

Two Royal-Name Scarabs of King Amenemhat II from Dahshur

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TWO AMETHYST ROYAL-NAME SCARABS of very fine workmanship were found among the jewelry of Queen Weret II (ca. 1850 B.C.), who was buried in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Figures 1–8; Colorplate 1).¹ Noted for his military campaigns and building activities, Senwosret III,² fifth king of Dynasty 12 (ca. 1878–1840 B.C.), was one of the most distinguished rulers of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2010–1640 B.C.). His funerary complex at Dahshur (Figure 9) consisted of a main pyramid, a pyramid temple, and small pyramids of queens and other female members of the royal family. Pyramid 9 contained the burial remains of Queen Weret II (Figures 10–12), which include fragmentary inscriptions identifying her as the king's wife. The large dimensions of her tomb and its location under the king's pyramid suggest that she was the king's main consort.³

The queen's jewelry deposit was discovered at the pyramid complex in 1994 during excavations directed by Dieter Arnold for The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴ The jewelry was found in a small chamber cut into the east wall of the bottom of the shaft leading to both the queen's burial chamber and her ritual south tomb (Figure 11). At the east end of the chamber's north wall was a 53-centimeter-wide niche with a pit in the floor that contained the jewelry; the niche was sealed with a vertical limestone block at its entrance and a horizontal limestone block that covered the soil-filled pit (Figures 11[a], 13, 14). No identifiable remains of a box or other container for the objects were located. Because all of the original strings had completely decayed, the jewelry was mixed with the pit's soil in disarray.⁵

Placement of a royal jewelry deposit at the bottom of a shaft is unique and probably accounts for its survival, since the tomb robbers who pillaged the rest of the queen's burial would not have thought to look

there for valuables. Judging from the limited evidence available, it seems that such royal jewelry was at that time in Egyptian history either laid on the mummy itself or put in containers in the burial chamber or an annex room.⁶ An empty pit also filled with soil—but lacking any remains of objects—was found in Queen Weret II's south tomb and may have been the original resting place of the deposit (Figure 11[b]). It is possible that when alterations were undertaken in the south tomb, the queen's jewelry was moved for safekeeping to the chamber cut into the bottom of the shaft.⁷

Many questions persist as to the original arrangement of the jewelry elements.⁸ Now on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, the pieces have been reconstructed; the two amethyst scarabs under discussion here, however, remain as individual items. As a group, Queen Weret II's jewelry conforms to our knowledge of the types of objects placed in burials of royal women in Dynasty 12. They display the same mastery of manufacturing techniques, choice of precious materials, and extraordinary beauty noted by William Hayes in his discussion of the large collection of Middle Kingdom jewelry at The Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁹ which includes an impressive selection of royal jewelry of the type found in the deposit of Queen Weret II, some of which is included in the discussion below (see Figures 20–22).

Almost identical in size, features, and designs, the two royal-name scarabs constitute a nearly perfect pair; both are inscribed with a name of King Amenemhat II (ca. 1919–1885 B.C.). Scarab A (Figures 1–4, Colorplate 1) bears the king's throne name, *nbw-k3w-r*;¹⁰ scarab B (Figures 5–8, Colorplate 1), the king's birth name, *imn-m-h3t*. Both names are preceded by the royal title *ntr nfr* (perfect god) and are enclosed in a distinct variation (see discussion below) of a scroll border.¹⁰ Small gold caps enclose both ends of the holes on both scarabs, showing signs of wear that suggest the scarabs were originally strung on gold wires and most likely worn as rings (see Figures 17–19). The

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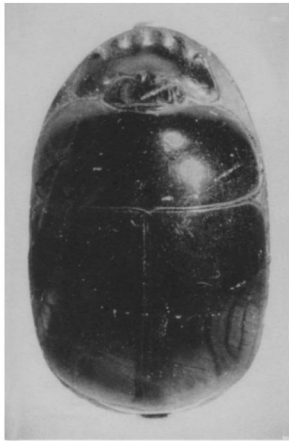


Figure 1. Scarab A from the treasure of Queen Weret II from Dahshur (excavation 1994.1078/1), ca. 1850 B.C. Amethyst, L. 2.56 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.19 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 98778A. See also Colorplate 1



Figure 2. Base of the scarab in Figure 1, inscribed with the throne name of King Amenemhat II



Figure 3. Head of the scarab in Figure 1

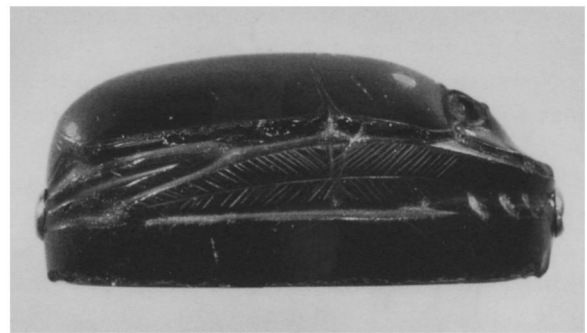


Figure 4. Side view of the scarab in Figure 1



Figure 5. Scarab B from the treasure of Queen Weret II from Dahshur (excavation 1994.1078/2), ca. 1850 B.C. Amethyst, L. 2.57 cm, W. 1.64 cm, H. 1.17 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 98778B. See also Colorplate 1

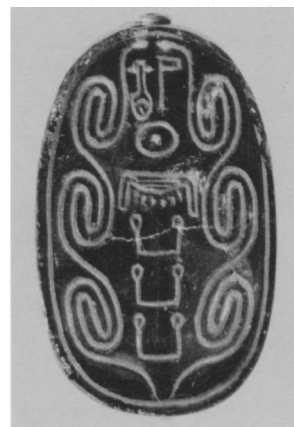


Figure 6. Base of the scarab in Figure 5, inscribed with the birth name of King Amenemhat II



Figure 7. Head of the scarab in Figure 5



Figure 8. Side view of the scarab in Figure 5

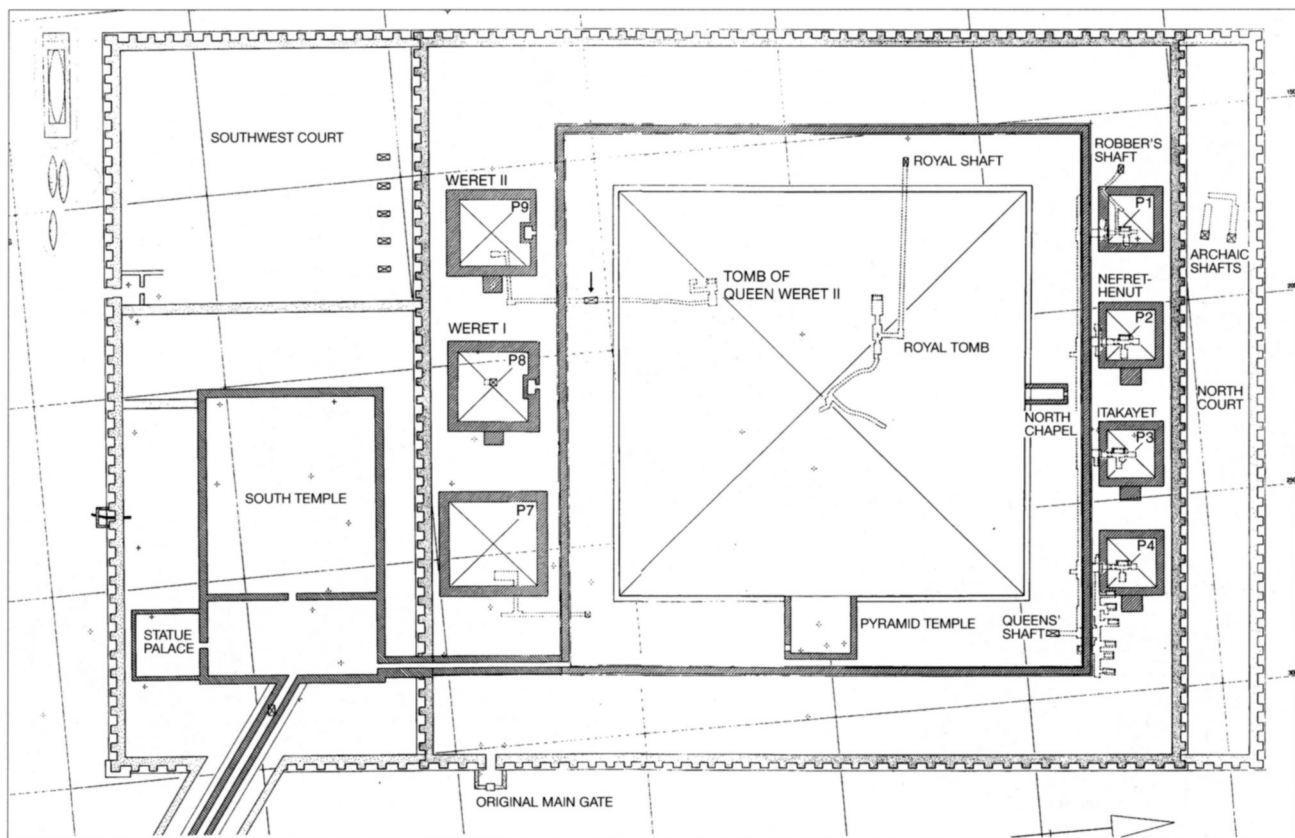


Figure 9. Plan of the pyramid complex of King Senwosret III at Dahshur, with the tomb of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 (P9). Drawing by Dieter Arnold

plinth edges of both scarabs are chipped, perhaps indicating that gold plates covered the base.¹¹

