except for when the couple is presented by Anubis for the weighing of the heart ceremony and on the final wall where the two worship Horus and Osiris. (Figure 58). The couple wears no jewelry with Anubis as a sign of respect for the weighing of the heart. By the time Neferronpet and his wife arrive in the Duat, they both wear jewelry (as Nefertari does in her tomb) that is identical to the gods around them, evidence of the couple’s acceptance in the divine world.

A similar floral headpiece to Mutemwia’s is worn by Iyneferti, wife of Sennedjem, a mason under Ramses II. In a scene where they play *senet*, a green and yellow headband with a lotus flower wraps around her wig, and white (silver) disc earrings dangle beside her face. (Figure 59). These earrings are no longer worn in a later scene when the couple raises their hands in adoration of the gods of the Underworld. (Figure 60). In this scene, securing her lotus and poppy is a headband of red and green with white lotus petals, the only form of adornment in the scene, most likely, again in keeping with the precedent set forth by Nefertari in an effort to show humility to the deities. The difference between the elite and royal tombs however, lies in the fact that the
lower classes truly wear no jewelry in the presence of the gods of the afterlife while Nefertari wears noticeably less jewelry than she does in previous scenes.

Ipuy, a successful sculptor under Ramses the Great, was accorded a tomb on whose walls he included his wife Duammeres and daughter. In an offering scene both mother and daughter wear lotus and poppy flowers held by a headband. (Figure 61). Their earrings are identical: large dangling pieces composed of a white disc with a blue star in the center, with multiple wavy lines dangling down to the women’s jawlines, seemingly as innovative as those worn by Nefertari on her tomb walls. Both mother and daughter wear a necklace and bracelets. Duammeres wears a seven-tier necklace composed of a row of long black horizontal rectangles, another row of green and gold circles, a third row of black and green chevrons and a fourth row of larger blue petal shapes. The final rows are of single red, green and black color blocks. On her right wrist is a bracelet composed of a single strand of small black and white squares and another bracelet of one strand with a black horizontal rectangle with small silver ball beads and black acacia seed shapes. Under her right elbow is a single line of white horizontal black rectangles and white squares and another single line with a black horizontal rectangle, small white dots and black acacia seed shapes.

Duammeres’ daughter wears a six-tier necklace, notably fewer rows than her mother, and perhaps as a sign of respect. Her necklace is composed of a plain row, a second thin line of blue followed by a row of light blue petal shapes, with final rows of red, green and blue color blocks. Nine bracelets are visible, five on her left arm and four on her right. Although this number is greater than what we see on her mother, Duammeres’ left arm is hidden and may very well have been adorned with additional
pieces. On the younger woman’s left wrist is a bracelet with black horizontal rectangles, another with small black and white squares, and a final piece with black ovals and small circles. Below her elbow is one string of black ovals and small circles and another of a black striped oval followed by black acacia seeds. On her right wrist is a string of silver ball beads and another string with a black striped oval followed by small white ovals. Below this elbow is a string of a black striped oval followed by black acacia seed shapes and another of black ovals and circles. The intricate detailing of these pieces shows how jewelry has changed from the 18th dynasty, as well as the close connection to religion.

In another tomb owned by Ramses’s general Djehutyemhab the general and his wife stand together, arms raised in adoration of the god Re-Horakhty. (Figure 62). His wife wears a headband of green lotus petals that complement earrings of gold discs bordered by green with a green center. A seven tier necklace is composed of one red line, four rows of alternating black and green color blocks, a sixth row of yellow and green petals, and a final row of red. One bracelet is visible just below each elbow, simple blue bands bordered by white. On each wrist is a simple blue band also bordered by white. Re-Horakhty’s armlets, cuff bracelets, and pieces of his clothing are all gold. Significantly however, the general’s own necklace is similar to the collar worn by the god here, and these same green and white bracelets that are worn by both husband and wife in various scenes throughout the tomb are also found on the gods in another scene where the deities themselves worship an image of a falcon with a sun. Perhaps these pieces of jewelry are meant to represent a form of reverence.

The elite women of the 19th dynasty follow Nefertari’s lead in fashioning their images of jewelry on that of the gods in important rituals. As depicted in the same
necklace designs in Kenro’s tomb or the loss of earrings in Sennedjem’s tomb, jewelry is used as a form of worship and as a means of indicating a close connection to the deities.

Conclusion

What significance can jewelry have? What can the depiction of a queen’s jewelry tell us about her role? How did jewelry change from one dynasty to another? Jewelry is a topic that is often glossed over in both art historical research projects and scholarly publications. Only a few books of note have been published with specific regard to the topic, mainly describing the techniques of jewelry design instead of describing context. Few, if any, note what the wearing of jewelry can symbolize for the adorned.

Tiye, Great Royal Wife of King Amenhotep III, and Nefertari, Ramses II’s favored wife, have a great deal in common, much like their powerful husbands. These women were beloved wives and recognized as divine counterparts to their god-like husbands. The jewels that adorn them tell their story, if only in a small way. Both Tiye and Nefertari display their individuality through the jewelry that they wear, just as women do today. In addition, their jewelry is a way for these women to convey their importance in society and their connection to the powerful deities who ruled the land. Wearing jewelry similar to that of a goddess puts the queen on an elevated level, cementing her place beside her king. Each piece of jewelry undergoes changes over the course of the century between Tiye and Nefertari.

Jewelry Design from One Dynasty to the Next

Headdresses These seem to change the most over the century and are most
indicative of a woman’s power. The 18th dynasty headdress worn by Tiye is generally a vulture combined with the double uraeus, each cobra wearing one of the crowns of Egypt. The modius is almost always decorated with cobras wearing a sun disc or with etchings of Amenhotep III’s names. In two instances, on a modius worn by Tiye and another worn by her mother-in-law, the name of the adorned is included instead of the pharaoh’s name. Tiye’s modius can also be combined with a sun disc and cow horns or double feathers. In some instances, she’s also protected by a falcon, a symbol usually reserved for the king.

Nefertari is never portrayed wearing the typically-male symbols of the falcon and crowns of Egypt, instead opting for a vulture headdress or a single cobra with sun disc. This is sometimes combined with a plain modius or one decorated with cobras wearing the sun disc. Nefertari is also often portrayed with double feathers and sun disc, and occasionally adds the cow horns.

For elite women during these periods, the head adornment generally remains the same. In Tiye’s time, single or double bands would have been decorated with petal shapes, which secured a lotus flower at the forehead. In Nefertari’s time, the lotus flower or bud is often combined with a poppy.

Earrings  The earring has an interesting transformation from one dynasty to another. On artworks depicting Amenhotep’s Great Royal Wife, earrings are worn only once, on a statue created during her son’s reign. Instead, her wig and headdress are what frame the natural beauty of her face. However, some elite women wear gold disc earrings during Tiye’s time, changing to dangling colored earrings in the 19th dynasty.

Unlike Tiye, Nefertari adopted the custom of elite members of society by wearing
earrings. Nefertari’s earrings change from one context to the next. She wears a number of innovative pieces, from white lotus shapes or simple globe-like studs, to cobra symbols, and even hybrids. The only time the queen doesn’t wear earrings is when she has been accepted into the Duat. In both dynasties, none of the deities are found wearing this piece of jewelry.

