

VOLUME III

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF THE WIVES OF THE  
EGYPTIAN KINGS (DYNASTIES I - XVII)

## PROSOPOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE OF THE WIVES OF THE KINGS

### DYNASTIES I - XVII

#### DYNASTY I

##### QUEEN NT-HTP

Temp. Narmer to Aha; Weeks (JARCE 9 [1971], p.31) has pointed out that the facade decoration on the tomb at Naqada, and mastaba 3357 at Saqqara have identical niche patterns to the decoration in the facade wall recently found at Hierakonpolis. Both the niche design, and the dimensions of the niches were identical. These monuments all date, in his opinion, to the time of Aha.

Tomb: There is some doubt about this. While Emery and others consider that Nt-htp's tomb is the great mastaba at Naqada, other scholars (such as Kemp, Kaiser) prefer to leave it unassigned. Kaplony (IAF, p.592) considers that this tomb belongs to a person he identifies as Prince Rhjt. There is no certainty, however, that Rhjt was a prince - indeed, it would be an odd name for a prince to be given, since the consistent usage of the word possibly means 'the lower classes' (see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I.232, pp.98 - 111) - and there is no certainty that any person named Rhjt was the owner of this tomb. For further discussion see Chapter 4.

While it is appreciated that the queen's claim to this tomb is doubtful, the tomb-owner is likely to be the name most frequently found on the important dedications. In this case the frequency of Nt-htp's name on the jewellery and vase sherds, and the presence of her seal in the tomb suggest she might have been the owner.

The tomb itself appears to be the oldest of the large mastabas built during the First Dynasty and has strong affinities with the tomb of Aha at Saqqara. These similarities, in addition to the large number of mud seal impressions belonging to Aha's officials found within the tomb provide its tempus.

The tomb is built of mud-brick and is 53.4 metres long and 26.7 metres wide. The outer walls of the mastaba are decorated in palace-facade fashion (Borchardt, ZÄS 36 [1898], pp.91f.); presumably these walls were painted when the building was

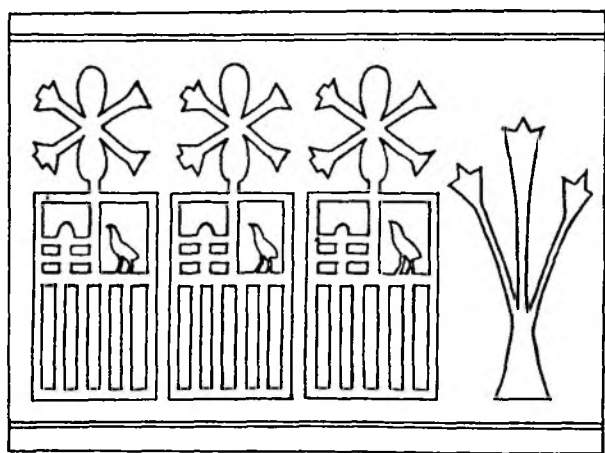





fig. 1 Seal impression of Queen Nt-htp.

- Kaplony, IÄF, fig. 201

finished, but today no sign of colour remains. Its inner structure is thought (Stadelmann, Die grossen, p.45f.) to resemble the shape of the temple of Buto as portrayed on Aha's wooden label (Petrie, RT II, pls. X and XI).

The Naqada tomb is the only large tomb from these times which has all its magazines above the ground. Later tombs were to increase the number of the magazines below ground. Although de Morgan (Prehistoire, p.174) found no trace of the burial chamber, later investigations discovered the remains of a carbonised skeleton in the central room. Originally this room had been lined with wood and the body, apparently, was buried within a circular depression in the floor (Reisner, ID, p.27).

There were seventeen magazines surrounding the five central rooms. These had been robbed in antiquity, nevertheless, de Morgan found a number of inscribed ivory labels, vase sherds, seals and seal-impressions, a number of which bore the name of Nt-ḥtp. Although the robbers had taken everything of value and the remainder had been destroyed by fire at some time, sufficient number of items remained to indicate that the tomb had once been lavishly provided with offerings of food and drink, furniture, utensils and jewellery of some worth. There is thus no doubt about the importance of its original tomb owner.

There are two dozen different records of the Nt-ḥtp's name in Naqada, Abydos and Saqqara. In his excavations at Helwan, Saad discovered part of an ivory label belonging to a woman named Nt-ḥtp (Saad, Helwan, pp.43f. and pl.LXIV). Both he and Emery (AE, p.47) assumed it belonged to the queen. This, however, is unlikely, since the Helwan inscription is dissimilar to the Naqada and Abydos inscriptions referring to the queen. The Helwan label uses the augments  and  while the earlier material does not. There is also present the sign  between the Neith sign and the hetep sign in this Helwan stele; they are never present on the earlier material.

Titles: sm3-nbwj; she who unites the Two Lords

This is the earliest in a series of titles connecting the queen to the throne (see Fischer, JEA 60 [1974], pp.94 - 99).

In addition to the title mentioned Queen Nt-ḥtp has the distinction of having her name appear in a serekh (see fig. 1). The name of Queen Mrjt-Nt also has her name recorded in a serekh, as do Sebekneferu, Hatshepsut and Twosret. It is suggested that this distinction marks out a sovereign (see Chapter 4) since, in later times than this, no queen-consort ever has her name written

enclosed by this rectangle.

Although Troy ascribes the hntj title to Nt-ḥtp, it is not present among her records, as Kaplony (IÄF, p.592) had also noticed.

From a wooden seal found in her Naqada tomb (Kaplony, IÄF, fig.201) it is suggested that we might read, 'Queen Nt-ḥtp's taxation from Lower Egypt'. Similar signs have been read by Kaplony (IÄF Supplement, p.32 and fig.1064) on two vases bearing the serekh of Narmer (Kaplony, Supplement, fig.1061, 1062) the signs for Lower Egypt (1062) and Upper Egypt (1061) provide evidence of this use by other rulers. Recent work at Abydos has also provided examples of this sign for King Ka (Kaiser, MDAIK 38, [1982], p.229 fig.7) and King Iry-Hor (ibid. p.234 fig. 10c). Whatever its intended purpose the seal does link Nt-ḥtp with a traditional jurisdiction in Lower Egypt.

Prosopography: Although it is certain that Queen Nt-ḥtp lived at the beginning of Dynasty I, her family relationships are problematic. Emery (AE, pp.45 - 47) and Newberry (Menes, p.52) suggest that she was the wife of Narmer; Petrie (RI II, p.4), Drioton & Vandier (L'Égypte, p.134), Kaplony (IÄF, p.591), Helck (LÄ IV.394) and others see her as the wife of Aha. Helck (Geschichte, p.30) assigns her a regency after his death. If she were his wife, however, it is unlikely that the seals of his officials would have been used on items in her tomb - as they were in the Naqada tomb. One would expect the seals of her successor, not her predecessor, to predominate.

In Emery's opinion the female figure in the carrying chair on the Narmer macehead could represent Nt-ḥtp (AE, pp.46f.). Contrary to Emery's view, however, the Narmer macehead scene is unlikely to depict a marriage since there is as yet no marriage scene or ceremony known among Egyptian records. On the other hand, the carrying chair scene on the macehead is strongly reminiscent of hb sd depictions known from the temples of Sahure (Borchardt, Sahure II, pl. 65) and Akhenaten's Gem pa Aten (ATP I, pl. 41), as well as sherds from First Dynasty times. It is suggested that this could be the likely interpretation of the Narmer macehead. Since we know that the Hierakonpolis macehead of Scorpion, and the females in Akhenaten's reliefs are the msw of the king, it is possible that the female on the Narmer macehead might not even be a queen.

Kaplony and Helck (LÄ IV.395) have based their opinions about Nt-ḥtp's family relationships upon a fragment published in Kaplony (IÄF, fig.722). This inscription they read as Nt-ḥtp's

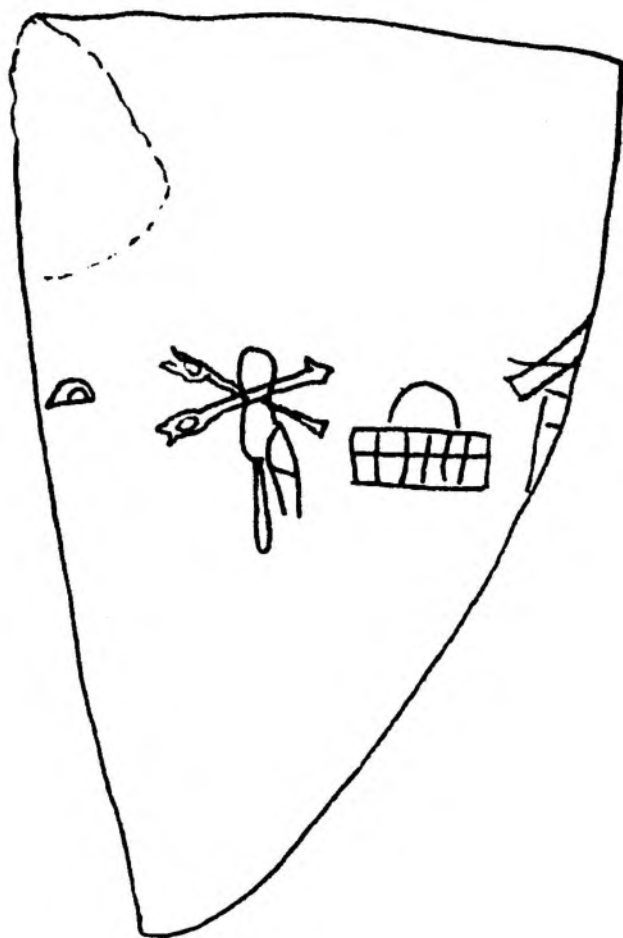


fig. 2 Inscription with the name of Nt-ḥtp, and other signs.

- Kaplony, IÄF, fig. 722

name next to that of Horus Aha and a prince. I cannot read these names on this inscription (see fig. 2). Kaplony (IÄF, p.734) considers it likely that filiation during this early period was indicated by the proximity of one name to another. He has therefore suggested that the signs given here could read 'N son of Horus Aha and Nt-ḥtp'. Kaplony (ibid. p.591) also suggests that Nt-ḥtp was the mother of Rhjt, whom he considers to be the owner of the great grave at Naqada. No known evidence has yet confirmed that suggestion.

Seipel (Königinnen, p.11) provides a genealogy for the proposed marriage of Aha and Nt-ḥtp, assigning the queen Rhjt, I3tj and Zm3-nbwj as three of her offspring, along the lines suggested by Kaplony's research. Seipel goes on to demonstrate arguments against Kaplony's filiation. (His suggestions can be found in Königinnen, pp.12 - 16.)

If the queen was indeed the owner of the Naqada grave, it is possible that Nt-ḥtp was either the mother, or the wife of Aha. Her title, sm3 nbwj, indicates that she was a royal wife. Both Narmer's name and Aha's appear on sherds among the objects from the queen's tomb, which could suggest that she was the wife of Narmer, rather than Aha. This is the preferred option of the present writer. The very early date of the Naqada tomb also prompts one to consider that it preceded the tombs of Aha, Mrjt-Nt, Djer and other monarchs. It is suggested, therefore, that Aha might have been her son - or at least accepted the responsibility for the organisation of her burial, as a son might do - as the numbers of fragments bearing the seals of Aha would indicate. It is further suggested that, if 'rhjt' itself is actually a name, then Rhjt was one of this king's officials, who might have been in charge of the storage and sealing of the queen's tomb.

Helck's insistence on the importance of the serekh for the name of the queen (LA IV.395 n.5) is significant. Few scholars have analysed this. Helck considers it marks a regency, although the use of a serekh for a regent (such as Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II, or J<sup>c</sup>h-ḥtp II) is not attested. Although the queen's serekh differs from those of Narmer and Aha in being surmounted by the shield and arrows of Neith, it is a proper serekh. Its choice of tutelary god finds its reflection in the serekhs of Iry-Hor, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy, which also differ from the normal Horus serekhs. Even the serekhs of Fifth and Sixth Dynasty kings could feature unusual insignia, but that they signal a monarch is unquestioned. It is suggested, therefore, that this use of the serekh is an indication that Nt-ḥtp was a de facto monarch at some stage - probably following the death of her husband. In the

opinion of Schulze (Frauen, p.208) it is questionable whether there was any differentiation between a regent and a queen-regnant at the beginning of the historical period.

Both Helck (Geschichte, p.30f.) and Seipel (Königinnen, p.14) have suggested that Nt-ḥtp was a regent during an interregnum of ten months and eleven days calculated from the two righthand compartments of the second row of the Palermo Stone recto. This interregnum would have fallen between the reigns of Aha and Djer. Because this would necessitate Nt-ḥtp's regency post Aha, it is suggested here that she is unlikely to have had control at that time, since Aha's officials saw to her burial. Because of the names in the inscriptions of the tomb it is more likely that any reign she may have had would fall between the time of Narmer and Aha.

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#### QUEEN MRJT-NT

Seipel, (Königinnen, pp.29 - 31) has argued that her name in a serekh on a mud seal impression from Saqqara (Emery, GT II, fig.227), in giving two mr signs should make her name read 'Mrjt-wj-Nt'.

Temp. Aha - Djet. The tempus for Mrjt-Nt has long been a vexed question. The extreme sophistication of both her funerary monuments at Saqqara and Abydos has inclined the majority of scholars to anticipate a later date within the First Dynasty, but others have produced arguments and methodologies which suggest an earlier period. Although Long (ZÄS 103 [1975], pp.36f.) has submitted the radio-carbon dates of her Saqqara tomb to modern calibration formulae, the results have been useless for providing even relative dating for her tomb. Kaplan (JNES 38 [1979], pp.23 - 27), however, was able to suggest a firmer relative dating pointing out that the absence of Abydos ware, and the presence of lattice-painted vase types within the tombs of both Aha and Mrjt-Nt indicate that these two tombs at Abydos are more or less contemporaneous. She thus suggests that Mrjt-Nt belongs to the period between the reigns of Aha and Djer.

Support for Kaplan's hypothesis is given by both inscriptional and archaeological evidence. The hieroglyphic signs from artefacts in the two tombs that have been assigned to her (Petrie, RT I, pl. V), at Abydos, at Saqqara (Emery, GT II, p.169ff.) and at Tarkhan (Petrie, Tarkhan I and Memphis V, p.3, 16) are coarser, less sophisticated inscriptions, than those recorded for the period from Djer to Qaa. In similar fashion the objects found in association with the tombs (eg. her burial stelae at Abydos) are less sophisticated than those found in the tombs attributed to Djer and his successors.

Other scholars, however prefer to place Mrjt-Nt later in the dynasty. She has been seen as a possible successor to Djer (Emery, Seipel), or Djet (Petrie, Newberry, Wainwright, Weill, Helck, Kaplony, Edwards, Dreyer) or Den (Legge, Weigall, Sethe, Reisner). Emery based his chronology on the developmental nature of the Saqqara tombs, while Reisner (TD, p.26) saw greater affinities between the structure of Mrjt-Nt's tomb and those of

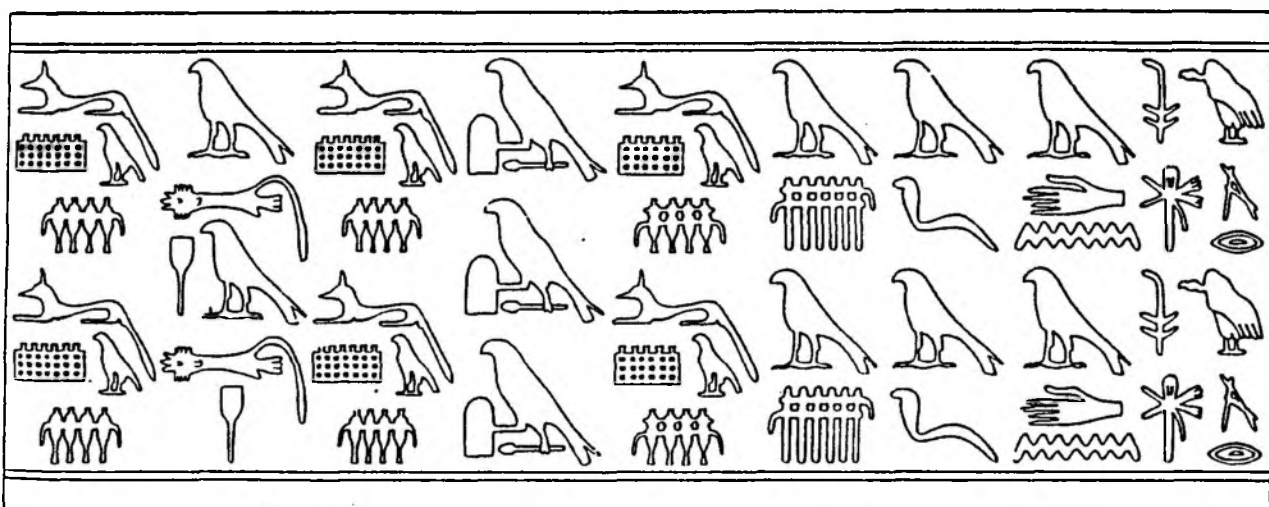


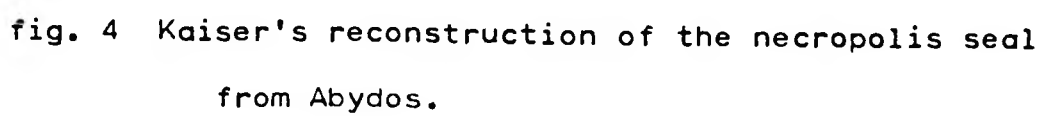
fig. 3 Dreyer's reconstruction of the necropolis seal  
from Abydos.

- Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), fig. 1

Anedjib and his successor Semerkhet. Those who considered that she might have been the wife/successor of Den have also been persuaded by the intrusive sealings of that king in the queen's Abydos tomb. Sethe (ältesten Geschichte, p.29) also considered that the remains of the name '.rt' on the Palermo Stone (third row, righthand section) signalled the name of Mrjt-Nt as the mother of Anedjib. When a section of the Cairo fragments turned up it was discovered that the events on the Palermo Stone accredited to Anedjib actually referred to King Den, and this king then became the preferred alleged son.

By far the greatest number of scholars incline towards the opinion that she was (presumably) the wife of Djet and mother of Den. This school of thought has some good evidence to support its case. Apart from the fragmentary Palermo name for the mother of Den there are large numbers of official seals for that king within the queen's tombs. Although there was a lot of intrusive material in Mrjt-Nt's tomb the occurrence of so many seal-impressions suggests that it was in this period that the queen was buried. More importantly, three recently published mud seal-impressions (Dreyer, MDAIK 43 [1986], p.36 and pl.s 5, 6) places the name of Mrjt-Nt beside that of Den, together with her title, 'mwt nswt' (see fig. 3). As can be seen from Dreyer's reconstruction of the proposed original seal, Mrjt-Nt's name, and the title 'mwt nswt' lie next to the name of Horus Den and, it would seem from this that, at last, the queen's affiliation and tempus were finally settled. Dreyer also argues that the official seal clearly indicates that the queen and the other kings shared in a mortuary cult that was located in the environs of the earliest temple to Khentyimentu.

In a subsequent article in the same journal Kaiser (MDAIK 43 [1986], pp.115 - 119) took issue with a number of Dreyer's conclusions. Most strongly argued were his objections to Dreyer's interpretation and reconstruction concerning the nature of the alleged cylinder seal (ibid. pp.117ff.). He demonstrates that firstly, the proposed reconstruction was taken from three sets of mud seal impressions, and that close inspection can determine (from various details within the mn and hntj hieroglyphs for Khentyimentu) that the hieroglyphs had, on at least one occasion, been altered. Kaiser's reconstruction of the seal differs in several respects from that of Dreyer (see fig. 4), especially in regard to the Khentyimentu sign present before each of the kings' names (but not for Mrjt-Nt). He thus rejects the idea of a collective mortuary cult which included the queen, and suggests that the god, not a mortuary cult, is a more likely interpretation of that repeated name, and that the omission of the god's name before the queen's could be due either to the fact



- Kaiser, MDAIK 43 (1986), fig. 2

that she was only a regent, or that her cult was jointly shared with King Djet (ibid. p.118 and n.13).

In Kaiser's opinion it is evident that Djet, not Den, must have been Mrjt-Nt's son - an opinion that differs from Dreyer - yet Dreyer's insertion of Den's name is clearly substantiated by the photograph of the seal (Dreyer, ibid. pl. 5b). He thinks that this name was inserted upon the death of that king, so that it is a later alteration. This, he points out, can be appreciated by observing the alteration to the seal, as is evident from the door of Den's tomb, where it had originally been found (ibid. p.119).

Thus Kaiser suggests that the likely tempus for Mrjt-Nt was the time of King Djer to that of King Djet in whose reign, apparently, she is likely to have been buried. According to the three versions of Manetho, Djet's reign lasted between 23 and 42 years, and one would not expect the queen to have survived into the reign of her grandson Den.

Tomb: The Abydos tomb Y clearly belongs to Mrjt-Nt since her stelae were found by Petrie still in place before her monument (Petrie, RT I, frontispiece). The central chamber was wood-lined, the floor then plastered. The whole structure was extraordinarily accurate and well-built (ibid. pp.10f.). It was surrounded by eight rectangular storage rooms, only one of which was un plundered. Outside the monument were 41 subsidiary tombs, some containing intact burials of servants. Petrie makes no mention of any likely interment in the central room.

The second tomb alleged to be hers, No.3503 at Saqqara, is more questionable, as is the ownership of all the Saqqara tombs. A number of stone vessels and seal-impressions of hers were found there, together with the remains of the original burial, with its wooden sarcophagus, numerous vessels, canopy poles (such as found in the grave of Htp-hr.s I), also, perhaps, remains of a funerary repast, and a few human bones (Emery, GT II, pp.140f.). The provisions for the tomb had been very rich indeed (ibid. p.141). This tomb, like that of Horus Aha, was provided with a boat-grave, indicative of a monarch (ibid. pl. XL).

The Saqqara tomb also featured a large number of seal impressions containing the name of King Djer, a feature likely to be consistent with the husband/wife relationship suggested by Kaiser. There were two impressions of the queen's own serekh (ibid. p.169 fig.226), together with groups containing the Horus serekh of indeterminate name (loc. cit.).

Not all scholars assign these tombs to Mrjt-Nt. Naville (Rec. Trav. 24 [1902], p.109; 116), Kees (OLZ 52 [1957], 12 - 20) and Kemp (Antiquity 41 [1967], p.30) have all expressed their different objections. The question is by no means settled but, on balance, it would appear that at least the Abydos tomb belongs to Mrjt-Nt. Should the Saqqara tomb also be hers then Mrjt-Nt has the same burial conventions as other rulers of her time, with one tomb at Saqqara, and another at Abydos.

Although Lauer, Ricke, and others have suggested that one of these tombs might be a cenotaph, Kees (ibid. p.14) questions the soundness of this idea. The establishment of cenotaphs at Abydos was customary in later times, but we know too little about this early period to declare any certainty on this complex issue. One curious feature of all the Abydos burials excavated by Petrie, however, is that none of the royal tombs seems to have left any trace at all of interment whereas, in the Saqqara tombs (and more particularly in the case of Mrjt-Nt), funerary remains have been discovered. At Abydos the arm that was found in Djer's monument was the only trace of human remains for the main tomb, and it was found in a broken hole in the upper part of the tomb wall (Petrie, RT II, p.16). There is no confirmation that the arm belonged either to Djer or his consort, or that either was buried in that tomb. It may well have been part of a body from one of the subsidiary burials of Djer's minor(?) queens. Indeed, it is very disappointing in the case of Djer's Abydos tomb that, even with its granite and brick lined flooring, no trace of a burial was found. For the other central chambers we might accept that the wooden and plaster flooring had intensified the conflagration that later destroyed most of the tombs (although Petrie himself remarks that the fires began in the superstructure and sometimes missed the floor area altogether [Petrie, RT I, p.7],). This is an issue that needs to be given closer attention when deciding on the actual place of interment for the early kings and their consorts.

In addition to Mrjt-Nt's own tomb Petrie assigned her a secondary cemetery closer to the cultivated land. Kaiser, however, considered that Mrjt-Nt was not the ruler commemorated by this Talbezirk (Kaiser, MDAIK 25 [1969], pp.1ff; and idem. 38 [1982], p.250), excluding her on the grounds that she was a queen/regent. O'Connor disagrees about her exclusion. Having commenced excavation near the Shunet es Zebib O'Connor (JARCE 26 [1989], pp.51 - 86) considers that he has discovered more of the Talbezirke than were previously known, and attributes one to each of the eight rulers known for Dynasty I. In his opinion the Talbezirk assigned by Petrie to Mrjt-Nt is in agreement with other discoveries made by O'Connor and should be assigned to her

(ibid. p.57). Architecturally this Talbezirk belongs to the earlier part of the Dynasty I funerary enclosures.

Titles: mwt nswt - the earliest record either of 'mwt' as 'mother', or the title for a king's mother (Dreyer, MDAIK 43 [1986], fig. 2 and 3). In addition, there are three other inscriptions relating to the queen, pr hd, h3tj-~~c~~, and hntj which are found next to the name of Mrjt-Nt (Petrie, RT I, pl. V; Emery, GT II, p.142). The first refers to her treasury, the second inscription appears to refer to one of her officials who brought offerings to her tomb; the third title is considered by Kaplony to refer to the cellar of the queen (IÄF, p.42). Although Troy (Queenship, p.152) ascribes hntj as a title of the queen, Kaplony argues that it is the title of an official who looked after the queen's provisions.

It was also thought (Vikentiev, ASAE 50 [1950], p.30; Jelinkova, ASAE 50 [1950], pp.322 - 325) that two of Petrie's inscriptions refer to the palace of Mrjt-Nt. These inscriptions have their counterparts among the records of other rulers (Jelinkova, ASAE 50 [1950], p.325; Petrie RT I, pl. VIII.12, 13, 14), which would strengthen the suggestion that Mrjt-Nt was a sovereign. There are parallels for the hntj inscriptions to be found among the inscribed fragments from the tombs of other rulers, too (eg. Petrie, RT I, pl. VIII.8, 10, 14 from tomb of Qaa). Since her name, written within a serekh, was discovered on clay-sealings from Saqqara (Emery, GT II, p.169 fig.226), this factor, too, would endorse the view of her sovereignty and, perhaps, account for her lack of titles associated with a royal wife. Schulze's opinion that it 'erscheint übrigens fraglich, ob ganz am Beginn der geschichtlichen Zeit überhaupt scharf zwischen Regentin und regierender Königin unterschieden wurde' (Frauen, p.208) is probably very close to the mark, and may be the reason why her funerary status differed from those of the king in the seal impressions found by Dreyer.

One unusual item recently published by Kaplony (Kleine Beiträge, fig.1133) suggests that she shared with King Narmer at least a custom thought to be the privilege of monarchs. For both rulers small statues of baboons are known (ibid., p.91). While Narmer's statue is made of alabaster, Mrjt-Nt's is of rose granite, and there is the strong likelihood that its origin was Aswan. Only three such statues (the other uninscribed) to date are known from this period (loc. cit., and An.394).

Although the purpose of the statue is uncertain, it is considered that the baboon was identified with the god Thoth, or with 'Ahnens des Ahnens', the god Geb (ibid., p.96). Whether or

not the dead king was identified with either god is not clear; since so few of these statues have been found it is difficult to generalise. While Kaplony (loc. cit.) is prepared to consider the identification a possibility for Narmer, he is of the opinion that 'Da jedoch Mrjt-Nt im Unterschied zu N<sup>r</sup>-mr sich nicht mit dem männlichen Pavian identifizieren kann, stellt die Statue mit ihrem Namen höchstens ihren verstorbenen Vater (wohl König Shtj) oder ihren verstorbenen Gemahl (wohl König W3d) dar, wahrscheinlicher aber den "Ahnen der Ahnen", d.h. den Weissen Pavian selbst.'

The iconography adopted by Hatshepsut in later times provides us with the evidence that not all female monarchs felt themselves excluded from adopting masculine attributes for religious purposes, so it could be possible that this little statue of Mrjt-Nt's might have had the same intention as Narmer's statue. Particularly as we are ignorant of the purpose of these statues, it is questionable whether we should discern differences where no explicit reason is obvious. One might also ask why the name of the putative dead king is not present on the statue if it indeed represents him - doubt evidently experienced by Kaplony himself (see his n.429).

Prosopography: Although Amelineau (NFA II, pp.600, 680) and Naville (p.116f.) held the view that no person of this name had ever existed, the queen achieved recognition (as a king) after Petrie's discovery of her Abydos tomb. Since then there have been a number of discussions on the date, actual position, and family relationships of the queen. For these suggestions and their authors see paragraph 4 of this prosopographical entry.

Of all these views the most popular was the identification of Mrjt-Nt as the mother of King Den. One reason for this preference was due to Sethe's identification of the name '..rt' on the Palermo Stone with the name of Mrjt-Nt. From extant records Queen Mrjt-Nt's name was never written with both the 'r' and the 't' during her own time. The only exception is on the mud seal impression from Den's tomb, where the 't' is inserted within the central space of the 'r' (see figs.3 and 4). Her preferred spelling is ~~rt~~, although on her stelae from Abydos it would appear that there is an 'r', rather than a 't'.

Apart from the archaeological sequence into which the architectural design of the queen's tombs should fit, there is greater possibility that the numerous seals that were found in her tomb belonging to Djer should place this queen closer to that monarch. In Emery's opinion (AE, p.65) Den's sealings were intrusive, due to the proximity of his Abydos tomb; Djer's tomb,



however, is over 200 feet from the tomb of Mrjt-Nt, so his sealings could not have been in her tomb as the result of accident, as Den's seem to have been. Rather, the weight of the evidence supports the earlier dating of Mrjt-Nt that Kaiser (MDAIK 43 [1986], p.119) has suggested.

Another interesting seal, similar to that of Nt-ḥtp, was found in the grave of Djer by the French at Abydos. One of the interpretations of its inscription is snt Mrjt-Nt - sister, Mrjt-Nt (Kaplony, IÄF, p.625). Another reading of this seal makes sn n Mrjt-Nt, or 'brother of Mrjt-Nt' a possibility. One seal-impression found at Saqqara (Emery, GT II, fig.226) appears to show the serekhs of both Djer and Mrjt-Nt. According to Kaplony (IÄF, p.495) this inscription suggests she is the daughter of Djer and wife of Wadj/Djet. In view of Kaiser's reinterpretation of the Den seal impressions the more likely relationships would be to see Mrjt-Nt as the daughter of Aha, wife of Djer and mother of Djet, as earlier both Emery and Seipel had proposed.

#### Bibliography:

- Amelineau, NFA II (1905), p.424; 600  
Les Arts 25 (1904), pp.26 - 33  
Dreyer, MDAIK 43 (1986), pp.33 - 43  
Drioton & Vandier, L'Égypte, p.140f.  
Emery, AE, pp.65 - 71  
GT II, pp.139 - 170  
Helck, Beamtentiteln, pp.58 - 63  
Geschichte, p.33  
LÄ IV.93  
Jelinkova, ASAE 50 (1950), pp.322 - 329  
Kaiser, MDAIK 43 (1986), pp.115 - 119  
Kaplan, JNES 38 (1979), pp.23 - 27  
Kaplony, IÄF, pp.129, 443, 493 - 497; Supplement p.34  
Kleine Beiträge, pp.83 - 102; 210 - 223  
Kees, QLZ 52 (1957), cols.13f.  
Kemp, Antiquity 41 (1967), pp.22 - 32  
JEA 52 (1966), pp.13 - 27  
Lauer, BIFAO 55 (55), pp.157 - 171  
BIFAO 79 (1979), pp.355 - 394 plus pl.s  
Long, ZAS 103 (1975), pp.30 - 48  
Naville, Rec. Trav. 29 (1902), pp.109 - 120  
Newberry & Wainwright, Ancient Egypt (1914), pp.148 - 155  
O'Connor, JARCE 26 (1989), p.57 and n.16  
Petrie, History I, p.19f.  
RT I, pp.5, 28, 25 and passim.  
RT II, pp.22f., 27, and passim.  
PM III/2 p.444  
Schulze, Frauen, pp.206 - 208  
Sethe, ältesten Geschichte, pp.29f.  
Troy, Queenship, pp.106, 107, 139, 152  
Vandier, Manuel I, p.989f.

Vikentiev, ASAE 55 (1955), pp.25 - 33  
 Weigall, History, p.46, 115f.  
 Weill, Recherches I, p.343f.

(?) QUEEN HNT-HCP

Temp. Djer

Tomb: unknown

Titles: mwt nswt on the Cairo fragment of the annals.

There is no certainty that this woman was the wife of a king. Associating Hnt-Hcp with the harim, Weigall called her 'concubine Hept' (Weigall, History, p.108). We are ignorant about the institution of concubinage in this early period - but see Chapter 3. More substantial is the presence of what Helck and others have termed an interregnum in register 2 of the recto of the Palermo Stone. If Helck is correct in assigning the following annals to the reign of King Djer then the interregnum of just over ten months prior to these records could imply that Djer himself was of non-royal descent.

Prosopography: The Cairo annals (Gauthier, Quatre nouveaux, p.33f. and pl.XXV) record her name as the mother of King Iti (considered to be Djer by most scholars). No other records are known. (See the note on the Palermo Stone above.) Seipel's conjectures (Königinnen, p.6) about the husband of this queen mother may be incautious. It is unlikely that every king was the son of his predecessor, even though this is how Manetho's record is preserved for us. Neither can we be certain that the mother of a king was necessarily the wife of that king's predecessor.

#### Bibliography:

Gauthier, Quatre nouveau fragments, pp.30 - 35  
 Kaplony, IÄF, p.605  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.32  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp. 5 - 7  
 Troy, Queenship, p.94; 152  
 Weigall, History, p.108

(?) QUEEN HR-NT

Temp. Djer

Tomb: It is considered by Emery (GT III, p.73 and passim; AE, p.84), and endorsed by Helck (Geschichte, p.31 n.5) that Hr-Nt's tomb could be Saqqara Tomb 3507, although this claim has been

disputed by Kaplony (IÄF, p.579). The only record of Hr-Nt's name in that tomb was on a fragment of a schist bowl found on the floor of the burial chamber (Emery, GT III, p.94), although another fragment found at Abydos in the tomb of King Djer also carried this name (Petrie, RT II, pl. 5.5). No other signs were present on the schist bowl, so it is questionable whether or not this person was a queen. One fragment from Abydos found by Petrie (RT II, pl. 8A) contains the name of Hr-Nt, together with the hntj sign. This indeed might indicate she was a queen, since the other persons found with this sign are kings and possible consorts. (See also Scharff, AVF I, pl. 27 No.716, p.236.) The signs of hntj and sm3-wt nbwj that are sometimes found in association with queens from this period were present on a limestone bowl from the same vicinity, but had no personal name to suggest identity.

Tomb 3507 is a large (44.35m x 22.5m) mud-brick mastaba, partially painted in green, white, yellow and red, and built upon a low platform. The walls are patterned in the palace facade design, the whole structure being surrounded by a low enclosure wall found in a fair state of repair at the time of Emery's excavation. The tomb was not associated with subsidiary burials, except for the tomb of the owner's pet Seluki dog. Although inscriptional material pertaining to Hr-Nt has been found at Abydos, there is no monument associated with her there.

Tomb 3507 is architecturally later than that of Mrjt-Nt, and it combines elements of both the pit grave and the mastaba. Indeed, in the opinion of Emery (AE, p.84) it appears to be the prototype of the stepped tomb of Anedjib found by Emery at Saqqara.

Of great interest to Emery was the presence of two pieces of monumental bas relief - one being a broken stele showing a king in his hb sd dress (Emery GT III, pl. 97), the other part of a frieze of lions. These are the earliest-known examples of Egyptian monumental sculpture. The effigy of a lion occasionally appears in association with other queens, too. Queen Nt of Dynasty VI had a frieze of lions within her mortuary chapel (Jéquier, Les pyramides, pls. IV, V), and so did Queen Wdb-tn (Jéquier, Oudjebten, p.17,) - the lion decoration is on the base of the throne for the latter queen. The lion decoration is also sometimes present on the throne of a queen (eg. Queen Mr.s-nh III [Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig.8]); a lion-bodied sphinx is also present on the throne of Queen Tjjj from the tomb of Kheruef, and also on the throne of Akhenaten and Nfrt-jtj from Amarna tomb of Huya (Davies, Amarna III, pl. XIII).

Other interesting items were the rows of bulls' heads that decorated the plinth on one side of the Saqqara tomb.

Within the burial chamber were found the remains of many stone and pottery vessels, some inscribed with names and titles, some with the painted serekh of King Den. Sealings bearing the serekhs of Djer and Den were also evident within the magazines of this tomb at Saqqara (Emery, GT III, p.61). An ivory vase with the title sm3 nbwj was also found in this room, in addition to fragments of expensive jewellery, and ivory gaming pieces (ibid. p.80), all of which suggest the burial of a person of the highest rank. The remains of a funerary feast were observed on the floor, near the remains of a large, wooden sarcophagus. A few bones of its aged occupant were found on the floor but insufficient material was present to allow a determination of the sex of the tomb owner (ibid. p.79).

A number of items with painted inscriptions bearing the serekh of Den were found within the burial chamber (ibid. pl. 107). This would seem to fix the terminus ad quem for the deceased.

Titles: sm3 nbwj; she who unites the Two lords (?). Only two other females appear to have had this title, Nt-htp and the next queen in this prosopography. Emery has taken the sm3 nbwj sign on the ivory vase from the tomb (GT III, p.93) to be the title of Hr-Nt. This title may not relate to Hr-Nt, however, for the only name next to the title found in this tomb is that of the next queen in this register.

The hntj inscriptions on other material in Tomb 3507 are also without an owner's name. Hntj is not properly a queen's title, as Troy (Queenship, p.152) appears to have taken it, but refers to a public, not a private establishment associated with the royal treasury (Kaplony, IÄF, p.443). Only persons of the highest rank during the First Dynasty are found in association with this sign. Petrie (RT II, pl.VIIIa) found a broken vase inscription with the name of Hr-Nt in proximity to the hntj sign, and this does suggest an elevated status for Hr-Nt. Whether Hr-Nt was a king's consort or not, however, remains ambiguous.

Kaplony has questioned the authenticity of Hr-Nt as a queen (IÄF, p.580), for her name does not appear on the fragments and vase which feature the signs of hntj and sm3 nbwj. Indeed, the inscription on the bowl which carries the sign sm3 nbwj has been read by Emery (GT III, p.94) as 'hntj sm3 nbwj Djer', when it is more likely that Kaplony's suggestion of an unreadable name should replace the alleged 'hntj' (see GT III, pls. 105, 107).

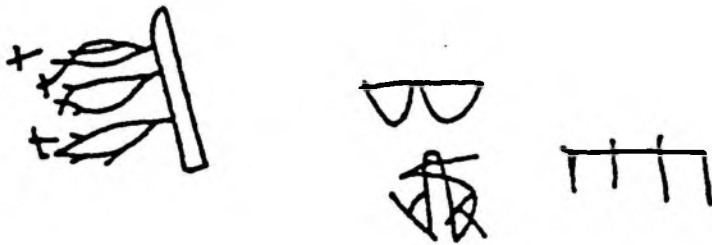


fig. 5 Inscription from a vase fragment found in  
S 3507 at Saqqara.

- Emery, GT III, pl.107.3

In Kaplony's favour is the sideways position and unique sign on the right-hand side of the sign (see fig. 8). There are two other similar signs from the tomb (*ibid.* pl. 107.7 and 11), but they are clearly hntj signs, and show a different type of design. On the other hand, eleven stone vases are known with this name inscribed (Petrie, Stone Vases, pls. I, VI, XVI and p.6), and Kaplony's reading of a name is surely correct. This being so, Tomb 3507 is more likely to belong to this person.

Prosopography: Both Emery and Helck (Geschichte, p.31 n.5) have suggested that Hr-Nt could have been the consort of Djer. Emery argues thus because the bones of the occupant of Tomb 3507, which had been buried in the time of Den, showed signs of advanced age. This feature made it unlikely that the deceased could have been a contemporary of Den, or of his predecessor, Wadj. Tomb 3507 was situated in the cemetery of Djer, thus strengthening the link between Djer and the tomb occupant for Emery. In my opinion, while Hr-Nt may well have been the consort of the king on the basis of her hntj inscription, the evidence is insufficient to support the identification of tomb 3507 with a queen named Hr-Nt. (For further discussion see p.183f. Chapter 4.)

#### Bibliography:

Amelineau, NFA III, pp.68, 358; pls. 21, 25

Emery, AE, pp.60, 80, 82, 126, 144f. 169, 228

GT III, pp.73 - 97

Illustrated London News, 2nd June, 1956, pp.646 - 649

Kaplony, IAF, pp.597f.

PM III/2 p.447

Petrie, RI II, pl. 5; 8; 9

Scharff, AVF I, No.716, pl. 27; p.236

Troy, Queenship, p.106, 152

QUEEN (?)  (AN UNREADABLE NAME)

Temp. Djer

Tomb: unknown, but one of this person's inscriptions (fig. 5) appeared in Tomb 3507 at Saqqara (Emery, GT III pls. 102 and 107); she might be the owner of this tomb, rather than that of Hr-Nt. For a summary of the main features associated with this tomb see the preceding entry.

Titles: sm3 nbwj; She who unites the Two Lords (?)

This title was present on a stone vase fragment found in Tomb 3507 at Saqqara (Emery, GT III, pl. 107). The queen's name

is found in association with that of Djer in this inscription. The title is repeated (by what seems an identical hand) on an ivory vase (ibid. pl. 107.2).

Prosopography: see the entry for Hr-Nt, above. If Kaplony (IÄF, p.560) is correct in his suggestion that the sign above is the name of a person, then this person is likely to have been Djer's queen, since both title and name are shown in direct relationship to the king's name (see fig. 5).

Kaplony (IÄF, p.591) questions whether there is a relationship with Hnt-H<sup>c</sup>p, recorded as the mother of Ity on the Cairo stone but there is no evidence that would support this suggestion. (For further discussion see the prosopographical entry immediately above, and also pp.183ff. Chapter 4.)

#### Bibliography:

Emery, Great Tombs III, pls. 102, 105, 107

Kaplony, IÄF, pp.560, 591, 613

Petrie, Stone Vases, p.6, pls. I, VI, XVI

(?) QUEEN NHT-NT

Temp. Djer

Tomb: a small, but unidentified subsidiary grave in Djer's cemetery at Abydos; Stele 95.


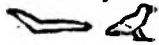
Titles: These are uncertain; Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.21) suggests 'wrt hts', 'Great one of the hts sceptre', but the hieroglyph has closer resemblance to a G5 than it does to G36. Kaplony (IÄF, p.373) has offered 'h-t [hn<sup>c</sup>], Hr', 'die sich mit Horus zusammen aufhalt', while Troy (Queenship, p.152) translates it as 'hts Hr' - a reading also given without comment by Seipel (Königinnen, p.50).

Interpretation of this stele is extremely difficult - hence the number of variant opinions. If Kuchman Sabbahy's interpretation is correct then we could expect Nht-Nt to be a queen, since this is a recognisable queenly title. The other two interpretations create difficulties, since neither is attested elsewhere. Troy's view (Queenship, p.189 B3/5) that this title is repeated for Sšmt-k3 is inaccurate, since in the latter case the bird follows the upright sign, and in Nht-Nt's case the bird precedes the hts. Kuchman Sabbahy cites this as an example of ambivalent honorific transposition. She bases her opinion on the examples of m33 wr/ wr m3 ambivalence being used in the titles of

the dubious male official in Tomb 3506 (otherwise referred to in this prosopography as Queen (?) W3d-Nht) to explain why the title here lacks honorific transposition. As this 'title' may perhaps be the queenly title 'm33[t] Hr' Kuchman Sabbahy's argument is not particularly persuasive at this point.

'Hts Hr' (as suggested by Troy), while unattested elsewhere, could be an unique queen's title.

Another title ascribed to Nht-Nt is that of ḥ Hr (Troy, Queenship, p.152). Seipel (Königinnen, p.49) finds the phrase a problem and transcribes '--...', and avoids giving a commentary. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.23) also finds this inscription difficult but suggests that her perceived 'wr m33' interpretation, as given above, provided the pattern for the 'Hr m33' that follows. She suggests that the forearm forms a parallel to the 'ḥ Sth' title evident on other stelae, and accepts this to be the reading. She does not mention that the bird is most unlike the Horus iconography. Although it makes sense to interpret the bird as G5, it does not entirely resemble that hieroglyph either. The bird that appears on the stele lacks the pronounced wedge to the tail which is apparent in all the other stelae inscriptions. It is impossible to decide which bird is meant to be shown here.

There is, perhaps, a parallel between Nht-Nt's second title and those on some other stelae found in Den's cemetery (Petrie, RT II pl. XXVII.120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125). While each of these is prefaced by the inscription  , each is followed by the signs  , which forms a phrase very similar to this second title on Nht-Nt's stele. Perhaps Nht-Nt's inscription is the prototype of the titles in Den's cemetery. (For further discussion see pp.27f.)

Prosopography: As Nht-Nt was buried in Djer's cemetery she must have been part of his entourage, although in what capacity is unclear.

#### Bibliography:

- Kaplony, IÄF, p.552  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.21, 23  
 Petrie, RT II, pl. 27  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.49ff.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.152

QUEEN SŠMT-K3



QUEEN SM3 (?)Temp. Den

Tomb: One of the small subsidiary graves (site unknown) from around the tomb of King Den, at Abydos (Petrie, RI II, Stele 129).

Titles: m33(t) Hr - Sth; She who sees Horus and carries Seth.

Prosopography: The name of the queen is disputed. Petrie does not include the sign for the queen's name in his line drawing because it was difficult to see. Scharff (AVF II, p.20 - see fig. 10) reads the sign as 'Sm3', Naville (Rec. Trav. 24 [1902], p.113) suggests 'Nfr', Seipel transcribes it as 'Zm3.t', and Troy as 'Semat'. (There is no final 't' on the stele, however.) Sabbahy omits this person. Of these suggestions Nfr seems the most likely name for a queen.

Naville confuses the name on this stele with other instances of the title sm3 nbwj. However, the sign on this stele is written differently, and sm3 nbwj is not a name, but a title,

Scharff (AVF II, p.20) suggests that the stele owner was a concubine, but the m33t Hr Sth title only appears with the names of the kings' wives. Apart from her relationship to King Den (she is likely to have been his wife, since she was buried in his cemetery) nothing more is known about the queen.

Bibliography:

- Amelineau, NFA II, pp.592, 677  
 Kaplony, IÄF, pp.190, 612  
 Naville, Rec. Trav. 24 (1902), p.113  
 Petrie, RI II, pl. 30  
 PM V pp.83 - 85  
 Scharff, AVF II, No.37; pp.20, 167  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.65ff.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.152

(?) QUEEN W3D-NHTTemp. Den

Tomb: unknown; her records were discovered by Emery in Tomb 3506 at Saqqara. The ownership of the tomb is debatable (Kaplony, IÄF,

p.531), it could belong to a man, M3-wr or, alternatively, to another person - perhaps even the queen.

Two signs for hntj, together with the name Nb-Nt (clearly on one fragment, partial on the other) are also on fragments from this tomb (Emery, GT III, pl. 83.5 and 6). Given the theophoric name of the Delta goddess, do we have another highly-ranked woman attested here? Emery (ibid. p.61) seems to think so. He omits discussion on W3d-nht's inscription (GT III, pl. 83.14, 15).

Titles: m33(t) Hr; She who sees Horus. The title is twice recorded on stone vessels from Tomb 3506 (Emery, GT III, pl. 83.13 and 14). Kaplony (IÄF, p.531) also considers the possibility that the 'm33 Hr' reading might be the name of a man, M3-wr.

Prosopography: Although Kaplony has translated the queen's name as Nj-sj-w3d, it seems more likely that the inscription follows the parallel of Nht-Nt. The queen's name is on two bowls which were probably a grave offering. Kaplony (IÄF, p.531) has suggested that she could have been the tomb-owner's mother although, given that the burial was of an elderly male (Emery, GT III, p.45) this conjecture does not seem likely.

Since that tomb dates to the time of Den it is possible that this queen was a wife of Den, or of his predecessor, King Wadj (so Seipel, Königinnen, p.53 considers). Sealings of both kings, together with some of Djer, were present in large numbers in the tomb, but Emery is certain that the tomb belongs to Den's reign (GT III, p.37).

In his suggestion that this alleged queen might be a wife to Wadj, Seipel (loc. cit.) echoes Kaplony (IÄF, p.129) when he says that 'Allerdings bestunde auch die Möglichkeit, sie in Zeit des Djet anzusetzen, aus der sonst keine Königin bekannt ist.' But, if the name on the vase fragments is that of a queen, she might be more likely to be the daughter of King Wadj because of the elements of her name.

The title of 'rp<t' for the tomb owner might attest a prince; it is the earliest appearance of this title. The presence of a funerary boat beside this tomb (Emery, GT III, pls. 66 - 68) would also suggest a royal origin. It was no doubt on these grounds that one of Kaplony's suggestions was that W3d-nht might have been the occupant's mother. No other connections are known.

Bibliography:

Emery, GI III, p.61; pl. 83.13, 14  
Kaplony, IÄF, p.531

#### QUEEN X

Temp. Den

Tomb; one of the subsidiary graves around Den's Abydos burial (Petrie, RT II, pl. 27 Stele 128).

Titles: m33(t) Hr c Sth; She who sees Horus and supports Seth.

Prosopography: Scharff (AVF II, p.21) would link this stele fragment with Stele fragment 124, although the other stele carries a separate set of titles - for which see the COMMENTARY below.

This queen, whose broken stele is minus her name, was buried in Den's cemetery. Her title implies that she is likely to have been one of his wives. No other connections are known.

#### Bibliography:

Kaplony, IÄF, p.190  
Petrie, RT II, pl. XXX  
PM V p.83ff.  
Scharff, AVF II, no.38 p.21  
Troy, Queenship, p.152

#### (?) QUEEN B3T-RSW (?)

Temp. Semerkhet

Tomb: unknown

Titles: mwt nswt; King's mother, recorded on the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone.

Prosopography: The king's mother's name is uncertain, since the first element has left little trace on the Cairo fragment of the annals. A number of suggestions for the name have been made (see Kaplony p.473), one commonly chosen being Kaplony's interpretation, 'B3t-jrjt.s', but Seipel (Königinnen, p.55) also makes a good case for his interpretation of 'Bt-rsw', and may be closer to the original, since the 'jrj' element proposed by Kaplony would appear to face the wrong direction; thus the 'r' proposed by Seipel appears more likely.

As recorded on the Cairo fragment of the annals, B3t-rsw was the mother of King Semerkhet. She may then have been the wife of the previous king, Anedjib, for whom no wife is known, but there is no evidence for this suggestion.

There are no known tombs of any queen after the time of King Den up until the time of Khufu, in Dynasty IV.

Bibliography:

Daressy, BIFAO 12 (1915), p.167

Gauthier, Quatre nouveau fragments, pp.42f., pl. XXV

Kaplony, IÄF, p.473f.

