

Contributions of the Royal Foster Mother in the Eighteenth Dynasty

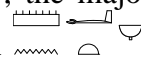
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Royal foster mother is the woman who entrusted with and care for the upbringing of the royal prince or princess in ancient Egypt; Foster mother is employed when the mother chooses not to nurse the child herself, but by the beginning of the New Kingdom in ancient Egypt i.e. the eighteenth Dynasty foster mother seems to be introduced to the royal palace to care for the royal children, presumably, for another reason, perhaps after a long and exhausted war against the Hyksos, as a result, a great number of royal family male members were died, that made the royal palace had their children foster mothers in the hope of becoming pregnant again quickly. The foster mothers who care for their children held titles showing their special relationships to the royal family. They are commonly identified by the title "royal foster mother" (*mn^ctnswt*) and "one who nurtured the god" (*šdi/šdtnt*), probably these titles go back to earlier times. A number of them held the title simultaneously and some order of seniority probably existed. The number of women who held the title was also comparatively small. The women who carried these titles have a certain prestige in that those serving in such capacities were in close proximity to the king himself. Beside these titles they held other titles; its usage appears to be evidence, along with other epithets, that they were of the highest ranking families, and reflect the influences of these women in royal court during the Eighteenth Dynasty(1532-1319 BC). Interestingly, these women who held this profession worked inside royal household. There is no available evidence refers to the criteria on which foster mothers were chosen. Were they prominent members of Egyptian society at the beginning of New Kingdom? Their tombs were excavated in the royal vicinity. Their children who shared a milk-bond with their mother's royal nursling became a unique title "foster brother/sister of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*sn/sntmn^c n nbt3wy*) which reflects an intimate relationship with the king, this title was given only to few individuals.

Although foster mothers are rarely shown in statues with their nurslings,¹ they were often prominent figures in the tombs of their husbands and sons. They appear in nursing scenes in these tombs and on stelae with their titles and epithets. Some of them even seem to have been given the high honor of burials in the Valley of the Kings. This special attention given to foster mothers suggests that they were of some importance and power in the hierarchy of the royal court. Available information on the titles of the foster mothers' family members would allow us to make inferences concerning the social status of the women who held the title "mn^ct nswt". This Study will examine the different titles held by the foster mothers and their relatives in order to define how these women acquired their positions and obtain these titles, also to examine: were these titles merely honorific or did they describe an actual relationship between the royal child and his/her foster mother. Also to determine if there any genealogical connections may have existed among these people, to what extent their relationship with the palace could influence their children and relatives' career. Eventually, how this process kept in the administration from one generation to another during the Eighteenth Dynasty. To answer these questions, the study must now focus on the textual record, it is important to collect all titles born by the foster mothers, then analyzing these titles to focus on the nature of the position of these women within the royal court. Also discussing the meaning of their titles, also the titles of their families and close relatives will be analyzed, that it may help to answer this study proposed questions concerning the royal foster mothers. The information available on Eighteenth Dynasty royal foster mother is derived from various sources, mostly funerary including tombs, funerary equipment, votive offerings, and statuary. In some cases, a great deal of information is available about a specific one; others are known from a single shawabti and stela. Foster mothers depicted on these monuments took these titles (Table 1)

The Title "Royal foster mother"

As shown in Table 1, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the majority of titles identified the royal foster mothers with the word  mn^ct, which means "to suckle."² It is usually written with the determinative of a breast or a kneeling woman suckling a child, its original meaning seems to

¹ With Exceptions that occur during the Amarna Period see C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs. 3100-320 BC*. New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980., fig. 140, p.175,

²Wb. II: 77-78.

have been "foster mother, nurse."³ In Amarna period they referred to the foster mother, who feed a child, like the sun rays nourish the plants.⁴ The idea of using the foster mother to help, or even to substitute for the natural mother of a child seems to be ancient, appearing for the first time in the Pyramid Texts, where Isis is called the mother of the king, and Nephthys is his foster mother (*mn^ct*),⁵ and a variety of other goddesses also suckled him.⁶ These texts are funerary in nature, and deal with the re-birth of the king in the afterlife, but they indicate how the Egyptians believe that certain qualities could be passed on through the milk of a woman or goddess to the child who receiving that milk, and that a close relationship was established between the foster mother and any child she suckled. In royal palace it seems that they were attached to the royal court as early as the Old Kingdom,⁷ but there are no titles identifying a specific person as the foster mother of a royal child. The same seems to be in the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, in Thirteenth Dynasty in the second part of this dynasty it seems that the foster mothers, who bore the simple title (*mn^ct*), were attached to the royal court.⁸ By the beginning of the New Kingdom and especially the eighteenth Dynasty, the title *mn^ct nswt* spread, and it seems that it has a new concept and importance in the palace; it does not seem to be an equivalent title to any of the earlier period.⁹ In the MK, the women designated by this title are sometimes

³Wb. II: 77-78.

⁴Wb. II: 77

⁵Utterance 555, § 1375.

⁶Utterance 508, § 1111, Bastet is described as having nursed the King; Utterance 548, §1344, Nut and Selket suckle the King; Utterance 565, § 1427.

⁷ The title *mn^ctp^rc3* is among the titles recorded by O. Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Columbia University, 1982, 604 & 637; the statue of *K3-pw-Pth* records the title *imy-r3stmn^ct*, W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York: J.J. Augustin, (1954), 109, n. 15.

⁸F.L. Griffith, The account papyrus no. 18 of Boulaq, *ZÄS* 29 (1981), 102-103; for the date of Dynasty 13, W.C. Hayes, Notes on the Government of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom, *JNES* 12 (1953), 38-39; CG 20018, 20057, 20350, 20426, 20435, 20441, 20457, 20516, 20580, 20581, 20607, and 20742 in H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*. 4 vols, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, v. 5, 7, 36, 78. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902-1925.

⁹Example given by W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut: American (University of Beirut, 1982). no. 800 is taken from the offering table of foster mother Ipu of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

identified as the foster mother to the owner of the stela,¹⁰ but her relationship to the other member of the family or even other figures on the stela is not known.¹¹ She was represented among other men and women without distinguishing her from the other and all of them are identified as members of the stela's owner family.¹² By the end of MK, they started to list the foster mother with her title *mn^ct.f* and her son¹³ may be they were important persons to the stela's owner or valued members in the court. In one tomb at el-Kab, the owner of the tomb depicted several foster mothers, each stands behind her nursling, or holding him in her lap, and his own foster mother is shown stands behind his chair.¹⁴

By the beginning of the New Kingdom the title *mn^ct* was given to specific women who feed the royal child.¹⁵ Sometimes they were mothers and foster mothers in the same time.¹⁶ Their importance are increased; they are depicted in scenes in equal scale like tomb or stela owner, and in most of the cases they were either owners of the tombs, or one of the close relative to the owner.¹⁷

It has been suggested that the royal foster mother in the Eighteenth Dynasty were not just a nurses for the child, but went through some sort

¹⁰ J. Garstang, *El Arabah: a cemetery of the middle kingdom; survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos; graffiti from the temple of Sety*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Publications no. 6. London: B. Quaritch, 1901. pl. 5.

¹¹ K. Dyroff, and B. Portner. *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus der deutschen Sammlung* 2: München. Strassburg: Schlesier & Schwerhardt (1904), pl. 5; E. Brunner-Traut, and H. Brunner. *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*. 2 vols. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1981. 462, pl. 10.

¹² Garstang, „*El-Arabah*“, pl. 5; Dyroff et al, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus der deutschen Sammlungen* 2, pl. 5); Taylor, Pahery. pl. 7.

¹³ E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*. 462, pl. 10; W.F. Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* / by Flinders Petrie; with chapters by Alan Gardiner, Hilda Petrie and M.A. Murray. (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian research account : 28th year, 1922). 1925, pl. 28; E. Guest, "Women's Titles in the Middle Kingdom," *Ancient Egypt* 2 (1926), 50.

¹⁴ W.B. Berend, *Principaux Monuments du Musée de Florence*, première Partie: Steles. Bas-reliefs et Fresques. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882. 1, 2557, pl. 8.

¹⁵ P. Lacau, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* [vol. 81] N° 34065-34189 *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* T.1 Fasc 2 (1957), 205 (CG 34116); Berend, „*Principaux Monuments*“ 1, 2557, pl. 8.

¹⁶ B. Bruyère, Un fragment de fresque de Deir el Médineh, *BIFAO* 22 (1923), 126, fig. 3.

¹⁷ W. Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Haifa zwicks Abschluss der Materialsammlung für meinen Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft 2). Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1927 pl. 36; the name of Senetnay was mentioned in more than three tombs, Davies argued that her tomb was to be in the Valley of the Kings.

of ceremonial adoption, by offering her breast to the child,¹⁸ particularly when the husband of the foster mother has some clear connection with the nursling royal child of his wife, as they depicted in most of the reliefs of their tombs. In one example a foster mother and her husband were involved in the process of upbringing the royal child; the foster mother of Princess Tiaa (daughter of Tuthmosis IV), Meryt and her husband Sobekhotep the tutor to Prince Amenhotep III.

Other titles of the foster mother's family and their significance

Looking to the titles which the foster mothers in the Eighteenth Dynasty bore, beside the first and main title "*mn^cnswt*" there are other titles such as *šdt/šdintr*, like "*mn^c*", the primary meaning of "*šdi*" is "to suckle."¹⁹ These titles appear for the first time in Eighteenth Dynasty, the women who bore the title of *mn^ctwrt* also given the title *šdntr*, may have been an indication that they were foster mother of the reigning king. (Table. 1)

In three cases only the title „foster sister/brother“ was occurred; Nebetta, Kenamun and Mutnofret, the title is always abbreviated; the word *mn^c* is written only with the breast determinative.