Necklaces  Tiye wears simple broad collars filled with cylindrical beads and possibly ending in a row of drop beads. Often, Tiye would have worn multiple necklaces, layering a shebyu, a traditionally male item of dress, on top of the broad collar.

Elite women during the 18th dynasty often wear collars that combine cylindrical beads with floral elements. By the time we reach the 19th dynasty, the necklace has evolved into something more detailed and delicate on both queens and the elite. Nefertari’s tastes begin to diverge from the traditional and a greater number of shapes and amulets can be found, such as the chevron.

Bracelets  Tiye also wears multiple bracelets, golden cuffs and pieces highlighted by colored cylindrical beads. Like necklaces, bracelets can be layered, which may be a way to show off wealth. At the same time, the elite women of this period wear beaded cuffs, bracelets with a crosshatch design or even long diagonal double strands. The latter may translate to the single strand pieces that are found on Nefertari in the next dynasty.

Nefertari seems to have displayed more diversity in her choice of arm jewelry. Double colored bands, tiered black and white bracelets with colored glass, and larger golden cuffs each adorn the Great Royal Wife. Her use of bracelets almost always correlates to the presence of a deity and single stranded pieces are found when she has traveled to the underworld in her tomb. Elite women during this period also wear
bracelets with more complicated designs, some including varying shapes such as small ball beads, oval beads, or diamond acacia seed beads.

*Armlets*  Tiye’s penchant for arm jewelry is evident in almost every two-dimensional image we find of her; she wears straight, beaded armlets or golden clasps. Deities of both dynasties wear wide, colorful beaded bands.

In the 18th dynasty, many of the elite women wear colorful tiered and beaded armlets as well. By comparison, Nefertari rarely wears armlets, and the elite women of this period also follow suit.

Over the century between these two queens, clear changes are evident. Some of these changes begin in the lower classes, such as the use of earrings or single strand armlets, and are adopted by the later dynasty. Other items of adornment (or non-adornment, as the case may be) worn by the queen herself such as the use of armlets may influence non-royal women. From simple to more detailed designs, layered looks to single pieces, each item of adornment tells us of a woman’s individuality and her connection to something greater than herself.

**What Jewelry Tells Us About the Role of the Adorned**

What does looking closely at the jewelry of Tiye and Nefertari tell us about these women? The themes of political stability and religious protection pervade dynasties 18 and 19. Tiye’s earthly role as the counterpart to her husband dominated much of the symbolism in her artworks, while Nefertari focused more on religious symbolism. During Tiye’s lifetime, much of her jewelry is connected to the king himself. Layering a *shebyu* on top of her broad collar, Tiye can be instantly recognized as an honored
member of Amenhotep III’s court. Her use of the falcon in select scenes in both the
Tomb of Kheruef and the Tomb of Userhat can further serve to identify her as an
influential queen, one who both was protected by and protected the king. The cobras she
wears with the crowns of Egypt also serve the same function, indicating her close
affiliation with the pharaoh. Wearing these items in conjunction with the pharaoh’s *sed*
festival would also have noted the queen as a contributor to her husband’s success. The
addition of her own cartouche on her crown at a southern temple, and the cartouche of
Mutemwia’s name on her statue from Karnak, indicate just how favored these women
were in the eyes of Amenhotep III.

Nefertari’s jewelry has less to do with symbols of the king than with symbols of
the gods. This relationship between religion and dress is most visible in her tomb. The
closer Nefertari gets to these powerful deities, the more diverse and elaborate her jewelry;
her bracelets are multiplied upon her lower arms, and her necklaces include more beads.
By the final chamber in her tomb, the mummified Nefertari is significantly portrayed
wearing no jewelry but a broad collar that exactly mimics the collars of the other gods.
Many of the non-royal women seem to adopt this custom as well, as seen in the tomb of
Neferronpet. Nefertari is a regular contributor to religious affairs, often associated with
Hathor, especially when portrayed at her temple at Abu Simbel. The use of the cow
horns with double feathers and sun disc alert us to her influence. Notably, almost every
scene Nefertari is depicted in at her temple is mimicked by a scene with Ramses II in the
same pose. This duplication may emphasize the queen’s relationship as the king’s divine
counterpart.

While both Tiye and Nefertari maintained important relationships with both king
and god, each queen appears to favor one above the other. We learn that jewelry is almost always connected to power, whether depicting the strength of a ruler or showing assimilation or humility in the presence of a god. Jewelry is a topic often overlooked, with many descriptions failing to identify the details. It is my hope that future art historians will consider the adornment of individuals in ancient Egyptian art as a way to further interpret the scene and provide greater insight on Egyptian culture as a whole.
Figure 1
Craftsmen, 1390-1349 BC
Height: 50 cm; Width: 159.5 cm
Tomb of Nebamun, T 181
Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies at New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.4.103

Figure 2
Broad Collar, 1479-1425 BC
Gold, carnelian, glass
Provenance: Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Tomb of the 3 Foreign Wives of Thutmosis III
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.8.59a
Figure 3
Hinged Cuff Bracelet, 1479-1425 BC
Gold, carnelian, turquoise, glass
Provenance: Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Tomb of the 3 Foreign Wives of Thutmose III
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.8.130

Figure 4
Penannular Earrings, 1479-1425 BC
Gold
Provenance: Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Tomb of the 3 Foreign Wives of Thutmose III
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.8.92a, b
Figure 5
Earrings in the Form of Pendant Lotus Flowers, 1539-1190 BC
Glass
Brooklyn Museum, 52.149a-b

Figure 6
Close-up, Broad Collar Necklace, 1850-1775
Faience, turquoise, gold leaf
Provenance: Lisht North, Burial of Senebtisi
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 08.200.43
Figure 7
Broad Collar of Nefer Amulets, 1504-1450 BC
Gold, crizzled glass, Egyptian blue
Provenance: Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Tomb of the 3 Foreign Wives of Thutmosis III
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.8.135a

Figure 8
Rings from the Reign of Amenhotep III
Faience
Provenance: Luxor
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.791
Figure 9
Tiye with Fly Whisk, 1391-1353 BC
Black granodiorite
Provenance: Temple of Mut, Karnak
Cairo Museum, JE 99281
Figure 10
Queen Tiye Stands Beside Amenhotep III, 1391-1353 BC
Glazed steatite
Height: 29 cm
Paris, Louvre Museum, E 25493
Figure 11
Colossal Group Statue of Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye and Their Daughters, 1410-1372 BC
Limestone
Height: 7 m
Provenance: Medinet Habu, Thebes
Egypt, Cairo Museum, JE 33906
Figure 12
Tiye Beside Amenhotep III, 1391-1353
Quartzite
Total Height: 16 m
South Statue, Colossi of Memnon, Luxor
Figure 13
Head of Queen Tiye
Steatite
Height: 7.2 cm
Provenance: Serabit Al-Khadim, Temple of Hathor
Egypt, Cairo Museum, JE 38257
Figure 14
Tiye as Hathor, 1390-1352 BC
Peridotite
Height: 20.3 cm
Provenance: Probably Sedeinga
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.2802
Figure 15

Head of Queen Tiye, ca. 1355 BC
Yew wood, silver, gold and faience inlays
Total height: 22.5 cm
Provenance: Medinet el Gurob
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 21834
Figure 16
Tiye with Fly Whisk, 1390-1352 BC
Obsidian
Height: 3 cm; Width: 3.3 cm
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.1409