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.55 - 57

Troy, Queenship, p.152

## COMMENTARY

### SRT-HR

One person not included among this list of royal wives is Srt-Hr - which Kaplony translates as 'the ewe of Horus' - classified by both Kaplony (IÄF, pp.221, 629, 473f., 893; Abb.1159) and Troy (Queenship, p.152) as a queen. Both scholars have taken their information from a stele found by Amelineau (NFA I, pl. 41) in Den's cemetery.

The stele is only one of four large, thick, well-cut stele from the First Dynasty. Two of these stelae belong to Mrjt-Nt, the third is only a broken remnant. Because of the quality of Srt-Hr's stele, Kaplony and Troy have assumed that it must belong to a queen. As there are no titles on the stele there is some similarity with the stelae belonging to Queen Mrjt-Nt. There is no determinative (as in the case of Mrjt-Nt).

Seipel (Königinnen, p.58) resolves the difficulty caused by the lack of a title by reading '[m33.t], Hr "Sr.t"'.

The stele presents us with problems because of the lack of titulary, and because there is little indication whether the name Srt-Hr belonged to a female. If the only parallel drawn can be that of Mrjt-Nt, it might be possible that Srt-Hr could have been a pre-eminent queen. If so, one would expect her tomb to be large and distinguished, as Mrjt-Nt's was, so it is surprising that the stele was found among the subsidiary graves of Den's complex.

Kaplony's further argument concerning Srt-Hr is that, due to scribal error, Srt-Hr might be B3t-jrjt.s (IÄF, p.473f.), and therefore the mother of King Semerkhet. His argument is complex, but hardly convincing (see also Seipel, Königinnen, p.56).


But there is another alternative. Srt-Hr's burial is presumed to be in Den's cemetery; her stele is of similar type to Mrjt-Nt's, both factors indicating a date earlier than that of Semerkhet. The final elements of her name are 'rt'. Could it be possible that hers (as ) is the missing name for the mother of Den on the Palermo Stone? If Kaiser's reading of the interesting seal impression found by Dreyer (MDAIK 43 [1986], pp.115 - 119) is correct, then Mrjt-Nt is the mother of Wadj, not Den, and Den's mother's name is only known by the final letters



fig. 6 The Bankfield Stele.

- Hassan, Giza IV, p.87, fig.13

'rt' on the Palermo Stone. Certainly, to be said in favour of Kaiser's hypothesis, Mrjt-Nt's name is not written during her lifetime with both 'r' and 't'. One or the other is the rule. It is only on the mud seal impression that one finds the 't' in the open space of the mouth of the 'r' - a writing not given on the Palermo Stone. There would be no distortion of the Palermo inscription if 'Hr-Srt' were to be the mother of King Den.

Although these are interesting theories concerning Srt-Hr too much concerning the stele and its original position is in doubt at this juncture. For these reasons her name has not been included within the register of king's wives.

### (?) QUEEN NT-HTP-MRT

Temp. Dynasty II or III; exact period unknown, although Gardiner (JEA p.257) believes the stele in question to belong to Dynasty II.

Tomb: unknown, The name alleged by Kaplony (p.496) to be hers is recorded on a stele belonging to Princess Hww-j3htj, from Giza (Hassan, Giza V, p.70).

Titles: none cited; the observation of her as a queen derives from Kaplony's conclusion (IÄF, p.602) that, as her daughter is a s3t nswt, the mother must have been a queen.

Prosopography: If Nt-htp-mrt were a queen (see following paragraph), she would be the mother of Princess Hww-j3htj, but no other relationships are known.

Kaplony's reading of this stele (fig. 6) in the Bankfield Museum is questionable. He interprets the hieroglyphs above the princess' head as the name of the tomb-owner's mother, Mrjt-Nt-Pth. Gardiner (JEA 4 [1917], p.260) interprets this difficult relief as '...htp s3 hw rhyt nsw (ni-swt Mry) "...hotpe's son, the protector of the king's subjects, Marye". While accepting that Gardiner's reading could be improved upon, one must query Kaplony's interpretation. Although the htp sign itself is more usual in names during this period there is an instance of Nt-htp being written out in the longer form (Z. Saad, Royal Excavations at Helwan [1951], p.43). On the Bankfield stele, however, the signs cannot be interpreted as Pth as Kaplony would have it. The entire group presents great difficulties, and the name I have suggested above may well be incorrect.

I endorse Kaplony's interpretation of the princess as a

female, not a male; frequently the s3t sign was written without its feminine 't' in the Second Dynasty, as we see from the ceiling-stelae discovered from Helwan (Z. Saad, Ceiling Stelae, pls.). In this instance one takes into consideration the long dress of the tomb-owner, and the broad breast-straps only worn by women, that can be clearly seen in Gardiner's photograph. Perhaps the short wig worn by the princess added to the confusion caused by the writing of s3 nswt. The wig she wears is known from the Third and Fourth Dynasty reliefs and would indicate a date for the stele somewhat later than that proposed by Gardiner.

Kaplony has taken the proximity of the alleged name of Nt-htp-mrt with that of the princess to indicate filiation. This presents its own difficulties. Throughout his work Kaplony promotes the idea that filiation is indicated by proximity of words and there are, no doubt, instances where this is acceptable. But in this example it is very doubtful. No other funerary stele displays such a formula. Not only is the reading of the 'queen's' name disputable, but even its presence is very doubtful. For that reason 'Queen Mrjt-Nt-Pth', as Kaplony refers to her, is omitted from this register of wives of the kings.

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- Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), pp.256 - 260  
 Hassan, Giza V, p.70, 87 fig.13  
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 Junker, Giza I, p.27  
 Kaplony, IAF, pp.496, 602  
 Vandier, Manuel I, p.738



## ADDITIONAL STELAE FROM ABYDOS

In his discussion on the Early Dynastic stelae Scharff (AVF II, p.21) drew attention to Stele 124 (Petrie RT II, pl. XXVII) which he thought might have been the stele of a queen. The inscription, as read by Scharff was, 'Hr s3 h3s.tj, skr'. Scharff identifies h3s.tj as Horus Den, suggesting that skr would be another of that king's names. (This conjecture has not as yet been confirmed.) Scharff's interpretation of this stele is 'Son of Horus H3s.tj, Skr'.

There are seven known stelae (and possibly two others, 145 and 146) bearing an identical inscription found at Abydos (Petrie, RT I, pl. XXXI; RT II, pl. XXVII). All, except for nos. T21, 124 and 125 which have broken lower sections, show the determinative of a woman. The title (or formula) is thus surely a feminine one.

There are several difficulties with Scharff's analysis of Stele 124. Firstly, the expression 'Son of Horus' is not a known expression for a king. Secondly, in front of the Hr is V28, a sign which renders inexplicable Scharff's interpretation. Thirdly, any reading of Horus H3s.tj would be erroneous, since this king's Horus name was Den. H3s.tj was the nswt bjtj name of the king. Whatever the word (or words) preceding the King's name, 'Horus' does not supply a satisfactory reading. Perhaps the bird is G1, not G5, giving the reading h3 = 'would that', or similar phrase of wishing (Gardiner, Grammar #119, where this same orthography is given as a variant spelling).

The skr inscription, interpreted by Scharff as 'Schlager', does not make much sense on these stelae. Might the word intended be 'offering', as it appears in PT 978? It would suit the sense of the stele, particularly if the women were the offerings made on behalf of the king, as is generally accepted. As Utterance 478 reveals (Faulkner, PT, p.166), the sense in which skr is used here is as an Eye of Horus, an offering that will overcome all obstacles to ascend to the realm of the gods.

The bird, which is seen by Scharff as s3, again presents a difficulty. It would certainly appear to be G39 but, again, there results an improbable phrase if s3 is used. Given the rudimentary nature of these inscriptions the use of G35 in this position would make better sense of the inscription. There are known instances of Ck appearing as the cormorant without its lexicographical aids Δ and λ in New Kingdom times (Urk. IV.262,12),

and it might be correct to use it here.

Gathering these disparate elements together some sense can be made of these seven formulae as, 'H3 c<sub>k</sub> H3s.tj skr X', 'Would that H3s.tj benefit by the offering of X'.

## THE OLD KINGDOM

### DYNASTY III

#### QUEEN NJ-M3 T-H-P I

Temp. Khasekhemwy to Djoser

Tomb: unknown, but likely to be located in Saqqara as the official, Mtn, received offerings from her tomb (Urk.I.4,9). The tomb of Mtn is not far from Djoser's step pyramid. It is reasoned that, if Mtn were her mortuary priest and due to receive offerings transferred from her chapel, their tombs must lie in proximity to one another. It is possible that the queen was interred in one of the rooms under the step pyramid, since the mummies of two women from this period were found there (Edwards, Pyramids, p.39).

Titles: mwt nswt, mwt nswt bjtj, mwt msw nswt, ht Hr (?), dd[t] ht nb[t] jr.[t].n.s, hmt nswt; Mother of the king, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the king's children, Follower of Horus, All that she orders is done for her, King's wife.

The first two titles were discovered at Bet Khallaf (Garstang, Mahasna, p.22), the next three at Abydos, in the tomb of Khasekhemwy (Petrie, RT II, pl. XXIV and p.54), the last title, together with 'mwt nswt', appears on a vase (Kaplony, IÄF, fig.866) now in Lucerne (K412/PVI).

Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p's title of mwt msw nsw has been the subject of some debate. Borchardt (ZÄS 36 [1898], p.143) suggested it might mean 'one who has given birth to the king', a translation also adopted by Emery (AE, p.103). This translation could be possible because of the conjunction of 'msw' with the 'nswt' sign. Kaiser, however, sees this - as does Troy (Queenship, p.89) - as a reference to the 'children of the king', a view also taken by the present writer. For further discussion on the title of mwt msw nswt see Kaiser, MDAIK 39 (1983), pp.261 - 296, and Seipel, Königinnen, pp.73 - 78, and p.38 of Chapter 2.

It is not certain that ht Hr is a title for this queen since the inscription is damaged (Sethe, Mahasna, p.23). Sethe suggests that possibly it could also have been a m33t Hr Sth

title, but either reading is likely - see further discussion in Chapter 2 pp.73f.

Seipel's acceptance of 'wrt hts' for Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p (Königinnen p.69), following Smith (HESPOK, p.133 fig.48) is dubious on two grounds. Firstly, there is no trace of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p's name here. Secondly, the title is unreadable, and Smith makes no mention of what the signs might mean. Similarly, Troy (Queenship, p.152 [3.1 (4)] ) attributes the title of 'wrt hts Nbtj' to the queen, taking this from the same relief fragment from the shrine of Djoser at Heliopolis, although she admits that the attribution is uncertain. There is equal difficulty in accepting this reading, since Htp-hr-Nbtj is clearly present on the relief, and the Nbtj on the fragment here almost certainly belongs to her name in fig.48. There is no possibility that the name or the title as given by Troy could be read from Smith's figure here. If, however, she intends fig.52 to be the title in question, Smith has correctly observed that the title is 'wrt hts', together with the name Htp-[hr],-Nbtj, rather than the reading given by Troy. Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p's name, however, is nowhere found in fig.52.

Queen Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p is the first queen to display titles which differ from her predecessors. This is due to the impoverished state of our records, particularly as we do not have any records for queens of the Second Dynasty. As it is, Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I emerges with the most important titles that future queens were to possess. These individual titles are discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

It might be pointed out at this stage that the last of these titles appears to confer on the queen the right to give orders. Thus Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I seems to be the first queen since Mrjt-Nt to show any sign of having some sort of influence over others.

Prosopography: From the seal of this queen (which was found within the tomb of King Khasekhemwy at Abydos) some historians have assumed that Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p was the wife of this king and the mother of King Djoser (eg.Smith, CAH I/2A, p.151; Simpson, ANE, p.217). The reasons for these connections are due to the reference to the queen in Mtn's tomb. Since his tomb lies near the pyramid of Djoser it is suggested that the queen's tomb should be sought in Djoser's complex, and it is concluded that she is likely to have been his mother (Smith, loc.cit.). This much is probably correct, although the evidence does not expressly make these connections.

This view is also partly favoured by Helck, who prefers to see her as the mother-in-law of Djoser. Since she is entitled

mwt msw nswt, but not mwt nswt, on the seal from Khasekhemwy's tomb it could be possible that she was, at the time of Khasekhemwy's burial, a royal widow but, if she were, she was not the mother of the new king, for this title is not given on any of her seals in Khasekhemwy's tomb.

On the other hand, Swelim (Third Dynasty, p.208) is of the opinion that mwt msw nswt Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p and mwt nswt Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p are two different persons. His view stems from his thesis that Horus Khaba, Horus Sa, Horus Ba and Horus Sanakht had all reigned prior to Netjerykhet Djoser. Since their combined reigns totalled seventy-three years, he estimated, the queen named in Khasekhemwy's tomb could not be the same as the one named in Djoser's Bet Khallaf monument (loc. cit.). In regard to the queen, however, the attestation of the rare title, ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s on both seals suggests that the person mentioned at Bet Khallaf is the same person as the one mentioned in Khasekhemwy's tomb.

Kaplony (IÄF, p.528) would make her the wife of Sanakht, to whom he assigns a brief reign. If Sanakht is Horus Nebka - as was thought by Sethe (op.cit. p.25) - then the reign seems to have been about nineteen years in duration, although there is some doubt about Sethe's reading (von Beckerath, LÄ IV.376).

Kaplony's suggestion might also be given support on other grounds. In Chapter 2 pp.34f. the title of mwt nswt bjtj has been examined at length and a particular interpretation of that title has been suggested. It is a title commonly found with women who were the wives of founders of dynasties that Manetho considered to be new. Given this interpretation of mwt nswt bjtj (a title she bears on a seal from Bet Khallaf), it would appear that she was not the mother of Sanakht (as proposed by Smith op.cit. p.152), but could have been the mother of Djoser. This suggestion is in agreement with the available evidence, for Sanakht's lengthy reign diminishes the prospect of his being the brother of his successor, Djoser (see previous paragraph). If she were the wife of Sanakht then the presence of her official seals in Khasekhemwy's tomb suggests that she was married to the king who buried Khasekhemwy. At that time she was already the wife of a king and mother of his children - as her seal attests.

As a king's wife it is assumed that her officials brought to the tomb her offerings for the burial of Khasekhemwy, but the numbers of these inscriptions would suggest some close relationship to the deceased king. It is for that reason that she has been thought by many scholars to be the daughter of Khasekhemwy. From a much later period the presence of her name

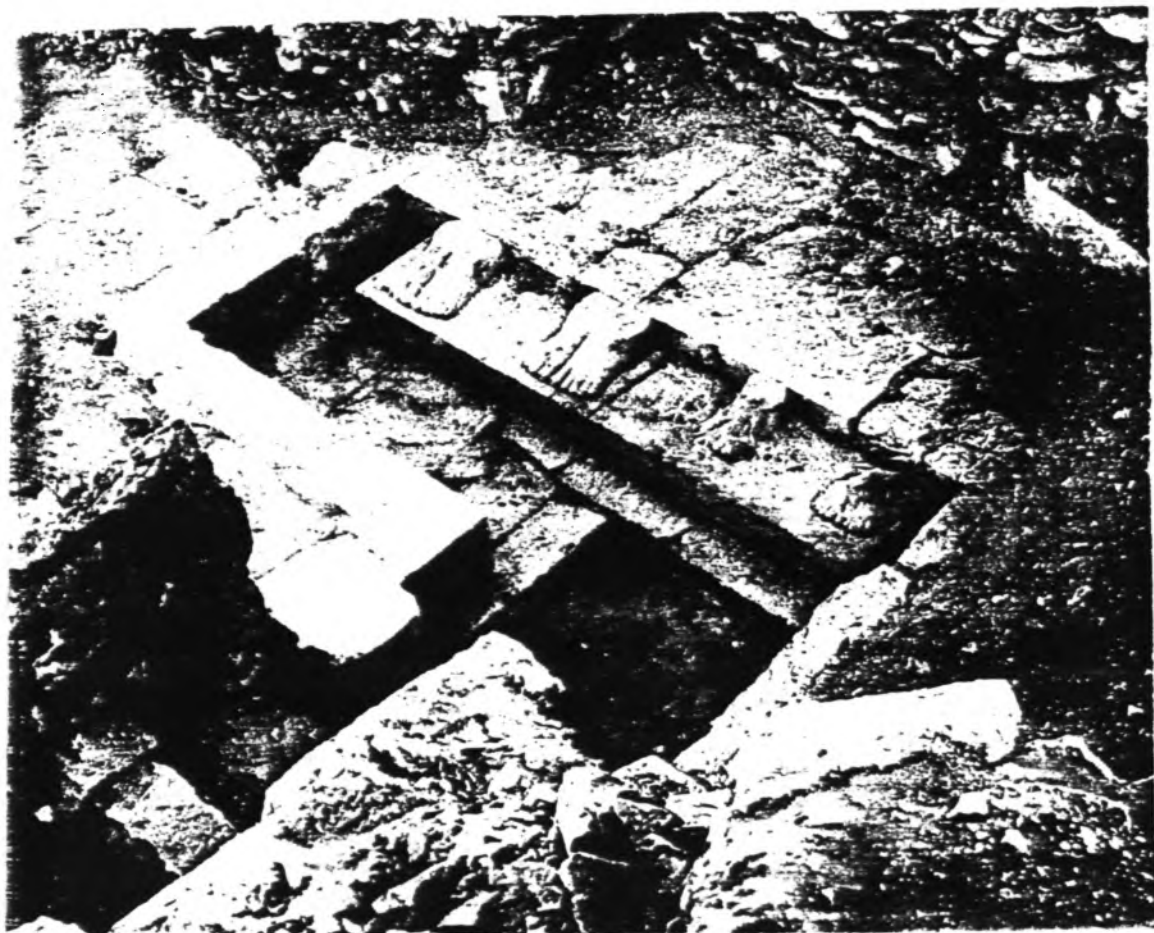


fig. 7 Feet of four statues found at Djoser's complex at  
Saqqara.

- Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid II,  
pl. 63

and title of mwt nswt bjtj among the remains of Djoser's monuments at Bet Khallaf would suggest that it was in the time of this king that she took up this royal title. There are no known records of the queen during the reign of Sanakht. The suggestion of the present work is that Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I was the daughter of Khasekhemwy, the wife of Sanakht, and the mother of Djoser.

Although some (Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid II, pl. 63; Seipel, Königinnen, p.84) have identified Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p with one of the pairs of feet from a statue base in Djoser's complex (Firth & Quibell, op. cit. pl. 63), there is no secure basis for claiming that the feet belong to this queen. Not only do these statue bases lack names, but it would appear from the position of the pairs of feet that these statues might have been pairs, rather than a related quartet of figures. Although triads are common within the corpus of Egyptian sculpture, quartets are uncommon, especially in the earlier dynasties.

On the base preserved in Djoser's complex these four pairs of feet are clearly seen to be divided (see fig. 7). Two of these pairs of parallel feet (presumed to be female) are in advance of the pair of feet thought to be those of the king. To my recollection no female figure ever appears in advance of any statue of a king in Egyptian art. In corroboration of this claim it will be observed that the righthand pair of feet are noticeably behind those of the other statue pair. It could be possible that the left-hand dyad, having larger feet than those of the female on the right-hand pair, might represent two goddesses. It is therefore suggested that these four statues need not represent the mother, wife and child of Djoser, as has been suggested elsewhere, and that we need not agree with Helck that it is unquestionable that Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I appears within Djoser's funerary complex (Helck, LÄ IV.508).

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Mahasna and Bet Khallaf, pp.10, 22, 24; pl. X.7

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LD II.6

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Petrie, RI II, p.54 (No.210), pl. XXIV  
 PM III/2 p.143  
 Roeder, Äg. Inschriften II, pp.68, 74  
 de Rouge, Recherches, p.39f.  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.68 - 77  
 Sethe, ZÄS 36 (1898), pp.143f.  
     in Garstang, Mahasna and Bet Khallaf, pp.22f.  
 Smith, CAH I/2A, pp.151f.  
     HESPOK, p.133, fig.48  
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Urk, I.4,9

#### QUEEN HTP-HR-NBTJ

Temp. Djoser

Tomb: Although Firth (ASAE, 24 [1924], p.127; idem. 25 [1925], p.149f.) thought that the tombs of Queen Htp-hr-Nbtj and her daughter could be identified with two adjacent structures within Djoser's funerary complex, Lauer's later suggestion that these two buildings were the chapels of the North and the South is now the accepted view (La pyramide à degrés I, pp.46 - 67). Not only did these chapels lack the customary burial pit within the normal position for a mastaba (Firth, op. cit. p.126), but the capitals of the engaged pillars on the exterior of each chapel reveal the traditional lotus and papyrus heads respectively that make it certain that these buildings were associated with north and south ceremonies.

It is suggested that the queen and other members of the royal family were buried within the chambers excavated below the step pyramid itself. One burial has survived the course of time and other mortuary remains were found within the underground corridors of the step pyramid (Edwards, Pyramids, p.39).

Titles: m33t Hr, s3t nswt, wrt hts; She who sees Horus, King's daughter, Great one of the hts sceptre.

The first two titles are attested many times on the numerous boundary stones found in the complex of Djoser at Saqqara (see Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid II, pl. 63). Recently, another such stone has been uncovered, the only one to present a complete, readable inscription (Aly, JACF 3 [1989/90], pp.27f.) The second title, although damaged, is clearly present on a fragment from Djoser's shrine (Smith, HESPOK p.136 fig. 52). Troy (Queenship, p.152) attributes the titulary to Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p.



Although Weill would prefer to read 'Great heiress' (jwrt-wrt) for what appears to be a damaged wrt hts title, Smith and Kaplony prefer the more usual title of wrt hts. (For a detailed discussion on this title see under jwrt-wrt on pp.39f. of Chapter 2.)

Troy (Queenship, p.111) prefers to see Htp-hr-Nbtj as the daughter of Djoser, and a princess rather than a queen. Her titles, however, are given many times on boundary stones from Djoser's complex (Firth & Quibell, Step Pyramid II, pl. 63) in such a way as to surely refer to her being a queen. In each case the titles of this queen read vertically, 'M33t Hr, s3t nswt, Htp-hr-Nbtj', while those of her presumed daughter run beside the titles of the queen, 's3t nswt, Jnt-k3.s'. Seipel (Königinnen, p.78) also gives this reading of the boundary stones. As was explained in Chapter 2, the title 'm33t Hr' is found with early queens, not princesses.

Prosopography: It is suggested that Htp-hr-Nbtj was the wife of Djoser and the mother of Jnt-k3.s, although the title of hmt nswt has not been found for her. The title of m33t Hr with the name of Htp-hr-Nbtj on the boundary stones is indicative of a queen, as suggested above, while the sole title of s3t nswt for Jnt-k3.s, and its proximity to the titulary of the queen is indicative of a mother-daughter relationship. The repeated proximity of Htp-hr-Nbtj to the king's own name suggests that the queen takes precedence over Princess Jnt-k3.s.

As Kaplony (IÄF, p.424) has observed, the boundary stones at Saqqara are reminiscent of the Amarna boundary stelae of Akhenaten and his wife and daughters and, like them, these boundary stones stress the importance of the royal women by this time. Unlike the Amarnan examples, however, Djoser's Saqqara stelae refer to Wepwawet, god of the necropolis. It is also interesting that the inscription, 'm33t Hr' not only is a Dynasty I title, but also omits reference to Seth, a curious feature that is present in the inscriptions of Queen Nt, Dynasty VI - for which see her prosopographical entry. For further discussion on the iconography and significance of these boundary stelae see discussion in Chapter 5, in the introductory section.

On a fragmentary relief from Heliopolis (Smith, HESPOK, p.133 fig. 48) the queen and Jnt-k3.s appear, together with another woman (who is nameless), clasping the gigantic leg of the king. It would be difficult to deny their association with Djoser was a close one, given the prolific evidence of the boundary stelae. On this occasion Htp-hr-Nbtj wears the pointed cloak which Queen Htp-hr.s II wears on the reliefs from the tomb

of Mr.s-<sup>nh</sup> III (Dunham & Simpson, The Tomb of Mersyankh III, fig. 7), and also is worn by the royal mother of H<sup>c</sup>.f-Hwfw (Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II pl. XVI). Kuchman Sabbahy has suggested that a queen wears a pointed cloak when she appears with her child - although there is insufficient material available to be certain about this claim. Notwithstanding this, what is significant in these reliefs is that none but queens wear the pointed cloak, thus strengthening the position of Htp-hr-Nbtj as the wife of Djoser. Smith (HESPOK p.134) has also remarked upon the distinctive headdress of Htp-hr-Nbtj in this relief, mentioning that it is also found in representations of other Fourth Dynasty queens.

The custom of associating mother and daughter in this period is echoed by another practice. In later periods the presence of mother and daughter on stelae and in statue groups is common and illustrates what Troy (Queenship, p.111) has called a 'generational duality' - the association of two generations of royal women as the instruments of the king's continuity (*ibid.*, p.109). This is the first example we have of such iconography. (See discussion in the prosopographical section of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I regarding the alleged group of Djoser and the three royal women.)

No other relationships of this queen are known but, as a s3t nswt, presumably she was the daughter of the previous king, Sanakht. She and Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I are the only secure queens of Dynasty III; the following entry is dubious.

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   25 (1925), p.149  
   26 (1926), pp.97f.  
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                   La pyramide à degrés I, pp.46 - 67; 187f. fig.209  
 Schmitz, S3-NSWT, p.12  
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(?) QUEEN DSR-NBTJ /DSR-NBTJ-CNH.TJ (?)

Temp. Sekhemkhet

Tomb: unknown

Titles: none known.

Prosopography: Material was found in the tomb of King Sekhemkhet, at Saqqara, suggesting to some scholars (Helck, WZKM 54 [1957], pp.72 - 76, Stadelmann, großen, p.70) that Dsr-Nbtj was the wife of that king. On the basis of fine jewellery that must have belonged to a woman (because of its size), it has been conjectured that it belonged to a female member of the royal family (Goneim, Horus Sekhem-Khet, p.14). The presence of a small, rectangular ivory tablet (pls. LXV, LXVI) recording linen garments also carried a name, Dsr-Nbtj, Cnh.tj, Dsr-Nbtj-Cnh.tj or Nbtj-Cnh-dsrtj. Goneim (ibid. p.21) has suggested that, either this may be the king's Nbtj name, or that it might be the name of a female (ibid. p.22). He prefers the former solution, as does the present writer. Stadelmann (großen, p.70) and Helck (WZKM 54 [1957], p.73; think this may be the name of Sekhemkhet's queen.

Bibliography:

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Thinitenzeit, pp.108f.

Saleh & Sourouzian, Das Agyptische Museum Kairo, p.23

Stadelmann, großen, p.70

(?) QUEEN MR.S-CNH I

Temp. Sneferu

Tomb: unknown; the queen is only named on a fragment of the Cairo Annals as the mother of King Sneferu. Presumably she would have been buried at Meidum, where a later graffito mentions her name.

Titles: On a fragment of the Cairo Annals (recto) Černý has read the name of this queen, who is in the usual position for the king's mother (Grdseloff, ASAE 47 [1947], p.118). No titles, and no contemporary records have been found. A later Eighteenth Dynasty graffito from the temple of the Meidum pyramid (Petrie, Medum, p.40, pl. XXXIII.5) also mentions her as being this king's

mother. Seipel (Königinnen, p.87) also draws attention to her name in the tomb of Phr-nfr (Dynasty III/IV) in connection with a funerary foundation (Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines Funéraires, p.328) which, due to its date, is likely to refer to this queen mother.

Prosopography: As Sneferu is seen as the inaugurator of the Fourth Dynasty, his mother may have been a commoner, but we cannot be sure. Since none of her own records have been found we cannot be as confident as Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.141), who suggests that Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh I was neither the daughter nor the wife of a king. Her position is questionable.

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 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.86 - 90  
 Troy, Queenship, p.153

## DYNASTY IV

### QUEEN HTP-HR.S I

Temp. Sneferu to Khufu

Tomb: G 7000x. The queen's tomb lies close to that of her son, Khufu, in the eastern sector of the Giza cemetery. It was discovered by the Harvard-Boston team in 1925 but, although her canopic chest - the earliest to contain evidence for evisceration (Reisner, BMMA 26 (1928), p.81) - and sarcophagus were present in the sealed chamber, no trace of her actual body was found. Notwithstanding the absence of the body, a large number of offerings were found in poor condition in the tomb and, after Reisner's patient rescue work, the contents of the burial chamber were put on display in Cairo Museum. It is the richest collection of material yet to come from the tomb of an Old Kingdom queen.

Because the sarcophagus of the queen was empty Reisner suggested that the queen had once been interred at Dahshur, but that her tomb had been desecrated and her body removed by robbers (BMMA 26 [1928], pp.82f; idem. Giza II, p.1f.). This explanation has been adopted by many historians (eg. Edwards, Pyramids pp.116f.; Gardiner, EOP, p.80; Helck, Geschichte, p.54; James, Archaeology, pp.50f.).

Lehner's views differ markedly from those of Reisner. He thinks that G 7000x was not the secret burial suggested by Reisner (Lehner, Hetep-heres, pp.35 - 41). Lehner prefers the idea that the tomb was an aborted version of a later pyramid, G 1x. In Lehner's view G 1x was also abandoned before building of the superstructure began. He thinks that, at that stage, the burial of Htp-hr.s could have been destined for one of Khufu's satellite pyramids, either G 1a (ibid. p.41) or G 1b (ibid. p.84).

Lehner suggests a timetable of events that would explain the state of the shaft grave when it was found (ibid. pp.35 - 40). He also calculates the way in which the furniture that was found in the shaft grave could have fitted into G 1a (ibid. pp.42 - 44 and fig. 8).

Later in his narrative, Lehner raises the possibility that the burial of Htp-hr.s was shifted from G 1a to G 1b. The

transfer could have been made, Lehner believes, because Khufu abandoned the idea of having a cult pyramid on the northern side of his causeway, due to the cramped nature of the site. Thus G 1a became the new cult pyramid for the king, and Htp-hr.s was probably moved into the adjacent pyramid, G 1b. This theory is less attractive, since the underground layout of all these satellite pyramids are those of queenly structures, not cult temples.

If we compare this instance with later queenly burials, the tomb of a king's mother being in close proximity to the tomb of her son, rather than her husband, is highly unusual. Lehner's rationale for Htp-hr.s I's proximity to Khufu's own tomb is that the burial of the queen was designed to suit the funerary requirements of Khufu, with Htp-hr.s I playing the role of a mother-goddess - Hathor, Isis or Nut (*ibid.* p.83), to ensure the rebirth of the king in the afterlife. In support of his theory Lehner points out that the king's burial chamber was in line with the burial chamber in G 1a (*loc. cit.* and figs 9, 19). It was this purpose, rather than any urgency prompted by the hypothetical disturbance of the queen's tomb, which caused the king to go against custom and bury his mother within his own cemetery, Lehner believes.

While not discounting Lehner's theory concerning Queen Htp-hr.s I's 'secret' burial, János (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.13 -16) has pointed out the weaknesses apparent in Lehner's assumption of a hypothetical cult pyramid on the northern side of Khufu's causeway. His most telling argument is that, in addition to the lack of sufficient evidence for this pyramid, cult pyramids themselves were an integral feature of the layout of the royal mortuary establishment and, therefore, such alterations of the architect's plans would be highly unlikely. He also raises the interesting question of the position of G 1a as a cult pyramid, when these buildings were usually located near the southern corner of the king's tomb (*ibid.* pp.13f.). In his opinion the omission of the cult pyramid in Khufu's cemetery has yet to be given a satisfactory explanation.

Lehner's conclusion (*Hetep-heres*, p.84) that G 1a has no trace of a chapel (thus increasing its likelihood of being a cult pyramid) introduces a corresponding weaknesses in his explanation that G 1a's burial chamber was aligned with that of the king's upper chamber because of its mythic significance. His altered view has also drawn the response from János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.15) that the area around this pyramid has been so drastically damaged that no remains are left and, therefore, it is impossible to decide what had once been there. In fact, Maragioglio &

40  
Rinaldi (Pyramide menfite, IV p.82) remark that

'The eastern temple has left very few traces. We have observed along the east side of the pyramid ... some cuttings in the levelled foundation rock which give roughly the total dimensions of the platform on which the little temple was built, 16.65m on the north-south sense and 5.70m. on the east-west sense. On the extreme north and south limits of this platform, depressions about 2.10 m. wide are to be noticed in which, very probably, the foundations of the side walls of the chapel, surrounded by a narrow footpath, had been. Even if its measurements are not exactly determined, the existence of the chapel is certain because of the levelled platform and the blocks of the pyramid casing which were laid lower on the south and higher on the north of the platform. In fact, this is the disposition we shall observe in the other two small pyramids in which the existence of a cult temple is absolutely certain.

Thus Lehner's argument concerning G 1a as a cult pyramid is rather weak. Furthermore, the internal layout of all three of Khufu's satellite pyramids lack the characteristic T - shape of a cult pyramid, and this deviation from architectural norms would need to be explained if one were to pursue the idea of G 1a being a cult pyramid. On the other hand, none of the satellite pyramids can be attached to any particular owner without question so, both the nature and the purpose of these monuments has yet to be settled.

Edwards (Pyramids, p.262), after weighing up both Reisner's and Lehner's theories asks, 'is it really necessary to suppose that Hetepheres had a second tomb, unless and until some positive evidence comes to light to provide proof of it? ... If it be assumed that G 7000x was the queen's only tomb and that her body was stolen soon after her funeral, many difficulties which are inherent in both Reisner's and Lehner's theories disappear.'

Edwards' comments do provide the simplest solution to the strange state of the burial found by Reisner. There is also the likelihood that the queen died shortly before the death of her own son, and the tomb originally intended for her was simply never completed.

In the figure of the queen appearing on an inlaid box from her tomb (Reisner & Smith, Giza II, fig.30) we have the earliest

known representation of a queen. Apart from the numerous bracelets on her lower arm, her appearance was no more distinguished than that of other noblewomen from this period. Her dress is the simple shift with two broad shoulder straps, and the fillet on her head is a simple ribbon, undecorated, apart from the side bow. (For discussion on the female fillet see Staehelin, Tracht, pp.146 - 154.)

Titles: mwt nswt bjtj, ht Hr, hrpt sšmt šndt, ddt ht nb (sic) jrt.n.s s3t ntr nt ht.f; Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Follower of Horus, Controller of the butchers of the Acacia House, All things that she order are done for her, God's Daughter of his body.

All these titles were recorded in gold relief hieroglyphs on her carrying chair found in G 7000x.

The additional title of hmt nswt was discovered on a granite lid for a stone vessel (Kaplony, Kleine Beiträge, fig.1114). Kaplony (IAF, p.21) suggests that the hieroglyph hr is similar to the orthography of other examples of the queen's name found in her tomb. He thinks it likely that the lid belongs to this queen, rather than her younger namesake, for whom no funerary vessels are known. This later discovery underlines the extremely fragile nature of theories built upon the omission of a title from the fragmentary records of queens; as the rich collection of titulary from the tomb of Queen Mr.s-ḥnḥ III reveals very clearly, the titulary of a queen could have many different forms, some of which omit the expected titles (such as 'hmt nswt') of a queen.

Htp-ḥr.s I is the earliest recorded s3t ntr to date; the title may be older than this (see Chapter 2 for a discussion on this and other titles held by the queen). Unlike the other s3t ntr title-holders Htp-ḥr.s had the addition of 'nt ht.f', which echoes the title of princesses of this period.

She was the first queen to carry the title hrpt sšmt šndt,<sup>1</sup> a title which appears in the variant jmj-r sšmt šndt for males later on (Fischer, Orientalia 29 [1960], p.180). This is the first indication we have for an office of some sort for a queen.

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<sup>1</sup> On the interpretation and translation of this title see p.89f, Chapter 2, and Fischer, Orientalia 29 [1960], pp.168 - 190.



Prosopography: Her title of s3t ntr nt ht.f, could suggest that Htp-hr.s I was the daughter of the king, since 'ntr' in this period refers to the king. Her father might have been Huni (as suggested by Smith and others) but, in view of Sneferu's long reign, and the lengthy reign of Khufu, it is not outside possibility that she may have been the granddaughter of Huni, thus explaining the lack of s3t nswt title. The queen might have been a later wife of Sneferu.

Because her title of King's Wife was not discovered until fairly recently, previous scholars (eg. Smith, CAH I/2A pp.164f; Hassan, Giza IV p.7f.) had taken the lack of the title as an indication that her status was more prestigious than that of her husband. This might be so, but we are ignorant about the family circumstances of this queen. Most historians assume that her husband was King Sneferu, since that king's name and some of his possessions were found in her tomb. Federn (Familien-Geschichte, pp.53f.) considers her to have been the sister of Sneferu. She was the mother of Khufu, the grandmother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b, Htp-hr.s II, Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f, and great-grandmother of Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III, but other relationships are uncertain.

Two of her titles were also carried by her descendant, Htp-hr.s II, hrpt sšmt šndt, ht Hr. Of these the former is seldom found among queens (for further discussion on this title see Chapter 2).

Although it has been alleged (eg. Reisner & Smith, Giza II, p.8) that Htp-hr.s I was the mother of Queen Mrjt-jt.s, there is no evidence for this connection. The two women do have in common one of the most prestigious titles of queens (ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s), but there is no other similarity.

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 Weynants-Ronday, CdÉ 3 (1927/8), pp.173 - 193

### QUEEN MRJT-JT.S

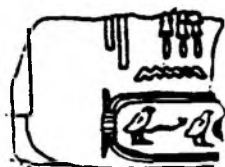
Temp. Sneferu to Khafre

Tomb; Unknown, although it has been presumed to be one of the three satellite pyramids in the eastern cemetery of Khufu's complex - usually G 1a (so Reisner, Smith, and Stadelmann). If the northernmost pyramid is the cult pyramid, and Htp-hr.s I were the tomb-owner of G 1b (as Lehner later suggested [Hetep-heres p.84]), and Queen Hnwt.sn the owner of the most southern tomb, then Mrjt-jt.s has no pyramid at all.

If, however, we accept Lehner's theory concerning the ultimate deposit of Htp-hr.s I in G 1a, then G 1b could be a likely monument for Mrjt-jt.s, since the titles of 'wrt hts' and 'hmt nswt', without name, were found in the remains of this pyramid's mortuary temple (Reisner-Smith, Giza II, p.4 n.5 and fig.4). Seipel (Königinnen, p.106) has also suggested that one of his queens Mrjt-jt.s might have occupied this tomb, since it is close to the tomb of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b.

The queen's name and titles were found by Mariette on a false door at Giza, although the exact position of the find was not recorded (de Rougé, Monuments, p.36ff). This provides our only secure information about this queen. Since Mariette's time the false door has been mislaid, so that only Mariette's transcript provides us with our information.

In HESPOK (p.161) Smith claimed that Mrjt-jt.s' false door could have once been situated within the tomb of Princess Mrjt-jt.s but since then he has rejected this idea (JNES 11 [1952], pp.124f.fn 15, 16). In the latter work Smith prefers siting the Mariette false door of Mrjt-jt.s within the tomb of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b (loc. cit.). This idea raises two major objections. Firstly, it is very unusual to find the false door of another



24-12-1000

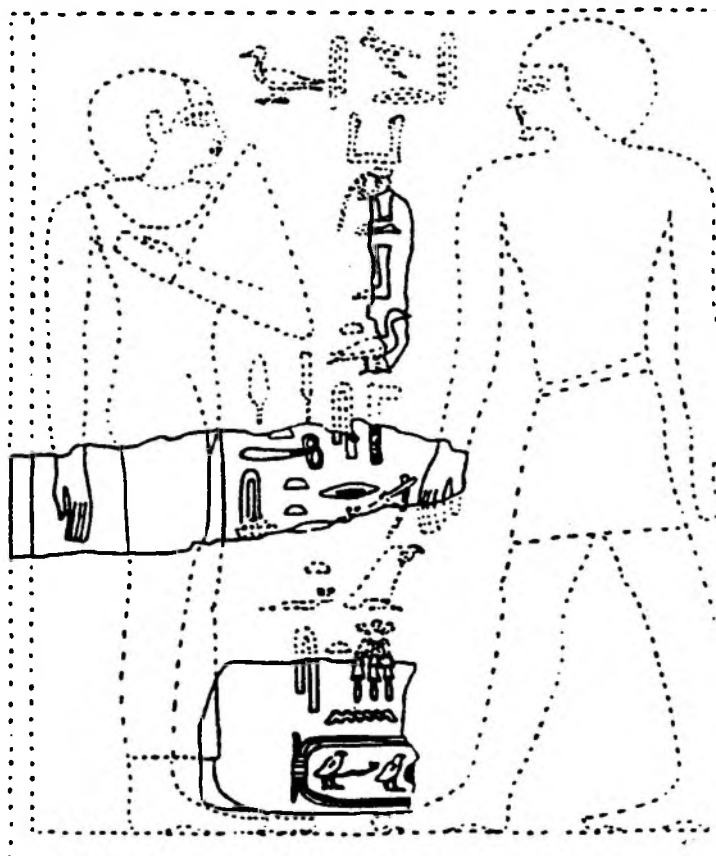


24-12-1002



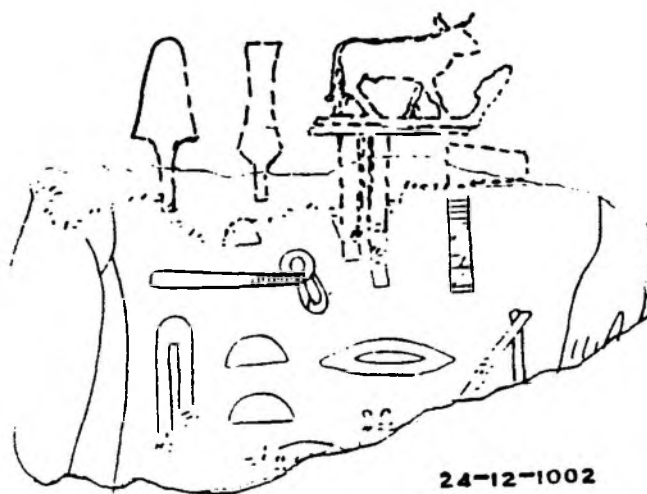
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8 a

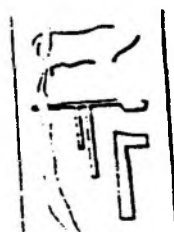


8 b

Reconstruction suggested by Smith for fragments in 20 a



24-12-1002



Bw-nfr  
relief

8 c

Suggested reconstruction

fig. 8 Relief fragments and reconstructions from the tomb of K3-wcb

relative within a mastaba unless that person were buried there, and there is no suggestion that there was any such provision made in K3-w<sup>c</sup>b's tomb. Secondly, the inscription clearly states that Mrjt-jt.s lived under the reign of Khafre ('jm3hwt Khafre'), and it is unlikely that a stele would have been erected within K3-w<sup>c</sup>b's tomb so many years after his death. (There is also a possibility that his tomb could have been destroyed by this time - see Simpson, Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu, p.5 - which, if so, would make the proposed installation even more unlikely.)

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, ht Hr, wrt hts nt Snfrw, wrt hts nt Hwfw, wrt hst, sm3wt mrj Nbtj, ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s; King's wife his beloved, Follower of Horus, Great one of the hts sceptre of Sneferu, Great one of the hts sceptre of Khufu, Great of praise, She who is united with the one beloved of the Two Ladies, All that she orders is done for her.

All of these titles were preserved on the false door found by Mariette at Giza (J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hieroglyphiques I, pl. LIII; E. de Rougé, Monuments, p.37ff; Mariette, Mastabas, p.565). Seipel (Königinnen, pp.97ff.) points out that even the recording of this inscription differs among the sources listed above. As there are several large lacunae in the inscription, Seipel wonders whether we are dealing with more than one person here (ibid. p.98).

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.30) and Troy (Queenship, p.98) state that the last-mentioned title in the list above, is only held by mothers of kings. Both hold the opinion that Mrjt-jt.s was given the title as mother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b, heir presumptive. However, several royal women who once held this title were not the mothers of kings (eg. Mrjt-jt.s, Nfrt-jtj, and Jmn-jr-dj.s).

In the tomb of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b in Khufu's eastern cemetery three other fragments thought to refer to this queen as the mother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b were found (Smith, JNES 11 [1952], p.124, fig.2). Certainly, the name of Mrjt-jt.s seems clear on fragment 24-12-1002 (see fig. 8). A further fragment, found in the tomb of Htp-hr.s II, was also thought to refer to her (Smith, op. cit. p.125, fig.3). These four inscriptions were interpreted to mean that Mrjt-jt.s was the mother of both K3-w<sup>c</sup>b and Htp-hr.s II.

Mrjt-jt.s is the only known queen to display the title wrt hts nt (king), although others had similar titles. Wrt hts Nbtj, and wrt hts nt Nt are also attested (Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.50). This unusual title for Mrjt-jt.s might be related to her position in Sneferu's court. Previously it was thought by Petrie

(History I, pp.134f.) and others (Reisner, Mycerinus, p.240; Federn, Familien-Geschichte, p.48; Helck, Geschichte, p.59; Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, p.55) that Mrjt-jt.s might have passed from Sneferu's harem to that of Khufu. Given her advanced age at death, however (having apparently lived through the reigns of four kings), Mrjt-jt.s may have been only a young child in Sneferu's time, and her title may have had to do with a ceremonial, rather than marital connection to Sneferu. Both Fischer (JEA 60 [1974], p.97 and n.11 - 14) and Troy (Queenship, pp.81, 83 - 85) conclude that the title was one connected with the hts sceptre of the king, and thus had a ritual function. Troy links the title to later versions, explaining that the interconnection of the hts sceptre and musical cult activities (*ibid.* p.88). Perhaps it was used for Mrjt-jt.s towards the end of Sneferu's reign when she may have been the royal female who substituted for the queen on some ritual occasion - even as the daughters of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten carried the title of hmt nswt wrt on some occasions (Helck, CdÉ 44 [1969], pp.22 - 26) for later kings.

Another title alleged to be that of this queen is [hrp šndt], sšmt, based on a relief fragment found in G 7120, the tomb of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b (see fig. 8a). Smith (Giza II, fig. 9, and JNES 11 p.124 and fig. 2) has suggested the reconstruction that appears in fig. 8b, which he reads as, 'Her son, her beloved, Kawab, the daughter of her god, she who is in charge of the affairs of the sndt .. Merytetes' (Giza II, p.3).

There are difficulties with this reconstruction, as Smith himself admitted, and as Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.136) and Seipel (Königinnen, p.99f.) have pointed out. There is no certainty that the two fragments are related to one another in that way, neither does the reconstructed phrase, 'the daughter of her god', make grammatical sense or have any parallel in the titulary of queens.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.52) has suggested that Smith's reconstruction should replace the 'ntr' with 'hts', and follow this with 's' as a phonetic complement. (She also suggests other changes to the rest of Smith's hypothetical reconstruction.) There is a major objection to Kuchman Sabbahy's scheme, however. The wrapped axe has no similarity to any other hieroglyph and therefore should not be replaced by 'hts'. Additionally, although 'hts' appears in the tomb of Mr.s-Cnh III with ♂ as a phonetic complement, such complements for this title are unusual - as are several of the instances of Mr.s-Cnh's wrt hts inscriptions (Fischer, JEA 60 [1970], p.97).

Perhaps the hieroglyphs originally read something different from our perception of the fragmentary title. It is possible that either R 13 or R 14 (Gardiner's sign list) might be the hieroglyph used where Smith and the others perceive an 's'. Although this suggestion is not much better than Smith's reading the phrase 'ntr jmnt' does appear in tombs from this period (eg. Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, figs.3a and 4).

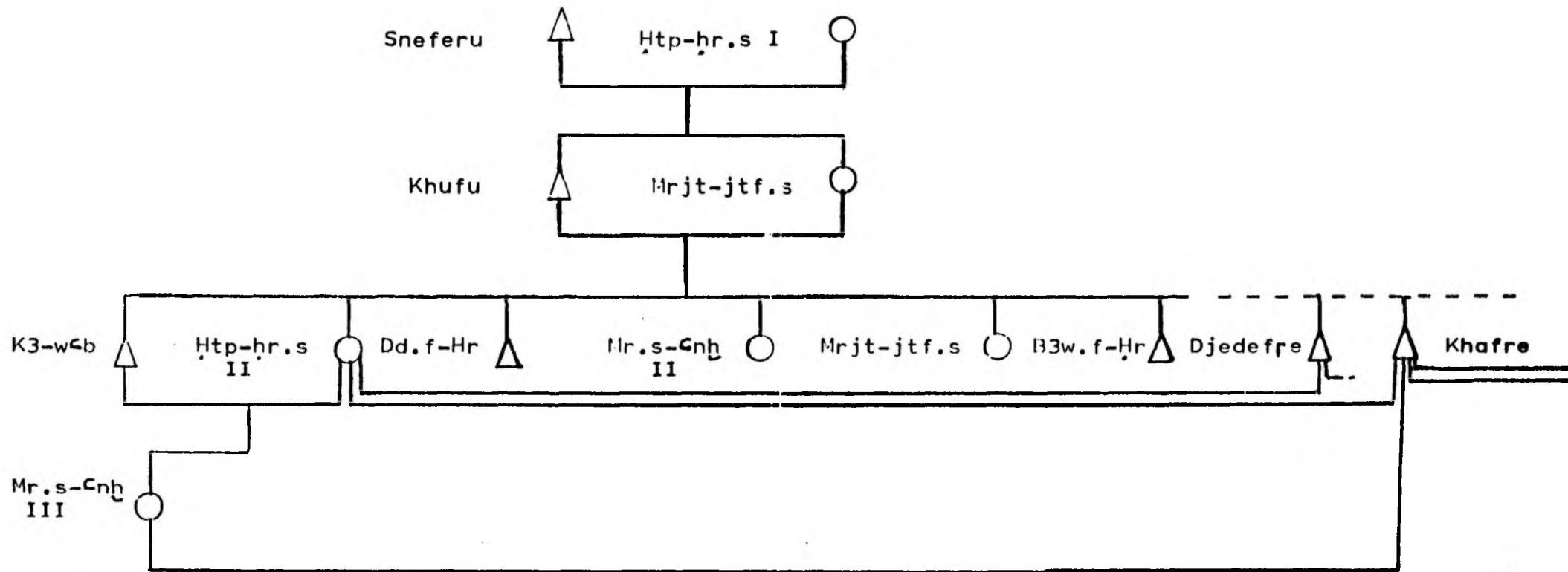
A more satisfactory reconstruction is the substitution of the title hmt ntr T3-spf, as in the accompanying illustration in fig. 8 c. This title sometimes follows the title hrp sšmt šndt, as can be seen in the titulary of Htp-hr.s II on her sarcophagus (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig.14), sometimes it precedes it as on Mr.s-cnh IV's false door (Mariette, Mastabas, D5). In the example from the titulary of Bw-nfr (Hassan, Giza III, fig.153) we see that it does not always need the hmt ntr insignia.

On the false door of Mrjt-jt.s, the title hrp sšmt šndt is not recorded, even though the titles that usually preceded (wrt hts or ht Hr) and followed it (ddt ht jr(t).n.s) are given on the door. In other cases, however, this title appears in some inscriptions for individual queens, but not in all. Htp-hr.s I had the titles on four sections of her carrying chair, but not on another four; Htp-hr.s II was not given the title on an inscription in the tomb of Mr.s-cnh III, but did have it recorded on her inscription on the sarcophagus she gave to Mr.s-cnh III; H-mrr-Nbtj II did not have the title in her tomb, but was given it in the tomb of her son, Hw-n-Rc (Reisner, BMFA 32 [1934], fig. 10 on p.11); while Mr.s-cnh IV has it displayed with all her titular strings on her false door.