Considering the limited corpus of royal-name scarabs that can be attributed with certainty to Dynasty 12,¹² the clear archaeological context of these scarabs is of great significance. Their confirmed Dynasty 12 date, some of their particular features, and their association with a royal family member provide invaluable information that may help resolve some of the controversy concerning these objects. Two main issues remain: the date of the initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs (and thus the highly debated question of contemporaneous examples) and their original function.

DATING THE INITIAL OCCURRENCE OF ROYAL-NAME SCARABS

The initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs is currently attributed to Dynasty 12, although the earliest ruler whose name is attested on contemporaneous examples is a subject of debate.¹³ The main difficulty

in determining the absolute dates of early Dynasty 12 scarabs is that most examples have no archaeological provenance. Moreover, those unearthed in excavations were not found in archaeological deposits that can be securely dated to the reigns of the kings whose names they bear. Consequently, the dates proposed for many of these scarabs are based primarily on inconclusive stylistic arguments.¹⁴

It is now generally accepted that no royal-name scarab can be dated to the reign of the first ruler of Dynasty 12, Amenemhat I (ca. 1981–1952 B.C.). The contemporaneity of the relatively large number of scarabs bearing variations of the throne name of his son and successor Senwosret I (*hpr-k3-rʿ*) (ca. 1961–1917 B.C.), however, is highly debated.¹⁵ Most scholars agree that this group includes examples displaying incorrect orthography or distinct late features, which therefore are largely considered to be reissues.¹⁶ Ward argues that those examples that exhibit correct orthography and no distinct late features should be considered to be contemporaneous, thus dating the initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs to the reign of Senwosret I.¹⁷ Ward

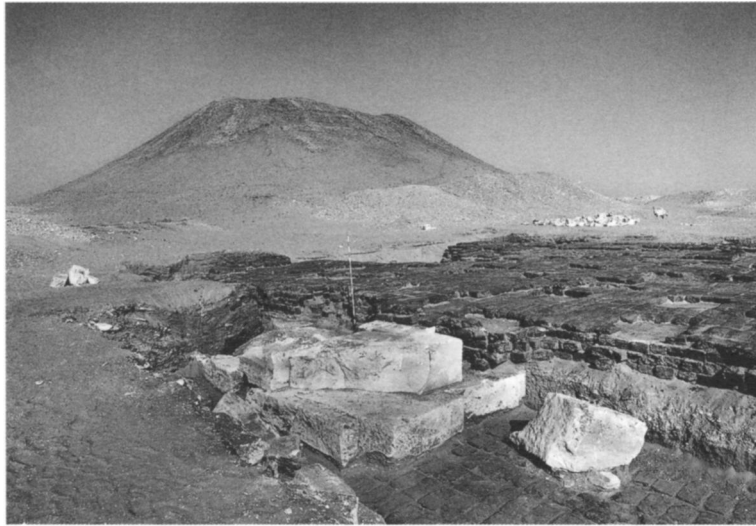


Figure 10. Remains of pyramid 9 at Dahshur with the pyramid of King Senwosret III in the background, seen from the southwest

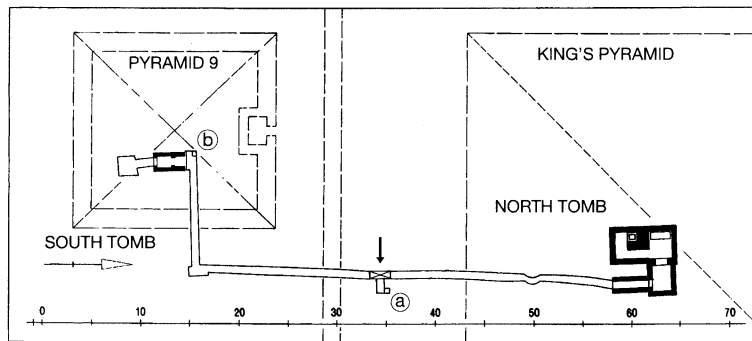


Figure 11. Plan of pyramid 9, showing the ritual south tomb of Queen Weret II and her burial chamber in the north tomb, under the king's pyramid (a: jewelry pit in the chamber cut into the shaft between the south and north tombs; b: empty pit in the south tomb that may have been the original resting place of the jewelry). Drawing by Richard Velleu from a drawing by Dieter Arnold

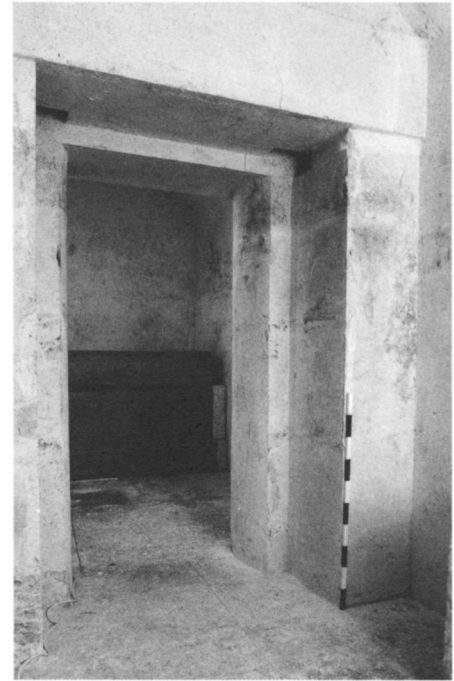


Figure 12. Antechamber of the north tomb of Queen Weret II, seen from the southeast, with her burial chamber and sarcophagus beyond

further proposes that the relatively large number of scarabs bearing this king's throne name reflect the restoration of political stability and the growth of government administration attributed to his reign.¹⁸ Other scholars, arguing that not a single example originated in a securely dated archaeological context, consider the entire group to be reissues associated with the cult of the venerated dead king and date the earliest royal-name scarabs to the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (between ca. 1878 and 1813 B.C.) in late Dynasty 12.¹⁹ As these conclusions have implications for the original function of royal-name scarabs, and for the religious developments that generated their production, a reexamination of the evidence on which the differing arguments are based is in order.