Figure 17
Amenhotep III and Tiye Enthroned Beneath a Kiosk, 1390-1352 BC
Height: 70.5 cm; Width: 101.5 cm
Tomb of Anen, TT120
Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 33.8.8
Figure 18
Tiye with Floral Scepter
Limestone relief
Provenance: Tomb of Userhat TT47
Brussels E 2157
Figure 19
Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Wine to Re-Horakhti and Maat, and Incense to Atum and Hathor
Tomb of Kheruef, TT192

Figure 20
Amenhotep III and Tiye on the Night Barque
Tomb of Kheruef, TT192
Figure 21
Amenhotep III, in Jubilee Attire and Seated on Throne, Accompanied by Hathor and Queen Tiye
West portico, Tomb of Kheruef, TT192
Figure 22
Amenhotep III, with Queen Tiye, Receiving Gifts on the Occasion of his Third Jubilee
West portico, Tomb of Kheruef, TT192
Figure 22a
Close-Up, Kheruef Presents Gifts to the King and Queen
West portico, Tomb of Kheruef, TT192
Figure 23
Carved Plaque from a Bracelet Depicting Tiye as a Sphinx, 1390-1352 BC
Sard
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.7.1342
Figure 24
Menat Depicting Tiye as Hathor. 1390-1352.
Provenance: Semna, Sudan
MFA Boston 29.1199
Figure 25
Amenhotep III and his Mother Mutemwia in a Kiosk, 1390-1353 BC
Provenance: Theban Tomb TT226, Abd el-Qurna
Tempera on paper, facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies MMA 15.5.1
Figure 26
Fragmentary Head of Mutemwia, ca. 1400 BC
Granodiorite
Height: 15.5 cm
Provenance: Karnak Temple
British Museum 43.a
Figure 27
Princess Isis, 1390-1353 BC
Serpentinite
Height: 48.5 cm
Switzerland, George Ortiz Collection, no. 039
Figure 28
Ramose and Wife Before Parents
Top register, East wall, Main Hall, Tomb of Ramose, TT55

Figure 29
The Couple Receives Ointments
Main Hall, Tomb of Ramose, TT55
Figure 30
May and Wife Weret, c. 1370 BC
Bottom register, East wall, Main Hall, Tomb of Ramose, TT55
Figure 31
Menna’s Daughters
Wall 2, Transverse chamber, Tomb of Menna, TT69
Figure 32
Menna’s Daughter Presents Offerings, 1400-1352 BC
Height: 77.5 cm, Width: 41 cm
Wall 6, Tomb of Menna, TT69
Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.4.46
Figure 33
Menna and Family Hunting in the Marshes, 1400-1352 BC
Height: 101 cm, Width: 189 cm
Wall 12, Tomb of Menna, TT69
Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies, MMA 30.4.48

Figure 34
Kha and Wife Meryet before Osiris
Funerary papyrus
Tomb of Kha, TT8
Figure 35
Kenamun and Wife Receive Offerings
Tomb of Kenamun, TT162
Figure 36
Haremhab and Mother
Tomb of Haremhab, TT78
Figure 37
Nebamun and Mother Receive Offerings of Wine, 1390-1349 BC
Tomb of Nebamun
Facimile by Nina de Garis Davies, MMA 30.4.106
Figure 38
Queen Nefertari Playing Senet, and Kneeling in Adoration, 1279-1213 BC
Height: 43 cm; Width: 46 cm
South wall, Chamber C, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Facsimile by N. de Garis Davies at New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.4.145
Figure 39
Queen Nefertari Being Led by Isis, 1279-1213 BC
Height: 70 cm; Width: 46 cm
North wall, Chamber E, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Facsimile by N. de Garis Davies at New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.4.142
Figure 40
Horus Leads Nefertari
South wall, Chamber E, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Figure 41
Nefertari Pays Homage to Thoth
North wall, Chamber G, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Figure 42
Nefertari Presents Offerings
West wall, Upper descending corridor, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Figure 43
Nefertari Is Welcomed by Hathor
North face of Pillar 111, Chamber K,
Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Figure 44
Nefertari Mummified
East wall, Chamber M, Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Figure 45
Bracelet from Tomb of Nefertari
Silver, overlaid with gold foil and set with carnelian, lapis lazuli and amazonite
Height: 4/7 cm; Width: 11.5 cm
Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1955

Figure 46
Part of a Bracelet from Tomb of Nefertari
Gold with border of lapis lazuli, carnelian and amazonite
Height: 4 cm; Width: 3.7 cm
Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1954
Figure 47
Gilded Lotus Earring or Pendant of Nefertari
Bronze, overlaid with gold foil
Height: 2 cm; Width: 2.1 cm
Tomb of Nefertari, Valley of the Queens
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1956
Figure 48
Nefertari Stands Before Her Temple
Nefertari’s Temple, Abu Simbel
Figure 49
Nefertari Presents Offerings to Anukis
South wall, Hypostyle hall, Nefertari’s Temple, Abu Simbel
Figure 50
Ramses II Smites a Nubian as Nefertari Stands Beside Him
East wall, Hypostyle hall, Nefertari’s Temple, Abu Simbel
Figure 51
Isis and Hathor Bless Nefertari
East wall, vestibule, Nefertari’s temple, Abu Simbel
Figure 52
Nefertari at Ramses’s Right Leg
Great Temple, Abu Simbel
Figure 53
Nefertari Stands Before Ramses II
Karnak, Temple of Amun
Figure 54
Nefertari and Her Son Meryatum
Limestone
Height: 56.4 cm
Brussels, Musée royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, E 2459
Figure 55
Meryt-Amun, Daughter of Ramses II
Limestone
Height: .75 m
Provenance: Western Thebes, sanctuary northwest of the Ramesseum
Cairo Museum, JE 31413
Figure 56
Colossal Statue of Meryt-Amun
Limestone
Akhmim
Elite Women in the Reign of Ramses II

Figure 57
Wife of Neferronpet in the Book of Gates
Tomb of Neferronpet Kenro, TT178

Figure 58
Neferronpet and Mutemwia beside the *Djed* Pillar
Tomb of Neferronpet Kenro, TT178
Figure 59
Sennedjem and Wife Play Senet
Front door of Tomb of Sennedjem, TT1

Figure 60
Sennedjem and Wife Worship the Gods
South wall, Tomb of Sennedjem, TT1
Figure 61
Children Present Offerings to Ipuy and Wife, 1279-1213 BC
Tomb of Ipuy, TT217
Facsimile by Norman de Garis Davies, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.4.114
Figure 62
Djehutyemhab and Wife Worship Re-Horakhty, 1279-1213 BC
Tomb of Djehutyemhab
Facsimile by Norman de Garis Davies, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15.5.12
Bibliography

Survey Books


**Archaeological Expeditions**


Articles


**Exhibition Catalogs**


**Museum Websites and Other Resources**


Appendix 1
Chronology

New Kingdom ca. 1550–1070 B.C.

Dynasty 18, ca. 1550–1295 B.C.