Four cases bore the title "royal ornament" (*hkrtnswt*) three were „Chantress of Amun" (*šm^cytnl^mn*), and Meryt was "chief of the harem of SobekShedty" (*wrt n hnrtsbkšdty*), a title she probably either inherited through her family or it may have indicate her provenance, especially her husband's title as "high priest of Sobek.", that make the family connected to Fayoum. It is notable that the title (*mn^ctwrtntnbt3wy*), is used only by foster mothers of Amenhotep II, this title is held by Baky, Neith, Hunay and mother of Kaemheribsen, seems to be honorific. Some titles were awarded to specific individuals, the reason for such titles is not known, nevertheless, most of these titles show an association with the court or a specific places related to the royal court, like Kenamun's titles and epithets²⁰ "given/made as a favor by the king", "who is in the heart of his king," "who is in the heart of the lord of the two lands"²¹ thus the official who held such titles were most likely has a close relationship to and entrusted by the king, as their related titles suggest. Likewise the title of "high priest of Amun" is honorific;

¹⁸ G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*. 2. *Les premières mêlées des peuples*, (Paris : Hachette, 1897) , 487.

¹⁹ Wb. IV:564-565.

²⁰ Kenamun is the son of Amenemopet or Kenamun's mother, the foster mother of Amenhotep II.

²¹ For all titles and epithets of Kenamun see H. Wild, "Contributions à l'iconographie et à la titulature de Qen-Amon," *BIFAO*56 (1957), pp. 203-237, 233.

presumably it was awarded to some officials rather than their positions due to the family's court connection.

Approaching to the topic of official progress, it must be first considered the different ways in which an office could be acquired. In spite of being many possibilities, four basic factors suggested themselves: appointment, heredity, influence, and merit. In reality there are many cases in which more than one of these factors involved. The question that must be raised is which factor played the stronger role for a given official? Interestingly, the ancient Egyptians themselves used several terms to express these factors: *iri* 'to make, act (as)',²² *rdi* 'to place, appoint (as, to)',²³ *shnt* 'to advance, promote',²⁴ and *dhn* 'to appoint'.²⁵

Appointing by the king

In ancient Egypt, in times of powerful kingship,²⁶ the king was the apex of the administrative hierarchy;²⁷ he is responsible for appointing all officials,²⁸ he could also remove any official from his office.²⁹ In

²² Wb.I: 109, 26-31.; *Urk.* I: 106.9; R.O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, (Oxford., 1999)., p.26, no.3; *Urk.* IV: 545.7; *Urk.* IV: 1112, 9.

²³ Wb. II: 466, 13; 467, 26, 37-8; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p.154f.

²⁴ Wb. IV: 255, 12-17; 256, 1-2, 9; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p.242f; *Urk.* VII: 66.12.

²⁵ Wb.V:479, 6-11,18; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p.315

²⁶ W. Helck, "Amtseinsetzung." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, § 227-228. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1975. 227.

²⁷ B.J. Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Second Intermediate Period, c. 2686-1552 BC." In B.G. Trigger, et al, eds., *Ancient Egypt: a Social History* (Cambridge, 1983). Reprint, 1999. pp. 71-182, esp. 71-85, 96-112.

²⁸ R.J. Leprohon, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East (CANE)*, ed. Jack Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Macmillan Library Reference USA, Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995), 1, 273-277; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 10; D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Probleme der Ägyptologie, 9 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995); D. Silverman, "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship," 70-72, 83-84; W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sakralkönigtum nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, (München; Berlin, 1975) 22-29; ; O.D. Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt." in D.W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. East Glouster, (MA, 1981), pp. 367-369.

²⁹ W. Helck, "Amtsverlust." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1975 §231-232. An example of this situation appears in the text on Cairo stela 30770 from Coptos, which removed a man from his office in the temple of Min by order of the king, Nebkheperre Intef (V) of the Seventeenth Dynasty, W. M. F Petrie, *Koptos. (London, Quaritch, 1896)*, 10, pl. VIII; J.H. Breasted *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols. Urbana and Chicago: (University of Illinois Press, 2001). vol. I, §778; E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 33. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967. 25-26, no. 13.

biographical texts, appointment by the king was one of the main elements that determine the career of a high official.³⁰ Many examples dated to different periods of the ancient Egyptian history;³¹ from the Old kingdom,³² the Middle Kingdom,³³ In reality, the king appointed mainly the high officials, such as priests of Amun, vizier, treasurer,³⁴ then those high officials in turn, assigning their own helpers.³⁵ Biographical texts indicate that the king promoted or appointed an official for his good

³⁰ D.A. Warburton, "Officials," In: D. Redford, (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol.2, 576-583. Oxford: (Oxford University Press, 2001), 576; W. Helck "Amtseinsetzung." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, § 227-228. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975. 227; M. Lehner, "Fractal House of Pharaoh," in: T.A. Kohler and G.J. Gumerman (ed.), *Dynamics in Human and Primate Societies: Agent-Based Modeling of Social and Spatial Processes*, (Oxford University Press, 2000).

³¹ J. Richards, "Text and Context in late Old Kingdom Egypt: The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder." *JARCE* 39 (2002): 75-102. p. 90.

³² D. Silverman, "The Threat-Formula and Biographical Text in the Tomb of Hezi at Saqqara." *JARCE* 37 (2000): 1-13 ; N. Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara Northwest of Teti's Pyramid*, vol. 1 (Sidney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1984), p. 8-9; A. Gnirs, "Die ägyptische Autobiographie." In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by Antonio Loprieno, 191-241. New York: E.J. Brill, 1996, p. 219-241.

³³ W. Schenkel, "Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens," in *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Bd.12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), 236-238; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 50-51.

³⁴ W.F. Edgerton, "The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire," *JNES* 6, 1947 pp. 152-60; W.C. Hayes, "The Civil Service," in: I.E.S. Edwards (ed.), *Cambridge Ancient History* II, Pt.1, Sect. 8, Ch. 9 (CAH), London: (Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.353-372; Helck, *LÄ* I, 226-32, 672-5; D. O'Connor, in: *CANE* I, pp.319-29; R.J. Leprohon, in: *CANE* I, pp.273-87; Warburton, "Officials," Vol.2, pp.576-83; T. Wilkinson, "State," in: D.Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 3, New York, Oxford: (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.314-19; E. Pardey, "Administration: Provincial Administration," in: D. Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol.1, New York, Oxford: (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.16-20; B. Haring, "Administration: Temple Administration," in: D. Redford, (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol.1, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp.20-3.

³⁵ G. P. F. van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London: Paul Kagan International, 1988), 310ff ; R.L. Jasnow, "Egypt: Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook and R.L. Jasnow, *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Near and Middle East* 72/1-2 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), I, 270; ; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 21; Shirley, "Culture of Officialdom," 35. D. Doxey, "Priesthood," in: D.B. Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2, vol. 3, 68.

deeds.³⁶ Kenamun, the son of the foster mother Amenemopet, commemorates the event of his appointment as (*imy-r3prwr n prw-nfr*) “the chief steward of Perunefer” during the reign of king Amenhotep II, by depicting it in his tomb,³⁷ whatever the location of Perunefer is, this place would have been of great importance and Kenamun would have given prominence by Amenhotep II to appoint him as its steward, as Kenamun was the foster brother of king Amenhotep II. There are examples of foster mother’s husband who held important office most probably because of his wife’s position; Baky’s husband Amenemhab, Pehsukher husband of Neith, and Aye husband of Tiy, they have given their wives unusual prominence in their tombs, presumably because of their importance and it reflecting the role of these women in the advancement of their husband’s careers. Paser the lector-priest of Amun was the son of the vizier Amenemopet, he may have gained his office into the Amun temple through his uncle Sennefer, who held several high-level administrative titles connected to the Amun precinct in Thebes.³⁸ Such a high level office was acquired by appointment of the king, but the influence of the parental uncle of Paser cannot be ignored.

Heredity

It is well known among Scholars that the ideal heir in ancient Egypt for both a man’s property and his office was his son, mostly the eldest son,³⁹ although this eldest son can actually be any child and not only the eldest one.⁴⁰ The mythology of the gods Osiris and Horus certainly could have served as a kind of model of royal succession, the son following his father on the throne.⁴¹ This model likely was the ideal for all of Egyptian society

³⁶J.J. Shirley, *The Culture of Officialdom: An examination of the acquisition of offices during the mid-18th Dynasty.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2005.35-36.; Gnirs "*Die ägyptische Autobiographie,*" 191-241 especially 219ff.

³⁷ N.deG. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (PMMA5), 2 vols., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930. I, 13.

³⁸ S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Houses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie* (SAK Beihefte 7), Hamburg: Buske, 2000., no.502.

³⁹ Shirley, *"Culture of Officialdom,"* 45-46, 59; S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove Press, 1960) 42-50;

⁴⁰G. Mattha and G. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*, Bibliothèque d'étude (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1975), 39, 115-117, 123.

⁴¹M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature.* 3 vols. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973. vol. II, 214-223; Silverman, "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship," 54

and not only for the king and his successor.⁴²In biographical texts, the two factors; heredity and appointment are often overlapped; In his text the official states “while in my youth, when the king appoints a man to his office, when a man descends into the place of his father.”⁴³

In eighteenth Dynasty, foster mother of the royal children were honored in Egyptian society, families of foster mothers wanted to keep its titles within the family, the family members were flexible in their methods of doing so. In summary, thus, a possible scenario is the following:

- The mother died when her daughter was in an appropriate age to take over her work.
- The foster mother eldest daughter succeeded her maternal grandmother because she was of the right age and experience, while her mother was still fulfilling the duties of her own position.