As dating criteria, the designs and stylistic features of scarabs of the first half of the second millennium B.C. have frequently proven to be inconclusive.²⁰ In recent studies, therefore, it has been widely accepted that a chronological typology of these scarabs must be based on excavated series from clear archaeological contexts.²¹ However, the difficulties associated with dating Middle Kingdom archaeological deposits in Egypt, and Middle Bronze Age deposits (largely dating to the first half of the second millennium B.C.) in the southern Levant (where a significant number of scarabs of this period originated), generated scholarly debate over the absolute dates of many groups.²² Moreover, the Canaanite origin of the bulk of the excavated scarab series from Middle Bronze Age Palestine was not recognized, and regional variations were often attrib-

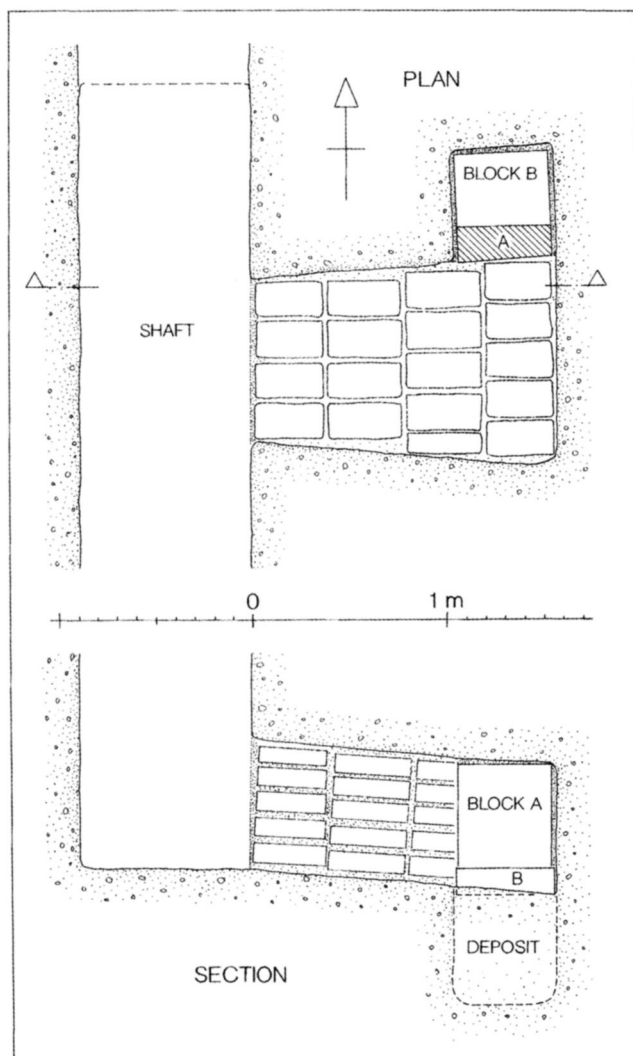


Figure 13. Plan and east-west section through the jewelry pit in the shaft leading to the south and north tombs of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 at Dahshur. Drawing by Dieter Arnold

uted to chronological differences.²³ These difficulties have been diminished considerably by recent studies of Egyptian pottery of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (largely dating between 2010 and 1550 B.C.), which provide substantial evidence to establish the relative sequence and absolute dates of Middle Kingdom and Middle Bronze Age deposits in which scarabs were found.²⁴ Based on these studies it is now possible to use excavated scarab series from Egypt and the southern Levant and to distinguish stylistically between Egyptian scarabs of the early and late Middle Kingdom as well as between Egyptian and Canaanite scarabs.²⁵

The reexamination of archaeological deposits at a number of sites in Egypt where the earliest scarabs were found argues for lowering their absolute dates.²⁶

Some of these scarabs, previously dated to the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2150–2010 B.C.; Ward's Periods 3 and 4),²⁷ are now dated to the early Middle Kingdom (late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12 [ca. 2010–1850 B.C.]).²⁸ The notably small number of scarabs displaying early Middle Kingdom characteristics argues that this group predates the mass production of scarabs in Egypt.²⁹ The archaeological contexts of published groups of scarabs and sealings from Middle Kingdom cemeteries and habitation areas in Egypt and Lower Nubia indicate that the mass production of scarabs in Egypt began in late Dynasty 12, around 1850 B.C., sometime during the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III and probably in association with the religious and administrative developments attested in Egypt during this period.³⁰ The great majority of Middle Kingdom scarabs and seal impressions have been found in late Middle Kingdom cemeteries and administrative units dating from late Dynasty 12 well into Dynasty 13.³¹ Based on the ceramic assemblages associated with them, the bulk of these late Middle Kingdom excavated series date from Dynasty 13,³² although Dynasty 12 examples are probably included in all groups.³³ Most deposits do not allow differentiation between late Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13 scarabs, and much of the material can therefore only be defined as "late Middle Kingdom."

Scarabs bearing the names of early Dynasty 12 kings exhibit designs and stylistic features that strongly argue for their posthumous production. Not a single example among the scarabs bearing the names of Senwosret I, Amenemhat II, and Senwosret II (reigns dated between ca. 1961 and 1878 B.C.) displays designs or features that are attested on early Middle Kingdom scarabs of Ward's Period 4.³⁴ Moreover, all present

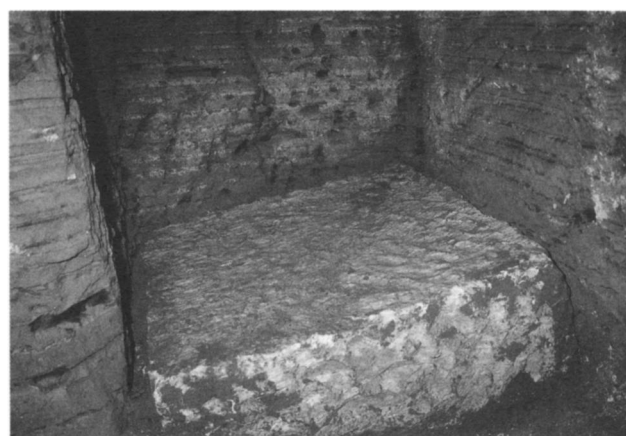
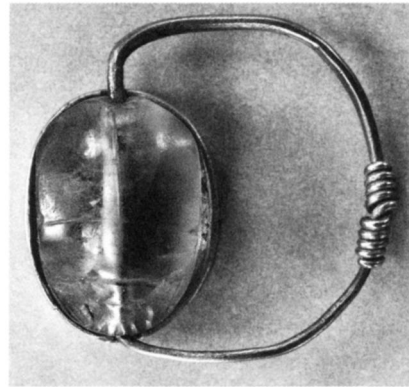


Figure 14. Blocking stone still in position in the jewelry pit in the side chamber cut into the shaft between the tombs of Queen Weret II in pyramid 9 at Dahshur, seen from the southwest



Figures 15 and 16. Scarab from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1859–1813 B.C., with a view of its base inscribed with the throne name of King Amenemhat III surmounting the symbol of millions of years (eternity). Lapis lazuli, L. 1.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.22)



Figures 17 and 18. Scarab with ring from the treasure of Princess Sithathor from Dahshur, ca. 1878–1840 B.C., with a view of the gold plate on the scarab's base inscribed with the throne name of King Senwosret III. Amethyst with gold plate and gold ring, L. 1.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.756)



Figure 19. Scarab with ring from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1887–1813 B.C. Gold inlaid with carnelian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and blue and green paste, the base a plain gold plate, L. 1.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.24)

either late Middle Kingdom,³⁵ Second Intermediate Period,³⁶ or Canaanite³⁷ characteristics, which suggest their later dates or Canaanite production.³⁸

Supporting evidence for the posthumous production of the scarabs bearing names of early Dynasty 12 kings is provided by the fact that not one of them originated in a contemporaneous archaeological context. Although Ward contends that a scarab bearing the name of Senwosret I from tomb 66 at Ruweise on the Lebanese coast originated in a contemporaneous context,³⁹ his suggested date for tomb 66 at Ruweise has been challenged.⁴⁰ Moreover, the other scarabs found in the tomb include late Middle Kingdom Egyptian examples and a small number of Canaanite pieces,

confirming the Dynasty 13 date indicated by the pottery discovered there.⁴¹ A scarab from tomb 73 at Ruweise presented by Ward as a contemporaneous royal-name scarab of Senwosret II⁴² is in fact a late Middle Kingdom design scarab⁴³ displaying a symmetrical arrangement of hieroglyphs.⁴⁴ The scarabs from tomb 73 at Ruweise show distinctive late Middle Kingdom designs, indicating that this tomb, like tomb 66, should be dated to Dynasty 13.⁴⁵

Ward also argues for the contemporaneous context of a scarab bearing the name of Senwosret II from Beth-Shean stratum XI.⁴⁶ However, level XI at Beth-Shean is dated, based on its pottery assemblages, to the last phase of the Early Bronze Age (twenty-first

century B.C.), after which there is a gap in occupation at the site until the seventeenth century B.C.⁴⁷ The scarab is therefore an intrusion in stratum XI. Moreover, the scarab's designs and features indicate a later date and Canaanite production: the "royal name" is surmounted by a winged sun disk, a motif common on Middle Bronze Canaanite scarabs⁴⁸ and not attested on early Middle Kingdom Egyptian examples. In addition, the type of back seen on this scarab, typical of early Canaanite pieces,⁴⁹ is not known to occur on Egyptian Middle Kingdom scarabs.

