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Looking at Nubians in Egypt: Nubian Women in New Kingdom Tomb and Temple Scenes and the Case of TT 40 (Amenemhet Huy)

Doris Pемler

Egypt and the Nubians

Interaction with Nubia and Nubians was a permanent phenomenon in Ancient Egypt from the earliest times on. The Nubian homelands were located in the river and desert areas south of Egypt and in the Egyptian Eastern and Western desert. In these border zones of Upper Egypt and the wadi mouths of the Eastern Desert and the oases, a mixed Egyptian-Nubian culture existed, manifesting itself for example in the Gebelein Stelae¹ and the Nubian costumes of the local rulers of Beni Hasan, Meir and El Kab as well as in the depiction of their subjects.² Shared beliefs of a cow cult can be deduced from the cow figurines of the C-Group culture in Nubia and many traces of Nubian culture found especially in the environs of Deir-el-Bahari,³ the centre of worship for the Egyptian cow-headed goddess Hathor. Many Nubians also lived and worked in Egypt and a regular cross-border contact existed.⁴ Voluntary as well as forced migration of Nubians into Egypt took place. Therefore, constant mutual encounters occurred and Nubians were a part of Egyptian society at all levels in all times.

This claim stands in stark contrast to an Egyptological view based implicitly on the nationalist and racist ideas of the 19th century which simultaneously relies on Ancient Egyptian propaganda

1 SEIDLMEYER, "Nubier im ägyptischen Kontext im Alten und Mittleren Reich"; MEURER, *Nubier in Ägypten bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*; FISCHER, "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period."

2 PEMLER, "Looking for Nubians in Egypt."

3 For example FRIEDMAN, "New Secrets from HK64"; EREMIN et al., "The Facial Reconstruction of an Ancient Egyptian Queen."

4 PINO, "The Market Scene in the Tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57)."

against foreigners. Their theory of cultural contact and intercultural exchange assumed a superior Egyptian culture and a fast Egyptianisation of all people and things foreign. Lately, such views have become challenged and new interpretive models emerge.⁵

In this paper, I want to support the idea of a multicultural Egyptian society from an iconographic point of view. For that, I have chosen New Kingdom depictions of Nubian women. Whereas the depictions of Nubian men are subject to Egyptian propaganda, the depictions of women form a rather small separate group and avoid propagandistic stereotypes. During the Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070 BCE), tomb and temple scenes depict Nubian women coming to Egypt to stay. The moment of their arrival is the moment they become visible. Their distinct appearance becomes invisible when the women disappear into Egyptian iconography or are not pictured at all. This paper introduces the specific iconography of Nubian women, giving an overview and a comparison of the New Kingdom sources. A special focus will be on the interesting and unique depictions of Nubian women in the tombs of the Egyptian nobles Rekhmire (TT 100) and Amenemhet Huy (TT 40).

Iconography of Nubian women – New Kingdom scenes from temples and tombs

In the Egyptian tomb and temple scenes of the New Kingdom showing Nubians⁶ we see Nubians bringing a share of their wealth. But we also learn that children of Nubian rulers came to Egypt to be part of the Egyptian royal court; we see Nubians delivering adversaries of other Nubian groups as presents to Egypt; and we see Nubians taken as prisoners of the many wars the Egyptians fought in the south. In these scenes, Nubian women are rarely depicted. They appear in less than half of the Nubian scenes.

Nubian women can be distinguished by several iconographic peculiarities. Identifying Nubian markers include clothing, hairstyle, skin colour and personal ornament, jewelry and body ornaments. Additional markers can be found in the depiction of facial and bodily features. Two or more of these features have to appear together to identify a person as Nubian. But not only Nubian personal markers are significant: there are also other criteria such as a certain choice of materials or food preferences. The Nubian woman is pictured with brown or black skin color.⁷ Her hairstyle is often

5 MANLEY, “Petrie’s Revolutions”; PELT, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia.”

6 Out of 55 scenes of foreign “tribute,” 20 show Nubians. HALLMANN, *Die Tributscenen des Neuen Reiches*, p. 264.

7 LOHWASSER, “Haut als Medium im Antiken Nordostafrika,” p. 528 remarks on the culturally determined depiction in contrast to a natural depiction: “Bereits die Darstellung der Haut

short,⁸ she wears a long skirt often made from leather,⁹ and her upper body is naked. Women with children are often shown with pendulous breasts.¹⁰

Nubian women in Egyptian art appear in two different spheres. They are linked to dancing and singing, which is related to the cult of goddesses, especially Hathor. As this field is also linked to the realms of youth and beauty, Nubian women and young girls can be found as decorative parts of toiletry, for example as mirror handles (Plate 1). They often show imagery related to Hathor or her dancers and singers. In the same context female figurines also often show Nubian iconographic features.

The other sphere where Nubian women are depicted is in the context of “tribute scenes.” During the New Kingdom, Nubian women are depicted in temple and tomb scenes (Table 1).¹¹ Taking a closer look, many of the scenes can be related to a martial context. They are part of larger scenes illustrating Egyptian Campaigns against Nubia. Many such campaigns were conducted during the New Kingdom.¹² The pictures show different events, which are chronologically related.

One scene pictured in temples shows the news of an Egyptian campaign coming to the Nubian villages (Table 1, no. 11, 12a, 13, 14). This scene of war intruding on a seemingly peaceful pastoral life is shown next to the scenes of battle.¹³ All of these scenes except the one depicted in Medinet Habu (Table 1, no. 14) are located in newly built Egyptian temples in Nubia and may have served to remind the Nubians of the consequences of a rebellion against Egypt.

ist im Alten Ägypten kulturell determiniert. Die Farbe der Haut informiert z.B. über das Geschlecht. Schon hier wird das biologisch Gegebene kulturell überformt und zur Botschaft: Frauen werden in der ägyptischen Kunst gelblich, Männer rotbraun gezeigt...So wie das Geschlecht kann auch die Ethnie nahezu allein durch die Farbe der Haut dargestellt werden, Südländer werden dunkelbraun, in Abstufungen bis schwarz präsentiert.”