Ahmose ca. 1550–1525 B.C.
Amenhotep I ca. 1525–1504 B.C.
Thutmose I ca. 1504–1492 B.C.
Thutmose II ca. 1492–1479 B.C.
Thutmose III ca. 1479–1425 B.C.
Hatshepsut (as regent) ca. 1479–1473 B.C.
Hatshepsut ca. 1473–1458 B.C.
Amenhotep II ca. 1427–1400 B.C.
Thutmose IV ca. 1400–1390 B.C.
Amenhotep III ca. 1390–1352 B.C.
Amenhotep IV ca. 1353–1349 B.C.
Akhenaten ca. 1349–1336 B.C.
Neferneferuaton ca. 1338–1336 B.C.
Smenkhkare ca. 1336 B.C.
Tutankhamun ca. 1336–1327 B.C.
Aya ca. 1327–1323 B.C.
Haremhab ca. 1323–1295 B.C.

Dynasty 19, ca. 1295–1186 B.C.

Ramesses I ca. 1295–1294 B.C.
Seti I ca. 1294–1279 B.C.
Ramesses II ca. 1279–1213 B.C.
Merneptah ca. 1213–1203 B.C.
Amenmesse ca. 1203–1200 B.C.
Seti II ca. 1200–1194 B.C.
Siptah ca. 1194–1188 B.C.
Tawosret ca. 1188–1186 B.C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty 20, ca. 1186–1070 B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sethnakht</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramesses III</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramesses IV</td>
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<td>Ramesses V</td>
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<td>Ramesses VI</td>
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<td>Ramesses VII</td>
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<td>Ramesses VIII</td>
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<td>Ramesses IX</td>
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<td>Ramesses X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramesses XI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiye</td>
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<tr>
<td>Image #</td>
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<tr>
<td>Object/Scene</td>
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<td>Medium</td>
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<td>Original Context</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pose</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewelry Worn: Hairstyle</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Crown and Headband</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Modius</td>
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<td>Earrings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Necklace/Collar</td>
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<td>Braceslets</td>
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<td>Other Accessories</td>
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<td>Other Notes</td>
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<td>Photo Source</td>
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<td>Other References</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiye as Hathor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peridotite head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably Sedeinga temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wavy enveloping wig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulture on forehead: two fillets, 1 around top head composed of interlocking triangles; 1 around center of wig lined up w/ cheeks composed of marquarttes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modius w/ cow horns and sun disc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly whisk in l. hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MFA Boston 21.2802**

**Berlin 21834**

**MFA 26.7.1409**

**MFA 33.8.8**

**Brussels E 2157**

**UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9**

**www.mfa.org**

**missing uraeus: Wildung, Pharaohs of the Sun**

**215**

**www.metmuseum.org**

**www.metmuseum.org**

**Bryan "A Newly Discovered Statue" 37**

**Tiye's earrings: Muller and Thiem, Gold of the Pharaohs**

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**Introduction of earrings: Aldred, Jewels of the Pharaohs 143**

**Bryan Egypt's Dazzling Sun 289-90**
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<th>Figure 19: Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Incense to Atum and Hathor</th>
<th>Figure 19: Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Incense to Atum and Hathor</th>
<th>Figure 19: Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Wine to Re-Horakhti and Maat</th>
<th>Figure 19: Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Wine to Re-Horakhti and Maat</th>
<th>Figure 19: Amenhotep IV and Tiye, Offering Wine to Re-Horakhti and Maat</th>
<th>Figure 20: Amenhotep III and Tiye on the Night Barque</th>
<th>Figure 21: Amenhotep III, in Jubilee Attire and Seated on Throne, Accompanied by Hathor and Queen Tiye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomb of Kheruef, Doorway of passage to court, right side of lintel</td>
<td>Tomb of Kheruef, Doorway of passage to court, right side of lintel</td>
<td>Tomb of Kheruef, Doorway of passage to court, left side of lintel</td>
<td>Tomb of Kheruef, Doorway of passage to court, left side of lintel</td>
<td>Tomb of Kheruef, West Porch, South of Doorway, Upper Register, Long Scene at South</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hathor stands to left of Atum, who is on throne</td>
<td>Standing to right of goddess, facing couple at left</td>
<td>Standing to right of god, facing couple at left</td>
<td>Standing to right of god, facing couple at left</td>
<td>Standing to left of A., faces right</td>
<td>Standing, smaller figure, to right of seated king and goddess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON HATHOR</td>
<td>ON ATUM</td>
<td>ON MAAT</td>
<td>ON RE-HORAKHTY</td>
<td>ON TIYE</td>
<td>ON TIYE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripartite wig w/ vertical lines</td>
<td>Tripartite wig composed of small squares</td>
<td>Single feather w/ curved top. Headband</td>
<td>Plain wig; does not cover shoulders</td>
<td>Tripartite wig composed of small squares. Band borders bottom of hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double crown of Egypt, false beard</td>
<td>Headband w. double uraeus (wearing crowns of upper/lower Egypt) and falcon behind</td>
<td>Large sun disc w/ uraeus hovers just above head</td>
<td>Single uraeus w/ cow horns and sun disc</td>
<td>Double-uraeus (wearing crowns of Egypt) headband w/ evidence of falcons on back</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modius, cow horns, sun disc.</td>
<td>Double feathers w/ modius.</td>
<td>No headdress</td>
<td>Double-feathers (no sun disc) and cow horns atop</td>
<td>Modius composed of multiple cobras w/ sun disc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 total: simple broad collar w/ extra curved line underneath</td>
<td>1 total: 5 tiers: 1 row vertical lines, 1 row empty, 2 rows w/ vertical lines, final row w/ drop beads</td>
<td>1 total: 4 tiers: 3 rows w/ vertical lines; final row w/ drop beads</td>
<td>1 total: simple broad collar, no decoration</td>
<td>1 total: simple broad collar, no decoration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>2 total: 1 each arm: double upper armlets</td>
<td>1 total: r. arm, double band</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 visible: r. wrist: simple band.</td>
<td>2 total: 1 each wrist: horizontal lines in 2 sections w/ vertical lines in center and edges, horizontal lines on top and bottom</td>
<td>1 total: r. arm, vertical lines w/ border of horizontal lines</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td>None visible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tight, straps. Bare feet</td>
<td>Tight, tassels, sandals</td>
<td>Tight w/ straps, lower horizontal border</td>
<td>Tight, shoulder straps w/ short horizontal stripes; vertical stripe line bottom of dress. Sandals.</td>
<td>Tight, shoulder straps w/ short horizontal stripes; vertical stripe line bottom of dress. Sandals.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankhs in r. hand.</td>
<td>Ankhs in r. hand, and lotus in l. hand.</td>
<td>Ankhs in 1 hand.</td>
<td>Ankhs in 1 hand.</td>
<td>Ankhs in 1 hand.</td>
<td>Ankhs in 1 hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band on bottom of hair</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyeh stands on a lower platform than AIII; is significantly shorter. AIII wears the white crown and on his forehead are a hawk and cobra. He also wears feathers beside his skirt. Holds lotus in l. hand, fly whisk in r. hand.</td>
<td>Same dress and arm jewelry as Hathor. AIII wears broad collar w/ pectoral, feathers beside skirt, holds cross and flail, also wears crowns of upper/lower Egypt.</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

UC Oriental Institute Publications Tomb of Kheruef, plate 9

Johnson, "Amenhotep III and Amarna" 4
### Figure 21
Amenhotep III, in Jubilee Attire and Seated on Throne, Accompanied by Hathor and Queen Tiye

- **Bonds**: Horizontal borders
- **Footwear**: Sandals with leopard head
- **Hair**: Side lock that curls extended over her ear can be mistaken for an earring.