The family of Nebtta and Taiune presents a good example of heredity among the family member; it seems that Taiune took her own way in the royal court through her mother’s ties with the king and the royal court. Amenemopet took the position after his father, Amenemopet's father AhmoseHumaywho was the tutor of Amenhotep II. In some cases, the ancestry of a the foster mother is known, and the heredity of the office can be seen in three cases; three foster mothers: Taiunet, daughter of the foster sister Nebetta; Renen, daughter of the tutor Senneferi; and Shertj, daughter of the tutor Minmose, Sennefer the Mayor of Thebes, started his own career by following his father’s career as overseer of priests of Horus lord of Gesy; Qus, then, because of his skills and abilities, he even risen beyond his father. They were all of blood relations to foster mothers or tutors of the kings, and it is quite likely that they obtained their position through their mothers or grandmothers. Unfortunately, no documents show up in which the transfer of an office from father to son is written.

An important question rise here: how were these women chosen? One of the earliest examples of foster mother is Teti-hemet, she was related to Tetiky as one of his relative and was depicted in his tomb. Helck suggests that this family had a blood relationship with Queen Tetishery, if

⁴²H. Willems, *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la Démocratie: Éléments d'une histoire culturelle du Moyen Empire égyptien*. Paris: Cybelle, 2008., 196-203, 214-228.

⁴³M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 84. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988., 50-51; Schenkel, "Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens," 236-238.

Helck suggestion is right, this might be an indication that foster mothers were originally drawn from the members who have blood relations with the royal family. This also might help to explain why the daughter of the foster mother Ipu of Tuthmosis III became his wife.

Influence

“Influence,” is a way through which an official receives his position by virtue of being, or his family, related to a person in power or through friendship with such a person. Thus, although the family may play an essential role helping their members in acquiring office through influence, the concept of father-to-son succession (heredity) is different from that of the influence; it is not based on the line of blood descent.

Unfortunately, influence unlike the other categories of relationship, it does not appear in biographical texts to define how one obtained an office, there are two types of influence has been practiced the first “direct influence,” in which the influence of one of the family member who was able to appoint his relative himself,⁴⁴ The second type “indirect influence,” which means an official has close relations with the king and by using this relation and influence; he afforded to promote his own children or other relatives.⁴⁵ The indirect influence might also include having an elder relative who had close ties to the king or the royal court, whose children gained unexplained higher level set of offices than their elder relative had obtained.⁴⁶ A good example for this kind of influence appears in the cases of royal foster mothers of the Eighteenth Dynasty in which the foster mothers may have had an exceptional level of influence over her children’s career. Nebtta the foster sister of king Tuthmosis I; it seems that she played an essential role in her two sons positions, not only her sons but the first generation of the family also acquire their positions according to a direct line of descent (Fig. 1): nebttta was the mother of: Hapu “the ensign of his majesty” and his brother Menkheperresonb “the high priest of Amun” whose nephew, Menkheperresonb, named for his paternal uncle, grandson of Nebtta and the son of Taiunethe foster mother of Amenhotep II, succeeded his uncle in the office of “high priest of Amun”. although there is no indication how and when he began his career, but it seems that he worked his way up to the position of the high priest of Amun within the cultic personnel of the Amun precinct. In addition, though it cannot be demonstrated for certain, hekanefer, his

⁴⁴ Shirley, "Culture of Officialdom," 50.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 50-51.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 46-47

nephew's husband may have also followed him to the priestly office. (Fig. 1) It looks as though brothers and nephews succeeded to priestly positions; two generations of high priests were found in the same family. Although there is no reference to the mother of Nebtta, but her title as foster sister of king Tuthmosis I ascertain that she was daughter of a foster mother of king Tuthmosis I, unfortunately her name is not known. In his tomb, Menkheperresonb depicted his mother and his paternal grandmother Nebtta, who may have been honored by her grandson partly because of the good affluence that her position with the royal family brought to him and his family. All These cases ascertain how a mother's relationship with the king can lead to benefits for her sons and relatives.

Another family is the family of Amenemopet, the mother of Kenamun , and her husband the mayor of Thinis (Fig. 2). From the inscriptions preserved on the monuments related to this family, there is evident that Kenamun stood very high in the favor of Amenhotep II, as he stressed on that in his Theban tomb TT 93 that located in Sheikh Abd e l-Qurna cemetery. The mother of Kenamun gives us another example of this case, one find the family influence on its children' career; her son's titles, which appears in his tomb were very rare; these titles could be held by a local ruler.⁴⁷ Such a connection with royal family implies that father of Kenamun may have been in charge of the same position, or may has been carried out related tasks. However, Kenamun was able to gain unprecedented positions and titles⁴⁸ through being "foster brother", close to the king; he may have received his education at the royal palace as well. In addition, Kenamun eventually became a chief of the Perunefer.⁴⁹ His brother Kaemheribsen was the "third prophet of Amun",

⁴⁷ W.A.Ward, *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a glossary of words and phrases*, Beirut., p. 10.

⁴⁸ Kenamun had more than 150 titles, For his titles and many positions see H. Wild, "Contributions a l'inconographie et a la titulature de Qen-Amon," *BIFAO* 56(1957), 233ff; W. Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. Ägyptischen Dynastie* (UGAÄ 14), Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1939, 37-38

⁴⁹ Davies suggests that Peunefer was a pleasure palace of Amenhotep II and perhaps of his father, references to this place indicate that it began as a dockyard where boats were built for Tuthmosis III, see S.R. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056: Part I," *ZÄS* 66 (1931), p. 109; S.R. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056: Part II. Commentary," *ZÄS* 68 (1932), pp. 29-30; Wild suggests that Perunefer was located near Memphis and was a semi-military establishment where war ships were built see H. Wild, "Contributions a l'inconographie

whose wife and two daughters were the “chantress of Amun”,⁵⁰ the whole family had titles reflect both factors of influence and lineage in how the offices of high priest of Amun and chantress of Amun were granted. Amenemopet's appointment as vizier seems to be emphasizing his family's close relation with the king; he was the son of AhmoseHumayand cousin of Sennefer.⁵¹ These relations may have had an influence on his position and may have also assisted him to obtain his tomb in the Valley of the Kings not far from the tomb of the king he served. In turn, the situation of Senetnay's family also appears similar (Fig. 3), Senetnay may have been held the position perhaps through her husband's maternal cousin Amenemopet the vizier of Amenhotep II and again her daughter Mutnofretary took the title foster sister to the same king.

Merit

Merit is the idea of gaining a position through proving one's skills and ability, Thus position gained is based on one's ability and skills rather than his familial influence or other social ties, will be the most straight forward reason for gaining a position.⁵² However, the question that raised and must be asked: was it possible for individuals to be appointed in an office and career through their own skills and abilities? In reality, the decision maker was the king, and his advisors such as the vizier, the treasurer, and possibly royal tutors.⁵³ Thus the official's abilities and skills would be demonstrated to the decision makers and reported. It is important to mention that it is difficult to determine whether or not there was a single factor behind an official's prominence, because in some cases an overlap may exist between these different factors, and it may be difficult to determine, rather than inventing of several paths to office; as merit can be combined with family influence that help the individual to start his career, then his meritorious and experience enable him to rise to prominence.⁵⁴

et a la titulature de Qen-Amon," *BIFAO* 56 (1957), pp. 203-237, p. 229. He also suggests that it was a trading center with the Syrians in times of peace.

⁵⁰About the Chantress of Amun and its important role, see S.L. Onstine, *The Role of The Chantress (šmꜣyt) in Ancient Egypt*, (University of Toronto, 2001).

⁵¹AhmoseHumay was the tutor of Amenhotep II and Sennefer was the Mayor of Thebes and husband of Senetnay the foster mother of Amenhotep II. (Fig. 3)

⁵²*Oxford English Dictionary*, Third edition 2010; online version Nov. 2010, “merit, n.” entries I.1.b and II 4c

⁵³van den Boorn, “*Duties of the Vizier*”, pp.313 ff., 344 ff.

⁵⁴Lichtheim, “*Autobiographies*”, 91; A. Blackman, "The Stele of Thethi, Brit. Mus. No. 614." *JEA* 17, no. 1/2 (1931): 55-61. W.K. Simpson; R.K. Ritner; V. A. Tobin, and E.F. Wente, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, 415.

Of about twenty-eight women are classified as foster mothers during the Eighteenth Dynasty, only half of them, whom we know about their husbands. From the title of the husband we know that they held important positions in the court or different professions, however there is no reason to conclude that a foster mother was generally chosen because of her husband's position. The titles of foster mother's son or husband may give indications about the role she played in gaining their offices and positions. The coming examination of their husbands and sons 'careers during the Eighteenth Dynasty, may help to identify the possible means and factors in obtaining such offices through remaining records of different epochs.(Table. 2)

Titles of Foster mother's family and their significance:

After discussing the means and several ways, which these people took to achieve their aims of succession to the office, the following, is a brief analyses of titles of those relatives for whom it can be shown that they attained their titles and positions through their blood relationship with the foster mother of the king.