- 8 In contrast to an Egyptian preference for long hair and wigs: for the New Kingdom see ROBINS, “Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480–1350 B.C.,” pp. 63–68; a short hairstyle evolves during the 18th dynasty in Egypt into the “Nubian wig,” see ALDRED, “Hair Styles and History.”
- 9 Leather was a material much in use in Nubia, less so in Egypt: in general DRIEL-MURRAY, “Leatherwork and Skin Products.”
- 10 The hanging breasts in the depiction of Nubian women might have shown the high esteem and status of the mother, who has nursed many children; see for example the C-Group figurine in WILDUNG, *Sudan*, no. 43 or the depiction of a Meroitic Ba Statue from Lower Nubia, *ibid.*, no. 307. In Egypt, the depiction of hanging breasts also appears in the iconography of the Nile gods and with the goddess Taweret, both signifying fertility.
- 11 For an overview of the scenes, see DRENKHahn, *Darstellungen von Negerin in Ägypten*, p. 165 Liste V; for a discussion of the iconography, pp. 73–80; for the discussion of the “*jmw*-tribute” see HALLMANN, *Die Tributscenen des Neuen Reiches*, pp. 323–334.
- 12 For an overview of the political history of Egypt’s conquest of Nubia in the New Kingdom, see for example SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 141–245; TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 157–208.
- 13 No. 1 (Table 1) from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut shows a very similar motif, but without the war scenes.

A second scene shows the captured women and children brought to Egypt as spoils of war, along with the other “booty.” In temples and private tombs, the Nubians are part of long processions of people. Women and children walk alongside the other prisoners and loot. The children are led along or carried in baskets on the women’s backs.¹⁴ The women do not carry additional items and it becomes clear they do not come along voluntarily. Some of the scenes show the women as prisoners being led along by armed men (Table 1, nos. 3, 4a) or bound by the neck (Table 1, no. 8).¹⁵ The texts related to no. 2 from the temple of Armant and no. 3 from the tomb of Ineni (TT 81) describe them as booty (*kꜣ* and *skꜣr-ꜣnhw*). The pictures suggest that these women and children are seen as the human part of the tribute. This view is confirmed by contemporary textual sources stating that men, women and children were seen as part of the “deliveries.”¹⁶ The scenes show Nubian women of different ages and different status. A high status can be seen in nos. 4a and 10a from the tombs of Amenemhet Huy (TT40) and Rekhmire (TT 100), where the inscriptions speak of children of the rulers (*msw wrw*). Furthermore, access to jewelry, as seen with the women shown in docs. 6 and 7, probably also indicates a higher status.¹⁷

The tombs of Rekhmire (Table 1, no. 4, TT 100) and Amenemhet Huy (Table 1, no. 10, TT 40) are among the most lavishly decorated private tombs in Thebes. They are also among the few depicting Nubian women. Both men lived during the 18th dynasty (ca. 1550–1300 BCE), which is often seen as the peak of Ancient Egyptian civilisation, the time of greatest power and wealth. Rekhmire, coming from a powerful family, held the office of the vizier, the highest rank in Ancient Egyptian administration, under pharaoh Thutmose III (around 1400 BCE) and in the early years of his successor Amenhotep II. From the tomb of Rekhmire, two scenes will be discussed. One shows captured Nubian noblewomen to be assigned as *mrw*-workers for the temple of Amun (Plate 2; Table 1, no. 4a). The other scene depicts the fate of these women when the *mrw*-workers are shown presenting the products of their work and their children to be inspected (Plate 3; Table 1, no. 4b).

- 14 Only no. 4a and b (Table 1) from TT 100 show a child sitting on the shoulders. This depiction is usually seen only with Syrian children and might therefore be a case of transference; see as well no. 7 (Table 1), where a man leads a child by the hand; MARIĆ, “Children on the Move,” pp. 378–379.
- 15 The women walking at the end of the row in no. 10a (Table 1) from TT 40 are walking behind prisoners, but seem to belong to the same group of people.
- 16 “They [the Nubians] offer you their persons and their children,” Stela Amenhotep III, TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 157. Papyrus Koller speaks of “the bringing of tall Terek people [...] with fans of gold [...] and numerous Nubians of all kinds,” cited in *ibid.*, p. 274.
- 17 DRENKHAHN, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten*, pp. 73–80 gives a detailed description of the iconographic details.

Amenemhet Huy comes from another era of the 18th dynasty. He held his office as viceroy of Nubia and overseer of the southern countries under Tutanchamun (ca. 1330 BCE). This was a time of crisis for Egypt, when it resumed its power centre in Thebes after the break in tradition made by pharaoh Akhenaton. He had changed the religion and built his new capital Amarna in the Eastern Desert. In this unstable time Amenhotep Huy became responsible for the deliveries from the southern countries, which were very important both economically and also in terms of status. His tomb shows in great detail the story of his appointment to office and his first travel to Nubia to take care of the deliveries.¹⁸ The scenes from the tomb of Amenemhet Huy show Nubian princesses brought to Egypt to be part of the royal court (Plates 4, 5; Table 1, no. 10a) and the mixed Egyptian-Nubian population of Faras bringing their royalties (Plate 8; Table 1, no. 10b).

Nubian Children

Nubian children, girls and boys alike, are shown with a distinct hairstyle (Plates 1, 4, 5). The hair is shaven, leaving only a few tufts on the side and on the forehead.¹⁹ Older children are led along by the hand and in some cases (Table 1, nos. 3, 4b, 6, 7) older children walk alone. In no. 3 (Table 1) from the tomb of Ineni (TT 81) a girl is depicted wearing a long skirt,²⁰ but is still being led by the hand. Some fragments from the tomb of Sobekhotep (TT 63; Table 1, no. 7) show children elaborately adorned. A girl is pictured naked and walking alone. She wears an elaborate necklace, earrings and an amulet around her waist.²¹ Another child led along by the hand is wearing a necklace, another one earrings and a necklace.²² In the tomb of Rekhmire a single woman or girl is pictured at the end of a row of captured Nubians (Plate 2). She wears a short loincloth bound on the back. Her hairstyle is shown as a braid (similar to the women in Table 1, no. 6). Before her, a group of three women is pictured. They do not have children with them and wear the customary long

18 KAWAI, "The Administrators and Notables in Nubia under Tutankhamun."

19 One of the earliest examples, probably from the 6th dyn.: "Head of a Nubian Girl," Museum of Fine Arts Boston 24.978; for a dancing boy with the tuft hairstyle: BRACK & BRACK, *Das Grab des Haremheb*, pl. 12. One faience statue of a grown woman with tuft haircut breastfeeding a baboon might be interpreted as the depiction of a local Nubian goddess. Edinburgh A.1951.131: ALDRED, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, no. 147.