Prosopography: It has been assumed that Mrjt-jt.s was the daughter of Htp-hr.s I (eg. Reisner/Smith, Giza II, p.7; Helck, Geschichte, p.59), but we have no evidence at all for this. Given the nature of her titles on her false door it is unlikely that she was a s3t nswt and, therefore, unlikely to have been the daughter of Queen Htp-hr.s I.

She has been accepted by the majority of scholars as the wife of Khufu; her title of wrt hts nt Hwfw could suggest this. Seipel (Königinnen, p.100), however, points out that the title of hmt nswt mrt.f is found below the column containing the cartouche of Sneferu, and thinks that it is possible for this king to have been her husband. This certainly is possible, but one then has to explain the fact that she seems to have been a senior wife of King Khufu, as is indicated by the title sm3wt mrj Nbtj under the column containing his name.

GENEALOGY 1



Perhaps what has been intended with this damaged inscription is that the initial architrave, prefaced by the titles, hmt nswt mrt.f, ht Hr, Mrjt-jt.s, is to be read first, followed by a chronological list of titles held by this elderly queen. Although Sneferu is mentioned first this may have been because he was the first to confer honours upon Mrjt-jt.s. Given the lacuna below the king's damaged cartouche there is even room for an inscription such as s3t nswt smst - or something of that nature. The next titular string would then read, hmt nswt mrt.f Mrjt-jt.s [...], wrt hts nt Hwfu, ht Hr [...], sm3wt mrj Nbtj, ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s, jm3hw H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>, Mrjt-jt.s [...]. This interpretation would provide a coherent reading of the damaged inscription. Seipel's solution (*Königinnen*, p.100) to the problem, however, is to suggest that more than one queen named Mrjt-jt.s is referred to here, the second person being the mother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b. However, it would be unusual to have two persons given equal prominence upon a single false door. Seipel's theory thus seems rather dubious.

Reisner and others have seen Mrjt-jt.s as the mother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b and Htp-hr.s II. Although some extensive genealogies have been drawn up (eg. Helck, *Geschichte* pp.58 - 61; Reisner/Smith, *Giza II*, p.6 (eg. see *Genealogy 1* this present work) - Grimal, *Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne*, p.83), most of these alleged relationships are based on extremely tenuous material. Mrjt-jt.s' relationship with K3-w<sup>c</sup>b is based on fragment 24-12-1002 alone, yet the title used for making the identification is not shown on the false door of Mrjt-jt.s, our only secure piece of evidence for this queen.

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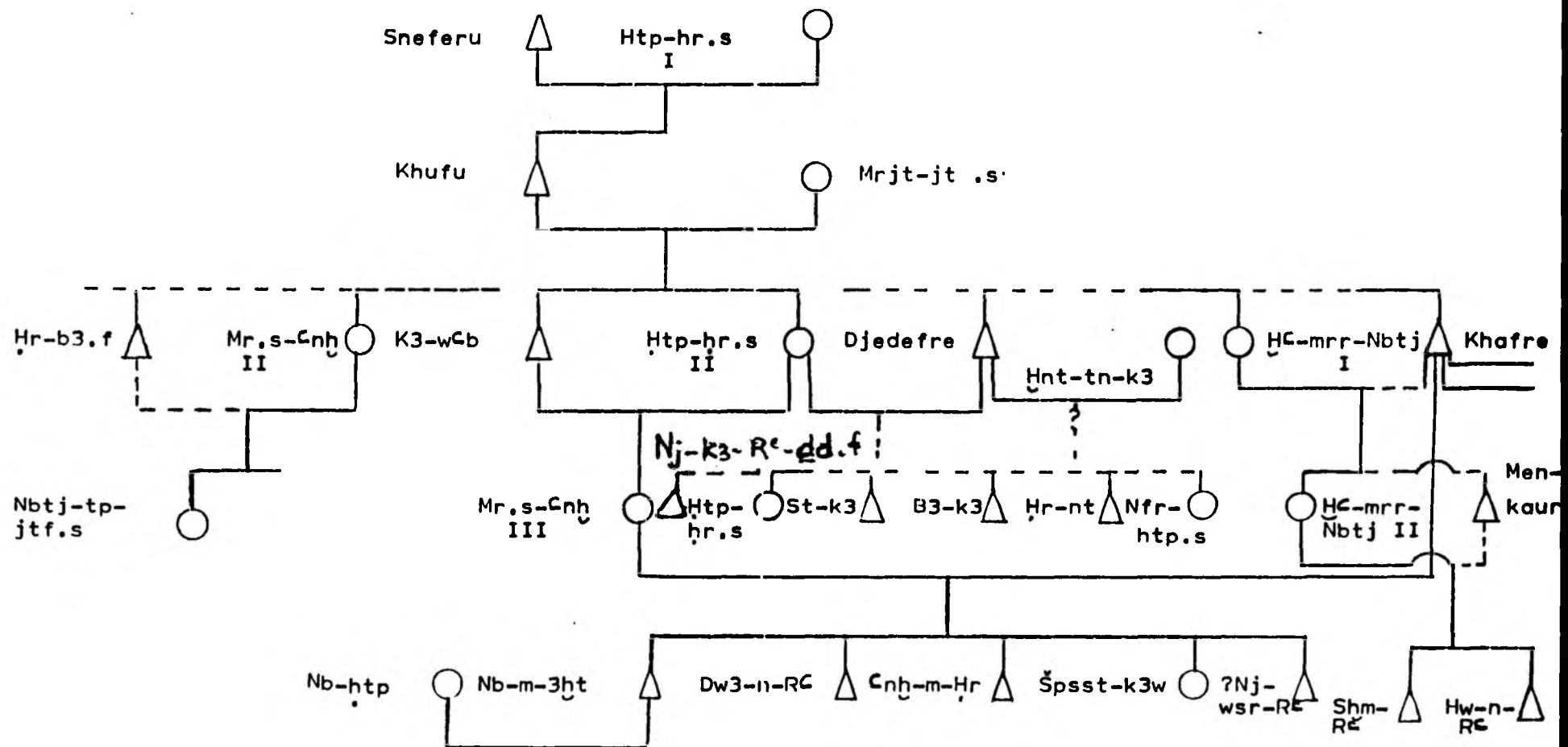
She has also been considered the mother of Htp-hr.s II on minimal evidence. In the tomb of Princess Htp-hr.s II (G 7110) fragment 24-12-1097 shows the remains of the title sm3wt mrj Nbtj (Smith, *JNES* 11 [1952], fig.3). Smith argues that, as Htp-hr.s would have been a princess at the time her tomb was built, the title must refer to her mother. As Mrjt-jt.s possesses this title, and as fragment 24-12-1002 (containing the name Mrjt-jt.s) was found in the adjacent tomb of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b, it has been concluded by Smith and others that Mrjt-jt.s was the mother of Htp-hr.s II as well (Reisner/Smith, *Giza II*, p.6). While these conjectured relationships are possible, none of them is without question, and one needs to remember this when looking at *Genealogy table 2* for the family of Khufu.

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Reisner, using the Westcar Papyrus as a basis, has suggested that Dd.f-Hr and B3w.f-Hr were also children of Mrjt-jt.s (*Giza II*, pp.7 - 9). The use of literary material as an historical source is dubious, however, for there is nothing in the Westcar



# GENEALOGY 2



Papyrus to suggest that K3-w<sup>c</sup>b, Dd.f-Hr and B3.f-Hr were full brothers, as Reisner assumes. In the papyrus Princes Dd.f-Hr and B3.f-Hr are merely referred to as the sons of Khufu. The identification of the tombs at Giza as belonging to members of the family of Mrjt-jt.s is by no means settled, even though Reisner's hypothesis is attractive.

The last assumption, that Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh II was the daughter of Mrjt-jt.s (Reisner/Smith, Giza II, p.7) also lacks substance. (See discussion under the prosopography of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh II.)

A statue (Leiden D 125) alleged to be that of Queen Mrjt-jt.s (Petrie, History I, p.34; Buttles, Queens, p.12) is now in Leyden. In spite of the identification in the Catalogue (pl. X11V) it is the statue of hkrt nswt, rht nswt, director of the dining hall, and overseer of the chamber of wigs, Mrjt-jt.s. It does not represent this queen at all.

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 Troy, Queenship, p.81, 98, 153

#### (?) QUEEN HNWT.SN (?)

No queen of this name is attested in extant material,

but it has become customary to refer to the nameless queen depicted in the mastaba (G 7140) of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f at Giza, as Hnwt.sn, due to this name for an early princess being preserved in a Saite stele (Daressy, Rec. Trav. 30 [1908], pp.1 - 10) which had been found in the temple of Isis Mistress-of-the-Pyramid, immediately west of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's tomb. Although the name of Khufu appears on the stele it is not directly clear whether or not the princess was his daughter. The inscription (from Saite times) says that the king built the pyramid for Hnwt.sn beside that of the temple to Isis there. (We know, however, that the temple was considerably more recent than the pyramid - (see Jones & Milward, JSSEA 12 [1982], pp.139ff.)

There is perhaps some link between the two females, since pyramids were built for queens, not princesses in the Old Kingdom period, and the queen represented on Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's embrasure on the south side of his chapel (Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II, pl. XVI a) may have been the owner of the pyramid to the west of his tomb (Junker, Mutter und Sohne, pp.174f.). In later remodelling this mastaba was incorporated into the entrance of the temple to Isis that lay on the eastern side of pyramid G1 c, where once the pyramid mortuary chapel had been built, this incorporation perhaps suggesting some connection between the two tombs.

The name of Hnwt.sn is used here not because of any strong conviction that this was the name of the mother of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f, but because it is more convenient to use the name than not.

#### Temp. Khufu - Khafre

Tomb: considered to be G 1c in Khufu's eastern cemetery, due to an inscribed stele from Saite times (Maspero, Dawn, p.413 fig.3) naming Hnwt.sn as king's daughter (Daressy, Rec. Trav. 30 [1908], pp.1 - 42). The stele was found embedded in a wall of the pyramid (Mariette, Mon. div. p.17). Mariette (incorrectly) considered it to be a faithful copy of Khufu's original stele restored in the times of the Tanite pharaohs. This explanation is accepted by the present writer.

Daressy thought that the stele confirmed the story in Herodotos (II.126) concerning Khufu's daughter, who built a pyramid from the proceeds of prostitution. The stele, however, does not say that Hnwt.sn was Khufu's daughter, as is stated by some scholars, but only entitles her as s3t nswt, as can be seen on the inscription on the right-hand side of the stele. Daressy considers the work on the stele was a Saitic copy of an old inscription, probably one of Dynasty XII date, due to the bands

on the nemes headress of the sphinx in the left-hand corner being typical of that particular period (Rec. Trav. 30 [1908], p.9).

The stele (known as the Inventory Stele, due to its list of donations made to the temple) mentions a hwt ntr to Isis, Mistress-of-the-Pyramid, and states that Khufu built the temple at the side of the (satellite) pyramid of s3t nswt Hnwt.sn. (These three satellite pyramids have been considered as tombs of Khufu's wives, and for this reason Hnwt.sn is frequently called 'Queen', and not simply 'princess'.) The relationship of Hnwt.sn to Isis is unknown, but seems to have come via a cult associated with Hathor (Jones & Milward, JSSEA 12 [1982], p.150). The links between the queens and this goddess have been outlined by Troy (Queenship, pp.53 - 102). Recent work done by Jones and Milward gives a history of the alteration of the queen's mortuary chapel into the hwt ntr to Isis that had become a shrine frequented by pilgrims at least by Dynasty XXI (Jones & Milward, op. cit. pp.145, 151). Evidence for the pilgrims is to be found in the numerous triangular signs incised on the pyramid casing (ibid. p.147 and 151). These markings are reminiscent of small recesses carved into the tomb walls of Queen Hnwt of Dynasty V (see her prosopography for details). Although the circumstances are not the same, these mementos of personal piety could reflect later veneration given to the queen (Munro, SAK 1 [1974], pp.51ff). Dates for these marks in the pyramid of Hnwt.sn are impossible to determine.

Plans of the remains of the mortuary chapel and the later hwt ntr of Isis are given in Jones & Milward figs. 1 - 4. An earlier plan showing foundations not now present can be seen in Hassan, Giza VIII, pl.1ii. Plans and sections of the pyramid itself are available in Reisner, Giza I p.130f. and fig.64 on p.131, Fakhry, Pyramids, p.114, Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Pyramide menfite IV, pl. 11 and Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.124.

The pyramid is made of coarse limestone and faced with fine white Tura limestone, refuse from its construction still remaining in a pit not far from the pyramid (Jones & Milward JSSEA 12 [1982], p.149). Originally the pyramid was angled at approximately 51°, its height being about 29 metres, with a base area approximately 47 square metres (Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.124).

The internal construction of this pyramid differs from the other two in having a distinct second chamber which was roughly square (see fig.64 in Reisner, Giza I). The chamber was then lined with stone which reduced the room to an L - shaped corridor. Unlike the other two pyramids G 1c's entrance corridor is not broken by a stepped descent but runs directly into the L -

shaped corridor that had once been a chamber.

Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.12) in commenting on the opinion of Maragioglio and Rinaldi (Pyramide menfite IV, pp.180ff. Obs.71) that this pyramid was not part of Khufu's original plan for these satellite monuments, draws attention to the fact that the southern edge of G 1c thus became aligned with the southern walls of the double mastabas headed by G 7130/7140. He suspects that both alterations might have taken place within a short time of one another; but which came first is difficult to determine, and why the alteration was made is still a mystery.

If Stadelmann's hypothesis that Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f was the name used by Khafre when he was a prince is correct (see below), then it might be possible that this pyramid was erected for the queen after her son's unexpected succession to the throne, the alterations to the mastabas being made to preserve the symmetry of the cemetery.

Titles: The mother of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f (Hnwt.sn?) held the following titles, mwt.f mswt sw, m33t Hr Sth, wrt [hts], .. , His mother who bore him, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre. [Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's west wall, south of the entrance to the inner room.],

If the Inventory Stele does relate to the queen then she may have been a princess. The title of s3t nswt appears on it.

Although Khafre has been considered as the son of Hnwt.sn (eg.Smith, CAH I/2A, p.171) she is not recorded as having the mwt nswt title on any known remains. This might simply be due to missing records; it might also reflect the possibility that the queen died before her putative son attained the throne; or it might reflect that the queen was not the mother of Khafre at all.

Prosopography: The adjacent mastaba belonging to Prince Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f (G 7140) lies close to pyramid G 1c. This mastaba was connected by later additions to the pyramid's later temple to Isis. On the walls of G 7140 an inscription appears which records an unknown queen who was the mother of this prince (Daressy, ASAE 16 [1916], p.258f.). It has been suggested - and accepted for some time by many scholars - that this nameless woman could be Hnwt.sn (eg.Smith, CAH I/2A, p.171; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.124). She has also been thought to be the mother of Khafre (idem). More recently Stadelmann (SAK 11 [1984], pp.165 - 172) has put forward the suggestion that Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f was the name of the prince who became Khafre, thus eliminating one of the

large number of sons thought to be children of Hnwt.sn  
(eg. Reisner/Smith, Giza II, p.11).

Reisner and Smith (ibid. p.8) have also suggested that Mnw-h<sup>c</sup>.f was the son of Hnwt.sn and Khufu. Apart from the similarity of the men's name-formation, and the location of Mnw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's tomb (G 7440) in the row headed by Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's tomb, however, there is no other corroborating evidence for this connection.

In a small monograph concentrating on the wall relief in Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f's tomb Junker (Mutter und Sohne, pp.171 - 175) commented upon the infrequency of scenes showing the tomb owner with his or her parents, and demonstrates how this relief distinguishes itself both artistically, and philosophically from other reliefs in which parents are shown. In this instance the queen holds her son by the hand as they look towards the entrance to the tomb. Junker says that this is not simply a picture of the tomb owner and his mother, but a representation of these people in the afterlife (ibid. p.173). Both face the doorway and, in Junker's opinion, are emerging from the grave. And, even as she held his hand when he took his first steps as a child, so now she leads him from the darkness of the tomb into the light of the sun (ibid. p.175).

Although the identification of Hnwt.sn with the mother of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f (and possibly Khafre) does provide a tidy solution to this branch of Khufu's family, it should be stressed that these relationships are conjectural. Not only is it questionable whether or not she were a queen, but, as Jones and Milward (JSSEA 12 [1982], p.141) have stressed, Hnwt.sn 'cannot be identified with any of the known figures of the 4th Dynasty .. and [she], exists only in [the] later tradition.'

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 Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II, pp.10f., pl. XV, fig.26  
 Smith, HESPOK, pl. 43a, 38b  
 Stadelmann, SAK 11 (1984), pp.165 - 172  
 Troy, Queenship, p.153

### QUEEN HNT.T N-K3

Temp. Djedefre

Tomb: unknown - presumably at Abu Roash; her tomb has not been found. Chassinat (Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.71) has commented on the tombs of two royal children, Hr-nt and Nfr-htp.s at Giza, and suggests that the burial of the members of Djedefre's family might be found there. Chassinat's belief that priesthoods for Djedefre indicate that the king's mortuary cult continued at Abu Roash after his death may not be sustained in the light of later knowledge, since the cult of kings seem to have been maintained during their lifetimes as well (Jacquet-Gordon, domaines funéraires, pp.14ff).

Djedefre's mortuary complex at Abu Roash was first recorded by Lepsius (LD Texte I, pl.23). In his plan the position of a small pyramid can be seen in one corner of the temenos of the king. Like the remainder of the tombs at Abu Roash this pyramid was incomplete, even its central pit being unfinished. It is uncertain for whom this tomb was built. Chassinat (Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.70) said that it 'sans doute destinée à la reine' - and Maragioglio and Rinaldi (Pyramide menfite V, p.26) also consider it to be a monument to a queen. Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.127), on the other hand, considers it to be a cult pyramid, and János ( Pyramidenanlagen, p.16f.) is in agreement with this. The presence of the typical T - shaped corridors (Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Pyramide Menfite V, p.26), and its placement within the temenos wall are suggestive of a cult pyramid, rather than the usual queen's pyramid.

While he considers that the queen's monument could be found within one of the western mastabas, János observes that there is still much excavation to be done at Abu Roash and the possibility of another pyramid beyond the temenos wall is not to be ruled out (ibid. p.71 and n.81).

Titles: [Hr?], ht, hmt nswt [?jm3t], [hmt nswt], mrt.f, [ ], jm3hwt



fig. 9 The titulary of Hnt-tn-k3



- from É. Chassinat: Mon. Piot. 25  
(1921/22) p.64



hr nb.s; Follower of Horus, King's wife, [? King's wife], his beloved, One who is honoured by her lord.

These titles are given by Chassinat (Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.64) from the base of a statue he found at Abu Roash.

Another fragment of a red sandstone statue carries the indistinct remains of Hr m33 (?) r ., which Chassinat considers might be a variant of the m33t Hr Sth title (Chassinat, Mon. Piot, p.64), a reading accepted by Seipel (Königinnen, p.122) - the latter also accepting the title of hmt ntr Nt for this queen. There do not seem to be strong grounds for either of these attributions. The title of 'm33 Hr (?) r' is not easy to reconcile with the usual writing of this title, especially if the 'r', and not the eye hieroglyph appears on the fragment. However, since this piece did not bear the name of any queen, it might have been part of some official's memorial.

As given by Chassinat (Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.64) the queen's titles from a fragment of a statue base are very peculiar (see fig. 9) and the above translation is tentative. (Hnt.t-n-k3's titles are omitted in Troy's register.) Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.56) concurs in the reading of ht Hr, but suggests that the last title might be the remains of ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s. While this interpretation makes good sense, it is the present author's opinion that the hieroglyphs as shown here could not support Kuchman Sabbahy's reading. However, if one alters Chassinat's sign  into Aa 1  the normal epithet, 'One who is honoured by her lord' results. I would suggest that this is the epithet intended here.

The position of jm3t in the left-hand column of the inscription is most odd. It may, as Kuchman Sabbahy has already indicated (ibid. p.56), be incorrectly recorded, particularly since Chassinat (Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.64) uses the brackets. One would expect the queen's name to follow. There may also be the possibility of it being part of the hrpt sšmt šndt title, the remainder perhaps running into the second column, at the top of the inscription, where other signs have also been obliterated.

Prosopography: Although Queen Hnt.t-n-k3 is securely identified as the wife of Djedefre from her miniature figure beside the statue of Djedefre (Chassinat, Mon. Piot 25 [1921/22], p.59) which is now in the Louvre (N 54), Federn (Familien-Geschichte, p.75) considers that she could not have been Djedefre's wife, but wife of a later king. His reason lies in the representation of the queen in this statue, 'Daß eine Königs-Gemahlin so

Since the remains of statues belonging to three 'eldest sons' and two daughters were found at Abu Roash it is possible that this queen was a parent of one or more of Djedefre's children, but which (if any) is unknown. Another son for Djedefre has been identified by Fischer (ZÄS 86 [1961], pp.28 - 31) from a palimpsest in the Louvre. This is Prince Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>-dd.f, who was not entitled 's<sub>msw</sub>' as his brothers were. For a guide to this king's family see Genealogy 2.

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     HESPOK, p.32 and fig. 10  
 Troy, Queenship, p.153

#### QUEEN HTP-HR.S II

Temp. Khufu - Menkaure (?)

Tomb: G 7110 is considered to have been the tomb of this queen; other tombs ascribed to her are G 7540 and G 7350. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

G 7110/7120 was one of the earliest double-mastabas erected in the eastern cemetery at Giza (see Reisner, Giza I, p.72). Htp-hr.s II would appear to have shared this monument with her first husband, K3-w<sup>c</sup>b, although no evidence for her name has been found in connection with this tomb (Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II, p.4). It has been thought that each double-mastaba belonged



fig. 10 Relief from Tomb G 7350 at Giza.

- Smith, HESPOK, pl. 43 a.

to a prince and his wife. Htp-hr.s II's marriage to K3-w<sup>c</sup>b being attested in the tomb of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III, G 7110 has been assigned to her.

An exterior chapel was added to this core and these broke into the exterior cladding to provide the tomb with an interior room for its chapel (loc. cit.). There was a burial shaft and an unfinished rock-cut chamber in the mastaba core but the tomb-owner of G 7110 was never buried within it (Reisner, Giza I, p.115).

It is assumed that Htp-hr.s next had excavated for her tomb G 7540, later occupied by her daughter, Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, p.7). Htp-hr.s appears to have given this second tomb to her daughter - presumably because Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh had died suddenly. The only donation statement, however, comes from the sarcophagus, not the tomb, of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III and thus would imply that it was the coffin, not the tomb, that was presented to the younger queen. However, graffiti relating to this tomb were found on blocks within the mastaba core. They refer to Htp-hr.s II, this time as a 'wrt hts', with the date of Year 13 of some king. It is obvious that this tomb, too, had been built originally, for her (Smith, JNES 11 [1964], pp.126f.). Thus both the tomb and the coffin seem to have been presented to Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III by her mother.

The third tomb assigned to Htp-hr.s is G 7350, which lies to the west of the tomb of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III, and not far from it. Reisner assigned G 7350 to Queen Htp-hr.s II when he found an inscribed relief (fig.10) lying within the precincts of the chapel. He thinks (Giza I, p.149) that the tomb was one of a group constructed sometime between the middle of Khafre's reign up to the time of Shepseskaf. The tomb is thus later than the other tombs ascribed to the queen, and would suggest an extreme old age for Htp-hr.s, should she be the tomb owner.

Reisner's assumption that the relief shows Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III (the smaller figure) and her mother, Htp-hr.s II is not without weakness. It would be more likely for the larger of the two figures to be the designated queen, and the hoe sign might as easily represent the familiar mrt.f which often followed the hmt nswt sign. It seems insufficient evidence on which to assign this tomb to Htp-hr.s II and the attribution must remain a doubtful one.

Seipel (Königinnen, p.116) has considered that Htp-hr.s' gift of a tomb to Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh could suggest that the elder queen had a tomb provided for herself somewhere else - perhaps Abu Roash.

This seems unlikely, since the building graffiti state that G 7540 was being prepared by Htp-hr.s in Year 13 of an unnamed king - certainly not Djedefre. One asks then, why would she build a second tomb if she already had another?

Much more probable is Seipel's suggestion (*ibid.* p.117) that Htp-hr.s' funeral preparations may have been recorded in a fashion similar to those of Mr.s-cnh III, the latter being inscribed on the entrance to her tomb. On the sides of the northern niche, on the east face of the tomb are two sets of dates, which Reisner (Dunham & Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p.7) proposed were the commencement and completion dates of Mr.s-cnh's tomb. Seipel, however, suggests that the dates could record the death and funeral of Htp-hr.s, in similar fashion to Mr.s-cnh's inscription. Seipel's interpretation of this inscription appears to be more likely than Reisner's suggestion. If Seipel is correct, then one would expect this queen to have been interred within that mastaba. It is extremely puzzling, however, that only one burial had been made within the tomb.

Titles: sm3wt Nbtj, sm3wt mrj Nbtj, s3t nswt bjtj Hwfw, s3t nswt nt ht.f, s3t nswt nt ht.f mrt.f, hmt nswt, hmt nswt mrt.f, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht Hr, tjst Hr, smrt Hr, hmt ntr B3pf, hmt ntr I3sp, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hrp sšmt šndt; She who is united with the Two Ladies, She who is united with the one beloved of the Two Ladies, Daughter of King Khufu of Upper and Lower Egypt, King's daughter of his body, King's daughter of his body his beloved, King's wife, King's wife his beloved, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Follower of Horus, She who sits with Horus, Companion of Horus, Priestess of Bapef, Priestess of Tjasep, Priestess of Thoth, Controller of the affairs of the šndt.

All of these titles were preserved, and repeated many times, within the tomb of Queen Mr.s-cnh III in Giza. From the main chapel, west wall, right of the architrave, the longest string of her titles reads, mwt.s m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, hrp(t) sšm(t) šndt, hmt nswt, Htp-hr.s. On the sarcophagus of Mr.s-cnh (*ibid.* fig.14) Htp-hr.s II's longest string of titles reads, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, hrp(t) sšmt šndt, hmt ntr B3pf, sm3wt mrj Nbtj, s3t nswt nt ht.f mrt.f, Htp-hr.s.

Htp-hr.s II had accumulated more titles than those recorded by her predecessors. This could be due to incomplete records for the earlier queens, but it might also signal an overt increase in the prestige of a queen by the enrichment of her titulary during the mid-Fourth Dynasty. A similar increase is noticeable in the titulary of officials for the period, too.

The first of the titles given above is a hapax legomenon, but it may actually arise from an abbreviation of the fuller title given beside it: sm3wt mrj Nbtj.

Htp-hr.s was the first queen to display the titles of priestess of a god - for discussion on which see Chapter 2 (P1.1, P1.2, P1.3). In the Old Kingdom, queens and princesses were priestesses for different gods. Bapef, Tjasepef and Thoth are thought to represent aspects of the king.

One unusual feature of these above inscriptions is the absence of the feminine 't' for s3t nswt. That this is probably due to design considerations by the craftsman who made the sarcophagus is indicated by the abnormal lack of honorific transposition of s3t nswt for Mr.s-Cnh in the inscription that runs down the side of this sarcophagus. The artist has also left out the feminine 't' in the hm(t) ntr inscriptions as well.

Prosopography: The queen's name would seem to be taken from her grandmother, Queen Htp-hr.s I, and it is probably no coincidence that the elder queen's tomb is closest to G 7110, which is assigned to Htp-hr.s II. The name of the mother of Htp-hr.s is not attested anywhere, although Reisner and Smith have suggested a complex network of relationships for this queen (see Giza II, pp. 1- 11). (See the prosopography of Mrjt-jt.s for additional details.)

Htp-hr.s II was the acknowledged daughter of Khufu, the wife of Prince Kawab - himself the son of that king - and mother of Queen Mr.s-Cnh III. All three relationships are given on the walls of the tomb of Queen Mr.s-Cnh. Although it has been considered that Htp-hr.s II might have been the mother of one or more of Djedefre's children, which of these (if any) is not known. The alleged marriage to Djedefre is not supported by any evidence.

Prince Kawab evidently died prior to the death of Khufu (Simpson, Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II, p.3f.) and thus could not become a king, yet his wife was named as queen in the tomb of their daughter, Mr.s-Cnh III. Since she must have married a king (presumably after the death of Kawab), her husband must have been one of the kings of her own generation. The most likely candidates are Djedefre, Khafre, or even Djedefhor or Baufre (should these princes have become kings (see Drioton, BSFÉ 16 (1964), pp.41 - 49, for further discussion), but for none of these presumed marriages is there any evidence. If the queen had been the wife of Khafre, it would be extremely unlikely for both

mother and daughter to be wives of the same king. Although Mr.s-nh III belonged to the generation following Khafre, the father of her son Nb-m-3ht is most likely to have been Khafre (see Mr.s-nh's prosopography for further discussion). This would suggest that Htp-hr.s II would have been more likely to have married Djedefre. Significantly, one of Djedefre's daughters also bore the name of Htp-hr.s.

There is no evidence for Simpson's claim that Htp-hr.s II married successively K3-w'b, Djedefre, then Khafre (Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II, p.5).

Federn (Familien-Geschichte pp.74f.) considers that Htp-hr.s was the most important wife of Djedefre, since her titulary is richer than that preserved for Hnt.tn-k3. This is a rather fragile base for his claim, since it is clear that the titulary we have for the latter queen is in such a fragmentary state. Federn (ibid. p.81) has also suggested that Htp-hr.s II and Djedefre were the parents of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I. However, Hnt-k3w.s I seems to belong to the generation following that of Menkaure (see discussion in her prosopographical entry), which would surely make it difficult for her to be the daughter of Djedefre and mother of Neferirkare as well.

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Temp. Khafre - Menkaure

Tomb: LG 88 Giza, a rock-cut tomb in the cemetery of Khafre. Adjacent to the queen's tomb is that of her alleged son, N-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> (LG87). The structure of both tombs does increase the likelihood that the two tomb-owners were close relatives.

Titles: wrt hts, hmt nswt mrt.f, s3t nswt nt ht.f; Great one of the hts sceptre, King's wife, his beloved, King's daughter of his body.

All the queen's titles that remain are preserved on the southern pillar (eastern side) in the entranceway of the room where the burial shaft is.

Prosopography: Neither her parents' nor her husband's names are known. However, due to the type of her tomb, and her alleged son's funerary domains, it is suggested that this queen might have been the wife of Khafre. Her burial in the area of Khafre's cemetery also suggests that she could have been the wife of that king. Federn (Familien-Geschichte p.67), on the other hand, reminds us that Pr-[snt] could also have been the wife of Khafre's alleged successor, Baufre.

It has been assumed (eg. PM III.1, p.233) that Pr-[snt], was the mother of Prince N-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>, whose tomb, LG 87, lies next to hers. As Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.70, and n.90) has pointed out, however, there is no inscription in the tomb to confirm this alleged relationship.

As she is entitled s3t nswt nt ht.f, she must have been the daughter of a previous king, since most princesses (Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III is an exception) with this title can be shown to be actual daughters of the king. It is assumed that Khufu was Pr-[snt] 's father, but this need not be so, as Seipel (Königinnen, p.133) has already pointed out.

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 LD II p.152 c; Text I p.108  
 Lepsius, Königsbuch, Taf. VII no.46  
 Mariette, Mastabas, pp.547f., 550  
 PM III.1, p.233



QUEEN MR.S-<sup>c</sup>NH IITemp. Khufu - Khafre

Tomb: G 7410 in the cemetery east of Khufu's pyramid at Giza. The queen's tomb is one of the great double-mastabas built for Khufu's immediate family. The measurements of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's monument are, a length from N - S of 34.5 metres, and a width from E - W of 15.0 m; area 518 sq m (Reisner, Giza I, p.58). Her burial chamber has a cubic capacity of 121.22 cub m (ibid. p.125). The stages of the tomb's construction were the same as those already outlined for Htp-hr.s II in this prosopography.

As part of the enlargement process in the second stage of construction the tomb of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh II was provided with a second chamber which was then used for her red granite sarcophagus (ibid. p.145); her partner's tomb was unused (ibid. p.118).

On the eastern wall of the mastaba core was an L - shaped chapel, part of which extended into the core of the mastaba. The chapel was of white limestone, decorated with reliefs, and having one niche on the inner wall (ibid. p.308).

Titles: s3t nswt nt ht.f, m33t Hr Sth, ht Hr, wrt hts, hmt nswt;  
King's daughter of his body, She who sees Horus and Seth,  
Follower of Horus, Great one of the hts sceptre, King's wife.

The titles of a princess were found within the chapel of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh II, but the titles associated with a queen appear only on her sarcophagus found within her tomb, different combinations appearing on each of the four sides, and wrt hts, together with her name, on the sarcophagus lid. Reisner and Smith (Giza II, p.10) specifically comment on this feature of the queen's titulary, remarking that, while Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's chapel entitles her as a princess, her sarcophagus gives her the status of a queen.

These circumstances might be due to (1) the fragmentary nature of the reliefs which has resulted in the loss of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's regal titles in the chapel; (2) the queen receiving a later elevation to the status of queen. There are two alternative patterns for the latter construction, either, she married a king after the death of her first husband

(Reisner-Smith's preferred option, Giza II, p.10), or, her husband became a king some time after the decoration of Mr.s-cnh's chapel was completed.

Prosopography: Although she is a king's daughter, and king's wife, the exact family connections are uncertain. It is assumed from the position of her tomb that she was a daughter of Khufu. As such she is likely to have shared the great double-mastaba at Giza with a husband who was a close relative of Khufu's.

It has been suggested by Reisner and Smith (loc. cit.) that Hr-b3.f might have shared the queen's double-mastaba, since his sarcophagus could fit within the shaft and burial chamber, and since the fragmentary name of a prince Hr-[...] survived from the chapel wall of G 7420. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.124) considers him to be the husband of this queen. Drioton's discovery of the name of Bafre in a cartouche at Wadi Hammamat (BSFÉ 16 (1954), p.41) could provide an explanation for Mr.s-cnh II's title of hmt nswt, and this seems the most likely connection.

It is also pertinent to note that of the 12 double-mastabas within the eastern cemetery all that contained sarcophagi had granite ones, such as the sarcophagus of Hr-b3.f. Hwfw-cnh's sarcophagus - as Seipel (Königinnen, p.137) has pointed out - would also fit into this burial chamber, and he, too, is without a known tomb, so Reisner's theory may not be correct. Reisner (Giza I, p.168) states that the burial crypt of G 7420 had never been used, so perhaps the sarcophagus had never been put there in the first place. Seipel's argument (Königinnen, pp.138ff.) on the evidence regarding the name of Hr-b3.f does provide good grounds for doubting the identity of this alleged tomb owner.

Smith has suggested that Mr.s-cnh's elevation to queen might be reflected in the most unusual name of her daughter, Nbtj-tp-jtf.s (Reisner-Smith, Giza II, p.10).

If Mr.s-cnh II should have been the wife of a king who succeeded Khafre the latter's lengthy reign would indicate that any brother who succeeded him would be elderly (as Mr.s-cnh would be by that time), while any member of the next generation would make marriage to Khufu's daughter unlikely. Reisner considered that the queen might have married Djedefre (Reisner-Smith, Giza II, p.10). Troy (Queenship, p.153) thinks it is also possible that Khafre might have been her husband. There is no evidence for any of these conjectures.

Apart from Nbtj-tp-jtf.s, no other offspring are known, although the titles of a prince (perhaps the queen's husband?)

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Urk. I.156

QUEEN HDT-HKNWTemp. Khafre

Tomb: unknown - presumably at Giza, where she is named in the tomb (LG 89) of her son Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup>. As there is only one shaft and burial chamber in the tomb, cut perhaps in the time of Sahure, it is evident that the queen was not buried there.

Titles: m33t [Hr] Sth, hmt ntr B3-pf; She who sees Horus and Seth, Priestess of Bapef.

Her titulary, found in the tomb of her son, Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup>, as given here is incomplete.

Prosopography: The wife of Khafre, as is suggested by the predominance of Khafre's name within Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup>'s funerary estates, and by his title jm3hw hr jt.f nswt hr ntr 3 hr nswt bjtj (H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>). Hdt-hknw was the mother of Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup>.

Frequently we see with the titles hmt ntr B3-pf and T3-spf a link between mother and daughter (eg. Htp-hr.s II and Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III; H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I and II). If this observation is correct we might anticipate a relationship between this queen, whose titles have been seriously damaged, and another queen who held a similar office. The pattern seems to be that the mother holds the same title as the daughter, as we know to be the case with the H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj queens and Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III and her mother. We might look for a possible daughter for Queen Hdt-hknw in another queen holding the title. Bw-nfr is one who holds both titles.

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 PM III.1 p.233  
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### QUEEN MR.S-<sup>c</sup>NH III

Temp. Djedefre - Khafre

Tomb: G 7540 in Khufu's eastern cemetery; tomb report in Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, - G 7530 - 7540.

The tomb is a combined mastaba-rock-cut tomb, very different from others in the Khufu cemetery. It consists of a mastaba core underneath which is a roomy, rock-cut chapel, thus combining the elements of both architectural designs. Originally the mastaba core incorporated G 7520. This core measured 36.70 x 16.25 metres and had an area of 596.37 sq. metres, equalling in size G 7650. This core, Reisner believed, was originally intended for Queen Htp-hr.s II (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, pp.2f.).

Later this core was lengthened to its current size, part of the northern section of the core being dismantled and used in creating the southern extension. The new core then measured 47.50 x 16.88 m, with an area of 633 sq. metres, and the enlarged core was encased in fine white limestone, further increasing its measurement to 50.37 m x 20.125 m. Its total area was now expanded to 1013.69 sq. metres (ibid. p.3). Beneath this core a spacious, three-roomed chapel was excavated - the plans and sections are given in Plans B, C, D and E of Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh).

The northern chapel was left unfinished and a recess in the eastern wall was provided to make room for a new chapel to the south. This chapel was never finished and is now almost destroyed. All the decoration and texts mentioned below are found in the rock-cut chapel below the mastaba core.

On the western side of the mastaba casing blocks were found which revealed some interesting information about the building. These have been listed in Dunham & Simpson (Mersyankh, p.3) but are discussed at greater length by Smith (JNES 11 [1952], pp.126f). The graffiti on these blocks show that the mastaba originally belonged to wrt ḥts Ḥtp-ḥr.s. The dates refer to different stages of the tomb construction. Smith assigns them to Year 13 of the reign of Khafre (the tomb architecture supports this period). It is thus clear that Ḥtp-ḥr.s II was the original tomb-owner of G 7530 - 7540, even though it was her daughter alone who was buried in it. Her royal title also indicates that Ḥtp-ḥr.s II had become queen by this time - indeed, Dunham and Simpson conclude that this title on the casing blocks and the titulary she carries in this tomb's chapel are sufficient to establish her as the wife of Khafre (Mersyankh, p.7). As far as I can determine the identity of her husband is not established by these titles alone.

Within Queen Mr.s-Ḥnh's burial chamber a black granite sarcophagus was found. The inscription provides the full titulary of Queen Ḥtp-ḥr.s II, for whom the sarcophagus was made. Running down the corners of the sides is:

dj.n.[j] n s3t nswt ḥmt nswt Mr.s-Ḥnh; '[I] have given [it] to the king's daughter, king's wife Mr.s-Ḥnh.'

As the tomb had originally been built for Queen Ḥtp-ḥr.s II, it would also appear that not only had Ḥtp-ḥr.s given over her own sarcophagus for the use of her daughter, but that she had also given to her daughter her tomb.

The reasons for this donation are puzzling but it has been assumed that these gifts could indicate that Mr.s-Ḥnh died (perhaps unexpectedly) before her mother did. It is also possible that the sarcophagus had been given as a present to Mr.s-Ḥnh by her mother when both were alive, as a funerary gift. It could also be proposed that the blocks for the building begun for Ḥtp-ḥr.s were made for a tomb that was later abandoned by this queen. After this time the monument could have been taken over by her daughter, Mr.s-Ḥnh III. The various stages in the building progress - as outlined above - would support such a view, although the argument is speculative.

The decoration of the tomb itself has attracted a lot of discussion (see the comments of Junker, Reisner and Smith listed in the bibliography), not the least of which is the scene on the east wall of the main room, that which shows K3-wḤb, his wife and

daughter (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig.4). It is rare for Egyptian tomb decoration to record family members in this way, particularly when one of those members had been dead for some time. In Dunham's reckoning that lapse of time would have been in the region of 26 years or more (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, p.3); if Reisner's calculation is correct the time lapse would be even greater - closer to 45 years (Smith, JNES 11 [1952], p.126).

The scene may be seen in association with funeral rites (for K3-w<sup>c</sup>b ?). The two queens are gathering papyrus plants, the inscription reading, 'She pulls papyrus for Hathor in the marshland with her mother. They see every good thing which is in the marsh.' The use of the term 'sšš.s w3d' is echoed later in the Pyramid Texts (PT 388), where the king will shake the papyrus plant in a text referring to the Great Wild Cow (ie. Hathor), and to the ascension of the king. Although Queen Htp-hr.s II was not a priestess of Hathor (a title most Old Kingdom queens lack), her daughter was. This may have something to do with Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's position as a grandchild, rather than a child of a king. Kings' granddaughters are frequently priestesses of Hathor.

In discussing this particular scene Troy (Queenship, pp.74f.) sees the queens as 'shaking the papyrus for Hathor', in some unspecified cultic act. But here, it would seem, there is closer affinity with Hathor's role in the resurrection of the dead - particularly if we consider the context of the Pyramid Text mentioned above. K3-w<sup>c</sup>b in this scene has his back turned upon his family, and Kanawati (SAK 9 [1981], pp.213 - 225) has suggested that such iconography is suggestive of one who is no longer living in this world. The scene may thus have specific significance as a ritual memorial for Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's father, whose own mortuary memorials were so badly destroyed at some time.

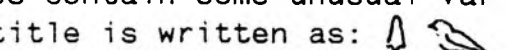
Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's remains were found in the sarcophagus in her burial chamber. Dr. Derry's analysis of the bones revealed that Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III died when she was about fifty years of age and that her skeletal remains showed some similarity to the depictions of the queen in her wall reliefs (Dunham & Simpson, op. cit. p.21). Her teeth showed considerable wear and there was a suspicion of abscesses where her molars were missing. Although some of the bones of her feet were missing, Derry was able to estimate that just before her death Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh stood no more than five feet and a half inch tall.

Titles: s3t nswt, s3t nsw nt ht.f, s3t nswt mrt.f, hmt nswt, hmt nswt mrt.f, m33t Hr Sth, ht Hr, smrt Hr, smrt Hr mrt.f, sm3wt mrj Nbtj, wrt hts Nbtj, wrt hst, tjst Hr, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr

Hwt-Hr, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Jwnt, hmt ntr T3sp, hmt ntr B3pf, hsjt wrt Dhwtj; King's daughter, King's daughter of his body, King's daughter his beloved, King's wife, King's wife his beloved, She who sees Horus and Seth, Follower of Horus, Companion of Horus, Companion of Horus his beloved, She who is united to the one beloved of the Two Ladies, Great one of the hts sceptre of the Two Ladies, Great of praise, She who sits with Horus, Priestess of Thoth, Priestess of Hathor, Priestess of Hathor mistress of Dendera, Priestess of Tjasep, Priestess of Bapef, Great of praise by Thoth.

The rich titulary of Mr.s-cnh given above is collected from many different sources within her tomb. No single place gives her titles in a complete string. One of the longest strings is found on the entrance architrave, where she is recorded as, 'm33t Hr Sth, wrt hts Nbtj, ht Hr, wrt hst, Dhwtj mr[jt],, smrt.f Hr, s3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt Mr.s-cnh' (Dunham & Simpson, *Mersyankh*, p.8). In the majority of instances her titulary begins - as here - with m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts. Sometimes the titular string commences with wrt hts, or smrt Hr but, more frequently, the titulary begins 's3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt Mr.s-cnh' (architrave over the north wall, central doorway (Dunham & Simpson, *Mersyankh*, p.13, fig.6). The titulary on her false door reads, 's3t nswt nt ht.f mrt.f, hmt nswt Mr.s-cnh, smrt Hr mrt.f, tjst Hr, wrt hts, ht Hr, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt nswt Mr.s-cnh' (Dunham & Simpson, *Mersyankh*, p.15, fig. 7). On her sarcophagus (where her mother's titles predominate) Mr.s-cnh III is on each corner entitled simply 's3t nswt, hmt [nswt]',. This rich provision of sources for the titulary of Mr.s-cnh indicates that, as with the higher officials of this period, there could be considerable flexibility in the number and sequence of titles for a queen in the Fourth Dynasty.

Attention should be drawn to the similarity between the titulary of this queen and her mother. While Htp-hr.s II is entitled hrp sšmt šndt, however, her daughter is not, and whereas Mr.s-cnh has two priesthoods for the goddess Hwt-Hr, her mother lacks these. Apart from these differences their titles overlap.

Fischer (*JEA* 60 [1974], p.97) has observed that the queen's titles contain some unusual variants. Her recording of the wrt hts title is written as:  on her chapel entrance,

and:  on the west wall.

The wrt hts title itself is twice recorded as: in vertical inscriptions in the chapel.



(ibid.-fig.7)

Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's titulary is exceptionally rich and introduces for the first time a queen who is a priestess of Hathor (two cults), as well as the other royal priesthoods already held by her mother. Priesthoods of Hathor were usually held by princesses and other high-ranking women, but seldom queens. Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III's parents are known to be children of Khufu, while Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh herself is not the child of a king, and this may be the reason why she held the title of hmt ntr Hwt-Hr.

Another peculiarity in the titulary of this queen is her use of s3t nswt nt ht.f, when she is known to have been the child of princely parents, rather than kingly ones. Various explanations for this title have been given. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.110) sees her receipt of the title due to her mother's marriage with Djedefre. Troy (Queenship, p.109) sees the title as being a necessary element of royal funeral ritual

'... used to emphasize the transition between the phases of the funerary ritual as preparation for resurrection. In the text describing the burial of Meresankh III ... two dates are given, one for her death and one for her burial. These dates are placed in two columns on either side of a door. Heading the column giving the date of death, Meresankh III is titled "daughter of the king", on the column giving the date of burial she is titled "wife of the king". The two generations of daughter and wife are used in relationship to death and burial as a process of transition.'

Whatever the reason for the title (which is given in other places in her tomb without reference to her death and burial) it is the only known exception to the generalisation that those women entitled s3t nswt nt ht.f were likely to be the actual daughters of kings.

Prosopography: Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III was the daughter of Prince K3-w<sup>c</sup>b and Queen Htp-hr.s II. She seems to have been 'adopted' by a king (probably Djedefre), since she is unlikely to have been the hmt nswt of the king whose protection gave her the title of s3t nswt nt ht.f.

She married a king - perhaps Khafre, in all likelihood her own uncle, or one of the other ephemeral rulers suggested by the Wadi Hammamat inscription (Drioton, BSFÉ 16 [1954], pp.41 - 49). Whether Khafre was the full, or the half-brother of K3-w<sup>c</sup>b is not known, but it is thought that the two men sprang from different



mothers. A half-brother relationship would remove their relationship one degree further away from the closeness of an uncle-niece marriage, something that is seldom encountered in royal Egyptian marriages. One would think that she is more likely to have married one of her own generation, but there is no evidence for this latter idea. Only in the fact that Nb-m-3ht was a king's son who became vizier for Khafre suggests that this king was more likely to have been her husband.

Mr.s-nh and her husband had at least three children, as we know from the tomb of Nb-m-3ht. Her eldest son, Nb-m-3ht, became a vizier, as did another son Dw3-[n],-R<sup>c</sup>. This identification comes from the painting on the north wall of the queen's chapel; it is not without question, as is the case with the identification of Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> in the opposite panel (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, p.5). Strudwick (Administration, p.162) does not accept that Dw3-n-R<sup>c</sup> of G5110 is the same person as this child in Mr.s-nh's tomb, claiming that, with the only identical record of the name found in the official's tomb, 'it is possible to see this as an error'. I would incline to the view that the Mr.s-nh III record, being a latter addition, is more likely to have been the erroneous writing of Dw3-n-R<sup>c</sup>'s name, and therefore I do not share Strudwick's hesitation.

Given the relief above the architrave in Nb-m-3ht's tomb (Hassan, Giza IV, fig.81 p.140) which shows Nb-m-3ht and his brothers paying honour to their mother, Mr.s-nh III, one would suggest that there is other evidence suggestive of this filial relationship. On the west wall of the main room her son Nb-m-3ht is shown with two other boys and a girl behind him (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh, fig.7). A third boy walks in front of Mr.s-nh, turning his head to look at her. He is named Hnt-r-k3. These four small figures might represent other children of the queen, but only the large figure of Nb-m-3ht is named here as her son. A daughter of Mr.s-nh is recorded in the tomb of her brother, Nb-m-3ht (Hassan, Giza IV, fig.76 p.133; fig.81 p.140; fig.84 p.144). These names coincide with the number of children in her tomb.

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     Giza II, pp.30ff., 35 -38, 59  
     Giza III, pp.46f, 61f, 66, 70, 207

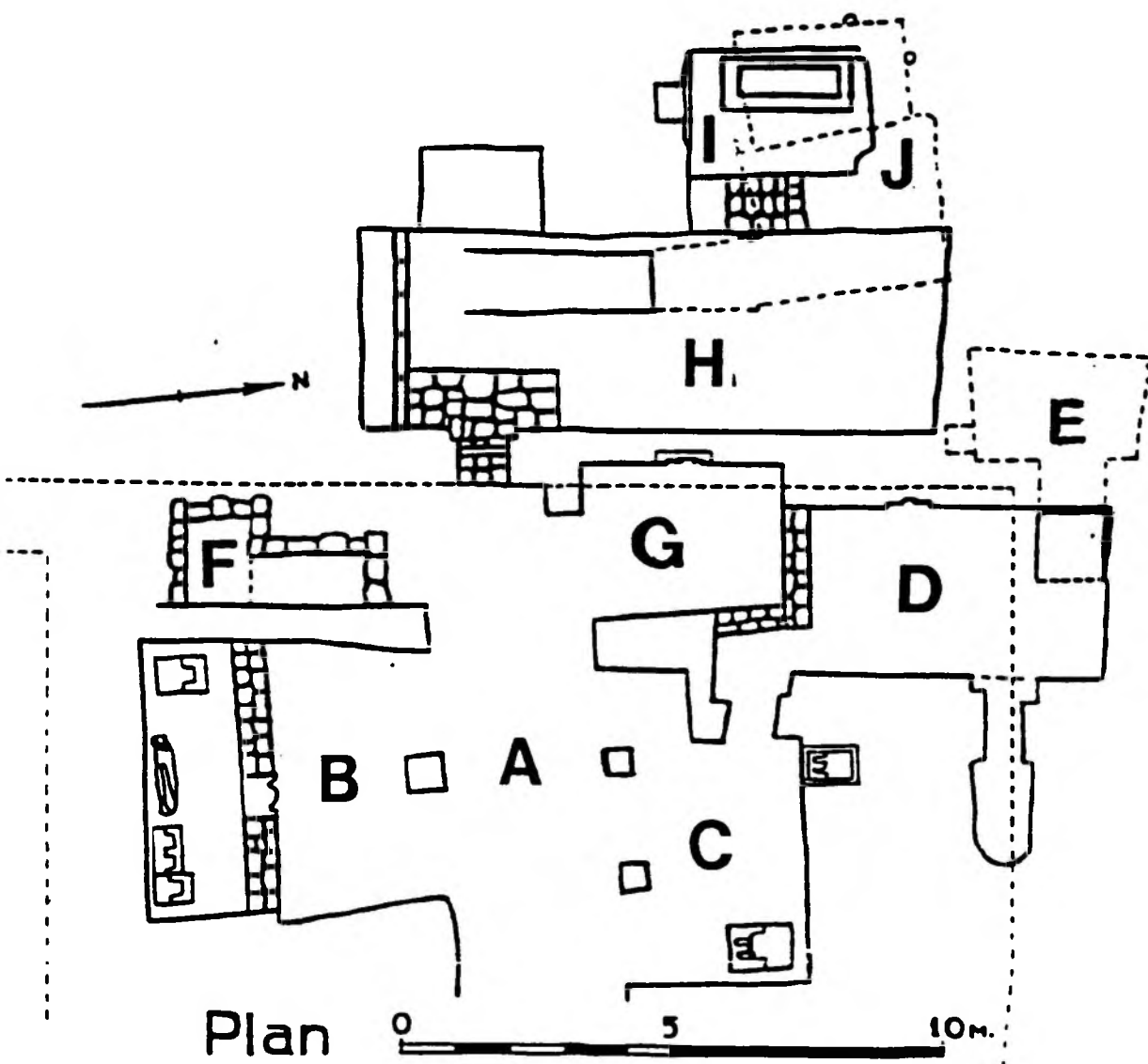


fig. 11 The Galarza tomb plan

- from G. Reisner: Giza I fig. 142



fig. 12 Inscription over the entrance architrave of the Galarza Tomb at Giza.