Administrative titles

The earliest main title indicating that a person was working close to the king and reflect his administrative prominence is *ssnswt* "royal scribe" and *sš* "scribe" which continued in all ancient Egyptian periods, *lmy-r3k3wtbnb*, overseer of all works, remarkably most of the administrative titles related to treasury : *imy-r3pr hd* "overseer of the treasury", *imy-r3sd3t* "treasurer" *imy-r3prwynwb* "overseer of the two houses of gold" , *imy-r3iptnswt* "Overseer of the royal counting -house, *hmtw bity* seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, *Idnwimy-rAsDA* "Deputy of the Treasurer", "overseer of the of the north and the south" (*imy-r3hmwntnswšm^cw t3-hmw*) one of the scenes in the tomb of Kenamun shows him receiving the assessment of taxes of live stock from the Delta. Some titles were A provincial administrative as; *hry-tpimy-r3šm^cw* chief overseer of the southern district, *h3ty^c n tny* "Mayor of Thisis", *imy-r3niwt* "Mayor of Thebes", *h3ty-^c n šbkšdy* "Mayor of the Fayum". A new administrative titles was introduced to the court like "*hrd n K3p^c*",⁵⁵ "child who is in the forces" and *nt^r* "the god's father", why these two titles were awarded to specific individuals is not known, however, since most hold titles that show an earlier association with the Residence, they were most likely known to and trusted by the king, as the function of their court titles suggest. Many of the sons of foster mothers held other administrative

⁵⁵ W. Helck, "Militarführer in der 18", 34

titles to Amun cult such as "steward of Amen" (*lmy-r3pr n 'Imn*), "overseer of the cattle of Amen" (*imy-r3ihw n 'Imn*), "overseer of the granaries of Amen" (*imy-r3šnwtj n 'Imn*), "overseer of the fields of Amen". Perhaps this may indicate the intentions of some kings to control this powerful priesthood office by appointing people with whom he have particularly close relations.

Agricultural titles

Dealing with agricultural titles in general, A comparable titles were held by three senior officials; Kenamun, Mery and Sennefer they bore titles like: *im.y-r3 3h.(w)t* 'overseer of the fields', and the most commonly recorded agricultural titles is "overseer of the cattle of Amun" (*imy-r3ihw n 'Imn*), also "overseer of the granary" "*imy-r3 n šnwtj n 'Imn*".

Priestly titles

The title *im.yr3hm(.w)-ntr* „overseer of priests“ was first attested in the OK, and lasted in the New Kingdom, it seems that in the Eighteenth Dynasty the title could be honorific and was enlarged to become “overseer of prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt” (*imy-r3hmwntrnwšm^cw t3-mhw*) held by Mery the son of Hunay, the title may imply for the cult duties which was often an important part of the administration. Most of these titles dated to the reign of Amenhotep II. Unsurprisingly, Amun was the main deity in the majority of the priestly titles; there were other titles of duties naming local deity of provinces; like and Osiris. Among other gods named in the titles were:

- Horus Lord of Qus, was named in the title of Senetnay's husband Sennefer
- SobekShedty, named in the title of Paser son of Meryt
- Osiris, named in one title of Hekanefer the son of Nebtkabeny

The Name of the provincial god which occurred frequently in titles of high officials at the provinces, probably related to cult activities. Interestingly the names of gods were rarely used in the names of the foster mothers or their relatives, there are only some few cases in which the name of the national gods Re or Amun used in their names and when it occurs perhaps indicative of the high official's local dignity. Certain titles supporting the power and the influences of the senior officials in the court from the Old Kingdom were still in use, these titles were important in the Old Kingdom, its important lasted in the Eighteenth Dynasty; for instance the title *htm^w-bity* „seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt“ was well known by the reign Pepy I and was held by many officials in the MK

and is still in use in the titles of the sons of foster mothers. Other titles are commonly granted titles; such titles were *“im.y-r3ḥmw-ntr* “overseer of priests”. Titles born by the sons appear more frequently related to priestly titles than others, in the cases of transferring the titles down through generations of a family. Somewhat frequent, though less than the preceding titles, were titles that relate to the administration and priest functions, other titles that relate to the army is of a less important for these families.

Conclusion

Foster mothers were prominence figures in their husband's tombs,⁵⁶ some of a great significance; they were represented while receiving honors from the royal family or even in a larger scale than that of the king himself. In fact, one cannot ignore the prominent role these women played; their depiction implies that they are most prominent female figures in the Egyptian society after the female members of the royal family. Each time they represented their names is recorded in a text, or their image appears in a scene, their titles „great foster mother, who nurtured the God“ are recorded, and it seems probable that their position as foster mothers of the royal children is responsible for their importance.

The cemetery of the southern half of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, where most of the tombs of foster mothers were excavated, may justify their importance and influences in the royal court that made the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty ordered to dig their tombs into the royal vicinity, the area that is occupied by tombs of the foster mothers and their relatives.

It seems evidently through many titles held by the sons of the foster mothers that they would have had close relationship with any child she suckled; most of their titles have religious functions.⁵⁷ Helck draws attention to the connection between the priesthood and the mayoralty during the Eighteenth Dynasty, viewing the priestly role as enhancing that of the mayor.⁵⁸ That may explain why most of foster mother’s sons dominate the offices of priesthood hierarchy while their husbands that of the administrative offices in different towns (Fig.4-5).

In some cases, it is difficult to determine what influence the foster mother’s position had on her relatives’ career. For example Senetnay and her husband Sennefer who is thought to have been Mayor of Thebes for

⁵⁶Especially Baky, Neit and Tiy.

⁵⁷ See Table.3 for the titles of the sons of the foster mothers.

⁵⁸Helck, “*Verwaltung*,” 220-1

most of the reign of Amenhotep II, but there is no indication, when he exactly gained this position, or when he gave it up, either through death or retirement. An interesting question, in this concern, is which member of the family gained the position first? It is difficult to answer such a question as it would depend on many factors; the first and the important of which, is to know the date of obtaining the office for each member, and that, in many cases, is difficult and unclear. Presumably, in some cases, the husband may have been given charge to the office partly through the influence of his wife. In other cases, possibly, the husband already was in his position having shown his skills and abilities during his work and that he would have been appointed or used his influence to appoint his wife, who might have been chosen to nurse the king's son later, partly through the influence of her husband.

Titles and positions could pass to both husbands and sons, as well as to brothers and relatives, and that they could be sold. The families of the foster mother fall into three categories, as follow: I. Lineal family possessing the same titles like his parents, II. Family members possessing related titles, III. Members possessing titles unrelated to or advanced beyond those of their Family (Fig.1-3). In many cases, the titles of foster mothers seem to run in families for two or more generations. Remarkably, after analyzing the titles of the foster mother's husbands and sons it is obvious that they dominated the titles that related to administrative or religious offices; mostly the mayor of Thinis, the high priests of Amun and other titles related to agriculture, rarely have the relatives of these people military titles.(Fig. 4-5)

There are four factors that affect obtaining the offices among foster mother family in the Eighteenth Dynasty: appointment, heredity, influence, and merit.⁵⁹ These four factors can be applied to all the periods of ancient Egypt, though each is either more or less accessible through different periods. One can assume that they were originally chosen upon their blood relationship, skills, ability and heredity then be appointed by the king.

Surprisingly a great number connected to Amenhotep II, although the number cannot be precise, and the exact number of the foster mothers of Amenhotep II is not clear.

The representation of an adult holding a child showing this type of intimacy between royal adults and their children are relatively rare. Such intimacy between a non-royal adult and a royal child is not depicted in

⁵⁹ Shirley, "Culture of Officialdom," 33-54, 59-432.

Egyptian art except for the foster mothers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Scenes that depict a foster mother holding a royal child, the woman is always shown with one hand to her breast as though preparing to suckle her nursling, whether child or adult. In several scenes she is actually shown suckling the prince or princess in addition to the title "foster brother/sister" to support the idea that the royal foster mother actually suckled her nursling for some period of time. Some epithets seems to be honorific and granted to them like "one whose two arms embraced the Good God, whose breast was united with Horus, mistress of a tomb upon the west of Thebes,"⁶⁰ "one sweet of breast, "one praised of the Good God",⁶¹ who suckles healthfully, chief nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, royal ornament. "⁶²

⁶⁰*Urk.* IV: 921.1-3.

⁶¹*Urk.* IV: 913.5-8.

⁶²*Urk.* IV: 920.10-15

Table 1: Titles of foster mothers

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
1	Rey ⁶³	„mn ^c tnthmtnt ^r “	Foster mother of the God's wife	Foster mother of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari	unkown
2	Teti-hemet ⁶⁴	“mn ^c tšdttti-ḥmt” ⁶⁵	The queen's Foster mother, Tetihemet”	Foster mother of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari	Tetiky
3	Tinet-iunet ⁶⁶	“mn ^c tnswt”	Royal Foster mother Tinet-iunet”	Foster mother of Prince Ahmose Son of King Ahmose I	Satepihu Mayor of Thisis; Ipu daughter
4	Nebetia ⁶⁷	“šntmn ^c n nbtšwyNbt- tšmš ^c hrw” ⁶⁸	Foster Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands	Foster Sister of Thutmosis I	Menkheperresonb Grandson TT 112; TT 86 Sheikh Abd el-Quma; Tadidites ⁶⁹ wife of Hekanefer ⁷⁰

⁶³ G. Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*. Cairo:IFAO, 1909. pp.4-7, pls. 5-6; G.Smith, *The Royal Mummies*: IFAO (Cairo, 1912), pp. 11-13, pls. 6 and 8.

⁶⁴ H. Carter and E. Carnarvon, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes* (London, 1912), pp. 14-21, pls. I-XII.

⁶⁵ N. de G. Davies, "The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (no. 15)," *JEA* 11 (1915), pp.10-18 pl. II.

⁶⁶ A. Mariette, *Catalogue General des Monuments d'Abvdos Decouverts Pendant les Fouilles de Cette Ville*. (Paris, 1880), pp 393-94; P. Lacau, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire [vol. 81] N° 34065-34189 Stèles du Nouvel Empire T.1 Fasc 2* (1957), pp. 127-29, pl. XLI.

⁶⁷ H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I and II. (Gluckstadt, 1935, 1952), I, p. 189,19; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Menkheperresonb. Amenmose and Another* (nos. 86.112. 42.226). (*The Theban Tomb Series*, vol. 5). (London, 1933). pl. 24.