20 Described as a "black skirt patterned with white spots" in DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*, p. 30, ann. 64.

21 DZIOBEK & ABDEL RAZIQ, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep*, pl. 2a; p. 33. As the child led by a man is the only known such example, it might be considered as transference. None of the children is pictured as male; in the cases in which a gender is indicated, the children are all female. This stands in contrast to the depiction of Syrian children brought to Egypt. They are mostly male. MATIĆ, "Children on the Move," p. 380.

22 WRZESINSKI, *Atlas zur Altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, p. 56 b, c.

Nubian skirt. They are pictured with hair that reaches the shoulder. Behind them, some persons with “Nubian wigs” are shown, wearing necklaces.

From these different depictions of Nubian children, young women and adults, it seems that the ancient Egyptians recognized and deliberately depicted different status in age and position in society with different iconographic markers. As we do not have additional information about the significance of different clothing with different groups of Nubians, the already discussed presence or absence of jewelry and the differences in hairstyle remain the only clues for us.

To summarize, these are the known iconographic details. Children and young adult dancers and musicians are shown naked and with the tuft hairstyle. In general, their sex is not indicated. This might reflect a Nubian cultural preference to not distinguish between children’s genders. Adult women without children are depicted with a long skirt and longer hair (Table 1, no. 4a). The transitional stage between child and young adult remains inconsistent in iconography, and might therefore mirror a reality in which the female transition to adulthood is either individual or not recognized by the Egyptian painters.²³ Women with children are depicted with short hair, pendulous breasts and long skirts, the pendulous breasts reflecting the high status of motherhood in Nubian culture.

Where Did the Princes and Princesses Go?

In two scenes from the tombs of Rekhmire and Amenemhet Huy (Plates 2, 3, 4; Table 1, nos. 4a, 10a) Nubian women are depicted as part of a group described as the children of the rulers of foreign countries (*msw wrw*).²⁴ Apart from the matching inscription, the context of the two scenes is markedly different. In the tomb of Rekhmire (Plate 2; Table 1, no. 4a), the related text describes the children of the rulers as loot to be assigned as workers (*mrt*)²⁵ to the temple of Amun: “Bringing forward children of the chiefs of the southern lands [...] brought as the pick of the booty of His Majesty [...] to fill the workshops and to be serfs of the temple estate of his

23 It seems that with young children the gender is not important. The entrance to the adult world is often celebrated ritually at a certain age for boys, and for girls the transition is more individual. LOHWASSER, “Gibt es mehr als zwei Geschlechter?,” p. 35.

24 They are pictured as adult women without children. The term “children of the ruler” merely defines their status as princes and princesses. *Msw wrw* are also shown in the Heb Sed festivities of Amenhotep III, where they pour libations. They are pictured as Egyptians but described as *msw wrw*: EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pp. 45–46; pls. 24, 31, 32. However, I do not agree with the explanation by Allam that *msw ist* to be regarded as a synonym for products. ALLAM, “*Msw* = Kinder/Volksgruppe/Produkte/Abgaben.”

25 “Hörige,” doing work in agriculture and weaving: Erman & Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 2: p. 106. See also MATIĆ, “Children on the Move,” with further literature.

father Amun.”²⁶ The picture shows them as prisoners led along and followed by armed men.

A rather different picture can be seen in the tomb of Amenemhet Huy (Plates 4, 5; Table 1, no. 10a). Here, the *msw wrw* do not come to Egypt by force. They are nevertheless part of the presents for the king, coming to the royal court of Egypt to stay. Where exactly they went is not very clear: they were probably assigned to the royal household. The main Egyptian terms used here are *ipt*, *hnr*, and *k3p*. To get a clearer idea of the respective meaning of these terms, it is useful to relate them to people, places or institutions. Therefore *ipt* or *ipt nsw* seems to be a name of a place in the palace or a separate palace²⁷ related to the women in the royal household. A *hnr* appears to be a group mainly consisting of women and belonging together for a longer period of time. It was mostly used for groups of singers and musicians and was in use for single groups as well as for the collective.²⁸ A *hnr* could be assigned to a specific temple or god.²⁹ Additionally, the entourage of the Mitanni Princess Gilukhepa married to Amenhotep III was also designated as *hnr*.³⁰ The term *k3p* seems to refer to the living quarters of the king³¹ as well as to a specific group of children who were educated together. There seem to have been different *k3ps* in existence at the palace, probably even at the same time.³² The male title *hrd n k3p* therefore results from being part of this group and appears to have had a lifelong significance.³³ Some of the children stayed close together even as adults.³⁴ Therefore, male children seem to have been assigned to the living quarters of

26 DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*, p. 29; MATIĆ, “Children on the Move,” pp. 382–384. For other textual examples of *msw nsw* as prisoners see 374; SÄVE-SÖDERBERG, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 185, also cites examples of Nubian children of the rulers coming to Egypt to be held in fortresses.

27 As in Medinet-el- Gurob, SHAW, “Seeking the Ramesside Royal Harem.”

28 Some *hnr* groups could include male members. CALLENDER, “The Nature of the Egyptian ‘Harim’ Dynasties 1–20,” p. 7.

29 CALLENDER, “The Nature of the Egyptian ‘Harim’ Dynasties 1–20,” pp. 7–8 with examples from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. At least during that period *hnr* are not exclusively related to Hathor.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

31 FEUCHT, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, p. 268 with examples.

32 “Offensichtlich hat es verschiedene *k3pw* gegeben, *k3pw* des Palastes, aber vielleicht auch *kHpw* einzelner Königskinder, wo sie mit anderen Kindern zusammen von Erziehern betreut wurden.” FEUCHT, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, pp. 301–302.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 301–303. A marriage contract is known to be made by members of the *k3p*, and, as Feucht comments, it is not likely that children were the ones issuing it.