Ward's dating of royal-name scarabs bearing names of early Dynasty 12 kings was based on comparative material consisting of design scarabs from Middle Bronze Age deposits in Palestine ascribed by him to Dynasty 12;⁵⁰ he was, of course, unaware of the later date and Canaanite production of his comparative material.⁵¹ In fact, the earliest royal-name scarabs from securely dated Dynasty 12 archaeological contexts, as correctly noted by O'Connor, come from the treasures of several princesses found in the pyramid complexes of Senwosret II at el-Lahun and Senwosret III at Dahshur;⁵² one, bearing the throne name of Amenemhat III, was found in the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet at el-Lahun (Figures 15, 16);⁵³ two, inscribed with the throne name of Senwosret III, were among the jewelry of Princess Sithathor at Dahshur (Figures 17, 18);⁵⁴ and two, bearing the throne name of Amenemhat III, were among the jewelry of Princess Mereret at Dahshur.⁵⁵ The burials of these princesses date to late Dynasty 12, between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III.⁵⁶

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE EARLIEST ROYAL-NAME SCARABS

The royal-name scarabs found in the princesses' treasures were part of their elaborate jewelry ensembles (see Figures 20–22), which included diadems, pectorals, bracelets, girdles, beads, amulets, and a number of uninscribed scarabs (see Figure 19) as well as scarabs bearing the names and titles of their female owners.⁵⁷ Most of the scarabs found in these treasures are made of the finest materials, mainly semiprecious stones and gold, and they occasionally form rings with gold-wire shanks (Figures 17–19).⁵⁸ The two amethyst royal-name scarabs from the jewelry of Queen Weret II at Dahshur—the subjects of this article—were found in a similar context, and their function was probably identical to that of the scarabs from the jewelry ensembles of the princesses, as discussed below.

Many of the jewelry items belonging to these royal women were presented to them by the kings to whom

they were related.⁵⁹ Therefore a majority of these gifts most likely reflect the symbolic role of royal women in cults associated with the Egyptian perception of kingship. Indeed, the role of royal women as the feminine complementary aspect of kingship is attested from the early phases of the Pharaonic civilization and follows mythic prototypes.⁶⁰ In this role, royal women—mother, wife, and daughter of the king—acted as a generative force that is expressed in Egyptian mythology in the duality of both male and female and parent and child.⁶¹ The double role of mother and daughter is manifested in Egyptian mythology as a feminine prototype, which applies to the three generations of royal women in association with the renewal of kingship.⁶² Lana Troy argues that "the queenship of ancient Egypt has been defined as consisting of four elements: identification with the mythic prototype, actualization of the powers of the prototype through enactment of a ritual role, embodiment of the generational hierarchy found in the feminine prototype as medium of transformation, and, as the final element, participation in the kingship as the feminine aspect and representative of that office."⁶³ During the Middle Kingdom the importance of the kings' daughters in this context is attested in a distinct type of sculpture depicting a female sphinx, which first occurs during this period bearing exclusively the title *s3t nswt* (king's daughter).⁶⁴ The burials of royal women within the king's pyramid complex reflect their role as manifestations of the feminine prototype representing the powers of renewal in the king's afterlife,⁶⁵ while the lack of conclusive evidence for burials of male members of the royal family, aside from the king, in the royal pyramid complexes further emphasizes the exclusive role of the royal women in the funerary cult of the king. The royal gifts found among the tomb offerings of these women undoubtedly include items associated with their symbolic role, as indicated by comparable types of objects found in the treasures of Dahshur and el-Lahun.⁶⁶ Some of the jewelry bears names of particular kings displayed in symbolic settings or portrays their images in glorified victorious postures,⁶⁷ both of which symbolize the king's primary role as guardian of divine order (see Figure 21).⁶⁸ The fact that names of more than one king were found in most of the jewelry ensembles (Figures 21, 22) implies that the women's role was associated with kingship in general and not necessarily with the particular king in whose pyramid complex they were buried.

Jewelry incorporating royal names is considered by most scholars to have been gifts presented to the women by the particular kings whose names are inscribed on the pieces, which are thus usually dated to the reigns of the respective kings.⁶⁹ Although stylistic

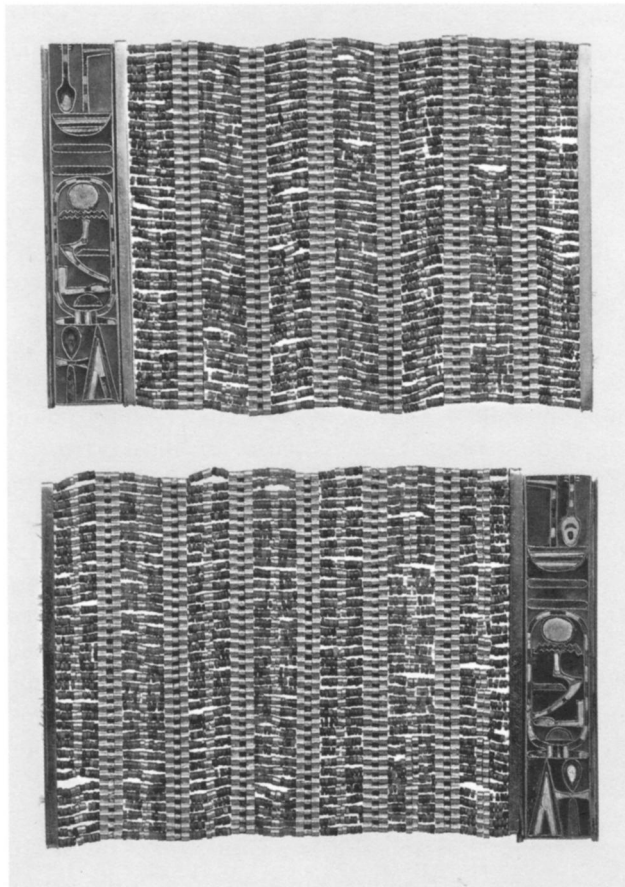


Figure 22. Two bracelets bearing the throne name of King Amenemhat III with the royal titles Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands and the epithet "Given Life," from the treasure of Princess Sithathoryunet from el-Lahun, ca. 1859–1813 B.C. Gold with bands of carnelian and turquoise beads, the inscription originally inlaid with blue and green faience now decomposed to a white substance, H. of clasps 8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Henry Walters Gift, 1916 (16.1.8, 16.1.9)

arguments point in favor of the suggested dates for some of the objects (below), the possibility of occasional heirlooms, or objects made in veneration of deceased kings, cannot be ruled out. As a result of the massive plundering of the pyramid complexes at el-Lahun and Dahshur in antiquity, it is often difficult to identify the royal women who were originally buried there,⁷⁰ and the identity of the three princesses discussed above cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that all three bear the title "king's daughter" indicates filiation with a king,⁷¹ yet there is sufficient evidence to suggest that princesses were not necessarily buried in the pyramid complexes of their fathers.⁷² Sithathoryunet and Mereret are usually identified as the daughters of Senwosret II and Senwosret III, respectively, in whose pyramid complexes—at el-Lahun and Dahshur—they are buried.⁷³ Sithathor,

who was buried in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, is alternately identified as his daughter⁷⁴ or as the daughter of Senwosret II,⁷⁵ based mainly on a pectoral found among her jewelry bearing the latter's name.⁷⁶

The fragmentary and frequently unclear nature of the archaeological and textual evidence associated with these women leaves a number of unresolved questions, which have implications for the absolute date of the jewelry. There is no evidence to determine either the qualifications required for a princess to take part in the royal funerary cult or the reason for her burial in a particular pyramid complex. As noted above, the burial of a princess within a pyramid complex of a particular king does not necessarily indicate filiation with him. Moreover, there is no evidence attesting to the marital status of any of these women and, thus, to whether a married princess could take part in the royal funerary cult.⁷⁷ Princesses married to various officials are attested in the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁸ and there is no evidence implying that certain kings' daughters remained unmarried for cultic purposes during this period. Furthermore, as the bodies of the three princesses under discussion have not been found, the suggested ages of some of these women,⁷⁹ as well as the assumption that the royal-name objects in their jewelry ensembles were presented exclusively by the kings whose names they portray, cannot be corroborated.⁸⁰

The jewelry of the three princesses—Sithathoryunet at el-Lahun and Sithathor and Mereret at Dahshur—show such striking similarities in design, manufacturing techniques, and quality of workmanship that they have frequently been considered to have been made by the same craftsmen.⁸¹ A chronological distinction, however, is usually made between objects attributed to the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III and those ascribed to the reign of Amenemhat III. This distinction is based primarily on the quality of workmanship of objects bearing royal names and their comparison to other items; most scholars consider pieces with paste inlays and less meticulous workmanship as belonging to the later group from the reign of Amenemhat III.⁸² The difference in the quality of workmanship that is apparent in some of the jewelry corroborates the chronological distinction for selected items. However, the evidence does not always allow distinguishing between objects given to a royal woman by an early king, heirlooms, and posthumous productions.