### Figure 22
Amenhotep III, with Queen Tiye, Receiving Gifts on the Occasion of His Third Jubilee

- **Bonds**: Vertical stripes line bottom of dress. No footgear.
- **Footwear**: Ankh in r. hand, fly whisk in l. hand
- **Hair**: Green wig, no shoulders.

### Figure 22a
Amenhotep III, with Queen Tiye, Receiving Gifts on the Occasion of His Third Jubilee

- **Bonds**: Vertical stripes line bottom of dress. No footgear.
- **Footwear**: Ankh in r. hand, fly whisk in l. hand
- **Hair**: Green wig, no shoulders.

### Figure 23
Carved Plaque from a Bracelet Depicting Tiye as a Sphynx

- **Bonds**: None visible
- **Footwear**: None visible
- **Hair**: None visible

### Figure 24
Menat Depicting Tiye as Hathor

- **Bonds**: None visible
- **Footwear**: None visible
- **Hair**: None visible

---

### On Hathor

- **Wig**: Tripartite wig of vertical lines w/ bordering bottom
- **Headgear**: Single-uraeus headband

### On Tiye

- **Wig**: Tripartite wig composed of small squares
- **Headgear**: Single-uraeus headband

### On Amenhotep

- **Wig**: Tripartite wig composed of vertical lines w/ bordering bottom
- **Headgear**: Single-uraeus headband

### Presented by Kheruef

- **Wig**: Tripartite wig composed of vertical lines w/ bordering bottom
- **Headgear**: Single-uraeus headband