- from G. Daressy: Ann. Serv. X (1910) p. 46

- Giza IV, pp.16, 77f.  
Giza V, pp.65f  
Giza VI, pp.26, 74, 99  
Giza VII, pp.46, 70f, 97f.  
Giza IX, p.239  
Giza XI, pp.34, 240  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.63 - 69  
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Giza I, pp.32, 82, 116, 225, 310, 317, 349, 350, 357f. 371  
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HESPOK, pp.30, 36, 42 - 44, 96, 169 - 172, 254 - 256, 351 -  
 353 and passim.  
JNES 11 (1952), pp.126f.  
 Troy, Queenship, pp.73 - 76, 108, 110, 117, 153

#### QUEEN H<sup>c</sup>-MRR-NBTJ I

##### Temp. Khafre

Tomb: sited alongside the causeway of Khafre's complex at Giza (see articles by Daressy and Kamal). Her daughter, Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II, appears to have been buried within the tomb.

The tomb (fig. 11) was discovered during a survey funded by Count Galarza, and it has been called the Galarza Tomb ever since. It is a rock-cut structure bearing above its entrance the titles of the queen as given in fig. 12.

The tomb has suffered considerable damage and some of its walls and columns have been destroyed; it is no longer accessible. It consists of a large (c.12 m x 7 m) room of irregular shape, divided into two major bays. In both bays large limestone statues were found, several of women (presumably either H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj or her daughter, but only two of the statues were named) and two of male figures. The shattered remains of other statues in alabaster and diorite were found on the floor (Daressy, ASAE 10 [1910], p.43). Only one of the pieces had traces of a title: nswt bjtj.

In bay C (on Daressy's plan) two of the statues, one of

H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II and one of rp<sup>c</sup>t s3 nswt smsw Shm-R<sup>c</sup>, had been placed. On the western wall of this bay there is an entrance that leads to another room (D). Below this room was a shaft and a passageway that led to a burial chamber (E) which contained two skeletons and a large number of alabaster fragments - perhaps the remains of sarcophagi (Daressy, ASAE 10 [1910], pp.44f.). This annex might have been the tomb of Shm-R<sup>c</sup>, who seems to have been the grandson of Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I.

Originally the area marked G on the plan was an entranceway that led into room D, but at some later stage this entrance had been blocked with a masonry wall to provide a funerary edifice for some person whose name and formulae have now been completely obliterated (ibid. p.45).

Opposite the entrance to the large room there was a doorway which led into another large (11 m x 3.7 m), rectangular room (H). On the western wall was the entrance to a lateral burial chamber (I) blocked off from H by a wall 1.05 m thick. This chamber (3.20 m in length) in which a white limestone sarcophagus rests was undecorated. There were no inscriptions to indicate the name of its original occupant (ibid. p.47). There was a cavity for the canopic chest, which was no longer present. The original mummy had been dragged from its sarcophagus, broken up, and left on the floor. The excavators did not retrieve any of the remains.

At the southern end of room (H) there is a sloping passage that descends into a second burial chamber (J). The damaged remains of this chamber lie approximately below burial chamber (I). The room is rough and unfinished. Daressy mentions discovering within it two skeletons, one of which appears to have died in violent circumstances (ibid. p.48). The excavators could not preserve the remains and therefore could not determine whether the occupants had been left in that condition on the floor after the robbing of their tomb, or whether the bodies were intrusive.

Seen originally as the tomb of the mother of Khafre, the ownership of the Galarza tomb has been accepted as the tomb of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, which her daughter of the same name shared. This was due to the inscription provided in fig. 12.

In 1953 Edel (MIO I [1953], pp.333 - 336) re-examined the tomb and found that apart from a large number of references to H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II within the tomb - and no references to her mother - there was an inscription, copied by Daressy, Kamal and finally Sethe (Urk. I.155) each time inaccurately. Edel copied the

inscription carefully and put forward a reconstruction, based on similar formulae from other tombs. The reconstructed relief concludes with the interesting remark,

'I have paid well the one whose craftsmanship made this [?tomb], for me.' (Edel, MIO I [1953], p.334

Since the remaining tomb decoration throughout refers to Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II, Edel has concluded that she was the person who had paid for the tomb. As Edel remarks, it is indeed astonishing that it was necessary for the queen to pay for her own tomb when one would expect that this be made at the state's expense but, for further discussion on this problem see Chapter 5 p.200f.

It is very interesting to examine the problem of the tombs of queens who were associated with Khafre. For this king the three little pyramids that distinguish the cemeteries of Khufu and Menkaure are missing. Khafre has only a southern pyramid tomb which János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.17) associates with a cult pyramid, echoing Fakhry, who says,

'Although this pyramid originally measured about 20.1 meters square, the entrance and passage are so narrow that an average adult would find it difficult, if not impossible, to enter. This indicates once more that these small subsidiary pyramids were never intended for burial, or for any purpose which required anyone to enter them' - Fakhry, The Pyramids, p.136

Although one must concur with Fakhry's conclusion about the subsidiary pyramid of Khafre, the evidence for burials within one of Menkaure's satellite pyramids does suggest that some of these may have been used as funerary monuments for queens. It is thus all the more noticeable that Khafre does not seem to have made such provisions. The evidence from the tomb of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III, while still open to question, would suggest that this was another queen who had to make her own arrangements for her burial. Pr-[snt]'s tomb also raises the question of the donor of her monument. With the connecting passageway to LG 87 there is a strong suggestion that the two tombs were excavated as a single unit. Indeed, the tomb of that queen shows an interesting similarity to the main room arrangement of the Galarza tomb, as is mentioned below.

While not disagreeing in general with the opinion of Edel concerning the payment for the tomb, there are some regions where

there is room for further discussion. On a minor point, his conclusion that the elder queen is not represented by the statuary (MIO I [1953], p.336) should take into consideration the evidence that only two of the five female statues were inscribed; we do not know the identity of the other three. Daressy (ASAE 10 [1910], p.43 ult.) had mentioned that, among the broken statuary was a single piece with the fragmented title ..nswt bjtj inscribed upon it. The elder queen has a title that incorporates this expanded form, but the younger one does not (see fig. 12). It is possible that, as these pieces on the floor were the remains of statuary, this broken title could have come from a statue of the elder queen.

The architrave above the entrance to the Galarza tomb is headed by the full titles of Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I; her daughter's titles are secondary. Even though she may not have paid for the tomb's completion there seems every likelihood that H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I was the person for whom the tomb was originally planned; the presence of her titles on the lintel would indicate that. It is suggested that her daughter took over the construction (or enlargement) of the tomb at a later stage.

It is also important to consider the evidence of the burial arrangements made in this tomb. It is clear from rooms I and J that a double burial was planned. This seems to coincide with the information on the architrave. Although the human remains were not examined in any detail by Count Galarza's team, it is possible that both women could have been interred there.

Edel has drawn strength for his argument by calling attention to other instances where the name of an elder is cited by a tomb owner, and where that elder is not buried in that tomb (MIO I [1953], p.336). He claims that this has been the case for H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I. It should be noted, however, that in each case given by Edel the inscription cited has not been over the entrance architrave to a tomb, as is the case in the Galarza inscription. It is also apparent that in none of the tombs where queen-mothers are named does the full titulary of the queen appear in a single instance, as it does in the Galarza tomb. In another instance, not cited by Edel, Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III also gives honourable mention to both parents (see Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, figs. 2, 6, 7 and 10). Although Htp-hr.s II is honoured in several places within this tomb it is never with the record of her full titulary. That only appears on the sarcophagus which she donated to her daughter. With the exception of the inscription in fig. 7 of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's tomb report, all of these citations were recorded on walls, not above architraves, while the entranceway to the tomb only records the

name of Mr.s-nh III (ibid., plate II a and b).

The exception encountered in the tomb of Mr.s-nh is also instructive, showing as it does that, while the mentioning of Queen Htp-hr.s II on this occasion is inscribed above an architrave, she is introduced as 'mwt.s, s3t nswt, m33t Hr Sth Htp-hr.s' (her name accompanied by the determinative of a seated woman, one hand on her knee, the other on her breast). It is clear from this inscription that the tomb owner is the daughter and her mother's records are subsidiary to hers.

In the Galarza tomb the inscription gives the full titles of the elder queen - without the introduction that accompanies the titles of Htp-hr.s - while below her row of titles is the phrase, 's3t.s smst', after which the titles of the younger queen are given. On the inner side of the door pillar she is similarly entitled, 's3t.s smswt m33t Hr Sth, h<sup>c</sup>st wrt..' (Edel, MIO 2 [1954], p.184ff.). Clearly, in these instances Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I was represented as if she were the tomb owner, although in other inscriptions in the tomb, as Edel has indicated, the younger queen takes priority. It is thus more likely that, once again, a mother began a tomb which a daughter completed.

It is striking that these tomb-owners bear close parallels with Htp-hr.s II and her daughter Mr.s-nh III. The interiors of the rock-cut chapels have a superficial similarity, particularly if we regard rooms D and E as extensions of the Galarza tomb. In both cases the location of the burial chamber was in the same north-west corner of the second room. Both sets of women are thought to have been associated with King Khafre, and both sets of women have similar priesthood titles. Both mothers seem associated with the transfer of their tombs to their daughters. Perhaps this was done for reasons of affection, or perhaps economic considerations prompted the move. This set of coincidences may be purely accidental, for the data itself suggests no hypothesis.

Concurring with Edel's conclusions Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.61) remarks,

'Since it [is], relatively common for a queen to appear on a monument of her child, but not [vice versa],, it is logical to attribute the tomb to H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II.'

I would suggest that this is a little hasty for, although the reliefs are so badly damaged in most tombs belonging to queens,

in Queen Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III's tomb her son, Nb-m-3ht appears in several places, and other children (some nameless) are also shown. Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh II is alleged to be the mother of Nbtj-tp-jt.s, who appears on a relief from her shattered chapel (Reisner-Smith, Giza II p.10), Prince Shm-R<sup>c</sup> appears in statue form in the tomb of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II (Daressy, ASAE 10 [1910], p.44), while her son Hw-n-R<sup>c</sup> is mentioned in the inscriptions (Edel, MIO 2 [1954], p.186f.). Bw-nfr's son also appears on the wall of her tomb (Hassan, Giza III, p.181), and King Nyweserre appears in the chapel of his mother, Hnt-k3w.s II at Abusir (Verner, ZÄS 107 [1980], p.160 fig. 5). Perhaps it would just be better to say that, in the tombs of both Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III and H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II it is the child who is shown in the tomb which her mother started.

Titles: mwt nswt bjtj, (s3t nswt bjtj?), s3t ntr, m33t Hr Sth, hts wrt, wrt hst, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr T3-sp, hmt nswt mrt.f, s3t nswt nt ht.f, nbt jm3ht hr 3 ntr; Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt?), Daughter of the god, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Priestess of Thoth, Priestess of Tjasep, King's wife, his beloved, King's daughter of his body, The lady honoured by the Great God.

These titles appear on the architrave above the entrance to the Galarza tomb (fig. 12). Additionally, a flint implement was found in the mortuary temple of King Khafre; it bore the title 'mwt nswt H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj'. Also, in the tomb of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> (Hassan, Giza II, p.215, fig.232), there is reference to a cult for 'mwt nswt bjtj H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj', which would seem to refer to this queen.

H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj I holds both s3t nswt and s3t ntr titles and is the only one to do so. For a discussion on the latter title (see Chapter 2 pp.50f.).

An anomaly noticeable in this inscription is the writing of s3t ntr without the honorific transposition. The writing in this instance may have resulted from a desire for balance in the queen's double title of mwt nswt bjtj and (possibly) s3t nswt bjtj, the goose doing double duty for the title of s3t ntr. Towards the end of the inscription (fig.12) she is entitled s3t nswt nt ht.f. I do not think it is the scribal error that Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.62) suggests it could be.

One important detail in this titulary has escaped the notice of previous commentators. It is noticeable that the determinative of the first queen is of a queen wearing the vulture cap that one sees so often on the head of mothers of kings, but not on other consorts in the Old Kingdom. (The



daughter's name lacks this determinative.) As far as I am aware, if this queen were the wife of Khafre, this must be the earliest occasion yet known for the use of this particular crown. The remains of the cap and head of a queen were also found by Hölscher in the mortuary temple of King Khafre (Das Grabdenkmal Königs Chephren, p.102f. Abb. 140, 141, 142, 143, 144). The primitive form of the vulture cap there suggests that this is the earliest representation we have. (It could, of course, belong to Khafre's mother, rather than his wife, but this would be impossible to verify.) Although Daressy (ASAE 10 [1910], p.46) has used the more common determinative of the woman seated on a box chair, Kamal (ASAE 10 [1910], p.119) has described this determinative in some detail, observing that in one hand she holds an ankh, while in the other she carries a w3d sceptre. It is the first occasion on which the iconography of a goddess appears in the representation of a known queen.

Prosopography: H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj I, being a s3t nswt nt ht.f, is very likely to have been the daughter of a king - a view which is not held by either Helck (SAK 4 [1976], p.130), or Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, pp.134 - 140) - but which king is not known. She is considered to be the wife of King Khafre, the mother of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II and King Menkaure (eg. Smith, CAH I/2A, p.175). There is no certainty about these relationships, however, since neither H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I nor her daughter is named in connection with any specific king. However, since their tomb was built to the side of Khafre's causeway (where known wives, daughters and sons of Khafre were buried), it is highly probable that these women were intimate members of Khafre's family, both being wives of kings; the problem is, which particular kings?

Because H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I is both s3t ntr and mwt nswt bjtj it is suggested that these titles might offer a clue. As so many queens with this title were mothers of sons who came to the throne after some hiatus (see Chapter 2 pp.53f. ), it is possible that they received their titles to strengthen their son's claim to the throne. Unfortunately for us on this occasion, both Khafre (who followed his brother Djedefre) and Menkaure (who is thought to have succeeded two other monarchs) came to the throne after such an interruption to the direct patrilinear descent.

The Westcar Papyrus claims that the family of Khufu was destined to lose the throne after Menkaure, and this popular story might reflect the circumstances of this period, but this is not sufficient evidence for an historical reconstruction. If the facts were that Menkaure had no male successor then one would expect H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II (who is not a mwt nswt) to have been the wife of this king.

H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II is known to have been the mother of Prince Hw-n-R-(Daressy, ASAE 10 [1910], p.46), whom Reisner believes to be the son of Menkaure due to the fact that his tomb (MQ 1) was located in the Menkaure quarry (Giza I, p.152). If Reisner is correct about the dating of this tomb H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I would belong one generation previous to her daughter and, as she chose a site in the Khafre cemetery, is most likely to have been the wife of Khafre. There seem to have been two other monarchs subsequent to Khafre and prior to Menkaure, however, and there is still the possibility that one or both queens might have been attached to them.

Reisner (Giza I, p.238) lists the tomb of Prince Jwn-R<sup>c</sup> as being of subsequent development to that of the Galarza tomb, and this would suggest that, as Jwn-R<sup>c</sup> was the son of Khafre, the Galarza tomb was finished some time prior to his. Thus the archaeological evidence suggests that the second H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj might have been contemporaneous with Menkaure, as Jwn-R<sup>c</sup> himself was. H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, therefore, would have been a contemporary of Khafre, if not his wife.

After the death of Menkaure first Shepseskaf, then Thamphthis, experienced short reigns. If there were some deliberate break with tradition at this point (as is suggested by Shepseskaf's abandonment of the Giza cemetery, and by his atypical monument) then the widow of the previous king may well have had to finance her own funerary monument. It might be for this reason that she recorded her expense on her tomb wall - perhaps with some undertone of resentment.

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# QUEEN H<sup>c</sup>-MRR-NBTJ II

Temp. Khafre to Menkaure

Tomb: She paid for the completion (if not the entire work) of the a tomb beside the causeway of Khafre, at Giza. See comments on the Galarza tomb above.

There would appear to be no justification at present for Reisner's assumption that the tomb of this queen was one (G IIIa) of the satellite pyramids of Menkaure (Giza I, p.248): her name has not been found in connection with any of these pyramids. From Jánosi's research (Pyramidenanlagen, p.103) it appears that pyramids seem to have been built for queen mothers, rather than king's wives, during the majority of the Old Kingdom period. If this were so then H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II (who was only a wife, not a mother of a king) should not be expected to have had a pyramid.

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr I3-spf, tjst Hr, sm3.st mrj Nbtj, hmt nswt mrt.f, s3t nswt nt ht.f, jm3ht hr jt.s; King's wife, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Priestess of Thoth, Priestess of Tjasepef, She who sits with Horus, She who is united with the one beloved of the Two Ladies, King's wife, King's daughter of his body, his beloved, One who is honoured by her father.

Elsewhere, in the tomb of Hw-n-R<sup>c</sup> (Reisner, BMFA 32 [1934], p.12 and fig.10), she is entitled s3t nswt smswt, and hrpt sšmt šndt: King's eldest daughter (a title that is referred to in the Galarza tomb as s3t.s smswt, in reference to H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I), and Controller of the butchers of the Acacia House.

In the tomb of W3š-Pth (Hassan, Giza II, p.10 and figs.7f. and pl. IV) she is given the titles of s3t nswt n(t) ht.f smswt, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, hmt nswt. The variable titles, s3t nswt, and s3t nswt nt ht.f are very interesting, in that they offer an indication that, for princesses at least, the titles were seen as being interchangeable on some occasions.

On her colossal statue from the Galarza tomb (now in Cairo Museum, JE 48856) she carries titles in two different strings. On the left of her statue is inscribed, wrt hts, s3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt; on the right is m33t Hr Sth, s3t nswt nt ht.f, hmt nswt. In both rows the title of s3t nswt is sandwiched between two titles of a queen. This is rather unusual, for the

titles of a daughter are usually separated from those of the wife by the name of the queen concerned.

The titles for the queen are not only similar to those of her mother, H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, but grouped identically (see fig. 12). In her list of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj's titularies Troy has omitted her hmt ntr T3-spf title, and has left out the hrpt sšmt šndt recorded for her in the tomb of her son, Hw-n-R<sup>c</sup>. Another amendment to be made is to Kuchman Sabbahy's transcription of 's3t nswt wrt' (Titulary, p.73). The correct title for this queen should be read as 's3t nswt smswt'.

Her title sm3.st mrj Nbtj, not included by Fischer in his article (JEA 60 [19 p.94] dealing with the sm3 titles, is incorrectly transcribed as 'sm3yt nbtj mry/t' by Troy, and as 'sm3wt mry Nbtj' by Kuchman Sabbahy. Both scholars omit the 's' given in Daressy's inscription. The use of 'st' here is unique for this title, but appears to be a rare example of a 3rd person fem. sing. suffix pronoun, used as the object of an infinitive. (See Gardiner, Grammar, #300.)

Prosopography: H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj II was the daughter of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I and, as a s3t nswt nt ht.f, would have been the daughter of a king - perhaps Khafre, although there is no certainty about this. She may have been the wife of King Menkaure (see the previous prosopography above), although Federn (Familien-Geschichte, p.61) considers her to have been the wife of Khafre. Seipel (Königinnen, p.166) has suggested that she must have been a minor wife of the king because 'Die verhältnismäßig bescheidene Anlage des "Galarza-Grabes" läßt in H. jedenfalls eher eine nebenrangige Königin des Mykerinus vermuten.' This should be emended in the light of Edel's observation that the queen seems to have paid for the tomb herself, and also because the provisions for some queens were much less generous in size than the large Galarza tomb. Since the queen carries the sm3.st mrj Nbtj title, usually associated with important queens, the claim for a 'nebenrangige Königin' is not very strong. It is indeed difficult to determine from the incomplete state of the evidence whether or not there were any ranking distinctions among the queens of the Old Kingdom.

From her tomb in Giza a number of statues of the queen were found, including the colossal statue now in the Cairo Museum (JE 48856) discussed above. This is the only colossal statue of a queen preserved from the Old Kingdom. Although it is roughly carved (perhaps unfinished?) the statue conveys an impressive regality - perhaps because she is seated on a box throne, both hands palm downwards on her knees.

One intriguing statue from this tomb is of a man and a woman (seen by Seipel, Königinnen, p.164), as 'Sitzgruppe aus Mann und Frau'), with the queen's titles inscribed upon it. Almost certainly it would not show the king and queen so, could this male figure be one of her sons? Such a topos is unique for an Old Kingdom queen.

The magnificent Boston dyad (No. 11.1738) of Menkaure and an unnamed queen is thought to represent Menkaure and H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II (eg. Smith CAH I/2A, p.176; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, Taf. 56), but there is no evidence to support this identification. The queen is not named, and it would be impossible to distinguish any facial resemblance between this statue and the one from her tomb.

H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II was the mother of Prince Hw-n-R<sup>c</sup>. Evidence for this last relationship comes from the tomb of the prince, where he appears in a relief as a child with his mother (Smith, HESPOK, p.299 and fig. 153). His is one of the earlier tombs, dated to the last years of Menkaure (Reisner, Mycerinus, p.244). He also appears to be present in her tomb, as 's3.s, s3 nswt n ht.f smsw, smr-w<sup>c</sup>tj n-jt.f H[w],-n-R<sup>c</sup> (Edel, MIO 2 [1954], p.186 cf. Daressy, ASAE 10 [1910], p.46)

Hw-n-R<sup>c</sup> is thought to have predeceased his father, since he never became king (Smith, CAH I/2A, p.176), but he may not have been in line for the succession, even as Nb-m-3ht, Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup> and others appear to have been passed over. Support for this comes from the assigned date of his tomb - in the later years of Menkaure - given by Reisner. As was mentioned earlier, we do not know the process involved in deciding the successors of monarchs, but perhaps in these instances these sons may not have been children of Menkaure because the husbands of neither Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III nor H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II are known.

A s3 nswt called K3j, whose jar was found in the temple attached to one of the satellite pyramids of Menkaure, has been thought to be her son (ibid., p.248). There is no known evidence for this identification. K3j might be the official whose tomb was excavated by Hassan (Giza III, pp.26ff). The title of s3 nswt for this period is not always an indicator for a prince, as Schmitz has amply demonstrated.

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## QUEEN RHT-RC

### Temp. Khafre

Tomb: a large, well-built mastaba at Giza, near the pyramid of Khafre, south of his causeway. The tomb is classed by Reisner as type RC (id). Its superstructure is built of large limestone blocks, the upper levels of which are now destroyed. The approach to the tomb is via a long rock-cut passage that runs parallel with Khafre's causeway (Hassan, Giza VI, p.5). Its internal chambers occupy a space of 57.04 sq. metres (Reisner, Giza I, p.228).

The antechamber (3.50 x 2 m) has a doorway leading into the main hall of the tomb and, above this doorway is a drum bearing the titles, M33t Hr Sth, s3t nswt, wrt hts, hmt nswt Rht-RC (Hassan, loc. cit.). Again we find the s3t nswt sandwiched between the wifely titles of the queen, as it is recorded for H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II. (This might provide a clue regarding the dating of the latter queen.)

The hall shows signs of having been altered in antiquity - perhaps in accordance with current mortuary cult practices, as Hassan suggests. The hall (50.34 sq. m) itself is undecorated, containing an unfinished niche on the southern wall, and two rock-cut false doors on the western wall. The southernmost of these is uninscribed, but the northern false door once had reliefs in its upper portion. These have been eroded, but still carry a partial relief of the queen seated on a box chair, below which are the remains of signs reading, s3t nswt nt [ht.f], R[ht],-RC (ibid. p.6). Two circular depressions remain in the floor of the recess in which the false door is found; these are likely to have been part of an offering table.

On the western half of the hall four square pillars divide the room in half. Behind these pillars a sloping passageway leads from the hall into the burial chamber. This chamber (4 x 3.95 m) is well finished and contained a large, white limestone sarcophagus with handles at each end (ibid. p.7). Its lid lay askew the empty sarcophagus.

A number of model alabaster vessels, part of a canopic jar, a fragment with a picture of a seated woman with sections of signs for 't' and 'r' and a piece of flint were the only objects found in this room.

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, s3t nswt, wrt hts, hmt nswt; She who sees Horus and Seth, King's daughter, Great one of the hts sceptre, King's wife.

This titular string appears on the door jamb of the antechamber. It does not include all of the queen's titles. In the tomb of K3-m-nfrrt, k3 servant of the queen, she is referred to as, Hr Wsr-jb s3t.f, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, hmt nswt: Daughter of Horus Wsr-jb (ie. Khafre), She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, King's wife. She is one of the few princesses who names her father.

In her offering room she carries the additional title of s3t nswt nt ht.f (Hassan, Giza VI, p.6 fig.4). And, on a limestone fragment found near the tomb of Jr-n-3ht she is entitled 'nswt bjtj Hc.f-Rc, s3t.f smswt'.

Prosopography: Rht-Rc is stated to be the daughter of Khafre - one of the few royal women whose affiliation is attested. Neither the name of her husband nor any child she might have had is known. She might have been the wife of several kings, but the most likely candidates are the predecessors of Menkaure, or Menkaure himself. The length of the latter's reign would render unlikely Shepseskaf or his successors. As Seipel (Königinnen, p.171) has remarked, the association of Jr-n-3ht with the queen, and the fact that he was a hm ntr priest for Khafre, and shd hmw ntr for Menkaure, makes it likely that Rht-Rc was the wife of the last named king.

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 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.169 - 172  
 Troy, Queenship, p.154

#### QUEEN BW-NFR

Temp. Shepseskaf

Tomb: rock cut mastaba at Giza, facing the tomb of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I (Hassan, Giza III, pp.176 - 199). The queen's tomb is cut into the rocky shelf that runs down the northern side of the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s I. It has great affinity with the tomb of



Rht-RC, having a long entrance passage, a chapel from which a sloping passage descends into the burial chamber and, like Rht-RC, a limestone sarcophagus still in situ.

Hassan has stated that the mastaba of Bw-nfr was commenced after the building of the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s I (Hassan, Giza III, p.181) It was hewn out of rock, its exterior measuring approximately 29 m x 12 m. Reisner (Giza I, p.230) classifies it as RC (ie).

The interior of the mastaba has two main rooms, a long N - S hall (17.30 m x 2.50 m) with spaces for three false doors, none of which is inscribed. The western wall of this hall continues as a screen, having three very finely decorated doorways, which are partly destroyed. The queen's titles have been inscribed across the lintel of each doorway and down the panels between each door. The pillars that serve as the door jambs are most unusual, having a cruciform shape, as can be seen from the plan.

Beyond the doorways lies the chapel's second room (6.50 m x 4.55 m x 3.00 m). Within this room are two uninscribed false doors, a table for offerings inserted between them (Hassan, Giza III p.194). In the southern part of this chapel is the mouth of the sloping passageway leading to the burial chamber.

The burial chamber is well-cut and measures 5.10 m x 2.85 m x 1.80 m. A huge limestone sarcophagus, together with its lid, remains in the tomb. It contained an intact skull and some broken bones. Dr. Derry estimated the age at death to be 35 years, but the bones were not examined for sex, so there is no certainty that the skull belongs to Bw-nfr (loc. cit.).

In the sand in front of the mastaba were found numerous fragments of very fine, model vessels made of alabaster, together with half a marble mace-head bearing the names of King Khafre (ibid. p.197).

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts Nbtj, hmt nswt mrt.f, s3t nswt nt [ht.f]; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre of the Two Ladies, King's wife his beloved, King's daughter of his body.

This is the longest titular string in the queen's tomb, inscribed on the east side of the south pillar in the main chapel (Hassan, Giza III, pl. IV). Troy (Queenship, p.154) omits her hmt nswt mrt.f title, claiming that Bw-nfr is 'Daughter (?) of Shepseskaf and possibly wife of a king.' Her wrt hts Nbtj title is also omitted by Troy.

Other titles inscribed elsewhere in the tomb were, wrt hts, wrt hst (*ibid.* fig.150) hmt ntr Špss Nbtj, hmt ntr T3-spf, hmt ntr B3-pf; Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Priestess of King Shepseskaf (*ibid.* fig. 148), Priestess of Tjasepef, Priestess of Bapef (*ibid.* p.180 fig.152).

On p.188 and fig.150 of Bw-nfr's tomb study Hassan takes a damaged inscription on the southern pilaster to read, 'hmt ntr Hr, hmt nswt, wrt hts, wrt hst, Bw-nfr', translating it as 'The Priestess of Horus [Shepses'a], the King's Wife, the Great Ornament, the Great Favourite, Bw-nefer'. Seipel (*Königinnen*, p.173) takes up this reading of the initial title without comment, as does Troy (*Queenship*, p.154), but not Kuchman Sabbahy (*Titulary*, p.75), who records it as 'hmt ntr .. Hr'. The title as given in both instances is suspect on several grounds.

Firstly, 'Shepses-aa' is not the correct Horus name for Shepseskaf; there is room for 'Shepses-khet', although it would be the only representation of this title in what remains of the tomb's inscriptions. Secondly, from the usual pattern of titular strings evident in this tomb and others it seems to me highly unlikely that a queen would begin her string of queenly titles with a priestly title. Furthermore, no other queen (or princess for that matter) is known as a priestess of Horus, or of Horus + King's name.

It makes better sense if one of the queenly titles of m33t Hr Sth, smrt Hr, tjst Hr or ht Hr is presumed for that lacuna. All her other titles on this side of the pilaster are wifely ones. Comparison with the string on the northern partner of this pilaster shows the sequence, '..Nbtj Špss hmt ntr mrt.f, jm3hwt.f, Bw-nfr' (Hassan, *Giza III*, fig.149) - and that is the sort of pattern we should expect for this inscription if it were connected with priestly offices. Not having seen the original pilaster inscription it is difficult to be sure of the amount of space between the Horus and the hmt ntr, but there is certainly ample for any of the above titles. If one of the last three titles were to be used there would also be ample room for the hmt ntr B3-pf title (as it is inscribed elsewhere in this tomb - fig.152) to follow. This last title would explain the presence of the hmt ntr signs on the extant inscription, for that title is traditionally one that accompanies the usual titulary of a king's wife or mother.

The implications of Bw-nfr's priestly titles are discussed in Chapter 2 p.64f., but it can be pointed out here that she is the only queen we know to be the priestess of a king's mortuary

cult. While it was not uncommon for a granddaughter (or, more rarely, a daughter) to be the priestess of a king's cult all, excepting Queen Bw-nfr, were princesses. One would expect that exceptional circumstances resulted in this priesthood - in all probability, the lack of other suitable female descendants, yet we know that Shepseskaf had an 'eldest daughter' named H<sup>c</sup>-m3<sup>c</sup>t (Urk. I.51) who was married to Pth-špss. Perhaps H<sup>c</sup>-m3<sup>c</sup>t died shortly after her father so that no descendants other than Bw-nfr survived to continue the cult? Or was the cult given to Bw-nfr to support her own mortuary establishment, since H<sup>c</sup>-m3<sup>c</sup>t's husband could provide for her?

The title of hmt ntr Hwt-Hr is also claimed for Bw-nfr, but this, too, is suspect. The title appears on a loose block that had been thrown into the filling of the main chapel of the mastaba (Hassan, Giza III, pp.191f. and fig.156). The remains of three lines of inscription are left. In the first register, only the 'nswt' sign, below which, in the second register is the hieroglyph 'rmt'. In the bottom register the text reads, 's3[t], nswt n[t], ht.f, hm[t], ntr Hwt-Hr'. Next to this is the related representation of the female concerned, her size being twice as large as that for the 'rmt' sign above, ie. it is a small-sized figure. The representation, in my opinion, does not refer to the tomb owner - whose size would certainly be larger in such an inscription (as indeed it is throughout the rest of the tomb). It would be more likely to be an effigy of the queen's daughter instead. This would then preclude the anomaly of a title of hmt ntr Hwt-Hr for a queen; the exception of Mr.s-cnh III being explicable because we know she was not an actual daughter of a king.

Prosopography: Bw-nfr's father is uncertain, but because she was a priestess for the temple of King Shepseskaf it is likely that she was his daughter. Hassan (op. cit. p.181f, followed by Smith, CAH I/2A, p.177), however, thinks that she is the wife of Shepseskaf. I am not persuaded by Hassan's argument that 'The fact that the name of Shepseskaf only appears in her tomb is in favour of the assumption that he was her husband' (ibid. p.181). It is seldom indeed that the name of the queen's husband appears in her tomb until Dynasty VI, but it is more common for the name of the father to be recorded (eg. Rht-R<sup>c</sup>, Htp-hr.s II, Mr.s-cnh III). While we cannot be certain about these theories, another king who might have been her husband is the nameless ruler occupying a space at the close of Dynasty IV - the one we know as Manetho's Thamphthis.

The proximity of her tomb to that of Hnt-k3w.s might suggest a mother-daughter relationship; this would then strengthen the

likelihood of Bw-nfr being the daughter of King Shepseskaf, since it is possible that Shepseskaf might have been the husband of Hnt-k3w.s I; the relationship, however, is only hypothetical.

Seipel's theory (Königinnen, p.176ff.) concerning the queen's husband and the siting of her tomb is that her husband was Thamphthis, and that he had been the original owner of LG 100 - the tomb of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I. He points out that the tomb of Bw-nfr is in the expected position for a king's wife if LG 100 had been begun for the ephemeral king. Such a brief reign would also explain the second (unknown) alliance that resulted in the birth of the commoner judge for Bw-nfr (see last paragraph). As Seipel (ibid. p.179) has put it, such an usurpation of a king's tomb would also explain the numerous kingly attributes evident in the mortuary complex of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I.

Bw-nfr had at least one son who was a judge and inspector of scribes; the hieroglyph 't' is all that remains of his name. It is noticeable that the inscription concerning him is not an original part of the wall relief (see Hassan, op. cit. pl. LVI). The absence of the title s3 nswt, and his lowly status indicate that he was not the son of a monarch, perhaps he was the son of a later, non-royal marriage of this queen, as Hassan has suggested.

#### Bibliography:

Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), pp.66 - 69  
 Hassan, Giza III, 176 - 199  
 Helck, Geschichte, 61  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.74f.  
 Reisner, Giza I, p.230  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.21, 48, 109, 124f.  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.173 - 182  
 Troy, Queenship, p.154

#### QUEEN HNT-K3W.S I

Temp. Shepseskaf to Neferirkare

Tomb: LG 100 - the so-called 'Fourth Pyramid' at Giza: an unusual, two-stepped mastaba lying in an easterly direction between the pyramids of Khafre and Menkaure. The site was excavated by Selim Hassan (Giza IV, pp.13 - 34) in 1933/4.

This tomb is unique, but certain aspects of it have been likened to the tomb of King Shepseskaf at South Saqqara

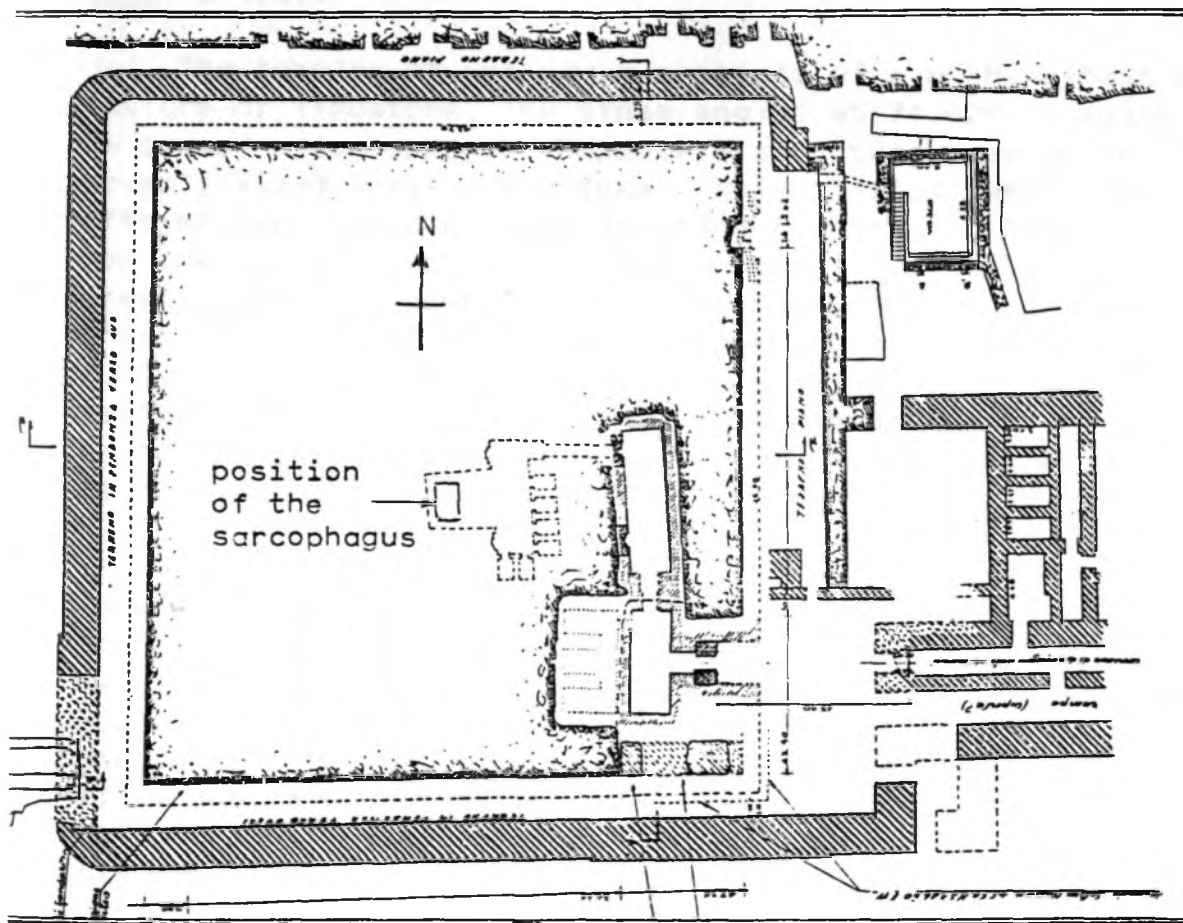


fig. 13 Plan of the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s I at Giza.

- Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Piramide menfite  
VI, pl. 18

(Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Piramidi menfite VI, p.170). There were two stages in the building of the monument, the first as a rock-cut mastaba, decorated on its exterior with recessed panels; the second stage saw the erection of the superstructure, followed by the casing of the entire monument in fine white limestone (ibid. p.186).

The complex of Hnt-k3w.s consists of a high, almost square platform of limestone, its sides angled at 74.02°. Above this was placed a sarcophagus-shaped (?) structure made up of unevenly-sized limestone blocks. This edifice, which has suffered badly at the hands of stone robbers, is located directly over the burial crypt within the monument. It is thus not directly over the centre of the rock base, but to the west of centre. A block of the terminal covering has shown that the top of this superstructure was curved in a manner suggestive of the Mastabat Faroun (loc. cit.), but too much damage to this part of the building has been done to make any further judgements about its original appearance.

Originally the whole monument had been finished with a cladding of good white limestone, most of which has now been stripped away. Because of this robbery it has been possible to see that, in the first building stage, the lower 'step' had been decorated with the 'palace-facade' decoration cut into the rock base, similar to the tomb of K3j at Giza (Hassan, Giza III, pl. XII). Subsequent cladding covered up this decoration. It is the opinion of Maragioglio and Rinaldi that the alteration to the tomb could have been carried out in the Fifth Dynasty (ibid. p.168), even though dating the monument has proven difficult. An interesting observation made by the Italians (ibid. p.186) is that when the cladding was added the builders were at pains to preserve this decoration 'even if to obtain it they had to face and overcome some technical difficulties as well as considerably more work in laying the large casing slabs.' On the north and west sides, where some of the casing still exists, there are the remains of either a low socle, or perhaps a footpath (ibid. p.172).

The interior of the monument is best appreciated with reference to fig. 13. The structure, particularly its south-eastern mortuary chapel, has been badly damaged, and little of its form or content survives.

The entrance to the chapel was flanked by two massive red granite door jambs inscribed with the queen's name and titles. The remains of these were found by Hassan (discussion under Titles below).

There were three rooms within the chapel, but only the long north-south hall remains today. The outer rooms of the chapel have caved in, their stone being subsequently stripped away.

The monument is surrounded by a temenos wall that is covered with yellow plaster. Immediately outside this, in the south-west corner, a trench and a solar boat were discovered. Hassan (op. cit. p.33) considers that another is likely to be found to the west of the structure. 'The trench is similar to those of Chephren' (Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Piramide menfite, p.178). The ship would have had to have been dismantled to permit it to rest within the boat pit. As was the case in the monuments of Khufu, Djedefre and Khafre, the boat pit is beyond the temenos wall (ibid. p.190).

Again outside the temenos wall, there is a large, deep basin to the east of the tomb. and close to this there is a substantial pyramid city. 'It is connected directly with the wall surrounding the monument and removes all doubts about the age and purpose of the city itself. It was built at the same time as Khentkaus's tomb and must have served to house those engaged in the cult of the queen.' (ibid. p.180) Its houses were plastered with the same yellowish plaster that was found in the temenos wall surrounding the queen's tomb (ibid. p.182). All of the houses had a main northern entrance and one to the south. Although most of the houses were only single storey, some of the southern dwellings had two building levels. Provision was made in this sector for water and for grain, as can be seen by the rectangular tank and the circular storage pits nearby (ibid. p.184). The southernmost section of this pyramid city remains unexcavated because it is today occupied by a modern cemetery. The site seems to have been abandoned after the Sixth Dynasty (Hassan, Giza IV, p.38).

A structure, considered by Hassan to be a causeway, runs from the tomb to the south; it makes a right-angled turn to the south and then ends outside an odd building, considered by its excavator to be a valley temple. These claims have been refuted by several scholars. Maragioglio and Rinaldi (op.cit. p.180f.) refer to the alleged causeway as a 'road'. The structure is divided into two pathways, one wider than the other. The wider path leads directly to the mortuary complex of the queen. The so-called valley temple, although it contained an incense-burner and part of an offering table which appears to contain the name of the queen (Hassan, Giza IV, pp.51 - 53), is too badly damaged to discern its original purpose. Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.154) has rejected this building as a valley temple, considering it

unlikely to be connected with the queen's own mortuary chapel. The offering table, however, offers a tantalising clue to the affiliation of Hnt-k3w.s I. Its badly worn inscription carries the words, '..her father, King's Daughter .....' and the figure of a queen in a vulture cap, sitting in identical fashion to the determinative on the granite doorposts from the queen's tomb. Beneath the figure is the remains of her name '.....k3w..', with the trace of part of the box throne of Hnt-k3w.s I's determinative (Hassan, Giza IV, pl. XXVII.c). That it belongs to this queen, and not to a princess, is indicated by the rare occurrence of the seated queen with the vulture cap. Only queen mothers wore this regalia in the Old Kingdom, and only two queen mothers carried the word 'k3w' in their names. That the offering table would have been intended for Hnt-k3w.s II is highly improbable, all her records are restricted to Abusir. Therefore the tablet must have been intended for Hnt-k3w.s I, since her records predominate at Giza. Furthermore, the position of the remaining hieroglyphs of her name is identical to those of the granite doorposts. This inscription does suggest that Hnt-k3w.s I was the daughter of a king.

The work done by Maragioglio and Rinaldi in the sixties has suggested that the queen's tomb was built immediately after that of Shepseskaf, although this judgement cannot be confirmed by existing archaeological evidence (Piramide menfite, p.168). Its second stage may even belong to the reign of Neferirkare. In its present condition LG 100 belongs to the tradition of the rock-cut tomb and the mastaba forms (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.63), having its closest parallel with the tomb of Shepseskaf (Müller, SDAIK 18, p.23; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.155). Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.63f.) outlines the major differences between the tombs of Shepseskaf and Hnt-k3w.s, and he sees further differences in the basic structures of the buildings: Shepseskaf's tomb being erected around a system of corridors and chambers, while that of Hnt-k3w.s was a rock-hewn tomb after the pattern of private tomb construction (ibid. p.64).

Herodotos II.134 says that the pyramid of Menkaure had been wrongly attributed to the courtesan, Rhodopis. Some attempt has been made to reconcile this remark with the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s I (van de Walle, L'Antiquité Classique 3 [1934], pp.307 - 312; Fakhry, The Pyramids, p.156; Coche-Zivie, BIFAO 72 [1972], pp.115 - 118), influenced by Manetho's statement that the third pyramid had been built by Nitokris (Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frags. 20, 21, 22). These modern views have not entirely explained the relationship, particularly as the Hnt-k3w.s monument does not seem to have been mentioned by ancient sources - unlike the pyramid and temple attributed to Hnwt.sn. It is



more probable that this pyramid (G 1c) could have been the monument connected with the tales about the princess and the courtesan, rather than LG 100 which itself differs in shape from a true pyramid.

One of the most disputed areas of Hassan's work on the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s was his view that the entire complex showed parallels with the royal pyramid complexes and this, to him, was confirmation of Junker's idea that the queen had been a monarch (Giza IV, p.14). While Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.155) agreed that the monument's outer and inner architecture was quite unlike that of a queen, but showed an immense conformity with the monument of Shepseskaf, he refuted Hassan's claim of a causeway and valley temple for this monument (ibid. p.157). Concerning her role in history Stadelmann says, 'Daraus muß geschlossen werden, daß Chentkaus am Ende der 4. Dynastie eine Rolle gespielt hat, die, über die angesehene Stellung einer Königin hinausgehend, es ihr erlaubte, einen Grabbau zu errichten, der die zeitgemäße Form und das Raumprogramm eines königlichen Grabes hatte' (ibid. p.155). Edwards (Pyramids, pp.145f.), on the other hand, while accepting that the complex did have a causeway and valley temple, does not consider her to have been anything more than the 'Mother of the Two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt' (ibid. p.147). It is very clear from these conflicting views that there is a significant problem in the analysis of the remains of LG 100 and its adjacent structures, and the significance of its tomb owner.

In his study on Queen Bw-nfr Seipel (Königinnen, pp.176ff.) offered the suggestion that this queen may have been the wife of Thamphthis, and he raised the issue of the siting of her tomb. He pointed out that its relationship to LG 100 was similar to those of the queens Hnwt and Nbt in regard to their husband, Wenis. He then suggested that, since the tomb of Thamphthis is unknown the original layout of LG 100 may have been intended for the tomb of this ephemeral king. This would explain the presence of a solar boat, the debatable causeway, and the inner structure of LG 100, all of which are elements of a royal complex. He suggests that this monument was usurped by Hnt-k3w.s I. However, the interior chapel, with its south-western corner entrance are both atypical of royal monuments (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.64).

Titles: mwt nswt bjtj nswt bjtj, s3t ntr, ddt ht nbt nfrt jrt.n.s; either, Mother of two kings of Upper and Lower Egypt or, King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of the god, Every good thing she orders is done for her.

These titles were engraved on the remains of two granite door

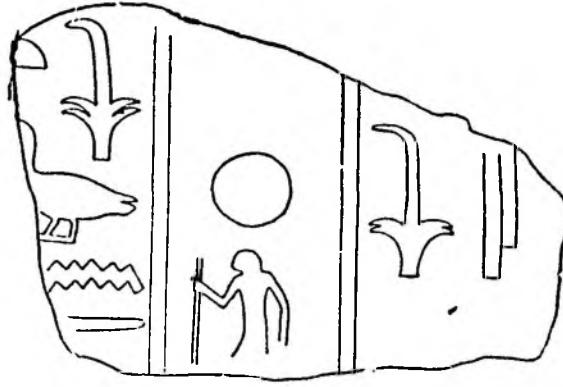


fig. 14 Fragmentary relief from the tomb of  
Queen Hnt-k3w.s I.

- Hassan, Giza IV, p.22.

posts found at her tomb in Giza. Some of these titles were also inscribed on her now badly-destroyed false doors within her chapel, the only remaining inscription now being 'mwt nswt bjtj nswt bjtj' (Hassan, Giza IV, pl. VIII).

Elsewhere in her tomb Hassan (op.cit. p.22) found wall fragments which bear the titles, 's3 nswt n ht.f smsw'.<sup>[1]</sup> There is no evidence that this title belongs to the queen, although it might refer to a son of hers. That the queen actually may have possessed the title of s3t nswt nt ht.f is more than likely if the evidence on the offering tablet mentioned above is to be accepted.

Further examples of Hnt-k3w.s' titles of s3t ntr, mwt nswt bjtj nswt bjtj, and mwt nswt appear sporadically throughout the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in the vicinity of her Abusir hwt ntr. Of particular interest is the recording of 's3t ntr' in the relief decoration of her temple at Abusir, dated to the reign of Nyweserre.<sup>[2]</sup> The citing of this title does render improbable Schmitz's contention (S3-NJSWT, pp.134 - 139) that the title of s3t ntr was only held by a queen during the time that her son held the throne. Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh.n.s I, who held all the equivalent titles held by her sister and was, like her, of bourgeois stock, lacked the title of 's3t ntr' on her brother's stele. Schmitz suggested that the reason for her absence of title on D<sup>c</sup>w's stele was due to the circumstance 'daß sich s3.t-ntr immer auf den lebenden, gerade regierenden König bezieht' (ibid. p.138). The example of the title being inscribed on a monument to Hnt-k3w.s I, long after the death of reigning king concerned, would indicate that Schmitz's theory is not tenable in her case at least.

These particular titles of Hnt-k3w.s have been the subject of intense examination by numerous scholars, that of her unique title, mwt nswt bjtj, nswt bjtj being the special subject for discussion. It has not as yet been resolved whether the queen was a monarch or mother of two kings see pp.258 - 270 of Chapter 6 of this dissertation for discussion on this issue. The remaining titles are discussed in Chapter 2, under their relevant headings.

<sup>1</sup> Hassan incorrectly interpreted these to mean s3t nswt n ht.f smst; the evidence (fig. 14) reveals it is a male, not female title here.