The jewelry of Middle Kingdom royal women is usually divided between those pieces found on the mummy inside the coffin, which are identified as funerary jewelry, and those items located in boxes

hidden in a cache in the vicinity of the coffin, which most scholars consider to be personal jewelry worn in life.⁸³ This distinction is corroborated by the consistent distribution of certain types of jewelry in both groups, by signs of wear noted on some of the objects of the latter group, and by occasional missing inlays that were most probably lost before the objects were buried.⁸⁴ Moreover, representations of royal women wearing similar jewelry are well attested.⁸⁵ The scarabs from the jewelry ensembles discussed here were found exclusively among items considered by most scholars as jewelry worn in life.

Symbolizing new life and regeneration, scarabs were used as amulets for the living as well as for the dead.⁸⁶ Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom royal women may have been worn in life as part of necklaces or rings⁸⁷ and may have been placed in the tomb as funerary offerings together with other jewelry. As argued above, these particular pieces of jewelry, especially those bearing royal names, probably reflect the symbolic role of the royal women in cults associated with kingship. The royal-name scarabs among this type of jewelry, being the earliest securely dated examples of their kind, suggest that the initial occurrence of these scarabs should be considered within the same religious context.⁸⁸

Scarabs, appearing initially in the First Intermediate Period, became the most favored amulets in Egypt in late Dynasty 12 and maintained their extreme popularity until the end of the Late Period (mid-nineteenth to fourth century B.C.). The amuletic role of scarabs is clearly indicated throughout their long period of use, though various other functions are attested during different periods, including use as seals for the central administration as well as affiliation with royal and temple cults.⁸⁹ Based on the widespread use of scarabs as seals in the late Middle Kingdom, royal-name and private-name scarabs have frequently been considered as royal and official seals.⁹⁰ While the main function of private-name scarabs remains controversial,⁹¹ most scholars view royal-name scarabs primarily as amulets endowed with the protective powers of the king.⁹² Seal impressions made by royal-name scarabs are extremely rare, and not a single example indicates their use as official royal seals; the few known impressions were made by scarabs of poor quality that rarely display royal titles and whose use is identical to that of design scarabs.⁹³ Design scarabs were used in the Middle Kingdom as funerary amulets and as seals for the central administration, and the same use is attested for royal-name and private-name scarabs during this period (see below). It should also be noted that Middle Kingdom royal seals are attested on sealings made by large rectangular stamp seals bearing the

king's Horus name.⁹⁴ Made of precious materials, the royal-name scarabs found in the treasures of Middle Kingdom royal women show a superb quality of workmanship that indicates manufacture in royal workshops,⁹⁵ yet the shallow engraving of the inscriptions makes it highly unlikely that these scarabs were used as seals.⁹⁶

The evidence discussed above suggests that royal-name scarabs were initially produced in late Dynasty 12 for royal-associated cults. The almost exclusive origin of the surviving examples in jewelry ensembles of royal women of this period⁹⁷ argues that the original function of these scarabs was associated with the cultic role of these women. Nevertheless, as almost no funerary offerings from burials of Dynasty 12 kings are known, the possible use of similar scarabs by the kings of the period should not be ruled out.

Apart from the royal-name scarabs found among the jewelry of royal women, royal-name scarabs of inferior quality, made of glazed steatite, have been found in late Middle Kingdom contexts.⁹⁸ The most commonly attested Dynasty 12 royal name on such examples is that of Amenemhat III.⁹⁹ Based on the typologies of the early and late Middle Kingdom excavated series noted above, it is now possible to show that scarabs bearing the name of Amenemhat III include examples with distinctive late Middle Kingdom designs,¹⁰⁰ indicating a likely contemporaneous production.¹⁰¹ Most examples presented by Ward as contemporaneous royal-name scarabs of Senwosret III exhibit characteristics that argue for posthumous production.¹⁰² The evidence therefore suggests that large-scale production of royal-name scarabs no longer restricted to the use of the royal family occurred during the reign of Amenemhat III.

DATING THE ROYAL-NAME SCARABS FROM THE JEWELRY OF QUEEN WERET II

The archaeological evidence associated with Queen Weret II's burial, as noted above, suggests that she was the main wife of Senwosret III, in whose pyramid complex she was buried.¹⁰³ Her physical remains indicate that she died between the age of fifty and seventy; the uncertainty of the date of her death and burial, however, does not allow the determination of whether she was the daughter of Senwosret II or Amenemhat II. Moreover, as the title "daughter of the king" has never been found in connection with her, there is no certainty of her royal filiation, and she may have been of humble birth.¹⁰⁴ The Amenemhat II scarabs found among her jewelry show close similarity in features and design to the Senwosret III and Amenemhat III

scarabs of Sithathor and Mereret,¹⁰⁵ suggesting a short time span for their production and the possibility of the same workshop. The jewelry of Queen Weret II exhibits first-rate workmanship, similar to the jewelry attributed to the earlier ensembles of the princesses noted above, which are usually dated between the reigns of Senwosret II and Senwosret III. The absence of paste inlays in Weret II's jewelry further indicates a date earlier than the reign of Amenemhat III,¹⁰⁶ a conclusion corroborated by the funerary pottery found in her burial, which, according to Susan Allen, is earlier than the pottery found in the burials of princesses dated to the reign of Amenemhat III.¹⁰⁷

Although the identification of Queen Weret II as the daughter of Amenemhat II is far from certain, the possibility cannot be ruled out, and it could thus be proposed that the royal-name scarabs bearing his name were given to her by Amenemhat II. The scarabs, however, display late Middle Kingdom characteristics, which argue against dating them earlier than the reign of Senwosret III. Among the most distinctive of these characteristics, and strongly arguing against dating the scarabs to the reign of Amenemhat II, are the paired scroll borders that enclose the names. While similar paired borders customarily enclose private names on late Middle Kingdom scarabs,¹⁰⁸ they are completely absent in the known corpus of early Middle Kingdom scarabs. The scarabs of Queen Weret II also exhibit, as noted earlier, a close stylistic similarity to the scarabs bearing the names of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III from the treasures of the princesses discussed above, which further support their late Middle Kingdom date. The serpent heads that end the paired scrolls are extremely rare, occurring almost exclusively on late Dynasty 12 royal-name scarabs, including the scarab bearing the name of Senwosret III from the jewelry of Sithathor at Dahshur¹⁰⁹ and three late Dynasty 12 royal-name scarabs of glazed steatite.¹¹⁰ The evidence thus suggests that the scarabs found among the jewels of Queen Weret II were manufactured during the reign of Senwosret III, in whose pyramid complex they were found.

OTHER TYPES OF NAME SCARABS

The initial occurrence of royal-name scarabs very nearly coincides with the first appearance of another type of name scarab, bearing the names and titles of royal women. Such scarabs were also found among the jewelry of Sithathor and Mereret at Dahshur. One scarab of Sithathor and five scarabs of Mereret show the princesses' names with the title *s3t nswt* (king's daughter).¹¹¹ The scarab of Sithathor and two of the

scarabs of Mereret include the funerary epithet *nbt im3h* (possessor of reverence),¹¹² suggesting the association of the scarab with the funerary cult. However, *'nh-ti* (alive) follows the name on another scarab of Mereret,¹¹³ and *'nh-dt* (alive forever) is found on one of her scarabs that is inscribed with queenly titles,¹¹⁴ indicating the use of these two examples during Mereret's lifetime. The identical context of the scarabs with names and titles of royal women and those bearing kings' names signal similar symbolic use, suggesting that the production of the women's scarabs may have been generated by those inscribed with kings' names.