34 As seen from quite a lot of the *hrdw n k3p*, who held high titles without actual function but stressing their closeness to the king. *Ibid.*, p. 294. Several people are known from their titles to have belonged to a specific *k3p*; a *hrd n k3p* of Ahmose is known, as well as a *hrd n k3p* of the princess Meretamun, a daughter of Ahmose. *Ibid.*, pp. 301–302. It is not clear whether the name of the *k3p* refers to the children of the named person or to a certain royal child and his or her co-disciples. If there was a *k3p* of a specific princess it seems a possibility that boys and girls were educated together, but maybe only until a certain age. Female education does not seem to be reflected in titulary. The children or young adults had to learn the Egyptian language and script. Quite a few of the *hrdw n k3p* bore also the title of *sš nsw*. Literacy would have been a prerogative to enter any position in the Egyptian administration.

the king, the *kꜣp*, to be educated together with other children of the royal household in groups also named *kꜣp*, whereas female children were assigned to a female place within the palace administration called *ipt* and organised in groups named *hnr*.

Nubian Women in the Tomb of Amenemhet Huy (TT 40)

Taking a closer look at the Nubian women depicted in the tomb of Amenemhet Huy (Table 1, no. 10a), the scenes show some more unique features. The register in question is part of a greater scene depicting the bringing of southern produce to Egypt (Plate 4). It is situated on the south side of the west wall in the transverse hall of TT 40. The first three registers form a panel where the rulers of the south are shown presenting their produce to Amenemhet Huy and the king. The Nubian women are pictured in the first register (Plates 4, 5). There is no inscription to the scene; instead, handwritten explanations are added to several people and things. The register shows the rulers of Lower Nubia, their children and prisoners before the king. It is intended to be read from right to left. To the right, a great amount of gold, semi-precious stones, minerals, ebony and ivory, shields and furniture is brought before the king. Behind that, three rulers of Lower Nubia are kneeling, and one of them lies prostrate. They are followed by the children of the rulers of all foreign lands, as marked by another inscription between them. After a first group of them, two men are shown carrying gold, hides and giraffe's tails. Together with them, a woman with an elaborate head-dress stands in an oxcart. She is followed by a row of prisoners and two Nubian women with children.³⁵ In contrast to the rulers of Kush in the second register, the rulers of Lower Nubia are depicted directly before the king. The prominent person among them is Heqanefer. His name is added separately to the pictures.

Heqanefer, prince of Miam, bore the title of *hꜣrd n kꜣp*. His other titles included sandal maker of the king, chief of the oarsmen³⁶ and bearer of the folding chair of the king.³⁷ His tomb in Toshka is a smaller version of TT 40 and decorated in an elaborate Egyptian

35 It is probable that the *msw wrw* inscription refers to the woman in the oxcart as well. Whether the prisoners and Nubian women further down the line are also meant is not clear. They might have had a higher rank because they are shown with jewelry and with a feather on the head and the women are also wearing jewelry.

36 In this role as *hꜣry hn(yt)* he appears a second time in TT 40 in front of his men who are praising the newly appointed Amenemhet Huy. East wall, north side: DAVIES & GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, p. 13; pls. 8 & 39.1 (for the inscription), pl. 5 for an overview.

37 SIMPSON, *Heka-Nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*, pp. 26–27; the depiction in TT 40 is not the only link to Amenemhet Huy. They also left a shared inscription on the way to the goldmines of the Eastern desert. TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 271. The depiction in TT 40 shows a second generation of children of the rulers of Miam coming to Egypt. After Heqanefer was a child of the *kꜣp*; his children are following in his footsteps. As no heirs are depicted in his tomb, it is likely that the children did not come back to Nubia.

style³⁸ His title of *hrd n k3p* reflects his education in the Egyptian court and is probably responsible for his depiction in direct relationship to the king. Heqanefer and his fellow rulers are shown in a mixed Egyptian-Nubian form. Their skin colour is brown or black, and they wear Egyptian dress with a Nubian sash, hides on their backs, jewelry, and feathers on their heads. The face of the first ruler is carefully executed and depicted with an accented nasolabial fold, the so-called “Kuschitenfalte.” As he is the one executed in the most detailed way and with a lighter skin colour than even the princesses following him, this man is probably Heqanefer himself.

The rulers of Lower Nubia are followed by a single woman and a group of four persons. The inscription of the children of the ruler of all foreign lands is placed between them. Their skin colour is brown and black and they also wear an Egyptian-Nubian mix of dress. The single woman walking in front is depicted with brown skin, wearing a long, pleated and transparent Egyptian dress and sandals. She wears a broad jewelry collar, long earrings and a white bracelet on each of her wrists. In the drawing by Weidenbach (Plate 4), she appears with a hairstyle similar to that of the people following her. She wears a cylindrical crown, the *modius*, on her head. Her appearance is Egyptian except for the bands hanging down from her upper arms. The bands look like strings of pearls. She is not the only one with this iconographic feature in the register and the scene. The four women following her as well as the Nubian women at the end of the row also wear bands like that, as do two men from Upper Nubia in the third register. These bands are generally interpreted as animals’ tails, for some of the parallel depictions clearly show animals’ tails.³⁹ This is not the case with the women pictured here. In fact, the male prisoners at the end of the row wear actual animals’ tail fixed to the back of their loincloths. However, the example most similar to the bands can be found in TT 78, the tomb of the military scribe Haremhab, where a group of Nubian children or young adults with tuft hairstyle are depicted in a scene of music and dance.⁴⁰ Here, most of the dancing youths wear a string similar to the ones depict-

See also the chronology discussed by SIMPSON, *Heka-Nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*, pp. 26–27.

38 SIMPSON, *Heka-Nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*.

39 For an overview of the other sources: DRENKHAN, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten*, p. 27. The animals’ tails are suspended on the arms or legs or on the back of loincloths. The most interesting example shows a cult statue of Amenemhet II in Nubian costume together with these bands. In the interpretation of TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 270: “These exotic accessories were magical signs associated with the power of animals and the power over animals and belonged, as it seems, to the ancient symbols of the Nubian chief’s authority [...]. Transformed into ribbons, the animal tails fastened to the Nubian princes elbows would re-appear much later in the iconography of the Meroitic hunter-warrior god Apedemak.” For a discussion of the “Schwänzchen” in the iconography of Kushite women see LOHWASSER, *Die königlichen Frauen im antiken Reich von Kusch*, pp. 212–216.

40 BRACK & BRACK, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pls. 12, 51.

ed in TT 40 on each of their elbows. I therefore suggest a distinction between these bands of pearls and the animals' tails and tentatively assign the bands to the sphere of music and dance.