<sup>2</sup> Personal confirmation from Professor M. Verner (26/1/91).

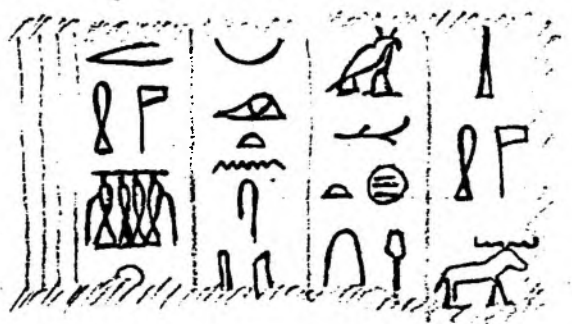


fig. 15 Fragment of the titulary of a queen, found  
in the Hnt-k3w.s mortuary complex at Abusir.

- Copy of the fragment (36/A/78)  
provided by Professor Miroslav Verner.

On one of the fragments found by the Czechs at Abusir further titles that seem likely to refer to Queen Hnt-k3w.s I were recorded (36/A/78.228). The fragment is damaged at the top and the bottom, so the full titular string is not quite clear (fig. 15). I am indebted to Professor Verner for his generous permission to use this so far unpublished material.

The titles evident are, '....s, hm[t] ntr B3-pf, .... ht Hr, hrp[t] sšmt šndt, ... [ddt ht] nb[t] jrt n.s, ...

Possibly, the first two missing titles were wrt hts and hsjt wrt, since these could precede the hmt ntr B3-pf/T3-spf titles in the titular strings of other queens (eg. H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I and II), but smrt Hr, or tjst Hr are also feasible. That this collection of titles refers to the first Hnt-k3w.s is indicated by the presence of the ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s title, which is so far not attested for the second queen. As Hnt-k3w.s I appears to have held these titles it is extremely likely that she was, after all, the wife of a king.

One peculiarity noticed concerning the titulary of the queen at Abusir is that occasionally the titles are given an honorific transposition. This occurs with both hmt nswt and mwt nswt (Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, pp.528, 531). The reason for this has not been clarified.

It has been observed by this writer and commented upon by Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.80) and Kaplony (Orientalia 41 [1972], p.60) that the name of Hnt-k3w.s is written with the determinative of a seated queen. Kuchman Sabbahy adds that 'The evidence we have so far indicates that the queen-mother is given the determinative which depicts the formal cult statue.' At a later point she elaborates further,

'The statue determinatives of King Neferirkare appear after the word twt, "statue", in the Abu Sir Papyri, and they are to be interpreted as depictions of the actual cult statues of the king in the mortuary temple. Similarly, the seated statue determinative of Hnt-k3w.s written each time after her name in the Abu Sir Papyri represents the statue to which the cult activity being described was done. Support for the interpretation of the determinative as a depiction of the cult statue comes from a list of meat offerings in the Abu Sir Papyri. Queen Hnt-k3w.s and a number of officials are listed by name with the type and amount of the meat offering given listed below. Only after the name of the queen is the determinative used. The other names are left without a determinative since

non-royal individuals would not have a statue within the royal establishment.'

Kuchman Sabbahy goes on to mention the later cult of Queen Nt and her mother from the Sixth Dynasty, but she does not comment upon the use of a similar determinative for Queen H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, nor for Nfr-htp.s noted elsewhere in this Prosopography. H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I did have such a royal cult; there is a record of it in the tomb of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> at Giza (Grdseloff, ASAE 42 [1943], p.52f. and fig.5). Queen Nfr-htp.s (see below) also features this determinative, and her cult, too, is attested - in the tomb of Pr-sn. One might wonder whether the different determinatives used for other queens (eg. Htp-hr.s II and Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III) were indicative of a different variety of cult statue, or a difference in the status of the queens concerned, or whether they were simply a queenly variation of the common female determinative (for discussion on this issue see Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom' in Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal, MMA [1977], pp.73 - 91).

Posener-Kriéger (JSSEA XII [1983], pp.52f.) has commented that the papyri from the Hnt-k3w.s temple repository also present a number of images - all 'exclusively feminine' - and, from other words mentioned in this very fragmentary material, it would seem that the find contains a temple inventory (*ibid.* p.53). From different representations and decorations mentioned in some of the fragments, Posener-Kriéger (*ibid.* p.52) was able to deduce that at least fourteen different figures were itemised, all of them either royal or divine. One detail noticeable was the use of the vulture cap, sometimes mentioned as being blue in colour (m zs m hsbd).

One curiosity observed by Posener-Kriéger in the Abusir Papyri is that the queen's titles are occasionally given an honorific transposition - whether accidental or designed is difficult to judge from the few examples available (Archives II, pp.528ff; see also Verner, SAK 8 [1980] p.251).

One other title pertaining to this queen is that of her hm ntr priest. As is expanded further in Chapter 6, Hnt-k3w.s I is the first queen known to have such a servant. In all other instances during this period the appointment of a hm ntr priest was the privilege of a king. Others must have also held this post since a certain Špss-3htj was shd hmw ntr nw mwt nswt (Hassan, Giza III, pp.93 - 97).

Prosopography: The work of Maragioglio and Rinaldi has

endorsed Hassan's opinion that Queen Hnt-k3w.s I lived at the junction of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (Piramidi menfite p.168), but her exact floruit is difficult to determine. What is interesting to note, regarding the hypothesis of s3t ntr as a stop-gap progenitor (see pp.61 ff.), is the evidence for the secondary alteration of her tomb. This later alteration would seem to endorse the concept of this s3t ntr receiving a later elevation in status.

If the evidence of the offering table found in the so-called 'valley temple' of the queen (Hassan, Giza IV, pl. XXVII c - for discussion see above under the heading of 'Tomb') has been correctly interpreted Hnt-k3w.s I was the daughter of a king. Her titles from Giza and Abusir are those of a King's Wife, and her mwt nswt bjtj title indicates she was the mother of one king, and very probably, two. Neferirkare was one of her sons, and Prince Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> the elder is likely to have been another. The second king could not have been Neferefere, since he was the son of Hnt-k3w.s II, so the queen could only have been mother of Weserkaf, Thamphthis or Shepseskaf. Sahure is much more likely to have been the son of Queen Nfr-htp.s (for which see her prosopographical entry). Given the similarity and chronology of her tomb with that of Shepseskaf he seems a less likely candidate for her son than either Thamphthis or Weserkaf.

The network of the queen's relationships suggested by some papyri fragments found at Abusir is that Queen Hnt-k3w.s I seems to have been the mother of King Neferirkare and, perhaps, a royal son named Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup>. With his mother Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> was honoured by a shrine in the vicinity of Neferirkare's mortuary temple at Abusir (Posener-Krieger, op.cit. pp.530f). As the names of both Hnt-k3w.s I and II have been found at Abusir, there is also the possibility that the second queen might be the mother of this prince. However, the more recent discovery<sup>[3]</sup> of another fragment referring to s3 nswt Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> 'le cadet' would suggest that there might have been two princes with the one name, although this is by no means a foregone conclusion.

It is often assumed that the first three kings of Dynasty V were brothers, the story of the Westcar Papyrus being taken as a record of an historical event. This assumption is rather dubious. Nfr-htp.s (see her prosopography below for details), is now known to have been the wife of Weserkaf (Leclant, Orientalia

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<sup>3</sup> Personal communication from Professor Verner in a letter, 3.9.88.

47 [1978], pp.276f; idem. 48 [1979], p.359; idem. 51 [1982], p.64; idem. ASAE 58 [1982], p.60; Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen p.26) and, in the tomb of Pr-sn, not far from the queen's pyramid at Saqqara (Mariette, Mastabas D 45), she carries the title of mwt nswt. From the floruit of Pr-sn, and the overwhelming documentation in his tomb for his service to Sahure, Nfr-htp.s appears to have been the mother of this king, who thus would be the son, not the brother of Weserkaf.

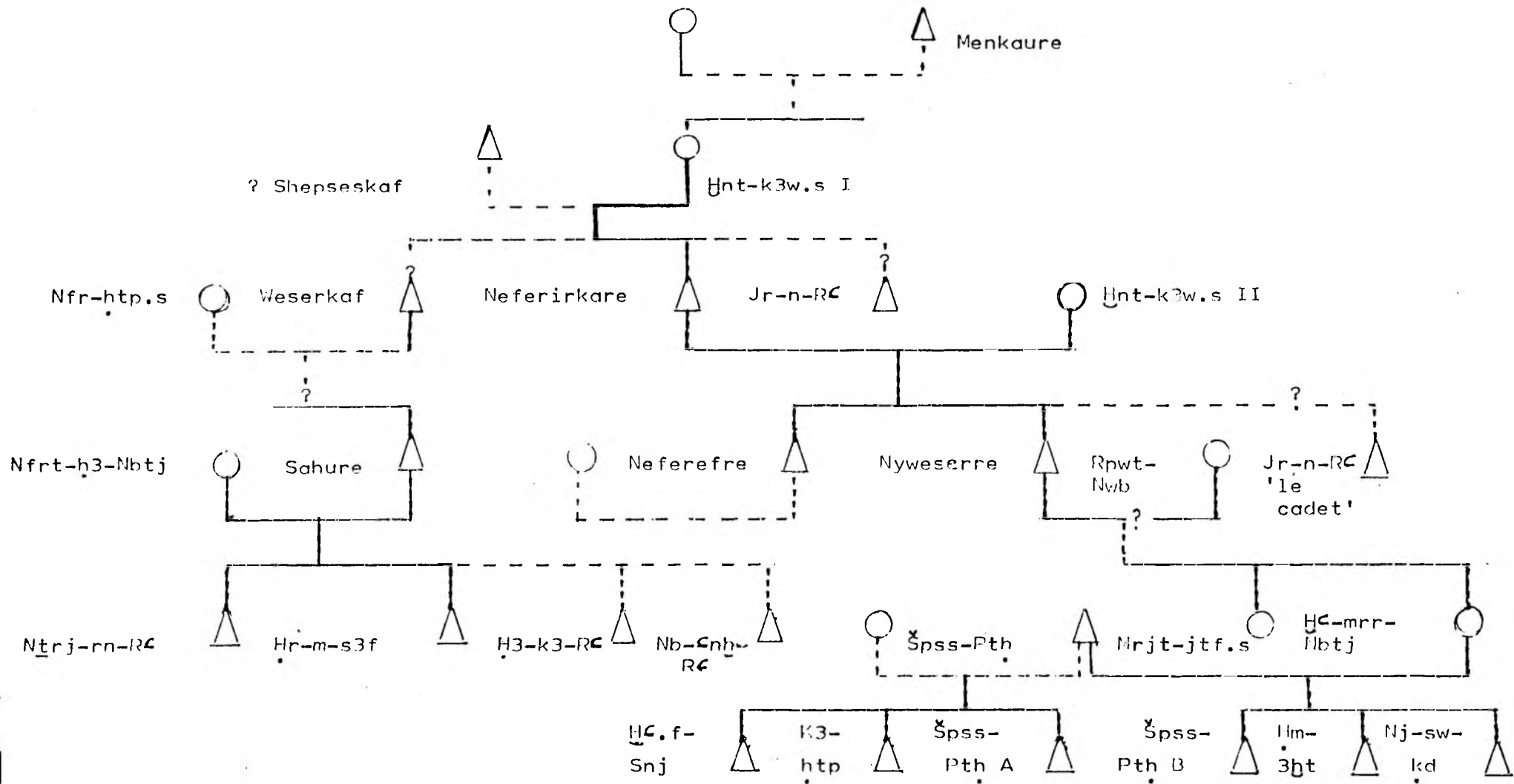
It is also often assumed that the brother of Neferirkare was King Sahure (eg. Altenmüller, CdÉ 45 [1970], p.226, 230; Smith in CAH I/2A p.183; Stadelmann, Pyramiden p.164; Grimal, Histoire, p.91). That assumption has also been made because of the triplet story in the Westcar Papyrus, some scholars making an identification of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I with the woman Rwd-gdt in that story (eg. Otto, Ägypten, Weg des Pharaonenreiches pp.68f; Helck, Geschichte p.61; Altenmüller, CdÉ 45 pp.229f.). And, because the reign of Sahure was relatively short (about twelve years), the notion of Neferirkare's being a brother of Sahure was also thought to be highly probable. When Borchardt discovered the presence of Neferirkare's name amongst the royal retinue of Sahure in the latter's temple at Abusir (Sa3hu-Re<sup>c</sup> II, pls. 32, 33 and text in volume I, p.13), he assumed that these two must have shared a coregency. Sethe (op. cit. Vol. II, p.90) was more cautious about assuming a coregency which, as he said, need not support the theory that the kings were brothers; none-the-less, the idea of one king honouring another by appearing within the retinue of officials and naming himself in a cartouche, is an unique occurrence in Egyptian iconography.

This inscription in Sahure's temple, however, might rather suggest that Neferirkare finished off the temple of his predecessor (Borchardt, op. cit. pl. 33). Then, too, the fact that Sahure already had several sons himself suggests that the reign of his 'brother' may have been due to usurpation of the throne, rather than a brotherly agreement that each would share the throne. That upheaval was a characteristic of the earlier part of Dynasty V has already been indicated by Verner (ZÄS 117 [1990], pp.72 - 78) as a result of his work at Abusir.

There has been a great deal of speculation about links between Hnt-k3w.s I and other members of the royal family of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Some of these are discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation. All of these studies have seen the queen as the link between the two dynasties, although different solutions have been offered. It has been suggested that the proximity of the tomb of Hnt-k3w.s to that of the pyramid complex of King Menkaure is suggestive of a



GENEALOGY 3



father-daughter relationship (Hassan, Giza IV, p.7; Smith, CAH I/2, p.178), and the presence of the offering tablet in the adjunct to Menkaure's temple might well offer evidence of that relationship. On the other hand, Altenmüller (CdÉ 45 [1970], p.233ff.) does not think that she could have been Menkaure's daughter, but instead was the child of Prince Hr-dd.f. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.135f) considers that she was neither a king's daughter nor a queen. (See p.245f. of Chapter 6 for further discussion on these issues.)

A major influence on family network reconstruction for the queen has come from the Westcar Papyrus. Her curious title, mwt nswt bjtj nswt bjtj (discussed in Chapter 6) has suggested a link with the priest's wife, Rwd-ddt, mentioned in that papyrus. If there was some identification between this woman and the queen one wonders why the names were not identical, since the Westcar Papyrus appears to be a tale originating in a later period. The identity of the three kings is also a problem if Hnt-k3w.s is the alleged mother of the three kings mentioned in the story. Sahure seems more likely to have been a son of Weserkaf, rather than a brother (see the 'Prosopography' section of the Nfr-htp.s entry, following this entry). If the identification of Rwd-ddt with Hnt-k3w.s I were to be established, then the papyrus story may have been devised to give sanctity to three kings who were brothers but who, originally, may not have been entitled to the throne. As it is, the story has so many mythical elements that it seems unwise at present to use it as a basis for the prosopographical network of this queen.

Hitherto the lack of evidence concerning the antecedents and descendants of Queen Hnt-k3w.s encouraged speculation about the queen's ancestry; recent work done at Abusir, however, has not only revealed new archaeological material concerning the queen, but has provided further information about the queen's familial network. This material is currently being analysed with a view to publication by Professor Verner and renders unnecessary any further speculation about that network. For the purpose of further discussion in this prosopography of the Fifth Dynasty, however, an interim genealogy of my own is provided (Genealogy 3). Further remarks concerning this genealogy will be found under the prosopographies of Nfr-htp.s and Hnt-k3w.s II, as well as in Chapter 6.

\* \* \* \* \*

From Giza it is likely that we have information of the establishment of a hwt ntr for the queen, since Rn-pt-nfr was the

hm ntr priest of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I there (Hassan, Giza IV, p. 5). Hassan insisted that the establishment of such a mortuary cult was indicative of a monarch, not merely the wife of a king. This is indeed an extraordinary distinction for Hnt-k3w.s I, but others were added.

Schäfer (Priestergräber, pp.9f) published information about a hwt ntr nt mwt nswt at Abusir. This building was discovered by the Czechoslovakian team from Charles University in 1978. This provides the evidence that Hnt-k3w.s I was deified, at the latest, by the time of her grandson. As far as can be gauged at present, although the mortuary cults of other queens had sometimes a long history of maintenance (eg. Nj-m3t-Hp I), Hnt-k3w.s was the first queen to have been deified during Old Kingdom times. At the end of the Sixth Dynasty, however, Queens Mrj-Rc-Cnh.n.s. I and Nt had a similar cult at South Saqqara (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.5; Goedicke, KD, pp.158 - 162). Another hwt ntr cult seems to have been established for the Mrj-Rc-Cnh.n.s sisters and Pepy I at Abydos (Petrie, Abydos III, pl. XIX pp.42f.). In each of these instances of a hwt ntr for a queen it is striking that the queens concerned produced sons who reigned in difficult times. Thus, Hnt-k3w.s I has a hwt ntr at Giza. Perhaps the site of this temple was the odd structure Hassan found and referred to as her 'valley temple'. Certainly, with the path in the courtyard leading directly to the shrine of Menkaure, this site is a possibility. If this identification were correct it would suggest that those who wished to honour the queen were deliberately drawing attention to her distinguished ancestor, Menkaure. Her second hwt ntr appears to have been attached to the pyramid complex of Hnt-k3w.s II at Abusir, in what János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.66) suggests could be interpreted as an 'Ahnenkultstätte'. The honouring of the Mrj-Rc-Cnh.n.s sisters was also the beginning of an Ahnenkultstätte that began at Saqqara and travelled to Abydos. That the Saqqara cult only mentions the elder sister may have been due to her dual cult with her daughter, the subject of a later royal decree (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.5). That Nt, too, became part of this hwt ntr cult certainly does suggest that the descendants of Pepy II were anxious to establish a special status for their female ancestors. What seems to emerge from this is a trend to elevate the queen mothers of the royal family by the bestowing of a hwt ntr in memory of them.

On the site of a pyramid complex begun in the time of Neferirkare for his wife Hnt-k3w.s II a second hwt ntr for Hnt-k3w.s I was constructed in the time of Nyweserre, but its remains are very poorly preserved. A number of finds from this temple have revealed that this cult for Hnt-k3w.s I was

maintained at least until the time of Pepy II (Verner, ZÄS 107[1980], p.162), and may even have been revived for a brief time at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[4]

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<sup>4</sup> Personal communication from Professor M. Verner dated 26/1/91.

## DYNASTY V

### QUEEN NFR-HTP.S

#### Temp. Weserkaf

Tomb: There is now enough evidence (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.26 and n.133) to suggest that the queen's tomb could be the remains of a pyramid placed beyond the temenos wall of Weserkaf's mortuary complex (Firth, ASAE 29 [1929], p.66). Lauer's recent publication (Sakkara, p.57) acknowledges Queen Nfr-htp.s' ownership.

Mariette was the first to signal the presence of the tomb of Nfr-htp.s at Saqqara, when he recorded the tomb of the official, Pr-sn (Mastabas, D 45). The offering list records that Pr-sn was to benefit from the offerings of the tomb of mwt nswt Nfr-htp.s which was, presumably, somewhere in the neighbourhood of his. As the king mentioned almost exclusively in his tomb is Sahure, she is likely to have been the mother of this king.

Grdseloff (ASAE 42 [1943], p.66) then identified this Nfr-htp.s with the daughter of Djedefre, whose mortuary cult was, he believed, being served in the time of Sahure. He suggested that, as Pr-sn needed to be close to benefit from the turnover of offerings, the chapel of the queen mother would need to be found close to his tomb.

Et, en effet, a 190 metres a l'est de D 45 est située la chapelle funéraire de la pyramide de la mère do roi Wserkaf, le prédécesseur de Sahwre. Il parait, des lors, fort plausible que cette pyramide d'un reine, jusqu'ici anonyme, soit attribuable à la reine-mère Neferheteps que cité l'inscription de Persen.' -  
Grdseloff, ASAE 42 [1943], p.54

The pyramid was first excavated by Firth in 1928 and, in more recent times, by the French (Leclant, Orientalia 48 [1947], et seq.). In the opinion of Jánosi, (Pyramidenanlagen, p.26) it is the satellite pyramid of Nfr-htp.s which is the earliest satellite pyramid for which the tomb-owner is known.

Both the pyramid and its chapel - except for a couple of reliefs (Firth, ASAE 29 [1929], p.67) - have been destroyed, but sufficient has remained to determine that the complex lay within its own temenos wall and had its cult chapel on the eastern side (loc. cit.) Although the queen's complex is situated adjacent to the complex of Weserkaf, there is no perceivable connection between the two establishments.

Titles: mwt nswt; Mother of the King

This is the only title published so far for this queen; it appears in the tomb of Pr-sn. Of especial interest is the determinative of a seated queen with w3s sceptre in Pr-sn's reference to the queen. It is a sign which accompanies many (but not all) of the Old Kingdom queens who were entitled mwt nswt bjtj (eg. H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, Hnt-k3w.s II, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s. II [Brooklyn 39.119]). Queen Nt, who did not hold this particular title, is also given this determinative on the Koptos Decree (Urk. I.307,6), but not in other inscriptions that we have. It is a sign therefore, only present for the mother of a king. (Refer to previous discussion under the titles section of Queen Hnt-k3w.s I.)

As Nfr-htp.s was the wife of a king thought to have inaugurated the Fifth Dynasty it would not be surprising to find that her full title could have been mwt nswt bjtj, as held by most of the queens in her position.

Prosopography: Although some scholars (Grdseloff, ASAE 42 [1943], p.53, 64; Smith, CAH I/2A, p.173; Vercoutter, Catalogue, p.56) have sought to identify Princess Nfr-htp.s, daughter of Djedefre, with Queen Nfr-htp.s (whom they thought to be the mother of Weserkaf), the extent of time involved makes this an impossible reconstruction (see below).

Kozloff (Cleveland, p.220) has suggested that Nfr-htp.s was the daughter of Djedefre, and the mother of Shepseskaf. She offers no evidence in support of her argument, however.

Kozloff also thinks that a head now in the Cleveland Museum is that of King Weserkaf, and that it suggests that he was a boy king. Although she admits that 'the similarity between the Cleveland head and portraits of Menkaure from his triad sculptures is immediately striking' (ibid. p.211), Kozloff feels there is a greater affinity with Weserkaf's colossal Cairo head made of red granite, and with the greywacke head that was found in Weserkaf's sun temple at Abusir.

In my opinion the reverse is more likely. Weserkaf's Cairo head has a larger, more fleshy mouth; the details of the ears in both statues differ considerably, even as the ear details differ between the Cairo head and the greywacke head of the so-called 'Goddess Neith' found in Weserkaf's sun-sanctuary at Abusir. The profiles of the limestone Cleveland head and the colossal Cairo head are also dissimilar, the former having a marked dip to the bridge of the nose, the Cairo head having a much straighter bridge, the end of the nose being tip-tilted quite noticeably. (There are also differences between the greywacke head's nose and that of Weserkaf's Cairo head and that of the Cleveland limestone head.) Kozloff is inaccurate when she says (*ibid.* p.215) that 'Weserkaf's ear shape is not too dissimilar from Mycerinus', the Cairo head is markedly dissimilar, although the greywacke head is closer to that of the Cleveland head. Not surprisingly, Kozloff at one stage remarks (*ibid.* p.212) that 'Not one of the Weserkaf sculptures is exactly like another.' The evidence of the art suggests to me that only the Cairo head and the fragment of the king's face (fig. 9 in Kozloff's article) belong to the one model. On the other hand, the downward tilt of the mouth of the Cleveland head is repeated in the Menkaure triad portrait, as is the low nasal bridge and the fleshy upper cheek (absent from the Cairo head). In addition, the sculptural style of the Menkaure is echoed by the Cleveland head. It may well be that the Cleveland head does not represent Weserkaf at all.

If the above argument should be correct, then Kozloff's claim that Weserkaf was a boy king may also be inaccurate. One other factor suggests this. Weserkaf's reign was approximately seven years in duration (Turin Canon, 3.17), although Manetho gives him 28 years. Sahure's reign was 12 years (TC 3.18; Manetho, 13 years). Sahure is very likely to be the son of Weserkaf yet, at the time when his valley temple was being built, he had four sons. If Weserkaf had been a boy king with only a seven year reign then his son Sahure would have been too young to have had children. (On the other hand, another possibility could be that Sahure was not his son.)

There is no support either for Kozloff's claims that s3t nswt Nfr-ḥtp.s was the mother of Shepseskaf, or that she was possibly the wife of Menkaure (Kozloff, *Cleveland*, p.220). The only association she has with a king is with King Djedefre (Jaquet-Gordon, *domaines funéraires*, p.335), although her name and title appear in the tomb of an official of King Sahure, and there might be a link there with that king.

Similarly, Kozloff's assumption that the transfer of funerary goods from the tomb of Nfr-ḥtp.s to that of Pr-sn

indicates that Nfr-htp.s 'fell out of favor' (p.221) is a misunderstanding of the transferral of offerings that was practised in the necropolis. Kozloff is also in error (p.221) in her claim that Hnt-k3w.s I was a 'Daughter of Re'. She probably means to refer to the s3t ntr title of Hnt-k3w.s, the meaning of which is still in doubt. The title does not mean that it 'indicates that she was a royal daughter' either (loc. cit.). As the family background of Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II makes clear, the title could be given to commoner princesses too. Only in one aspect can Kozloff's theories be given acceptance, the improbability of Princess Nfr-htp.s being the mother of Weserkaf (p.220).[5]

Because approximately 70 years[6], had elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Djedefre to that of Weserkaf, this queen cannot be identified with the daughter of King Djedefre, as has been thought by Grdseloff, Smith and others. (Troy's reference to her as 'the mother of ?Unis' must be a slip.) The age of the daughter of Djedefre must roughly equate with this same interval of time so Princess Nfr-htp.s could not have been the wife of Weserkaf. Djedefre's daughter was a close contemporary of Queen Mr.s-Cnh III, and the latter would have been in her late twenties, at least, by the beginning of Menkaure's reign.

It is uncertain whether Nfr-htp.s were the mother of Weserkaf, either, for the similar reason of her age at that time; Egyptian women tended to have their children while they were very young. If her children were contemporaries of Menkaure (which seems most likely), then they, like that king, would surely be of middle age by the time Weserkaf came to the throne. It is not impossible, however, that Queen Nfr-htp.s was a descendant of Djedefre, as is hinted by evidence for the name of this queen and that of Djedefre being linked together in the lists of funerary estates recorded in the tomb of Pr-sn. It is further observed that Weserkaf possessed the same Horus of Gold name as Khufu, which might reflect some genealogical link between these two kings.

As her tomb lies near that of Weserkaf, Queen Nfr-htp.s

<sup>5</sup> I wish to thank Dr. Peter János of Vienna University for bringing this article by Kozloff to my notice.

<sup>6</sup> based on the chronology of Málek, In the Shadow of the Pyramids, p.124



would be more likely his wife. (Htp-hr.s I is the only Old Kingdom royal mother we know to have been buried in her son's cemetery.) Nfr-htp.s is more likely to have been the mother of Sahure, as can be gauged from the inscription in the tomb of Pr-sn, who throughout refers to King Sahure, in whose reign he appears to have himself died. When Pr-sn makes reference to 'mwt nswt Nfr-htp.s', the royal son concerned would more likely be Sahure, since Weserkaf does not have prominence in Pr-sn's tomb inscriptions.

If Nfr-htp.s were the mother of Sahure then Weserkaf and Sahure could not have been brothers as implied by the Westcar Papyrus (see discussion in Chapter 6 pp.249ff.). As the claim of Hnt-k3w.s I to be the mother of Neferirkare is overwhelming (see Verner's reports in ZÄS listed in the prosopographical entries for the two Hnt-k3w.s queens), it is suggested that Neferirkare might be the brother, rather than the son of Weserkaf. If both men were brothers, then Hnt-k3w.s I was indeed the mother of two kings who took office, each after a break in the patrilinear progression to the throne, hence her title of mwt nswt bjtj, nswt bjtj. That she was s3t ntr I take to imply that she had provided some link with a previous king, either as a direct daughter, or as the wife of a former king. If Weserkaf were not the husband of Hnt-k3w.s I (as Smith and others have suggested), then perhaps Shepseskaf might have been.

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QUEEN [NFRT-H3?]-NBTJ[7]

Temp. Sahure

Tomb: unknown, presumably at Abusir. There are a number of mounds still to be excavated at Abusir, and some of them could belong to the tombs of queens. It is in the area south of Sahure's pyramid that one might expect to find the tomb of Sahure's queen - a view also held by Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.28).

Borchardt considered that the cult pyramid within the complex of Sahure was the tomb of the queen, a view that has now been rejected (loc. cit; Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.170 etc.).

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, wrt hst, tjst Hr, hmt nswt mrt.f; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great of praise, She who sits with Horus, King's wife, his beloved.

The above titles were found on a broken relief (Leipzig 2096, now lost) from Sahure's Mortuary temple at Abusir. The queen's titulary which follows is a reconstruction made by Sethe (Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re<sup>c</sup>, p.116), wrt hst, wrt hts, tjst Hr, smrt Hr, hmt nswt mrt.f.

Not only the titulary was incomplete. The remaining traces of the queen's name were reduced to the head of the Wadjet goddess alone, although its position on the tablet, and the additional fragment containing the dual basket (together with an 'r'), makes the reading 'Nbtj' conclusive. The reconstruction of the remainder of her name is explained by Sethe (ibid. p.117).

Prosopography: Queen [Nfirt-h3]-Nbtj was the wife of King Sahure, the mother of princes Ntrj-rn-R<sup>c</sup>, a priest of Min (her eldest son), and Hr-m-s3.f, a younger son (Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re<sup>c</sup>, pl. 48). Two other princes might have been her children, although their mother is not identified, these are Prince H<sup>c</sup>-k3-R<sup>c</sup> and Prince Nb- Cnh-R<sup>c</sup> (Borchardt, op. cit. II, pl. 49). A daughter of Sahure has been found in a wall painting fragment, but her mother is unknown; it could be possible that this princess was Nfirt-h3-Nbtj's daughter. Nothing else is known about this queen.

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<sup>7</sup> See Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re<sup>c</sup>, p.117

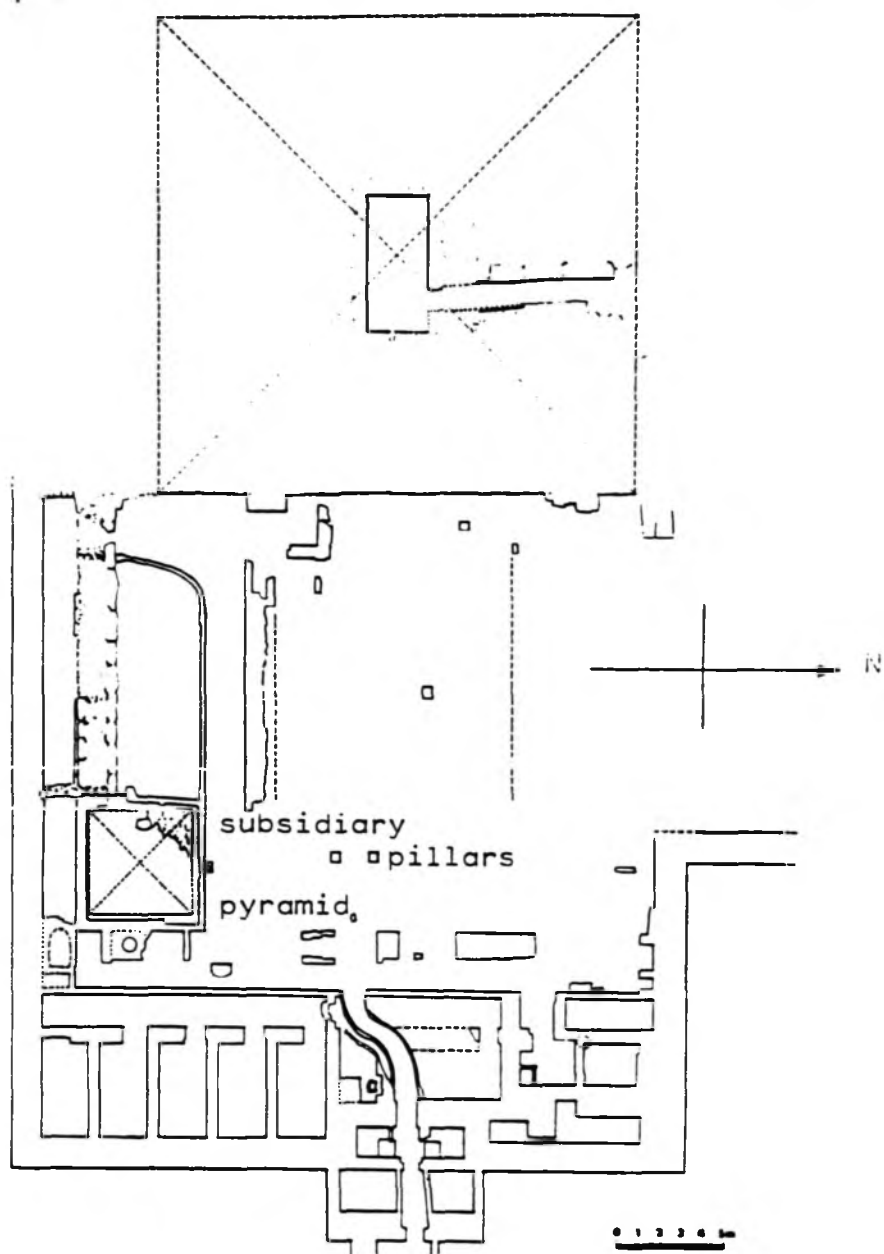


Fig. 1

fig. 16 Plan of the mortuary temple and hwt ntr of Hnt-k3w.s I and II at Abusir, south of the pyramid of Nefer-irkare.

Given the numbers of sons mentioned for Sahure within his temple it is very surprising that none of them appears to have succeeded him on the throne. Work being done on the Fifth Dynasty royal family shows unexpected patterns which indicate some upheaval in the succession (Verner, ZÄS 117 [1990], pp.72 - 78), but it is too early to determine the nature of this.

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#### QUEEN HNT-K3W.S II

##### Temp. Neferirkare

Tomb: a pyramid complex situated to the south of the southern wall surrounding the pyramid complex of Neferirkare at Abusir. The excavation of this queen's mortuary buildings has been undertaken recently by the Charles University of Prague under the direction of Miroslav Verner.

The queen's mortuary complex, enclosed by a temenos wall, lies parallel to the northern side of the pyramid complex of Neferirkare (Verner, ZÄS 105 [1978], p.157]. It consists of a mortuary chapel and pyramid, cult pyramid, court and magazines (see plan fig. 16). It is the first complex of a queen to contain so many elements of a king's mortuary temple.

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The pyramid once reached an estimated height of 14.3 metres (Verner, ZÄS 105 [1978], pp.156f.). The sides of the pyramid today measure 45 cubits (21.9 metres) but, in Verner's estimation, the original measurements would have been closer to 50 cubits.[8],

The faces of the pyramid were pitched at 52° and the apex

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<sup>8</sup> These measurements were kindly given in a private communication from Professor Verner dated 23.11.87.

was topped with a pyramidion of black granite (Verner, ZÄS 107 [1980], p.158 and fig. 2). The queen's name was found in a graffito on one of the pyramid's casing blocks, thus firmly identifying her ownership of the structure.

The entrance to the sarcophagus chamber was on the northern side via a short descending passageway that is angled in the fashion of the descending passages of three of the satellite pyramids from the Giza cemetery - G Ia, G Ib and G IIIa - except that the passage is slightly angled. The burial chamber measures 728 x 312 cm and was once 240 cm high (loc. cit.). Neither sarcophagus nor traces of any burial was found in the tomb, but a corner fragment of a rose granite sarcophagus, 20 x 25 x 15 cms, was found in debris covering part of the pyramid's superstructure.[9] The structure appears to have been left incomplete.[10]

The remains of the mortuary temple have revealed two stages in the building of the complex, the first belonging to Hnt-k3w.s II, the second a complex of mudbrick buildings evidently designed to be a cult temple for Queen Hnt-k3w.s I. This latter stage is found in the most easterly region of the temple area.

The chapel of Hnt-k3w.s II was made from stone, originally finely decorated (Verner, ZÄS 107, [1980], p.159). The limestone walls of the chapel now are in fragments, some of which have sections showing funerary offerings. One fragment has a few remains of the queen's titles, and the same remain on several red granite door jambs from the chapel. On each side there were storerooms and in the central part there was a pillared court (*ibid.* p.160). Two damaged remaining pillars provide us with a number of the queen's titles. (The remainder come from the Ghazouli block.)

From a nearby area about 200 fragments of papyri have been found which, like the other Abusir papyri appear to have been part of a temple archive collection (Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, p.162). This collection points to the importance of this complex.

Of particular interest in the complex of Hnt-k3w.s II is the

<sup>9</sup> This information given by Professor Verner in a letter dated 9/4/91.

<sup>10</sup> Mentioned by Professor Verner in a letter dated 23/11/87.

inclusion of a cult pyramid, similar to those found in the mortuary complexes of kings (see plan in Verner, ZÄS 109 [1982], p.158). It appears to be the first complex of a queen to possess this feature. The presence of an offering slab with a 'h<sub>tp</sub>' sign in the centre of the eastern face of this pyramid, indicates that offerings were made here (Verner, ZÄS 109 [1982], p.157).

Titles: Due to the fragmentary nature of the remains these titles come from several sources. Those on the pillars from the courtyard of her mortuary temple are, ht Hr, m33t Hr Sth. A limestone wall fragment reads, mwt nswt bjtj St-jb-t3wj, Nj-wsr-r (see fig.5 in Verner, ZÄS 107 [1978], p.161).

From a block of limestone found at Saqqara by E. Ghazouli we have the following titles, wrt hst, wrt hts, hmt nswt, m33t Hr Sth (Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, p.531 fig.54).

At Abusir Borchardt claimed to have found the titles 'smrt Hr, ht Hr, mwt nswt' on a fragmentary offering table which bore part of the name of King Neferirkare (Borchardt, ASAE 38 [1938], p.213). While Seipel (Königinnen, p.203) accepts this reading, Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.84) says the pieces contain only ht Hr and a part of the name of Hnt-k3w.s. Neither of these records is entirely accurate. Verner's re-examination of these fragments (Berlin 17435 and 17436) discloses that the titles were not those as given by Borchardt, but the single title of ht Hr only (the rest was obliterated).[11],

Two instances among the graffiti record the name of the queen, with her title of hmt nswt on one occasion, and mwt nswt on another, the nswt sign inverted towards the name of the queen. In the mwt nswt example the queen is seated on a box throne. In the other example the place where the determinative should be has been destroyed. These occurrences of inversion are reminiscent of the writing of the Aten's name to face the queen's determinative in the Nefertiti cartouches.

In the Abusir papyri mwt nswt Hnt-k3w.s is also entitled smrt Hr, ht Hr, and tjst Hr (Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, p.328). As was mentioned in the entry for Hnt-k3w.s I, large numbers of papyri have been discovered in the temple storerooms of the Hnt-k3w.s II complex. Amongst these have been a number of images - all 'exclusively feminine' - and, from other words

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<sup>11</sup> My thanks to Professor Verner for this information in a letter dated 3/9/1988.

mentioned in this very fragmentary material, it would seem that the find contains a temple inventory of cult statues used in the maintenance of the cult of one, or both, queens (Posener-Kriéger (JSSEA 13 [1983], pp.52f.). At least fourteen different statues used in the cult were itemised, all of them either royal or divine.

A few fragments contain some of the titles of a queen mother and a royal wife, occasionally written as an honorific transposition - whether accidental or designed is difficult to judge from the few examples available (Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, pp.528ff; see also Verner, SAK 8 [1980], p.251).

Other titles, found on shattered quartz door jambs, false door stelae and relief fragments were, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt ntr B3-pf, hmt ntr I3-spf, mwt nswt. It has been impossible in many instances to determine whether the titles refer to the elder or the younger queen.[12]

Because of the disparate nature of the sources for the titles, and because of the confusion resulting from two queens of like name sharing the one temple complex, it is not easy to separate out the ownership of each title. The selection made here may be in error, but it seems likely that each queen had some titles that were dissimilar from those of her namesake and, when these appear en echelon, it should be possible to distinguish which of the two women is being referred to. Although Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.84) has said that 'There are no examples from the Old Kingdom of a queen holding the title ddt ht nbt nfrt jrt.n.s, a title held by Hnt-k3w.s I, ever being called m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts or wrt hst..' this is inaccurate, since Mrjt-jt.s has such a combination. This criterion therefore will not help us in separating the titles of the two queens at Abusir. Although both queens Hnt-k3w.s were the mothers of kings, the titulary of the younger Hnt-k3w.s does not seem to have contained the title of ddt ht nbt jrt.n.s, nor the double mwt nswt bjtj title, nor the s3t ntr title.

Prosopography: Hnt-k3w.s II was the wife of King Neferirkare and the mother of his eldest son, Prince Nfr-R<sup>c</sup>, who is certain to be the later King Neferefre. Her son Nyweserre also became king, and thus she was the mother of two kings. She may also have been the mother of Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> 1e cadet (relief block 201/A/78

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<sup>12</sup> This information has been generously supplied by Professor Verner in a letter dated 17.5.1988.

from Abusir, which reads, '...s3.f Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> nds'). In the mortuary complex another fragment (186/A/78) has the remains of a portrait of a princess wearing the short cap, neck collar and choker. She carries the name of Nbtj-rpwt. Perhaps she was a daughter of King Neferirkare.[13]

It is tempting to see in the names of the two queens, and of the remains of the titles hmt ntr B3-pf and hmt ntr I3-spf, the likelihood of these women being mother and daughter. As yet no published material confirms such a relationship.

Seipel (*Königinnen*, p.204) thinks it almost certain that this queen was directly related to Hnt-k3w.s I, even though she does not have the title of s3t nswt. He suggests that she may have been a grandchild of the queen. If this is correct, Neferirkare would have married his niece. Seipel (*ibid.* p.205) thinks that Hnt-k3w.s II could have been a daughter of either Weserkaf or Sahure but, in either case, one would expect her to carry the s3t nswt title - which she lacks. If she were the daughter of Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> the elder, however, Hnt-k3w.s II could still be the granddaughter of the other queen yet not be entitled to s3t nswt.

János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.30) mentions that Lepsius No.XXIII was not a pyramid, but a mastaba belonging to Prince Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup>. The proximity of this to the complex of Queen Hnt-k3w.s would suggest a relationship that is confirmed by the Abusir Papyri. The difficulty is to determine which of the two queens was his mother. On balance it is possible that the elder Prince Jr-n-R<sup>c</sup> could have been the son of Hnt-k3w.s I, while the younger may have been the child of Hnt-k3w.s II.

One small faience fragment found at Abusir in the storeroom of the queen's complex (Verner, *ZÄS* 109 [1982], fig.3) has provided an interesting iconographical detail. A seated queen is shown wearing the vulture cap and (possibly) the Wadjet cobra. In her right hand she grasps a papyrus wand. In her left she holds an ankh. It is difficult to escape the conclusion from this that one of the queens Hnt-k3w.s is here to be identified with Wadjet, since she carries her symbols and, like the goddess, grasps an ankh. This use of the vulture and cobra symbols for the queen represent her as the living image of the Nbtj, and indicate a considerable elevation of status for the queen

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<sup>13</sup> I would like to thank Professor Verner for giving me free access to this information, and to all the other material found in the complex.



concerned.

#### Bibliography:

- Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re II, 90; pl. XVII  
ASAE 38 (1938), pp.209 - 215  
 Edwards, Pyramids, pp.147f.  
 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.31 - 33  
 Posener-Kriéger, Archives II, pp.530f and pl. 46a  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.84  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.203  
 Smith, CAH I/2A, p.179  
 Stadelmann, Pyramiden, p.174  
 Troy, Queenship, p.154  
 Verner, RdÉ 31 (1979), pp.97 - 100  
SAK 8 (1980), pp.243 - 268  
ZÄS 105 (1978), pp.155 - 159, plus pls.  
ZÄS 107 (1980), pp.158 - 164  
ZÄS 109 (1982), pp.157 - 159

#### QUEEN NJ-M3<sup>c</sup>T-H<sup>c</sup>P II

Temp. uncertain; Although Reisner says that she belongs probably to the first half of Dynasty V (Giza I, p.253), he comments further on that another chapel of the same type (4b) was in a mastaba on another site 'probably previous to Unis, last king of Dyn. V'. In a later remark (ibid. p.524) Reisner suggests that the date of the tomb must lie somewhere 'between Neferirkare and Neueserra or a little later'. This later date is also preferred by Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.67f.).

Kuchman-Sabbahy (GM 61 [1983], p.28), who sees a similarity between her titles and those of Bw-nfr, suggests that Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>T-H<sup>c</sup>P II might belong to the same period as the former queen, but it is clear that Ny-m3<sup>c</sup>T-H<sup>c</sup>P's titulary is unlikely to have been complete, and this assumption of Kuchman Sabbahy's seems contrary to the siting of the latter's tomb in the Giza western cemetery, among officials of the Fifth Dynasty. Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.70) has pointed out that the space where G 4712 now lies was once occupied by a ramp that was there at the end of the Fourth Dynasty (or possibly the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty). Other mastabas (G 5320, G 5130 and G 5131) were built from materials in that ramp, and they were later tombs. It is therefore unlikely that G 4712 could have been earlier than the first half of the Fifth Dynasty (loc. cit.). She is provisionally placed on this list here according to Reisner's tomb type VIII c (I) for this period.

Tomb: a very badly damaged mastaba in the Western Cemetery of Khufu, No. G 4712. Only the lower courses of nummulitic limestone remain, together with the badly worn false door.

The situation of this tomb is very surprising, since no other queen was buried in Khufu's western cemetery. Her tomb has greater affinity with that of Princess Nfr-ḥtp.s (G 4713/LG 48) than with others in the surrounding area and is built in front of the latter. Both mastabas were classified by Reisner as Type VIII c (loc. cit.). They were once linked by a covered corridor between the two mastabas. Neither tomb could be precisely dated by Reisner.

The interior chapel is small (total area 4.38 sq. m) and has a single niche in the south end of the west wall. From the northern section of the chapel there is a single shaft leading to the burial chamber, which is undecorated (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.68).

These titles were found on the crossbar of her false door (Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.69 has a drawing of the false door) within the tomb. No other titles or inscriptions were preserved. This information is at variance with Kuchman Sabbahy's statement (Titulary, p.27) that the inscription was on the door drum.

The door's tablet once contained a relief of the queen seated at an offering table. This relief now only shows her feet.

Due to the limited titulary displayed on the door's crossbar Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.70) feels that Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II may not have been a queen. In this he is influenced by the titulary remaining for Princess Jt-K3jt of Dynasty XII, who also carries the titles of m33t Hr Sth and wrt ḥts. But the Middle Kingdom princess has more titles than the two carried by Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II (Hayes, BMMA [1953], p.195), and the special circumstances for three Middle Kingdom princesses is discussed in Chapter 7. Due to the difference eras involved, I do not think we can draw comparisons of this nature here. In the Old Kingdom both titles could take the foremost position in a queen's titulary (eg. see the titular string on the long side of the coffin of Ḥtp-ḥr.s I, statuette of Nbtj-nwb, and also Bw-nfr for m33t Hr Sth, Mr.s-cnh III uses both titles foremost in different places, and Pr-snt uses wrt ḥts first on her southern pillar titles etc.). (Further analysis of the pattern of titular strings is provided in Chapter 5.) Thus there may be no need to exclude Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II as a

queen. As he says, she was not the only queen to be excluded from the cemetery of a kingly husband.

Prosopography: No relationship network for this queen can be suggested at this time. The only speculation offered is that she may have been the wife of one of the lesser-known kings, such as Neferefre, or Shepseskare, within whose reign her tomb could have been built. As Neferefre's wife would be more likely to have had a monument in the Abusir royal cemetery, perhaps Shepseskare (whose tomb is not in the immediate family complex) might have been her husband. It would give some reason for her Giza burial if this were the case.

The queen's tomb was built in front of the tomb of Princess Nfr-ḥtp.s, who was a s3t nswt nt ḥt.f of an unknown king. The linked passageway (mentioned above) suggests that there may have been some connexion between Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-Ḥ<sup>c</sup>p and the princess, but the nature of that relationship is unknown.

#### Bibliography:

- Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.67 - 70  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.85  
                                   GM 61 (1983), pp.27f.  
 PM III.1, p.136  
 Reisner, Giza I, p.253  
 Troy, Queenship, p.155

Titles: m33t Ḥr Sth, wrt ḥts; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the ḥts sceptre.

"QUEEN" K3-K3-HKNW, given by Petrie in History I, p.74 is the result of a misreading from Wiedermann, (Geschichte, p.197), and should not be considered a queen as Petrie and Buttles (Queens, p.16) have recorded her.

#### QUEEN RPWT-NWB

The queen's name is very usual. 'Rpwt' refers to the carrying chair that was part of the hb sd ceremonial. Although twelve instances of the use of the word 'rpwt' are known to form part of a proper name from the Old Kingdom period, none except that of this queen contains the image of a king in a carrying chair (Kaiser, MDAIK 39 [1983], p.278). The image of the crowned king in the carrying chair is attested from the Middle Kingdom hymn to Min (Troy, Queenship, p.80), however. Rpwt>Rpyt is seen by Faulkner (PT 823 fn.2) as being the resident goddess of a

place. Grdseloff (ASAE 42 [1943], fig.16) points to priests of the goddess.

#### Temp. Nyweserre

Tomb: Borchardt supposed that the small pyramid on the south-east corner, just beyond the temenos wall of the pyramid of King Nyweserre (Borchardt, Ne-user-Re, pp.25, 108) was the tomb of the queen. However, the absence of any clear identification of this structure with Queen Rpwt-nwb, and the similarities this pyramid has to other examples make it much more likely that this monument was the cult pyramid of the king. It lacks the mortuary chapel such as queens invariably have, and as Maragiolo and Rinaldi (Piramide menfite VIII, pp.48f) have found the measurements between this satellite pyramid and that attached to the complex of Sahure to be very similar, it does not appear to be the pyramid of a queen.

János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.30) has also made the suggestion that either Lepsius XXIV or XXV might prove to be the tomb of this queen but, as these have not yet been excavated, this too is speculative. We would expect the most important wife to occupy the space beside the king's tomb but, with the Abusir family cemetery still to be excavated, it is possible that Rpwt-nwb could have her tomb in this area. It is evident, however, that some queens during this epoch were not buried near the tombs of their husbands (eg. Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II, Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV etc.), and the burial arrangements of these queens must have been considered less important than for some other royal wives. We cannot be sure of the standing of Rpwt-nwb from the negligible remains of her statue fragment/s but, seeing that this was placed in Nyweserre's valley temple (Borchardt, Ne-user-Re, p.108f.) it is very likely that she was his wife, and her grave could lie within the family complex centred about the Hnt-k3w.s complex, as János suggests.

Titles: These come from several sources, all fragmentary. sm3t mrt Nbtj, hmt nswt mrt.f (Borchardt, op. cit. fig. 88); She who joined by the one beloved of the Two Ladies, King's wife, his beloved (Berlin 17438).

This fragment, which Borchardt found in the king's valley temple, is the only one that can be securely identified as belonging to this queen, since it carries her name.