⁶⁸ Mentioned on many monuments; on the funerary cones of Hekanefer, where his wife Tadidites is described as "daughter of the foster sister of the Lord of the Two Lands" see Davies, *Menkheperresonb*. p.13, n. 4 and p. 15, n. 3; N. de G. Davies; L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*. (Oxford, 1957), nos. 393 & 394.

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
5	Neferiah ⁷¹	„mn ^c twrt“; “mn ^c tnswtwrt” ⁷²	Chief foster mother Chief [royal] foster mother	Foster mother of Thutmosis II	P u y e m r e second priest of Amun, husband Puya
6	Sitre ⁷³ called Int ⁷⁴	“mn ^c twrt; „šdtmbt t3wy“; “šdtntj” ⁷⁵	The chief foster mother nurtured the Lady of the Two Lands One who nurtured the god	Foster mother of Hatshepsut	
7	Ipu ⁷⁶	„mn ^c twrt“; “šdtntj”	The chief foster mother who nurtured the God	Foster mother of Thutmosis III	her daughter Queen Sitiah ⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Davies, *Menkheperresonb.* p. 13, n. 4 and p. 15, n. 3.

⁷⁰ W^cb-priest of the royal k3 of TuthmosisIII inHenket-ankh (the king's mortuary temple).

⁷¹ H. Ranke, *PNI*, p. 194.6.

⁷² N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes*. 2 vols, (Egyptian Expedition Publications: Robb de PeysterTytus Memorial Series, vols. 2-3.) New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, (London , 1922) Egypt Exploration Society, 1933., pl. 6.

⁷³ B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, Ltd., 1951. pl. 1273, E. von. Bergmann, "InchriftlicheDehkmaler der SammlungägyptischerAlterthumer des osterreichischenKaiserhauses," *Rec.Trav.* 9 (1887), pp. 32-63, p. 49; K..Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischenAltertumsIV:Urkunden der 18.Dynastie* hefts 1-16. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-1909).p. 241; H. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri.*(New York: MacMillan Co., 1942) pp. 336-7. Cairo JE 56264; C.H. Roehrig, in: A.K. Capel and G.E. Markoe (ed.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 17 fig. 8b.

⁷⁴ H. Winlock "The Egyptian Expedition 1927-1928: The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *BMMA* 23, December, 1928, part II, pp. 14, 20.

⁷⁵ According to this title, it seems that Hatshepsut herself was a king when Sitre's burial equipment was prepared.

⁷⁶ Is mentioned only once, on an offering table from Abydos inscribed for her daughter Queen Sitiah, see CG 23034. A. Mariette, *Abvdos: Description des Monuments Provenant des FouillesExecuteesur l'Emplacement de Cette Ville* I & II. (Paris: ImprimerieNationale, 1869-1880) .II, pl. 53 [b]; A. Kamal, *Tables d'Offrandes I.* (CG 46). Cairo, IFAO, 1909, p. 27, pl. 14; *Urk.* IV: 604 (194) ; *PM* V (1937), p. 52.; Ranke, *PNI*, p. 393.S

⁷⁷ *Urk.* IV: 604; CG 23202.

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
8	Taiunet ⁷⁸	<i>mn^ctnswt</i> , “šdtntr; “šm ^c ytnlImn” ⁷⁹	Royal foster mother who nurtured the God Chantress of Amun	Foster mother of Thutmosis III	son Menkheperresonb; Amenemhat; Her father was the equally "enseign" (<i>smn</i>) Hapu, Nebetta had the title "foster sister"
9	Renen ⁸⁰	“mn ^c t n s3tnswt” šm ^c ytnlImn”	Foster mother of the King's daughter"; Chantress of Amun” ⁸¹	Foster mother of a Daughter of Thutmosis III	Husband deputy of the treasurer, scribe" (<i>idnwimy-r3sd3tsš</i>) Amenhotp; father Senneferi “Tutor of Princess Neferure ” ⁸² <i>imy-r3prwrmn^c ns3tnswt</i> ⁸³

⁷⁸ Davies, *Menkheperresonb.* pp.18-26, pl. 25.

⁷⁹ Davies, *Menkheperresonb.* pl. 23; 25.

⁸⁰ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 224.(14), the only example for the name from the tomb TT C 3 is cited.

⁸¹K. Piehl, *Inscriptions hieroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte* 3eme serie, vol. III. (Leipzig, 1895-1903).p. 111, pls. X, CXLII – CXLIII. the title was obviously associated with the religious hierarchy, women who held this title has been shown during the New Kingdom the participated in religious celebrations and rites including processions, daily temple rituals, and the HebSed-festival ceremony. This association with the religious life also had its political implications.

⁸² Ch. Meyer, *Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung* HÄS 2. (Hamburg, 1982), Reviewed by F. Peter in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 42, no. 3/4 (1985), cols. 295-302. p. 141; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, Probleme der Ägyptologie, 2). (Leiden, Brill, 1958), p. 362; P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of NE and Civilizations, (University of Chicago, 1985), pp. 151-152, 214.

⁸³ The text on the statue of BM 1513, see H. Hall, "The Statues of Sennemut and Menkheperre'senb in the British Museum," *JEA* 14 (1928), pp. 1-2. pl. 1; Meyer, *Senenmut*, pp. 112-120; Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, pp. 148-150; For the text, see H. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts on Stela, in the British Museum VII.* (London, 1925).5, pl. 29.

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	Relatives
10	Amenemopet(?) ⁸⁴ ; qenamun's Mother ⁸⁵	„mn ^c twrt”; “šdt ḥ ^c w ntr ^c “	The chief Foster mother”; Who nurtured the god” ⁸⁶	Foster mother of Amenhotep II	Kenamun; Pehsukher the "fan bearer."; Kaemheribsen ⁸⁷ her son
11	The Mother of Kaemheribsen ⁸⁸	mn ^c twrt	The chief nurse;	Foster mother of Amenhotep II	
12	Hunay ⁸⁹	“mn ^c twrt n nbt3wy“	Chief nurse of the lord of the two lands” ⁹⁰	Amenhotep II	Mery the second high priest of Amun, "seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt" “ḥtmwbity” ⁹¹

⁸⁴ This name is suggested by N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*. 2 vols. (Egyptian Expedition Publications, vol. 5), (New York, 1930), p. 51

⁸⁵ PN I, 27.18; PM 2.1 pp. 190-194; plan p. 186; Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*. pl. 51

⁸⁶ Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, p. 51.

⁸⁷ PN I, p. 338.2; Davies, *Ken-Amun*. pp. 39; 19, n. 3; Helck, *Verwaltung*.p. 366; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im Agyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953) p. 46; his tomb A. Fakhry, "Le Tombeau de a Thebes, *ASAE* 34 (1934), pp. 83-86, in his tomb he was described as "born of the chief nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, praised of the good god, Unfortunately, the foster mother's name is not even partially preserved.

⁸⁸ A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 34 (1934), pp. 83-86; PM II, p. 204.

⁸⁹ The name is derived from the tomb of her son Mery (TT 95, see PN I, p. 160.1. G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Pretres d'Amon de Karnak Jusqu'a la XXIe Dynastie*. (Paris, 1929).pp. 91-94; pp. 235-237; For the text *Urk.* IV: 1570-1571; PM II, pp 195-196, plan. p. 176; LDIII 278.

⁹⁰ *Urk.* IV: 1571.11.

⁹¹ *Urk.* IV: 1570-1571; G. Daressy, *Receuil de cones funeraires*. (MMAF 8) (Paris: Mission Archeologique au Caire, 1893) 160, 161; N. de G. Davies; L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*. (Oxford, 1957), 390-400.

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
13	Senetnay	“ <i>mn^ctnswt</i> ” ⁹² ; “ <i>šdt h^cw ntr</i> ” ⁹³ ; “ <i>mn^ctnswtwrtšdt h^cw ntr</i> ” “ <i>hkrtnswt</i> ” <i>mn^ctnsw š [šd]t ntrsnt-n(3)y</i>	Royal foster mother”; "One who nurtured the body of the god"; “Chief royal nurse who nurtured the body of the god” "Royal ornament” The royal nurse, who nurtured the God, Senetnay”	Amenhotep II	Mother “Biy” ⁹⁴ ;Sennefer husband mayor of Thebes ⁹⁵
14	Mutnofret	<i>šm^cyt</i> <i>nllmnMwt-nfrt, m3^chrw, the</i>	Chantress of AmunMutnofret, justified”	Amenhotep II	Amenemopet vizier cousin
15	Baky ⁹⁶	“ <i>nfrtsnk</i> ” ⁹⁷ ; <i>mn^ctwrt n nbt3wy</i> ⁹⁸ “ <i>hmn n hršnbt .s</i> ”; “ <i>hkrtnswt</i> ”	One who suckled well” Whose breast was united with Horus ⁹⁹ ;Royal ornament”	Amenhotep II	Amenemhab called Mahu a military officer
No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
16	Neith ¹⁰⁰	“ <i>mn^ctwrt</i> ”	Chief Foster mother;”	Amenhotep II	Pehsukher ¹⁰¹ husband a

⁹²Daressy, Cones Funeraire. 78; Davies, et al, *Funerary Cones*.223, 224.

⁹³*Urk.* IV: 1439-4; PM II, pp. 45-46.

⁹⁴H. Carter, "Report of Work Done in Upper Egypt (1902-1903)," *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 171-180.

⁹⁵*Urk.* IV: 1417- 38. See also PM 2 1.1, pp. 197-203, plan on p. 196.

⁹⁶PM I, pp.170-175.

⁹⁷PM II, pp.170-175.

⁹⁸*Urk.* IV: 913.5-8.