Princes or Princesses?

In the register described above, the rulers of Lower Nubia are followed by a princess wearing a long dress. Behind her follow four persons sometimes described as princes and sometimes as princesses. They are depicted alternately with brown and black skin colour and appear similar to the princess walking in front of them. They are pictured close together, but their iconography is different. The ones with brown skin wear a tight-fitting top with wide and short sleeves and a pleated skirt around their hips, whereas the two depicted with black skin only wear a short skirt and their upper body is naked. All are wearing sandals. The jewelry of all of them consists of big round earrings with two pendant parts each, a broad golden collar is reaching over the shoulders and they wear three white bracelets on each wrist. In addition, the black-skinned persons wear one or two white bracelets on their upper arms. The previously discussed bands of pearls are hanging down from all of their upper arms. The persons differ in their hairstyles as well. The brown skinned ones are shown with the "Nubian wig," which was especially popular in Amarna times.⁴¹ It looks like a layered cut, with shorter hair on the neck than in front. The ones with black skin are shown with brownish hair and a side lock of a different colour, which turned blue in the course of time. All wear a golden flat cylindrical crown, a so-called *modius*. The inscription between them describes the four as children of the rulers, but are they meant to depict princes or princesses?⁴² At first sight the short dresses indicate men, but other iconographic details are ambiguous or pointing towards an interpretation as women. The "Nubian wig" hairstyle is known from women as well as men and appears very prominent among members of the royal family in Amarna times.⁴³ A parallel to the side lock can be found for example in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), who was steward of queen Tiye, the Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep III. Here, the daughters of Amenhotep III are depicted wearing a side lock as well as a longer braid on the side.⁴⁴ In another scene from the same tomb, the *msw wrw* are shown libating.⁴⁵ They too have a short haircut with a longer braid on the side. Although the related examples from the tomb

41 ALDRED, "Hair Styles and History."

42 The publication sees them as princes: DAVIES & GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, p. 24.

43 ALDRED, "Hair Styles and History."

44 EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pls. 47, 57.

45 *Ibid.*, pls. 31, 32.

of Kheruef both depict girls, the sidelock of youth can be worn by children and younger adults of both sex and the broad collar and the bracelets can also be worn by both men and women.

The depiction of the *modius* is especially interesting and leads to an excursus about some other unique imagery showing Nubian women. One example is located on the chair of princess Sitamun, daughter of Amenhotep III. It comes from KV 46, the tomb Sitamun's grandparents Yuya and Tjuyu (Plates 6, 7). The inside of the back of the chair is decorated with two women wearing a long skirt of leather decorated with slits (Plate 6). Both are adorned with elaborate collars and earrings and present necklaces to Sitamun. On the inside of the armrests, four similar figures with elaborately executed differently patterned long skirts and two different headdresses are shown bringing gold rings (Plate 7).⁴⁶ All of them are depicted with a *modius* on their heads. This feature appears prominently in the time of Amenhotep III, especially with the women of the royal family.⁴⁷ Therefore it is probable that this is another depiction of the *msw wrw*. The scene is the only scene in which women are bringing the tribute. A similar changing of imagery appears, again in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192). Here, two women are shown bound together under the chair of Queen Tije (Plate 8).⁴⁸ The left woman is shown as Nubian with a long skirt, hanging breasts and a short haircut. Above them, on the armrest of the chair, Queen Tiye, in the form of a sphinx, is shown trampling on the female enemies.⁴⁹ Both of these scenes see Tiye assuming the role of ruler over the female world. These scenes change a typical imagery of the king into a female form.⁵⁰ Such a change could also be the case of the chair of Sitamun, as purpose and period are comparable.

Returning to the topic of princes or princesses in the scene from TT 40, the *modius* appears as a clearly female iconographic feature. A closer look at the people reveals that the first person in the row is depicted with what seems to be a rounded bosom (Plate 5). This makes it likely the princess is followed by a group of other princesses. Why they wear short skirts instead of the customary long dresses is not clear. From their position behind the princess, who is walking in front, and their not very individualised depiction, it is possible that a princess is shown here with the high-ranking women of her *hnr*-entourage.

46 QUIBELL, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, pp. 53–54, pls. XXXVIII–XLIII.

47 In general BRYAN, "A Newly Discovered Statue of a Queen from the Reign of Amenhotep III," p. 35, ann. 28 for the few non-royal examples; the chair of Sitamun is mentioned on p. 36, ann. 33.

48 EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pls. 48, 49, 52a. BAYER, *Teje*, Dok 55.6; pp. 266–270; pl. 63.

49 *Ibid.*, Dok. 55.6.1; pp. 270–272; pl. 21a.

50 ROTH, *Gebieten aller Länder*, pp. 11–49.

Looking at the corresponding scene from Rekhmire (Plate 2; Table 1, no. 4a), there is a similar group, which might also fit into the pattern of a princess and her entourage. Here, the princes walk in front of the women with children and are followed by the women without children. At the end of the group there follows a person, presumably a girl, walking alone. Behind her, a group of four persons with short skirts, jewelry and the same “Nubian Wig” hairstyle⁵¹ follows. The princes who are missing from the Huy depiction can be seen here walking at the front of the row. At the same position in Huy, the rulers of Lower Nubia are depicted. The men led by Heqanefer are described as *wrw*. The term itself might designate some kind of contractual relationship with Egypt.⁵² From this inscription but also from the chronology it becomes clear that they do not assign themselves to the Egyptian court, but are rather responsible for the valuable delivery of their daughters.⁵³ If this assumption is correct, Heqanefer is shown giving his daughter(s) away as he himself was given away to Egypt to become a *ḥrd n kꜣp*, a child of the Egyptian royal education system.

The Princess in the Chariot

Another often depicted scene from the tomb of Amenemhet Huy shows a woman standing in an oxcart (Plates 4, 5). The whole scene consists of Nubians bringing gold and gold dust. In front of them a chariot drawn by two oxen is depicted. A woman with a unique headdress of feathers stands in the cart, which is steered by another person. In front of the cart stands a small person facing backwards and tending two oxen. The woman in the cart is depicted with brown skin colour. She wears an Egyptian dress and a broad jewelry collar. She has long golden earrings and about six golden and white bracelets on each of her wrists. Her short round haircut is executed in yellow but black strands are painted on the front and on the back of her head. On her head she wears a modius in which a big headdress is inserted. From its pattern it is likely made from ostrich feathers mounted on a basis of gold and fastened by four gold supports.⁵⁴ She

51 Here they are regarded as women: “There follow five more women, distinguished by ample necklaces, but scanty loincloths.” DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*, p. 30.