Private-name scarabs bearing names and titles of officials or their wives,¹¹⁵ which are not attested in archaeological contexts earlier than late Dynasty 12,¹¹⁶ most likely developed from royal-name scarabs and those bearing names and titles of royal women. Their initial large-scale production in the late Middle Kingdom has been attributed to administrative changes attested during the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, and they have been viewed primarily as official administrative seals.¹¹⁷ However, this period also saw significant religious developments, and it has been postulated that the primary function of private-name scarabs was amuletic.¹¹⁸ Their use as funerary amulets is attested by funerary epithets following the names on about 22 percent of the known examples, by scarabs that depict the owner holding an *'nh* sign, indicating his or her representation as deceased, and by the large number of excavated examples found in or nearby cemeteries.¹¹⁹

The widespread use of scarabs as amulets and as sealing devices for the central administration seems to have begun simultaneously in the late Middle Kingdom, and the evidence suggests that the separation between religious and administrative function was not as distinct for the Egyptians as it has been in modern times. Scarabs used in the administration during this period, for example, are identical to those found in tombs, including private-name scarabs with funerary epithets, and scarabs seem to have been randomly selected for sealing, regardless of their designs and inscriptions.¹²⁰ The evidence implies, as correctly noted by Williams,¹²¹ that scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom, whether initially intended for use as seals or amulets, were likely to have been reused for a secondary function and that these uses became interchangeable.¹²²

As no archaeological evidence exists for private-name scarabs before the late Middle Kingdom,¹²³ their production seems to have been inspired by royal-name scarabs and by scarabs bearing the names of royal women, both representing cults associated with the king. The adaptation of cults reflecting royal privileges

by the elite during the Middle Kingdom is attested in the so-called democratization of royal-associated cults and symbols, of which private-name scarabs may constitute an additional example.¹²⁴ The funerary epithets and formulae attested on private-name scarabs and the images of the owners as deceased clearly associate these scarabs with the funerary cult.¹²⁵ Names and titles of Egyptian officials and their wives with or with-

out funerary epithets are repeatedly inscribed on tomb walls and on funerary-related objects such as coffins, canopic jars, stelae, and statues to ensure the eternal survival of their owners. It is primarily the aspiration of sharing the eternal sphere of the afterlife with the king that generated the adaptation of royal-associated cults by Egyptian officials throughout the long history of Pharaonic civilization.

NOTES

1. This paper was written while I was the Jane and Morgan Whitney Fellow in the Department of Egyptian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Metropolitan Museum for granting me the opportunity to study objects in its outstanding Egyptian collection, to Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim for offering me the opportunity to publish the scarabs, and to Dorothea and Dieter Arnold, Susan and James Allen, Claudia Farias, Marsha Hill, Adela Oppenheim, Diana Craig Patch, Catharine Roehrig, and Christine Lilyquist for their generous assistance and helpful remarks.
For preliminary publications of the scarabs, see Adela Oppenheim, "A First Look at Recently Discovered 12th Dynasty Royal Jewelry from Dahshur," *KMT* 6.1 (1995), pp. 10–11; Adela Oppenheim, "The Jewelry of Queen Weret," *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), p. 26; Jean Leclant and G. Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1995–1996," *Orientalia* 66 (1997), pl. XXI, fig. 29; Dieter Arnold, Adela Oppenheim, and James P. Allen, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 26 (New York, 2003), pp. 132–33.
2. The length of Senwosret III's reign is controversial; some scholars argue for nineteen years, while others suggest thirty-six or thirty-nine years. See Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 117 n. 418.
3. The numbering of the pyramids by the 1894–95 excavator Jacques de Morgan included two additional pyramids that he numbered 5 and 6; these pyramids do not exist. See *ibid.*, p. 75.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–82, 127–33.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 70; Guy Brunton, *Lahun I: The Treasure* (London, 1920), pp. 17–26; Herbert E. Winlock, *The Treasure of El-Lahun* (New York, 1939) p. 5, fig. 1.
7. I thank Adela Oppenheim for the information concerning the findspot of the jewelry.
8. For a detailed discussion of the jewelry, see Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pp. 75–83, 125–33.
9. William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, pt. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 228–40.
10. Olga Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II, Scarab Seals and Their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.*, 2 vols. (Warminster, 1984), p. 129, Design Class 7C3.
11. The gold plates may have borne inscriptions identical to those engraved on the scarabs themselves, as is the case on the

- scarab of Imeny from Lisht; Geoffrey T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1971), nos. 195, 196. The amethyst scarab of Sithathor from Dahshur (Figure 17) has a gold plate on its base bearing the throne name of Senwosret III.
12. Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1 (Mainz, 1976), pp. 49–50; Barry J. Kemp and Robert Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), p. 41; William A. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–54; David O'Connor, "The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 15 (1985), p. 17.
13. Raphael Giveon, "Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty from Western Asia," *Revue d'égyptologie* 19 (1967), p. 970; William A. Ward and William G. Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III, Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context: An Essay on Middle Bronze Age Chronology* (San Antonio, 1994), p. 128; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 10 (Freiburg, 1995), pp. 230–32.
14. William A. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World, 2200–1900 B.C.: Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period* (Beirut, 1971), pp. 127–40; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 26; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, pp. 47–48; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 152 and n. 5.
15. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean*, pp. 127–34; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 49; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–52, pl. 51; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, pp. 15–17; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, p. 231.
16. Hans Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13 bis 17 Dynastie Ägyptens, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, Ägyptologische Forschungen 12 (Glückstadt, 1942), pp. 13–17; Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean*, pp. 127–34; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 21.
17. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 151–54.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
19. Stock, *Studien*, pp. 17–18; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 49–50; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41; O'Connor, "Chronology of Scarabs," pp. 37–38; Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus*

- Palästina/Israel: Katalog*, vol. 1, *Von Tell Abu Farag bis 'Atlit*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 13 (Freiburg, 1997), pp. 792–93.
20. Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, pp. 9–24; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 39–57; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Relations between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom as Reflected by Contemporary Canaanite Scarabs,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 47 (1997), pp. 164–65.
 21. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*; O'Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs”; William Ward, “Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987), pp. 507–32; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine”; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs,” in *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, ed. Leonard Lesko (Providence, R.I., 1998), pp. 1–17.
 22. Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, pp. 44–50; Manfred Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), pp. 482–85; Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*; O'Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs”; Ward, “Scarab Typology”; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*; Pirhiya Beck and Uza Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 304 (1996), pp. 64–75; James M. Weinstein, “A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: How the High Chronology Became the Middle Chronology,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 304 (1996), pp. 55–63; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 163–66.
 23. The extreme popularity and wide distribution of scarabs in Middle Bronze Age Palestine were undoubtedly the outcome of the large-scale settlement of Canaanites in the eastern delta during the late Middle Kingdom and their subsequent rule over northern Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. See Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 167–88.
 24. Dorothea Arnold, “Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Tarif,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 28 (1972), pp. 33–46; Dorothea Arnold, “Zur Keramik aus dem Taltempelbereich der Pyramide Amenemhets III in Dahschur,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 33 (1977), pp. 21–26; Dorothea Arnold, “Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur, 1976–1981,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 38 (1982), pp. 25–65; Dorothea Arnold, “The Pottery,” in Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I: The South Cemetery of Lisht*, vol. 1, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 22 (New York, 1988), pp. 106–46; Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology”; Manfred Bietak, “Archäologischer Befund und historische Interpretation am Beispiel der Tell El-Yahudiya-Warc,” in *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*, ed. Silvia Schoske, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1989), pp. 7–34; Manfred Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 281 (1991), pp. 27–72; Janine Bourriau, “Nubians in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period: An Interpretation Based on the Egyptian Ceramic Evidence,” in *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, ed. Dorothea Arnold (Mainz, 1981), pp. 25–41; Janine Bourriau, “Cemetery and Settlement Pottery of the Second Intermediate Period to the Early New Kingdom,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 8 (1987), pp. 47–59; Janine Bourriau, “The Pottery,” in Peter Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas: Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986*, American Research Center in Egypt Reports 12 (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), pp. 15–22; Janine Bourriau, “The Memphis Pottery Project,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1 (1991), pp. 263–68; Janine Bourriau, “Relations between Egypt and Kerma during the Middle and New Kingdoms,” in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. Vivian Davies (London, 1991), pp. 129–44; Janine Bourriau, “Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta,” in *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Eliezer D. Oren, University Museum Monograph 96 (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 159–82; Stephan Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich: Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 1 (Heidelberg, 1990).
 25. See Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine”; Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs”; Daphna Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age: Scarab Research,” in *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. 2, cd. Manfred Bietak (Vienna, 2003), pp. 239–48. The typologies of scarabs of the first half of the second millennium B.C. from Egypt and the southern Levant are presented in a study currently in preparation by this author, which argues for the Canaanite origin of the bulk of the scarabs from Middle Bronze Age Palestine. See also Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 31–35.
 26. Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang*, pp. 185–99, 395, fig. 168.
 27. William A. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I: Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets* (Warminster, 1978), p. 16.
 28. The early Dynasty 12 date of the Montet Jar scarabs from Byblos (Ward's Period 4) was confirmed based on the ceramic context of the scarabs and sealings from Abu Ghalib, which display identical designs. See Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs.”
 29. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, p. 2; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 117; Ben-Tor, “Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs,” p. 14.
 30. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, p. 3; Janet H. Johnson, “Private Name Seals of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu, Calif., 1977), pp. 141–45; Bruce Williams, “Aspects of Sealing and Glyptic in Egypt before the New Kingdom,” in *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 136–38; Hornung and Staehelin, *Sharabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 50; Janine Bourriau, “Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom,” in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. Stephen Quirke (New Malden, 1991), pp. 3–29.
 31. The late Middle Kingdom excavated series in Egypt and Nubia constitute primarily sealings from administrative units at sites such as Kahun, Uronarti, Elephantine, and South Abydos and a much smaller number of scarabs from cemeteries due to extensive plundering in antiquity and in modern times. See Olga Tufnell, “Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975), pp. 67–101; Cornelius Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, Elephantine 18, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 91 (Mainz, 1996), pp. 234–74; Josef Wegner, “Excavations at the Town of Enduring-Are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 and 1997 Seasons,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35 (1998), pp. 32–41; Reginald Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pl. 20.