⁹⁹*Urk.* IV: 920.10-15

		”šdtntṛ”	Who nurtured the god”		military officer
17	Sherti ¹⁰²	mn ^c tnswt; šdtntṛ	Royal Foster mother”; Who nurtured the god”	Amenhotep II	Sister Heiry(chantress of Amun; Minmose brother; Father “who conducts the festival of Amun, mother Mia” house mistress”
18	Henewtaw y ¹⁰³	“mn ^c twrt”; “šdtntṛ”; “ḥsytnṯfrntṛnbtprḥnw- t3wy m3 ^c thrw” ¹⁰⁴	“The chief foster mother” “ who nurtured the god”	Foster mother of Amenhotep II	Husband Usersatet ¹⁰⁵
19	Iaefib ¹⁰⁶	“mn ^c tnswt”, “šdt h ^c w ntr”,	“Royal Foster mother”; “nurtured the body of the god”	Foster mother of Amenhotep II	

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
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¹⁰⁰ PN I, p.181.24; wife of Pehsukhersee P. Virey, *Sept TombeauxThebains de la XVIIIeDynastie* (MMAF, V, Part II), Paris: Leroux, 1891 (1894), pp.197-380, pp. 286-310; *Urk.* IV:1459-1463; B. Cummings, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, fasc. 1-3(Warminster, 1982-1984) pp. 154-157; PM 1.2, pp. 179-181, plan on p. 176.

¹⁰¹ PN I, 135.25

¹⁰² PN I, 329.21, Sherti was the daughter of Minmose the tutor of Amenhotep II see G. Roeder, *ÄgyptischeInscripfenaus den StaatlichenMuseenzu Berlin II: Inschriften des NeuenReichs*. Leipzig, 1924, p.99;H. de Meulenaere, "Le directeur des travauxMinmose," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 315-319, pls. 50-51.

¹⁰³ C. Caminos and T.G.H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I: The Shrines*. Egypt Exploration Society (31st Memoire). (London, EES,1963).pp.30-34,pls. 22-25. This nurse was mentioned by G. Legrain, "Notes d'Inscription, III. La Chapelle de Senmaout a Gebel Silsileh," *ASAE* 4 (1904), pp. 193-97.

¹⁰⁴ Caminos et al, *Gebeles-Silsilah*. pl. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Caminos et al, *Gebel es-Silsilah*. p. 33.

¹⁰⁶ E. Amelineau, *Les nouvellesfouillesd'Abydos 1895-1896* : Comperendu in extenso des fouilles, description des monuments et objets découverts. Avec carte, plans, dessins et 43 pl, (Paris, 1899), p. 165; pl. IV.

20	Nofretwah		" Foster mother of the King's son (prince) Menkheperure 1 (Tuthmosis IV)."	Foster mother of Tuthmosis IV	
21	Meryt	“mn ^c tnswt”; “ikr m snk” wrthnrwt n šbkšdtj; “hkrtnswt” hkrtnswtwrt	“Royal Foster mother”; “Excellent with regard to suckling”; “Chief of the troop of singers and dancers ¹⁰⁷ of Sobek of Shedty”; “Royal ornament”; “Chief royal ornament”	Foster mother of Princess Tiaa daughter of Tuthmosis IV	Sobekhotep husband tutor of Amenhotep III
22	Senet-ruiu ¹⁰⁸	“mn ^c tnswt”; „hsyt n mwt”	Royal Foster mother Praised by Mut	Amenemopet Daughter of Tuthmosis IV	
23	Nebetkabeny ¹⁰⁹	“mn ^c twrt” “šdtnt” “hkrtnswt”	Chief Foster mother Who nurtured the god Royal ornament	Foster mother of Princess Sat amun, Daughter of Amenhotep III	Her son Hekanefer , his wife “Bat” ; “xkrtnswt” royal ornament her mother Ahmose

No.	Name	Titles	Translation	Name of princes and princesses	relatives
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¹⁰⁷ W. A.Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982. p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ The name sntrwiv is not recorded at Ranke but only rwiw is defined by Ranke see PN I, 221.5; J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des Noms Hieroglyphiques en Ordre Genealogique et Alphabetique*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1871; Supplement. 1892. p. 824 (2162)

¹⁰⁹ Lacau, *Steles*. pp. 169-170, CG 34117; A. Mariette, *Abydos: Description des Monuments Provenant des Fouilles Executees sur l'Emplacement de Cette Ville I & II*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1869-1880., pls. 47, 4.

24	Tiy ¹¹⁰	<i>mn^ct n ḥmtnswtwrt; mn^ct³t; šdtnt^r;¹¹¹ ḥkrtnswt¹¹²</i>	Foster mother of the Great Royal Wife Great nurse, who nurtured the goddess, Royal ornament"	Foster mother of Queen Nefertiti	Husband king Aye it ntr "God's father" ¹¹³
25	Tia ¹¹⁴	<i>mn^ct n s3tnswt^cnḥ š[n-p3]- 'Itⁿ¹¹⁵</i>	Foster mother of the daughter of the King Ankhesenpaatun	Princess Ankhesenpaatun	unknown
26	Tannuny ¹¹⁶	<i>mn^cts3nswt</i>	The Foster mother of the prince"	Foster mother of an Unknown	unknown
27	maja	unknown		Tutankhamun	unknown

Table 2: Titles of the Husbands of the foster mothers

Titles of the Husbands of the foster mothers

¹¹⁰ N. de G., Davies, *The rock tombs of El Amarna* (ASE 13-18), 6 vols., London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903-1908, 16-24.

¹¹¹ Davies, "El Amarna" 6. 25, 39, 1.29.

¹¹² Davies, "El Amarna" 6. 24.

¹¹³ There are many theories have been put concerning both the ancestors and descendants of this couple. Davies, "El Amarna" 6. 24; C. Aldred "The End of the El-'Amarna Period," *JEA*43 (1957), 30-41. Especially,39; Newberry stated that Aye the husband of Tiy might have been the father of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun see P. Newberry "King Ay, the Successor of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 18 (1932), 50-52; Seele followed Newberry and added that the pair Aye and Tiy were the grandparents rather than the parents of these two young's, see K. Seele, "King Ay and the Close of the Amarna Age," *JNES* 14 (1955), 168-180. Esp.178-180.

¹¹⁴ C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*. (New York, 1973). 196, no. 129.

¹¹⁵ J. Cooney, *AmarnaReliefs fromHermopolis in American Collections*,(New York, 1965). 19, no. 10.

¹¹⁶ The anonymous statue of a nurse holding four royal children found in recent years at Kafr en-Nahhal near Zagazig. Cairo JE 99831; M. Saleh "Varia from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 3.A Lady Nurse and Four Royal Children," in:H. Guksch and D. Polz(ed.),*BeiträgezurKulturgeschichteÄgyptens*, Rainer Stadelmanngewidmet,(Mainz, 1998), 358–361, pl. 19.

Name	Husband's name	Husband's titles	Translation of the title
Renen	Amenhotep	<i>ʾIdnwimy-rʾsdʒt, sš</i>	Deputy of the Treasurer, Scribe
Kenamun's mother	Unknown	<i>imy-rʾpr, sš</i>	Steward, Scribe
Kaemheribsen' mother	Unknown		royal scribe; mayor of Thinis
Hunay	Nebpehtire	<i>ḥmnṛṭpy n MnwGbtjw</i>	High Priest of Min of Coptos
Baky	Amenemhab called Mahu	<i>idnw¹¹⁷ n mšꜥ, ḥrd n Kʒp</i>	Adjutant of the Army child of the Nursery

¹¹⁷ The latter text uses the verb *idn* to describe the action of the man, who is acting like a substitute or deputy, rather than taking over an office completely. Wb. I: 154.

Name	Husband's name	Husband's titles	Translation of the title
Senetnay	Sennefer	<i>ḥ3ty- ̣ n niwt lmy-r3 ihw n Imn imy-r3 n šnwtj n Imn imy-r3 n 3ḥwt n Imn imy-r3pr n Imn imy-r3ḥmwntj n ḥrwrnbGsy¹¹⁸</i>	Mayor of Thebes ; overseer of the cattle of Amun; overseer of the granary of Amun; over-seer of the fields of Amun; Steward of Amun; overseer of the prophets of Horus Lord of Qus
Neith	Pehsukner	<i>idnw n nswt t3yhwhrwnmy n nswt t3yh w n nbt3wy</i>	Adjutant of the King; Fan bearer on the Right of the King; fanbearer of the Lord of the Two Lands ¹¹⁹
Henuttawy	Seninefer	<i>ẉb n Imnhrs3tpy imy-r3iptnswt</i>	ẉb-priest of Amun in the 1st Phyle Overseer of the royal counting -house ¹²⁰

¹¹⁸Sennefer bore other titles related to administration of Amun see R. Caminos, Papyrus Berlin 10463, *JEA* 49 [1963], p. 36-37.

¹¹⁹PM 2 I. 1, p. 176, 180; *Urk.* IV:1462.19-20; G. Daressy, *Receuil de cones funeraires.*(MMAF 8) (Paris: Mission Archeologique au Caire, 1893) 164; Davies, et al, *Funerary Cones*, 399

¹²⁰Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles* p. 11

Name	Husband's name	Husband's titles	Translation of the title
Nofretwah	unknown		scribe of counting bread
Meryt	Sobekhotep	<i>imy-r3sd3t</i> <i>it ttrmryntr</i>	Treasurer god's Father
Tiy	Aye	<i>'It ntr</i> ¹²¹ <i>ḫwḥrwnmynswt</i> <i>sšnswtm3ꜥ</i> ; ¹²² <i>imy-r3ssmwtnb n ḥm .f</i>	god's Father fanbearer on the right hand of the king true royal scribe overseer of all horses of His Majesty

¹²¹ This title may have also been used by some priests. In the Thirteenth Dynasty, when "god's father" is used in conjunction with king's mother, it emphasizes upon the fact that the parents are not from the royal family. See E. Blumenthal, "Die 'Gottesväter' des Alten und Mittleren Reiches," *ZÄS* 114 (1987), pp. 25-28,31; D. Franke, "Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich." dissertation. (Universität Hamburg, 1983)., "pp. 309-310; A. Gardiner, "The First King Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *MDAIK* 14(1956), p. 46; E. Graefe, "Die vermeintliche Unterägyptische Herkunft des Ibi, Obermajordomus der Nitokris," *SAK* 1 (1974), p. 203, n. 215.