Other pieces found by the Czechs in the mastaba of Pth-špss have queenly titles, but lack the queen's name. On the remnants of an alabaster statue were the titles, m33t [Hr Sth], wrt hts; wrt hst; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts

sceptre, Greatly praised (Zaba, Excavation Notebook, 1961 fig.1). Another, smaller fragment had, smrt Hr; 'Follower of Horus' (Zaba, Excavation Notebook, 1968 fig.2; Vachala, ZÄS 106 [1979], p.176).

Prosopography: Rpw-t-nwb seems to have been the wife of King Nyweserre as is evident from the presence of her statue within the king's valley temple. She has been considered the mother of Princess H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj, the wife of Vizier Pth-špss (Seipel, Königinnen, p.211) but, while this is possible, no known inscription as yet links these two women. Fragments of titles from a statue belonging to an unnamed queen (identical to those held by Rpw-t-nwb) were found in the mastaba of Pth-špss, and it has been reasonably thought (Vachala, ZÄS 106 [1979], p.176) that it would have been appropriate for H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj to have had a statue of her mother in her own tomb. No other relationships are known.

A fragmentary relief (186/A/78) from the Hnt-k3w.s complex may refer to another member of this queen's family. Remnants of the name 'nswt ... Nbtj-rpwt' (with a figure of a female seated in a carrying chair being part of her name), appear in connexion with the portrait of a princess, wearing short cap, choker and collar necklace. Given the unique use of this sign for a name during the Old Kingdom it surely reflects another member of the queen's family - perhaps a sister, or a daughter.[14]

Although there is a sketch (perhaps as preparation for a statue) of a prince from Nyweserre's valley temple (Borchardt, Ne-user-Re, p.160, fig. 136), no sons of this king are known.

#### Bibliography:

Berlin 17438

Borchardt, Ne-user-Re, pp.25, 41, 108f, fig. 88

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.30 and fn.154

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.86

Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Piramide menfite VIII, pp.32, 48

PM III.1 pp.335, 340, 342 - 345

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.210ff.

Smith, CAH I/2A, p.185

Troy, Queenship, p.155

Uherek et al, Preliminary Report on Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir (1976)

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<sup>14</sup> Again, my thanks to Professor Verner for access to this material.

Vachala, ZÄS 106 (1979), p.176

Zaba, Excavation Notebook, 1961 (Eb 58, 61, 64/1 (Abb.1);  
1968 (G3, Abb.2)

#### QUEEN NWB-NBTJ

Temp. uncertain, but late Dynasty V is likely. Mariette (Mastabas, p.62) classifies her tomb as belonging to Dynasty V. The prominent use of Nbtj in the names of royal women from this period would support this dating. Her titles are also typical of those of a Fifth Dynasty queen. But, although Seipel (Königinnen, p.207) and Sabbahy (Titulary, p.94) consider that she was 'probably a Fifth Dynasty queen', Troy (Queenship, p.156) places her in the Sixth Dynasty. This is surely incorrect, especially given the structure of her name: Nbtj names were very popular for the royal women of Nyseserre's family, but I know of none in the Sixth Dynasty. Seipel (Königinnen, p.207) places her earlier in Dynasty V, and proposes her husband to be King Shepseskare, only because he thinks there is a better basis for suggesting Queen Hwtj as the wife of King Menkauhor.

Among the widely differing offering formulae from Saqqara tombs of the Fifth Dynasty there appears a close parallel between the tomb of H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-Pth (Mariette, Mastabas, p.295) and Nwb-Nbtj. The offering formulae of both are almost identical. This official was a hm ntr of Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferefre and Nyweserre. This would mean that he belonged to a date some time during (or after) Nyweserre, and thus it is likely that Nwb-Nbtj also falls within the same time frame. Using different criteria, Strudwick (Administration, p.25 and 121) also places H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-Pth in the period of the middle to late Dynasty V adding, in relation to another official, 'The name of Neweserre .. is found in the column of text .. a feature only found in the period of the reigns of Neweserre to Djedkare' (ibid. p.120).

Tomb: a stone mastaba at Saqqara (D 18) 'north of the western end of the Serapeum avenue' (Dodson, ZÄS 115 [1988], p.115) which, Mariette reports (Mastabas, p.225), was in a good condition when he inspected it. The tomb has not been fully excavated, so its size is unknown.

The mastaba's eastern face has a recess in the north-eastern section for an uninscribed false door. The entrance was in the south-east face of the mastaba. The queen's titles come from the drum above the door and the architrave.

The two interior chambers have been carefully plastered, but are without inscription. Mariette (Mastabas, p.226) was unable to find either a serdab or a false door, although he says that these may be covered with sand in the southern section of the main chamber.

Titles: On the drum of the doorway, m33t Hr Sth, hmt nswt;  
She who sees Horus and Seth, King's wife.

On the architrave above the door, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts,  
wrt hst, tsjt Hr, smrt Hr, sm3wt mrj Nbtj nswt, jm3ht hr nswt,  
Wsr hr ntr C3; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the  
hts sceptre, Greatly praised, She who sits in the presence of  
Horus, Companion of Horus, She who is joined to the one beloved  
of the Two Ladies, the King (see Fischer, JEA 60 [1974], p. 99),  
Honoured by the king, by Osiris, and by the Great God.

An unusual addition is the word 'nswt', which has been added  
in apposition to the phrase commonly recorded as sm3wt mrj Nbtj.

Nwb-Nbtj's titles and inscriptions are very similar to those  
of Queen Hwjt (Mariette, Mastabas, p.208), which would suggest  
that the queen belonged to the latter end of the Fifth Dynasty.

Prosopography: As her exact period is uncertain, Queen  
Nwb-Nbtj's family connections are not known. The affinity of her  
name with those of Princess Nbtj-rpwt, Hkrt-Nbtj, H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj,  
and Queen Rpwt-nbw suggest that there may have been a family  
connection with these royal women. In an article relating to  
Middle Kingdom names Vernus (RdÉ 23 [1971], pp.193 - 196)  
demonstrated that elements of a parent's name were sometimes  
included within the name of the child. This might have been the  
practice for the women in this royal family.

Since she was buried at Saqqara, and not Abusir, it is  
possible that she might have been the wife of Menkauhor, whose  
spouse is unknown, or that she could have been the wife of any of  
the late Fifth or, possibly, early Sixth Dynasty monarchs who  
built at Saqqara. Another possibility might be Shepseskare (as  
proposed by Seipel, Königinnen, p.207), but her dating seems to be  
contemporary with that of Queen Hwjt (see notes under Temp.  
above). As the burial of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III and IV, Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II and  
others indicate, royal wives could be buried some distance from  
the monuments of their husbands.

On two statues of S-<sup>c</sup>nhwj-Pth (CG 37 and 196) the name of  
his wife, a Princess Nwb-jb-Nbtj is inscribed. From the  
similarity of the names of both women, and the harmony between

the titles of this official and the presence of jm3ht hr Wsr on Queen Nwb-Nbtj's architrave, it might not be too speculative to think that both women come from a period late in Dynasty V. It is therefore possible that Princess Nwb-jb-Nbtj might be a relation of this queen. Although Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.120) prefers to consider Nwb-Nbtj as non-royal because of her marriage to a fairly lowly-ranked official, this is really no argument based on descent, but on impression - as she later admits (ibid. p.123). Since Nwb-jb-Nbtj does carry the title of s3t nswt nt ht.f it is most likely that she was a born princess, but whether she were Nwb-Nbtj's daughter is undetermined.

#### Bibliography:

Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.115  
 Gauthier, LR I, p.193  
 Mariette, Mastabas, pp.225f.  
 Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), pp.94 - 99  
 PM III p.122  
 Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.94  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.206 - 209  
 Troy, Queenship, p.156

#### QUEEN T3TT

Temp. uncertain - Gauthier placed her in the 'Unclassified' section of his register; Daressy thought she belonged to the Sixth Dynasty (Gauthier, LR I, p.196); Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.159) places her as a queen from the First Intermediate Period. The latest edition of PM groups her with the Middle Kingdom queens.[15]

A number of factors suggest that her floruit was likely to have been earlier than this, but it has not been easy determining it more precisely than the latter half of the Old Kingdom. Part reason for this is that her false door type had currency from Dynasty IV.3 to Dynasty VI.2 as categorised by Rusch (ZÄS 58 [1923], p.120 pl. A). Certain indications suggest an early Sixth Dynasty date, while others appear to suggest a period

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<sup>15</sup> Although PM III/2 p.736 suggests this date Dr Málek 'would now date it to the Old Kingdom, although it shows several unusual features..' (Letter dated July 10, 1990.) I am extremely grateful to Dr Málek for his reply to questions asked about the date of the stele.



earlier than this. None of the dating criteria given below provides a conclusive date, but the combined analysis suggests that the mid-Fifth Dynasty would be a more likely period for the stele.

The stele (CG 1425) is painted dark red, its hieroglyphs being picked out in yellow. (The false door of Špss-Pth is similar to this, although the hieroglyphs on his door are picked out in green.) The overall quality of the workmanship points to a time when Old Kingdom art in this genre was at its zenith. The outer door jambs carry a large-sized figure of the queen. Such a feature is characteristic of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty, but not of the Sixth (Strudwick, Administration, p.16).

A false door of similar style and colouring, belonging to a woman named Kdj, was recently discovered in Saqqara (Kanawati et. al. Saqqara I, p.48, plate 35), dated approximately to the period early Pepy I. Both on her false door, and on the adjoining offering list for Kdj (ibid. plate 36) the woman sits with her left hand outstretched towards an offering table stacked with bread loaves, and her right hand on her lap. T3tt has the same pose. The queen wears a papyrus headdress. Kdj wears a papyrus headdress similar to that of T3tt, but the loaves of bread in front of her reach beyond her shoulders to a position above her head, whereas, with T3tt, the loaves are no taller than breast high. T3tt also lacks the broad collar worn by Kdj on both her false door and her offering list representations and has a narrow collar. As Staehelin (Tracht, p.115) has observed, however, the use or decoration of the collar cannot be used for the purpose of dating, since many variations were current from Dynasties IV - VI.

The false door of T3tt lacks a torus and cornice, which, at Saqqara, first appeared in the early Fifth Dynasty (Strudwick, Administration, p.10). After the torus and cornice were introduced at Saqqara the door jambs became more regular (ibid. p.16). The jamb panels on T3tt's stele are regular, so it is more likely that the stele belongs to the time of Djedkare, or later.

The panel above the door is squarish in shape, with two shallow recesses. While Rusch (ZÄS [1923], p.120 pl. A) gives such door types a wide floruit, Strudwick observes that the squarish panel is characteristic of the later Fifth Dynasty (Administration, p.18). The panels of all the false doors found by the Australians at Saqqara are of the elongated type - a feature that is characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty.

Beneath the table where T3tt sits are the usual offerings - again, a placement indicative of the Fifth, rather than the Sixth Dynasty (*ibid.* p.21). T3tt sits in front of bread loaves that reach the height of her breast - again a Fifth Dynasty trait (*ibid.* p.20). As mentioned above, this iconography differs from the false door of Kdj and the others found at Saqqara: the Sixth Dynasty bread loaves stay at head height until the reign of Pepy II (*loc. cit.*).

Both stelae have sunken recesses on either side of their door panels. Kdj's recesses are quite narrow (sizes cannot be determined from the photograph in Kanawati et al., *Saqqara I*, pl.35), but T3tt's recesses are broad enough to incorporate a large figure of a woman in the left hand recess, while the right recess carries two small females, one standing above the other. All their names have been eradicated (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, p.107). Strudwick (*Administration*, p.22) remarks that these side recesses narrow with the advance of time: while the Fifth Dynasty recesses are wide enough to support supplementary figures, those of the Sixth Dynasty are not. This characteristic also inclines one towards a Fifth Dynasty dating of T3tt's stele.

Both the false door of Kdj and that of T3tt feature sunk relief. The use of sunk relief is typical for the period of Nyweserre onwards (Strudwick, *Administration*, p.24). The lines of the texts on T3tt's door do not display any horizontal division, whereas Kdj's texts are separated by lines. The lack of lines is indicative of a date prior to the Sixth Dynasty (*ibid.* p.23) for T3tt's stele.

In the tomb of W3š-ptḥ the earliest of what Strudwick (*ibid.* p.26) calls the 'canonical list' of offerings appeared. The 'canonical list' consisted of regular items that appeared together in the same tombs that had the torus moulding and cornice on the false door. It was probably the elaborate nature of such false doors that made it necessary to place the offering list elsewhere, for the heavy mouldings took up more space on the false doors, leaving less room for the more detailed lists that are characteristic of the Sixth Dynasty. On the other hand, the non-canonical lists feature a briefer collection of items, usually the seven sacred oils and certain cosmetic items and, as their name suggests, there was no regular pattern in which the extra items would appear. Kdj has no such offering list on her false door (Kanawati et al. *Saqqara I*, p.55), which is normal for the Sixth Dynasty. Her list, which is canonical, appears on the wall of the tomb she shares with Jrj.s (*ibid.* plate 36). The list of uncanonical offerings appears on T3tt's false door, however; her list comprised of the seven ritual oils and a few

other selected items, as was customary for the uncanonical list. Their presence on her false door cannot provide a definite date, however, since such lists continued to be used on false doors without the torus and cornice into the Sixth Dynasty.

The jambs of T3tt's door feature three panels on each side, a usage which was confined to high officials from the time of Nyweserre onwards. That these are wide, and contain a large figure of the queen, is suggestive of the period from Nyweserre to early Djedkare (*ibid.* pp.15f.).

Finally, T3tt's door contains two scenes, the butchers at work, and a short procession of offering-bearers. Such scenes on a false door are typical only of the period from Neferirkare to Nyweserre (*ibid.* p.25). They do not appear on Sixth Dynasty false doors (*ibid.* p.26). Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt's false door is perhaps the earliest to include such scenes. His door bears some comparison with that of Queen T3tt, even though there are dissimilarities (Mariette, *Mastabas*, D12). (eg. The chair on which the wife of Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt sits is identical with T3tt's chair.) This official served Sahure. The vizier W3š-Pth is another official who has such reliefs engraved on his false door. It is interesting to compare the position of W3š-Pth with that of the queen, too, for both sit with one hand on the lap, the other extended toward the offering table.

In spite of the similarities between the false door of Kdj and that of T3tt, the majority of signs are indicative of an earlier period for the queen. The absence of the distinctive torus and cornice for T3tt is accompanied by a collection of uncanonical offerings, which suggest a date somewhere in the Fifth Dynasty. It is difficult to decide the exact point within this general region because, although some features which are considered by Strudwick to have been restricted to the early part of the dynasty, some are typical of the middle period, and some could suggest a later date. On balance, these numerous indications of dating combine to suggest that the stele of Queen T3tt is likely to have been made at some period between the time of Neferirkare and Nyweserre.

Tomb: unknown, the stele was discovered by Daressy at Saqqara (specific site unmentioned), so the tomb should be in this cemetery.

Titles: hmt nswt mrt.f, jm3hw hr Wsr, jm3hw hr ntr <sup>c</sup>3; King's wife his beloved, She who is honoured by Osiris, She who is honoured by the Great God.

It is curious to see so few titles of a queen on her false door. There would have been room for more, but the space has been taken by the list of uncanonical offerings. One might wonder whether her status as royal wife were perhaps brief, or undistinguished. There are some affinities with the limited range of material present on the false door of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II. It is most odd that the ubiquitous title for the Old Kingdom, m33t Hr Sth, is missing from the panel; this title usually took first position in the string of titles for a queen in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Its absence might have been the reason for Daressy's opinion that the queen belonged to a much later period. The provision of the two essential offering scenes on her door suggests that the queen's tomb lacked other decoration.

Prosopography: No relationship can be suggested. The queen is neither included in Seipel's catalogue, nor in Troy's.

Bibliography:

Borchardt, Denkmäler I, CG1425

CG 1425

Daressy, Rec. Trav. 11 (1889), pp.82f.

Gauthier, LR I, p.196

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.159

PM III/2 p.736

QUEEN ?.

Temp. Djedkare-Isesi

Tomb: She has the largest tomb and temple complex of any queen known (Fakhry, The Pyramids, p.31). Although Fakhry conducted a brief examination of the site in 1952 he did not publish the results of his excavation. This was done by Mohammed Moursi in 1987. Maragioglio and Rinaldi also surveyed the site in the late sixties, providing detailed description and commentary. The results were interesting. The plan given by Moursi (ASAE 72 [1987], fig. 2) does not coincide completely with that of Stadelmann (Pyramiden, fig. 59), where the latter gives a smaller pyramid, this in turn making the location of the mortuary temple different. Maragioglio & Rinaldi's plan (Piramide menfite VIII, pl. 16 fig. 1) also differs from Moursi's, but is virtually identical with Stadelmann's. When János (MDAIK 45 [1989], p.198 fig. 4) published his partial plan of the temple area this, too, differed from the preceding plans. The reason for these differences lies in the extent of damage done to the monument, which in turn makes it extremely difficult to plot the monument's separate features.

Fakhry's examination revealed that the site (which showed signs of exploration from the last century) was not only damaged, but in a dangerous condition. He was able to establish, however, that part of the internal chambers of the pyramid were faced with rose-granite blocks. The huge blocks used for the roofing of the inner chambers had collapsed and further excavation would be not only difficult, but perilous (Moursi, ASAE 72 [1987], p.187). Because of the extensive damage done the exact size of the pyramid is difficult to gauge. Lepsius thought it 45 metres along each side, Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.185) gives 42 metres - but his scale indicator does not coincide with this measurement - and the Italians consider it to have been 80 cubits. By any comparison, it is much larger than any other Old Kingdom pyramid for a queen.

The mortuary temple, which measured c.46 x 35 metres (Moursi, ASAE 72 [1987], p.187) had been totally destroyed, but Fakhry was able to plot the outlines (*ibid.* fig. 45). The entire layout bears considerable resemblance to the mortuary complex of Queen Nt, from Dynasty VI. The complex is placed outside the temenos wall of the king's complex - as were other funerary monuments for queens - although the wall has been adapted to give indirect access to the northern court of the king's complex. Within the complex - but, because of its very odd position, almost added as an afterthought to the original design - is a small subsidiary pyramid, similar to those found in the complexes of Hnt-k3w.s II, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>h</sup>n.n.s I and II, Nwb-wnt,[16] Nt, Jpwt II and Wdb-tn. It measures c.4 metres along each side and was pitched at 63° (Edwards, Pyramids, p.169). A full description of the complex is available in Maragioglio and Rinaldi's work.

As was the case with the pyramid, the mortuary complex is larger than any other known for a queen. The court alone is only a little smaller than that of Djedkare's own court.

From the site hundreds of relief fragments were recovered, but few of these have been published (eleven of these in Moursi, ASAE 72 [1987], pp.191f). Some of the reliefs had been altered, and Baer (Rank and Title, p.299) proposed that this might indicate that the queen ruled herself after the death of Djedkare. On the basis of those reliefs published there is no justification for

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<sup>16</sup> Labrousse, Les Dossiers d'archéologie 146/7 (Mars 1990), p.85

this claim.

Moursi's general conclusion about the reliefs is that they must have contained more types of scenes and more decoration than the mortuary chapels of other queens (ASAE 72 [1987], p.190). This is hard to judge when so few remains of any mortuary establishments of Old Kingdom queens have been published. There are marked similarities between these reliefs and those found in the complex of Queen Jpwt, however. There are the same fragments of flying falcons and star decorations, and fragment 9 of Firth & Gunn (TPC II, pl. 55), which shows the attendants beating a path with their batons, is represented by two fragments (Moursi, op. cit. fig. 5 & 6) from the queen's mortuary temple at south Saqqara.

Jánosi first raised doubts about the authenticity of this complex as belonging to an anonymous queen in his unpublished dissertation (Pyramidenanlagen, pp.35 - 37). In that work he drew attention to the unorthodox siting of the complex in the north-eastern corner of the king's complex. This position is atypical for most tombs of royal consorts, although Pepy II's wives were buried in the north-western region of his pyramid, which was also atypical. Jánosi's observation that the size of the pyramid exceeds that of other queens, also inclines him to question the allocation of this complex to a queen. As the layout contains spaces that have no place within a queen's complex (ibid. p.36), all of these anomalies suggest to him that it was not a queen's complex at all. Djedkare's wives, he suggests, were buried at Saqqara - as may be suggested by the tomb of Queen Mr.s-Cnh IV (ibid. p.37 and fn.186).

In MDAIK 45 [1989], p.189, Jánosi raises the questions of the unusual siting of the tomb, its size in regard to other pyramids built for queens, and the position of an eastern mortuary temple when most queenly monuments had their chapels positioned against the north face of their pyramids. Jánosi further points out that the presence of columns in the court, and on four sides, instead of the two or three-sided porticoes of queenly courts, are privileges of kings, not queens in the Old Kingdom (ibid. pp.192f.). This anonymous complex had more columns than any other king's court throughout the Fifth Dynasty, he adds (ibid. p.194).

A further observation regarding the mortuary temple of this complex is that it appears to be modelled upon the complex of Nyweserre which, unlike all the kings' pyramid complexes from Sahure to Pepy II, preserved an axial alignment to the pyramid. Only Nyweserre's was skewed to the southern side of the pyramid's

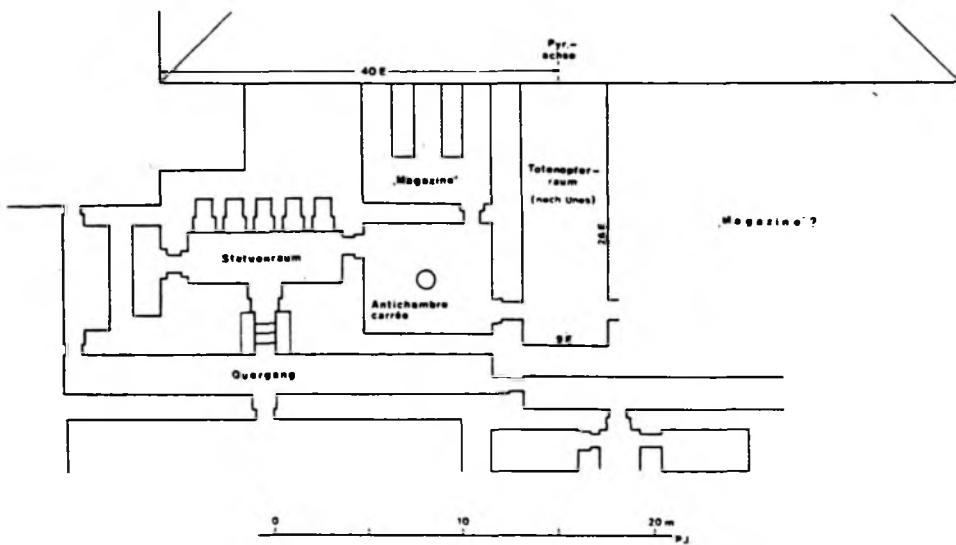


fig. 17 Plan of the mortuary complex of the satellite pyramid, near the complex of Djedkare-Isesi at South Saqqara.

- Janosi, MDAIK 45 (1989), p.198.

eastern face, and the satellite complex of Djedkare has an affinity with its plan (*ibid.* pp.194ff.).

While this complex does have certain affinities with royal male mortuary temples, there are a number of significant omissions to the structure. Most importantly, as Stadelmann (*Pyramiden*, p.184) has remarked, the complex lacks a causeway and valley temple. Such omissions are typical for the mortuary complexes of queens. He also queries the presence of a five-niched statue room and there is no evidence for this on his plan - no doubt derived from Maragioglio and Rinaldi, who express a similar hesitation regarding this room (*Piramide menfite*, p.106).

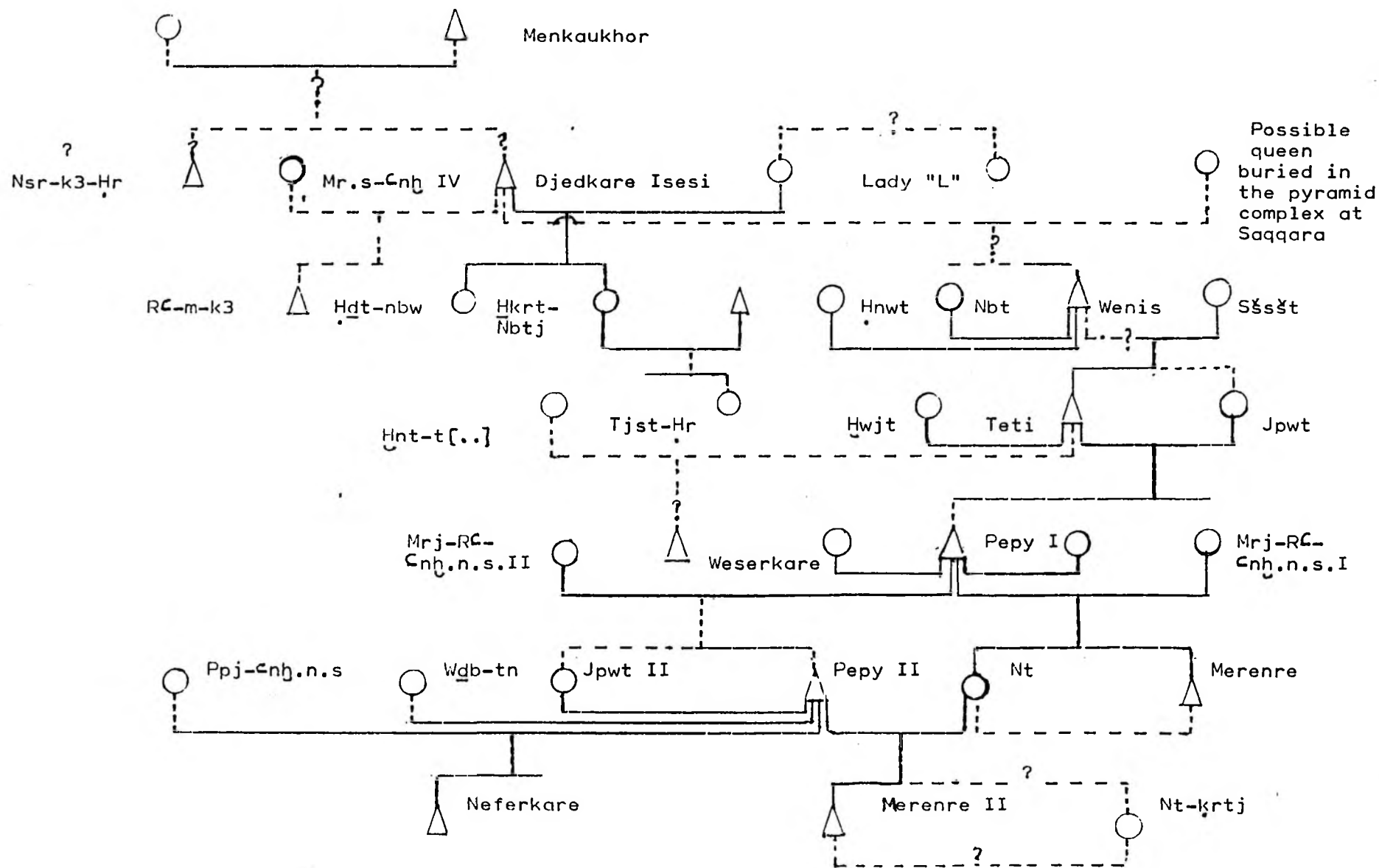
Jánosi's plan (*fig. 17*) reveals that there would have been the kingly 5-statue room but, in addition, there is a three-niched cult room (typical of queens) in its expected position against the eastern face of the pyramid. Whereas kings had five-niched cult rooms, queens only had three (Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, p.193) as a general rule. However, once again the structure of Nyweserre's five magazines (or shrines?) positioned against the eastern face of his pyramid does suggest a possible prototype for the south Saqqara monument's triple shrine. Similarly, the position of the *chambre anticarée* holds a position reminiscent of Nyweserre's model (Jánosi, *op. cit.* p.199). Other differences between this structure and the usual design of male mortuary temples are detailed in Jánosi's article (*MDAIK* 45 [1989], pp.197ff.).

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Altogether, while elements of a queen's mortuary complex here are clearly present, there are striking elements of a king's mortuary temple to be considered as well in the south Saqqara satellite complex. Plainly, however, more work must be done on the monument before one can reach any firm conclusions about the nature of the ownership of the complex. Jánosi himself comes to no decision regarding the problem (*ibid.* p.201f.). However, the close resemblance of this complex to that of Nt should be considered, as well as the parallels noticeable between this south Saqqara complex and that of Hnt-k3w.s at Abusir, which also contains a miniature pyramid (Verner, *ZÄS* 109 [1982], p.158). Finally, the few published reliefs we have from the site do mention a royal wife of Djedkare, and this, too, needs to be taken into consideration.

Titles: wrt ḥst .. Jssj (Moursi, *ASAE* 72 [1987], fig. 3), wrt ḥts, wrt ḥst, tjst [Hr], (*ibid.* fig. 12); Greatly praised .. Isesi, Great one of the ḥts sceptre, Great of praise, She who sits with Horus.





The queen's titles are fragmentary and incomplete, but they do connect the queen with Djedkare, and they do endorse the idea that a queen was represented in reliefs in this mortuary temple.

Although Moursi (ASAE 72 [1987], p.190) has proposed that fragment 12 contains 'den oberen Teil des sw-Zeichens', this seems more probable to me to be part of the title tjst Hr, as I have given it above.

Prosopography: The owner of the complex at south Saqqara is presumed to be the wife of Djedkare Isesi; no other connections are known, although the fragment of what is likely to be a decree (Moursi, ASAE 72 [1987], fig. 13) mentions a daughter who might have some connection to the queen.

It has been suggested by Baer (Rank and Title, p.299) that perhaps the widow of Djedkare Isesi survived the king and attempted to rule the kingdom. This might be an explanation for some of the peculiarities of the temple structure, but it does not account for the altered nature of the reliefs as published so far (contra Baer, Rank and Title, p.299).

Although numbers of children of King Djedkare are known (see Genealogy 4), not all of them can be connected to specific mothers. It appears that this king had more than one wife.

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If we are to identify the owners of pyramids with the mothers of kings and, if this complex at south Saqqara does belong to a queen, then it is suggested that she may have been the mother of Wenis, since the complex is later than that of Djedkare Isesi. The names of the mothers of all kings of the Sixth Dynasty, excepting Weserkare, are known.

#### Bibliography:

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Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.125

Edwards, Pyramids, p.169

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Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.159

Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Piramide menfite VIII, pp.98 - 106

Notizie, pp.38 - 42, Tav. 6

Moursi, ASAE 72 (1987), pp.185 - 193

Stadelmann, Pyramiden, pp.183f.

QUEEN MR.S-<sup>c</sup>NH IV

Temp. Djedkare Isesi; Mariette (Mastabas, p.60) classifies her tomb as Dynsty V. Mariette found no inscribed material other than the false door and, due to the very poor condition of the tomb, dating is difficult.

Tomb: Limestone mastaba at Saqqara (ibid. D 5), located 'close to the north wall of the Step Pyramid enclosure' (Dodson, ZÄS 115 [1988], p.125), Her false door was found here by Mariette (Mastabas, p.183). The stone for that was of such poor quality that stucco had to be applied before the inscription could be cut. Mariette recorded that so much of this stucco had dropped off that his team arrived just in time to save the rest from complete collapse.

The tomb consists of low-grade limestone which has deteriorated with age. It is not dissimilar to the Giza tomb of Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p II in appearance, but has a serdab and two-niched chapel. There is some affinity with Saqqara tomb D 3, which belongs to R<sup>c</sup>-m-k3. Two painted registers with singers remain of the decoration (Quibell, Saqqarah, p.24).

As can be gathered from Mariette's remarks, the queen's tomb was made from poor materials, doubtless due to economic considerations. Perhaps she outlived her husband and had to provide her own mortuary establishment, as certain previous queens had done.

Seipel's conjecture (Königinnen, p.221f.) about this queen has very little basis: we cannot assume that the anonymous complex adjacent to Djedkare's at south Saqqara was originally intended for Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV. Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh's Saqqara mastaba may indicate only that she survived the king and had to provide her own tomb. To date there has been no mention of her name either from Djedkare's complex, or from the anonymous one.

Titles: m33 Hr St<sub>h</sub>, wrt h<sub>ts</sub>, wrt h<sub>st</sub>, tjst Hr, smrt Hr, sm3wt mrj Nbtj, hmt ntr I3-spf, ht Hr, hrp[t] sšmt šndt, hmt ntr Dhwtj, hmt nswt; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the h<sub>ts</sub> sceptre, Great of praise, She who sits with Horus, Companion of Horus, She who is united with the one beloved of the Two Ladies, Priestess of Tjasepf, Follower of Horus, Controller of the butchers of the sndt, Priestess of Thoth, King's wife.

The above titles are recorded in two consecutive vertical rows of sunken hieroglyphs on each jamb of the false door of the queen.

The order of titles is identical on both.

Prosopography: Her family connections are not certain at all. She is alleged to be the wife of Djedkare Isesi, but there is no evidence, other than similarity of tomb types, which might suggest this link. It has also been claimed that she was the mother of the princes Jssj-<sup>c</sup>nh, R<sup>c</sup>-m-k3 and Prince K3-m-tnt (Reisner, Development, p.407f). In fact the first and last of these three men were merely titular princes (see Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.88 and 63), and therefore could not have been her sons. The tomb of the alleged remaining son, Prince R<sup>c</sup>-m-k3 (D 3), is near that of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV. R<sup>c</sup>-m-k3 was entitled rp<sup>c</sup>-t, s3 nswt smsw n ht.f, which makes him one of the few king's sons known for the Fifth Dynasty, and his proximity to the queen does suggest a possibility of a relationship, although this can not be pressed too far in the absence of evidence.

Another prince who could perhaps be the son of this king is Nsr-k3w-Hr, whose statue and door lintel were found at Abusir (Verner, ZÄS 105 [1978], p.159; idem. 107 [1980], pp.164f.). Nsr-k3w-Hr possessed exactly the same titles as R<sup>c</sup>-m-k3, but his paternity is uncertain. The identity of the mother of Wenis is also unknown, but see the final paragraph of the previous prosopography.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.87f.) has challenged the identity of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV as the wife of Djedkare, on the grounds that her titulary is far closer to those of the queens of the Fourth Dynasty, rather than the Fifth. This is no doubt true, but it must be remembered that all of the queens of the Fifth Dynasty are known only by very damaged titularies. Because of the numbers of fragments found containing her name, Queen Hnt-k3w.s II appears to have had a richer titulary than the others, and she, too, holds similar titles to those of Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV. Another queen who held one of the more unusual titles held by Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh IV is Queen Sšššt, whose meagre remains display the title of hmt ntr T3-spf. Hmt ntr Dhwtj would certainly accompany that. Both those titles are found in conjunction with hrp sšmt šndt, as we see in the instance of Hnt-k3w.s II, so there is some evidence contrary to Kuchman Sabbahy's view. It could possibly be the case that other queens from this period would reveal similar titulary were their monuments more systematically excavated. As it is, it should be borne in mind that Reisner dated the queen according to her tomb's architecture, and the surrounding tombs were thought to belong to the same period.

#### Bibliography:

Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.125

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 Mariette, Mastabas, pp.182f.  
 PM III/2 p.488  
 Quibell, Saqqarah, p.24  
 Reisner, Development, 407f.  
 de Rougé, Inscrip. hiero., plate lxxvii  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.218 - 225  
 Troy, Queenship, p.155

#### QUEEN HWJT I

Temp. late Dynasty V? The circumstances of the cemetery seem to indicate this date (Reisner, Giza I, p.404).

Tomb: D 14 Saqqara (Mariette, Mastabas, p.207f.) Dodson (ZAS 115 [1988], p.125) places the tomb 'north of the eastern end of the Serapeum'. The tomb is badly damaged and some of the titles alleged for the queen have been recorded from separate blocks.

Titles: s3t n[t] nswt Hwjt; King's Daughter of? Hwjt; title on the door drum of D 14. For a discussion on this title see Chapter 2, pp.43f.

hmt nswt mrt.f, jm3hwt hr Wsr, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht Wr; King's wife his beloved, She who is honoured by Osiris, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Follower of the Great One.

The second group of titles appear on the right corridor wall of the remains of the tomb D 14. It is the first occasion on which the ht Wr title appears; for discussion on this see the Chapter 2 (C3.2).

In addition to these titles others were found in the tomb. These are discussed below in the prosopographical entry. To me they do not seem to form part of this queen's titulary.

Prosopography: Seipel's suggestions for the relationships of this queen are very conjectural and questionable; there is no evidence to support even one of the links he gives (Königinnen, p.214). Apart from the great difficulty in assigning this queen even an approximate tempus we are hampered by the nature of her records. Because of the depredations of the tomb's limestone blocks we have few pieces of evidence relating to this queen. Indeed, if the tomb were not hers (see below) then Hwjt I may have been identical with Hwjt II, wife of Teti. Although the references to 's3t nswt n Hwjt' (a peculiar construction) might

suggest that a daughter may have been born to the queen, there are no known connexions with anyone else.

Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, pp.37, 112) has claimed that 's3t n nswt Hwjt' is not a true princess because of the unusual title. The citation comes from the central drum (Mariette, Mastabas, p.208). The original phrase may, however, refer to an (unnamed) princess as being a daughter of Hwjt. If so, she must have been the tomb owner. For further discussion on this title see p.34 Chapter 2. Meyer (SAK 11 [1984], p.258) has observed that this title does appear later, and is an abbreviation of s3t nswt nt ht.f.

There is a similar situation with the identification of rht nswt for Queen Hwjt. One record comes from a damaged block where the inscription is incomplete, but this has part of a relief of a woman standing smelling a lotus. It is because Mariette has said that the figure was the queen that the title, rht nswt - without the identification of 'King's Wife' - had been taken to be hers. I would suggest that, even as in Bw-nfr's tomb a loose block was alleged to portray the queen, so this one here has no specific reference to the queen, but possibly depicts one of her relatives, or courtiers. This becomes more apparent when we read that it is part of a 'petit bas-relief' - precisely the same circumstances as were observed in Bw-nfr's tomb (for details of which see her prosopographical entry), where the figures were of attendants in a register, not a major scene featuring the queen.

A second block reveals a different situation. The last-mentioned fragment of the bas-relief reads 'jmj' (perhaps jmj3hwt), followed by hr, then the queen's title and name. It is not certain what the original phrase might have been; perhaps it did not all refer to the queen. A similar phrase appears on the right side of the corridor (together with the queen's titles), where it was followed by the name of Osiris. From the tomb of Queen Nbt another example of hr without the name of anyone other than the queen appears; perhaps this reflects some scribal custom acceptable at that time.

#### Bibliography:

- Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.95  
 Mariette, Mastabas, pp.207f.  
 PM III/2 p.397  
 Reisner, Giza I, p.404, plate II  
 Schmitz, S3-NJSWT, pp.37, 112  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.213 - 217

#### QUEEN NBT

### Temp. Wenis

Tomb: a large mastaba (21.90m x 25m) to the east of the pyramid of King Wenis at Saqqara; it lies adjacent to the mastaba Queen Hnwt (see Bieger et al. SAK 1 [1974], p.38). In the opinion of its more recent excavators, the two tombs should be seen as an integrated double construction - unless some unforeseen, but major indication should prove otherwise (Bieger et al. op. cit. p.38).

The tomb was discovered and excavated by Zaky Saad in 1940 (Saad, ASAE 40 [1940] 683 - 68 plus plates). Since then it has been more systematically studied by Bieger, Munro and Brinks (SAK 1 [1974], pp.34 - 54), whose detailed report can only be briefly summarised here. (Their ultimate publication is still in preparation.) The tomb's architectural features are quite well-preserved. There is a large court, six deep magazines, two rooms and two chapels. All the magazines have traces remaining of bolted doors having been open and shut frequently (*ibid.* p.42). We could assume from this that the mortuary cult was maintained for some time after the demise of the queen.

The layout of these two mastabas has an especial significance for funerary architecture. From the remains of earlier examples of the pyramids of queens it is apparent that their chapels differed markedly from the internal arrangements found in the previous mastaba or rock-cut tombs of queens. In regard to the double mastaba of Hwjt and Nbt, János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.38) has observed that

'Die Gestaltung und Abfolge der Innenräume läßt bereits deutlich Anlehnung an die Totentempel der Königinnen der 6. Dynastie erkennen. Dieser Umstand stellt die Doppelmastaba in eine einmalige Architektursynthese zwischen die Totentempel der Königinnen und der privaten Grabarchitektur.'

Irrespective of this elevation to their mortuary status, the tombs of neither queen was placed in direct contact with the king's own mortuary establishment (*ibid.* p.37).

The burial chamber was reached by a shaft that descended from the court. On the northern section of the west wall of the court is a monolithic false door, from which the queen's titles come. Another false door was in the chapel south of the

statue-niches, but this has been reduced to a few inscriptions on the upper part only (Saad, ASAE 40 [1940], p.683f.).

The most striking feature of one of the chapel rooms is that it contains four statue-niches (ibid. p.684). One of these niches contains the cartouche of the king and may imply that his statue was placed there (Kuchman Sabbahy, GM 52 [1981], p.38). A side room exists next to the main chapel and, in this little room reliefs relating to a private man were displayed (Bieger et al. op. cit. p.44). He might have been related to the queen.

Throughout the chapel the walls were once lined with fine Tura limestone and carved in low relief of excellent workmanship, many of these blocks still remain, but they have not, as yet, been published. Originally the reliefs were painted - some traces of colour are still left.

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht Wr, smrt Hr mrt.f, jm3hwt hr.; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Follower of the Great One, Companion of Horus his beloved, She who is honoured by...

These titles appear on the west wall of the second room of Nbt's tomb (Kuchman-Kuchman Sabbahy, GM 52 [1981], p.38). Of particular interest is the title ht Wr, which Kuchman-Kuchman Sabbahy (ibid. pp.38f.) suggests should be translated by 'follower of the Great One'. Kuchman Sabbahy draws an appropriate parallel with the title 'wr' for the king in the Pyramid Texts (ibid. p.39). (For further discussion see pp.78f, Chapter 2.)

Another point of interest here, in view of the comments made concerning Queen Hwt (above) is the phrase jm3hwt hr, also present without a object in this inscription from Nbt's second room. For comment on this see the ultimate paragraph in Hwt I's entry.

On her false door (only one now remains, published by Fischer, JEA 60 [1974], p.95) the outer jambs contain the longest titular string is preserved, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, sm3[wt] Nbtj mrt.f, hmt nswt mrt.f, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, He loves her who is joined to the Nbtj, King's wife, his beloved.

In this last title Fischer has pointed out its unique status among the various examples of the title sm3[wt] Nbtj (Fischer, op. cit. p.96). On the other side of the door the string is repeated, this time with the usual sm3[wt] mrj Nbtj, She who is joined to him who is beloved of the Nbtj.



Across the top of the false door Nbt carries the titles, smrt Hr, tsjt Hr, hmt nswt mrt.f, hr(?) Nbt; Companion of Horus, She who sits with Horus, King's wife, his beloved, Honoured by [the king ?].

Prosopography: Although Saad (ASAE 40 [1940], p.688 - 693) has suggested quite an extensive set of relationships centering around the vizier, Mhw, this scheme is not valid. Wilson (JNES 13 [1954], pp.263f.) has shown that these relationships could not have existed because Mhw is of much later date than Nbt. (He belongs to the time of Pepy I.)

Nbt was the wife of King Wenis. Other relationships are unknown, although the presence of an official's name and titles in the small room off the chapel might imply that the queen had some connection with him. Munro has suggested that he could be either the brother or the father of the queen (Bieger et al. SAK 1 [1974], p.50). His name is unknown, but his sons were Wns-<sup>c</sup>nh, and Hnnj.

#### Bibliography:

Bieger, Munro & Brinks, SAK 1 (1974), pp.34 - 54

Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), pp.94 - 99

Varia, p.70

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.37f.

Junker, Giza V, p.185 and fig. 57

Kuchman Sabbahy, GM 52 (1981), pp.37 - 42

Titulary, pp.90 - 93

PM III.2, p.625

Saad, ASAE 40 (1940), pp.683 - 693, plus plates

Schweitzer, Orientalia 17 (1948), p.262, plate XVI

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.236 - 239

Smith, CAH I/2A, p.188

Troy, Queenship, p.155

Wilson, JNES 13 (1954), pp.263f.

Wreszninski, Atlas III, plate 11

#### QUEEN HNWT

##### Temp. Wenis

Tomb: a stone mastaba of considerable size (21.80m x 24.20m) situated close to the mastaba of Nbt. (See above for illustration and plan.) Like the tomb of Nbt that of Hnwt was decorated with finely carved blocks in low relief, but fewer of her decorations remain. They have not been published.

The mastaba itself is in a much worse condition than that of Nbt and, up to the present, it has not been exhaustively re-examined, as that of Nbt has. Bieger et al. (SAK 1 [1974], p.45) consider that the two plans may be considered similar until results prove otherwise. The authors' view is that the queens seem to have been treated equally by their joint husband, but final details were not available at the time the article was written (ibid. p.37).

An interesting item in relation to Hnwt's tomb is the presence of numerous small recesses scooped out of the blocks around the entrance to her tomb (ibid. p.51). The investigators concluded that the hollows had been once closed off by tiny false doors. They also think that these miniature items could be viewed in relation to the little offering cups found there. Munro considers that these exterior shrines avoided the necessity of the petitioner having to actually enter the tomb. He wonders if these unusual circumstances provide further evidence for the veneration of queens as goddesses (ibid. p.52).

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, hts wrt, wrt hst, tsjt Hr, smrt Hr mrt.f, hmt nswt, jm3hwt hr nswt; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, She who sits with Horus, Companion of Horus his beloved, Honoured by the king.

Hnwt's titulary is much sparser than that of Nbt, but this seems entirely due to the fragmentary nature of the tomb remains. The titles given above are a composite compilation from three separate reliefs in her tomb, sections of the titles missing in each instance. The longest string appears in relief on the outer jambs of the door to her tomb (Kuchman-Sabbahy, GM 52 [1981], p.37).[17] Quite unusual is the title of smrt Hr mrt.f - the first occasion on which this title is known to have been given. It appears rarely after this time (see discussion p.76 Chapter 2). It may denote a more important queen at this time.

Hmt nswt; King's wife, on a loose block from the tomb.

Prosopography: Only her marriage to King Wenis is known. The smrt Hr mrt.f title, together with the site of her tomb in close proximity to that of Wenis, perhaps could suggest a more

<sup>17</sup> Troy, (Queenship, p.155) refers to them as being on her falsedoor.

important queen than Nbt, although the suspicion is slight.

#### Bibliography:

Bieger, Munro & Brinks, SAK 1 (1974), pp.34 - 54

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.37f.

Saad, ASAE 40 (1940), pp.684f.

Kuchman Sabbahy, GM 52 (1981), pp.37 - 42

Titulary, pp.89

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.240ff.

Smith, CAH I/2A, p.188

Troy, Queenship, p.155

#### QUEEN SŠŠŠT

Temp. Wenis to Teti

Tomb: unknown

Titles: mwt nswt Ttj, mwt nswt bjtj Ttj, hmt ntr I3-spf;

Mother of King Teti, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Teti, Priestess of Tjasepef.

These inscriptions come from several sources. She is mentioned in the Ebers Papyrus as mwt nswt Ttj. Her name is also mentioned as the mother of an unnamed king in the tomb of Mhw (Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines, p.422f).

A block found in the south-west magazine area of Pepy's temple at south Saqqara (Leclant, Orientalia 43 [1974], p.184 fig. 25) is entitled mwt nswt bjtj, and Teti's Horus name is next to this. Although SŠššt's name is missing from this block the titles of the queen are shown in conjunction with the Horus name of Teti, whom we know from Papyrus Ebers to have been her son.

The name SŠššt also appears on a block found at Saqqara in Teti's mortuary temple (Quibell, Saqqarah, p.112, plate LIV). This relief also features a head of the queen, together with the title hmt ntr I3-spf, Priestess of Tjasepef. Because she carries this title the woman referred to cannot be 'Princess Seshet', as Quibell thought, since this title is only found with queens, not princesses (see also Federn, Orientalia 5 [1936], p.381). Part of the 'mr' sign remains on this fragment, and one would expect 'hmt nswt mrt.f' to have been the missing title here. Seipel (Königinnen, pp.263ff.) takes this inscription to be that of a second queen of that name. While it is possible that there was a second queen named SŠššt (it certainly became a

popular name in the time of Teti and Pepy I), it is equally possible that the queen here referred to was the king's mother. As we know in the instances of Hnt-k3w.s I and II, it is not unusual for the king's mother to be represented in the mortuary temple of her son. Queen Hwjt II and Queen Jpwt I are known to have been the wives of Teti, and both their tombs have been found in his complex precincts. 'Sšsšt II', were she Teti's wife, should also have her tomb nearby, but - perhaps because the site has not been fully excavated yet - no tomb remains for the alleged wife have as yet been found there. As no other information of a queen of this name being the wife of Teti has been forthcoming, it may be less complicated for the time being to assign the reference on this block to the mother of Teti.

The block has been damaged deliberately, for the eyes of the queen have been gouged out. Another block (Leclant, Orientalia 43 [1974], p.184 fig.25.), featuring Teti's mother's title of mw.t nswt bjtj, was found recently in the complex of Pepy I at south Saqqara: it also had been deliberately damaged, then recarved on its opposite face.[18] Such deliberate damage may have been done by contemporaries, as Seipel (Königinnen, p.231) has suggested. However, his assumption that the blocks found by the French at south Saqqara contained the titles 'hm.t njswt mw.t njswt Ttj' cannot be verified in the article to which he refers (ie. Lauer, CRAIBL [1970], p.501), or in any other publications relating to this queen (see, for example, Leclant's summary in Recherches dans la pyramide .. Pepi Ier, pp.8f).

Seipel (ibid. p.227) also claims the title of s3t ntr for this queen, referring to a fragment recorded in Gunn's Mss Notebook, (No.20 p.43, No.118). No name is present on this fragment (see Lauer & Leclant, Temple Haut Teti, p.91 fig.88). Perhaps Seipel was influenced by another relief fragment recorded by Gunn (see Lauer & Leclant, op. cit. p.90 fig.87), which shows part of two female figures, one of them accompanied by the 'sš' sign which introduces the name of this queen. (It may or may not represent this queen; given the number of royal females of this epoch who do hold that name it could refer to one of Teti's daughters.) The two fragments are not part of the same scene. The s3t ntr title in fig.88 could have been a reference to any of Teti's female relatives, since the fragment comes from the mortuary temple of Teti.

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<sup>18</sup> I am indebted to Dr Peter János for a photograph of both sides of this block, published first by Leclant in Orientalia 43.

Prosopography, Queen Sšššt appears to have been the mother of King Teti, as is implied from a reference in the Ebers Papyrus, where the queen is mentioned in connection with a recipe for long hair (Yoyotte, BIFAO 57 (1957), pp.94 - 98). As Seipel (Königinnen, p.230) has strongly argued, the funerary domain names with Sšššt as mwt nswt in the tomb of Mḥw clearly link the queen with both Wenis and Teti (see also Altenmüller, Festschrift, pp.9f). Seipel (op. cit. p.232) argues, too, that the evidence from the mortuary temple of Pepy I would suggest that this king was setting up at his monument a memorial to his grandmother, which explains the remains with the title 'mwt nswt bjtj Ttj' found by Leclant (Orientalia 40 [1971], p.184 fig.23). Seipel considers that the fragment found was evidence of a pious foundation set up by Pepy for his grandmother. If this suggestion is correct, the need for a memorial might have been prompted by the queen's original monument having been destroyed, he adds (Königinnen, p.232).