52 TÖRÖK, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 264.

53 For the chronology of Heqanefer see SIMPSON, *Heka-Nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*, p. 27.

54 A comparison between the photograph and the drawing by Weidenbach shows that Weidenbach recognized the unique design of the headdress, but seemingly put it together with the more usual depiction of a fan and added a stick to the drawing, on which the headdress seems to be mounted. See Plates 4 and 5.

is standing in an Egyptian chariot, which is depicted in great detail and probably specially adapted to fit the oxen.⁵⁵

From the context of the scene it is probable that the woman in the chariot is yet another Nubian princess coming to the Egyptian court. The unusual depiction with an oxcart has led to the assumption that the Egyptians used the tomb painting to make fun of the Nubians by way of depicting one of their princesses in an oxcart.⁵⁶ Yet, besides the unique combination of a princess and a chariot drawn by oxen there is no further reason for such an argument. An ostrakon of a four-wheeled wagon was found in the forecourt of TT 40⁵⁷ and might or might not be related to the depiction. The interesting question posed here is in fact the means by which women, especially high-ranking women, moved around in the country.⁵⁸ A possible explanation for the usage of a chariot drawn by oxen is that the princess depicted here came from a region further away from the Nile and therefore had to be transported a longer way overland. For that reason, a chariot was better fitted than a carrying chair. As the Nubians arguably had more cattle than horses, such transport would have been facilitated by harnessing the oxen. Cattle was also valuable, as their depiction alongside other southern produce such as gold and ivory and their careful adornment with enemies' heads or even a kind of a garden shows. In another scene from TT 40 showing the river transport of the Nubian goods, two different kinds of cattle are shown on specially equipped transport ships.

After the oxcart and the ostrakon of a four-wheeled wagon there are two more iconographic features regarding transport to be discussed. The first is the unique depiction of a miniature chariot held up by a Nubian and located together with the furniture between the first and the second register behind the head of Huy. Secondly, the idea that a golden cabinet behind Huy at the height of the second register might show a portable chair was proposed by Davies,⁵⁹ but seems rather unlikely, not only because of its closeness to the very similarly depicted "set-pieces" nearby, but also because the few examples of carrying chairs known from the New Kingdom are all open models, unlike this depiction.⁶⁰

Behind the woman in the oxcart there follow five prisoners bound by their hands and with a restriction in the form of a rope hanging from their necks. Their skin colour is brown or black. The

55 For the technical details see BURMEISTER, "Die Sicherung der ethnischen Ordnung," pp. 134-137.

56 Ibid.

57 DAVIES & GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, p. 34 with fig. 4.

58 High-ranking women in Egypt are known to be transported in carrying chairs. The royal women of Amarna are shown in chariots. Typical travel would have consisted of a boat trip. KÖPP, "Weibliche Mobilität im Alten Ägypten," pp. 134-135.

59 DAVIES & GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, p. 22.

60 KÖPP, "Weibliche Mobilität im Alten Ägypten," p. 36.

first man in the line is wearing an Egyptian skirt, and the men following him are clad in loincloths made of cowhide and leather with broad codpieces hanging in front. Animals' tails are fastened to the backside of their loincloths. They wear big round earrings. At least three of them wear a band around their head which is shown bound with a bow on the back. This might have been a means to fasten the feather each of them wears on the head. They are followed by two women, who are depicted in the standard way of Nubian women. One of them has black skin, the other one brown skin. They wear big round earrings,⁶¹ and the previously mentioned bands of pearls are hanging from their upper arms. The woman in front wears a long skirt consisting of bands of different colour. These bands are separated by points signifying seams. The skirt is most probably made of leather.⁶² Two black bands are hanging in front and look like parts of a girdle. Each of the women has a child on her hand. Another child is carried on the back in a basket. The women are depicted with pendulous breasts and a broad stature.

The Faras Scene

Another very interesting scene can be found elsewhere in TT 40 (Plate 9). On the south side of the east wall of his tomb, Amenemhet Huy is pictured presiding over collection of the revenue of Lower Nubia in Faras.⁶³ In five registers, the subjects of Lower Nubia are shown bringing their revenue to be weighed and registered. Gold in the form of rings on tablets is brought in front. Further behind, people bring single bags of gold dust. In the fifth register, some men bring a quiver and a bow case. Gold in the form of rings and gold dust in bags is shown already registered, as well as cowhides and leopard hides, red and green minerals. The men are shown walking in front, the women in the back. All wear Egyptian clothing,

61 A necklace, as suggested by the Weidenbach drawing, cannot be identified in the pictures.

62 "Type A" in the classification by DRENKHahn, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten*, pp. 74–76 with a comment regarding archeological finds from Nubia. For a recent archaeological find of such a skirt see "HK27C," online, with further links. This particular skirt is held up by means of a drawstring.

63 DAVIES & GARDINER, *The Tomb of Huy*, pls. 16, 17; p. 19. It is not stated explicitly that this scene is meant to be located in Faras. This is probable because of its setting in the pictorial narrative between Huy's arrival in Faras and his inspection of the transport boats. The produce is different from the scene taking place in Thebes. There is more gold dust than gold rings, leopard and cow hides, and chests; much less of the red and green minerals; and one of the men is shown bringing a quiver and bow case whereas the furniture, set pieces and shields are missing. If and how the produce collected here is related to the produce shown on the south side of the west wall is not clear. It might be a part of the produce depicted as being presented before Amenemhet and the king but it is also possible that the produce seen collected here is completely unrelated to the other one and going to a different administrative unit.

maybe marking them as Egyptian subjects.⁶⁴ Apart from their clothing, they are shown as a very diverse mix of Egyptians and Nubians. The men have a red or brown skin colour, some are bearded, some bald with only some white hair around the head, in different sizes. No one wears any kind of jewelry. The skin colour of the women is painted in different shades of red and brown. The depiction of pendulous breasts can only be seen on the first woman in the first register. A hanging breast is indicated under her transparent dress. Two old women with white hair in the second and third register are remarkable. One of them walks supported by a stick. In the same third row, a single child, probably a girl because of the hint of a bosom and the accentuated eye make-up, is depicted. She is walking alone and turning with raised hands towards the women behind her. It is not clear whether she is to be seen as part of the revenue or just accompanying the adults in this scene.