---

### Other

- **Regalia**: Medallion, 3D discs, horns and sun disc.
- **Headgear**: Vulture headdress. Both other representations: Horns and sun disc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MUTEMWIA (MOTHER, AIII)</strong></th>
<th><strong>ISIS (DAUGHTER, AIII)</strong></th>
<th><strong>HERUTTANEN (DAUGHTER, AIII)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figure 25</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 26</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 11</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenhotep III and his Mother Mutemwia in a Kiosk</td>
<td>Fragmentary Head of Mutemwia</td>
<td>Group statue of Amenhotep and Tiye with daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall painting</td>
<td>black granodiorite statue</td>
<td>serpentine statue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT225</td>
<td>Karnak Temple</td>
<td>Medinet Habu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seated to left of son, arms raised to clasp his</td>
<td>standing w/ l. foot forward, r. arm raised</td>
<td>standing at feet of parents, l. arm bent at elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enveloping wig w/ loose strands at bottom</td>
<td>curled wig</td>
<td>not visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulture headdress: white head, blue wings, red belly</td>
<td>upper headband of interlocking triangles, lower basic headband</td>
<td>vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain red modius</td>
<td>modius w/ cartouche of her name and cobras w/ sun discs</td>
<td>not visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 necklace total: 4 tiers: gold setting. 1st row, blue verticla stripes. 2nd, vertical curved rectangles each colored green, blue and red w/ gold blten colors. 3rd, green triangles on top of black circles. Final row of small red and white squares on top of light green petal shapes</td>
<td>1 necklace total: 5 rows of nefer symbols</td>
<td>1 necklace total: 7 tiers: first rows of nefer symbols, final row of drop beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light white dress, red sash</td>
<td>flared dress tied under chest</td>
<td>flowers on breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenhotep III wears the same colored jewelry but only his bottom two necklace rows match hers</td>
<td>Statue breaks off at jawline</td>
<td>much diminished scale compared to Tiye and AIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA 15.5.1</td>
<td>BM EA 43A</td>
<td>The George Ortiz Collection no. 039</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.metmuseum.org">www.metmuseum.org</a></td>
<td>Robins Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom 53-45</td>
<td>Cairo Museum JE 33906</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.georgeortiz.com/">http://www.georgeortiz.com/</a></td>
<td>Bryan Egypt's Dazzling Sun 206-8</td>
<td>Bryan Egypt's Dazzling Sun 206-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefertari Playing Senet</td>
<td>Nefertari Kneeling in Adoration</td>
<td>Nefertari Being Led by Isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMAGE #</strong></td>
<td>Figure 38</td>
<td>Figure 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBJECT/SCENE</strong></td>
<td>Nefertari Playing Senet</td>
<td>Nefertari Kneeling in Adoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEDIUM</strong></td>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td>tomb painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORIGINAL CONTEXT</strong></td>
<td>QV66 Chamber C. First chamber, l. of door.</td>
<td>QV66 Chamber E. N. wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSE</strong></td>
<td>Nefertari is seated, facing right. Her left arm extends, poised to move a game piece.</td>
<td>Nefertari kneels, facing right. Her arms are bent, hands facing out in praise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JEWELRY WORN: HEADBAND</strong></td>
<td>tripartite wig w/ gold layering bottom edge</td>
<td>tripartite wig w/ gold layering bottom edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JEWELRY WORN: CROWN AND HEADBAND</strong></td>
<td>gold vulture</td>
<td>gold vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JEWELRY WORN: MODIUS</strong></td>
<td>red modius</td>
<td>red modius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EARRINGS</strong></td>
<td>double white (silver) lotus</td>
<td>double white (silver) lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NECKLACE/COLLAR</strong></td>
<td>1 collar: 4 layers: gold setting with vertical black and red lines (colors alternate rows)</td>
<td>1 collar: 5 layers: gold setting with vertical black and red lines (colors alternate rows) + 1 row of drop beads, gold setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARMLETS</strong></td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BRACELETS</strong></td>
<td>1 total: left arm: simple gold cuff</td>
<td>2 total: 1 each arm: gold cuff of vertical lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRESS</strong></td>
<td>loose white dress w/ knot at chest. white sandals</td>
<td>loose white dress w/ knot at chest. white sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER ACCESSORIES</strong></td>
<td>holds scepter in right hand</td>
<td>holds scepter in right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER NOTES</strong></td>
<td>single-person scene; next to ba bird and figure of Nefertari with hands lifted in praise</td>
<td>single-person scene; to right of ba bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHOTO SOURCE</strong></td>
<td>McDonald House of Eternity S8</td>
<td>McDonald House of Eternity S8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 40</td>
<td>Figure 41</td>
<td>Figure 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus Leads Nefertari</td>
<td>Nefertari Pays Homage to Thoth</td>
<td>Nefertari Pays Homage to Thoth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td>tomb painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefertari stands with arms at her side, looking right, towards Thoth</td>
<td>seated, arms bent at elbows, face turned to left, toward N.</td>
<td>standing, elbows bent, facing right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ON HORUS</strong></td>
<td><strong>ON NEFERTARI</strong></td>
<td><strong>ON THOTH</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar to tripartite but w/ black, green, red lines w/ gold layering bottom edge</td>
<td>tripartite wig w/ gold layering bottom edge</td>
<td>tripartite wig w/ white lines, gold layering bottom edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td>vulture</td>
<td>vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>falcon head w/ white and red crowns of Egypt</strong></td>
<td><strong>red modius, gold double feathers and sun disc</strong></td>
<td><strong>isis head</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 necklace: 10 tiers: alternating black, red and green color blocks with the final row of black drop beads</td>
<td>1 collar: red and black vertical lines alternating per row. (To right of hair; 7 tiers; to left of hair; 9 tiers - artist mistake?) gold fill</td>
<td>1 total: 7 tiers: gold, green black, red alternating colors. 1st row: black rectangles and gold squares; 2nd row chevrons; 3rd row nefer symbols, red bottom; 4th row shorter arrow-like symbols; 5th row gold-filled heart shapes (persia fruits) surrounded by green; 6th row chevron shapes; final row drop beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 total: each arm: simple black bands bordered by gold (center) and white (outer) horizontal lines</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cuffs total: each arm: black and white vertical lines w/ border of smaller black/white</td>
<td>2 total: both arms: simple dual-layer, black bands (white, black, white, black - horizontal)</td>
<td>2 cuffs total, 1 each wrist: alternating black and white: vertical lines center bordered by horizontal lines and small squares on top and bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cuffs total: horizontal lines</td>
<td>2 total: each arm: bare feet</td>
<td>2 total: each arm: pale red sash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilt w/ upper tight covering w straps</td>
<td>horizontal gold band on bottom of hair</td>
<td>scepter in r. hand, ankhs in l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holds was scepter in r. hand</td>
<td>scepter in r. hand, ankhs in l.</td>
<td>scepter in r. hand, ankhs in l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wig and necklace are same colors and pattern</td>
<td>Spell 94 Book of the Dead on wall; water pot and palette from writing kit between the two figures, frog representing eternity</td>
<td>Spell 94 Book of the Dead on wall; water pot and palette from writing kit between the two figures, frog representing eternity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawass Royal Tombs of Egypt 256</td>
<td>Getty House of Eternity cover, 76</td>
<td>Getty House of Eternity cover, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald House of Eternity 12</td>
<td>Hawass The Royal Tombs of Egypt 252-3</td>
<td>Hawass The Royal Tombs of Egypt 252-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 43</td>
<td>Figure 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefertari Is Welcomed by Hathor</td>
<td>Nefertari Mummified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td>tomb painting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| QV66: Chamber K, N. face of pillar 11. | QV66 Chamber M, annex to sarcophagus chamber |
| Hathor’s l. hand is raised toward N.’s mouth | standing mummy |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ON HATHOR</th>
<th>ON NEFERTARI</th>
<th>ON ANUKIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tripartite wig w/ gold layering bottom edge</td>
<td>tripartite wig w/ horizontal gold bar edges bottom of hair</td>
<td>None visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red headband w/ additional red line atop wig</td>
<td>red modius</td>
<td>red modius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 total: 9-tiers: blue, green, white, red, white, blue, green, blue</td>
<td>1 necklace: 12-tiers: 1st layers alternate green and red cylindrical, final layer is made of drop beads</td>
<td>1 total: 7-tier necklace alternating black and red color blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 total: 1 each arm: single black band w gold border</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 total: 1 each arm: l. wrist, single green band w/ white borders; r. wrist, gold cuff, vertical lines w/ horizontal borders</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tight red dress w straps. Bare feet</td>
<td>flared dress</td>
<td>flared dress. Long hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 total Anklets, 1 each leg: gold vertical lines w/ horizontal lines forming top and bottom. Gold band on bottom of hair</td>
<td>sistrum in l. hand</td>