Sšššt's relationship to Wenis is not known. She may have been his wife, but her tomb does not appear to have been sited near those of Nbt and Ḥnwt. Seipel (Königinnen, p.231) has already pointed out that the damage on Sšššt's remaining monuments is noticeable, and he thinks this is due to political disturbances encountered during Teti's reign. As Sšššt also carries the title of mwt nswt bjtj - a title held by queens who heralded a new dynasty, or who lived during times of some political disturbance (see Chapter 2 p.34f), we might anticipate that there was perhaps some hiatus between the reigns of Djedkare and Wenis that made the reinforced title of mwt nswt bjtj desirable for Teti's mother. Lauer (ASAE 39 [1939], p.454) also promotes this idea of a dynastic break between Djedkare and Wenis, on the grounds of archaeological material. If the s3t ntr title mentioned in Gunn's Notebook does refer to Sšššt it would be another instance of this title appearing at a time when some interruption to the normal dynastic inheritance might have taken place.

Although Seipel (Königinnen, pp.229f.) and the present writer think it possible that Sšššt may have been the wife of Wenis, Altenmüller (Festschrift, pp.7ff.) has proposed that Teti's father may have been not Wenis, but a noble named Špsj-pw-Pth. His basis for this proposed relationship lies in the domains mentioned in the tomb of Mḥw. Of the forty domains mentioned in the tomb thirty-five of these are connected to the names of kings, two mention Sšššt, one with Mḥw, and two with Špsj-pw-Pth, an official who held the titles of rpꜥt and h3tj-ꜥ, but whose inscriptions are too damaged for further reading. Altenmüller suggests that, as domains formed with the names of

private people were never present in tombs where domain names connected to either court or official persons were listed, Špsj-pw-Pth must have had a rank similar to the elevated rank of Sšsšt (ibid. p.8). Altenmüller considers that, as the domains mentioned were adjacent fields in the same nome, this was further indication of some close connexion between the queen and this official. He suggests that their relationship could have been that of husband and wife (ibid. p.13).

Altenmüller's theory is very interesting, but a number of points have introduced weaknesses into the argument. Firstly, Altenmüller says that domain names of private persons were not to be found with high court officials yet, if Špsj-pw-Pth had the titles of rp<sup>c</sup>t and h3tj-<sup>c</sup> one would expect him to have held quite a high rank within the court. Secondly, if Špsj-pw-Pth donated the tomb to Mhw (as seems evident from the inscription discussed by Altenmüller [ibid. p.11f.]), then it is not so strange that his name should be included among the list of offerings. Thirdly, if Špsj-pw-Pth had been the father of Mhw, as Altenmüller proposes, one might expect this relationship to be mentioned in the tomb. In some other cases of similar donation such relationships are usually made plain (eg. Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III and her mother, H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj II and her mother, D<sup>c</sup>w and his father (Davies, Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, Vol. II).

Finally, there is an internal weakness in Altenmüller's argument regarding the proposed marriage of Sšsšt and Špsj-pw-Pth. From proposing that the proximity of their estates suggested an 'engen persönlichen Verhältnis' (which in itself is at least questionable) he then says, 'Die Annahme, daß Schepsipuptah seine Autorität über diese "Königsmutter" Sescheschet gewonnen hat, ist daher sehr wahrscheinlich. Schepsipuptah müßte dann als der Ehemann der "Königsmutter" Sescheschet gelten und wäre als solcher der Vater des Teti.' (ibid. p.13). Given the argument already presented, this is an unfounded statement. Nothing connects these two persons; only the proximity of domain nomes offers a slight clue. If we are to accept that this thread indicates a relationship, why should that not be a sibling, or avuncular relationship? If Teti were a king who founded a dynasty (as indeed Manetho says), then it would be quite proper for him to have promoted the standing of an uncle, or other distant relative. As Sšsšt's origins are as yet undetermined we really cannot assume that her origins were bourgeois. Indeed, as her title of hmt ntr I3-spf suggests, she may have been the direct descendant of another queen (see paragraph below), for hers is the last occasion on which this title is attested. The other family relationships suggested by Altenmüller (ibid. pp.14 - 18) certainly seem more likely than

the one he has suggested for Sšššt.

The title of hmt ntr T3-spf for Queen Sšššt was a title held by the wives of kings. No princess is known to have held it. Its meaning and purpose is at this stage unknown, but it seems to appear in pairs associated with queens and their daughters who were also queens. It is thought to be a priesthood for a royal fertility cult and, with its link between queen and queen, might be connected to descent in the female line. Prominent examples are Queen Htp-ḥr.s II and her daughter, Mr.s-ḥnh III, and Hḥ-mrr-Nbtj I and II. Other queens (such as Hnt-k3w.s I, Bw-nfr and Mr.s-ḥnh IV) also have these titles, but can not always be 'paired' with another queen.[19], Sšššt, too, could have been in a mother-daughter relationship with another queen. Mr.s-ḥnh IV was a queen from this general period who possessed such a title. If she were the wife of Djedkare Isesi, as has been proposed, she would be in a suitable position to be the mother of Queen Sšššt. The titles of priestess of T3-spf and B3-pf were not part of the titulary for other queens of Dynasty VI, as far as we can tell.

As frequently happened with previous queens who were entitled mwt nswt bjtj, the name of Queen Sšššt was popular among succeeding generations. A number of royal and non-royal women were named after her. Among these were Princess Sšššt, wife of Mrrw-k3 (Teti's vizier), who is likely to have been her granddaughter. As Nims (JAOS 58 (1938), p.644) has remarked, no less than a further three princesses, all thought to be daughters of Teti, have the name of Sšššt. They are, s3t nswt nt ht.f Sšššt, wife of Špss-Pth (Quibell & Hayter, Teti Pyramid North Side, pp.20 - 23); s3t nswt nt ht.f Nb-ht-Nbtj, rn.s nfr Sšššt, wife of K3-gmnj (von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kaj, pl. XXf.); and s3t nswt nt ht.f smswt Sšššt, wife of Nfr-sšm-Pth (Capart, Un rue de tombeaux, pl.XCVII), all mentioned in Nims (JAOS 58 [1938], p.646 n.40).

Pepy I was the grandson of Queen Sšššt (see Genealogy 5).

#### Bibliography:

- Altenmüller, Festschrift Jurgen von Beckerath, pp.1 - 20  
 Ebers, ZAS 12 (1874), p.4  
 Federn, Orientalia 5 (1936), pp.379 - 384  
 Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines funéraires, pp.422f.

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<sup>19</sup> Hnt-k3w.s I might well have been the mother of Bw-nfr, however.

- Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, p.37 fn.188
- Lauer, CRAIBL (1970), pp.498, 501 pl. IXc  
CRAIBL (1973), p.330
- Lauer & Leclant, Temple haut Teti, p.98
- Leclant, Recherches dans la pyramide .. Pepi Ier, p.8f.  
Orientalia 40 (1971), p.233 and fig.23  
Orientalia 43 (1974), p.184, fig.25  
Orientalia 44 (1975), p.208 n.66
- Nims, JAOS 58 (1938), pp.638 - 647
- Papyrus Ebers, 66. 16
- Quibell, Saqqarah (1909), p.112 pl. LIV
- Seipel, Königinnen, pp.225 - 234; 263ff.
- Yoyotte, RdE 7 (1950), p.184f,  
BIFAO 57 (1958) pp.94 - 98



# DYNASTY VI

## QUEEN HNT-T[...]

Temp. (?) Djedkare - Pepy I. The only known reference to this queen comes from a block found by the French at south Saqqara. The fact that the block was discovered in a foundation wall of Pepy I's mortuary temple fixes the terminus ad quem for this queen. Her terminus a quo is more difficult to determine. Seipel (Königinnen, pp.245f.) has suggested that she was the mother of Weserkare and therefore belonged to the time of Teti.

Tomb: unknown, but both Lauer and Leclant consider it possible that the queen's monument lay not far from Pepy's pyramid. This suggestion seems unlikely, since (as she carries the mwt nswt bjtj title prior to the building of his temple) she could not have been Pepy's wife. Her tomb should lie near that of another king.

Seipel (Königinnen, p.247) has proposed that the queen might once have owned a tomb in the vicinity of Teti's pyramid, for, near Hntj-k3's mastaba, there are the remains of a demolished structure (Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Notizie, pl. 7). The tomb of Hntj-k3 - which lies to the north-east of Teti's complex - also contains evidence of an alteration to his tomb (János, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.43f; James & Apted, Khentika pp.16ff. and figs. 7a and 7b). The dimensions of this are difficult to judge (János, Pyramidenanlagen, p.44).

This destroyed structure is in alignment with the tombs of Jpwt and Hwjt II, and may have been a tomb for another wife of Teti (ibid. p.46; Seipel, Königinnen, p.247). János thinks it possible that either Weserkare or Pepy I might have been responsible for the removal of the monument but, since Pepy was responsible for the alteration of his mother's mastaba in the same cemetery, it is very likely that he was also the king instrumental in the removal of the tomb which could have belonged to another wife of Teti. From the absence of evidence relating to Weserkare it is evident that Pepy did not wish to be reminded of his predecessor, Weserkare, and this suggests that, if the destroyed tomb originally belonged to a queen, she might have been the mother of Weserkare (János, loc. cit.; Seipel, Königinnen, p.245).

Titles: mwt nswt bjtj; Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The only relief fragment to mention this queen, contains the alternative writing of the mwt between the reed and the bee hieroglyphs, followed by the name of the queen (Lauer, CRAIBL 1970, p.501). Lauer thought the block may have the beginnings of a title for a queen in the hntt inscription there, but there is no known title for an Old Kingdom queen with the [hnt], sign, and it is customary for the title of King's Mother to be followed by the woman's name. It is a name unfamiliar for the Sixth Dynasty, but may be linked to the name of Hnt-tn-k3, who was the wife of Djedefre. A second fragment, containing the name of S3 R<sup>c</sup> Itj, and featuring the title mwt nswt bjt, has been alleged by Seipel (Königinnen, p.243) to refer to this queen. Since mwt nswt bjtj Sšsšt has a clearer claim to this title the inscription on that block is more likely to refer to her.

Given the suggested propagandist nature of the mwt nswt bjtj title (see pp.34 f.), the appearance of this title corresponds with the troubled history of the Sixth Dynasty. Including Queen Sšsšt, no less than six of the known queens for the Sixth dynasty possessed this title, and its appearance always coincides with some hiatus in the customary pattern of patrilinear inheritance.

Prosopography: The block published by Lauer came from a trench cut along the east-west axis of the pyramid of Pepy I at south Saqqara. It was found to be part of the foundations of the east wall of the masonry which is placed between the sanctuary of offerings and the 5 - statue room of Pepy's mortuary temple (Leclant, Recherches, p.19). Although Leclant considered that it might have been part of a pyramid belonging to Teti's mother, this is unlikely, as his mother was Queen Sšsšt. The block had been used as fill for the masonry wall (Lauer, BSFÉ 52 p.26), but where did it come from? Hnt.t[...]'s memorial must have been erected somewhere at south Saqqara, as Lauer suggested.

Although we know the names of the mothers of Kings Teti, Pepy I, Merenre I, Pepy II, Merenre II and Neferkare, we do not know the name of the mother of Weserkare. The names of some of the mothers of the earlier Fifth Dynasty kings are also known, but the later ones are not. The block is likely to have been contemporary with the late Fifth to early Sixth Dynasty. Since the block was damaged and used as fill it suggests a damnatio by Pepy I, and the king's mother most likely to have her memorial destroyed by him would be the mother of Weserkare. Seipel (Königinnen, pp.245f.) was the first to make this suggestion. He also suggested (ibid. p.246) that this queen may have been the one involved in the harim trial mentioned by the official Wnj, a view already held by the present writer.

Weserkare has been thought to be the son of King Teti since the Abydos and Turin king lists place him as the successor to that king. It has been suggested that his memory may have suffered some damnatio (see Stock, Erste Zwischenzeit, pp.30f; Seipel, Königinnen, p.245; Kanawati, GM 83 [1984], pp.31 - 37). His name and history, however, are unknown, due to the paucity of references to him.[1]

See the prosopography for Queen Y (infra) for additional material possibly referring to this queen.

#### Bibliography:

Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.44 - 47

Lauer, BSFÉ 52 (1968), p.27

Leclant, Recherches dans la pyramide .. Pepi Ier, p.18

Seipel, Königinnen, pp.243 - 250

#### QUEEN HW[JT]. II

Temp. Teti to Pepy. There is doubt over the identity of this queen. The queen's name retains only the initial hieroglyphs, and the above restoration is conjectural. If this is her name, this queen could either be identical to the queen mentioned in D 14 at Saqqara (see discussion under the prosopography of Hwjt I), or she could be another individual. Since the tomb sites are separate, and the name of this queen incomplete, the identities of the queens have been kept separate here.

Tomb: a large monument at Saqqara, close to the mortuary temple of King Teti. Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.192) refers to her monument as a pyramid - perhaps under the impression that it was of similar structure to the tomb of Jpwt nearby - but Loret (BIÉ 3 [1899], p.94) throughout refers to the tomb as a mastaba. It is not considered to be a pyramid by Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.43).

In their remarks on this monument Maragioglio and Rinaldi (Notizie, p.55) stress that the enormous pile of debris lying above the monument makes it impossible to say whether or not one could suppose that a pyramid lies beneath it. For the same

<sup>1</sup> Helck (Geschichte, pp.71f.) sees him as a possible regent for Pepy, but it would be unusual for a regent to be included in the king lists, and known regents appear to have been female (viz. Mrj-Ré-~~En~~.n.s II, Hatshepsut, Twosret).

reason, its dimensions are unknown.

Hwjt's tomb has not been properly excavated. Loret spent several weeks in an arduous excavation of the monument but only uncovered part of the mortuary temple, where he found a relief of the queen, together with the remains of two titles. Her name had been damaged (BIÉ 3 p.94.), and Hw[jt], is a reconstruction. It has been retained in this prosopography partly due to the possibility that Hw[jt], II might be identical with Hwjt I.

Although the dimensions of Hwjt's tomb have never been measured we know from Loret's excavation that it contained at least one room in her mortuary chapel about the same size as that of Jpwt, and having, like hers, three niches, decorated in bas-relief, for statues on its western side (loc. cit. - see also Loret's plan). It was here that the name of the queen was found, as well as a missing piece from that inscription which bore the name of King Teti (loc. cit.). Since no mastaba had an exterior mortuary chapel like that of a queen's, it is puzzling that Hwjt's tomb should be referred to as a mastaba, as Loret and Jánosi do. Loret found the excavation work too difficult - because of intrusive pits and burials from later periods - to continue with the excavation of this enigmatic structure.

Titles: hmt nswt mr[t.f], ht Hr .. Shtp-t3wj, King's wife, his beloved, Follower of Horus, .. Teti,

The queen's titles, found on a damaged bas-relief from her mortuary chapel, are incomplete. One piece, which had fallen to the floor, provided the name of Teti. The arrangement of the inscription is given in Gauthier (LR I, p.150). From an alabaster vessel (Kaplony, Steinegefasse, p.62) the title of hmt nswt was found.

Troy (Queenship, p.155) combines the titles from the Teti site with those from mastaba D 14 to make a composite set. There is no security about this reconstruction (see titles section of Queen Hwjt I). The inclusion of ht wr from D 14 does mean that the Queen Hwjt I belongs to this general period of time, since this was the period when the title was introduced, but this title is missing from Hwjt II's known inscriptions. Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.91) has observed that those queens who have ht wr do not have ht Hr, suggesting that 'the titles are identical, and can substitute for one another' (ibid. p.92). This being so, the two queens must be different identities, as one carries ht wr, the other ht Hr.

Mariette (Notices principaux, p.340 No.24) reported in 1868

the discovery of a limestone stele bearing the titles, hmt nswt, snt nswt, mwt nswt, which he found at Saqqara. This has not been accepted either by Gauthier (LR I, p.150) or Seipel (Königinnen, p.253 n.3) as pertaining to this queen. One sound reason for their caution would be that the title of snt nswt is not attested for royal women until Dynasty XIII. Another problem posed by these titles is for whom Hwjt could have been mother. Unlike Hnt-t[...], (see above) her monuments were not deliberately damaged, so she is less likely than Hnt-t[...], to have been the mother of Weserkare. She does not appear to have been the mother of any other Sixth Dynasty king, either, so Mariette's stele does not appear to have belonged to this general period.

Prosopography: To date no relationship (except that of Teti's wife) is known for this queen. However, a number of offspring for Teti are known, so some of these could be children of Hwjt (see prosopography for Sšššt).

#### Bibliography:

- Dodson, ZÄS 115 (1988), p.125  
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 Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.43, 45  
 Kaplony, Steinegefasse, p.62  
 Loret, BIE 3 (1899), pp.94f.  
     ZÄS 39 (1901), p.1  
 Maragioglio & Rinaldi, Notizie, pp.55f., pl.7  
 Mariette, Mastabas, pp.207f.  
     Notices principaux, p.340 No.24  
 PM 3.2 p.397  
 Sabbahy, Titulary, p.101  
 Schmitz, S3-NSJWT, pp.34, 37, 112  
 Seipel, Königinnen, pp.251ff.  
 Stadelmann, Pyramiden, pp.191f.  
 Troy, Queenship, p.155

#### QUEEN JPWT I

Temp. Teti to Pepy I

Tomb: a small pyramid in the immediate vicinity of Teti's funerary temple, at Saqqara. It was discovered in 1898 by Loret who, at first, believed that both Jpwt's tomb and Hwjt's were mastabas (ZÄS 39 [1901], p.1). When he returned to his excavation he discovered that the badly eroded structure was a pyramid. Jpwt's pyramid was later excavated more thoroughly by Firth and Gunn, who published their report in 1926, but there are

still areas which need further investigation.

The tomb lies about 100 m north of Teti's own complex, and about 25 m from the tomb of Hwjt II, which is so badly eroded that it cannot be easily discerned today. Jpwt's tomb is approximately 20 m along each side, according to the Firth and Gunn report. Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.191) ascribes the length as 15.75 m, with a pitch of 65°.

On the northern face of the pyramid was found a red granite false door. This contained the titulary of the queen (Firth & Gunn, TPC I, fig.7).

A mortuary chapel stretches across the eastern face of the pyramid. The chapel has three niches for statues, customarily seen in the chapels of queens, and there are two deeper chambers next to these niches. A number of reliefs from here were found - all fragmentary (ibid. II, pls. 55, 56, 57). On one of the reliefs Queen Jpwt appears in the vulture cap of the queen mother (ibid. II, pl. 56.1).

In the inner chamber of the two large magazines the queen's offering table was discovered (Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl. 56 fig.2), together with a few fragments of a limestone false door. At the south-east corner of the pyramid there is a rectangular court, occupying the same position as do the satellite pyramids of Queen Nt and Jpwt II. The entire monument is surrounded by a large temenos wall.

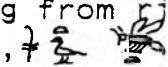
One of the most peculiar features of the pyramid is the entrance to the burial chamber. Unlike all other pyramids it has a perpendicular shaft as its entry point (ibid. p.11 fig. 3). János ( Pyramidenanlagen, p.39) has commented upon the unusual site of the tombs of Hwjt and Jpwt - for the pyramids of many queens are usually in the southern section of the king's mortuary complex - and expressed the opinion that this pyramid had, originally, been a mastaba (ibid. p.41). (The tombs of Hwt and Nbt were also two mastabas placed in the north-eastern area of their husband's tomb.) János's conclusion is undoubtedly correct as can be gathered from the plan and section shown in Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.192 fig.64).

The queen's limestone sarcophagus lay in the burial chamber; fragments of a cedar inner coffin were found there, together with a few trinkets remaining from the jewellery buried with the queen (Firth & Gunn, TPC I, p.12). Some bones also remained, allowing Dr Derry to conclude that, at her death, 'Queen Jpwt was middle aged ... The eye orbit [of the skull] was large and rounded and

the nose was narrow ..' (Quoted in ibid. p.14).

Titles: m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, hmt nswt mrt.f; She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, King's wife, his beloved.

This inscription appears on a bowl found within the burial chamber of Queen Jpwt (Firth & Gunn, TPC I, fig.7). It is the longest titular string found in this place, but other objects repeat some of the signs.

On her granite false door, found on the north face of her pyramid, there are different titles (ibid. II, pl. 55.1). These are given in four columns, reading from right to left, mwt nswt bjtj, s3t nswt bjtj (written thus, ) , hmt nswt mrt.f, mwt nswt bjtj. The title Daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, is unusual and has prompted Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.112) to question her status as a princess. See Chapter 2 (R2.5) for further discussion.

On a granite offering tablet found in the cult rooms of the mortuary chapel the offering inscription entitles Jpwt as, mwt nswt Mn nfr Ppj, jm3hwt .. ; Mother of the royal pyramid, Established and beautiful is Pepy. This is the first occasion on which a queen is known to have been associated with a king's pyramid cult (see Chapter 2, pp.92f.).

Elsewhere in her mortuary chapel the queen is given the title of smrt Hr - Companion of Horus - on a fragmentary relief inscription; other examples of the titles given above are also present on different fragments.

Both Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.137) and Seipel (Königinnen, p.258) attribute the title of s3t ntr to this queen, following Gauthier (LR I, p.146 fn 1). Gauthier repeats titles given to him by Loret, but these are not given in either of Loret's two articles referring to this queen. As it stands, Loret's communication to Gauthier repeats the order of hieroglyphic signs given for H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I (see fig.12 of her prosopography), with mwt appearing before nswt bjtj, and s3t being placed before the ntr sign. Jpwt's name is not present in Gauthier's transcription. Altogether, the evidence for this is assignment of the title to Jpwt cannot be located in other published evidence, and it does not appear in Firth & Gunn's discussion.

As Jpwt carried the title of mwt nswt bjtj it would not be unusual were she to have held the s3t ntr title, but the evidence for this is by no means secure. In a reproduction of Gunn's

notebook (Lauer & Leclant, Temple haut .. Teti, p.91) a fragment with the title s3t ntr (without name) is recorded, having been found in Teti's mortuary temple. This might also refer to one of Teti's wives - perhaps Jpwt - or it may refer to Queen Sšsšt.

On the other hand, Kuchman Sabbahy queries the absence of the s3t ntr title for this queen. Although Kuchman Sabbahy sees in Jpwt a royal mother who therefore should be a s3t ntr, there are in fact three other queens who are mothers of kings and lack the s3t ntr title, they are Hnt-k3w.s II, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh.n.s I, and Nt. (The ill-recorded queen mothers Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-H<sup>c</sup>p I, Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh I, Nfr-<sup>c</sup>tp.s and Sšsšt also have not as yet been shown to have carried this title.) It is the present writer's opinion that it was not imperative that those queens who were mothers of the king should also carry the s3t ntr title. See Chapter 2 (R5.1) for further discussion.

As the wife of a perceived founder of a dynasty, Jpwt's lack of s3t ntr is not unexpected, since the wives of other founders also seem to have lacked this title. It is suggested that, as few records of Weserkare remain, his reign might have been officially obliterated, thus creating the impression that Pepy I was his father's direct and legitimate heir. If this were the case then Pepy would wish to eliminate traces of the hiatus and therefore may not have used the title for his mother. Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh.n.s I seems to have been in a similar position and she, too, lacked the s3t ntr title, although her sister carried it.

Queen Jpwt was the first queen to have a title in association with the pyramid of the king. She was also one of the few mothers named in association with the pyramid; it was more usual for the king's wife to be linked with the king in this way. This title only appears on the offering table of Jpwt (Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl. 55.2) - a very appropriate place for it, given Málek's suggestion (JSSEA 10 [1980], pp.237 - 239) that the title seems to be concerned with the provisioning of the queen's mortuary cult.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.98) has observed that on three of Jpwt's funerary vessels (of which there are five in number, instead of the usual four) the queen has a different series of titles, each concluding with the title of King's wife. On her red granite stele, however, the title of mwt nswt bjtj is repeatedly attested. Other titles come from a loose block found in her mortuary chapel (Firth & Gunn, TPC I, p.92). János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.42) thinks these different titularies may indicate that, although she was buried as a wife, she became the



mother of a king some time after her death.

The odd writing of the s3t nswt bjtj from the red granite false door has drawn some attention from Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.112), who considered that Jpwt was not of royal descent - partially due to her interpretation that the s3t ntr title implies a non-royal origin for this queen (loc. cit. and fn. 1). She has the suspicion that the title '[hat] nichts mit dem normalen s3.t-njswt zu tun'. I do not think there is sufficient reason for Schmitz' opinion given here. Rather, it is suggested, the reason for this orthography on her false door is more likely to be due to an artistic demand for balance and symmetry with the mwt nswt bjtj title which occupies the other two columns on the queen's false door. The title does not appear elsewhere for Jpwt, but a similar title, s3t nswt bjtj Hwfw, is known for Htp-hr.s II (Dunham & Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig. 4), a known king's daughter. There thus seems no reason for Schmitz's hesitation. Jpwt's title of s3t nswt nt ht.f may also have been written on one of the pillars from her temple, although only the ht ... is preserved before her name (Firth & Gunn, TPC I, p.90).

The mwt nswt bjtj title, also written with the bjtj sign following the vulture, is identical to that recorded for Queen Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s II (see further discussion in Callender, SAK 18 (1991), Appendix and P\* 197). Such unusual graphics might suggest a title distinct from the more common mwt nswt or mwt nswt bjtj titles.

Prosopography. Jpwt was the daughter of a king - probably Wenis - and wife of King Teti (Yoyotte, BIFAO 57 (1958), p.93f). She was the mother of King Pepy I (as shown by the king's edict for provisioning of his mother's chapel). Other children are not named, but Queen Jpwt II was her grandchild, as were Nt, Merenre, and Pepy II. Although other children of Teti are known (eg. W<sup>c</sup>tt-ht-hr, Jntj etc), these cannot be positively connected to any specific queen.

Queen Jpwt was honoured after her death by the establishment of a hwt k3 at Koptos (Goedicke, KD, pp.41 - 54). We do not know why Koptos should have been chosen for this establishment. Troy (Queenship, p.95) suggests that it might have been associated with the emergent powers of the Koptite nomarch at the time. However, it seems more likely that the foundation may have been established in connection with the fertility aspect of the god, who is shown on the stele. As was mentioned earlier, there are no known holders of priesthoods for the fertility gods B3-pf and T3-sp for the Sixth Dynasty; perhaps the representations we have of Jpwt, showing her in the company of a goddess (Firth & Gunn, TPC II, pl. 56.1; Koptos stele) provide an indication that

the status of the queen-mother (at least) had risen by this time to the stage where, instead of serving as a priestess, she might be depicted in the company of gods. Such an elevation also would seem to be the religious basis for the queen-mother's adoption of the vulture cap, noticed as early as the time of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I. The ultimate stage of providing the queen with pyramid texts came in the time of Jpwt's grandson Pepy. Although Troy (Queenship, p.117) expresses the view that the cap was not shown during the Fourth Dynasty, this is no longer tenable in view of the evidence of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I and Hnt-k3w.s I. Troy has also said that the cap 'is an accepted element of the iconography of royal women' by the reign of Pepy I, but this is only true for the mothers of kings.

#### Bibliography:

Firth and Gunn, TPC I, pp.11 - 14, II, 89f., figs.3f.

Gauthier, LR I, pp.146 - 150

Goedicke, KD, pp.41 - 54

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Jánosi, Pyramidenanlagen, pp.39 - 43

Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, pp.97 - 99

Loret, BIÉ 3 (1899), pp.89 - 93

ZÄS 39 (1901), p.1

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PM III.2 p.396f; V, p.126

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Seipel, Königinnen, pp.254 - 262

Stadelmann, Pyramiden, pp.191f.

Troy, Queenship, pp.67, 95, 108, 117, 123, 155

Urk. IV.214

Yoyotte, BIFAO 57 (1958), pp.91 - 99

#### QUEEN Y

Temp. Pepy I

Tomb: unknown

Titles: hmt nswt, hts wrt; King's wife, Great one of the hts sceptre.

Prosopography: This unnamed queen was the wife of a king, but nothing is known of her, except for the brief mention she receives in the biography of Wnj (Urk.I.100). It is assumed that she was the mother of one of Pepy I's sons, since she is thought to have been involved in a plot against that king (Kanawati, CdÉ LVI [1981], p.212) in an effort to secure the throne for her son.

Although most scholars think that the queen mentioned by Wnj was the wife of Pepy I, this may not have been the case. Seipel (Königinnen, p.246) has suggested the possibility that the queen concerned might have been Hnt-t[...], who perhaps was the mother of Weserkare (see her prosopography above). The information from Wnj's biography leaves open both the identity of the queen, and the time of her trial. If Hnt-t[...], were the queen concerned, this could mean a date for the trial earlier (see below) than that proposed by Goedicke (JAOS 74 [1954], p.89), and would obviate the difficulties apparent in his later article (JAOS 75 [1975], pp.181f) where he attempts to reconcile h3t-sp 21 with the age of Merenre. Such an interpretation would also render more likely the two conspiracies suggested by Kanawati (CdÉ LVI [1981], pp.209f), whose dating of the tomb of R<sup>c</sup>-wr suggests the timing for the second of these events.

An earlier dating would also suit better the account of this event early in Wnj's career, when he was only senior warden of Nekhen and overseer of royal tenants. Wnj's biography is unquestionably given in chronological order and the trial appears at a stage in Wnj's life when he was rising rapidly through the lower official ranks. He mentions first his appointment as overseer of the robing room under Pepy I, then his appointment as senior warden of Nekhen. It is immediately after this appointment, and while he still held this office, that he heard cases alone with the chief judge and the vizier concerning all kinds of secrets. He was still senior warden of Nekhen when he heard the secret trial against the queen. He implies that the chief judge and the vizier at that time were not as worthy as he was to act in this matter (see Kanawati, op. cit. for suggested reasons for this).

Wnj's next assignment was the war against the Asiatic sand-dwellers. A date for the trial in h3t-sp 21 would leave little time for Wnj to conduct his five campaigns against the Asiatics that appear to have taken place in five different years under Pepy I. As Pepy's last recorded date is h3t-sp 25 (Urk. I.95) the time scale is very restricted for even an annual military campaign, and we do not know that these evidently huge military operations were annual events, Wnj is not specific here.

This alternative identification of the queen would also render more explicable Wnj's boast about the trial, something that surely would have been in bad taste if Pepy's own wife had been the one disgraced. It is very likely that the omission of the queen's name was an official damnatio, which suggests that

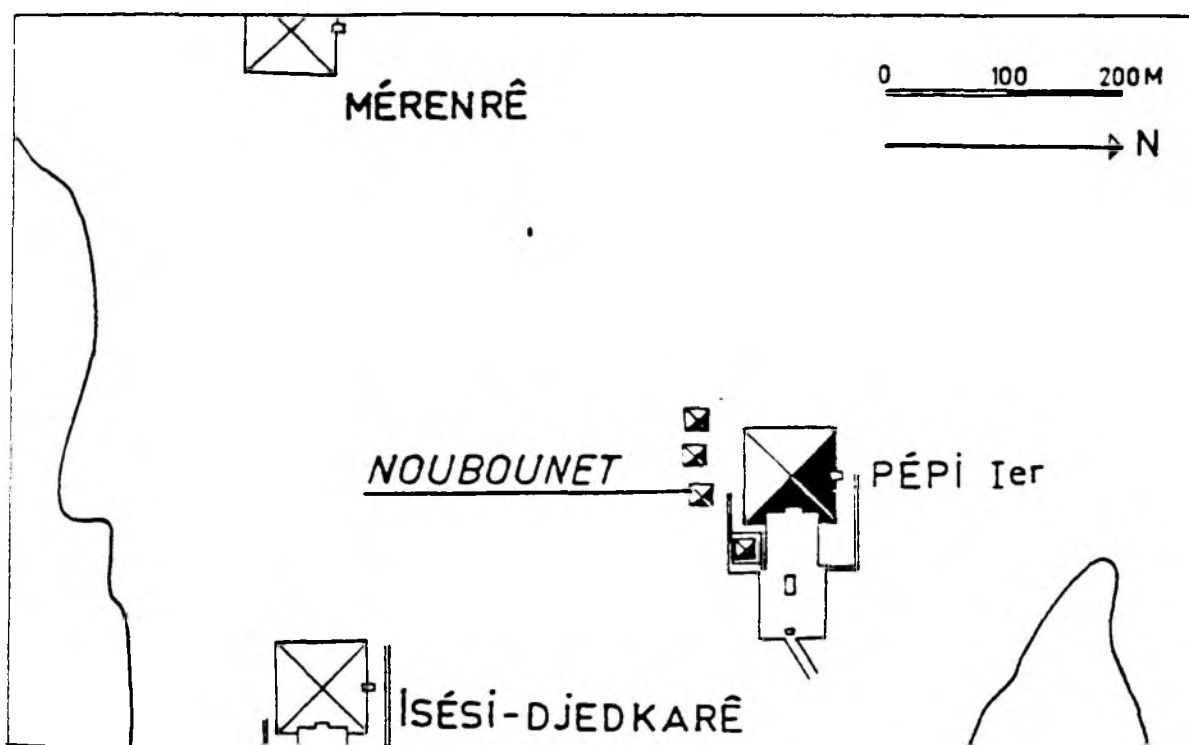


fig. 19 Plan of the south Saqqara locality  
indicating the relative positions of  
the pyramid complexes of Pepy's wives.

- Leclant, Orientalia 60 (1991),  
pl. XLVI, fig.30

the trial found the queen guilty of whatever offence it was. The fact that the trial was 'in secret', and without the usual officials, suggests extraordinary circumstances. Lorton (JARCE XI [1974], p.100) renders Wnj's statement (Urk. I.100,13) as 'matters/property in the jpt-nswt were inquired into with regard to the royal wife and great of hts, in secret.' He then argues that the jpt nswt was the royal counting house (ibid. pp.100f.), concluding that 'the crime in question was not a "harem conspiracy", but rather a case of embezzlement involving the queen, and apparently, if Goedicke is correct, the vizier as well'. Detlef Franke's comments on Lorton's argument (JEA 76 [1990], p.231) just come to hand have coincided with the gist of the argument put forward on the issue of the word jpt in Chapter 3 of this dissertation (see pp.128).

#### Bibliography:

- Goedicke, JAOS 74 (1954), p.88f.  
JAOS 75 (1955), pp.180 - 183  
 Kanawati, CdÉ LVI (1981), pp.209 - 212  
Governmental Reforms, p.31f.  
 Seipel, Königinnen, p.246  
Urk.I.100

#### QUEEN NWB-WNT

Temp. Pepy I. The presence of the sign for Pepy's first hb sd on the lintel of the gateway could suggest that this may have been the time of the queen's death.

Tomb: a pyramid complex to the south of Pepy I's complex (Leclant, Orientalia 60 [1991], pl.XLVI [29 and 30]), and east of the other pyramid complexes assumed to belong to the Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s sisters: their names have not as yet been discovered in connection with those monuments.

As with the other queens Nwb-wnt's complex contains the remains of a pyramid, mortuary chapel and subsidiary pyramid. The pyramid measures 40 cubits (20.96 m) along the side, and appears to have been built of rubble, with an inner structure of three steps (Labrousse, Dossiers, p.82). Only the lower courses of the limestone mantle remain today. Labrousse (ibid. p.85) estimates that all the queenly pyramids would have been about 40 cubits high. The mortuary chapel was hastily built in mudbrick coated with plaster (ibid. p.86).

A large section of the south wall of the chapel was

preserved, and a number of fragments of decoration were found. These featured a procession of domain-bearers, and a beautiful scene in which the queen faces a goddess carrying a was sceptre and ankh (Leclant, Orientalia 60 [1991], p.189). A fragment of a scene including the name of Nwb-wnt surmounted by a falcon, and other fragments showing lions with bands across the chest, were also found decorating the base of the queen's throne (loc.cit.). These scenes were also present in the fragmentary remains of the temples of Queen Nt and Wdb-tn.

An offering shrine was placed against the north face of the pyramid and, behind this, is a descending passage which leads to the funerary chambers, a burial crypt (c.10 x 5 cubits = 5.24 m x 2.6 m), and a serdab (Labrousse, Dossiers, p.86). These chambers were more substantial than the remainder of the structure, being lined with limestone blocks. The passage was blocked by one portcullis instead of the three that marked the king's passageway (ibid. p.83). Apart from the remains of linen bandages, a sandal, a copper vase and the corroded clasp of a necklace, the chambers were empty.

The absence of pyramid texts in all the tombs seems to indicate that Queen Nt was the earliest queen to have the texts inscribed inside her tomb (Labrousse, Dossiers, p.86).

Titles: hmt nswt mr Ppj-mn-nfr mrt.f, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts, wrt hst, smrt Hr, hmt nswt mrt.f; King's wife of the pyramid Pepy-is-established-and-beautiful, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Companion of Horus, King's wife his beloved.

These titles were engraved on the entrance gateway to the funerary complex of the queen (Leclant, Orientalia 60 [1991], pl.XLVIII {32}).

Prosopography: wife of Pepy I. Having been given such an elaborate mortuary complex, which was not destroyed in the time of Pepy I, it seems evident that this queen was not the one involved in the harim trial mentioned by Wnj.

#### Bibliography:

Labrousse, Les Dossiers d'Archéologie 146/7 (1990) pp.80 - 87  
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Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut, pp.211 - 219

QUEEN MRJ-RC-CN.H.N.S I

## Temp. Pepy I

Tomb: The location of the queen's tomb (see sketch map fig.18) is likely to be one of the newly discovered pyramids to the south of the complex of Pepy I. The pyramid complex of the queen was discovered by electromagnetic tests conducted by the French, under the direction of Professor Jean Leclant, on the 23rd April, 1988 (Leclant, CRAIBL).[2]

Titles: hmt nswt Mn-nfr-Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht wr, smrt Hr, tsjt Hr, mwt nswt bjtj mr H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr.n-R<sup>c</sup>, hmt nswt mrt.f; King's wife of the pyramid  
Established and beautiful is Mery-R<sup>c</sup>, Great one of the hts sceptre, Greatly praised, Great of possessions, Companion of Horus, She who sits with Horus, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt the pyramid of Merenre appears in glory.

These titles of the queen, together with those of her sister and brother, appear on the stone slab now in Cairo Museum (CG 1431). This inscription was discovered in Abydos. It dates to the reign of Pepy II, since both queens are entitled mwt nswt, and both are shown 'mit Geierhaube stehend' (Borchardt, Denkmäler, p.111). All three family members are also mentioned as having statue-cults exempt from taxation at Abydos, where the queens are to be served by hmw ntr (Petrie, Abydos II, pl.XIX, p.42f; Urk. I.279).

From a very damaged inscription found by the entrance of the mortuary complex of Queen Nt we learn that this queen was accorded a hm ntr priest (Goedicke, KD, 159ff.) This decree furnishes additional evidence for two sisters named Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh.n.s, as it refers to the 'eldest' of the like-named sisters. In the Koptos Decree relating to this queen and her daughter, Queen Nt, both women there are to be served by hmw ntr as well as hmw k3. The former type of cult suggests that the mothers of kings at this stage in the late Sixth Dynasty were given a religious status not seen since the time of Hnt-k3w.s I. The decree bestows upon the two queen-mothers, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh.n.s I and Nt (certainly mother and daughter), the honour of a hwt ntr. With few - also remarkable - exceptions, the hmw ntr only attended a king's mortuary cult. Very interesting is the determinative given both queens, a seated queen wearing vulture

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<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Professor Leclant for a manuscript copy of this article referred to here, and to a copy of the Archéologie article mentioned in the Bibliography.

cap, holding a w3s sceptre (Goedicke, KD, fig.15).

In addition to the above titular string Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s holds the title of m33t Hr Sth on a fragmentary inscription now in Berlin Museum (Roeder, Ag. Inschriften, No.7791), which also features her other titles, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht wr, hmt nswt mrt.f (Kuchman Sabbahy, Titulary, p.102).

With Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s I we see the introduction of the king's pyramid name for the king's wife. Prior to this Queen Jpwt I had held the pyramid title of a king's mother. Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s also held a similar title in regard to her son, Merenre. This queen's sister also carries the name of Pepy II's pyramid in a similar title - see discussion in Chapter 2 p.92f.

Prosopography: The family connections of Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s I are well-known. Apart from being the wife of Pepy I she was the mother of King Merenre, the sister of Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s. II, and the sister of vizier D<sup>c</sup>w, an official from Abydos (CG 1431).[3]

On D<sup>c</sup>w's stele he names as his parents, rp<sup>c</sup>t, h3tj-C Hwj and hkrt nswt Nbt. He also mentions on CG 1431 that Abydos was the nome in which he was born, so it is equally possible that his sisters also came from this place. On another stele (CG 1575) Nbt (this time referred to as špsst nswt) and Hwj are mentioned as parents of Jdj, and D<sup>c</sup>w is mentioned as well. The Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup>.n.s sisters are not present.

A female vizier named Nbt, and her husband, Hwj, are named on the Abydos stele (CG 1578). These people are accompanied by a number of other persons - perhaps children. It is considered by some scholars (eg.Stock, Erste Zwischenzeit, p.11; Fischer, Varia, p. 75; Helck, Orientalia 19 (1950), pp.421f; Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, pp.31f, 62ff; Kees, Vizieräts, p.42) that these persons represent other siblings, and the queen's parents, Nbt and Hwj. Behind Hwj are shown on this stele, smr w<sup>c</sup>tj, hrj hbt pr C3, jmj-r hmw k3 nswt, Jdj, hrj tp nswt pr C3, hm k3 Hwj. Two other males appearing are sm3 w<sup>c</sup>tj, Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup> (whose rn nfr name was šm3j), and a chancellor for Lower Egypt named Hwj. The name of Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-C<sup>nh</sup> would suggest that the stele could be

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<sup>3</sup> Kanawati (JEA 63 [1977], pp.59 - 62) has suggested that D<sup>c</sup>w from the Abydos stele may be the grandfather of D<sup>c</sup>w šm3j of Deir el-Gebrawi..



dated, at the earliest, to the time of Pepy II. These were the descendents of the female vizier, Nbt, and her husband, Hwj, but the queens and their brother D<sup>c</sup>w are not mentioned. This seems an unusual omission from a family stele - particularly one of a date late in the history of this family - although it is possible that the three relatives of Pepy I could have been represented upon some other stele that had been set up nearby at Abydos. The suggested relationship between the vizier Nbt and the queens is not without question, however, as Mariette (Cat. Abydos, No.525) and Baer (Rank and Title, pp.62, 110) have indicated. Harpur (Decoration, p.18f., 247, p.297) does not include the vizier's stele (CG 1578) within her calculations of family relationships for D<sup>c</sup>w either.

Further consideration should also be given to the titulary of Nbt on both CG 1431, where she is simply hkrt nswt, and CG 1578, where the vizier has numerous titles, but hkrt nswt is not among them. There would be no reason for the vizier to discard this title, had she held it prior to her vizierate, since the title of špswt (another courtly title) is present. Given that only one of these stelae (CG 1431) mentions the children associated with the king, and given that the titles are quite different, it could be possible that these two women might have been separate individuals.

A second woman named Nbt (rn nfr Jbj) left a false door at Saqqara (Drioton, ASAE 43 [1943], pp.496f; Saad, ASAE 43 [1943], pp.455f and pl. XL). This was found in the second room of the tomb of an Overseer of Upper Egypt called Hwj, who appears to have been her husband.

On one of the door jambs in Hwj's tomb there is a hrj-tp nswt pr 3 Jdj (Drioton op. cit. p.504). Kanawati (Excavations at Saqqara I, p.12) considers that name to be misread, seeing in the inscription the name of 'Jdj'. On the Abydos stele for the vizier Nbt and her husband Hwj the person standing behind Hwj is also entitled hrj-tp nswt pr 3 Jdj. Kanawati, noticing the familiar pattern of these three names, has suggested that the stele of Nbt-jbj might have belonged to Vizier Nbt, prior to her elevation to the vizierate. Although the coincidence of names is striking, Kanawati's proposal may not be correct, since Jbj is entitled, rht nswt, hmt ntr Hwt-Hr, hmt ntr Nt, hmt ntr Wp-w3wt, titles not held by the vizier. While the priesthoods might well have been omitted in the vizier's titulary, it is unlikely that the title of rht nswt would have been omitted.

There is a difficulty with the titles of Hwj (Saqqara), too. If Hwj (S) were the husband of the vizier, one must account for

his Saqqara title of jmj-r Šm3, which is absent from the group of titles for the Hwj (Abydos) on CG 1578. Kanawati has suggested that its omission from the Abydos list of titles does not necessarily mean that Hwj never held the office (loc. cit.). This is true, but it would be unlikely that Hwj (A) would have omitted it on CG 1578, when his wife was presenting all the titles that she held at that time. If the Saqqara stele is prior to the one from Abydos, one would expect to find the title of jmj-r Šm3 on the Abydene stele, CG 1578. It does seem possible that we are confronting two different couples at Saqqara and Abydos. Since both names were very popular in Dynasty VI it is more likely that we have in the Saqqara monuments another married couple who are not identical to the pair on the Abydene stele.

Another woman with the name of Nbt who is well-known for this period is Nbt-bbj (Mariette, Cat. Abydos, p.89; CG 1519). Her titles have been mentioned in an interesting article by Málek (JSSEA 10 [1980], p.240). As Málek pointed out, Nbt-bbj had an unique honour, she was the only non-royal woman to be given the title of smrt Hr. (Vizier Nbt was given the title of smrt bjtj, but does not have the smrt Hr title.) Its use had previously been confined to queens and to one princess that we know of, Princess Jntj, the subject of Málek's paper.

While Jntj's title smrt Hr may be explained by her highly distinguished titulary (s3t nswt, s3t nswt smswt, s3t nswt smswt s3-R<sup>c</sup>-Ttj-dd-swt, s3t nswt nt ht.f, s3t nswt smswt nt ht.f Ttj-dd-swt, s3t nswt smswt mrt.f nt ht.f and s3t nswt smswt nt ht.f Ppj-mn-nfr and smrt Hr), that of Nbt-bbj cannot. Jntj appears to have been the eldest daughter of a king - either Teti or Pepy, although we cannot be sure of this (Málek, JSSEA 10 [1980], pp.231ff.). She seems to have been later than Princess Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>, who was the first royal person to have a pyramid title, hers being for the mrt of Wenis (Hassan, The Mastabas of Princess Hemet-R<sup>c</sup> and Others, p.6). Jntj's false door (Málek, JSSEA 10 [1980], pp.232f.) and pyramid titles suggest that she belonged to the time of Pepy I. It may be to the same period that Nbt-bbj belongs. Although Nbt-bbj's stele carries the cartouche of Neferkare (Pepy II), this may be her terminus ad quem. In his article Málek (ibid. p.240) has said that 'Nebet-Bebi dates to the reign of Pepy II or a little later', but thinks now that 'it should have been possible for her to live through the reigns of Pepy I (possibly even the end of the reign of Teti) and Merenre into the early years of Pepy II'.[4]

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<sup>4</sup> Letter of July 10, 1990

It is thus suggested that Nbt-bbj belongs to the period of Pepy I - Pepy II. It is also suggested that her pyramid title and smrt Hr title are not examples of 'a proliferation of new honorific and ranking titles', as Málek (ibid. p.240) has said. Apart from the available evidence which reveals clearly that non-royal women did not enjoy an increase in titulary or status at this time, Nbt-bbj is the only non-royal woman known to have possessed these titles. Perhaps Nbt-bbj holds those honours because it is she who is the mother-in-law of Pepy I, the mother of his two wives, the mother of D<sup>c</sup>w, and the grandmother of Merenre and Pepy II. This interpretation would explain why Bbj was entitled smrt Hr, holding a title that is the prerogative of a queen (and, exceptionally, one princess); and that could be why she was entitled to share in the benefits attached to the pyramid of the king who, if this suggestion is correct, was her own grandson.

However, this suggestion is not without its difficulties, either. One would want to know why the hkrt nswt Nbt of D<sup>c</sup>w's stele attained the later titles evident on Nbt-bbj's stele. Perhaps this was due to Nbt having been given a later donation by Pepy II. It has been suggested by Strudwick (Administration p.64) that Pepy II may not have begun his pyramid complex until later in his reign 'given his extreme youth at succession'. If this is so it could be the reason for Nbt being given the titles some time after D<sup>c</sup>w's stele was carved.

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The exact relationship between Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I and her sister has also caused some speculation. While the latter possesses the s3t ntr title, the elder sister does not. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, p.138) who considered that the s3t ntr title is one borne by bourgeois queen mothers, suggests that Queen Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I lost her right to the title when her sister's child ascended the throne as Pepy II. This seems an awkward (and singular) procedure.

Fischer (Varia, p.75 fn.40) saw in the absence of s3t ntr for this queen an indication that the women were half-sisters, a suggestion with which Kanawati (op. cit. p.210) is in agreement. Both he and Goedicke (JAOS 75 [1955], p.181f) see that situation as giving a sufficient lapse of time to allow for Merenre to attain the age of maturity before his sole reign. (For another interpretation see the prosopography of Queen Y above.) However,

the mummy said to be that of Merenre gave every indication of extreme youth when it was subjected to forensic analysis, and the typical sidelock of youth was noticeable (see Maspero, Dawn of Civilization, p.435). Although Elliot Smith was of the opinion that the wrapping procedure was typical of the Eighteenth Dynasty -and therefore believed that the body was intrusive- we are now aware that re-wrapping was not infrequently performed for older mummies. Stevenson Smith (CAH I/2A, p.193) therefore thinks that the body in Merenre's tomb could be that of the king and has suggested a re-examination. Until then, the identity of the mummy remains in doubt. Certainly the factors that no wife or children of Merenre are known seem to support a case for his youthfulness.

Goedicke, however, feels confident in the maturity of Merenre because he had no need of a regency. Although this may be the first example of a coregency (but see Chapter 4 p.155f.) there is no other instance where a coregency is followed by a regency for a young king, the conditions would seem to be incompatible. A coregency ensures a smooth transition to the full monarchy of an heir by a process which is virtually an apprenticeship to the king. Only when a king leaves behind him a youth who has not had the benefit of a coregency would a regent be needed. (Such seems to have been the situation when Merenre died and Pepy II ascended the throne.) The evidence provided by the gold pendant containing the name of both Pepy I and Merenre does lend support to the idea of a coregency (Drioton, ASAE 45 [1947], p.55). If Drioton's proposal for a coregency is correct, Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I's son need not have been of mature years when he assumed sole control.

One other child of this queen's marriage to the king is known, this is Queen Nt, who became the first wife of King Pepy II. Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I was thus the aunt of Pepy II and the grandmother of King Merenre II. It is likely to have been this king who honoured his mother and grandmother with an hwt ntr at some later stage (see Goedicke, KD, pp.158ff.), in the same way as King Nyweserre honoured Hnt-k3w.s I and II.

Both Queen Mrj-RC-Cnh.n.s I (referred to as 'smswt' after her name) and Queen Nt were honoured by a protection decree issued by a later king whose name has been destroyed (Urk. I.307; Jéquier, ASAE 31 [1931], p.38; Goedicke, KD, fig.15). The determinative for the queens shows a seated queen with w3s sceptre wearing the vulture cap. A similar headdress appears to have been present on the Abydos decree (Petrie, Abydos II, pl. XIX), but this is very indistinct.