¹²² The word *m3ꜥ* is introduced to the titles of high officials in the Old Kingdom, by the reign of Pepy II, it gave the title more effect by adding the word *m3ꜥ* "true".

Table 3: Titles of the sons of foster mothers

Titles of the sons of foster mothers

Name	Son's name	Son's main titles	Translation
Nofretiah	Puyemre	<i>ḥmntrsnw n 'Imn</i>	second Priest of Amun
Taiunet	Menkheperresonb	<i>ḥmntrtpy n 'Imn ḥryšms n ḥm .f¹²³</i>	High Priest of Amun
Amenemopet Kenamun's mother	Kenamun ¹²⁴	<i>sn n mn^c n nb t3wy imy-r3 pr n Prw-nfr imy-r3iḥw n 'Imn ḥrypdt imy-r3pr ḥd imy-r3 prwynwb lmy-r3k3wtnb sšnswt s3w r iyt.f r tp 3t r ḥsbw3kwt3wyḥrpwtšm^cwt3- mḥw¹²⁵</i>	Foster Brother of the King Overseer of Perunefer Overseer of the Cattle of Amun commander of a host ¹²⁶ overseer of the treasury" overseer of the two houses of gold overseer of all works" royal scribe" one who attends to his visit in due time in order to reckon the revenues of the Two Lands, the taxes of the North and the South

¹²³Helck, *Militärführer*. P.67

¹²⁴For all the epithets and titles of Kenamun see Wild, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 233ff.

¹²⁵Davies, *Ken-Amun*. pl. 65A; H. Wild, "Contributions a l'inconographie et a la titulature de Qen-Amon," *BIFAO* 56 (1957), pp. 203-237. 226ff.

¹²⁶A. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. (MÄS 6).Berlin, 1964., p. 53-56; Helck, *Militärführer*.pp 37-38, it seems that this title indicates that he was a commander of troops outside Egypt and on the borders; Wild, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), p. 231.

Name	Son's name	Son's main titles	Translation
Kaemheribsen's mother	Kaemheribsen	<i>ḥmntr 3 n'Imn</i>	third Priest of Amun
Hunay	Mery	<i>ḥmntrtpy n'Imn ḥmntrtpy n mnwGbyw lmy-r3 pr n'Imn lmy-r3 ihw n'Imn lmy-r3šnwty n'Imn imy-r3ḥwt n'Imn, imy-r3prwyḥdnwb n'Imn, it ntrtpj n'Imn imy-r3ḥmwntnḥwšm^ᶜw t3-ḥmw ḥry-tpimy-r3šm^ᶜw ḥtmw bity.¹²⁷</i>	High Priest of Amun High Priest of Min of Coptos steward of Amun overseer of the cattle of Amun overseer of the granaries of Amun overseer of the fields of Amun overseer of the two houses of silver and gold of Amen. chief god's father of Amun overseer of prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt chief overseer of the southern district seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt
Baky	Amu	<i>ḥrd n k3b</i>	child of the Nursery
Neith	Amenhotep Amenmose Mahu	<i>w^ᶜb n'Imn ḥmntrsnw n'Imn</i>	wab-priest [of Amun] Second Priest of Amun

¹²⁷Urk. IV:1570-1571; Daressy, *Cones Funeraires*. 160, 161; Davies et al, *Funerary Cones*.390,400.

Name	Son's name	Son's main titles	Translation
Meryt	Paser	<i>hmntrtpy n šbkšdy h3ty- ʿ n šbkšdy</i> ¹²⁸	High Priest of SobekShedty Mayor of the Fayum
Nebetkabeny	Hekanefer	<i>sšḥwtntṛ n Wsir 'It nṛ n Wsir</i>	Scribe in the Temple of Osiris God's Father of Osiris
Senetnay	Mutnofret ¹²⁹	<i>šmʿytntImnMwt-nfrt, m3ʿhrw</i> ¹³⁰	The chantress of Amun Mutnofret, justified

¹²⁸ The title implies a regional control.

¹²⁹ She is also known with another name „Mut-tuy“ see Helck, *Verwaltung*. p.439.