This whole scene is remarkably different from the “normal” scenes of bringing the Nubian produce. It is set in Nubia and the intention of the picture seems to show all the different people of Faras and its surroundings, men and women, young and old, little and tall, Egyptian and Nubian. In this respect it is unique pictorial evidence of the “Egyptianisation of Nubia.” On the other hand, it shows that the ordinary citizens of Faras probably had access to gold, although markedly not for personal use, such as jewelry on the Nubians shown in the scenes set in Thebes. Together with the depiction on the chair of Sitamun these are the only depictions of women bringing “tribute,” although in a completely different context.

Summary

Looking closely at the depictions of Nubian women in New Kingdom Egypt, several points become visible: Nubian women in Egyptian art are characterized by a distinct iconography. Their depiction appears standardized in the main iconographic features, with contrasting details. Both women and children show a different iconography from other foreigners. During the New Kingdom, the women become visible in temple and tomb scenes. In the temple scenes, their pictures form a contrasting image to the images of war, which is seen coming to the villages. These scenes appear rather standardized and do not offer much iconographic detail. The tomb scenes show the Nubian women together with their children in the moment they come to Egypt as part of the southern “tribute.” Many of the scenes show the women forced or even bound. As for the Nubian children, their de-

64 If this assumption is correct, Heqanefer and his fellow *wrw* were not considered as Egyptian subjects. Once again we have to think about the significance of the word *wrw* as a special contractual relationship between Egypt and a foreign ruler, in contrast to a *hkꜣ*.

gree of nakedness versus clothedness, different hairstyles, jewelry and their positioning with the women show different status and age groups.

A singular depiction presents itself in two scenes from the tomb of Amenemhet Huy (TT 40). One scene shows Nubian princesses coming to the Egyptian court. This is one of only two scenes where Nubian princesses are explicitly depicted. The other comes from TT 100. The two scenes paint for the princesses a rather different future in Egypt. In the tomb of Rekhmire, the children of the rulers are assigned as workers to the temple of Amun, a fate which is depicted elsewhere in the tomb where foreign women present their produce and children in front of the temple personnel. In TT 40, the Nubian princesses come to the Egyptian court. They are assigned to the *ipt*, the royal household and become part of a group designated as *hnr*, a word which could also be used for the entourage of a royal person. Male children or young adults are in turn assigned to a *k3p* group within the royal household. In the tomb paintings of TT 40, a princess is followed by her *hnr* entourage. In this scene, the cylindrical modius crown marks the persons as female. The bands they wear on their elbows are different from animals' tails. They resemble pearl-strings and are probably related to the sphere of music and dance. A princess in a chariot may have come from a region further away from the Nile. In another scene located in Faras, the mixed Egyptian-Nubian inhabitants of the region are shown in a unique way.

This closer look at a clearly defined set of interconnected pictorial evidence showing Nubian women allows us to look beyond the limitations of Egyptian stereotypes and propaganda. We see the Egyptians truthfully depicting the specific characteristics of Nubian women. The pictures show their special ways of dressing, as well as aspects of internal age and social groups, manifesting itself for example in hairstyles and jewellery.

The depictions are important historical sources in two respects: on the one hand, they allow a glimpse into some aspects of Nubian society which are known neither from the archaeological remains of Nubian societies nor from Egyptian textual sources. On the other hand, they show an often-neglected aspect of Ancient Egypt: apart from their focus on religion and the afterlife, the ancient Egyptians were also exact bookkeepers and accurate observers and chroniclers. The Nubian women were depicted respectfully with their cultural characteristics, even as prisoners.

The identification, description and comparison of Nubian women in the Egyptian art of the New Kingdom is therefore one step to uncovering Nubians and Nubian culture in Egypt, the logical by-product of thousands of years of cultural contact. A closer look fur-

ther reveals the diversity in ancient Egyptian art and society and its multicultural character.

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Plate 1 Mirror
with Handle in
Form of Girl, ca.
1400–1292 B.C.E.
Bronze, 8 3/4 x 4
13/16 in. (22.2 x
12.2 cm). Brooklyn
Museum,
Charles Edwin
Wilbour Fund,
60.27.1. Creative
Commons-BY.

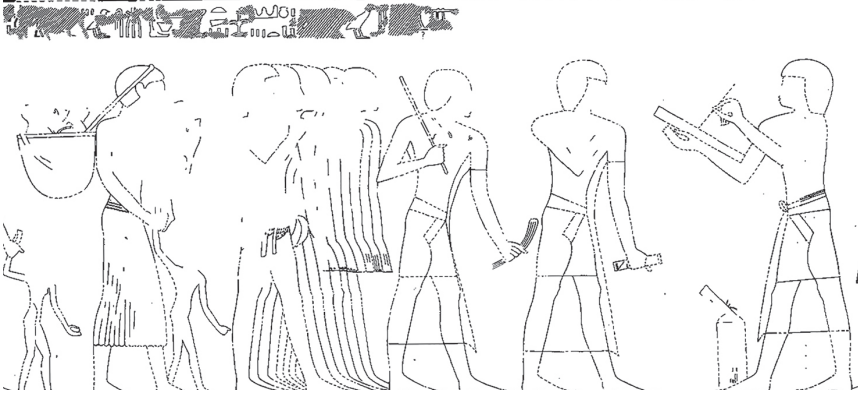


Plate 2 Children of the rulers as tribute, 18th Dynasty from the Tomb of Rekhmire, TT 100, from DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, II*, compiled from pls. 21 and 22, © The Metropolitan Museum of Arts.