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## QUEEN MRJ-RC-CNH.N.S. II

Temp. Pepy I to Pepy II

Tomb: very likely to be one of the two newly-discovered pyramid complexes discovered by Professor Jean Leclant and his team at south Saqqara. These two tombs (no identification for complexes has as yet been discovered) lie on the southern side, outside the temenos wall of Pepy I's mortuary complex.

Titles: hmt nswt Mn-nfr Mrj-RC, wrt hts, wrt hst, s3t ntr, wr ht, smrt Hr, tsjt Hr, mwt nswt bjtj Nfr-k3-RC-mn-Cnh; King's wife of the pyramid Established and beautiful is Mery-Re, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Daughter of the god, Follower of the Great One, Companion of Horus, She who sits with Horus, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt the pyramid of Neferkare is established and living.

This is the longest titular string for this queen, it appears on the pillar inscription of D<sup>c</sup>w of Abydos (CG 1431), together with the titles of D<sup>c</sup>w, and those of their sister, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s I.

On an alabaster statuette from Brooklyn (B 13.119) the queen is shown with her son seated upon her knee. The titles, mwt nswt bjtj, s3t (t)w ntr; Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, This daughter of the god, are recorded in a vertical column to the right of the statue basis. The epithet, mrj Hnmw - 'beloved of Khnum', appears horizontally at the bottom of the statue base. Wildung (Egyptian Saints, p.13) has suggested that the significance of the statuette might be linked to the mother-child relationship of Isis and Horus.

At Wadi Maghara in the Sinai a rock inscription (Gardiner, Peet & Černý, Sinai II, pl. IX) records an expedition sent there during the time of the queen's regency for her son. To the left of the inscription there is a section referring to her. There the titles are, mwt nswt bjtj nt Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-Cnh, hmt nswt mrt.f nt Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-nfr together with the epithet, mrwt ntrw nbw; 'beloved of all the gods'.

Belonging either to this queen or to her sister is part of a headrest now in the Berlin Museum (Roeder, Äg. Inschriften I, p.72 [No.7791]). It carries the damaged titles of m33t Hr Sts, wrt hts, wrt hst, ht Wr, hmt nswt mrt.f (Mrj-..). The spelling of Seth's name is indicative of a funerary object, rather than an item of daily use.

Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s. II's titles are almost the same as those of her sister, with the exceptions of the titles s3t ntr and mwt nswt bjtj Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-Cnh. (For a discussion on the title s3t ntr see Callender, SAK 18 (1991 in press)). As James (Brooklyn, p.28) has noted, the unusual writing of the queen's title of mwt nswt bjtj, with the vulture between the reed and the bee on the Brooklyn statuette is identical to that in the Wadi Maghara inscription. The significance of this writing is at present unknown, but see Callender, SAK 18 (1991), Appendix.

Troy (Queenship, p.155) interprets the second variation of the s3t ntr title of this queen as s3t ntr wr(t). There does not seem to be ground for this reading. Fischer (Varia, p.75) suggests that the 'w' is the forerunner of a similar expression found on the sarcophagus of Cnh.s-n-Ppj, where 's3t ntr tw' is given. The latter he translates as 'this daughter of the god', and suggests that a similar meaning can be given to the inscription 's3t ntr (t)w' for Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II. It is also

possible, given the position of the 'w' on the statue inscription, to suggest a reading of s3t ntrw 'Daughter of the gods' - although this would be a hapax legomenon, and I think Fischer's reading is to be preferred.

Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, pp.104f.) wondered if the s3t ntr title might have been given to distinguish one sister from the other. Schmitz (S3-NJSWT, pp.137f.) thought that the elder sister had also once possessed this title, which was given to her younger sister when Pepy II came to the throne - but see pp.50f. for further discussion.

Like her sister, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-ḥnh.n.s II has the determinative of the queen with vulture cap and w3s sceptre following her name (James, Brooklyn, pl. 68). (See the prosopography of H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I, titles section, for a discussion on this iconography.) On the Boston statuette this queen also wears the vulture cap. The uraeus for this statue is missing, although its original position is marked by the hole drilled in the figure's head.

Another significant iconographical detail is provided by use of the Wadjet cobra on the Wadi Maghara relief of this queen (see Gardiner et al., Sinai I, pl. 9). The outline is very rough, but the queen's headdress on this occasion is clearly a close-fitting cap with the Wadjet uraeus. A better representation is available on the Abydos slab fragment found by Petrie, this also depicts the queen with the close-fitting cap and Wadjet uraeus (Petrie, Abydos II, pl. XX). Although this relief might show Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-ḥnh.n.s I, the Wadi Maghara relief suggests that it is her sister who appears at Abydos. The cap is most unusual for a queen, although in the Old Kingdom period this cap is worn by Menkaure, Neferefre and Pepy II in a number of statues. The only feminine parallels I can recall come from the New Kingdom period, with a cap and Wadjet uraeus worn by Nfrt-jtj in the trial limestone relief (Brooklyn, 16.28 - see Aldred, Egyptian Art, p.173), and by both the nameless queen on the so-called Smenkhkare study (Ehem. Staat Mus., Berlin - in Desroches-Noblecourt, Tutankhamen, p.166), and also Queen ḥnh.s-n-Jmn in several scenes on the Golden Shrine (Eaton-Krauss & Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, pls. 14, 16 etc). from the same period. Later kings, such as Psammetichus, are also depicted in this headgear. It is certainly not normal headgear for a queen, and no other queen is portrayed with this in Old Kingdom or in Middle Kingdom times as far as we know.

Prosopography: Since the women were sisters, the outline of Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-ḥnh.n.s. II's family connexions are contained in the

prosopography section of the elder sister. Additionally, we note that Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s. II was the mother of Merenre's half-brother, Pepy II, whom Manetho records as having come to the throne at the age of six. During his early years Pepy had his mother for a regent. What is unusual about this regency is that, for the first time, we know that the regent was a woman of bourgeois stock, her mother being a woman from Abydos named Nbt. (See the prosopography of Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s. I for a discussion on the identity of this woman.)

Evidence for Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II's regency also comes from the Brooklyn Museum statuette. James has remarked that the statuette, showing the queen with her child upon her knee, possibly 'served some propaganda purpose, and to this end the king was not shown as a child, but as a man on the scale of a child' (Brooklyn, p.28). This may be so, but it is worth noting that whenever the king is shown as a child in Egyptian iconography he is always in the form of a small scale adult, so this occasion may not be exceptional. As mentioned above, Wildung (Egyptian Saints, p.13), thinks this iconography may be connected to that of Isis and Horus, and this would carry the element of word-play in this statuette. From the Nineteenth Dynasty comes a similar, but broken statue of Towsret and Siptah (von Beckerath, JEA 48 [1962], pp.70 - 74) that endorses James' view of it being a regency statue.

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### QUEEN NT

Temp. late Pepy I - early Pepy II. János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.48 - 50) has suggested that the evidence from the architecture of her complex indicates that Nt's complex was the earliest of the three queens' complexes built.

Tomb: The queen has a pyramid and mortuary complex adjacent to the mortuary complex of King Pepy II. It was excavated by Jéquier between 1931/1932 (Les pyramides). It is the most elaborate of all the monuments made for Pepy's wives, having a larger pillared court than the others.

János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.48) has drawn attention to the unusual position of the complexes of Nt and Jpwt II being on the north-western corner of the king's complex. It appears to have been the first of the three satellite complexes built (Jéquier, Studies, p.11 n.2), although this is only judged from the abutment of the position of the temenos wall of the queen's complex.

The surrounding wall of the complex is a rectangle 48.30m x 35m; its entrance is on the south eastern wall, facing the complex of the king, but having no direct connection with it (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.4). Apart from the pyramid and mortuary chapel the enclosure contains a subsidiary pyramid and a mortuary chapel similar to those of preceding queens.

On either side of the entrance to the complex Jéquier found two obelisks, now in the Cairo Museum, which give the titles of

the queen (loc. cit.). Even though they are badly damaged, Nt's obelisks give us some precious information about her family, she was the eldest daughter of Pepy I, she was the one in charge of Merenre's pyramid (thus possibly making her his wife), and she was the wife of her half-brother, Pepy II. Unlike other obelisks, such as those of Wnj, those of Nt contain no religious material, only important family relationships.

It was from this entranceway that the badly damaged decree, issued by a successor to Pepy II, was found (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.5 fig. 2; Goedicke, KD, pp.158 - 162). The decree establishes that Nt was the mother of a king - presumably Pepy's successor, although the name is missing. Like Queen Hnt-k3w.s I, Queen Nt and her mother were served by a hm ntr. Two queens are named in the inscription and although the other name is very badly damaged, 'Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh.n.s. smswt' can be read. The inclusion of 'smswt' would indicate that it is the elder Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh.n.s. being referred to in the decree.

The appointment of a hm ntr priest marks an exalted funerary status for these queens. While Hnt-k3w.s I might have been given her hm ntr due to a suspected regency, as Hassan (Giza IV, p.5) believed, the same cannot be claimed for Queen Nt. The evidence from her cult would therefore suggest that, by the time of Pepy II, some queens were entitled to a cult similar to that of the king, who also was served by a hm ntr. The mortuary chapel of the queen's complex, although much destroyed, has yielded many inscriptions, as well as a relief head of the queen wearing the uraeus and vulture cap (Jéquier, Les pyramides, pls. IV, V). One of the unusual decorations discovered features a frieze of lions, separated by the symbol of unification frequently seen on the throne of the king (loc. cit. and pp.6f.). The lions, girdled by decorative bands and rosettes, are the guardians of the royal throne (ibid. p.7). There is a similar relief of guardian lions - though without the decorated bands across their bodies - in a fragmentary relief from the tomb of Wdb-tn (Jéquier, Oudjebten, p.17).

The main pyramid of Nt was made in the same fashion as other Sixth Dynasty pyramids, with an internal conglomeration of stones and a cladding of fine limestone. Originally its side length was 24 metres, its height 21.50 m. The pyramid has a slope of 61% (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.12). The cult pyramid had a side length of 5.25 m - Jéquier does not provide other measurements (ibid. p.10).

In the area between the large pyramid and the small one Jéquier found a flotilla of miniature boats, placed next to each

other, just below ground level (see pl. XXXV). They were beautifully made, representing different types of vessels. Jéquier (ibid. p.39) expressed the opinion that the order in which they were placed corresponds with the convoy of vessels used in the funeral cortege (ibid. p.40).

The interior of the pyramid of the queen was inscribed with copies of the Pyramid Texts. Nt must have been the first queen to be given a funerary status on a par with that of the king - except of course that his was the larger complex, and had other elements of the mortuary temple, causeway and valley temple that were missing from Nt's structures. None-the-less, this inclusion of Pyramid Texts provides the first positive indication we have that the king's wife was to participate in the afterlife as one of the gods.

Within the larger pyramid the rose-granite sarcophagus of the queen was discovered empty, as was the granite canopic chest, which was set into the floor of the burial chamber (ibid. p.14). A serdab occupied the space at the other end of this chamber.

The iconography of Nt from reliefs in her mortuary chapel is particularly interesting. She is shown in one relief (Jéquier, Les pyramides, pl.4) wearing the vulture cap with the Wadjet uraeus, and apparently carrying the characteristic papyrus staff in her hand. As Troy (Queenship, p.120) has remarked, this representation of the queen places her in direct association with anthropomorphic representations of Wadjet from Dynasty V times onward. Nt's vulture cap indicates she was a king's mother, for only these queens appear with this headdress in the Old Kingdom period. We should then expect that the decoration at least of this tomb must have been carried out by the queen's son after his accession. Whether all tombs for queens were built (or decorated) by their sons is quite unclear. In the Sixth Dynasty it is apparent that all of the queens (whether mwt nswt or not) were given pyramids. This is a distinctly different practice from the previous dynasties.

A fragment of faience inscription found in the storerooms of the complex of Hnt-k3w.s II in Abusir also shows a queen in vulture cap (the uraeus is indistinct in this fragment) holding the papyrus staff (Verner, ZÄS 109 [1982], p.160 fig. 3), which encourages us to see this symbolism as being present in the time of Nyweserre at least. In the use of this cap featuring the insignia of the vulture and cobra goddesses Queen Nt imitates the role of the Nbtj. This would encourage us to see the queen in the role of a goddess during this era, a role that is emphasised by the use of Pyramid Texts within the sepulchral chamber of the

queen.

Troy (Queenship, p.120) has demonstrated the use of the cobra in association with the daughters of kings, a role which Nt emphasises in her titulary, both on the obelisks and in her Pyramid Text inscriptions. (She does not carry the mwt nswt title within her pyramid complex, but only in the temple decree.) The queen, not having been a mwt nswt at the time of her death, may well have been emphasising her role as royal daughter by this religious symbolism. It should be compared with the fragmentary iconography of Jpwt I who, as king's mother, is shown with the vulture crown.

Titles: rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt mrt.f Nfr-k3-RC-mn-<sup>c</sup>nh, s3t nswt smswt nt ht.f Mrj-RC-mn-nfr; Hereditary princess, King's wife, his beloved, of the pyramid Neferkare is established and living, King's eldest daughter of his body of the pyramid Meryre is established and beautiful.

These titles were on the obelisk outside the entrance to the court of Nt's complex (Jéquier, Les pyramides, pp.3f.).

The titles, rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt, appear on an alabaster bowl found near the cult pyramid (ibid. p.11).

Some remains of titles similar to those on the obelisks mentioned above were found in the anteroom to the court - the room Jéquier named as the Room of Lions, because of its decoration. Here remains of the two pyramid titles, together with part of the title, m33t [Hr Stš], and the epithet, [m]r<sup>r</sup>t ntrw, remain on the fragment showing Nt with the papyrus staff.

The longest titular string for Nt comes from a separate band of inscriptions below the Pyramid Texts on the west wall of her funerary chamber. The titles there read, rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt mrt.f, Nt, s3t nswt smswt nt ht.f, Nt, m33t Hr Stš, wrt hts, wrt hst, Nt, smrt Hr, Nt, tsjt Hr, ht Hr, sm3wt mrj Nbtj; Hereditary princess, King's wife his beloved, Eldest daughter of the king of his body, She who sees Horus and Seth, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, Companion of Horus, She who sits in the company of Horus, Follower of Horus, She who joins the beloved of the Two Ladies (Jéquier, op. cit. pls. XIV, XV, XVI).

Another long string, this time from below the north wall, has, rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt, s3t [nswt], wrt hts, wrt hst, Nt, hmt nswt mrt.f, m33t Hr Stš; Hereditary princess, King's wife, King's daughter, Great one of the hts sceptre, Great of praise, King's wife, his beloved, She who sees Horus and Seth (ibid. pl.

VIII).

The title mwt nswt is not recorded in the queen's complex because she died long before her son could attain the throne. We learn of her being mother of the king from the decree issued by an unknown successor to Pepy II, who referred to Nt by this title (ibid. fig. 2).

Seipel (Königinnen, p.280) suggests that a title missing for fig. 1 in Jéquier's work might read, 'jrj-p<sup>c</sup>(t.t) [sn.t (?) njswt] h<sup>c</sup>j-nfr-Mrj-n-R<sup>c</sup>'. But the only clear indication following the 'rp<sup>c</sup>t' title is the upper portion of an owl. It does not seem to me to be part of a 'snt nswt' title. As remarked earlier (see Hwjt II), the title of snt nswt is not present on the monuments prior to the Twelfth Dynasty to my knowledge. From this reconstruction Jéquier and Montet have thought that Nt may have been first married to Merenre. Such a situation could have been possible, since no tomb for a queen has yet been found near his complex (Leclant, Orientalia 43 [1974], p.184). If he were as young has been suggested, any wife he had may have married the next king, and been buried near the tomb of the later king.

Nt's title of rp<sup>c</sup>t marks the first time that a princess has this title, and she is the first female to carry the masculine version. In every instance of this title the masculine version is used for Nt; similarly, two other wives of Pepy use this masculine term. This is difficult to explain, but it may have some connection with the introduction of Pyramid Texts in her sepulchral chamber, because the texts also refer to the queens in masculine terms.

See also  
chapter 2  
(53.1).

From the north, west and south walls of her tomb, where her titles appear again, the unusual orthography of Stš appears (without the customary animal) for the god Seth. This syllabic form of the god's name might be due to its presence within the burial chamber, which could be seen as the domain of Osiris. Another unusual feature of these inscriptions is the position of the wrt behind the hts hieroglyph. This might have been done in the interests of symmetry, where we see the three birds, each separated by an elongated sign.

Prosopography: Nt was the daughter of King Pepy I and his wife Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-snh.n.s. I. The emphasis on her role as royal daughter has been discussed above. Troy (Queenship, p.110) has further suggested that in the temple decree for Nt and her mother we have an example of the generational link between royal women. This is the last of these Old Kingdom examples, of which the

pairs of Htp-hr-Nbtj and Jnt-k3.s, Htp-hr.s II and Mrj-s-nh III, H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Nbtj I and II (and possibly, Hnt-k3w.s I and Bw-nfr), are apparent.

Nt was the full sister of King Merenre - and, Jéquier (Les pyramides, p.4) suggests, possibly his wife. She was also the half-sister of Pepy II, and wife to that king. It is possible, as Jéquier (loc. cit.) has suggested, that she married twice.

Although Newberry (JEA 29 [1943], p.53) and Coche-Zivie (BIFAO 72 [1972], p.125) have identified Queen Nt with Nitokris, the female monarch of the later Sixth Dynasty, there are good reasons for dismissing these claims. As Nt was the acknowledged eldest daughter of Pepy I, she would have been far too old to have been Nitokris, who perhaps reigned nearly 100 years after the death of Pepy I.[5]Coche-Zivie (ibid. p.126) wondered why the name of 'Nt' found at south Saqqara was missing the additional 'krtj', but it is clear that the two women were different people.

Nt was mother of a king, possibly the immediate successor to Pepy II, Merenre-Antyemsaf.

Not far from the north chapel of Nt Jéquier found fragments of two false doors, one belonging to a man named Mrj-ntj, the other a h3tj-c and s3 n ht.f smsw called ntj-m-s3.f. Seipel (LÄ IV.394) sees in the latter instance an eldest king's son named ntj-m-s3.f. While expressing the view that the question of identity must remain open, Seipel suggests that the later King Merenre-Antyemsaf might be the prince concerned. The fragments concerned do not contain the assumed sign for the king in the 's3 njswt' he claims, however, so there still remains a little doubt about Seipel's proposal, even though the idea is attractive.

Queen Nt shared the cult of a hwt ntr with her mother, Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh.n.s I - perhaps somewhere at South Saqqara, since Jéquier found a decree concerning that temple there (Les pyramides, p.5). This is only one of several hwt ntr known to us for a queen up to Nt's time. The fact that she shares the hwt with her mother may be suggestive of an ancestor cult, similar to that of the two queens Hnt-k3w.s. In the pyramid decree giving protection to the hwt ntr of Queen Nt and Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh.n.s I the determinative for each queen shows a seated queen with w3s

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<sup>5</sup> On the length of reign for Pepy II see Goedicke, SAK 15 (1988) pp.111f.)

sceptre and vulture cap, each woman holding an ankh, and seated on a box throne (ibid. and Goedicke, KD, p.159). Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.316) thinks it possible that these elaborate determinatives could represent the cult statues from that hwt ntr.

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Urk.I.307

#### QUEEN JPWT II

##### Temp. Pepy II

Tomb: a pyramid complex situated near that of Pepy II, built subsequent to that of Nt's complex and almost the same size. János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.48) has pointed out that, in comparison with the funerary arrangements of other kings, Pepy II's provisions for his wives is unusual in that two are positioned on the north-west corner of his complex, while that of Wdb-tn is in the expected position, south of the king's complex.

The complexes of these two wives have a number of common items but, unlike the complex of Nt, Jpwt's court east of her mortuary chapel is distinctly peculiar. János (ibid. p.49f.) has suggested that it was reduced to half its intended size because of the already-existing Tombeaux Princiers (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.49f.). He suggests that these anonymous tomb-owners might have had some relationship to one or both of these queens (János, loc. cit. n.242).

The complex of Jpwt is almost completely destroyed, due to stone robberies, the pyramid suffering particular depredation. The original construction, however, was much inferior to that of Nt, and this evidently contributed to its poor state of preservation today (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.41).

Jpwt's complex was surrounded by a wall in which a large and impressive gateway of Aswan granite was placed; this has yielded nearly all the titles we have of the queen. The gateway was flanked by two limestone obelisks bearing the titles of Jpwt, thus repeating the pattern found in the complex of Nt. These obelisks supply the m33t Hr Sth title missing from the gateway.

The magazines and funerary chapel are similar to those in Nt's complex. In the magazines of Jpwt's chapel the sarcophagus of Queen Cnh.n.s-Ppj was found (Jéquier, Les pyramides, pp.45, 50ff.) - see her prosopography below.

The chapel originally possessed a triple shrine, now virtually destroyed (ibid. p.44) and, nearby, there was the customary stele. This was made of greyish stone, badly gashed by long fissures, on which no trace of inscription can be seen today. In front of it was an alabaster offering table, and a side-table for use in the preparation of offerings (ibid. p.45).

Jpwt's pyramid originally rose up at an angle of approximately 55 degrees to about 22 metres in height, the length of each side being in the vicinity of 17 metres. An uninscribed false door, and an offering table of indifferent workmanship found near the front of the descending shaft of the pyramid (ibid. p.47), suggest that the queen's monument might have been finished in a hurry.

The burial chamber and serdab within the pyramid were similar in size and shape to the provisions made for Nt. Jpwt's funerary chamber was inscribed with pyramid texts, similar to those of the pyramids of the other queens, but the hieroglyphs of her texts are very much larger than the others (Jéquier, op. cit. p. 47). The texts, which are severely damaged, appear to be fewer and less important than those within the other pyramids of Pepy's wives (loc. cit.).

Part of a granite sarcophagus was found in the ruined burial chamber of the pyramid. On it was inscribed, s3t nswt smswt, jm3hwt hr ntr C3 (ibid. p.46).

Titles: Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-Cnh rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt, s3t nswt smswt;



Hereditary princess and King's wife of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Re is established and living, King's eldest daughter.

These titles appear on the right hand obelisk in front of the queen's gateway; identical titles were also preserved on the lintel above the monumental gateway to Jpwt's complex (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.42 fig. 22).

On the left side of her monumental gateway these titles are preserved: Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-<sup>c</sup>nh hmt nswt, s3t nswt; King's wife of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Re is established and living, King's daughter.

On the right gateway post the titles are: Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-<sup>c</sup>nh rp<sup>c</sup>t, hmt nswt; Hereditary princess and King's wife of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Re is established and living.

In front of the gateway were two obelisks. These also bore some titles of the queen. The left hand one contained the title rp<sup>c</sup>t, and had traces of the m33t Hr Sth title.

The titles are almost the same as for Nt, both of them using the masculine rp<sup>c</sup>t title, not the feminine version. It is interesting to note that the m33t Hr Sth title, which appears on Jpwt's obelisks (but is not found in her fragmentary pyramid texts) is written in the usual fashion with the bird and the animal. It would seem that the variant formula found in the pyramid of Nt could be due to concern about the unwelcome intrusion of Seth within the realm of Osiris (see previous discussion).

Jpwt II has only one recorded pyramid title - that for the pyramid of Pepy II. Most of the other queens hold two titles each, although Wdb-tn also was confined to one title in the records preserved for her, as she was neither the daughter, nor the mother of a king.

As both Jpwt and Nt are entitled s3t nswt smswt it is likely that each was the daughter of a different wife of Pepy I. Given that this king now is known to have had at least three wives, we cannot assign Jpwt to any of them although, as Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh.n.s I seems to have been Nt's mother (and Nt also held the smswt title), this queen could be discounted. Jpwt II was evidently named after her grandmother.

Prosopography: Jpwt was Pepy II's second wife, a conclusion that has been reached due to the later date of her monument and the even later date of the monument of Queen Wdb-tn. If she had

any children, these are not known. She does not hold the mw  
nswt title.

Jpwt II was entitled, s3t nswt smswt, not s3t nswt ht.f.  
Jéquier (Studies, p. 12; Les pyramides, p.43) has suggested that  
this might indicate that Jpwt was not the child of a king, but a  
grandchild. While this could be so, the devastation of her  
monument should be borne in mind; it is possible that the title  
might have appeared elsewhere.

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#### QUEEN WDB-TN

Temp. Pepy II. Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.50) considers  
that Wdb-tn's complex was the last of the three satellite  
complexes to be completed, and that it was erected during the  
later part of Pepy's long reign. A fragmentary decree (for the  
funerary cult of this queen?) was found by Jéquier, who detected  
the date of rnpt 33 (ASAE 26 [1926], p.52; see reproduction in  
fig. 17 Oudjebten, p.18). Goedicke (SAK 15 [1988], p.112) argues  
that this date is more likely to be rnpt 24, partly because of  
the arrangement of the remaining tens in the fragment. In  
Goedicke's opinion, the reading should be rnpt 24 because 'it  
would not only eliminate the single outstanding [attestation of a  
date beyond rnpt 31 for Pepy II], but would also place the  
concern for queen Udjebten into a more probable context; she did  
not belong to the late reign of Pepy II, but had died long before  
him' (loc. cit.).

Tomb: Queen Wdb-tn's mortuary complex lies to the south-eastern  
corner of Pepy's pyramid at Saqqara. Jéquier began its  
excavation during the winter of 1925/6 (Jéquier, Oudjebten, p.1).  
Like its sister complexes, that of Wdb-tn is very badly damaged,

although the plan of the whole structure is clearly discernible.

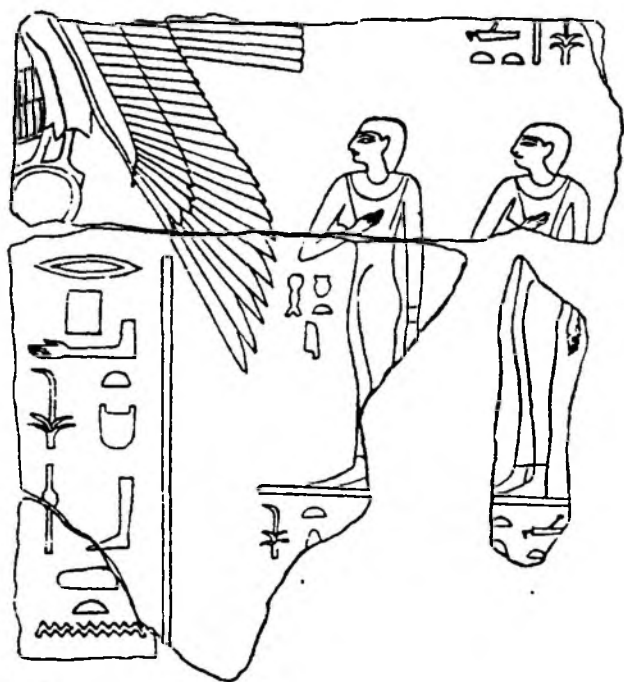
A thick (1.55m) wall surrounds the pyramid. The mortuary area is much more constricted than is that of the other queens. Beyond this temenos wall is another boundary wall, containing later buildings evidently associated with the queen's mortuary cult.

Within the temenos a courtyard, chapel and two magazines are situated. There was no northern chapel or stele such as is found in the complexes of other queens, but the usual eastern shrine is present, its offering slab and stairway still remain. Part of the queen's stele was also preserved (*ibid.* p.13). On the north-eastern part of the temenos wall were found the remains of a large, granite gateway, similar to those of the other queens (Jéquier, *op. cit.* p.9). The left-hand jamb displays the queen's titles.

There appears to have been no satellite pyramid for Wdb-tn - even though this appears on other plans (eg. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Edwards, *Pyramids*, p.179; Stadelmann, *Pyramiden*, fig. 67). Instead, there was a court, later built over with shanties that Jéquier observed were built directly onto the ground, and not above rubble from any demolished structure (*Oudjebten*, p.10). Therefore, it appears that the queen's complex lacked this royal funerary element - even though, originally, it may have been intended. Nearby, and almost against the temenos wall, Jéquier discovered a shaft three metres deep, the purpose of which remains enigmatic. The whole of her complex is more like that of Queen Jpwt I than the complexes of the two other wives, as Jéquier (*ibid.* p.11) remarked in reference to her mortuary chapel.

The base length of each side of the pyramid was 23.90 metres. Jéquier estimates that the faces were sharply inclined at 65 degrees and rose to a height of about 25.50 metres. This is in contrast to the perceived remains in the photographs (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p.3 fig. 1 and pl. V). Jéquier himself says that the walls are 'presque verticales' (*ibid.* p.4), and he is forced to conclude that the pyramid core must have been built in a series of steps, like those of other great pyramids. He assumes the cladding to have been entirely removed. Unlike the tombs for Jpwt and Nt, there was no serdab (or magazine) for this queen within her burial apartment.

Within the pyramid were the same funerary texts that were found in the monuments of the other queens, although those of Wdb-tn showed signs of being unfinished. Jéquier thought that



9. 19 Relief from the mortuary chapel of Queen Wdb-tn, showing the tutelary vulture protecting the titles of the queen.

- Jéquier: Les pyramides des reines fig.9 p.16

the queen's premature death called a halt to the decoration of her tomb (*ibid.* p.5; *ASAE* 26 [1926], p.50). There is evidence for hasty workmanship, unlike the other pyramid texts, which are picked out in blue, those of Wdb-tn are only painted and the hieroglyphs are in black, a clear sign that the work was either unfinished or of cheaper workmanship than the other texts.

The contents of Wdb-tn's texts are similar to those of Nt and the kings of the Sixth Dynasty. The 'dangerous' hieroglyphs have been mutilated, even as have those in the tomb of Pepy II. Wdb-tn's texts follow those of Pepy II closely, although the sequence of chapters is not quite the same. The queen's name was substituted for that of the king in her chambers, the personal pronoun, when used, is masculine (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p.6).

Further remaining fragments found by Jéquier (*op. cit.* pp.15 - 18) give intriguing hints of Wdb-tn's status in the eyes of the king. On her offering table she is one who is 'praised by all the gods'; on the wall decorations she is 'honoured in every heart' (*ibid.* p.15), she is depicted seated on a throne decorated by lions similar to the throne of a king (*ibid.* p.17), and another fragment displays the vulture goddess poised above the queen's titles, in the same fashion as it appears above the titles of the kings (*fig. 19*). Another collection of fragments indicate that a funerary cult was established for this queen, but it has been impossible to reassemble a coherent text from the six remaining pieces (Jéquier, *ASAE* 26 [1926], p.52; Goedicke, *KD*, 154f.) However, one fragment from a doorway panel (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, *fig. 16*) gives the queen's titles and name followed by the suggestion that a *hwt ntr* was established for her at south Saqqara. That this shrine was made is confirmed by another door to one of the small rooms. Below the lintel bearing the name and titles of the queen are three inscriptions naming three separate *hmw ntr* who served the queen, *Hmj*, *Pth-s<sup>c</sup>nh* and *Jkrj* (*ibid.* p.22) - the last name being thought to appear on one of the six fragments discussed by Goedicke. From the remaining fragments of Pepy's decree for her cult, and from the collection of priests also buried in the vicinity, it is evident that the queen was buried here (Jánosí, *Pyramidenanlagen*, p.50 n.244).

Titles: *rp<sup>c</sup>t*, *hmt nswt mrt.f Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-<sup>c</sup>nh*; Hereditary princess, and King's wife, his beloved of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Ramen-ankh.

One of the longest strings of titles for this queen is given above. The titles above were found on the left hand jamb of the gateway to Wdb-tn's complex (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, p.9f.).

Other titular strings feature, rp<t, hmt nswt  
Nfr-k3-R<-mn-<nh, wrt hts; Hereditary princess and King's  
 beloved wife of the pyramid of Neferkare is established and  
 living, Great one of the hts sceptre, - on the architrave for a  
 door erected by one of the queen's hm ntr priests (ibid. pp.21f);  
ht Hr (ibid. p.13 fig. 6). Seipel (Königinnen, p.295)  
 reconstructs 'sm3wt mrj Nbtj' for a damaged title (Jéquier,  
Oudjebten, fig. 6) for which only a quail chick and 't' sign  
 remain. No other titles can be detected, but the epithet, hsjt  
ntrw nb - She who is praised by all the gods - is present on her  
 offering slab (ibid. p.15).

Prosopography: Wdb-tn appears to have been the third  
 wife of Pepy II - we are unaware whether Pepy's wives were  
 successive or whether he had several at one time). She does not  
 seem to have been a member of the royal family, since she lacks  
 the s3t nswt title. Her parents are unknown and there are no  
 known children from her marriage. A damaged number on one of the  
 fragmentary inscriptions discussed by Goedicke suggests that work  
 on the queen's complex ceased by the thirty-third cattle count of  
 Pepy II - but see discussion in Temp. above. This would be the  
 highest year recorded for Pepy, even though Manetho and the Turin  
 Canon ascribe him a reign of over ninety years.

Apart from the significant piece of iconography in fig.19 ,  
Wdb-tn was given a pyramid complex and a hwt ntr cult, even  
 though she was not a mother of a king. It suggests that, by this  
 time, queen-consorts were given a much more elevated religious  
 status than had previously been the case.

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Troy, Queenship, p.156

Urk. I.272

QUEEN Cnh.s.n-PPJ

Temp. Pepy II - Neferkare

Tomb: The queen was given a makeshift tomb within the last of the five magazines located within the complex of Queen Jpwt at Saqqara. The magazine flooring had been broken up to allow a large (2.01m x 1.16m) rectangular sarcophagus of fine granite to be installed. It was evident to Jéquier (Les pyramides, p.51) that this sarcophagus had been adapted from some monument that had been engraved with the titles of Pepy I. The basalt lid, which does not match the sarcophagus, must have been intended for some other purpose, for it carries part of an inscription mentioning the name of King Pepy I and Queen Jpwt I (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.52). As János (Pyramidenanlagen, p.52) has observed, the type of inscription on the lid is not known for Old Kingdom sarcophagi, so its original purpose had not been funerary.

Near the remains of the sarcophagus were those of a limestone false door on which the titles of Queen Cnh.n.s-Ppj were found, together with the name Neferkare. This last is almost certain to be one of the three kings of that name on the Abydos list, Nos.42, 43, or 45. The king's pyramid was Nfr-k3-Rc-Dd-Cnh, and Queen Cnh.s.n-Ppj was associated with his pyramid as well as that of her husband.

Altogether, the poor remains of the queen's burial provides a clear indication that the era of great building projects had come to an end by the time this queen died. What else is clear is that, by the time of her burial, Pepy II's monuments had already been tampered with, not only the separate parts of the queen's sarcophagus, but also the fact that the complex of Queen Jpwt II had been damaged to permit the burial of Cnh.s.n-Ppj suggests that the social climate was not as stable as previously (Seipel, Königinnen, p.304).

An interesting puzzle is presented by a Berlin block, now stolen, which mentions a royal wife named Cnh.s.n-Ppj (Roeder, Äg. Inschriften, No.7495). It may refer to this queen. It features what appears to have been pyramid texts and, as these seem to have appeared first for queens during the time of Pepy II, it is suggested that they might have belonged to the original tomb of this queen. The texts do not seem have belonged to one of Pepy I's wives (who also used the Ppj cartouche on occasions) since we now know that their tombs were left uninscribed.

Perhaps having some relation to these pyramid texts are the

remains of the pyramid of King Ibi, located some 500 m from the complex of Pepy II. Stadelmann (Pyramiden, p.304) has remarked that the king's pyramid shows no sign of having had workmen fashion the blocks in the vicinity of the tomb. He offers the opinion that the stones might have come from a pyramid complex belonging to a wife of Pepy II - 'vielleicht für die in dem Magazingrab gefundene Königin Anchesnespepi' - since the layout resembles more that of a queen than a king. Jánosi (Pyramidenanlagen, p.52f.) has picked up this point and wondered whether Ibi used the materials from the queen's incomplete monument, later engraving his own pyramid texts upon the walls. Jánosi also points out that although the existing pyramid is much greater in size than a pyramid of a queen for this time, Jéquier (Pyramide d'Aba, p.3) had observed that the original core of the pyramid had been enlarged.

These are attractive hypotheses, but one difficulty is that Pepy II's complex is much further from Ibi's tomb than was the case regarding the satellite tomb of a queen and that of her husband in Sixth Dynasty. Jánosi, however, has suggested that the area around the complex of Pepy II had been crowded with other monuments, and this solution might explain the distance factor.

Titles: mwt nswt bjtj, s3t ntr tw w3dt sdtt, hmt nswt mrt.f, wrt hts; Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of the god, child of Wadjet, King's wife, his beloved, Great one of the hts sceptre.

This titular string was engraved on the black granite lid to the queen's sarcophagus. The lid had been reused, and bears an inscription carrying the titulary of King Pepy I. The remains of an inscription mentioning his mother's name is also detectable under the hieroglyphs (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.51f.).

The queen's title of s3t ntr tw w3dt sdtt, seems to be more an epithet than a title, in Jéquier's opinion (ibid. p.52f), but it fits into the pattern of s3t ntr titles for which several extensions (eg. nt ht.f, s3t ntr tw) are known. Sethe translated the title as 'She is a daughter divine, fresh and young' (given by Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.53). Troy translated it as 'this daughter of the god', omitting the difficult phrase (Queenship, p.191, A1/4), Kuchman Sabbahy (Titulary, p.112) also considers sdtt w3dt as only an unusual epithet. Goedicke (SAK 15 [1988], p.112) prefers to see sdtt-w3dt as 'foster-daughter of the Uraeus', and reads the other part of her title as 's3t-ntr wt(t)' - 'first-born daughter of the ntr'.



Given the prominence of the goddess Wadjet in Sixth Dynasty inscriptions (Johnson, Cobra Goddess, Cat.88 - 109), the use of the uraeus for both Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II and Queen Nt, and the use of the papyrus stem wand for the latter queen, it might be more appropriate to consider s3t ntr tw sdt w3dt as referring to the goddess, rather than the uraeus as Goedicke (loc. cit.) proposes. Goedicke's argument directly attributes the uraeus to the king, suggesting that Cnh.n.s-Ppj was his posthumous daughter - a suggestion that to me seems dubious. The translation of the title here given seems in keeping with the trend towards the greater use of the goddesses in both the iconography and the titulary of the queen.

Fragments of a limestone false door for the queen were also present in Jpwt II's magazine (Jéquier, op. cit. p.53). On these remains were the titles, hmt nswt Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-Cnh, mwt nswt Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-dd-Cnh; King's wife of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Re is established and living, King's mother of the pyramid Nefer-ka-Re is established and living. We do not know the identity of the owner of this latter pyramid.

These titles were accompanied by a number of epithets referring to the gods, Jnpw tp dw.f mrt, hst ntrw nb; Beloved of Anubis who is on his mountain, One who is praised by all the gods. The latter is familiar from the titulary of Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s.

Prosopography: At one time Goedicke (JAOS 75 [1955], p.181) and Fischer (MDAIK 37 [1981], pp.152f.) considered Cnh.s.n-Ppj to have been the same person as Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s. These views have now been abandoned. The queens are distinguishable by their pyramid titles, the former queen is the mother of Neferkare II, the latter the mother of Pepy II. The inscription from Cnh.s.n-Ppj's false door, naming her as the wife of the pyramid Neferkare- Mn-Cnh, and mother of King Neferkare, whose pyramid was named Dd-Cnh (Jéquier, Les pyramides, p.52f.), confirms that the two queens were married to different kings.

She was also the mother of a king who had the prenomen of Neferkare; three of Pepy's successors had this name and we cannot be certain which of the three he might be, although it is likely to be the first of these. Jéquier (Les pyramides, p.54) suggests that her mwt nswt bjtj title is unusual and might suggest that Cnh.n.s-Ppj might have been the grandmother of a king. There are a number of queens who carry this title - see discussion in Chapter 2. As a s3t ntr Cnh.s.n-Ppj is likely to have been the mother of a king who succeeded a half-brother, rather than a father. It is suggested that the brother is likely

to have been Merenre-Antyemsaf, son of Queen Nt.

Queen Cnh.n.s-Ppj's origins are unknown. She may have been the daughter of commoner parents, as Schmitz suggests, or she may have been a descendant of the family of the Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s sisters. The similarity of the names (both sisters were also referred to as Ppj-Cnh.n.s), and the epithet, 'Beloved of all the gods', used by Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s II, suggest a common link, but this could be explained as the queen's adoption of a "royal" name to enhance her new status as the wife of a king.

Cnh.n.s-Ppj evidently survived Pepy II and may have married again. The evidence comes from a roughly-made stele, serving as a false door from Abydos. The stele has the traditional pattern of those of a man and his wife (Borchardt, Denkmäler, CG 1439), where the titles of and representation of each person occupies one half of the false door. In both the upper band and the right side panel Cnh.s.n-Ppj is designated as 'King's wife'.

If Jww were her second husband, he was a fairly lowly official. He held the titles h3tj-C m3<sup>c</sup>, sm hrp šndywt nb, hrj hbt hr tp. Jww is also represented on CG 1643. On neither stele does he claim marriage to Cnh.s.n-Ppj, so perhaps he was her protector after the death of Pepy II.

This last set of circumstances might offer another explanation for the strange burial of this queen. None of the kings named Neferkare seems to have reigned for long. None of their mortuary establishments is known, and Stadelmann suspects that Neferkare II may not have had the resources left to make a proper tomb for his mother (Pyramiden, p.202). Perhaps, however, his mother outlived him as well, and had no-one to provide a decent tomb for her. If indeed the queen married an undistinguished commoner after the death of Pepy II, Jww would have been presumably responsible for the burial of his wife, should Neferkare not have been able to carry this out. Perhaps it was Jww who arranged the burial of the queen in the magazine of Jpwt's complex. Certainly, the fact that the queen's false door was also found there does suggest that it was not merely a temporary resting place for the queen's body. Her makeshift tomb provides strong evidence for Jánosi's conclusions that the tombs of queen-mothers were built after the son came to the throne. If Pepy II had made any provisions for her the evidence has not yet come to light, although Stadelmann and Jánosi think it possible that the tomb of Ibi might once have been hers.

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#### QUEEN NEITKRETY

Temp. Late Sixth Dynasty; Manetho (Frag. 20) accords her a reign of twelve years; Eratosthenes (Frag. 22) gives her a six-year reign. In a recent article on the Turin Canon Jaromír Málek (JEA 68 [1982], pp.95f.) has shown that she is likely to be placed directly after the reign of Merenre II, a proposal first suggested on other grounds by von Beckerath.

Tomb: unknown; it should be somewhere in the region of south Saqqara, since that is where others of this period were buried.

Neitkrety is said by Manetho to have reigned for twelve years, by Eratosthenes six; the date is missing from the Turin Papyrus. If her reign was of some length there would have been time to prepare part of a tomb at least. Perhaps the tomb of Ibi might once have been the tomb for Neitkrety? In favour of the suggestion is its feminine layout, a fact commented upon by all of the scholars who have written about the pyramid. The distance between this tomb and that of Pepy II then need not be an obstacle in the hypothesis that Ibi had usurped the monument of a queen.

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Titles, nswt bjtj; Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Prosopography, The Turin Canon (Gardiner, Turin, and Málek, JEA 68 (1982) p. 95), the Abydos list and Manetho all record a successor to Pepy II, while Manetho and the Canon give the successor a reign of a year. Queen Neitkrety follows this successor. According to Herodotos (Histories, II.100), Neitkrety's predecessor was her brother, whom his subjects had murdered. In the Turin Canon the immediate predecessor to the queen was King Merenre-antyeysaf, so if the relationship claimed by Herodotos is correct, Queen Neitkrety could have been a relation of this king. She would thus be connected to the royal family, possibly being a grand-daughter of Pepy II. Perhaps there is a link here with Queen Nt, who is known to have been the mother of King Merenre-Antyeysaf. Whether or not the tale of Herodotos is true, Queen Neitkrety must have been a member of the royal family to have been able to ascend the throne, for there is no possibility that a woman would have been chosen before a male ruler had she been a commoner.

Herodotos' account of the murder of the king has <sup>been</sup> accepted by several scholars (eg. Wainwright, Helck), but it needs to be pointed out that Merenre II was likely to have been of considerable age when he took the throne. It is very likely that the story Herodotos heard had been much embroidered by the fifth century, certainly the account of the queen's death has no parallel in Egyptian sources, although it is typical of Achaemenid Persian times.

Queen Neitkrety is likely to have been the wife, as well as the sister of the king. This seems to have been the normal pattern for those women who became Egypt's rulers. Immediately following her reign came that of Neferka-the-Child. It is possible that the child in question was the younger half-brother of Merenre II (and Neitkrety), the son of Queen Snh.s.n-Ppj, especially as he has been called 'the child' (surely to distinguish him from his father?) but again the evidence is lacking.

A number of scholars have made mention of this queen and within their arguments various identifications have been made linking Neitkrety with other women in Egyptian history.

On the Abydos list King Netjerkare follows Pepy II, and Goedicke (ZDMG 112 [1962], pp.245f.) considers that Netjerkare has been corrupted into Neitkrety on the Turin Canon. Goedicke rejects Neitkrety as a female ruler, commenting as he does so that 'Neitkrety' is her feminine name and that had she been a real queen (as Hatshepsut was), she would have had a throne name (even as Hatshepsut had had the name of Maatkare). Goedicke does not mention Queen Sbk-nfrw of the Twelfth Dynasty, she too has a Horus name and prenomen, but she is given her feminine name in the Turin Canon (Column 10 No. 2 in Málek's re-organised list). Queens Nt-htp and Mrjt-Nt are also represented by one name only in their serekhs and on other objects. Evidently female names could provide some exception to the usual pattern of recording rulers.

Goedicke's suggestion that Netjerkare has phonetic similarity with Neitkrety persuades him that the two names have been confused by the Egyptian scribes of long ago. If we compare the Graecised forms of the names of the Egyptian kings beginning with 'ntr', (eg. Dyn II Netjeren, whom Manetho writes as Binothris), one can see that 'ntr' and 'Nt' were differentiated by the Greeks who heard the words. Although vowel and consonantal shifts had taken place over time, <sup>it was</sup> not to the extent suggested here by Goedicke, I feel. In the orthography the names are quite dissimilar, and this factor should be taken

into consideration when making a comparison with the names. The identification of Netjerkare with Neitkrety has many problems.

Goedicke's reference to Neitkrety having only a 'feminine name' has been taken up elsewhere by Petrie (History I, pp.104f.), who suggests that King Menkare of the Abydos list could be the throne name for Queen Neitkrety. I see no objection to this, especially as the subsequent Abydos name is that of Neferkare, which might be the throne name of Neferka-the-Child. Petrie, however, seems to have thought that the identification needed additional support, for he mentions the similarity of Menkaure and ties this in with Diodorus Siculus' story of Rhodopis and the building of the third pyramid - a theory which earlier historians such as Wiedermann picked up and elaborated. Stern (ZÄS XXIII [1885], p.92) was one early historian who warned about the unlikely connection between Menkaure's pyramid and this queen, but his warning may have been unheeded because he did not accept the identification of Nitokris with Neitkrety. In his opinion it would have been extremely unlikely that a queen should usurp a monument still being served by a priestly cult. While Helck (Geschichte, p.78) accepts her position on the Turin list as being indicative of her reign, he rejects the idea that a female would have her s3 R<sup>c</sup> name on the Abydos list.

Some scholars (Buttles, Queens, p.22; Newberry, JEA 29 [1943], pp.53f.; Smith, CAH I/2A, p.196) have adopted Petrie's view that Menkare of the Abydos list could be Neitkrety, and others incline to the opinion that Ntrj-k3-R<sup>c</sup> could be her name on the Abydos list (Stern, ZÄS 23 [1885], p.92; Goedicke, ZDMG 112 [1962], p.245f.). Other scholars have taken the Rhodopis connection further than Petrie did.

Hall (JHS 24 [1904], p.209) accepted a part of Petrie's identification of Menkare and Neitkrety, but thought it was an identification produced by confusion among ancient Greek scholars (he says the same about Netjerkare, too). Hall links the Sphinx with the fair woman of ruddy complexion and sees this reference as being one to Neitkrety, whom Manetho calls the 'noblest and the loveliest of the women of her time'. Like Goedicke, Hall draws upon the similarity of the name Netjerkare and Neitkrety, and he too assumes that the scribes had been careless (*ibid.* p.212). He further suggests that Manetho's gobbett came from the story in Herodotos (*ibid.* p.213), and that the Egyptian priest shoved his reference at the end of the Sixth Dynasty because he knew already that the third pyramid had been built by King Menkaure and that Neitkrety did not belong there. This implies a carelessness on the part of Manetho, one that is not borne out by reference to the Turin Canon, which Manetho seems to have followed fairly

faithfully.

Newberry's article suggested that Queen Neitkrety could be identified with Queen Nt, the first wife of Pepy II. He thought that he had found corroboration for his hypothesis when he perceived a partly-erased cartouche reading, as he thought, 'Menkare' (JEA 29 [1943], pp. 53f). But Smith (CAH I/2A, p.196), who re-examined the cartouche said that it almost certainly reads 'Neferkare', the name of Pepy II, and that the vertical sign of the nfr 'precludes reading "Menkare"'. There is thus not sufficient evidence to associate (Queen) Neith with that Nitocris.. Queen Nt's identification as the wife of Pepy II is undeniable, but Coche-Zivie (BIFAO 72 [1972], pp.125), in a more recent article, also sees in the story of Neitkrety a connection with Queen Nt, whom she, too, assumes held power for her underage husband. Her attempts (ibid. pp.125f) to explain the identification of the queen with the cartouche evidence are not very convincing, as she herself admits. Neither is her suggestion that the king prior to Neitkrety could have been Merenre I (ibid. p.126) really a sound alternative. Such a conjecture does not explain the presence of the second Merenre, nor of Neitkrety herself, on the Turin Canon and elsewhere.

But the identification of Nt with Neitkrety must be rejected for another reason. Nt was the eldest daughter of Queen Mrj-R<sup>c</sup>-Cnh.n.s I and Pepy I. She lived through not only her father's reign, but also that of her brother, Merenre, then on into the reign of Pepy II, whose wife she was. This must have made her at least 18 years of age in the early years of Pepy II. When we consider that Pepy II reigned for over 90 years before his successor ascended the throne, we must add those years to the previous 18 ascribed to the queen. Thus had she been identical to Queen Neitkrety, Queen Nt would have been over 110 years of age when she began her reign and 124 or more when she died! Obviously this identification must be rejected on chronological grounds.

Jurgen von Beckerath (JNES 21 [1963], p.140) has suggested that instead of being a monarch, Nt-krjtj is more likely to have been a regent. Against this view, however, is her use of the cartouche in the Turin Canon (Gardiner, Canon, Fragment 43); no regent attested prior to or after this time ever used the cartouche to indicate a regency.

There is so much myth and conjecture surrounding the name of Neitkrety that the facts are difficult to extract. Coche-Zivie has presented a meticulous account of the various stories and their place in the legend surrounding the queen (ibid.). Identification with Hnt-k3w.s I, Rhodopis and the daughter of Khufu have all

been made at one time, but Neitkrety has nothing to do with these women. Neither has she anything to do with what we know of Queen Nt, no matter how appealing such theories might be. Neitkrety was a ruler, evidently the wife of Merenre II, to judge from her place in the Turin Canon. Her throne name might have been Menkare, but this is uncertain. She may have been a relation of King Neferkare, who succeeded her, and it is likely (but not proven) that she was a direct blood relation of Pepy II. She could have been a descendant of Queen Nt, after whom she might have been named.