<td>Holds sistrum in r. hand, bouquet of papyrus flowers in l. hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green color of goddess’s jewelry now included in N.’s necklace; no individual lines to represent beads; no gold in necklace.</td>
<td>Time has taken its toll on the temple’s façade and not much of the jewelry elements are still visible.</td>
<td>Images of inside this temple are generally dark and hard to recognize exact jewelry designs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald House of Eternity 107</td>
<td>Desroches-Noblecourt Le Petit Temple</td>
<td>Pirelli The Queens of Ancient Egypt 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald House of Eternity 108-109</td>
<td>Pirelli Queens of Ancient Egypt 209</td>
<td>Pirelli The Queens of Ancient Egypt 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figure 50</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 51</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 51</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramses II Smites a Nubian as Nefertari Stands Beside Him</td>
<td>Isis and Hathor Bless Nefertari</td>
<td>Isis and Hathor Bless Nefertari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>wall relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. wall, Hypostyle hall, Nefertari's temple, Abu Simbel</td>
<td>E. Wall, vestibule, Nefertari's temple, Abu Simbel</td>
<td>Hathor and Isis stand on either side of Nefertari, each raising an arm in a gesture of Nefertari's temple, Abu Simbel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefertari stands beside husband, l. arm raised at elbow</td>
<td>Nefertari stands, facing Isis, back to Hathor</td>
<td>Nefertari stands at Ramses's right leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ON NEFERTARI</strong></td>
<td><strong>ON ISIS AND HATHOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>ON NEFERTARI</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tripartite wig</td>
<td>short bob</td>
<td>enveloping wig composed of long lines w/ fringed bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulture</td>
<td>Gold head wrap w/ cobra (who wears cow horns and disc) on forehead and covering ears</td>
<td>Vulture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow horns, double feathers, sun disc, modius.</td>
<td>cow horns, double feathers with sun disc, atop a red modius.</td>
<td>cow horns with sun disc atop modius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large circles</td>
<td>1 total: simple broad collar: final curved band forms bottom border</td>
<td>1 total: 6-tier broad collar alternating dark and light colors per row</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>1 total: l. arm: white band bordered by blue bands</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 total: 1 on each arm: 3 layer, horizontal black and white bands</td>
<td>2 total: 1 on each arm: simple bands</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>flared dress, sandal.</td>
<td>tight dress, shoulder straps w/ horizontal stripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ribbon on back of hair</td>
<td>flared dress, cinched at waist w/ red sash</td>
<td>tight dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ankh, r. hand; fly whisk, l. hand. She is slightly larger than the goddesses and her headdress surpasses theirs by 1/3</td>
<td>Ankh, r. hand; fly whisk, l. hand. She is slightly larger than the goddesses and her headdress surpasses theirs by 1/3</td>
<td>each holds an ankh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willeitner Abu Simbel 126</td>
<td>Willeitner Abu Simbel 129</td>
<td>Desroches-Noblecourt Le Nouveau Site D'Abou Simbel et Son Petit Temple 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willeitner Abu Simbel 129</td>
<td>Desroches-Noblecourt Le Nouveau Site D'Abou Simbel et Son Petit Temple 23</td>
<td>Pirelli Queens of Egypt 106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **MERYTAMUN (DAUGHTER, RII)** | **Figure 55**  
Meryt-Amun, Daughter of Ramses II | **Colossal Statue of Meryt-Amun**  
| **limestone statue** | **statue**  
| standing, l. elbow bent | standing, l. elbow bent  
| tripartite wig composed of small rectangles. Gold band lines bottom | tripartite wig composed of small rectangles. Band lines bottom  
| gold headband w/ double uraei | vulture headdress  
| gold modius decorated w/ uraei that wear sun discs | gold modius decorated w/ uraei that wear sun discs. Double feathers  
| gold ball studs | ball studs  
| 1 necklace: 6 tiers: 5 rows nefer symbols w/ final row of drop beads | 1 necklace: at least 4 tiers: nefer symbols  
| none visible | none visible  
| 1 total: l. arm: 2 rows, vertical lines w/ horizontal borders | 2 cuffs total: 1 each arm: vertical lines w/ horizontal borders  
| menat in l. hand. Flowers on breast. | floral scepter in l. hand  
| Flower is similar to those on the statue of Tiye from Karnak Caio Museum JE31413 | Hawass Silent Images 189  
<p>| Desroches The Great Pharaoh Ramses II |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>OBJECT/SCENE</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>ORIGINAL CONTEXT</th>
<th>POSE</th>
<th>JEWELRY WORN:</th>
<th>HAIRSTYLE</th>
<th>CROWN AND HEADBAND</th>
<th>MODIUS</th>
<th>EARRINGS</th>
<th>NECKLACE/COLLAR</th>
<th>ARMLETS</th>
<th>BRACELETS</th>
<th>DRESS</th>
<th>OTHER ACCESSORIES</th>
<th>OTHER NOTES</th>
<th>PHOTO SOURCE</th>
<th>OTHER REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 28</td>
<td>Ramose and Wife Before Parents</td>
<td>TT55 wall relief</td>
<td>TT55</td>
<td>wife seated beside husband, l. hand on lap, r. arm bent</td>
<td>enveloping wig w/ small rectangles forming bottom</td>
<td>lotus on forehead. Headband with interlocking triangles</td>
<td>perfume cone on head.</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>1 necklace total: plain broad collar</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2 cuffs total: 1 each arm: wide empty center w/ horizontal bands forming top and bottom edges</td>
<td>flared dress</td>
<td>holds bouquet of flowers in r. hand. Same bracelets as Ramose</td>
<td>Much of the relief has been damaged and some of the details of the jewelry have been lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 29</td>
<td>The Couple Receives Ointments</td>
<td>TT55 wall relief</td>
<td>TT55</td>
<td>wife seated beside husband, arms bent, cone of ointment lifted to nose</td>
<td>enveloping wig w/ small rectangles forming bottom</td>
<td>Headband of interlocking triangles</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>1 necklace total: plain broad collar</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2 total: 1 each arm: wide empty center w/ horizontal bands forming top and bottom edges</td>
<td>flared dress. Bare feet</td>
<td>Bouquet in r. hand, ointment in l. hand. Ramose does not wear bracelets but holds flowers and ointment as well.</td>
<td>Davies The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 30</td>
<td>May and Wife Weret</td>
<td>TT55 wall relief</td>
<td>TT69</td>
<td>Weret seated beside husband May, l. arm rests on May's l. shoulder. Seated in front of two men</td>
<td>enveloping wig w/ small rectangles forming bottom</td>
<td>Headband of interlocking triangles</td>
<td>1 cuff visible: r. wrist: wide empty center w/ horizontal bands forming top and bottom edges</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1 necklace total: 4 tiers: 1st row, interlocking triangles. 2nd, vertical lines. 3rd interlocking triangles. 4th drop beads</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>at least 2 cuffs total: l. wrist, evidence of horizontal band; r. arm, below elbow: crosshatch design</td>
<td>flared dress. Bare feet</td>
<td>Flowers in r. hand</td>
<td>Davies The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose 17-18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 31</td>
<td>Menna's Daughters as Concubines</td>
<td>TT69 wall relief</td>
<td>TT69</td>
<td>daughters stand, face left, elbows bent</td>
<td>long enveloping wig.</td>
<td>Headband w/ interlocking triangles. Gazelle head, leaf shapes at front, ribbon at back. Two thin golden feathers behind gazelle head.</td>
<td>perfume cone in right hand.</td>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>at least 1 necklace: horizontal curved lines w/ final two rows of vertical lines and interlocking triangles.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1 total visible: l. arm: crosshatch design w/ horizontal border.</td>
<td>flared dress</td>
<td>much of the relief has been damaged and some of the details of the jewelry have been lost</td>
<td>Artstor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHOTO SOURCE</th>
<th>OTHER REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davies The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose 15</td>
<td>Davies The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose 17-18</td>
<td>Bryan Egypt's Dazzling Sun 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artstor</td>
<td>MMA 30.4.194</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHOTOS</th>
<th>OTHER REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davies</td>
<td><a href="http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT69.html">http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT69.html</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Details of Other Elite Women
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 31</th>
<th>Menna’s Daughters as Concubines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>TT69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughters stand, face left, elbows bent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 32</th>
<th>Menna’s Daughter Presents Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>TT69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stands, faces left, arms raised in adoration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 33</th>
<th>Menna and Family Hunting in the Marshes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>TT69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menna and wife featured on both sides of relief, standing, wife with arms raised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 34</th>
<th>Kha and wife Meryet before Osiris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>funerary papyrus</td>
<td>TT8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couple raises hands in adoration, face right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2ND DAUGHTER
- Enveloping wig, shorter than 1st daughter.
- Headband w/ interlocking triangles. Gazelle head, leaf shapes at front, ribbon at back. Two thin golden feathers behind gazelle head.
- Elaborate squared modius w/ two tiers of rectangles topped by circles.
- Large gold discs
- 1 gold necklace: at least 4 rows: vertical lines alternate w/ rows of red circles
- 1 total visible: r. arm: vertical lines w/ two horizontal borders of basic band and small squares at least 3: l. wrist central band w/ horizontal borders; r. wrist vertical lines at center w/ horizontal borders. Below r. elbow: crosshatch