32. Stuart Tyson Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1995), pp. 70–71; Wegner, “Excavations at the Town of *Enduring-Are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abdos*,” pp. 37–41; Susan J. Allen in Daphna Ben-Tor, Susan J. Allen, and James P. Allen, “Seals and Kings,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 315 (1999), p. 51.
33. This issue is discussed in detail in a study currently in preparation by this author.
34. Compare the designs and features of scarabs of Period 4 presented in Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, pls. IX–XV, with those presented in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII.
35. For example, symmetrically arranged hieroglyphs and different types of scroll and rope borders; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII. These designs commonly occur on late Middle Kingdom scarabs; see Tufnell, “Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort,” pp. 71–73. They are, however, not attested on early Middle Kingdom scarabs.
36. For example, borders of concentric circles and branches decorating the back; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pls. LI, LII: 3014, 3015, 3021, 3043–45. These are not attested on early or late Middle Kingdom scarabs but occur on Second Intermediate Period royal-name scarabs; see Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LVII: 3230, 3263.
37. For example, the misrendered form of the sign *k3*; see Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” p. 171 and fig. 4.
38. For the date of the early Canaanite scarabs in advanced Dynasty 13, see Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” pp. 163–64; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” pp. 245–46.
39. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 152; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 97.
40. O’Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs,” pp. 36–37; Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” pp. 66–67; Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing,” p. 57.
41. Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One,” pp. 66–67; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine,” p. 187 n. 89; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” p. 243, fig. 3.
42. Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 101, fig. 5:1c: 59.
43. The term “design scarab” refers to scarabs bearing designs that do not form inscriptions, such as geometric or figurative designs, or symmetrical arrangements of signs and symbols representing royal power or blessings.
44. For similar designs, see William A. Ward, “Scarabs of ‘Nubkheper-errā’: A Note on the Interpretation of Design,” *Berytus* 25 (1977), pp. 163–72.
45. See also Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing,” p. 58; Ben-Tor, “Egyptian-Levantine Relations,” p. 242.
46. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 152–54, pl. LII: 3037.
47. Amihai Mazar, “Beth-Shan,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 1, ed. Eric M. Meyers (Oxford, 1997), p. 306.
48. See, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. X: 1491, 1492, 1495, 1507, 1511, 1524.
49. See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 57, fig. 17: 31; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 99, fig. 5:1a: 22; Keel, *Corpus: Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 489, no. 1125. The identification of this back type as typical of early Canaanite scarabs was made by Othmar Keel and will be published in his forthcoming contribution to the Schweich lectures.
50. Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pp. 153–54; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, pp. 102–6.
51. Beck and Zevulun, “Back to Square One”; Weinstein, “Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing”; Ben-Tor, “Relations between Egypt and Palestine.”
52. O’Connor, “Chronology of Scarabs,” p. 7.
53. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 56, pl. XII: D.
54. Jacques de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), p. 62, no. 19, fig. 132; Percy Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (London, 1907), p. 351, no. 37401, pl. XVIII; Émile S. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1927), p. 88, no. 52233; Herbert E. Winlock, “Elements from the Dahshur Jewelry,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 33 (1933), p. 137, D (MMA 26.7.756; Figures 17, 18 above).
55. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 69, nos. 40, 41, figs. 148, 149; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, p. 354, nos. 37411, 37413, pl. XVIII; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, p. 91, nos. 52244, 52245. For the possible identification of Mereret as queen, see Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 70. I thank Adela Oppenheim for this reference.
56. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–6; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, pp. 233–37; Dieter Arnold and Adela Oppenheim, “Reexcavating the Senwosret III Pyramid Complex at Dahshur: A Report on the Architecture and Reliefs,” *KMT* 6.2 (1995), p. 50; Rodney L. Cron and George B. Johnson, “De Morgan at Dahshur: Excavations in the 12th Dynasty Pyramids, 1894–95,” *KMT* 6.2 (1995), pp. 36–41.
57. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, pp. 60–72; Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37400–37420; Brunton, *Treasure*; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pls. XX, XXII; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*.
58. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37411–15, 37419–20; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 57 and n. 7.
59. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 233.
60. Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 53–114, 145–50.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 148–50.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65; James F. Romano, “Head of a Queen or Princess,” in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Anne K. Capel and Glenn E. Markoe, exh. cat., Cincinnati Art Museum (New York, 1997), p. 107, no. 40; Richard A. Fazzinni, “Head of a Sphinx,” in *Mistress of the House*, pp. 107–8, no. 41.
65. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 72, 112.
66. Albert M. Lythgoe, “The Treasures of Lahun,” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14 (1919), pp. 16–24; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Alix Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (London, 1971), pp. 55–90.
67. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, pl. XXI; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pl. VII.
68. Erika Feucht, *Die Königlichen Pektore Motive, Sinngehalt und Zweck* (Munich, 1967), pp. 29–33; John Baines, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O’Connor and David P. Silverman (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995), pp. 10–14.
69. Lythgoe, “Treasures of Lahun,” pp. 18–23; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 233; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 83–90; Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (London, 1990), pp. 127–29.