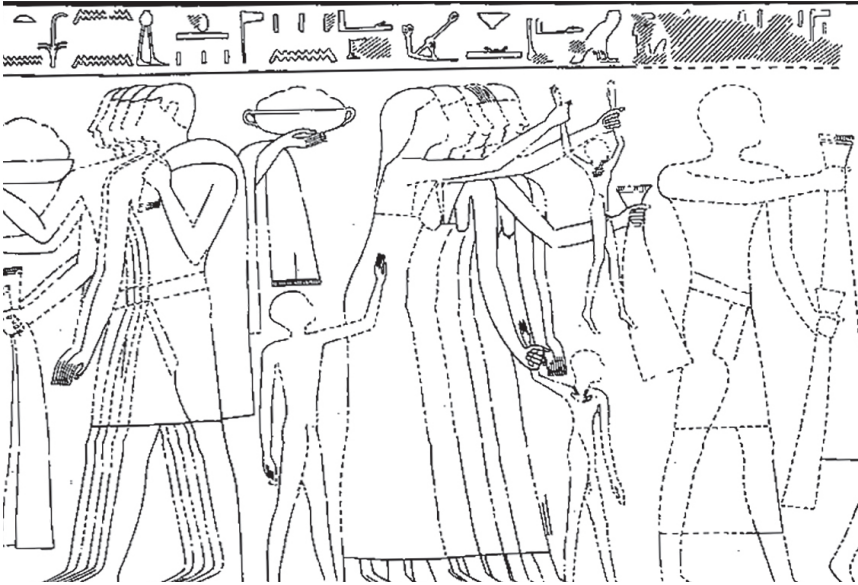


Plate 3 Inspection of the *mrw*-workers, 18th Dynasty from the Tomb of Rekhmire, TT 100, from DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, II*, plate 57, detail, © The Metropolitan Museum of Arts.





Plate 4 Tribute Scene, New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, from the Tomb of Huy TT 40, Digitalisat der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle: <http://edoc3.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/lepsius/tafelw3.html>.





Plate 5 Tomb of Huy (TT 40), Transverse Hall West Wall South side, upper registers, picture compiled from three photographs. flickr/kairoInfo4u. Creative Commons-BY-NC-SA-2.0.

Plate 6 *Chair of
Satamun*, from
QUIBELL, plate 38.





Plate 7 Detail of chair: Inside, chair of Satamun, from QUIBELL, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, plate 43.

Plate 8 *Detail of the Throne of Queen Tiye, New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, from EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, TT 192 Kheruef, pl. 52A, photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*





Plate 9 TT 40, the tomb of Amenhotep Huy; Pano 2 (detail). flickr/kairoInfo4u. Creative Commons Creative Commons-BY-NC-SA-2.0.

No.	Location	Date
1	Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el Bahari	Hatshepsut
2	Temple of Armant, Pylon	Thutmose III
3	TT 81 Ineni	Amenhotep I / Thutmose III
4a	TT 100 Rekhmire	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
4b	TT 100 Rekhmire	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
5	TT 89 Amenmose	Thutmose III-Amenhotep III
6	TT 78 Haremhab	Amenhotep II-Amenhotep III
7	TT 63 Sobekhotep	Thutmose IV
8	Amarna 2 Merire II	Amarna
9	Amarna 1 Huyu	Amarna

Context	Literature
Fragment of pastoral scene, woman and child before hut	NAVILLE, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari Part II</i> , pl. 71; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 47, pp. 208-217
Booty (<i>kꜥ</i>), women, and children	MOND & MYERS, <i>Temples of Armant</i> , pl. 9; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 48, pp. 217-219.
Booty (<i>sꜥr-ꜥnhw</i>), women, and children	DZIOBEK, <i>Das Grab des Ineni</i> ; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 34, pp. 144-150.
Children of the rulers (<i>msw wrw</i>) as booty and workers for the temple of Amun (<i>mrw</i>), women, and women with children	DAVIES, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes</i> , 29-30; <i>ibid.</i> , pl. 21-22; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 5, pp. 41-42.
Inspection of the <i>mrw</i> workers, women, and some children	DAVIES, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes</i> , pp. 47-48; Davies, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes II</i> , pl. 57; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 40, pp. 185-186.
Tribute scene, women, and children	DAVIES & DAVIES, "The Tomb of Amenmose (No. 89) at Thebes"; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 8 & 23, pp. 54-55.
Tribute scene of the <i>wr ḥsj n Kꜣš ḥsj</i> , women and children	BRACK & BRACK, <i>Das Grab des Haremheb</i> ; HALLMAN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 13, p. 72.
Two rows of Nubian tribute, women and children, man with a child	WRESZINSKI, <i>Atlas I</i> , 56c; DZIOBEK & ABDEL RAZIQ, <i>Das Grab des Sobekhotep</i> , pl. 2a; p. 33; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 14, p. 75.
Tribute scene, women bound on the neck and led along	DAVIES, <i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part II</i> , pp. 39-40; pls. 37 & 38; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 20, p. 99.
Tribute (<i>jnw ꜥnd bꜣkw</i>), women, and children	DAVIES, <i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part III</i> , p. 11, pl. 15; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 19, p. 94.

Table 1:
Compiled from DRENKHANN, *Darstellungen*, p. 165; Liste V and HALLMANN, *Tributzszenen* (with modifications and additions by the author).

* I had no access to a depiction of this scene

10a	TT 40 Amenhotep Huy	Tutanchamun
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10b	TT 40 Amenhotep Huy	Tutanchamun
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11*	Gebel Silsileh	Haremhab
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12a	Temple of Beit el Wali	Ramses II
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12b	Temple of Beit el Wali	Ramses II
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13	Temple of Derr	Ramses II
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14	Medinet Habu	Ramses III
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Tribute scene, children of the ruler (<i>msw wrw</i>), princess, women, and children as prisoners	DAVIES & GARDINER, <i>The Tomb of Huy</i> , pp. 22-25; pl. 23-30; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 21, pp. 103-104.
Inhabitants of Faras bring tribute to be recorded, women, one child, old women	DAVIES & GARDINER, <i>The Tomb of Huy</i> , p. 19, pls. 16, 17; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 46, pp. 207-208.
Pastoral or village scene in war relief	DRENKHAHN, <i>Darstellungen von Neger in Ägypten</i> , Liste V
War, wounded come back to the village, women, and children, two scenes	ROEDER, <i>Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali</i> , pp. 30-31, pl. 28, 29.
Women and children as part of the booty	ROEDER, <i>Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali</i> , pp. 41-42; pls. 33 & 34; HALLMANN, <i>Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches</i> , Dok. 53, p. 231.
War, women, and children in the village	BLACKMAN, <i>The Temple of Derr</i> , p. 20; pls. 16-18
War, woman, and child in the village	Epigraphic SURVEY, <i>Medinet Habu I</i> , pl. 9.