### 1ST DAUGHTER
- Enveloping wig
- Headband w/ interlocking triangles. Gazelle head, leaf shapes at front, ribbon at back. Two thin golden feathers behind gazelle head.
- Elaborate squared modius w/ two tiers of rectangles topped by circles.
- Large gold discs
- 1 gold necklace: at least 4 rows: vertical lines alternate w/ rows of red circles
- 1 total visible: r. arm: vertical lines w/ two horizontal borders of basic band and small squares at least 3: l. wrist central band w/ horizontal borders; r. wrist vertical lines at center w/ horizontal borders. Below r. elbow: crosshatch

Wears same jewelry on r. side of relief, except the first rows of her necklace are vertical gold stripes. Her daughter, under the legs of Menna on right side, wears the same jewelry as mother on left.

---

http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT69.html
MMA 30.4.46
MMA 30.4.194

www.metmuseum.org
www.metmuseum.org

Bryan Egypt’s Dazzling Sun 265
Bryan Egypt’s Dazzling Sun 270

Reeves Ancient Egypt: The Great Discoveries 127
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>KENAMUN TT162 (MAYOR UNDER AIII)</strong></th>
<th><strong>HAREMHBAB TT78 (SCRIBE UNDER AIII)</strong></th>
<th><strong>NEBAMUN (SCRIBE UNDER AIII)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figure 35</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 36</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 37</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenamun and Wife Receive Offerings</td>
<td>Haremhab and Mother</td>
<td>Nebamun and Mother Receive Offerings of Wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>wall relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT162</td>
<td>TT78</td>
<td>TT78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couple seated on separate thrones beside one another, face right</td>
<td>wife seated on throne, faces right, holds husband's right arm w/ her left</td>
<td>mother seated beside son, faces left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>envevloping wig</td>
<td>full wig behind, with strings of hair over shoulder</td>
<td>curled envevloping wig w/ loose strands at bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower over forehead; headband w/ 2 rows: top row: vertical rectangles w/ small squares at top. 2nd row: leaf-shape</td>
<td>flower on forehead. Simple headband (no decoration remaining)</td>
<td>lotus on forehead. Headband w/ white triangular shapes tipped w/ red. Headband wraps around 2/3 of wig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>perfume cone atop head.</td>
<td>cone of perfume atop head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>large hoops</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 necklace: 4 tiers. Top row: horizontal curved lines divided into sections by vertical rectangles. 2nd: vertical lines. 3rd: small squares alternating dark and light. Last: large leaf shapes on top of 3 curved lines</td>
<td>2 necklaces: top necklace: 7 simple rows. Bottom necklace: curved horizontal lines divided into sections by vertical double rectangles</td>
<td>1 necklace: 6 tiers: 1st 4 rows of alternating red and gold squares and blue and gold squares; 5th row of green, blue and red vertical oval color blocks on gold, final row of red and green vertical stripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>1 total, r. arm: 4 rows, no decoration</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>2-3 cuffs total: r. wrist vertical stripes, no border. L. arm below elbow: 2 rows (1 large, 1 small), w/ another line at the bottom possibly representing another bracelet</td>
<td>8 total: 3 each wrist: 2 red and blue checkered, 1 in between of vertical blue, red and green color rectangles on gold. 1 spread diagonally under each elbow, blue and red checkered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flared dress cinched at chest</td>
<td>flared dress. Bare feet</td>
<td>flared dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower in r. hand</td>
<td>bouquet of flowers in r. hand</td>
<td>feet on platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necklace is almost identical to Kenamun’s, except he wears a shebyu collar instead of the 1st 2 rows that his wife wears</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girl who provides offerings has similar diagonal armlet but different design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT162.html">http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT162.html</a></td>
<td><a href="http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT78.html">http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT78.html</a></td>
<td>MMA 30.4.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="http://www.metmuseum.org">www.metmuseum.org</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Neferronpet TT178 (Scribe of the Treasury Under RII)**

- Figure 57: Wife of Neferronpet in the Book of Gates
  - Wall painting
  - TT178
  - Standing, raises arms in adoration, faces right
  - Tripartite wig but with loose strands on bottom.
  - Two bands: one at top of head, one half-way, between which are leaf shapes covering wig. Lotus on forehead.
  - Perfume cone w/ red poppy
  - None visible
  - 1 total: 4 plain rows w/ final row of vertical lines
  - Flared dress
  - Her necklace is the same as Neferronpet's and the gods that surround them
  
  - [http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT178.html](http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT178.html)

- Figure 58: Neferronpet and Mutemwia beside the Djed Pillar
  - Wall painting
  - TT178
  - Standing, arms raised in adoration
  - Tripartite wig with loose strands
  - Multiple bands of red, green and white, reaching to half-way down her wig
  - Perfume cone and lotus
  - Possible hoops
  - 1 total: four plain rows of green and blue color blocks
  - None visible
  - None visible
  - None visible
  - Flared dress
  - Her necklace is the same as Neferronpet's and the gods that surround them

  - [http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/neferrenpet178/e_nfrnpt_05.htm](http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/neferrenpet178/e_nfrnpt_05.htm)

**Sennedjem TT1 (Mason Under RII)**

- Figure 59: Sennedjem and Wife Play Senet
  - Painted door
  - TT1 burial chamber
  - Seated, Sennedjem raises his r. arm to move a game piece while his wife clasps his arms

- Figure 60: Sennedjem and Wife Worship the Gods
  - Painted plaster
  - TT1
  - Standing beside husband, r. arm raised

- [Pemberton Treasures of the Pharaohs 161](http://www.pembertonbooks.com/treasures-pharaohs/161)
- [Robins The Art of Ancient Egypt 184](http://www.marshallrobins.com/the-art-of-ancient-egypt/184)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>IPUY TT217 (SCULPTOR UNDER RII)</strong></th>
<th><strong>DJETHYTEMHAB (GENERAL UNDER RII)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Figure 61</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 61</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children Present Offerings to Ipuy and Wife</td>
<td>Children Present Offerings to Ipuy and Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall relief</td>
<td>wall relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT217</td>
<td>TT217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife seated beside husband, facing right, receiving offerings</td>
<td>daughter stands behind brother carrying offerings, face left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ON WIFE</strong></th>
<th><strong>ON DAUGHTER</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>curled tripartite wig</td>
<td>curled tripartite wig w/ loose strands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotus and poppy on forehead. Headband</td>
<td>headband and ribbon. Lotus flower and poppy on forehead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfume cone</td>
<td>perfume cone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large dangling earring - white circle w/ blue star inset w/ multiple lines dangling to jawline</td>
<td>large dangling earring - white circle w/ blue star center, multiple lines dangling to jawline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 total: seven tiers: 1st row, long black horizontal rectangles, 2nd row, green and gold circles, 3rd row, black and green chevrons, 4th row larger blue lotus petal-shape, final layers of single color blocks (red, green, black)</td>
<td>1 total: 6 tiers: 1st row plain, 2nd row thin line of blue, 3rd row light blue petal shapes, final rows of red, green and blue color blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none visible</td>
<td>none visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 total visible: r. wrist, 1 single strand of small black and white squares and 1 single line w/ black horizontal rectangles and small white dots followed by black diamond shapes (acacia seeds); r. arm below elbow, 1 single strand w/ horizontal black rectangles and white squares and 1 single strand w/ black horizontal rectangle and small white (silver) ball beads followed by black acacia seeds</td>
<td>9 total visible, 5 on l. arm: 3 on wrist: 1 w/ black horizontal rectangles, 1 w/ small black and white squares, 1 w/ black ovals and small ball beads; 2 below elbow: 1 of black ovals and small circles, 1 w/ black striped oval followed by black acacia beads; 4 on r. arm: 2 on wrist: 1 of white circles, 1 w/ black striped oval followed by small white ovals; 2 below elbow: 1 w/ black striped oval followed by black acacia seeds, 1 of black ovals and circles</td>
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<td>flared dress, bare feet</td>
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<tr>
<td>cat beneath wife's chair, feet rest on cushion. Husband wears wedjat pendant and wedjats on both wrists. Collar is almost identical to husband except his is larger and is not detailed in 1st 3 rows. Men wear sandals.</td>
<td>holds foods offerings in l. hand, flowers in r. hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMA 30.4.114</td>
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<td>Davies Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes pl. 25</td>
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<td>Djethytemhab and Wife Worship Re- Horakhty</td>
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<td>stands beside husband, arms raised in adoration, faces right</td>
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<td>tripartite wig</td>
<td>headband of green lotus petal shapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfume cone</td>
<td>red piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large dangling earring - white circle w/ blue star inset w/ multiple lines dangling to jawline</td>
<td>gold discs bordered by green w/ green center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 total: 7 tiers: 1 row red color block, 4 rows alternating black and green color blocks, 6th row of yellow and green petal shapes, final row of red color block</td>
<td>1 total: 6 tiers: 1st row plain, 2nd row thin line of blue, 3rd row light blue petal shapes, final rows of red, green and blue color blocks</td>
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<td>4 total: 1 each below elbow: simple blue bands bordered by white. 1 each wrist: simple blue bands bordered by white</td>
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