70. See Biri Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 43–47, with bibliography.
71. During the Middle Kingdom the title *s3t nswt* refers almost exclusively to the daughter of the king; Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3 Njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976), pp. 124–25, 190–202; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 194–95; William A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut, 1986), pp. 46–53; James F. Romano, "A Statuette of a Royal Mother and Child in the Brooklyn Museum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 48 (1992), p. 143; Betsy M. Brian, "In Woman Good and Bad Fortune Are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Ancient Egyptian Culture," in *Mistress of the House*, p. 27 and n. 17.
72. A number of princesses buried in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II who were considered as his daughters are now dated to the reign of Amenemhat III; Fay, *Louvre Sphinx*, p. 43 and nn. 196, 199. See also Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," p. 18, for the uncertain filiation of the Middle Kingdom princesses.
73. Winlock, *Treasure of El Lahun*, p. 3; Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 3, *Memphis*, 2nd ed., ed. Jaromir Málek (Oxford, 1974), pp. 883–84. Mereret was also identified as the daughter of Senwosret II (Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51) and as a queen of Senwosret III (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51). Brunton carefully refers to Sithathoryunet as a relative of Senwosret II and not as his daughter, for lack of conclusive evidence; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42.
74. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 159; 12.29.
75. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography III*, p. 883; Cron and Johnson, "De Morgan at Dahshur," p. 38.
76. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4.
77. See also Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," p. 20.
78. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles*, pp. 46–47.
79. Most scholars consider Sithathoryunet, whose jewelry ensemble included pectorals of both Senwosret II and Amenemhat III, to have lived during both reigns and therefore to have been in her forties when buried in the pyramid complex at el-Lahun: Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 18–20; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 3–4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, pp. 233–35; Nora E. Scott, "Egyptian Jewelry," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 22 (1964), pp. 230–31.
80. For the fragmentary and inconclusive evidence associated with the Middle Kingdom pyramid complexes at el-Lahun and Dahshur, see also Barry J. Kemp, "Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries, Part 1: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 31 (1975), pp. 266–67.
81. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 23–24; Brunton, *Treasure*, pp. 42–43; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, p. 236; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 51.
82. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 22–24; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 57–59; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 127–29.
83. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 17–18 n. 1; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 23–24, 34; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 24–25. This distribution is accepted by most scholars in spite of the fact that there is no case in which both types of jewelry were found in association with the same woman.
84. Lythgoe, "Treasures of Lahun," pp. 17–18; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 42; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pp. 23–24.
85. Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 34; Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period* (London, 1971), pl. 24.
86. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 13–17; Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals I*, pp. 45–47; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–68.
87. Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36.
88. The symbol of millions of years depicted on the Amenemhat III scarab of Sithathoryunet is also found on the pectorals of Senwosret II and Amenemhat III discovered among her jewelry; Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, pls. VII, XII: D (see Figures 15, 16, 21, above).
89. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–77.
90. Giveon, "Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty"; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pp. XI–XII; Ward in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 151; O'Connor, "Chronology of Scarabs," p. 1; Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 250–52; Kim S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 B.C.*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20 (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 34–65; Josef Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos: An Overview of the Sigillographic Evidence," *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 22 (2001), pp. 77–106; Brigitte Gratiot, "Scellements et contrescellements au Moyen Empire en Nubie l'apport de Mirgissa," *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 22 (2001), pp. 56–64.
91. Johnson, "Private Name Seals"; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–38; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegel-amulette*, pp. 88–89; Martin in Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 147; Daphna Ben-Tor, "The Historical Implications of Middle Kingdom Scarabs Found in Palestine Bearing Private Names and Titles of Officials," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 294 (1994), pp. 7–22; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 268–74; Von Pilgrim, *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 250–52; Daphna Ben-Tor, Susan J. Allen, and James P. Allen, "Seals and Kings," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 315 (1999), p. 54; Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos," pp. 93–97.
92. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 41–43; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 137–38; Daphna Ben-Tor, *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt*, exh. cat., Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 15–16; Ward and Dever, *Studies on Scarab Seals III*, p. 125 and n. 8; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, pp. 266–67.
93. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–37; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 53–54.
94. Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 55–56.
95. An unprovenanced scarab ring matches the style and high quality of the royal-name scarabs from the jewelry of the Dynasty 12 royal women; Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1988), p. 157, no. 179, pl. IV: 1. The scarab is made of carnelian and set in a gold plate covering the base that bears the throne name of Amenemhat III. The name is followed by the epithet *di 'nh* (given life), in support of dating the scarab to the king's reign; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, p. 157. I thank Dorothea Arnold for this reference.

96. See also Winlock, *Treasure of El-Lahun*, p. 57; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, pp. 76–77.
97. The scarab referred to in note 95 above is the only published example of a Dynasty 12 royal-name scarab of royal-workshop quality, the origin of which is unknown.
98. See, for example, Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," fig. 12: 437–44.
99. Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* (London, 1891), pl. 8: 32–35; Reginald Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 26 (London, 1915), pl. 17: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," fig. 12: 438–42.
100. See, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3077–80, displaying symmetrical arrangements of hieroglyphs well attested on late Middle Kingdom design scarabs; Tufnell, "Seal Impressions from Kahun Town and Uronarti Fort," figs. 5–6: 251, 254, 300–304.
101. Most scarabs and other seal amulets bearing the name of Amenemhat III, as well as those bearing names of earlier Dynasty 12 kings, were found in mixed late Middle Kingdom contexts that include material from Dynasty 13 and later. Moreover, none of the Amenemhat III royal-name scarabs presented by Ward (Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, p. 179 and pl. LIII), and Keel (*Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, p. 232) comes from a contemporaneous archaeological context. The absolute dates of these objects are therefore uncertain (see also Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, p. 41), as they are based primarily on stylistic grounds; Stock, *Studien*, pp. 17–18; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, p. 50. A late Dynasty 12 date for some examples may, however, be implied by scarabs and other seal amulets that bear the name of Amenemhat III together with names of other Dynasty 12 kings; see, for example, Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3091–92; Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XVII: 1. One such seal was found with a medium-size globular pottery jar with a wide flaring neck in tomb 236 at Riqqeh (Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XXIX: 38S2), together with a cylinder seal bearing the name of Amenemhat II (Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis*, pl. XVII: 2). The published drawing of the jar was examined by Susan Allen, who dated it to Dynasty 12.
102. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LII: 3049–71. These include the Canaanite *h3* (nos. 3058, 3068, 3070), the rope border (nos. 3066–71) not attested on securely dated Dynasty 12 scarabs, the winged sun disk (no. 3059, see above), and the unusual form of scroll border (no. 3062). The only securely dated example among the scarabs presented by Tufnell is no. 3065, from the jewelry of Princess Sithathor at Dahshur. See also Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations," p. 242.
103. See Arnold, Oppenheim, and Allen, *Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, p. 75.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
105. The design and stylistic elements of the Amenemhat III scarab from the treasure of Sithathoryunet (Figures 15, 16) are unique, displaying features unknown from other semiprecious stone scarabs of the Middle Kingdom. The body of the scarab has a gold cylindrical tube inserted into the open area, and the clypeus may have been made separately; Brunton, *Treasure*, p. 36.
106. I thank Adela Oppenheim for sharing her observations and conclusions with me. See also Oppenheim, "Jewelry of Queen Weret."
107. I thank Susan Allen for sharing her observations and conclusions with me. See also Susan Allen, "Queens' Ware: Royal Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, ed. John Eyre, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 82 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 39–48.
108. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 5–16.
109. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, p. 62, fig. 132.
110. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals II*, pl. LIII: 3087, 3094, 3095. Only one late Middle Kingdom private-name scarab bearing this design is known; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 11: 12.
111. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals*, pl. XVIII: 37400, 37404–8.
112. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37400, 37407, 37408.
113. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37406.
114. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII: 37414.
115. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pp. 175–87.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 3; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," p. 141; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–37.
117. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, p. XII; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," p. 142.
118. Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, pp. 88–89; Johnson, "Private Name Seals," pp. 141–42; Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," p. 137; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," pp. 8–10; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," p. 54.
119. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 41: 33, 36, 37; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," pp. 19–20; Ben-Tor, Allen, and Allen, "Seals and Kings," pp. 54–55.
120. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," pp. 136–38; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," p. 8.
121. Williams, "Aspects of Sealing," p. 138.
122. The original administrative function of particular types of late Middle Kingdom official seals is clearly indicated by archaeological evidence attesting to their exclusive administrative use and by their inscriptions, which frequently include the word "seal" and always bear names of administrative units; Ben-Tor, "Historical Implications," p. 8; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 43–45, 47: passim. However, objects of identical form bearing only private names and titles, sometimes with funerary epithets, support the interchangeable function of scarabs and seals in the late Middle Kingdom; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 43: 2, 3; 44: 5, 10, 15, 18, 24; 45: 4.
123. One exception is the silver scarab of Wah, which is dated to the reign of Amenemhat I in early Dynasty 12; Dorothea Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), pp. 34–35. This scarab, however, is unique in every respect: its size is larger than that of other private-name scarabs; its material is, so far, unique for private-name scarabs; the name of Wah is inscribed together with that of his superior official, Meketra; and both names are inscribed on the back of the scarab rather than on its base. It should also be noted that the design comprising scrolls on the base of this scarab differs from the scroll borders enclosing the name and title on late Middle Kingdom scarabs. The material and the low engraving of the design on the base strongly argue against the use of this scarab as a seal. Moreover, the symbolic mutilation of its head most probably relates to its funerary function; Henry G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne*:

- Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques*, Collège de France, Essais et conférences (Paris, 1986), p. 131; Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry*, p. 177. The inscribed names of Wah and Meketra on the back may suggest that the scarab was awarded to Wah by his superior.
124. James Allen, "Funerary Texts and Their Meaning," in *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine Roehrig, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1988), pp. 47–48;
- David P. Silverman, "The Nature of Kingship," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, pp. 80–84.
125. Wegner, "Institutions and Officials at South Abydos," pp. 93–97, states that such epithets do not necessarily imply a funerary function, as they are attested in relation to living individuals. However, this does not argue against their funerary connotation, as funerary-associated inscriptions on stelae, statues, and tomb chapels were often made during the individual's lifetime to assure his or her eternal survival in the afterlife.