¹³⁰ *Urk.* IV:1417-38,

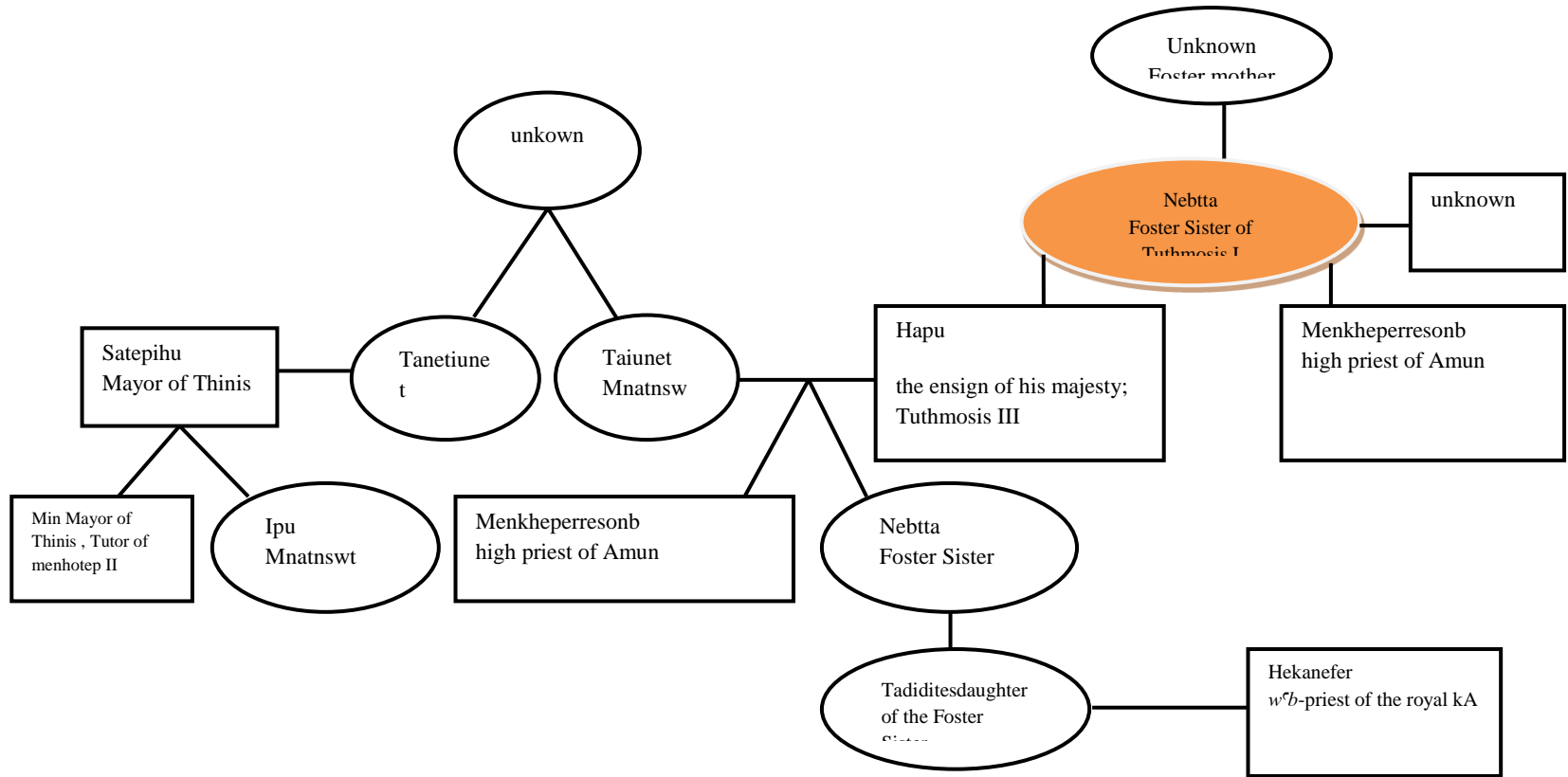


Fig. 1: The family tree of Nebtta foster sister of king Tuthmosis I

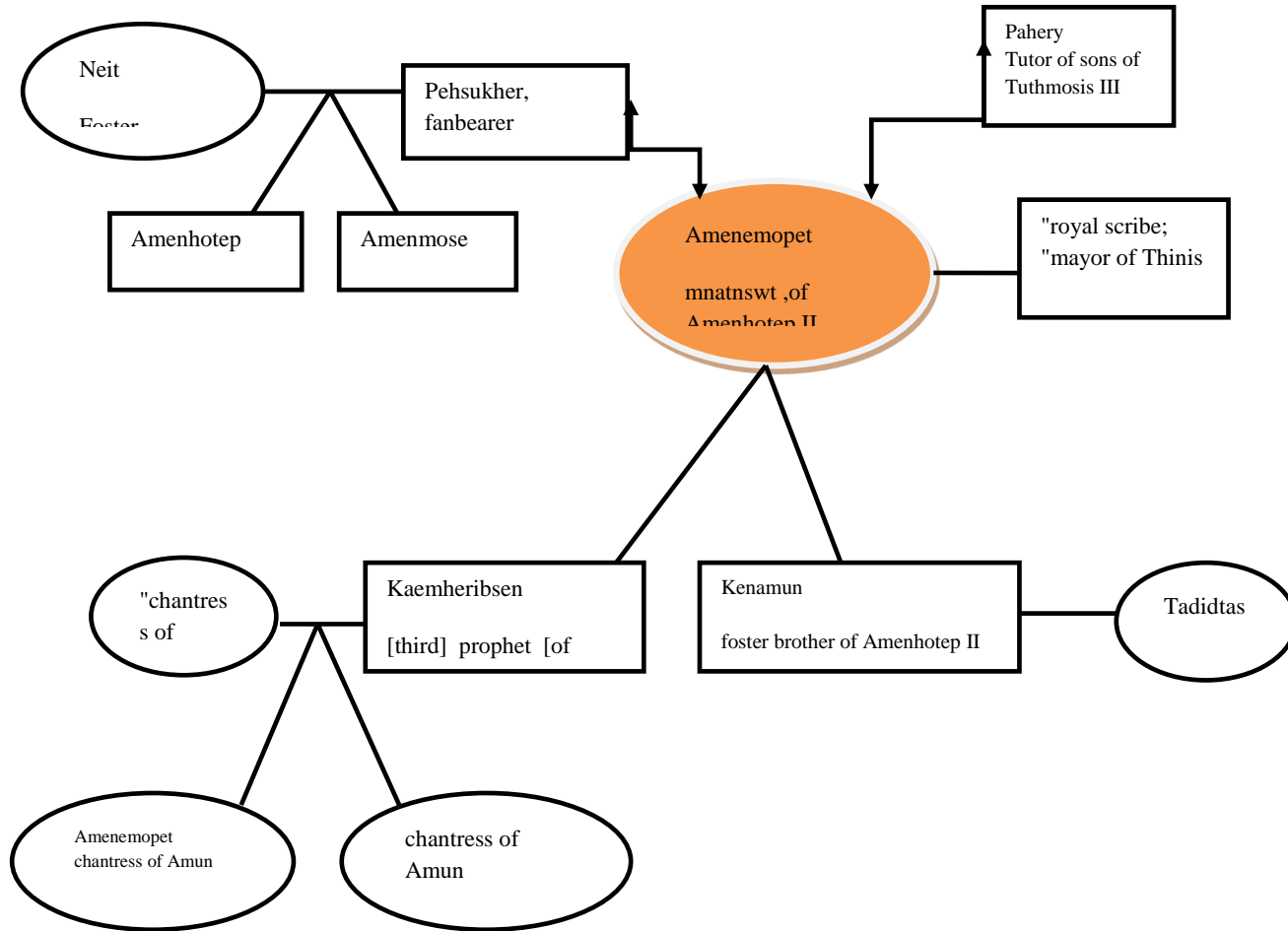


Fig 2: Family tree of Amenemopet Mother of Kenamun foster mother of Amenhotep II

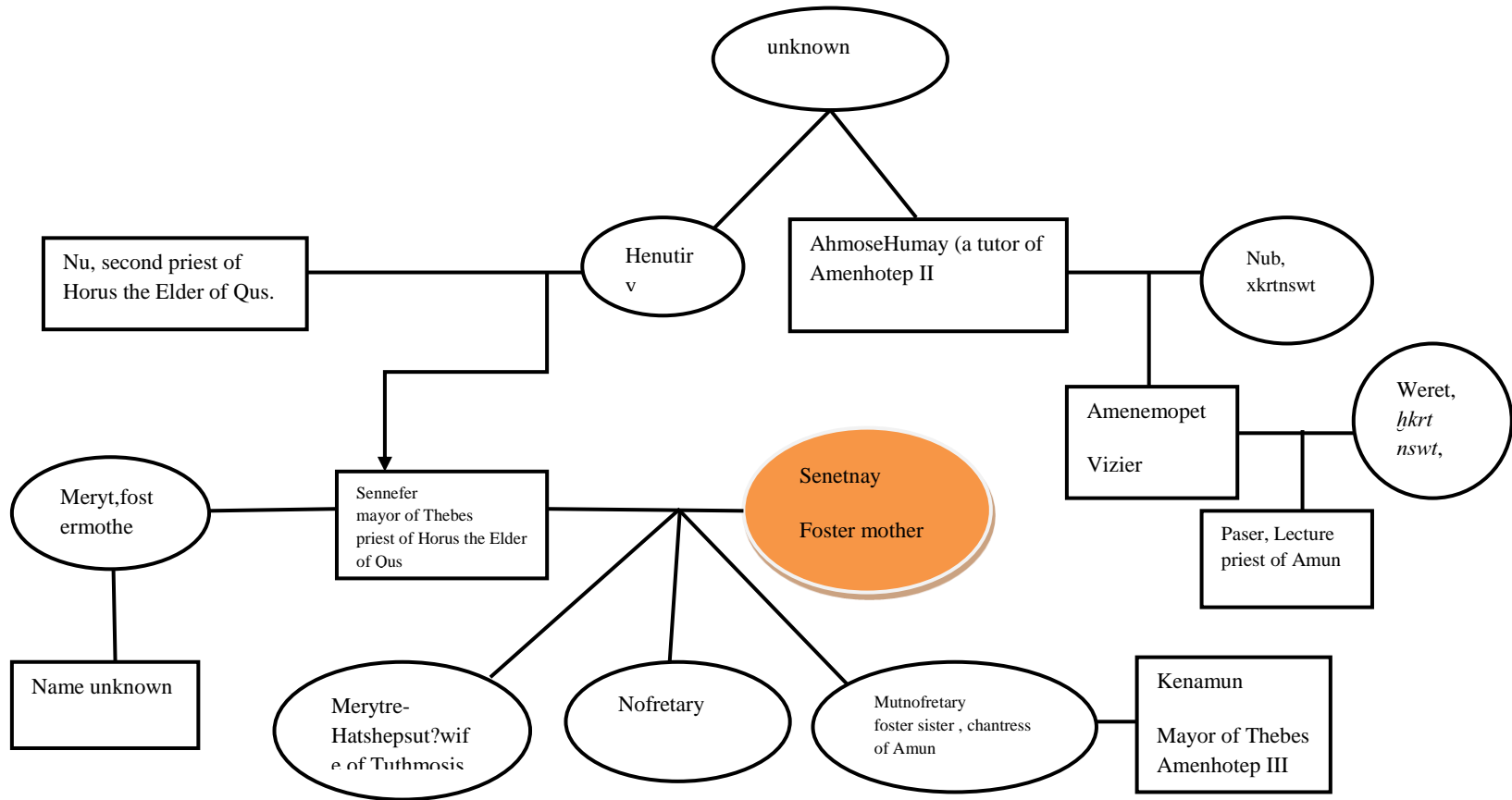


Fig. 3: Family tree of Senetnay foster mother of Amenhotep II

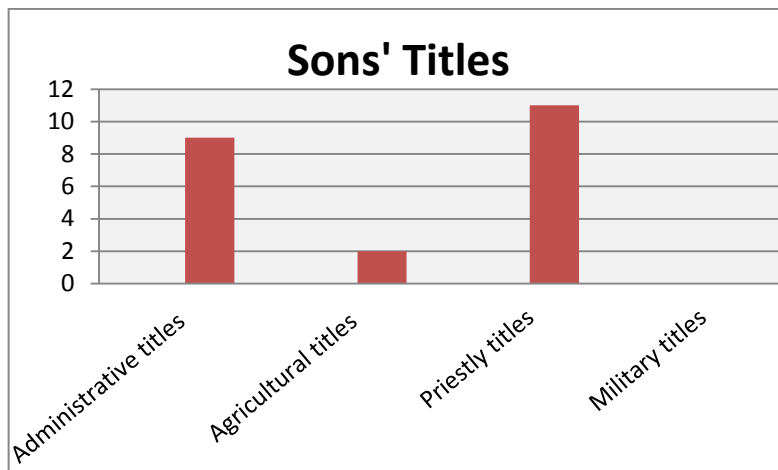


Fig. 4 Types of titles of the sons of foster mothers

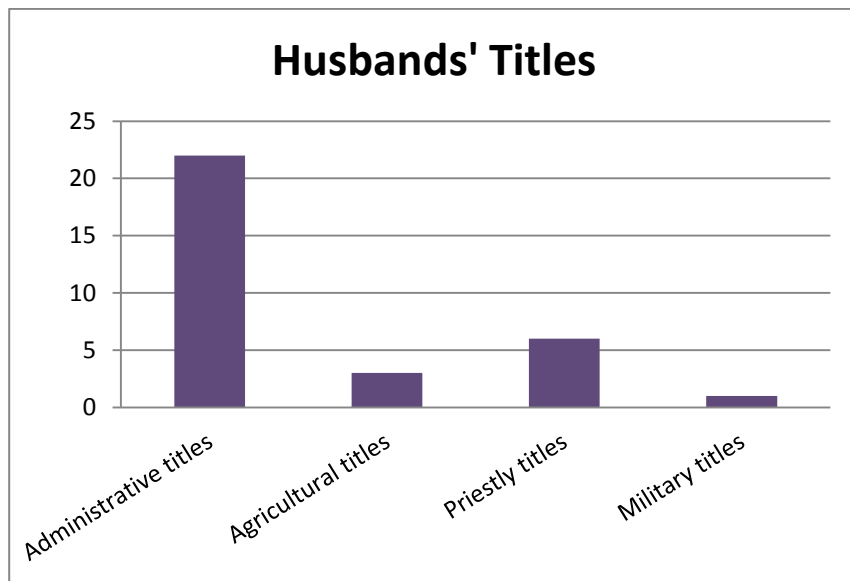


Fig. 5: Types of titles of the husbands of foster mothers